

ON AN HERALDIC WINDOW IN THE NORTH AISLE OF THE NAVE OF YORK CATHEDRAL.

BY CHARLES WINSTON AND WESTON STYLEMAN WALFORD.

THE Nave of York Cathedral contains the most perfect, and perhaps the most extensive, remains of painted glass of the early part of the fourteenth century, of which this country can boast. All the windows of the aisles (except two), the great west window of the nave, and all the clear-story windows (except two) retain their original glazing, but little mutilated, and as yet, fortunately, not "restored."

We learn from documents, that the foundation of the Nave was begun on the south side, towards the East, in April, 1291, and that an altar, dedicated to St. Edmund, was erected on the south side of the nave in 1326; which might lead us to seek the earliest glazing in those windows of the south aisle which are nearest the transept. Want of leisure has prevented us from undertaking the complete examination of more than one window, namely, that which is the subject of this memoir, the first window reckoning from the east in the north aisle of the nave. But such an examination of the heraldry in the other windows of the nave¹ as we have been enabled to make, appears to justify a confident opinion that the earliest glazing is that contained in the window about to be described, and, judging only by the style of execution, in the window which is next to it and known as the Bell-founders' window.² In point of style, the

¹ The arms and heraldic devices in the original glazing, which remain in these windows, will be noticed in some detail at the end of this communication.

² The Fabric Rolls of York Cathedral, lately published by the Surtees Society, do not commence till 1360, long after the date of these windows. The great west window was probably not erected until a few years after the date of the contract for it in 1338. The two windows

to which in 1338 about one-fifth of the sum given by Archbishop Melton for the west window was applied, were probably in the clear-story. Unfortunately the two missing clear-story windows are the one on each side which is nearest the great west window, the very windows, in short, to which we might naturally infer that the money in question was appropriated.

resemblance which all the aisle windows bear to one another is so close as to lead to the belief that there is but little difference in date between them ; a belief corroborated by the evidence supplied by such of the existing heraldry as is coeval with the original glazing of the windows. Some of the clear-story windows may be of the same date as the latest windows of the aisles ; some a little later than these ; but they all appear to be earlier than the great west window, which is manifestly the latest of the series.

The painted window taken for our subject may be shortly described as a white pattern window enriched with coloured pictures and ornaments ; a kind of window common to the whole Decorated period of glass painting, and extensively employed in these very aisles and clear-stories.³ The general ground of its lower lights is of white glass, ornamented with interlacing bands and tendril-like scrollages of leaf-work painted in outline. This is crossed by two rows of rectangular panels, on each of which is represented a canopy enshrining a group of figures. The tracery lights are filled with figures and ornaments. Owing to these parts of the design being richly coloured, the window in general effect is as if it was composed of six alternate horizontal stripes of white and coloured glass, its tracery head forming one of the coloured stripes ; although it is true that the transition from the one to the other is a good deal modified by the rich tint of the glass composing the white stripe, as well as by the continuation across it of the coloured borders to the lights, and by the insertion, in the white intervals, of coloured panels containing shields of arms. The uniformity of the arrangement is somewhat broken by the introduction, at the base of the centre light, of a coloured panel, on which is an

³ Each aisle of the nave is furnished with seven side windows and an east window, of three lights each. In the nave is the great west window of eight lights ; and in the clear-story are eight windows on each side, of five lights apiece, the two supernumerary windows being over the western aisles of the transepts. Only the first six from the east of the side windows of each aisle retain the original glazing. Of these all in the north aisle, and the four easternmost ones in the south are similar in general design to the subject of this memoir. So are also, in principle, such

of the clear-story windows as retain their glass. Of the two remaining side windows of the south aisle one is a Jesse, the other has three large figures and canopies, and once had a small subject beneath each. The west windows of the aisles have each three canopies with figures, and originally had a small subject under the centre one only. The great west window has three tiers of canopies resting on one another, and a strip of ornamental glass at the bottom, in its lower lights. The tracery lights of all are variously filled with ornaments, heraldry, or figures.

effigy of the donor of the window. The subjects of the other pictures are taken from the Legend of St. Catharine.

In order to facilitate a more detailed description of the design recourse has been had to the Diagram, to which the following numbers refer :—

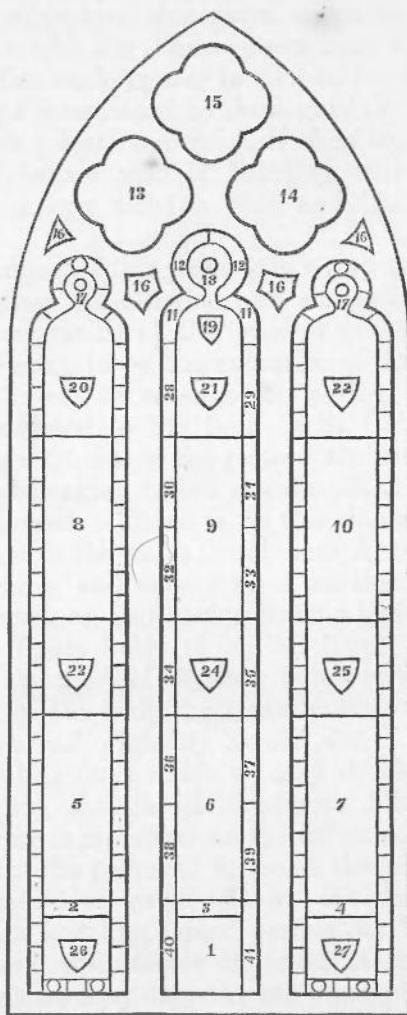
No. 1. On this panel is represented a canopy having a red ground to the niche, under which is the kneeling figure of an ecclesiastic with tonsured head, and habited in a blue cope and hood, an aumuce, the white fur of which is seen about the neck, white surplice, purple under dress, and purple shoes.

Nos. 2, 3, 4. That figure is unquestionably referred to in an inscription in Lombardic capitals, yellow on a black ground, which in a mutilated state crosses the window in the direction of Nos. 2, 3, and 4. The letters which remain in No. 2 are—PUR : M—RE : PIERE :—in No. 3.—DENE : KE : CESTE : F—in No. 4.—RE : FIST : FE—; which in all probability may be thus read, restoring the missing letters in the blank spaces from which the lettering &c., have been removed, PRIEZ : PUR : MAISTRE : PIERE : DE : DENE : KE : CESTE : FENESTRE : FIST : FERE : ⁴

No. 5. On this panel is represented the first of the series of subjects from the Legend of St. Catharine. It appears to be St. Catharine pleading for the faith before the emperor Maximin. A young nimbed female stands before a regal person seated on a throne, who, from his angry countenance and gloved uplifted hand, seems to be yielding to the evil suggestions of the devil perched on his shoulder. The canopy or shrine under which the group is placed is of an ordinary type. The niche arch is ornamented with segmental foliations, the niche ground is red, and the ground of the panel on which the canopy spires repose is coloured blue. The canopy itself is chiefly yellow, but some white

⁴ This inscription had been overlooked until a few years ago, when Mr. Niblet, a member of the Institute, being in the Cathedral, availed himself of a scaffolding that had been erected at this window, to examine the glass; and finding some letters he made a copy of them, which he showed to one of the writers of this memoir; who, after a few conjectural corrections, discovered that it contained the name of the donor. His colleague made the same discovery on a

careful examination of the glass itself with a telescope, and succeeded in reading the remains of the inscription, which were found to coincide exactly with the copy as corrected; a strong corroboration of its accuracy. "Dene" seems to occur again in a very mutilated inscription about half-way down one of the lower lights of the third window from the west in the north clear-story of the nave. It may, however, be the last syllable of a longer name.



Heraldic Window in the Nave, York Cathedral.

(Diagram showing the arrangement of the design.)

and bits of other colours are introduced. The figures have flesh-coloured faces, and coloured glass predominates in their dresses.

No. 6. The subject of this panel seems to be St. Catharine's contention with the Philosophers sent by Maximin to confute her. Two male figures in civil costume, one wearing the cap usually appropriated to theological doctors (the head of the other being lost) appear as if they were rebuking a young nimbed female who is standing with them. The ground of the canopy niche is blue, and that of the spire is red.

