ABSTRACT

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Doctor of Philosophy
Trinity Term 1992

Textiles, Furs and Liveries: A Study of the Material Culture of the Court of Edward I (1272-1307)

The thesis is an attempt to study the place of textile materials and furs in the life of the court of Edward I. The expenditure on such materials was considerable. In order to achieve a regular provisioning, the king relied on the great fairs but, increasingly, on merchant companies. This accompanied a shift of the trade in luxury goods from the fairs to London and it is probable that the purchasing policies of the royal household had a major role in this evolution. The range of techniques involved in the transformation of materials was very wide, and various craftsmen worked for the royal court. Many of them were members of the household, but the great wardrobe also had privileged connections with urban workshops.

Costume and furnishings had a significant function in aristocratic economy and society. The king and his family appeared to their entourage in an apparel stressing the specificity of the royal lineage. Costume also occupied a major place in the exercise of the king's largesse by way of alms, gifts and liveries. Most members of the royal household were entitled to liveries of robes, in money or in kind. When given in kind, liveries had a specific function as status- or group-sign. Members of the same office, or servants of the same rank would be given cloth of the same colour. It is not certain, however, that colours were fixed, and that liveries were used as a means of recognition in the world of politics and retaining.

The patronage of the king was also marked by the distribution of cloths of gold, in the form of oblations to churches and shrines and of gifts to aspirants to knighthood. Finally, textiles and hides played a major role in the logistics of war and on the battlefield. They were naturally used for the making of tents and other military equipment. But they were also the materials used for the display of emblems.

The symbolism of power has recently received renewed attention from historians, as has the study of the places of power and of the anthropology of power. The history of material culture is one way in which to approach medieval power-structures and, within this context, the study of textile materials and furs may prove to be a valuable approach.

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The thesis originated in a general study of retaining in society and politics in later medieval England. Given the depth of secondary literature on the subject, it seemed important to focus on one aspect of retaining, the material bond between lord and retainer, expressed by the livery of clothing or badges. The study of that particular aspect has been neglected, and that it might offer some new elements for the history of power-structures in the later Middle Ages.

Liveries were not an exclusively aristocratic phenomenon. Civic liveries, for instance, are an important dimension of the history of liveries. However, it was decided to limit the research to the royal household, using occasionally other aristocratic liveries as a point for comparison. This was decided on grounds of time and space. Also, the existence of a large documentation concerning the royal household seemed promising - mainly the financial accounts of the great wardrobe, the office in charge of the provisioning and redistribution of textile materials and furs.

The study of a few wardrobe accounts of the fourteenth century, listing beneficiaries of liveries of clothing, with the materials delivered to them, immediately encountered a certain number of difficulties. The terminology of the accounts, in particular, raised numerous obstacles. This led to draw a few conclusions concerning the nature of a possible thesis. First of all, it proved impossible to study the accounts without any background knowledge of the materials, of their provenance, of

the way they were purchased for the court, and of the manner in which they were transformed to meet the needs of the royal household. The second point was that it seemed difficult to separate a study of liveries from the other uses of textile materials and furs in court. In particular, it seemed artificial to separate the study of the clothing of the royal family from the clothing of retainers. Also, liveries of robes were only one aspect of a more extensive use of textiles and furs in the context of royal patronage: to separate the study of liveries to knights from the deliveries of materials to aspirants to knighthood, for instance, had the inconvenient of ignoring another dimension of the patronage of the knightly class by the king by way of liveries of textiles. Finally, the issue of colour-coding on clothes of livery could hardly be separated from the use of recognition devices on coat-armours on the battlefield. These considerations led to a new definition of the scope of the thesis: it seemed more promising to study the use of textiles and furs in the royal court in a more comprehensive way. Textile materials and furs in aristocratic society played a significant role: they provided warmth and comfort, they were used as a means to convey the notions of riches and power, and for multiple symbolic uses, from the assertion of service relationships to recognition and signalling in battle. The second set of issues raised by a preliminary study of the financial accounts of the royal household was that, instead of analysing the place of textiles and furs in the culture of the court for the late fourteenth century, as had been first intended, it would be better to shift the study to an earlier period, during which liveries seem to have been transformed from

a purely domestic feature into a political one. The abundance of the financial documentation existing for the reign of Edward I was another factor for the choice of the period. These various considerations changed considerably the scope of the project: the study of textiles, furs and liveries in the culture of the court under Edward I was a more appropriate definition of the work undertaken.

From that point it was obvious that the research would lie, at least partly, in the field of the history of material culture. Our study has been influenced by a renewal of interest in the field of textile studies. The multiplication of excavated textiles has led to a general reconsideration of the use of this type of material in medieval society. A testimony of this is, for instance, the recent creation of a society for the study of material textiles and costume under the auspices of the Society of Antiquaries, and the multiplication of conferences on medieval textiles. But the influence of the seminal work of Françoise Piponnier, who has systematically studied the place of costume in court society and politics, is perhaps greater. The thesis has also been inspired by the works of the Institute for the study of material culture at Krems-an-der-Donau. 'Material culture' is a broad label for a category of historical enquiry that has not yet received a satisfactory definition, and that has suffered considerably in the eyes of historians from the label 'study of everyday life'. For some authors, material culture is confined to the field of archaeology and artefacts. But the study of written documents, and notably of financial accounts, is another way to approach material culture. This is particularly so in the case of the English royal household. A systematic comparison

between the various types of documentation available seemed necessary in order to achieve a comprehensive approach of the theme. The joint study of iconographic, narrative and financial sources, together with extant remains, seemed the best way to approach the topic. The significance of the English accounts, however, privileged an approach based on the study of this kind of documentation. The extent of surviving accounts for that period is exceptional, in comparison with the continental documentation, while the archaeological remains are quite few in the field of the history of textiles and furs.

The extent and complexity of the financial accounts led to the use of a database system (Ingres database). This proved efficient for a study of the merchants providing the court with the necessary goods, because of the relatively standard form of the accounts recording payments and debts. The use of a database system for the study of the accounts for liveries and prests of robes, however, encountered numerous difficulties. These were to a large extent due to the nature of the documentation, which is very uneven. It was eventually decided to use a simple sorting system on a word-processor.

It was then decided to organize the thesis around two main sectors: the technical and economic themes, and the place of costume and furnishings in court life. Two other themes were studied, the use of precious cloths woven with threads of gold in the exercise of royal patronage of churches and of the knightly class, and the place of textiles in warfare. This explains the organization of the thesis. A first section deals with the technical and economic aspects of the question. After an analysis of the various materials purchased by the great

wardrobe for the use of the court, and of their probable origin, the trade organization that provided the royal household with these goods is studied. In particular, the role of the royal policies of purchase in the general shift of the trade in luxury goods from the great fairs to London is focused on. Also, the group of the king's merchants, who had a privileged connection with the court, is analysed, as well as the use of the royal prerogative of prise and of confiscations in the name of the assize of cloth. The techniques entailed by the transformation of materials for the making of costume, furnishings and military equipment are then analysed, together with the place of craftsmen in the household organization and the connections between the court and urban craftsmen. A second section deals with the place of costume and, secondarily, furnishings, in the life of the court. After an analysis of the trends in costume and fashion, strongly influenced by Parisian models, the costumes and furnishings of the royal family are studied. It is shown, notably, that the members of the royal family appeared to the court in an apparel stressing their rank, with an emblematic decoration that probably aimed at underlining the continuity and singularity of the Plantagenet lineage. Costume also occupied a major place in the exercise of the king's largesse by way of alms, gifts and liveries. Isolated alms of clothing took place, but they were superseded by large alms of cloth at Easter. Gifts of clothing were used as rewards for good service, but also as compensations for damage sustained in war. They marked the relationships within the aristocracy, as well as diplomatic practices. Above all, costume held an important function in service relationships. Most members of the royal household were entitled to liveries of robes once or twice a year, in money or in kind, and this represented a considerable expenditure. When given in kind, liveries seem to have acquired a role of group-

and status-sign, in that members of the same office, or servants of the same rank, would be given cloth of the same colour.

The patronage of the king was also marked by the distribution of cloths of gold as oblations to churches and shrines and as gifts to aspirants to knighthood. It is argued that this type of distribution may have constituted a specific dimension of royal patronage. This was particularly so during the period under study: there was a growing amount of gold imported in Western Europe in the thirteenth century, and this was used for purposes of conspicuous consumption before the diffusion of gold coinage. The last section of the thesis deals with the place of textiles and hides in the logistics of war and on the battlefield. Tents and other military equipment are analysed, as well as the evolution of emblems and other recognition devices.

The conclusions of the thesis are various. The period witnessed some important changes. Some technical changes took place in the manufacture of textiles, in accordance with fashion, which favoured bright colours. The international character of fashion and trade during the period was very pronounced: imports seem to have been largely predominant in the consumption of the aristocracy, while French fashions probably set the trend.

These developments may be linked to the reliance of Edward I on Italian merchant companies, coinciding with a transformation in the geography of English trade, in which London established a larger share in the distribution of luxury goods, to the detriment of fairs. This development was also paralleled by a growth in the financial means of the English crown, in conjunction with ambitious military policies.

One of the main developments of the period, however, concerns the use of costume in the relationships between lord and retainer. We argue that liveries acquired a greater symbolic dimension during this period: this was probably due to the

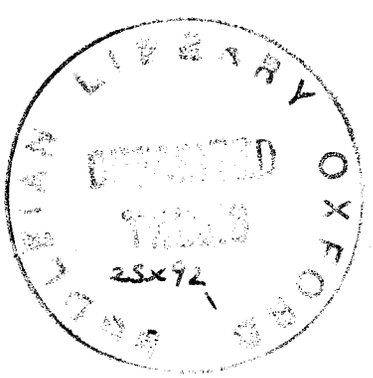
adoption of colour-coding on costume. It seems, however, that the use of livery dress in such a way as to challenge the authority of the king belongs to a later period, and that liveries were not yet a political issue.

We think that an approach stemming from the history of material culture may prove fruitful for the study of the period. Court culture is not a very well-known dimension of the reign of Edward I. The chroniclers of the period were probably less descriptive of, and less interested in, court life than their predecessors. It seems that a study of the material culture of the court of Edward I based on the financial accounts may complete, at least partly, the information provided by other sources.

In recent years, the symbolism of power has received renewed attention from historians, as has the study of the places of power - for instance, the distribution of space in aristocratic residences, or the spaces where authority was best expressed - and of the anthropology of power. The history of material culture is one way in which to approach medieval power-structures and, within this context, the study of textile materials and furs may prove to be a valuable approach.

TEXTILES, FURS AND LIVERIES: A STUDY OF THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE COURT OF EDWARD I (1272-1307)

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Thesis submitted for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy
Trinity Term 1992



Plate I: three knights kneeling in front of a king, with robes of liveries on their arm. Brit. Lib. Add. Ms. 47 680, fol. 17v. (Pseudo-Aristotle, Secreta Secretorum, c. 1327-1328).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my thanks to my supervisor, Dr. M.G.A. Vale, whose continuous support and patience have made this work possible. I also owe a great debt to Professeur P. Contamine, who directed me towards the study of liveries, and to Professeur F. Autrand, who supervised my studies at the Ecole Normale Supérieure. I am also very grateful to many medievalists who welcomed me warmly when I arrived in Oxford and have since provided me with precious advice. I wish, in particular, to thank Dr. J. Vale, Professor G. Holmes and Dr. J.R. Maddicott for their kindness and help.

I am grateful to St. John's College, Oxford, who elected me as a Junior Research Fellow. I also acknowledge the help of the Besse Foundation in Oxford and of the Fondation Jean Walter-Zellidja in Paris. The Public Record Office, the British Library and the Victoria and Albert Library, London; the Ashmolean and Bodleian Libraries, Oxford, have provided great help with my research.

It is a pleasure to thank my colleagues and friends, in particular Dr. M.J.W. Lobban, for their moral and practical support.

Introduction

The present work is a study of the place of textile materials and furs in the life of the royal court in England under Edward I, and of the exercise of royal patronage by way of oblations, alms, gifts, and liveries of robes.

The study originated from the observation that although the structures of political society in the later Middle Ages have been abundantly studied, notably in the light of written contracts of retinue, little is actually known about one of the major features of retaining, the delivery of robes to retainers. It seemed that a new approach to later medieval feudalism might lie in the study of these distributions of robes; of the way the king and the aristocracy used them to create retainers and, above all, why it was done in the first instance.

The project has been narrowed down to the study of liveries in the royal household. This was the largest affinity, as well as the best documented household, and the existence of numerous accounts detailing the beneficiaries of liveries and the exact nature of the distributions seemed promising. The chronological scope of the research has also been narrowed down to the reign of Edward I. This is justified by the fact that although liveries of robes, and secondarily badges, became a major issue in parliament by the end of the XIVth century, their political significance was not new. Already by the late XIIIth century, retinue with fees and robes had appeared as a threat to the system of royal justice. The late XIIIth and early XIVth century seem to have been a period of change in the structures of

political society, characterized notably by the diffusion of retaining and by its use for political purposes.

This study has been influenced by a renewal of interest in the field of textile studies. The multiplication of excavated textiles has led to a general reconsideration of the use of this type of material in medieval society. A testimony of this is, for instance, the recent creation of a society for the study of material textiles and costume under the auspices of the Society of Antiquaries, and the multiplication of conferences on medieval textiles.[1] But the debt is greater perhaps towards the seminal work of Françoise Piponnier, who has systematically studied the place of costume in court society and politics.[2] Her work has been followed by others in the field of court costume and politics, notably Colette Beaune, Christian de Mérindol and T.F. Ruiz.[3]

The present work has also been inspired by the works of the Institute for the study of material culture at Krems-an-der-

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[1] P. George, 'Textiles du Moyen Age', Le Moyen Age, xcvi (1990), 137-46, provides a general view of recent work in the field of textile history.

[2] F. Piponnier, Costume et Vie Sociale. La Cour d'Anjou, XIVe-XVe Siècle (Paris-La Haye, 1970).

[3] C. Beaune, 'Costume et Pouvoir en France à la Fin du Moyen Age: les Devises Royales vers 1400', Revue des Sciences Humaines, clxxxiii (1981), 125-46. C. de Mérindol, 'Couleur, Etoffe et Politique à la Fin du Moyen Age. Les Couleurs du Roi et Les Couleurs d'une Cour Ducale', Recherches sur l'Economie de la France Médiévale. Les Voies Fluviales - La Draperie, Actes du 112e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes (Lyon, 1987) (Paris, 1989), pp. 221-49. Id., 'Signes de Hiérarchie Sociale à la Fin du Moyen Age d'Après les Vêtements. Méthodes et Recherches', Le Vêtement. Histoire, Archéologie et Symbolique Vestimentaires au Moyen Age, Cahiers du Léopard d'Or, i (Paris, 1989), pp. 181-223. T.F. Ruiz, 'Festivités, Couleurs et Symboles du Pouvoir en Castille au XVe Siècle. Les Célébrations de Mai 1428', Annales E.S.C., xlvi (1991), 521-46.

Donau.[1] 'Material culture' is a broad label for a category of historical enquiry that has not yet received a satisfactory definition, and that has suffered considerably in the eyes of historians from the label 'study of everyday life'.[2] For some authors, material culture is confined to the field of archaeology and artefacts.[3] But the study of written documents, and notably of financial accounts, is another way to approach material culture. It has seemed that the interest of an approach rooted in the study of material life would reveal itself fully in the study of the material forms of medieval power.

It has also appeared that it would be fruitful to place liveries in a larger study of the role of textiles and furs in court life. The present work is not a study of the individual technical aspects of the materials, although an introductory

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[1] The centre for the study of material culture at Krems-an-der-Donau has published a series of international conferences (Osterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Sitzungsberichte, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit). Several of these volumes are particularly relevant for the study of costume and textiles in the context of aristocratic households: Die Funktion der schriftlichen Quelle in der Sachkulturforschung (1976), Adelige Sachkultur des Spätmittelalters (1982), Die Erforschung von Alltag und Sachkultur des Mittelalters. Methode. Ziel. Verwinklichung (1984), Terminologie und Typologie mittelalterlicher Sachgüter: Das Beispiel der Kleidung (1988), Materielle Kultur und religiöse Stiftung im Spätmittelalter (1990), Mensch und Objekt im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit. Leben. Alltag. Kultur (1990).

[2] M.S. Mazzi, 'Civilisation, Culture Populaire, Vie Matérielle, Vie Quotidienne. Confusion et Concepts', Mensch und Objekt im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit. Leben. Alltag. Kultur (Osterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Veröffentlichen des Instituts für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, 1990), pp. 5-21.

[3] J.M. Pesez, 'Histoire de la Culture Matérielle', La Nouvelle Histoire, ed. J. Le Goff (2nd. edn., Paris, 1988), pp. 191-227.

chapter on the technical aspects and a glossary have appeared necessary. It aims at studying the place and function of textiles and furs in medieval society, their various uses, and at understanding the material context of royal patronage. This approach explains the scope and organization of the thesis. A first part deals with the technical and economic aspects of the question. The first chapter aims at providing a general picture of the materials purchased by the great wardrobe, and at placing them in the material culture of the time, and the royal household's trends of consumption in the geography of trade. The second chapter deals with the organization of purchases, as well as with the impact of the purchasing policies of the great wardrobe on the English economy. The third chapter is concerned with the technical dificulties raised by the transformation of the materials, and with the relations between the royal household and the urban crafts. The second part of the thesis is concerned with the uses of costume and, secondarily, furnishing in court society. The fourth chapter is a general presentation of costume in England by the late XIIIth and early XIVth century. Chapter five is a study of royal costume and of the way ceremonies of a familial character were staged in order to project a certain image of the Plantagenet family. The two following chapters deal with the various types of distributions, alms, gifts, liveries, and of their evolution into a political structure. The last part of the work is concerned with two specific fields: the use of luxury fabrics in the context of the exercise of royal patronage, and the development of signals and emblems in military and chivalric life.

The sources used for this study are of a various nature. Narrative documents and accounts of royal offices - notably the great wardrobe, the office in charge of the purchase, storage and redistribution of textiles and furs - are the main source for this study.[1] However, I shall attempt to draw some comparisons between the information gathered from written documents and other types of sources, mainly iconographical documents and extant remains of textiles.

[1] Unless stated otherwise, all references to manuscript material concern the Public Record Office, London.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Part one: Fabrics and Furs: the Nature of the Materials and their Supply.

Introduction: The Great Wardrobe. p. 10

Chapter 1: Patterns of Aristocratic Consumption. Nature and Origin of the Materials Purchased by the Great Wardrobe. p. 15

I Stores and clerical work. p. 16
II Definition of the materials. p. 19
A Silks. p. 19
B Woollen cloths. p. 23
C Linen, canvas and carde. p. 27
D Furs. p. 28
E Quantification of purchases and importance of the stores. p. 31
III Trade routes and origins of materials. p. 34
A Silks. p. 35
B Woollen cloths. p. 39
C Other textiles. p. 44
D Furs. p. 45

Chapter 2: The Supply of Textiles and Furs. The Royal Household and the Changing Geography of Trade. p. 49

I The Riccardi, merchants for the king, 1272-1294. p. 50
II The royal household and mercantile society, 1294-1307. p. 55
A Purchases at fairs. p. 55
B The shift of luxury trade to London. p. 66
C The king's merchants. p. 74
III Credit and payment. p. 77
A Cash and credit. p. 77
B The right of purveyance and the great wardrobe. p. 81
C The assize of cloth. p. 82

Chapter 3: The Craftsmen and the Court. p. 88

I Techniques. p. 88
A Tasks of the keepers of the stores. p. 88
B Tailoring. p. 93
C Skinner's work. p. 95
D Leather techniques. p. 96
E Decoration: embroidery, painting and other decorative crafts. p. 97

II The craftsmen retained by the king. p. 101
A The craftsmen. p. 101
B Tasks and competences. p. 106

III The Royal Household and the Urban Crafts. p. 114
A Occasional employment of urban workers in the royal workshops. p. 114
B Urban craftsmen with a regular connection with the royal household. p. 115
C Craftsmen or merchants? p. 120
D Purchases from Parisian workshops. p. 121

Part two: Costume and Court Life.

Chapter 4: Costume at the Court of Edward I. p. 126

I Riches, power and beauty: the role of costume in the representation of the aristocracy. p. 128

II The 'system of costume' at the court of Edward I. p. 133
A The garments. p. 135
B Accessories and underclothing. p. 138
C Individual costume. p. 142
D Wardrobes. p. 144

Chapter 5: The Public Representation of the Royal Family. p. 151

I The wardrobes of the royal family. p. 151
A The king's wardrobe. p. 151
B Wardrobes of other members of the royal family. p. 156
C Seasonal and functional costume. p. 157
D Maintenance of the robes. p. 158

II The decor of the royal court. p. 159
A The decor of the royal court. p. 159
B Chapels. p. 162
C The decor of the travelling household. p. 169

III Baptisms and weddings: the public reinforcement of the legitimacy of the royal lineage. p. 170

Chapter 6: The Royal Largesse: Alms, Gifts and Liveries. p. 176

I The exercise of charity. p. 177

II Gifts of clothing: the largesse of the king. p. 180
A Rewards and compensations. p. 181
B Exchanges of gifts within aristocratic society. p. 182

III Liveries. p. 186
A General organisation of liveries according to household ordinances. p. 192
B Organisation of liveries according to the financial accounts. p. 193
C The hierarchy of liveries. p. 206
D Number of beneficiaries. p. 210

Chapter 7: The Colours of Liveries and their Significance. p. 220

I Existence of liveries with specific colours in the household of Edward I. p. 220
A Clerical dress. p. 221
B Dress of the lay members of the household. p. 223
C Dress for embassies and non-household members. p. 226
D Dependent households. p. 229

II Significance of the colours of the robes of livery. p. 229

Part three: Two Examples of the Role of Textiles in the Exercise of Royal Patronage: Liveries of Precious Cloths, Textiles and Warfare.

Chapter 8: Gifts of Embroidered Silks and of Cloths of Gold: Aspects of Royal Patronage under Edward I. p. 249

I Oblations of precious cloths. p. 250
A Definitions. p. 250
B Nature of oblations. p. 252
C Destination of the cloths oblated. p. 253

II The pattern of royal oblations. p. 254
A Oblations made on the itinerary of the royal household. p. 255
B Oblations of precious cloths in a penitential context. p. 259
C Devotions of the royal family at important English sanctuaries. p. 261

D The creation of a familial centre of devotion by Edward I. p. 263
E Oblations as military ex-votos. p. 266

III Oblations at funerals. p. 269

IV Cloths of gold and ceremonies of knighthood. p. 274

Conclusion: gold and the aristocracy. p. 280

Chapter 9: The Household in Arms. The Consumption of Textiles in the Context of Chivalric and Military Activities. p. 286

I Canvas for transport and tents. p. 286
A Transport and erection of tents. p. 287
B Types of tents and details of construction. p. 290
C Number and attributions of tents. p. 292
D War and consumption of canvas. p. 293
E The symbolism of tents. p. 294

II War and the Court: Changes in some Aspects of war and Chivalric Encounters under the Influence of Court Culture. p. 295
A War equipment. p. 296
B Royal patronage and the evolution of chivalric encounters. p. 298
C Display. p. 304

III Emblems and signalling in war: evolution of marks of recognition on the battlefield and in chivalric encounters. p. 305
A Banners and pennons. p. 306
B Defensive armour and signalling in battle. p. 315

General Conclusion. p. 317

Appendices: 1 Documents. p. 320
2 Whitsuntide 1306. p. 326
3 Glossary of Technical Terms. p. 335
i Materials p. 335
ii Lay costume p. 364
iii Secular furnishings p. 371
iv Liturgical vestments and furnishings p. 376
v Military equipment p. 380

Bibliography. p. 384

Commentary of the Plates and Plates. p. 414

Part one: Fabrics and Furs: the Nature of the Materials and their Supply.

Introduction: the Great Wardrobe.

The needs of the royal household in fabrics and furs were considerable. Not only were these materials used for the clothing of the royal family and of their entourage: lesser categories of the royal household, as well as the poor who benefited from the royal alms, were clothed by the king. Also, furnishings required large quantities of such materials. Military campaigns resulted in a growth of the consumption of canvas, the material used for the making of tents.

These fabrics and furs had to be permanently available to meet the needs of the court. Occasionally, materials purchased could be kept by the various offices of the royal household, and in the personal wardrobe of the king, so that they followed the court. However, the needs of the royal court were too considerable to be satisfied exclusively with purchases made to individual orders, so that the royal officers bought materials on a regular basis and stored them. Some temporary warehouses were provided for the royal purchases in fairs. Already in 1239, at Winchester, a storage place had been provided in the Castle Tower for materials bought at the fair of St. Giles.[1] Nevertheless, documentary evidence suggests that, already by the middle of the XIIIth century, an office, which appears in documents towards the end of Henry III's reign as the great wardrobe, was in charge of the provision of textiles, furs and

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[1] Calendar of Liberate Rolls, i, p. 364.

other items such as wax and spices.[1] The great wardrobe was directly dependent on the wardrobe, whose keeper was also keeper of the great wardrobe; but the tasks connected with this office were delegated to a clerk. Giles de Oudenarde - his name suggests a Netherlandish origin - was clerk of the great wardrobe from 1274 to 1282, and was succeeded by Hamo de la Legh, who died in August 1287. Roger de Lisle replaced him and was in charge of the great wardrobe until 1295. The last two clerks of the great wardrobe were John Husthwaite, until 1300, and then Ralph Stokes. The clerk of the great wardrobe was helped by other clerks and sometimes a tailor.

By the reign of Edward I, the great wardrobe was permanently established in London. The court was spending more time in Westminster than it had done previously, but the fact that the stores were located in the Tower of London, near the city and port, suggests that the growing role of London in international trade may have been a more decisive factor. Wardrobe accounts give us a glimpse of the activity in and around the stores: goods were transported from merchants' houses to the Tower, by cart but also by hand, and had afterwards to be boated on the Thames to Westminster when the king was staying there. This was for instance the case sometime in 1276-1277, when 2d. were paid for the transport by water of wax and canvas from the Tower to Westminster, and 2d. for the transport of these goods from the

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[1] The text of the ordinance of 1305 for the Scottish king's household and the Household ordinance of 1318 define the duties of the clerk of the great wardrobe (M. Bateson, 'The Scottish King's Household', The Juridical Review, xiii (1901), 405-22 and xiv (1902), 35-44, esp. p. 39. in T.F. Tout, The Place of Edward II in English History (2nd. rev. edn. ed. H. Johnstone, Manchester, 1936), pp. 247-8).

Tower to the river, and for their unloading (discartagio) at Westminster.[1] The stores were probably located in the Wardrobe Tower itself, of which virtually nothing remains today: a document of May 1306 mentions the transport of some cloths 'extra turrim de garderoba' to the house of William Osebern.[2] Repairs were carried out in the great wardrobe during the reign of Henry III: the reference to a roof suggests that the stores occupied an upper storey or a separate building.[3] During the residences of Edward I away from England, in Gascony and in Flanders, it seems that the main stores remained in London, while some temporary storage places were installed near the royal court, notably in Bordeaux when the king sojourned in Gascony in the 1280s. But part of the great wardrobe moved to the north during the Scottish campaigns, and stores were kept at York, Berwick and Carlisle.

Table I represents the expenses of the great wardrobe compared with the total expenses of the wardrobe. The last column indicates the various headings, woollen cloths, furs and mercery, of the great wardrobe expenses when they are known. Expenses for fruit, spices and other items are included in the total indicated for the expenses of the great wardrobe. The great wardrobe expenses represented about a tenth, sometimes more, sometimes

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[1] E101 350/26, mem. 3.

[2] Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: London, V: East London (London, 1930), pp. 74 and 93. E101 368/30.

[3] R.A. Brown, H.M. Colvin and A.J. Taylor, A History of the King's Works, ii: the Middle Ages (London, 1963), p. 74. Witnesses' accounts of the great wardrobe under Elizabeth I suggest that in the XVIth century the stores of the Tower were very extensive (J. Arnold, Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd (Leeds, 1988), pp. 165-7).

Table 1: Expenses of the Wardrobe and of the Great Wardrobe (1272-1307).

date	wardrobe expenses	great wardrobe expenses	detail
1272-1273	£32 808 17s 5d	£7882 13s 7d for the period 57 Henry III- 2 Edward I	
1273-1274			
1274-1275	£17 727 16s 9d ob. (1)	£3047 10s 1d (2)	
1275-1276	£16 258 5s 3d ob.	£3300	
1276-1277	£35 776 17s 10d		
1277-1278	£19 302 11s 8d	£3358	
1278-1279	£30 922 3s 3d	£3252 12s 5d ob.	
1279-1280	£23 608 12s 8d	£3515 16s 9d ob.	
1280-1281	£51 088 12s 17d ob.	£3292 4s 9d	
1281-1282			
1282-1283	£100 178	£3810 14d ob.	
1283-1284			
1284-1285	£41 176 7s 9d	£4350 14s	
1285-1286	£40 090 15s 7d ob.	£8600 3s	cloth: £2241 16s 3d
			fur: £2302 13s 7d
			mercery: £1291 8s 1d
1286-1287	£76 677 7d	£8526 16s 6d	cloth(3): £752 16s 1d
1287-1288			fur: £433 16s 9d
			mercery: £821 14d
1288-1289	£124 260 5s 2d	£3340 10s 8d	cloth: £1331 18d
			fur: £885 13s 7d
			mercery: ?
1289-1290		£9833 17d	cloth: ?
			fur: £2582 17s 3d
			mercery: £2630 12s
1290-1291	£41 578	£5823 4s 9d	
1291-1292	£47 641	£8038 16s 10d	
1292-1293	£40 689 5s 4d	£8396 14s	
1293-1294	£67 827 2s 11d	£6989 14s 5d	
1294-1295	£138 255 12s 10d		

date	wardrobe expenses	great wardrobe expenses	detail
1295-1296	£83 648 ob.		
1296-1297	£119 519 9s 4d 1/4	£8718 17s 5d	cloth: £1979 6s 10d
			fur: £820 17s 3d
			mercery: £1732 6s 1d ob.
1297-1298	£78 549 4s 6d	£10 648 5s 11d	
1298-1299		£9035 14s 11d	
1299-1300	£64 105 5d	£4391 19s 4d ob.	cloth: £1391 16s 6d ob.
			fur: £406 18s 6d
			mercery: £530 8s 4d 3/4
1300-1301	£77 291 7s 7d ob. (4)	£3942 10s 3d	cloth: £1253 14s 5d
			fur: £315 7s 8d
			mercery: £530 8s 4d 3/4
1301-1302	£61 949 6s 5d 1/4		
1302-1303	£64 036 11s 1d	£4895 8s 6d 1/4	cloth: ?
			fur: £667 5s 10d
			mercery: £805 11s 2d
1303-1304	£68 958 5s 3d	£3974 16s 8d ob.	cloth: £1710 15s 9d
			fur: £511 9s 2d
			mercery: £472 9s 2d
1304-1305			
1305-1306	£77 318 15s 10d 1/4	£10 060 6s 5d 3/4	cloth: £1901 12s 4d
			fur: £2124 4s 6d
			mercery: £2838 6s 3d ob.
1306-1307			

Sources: T.F. Tout, Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England, vi, pp. 76-83; M. Prestwich, War, Politics and Finance under Edward I (London, 1972), p. 220; Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-1286, nos. 2347-2350; Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, nos. 3011-3037; Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae, p. 354; E101 350/28, 352/18 and 22, 359/18, 360/25, 364/14, 369/11, fol. 180; E372/119, mem. 22, E372/121, mem. 44, E372/123, mem. 45, E372/124, mem. 24 and 30, E372/128, mem. 32, E372/130, mem. 10, E372/136, mem. 64, E372/138, mem. 49 and 51, E372/139, mem. 11, E372/144, mem. 46 and 46d; British Library Add. MS. 7965, fol. 150 and Add. MS. 8835, fol. 134.

Notes:
(1) 18 October 1274 to 20 November 1275.
(2) Giles de Oudenarde received a loan from the Riccardi for £2967 9s 7d (E372/119, mem. 22).
(3) 3 February 1287-19 November 1288.
(4) British Library Add. MS. 8835, fol. 134: £68 958 5s 3d.

less, of the total of wardrobe expenses. Several difficulties of interpretation are raised by this table. In the 1270s, the expenses of the great wardrobe seem to have been less than £4000 a year. But they rose steeply in the 1280s, with a year of lower expenses in 1288-1289. The same phenomenon is to be observed in the latter part of the reign: the total expenses ranged from £8000 to £10 000,with a few years, from 1299 to 1304, at a much lower level.

This may be explained by the financial difficulties of the king in those years, and by the fact that many creditors of the king were only paid after long delays. A comparison with the amount of materials that went through the great wardrobe makes it clear that the amount of cloths purchased, for instance, in 1285-1286 [table II] and 1300-1301 [table III] were in fact more or less equivalent, while the total expenses accounted for as a result of the provision of cloth in 1285-1286 was about twice as large as the total amount spent for for the same products in 1300-1301. The accounts of the great wardrobe tabulated in table I express only the payments made, and it is probable that the real expenses of the great wardrobe stayed between £8000 and £10 000 a year.

The first chapter in this section is a general presentation of the materials purchased for the royal court. We shall attempt to answer some questions raised by the study of the accounts: notably, what were the various kinds of woollen cloth, fur, silk and other materials needed by the royal household? Then, we shall attempt to place the consumption of the royal household in the context of the trade in luxury goods, and to compare it with what

we know of the patterns of consumption of other aristocratic households. The second chapter in this section is a study of the way the great wardrobe clerks organized purchases for their office, and of the merchants who sold their wares to the royal court. Our thesis is that the royal household contributed, by the way purchases were made by the clerks of the great wardrobe, to the general transformation which affected the geography of trade in England in the late XIIIth and early XIVth century. This entailed a shift of the trade in luxury goods from the great fairs to London. The last chapter in this section is a study of the techniques involved in the transformation of fabrics and furs, and also of leather, to make costumes and furnishings for the royal household, and of the craftsmen who worked to order for the king.

Table II: Amounts of materials purchased by the officers of the great wardrobe (1285-1289).

A Woollen cloths.

material	1285-1286 (1)	3 February 1287/ 19 November 1288	20 November 1288/ 20 November 1289	20 November 1289/ 20 November 1290
scarlet		312 ells	840 ells	1 506 ells
coloured cloth	5 855 ells	1 458.5 ells	2 924.5 ells	5 317.5 ells
black say	118 ells	116 ells	51.5 ells	117 ells
tiretaine	1 891 ells	603 ells	151.5 ells	837 ells
reinforced ray	900 ells	382 ells	372 ells	972 ells
ray of Stamford	742 ells	182.5 ells	621 ells	
cloth of England	309.5 ells	1 669.5 ells	2 539 ells	2 400 ells
worsted	9 ells			
say of luda	66 ells			
grossus pannus	1 019.5 ells			
say of gisteles, galebroun and Ireland	88 ells	81 ells	46 ells	106 ells

B Furs.

fur	1285-1286	3 February 1287/ 19 November 1288	20 November 1288/ 20 November 1289	20 November 1289/ 20 November 1290
ermine		2 penulae	1 penula	3 penulae 2 cooperculae
minever	97 penulae 40 cooperculae 524 furrae	3 penulae 4 cooperculae 133 furrae 17 caparones 2 pelliciae	25 penulae 22 cooperculae 253.5 furrae 170 capucia	178 penulae 27 coopertoria 562.5 furrae 291 capucia 6 pelliciae
grey and gros vair	95 cooperculae 44 penulae 10 pelliciae 10 furrae	3 coopertoria 11 pelliciae 29 furrae 18 caparones	1 penula 11 pelliciae 70 furrae 54 capucia	24 coopertoria 9 penulae 7 pelliciae 126 furrae 25 capucia
minever, grey and gros vair	491 capucia			
pople, rovair and strand-ling	39 penulae 295.5 furrae	45 furrae	52 furrae	315 furrae
budge and agnus	335 furrae 91 caparones	75 furrae 90 caparones	113 furrae 178 caparones	315 furrae 239 caparones 1 penula
fur of agniculorum	1 dublettum	1 pellicia		
squirrel	1 furra			
hare	4 furrae	3 pelliciae	6 furrae 7 pelliciae	14 furrae 6 penulae 10 pelliciae
rabbit	102 furrae			1 furra 1 pellicia 1 coopertorium

C Mercery.

material	1285-1286	3 February 1287/ 19 November 1288	20 November 1288/ 20 November 1289	20 November 1289/ 20 November 1290
samite	139 cloths	2 cloths	13 cloths	108 cloths
cloth of gold in serico, purple and cloth of arrest				121 cloths
cloth of gold	464 cloths			
pannus de serico	196.5 cloths			
reinforced cindon	95 cloths	17 cloths	235 cloths	807 cloths
cindon de cursu	115 cloths	7 cloths		29 cloths
tapetum	22	32	17	50
banquier	3	28	23	27
camelot of Tripoli				28
sarge	2	4	5	20
carde	4361 ells	195 ells	528 ells	2814 ells
mappa and supermappa	3211 ells	474 ells	2196.5 ells	
manutergia	588	44	435	984
tela	6413 ells	1410 ells	3144.5 ells	8095.5 ells
canvas	5387 ells	2468 ells	4820.5 ells	10 083 ells
cangis	1			
fustian		30 ells	80 ells	
culcitra	4			
culcitra de serico			1	

Sources: Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-1286, nos. 2347-2350 and Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, nos. 3011-3037.

(1) Document partly illegible.

Table III: Materials Purchased by the Great Wardrobe Officers (1300-1305).

Sources: E101 359/19, 360/22, 366/9, 368/6.

A Woollen cloths (1303-1304).

material	1300-1301	1301-1302	1302-1303	1303-1304
scarlet	7 cloths	9 cloths	15 cloths	14.5 cloths
scarlet of Lincoln	2 cloths	2 cloths and 18 ells	3 cloths	
coloured cloth	138 cloths and 16 ells	147 cloths	136 cloths	212.5 cloths and 129 ells
black say	44.5 ells	118 ells	90 ells	129 ells
ray cloth afforcatus	76 cloths	77 cloths and 27.3/4 ells	96 cloths	201.5 cloths and 28 ells
ray of Stamford	100 cloths and 20 ells	36 cloths	25 cloths	
cloth of England	1 726 ells	2 551.5 ells	2 974.5 ells	881 ells
Faldyng cloth				5 cloths
worsted		100 cloths		

B Furs (1300-1304).

fur	1300-1301	1301-1302	1302-1303	1303-1304
ermine				
minever	3 penulae 66 furs 53 hoods	30 coopertoria 201 furs 1 couvrechef 131 hoods	17 penulae 7 coopertoria 70 furs 97 hoods	10 penulae 2 coopertoria 95 furs 75 hoods
grey and gros vair	56.5 furs 4 hoods	1 coopertorium 9 penulae 2 pelliciae 78.5 furs 44 hoods	4 coopertoria 17 penulae 2 pelliciae 100.5 furs 81 hoods	2 coopertoria 11 penulae 1 pellicia 97 furs 33 hoods
pople and strandling	6 penulae 151 furs	136 penulae	11 penulae 83 furs	
budge and agnus	159.5 furs 28 hoods	232.5 furs 113 hoods	200 furs 72 hoods	351 furs 275 hoods 2 penulae
rabbit		4 furs	3 furs	1 pellicia

C Mercery goods (1301-1302 and 1304-1305).

material	1301-1302	1304-1305
samite	31 cloths	13 cloths
cloth of gold in canabo	31 cloths	52 cloths
cloth of gold in serico, purple and cloth of arrest	120 cloths	63 cloths
cindon afforcatus	160 cloths and 7.5 ells	113.5 cloths and 3 ells
cindon de cursu	7 cloths	
matracum	5	
culcitra de acon'	6	2
tapetum	39	60
bench-cover	13	28
camelot de Tripoli	16 cloths	
sarge	13 cloths	8 cloths
carde	650 ells	1822.5 ells
mappa	1993 ells	2117 ells
manutergia	149	305
tela	4907 ells	4027 ells
canvas	15 003 ells	4025 ells
fustian	3	

Chapter 1: Patterns of Aristocratic Consumption. Nature and Origin of the Materials Purchased by the Great Wardrobe.

Surviving wardrobe accounts attest to the wide range of textile materials and furs consumed by the court of Edward I: furs, from the priceless ermine down to the simpler kinds of lamb furs, woollen cloths of all types and silks underlined the status of each member of the royal entourage. Precious silks were essential to the manifestation of court piety. Coarse materials, such as canvas, were universally used, from the making of tents to furnishing, and provided one of the only means of protection against bad weather.

In a material culture where the number of basic products available was limited, textiles and furs played a major role. Textiles in particular were of an infinite variety, and were used for many different purposes. The demand for such materials was considerable, and could not be reduced without much difficulty. It resulted in considerable expenditure which bore no relation to the fluctuations of the royal income.[1] Unhappily, the characteristic features of most items mentioned in the written documents are now lost to us: indeed, many terms cannot be explained satisfactorily or compared with extant remains. Consequently, the following analysis of the terms encountered in the wardrobe accounts relies heavily on contemporary documents

[1] This may be compared with the 'ethos of status-consumption' of the modern aristocracy and plutocracy analysed by N. Elias (Die höfische Gesellschaft, tr. E. Jephcott, The Court Society (Oxford and New York, 1983), pp. 284-5).

such as the regulations of cloth-manufacturing centres. However, when possible, systematic references have been made to extant remains and iconographic documents. A glossary of technical terms is to be found at the end of the volume.

Many of these materials were home-produced. This was probably the case for a great part of the woollen cloths and for the coarsest materials, although a continental origin may be generally assumed for products such as canvas. But all luxury furs and all silk cloths were imported. The international aspect of the material culture of the English aristocracy bears witness to the extent of trade links, as well as to the influence of continental fashions on English aristocratic patterns of consumption. Consequently, the second stage of this analysis will be concerned with the origins of the products purchased for the court.

I Stores and Clerical Work.

The clerks of the great wardrobe recorded entries and deliveries to and from the stores and, by the end of the reign, the practice seems to have been to make annual inventories. It is from these documents, usually divided into three sections, draperia for woollen cloths, pellura for furs, and merceria for miscellaneous items including silks, that most of the evidence concerning the nature of the materials may be drawn. The clerks also noted the price of each item. But a comparison between the prices of various cloths, for instance, is made difficult by the existence of variations in the dimensions of cloths: the assize of cloth ruled that woollen cloths should all be twenty-four ells

long, but many kinds were much shorter.[1] The width of cloths is another uncertain factor, although most of the cloths must have been about two ells wide. Also, the same kind of cloth was generally available in several dimensions in order to answer the needs of the market: narrow, large, long and short cloths, as well as half-cloths, were currently produced.[2]

In spite of these difficulties, it may be possible to make a few preliminary remarks concerning the relative cost of the materials. The cost of textile materials and furs purchased to meet the needs of the royal household was considerable. This corresponds to the fact that the royal household was at the top of the social hierarchy. But it also reflects the place occupied by such materials in the material civilization of the time: they were, compared to other goods, much costlier than they are nowadays. This appears quite clearly from the study of sources such as inventories or legacies, where pieces of costume or furnishing often compose the bulk of the movable property.[3] The

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[1] H.L. Gray, 'English Foreign Trade from 1446 to 1482', Studies in the English Trade in the Fifteenth Century, ed. E.M. Power and M.M. Postan (London, 1933), pp. 1-38 and 361-4, esp. p. 362, n. 21. G. de Poerck, La Draperie Médiévale en Flandre et en Artois (Bruges, 1951), i, p. 259. The Florentine Pegolotti, who traded in the Bardi company in the first half of the XIVth century, found it necessary to draw together at the end of his treatise on trade indications concerning the various dimensions of cloths (F.B. Pegolotti, La Pratica della Mercatura, ed. A. Evans (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), pp. 277-86.

[2] G. de Poerck, La Draperie Médiévale, i, pp. 260 and 295.

[3] For instance, the inventory drawn up in 1302 of the movable property of master Guillaume as Feives, a Parisian clerk, reserves a significant place to items of costume and furnishing, which reached a total estimated at 51 li. 3s 8d parisis, while furniture and plate reached a total of 42 li. 12s 5d parisis, and agricultural implements and perishable goods 42 li. 6s 3d parisis. 'Inventaire du Mobilier de Maître Guillaume as Feives, 1302', ed. H. Stein, Bulletin de la Société de l''Histoire de

price table drawn up from an account for purchases made during the year 1300-1301 shows that there were three grades of materials [table IV]. In the top grade one finds silks, costlier woollens and furs made from the skins of northern squirrels; these materials were mainly destined for the Church, for ceremonies, and for the clothes and furnishings of the higher categories of the Court. If one takes into account the differences in the dimensions of the various materials, silks and furs appear to have been relatively more expensive than woollens. Still, one must stress that furs had a longer life than textiles: they could be cleaned, repaired and sewn on new garments. A second grade of materials was composed of cheaper woollens and furs distributed to the less elevated categories of the king's household. The lowest range of materials was mainly composed of coarse textiles.

Hierarchy was the backbone of court life, an aspect that has been underlined in studies of other later medieval courts, for instance in the study of the court of René of Anjou by Françoise Piponnier.[1] Indeed, the surviving correspondence of the wardrobe shows how the materials were always classified according to a hierarchical pattern. The keeper of the wardrobe usually specified which quality of material was to be delivered, according to the rank of the beneficiary. This was the case, for instance, in February 1306, for a gift destined to the wife of Robert de Felton, a knight. The clerk of the wardrobe specified that the fur lining had to be of a good quality, such as was fit

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Paris et de l'Ile-de-France, x (1883), 165-74.

[1] F. Piponnier, Costume et Vie Sociale, pp. 194-204.

Table IV: Prices of textiles and furs (1300-1301).

Source: E101 359/18.

A Woollen cloths.

material (cloth)	20s to 40s	40s to 60s	60s to 80s	80s to 100s	over 100s
scarlet				93s 4d min.	160s max.
blue cloth			66s 8d min.	93s 4d max.	
russet			66s 8d		
paonaz			66s 8d min.	93s 4d max.	
burnet			60s min.		120s max.
camelin			73s 4d min.	93s 4d max.	
green cloth		50s min.		93s 4d max.	
Stamford cloth	26s 8d min.		60s max.		
ray		53s 4d min.		93s 4d max.	

material (ell)	less than 1s	1s to 2s	2s to 3s	3s to 4s
russet of England		1s 7d min.		4s max.
narrow russet of Cornwall	8d ob. to 10d			
pannus largus grossus		1s 2d		
candelwek-strete		1s 2d to 1s 3d		
blanket		1s 5d min.	2s 6d max.	
black say				3s to 4s

B Furs.

type of fur	less than 5s	5s to 10s	10s to 15s	15s to 20s	more than 20s
minever					40 to 50s (8 tiers)
grosvair					30s to 40s
grey					40s (8 tiers)
pople				15s to 16s	
strandling			14s		
squirrel		6s			
budge		6s 8d to 10s			
agnus	2s 6d to 4s				

Note: the piece of fur chosen for this table is the furura.

C Silks.

cloth or piece	less than 10s	10s to 30s	30s to 50s	50s to 70s	more than 70s
purple		18s			
mesoneux		18s			
cindon	7s 6d min.	17s max.			
cloth of gold in serico		20s min.	30s max.		
cloth of gold super cambria		23s to 24s			
cloth of gold of Turkye				57s min.	£7 6s 8d max.
samite					£4 10s
quatre-samite			33s to 36s		

D Linen, hemp cloth and carde.

material	ell	piece	dozen
manuterga/towail		8d to 12d	6s to 20s
towail of Paris			10s
mappa		5s to 7s	
mappa of Dinant	5d to 14d		
mappa of England	14d		
hemp cloth (canvas)	6d		
tela	3d ob. to 11d		
tela delicata	10d		
tela of Lieges	4s		
tela of Paris	7d to 8d		
tela of England	3d 1/4 to 4d ob.		
tela stricta of England	3d		
carde	4d to 5d	6s	

for a person of high rank, 'comme affiert a tiele dame, quest de grant lignage'.[1]

II Definition of the Materials.

A Silks.

The accounts left by the wardrobe clerks are not always descriptive, and it has been necessary to use other written sources in order to produce an analysis of the silks consumed by the court of Edward I. There are, for instance, several church inventories surviving for the period. Notably, the inventory of St. Paul's cathedral drawn up in 1295, and augmented with later additions, includes numerous mentions of gifts made by members of the royal court to the shrines of the cathedral church as oblations and on the occasion of funerals.[2] Such silks were often transformed into ecclesiastical vestments. The transformation generally took place soon after the oblation. For example, five cloths woven with a motif of coats of arms were given to St. Paul's for the soul of Queen Eleanor: they were cut before 1295 to make some copes. Ornamental bands woven at the extremity of the cloths were often separated from the cloths, and

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[1] 'Edward par la grace de dieu, Roi Dengleterre, Seigneur Dirlaunde, et ducs Daquitaine: a notre bien ame Raus Destokes clerc de notre grant garderobe saluz. Nous vous mandoms qe a la compaigne mons' Robert de Felton, ou a son attornez en noun de li, facez aver drap covenable por cynk garnementz, cest assaver por cote, surcot clos, surcot overt, mantel, et por chape, ensemblement ove la peleure avenante et bone, comme affiert a tiele dame, quest de grant lignage, de notre doun. Et nous vous enferoms aver due allovance sur votre aconte. Don' souz notre prive seal, a Warham le vj iour de feverer. Lan de notre regne xxxiiij ' (E101 368/16/5).

[2] W. Dugdale, The History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London, from its Foundation (3rd edn., London, 1818), pp. 310-35 and 337-9.

then transformed into orphreys.[1]

This probably explains why so many precious silks ornamented with woven motifs have come down to us in the form of liturgical vestments. A few seal-bags of silk also survive: for instance, there is, attached to a charter dated 26 November 1280, a seal-bag embroidered with the three leopards of England.[2] Silks have also been excavated: for example, a silk purse has been discovered in one of the waterfront dumps at Trig Lane, London, and seems to date from the 1270s.[3] The fact that silks have survived almost exclusively in a religious context may give an unbalanced view of the distribution of silks in material life: silks were certainly used extensively for lay purposes.

A few silks were priceless and used only on exceptional occasions. Velvet, cangis, camelot, and silks woven with gold threads were purchased in small amounts, and their splendour is often alluded to in the inventories. A document concerning Peterborourgh Abbey mentions two albs ornamented with cloths of Turkye that were 'as bright as gold', 'quasi aurum resplendent'.[4] Other silks were more affordable and were used

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[1] D. King, 'Some Unrecognized Venetian Woven Fabrics', Victoria and Albert Museum Yearbok, i (1969), 53-64, esp. p. 60.

[2] The dean and chapter of Westminster, no. 1494. This particular seal-bag is reproduced in K. Staniland, Medieval Craftsmen. Embroiderers (London, 1991), no. 31. A. Hindson, 'Canterbury Seal-bag no. 18', Bulletin de Liaison du CIETA, xxx (1969), 43-58.

[3] F. Pritchard, 'Textiles from Recent Excavations in the City of London', Textilsymposium Neumünster. Archaeologische Textilfunde, 6 May-8 May 1981 (Neumünster, 1982), pp. 193-208, esp. p. 198.

[4] Historia Coenobii Burgensis Scriptores, ed. J. Sparke (London, 1723), p. 168.

extensively: this was the case of samite, a satin-like cloth. Cendal, or cindon, was a versatile material: it was often used for the lining of clothes and pieces of soft furnishing. The most common variety of cindon, reinforced cindon, was probably woven with threads of silk as well as with threads of another material.

New types of silks appeared on the aristocratic market in the second half of the XIIIth century, and probably made this luxury more accessible. A notable innovation in the manufacture of 'cloths of gold' was to replace the strips of metal used for the making of the 'gold threads' by strips of gilt leather or gilt membrane. This device is described with wonder in an inventory of the treasury of St. Paul's Cathedral drawn up in 1245: 'item baudekynus rubeus grossisimi fili, cum pavonibus et tribus listis deauratis in longum dicitur contextis de intestinis animalium'.[1] This new kind of cloth, often called baudekin in inventories, was relatively accessible, and also proved to be more rigid than traditional silks, so that it was found particularly suitable for the making of Church vestments and hangings.[2]

Silks were available in a wide range of intense colours, most natural dyes giving deep shades on silk.[3] Yellow, red and

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[1] 'Descriptio vasorum aureorum et argenteorum, librorum, caparum, tunicarum, dalmaticarum, vestimentorum, pannorum de serico thesaurariae ecclesiae s. Pauli London', facta in crastino s. Bartholomaei apostoli, anno...1245, per Henricum de Cornhille, decanum...', ed. W. Sparrow Simpson, Archaeologia, 1 (1887), p. 492.

[2] D. King, 'Some Unrecognized Venetian Woven Fabrics', p. 59.

[3] K.G. Ponting, A Dictionary of Dyes and Dyeing (London, 1980) p. 83.

green silks were very common, while blue, black, white and violet silks appear more rarely. Cindon was frequently dyed in red, so that the term eventually came to mean a particular kind of red. Some silks were decorated with woven patterns. These are occasionally described in the accounts of the great wardrobe: there is for instance a mention of cloths of gold in ymageneribus, an expression which certainly refers to complete figured scenes.[1] The inventory of the treasury of St. Paul's Cathedral compiled in 1295 shows that many cloths oblated by Edward I were richly decorated with woven patterns. Motifs, such as exotic animals, religious scenes and heraldic patterns, were enclosed in small compartments, for example in roundels, or they were woven in bands, or powdered the ground of the cloth.[2] This may be compared with extant remains, such as the silks found in the tomb of Fernando de la Cerda (d. 1275) at Las Huelgas near Burgos, or with the representation of the funeral pall under the effigy of Eleanor of Castile in Westminster Abbey, all decorated with coats-of-arms powdering the ground of the cloth.[3] While drawing up inventories, clerks sometimes referred to some scenes as being simul consuti, an expression which probably alludes to the effect of relief created by the weave of the pattern. This kind of cloth may have been a diasper: the diasper has two warps and two wefts, and the relief is created by the alternance of the

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[1] E101 371/18 (1300-1301).

[2] W. Dugdale, A History of St. Paul's Cathedral, pp. 310-35 and 337-9.

[3] M. Gómez-Moreno, El Panteón Real de las Huelgas (Madrid, 1946), p. 22 and plates xxviii and xxix.

warps and wefts on the surface of the cloth.[1]

By the later XIIIth century, thanks to the diffusion of new techniques, silks of medium quality and half-silks had become available on the aristocratic market. This may explain the extensive use of silks for costume and furnishing. Also, the suitability of silks for the creation of decorative patterns, woven or embroidered, certainly played a role in the diffusion of heraldic and perhaps personal emblems in court life.

B Woollen Cloths.

The terminology used by medieval clerks is too ambiguous to permit a clear definition of most woollen cloths. Iconographic representations should give indications concerning the shades of woollens. However, one must stress that if pigments used for paintings were sometimes similar to the dyestuffs used in textile manufacture, and if some painting pigments were even currently made from pieces of dyed cloth still, medieval painters had access to a wider range of colours than the dyers. Furthermore, the decorative devices used by medieval painters probably entailed a specific use and distribution of colours which was not perhaps a faithful representation of current colour use in costume and furnishing.

By the late XIIIth century, two major types of woollen cloths were available on the market: traditional cloths made from medium quality wools, characterized by a visible weave and a medium density of threads, and woollen cloths of a relatively new

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[1] D. King, 'Sur la Signification de "Diasprum" ', Bulletin de Liaison du CIETA, xi (1960), 42-7, esp. p. 44.

type, made from high quality wools, usually woven on the large horizontal loom, which made possible a higher density of threads.[1] This basic distinction was blurred by the existence of numerous intermediary products, and by the fact that the various kinds of woollens could be woven on the horizontal loom [plate II].

The main characteristic of the first kind of cloth was its texture: the pattern was clearly visible on the surface of the cloth, and indeed this feature was used for decorative purposes [plate III].[2] This is important, as the terminology of traditional cloths seems often to have been determined by their texture. Wools used for the making of this kind of cloth were generally of medium quality, and the absence of thorough scouring did not make an artificial greasing necessary, so that the cloths were said to be 'dry'.[3] Stamford cloth, says and sarges, worsted, cordel cloth, tiretaine, and candelwekstrete were varieties of this kind of cloth. They were available in different grades: notably, some were strengthened with a supplementary thread during the weaving and were called afforcati.[4]

From the first decades of the XIIIth century onwards, these

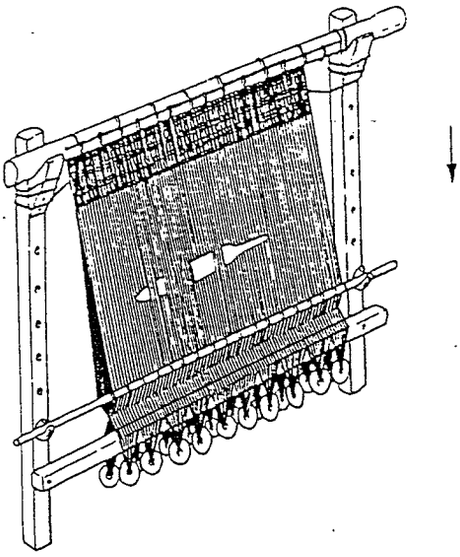
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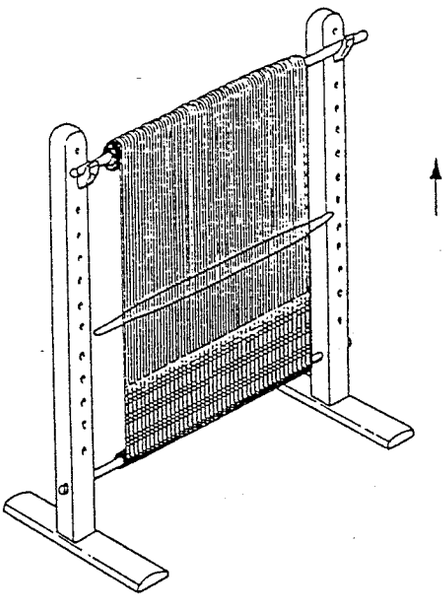
[1] P. Walton, 'Textiles', English Medieval Industries. Craftsmen, Techniques, Products, ed. J. Blair and N. Ramsay (London and Rio Grande, 1991), pp. 319-354.

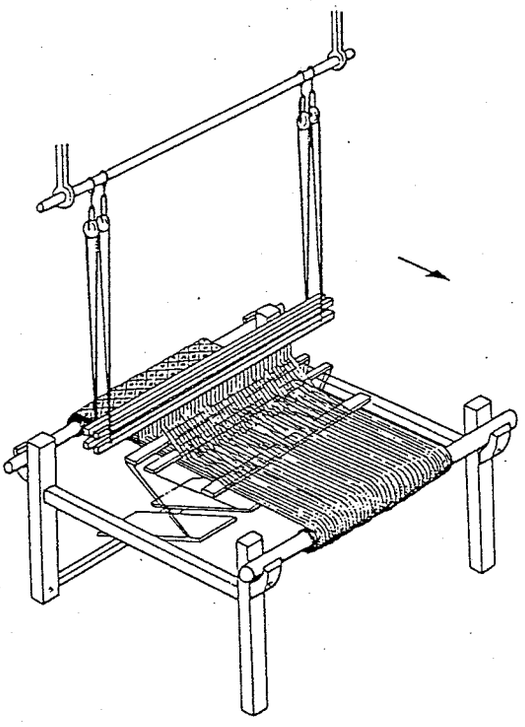
[2] G. Espinas, Documents Relatifs à la Draperie de Valenciennes au Moyen Age, 2 vols. (Paris, 1931), ii, p. 290. M. Hoffmann, The Warp-Weighted Loom. Studies in the History and Technology of an Ancient Implement, Studia Norvegica, xiv (Oslo, 1964), p. 184.

[3] P. Chorley, 'The Cloth Exports of Flanders and Northern France during the Thirteenth Century: a Luxury Trade?', Ec. Hist. Rev., xl (1987), 349-79, esp. pp. 374-5.

[4] G. de Poerck, La Draperie Médiévale, i, p. 213.







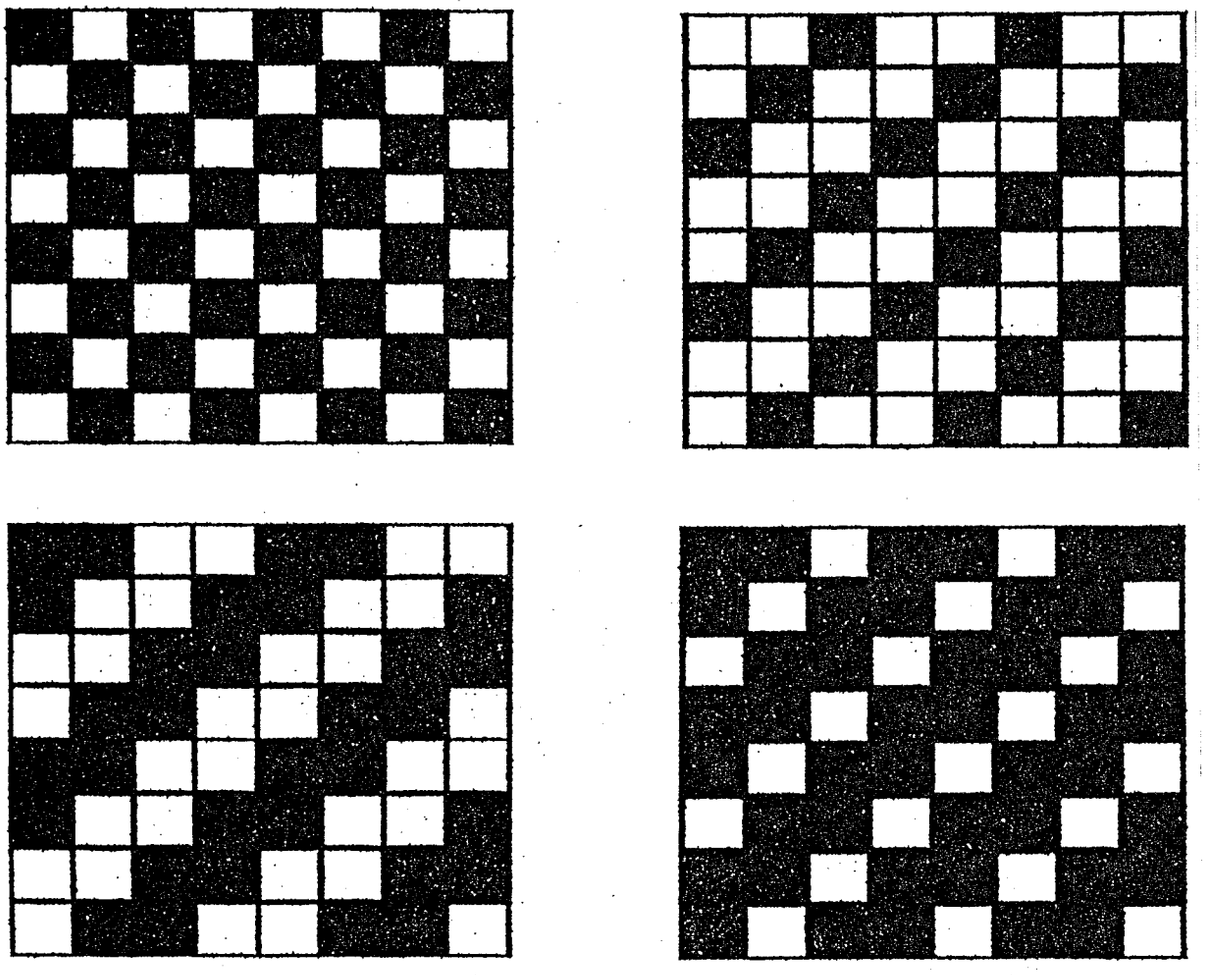
LOOMS

Top left: warp-weighted loom Top right: upright loom

Bottom: horizontal treadle-loom

Figures reproduced from D. Keene, 'The Textile Industry', in M. Biddle, Object and Economy in Medieval Winchester, i (Oxford, 1990), fig. 42.

Plate II



MAIN WEAVES (BINDING SYSTEM)

The weft is indicated in black, the warp in white.

Top left: tabby weave or plain weave

Top right: three-shed twill (1/2) weft-faced

Bottom left: four-shed twill (2/2)

Bottom right: three-shed twill (2/1) warp-faced of diamond twill

PLate III

traditional types of cloths were gradually superseded on the aristocratic market by a new type of product, a woollen cloth characterized by a higher density of threads and a high degree of finishing. In spite of their density, these 'new' cloths were light and soft, a result obtained by the exclusive use of wools of quality. The finishing processes used for these cloths meant that it was impossible to distinguish the weave.[1] It has been pointed out that the final product has a felted aspect, and was probably similar to the modern billiard table covering.[2]

Above all, scouring and oiling of the wool gave the dye of the new cloths a marvellous intensity.[3] It might be this feature which determined, more than any other, the success of the new woollens on the aristocratic market. In the second half of the XIIIth century, urban dyers were producing a wider range of colours. Red cloths were much favoured by rich customers. The brightness and intensity of some red dyes may explain this preference, but it may well be that the symbolical connotations of red, inherited from the antique purple, also played a role here.[4] Scarlets and cloths dyed 'in grain', an insect dyestuff of quality, were the best red cloths, and they could reach very

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[1] The Cambridge Economic History of Europe, iii, 'Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages', ed. M.M. Postan and E. Miller (2nd edn., Cambridge, 1987), p. 638. A. Geijer, A History of Textile Art (London, 1979), p. 79.

[2] K.G. Ponting, A Dictionary of Dyes and Dyeing, p.41.

[3] P. Chorley, 'The Cloth Exports of Flanders and Northern France', p. 375.

[4] J.H. Hofenk-De Graaff, 'The Chemistry of Red Dyestuffs in Medieval and Early Modern Europe', Cloth and Clothing in Medieval Europe. Essays in Memory of Professor E.M. Carus-Wilson, ed. N.B. Harte and K.G. Ponting, Pasold Studies in Textile History ii (London, 1983), pp. 71-9, esp. p. 76 and n. 20.

high prices on the market. However, by the late XIIIth century, the spread of the cultivation of woad and some improvements in the technique of dyeing in woad led to the diffusion of blue dyes, and blue cloths began to rival red cloths.[1] Indeed, the range of cloths dyed in blue seems to have been wide: bluetum album, bluetum clarum, bluetum azurum, pers, burnet, and paonaz were regularly purchased for the court. The general taste for colours among the aristocracy may have led dyers to create new shades - shades of grey, or of red-brown, for instance - as well as to the diffusion of multicoloured cloths. Medley, for example, appears to have been a cloth woven from threads of several colours, so as to create a 'heather mixture' effect.[2] The pannus colorum was probably another kind of multicoloured cloth, but the documents do not give any indication concerning its specific features.

The most spectacular success of multicoloured cloths was that of the striped cloths, or rays. In a recent work, Michel Pastoureau has identified stripes as a specific visual structure that was found disturbing and was more or less disapproved of in medieval society. This would notably explain the campaign which led to the rejection of their traditional striped coat by the Carmelites at the end of the XIIIth century.[3] It is difficult to suscribe to this thesis, at least in the light of the English

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[1] M. Pastoureau, 'Et puis vint le Bleu', Figures et Couleurs. Etudes sur la Symbolique et la Sensibilité Médiévales (Paris, 1986), pp. 15-22.

[2] G. Espinas, Documents Relatifs à la Draperie de Valenciennes, ii, p. 155.

[3] M. Pastoureau, L'Etoffe du Diable. Une Histoire des Rayures et des Tissus Rayés (Paris, 1991), pp. 17-24.

evidence: striped garments were extremely fashionable among lay society, and the scandal of the Carmelites probably originated in the fact that they were wearing such a worldly type of cloth. The wearing of striped cloths even became an argument at law to deny clerks their clerical status.[1] The success of the rays was reflected in their diffusion. They were, first, a sub-category of cheaper cloths: tiretaines, stamfords, candelwekstrete, were all produced in ray as well as in plain.[2] It has been shown that in many centres, the last decades of the XIIIth century saw a shift from the production of traditional cloths to the production of rays. Also, cloth-manufacturing centres soon started to produce 'new' woollens in ray in the second half of the XIIIth century. It is not clear whether this change followed the changing fashion, or whether it was due to the will of urban clothiers to resist the competition of rural cloth-manufacture.[3]

C Linen, Canvas and Carde.

Cotton cloth, linen, canvas and woollen textiles of low quality were purchased in important quantities to meet the everyday needs of the royal household. They were used for the

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[1] A. Derville, 'Les Draperies Flamandes et Artésiennes vers 1250-1350', p. 369.

[2] A. Derville, 'Les Draperies Flamandes et Artésiennes vers 1250-1350', p. 368. P. Chorley, 'The Cloth Exports of Flanders and Northern France', p. 360, n. 13. Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 22 923, fol. 11 (1306-1307): mention of a candelwekstrete with stripes. SC2 178/100 (1299-1300): 'tyreteynes de deus colurs'. E101 359/18 (1300-1301): 'pannus radiatus afforcatus... pannus radiatus stamford'.

[3] P. Chorley, 'The Cloth Exports of Flanders and Northern France', p. 360, n. 13. A. Derville, 'Les Draperies Flamandes et Artésiennes vers 1250-1350', p. 368.

making of tents, for the covering of carts, for the wrapping of goods, to meet the needs of the table, for underclothing and furnishings. Linen was made from flax fibres, sometimes mixed with other fibres. Certain kinds of linen were luxury products: they were purchased in very small amounts for the personal use of the royal family.[1] Cotton was represented in the form of fustian and bokeram: these were strong cloths, perhaps decorated with block patterns.[2] Unwoven cotton was also purchased to protect jewels and plate.[3] It was then sometimes called stupes. Carde was another strong cloth, which was made of mixed fibres with a high proportion of wool. Canvas was purchased in considerable quantities: it was woven from a mixture of hemp and flax fibres, and was used for numerous purposes.[4]

D Furs.

By the late XIIIth century, furs were used extensively by the aristocracy: they provided warmth and comfort, and could match elegantly bright woollens and silks. Furs were used in furnishing: covers lined with luxury furs were the rule for the beds of the rich, as is shown in iconographic documents [plate

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[1] E101 356/21/7 and 359/18.

[2] A. Geijer, A History of Textile Art, pp. 212-3. F. Piponnier, 'A Propos de Textiles Anciens, Principalement Médiévaux', Annales E.S.C., xxii (1967), 864-80, esp. p. 814. Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae Anno Regni Edwardi Primi Vicesimo Octavo, ed. J. Topham et al. (London, 1787), p. 57. E101 368/27, fol. 37 (1305-1306). E101 366/7 (1303-1304).

[3] Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-1286, ed. B.F. and C.R. Byerly (London, 1977), no. 614.

[4] For a more detailed discussion of the various uses of canvas, see section I in chapter 9.

XIV]. Furs were generally transformed into linings for clothes, in opposition to earlier and later fashions, and not worn on the outside of the garments. This secondary role of furs explains the diffusion of the term forratura with the meaning of 'lining'. It also accounts for the limited range of furs purchased by the aristocracy, light and thin furs being generally preferred to heavy furs.[1] There were a few exceptions: foynes (the fur of the French marter) was purchased in Paris in 1279 for a bed cover, while some genet was bought to line a mantle of Queen Eleanor.[2]

The most exclusive fur was the ermine, or white fur of the stoat [plate XXII]. It was very rarely purchased for the court, perhaps because it was too difficult to obtain.[3] In fact, the aristocratic fur by definition was the winter fur of the northern squirrel: this was a light fur with clear shades. Combinations of the different parts of the skins resulted in the creation of patterns: pure minever, completely white, great minever, finely striped, grey, and gros vair, the latter with a striking decorative effect of alternate grey and white skins [plates XIV and XVI]. Another white fur, the fur of the Norwegian hare, appears occasionally in the documents, but it does not seem to have been the object of regular purchase.[4]

If white furs formed the core of the purchases destined for aristocratic consumption, dark furs were also used

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[1] R. Delort, Le Commerce des Fourrures en Occident à la Fin du Moyen Age, 2 vols. (Rome, 1978), i, pp. 9 and 27.

[2] C47 3/14.

[3] E101 356/21/7 (1298-1299).

[4] E101 353/8/13 (1306-1307): 'j forur' et j chaperon de lever' de Norway.'

intermittently. Strandling, rovair, byssus, pople were all varieties of spring and autumn squirrel furs, ranging from grey to red, and they appear sometimes in aristocratic liveries. The summer fur of the squirrel was also purchased for the court, but it seems that it was generally considered as an inferior fur.[1] A beautiful dark fur, perhaps similar to our modern astrakan, was the budge, a lamb fur.[2] Large amounts of common lamb furs were also bought for the liveries of household servants. Finally, rabbit and hare furs were also purchased in small quantities for the lining of clothes.

In 1296-1297, raw skins were bought for the great wardrobe, and mounted to order.[3] But usually, furs were purchased ready to sew from skinners: a piece of fur was called penes in Anglo-Norman, and was already in the form of the piece of clothing or furnishing it was destined to line. This explains why some furs were called 'hoods', others 'covers' etc...[4] The table drawn up from the inventory of the stores in 1298-1299 shows that each piece of fur existed in several dimensions [table V]. For

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[1] E101 371/18 (1302-1303): 9s were paid for a fur of niger squirrellus. Was this the ruskyn or the calabre?

[2] R. Delort, Le Commerce des Fourrures, i, p. 88.

[3] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7965, fol. 150 (1296-1297): 'Eidem [Johanni de Hustwayt, clerico magne garderobe] pro vjM xiv tymbris et xvj pellibus de gris opere pople' wyneswerk ryskyn brymmeswerk et opere de lusk emptis per ipsum de diversis mercatoribus pro magna garderoba regis anno presenti sicut patet per compotum ejusdem de quibus oneratur in eodem compoto Dclxvli viiijs xjd. Eidem pro facture MMMMccxxxxviii pellium de gris opere et alio opere predicto operatarum in coopertoriis, penulis, fururis et capuciis pro stauro garderobe sicut patet per compotum predictum xxxxijli. iijs.'

[4] E101 308/19, fol. 13 (1295-1297). R. Delort, Le Commerce des Fourrures, i, pp. 279-315.

Table V: Amount of Fur in Stock in 1298-1299.

type of fur	piece of fur	number of tiers	amount in stock
ermine	coopertorium		1
	penula		1
minever	coopertorium	24	5
		22	2
		20	7
		18	1
	penula	12	2
		11	7
		10	7
		9	7
	furura	8	25
		7	6.5
	capucium	4	8
		3	34
gris	coopertorium	24	2
		20	6
	furura	8	1
	capucium	4	2
gros vair	coopertorium	20	11
		18	4
	penula	11	11
		10	10
	furura	7	8
	capucium	3	7
pople	penula		8
pople/strandling	furura		39
strandling	capucium		1
agnus	furura		78
	capucium		87

Source: E101 356/21/7 ('Indentura inventarii magne garderobe domini regis').

instance, a coopertoria of minever could be of twenty-four tiers, or lines of skins, twenty-two tiers, twenty tiers or eighteen tiers. The penula, much smaller, was of twelve, eleven, ten or nine tiers: this kind of fur was destined for the lining of clothes, while the coopertoria went into the making of bed furnishing. The furura was a piece of fur of eight or seven tiers destined for the lining of garments, notably for the lining of the surcot. The hood was normally long enough to cover the shoulders, with three or four tiers of skins.[1] The Bruges regulations of 1309 concerning the making of furs show that the shape of furs was slightly rounded at the edges in order to fit the finished garments: for example, a furura of vair of twelve tiers included eighteen skins in a tier, and to this were added ten skins to round the borders. The total number of skins used for this type of garment lining was 226.[2]

E Quantification of Purchases and Importance of the Stores.

What amounts of materials were purchased for the royal court? Tables II and III show that woollen cloths were bought in considerable quantities. Table II represents the materials purchased by the great wardrobe clerks during the stay of the court on the continent in the 1280s. The clerk of the great wardrobe went to render his account at the wardrobe after the king had returned to England, and he probably had to produce a

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[1] E101 356/21/7.

[2] R. Delort, Le Commerce des Fourrures, i, p. 303. A furura of 11 tiers was composed of 196 skins, one of 10 tiers of 170 skins etc... 24 skins were necessary for a hood of 4 tiers, 18 for a hood of 3 tiers.

carefully written document for the audit of nearly three years of activity.[1] Cloths of the new type hold the first place in both tables, but one observes a striking progression, from the beginning to the end of the reign, of all kinds of ray cloths. Canvas was the other important item, and must have required a very large storage place. The few extant inventories, which are very incomplete, show a certain fluctuation in the stocks of silks; still, considerable quantities of cendal and of cloths of gold were always in stock. A few pieces of clothing and furnishing were also kept in the stores. Occasionally, cloth and fur were sold from the stores.[2]

The English royal court shared this spending pattern with contemporary courts. For instance, the accounts of the French royal household, or the accounts of the households of Flanders and Artois record similar purchases.[3] The inventories of the papal treasury, if they recall the English royal accounts in many ways, naturally mention more silks, in the form of Church

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[1] Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-1286, nos. 2344-2357: account of Hamon de Legh (E101 352/3). Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, ed. B.F. and C.R. Byerly (London, 1986), nos. 3011-3037: account of Roger de Lisle (E101 352/10).

[2] For instance, Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7966 A, fol. 14v (1300-1301): 'de domino Henrico de Bello Monte de uno panno ad aurum de stauro garderobe eidem vendito apud Nettelham xxvij die Januarii xxxs.'

[3] Accounts of Geoffroi de Fleuri for 1316 in Comptes de l'Argenterie des Rois de France au XIVe siècle, ed. L. Douët-d'Arcq (Paris, 1851), pp. 1-73 and for 1316-1317 in Nouveau Recueil des Comptes de l'Argenterie des Rois de France, ed. L. Douët-d'Arcq (Paris, 1874), pp. 1-19. Documents et Extraits Divers concernant l'Histoire de l'Art dans la Flandre, l'Artois et le Hainaut avant le XVe Siècle, i, 627-1373, ed. Le Chanoine Dehaisnes (Lille, 1886).

vestments but also as gifts.[1] The relative uniformity of purchases for the aristocracy was the consequence of similarities in the social composition of great households: courts were composed of contrasting categories, from outdoor servants to knight bannerets, and each of these categories was entitled to a specific quality of clothing, so that the officers of aristocratic households had to buy the different grades of materials in sufficient quantities. Courts were also the place for the redistribution of wealth by way of gifts; the Church notably benefited from this, and the accounts show that oblations, and in particular oblations of precious cloths, were made very frequently to the shrines of saints, so that households had to be provided permanently with the necessary products.

This similar pattern was also probably due to the uniform character of aristocratic fashion: by the late XIIIth century, taste ran in favour of bright woollens and silks, while furs were playing a subsidiary role as linings for clothes. The diffusion of new products illustrates the evolution of fashion. For instance, in 1278, the tailor of Edward I was purchasing velvet in Paris. This new product of Italian silk-manufacture was so successful that it was to find its way rapidly to the English market, and the royal officers were able to buy velvet directly in England in the 1290s.[2] Velvet started to appear regularly in

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[1] Y. Renouard, 'Achats et Paiements de Draps Flamands par les Premiers Papes d'Avignon', Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire Publiés par l'Ecole Française de Rome, lii (1935), 273-313, esp. p. 273 sq. and R. Delort, 'Note sur les Achats de Draps et d'Etoffes Effectués par la Chambre Apostolique des Papes d'Avignon (1316-1417)', ibid., lxxxviii (1962), 215-288.

[2] C47 3/14 (1277-1278) and E101 356/21/7 (1298-1299).

English church inventories from the last years of the XIIIth century onwards.[1]

This uniformity was also a consequence of the international character of the aristocratic market: the demands for luxury products was important enough to create long-distance trade routes. This characteristic already existed in the high Middle Ages, but it was reinforced by the general growth of trade during the XIIIth century.

III Trade Routes and Origins of Materials.

Tracing the origins of materials purchased for the court raises a certain number of difficulties. Clerks sometimes mentioned a place of origin for some products. But this type of indication is not always reliable: for instance, by the late XIIIth century, the appellation 'cloth of Stamford' was not exclusively used to designate a cloth produced in Stamford. It could also mean a type of cloth then manufactured in many centres, from Italy to Flanders. Imitations of Oriental products were also numerous, and were often called under the name of their original centre of production, so that in the case of silks, for instance, it is all too often impossible to decide in favour of an Italian or of an Oriental origin.

In a few cases, it is possible to follow the royal buyers

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[1] For instance, Two Chartularies of the Priory of St. Peter at Bath, ed. W. Hunt, Somerset Record Society, vii (1893), p. 158 (gift to the priory of a frontal of velvet by Robert Burnell, probably a legacy). J. Wickham Legg and W.H. St. John Hope, Inventories of Christchurch Canterbury with Historical and Topographical Introductions and Illustrative Documents (Westminster, 1902), p. 52 (gift, probably a legacy, by William Gainsborough, bishop of Worcester, d. 1307, of a vestment of red velvet).

as far as the area of production. For example, in the 1290s, merchants in the service of Edward I went over to Brabant to purchase cloth. However, most materials were bought in England. The origins of the merchants who traded with the royal court might tell us more about the origins of the products they sold to the royal officers. It is for instance probable that Lucchese merchants established in England traded in Italian products. Still, one should underline the fact that commercial organization by the late XIIIth century was complex enough to make any systematic deduction of this kind artificial: Italian merchants bought much of their stock in Flanders and Brabant, in Paris and at the fairs of Champagne.

A Silks.

Customs' accounts record the arrival in London in 1304 of some 'silk called Catewy', that is to say Chinese raw silk, in a cargo belonging to the Florentine company of the Frescobaldi.[1] This fact indicates the presence of a market for raw silk in England: threads and narrow bands of silk were certainly produced in London.[2] We also know that silk threads were probably made in the royal workshops. Nevertheless, silk cloths were not manufactured in England. It is possible that such a manufacture existed on a small scale in France and in Germany at the time. But the large majority of silks consumed by the English

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[1] R.S. Lopez, 'China Silk in the Yuan Period', Journal of the American Oriental Society, lxxxi (1952), 72-76 and esp. p. 74; D. Whitehouse, 'Chinese Porcelain in Medieval Europe', Medieval Archeology, xvi (1972), 63-78.

[2] English Romanesque Art 1066-1200. Hayward Gallery, London 5 April-8 July 1984, p. 356.

aristocracy were of Oriental or of Italian origin. Silk manufacture was probably already present in northern Italy by the XIth century: Venice and Lucca first dominated the European market, but the late XIIIth and the early XIVth century saw the growth of other silk-manufacturing centres, notably Genoa and Bologna. Raw silk came from areas under Italian domination and from the trade with Islamic countries.[1]

Venice was an important centre of silk cloth production, and especially of silk cloths woven with gilt threads on a core of hemp. D. King has attributed to Venice a certain number of half-silks kept in English collections. Some of the baudekyns oblated by Edward I at St. Paul's were decorated with woven representations of the Crucifixion. These cloths were probably Venetian products.[2] The participation of Venice in the Fourth Crusade gave Venetian silk-manufacture the opportunity of developing itself at the expense of Byzantine manufacture, a fact reflected in the strong influence of Byzantine artistic traditions on Venetian products.

Lucca was perhaps even more important as a centre for the manufacture of silk cloths than Venice. Silk-weaving was well established in Lucca in the XIIth century.[3] The production of Lucca was extremely versatile and certainly covered all the types of silks mentioned in the English royal accounts. Also, Lucchese

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[1] R.S. Lopez, 'China Silk in the Yuan Period', p. 72.

[2] D. King, 'Some Unrecognized Venetian Woven Fabrics', p. 58.

[3] C. Meek, 'The Trade and Industry of Lucca in the Fourteenth Century', Historical Studies. Papers Read before the Irish Conference of Historians, vi, Dublin 2-5 June 1965 (London, 1968), pp. 39-58, esp. p. 42.

workshops imitated Venetian silks, so that it was difficult, even for Italian clerks, to distinguish between products from Lucca and products from Venice.[1] A certain number of pieces purchased for the English royal court, such as cloths woven with coats-of-arms, must have been made to specific orders: the links between the court and Lucchese companies, such as the Riccardi, or the Bellardi, seem to confirm that Lucca was the place where such silks were woven.

As for Spanish workshops, they produced patterned silks influenced by Islamic decorative traditions [plate IV].[2] There is no direct evidence for the purchase of Spanish silks for the royal court of England, although the presence of a queen of Castilian origins at the court may have resulted in the diffusion of the tastes for such silks.[3] Also, the Italian companies trading for Edward I had connections with Spain and they may have

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[1] D. King, 'Some Unrecognized Venetian Woven Fabrics', p. 59.

[2] Musés Historique des Tissus de Lyon (Lyons, 1985), nos. 46 to 51. C.G.E. Bunt, Spanish Silks (Leigh-on-Sea, 1965).

[3] Spanish merchants were present in England, but in very small numbers. Imports from Spain were regular, but there is no record of import of silk for the late XIIIth and early XIVth century. W.R. Childs, Anglo-Castilian Trade in the Later Middle Ages (Manchester, 1978), pp. 104-140 and T.F. Ruiz, 'Castilian Merchants in England, 1248-1350', Order and Innovation in the Middle Ages, Essays in Honor of Joseph R. Strayer, ed. W.C. Jordan, B. McNab and T.F. Ruiz (Princeton, 1976), pp. 173-86, esp. p. 182. T. Tolley, however, argues a strong influence of Spanish fashions at the court of Edward and Eleanor (T. Tolley, 'Eleanor of Castile and the 'Spanish' Style in England', Harlaxton Medieval Studies, I. England in the Thirteenth Century. Proceedings of the 1989 Harlaxton Symposium, ed. W.M. Ormrod (Stamford, 1991), pp. 167-92).

been able to purchase Spanish silks on behalf of the king.[1] The funeral pall represented under the effigy of Eleanor of Castile in Westminster Abbey is very similar to the silks found in the tombs at Las Huelgas, near Burgos [plates V and XI]. Twenty-five panni hispanici appear in the papal inventories, but they may have been gifts to the Pope, and not the object of a regular purchase. On the whole, Spanish exports of cloths of silk were probably limited in comparison with Italian exports.[2]

Did European silks possess a monopoly of the aristocratic market? Byzantine silks still found their way to the Western market. We know for instance that the papal treasury included numerous panni de Romania.[3] Some silks mentioned in the English royal documents were perhaps of Byzantine manufacture: this may notably be the case for the purples, although there is no specific mention of origin for these silks.

Chinese silks had been present in Europe in the early Middle Ages, but trade with China reached a peak after the Mongol conquest.[4] Chinese silks were recognizable by their specific

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[1] R.W. Kaeuper, 'The Frescobaldi of Florence and the English Crown', Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History, x (1973), 45-95, esp. p. 57: a petition of the Frescobaldi presented to the king in 1302 included a claim for £1680 paid to some Spanish merchants. Some Lucchese companies, such as the Bellardi, were established in the south of France and probably traded there with Spanish merchants.

[2] D. King, 'Some Unrecognized Venetian Woven Fabrics', p. 59. 'Inventaire du Trésor du Saint Siège sous Boniface VIII (1295), ed. E. Molinier, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, xlv (1884), 31-57, xlvi (1885), 16-44, xlvii (1886), 646-67 and xlix (1888), 226-37, esp. xlvii (1886), nos. 1203-1215.

[3] 'Inventaire du Trésor du Saint Siège sous Boniface VIII (1295)', xlvii (1886), nos. 1181-1192.

[4] R.S. Lopez, 'China Silk in the Yuan Period', pp. 72-5.

texture, as well as by the asymetric composition of their decor, which deeply influenced the evolution of Italian silk-manufacture in the course of the XIVth century [plates IX and X]. The floral design of the panni tartarici mentioned in the papal inventory of 1295 speaks strongly in favour of Chinese origins. Some silks kept in Church treasuries seem to be of Chinese origins: for instance, a twill damask kept in the treasury of the cathedral of Turku, Finland, probably dates from the XIIIth century. However, it is possible that those silks, as well as the panni tartarici and the cloths of Turkye mentioned in the English royal accounts, were products of Middle East silk-manufacturing centres, Turkye being sometimes used indiscriminately to mean Turkestan or Tartary, or even of Italian workshops. As for baudekins - a kind of silk brocaded with threads of gold with a core of hemp - they were originally made in Baghdad, Baldacco in Old Italian, before being imitated by the Italian silk-manufacture.[1] The silk manufacturing centres of the Near East were exporting large amounts of silk to Western Europe. In the wardrobe accounts, many silks are given Tripoli and Acre as places of origin. It is in any case probable that many silks purchased to meet the needs of the English royal court were still of Oriental manufacture.

B Woollen Cloths.

Manufacture of woollen cloths was present in every English town of importance. It was far from being confined to the making

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[1] A. Geijer, A History of Textile Art, pp. 114, 136, 147 and 213.

of cheap cloths.[1] We know that panni colorati were made in England: considerable imports of woad are an indication that the local cultivation of woad, which was widespread, did not satisfy the needs of the English dyers. Scarlet, the most expensive cloth of all, was produced in several towns: Stamford, Lincoln, York, Beverley, and Northampton, among others, were making scarlets which were afterwards exported. York, Stamford, Northampton, and Beverley were exporting scarlets to Spain in 1272.[2]

Nevertheless, the accounts of the great wardrobe often give a continental origin for many luxury cloths. This was not due to an insufficient English production of luxury textiles, but to the specialization of cloth manufacture in medieval Europe. For example, coloureds were the characteristic products of a few towns of Flanders, of Brabant, and of northern France, and each town produced very specific cloths: green cloth was a speciality of Cambrai and Lille; green and blue cloth a speciality of Châlons; white and blue cloths of Ypres were renowned; camelins were a specific product of Lille.[3] Flemish cloths first dominated the English market, but the last decades of the XIIIth century saw a deterioration of the diplomatic relations between Flanders

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[1] A.R. Bridbury, Medieval English Clothmaking. An Economic Survey (London, 1982), p. 6.

