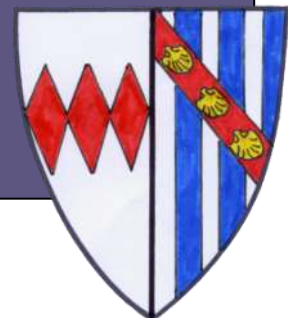




# *The Grandisons*

*Their Built & Chivalric Legacy*

Ann Darracott





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by

Ann Darracott

Maidenhead Civic Society



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By Ann Darracott

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# *Preface*

Since 1960 Maidenhead Civic Society has been an effective voice in the local community, promoting high standards of planning and architecture in Maidenhead, and working to secure the preservation, protection, development and improvement of features of historic or public interest in the town and surrounding areas. In a few cases the Society has taken the lead and undertaken specific projects on particular aspects of Maidenhead's history and historic buildings, including detailed studies of Ockwells Manor, Shottesbrooke Church and Bisham Abbey. This book grew out of the background investigations into the history of Bisham Abbey.

Bisham Abbey is located not far from Marlow on the River Thames and is currently owned by Sport England. It is now run as a sports and conference centre and is where various sports teams representing England can practise. The original building on the site was a preceptory put up by the Knights Templar in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. In the following century it was held by the Montacute earls of Salisbury and later their descendants, the Nevilles.

The building still retains in the bay window of what is now called the Elizabethan Room remnants of schemes of armorial glass ranging from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. In 1562, the then owner, Sir Thomas Hoby, put up "*a gallery of noble men's arms*" almost certainly glass saved when the priory church was demolished during the dissolution of the monasteries. The glass included a 14<sup>th</sup> century shield representing William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury (d.1344), impaled with that of his wife, Katherine Grandison (d.1349). A chance visit to Exeter cathedral led to the recognition of very similar 14<sup>th</sup> century armorials located in the south window of St Gabriel's Chapel in the choir of the cathedral and the realisation that Katherine Grandison's brother John, who had been Bishop of Exeter from 1327-1369, had built most of the nave and had evidently glazed the windows of the chapel.

Further investigation revealed that both Katherine's uncle Otho Grandison and her father William, both from Vaud, now in Switzerland, had been involved in the building of castles in Wales for Edward I. Otho, in particular, would have known the famous Master James of St Georges who built castles in Vaud and elsewhere for both Count Peter and Count Philip of Savoy before coming to work for Edward I. Otho's castle at Grandson on Lake Neuchatel is now thought to have been designed by Master James.

The study then expanded in order to learn more about the Grandison family, including where they came from; what families they were related to; what places they were linked with; where they were buried and what was their extant legacy, such as buildings, effigies, armorial glass and paintings.

The Grandisons, especially Otho, worked with various popes, one of whom – Clement V – had a replica of Harlech Castle, thought to have been designed by Master James, built in his home town of Villandraut. Otho was close to Edward I. Katherine Grandison’s husband, William Montacute, was similarly close to Edward III, grandson of Edward I. Both kings had an interest in chivalry, especially relating to King Arthur and Saint George. The Grandisons and their relatives made a contribution to each king’s chivalric activity. Katherine Grandison is one of the contenders to be the Countess of Salisbury said to have inspired the garter legend connected with the founding of the Order of the Garter at Windsor Castle. The present work demonstrates the impact this family has had on the history of not only England and Wales but also Ireland and what is now Switzerland.

I have set the text into a number of chapters, which broadly reflects the chronological order of the various buildings, though those in Switzerland overlap to a large extent. I have also included more extensive endnotes than might be thought usual to provide more detail on the historical and social context of the building works.

The Grandisons left a built legacy over a wide area of Europe and the following people, linked to buildings they were connected with, assisted me in a variety of ways; I apologise if I’ve missed anyone out:

#### *Ireland*

Marie Boland, Clonmel Library  
John O’Gorman, Tipperary Studies, Thurles

#### *England*

Sue Strutt, Church Warden, Ashperton Church  
Ann Willoughby, historian for Exeter Cathedral and Ottery St Mary Church  
Michael Howarth, Assistant Librarian, Exeter Cathedral Library  
David Risdon, Education Officer, Exeter Cathedral  
Ruth Richardson, historian for Dore Abbey  
James Anthony, Hereford Cathedral  
Kirsty Clarke, Library & Archives Assistant, Hereford Cathedral  
Joe Hillaby, historian for St Katherine’s Chapel, Ledbury  
Caroline Allington, Curator, Swindon Borough Council  
Rev. Brian Carne, historian for Lydiard Tregoze  
Dr Richard Mortimer, Keeper of the Muniments, Westminster Abbey  
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#### *Wales*

Prof. R E Griffiths, University of Swansea

#### *Switzerland*

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Flora Tarelli, Bern Historical Museum  
Karen Christie, Conservator, Bern Historical Museum  
Michel Schaer, Chateau Grandson  
Dr Daniel de Raemy, Research Director, Service des Biens Culturels, Fribourg

And I am also indebted to the many church wardens for giving me access to their churches.

Many others kindly offered their assistance - help that ranged from providing reference material or photographs, to reading sections of the text and making comments. I am particularly grateful to Dr de Raemy for giving me a copy of his book on the castles, donjons and great towers of Savoy; to Peter and Eileen Goford and Julie Le Maitour for help with French translation; and Pat Cobb and Annd Fischer for help with German translation. Any remaining mistakes are therefore mine entirely.

I am also grateful to the following for giving permission to reproduce images that are in their copyright:

The Dean & Chapter of Westminster Abbey for permission to reproduce an image of a drawing by E.W. Tristram of the painting on the side of the tomb of Eleanor of Castile featuring a kneeling Otho Grandison (Fig 12a).

The Bern Historical Museum for permission to reproduce an image of the altar frontal featuring a kneeling Otho Grandison (Figs 12b and c).

The Duke of Buccleuch and the V & A Museum for permission to reproduce an image of Bisham Priory Church from the Salisbury Roll made for Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick which appears in *Gothic Art for England 1400-1547* (Eds. Richard Marks & Paul Williamson) published by the V & A (Fig 21a).

The British Library for permission to reproduce the image of Bisham Priory Church from the Salisbury Roll Copy A made for Richard III (BL Add 45133 f.52v) (Fig 21b).

Many thanks are also due to the churches and cathedrals featured in this study for permission to take and reproduce photographs, including especially:

The Dean & Chapter of the Exeter Cathedral  
The Dean & Chapter of Hereford Cathedral  
The Dean & Chapter of St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle  
Dore Abbey  
The Church of Ottery St Mary  
St Katherine's Hospital, Ledbury  
St Mary's Church, Lydiard Tregoze

Similar thanks are due to the management of Vale Royal Golf Club (formerly Vale Royal Abbey) and Bisham Abbey (now a sports & conference centre owned by Sport England) and the managers of other buildings featured here.

And last but not least, thanks to my husband Brian Darracott for help with photography, and the layout and editing of this book, which is published with the aid of a Revenue Grant from the Royal Borough of Windsor & Maidenhead and a grant from the Shell Employee Action scheme, for which the Civic Society is most grateful.

Ann Darracott – 2014



# *A Family Called Grandison*

**I**N the 13<sup>th</sup> century, during the reign of Henry III (1216-1272), a family arrived in England that was to not only have a great impact on its history but also on that of Wales and Ireland.

The Grandisons (Grandson, Granson, Granzun, Grandissono, Grandisson<sup>1</sup>) arrived in England as émigrés from the Vaud area of what is now Switzerland. Their ancestral home, Castle Grandson, sited on Lake Neuchatel, can still be seen.<sup>2</sup> Exactly when the brothers Otho<sup>3</sup> and William Grandison first arrived is unclear; 1249/50 and 1258 have been suggested.<sup>4</sup> Their move away from the family home is attributed to the position of their father Peter (d.1258), as household knight and dependent of the very influential Peter of Savoy, uncle of King Henry III's queen, Eleanor of Provence.<sup>5</sup> What is clear is that Otho was placed in the household of Henry III's eldest son, Edward (later Edward I), and William in that of his younger brother Edmund<sup>6</sup> (Earl of Lancaster, nicknamed Crouchback<sup>7</sup>). Other Grandison brothers stayed on the continent.<sup>8</sup>

Due to Otho's later involvement as an expert on Gascon affairs, it has been suggested that he was with the then Prince Edward between 1254 when Edward was created Duke of Aquitaine, and the outbreak of the Baron's War in 1263.<sup>9</sup> Edward, aged fifteen, first went to Gascony in 1254, en route to Spain for the marriage to Eleanor of Castile,<sup>10</sup> his retinue including some young men yet to be knighted.<sup>11</sup> Perhaps Otho was among them. After the marriage Edward returned to Gascony. Peter of Savoy, Edward's great uncle, who had micro-managed his affairs since early infancy had suggested to the king that Edward should go from Gascony to Ireland, another of his new lordships and he arrived in Gascony in late September 1255 to supervise Edward's departure. Edward instead headed for London.<sup>12</sup>

Assuming Otho was with Edward in 1255 he would soon have been involved in turmoil where the Welsh under Llywelyn were in open rebellion, wiping out Prince Edward's army in 1257; relatives of the king (the Lusignans) were competing for power with the Savoyard relatives of the queen, including Peter of Savoy and the king was involved in a disastrous scheme, initiated by the Pope, to make his younger son, Edmund, King of Sicily. The unrest generated by all of this led to the barons forcing the king to sign the Provisions of Oxford (1258) after which he was made to expel his Lusignan relatives. Edward sided with the barons led by his uncle Simon de Montfort. By 1263 he had returned to his father's side, famously raiding the Templars' Treasury in London to obtain the wherewithal to resist Montfort and in 1264 was with the king in Amiens when the Provisions of Oxford were annulled leading to Civil War in England. Later in 1264 Montfort was successful at the

battle of Lewes and Edward became his hostage at Hereford. Only after his audacious escape in 1265 did the tables turn and Montfort was defeated at Evesham in August.

Otho appears to have fought with Edward against the barons, as in October 1265 he was rewarded for good service with houses belonging to the enemies of the king, Henry III.<sup>13</sup> These included manors in Kent that had been held by Simon de Montfort.<sup>14</sup> He appears also to have been rewarded with lands in Ireland where in 1265 he is said to have become Sheriff of Tipperary and Lord of the Manor of Clonmel. He was Edward's knight by 1268<sup>15</sup> and two years later accompanied Prince Edward on crusade to the Holy Land, arriving there in 1271.<sup>16</sup> So began the career of a man who became a close friend and counsellor of the man who in 1272 became Edward I, fighting his wars and furthering his diplomacy. Otho left England after the King's death in 1307. William, however, married into the Anglo-Norman family of Tregoz (Troisgots), based in Herefordshire, fathered a brood of children and settled in England (see Fig 1, which illustrates the differing armorial coats of the brothers and William's children).<sup>17</sup>

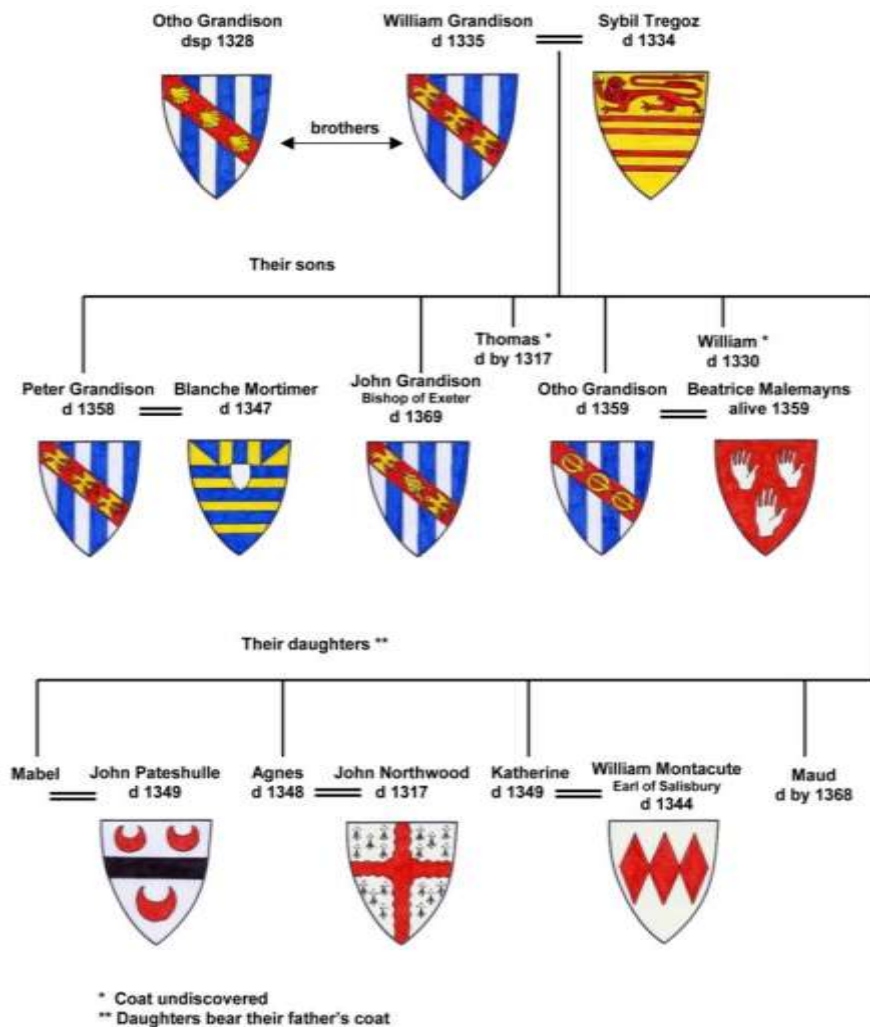


Fig 1: Armorial Coats of the Grandisons & their Kin

Otho and William Grandison, and their kinsmen, feature prominently in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century history both of this country<sup>18</sup> and on an international stage, helped by their links with the Kings of England and Popes of the time. They have left a legacy in the built environment of England, Wales, Ireland and Switzerland. William's son, John who became Bishop of Exeter gives an insight into his thinking when, describing the motives for the erection of his church at Ottery St Mary in Devon said that *it is was his desire to ensure the never ending remembrance of the deeds of valour and charity wrought by his family and friends, noble and gentle, who together with their willing followers and loyal comrades, whether in England, in France, in Scotland or the Holy Land, helped to fashion the realm and win the nation's place in the world's history which we now gratefully inherit; and who had found their strength at the altar of the church and their delight, as he had done, in serving the Lord.*<sup>19</sup>



Fig 2a: Places in England, Wales and Ireland associated with the Grandisons

The buildings in England (in Berkshire, Cheshire, Devon, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, London, Wiltshire) as well as those in Ireland, Wales (see Fig 2a) and Switzerland (Fig 2b) connected to the Grandisons and their relatives, especially the Tregoz family, the Cantilupes, the Courtenays, the Montacutes and the Nevilles, are dealt with roughly chronologically. Some of these buildings, or parts thereof, were constructed by Grandisons, and/or house Grandison tombs or have other links with the family (see Summary in Appendix 1).



*Fig 2b: Places in Europe associated with the Grandisons*

There is evidence of movement of craftsmen from one country to another before the Grandison brothers arrived in England. It will be remembered that Henry III, king of England (ruled 1216-1272), was overlord of Gascony and brother-in-law of the French king Louis IX (Saint Louis). His marriage to Eleanor of Provence in 1236 also brought links to Savoy including Count Peter of Savoy, his wife's uncle. Powerful men had the resources to build, whether castles to exert power, churches to preserve their souls or bastide towns to encourage trade. Skilled craftsmen moved between Gascony, Savoy, England and possibly France, bringing with them new architectural ideas. The Grandisons arrived in England, in the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century, and it's thought that Otho Grandison influenced that most famous of masons, Master James of St George, to come to England to build castles in Wales for Edward I.

Edward I was a lifelong supporter of various popes as they attempted to persuade European monarchs to go on crusade to regain Jerusalem, an aim not helped by rivalries between England and France over Gascony, and also between the Papacy and the Holy Roman Emperor for control of Italy and especially Sicily. Civil war in Italy resulted in the



Papal Curia settling in Avignon. Otho Grandison was Edward's diplomat when dealing with the papacy and his commander in the Holy Land.

Edward I also had an interest in King Arthur and chivalry that was emulated by his grandson, Edward III, who first attempted to found an Order of the Round Table and later the Order of the Garter, at Windsor. The Grandisons and their kinsmen had an involvement in each foundation.

## *Town Walls & the Franciscan Friary at Clonmel, Ireland*

**O**THO Grandison at the very start of his career appears to have fought with Prince Edward against the barons (Simon de Montfort's rebellion), as in 1265 he was rewarded for good service with houses belonging to the enemies of the king, Henry III.<sup>20</sup> Around the same time he is said to have been rewarded with lands in Ireland where Prince Edward, made Lord of Ireland by his father, Henry III in 1254,<sup>21</sup> held power.



*Fig 3a: Fortified Town Wall, Clonmel, Ireland*

In 1263 Walter de Burgo (de Burgh) was granted lands in Ulster in exchange for lands in south Tipperary (lands subsequently granted to Otho<sup>22</sup>), and the administration of Clonmel was then vested in Otho and in 1265 he may have become Sheriff of Tipperary and Lord of the Manor of Clonmel,<sup>23</sup> though it is also said he was Sheriff in 1267-1269.<sup>24</sup> What is certain is that by 1281 Otho had already held towns and manors in Ireland, including Clonmel, which he had returned to the king, as in that year Edward I returned them to him “for his homage and service rendered by him from his and the King’s youth which the said Otho previously had for life of the king’s gift and which he had restored to the king.”<sup>25</sup> Otho still held these lands in 1290 when, before leaving again for the Holy Land, he put his affairs in order. In England he appointed his brother William and the prior of Wenlock, another Savoyard, his attorneys.<sup>26</sup> In July 1290 he granted his towns of Clonmel and Kilfeakle, and the manor of Kilsheeland in Ireland to William his brother<sup>27</sup> though in the same month these and other Irish lands were granted to his nephew Pierre de Vuippens<sup>28</sup> including some already rented to Richard de Burgo, Earl of Ulster.<sup>29</sup> After William’s death in 1335, Peter, his son, sold the lordship of Clonmel with its manors of Clonmel, Kilsheelan and Kilfeakle in 1338 to Maurice Fitzgerald, Earl of Desmond.<sup>30</sup> This brought the connection with the main line of the Grandisons to an end, though in 1621 Oliver St John, a descendent of William’s daughter Mabel (Tree 3), was made a peer, taking the name Viscount Grandison of Limerick.<sup>31</sup>

Earlier, in 1308, in what looks like a bit of bribery, the then king, Edward II, had appointed Peter Grandison Lieutenant of Ireland on the same day that he asked Otho Grandison to intercede with the Pope to revoke the excommunication pronounced by the English Bishops on Peter de Gaveston, the king’s favourite.<sup>32</sup> If Peter Grandison went to Ireland he did not stay long as in 1310 he accompanied John of Brittany, Earl of Richmond, to Gascony.<sup>33</sup>

As has been pointed out, there is no evidence that Otho set foot in Clonmel<sup>34</sup> but he is credited with commencing the building of the town walls. Records are scant but it is certain that in April 1298 Edward I “at the instance of Otto de Grandison grants for ten years to the bailiffs and good men of Clonmel, for the greater security of the neighbourhood, the following customs to be paid out of native & foreign merchandise...”<sup>35</sup> This is regarded as the means by which money was raised for building the fortified town walls, part of which still stand (Fig 3a). However, the bulk of the extant remains of the town walls, immediately adjacent to St Mary’s Church, founded in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century, include several square towers for fortification. It is possible this fortified wall is contemporary with the original church, not only due to its proximity but also due to the Romanesque design of the towers. Elsewhere in Clonmel there are the remains of a round tower, indicating that more than one period of wall building occurred; this is also indicated by the various murage grants. Otho very likely was linked to the building of this and similar towers.<sup>36</sup> In 1316, as Otho was *beyond the seas*, the need to defend the town resulted in his official in Clonmel being authorised to receive Otho’s rents and transmit them to the Treasury in Dublin.<sup>37</sup>

Another building at Clonmel linked to Otho is the Franciscan friary which some say he founded though it has been pointed out that his connection with Clonmel arose after the arrival of the friars; however, he is thought to have enlarged the original foundation.<sup>38</sup> The

Franciscans had arrived in Ireland in 1232, taking root in or close to towns which were developing under the Anglo Normans.<sup>39</sup> In 1269 Otho, it is said, not only gave the friars a considerable sum of money to erect the church, convent and its appurtenances, but also bestowed upon it a rich tract of land, sites for mills and two or three fishing weirs on the Suir.<sup>40</sup> All that remains of the friary church is the tower, built soon after 1318 (Fig 3b).<sup>41</sup> Interestingly, whilst Franciscan towers are usually slender, this one is considered similar to the bulky towers of the Cistercians.<sup>42</sup> Otho would have seen the Cistercian monastery of Dore Abbey in Herefordshire with which his sister-in-law Sybil Tregoz had such strong links (Fig 5). However, Otho died in 1328 and was not even in England after 1307, so assuming the 1318 date is correct, it is unlikely that he influenced the design.