No. 7. The subject of this panel is in a very mutilated state. But on examining the remains, and comparing them with the inaccurate engraving of this window given by Drake in 1736,⁵ it would seem to be the execution of the Philosophers by Maximin's orders, in revenge for having allowed themselves to be converted to the faith by St. Catharine's arguments. On the west side of the picture are two pairs of feet, as if originally belonging to two standing figures, most likely the two executioners. There is on this side also one figure, standing, perfect to the waist; and near it, but not exactly above it, the head and shoulders of another figure, with a ferocious countenance, and having flowing hair confined with a band. This figure holds in its left hand the two wrists, having hands attached, of another figure now wanting, and from the sway of the body there can be little doubt that the principal figure was originally in the act of beheading the figure now wanting (and which we may conclude was one of the philosophers), though its right arm has been lost or removed. There is moreover an indication of a sword blade over the head of the principal figure, in the position it would occupy if upraised to strike a blow. At the east corner of the picture is a kneeling figure perfect, its hands raised in supplication, and with terror depicted in its countenance, representing, as we may suppose, the other philosopher. All the figures are in civil costume. The ground of the canopy niche is red, and that of the spire is blue.

No. 8. The subject of this panel is the imprisonment of St. Catharine, during which, according to the legend, she was attended by angels, and visited by Maximin's empress and his minister Porphyry, both of whom she converted

⁵ See Drake's History of York, p. 527.

to the faith. St. Catharine is represented standing, her hands joined in prayer, within a small canopy or tabernacle having a blue external roof beneath the niche of the principal shrine. The lower part of her person is concealed by some castellated work. A white chain proceeds as from her neck, under the fibula of her mantle, and is secured at the other end to one of the shafts of the small tabernacle. Immediately over her head, and between it and the niche arch of the small tabernacle, is an angel, having the right hand raised in benediction, and holding in the left a scroll, inscribed AVE : MARIA. The letters, which are Lombardic capitals, are white on a black ground. The convert Porphyry, placed on the west side of the small tabernacle, is kneeling, with hands joined in prayer, and adoring the saint. His head is flesh-coloured, the hair, which is combed into a large roll on each side of the face, is stained yellow;⁶ and he is habited in a purple robe furnished with a hood. Some white is shown, as of an under dress. The shoes are blue. On the opposite side is a crowned female, kneeling and adoring the saint with hands joined in prayer. The ground of the niche of the small tabernacle is blue, that of the principal canopy is red, and that of the spire is green.

No. 9. The subject of this panel is the miraculous deliverance of St. Catharine from the punishment of the wheel. The principal figure is standing, with hands joined in prayer, between two wheels. The head of the figure is an insertion: it belongs to the Perpendicular period. Two executioners lie disabled on the ground on the east side of the saint, and two soldiers in yellow mail on the other side. Above are two angels with swords, striking the wheels and rescuing the saint. The ground of the canopy niche is blue, that of the spire is red powdered with yellow wavy stars.

No. 10. The subject of this panel is the beheading of St. Catharine. An executioner is represented beheading a female. The head of the saint is an insertion; it belongs to

⁶ The yellow stain appears to be more or less used in all the windows of the aisles. This window affords the earliest example of its use that we are at present acquainted with. The staining property of silver as applicable to glass painting is said to have been discovered by the accidental dropping of a silver button into a vessel containing melted glass. It is probable that the discovery of the

property long preceded its practical application. For the silvered tesserae used in the Mosaics at St. Mark's, Venice, and also at St. Sophia, Constantinople, occasionally exhibit a change from white to yellow of the transparent glass with which the silver is overlaid, occasioned by its contact with the metal whilst exposed to heat.

the Decorated period. Above are two angels raising up a napkin arranged in the form of a festoon. The little figure it originally supported has been lost. This may be an allusion either to the carrying of the saint's soul to paradise, or, according to the legend, to the transportation of her body to Mount Sinai. The ground of the canopy niche is red, and that of the spire is red also, but this clearly is an insertion, though of glass coeval with the window. In all probability it was taken out of one of the aisle windows, which, as before mentioned, have been deprived of their glazing.

Nos. 11, 11. (in the border of the centre light). Each of these spaces is occupied by an angel under a canopy, tossing a thurible; these, as well as the next two subjects, are probably allusive to St. Catharine's burial by angels, according to the legend.

Nos. 12, 12. Each of these spaces is occupied by an angel under a canopy, playing on a harp.

Nos. 13, 14.—The subjects of these tracery lights seem also allusive to St. Catharine's burial. In both lights are two figures, those in No. 13 proceeding in an eastward, those in No. 14 in a westward direction. The foremost figure in each case is nimbed, and clad in a mantle, long under dress, and shoes. That in No. 14 is tossing a thurible; its head, which belongs to the Perpendicular period, is an insertion. Neither of the rearmost figures is nimbed; each carries a taper, one coloured green, the other pink. The figure in No. 14 is in a white surplice with a jewelled band about half way down the skirt. The other appears to be in a light brown dress; it is possible that the dress was white like the other, but is discoloured by age. The ground of each light is red, ornamented with a white scrollage bearing maple leaves, and the border of the light is green with white quatrefoils.

No. 15. The subject of this light seems to be the reception of St. Catharine's soul into heaven. In the upper part are the remains of a figure of Christ. The body of the figure is an insertion. The left hand clasps a book, the right is open with the fingers extended. Below are two angels clad in white, kneeling, and raising up a napkin in the form of a festoon. The place of the little figure it probably once supported is occupied with fragments which, seen from below, are unintelligible. All parts of the interior of the light are

much mutilated. The head of one of the angels belongs to the Perpendicular period, and is an insertion; the head of the other is original, and the hair is stained yellow. The ground of the light is blue; its border is red with white quatrefoils.

Nos. 16, 16, 16, 16. These remaining four tracery lights are filled merely with coloured and white glass.

No. 17, 17. Each of these little circles in the heads of the two outer lower lights contains a crowned head nimbed; possibly for St. Edmund, and the Confessor.

No. 18. In this circle is a purple bird, resembling a hawk, on a blue ground: probably the device of the donor, and intended for the Danish raven, in allusion to his name.⁷

No. 19. is a shield, bearing *gu.* 2 keys saltier wise *or*, *St. Peter*, the patron of the Cathedral.

No. 20. is a shield on a cinque-foiled panel having a red ground and yellow beaded border, bearing *or* a double-headed eagle displayed *sab.* armed *gu.*, *the Emperor*.

No. 21. is a shield on a cinque-foiled panel like the last, but having a green ground, bearing *gu.* three lions passant guardant in pale *or*, *England*.

No. 22. is a shield on a red cinque-foil, bearing *az.* semy of lys *or*, *France*.

No. 23. is a shield on a green cinque-foil, bearing paly of six *or* and *gu.*, *Provence* or *Arragon*.

No. 24. is a shield on a red cinque-foil, bearing *or* an eagle displayed *sab.* armed *gu.*, *King of the Romans*.

No. 25. is a shield on a green cinque-foil, bearing quarterly 1 and 4 *gu.* a castle *or*, 2 and 3 *arg.* a lion rampant purpure, *Castile and Leon*.

No. 26. is a shield on a green cinque-foil, bearing *arg.* a cross potent between seven cross crosets *or*, *Jerusalem*.

No. 27. is a shield on a green cinque-foil, bearing *gu.* an escarbuncle *or*, *Navarre*.