[2] E.M. Carus-Wilson, 'The English Cloth Industry in the Late Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Century' in E.M. Carus-Wilson, Medieval Merchant Venturers (2nd edn., London, 1967), pp. 211-38, esp. p. 212. E. Miller, 'The Fortunes of the English Textile Industry in the Thirteenth Century', Economic History Review, 2nd series, xviii (1965), 64-82, esp. pp. 70-1.

[3] P. Chorley, 'The Cloth Exports of Flanders and Northern France', pp. 359 and 362. G. Sivery, 'Capitaux et Industrie Textile au Moyen Age dans les Régions Septentrionales', Revue du Nord, lxix (1987), 725-35, esp. p. 725. G. de Poerck, La Draperie Médiévale, i, p. 295.

and England: this affected the export of Flemish cloth to England, and Brabançon towns, mainly Brussels, Mechlin, and Louvain, began to export their products to England on a regular basis.[1]

Woollen cloths of Italian origin were also present among the cloths purchased for the royal court. Lombardy exported some tiretaine to England, while some Stamford cloth was produced in Milan.[2] It is generally thought that exports of woollen cloths from Italy did not begin before the XIVth century.[3] These two examples, however, prove that woollens already were the object of a regular trade with northern Europe by the late XIIIth century.[4]

The same woollens were bought by the aristocracy all over Europe: for instance, in 1277, Almois, widow of Bertrand de Cardaillac, seneschal of Limousin, Périgord and Quercy, purchased burneta of St Quentin and Ypres, camelin of Lille, marbris of Sens, cloth of Provins, green cloth of Cambrai, in addition to

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[1] A.R. Bridbury, Medieval English Clothmaking, pp. 39-40. J. de Sturler, Les Relations Politiques et les Echanges Commerciaux entre le Duché de Brabant et l'Angleterre au Moyen Age. L'Etape des Laines Anglaises en Brabant et les Origines du Développement du Port d'Anvers (Paris, 1936), pp. 128-9.

[2] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 60 313, meme. 4 (1289-1290): 'tirreteyne Lumbard'.' P. Chorley, 'Cloth Exports of Flanders and Northern France', p. 369.

[3] H. Hoshino, 'The Rise of the Florentine Woollen Industry in the Fourteenth Century', Cloth and Clothing in Medieval Europe, pp. 184-204, esp. p. 186.

[4] T.V. Blomquist, 'The Drapers of Lucca and the Marketing of Cloth in the Mid-Thirteenth Century',Economy, Society and Government in Medieval Italy. Essays in Memory of Robert L. Reynolds, ed. D. Herlihy, R.S. Lopez and V. Slessarev (Kent, Ohio, 1969), pp. 65-73.

local products.[1]

The making of de luxe cloths was not the only field for relative specialization. The general view which argues that high price cloths were imported from the continent, while cheaper products were produced locally, is not exact: obviously, transport costs were not an obstacle to the import of cheaper cloth from the continent. All continental cloth-manufacturing towns produced cheap cloths, along with better products: Tournai made says and cheap plains. St Omer made says, and Bruges and Ghent produced says and rays.[2] But this type of production was a speciality of Rouen, Louviers, Chartres, Caen, Paris, St Denis, Huy, and Provins.[3]

Some cheaper cloths produced in England were described very specifically. They are ranged in the category of panni Anglie in the royal accounts. Different kinds of russet were made in various areas: the russet Angliae, the russet strictus de Cornubia, the russet largus grossus, the russet grossus Angliae were all produced in England.[4] London made a particular cloth, the candelwekstrete. This cloth took its name from Candelwek Street, where it was manufactured or distributed. It was cheap, but other cloths, some of quality, were distributed in the same place. The blanket of Lincoln was carefully distinguished from other blankets, while pannus strictus and pannus grossus seem to

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[1] L. d'Alauzier, 'Achats d'Etoffes d'une Dame du Quercy au XIIIe Siècle', Annales du Midi, lxx (1958), 87-9.

[2] E101 353/8/13: 2 'reies de Gant'.

[3] P. Chorley, 'The Cloth Exports of Flanders and Northern France', pp. 362-71.

[4] E101 359/18 (1300-1301). E101 366/4 (1303-1304).

have been specific English products.[1] Laghton and faldyng cloths were bought in the North of England and in Scotland in 1304-1305.[2] The pannus blodeus Angliae was perhaps of a particular blue shade.[3] Aylesham and Beverley also produced special cloths.[4]

As we have already seen, the town of Stamford gave its name to a cloth. But the fact that the clerks did not range the cloth of Stamford among the panni Anglie raises the question of its provenance by the late XIIIth century.[5] If the cloth of Stamford was originally made in the town of that name, it seems that it was produced at an early date in other cloth-manufacturing centres: Arras, Liège, St. Quentin, and Ypres were already renowned for their 'stamfords' by the beginning of the XIIIth century. A few decades later, Arras, Lille, and St. Omer were particularly associated with the making of stamfords.[6] Worsted presents a very similar case: the first worsteds were perhaps produced in the area of Worstead, a Norfolk village: but they came to be widely imitated and the worsteds purchased for the

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[1] E101 366/4 (1303-1304): blanketus Lincoln', pannus strictus, pannus blodeus grossus.

[2] E101 366/4 (1303-1304) and Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 35 293, fol. 34 (1303-1304): mention of laghton and faldyng purchased at Dunfermelyn.

[3] E101 359/18 (1300-1301).

[4] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 35 293, fol. 34 (1303-1304): pannus de Aylesham. Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-1286, no. 90: pannus de Beverlaco.

[5] A.R. Bridbury, Medieval English Clothmaking, p. 36.

[6] E. Miller, 'The Fortunes of the English Textile Industry', p. 68. E372/113, mem. 2. G. Sivery, 'Capitaux et Industrie Textile', p. 725. R. Doehaerd, Les Relations Commerciales entre Gênes, la Belgique et l'Outremont, 3 vols. (Brussels-Rome, 1941), i, pp. 196-7.

royal household probably came from continental as well as from English cloth-manufacturing centres.[1]

C Other Textiles.

English manufacturers were certainly producing canvas and linen. However, it seems that most linen of quality was imported from the continent. Linen from Rheims, a high quality product, was already traded all over Europe in the XIIth century.[2] It reached England via Normandy, or via Paris and Flanders, where it was purchased by Italian merchants.[3] Rheims linen was rivalled by linen of Paris and Liège. The latter was produced in the Moselle valley, from Epinal to Liège.[4] Canvas was produced in England, but it was a speciality of some Flemish and German areas, and it is probable that most of the canvas consumed in England was imported from the continent. Most cotton cloths came from Italy: fustian was originally an Egyptian product, but it was made in Italian workshops by the XIIIth century.[5]

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[1] G. de Poerck, La Draperie Médiévale, i, p. 16. A.R. Bridbury, Medieval English Clothmaking, p. 36, n. 17.

[2] R. Desportes, Reims et les Rémois aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles (Paris, 1979), p. 94: the author quotes a letter of John de Salisbury to Thomas Becket (1165), where it is said that the countess of Dreux, wishing to be helped by Henry II in obtaining rich marriages for her children, gave him 300 ells of linen of Rheims (Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France, XVI, 510B).

[3] In 1305, the Gallerani of Paris sent to their London branch 20 ells of linen, which was then resold to merchants of Lucca for retail (J. Bigwood and A. Grunzweig, Les Livres de Comptes des Gallerani, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1961), i, p. 36).

[4] R. Doehaerd, Les Relations Commerciales, p. 198.

[5] M.F. Mazzaoui, The Italian Cotton Industry in the Later Middle Ages, 1100-1600 (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 90-3.

D Furs.

The origins of furs are easier to trace than those of textiles, because the natural habitat of many species tracked for their fur was geographically limited. England, as well as the rest of Western Europe, did not produce many furs destined for aristocratic consumption. Several wild species had become relatively rare in England by the XIIIth century, due to intensive hunting and above all to the reduction of the habitat of wild species caused by deforestation.[1]

In 1278-1279, Colin, a furrier of the royal household, was sent to catch rabbits in a royal warren.[2] It is not rare to see in the wardrobe accounts some servants leaving the Court for such a task.[3] The number of rabbits had been increasing since their introduction from the continent in the XIIth century and an export trade in rabbit furs began in the early XIVth century.[4] But as a rule, by the late XIIIth century, rabbits were still considered rare enough to be destined for the table rather than for the peltry and rabbit furs consumed in the royal household were probably imported from Spain.[5] This was certainly a period of transition, when the production and trade of this type of fur in England were not regular and organized enough to provide the

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[1] R. Delort, Le Commerce des Fourrures, i, p. 176.

[2] C47 4/1, fol. 5v.

[3] Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-1286, nos. 160 and 177.

[4] E.M. Veale, The English Fur Trade in the Later Middle Ages (Oxford, 1966) p. 208.

[5] R. Delort, Le Commerce des Fourrures, i, p. 187. M. Bailey, 'The Rabbit and the Medieval East Anglian Economy', Agricultural History Review, xxxvi (1988), 1-20.

aristocracy with a stable product.

The main English output in peltry was lamb fur: the agnus quoted in the wardrobe accounts was certainly of English origin. But the most beautiful lamb fur, budge, came from Mediterranean countries: budge was a product of the kingdom of Bougie, in North Africa.[1] As to the cornewogole which appears in the accounts of the great wardrobe, it seems to be the fur of the common squirrel, and it might have come from animals captured in England.[2] But the common squirrel of western Europe had a very poor fur, with a dull colour, and a fragile skin so that, as a rule, it was not destined for aristocratic consumption.[3] Squirrellus may have also been an English fur, but this is more doubtful than the case of the cornewogole, mainly because of the relatively high price reached by the squirrellus. Niger squirrellus was perhaps the calabre, the dark squirrel from the south of Italy, but one cannot exclude that it was the dark fur of the squirrel from Central Europe and even from Russia.[4]

The vast majority of aristocratic furs were imported from the Baltic countries. The XVth century Libelle of Englyshe Polycye recalled the extension of the trade with Danzig:

> 'Now bere and bacone bene fro Pruse ibroughte...
> Osmonde, coppre, bowstaffes, stile and waxe,
> Peltreware and grey, pych, terre, borde and flex
> And Coleyne threde, fustiane and canvase,

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[1] E.M. Veale, The English Fur Trade, p. 25. R. Delort, Le Commerce des Fourrures, i, p. 224.

[2] E101 353/8/13 (1306-1307): 28d the fur.

[3] R. Delort, Le Commerce des Fourrures, i, p. 141. E101 359/18 (1300-1301): furura squirelli. E101 353/8/6 (1303-1304): forur de quireus.

[4] R. Delort, Le Commerce des Fourrures, i, pp. 79 and 141.

Carde, bokeram; of olde tyme thus it wase.'[1]

Some ermine fur came from the Baltic countries, but the main output of ermine seems to have been in the northern parts of Scandinavia, where the stoat has a white fur all year long. The fur of a similar animal, the lettice, was exported by Russia, Poland, Prussia, and the Scandinavian countries. Squirrel furs originated from Poland, Prussia, and Scandinavia, but most of them came from Russia.[2]

Furs were of varied origins: northern Africa, Italy, and Spain sent their products to England, while local furs were used for the more common liveries. But aristocratic fashion was decidedly in favour of thin and white furs imported from the Baltic countries.

Conclusion.

The court of Edward I was exceptional in that the best products were consumed there, on a scale which was undreamed of in lesser aristocratic households. Also, the royal court of England was at the cross-section of various influences: Spanish and French influences were notably very strong in determining patterns of consumption in textiles and furs.

Purchases for the royal court of England also reflected the widening range of products available on the aristocratic market in the later XIIIth century. At the beginning of the XIIIth century, cloths woven on . . .

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[1] The Libelle of Englysche Polycye. A Poem on the Use of Sea-Power, 1436, ed. G. Warner (Oxford, 1926), v. 306-11.

[2] J. Martin, Treasure of the Land of Darkness. The Fur Trade and its Significance for Medieval Russia (Cambridge, 1986).

the warp-weighted loom and on the upright loom were still dominating the market, and English products of this kind knew a certain success, reflected in the imitation of Stamford cloth. Competition from woollens of a new type, first produced in the Low Countries and in Northern France, struck a blow to English manufacture, and the reign of Edward I was probably the moment when the English aristocratic market was most open to continental imports, before the new take-off of English production in the XIVth century. On a wider scale, the period was one when the trade routes with the Orient were particularly active: the Mongol conquest had opened a new era and European merchants were able to trade directly with the Far East. This would not last, but the door was open widely enough to inject a new life into Italian silk-manufacture. Baltic trade was also particularly active and on the whole, the period was one when long-distance trade and influences were predominant.

Chapter 2: The Supply of Textiles and Furs. The Royal Household and the Changing Geography of Trade.

Introduction.

Purchases of goods for the household of Edward I took place in a context of transformations affecting the general pattern of trade: by the late XIIIth century, fairs were relinquishing their position as international places of trade, to the advantage of towns and above all of London, while a new group of English merchants emerged, competing for the aristocratic market against merchants from France and the Low Countries. The royal household may have played a part in this transformation. Its needs in cloth, fur, and mercery goods were important enough to make the royal market a decisive factor in the evolution of luxury trade.[1] And if Edward I still commissioned his buyers to make purchases in the great fairs, he made, early in his reign, a systematic use of merchants as intermediaries, sending them to the continent to buy materials directly in the areas of production or, in the case of the Italian companies, using their international connections and thus short-circuiting the traditional routes of luxury trade.

The first part of this chapter will consider the purchases made for the royal household during the first part of the reign, a period dominated by the connection with the Riccardi. The second part is a study of the place of the royal household in the world of trade after the fall of the Riccardi in 1294 and, in

[1] On several occasions under Henry III, shortages of goods in fairs were caused by massive purchases made for the royal household: D. Usher, Two Studies of Medieval Life (Cambridge, 1955), p. 14.

particular, of the role of the royal purchasing policy in the general shift of luxury trade from the fairs to London.

I The Riccardi, Merchants for the King, 1272-1294.

The activity of the great wardrobe during the first twenty years of the reign is badly documented. Apart from purchases made in Paris in 1279, and the stay of the king in Gascony from 1286 to 1289, from which wardrobe books have survived, not much is known about the purchases of cloth and fur for the king's household. This is partly due to the fact that a company from Lucca, the Riccardi, acted as bankers to the crown and as purveyors to the court. Lucca was an important manufacturing and banking centre in the XIIIth century, with a trade with northern Europe based on the exchange of silks for northern goods, notably wool.[1] Edward had used them as intermediaries during his return from the Holy Land, and he continued to rely on them afterwards.[2] They lent money to the king to meet the needs of his household, but also for his building programmes and his wars.[3] They advanced money directly to the clerk of the great wardrobe, and they may have bought much of the necessary materials for that office.

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[1] T.W. Blomquist, 'The Dawn of Banking in an Italian Commune: Thirteenth Century Lucca', The Dawn of Modern Banking (New Haven and London, 1979), pp. 53-75.

[2] In 1274, they received some money for payments made by them to the creditors of the king while he was away from England (E403/23, mem. 1 and E403/25, mem. 1).

[3] T.H. Lloyd, Alien Merchants in England in the High Middle Ages (Brighton, 1982), pp. 175-6. R.W. Kaeuper, Bankers to the Crown. The Riccardi of Lucca and Edward I (Princeton, 1973). The Riccardi made considerable payments on behalf of the king, totalling nearly £400 000 in 1294 (M. Prestwich, War, Politics and Finance, pp. 206-8).

Unhappily, the Riccardi did not leave any accounting book, and there are few particulars of accounts of the great wardrobe which would enable us to know the detail of their relations with that office.

A mention, however, in the roll of the Exchequer for 1273 shows the Riccardi going to the fair of King's Lynn in order to pay some creditors of the king.[1] They certainly made use of the fairs, but they probably also purchased materials at English ports or on the continent. Italian convoys began to come directly to England towards the end of the XIIIth century, and the Riccardi may have used Genoese vessels to ship materials directly from Italy.[2] The Riccardi were also responsible for the preparation, in 1274, of the coronation festivities: they received 1000m. to make the necessary provisions.[3]

A particular of account survives for 1279, and enables us to follow the activity of the great wardrobe for a few months. Adinet, the king's tailor, went to Paris to make various purchases for the court. He purchased some black say and a cloth dyed in grain from Evrard de Saint-Loup, and two tiretaines of medley in grain from Richard Gruel. Paris and its suburbs were producing cloth for export: tiretaines, biffes, and 'Saint-Marcel silks', these entirely made of wool, were sold at the fairs of Champagne and even as far away as Spain and Italy. But the cloths

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[1] E403/21 A, mem. 1.

[2] E.B. Fryde, 'Italian Maritime Trade with Medieval England, c.1270-c.1530', Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin, xxxii (1974), 291-337 and esp. p. 293. R.S. Lopez, 'Majorcans and Genoese on the North Sea Route in the Thirteenth Century', Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire, xxix (1951), 1163-79.

[3] E403/22 and 23.

bought by the royal tailor might well have been of Flemish origin. Mercery and furs, as well as horse-trapping and saddles, figure prominently in the account for 1279. Jehan Martel, Jehan le Baillif and Bartholo Bendino sold samit, velvet and cendal, and also serge, futaine and banquiers to the buyer of the great wardrobe. Jehanne la Fowacere sold napery and linen for 130 li. 18s 6d parisis. A skinner, Guillaume le Mastin, sold for 608 li. 2s parisis of furs: mainly minever, gros vair and gris, but also some genet and foynes, and several kinds of rabbit and hare furs. A robe was bought for the king to wear at the festivities of Glastonbury. A cart transported the goods from Paris to the sea, and for the crossing, a barge was rented from Wissant to the Tower of London.[1]

The last decades of the XIIIth century were a period favourable to Parisian trade: the monopoly of Rouen over the navigation of the river Seine had been temporarily abolished and the Parisian merchants were enjoying a complete freedom of trade.[2] Indeed, the records of the royal confiscation of French goods in England in 1294 show a continous flow of goods, craftsmen, and merchants between Paris and London.[3] Also, Italian companies certainly played a leading role in the trade between the two cities. The 'registre de la taille' for 1292 reveals the

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[1] S. Lysons, 'Copy of a Roll of Purchases Made for the Tournament of Windsor Park, in the Sixth Year of King Edward I, preserved in the Record Office at the Tower', Archaeologia, xvii (1814), 297-310.

[2] R. Cazelles, Nouvelle Histoire de Paris, de la Fin du Règne de Philippe-Auguste à la Mort de Charles V, 1222-1380 (Paris, 1972), p. 365.

[3] G. Williams, Medieval London, from Commune to Capital (London, 1963), pp. 11-2 and 106.

presence in Paris of Italian merchants who had recently emigrated from the towns of Champagne. The most important companies at that period, from Siena, were located at St. Germain des Prés, but there were also 'Lombards' in Paris, actually merchants from Lucca, Asti and Florence.[1]

Adinet certainly established contacts with Parisian merchants, and these must have proved useful during the stay of the court in France in the 1280s. In May 1286, Edward I left England for France. The first two years of his stay on the continent are well documented and the accounts of the wardrobe enable us to observe the activity of the great wardrobe. A few purchases were made on the way to Paris; Hamon de la Leigh bought some cloth at Abbeville, where the court stayed from the 19th to the 23rd of May.[2] The king arrived at Paris on the 29th of May, and went to stay at the abbey of St.Germain des Pres; the Riccardi made several loans at Paris to the officers of the great wardrobe, but also at Provins, where the great wardrobe buyers may have been purchasing necessaries for their office.[3]

At the end of July 1286, the royal household left Paris for Gascony and until the return of Edward I to England in June 1289, the buyers of the great wardrobe occasionally purchased goods there. The Riccardi lent money to the officers of the great

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[1] R. Cazelles, Nouvelle Histoire de Paris, p. 377.

[2] Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-1286, no. 477. J.P. Trabut-Cussac, 'Itineraire d'Edouard Ier en France', BIHR, xxv (1952), 160-203, esp. p. 166. E101 351/23 and Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 24 509, fol. 7.

[3] Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-1286, nos. 531, 539, 543, 822, 881, 888. The Riccardi met the financial needs of the household on the continent, with two large loans of £2000 and 8000m in 1285-1286.

wardrobe on a large scale at Bordeaux, a fact implying that important purchases were made on the continent and paid for in cash, without leaving any trace in the accounts.[1] In 1287, the Luchese company bought materials for that office for £793 19s 2d.

Some cloth was probably provided by the manufacturing workshop established by Edward at Bordeaux. This went back to 1280: Edward I had then started a cloth-manufacturing project with the seneschal Jehan de Grailly at Bordeaux. There was already some cloth-making there, and it seems that the main aim of the project was fiscal. The manufacture, established at La Tropeyte under the supervision of two drapers from Provence, Pierre Le Brun and Jehan Le Charretier disappeared after the departure of Edward I for England in 1289.[2]

The buyers were also sent to other parts of France and to the Netherlands to make the necessary purchases. In July 1287, the Riccardi advanced some money in Flanders to Robinet the Tailor, who may have been there to buy cloth for the household.[3] Adinet the Tailor joined the royal household after several months spent in England, only to be sent again out of court to towns of Gascony but also to other parts of France, possibly Paris and the fairs of Champagne.[4]

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[1] Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, nos. 201, 204, 271. Also, £38 14s were levied on the Jewry of Bordeaux for the use of the great wardrobe.

[2] Y. Renouard, Bordeaux sous les Rois d'Angleterre (Bordeaux, 1965), p. 67.

[3] Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, nos. 348 and 354.

[4] Ibid., no. 132.

II The Royal Household and Mercantile Society, 1294-1307.

In July 1294, the Riccardi fell from their position. Edward I had asked them to lend him money for the preparation of the war with France; but the Riccardi were going through financial difficulties on the continent, and their refusal led to their disgrace and eventually to their bankruptcy.[1] The fall of the Riccardi first gave way to a financial crisis.[2] For several years, Edward I had to turn to other creditors, who were often reluctant to serve the crown. For that period, the documentation concerning the great wardrobe is mainly constituted by lists of creditors: we know that some of the debts contracted then were paid only during the reign of Edward II, and a certain number were probably never paid. However, the fall of the Riccardi was perhaps the opportunity for English merchants and foreign merchants of less importance to gain access to the royal market [tables VI to IX].

A Purchases at Fairs.

It is also for the period following the fall of the Riccardi that purchases for the great wardrobe in fairs are best documented: it is probable that the Riccardi had made most of the purchases for the royal court at fairs, but this aspect of their activity is very badly documented. Fairs presented many advantages to aristocratic buyers. They collected products from the international routes of trade, and they offered an unrivalled

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[1] T.H. Lloyd, Alien Merchants in England, p. 176.

[2] M. Prestwich, 'Exchequer and Wardrobe in the Later Years of Edward I', Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, xlvi (1973), 1-9.

Table VI: Creditors of the Great Wardrobe for Purchases of Woollen Cloths made in 1300-1301. Source: E101 359/18.

A Creditors of the great wardrobe for purchases of scarlets and 'panni colorati'.

name of the creditor	origin of the creditor	amount due to the creditor	detail of the transaction
Walter le Albrewer		£6 13s 4d	
Gochuus Barsie		£6 13s 4d	
Ralph Brackele		£14 13s 4d	
John de Byrde		£93 14s	
John de Caudron		£8	
John de Darmenters		£13 6s 8d	
John de Davicotes		£7 10s	
John de Dokelington		£8	bond dated at London (E101 684/57/16)
Alexander Fitz Mai[ ]m		£8	
Betyn de Frescobaldi	Florence	£30 6s 8d	
Michael de Frissan		£26	
John de la Haye		£7 6s 8d	
John de Hellesbrok		£22	
John Juvenal [=Jonckheere?]	Mechlin?	£6 13s 4d	bond dated at St. Botolph (E101 354/11/38)
John de Kersmaker	Leuven	£3 6s 8d	
Henry de Lincoln	Great Yarmouth	£26 16s 8d	bond dated at St. Ives for £64 3s 4d (E101 354/19/1 and E101 363/15/16).
John de Loo	Ypres	£10	
Richard de Methorn		£7 6s 8d	
John of Normanton		£8	
John of Northampton		£8	
Robert of Norwich		£171 6s 8d	
John de Poleyn		£3	
Simon de Prouvins	Douai	£18	
William Pukre		£5	
Jakenyn Pylac	Douai	£20	
Elye Russel	London	£16	
William Servat	Cahors	£11	
John de Stanyn		£7 6s 8d	
Thomas Storl		£7 10s	
Richard de Stury		£6 13s 4d	
Reginald de Thunderle	London	£46	
Robert de Wirmenhale		£8	bond dated at London (E101 684/57/16)

B Creditors of the great wardrobe for purchases of rays and says.

name of the creditor	origin of the creditor	amount due to the creditor	detail of the transaction
Walter le Albrewer		£12	
Gilbert Bette		£34 3s 4d	
Peter de Boers		£3 10s	
Jacob le Botiller	London	£3	bond dated at London (E101 354/11/105) delivered at the wardrobe 11 June 1309.
Andrew Brotherlamb	Ypres	£33 6s 8d	
Walter de Bruges	Bruges?	£10 13s 4d	
Waselin de Brus	Brussels?	£21	
Arnaud Buk		£2 15s	
Walter of Canterbury		£2 5s	
Francis Caseman		£5	
John Davicotes		£6	
John de Ederwyk		£10	
Gelekyn le Flemang	Flanders?	£15	bond dated at York (E101 359/11/1).
John le Fox		£8 13s 4d	
Betyn de Frescobaldi	Florence	£4 13s 4d	
John [Gamel]		£4 6s	
John de Hellesbrok		£13	
Ralph Hoved	Bruges	£17 1s	
Richard Hoved		£4	
John le Joevene [=Jonckheere?]	Mechlin?	£11	bond dated at St. Botolph fair (E101 353/23/30)
John le Kersmaker	Leuven	£8 6s 8d	
John de Lek		£5 6s 8d	
[Michael Levyn]		£5 6s 8d	
Henry de Lincoln	Great Yarmouth	£32 6s 8d	bond dated at St. Ives (E101 354/19/1 and 363/15/16).
John de Loo	Ypres	£9 6s 8d	
Joceus of Northampton		£5 3s 8d	
Simon Orge	St. Truiden	£8	
John Ramekyn		£9 6s 8d	
Herman Robyn		£10 16s 8d	
Philip le Rous	Northampton	£56	
Luce le Sage		£2 6s	
Peter de Sancto Trudone	St. Truiden?	£2	
William de Scotes		£11 6s 8d	

name of the creditor	origin of the creditor	amount due to the creditor	detail of the transaction
Richard de Scurry		£16 13s 4d	
William Servat	Cahors	£2 4s	
William Sperri		£7	
Stephen de Stanham	Lincoln	£5 2s 8d	
John de Sudbury		£2 3s 6d	
Vincent Verdenel		£2	
Richard le Vileyn		£4	
William [Washam]		£6 6s 8d	
Walter le Wede		£6 5s	
Richard de Welleford	London	£1 16s	bond handed at the wardrobe 14 April 1312 (E101 365/10).
Richard de Wellested		£3 18s 8d	
Richard Weston		£3 4s	
Peter de Woume		£17 10s	bond dated York, April 1301 (E101 359/11/2).

C Creditors of the great wardrobe for purchases of 'panni Anglie'.

name of the creditor	origin of the creditor	amount due to the creditor	detail of the transaction
John de Bouy		£8 10s	bond dated at Stow (E101 371/8/29)
John But		£2 12s 6d	
John de Davicotes		£2 16s	
Robert de Exon		£3 10s	bond dated at Stow (E101 371/8/29)
John de la Haye		£9 6s 3d	bond dated at Stow (E101 371/8/29)
Robert de Hopernewode		£6 7s 6d	bond dated at Stow (E101 371/8/29)
John Peron		£12 15s 1d	
Stephen de Stanham	Lincoln	£4 7s 6d	
Reginald de Thunderle	London	£23 4s	
Richard de Welleford	London	£9 6s 9d	bond handed at the wardrobe 14 April 1312 (E101 365/10)

Note: '[Domino Radulpho de Stokes] per manus Johannis de Hay, Johannis de Bouy et Roberti de Hopernewode in perpacacione xxvijli. xiijs. viiijd. ob. debitum eisdem pro panno ab eisdem empto in nundinis Stowe anno xxviiij sicut patet in onere eiusdem clerici eodem anno in denariis eisdem solutis per Willelmum de Thorntoft qui allocantur eidem apud Westmonasterium xxiij die Augusti [anno] xxxiij vijli. xiijs viiijd ob.' (E101 365/10).

D Creditors of the great wardrobe for purchases of furs.

name of the creditor	origin of the creditor	amount due to the creditor	detail of the transaction
Robert de Chishull		£10 16s 8d	
[Neuchius] Dappe		6s 8d	
two minstrels of the king		6s	
Robert de Grimeston		£2 18s 6d	
William del Hull		£7 10s	
William le Lung		£2 5s	
Elias Russel	London	£255 11s 4d	
Stephen pelliparius	York	£33 5s	

E Creditors of the great wardrobe for purchases of silks.

name of the creditor	origin of the creditor	object of the transaction	total cost
Bellardi	Lucca	green samite	£4 10s
		quatresamite	£8 8s
		cloth of gold in canabo	£54 14s
		purple and mesoneux	£51 6s
		tars	£9 15s
		cloth of gold de Turkye	£64 5s 4d
		cindon	£131 6s 6d
John de Bensted		cloth of gold in serico	£18
prior and convent of Worcester		cloth of gold in serico	£3
Betyn de Beaumont		cindon	£8 14s
dean and chapter of Hereford cathedral		cloth of gold in serico	£4 6s 8d

F Creditors of the great wardrobe for carde, 'mappa', 'towail', 'tapetum' and linen.

name of the creditor	origin of the creditor	amount due to the creditor
Bellardi	Lucca	£184 1s 7d
Walter Damoignes		£1 8s
Stephen le Flemang		£4 8s 5d
Robert Jerin		12s 4d
Peter le Liour		16s
John Morel		£1 14s
William le Rei		12s ob.
Elias Russel	London	£10 3d ob.
Lambet le Sage		£1 12s 1d
Jakemin Salome		£1 12s 1d
Reginald de Thunderle	London	£30 11s
Reginald [du Vale]		£1 4s 6d

G Creditors of the great wardrobe for purchases of canvas.

name of the creditor	origin of the creditor	amount due to the creditor	detail of the transaction
Thomas Beauflour		£3 16s	
Robert le Berchier		£14	
Ivon Furmentin		£5 4s	
William le Kenteis		£2 12s	
Robert Patenostre		£2 12s	
Ralph de Bruges		£5 5s	
Martin le Roi	Caen?	£3	
Elias Russel	London	£63 16s	
Reginald de Thunderle	London	£5 19s 8d	
Richard le Wak		£2 12s	

Table VII : Creditors of the Great Wardrobe for Purchases of Furs (1302-1303).

A Providers of squirrel furs.

name of the merchant	origin of the merchant	type of fur	total cost
Joceus de Alemania		minever	£8 10s
Robert de Bedford		minever	£11
		gros vair	£7 4s
Bellardi	Lucca	minever	>£164 14s 4d
		gris	£49 18s
		strandling	£10 8s
		pople	£26 12s
		grossus popellus	£8 16s
Peter de Bosenho (1)	London	minever	£2
		niger squirellus	£2 5s
		strandling	£4
Robert de Bury		gros vair	£1 1s
William de Bury		minever	15s
		gros vair	13s 6d
		squirellus	£1 16s
John Cornubia		pople	48s
John de Cotun	London	minever	£1 4s
		gros vair	£1 4s
		grossus popellus	18s
Peter de Gutlaunde		gros vair	£5 2s 6d
		pople	£19 12s
William de Hanington	London	minever	£55 16s
		gros vair	£22 18s 4d
		gris	£5 17s 10d
		pople	£9 16s
		grossus popellus	£6
		strandling	? (1 furura)
Henry de Lincoln		minever	£3 3s 4d
		gris	£1 13s 4d
William de Mount (2)		minever	£2
		niger squirellus	£2 5s
		strandling	£4
Robert Persone	London	minever	£4 15s
		gros vair	£9 1s 4d
		pople	18s

name of the merchant	origin of the merchant	type of fur	total cost
Jacob de Polstede		minever	£3 10s
		gros vair	£2 8s
		pople	£2 8s
John de Preston		squirellus	£1 16s
John de Sancto Neodo		gris	£1 13s 4d
		squirellus	18s
William Servat	Cahors	minever	£4
		pople	£3
Stephen de Stanham	Lincoln	minever	£4
Henry de Thele (4)		strandling	£1 16s
William Tony	Northampton	strandling	£2 8s
Richard de Wyrkesop		gris	£1 1s
		gros vair	13s 6d

B Providers of lamb, rabbit and hare furs.

name of the merchant	origin of the merchant	type of fur	total cost
Richard Atteford (5)	Oxford	agnus	£3 4s
John Bonum		cuniculus	12s
Peter de Bosenho (1)	London	budge	£5
William Bristoll		agnus	£4
John de Bromle		agnus	£1 10s
Jacob de Bury		agnus	£1 10s
Peter de Hanington		budge	9s
		agnus	9s
William de Hanington	London	budge	£6 12s
		agnus	£6 3s
Henry de Neubury		agnus	£6 14s
William of Northampton		agnus	£1 4s
Stephen Osbern		budge	£1 10s
Roger de Tolf		agnus	13s 6d

Source: E101 371/18.

Notes:
(1) Bond made at London for £4 18s [ ]d (E101 365/15/17).
(2) Bond made at St. Botolph for 32s. Delivered at the Wardrobe on 23 July 1316 (E101 354/11/183).
(3) Bond made at London for £12 6s 4d (E404 481/8/12). Another bond for £66 [16s] 4d for some furs and some skins (E404 481/8/13).
(4) Bond made at St. Botolph for 36s (E101 366/16/1).
(5) The same as Richard Pountefford of Oxford?

Table VIII: Creditors for Silks Purchased for the Great Wardrobe (1302-1303).

name of the creditor	origin of the creditor	type of silk	total amount
Jacob de Alemania			30s
Bellardi	Lucca	samite	£14
		cloths of gold in canabo	£27 8s
		cloths of gold in ymageneribus	£5
		cloths of gold in serico	£61 4s
		mesoneux	£38 4s
		purple	£22
		purple and mesoneux	£12 16s
		tars	£18 14s
		camelot of Tripoli	£1 6s 8d
		cindon of Tripoli	£40
		cindon afforcatus	£86 13s
		cindon de cursu	£15
abbot of Coupre		cloth of gold in canabo	£1 6s 8d
John de Derby			£4
dean of Dumblay		cloths of gold in canabo	£1
John de Mouthamp		cindon afforcatus	£4 4s
John Pert	St. John of Perth	cloths of gold in canabo	£5
William Servat	Cahors	cloths of gold in canabo	£10 16s
		purple and mesoneux	£11 14s

Source: E101 371/18.

Table IX: Creditors of the Great Wardrobe for Purchases of Various Linen, Cotton and Canvas Goods (1303-1304).

name of the creditor	origin of the creditor	type of material	total amount
Bellardi	Lucca	carde	£26 10s
		tapetum	£31 8s
		banquier	£7
		sargia	£2 7s
		mappa	£46 1s
		supermappa	£5 1s 3d
		manutergia	£5 5s 8d
		tela	£31 13s 2d
		tela delicata	£13 14s
Gilbert de Bromle (1)		canvas	£2 13s 4d
Richard de Clepton		canvas	£4 12s
Barthole Dacre		canvas	£4 10s
Richard de Emeldon	Newcastle upon Tyne	canvas	18s
Geoffrey le Fraunceys		canvas	54s
Roger Lyngeteille		tela	£7 15s
John le Mercer de Hampton		canvas	£4 1s
Pentecosten de Northampton		canvas	£1 19s 3d
William Servat	Cahors	mappa of Dinant	£9 19s 4d
		supermappa larga of Dinant	£3 19s 6d
		mappa	£30 7s 6d
		supermappa	£5 19s 2d
		manutergia	£5 16s
		tela	£46 19s 10d
		tela grossa	16s 8d
		canvas	£63 18s
Reginald de Thunderle	London	tela delicata	£41 11s
		tela	£13 4s 2d
William de Teken		canvas	£4 1s

Source: E101 371/18.

Note:
(1) Buyer for the household. Purchase made at St. John of Perth.

diversity of merchandise. There, merchants bought goods at wholesale prices, and aristocratic buyers took advantage of this commercial feature.[1] Further-more, buying in bulk certainly offered possibilities of bargaining. The literature on household management attests to the early importance of the fairs. Robert Grosseteste was already advising the countess of Lincoln about the management of her estates: coming to the question of purchases for her household, the author advised the countess to make her 'grauns achaz', that is to say purchases of wine, wax, and wardrobe materials, twice a year at the fair of St. Botolph at Boston. The travelling household of the countess could also find the necessary material at Lindsey and Belvoir, at Caversham, Winchester and Bristol. St. Ives was the best place to buy 'robes', the materials for liveries.[2]

The practice of buying non-perishable goods in bulk at the fairs was followed by the royal household. The household ordinance of 1279 stated that purchases for the great wardrobe should be made at three fairs:

'E fet asaveir ke le tresorer face desormes par un certein hom fere achater a treis feres par an totes les choses ka partenent a la graunt garderobe.'[3]

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[1] C. Dyer, 'The Consumer and the Market in the Later Middle Ages', The Ec. Hist. Rev., xlii (1989), 305-27, esp. p. 310. M.M. Postan, 'Credit in Medieval Trade', repr. Medieval Trade and Finance (Cambridge, 1973), 1-27, esp. p. 5.

[2] Walter of Henley and other Treatises in Estate Management and Accounting, ed. D. Oschinsky (Oxford, 1971), p. 398.

[3] T.F. Tout, Chapters, i, p. 161. The draft for the ordinance of the Scottish royal household drawn up in 1305, which reflects the practices of the household of Edward I, stated that purchases were to be made in bulk. M. Bateson, 'The Scottish King's Household', The Juridical Review, xiii, p. 410: 'de rechief qe Chamberlenk... face les achatz en gros & ordeine la demore le Roi par lassent de ly meismes & lestat de son hostel

A clerk of the great wardrobe, the sub-usher of the wardrobe, or one of the tailors, went to fairs to make purchases there, and received commissions, sometimes through letters patent which enabled them to ask for the help of local officers.[1]

The royal buyers went from one fair to another: Stamford, St. Ives, St. Botolph at Boston, King's Lynn, St. Giles at Winchester, St. Edward at Westminster - the most recent of all - Northampton and Bury St. Edmunds were the principal fairs they frequented. This main cycle did not exclude the presence of the buyers at other fairs. The accounts of the great wardrobe mention a certain number of purchases made at St. Bartholomew Fair in London.[2] Another minor fair, Stow, probably Stow St. Mary, Lincolnshire, had been frequented by the royal buyers from the reign of John.[3]

The first days of a fair were generally reserved for the exhibition of goods.[4] The royal buyers may have then made their

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pour les seisons del an sil qil poet viure de puruiance sanz ravyne du pays.'

[1] The clerk of the great wardrobe was sometimes called emptor or provisor in the documents (E101 352/3).

[2] The fair was located on the lands of the priory of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield. Small quantities of cloth were bought there in 1301-1302. E101 684/58/1 and 4 (1301-1302): cloth purchased from John del Houwe (72s), Thomas Lughatt (52s?), John Bretlaunce (63s 4d). E101 365/10 (1301-1302): cloth purchased from John atte Nonneattehaye. C.N.L. Brooke, London, 800-1216: the Shaping of a City (London, 1975), p. 326 and The Victoria History of London, ed. W. Page (London, 1909), i, pp. 475-6.

[3] E101 371/8/29.

[4] The periodisation of the fair is well known for St. Giles Fair at Winchester: D. Keene, Survey of Medieval Winchester (Oxford, 1985), ii, p. 1113.

needs public.[1] They were certainly helped in their task by the officials of the fairs.[2] It is possible that royal buyers were allowed a private view, but not much is known about the way purchases were actually made.[3] Professional merchants often took part in commissions of purchase, or one of the great wardrobe officers sent to the fairs was a tailor, with a technical knowledge of the materials. Brokers were present at all fairs but it is not certain whether the royal buyers employed any brokers. There is the case of Hamon of Bury St. Edmunds, a royal buyer who is also known for his activities as broker and alnager. This double activity led to a conflict between the royal household and the keepers of the fair of St. Ives in 1291, when Hamon went to St. Ives as an alnager, with letters patent from the clerk of the great wardrobe, and was prevented by the steward from entering

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[1] E.W. Moore, 'Medieval English Fairs: Evidence from Winchester and St. Ives', Pathways to Medieval Peasants, ed. J.A. Raftis (Toronto, 1981), pp. 283-99, esp. p. 290.

[2] D. Usher, Two Studies of Medieval Life, pp. 29, 37 and 48: in 1272, bailiffs at Boston Fair were accused of having refused their help to the royal buyers (CCR 1268-72, pp. 586-7). The warden of St. Ives Fair had to give assistance to the royal buyers. At St. Ives, the emissaries of the great wardrobe were staying at the Priory or in the Abbot's houses (CPR 1216-25, pp. 435-6).

[3] D. Usher, Two Studies of Medieval Life, p. 29. Topographical studies show that the fairs were organized in streets and rows. Skinners at St. Edward's fair at Westminster were established in the 'long house' adjacent to the gates (G. Rosser, Medieval Westminster (London, 1989), pp. 100-1). At St. Giles fair, Winchester, the specialization of trade appears clearly in the distribution of the streets: a grey cloth street, the street of the merchants from Ypres and Douai, a burellers'street, a canvas street, a mercers'row and a skinners'row are recorded (D. Keene, Survey of Medieval Winchester, ii, p. 1082). This careful distinction certainly helped the task of the buyers, and protected the trade, as well as regulations forbidding, for instance, to sell canvas and cloth in the same shop (D. Usher, Two Studies of Medieval Life, p. 25).

the fair.[1]

The accounts of the household of the king's children during the stay of the king on the continent offer a glimpse of the activity of their buyer, John de Sutton.[2] In the spring and summer of 1289, while the king was still in Gascony, John de Sutton went to several fairs, followed by a carter. In May 1289, he bought some cloth and other goods at St. Ives. Everything was carried to a temporary warehouse established in the priory, which had acted as an entrepôt for the purchases of the great wardrobe from an early date.[3] Then a bale was made up and put on a cart. Several porters were employed for the making and transport of the bale, and the account also mentions purchases of thread and cords. The total cost of the operation of transport from the fair to London was 9s, excluding the expenses incurred afterwards for the delivery and unpacking of the bale at the great wardrobe. John de Sutton went again to St. Ives in August, where he stayed for four days, being paid 14s for his expenses there.[4]

The main English fairs were located in South-East England,

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[1] E. Wedemeyer, 'Social Groupings at the Fair of St. Ives (1275-1302)', Medieval Studies, xxxii (1970), 27-59, esp. p. 41. D. Usher, Two Studies of Medieval Life, p. 37.

[2] The household of the king's children normally depended on the great wardrobe for its provisioning in textiles and furs, but if the office was still nominally in London between 1286 and 1289, most of the officers of the great wardrobe were on the continent with the king, and a buyer had to be nominated to provide the necessary materials for the king's children left in England.

[3] E101 368/30 (3 May 1306). D. Usher, Two Studies of Medieval Life, p. 14: St. Ives was the recognized depot for cloth for the household under Henry III and the priory was used to that effect (CPR 1216-25, p. 372, CCR 1237-42, p. 519).

[4] Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, nos. 3443, 3446, 3458 and 3466.

within relatively easy maritime access.[1] The fairs of East Anglia had good maritime connections with all Europe, but especially with northern Europe.[2] Furthermore, they benefited from a network of rivers, while Westminster was directly accessible from the estuary of the Thames and Winchester used Southampton as an outport. Street-names at fairs witness the presence of the foreign merchants who came regularly to the fairs: St. Giles fair had a French street where canvas was sold, a street of merchants from Ypres and Douai, and a 'Spanish' row, where merchants of Provence also sold their goods.[3]

During the XIIIth century, Flemish merchants came to the English fairs in increasing numbers, from Bruges, Ypres, Douai, St. Omer, and Ghent, following the success of Flemish cloth on the aristocratic market.[4] The most important Ypres merchant selling to the great wardrobe was Andrew Brotherlamb, or Broederlaam; his importing activities through Boston and Lynn are recorded in the Customs' rolls. In 1301, he sold some ray cloths to the king's household for £33 6s 8d [table VI B].[5] In July 1304, at St. Botolph Fair at Boston, he sold cloth to the great wardrobe for a very large amount. He was quickly repaid 100 m.

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[1] E.M. Carus-Wilson, 'The Medieval Trade of the Ports of the Wash', Medieval Archeology, vi-vii (1962-3), 182-201, esp. pp. 185-94.

[2] G. Platts, Land and People in Medieval Lincolnshire (Lincoln, 1985), p. 145.

[3] D. Keene, Survey of Medieval Winchester, ii, p. 1096.

[4] T.H. Lloyd, Alien Merchants in England, p. 111.

[5] E101 359/18.

on the new custom at Lynn.[1] Merchants from Douai were very active in fairs [table VI A]. Among them, Jakenyn Pylat was an important creditor of the great wardrobe: he was obliged to borrow some money from Walter de Langton because the wardrobe had not paid the £356 4s owed to him.[2] From Ghent came Terric, or Dieric, le Vileyn, who sold some cloth to the great wardrobe at St. Ives in 1300 for £40.[3]

From 1270 onwards, quarrels between Flanders and England disrupted the trade: despite an agreement at Montreuil in 1275, confiscations of merchants' goods went on on both sides, and by the end of the reign of Edward I the financial position of Flemish merchants in England was extremely confused. Diplomatic difficulties with Flanders and the necessity to find northern allies against France led to the consolidation of diplomatic relations with Brabant. This context was favourable to economic relations, and Brabançon merchants came to England to sell their

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[1] E101 366/16/9 and E101 366/4: the accounts for 1303-1304 show that he was owed at least £301 3s 4d. Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 35 293 (fol. 29 sq) records a payment of £167 3s 4d to him (billa dated Lincoln, 3 January 1304). Andrew Brotherlamb was also very active at London, selling in bulk to aldermen and councillors (G. Williams, Alien Merchants in England, p. 127).

[2] E.W. Moore, The Fairs of Medieval England. An Introductory Study, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Studies and Texts 72 (Toronto, 1985), p. 123, n. 114. Two merchants of Douai are mentioned in connection with prests made to the officers of the great wardrobe on the continent: Nicholas Cauntyn and Michael Blundel (Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, nos. 204, 210, 542).

[3] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 35 293, fol. 29 sq. Merchants from Ghent received protection and privileges in 1298: E. Varenbergh, Histoire des Relations Diplomatiques entre le Comté de Flandre et l'Angleterre au Moyen Age (Brussels, 1874), pp. 250-2. Loan from Terric le Vileyn in 1297: E101 308/19, p. 17v and E101 354/5.

cloth on a larger scale than in France.[1] In 1295, Etienne de Brussels was selling goods to the great wardrobe, together with two associates.[2] For the following two years, a series of documents record purchases made at fairs from merchants of Mechlin, Louvain, and Brussels.[3] These documents show that several Brabançon creditors of the great wardrobe were settled in England: Gautier de Berkelem from Mechlin lived at Ipswich, and Nicholas Carman, also from Mechlin, at Boston.

Netherlandish merchants came over to England to sell their cloth in bulk. Their activities were certainly similar to those of Jehan Boinebroke, a merchant of Douai who is well known through a series of documents relating to his succession.[4] The Boinebroke were a family of drapers; some of its members were selling cloth to the house of Artois, and also in England.[5] Jehan himself came to England to buy wool, and he also lent money to Englishmen and to Flemish merchants settled in England. But he sent an agent, whose name remains unknown, to sell his cloth.

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[1] R.H. Bautier, 'La Place de la Draperie Brabançonne et plus particulièrement Bruxelloise dans l'Industrie Textile du Moyen Age', Annales de la Société Royale d'Archéologie de Bruxelles, li (1966), 31-63 and esp. pp. 34 and 123: the first mention of an import of cloth from Brabant dates from 1271.

[2] E36/201 (1294-1295), p. 53: sale of cloth to the great wardrobe for an amount of £27 13s 4d.

[3] T.H. Lloyd, Alien Merchants in England, pp. 113-4. J. de Sturler, 'Debita Mercatorum Brabancie', Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire, cxxxiv (1968), 284-356.

[4] G. Espinas, 'Jehan Boine Broke, Bourgeois et Drapier Douaisien [?-1310 environ]', Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, ii (1904), 34-121, 219-253, 382-412.

[5] Ibid., p. 41, n. 4: on 23 May 1276, a Philippe Boinebroke is mentioned among the creditors of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hereford.

A few provincial merchants selling their wares to the great wardrobe in fairs were of an exceptional importance. One of the most important in East Anglia was perhaps Henry de Lincoln of Great Yarmouth. In 1297, at the fairs of St. Ives and St. Botolph, he sold cloth, fur and canvas amounting to £373 18s 3d to the clerks of the great wardrobe.[1] Two years later, he sold different kinds of cloth, certainly imported from Brabant or Flanders, to the great wardrobe, for about £60 [table VI A, B].[2] English merchants seem to have been patronized by the royal household, whose officers bought preferably from them than from Netherlandish merchants, as appears in a letter of a buyer to the keeper of the wardrobe:

'...par defaute qe ceo ny poei mie trouver tiels draps come il me coveneit aver por la garderobe es meins de gentz de ceste terre. Si achatei ieo de un marchaunt estrange de outre mier draps.'[3]

The great wardrobe accounts occasionally record the origins of the English merchants selling goods to the king's household: merchants from Lincoln, Romsey, Salisbury, Baldock, Ipswich, Northampton, Norwich, Great Yarmouth, Oxford, Winchester and London were selling their wares to the buyers of the great wardrobe. At St. Ives, merchants from Coventry, Stamford, Beverley, Lincoln, Northampton, and London were already regularly

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[1] E101 365/10, fols. 8v and 10v. E101 354/11/157. Of that debt, £141 3s 9d were paid in 1303-1304: E101 365/10, fol. 8v and E101 354/19, mem. 1, 3, 4.

[2] E101 359/18: he sold 4 blue cloths, 7 green ones, 11 striped. The purchases seem to have been made at the fair of St. Ives (E101 363/15/16). He was paid two years later (E101 371/8/65).

[3] E101 366/16/8. Undated. The document is edited in full in appendix 1.

present early in the XIIIth century.[1] It is difficult, however, to decide whether the growing number of English merchants trading with the royal officers at fairs is the result of a strengthening of English mercantile society, or of a decline of the fairs, which were becoming more provincial.

The case of Winchester Fair illustrates this: by the beginning of the XIVth century, the main merchants selling to the great wardrobe at St. Giles' Fair were all from Winchester, a fact which attests to the decline of the international character of Winchester Fair. Stephen Russel, a citizen of Winchester, was a draper, but he sold canvas to the royal household.[2] He was seen exporting wool on several occasions and, in 1305-1306, he supplied timber for repairs to the castle, together with John Palmere, another Winchester draper who supplied cloth to the court.[3] Robert le Felter sold cloth to the household of Edward of Caernarvon in 1296-1297, and again to the king's household in 1301-1302.[4] Roger le Long, another draper, sold important amounts of cloth to the royal household, for £24 in 1298-1299 and for £37 6s 8d in 1305-1306.[5] He was also selling his wares in Westminster Fair, and exported wool through Southampton. Roger le Long was

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[1] D. Usher, Two Studies of Medieval Life, p. 26.

[2] E101 362/29 (1303-1304). D. Keene, Survey of Medieval Winchester, ii, p. 1337.

[3] D. Keene, Survey of Medieval Winchester, ii, p. 1313. John Palmere sold cloth to the king's household for £4 9s 10d in 1301-1302.

[4] E101 354/5B and E101 365/10: he sold for 111s 2d of cloth to the buyers of Edward of Caernarvon. E101 362/29/1: he sold for 115s of cloth to the royal household.

[5] E101 365/10, fol. 17v and E101 368/27, fol. 28v.

an important citizen of Winchester: a bailiff in 1295-1296, he was sent to Parliament in 1302 and again in 1306, and he was mayor of Winchester several times.[1] William le Couper, who may have been a dyer, supplied the royal household with cloth in 1301-1302; he also provided cups for the queen's buttery.[2] These Winchester merchants were indeed important men, but one has to note the absence of merchants from other provincial towns and from London among the men who did business with the royal household at Winchester, as well as the absence of foreign merchants.

The trade in furs seems to have undergone an evolution similar to that of the trade in cloth [tables VI D and VII]. During the reigns of John and Henry III, royal officers had been purchasing furs at fairs: indeed, merchants from Norway and from the Baltic at that time came directly to the fairs of East Anglia to sell their products. But during the reign of Edward I, royal buyers were buying fewer furs at the fairs than in London, then the major English centre for Baltic trade. A few London skinners, like Robert Persone, sold furs at fairs, but they were also selling to the great wardrobe directly in London [table VII].[3] As for mercery goods, apart from canvas, which was bought from

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[1] D. Keene, Survey of Medieval Winchester, ii, p. 1286.

[2] Ibid., ii p. 1206 and E101 684/58/3.

[3] E. Wedemeyer, 'Social Groupings at the Fair of St. Ives', p. 43: Robert Persone was selling skins of cats at St. Ives in 1287 and 1293. Walter Grys was selling skins of goats and lambs as well as fox furs in St. Ives in 1291 and 1293. Furs were also purchased from Parisian skinners. In 1295-1297, for instance, minever furs were bought from Jakemin Pilate of Douai, a skinner settled in Paris: the total purchase amounted to 1121i. 12s parisis (= £110 15s) (E101 308/19, fol. 13).

merchants of northern Europe, the buyers of the household were not using the fairs any more: instead, they turned to Italian companies. In fact, already by the late XIIIth century, royal buyers went to the fairs mainly in order to purchase woollen cloth: the cloth trade was organized on a basis of exchange with wool and the fairs were still important centres for the collection of wool.

Until the end of the reign, buyers were still sent to the fairs to purchase the necessary materials for the king's household. But other ways of purchasing were already more important: though the fairs were still more than regional centres of trade, they were no longer the exclusive place for the international trade in luxury goods. The destabilization of the reciprocal trade with the Low Countries, wool against cloth, was partly the cause of the decline: in the 1280s, exports of raw wool suffered from diplomatic difficulties. They again experienced a few good years at the beginning of the XIVth century, but afterwards the decline would be continuous.[1] Other routes of trade then replaced the fairs: the main demand for consumption of luxury goods turned to London. The royal policies of purchase certainly had an important role in that transformation.

B The Shift of Luxury Trade to London.

In the last years of the XIIIth century, new Italian companies, of Lucchese and Florentine origins, began to fill the

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[1] D. Keene, Survey of Medieval Winchester, i, p. 1120. G. Platts, Land and People in Medieval Lincolnshire, p. 148.

gap created by the fall of the Riccardi in 1294, and to play the role of intermediary for the court. The Bellardi, a company of Lucca, appear in the royal accounts for the first time in April 1295.[1] From then onwards, they were to provide the great wardrobe on a regular basis: they advanced money to the clerk of this office, whenever he was in need of cash, and made payments on his behalf. In 1295-1296, on the order of the king, they supplied armour for the earl of Menteith who was going to Flanders.[2] They were also used as intermediaries to purchase jewels for Queen Margaret.[3] But their main function was to provide the court with mercery goods: they sold cloths of gold, as well as silks and napery, to the great wardrobe, and they could be in charge of the making of a whole chamber for a specific occasion [table VI E, F, VII A, VIII and IX].[4] This small company, with a few merchants appearing from 1294 in the English documentation, Brunetto Bulgarini, Rustico, Philippo and Francisco Rodelossi, Coluccio and Giovanni Bellardi, Paganello de Podio, is not documented in

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[1] E36/201, p. 40. Also E101 308/19, fol. 9v: £300 paid on a sum due to them.

[2] E101 354/5B, fol. 16v: £29 19s, paid in January 1303.

[3] E101 365/10, fol. 1v.

[4] E101 354/5B, fol. 16v: purchase of 24 cloths of gold for the great wardrobe. In 1305-1306, at Antwerp, the Bellardi received a payment for goods oblated at Cologne for the king, certainly including some cloths of gold (E101 369/11, fol. 33). They also provided mercery goods for the queen. Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae, p. 58. For the making of a chamber, E101 371/21/55 to 57 (transcribed in appendix 1). M. Prestwich has shown that on several occasions the Bellardi refused to lend money to the king (M. Prestwich, 'Italian Merchants in late Thirteenth and early Fourteenth Century England', The Dawn of Modern Banking, pp. 77-104, esp. p. 81).

Lucca.[1] We know that the Bellardi were settled in the Cordwainer ward in London. They had branches in Paris and in Gascony: in 1299, they made a payment of £120 on behalf of Edward I to two Parisian skinners, Jehan le Breton and his brother Ivo.[2]

However, the Bellardi were superseded by the Frescobaldi, the most important Italian company to trade with the king after the fall of the Riccardi. R.W. Kaeuper has underlined the slow process by which they came to reach the level of credit which had been attained by the Riccardi.[3] They served as intermediaries for the great wardrobe's purchases and shared with the Bellardi a position of quasi-monopoly upon the provision of mercery goods for the court, with the exception of canvas, linked to the trade with northern Europe and the Baltic.[4] Their international network enabled them to trade directly from London, without being dependent on the fairs.[5] However, they never reached the monolopy which had been enjoyed by the Riccardi: it is probable that the gap created after 1294 had enabled English merchants to take a

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[1] Dizionario biografico degli Italiani (Roma, 1965). W.E. Rhodes, 'The Italian Bankers in England and their Loans to Edward I and Edward II', Historical Essays by Members of the Owens College, Manchester, ed. T.F. Tout and J. Tait (London, 1902), pp. 137-67, esp. p. 144. This is probably due to the fact that the archives of Lucca are very incomplete for the period anterior to the mid-XIVth century.

[2] E101 370/24/1 (30 September 1299).

[3] R.W. Kaeuper, 'The Frescobaldi of Florence and the English Crown', Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History, x (1973), 45-95.

[4] Loans from the Frescobaldi: E101 126/13 and 15. E101 127/5/31 and E101 308/19, p. 17.

[5] In 1300-1301, for instance, they paid £975 18s 6d ob. to various merchants and craftsmen of Paris for goods purchased there for Queen Margaret (Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7966A, fol. 156v).

share of the royal market, and these were never to relinquish their position completely.

Another Southerner, William Servat, played an important part in the activity of the great wardrobe towards the end of the reign [tables VI A, B, VII A, VIII and IX]. A pepperer of Gascon origins, perhaps from Cahors, he had arrived in England at the beginning of the reign, at the head of a small company trading in wool and spices.[1] He was citizen of London by 1292, and was to become an alderman during the reign of Edward II. In 1294, he was on the continent on the king's service. From then onwards, he was to have a close relationship with the royal household, providing furs, silks, napery, and canvas. He was appointed purveyor of the great wardrobe in 1303. He was the last merchant of Cahors to trade on a large scale in England, and his outstanding success was based on the Baltic trade.[2]

The growing importance of London in the purchases of the royal household seems to have led to the shift to the capital of the merchants in contact with the great wardrobe, who until then had traded at the fairs. This was perhaps the case with Stephen de Stanham, an important merchant of Lincoln. He was mayor of Lincoln in 1303 and in 1305.[3] We see him frequently selling cloth, fur, and linen to the royal household from 1301 onwards

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[1] F. Arens, 'Wilhelm Servat von Cahors als Kaufmann zu London (1273-1320)', Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, xi (1913), 477-514.

[2] CPR 1272-81, pp. 33-9, CPR 1281-92, p. 253 (safe-conduct to go to Norway), CPR 1292-1301, p. 73, CPR 1302-7, p. 111. G. Williams, Alien Merchants in England, p. 142. E101 371/18.

[3] F. Hill, Medieval Lincoln (Cambridge, 1965), p. 323.

[tables VI B, C, VII A].[1] He also provided the royal household with victuals when the court stayed at Lincoln at the beginning of 1301: the king first stayed with the bishop of Lincoln and, when he moved to the city, in February, Stephen de Stanham provided victuals, dried fruit and fish for the court, and also lent money to members of the household on the order of the wardrobe.[2] This enabled him to become a king's merchant, a royal buyer, a position which he was accused a few years later of having abused.[3] The position of king's merchant probably made prolonged stays in London necessary: he might have been the Stephen de Stonham who appears several times in the London records, and who was perhaps a citizen of London by 1312.[4] If this was indeed the same person, then Stephen de Stanham would provide us with the picture of a merchant of provincial influence attracted to London through his connection with the royal household.

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[1] In 1300-1301, he sold blanket and Stamford cloth to the great wardrobe for £9 10s 2d (E101 359/18). The following year, he sold cloth again to the royal household, for £4 9s 6d, and the transaction took place in London (E101 360/2/1). In 1302-1303, he was present at Westminster Fair, where he sold for £25 13s 8d to the great wardrobe, and at St. Botolf Fair at Boston, where he sold cloth for 106s 8d (E101 358/26/11 and 12). He also sold furs to the great wardrobe, for £10 6s (E101 371/18). The following year, he was at Westminster Fair, where he again sold cloth and fur to the clerks of the royal household; the wardrobe accounts mention £107 18s 7d paid for him for cloth and £11 5s for furs (E101 366/4). In 1305-1306, he was at St. Botolph Fair, where he sold divers necessaries to the household for £40 10s 8d (E101 354/11/67). The following year, he was selling linen and napery to the great wardrobe for more than £12 (E101 354/11/66).

[2] F. Hill, Medieval Lincoln, p. 239.

[3] CPR 1307-13, p. 36.

[4] E. Ekwall, Studies on the Population of Medieval London (Stockholm, 1956) p. 181.

Some Netherlandish merchants who had settled in London also began to play a greater role in the affairs of the crown. This is, for instance, the case of Terric le Vileyn, the merchant from Ghent mentioned earlier. In 1304, he appears among the alien merchants who had to pay tallage for the Dowgate ward. If he was present at the fairs of East Anglia, selling cloth there to the buyers of the great wardrobe, Terric le Vileyn also operated in London where he concluded most of his transactions with the royal household.[1]

The great wardrobe's purchases in London helped the growth of some mercantile fortunes. Reginald de Thunderle, a citizen of London, belonged to a family which had recently emigrated to the capital.[2] From 1296 onwards, he had a close commercial relation with the great wardrobe; he also helped with the victualling of the household [tables VI A, C, F, G, and IX]. In 1305, a sum of nearly £2700 was owed to him on account of his purchases for the great wardrobe.[3] Another outstanding London merchant was Elias Russel, alderman, who belonged to a famous family of drapers in

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[1] E101 365/10, fol. 9v: £53 4s were due to him for cloth purchased from him for the household in 1299-1300 and 1301-1302. Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 35 293, fol. 29 sq. and E101 366/4: £35 6s of cloth were purchased from the same merchant in London in 1301-1302 and £66 13s 4d two years later, also in London. He was also a regular provider of cloth for the household of Edward of Caernarvon, selling cloth for £500 to the prince' household in 1303-1304 (Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 35 293, fol. 29 sq.).

[2] CCR 1296-1302, p. 192: he owned lands in Essex (January 1298). There is a Thundersley in Essex.

[3] E101 354/11/191: he was owed £1435 16s 2d ob for purchases made for the great wardrobe in 1295, 1296, and 1297, £6 16s for purchases made in 1298, and £1301 9s 5d for 1299. He was partly repaid for the purchases made during these years, but in April 1305, he was again creditor of the great wardrobe for £2696 5s 3d.

the city. He sold cloth to the royal household, but he also took advantage of the growth of the Baltic trade, and appeared several times providing the household with wax and furs [tables VI A, D, F, G].[1] As to Simon and Stephen de Abingdon, they were possibly related to the London dynasty of the Abingdons or to the Abingdons serving the Exchequer.[2] Simon sold cloth to the great wardrobe in 1303-1304.[3] Stephen de Abingdon was a powerful 'king's merchant', but he was to attain the peak of his career later, as butler of Edward II.

These London fortunes were based on the trade in wool and cloth, and on the distribution of a wide range of goods provided by the growing trade with the Baltic. Specialized merchants like skinners found it more difficult to get access to the royal market. The fur trade in England had ancient origins: the towns of the Danelaw, notably York, Lincoln, and Norwich, seem to have made a speciality of working and trading in skins. Northampton kept a reputation for the quality of its skinners' work well into the XIIIth century.[4] During the reign of Edward I, numerous purchases of furs were also made at Oxford, whose skinners seem to have been highly skilled. Furs were also purchased in Paris, then the European capital of the trade in furs.

In England, the trade tended to shift early to London, the great entrepôt for Baltic products. A few small London skinners are found dealing with the officers of the great wardrobe [tables

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[1] E101 357/3/7 and 8.

[2] G. Williams, Alien Merchants in England, p. 128.

[3] E101 366/4.

[4] E.M. Veale, The English Fur Trade, p.38.

VI D and VII]. Henry de Lincoln, pelliparius of London, sold furs on a small scale to the great wardrobe.[1] As E.M. Veale has pointed out, to be a skinner was not the way to make a fortune in the late Middle Ages. One has, however, to consider two London skinners apart: Robert Persone and Peter de Bosenho, who held the first rank in providing the great wardrobe with furs. Peter de Bosenho appears first in connection with the great wardrobe in 1298.[2] A few years later, in 1303, he sold different kinds of furs, all imported, for £18 2s.[3] The following year, he was again providing the peltry for the household, in particular some furs for Thomas of Brotherton.[4] Robert Persone appears in the last accounts of the great wardrobe of Edward I: in 1303, he sold different kinds of imported furs, minever, gros vair and pople and in 1305 he was still owed £66 16s 4d for purchases made from him.[5] The following year, he again sold some fur, together with some spices, to the great wardrobe.[6] But both skinners dealt in other products, and this explains their outstanding fortune: Peter de Bosenho was an important exporter of wool, while Robert Persone traded in a wide range of Baltic products.

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[1] E101 371/18 (1302-1303): he sold furs for £3 16s 8d. Henry of Lincoln of Great Yarmouth dealt in all sorts of goods and sold for £109 9s 9d of opus griseum to the great wardrobe buyers at St. Ives (E101 354/11/157). But he was a different person from the Henry of Lincoln pelliparius of London.

[2] E101 353/23/29.

[3] E101 371/18 and E101 365/15/17.

[4] E101 366/4 and Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 35 293, fol. 29 sq.

[5] E404/481/8/12 and 13, E101 371/18.

[6] E404/481/8/11.

C The King's Merchants.

A certain number of merchants did more than simply sell their wares to the royal household; they were virtually in charge of providing the great wardrobe with all kinds of goods. They are occasionally called 'king's merchants' in the wardrobe accounts, and were probably retained by the king, receiving fees and robes like the other members of the royal household.[1] Some members of the Bellardi company received liveries of robes and Giovanni Vanne, together with another, unnamed, member of the company, had the title of valet of the king's chamber.[2] The king's merchants often went to the continent in the king's service to buy cloth and other necessaries directly in the areas of production. Their activity abroad is not very well known. However, the surviving documentation seems to indicate that it was fairly intense, and that the English foreign trade was not exclusively in the hands of foreign merchants.

In 1294, Robert de Segre was sent to the Low Countries to pay the king's allies. He organized a temporary treasury, first at Dordrecht, then at Mechlin.[3] Among the expenses recorded by

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[1] This was for instance the case with four merchants of the Riccardi company, who received 8m. a year for their robes from 1285-1286 to 1289-1290 (E101 352/24). Hugh de Wik, another merchant, also received robes from 1282-1283 to 1284-1285 before becoming one of the clerks of the market in 1285-1286 (Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-1286, no. 1684).

[2] E101 363/24/78 (1302-1303): 'A sire Raus de Stok salutz et bone amour. Por ce qe Johan Vanne est demorez ove le Roy, vallet de sa chaumbre vous maund' qe au dit Johan et a son compaignon liverez robes covenables, sicome vous faites as autres valletz de la dite chaumbre. A Dieu. Escrit a Londres le xiv iour de Decembre.'

[3] J. de Sturler, 'Deux Comptes 'Enrôlés' de Robert de Segre, Receveur et Agent Payeur d'Edouard Ier, Roi d'Angleterre, aux Pays-Bas (1294-1296)', Bulletin de la Commission Royale

the treasury, we find £493 18d paid to Reginald de Thunderle, merchant of London, for purchases made in Brabant for the great wardrobe of Edward I.[1] Later, in 1302, Reginald de Thunderle received 100m from the wardrobe to provide cloth for Queen Margaret.[2] He again received some money in Brabant, where he was probably buying cloth for the royal household.[3] In 1305, Edward of Caernarvon wrote to the 'baillis' and 'echevins' of Bruges, asking them to free the agent of Reginald de Thunderle who was detained there.[4] Another king's merchant abroad was Elias Russel, the London alderman mentioned earlier. He was the receiver of Edward I at Antwerp and he probably took advantage of his position there to make purchases for the great wardrobe.[5] In 1302, Henry de Lincoln, also a king's merchant, complained that a ship sailing from Sluys with goods belonging to him had been seized by some sailors of Zeeland.[6] A distraint of goods

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d'Histoire, cxxv (1959), 561-612, esp. pp. 569-73.

[1] E372/144, mem. 31 f. and d.

[2] E101 684/62/4.

[3] E101 354/11/191.

[4] Letters of Edward Prince of Wales, 1304-1305, ed. H. Johnstone (Roxburghe Club, 1931), p. 50. Reginald de Thunderle had a close connection with the household of Edward of Caernarvon. In 1298-1299, he was responsible for the direct distribution of liveries to the members of Edward's household (E101 354/23, mem. 3).

[5] The relations of Elias Russel with the royal household brought him some official responsibilities: from 1295 to 1298 he controlled the wool staple in Antwerp. He was also collector of the customs in London in 1299 (G. Williams, Alien Merchants in England, p. 112; CCR 1296-71302, p. 316; J. de Sturler, 'Deux Comptes "Enrôlés" de Robert de Segre', p. 572). He was sheriff of London in 1297-1298 and mayor in 1300.

[6] CCR 1296-1302, p. 542.

belonging to merchants from Holland and Zeeland followed.

The difficulties of Stephen de Abingdon, following the confiscation of his goods by officers of the king of France in Artois, throw light on the way purchases were made by the king's merchants directly in the areas of production. In 1303, Stephen de Abingdon was asked by the clerks of the great wardrobe to buy cloth in Brabant for the use of the royal household. He duly went to Antwerp and Mechlin to make his purchases, and bought 128 cloths. Then, he ordered his vallet, Geoffrey de la Penne, to take the goods back to England, with the injunction to travel by land to Wissant, 'pur peril de lunge mer'. But at Lens in Artois, the shipment was confiscated by some French officers on the grounds that it was certainly coming from Flanders, then at war with Philip the Fair. The cloths finally found their way to the court of the king of France, 'et lors en vestirent' said Stephen de Abingdon, 'Monsieur Charles (Charles de Valois), les enfaunz de France, et les grantz Seigneurs.'[1] This confiscation caused a lenghty series of difficulties for Stephen de Abingdon who happily benefited from his connection with the royal court, and was finally repaid a few years later through a distraint of goods belonging to a French merchant.

The position of intermediary, and the use of royal commissions conferring the title of 'king's merchant', providing the help of local officers, certainly helped the merchants in their own affairs. A connection with the royal household could provide a series of advantages - maintenance in court, diplomatic support in case of difficulties abroad - and could secure

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[1] Rotuli Parliamentorum, i, p. 476a.

advantageous positions. The career of Stephen de Stanham is a good example of this. We see him acting as an agent of the king for an important purchase of wool in 1298.[1] He was collector of the custom at St. Botolph in 1302-1303.[2] In 1303-1304, he was also keeper of the manors of Easton, Brigstok and King's Cliffe.[3] His connection with the royal household must have proved useful when he had difficulties, in 1298, in a law suit.[4]

III Credit and Payment.

The fall of the Riccardi in 1294 and the subsequent financial crisis disrupted the organization of purchases. This led to the appearance of a new group of merchants among the providers of the great wardrobe. But it also had as a consequence a disruption in the organization of payments [table I].

A Cash and Credit.

Transactions in cash are not systematically recorded in the accounts of the wardrobe, and most particulars of accounts written by the clerk of the great wardrobe disappeared after the audit at the wardrobe.[5] This has led some historians to assume that payments in cash were rare, because the wardrobe coffers

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[1] CPR 1292-1301, p. 335.

[2] E101 364/13, fol. 55.

[3] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 35 293, fol. 44. CCR 1296-1302, p. 243. E101 360/2, nos. 5 and 6.

[4] CCR 1296-1302, p. 160 (28 January 1298). As to William Servat, he was a collector of the new custom in London in 1306 (CPR 1302-7, p. 454).

[5] M.M. Postan, 'Credit in Medieval Trade', p. 5.

were often empty.[1] But it seems that the great wardrobe occasionally received important advances of money from the wardrobe, and that a certain number of transactions were made in cash.

Credit transactions are better documented. Credit was certainly offered relatively easily to aristocratic buyers. It existed at every stage of trade.[2] It is probable that the universality of credit made the whole trading organization rather fragile: a merchant repaid too late by his debtors could face ruin if his creditors were claiming their investment. Sales with a deferred payment were nonetheless very frequent. The buyer of the great wardrobe would, when not paying in cash, deliver to the seller a document in the form of a notitia, beginning with the word debentur, hence its name, a 'debenture'.[3] The debenture was not an obligation, and could not be transferred.[4] The interest, and there must have been an interest in most cases, was included in the general amount.[5] The need for credit may well be one reason why the great wardrobe officers used intermediaries and

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[1] E.W. Moore, The Fairs of Medieval England, p. 122.

[2] C. Dyer, 'The Consumer and the Market', p. 322. M.M. Postan, 'Credit in Medieval Trade', p. 6.

[3] C. Johnson, 'The System of Account in the Wardrobe of Edward I', TRHS 4th series vi (1923), 50-72.

[4] However, some bills were returned at the wardrobe by other merchants than those who had sold their wares to the great wardrobe. For instance, a bill given in 1300-1301 to Jacob le Buteller, citizen of London, was handed at the wardrobe by William de Lustreshull in June 1309 (E101 365/10).

[5] M.M. Postan, 'Private Financial Instruments in Medieval England', Vierteljahschrift für Social- und Wirtschafts-geschichte, xxiii (1930), repr. Medieval Trade and Finance (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 28-64, esp. pp. 30-1 and 50.

turned to London as the place to obtain extensive credit. Merchants with a large capital did not need credit to purchase their merchandise, and could themselves afford to give significant credit to their customers.[1]

A merchant provided with a debenture presented himself at the wardrobe where he was paid in cash. If the sum was large, or the wardrobe's coffers were empty, the merchant would be paid at the exchequer, or from one of the various receipts of the central government. Such was the case in 1279, when the abbey of St. Augustine's at Canterbury paid £500 to merchants who were creditors of the king.[2] Payment on the receipts of a fair was a device that had been commonly used to repay royal creditors under Henry III.[3] This process was not confined to the payment of purchases for the royal household: the abbot of Westminster, for instance, used the receipts of the toll stations near the fair of Westminster, and the various taxes in the fair itself, to repay his creditors.[4] But Edward I does not seem to have had any important fair in his hands, and there is no evidence of the use of such a source of payment during his reign. However, other receipts were available to him. In particular, the customs on wool were widely used for the payment of creditors. In 1294-1295, £200 were used from the collection of the new custom on wool at Great Yarmouth to pay various creditors of the great wardrobe,

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[1] M.M. Postan, 'Credit in Medieval Trade', p. 25.

[2] CCR 1272-9, 16 February 1279. Also E101 365/10, fol. 14 (1298-1299): payment of £100 to Walter de Barderney on the receipts of the tenth collected in the diocese of Norwich.

[3] For instance, CPR 1232-47, pp. 270, 449.

[4] G. Rosser, Medieval Westminster, pp. 104-5.

and in 1296-1297, the same custom was used to pay £83 8s 1d to Reginald de Thunderle.[1] In 1303-1304, Andrew Brotherlamb was given a letter of payment on the collection of the new custom for purchases made from him at the fair of St. Botolph.[2]

Edward I paid some of the debts left by his father for purchases of cloth and fur.[3] But it is difficult to judge the financial situation during his reign. It seems that important creditors were repaid in a steady way during most of the reign; but the years between the fall of the Riccardi and their replacement by the Frescobaldi saw a disorganization of the repayment system, and many debts contracted then were repaid extremely late, if at all.[4] It has been suggested that small merchants were never paid because they were not powerful enough to make themselves heard.[5] This was very probably so: it was much easier for important London merchants, with connections at the court, to obtain a quick payment, than for smaller merchants. In any case, many debts contracted by the great wardrobe after 1294 were not paid before the reign of Edward II, and the fact that the wardrobe books for the last years of the reign of Edward

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[1] E101 353/16.

[2] E101 366/16/9. The document is edited in appendix 1.

[3] CPR 1272-81, p. 169. CPR 1266-72, p. 398. Rot. Hunt. 2;5. F. Pollock and F.W. Maitland, History of the English Law, i (2nd edn. Cambridge, 1923), p. 682. Henry III owed £400 to skinners of Northampton when he died, and more than £100 to drapers for cloth taken in fairs. A letter of the king to the Riccardi in 1276 shows that Henry III left for more than £1000 of debts to merchants of Ypres.

[4] M. Prestwich, 'Exchequer and Wardrobe', pp. 4-5: the total debt left by Edward I in 1307 was at least of £200 000.

[5] E.W. Moore, The Fairs of Medieval England, p. 123.

I were drawn up only in the following reign suggests a very confused accounting and financial situation.

B The right of purveyance and the great wardrobe.

It is probable that, in the context of the financial difficulties following the fall of the Riccardi, the royal household used the right of prise more widely than before, for army victualling but also to provide the great wardrobe with materials. Prises were forced sales, with a right of pre-emption exercised by the royal buyer.[1] Normally, the goods taken were eventually paid for, certainly without any interest. The exercise of this right must have had adverse consequences for trade.[2]

Avoiding monetary mutations, Edward I had to turn to his traditional feudal rights, interpreting them in a wider sense.[3] This gave birth to a tradition of complaints against bad government, which were to culminate with the tract on purveyance addressed by William de Pagula to the young Edward III.

In 1300, the barons imposed a series of measures destined to limit the effects of the prerogative and regulate the right

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[1] J.R. Maddicott, The English Peasantry and the Demands of the Crown, 1294-1341, Past and Present Supplement i (Oxford, 1975).

[2] Henry III proclaimed that he would not use his right of prise at the fair of Westminster in order to attract merchants there (G. Rosser, Medieval Westminster, p. 99 and Calendar of Charter Rolls, p. 334).

[3] E.B. Fryde, 'The Financial Policies of the Royal Governments and Popular Resistance to them in France and England, c.1270-c.1420', Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire, lvii (1979), 824-60, esp. p. 831 sq.

of prise: from now on, prises should be made with the authority of the great seal, and the testimony of the keeper of the wardrobe. Prises were to be recorded in a document witnessed by the local authorities and the merchant whose goods were taken.[1] The great wardrobe accounts do not record many prises of cloth and fur: a few were made at fairs, others for the travelling household in the north.[2] But this absence of records for prises made for the great wardrobe may be due to the uneven state of the documentation, and the general outcry against prises was certainly well-grounded.

C The Assize of Cloth.

Wardrobe accounts assign greater importance to another source of confiscated cloth, the assize of cloth. The first regulation concerning the measures of cloths on sale appears in 1197 and is reported by Roger de Hoveden:

'Constitutum est ut lanei panni, ubicumque fiant, fiant de eadem latitudine, scilicet, de duabus ulnis infra lisuras, et ejusdem bonitatis in medio et in lateribus'.[3]

The same regulation appears again in Magna Carta.[4] During the

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[1] Chartes des Libertés Anglaises, ed. C. Bémont (Paris, 1892), p. 103.

[2] C47 3/48 (April 1297): Robert tailor of the king took some cloth from Robert Littleton for 112s 4d. E101 365/10: some cloth was taken at Bury St. Edmunds from John Whatfeld of Ipswich in 1295-1296 or 1296-1297 for 66s. E101 370/16, fol. 17v: some cloth was taken at Carlisle in November 1306 from William de Carlisle. It was paid for in June 1307.

[3] Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Hovedene, ed. W. Stubbs, iv (London, 1871).

[4] Chartes des Libertés Anglaises, p. 17: petitions of the barons, no. 12: 'ut mensura vini, bladi, et latitudines pannorum et rerum aliarum, emendentur; et ita de ponderibus'. Magna Carta runs thus: 'una latitudo pannorum tinctorum et russettorum et

XIIIth century, several modifications transformed the assize of cloth: Henry III extended it to cloths of foreign manufacture, thus evoking a protest from the Flemish towns. In 1272, the length, as well as the width, was regulated. Later, the text of Fleta seems to indicate that only foreign cloths were to be regulated by the assize.[1] In 1299-1300, for instance, ray cloth, bluet, ray of Stamford, some cloth tann[atus] and blanket were confiscated.[2] In any case, the assize was concerned only with cloths of quality, and foreign cloths were certainly more heavily taxed on this account: in 1225, the burellers of London complained that their cloths, of poorer quality than those referred to in the assize, were nevertheless confiscated by the officers in charge of the assize on the ground that they did not reach the width required. They were exempted by the king.[3]

At first, local commissions of four or six legales homines were elected to enforce the assize.[4] But, as early as 1201, royal judges had been sent to Boston Fair for this purpose. During the reign of Edward I, the justices of eyre were often in custody of

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halbergertorum, scilicet due infra listas' (ch. 35).

[1] Fleta, ed. and tr. H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, ii (Selden Society, lxxii (1953), p. 120: 'Pecia autem fustiani consistit ex xiij ulnis. Pecia cindonis de cursu xiiij ulnis. Assisa autem pannorum continetur in magna carta, videlicet, xxiiij ulnas in longitudine et duas in latitudine debet quilibet pannus venalis continere, nisi factus fuerit in Anglia [...] Pecia de Eylesham ex xxiiijor ulnis in longitudine et tribus quarteriis in latitudine debet esse mensura...'

[2] E101 684/57/11 to 14.

[3] CPR 1216-25, p. 523.

[4] Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Hovedene, iv, p. 34.

the assize.[1] But other royal emissaries were sent to the fairs to view cloths on sale and to confiscate cloths whose dimensions did not correspond to the official requirements. In November 1279, two clerks of the great wardrobe, William de Bliburg and Joyce de London, were in custody of the assize.[2] The assize then came to be supervised directly by the great wardrobe: Adam de Bidyk, tailor of the king, was keeper of the assize until 1296, when he was replaced by Pierrot le Ireys, and buyers of the great wardrobe were sent to the fairs to measure cloths.[3] In June 1301, Reginald de Thunderle, the king's merchant mentioned earlier, was appointed keeper of the assize.[4]

Cloths were confiscated when they did not conform to the assize but, if they were able to do so, merchants paid a fine instead, a fact which has sometimes led to the assumption that

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[1] Fine Rolls 12 Edward I, p. 204: on 28 June 1284, a merchant appeared at the Tower of London before the justices of the eyre to answer a charge of cloth sold against the assize. Cf. Art. of eyre in Lib. Cust. Lond., fol. 136b: 'et assisa pannorum servata sit sicut provisum fuit, et similiter de illis qui vendiderunt pannos contra assisam'.

[2] CPR 1272-1281, p. 333. E101 351/12, mem. 2 (1283-1284): 'Joceo dicto emptori pro expensis quas fecit in nundinis Northampton' et sancti Edmundi ulteriis preteritis [existenti] ibidem ad mensurandos pannos venales per xxxiiij dies lxviijs.' Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-1286, no. 106.

[3] CPR 1292-1301, p. 185. E101 351/12, mem. 2: 'Joceo dicto emptori pro expensis quas fecit in nundinis Northampton' et Sancti Edmundi ulteriis preteritis existenti ibidem ad mensurendos pannos venales per xxxiiij dies lxviijs.' C47 4/3: 'Joceo emptori regis existenti ad diversas nundinas in Anglia ad mensurandos pannos venales si fuerunt de recta assisa nec ne super expensis suis per manus Julie uxoris sue lxvjs viijd unde respondebit'.

[4] Calendar of Fine Rolls, i, p. 443.

the assize was merely one means whereby the crown levied money.[1] In January 1278, for instance, the Riccardi were acquitted of a fine of £40 to which they had been condemned by the justices of the eyre in London.[2] But confiscations were frequent and some of the cloths confiscated found their way to the stores of the great wardrobe. In 1300, Peter de Edemelton, who was keeper of the assize at several fairs and at London, sent some confiscated cloths to the great wardrobe: from St. Ives, he sent cloths for a total value of £21 13s 4d, from London for £26 11s, from Winchester Fair for £9 5s, from St. Botolph Fair for £16 10s 4d.[3] The following year, cloths were confiscated in London, Northampton, York, and Hull.[4]

What were the motives for the creation of the assize? It has been suggested that perhaps the crown wished to stimulate English production of cloth woven on the wide horizontal loom by creating standard measures superior to the measures of traditional English cloth. Also, the existence of unified measures throughout the kingdom helped the buyers in their task, and prevented fraudulent behaviour through the use of false measures.[5] Certain merchants fraudulently altered the quality of the dye, or the goodness of the material, perhaps tending the cloth abusively in order to

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[1] W.S. McKechnie, Magna Carta. A Commentary on the Great Charter of King John (Glasgow, 1914), pp. 357-8.

[2] CCR 1272-9, p. 437.

[3] E101 684/57/11 to 14.

[4] E101 359/13/1 and 2, E101 684/57/23 and E101 359/18/1 to 5.

[5] J.C. Holt, Magna Carta (Cambridge, 1965) p. 29. W.S. McKechnie, Magna Carta, p. 356.

extend its surface.[1] This fraud was presumably difficult to detect, as cloths of the new type tended to shrink very easily. In May 1271, for instance, some merchants of Brabant had to secure an exemption from the assize to sell cloths shrunk accidentally by wetting during a journey.[2] The inventories of the royal stores always left room for the shrinkage of cloth: important surfaces could be lost by shrinkage, and there is always a gap between the dimensions of the cloth as it was at the moment of purchase and its dimensions once stored in the great wardrobe [table X]. Indeed, it seems that the first concern of the assize was to protect the aristocratic purchaser.

Conclusion.

A few original features characterized the purchasing policies of the great wardrobe under Edward I. Merchants were used more systematically than before as intermediaries. The financial crisis of the mid-1290s led to a greater use of the royal prerogative by means of prises. Fairs still served as major centres for the purchase of cloth, but the king was also sending his buyers directly to the areas of production on the continent, while London became the major provider of fur and mercery goods for the royal market. Similar transformations took place in France: the fairs of Champagne were relinquishing their position in the market for luxury goods, to the advantage of Paris, Arras or Douai. Aristocratic households followed and accelerated this

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[1] Pipe Roll 4 John: some merchants who tended the cloth to bring it to the legal width were fined 1m. Also Pipe Roll 2 Henry III. Quoted by W. S. McKechnie, Magna Carta, p. 358.

[2] CPR 1266-72, p. 534.

transformation, their main concern being to buy at the best price, and to have the widest possible choice of goods. Finally, it may be possible to connect household preoccupations with the policy of Edward I towards alien merchants in England. The advantages conferred on them corresponded to a desire to stimulate foreign trade and thus to give the royal household the best opportunities for its purchases.

Table X: Cloth lost 'in retracione' (1303-1304).

cloth (in ells)	stock in November 1303	purchases 1303-1304	liveries 1303-1304	prests 1303-1304	cloth lost in retracione	stock in November 1304
scarlet	181.1/4	366	308	127.3/4	36	75.5
pannus coloratus	518	5100	2884.3/4	1234.5	208	2190.3/4
black say	44.5	129	95.5		8	70
tiretaine	247.1/4			70		177.1/4
ray	272. 1/4	4864	3697	1022	274	143.1/4
pannus Anglie	2639.1/4	881 (+ 5 peciae of Falding)	1986.3/4 (+ 5 peciae of Falding)	101	174	1258.1/2
worsted	3 peciae and 14 ells					3 peciae and 14 ells

Source: E101 366/9.

Chapter 3: The Craftsmen and the Court.

Textiles and furs were regularly delivered by the clerks of the stores to the members of the court for their robes, and to the various craftsmen who worked in the king's service. However, not all crafts were represented in the royal household, and the clerks of the great wardrobe had often to seek the services of urban artisans in order to provide the court with the necessary goods. In the course of the following pages, we shall attempt to present the various techniques involved in the transformation of materials, and to define the nature of the links between the textile, fur and leather crafts, and the king's household or, in other words, to demonstrate the nature of the patronage of craftsmen by the royal court. The study is not confined to the tailors and skinners, but extends to the craftsmen who worked, more or less directly, on the transformation of the materials bought through the great wardrobe into finished objects for the court.