*Fig 3b: Former Franciscan Friary, Clonmel, Ireland:  
tower 14<sup>th</sup> century, rest of church rebuilt 19<sup>th</sup> century*

In a further link with the Franciscans, in 1289 while on diplomatic business for Edward I in Rome, he obtained the Pope's permission to build at his own expense a church for the Friars Minor (Franciscans) in his homeland.<sup>43</sup> Perhaps he admired their rule of poverty and, in comparison with orders such as the Cistercians, their close contact with people.

If Otho came to Ireland at all he could not have been there very long, for from 1270 to 1272 he was with the then Prince Edward on crusade in the Holy Land,<sup>44</sup> and thereafter had a busy career working for the new King. However, he still retained his lands in Ireland

and until 1274 also had the wardship of Edmunda Botiller, daughter of John de Botiller (Butler), tenant in chief of the King in Ireland.<sup>45</sup> He also still used Ireland's resources. In 1290 he was discharged from paying for corn sent from Ireland to Wales *for munition of the King's castles and maintenance of Otho's household*.<sup>46</sup> His involvement with building Edward's Welsh castles is discussed later.

Otho Grandison's responsibilities in Ireland were at the beginning of his career working for Edward I and it is good that in Clonmel he is still remembered as the builder of the town walls and the Franciscan friary (Fig 3c).



Fig 3c: Clonmel Information Board



## *Castles & Churches at Ashperton, Stretton Grandison & Eaton Tregoze, Herefordshire*

**A** SHPERTON (between Hereford and Ledbury) and Stretton Grandison (north of Ashperton) were evidently granted to William by his overlord, Edmund, Earl of Lancaster.<sup>47</sup> Ashperton is said to have been his principal residence. He built a manor there and in 1292 received a licence from the King to crenellate, which meant he could convert it into a castle. Of this fortified manor house nothing can now be seen but both the circular island of more than half an acre on which it stood and the extensive moat by which it was defended are still there, hidden in the dense trees to the west of St Bartholomew's church. The church stands on what was apparently a rectangular bailey still marked on the north and the east by a dry ditch.<sup>48</sup>



*Fig 4a: St Bartholomew's Church, Ashperton*

Tradition has it that his wife, Sibyl, during her husband's absence on crusade, obtained a licence to build the church (St Bartholomew's) at Ashperton (Fig 4a) because she and her household were prevented from attending their parish church at Stretton (Stretton Grandison) because of floods.<sup>49</sup> The latter church (St Lawrence's, Fig 4b) was, according to the church guide, rebuilt in the 14<sup>th</sup> century by the Grandisons. Interestingly, both churches have been associated with the baptism of William and Sibyl's son, John Grandison, who was born in 1292.<sup>50</sup>



*Fig 4b: St Lawrence's Church, Stretton Grandison*

It is likely the licence to crenellate was needed to fortify Ashperton against attack by the Welsh. From 1287 William was Deputy Justiciar at Caernarfon Castle, then being built, and had an active involvement in the construction of this and other Welsh castles, so would have been well placed to find men to build a church and fortify Ashperton in 1292. Exactly when the Grandisons built the church at Ashperton and rebuilt the church at Stretton Grandison is less clear, but if they were used to baptise William's children then they must have been functioning churches before 1292.

William also acquired Eaton Tregoz (south of Ashperton) after the death of his father-in-law, John Tregoz, in 1300, and is said to have had a licence to crenellate there in 1309. No trace of this castle remains.<sup>51</sup> William's inquisition post mortem shows he held Eton (sic) from the King.

## *Dore Abbey & Vale Royal Abbey*

**D**ORE Abbey, Herefordshire, still in use as the parish church of St Mary, is a former Cistercian Abbey<sup>52</sup> founded by Robert, Lord of Ewyas, in 1147, said to be the grandson of William the Conqueror.<sup>53</sup> Robert was an ancestor of Sibyl Tregoz<sup>54</sup> who married William Grandison (see Trees 2&3). It is suggested the replacement of the founder's temporary wooden buildings with stone began c 1175 and in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century Dore was rebuilt. To assist, indulgences were granted, in 1260, by the Savoyard, Peter d'Aiqueblanche (Aquablanca) Bishop of Hereford (1240-1268). Dore was finally consecrated by Thomas Cantilupe (Cantelupe), Bishop of Hereford (1275-82),<sup>55</sup> who was Sybil's great uncle (see Tree 2).<sup>56</sup>



*Fig 5: Dore Abbey, Herefordshire*



In 1306, when William Grandison visited Pope Clement V (Table 1) to seek benefits for his sons John and Thomas,<sup>57</sup> he also sought indulgences on behalf of his wife to benefit Dore.<sup>58</sup> In 1321 William came to the Abbey to give “a portion of the wood of the Holy Cross, very beautifully adorned with gold and precious stones” in payment of a debt owed to the Abbot. It has been suggested that he was given the relic by his brother Otho (d.1328) who may have acquired it at the fall of Acre in 1291 and that the gift led to a major reconstruction of the nave at Dore.<sup>59</sup>

The nave is now largely destroyed but bosses that probably date from the late 13<sup>th</sup> to early 14<sup>th</sup> century rebuild, and thought to be from the nave or presbytery, survive.<sup>60</sup> The process of vaulting the roof in stone probably went on for a long time. The bosses were found hidden in the church during restoration. Two bosses feature a kneeling abbot, thought to represent Richard Stradell, Abbot of Dore (1305 or 1312 to 1346).<sup>61</sup> In one, he kneels before the Virgin and child and in the other before a Bishop, thought to represent the Bishop of Hereford, Thomas Cantilupe canonised as Saint Thomas of Hereford in 1320. Yet another boss shows a monk kneeling before St Katherine.<sup>62</sup> William Grandison, whose donation is thought to have helped rebuild the nave, appears to have had a special interest in St Katherine, naming one of his daughters for the saint. His brother Otho certainly had a dedication to the Virgin and child (see Fig 12 and Appendix 2). Both would have been keen to have a boss representing St Thomas of Hereford, as he was a kinsman of William’s wife, Sybil Tregoz (Tree 2). The bosses were carved by expert craftsmen, perhaps from Hereford. William would have had excellent contact with the carvers trained at Hereford Cathedral where Richard Swinfield, Cantilupe’s successor as Bishop (1289 to 1317), is said to have worked tirelessly to have his predecessor canonised. After Swinfield died in 1317 it’s been suggested that it was the combination of Edward II’s determination and money and the diplomacy of Swinfield’s successor as Bishop of Hereford, Adam de Orleton (1317-1327), which persuaded Pope John XXII to canonise Cantilupe.<sup>63</sup> However, the Grandisons probably also influenced the decision. Otho had been on the embassy that first raised the canonisation with the earlier Pope Clement V in 1305 and still had influence in later years. In April 1317, his nephews Thomas and William were granted benefits by Clement V. The provision of a canonry of Salisbury with reservation of a prebend to William, interestingly notes a concurrent mandate to the Abbot of Dore, the Dean of Hereford and Master Adam de Orleton, papal chaplain, canon of Wells.<sup>64</sup> Orleton evidently was papal chaplain before becoming Bishop of Hereford later that year. He would have known Otho’s nephew, John Grandison, who was also a papal chaplain and probably influenced Pope John XXII to canonise his kinsman. Cantilupe was canonised in 1320.

Sybil died in 1334 and William the following year (Trees 2 & 3). Richard Stradell as Abbot of Dore was, in 1338, one of the executors of William’s will.<sup>65</sup> Both William and Sibyl were buried at Dore<sup>66</sup> though none of their children was. The eldest son, Peter, preferred the Lady Chapel of Hereford Cathedral, then holding the shrine of his kinsman, Thomas Cantilupe (by then St Thomas of Hereford<sup>67</sup>); John, the west end of Exeter Cathedral, where he was Bishop; Otho (named for his uncle), John’s foundation at Ottery St Mary; whilst daughter Katherine is said to have been buried in Bisham Priory Church built by her

husband, William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury (see Tree 3), and later demolished by Henry VIII.<sup>68</sup>

Neither of the two extant, somewhat battered, effigies at Dore, both male, has been identified as representing William Grandison. One, now in the north ambulatory, has by tradition been named as representing Robert of Ewyas (suggested effigy dates of 1240-50/1250-70)<sup>69</sup> and is thought most likely to be for Sibyl's grandfather, Robert Tregoz, Lord of Ewyas,<sup>70</sup> great grandson of the founder and brother in law of Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford. The other effigy (dated ca.1280) now in the south ambulatory is thought to represent his half-brother, Roger Clifford (d.1286)<sup>71</sup> whose colourful career included accompanying Prince Edward to the Holy Land in 1270, as did Otho Grandison.<sup>72</sup> Both effigies are crossed-legged, a characteristic traditionally associated with depictions of crusaders.

It is said that during the struggles with Simon de Montfort, when Prince Edward became a prisoner of the barons at Hereford, he experienced kindness from the monks of Dore Abbey when held captive in Hereford Castle.<sup>73</sup> It is suggested the Prince was grateful to the monks and this is why he offered them a daughter house.<sup>74</sup> The first foundation charter of the new abbey is dated 2nd August 1270 - a few days before the Prince set sail for the Holy Land<sup>75</sup> - and it was founded in fulfilment of a vow made during a perilous sea crossing<sup>76</sup>. He laid the first foundation stone on the site of the high altar of the new abbey at Vale Royal, Cheshire,<sup>77</sup> on 13<sup>th</sup> August 1277 on his return when amongst those present was Otho Grandison and Jean de Grailly (another Savoyard)<sup>78</sup> who also laid stones.<sup>79</sup> By 1278 work had begun.<sup>80</sup> All this was in the midst of a war with the Welsh when their fighting skills, honed in the Crusades, would have been useful. The Vale Royal chronicler says that Edward donated to the abbey at its first foundation a portion of the Holy Cross he had obtained during his crusade to the Holy Land.<sup>81</sup> A similar donation was made by William Grandison to Dore itself in 1321, and it is tempting to wonder whether this was the same relic, perhaps given to Dore for safe-keeping, as the monks at Vale Royal were still in temporary accommodation in 1321. Only in 1330 were they able to leave the temporary monastery and take possession of their new abbey. Richard Straddel, Abbot of Dore, celebrated the mass at the jubilee held on this occasion, though despite the enormous expenditure of 32,000 *livres* it was still not completed.<sup>82</sup>

At Vale Royal, for the first few years work had pushed ahead but as time went by payments fell into arrears, war broke out again in Wales and money intended for building of the abbey had to be spent on the construction of castles and maintenance of troops.<sup>83</sup> It is likely workmen were transferred from the abbey to building castles. During the castle building programme, Otho went "beyond the seas" in 1286<sup>84</sup> on the king's business and this is thought to be when he obtained from the Pope, Honorius IV (Table 1), the appropriation of the church of Kirkham (one of the largest parishes in Lancaster)<sup>85</sup> to the monastery of Vale Royal forever. This would have helped reinvigorate the building of the new abbey. Certainly in the summer of 1287 an agreement was drawn up for building the cloister at Vale Royal,<sup>86</sup> a part of which survives (Fig 6a). The Vale Royal Chronicler says that on his return, when Otho presented the Abbot with the bull of the church of Kirkham, the latter wished to reward him with gold and silver but Otho refused, preferring

to be rewarded by God. Wherefore the abbot and convent decreed that the memory of the knight should be specially preserved and cared for in the said monastery forever.<sup>87</sup>



*Fig 6a: Cloister at Vale Royal Abbey, Cheshire*

Several of the workmen at Vale Royal ca.1280 had links with Dore or Ewyas.<sup>88</sup> William and his elder brother Otho were both concerned with the building of Edward I's Welsh castles (see below). Philip "of Ewyas" was the principal carpenter at Caernarfon in 1295 and was still working there in 1320.<sup>89</sup> He had also worked on Vale Royal Abbey (in 1278-80), the daughter house of Dore, founded by the king, and probably on Edward's castle at Flint (in 1286).<sup>90</sup>

Apart from Otho's financial help, we do not know whether either Grandison played a role in the building of Vale Royal, perhaps by facilitating the movement of masons between the Abbey and the Welsh castles; this seems likely given William's connection with Dore & Ewyas.

Little now remains of what has been described as "one of the greatest works of piety ever undertaken by a medieval English King".<sup>91</sup> Now the site of the prestigious Vale Royal Golf Club, the remains include the south and west ranges of the cloister incorporated into later building (Fig 6a), but of what was once the longest Cistercian church in England,<sup>92</sup> only the base of a wall & pillars remain (Fig 6b) marooned on the golf links. A plaque on the site gives a plan of the lost church (Fig 6c).



*Fig 6b: Remains of Vale Royal Abbey Church*

Vale Royal Abbey is regarded as a crucial monument in understanding English sculpture in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and the years ca.1300,<sup>93</sup> so its destruction by Henry VIII in 1539 is to be regretted, though as the abbot of Vale Royal reputedly had maintained for three centuries a style of splendour equal to that of many powerful barons,<sup>94</sup> its loss is perhaps not surprising.



*Fig 6c: Plan of Vale Royal Abbey Church*

# *Hereford Cathedral*

**T**HERE was a Minster at Hereford before the Normans but this was destroyed in 1056.<sup>95</sup> The present cathedral (Fig 7a) was begun by the Normans who rebuilt and enlarged it. During the 13<sup>th</sup> century it was extensively changed.



*Fig 7a: Hereford Cathedral*

From 1240 to 1320 Hereford had several canons from Savoy<sup>96</sup> including, Peter d'Aiqueblanche, Bishop of Hereford (1240-1266),<sup>97</sup> but the Grandison connection with the cathedral seems to have been via their kinsman, Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford (1275-82), who was the great uncle of Sybil Tregoz, William Grandison's wife (see Tree



2).<sup>98</sup> Interestingly, whilst Aiqueblanche had supported the king, Henry III, at the start of the Baron's War in 1263,<sup>99</sup> Cantilupe had supported the rebels, being a member of the delegation sent to plead their cause before the French King Louis IX at Amiens in January 1264.<sup>100</sup> Louis found for the king (his brother in law)<sup>101</sup> and England drifted into civil war. After the king lost the battle of Lewes in May 1264, Prince Edward became a hostage held in Hereford Castle. It was his escape a year later that transformed the situation<sup>102</sup> and the rebels lost at the Battle of Evesham in 1265 after which Cantilupe left the country.<sup>103</sup> The greatness of Edward I is seen in bringing him back to England as Bishop of Hereford in 1275.<sup>104</sup> It is tempting to speculate that while Edward and Otho Grandison were both in Europe in 1273, en route from the Holy Land to England, a rapprochement was made with Cantilupe, a relative by marriage of Otho's brother William (Tree 2).

The Grandison connection was of use to the Dean and Canons of the cathedral in 1295 when William testified that that they were born in the land of Savoy so were not subjects of the King of France and “*should not be aggrieved*” i.e. should not have their property sequestered.<sup>105</sup>



*Fig 7b: Shrine of St Thomas of Hereford*



*Fig 7c: Tomb of Sir Peter Grandison*

Thomas was canonised as St Thomas of Hereford by Pope John XXII in 1320<sup>106</sup> - a process begun in 1305 when an English embassy, including Otho, dealt with this with the newly crowned Pope Clement V<sup>107</sup> (Table I). Quite possibly Otho used his influence with both Popes to encourage the canonisation of this relative of Sybil, his brother's wife - especially as it was probably Sybil's father, John Tregoz, who had in 1287, contributed to the miracles reported from the tomb of his uncle Thomas.<sup>108</sup> In 1321 Thomas's shrine (Fig 7b) was almost complete but political events led to the postponement of the saint's

translation which took place in the presence of Edward III.<sup>109</sup> His shrine was placed in the Lady Chapel (built 1220-40<sup>110</sup>) in 1349<sup>111</sup> and this is probably why Peter Grandison (d.1358), William's son, chose this location for his tomb (Fig 7c), located on the north side of the chapel. The tomb has been restored and repainted<sup>112</sup> and the effigy bears the Grandison coat (*paly argent and azure on a bend gules three eagles displayed or*) on the tabard (Fig 7d).



*Fig 7d: Effigy of Sir Peter Grandison in the Lady Chapel of Hereford Cathedral*

To underline the connection, a statue of St Thomas of Hereford was included on the canopy above the effigy, together with statues of St John, the Virgin Mary & Christ, St John the Baptist and St Thomas of Canterbury (Becket); Fig 8a. In appearance it is not dissimilar in style to the Minstrels' Gallery of angel musicians (see Fig 8b) in the nave of Exeter cathedral, put up by Bishop John Grandison, Peter's brother.<sup>113</sup> Style similarities (loops and cascades) between a roof boss at Exeter and Peter's tomb have also been noted by Pevsner.<sup>114</sup>



(a)



(b)

*Fig 8: Comparison of a) the Canopy on Tomb of Sir Peter Grandison, Hereford Cathedral (statues from left to right: St Thomas of Hereford (Thomas Cantilupe), St John the Evangelist, the Virgin Mary, Christ, St John the Baptist, St Thomas of Canterbury (Thomas a Becket)) with (b) Minstrels Gallery built by Bishop John Grandison, Exeter Cathedral*

After the canonisation of St Thomas of Hereford, the gifts of many pilgrims to his shrine in the Lady Chapel enabled the building of the large fourteenth century central tower of the cathedral.<sup>115</sup>



## *St Katherine's Hospital, Ledbury & St Mary's Church, Dymock*

ST Katherine's history is inextricably bound up with Ashperton and Stretton (Grandison) due to the major role the Grandison family played as patrons, a patronage that allowed the Hospital to flourish in 1330-1340.<sup>116</sup>



*Fig 9a: St Katherine's Chapel, Ledbury, Herefordshire*

St Katherine's Hospital was founded ca.1230 by Hugh Foliot, Bishop of Hereford (1219-34), as a place of succour for the poor and infirm and as a chantry chapel under the guardianship of the Dean & Chapter of Hereford Cathedral. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century, hall and

chapel underwent a major programme of reconstruction including building a new roof, providing new doorways and replacing a number of the 13<sup>th</sup> century lancet windows with larger windows in the decorated style (Fig 9b). Very high quality stained glass was provided for the chapel. It's suggested the work was done in 1330-40, and that the vestiges of the glass that survives in the east window are sufficient to indicate its strong family resemblance to the glass in the Latin Chapel of Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, described as some of the most important glass of the second quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The vestiges include the Grandison armorial coat (Fig 9c) with the fine timber roof of the hall with its beautifully carved wind braces, belonging to the same period.<sup>117</sup>



(b)



(c)

Fig 9: (b): East Window of St Katherine's Chapel;  
(c): Grandison shield in the east window (reversed here to correct blazon)

The quality of the stained glass indicates this was probably masterminded by John Grandison, Bishop of Exeter (1327-1369), and that the refurbishment of St Katherine's chapel was intended by John and his brother Peter to serve not only as a chantry but as a local memorial chapel for their father and mother.<sup>118</sup>

Patronage by the Grandison family is also suggested to account for the remarkable relics collection in the hands of this small hospital tucked away in the Welsh Marches, detailed in an inventory of 1316.<sup>119</sup> However 1316 is before John Grandison became Bishop of Exeter (in 1327), and suggests patronage came from his father William whose brother,

Otho, would have been in a position to acquire such relics.<sup>120</sup> The relics of St Thomas (part of his vestment, tunic and oils) referred to in the inventory are thought to refer to St Thomas of Hereford (Thomas Cantilupe), ancestor of William's wife, Sybil.<sup>121</sup> It would appear that William Grandison had a special devotion to St Katherine as he named one of his daughters, the famous Katherine, Countess of Salisbury, for the saint.