No. 28. (in the border of the centre light). Under a small canopy the niche ground of which is green, is represented a knight, in white banded mail, ornamented with the

⁷ In the English of that period Danes and Danish may be found spelt respectively Deneis and Denez (after the Anglo-Sax. *Dene*, Danes). According to these orthographies Danes' raven and Danish raven would differ only in one letter from Dene's raven. Some families named

Deane have borne ravens, which have been occasionally converted into crows or choughs; the Denmans have a raven for their crest; and analogously several families named Dennis (variously spelt) have borne *Danish* axes.

yellow stain, wearing a coiffe de mailles, and having a spear, belted sword, rowelled spurs, and long surcote displaying *gu.* a cross *arg.*

No. 29. Under a similar canopy, with green niche ground, is a knight in yellow banded mail, without a spear, but in other respects like the last, on whose surcote is displayed *arg.* a cross *gu.*

No. 30. Under a similar canopy, with red niche ground, is a crowned figure in white and yellow-stained mail, without a spear, on whose surcote is displayed *az.* semy of lys *or*, *France.*

No. 31. Under a similar canopy, with green niche ground, is a crowned figure drawn like the last, whose surcote displays *gu.* 3 lions passant guardant in pale *or*, *England.*

No. 32. Under a similar canopy, with red niche ground, is a crowned female figure clad in a green under dress, and a mantle, the latter being *az.* semy of lys *or*, *France.*

No. 33. Under a similar canopy is a crowned female figure, whose mantle bears *gu.* 3 lions passant guardant in pale *or*, *England.*

No. 34. Under a similar canopy, with green niche ground, is a knight in white and yellow-stained mail, with a spear, and long surcote on which is displayed *gu.* 3 lions passant guardant in pale *or* a label *az.*, *Heir apparent of England.* The lions in this instance look eastwards, but no one conversant with early heraldry will attach any importance to this anomaly.

No. 35. Under a similar canopy, with green niche ground, is a knight clad in banded mail; he is in the act of raising his bacinet from his coiffe de mailles with one hand, the other holds a spear. On his surcote is displayed *or* 3 chevrons *gu.*, *Clare.*

No. 36. Under a similar canopy, with red niche ground, is a knight in the act of raising the vizor of his bacinet, on his surcote is displayed checky *or* and *az.*, *Warenne.*

No. 37. Under a similar canopy, having the niche ground green, is part of a knight, from the belt downwards, the rest of the figure having been destroyed. The part of the surcote which remains displays *gu.* semy of cross crosslets *or.* The coat according to Drake's engraving is *gu.* a fess between 6 cross crosslets *or*, *Beauchamp.*

No. 38. Under a similar canopy, with green niche ground,

is a knight armed like the rest in mail and with coiffe de mailles, &c. The part of the surcote above the belt displays *gu.* 3 water budgets *arg.*, *Ros.* The white belt hangs down in front, concealing the charge, if any, on the lower half of the surcote.

No. 39. Under a similar canopy, with green niche ground, is a knight, armed like the rest. His surcote, which is much mutilated, displays *gu.* a lion rampant *arg.*, *Mowbray*.

No. 40. Under a similar canopy, with green niche ground, is a knight whose surcote displays checky *or* and *az.* a fess *gu.*, *Clifford*.

No. 41. Under a similar canopy is a knight whose surcote displays *or* a lion rampant *az.*, *Percy*.

The two other lights are bordered with the following devices, a yellow lion rampant on a red ground, and a white eagle displayed, having its beak and claws stained yellow, on a green ground. These devices are placed alternately, so that the eagle is at the very top, and the lion in the middle of the bottom of each light. The lions and eagles on the western sides of the lights look towards the east; those on the eastern sides of the lights look towards the west.

Of Master Peter de Dene, whose name appears in the above mentioned inscription, so little is generally known, that we may perhaps be excused for inserting a sketch of his life; especially as it will materially assist us in ascertaining the date of this window, and in appropriating, more precisely than we otherwise could, the various coats of arms which it displays. He was a "Doctor utriusque juris;" and it was probably with reference to this academical degree that the term "Magister" was usually applied to him; though that was, we conceive, more commonly, as well as more properly, used to designate those who had graduated in Arts. He was also a canon or prebendary of the cathedral churches of York, London, and Wells, and of the collegiate churches of Southwell and Wimbourne Minster.⁸ Of his birth, parentage, or early history we have no particulars. If, as seems most probable, his family was of little or no consideration, he must have had great abilities or very influential friends to enable him to acquire so much preferment. From some events in his life there is reason to believe that he was born about 1260; hardly much before

⁸ See his Will, *Scriptores decem*, col. 2037.

that year, for we shall see he was living in 1332, and then evidently not a very old man, or at least not very infirm. The earliest mention of him that has been discovered is in 1295, when he was summoned with the justices and others to assist at a parliament to be held at Westminster.⁹ In 1297 he appears to have been one of the council of Prince Edward, in which he was associated with several bishops, earls, barons, and others, among whom was William de Grenefeud (or, according to modern orthography, Greenfield), canon of York ;¹ no doubt the future chancellor and archbishop of that name. He is not the only canon there mentioned, and we may reasonably assume that had Peter de Dene been then a canon, he would have been so designated. The Prince, afterwards Edward II., was at that time about thirteen years of age. We next meet with Peter de Dene in 1300, when the abbot and convent of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, granted him a pension of 10*l.* a year,² a substantial annuity at that period. Though he could not then have been much more than forty years of age, if so old, the purpose and conditions of the grant show him to have been a person of acknowledged learning, ability, and influence ; for he engaged to be faithful all his life to the abbot and convent, and to undertake their causes and business within the kingdom of England when they came to his knowledge, and especially all disputes between them and the archbishop, prior, and archdeacon of Canterbury ; with whom, being their neighbours, differences, we may presume, not unfrequently arose. In 1302 he and also William de Greenfield were summoned, as two of the King's Clerks, to appear before the Chancellor, Langton, to advise on some arduous affairs of the King.³ We find him in 1304 claiming to be a canon of London, and complaining that his vote had not been allowed on the election of Ralph de Baldock to that see : in the course of the dispute he appealed to the Pope, but we learn from a bull of Clement V. that he did not prosecute the appeal to a decision.⁴

He was summoned with the justices and others to assist at various Parliaments held in the 28th, 29th, 30th, and 33rd years of Edward I., and also to attend the parliament

⁹ Parl. Writs I. p. 29.

¹ *Ib.* p. 62.

² Thorn's Chron. Scriptores decem,

col. 1979.

³ Parl. Writs I. p. 110.

⁴ Rymer I. p. 980.

to be held at Carlisle, to advise the King preparatory to his intended expedition into Scotland, which was frustrated by his death.⁵ That parliament assembled on the 30th of May, 1307; at which time Peter de Dene appears to have been domiciled at York, as domestic chaplain and chancellor to the Archbishop, and a canon of the cathedral. For on the 31st of January in that year Archbishop Greenfield, who appears to have become one of his patrons, desired the dean and chapter to admit "*Magistrum Petrum de Dene clericum domesticum commensalem et cancellarium nostrum Eboracensis ecclesie canonicum*" to the next vacant dignity in the cathedral.⁶ How long he had held those offices, or afterwards continued to hold them, does not appear; but his connection with York commenced, in all probability, under Greenfield, who was appointed to the archbishopric in December, 1304. Though styled "*canonicum*," he has not been found actually filling any particular stall at York so early as 1307. In Le Neve's *Fasti* by Hardy he is mentioned as prebendary of Gevendale in 1312; but this has been found to be an error.⁷ Though we have good reason to believe he held the prebend of Grindall at a later period, the time of his appointment to that stall does not appear. It was filled by another person in August, 1308, and therefore he must have succeeded to it after that date. He is not called canon in the inscription on the window, yet the kneeling figure, which, no doubt, was intended to represent him, is in a habit closely resembling that of a canon. On the 4th of August, 1308, the archbishop allowed Peter de Dene, canon of York and rector of Elneley (probably Emly, near Huddersfield), to choose a confessor; and on the 30th of October, 1309, he received permission to let his living of Elneley to farm, and to be non-resident for three years. The following day his term of non-residence was extended to seven years. On the 11th of April, 1309, the Archbishop made him his vicar-general during his absence

⁵ Parl. Writs I. pp. 83, 91, 113, 138, 182.

⁶ Greenfield's Register.