I Techniques.

Contemporary documents give only a few indications of the techniques used by craftsmen. We shall, however, attempt to present a survey of the craftsmen's skills, from the treatment of materials in the stores to the decoration of the finished objects.

A Tasks of the Keepers of the Stores.

The staff of the stores folded the cloths and wrapped them

into canvas, or kept them in leather bags, in order to protect them from dust and insects. Clerks distinguished between 'old' and 'new' cloths:

'Ioe vous maund qe vous liverez a Karlewyn et a Warde porturs de cestes, drap por ij robes dacun viel drap qe vous aurez en garderobe.'[1]

This might indicate that cloths that were kept too long lost some of their brightness. It is also possible that 'old' cloths were actually cloths which had already been used. Furs had also to be protected from insects but, as a rule, they had a relatively long life, and some of the furs mentioned in the inventory must have been old items.

Some preparatory work was necessary before the delivery of the cloth from the stores. Occasionally, clerks mentioned the stretching of the cloth: in 1289, 10s. chip. were spent 'pro quodam panno de tiretano polliendo' at Saintes.[2] This was perhaps unavoidable if the cloth had been left in the press for a while. It may have been made necessary by the accidental wetting of cloth. It has already been mentioned that woollen cloths tended to shrink quite easily, and the stretching of the cloth was probably a necessary operation when the cloth was to leave the stores.

Another responsibility of the great wardrobe lay in the dyeing of linen. Linen was dyed after its purchase, a specialized operation undertaken by urban dyers. Some London dyers in woad were in regular relation with the clerks who kept the stores: in

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[1] Letter from John de Droxford to Ralph de Stokes, 1302-1303 (E101 365/24/4).

[2] Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, no. 3238.

1300-1301, John le Woder was owed 23s 4d. 'pro tinctura et calendracione lxxx ulnarum tele' at the cost of 3d ob. per ell.[1] The term calendracione main mean a process where heating was involved, or perhaps the measuring and folding of the linen. Also, some cloths could be rubbed with wax in order to make them waterproof: there is , for instance, a mention of waxed cloth in an account for 1306-1307.[2]

The shearing of cloth recorded in the accounts of the great wardrobe was the last of a series of processes which took place in the preparation of high-quality cloths. A first shearing was executed immediately after the weaving. A second one, much finer, was meant to enhance the colour of the cloth by equalizing the fibres. The last shearing took place after the sale. This was perhaps due to the fact that the brightness conferred by shearing did not last, and consequently the shearing had to be done just before the tailoring. This operation cost between 9d and 2s, and it took place only for the finer materials.[3] The keeper of the wardrobe included it in his recommendations for the preparation of the most exclusive liveries, as in a letter dated 1299-1300: 'facies retondre et bien apparailler le drap.'[4] This shearing, or rather re-shearing, retonsura, was a delicate operation: it had to be done as near the cord as possible, without cutting the cloth. It was done in water, and necessitated the use of special frames and forceps, so that it took place in the workshop of the

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[1] E101 359/20.

[2] E101 370/9.

[3] G. de Poerck, La Draperie Médiévale, i, pp. 48 and 137.

[4] E101 358/13/23.

retonsor.[1] In May 1289, some tiretaine which had been sent by the king for the Pentecost robes of his children was transported to West Cheapside to be re-sheared.[2] In August of the same year, Ely retonsor was paid 17d for the final shearing, or retonsura, of a striped cloth and ten ells of burnet.[3] In November, cloth was transported back to the great wardrobe from the house of John de Paris retonsor.[4]

Cloth was folded before leaving the stores of the great wardrobe. This is for instance well illustrated by an account for 1300-1301: 'pro humidacione, ulnacione et plicacione quorundam pannorum.'[5] The regulations of Brabançon cloth-manufacturing centres mention the catissage, or pressing and folding of woollen cloths. This was a delicate operation, whose aim was to ensure that the fibres of the cloth were equal: the cloth was folded and planks of wood were introduced between the folds at regular intervals. The cloth was then put in a press and left there for a few days.[6] This operation was generally carried out by the clothier, and it is not clear whether the folding recorded in the

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[1] E101 365/25/6 (1302-1303): 'de bon et covenable drap... tondu et moillez por une robe'. Many of these forceps have been recovered in the course of excavations, notably at Winchester (M. Biddle, Object and Economy in Medieval Winchester (Oxford, 1990), i, pp. 235-7).

[2] Records of the Wardrobe and Household 1286-1289, no. 3459.

[3] Ibid., no. 3466.

[4] Ibid., no. 3437. William [Osebarn'] retonsor of London, was also working for the great wardrobe: in 1305-1306, he was paid 58s 6d for the shearing of 29 cloths and 10 ells (E101 368/12).

[5] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7966 A, fol. 153 (1300-1301).

[6] G. de Poerck, La Draperie Médiévale, i, p. 149.

account for 1300-1301 was of this type. Linen was often folded in the stores, but this operation generally took place in order to send it properly packed to the court.[1] In 1279, the king's tailor was in Paris to make purchases for the court; he paid several sums of money for the vapulacione et replicacione of linen, which took place in the merchants' shops before packaging.[2] The term vapulare may refer to a kind of pressing before the wrapping of the material.

Materials were detailed in the stores of the great wardrobe on the order of the keeper of the wardrobe. They were then either sent to the tailors of the royal family, who occasionally bought themselves what they needed, or they were delivered directly to the beneficiaries of liveries, who had them cut and sewn by their own tailors. The keeper of the wardrobe was responsible for the correct distribution of the liveries, as well as for meeting the general needs of the household. He conducted a regular correspondence with the keeper of the stores, mentioning the type and quality of the materials to be delivered.[3] Sometimes, a sample was sent to the keeper of the stores in order to make sure that the material delivered would be of the right shade of colour:

'Nous vous mandoms qe hastivement veues ces lettres nous enveez deux draps de tarz de tieu colour, come la piece est qe nous vous enveeoms per le portour de ces lettres por faire ent

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[1] Records the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, no. 3436 (1288-1289).

[2] C47 3/14.

[3] E101 361/19/18 (1301-1302): 'Liberetis istius bille portitori, ad opus domine Marie filie regis, viij ulnas de saye Lincoln', sive de alio burneto hoc de meliori quod habetis pro tunica ejusdem domine Marie.'

corsetz a notre oeps [...] Et si vous n'eieez drap de tieu colour la ou vous estes, adonqes nous enveez autre, qe soit au plus pes de meisme le colour qe vous peussez, ou enveez sanz delay, por nous faire venir tieu drap, comme avaunt est dit, le plus enhaste qe hom pourra'.[1]

But the messenger often had to explain in more detail the characteristics of the materials needed:

'Ioe vous mank qe vous liverez a mestre Geoffrai Meritch porteur de ceste lettre [...] drap a ij robes pur le roi, de queux drap le dit Geoffrai vous dirra de bouche...'[2]

B Tailoring.

There are occasional indications in the accounts concerning the first phase of the tailors' work, the cutting, cissura or talliatura, of cloth.[3] There are also mentions of purchases of scissors and cutters probably destined for tailoring, cutters being specifically used to cut the stitches of old or dirty garments.[4] Did the tailors use patterns to cut the garments? The first pattern books to have survived date from the middle of the

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[1] E101 366/4/46 (Lanercost, 27 November 1306).

[2] E101 366/4/46 (1304-1305).

[3] Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, no. 319. The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile, p. 110.

[4] Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, no. 3264: mention of scissors purchased for Goscekinus tailor of John of Brabant. But it is not clear whether that instrument served to cut material or was for a last shearing, partly because the most frequent type of scissors were then spring scissors and partly because the clerks used the term forpice, which may as well mean shears. It is actually possible that the instrument was the same in both cases. Pivotal scissors existed by the late Middle Ages, but they were less commonly in use than spring scissors (S. Groves, The History of Needlework Tools and Accessories (Newton Abbot, 1973), p. 45). Such scissors and shears are, for instance, kept in the Museum of London (London Museum: Medieval Catalogue (London, 1954, repr. 1967, plate xxxii). Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, no. 145 (mention of cutters).

XVIth century.[1] Apart from masterpiece-books, meant for the aspiring tailor, there existed some pattern books which were certainly destined for tailors' workshops. The first one to be known is perhaps the memorandum book of Hans Nidermayr the Younger of Innsbruck, begun in 1544.[2] These books diffused the new fashions but also showed the tailors how they could best fit the pieces to be cut on the surface of the cloth. It is possible that such practices were already in use in the workshops of tailors by the late XIIIth century, but one may suggest that they may rather be the consequence of the 'revolution of the short costume' of the 1340s. Before this important change, garments generally did not fit the body closely. The cut of garments, however, was certainly an important element of tailoring; the cut of the sleeves and bodice, in particular, must have received a great deal of attention. The elegance of costume noticeable in manuscript illuminations was probably the result of clever tailoring [plate XXI]. In addition, a few stitches and pins could create a fold, give form to a garment and individualize a whole costume.

It seems that the two operations, cissura, or cutting, and custura, or sewing, were often the task of separate workers, cutters and seamstresses. Sewing accessories have survived, such as needles, which were relatively expensive and the object of a

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[1] I. Petraschek-Heim, 'Tailors' Masterpieces Books', Costume, iii (1969), 6-9.

[2] The first printed pattern book seems to have been the Libro de Geometrica Practica y Traca of Juaan de Aloega (Madrid, 1589). Some plates are reproduced in N. Waugh, The Cut of Men's Clothes (London, 1964), and id., The Cut of Women's Clothes (London, 1968).

specific trade.[1] Museums' collections show pins of various sizes and forms: short pins were certainly used as an aid for tailoring, while long pins were used to fix garments or hangings temporarily, and to create folds. Tailors' accounts often mention purchases of thread. Flax thread was the most commonly used by tailors, but silk thread was also bought regularly. Silk thread was bought by the ounce and could reach high prices: one ounce of silk was needed to sew a whole robe and cost about 1s.[2]

C Skinner's Work.

Skinners' work was twofold. First, skinners were employed to sew pieces of fur to the garments.[3] Then they were responsible for another operation, the refressura of furs.[4] Furs had a relatively long life if kept in good conditions. When a garment became worn, it was still possible to unsew the lining of fur, to separate it into skins, which were cleaned, repaired, sewn

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[1] Needles must have been part of the small necessaria regularly bought by the royal tailors. By the late XIIIth century, most needles were made of bronze wire. When very thick, they were used for packaging, while finer types were used by tailors for the making of clothes (S. Groves, The History of Needlework Tools, pp. 18-9 and 48).

[2] For example, C47/3/11 (1278-1279).

[3] Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, no. 3455. E101 308/19, fol. 13 (1295-1297): 'Domino Johanni de Hustwayt emptori magne garderobe regis de prestito super officio suo per manus Jakemini Pilate de Doaco pro ij penis ad mantell[a] de minuto vario, vi penis de minuto vario de viiij tiris ad supertunic[as], vj penis de minuto vario de viij tiris ad supertunic[as] et xij capuciis de minuto vario provisis et emptis per ipsum Jakeminum pro rege...'

[4] 'Item pur refreser les forures a mesme le garnemens xd' (E101 371/8/193, undated document) and E.M. Veale, The English Fur Trade, p. 34.

together again, and then re-used with a new cloth.[1] One occasionally finds mentions of garments among the materials stored at the great wardrobe.[2] They were perhaps old clothes of the king which had been sent back to be unsewn and have their fur lining re-used. In the process of 'refreshing' the linings of furs, some skins could be seriously damaged, and new skins had to be bought.[3] They were then skilfully mixed with the older ones. The cost of the operation could be very high: 26s 8d were paid to have a grey fur of eight tiers repaired for the countess of Hereford in December 1304.[4] Furs were sometimes re-used for a garment of larger dimensions, or for a garment which had to be entirely lined with fur, while they had formerly been used for a marginal lining.[5] In this case the purchase of supplementary skins was necessary.[6]

D Leather Techniques.

Leather work was perhaps the major industry of the Middle Ages. But indications concerning its technical aspects are rare

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[1] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7966 A, fol. 31v (1300-1301): 'pro stipendiis unius pelliparii operantis circa quamdam pelluram de minuto vario mundandam et [reparandam] pro capa...' E101 359/20 (1300-1301): 'in emendacione iiij coopertoriorum gris et grossovario pro quolibet ijs.'

[2] E101 356/21/7 (1298-1299): 'memorandum quod ij furure stranl' et ij capucia minuti varii que fuerunt in dictis robis computantur superius in arraimento fururarum.'

[3] R. Delort, Le Commerce des Fourrures, ii, p. 631.

[4] E101 376/26, mem. 1.

[5] E101 356/21/12 (1298-1299): 'augmentatio furure coopertoriorum.'

[6] C47/3/14 (1277-1278): 'j furura minuti varii pro incremento rob[ae] regis: cs. par.'

and one has to extrapolate from modern leather work.[1] One of the most interesting techniques of leather craftsmanship was perhaps the manufacture of cuir bouilli, or moulded leather. The leather, often derived from thick cattle hide, was impregnated with water and worked into the desired form. It was then dried at high temperature, and became extremely hard. Different kinds of objects were made of cuir bouilli, but it was especially used for armour. The making of felt was often assimilated to leather working. Among the various head-gear purchased for the royal family, we find felt hats. Loose wool or hairs were compressed in water and heated in order to produce a kind of thick fabric.[2]

E Decoration: Embroidery, Painting and Other Decorative Crafts.

The decoration of clothes and pieces of furniture was an important aspect of the work undertaken to order for the royal household. Unfortunately, the descriptions given in the accounts are very allusive. Also, it is not always easy to distinguish fastening from decoration: one of the simplest ways of decorating a garment was to sew on buttons, of silk or of gilded silver, but it has been suggested that buttons acquired a functional role only later.[3] Laces of silk must have served as a fastening

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[1] Leather techniques are described in J.W. Waterer, Leather Craftsmanship (New York, 1968) and J. Cherry, 'Leather', English Medieval Industries, pp. 295-318.

[2] A. Geijer, A History of Textile Art, p. 224.

[3] J. Nevinson, 'Buttons and Buttonholes in the Fourteenth Century', Costume, xi (1977), 38-44.

device, but they were also decorative.[1] Even the basic sewing work could have a decorative function if the stitches were apparent.

Furthermore, remains of embroidery, perhaps the most popular kind of decoration, belong almost exclusively to the ecclesiatical world and it is difficult to imagine the equivalent for lay clothes and furnishing. This may lead to believe that the most sumptuous embroidery was reserved for ecclesiastical vestments. Nevertheless, embroidery work on lay garments is mentioned in the wardrobe accounts. It is also possible to extrapolate evidence for the nature of secular embroidery from the decoration of vestments, such as the Melk chasuble, kept in the Museum für Angewandte Kunst in Vienna: the background of this vestment is decorated with vine leaves and roses, a type of design which certainly occured in the embroidery of secular costume.[2]

The embroidery was worked on a background of linen or silk. Silk fabrics were lined, especially when the embroidery was done with metal threads. As a rule, there was no embroidery on silks which were already woven with patterns, but there are a few exceptions. For the more elaborate embroidery work, tracing was used, and it is very probable that painters played a role in the

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[1] E101 371/8/193 (undated): 'item en ij laces de soye achate a mesme le garnemens ijd.' These were destined for the wardrobe of Elizabeth, the king's daughter.

[2] P. Johnstone, 'Opus Anglicanum: a Study of the Melk Chasuble', Apollo, lxxviii (1963), 299-302.

making of patterns for embroidery.[1] For instance, the drawings of the Pepysian manuscript may have served as patterns and models for weaving and perhaps for embroidery.[2]

Mrs. Christie mentions the use of pearls, coloured beads, enamelled plates and various stones in the working of certain pieces, all elements which have disappeared from extant examples, and which attest the role of the goldsmith in embroidery work. Cushions embroidered in Paris in 1297 for Queen Margaret were decorated with pearls and beads; girdles of silk were also decorated with gems, perhaps on a background of embroidery.[3]

Painters also had an important role in connection with the great wardrobe; they painted banners and possibly altar cloths. There is a mention of two painted 'cloths of Cologne' bought for Queen Eleanor in 1290.[4] It seems that the cloths were actually painted, possibly on canvas, and that they were destined for the furnishing of the chapel or the chamber. We know that there existed in Germany a kind of painted canvas called Tüchlein: it was thinly painted, with a result which was certainly neither very resistant nor waterproof.[5] This may have been what was

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[1] There is no certain evidence about the role played by painters in the making of secular embroidery for the reign of Edward I, but cooperation between painters and embroiderers seems to have been common (K. Staniland, 'Court Style, Painters and the Great Wardrobe', England in the Fourteenth Century. Proceedings of the 1985 Harlaxton Symposium, ed. W.M. Ormrod (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 236-46, esp. p. 246, n. 28).

[2] This is the view held by A.G.I. Christie, English Medieval Embroidery, p. 10.

[3] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7965, fol. 138.

[4] The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile, p. 86.

[5] D. Wolfthal, The Beginnings of Netherlandish Canvas Painting: 1400-1530 (Cambridge, 1989), p. xiii.

bought for the queen. Furthermore, painted canvas was cheap and this corresponds well with the relatively modest price, 26s 8d, paid for the cloths of Cologne, as opposed to the high prices reached by embroidered pieces. Painting on textiles was used to a large extent by craftsmen and occured on silk as well as on canvas. It was a cheap and fast process, used for banners and pennons, and perhaps also to make hangings, cheap substitutes for tapestries, and funerary palls.[1] The material was first sized with glue and then painted, generally with watercolours but, occasionally - and notably for banners and pennons - with oil colours. The pieces which had to be used outdoors were made waterproof with wax.

Leather accessories and armour were also decorated. Leather could be dyed with kermes and alum, and this was called Cordouan leather in England. Modelling and carving the leather were common techniques by the late XIIIth century. Leather accessories may have been gilded with golden paint but they were more probably decorated with foils of gold, a technique called 'métal battu' or métal frappé' in France. A thin foil of gold, sometimes cut into patterns, was applied to the leather, a technique used for the decoration of some tournament crests in 1276-1277: 'item pro foliis auri emptis ad crestas capellorum regis vjs.'[2] Girdles and shoes for the members of the higher aristocracy were also occasionally decorated in this way, a detail which appears

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[1] Ibid., pp. 24-7.

[2] C47/3/11.

clearly in manuscript painting.[1]

II The Craftsmen Retained by the King.

The place of craftsmen in the royal household and the links of the court with urban crafts are two aspects of the history of the reign of Edward I which have been studied mainly in the context of the king's architectural enterprises.[2] But the documentation not only reveals the existence of a group of building-workers, wood-carvers and painters, who worked for the household, but also the presence of a wide range of craftsmen who worked on textiles, furs and leather, from the tailors to the pavilioners and saddlers, following the court or doing their task in workshops based out of court.

A The Craftsmen.

Craftsmen belonging to the household staff received robes and wages, and their names were registered on the roll of the marshal. They originated in urban society, but their craft was essential enough for them to be permanently retained in the royal service. In this category, tailors were prominent. They belonged to the immediate entourage of the important members of the court,

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[1] There is a mention of a girdle 'de filo argento barata deaurata' in the treasury of the wardrobe (Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7965, fol. 140v (August 1297). Also, 'xxiij zone de serico quam de corio auro [munite]' (Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7965, fol. 139v, 1296-1297). Shoes could be decorated with gold applications: 'pro iiij paris calcaria deaurata iiijs' (C47/3/11: 1279-1280).

[2] R. Kent Lancaster, 'Artists, Suppliers and Clerks: the Human Factors in the Art Patronage of King Henry III', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, xxxv (1972), 81-107, gives a survey of the main artists who worked for Henry III but, to my knowledge, no such study has yet been attempted for the reign of Edward I.

to whom they were personally attached, and this position explains why their names appear more frequently in the documentation than those of any other group. Mentions of payments to messengers going from the royal family to deliver letters to the tailors, when these were out of court, attest the existence of a regular correspondence. For instance, in July 1290, Queen Eleanor sent a messenger with letters from her to her tailor Geoffrey, who was then in London. A few days later, she sent letters to Alice operatrix.[1] The clerks of the king's chamber also kept in constant touch with the king's tailors.[2] Tailors often received testimonies of the good will of their employers towards them: for instance, William de Somerfeld, one of the tailors of Queen Eleanor, was given houses in London by his patron, and he certainly held properties from the king in Winchester.[3] The queen left a legacy of 50m to William de Somerfeld.[4] Later, he oblated vestments to St. Paul's for the soul of the queen.[5]

At least one tailor was attached to each member of the royal

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[1] The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile, pp. 112 and 116.

[2] For instance, on 15 February 1297, Arnold Bon, a messenger, was sent with letters from the king to Robert, tailor of the king (C47/4/6, fol. 11). In January 1299, a clerk, Robert de Wodehous, was dispatched to Robinettus the tailor with letters from the king (E101 371/8/255). One could multiply the examples.

[3] The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile, p. 89. CCR 1272-9, p. 151.

[4] E101 351/1, mem. 2 (1291-1293).

[5] W. Dugdale, The History of St. Paul's Cathedral, pp. 321 and 323.

family.[1] The king had several of them in his service. Adenet de Bidik worked for him during the first half of the reign.[2] He was in the king's service already by 1274-1275, receiving £6 16s 10d ob. for his annual wages.[3] Another tailor, Robert, or Robinet, was working along with Adenet de Bidik, at least by 1285-1286.[4] Robinet was assisted by Thomas le Deveneys, a sub-tailor and by a clerk, Elie de Wheteley.[5] The last tailor of the king was Geoffrey de Meritch, who was also involved at some stage in the making of tents.

This small army of tailors was flanked by a few operatores

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[1] The tailors of Queen Eleanor were successively William de Somerfeld and a certain Richard (The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile, p. 65, n. 47 and Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 36 762, mem. 2). Queen Margaret also had her own tailor, Thomas de Virzon, who was probably French. Perrot le Irreys was sole tailor for the young children of the king, but as they grew up they began to keep their personal tailors. A certain Henry was working for Elizabeth when she became countess of Holland, and was later succeeded, after the return of the countess to England, by a tailor called Peter (Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae, p. 91). John the tailor was working for Edward of Caernarvon, while members of the court who were living on the same expenditure level as the king's children, such as John of Brabant or Mary of Brittany, had their personal tailors (E101 356/21/12 (1298-1299). Occasional references in the accounts enable us to glimpse the activity of other tailors who were attached to various members of the court outside the circle of the royal family. Some of the ladies in attendance on the queen had their own tailors, as well, certainly, as most bannerets and knights of the household (The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile, pp. 102 and 124).

[2] T.F. Tout, Chapters, iv, p. 369, n. 1, identifies Bidik with Bidache, Pyrénées Atlantiques, which seems unlikely. He thought that the royal tailor was the same person as the Adenettus who became involved in a plea in Wales, but there is no proof of this.

[3] C47/3/11.

[4] Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-1286, no. 172. Robinettus was still in service by January 1299 (E101 371/8/255).

[5] E36/201. Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae, p. 77.

and operatrices.[1] To translate those terms by the word 'seamstress' does not really account for their range of activity: they were sewing garments, notably linen garments, but they were also possibly doing some embroidery, and they were perhaps responsible for the preparation of head gear and the dressing of the royal family. They certainly had a close relationship with their patrons. A document of 1290, for instance, mentions the gift of a decorated girdle given by the queen to Joan, operatrix of Mary of Brittany.[2]

Tailors occasionally purchased armour; in 1301-1302, for instance, Geoffrey de Meretz purchased some armour for the earl of Ross on the order of the king.[3] But this task was nominally reserved to the armourer, armator. Gibelin was armourer of the king at the beginning of the reign, under the supervision of Albin, a squire.[4] Pavilioners were also retained in the royal service. Robert de Dors was the main papillonarius regis.[5] He was at the head of a small office charged with the making, repair and drying of tents of all types. Pavilioners formed a particular category among the craftsmen, spending most of their time in workshops based out of court in times of peace, but they become suddenly prominent in the documents during the periods of

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[1] Ferrand de Ispannia, Alicia, Annote and perhaps Ermentrude de Saukevill' were working in that capacity in the entourage of Eleanor of Castile (The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile, pp. 70, 115, 116, 128).

[2] The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile, p. 130.

[3] E101 364/13, fol. 49v.

[4] C47/3/11 (1277-1278) and E101 350/26 (1276-1277).

[5] E101 350/26, mem. 4 and Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 36 762, mem. 3 and 5.

preparation for military expeditions.

A few leather craftsmen were retained in the household. This is explained by the amount of work to be undertaken, and by the inability of the household to rely on irregular sources of service. A royal saddler was in charge of the provision of saddles and riding gear for the king. This charge was filled during most of the reign by Raymond de Bordeaux.[1] Painters and goldsmiths occasionally took part in the making of pieces of clothing and furniture and of costume accessories. Painters may have provided other craftsmen with patterns for decoration, while goldsmiths made head-gear and precious girdles for the royal family.[2]

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[1] E101 350/26 (1277-1278), mem. 4. John de Gillingham was perhaps another saddler working for the royal household (Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 36 762: August 1278). Some cofferers were also retained in the royal household: Thomas de Querle, for example, was working for Queen Margaret in that capacity (Brit. Lib. Add. Ms. 37 656, fol. 3v (1304-1305). In 1279, some saddles were purchased for the tournament of Windsor Park from Florence le Seller, a Parisian saddler (S. Lysons, 'Copy of a Roll of Purchases made for the Tournament of Windsor Park', pp. 305-10). He probably entered the service of Edward I in Gascony in 1280s, and took the title of sellarius regis. This position probably helped him to settle in London if he did not have connections there already (Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-1286, nos. 88, 96, 491, 644, 1693; Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, nos. 89, 196, 412, 1491).

[2] Edward aurifaber regis seems to have been the first goldsmith in the service of Edward I. He is mentioned in the accounts for 1277-1278 for repair of plate (Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 36 762, mem. 3 and 5). He was succeeded by Adam the goldsmith. Adam was first employed in the service of the queen. But after the death of Eleanor, he began to work for the king. He also worked for Elizabeth, daughter of the king, in 1296, and for queen Margaret in 1301 (The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile, p. 66, note 49. Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 4574, fol. 69. E101 351/9, mem. 8 and 9. Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7965, fol. 139v). Another goldsmith working for the king was Reginaldus de Frowick: for instance, in 1296-1297, he made a nouschia, or ornament, of gold, set with precious stones in the form of a bird, for Elizabeth, daughter of the king. But he may not have been retained permanently in the royal household (Brit. Lib. Add. MS.

Craftsmen received wages and robes according to their rank in the king's household. For example, Goscekin, tailor of John of Brabant, was a valet de officio: he received wages, robes and foot-gear according to that rank.[1] Robert de Dors, pavilioner of the king, and Raymond de Bordeaux, the saddler, received wages of 7d ob. when they were in court and 6d when they were out of court.[2] This did not compare too well with the wages paid, for instance, to the king's masons, who received at least 8 to 10d a day.[3] In addition, however, craftsmen were often paid by the task: in 1298-1299, John, tailor of Edward, son of the king, received 4d ob. a day while he was working for his master at London, but he was also paid 3s for the making of each set of garments.[4] Table XI gives some rates for tailors' work.

B Tasks and Competences.

-Household work. A certain amount of work was carried out in the household itself. The ladies of the court certainly supervised some embroidery work and also the sewing of some linen garments; they might even have taken part in some light tasks, as is suggested by the survival of precious hanging needle-cases obviously made for women of the high aristocracy, such as the

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7965, fol. 38).

[1] Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, no. 202 and E101 352/6. In 1287-1288, he received, for the winter season, materials amounting to a value of 13s 4d for his robe and 2s 4d for his foot-gear, or the equivalent sum of money.

[2] E101 350/26, mem. 4 (1276-1278).

[3] The History of the King's Works, i, p. 209.

[4] E101 356/21/12.

Table XI: Tailoring Costs.

garment	1275-1276	1276-1277	1277-1278	1278-1279	1279-1280
robe	3s, 3s 6d, 4s	3s	3s	3s	3s 6d, 4s
tabard	12d		6d, 8d	6d	
cloche	1s ?				
pallium de alemania	1s ?	1s	1s 3d		
tunica de alemania			8d		
surcote		6d			
pallium			8d		
pellicia			4s	4s	

Tailoring of garments for the king (1275-1280). Sources: C47/3/11 and 14.

robe	location of the workshop	length of preparation	cost of the work	other costs
1 robe	London	15 days		transport from London to Langley: 10d. Wrapping of the robe: 2d.
1 robe (6 garments)	London	15 days	6s	
1 robe (4 garments)				thread and silk: 12d
1 robe (3 garments)			2s	thread and silk: 12d
1 robe			5s	
1 robe (6 garments)	London	8 days	5s + 3d a day	thread and silk: 12d
1 robe		8 days		

Tailoring of robes for Elizabeth daughter of the king (1296-1297). Source: C47/3/48/21.

piece	date	reference	details
coyfe	undated	E101 371/8/193	'item pur le facon de une dozeine de coyfes ijs'
camisia	1301-1302	E101 371/8/88	6d to sew a camisia
surplice	1300-1301	Brit. Lib. Add. Ms. 7 966A, fol. 29v.	1s to sew the surplice
bed linen	undated	E101 371/8/193	3d to sew a pair of bed sheets

Cost for making linen pieces.

Fermail de Saint Louis.[1] The tailors probably worked in the chambers to prepare for some festivity, fixing a fold, adjusting a garment, doing some last-minute work.

Tailors and other craftsmen were also involved in the setting-up of furnishings. At every stopping-place of the court, chambers and halls had to be furnished quickly. A few missing accessories, such as cords, nails and rivets were often purchased on the spot. Curtains notably had to be hung and tended along the walls as well as around the beds, and the cortinagium of a chamber often required a good deal of work.[2]

Repairs required the presence of craftsmen in the household. Constant travels led to the rapid wearing out of furnishing pieces, and mentions of repairs done on the spot are numerous.[3] The accounts surviving for the king's stay at Lanercost Priory in 1306-1307 provide good examples of craftsmens' work for the royal chamber. The king arrived at Lanercost on 16 September 1306.[4] When it became patent that the king would not move from Lanercost for a certain time, orders were sent to the great wardrobe clerks to have the materials necessary for the refurnishing of the chamber set up in the priory:

'Nous vous mandoms qe pour lapparail de notre chambre et por aucunes autres choses qe nous avons ordene affaire vous facez

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[1] S. Groves, The History of Needlework Tools and Accessories, plate 2.

[2] For instance, Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7966A, fol. 162: 'pro curtinis in camera regis pendendis et tendendis...xvijs.'

[3] For instance, E101 357/18, mem. 2 (1299-1300): mention of repairs for the chamber of Edward of Caernavon. 'Item apud Lincoln' pro emendacione ij courtinarum xvjd.'

[4] J.R.H. Moorman, 'Edward I at Lanercost Priory, 1306-7', EHR, lxviii (1952), 161-74.

venir iusqes a Lanercost cclxxxxiiij aunes de gros russet, x pieces de carde vert, cxxxiij aunes de teile, j furure de gris por une cote, deux furures d'aigneux et quatre pels de cerfs bien coureez.'[1]

Nine workers were employed for two days to sew cloth for the furnishing of the chamber. In December, various repair works had to be undertaken: cushions were made, and six workers had to work again on the furnishing of the chamber. In April 1307, rings and similar accessories were purchased for the curtains.[2]

-The Workshops. Most of the work, however, undertaken by craftsmen retained in the royal service took place in workshops based out of court, mainly in London, but also at various places in Gascony when the king sojourned there, and at York and Carlisle during the Scottish campaigns. From the beginning of the reign, a house was rented in London by the clerks of the great wardrobe. There is evidence that it functioned partly as a warehouse for the hernesium of the king.[3] But it was also used as a workshop by the royal tailors.[4] Its exact location during the reign of Edward I is not known. Later evidence, available for the 1360s, shows that there was such a house in Lombard street, whence the workshop was moved to Baynard's Castle ward.[5] At that

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[1] E101 684/58/10 (2 November 1306).

[2] E101 370/16, fols. 1v, 3, 9v and 11v.

[3] C47/3/11: a house was rented in London 'in qua pars hernesii rob[arum] regis custoditur' for 100s. a year, from 1276 to 1280 at least. The first membranes of the account are partly illegible, and it is possible that a house was permanently rented for the use of the great wardrobe. There is a mention of a house 'domini Hamonis in villa' in 1288-1289 (Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, no. 3436). In 1300-1301, a house was rented from Henry de [Dumelin'] of London (E101 359/20).

[4] E101 359/20 (1300-1301).

[5] The History of the King's Works, ii, pp. 980-1.

time, a room was reserved in the new house for the tailors, and it was called Taillourie, and another for the skinners, or Skynnerschambre.[1]

Royal tailors worked regularly in the London workshop. But little is known about the location of the workshops of other royal craftsmen, such as saddlers or pavilioners. The latter particularly needed a large space to conduct their work, which also involved the drying of tents outdoors. As to the tailors working for other members of the court, they had their separate workshops, at least on some occasions.[2]

Tailors worked in the workshop to make garments, as well as pieces of furnishing, surplices for the chapel, banners, and housings for horses.[3] It was also certainly there that most repairs of clothing were carried out. In 1289, an unfortunate accident happened at Burgh in Norfolk, when the cart transporting the wardrobe of the queen overturned in water, and all the queen's garments were soaked: William, the queen's tailor, was paid 26s 8d for their repair, an operation which involved reparacio and recuditura, and which very probably took place in the royal workshop at London.[4] The operation called reparatio was probably a complete resetting of the garments. Such 'repairs'

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[1] Ibid., ii, p. 981.

[2] For instance, the tailor of the countess of Holland rented a house for at least the whole of the year 1296-1297 (C47/3/48/21).

[3] The title of the account of tailors' expenditure, for instance, give an idea of the tasks of the tailor: '...factura robarum et linthiaminum regis [...] factura diversorum armorum, vexillorum et penocellorum...' (Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae, p. 355).

[4] The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile, p. 66.

also to be undertaken to prepare the wardrobes for important occasions: William, tailor of one of the ladies in attendance on the queen, spent twelve days in London repairing the robe of his employer for the wedding of Joan of Acre to the earl of Gloucester in 1290.[1]

-Transport of finished pieces to the court. The clothes and pieces of furniture made in the workshops of the great wardrobe were then transported to the court. The accounts for the year 1300-1301 show how this was organized. In November 1300, two horses were used to transport the saddles, armour and other similar things for the king from Newcastle to York at a cost of 5s. They were then transported from York to London at a cost of 16s. In December, robes and other similar items were carried from London to the court at Northampton for the Christmas festivities. It seems that the king's wardrobe was not complete, because Elie de Wodber had to return to London with two robes and to wait there for three days for the lining of fur which had been given by the queen to the king. He then returned to Northampton, a journey which took him two days. For Easter, a robe was fetched from London for the king and transported to the court at Fakenham. In June, four horses were hired to carry the tapeta, saddles, banners and other armaturas from London to York for the war in Scotland, at a cost of 32s, and 8d were spent on purchasing cords for the making of bales for the transport. Then everything was carried from York to Newcastle, and thence to

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[1] Ibid., p. 102. In 1299-1300, Henry tailor of Elizabeth went to London from 18 September to 19 November, 'pro robis eiusdem comitisse reparandis' (Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae, p. 91).

Berwick. A garcio was paid 3d a day to guard these items.[1]

-Details of the activity of a few craftsmen. The accounts give us a vivid picture of the life of the household craftsmen. In 1297, Elizabeth, daughter of the king was married and some details concerning the preparation of her trousseau have survived. Thirty-five workers worked in London for four days and four nights on her wardrobe and possibly on her chamber, each receiving 6d for a day and a night. Candles had to be purchased in bulk for the work, at a total cost of 2s 6d. The work took place in winter, and it is possible that what was understood by night was in fact the time between dusk and midnight. Henry, tailor of Elizabeth, supervised the work for eight days, receiving 6d a day. He then went to Ipswich where he was helped by two garciones who kept the trousseau for eight days. Henry had to purchase silk and buttons for his task, together with accessories for the curtains. He also paid outside workers for the making of bed linen and of a canvas for the bed.[2]

The accounts of John, tailor of Edward of Caernavon, record the preparation of the wardrobe of the king's son for the wedding of his father with Margaret of France in September 1299 and give an idea of the organization of the tailor's activities. He stayed twenty-three days in London in order to prepare the wardrobe of his master; he received wages of 4d ob. a day and was paid 3s for the making of each of the three robes, and spent 16d on silk and thread for his work. The robes were then packed and sent to

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[1] E101 359/20, mem. 1 and 2.

[2] E101 354/21 and Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7965, fol. 20.

Dover. He spent another thirteen days in London making the furnishings.[1]

-Administrative Tasks carried out by Craftsmen.

Like all members of the court, the tailor of Edward of Caernarvon was also involved in tasks which were outside his competence as a crafstman. He supervised the work of carpenters at Northampton in 1300, and distributed alms on behalf of the prince.[2] The case of Adinet, the king's tailor, offers a detailed example of the career of a craftsman in royal service. At first, he seems to have been directly attached to the person of the king. In November 1276, and again in the days preceding Christmas, he spent several days in London preparing the king's robes. He then supervised the transport of the wardrobe and armour from London to Cirencester. Later, perhaps for the Easter festivities, he went again to London where he spent three weeks preparing the armoury and robes of the king. He accompanied two horses carrying cloth, fur and saddles from Woodstock to London, and again one horse carrying cloths of gold from London to Norwich. During the following years, his work for the king was very similar, and one can follow him on his journeys to and from the court.[3]

But he was soon involved in work for the great wardrobe: in 1274, he was responsible, together with Giles de Oudenarde, the

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[1] E101 356/21/12.

[2] E101 357/18.

[3] E101 350/26, mem. 1, 2 and 5 and Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 36 762, mem. 3: he was again in London from 3 October to 31 October 1277, from 18 November to 24 December 1277, from 19 January to 2 February 1278.

clerk keeper of the great wardrobe, for the preparation of the coronation ceremony and festivities.[1] He purchased fruit for the king on several occasions during the 1270s, an activity usually connected with the great wardrobe.[2] In 1278, he went to Paris to make purchases for the royal family, and he certainly had regular connections with the Parisian crafts. He had a clerk called Alan, whose office was certainly necessary if Adinet spent more of his time working for the great wardrobe.[3]

In 1285-1286, however, he was occasionally working on the robes of the king.[4] While the court was in Gascony, he spent most of the time out of court, either working in local workshops of the great wardrobe, or going on purchasing commissions.[5] It seems that he completely relinquished his position as personal tailor to the king only after the court's return to England, and that he then spent his time in administrative and purchasing activities.[6]

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[1] E372 124/24d. T.F. Tout considered that Adinettus was then at the head of the great wardrobe, jointly with the clerk, but perhaps this was not actually the case (T.F. Tout, Chapters, iv, p. 369, n. 1).

[2] E101 350/26, mem. 4.

[3] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 36 762, mem. 3 and C47/3/11: the presence of Alan is at least attested from 1277 to 1282.

[4] C47/3/11.

[5] In 1286-1287, he received 75s st. for 200 days that he had spent in England while the court was on the continent, on a basis of 4d ob. a day, and 111s 2d ob. a day for 127 days which he had spent out of court in France and Gascony, on a basis of 10d ob. a day (Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, no. 132).

[6] In 1288-1289, he was supervising some works in Rayleigh park (Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, no. 1902).

This kind of activity placed the royal craftsmen apart from their urban colleagues. They were, as well as artisans, the king's men, and as such they were employed on all kinds of tasks, including some administrative work, a fact which may lead one to forget about their technical competence.

III The Royal Household and the Urban Crafts.

The cost of keeping a house in the city of London or in other important centres was high, and there were good reasons for that expense. Some of the materials needed by the craftsmen of the royal household were purchased from London shops and it was certainly convenient to be situated in the heart of the city. But the main reason may have lain in the fact that the household staff needed to be able to supervise the work done to order in urban workshops, and to use the urban labour force on a temporary basis. Furthermore, some of the king's craftsmen, who benefited from that title and even occasionally received wages, were mostly active in towns, not in the royal household. Even the household artisans, permanently retained by the king, did not completely relinquish their links with the urban crafts; some of them may have had an urban, as well as a household, career.

A Occasional Employment of Urban Workers in the Royal Workshops.

Regularly, urban workers were hired to work in the tailors' workshops. This was particularly the case when a festival or a particular ceremony was in view. In 1290, William, tailor of one of the ladies in waiting of the queen, went to London to repair a robe for his mistress for the Easter festivities and he sought

the help of London workers.[1] In 1302-1303, for the preparation of the king's robes for the festivals of Christmas, Epiphany and Purification, workmen had to be hired, for a total cost of 16s.[2] It is probable that the officers of the various aristocratic households were competing to find the best workers at the best price before the great festivals of the year: it is possible that the king's prerogative was used by the royal tailors to recruit workers, but this does not appear specifically in the documentation.

B Urban Craftsmen with a Regular Connection with the Royal Household. The royal household had privileged connections with certain urban craftsmen. Sometimes, as well as being paid by the task, they received wages, and even robes and a rank in the royal household.[3] We find skinners in this category: to our knowledge, there was no skinner permanently employed in the royal household, in spite of the amount of work to be done on furs. The reason may be due to the fact that skinners could be hired easily. Also, some of the skinner's work was often done by tailors.[4] It seems that only the most difficult work was actually carried out by

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[1] The Court and Household, p. 102. In September, he again spent some time in London and had to hire some workers in the city.

[2] E101 372/13/2, mem. 2.

[3] In 1285-1286, this was the case of Gibelin, hauberk maker of the king, Raymond of Bordeaux, king's saddler and Florence le Seller who all had money for robes and were called servientes forinseci in the accounts (Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-1286, no. 1693).

[4] H. Swanson, Medieval Artisans. An Urban Class in Late Medieval England (Oxford, 1989), p. 48.

specialists: in December 1300, a skinner, pelliparius, worked for six days on the lining of a cape for Elizabeth countess of Holland, and received 3s for his task.[1] Similar references always present the skinners in a temporary capacity, and one has to wait perhaps until the reign of Edward III to see skinners among the household staff.[2]

Other craftsmen working on commission for the court were the embroiderers. The most prominent embroiderer of the reign was Christiane de Enfield, who seems to have been at the head of a large workshop in London. In the 1280s, she made an embroidered cope for the king, and was paid 50m for her work.[3] In March 1303, she received £60 for a similar garment made to order for Prince Edward.[4] Henry de Bruges was another embroiderer of importance: he sold an embroidered cape to Queen Eleanor for 40m.[5] The cost of these embroideries is a testimony of the high quality of secular embroidery.

Christiane de Enfield and Henry de Bruges were London embroiderers. M. Fitch has shown the presence and expansion of the setters in the City of London, some of them possibly at the

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[1] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7966A, fol. 31v.

[2] For instance, Nicholas furettarius of London received a payment in April 1290 probably for some work done to order (C47/4/5, fol. 21v).

[3] Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, no. 3108.

[4] E101 364/13, fol. 35.

[5] Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, no. 3144. Another embroiderer, Christiane de Weston, received a payment of £13 6s 8d in July 1290 (C47/4/5, fol. 24).

head of large workshops, with fifteen to twenty-five workers.[1] The reputation achieved by the London embroiderers was high.[2] The end of the XIIIth century and the beginning of the XIVth century correspond to the great period of opus anglicanum, an expression taken from continental inventories. The stylistic characteristic of the embroidery made in England may have been a lavish working of backgrounds in threads of gold, but any statement is made difficult by the fact that remains of other types of embroidery work are rare and that opus anglicanum was certainly imitated abroad.

The royal household also relied on the services of continental embroiderers. For instance, embroidered cushions were bought in Paris by the end of the reign, and it seems that the working of cushions with precious materials was a Parisian speciality. There were many embroiderers in Paris, fifteen of them appearing in the 'Livre de la Taille' of 1313.[3] Venice was another centre of embroidery work, and some embroidered vestments of Italian origin may have been sold to the English royal court by Italian merchants such as the Bellardi.[4]

Dyers and shearers were also regularly servicing the great wardrobe. We have seen that some London dyers in woad, such as

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[1] M. Fitch, 'The London Makers of Opus Anglicanum', Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, xxvii (1976), 288-96.

[2] Opus Anglicanum: English Medieval Embroidery. The Victoria and Albert Museum, 26 September to 24 November 1963 (London, 1963), p. 5.

[3] Francisque Michel, Recherches sur le Commerce, ii, p. 350.

[4] D. King, 'A Venetian Embroidered Altar Frontal', Victoria and Albert Museum Bulletin, i (October 1965), 14-25.

John le Woder, were in regular contact with the clerks who kept the stores.[1] The shearing of fine cloths was carried out in the workshops of specialized craftsmen: in August 1289, for instance, Ely retonsor was paid 17d for the final shearing of a cloth of ray and of 10 ells of burnet.[2]

Other urban craftsmen probably had privileged connections with the royal household, but it is sometimes difficult to distinguish a specific production made to order for the court from the rest of the craftsmens' activity. Cutepoynters and tapitarii certainly worked to order, mainly because they produced objects decorated with heraldic patterns. Cutepoynters were responsible for the making of cutepoyntes and mattresses. The making of cutepoyntes was often supervised by tailors. In 1302-1303, Henry, a tailor of London, was in charge of the making of two cutepoyntes, or culcitrae punctatae for the king.[3] But in 1286-1287, the amount of work was considerable enough for the king to create an office for the culcitrarius: the name of Giles le Cutepoynter was definitely entered on the roll of the marshal after he had spent some time in the royal household, receiving wages.[4] Similarly, a tapettarius received robes from the queen

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[1] E101 359/20.

[2] Other shearers working for the great wardrobe were John de Paris and William Osebarn' (Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, nos. 3437 and 3466; E101 368/12).

[3] E101 368/12, fol. 2v: 'pro denariis per ipsum solutis pro factura duarum culcitrarum punctatarum una cum serico, lana, coton et filo empto ad easdem cs.'

[4] Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, no. 971. C47/4/5, fol. 23 (1289-1290): 'Domino Egidio de Audenard' et Johanni de Sutton clerico de prestito super officio magne garderobe liberorum regis dum rex stetit in Vasconia per manus Egidii culcitrarii pro factura culcitrarum, matracorum et aliorum

in 1290, but he may not have been retained in the permanent service of her household.[1]

London leather craftsmen also worked for the royal household on a regular basis. There was a household saddler, but the services of some London saddlers, such as Roger de Lynton [or Lenton], Richard the saddler and John the saddler, were sought after.[2] Girdlers provided the court with girdles in the 'fashion of London' and in the 'fashion of Paris'.[3] Shoes, boots and pattens were bought from London shoemakers. In the 1270s, Guillot le Cordewaner was regularly providing the great wardrobe with foot-gear destined for the use of the king.[4] John de Norwich, John Pedamy and Gaudewin allutarius of London also provided foot-gear for the royal family.[5]

Urban goldsmiths sold to the court jewels and accessories for clothing worked in precious metals and set with gems. In

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xxxvijs viiijd.'

[1] The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile, p. 83.

[2] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7966A, fols. 36v and 39 (1300-1301). E101 368/12, fol. 3 (1305-1306). Reginald and Florence le Seller, two London saddlers sold goods for £49 17s 6d to the royal household in 1289-1290 (C47/4/5, fol. 21v).

[3] In November 1290, Alicia Breton sold a girdle de opere London' to the queen for 12s, and 'Capeles' a girdle de opere Paris' for 13s 4d (The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile, p. 130).

[4] E101 350/26 (1277-1278), Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 36 762, mem. 3 (1278-1279) and E101 351/12, mem. 4.

[5] The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile, p. 106. E101 368/12, fol. 3 (1305-1306). Some London cofferers, such as Gilbert le Cofferer, John de Bokhton, Walter de Bardeney or Colin le Cofferer worked for the court, providing not only coffers, but also bags and saddles (Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 36 762, mem. 5, The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile, p. 67, C47/4/5, fol. 21, Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 37 656, fol. 2 and Add. MS. 7965, fol. 150).

1305-1306, Thomas de Berkyng, a London goldsmith, sold buttons of silver gilt for the robes of the king's sons, while John Moraunt, a Winchester goldsmith, regilded some girdles and made two buckles of gold for them.[1]

C Craftsmen or Merchants? It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between craftsman and merchant. The successful craftsman certainly traded, at least on a small scale, while many merchants undertook to provide the court with goods made under their supervision. Thus, many accessories for clothing and small items of jewellery were sold to the court by drapers, mercers and other merchants.[2] Stephen de Hereford, a mercer of London, sold felt hats to Thomas and Edmund, the king's sons, in 1304-1305.[3] In 1290, 'Labro Philippi', a merchant of Florence, Roger Abbot, Roger de Acon and Roger de Gamaunt, all of them merchants, were selling jewels and other precious objects to the queen, while a certain Imayne of London was providing the craftsmen working for the queen with gold, silks and various beads.[4] Tailors were also selling small items of jewellery to the workshops of the king. This was the case with William de Marleberg, a tailor of London, who purchased buttons of silver gilt for the robes of the king's

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[1] E101 368/12, fol. 2.

[2] This observation has been made for the XVth century by M. Campbell, 'English Goldsmiths in the Fifteenth Century', England in the Fifteenth Century. Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium, ed. D. Williams (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 43-52, esp. p. 49.

[3] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 37 656, fol. 2v.

[4] The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile, pp. 75, 81, 85, 106.

children, and delivered them to Stephen, their tailor.[1] In 1300-1301, a certain Adinet, tailor of London, sold plate to Robert de Langeton, a royal clerk, for the chapel of Thomas de Brotherton. He was perhaps the same person as the former royal tailor, in which case we would have here an example of a reconversion from the service of the royal household to urban trade.[2] A few men sold religious vestments and decorations for vestments to the royal household, but it is unclear whether they were craftsmen or merchants.[3]

D Purchases from Parisian Workshops. In 1279, Adinet the tailor was sent to Paris to fetch goods, probably made to order, for the royal household. He purchased saddles from Florence le Seller and horse-trappings from Stéphane de Péronne, as well as gloves for hawking from Thomas le Gaunter.[4]

A few years later, during the stay of the king in Gascony, orders were sent to Parisian craftsmen, notably saddlers, and messengers were dispatched regularly to Paris to collect the goods. Eleanor of Castile bought head-gear and accessories for costume from Johannes le Romeyn, a Parisian merchant, who continued to provide her with goods after she had returned to

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[1] E101 368/12, fol. 3.

[2] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7966 A, fol. 35v.

[3] In 1290, Robert le Sayour and Henry le Convers sold fringes of gold and several vestments for the chapel of the queen (The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile, pp. 107 and 127).

[4] S. Lysons, 'Copy of a Roll of Purchases made for the Tournament of Windsor Park', pp. 305-10.

England.[1]

The marriage of Edward I to a French princess in 1299 led to the multiplication of purchases from Parisian craftsmen. For instance, in 1300-1301, the queen's clerk, Thomas de Querle, and the Frescobaldi made several payments to Parisian merchants and craftsmen: to Pierre tapetarius, to Henri broudator who had made small silk cushions decorated with beads of white coral and agates, and to two brothers coutepointers, for thirty cushions, one culcitra punctata, and other furnishing items for the chamber of the queen.[2]

Conclusion.

This rapid survey of the craftsmen working for the royal court and of their techniques gives a glimpse of the extent of royal patronage. A small group of artisans were permanently present, at least on the fringes of the court, and the connection between the royal household and the urban crafts was close and regular. The needs of the royal court may have had important consequences for the development of the artisanal class in urban society, and particularly in London. One should not forget, however, that the services of continental craftsmen were continually sought after, and that continental fashions undoubtedly influenced English craftsmen.

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[1] The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile, pp. 84 and 102.

[2] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7966 A, fols. 156 and 156v.

Conclusion to the first part.

The royal household was at the centre of a network of trade and craft-work. Long-distance trade provided the luxury goods much needed in the aristocratic way of life, but many of the less luxurious materials also came from abroad, while English cloth competed with continental products. The needs of the royal household were such as to reinforce trade and to group merchants around the court, who provided the necessary goods but also shared in the financial administration of the crown's income. The royal household also weighed heavily on urban life, by its demands for finished products and for a temporary workforce. As such, it was an important factor in the economic life of the kingdom.

The study of the wardrobe accounts highlights this, as well as providing evidence for the consumption of textile materials and furs. These were obviously used widely for the making of clothes, but also in order to create an adequate decor for the royal court. Finally, they were used in more specific ways which stemmed from the exercise of his patronage by the king. These various themes will be developed in the course of the following chapters.

Part two: Costume and Furnishings in Court Society and Politics.

The study of costume has long been confined to the field of the history of 'everyday life' by medievalists, although recent years have seen numerous works published on medieval costume, many of them inspired by the work of anthropologists on costume in traditional societies. Costume, however, as well as furnishings, possessed important functions in medieval society. The cost of fabrics and furs gave them a significant value. Members of the royal household received robes from the king, and this represented a high percentage of what they drew from the wardrobe for their service. In case of financial difficulties, garments could be sold. Clothes were an important part of legacies.[1] There are also numerous examples of thefts of clothes.[2]

Costume expressed levels of fortune and social status. For instance, the robes and accessories made for the king, the queen and their children were meant, by their extraordinary richness, to exemplify the exceptional character of the royal family. Familial ceremonies were carefully staged, in a setting of

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[1] For instance, Cartulary of Oseney Abbey, ed. H.E. Salter, i (Oxford, 1929), pp. 411-2: 'Ego Iuliana Wyth...facio testamentum meum in hunc modum... Item domine Iuliane de la Wyke unum pallium de morreye furatum de biches cum capucio et tunica de eodem panno...'

[2] For example, Records of the Borough of Leicester, ed. M. Bateson (London, 1899), pp. 361-3: 'Rog. Dun de la Marche latro captus et saisitus...cognovit se esse latronem de pluribus latrociniis et roberiis et precipue de quadam roberia facta apud Luton in comitatu Bedford, unde habuit ad partem suam lx sol. sterlingorum, vij cocleares argenti, unum capucium de virida furra de minoverr'.'

precious hangings and furnishings decorated with the arms of the Plantagenets, to create an impressive image for the royal lineage. The greater diversity of materials available by the late XIIIth century made it easier to play on the symbolic dimensions of costume, and the colours of garments were chosen, occasionally, so as to be read like a code.

The following chapters will develop these themes. Chapter 4 is a general study of costume at the court of Edward I, which draws heavily on accounts as well as on the representation of costume in iconographic documents, sepulchral effigies and also on the study of extant remains, such as the garments found in the royal tombs at the monastery of Las Huelgas, near Burgos. Chapter 5 is a detailed analysis of the wardrobes of the royal family, and of the setting of the court. It includes a study of some of the ceremonies which took place during the reign, and which were used by the court to project a prestigious image of the royal family, for the purposes of royal propaganda. Chapter 6 is dedicated to the study of the various ways in which Edward I used costume to exercise his patronage, notably by the handing out of robes of liveries. Chapter 7 is an attempt to place liveries in the general context of the evolution of the relationships within the aristocracy.

Chapter 4: Costume at the Court of Edward I.

The royal household was a contrasted social group. Alongside the richest in the kingdom, modest categories of servants lived and worked, while the clerical members of the court were distinguished by some specific features of costume. However, it seems that the royal household as a whole projected an exclusive image. Indeed, fashion, beauty and riches were notable attractions of the court. Costume played an important part in this, and in the creation of a flattering image for the members of the aristocracy. In the course of the following pages, we shall first focus on this role of costume. A second section will be dedicated to the analysis of what has been called the 'system of costume' by anthropologists, that is to say the various components of costume and their organization into a legible system, and to the connection between the 'system of costume' and actual clothing.

The wardrobe accounts offer abundant information about costume and furnishings made for the court. The iconographic documentation is also quite important: sculpture and painting, whether panel, mural or manuscript painting, also provide a significant amount of evidence. For instance, the effigies of Henry III, Eleanor of Castile and Edmund Crouchback in Westminster Abbey are notable examples of the art of the court of Edward I. The Waltham Cross statue of Queen Eleanor, made about the same time as the effigies, reflects continental influences, notably in the graceful pose of the figure, accentuated by the long folds of the costume and the gesture of

the hand which holds the cord of the mantle.[1]

The Westminster retable, completed c. 1270-1280, shows figures draped in large garments of dark colours, all decorated at the edge with embroidery. The representation of a statue of St Faith in Westminster Abbey may be attributed to the reign of Edward I, although the patronage of this particular mural painting raises a certain number of difficulties.[2] The costume of the saint strongly recalls the costumes of the figures of the Westminster retable, although it is of a more hieratic style. The second group of paintings of the Painted Chamber of Westminster, known from early XIXth century copies, represent scenes from the Old Testament. They have been attributed to the painter Walter of Durham, who worked both for Henry III and Edward I and was the author of the first set of paintings in the Chamber. But P. Binski has shown that the choice of scenes might be attributed to the patronage of Edward I: the Macchabean battle scenes especially seem to reflect what is known of the tastes and ideals of Edward I. Also, there are strong stylistic similarities between the warfare scenes of the Painted Chamber of Westminster and some manuscripts of the late XIIIth and early XIVth century such as the Genealogical Roll of the Kings of Britain [plate XXVII] and the Paris manuscript of the Roman de Toute Chevalerie

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[1] This sculpture is now at the Victoria and Albert Museum. The Age of Chivalry, cat. no. 374.

[2] A Benedictine monk is represented kneeling in a corner of the painting, and this probably makes reference to Benedictine patronage.

of Thomas of Kent.[1]

A certain number of illuminated manuscripts may be linked more or less closely with the patronage of the court of Edward I and of the royal family. Among these, the most important are perhaps the Douce Apocalypse, owned by Edward and Eleanor before 1272 [plate XXI], the genealogical roll of the kings of Britain, the Alphonso Psalter, the Windmill Psalter and perhaps the Roman de Toute Chevalerie of Thomas of Kent.[2] Some of the illuminations decorating these manuscripts give an overall idea of the court fashions of the late XIIIth and early XIVth century, although archaic features may occasionally appear.

I Riches, Power and Beauty: the Role of Costume in the Representation of the Aristocracy.

Costume played a major part in the display of aristocratic riches. Beauty was a feature of the aristocratic way of life, and certainly one of the attractions of the court: it was notably

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[1] Bodleian Library Bodley Rolls 3 and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. fr. 24 364. F. Avril and P.D. Stirnemann, Manuscrits Enluminés d'Origine Insulaire VIIe-XXe Siècle (Paris, 1987), no. 171. P. Binski, The Painted Chamber of Westminster, The Society of Antiquaries Occasional Paper (New Series) IX (London, 1986), p. 72 sq.

[2] Douce Apocalypse (Bodleian Library Ms. Douce 180). The Alphonso Psalter (c. 1284 and before 1316) can be dated from 1284 (Brit. Lib. Add. Ms. 24 686). The Windmill Psalter is another 'Court Style' manuscript (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library Ms. 102). To this group of manuscripts, one may join a leaf from Frère Laurent, Somme le Roi (c. 1300), Cambridge, FitzWilliam Museum Ms. 368. This was decorated for an English patron, although the exact provenance is uncertain. However, the style of the illumination is very similar to the style of illuminations of some 'Court Style' manuscripts. The Mostyn Psalter, the Mazarine Bible, the beginning of the Peterborough Psalter, the Ashridge Petrus Comester (British Library Royal Ms. 3D. VI) and a psalter owned by Jesus College, Oxford, may also be linked with the court milieu of the reign of Edward I.

created by the lavish display of brightly coloured materials, in an age where most fabrics used for costume quickly turned into grey, and by the multiplication of rich ornaments. Manuscript painting often underlines the colourful nature of court costume.[1] Romances multiply references to the riches of costume, and do not separate the beauty of the body from the riches of ornament.[2] Usually, the beauty of a character appears fully only when he or she is finally clothed with adequate richness. The beautiful lady of Rigomer is, for instance, as beautiful by her apparel as by her personal beauty:

> 'Tant fu sa vesteüre ciere,
> Que nel vos porroie aconter.
> On nel sëust tant esgarder,
> Que on pëust le pris savoir,
> Quantiel ele dëust valoir.
> Mout fu ses cors gens et mollés.
> A .i. fil d'or et galounes
> Ses crins, qui tant sunt blont et sor,
> Que de coulor resamblent or.'[3]

The surviving accounts of the great wardrobe reveal that the royal family and the highest ranks of the aristocracy appeared in court in splendid apparell. The intrinsic value of the

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[1] For instance, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. fr. 571, fol. 6 (c. 1326), reproduced in F. Avril and P.D. Stirnemann, Manuscrits Enluminés d'Origine Insulaire, pl. xxvi.

[2] The analogy, even the confusion, between beauty and riches in romances has often been underlined. O. Blanc, 'Le Jeu des Accessoires dans le Vêtement Médiéval', Le Corps Paré: Ornements et Atours, Razo no. 7 (Cahiers du Centre d'Etudes Médiévales de Nice, 1987), p. 38. J. Le Goff, La Civilisation de l'Occident Médiéval (2nd ed., Paris, 1982), p. 311.

[3] Les Mervelles de Rigomer von Jehan. Altfranzosischer Artusroman des XIII. Jahrhunderts, ed. W. Foerster (2 vols., Dresden, 1908 and 1915), i, p. 157, v. 5458 to 5466.

materials used for their costume expressed their status.[1] These materials belonged to a category of high-luxury goods which were out of reach for the average aristocratic budget.[2] It has been shown that a useful measure of the real cost of costume is the evaluation of the difference between the cost of the materials and the cost of labour for the elaboration of the final product. For example, a cloth of medley and various furs purchased in 1304 for the Christmas robe of Elizabeth, countess of Hereford, reached a total sum of £24, while the cost for making her robe must have been about 3s: in this case the difference was of the order of 160.[3]

The royal household was composed of various categories, and the image of the court must have been more composite than the impression derived from iconographic documents. Servants and clerks notably differed from other categories by their costume, but so probably did sergeants and knights of simple rank. It is probable that, on the whole, the hierarchy of the royal household would have mirrored the hierarchy of contemporary society,

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[1] The intrinsic value of the materials used for aristocratic costume was outstanding, and was often underlined in romances. This aspect has been studied by R. van Uytven, 'Cloth in Medieval Literature of Western Europe', Cloth and Clothing in Medieval Europe. Essays in Memory of Professor E.M. Carus-Wilson, ed. N.B. Harte and K.G. Ponting, Pasold Studies in Textile History 2 (London, 1983), pp. 151-83, esp. pp. 151-2.

[2] This is reflected at the lowest level by the distraints of knighthood: these fixed the minimum income of knights at £20 or £30 a year. After 1292, this was fixed at £40 a year (C. Dyer, Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages. Social Change in England c. 1200-1520 (Cambridge, 1989), p. 30.

[3] E101 364/29. This difference between the cost of the materials and the cost of labour led to frequent alterations of clothes for re-use, a fact underlined by J. Arnold in Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd. The Inventories of the Wardrobe of Robes prepared in July 1600 (Leeds, 1988), p. xiv.

underlined by the occasional restriction in medieval society of the use of certain materials to certain social categories. The existence of a corpus of sumptuary laws corroborates this: in medieval society, costume had a role as a sign of status and of membership of a group.[1] This semiological aspect of costume is well known from the work of anthropologists on traditional societies. It was certainly an important element in the medieval conception of social order.[2] In late-XIIth century England, the use of certain materials had been forbidden to some categories of society. Scarlet, sable, vair and gris, as well as certain fashions, were proscribed by Henry II in order to prepare the crusade.[3] There is no trace of any other attempt to issue sumptuary laws in England before 1337 but, in France, the kings promulgated sumptuary laws which illustrate a definite conception of social order, as well as of the economic preoccupations of the royal government.[4] In 1279, Philip the Bold promulgated a

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[1] M. Madou has summarized recent analyses: one of the functions of costume was to express status (M. Madou, Le Costume Civil (Turnhout, 1986) pp. 16-7).

[2] J. Martinet, 'Du Sémiologique au Sein des Fonctions Vestimentaires', Vêtements et Sociétés, Actes du Colloque CNRS 'Vers une Anthropologie du Vêtement', Musée de l'Homme (9-11 mars 1983), L'Ethnographie, Lxxx (1984), special number 92-93-94, 141-52 and esp. pp. 141-2.

[3] Chronica Gervasii monachi Cantuariensis, in W. Stubbs, The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury, i (London, 1880), p. 409 (Statute of Geddington, 11 November 1188): 'Et quod nullus habeat pannos decisos vel laceatos'. Memoriale Fratris Walteri de Coventria. The Historical Collections of Walter of Coventry, ed. W. Stubbs (2 vols., London, 1872-3), i, p. 353: 'Item, dispositum est quod nullus ludat ad aleas vel decios, et quod nullus utatur post proximum Pascha vario, grisio, sabelina, vel escarleta...'

[4] Statutes of the Realm, i, p. 280. C.R. Bell and E. Ruse, 'Sumptuary Legislation and English Costume, an Attempt to Assess the Effect of an Act of 1337', Costume, vi (1972), 22-31. S.L.

sumptuary law which was then developed by Philip the Fair in his ordonnance of 1294.[1] The text of 1294 sets out fully the materials forbidden to certain categories of society: vair, grey and ermine were restricted to the use of nobles, as were jewellery and costume accessories incorporating gold, silver or gems. The whole of the clergy, with the exception of bishops, archbishops and others clerks provided with a benefice, were not allowed to wear vair, grey or ermine, except in their hoods. The value of cloths used for costume was also regulated by the ordonnance [table XII].

There was no somptuary legislation in England during the period under study. However, the analysis of wardrobe accounts confirms the existence of rules concerning costume and social order: each member of the royal household was entitled to liveries of robes according to his status.[2] Even gifts were made discriminately. Did certain categories have the exclusive use of certain materials? There is no evidence that this was the case: the materials used for the costume of the royal family, for instance, were simply the best to be found. The wearing of purple and scarlet was not a monopoly of royal status, in spite of their symbolic connotations. Ermine appears only occasionally among the purchases for the royal wardrobes, and then only towards the end of the reign, probably under French influence. As to vair in its

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Waugh, England in the Reign of Edward III (Cambridge, 1991), p. 91.

[1] H. Duplès Agier, 'Une Ordonnance Somptuaire Inédite de Philippe le Hardi', BEC, xv (1854), 176-81, esp. pp. 179-80. Ordonnances des Rois de France de la Troisième Race (Paris, 1723), pp. 541-3.

[2] This theme is developed further in chapter 6.

Table XII: the French Sumptuary Law of 1294.

A Regulation of the size of the wardrobes.

category	number of 'paires de robes' allowed in one year
dukes, counts, barons and their wives, with 6000li. tournois of land or more	4 pairs
gifts from knights to their fellows	2 pairs
high ecclesiastics	2 pairs
knights	2 pairs 'tant seulement, ne par don, ne par achat, ne par autre maniere'
knights with 3000li. tournois of land or more, and bannerets	3 pairs 'et fera l'une de ces trois robes pour l'esté'
gifts from high ecclesiastics [to members of their entourage]	1 pair and 1 chappes
squires	2 pairs 'par don ne par achat, ne en nulle autre maniere'
garçons	1 pair
'nulle damoiselle, si elle n'est chastelaine, ou dame de deux mille livres de terre'	1 pair

B Regulation of the cost of materials.

category	maximum price of the cloth used for the clothing in sous tournois for the ell of Paris
high ecclesiastics, barons and wives of the barons	25s
gifts from the counts and barons to their entourage	18s
squires, sons of the barons, bannerets and castellans	15s
'les autres escuiers qui ne font de mesnage, et se vestent de leur propre'	10s
'clercs qui sont en dignitez, ou en personaiges'	12s
gifts of those clercs to members of their entourage	12s
'clercs qui ne sont en dignitez, ne personnages', sons of counts, barons, bannerets and castellans	16s
gifts of members of the previous category to their entourage	12s
'autres clercs qui font robes du leur'	12s 6d
canons of cathedral churches	15s
bourgeois with 2000li. tournois or more and their wives	12s 6d
bourgeois with less than 2000li. tournois	10s
wives of bourgeois with less than 2000li. tournois	12s

various forms, it was worn generally by all members of the aristocracy. The particularity of royal dress is that it may have required more fur than, for instance, the dress of the bannerets, and that it may have used minever more frequently.[1]

This is well reflected in iconographic documents. In religous iconography, Christ and the Virgin are often depicted with full mantles extensively furred: for instance, a representation of the Virgin in a northern English psalter of the late XIIIth century shows the mantle of the Virgin lined with ermine.[2] The representation of ermine occurs occasionally, but it is far more common to see the mantle of the central figure lined with minever, more rarely with gros vair, despite its very decorative aspect, with its 'cloche' pattern [plate XVI]. A kind of hat furred with minever is also frequently seen as a sign of power: Pilate is sometimes pictured with a type of square hat whose brim is lined with minever, and such hats featured in the wardrobe of Edward I.[3]

II The 'System of Costume' at the Court of Edward I.

Recent studies, largely in France, of medieval costume have to a great extent been inspired by work done by anthropologists

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[1] For example, the king gave 5 furs of minever to Queen Margaret for her robe for the festival of the Assumption of the Virgin in 1303 (E101 363/25/11): this was an exceptional quantity of fur, and the garments of the queen must have been very extensively furred.

[2] Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms. Laud. Lat. 5, fol. 11. Reproduced in N. Morgan, Early Gothic Manuscripts, ii, 1250-1285 (London, 1988), ill. 370.

[3] Psalter of Roger de Lisle (London, British Library Ms. Arundel 83 II), fol. 125, upper left.

on costume in traditional societies. In order to understand the functions of costume, anthropologists compare it to a linguistic system: costume, as a system of clothing, composed of the clothes and accessories available at a given moment, ordered by rules of compatibility and incompatibility, is similar to language, understood as a system of communication. By analogy, actual clothing, using only a few of the elements available in the system of costume, is comparable to speech.[1] This approach has enabled both historians of costume and archeologists to construct a 'grammar' of costume.[2] It is also a method which proves useful for the historian, in that it cautions us against a literal interpretation of written sources: accounts recording the purchase of materials for costume or particulars of accounts of tailors are the main source for the study of costume at the court of Edward I, but they only refer to the system of clothing, and not to what was actually worn by individuals.

Before entering a detailed study of the system of clothing as it appears in the accounts, it is necessary to stress that the interpretation of written sources encounters numerous obstacles in the terminology used by medieval clerks. Notably, some of the terms used by the clerks may refer to a category of objects as well as to a specific object: for example, sotulares refer to foot-gear in general but, as opposed to botae, the term can mean

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[1] M. Madou, Le Costume Civil, p. 15. O. Blanc, 'Historiographie du Vêtement: un Bilan', Le Vêtement. Histoire, Archéologie et Symbolique Vestimentaires au Moyen Age, Cahiers du Léopard d'Or, i (Paris, 1989), pp. 7-33.

[2] For instance, M.T. Duflos-Priot, 'Une Documentation Informatisée sur le Costume Traditionnel en France: le Système Descriptif du Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires', Vêtements et Sociétés, p. 380.

a particular type of low-ankle shoe.[1] It is even more difficult to establish equivalents with the terminology used by historians of costume. For this reason we have decided to keep to the terms of the original documents when the modern terminology is ambiguous. A glossary completes the chapter.

A The Garments. Two types of costume components are to be distinguished: garments, which form the costume in its strict sense, and accessories, including head-gear, foot-gear, and jewellery.

The main garment was the cote, tunica in Latin documents, a long garment belted with a girdle.[2] The cote of St Elizabeth (c. 1220-1230), a relic preserved in the church of St. Martin in Oberwalluf is a good example of a female garment of the beginning of the XIIIth century. The only untypical feature of this garment is the shortness of the sleeves, perhaps cut off at a later period.[3] The accounts mention several types of garments worn over the cote: the supertunica, open or closed, the tabard, and the corset.[4] All these upper garments were generally fastened with laces and clasps and worn without a girdle. Some were

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[1] F. Grew and M. de Neergaard, Shoes and Pattens, p. 121.

[2] There is, for instance, a good representation of a cote on a painting formerly decorating the vault of the chapter house of Yok minster, representing the Synagogue (c. 1290): The Age of Chivalry, cat. no. 344.

[3] This garment has been analysed and reproduced in Die Zeit der Staufer (Stuttgart, 1977), i, pp. 620-1 and ii, pl. 570.

[4] An illumination of a manuscript of the Moralised Bestiary of Guillaume le Clerc represents the rich man selling his goods for a mass of gold: the goods are represented by a closed supertunica, with a slit for the head (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. fr. 14 969, fol. 48).

provided with fitchets, side slits giving access to the pouch and other accessories hung on the girdle.[1] The royal tombs of Las Huelgas have yielded a few garments of the surcoat type: the pellote from the tomb of Fernando de la Cerda (d. 1275), son of Alfonso X is a kind of surcoat patterned with coats-of-arms.[2] The narrowness of the top of the garment seems to be a specific feature of Spanish fashion, and appears clearly in Spanish illuminated manuscripts of the period.

When outdoors, or on ceremonial occasions, a cloak or a mantle, such as the mantellum, the capa, the pellicia, or the cloche, would have completed the costume. A hood, capucium, was worn over the supertunica as well as over the mantle or cloak. It was often cut out of different cloth from the other garments, and lined with silk, or with a richer fur than that used to line the rest of the dress.[3] The costume of the Bocksten man, discovered in a peat bog at Bocksten (Sweden) probably dates from the late XIIIth or early XIVth century: it includes a hood with a long liripipe, a feature often encountered in manuscript illuminations.[4]

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[1] F.M. Kelly and R. Schwabe, A Short History of Costume and Armour, chiefly in England, 1066-1800 (Batsford, 1931) p. 4.

[2] M. Gómez-Moreno, El Panteón Real de Las Huelgas de Burgos (Madrid, 1946), pl. xxviii.

[3] The fur lining of the hood was often costlier than the fur lining of the surcot: 'et fureure por les surcotz destrenleng et por chaperon de menuver' (E101 366/16/15, 14 June 1305). An illumination of the Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. fr. 14 969 (Moralised Bestiary of Guillaume le Clerc, fol. 49v.) represents several noblewomen kneeling in a church. One of them wears a hood richly lined with minever.

[4] M. Nockert, 'The Bocksten Man's Costume', Textile History, xviii (1987), 175-86, esp. pp. 179-80.

Costume was generally long, for both sexes, until the 1340s. However, long costume for men seems to have been exclusive to the richer classes of society.[1] This is confirmed by the study of the iconography, which contrasts long and short costume according to status and occupation. Short costume always existed alongside long costume in the royal household, but it was probably reserved for servants and for outdoor occupations. Iconographic documents and sepulchral effigies reveal the existence of numerous differences between male and female costume: the length of the garments, notably, differenciated the sexes.[2] Women always wore full-length garments, while male garments, if they could be ankle-length for some ceremonial occasions, tended to be shorter for other, occupational, functions.[3]

Did children wear a specific dress? A roll of expenses for the wardrobe of Henry and Eleanor, children of Edward I, survives for the first years of the reign.[4] Henry, born in May 1268, and his sister Eleanor, born in June 1269, were staying at Windsor, together with their cousin John of Brittany, while the king and

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[1] F. Boucher, A History of Costume in the West (London, 1987), p. 180.

[2] M. Madou, Le Costume Civil, p. 24. H.M. Zijlstra-Zweens, Of his Array telle I no lenger tale. Aspects of Costume, Arms and Armour in Western Europe, 1200-1400 (Amsterdam, 1988), p. 19.

[3] It therefore seems difficult to accept the view often expressed that there was no visual distinction between male and female costumes, for instance in J. Verdon, 'La Vie Quotidienne de la Femme en France au Bas Moyen Age', Frau und Spätmittelalterlichen Alltag. Osterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Veröffentlichen des Instituts für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit (Vienna, 1986), pp. 326-86, esp. p. 332.

the queen were still away from England.[1] The three children received robes for several festivals: there is apparently nothing specific about their costume, and they seem to have been dressed in the manner of small adults. The only notable feature of childrens' costume was perhaps the extravagant number of buttons of various sorts which decorated their dress.[2] As for Alfonso, born in 1273, he had some military equipment purchased for him when he was three or four years old: an embroidered gambizon, an aketon, a helmet (galea) of leather with a painted decoration, a bacinet, a short sword (gladius) with an embroidered sheath, a sword-belt and a shield. Alfonso had also his own horse for which a saddle covered in green samite was made.[3]

B Accessories and Underclothing.

Underclothing occasionally appears in the iconography: for instance, artists sometimes represented the shirt at the neck and wrists of figures [plate XIV]. Wardrobe accounts attest to the importance of underclothes of all types. These were generally made of linen, but some pieces may have been cut out of silk. Female underwear seems to have been limited to the long camisia,

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[1] H. Johnstone, 'The Wardrobe and Household of Henry, Son of Edward I', Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, vii (1923), 384-420. J.C. Parsons, 'The Year of Eleanor of Castile's Birth and her Children by Edward I', Medieval Studies, xlvi (1984), 245-65. M.A.E. Green, Lives of the Princesses of England, ii (London, 1851), p. 277.

[2] The importance of buttons is obvious in the wardrobe of Alfonso (C47/3/11): 14 dozens of noduli argenti and 16 dozens of botoni argenti were purchased for him in 1276-1277, 13 dozens of butoni the following year, 12 dozens of noduli argenti for Christmas 1277, 4 dozens of botoni for Easter and again 12 or 13 dozens of noduli the same year.

[3] C47/3/11 and 14.

or shirt, while male underwear was composite. Linges robes, robae lineae were regularly made for the king: they seem to have included the camisia and the braccae or breeches.[1] Hose existed in male as well as female wardrobes.[2] Mentions are also made of husebot for the wardrobe of Edward of Caernarvon in 1299-1300: this was probably a kind of hose with a sole of leather.[3]

Excavations on the north bank of the Thames in London have unearthed an important series of shoes. These shoes are all flat-heeled. Among the examples excavated, three types of shoes appear for the period which interests us: the low-ankle shoe, which was becoming the most commmon type of foot-wear, the full boot, generally reserved to men, and the low boot.[4] Most of the shoes have an oval toe shape, with a few examples showing a more pointed shape. Some of these shoes are lined with material, a technique which was used for the shoes made for the royal family: sotulares purchased for the royal wardrobe in 1304-1305 were lined with reinforced cindon.[5] This may be compared with the shoes from the tomb of Archbishop Hubert Walter (d. 1205) at

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[1] E101 361/17, mem. 4: in 1301-1302, 7 ells of linen were necessary to make one pair of robae lineae for Edward I.

[2] The Bocksten man's costume includes hose. M. Nockert, 'The Bocksten Man's Costume', pp. 180-4.

[3] E101 357/18, mem. 3.

[4] The full or high boot, well attested in iconography and in the accounts, does not appear among the archaeological finds. This kind of foot-wear was very common before the early XIVth century, but it has been shown that after 1300 they came to be reserved for travelling and hunting (F. Grew and M. de Neergaard, Shoes and Pattens, p. 114).

[5] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 36 762, fol. 3.

Canterbury, which are made of green silk decorated with embroidery.[1] Sometimes, shoes were protected by wooden or leather pattens.

The wardrobe accounts reveal that the king and his male children had various types of head-gear in their wardrobes. The tena must have been a kind of coif of linen: this coif enclosed the hair, and was tied under the chin. It was sometimes worn under a type of hat, the brimmed capellum or perhaps a type of square hat such as those represented in the Douce Apocalypse [plate XXI] or the hat from the tomb of Fernando de la Cerda, decorated with gold and pearls.[2] Edward I also had several couvrechefs, which must have been voluminous objects, perhaps in the shape of turbans: a couvrechef made for the king in 1304-1305 required a whole cloth of tars, and was lined with reinforced cindon.[3]

Women often arranged their hair in circular plaits and covered them with a coif or a circlet. The circlet or fillet could be worn over the coif or directly over the hair.[4] The coifs

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[1] A.M. Muthesius, 'The Silks from the Tomb', in N. Stratford, P. Tudor-Craig and A.M. Muthesius, 'Archbishop Hubert Walter's Tomb and its Furnishings', Medieval Art and Architecture at Canterbury before 1220. The British Archaeological Association, V, Conference Transactions for the Year 1979 (1982), pp. 80-87, esp. p. 84.

[2] M. Gómez-Moreno, El Panteón Real de Las Huelgas de Burgos, plate cxxxvii.

[3] E101 367/18.

[4] The effigy of a lady in the south choir aisle of St. Michael church, Alnwick (Northumberland) (c. 1340) shows the circlet worn over the coif (C.H. Hunter Blair, 'Medieval Effigies in Northumberland', Archaeologia Aeliana, 4th series, vii (1930). A sculpted head of a woman on the Berkeley tomb (St. Augustine's church, Bristol), shows the circlet worn directly over the hair.

of the women of the royal family were often decorated with pearls. In 1297, Margaret, Duchess of Brabant, had three 'coiffe de perlis grossis' in her trousseau.[1] Coverchefs were also purchased for the queen and princesses. This type of head-wear was cut out of a light cloth, and a new fashion introduced in the 1280s consisted in passing it over the head and fastening it under the chin, the couvrechef being then topped with a starched band of fabric. This fashion is very clearly represented on funeral effigies, for instance on the effigy of a lady of the Vescy family in the church of Alnwick (Northumberland), dated c.1330.[2] The representation of St Anne in the Bodleian Ms. Douce 231 shows a starch band worn over the netted hair [plate XVI].

Small leather accessories completed the costume. Gloves were purchased in large quantities for all members of the royal family, and it seems that the fashion was then to wear gloves most of the time.[3] Girdles were kept along with jewels and plates, which seems to indicate that they were richly decorated: most girdles were of silk, with gold embroidery, but a few were of leather with an application of gold or silver.[4] In

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[1] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7965, fol. 136.

[2] C.H. Hunter-Blair, 'Medieval Effigies in Northumberland', Archaeologia Aeliana, 4th series, vii 91930), 1-32, esp. p. 21 and plate XIII, figs. 1 and 2.

[3] C.W. Cunnington and P. Cunninton, Handbook of English Medieval Costume (London, 1952), pp. 47 and 53. A statue in the north triforium of the nave of York minster (seventh bay from the east) represents a male figure holding a pair of long gloves.

[4] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 35 294, fol. 8. A magnificent example of an early XIVth century lady's girdle is made of silk, silver and translucent enamel, with decorative figures recalling figures from the margins of illuminated manuscripts (Arts and the Court. France and Angland from 1259 to 1328. The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 27 April-2 July 1972, ii, no. 60).

aristocratic costume, the girdle often had a status-function, and could even be decorated with heraldic patterns.[1] Pouches of silk or leather were hung at the girdle.[2]

C Individual Costume.

Accounts are mainly concerned with the enumeration of costume components owned by individuals. But when it comes to the study of actual dress, compared by costume historians to speech, as opposed to language, accounts are of little help. Also, the extensive use made by medieval clerks of the notion of robe, roba, can be very misleading. It seems that 'robe' could mean clothing in general. But by the late XIIIth century, a robe was also a set of several garments which were cut out of the same cloth; they had to be of the same sute.[3] This requirement is explained by the fact that medieval dyers found it difficult to produce several cloths with exactly the same shade of colour.

Some robes could be cut out of two matching cloths for the making of a mi-parti costume. Mi-parti costume is frequently seen in iconographic documents [plate XVII]. Wardrobe accounts mention mi-parti costume, notably for categories such as sergeants,

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[1] For instance, a girdle made for Eleanor, daughter of the king, in 1289-1290 was decorated with pearls, gold and enamel (Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 60 313, mem. 4). The girdle of Fernando de la Cerda is decorated with various coats-of-arms. M. Gómez-Moreno, El Panteón Real de Las Huelgas, plate cxxxvi.

[2] Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, no. 3223.

[3] E101 370/12/47 (1306-1307): '...c'est assaver...drap por trois garnements...et les facez liverer drap de meisme la suyte, por lour tabardz.'

squires or minstrels.[1] Mi-parti clothing was probably fashionable, as was generally the case with multicoloured clothes. But the adult members of the royal family, for instance, seem to have avoided mi-parti, which was perhaps less dignified than uni-coloured costume.

The number of garments in a robe was variable: according to the occasion as well as to the state of the user, the robe could be of two, three, four, even five or six garments.[2] Neither was the type of garments fixed: apart from the cote, which was a permanent feature of costume, the garments varied. For instance, cloth and fur were delivered in August 1305 to Arnaud Garsie, seigneur of Espelette, for a robe, to be of four garments, 'cote, surcot clos, surcot overt et tabard.' A livery given in the same year to the wife of Bartholomew Poitevin, a falconer of the king, was also to be for a robe of four garments, but these were 'cote, surcot clos, surcot overt santz manches et manntel.'[3]

One occasionally finds in studies of costume the notion that all garments composing a robe were worn at the same time, especially for ceremonial occasions.[4] However, the study of

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[1] This theme is developed in chapter 7.

[2] It is possible to estimate the rank of the user through the quantities of materials used. For instance, robes for the royal family required considerable amounts of cloth and fur. To make the Christmas robe of Queen Margaret in 1303, her tailor used 30 ells of cloth in grain, 3 furs of minever and 3 furs of grosvair (E101 366/8). For her robe for her churching after the birth of Thomas of Brotherton, a whole coopertorium of fur, with 24 tiers of fur, was used to line the garments (E101 357/20).

[3] E101 366/16/14 and 15. Espelette: Pyrénées-Atlantiques, arr. Bayonne.

[4] For example, J. Verdon, 'La Vie Quotidienne de la Femme en France', p. 333.

iconographic sources seems to convey the idea that only a few garments were worn at the same time: usually a cote and a surcoat or an equivalent upper garment, and on some occasions a mantle.[1] Furthermore, paintings often show the cote cut out of a different cloth from the surcoat. It is probable that the 'robe' was actually a wardrobe, and that its components were meant to be worn in turn. Thus, in a set of garments including two surcoats, the surcot clos was worn, or the surcot overt, but not both at the same time. One has also to consider that most garments were furred, and that the weight of a whole robe must have been considerable.

D Wardrobes.

Another approach to the issue of clothing may be based on a study of complete wardrobes, that is to say the number of garments and accessories owned by the same person at a given moment. Wardrobes are a good indication of status and riches.[2] Studies of wardrobes are generally based on the interpretation of wills and inventories. The only evidence giving an idea of the number of garments owned by a member of the royal family concerns the cart of the queen's wardrobe that overturned in water in 1290 at Burgh in Norfolk: there were eight mantles and four capes in the cart.[3] However, there is some evidence for other social categories within the royal household. For instance, the goods

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[1] F. Boucher, A History of Costume in the West, p. 181.

[2] This has been stressed by Y. Delaporte, 'Perspectives Méthodologiques et Théoriques dans l'Etude du Vêtement' Vêtements et Sociétés, pp. 33-57, esp. p. 47.

[3] The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile, p. 66.

of a former knight of the household, Osbert de Spaldington, were confiscated in 1298 and inventoried. The inventory mentions three complete robes and some isolated garments.[1]

Here, a comparison with surviving English and continental inventories and wills may prove useful. In July 1269, the will of Blanche, daughter of the king of Sicily and wife of Robert, the eldest son of the count of Flanders, was drawn up: the text of the will mentions two scarlet robes, a robe of black burnet, two robes of green cloth, a robe of tiretaine lined with minever and a cape of camelin. Another will, drawn up for Guillaume de Hainaut, bishop of Cambrai, in August 1296, mentions a slightly superior number of garments: six complete robes, of various cloths, all furred, two tabards and a cloche with the matching caperon and aumuce, with furs. Wills certainly did not include the whole wardrobe: some garments must have been given to the present entourage or left with an oral recommendation. Still, inventories suggest similar numbers of robes kept in the wardrobes of the nobility. The inventory of the wife of Raoul de Nesle, connétable de France, drawn up in 1302, mentions five robes of five garments each, all furred and decorated with buttons, three robes of three garments each, also furred, one cloche lined with cendal, four furred mantles, and various isolated garments.[2]

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[1] E101 354/11/6. To be published in my 'An Aristocratic Wardrobe of the Late Thirteenth Century: the Confiscation of the Goods of Osbert de Spaldington in 1298', Historical Research (forthcoming).

[2] Documents...concernant l'Histoire de l'Art dans la Flandre, l'Artois et le Hainaut, ed. le chanoine Dehaisnes, i (Lille, 1886), p. 62 for the will of Blanche, daughter of the king of Sicily. Ibid., p. 89 for the will of Guillaume de Hainaut. Ibid., i, p. 137 for the inventory of the goods of the wife of Raoul de Nesle.

The French sumptuary ordonnance of 1294 shows that the size of a wardrobe was considered as a sign of status, as well as the cost of the materials used for the making of robes. The authors of the ordonnance used the expression paire de robes, which is also to be found occasionally in English accounts.[1] It is unclear whether this actually meant two sets of garments: the text of the ordonnance relative to the robes of the bannerets and of some of the chevaliers rules that these are not to receive, nor to acquire, more than three pairs of robes in a year, 'et fera l'une de ces trois robes pour l'esté.' This is slightly confusing, and we may only suggest that a 'pair of robes' simply meant a set of garments [table XII].