So who rebuilt St Katherine's: William the father (d.1335) or his sons? The 1330-40 date of the stained glass indicates the sons, though rebuilding could have started before 1330. Rebuilding after 1330 would be logical following the confirmation of the Hospital's charter by Edward III in 1328.<sup>122</sup> However, assuming William donated the relics, he may also have had the church rebuilt, the glass being inserted at the end of the rebuilding.

It should be borne in mind that William Grandison, who lived at Ashperton to the west of Ledbury, also held the manor of Dymock (Dymmok), Gloucestershire, to the south of Ledbury. Dymock is near Much Marcle, where the church of St Bartholomew's still houses the beautiful tomb of Blanche Mortimer (d.1347), wife of William's son, Peter Grandison (Fig 10a).



*Fig 10a: Tomb of Blanche Mortimer d.1347, wife of Peter Grandison in St Bartholomew's Church, Much Marcle (see inset photo)*



St Mary's Church, Dymock, built in the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century was substantially rebuilt in the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Fig 10b); a tower was added in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. According to the inquisition post mortem of his grandson, Thomas, William Grandison and Sybil his wife, received Dymock from Edward I (d.1307), in exchange for lands in Sussex.<sup>123</sup> The Grandison family held Dymock until Thomas died in 1376, when William Montacute, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Salisbury, inherited a third of the manor.



*Fig 10b: St Mary's Church, Dymock; 12th century church, largely rebuilt in the 14<sup>th</sup> century with tower and south porch of the 15<sup>th</sup> century*

St Mary's at Dymock has a Victorian chancel screen (Fig 10c) bearing the coats of Bishop Grandison (Fig 10d), Cantilupe (Bishop of Hereford), Bohun, Ruyhale, Clifford, Devereux and others. These may represent past patrons and/or lords of the manor. It is known that Richard Ruyhale (d.1408) bought Dymock from the heirs of Thomas Grandison. The Victorian screen is apparently a reproduction of an original screen, taken from the church in the past, parts of which were found in The Old Grange; whether the original screen bore armorials is unclear.<sup>124</sup> Interestingly, this grange is said to have been established by the Abbot of Flaxley Abbey, a Cistercian abbey due south of Dymock. The Abbey was founded in the 12<sup>th</sup> century when the monastery held all the demesne of Dymock and half the wood there.<sup>125</sup> In 1306, William Grandison is said to have joined his brother in Avignon<sup>126</sup> when Pope Clement V granted William's wife, Sybil, an indult for five years to visit Dore and Flayleye (sic) monasteries, the pontiff noting that both had been *founded by her ancestors*.<sup>127</sup>



*Fig 10c: Victorian Chancel Screen*



*Fig 10d: Coat of Bishop John Grandison on the Victorian Chancel Screen*

Did William Grandison and his wife Sybil rebuild St Mary's church at Dymock in the 14<sup>th</sup> century? The Grandison coat on the Victorian Chancel screen in the church is for their son, John Grandison, Bishop of Exeter from 1328. The Grandisons held the manor from before 1307 to 1376, so it is very likely that William and/or his sons, Peter and John, or grandson Thomas, who all held Dymock, were involved in the rebuilding of the church.

What can be said is that St Katherine's Hospital at Ledbury and, most likely, St Mary's Church, Dymock, are part of the built legacy of the Grandisons. Perhaps the family also contributed to the 14<sup>th</sup> century south porch and new windows for the 13<sup>th</sup> century church of St Bartholomew at Much Marcle, near to Dymock, when the tomb of Blanche (d.1347), wife of Peter Grandison, was erected.

# *Westminster Abbey*

**W**ESTMINSTER Abbey, built by King Edward the Confessor and consecrated in January 1066, was rebuilt by Henry III, beginning in 1245.<sup>128</sup> By 1272, when Henry died, the Abbey was incomplete but enough had been achieved for his son Edward I, named for the saint, to hold his coronation there in August 1274, in the presence of Otho Grandison and other friends of the King.<sup>129</sup>



*Fig 11: Westminster Abbey*



The Confessor, who died in 1066, was canonised in 1163. His shrine<sup>130</sup> at Westminster has, in a semicircle around it, tombs of kings of England and their queens including Henry III,<sup>131</sup> his son Edward I<sup>132</sup> and great grandson Edward III. The tombs and shrine form the Confessor's Chapel.<sup>133</sup> Edmund Crouchback (d.1296), Edward's younger brother and William Grandison's overlord, is buried next to Edward, just west of the chapel. The heraldic shields on the side of his tomb are said to have included the coats of both Otho and William Grandison.<sup>134</sup>

The Queen of Edward I, Eleanor of Castile, was evidently fond of Otho Grandison, William's elder brother. She had been on crusade with her husband, Prince Edward, and Otho, at Acre in Palestine (where Edward had founded a confraternity in 1271-1272 dedicated to the Confessor)<sup>135</sup> and where her husband suffered a knife attack by a Saracen assassin. That incident, together with giving birth to two daughters at Acre, one of whom died,<sup>136</sup> would bind her to the people she was on crusade with.

Before 1296 she granted Otho houses in the city of London formerly owned by Hagin, son of Master Moses, a London Jew<sup>137</sup> and in 1289-90 gave him a gift of 1000 marks.<sup>138</sup> On the ambulatory side of her tomb at Westminster is the remains of a painting which features Otho, identifiable by his armorial surcoat, kneeling before the Virgin Mary, supposedly praying for Eleanor in the Holy Land (Fig 12a).



*Fig 12a: Otho Grandison shown kneeling before the Virgin and Child in a drawing by E. Tristram of the remains of a fresco on the ambulatory side of the tomb of Queen Eleanor d. 1290 at Westminster Abbey*

The painting includes four pilgrims kneeling before the Holy Sepulchre. Otho is thought to have been the donor of an embroidered silk altar frontal (antependium), now in the Historisches Museum, Bern, where he is similarly shown kneeling before the Virgin and Child (Fig 12b & c) and flanked by St Gabriel and St Michael.<sup>139</sup>



(b)



(c)

*Fig 12: (b) Otho Grandison shown kneeling before the Virgin and Child depicted on an embroidered silk altar frontal of the late 13<sup>th</sup> early 14<sup>th</sup> century now in the Historisches Museum, Bern; (c) detail of Otho's figure*

Eleanor died in November 1290 when Otho was again on crusade fighting alongside the Knights Templar at the fall of Acre in 1291 when it was overrun by the Saracens.<sup>140</sup> In her will she left him her manors of Ditton in Cambridgeshire and Thurweston (Turweston), Bucks, with reversion to the king (legacy confirmed Jan 1291).<sup>141</sup> Otho restored Turweston to the king in 1292 to be granted to Westminster Abbey for Eleanor's anniversary service.<sup>142</sup> Perhaps this was when the painting of Otho was placed on her tomb. Otho is considered to have been one of Eleanor's closest associates who often witnessed documents for the Queen.<sup>143</sup>



## *Castles in Wales*

WHEN in the Holy Land in 1271-72 both Otho Grandison and Prince Edward would have seen the fortresses and great castles of that region; indeed Edward, as a distinguished pilgrim, had financed the building of the “English Tower” at Acre.<sup>144</sup> In addition, when en route back to England, Edward, by now King of England, would also have seen the castle, then newly built, at St Georges d’Espérance, commissioned by Count Peter of Savoy’s brother and successor, Count Philip, when he visited, in June 1273, for Philip to pay homage to the King.<sup>145</sup> Otho is also said to have witnessed the rebuilding of Chillon (Fig 13) and other castles by his patron, Count Peter of Savoy (d.1268).<sup>146</sup> He is likely to have seen Count Peter’s new castle and town of Yverdon, just to the west of Grandson on Lake Neuchatel, founded end 1259/early 1260, either before leaving on crusade in 1270 or on his return, probably after June 1273.<sup>147</sup> First-hand knowledge of the castles and fortified towns of both Acre in the Holy Land and in his homeland must have proved useful in view of forthcoming events.



*Fig 13: Chillon Castle, Switzerland*

Edward arrived back in England in August 1274 to face trouble with the Welsh. In 1273 the Abbot of Dore reported to the Chancellor that Llywelyn, Prince of Wales, had not

appeared to take his oath of homage to the King.<sup>148</sup> In 1276 Edward decided on military action to conquer the strongholds of Llywelyn in north Wales. It has been pointed out that only four years before the initiation in Wales of a great programme of castle building that continued from 1277 to the end of the century, the principal directors of the programme had paid visits to St Georges, that is Edward I, Otho Grandison, and Edward's brother Edmund of Lancaster, probably accompanied by his own principal household knight, Otho's brother, William Grandison. Otho returned to St Georges, as the count's guest, for Christmas 1274.<sup>149</sup> It's likely that it was in 1273/4 that Otho began to think about rebuilding the family seat at Grandson which is thought to have begun ca 1277.<sup>150</sup> His architect is said to have been the man who built St George's d'Esperanche, had earlier helped his father build the castle and town of Yverdon and who became known as Master James of St George. Prestwich considers that the king's choice of Master James was surprising in many ways and suggests Otho's influence was important in the choice.<sup>151</sup>

As has been noted, the kinship of King Edward with Count Philip and the close relations subsisting between them would facilitate the transfer of an outstanding technician from the service of one household to that of the other.<sup>152</sup> In addition, if Master James designed Chateau Grandson for Otho from ca 1274, then it is likely when Otho was involved in 1277 with preparation for the building Flint, one of the first wave of Edward's castles in Wales, he would have thought of Master James.

### ***Welsh Castles of Edward I: similarities with Chateau Grandson and the castles of the Counts of Savoy and Pope Clement V***

That there are architectural similarities between the castles of the Counts of Savoy and those built for Edward I in Wales is accepted, and it has also been suggested that the archetype of a group of the Anglo-Savoyard castles may have been Chateau Grandson.<sup>153</sup> In turn, the design of Harlech Castle appears to have influenced that of a castle which was built for Pope Clement V in his home town of Villandraut in the Gironde. This is not surprising if the same architect, Master James of St Georges, was involved - an architect who in April 1278 was in Wales.<sup>154</sup> The rebuilding of Chateau Grandson by Otho seems to have been initiated just before the first wave of Edward's castles in Wales was begun (see section on Castles & Monasteries in Vaud, Switzerland, for more detail on the Chateau).

### **Yverdon & Flint**

Before arriving in Wales, Master James of St George had worked on the castle and town of Yverdon and St Georges d'Espérance (now in France) both castles being *Carré Savoyard*, Savoy Squares. Yverdon has round towers at each corner, whereas St Georges has octagonal ones<sup>155</sup> (as would be later built, on a larger scale, at Caernarfon). Little of St Georges's castle remains (Fig 14e); the design, however, is known from an 18<sup>th</sup> century drawing.<sup>156</sup> The design of Yverdon castle (Figs 14a & c) with one tower being larger than the others and originally offset and detached, is considered to anticipate that of Flint (Fig 14b),<sup>157</sup> one of the first castles built for Edward, founded in July 1277.<sup>158</sup> Otho Grandison must have been involved at this early stage as, in August 1277 a special payment was made on his high recommendation to men raising timber at Flint, perhaps to form a palisade.<sup>159</sup>

Yverdon had been built on the banks of Lake Neuchatel, whereas Flint was to be constructed on the banks of the Dee estuary, an area subject to tidal rise and fall. The castle was to be sited on a rocky outcrop overlooking the sea with a ditch between it and its outer ward; a further wide ditch separating the outer ward from the town to be built on adjoining flat land.



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

*Fig 14: (a) Yverdon Castle – founded end-1259 to beginning-1260: a Savoy Square with three corner towers attached and the fourth larger tower originally offset and detached and acting as a donjon  
 (b) Flint Castle – founded July 1277: same design as Yverdon, with offset and still clearly detached Great Tower, providing the Constable’s accommodation  
 (Images from Google Earth. Not to same scale)  
 (c) East front of Yverdon Castle showing the Great Tower, originally detached  
 (d) East front of Flint Castle showing the Great Tower, still detached*

The chief activity of the early weeks at Flint was the digging of huge ditches, suggesting the first task was the construction of the double bank and ditch of the future town which to begin with may have served to protect the army camp and labour force. The camp at Flint

is thought at first to have functioned as a dispersal centre from which men were sent as needed to other embryo works at Ruthin and Builth. They perhaps also went to Vale Royal Abbey in preparation for laying the foundation stone on 13 August 1277 (attended by Otho Grandison and the King) and after 19 August to Rhuddlan, where subsequently the major effort was then concentrated.<sup>160</sup> Vale Royal Abbey, near to Chester, is not far from Flint. All this took place before the arrival in Wales in the spring of 1278 of Master James. His wages are first entered into the Flint masons' account in November 1280, in which month as an indication of increased activity to come, accommodation for the masons was prepared. 1281 saw the biggest single advance of any in progress of the works at Flint though it was not until 1286 that the Great Tower (detached and larger than the others) was finally roofed (Fig 14d).<sup>161</sup>

The siting of Flint was determined by the location of a promontory of rock situated in an otherwise marshy estuary.<sup>162</sup> It is likely that Otho Grandison chose the site recognising a similarity to his ancestral home at Grandson where the castle also overlooks the lake and the town. He would also have seen the castle at Yverdon which may be why Flint resembles a Savoy Square. Very likely he influenced the choice of Flint's first constable, Sir Gerard de St Laurent who, like Otho, was with Prince Edward at Acre in 1271-2 and was possibly also a Savoyard.<sup>163</sup>

No other castle built for Edward I has a plan comparable to that of Flint.<sup>164</sup> Apart from a similar design of castle, both Yverdon on Lake Neuchat el and Flint on the estuary of the River Dee are near water, in both cases natural and artificial means being used to create water defences.<sup>165</sup> Yverdon, at the west end of Lake Neuchat el, is not far from the castle at Grandson (see Fig 2b) and, as has been pointed out, Otho Grandison would certainly have had knowledge of and perhaps direct acquaintance with its chief builders.<sup>166</sup>



(e)



(f)

*Fig 14: (e) St Georges d'Esp eranche - the remaining octagonal tower of Count Philip of Savoy's castle  
(f) Tour de Constance, Aigues Mortes, France*



The historian Alan Taylor's suggestion that Yverdon anticipated Flint has not been mentioned in recent publications. It seems that the current understanding is that the Great Tower at Flint was inspired by the Tour de Constance at Aigues Mortes (Fig 14f), though there appear to be differing opinions on the structural similarities of the two towers. Otho Grandison was with Prince Edward when he set off from Aigues Mortes to join his uncle Louis IX (St Louis) on crusade and so would have seen the Tour de Constance for himself. It is quite probable that in 1277, Otho selected the site for Flint Castle and influenced Master James, once he arrived, to build a castle based on Yverdon but with a great tower of a size similar to the Tour de Constance at Aigues Mortes and other French donjons such as at Dourdan.

### Conwy & Caernarfon

In Wales, many of Edward's castles were built in conjunction with walled towns (e.g. Conwy), as was the situation at Acre in the Holy Land, and Yverdon and Grandson in Vaud (now part of Switzerland). There are substantial remains of town walls in both Conwy and Caernarfon.<sup>167</sup>



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

*Fig 15:(a) Conwy Castle - aerial showing the Savoy Square at the east end  
 (b) Caernarfon – aerial  
 (Images from Google Earth. Not to same scale)  
 (c) Conwy Castle – east front  
 (d) Caernarfon Castle - south front*

An aerial view of Conwy Castle (Fig 15a) provides graphic evidence that the inner ward is a characteristic Savoy Square. These two castles though superficially different (Figs 15c & 15d) are considered to have been built to the same general plan with inner and outer wards providing accommodation separately for the Constable and the Sovereign (Figs 15a & b).<sup>168</sup> Perhaps the idea for this design arose from Otho's rebuilding of Chateau Grandson that consisted of a modified Savoy Square: the Grand Chateau that provided the Lord's accommodation; and, at the western end of the building, the Petit Chateau (Fig 26b). De Raemy concludes that the latter provided accommodation for the Constable and that Master James of St George was the architect of Chateau Grandson.<sup>169</sup>

Conwy and Caernarfon castles were among those built in the second wave of castles built in Wales in response to the war of 1282-1283.

### Harlech & Villandraut

Also built in the second wave was Harlech castle (Fig 16a), begun in the spring of 1283 after a force of infantry led by Otho was marched there from Castell-y-Bere.<sup>170</sup> Perhaps the chosen site, a crag once close to the sea, that overlooks the surrounding area, reminded Otho of the site of his own Chateau Grandson then lapped by the lake. Harlech provides another example of the reuse of castle design by Master James of St Georges, who is said to have been the architect of the castle of Pope Clement V at Villandraut<sup>171</sup> (Fig 16b) in the Gironde; it was raised between 1305-6 and the similarity to the castles of Edward I in Wales has been noted<sup>172</sup> (see Table 1).



(a)

(b)

*Fig 16: (a) Harlech castle built for Edward I in 1283-1290  
(b) Villandraut castle built for Pope Clement V in 1305-6  
(Images from Google Earth. Not to same scale)*

Gatehouses, which are not found in Carré Savoyard (Savoy Square) castles, do occur in both Harlech and Villandraut Castles (Figs 16c & d). Assuming Master James built Villandraut, he evidently had learnt how to build gatehouses.



(c)



(d)

*Fig 16: (c) Harlech Castle gatehouse  
(d) Villandraut Castle gatehouse*

Between 1277 and 1295 the king built or wholly rebuilt nine major royal castles and repaired five captured Welsh ones.<sup>173</sup> As noted above, the man in charge of the building operations, who had built castles for the counts of Savoy, became known as Master James of St George.<sup>174</sup>

### ***The Role of Master James of St George***

As “Master of the king’s works in Wales” Master James has been credited with the basic design of all the great Edwardian castles in Wales, including Caernarfon.<sup>175</sup> His role has, however, been questioned in recent work. Nicola Coldstream considers that the defining characteristic of Edwardian castles is the strengthened towered gatehouse that appears in all the new castles except Flint and Conwy, noting that Rhuddlan, under construction before Master James arrived, has two gatehouses. She concluded that since this type of gatehouse did not exist in Savoy, Master James would not have seen one before he came to Britain and so could not have known how to build one.<sup>176</sup> His role is described as that of an overseer and administrator who did not design the castles himself (except possibly Beaumaris, begun in 1295). Rather, the designs arose from the craftsmen who accompanied him and he was needed by Edward to act as a consummate organiser with practical building knowledge.<sup>177</sup> However, De Raemy, who is familiar with the castles Master James designed for the Counts of Savoy before arriving in Wales, while acknowledging the abilities of the mason-architects, Walter of Hereford and Richard of Chester from whom Master James increased his knowledge, considers his work for the

Counts demonstrates his expertise in military architecture, not only in design but in adapting to the site specifications. He believes Master James's position in the hierarchy of master masons is explained because he decided the general plan of the building while the execution was carried out by his subordinates or his collaborators and that the fact that he didn't build a twin towered gatehouse in Savoy before coming to England did not mean he didn't know how to, but that it wasn't demanded.<sup>178</sup> A more comprehensive comparison of Welsh and Savoyard castles, particularly those in Vaud, would no doubt elucidate the role of Master James.