⁷ We learn from the Rev. James Raine, to whose kindness we are indebted for such of the particulars relating to Peter de Dene as have been derived from Archbishop Greenfield's Register, that William de Pickering, who had held this prebend,

died on the 7th of April, 1312, and was succeeded by John de Sandall in April, 1313, under a Papal provision; and that there was some dispute about the appointment, and Peter de Dene was one of those commissioned to inquire into it; which would hardly have been the case, had Peter himself claimed the prebend in question.

from the diocese. On the 19th of October, 1311, Master Peter de Dene, rector of Elneley, had again the Archbishop's permission to choose a confessor ; and on the same day a commission was issued, authorising William de Pickering, the dean of York, and John de Nassington, senior canon, to inquire, how it happened that he held two livings, the rectory of Elneley and the living of Emelden in the diocese of Durham (perhaps Embleton in Northumberland). On the 24th of September, 1312, he is again called canon of York, and appointed vicar-general of the Archbishop.⁸

Though he had become thus intimately connected with the cathedral church of York, he had not separated himself from the monastery of St. Augustine, Canterbury. We learn from the chronicler of that house, that in the same year (1312) he had certain spiritual benefits conferred on him in return for the temporal benefits and services that he had rendered to the abbot and convent. He had been, it appears, a constant defender of them, and in time of need had given them 200 marcs ; besides this he had erected, at his own expense, certain buildings on the north side of the chapel of the infirmary, which bore his name. Induced by these services and benefactions, the abbot and convent granted that three monks should pray daily at three different altars for him, and for the souls of his parents, relatives, and benefactors, and for his own soul after his death ; and also that an anniversary for himself and his parents should be celebrated on St. Margaret's day during his life, and, after his decease, on the day of his death.⁹ No names being mentioned, we learn nothing from this transaction as to who were his parents or benefactors ; as the souls of the former were to be prayed for, we may assume they were then dead.

He was again vicar-general of the Archbishop during his absence in June, 1313 ;¹ and in the same year he is styled canon of York and vicar-general of the Archbishop in a return made the 30th of July to a mandate, directing an inquiry as to the goods of the Knights Hospitalers.² In 1316 he was one of eleven "Magistri" that were desired by the King to assist with their counsel the Bishops of Norwich and Ely and the Earl of Pembroke, who were about to

⁸ Greenfield's Register.

⁹ Thorn's Chron. Scriptores decem. col. 2012.

¹ Greenfield's Register.

² Kellaw's Register, Durham.

proceed on an embassy to the Pope.³ It related probably to the affairs of the King with the Scots, since, in the ensuing year, the Pope attempted to negotiate a peace between the two kingdoms, which the Scots, apparently with reason, considered much to their disadvantage.

Peter de Dene resigned his living of Elneley in February, 1317-18, which was then valued at seventy marcs per annum,⁴ a good income at that time. He had been summoned to assist at various Parliaments held in the 8th, 9th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th years of Edward II.⁵ A change now came over his fortune. We find that on the 2nd of June, 1322, John Gifford, by reason of a provision made for him by the Pope, was admitted to the stall of Grindall, which was then vacant "per ingressum religionis Magistri Petri de Dene et professionem ejus."⁶ Master Peter was then probably about sixty-two years of age; and this withdrawal from active life might be supposed to have been in order to spend the evening of his days in the peaceful retirement of a cloister. But it was, in fact, the commencement of troubles which saddened the remainder of his life.

³ Rymer II. p. 305.

⁴ Greenfield's Register.

Parl. Writs, vol. ii. part i. pp. 138,

153, 174, 176, 179, 183, 198, 216, 220, 236, 246.

⁶ Greenfield's Register.

(To be continued.)

ON AN HERALDIC WINDOW IN THE NORTH AISLE OF THE
NAVE OF YORK CATHEDRAL.

(Continued from page 34.)

AFTER the execution of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, which quickly followed his defeat at Boroughbridge in 1322, the power of the Despensers became predominant. Severe measures were forthwith adopted against such of his adherents as had not either fallen in battle or been made prisoners; and Peter de Dene, who was believed to have been one, found himself in great jeopardy. His connection with the Lancastrian party does not previously appear. His uninterrupted success would seem to justify us in assuming, that till this reverse his conduct had been generally approved of by the king and his friends. The fact of his having been appointed one of the advisers of the ambassadors, sent to Rome by the king in 1316, rather tends to show he was not then a Lancastrian. For though the Bishop of Norwich, John Salmon, and the Earl of Pembroke, Aymer de Valence, two of those ambassadors, had been also two of the commissioners forced upon Edward in 1310 by the Lancastrians, for the better regulation of the affairs of his kingdom and household; yet this bishop was, in 1312, placed at the head of a commission, consisting of the king's friends, to correct the ordinances which had been made by the former commissioners, and he was chancellor in 1320. And as regards the Earl of Pembroke, though he had joined the Earl of Lancaster against Gavaston, the murder of the latter by the order, or at least with the approval, of the Earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and Warwick in 1312, after Pembroke, to whom he had surrendered, had engaged to spare his life, not only made this earl lukewarm in their cause, but seems to have led to his eventually abandoning their party. The other ambassador, John Hotham, had been recently raised to the see of Ely. Little is known of his

previous political attachments. He had been one of the King's chaplains and chancellor of the exchequer, and been sent by Edward on a mission to Ireland; but as he was Chancellor of England from 1318 to 1320, at which time Lancaster was influential, we may assume he was not regarded by that earl as an adversary. From the rigour of the persecution against Peter de Dene it seems probable, that he had by some means given great offence to the king's party. The chronicler of St. Augustine's, however, says it was without his fault; and speaks of the enemies of Peter as noble and powerful, but does not give any of their names. They were intent not only on his capture and imprisonment and the depriving him of his property, but even sought his life; a degree of enmity which may warrant a suspicion that some tergiversation was imputed to him. In this state of things, unable to resist his adversaries, he had recourse to the monastery which he had so faithfully served and liberally benefited; and he there took on himself the habit of a monk in 1322. His position, however, was still such that he was able to make terms with the abbot and convent on his admission: he neither took all the usual vows nor gave up all his property. He was to retain some houses (*domos*) that he had built within the monastery, and his secular attendants, and also certain personal property to be disposed of as he thought fit, and the use of some silver plate as long as he lived. He was not bound to attend with the other monks in the church, chapter, refectory, dormitory, cloister, or elsewhere, either for divine service or for any other purpose; but was to be allowed to remain with his attendants in his own chamber day and night, and give himself to prayer, contemplation, study, and other becoming (*honestis*) occupations as he might be disposed.¹ For several years he conducted himself very creditably and satisfactorily. He taught canon law to the monks and others, gave counsel to the abbot and seniors in the house, conducted their most private and difficult affairs, and was allowed a reasonable time to walk about both within and without the walls of the monastery. At length, growing weary of this kind of

¹ Thorn's Chron. Script. decem., coll. 2036—8, 2055. In consequence of the qualified profession which he made, it is said "*de tertia professionem emisit.*"

Tertiarii were those attached to religious houses who took only some of the vows, and were not strictly monks. See Du Cange, *Tertiarius*.

existence, and having no longer any apprehension from his enemies without, he was desirous of returning to secular life. He mentioned this again and again to the abbot and convent ; but they deferred the consideration of the matter, and would not consent to his departure. They were probably the more unwilling to offend him, or that he should leave them, because, on being admitted, he had made his will and bequeathed to them several highly esteemed and valuable books on canon law, and also the greater part of his money and plate. Frustrated in his endeavours to obtain permission to depart, he meditated means of escape. At that time the rector of St. Martin's Church, Canterbury, was one John de Bourne. The outer wall of the abbey, if it did not then actually adjoin his churchyard, was separated from it only by a narrow way. He had a brother, George de Bourne, who possessed a house at Bishopsbourne, about four miles from Canterbury. With these two brothers the discontented monk concerted a plan for his escape, and was to pay them 10*l.* for their assistance. On the day of St. Lucia (December 13), 1330, John, the rector of St. Martin's, came by invitation to dine with the infirmarer of the abbey ; and during dinner he rose from table, and, pretending some business required his attention, he went to the chamber of Peter de Dene, and had a long conversation with him. In the evening at supper Peter mentioned to his attendant, that he had celebrated mass that day, but should not on the morrow ; and therefore desired that he might not be disturbed in his morning's sleep ; for he was accustomed, notwithstanding the easy terms on which he was admitted, to rise at midnight to perform the offices usual at that hour. His servant, after waiting some time, retired to rest in another chamber, leaving a boy with his master, and the door unlocked. Before midnight, having thrown off his monk's habit, he withdrew accompanied by the boy. They took with them six dishes and six saucers (*salsaria*), probably part of the silver, the use of which when he entered he had stipulated to retain ; and passing through his own cellar to a gate which led to the garden of the cellarer, the lock of which they had broken, they found their way to the abbey-wall opposite St. Martin's Church. There they made a preconcerted signal to notify their arrival, by throwing over a stone ; and the rector, and his brother, and two other