The ordonnance ruled on the acquisition of new garments, and we may wonder whether aristocratic wardrobes included large numbers of older garments. Wills and inventories indicate that at least certain pieces must have been kept longer. In the case of the royal family, one may presume that, apart from richly embroidered pieces, most garments were not worn for a very long time. One of the signs of high rank was actually the freshness of the garments. Apart from the loss of brightness of materials resulting from exposure to light, one must take into account the fact that the washing of garments was probably not frequent: a large and regularly renewed wardrobe must have been a notable element of comfort. If the embroidered decoration of a garment was exceptional, it could always be cut out and re-sewn on a new

[1] E101 355/18, mem. 6 (1298-1299): 'pro factura iij parium robarum' (for Edward of Caernarvon).

garment. Worn garments were certainly given to, and re-tailored for, lesser members of the court, notably to the staff of the chambers, including members of aristocratic families. There are also examples of lay garments presented to the Church: it is probable that in most cases these garments were afterwards resold to the profit of the Church.[1]

Conclusion.

Costume by the late XIIIth and early XIVth century was dominated by verticality, unlike later fashions. Woollen cloths were its most important component, creating heavy folds and soft curves.[2] Historians of costume see the period as being dominated by simplicity, and often mention a lack of decoration and accessories.[3] This impression may be created by an exclusive study of iconographic souces, where the small scale of representation did not enable the artist to depict details of decoration. In fact, the study of accounts and extant remains shows that embroidered or woven decoration was a significant element of costume, and that accessories were numerous [table

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[1] For instance, the will of Rosamund Kymmyng, the wife of a certain John Smurch, drawn up in 1295, specified that her capa and her supertunica of bluet were to go to the church of St. Margaret in Topsham (The Registers of Walter Bronescombe (1257-1280) and Peter Quivil (1280-1291), Bishops of Exeter, with some Records of the Episcopate of Bishop Thomas de Bytton (1292-1307), ed. F.C. Hingeston-Randolph (London, 1889), p. 433). One may wonder whether some of the cloths given to the Church, which were afterwards transformed into vestments, were not actually taken from worn garments.

[2] M. Madou, Le Costume Civil, p. 24. This author has shown that the use of these materials was underlined in the sculpture of the period by the posture in contraposto.

[3] D. Yarwood, English Costume, from the Second Century B.C. to the Present Day (rev. edn., London, 1961), p. 63.

XIII].

Indeed, the traditional historiography of the evolution of costume in the later Middle Ages fits into a general view where fashion is seen as a creation of the mid-XIVth century: the changes brought by the transformation of male costume in the 1340s seem to have obliterated any anterior evolution.[1] Thus, the reign of Edward I is seen as a static period, dominated by the austere personality of the king.[2] Technically, the changes of the 1340s were a passage from the drapé to the coupé style in costume, although one may find numerous coupé elements in late XIIIth century costume, such as the fitted sleeves and bodice of the cote.[3] In any case, this transformation does not mean that fashion did not exist prior to the 1340s.

If one is ready to accept, with costume historians, that costume reflects the evolution of society, then the traditional view seems to make of the late XIIIth century a period of immobilism. However, the enactment of sumptuary laws in France, for instance, suggests the existence of changes, or at least of disturbances in costume. Also, the traditional view of the period in England as being one of immobilism is perhaps produced by the fact that the culture of the court of Edward I is little known.

A detailed study of wardrobe accounts suggests, on the contrary, that new trends developed in the late XIIIth and early

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[1] As in F. Boucher, 'Les Conditions de l'Apparition du Costume Court en France vers le Milieu du XIVe Siècle', Recueils de Travaux Offerts à M. Clovis Brunel (Paris, 1955), i, pp. 183-92, esp. pp. 183-4.

[2] D. Yarwood, English Costume, p. 63.

[3] A. Leroi-Gourhan, Evolution et Techniques, ii, Milieu et Techniques (Paris, 1945, 2nd. edn., 1973), pp. 214-34.

part of the costume	number of garments	material	lining	decoration
1 robe				
1 robe	6			120 buttons of silver gilt. Possibly embroidery
1 robe	6 (1)	camelin of Tripoli		
1 robe	3	blue cloth		possibly embroidery
1 robe	4	cloth of red medley		possibly embroidery
1 robe	6			possibly embroidery
1 robe made at Ghent?	6	cloth of pers	minever (5s)	
1 robe made at London				
1 cape		scarlet		84 buttons made of small white pearls adorned with gold
1 cape		green cloth		" " "
1 cape		green cloth of Tripoli		84 buttons made of small white pearls adorned with silver gilt
?	1 gardecors			

Table XIII: Wardrobe of Elizabeth countess of Holland (1296-1297). Sources: C47/3/48/21 and Brit.lib. Add. Ms. 7965, fols. 20 and 24.

Notes:
(1) The cost for making this robe, 5s, is the same as for a robe of six garments.

XIVth century. Foreign and even 'exotic' materials were imported. No account survives for the period when the king was still in the Orient, but an account of the years 1286-1289 shows that Queen Eleanor was still ordering materials directly from the Near East: the master of the Hospitallers at Acre purchased cloths and jewels for her to a total value of £100.[1] The diffusion of silks inspired by Chinese decorative art also brought transformations. New developments also affected the form of costume. For instance, transformations affected the fashion in furs. As a rule, furs were worn as a lining during that period. But an innovation of the end of the reign was to wear garments with the fur outside: several pelliciae of this kind were made for the king.[2] Also, foreign influences certainly affected English aristocratic costume. For instance, several pieces of costume made for the king during the first half of his reign were said to be de alemannia.[3] This could be a reference to garments made from German cloth, with woven patterns or embroidery. But a typical feature of German costume in the XIIIth century was the slitting up of the edges of garments into tongues, and this could have been what was referred to by the qualificative de alemannia

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[1] Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, no. 3188.

[2] In 1301-1302, 2 pelliciae of fur of grey were lined with linen for the king (E101 361/17, mem. 2). In 1304-1305, 2 pelliciae were again lined with cindon (E101 367/18).

[3] C47 3/11 (1276-1277): 2 pallia de alemannia, both of camelin, were made for the king. One was lined with cendal and the other with fur of grey. C47 3/14 (1277-1278) mentions a tunica de alemannia made for the king.

[plate XX].[1] Such garments have been found in the royal tombs of Las Huelgas, near Burgos. There is also a reference in the accounts of the prince's household for May 1307 to tunicae de modo Vasconie made for the prince and some of his companions 'pro ludis principis'.[2] It is difficult to offer any definition of that particular garment, but this may have to do with the festivities of May Day.

Accessories diversified the costume, and were perhaps its most dynamic element.[3] Other changes concerned the materials themselves and also the manner of draping the costume, rather than the cut of the garments. It is probable that when materials for costume became more accessible, then the ever-changing cut of garments provided a new criterion for fashion among a social category in search of visual distinction.[4]

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[1] F.M. Kelly and R. Schwabe, A Short History of Costume and Armour, p. 10.

[2] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 22 923, fol. 3v.

[3] O. Blanc, 'Le Jeu des Accessoires', p. 42.

[4] Y. Delaporte, 'Perspectives Méthodologiques et Théoriques, p. 38.

Chapter 5: The Public Representation of the Royal Family.

Wardrobe accounts are rich in detail about the purchases made for the royal family. They enable us to see how costume was used to present the specific character of kingship. The decor of the royal court, notably the decor of royal chambers and chapels, was also used as a means to display the heraldic symbols of the Plantagenets. The following pages will develop these themes, and will show how festivities of a familial character, such as baptisms and weddings, were used to reinforce publicly the legitimacy of the Plantagenet lineage.

I The Wardrobes of the Royal Family.

A The King's Wardrobe.

An account of the great wardrobe for the years 1275 to 1279 provides a certain amount of evidence about garments made for the king.[1] The first membrane of the document is much damaged, and we may safely presume that Edward had a new robe for the festivities of Christmas 1275. Table XIV summarises the details concerning the robes made for the king for festival days. In addition, other garments were made for him during these years: for instance, in 1276-1277, he had a robe for hunting, a robe of camelin of 'ashes' colour, a pallium alemannie furred with grey, another lined with cendal, two supertunicae of green cloth, a robe of black say and two tabards.

The size of the king's wardrobe can be estimated: in 1275-1276, at least seventeen new robes were made for him, and in the following years, fourteen, fifteen and sixteen robes. The king's

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[1] C47/3/11.

Festival	1275-1276	1276-1277	1277-1278	1278-1279
Christmas		1 robe of scarlet 1 surcote 1 tabard of camelin	1 robe of black scarlet 1 robe of pers 1 pellicia of cindon and grey	1 robe of black scarlet
Purification of the Virgin			1 robe of scarlet of 'blood' colour	1 robe and 1 tabard of blue cloth
Easter	1 robe of cloth [in grain?] 1 robe of white camelin	1 robe of green cloth	1 tabard 1 robe of blue cloth	1 robe of white camelin
Ascension	1 robe of green tiretaine 1 robe of white tiretaine 1 other robe	1 robe of camelin	1 robe of camelin of 'ashes' colour	1 robe and 1 tabard of camelin of 'ashes' colour
Invention of the Cross		1 robe of pers		1 robe of green cloth
Pentecost	1 robe of tiretaine of 'marble' colour	1 robe of tiretaine of pers	1 robe of white camelin	1 robe of scarlet
Trinity		1 robe of camelin of 'ashes' colour	1 robe of green cloth 1 robe and 1 tabard of camelin of 'ashes' colour 2 tabards	1 robe of tiretaine paonaz 1 robe of pers
St John the Baptist	1 robe of black tiretaine 1 robe of cloth of 'ashes' colour 1 robe of 'blood' colour 1 other robe	1 robe of blue cloth 1 other robe	1 robe of black scarlet	1 robe and 1 tabard of camelin of 'ashes' colour
Nativity of the Virgin	1 robe of medley	1 robe of white camelin	1 robe of pers	1 robe of pers
Michaelmas	1 robe	1 robe of white camelin		1 robe of camelin medley
Translation of St Edward	1 robe of camelin of 'ashes' colour	1 robe of medley		1 robe and 1 tabard of scarlet paonaz
All Saints				1 robe and 1 tabard of green cloth
St Martin			1 robe of camelin	
St Peter in Angusto			1 robe of tiretaine of 'blood' colour	1 robe

Table XIV: The king's robes for festival days (1275-1279). Source: C47 3/11.

wardrobe may have included more than a hundred garments, a size which accounts for the existence of á wardrobe of robes and its transport by several carts.

The luxury of the king's wardrobe seems to contradict the historiographic tradition which presents Edward I as an austere king, disdaining princely attire. The author of the Commendatio lamentabilis, a text which may have been read at the funeral of the Edward I, states that, from the day of his coronation, Edward I neglected the apparatus of kingship - the purple clothes, notably the chlamys - for common clothes, a robe with a uniform colour and a collobium lined with fur.[1] We are here in the presence of a literary topos which goes back to the portrait of Charlemagne by Einhard; the terminology used by the author of the Commendatio lamentabilis, and notably the reference to the chlamys, may confirm the utilisation of earlier sources.[2]

It seems that one actually has to interpret the mention of 'royal vestments' as a direct reference to the objects used during the ceremony of coronation, the regalia.[3] What were the

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[1] 'Commendatio lamentabilis in transitu regnis Edwardi quarti secundum Johannem de Londonia', in Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II, ed. W. Stubbs, ii (London, 1883, p. 5.

[2] H.M. Zijlstra-Zweens, Of his Array telle I no lenger tale, p. 10. The term chlamys occurs in the description of the coronation vestments of Harold, who died in 1040 (Historia Croylandensis, auct. Ingulfo abbate, in Rerum Anglicanum Scriptorum, ed. W. Fulman and T.Gale, i (Oxford, 1684), pp. 61-2).

[3] The medieval regalia were destroyed in 1649 (W.J. Passingham, A History of the Coronation (London, 1937), p. 59). In any case, the vestments of the coronation of Edward I must have disappeared long before the XVIIth century: silk vestments were fragile and must have been renewed regularly, as was the case for the vestments used for the coronation of the French kings (D. Gaborit-Chopin, Regalia. Les Instruments du Sacre des

coronation vestments like? Chroniclers do not describe in detail the ceremony of Edward's Coronation in 1274.[1] One may refer to inventories of the medieval regalia, and notably to the inventory of the regalia of King John.[2] The vestments used by John for his Coronation were a cote of white diasper, a baldric, a dalmatic, a mantle and shoes, all cut out of the same cloth of samite, richly embroidered and set with gems. The sword made for the ceremony had an embroidered scabbard; two girdles and a considerable number of jewels completed the coronation costume.[3]

When the tomb of Edward I was opened, in 1774, the body was found dressed in a tunic, or dalmatic, of red silk, with a richly decorated stole, and a full mantle of deep red silk which was fastened on the shoulder with a brooch. The gloves had disappeared but their decoration had survived. The king wore an open crown and held a scepter in his right hand, and a rod with a dove at the top in his left hand. It is probable that these garments and objects were similar to the regalia.[4]

Rois de France. Les 'Honneurs de Charlemagne' (Paris, 1987), p. 50).

[1] H.G. Richardson, 'The Coronation of Edward I', BIHR, xv (1937-8), 94-9, esp. p. 94.

[2] T.D. Hardy, Rotuli litterarum patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati, i, pars i (London, 1835), pp. 54-5.

[3] An extant piece may be compared to the cote described in the inventory. The museum Het Catharijneconvent in Utrecht conserves the Coronation alb of the emperor Frederick Barbarossa: it is a large linen vestment, decorated along the hem and around the neck with a very large piece of textile woven with threads of gold (State Museum Het Catharijneconvent (Utrecht, 1983), p. 50).

[4] J. Ayloffe, 'An Account of the Body of King Edward the First as it appeared on opening his tomb in the year 1774', Archaeologia, iii (1775), 376-413, esp. pp. 382-3.

The fact that Edward I refused to wear the regal vestments should be placed in the evolution of the use of the English regalia. William the Conqueror had held three ceremonies a year involving the wearing of the regalia: these are called 'crown-wearing days' by historians. The aim of these ceremonies was to reaffirm the act of coronation and to reassert publicly the legitimacy of royal power. During the reign of William the Conqueror, crown-wearings took place at Gloucester for Christmas, at Winchester for Easter, and at Westminster for Whitsuntide.[1] Under his successors, these ceremonies were gradually held at other places and dates, and finally disappeared during the reign of Henry II: this signalled the will of the king to reign without any encroachment from the Church on his power. Such a decision was symbolic of the strength of English kingship and of the triumph of the hereditary principle in England. By the late XIIIth century, the position of the king in England was secure enough for Edward I to neglect those signs of power. A comparison with the situation in France confirms this: the regalia continued to have a first-rate importance for the French kings, because of a series of difficult successions in the first decades of the XIVth century.

The text of the Commendatio lamentabilis refers to the wearing of the regalia, and there is no contradiction between this and the indications found in the accounts: the robes made for the king for festival days were not the regalia. Furthermore, a comparison with the portrait of Charlemagne by Einhard shows

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[1] P.E. Schramm, A History of the English Coronation (Oxford, 1937), p. 58.

that the author of the Commendatio lamentabilis referred to the everyday costume of Edward I, and not to his ceremonial costume: Charlemagne was simply clad for ordinary days, but he wore a ceremonial costume for religious feasts. So did Edward I: he possibly wore his clothes with a pallium, a kind of full mantle, and certainly long gloves, which were a sign of high status.

Table XIV shows that the colours of the robes were not the same from one year to the other; a comparison with liturgical colours is made difficult by the incomplete character of the documentation. Scarlet cloth seems to have been dominant at Christmas, and this is to be compared with the use of purple as a liturgical colour for the season of Advent.[1] White robes do not seem to have been worn for the festivals of the Virgin, but black appears for the Martyrs' festivals. All this is fairly impressionistic, and in the absence of any literary description of what was actually worn by the king, it is difficult to decide whether Edward I wore clothes with liturgical colours.

There is another interpretation to be offered of the Commendatio lamentabilis: the author may have wished to condemn what he saw as new practices by reasserting the values of an age of simplicity. This may well correspond to a change in the style of kingship which was perhaps perceptible for contemporaries in the style of the court of Prince Edward. The court of the prince was perhaps the place of a continuous spectacle, to the detriment

[1] There are mentions of robes of other colours for Christmas, but the king always received several for Christmas, and we may presume that he wore only his robe of scarlet during that period.

of an older model of familial and patriarchal kingship.[1]

B Wardrobes of other Members of the Royal Family. The queen and the royal children also received robes for religious festivals. Table XV shows what robes Thomas and Edmund, the sons of Edward I and Queen Margaret, received during a period of four years, from 1302 to 1306. All robes were furred with furs of minever and pure minever, including the silk robes made for the Pentecost. A particular case among the king's daughters was Mary, a nun at Amesbury. The king occasionally gave her cloth for her robes: she received nine ells of say of Lincoln in 1301-1302 for a tunica, four peciae of black camelin for her Pentecost robe of 1303 and a cloth of tars for a corset the following year.[2] This last item of clothing shows secular influences on her wardrobe.

Accessories played an important part in the wardrobes of the royal family. Underwear, coiffes, shoes and gloves were regularly renewed: twenty pairs of shoes were purchased for Queen Eleanor in 1288-1289, fourteen pairs the following year [table XVI]. Table XVII shows the renewal of shoes for Henry and his sister in 1272-1273.[3] In all aristocratic wardrobes, girdles appear in substantial numbers: fifty-five girdles were purchased for Queen Eleanor in 1289-1290.[4] Many of these girdles must have been used

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[1] This is for instance how B. Guenée sees the evolution of the French royal court in the later Middle Ages (B. Guenée, L'Occident aux XIVe et XVe Siècles (Paris, 1971), p. 148).

[2] E101 369/19/18, E101 363/27/7 and E101 367/18.

[3] E101 350/16.

[4] The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile, pp. 85, 102, 130, 134-5. The inventory of jewels drawn up in 1297 for Isabella, countess of Flanders, mentions 23 girdles (Documents...

Festival	1302-1303	1303-1304	1304-1305	1305-1306
Christmas	robes of medley	robes of ray cloth robes of camelin robes of scarlet	robes of medley	robes of burnet in grain
Purification		robes of medley	robes of azure blue	
Easter	robes of scarlet	robes of green cloth	robes of striped cloth robes of murray in grain	robes of scarlet
Ascension	robes of tiretaine	robes of medley (1)		robes of silks
Pentecost	robes of silk	robes of cloth with silk striped with gold		
Assomption of the Virgin	mi-parti robes of green cloth and ray			
St John the Baptist			robes of [pers?]	
St Edward			robes of [pers?]	
Michaelmas		robes of ray		robes of burnet
All Saints	robes of medley	mi-parti robes of scarlet and burnet	robes of [pers?]	robes of green cloth

Table XV: Robes for Thomas and Edmund, sons of Edward I (1302-1306). Sources: E101 363/12, E101 365/15, E101 368/12/, fols. 6 and 7v., Brit. Lib. Add. Ms. 37 656, fol. 6.

Table XVI: Accessories.

A Accessories for the king (1278-1280). Source: C47/3/11.

year	underclothing	head-wear	foot- and leg-wear	gloves
1278-1279	12 lineae robae	18 thenae	3 pairs of calcaria	1 dozen gloves
	bracalia of red samite with clasps of silver			
1279-1280	10 lineae robae	12 thenae	4 pairs of calcaria deaurata (1)	8 pairs of gloves
		2 capella of black felter		
		2 capella of russet		

Note: (1) mention of six onces of silk ad lagulas regis faciendas.

B Accessories for Queen Eleanor (1288-1290). Sources: C47/4/1 and The Court and Household of Eleanor of Castile, pp. 84-5.

year	head-wear	foot- and leg-wear	others
1288-1289		20 pairs of sotulares	4 bursae aurae
			1 dozen gloves of deer skin
			girldes
1289-1290	11 capella de auro	14 pairs of sotulares	55 girldes
	2 coronella		5 bursae
	21 trescoria		
	17 capella		
	6 tenae cum perlis		

Table XVII: Foot- and leg-gear for the children of Edward I (1272-1273). Source: E101 350/16.

date	pairs of sotulares	hose
c. St. Valentine	4 pairs	hose of burnet
c. Annonciation	2 pairs	1 pair of hose for Henry
c. Easter	4 pairs	2 pairs of hose of burnet
c. Ascension	2 pairs	
c. Pentecost	2 pairs	hose of burnet
c. St. John the Baptist	4 pairs	hose of sarge of worsted
c. the feast ad vincula sancti Petri	2 pairs	
c. birth of the Virgin	3 pairs	1 pair of hose

as gifts: Queen Eleanor notably gave girdles to the ladies of her chamber and to the entourages of other members of the court.

C Seasonal and Functional Costume. In addition, most members of the royal family received liveries from the great wardrobe of the king on a seasonal basis.[1] For instance, there were winter and summer robes in the wardrobes of Thomas and Edmund, as well as robes for festival days. Some garments were particularly destined for the cold season, such as pelliciae, which were heavy garments lined with fur. In November 1306, quisseaux lined with russet or with lamb fur were delivered by the great wardrobe for the king.[2] This winter accessory was probably a kind of hose. Chauccions, certainly indoor shoes, were part of the king's wardrobe for the winter 1306-1307: they were lined with russet or with fur of black lamb.[3] Some garments were meant to give protection against the rain: in 1288-1289, each of the three daughters of Edward I received a capa pro pluiva, which may have been rubbed with wax to make them waterproof.[4] Fur had a status-value, and members of

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concernant l'Histoire de l'Art, i, p. 92).

[1] Seasonal costume is evoked in a passage of the chronicle of Thomas Wykes for 1249: 'In hyeme facta est tanta temperies aeris et aurae suavitas, ut vulgariter diceretur hyemem in aestatem esse conversam; neque enim nix aut gelu per totam hyemem videbatur ingruere; unde factum est ut Anglici per hyemem abiectis vestibus penulatis, indumentis tenuissimis et aestivalibus se induerunt; sed in fine Martii et mense Aprili, et usque ad medium mensis Maii tantum frigus inhorruit, ut reiectis syndonibus, vestes duplices resumere cogerentur' (Annales Monastici, ed. H.R. Luard, iv (London, 1869), pp. 97-8).

[2] E101 370/11/15.

[3] E101 370/11/15 (27 November 1306).

[4] E101 352/14.

the royal family usually wore clothes of silk lined with fur for summer festivals.

Edward I's passion for hunting is well known.[1] There are countless mentions in the wardrobe accounts which concerns hunting. Specific hunting gear was made for the king: robes and tabards were tailored for deer hunting, ad boscum.[2] In 1279-1280, Edward I had a robe of black say made for hawking, pro riparia.[3] Mentions of gloves of deer leather are frequent, in the king's as well as in the queen's wardrobe, but they may have been destined for riding as well as for hunting.[4] Still, the king had three pairs of 'cirotecae de cervi pro riparia', gloves for hawking, made in 1300-1301, at the high price of 3s the pair.[5]

D Maintenance of the Robes.

The size of the royal wardrobes required a considerable organization. When not in use, the garments were kept in a room apart, where they were hung on cords.[6] In order to protect them from dust and insects, the staff would wrap them in canvas: in

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[1] M. Prestwich, Edward I, pp. 115-7. F.J. Tanquerey, 'Lettres du Roi Edouard Ier à Robert de Bavent, King's Yeoman, sur des Questions de Vénerie', Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, xxiii (1939), 487-503.

[2] C47/3/11: a robe de bosco (1277-1278); a robe and a tabard of medley ad boscum (1278-1279).

[3] C47/3/11.

[4] C47/3/11 and 14: Queen Eleanor owned a dozen gloves of deer leather in 1275-1276.

[5] E101 359/20.

[6] Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae, p. 58: 'Janimo de Montabyse, pro cordis grossi et minutis emptis per ipsum pro robis regine in garderoba sua pendendis'.

1276-1277, twenty-eight ells of canvas were purchased 'ad cooperiendas robas regis in garderoba Adinetti'.[1] Garments were transported in special bags and chests, and several carts were needed to carry the royal wardrobes.

It was difficult to wash woollen garments, but sponges were used to clean the cloth superficially.[2] Each member of the royal family had his or her laundress. But they usually cleaned linen only, from chapel linen, table linen and bed linen to body linen. Isabella, the laundress of the king in 1276-1277, was called lotrix pannorum lineorum regis in an account.[3] Laundresses received wages, but they were occasionally paid for the task, like the laundress of John of Brabant and Humfrey de Bohun who received a payment of 6d in 1292-1293 for a pila grossa.[4]

II The Decor of the Royal Court.

A Chambers and Halls. The furnishing of chambers and halls and the display expected of the travelling household were significant elements of court culture. The degree of comfort provided by furnishings as well as their importance in the display of social

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[1] E101 350/26. Also E101 364/29 (1302-1303): 'in precio xx ulnarum canabi liberati per vices pro dictis pannis et fururis intrussandis et salvo custodiendis per vices precii ulne iijd.'

[2] There is also mention of an iron spoon purchased 'pro cera de pannis spolianda', to remove the wax from the cloths, and this may refer to the removal of candle wax accidentally dropped on clothes. Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, no. 1972 (1288-1289). C47/4/1, fol. 21 (1277-1278). Standards of cleanness seem to have been rather high. For instance, there are occasional mentions of purchases made for baths (Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-1286, no. 77).

[3] E101 350/26.

[4] E101 353/4/4.

status during the Middle Ages has already been emphasized.[1] In the course of the following pages, we shall attempt to see what were the means employed to embody royal dignity and power in the decor of the court.

Chamber and hall represent the major division of court life, not indeed between private and public life, but between an upper household, centered on the chamber, and a lower household, focused on the hall. Later household treatises make a rigid separation between the chamber and the hall, but this may not have been completely the case for the XIIIth century households. In any case, one must use the expression 'private life' cautiously for this period, even if there was probably restricted access to the royal chambers.

The accounts mention frequent purchases for the hall: long rectangular cushions for seats, called banquiers, were often covered with rayed cloth. Cloth was sometimes purchased to screen the windows of the hall of Westminster, but this seems to have been done specifically for the assembly of parliaments.[2] Considerable quantities of linen were also delivered from the stores for the tables of the hall and chambers [table XVIII].[3]

Chambers were the privileged place for the display of royal

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[1] P. Eames, Furniture in England, France and the Netherlands from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century (London, 1977), pp. xix-xx.

[2] E101 371/21/34 (undated account): Walter, chaplain of the royal chapel at Westminster, received 30 ells of canvas to cover the windows of the hall at Westminster.

[3] The contemporary iconography of the Last Supper shows the arrangement of tables: the table-cloth was covered with another cloth, supermappa in the accounts, which stopped at the edges of the table.

Type of linen	King's household	Household of Thomas and Edmund	Household of the countess of Hereford	Household of the keeper of the Wardrobe
mappa	1,341.5 ells	116 ells	128 ells	71 ells
manuterga	167	18	24	27
tela	1,693 ells	54 ells	120 ells	30 ells
canvas	3,198.5 ells	92 ells	197 ells	260 ells

Table XVIII: Consumption in linen. E101 366/6, mem. 2 and 3 (1303-1304).

Colour	Festivals
black	masses for the dead
	Good Friday
white/gold	Christmas
	Epiphany
	Easter
red	Pentecost
	apostles
	martyrs
purple (violet)	Advent
	Lent
	Rogation days
green	Trinity
	neutral colour often used instead of the other colours
white	Virgin Mary
	virgin saints
blue	associated with churches dedicated to the Virgin

Table XIX: Liturgical colours.

riches; it was also there that the members of the royal family lived. An episode of 1287, reported in the chronicle of St. Alban's, gives an idea of the arrangement of the royal chambers:

'Eo tempore, die quadam, cum rex et regina, in camera quadam convenientes, super lectum quemdam sedendo confabularentur, ictus fulminis per fenestram, quae eis erat a dorso, ingressus est, et inter eos transiens, ipsis penitus illaesis, duos domicellos, qui in eorum stabant praesentia, interfecit.'[1]

The main element of the chamber furniture was the bed, on which people used to sit and rest during the day, as well as sleep during the night. In the accounts of the great wardrobe, the term camera often refers only to the pieces composing the bed.[2] A tester, dosselum, made of textile or of leather, was placed at the head of the bed, while a canopy, celum, hung over it [plates XIV, XXII, XXIII and XXIV].[3] Curtains hung around the other three sides of the bed. Beds required a considerable amount of fabric: seven pieces of cindon were used to make the curtains around the bed of the queen in 1301-1302, fourteen cloths of tars for the curtains around another bed in 1303-1304.[4]

The bedclothes consisted of several pieces, canevacium, matracum, and several types of coverlets, coopertorium, culcitra, whose exact function is not completely certain. The coopertorium was lined with fur. An illustration in a manuscript of the Secreta Secretorum destined for Edward III (c. 1328) shows a

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[1] Chronica monasterii s. Albani, ed. H.T. Riley (London, 1865), p. 114.

[2] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 8835, fol. 20 (1303-1304): 'pro factura unius camere integre... videlicet pro custura j culcitre punctate, j celi et dosseli.'

[3] P. Eames, Furniture in England, p. 75.

[4] E101 361/17. E101 366/7, mem. 1.

cover of minever with the fur on the top [plate XIV]. An account for 1304-1305 mentions a 'robe to get up and sit in during the night', with two mantels, of russet cloth; this was probably a night-gown.[1] But night clothes actually worn in bed were perhaps rare.

A tapetum was used for the bed, perhaps as a supplementary coverlet, but it may also have hung at the head or at the foot of the bed. Tapeta of various kinds were also hung in the chamber. Several types of cushions, auricularia, cutes, quarella and quissina, were laid on the bed and in the chamber. The furnishing of the chamber was completed with banquiers and curtains.[2]

In 1300-1301, Parisian merchants provided Queen Margaret with a chamber of green silk: green cindon was used to make curtains, a culcetra punctata for the bed, a canopy and a tester, and thirty large cushions. Four small cushions of silk, decorated with beads of coral and agates completed the chamber, together with several tapeta figuring various arms. All pieces were stuffed with plumis mollibus. The total cost of this exceptional chamber was over £30.[3]

B Chapels.

The religious duties to be performed in the royal chapels required the keeping of a large number of ecclesiastical

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[1] E101 367/17 (1304-1305).

[2] E101 367/18: 'pro j curtina pro fenestris in camera domine regine curtinandis iij peciae carde.' (1304-1305).

[3] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7966A, fol. 156.

vestments. Unfortunately, evidence for the vestments of the king's chapel is very scattered and fragmentary. No inventory of its contents has survived for the period which interests us here. However, a comparison with the inventories of the treasury of the wardrobe, contemporary church inventories, and surviving vestments may give us an idea of the importance of the royal chapels.

White linen and white silk were used to make albs, amices, surplices and rochets. The edges of these vestments were usually decorated with precious silk or embroidery.[1] The wardrobe accounts for 1301-1302 record the purchase of a cloth of tars for the making of the apparell for an amice.[2] Silk was used in the making of the upper vestments: stole, maniple, chasuble, tunicle, dalmatic and cope. The inventory of the chapel of Richard Gravesend, Bishop of London, drawn up in 1303, gives an idea of the richness of an aristocratic chapel. Among the vestments sold by the executors, there were several stoles and amices, preciously decorated, seven copes made of velvet, diasper, cangis and tars, of which only one seems to have been fully embroidered, and about nine sets, or vestimenti, composed of a chasuble and a dalmatic, or of a tunicle and a dalmatic. The vestments were

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[1] All these garments were often repaired and replaced, the decoration being then unsewn from the old garment and re-used on the new one. For instance, Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7965, fol. 19 (1296-1297): 'Domino Johanni de Wytham pro x superpelliciis et uno rochetto quos habuerunt de novo contra festum Nativitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste pro capella regis cindendis et consuendis pro quolibet superpellicio xd et pro rochetto vjd per manus domini Johannis Exon' ibidem xxviiij die Junii viijs xd.'

[2] E101 361/17. This type of decoration appears clearly on an amice of the early XIVth century, now kept in the Schnütgen-Museum of Cologne.

made of materials chosen in accordance with the liturgical colours corresponding to the different periods of the liturgical calendar: red tars, red cendal and red cangis, green tars, white samite and white diasper, blue tars, and black cendal [table XIX].[1]

Inventories of the wardrobe treasury mention several copes of great value, which must have been richly embroidered. In 1295-1296, there were three copes in the treasury: two of them were estimated at £50 each, and the third at 50m.[2] These vestments were perhaps used for important ceremonies, and their high value may explain why they were kept in the treasury instead of being kept in the chapel vestry. It is probable that vestments intended for everyday use in the king's chapel were more modestly ornamented. Embroidery was certainly limited to removable pieces like orphreys.[3] This explains the relatively modest price of most vestments, in comparison with great ceremonial pieces: for instance, two chasubles purchased for the chapel of Queen Margaret in 1299-1300 cost only £2 2s.

A few vestments from the chapel of Queen Eleanor found their way to the priory of St. Peter in Bath after the death of the queen:

'Item procuravit nobis de capella dominae reginae, consortis domini regis Edwardi, unam casulam decenter ornatam, cum vestimento cum targiis regis Angliae et Hispaniae, et unum

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[1] Account of the Executors of Richard Bishop of London 1303, and of the Executors of Thomas Bishop of Exeter 1310, ed. W.H. Hale and H.T. Ellacombe (London, 1874), pp. 48-9.

[2] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7965, fol. 143 to fol. 148.

[3] Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae, p. 56: purchase of some aurifragia for the vestments of the royal chapel (1299-1300).

amictum de secta cum alio amicto breudato de ymaginibus valde decenter consutis'.[1]

The cloth of the chasuble was woven with a pattern of shields, while the orphrey was embroidered. One of the amices was decorated with an apparell made from the same cloth as the chasuble, while the other was embroidered with figures.

As a rule, embroidery was confined to exceptional pieces or to marginal decoration. Instead, imported silks decorated with woven patterns were used systematically for the making of liturgical vestments: they rivalled the work of English embroiderers. The last decades of the XIIIth century saw the climax of Opus Anglicanum; but this was contemporary with a massive use of imported decorated silks, and it is probable that the success of silks decorated with woven patterns was decisive in the process of slow decline suffered by English embroidery work during the XIVth century.

Occasionally whole vestments, more frequently orphreys only, could be decorated with scenes from the Passion and from the lives of saints. The Clare chasuble still has a beautiful orphrey embroidered with religious scenes: the Crucifixion is represented in the top quatrefoil of the orphrey sewn on the back of the chasuble.[2] In inventories, however, the number of vestments ornamented with religious scenes is relatively small. This may be due to the higher cost of this kind of work. Heraldic decoration was frequent. Shields were often present on the

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[1] Two Chartularies of the Priory of St Peter at Bath, ed. W. Hunt (London, 1893), p. 158.

[2] Victorian and Albert Museum, 673-1864. It is reproduced in The Medieval Treasury. The Art of the Middle Ages in the Victoria and Albert Museum, ed. P. Williamson (London, 1986), p. 187.

orphreys of the vestments, as well as on the stole and amice, and were a reminder of the patronage of a church, or a mark of proprietorship.[1] Several stoles of the early XIVth century, now kept in the Victoria and Albert Museum, are entirely decorated with shields [plate XIII]. Shields usually figured on the front of the vestments, so that when the priest turned to the congregation, the shields appeared fully to those present. This use of heraldry on vestments was criticized on several occasions, but it was never forbidden by the Church.[2]

Floral and animal patterns, inanimate objects, or geometric designs were the most frequent types of pattern on vestments. The continuous influence of Oriental textile art is also to be found in embroidery work. As late as the 1340s, one can observe the mark of oriental influences on lay as well as on ecclesiastical embroidery: the example of the red silk embroidered with leopards, now kept in the Musée de Cluny, may be compared with a XIIth century embroidery work of Sicilian origin, the coronation mantle of Roger II.[3]

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[1] Chronica sive Historia de rebus Glastoniensibus, auctore Iohanne monacho monasterii s. Marie Glastoniensis, ed. T. Hearne, i (Oxford, 1726), p. 253: 'contulit... casulam rubeam, continentem arma comitis Lancastriae, cum quinque albis, et baudekino et frontello eiusdem sectae. Et albam cum scutis brudatam, cum stola et manipulo eiusdem sectae, et cervical eiusdem operis cuius est dicta alba cum scutis brudata, cum frontello et quatuor paribus corporalium eiusdem sectae'. B.B. Heim, Heraldry in the Catholic Church. Its Origin, Customs and Laws (Gerrards Cross, 1978), p. 37. J. Woodward, A Treatise on Ecclesiastical Heraldry (Edinburgh and London, 1894), pp. 29-30.

[2] B.B. Heim, Heraldry in the Catholic Church, p. 40, mentions the German mystic Johannes Tauler (d. 1361), who criticized the introduction of donors' arms in churches.

[3] This silk, a rare example of secular embroidery, was originally part of a horse-trapper, and was then transformed into a vestment. It can be dated c. 1338-1340. The Age of Chivalry, cat. no. 12.

Altar furnishings also played a role in the display of riches in the royal chapels: dossal and frontal were often elaborately decorated. Even the towels and cushions placed on the altar were of rich fabrics.[1] Altar curtains and a cloth destined to cover the lectern usually completed the furnishing of chapels.

Some relics were kept in the royal chapels. The most important relic kept in the chapel of Edward I was the Cross Neyth, which was probably laid on the altar itself, in a precious reliquary protected by a silk curtain.[2] Edward I received the Cross Neyth from subjected Welshmen in June 1283. Unlike the crown of Arthur and other Welsh jewels, which were left at Westminster and at other sanctuaries, the Cross Neyth was kept in the royal chapel, and accompanied the king everywhere. This is characteristic of the popularity of the devotion to the Cross in the second part of the XIIIth century. It also recalls the devotion of Saint Louis to the Cross, and it is probable that

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[1] E101 366/16/47 (1299-1300): 'un frontal devaunt lautier de drap de tars.' Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7965, fol. 144 (1296-1297): 'j frontellum broudatum.'

[2] M. Prestwich, 'The Piety of Edward I', England in the Thirteenth Century. Proceedings of the 1984 Harlaxton Symposium, ed. W.M. Ormrod (Harlaxton, 1985), pp. 120-8. A.J. Taylor, 'Royal Alms and Oblations in the Later Thirteenth Century', Tribute to an Antiquary: Essays Presented to Marc Fitch, ed. F.G. Emmisson and R. Stephens (1976), pp. 93-125, esp. p. 119, n. 43. Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae, p. 64. C47/4/3, mem. 22. E372/138, mem. 26. E101 353/30. E101 352/4. Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-1286, no. 1975. The treasury of the wardrobe also contained a relic of the Passion: 'unus pannus lienetis qui tetigit sudarmum Christi' (Brit. Lib. Add. Ms. 7965 fol. 144: 1296-1297). After the death of Queen Eleanor, the relics of her chapel were kept at Westminster in a chest covered with silk: 'j forcerus coopertus de uno panno de serico cum diversis reliquiis billatis que fuerunt regine consorti' (ibid., fol. 145).

the French king may have served as a model of religious kingship for Edward I: the Sainte-Chapelle was a model for the works at Westminster, while the devotion of Edward I to the Cross Neyth may be seen as an echo of the religious attitudes of Saint Louis to the Cross, as well as a symbol of the success of Edward I's military enterprises.

The chapel followed the king in his travels. Whenever possible, some work was done in order to establish a permanent chapel.[1] A clerk of the chapel was usually sent forward to prepare the new premises: in December 1296, for instance, Walter de Asshwell was sent to Ipswich in order to prepare a chapel for the king in the priory of St Peter. The chapel was placed near the king's chamber, and some carpentry work was carried out in order to prepare it for Edward's arrival. Chapels were the first part of aristocratic residences to be provided with windows of glass. However, the chapel of the king usually had windows obscured by cloth.[2] Cushions for benches and hangings were purchased regularly for the royal chapel.[3] The wardrobe accounts give precise indications concerning the character of Edward I's devotions: curtains were regularly ----------

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[1] When the court was residing at Westminster, St Stephen's chapel served as the royal chapel.

[2] M. Wood, The English Medieval House (London, 1965), p. 235. Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7965, fol. 14v (1296-1297).

[3] E101 366/16/47 (1299-1300): 'samit vert pour courir iij quissins de la chapelle.'

purchased for the king in his chapel, and this seems to have been done in order to give the king a certain degree of privacy and comfort in his devotions.[1]

C The Decor of the Travelling Household. The royal family was constantly travelling, and the decoration of horse equipment, as well as furnishings for boats, carriages and litters had a crucial role in creating comfort and in displaying the royal riches. For instance, in 1302-1303, to prepare the crossing of Queen Margaret to the continent, a certain number of sambucae, or saddles for female riders, were made for the queen and the ladies of the court. These were extravagantly decorated: three sambucae were made for the queen: two were decorated with red velvet and pearls, while the third was powdered (masculata) with the arms of France and England. The total cost for these three saddles was £30. Sambucae were also made for the ladies of the queen's chamber: two were embroidered with the arms of England in lozenges of green silk, perhaps with some enamel, four were decorated with the arms of Edward of Caernarvon and of Louis brother of the king of France, and finally a sambuca was made for Mary, daughter of the king, with the arms of St George worked with pearls and gold coins.[2] In 1300-1301, a new litter was made for Queen Margaret: the wooden frame was decorated with burnished gold and painted with various colours. Large and small gilded

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[1] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 8835, fol. 11v (1303-1304): 'Walteri le Bonere subclerico capelle regis pro denariis per ipsum solutis pro... clavis, cordis et crocis emptis pro curtinis regis in eadem capella tendendis...'

[2] E101 369/11, fol. 101v.

nails completed the decoration of the frame. The litter was furnished in a harmony of dark and clear blue silks, and scarlet, and was curtained. The total cost of the litter, including the horses' equipment, was £14 2s 1d.[1] Fur was occasionally used for the furnishing of litters, and provided additional warmth and comfort.[2] Carriages were covered with canvas, which was perhaps rubbed with wax. But occasionally, more precious cloth was used to cover the carriages, notably for ceremonial occasions: for instance, a carriage for Queen Margaret was covered with some cloth of pers in January 1301.[3] The decor of the ships used for crossings to the continent is also documented. For instance, considerable work was done on board the ship transporting the king to Flanders in 1297: cabins were made with wooden separations, and the cabin of the king was draped with curtains.[4]

III Baptisms and Weddings: the Public Reinforcement of the Legitimacy of the Royal Lineage.

Familial festivities were transformed into impressive public ceremonies. Births and weddings were occasions for the display of an imposing apparatus where symbols of the royal lineage, in

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[1] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7966 A, fol. 40v.

[2] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 37 655, fols. 7 and 8. E403/132, mem. 2: mention of fur for the litter of the king.

[3] E101 684/57/18. Also E101 371/8/193 (undated): 'item en x aunes de drap de blu livere pur coverer le char ma dame pris del aune xviijd.'

[4] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7965, fol. 32: 'Johanni le Convers pro denariis per ipsum solutis pro lignis, bord[is] et aliis, meremio empto per ipsum pro cameris et aliis interclausis faciendis in navi in qua passabat corpus regis versus Flandriam anno xxv, clavis emptis pro eisdem, cordis emptis pro curtinis regis tendendis et aliis necessariis...'

the form of badges and heraldic arms, played a major part.

The ceremonial surrounding the birth of Thomas of Brotherton, the first child of Edward I and Queen Margaret, in May 1300, is well known thanks to the survival of the particulars of account of Perrot, tailor of the queen.[1] Documentary evidence also survives for the festivities surrounding the births of the two other children of the king by Queen Margaret, Edmund and Eleanor, and confirms the importance of such occasions.[2] Two chambers, each with a cradle and a bed, were made for Thomas of Brotherton: the first chamber was dominated by a harmony of reds, while the second was dark blue. The luxury of the materials employed to cover the cradles and beds suggests that these chambers played a role in the display of royal riches: cradles were covered with a cloth of gold, while the furnishings for the beds included covertours lined with minever and grey, and a very precious cutepoint of cloth of gold of Turkey and of blue samite, lined with green cindon. Eleanor's chamber was furnished in a harmony of greens: twelve green tapeta and green carde for the bed were purchased. These chambers were the place where the royal children received the visits of the magnates: the bed and cradle of Eleanor were covered with coverlets lined with precious furs, notably ermine, 'contra adventum magnatum.'[3] This aspect was reinforced with the display in the chambers of hangings bearing

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[1] E101 357/20. This document has been commented on by K. Staniland, 'Welcome, Royal Babe! The Birth of Thomas of Brotherton in 1300', Costume, xix (1985), 1-13.

[2] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7966 A, fols 46v and 156v for the birth of Edmund at Woodstock in 1301. E101 368/12, fol. 3 to 6v for the birth of Eleanor in May 1306.

[3] E101 368/2, fols 6 and 6v.

heraldic arms.[1] It was there that the continuity of the royal lineage was expressed, and its acceptance by the nobility of the kingdom formalized, sanctioned by exchanges of gifts which also strengthened the friendship between the king and the nobility.

Weddings were the second occasion of familial life when the continuity of the royal lineage was publicly confirmed. After the death of Queen Eleanor in 1290, Edward had not shown any desire to remarry, but negotiations with France in 1299 led to the marriage of Edward I with Margaret, the younger sister of Philip the Fair. Obviously, the marriage was decided for diplomatic reasons, but it was also a means to consolidate the royal lineage: Edward of Caernarvon was then the sole male heir, and Edward I may have wished for a more secure succession. The wedding took place at Canterbury in September 1299 and was described by several chroniclers.[2] The French princess was accompanied by several French nobles, while an important number of English magnates, notably the earls of Lincoln, Warwick, Lancaster, Hereford, Warenne and Norfolk were present. The wedding provided an occasion for the members of the royal family to gather and impress the assembly by their importance. All the royal children were probably given new robes by the king for the ceremony, but documentary evidence survives only for Edward: he

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[1] E101 357/20 (chamber of Thomas of Brotherton): 'item pur ses litz iiij tapitz de diverses armes.'

[2] The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury, ed. W. Stubbs, ii (London, 1880), p. 317. Annales Angliae et Scotiae, ed. H.T. Riley, p. 396. Thomae Walsingham Historia Anglicana, ed. H.T. Riley, i (London, 1863), p. 79. There is also a description of the event in Lodewijk van Velthem, Voortzetting van den Spiegel Historiael (1248-1311), ed. van der Linden and W. der Vreese (Brussels, 1906), i, p. 295 sq.

received three robes, each of them of four garments, and one of his hoods, lined with minever, was replaced because he had mislaid it.[1] His chamber was partly renewed, as well as the attire of his followers, including the materials for trumpet-pennons, which displayed his heraldic arms. Indications given in the accounts are otherwise very sporadic: we know that two cloths of gold were dispatched to Canterbury 'ad ponendum ultra regem et reginam'.[2] This refers to the canopy used during the ceremony.[3]

Edward I had numerous female descendants, and the weddings of his daughters proved to be the occasion for a display of the signs asserting the strength of the royal lineage. To prepare the weddings of Eleanor, Johanna and Margaret, Adinettus, the king's tailor, went to several fairs in order to provide the necessary materials. New robes and cointises, that is to say ceremonial garments of cloth of gold, were made for the occasion.[4] Large tents were erected at Westminster for the wedding of Johanna, and they were covered with various cloths.[5] The wedding of Margaret was celebrated in July 1290; but the nuptials took place only in January 1297 at Ipswich, and the young duchess left for Brabant

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[1] E101 356/21/12: 'et Johanni cissori domini pro uno capucio minuti varii empto pro domino Edwardo filio regis eo quod idem dominus amisit capucium suum quod habuit de [liberacione] garderobe regis contra festum nuptiarum viiijs.'

[2] E101 356/21/5.

[3] Several ecclesiastics claimed the right to obtain the canopy at the end of the ceremony (The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury, ii, p. 317).

[4] The nature of the cointise is analysed more in detail in chapter 8, section IV.

[5] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 60 313, mem. 4, 5, 9 and 10.

on the vessel Swan of Yarmouth. For the occasion, Guillelm Arnaud, a Gascon knight, had cointises made in London for him and his companions 'in quibus ipse et socii sui trippanerunt ad fores Vascon[ie] die nuptiarum domine Margarete filie regis.'[1] A whole new wardrobe was made for her and probably for the ladies of her suite, and a new carriage for her passage to the continent.[2] Her sisters and her cousin, Mary of Brittany, also received robes for the occasion. The trousseau of the duchess included a considerable number of jewels and costume accessories, some of which were decorated with figures of various sorts: a circlet was decorated with gold birds, another with silver leopards [table XX].

It is possible that the leopard had a heraldic significance: it may be identified here as a badge, that is to say a personal sign using a figure, sometimes borrowed from the coat-of-arms. Badges originated in the XIIth century, but it is generally thought that they were not largely used before the 1320's or even later. A recently discovered brooch, however, dating from the XIIIth century, bears the planta genista of the Plantagenets.[3] There is no evidence that such objects were then distributed and worn as tokens of recognition and appartenance, but the example of the trousseau of Margaret shows that they existed in the form

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[1] Ibid., mem. 6.

[2] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7965, fol. 151. The carriage was furnished with a small chest and some gilded chairs. It was painted, decorated with enamelled and gilded pomella, 15 000 big gilded nails and 20 000 small gilded nails. The total cost for making the carriage was £22 10s 8d.

[3] J. Cherry, 'A Medieval Gold Brooch found in Manchester', in M. Morris, Medieval Manchester (Manchester, 1983), 77-8.

type of accessory	decoration	price
5 capella and 5 tressoria	de opere auri cum perlis	£44
23 capella and 23 tressoria	de opere argent[i] cum perlis	£39 10s
3 coiffe and 3 capella	de perlis grossis	£12
for 1 capellum and 1 tressorium	diversa scut[a] auri aimellata	10m
4 brooches for the mantellum of the duchess	gold	10s
for 1 capellum	9 volucres auri	5s
for 1 capellum	several leopardi argenti	12d
for 1 capellum	9 [croches? treches?] of gold	10s
?	1 pomellum auri	?
1 girdle	gold	
23 girdles	gilded silver	
for 1 capellum	12 crochet[a]	
?	120 chaston[a]	

Table XX: Accessories for Margaret daughter of the king (1297). Source: Brit. Lib. Add. Ms. 7965, fol. 136.

of jewels in the costumes of the royal family. Together with furnishings bearing the arms of England, they were a demonstration of the strength of the Plantagenet lineage.[1]

Conclusion. Historians generally distinguish two types of kingship: a type dominated by a certain familiarity between the king and his subjects, which appears also to be a patriarchal type; and a type dominated by the concept of distance between the person of the king and his subjects.[2] To which type did the kind of kingship practised by Edward I belong? For the modern period, the study of the buildings of the court, with the growth of private appartments, proves a useful indicator. But the medieval court was constantly travelling, and one has to rely on other sources to reconstruct the material aspects of the court. The study of the decor of the court seems to suggest that the reign of Edward I was a period during which the patriarchal aspects of kingship were still dominant, with an emphasis on the function of the royal lineage in the exercise of power: it may well be that, in the evolution of English kingship, familial occasions gradually took over the role devoted formerly to crown-wearing ceremonies. In the context of the royal court, the initiative in the dialogue between the king and his subjects was always the privilege of the king.

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[1] I have not found any mention of clothes bearing coats-of-arms in the accounts of the great wardrobe; still, extant remains like the royal costumes of the tombs of the monastery of Las Huelgas near Burgos bear such a decoration and one must not exclude the possibility that a similar device may have been used in England.

[2] The English Court: from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War, ed. D.S. Starkey (London, 1987), p. 8.

Chapter 6: The Royal Largesse: Alms, Gifts and Liveries.

One of the duties of a lord was to show his generosity. This aspect of lordship was largely developed in the romances and was obviously considered an essential attribute of power and of aristocratic behaviour.[1] In Chrétien de Troyes's Cligés, for instance, largesse is the lady and queen who enhances all the other virtues: '...largesce est dame et reïne/qui totes vertuz anlumine...'[2]

The largesse of the lord would take various forms, but one of the foremost was the handing out of clothes or of materials for clothing. The exercise of charity included the giving of alms of clothes to the poor; clothes were also provided for the members of the entourage as reward for exceptional services, but also as part of their regular allowances for service. Gifts of garments also figured prominently in the relations between the king and the aristocracy, as well as in the context of diplomatic relations. The following pages will develop these ideas, in order to show that the king's bounty was exercised within a customary framework very distant from the model of largesse portrayed in the romances.

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[1] This has been demonstrated particularly by A.J. Gurevich in his Categories of Medieval Culture, tr. G.L. Campbell (London, 1985), pp. 250-2.

[2] This is quoted in Z.P. Zaddy, 'The Courtly Ethic in Chrétien de Troyes', The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood III. Papers from the Fourth Strawberry Hill Conference 1988, ed. C. Harper-Bill and R. Harvey (Woodbridge, 1990), pp. 159-80, esp. p. 161).

I The Exercise of Charity.

According to Fleta, one of the duties of the almoner was to gather articles of clothing, probably old garments, or clothes left over after the death of household members, and to redistribute them to the poor. The almoner also had the task of preventing the king from giving away his own garments to courtiers, actors or minstrels, in order to resell them to the profit of the almonry.[1]

Alms in cloth were distinguished from other kinds of alms: while elemosina statuta covered daily distributions of money for meals, elemosina included distributions to the poor on an irregular basis, notably the handing out of materials for dress.[2] Substantial distributions of cloth and foot-wear to the poor took place at Easter. For instance, at Easter 1278, probably on the day of the Last Supper, 269 ells of cloth were distributed to the poor for a total sum of £13 10s 7d; ninety pairs of shoes (sotulares) were distributed on the same day, at a total cost of 30s 6d.[3] Cloth and shoes were purchased specifically for alms: in 1284, for example, it was clearly Adinet the king's tailor who was in charge of the purchase of the necessary materials.[4]

Table XXI shows that the cloths distributed as alms were of a mediocre quality: pannus grossus of Brittany, bluettus grossus,

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[1] Fleta, ii, ed. H.R. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, Selden Society, lxxii (1953), p. 130.

[2] H. Johnstone, 'Poor Relief in the Royal Households of Thirteenth Century England', Speculum, iv (1929), 149-67, esp. p. 152.

[3] C47/4/1, fol. 5v.

[4] E101 351/15, mem. 3.

grossus russet dominated the distributions. Some cloth of Stamford, in a better range, was given to the poor in 1290. It is possible to deduce the number of beneficiaries from the number of pairs of shoes distributed: ninety in 1278, ninety-three in 1289, 165 in 1290.

Date and reference	alms in cloth	alms in foot-wear
Easter 1278	269 ells of cloth (£13 10s 7d)	90 pairs of sotulares (30s 6d)
Easter 1284	64 ells of cloth	114 pairs of sotulares (total for cloth and shoes: £24 12d)
Easter 1289	12 peciae of pannus grossus of Brittany, 3 cloths of bluet, 1 cloth, 4 peciae and 4 canne of pannus grossus (£20 2s 10d ob)	93 pairs of sotulares (51s)
Easter 1290	106 ells of blue cloth of Stamford (£7 19s) and 567 ells of grossus russet (£30 14s 3d)	165 pairs of sotulares (75s 7d ob)

Table XXI: alms in cloth and foot-wear. Sources: C47 4/1, fol. 15v., C47 4/4, fol. 40, E101 352/18 and E101 351/15, mem. 3.

In 1290, four ells of cloth were received by each beneficiary: this must have been just large enough for the making of a single garment and perhaps of a hood. During the reign of Henry III, some clothes for the poor were cut and sewn in the workshops of the royal tailor.[1] But similar evidence does not appear in the wardrobe accounts of Edward I.

One of the undeniable attributes of medieval power was

[1] H. Johnstone, 'Poor Relief in the Royal Households', p. 156.

charity exercised on a very large scale: the charitable gesture was magnified by the large number of poor who benefited from it. This must be placed in the context of the development of new religious attitudes in the course of the XIIIth century: the poor were to pray for their benefactor and for his family, and the prayers would benefit their souls in Purgatory. All the poor who benefited from these distributions were dressed in the same cloth, and they were probably recognizable as the king's paupers, a feature which emphasises the ostentatious character of the charitable practices of the aristocracy.

Alms for clothing represented a considerable expense; however, a comparison with other expenditure on alms shows that alms in cloth were not as important as alms in food or money. For instance, in 1283-1284, distributions of cloth and shoes cost only £24 12d from a total of £367 19s 7d ob. spent on all types of alms to the poor and the sick.[1]

We know very little about the identity of those who benefited from the royal alms. They might have been regular recipients of alms, registered on a roll kept by the almoner, but this is only hypothetical. The court rarely spent Easter at a regular location, and it is probable that the recipients of alms were chosen at random.

These lavish collective distributions of cloth were complemented by isolated alms. For instance, at Chester in September 1284, a poor child received 21d from the king to buy a robe.[2] Some specific groups recurr frequently in the accounts

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[1] E101 351/15.

[2] Ibid.

of the almoner, such as the Cistercians and the Friars.[1] We have not found any evidence of alms of cloth to anchorites, although Edward I seems to have given regular alms to recluses and anchorites.[2] The king also patronised the Boy Bishop: in December 1294, he gave a cloth of gold for the cope of the Boy Bishop at Chester for the feast of St Nicholas.[3]

II Gifts of Clothing: the Largesse of the King.

Accounts only record gifts of new clothes. Gifts of worn clothes are not mentioned: the only indication that such gifts took place is the fact that they were criticized by the author of Fleta.[4] It is indeed possible that the king and other members of the royal family distributed their worn clothes at random. Such gifts were probably made to minstrels, who obviously encouraged the royal largesse by citing the chivalric virtues of generosity and magnanimity.

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[1] In November 1283, the Cistercian nuns of Cockhill (Worcestershire) received £1 13s 4d 'ad pannos sibi emendos contra festum Nativitatis Domini.' In March 1290, Adam de Garch' de Ponthieu, a Cistercian, received 12 ells of blanket for his costume (C47/4/5, fol. 21). Friars were also prominent among the beneficiaries of alms: A.J. Taylor's analysis of the roll of alms for 1283-1284 shows that sums of money were given occasionally to Mendicants for their clothing, totalling £14 6s for the whole year, a considerable amount (A.J. Taylor, 'Royal Alms and Oblations in the Later Thirteenth Century', Tribute to an Antiquary: essays presented to Marc Fitch, ed. F.G. Emmison and R. Stephens (London, 1976), pp. 93-125, esp. p. 112).

[2] A.K. Warren, Anchorites and their Patrons in Medieval England (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1985), pp. 167-8.

[3] Book of Prests of the King's Wardrobe for 1294-5, p. 105.

[4] Fleta, ii, p. 130.

A Rewards and Compensations. Gifts of garments or of money for clothes were frequent and testify to the place of clothing in the exercise of the king's generosity. Bearers of good news were occasionally rewarded with a gift of clothes. Such was the case in March 1290, when Edward ordered the clerk of the great wardrobe to deliver seven ells of russet, and some lamb furs for a surcote and for a hood to a servant called Hanekyn, who had brought good news concerning the health of one of the royal falcons.[1]

Robes of the king's gift could also be used as an indemnity for damages sustained in war. Thomas de Chikewell, who was wounded at the siege of Stirling, received a robe of ray cloth of the king's gift in May 1307.[2] The same year, Thomas le Convers, a valet of the king's chamber, was given a whole cloth of ray to replace the robe of livery he had lost, with all his goods, in Scotland, at the hands of Robert Bruce.[3] More spectacular was the gift of sixty cloths of colour, valued at £409 13s 4d, made in April 1300 to some Gascon women deprived of their goods by the war between Edward I and Philip the Fair.[4]

Members of the royal household who left the service of the king occasionally received robes or money for robes on their

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[1] C47/4/5, fol. 21. The same document records a gift of money for clothing to John, a watchman of Edward of Caernarvon, who brought some larks to the king (ibid., fol. 52).

[2] E101 370/9/7: '...Nous vous mandoms qe a Thomas de Chikewell qui feust mahenne en notre service au siege du chastel Destrivelyn facez bailler drap de raye a une robe de notre doun...' (privy seal, Carlisle, 29 May 1307).

[3] E101 370/12/44.

[4] Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae, p. 185.

departure. In June 1290, the keepers of the royal menagerie at the Tower of London left the court to return to their native Aragon: they received 26s 8d from the king to buy robes.[1] Similarly, in November 1290, some members of the household of Mary of Brittany received money for their clothing when Mary left for the continent.[2]

Good service could also be rewarded by a gift of robes. In 1304-1305, master Adam de Glasham was given seven ells of cloth 'quia... bene servivit domino regi in Scocia et alibi.'[3] In 1305-1306, eighteen constables were rewarded with a gift of robes for their good service, 'pro bono et laudabili servicio', in the Scottish wars.[4] In May 1305, Bartholomew Poitevin, a falconer of the king, received cloth and fur for robes for himself and his wife, to reward him for his long service in the royal household:

'Por ce qe mons. Bertelmeu Peytevyn ad este ovesque nous desq's nous nasquismes et bien et loiaument sest portez envers nous tous iours cea en arieres. Vous mandoms qe au dit Bertelmeu facez avoir et liverer covenable drap por une robe de trois garnementz, cest assavoir por cote, surcot clos et surcot ouvert, ove la pelure bone et covenable por meismes les garnementz de notre doun. Et facez deliverer et avoir a la compaigne de meisme celi Bertelmeu drap covenable por quatre garnementz, cest assavoir cote, surcot clos, surcot overt santz manches et manntel, ove la pelure bone et covenable por meismes les garnementz, ausint de notre doun...'[5]

B Exchanges of Gifts within Aristocratic Society.

Gifts of cloth and fur also took place in the context of the

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[1] C47/4/5, fol. 47.

[2] Ibid., fol. 52v.

[3] E101 366/16/25.

[4] E101 369/11, fol. 105.

[5] E101 366/16/16.

relationships between the king and the aristocracy. They marked traditional occasions such as Christmas, and were also given in the world of diplomacy, where gifts typical of familial relationships intermingled with diplomatic gestures. Large distributions of gifts, such as that which took place in Gascony in 1252, when Edward went to receive the homage of Gascon nobles, usually included clothes or accessories of clothing such as girdles.[1] After her wedding to the count of Holland in January 1297, Elizabeth, daughter of the king, distributed girdles and silk purses to people from Holland.[2] On the occasion of solemn courts, gifts were exchanged and friendships consolidated. Members of the royal family gave jewels and precious plate to the king, and also costly fabrics and furs.[3] Edward I gave cloth and fur regularly to his family, independently of regular liveries, and he probably did so not only to meet certain demands, but also from affection, and because such gifts were customary on festival days, particularly at Christmas. Queen Margaret in particular received cloth and fur regularly for her robes from the king.[4] She also gave the king robes for festival days, or furs for his

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[1] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, v, p. 314.

[2] C47/3/48/27.

[3] H. Cole, Documents Illustrative of English History, pp. 278-9: 'Picherus de cristallo datus regi apud Wrotham per comitissam Cornubie octavo die Maii anno xxii [...] unum par cultellorum datum regi per filiam suam ducissam Brabantiae.' Also Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae, pp. 345 and 349.

[4] E101 363/25/11 (1302-1303): 5 furs of minever were given by the king to the queen for a robe for the Assumption of the Virgin. E101 363/27/8 (14 June 1303): Queen Margaret received 6 pieces of camelin of Tripoli of a purple colour for Pentecost.

robes.[1]

One finds regular mentions of a robe of russet de Sempringham in the wardrobe of the king. For 1277-1278, the account precises that the robe was 'de dono abbatis de Simpringham'.[2] Edward I was still receiving such a robe in 1300-1301 and we may presume, in the absence of regular documentation, that he did so during most of the reign.[3] This robe was probably a customary gift from the abbot of Sempringham (Lincolnshire) in return for the liberties of the monastery.[4]

Gifts of precious cloths occupied a significant place in diplomatic practices. In 1285-1286, for instance, Edward I received two cloths of gold from the king of France, which he immediately gave to Queen Eleanor.[5] In 1289-1290, he sent ten woollen cloths to Norway.[6] In December 1300 or January 1301, the queen of France sent precious cloths to Edward I and Queen Margaret.[7] In May 1307, some costly horse equipment was sent to

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[1] In 1304, she gave him 3 furs and 2 hoods of minever, as well as a fur and a half of grosvair to line his robe for the festival of saint Edward (E101 366/8).

[2] C47/3/11.

[3] E101 359/20.

[4] Similarly, in 1195, the bishop of Lincoln had agreed to make an annual gift of clothing to the king in return for the liberties of the church of Lincoln (Chronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene, ed. W. Stubbs, iii (London, 1870), p. 303).

[5] Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-1286, no. 2004.

[6] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 60 313, mem. 3.

[7] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7966A, fol. 32v. Probably in return for this gift, Queen Margaret sent an extravagant gift to Philip the Fair: 24 greyhounds, 6 bercelets and 12 other hunting dogs, all provided with collars and leashes made of silk, silver and gold, and set with gems, representing the coats-of-arms of

the son of the duke of Brabant in the name of Thomas de Brotherton.[1] Precious objects were sent to the pope: for example, in 1305, an English embassy took a set of utensils of pure gold to Clement V.[2] But the gifts most appreciated at the papal court seem to have been vestments decorated with embroidery: in 1302-1303, Christiane de Enfield, the London embroiderer mentioned earlier, received £60 for the making of an embroidered cope ordered by the prince of Wales to be sent to Rome.[3]

Foreign embassies would be given robes and other gifts, together with the necessaries for their stay at the English court. This was the case, for instance, with the Oriental embassy who visited Edward at St. Sever, in Gascony, in 1287. They had been sent by Arghun, Il-Khan of Persia, and by the Nestorian patriarch Mar Yabhalaka. The ambassador, the Nestorian monk Rabban Sauma, then described his journey and told how he had been received by Edward I, who had given a feast in his honour and handed gifts and grants to him.[4] Messengers from foreign courts were also given various gifts, and most often robes. Several

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England and France (Ibid., fol. 40v).

[1] E101 371/21/53 (privy seal letter, Carlisle, 8 May 1307): 'Por ce qe nous avons mande a Roger de Lenton' notre salier de Londres qil face faire hastivement deue seles dont les sieges et les pans soient de samyt vermail et les estruisz et les resnes et les chesteurs des freins soient de soie rouge les queux Thomas notre chier fils enverra au filz du Duk de Brabant...'

[2] Chronica monasterii s. Albani. Willelmi Rishanger... chronica et annales, ed. H.T. Riley (London, 1865), pp. 227-8.

[3] E101 364/13, fol. 35.

[4] N. McLean, 'An Eastern Embassy in Europe in the Years 1287-1288', EHR, xiv (1899), 299-318, esp. p. 313. The wardrobe accounts specify that beds and other necessaries were purchased for the embassy (Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, no. 333).

Spanish emissaries visited the court of Edward I: in 1294-1295, a messenger called 'Alfonsus Lespaignolf' in the accounts was given new robes by the king.[1] Another Spanish emissary was received by Edward I in 1300-1301. He was given robes by the king, and a clerk was sent from Kenilworth, where the court was staying, to Northampton, to buy fur for the lining of his garments.[2]

It seems that gifts of clothes seldom reflected the personal favour of the king: in this context, jewels and precious plate, costly horses and hunting dogs were more often the object of gifts than clothes. However, gifts of clothes are a good indicator of the extent of his patronage.

III Liveries.

The accounts of the great wardrobe mention alms and gifts regularly. But the largest deliveries of materials by far were destined for the regular clothing of the household. These distributions, or liveries, liberationes robarum, were also called robae or novae robae.[3]

The practice of distributing clothing to the members of the court was not new: one of the aspects of the sacred largesses of

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[1] Book of Prests of the King's Wardrobe for 1294-5, p. 101.

[2] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7966A, fol. 32v. Similar gifts are recorded for instance in C47/4/5, fols. 43v and 46.

[3] All deliveries of goods from the stores of the various offices of the household and wardrobe were called liberationes. This may sometimes create confusion: however, liberationes robarum or liberationes pannorum is usually specified.

the Roman emperor was the distribution of clothes to allies and administrators.[1] Regulations for the Byzantine court in the Xth century mention distributions of clothes before Palm Sunday to the high administrators of the empire, in addition to their wages.[2] Similar distributions of clothing are also recorded frequently for the Muslim courts.[3]

Western courts probably knew similar usages in the early Middle Ages, although the documentation is very scanty. There is a mention of gifts of clothes to his entourage by Louis the Pious: he gave precious Oriental clothing to the important officers of his court, and some saga fresonica to the less elevated officers.[4] There is also an allusion to the clothing of dependants in an Anglo-Saxon document and it is probable that

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[1] R. Delmaire, Largesses Sacrées et Res Privata. L'Aerarium Impérial et son Administration du IVe au VIe Siècle, Collection de l'Ecole Française de Rome cxxi (Rome, 1989), pp. 464-70.

[2] L. Bréhier, Les Institutions de l'Empire Byzantin (2nd edn., Paris, 1970), pp. 134-5 and id., La Civilisation Byzantine (2nd edn., Paris, 1970), p. 44.

[3] For instance, the palace of the Fatimides in Cairo included two wardrobes, one of them, the exterior wardrobe, being notably used for the making and storage of clothing for the servants of the court under the direction of a 'master of the scissors.' This kind of distribution was usually complemented by the handing out of 'robes of honour', hila, to courtiers and administrators; these robes were cut out of tiraz, a specific textile bearing the name of the giver, and they were often of the same colour in a single distribution (M. Lombard, Les Textiles dans le Monde Musulman du VIIe au XIIe Siecle (Paris-La Haye-New York, 1978), p. 176 sq.).

[4] E. Sabbe, 'L'Importation des Tissus Orientaux en Europe Occidentale au Haut Moyen Age (IXe et Xe Siecles)', Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire, xiv (1935), 811-48 and 1261-88, esp. pp. 817-8.

household servants were clothed by their master.[1]

However, it is only from the XIIth century onwards that deliveries of clothes appear clearly in the documentation. The pipe rolls record isolated mentions of cloth or of money for cloth given to persons who appear to have held local offices, but also to the relatives of the king, foreign visitors and some members of the royal household.[2] The irregularity and, on the whole, the relative scarcity of references probably reflects the fact that some of the clothing must have been paid for from the king's private income. But this may also reflect the fact that deliveries of clothes were perhaps only occasional, when need arose, and that there was no system of regular liveries.[3] References in the pipe rolls multiply for the reign of John.[4]

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[1] This is mentioned in G.R. Owen, 'Wynflæd's Wardrobe', Anglo-Saxon England 8, ed. P. Clemoes et al. (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 195-222, esp. p. 222.

[2] For instance, 40s was spent for the cloth of Robert de Bellême in the pipe roll for Michaelmas 1130, and 60s for the cloths of 4 watchmen of the castle of Exeter [Exon']. The cost of cloths for some members of the aristocracy was also met by the exchequer (Pipe Roll 31 Henry I, pp. 12, 143, 144, 152 etc.). In 1158, the exchequer met the cost of cloth for some relatives of the king, for the son of the count of Flanders and his following, and for some household members such as Aymer the butler (Pipe Roll 4 Henry II, pp. 112-4).

[3] It is for instance quite striking that the Constitutio Domus Regis does not make any reference to liveries of clothing (F. Barlow, William Rufus (London, 1983), p. 136).

[4] The pipe roll for Michaelmas 1204 records the purchase of materials for robes of members of the household as a regular feature (Pipe Roll 6 John, p. xxxiv): a certain number of robes were purchased at the cost of 20s each, while other, less expensive robes were purchased for the sergeants (no. 131). Fortin the engineer received a mark for a robe from the receipts at Colchester (no. 46), the chaplain of Robert of Thornham received 30s for a robe (no. 80), 3 crossbowmen received robes for 45s (no. 187) and finally 8 robes were purchased for a total of £11 and 19s for knights of the king on the receipts of Winchester. For Pentecost 1208, £72 4s 9d were spent on

From 1211 onwards, purchases of materials for the clothing of the court of John appear regularly on the pipe rolls and reach high sums, and the distributions were large enough to attract the attention of chroniclers.[1]

The expenditure on materials for robes, whether robes for the royal family of for the retainers of the king, seems to have risen slightly during the reign of Henry III. For instance, between 1258 and 1261, Henry III spent about £2000 a year on purchases for the great wardrobe.[2] A few distributions are mentioned by the chroniclers, such as the distribution of clothes to Gascons on the occasion of the Christmas court held at Bazas in 1253: 'rex Henricus iii, anno regni sui xxxviii, fuit ad Natale Domini in Wasconia apud Besaceam, ubi Wasconiensibus in vestibus duplicibus et aliis rebus desiderabilibus preciosa contulit donativa.'[3]

Therefore, by the late XIIIth century, liveries of robes were not a new feature of household life: Matthew Paris

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purchasing materials for the king and his knights (Pipe Roll 10 John (Michaelmas 1208), p. 97).

[1] The pipe roll for Michaelmas 1211 records a certain number of payments for individual clothing, totalling £59 2s 5d; there are also some very large expenses for cloth and fur in the account of John FitzHugh, totalling £1164 8s 6d (Pipe Roll 13 John, pp. 39, 43, 83, 108-9, 123, 171, 176, 178, 246 and 270). Roger of Wendover mentioned the distributions of clothes by John to his court at Windsor for Christmas 1213: 'rex Anglorum Johannes tenuit ad natale Domini curiam suam apud Windleshores, ubi multa magnatum suorum multitudini festiva distribuit indumenta' (Flores Historiarum, ii, p. 147).

[2] T.F. Tout, Chapters, iv, p. 418.

[3] Flores Historiarum, ii, p. 393. Also Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, v, p. 421.

considered them to have taken place ab antiquo.[1] But the existence of detailed accounts, and the survival of some of the correspondance of the great wardrobe in particular, enable us to have a clearer picture of the organisation of liveries for the reign of Edward I than for earlier periods.

Liveries of robes were part of the various allowances, together with wages or fees, which the members of the royal household received for their service. This is made quite clear in the various household ordinances of the reigns of Edward I and Edward II, notably in the household ordinance of 1318: there, the chamberlain, for instance, was to receive fees and robes like the bannerets of the household, that is to say 20m a year for his fee and 16m a year for his robes, or materials for them.[2] When a knight entered the service of the royal household, robes were part of his allowances. When Piers Gaveston entered the royal household in December 1302, a privy seal letter ordered the clerk of the great wardrobe to deliver robes to the new household knight and to his companion:

'Pur ce qe nous avoms retenuz Perot de Gavaston pur estre de notre houstel a recevire pur li et pur son compaignon chescun iour quinze deniers vous mandoms qe pur li et pur son compaignon facez avoir robes sicome affiert a lour estat por ceste seison procheinement avenir de la suite Gilbert de Clar.'[3]

This was perhaps specified in a written contract of retinue. No such contract seems to have survived for the retainers of the household of Edward I, but it is probable that they once existed,

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[1] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, v, p. 199.

[2] T.F. Tout, The Place of Edward II in English History (Manchester, 1914), p. 245.

[3] E101 363/17/20 (14 December 1302).

especially if one considers the extent of written agreements in the period. Contemporary contracts of retinue usually specified very precisely what was to be given for robes.[1] Why was clothing part of the allowances for service? One has to stress that costume was very expensive, and could represent a significant part of one's income if it was not provided by the lord. Also, the king and the great nobles wished to have their entourage decently clothed. This was very clear in March 1301, when the king commanded that a group of valets who had been in the garrison of Stirling and who were following the court in poor apparel, were to receive decent clothing:

'Pur ce quil y ad xvj valetz qi feurent en la garnesture Destrivelyn et qi suent le roi chescun iour en chesmyn les queux sont malement vestuz. Vous mank qe a meisme ses vadletz facez liverer del doun le rey quatre draps dune sute pris du drap de xxxxs ou de iiijm a plus haut.'[2]

The following pages will describe the manner in which distributions of liveries were organized, and their place in the hierarchical structure of the royal household.

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[1] For instance, an indenture for service drawn up between Aymer de Valence and Thomas of Berkeley in July 1297 specifies that the said Thomas, who had 5 knights with him, would receive £50 a year and some robes, in addition to other allowances (Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland, ed. J. Bain, ii, 1272-1307 (Edinburgh, 1884), nos. 905).

[2] Letter from John de Droxford to Ralph de Stokes, C47/22/4/50 (26 March 1301). Advising the countess of Lincoln about the management of her household, Robert Grosseteste included a recommmendation concerning the apparel of her servants: 'Comaundez a vos chivalers e a vos gentis hommes ki vos robes pernent ke memes co robes, chescun iur, e numeement a vostre manger, e en vostre presence, usent pur vostre honur garder, ne pas veaus talbarz, e soyllez herigauz, ne cuntrefetes curtepies.' (D. Oschinsky, Walter of Henley and Other Treatises on Estate Management and Accounting (Oxford, 1971), p. 402).

A General Organisation of Liveries According to Household Ordinances.

The household ordinances of 1279 and 1318 specify that there was a hierarchy of robes along with a hierarchy of fees and wages, and of the various allowances, including food and housing, in the household.[1] Some categories were entitled to two robes a year, others to one robe a year only and, finally, some categories did not have any right to liveries of robes, these being clearly considered a privilege. This is also reflected in the ordinance drawn up for the household of Elizabeth, countess of Holland, in February 1301. For instance, the ladies of the countess' familia were entitled to receive two robes a year, except the domicella who was waiting on Joanna de Mereworth. Similarly, Robert de Hausted, a knight, was entitled to a fee and to biennial robes, but his squire only had the privilege of taking his meals in hall.[2]

The other issue raised by the study of household ordinances is whether the recipients of liveries of robes received their robes in money or in kind. The household ordinance of 1279 only specifies that the members of the household were entitled to

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[1] T.F. Tout, Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England, ii, pp. 158-63. Id., The Place of Edward II in English History, pp. 241-84. Bannerets and simple knights received fees and additional wages in time of war. Nearly all the other categories in the royal household received wages, whether in time of peace or in time of war.

[2] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7966A, fol. 187. The text of the ordinance is edited in appendix 1. This differs slightly from the thesis of J.M.W. Bean, who considers that all household servants wore their lord's livery, 'this being regarded as a sine qua non of the relationships between the lord and a household servant' (J.M.W. Bean, From Lord to Patron. Lordship in Late Medieval England (Manchester, 1989), p. 18).

certain fixed allowances for their robes. The text of the household ordinance of 1318 is more detailed: the royal household's staff received money for their robes, unless they received their robes in kind.[1] This is supported by the accounts: for instance, in 1296-1297, Humfrey de Bohun did not receive any money from the wardrobe for his winter and summer robes because he received his robes in panno.[2] This arrangement was not specific of the royal household: the alternative between robes in money and robes in kind appears frequently in documents referring to service and retaining.[3] The reasons for the choice of a livery in kind or in money are obscure: the text of the household ordinance of 1318 seems to imply that the beneficiaries were free to choose between the two, but the study of accounts reveals a more complex picture, which will be the object of the following pages.

B Organisation of Liveries According to the Financial Accounts.

There are several types of document dealing with liveries of robes. Some documents list the persons who received actual

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[1] T.F. Tout, The Place of Edward II in English History, pp. 244-5 (treasurer): 'et robes en drap pur sey autre, ov xvj marz par an a les festez de Noel et Pentecost par ovelx porcions.'

[2] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7965, fols. 126v and 131.

[3] The text of the Liber Custumarum, for instance, details the conditions of office of a clerk of the sheriff of London under Edward I: 'clericus... accipiet de domino suo duas robas per annum; videlicet, unam ad Natale Domini; et illa roba erit furrata cum bisshes; aut accipiet pro furura sua unam marcam argenti. Et aliam robam habebit ad Pascham; et illa roba erit lineata cum cindone; aut accipiet pro illa roba ij marcas...'(H.T. Riley, Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis: Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum, et Liber Horn, ii, part i (Liber custumarum) (London, 1860), p. 98).

payments in money for their robes from the wardrobe. Another type of documentation originates from the great wardrobe and records liveries in kind.[1]

1 Payments for robes.

A first type of document records the sums of money which were handed over by the wardrobe clerks to the members of the household. It seems that, for some years at least, payments were made regularly at Christmas and Whitsuntide: this is proved by the fact that some members of the household missed them because they were out of court. This was for instance the case with John de Bourn in 1302-1303, a household knight whose name appears in the wardrobe account for payment of robes, followed by the indication that he did not receive anything for his winter and summer robes because he was out of court.[2] What is not entirely clear is whether he was still entitled to receive a payment for his robes. This may be inferred from the fact that the king sometimes intervened in favour of persons who had not been in court when the payments for robes had been made. For instance, Robert de Clifford, a banneret of the household, missed the livery in money for the summer of 1297 because he was out of court; he probably obtained an order of the king in his favour and eventually received some money.[3]

Some categories of the king's household received money for

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[1] C. Johnson, 'The System of Account in the Wardrobe of Edward I', TRHS 4th series, vi (1923), 50-72.

[2] E101 369/11, fol. 155v.

[3] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7965, fol. 128: 'domino Roberto de Clifford baneretto existenti se altero militi ad robas regis pro roba sua estivali anni xxv de gracia regis quia fuit extra curiam in negociis regis per preceptum regis...'

calciamenta, or foot-gear, from the wardrobe. In winter 1289-1290, for instance, 339 members of the court received money for their calciamenta: among them were the Welsh staying at the court, the archers of the king, the staff of the king's mews, most valets of the various household offices, the staff of the stables and of the carts, the hunting staff and most valets of the dependent households.[1] Most received 2s 4d.

2 Accounts for ceremonial liveries in kind.

On ceremonial occasions, for instance in solemn courts, liveries were not given in money but in kind. By the late XIIIth century, this type of distribution was too customary to attract the attention of chroniclers. But a few surviving accounts reveal that such liveries actually took place. For Christmas 1303, a formal livery was made to nine bannerets and knights of the king, together with their socii, probably their valets. They received robes of white and ash-colour camelin, furred with minever and gros vair. This livery did not match the clothing of the king and queen, who seem to have worn green cloth and scarlet for the occasion, but Thomas and Edmund, the sons of Edward I, and Edward Balliol all received robes of camelin.[2] The account bears the rubric 'Liberaciones robarum banerettorum et militum regis contra Natale', and it seems that there was indeed a formal livery at Christmas 1303.[3]

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[1] C47/4/5, fol. 27 to fol. 29.

[2] E101 366/8.

[3] This is less certain for the following year, for which an account for the magna liberacio of the great wardrobe also survives (E101 367/17). But some of the liveries were actually

An illumination in the manuscript of the Secreta Secretorum (c. 1327-1328) destined by Walter of Milemete to accompany his treatise on kingship, shows three knights kneeling in front of a king, bearing furs of minever on their arm [plate I]. Some frames are depicted in the background of the painting, with textiles and furs hung on them.[1] The text of that particular chapter of the treatise is concerned with the clothing of the king.[2] However, it seems that the illumination represents a formal livery of robes to knights. This may be confirmed by other passages in the treatise, that deal with the largesse of the king, and the way a solemn court is held in India.[3] This illumination seems to be the first surviving representation of a distribution of liveries. The fact that it illustrates a treatise on kingship underlines that the handing out of liveries

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made after Christmas, and they are not systematically organised under one heading in the account.

[1] In his Dictionarius, John of Garlandia describes his garments hanging on a frame in his house: 'supra perticam magistri Johannis de Gallandia diversa indumenta pendent... Pertica, Gallice "perche"...' (The Dictionarius of John de Garlande and the Author's Commentary, ed. B. Blatt Rubin (Lawrence, Kansas, 1981), p. 62).

[2] 'De regis ornamento. Multum conventi regie maiestati sive dignitati honorifice indui, et semper pulcro apparatu apparere, et excellere alios in decore vetuum. Uti ergo debet caris pulcris et extraneis indumentis. Decet siquidem regem quadam prerogativa alios omnes superare. Ut [in] per hec dignitas regis decoretur. Potencia vero et debita reverencia ei tribuatur.'

[3] Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi. Fasc. v. Secretum Secretorum, ed. R. Steele (Oxford, 1920), p. 49: 'et propter hoc pulcra est consuetudo Indorum in dispensacione regni et ordinacione regis: qui statuerunt quod rex semel in anno appareat coram hominibus in regali apparatu et armato exercitu, sedens nobilissime in suo dextrario, ornatu armorum pulcherrimo decoratus, et stare faciunt vulgus aliquantulum a remotis, nobiles vero et barones circa ipsum [...] Consuevit illa die dona largiri, et minus reos de carceribus emancipare, et graviora honera relevare, et multa pia opera excercere.'

to the members of the court was considered to be one of the attributes of kingship.[1]

Formal liveries seem to have been linked with the exercise of power: this may be inferred from the fact that after the death of Henry III, and before the return of Edward to England, liveries of robes took place in a way that probably stressed the continuity of power.[2] A particular of account details the robes handed out at Christmas 1272: twenty clerks and high officials were given robes of murray, amongst them Adam de Chetewynde, clerk and baillif of Ellesmere, Bartholomew de Castello, clerk and citizen of London, and keeper of the exchange, Giles de Oudenarde, keeper of the Tower and of the great wardrobe, Thomas Inge, bailiff of the manor of Brill, and several clerks of the chancery. Two clerks received liveries of bluet, and eight some robes of camelin. Finally, probably ray and Stamford cloths were handed out to servants.

3 Accounts for other liveries in kind.

Ceremonial liveries took place on the occasion of formal courts: but they concerned only a few members of the royal household. Did all the others receive their liveries in money? This does not seem to have been a systematic rule: the final

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[1] This is confirmed by a passage from Matthew Paris, concerning Christmas 1250, when Henry III omitted the customary livery of robes: 'eodemque celeberrimo festo, licet omnes praedecessores sui indumenta regalia et jocalia pretiosa consuevissent ab antiquo distribuere, ipse tamen rex, de sua forte peregrinatione sollicitus et parcus, nulla penitus militibus distribuit vel familiaribus' (Chronica Majora, v, p. 199).

[2] C47/3/21/44. This was already underlined by T.F. Tout (T.F. Tout, Chapters, ii, p. 3 n. 5).

accounts of the great wardrobe show that other liveries in kind took place on a seasonal basis, or during the few weeks around Christmas and Whitsuntide. Table XXII shows that the amounts of cloth delivered from the stores of the great wardrobe from 1300-1301 to 1304-1305 were considerable, although one would have to deduce from these amounts the materials needed by the royal family.

How did these liveries take place? The clerks of the great wardrobe probably sent the necessary materials to the court for formal occasions. But the rule was for the members of the royal household to go individually to the stores to claim the materials for their robes, or to send an emissary. For instance, in April 1303, William de Felton, a household knight, came to the great wardrobe and probably received there the materials not only for his own clothing, but for the robes of two sergeants of the household. In testimony of the delivery, he left a quittance in the form of a letter patent.[1]

We know from the correspondance of the great wardrobe that the clerks of that office had access to a type of document which they used to check whether a person was entitled to a livery or not. Such was the case for instance in 1302-1303, when John of Droxford wrote to Ralph de Stokes to order a livery for some valets of the household:

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[1] E101 363/24/40 (Berwick, 23 April 1303): 'A toutz ceux qui ceste lettre verrount et orrount William de Felton salutz en dieu. Sachetz moy estre tenutz a Johan de Carleton clerk pur deus robes qe ieo resceu de luy al oeps Henri Nasard et Raus de Convers seriantz del hostel notre seigneur le rey au queu pris il les voudra mettre ou qe ieo lui faz avoir soffisaunt garaunt de sir Johan de Drokenefford a sa primer venue en Escoce. En temognance de queu chose ieo luy ay fet cestes mes lettres overtes...'

type of cloth	liveries 1300-1301	prests 1300-1301	liveries 1301-1302	prests 1301-1302	liveries 1302-1303	prests 1302-1303	liveries 1304-1305	prests 1304-1305
scarlet	1.5 cloth and 199.5 ells	3 cloths and 43.5 ells	2 cloths [=75 ells] and 177.75 ells	1.5 cloth and 35.5 ells	6 cloths [=120 ells] and 85.5 ells	1.5 cloth and 58 ells	4 cloths [=96 ells] and 353.5 ells	1 cloth and 24 ells
coloured cloth	49.5 cloths and 956.25 ells	30 cloths and 424.5 ells	48 cloths and 976 ells	26 cloths and 311.5 ells	21 cloths and 717 ells	35.5 cloths and 1236.5 ells	41 cloths [=984 ells] and 909.5 ells	14 cloths and 147.5 ells
black say	53.5 ells	0	55 ells	0	103 ells	3.5 ells	160.5 ells	0
tiretaine	8 ells	166.75 ells	0	0	0	0	0	0
reinforced ray	22 cloths and 462.5 ells	46.5 cloths and 369.5 ells	31.5 cloths and 406.5 ells	14.5 cloths and 217.5 ells	584.25 ells	14 cloths and 1335.5 ells	13 cloths [=312 ells] and 536 ells	8 cloths [=204 ells] and 97.5 ells
ray of Stamford	15 cloths and 592.75 ells	21 cloths and 816.5 ells	11 cloths and 332.5 ells	4.5 cloths and 77 ells	7.5 cloths and 133 ells	25 cloths		
cloth of England	1387 ells	54.5 ells	1965 ells	24 ells	1003.5 ells	140 ells	2355 ells	131 ells
worsted	0	0	100 pieces	0	0	0	0	0

Table XXII: amounts of woollen cloths issued by the great wardrobe for prests and liveries.

Sources: E101 359/19 (1300-1301), E101 361/17 (1301-1302), E101 363/21 (1302-1303), E101 367/20 (1304-1305).