It has been suggested that Edward I himself contributed to the design of castles in Wales though Otho Grandison may have had a "part to play" in planning the castles.<sup>179</sup>

Even before the arrival of Master James, the ability to build such castles is apparent. Caerphilly Castle in Glamorgan, the largest castle in Wales, was built for Gilbert de Clare (1243-95), Earl of Gloucester and Hereford and lord of Glamorgan, mainly in the years 1268 to 1271 with further outer defences added in the later 1270s and 1280s.<sup>180</sup> It is an early example of a castle surrounded by concentric defences featuring spectacular water filled moats. It also has round towers and twin towered gatehouses<sup>181</sup> one providing sumptuous accommodation for its constable. It has been suggested that Master James knew of this castle, before undertaking the castle at St Georges d'Espérance, his first work to have concentric defences.<sup>182</sup>

The pre-eminence of Rhuddlan only declined with the construction of the castle and town of Caernarfon.<sup>183</sup> Perhaps only in building Caernarfon was Edward able to rival De Clare's castle at Caerphilly.

### ***The Role of the Grandisons***

Otho's familiarity with the sites of Flint, Harlech and Conwy, prior to castle construction in each place, suggests he had a major role in their planning to which his knowledge of the Savoyard castles, including Yverdon and his own castle of Grandson, would have contributed. He also had experience of castles in the Holy Land, particularly the castle and walled town of Acre, including the 350m tunnel, built in the 12<sup>th</sup> century by the Templars to connect their fortress with the port.

It has been said that he appears to have had a special charge for the building and care of Edward I's famous castles.<sup>184</sup> Apart from Flint, several other castles were begun around 1277 to control the Welsh: in August 1277 the King's brother Edmund of Lancaster was made Commander in Wales when he began building a castle at Aberystwyth.<sup>185</sup> William Grandison, in Edmund's household, may have been involved.

Otho had fought the Welsh as a banneret in 1277-8 and was again in Wales in the war of 1282-3.<sup>186</sup> This war led to conquest by Edward of territories long held by native Welsh princes of Gwynedd centred round the mountainous heart of Snowdonia. The organisation of victory has been attributed in the main to Otho.<sup>187</sup> To control and administer this newly acquired province the king established three more castles at strategic points along the



North Wales seaboard: Conwy, begun in March 1283<sup>188</sup>; Harlech in May and Caernarfon in June.<sup>189</sup> In March 1284, after the end of the war, Otho was made the first Justiciar of North Wales.<sup>190</sup> In April 1284 Queen Eleanor gave birth to the future Edward II at Caernarfon castle.<sup>191</sup>

### ***The Grandison Brothers and Caernarfon***

The building of the walled town of Caernarfon was begun in 1283.<sup>192</sup> The Castle with its distinctive polygonal towers and banded walls (Fig 17a) is considered to be a deliberate attempt to copy the walls of Constantinople, building on the myth that the Emperor Constantine's father was buried at Caernarfon.<sup>193</sup> This was image-making by Edward I, appropriating myths and imperial allusions into the castle.<sup>194</sup>



*Fig 17a: Caernarfon Castle-east end showing towers and banding*

Late in 1285 or early 1286 Otho became constable of Caernarfon.<sup>195</sup> In Sept 1285 he had a grant of the vacant See of York provided he applied the income to the construction of castles in Wales.<sup>196</sup> In 1289 his brother William who served as his deputy is mentioned as employed in the fortifications of Caernarfon and seems to have been paymaster for work on a number of castles.<sup>197</sup>

The Eagle Tower (Fig 17b), the greatest of all Caernarfon Castle's towers, provided accommodation for Otho, and it is thought that three storeys were completed during

1285.<sup>198</sup> By 1296 it was still temporarily roofed at that level, the upper storey being added in 1317, possibly as yet with only the first of its three turrets<sup>199</sup>, ten years after Edward I had died and Otho had left the country. It is suggested that William Grandison, Otho's brother and Deputy Justiciar in North Wales from 1287,<sup>200</sup> named the Eagle Tower and placed there the stone eagles (Fig 17b inset) as an allusion to the Grandison coat that bears three Imperial eagles.<sup>201</sup> The idea of placing such symbols on top of a tower may have been suggested by the fortifications at Acre in the Holy Land seen by Edward, Otho, and probably William, in 1271. Acre, also built on the sea, is described as having a high strong tower "*and on each corner of the tower was a turret, and on top of each of the turrets was a lion passant, huge and gilded*".<sup>202</sup>



*Fig 17b: Eagle Tower at Caernarfon Castle. The inset shows the remains of a stone eagle on the battlements of the west turret (hidden behind the left hand turret in the main photo)*

As has been pointed out, Otho's tenure of office in Wales supplies a curious personal link between English, Continental and Crusading fortresses.<sup>203</sup>

## *Bisham “Abbey”*

THE description “Abbey” is a misnomer. From 1337 to 1536 Bisham housed a priory of Austin canons. At the dissolution of the monasteries in 1536 the priory surrendered, and the following year Henry VIII founded a Benedictine abbey of Holy Trinity there, transferring to it the abbot and monks of the dissolved monastery of Chertsey and endowing it with the lands and revenues of its predecessor, including the manor of Bisham. This lasted only six months and the abbey was finally dissolved in June 1538.<sup>204</sup> The name, however, has lingered.



*Fig 18a: Bisham Abbey south front showing, on the right of the building, the remaining front of the 14<sup>th</sup> century cloister added to the Knights Templars’ preceptory at Bisham by William Montacute, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Salisbury. The front between the Templars’ entrance porch and Salisbury’s cloister was added on to the Templars’ Hall in the 16<sup>th</sup> century*

Bisham Abbey has as its core a preceptory of the Knights Templar built<sup>205</sup> in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>206</sup> The manor of Bisham was given to the Templars by Robert Ferrers, Earl of Derby, in the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>207</sup> Bisham had a definite connection with the Grandisons from 1335 when William Montacute, husband of Katherine Grandison, received the reversion of the manor from Edward III.<sup>208</sup> However, there may have been an even earlier connection.

Edmund Crouchback, Henry III's younger son, became overlord of Bisham in 1266 after the previous overlord Robert Ferrers, Earl of Derby, suffered forfeiture after joining the rebellion against the King.<sup>209</sup> Whether this meant that when Edmund went on crusade in 1271 he took Bisham Templars with him is not known. It is said that he took with him William Grandison<sup>210</sup> (Katherine's father) who was in his household.

Unfortunately, much of the records of the Knights Templars have been destroyed. Their main archive in Cyprus was destroyed in the later middle ages and much of the English material went up in smoke in the Peasant's Revolt,<sup>211</sup> but it has been noted that Bisham was an important preceptory where nearness to the Thames gave easy access to London<sup>212</sup> and Windsor and where general chapters of the Order of the Temple in England were held in 1278, 1288 and 1303.<sup>213</sup> In 1296, after Edmund's death, his executors, one of whom was William Grandison, were given custody of his lands during the minority of Thomas his son and heir.<sup>214</sup> These lands included Bisham. It seems likely that Bisham would have been familiar to the Grandison brothers, especially Otho Grandison who appears to have shared the appetite for crusading of his King, Edward I. He had accompanied Edward when in 1270, the then Prince Edward had joined his uncle, the French King Louis IX's crusade. Then in 1291, sent by Edward I, he fought with the Templars at the siege of Acre<sup>215</sup> when this last Christian bastion in the Holy Land fell to the Muslims. Later, around 1300, Otho apparently wrote a plan for a crusade to recover the Holy Land from the infidels.<sup>216</sup>



(b)



(c)

*Fig 18: (b) Main entrance porch at Bisham Abbey; (c) Door to preceptory*

The earliest part of the "Abbey", the 13<sup>th</sup> century preceptory, is contemporary with the building of the chapel at Windsor by Henry III, later adapted by Edward III as the chapel



of the Order of the Garter. The stonework of both the original west doorway into the chapel<sup>217</sup> (Fig 54a) and the entrance to the Bisham preceptory (Fig 18b) are similar though the latter's door is far humbler (Fig 18c). The east window of the Great Hall at Bisham (Fig 19a) is also similar to the windows of the chancel of the New Temple church in London (Fig 19b), built after 1231 when the Templars were expecting Henry III and his Queen Eleanor of Provence to be buried there.<sup>218</sup> However, in 1246 Henry decided they both would be buried in his new foundation of Westminster.<sup>219</sup>



(a)



(b)

*Fig 19: (a) East Window of Great Hall of the Knights Templar at Bisham - blocked up in the 14<sup>th</sup> century  
(b) South Windows of the Chancel of the Temple Church, London*

In July 1307 Edward I died in Scotland and Otho Grandison left England never to return,<sup>220</sup> though he continued to work for the new King, Edward II, who in an innovation in the conduct of foreign affairs kept him for ten years as his resident ambassador at the Curia.<sup>221</sup> In September 1307 the French king, Philip IV, probably so he could seize their assets, secretly ordered the arrest of the Templars in France, an order carried out in October, accusing them of heresy and unnatural practices. The Pope, Clement V, wrote Philip a disapproving letter but on 22<sup>nd</sup> November published a bull ordering the arrest of the Templars throughout Christendom.<sup>222</sup> Meanwhile, Edward II had come under pressure to do the same, presumably not helped by the fact that he was due to marry the French King's daughter, Isabella, in January 1308 - a marriage Otho had worked long and hard to bring about.<sup>223</sup> On 1<sup>st</sup> December 1307, ordinances to several sheriffs in England and Ireland for simultaneous seizure of the Templars were issued, and on 20<sup>th</sup> December similar orders covered all Ireland, Scotland and Wales and six days later Edward was assuring the Pope that he would carry out his wishes in the matter of the Templars.<sup>224</sup>



However the King appears to have been playing a double game, as on 4<sup>th</sup> December he wrote to the Kings of Portugal, Castille & Leon, Sicily and Aragon *cautioning them against giving credence to reports against the Knights Templars circulated by their enemies.*<sup>225</sup> Eventually the English Templars were also disbanded and in March 1309 the King ordered their estates to be valued.<sup>226</sup> In France confessions were obtained by torture and in 1310 fifty four Templars were burned at the stake in Paris.

It would be interesting to know more about Otho's role at the curia around this time. In 1311 he was part of the English delegation to the General Council at Vienne (not then part of France) convened mainly to discuss the fate of the Templars, as well as to plan for a new crusade. The Council initially stood up to the French ambassadors and over their objections voted that the Templars had the right to defend themselves.<sup>227</sup> In 1312 Philip arrived with an armed following and not surprisingly the Order was suppressed but the French King didn't get all his own way. Instead of having the goods of the Templars adjudged to him, they were instead granted by the Pope to the Knights Hospitallers.<sup>228</sup> Otho's nephew, John Grandison, may have witnessed the burning in Paris of Jacques Molay, Master of the Templars, in 1314.<sup>229</sup>

In England Edward II procrastinated enough for some of the Templar assets including Bisham<sup>230</sup> to be reclaimed by the donor family, in this case by Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, Edmund's son.<sup>231</sup> Unfortunately, some years later, in 1322, he rebelled against Edward II<sup>232</sup> and was executed. Bisham seems to have been acquired by the Hospitallers who by order of the king granted it to his favourite, Hugh Despenser, the younger.<sup>233</sup> In 1326 Despenser was in turn executed when Edward's queen, Eleanor, and her lover, Roger Mortimer, invaded from France and ruled England, having made Edward II abdicate<sup>234</sup> in favour of his son who succeeded in January 1327 as Edward III. But initially he had no power. The new king did, however, try, in 1329, to establish a private means of communication with Pope John XXII using as his courier William Montacute.<sup>235</sup> Montacute's brother-in-law, Bishop John Grandison<sup>236</sup> had been a protégé, friend and chaplain of this Pope and had undertaken diplomatic missions for him<sup>237</sup> whilst Grandison's friend Peter des Prés, Cardinal Bishop of Praeneste (Palestrina) and Vice Chancellor of the church from 1325,<sup>238</sup> was also at Avignon, all of which probably helped Montacute.

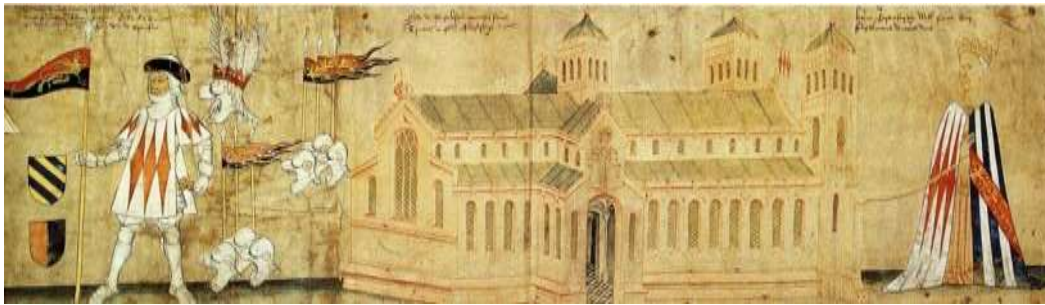
In October 1330 Edward III, aged almost eighteen, succeeded in capturing Roger Mortimer<sup>239</sup> at Nottingham Castle in a plot organised and led by William Montacute.<sup>240</sup> Mortimer was executed and Montacute was rewarded on 18th January 1331 with Mortimer's lands in North Wales.<sup>241</sup> On the same date Montacute received grants from the King to be held jointly with his wife, Katherine Grandison, daughter of William Grandison and the Bishop's sister (see Tree 3).<sup>242</sup> Later, in 1335, Montacute was granted the reversion of Bisham<sup>243</sup> and, it would appear, other lands formerly held by the Knights Templar;<sup>244</sup> in 1337 he was made Earl of Salisbury.

In March 1337 Montacute founded a house of Austin Canons at Bisham, the priory being endowed by both Montacute and Edward,<sup>245</sup> who laid the foundation "stone" (Fig 20).<sup>246</sup>



*Fig 20: Foundation Brass of Bisham Priory*

Montacute began building, reportedly completing the priory church at Bisham by 1340.<sup>247</sup> It is likely he was also responsible for adding onto the end of the Knights Templar Hall a spacious upper hall with cellar under, linked to a quadrangle (Fig 25), probably using chalk from a nearby quarry.<sup>248</sup> The blocked up three light window of the Templars was only uncovered in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The priory church, planned as a family mausoleum, was demolished in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, though 15<sup>th</sup> century drawings of it survive (Figs 21a & b).<sup>249</sup>



*Fig 21a: Drawing of Bisham Priory Church from the Salisbury Roll, ca.1463*



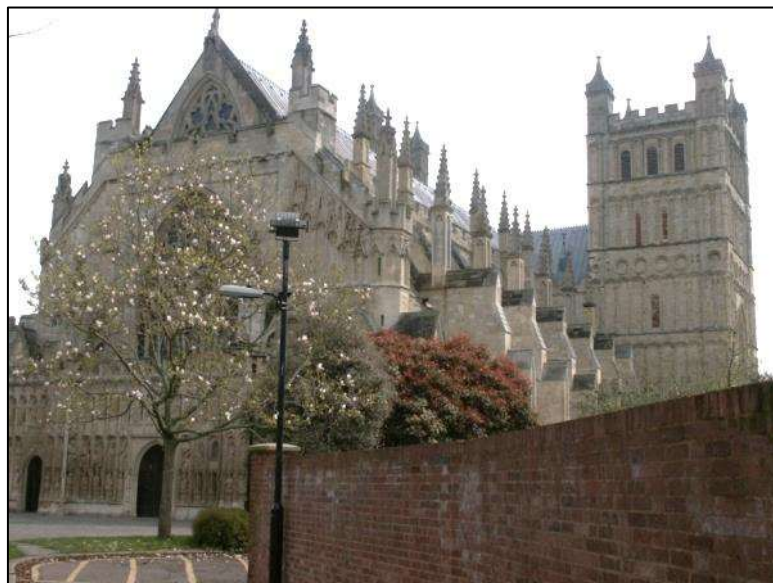
*Fig 21b: Bisham Priory Church from  
Salisbury Roll Copy A,  
1483-85*

The earlier drawing (ca.1463) shows a central tower (Fig 21a), absent in the drawing made 1483-85 (Fig 21b). Possibly the earlier artist used artistic licence, or the tower fell in the interim period. I would suggest the former; that the artist added the central tower to make the church look more conventional.

Bisham Priory Church had similarities (notably the twin towers with spires and possible side chapels) to the collegiate church at Ottery St Mary, founded by Montacute's brother-in-law John Grandison (Bishop of Exeter from Oct 1327) in December 1337, which is considered to be a replica of Exeter Cathedral (Figs 21c & d, Fig 22).<sup>250</sup>



(c)



(d)

*Fig 21: (c) Ottery St Mary Church; (d) Exeter Cathedral. Both viewed from the north east*



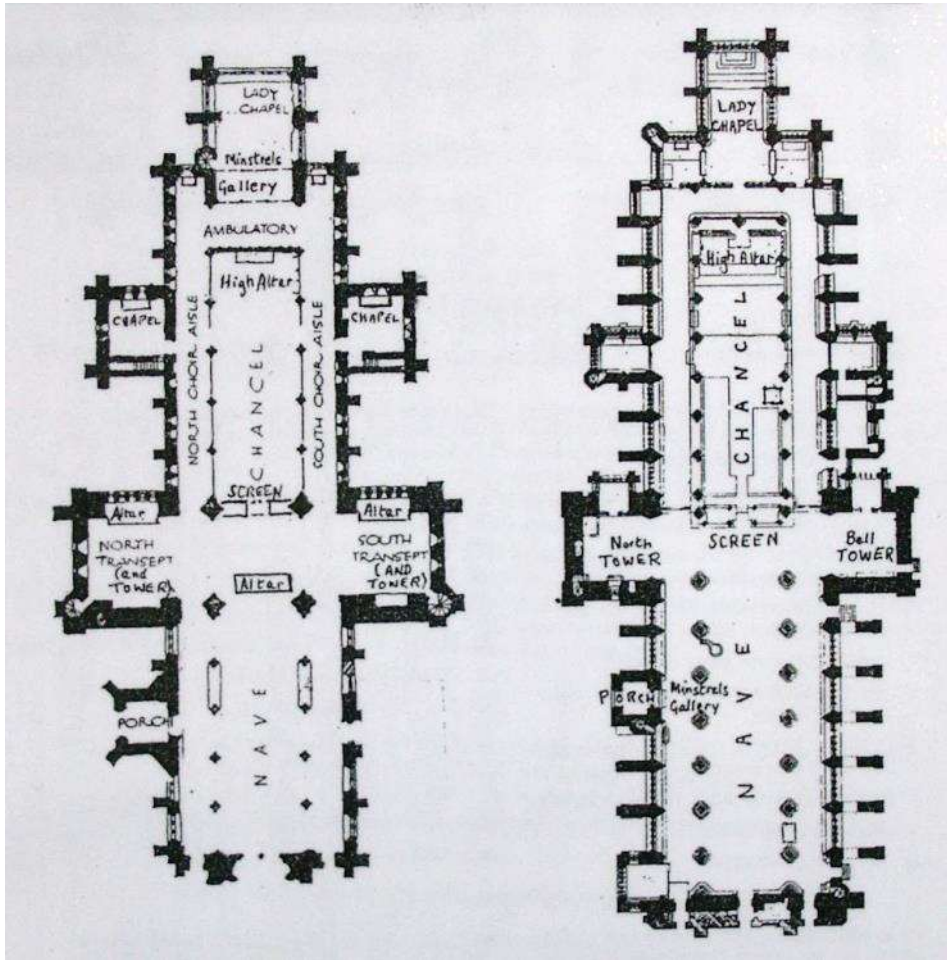


Fig 22: Floor plans of Ottery St Mary Church (L) and Exeter Cathedral (R)  
 (Not to same scale; Ottery Church is approximately half the length of the Cathedral)

Grandison had by 1337 considerable building experience having continued the rebuilding of Exeter cathedral after being made Bishop of Exeter in 1327. It seems likely that he helped his brother-in-law to build at Bisham<sup>251</sup> and that the priory church there was also modelled on the design of Exeter Cathedral.