persons who had brought three horses to the spot, came and placed two ladders against the abbey-wall; and two of them ascending the wall seated themselves on it, and, having drawn up one of the ladders, let it down on the other side into the garden. Peter and the boy having got over the wall, the former was placed on horseback, and conducted through Bromden² to George de Bourne's house. On the flight of the monk being discovered, there was a great commotion in the monastery, and inquiries were made in all directions for the fugitive. At length it became known that he was concealed at Bishopsbourne. The house was watched all night, and on searching it the next day he was found carefully rolled up in a bundle of canvas. He was brought back to St. Augustine's, and confined in the infirmary. The chronicler proceeds to relate in detail how he was treated, and the consequences of this flagrant breach of discipline. Peter de Dene contended that his qualified vows did not oblige him to remain in the monastery, and he appealed to the Pope. A bull in his favour was in due time produced, the genuineness of which was questioned by the abbot and convent.³ The result is not clearly given; but it should seem that he eventually submitted to the abbot, and probably died in the monastery. We have seen that his stall at York was not filled up till 1332, when the proceedings respecting him were drawing to a close. That he should have been allowed to retain it at all, after he had entered the monastery, is remarkable. On one occasion he is represented as saying, that "if he were young and able bodied (*corpore potens*) he would willingly go to the Court of Rome" to complain of the conduct of the Prior of Christ Church and others, who had interposed on his behalf. The particulars of his flight and concealment do not imply any great age or infirmity of body, but are consistent with the supposition that he was not more than seventy years of age, if he were really so old.

There can be no doubt, we think, that this Master Peter de Dene is the person mentioned in the inscription remaining in the window above described; indeed, no other person of the name has been found to whom it can with any pro-

² Probably a close or piece of land also called Bromedowne, lying nearly behind St. Martin's Church. See Hasted, vol. iv. p. 443. The object in crossing

that was most likely to avoid detection.

³ Thorn's Chron. Scriptores decem., coll. 2055—2066.

bability be referred. Let us, then, consider the window with a view to ascertain the period of the donor's life, to which the glass may be most reasonably ascribed. The heraldry, the figures, and the style and execution are the elements that are most available for this purpose. The probable date inferable from the style and execution has already been stated. In heraldry displayed on escutcheons and surcotes the window is remarkably rich ; and, what is very unusual in glass of that age, not a single coat is wholly missing.

First of the escutcheons of arms ; they are chiefly those of sovereigns, yet clearly several of them were not contemporaries with the donor ; for at no time to which the execution of the glass can be reasonably attributed were there living an Emperor of Germany, a King of the Romans, a King of Jerusalem, and a Count of Provence or King of Aragon, whom it is at all likely Peter de Dene intended to compliment. The escutcheons seem rather to have had a genealogical object, and to have indicated some of the most distinguished alliances and connections of the reigning sovereign of England. Reckoning from the west, in the first light, are the arms of the Emperor, Provence or Aragon, and Jerusalem ; in the second those of England, and most probably the King of the Romans ; and in the third those of France, Castile and Leon, and Navarre. This remarkably early example of the double-headed eagle may be referred to Frederic II., who married Isabella, the sister of Henry III., and aunt, consequently, of Edward I. ; Provence (for this, rather than Aragon, the coat paly of six *or* and *gu.*⁴ may, we think, be safely assumed to be) to Queen Eleanor of Provence, daughter of Count Raymond and mother of Edward I. ; and Jerusalem to Guy and Almeric de Lusignan, successively Kings of Jerusalem, whose nephew, Hugh le Brun, Count of La Marche, was the stepfather of King Henry III. The single-headed eagle, associated with that with two heads at this early period, (a curious and interesting fact on which we shall have more to say presently), may be attributed to Richard, King of the Romans, the brother of

⁴ Though these arms are generally *or* four pallets *gu.*, they sometimes occur paly *or* and *gu.*, as in Mr. Stacey Grimaldi's Roll, Collectanea Topog., vol. ii. p. 320,

and also in a Roll of the thirteenth century in the Harleian Collection, No. 6589.

Henry III., and uncle, consequently, of Edward I. France may have been placed there in compliment to Margaret, daughter of Philip the Hardy, and second queen of Edward I., whom he married in September, 1299 ; Castile and Leon in memory of his former queen, Eleanor of Castile ; and Navarre as an additional compliment to Queen Margaret, whose brother, Philip the Fair, had become King of Navarre by his marriage with Joan, daughter and heiress of Henry I. of Navarre, in 1284, the year before his accession to the throne of France. These alliances, though of little value for ascertaining the date of the glass, accord in several respects better with Edward I. than with his son Edward II. ; for, if France and Navarre, and Castile and Leon would suit equally well with the latter, whose queen Isabella was daughter of Philip the Fair, and his mother Eleanor of Castile, the Emperor, Provence, Jerusalem, and the King of the Romans would be removed one generation further from the English sovereign then upon the throne.

It has been mentioned that both of the outer lights in this window are bordered with the following devices alternately, viz., a yellow lion rampant on a red ground, and a white eagle displayed on a green ground. The lions and eagles on the western sides look to the east, and those on the eastern sides to the west ; but variations of this sort in heraldic figures were at that time deemed of no importance. It is not possible to speak positively as to the significance of these devices. They are most likely of heraldic origin. The lions may have referred to Edmund FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel, who bore *gu.* a lion ramp. *or.* As to the eagles there is greater difficulty ; for no one is known to have borne *vert* an eagle or several eagles displayed *arg.*, who is at all likely to have been complimented in this window. Gavaston bore *vert* three or six eagles displayed *or.* ; and had these eagles been yellow, we should certainly have thought them referable to him. The heraldic tinctures were in such borders not unfrequently changed, most probably for artistic effects in colour. There is an example of this in the border of the first window, reckoning from the east, in the south aisle, where we find white castles on a red ground, intended, no doubt, for Castile, which was *gu.* a castle, *or.* We are, therefore, disposed to regard these eagles, though they are white, as having been complimentary to Gavaston ; especially as

his arms were in one of the clearstory windows, and as in the borders of the west windows of both aisles the eagles are yellow. Those borders consist of castles and eagles displayed, one above the other, both yellow, not on a ground, but separated by pieces of glass *per pale* red and green, the tinctures of the respective shields of Castile and Gavaston. It will be remembered Gavaston was killed in 1312. As the favourite of Prince Edward he was most likely known to Peter de Dene, when the latter was of that prince's Council. Owing to his evil influence over the prince, he was banished by Edward I. in 1307; but Edward II. immediately on his accession, which occurred about three months after, recalled him, created him Earl of Cornwall, and married him to his own niece, one of the daughters of his sister Joan of Acre by her first husband, Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester. Had this window been executed after those events, and the royal favourite been complimented in it at all, we think it would not have been in this obscure manner.