'Si inveneritis nomina contenta in billa hic inclusa in rotulo vallettorum de hospicio regis faciatis eis pannum pro robis suis competentem liberari...'[1]

In 1289-1290, a group of grooms of the king's stables 'quorum nomina sunt in robis' were to receive foot-gear from the stores.[2] Another letter, dated from 1302-1303, makes the use of these lists clear:

'Pur ceo qe Jehan de Roches est od le Roy soy autre de compaignoun e ie ne sai sil soit en le Roule des Robes ou non. Vous maung ke quel qil soit en le roule en noun qe vous li deliveretz robes pur li et son compaignoun com as autres vadletz del hostel le Roy...'[3]

There is only one such roll surviving, dated from 1300-1301. It bears the names of 211 household members, without any specification.[4]

Some members of the household were unable to collect the materials themselves: in 1306-1307, the valets of the kitchen wrote a letter to the treasurer to ask him to order their livery of robes for them, as they were unable to leave their work.[5] They eventually received a livery of burnet.[6] As we have seen , numerous household members missed their livery in cloth, because they were out of court at the time. In such cases, a special order was also necessary to obtain a delayed livery from the

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[1] E101 363/24/84 and 85.

[2] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 60 313, mem. 9.

[3] E101 363/24/112 (1302-1303).

[4] E101 360/18.

[5] E101 370/12/16: 'Le vesq de Cestre prient le vadlet de la quisine notre seignour le roi Roger de Brideport, Adam de Langeport, Robert de Mallow, Johan Denne et William Cok' qil voille si luy plest comaunder lor robes desicom il sount a grant travaille nuit et jour.'

[6] E101 370/9, mem. 3.

great wardrobe.[1] It seems that it was sometimes difficult to obtain a delivery of materials from the great wardrobe, and that it could be important to secure a letter close from the wardrobe, from the king or from the treasurer. In this case, the friendship of a wardrobe official could prove very helpful:

'Saluz et bon amour. Pour ce qe Alexandre le Convers notre cher compaingnon et amy ad molt afaire dacunes choses des queux vous li poez aider. Vous pri cherement por lamour de moi qe laide qe vos li porrez faire des dites choses a ceste grant busoigne li facez. Si come il vous dirra de par moy. Et ceste chose vueillez faire en tieu manere qe il sente qe vous vueillez faire pour ma priere. A dieu qui vous eit en sa garde. Escrites a [Donde] le [xx] octobr[e].'[2]

The king may have felt a personal interest in the matter: some letters sealed with the privy seal have a strong personal tone, and one may suggest that the letters written in Anglo-Norman probably reflect an oral order of the king, while the letters written in Latin would have been dictated by a clerk. These letters were then used as warrants by the great wardrobe clerks for accounting at the wardrobe. Many letters of this type are still preserved among the wardrobe material, and in a general way they testify to the financial difficulties and bureaucratic blockages of the period.

4 Accounts for prests in kind and in money.

The financial difficulties of the latter part of the reign

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[1] E1011 366/16/49 (1304-1305): 'Stok. Facez liverer as v vadletz de souz nomes du drap pur leur robes a cest foitz por ceo qil sont a leur garisoun.' E101 363/24/4 (1302-1303): 'Pur ceo qe Williame Reimond sergaunt darmes demort en la garnesture de Louchmaban en la compaignie sire Johan Bouteturt ly quel navoit sa robe qant ces autres compaignons aveent, vous mang qe amaismes cely William deliveres drap pur une robe et mettes en remembrance le pris qil ad tant receu sur ces gages. A dieu.'

[2] E101 363/24/57 (1302-1303).

resulted in a growing confusion in the organisation of liveries of robes. Some liveries were much delayed.[1] Arrears grew in large proportions. John de Arderne, a buyer of the king's kitchen, received a payment for his robes during the period 1298 to 1301 only in November 1316.[2] There are also numerous instances of payments or even liveries in kind made to the relatives or testamentory executors of deceased members of the household.[3]

It seems that during the first part of the reign of Edward II, the confusion of affairs in the royal household increased, to the point that nobody knew exactly who was entitled to what kind of allowance, a situation reflected in the preamble to the ordinance of 1318.[4] The other consequence of the financial difficulties of Edward I seems to have been a growth in the

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[1] Members of the household leaving the royal service sometimes received their robes for the past years: 'Pur ce qe sire Henry [Lamourer] ad pris congie du roy daler en son pays, vous mank qe vous luy facez liverer un bon drap de colour qui soit convenable pur luy pur sa robe de cest an et del an proschein passe. Et ce ne lessez en nule maniere. A dieu qui vous gard. Escrit a Dunfermelyn ycest merkedy le iour de cendres.' (E101 366/12/82, 1303-1304).

[2] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7966A, fol. 136.

[3] In July 1307, 4m. was paid to Peter de Shenyndon, testamentory executor of master John de Kenle, for a robe of summer 1304 (Brit. lib. Add. MS. 8835, fol. 117). E101 366/12/107 (Berwick, 18 June 1304): 'Por ce qe le roi voet qe les executours sire Johan Burdon soient paiez de la dette qe hom devoit au dit sire Johan en garderobe. Vous maunk qe sur meisme la dette faciez avoir a la femme le dit sire Johan un drap et oyt aunes de drap de colour. Et le pris de cel drap faciez retrere de la bille qe elle ad de garderobe ensi qe hom en puisse estre avisez autrefoiz de ceo qe ele aura receu...'

[4] T.F. Tout, The Place of Edward II in English History, p. 244.

system of prests. A prest was an advance, in money or in kind, on what was due by the wardrobe to members of the household for their fees, robes, wages and other allowances. Prests in money on what was due for robes, but more frequently on what was due for all kinds of allowances, took place all year long, according to the needs of the recipient and the financial situation of the wardrobe.[1]

To obtain a prest in kind from the great wardrobe, it seems that a letter from the treasurer, the wardrobe or the king was often sought.[2] However, some prests took place without any kind of warrant. The clerk of the great wardrobe wrote down the prest on a separate roll, which was then presented for audit at the wardrobe.[3]

It seems that in many cases, a livery in kind was the way to pay part of a large debt.[4] Liveries in kind were especially

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[1] The system of prests was obviously damaging to the clarity of the accounts: one of the stipulations of the Westminster Ordinance of 1324 was the prohibition of any further prest (T.F. Tout, Chapters, ii, p. 265).

[2] E101 363/24/38 (1302-1303): 'Liverer a Robert de [Wynepol] clerk de Lynliston une robe de prest sur ses gages et prenet sa lettre qil ad ressu de nous tanque vous luy liverer car il respoundra de ceo en soun acounte qil rendra en la garderobe del ovraigne de Lynliston.'

[3] This is quite clear from the text of the warrants themselves, the keeper of the wardrobe often reminding the clerk of the great wardrobe to ascertain at the wardrobe the amount of the prest made: 'Liberetis Terrico Lalemaunt pannum competentem ad unam robam sibi inde faciendam ipsum de precio eiusdem in prestitis vestris in garderoba liber[andis] sicut decet' (E101 363/24/68, 1302-1303).

[4] 'Salutz et bone amour. Pur ceo qe le roi doit a mons' Williem le Blound partie de deniers en garderobe de son fie et de robes vous prie et mank qe vous li facez liverer en allowance de partie de cele debte un bon drap de colour...' (E101

favoured when the coffers of the wardrobe were empty:

'Stok. Liberetis magistro Johanni de Arden, magistro Ricardo de Bolton et Roberto Scutelar' unum pannum pro robis suis quia ad presens non est pecunia in garderoba unde satisfiat eisdem.'[1]

5 Nature of the liveries in kind.

Occasionally, some household members received tailored garments: this was the case with Jacob de Larik who was to receive finished clothes, a cote, two surcotes and a tabard at Easter 1302.[2] It is possible that in the case of formal liveries, mostly tailored robes were delivered.[3] But as a rule,

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363/24/32, 24 October 1303). 'Salutz et bon amour. Sachez qe sire Wauter de Bedewinde mey prier qe ieo eydasse Willam de Swineburne a vous pur un drap de reye sur ses gages qar hom lui deit bien trente liveres de ses arrerages pur quey vous pri si vous le poez bonement fere qe vous lui voillez liverer un drap et chargez sire Wauter ou moy taunt qe nous parlonns ou sire Wauter. A due qi vous garde. Escrites a Forde le xiij iour Daveryl.' (E101 366/12/110, 13 April 1304).

[1] E101 366/16/55 (1304-1305). Also E101 366/16/59 (1304-1305): 'Liberetis Henrico de Greneford servienti regis ad arma de prestito super vadiis suis hac vice de gratia quia nullam pecuniam habere potest de garderoba, dimidium pannum coloris competentem ad opus ipsius.'

[2] E01 361/19/16 (1301-1302): 'Edward par la grace de Dieu Roy Dengleterr, Seigneur Dirlande et Ducs Daquittaigne, a notre bien amez Robynet notre Taillour, saluz. Nous vous mandoms qe du drap de colour qui Johan de Drokenesford gardeyn de notre Garderobe vous fera liverer, faciez faire bone robe pour mons. Jaques de Larik et hastivement et sanz nul delay cest assavoir, cote, deux surcotz, et un tabard. Et de la pelure qui meisme celi Johan vous fera ausint liverer faciez forrer la dite robe et le tabard, et les faciez bien apparailler. Et la robe tote preste, nous faciez venir mesmes vous a ceste feste de Pasque en totes maneres. Don souz notre prive seal a Foulmere le vj jour de Avryl. Lan de notre regne trentisme.'

[3] Still, the illumination from the Secreta secretorum seems to represent materials for clothes rather than tailored clothes.

only materials were delivered, and not finished clothes.[1] This is quite clear in the case of two knights of the household, Gerard de Fresnay and Nicholas du Boys, who received the materials for their robes of Christmas 1306 from the hands of the great wardrobe clerk in the days before the festivity:

'Saluz et bone amour. Je vous pri qe des draps que sont en votre garde facez liverer a mons' Gerard de Frenny et a mons' Nichol du Boys, ou a celi qui vendra a vous en nom de eux, un drap de colour, ou autres draps qi covenable soit por lour robes contre ceste feste de Noel, et certefiez du pris en garderobe. Et lour facez liverer auxi pelure por meismes le drap si vous leez prestement.'[2]

It seems that when the livery took place in kind, the beneficiaries received only materials for their clothes, and then had to resort to the services of their own tailor or to the services of an urban tailor. This is confirmed by the fact that in numerous documents, liveries were said to take place in panno.[3]

The cost of tailoring was sometimes undertaken by the wardrobe and then accounted for specifically.[4] A few categories benefited from a supplementary allowance which enabled them to pay for the tailoring of their robes. Such was the case with the Welsh guards and for the archers of the king. In January 1290, four archers and eleven Welsh guards of the king received 9d each

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[1] For instance, E101 363/24/50 (1302-1303): 'Liberetis Thome de Boterwik pannum competentem ad unam robam inde sibi faciendam de liberacione estivali anni xxxj.'

[2] E101 370/12/49 (Lanercost, 15 December 1306).

[3] Most warrants sent to the great wardrobe by the keeper of the wardrobe or under the privy seal specify pannum pro roba sua (for instance, E101 366/12, 1303-1304).

[4] M.C. Hill has suggested that the handing out of materials instead of tailored clothes was a later development (M.C. Hill, The King's Messengers, p. 30).

for the tailoring of their winter robe as well as a supplementary allowance for the expenses incurred in going to London to fetch the cloth and in waiting there for the robes to be made.[1] Their particular situation may be due to the fact that they composed the bodyguard of the king and had to be well dressed to enhance royal dignity.

From the surviving particulars of account of the great wardrobe, it is clear that most liveries included only materials for the outer garments, woollen cloth and furs and, for the highest categories of the household, silk or half-silk for the lining of the summer robes.[2] Occasionally, hose or boots are mentioned.[3] However, a few groups received all the necessary materials for the making of a complete wardrobe, underwear and foot-wear included. This was for instance the case of the king's confessor, and in general of the Friars living at the royal court. Similarly, children who were wards of the king received all the materials necessary for their wardrobe. In some instances, the distributions could include materials for the chamber, table, and riding equipment. In 1303-1304, the livery

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[1] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 60 313, mem. 1.

[2] E101 363/24/42 (1302-1303): 'Liberetis domino Radulpho de Vasconie et Ricardo de Bremesgrave unum pannum de colore pro robis suis estivalibus et duas pecias de sindone pro eisdem'.

[3] E101 366/16/15: letter of 14 June 1305 under the privy seal ordering a livery for Adam minstrel of the king, 'une robe de raye a deux garnementz, cest assavoir por cote, surcot, et chaperon, et por chauces, ove les foreures, por sorcot et chaperon daigneux...' In November 1305 or 1306, ten chamberlains of the king received high boots (Brit. Lib. Add. Ms. 37 655, fol. 12).

of Gilbert de Clare, ward of the king, included burnet cloth for the horses' housings, and there was some table linen in his livery of Christmas 1305.[1]

C The Hierarchy of Liveries.

The royal household was made up of various offices; however, the organisation of liveries followed a division on hierarchical lines, and not the division between offices. This hierarchy was expressed, financially, by variations in allowances for clothing, and materially by variations in the quality of materials.

Privilege and rank were important notions. Fleta records how the marshal of the hall was required to call to the table, according to his rank, each member of the household who was entitled to have meals in hall.[2] Ranks were expressed by variations in wages, fees and allowances for robes. Table XXIII represents the variations in the money allowances for robes in 1289-1290. It shows that there were a few main categories: clerks, bannerets, simple knights, squires, sergeants, valets, hunting staff, and more humble ranks, such as grooms or sumpters. One of the difficulties raised by the documentation is that the members of the royal household often had two titles, one which reflected their status or military capacity, and the other their occupation in the household. Some of the squires had military experience and their title reflected a specific military capacity, but some servants of the household, whose task were

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[1] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 8835, fol. 20. E101 371/21/43.

[2] Fleta, ii, p. 127.

annual amount of the livery	category
£10 13s 4d	bannerets keeper of the wardrobe (1)
£5 6s 8d	simple knights 7 clerks of the wardrobe keeper of the great wardrobe surgeon of the king merchants of Lucca chaplains of the king's chapel
£5 7s 4d	controller of the wardrobe cofferer of the wardrobe
£2 6s 8d	clerks of offices (pantry and buttery, kitchen, marshalsea) sergeants at arms servientes forinseci (offices out of the household) venatores of the king
£2	9 ostringers 1 crossbowman squires of the king minstrels falconers with 2 horses
£1 14s 8d	1 clerk of the wardrobe usher of the wardrobe
£1 6s 8d	1 [merchant] sergeants with 1 horse carters of the king
£1	subclerk of the pantry and buttery clerk of the almonry 4 sergeants with 1 horse (piscator, tailor, harbinger, surgeon) squires with 1 horse falconers with 1 horse 6 ostringers ostringers of the bishop of Durham 5 carters
15s	squires
13s 4d	keepers of the mews messengers berners other hunting staff valets of various offices
10s	sumpters palfreymen
6s 8d	other sumpters
5s	6 palfreymen

Table XXIII: Hierarchy of Liveries in Money. Source: E101 352/24 (1289-1290).

Notes:
(1) The keeper of the wardrobe may fall into the second category, as his socius normally received robes with him; but this is not indicated specifically in the roll of payments for robes for that year.

menial, such as the laundresses, had the title of squire. Sergeants were also divided into two groups: sergeants at arms and sergeants of the offices. The military role of the sergeants-at-arms is obvious, but the sergeants of offices probably had a military function as well, as one sees them distinguished according to the number of horses they had. The title of vallettus was ambiguous: valets of the chamber were aspiring young men from aristocratic families. Some of them also had the title of squire, and a few were eventually knighted by the king himself. But each office had its own group of valets, who worked under the orders of a sergeant of office.

This hierarchy was reflected in the distributions of materials for liveries, which had to correspond exactly, in quantity as well as in quality, to the rank of the recipient. The status of the beneficiary would often be recalled in the correspondance of the wardrobe.[1] The quality of the cloth would be specified, by expressions such as 'de panno minoris precii prout eis competenti', 'dacun viel drap', 'de minori precio', 'du meilour marche, qe vous purrez suffrer'.[2] The quality of the fur was indicative of status: vair and usually budge were reserved for the highest ranks of the household, while squirrel and lamb fur were allocated to the lower ranks, when any fur was allowed at all.

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[1] E101 362/24/104 (1302-1303): 'Stokes. Deliberetis Willelmo de Mortuo Mari et Petro de Brompton pannum competentem pro robis suis sicut quod prius deliberavistis sociis eorum et de eodem statu.'

[2] E101 363/24/52 and E101 365/25/4, 9 and 10 (1302-1303).

category	cost of cloth per ell	quantity of cloth in ells	fur or silk
bannerets	3s 4d to 4s 2d	12 ells	gros vair or budge
clerks of the wardrobe	3s 4d to 3s 6d	20 ells	pople and minever
simple knights	2s 10d to 3s 10d	12 ells	pople
chaplains	2s 9d	12 ells	
wards of the king	3s	9 ells	
trumpeters and watchman	2s 8d	8 ells	
valets of the king's chamber	4s 8d	6.8 ells	
squires	2s 4d to 2s 10d	6.8 to 7.5 ells	
sergeants at arms	2s 4d	7.2 ells	
sergeants of offices	3s 4d	6.8 ells	
keeper of the king's falcons	2s 6d	7 ells	
carters	2s 3d	7 ells	
valets from the garrison of Stivelyn	1s 8d to 2s 4d the ell	6 ells	
messengers	1s 2d	7 ells	
sumpters	1s 10d	6.5 ells to 7 ells	
palfreymen of the king	2s 8d	4.5 ells	
outriders	2s 2d	4 ells	

Table XXIV: Hierarchy of Liveries in Kind. Source: account for prests (1300-1301), E101 359/4.

The quality of the materials to be delivered was usually mentioned in the warrants:

'Mandamus vobis quod dilectis vallettis nostris, Oliver[o] de Burdegalia et socio suo Johanni de Wynston et Waltero de Maydenestan, quatuor robas de una secta cum fururis agninis de panno statui suo competenti liberare faciatis de garderoba predicta de dono nostro.'[1]

The number of garments, as well as the quality of the cloth chosen, was an important factor.[2] An important clerk would receive robes of four garments, a ward of the king a robe of three garments, while his master received a robe of two garments.[3] The humbler ranks of the household generally received cloth for a single garment. The number of garments may be deduced from the amount of cloth delivered: three ells of cloth were usually necessary for the making of one garment.[4] Occasionally, the amount of cloth delivered was not sufficient.[5]

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[1] E101 370/10/3 (letter from the prince of Wales to Ralph de Stokes, 21 March 1307).

[2] This differs from the interpretation of the hierarchy of liveries given by J.M.W. Bean, for whom the main factor was the quality of the cloth delivered, and not its quantity (J.M.W. Bean, From Lord to Patron, p. 19). This may have been true for a later period, dominated by the fashion for short costume, but not for the period under study here.

[3] E101 371/21/89 and 100, 684/57/21.

[4] E101 365/25/19 (1302-1303): 3 ells for a cote and 3 ells for a cloche.

[5] 'Pur ceo qe iai entendu qe par la monstrance et la pleynte de la dame la compaigne mons' Johan de Kalentier qe tote les foiz qe vous lui avez fait livere forsqe xij augnes por sa robe la queu chose si est trop por a chescune dame por trois garnementz. Ie vous maunk qe a la dite dame liverez por une robe dacun drap meddle ou dautre colour covenable xiiij augnes pleynement de drap moille et retundu. E a lui meismes por ceo qe lui a failli une cote de da darreyne livere lui ez iiij augnes de vert por une cote de la seute de sa robe a plus pres qe vos porrez...' Rokesburgh, 22 May 1303 (E101 363/24/35).

D Number of Beneficiaries.

The first lists of recipients of robes to have survived for the reign of Edward I show that between 1284-1285 and 1289-1290, the number of beneficiaries of liveries in money was above 600 a year.

year	payments for robes (winter)	payments for robes (summer)	payments for robes (all year)
1284-1285	3	4	605
1285-1286	119	93	552
1288-1289	1	10	334 (+ 11 for a half-year and 1 for 3/4 year)
1289-1290	17	13	[647]
1296-1297	198	155	140
1298-1299	4	4 (E101 369/11)	17
1299-1300	[185]	[148]	[116]
1300-1301	148	127	45
1303-1304	[127]	138	[21]
1305-1306	[173]	118	[187]

Table XXV: Number of Beneficiaries of Liveries in Money.[1]

After that date, the number of liveries in money dropped sharply: the number of beneficiaries receiving money for one or two robes a year oscillated around 350 during the last years of the reign. This may support the statement that the numbers of the

[1] Sources: E101 351/17 (1284-1285), E101 351/26 (1285-1286), E101 352/31 (1288-1289), E101 352/24 (1289-1290), Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7965, fols. 120 to 132 (1296-1297), E101 369/11 (1298-1299), Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae, pp. 310-331 (1299-1300), Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7966A, fols. 134v to 142v (1300-1301), Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 8835, fols. 111 to 120 (1303-1304), E101 367/26 and 367/16, 365/10, 366/16 (1304-1305), E101 369/3, E101 369/11, fols. 155 to 166v (1305-1306).

military household of the king dwindled in the second part of the reign, after the second Welsh war and in connection with financial difficulties. It has been shown, for instance, that the group of bannerets and simple knights was reduced from about 100 in 1284-1285 to only 45 in 1306.[1] In any case, there is a contrast between the various household ordinances, incomplete and aiming at reducing the number of staff retained in the king's household, and the number of recipients of liveries registered in the accounts. The ordinance of 1279 gives a very incomplete picture of the royal household: whole categories are absent from that document, whose authors were probably mostly concerned with defining the rights of the main officers. Indications concerning the ordinance of 1318 may be used for the study of the household of Edward I, but even in this fuller, more detailed text, categories such as the knights of the household, and certain menial servants, are not represented. This tradition of reform probably went back to the Constitutio Domus Regis (c. 1130) which gives the picture of a royal household extremely small in size.[2]

However, one should be cautious in interpreting the accounts for payments for robes as an indicator for the size of the royal household. Fluctuations may have resulted from variations in the number of dependent households which benefited from liveries. The queen had her own household, as well as the children of the king but, when present in the royal court, they received their

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[1] M. Prestwich, War, Politics and Finance, pp. 46-7.

[2] Dialogus de Scaccario. The Course of the Exchequer by Richard, Fitz Nigel and Constitutio Domus Regis. The Establishment of the Royal Household, ed. and tr. C. Johnson (Oxford, 1983), pp. 129-35.

liveries from the royal wardrobe. When out of court, these households enjoyed a high degree of independence which included the distributions of separate liveries. For instance, in 1300-1301, John de Enefeld, sergeant at arms, did not receive his robe from the king because he was of the queen's robes.[1]

Also, a certain number of household servants were not entitled to any allowance for clothing. In 1285-1286, for instance, most archers, crossbowmen, and Welsh archers of the king do not appear on the roll of robes. This was also the case with a few menial servants such as Hugh, chafewax of the wardrobe, or the dairymaids of the queen. More surprisingly, Nicholas, fruiterer of the king, Adam, goldsmith of Queen Eleanor, and Richard de Montpellier, her spicer and apothecary, did not receive robes or money for robes from the wardrobe. It is probable that their attendance at court was not too frequent and that, contrary to other townsmen such as the king's saddlers, they did not provide goods and services to the court regularly enough to receive robes.

Occasionally, members of the household who were not entitled to liveries of robes received robes of the king's gift under the heading of expenses for alms. In 1302-1303, Halpeny, probably a groom, and Henry de Middelton, a groom of the king's chamber, received cloth for their robes de elemosina regis.[2] The wardrobe book for 1289-1290 lists the beneficiaries of gifts, and this gives a picture of the categories who received robes while not

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[1] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7966 A.

[2] E101 363/25/9 and 18.

formally entitled to them.[1] This was the case with former members of the royal household, whose clothing was still occasionally provided by the wardrobe. Thomas de Boneneye, a former ewerer of the household of the king's children, William Stiward and Kent, both former carters of the wardrobe, Walter Fuket, a former sumpter of the wardrobe, and Thomas Morel, a palfreyman, were given money for their clothing. This demonstrates that the king had a duty to support former household members. This was patently so in the case of Bette Scote, a former sumpter of the household who had to leave the service of the king because of illness and who was provided with money for clothes and shoes after his departure.

Clerks who worked occasionally in the wardrobe would receive robes for their service. In 1303-1304, this applied to Thomas de London and John de Derneford, who worked late hours in the wardrobe to complete the accounts of that office.[2] The relatives of some household members were occasionally recipients of liveries of robes. For instance, the wife of Nicholas Malmeyns received half a cloth for a robe in 1302-1303.[3] The family of John de Calentirs also regularly received their robes from the

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[1] C47/4/5, fol. 43v to fol. 53v.

[2] E101 366/12/19. E101 366/12/22 (1303-1304): 'Liberetis Nicholo de Ocham clerico de scaccario dimidium pannum de colore et panno competenti cum pelura de dono regis pro scriptura onus garderobe de annis regni sui xxviij, xxviiij, xxx et xxxj.' E101 366/16/23 (1304-1305): '...Liberetis Johanni Devery clerico pannum ad unam robam competentem pro labore suo scribendi onus garderobe domini regis de scaccario de dono eiusdem domini regis de anno regni sui xxxiij.'

[3] E101 363/24/11.

great wardrobe.[1]

More importantly, the apparent drop in the number of recipients of liveries may simply be due to the nature of the documentation. The wardrobe books for the last decade of the reign were mostly drawn up during the reign of Edward II: this makes it probable that a significant part of the household of Edward I do not appear on the wardrobe books under the expenses for robes, because they had died or left the royal service before the final accounts were drawn up.

In fact, it seems that the numbers yielded by the accounts of payments for robes may be quite misleading. For instance, the accounts for 1300-1301 show that about 190 members of the royal household received their robes in money: this was considerably less than in the 1280s. However, a study of the roll recording liveries and prests in kind made by the clerks of the great wardrobe shows that several hundreds of such deliveries were made.[2] In fact, after a careful comparison between the two types of account, one arrives at a number of at least 569 beneficiaries of robes in money or in kind for that year. Similarly, in 1305-1306, about 300 members of the royal household obtained money for their robes; but a total of 570 persons received robes in money or in kind.[3] The number of actual recipients of robes was

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[1] E101 363/24/24 (1302-1303): 'Liberetis in adventu vestro versus Eboracum robas pro domino Johanne de Calentir, uxore sua et filiabus suis prout hactenus facere consuevistis.' Also E101 363/24/35 and 64.

[2] E101 359/4.

[3] E101 368/6 and 27, E101 369/11. This total does not include the number of persons who received at some stage prests in money for their wages, fees and robes, but who did not render a final account at the wardrobe. The same method has been adopted

probably even higher, as liveries in kind seem to have been made to bannerets and simple knights not only for their own person but also for their retinues. In 1300-1301, for instance, Arnold de Gaveston received money for his robes, but also three cloths of colour. These were probably destined for the making of robes for himself and for his retinue: a warrant dated 26 May of that year ordered the clerk of the great wardrobe to deliver enough cloth of ray or of colour to the said Arnold to make mi-parti robes for his valets.[1]

Tables II and III show that about the same amounts of woollen cloth were purchased in the 1280s and during the last years of the reign. That means that most of the household staff must have received liveries in cloth during the 1280s along with payments in money for robes: the livery in kind must have been deducted from what was owed to them when they made their account. Table XXVI shows that in 1300-1301, many household knights and bannerets received money for their robes as well as prests in materials.[2] It is probable that some of these materials were meant not only for their own robes, but also for the robes of their own households and for the furnishings of their chambers. But at least some of the cloth and fur must have been destined for their own robes, a fact that raises the issue of the relative artificiality of the accounting system of the wardrobe.

Was the number of beneficiaries of liveries much higher in

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to calculate the total number of beneficiaries for the year 1300-1301.

[1] E101 359/10/48.

[2] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7966A, fols. 134v to 142v, E101 359/4 and 10.

Name	Rank	Winter	Summer	Prests in materials
Barthole de Badlesmere	simple knight	4m.	4m.	
Guncelin de Badlesmere	banneret	8m.		
Robert de Bavent	simple knight	4m.	4m.	half a cloth of blue
Walter de Beauchamp	banneret	8m.	8m.	half a cloth of russet, 1 fur of gros vair, 2 furs of pople, 2 hoods of minever, 1.5 hood of gros vair and 100 ells of canvas
John de Boklande	simple knight	4m.	4m.	
John Botetourte	banneret	8m.	8m.	half a cloth of russet, 3.5 furs of buddge and 2 hoods of budge
Robert de Bures	simple knight	4m.	4m.	
John de Calentir				2 green cloths, 3 pieces of cindon de cursu and 6 ells of canvas
Robert de Cantilupe	simple knight	4m.	4m.	half a cloth of paonaz
William de Cantilupe	banneret	nothing (1)	8m.	
Henry Cantok	simple knight	4m.	nothing (2)	
Arnold de Caupenne	simple knight	4m.	4m.	
Thomas de Chaucecombe				1 fur of strandling
John de Chaumpvent	banneret	8m.?	nothing (2)	
Peter de Chaumpvent	banneret	8m.	8m.	
William de Creye (knight of Gilbert Pecche)	simple knight	4m.		
John de Crumewell	simple knight	4m.	4m.	
William de Deen	simple knight	4m.	4m.	
Hugh Denegre	simple knight	4m.	4m.	
Robert de Felton	simple knight	4m.	4m.	1/2 cloth of blue, 1 cloth paonaz and 2 ells of canvas
William de Felton	simple knight	4m.	nothing (2)	1/2 cloth of reinforced ray, 2 furs of pople
Guy Ferre senior	simple knight	4m.		
Guy Ferre junior	simple knight	4m.	4m.	
Gerard de Fresnay	simple knight	4m.	4m.	
Alexander de Frivill	simple knight	4m.	4m.	
John de Fuleburn	simple knight	4m.	4m.	1/2 cloth paonaz
Arnold de Gavaston	banneret	8m.	8m.	1 cloth of azure blue, 1 cloth paonaz and 1 cloth of clear blue
Peter de Grandson	simple knight	4m.	4m.	
Eustache de Hatch	banneret	8m.	8m.	

Name	Rank	Winter	Summer	Prests in materials
Roger de Lees	simple knight	4m.	4m.	1/2 cloth paonaz, 1 penula of minever, 1.5 penula of gros vair, 1 hood of gros vair
Thomas de Leyburn	simple knight	4m.	nothing(2)	
William de Leyburn	banneret	8m.	8m.	
John de Luda	simple knight	4m.	4m.	10.5 ells of green cloth
Edmund de Mauley	simple knight	4m.	4m.	
Arnold de [Meuvyn]	simple knight			1/2 green cloth
Montasin de Novelliano	simple knight	4m.	4m.	
Thomas Paignel	simple knight	4m.	4m.	
Gilbert Pecche	banneret	8m.	8m.	
Arnold Guillem du Puy	simple knight	4m.	4m.	1/2 cloth paonaz, 1 cloth of pers, 1 cloth of ray of Stamford, 1 fur of pople, 1 fur of strandling
Ponce, seigneur of Castellion	banneret	8m.	nothing(2)	1 green cloth
William de Pouton	simple knight	4m.	4m.	10.5 ells of green cloth
William de Rithre	banneret	8m. ?	8m.	
John de la Rivere	banneret	8m. ?	nothing(2)	
John Russel	simple knight	4m.	4m.	
William Russel	simple knight	4m.	nothing(2)	
Laurent de la Rivere	simple knight	4m.	4m.	10.5 ells of green cloth
Jacob de la Ryke	simple knight			1/2 cloth paonaz, 1 fur of strandling, 1 fur of squirrel, 1 hood of minever
[Aymer] de Sancto Amando	banneret		nothing(2)	
John de Saint John				1 penula of minever and 1 fur of gros vair
Robert de Scales	banneret	8m.	nothing(2)	
Nicholas de Scutevill	simple knight	4m.	4m.	
John le Strange	banneret	8m.	8m.	
John de Suthle	banneret	8m.	8m.	
Adam de Swyneburn	simple knight	4m.	4m.	1/2 cloth of reinforced ray
Walter de Teye	banneret	8m.	8m.	
John de Thorp	simple knight	nothing(1)	nothing(2)	
Francis de Vylers	simple knight			1/2 cloth of paonaz, 2 furs of strandling and 1 hood of minever
Adam de Welle	banneret	8m.	8m.	
Richard de Welle	simple knight	4m.	4m.	

Table XXVI: Payments of money for robes and prests of materials to knights (1300-1301). Sources: Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7966A, fols. 134v to 142v, E101 359/4 and 10.

Notes: (1) out of court at Christmas
(2) out of court at Pentecost

the late XIIIth century than ever before? The pipe rolls for the reigns of John mention about sixty or seventy recipients of liveries a year: however, a comparison with the numbers found in the pipe rolls for the previous reigns may be misleading, because some of the liveries must have been provided by other financial offices than the exchequer. It is perhaps more relevant to compare the indications found in the wardrobe accounts of Edward I's reign with the information given by a particular of account for the reign of Henry III.[1] The account is not dated, but it concerns liveries for 167 beneficiaries. If this represents the whole livery for a year, then one may consider that the number of beneficiaries expanded afterwards. The document may be incomplete and it may concern only formal liveries. But if one considers that the expenditure of the great wardrobe was about £2000 in the early 1260s, one arrives only at about a fifth of the annual expenditure of Edward I on his great wardrobe.

J.O. Prestwich suggested a strong continuity between the military household of Henry I and that of Edward I.[2] Without taking a stand on this thesis, one may suggest that the structures of liveries of robes, at least, probably changed: in the XIIth and early XIIIth century, there may have been occasional gifts of robes to some retainers on the occasion of important ceremonies, and the servants of a household were probably clothed by their lord when need arose. However, this was a different organisation from the systematic distribution of

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[1] C47/3/43/3.

[2] J.O. Prestwich, 'The Military Household of the Norman Kings', EHR, xcvi (1981), 1-35.

money or materials for robes which took place once or twice a year in the second half of the XIIIth century as part of the allowances for service. One may agree with M.C. Hill that the establishment of a specific office dealing with the provision of materials for robes was probably the main factor of change.[1] However, the growth of the financial capacity of the wardrobe during the reign of Edward I, and the pressure exercised by warfare, which played a role in keeping the numbers of the royal household high, were also important factors of change.

The cost of the whole system of alms, gifts and liveries of clothing was high, and represented a considerable proportion of wardrobe expenditure. For instance, in 1305-1306, the total expense of the wardrobe reached £77 318 15s 10d 1/4. The expenses of the great wardrobe accounted for about a seventh of that total, £10 060 6s 5d 3/4. However, expenses for purchases of textiles and furs reached only £6864 3s 1d ob. To this, one has to add the amount paid for robes in money, £744 11s 8d. The expenses of the royal family, which represented probably a third of the total expenses for materials, have also to be taken into account. Even so, one arrives at an average of about eight to ten per cent of the total expenses of the wardrobe.[2]

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[1] M.C. Hill has suggested that the development of the great wardrobe in the second half of the XIIIth century made possible more frequent distributions (M.C. Hill, The King's Messengers, pp. 22-4).

[2] Table I and E101 369/11, fol. 166v.

Conclusion.

The largesse of the king was exercised in several ways, and the extent of his patronage was significant. However, it is important to stress that this was selective: the position of the recipient was always taken into consideration: we are very far indeed from the practice of largesse portrayed in the romances.[1]

In the context of an economy short in money supply, robes occupied an important position in contractual relationships.[2] Many kinds of contracts involved robes, for instance the contract drawn between a religious house and a person leaving a legacy to the house in exchange for protection and a place to retire.[3] Robes were also handed out in exchange of land.[4]

The late XIIIth century was a period of expansion in the use

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[1] R. Harvey has shown that chivalric largesse was characterized by a complete indifference to the social status of the beneficiary (R. Harvey, Moriz von Craûn and the Chivalric World (Oxford, 1961), p. 172).

[2] One cannot exclude the fact that it was easier for the wardrobe to obtain cloth and furs by various means than to obtain money: the supply of money was limited, cash was rare and precious, and used immediately to repay the most urgent debts. In this context, it is possible that the king preferred to see liveries of robes take place in kind, while beneficiaries traditionally opted for liveries in money if they had the choice between liveries in kind and liveries in money.

[3] For instance, in 1302, a contract was drawn between the abbot of Peterborough and John, the son of a certain Gregory de Lullington: John was going to receive two robes a year (Historia coenobii Burgensis scriptores, ed. J. Sparke (London, 1723) p. 157). A contract drawn between the abbot of St Albans and Richard de Langeley in the early years of the XIVth century specified that the said Richard and his wife were to receive two robes a year, at Christmas, from the abbot (Chronica Monasterii Sancti Albani, vol. ii, p. 81).

[4] This sometimes gave place to law suits, such as in 1289-1290, when Henry de Wotton sued Ranulph Foleschank in the court of the steward of the royal household for not fulfilling his obligations (Fleta, lxxii (1953), lib. ii, p. 113).

of liveries. This took place in a general context of redistribution of wealth, during a period when the incomes of the aristocracy were soaring.[1] But the very function of liveries may also have undergone changes. It is this theme that we wish to develop in the next chapter.

[1] C. Dyer, Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages. Social Change in England c. 1200-1520 (Cambridge, 1989), p. 44.

Chapter 7: The Colours of Liveries and their Significance.

In the course of the previous chapter, we have seen how the organisation of liveries functioned, according to a strict hierarchical pattern. The study of accounts reveals that liveries were also characterised by the distribution of cloths of the same colour to the staff of the household, according to the office or status of the beneficiary. This theme will be developed in the following pages.

I Existence of Liveries with Specific Colours in the Household of Edward I.

The study of the wardrobe accounts reveals that some groups received cloths of identical colour for their robes. Table XXVII is a comparison between the colours of the liveries made towards the end of the reign. The table shows that liveries of the same colour were made to members of the royal household according to their status - for instance, the sergeants of the various offices - or to their office. Warrants usually specify what type of secta the beneficiary of the livery or prest was entitled to. The term secta has already been referred to previously, and it means that the robes were to be cut out of the same cloth, that they were to be of the same colour.[1] For instance, in 1302-1303, the valets of offices of the royal household all received a livery of ray cloth.[2] In 1304-1305, there was a common livery for the minstrels

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[1] This has been developed in chapter 4, section II C.

[2] E101 363/24/82: 'Liberetis Elie de Brun pannum radiatum pro una roba sibi facienda de secca vallettorum de officio.'

group	1298-1299	1300-1301	1302-1303	1305-1306	1306-1307
knights					
valets of the king's chamber	ray	ray			1) ray 2) green/pers
king's wards		half-grain/ clear green			
squires	1) ray 2) ray/paonaz	1) ray 2) camelin/ray 3) green/ray		1) green/red 2) green/blue 3) paonaz/ burnet 4) green/pers	ray, or coloured medley, or coloured cloth
sergeants-at-arms	ray	1) ray 2) clear green/ray 3) blue/ray	'robes parties'	1) ray 2) green/red	
hunting staff	1) ray 2) ray/paonaz	1) ray 2) green/ray 3) camelin/ray	ray of Stamford	1) blue 2) ray 3) green/red	red/green
sergeants of the offices of the household	ray/green	1) ray 2) ray/burnet		green/red	
messengers	ray/paonaz	ray/paonaz			
physician of the king	medley in grain				pers?
surgeon of the king				pers	pers?
minstrels	paonaz/yellow	ray	mi-parti	1) blue/ray 2) blue/green	blue/green
valets of offices	ray	ray of Stamford		1) ray 2) burnet (kitchen)	burnet
sumpters	ray/white and blue camelin	1) ray 2) ray of Stamford		green/red	
farriers	ray/blue				
outriders of carts	ray				
garciones of various offices	ray				
palfreymen		ray of Stamford			
carters		ray of Stamford			
laundresses				medley	medley
archers				ray of Stamford	

Table XXVII: Colours worn by the various groups of the royal household.

Sources: E101 363/24, 367/16 and 26, 368/6, 369/11, 370/9 and 14.

of the king, and three trumpeters of Thomas and Edmund, the king's sons, received a livery of the same secca.[1] In 1302-1303 and again in 1306-1307, the sergeants of the household had a common livery.[2]

A Clerical Dress.

In 1268 and again in 1281, it was decided that the members of the clergy should wear a long gown and a closed cloak, but these reforms do not always seem to have been scrupulously observed, and in 1342 the clothing of the clergy was regulated again, and features such as bright colours and very wide sleeves were forbidden.[3] We know that the royal chaplains always received woollen cloths of a dark colour for their robe. For instance, the livery of summer 1300 was of dark blue cloth; in 1301-1302, the chaplains received a livery of cloth paonaz, another variety of blue, and in 1302-1303, they had a livery of blue cloth. On a few occasions, they received green cloth, but blue was dominant. As for the confessors of the royal family, they were a particular case: the confessors of Edward I, successively John de

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[1] E101 366/16/66: 'Liberetis Ade Citheratori regis pannum pro roba sua competentem de secca menestrallorum regis'; E101 366/16/22: 'Liberetis Martino latori presentium, Ricardo le Trumpour, Johanni le Trumpour, sociis suis, qui sunt cum dominis Thome et Edmundo filiis regis pannum aliquem eis competentem ad tres robas unius secce.'

[2] E101 363/24/70 and 71 (1302-1303): 'Stok. Liverez a seriantz le Roi qui sont nomez en la bille ci dedenz enclose robes convenables ensi quil soient touz de une sute de robes parties selonc ce qe mieux porra estre fait.' E101 370/12/29 (1306-1307): 'Liverez a James de Stafford drap pur une roube de la sueete qe vous liverez pur autres sergeauntz del houstel.'

[3] J. Mayo, A History of Ecclesiastical Dress (London, 1984), pp. 47-8.

Darlington, Walter de Winterbourne, and Luke de Wodeford, were all Dominicans, as were the confessors of the French kings.[1] Queen Eleanor also had a Dominican as confessor.[2] The importance of their establishment shows that they were very highly considered.[3] The clerk of the great wardrobe delivered them suitable material for the making of a habit of their order: blanket, a thick white cloth, for the making of a scapular and a tunic, and burnet, or another kind of dark cloth, for their cloak.

The clerks of the wardrobe and of the various household offices present a less clear case. In 1298-1299, the clerks of the various offices of the household received pers, bluet and paonaz for their robes; but the adoption of the colour blue for their clothing does not seem to have been systematic. In 1299-1300, Adam of Canterbury, the clerk pavilioner, received some camelin for his robe and Richard de Donecapre, the clerk of the

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[1] C.F.R. Palmer, 'The King's Confessors', The Antiquary, xxii (1890), 114-20, 159-61, 262-6 and xxii (1891), 24-6, esp. xxii (1890), pp. 115-9.

[2] This was Robert de Meleford (Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-1286, no. 400).

[3] E101 366/12/84 (letter under the privy seal, St. Andrew, 1 April 1304): 'Por ce qe nous avoms ordenez et esleuz frere Lucas de Wodeford del ordre de freres precheurs, qui est du covent de la meison de Norchwyz notre confessour, en lieu de frere Waut' de Wynterborn' notre confessour, qui irra novelement vers la court de Rome, vous mandons qe por meisme celi frere Lucas, et por son compaignon, facez purvoier hastivement drap noir por deux chapes, et deux litz duffisantz, et deux chapelx, selonc ce qe vos feustes acoustumez faire liverer por le dit frere Waut', et son compaignon, et meismes les choses ensi purveues facez venir hastivement a Ev[er]wyk', contre la venue des ditz freres et liveree a eux au plus tost quil y serront venuz, si quil peussent hastivement venir a nous es parties ou nous serrons...'

name of the clerk	office	prests and liveries in kind
Walter de Agmodesham	chancellor of Scotland	1 cloth of blue
Walter de Bedwin	clerk of the wardrobe	10 ells of ray of Stamford, 1/2 cloth of burnet, 1 fur of pople, 1 hood of minever
John de Benstead	controller of the wardrobe	20 ells of tiretaine russet
Adam de Blida	clerk of the marshalsea	(money only)
Henry de Bluntesden	almoner of the king	(money only)
William de Blyborough	keeper of the wardrobe of the prince of Wales	(money only)
Peter de Brembre	clerk of the cofferer of the wardrobe	2 ells of paonaz, 1/4 of some other cloth, 1 fur of agnus
Thomas de Briddeshale	clerk	7 ells of blue cloth
Richard de Brymmesgrave	clerk of the market	1/2 cloth of tiretaine, 2 furs of pople and strandling, 1 hood of minever
John de Cadamo	clerk of the king	(money only)
Peter de Cicestria	clerk	1/2 cloth and 25 ells of medley, 2 furs of pople, 1 hood of gros vair
Roger de Clare	chaplain of the king	1/2 cloth of green medley
Walter de Cloon	clerk	1/2 cloth of green medley, 1/2 cloth of blue, 21 ells of ray of Stamford
Peter de Collingbourn	clerk of the wardrobe	3.5 ells of burnet, 1/2 cloth of scarlet and 3 ells of ray
William de Corby	clerk of the wardrobe	3.5 ells of ray of Stamford, 2 ells of paonaz, 1 fur of agnus
Robert de Cottingham	clerk of the king	(money only)
Ralph de Dalton	clerk (of the king?)	19 ells of tiretaine pers, 2 furs of pople, 1 hood of minever
Richard de Donecastria	clerk of the avenery	
John of Droxford	keeper of the wardrobe	20 ells of tiretaine russet
Peter de Dunewyco	clerk	1/2 cloth and 6 ells of blue, 16 ells of tiretaine paonaz
John de Dynieton	chaplain of the king	1/2 cloth of [green?] medley
Bartholomew de Ferentino (1)	clerk of the king	4m for his summer robe
John de Flute	clerk of the wardrobe	some cloth
Bertrand Grimward	clerk of the king	16 ells of tiretaine pers
John Haukeley	clerk	6 ells of camelin kaynet
Richard de Havering	clerk of the king	
Hugh	clerk of the king's confessor	7 ells of azure blue
John de Kirkby (2)	clerk of the wardrobe	20 ells of tiretaine russet

name of the clerk	office	liveries and prests in kind
Gilbert de Lafford	chaplain of the king	1/2 cloth of green medley
John de Langeford	usher of the wardrobe	
Edmund de London	clerk of the king	4m for winter and 4m for summer
Ralph de Manton	cofferer of the wardrobe	20 ells of tiretaine russet, 1/2 cloth of scarlet, 1/2 cloth of russet, some blue cloth, minever, gros vair and squirrel fur
William de Melton	cofferer of Queen Margaret, then chamberlain of Chester	'quia non habuit rob[am] in panno de domina regine nec de domino Edwardo filio regis iiijm.'
John de Ockham	chief clerk of the cofferer of the wardrobe	
Reymund de Pinibus	clerk [of the king?]	cloth and fur for a robe of four garments
Peter de Shendon	chaplain of the king	1/2 cloth of [green?] medley
Ralph de Staunford	clerk of the chapel	money only
Ralph de Stokes	clerk of the great wardrobe	20 ells of tiretaine russet
Walter	clerk of the chapel	7 ells of medley
Richard de Wardington	clerk	6.3/4 ells of pers
Adam de Winton	subclerk of the king's kitchen	7.5 ells of ray
John de Winton	clerk	1/2 cloth of Stamford
Robert de Wodehouse	clerk transcribing privy seal letters in the wardrobe?	warrant for the delivery of a summer robe
John de Wytham	clerk of the chapel?	

Table XXVIII: Prests and liveries in kind to royal clerks (1300-1301).

Notes: (1) admitted in the royal household in the summer 1301.
(2) this John de Kirkby was probably a relative of the former treasurer.

avenery, some murray.[1] John of Droxford, the keeper of the wardrobe, was given a cloth of scarlet, a livery that perhaps reflected his high rank.[2] The wearing of striped and mi-parti clothes was the only type of clothing they seem to have avoided [table XXVIII].

B Dress of the Lay Members of the Household.

Apart from some high-ranking clerks, the king's wards and the knights of the household were the main groups to benefit from liveries on the occasion of solemn courts. The wards of the king received everything they needed for their small establishment from the various offices of the household, including materials from the great wardrobe. They seem to have worn a specific livery. Thomas de Audele, whose wardship was entrusted to Hugh le Despenser, still received robes 'de la seute des enfauntz denz garde'.[3] Edward Balliol, who stayed in the king's custody after his father's departure for the papal court in 1299, also received robes regularly from the great wardrobe.[4]

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[1] E101 354/5B, fol. 22 and 357/26.

[2] E101 357/26 and 358/13/23.

[3] E101 363/24/49 (4 September 1303): 'Por ce qe Thomas de Audele ne prent mye des ore sicome les autres enfantz denz garde, par la resoun qe le manage est done a mons' Hughe le Despense, vous maunk qe vous livrez a li et a son compaignoun de prest seur lor gages un drap de la seute des enfauntz denz garde. Et certefiez la Garderobe du pris enchargaunt lavantdit mons' Hughe en vostre acounte ou le avauntdit Thomas...'

[4] In 1303-1304, he received a blue cloth and a cloth of ray as prests (E101 366/5, mem. 1). E101 366/12/99 (1303-1304): 'Johan de Drokenesford salutz. Nous vous maundoms qe vous facet delyverer les Robes Edward de Bayllol del yvertt et del [Nouwel] si come vous truvet per vos roules qe avaunt lavyer fet et pur sa meinye ausi come vous troveret per vos roules qe avaunt lavyer fet.'

Knights were given liveries of the same colour on solemn occasions, and a group of knights, dressed similarly, must have created a strong visual effect of power and riches. Because of the nature of the documentation, it is difficult to discover whether the knights of the household wore the same livery colours on less solemn occasions: individual liveries are not precisely dated so that one cannot see whether materials whose colours are indicated in the accounts were meant for the winter or for the summer livery [table XXVI]. Also, knights received cloth for their chamber and for their own retinue, so that it is often impossible to see exactly what type of cloth they eventually used for their own robes. This was, for instance, the case in 1298-1299: four deliveries to knights were of ray cloth, two were of paonaz, one of scarlet, one of camelin of ash-colour and one of ray and green cloth.[1]

The correspondance of the great wardrobe, however, clearly suggests that, in some years at least, household knights had robes of the same suite. In 1303-1304, for instance, a warrant was drawn up in favour of Robert de Bavent, ordering the clerk of the great wardrobe to deliver him a robe 'sicut aliis militibus de hospicio regis liberari consuevistis.'[2] In May 1304, Henry de Pynkeny was to be given materials for a robe ' de la suyte des chevaliers de notre houstel.'[3] The frequency of

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[1] E101 354/23, 369/11 and Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7966A, fol. 135v.

[2] E101 366/12/94. Also E101 366/12/85 (1303-1304): this concerns a livery ordered for Robert de Bygnoles 'sicut alii militi de hospicio regis.'

[3] E101 366/12/87.

year	formal livery	other liveries and prests
1299-1300		green (most frequent colour)
		ray
		blue
1300-1301		green
		blue
		russet
		ray
		paonaz
1301-1302		green (most frequent colour)
		blue
		ray
		paonaz
		camelin
1302-1303		ray or colour (blue?)
1303-1304	camelin of ash-colour/white camelin (Christmas)	
1304-1305		green
		medley (green?)
1305-1306		green (most frequent colour)
		blue
		blue/ray
		green/blue
		ray
		russet
		medley
1306-1307		green (most frequent colour)
		green medley/russet
		camelin
		blue

Table XXIX: Colours of the knights' liveries (1299-1307).

Sources: Brit. Lib. Add. MSS. 7966A, 8835; PRO E101 357/26, 358/2 and 13, 359/4 and 10, 361/11, 363/24, 367/16 and 26, 366/8, 369/11, 370/9.

liveries of green cloth suggests that on many occasions the secta of the household knights must have been of green cloth [table XXIX].

The other groups of beneficiaries of liveries appear relatively clearly in the documentation.[1] In 1298-1299, for instance, the staff of the king's chamber, some of the hunting staff and squires, the valets of offices, the sergeants-at-arms, the outriders of carts, and various menial servants of lower status, all had a livery of ray cloth. The other categories of the household wore mi-parti robes: paonaz and ray for some of the squires, part of the hunting staff and the messengers of the king; ray and green for the sergeants of offices; paonaz and yellow for the minstrels and the king's waferer; ray and blue for the farriers; and finally, a colourful livery of ray cloth and white and blue camelin for the sumpters of the household [table XXVII].

The rule by which servants of the same office or of the same rank should be dressed in a specific livery seems to have been relatively strict. Letters sent to the clerk of the great wardrobe prove that there was a certain concern at the wardrobe about this.[2] Also, members of an office who had to stay out of

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[1] The secca camerariorum regis is mentioned on several occasions (E101 366/12/68 and table XXVII). So are the secca menestrallorum (E101 366/12/43), the secca vallettorum ad arma (E101 366/12/63), the secca vallettorum de hospicio (E101 366/12/52), the secca scutiferorum de hospicio (E101 366/12/47), the secca scutiferorum (E101 366/12/65) and the secta of the hunting staff (E101 366/12/39 and 45).

[2] E101 366/12/39 (1303-1304): 'Liverez a Thomas Corbet drap por une robe come vous fetes as autres esquiers [en faucon'] le roi.' E101 366/12/45 (1303-1304): 'Liverez a Thomas le Banant, Johan de Hauvile, Wautier Mate, Owayn Pygot lour robes come as autres vadlettes et faucon[er]s le Roy.'

court were sometimes required to wear the same robes as those who were in court.[1]

However, it is impossible to prove that the various groups of the royal household were visually distinguishable from one another. The striped clothes worn by most household categories may all have been of the same colours, or they may have been different: but the documentation on these matters is very elusive.

C Dress for Embassies and Non-Household Members.

English embassies would receive money and materials destined to create a favourable image abroad, and they were often followed by an imposing entourage, beautifully dressed in the same colours. Hugh de Vere, sent to Rome in 1297-1298, was followed by a group of knights dressed in a livery of green cloth and cindon for Whitsuntide.[2] Emissaries sent to the papal court, however, had to be provided with a specific costume, a robe and a cape, to appear in the presence of the pope.[3]

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[1] E101 366/12/38 (London, 10 December 1303): 'Por ceo qe Geffrey de Hauvill, Thomas de Erlham, Georgyn le Faukener, Raulyn de Erlham, Peres de Somersete et Hanekyn des Mues faukeners notre seigneur le roi, et Johan Lovel veneor le roi, sont demorauntz es parties de Loundres et aillours devers le suth, et ne issunt poynt au roy devers les parties Descoce. Vous mannk qe vous facez livere a chescun de eux drap por une robe, de la seute de eux qi sont demorauntz a la court, as queux vous ferez liveree avant ce qe vous alez devers le north...'

[2] E101 308/20, mem. 10.

[3] Among the expenses incurred by William de Grenefield and Thomas de Lugoure in 1290 at Rome, one finds the mention of cloth purchased, with some cindon, to make capes to be worn in the Roman curia. The embassy of Peter Aymeri at Rome in 1297-1298 also incurred expenses for the same purpose: 'pro panno... empto ad unam robam inde sibi faciendam iuxta modum et consuetudinem curie Romane iiijm.' The following year, £10 were spent again on

A certain number of beneficiaries of robes had a very marginal position in the royal household, or held local offices. Most of them received their robes in money, not in kind: such was the case in 1285-1286, for instance, of the proctors of Edward I at Paris and Rome, of the keepers of Westminster, and of the keeper of the king's arsenal at the Tower of London.[1] Garrisons of royal castles would also receive money for their robes, and occasionally robes in kind; there does not seem to have been, however, a specific uniform for them.[2] The Liberate Rolls mention a few liveries of robes in money made to royal officers and their households. For instance, in 1305-1306, Robert de Burghersh, constable of the castle at Dover and keeper of the Cinque Ports,

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robes made 'secundum consuetudinam eiusdem curie' for Peter de Dene and Peter Aymeri, and in 1299-1300, £5 were spent for cloth destined for a cape and for other garments for Peter Aymeri 'ad modum et consuetudinem dicte curie' (P. Chaplais, English Medieval Diplomatic Practice (London, 1982), no. 366).

[1] Stephen de St George, proctor of Edward I at the Roman curia from 1283 to 1290, received robes in money regularly from the royal wardrobe. Bonet de St. Quentin, proctor of the king at the parlement of Paris, seems to have had closer relationships with the wardrobe, but spent most of his time on various missions in France. He also appears regularly among the beneficiaries of wardrobe liveries (Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-1286, p. xxi and no. 1681). Later, in 1289-1290, Ralph le Alemaunt, a clerk kept at Rome in the service of Edward I, also received money for his clothing: this included the payment for a summer cape, a winter cape lined with fur, and garments of camelin (Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 60 313, mem. 4).

[2] Ralph de Midhurst received a robe of 7 ells of ray cloth in 1302-1303 for the time that he had been in the service of the king in the castle of Edinburgh (E101 363/24/86: 'Liberetis Radulpho de Midhurst pro precio unius robe debit[e] eidem de tempore qua stetit in servicio regis in castro de Edeneburgh [vij] ulnas panni radiati'). Warin de Brendwode, a hobelar, received some cloth in 1303-1304 'super sibi debitis tempore quo fuit in municione castri de Rokesburgh' (E101 366/12/106). The same year, Robert Lardenaunce received ray cloth for a robe, 'super sibi debitis pro mora sua facta in municione castri de Leuhmaban' (E101 366/12/114).

received some money for his robes, the robes of his household, and for the workmen working in the castle at Dover.[1]

The staff of the exchequer and of the chancery had their clothing provided by the king, but there is little evidence concerning the nature of their costume.[2] Payments for the robes of the exchequer were made directly from the funds of the exchequer, and are recorded on the Issue Rolls, without any specific detail. As for the staff of the chancery, they received money for their robes from the wardrobe until 1292. After that date, their clothing was usually paid for directly from the chancellor's fee.[3]

Some scholars received their robes from the great wardrobe. In 1290, the Gascons Arnaud and Bertrand de Laffitte, nephews of a clerk of the Agenais, were studying at Oxford at the king's expense: the two scholars, as well as their magister, received robes for the year, with tabards, from the king.[4] But they do

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[1] C62/82, mem. 2.

[2] In 1305-1306, William Hamilton, the chancellor, received a cloth of camelin (E101 369/3). But this is a rare occurence.

[3] T.F. Tout, 'The Household of the Chancery and its Disintegration', Essays in History Presented to Reginald Lane Poole, ed. H.W.C. Davis (Oxford, 1927), pp. 46-85.

[4] C47 4/4, fol. 43: 'et robas suas cum tabardo de magna garderoba semel in anno dum fuerunt in scolis'. They also received money for other necessities such as underwear and shoes, and for the furnishing of their small establishment: bed and table linen, repairs of clothes, and purchase of hose and shoes (Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, nos. 2561 and 2571. C47 4/4, fol. 43). Among the scholars maintained at Oxford at the expense of the king, there were relatives of household members, such as Henry Fitz Saier in 1283-1284, or the brother of the keeper of the wardrobe in 1307 (E101 351/15, mem. 4). In 1307, the brother of John of Droxford received 6.5 ells of cloth of Stamford from the royal almonry, for a total cost of 9s 9d (E101 370/9, mem. 6). A particular case is Hugh ab Itherl, a Welsh clerk who was rewarded in this way by the king for bringing him the Cross Neyth (A.J. Taylor, 'Royal Alms', p. 188. E101 370/9, mem. 6. E101 351/15, mem. 4 (1283-1284): 'Hugoni ab Ythel

seem to have worn specific colours.

D Dependent Households. The other households of the court also had their own liveries. In 1298-1299, for instance, the secta of the squires of Edward of Caernarvon was of mi-parti, ray and green, while the household of John of Lancaster was dressed in ray and blue and the household of John of Brittany in ray.[1] In 1302-1303, forty archers of the prince of Wales were dressed in the same livery and the household of Gilbert de Clare had its own suite.[2] It is possible that each of these dependent households could be identified by specific colours.

II Significance of the Colours of Robes of Livery.

The reasons for the choice of certain colours for the robes of livery elude us. It is probable that fashion played an important part: the recurrence of ray reflects the growth of the manufacture of rays at the time, and the taste for multicoloured cloth. The frequency of the colour blue in liveries is also an echo of the success of this colour during the XIIIth century, when blue took the place of red as the colour preferred by aristocratic society.[3]

It has been argued recently that the XIIIth century was a

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qui detulit crucem Neith ad regem studentii Oxon'...'). Hugh ab Ythel received 13s 4d to buy a robe. He appears in subsequent accounts as a beneficiary of gifts of money for clothing (for instance in March 1290, C47/4/5, fol. 44v).

[1] E101 354/23.

[2] E101 363/17/17 and 20.

[3] See chapter 1, section I B.

period when all kinds of heraldic devices became used as decoration on all sorts of materials.[1] This widespread taste for heraldry created a favourable context for the use of specific devices and colours on clothing. There were attempts to use devices on civil costume in the course of the XIIIth century: in 1240, for instance, Henry III ordered that an 'R' was to be embroidered on the collars of some garments for the Christmas livery.[2] There are also a few instances where heraldic colours seem to have been used for the clothing of the royal family, notably for the robes of Prince Edward at his knighting ceremony in 1306.[3] It does not seem, however, that at this period heraldic colours were used very widely for robes of livery.

There is enough evidence, nonetheless, to suggest that fashion favoured the use of the same colours for the clothing of social and status-groups. Already in the late XIIth and early XIIIth century, the romances described groups of ladies and knights dressed in the same colours, for instance, at tournaments, or for the celebration of certain festivals.[4] To clothe the various groups of the royal household in the same colours was certainly seen as an effective visual means to enhance the royal dignity. The clothing of a select entourage by

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[1] J. Cherry, 'Heraldry as Decoration in the Thirteenth Century', p. 134.

[2] M.C. Hill, The King's Messengers, p. 28.

[3] See appendix on Whitsuntide 1306.

[4] In the prose Lancelot, for instance, the hero appears for his knighting at Arthur's court clad in white, with white arms, on a white horse. This is matched by the retinue of the Lady of the Lake, in white cotes, riding white horses (Lancelot, ed. A. Micha (2 vols., Paris, 1983), i, p. 96).

the king on the occasion of solemn courts, in identical colours, responded to the same needs. At the wedding of Margaret, daughter of Edward I, to the duke of Brabant, Edward, son of the king, appeared followed by an impressive retinue of eighty knights, perhaps dressed in the same livery.[1]

In fact, there seem to have been two types of liveries in the XIIIth century. Retainers were entitled to a specific quality of clothing, and they usually received garments whose quality corresponded to their rank; but for specific occasions, the lord wished to have his entourage clad in the same colours. In 1262, the abbot of Oseney retained in his service Robert, son of a certain Henry Thorald. Among various allowances, Robert was to receive a robe for Christmas, that is to say a cote and a surcote, and a hood. For summer, he was entitled to a cote and, every other year, to a tabard or a herigaud. But the agreement specified that:

> 'Et si contingat quod abbas dare voluerit robas liberis servientibus suis, idem Robertus habebit robam de secta aliorum servientium abbatis, et cedet in locum predicte robe quam habere debet de liberacione...'[2]

There are several instances in the wardrobe accounts which show that, on special occasions, Edward I was particularly desirous to see his entourage clothed in his livery. Such was the case in January 1304, when he decided to hold a Parliament at St. Andrews for mid-Lent. This parliament was an important occasion: a formal judgement was then passed against William Wallace, and

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[1] Bartholomaei de Cotton monachi Norwicensis historia Anglicana, ed. H.R. Luard (London, 1859), pp. 176-7.

[2] Cartulary of Oseney Abbey, ed. H.E. Salter (Oxford, 1929), i, p. 180.

the Scottish garrison of Stirling. It was also the opportunity for many Scottish nobles to make their formal submission to the English king. Edward I wished to be well surrrounded in this Parliament: the response to the summonses must have seemed insufficient, as new summonses were sent at the last moment to the officers in charge of the watch on the Forth.[1] In the course of the weeks preceding the Parliament, the king sent a letter to the keeper of the royal stores:

'Edward par la grace de dieu, Roy Dengleterre, Seigneur Dirlande, et Dux Daquitaine, a notre bien ame Raus de Stokes, clerc de notre grant garderobe, salutz. Pur ce qe nous volons qe la liveree de draps pur chevaliers, sergeantz, esquiers et autres de notre hostiel se face es parties ou nous sumes en totes maneres. Vous mandoms qe touz les draps qui sont porveutz por la dite liveree, faciez haster ver nous tant come vous porrez. Car nous voloms bien qe vous entendez qe nuls naueront robes ni draps forsqe ceux qi sont devers nous. Don' souz notre prive seal, a Dunfermelyn, le xvij iour de Janvier. Lan de notre regne Trentisme second.'[2]

The king used the distribution of liveries to the retinue as a means to ensure the largest attendance. Did the members of the royal household wear specific colours for the parliament of St. Andrews? At least six knights received the same livery of green cloth that year, and one may presume that this was perhaps the colour worn by the king's knights at the Parliament of St. Andrews.[3]

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[1] H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, The English Parliament in the Middle Ages (London, 1981), p. 310.

[2] Letter from Edward I to Ralph de Stokes, keeper of the great wardrobe, 17 January 1304 (E101 366/12/97).

[3] E101 366/5. Nicholas du Boys, Thomas de Bikenore, John de Bikenore, Milon Pichard, Henry Cantok and Alexander de Frivill were the knights who received a livery of green cloth. There are no parliamentary summonses surviving for the Parliament of St. Andrews, so that it is not possible to check whether these knights actually attended the parliament.

Another occasion when a livery seems to have had a political significance was the dubbing of the prince of Wales at Westminster at Whitsuntide 1306: the bannerets, the simple knights and the sergeants of the prince's household received their robes in cloth on the day of the dubbing, and it is probable that the robes they wore were of the same colour.[1]

We would argue, however, that the colours adopted for specific occasions or for specific offices only performed a function of cognizance within a small circle, and that they were not used for identification in larger contexts. The tables show that the choice of colours was often erratic, and probably constrained by the availability of cloths. In 1302-1303, for instance, the clerk of the great wardrobe was ordered to deliver to each archer of Prince Edward six ells of 'meddle gros mais qil soit de colour ou vert ou dautre colour pour faire cotes et courtepys.'[2] In 1306-1307, he was to deliver uni-coloured or striped cloth for the squires of the household.[3]

There is evidence, however, to show that, by the 1320s, colours of livery were used as a means to advertize publicly the bond between a lord and his retainer. In February 1322, for

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[1] E101 369/11, fol. 185v (1305-1306): 'Domino Waltero Reginaldi [...] pro denariis per ipsum solutis diversis [ ] banerettis, militibus simplicibus et clericis quam scutifer[ibus] et servientibus officiorum hospicii dicti principis pro robis suis tocius anni presentis exceptis robis banerettorum militum simpl[icum] et scut[iferum] estiv[alibus] eiusdem anni quia percipiebant robas in panno [die?] milicie principis sicut patet per dictum librum de particulis inde in garderoba liberatis cclv li.'

[2] E101 363/17/17.

[3] 'Liberetis... scutiferis de hospicio regis pannum radiatum vel de colore competentem ad robas sibi inde faciendas' (E101 370/12/27).

instance, at Gloucester, Roger de Elmerugge, former sheriff of Herefordshire, was brought before Edward II: he was accused of having joined the party of the barons and of having worn the livery they gave to their knights pro noticia while he was in office, to hold the pleas of the county. Roger de Elmerugge was condemned to death: he was hanged in his livery, so that the cause of his crime should be known.[1] After his defeat at Boroughbridge in March 1322, the earl of Lancaster was deprived of his armour by his captors and dressed in the livery of his squires, a robe of ray, which seems to have been used as a sign of infamy.[2]

This suggests that there was probably an evolution in the function of liveries, and that the colours worn by the members of some households came to be used as cognizances in the early XIVth century. It may be possible to explain this in terms of social evolution. K.B McFarlane argued that there was a change in the forms of relationships within the aristocracy in the later Middle Ages, and that at the core of this change was the transition from the grant of land to the grant of money in return for services. He used the label of 'bastard feudalism' to

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[1] Vita Edwardi Secundi, ed. N. Denholm-Young (London, 1957), pp. 119-20.

[2] The Brut, ed, F.W.D. Brie, Early English Text Society, i (1906), p. 219. The wardrobe accounts of the Lancaster household show that in 1313-1314, for instance, the Christmas livery of the earl's household was of azure blue for his knights, of medley for his clerks, of mi-parti cloth for his squires, and of ray for his officiarii, probably the sergeants of offices. The summer livery was of cloth of croceus colour (a kind of yellow) for the barons and knights, of red medley for the clerks and of ray for the squires (J.F. Baldwin, 'The Household Administration of Henry Lacy and Thomas of Lancaster', EHR xlvii (1927), 180-200, esp. pp. 198-9).

describe the society he saw stemming from feudal society by the end of the Middle Ages.[1] The relationships between a lord and his retainer in this new context were notably marked by the handing out of robes, which may have taken place, at least at some stage, accompanied by specific rituals. Indeed, contracts of indentures, when they survive, mention annual or bi-annual robes as being part of the reward of the retainer.[2] For instance, in 1300, the abbot of Battle conceded to Gilbert, chamberlain of the bishop of Chichester, a robe a year, of the same cloth as the one used for the livery of the abbot's squires.[3] The livery of robes was central to the relationships between lord and retainer, and robes were the most conspicuous element of the bond, at least on some important occasions, when the lord felt the need to display the importance of his retinue. Liveries of robes were frequently used as a means of payment, to create retainers in other aristocratic households, to obtain advice in court and sometimes influence legal decisions. Recent studies have shown clearly how members of the aristocracy would hand fees and robes, for instance, to justices, in order to be provided with legal counsel or to obtain the favour of the courts.[4]

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[1] K.B. McFarlane, 'Bastard Feudalism', BIHR xx (1945), 161-80, repr. in England in the Fifteenth Century. Collected Essays of K.B. McFarlane, introd. G.L. Harriss (London, 1981), 23-43.

[2] The importance of robes in the relationship between lord and retainer has been stressed in particular by J.M.W. Bean, From Lord to Patron, p. 17.

[3] Chronicon monasterii de Bello, ed. J.S. Brewer (London, 1846), app. E, p. 187.

[4] J.R. Maddicott, Law and Lordship: Royal Justices and Retainers in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century England, Past and Present Supplement iv (1978). Royal clerks and officials such as John of Droxford, Walter Reynolds or Thomas de Loggonere were

Most historians agree with McFarlane's views concerning the existence of changes in the aristocratic structures of society, but they disagree on the scale of the change and above all on its chronology.[1] McFarlane considered the reign of Edward I to be the main period of transition: this was due to the pressure of foreign wars on an inadequate feudal military service and to the subsequent recruitment of a paid army by a system of contracts. This position has been attacked on the grounds that paid armies were not a novelty by the late XIIIth century, and that the armies of Edward I were still of a mixed type.[2] Also, it has been shown that contracts antedated the late XIIIth century. They were probably born from the needs of large landowners to retain a new category of administrators in a context of the growing direct exploitation of the land, and of the pressures exercised on landowners by changes in the land law and by the growth of the king's demands.[3] In this case it seems difficult to endorse this type of explanation in order to understand the emergence of liveries as cognizances in the early XIVth century.

The example of the distribution of liveries to the knights

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retained by important ecclesiastics (D.W. Burton, 'Politics, Propaganda and Public Opinion in the Reigns of Henry III and Edward I', D. Phil. Oxford, 1985, pp. 10-11).

[1] P.R. Coss, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised', Past and Present, cxxv (1989), 27-64 and D. Crouch, D.A. Carpenter and P.R. Coss, 'Debate: Bastard Feudalism Revised', Past and Present, cxxxi (1991), 165-203.

[2] P.R. Coss, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised', p. 31. M. Prestwich, War, Politics and Finance under Edward I (London, 1972), p. 91.

[3] S.L. Waugh, 'Tenure to Contract: Lordship and Clientage in Thirteenth-Century England', EHR, ci (1986), p. 839. P.R. Coss, 'Bastard Feudalism Revised', p. 52. D.A. Carpenter 'Debate Bastard Feudalism Revised', pp. 178-82.

of the household shows, however, that some changes probably took place in its use. It has been argued that there was a strong element of continuity in the history of the military household of the Norman and Plantegenet kings.[1] It seems that the pressure of war, however, led to an extension of the number of knights retained by the king in the late XIIIth century, in comparison with the previous decades. Their military role was important. Knights were experienced warriors; they would be retained to fight regularly in the royal army, with their own retainers and companions, and would form an important part of the army.[2] Knights would also be employed on important military commissions, such as the command of a military detachment, the recruitment of men-at-arms, and the keeping of key places. Household bannerets and knights also had important functions in time of peace, and were recruited for political as well as for military reasons. It has also been stressed that Edward I understood the necessity of answering the wishes of the political community made up of the knightly class, in order to obtain assent for his military policies.[3] The retaining of a large body of knights in the household may have been part of this policy.

A certain number of knights who were not permanent members of his retinue also received liveries from the king. Some of the knights retained by Edward I did not reside in the royal

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[1] J.O. Prestwich, 'The Military Household of the Norman Kings', EHR xcvi (1981), 1-35, esp. pp. 33-4.

[2] C. Given-Wilson, The Royal Household, pp. 21 and 63. M. Prestwich, War, Politics and Finance under Edward I (London, 1972), p.55.

[3] D.W. Burton, 'Politics, Propaganda and Public Opinion', pp. 147 and 388-90.

household, and their residence at the court was probably very limited. In 1300-1301, this was apparently the case for Arnaud de [Meuvyn], Jacob de la Ryke and Francis de Vylers.[1] Also, a certain number of knights who belonged to magnate households were retained by Edward I. In October 1300, the king authorized the departure from England of a group of knights of the household of Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln. Among the knights authorized to leave the kingdom, one finds Maurice le Brun, John de la Mare and Bartholomew de Badlesmere, who were also knights of the royal household.[2] Similarly, some knights of the royal household received fees and perhaps robes from the higher aristocracy, lay or clerical.[3] It seems therefore that the retaining of knights, to take this example, was more diversified and flexible by the end of the XIIIth century, and responded to the pressures of a growing political community. It is likely that in this context liveries of robes acquired a political dimension: the distribution of liveries was used as a means to ensure the gathering of the king's knights on some important occasions and, perhaps, to distinguish both royal and baronial retinues.[4]

However, it is probable that the reasons for the adoption

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[1] E101 366/18.

[2] CCR 1296-1302, p. 370.

[3] Thomas de Botetourte, a banneret of the royal household, received a fee from the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds (D.W. Burton, 'Politics, Propaganda and Public Opinion in the Reigns of Henry III and Edward I, p. 11).

[4] It is also striking that the first occurence of liveries in a political context concerns the household of the earl of Lancaster. Thomas of Lancaster spent his youth in the household of Edward I, and it is probable that the model of the king's court influenced his own use of liveries.

of liveries as cognizances were also partly technical. Medieval dyers found it difficult to dye cloths in the same shade. However, as we have argued earlier, one of the major innovations in cloth-manufacture during the late XIIIth century was the production of multicoloured cloths and, in particular, of striped cloth.[1] A striking feature is the abundance of liveries of ray cloth among the liveries made by the great wardrobe clerks. One may argue that it is probable that cloths of ray had specific colours, and that it was the diffusion of rays that made possible the use of colour-coding on costume.

The later history of liveries, and their appearance in heraldic treatises - for instance in the late XVth century Writhe's Garter Armorial, in the early XVIth century 'Prince Arthur's Book', or in the Book of Standards of Sir Thomas Wriothesley, in the form of bands of colours on banners, as a background to badges - suggests that ray cloth played a major role in the diffusion of liveries using recognizable colours.[2] This also explains why stripes came to be seen as a symbol of service and allegiance.[3] A major difficulty is to elucidate the manner in which colours were distributed on costume. The manuscript illumination reproduced on plate XVII shows that the garment could be divided vertically, giving a mi-parti effect. On plate XVIII, one of the figures wears a striped garment: the stripes are displayed diagonally. Stripes also appear with a

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[1] See chapter 1, section I B.

[2] Brit. Lib. Add. MSS. 37 340 and 45 132 and College of Arms Vincent 152.

[3] M. Pastoureau, L'Etoffe du Diable, p. 61 sq.

horizontal distribution [plate XIX]. The evidence of accounts shows that many robes were made entirely of striped cloth. But the mi-parti effect, in particular the conjunction of plain and striped cloth, was also much favoured.

The issue of the identification of liveries raises the question of the type of clothing robes of livery actually were. Liveries to knights, for instance, were expensive costumes, especially if they were handed over on solemn occasions. They were meant, by their extraordinary richness, to enhance the royal dignity. Robes were not uniforms; they were not worn on the battlefield. The military gear of the knight was the coat of mail, with a surcoat worn over it: this was the symbol of the social status of the knight and, as such, it was represented on funeral effigies. Liveries clearly had another function, linked with the representation of lordship. But the recipients of liveries could wear them on specific occasions, and benefit from the influence and protection of their lord.

By the early XIVth century, clothes of livery could be used as a means of identification. They were occasionally invested with a political significance. However, we should be cautious in intepreting the place of liveries in society - for the early XIVth century and even more for the XIIth and XIIIth centuries - in the light of the later statutes aiming at controlling the diffusion of liveries.[1]

In 1346, the retaining of royal justices by the aristocracy

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[1] Rotuli Parliamentorum, iii, pp. 23a, 83b, 313b, 339a, 345b.

was limited by a statute on maintenance. The measure was taken up again towards the end of the XIVth century, and extended to several aspects of retaining with fees and robes: from 1390 to 1406, a series of statutes limited the handing out of liveries to the lords, as givers, and to menial servants, persons retained for life, and officials giving legal advice, as recipients.[1] The existence of this extensive documentation may lead us too easily to an interpretation of the early history of liveries from the point of view of late XIVth and XVth century legislation.

It has been suggested, for instance, that the use of identifying colours was already in place in the XIIth and in early XIIIth century.[2] To support this, two main examples have been put forward. The first concerns John de Thorenton, who was reported to the justices of eyre in 1218 for riding the country with a band of followers and breaking the law. In addition, he had come to Richmond for Christmas with cloth worth 100m. and had clothed his men 'ac si esset baro vel comes'.[3] This has been seen as an indication that, already in the early XIIIth century, liveries had escaped from magnate households and were used to mark retainers and break the law. In fact, the episode is far from being clear. John de Thorenton was imprisoned, and his goods were confiscated. But he was released on the king's order in May 1221 and, the following month, he was nominated at the head of

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[1] J.G. Bellamy, Bastard Feudalism and the Law, ch.4; M.A. Hicks, 'The 1468 Statute of Livery', BIHR, lxiv (1991), pp. 15-28.

[2] J.M.W. Bean, From Lord to Patron. Lordship in Late Medieval England (Manchester, 1989), pp. 143-4.

[3] Ibid., p. 145. Rolls of the Justices of the Eyre for Yorkshire in 3 Henry III (1218-9), ed. D.M. Stenton, Selden Society, lvi (1937), p. 424.

a commission in charge of arresting robbers in Yorkshire.[1] John de Thorenton was probably a knight. He apparently raised widespread indignation by stepping beyond his rank, giving rich cloth to his retinue of fifteen men for Christmas. The fact that this was reported to the justices of eyre seems to prove that it was exceptional, and one should perhaps be cautious in interpreting this as a possible sign of the extension of liveries outside the households of the magnates. Also, it is possible that the cloths handed over by John de Thorenton were of the same colour, but the documentary evidence does not enable us to see whether the robes were then used as a means of recognition.

The second set of evidence concerns the period between 1258 and 1265. In the aftermath of the rebellion, inquisitions were held throughout the kingdom to see which of those who had not been caught at the battle of Eversham had followed the party of the barons against the king and the Lord Edward. In numerous cases, the commissions of enquiry were unable to decide whether the accused had actually followed the barons, because there was no material evidence to prove it.[2] One way to decide whether an allegiance had existed was to see if the person whose case was enquired into had been part of the household of a known rebel, or had given him advice, or had been seen in his following.[3] There are only a few instances where the livery of robes was used as evidence. At Southampton, John Fortin had received a robe from Simon de Montfort the younger, while Bernard le Moine, Thomas le

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[1] CPR 1216-25, pp. 288, 293, 364.

[2] For instance, Cal. of Inq. Miscellaneous, no. 644.

[3] Ibid., nos. 789, 851, 871.

Blond and William de Lavington had received robes from John Fitz John.[1] As to Miles de Hastings, he was said to have received robes from Simon de Montfort the younger before the battle of Evesham. This obviously indicated a relatively stable connection, and indeed it is said on the inquisition roll that Miles de Hastings had been in the service of Simon de Montfort the younger for two years.[2] There is nothing to suggest that the robes received were used as cognizances.[3]

Another piece of evidence which has been used to demonstrate that robes were given in order to create retainers and to act against royal government is the statute of conspiracy of 1305. In the autumn parliament of 1305, the crime of conspiracy was defined in a statute.[4] Conspirators were described as those who ally by oath, covenant, or any other alliance, to help and

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[1] Ibid., no. 705.

[2] Ibid., nos. 627 and 853.

[3] Other types of device were used to identify the party of the barons: before the battle of Lewes, Simon de Montfort ordered his army to wear white crosses on their backs and chests, 'ut ab hostibus cognoscerentur, et demonstrarent se pro iusticia dimicare.' (Chronica Willelmi Rishanger, p. 26). I thank Dr. M.G.A. Vale for this indication. See chapter 9, p. 309.

[4] 'Conspiratours sount ceux qui s'entre alient par serment, covenaunt, ou par autre alliaunce, qe chescun eidra et sustendra autri emprise de fausement et maliciousment enditer ou faire enditer, ou fausement acquiter les gentz, ou faussement mover plees ou meintener. Et auxi ceux qui sount enfancz deincz age appeler la gent de felonies, par quei il sount emprisonez et moult grevez. Et ceuz qui receivent gentz de pais a leur robes ou a leur feez pur meintenir lour mauveis enprises et pur verite esteindre, auxibien les pernours come les donours. Et Seneschaux et Baillifs de grantz Seigneurs qui per seigneurie, office, ou poeir, enpernont a meintenir ou sustenir pleez ou baretz pur parties, autres que celes que touchent l'estat lour Seigneurs ou eux mesmes' (Rotuli Parliamentorum, i, p. 183b. The Statutes: Second Revised Edition, i, From the Twentieth Year of Henry III to End of Reign of Anne, AD 1235-1713 (London, 1888), p. 61. Statutes of the Realm, i, p. 145).

sustain each other in order to indict and acquit others falsely and maliciously. Those who were under age and who made accusations of felony were also conspirators. Those who received 'gentz de pais' at their fee or robes in order to maintain their evil enterprises and to 'extinguish truth', by both taking fees and robes and giving them, were also considered to be conspirators. A final category of conspirators was defined as stewards and bailiffs of great lords who, through lordship, office of power, were maintaining or sustaining pleas or accusations other than those touching them directly or their lords. The statute of 1305 was not a new initiative: in 1275, the first statute of Westminster had defined maintenance, and an ordinance of 1293 had already created a writ enabling plaintiffs to complain about people who started false accusations.[1]

The text of the statute deals essentially with the corruption of justice. This theme has been linked with the extension of retaining. From this a complex debate has stemmed, as to whether the diffusion of 'bastard feudal' relationships in society encouraged lawlessness or not.[2] Recently, the debate has been taken further: notably, the statute of conspiracy of 1305 has been interpreted as a decisive extension of the issue to illegal livery and retaining as a whole. It is especially the definition of conspirators as those who were retaining 'gentz de

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[1] Rotuli Parliamentorum, i, p. 96a. A. Harding, 'The Origins of the Crime of Conspiracy', TRHS, xxxiii (1983), p. 95. P.H. Winfield, The History of Conspiracy and Abuse of Legal Procedure (Cambridge, 1921).

[2] J.G. Bellamy, Bastard Feudalism and the Law (London, 1989), p. 3; J.R. Maddicott, Law and Lordship: Royal Justices as Retainers in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century England, Past and Present Supplement iv (1978).

pais' at their fees and robes which is seen as extending the issue to the illegal retaining of 'people of the country' in order to intimidate the courts. For Professor Harding, the 'ordinance of 1305 shifted the focus to the bands of retainers by whom the administration of justice was being perverted'.[1]

This is seen in relation to the issue of lawlessness in the country during the king's absence. In 1304, the misdeeds of the 'trailbastons' led to the creation of special commissions of enquiry and the parliament of February 1305 saw the issue of the 'ordinatio de trailbastons'.[2] Professor Harding makes a link between the ordinance of trailbastons and the statute of conspiracy by suggesting that this last document was drafted in the same parliament in response to the complaint of the justices of trailbastons sent to Yorkshire that they could not render justice because the 'gentz de pais' were conspiring against justice. This interpretation is very seductive in that it shows liveries as a wide and controversial issue, aristocratic retinues as being disorderly and uncontrolled, already by the end of the reign of Edward I, and that it suggests that the phenomenon was boosted by the king's wars.

One should point out, however, that the ordinance of conspiracy was probably drafted later, in the parliament held in the autumn of 1305. Also, the translation of the expression

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[1] A. Harding, 'The Origins of the Crime of Conspiracy',p. 97 n. 26. J.G. Bellamy, Bastard Feudalism and the Law, pp. 80-1.

[2] 'Early Trailbaston Proceedings from the Lincoln Roll of 1305', ed. A. Harding, Medieval Legal Records Edited in Memory of C.A.F. Meekings, ed. R.F. Hunnisett and J.B. Post (London, 1978), p. 144.

'gentz de pais' as 'men of their country' is not convincing.[1] The expression 'gentz de pais' is often used in legal documents of the period to refer to the members of a jury, and it seems that this was what was meant in the statute of September 1305.[2] In any case, the text of the whole statute deals with various cases of corruption of justice, and one presumes that an extension of the debate to the issue of retaining at fees and robes would have given place to a specific statute on illegal livery. We argue that illegal livery was not yet a political issue by the early XIVth century, and that it is not possible to define conspiracy as 'the real crime against the state in the fourteenth century.'[3] At that time, the use of livery was still very much under control.

Conclusion.

In the XIIth and XIIIth centuries, liveries were a normal part of the allowances for service in most aristocratic households. On exceptional occasions, the lord could wish to see his entourage dressed in the same colours, and it is possible that the colours chosen had a heraldic or emblematic

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[1] A. Harding, 'The Origins of the Crime of Conspiracy', p. 97: '...but also those who retained men of their country by livery or fees to maintain their evil enterprises and stifle truth.'

[2] Anglo-Norman Dictionary, ed. H. Rothwell, fasc. 5 (London, 1988), v. pais.

[3] A. Harding, 'The Origins of the Crime of Conspiracy', p. 99: 'Conspiracy in the sense of private alliances, not treason narrowly defined as attacks on royal persons, was the real crime against the state in the fourteenth century.'

significance.[1] However, it does not seem that the colours of robes of livery were yet used as a means of cognizance. But important developments clearly took place in the late XIIIth and early XIVth century: the diffusion of striped and mi-parti clothes made the use of elementary colour-coding possible, and liveries of robes began to be used as a means whereby the bond between lord and retainer was made visually explicit.

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[1] This differs from the chronology adopted by C. Beaune for the history of liveries in France: C. Beaune sees the emergence of emblematic colours on liveries only in the late XIVth century (C. Beaune, 'Costume et Pouvoir en France à la Fin du Moyen Age: les Devises Royales vers 1400', Revue des Sciences Humaines, lv (1981), 125-46, esp. p. 127).

Part three: Two Examples of the Role of Textiles in the Exercise of Royal Patronage: Liveries of Precious Cloths, Textiles and Warfare.

The last section of this thesis is concerned with two specific aspects of royal patronage. Chapter 8 is a study of what we suggest may have been a particular feature of royal patronage, the gifts of precious silks. These were regularly oblated to the Church, but they also constituted the most striking element of the costume of the new knights dubbed by the king. Chapter 9 is a general discussion of the functions of textiles in war and tournament, and in particular of their role as materials for emblems and signals.

Chapter 8: Gifts of Embroidered Silks and of Cloths of Gold: Aspects of Royal Patronage under Edward I.

Introduction.

In the inventory of the treasury of St. Paul's Cathedral, drawn up in the last years of the XIIIth century, we read that a certain number of the relics and precious objects kept there were gifts from the king. Among these, there were several richly patterned silks:

'Item baudekynus purpureus cum magnis rotellis, et griffonibus, de dono domini E. regis [...] Item baudekynus purpureus cum leopardis, et leporibus et arboribus, de dono regis venientis cum cruce. Item baudekynus purpureus, cum militibus equitantibus, et avibus infra rotas, de dono E. regis, et reginae venientium de Wallia [...] Item baudekynus oblatus per regem Edwardum, cum angelis deferentibus animas [...] Item duo baudekyni cum yconiis crucifixi, Mariae, et Iohannis, simul consuti, de dono E. regis [...] Item duo panni [de aresta] , quorum campus rubeus cum historia passionis Domini, et sepulturae eiusdem, de dono domini Edwardi regis in vigilia s. Petri ad Vincula [...] Item duo panni, quorum campus rubeus, cum leonibus iunctis in parvis rotellis aureis, de dono domini Edwardi regis, quando venit de Scotia'.[1]

A survey of other ecclesiastical sources shows that St. Paul's was not an isolated case: Canterbury, St. Albans, Worcester, but also Peterborough, Dunstable, Lanercost, could boast of rich cloths and vestments offered by Edward I. If we now turn to the accounts of the king's wardrobe, we find that Edward I gave to the Church vestments embroidered with the famous technique of opus anglicanum, but also panni ad aurum, 'cloths of gold' - that is to say silks woven with gold threads, and decorated with woven patterns. Cloths of gold were used from time to time for the making of ceremonial garments for the royal

[1] W. Dugdale, The History of Saint Paul's Cathedral, pp. 328-30.

family, and for vestments and altar-fittings for the royal chapel: but there was also a regular flow of cloths of gold from the royal stores to the Church, in the form of oblations, for the making of funeral palls and also, more surprisingly, to knightly society, in the form of ceremonial costumes worn by the new knights dubbed by the king. We shall attempt to study these various types of gifts, and to see whether they were an exclusive feature of royal patronage.