The twin towers, as they do at Exeter and Ottery St Mary, were probably supposed to mark the transepts of the crossing between the choir and nave but it appears that the nave at Bisham was never built. What is certain is that building at Bisham, Exeter Cathedral and Ottery St Mary collegiate church was taking place at the same time.

Once the priory church was built it seems Montacute glazed its lights with armorial shields. One such shield survives (Montacute impaling Grandison) for his marriage to Katherine Grandison, the Bishop's sister, and is in the bay window (added in the C16<sup>th</sup>) of the spacious upper chamber that Montacute built at Bisham.<sup>252</sup> This shield, though the oldest of the armorials at Bisham, is of a higher quality than the later shields and is directly comparable to the impaled coat now in St Gabriel's Chapel, Exeter Cathedral, a remnant of the armorial glass put up by Bishop John Grandison (Table 2). An interesting difference is

that the Grandison coat at Bisham is that used by her father with its charge of eagles (see Fig 23), whereas at Exeter, in the comparable shield, the coat of her uncle Otho is used, its scallop shells indicating his pilgrim status (see Fig 36a).<sup>253</sup>



*Fig 23: 14<sup>th</sup> century armorial glass for the marriage of William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury and Katherine Grandison (Montacute impaling Grandison) in the Council Chamber at Bisham Abbey*

In 1317, after the demise of the Knights Templar, the Pope,<sup>254</sup> to assist in the expulsion of the Moors from the Iberian Peninsula, approved the creation of two new Orders: the Portuguese Order of Christ, and in Valencia (Kingdom of Aragon) the Order of Montesa. The assets of the Knights Templar in those areas were transferred to the two new orders. Both Portugal and Valencia were frontier areas where a military order could still play an active role against the infidel.<sup>255</sup> The King of Castile, Alfonso XI, also fought the Moors and in 1343<sup>256</sup> Montacute was sent on an embassy to Castile with the Earl of Derby and took part in Alfonso's siege of Algeciras.<sup>257</sup>

He died on 30 January 1344<sup>258</sup> apparently from injuries received at the tournament at Windsor<sup>259</sup> organised by Edward III to launch a new order of chivalry based on the principles of King Arthur and the Round Table. He was buried in his priory church at Bisham.<sup>260</sup> Little progress was made in establishing this order and it has been suggested that Montacute's death was a factor<sup>261</sup> though work building a round tower for the Order began after his death, continuing for many months. In 1348 a further attempt was more successful when the Order of the Garter was founded with William Montacute, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Salisbury, son of Salisbury and his wife Katherine, a founder member. Katherine died on St George Day, 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1349, apparently on the same day as the inaugural mass of the Order was held,<sup>262</sup> and is said to have been buried in the Augustinian priory church at Bisham<sup>263</sup> built by her husband.



Montacute was close to Edward III and is said to have exercised an influence quite out of proportion to his station.<sup>264</sup> The close relationship between Otho Grandison and Edward I seems to be reflected in the later link between William Montacute, married to Otho's niece, and Edward III, grandson of Edward I. Montacute also replicated Otho's role in fighting the infidel.

The Montacutes continued to hold Bisham, not without tragedy (see Tree 5). In 1398 the priory was reportedly weighed down with debt due to pestilence, flooding and the need to provide hospitality and with a church "in a great measure unbuilt".<sup>265</sup> This situation was probably made worse later on by John Montacute, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Salisbury (Tree 5), who joined a conspiracy to murder Henry IV and his sons in support of Richard II which led to Salisbury being beheaded in 1400.<sup>266</sup> His son, Thomas Montacute, became Earl of Salisbury in 1409.<sup>267</sup> This famous soldier was shot in the face at the siege of Orleans in 1428, dying shortly after. Among the many assets listed in his inquisition post mortem is the advowson of Bisham Priory worth 40 shillings.<sup>268</sup> His daughter Alice married Richard Neville who became Earl of Salisbury in right of his wife and the Nevilles continued at Bisham<sup>269</sup> (see Tree 5).

In 1460 Salisbury was executed with his brother-in-law, Richard Duke of York, after the battle of Wakefield during the War of the Roses. In the following year Salisbury's son, Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, helped his cousin Edward to seize the throne as Edward IV. In 1463, at an elaborate re-burial ceremony at Bisham, Warwick escorted the hearse bearing the banners of St George from Marlow to Bisham where they were greeted by another son, George Neville, Bishop of Exeter (1456-65).<sup>270</sup> It is thought that Warwick commissioned the Salisbury Roll for this elaborate funeral.<sup>271</sup> The Roll depicts all the Montacutes and Nevilles, the last figures being those of the Kingmaker's father, the Earl of Salisbury, the Kingmaker himself and his brother Thomas. The Roll also depicted Bisham Priory church where Salisbury and his son Thomas<sup>272</sup> were reburied in 1463. The church is shown flanked by its founder William Montacute, first Earl of Salisbury, and his wife Katherine Grandison (Fig 21a above).<sup>273</sup> This occasion may also have been when Warwick put up armorial glass for his parents and himself (Figs 24a & b).<sup>274</sup>

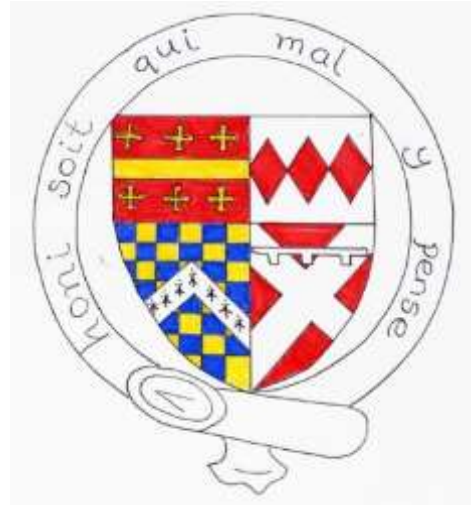
The armorial glass extant at Bisham for the marriage of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, and his wife Alice Montacute, is the same blazon as occurs in the great east window of Exeter Cathedral (see Exeter Cathedral)

Warwick by 1469 was rebelling against the king and at Calais married his daughter Isabel to George, Duke of Clarence, the king's brother without Edward's permission. His subsequent successful attempt to restore Henry VI to the throne, earning him the title "Kingmaker" was short lived and he died at the battle of Barnet in 1471. Isabel and Clarence inherited Bisham but in 1478 Clarence also came to a violent end. Their daughter Margaret, who was restored to the dignity of Countess of Salisbury in 1512, held Bisham (see Tree 5) and probably put up the extant armorial shield (Fig 24c) sometime after April 1499 when her husband, Sir Richard Pole, was made a Knight of the Garter.<sup>275</sup> It is thought the dovecote at Bisham may have been built during her ownership. Unfortunately, premature death continued to visit Bisham owners and in 1541 Henry VIII had her brutally

beheaded for treason, apparently in revenge for remarks made by her son, Cardinal Reginald Pole, concerning the King's marital behaviour.



(a)



(b)

Fig 24: a) 15<sup>th</sup> century glass armorial glass in the Council Chamber at Bisham Abbey for the marriage of Richard Neville to Alice Montacute, made Earl of Salisbury in right of his wife (Montacute quartering Neville). The Montacute arms are given precedence  
 b) Armorial glass, now lost, for the marriage of their son Richard Neville (known as the Kingmaker) to Anne Beauchamp, made Earl of Warwick in right of his wife. The Beauchamp arms are given precedence. (Based on a drawing made by Elias Ashmole in the 17<sup>th</sup> century at Bisham –Ashmole 850 f284 Bodleian Library)



Fig 24: c) Armorial glass for Margaret, Countess of Salisbury and her husband Sir Richard Pole KG

By 1552, the surveyor's report undertaken for Philip Hoby, who acquired Bisham shortly after, notes that the Priory Church had already been "*altogether defaced*".<sup>276</sup> Its effigies are lost, except for that of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, and an unidentified female that can still be seen at St Mary's, Burghfield. Burghfield is not far from Crookham, in West Berkshire, which had been granted to William Montacute in 1331 but was lost when Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, was beheaded in 1541. It is not known how the effigies got from Bisham to Burghfield and they are badly damaged. Most likely local retainers at Bisham, to preserve them, transported them to the Crookham area because of its strong links to the family.



*Fig 25: Bisham Abbey - the remaining front of the quadrangle built by William Montacute (d.1344) in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, with windows including a bay window dating from the 16<sup>th</sup> century*

Of the rest of William Montacute's building, only one side of the quadrangle, which he built onto the end of the Templars' Hall, survives (Fig 25), the rest demolished to provide stone with which the Hoby family built onto each side of the Templars' great hall.

# *Castles & Monasteries in Vaud (Switzerland)*

SWITZERLAND did not exist as such when Otho Grandison was alive (d.1328). Vaud, a fief of the Holy Roman Empire, located on the borders of Savoy, had been acquired by Thomas, Count of Savoy (d.1233), father of Peter, Count of Savoy, who is credited with bringing the Grandison brothers to England.

## ***Chateau Grandson***

Otho, as the eldest son, became Sire de Grandson after his father died c.1258 and initiated the rebuilding of the ancestral home. He may have already been in England when he succeeded;<sup>277</sup> he was definitely there by 1265. His mother Agnes (d. probably Dec 1282) based at Grandson ruled from the castle in the stead of “*my illustrious lord Otho, knight, lord of Grandson and my son*”.<sup>278</sup>



*Fig 26a: Chateau Grandson on an eminence overlooking Lake Neuchâtel*

The castle Otho Grandison built at Grandson, located on the north-west shore of Lake Neuchâtel, still stands (Figs 26a). Unfortunately it lacks the early documentation that illumines so many of the castles of the counts of Savoy.<sup>279</sup> The castle guidebook of 2005 states that Otho, in the years 1260-80, reconstructed the *Castrum Grazionis* that had been on the site since the 11<sup>th</sup> century. However, more recent work estimates that Otho's rebuilding began around 1277<sup>280</sup> though it was not supervised directly by Otho<sup>281</sup> who in August 1277 was helping Edward I lay the foundation stone at Vale Royal Abbey in Cheshire, as well as initiating the building of nearby Flint Castle in Wales, one of the first wave of castles to be built for Edward I.<sup>282</sup> The ca.1277 date is based on dendrology of the wood in the towers of the *Grand Chateau*,<sup>283</sup> but it is likely preparation to rebuild the castle started a few years before 1277.

In 1273 both Otho and the King were en route back from the Holy Land via Italy. It is stated they took a route back to Savoy that runs near to Mount Cenis,<sup>284</sup> a route way south of Vaud. At St Georges d'Espérance, the King received the homage of Count Philip of Savoy and then went on to France but, as there is no mention of Otho being with Edward after June 1273, it is thought he returned home.<sup>285</sup> He was back in England by 19<sup>th</sup> August 1274 when he attended the King's coronation<sup>286</sup> held in Westminster Abbey, returning to St Georges d'Espérance for Christmas 1274<sup>287</sup> and abroad again in 1275 when he was sent on a mission to the King of France.<sup>288</sup> It seems likely he would have visited his mother at Grandson, probably in 1273. Did he initiate the rebuilding of his ancestral home at the same time? Arnold Taylor, the authority on Edward I's Welsh castles, suggests that Chateau Grandson is the archetype for the whole Anglo-Savoyard group of castles.<sup>289</sup> As noted below, by 1273 castle building at Yverdon, near to Grandson, had not been completed, whilst building at St Georges was underway, both buildings associated with Master James of St George.

De Raemy suggests that the architect of Chateau Grandson was Master James of St George.<sup>290</sup> Master James, with his father, Master John<sup>291</sup> the chief mason, built Peter, Count of Savoy's *Ville Neuve* (new town) at Yverdon. Located on the lake to the west of Grandson, it was defended by walls, water defences and a castle, a *Carré Savoyard* with four round towers (Fig 14a & c). It is suggested the count used English gold to pay for it.<sup>292</sup> Yverdon was founded end 1259/early 1260, work beginning in May 1261. By 1265-7 Master John had apparently left Yverdon and the works were in the charge of Master James who is said to have largely completed the castle by 1271,<sup>293</sup> though more recent work indicates that work was interrupted between 1266 and 1275.<sup>294</sup> Peter of Savoy died in 1268, his brother Philip inherited and eventually completed the castle. Kitchens were mentioned for the first time in 1278-9. The great tower was finished in 1277<sup>295</sup> with work on its windows and arrowslits accounted for in 1278-79.<sup>296</sup> Its similarity to the later castle at Flint, in Wales, has already been discussed (see Figs 14b & d). Interestingly, Yverdon has embrasures of a type unique in Vaud, *la voule en mitre* that is found more frequently in Great Britain.<sup>297</sup> De Raemy points out this style is recorded from windows in the earlier Chepstow Castle, demonstrating there was English architectural influence in Vaud even before Master James left for England.<sup>298</sup> His father, Master John, is credited with introducing English practices to the castles of Peter of Savoy<sup>299</sup> and is thought to have worked in England.<sup>300</sup> He would have taught his son James such techniques. It is known



English craftsmen worked at Yverdon. An English carpenter, Berthelet (Bartlet) l'Anglais, is recorded as working there in 1266-67 when his work included roofing stables and constructing a vast building against the west wall of the chateau that stretched from tower to tower<sup>301</sup> - carpentry was evidently continued though the towers were unfinished.

It would appear that during the interruption in work on Yverdon, from 1266-1275, Count Philip commissioned Master James to build his castle at St Georges d'Espéranche,<sup>302</sup> a *Carré Savoyard* with octagonal towers (a tower, sections of wall and other remnants remain) (Fig 14e). Taylor says its construction began sometime after 1266; part was in occupation by March 1271 and it was probably completed by 1275.<sup>303</sup> Apparently, only after 1275 was work at Yverdon resumed. Savoy household accounts place Master James in Savoy until September 1275.<sup>304</sup> Lack of documentation prevent us knowing his activity from 1275 to 1278 after which he reappears in England,<sup>305</sup> though it is suggested he may still have been in Savoy at some point in 1277.<sup>306</sup> Did he design the new Chateau Grandson in between 1274 and 1277, accounting for timber in the towers being felled in the autumn-winter of 1277/8 and subsequent years? Otho could have initiated the reconstruction of Chateau Grandson in 1273/4 when he probably visited Vaud after returning from the Holy Land. Master James is known to have been in Vaud in June 1274 when Savoy accounts place him at Cossonay (between Yverdon and Lausanne).<sup>307</sup> Otho Grandison had a brother-in-law of that name,<sup>308</sup> who probably lived there. Perhaps Otho met Master James at Cossonay before returning to England for the King's coronation in August?

By March 1278 Master James was in England preparing to go to Wales to take charge of the works of the Welsh castles.<sup>309</sup>

It has been suggested that Otho Grandson, King Edward's confidant, was a factor accounting for the move of Master James to England, noting that the new castle and town of Yverdon had grown up within sight of Otho's own castle of Grandson and he would certainly have had knowledge of and perhaps direct acquaintance with its chief builders.<sup>310</sup> This acquaintance would be even stronger if Master James had designed Otho's new castle and begun work on it. De Raemy, who thinks Master James was Otho's architect, has pointed out architectural similarities between the castles at Yverdon and Grandson<sup>311</sup> and also between the castle at St Georges D'Espéranche and Otho's chateau and interestingly, Rhuddlan in Wales.<sup>312</sup>

## The Rebuilding

Otho rebuilt an existing castle located on high ground, overlooking the town. He is credited with building the walls of the town that stretches along the lakeshore to the west of the castle. High ground to the north evidently restricted development to the lakeshore. The castle was built with concentric and water defences.<sup>313</sup> It was initially thought that Otho's rebuilding was in two stages: firstly, ca 1277-1281<sup>314</sup> the construction of a modified *Carré Savoyard*, constructing three round towers with the fourth tower being the pre-existing 12<sup>th</sup> century square donjon,<sup>315</sup> part of the earlier castle, the whole termed the *Grand Chateau*, and secondly, following immediately in 1280<sup>316</sup> the building of the *Petit Chateau*, with its two "D-shaped" towers, to the west of the Savoy Square, overlooking the town (Figs 26b, c & d). The *Petit Chateau* appears to have been built as a residence for the constable.<sup>317</sup> It is

now thought that the two stages were not separate and that the entire chateau was one and the same project.<sup>318</sup>



*Fig 26b: Google Earth image of Chateau Grandson showing the Grand Chateau (east) and Petit Chateau (west)*



*Fig 26c: Chateau Grandson; the Petit Chateau with its two "D"-shaped towers overlooking the town*



*Fig 26d: A “D”-shaped Tower of the Petit Chateau with a shouldered arch at first floor level*



*Fig 26e: Round towers of the Grand Chateau*

The plan of *Grand* and *Petit Chateau* at Grandson (Fig 26b), though on a much smaller scale, is reminiscent of that of both Caernarfon and Conwy castles (Figs 15a & b), where inner and outer baileys, built to the same general plan<sup>319</sup> provided separate accommodation for the constable and the Sovereign.<sup>320</sup> Both Welsh castles were built in response to the Welsh war of 1282-3 so were built after Chateau Grandson. Assuming Master James was the architect he could have designed the castle at Grandson before leaving for England. Did he visit it during construction? In 1278 he was concerned with work at both Flint and Rhuddlan castles<sup>321</sup> but according to Taylor he is lost sight of from the termination of the wardrobe payments on 31 October 1278 until 5 March 1279.<sup>322</sup> Perhaps he returned to Vaud to check on the construction of Otho's chateau.

Otho was often sent to Gascony by Edward. It is tempting to speculate that when, in March 1278, Otho was en route for Gascony to deal with problems there, together with Robert Burnell, Bishop of Bath & Wells, who “were not to hurry back for the King knew none who could do better”,<sup>323</sup> he may have also visited Grandson to see how the work on his castle was progressing.

Grandson, unlike Yverdon, but like Conwy, is built on an “eminence” overlooking the town, and surrounded by outer walls (*braies*) that are thought to also date from the first phase of rebuilding<sup>324</sup> (Fig 26a). These outer terraces have been described as forming a pedestal on which the castle seems posed, originally surrounded by on three sides by water defences.<sup>325</sup> The Grand Chateau is also notable for the presence of rooms warmed with fireplaces and stoves (Fig 26f).<sup>326</sup>



Fig 26f: The Salle de Banquets at Chateau Grandson, warmed by a fireplace and stove (not visible)



The exhibition at the Castle in 2010 noted that Otho promoted the development of the town of Grandson, extending the ancient fortress of his ancestors and providing large quantities of chalk for the construction of defensive walls, parts of which are still preserved

The armorial achievement of Otho Grandison (Fig 26g), in stone, can be seen in a niche over the entrance to the castle. This came, according to the castle's guidebook, from the Franciscan monastery founded by Otho in Grandson. It was retrieved from there when the monastery was demolished. A second achievement, a mirror image, occurs over the fireplace in one of the Grand Chateau's large rooms.