Let us now examine the arms on the surcotes of the figures in the border of the middle light, and see what evidence they will furnish. It will be best to take these figures in pairs as they stand opposite each other. The two uppermost appear to be knights in mail with long surcotes, on which are respectively *gu.* a cross *arg.* and *arg.* a cross *gu.* But that he has no nimb, the latter might be supposed to be St. George; the other is also without a nimb. We find in the printed Roll t. Edward II. these arms borne by two knights respectively; the former by Sir Henry de Cobham the uncle, and the latter by Sir Michael de Herteclawe. In the printed Roll t. Henry III. the former are ascribed to Peter de Savoy, and the latter to Robert de Vere. Peter de Savoy was an uncle of Queen Eleanor of Provence, the mother of Edward I.; but, seeing the figures which follow, there is no good reason why he or any of the knights by whom these arms were borne should have been represented above the kings and queens of France and England. These crosses, it will be remembered, are those which were respectively borne by the Hospitalers and Templars; and these two figures may have been intended not for individuals, but as representatives of those two leading military orders. Figures of two knights with similar arms on their cyclases and shields formerly existed in one of the windows of

Bristol Cathedral of about the same period, and were probably meant to represent those two orders. The next two figures in this border are kings ; one with France on his surcote, and the other with England. The next two are queens ; one with France on her dress, and the other with England : it is remarkable that neither bears any other arms than her husband's. The next two are knights, one bearing on his surcote England with a label *az.*, the arms at that time of the eldest son of the King of England, and the other Clare, Earl of Gloucester. The next two are also knights, one bearing Warenne, Earl of Surrey, and the other the remains of the coat of Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. The next are also knights, one bearing Ros of Hamlake, and the other Mowbray. The last two are also knights, one bearing Clifford, and the other Percy. The last four knights were also barons. All these figures appear to represent full-grown persons, without any intentional differences of age, and, with the exception of the first two, may we think be assumed to have been meant for portraitures of persons living, or but recently deceased, when the window was designed. If so, the coat of England with a label *az.* shows there was then an heir apparent to the throne of England old enough to bear arms, and to be represented as *an adult knight* ; and this must have been either Edward II. or Edward III. in the lifetime of his father. There are several reasons for believing that it could not have been the latter. He was not born till November 1312, and therefore in 1322, when the Earl of Lancaster was put to death, and Peter de Dene took refuge in St. Augustine's, that prince was only ten years of age. If this glass were executed after the donor had attached himself to the Lancastrian party, it was most likely after 1316, and we should in all probability have had in it the arms of the Earl of Lancaster and other leaders of that party ; whereas, although the arms of Warwick, who died in that year, are there, those of Lancaster and Hereford are not ; yet these two earls were respectively the first cousin and brother-in-law of Edward II. If it be supposed that the object of the donor was to propitiate the king on some occasion when the royal authority was triumphant over the Lancastrians, we would ask, why then have we the arms of Warwick, to whom Gavaston's death was principally due, and not those of Despencer, the then all powerful favourite ?

Why, too, those of the Earl of Gloucester, who was killed in 1314, and not those of the young princes, Thomas of Brotherton and Edmund of Woodstock, the brothers of Edward II., the younger of whom was eleven years older than their nephew Prince Edward? The last of the Clares, Earls of Gloucester, fell at Bannockburn. He was so young, not having been born till 1291, that his arms could hardly have been placed in this window, except as those of a prince of the blood royal, having been a grandson of Edward I.; and therefore he was not likely to have been thus commemorated after his death. The long surcotes and the rest of the costume of the figures also claim rather an earlier date than the time when Prince Edward, afterwards Edward III. might be expected to have been represented as an adult knight. If, moreover, the two uppermost figures are a Hospitaller and a Templar, it is improbable that the latter would have been placed in this window after the order of the Templars had fallen into disgrace, and been actually abolished in 1312. The earlier in the reign of Edward II. this glass is supposed to have been executed, the less probable is it that the coat of England with a label *az.* should be that of his son Prince Edward; and it is difficult to believe the window could have been presented after the donor became a monk in 1322. It is surely far more probable that the heir apparent to the throne was Prince Edward, afterwards Edward II., though then it must be referred to the very end of his father's reign; for it cannot be so early as 1296, when the previous Clare, Earl of Gloucester, died, and when we have no reason to suppose Peter de Dene was in any way connected with the cathedral of York. Indeed, his interest in this cathedral appears to have been due to the patronage of Archbishop Greenfield, and did not therefore commence before 1305, that prelate having been appointed to the see in December, 1304. The young Earl of Gloucester was only sixteen years of age when Edward I. died; and John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, who should also seem to have been represented in consequence of his connexion with the royal family, did not marry the king's niece till 1306. At that time Peter de Dene was about forty-six years of age: his career had been successful; and his benefactions in money and buildings to the monastery of St. Augustine, Canterbury, show

that for some time previous to 1312, he had not lacked either the means or the disposition to be munificent.

In 1306 or the following year the figures in the border of the middle light might have represented the following persons, viz. : A Hospitaller and a Templar ; Edward I. and Philip the Fair ; Margaret, Queen of England, and Joan of Navarre, Queen of France, who died in 1304, or the Queen-Dowager of France, Mary of Brabant, the mother of Margaret, Queen of England ; Prince Edward and Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester ; John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, and Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick ; Sir William de Ros of Hamlake and Sir John de Mowbray ; Sir Robert de Clifford and Sir Henry Percy. Of these Warwick, Ros, Mowbray, Clifford, and Percy had distinguished themselves in the war with the Scots. Peter de Dene may have made their acquaintance in the north, even if he had not done so at some of the numerous parliaments which he had attended, or he may have been indebted to them for advancement or other favours ; as their figures were most probably placed in this window from either friendship or gratitude. We may add, that Clifford fell at Bannockburn (1314), Percy died in 1315, and Warwick in 1316, all leaving heirs under age ; and though these noblemen may have been so commemorated after their deaths, it is more likely that this should have been done while they were living.

On a careful review of all the preceding facts and observations, we think the conclusion which they warrant is, that the glass of this window was executed certainly in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, and most probably in 1306, or in 1307 before the accession of Edward II.

It remains that we should add a few words on the occurrence in this window of an eagle with two heads, and another with one head only, both *sa.* on a field *or.* We do not think that any difference of opinion as to their application can affect the conclusion at which we have arrived respecting the date of the glass, and we hope to show good ground for believing them to have been meant for the arms of an Emperor of Germany and a King of the Romans ; though it is generally supposed that this application of these two heraldic forms of the eagle is not older than the beginning of the fifteenth century, and that the two-headed eagle was

not used by the Western Emperors till Wenceslaus (1378—1400). German writers, as Gudenus and Oetter,⁵ state positively that an eagle with two heads occurred on some of the seals of the Emperors Charles IV. and Wenceslaus, but do not specify them. It is not to be found on any of their seals engraved by Vredius, nor have we met with a representation or description of such a seal. According to Oetter, this device was in use long before it appeared on any seal, and it originated in the junction of the eagle of the kingdom of Germany with that of the empire, in the manner called by heralds dimidiation. Among the arguments to prove that it was the ensign or banner of the empire in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, he has quoted passages from writers of those times, where the plural, *aquilæ*, is supposed to have been applied to it. One instance is from a letter of our Queen Eleanor, in 1193, to Pope Celestine, invoking his influence for the liberation of her son, King Richard,⁶ where she says, “Christi crux antecellit Cæsaris aquilas;” but this may admit of a different interpretation. Whatever may have been the origin of the device, an eagle with two heads is found on two gold coins of Louis of Bavaria, as emperor, whose accession was in 1314; and there is no reason to think this was the first use of it, though no earlier example has come down to our times. Two seals of his sons, William and Albert, are engraved by Vredius, which have their arms on an eagle with two heads, in accordance with an occasional practice of the sons of emperors showing their connection with the empire by placing their arms on an eagle. Coins or medals (*numi*) of the Empresses Elizabeth and Katherine, the wives of Albert I. and Henry VII., are said to have on them the double-headed eagle,⁷ but of these we have seen no example. The earliest instance that we have discovered of the two-headed eagle being attributed to the Emperor, and the eagle with one head to the King of the Romans, is in a MS. in the Harleian collection,⁸ which purports to be a copy of a Roll of Arms t. Henry III. The original unfortunately is lost. The occasion of its compilation it is not easy to conjecture. The MS. comprises foreign and English coats, and begins, “L’Empereur de Almaine d’or

⁵ Oetter, Wappenbelustigung, 1. stuck, s. 117, and, as there cited, Gudeni Sylloge, var. diplom. pag. 19. The work of Zyllesius also referred to I have not been

able to meet with.

⁶ Rymer, vol. i. p. 58.

⁷ Heineccius de Sigillis, p. 113.