I Oblations of Precious Cloths.

A Definitions.

The term oblatio appears in liturgical texts with various meanings. It refers frequently to the Eucharist itself. More specifically, it was used in connection with the offerings made to the clergy by the participants at an office: bread, wine, money, and various precious objects would be brought to the altar in a procession, while the choir was singing the offertorium.[1]

On occasional offices such as funerals, weddings, and the churching of women, the laity was expected to give offerings to the clergy. The king often made oblations at funerals of members of his household, while the queen made offerings of money at the weddings of the ladies of her familia.[2] Offerings during the

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[1] Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique, v. oblation. J.R.H. Moorman, Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century (Cambridge, 1945), pp. 126-8. Innocent III specified the way offerings ought to be made: 'Statim autem canitur offertorium, trahens nomen ad offerendo, quia dum offertorium cantatur, sacerdos accipit oblationes a populi, vel hostias a ministris' (De sacro altaris mysterio libri sex, lib. II, cap. liii: de offertorio).

[2] For example, Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, no. 3235.

mass could be given to the altarist, but they were often laid on the altar by the donor himself.

Another type of offering took place in the context of devotion to a saint or to some sacred relics. These offerings could be made during an office, but it seems that many took place before or after the mass, or indeed without any office taking place at all: in August 1299, in the church of Chertsey Abbey, the king made offerings to the relic of the Cross before the mass, and possibly afterwards as well, and also to other relics lying on the high altar.[1] Matthew Paris gave a description of Henry III making an offering of precious objects to the high altar of St Albans in 1252:

> 'Et ilico devote acedens ad maius altare, cum orasset, ut de more consuevit, optulit martiri unam pallam pretiosam et duo monilia et duos anulos aureos et duodecim talenta. Et assignavit ea specialiter ad ornatum feretri.'[2]

The description of the royal offering by Matthew Paris shows that the king made the oblation in a position of prayer. Indeed, the iconography of offerings shows donors in a position of adoration, knees bent, hands raised, offering an object by laying it on the altar.[3] Offerings to shrines were probably laid on the altar standing on one of the sides of the shrine, or they were laid in one of the niches of the shrine base.

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[1] E101 356/4, mem. 2: 'in oblacionibus regis ad quandam sanctam Crucem in ecclesia abbatie de Certeseye ante missam vijs [et ad eandem post missam vijs: struck through] et ad reliquias positas super magnum altare in eadem ecclesia vijs'.

[2] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, I, pp. 319-20.

[3] F. Garnier, Le Langage de l'Image au Moyen Age. Signification et Symbolique (Paris, 1982), pp. 114 and 128.

B Nature of Oblations.

What was oblated to the Church? Wine and bread were normally offered during the mass. However, the multiplication of offertory boxes in churches during the XIIIth century shows that offerings in money were becoming more important than those of bread and wine.[1] Offerings of wax were also very frequent. But aristocratic offerings also included costly cloths worked with threads of gold, plate, jewels and precious metals and stones for the adornment of shrines. This kind of offering took place in a specific devotional context, sanctuaries and relics being considered more worthy of devotion when preciously decorated.

Among the precious objects oblated by the aristocracy, cloths of gold are frequently to be found. Cloths offered to the Church were destined to wrap the sacramented bread, while the vase was destined for the wine of the communion.[2] But offerings of cloths of gold increased greatly with the growth of the cult of relics: costly cloths were given to the Church to wrap relics or to cover shrines.[3]

Table XXX shows that at least sixty cloths were given every year by Edward I as oblations, excluding the offerings of cloth at funerals and commemoration ceremonies. What was the importance

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[1] N. Heumann-Mascard, Les Reliques des Saints. Formation Coutumière d'un Droit (Paris, 1975), pp. 276-7.

[2] C. Vogel and R. Elze, Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique du Dixième Siècle, Studi e Testi, ccxxvi (1963), I, xcii, no. 46: 'oblationes autem a pontifice suscipit subdiaconus et ponit in sindonem quae eum sequitur, quam tenent duo acoliti'.

[3] These cloths could eventually become relics: if put in contact with the bones of a saint, or with other relics, or if used for the service near a relic, pieces of cloth acquired a sacred value (N. Heumann-Mascard, Les Reliques des Saints, pp. 45-6 and 278).

date	number of precious cloths oblated	references
1286-1287	62 cloths	E36/201
1294-1295	-11 cloths in December and November 1294 -58 cloths from June to November 1295	E36/201, fol. 53v.
1296-1297	16 cloths in February and March 1297	C47 4/6, fols. 8v. and 9v.
1298-1299	-2 cloths in February 1299 -23 cloths from June to September 1299	E101 355/8, 355/10/2, 356/1, 356/4, 356/21/6
1301-1302	63 cloths from January to July 1302	E101 361/17, mem. 1
1302-1303	24 cloths	E101 364/1, mem. 1 and 2, 364/3, fols. 92 and 92v.
1303-1304	22 cloths	Brit. Lib. Add. Ms. 35 293, fol. 75v.
1304-1305	80 cloths	E101 367/18, 368/6, fol. 25
1305-1306	61 cloths	E101 368/12, fol. 5v. and 368/27, fol. 83v.

Table XXX: Oblations of precious cloths.

of oblations of cloths in relation to other types of oblation? The uneven state of the documentation makes the calculation of the rate of offerings of cloths difficult. However, isolated examples give a good idea of the place of cloths of gold in the total of oblations. In May 1297, for instance, Edward I sent a messenger to Gascony with several types of offerings for the sanctuaries of St Mary of Bayonne, St Sever and Ste Quitterie: 'vj panni ad aurum, iij ciphi argentei deaurati pro corpore Christi imponendo et iij firmacula auri... videlicet ad quemlibet locum ij panni, j cipha, j firmaculum.'[1]

C Destination of the Cloths Oblated.

What became of the cloths oblated? Some of them must have been kept in the church's treasury, perhaps to serve as altar-cloths.[2] Church inventories usually contain a specific section for precious cloths. Matthew Paris records how Henry III asked the monks of St Albans how many cloths he had given them; he also asked the monks to inscribe 'Rex Anglorum Henricus III' on each cloth oblated.[3] This practice was certainly general, and enabled the clerks to recognize the author of the oblation when they inventoried the treasury of their church, and when they rendered thanks to the donor for his offerings.

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[1] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7965, fol. 7v.

[2] In 1286-1287, for instance, most cloths were oblated to the high altar: on 5 August 1287, at Oloron, a cloth was oblated 'ad altare... cooperiendum'. On 4 September 1287, at Dax, another cloth was oblated 'ad superponendum altare' (Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, nos. 1616 to 1643).

[3] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, VI, addimenta no. 198: 'de pannis sericis huius ecclesia.'

A certain number of cloths oblated in sanctuaries were transformed into liturgical vestments. Five cloths with a heraldic decoration were oblated at St. Paul's for the soul of Queen Eleanor, and they were afterwards transformed into copes, while two other cloths, de opere saracenico, that is to say probably ornamented with Cufic characters, on a black background, were assigned to the making of orphreys for the copes [plate IV].[1] Some cloths were sold for the profit of the church. A few were eventually burned to retrieve the gold.[2]

The donor sometimes intended the cloths to be used for the wrapping of relics; translation ceremonies were generally the occasion for a replacement of the cloths protecting the relics. More frequently, cloths were destined to be laid on the tomb or on the shrine of a saint, to be hung at the side of the relics, or above them, in the form of a canopy: on 4 April 1304, Edward I offered a cloth of gold at St Andrews 'ad ponendum super crucem de Neyth'.[3] This was certainly done only on feast days, and the cloths must have been kept in the treasury of the church for most of the time.

II The Pattern of Royal Oblations.

The documentation concerning oblations is very uneven: only a few years are entirely covered by extant accounts. Also, the

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[1] W. Dugdale, The History of Saint Paul's Cathedral, p. 329.

[2] This was the fate of some vestments that had belonged to archbishop Lanfranc: they were burned in the 1370s. C. Eveleigh Woodruff, 'The Financial Aspect of the Cult of St Thomas of Canterbury, as revealed by a Study of the Monastic Records', Archaeologia Cantiana, xliv (1932), 13-32, esp. p. 21.

[3] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 35 293, fol. 75v.

clerks often calculated oblations in money of account, without stipulating the nature of the oblation. However, a few particulars of accounts survive, and the indications they give concerning the geography of royal oblations have been translated into maps.

A Oblations made on the Itinerary of the Royal Household.

A large number of offerings were made in person by the king or by members of the royal family, at sanctuaries situated on the itinerary of the court. In this context, a generous oblation was often the way for the guest to thank the host for his hospitality. The author of the annals of Dunstable recorded the visits of the royal court to his priory, mentioning every time the oblations made by the king: in 1275, for instance, 'rex et regina hospitati sunt in domo nostra; et rex obtulit unum baudekyne preciosum'.[1] In 1280, the court went to Lanercost, and the prior and the whole convent, dressed in liturgical vestments, went to meet the king and the queen at the gate; the king then offered a precious cloth.[2] Oblations of precious objects are often mentioned in the chronicles as being a particular proof of the king's favour, signum amoris.[3] The itinerary itself was possibly decided partly on devotional grounds: important churches

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[1] Annales Monastici, ed. H.R. Luard, iii (London, 1866), p. 266.

[2] Chronicon de Lanercost, ed. J. Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1839), pp. 105-6.

[3] Historia Coenobii Burgensis Scriptores, ed. J. Sparke (London, 1723), p. 153: 'rex autem misit eidem abbati...unam cuppam formosam de argento deauratam, cuius precium c solidi, quod maximum signum amoris erat de tanto domino'.

and religious houses would have attracted the court not only for practical, administrative or even political reasons, but also in order to make devotions at an important shrine. Royal offerings were usually followed by offerings made by members of the royal entourage, so that it seems that oblations could represent a considerable financial advantage for the religious houses visited by the king. However, it has been shown that they actually contributed very little towards the meeting of expenses incurred for the hospitality given to the court. For instance, in the case of Christchurch, Canterbury, offerings were very far from representing a real indemnity when the court sojourned at the priory. When the court visited the priory in February 1301, the king, the queen and the prince made offerings amounting to £7 4s; but the prior and convent made gifts to the royal family totalling £166 13s 4d.[1] An anecdote reported by a chronicler shows that the host was generally expected to make gifts. The royal court visited Peterborough in 1301. On this occasion, the abbot sent a beautiful cup to Edward of Caernarvon, but he did not provide anything for Piers Gaveston, so that Edward refused the gift. The envoy of the abbot had to go back to the treasury of the abbey in order to find another cup for the favourite.[2]

This kind of offering should rather be seen in the context of an exchange of gifts and services between the host and the guest. The host generally took advantage of the stay of the court to have some privileges renewed; in exchange for his patronage,

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[1] C. Eveleigh Woodruff, 'The Financial Aspect of the Cult of St Thomas of Canterbury', p. 26.

[2] Historia Coenobii Burgensis Scriptores, p. 171.

the king would also ask for some favours. For instance, Edward I systematically patronized Worcester. In 1301, however, he required that a corrody was to be given to a certain John le Traior.[1]

The offerings made at sanctuaries visited by the court must also be placed in a political context. The visit of the king to a religious house was also a visit of a lord to his vassal, and offerings of precious objects would reinforce the bonds of friendship between them. The example of the offerings made in Gascony by the royal family may show this more precisely. There is no surviving account for alms and oblations made by Edward during his first stays in the duchy: we only know that, in 1274, he seems to have shown a particular devotion to St Martial of Limoges.[2] However, there is no evidence that this devotion was continued after 1274. Edward and his household crossed the Channel again in May 1286. A roll of jewels survives for the year 1285-1286 and it is possible to follow the royal family in their devotions on the way to Gascony; jewels were offered at Abbeville, St. Denis, and St. Germain-des-Près; then, during the journey from Paris to the duchy, at Pontigny, Tours and Fontevrault.[3] The wardrobe accounts for this year mention the purchase of panni ad oblaciones, and cloths of gold were certainly offered at shrines along with jewels and plate. The uneven state of the documentation explains why some famous

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[1] V.C.H. Worcestershire, ii, p. 104.

[2] A.J. Taylor, 'Royal Alms', p. 102.

[3] Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-1286, nos. 1992-2007.

sanctuaries, such as St. Foy at Conques, where the king sojourned in October 1286, do not appear among the places where he made oblations.[1] For 1286-1287, expenses for oblations of cloths of gold were enrolled on the account of the treasurer.[2] Map 1 represents the sanctuaries where this type of oblation took place. There is a gap for 1287-1288 and the accounts for 1288-1289 mention only oblations in money of account, without stipulating whether the oblation was made in coins, jewels, plate or cloths of gold.

From the study of this documentation, a few conclusions may be drawn. Most oblations were made in person at sanctuaries lying on the royal itinerary, the king and queen usually offering one cloth each. It is probable that the court made its way to important sanctuaries, centres of ecclesiastical seigneuries, a factor which explains the devotion of Edward I to local saints of importance, such as St Engrâce at St. Engrâce; St Vincent of Agen, at Dax; St Quitterie at St. Quitterie; St Sever at St. Sever and Bordeaux; St Géronce at Hagetaubin, and St André at Bordeaux. In order to maintain the ducal authority, it was necessary to secure bonds of friendship with local seigneurs, and generally create good feelings in favour of Plantagenet government.[3]

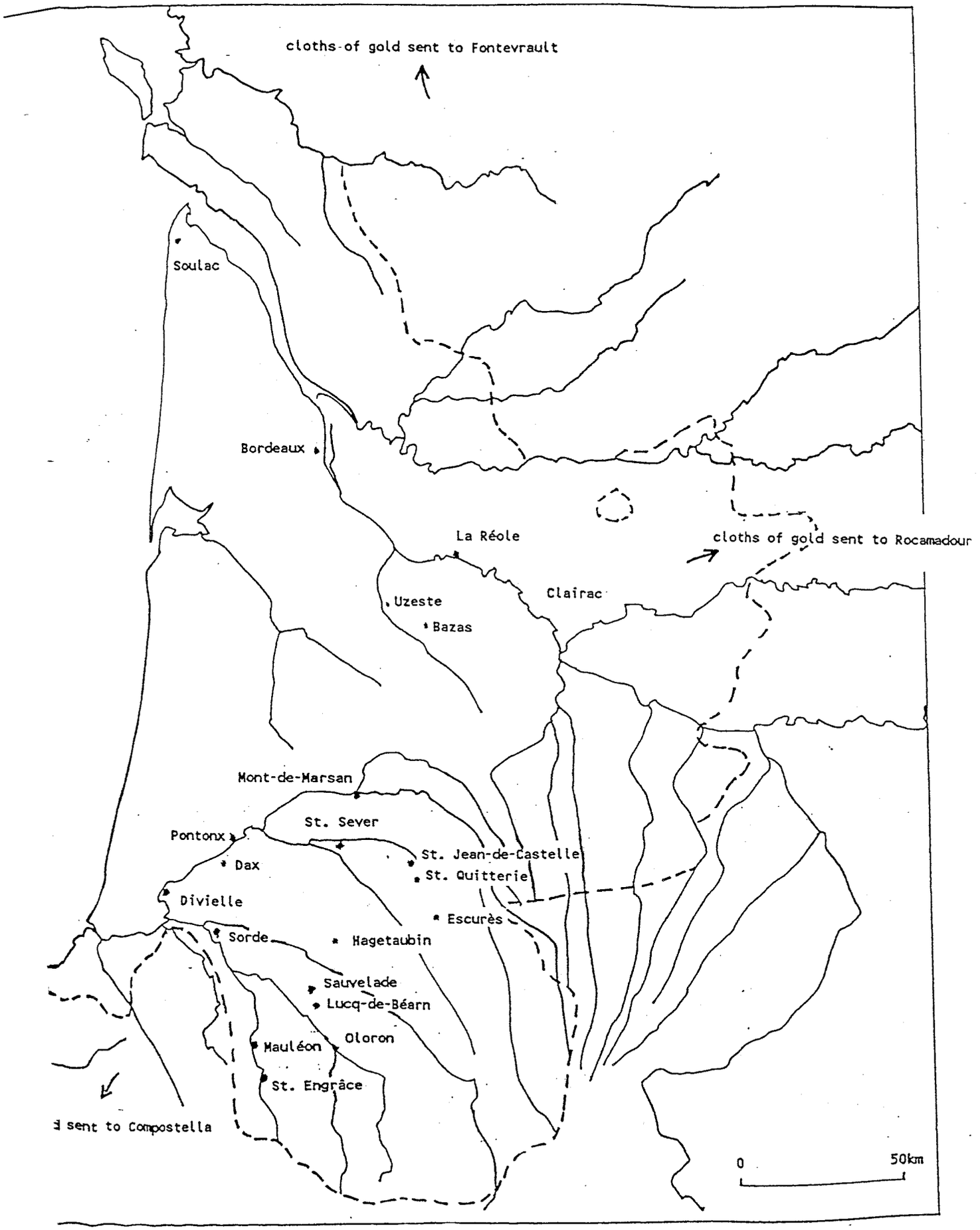
Oblations of cloths of gold were again made at Gascon

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[1] J.P. Trabut-Cussac, 'Itinéraire d'Edouard Ier en France, 1286-1289', BIHR, xxv (1952), 160-203, esp. p. 170.

[2] Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, nos. 1616 to 1643.

[3] P. Capra, 'Les Bases Sociales du Pouvoir Anglo-Gascon au Milieu du XIVe Siècle', Le Moyen Age, lxxxi (1975), 273-99, esp. p. 456.



Map 1: Oblations of cloths of gold made at Gascon sanctuaries, December 1286 to November 1287.

Source: Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, nos. 1616 to 1643.

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sanctuaries on behalf of Edward I after he had returned to England. In May 1297, jewels, plate and cloths of gold were sent to Gascony to be oblated in the name of the king by Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln and lieutenant of the king in Gascony, at St. Marie of Bayonne, St. Sever and St. Quitterie.[1] One must note that the military and political background of these oblations was marked by a general crisis, and it is possible that Edward I wished to strengthen relations with important Gascon ecclesiastical houses by a gesture of goodwill. St. Sever and St. Quitterie were situated in sensitive areas and it may well be that the oblations took place to thank those houses for their fidelity to the duke, or for purely devotional reasons, perhaps in connection with the death of Edmund of Lancaster at Bayonne in June 1296.

B Oblations of Precious Cloths in a Penitential Context.

Oblations of cloths of gold made to Gascon shrines may also be seen in the context of the penitential attitude of the king following an accident which happened to him, at Blanquefort in January 1287.[2] An inventory of the treasury mentions the presence of a sculpture of himself ordered by Edward I, probably on ex-voto, destined to be laid in front of a shrine in order to obtain the intercession of a saint.[3] The king was seriously

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[1] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7965, fol. 7v.

[2] M. Prestwich, Edward I, p. 328. J.P. Trabut-Cussac, 'Itinéraire d'Edouard Ier en France, 1286-1289', p. 174. Chronica Johannis de Oxenede, ed. H. Ellis (London, 1859), p. 269.

[3] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7966A (1300-1301), fol. 149: 'imago ad similitudinem regis in supertunica aperta cum capucio super caput iacente sicut rex cecidit apud Burdegalam anno xvj cum plata

injured and it seems that in the weeks following the accident he made a certain number of penitential decisions, possibly under the influence of the Mendicants of his entourage. After he had recovered, he took the cross at Bordeaux, probably in May 1287, during the general chapter of the Dominicans.[1] The second penitential action was his decision to expel the Jews from the duchy, and his continuing religious fervour may help to explain his decision to expel the Jews from England in 1290.[2] The devotion of Edward I to the shrine of Little St Hugh of Lincoln, a boy allegedly crucified by the Jews of Lincoln in 1255 is another mark of this penitential attitude. It has been shown that the surviving shrine base of Little St Hugh's shrine is similar in style to the Eleanor Crosses, and the association with the king was set forth by the inclusion of the three leopards of England among the shields painted on the shrine.[3]

This episode may be compared with the illness which befell Saint Louis, and the reported miraculous healing of the French king by the relic of the Cross. It may well be that the Cross

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argentea sub pede ejusdem ymagninis pondere in toto vjli viiijs viiijd precii peciae xvli xvijs vd'.

[1] J.P. Trabut-Cussac, L'Administration Anglaise en Gascogne, 1254-1307 (Paris and Geneva, 1972), p. 85. Annales de Waverleia, ed. H.R. Luard (London, 1865), p. 404. Flores Historiarum, ed. H.R. Luard, iii (London, 1890), p. 65). N. Trevet, Annales, ed. T. Hog (London, 1845), p. 314.

[2] Willelmi Rishanger Chronica, ed. H.T. Riley (London, 1865) p. 116. R.B. Dobson, 'The Decline and Expulsion of the Medieval Jews in York', Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England, xxvi (1979 for 1974-8), 34-52.

[3] D. Stocker, 'The Shrine of Little St Hugh', Medieval Art and Architecture at Lincoln Cathedral, The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions for the Year 1982, viii (1986), pp. 109-117, esp. pp. 109 and 115.

Neyth played a similar role in the healing of Edward I. One may see the subsequent oblations in the south of the duchy partly in the light of the events of spring 1287. In any case, it is probable that the illness of the king at Blanquefort determined a change in his religious attitude.

C Devotions of the Royal Family at Important English Sanctuaries. Map 2 represents the distribution of oblations of cloths of gold made by the royal family during the year 1294-1295: important sanctuaries were the place of regular oblations, as well as lesser sanctuaries situated on the itinerary of the court. The study of accounts for the whole of the reign shows that great sanctuaries are well represented, notably Canterbury, Walsingham, Westminster, Durham, Beverley, Lincoln, Worcester, and Chichester. Foremost was Canterbury: the cult of St Thomas Becket held an important place in Edward I's devotions, as it had done in those of his father.[1] Edward made regular oblations on the feast of the saint's translation, 7th July. Oblations were also made at other periods of the year, notably in December, for the feasts of the Regressio and the Natalitio of the saint. The king went on at least six occasions to Canterbury. He was there in 1285 for the translation day.[2] In July 1299, he made important offerings in person: offerings of money, 7s at a time, on both

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[1] A.J. Taylor, 'Edward I and the Shrine of St Thomas of Canterbury', Journal of the British Archaeological Association, cxxxii (1979), 22-8. A.J. Duggan, 'The Cult of St Thomas Becket in the Thirteenth Century', St Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford. Essays in his honour, ed. M. Jancery (Hereford, 1982), pp. 21-44, esp. p. 31.

[2] A.J. Taylor, 'Edward I and the Shrine of St Thomas of Canterbury', p. 22.



Map 2: Oblations of cloths of gold made at English and Welsh sanctuaries, 1294-1295.

Source: E35/201, fols. 53v and 54.

sides of the shrine, to the head of the saint, and 'ad punctum gladii quod dictus sanctus subiit martirum', of several gold brooches and of two cloths of gold, certainly to the high altar.[1] Documents surviving for the years 1305 and 1306 show that some oblations of cloths of gold were made by John de Echeling, chandler of the king, on behalf of Edward I and Queen Margaret, to the shrine of St Thomas.[2] This devotional pattern is confirmed by the study of accounts listing masses celebrated on the king's order: in 1299-1300, masses in honour of St Thomas were celebrated at the command of Edward I at Windsor, at Canterbury, twice at Carlisle, at Ely, Brotherton, Pontefract and at an unnamed place.[3]

Oblations made in honour of St Thomas Becket were frequent; however, they took place in the larger context of regular offerings made to the various shrines of Canterbury: for instance, on 7 July 1299, Edward I made oblations to the shrines of St Dunstan, St Blasius, and St Alphege.[4] St. Augustine's church was also a regular beneficiary of the royal generosity: oblations were made there in September and October 1295, in July

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[1] E101 355/8 and 356/1.

[2] E101 367/18 and E101 368/27, fol. 83v.

[3] E101 357/27. For another example of oblations made during the year: E101 364/1, mem. 1 and E101 364/13, fol. 92v (April 1303).

[4] E101 356/1 and E101 355/8; the shrine of St Dunstan was renewed c. 1305 in the Westminster style. N. Coldstream, 'English Decorated Shrine Bases', Journal of the British Archaeological Association, cxxix (1976), 15-34, esp. p. 20.

and September 1299, and in April 1303.[1]

D The Creation of a Familial Centre of Devotion by Edward I.

The Plantagenet family had strong connections with a certain number of sanctuaries. When Edward I travelled to Gascony in 1286, he stayed at Fontevrault on the way to the duchy, and made oblations there. From Gascony, in December 1286, he sent six cloths of gold to Fontevrault, probably in fulfilment of a promise he had made, and in March 1287, at the request of the king, Eleanor of Castile sent another cloth of gold to the famous abbey.[2] Fontevrault had been the elected burial place of the Plantagenet family as late as 1249, the last Plantagenet to be buried there being Raymond VII of Toulouse.[3] It is probable that the cloths sent to Fontevrault were destined to be laid on some of the Plantagenet tombs for commemoration services.[4]

The Mont-Saint-Michel was another sanctuary with strong connections with the Plantagenets; it had been associated with

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[1] E36/201, fols. 53v to 54v. E101 355/8 and 356/1: oblations of money, brooches and cloths of gold at the shrine of St Augustine, St Adrian, St Mildred, and at the head of St Augustine. E101 356/21/6, E101 364/1, mem. 1, E101 364/13, fol. 92v.

[2] Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, nos. 1617 and 1618.

[3] T.S.R. Boase, 'Fontevrault and the Plantagenets', Journal of the British Archeological Association, 3rd series, xxxiv (1971), 1-10, esp. p. 7.

[4] The cloths were sent to Fontevrault to be laid in three places. M.G.A. Vale, The Angevin Legacy and the Hundred Years War, 1250-1340 (Oxford, 1990), p. 9.

the Norman and then the Plantagenet, dynasty from an early date.[1] In 1297, cloths of gold were sent twice to the Mont-Saint-Michel by Edward I: the militant archangel may have been thanked or invoked in the context of the military difficulties of Edward I in Flanders and Gascony. Plantagenet connections also existed with Rocamadour, a sanctuary dedicated to St Amadour and to the Virgin. Rocamadour was an important pilgrimage centre and Henry, the son of Henry II, had performed penance there.[2] During her stay in Gascony, Queen Eleanor sent Robert de Vere, a squire of her household, to Rocamadour with cloths of gold.[3] Edward I had perhaps in mind the possibility of patronizing a Gascon sanctuary, which would have eventually become particularly associated with his family.

However, by the late XIIIth century, continental sanctuaries associated with the royal family of England lay outside Plantagenet lordship: English sanctuaries were by then becoming far more important for the Plantagenets. Even if the connection with Fontevrault was maintained throughout Edward's reign, it was Amesbury, and not Fontevrault, that was now the religious house destined for the widows and nuns of the royal family, while Westminster abbey had recently become the burial place of the

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[1] C. Beaune, Naissance de la Nation France (Paris, 1985), p. 190: this association prevented St Michael from becoming the patron saint of the French royal family before a much later period.

[2] E. Delaruelle, 'La Spiritualité du Pèlerinage de Rocamadour au Moyen Age', Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Littéraires, Scientifiques et Artistiques du Lot, lxxxvii (1966), 68-85, esp. p. 70.

[3] Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, no. 1643.

dynasty.[1] Edward I followed the religious policy of his father: Henry III had transformed Westminster abbey into a sanctuary particularly connected with the royal family: most royal ceremonies were conducted there, and it was the mausoleum of the royal family, as St. Denis was a mausoleum for the French royal family.[2] This transformation centred on the cult of St Edward the Confessor, closely connected with the Plantagenet dynasty. The shrine of the saint acted as a devotional focus for the royal family: royal tombs surrounded it, and it was the pivot of royal ceremonies.[3] Edward himself had been present at the translation of the Confessor's relics in 1269, and he is generally thought to have had a particular devotion to St Edward.[4] Most oblations of cloth at Westminster seem to have been made by the king in person. In 1304-1305, at least thirteen cloths were offered there by Edward I.[5] Offerings of cloths were generally made to the high altar of the church, but in July 1299 they were made to the shrine itself: coins of gold were laid on both sides of the shrine, and on the altar abutting it, probably the Cosmati tomb, while gold brooches and two cloths of gold were also offered,

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[1] M.G.A. Vale, The Angevin Legacy, pp. 9 and 177.

[2] The History of the King's Works (London, 1963), pp. 130-57.

[3] J.G. O'Neilly and L.E. Tanner, 'The Shrine of St Edward the Confessor', Archaeologia, c (1966), 129-54, esp. pp. 148-9: the Cosmati tomb, which contained the bodies of the children of Henry III and Edward I who had died very young, was in fact an altar placed at one end of the shrine.

[4] Annales Monastici, iv, pp. 226-7 and 277 sq.

[5] E101 367/18.

probably on the altar of the shrine.[1]

E Oblations as Military Ex-Votos.

A certain number of oblations may be placed in the context of the military enterprises of Edward I. Edward I occasionally sought the support of saints before important campaigns. Such was the case before the Scottish expedition of summer 1303, when Edward sent his chandler, John de Echebrig, from York with cloths of gold and other precious objects to be oblated at several English sanctuaries, Canterbury, Greenwich, Chichester, Worcester, Ely, St. Edmund, Walsingham and Lincoln.[2] Also, wars in Wales and Scotland provided a harvest of relics and liturgical vestments taken from church treasuries. These objects were in turn offered to great English sanctuaries.[3] In 1283, Arthur's crown was brought back from Wales together with other jewels.[4] These offerings certainly played a significant part in the propaganda surrounding the Welsh conquest. But the greatest success of royal propaganda took place two years later, when the offering of the Cross Neyth to Westminster Abbey was made the pretext of a triumphal procession through London to Westminster: the religious dimension of the ceremony cannot be dismissed, but

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[1] E101 355/8 and E101 356/1. J.G. O'Neilly and L.E. Tanner, 'The Shrine of St Edward the Confessor', figs. 2 and 13.

[2] E101 363/30.

[3] D.J. Hall, English Medieval Pilgrimage (London, 1966), p. 179, indicates that some relics of St Peter and St Benedict were brought back from France, possibly from the abbey of Fleury.

[4] Annales monastici, ii, p. 401 and iii, p. 317. Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II, i, p. 91. F. Nicholai Triveti... Annales, p. 307. Chronica monasterii S. Albani, p. 107.

it also had strong military and political features which did not escape contemporaries.[1]

The success of the operation of 1285 was renewed a decade later with the spoils of war from Scotland. It seems that the entourage of the king was at a loss to find worthy spoils of war to bring back to English shrines. The Scottish royal treasury, kept in Edinburgh castle was plundered and some of the vestments found there were afterwards offered by Edward I to several English shrines: in February 1297, he offered a set of vestments to the altar of Our Lady at Walsingham. A chasuble was oblated at St. Alban's. In June, a 'pallium ad pendendum in ecclesia', probably a dossal, was offered to the altar of St Edward at Westminster, and an embroidered cope, with a morse of silver, was oblated to the shrine of St Thomas at Canterbury.[2] But it was only with the stone of Scone that the royal entourage was able to stage a triumphal procession.[3]

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[1] Chronicon de Lanercost, p. 112: 'remeavit itaque rex ab obsidione circa dicta nativitatem gloriosae virginis, reportans secum triumphi sui testimonium, salutis humani generis vexillum; et cum magna procerum, episcoporum et cleri processione, illud redemptionis nostrae titulum Londonias intulit ab omnibus civibus adorandum.' Also Annales Monastici, ii, p. 402: 'item hoc anno dominus rex post Walliam sibi subiugatam, ij Kal. Maii veniens per mediem civitatem Londoniae versus Westmonasterium, domino Cantuariensi archiepiscopo cum quibusdam suffraganeis suis, sacris indutis vestibus, cum multitudine infinita processionaliter praecedentibus dominum regem, quandam portionem Dominicae crucis auro fulvo ac lapidibus pretiosis et lucentibus adornatam, quam de Wallia secum tulit, apud Westmonasterium solemniter advexit, et ibidem super magnum altare collocavit'.

[2] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7965, fol. 148.

3 Chronica Monasterii S. Albani. Willelmi Rishanger... Chronica et Annales, ed. H.T. Riley (London, 1865), pp. 162-3: 'In redeundo autem, transivit per Abbathiam de Scone; ubi sublato lapide quo Reges Scotorum, tempore coronationis, solebant uti pro throno, usque Westmonasterium transulit illum, jubens inde fieri celebrantium cathedram sacerdotum.'

In the context of military successes, precious objects were also offered by the king in ex-voto as well as, possibly, pieces of equipment taken from the enemy, including banners. This may be compared with offerings made in 1304 by Philip the Fair to several churches after the battle against the Flemings at Mons-en-Pévèle. He offered statues representing himself in full armour, on a war-horse: this was probably done in ex-voto, perhaps after a vow made by the king when his life was endangered on the battlefield.[1]

Cloths of gold fulfilled an important function in the offerings made as ex-votos. As we have seen, some cloths were sent on two occasions to the Mont-Saint-Michel in 1297, and this may be seen in the light of recent military events in Scotland. During the Welsh wars, the shrine of St Wulfstan at Worcester found a special place in the king's devotions. In 1283, after the success of the conquest in Wales, Edward I went to Worcester to honour St Wulfstan for whom, says a chronicler, he had a particular love, 'erga quem amorem habuit specialem'.[2] In July 1295, the king returned to Worcester with offerings. On 20 July, he was present at vespers in the cathedral, and on the following day, he ordered a solemn mass to be sung in honour of St Wulfstan. During the mass, he oblated a precious brooch to the shrine of St Wulfstan, and another to the shrine of St Oswald, as well as two precious cloths, which he laid on the main altar. After the mass, in the presence of the prior and choir, the king

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[1] F. Baron, 'Le Cavalier Royal de Notre-Dame de Paris et le Problème de la Statue Equestre au Moyen Age', Bulletin Monumental, cxxvi (1968), 141-54.

[2] Annales Monastici, iv, p. 488.

knelt in front of the shrine of St Wulfstan, and thanked the saint for his support: 'quid retribuam beato Wlstano pro omnibus quae suis sanctis precibus retribuit mihi?'. Having said this, he made the vow to maintain two candles of wax in front of the shrine, and to provide sustenance for three monks.[1]

III Oblations at Funerals.

The great wardrobe clerks issued cloths of gold for the funerals of members of the royal entourage [table XXXI]. Occasionally, the king even paid for the whole ceremony, and the wardrobe accounts give a good idea of the cost of funerals, which depended on the rank of the deceased. In 1288-1289, Thomas Bek claimed £7 for the cost of the funeral of a child of the king.[2] Henry of Britanny had his funeral paid for by the king, for a total sum of £9 9s. Some knights and bannerets of the royal household, as well as a few important royal officers, also had their funerals paid for by Edward. A typical funeral for a knight of the royal household, for instance, would cost 30s or 40s.[3] The royal almonry would occasionally pay for the funeral of humbler members of the royal household: in 1296-1297, Ralph the almoner paid the modest sum of 11d for the obsequies of a servant.[4]

Processions at funerals displayed the wealth and rank of the

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[1] Ibid., iv, p. 521.

[2] C47 3/48/9.

[3] E101 351/15, mem. 1 and 3. The funeral of [Royland], knight, cost 26s 8d.

[4] E101 350/23, mem.1

Table XXXI : Deliveries of cloths of gold for obsequies.

date of the livery	name of the deceased	place of death	nature of the livery
29 December 1294	Walter de Ouseflet	Aberconway	1 cloth of gold
5 January 1295	John de Langeton	Aberconway	1 cloth of gold
29 January 1295	Michael de Storton	Aberconway	1 cloth of gold
5 February 1295	magister John de Beche	Aberconway	1 cloth of gold
6 February 1295	Nicholas de Dinile	Aberconway	1 cloth of gold
10 February 1295	Engleis de Clary	Aberconway	1 cloth of gold
?	Anselm de Gyse	Aberconway	1 cloth of gold*
27 April 1295	Henry de Bernham	Chester	1 cloth of gold
28 April 1295	John de Vescy	Aberconway	2 cloths of gold
29 April 1295	" " " "		1 cloth of gold
27 April 1295	John de Beauchamp	Lannuais	2 cloths of gold
29 April 1295	William de Percy	Lannuais	1 cloth of gold
5 May 1295	Simon Basset	Lannuais	2 cloths of gold
24 May 1295	Alexander de Armis	Lampeter	1 cloth of gold
24 June 1295	Roger de Clifford	Shrewsbury	1 cloth of gold
20 July 1295	John son of Walter Hakelut	Lampeter?	1 cloth of gold
6 August 1295	Richard Filiol	?	2 cloths of gold
29 August 1295	Gilbert de Thornton	London	2 cloths of gold
28 September 1295	Richard de Breouse	Canterbury	1 cloth of gold
26 September 1295	Richard de Drokenesford	Wingham	1 cloth of gold*
16 November 1295	Nicholas de Segrave	Canterbury	2 cloths of gold

date of the livery	name of the deceased	place of funeral	nature of the livery
14 July 1303	Jacob de Monte Alto	St. John de Perth	1 cloth of gold
19 July 1303	William de [Radins'le] valet of Hugh Bardolf	Coupre Abbey	1 cloth of gold
14 August 1303	Gilbert de Brideshale	Brechin	2 cloths of gold*
23 October 1303	John de Merk	Brechin	2 cloths of gold
11 December 1303	John de Morarvia	?	1 cloth of gold
23 January 1304	John de Calentir	?	1 cloth of gold
24 February 1304	Walter Thenethorn (valet)	?	1 cloth of gold
6 May 1304	Richard Syward junior	Cambskinel Abbey	2 cloths of gold
2 July 1304	John de Langeford	Cambskinel Abbey	1 cloth of gold
21 September 1304	William de Hoveden, clerk of the wardrobe	Boulton	2 cloths of gold
12 November 1304	Walter de Fauconberge	?	2 cloths of gold

E36/202, fol. 53v, E101 364/13, fol. 92v and Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 35 293, fol. 75v.

deceased. At the obsequies of Edmund of Lancaster, in 1296, two knights rode in front of the body, on the war horses of the earl, wearing his arms and armour. After the ceremony, the abbot and convent of Westminster claimed the value of the horses, as being due to them by right of heriet.[1] Objects used during the funerary procession were normally offered to the Church during the Requiem Mass, at the Offertory. The achievements of the Black Prince at Canterbury are a notable example of this. But the right of heriet was exercised for all kinds of ceremonies: after the wedding of Edward and Margaret at Canterbury in 1299, a dispute opposed the various clerks present at the ceremony as to who would receive the canopy used for the ceremony.[2]

The cost of a funeral included the purchase of a precious cloth to cover the body or the funeral bier. In April 1286, the funeral ceremony for Arnoul, a knight of John of Brabant, cost £7 7s 4d, and this included the purchase of wax and of one cloth of gold.[3] In March 1303, for the funeral of Peter de Chauvent, the king ordered the clerk of the great wardrobe to deliver five cloths of gold in canabo and 150lb of wax.[4] In 1303-1304, Ralph de Bavent received, for the funeral of his wife, a cloth of purple amounting to 15s and 50lb of wax, for 27s 6d.[5] An exceptional expenditure was granted for the funeral of William de Hamilton, the chancellor, in 1306-1307: two cloths of gold in

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[1] Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae, p. 33.

[2] The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury, ii, p. 317.

[3] Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-1286, no. 371.

[4] E101 363/24/101.

[5] E101 366/5, mem. 1.

canabo, decorated with woven figures, and costing 40s each, were delivered for the ceremony, together with 369.5lb of wax.[1] The precious cloths purchased for funerals accounted for a large percentage of the total cost of the ceremony. The value and number of the cloths delivered varied according to the rank of the deceased. A certain number of deliveries of cloths of gold for funerals were made as gifts; but most of the deliveries were actually accounted for as prests, so that the heirs of the deceased eventually paid for them.

Cloths of gold seem to have been displayed under the body and over the hearse. Whenever possible, the body of the deceased seems to have been exposed to view during the procession to church, and then again inside the church. The body was laid on a funeral bier covered with a precious cloth.[2] It is probable that such an effigy as Eleanor of Castile's at Westminster commemorates the funeral ceremony: the representation of the queen is laid on a funeral bier covered with a cloth and two cushions patterned with the arms of England and Castile, and we know from inventories that cloths of that description were

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[1] E101 370/9, mem.1.

[2] When the tomb of Edward I was opened, in 1774, the lower part of the corpse was found to be covered with a cloth of gold (J. Ayloffe, An Account of the Body of King Edward I', p. 383). The correspondance of the great wardrobe give an insight into the preparation of the king's funeral: 'Faites maunder uncore avaunt le vespre, deu draps dor pur renoveler le attyr outre le corps le roi. Et ceo ne lessez. A Johan de Carleton por le tresorier' (E101 370/11/3). 'Johan de Carleton. Envoiez nous hastivement x aunes de teile delie, j cendall fort, j drap de velvet par le portour de cette bille' (E101 370/11/5). Accounts indicate that some cloth of cindon was purchased to prepare the funeral of the king, perhaps in order to make the cote described in 1774 (E101 370/16, fol. 19). It seems that the litter carrying the body was also decorated with cloths of gold, as well as the trappings of the horses drawing the litter (E101 370/11/9 and 10).

offered to St. Paul's cathedral after the death of the queen, probably for commemoration services [plate XI].[1] The tomb of William de Valence (c. 1296) in Westminster Abbey is also adorned with a small cushion covered in enamelled patterns, and this may be an exact reproduction of the actual funeral cushion.

Shields and images of saints were attached to the hearse during the funeral ceremony, and a cloth of gold was displayed on it. A few hearses have survived over effigies, such as the hearse over the Marmion tomb at West Tanfield, Yorkshire (c. 1380), and another over the effigy of Richard Beauchamp (d. 1439) at Warwick.

However, in many instances, the display of the corpse was difficult. The precious cloth was then laid on the bier, or perhaps under the effigy. In some instances, the delivery of precious cloths for a funeral was complicated by the division of the corpse. John de Valence, who died in the course of the year 1277-1278, had his body boiled and then divided: the bones were distributed among several chests, which were then transported to London.[2] The body of Edmund of Lancaster, who died at Bayonne in 1296, was also divided. On 23 October 1303 a cloth of gold was issued by the great wardrobe to be laid on the viscera of John de Merk, which were left in the church of Brechin in Scotland;

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[1] W. Dugdale, The History of St Paul's Cathedral, p. 329.

[2] E101 350/23, mem. 3. Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, no. 1628: a cloth of gold was delivered to cover the feretrum containing the bones of Guy de St Amand.

five days later, another cloth was delivered to be laid on his bones which were brought back to England.[1]

Commemoration services multiplied during the second half of the XIIIth century, probably in connection with the diffusion of the notion of Purgatory: the first surviving iconographic representation of Purgatory is to be found in the so-called Breviary of Philip the Fair and the notion of Purgatory triumphed at the jubilee of 1300.[2] From this development stemmed the gift to churches of cloths destined to be employed specifically for commemoration services. Anniversary masses were frequently ordered by the king for the souls of members of the royal family, and deliveries of precious cloths accompanied such orders.

Cloths oblated at funerals were all woven with threads of precious metals. It seems that the change from cloths of gold to black cloth for the making of funeral palls took place much later, during the second half of the XIVth century.[3] However, black cloth was used for the making of liturgical vestments designed for funeral services: some black vestments were kept in the treasury 'pro servicio defunctorum'. But there is no sign in the wardrobe accounts of robes of black cloth being delivered to the household for mourning.

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[1] E101 364/13, fol. 92v. The case of John de Langeford, whose viscera were buried in the church of Cambskinel Abbey, is similar (Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 35 293, fol. 75v).

[2] J. LeGoff, La Naissance du Purgatoire (Paris, 1981), pp. 442 and 494. G. Rowell, The Liturgy of Christian Burial. An Introductory Survey of the Historical Development of Christian Burial Rites (London, 1977), p. 68.

[3] C. Beaune, 'Mourir Noblement à la Fin du Moyen Age', La Mort au Moyen Age. Colloque des Médiévistes Français, Strasbourg, 1975 (Strasbourg, 1977), pp. 125-43, esp. p. 128.

Oblations of cloths of gold show the king's devotional practices in the light of the exercise of his patronage. Furthermore, the religious dimension of kingship was stressed by the frequency of oblations of gold objects, which were considered as pre-eminently regal. However, it is not sure whether this kind of oblation reflects the personal religious attitude of Edward I: for instance, the list of masses ordered by the king in 1299-1300 accords the most important place to St Stephen, who rarely appears among the saints for whose intercession offerings of cloths of gold were made.[1]

IV Cloths of Gold and Ceremonies of Knighthood.

Every year, Edward I dubbed a handful of new knights, some of them from abroad. The custom was for the lord who conferred knighthood to make gifts to new knights. In 1313, the duke of Athens decided to be received as a knight by a member of his household, a man of small fortune but great personal worth: on this occasion, the duke refused to follow the custom according to which the lord giving the order of knighthood had to show his generosity towards the new knight by numerous gifts. Instead, he chose to lavish gifts on the knight who had bestowed the order of knighthood on him.[2] Edward I certainly did not make any exception to the rule. Occasionally, future knights would receive

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[1] E101 357/27.

[2] Chronique de Ramon Muntaner, ed. J.A. Buchon (Paris, 1827), ii, p. 264.

materials for the making of harnesses and saddles.[1] But every squire knighted by the king received materials from the royal stores for the making of a robe and a 'chamber', that is to say the elements of a bed. This sometimes raised logistical difficulties that are reflected in the documentation.[2] Delays were sometimes very short. A letter to the clerk of the great wardrobe, dated 19 October 1306, asked him to deliver the materials necessary for a dubbing within six days.[3]

The clothing for the ceremony was an important matter: this may be explained by the significance of clothing for all ceremonies involving rites of passage. The materials used for the garments were more or less splendid and abundant according to the rank of the grantee: simple knight, banneret or son of an earl [table XXXII]. The candidates to knighthood received a robe composed of several garments. The open surcote seems to have been an important component of the robe of the new knight:

'Nous vous mandoms qe a Johan de Felton come a banneret facez deliverer bon et avenant attyr pour soi faire novel chevalier issint quil ait surcot overt de notre doun'.[4]

A letter dated December 1302 reminded the great wardrobe clerk of the fact that two open surcotes were missing from the apparell destined for the dubbing of Peter de la Faye:

'Saluz et bone amour. Por ce qe Pieres de la Faye vadlet le

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[1] C47/3/28, mem. 3 (household of Thomas and Henry of Lancaster, October 1297): 'item pro una sella de eadem secca (de armis domini Roberti filii Nigelli) pro milite eorundem (Thome et Henrici) xiijs iiijd [...] item pro quatuor sellis et quatuor frenis emptis pro milicia eorundem lxxijs.'

[2] E101 369/4/19. The text is transcribed in appendix 1.

[3] E101 369/4/19.

[4] E101 371/21/27.

New knight	*Date of the order*	*Rank*	Cointise	Culcitra	Matracum	Canevacium	Bed linen
Matthew de Monthermer			1 cloth of red samite	2 cloths of tars; 2 cloths of reinforced cindon for the bordura; 22 ells of carde for the lining	2 cloths of reinforced cindon; 12 ells of carde (1)	15 ells of carde	30 ells of linen
Stephen de Venouse	10 April 1302	banneret	2 cloths of gold in canabo	2 cloths of gold in canabo		8 ells of canvas	20 ells of linen
Adam de Swylington	22 October 1302	simple knight	2 cloths of gold in canabo	2 cloths of purple and 1 pecia of carde for the lining		10 ells of canvas	20 ells of linen
David de Quanton	16 January 1302	banneret	2 cloths of gold in serico	2 cloths of gold in canabo and 15 ells of carde for the lining	15 ells of carde	10 ells of canvas	25 ells of linen
William de Hastyng, son of John de Hastyng	12 April 1302	son of a baron	2 cloths of tars	3 cloths of tars; 1 pecia of carde for the lining	15 ells of carde	10 ells of canvas	25 ells of linen
Stephen de Segrave			2 cloths of gold in serico	15 ells of carde for the lining	2 cloths of reinforced cindon	10 ells of canvas	28 ells of linen
John de Segrave			2 cloths of gold in serico		1 pecia of carde to line the matracum of cindon		28 ells of linen
Thomas de Nevil			2 cloths of gold in serico	1 pecia of carde for the lining	2 cloths of reinforced cindon	10 ells of canvas	28 ells of linen
John de Quanton	16 January 1302	simple knight	2 cloths of arrest	2 cloths of purple; 10 ells of carde for the lining	10 ells of carde	8 ells of canvas	20 ells of linen

Table XXXII: Materials for ceremonies of knighthood (1301-1302). Sources: E101 361/17, E101 371/21/60, 61, 88, 90.

Note 1: 'ad matracum suum de cindon ex parte adversa cooperiendum.'

Syre de Chastillon qui sera fait chevalier de novel, sicome ie entens qe vous bien savez ad defaute de deux sourcotz overts, et dautres choses qe appertienent a son lit, sicome il vous porra monstrer. Vous maunk qe por lun surcot overt li facez avoir trois aunnes et demye dune color, et ce que apent a son lyt ausint de ceux colors qe vous avez deliverez de droit linet solon ce qe vous faites a autres de son estat et de sa condicion issint quil eit ce qe mests li serra pleinement por ses robes, et por son lyt une autres. Et si rien li baillez outre ce a quoi il est assignez si voloms qe vous le metiez sur les fredz le dit sire de Chastillon. A Dieu qui vous gard. Escrites a Hamstede le tierz ior de mois de decembre.'[1]

One of the upper garments was probably richly furred: a coopertorium, that is to say the largest lining of fur available, was necessary for the apparell of the new knights, and this may have been destined for the lining of a cloak or for the bed.[2] Among the materials delivered to future knights, mercery goods were prominent: half-silk, carde, canvas and linen for the bed of the vigil night, but above all cloths of gold. One or two cloths of gold were delivered to future knights for the making of a culcitra, or bed coverlet, and one or two more cloths were destined for the cointise. The meaning of this term is not entirely clear: it is defined by some historians of costume as a kind of veil, or mantling, worn over the helmet, a detail that appears sometimes in the iconography of tournaments. However, this seems doubtful, mainly because the quantity of material delivered for a cointise was considerable. Furthermore, we may see in narrative documents that cointises were sometimes worn by

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[1] E101 363/24/90.

[2] 'Mandamus vobis quod dilecto nostro Roberto de Ufford, tanquam baneretto decentem apparatum cum coopertorio decenti pro se novo milite faciendo liberari de dono nostro faciatis.' (E101 371/21/11). Also letter from the king to Ralph de Stokes, 13 February 1306: for Richard de Torteseye, 'tanquam baneretto decentem apparatum cum coopertorio de minuto vario.' (E101 369/4/14).

the aristocracy on exceptional occasions. For instance, the knights attending the wedding of Margaret with Alexander of Scotland in 1252 were wearing cointises.[1] Cointise was probably a ceremonial garment of silk, either a surcoat similar to the one which is represented on the effigy of Jean de France in the collection of Roger de Gaignières, or a kind of cloak.[2]

In 1306, Edward I decided to organise a mass dubbing ceremony: John of London reports in the Flores Historiarum that tents were provided at the Temple for the future knights, 'where each of them could put on gilded garments.'[3] It seems that this corresponded to the fact that ceremonies of knighthood were divided in two phases: during the first part of the ceremony, the future knights were dressed in a costume of woollen cloth. Probably after the vigil night, they changed into garments of cloth of gold, perhaps for the ceremony of dubbing, which often took place within a church. Examples from other courts confirm this: in 1237, the companions of Robert of Artois received robes of silk and robes of scarlet from Saint Louis.[4] In 1328, the king of Aragon took the order of knighthood; this was followed by the dubbing of at least 256 new knights, all of whom received

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[1] Matthew Paris, Chronica majora, v, p. 268: 'Mille enim milites et amplius vestiti serico et, ut vulgariter loquamur, cointises, in nuptiis ex parte regis Anglorum ibidem apparuerunt'.

[2] See the commentary of plate V.

[3] Flores Historiarum, ed. H.R. Luard, iii (London, 1890), p. 131.

[4] M. Peigné-Delacourt, 'Compte des Dépenses de la Chevalerie de Robert, Comte d'Artois, à Compiègne, en Juin 1237', Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie, 2nd series, ii (1853), 629-59, esp. pp. 644 and 652.

garments of cloth of gold and of green velvet. Probably after the ceremony of dubbing, the new knights gave these clothes away to the minstrels present there, and changed into garments of red cloth, with mantles lined with green velvet or ermyn fur.[1]

The splendour of the liveries issued by Edward I for the making of new knights made a strong impression upon contemporaries: this was particularly the case for the ceremony of Whitsuntide 1306, which enhanced the image of chivalric splendour diffused by royal propaganda:

> 'Hic rex Edwardus super omnes regis adauxit gloriam militarem, edicto lato in Francia, in Aquitannia, in Anglia, in Scotia, in Hybernia et in Wallia, ut quotquot militare vellent armis saecularibus ad regem venirent de sua garderoba cuncta militaria ornamenta effluentissime admissuri'.[2]

Letters sent to all the sheriffs to proclaim the dubbings at Westminster for Whitsuntide 1306 stipulated that 'all those who are not knights, and who wish to become knights, [must] come to London before next Whitsuntide, to receive the apparel necessary in this case, from our wardrobe, of our gift.' John of London reports in the Flores Historiarum that the proclamation for the dubbings of Whitsuntide 1306 included a promise that the future knights would receive 'omnem ornatum militarem, praeter equitaturam de regia garderoba.' Other examples confirm the fact that new knights usually received only textiles and furs from Edward I. For instance, the four squires of the count of Savoy who were dubbed by Edward I in 1292 received most of their equipment from the count of Savoy: materials for the bath and the

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[1] Chronique de Ramon Muntaner, ii, p. 426.

[2] Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls series, 2 vols. (London, 1881-3), ii, p. 16.

bed of the vigil night, swords, sadles and briddles. Rounceys were hired.[1] The count's wardrobe also paid for the tailoring of the ceremonial clothing of the future knights. There is no mention of materials purchased for this, and it is probable that the great wardrobe of Edward I actually delivered them to the squires of the count of Savoy.

In fact, apart from one or two exceptional cases concerning members of the royal family, there is no mention in the royal accounts of purchases of horses or military equipment for ceremonies of knighthood. It seems that the patronage of such events was limited to the provision of furs and textiles, as opposed to the practice observed during the reign of Henry III. A comparison with dubbings of knights in France, for instance, is also revealing: the French king gave horses to future knights, even on the occasion of the mass dubbing ceremony of 1313.[2]

Was there anything specifically English in the patronage of new knights by Edward I? Some later treatises differenciated the ceremonials of dubbing according to the country, and it is possible that the English ceremonial may have differed from continental ceremonials.[3] However, the fact that Edward I did not, as far as we know, give horses and military equipment to new knights corresponded to the general evolution of dubbings: the

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[1] A.J. Taylor, 'Count Amadeus of Savoy's Visit to England in 1292, Archaeologia, cvi (1979), 123-32.

[2] Reliquiae manuscriptorum, ed. T. von Ludewig, xii (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1741), lib. I, num. ix (pp. 48-60). A total of 32 263li. 9s 6d parisis was spent on horses and horse trappings.

[3] P. Contamine, 'Points de Vue sur la Chevalerie en France à la Fin du Moyen Age', Francia, iv (1976), 255-85, esp. p. 273.

material patronage of new knights by lords was to become less and less significant.[1]

It is also possible to place this development in the general evolution of secular knighthood on the model of religious and military orders.[2] The distribution of similar costumes to knights dubbed together suggested that they belonged to a special order of society. This may be compared with the later history of chivalry: one of the aims of the founders of 'secular' orders of chivalry was to create a group directly attached to their person.[3] The aim of Edward I was probably to attach the powerful category of society who acceeded to knighthood to his family.

Conclusion: Gold and the Aristocracy.

Gifts of gold or of objects worked with gold were extremely prestigious. One of the reasons for that prestige were the symbolical connotations of gold. J. Batany, in a recent article on the interpretations of gold in medieval commentaries on the Bible, has underlined the variety and richness of the religious symbolism of gold: according to saint Gregory, for instance, gold was 'divinitatis claritas, splendor supernae civitatis, caritas,

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[1] Ibid., p. 268. N. Denholm-Young, 'The Song of Carlaverock and the Parliamentary Roll of Arms as Found in the Cott. MS. Calig. A. XVIII in the British Museum', Collected Papers, pp. 120-132, esp. p. 127. I have consulted the accounts of the marshalsea for that year and I have not found any evidence for the gift of horses to new knights.

[2] P. Contamine, 'Points de Vue sur la Chevalerie en France', p. 283, n. 122. There are, however, reservations to be made on that point. See appendix 2, p. 333.

[3] M.G.A. Vale, War and Chivalry. Warfare and Aristocratic Culture in England, France and Burgundy at the End of the Midddle Ages (London, 1981), p. 168.

nitor gloriae saecularis, pulchritudo sanctitatis'.[1] The sacred connotations of gold may explain the indignation of a clerk about the use of cloths of gold made with the intestines of animals.[2]

The last decades of the XIIIth century witnessed the diffusion of new religious ideas and attitudes. The multiplication of oblations of precious cloths for the souls of the departed and for the intercession of saints may be considered in the light of the diffusion of the notion of Purgatory. The religious and devotional activity of the aristocracy created a vast market for luxury goods, and transformations in religious attitudes should be considered beside changes in production techniques and the economy.

Also, gold was closely associated with chivalric status. In 1286, Osbert Giffard, a knight, was given a penance for the abduction of two nuns from the Wilton nunnery. For the duration of the penance, he was to be deprived of all the attributes of chivalry: the sword, the military saddle, the coloured clothes, the golden spurs and the gilded horse trappings.[3]

It is possible that the association of gold with chivalric status resulted from the fact that the ceremony of dubbing often took place within a church. J. Flori has shown the existence of a link between royal and imperial ceremonies and ceremonies of

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[1] Saint Gregory, Moralia in Job, iv, xxix-xxxi, quoted in J. Batany, 'Quelques Avatars de l'Or dans l'Exégèse et la Paranèse', L'Or au Moyen Age (Monnaie - Métal - Objets - Symbole), Sénéfiance, xii (Aix-en-Provence, 1983), pp. 41-54, esp. p. 44.

[2] See p. 21.

[3] Registrum epistolarum fratris Iohannis Peckham, archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, ed. C.T. Martin, iii (London, 1885), no. 657, p. 917.

dubbing for knighthood.[1] Did gold have any precise association with kingship? This is the thesis of J. Batany, who notably draws a comparison with the Magi: the gift of gold to Jesus by one of the Magi came to be considered as the gift of a king to one who was considered as a king.[2] The role of gold at the meeting-point of religion and kingship was very strong.[3] Literary models presented the court as a place where gifts of gold flowed, and the evocation of courtly splendour in romances always multiplied references to gold.[4]

These developments took place in a specific economic and material context. The second half of the XIIIth century was marked by an increase in the avaibility of gold. Gold was becoming more abundant in Europe: drawn from the Near East and from Africa, it was certainly present in significant quantities in Italy and Spain before gold coinage is attested. The import and then copy of Oriental gold products, among them cloths of gold, which must have required large quantities of metal, probably preceded gold coinage. The triumph of Opus anglicanum, a type of embroidery distinguished by a lavish use of precious metal threads, as well as the wider diffusion of all types of silks ornamented with gold or gilded threads, should also be considered in this context. This was also a period of

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[1] J. Flori, 'Du Nouveau sur l'Adoubement des Chevaliers (XIe-XIIIe Siècles)', Le Moyen Age, 4th series, xl (1985), 201-26, esp. p. 220.

[2] J. Batany, 'Quelques Avatars de l'Or', pp. 46-7.

[3] M.M. Dufeuil, 'Les Deux Ors', L'Or au Moyen Age, pp. 135-149, esp. p. 137.

[4] J.R. Scheidegger, 'La Peinture à l'Or du Roman de la Rose', L'Or au Moyen Age, pp. 395-414.

transformation in the techniques of silk production, with the creation of cheaper products, and of the implantation into England of Italian merchants who brought these products to the English aristocratic market.

The demand for gold in aristocratic life certainly increased in the first decades of the XIIIth century under the influence of Oriental models: the plunder of the imperial treasury at Constantinople in 1204 revealed to the Crusaders the splendour of Byzantine reliquaries and other precious objects, which were brought back to Western Europe where they were soon imitated. The spoils of war, which were brought back to Western Europe after the crusade, including precious reliquaries containing relics wrapped in cloths of gold, probably played a part in the diffusion of offerings of objects of gold by the aristocracy.[1] Objects made of gold were in general associated with the Orient and the inflation of the use of gold in aristocratic life during the XIIIth century is certainly to be linked with the influence of Oriental models.[2]

Scattered signs of an increasing use of gold objects are also found in this period. Contemporary sumptuary legislation certainly reflects the growing use of cloths of gold in aristocratic costume. In Spain, costumes made of cloths of gold were first prohibited by James I of Aragon, then again by Alfonso

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[1] N. Heumann-Mascard, Les Reliques des Saints, p. 281. R. Colliot, 'Fascination de l'Or à Byzance d'après le Chroniqueur Robert de Clari', L'Or au Moyen Age, pp. 89-110.

[2] P. Bancourt, 'Or Antique, Or Epique, Or d'Occident et d'Orient dans le Roman de Thèbes', L'Or au Moyen Age, p. 32.

the Wise in 1252 and 1258.[1] The manufacture and purchase of precious silks and cloths of gold was forbidden in Venice in 1248.[2] Comparisons between inventories of different periods show that cloths of gold, on silk or on hemp, completely replaced all other kinds of silk cloths in oblations and in aristocratic funerals by the second half of the XIIIth century.

In the XIIth century, the use of precious materials and especially of cloth of gold for the costume of future knights was probably exceptional, and confined to the higher aristocracy: in 1127, for his dubbing, Geoffrey, duke of Normandy, was clothed in purple cloth and a cloak of cloth of gold, while the other future knights who were dubbed together with him wore purple.[3] Later, the social evolution of the knightly class and its integration with the aristocracy resulted in costly materials

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[1] 'Item statuimus quod nos nec aliquis subditus nobis non portet vestes incisas, listatas, vel trepatas, nec portent in vestibus aurum vel argentum, nec aurifrigium, nec auripellum, nec sedam sutam'. Marca Hispanica, col. 1430, quoted in Francisque-Michel, Recherches sur le Commerce, ii, p. 162.

[2] 'MCCXXXXVIII, ind. vii, die xiv, exeunte Septembri, capta fuit pars in Concilio majori, et ordinatum de illis qui preerunt ad recipiendum rectum seu dacium illorum hominum qui faciunt pannos ad aurum, purpuras et cendatos, quod non debeant emere vel emi facere de ispis pannis, purpuris et cendatis, nect atiam laborare modo aliquo de ipsis'. Zanetti, Dell' origine di alccune arti principali appresso i Viniziani libri due (Venice, 1758), p. 97, quoted in Francisque-Michel, Recherches sur le Commerce, i, p. 87.

[3] Chroniques des Comtes d'Anjou et des Seigneurs d'Amboise, ed. L. Halphen and R. Poupardin, Collection de Textes pour servir à l'Etude et à l'Enseignement de l'Histoire, 48 (Paris, 1913), p. 79: 'Post corporis ablutionem, ascendens de balneorum lavacro, comitis Andegavorum generosa proles, Gaufredus bysso retorta ad carnem induitur, cyclade auro texta supervestitur, clamide conchilii et muricis sanguine tincta tegitur, caligis olosericis calciatur, pedes ejus sotularibus in superficie leunculos aureos habentibus muniuntur; ejus vero consodales, qui cum eo militie suscipiende munus exspectabant, universi bysso et purpura induuntur.'

being used more widely for dubbing ceremonies: in the early XIVth century, cloth of gold had completely replaced scarlet for such a purpose. The major phase of this evolution, at least in England, seems to have taken place in the middle of the XIIIth century: the comments of Matthew Paris on the royal ceremonies of 1252 clearly refer to the golden clothes worn by the knights as an innovation. The introduction into England of cloths of gold made according to the new techniques also seems to date from the middle of the XIIIth century. The new technique made possible a production of cloths on a larger scale: one may wonder whether a distribution of cloths of gold such as the one that took place at Whitsuntide 1306 would have been possible a few decades earlier.

Chapter 9: The Household in Arms. The Consumption of Textiles in the Context of Chivalric and Military Activities.

Introduction.

The preparation of military campaigns threw the king's craftsmen into a feverish activity. Military equipment had to be made ready: tents, banners and pennons as well as pieces of defensive armour were prepared for the royal army. Textiles could offer comfort and protection to the combatant; they were also used as a means for identification and display on the battlefield, functions they also fulfilled in chivalric encounters.

The following pages will analyse the various aspects of the consumption of textiles in time of war and in the context of chivalric encounters. A first section concerns the uses of canvas in war, notably for the making of tents. A second section is centered on the study of courtly influences on some aspects of warfare. The last section focuses on textiles as the medium for signals and emblems.

I Canvas for Transport and Tents.

Important amounts of coarse material, and in particular of canvas, were required for military campaigns. Canvas was used to make ship sails, but it does not seem that the great wardrobe was directly involved with the provision of materials for sails and cordage. However, textiles were delivered from the stores to make partitions on board. For instance, in 1297, John of London, a wardrobe clerk, was sent to Harwich to survey the preparation of

two ships destined to carry victuals to Flanders: twenty-two dozen of curtains were purchased to make partitions on board.[1]

Victuals, armaments and other goods transported by cart were covered with canvas for protection against bad weather.[2] This is confirmed by the iconography, for instance by the representation of carts on the mural paintings of the Painted Chamber at Westminster. However, what seems to have required the largest amounts of canvas was the making of tents. The history of tents in the Middle Ages is obscure. Tents had been used by the Roman armies, but it does not seem that there was a continuity with the early Middle Ages. The crusades brought Western warriors in contact with Oriental war technology, and it is probably there that the extensive use of tents by Western armies from the XIIth century onwards originated.[3] In time of peace, the itinerant household would reside in manors or in other types of permanent buildings, choosing its route in order to do so. Even in time of war, lodgings were often requisitioned by the officer in charge of accommodation. Tents were used probably only when it was difficult to do otherwise. But they also ensured a greater mobility, notably if the king wished to go across country.

A Transport and Erection of Tents.

Tents were transported on carts or on pack-horses, wrapped

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[1] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7965, fol. 29v.

[2] Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-1286, no. 334 (April 1286): 'pro xxviij ulnis canabi emptis ad cooperiendam speseriam existentem in [duobus] carectis pro pluvia, vs viijd.'

[3] M. Lombard, Les Textiles dans le Monde Musulman (Paris-La Haye, 1978), p. 190.

in a protective textile or in leather.[1] The making, transport and care of tents required the retaining of a specialized staff in royal service. Robert de Dorsete was in charge of the office of the pavilions and tents during the first part of the reign, and was succeeded by Geoffrey de Merich.[2] Much labour was hired. In 1300-1301, for instance, pavilioners, carpenters and sutores were retained for the period of the Scottish expedition.[3]

The wardrobe account for the years 1282 to 1284 gives numerous details concerning the tasks undertaken by the king's pavilioners for the Welsh expedition.[4] The preliminary work and the first months of the expedition are not documented. But we can see that a team of workers were retained, probably for the duration of the campaign, for the making and repair of tents, and also for their transport. The tents kept in London were dispatched to Chester, whence they followed the army on carts, pack-horses and even by sea. New tents were also made: twenty-one men were responsible for cutting and sewing the material for

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[1] C47 3/11 (1276-1277): 'item pro trussatura tentorium et armature regis versus Walliam vjs vjd.'

[2] Robert de Dorsete is mentioned from 1283-1284 (E101 351/9, mem. 13) until 1288-1289 (E101 352/14, no. 1905). Geoffrey de Merich is mentioned from 1299-1300 (Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae, p. 91) until 1296-1297 (Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7965, fol. 150). Robert de Dorsete was receiving wages of 7d ob. a day when in court, 6d when out of court (Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-1286, no. 1905). Other pavillioners are mentioned, who were probably assisting the main officer: John de Norwich, William Brond, William de Bassingehawe (Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, nos. 728, 1078, 1728). There were also some specialized workers, for instance William de Sarum sutor tentarum regis (Book of Prests of the King's Wardrobe for 1294-5 Presented to John Goronwy Edwards, ed. E.B. Fryde (Oxford, 1962), p. 83).

[3] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7966A, fol. 42.

[4] E101 351/9.

tents, under the direction of Robert de Dorsete. Three carpenters and a painter were also hired. On arrival at the site chosen for the camp, workers would clear and level the area allocated to the tents. In June 1283, at Conway, twenty men were retained during four days to clear the space near the abbey where the tents and pavilions of the king were to be fixed. The following month, two workers were employed to dig a ditch around the king's pavilions. In May 1284, six workers were digging around the chamber of the king and around the tents and pavilions, and at Nefyn, for two days, two men cleared the space around the tents from nettles and thorns.[1] Then the tents were erected and fixed to the ground by means of crochets.[2] Three men were in charge of keeping the tents during the night. Canvas, dyed and undyed, timber, cordage of various thickness, thread, leather and rivets were purchased on several occasions. A few tents were also bought from specialized workshops.[3]

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[1] E101 351/9.

[2] In 1288-1289, 28 men were hired to remove the snow from the hall during four days and to erect the pavilions of the king (Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, no. 1782). At Raleigh, 9 valet-pavilioners spent some time in the park to tend, erect and repair the pavilions and tents of the king (Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, no. 1905). In 1299-1300, 20 pavilioners were hired to keep, erect, tend and take down the pavilions of the king, 'pro predictis papillonis custodiendis, erigendis, tenendis et deponendis in guerra predicta...'(Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae, p. 91).

[3] E101 363/15/15:'A touz ceux qi lettre verrunt ou orrunt Pieres Raulyn saluz. Sachez qe ie sui tenuz a Johan [Baln] en quarante souz por une tente quil mad vendue, les queux sou's ie ly promet apaer leaument. En tesmon[ance] de que chose ie ay mis a ceste bille overte mon seal. Escrite a Roxburgh le merqedy en la semayne de Pentecouste. lan due regne le rey Edward xxxj.'

B Types of Tents and Details of Construction.

Some tents were of a square or rectangular shape. Others were round, meesons roundes, domus de canabo rotundae [plate XXVI]. A few tents were extremely spacious: an inventory of the tents kept at Berwick listed a tent called aula, 140 feet long, and a chamber, reserved for the use of the king, that was eighty feet long. More frequently, tents would be of thirty or forty feet only. Clerks mentioned the diameter of round tents: twenty or thirty pietz de lie would be the most common measure. Papillones were probably tents of conical shape, while all the others were called tentoria. These tents and pavilions were probably not very different from those prepared for the French expedition of Henry VIII.[1]

Large quantities of canvas were necessary for the making of tents. For instance, in 1276-1277, some 400 ells of canvas were required for the making of a tent.[2] But this type of detail may be misleading, as the canvas was often used in several layers, two or even three layers being common: in an inventory drawn up at Berwick, one finds a large hall 'tote double desuis et desuous', and a chamber 'treble desuius et desuous'. Two little tents were to be 'treble desuius et desutz et de deux indes.'[3] Sometimes there was an additional layer of carde, probably to provide a better protection against bad weather. In the same

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[1] Henry VIII. A European Court in England, ed. D. Starkey (London, 1991), no. iv. 4: 3 designs for royal tents (Brit. Lib. Cotton MS, Augustus III, 11, 18, 19).

[2] C47/3/11.

[3] C47/3/32/3. The text of the inventory is edited in appendix 1.

document, 'dys meesons roundes chescune entre xx et xxx pietz double desuis et desoutz aucune coverte de carde e aucune noun' are mentioned.[1] The roof of the tent was usually ornamented with a leather fringe called a tassellum. A passage, or tresantia, was sometimes provided.[2]

A few tents were lined with, or even entirely made of, leather. In 1299-1300, for instance, a whole tent of dyed cow hide was made for the king.[3] Some tents destined for the Welsh expedition of 1282-1283 were completely black, and they were probably made out partly of some dyed leather.[4] The decoration was occasionally very elaborate. In 1276-1277, the pomellum, or ornament at the head of the tent-pole, that was surmounting the hall was gilded. In the same year, the tent of the wardrobe was decorated with the arms of England, probably painted on the canvas, perhaps on a gesso ground.[5]

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[1] C47/3/32/3.The canvas or the carde were perhaps sometimes rubbed with wax, for a better protection against damp, but this does not appear clearly in the accounts.

[2] Accounts frequently mention the purchase of timber and iron for the making of tents (for instance, C47/3/11 (1276-1277): five garbae of iron (15s) and timber (5s 6d) were purchased for the making of five round tents). The tents were probably stretched on a frame of wood, then fixed to the ground with cords and metal crochets. Occasionally, the central pillar of the tent's frame appears in iconographic documents (the central pillar of the tent appears very clearly in an ivory mirror-case, made in a Parisian workshop, in the first quarter of the XIVth century: Victoria and Albert Museum, 803-1891).

[3] Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae, p. 91.

[4] E101 351/9, mem. 13: 'pro cordis emptis ad magnam nigram aulam regis [...] pro nigro correo empto ad dictos papillones singendos...(June 1284) 'Pro nigro correo empto ad predictos papillones'(July 1284).

[5] C47/3/11: 'pro custura j tentorii de armis Anglie ad garderobam regis' (1276-1277).

The repair and drying of tents was often necessary. In July 1283, the magna aula of the king had to be repaired: eighty-four ells of canvas, thread and cordage were purchased to that effect. In July 1278, John de Dorsete received a payment of 37s 4d for his expenses and for the expenses of three workers going to Chester 'ad dessicandos papillones regis'.[1]

The making and repair of tents, as well as their transport, and the wages of the pavilioners represented a considerable expense. In 1282-1283, for instance, £356 6s 4d ob. were spent on the office of the pavilions.[2] In time of military expeditions, however, some of the expenses were met by local officers. Table XXXIII gives an idea of the cost of individual tents.

C Number and Attributions of Tents.

How many tents were necessary for an expedition? The wardrobe accounts are concerned only with the making of tents for the royal household. It is probable that each retinue had its own tents, so that the total number of tents in the camp must have been considerable. It is possible to estimate roughly the number and destination of the royal tents. In 1276-1277, for instance, new tents were made to prepare the Welsh expedition. A large tentorium was provided for the king's hall, a camera for the king's chamber, a tentorium for the wardrobe, and finally five

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[1] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 36 762 (1277-1278). Also Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 35 293, fol. 47v (1303-1304).

[2] E101 351/9.

type/destination of the tent	date/reference	cost of making the tent	accessories	total cost/price of a new tent
king's hall	1276-1277 (C47/3/11)	£10 6s 8d	£5 17s 9d ob.	?
king's chamber	" "	£4 15s	£3 2d	?
five round tents	" "	£6 15s	£1 5s 6d	?
wardrobe	" "	£4 12s 8d	>17s 6d	?
pavilion for the king's archers	1283-1284 (E101 351/9)	4s	?	?
pavilion for the king	" "	£2 6s 8d	2s 8d (cordage)	?
twenty tents/pavilions for Edward of Caernarvon	1298-1299 (E101 357/3/8)	?	?	£200
puletry	1302-1304 (Brit. Lib. Add. Ms. 8835)	?	?	£5 13s 4d
pavilion	1302-1303 (E101 364/13)	?	?	73s 4d
panetery	" "	?	?	10m
tents for the wardrobe clerks	" "	?	?	£10
tents to keep victuals (1)	" "	?	?	26s 8d (2)
tent for the king	1307 (E101 369/16)	?	?	£5

Table XXXIII: cost of tents.
Notes: (1) Victuals for the clerks of the wardrobe.
(2) Tent sold by Michael le Armurer of Newcastle upon Tyne.

price of the ell	1300-1301	1302-1303	1303-1304
less than 3d			5095 ells
3d to 3d ob.	2390 ells	1688.5 ells	1262 ells
3d ob. to 4d	4300 ells	4300 ells	
4d ob.	200 ells		
5d	100 ells		
6d	180 ells		

Table XXXIV: cost of canvas. Sources: E101 359/8 (1300-1301), E101 371/18 (1302-1303), E101 366/4 (1303-1304).

1285-1286	1287-1288 (1)	1288-1289	1289-1290	1301-1302	1302-1303	1303-1304	1304-1305
5387 ells	2468 ells	4820.5 ells	10 083 ells	15 003 ells (2)	[5988 ells] (3)	[6357 ells] (3)	4025 ells

Table XXXV: consumption of canvas.

Notes:
(1) 3 February 1287 to 19 November 1288.
(2) E101 361/17, mem. 4: 6010 ells of canvas were delivered to make pavillons and tents for Edward of Caernarvon.

new domus de canabo rotundae.[1] The Berwick inventory already mentioned lists two halls, ten chambers of various dimensions, four chapels, twenty-eight meesons and twenty-one meesons roundes. Each office had its tent; a few tents were also designed to keep horses. The division between the upper and the lower household appears quite clearly: there was a hall and a chapel pur la commune, while a chapel and a series of chambers were meant to be used only by the higher household. The privacy of the king was ensured: there were several chambers de retrete for the king, and a chamber where he slept. There was also a tent where he would take his meals.[2]

D War and Consumption of Canvas.

Canvas was very cheap; however, variations of prices appear in the accounts. Table XXXIV shows that in 1303-1304, canvas was slightly cheaper than during the previous years. It is difficult to see whether this reflects variations in the quality of the material, or a general trend in prices. The quantities of canvas purchased for the royal household were considerable: in times of military campaigning, the amount of canvas purchased could be multiplied by two or three [table XXXV]. The provision of canvas for the royal armies seems to have been concentrated in the hands of a few important merchants. In 1300-1301, Elye Russel sold 4100 ells of canvas to the great wardrobe. In 1302-1303, 4140 ells of canvas were purchased from William Servat, and the following

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[1] C47/3/11.

[2] C47/3/23/3.

year, 2200 ells of canvas were provided by John Vanne.[1] These three merchants, mentioned earlier, specialized in overseas trade. William Servat probably came from Cahors, which was an important centre for the production of canvas. But most of the canvas must have come from northern Europe: the trade in northern goods was the basis of most London mercantile fortunes, and much canvas came from Scandinavia. The needs of the aristocracy in time of war certainly gave an impetus to the fortunes of important London merchants.

E The Symbolism of Tents.

In the Islamic world, tents had a prestigious function underlined by Ibn Khaldûn in the late XIVth century:

> 'It should be known that one of the emblems of royal authority and luxury is small and large tents and canopies of linen, wool, and cotton, with linen and cotton ropes. They are used for display on journeys. They are of different kinds, large or small, according to the wealth and affluence of the dynasty [...] Now, they [the Arab dynasty] used linen fabrics for their dwellings on their journeys, fashioning them into houses of various shapes and sizes, round, oblong, or square. In this connection, they displayed the greatest possible pomp and art [...] This remained the way dynasties displayed their luxury.'[2]

It is probable that the prestigious function of tents in the Orient influenced the use of tents in the West. In 1190, the dowry of Johanna, sister of Richard I and widow of the king of Sicily, included a prestigious tent of silk which was large enough for two hundred knights to take their meals there

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[1] E101 359/18, 371/18 and 366/4.

[2] Ibn Khaldûn, The Muqadddimah. An Introduction to History, tr. F. Rosenthal (2nd ed., Princeton, 1967), ii, pp. 67-9. This passage is quoted in M. Lombard, Les Textiles dans le Monde Musulman, p. 188. M. Lombard mentions several examples of silk tents made for prestige purposes (ibid., pp. 188-90).

together.[1] In England, tents were made for ceremonial occasions. For instance, in September 1299, large tents (halae) were erected at Canterbury for the wedding of Edward I and Margaret.[2] Halae were also made at New Temple for the dubbing ceremony of Whitsuntide 1306.[3]

Also, it seems that Edward I enjoyed the atmosphere of the camp, and beautifully decorated tents probably had a function of display when the king was on a military campaign. It is at least the impression left by the picture of king in the midst of his army in 1300 given by Robert Winchelsea, archbishop of Canterbury:

'Denique cum audirem diligentius explorando, quod idem dominus rex fixisset tentoria iuxta novam abbatiam de Douzquer in Galwedia...veni die Veneris proximo post festum s. Bartholomei apostoli...ad dictum regem in medio exercitu suo tunc prandio existentem.'[4]

II War and the Court: Changes in some Aspects of War and Chivalric Encounters under the Influence of Court Culture.

Textiles were an important component of war and tournament equipment, for defensive, practical and decorative purposes. The documentation bears witness to the splendour of aristocratic

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[1] The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I, A. D. 1169-1192, ed. W. Stubbs, ii (London, 1867), pp. 132-3.

[2] E101 356/21/6.

[3] Brit. Lib. Harleian 152, fol. 1v. This may be linked with the use of canopies in royal ceremonial. Iconographic documents often show kings seated under a canopy (for instance, La Estoire de Seint AEdward le Rei, ed. M.R. James, Roxburghe Club, clxi (1920). fols. 14v and 20). As pieces of furnishing, canopies over beds were clearly a mark of high distinction.

[4] Chronicles of the reigns of Edward I and Edward II, ed. W. Stubbs, i (London, 1882), p. 107.

equipment, in the lists as well as on the battlefield. This may have corresponded to new developments in the practice of war and chivalric encounters under the influence of court culture.

A War Equipment.

Together with leather, textiles were used extensively for the lining of body armour. The hauberk of chain-mail (lorica) was probably still often lined with fabric, possibly quilted. A quilted cap was fitted to the coif of the hauberk. Helmet, cervellière or bascinet, helm and chapel-de-fer were also lined with a kind of padded fabric, which was sometimes stitched to them.[1] The head was often protected with a quilted coif independent of the lining of the helmet, helm or chapel-de-fer. Thighs and arms were protected with padded fabric or leather.

But textiles were also used for the making of independent pieces of body armour, called 'soft' armour by modern historians, linen armour in medieval documents. Pieces of linen armour are mentioned in the wardrobe accounts: aketon, gambeson and dublet. Contemporary effigies and manuscript illuminations still show the traditional flowing coat-armour, a garment similar to the tabard [plates XVI, XXVII, XXVIII and XIX]. We know from a poem on the defeat of the Scots in 1296 that John de Balliol had his heraldic emblems stripped from his tabard, hence the nick-name of 'Toom Tabard' he received after his deposition.[2] It is possible that

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[1] C. Blair, European Armour, circa 1066 to circa 1700 (London, 1958), pp. 29-33.

[2] G.G. Simpson, 'Why was John Balliol called "Toom Tabard"?', Scottish Historical Review, xlvii (1968), 196-9. E.L.G. Stones and M.N. Blount, 'The Surrender of King John of Scotland to Edward I in 1296: Some New Evidence', BIHR, xlviii

the coat-armour was very little different from a civilian tabard or surcote.

Textiles were used on a large scale for the making of equestrian equipment [plate XXVII]. Large quantities of material were required for the making of testers (testeria) and covers (hucea). The tester, a protection for the horse's head, was most often made of canvas, but on occasion it could be made of woollen cloth, such as candelwekstrete, russet or pannus grossus.[1] Costly horses, palfreys, cursores, destriers, usually had a cover of canvas and another of some woollen: red cloth, ray cloth, green cloth, russet, but most often bluet.[2] The cost of a complete cover could be quite high: in 1303-1304, the material for the cover of a destrier cost 10s 8d, and its tailoring 4s.[3] In some cases, tester and crupper were made of leather, probably cuir-bouilli: this was really armour.[4] In 1275-1276, four horses of the king had a crupper of leather.[5] Chain-mail was also used for the making of horse armour: a horse depicted on one of the murals of the Painted Chamber at Westminster appears to carry a

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(1975), 94-106, esp. p. 103.

[1] C47/3/11 (1277-1278), E101 361/17, mem. 4 (1301-1302).

[2] E101 358/13/4 (31 December 1299): 'houces de canevaz por tutz les chivaux, somers et chartiers...' C47/3/11 (1277-1278): 'item pro custura viij hucearum de bluet' et viij hucearum de canobo ad palefridos regis ijs.' E101 363/24/89 (1302-1303): 'Stok. Liverez a William Beausamys por sept destriers le Roy estalouns et por quatre poleyns de lynge et de launge sicome vos estes acustume de faire et a ly meismes une robe sicome autrefoiz avez fait.'

[3] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 8835, fol. 8v.

[4] In 1276-1277, some testers seem to have been made of metal, with the arms of England (C47/3/11).

[5] C47/3/11.

chain-mail protection. But this seems to have been relatively rare, and one wonders whether the equi cooperti mentioned in wardrobe accounts wore defences of leather or of metal.

B Royal Patronage and the Evolution of Chivalric Encounters.

The great wardrobe was also responsible for the making of equipment for chivalric encounters. Was the king himself a participant in such events? In the Commendatio lamentabilis probably read by John of London at the funeral of Edward I, the portrait of the deceased king is dominated by his outstanding chivalric qualities:

'Erat autem rex Edwardus vir bellator ab adholescentia sua egregius, in hastiludiis validissimus, quo nunquam lancea ejus in cassum abiit vel retrorsum, in torneamentis audacissimus, nec ibi reversus est gladius ejus inanis, illic ut putaretur aquila velocior, istic leone robustior; occursantes milites a dextra laevaque deiciens, ipse a nemine est prostratus.'[1]

Mentioning the knights of Britain, Sarrazin was writing, around 1278:

'Là sont chevaliers de valour,
Là sont mout de bon joustéour,
Là sont li chevalier hardi [...]
(Cix qui en est sires et rois
Est preus et largues et courtois:
On le nomme roi Eduiwart;
Or prions Dix que il le wart,
Qu'il vaut mix que je ne sai dire.'[2]

There is no evidence in wardrobe accounts, however, for the making of tournament equipment for the king. The Commendatio lamentabilis probably referred to some early prowess. When Nicholas Trivet mentioned Edward's skills in tournaments, he

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[1] Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II, pp. 13 and 16.

[2] Histoire des Ducs de Normandie, ed. Francisque-Michel (Paris, 1840), pp. 225-6.

probably also referred to the period before his accession.[1]

Household knights going to take part in chivalric encounters, however, were sometimes patronized by the king. For instance, in January 1278, a household knight, Guidon de Chalering, had his tournament horses paid for by the royal wardrobe.[2] In August 1286, three knights received payments for horses lost during a tournament held in France.[3] Sometimes household knights would receive money for their expenses at tournaments.[4] More frequently, they received wages while away from the household for a tournament.[5] It is possible that this kind of provision by the king was considered part of the contract of retinue.

Important members of the court received regular financial support from the king so that they would be able to take part in chivalric encounters, in a manner befitting their rank. John of Brittany, the son of the earl of Richmond, resided at the royal court. Chivalric encounters were naturally part of his education, and he was sent on several chivalric tours. In December 1283, he received £20 from the king towards his expenses for a tournament

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[1] Nicholai Triveti Annales, ed. T. Hog (London, 1845), p. 281: 'fuit autem vir expertae prudentiae in negotiis gerendis, ab adolescentia armorum exercitio deditus, quo in diversis regionibus sibi eam famam militiae adquisierat, qua totius orbis Christini sui temporis principes singulariter transcendebat'.

[2] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 36 762, mem. 3.

[3] Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-1286, no. 2331. The same for Guidon de Asseles (no. 2332) and for Peter de Bretheny (no. 2333).

[4] E101 351/12, mem. 5 (July 1284): John de [Dout] received £10 for the tournament of Nefyn.

[5] C47/4/1, fol. 5v (December 1277): wages were paid to John Ferre while he was away at a tournament.

at Blyth. In December 1285, he was present at the tournament of Croydon, and £12 2s 5d were paid to him for his expenses on food, and for the making of cointises. In this context, cointises were either coat-armours made of cloth of gold and worn over the armour for the tournament, or a ceremonial costume worn during the festivities which usually closed the day. Various pieces of equipment were purchased for him: silk and half-silk, equestrian equipment, leather to repair saddles, a bascinet of iron, a pennon of silk and cindon.[1]

The patronage of household members going to tournaments was completed by the organization of tournaments, jousts and Round Tables by Edward I himself.[2] Some particulars of account recording expenditure for the encounter of Windsor Park in July 1279 survive, and they give us an insight into the preparation of a tournament.[3] Thirty-eight combattants received some of

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[1] Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-1286, nos. 41, 60, 210, 247 and 470. About the same period, John of Brittany was also present at other tournaments, at Bedford, Reading and Kingston. He then took part in another tournament at Croydon, probably around Carnival time.

[2] Chivalric encounters were of three main types. The most ancient type was the tournament, where knights used the lance and the sword in individual and then group encounters called 'mêlée'. Combatants fought individually with the lance in jousts, hastiludia. Round Tables were a succession of jousts held in a closed space, with a division between two teams. The term Round Table probably came from a conscious imitation of Arthurian romances (M. Parisse, 'Le Tournoi en France, des Origines à la Fin du XIIIe siècle', Das ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter. Beiträge zu einer vergleichenden Formen- und Verhaltensgeschichte des Tittertums, ed. J. Fleckenstein (Göttingen, 1985), pp. 175-211, esp. p. 205).