*Fig 26g: Coat of Sir Otho Grandison at entrance to Castle Grandson, Switzerland  
from the Franciscan monastery at Grandson*

The castle at Grandson is described as marking an important stage in regional military architecture that adheres to English architectural practices to the detriment of the French,<sup>327</sup> in particular in the use of the arrow-slit with a rectangular niche (*archère à niche rectangulaire*) that first appeared in the castle of St George's d'Espéranche, built 1269-1275 (in the Savoy enclave of Vienne<sup>328</sup>) and in Vaud occurs for the first time at Grandson, built from 1277, constructed by workmen from St Georges.<sup>329</sup> The political link between Savoy and England prior to the building of both St Georges and Chateau Grandson evidently lent itself to interchange of craftsmen and therefore spread of building techniques.<sup>330</sup>



## Interchange of Craftsmen

That there was interchange of craftsmen between the two countries is accepted.<sup>331</sup> It is thought it was an English carpenter, Bartlet, who worked on Count Peter of Savoy's castle at Chillon in 1265-6, and at Yverdon in the following year, whilst Philip "of Ewyas" who worked on Vale Royal Abbey in 1278-80, the great tower at Flint in 1286, and Caernarfon in 1295 is probably the same man who Count Philip paid at St George's d'Espérance in 1274 and 1275. A Master carpenter, Theobald, worked with Bartlet at Chillon on 1266; with Philip at St George's in 1274-5; and then by 1277 had moved to England to the works at the Tower of London.<sup>332</sup> From 1281 to 1290 he is recorded as being back in Savoy working for the Count, after the completion of the Tower works.<sup>333</sup>

This interchange of men is not surprising. Even before the arrival of the Grandisons in England, there were Savoyards in important positions who instigated building projects. Count Peter of Savoy (d.1268) was uncle of Eleanor, Queen of Henry III, and was responsible for building a great palace on the strand of the Thames which has furnished the name of Savoy to that part of London. Peter d'Aquablancha, another Savoyard, was chaplain to Eleanor and Bishop of Hereford (1240-1268)<sup>334</sup> and had the north transept of Hereford cathedral built, evidently to incorporate his tomb. Aquablancha is thought to have been familiar with the work instigated by Henry III at Westminster Abbey, with which this transept has many points in common.<sup>335</sup>

At St Georges, an official often present with Master James was Sir John Masot.<sup>336</sup> He is almost certainly the Sir Jean Mésot described as the Magister Ingeniorum of the King of England (Henry III) who was in England in 1261,<sup>337</sup> in which year he is recorded as being in the service of Peter of Savoy.<sup>338</sup> Master John and his son Master James may also have been responsible for transcribing the designs of Jean Mésot. Master James appears on the same building sites as Mésot until around 1275.<sup>339</sup> Perhaps he taught English practices to Master James.

Even though there was a Savoyard influence before the arrival of the Grandison brothers it is likely that their presence and connection with both the Houses of Savoy and Hereford Cathedral; Dore and Vale Royal Abbeys and the Welsh castles, increased the opportunities for craftsmen to work in both countries. If, as seems likely, Master James of St George did design the rebuild of Chateau Grandson, it would have been natural for Otho to send for him when faced with helping Edward I build the castles in Wales.

In 1307 after the death of King Edward I of England, Otho left England never to return, and is said to have spent more time at his ancestral seat at Grandson. At the turn of the century the work on Welsh castles came to an end and it is thought some of the Savoy craftsmen who had accompanied Master James to England, returned to Vaud with new techniques acquired from their English colleagues. They are thought to have worked for Otho at Grandson to develop his castle and to crenellate the ramparts.<sup>340</sup> At the start of the 14<sup>th</sup> century new ramparts were put on all the curtain walls and towers of the Chateau Grandson that were open to the sky.<sup>341</sup> The ramparts, now enclosed, would have been similar to those at Conwy. This English influence is also shown in the window tracery of the church of St Jean Baptiste at Grandson (Fig 26i).<sup>342</sup>

The castle remained in the hands of the Grandison family (see Tree 1) until 1397. In 1393 the ancestral estates had been confiscated from Otho III de Grandison who had fought for the English in 1372 and 1379 and who was referred to by Geoffrey Chaucer as the “*flour of hem that make in Fraunce*”. He was accused of involvement in the death of Amadeus VII, Count of Savoy. In 1397, with the hope of clearing himself he fought a judicial duel at Bourg en Bresse with Gerhard de Estavayer but was slain.<sup>343</sup> The Grandison estates then came into the hands of the House of Savoy.

### ***Other Buildings in Vaud (Switzerland) linked to Otho Grandison***

The town of Grandson, below the Chateau, (Fig 26h) still has two buildings that are part of Otho’s built legacy. The slender tower near Lake Neuchâtel is all that remains of the Franciscan friary he built, now attached to the town hall. However, the Benedictine monastery dedicated to St John the Baptist, of which he was patron, has very definitely survived. Also further east on the lake shore, at La Lance, now surrounded by vineyards, are the remains of a Carthusian monastery he founded.



*Fig 26h: The town of Grandson seen from the chateau, showing, near the lake, the slender white tower - all that remains of the Franciscan friary. Further inland, near the hill is the red tiled clock tower of the church of St John the Baptist, originally part of the Benedictine priory*

## St Jean (Baptiste) de Grandson

In 1288 Otho made a gift of 100 *livres* to the prior and monastery of St Jean (Baptiste) de Grandson (Fig 26i), a Benedictine monastery founded there in 1049 and in 1289 while in Rome asked Pope Nicholas IV to give St Jean the revenues of two Besançon priories and the priory of St Laurent near Mâcon, so that with the churches of Giez and Concise, which it already possessed, it would be rich enough to support thirteen monks and a prior to more worthily celebrate the divine office.<sup>344</sup> He made a second grant to St Jean in 1290 when en route to the Holy Land.<sup>345</sup> It is suggested he may have made the donations for the salvation of his soul and those of his parents, influenced by the possibility that he might not return alive from the Holy Land crusade he was embarked on in 1290.<sup>346</sup>

Otho continued his support of religious houses, in and near Grandson, in later years. During the papacy of Clement V (1305-1314) he increased the ancient Benedictine priory of Grandson and obtained from the Pope fresh endowments.<sup>347</sup> These donations facilitated the restoration of this fine Early Romanesque church (Fig 26i). It is considered that the building of the gothic quire and the two flanking chapels were due to the liberality of Otho, the work being done from 1308.<sup>348</sup> The windows in this part of the church have pointed arches (*arch brisé*), within which is tracery of two or three lancets - a style not found anywhere else in this region. This is regarded as evidence of English influence.<sup>349</sup>



*Fig 26i: The priory church of St John the Baptist at Grandson*

The lancets are characteristic of *Early English* architecture, and one of the finest examples is the Lady Chapel, built ca 1220-1240, in Hereford Cathedral. This Cathedral has a special link to St John the Baptist,<sup>350</sup> had a Savoyard Bishop, Peter de Aigueblanche (1240-1266), and contained the shrine of St Thomas of Hereford, a kinsman of Otho's sister in law, Sybil Tregoz. Similarly, Dore Abbey, founded by ancestors of Sybil and to which, in 1321, husband William Grandison donated a reliquary containing a portion of the Holy Cross, has at its east end, a presbytery, choir and ambulatory (dated 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>351</sup> of particularly fine Early English design. Otho Grandison would almost certainly have seen these churches and others such as the Temple Church in London, home of the Knights Templar. He probably would also have visited the Knights Templar preceptory at Bisham, which also has lancet windows in its Great Hall. Perhaps he chose the style as a memorial to his time in England.

### **Franciscan Monastery at Grandson**

Otho also built a monastery at Grandson for the Franciscans, "*very sumptuously*" (Fig 26j), beginning ca.1289.<sup>352</sup> Only the slender Clock Tower remains of this building. The castle exhibition notes that the Franciscan church was demolished after 1819 and any remains of the monastery were removed in 1890 to provide a site for the present town hall.



*Fig 26j: The tower of the Franciscan monastery at Grandson*

## Carthusian Monastery at La Lance

In 1318, during the papacy of Pope John XXII (1316-1334), Otho founded a Carthusian monastery at La Lance, near Concise, adding new buildings to a church which must have been built soon after Hugues de Grandson gave La Lance to a daughter house of the Abbey of Joux at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>353</sup>



*Fig 26k: The Carthusian monastery at La Lance, outside Grandson, with the church at the right hand end of the private house (photo courtesy of Michel Schaer)*

The remains of the monastic buildings now form part of a private house (Fig 26k&l) including a “small but enchanting cloister” (Fig 26m).<sup>354</sup>



*(l)*



*(m)*

*Fig26: (l) Round Tower at La Lance; and (m) the cloister of the Carthusian monastery Founded by Otho Grandson at La Lance outside Grandson (photos courtesy of Michel Schaer)*



La Lance is also a productive vineyard, which is possibly why, in 1922, the church was reportedly in use as a wine press and cellar. At present the cloister is hired out for events such as concerts and the church is divided into three sections: the *Old Wine Press*, entered through the original Romanesque doorway at the west end, is used for events such as wine tasting or small dinner parties; the *Priors Room* is larger, seating more people; and then at the east end is the kitchen.

### Memorials to Otho Grandison

Otho Grandison died in 1328 at Aigle,<sup>355</sup> at the age of about 90 years and his brother William was his heir.<sup>356</sup> In his will he left money to Lausanne Cathedral (Fig 27) for masses for his soul, together with vestments, plate, jewels and “golden cloths for the adornment of the high altar” He was carried there on 12<sup>th</sup> April 1328, in a funeral cortege which, according to the terms of his will, was preceded by two mounted men both wearing his colours, one carrying his pennon; the horses were to have trappings bearing his arms and one of them was to carry his armour and both horses were to be given to the cathedral chapter.<sup>357</sup>



*Fig 27: Lausanne Cathedral*

At the instigation of Pope John XXII<sup>358</sup> a mausoleum was erected for Otho in Lausanne Cathedral though this was not achieved until 1368<sup>359</sup> (Figs 28a & b; 29a, b & c).



(a)



(b)

Fig 28: (a) Tomb of Sir Otho Grandison, from the chancel  
(b) Tomb from the ambulatory, showing the crypt entrance



Fig 29a: Effigy of Sir Otho Grandison



(b)



(c)

Fig 29: Details of effigy: (b) head; (c) shield showing scallop difference mark

In his life Otho had honoured the cathedral with an altar dedicated to St George<sup>360</sup> almost certainly reflecting his dedication to crusading and the Holy Land. That he was also dedicated to the Virgin Mary is indicated by a spectacular red silk altar frontal, (antependium) showing him kneeling before her (Fig 12b & c), and thought to have been his gift to the Cathedral.<sup>361</sup> See Appendix 2 for Otho's dedication to these saints.

Otho's memory was commemorated after his death by the monastic orders he supported via an elaborate funeral liturgy organised by his great nephew William Grandson<sup>362</sup> (d.1389), Seigneur of St Croix & d'Aubonne, younger brother of Otho III who had inherited Grandson from his great uncle Otho I. Each year on 3<sup>rd</sup> November, two Carthusian and two Benedictine monks would come to the Franciscan convent (Fig 26j) to pray with the brothers there, for the repose of the soul of Grandson and two days later the Franciscans and Benedictines would join the Carthusians at la Lance (Fig 26k) to chant the *De Profundis* around a memorial to Otho in the church there (Fig 26k). It is thought a similar ceremony was held at the priory of St John the Baptist (Fig 26i).<sup>363</sup>

So powerful was Otho that three of his kinsman, from 1301 to 1323, were successively Bishops of Lausanne.<sup>364</sup> Quite probably he assisted his nephew John who became the protégé, friend and chaplain of Pope John XXII (1316-1334),<sup>365</sup> and Bishop of Exeter just before Otho died. Many nephews, however, benefited from Otho's influence with the Papacy, not only his brother William's sons, but also those in Vaud such as William Estavayer.<sup>366</sup>



## *Exeter Cathedral*

**T**HE rebuilding of the Norman cathedral at Exeter had begun long before Bishop John Grandison (succeeded Oct 1327), one of William's sons, had arrived there as Bishop. Already the twin Norman towers, the most obvious remains of the earlier cathedral (Fig 30), had been incorporated into the building which had progressed as far as the first bay of the nave before his arrival. In December 1328 he dedicated at the High Altar in honour of the Virgin Mary and St Peter & St Paul, and when informing the Pope John XXII about this, noted that the church was now nearly half executed and that when completed it would be superior in its kind to any cathedral in England or in France.<sup>367</sup>



*Fig 30: Exeter Cathedral from the northwest - twin towers*

## *The Nave and West Front*

Grandison completed the building of the nave about 1350 and initiated the building of an elaborate west front with an image screen<sup>368</sup> (Fig 31a).



*Fig 31a: The west front of Exeter Cathedral, built by Bishop John Grandison*

To mark his contribution he evidently placed a roof boss bearing his coat near where he started building and placed a boss bearing his image in the roof of nave (Figs 31b & c).<sup>369</sup>



*(b)*



*(c)*

*Fig 31: (b) Coat of Bishop Grandison on a nave boss near to where he started building  
(c) Image of Bishop Grandison on nave boss*



Between the original west wall of the nave and the image front he created a mortuary chapel for himself (Fig 32a).



(a)



(b)

*Fig 32: (a) Mortuary chapel of Bishop John Grandison within the west front  
(b) Statue of knight representing either St George or a Templar near entrance to chapel*

The statues of the west front include one (Fig 32b) that appears to be either a Templar, as it bears the cross of St George on its surcoat, or represents St George himself.<sup>370</sup> It is located at the entrance to the Bishop's mortuary chapel. Otho, the Bishop's uncle, was not a Templar<sup>371</sup> but had a long association with them including fighting alongside them at Acre in the Holy Land. He was certainly dedicated to St George.<sup>372</sup> Otho died in 1328 shortly after John Grandison became Bishop and this statue may be in recognition of his uncle's dedication to this saint. The two busts over the south doorway in the west front are thought to represent Edward III and the Black Prince (Fig 33).<sup>373</sup> The king appears to be looking towards Grandison's mortuary chapel.



*Fig 33: Busts of Edward III and the Black Prince over the southern doorway in the west front*

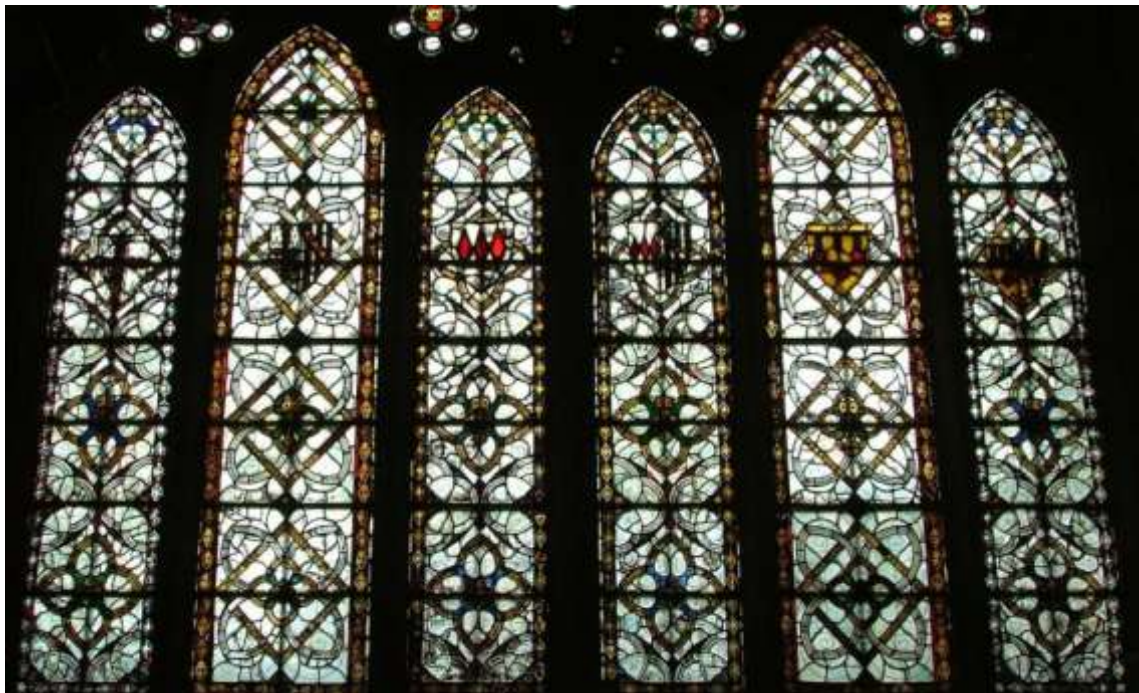
Otho was never married. His chief heir is said to have been his brother William<sup>374</sup> (Tree 3), though the Bishop, William's son, may have acquired some of his books.<sup>375</sup>

### ***Bishop Grandison's Armorial Glass***

In 1644, Richard Symonds, a soldier with the Royal Army of Charles I, recorded in his diary armorial glass from different windows in the cathedral. The identification of who was represented by the coats he described can provide evidence of the date when these windows were glazed. This is useful as there are gaps in the building record. The preponderance of coats for Grandison, Montacute and other relatives suggest much of the glazing was done by the Bishop. The armorials Symonds saw in St Gabriel's Chapel, near the quire and, at the other end of the cathedral, in the west window, are of particular interest.

### **St Gabriel's Chapel**

This chapel, on the south side of the quire, was already built when Bishop Grandison became Bishop. Symonds's diary describes ten armorial coats from the *south chapel above the quire*.<sup>376</sup> Evidence indicates he was describing St Gabriel's Chapel where he recorded ten armorial coats in its windows (see Table 2 for armorials in chapel in 1644) some of which are still there (see Fig 34; cf same window in 1877, Fig 35).



*Fig 34: The south window of St Gabriel's Chapel, Exeter Cathedral, and the current armorial scheme: left to right: a) Sir John Northwood; b) Sir John Northwood and his wife Agnes Grandison; c) William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury; d) Salisbury and his wife Katherine Grandison; e) probably for Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon (d.1377); f) Sir Hugh Courtenay (d.1374) and his wife Margaret Bryan*

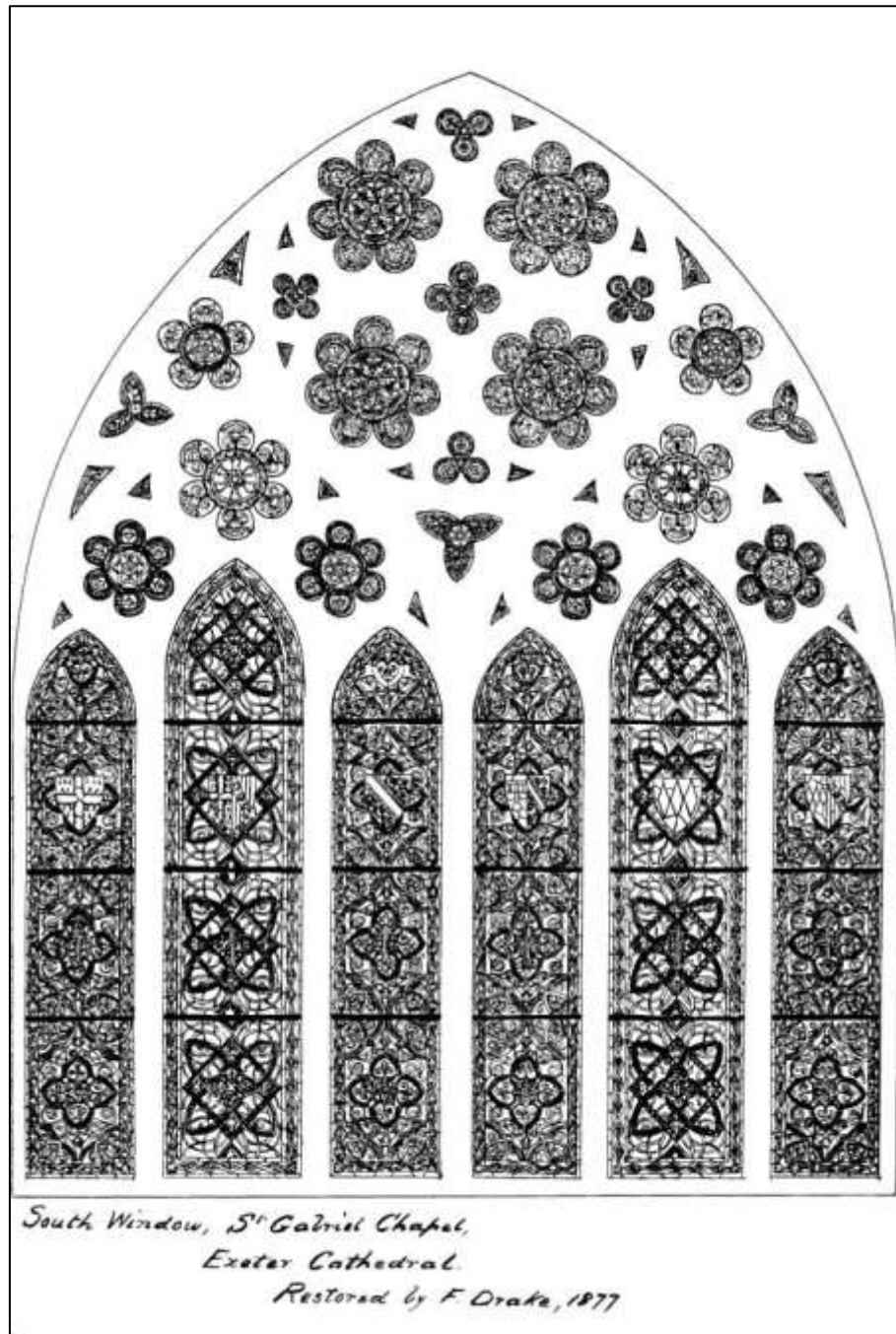


Fig 35: The south window of St Gabriel's Chapel showing the armorial scheme in 1877: left to right: a) Sir John Northwood; b) Sir John Northwood and his wife Agnes Grandison; c) William Bohun, Earl of Northampton; d) Humphrey Courtenay, Earl of Devon, and his wife Margaret Bohun; e) William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury; f) Salisbury and his wife Katherine Grandison. After Drake 1879, plate XVIII. Note: c) & d) moved to great east window since 1877.