⁸ No. 6589, towards the end.

ung egle espany ove deux testes sable ;" next comes the Emperor of Constantinople; and then "Le Roy de Almaine⁹ d'or un egle displaye sable ; Le Roy d'Engleterre gules a trois leopards d'or ; Le Roy de France d'azure seme de (a lys is here sketched) or." The copyist has probably modernised some of the spelling according to the usage of his day. The arms of England, it will be observed, are the same that were borne before those of France were quartered with them in 1339 or 1340 ; and those of France are what were borne before the fleurs de lys were reduced to three by Charles VI. As the copy of this roll contains as many foreign as English coats, it is hardly practicable to verify the whole ; but we may mention, as indications of an early date, that while we have remarked in it nothing which requires it to be referred to a period later than the thirteenth century, the arms of the Count of Hainault are "cheveronnee de or et de sable," the ancient coat which was discontinued before 1300 ; the arms of the Earl of Warwick are "eschekere d'or et d'azure un cheveron d'ermin," the old coat of Newburgh, the last earl of which family died 1242 ; those of the Earl of Pembroke are "party d'or et vert un leon rampant gulez," the arms of Marshall, the last earl of which family died in 1245 ; those of the Earl of Albemarle are "gules un crois patee de veire," last borne probably by the earl who died in 1259 ; and those of the Earl of Winchester are "gules poudre a faux losengez d'or," for those of De Quincy, the last earl of which family died in 1264. The coat of Geoffrey de Segrave is "sable a trois garbes d'argent," which we learn from the Siege of Carlaverock had been abandoned for a lion by the father of the Nicholas Segrave there mentioned. Several of the English names are the same that are in the Roll t. Henry III., published by Sir Harris Nicolas, and probably the Roll under consideration is not much later than that. There is a very inaccurate copy of it, evidently from another exemplar, printed in Leland's Collectanea, ii. p. 610.¹

⁹ It may be needless to mention that the King of Germany and the King of the Romans were the same person. In like manner the Emperor of Germany was styled Emperor of the Romans.

¹ It is not improbable that in the original Roll the arms were drawn and coloured, and that they have been

blazoned later by different persons. We must not fail to notice that in the Roll t. Edward III., published in Collectanea Topog., vol. ii. p. 320, an eagle is attributed to the Emperor without any mention of its having two heads, showing that in this country the notions on the subject were by no means uniform.

The Roll above described is not the only other early instance of the two-headed eagle for Germany found here. Among the various pavement tiles in this country which are usually ascribed with considerable probability to about 1300, occurs an eagle displayed, generally with one head, but occasionally with two heads. These tiles have been referred with good reason to Richard, King of the Romans, who died in 1272; he was the brother of Henry III. and father of Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, who succeeded him in that earldom, and died in 1300. Both Richard and his son were lords of the manor of Woodpery, Oxfordshire, and a tile of that period, having on it an eagle displayed with one head, was found on the site of the old church there, associated with another bearing a lion rampant, a device also referable to him, it having been borne *gu.* crowned *or* on a field *arg.* within a bordure *sab.* bezanty, both by him and his son as earls of Cornwall. In Oxford Cathedral were tiles of corresponding date bearing respectively an eagle displayed with two heads, a lion rampant, and the arms of England; and at Dureford Abbey, Sussex, and at Warblington Church, Hants, were an eagle displayed with two heads, and a similar two-headed eagle having on its breast an escutcheon charged with a lion rampant, intended doubtless for the arms of Edmund Earl of Cornwall, who bore the above-mentioned coat, a lion rampant crowned within a bordure bezanty, upon an eagle displayed, as appears by his seal engraved by Sandford, to show his descent from a King of the Romans. The omission of the crown and bordure is by no means conclusive against the arms on this tile having been intended for his; since in heraldry on tiles such omissions are not unfrequent, especially when, as in this case, the whole design is on a single tile about five inches square. Richard, though crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, was never Emperor, for, as wrote Martinus Polonus in the thirteenth century of Conrad I., "inter imperatores non numeratur, quia non imperavit in Italia;" but as both these eagles were known in England about 1300, and regarded as devices having some relation to the kingdom or empire of Germany, and the appropriation of that with two heads to the Emperor, and that with one only to the King of the Romans, had certainly not become general even in Germany, it is not surprising that sometimes one and sometimes the other should have been used

here for the eagle of the King of the Romans by the manufacturers of tiles, whose heraldry was never very exact. There have also been discovered in distant parts of the country certain weights, externally of brass, marked with a double-headed eagle and either the arms of England without the quartering of France, or a lion rampant.² These have been referred, and apparently with considerable reason, to the time of Henry III., and the eagle attributed to Richard, King of the Romans.

So much has been written on the origin and antiquity of the two-headed or double eagle, especially in Germany, that our limits will not admit of our even referring to the principal publications in which the subject is discussed.³ But we have not found it noticed that some of the earliest, if not the earliest, well-authenticated examples of such an eagle are on Saracenic coins, viz., a coin of Emad-ed-din Zengi, a ruler of Aleppo, A.D. 1184-5; a coin of Es-salah Mahmud, Ortokite prince of Caifa, A.D. 1216-7; and another coin of the same prince as ruler of Amid, A.D. 1218. The dates are given on the coins themselves in the years of the Hegira. These numismatic evidences are in the British Museum, and for the reference to them we are indebted to Mr. W. S. W. Vaux. An instance of a two-headed eagle is said to have been found on the shield of a soldier among the sculptures upon the column of Antoninus, but it rests on authority that requires confirmation. It is not to be supposed such a solitary and almost unobserved example should have led to the adoption of a like form of eagle by the Emperor of Germany. Those coins seem to render it not improbable that the form was derived from the east in one of the Crusades; but the subject is involved in a mystery which does not seem likely to be ever dispelled.

NOTE. At the beginning of the preceding Memoir the heraldry in the other windows of the nave was mentioned as justifying a confident opinion, that the window above described is the earliest of those which are heraldic in

² See *Archæologia*, vol. xxv. pl. lxiv.: *Archæol. Journal*, vol. ii. p. 203.

³ One of the most curious is Oetter's *Wappenbelustigung*, Augsburg, 1761, l. stuck, in which the origin and history of the double-headed eagle, or, as he would have it, the double eagle of the

empire, and the distinction between the empire and the kingdom of Germany, which in his opinion led to the union of two eagles, are very fully investigated, and the opinions of numerous writers on these subjects are quoted and discussed.

that part of the Cathedral. It may not, therefore, be considered irrelevant to our subject, or without interest to our readers, if we subjoin a brief notice of the arms and heraldic devices in early glazing that remain in all the windows of the aisles and clearstory of the nave. Some of the heraldry was found difficult to be made out from below, even with a telescope; of this a close inspection alone would have enabled us to speak positively. Drake has a plate (opposite p. 535), probably from some herald's notes, that purports to give all the arms which in 1641 were remaining in these and the other windows of the Cathedral, but does not state the particular windows in which they were found. While several seem to have disappeared, others are unaccountably omitted; a few perhaps may be incorrectly engraved. For the convenience of reference, we will take the windows in order from east to west.

Of the windows in the north aisle, which are all of three lights each, the first has been fully described above. The second has no heraldry. The third has the middle light bordered alternately with three lions of England on a red ground, and semy of yellow fleurs de lys on a blue ground, for England and France; and in the tracery, at two places, is a yellow castle on a red ground, for Castile. The fourth has each of the two side lights bordered alternately with a white lion rampant on a red ground, for Mowbray, and three red chevronels on a yellow ground, for Clare; the middle light is bordered alternately with three lions of England on a red ground, and three yellow crowns on a blue ground, probably for St. Edmund. The fifth has no heraldry. The sixth has the middle light bordered with yellow fleurs de lys on a ground per pale red and blue; and on a shield in each of the side lights at the top is *gu.* two swords in saltire, the hilts upwards, for St. Paul; the tracery has in two places a yellow fleur de lys on a red ground. The seventh has no painted glass.