[3] C47/3/11 and C47/3/14. The latter was published by S. Lyons, 'Copy of a roll of purchases made for the tournament of Windsor Park, in the sixth year of king Edward the first, preserved in the Record Office at the Tower', Archaeologia, xvii (1814), pp. 297-310.

their equipment from the great wardrobe. They must have formed a team of dedans against all newcomers. There is no list of household knights surviving for this period, but it is probable that many of the combattants taking part in the tournament of Windsor Park belonged, at least temporarily, to the royal retinue. Five earls and seven bannerets were present, and the team may have been divided into small groups around the banner of each knight banneret, and around the banner and pennon of each earl.[1] The patronage of knights taking part in tournaments was exercised according to the social status of the recipient. Three levels appear distinctly among the aristocrats patronised by the king: earls and sons of earls, bannerets and simple knights. Chivalric encounters were strictly organised around the banner of a banneret, or around the banner and pennon of an earl. Even in Round Tables, where the myth of chivalric equality played a certain role, hierarchy was foremost.

Each combattant received pieces of equipment made of cuir-bouilli. There was a helmet plated with gold for the twelve participants of higher rank, with silver for the others. The helmet was surmounted by a crest decorated with nails and chastons. Ailettes were destined to be tied to the shoulder with silk laces: they probably figured the heraldic arms of the combattant [plates XV and XXVIII]. The swords were made of calf leather and whalebone, the pommel and hilt being plated with gold, the blade with silver. The equipment was completed by two pieces of costume: a coat-armour, and breeches of painted

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[1] J.R.V. Barker, The Tournament in England, p. 222. J. Vale, Edward III and Chivalry. Chivalric Society and its Context 1270-1350 (Woodbridge, 1982), p. 8.

bokeram.[1] Horses were protected with pieces of cuir-bouilli lined with coloured linen: a quiretta, or leather protection, a crupper and a tester, with a crest similar to the crest that surmounted the rider's helmet.[2] The equipment was completed with small bells. At the beginning of the summer 1278, several richly decorated saddles were purchased at Paris by the king's tailor, and they were probably destined for the tournament of Windsor Park. A few saddles were decorated with the arms of England. Robert Tibetot, John de Nesle, Imbert Guidon, the earl of Cornwall and John de Grailly received saddles with their arms embroidered in gold and silver threads.[3]

The use of cuir-bouilli armour was not restricted to tournaments. Cuir-bouilli was extremely hard and provided both man and horse with a good protection: the knee-plates represented on some effigies of the early XIVth century and on manuscript illuminations were probably of cuir-bouilli, not of metal [plates XXVIII and XIX]. The defences made for the tournament of Windsor Park were certainly similar to an arm defence of cuir-bouilli kept in the British Museum, and dating from the first half of the XIVth century.[4] Neither does the mention of swords made of calf

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[1] There is also a particular of account surviving for the equipment and costume delivered to William de Montravel, a knight of the household: his coat-armour was cut out of some blue half-silk, and lined with coloured linen. he also received a quirreta, a pectorale (peytral or protection for the chest) capitecio (a protection for the head), glancueris, and a saddle (C47/3/11).

[2] For instance, crests are represented in the treatise of Walter of Milemete, fols. 59v and 60 (M.R. James, The Treatise of Walter de Milemete, Oxford, 1913).

[3] C47/3/14.

[4] The Age of Chivalry, cat. no. 171.

leather and whalebone mean that the encounter of Windsor Park was a 'mock-tournament'. There are other examples for the use of whalebone for tournament armour.[1] The late XIIIth and early XIVth century was a period of experimentation in the field of military equipment, certainly under the pressure of continuous warfare. New materials, including whalebone, were tried out. The tournament at Windsor Park may simply have been a 'tournoi à plaisance', where the combattants fought with blunted weapons.

Also, the tournament at Windsor Park was clearly a court occasion. Tents and seat-cushions were transported from London to Windsor. Cloth, fur and linen were also carried to the place of the tournament, and distributions of robes were perhaps part of the festivity.[2] The tournament there must have been a kind of spectacle, where the display was enhanced by the destruction of gilded armours and silk costumes.[3] This took place in the wider context of the evolution of chivalric encounters. Until the middle of the XIIIth century, the tournament had been the characteristic encounter; but it seems to have become gradually less frequent, and to have been replaced by simple jousts and Round Tables.[4] However, it is possible that a Round Table was

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[1] C. Blair, European Armour, quotes the inventory of Raoul de Nesle (1302): 'une espauliere de balainne a tournoier.'

[2] C47/4/1, fo. 30v and C47/3/11.

[3] This aspect of chivalric festivities has been underlined by R. Harvey, Moriz von Craûn and the Chivalric World (Oxford, 1961), pp. 122-3.

[4] J. Vale, Edward III and Chivalry, p. 58. J.R.V. Barker, The Tournament in England, p. 104. The first Round Table mentioned as such was the Walden Round Table of 1252 (N. Denholm-Young, 'The Tournament in the Thirteenth Century', p. 107). From then onwards, Round Tables occured frequently, in England as well as on the continent (R.S. Loomis, 'Arthurian Influence on Sport

only the most spectacular aspect of a tournament which could last several days, and that the Round Tables attracted more attention from chroniclers than did the tournaments. For instance, in 1284, at Nefyn, a tournament took place after the Round Table: the Round Table was clearly organised by the king, but the tournament may have been held without royal patronage.

C Display.

Display was an important consideration in preparation for the lists as well as for the battlefield. The richness of aristocratic equipment is sometimes alluded to in contemporary documents.[1] Pieces of armour were often decorated with rich fabric. Armour was burnished and perhaps even painted. The wardrobe accounts show that chain-mail was often bordered with rings of latten. Ribbons, silk and accessories decorated with silver were purchased for the king's armour. Buckles and rivets were often gilded, and a circle of gold or silver sometimes decorated the helmet. The sheath of the sword was also of precious material.[2]

For ceremonial occasions, but also for tournament and war, saddles were also richly ornamented. Bridles and saddles were

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and Spectacle', Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages, a Collaborative History, ed. R.S. Loomis (Oxford, 1959), pp. 553-9, esp. p. 534).

[1] The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft, ed. T. Wright, ii (London, 1868), p. 248: song in mockery of the Scots: 'Bi waye/ Herd i never saye,/ Of prester pages,/ To pyke/ The robes of the rike,/ That in the felde felle...'

[2] In February 1286, 23li. of latten was purchased 'ad arma regis urlanda'. Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-1286, nos. 213, 214 and 2012. C. Blair, European Armour, p. 172.

sometimes covered with velvet, and ornamented with pearls, gold and silver.[1] One of the richest tournament equipments of the reign was the one provided for Piers Gaveston by Prince Edward in June 1307 for a French tournament: this was of green velvet decorated with pearls, with ailettes of gold representing Gaveston's arms.[2] On the other hand, tournament equipment differed little from war equipment. In both cases, practical functions were closely bound to display. Some aspects of warfare evolved under the influence of chivalric litterature and chivalric encounters: extravagant display, perhaps, was not only a feature of chivalric encounters, but also a mark of aristocratic warfare.

III Emblems and Signalling in War: Evolution of Marks of Recognition on the Battlefield and in Chivalric Encounters.

The diffusion of heraldry as a decorative device and as a means to advertise the individual was a general phenomenon in the

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[1] E101 371/21/53: privy seal letter to Ralph de Stokes (Carlisle, 8 May 1307): '...Por ce qe nous avons mande a Roger de Lenton' notre salier de Londres qil face faire hastivement deue seles dont les sieges et les pans soient de samyt vermail et les estruisz et les resnes et les chesteus des freins soient de soie rouge les queux Thomas notre chier fils enverra au fiz du Duk de Brabant. Vous mandoms qe au dit Roger facez liverer sanz delay samit vermail bon et fyn et autres choses qe a votre office appendent tant comme [mist] aura por les [geles] et freins avantditz...' Bridles for the king's horses were often gilded (E101 350/26: 1276-1277). In 1275-1276, pearls were purchased for a total cost of 100s to adorn a saddle made for the king (C47/3/11).

[2] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 22 923, fol. 11v. This is not an isolated instance of the tastes of Prince Edward for chivalric display: the accounts of his household record numerous instances of his bounty to knights.

XIIIth century.[1] However, some specific aspects of heraldry clearly had the practical purpose of identification, as well as being used to advertise both lineage and individual. Shields were used to that effect, but also banners and pennons, saddles, horse trappers and coat-armours [plates XV, XXVII, XIX].

A Banners and Pennons. Textiles played a major role on the battlefield in the form of banners and pennons. Pennons were small triangular flags, while banners were of a square or rectangular shape. Banners were probably of various sizes: large banners were made for the royal army, while individual knight bannerets seem to have displayed smaller banners. Cindon and linen were the materials most often used to make banners and pennons, together with bokeram, a cotton cloth.[2] Figures on them were probably most often painted and gilded, or cut out of contrasting cloths. In 1282, Adinet the tailor purchased four pieces of cindon 'ad faciendas cruces ad penucellos in Anglesia', probably on a background of white linen for the representation of the cross of St George.[3] Embroidery was also common. In 1275-

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[1] This has been recently studied by J. Cherry, 'Heraldry as Decoration in the Thirteenth Century', Harlaxton Medieval Studies I: England in the Thirteenth Century, ed. M. Ormrod (Stamford, 1991), pp. 123-34.

[2] E101 359/20 (1300-1301). E101 370/16, fol. 18 (1306-1307): 'clerico magne garderobe super cindone emendo pro vexillis faciendis cviijs'. E101 351/9 (1282-1283): bokeram and cindon purchased to make pennons and banners.

[3] E101 351/9. In 1301-1302, some cindon was delivered for the making of banners for Edward of Caernarvon: for 12 banners, probably bearing the leopards of England, 12 cloths of red cindon, 5 cloths of yellow cindon, and 2 cloths of blue cindon, these destined for the making of labels - or marks designed to distinguish the prince's arms from that of his father - were necessary (E101 361/17, mem. 2).

1276, leopards were embroidered on seven banners, for a total cost of 7s. In November 1283, Raymond of Bordeaux sold eight banners of gold, vexilla auro, to the great wardrobe, for the very high price of £13 10s.[1] These banners were certainly embroidered with threads of precious metal.

Emblems had to be rigid, not floating, so that the figures would be displayed to best advantage; it is probable that banners and pennons were lined with some other materials, such as carde, unless the figures appeared on both sides.[2] The cost of making banners and pennons was quite high: in 1300-1301, a banner with the arms of St Edward or of St Edmund cost 4s, excluding the price of the material. Work on a banner with the arms of St George, a simpler motif, was worth 1s. But the making of banners with the arms of the king was the most expensive, at 5s.[3] Pennons and banners had to be frequently renewed. Some, however, were kept in the stores after military campaigns.[4]

In 1300-1301, some of the banners and pennons made for the royal army bore the arms of St Edward, others the arms of St Edmund, of St George and of the king.[5] The arms of the king,

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[1] E101 351/9.

[2] E101 361/17 (1301-1302): 'Hugoni de Bongey pro gurles in baneriis et penucellis faciendis et pro trappis domini principis Wallie lineandis x peciae carde.'

[3] E101 359/20.

[4] E101 359/20 (1300-1301): 'recep[i] anno presenti pro vexillis faciendis xxxij cindon liber' xxx vexill[a] cindon et viij vexill[a] tele que remanebunt in stauro de anno vicesimo octavo.'

[5] E101 359/20. The arms of St Edward were a 'cross flory between five martlets, gold, on a field of azure, the arms of St Edmund three crowns of gold' on a field of azure, the arms of St George the red cross on the silver field (ill. in W.G. Perrin,

which were also called the arms of England, were the three leopards of gold on a field of gules.[1] They must have been similar to a piece of velvet, now kept in the Musée de Cluny, Paris, which is embroidered with the three leopards of England. The provenance of the piece is Altenberg on the Lahn, and it is supposed that it may have been left in Germany on the occasion of the visit of Edward III to Coblenz in 1338. The piece was then transformed into a chasuble, but it is thought that it was originally part of a secular piece, probably a horse-trapper.[2]

The chronicle of Bury St. Edmunds mentions that in May 1300 the king was at Bury St. Edmunds to make his devotions to the saint. A few days after the king's departure, the convent received the royal banner with a letter from Edward I requesting a mass to be said over the banner, and also that the flag should be placed in contact with the relics of the saint.[3] This was probably a gesture of religious propaganda.[4] This action, however, was not exceptional: objects were often placed upon or beside an altar, or the relics of a saint, so as to acquire a specific virtue, and it is probable that the religious sentiment behind the sanctification of the royal banner was quite genuine.

British Flags (Cambridge, 1922), plate 1).

[1] C47/3/11 (1275-1276): 'pro custura viij vexillorum de armis Anglie... pro broudacione leopardorum in predictis vexillis...'

[2] The Age of Chivalry, cat. no. 12.

[3] The Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds, ed. A. Gransden (London, 1964), p. 156.

[4] D.W. Burton, 'Politics, Propaganda and Public Opinion in the Reigns of Henry III and Edward I' (D. Phil, Oxford, 1985), p. 341.

The adoption of St Edward and St Edmund as patron saints of England was not new. It emphasized the links between the Plantagenet house and the Anglo-Saxon kings. As to the arms of St George, they were very widely used in the royal army. The soldier saint was obviously designated to be represented on the battlefield. However, St Michael, for whom the Plantagenets seem to have felt a certain predilection, is not represented. The choice of St George, as W.G. Perrin has pointed out, was due to the influence of the Crusading experience on Edward I.[1] But, already, at the battle of Evesham, the cross of St George was worn by the royalist troops, while the Montfortians wore the white cross.[2]

Other banners were present on the battlefield. In 1296, the banner of St John of Beverley appeared for the first time among the banners carried by the royal army against the Scots, and from November 1299 to mid-January 1300, the vicar of the church of St John of Beverley followed the royal army with the saint's banner.[3] In 1298, the king asked for the banner of St Cuthbert from the priory of Durham, for the expedition he was proposing to lead in order to raise the siege of Stirling Castle.[4] William de Gretham, a monk of Durham, was to follow the royal army

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[1] W.G. Perrin, British Flags, pp. 36-7.

[2] Flores Historiarum, iii, p. 6. C. Tyerman, England and the Crusades, 1095-1588 (Chicago and London, 1988), pp. 148-9.

[3] Foedera, I, ii, p. 848. Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae, p. 51. E101 369/11, fol. 194v (1305-1306): mention of dominus Bernard de Kirkeby 'morans in curia pro vexillo sancti Johannis de Beverlaco port[ando].'

[4] Ibid., p. 50. Edward had already ordered masses to be said before St Cuthbert's banner in 1296 (Foedera, I, ii, p. 847).

intermittently for several years.[1] The banner of St Cuthbert was again displayed with the royal army in June 1307, in the care of another monk from Durham, Thomas de Erlington.[2] Unlike the other banners representing the arms of saints, which were made for the occasion, the banners of St John of Beverley and St Cuthbert were relics. The saints were believed to be spiritually present on the battlefield, and this must have provided psychological strength as well as a means of propaganda. One may compare these banners with the oriflamme used by the kings of France on the battlefield, even if the oriflamme taken to military campaigns was not an actual relic, but a reproduction of the original oriflamme probably kept at St Denis.[3]

It has been stressed that these two banners were used only for the Scottish wars, and that if the banner of St John of Beverley had already been used on the battlefield, the presence of the banner of St Cuthbert was an innovation introduced by Edward I.[4] It is important to compare this with what we know of the royal devotion: the presence of these banners among the

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[1] He was with the army in December 1299, then again from 3 July to 24 August 1300. He received a new habitum from the king in September 1300 (Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae, pp. 50, 67 and 169). In June 1301, he left again Durham to join the royal army, until 8 October 1301, when he went back to his priory, again with a gift of clothes from the king (E101 359/20, fols. 18v and 21). In 1302-1303, he again spent some time with the court, at least from November 1302 until the end of August 1303; he was followed by his own little household, and all his expenses were paid for by the royal wardrobe (Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 8835, fol. 9v).

[2] E101 370/16, fol. 16.

[3] P. Contamine, 'L'Oriflamme de Saint-Denis aux XIVe et XVe Siècles. Etude de Symbolique Religieuse et Royale', Annales de l'Est, xxv (1973), 179-244.

[4] W.G. Perrin, British Flags, p. 34.

emblems carried by the royal army might be due to some special devotion of Edward I on his way to Scotland.

We also know from contemporary chronicles that Edward I used a banner of a golden dragon during the Welsh wars of 1282-1283:

'Ipse quoque... eligit sibi locum quendam, quo aureum draconem infixit - quem pro vexillo habebat -, ubi vulnerati et fatigati, si necessitas compulisset, quasi ad castrum, diffugissent.'[1]

Dragons were ancient battle-emblems. The dragon is mentioned in English sources for the reigns of Edmund Ironside, Stephen, Richard I, John and Henry III.[2] It was often fixed in the ground.[3] In 1282, for instance, a golden dragon was fixed in the ground to delimitate a space to which the wounded could retire.

The accounts of these dragon-emblems given by chroniclers are interesting. In 1190, the dragon was obviously a frightening emblem, unfurled as a sign of battle: 'rex Angliae procedit armatus, vexillum terribile draconis praefertur expansum, clangor tubae post regem movet exercitum.'[4] In 1216, John erected the

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[1] Johannis de Trokelowe, et Henrici de Blaneforde, monachorum s. Albani, necnon quorundam anonymorum, chronica et annales, ed. H.T. Riley (London, 1866), p. 40.

[2] The dragon seems to have been the personal emblem of King Stephen at the 'Battle of the Standard' in 1138: the English knights, thinking that the king was dead, retreated, but when they saw the dragon, they knew that the king was alive and went back to fight (Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I, ed. R. Howlett, iii (London, 1886), p. 197).

[3] In 1016, Edmund Ironside was viewing the battle from a place where both the 'standard' and the dragon were fixed. In 1216, John fixed his dragon near Winchester (Chronicon Anglicanum, auct. Radulpho de Coggeshale, ed. J. Stevenson (London, 1875), p. 182).

[4] Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I, iii, p. 400.

dragon as a sign of war, 'insigne bellicum draconem.' In 1245, the dragon was interpreted by the chronicler Henry Knighton as a sign for battle to begin, but it also marked the will of the king to bring about a merciless defeat of the Welsh: 'in tantum in iram motus est, quod signo draconis elevato suos procedere iussit in mortem eorum.'[1] This again might be compared with the interpretation given by the English to the presence of the oriflamme on the battlefield during the first battles of the Hundred Years War, which was seen as as sign that the French intended to give battle without mercy, and not to take prisoners.[2]

Banners and pennons had strong symbolic associations. They signalled the beginning and the end of an encounter. In case of a defeated ennemy, banners symbolised the surrender: in March 1283, Adinet the tailor received 40s for ten pieces of bokeram purchased by him in order to make pennons and banners for the Welsh coming for the peace.[3] How many banners and pennons were displayed on the battlefield? In 1276-1277, for the campaign against the Welsh, the tailors of the great wardrobe made forty-eight banners and 400 pennons bearing the arms of England and several hundreds of pennons and bracers with the arms of St

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[1] Chronicon Henrici Knighton, ed. J.R. Lumby, i (London, 1889), p. 234. Annales Monastici, ed. H.R. Luard, iii (London, 1866), p. 229: other mention of the use of the dragon by Henry III (1264).

[2] P. Contamine, 'L'Oriflamme de Saint-Denis aux XIVe et XVe Siècles', p. 233.

[3] E101 351/9.

George, some of them destined for foot soldiers.[1] In 1300-1301, for the Scottish expedition, six banners with the arms of St Edward, six with the arms of St Edmund, six with the arms of St George and twelve with the arms of the king were made, together with 430 pennons with the arms of St George and fifty pennons with the king's arms.[2] This reflected the division of the host into small groups of combattants, marshalled around banners and pennons.

In the unit headed by the king, there were always five banners: two with the arms of England, one with the arms of St George, one with the arms of St Edward and one with those of St Edmund.[3] The standard bearer of the king probably carried the banner with the arms of England.[4] Banners were also provided for companies headed by an earl or a knight banneret, while pennons were given to simple knights and probably to squires and sergeants. In 1300-1301, banners with the arms of the king were also given to John de Botetourte, the king's chamberlain, to Ralph de Manton for the royal wardrobe, and to the staff of the king's chamber. The earl of Dunbar received four banners, three with the arms of the three patron saints, one with the arms of the king. William Gettor, at the head of a maritime expedition

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[1] C47/3/11 and 15. An archer's bracer of cuir-bouilli survives from the early XVIth century. Bracers were meant to protect the hand of the archer. The bracer is decorated with a badge which may also have had a function of identification (Henry VIII. A European Court in England, no. xi. 37).

[2] E101 359/20.

[3] Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae, p. 64 (1299-1300). Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7966A, fol. 39 (1300-1301).

[4] In the Welsh war of 1282-1283, for instance, the vexillarius regis was William de Felton (E101 351/9).

leaving from Berwick with victuals, also received several banners, which were probably displayed on the ships. Warhorses were sent to graze in various parts of England, under the direction of the earl of Gloucester, of Aymer de Valence and of John of Brittany, who all received a set of banners.[1] Garrisons also received banners and pennons: in 1301-1302, for instance, the garrison of Berwick received banners and pennons with the arms of St George.[2]

It is important to stress the multiplicity of the emblems unfurled by the armies of Edward I. However, the cross of St George and the leopards were predominant. They both seem to have had a wider significance. This is particularly the case for the leopards, which are described both as 'arms of England' and 'arms of the king' in the accounts: the Plantagenet familial emblem was used to denote the kingdom. It is possible that continuous warfare helped to develop the identification of the kingdom with one or two specific emblems. The banner of St George and the leopards may have played a transitional role during the late XIIIth and the early XIVth century, before the coming of uniforms and emblems reflecting the nature of the unit in the XVth century.[3]

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[1] E101 359/20.

[2] E101 361/17, mem. 2.

[3] M.G.A. Vale, War and Chivalry. Warfare and Aristocratic Culture in England, France and Burgundy at the End of the Middle Ages (London, 1981), pp. 147-51. It is not certain that the vassals of the king were allowed to display their own banner if they were present in the royal army on the grounds of their feudal service. But they must have done so if they came voluntarily.

B Defensive Armour and Signalling in Battle.

The emblems painted on the coat-armour had a practical function: they enabled the bearer to be recognized.[1] The attitude of the Scots at the battle of Methven, in June 1306, suggests that the practical function of the coat-armour was not a myth: Robert Bruce ordered his men to wear a kind of white garment over their coat-armour so that they should not be identified:

'Ex precepto enim et ordinacione regis eorum omnes armati in equis habuerunt supra omnia arma vestem lineam ita quod omnes quasi in camiseis albis albi viderentur nec discerni poterat quisque vel qualia deferret arma.'[2]

The use of heraldic emblems on equestrian equipment also had several functions. They were a mark of proprietorship, a decoration, but above all an important means of identifying the rider in battle. The whole of the horse's accoutrements were thus marked: heraldic pendants were attached to the harness, heraldic emblems figured on the saddle and on the saddle-cloth.[3] Testers and saddle-cloths were often decorated with heraldic emblems. In 1275-1276, four saddle-cloths made for some of the king's horses were 'powdered' with shields representing the arms of England,

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[1] It has been suggested that armorial coat-armour was rarely represented until the XIVth century (C. Blair, European Armour, p. 28). However, the mural paintings of the Painted Chamber at Westminster, for instance, offer numerous examples of heraldic coat-armours.

[2] The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough, ed. H. Rothwell, Camden Series, vol. lxxxix (1957), p. 368.

[3] J.B.W. Perkins et al., London Museum: Medieval Catalogue (London, 1940), pp. 118-20 for heraldic pendants: A 1360 (lion rampant), C 484 (arms of England).

while four others were 'powdered' with leopards.[1] The 'powdering' effect was obtained by the application of shields onto the ground of the cloth.[2] The fact that these shields were purchased separately suggests that they were made of some kind of metal, or that they were separetely embroidered or painted.[3]

Conclusion

The reign of Edward I witnessed an intensification of warfare. This had many consequences. One of them was an evolution in armament, and in the use of emblems on the battlefield. The king's wars were marked by an increasing use of royal emblems beside familial coats-of-arms. This was partly due to technical factors, notably to the fact that the use of numerous coats-of-arms made recognition difficult, but it may have been the prelude to changes in the organization of war which accompanied the emergence of the modern State.

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[1] C47/3/11. The following year, 6 saddle-cloths of red cloth 'powdered' with leopards were made for the magni equi of the king, certainly destriers (C47/3/11). This decoration was not reserved for war or ceremonial horses. In 1276-1277, pack-horses had saddle-cloths ornamented with the arms of the king (E101 350/26).

[2] In 1276-1277, 72 shields representing the arms of England were purchased for a total cost of 67s 'ad ponendum super j duodenam hucearum de canabo' (C47/3/11).

[3] The Museum of London owns a series of bronze discs decorated with coats-of-arms; for instance, there is one bronze disc decorated with the arms of Thomas of Brotherton (J.B.W. Perkins et al., London Museum: Medieval Catalogue, pp. 120-3 and no. A 2541 (plate xx, 2)).

Conclusion

Court culture is not a very well-known dimension of the reign of Edward I. The chroniclers of the period were probably less descriptive of, and less interested in, court life than their predecessors. This lack of narrative documentation is counter-balanced, however, by the survival of a group of artistic and archeological documents and, above all, of a large proportion of royal financial accounts, which give an insight into the material life of the court.

One of the main interests of the wardrobe and household accounts lies in the detailed picture they give us of the use of textile materials and furs in aristocratic society. These played a significant role: they provided warmth and comfort, they were used as a means to convey the notions of riches and power, and for multiple symbolic uses, from the assertion of service relationships to recognition and signalling in battle.

This thesis forms an attempt to intepret and understand the information found in the wardrobe accounts, and to place it in the context of the evolution of cloth-manufacturing techniques, trade, society and politics. The first chapters analysed and defined the materials mentioned in the accounts, the manner in which they were provided to the court by merchants who came to have a privileged relationship with the royal government, and the work that was done on these materials by craftsmen from the court itself or from the towns.

The central issue of the place of costume in court society was then addressed. It was shown that, in a society where dress

played an important role as sign of status, the clothing of the various groups within the court probably identified them. Costume came also to be used as a visual means of advertizing the bond between the king and his men. Finally, textiles had a specific function in the king's patronage, by way of oblations to churches and shrines and of liveries to aspirants to knighthood. Also, the intensification of warfare under Edward I resulted in a growing use of textiles for logistical purposes as well as on the battlefield.

It seems possible to draw some conclusions concerning the essential characteristics of this period. The late XIIIth century witnessed a series of technical changes in the production of textiles, in accordance with fashion, which favoured bright colours. The international character of fashion and trade during the period was very pronounced: imports seem to have been largely predominant in the consumption of the aristocracy, while French fashions probably set the trend.

These developments may be linked to the reliance of Edward I on Italian merchant companies, coinciding with a transformation in the geography of English trade, in which London established a larger share in the distribution of luxury goods, to the detriment of fairs. This development was also paralleled by a growth in the financial means of the English crown, in conjunction with ambitious military policies.

One of the main developments of the period, however, concerns the use of costume in the relationships between lord and retainer. We argued that liveries acquired a greater symbolic dimension during this period: this was probably due to the

adoption of colour-coding on costume. It seems, however, that the use of livery dress in such a way as to challenge the authority of the king belongs to a later period, and that liveries were not yet a political issue.

In recent years, the symbolism of power has received renewed attention from historians, as has the study of the places of power - for instance, the distribution of space in aristocratic residences, or the spaces where authority was best expressed - and of the anthropology of power. The history of material culture is one way in which to approach medieval power-structures and, within this context, the study of textile materials and furs may prove to be a valuable approach.

Appendix 1: documents.

1 Letter from a buyer of the great wardrobe, concerning a purchase of cloth made at the fair of St. Ives. E101 366/16/8 (Temp. Edward I).

'A son seignur. Tut ceo quil siet et poet de honurs et de reverence. Sire, ore a un an a la feire de seint Ive par defaute qe ceo ny poei mie trouver tiels draps come il me coveneit aver por la garderobe es meins de gentz de ceste terre. Si achatei ieo de un marchaunt estrange de outre mier draps a la mountaunce de xxli xiijs iiijd. de queux deniers il feust pleinement paie par Willame de Combemartin a ma requeste. de quei sire ieo vous pri sil vous plet qe vous envoillez faire le dit Willame estre paie come il le vaut bien ou faire quil eneit allouance sur son aconte du temps quil feust viscounte de Loundres. Sire, nostre seignur vous done bone vie et lunge. Escrit' a Loundres le xx iour de may. Le dit Willame nad nule bille de moy ne autre fait fors taunt qe ie ai escrit la dite dette en mon papir.'

2 Correspondance between the treasurer of the wardrobe and the Bellardi. E101 371/21 (Temp. Edward I).

no. 55: 'Wauter par la grace de deu evesque de Cestre a Johan Vanne salutz et bone amour. Pur ce qe y covendroit avoir deux chambres litz et cortines pur mes seignors les enfauntz le roy soloun ce qest contenu en la bille qe nous vous enveoms enclose de deinz cestes lettres nous vous prioms qe vous facez livere a Thomasyn de Virzon taillour ma dame la royne sendal, carde et cotoun et quant qe apent a la besoigne et vous enserrez presentement respundu du pris de ce qe vous lui baudrez pur les choses avantdites. Saluz. Escrites a Ludegarshale le iiii iour de Augst.'

no. 56: 'Wauter par la grace de deu evesque de Cestre a Johan Vanne et a ses compaignouns marchaundz de la compaignie des Ballardz de Luk. Saluz et cheres amistez. Pur ce qe notre seignor le roy veut qe ma dame, dame Marie sa fille, eyt un lit de vert de la suite des litz de ses freres, nous vous prioms qe vous facez liverer au portur des lettres pur la avantdit lit ma dame les parceles desouz escrites ausi bien celes qe ne sount mie de votre mester come celes qi sount, cest asavoir x chiefs de vert sendal pur cortines, iiii pieces de vert samit pur coutepoynte et iii pieces pur materaz de plus espes e plus large, un covertour de gris qi soit blaunk et fyn de xxiiii tires de long et de xxxiiii tires de le et xvii verges de bon pers delie, moille et retundu, xii tapitz vertz bons et fins dont les viii soient larges pur lit et les iiii seient bankers ove escuions Dengleterre et despayne as chiefs de touz les tapitz. Pur cortines et pur le revers de la coutepoynte xii pieces de bele deliee vert carde. E sachez qe nous ferroms votre gre pur totes les choses desusdites a notre prochaine venue a Loundres. A deu qi vous gard. Escrites a Lychefend le xviiii iour de Augst.'

no. 57: 'Johan de Drokenefford, gardein de la garderobe notre seigneur le roi: a sire Raus Destokes, clerk de la grant

garderobe notre dit seigneur le roi: salutz. Por ceo qe levesque de Cestre ad mende a Johan Vanne e ses cumpaignons quil delivrent samit, cendaus et autres choses qui covienent por litz, curtines et autres appareillementz por la chambre ma dame marie fille le dit notre seigneur le roi, sicome plus pleinement est contenuz es lettres le dit evesque et dautre part meismes levesque ad mandez a meismes celui Johan et ses compaignons quil delivrent deus litz ove latir por mons. Thomas et sire Edmon fuiz notre seigneur le roi avant dit sicome piert par les lettres meismes levesque. Vous mank de part le roi qe de totes les faciez acounter ovesqes eus pleinement. Et ieo vous enferai avoir due allouance sur votre acounte. Escrit a Loundres le xxv iour Daugst.'

3 Correspondance concerning Stephen de Stanham. E101 360/2 (December 1299).

no. 5: 'Edward par la grace de dieu roi Dengleterre seigneur Dirlande et ducs Daquitaine a Estynone de Stanham gardeyn de notre manoir de Clyve ou a son lieutenant. Salutz. Pour ce qe nous avons entendu qe li ad aucunes defautes en les chaumbres et les autres mesons de notre manoir avauntdit. Vous mandoms et chargeoms fermement enioignantz qe hastivement veues ces lettres facez appa- railler et redrescer les chambres e les autres mesons du dit manoir si que eles soient prestes et bien apparaillez avant notre venue illueqes qe serra denz les trois iours apres ceste feste de la Typhaine et qe nous y penssoms honestement gisir. Et les coustages qe vous y mettres quant nous les saveroms vous ferroms duement paier de notre garderobe. Done souz notre prive seal a Norhampton le xxx iour de Decembre lan de notre regne xxviiii.'

no. 6: 'In emendacione domorum apud Clyve per Stephanum de Stanham xxx die Decembris per litteram de privato sigillo ls.et in emendacione [ ]tallorum in eodem manerio iis. In uno gotere facto ibidem xxid. In expensis Willelmi de Tornton ibidem certa predicta fac' in s.
S:lvis viiid.'

4 Privy seal letter concerning a purveyance for a ceremony of dubbing. E101 369/4/19 (October 1306).

'Edward par la grace de Dieu roi Dengleterre seigneur Dirlaunde et ducs Daquitaine a notre bien ame Johan de Carleton salutz. Por ce qe nous avons entendu quil y ad venuz per meer jusque a Noef Chastel sur Tyne draps et autres choses covenables pur apparaill de faire nouveaux chevaliers vous mandons qe vous y facez purveer et prendre de draps et autres choses q[ ] mest auront por tres apparaill cest assaver por deux fuiz de contes et por quatre autres baneretz et simples chivaliers si qe mesme lapparaill fait en notre garderobe denz les six iours de la presante de ces lettres au plus tard. Et ce en nulle manere ne soit laissez. Donne souz notre prive seal a Lanrecost le xix jour doctobre lan de notre regne xxxiiij.'

5 Payment of Andrew Brotherlamb on the new custom on wool. E101 366/16/9.

'Johan de Drokenesford gardein de la Garderobe le Roy a ses bien amez Richard de Dockyng et Lambert de Seint Omer cuilleurs de la novele custume a lenne salutz et bone amour. Por ce qe vous estes assignez de respoundre en garderobe des issues de la dite custume ausi bien des quarante deniers du sak de leyne come des treis deniers de la [lime] et le Roy est tenuz a Andreu Brotherlamb en grosse somme de deniers por draps de lui achatez par sire Raus de Stokes clerc de la grant Garderobe en la feire de seint Botolf lan trentisme second vous mandoms depar le Roy qe au dit Andreu facez paier cent marcs des issues de la dite custume le pluis enhaste qe vous porrez sur la dette qi lui est due sicome est desusdit. Retenantz du dit Andreu ses lettres overtes tesmoignances la receite de cuex deners, et nous vous feroms sur ce avoir notre lettre daquitance par la quele vous en av'ez due allouance sur vostre aconte. en tesmoignance de queu chose nous vous enveoms cestes nos letteres overtes. Don' a la seint Botolf le xiiij iour de Juyl. Lan du regne le Roy Edward trentisme second.'

6 Ordinance for the household of Elizabeth, countess of Holland, 24 February 1301. Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7966A, fol. 187.

'Ordinatio facta per dominum W. Coventr' et Lich' Episcopum, domini Regis thesaurum, de domina Elizabeth comitissa Holland[ie] et de familia eiusdem que percip[iunt] robas de Rege xxiiij die Februarii anno regni eiusdem xxviiij videlicet.

Predicta domina Elizabeth percipit robas a modo per Reginam et telam lineam pro lintheaminibus camisiis et aliis necessariis de garderoba Regine.

Domina et domicelle

Domina Johanna de Mereworth Domicella Alicia Bretoun Elizabeth de Waterynge Maria de Flaundres Elizabeth filia domine Egidie	que percipiunt robas bis per annum

Domicella domine Johanne de Mereworth comedet in aula tantum.

Miles

Dominus Robertus de Hausted miles percipit feodum et robas de Rege.

Capellanus

unus capellanus. Qui percipit vadias per diem iiijd et duas robas

per annum.

Clericus

Stephanus de Brawod clericus qui percipit vadias pro duobus equis et uno garcione et duas robas per annum.

Valletti

Huwardus ad serviendum de cultell[o] Johannes Malemeyns ad serviendum de cupa	Qui percipiunt vadias pro duobus equis et uno garcione et duas robas per annum.

Henricus cissor ad custod[iendam] Garderobam dicte comitisse Londoniis qui percipit vadias pro uno equo et uno garcione et duas robas per annum.

Florencius nuncius qui percipit vadias pro uno equo et uno garcione et rob[am] per annum.

Willelmus de Rolleston marescallus percipit vadias pro uno equo et uno garcione et duas robas per annum.

Cocus Willelmus cocus Lotrix Alicia lotrix	Qui percipiunt vadias pro uno equo et uno garcione et rob[as] per annum.

Scutifer domini Roberti de Hausted. Qui comedet in aula tantum.

Officiarii

Isebrand camerarius Johannes currarius Petrus de Garderoba Robinettus de panetria et butillaria	Qui percipiunt robas et calciamenta sicut valletti de officiis

Henricus de camera sometar[ius] de lecto domine. Qui comedet in aula et percipit robas et calciamenta.

Hermannus de Holland alter sometar[ius] de lecto domine. Qui percipit vadias, robas, et calciamenta sicut palefridar[ius] et custodiet duos equos de lecto.

Camerar[ii], sometar[ii] et palefridar[ii]

Baldewynus de camera Willelmus clericus de capella unus ferrator qui custodit	Qui percipiunt vadias et unam robam per annum et calciamenta.

somer[ii] de panetria et butillaria
Henricus preequitator currus
Johannes carectar[ius]
unus preequitator longe carecte
septem palefridarii

Tres garciones pro tribus domicellis qui percipiunt robas et calciamenta sicut palefridar[ii].

unus garcio domine Johanne de Mereworth unus garcio domicelle domine Johanne de Mereworth	Qui percipiunt vadias tantum.

Parvus Willelmus cum garcione comedet in aula.
unus perambulator currus qui percipit per diem jd.
unus garcio in garderoba sua qui percipit liberacionem suam, rob[as] et calciamenta.
unus garcio in coquina sub coco qui comedet in aula et percipit rob[as] et calciamenta.'

7 Inventory of the tents kept at Berwick (C47 3/32/3: undated document).

dorso: ceo est le cirograff[ ] des tentes e des paveillons por le Roy feie a Berewic.

recto:
-une sale graunde de [ ] lung tote double desuis et desuous [ ]
-une graunt chaumbre pur [ ] pietz de loung de [ ]
-une chaumbre de retre [ ] de lung trebble desuius et d[ ]
-une chaumbre [ ]pietz de loung de la [ ] de iij chaumbres eit bone.
-une chaumbre de xxx pietz [ ] ou il det [ ]garderobe de soloun la graundeur de la chaumbre.
-une chapele de lxx pietz de loung apo[ ]
-une chapele pur le roy de xxx pietz de l[ ]E [s][l][l]entour la chaumbre de[ ]desuius e desutz de la suite de meisme la chambre.
-deux chambres [ ]p[ ]son[ ][ ]treble desuius e desutz.
-[ ]j garderobe chescune de xxxx pietz e deux petites meesons[ ]cun de xx pietz de lie chescune treble desuius et desutz et de deux indes.

-une meson pur panetrie de xxx pietz double desuius e desutz.
-une meison por botelerie de xxxx pietz double desuius e desoutz.
-deus meesons por larder lune de xxxx pietz e lautre de xxx pietz double desuis et desoutz.
-treys meesons roundes chescunes de xx pietz de lie cest asaver une por panetrie, une autre por butelerie, la tierce por ladier por la bouche le roy.
-un dressour pur la graunt sale de xxx pietz, un autre pur la

chaumbre le roy de xx pietz.
-une meeson por poletrie de xxx pietz de lie rounde.
-une meeson por sauserie de xx pietz de lie rounde.
-une meeson pur esquilerie de xxx pietz de lie rounde.
-une meeson pur le office de la sale de xx pietz de lie rounde.
-une meeson pur le office de la chaumbre de la suyte.
-deux meesons pur le office de la mareschaucie chescune de xxxx pietz de lung.
-treis meesons pur les chivaus du cors le roy chescune de lx pietz de loung treble desuius e desoutz.
-dys meesons pur les chivaus de la commune chescune de l pietz de loung double desuis e desoutz.
-dys meesons roundes chescune entre xx et xxx pietz double desuis et desooutz aucune coverte de carde e aucune noun.

-uncore pur la commune une petite sale de cxxxx pietz.
-une chaumbre pur le roy la ou il mangera de lxxx pietz.
-une chaumbre de retrete de l pietz.
-une autre chambre de retrete de xxxv pietz.
-une chaumbre la ou le roy deit gysir de xxx pietz.
Cestes meesons seient de [antiel] double come les autres desuis e del oneraig ne fet a penser.

-quatre meesons roundes chescune de xxv pietz a la maniere des autres desuis.
-deus chapeles lune de l pietz e lautre de xxx pietz.
-quatre petites meesons roundes chescunce de xx pietz de lie, cest asaver une por panetrie, une autre por botelerie, la tierce pur larder e la quatre pur quisine.
-e dressors pur lur [aferaunt] sicome devaunt.

Appendix 2: Whitsuntide 1306.

On 25 March 1306, at Scone, Robert Bruce was crowned King of the Scots. The first step taken by Edward I after hearing this news was to plan a new expedition to Scotland. Very soon, he also decided to organize a ceremony at Westminster where Prince Edward was to receive the duchy of Aquitaine and the order of knighthood. Letters were sent to all sheriffs at the beginning of April, to proclaim that all potential knights who wished to receive the order of knighthood from the king should come to Westminster for Whitsuntide.[1] Nearly three hundred candidates responded. The ceremony at Whitsuntide was an important event, also marked by the weddings of the earl of Warenne with the daughter of the count of Bar, of the earl of Arundel with the daughter of William de Warenne, and of Hugh Despenser with the daughter of Joan of Acres.[2]

Provisions were made by several of the king's merchants for the ceremony. On 19 April, £416 12s was paid by the wardrobe for

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[1] The text of the letter is published in Rymer, Foedera (1816-1830), I, ii, p. 983.

[2] Several narrative sources describe or mention the festivities: F. Nicholai Triveti... Annales sex Regum Anglie, ed. T. Hog (London, 1845), pp. 408-9. Chroniques de London depuis l'an 44. Hen. III jusqu'à l'an 17 Ed. III, ed. G.J. Aungier, Camden Society, xxviii (1844), p. 31. Flores Historiarum, ed. H.R. Luard, iii (London, 1890), pp. 131-2. 'Annales Londienses' in Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II, ed. W. Stubbs, ii (London, 1882), p. 146. Chronica monasterii de Melsa, ed. E.A. Bond, ii (London, 1867), p. 277. The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft, in French Verse, from the earliest period to the death of king Edward I, ed. T. Wright, ii (London, 1868), p. 368. The event has been analysed in detail in C. Bullock-Davies, Menestrellorum Multitudo. Minstrels at a Royal Feast (Cardiff, 1978), pp. xvi-xli. The present analysis focuses on the place of textiles and furs in the ceremony.

various purchases for the event.[1] The sheriffs of London, William Cosyn and Reginald de Thunderle, also received some money for expenses undertaken for the preparation of the festivities. Reginald de Thunderle was one of the king's merchants, and it is probable that he provided woollens and mercery goods to prepare the dubbing ceremony. On 19 April, Paganello de Podio, a member of the Bellardi company, received £174 from the wardrobe, 'super quibusdam providenciis pro milicia principis faciendis'; the Bellardi received several payments in cash, amounting to £1 014 by 21 May.[2] They often acted as mercers for the court, and they must have provided most of the silk needed for the occasion. A letter from the king to the sheriff of Southampton and Wiltshire shows that other materials, such as woollen cloth, linen and canvas, were to be purchased or purveyed in fairs by two clerks of the king, Elye de Wheteley and John de Carleton.[3]

Works were undertaken at Westminster under the surveillance of Master Peter, the king's surgeon: he received several prests of money to make some large tents (halae) at Westminster.[4] Works also took place at the New Temple, where most of the future knights spent their vigil night: John de Pelham, clerk of the Prince's kitchen, received £22 14d ob. to make tents there.[5] It

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[1] E403/132, mem. 1.

[2] E403/132, mem. 1 and 2.

[3] C66/127 (Patent Roll 34 Edward I, mem. 29), 15 April 1306.

[4] 100s (12 April), 100s (27 April), 100s (4 May), £10 (15 April), 10m. (3 may), 40s (10 May)... E403/132, mem. 1 and Harleian 152, fol. 1 and fol. 4v. Timber was transported to Westminster for the making of the halae.

[5] Brit. Lib. Harleian 152, fol. 5v.

was initially decided that the Prince of Wales would spend the vigil night at the New Temple as well, but this arrangement was upset by an order of the king, who wished him to spend it in the church of Westminster abbey.[1] The prince was probably surrounded by most of his retainers, who received specific liveries for the occasion.[2]

The text of the letters sent to the shires to summon potential knights, and the account of the ceremony in the Flores Historiarum, make it clear that the future knights were to come to the great wardrobe and receive there the necessary materials for the ceremony.[3] An account of the great wardrobe for the liveries of mercery goods survives in part for 1305-1306: it lists the silks that were distributed to the recipients for the making of a cointise and of a coverlet for the bed of the vigil night.[4] This document is traditionally dated to the reign of Edward II, and there is an inscription on the dorse which seems to confirm this: 'Liberaciones samitorum, pannorum ad aurum et aliorum facte per Radulphum de Stokes clericum magne garderobe illustris regis Anglie anno regni regis Edwardi filii regis

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[1] Ibid., fol. 1v: 'Johanni de Pelham clerico de prestito super halis faciendis apud Novum Templum pro mora domini Edwardi filii regis principis Wallie ibidem ad festum Pentecoste proximum futurum'. Flores Historiarum, iii, pp. 131-2: 'sed princeps Walliae praecepto regis cum praecelsis tironibus fecit vigilias suas in ecclesia Westmonasterii.'

[2] E101 369/11, fol. 185v.

[3] 'Quod omnes illi, qui milites non sunt, et milites esse voluerint, veniant London' citra diem pentecostes proximo futurum, ad apparatus suus, eis in hoc casu necessarios, de garderoba nostra recipiendos, de dono nostro; ut arma militaria de nobis ibidem suscipere valeant dicto die.'(Rymer, Foedera, I, ii, p. 983).

[4] C47/3/30.

Edwardi [primi].' But the content concerns the year 1305-1306 and there is, inscribed at the top of the first membrane, 'xxxiiij'. This is probably the missing part of another document which lists the deliveries of silk for 1305-1306.[1]

The knights had to have their apparell tailored in London workshops, but the cost of tailoring was partly met by the wardrobe: John Drake, probably a London tailor, received 36s 10d for the making of an apparell for William Biset and his brother.[2] Many details in the accounts concern the equipment of Prince Edward. His cointise was to be of red velvet; he also had a tunic of yellow velvet for the vigil night, and a cloak of purple velvet, and it is likely that the choice of these colours was intended to recall the colours of the prince's arms. His first bed was entirely of red velvet: two coverlets, a cover and a [comech], while the second bed had a coverlet of red velvet, with a cover and a [comech] of green samite.[3]

The feast following the dubbing ceremony was carefully prepared. Cloths of gold were hung on the wall behind the king and the prince.[4] The swans on which the knights swore their oath to fight Robert Bruce and avenge the murder of Comyn were probably gilded:

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[1] E101 363/20.

[2] E101 370/16, fol. 4v: 'clerico magne garderobe per manus Johannis Drake recipientis denarios pro factura hernesii Willelmi Biset et fratris sui contra festum Pentecostem anno xxxiiij pro milicia eorumdem xxxvjs xd.'

[3] C47/3/30, mem. 1. The [comech] was perhaps a canopy.

[4] C47/3/30: 'domino Thome de Bykenore ad extendendum pro pariete retro dominos regem et principem dum sedebunt ad prandum in festo Pentecostes apud Westmonasterium iiij panni ad aurum in canabo.'

'Tunc allati sunt in pompatica gloria duo cigni vel olores ante regem, phalerati retibus aureis vel fistulis deauratis, desiderabile spectaculum intuentibus.'[1]

This is confirmed by the wardrobe accounts:

'Galrido Mere papillonario regis de prestito in denariis sibi liberatis pro diversis rebus emendis pro duobis cignis apparandis et queintestandis contra festum milicie principis Wallie ad scaccarium xxx die Maii lxxviiijs jd.'[2]

From this it is not clear whether the swans were actually a dish, or an artificial device.[3] Artificial birds sometimes appear in romances, in the form of prizes for success in tournaments.[4] The key to the description is perhaps to be found in medieval cookery books, for instance in one of the recipes included in a manuscript probably dating from the XIVth century:

'Take and flee off the skynne with the fedurs tayle and the nekke, and the hed theron; then take the skyn with all the fedurs, and lay hit on a table abrode; and strawe theron grounden comyn; then take the pecokke, and roste hym, and endore hym with rawe zolkes of egges; and when he is rosted take hym of, and let hym coole awhile, and take and sowe hym in his skyn, and gilde his combe, and so serve hym forthe with the last cours.'[5]

From this it is quite clear that the swans were actually a dish. The meaning and origins of the vows on the swans are less obvious: Graeme Ritchie thought that the idea of such a vow was suggested to Edward I by the bishop of Liège, Thiébaut de Bar,

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[1] Flores Historiarum, iii, pp. 131-2.

[2] Brit. Lib. Harleian 152, fol. 5v and E101 362/20.

[3] N. Denholm-Young, 'The Song of Carlaverock, p. 124. M. Prestwich, Edward I, p. 121. C. Bullock-Davies, Menestrellorum Multitudo, pp. xxxiv-xxxv.

[4] For instance in the Roman de Perceforest, I, ch. clv: 'Comment le chevalier au Daulphin trouva moyen d'acomplir son voeu pour la belle Camille et conquesta le beau Paon artificiel.'

[5] A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household made in divers Reigns from King Edward III to King William and Queen Mary, also Receipts in Ancient Cookery, ii (London, 1790), p. 439.

who was present at the ceremony.[1] Thiébaut de Bar inspired Jacques de Longuyon for the Voeux du Paon and was also at the source of the Voeux de l'Epervier. But there is actually no proof that it was he who suggested the idea.[2] As to the choice of the swans, it was probably dictated by the fact that the swan was a noble dish, a fact which is quite clear for instance in the Voeux du Paon; the association with Arthurian literature or even with the Tony or Thony family seems more distant.[3]

The immediate cause of the mass dubbing of Whitsuntide 1306 was clearly the situation in Scotland. John of London reports that the king wanted 'to augment his army in Scotland'. Knights were needed for the royal army: they were more heavily armed than the rest of the cavalry, and the dubbing of a squire was often the start of a career in arms, so that experienced officers could be recruited among knights rather than among squires. From this point of view, the mass dubbing of 1306 may have been part of a policy that, together with distraints of knighthood and the statute Quia emptores, aimed at keping a relatively high number of knights in the country.

The debate, however, may have centred too greatly on these issues. Edward I did not patronize new knights by providing them with military equipment. To a large extent, the purpose behind the liveries given at ceremonies of knighthood was to enhance the

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[1] The Buik of Alexander, ed. R.L. Graeme Ritchie, i (Edinburgh and London, 1925), p. xxxv.

[2] B.J. Whiting, 'The Vows of the Heron', Speculum, xx (1945), 261-78.

[3] A.R. Wagner, 'The Swan Badge and the Swan Knight', Archaeologia, xcvii (1959), 127-38. N. Denholm-Young, 'The Song of Carlaverock', p. 124, n. 1.

majesty of the king, not to enrich the knights, and this may be linked with the accusation of meanness often brought against Edward I. Furthermore, were prestigious liveries a strong inducement to take up the order of knighthood? It does not seem that it was so for a social category who could in any case afford it: a real financial incentive would have been the delivery of the whole military equipment, warhorse included, and, as far as we know, this does not seem to have taken place. An event such as the massdubbing of Whitsuntide 1306 was perhaps more an appeal to a sense of social exclusivity and shared chivalric culture.

Indeed, the ceremony of Whitsuntide 1306 was, in some respects, clearly an exercise in propaganda. A crowd of minstrels were present there, and received gifts from the king. The festivities were probably marked by the organization of a tournament or a Round Table, an event designed to attract the noble youth of the kingdom: Geoffrey Reginald received money from the wardrobe 'pro apparatu facto pro duobus turris parandis diversis quirrasis pro festo milicie principis.'[1]

Dubbings created a special bond between the lord and the new knight. At Whitsuntide 1306, this bond was reinforced by the oaths on the Swans that took place during the feast following the ceremony. There, the purpose of the oath was to bind the new knights to the conquest of Scotland. As Denholm-Young suggested, the mass dubbing perhaps aimed to create a specific group of knights, almost an order, especially devoted to the Scottish

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[1] E403/132, mem. 2.

campaign.[1] However, one should be careful in following such an interpretation: there is no evidence for the existence of secular orders of chivalry before the 1330s and the wide nature of the appeal seems to contradict the idea of an exclusive order.

Whatever the case, Whitsuntide 1306 seems to have been a success. Edward I planned yet another mass dubbing ceremony for the spring of the following year, but it does not seem that this ever took place.[2] On the whole, the royal policy was probably dictated by political and military considerations. The relationships between the king and the aristocracy had suffered from some strain during the previous years. The decision to stage such a ceremony was perhaps interpreted as a mark of goodwill from the king. It also reinforced the image of Edward's kingship as the greatest patron of chivalry in the kingdom.

Unpublished Documents.

1 E101 369/4/7 (Wolsey, 3 May 1306).

'Margaret par la grace de Dieu reine Dengleterre dame Dirlaunde et duchesse Daquitaine a notre chier clerc Raus de Stokes clerc de la grant garderobe notre treschier seigneur le roi saluz et bon amour. Pur ceo que notre chier vallet Thomas Bardolf fait [purvoier] sa liveree pur sa maignie si tan le portour de cestes lettres vous dirra plus pleynement de par lui vous prions [especianment] qon droit [cesle] purvueance faire voillez mettre tot le bon aide et consail qe vous purrez pur lamour de nous et pur ceo qe notre trechier seignour le roi vous maunde plus pleinement par ses lettres sa volunte en droit del attir le dit Thomas pour sa chivalerie le quel nous amions mout que fust bon suffisaunt et vous prioms derechief qe son dit mandement facez acomplir en tieu manere qe le dit Thomas senpuisse loer et nous vous [enpuissoms] bon gre savoir qar nous avoms ses busoignes mout a coer et [ ] [ ] vous gard.'

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[1] N. Denholm-Young, 'The Tournament in the Thirteenth Century', p. 119, n. 1.

[2] Letter from the king to the clerk of the great wardrobe, 24 November 1306. The text of the letter is edited in appendix.

2 E101 370/11/12. 'Por ce qe nous avoms mandez en Irlande a faire publier illueqes qe touz les grantz seigneurs et autres de celes parties qui voudront recevire de nous lorde de chevalier viegnent a nous a Cardoill a la feste de la Chandelour prochenement avenir, et nous les feroms chevaliers volunts'. Vous mandoms qe por les dites gentz Dirlaunde, et por autres qui per [ ]aviente[ ] y voudront venir a meisme la feste por estre fait chevaliers, facez venir illueqs le plus suffisaument et le plus enhaste qe vous porrez draps dor et pelure et draps de leyn et autres choses qe appertienent a tiele busoigne. Issint quil ny est nule defaute. Don' souz notre prive seal a Lanrecost le xxiiij nov[ ] xxxv'.

Appendix 3: Glossary of Technical Terms.

(i) materials.

afforcatus: afforcatus describes any type of cloth reinforced by a weave using a double or a triple thread. Silks as well as woollens were available in the afforcatus variety.

agnus: the common lamb fur, called agnus in the Latin documents, was relatively cheap and could be of various colours, white, black, or brown.

Anglie: the panni Anglie mentioned in the accounts were of relatively cheap quality. Among them are russettus Anglie, russettus strictus de Cornubia, russettus largus grossus, russettus grossus Anglie, and candelwekstrete.

aresta/arista: by the late XIIIth century, 'cloth of arrest' was a variety of cloth of gold.[1] It has been identified by Donald King as a silk woven in a chevron twill, a weave which recalls the fish-bone, or aresta.[2] This weave gives a kind of ribbed effect. Some inventories of church treasuries mention a cloth ad

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[1] The term appears in the English documentation towards the beginning of the XIIIth century ('pannos sericos de aresta', Rot. Litt. Clausarum, p. 214a (1215), mentioned in the Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources, v. arista).

[2] D. King, 'Two Medieval Textile Terms,"drap d'ache", "drap d'arrest" ', Bulletin de Liaison du CIETA, xxvii (1968), 26-29. S. Desrosiers and G. Vial, with the collaboration of D. DeJonghe, 'Cloth of Aresta. A Preliminary Study of its Definition, Classification, and Method of Weaving', Textile History, xx (1989), 199-223.

spinam piscis, which was very probably the cloth of arrest.[1]

blankettus/blanchettus: a thick white cloth of wool of a cheap quality, which was most of the time left undyed. A fragment of blanket has been found in Winchester: it is a coarse type of cloth, with a three-shed twill.[2] The friars' habits were made with blanket. Blanket was also used for bed-furnishings.

bluettus: bluettus was a type of costly woollen cloth dyed in woad. Bluettus albus, bluettus clarus were cloths dyed in clear blues; bluettus azurus was a cloth of a medium or dark blue. Blue cloths were probably dyed in the wool, because the blue dye - the indigo extracted from woad or more rarely from indigo, an expensive dye imported from India - did not require mordants, while red dyes did.[3] This, as well as the extension of the cultivation of woad in Europe, might explain the relatively accessible price of some blues.

bogettum/bugetum/boga: the budge was a lamb fur. It was sometimes white or brown but seems to have been mostly black.[4] R. Delort has suggested that budge was a very lustruous fur, the equivalent

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[1] E. Molinier,'Inventaire du Trésor du Saint Siège sous Boniface VIII (1295)' Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, xliv (1885-1886), p. 649.

[2] E. Crowfoot, 'Textiles', in M. Biddle, Object and Economy in Medieval Winchester, ii (Oxford, 1990), pp. 467-94, esp. p. 475, no. 1030.

[3] K.G. Ponting, A Dictionary of Dyes, pp. 53-4.

[4] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 35 293, fol. 34 (1303-1304): 'capucium de bougie albo.'

of the modern astrakan.[1]

bokeram: buckram was originally an Islamic product (from the town of Bukhara) then imitated in Italian workshops.[2] It was a cloth made of linen or of cotton.[3]

brocade: this term was probably used to refer to any kind of cloth decorated with woven patterns, and in particular to cloths decorated with patterns woven in threads of precious metal.[4]

burnettus/brunettus: this woollen cloth was a quality cloth dyed in a very dark blue, ranging to black.[5] It was often distributed to the clerical members of the royal household and wardrobe.

burellus: a coarse woollen cloth.

byssus: bis was the fur of the northern squirrel caught in late spring. R. Delort has shown that the term byssus, which is found only in England, is a mistranslation of the French rouges porpres, by assimilation with purple.[6]

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[1] R. Delort, Le Commerce des Fourrures, i, p. 88.

[2] M.F. Mazzaoui, The Italian Cotton Industry in the Later Middle Ages, 1100-1600 (Cambridge, 1981), p. 89.

[3] F. Piponnier, 'A Propos de Textiles Anciens', p. 874. E101 366/7 (1303-1304).

[4] D.K. Burnham, Warp and Weft. A Textile Terminology (Toronto, 1980), p. 14.

[5] G. de Poerck, La Draperie Médiévale, i, p. 190. E159/70: 'burnetta nigra.'

[6] R. Delort, Le Commerce des Fourrures, i, p. 17.

cain/kaynetz: cain was a woollen cloth of quality, probably of a deep grey shade. Pannus grisius was a cheap cloth, undyed or dyed cheaply, and must be distinguished from the costly cain or kaynetz.

camelin: this woollen cloth is usually considered to have been cheap but it actually reached high prices on the English market: camelins of different shades, grey, white, brown, were ranged among the panni colorati. Camlet must have had a specific texture, perhaps a fluffy wool, because it was often employed on its own for the making of robes.[1]

camelot: camelot was probably a very fine type of cloth made of various materials, but always of a lustruous quality. In the Islamic world, some camelots were made from camel hair, others from goat hair, from the wool of the Armenian sheep or from floss silk. They were very thick and warm fabrics.[2] The clerks of the great wardrobe accounted for camelot along with silks, a fact which seems to indicate that the camelots used for the royal court contained a high proportion of silk. A general confusion seems to have existed concerning the distinction between camelot and camelin, the woollen cloth.[3]

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[1] E159/70: 'camelin kaynez', 'camelin album'. E101 355/4: 'camelin brun'.' E101 367/16: 'pannus brun' camel'. E101 366/8 (1303-1304): a livery of half a cloth of white camelin and half a cloth of camelin kaynetz was made for a robe.

[2] M. Lombard, Les Textiles dans le Monde Musulman, p. 167.

[3] S. Barfield, 'Lord Fingall's Cartulary of Reading Abbey', EHR, iii (1888), 113-25, esp. p. 116: a dalmatic and a tunic are said to be de nigro camelino, while they must have been of silk.

candelwekstrete: this product was a cheap woollen cloth, which took its name from Candelwek Street in London.

canevacium: canvas was a fabric made from a mixture of hemp and flax fibres. Its density was very variable: some kinds were woven very loosely, while others were very dense. Canvas was in any case characterized by its solidity and flexibility. It was used for many purposes, notably for the making of sails, and for the making of tents and flags, as well as for the wrapping of goods. Hemp and flax were already widely cultivated in Europe in Roman times, and canvas was produced virtually everywhere in northern Europe, with a few areas specializing in its trade.[1]

cangis/cangium: the 'changing cloth', was a silk of a kind similar to cendal. This special effect was perhaps due to threads of different colours, and to the use of a taffeta weave.

carde: carde was a very strong cloth. It was used in furnishing and for outdoor purposes. It must have been made of mixed fibres, with a high proportion of wool fibres, and was often dyed in bright colours.[2]

cendallum/cindon: cindon was a silk cloth of a relatively cheap price. It presented a uniform and supple aspect. By its texture,

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[1] J.P. Wild, Textile Manufacture in the Northern Roman Provinces (Cambridge, 1970), p. 15.

[2] E101 371/21/56 (undated document): 'xii pieces de bele deliee vert carde'. E101 366/16/47 (1304-1305): 'iii curtines de carde verte'.

cindon recalled taffeta, another silk imitated from an Oriental product by Italian workshops.[1] Cindon was most frequent in its 'reinforced' variety, where linen was used for the warp, so that the officers of the great wardrobe sometimes distinguished between cindon and pure silk.[2] Cindon was available in bright colours: red, green, yellow, white and purple, with a majority of cindon cloths being dyed in red.

[pannus] colorum: this was perhaps a multicoloured woollen cloth; it was possibly checkered, or striped, but in this case, it was different in quality from the rays which are not found in the accounts under the heading panni colorati.

[pannus] coloratus: this was a generic expression for all woollen cloths of the new type, except scarlet. This was due to the fact that the 'new' woollens were characterized by their beautiful shades, their main feature, since the weave was not distinguishable (see v. woollen cloth).

cordel: this cloth of wool was certainly similar to the worsted, and it is often assimilated by historians to the bureaux and biffes, which were very common cloths on the continent. However, the accounts of the great wardrobe show that it was actually expensive, and there might have been a superior quality of cordel

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[1] Taffeta was probably an imitation of an Oriental product. It does not seem to have been bought for the household of Edward I.

[2] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 22 923 (1306-1307): 'pro sindone et serico emptis apud Dovorrum.'

available on the market.[1]

cornewogole: the fur of the common squirrel.

cottonus/cotonus: cotton fibres were purchased to protect jewels and plate during transport. These were sometimes called stupes.

cuniculus: the fur of the rabbit. This was probably still imported from Spain by the late XIIIth century: the rabbit was introduced in England during the XIIIth century, and the English rabbit was too scarce to be used regularly for peltry before the early XIVth century.[2]

diasper: the term diasper appears occasionally in the accounts to qualify certain silks. Diaspered silks were woven with two warps and two wefts. Their alternance created a relief on the surface of the cloth.[3] Many diaspers were unicoloured, with the details of the figures worked in gold thread. But a few diaspers were of two colours.

dyes: a large range of shades was created by a limited number of dyestuffs. The nature of the mordant used to fix the dye - such as alum or Tartar cream - would account for some of these variations, as well as the intensity of the dyestuff used.

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[1] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 35 293, fol. 35 (1303-1304): £6 for a 'pannus cordel'. G. de Poerck, La Draperie Médiévale, i, p. 211.

[2] E.M. Veale, 'The Rabbit in England', Agricultural History Review, v (1957), 85-90.

[3] D. King, 'Sur la Signification de "Diasprum" ', p. 44.

Medieval dyers also practised cross-dyeing, that is to say the superposition of successive dyes.

ermine: the ermine, or fur of the stoat, was the most exclusive fur, white with black tails set regularly into the fur. A common device in Occidental peltry was to mix the fur of the stoat with the fur of the weasel, a similar animal, but of an inferior price, and it seems that the few ermine furs purchased for the royal family were actually made in that way.[1]

falding: falding was a cloth probably made imitation of a heavy Irish cloth.[2]

felt: felt was a kind of fabric made of fibres compressed together by heat. Hair or wool could be used for the making of felt.

foynes: this is the Anglo-Norman term for the fur of the marter.

fustian: fustian was a strong cotton textile. It was originally a specific Arabic cotton cloth, but it came to be imitated very widely in northern Italy, and the term came to mean any type of cotton cloth, with a few special kinds according to the place of manufacture. Italian fustian was often made of mixed fibres, and

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[1] R. Delort, Le Commerce des Fourrures, i, pp. 30-1.

[2] R. Sharpe, 'ME falding, Mir. fallaing: Irish Mantles in Medieval England', Anglia, cvii (1989), 416-29.

was exported undyed or dyed, generally in red, black or blue.[1]

cloth of gold: in order to produce a golden effect, silk weavers used to weave golden threads with silk threads (see v. gold threads). There were several kinds of 'cloths of gold': within the section panni ad aurum, the clerks of the great wardrobe distinguished between purples, many of which seem to have been woven with gold threads, mesoneux, cloths of gold in canabo and cloths of gold in serico, and cloths of gold of Turkye or panni tartarici. All these cloths were extremely expensive. But within the general category of cloths of gold, there was quite a wide range of prices: this may be explained by the amount of silk used for the making of the cloth, by the type of metal threads used, and perhaps by perhaps by the artistic value of the cloths.

type of cloth	less than £1	from £1 to £2	over £2
purple	18s		
mesoneux	18s		
cloth of gold in canabo		£1 3s to £1 4s	
cloth of gold in serico		£1 to £1 10s	
cloth of gold of Turkye			£2 17s to £7 6s 8d

Table XXXVII: prices of cloths of gold after E101 359/18 (1300-1301).

Cloths of gold were woven on a draw-loom: this kind of loom, which seems to have been introduced in Western Europe in the first decades of the XIIIth century, enabled the weaver to repeat

[1] M.F. Mazzaoui, The Italian Cotton Industry, pp. 90-3.

complex patterns automatically.[1] The pattern appeared in gold against a background of silk, or in coloured silk against a background of gold.

Some of the cloths of gold purchased by the great wardrobe officers were patterned with religious scenes.[2] The late XIIIth century inventory of St. Paul's treasury mentions several pieces oblated by Edward I and decorated with religious scenes. Heraldic patterns were also very frequent: they generally consisted of small motifs powdering the background. However, animals, plants and small scenes of secular inspiration formed the most frequent patterns: among the cloths of gold oblated by Edward I to St Paul's Cathedral, one finds cloths patterned with griffins, leopards, hares and trees, knights on horseback, birds, knots and flowers, griffins, archers, winged lions etc...[3]

As a rule silk cloths were smaller than most woollen cloths. But some cloths of gold must have been quite large: for instance, five cloths of gold offered to St. Paul's Cathedral between 1290

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[1] The ends of the warp threads were controlled by a figure harness. J. Becker, with the collaboration of D.B. Wagner, Pattern and Loom: A Practical Study of the Development of Weaving Techniques in China, Western Asia and Europe (Copenhagen, 1987), pp. 268-9.

[2] E101 370/9, mem. 1 (1306-1307): mention of two cloths decorated with religious scenes, at a cost of 40s each.

[3] W. Dugdale, The History of St. Paul's Cathedral, pp. 328-30. Fragments of a cloth of gold, probably the funeral pall, have been recovered from the tomb of Robert Bruce (d. 1329) at Dunfermline Abbey. They are decorated with small patterns representing foliage, birds and fantastic animals. The decoration of these fragments is very similar to the decoration from a fragment now kept in the Victoria and Albert Museum (1298-1864). A.S. Henshall, G.M. Crowfoot and J. Beckwith, 'Early Textiles Found in Scotland, ii: Medieval Imports', Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, lxxxviii (1954-6), 22-39, esp. pp. 22-6.

and 1295 were large enough to make eleven copes. We know that the draw-loom of the type used in Europe enabled the weavers to weave cloths of about 120cm wide. A piece of cloth kept in the treasury of Uppsala Cathedral: it is considered to have been originally 125cm wide. The length of cloths of gold is much more difficult to determine. The first documentary indication available dates only from the second half of the XIVth century: Lucca silk-weaving statutes of 1376 stated that most cloths should be of 5 1/4 braccia [310cm], 7 1/2 braccia [443cm] and more rarely, 13 braccia [768cm].[1]

gold threads: gold threads were used extensively for embroidery and for the manufacture of silks called panni ad aurum. Gold is very ductile and can be transformed quite easily into threads. Threads could therefore be of pure gold, but this became rarer by the XIIIth century and, as a rule, threads were made of silver gilt or a thin strip of silver gilt wound around a core of hemp or silk. By the late XIIIth century, some silks were still woven with such threads, but in the course of the XIIIth century, a technological innovation took place in the manufacture of metal threads: a strip of membrane or parchment was gilded and then laid on or wound around a core of hemp, and this may correspond to the cloths said to be in canabo, or super cambria; alternatively, it was wound around a core of silk, for the cloths of gold in serico. The difference between the two kinds of cloth

[1] D. King, 'Silk Weaves of Lucca in 1376', Opera Textilia variorum temporum - to honour Agnes Geijer on her ninetieth birthday 26th October 1988, ed. I. Estham and M. Nockert (Stockholm, 1988), pp. 67-77.

must have been immediately visible, because the clerks were able to recognise each type of cloth. Historians of textiles call half-silks cloths where a core of hemp has been used for the gilded threads. It seems that cloths woven with threads made according to this technique were first found in England around the middle of the XIIIth century. This technique must have made cloths woven with gold more accessible. The differences of price between the various silks worked with gilded threads may be explained by the fact that some gold threads were actually produced with an alloy of gold and silver, while others were made from pure gold. A recent study, using X-rays on gold threads of some XIIIth- and XIVth-century cloths of gold, has shown that the alloy used for the making of the threads of XIVth century Italian silks usually contained less gold than silver, while gold threads of Spanish silks fell into two groups: one with an alloy containing more silver than gold, and the other with an alloy containing more gold than silver. Pure gold was always used for the making of gold threads in Oriental silks, a fact which might be reflected in the higher price paid for the cloths of Turkye.[1] In the XIIIth century, manufacture of metal threads was the speciality of a few towns, Montpellier, Genoa, Lucca, Milan. Later, it was extended to Cyprus, Venice and Florence. It seems to have been a speciality of Italian noblewomen, and relied on an extensive international trade.[2]

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[1] N. Indictor, R.J. Koestler, C. Blair, A.E. Wardwell, 'The Evaluation of Metal Wrappings from Medieval Textiles using Scanning Electron Microscopy-Energy Dispersive X-ray Spectrometry', Textile History, xix (1988), 3-22.

[2] W.N. Bonds, 'Genoese Noblewomen and Gold Thread Manufacturing', Medievalia et Humanistica, xvii (1966), 79-81.

The evolution in the manufacturing techniques of gold threads may be illustrated by the finds made in several graves in Cathedral Green, at Winchester: fragments from graves prior to the XIIth century are woven with spun gold, or with threads made with a thin strip of gold foil wound around a core of silk. But a XIVth century grave contained a fragment of cloth of gold of lesser quality: the silver-gilt had replaced pure gold, while the core was of wool.[1]

gris: the fur from the back of the winter squirrel is of a light grey colour. When the medieval skinners used this kind of fur exclusively, they obtained a fur called gris. The accounts of the great wardrobe show that gris was bought in different shades and qualities, the best gris tending to white.[2]

grossus varius: the combination of furs called grossus varius mixed white bellies and grey backs of winter squirrels, with a striking decorative effect.

jaunus: weld, coming from an herbaceous plant found in many areas of Europe, was used to dye woollens in yellow. Mordanted with alum, it turned to a lemon yellow, perhaps the glaucus mentioned

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[1] E. Crowfoot, 'Textiles', in M. Biddle, Object and Economy in Medieval Winchester, ii, pp. 467-94, esp. p. 468.

[2] E101 353/8/13 (1306-1307): 'j forura de croupe de gris'. C47 3/14 (1277-1278): optimus gris. E101 371/21/56 (undated document): 'j covertour de gris qi soit blaunk et fyn de xxiiii tires de long et de xxxiiii tires de le.' R. Delort, Le Commerce des Fourrures, p. 44: cristigrey was less expensive than amysgrey (Fr.gris d'aumusse). Neither should be confused with the opus griseum, the complete skin of the animal in winter (E101 354/19/2, 1296-1297).

in the royal accounts.

laghton: a cloth of mediocre quality, probably a local product of Scottish and northern English cloth-manufacturing centres.

launge/ lynge: launge seems to have been a generic term for woollen cloths, while lynge was a generic term for linen fabrics.

lepor: the common hare was not much used for its skin, which was not strong enough for peltry work.[1] The fur of the Norwegian hare, lever de Norway, appears sometimes in the documents, but it seems to have been more a curiosity than a regular purchase.[2]

linea tela: tela was normally composed of flax fibres, but some types of tela composed of mixed fibres seem to have existed. The linea tela was perhaps a pure linen product, without any mixture. Some kinds of linen were luxury products, like the tela vald' delicata, the tela de Reyns, the tela de Paris, and the tela de Leges, and they were bought in small quantites for the personal use of the king and of his family. Others, such as the tela grossa, were coarser.[3] The napes and towayles bought for the

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[1] R. Delort, Le Commerce des Fourrures, p. 129. There are some rare examples of hare furs in the royal accounts: 'iij pelliciae de cruribus leporum' (E101 352/10: 1289-1290).

[2] E101 353/8/13 (1306-1307): 'j forura et j chaperoun de lever' de Norway.'

[3] E101 359/19 (1300-1301): tela stricta Anglie. E101 366/4 (1303-1304): tela grossa Angliae.

table were made of linen.[1] Linen possessed many qualities: it was a smooth but strong textile, often very fine, a property resulting from the fineness of the flax fibres.[2] It was usually bleached.

looms: by the late XIIIth century, there were four types of loom currently in use in cloth-manufacture: the draw-loom, the warp-weighted loom, the upright loom and the horizontal treadle loom [plate II]. The draw-loom was the loom used to weave patterned silks. The warp-weighted loom was extensively used for the production of woollen cloths during the early Middle Ages, and went on being used by domestic weavers and possibly in non-urban cloth-manufacturing areas and certain urban centres, such as Oxford. It has been demonstrated recently that the warp-weighted loom may have been succeeded and challenged by the upright two-beam loom, which was used for the production of cloths in England from the XIth to the XIVth century.[3] It is probably this type of loom, and not the warp-weighted loom, which was gradually replaced by the horizontal loom introduced into England in the XIth or XIIth century.

It is probably impossible to determine which type of loom was used to weave particular cloths. The three types mentioned were all in use by the late XIIIth century. Cloths of about two yards wide were not characteristic of the horizontal loom: they

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[1] SC2 178/100 (1299-1300): 'napes de Paris, Dynaunt e de Engleterre... touwayles.'

[2] J.P. Wild, Textile Manufacture, p. 14.

[3] D. Keene, 'The Textile Industry', in M. Biddle, Object and Economy in Medieval Winchester, i, pp. 200-214, esp. pp. 203-4.

could have been woven on the vertical loom as well. But it seems to have been difficult to produce very long cloths on the warp-weighted loom: the cloth was wound around the upper beam of the loom, and the amount of material which could be wound in this way was limited.[1]

minutus varius: pure minever fur, minutus varius puratus, was made exclusively from the belly skins of the winter fur of the northern squirrel, so that it was completely white. Cut a little larger, the skins showed a grey border from the backs, and once sewn together they produced an effect of fine stripes: it was the minutus varius non puratus of the accounts, the great minever.[2] There was also the dimidius puratus, which was made from skins with a very narrow border of grey.

pannus mixtus: medley was a woollen cloth woven with wools of two colours. Medleys were also a sub-variety of several types of cloths.[3]

moretus/murray: a woollen cloth dyed in a mulberry shade.

persetum: pers was a woollen cloth of a very dark blue colour,

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[1] G.R. Owen-Crocker, Dress in Anglo-Saxon England (Manchester, 1986), p. 182.

[2] R. Delort, Le Commerce des Fourrures, i, pp. 43 and 144. E101 366/4 (1303-1304).

[3] E101 353/8/13 (1297-1298): 'melle de candelwykstreate'.

This shade was produced with a high concentration of woad.[1]

pople: the pople was the early spring fur of the northern squirrel, grey with red stripes.[2]

pounacium: paonaz was a woollen cloth dyed in a particular shade of blue-green, recalling the colour of the peacock.

purpura: the original purple dye came from the juice of the murex brandaris and of the purpura haemastroma, which were both found throughout the Mediterranean.[3] The process of dyeing in purple could give different colours, from green to very dark shades of violet, according to the species of the mollusc used, the intensity of the dyeing, the additives employed, and the length of exposure to sunlight.

It is possible that a few rare Byzantine silks dyed in purple found their way to the court of England: during the Middle Ages, purple factories existed in Sicily and in Byzantium. But this was in any case very limited. The silks called purples must

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[1] Records of the Borough of Leicester...1103-1327, ed. M. Bateson (London, 1899), p. 84: 'Isti subscripti ceperunt lanam tinctam in wayda et eam posuerunt in warancia et in bultura ad colorem eiusdem lane faciendum nigriorem, ad similitudinem coloris persi: contra consuetudinem gilde et ad deceptionem' (1259). Ibid., p. 101: 'per communitatem gilde mercatorum Leycestrie communiter fuit provisum et concessum quod de cetero nullus eorum faciet pannos persos nisi de lana alba et wayda et cineribus et sine aliqua admixtione lane nigre seu grise lane, seu warancie seu alune' (1264).

[2] R. Delort, Le Commerce des Fourrures, i, p. 17. E101 371/18 (1302-1303): grossus pople. E101 366/4 (1303-1304): minutus pople.

[3] K.G. Ponting, A Dictionary, p. 94.

have actually been dyed with other dyestuffs. Already in Antiquity, purple had been imitated by other dyes, notably the kermes, made from the crushed bodies of insects, the orchil, a lichen, and a combination of madder and indigo, two vegetable dyes. In the wardrobe accounts, purple used as a qualificative referred to a specific colour, probably a shade of violet. As a noun, it meant a specific silk of a samite type. To find purple cloths in the section panni ad aurum may indicate that some purples were woven with threads of gold.

radiatus: many cloths were available with stripes, and they were called rays, panni radiati. The stripe was obtained by alternating groups of threads of different colours, but perhaps also of different natures, so that striped cloths must have been much more common than the documents reveal.[1] Tiretaines, stamfords, reinforced cloths, and candelwekstrete, were all produced in plain and in ray.[2] Some kinds of rays were thought good enough to be dyed in grain.[3] At Winchester, a fragment of cloth woven in three-shed twill has been found; it is patterned with stripes formed by pairs of coloured weft threads of a light

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[1] A. Derville, 'Les Draperies Flamandes et Artésiennes', pp. 368-9.

[2] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 22 923, fol. 11 (1306-1307): for the candelwekstrete. SC2 178/100 (1299-1300): 'tyreteynes de deus colurs'. A. Derville, 'Les Draperies Flamandes et Artésiennes', p. 368. P. Chorley, 'The Cloth Exports of Flanders and Northern France', p. 360, n. 13. E101 359/18 (1300-1301): 'pannus radiatus afforcatus'. E101 359/18 (1300-1301): 'pannus radiatus staunford.'

[3] E101 367/17 (1304-1305): 'pannus radiatus in grana.'

colour alternating with pairs of weft threads of a darker colour.[1] Other examples of striped woollen cloths have been recovered at Baynard's Castle, London: one of the fragments is patterned with dark red and dark brown weft bands at intervals of 50mm.[2]

Was there an opposition between stragulatus and radiatus?[3] It is possible that one of these terms referred to a cloth woven with horizontal stripes, with bands in the direction of the weft (that is to say a banded cloth, Fr. barré), which is the most frequent type of cloth excavated, while the other referred to a cloth woven with vertical stripes, bands in the warp direction (striped, Fr. rayé).[4]

rubeus: madder and brazil-wood were used to dye most red panni colorati. Madder, an herbaceous plant, was raised in western Europe, but some Oriental madder was still imported because of its superior quality. Combined with different mordants, it gave reds ranging from a medium to a strong and dark shade. Brazil-

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[1] E. Crowfoot, 'Textiles', in M. Biddle, Object and Economy, ii, p. 475, no. 1033.

[2] E. Crowfoot, 'The Textiles', in C. Hill, M. Millett and T. Blaqq, The Roman Riverside Wall and Monumental Arch in London. Excavations at Baynard's Castle, Upper Thames Street, London 1974-76, ed. T. Dyson, Special Paper No. 3, London and Middlesex Archaeological Society 1980, pp. 112-4, esp. p. 112, no. 144.

[3] E101 363/24/15 (1302-1303): 'Carleton. Liberetis domino Ebuloni de Montibus super vadiis suis unum pannum color[is] et unum pannum stragulatum.'

[4] F. Pritchard, 'Patterned cloths from 14th-century London', Textiles in Northern Archaeology. North European Symposium for Archaeological Textiles iii: Textile Symposium in York 6-9 May 1987, ed. P. Walton and J.P. Wild (London, 1990), pp. 155-64, esp. p. 155.

wood was imported from India; it gave a brown-red.[1] Variations in the colour of cloths dyed in madder or in brazil-wood are not always reflected in the documents: ruber is usually employed without a qualificative, but the pannus rubeus de Ypra bought for the royal household must have been of a particular shade of red.

rubeus varius: rubeus varius, or rovair, is usually thought to have been the same fur as the strandling, but the clerks of the great wardrobe distinguished carefully one from the other, and it is possible that the rubeus varius was a redder fur than the strandling, of an animal caught earlier in the season.[2]

russet: used as a qualificative, russet meant a woollen cloth of a rufous colour; this cloth reaches high prices in the accounts of the great wardrobe.[3] But other types of russet existed, such as the russettus grossus Anglie. This probably referred to a cloth of poor quality dyed very cheaply with local vegetable dyes.

samite: this silk had a brilliant aspect due to its specific texture, a floating weft appearing on the face of the cloth. It seems to have been similar in many ways to satin, another silk

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[1] J.H. Hofenk-de Graaf, 'The Chemistry of Red Dyestuffs', p. 76 and n. 20.

[2] E101 352/10 (1289-1290): 'popl', rubeus varius et strandling.'

[3] E101 359/18.

traded from c.1300 onwards.[1] Plain samite must have looked like cindon, because the two materials were often confused, but the former was more expensive, certainly richer in silk, and often woven with patterns.[2] Samite could be dyed in green, purple, red, and yellow. Fragments of samite have been found in Cuckoo Lane, Southampton: they were probably part of a cloth patterned with a floral design. They were found in a layer dated c. 1290-1300: they were perhaps of Near Eastern or Byzantine origin but, at that date, this kind of cloth was also produced in Italy and Spain.[3]

sargia and essaia: says were dry cloths made from a relatively cheap wool and their manufacture did not require as many processes as luxury woollen cloths.[4] Common says were exclusively called sargia by the clerks of the great wardrobe. These were available in bright colours, such as yellow or red, and were used mainly for furnishing purposes. By the later XIIIth century, cloth-manufacturing centres were producing saies ointes or saies drappees which were similar in many ways to the best woollens. Black say was purchased regularly for the clerks of the

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[1] D.K. Burnham, Warp and Weft, p. 113. The Fabric Rolls of York Minster, ed. J. Raine, Surtees Society, xxxv (1859), p. 229: 'una capia rubia de sateyn operata cum floribus aureis de luce, ex dono Thomae Hereford' (1282).

[2] F. Piponnier, 'A Propos de Textiles Anciens', p. 871. Francisque-Michel, Recherches sur le Commerce, i, p. 199.

[3] C. Platt and R. Coleman-Smith, Excavations in Medieval Southampton 1953-1969, ii, The Finds (Leicester, 1975), pp. 334-5, fig. 272 and plate 138.

[4] A. Derville, 'Les Draperies Flamandes et Artésiennes', p. 365.

royal entourage, and reached high prices.[1]

scarlettus: historians have long disagreed about the exact nature of this cloth, but it seems that, at least by the late XIIIth century, scarlet was a woollen cloth of fine texture, generally dyed in kermes, a costly animal dyestuff.[2] The quality of the kermes and the nature of the mordant used accounted for the colours obtained and the differences of prices between scarlets. Scarlettus rubeus must have been of a bright red shade, while scarlettus sanguineus recalled the dark colour of dried blood, and brun scarlet was of a brownish red.[3]

The accounts of the great wardrobe also mention cloths dyed in grain, panni in grana. These were particularly valued, as is shown by the systematic distinction drawn by the clerks between panni in grana and panni colorati.[4] Granum was a type of kermes dye. But how is it possible to explain the distinction drawn by the wardrobe clerks between cloths dyed in grain and scarlets? To define scarlet as a cloth dyed purely in grain, while panni in grana could be dyed in a combination of grain and another

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[1] G. de Poerck, La Draperie Médiévale, pp. 230-1. A. Derville, 'Les Draperies Artésiennes et Flamandes', p. 364. SC2 178/100 (1299-1300): 'neir say de Nichole'. E101 367/17 (1304-1305): 'essaia nigra'. The expensive character of the black say might also have been due to the cost of producing a fast and deep black dye.

[2] J.H. Munro, 'The Medieval Scarlet and the Economics of Sartorial Splendour', Cloth and Clothing in Medieval Europe, pp. 13-70 esp. p. 15.

[3] E159/70: 'scarlettus rubeus', 'scarlettus sanguineus'. E101 358/13/23 (1299-1300): 'brun scarlet'.

[4] E101 369/11, fol. 105v. (1305-1306): 'in precio pannorum de grana et de colore'.

dyestuff, would explain this distinction.[1] Panni in grana existed in shades which do not appear for scarlets: pannus pounaz in grana, pannus cendrosus in grana, pannus murray in grana.[2] But there are other possibilities. Kermes was perhaps the name of a very concentrated dye of grain, giving very strong colours.[3] Alternatively, grain and kermes came from different insects, the grain being obtained from the coccus polonicus, considered as inferior in quality to the kermes.[4] The third possibility would be that scarlet was distinguishable not only by its dye, but also by its specific texture or its specific dimensions; such was the case with the scarlet of Lincoln, which reached a length of 40 ells.[5] Grain was also used to dye all sorts of good cloths: the best sarges, medleys, rays, and chequered cloths could be dyed in grain.[6] This is explained by the fact that, in the Middle Ages, dyes obtained from insects like the coccus were the only dyes to give a very bright hue to

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[1] J.H. Munro, 'The Medieval Scarlet', p. 61.

[2] E101 366/4 (1303-1304): 'pannus sanguineus in grana'. SC2/178/100 (1299-1300): 'drap sanguin en greine'. E101 353/8/13 (1297-1298): 'drap senderin'. E101 366/4 (1303-1304): 'pannus pounaz in grana'. E159/70: 'pannus cendrosus in grana'. E101 367/17 (1304-1305): 'pannus murray in grana'.

[3] J.H. Munro, 'The Medieval Scarlet', p. 59: at Douai in 1250, there was a minimum of 22lb 'de boine graine' per cloth (G. Espinas and H. Pirenne, Recueil, ii, p. 57, n. 229: 77).

[4] J.H. Munro, 'The Medieval Scarlet', p. 16. K.G. Ponting, A Dictionary, pp. 151-2.

[5] E101 359/19 (1300-1301) and E101 359/18 (1300-1301): a half-cloth of Lincoln was 20 ells long. The standard length for that type of cloth was 24 ells.

[6] E101 367/17 (1304-1305): 'pannus radiatus in grana', 'pannus cheker in grana'. E101 366/4 (1303-1304): 'pannus mixtus in grana'.

the colour.[1] Silk cloths such as cindon could also be dyed in grain.[2]

squirrellus: the niger squirrellus which appears in the accounts of the great wardrobe was perhaps the calabre, the fur of the South Italian squirrel, which was red in summer but nearly black in winter.[3] But it was also perhaps the summer fur of the young northern squirrel, sometimes called ruskyn.

stamford/staunford: stamford, a woollen cloth, reached high prices. It was often purchased in the ray variety. Stamford was probably manufactured in a traditional way, with a decorative weave (see v. woollen cloth).

strandling: this fur appears very frequently in the royal accounts: it was the autumn fur of the Baltic squirrel, of a rufous colour.

sustiz: probably a type of woollen cloth.

tiretaine: tiretaine was a cloth of half-wool: its warp was made

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[1] K.G. Ponting, A Dictionary, p. 24.