Before discussing the armorial scheme, it is worth pointing out that two coats in the south window of the chapel bear the scallop difference mark for the Bishop's uncle, Otho Grandison, a mark on his heraldic coat reflecting his pilgrim status,<sup>377</sup> the scallop shell being the badge of St James, patron saint of pilgrims. The two coats (both impaled) are for



the Bishop's sisters Katherine and Agnes. Each coat bears the scallop mark for their uncle (Figs 36a & b), rather than the eagle for their father William (compare Katherine's coat at Bisham, Fig 23, and Agnes's coat at Lydiard Tregoze, Fig 51c). Richard Symonds, who saw the scallops in 1644, mistakenly described them as gold roses.<sup>378</sup> The occurrence of Otho's difference mark in the Grandison coat here suggests either his estate made a contribution to the glazing or his nieces had left money to commemorate their famous uncle in this way, as there is evidence both sisters had recently died when the glazing was done (see dating below). Bishop John used his father's coat differenced with a mitre (e.g. see Fig 31b & Fig 48).<sup>379</sup>



(a)

(b)

*Fig 36: Armorial glass in St Gabriel's Chapel, Exeter Cathedral for:*  
 (a) *William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, and his wife Katherine Grandison*  
 (b) *Sir John Northwood and his wife Agnes Grandison.*  
*Both Grandison coats use the difference mark of Otho Grandison, Katherine & Agnes's uncle*  
*(paly (6) argent and azure on a bend gules, three escallops or)*

Dating of the armorial scheme is facilitated by the inclusion of the impaled coat of Sir Hugh Courtenay (d.1374)<sup>380</sup> and Margaret Bryan, who after 1349 became the step-daughter of Elizabeth Montacute when Sir Guy Bryan married Elizabeth as his second wife. Assuming Margaret was alive when the glass was put up then a date range of ca. 1350-1361 is indicated<sup>381</sup> (see Trees 3 & 4). By 1350 both Katherine and Agnes, the Bishop's sisters, had recently died and their parents and husbands were also dead (see Tree 3) so the armorial glass may have been put up as a memorial to all of them by Bishop Grandison with the help of his kinsmen. These were: Hugh Courtenay (d.1374); Edmund Fitzalan (d. by 1382; betrothed in 1331 to Katherine's daughter Sibyl); Roger Mortimer (d.1360; ward of William Montacute from 1336, and married to another daughter, Philippa<sup>382</sup>); and William Bohun, Earl of Northampton (d.1360,<sup>383</sup> stepfather of Roger Mortimer).

This is suggested because in 1644 the ten coats seen by Symonds in St Gabriel's Chapel included the coats of these men (see Table 2a).<sup>384</sup> In the past some of these coats have been moved to different windows, including St John the Evangelist's Chapel.<sup>385</sup> Of the ten

coats Symonds listed, five are still in the south window of St Gabriel's chapel (Fig 34, lights a-d & f). The additional Courtenay coat (Fig 34, light e) was probably brought in from another window.<sup>386</sup> Two other coats are in St John's Chapel (Fig 37).



*Fig 37: The east window of St John the Evangelist Chapel : most of the glazing probably originated in St Gabriel's Chapel including the two coats in the second light from the left see Fig 38*

One of these, for the Bishop's father William Grandison (d.1335) or brother Peter (d.1358), has an eagle whereas the bishop's coat has a mitre (Fig 38a); the other coat (Fig 38b) is identified here as for Sir Edmund Fitzalan, referred to as Edmund Arundel, (eldest,



bastardised, son of Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel) married to Sybil, daughter of William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury (d.1344). The bishop bequeathed Edmund and Sybil £20 and a silver pot with a gilt cup in his will, which, given Edmund's unfortunate family history, they probably needed.<sup>387</sup>



(a)



(b)

*Fig 38: Armorial glass in the east window of the chapel of St John the Evangelist for:*  
 (a) *Sir William Grandison (d.1335) or his son Peter (d.1358)*  
 (b) *Edmund Fitzalan, bastardised son of Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel (d.1376), husband of Sybil, daughter of William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury (d.1344)*

Of the remaining three, two, can probably be identified as those now at the head of the east window where coats for Bishop Grandison with the mitre for difference and that of William Bohun, Earl of Northampton, can still be seen (Figs 39 a & b). Symonds listed Bohun from the chapel, not giving the blazon, also recording Bohun and Grandison from other windows. Recent authorities have suggested the Bohun coat in the Great East Window was from St Gabriel's Chapel.<sup>388</sup> It is likely to be the Bohun coat for Northampton that was once in the chapel as he was close to William Montacute.<sup>389</sup> Of the ten coats, only the Mortimer one is lost, identified here as for Roger Mortimer, founder (KG 1349; d.1360), and less likely for Blanche Mortimer (d.1347) his aunt, wife of Peter Grandison (see Tree 3).

Symonds saw the chapel in 1644, almost 300 years after the glass was put up. While it is possible these shields had already been moved from other windows this seems unlikely given the kinship between the people represented (see Table 2a). The chapel was part of the quire, built before Grandison became Bishop. The quire, being further east was considered to be the more holy part of the cathedral where the work of chantry priests would be concentrated. Perhaps the Bishop glazed the chapel in ca.1350-1361 to create a

chantry chapel for his family. 1361 is when Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, who inherited the earldom of Surrey after the death of John Warenne in 1347, began quartering his arms with those of Warenne after the death of Surrey's wife Joan of Bar, in that year. Edmund Fitzalan, his bastardised son, married to John Grandisons' niece, Sybil, evidently used the same quartered coat at Exeter to stress his right to the earldom of Surrey as part of his inheritance.<sup>390</sup> John Grandison, putting up the quartered coat may have been making his views known regarding the bastardisation of his nephew-in-law.



*Fig 39a: Great East Window, Exeter Cathedral*



*Fig 39b: Armorial glass in the Great East Window. Top left of centre light: Bishop John Grandison; extreme left light: William Bohun, Earl of Northampton, stepfather of Philippa Montacute, daughter of William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury (d.1344)*

It is known that in 1338 the Bishop had provided obits at Exeter for his parents and Pope John XXII, all of whom had recently died.<sup>391</sup> That he played a major role in glazing the whole of the cathedral is suggested by the preponderance of coats for Grandison, Montacute, Courtenay, Northwood, Bohun, Mortimer and other kinsman in different windows.<sup>392</sup>

### **The West Window**

Armorial glass of eight coats described by Richard Symonds<sup>393</sup> from the west window includes three that can reasonably be identified as representing the husbands of the Bishop's nieces and another representing a nephew (Table 2b, and Tree 3 for family relationships).

Elizabeth Montacute's second husband, Hugh Despenser, died in 1349, so she could only have married Guy de Bryan, her third husband, after that date, suggesting 1350 was the earliest date the west window could be glazed.

The suggested dates for the glazing of the West Window (after 1350) and St Gabriel's Chapel (1350-1361) are comparable. Around Christmas 1350 a solitary glazier was hired to set two windows made from the church's own supply of glass into the chapel of St Radegund, thought to be the Bishop's memorial chapel but the subsequent accounts are lacking.<sup>394</sup> Perhaps the Bishop, who became Baron Grandison on the death of his brother Peter in 1358 without heirs, used his inheritance to glaze his cathedral.

### ***Portraits and other Armorials of the Bishop and his relatives at Exeter***

Grandison built most of the nave and portraits in stone attributed to his brother-in-law William Montacute and his sister Katherine occur on corbels in the nave as they do at Ottery St Mary (Fig 40a & b), perhaps suggesting they and the other people represented, were donors.<sup>395</sup> As recently as 1917, in the stained glass windows of the choir aisles at Exeter, the arms of the Bishop and William Montacute occurred frequently, with those of St George and St Edward (the Confessor) occurring almost as often.<sup>396</sup> Little of this glass is extant probably due to damage in the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War.

In 1822 it was reported that the coats of both Montacute and the Bishop have "*lately been discovered*" painted on the beams of a hall in the Bishop's Palace that had probably been roofed by Grandison.<sup>397</sup> These same coats have been described from "ornamental cross beams", from one of the first floor chambers to the Bishop of Exeter's palace, erected by Grandison as part of an extension to the palace, probably ca 1335-40, and demolished in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>398</sup> Extant roof bosses<sup>399</sup> from this room are thought to be for Bishop John (shown with a beard) and his mother (female in a hood/wimple).<sup>400</sup>

The great east window of the Cathedral has two coats for Bishop Grandison. In 1644 there were many Grandison coats in the cathedral windows including some identified as for Bishop Grandison.<sup>401</sup> As suggested above, the one at the head of the window probably



came from St Gabriel's Chapel and is likely to be 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>402</sup> The other, immediately above the coat for Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, is almost certainly from the glazing of the east window of the chapter house at Exeter, rebuilt by George Neville, Bishop of Exeter (1456-65),<sup>403</sup> Salisbury's son and a descendent of Katherine Grandison (Tree 5). If Neville designed the glazing scheme, he would have put up his father's coat as a memorial to Salisbury, at whose re-burial at Bisham the Bishop officiated in 1463.<sup>404</sup> It is thought that the glazing of the chapter house was either done by Neville<sup>405</sup> or after the roof was completed, by John Booth (Bishop from 1465).<sup>406</sup> If the latter is true Neville probably would have helped plan the glazing scheme.



(a)



(b)

*Fig 40: Portraits corbels said to be of (a) William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury (d.1344) and (b) his wife, Katherine Grandison (d.1349) in the nave of Exeter Cathedral*

The link between this family and Exeter Cathedral continued until the 16<sup>th</sup> century when Cardinal Reginald Pole, son of Margaret, Countess of Salisbury (see Tree 5), and Dean of Exeter, incurred the wrath of Henry VIII by criticising his marital behaviour. This led to the Cardinal's elderly mother, Margaret Countess of Salisbury, who held Bisham, being brutally beheaded for treason at the Tower in 1541.

## *Church at Ottery St Mary*

IN June 1335 Bishop John Grandison purchased from the Canons of Rouen, France, the Manor of Ottery St Mary with its parish church and on 15 December 1337 obtained a licence from Edward III to found a collegiate church there. On Christmas Eve 1337 he gave the manor and church to the Warden and Canons with Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon (d.1340), and his sons Hugh and Thomas, with others, witnessing the deed.<sup>407</sup> It is tempting to speculate that the earl's involvement may have been connected with the fact that he had, although inheriting the title more than forty years earlier, only recently, in 1335, been recognised as Earl of Devon. Walter Stapeldon, Bishop of Exeter from 1308 to 1326, had opposed it.<sup>408</sup> Edward III eventually intervened directly to force the recognition.<sup>409</sup> Perhaps Grandison, now Bishop, persuaded the King to assist his distant kinsman (Tree 2).



*Fig 41: The Church of Ottery St Mary, viewed from the southeast*



Earlier in 1337, his brother-in-law William Montacute, made Earl of Salisbury that year, had founded a house of Austin Canons at Bisham. The priory church he built there would show similarities to that of Ottery St Mary.

There was already a church at Ottery but by erecting twin towers over the transepts of the earlier church and other building, Grandison moulded and transformed it into a great collegiate church creating a replica of Exeter cathedral<sup>410</sup> (Fig 22). As noted above, Bisham Priory Church also appears to be modelled on Exeter: twin towers and side chapels occur at all three churches, though it appears the nave at Bisham was never built (Fig 21 a & b).

There is abundant heraldry in the church at Ottery for Grandison and Montacute. Katherine, the Bishop's sister, married to William Montacute, is thought to have been a great benefactress to her brother's church<sup>411</sup> as was his brother, Otho. Effigies for Otho (Fig 42) and his wife can be seen in the nave.<sup>412</sup> Otho's burial at Ottery may not have been planned. His will of 1358, proved 1359, asks to be buried in the church of the College of St Mary de Otery, "*and I happen there to die or if I happen to die at Chellesfeld then I leave my body to be buried in the chapel of St John of Chellesfeld*". Chellesfeld (Chesfield in Kent) was presumably where he lived, being one of the Kent manors inherited from his uncle Otho.



*Fig 42: Effigy of Sir Otho Grandison (d.1358), Bishop Grandison's brother, located in the nave*

The cornice of the altar screen (Fig 43) bears coats for the Bishop and his family including brother Otho,<sup>413</sup> brother-in-law William Montacute and kinsman Hugh Courtenay,<sup>414</sup> (later a founder Knight of the Garter) together with those for Edward III and his mother Isabella.<sup>415</sup> The Mortimer coat could represent either Roger Mortimer, who married Salisbury's daughter Philippa, or Peter Grandison's wife Blanche Mortimer (see Table 3). It is presumed that these people contributed to the remodelling of the church.<sup>416</sup> The west

front of Ottery St Mary Church has doors about 9 ft high (Fig 44). Bisham Priory Church also had high doors at the west end that featured in the reburial ceremony of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury in 1463, enabling a mounted knight to ride down to the chancel.



*Fig 43: The altar screen in the church of Ottery St Mary (see Table 3). Note row of coats at top of screen*



*Fig 44: Doors at the west end of the church of Ottery St Mary*

Members of the family, together with the bishop's patron Pope John XXII<sup>417</sup> and his friend Cardinal Pierre des Prés (see Fig 45a) Bishop of Praeneste (Palestrini, east of Rome), also

occur in the list of obits (prayers for the soul), detailed in the 1339 Statutes of his foundation (Table 4).<sup>418</sup> The cardinal was also building a church at Montpezat at around the same time (Fig 45b).



*Fig 45a: Head of effigy of Cardinal Pierre des Prés, in his church at Montpezat*



*Fig 45b: The collegiate church of St Martin at Montpezat de Quercy, France, built by Cardinal Pierre des Prés, friend of Bishop John Grandison*

In 1338 Bishop Grandison had provided obits at Exeter for his parents and Pope John XXII, all of whom had recently died.<sup>419</sup> A more extensive list of family obits occurs scribbled onto the Calendar in a breviary now in the British Library, which was once thought to belong to the Bishop; annotating documents was a known habit of his. However, the breviary is now dated to the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Interestingly, the Bishop's obit in the breviary (22 Aug) is linked to the Assumption and is also the date of his enthronement

at Exeter, whilst at Ottery his obit was kept on 16 July, the date of his death (Table 4). This indicates the list originated in Exeter. The British Library catalogue suggests the entries were made, perhaps from an earlier calendar, by or for Margaret Beauchamp, wife of John Beaufort Duke of Somerset 1444, whose obit occurs written in the same hand as the Grandison obits. It is known that Bishop Grandison bequeathed to Philip Beauchamp, grandson of his sister Mabel, a breviary (see Tree 3). Philip was the great grand uncle of Margaret and it seems likely this could have been the original source of the obits which Margaret had transcribed.

The church at Ottery has stone portraits on corbels in the Lady Chapel thought to represent William Montacute and Katherine, his wife, together with Bishop John and his uncle Otho (Figs 46a-d).<sup>420</sup>



(a)



(b)



(c)



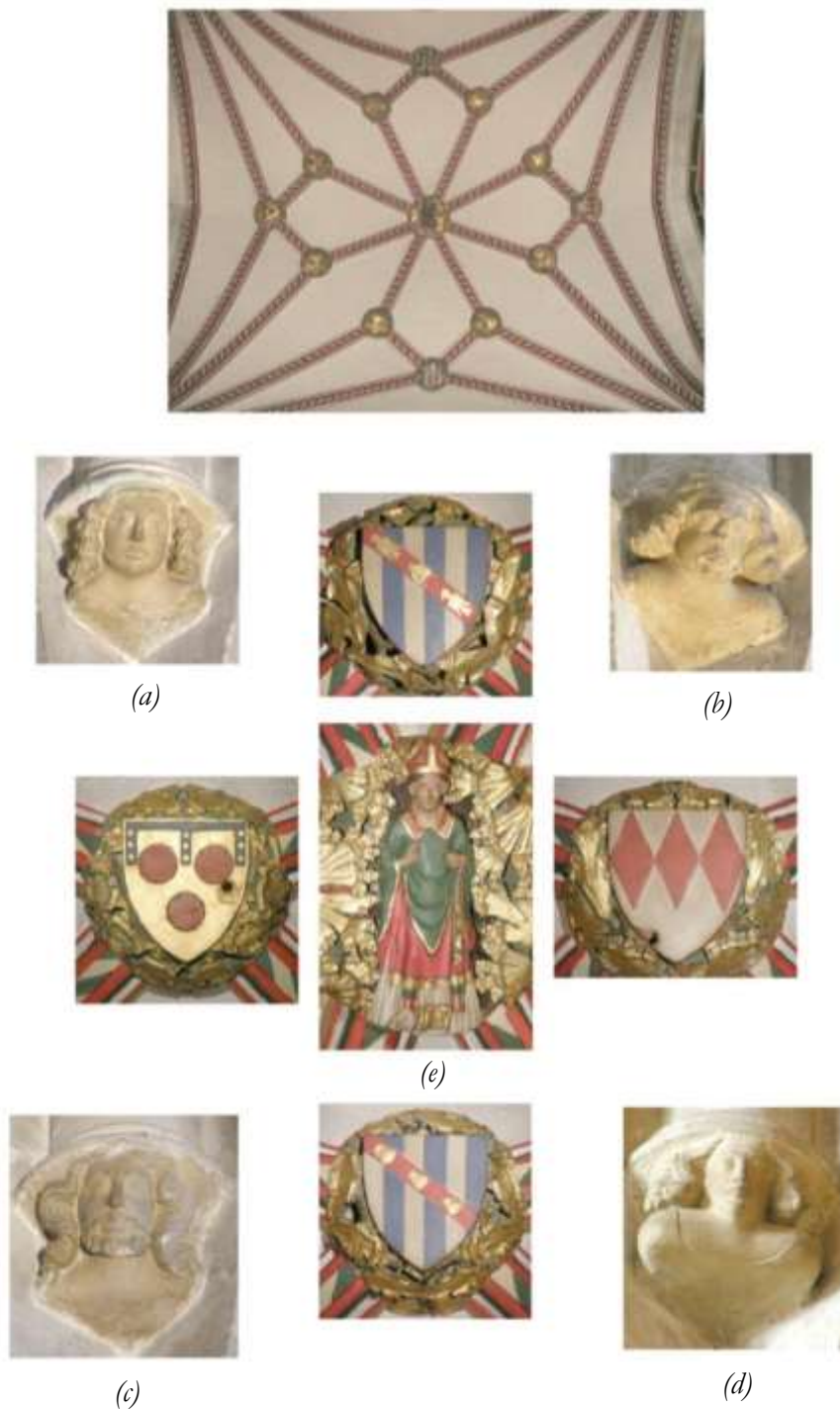
(d)

*Fig 46: Portrait corbels in the Lady Chapel of the church of Ottery St Mary, Devon:*

*a) William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury (d.1344); b) Katherine Grandison, his wife (d.1349); c) Bishop John Grandison (d.1369); d) Sir Otho Grandison (d.1328), uncle of Katherine and Bishop John*



In addition, the crossing has both armorial roof bosses and portrait corbels of members of the family. The portrait corbels can be identified as for William Montacute (NE), his wife Katherine (SE), his uncle Otho (SW) and for Courtenay, identified here as Hugh Courtenay, founder KG (d.1349), (NW) (Fig 47).<sup>421</sup>



*Fig 47: Armorials and portrait corbels on the crossing of the church, looking up and facing west:  
 (a) Katherine Grandison SE; (b) William Montacute NE; (c) Sir Otho Grandison SW;  
 (d) Sir Hugh Courtenay KG NW; (e) Bishop John Grandison in centre*

Misericords also record the bishop's coat (Fig 48) and what is probably a portrait of Katherine (Fig 49).<sup>422</sup> There were once heraldic coats in stained glass for the Bishop and members of his family but this glass is no more.<sup>423</sup>



*Fig 48: Misericord bearing the coat of Bishop John Grandison*



*Fig 49: Misericord said to be Katherine Grandison, the bishops' sister*

The church at Ottery was practically completed by 1342.<sup>424</sup> Bishop John's brother-in-law, William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury died in 1344<sup>425</sup> and was buried in Bisham Priory church,<sup>426</sup> so it would appear that both churches were being built around the same time, to, it would seem, a common design, though it seems the nave of the Bisham church was never built (Fig 21b & c).