Of the windows in the south aisle, which all consist also of three lights each, the first has each of the two side lights bordered alternately with yellow covered cups on a green ground, and white castles on a red ground, probably for Galicia and Castile; in the east side light at the top is a shield with England a label *arg.*, Thomas of Brotherton, a younger son of Edward I., born in 1300; in the middle light at the top another shield with *vert* a cross *gu.*, which is false heraldry, probably due to a repair with old glass, having been originally St. George; in the west side light at the top another shield with *gu.* three lions passant guardant in pale *arg.*, no doubt for England, the lions *arg.* being probably due to an omission of the yellow stain, or to a repair; unless the coat were for Giffard, whose lions were not guardant. The second has no heraldry. The third has four shields of arms, viz., at the top of the middle light England a border *arg.*, Edmund of Woodstock, another son of Edward I., born in 1301, and at the bottom *az.* a leopard rampant guardant between several fleurs de lys *arg.*, Holland; in the middle of the east side light barry of 8 *gu.* and *or.*, an old coat, but too small for the place, and no doubt an insertion (Drake gives from the chapter house barry of 8, *or* and *gu.*, which he attributes to FitzAlan); and in the middle of the west side light England within a border *az.*; as no such coat is known, we presume the border is a repair with old glass (Drake gives such a coat as existing in 1641). The fourth has five shields of arms, viz., in the middle light at the top England; in the east side light at the top quarterly 1. and 4. *gu.* a castle *or.*, and 2. and 3. (clearly a later insertion) *az.* a dolphin

embowed *arg.*, no doubt originally Castile and Leon, and in the middle of the same light *az.* semy of sprigs (leaded in) *arg.* a maunch *gu.* (Drake gives a coat *vair* a maunch *gu.*, which is Mauley), and below is a modern coat; in the west side light at the top France semy, and in the middle of the same light *or* a bend apparently *gu.* (such a coat was borne to Edward II. by Sir Elys Cotel, but Drake gives, probably instead of this, *or* a bend *sab.*, another Mauley). The fifth has in the tracery two yellow keys in saltire on a red ground, for St. Peter. The sixth and seventh have no heraldry; indeed the latter has no painted glass.

The west window of the north aisle and the west window of the south aisle have each three lights, and exactly the same heraldic devices, namely, the side lights are each bordered alternately with yellow castles and yellow eagles displayed, separated by a ground per pale green and red, most likely for Castile and Gavaston; of the tracery lights two are bordered in like manner, another has, instead of the castles and eagles, yellow crowns, probably for St. Edmund, and another has a lion of England on a red ground. The great west window of the nave, which is of eight lights, has one of the middle lights bordered with yellow crowns, the other with lions of England. The contract for glazing this window was in 1338.

The clearstory windows are eight on each side, and have five lights each. The heraldry in them consists exclusively of shields of arms. For convenience of reference these windows will be taken also in their order from east to west, and the lights numbered from the spectator's left.

Of the windows on the north side of the clearstory the first has 1. possibly *sab.* a lion rampant *arg.*, Verdon, but the field is obscure; 2. England; 3. blank; 4. Warrene; 5. *az.* three chevronels braced *or* a chief *gu.*, FitzHugh. The second has 1. Valence; 2. England; 3. blank; 4. *or* a cross, probably *sab.*, Vesey; 5. *arg.* a canton *gu.*, an old coat of Clare, which became part of the label of Lionel Duke of Clarence a few years later. The third has 1. England within a bordure of France, John of Eltham, son of Edward II., born 1315 and died 1336; 2. *gu.* a lion rampant *arg.*, Mowbray; 3. England; 4. *gu.* a cross moline *erm.*, Beke, Bishop of Durham (Drake ascribes it to Paganel); 5. blank. The fourth has 1. per cross *gu.* and *vair* a bend *or*, Constable; 2. England; 3. blank; 4. *gu.* three water-bougets *arg.*, Ros; 5. *or* a fess between two chevronels *gu.*, FitzWalter. The fifth has 1. blank; 2. Warrene; 3. England; 4. and 5. blank. The sixth has 1. per cross *or* and *gu.* on a bend *sab.* three escallops *arg.*, Eure (Sir John was sheriff of Yorkshire 1309, 1310); 2. *az.* a chief indented *or*, Saunders or FitzRanulph; 3. England; 4. *gu.* a saltire *arg.*, Neville; 5. *gu.* a lion rampant *or*, FitzAlan (we observed no billets, but Drake gives the field *gu.* billeted *or*, and attributes the coat to Bulmer). The seventh has 1. blank; 2. *gu.* three escallops *arg.*, Dacre; 3. England; 4. and 5. broken. The eighth has no painted glass.

Of the windows on the south side of the clearstory the first has 1. *arg.* a maunch *sab.*, Hastings (Sir Ralph was Governor of York Castle in 1337, and Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1337—8); 2. *or* a fess dancetty *sab.*, Vavasour; 3. *arg.* six bars (or three bars gemelles) *gu.* on a canton *sab.* a cross patonce *or*, Etton; 4. *az.* three crowns *or*, St. Edmund; 5. *or* a cross patonce *sab.*, a modern copy of an old coat, Sampson (Sir John was Mayor of York 1299 and 1300). The second has 1. *or* a fess dancetty *sab.* (modern), Vavasour; 2. Clare; 3. *or* a lion rampant *az.*, Percy; 4. England (modern); 5. *or* a bend *sab.*, Sir Peter Mauley. The third has 1. *or* a bend *sab.* as

last mentioned ; 2. England ; 3. *or* on a bend *sab.* three dolphins *arg.*, Sir John Mauley ; 4. *or* on a bend *sab.* three eagles displayed *arg.*, Sir Robert Mauley ; 5. modern coat. The fourth has 1, 2, 3, and 4 too mutilated to be made out ; 5. England : it seems probable from Drake's plate that in this window were the arms of Gavaston. The fifth has 1. chequy *or* and *az.* a fess *gu.*, Clifford ; 2. apparently *or* a fess *gu.* between six torteaux (but possibly the coat given by Drake as *or* two bars *gu.* in chief three torteaux, Wake) ; 3. England ; 4. as 2 (unless it be the coat given by Drake as *or* a fess *gu.* in chief three torteaux, Colville) ; 5. broken. The sixth has 1. *az.* a cross patonce *or*, Warde (Sir Simon was Sheriff of Yorkshire 1316—21 ; but possibly the coat which is given by Drake as *sab.* a cross patonce *or*, Lascells) ; 2. *arg.* a bend between six martlets *gu.*, Furnival (possibly the same which Drake has given as *arg.* a bend *sab.* between six martlets of the last, Tempest) ; 3. England ; 4. broken ; 5. apparently per fess *or* and *gu.* in chief two fleurs de lys and in base two or more counterchanged (but this probably is the same which is given by Drake as *or* on a fess between three fleurs de lys *gu.* two others of the field, Deyville). The seventh has 1. *az.* a fess between three fleurs de lys *or*, Hoke (Sir William was Sheriff of Yorkshire 1305—7) ; 2. a modern coat ; 3. England ; 4. *az.* three crescents *or*, Ryther ; 5. broken. The eighth has no painted glass. In one of these windows on the south side of the clearstory, but we cannot now say which, is the following coat much mutilated : *or* on a fess between two chevronels *gu.* three mullets *arg.*, Sir Walter Tyes, who died s. p. in 1324.

We have blazoned the preceding coats as they appeared by the aid of a telescope. It will be observed that in several instances they differ from those given by Drake which there is reason to think were intended for the same. The variances may perhaps be accounted for sometimes by repairs with old glass since 1641, and sometimes by a difference of opinion as to the colour of the glass, which in many places appears very dirty. In two cases he has given *sab.* where we have noted *gu.* ; which may be due to the charges having been of red glass covered with enamel brown to make it opaque, and the enamel having partially come off so as to make the glass now appear a dirty red. The instance in which he has given the field *sab.* where we have it *az.* may perhaps be due to a similar cause. These, however, are questions which a close and careful examination of the glass could alone satisfactorily determine.

We must not leave this subject without mentioning, that some of the glass in the tracery of the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th windows on the north side of the clearstory, and in four of those on the south side, is very old, probably of the twelfth century ; a portion of it is engraved in Browne's York Cathedral, pl. cxxiii. It may have formed part of the glazing of the windows of the nave which existed previously to the erection of the present.