[2] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 35 293, fol. 34. E101 371/21/56. Francisque-Michel, Recherches sur le Commerce, ii, p. 27: in 1316, the prévôt of Paris forbade the selling of any cindon dyed without grain. This decision was revoked after the merchants had argued that they were going to lose their non-aristocratic customers.

[3] E101 371/18 (1302-1303): 9s for a fur of 'niger squirrellus'.

of wool mixed with cotton or hemp.[1] It must have been a light cloth, of a very varied quality. Most tiretaines bought for the royal household were of bright colours.[2] Some varieties were good enough to be dyed in grain and shorn.

velvetum: velvet, the Italian scamito vellutto, was a silk whose warp was raised in loops during the weaving.[3] The velvetum subtilem was perhaps voided velvet, a velvet with patterns created by differences of height in the loop.[4] Velvet was available in bright colours: red, yellow, green.

viridus: green shades were obtained on woollen cloths with a superposition of dyes: a first dye in yellow, with weld, was followed by applications of woad or of indigo, varying in quantity according to the shade the dyers wished to obtain. Viridus clarus was a bright green rather than a light green, and it was the equivalent of the gaude vert found in the accounts written in Anglo-Norman. Some red dye entered into the composition of the viridus enkre, certainly a bright green.[5]

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[1] G. de Poerck, La Draperie Médiévale, p. 232.

[2] C47/3/14 (1277-1278): 'ij tiretayne mixte in grana'. E101 354/27 (1300-1301): 'tyretayna perseta', 'tyretaina pounaz'. SC2 178/100 (1299-1300): 'tyreteynes de deus colurs'. E101 359/4 (1300-1301): 'tyreteyna perseta... pounaz... pounaz in grana... russeta.'

[3] D.K. Burnham, Warp and Weft, p. 163. A. Geijer, A History of Textile Art, p. 61.

[4] E101 356/21/7 (1298-1299).

[5] A. Geijer, A History of Textile Art, p. 208. G. de Poerck, La Draperie Médiévale, pp. 196-7. E159/70: 'viridus enkre', 'viridus clarus'. E101 353/8/17 (1295-1296): 'un chaperoun gaude vert.'

woollen cloth: there were several kinds of woollen cloths. The most expensive and probably the most recent products of northern European manufacture were characterized by several features. They were made from a raw material of quality: the best English fleece wools were used, accounting for about 40% of the final price of the cloth.[1] These wools were short, soft, and curly, so that they gave a certain lightness and softness to the fabric, allowing it to fall in long folds over the body.[2] It is possible that carding was already extensively used to separate the fibres of the wool, but this is not certain and for P. Chorley, for instance, it is not safe to assume that carding was a characteristic step in the manufacturing process of the new woollens. However, some authors still see carding as one of the main features of the new woollens: for H. Bennett, for instance, the fabrics excavated in Aberdeen are all characterized by a soft texture which is the result of spinning wool whose fibres have been worked into a light mass by carding.[3] Scouring the wool was an essential step, and was followed by oiling: these operations made a good dyeing possible and helped to give the new woollens their intensity of colour. The most beautiful coloured cloths were probably always dyed in the wool. Spinning was usually mixed, so that all the fibres would lie in the same direction and

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[1] P. Chorley, 'The Cloth Exports of Flanders and Northern France', pp. 373-4.

[2] A. Geijer, A History of Textile Art, p. 4.

[3] H. Bennett, 'Textiles', in J.C. Murray (ed.), Excavations in the Medieval Burgh of Aberdeen 1973-81, pp. 197-200, esp. p. 198.

be more easily raised by teasling after the weaving.[1] According to the guild regulations, the texture of this kind of cloth was dense.[2] This kind of cloth was probably woven most often on the horizontal loom, but weavers could also have used the upright loom. Still, one factor is strongly in favour of the use of the horizontal loom, that is, the length of the cloth. The representation of the horizontal loom in the Book of Trades of Ypres shows that this type of loom was provided with a rotating beam for the finished cloth and a warping board which enabled the weavers to produce very long cloths.[3] The weave of most new woollens was a simple tabby. Fulling was an essential finishing process: to beat and compress the cloth in water resulted in its shrinking and felting. Several shearings gave uniformity to the final aspect of the cloth. Its weave became invisible, a feature which distinguishes this type of cloth from the cloths woven in a traditional way, which were characterized mainly by their weave.[4] K.G. Ponting has pointed out that the final product was not unlike the modern billiard table covering, still produced in

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[1] E. Crowfoot, 'Textiles', in M. Biddle, Object and Economy in Medieval Winchester, p. 476.

[2] G. Espinas, Documents Relatifs à la Draperie de Valenciennes, no. 425: 'et que tout drap con vorra faire de couleur et con vorra vendre por drap de couleur, soient pierset, claret ou vivelet, avoech balle de couleur, soient de 30 lb pesant au pois, et de 42 portees.'

[3] J.W. Hedges, 'The Textiles and Textile Equipment', in C.M. Heighway, A.P. Garrod and A.G. Vince, 'Excavations at 1 Westgate Street, Gloucester', Medieval Archaeology, xiii (1979), pp. 190-3, esp. p. 191.

[4] A. Geijer, A History of Textile Art, p. 79.

roughly the same way.[1] A fragment of red woollen cloth has been found in the area of Westgate and the Barbican ditch, Oxford: it is woven in a tabby weave, and must have been fulled or napped.[2]

The second type of cloth formed an intermediate category, still expensive, but much inferior in price to the best category, with an average difference of about 40%. Woollen cloths of this quality were in general woven from cheaper wools than scarlets and coloureds: Scottish, Irish, or continental local wools, the laine nostree, were more often used than English wool. Also, different kinds of wool could be used for the making of the same cloth, a practice which was absolutely forbidden in luxury cloth manufacture.[3] Wheel-spinning, also prohibited for the making of the best cloths - it was alleged that it caused knots in the thread - could take place in the processing of cheaper cloths. As a rule, the wool was left dry because, not having been scoured thoroughly, it retained some of its natural grease, making dyeing possible without an artificial greasing. The weaving used complex weave patterns that were visible on the surface of the cloth: the 1/2 twill, the 2/2 plain twill, the 2/2 broken warp chevron twill, the 2/2 broken weft chevron twill, and the 2/2 lozenge

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[1] K.G. Ponting, A Dictionary, p. 41. The various processes involved in the making of this type of cloth are depicted on a XVth century glass-window of the church of Semur-en-Auxois (reproduced in Tissu et Vêtement. 5000 Ans de Savoir-Faire, Musée Archéologique Départemental du Val-d'Oise (Guiry-en-Vexin, 1986), pl. III).

[2] E. Crowfoot, 'The Textiles', in T.G. Hassall, 'Excavations at Oxford Castle, 1965-1973', Oxoniensia, xli (1976), pp. 271-4, esp. p. 273.

[3] P. Chorley, 'Cloth Exports of Flanders and Northern France', pp. 373 and 377.

twill.[1] The final product was in general a coarser cloth, less intensely coloured, and somewhat lighter than the costlier woollens.[2]

In the course of the XIVth century, this division was formalised in the distinction between 'woollens' and 'worsteds', but by the late XIIIth century, worsteds were still very specific cloths.

worsted: worsteds were woven with a long combed wool: the combing process gave a smooth and shiny cloth.[3] The threads were clearly visible and the pattern of the weave was a dominant feature: fragments of worsteds recovered in London are woven with a three-shed twill.[4] Worsteds were not fulled, and were dyed by cheap processes, usually after the weaving, a factor which must account partly for their relatively low price.

wympel: a type of linen.[5]

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[1] M. Hoffmann, The Warp-Weighted Loom (Oslo, 1964), p. 184.

[2] P. Chorley, 'Cloth Exports', pp. 374-5.

[3] E. Crowfoot, 'Textiles', in M. Biddle, Object and Economy in Medieval Winchester, ii, p. 476.

[4] E. Crowfoot, 'The Textiles', in C. Hill, M. Millett and T. Blaqq, The Roman Riverside Wall and Monumental Arch in London. Excavations at Baynard's Castle, Upper Thames Street, London 1974-76, ed. T. Dyson, Special Paper no. 3, London and Middlesex Archaeological Society 1980, pp. 112-4 (no. 145).

[5] E101 371/8/193 (undated): 'coifs de drap de Wympel', at 8d each.

(ii) Lay Costume: the Terminology of the Accounts.

alner: a kind of surcot.

buccula: buckle.

bota: a low boot.

braccae: breeches. The braccae were still of the draped style, and were held at the hips by a girdle or a running cord.

brocha: a brooch. The distinction between brocha and firmaculum is not entirely clear.

bursa: a pouch.

butonum: button. There were two kinds of button: the nodulus was perhaps in a shape of a knot, while the butonum must have been round. Noduli were also used for the decoration of religious vestments.[1] The statutes of Gregory IX on the reformation of the order of St Benedict stipulate that men in the retinues of priors and abbots were not to wear striped clothes, or mi-parti clothes, or green or red clothes, or clothes decorated with noduli of silver.[2]

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[1] W. Dugdale, The History of Saint Paul's Cathedral, p. 318: 'item capa cum nodulis.'

[2] Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, vi, p. 242: 'Abbates vel priores si servientes saeculares secum habuerint equitantes de propria vel communi familia, non nisi maturos habeant et honestos in habitu non lascivo. Non adolescentes, non nobiles, vel

calciamenta/calciatura: calciamenta usually meant hose, leg-gear, while calciatura meant foot-gear. The accounts for liveries often use the abbreviation calc', which makes it difficult to see whether shoes or hose were meant. But other accounts contain the fully developped word, calciamenta. One may presume that the foot-wear distributed to some categories of the royal household was actually hose provided with an inner sole.

caligae: hose. Hose did not reach higher than the knee for women, but they were high enough for men to tuck their breeches in and suspend them at the breech-girdle. They must frequently have been laced with strips of leather, because the accounts often mention purchases of leather and of lagulae of silk 'for the legs', pro tibiis.[1]

camisa/camisia: shirt. This garment of fine linen could be decorated with embroidery at the neck and wrists.[2]

capa/cappa: a cloak.

capellum: a kind of hat with a brim. In 1275-1276, the king had several capella of felt lined with silk. There are also mentions

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consanguineos, nec indutos vestibus virgatis, aut argenteis nodulis ornatis, vel partitis, vel viridibus, aut rubeis.'

[1] For instance, C47 3/11 (1279-1280) and Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7966A, fol. 30v (1299-1300).

[2] C.W. and P. Cunnington, The History of Underclothes, (London, 1951), p. 30.

in the same account of capella made of russet.[1] This type of head-gear was tied with a lace of silk or of deer leather.[2] The capellum of felter perhaps took the form of the petasus, with wide brims sometimes turned up at the back.[3] This kind of head-gear could be worn over the hood. Women of the royal family also wore capella de feretro.[4]

capellum de auro: a piece of jewellery, probably a circlet. It is difficult to define this term in conjunction with other terms often used in the accounts, such as garlanda and trescorium. The trescorium probably included the hair-net as well. Inventories of jewels mention numerous trescoria, and these may have been worn by men and women alike.

capucium: a hood. The liripipe of the hood, a sort of long trail, often appears in the iconography, especially for the costume of grotesque characters in the margins of illuminated manuscripts.

chauccions (Anglo-Norman): probably a kind of winter shoe lined with fur or cloth.

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[1] C47 3/11 (1279-1280).

[2] C47 3/11 (1276-1277).

[3] F.M. Kelly and R. Schwabe, A Short History of Costume and Armour, p. 8. J.S. Brewer, Giraldi Cambrensis Opera, iv (London, 1873): 'vidimus enim monachos [...] pilleis ex pilo contextis ad coronas amplas et tonsuras altas operiendum; necnon et capellis latis et filtro consertis ad equitandum, pluviamque solemque propellendum, caeterisque similibus mundandam pompam redolentibus et manifeste praeferentibus, more saecularium passim abutentes.'

[4] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 60 313, mem. 5 (1289-1290).

chirotecae/cirotecae: gloves. They could be short or long, and were frequently decorated with embroidery. Linen gloves were often worn by women. Gloves with individual fingers were considered a luxury.[1]

cloca/ cloche: a kind of round mantle, entirely circular. It was slipped over the head, and a slit under the arm facilitated movements.[2]

cointise: a ceremonial garment of silk, probably decorated with woven coats-of-arms.

collobium: a garment perhaps similar to the tabard.

corsettus: Anglo-Norman corset. The corset, worn by men and by women, was perhaps a kind of cape of oval cut, richly furred.[3] In 1306, the king ordered two corsets to be made for him: both were of cloth of tars, but one was lined with minever and the other with grey.[4] In May 1307, two furs of minever were necessary to line a corset for Eleanor de Clare.[5]

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[1] The legislation of Gregory IX made this clear. Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, VI, p. 240: 'monachi communibus indumentis et religiosis, sicut in claustro, ita foris exeuntes, honeste se habeant [...] Nec capam habeant coloratam [...] Nec cirotecis per digitos distinctis.'

[2] F. Boucher, A History of Costume in the West, p. 182.

[3] K. Staniland, 'The Medieval Corset', Costume, iii (1969), 10-13, esp. p. 12.

[4] E101 370/11/15 (27 November 1306).

[5] E101 370/10/4.

couvrechef/coverchef: the couvrechef was a kind of head-gear of light cloth.

husebot: buskin. This was a kind of hose with a sole of leather or felt, which was worn indoors, generally without shoes but occasionally with shoes.[1]

mantellum: mantle. There seem to have been two types of mantle. One was round in shape, without sleeves, and was probably the equivalent of the pallium. It was open on the front or on the side, and held by a brooch or a small cord. The mantellum was sometimes cut out of the same cloth as the other pieces of the costume, but it was more often than not a completely distinct piece. The second type, the mantle with sleeves, was perhaps the same garment as the gardecorps.

ocrearia: a full boot used for riding and hunting.

pelizon/pellicia: a kind of winter garment worn on top of the dress. It was reserved for the winter wardrobe, and was richly furred: the fur was covered with silk, rather than lining it, and it is possible that the fur was actually worn outside.[2]

roba linea/ linges robes: underwear. Robae lineae were regularly made for the king: for instance, in 1301-1302, seven ells of

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[1] E101 357/18, mem. 3. F.M. Kelly and R. Schwabe, A Short History of Costume and Armour, p. 8.

[2] E101 361/17, mem. 2 (1301-1302): 'pro ij peliciis de griso cooperiendis, ij cindon[i] afforcati viridi.'

linen were necessary to make one pair of robae lineae for Edward I.[1] This seems to have included the camisia and the braccae or breeches.

sotulares/seules: the terminology of foot-wear used by medieval clerks is by no means entirely clear. The term sotulares, which occurs most frequently for foot-wear, may have been a general term used to mean various kinds of shoes, such as low-ankle shoes, high-ankle shoes etc.[2] Shoes were decorated in various ways, with gilding, embroidery, or open work. They were fastened with togles, laces, or a drawstring system. A stripe on the front section of the shoe, or vamp stripe, is often depicted in manuscript illuminations; this was actually a rare feature of shoes, and it has been suggested that it may have been an archaism.[3] However, the vamp stripe may have been specifically reserved to persons of very high rank, and this may help to explain its absence from excavated sites.

supertunica/surcot: a kind of upper garment. There were two kinds of surcots: the first was the closed surcote, which seems to have been the type most frequently employed. The other was the surcot overt, which was open at the front. Both surcots were often part of the same set of garments, and their association appears in the duble surcot.[4] The surcot was long, but sometimes slightly

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[1] E101 361/17, mem. 4.

[2] F. Grew and M. de Neegaard, Shoes and Pattens, p. 121.

[3] Ibid., p. 76.

[4] E101 366/16/15 (14 June 1305).

shorter than the cote. Some surcots had sleeves, but a variety of surcots were sleeveless: for instance, a 'surcot overt santz manches' was part of a livery in 1305.[1] Sleeves seem to have often been lined, with fur or silk, separately from the garment. Sleeves for the king were lined with fur of grey in 1277-1278, while two ells of linen were used to line the sleeves of a garment in a set of clothes given to the king by Queen Margaret in 1301-1302.[2]

tabard: a kind of surcot without sleeves, which was cut out of one piece. It was slipped over the head, and fastened on the sides. It seems to have been a popular garment, particularly suitable for outdoor purposes and, at the beginning of the reign, the king had several of them cut out of black say.[3]

tena: a coif of linen.

tunica/cote: the main garment. In the course of the last decades of the XIIIth century, the tunica replaced the bliaud, which had been until then the most popular garment of Western costume.[4] The body and the sleeves seem to have been cut out of one piece. There were several variants of this garment, worn very long with ample folds for the women and often shorter, ankle- or knee-length, for men. The upper part of the tunica and the sleeves

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[1] E101 366/16/16 (11 May 1305).

[2] C47 3/14 and E101 361/17, mem. 4.

[3] C47 3/14 (1277-1278).

[4] F. Boucher, A History of Costume in the West, p. 181.

could fit the body more or less closely. On funeral effigies, buttons often appear on the sides of the sleeves, and perhaps served to fit the sleeves. The tunica was low-necked, often enough to let the camisia appear; there could be a slit down the breast, which was then closed with a brooch, and more rarely a diagonal or horizontal slit.[1] A girdle often belted the tunica. This garment could be embroidered at the collar, at the wrists, on the arms and at the bottom border. It was not lined with fur, but it was certainly often lined with silk or half-silk.

zona: girdle.

(iii) Secular Furnishings.

auricularium: the auricularium was a small cushion, occasionally embroidered and set with gems. Auricularia often appear in the iconography: their particular pattern, with a lozenge embroidery, make them very distinctive. The tomb of Edmund Crouchback in Westminster Abbey displays such a cushion under the head of the effigy, decorated with small enamelled patterns.

banquerium/banquier: a rectangular cushion for a seat, often covered in ray cloth.

camera: chamber. The term camera integra refers to the complete

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[1] F.M. Kelly and R. Schwabe, A Short History of Costume and Armour, p. 1.

chamber, that is to say the culcitra, the canopy and the dossal of the bed.[1]

canevacium: the canvas of the bed. This piece was probably used to support the matress.

celum: canopy. This probably hung from the ceiling by a system of cords.[2]

coopertorium/covertoir: a kind of coverlet, always lined with fur.[3] Regulations of cloth-manufacturing towns show that the coopertorium, or coverture was also a specific cloth. It could be used for furnishing as well as for clothing.[4] Still, it seems that there was a particular kind, heavier than most cloths, which was specially made for beds.[5] There are also mentions of a piece

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[1] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 8835, fol. 20 (1303-1304): 'pro factura unius camere integre... videlicet pro custura j culcitre punctate, j celi et dosseli.'

[2] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 8835, fol. 20 (1303-1304): 'pro custura j celi... pro lecto regine... pro cordis platis et rotundis de filo rubeo pro celo et curtinis predictis mundendis.'

[3] Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, no. 3455: 'pro reparacione et refressura ij coopertoriorum minuti varii pro domino Edwardo et domine Elizabet sorore sua eodem tempore et pro predictis coopertoriis in pannis de scarlato ponendis et pro pannis de scarlato ad iij coopertoris minuti varii consuendos et reparandos...'

[4] G. Espinas, La Draperie dans la Flandre Française, ii, p. 288.

[5] Id., Documents Relatifs à la Draperie de Valenciennes, nos. 194 and 370.

called a souz covertoir.[1]

culcitra: a kind of coverlet, certainly filled with flock or feather. It seems that the culcitra was sometimes put under the body.[2] It could be filled with flock or with feathers.

culcitra punctata: quilted coverlet.

curtina: curtain. Curtinagium: making of the curtains for a bed.

cute: a type of cushion, often covered with leather.[3]

dosselum: tester or dossal. This was a curtain, or perhaps a tapetum, hung at the head of the bed.[4]

lectum: the bed could be a simple wooden frame, but elaborate bedsteads seem to have already existed [plate XXIII].[5] The canopy and the curtains were hung with cords and the curtains ran

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[1] E101 363/27, no. 21 (1302-1303): 'un drap de vert un drap de pounace en greyne pur covertoirs et souz covertoirs pur le lit ma dame.'

[2] M. Hoffmann, 'Beds and Bed Clothes in Medieval Norway', Cloth and Clothing in Medieval Europe, pp. 351-67, esp. p. 363.

[3] Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, no. 3216.

[4] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 8835, fol. 20 (1303-1304): 'j dosselum de cindone rubeo cum rosettis albis seminatis.'

[5] P. Eames, Furniture in England, France and Netherlands, p. 74.

on rings of metal.[1] An episode in the life of Henry II (1166) illustrates the composition of the bed: 'rex itaque solito furore succensus pileum de capite proiecit, baltheum discinxit, pallium et vestes quibus erat indutus longius abiecit, stratum sericum quod erat supra lectum manu propria removit, et quasi in sterquilinio sedens coepit straminis masticare festucas.'[2]

lintheamen: linen sheets.

manuterga/towail: towel.

mappa: tablecloth.

matracum: a mattress? Perhaps supported by the canevacium, the mattress was often covered with a bright half-silk, and filled with wool.[3]

quarellum: a large cushion.[4]

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[1] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 8835, fol. 20 (1303-1304): 'pro cordis platis et rotundis de filo rubeo pro celo et curtinis predictis mundendis [...] pro vj duodenos anulorum ad dictas curtinas tendendas...'

[2] J.C. Robertson, Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, vi (London, 1882), p. 72.

[3] Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1286-1289, no. 3455: 'item pro factura iij matraciorum de cindone rubea per manus Perotti cissoris. Item pro lx libris lane vapulate emptis ad idem precium libre iiijd: xxs.'

[4] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 8835, fol. 20 (1303-1304): 'pro factura x quarellorum de eadem secta et broudatura ccc florum et ccc leopardorum de armis Anglie et Francie in tot rosettis in dictis quarellis superseminatis et pro [preparatura] dictorum mmdccc florum et leopardorum...'

quissinum: a cushion.[1]

supermappa: a cloth probably laid on the top of the tablecloth.

tapetum/tapitz: there were probably several kinds of tapeta. Some must have been woven on a vertical loom, and were probably of a tapestry type. Others must have been of a knotted pile type, tapiz velus. These were possibly made according to the technique of Oriental rugs, and appear under the denomination of tapiz sarrasinois in some contemporary French accounts.[2] Tapeta were often decorated with floral patterns or with heraldic arms.[3] During her stay at the court in 1304-1305, Elizabeth, daughter of the king and countess of Hereford, received six large tapeta bearing the arms of England and of Hereford for her chamber.[4] Tapeta were used as wall-hangings, as covers for beds and seats and, more rarely they were strewn on the floor in the manner of rugs: 'xij tapitz vertz bons et fins dont les viij soient larges pur lit et les iiij seient bankers'.[5] This is the reason why it is preferable to retain the Latin term tapetum, or the Anglo-Norman term tapitz, instead of attempting a translation.

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[1]Brit. Lib. Add. Ms. 35 294: 'pro x petris plumarum emptis... ad ponendum in quissinis precium petre vijs vjd.'

[2] A. Geijer, A History of Textile Art, p. 179: they were made with an additional yarn which formed knots around the warp threads.

[3] In 1302-1303, the Bellardi sold 4 green tapeta decorated with roses to the great wardrobe, for a total price of £5 (E101 371/18).

[4] E101 367/18.

[5] E101 371/21/56 (undated).

(iv) Liturgical Vestments and Furnishings.

alb: the alb was reserved for the celebration of the Eucharist. It was a long garment provided with a hood: purchases for the chapel of John de Droxford, keeper of the wardrobe, show that eight ells of linen were necessary for the making of an alb.[1] Bands of ornamented silk were sewn along the edges of the sleeves and at the bottom of the garment. The alb was drawn tight around the waist with a girdle, the latter being often richly ornamented. The rochet and the surplice were quite similar to the alb, the surplice being both fuller and shorter.

amice: the amice was a rectangle of cloth large enough to cover the head and the shoulders; in practice, it was always rolled back over the vestment, leaving the head uncovered.[2] The amice was the first garment to be put on by the chaplain as he dressed.[3] After the amice, the clerk put on the alb, the surplice or the rochet. The orphrey of the chasuble, the clavi of the dalmatic, the apparel of the amice, the stole and the maniple were all usually richly embroidered with matching scenes.[4]

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[1] E101 370/9, mem. 7: 'domino Johanni de Drokenesford per manus domini Henrici capellani sui pro ij albis faciendis pro capella domini sui: xvj ulnae tele. vjs viijd.'

[2] J. Mayo, A History of Ecclesiastical Dress, p. 132.

[3] The Sacred Vestments. An English Rendering of the Third Book of the 'Rationale Divinorum Officiorum' of Durandus, Bishop of Mende, ed. T.H. Passmore (London, 1899), p. 23.

[4] Silk fragments of a stole found in a the tomb of William de Blois in Worcester Cathedral are embroidered with the figures of the Apostles; the matching maniple must have been embroidered

capella: in the great wardrobe accounts, the term capella usually refers to the pieces composing the furnishing of a chapel. Behind the altar, a cloth could be hung in place of a reredos of stone or wood. This cloth, or dossal, was usually richly decorated. In front of the altar was another cloth, or frontal, also called antepedium. A Venetian altar frontal kept in the Victoria and Albert Museum shows that the dimensions of the medieval altar were important: the frontal is about 2m. long, and 60cm high. The altar was covered with a cloth, of linen or of silk.[1] On the altar-cloth several towels, or manutergia, were disposed: they were made of a white material which was sometimes richly embroidered. The ornamentation of the towel destined to cover the chalice during the celebration of the Eucharist was particularly rich.[2] The towels were generally kept in a small chest covered with embroidered cloth.[3] A small cushion was also laid on the altar to support the missal. The altar was protected on both sides by curtains. Another curtain was drawn in front of the altar during Lent. The liturgical furnishings also included a

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with the figures of the major Prophets, Daniel, Ezekiel, Isaiah, Jeremiah (English Romanesque Art, catalogue no. 495).

[1] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 60 313, mem. 1 (January 1290): 'domino Johanni de Wycheram pro cissura et custura [...] ij pannorum de carda ad cooperiendum altarem in capella regis...'

[2] E101 366/16/47 (1299-1300): 'linge teile ... por trois paires de towailles al autier... et une parure a la towaille del autier'. Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7965, fol. 144 (1296-1297): 'una tualla de serico ad patenam calicis'.

[3] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7965, fol. 144 (1296-1297): 'ij custodie broudate... j cassus pro corporalibus broudatus.' Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7966A, fol. 40v. (1300-1301): during the construction of the chapel of the Minorites in London, a portica was fixed on one of the sides of the altar to hang the towels.

precious cloth which covered the lectern on feast days.[1] Chapels were the first parts of aristocratic residences to be provided with windows of glass. However, the chapel of the king usually had windows obscured by cloth, of canvas or linen, perhaps rubbed with wax: wooden frames were fixed on the windows, and the cloth was stretched on them.[2] Banquiers were laid on benches of wood or of stone, perhaps in the recess provided by wall arcading, as may be seen in the chapels of Conway and Beaumaris castles.[3] Tapeta also figured in the furnishing of the king's chapel, and they may have been intended to be laid on the floor of the chapel, or to be hung on its walls.[4]

chasuble: the chasuble was a kind of round cloak fastened at the front. It was the only garment which could be worn, over the alb, for the celebration of the Mass. It was usually made out of precious material, and was decorated with ornamented bands called orpheys. Most medieval chasubles have been heavily mutilated. Richly decorated chasubles were very heavy, and this almost

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[1] E101 366/16/47 (1299-1300): ...'et un drap dor pour courir le lettron les iours de feste'. Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7965, fol. 147v: 'j manutergium curtum sutum de auro et serico pro lectrone.'

[2] M. Wood, The English Medieval House, p. 235. Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7965, fol. 14v (1296-1297): 'Waltero de Asshewell valletto capelle regis misso per preceptum regis usque Gippewicum pro quadam capella facienda iuxta cameram regis eiusdem infra prioratum beati Petri eiusdem ville contra adventum ipsius regis... pro panno lineo empto pro quibusdem magnis fenestris eiusdem capelle obturandis.' Records of the Wardrobe and Household, 1285-1286, no. 811: 'pro iij ulnis et dimidia de canabo ad fenestras capelle de Leiburn xd ob. st.'

[3] M. Wood, The English Medieval House, p. 229.

[4] E101 367/18 (1304-1305): purchase of a green tapetum for the chapel of the countess of Holland.

prevented the priest from raising the arms above his head for the elevation of the host: the solution adopted was to change the shape of the chasuble altogether, leaving the arms free.[1]

cope: the cope was often worn in place of the other garments for processions. It was a very large cloak open at the front, decorated with orphreys, and it was held on the chest by a morse, sometimes made of embroidered silk, but more often of precious metal.

dalmatic: the dalmatic was a liturgical garment usually reserved to the lower ranks of the ordained clergy, the deacons. It was split down the sides and adorned with sleeves and decorated with vertical stripes of cloth called clavi. It was also bordered with fringes of gold thread.

maniple: the maniple was a band of cloth decorated in a similar way, and it was worn over the left arm. A figure of St Giles in Lincoln Cathedral, dated c. 1300, represents the saint vested as a priest: the decoration of the garments is visible, particularly the apparel of the amice.[2]

stole: the stole was a long band of heavily decorated cloth, usually of silk, lined with a strong cloth of linen or hemp. It hung loosely over the surplice and rochet, but it was crossed and maintained by the girdle when worn over the alb.

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[1] J. Mayo, A History of Ecclesiastical Dress, p. 141.

[2] Reproduced in The Age of Chivalry, catalogue no. 100.

tunicle: the tunicle was very similar to the dalmatic, with the difference that it was slightly shorter and provided with tighter sleeves.[1]

(v) Military and Equestrian Equipment.

aketon: in 1303-1304, an aketon was made for Prince Edward, and cost 16s.[2] This piece was a quilted garment normally worn under the hauberk. It is difficult to distinguish it from the gambeson which appears in contemporary documents.[3] It seems that the gambeson was more decorated, and more often worn over the hauberk than the aketon.[4] Later on, aketon and gambeson were used as coat armour: such is the case with the gambeson from the Black Prince's funeral achievements at Canterbury.

arm- and leg-protection: thighs and arms were protected with padded fabric or leather, with a reinforced padding for the shoulders, and plates for the knees. The quissoti or quisseaux were a protection for the thighs.

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[1] J. Mayo, A History of Ecclesiastical Dress, p. 151.

[2] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 35 293, fol. 39v.

[3] This is for instance the case in the 1322 ordinance of the armourer's company of London: 'an aketon and gambezon covered with sendall or of cloth of silke be stuffed with new clothe of cotton and of cadar and of oldn sendal and not otherwise. And that ye wyite acketonnes be stuffed of olde lynnen and of cottone and of new clothe wth in and wth out' (quoted in C. Ffoulkes, The Armourer and his Craft, p. 169).

[4] Ordonnances des Métiers de Paris, p. 371, quoted in C. Ffoulke, The Armourer and his Craft, p. 84.

coat-armour: the garment worn as coat-armour is occasionally represented with short sleeves, in the manner of a surcote, but more often without sleeves, and slit at the sides, like a tabard. Woollen cloth or half-silk were probably used for the making of the coat armour.

crest: a crest survives among the funeral achievements of the Black Prince at Canterbury. It is in the form of a lion, and it is made of leather and canvas with a coat of painted and gilded gesso.[1] Crests were fitted to a kind of cap that was fixed to the helm by lacing. Also, iconographic documents often show a flowing cloth or scarf attached to the helm. This is for instance the case on one of the sculptures on the canopy of William de Valence's tomb in Westminster Abbey. An account of 1276-1277 mentions leaves of gold purchased for the crests of the king's capella.[2]

head protection: a quilted coif could be worn over or under the mail coif of the hauberk, and was very similar to the coif of civilian dress.[3] A supplementary protection was the capellum or helmet of metal: Edward of Caernarvon had a capellum de ferrero made for him in 1299-1300.[4] In 1275-1276, a piece of deer leather was purchased to make cerebra or inner linings for the

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[1] Reproduced in The Age of Chivalry, cat. no. 627.

[2] C47 3/11 (1276-1277): 'pro foliis auri emptis ad crestas capellorum regis vjs'.

[3] C. Blair, European Armour, p. 34.

[4] E101 359/18, mem. 3.

'capella et galeas regis.'[1]

horse protection: the horse cover, hucea, was sometimes doubled, probably for the winter season: in 1300-1301, for instance, four horses of the king had a cover made of cloth of England, with a lining of canvas.[2] In 1302-1303, Ralph de Stokes received the order to deliver eleven 'huces dubles' for some horses of the king.[3] How much cloth was necessary for the making of a horse cover? This varied according to the type of horse. A cover for a destrier, the horse used on the battlefield and in chivalric encounters, would require six to eight ells of cloth. Cursors and palfreys were smaller horses and only three or four ells of cloth were necessary for a cover. A complete cover, tester included, was made for a palfrey in 1301-1302: it required seven ells of cloth.[4] A tester made for a destrier in 1296-1297 used three ells of cloth.[5] In some cases, tester and crupper were made of leather, probably cuir-bouilli. Chain-mail was also used for the making of horse armour.

pennicellus and vexillum: the pennicellus, or pennon, was made from a relatively small piece of cloth of a triangular shape. In 1300-1301, pennons were prepared for the royal army: half an ell

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[1] C47 3/11.

[2] E101 359/4, mem. 7.

[3] E101 363/27/111.

[4] E101 361/17, mem. 4.

[5] Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 7965, fol. 24.

of linen was necessary for the making of each pennon.[1] The vexillum, or banner, was a rectangular piece of cloth, whose longest side was nailed to the staff. The banners prepared in 1300-1301 for the royal army required a piece of cindon each.[2] The iconography often represents banners on a very small scale. But some banners must have been of large dimensions. Such is the case with surviving religious banners: for instance, the banner of the leprosery of Bruges, dated from 1502, measures 0,93m (height) by 0,75m (width).[3] Banners and pennons could be decorated with painting or embroidery. In addition, fringes could border the banners and pennons.[4] It is possible that the painted linen was protected with a coat of wax, but this could not be the case for banners of silk, which had to be replaced frequently. Staffs were regularly purchased for banners. They were probably most often made of wood, but some were made of iron.[5] The staff was certainly heavy: the bearer of the banner would have had a leather case attached to his saddle to support the staff.[6]

sambuca/sambue: a special saddle for women.

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[1] E101 359/20.

[2] E101 359/20.

[3] M. Aubert, 'La Bannière des Lépreux du Cabinet des Estampes', Archives de l'Art Français, nouvelle période, viii, Mélanges offerts à Jules Guiffrey (Paris, 1916), pp. 17-24, esp. p. 17.

[4] C47/3/11: mention of fringes for the pennons of trumpets.

[5] E101 351/9 (1282-1283).

[6] E101 351/9 (1282-1283). Illustrations from XVth century manuscripts in E. Wagner et al., Medieval Costume, Armour and Weapons (1350-1450) (London, 1958), part VIII, plates 8 and 9.

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Commentary on the Plates.

Plate I (inserted after the title page): Livery of Robes to the Knights of a King. The illumination reproduced here is one of the paintings illustrating the Holkham manuscript of the pseudo-Aristotle Secreta secretorum, the companion treatise to the manuscript De nobilitatibus, sapientiis, et prudentiis regum written by Walter de Milemete for the young Edward III.[1] It depicts a king and three knights kneeling in front of him, with furs of minever over their arms. This painting illustrates the text of the eleventh chapter of the treatise, which is an account of royal ceremonial, and especially of the appearance of a king, who must surpass all others in majesty.[2] However, the illumination seems to represent a handing out of robes to the knights of a king. This is confirmed by the fact that a frame or perch is depicted in the background of the scene, with furs and cloth hung on it. A perch is represented in the Bibliothèque Nationale MS. fr. 571, Le Dit de Fauveyn, fol. 146v. (c. 1326): the upper right painting represents two testamentary executors stealing money and plate, while Fauvain steals a coat of fur hung

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[1] The manuscript was probably illuminated in a London workshop. M.R. James, The Treatise of Walter de Milemete (Oxford, 1913). M.A. Manzalaoui, 'The Secreta Secretorum in English Thought and Literature from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century with a preliminary survey of the origins of the Secreta', D. Phil. Oxford 1954.

[2] The text of this chapter is edited in chapter 6. A slightly different version may be found in Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi, v, Secretum Secretorum, ed. R. Steele (Oxford, 1920), p. 48.

on a rod.[1]

Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 47 680, fol. 17v. (c. 1326-1327).

Plate II (inserted between p. 24 and p. 25): Looms. The plate represents the three main types of loom in use in the late XIIIth century, the warp-weighted loom, the upright loom and the horizontal treadle-loom.

D. Keene, 'The Textile Industry', in M. Biddle, Object and Economy in Medieval Winchester, i, fig. 42.

Plate III (inserted between p. 24 and p. 25): Main Weaves (Binding Systems). The plate represents the three most frequent types of weave, the tabby weave, the three-shed twill (weft-faced), the four-shed twill and the diamond twill.

PLate IV: Spanish Silk. The silk reproduced on plate IV is a fragment of a cloth of gold patterned with griffins and peacocks set in lozenges. A band decorated with a Cufic inscription borders the fragment. Cufic lettering is also to be found around the peacocks. This silk is certainly the product of a Hispano-Moresque workshop, and probably dates from the late XIIth or early XIIIth century.[2] It is probable that silks similar to this one found their way to the English court, thanks to the

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[1] This illumination is reproduced in F. Avril and P.D. Stirnemann, Manuscripts Enluminés d'Origine Insulaire VIIe-XXe Siècle (Paris, 1987), pl. lxxvi.

[2] C.G.E. Bunt, Hispano-Moresque Fabrics (Leigh-on-Sea, 1966).

connections between the English Crown and Castile.[1]
Victoria and Albert Museum, 275-1894.

Plate V: Spanish or Italian Silk. The silk fragment reproduced on plate V is decorated with a heraldic motif of castles and fleurs-de-lys, and probably dates from the middle of the XIIIth century. It is exactly similar to the cloth worn by Jean de France (d. 1247) on the drawing by Roger de Gaignières based on the effigy at Royaumont.[2] This type of heraldic pattern was very common in the decoration of silks, and may be compared with the silk represented on the effigy of Eleanor of Castile in Westminster Abbey (plate XI) and in general with silks of Spanish origins.
Victoria and Albert Museum, 8592-1863. Colours: yellow, tan and blue.

Plate VI: Spanish or Italian Silk. This silk decorated with a simple pattern of small flowers set in lozenges, probably well illustrates the average production of patterned silks.
Victoria and Albert Museum, 875-1899.

Plate VII: Italian Silk. The fragment of silk reproduced here was probably part of a piece of clothing (a sleeve?). Its rich

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[1] T. Tolley, 'Eleanor of Castile and the 'Spanish' Style in England', England in the Thirteenth Century. Proceedings of the 1989 Harlaxton Symposium, ed. W.M. Ormrod, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, I (Stamford, 1991), pp. 167-92 and plates, esp. pp. 181-2.

[2] Reproduced in M. Norris, Monumental Brasses. The Craft (London and Boston, 1978), fig. 3.

decoration of flowers and trees, birds, deer and lions on a background of gold is very much influenced by the patterns of Eastern silks, in particular Persian and Syrian silks.[1] It is probably a product of a Lucchese workshop, and seems to date from the XIVth century.

Victoria and Albert Museum, 8594-1863.

Plate VIII: Italian Silk. The silk reproduced on plate VIII is another example of the production of Lucchese workshops in the XIVth century. Birds and flowers pattern a background woven in gold threads.

Victoria and Albert Museum, 7084-1860.

PLate IX: Chinese, Middle Eastern or European Silk of Chinese Inspiration. This cloth of gold is decorated with patterns set in bands, a typical arrangement of silks of Chinese inspiration.

Victoria and Albert Museum, 765-1893.

PLate X: Italian Silk. In this example of a cloth of gold, the influence of Chinese silks, and in particular the use of asymetric patterns, is clearly visible. Lucchese workshops probably produced this type of silk in the first decades of the XIVth century. Other extant remains of Lucchese silks are of very similar inspiration.[2]

Victoria and Albert Museum, 1304-1864.

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[1] C.G.E. Bunt, Persian Fabrics (Leigh-on-Sea, 1963), figs. 5 and 7.

[2] For instance, fig. 24 in C.G.E. Bunt, Sicilian and Lucchese Fabrics (Leigh-on-Sea, 1961).

Plate XI: Effigy of Eleanor of Castile in Westminster Abbey (c. 1291-1293). The effigy of Queen Eleanor in Westminster Abbey lies on a representation of a funeral pall, while the head of the effigy rests on two cushions. The silk of the pall and of the cushions is decorated with castles and lions, alluding to the arms of Castile and England, or the arms of Castile-Léon. This strongly recalls an illumination from the manuscript MS T.I.1 of the biblioteca de El Escorial, cantiga 169: the mantle of Alfonso X is decorated with lions in roundels, while the tapetum or banquier that appears under the chair of the king is decorated with lions and castles, the arms of Léon and Castile.[1] The pellote from the tomb of Fernando de la Cerda in Las Huelgas is also decorated with lions and castles, but these are represented within coat-armours, while the lions and castles of the effigy of Eleanor of Castile and of the manuscript of the Escorial are depicted in small squares.[2]

Plate XII: Burse decorated with the Technique of 'Opus Anglicanum'. The linen background of the purse is entirely hidden by the embroidery of silk and metal thread. The scenes depicted are the Crucifixion and the Coronation of the Virgin (first half of the XIVth century).
Victoria and Albert Museum. T.62-1936.

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[1] This illumination is reproduced in J. Guerrero Lovillo, Las Cántigas. Estudio Arqueológico de sus Miniaturas (Madrid, 1949), plate 185.

[2] This has been underlined by T. Tolley, 'Eleanor of Castile and the 'Spanish' Style in England', p. 183, n. 64.

Plate XIII: Fragments of a Stole. The use of heraldry for the decoration of church vestments was very widespread. Stoles in particular were often decorated with heraldic patterns, such as this one, made of linen and embroidered with thirty-nine shields. It probably dates from the late XIIIth or early XIVth century. Victoria and Albert Museum. T. 343-1921.

Plate XIV: Bed-Cover of Vair. The illumination reproduced here illustrates the manuscript of the Secreta Secretorum produced for Edward III (cf. plate I). It depicts a king lying in bed. He seems to wear a camisia. His head rests on the auricularium. The cover of minever lies on the top of a subcoopertorium or perhaps directly on the culcitra.
Brit. Lib. Add. MS. 47 680, fol. 61v. (c. 1326-1327).

Plate XV: Military Apparell. St. George and Thomas of Lancaster are depicted on the first folio of a Book of Hours (before 1322).[1] The chain-mail armour, with plates at the elbows, appears under the flowing cotes of both the saint and the earl. St. George's cote is decorated with the red cross, emblem of the saint, on a background which is probably an embroidered or patterned cloth (a cloth of gold?). Thomas of Lancaster wears a cote decorated with the three leopards of England, with a label over the chest. The lining of cloth appears in a fold of the cote. We may suggest that what appears to be green paint on the illumination could have once been gold paint. They both wear

[1] O. Pächt and J.J. Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, iii, British School (Oxford, 1973), no. 575.

ailettes as a protection for the shoulders, and hold a staff with a banner.
Bodleian Library, MS. Douce 231, fol. 1 (before 1322).

Plate XVI: An Example of Court Costume: the Costume of St. Anne. In the same manuscript as that reproduced on plate XVI, the figure of St. Anne is depicted protecting the Virgin under her largely open mantle. The mantle is lined with minever fur, and is tucked under one arm, in a gesture that recurrs on funeral effigies.[1] The cote or surcote is long and flowing, with tightly fitted sleeves. It seems to be held at the waist by a girdle. Embroidery decorates the collar. The hair of St. Anne is enclosed in a kind of net, and held with a starched band of linen.
Bodleian Library, MS. Douce 231, fol. 3 (before 1322).

Plate XVII: Mi-Parti Clothing. An illumination from a bestiary of the late XIIIth or early XIVth century illustrates the popular story of the dog and the murderer. Most of the characters depicted wear knee-length mi-parti clothes. The victim wears a linen coif under his capellum, obviously an outdoor arrangement.
Bodleian Library, MS. Douce 151, fol. 22 (c. 1300).

Plates XVIII, XIX and XX: The Representation of Contemporary Costume in a manuscript of the Apocalypse c. 1250-1260. Although slightly anterior to the period under study, the MS. Auct. D. IV 17 offers many detailss concerning costume and furnishings and

[1] For instance at St. Mary Magdalene, Gloucester (reproduced in H.A. Tummers, Early Secular Effigies in England. The Thirteenth Century (Leiden, 1980), plate 168).

provides a good comparison with the illuminations of the Douce Apocalypse, which were probably drawn a few years later [plate XXI]. The upper illumination on fol. 2r shows the emperor seated with his leg crossed, a gesture that occurs frequently in illuminations depicting kings or emperors [plate XVIII]. Over his cote, he seems to wear a tabard or a surcote held at the waist by a large belt. His mantle is fastened on the shoulder by a clasp. His hose or buskins seem to be decorated with embroidered or woven patterns. St John wears a cote with tightly fitted sleeves and a surcote with large sleeves. Over his garments, a cape is draped. St John is surrounded by two figures in short costume, here probably a sign of menial status. The figure addressing the emperor wears a kind of striped garment held at the waist by a belt. The slit through which the head is put is clearly visible. The underwear also appears clearly: the breeches are tucked in the hose. The other figure in short costume is dressed in a similar way. The slit of the garment is fastened with a kind of pin. He wears boots and a capellum. The last figure on the left wears a cote, a surcote and a kind of mantle with sleeves, but his arms are actually passed through openings under the sleeves. He wears ankle-shoes and a capellum. On the lower illumination, the emperor is dressed in a cote and a surcote, and holds the cord of his mantle in his hand. The figure next to him wears a mantle with sleeves and holds long gloves in his hand. The other figures wear short garments and coifs, and one of them wears his hood over his head.

On fol. 2v, other details of costume appear: the emperor holds one glove and wears the other, and low-ankle shoes [plate

XIX]. One of the servants wears a striped garment. The bottom illumination is interesting for the representation of shields on the sail. On the upper illumination of fol. 7v, the figure of the Antichrist wears a cote, a surcote girdled at the waist and a mantle fastened at the front by a brooch or clasp. He wears decorated buskins and a couvrechef. The figure to his left wears a garment slit in tongues, perhaps a garment de alemannia. On the left side of the illumination, several characters wear mantles with sleeves and couvrechefs. On the bottom part of the folio, the second figure from the left wears knee-defences of plate or cuir-bouilli [plate XX].
Bodleian Library, MS. Auct. D. IV 17, fols. 2r and 2v, 7v.

Plate XXI: Elements of Contemporary Costume in the Douce Apocalypse (before 1272). The Douce Apocalypse, a manuscript owned by the Lord Edward and Eleanor of Castile, provides ample information for contemporary costume. The illumination reproduced here depicts female costume with great precision. The central figure probably wears a cote and a surcote under her heavy mantle that falls to the ground in large folds. The absence of girdle, which was usually worn over the cote and under the surcote is noticeable. The female figures all wear the couvrechef with the gorget. The male garments depicted here are slightly shorter, and the shorter cape seems to be worn in place of the long mantle. Coifs and couvrechefs are worn by the male figures.
Bodleian Library Douce 180, fol. 183. Apocalypse (before 1272).

Plate XXII: A Cradle. The illumination reproduced here shows a

small bed or a cradle. The child's head rests on the auricularium, while a cover or perhaps culcitra covers the bed. The standing figure wears a mantle lined with ermine fur.
Bodleian Library, MS. Gough Liturg. 8, fol. 10. Psalter (early XIVth century).

Plate XXIII and XXIV : Beds. Plate XXIII represents the frame of a bed, with what seems to be a dosselum of fabric or leather at the head. Plate XXIV seems to represent a canopy over a bed, perhaps a canopy hung with cords from the ceiling.
Bodleian Library MS. Douce 88, fol. 144 (late XIIIth century) and MS. Auct. D. 3. 5, fol. 100,

Plates XXV and XXVI: A Cart and a Tent. The cart represented here seems to be covered in fabric or leather, and openings have been provided for light. The tent is round, and the details of decoration appear clearly: a pomellum surmounts the tent, and the tassellum or leather fringe decorates it.
Bodleian Library MS. Douce 131, fols. 43 and 68v. Psalter (c. 1340).

Plate XXVII: Military Equipment from the Genealogy of the Kings of England. Over their armour of chain-mail, the combattants wear flowing coat-armours. The coat-armour of the figure on the right has patterns matching the patterns of the hucea of the horse. The hucea seems to be composed of two distinct parts, the crupper and the tester. Banners and pennons appear in the background.
Bodleian Library Bodley Rolls 3 (late XIIIth century). Row 3,

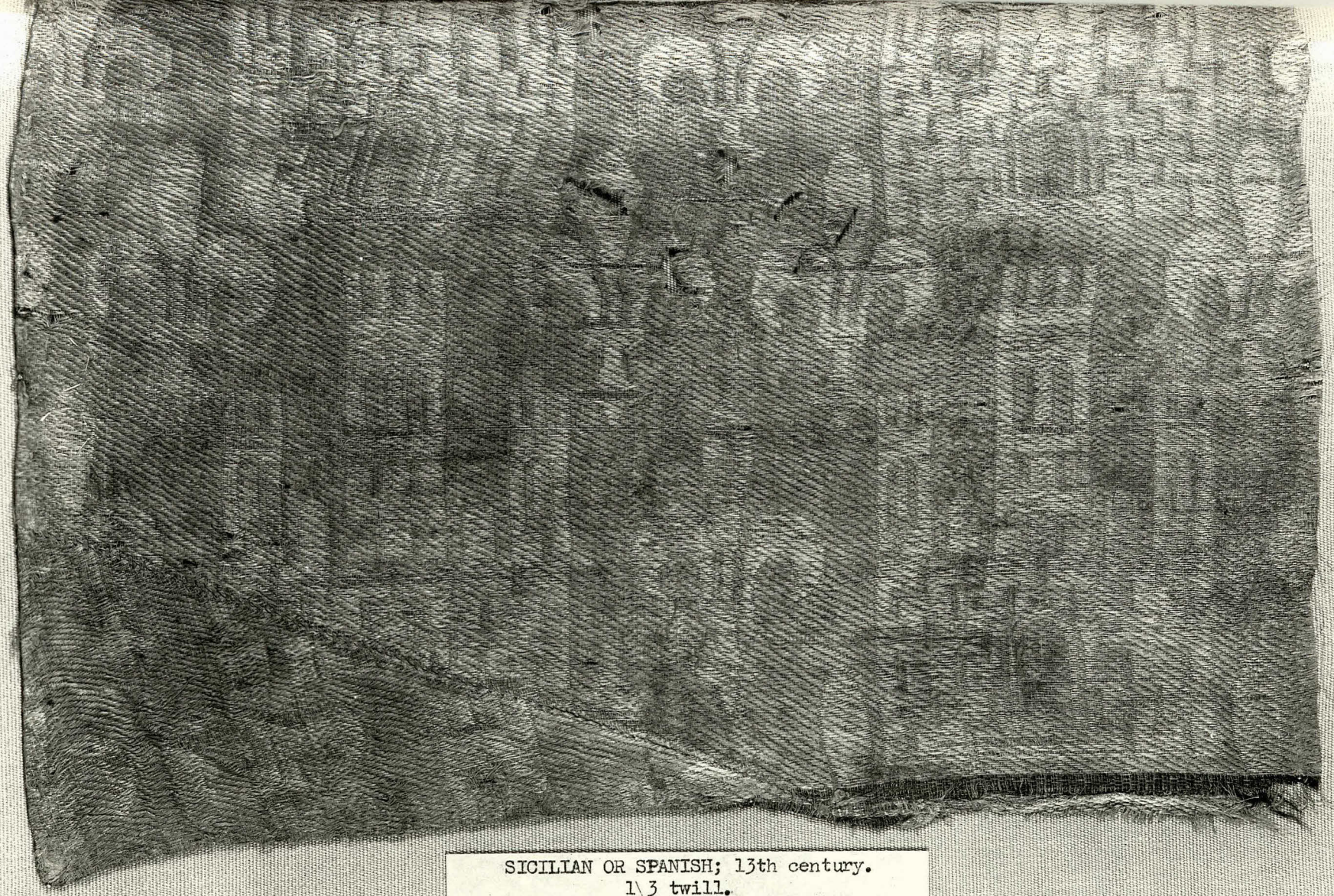
centre-piece.

Plates XXVIII and XXIX: Costume and Military Equipment from the Ormesby Psalter and the Douce Apocalypse. The female figure in the bottom scene of the page from the Ormesby Psalter [plate XXVIII] wears a cote and a sleeveless surcote, with buttons on the shoulders. Her hair is netted and covered with a couvrechef. The male figures wears chain-mail armour, but also plate defences on the shoulders (ailettes), elbows and knees. This may be compared with the defences depicted in the Douce Apocalypse [plate XXIX].

Bodleian Library MS. Douce 366, fol. 55v. (c. 1310) and MS. Douce 180, p. 87 (before 1272).

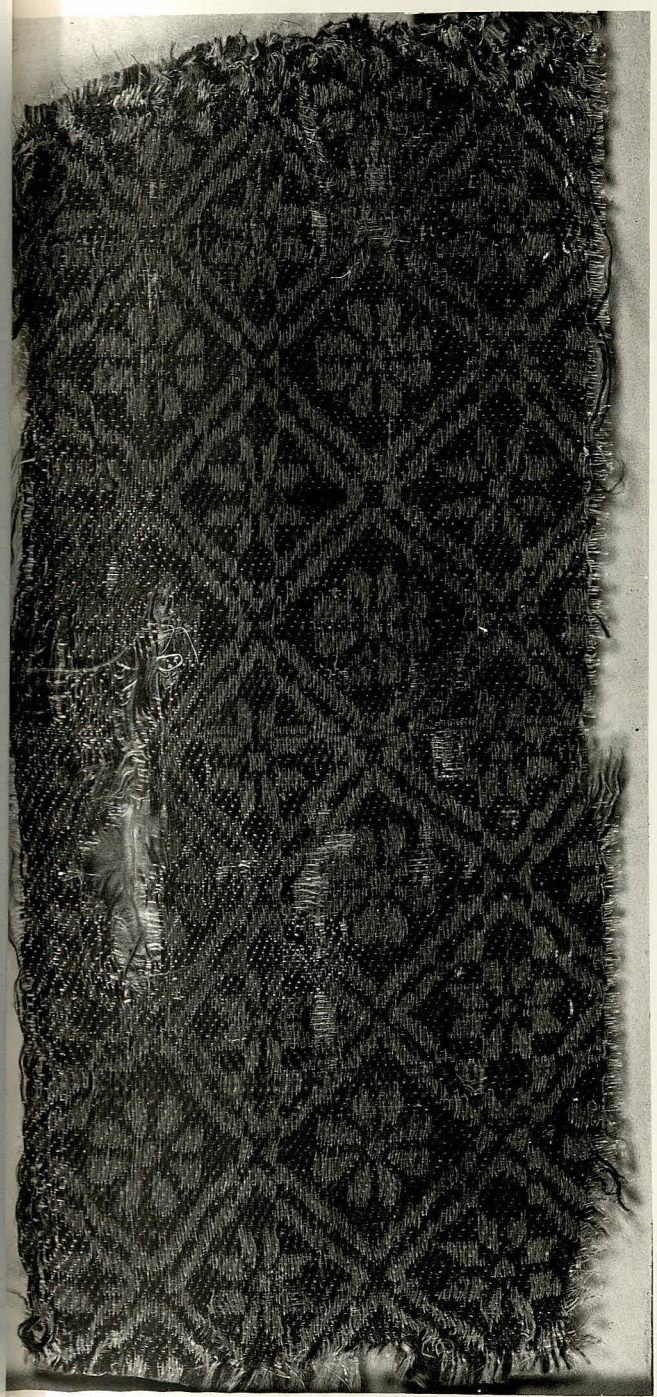


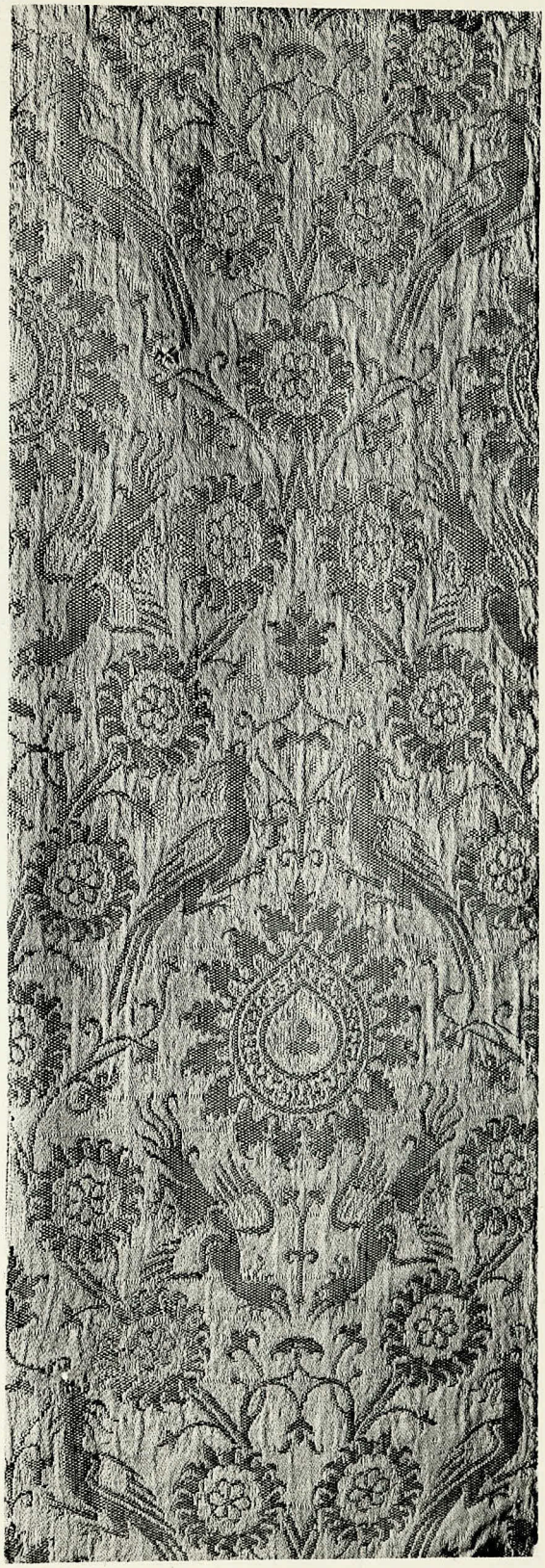
PLate IV



SICILIAN OR SPANISH; 13th century.
1\3 twill.
Single binding and pattern warps; 2 wefts.
Warps: silk, undyed;
Wefts: silk, yellow, tan, blue.
8592-1863.

Plate V





PLates VI and VII

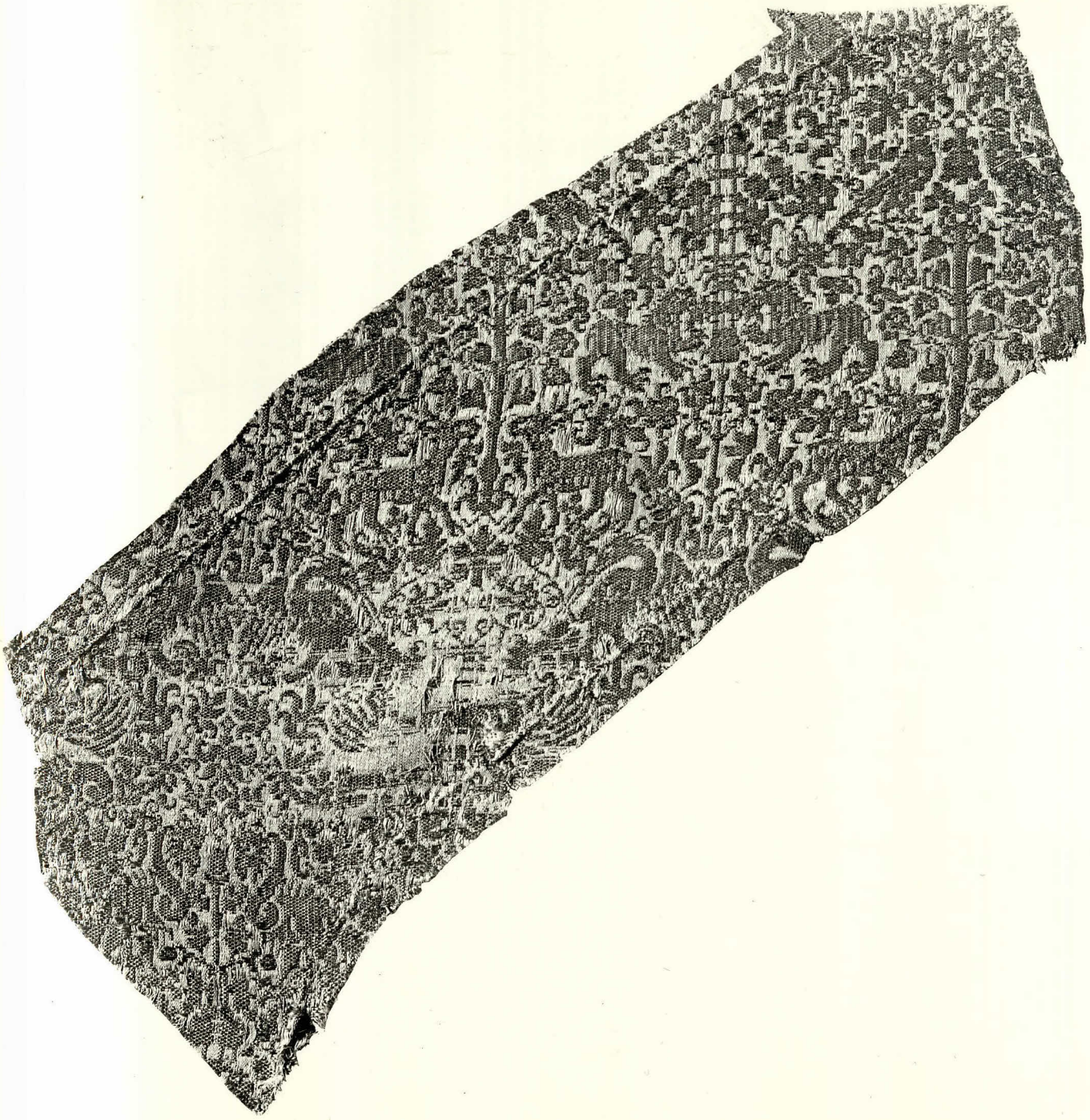


PLate VIII



Plate IX



Plate X



Plate XI



Plate XII

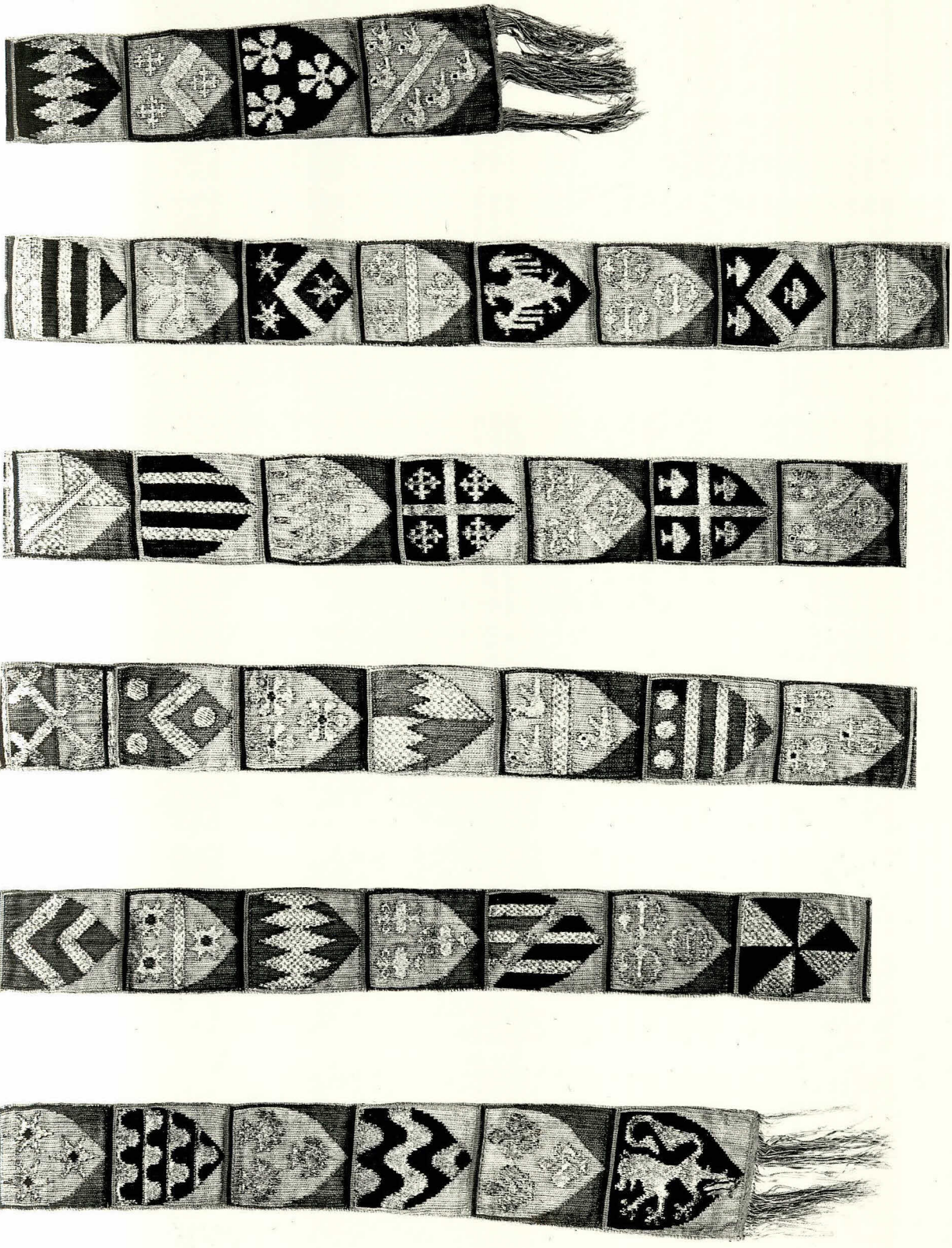


Plate XIII

tuum a potatione aque. ne ne super cibum donec
in consuetudinem adducatur. ¶ Quia pota
tio aque frigide super stomachum cibum refri
gerat. ¶ Et coniungit calorem naturalem di
gestionis. ¶ Et cibum confundit. ¶ Et im
pedimentum generat: si multum bibatur.
quo nichil est detrimentosius corpori. ¶ Si ergo necesse
fuerit ut aquam sumas uel propter calorem
temporis uel corporis uel propter calorem sto
machi. uel propter cibum. ¶ Sit modica et
bene frigida [illegible]



Cum ui
gilauerit
refectus fuerit
ascende uel in
cede super stra
menta mollia
¶ Deinde tem
pera te dormi
tioni. ¶ Et re
quiesce unam ho
ra super latus
dextrum. ¶ De
inde ad sinistrum reuerte. Et super illud perfice
dormitionem. ¶ Quia latus sinistrum fri
gidum est et indiget calefactione ¶ Ergo

Plate XIV

1982
BODLEIAN LIBRARY
MS. Douce 231. 1R

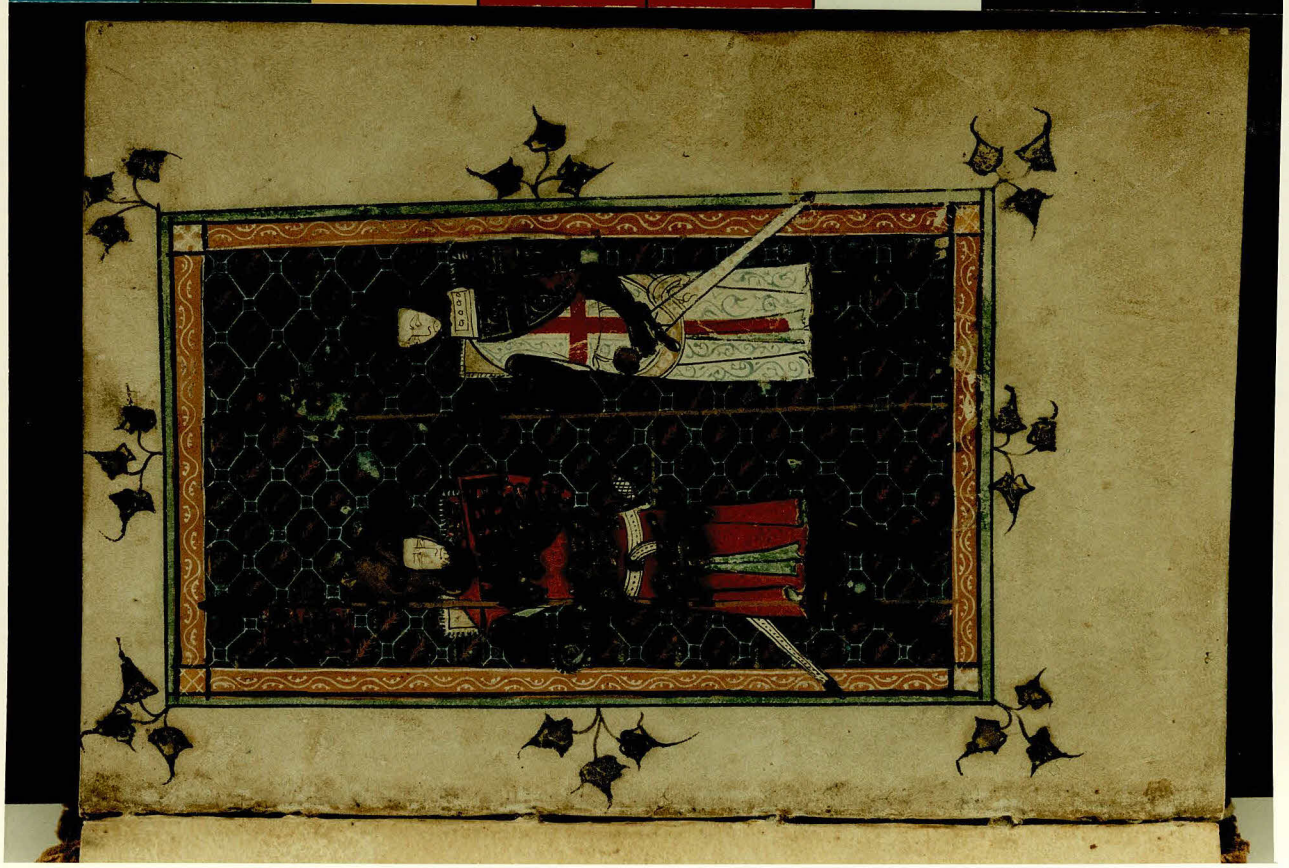


Plate XV

BODLEIAN 1. LIBRARY 2.

MS. DOUCE. 231. f 3 r



Plate XVI



BODLEIAN LIBRARY

MS. Douce. 151. fol. 22R.

Plate XVII



BODLEIAN LIBRARY
1 2 3 4 5 6

MS. Auct. D. 4. fol 2R.

Plate XVIII

BODLEIAN LIBRARY
MS. Auct. D. 4. 17. fol. 2v.



Plate XIX

BODLEIAN LIBRARY 2

MS. Auct. D. IV. 17. fol. 7v.

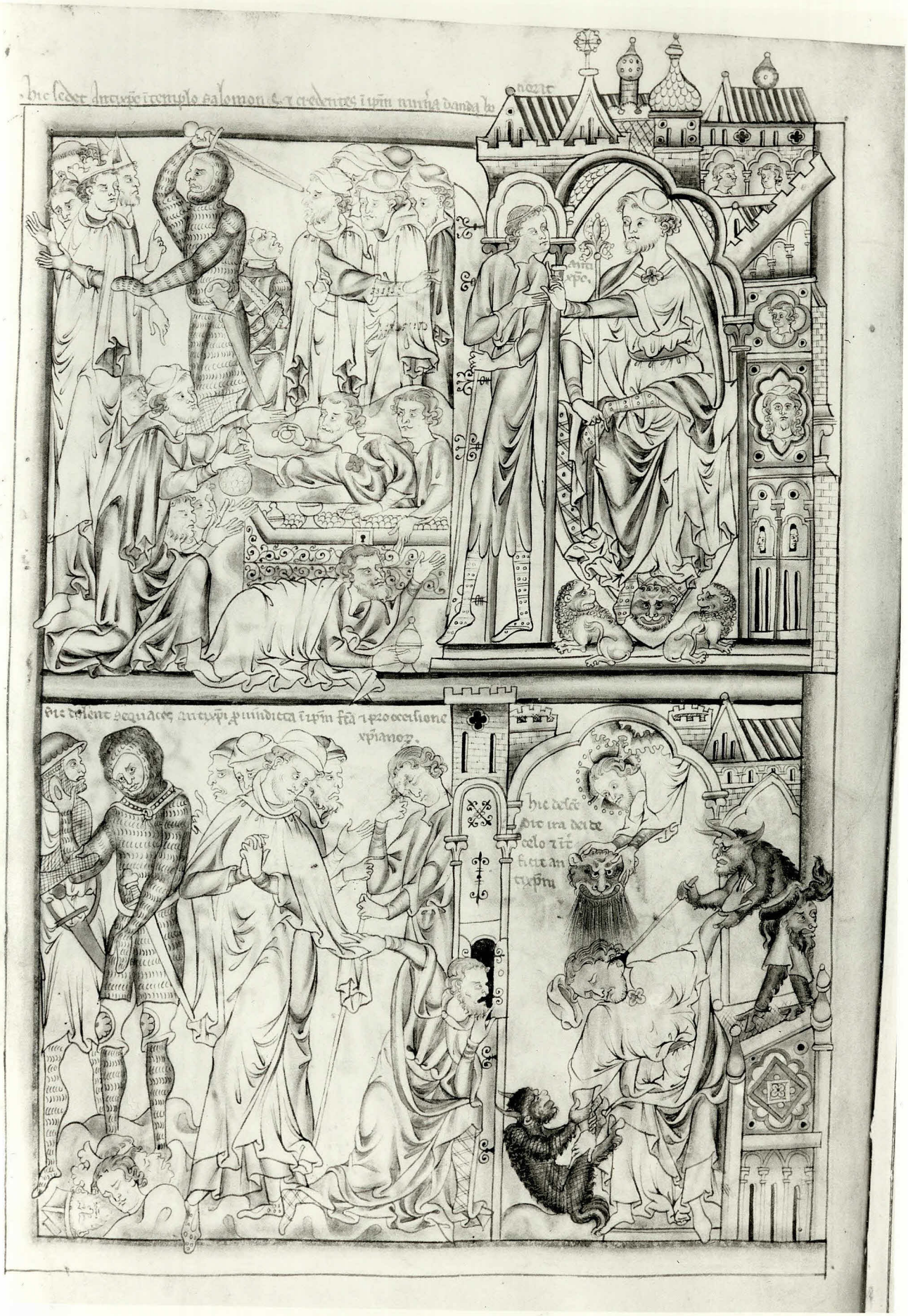


Plate XX



Plate XXI

1 2 3 4 5
BODLEIAN 1. LIBRARY 2.
MS. GOUGH. LIT. 8 · fol. 10R.

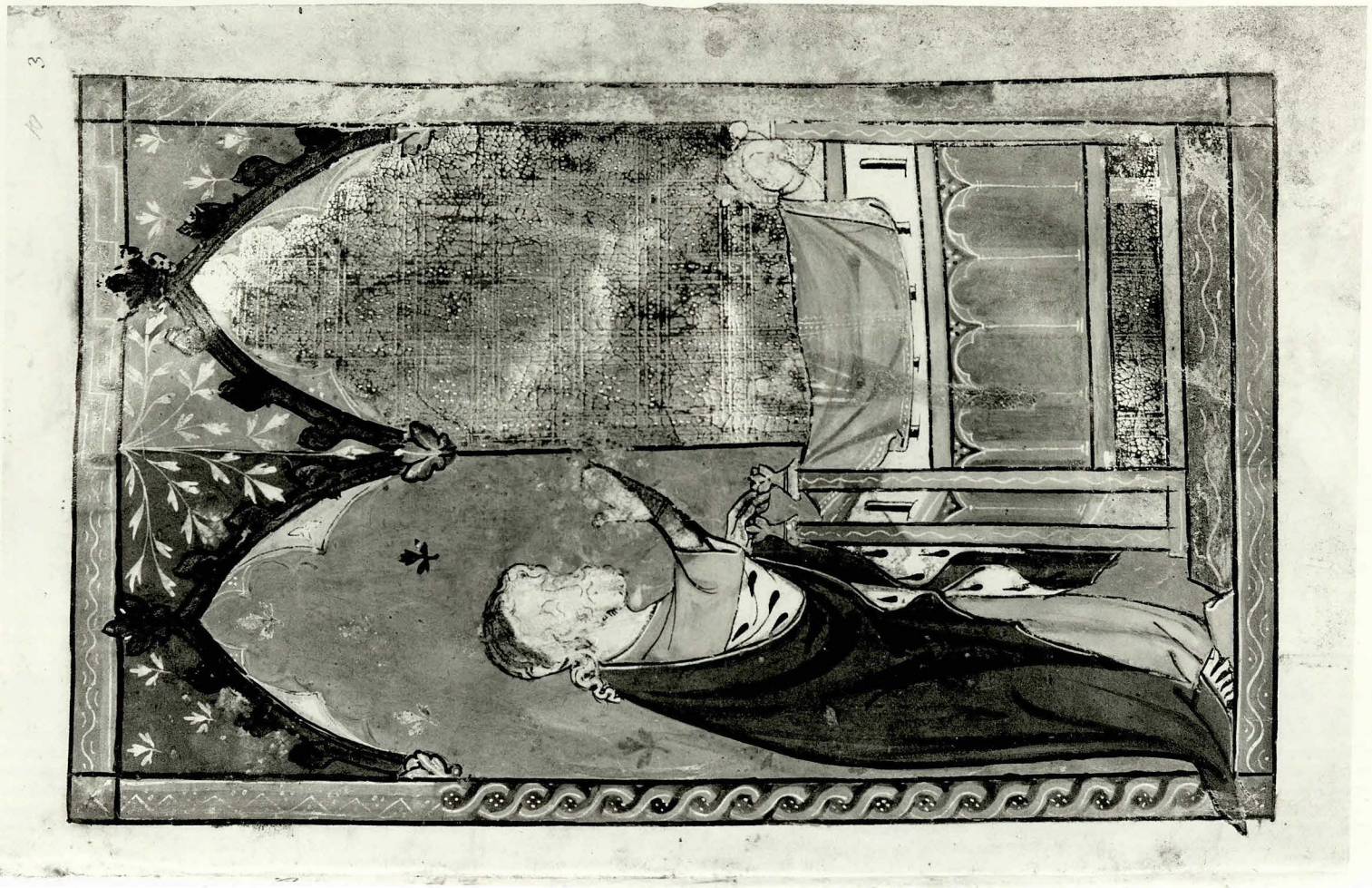
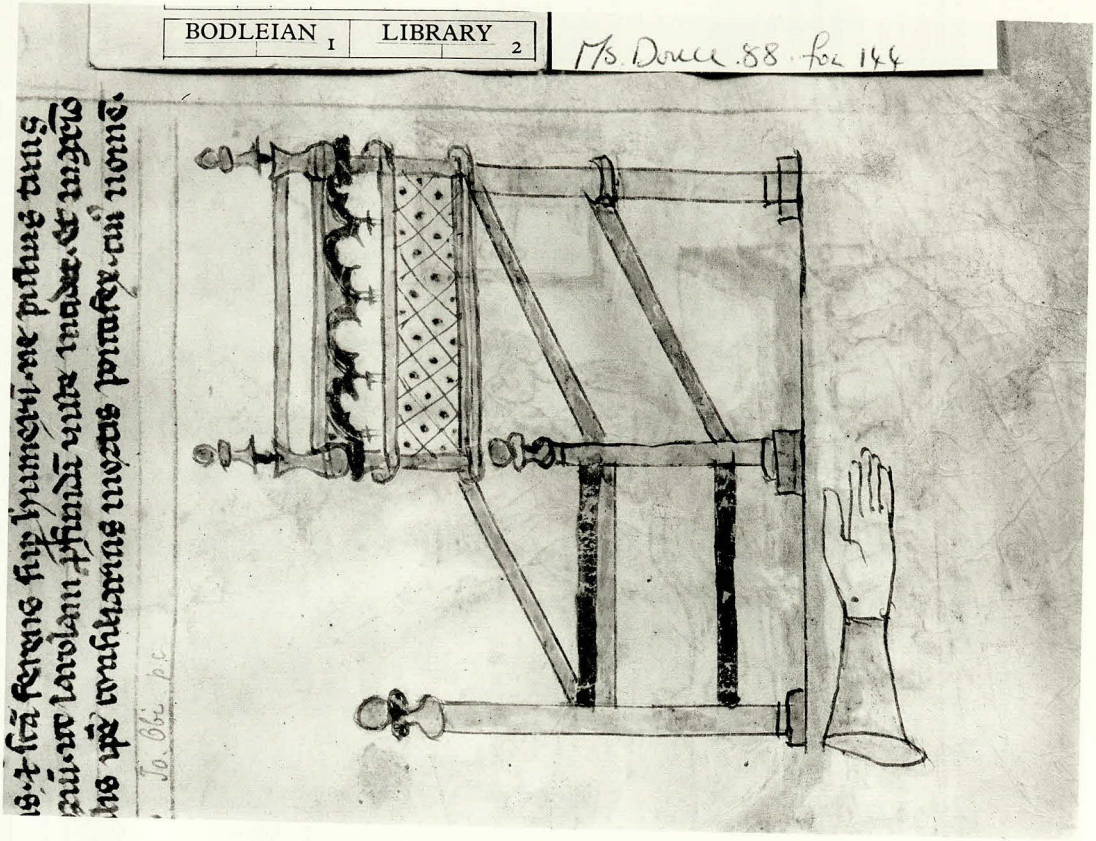


Plate XXII

BODLEIAN 1 LIBRARY 2
Ms. Douce. 88. fol. 144



MS Auct. D. 3. 5. fol. 100R
BODLEIAN I. LIBRARY 2.
1 2 3 4 5

Plates XXIII and XXIV

Propterea deus dissipauit te in finem: euellet te et emigrabit te de tabernaculo tuo. et radicem tuam de terra uiuentium.

Uidebunt iusti et timebunt et super eum ridebunt et dicent: ecce homo qui non posuit deum adiutorem suum.

Sed sperauit in multitudine diuitiarum suarum: et preualuit in uanitate sua.

Ego autem sicut oliua fructifera in domo dei: speraui in misericordia dei in eternum et in seculum seculi.

Confitebor tibi in seculum quia fecisti: et expectabo nomen tuum quoniam bonum est in conspectu sanctorum tuorum.



Dixit insipiens in corde suo: non est deus.

Corrupti sunt et abominabiles facti sunt in studiis suis:



BODLEIAN LIBRARY 2

MS. Douce 131 43R

Plate XXV

Ms. Douce 131 f. 68 v°

BODLEIAN LIBRARY 2



exultate deo
adiutori nro:
iubilate deo
iacob.
Sumite
psalmum:
date tympa
num: psalte
rium iocun
dum cum cythara.
Buccinate in neomenia tuba: in insigni die so
lennitatis vre.
Quia preceptum in isrl est: et iudicium deo iacob.
Testimonium in ioseph posuit illud cum exiret
de terra egypti: linguam quam non nouerat audiui.
Auertit ab oneribus dorsum eius: manus
eius cophino seruierunt.
In tribulatione inuocasti me et liberaui te: et
audiui te in abscondito tempestatis, probaui
te apud aquam contradictionis.
Audi populus meus et contestabor te: isrl
si audieris me non erit in te deus recens nec



Plate XXVI

Plate XXVII

sultationes aduersantium mihi. per-

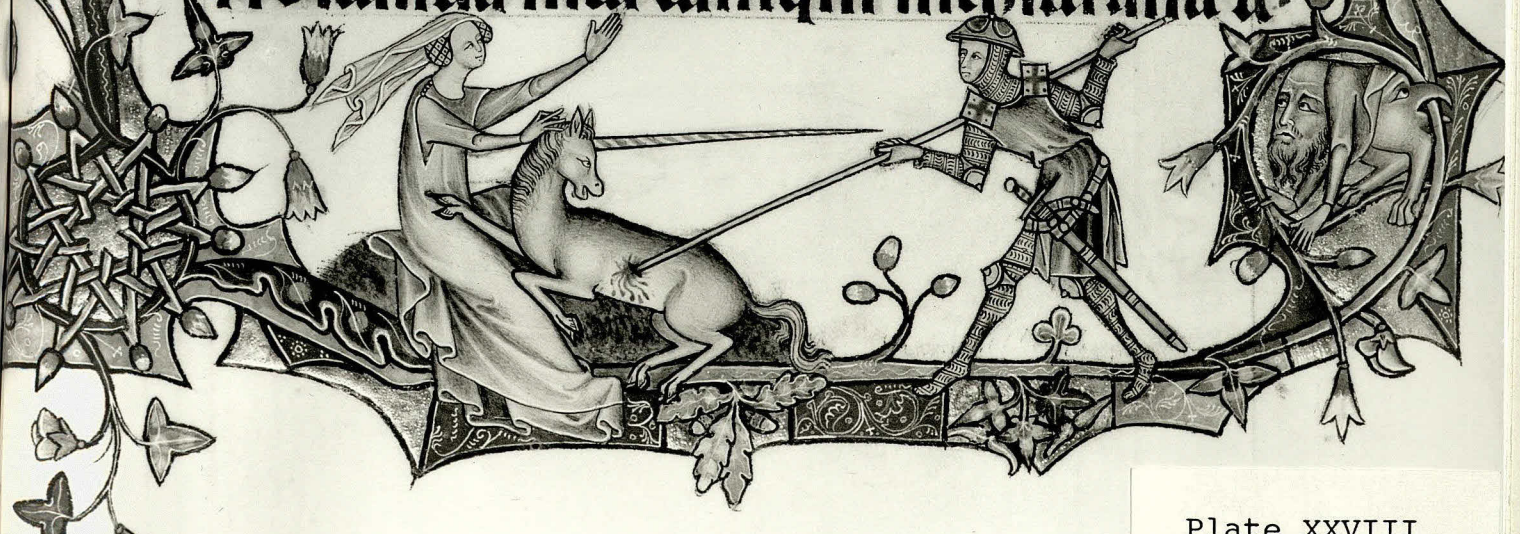
ui custodiam uias
meas: ut non delin
quam in lingua me
a Posui ori meo ca
stodiam: cum con
sisteret aduersum me.
Obmutui & humiliatus sum & silui a bo
nis: & dolor meus renouatus est
Concaluit cor meum intra me: & in me
ditatione mea exardescet ignis.
Locutus sum in lingua mea: notum fac
mihi domine finem meum.
Et numerum dierum meorum qui est:
ut sciam quid desit mihi.
Ecce mensurabiles posuisti dies meos:
& substantia mea tamquam nichilum ante te.


Plate XXVIII

Ch. 20.
V. 7 8.



rcum mille anni consúma
ti fuerint soluetur sathanas
de carcere suo ⁊ seducet gentes q̃ sunt
supr quatuor angulos terre. Gog
et magog: ⁊ congregabit eos in pre
lium quorum numerus est sicut a
rena maris. Quidem hic carcer supi
abyssus uocatur. Si inferi
questio oritur. Supius quippe quorundam opinio
nem sequens dixi. Per abyssum corda impiorum pos
se designari in quib; diabolus a cordib; fidelium ex
pulsus religatus teneatur. Si ergo per abyssum ⁊
corda reprobõrum designãtur. quomodo de abysso. ⁊
de cor dib; reproborum terre dicitur quos nunquam
derelinquetur: Numquid reprobos derelicturus est
et surdus electos. Nullo modo. Alligatõem ergo
diaboli secundum literam intelligendam puto ut
maliquo abyssi loco utrum diuina religatus tene
atur. Vel terre in inferno usq; ad diem absolutõnis
sue. Seducet autem gentes que sunt super quatu
or angulos terre qui uniuersas gentes que infra
quatuor plagas mundi continentur antixpi im
pissima doctrina perlustrabit. Nullas q; alias gen
tes seducet nisi que spiritaliter gog ⁊ magog uo
cantur. Gog namq; interpretatur tectum. ⁊ magog
detectõ. Per gog igitur qui interpretatur tectum
hic designantur qui malitiam suam in corde regen
tes. nisi ab hominib; uidebuntur cum futuri sint
mente reprobi. Magog uero quod interpretatur
detecto eos designat. qui detecto cordis sui in ap
tas miserias proximos omnib; semetipos ex
ceri demonstrabunt. Tales itaq; diabolus p anti
xpm facile deuincet
et cetera. ⁊ cetera. Et congregabit e
os in prelium quorum nume
rus est sicut arena maris. In
prelium eos congregabit quia ad ecclesiam dei
persequendam
eos armabit. Et ascenderunt supr
altitudinem terre ⁊ circuierunt ca
stra sanctorum ⁊ ciuitatem dilec
tam et descendit ignis de celo et de
uorauit eos. Diximus superius diuer
sos antixpi laudatores
fore uitiorum ⁊ omnia que ad delectãones carnales

Plate XXIX