It has been suggested that the statutes drawn up by Bishop John for Ottery St Mary may have influenced those written for the collegiate church of St George at Windsor,<sup>427</sup> the spiritual home of the Order of the Garter, founded by Edward III in 1348. Bishop John was a donor to St George's Chapel<sup>428</sup> and attended the inaugural mass of the Order of the Garter on St George's Day in 1349.<sup>429</sup>

## *Lambourn, Berks, & Lydiard Tregoze, Wilts*

THESE manors were held by the Grandisons because of William Grandison's marriage to Sybil Tregoz. John Tregoz (d.1300), William's father-in-law (see Tree 2), on his death held lands in many counties,<sup>430</sup> though not Lambourn and Lydiard Tregoze, as explained below. Although in different counties, they are near to each other; only about 14 miles separate them. It seems likely that one of William's daughter's, Agnes Northwood (Norwood, Northwode), lived at Lydiard Tregoze (see below). Her brother Peter, or her nephew, Thomas Grandison, may have lived at Lambourn, though the latter has been referred to as of Chelsfield in Kent.<sup>431</sup>



*Fig 50a: St Michael & All Angels, Lambourn, Berkshire*



## ***Lambourn***

Sir John Tregoz held a manor, *Grandisons*, in Lambourn in 1272 in right of his wife, Mabel Fitzwarin, as her dower, and in 1285 granted the manor to their daughter Sybil and husband, William Grandison, and their heirs.<sup>432</sup> It was inherited by their son Peter who settled it on his nephew Thomas (see Tree 3) who had seisin on his uncle's death in 1358. By 1369 he had granted it to others apparently for sale to John de Estbury, father and son, but this grant was later declared invalid on account of the settlement on Sybil Grandison. After Thomas's death in 1375 without heirs,<sup>433</sup> the heirs of his aunts, Mabel, Agnes and Katherine inherited and appear to have, over time, sold off their shares.<sup>434</sup>

The church at Lambourn, St Michael & All Angels (Fig 50a), was partially rebuilt in the 14<sup>th</sup> century when St Mary's Chapel was added.<sup>435</sup> Bishop Grandison visited Lambourn in June 1331 en route to Ashperton, presumably to visit his parents.<sup>436</sup> In 1331 Lambourn was held by his parents. Could the bishop have been involved in the rebuilding? In the floor of St Mary's Chapel is a brass to John Estbury (d.1372) founder of the chantry. However, nearby are half-figures also of brass thought to represent Sir Thomas Grandison and his wife, Margaret de Caru (Fig 50b)<sup>437</sup> - perhaps put there by his heirs.



*Fig 50b: Half figures in brass thought to be for Sir Thomas Grandison (d.1376) and his wife, Margaret de Caru (d.1394), on the floor of St Mary's Chapel*

On the 14<sup>th</sup> century arch in the middle of the Lady Chapel are scenes from a hunt and on the north pillar of the arch, a bishop with mitre. Could this represent Bishop Grandison? There is no evidence that the Grandisons built there but it is a possibility.



## *Lydiard Tregoze*

Sir John Tregoz (d.1330) must have settled this manor on his daughter Sybil Tregoz and husband, William Grandison, before his death, as it does not appear in his inquisition post mortem.

In 1322 their eldest son, Peter, joined Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, in rebelling against Edward II. Peter was captured at Boroughbridge, imprisoned at Windsor and his parents had to hand over this manor to Hugh Despenser senior, as a fine.<sup>438</sup> They regained it after the fall and death of Despenser in 1326<sup>439</sup> and in 1331 leased it to their daughter Agnes, widow of John Northwood, for life. They died shortly after (see Tree 3).<sup>440</sup> Her brother Peter, as heir, in 1347 granted the reversion of the manor after Agnes's death to his niece Sybil, daughter of Agnes's sister Mabel who was married to Sir John Pateshulle of Bletsoe. Sybil was married to Roger Beauchamp, (who became Lord Beauchamp of Bletsoe, in right of his wife) and Peter conveyed it to them after Agnes's death in 1348 and died himself without heirs in 1358.<sup>441</sup> The descendants of Sybil and Sir Roger Beauchamp are the St John family. It was Sir John St John (1585-1648) who transformed St Mary's Church there (Fig 51a) between 1615 and 1645, erecting the fantastic display of heraldry that is the memorial triptych to his parents.<sup>442</sup>



*Fig 51a: St Mary's Church, Lydiard Tregoze, Wiltshire*

However, of more relevance to this attempt to describe the building undertaken by the Grandison family is the 14<sup>th</sup> century armorial glass for Northwood, Tregoz and Grandison (Figs 51b to e), also extant in what was the manorial church of Lydiard Tregoze.



*Fig 51b: The south window containing 14th century armorial glass probably put up by Agnes Northwood*



(c)

(d)

(e)

*Fig 51: Armorial glass for: (c) Northwood; (d) Tregoz and (e) Grandison, representing respectively the husband, mother and father of Agnes Northwood (née Grandison), Bishop John Grandisons' sister*

Most likely this glass, now in a south window at St Mary's Church, Lydiard Tregoze,<sup>443</sup> was put up, by Agnes Northwood during the time that she held the manor (from 1331 to 1348), as a memorial to her husband and parents. Her husband died before 1331 and her parents

in 1334 (mother) and 1335 (father) so probably the glass was put up between 1335 and 1348. This period is when her brother John Grandison, Bishop of Exeter, was building the nave at Exeter and also, from 1337 to 1342, the church of Ottery St Mary in Devon (a replica of Exeter Cathedral). Her brother-in-law, William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, married to her sister Katherine Grandison, also began building at Bisham, Berks, where in 1337 he founded a house of Austin Canons and built Bisham Priory Church (demolished during the dissolution of the monasteries).

As St Mary's at Lydiard is said to have been rebuilt in the 14<sup>th</sup> century perhaps it was done from 1337 onwards when help from her brother and brother-in-law might have been available, including access to glaziers. It was probably rebuilt by 1362 when the brother of Agnes and uncle of Sybil, Bishop John Grandison (d.1369), was the patron.<sup>444</sup>

As the Grandisons and their descendants held Lydiard Tregoze throughout the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the rebuilding of St Mary's church at that time can be included in their built legacy.

# *Windsor Castle & the Orders of Chivalry of Edward III*

**A**T Windsor Castle, in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, two different Orders of Chivalry were founded. Members of the Grandison family had a connection with these Orders, as donors but also, very likely, as inspiration.

Edward III would have been familiar with the Knights Templar prefectory at Bisham, where he had lived as a baby and where he laid the foundation stone (Fig 20) of William Montacute's priory, founded 1337, some few years before the king founded his first order of chivalry. He would also have known about the crusade to the Holy Land of his grandfather, Edward I, who was accompanied to Palestine by Otho Grandison, Katherine and Bishop John Grandison's uncle, where both fought alongside the military orders who were dedicated to St George, described as "Our Lady's Knight", the Virgin's champion.

In medieval times there was also an interest in Arthurian tournaments with their overtones of courtly or illicit love, depending on one's view of King Arthur, Queen Guinevere and Lancelot. Appendix 2 gives details of the dedication to King Arthur, St George and the Virgin Mary shown by the Grandisons and their Kings.

It is recognised that Edward III, in founding his Orders of Chivalry, modelled himself on his grandfather, Edward I. Inspiration could also have come from familiarity with the career of his grandfather's close friend, Otho Grandison, whose biographer described him as *a knight of high renown* and whose niece, Katherine Grandison, was married to William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, a similarly close friend of Edward III. Katherine was Countess of Salisbury and Appendix 2 reviews the legend of the Countess, including its possible Arthurian link, in relation to the founding of Edward's second order of chivalry, the Order of the Garter.

Edward III made two attempts to establish an Order of Chivalry at Windsor Castle. As has been pointed out, the main difference between the two was that the Round Table project of 1344, whether it was to be a tourneying society or not, was undoubtedly Arthurian in character, whilst the Order of the Garter of 1348, although clearly chivalric in concept, had strong, not Arthurian, but religious overtones, its annual celebration linked to religious observance in the chapel of St George and taking place on St George's Day, 23<sup>rd</sup> April.<sup>445</sup>



So while the “Round Table” would seem to have been intended as an almost purely secular order, the “Garter” is at heart a traditional religious confraternity with secular members.<sup>446</sup>

The two foundations have been confused in the past.<sup>447</sup> Both Orders required new buildings<sup>448</sup> and the Grandison family had an involvement in each. At the tournament, in 1344, to found the first of these Orders, William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, husband of Katherine Grandison, is said to have been wounded and later died: at least according to Version 2 of a chronicle, said to be by Adam Murimuth, a Canon of Exeter, who knew the Grandison family. In version 1 Montacute is not mentioned.

### ***The 1344 Round Table Order***

Edward III first attempted to found an Order of Chivalry at Windsor in January 1344 when he held a great tournament there to launch his order of the “Round Table”<sup>449</sup> in commemoration of King Arthur and his knights in what was already a well-established tradition. It has been pointed out that Edward possessed books of Arthurian romances and beyond book ownership there was a long family tradition of involvement with Arthurian romance from the first appearance of the stories in the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>450</sup> However it is suggested that the reason for the festivities at Windsor in January 1344 were part of a recruiting drive to raise an army for renewed war against France.<sup>451</sup>



*Fig 52: The Round Table in the Great Hall of Winchester Castle*

Edward III has been said to have modelled himself on his grandfather<sup>452</sup> who had projected himself as the new King Arthur.<sup>453</sup> The surviving Round Table (Fig 52) in the Great Hall of Winchester Castle has plausibly been linked with a tournament organised for Edward I that took place on 20 April 1290.<sup>454</sup> It has been suggested that Otho Grandison was present at this tournament<sup>455</sup> which was held before his departure in July on crusade for Acre.<sup>456</sup>

Edward III's first attempt in 1344 foundered. Adam Murimuth, by then precentor at nearby Wraysbury and a man well known to the Grandison family,<sup>457</sup> gives his name to the main chronicle giving an account of the festival at which the new order was announced but it exists in two, quite different versions that give different dates for the event<sup>458</sup> (Version I Sun 18 (sic 19) January to Thurs 22 January 1344; Version II Sun 8 February to Thurs 22 February 1344). Only the incorrectly dated Version II mentions Montacute's involvement in the festival and his death: *When mass had been celebrated the King left the chapel. Henry Earl of Derby, as steward of England and William (Montacute) Earl of Salisbury, as marshal of England went before him each carrying his staff of office in his hand.*<sup>459</sup> Edward then before the assembled throng swore an oath that he would begin a Round Table as Arthur formerly king of England had done, *to the number of 300 knights*<sup>460</sup> and the leading courtiers, including Salisbury swore to sustain and promote this Round Table. However, *A week afterwards, which was a cause for great grief, William de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury who had been wounded in the jousting, died of natural causes.* As noted, this is the only version of the chronicle to mention Montacute and the dates it gives are inaccurate which is surprising given Murimuth's connections with the family.<sup>461</sup> If this version was written after 1348 and not by Murimuth, was the writer putting a "spin" on events?

Interestingly, the correctly dated version of his chronicle (Version I) appears to have been the one available to Jean Le Bel, the Hainault chronicler, as only in this version is the plan, to hold the inaugural Round Table event at Whitsun (Pentecost i.e. 23<sup>rd</sup> May 1344) mentioned - a fact replicated in Le Bel's account.<sup>462</sup>

It has been suggested that Edwards' enthusiasm for the Round Table project could have died with Montacute.<sup>463</sup> However, after his death, probably at Windsor rather than Algeciras in Spain,<sup>464</sup> actual construction of a building of 200ft diameter,<sup>465</sup> termed the Round Table, began and continued for several months. Most likely this building had been planned in advance of the January tournament. The greater part of the stone (chalk) came from the local quarry at Bisham<sup>466</sup> located just downstream, round a bend in the river from Bisham Priory, the Montacute's seat. Accounts show that starting from the second week of construction (23 Feb to 28 Feb 1344) labourers and stone dressers were employed there<sup>467</sup> cutting and shaping chalk blocks almost certainly to be used for the internal wall faces and core of the masonry walls. The accounts also list the number of "shouts" (boats) being used to transport the stone from Bisham to Windsor in the spring, summer and autumn of 1344,<sup>468</sup> but work ceased in November 1344.<sup>469</sup> It has been suggested that William Edington, who became Treasurer of the Exchequer in April 1344,<sup>470</sup> and who later on, as Bishop of Winchester, seems to have been the first prelate of the later Order of the Garter, was one of those responsible for authorising the issue of writs and other guarantees

in connection with the construction of the Round Table building at Windsor.<sup>471</sup> Edington, later on, had links to Bishop John Grandison.<sup>472</sup> Thomas Walsingham, a monk at St Albans, writing forty years later, says work was decreased because of “news which the King received from France”.<sup>473</sup>

The year 1344, when the Round Table was being built, was during the period that Bishop John Grandison was building at Ottery St Mary and Exeter and immediately after Montacute was building at Bisham. It would be interesting to know whether Brother John Walerand, Comptroller for the Round Table building programme,<sup>474</sup> was possibly a monk from Bisham or from Exeter.

In view of the legends relating to the origins of the Order of the Garter (featuring Edward III picking up a lady’s garter) one can speculate on how far the attempt to emulate King Arthur went. Was the Arthur/Guinevere/Lancelot relationship replicated by the Edward I/Eleanor/Otho Grandison one, bearing in mind that Otho was remembered in Eleanor’s will and is represented on a painting on her tomb at Westminster (Fig 12a). Did Edward III see himself as Lancelot with the older Montacute as King Arthur and Katherine Grandison, Montacute’s wife as Guinevere?<sup>475</sup> Also, how significant is the fact, reported recently, that apart from isolated examples in the Low Countries, there were no records of Round Table festivals after 1344?<sup>476</sup>

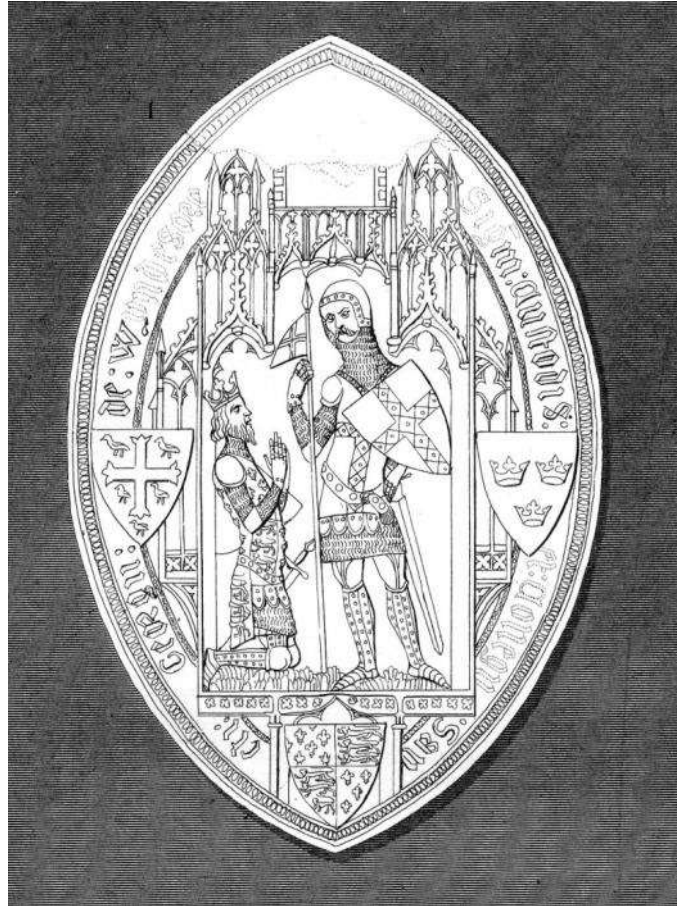
### ***The 1348 Order of the Garter***

The second attempt to found an order of chivalry began in 1348, though the garter badge was already in use by Edward.<sup>477</sup> In August 1348 the king issued a patent to complete a chapel begun by his progenitors at Windsor, and where he had been baptised, in honour of God, the Virgin Mary, SS George the Martyr and Edward the Confessor.<sup>478</sup> The first meeting of the Knights of the Garter is thought to have taken place there on St George’s Day (23<sup>rd</sup> April) 1349 and payment for three silver seals for St George’s College is recorded in October of that year. One of these is thought to be the chapter seal showing Edward kneeling before St George (Fig 53).<sup>479</sup>

William Montacute, Katherine’s son, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Salisbury, was one of the founder members of the new order and according to Geoffrey Baker’s Chronicle,<sup>480</sup> Salisbury was among the barons who attended a feast on St George’s Day at Windsor, to found a chantry for 12 priests and almshouse for impoverished knights (though Baker dates it to 1350.<sup>481</sup> The Chronicle notes that the knights wore cloaks powdered with garters<sup>482</sup> and “*heard Mass bare-headed, celebrated by the Bishops of Canterbury, Winchester and Exeter*”.<sup>483</sup> If the dating of the inaugural mass of the Order to 1349 is correct, it means both her son and her brother, John Grandison, Bishop of Exeter, attended the mass on the same day that Katherine died, which seems somewhat harsh.

The original chapel of the Knights of the Garter was created by Edward III out of a chapel built by Henry III in 1240 and dedicated to Edward the Confessor.<sup>484</sup> It was located where the Albert Memorial Chapel now stands (Fig 54a). Its principal remains include the Galilee Porch at the east end of the present St George’s Chapel (Fig 54b & c), the entrance to

which retains its original wooden door of 1240 with its decorative iron work (Fig 54d). The chapel was completely refurnished and re-ordered from April 1350 onwards.<sup>485</sup> At the same time the castle was rebuilt and it has been noted that Edward III's building project of the 1350s and the 1360s were on a larger scale than any seen in the British Isles since his grandfather's campaign of castle building in North Wales.<sup>486</sup>



*Fig 53: The Seal of the College of St George's, Windsor, (ca.1350). King Edward is shown praying to St George, flanked by the coats of St Edward the Confessor and St Edmund*

It is not clear whether the Round Table building was demolished and the stone reused in this later phase of building. It has been suggested that it probably survived until 1358-61, when William of Wykeham remodelled Windsor in Edward's major building campaign.<sup>487</sup> Edward had the Aerary Porch (Fig 55) built in 1353-4<sup>488</sup> to create a processional route for the Knights of the Garter and constructed of Tottenhoe and Reigate stone.<sup>489</sup> Bisham quarry continued to provide chalk blocks.<sup>490</sup>

What is known is that John Grandison, Bishop of Exeter and Katherine's brother, was a donor to St George's Chapel. The archives of the chapel still possess his 1351 deed with seal attached granting the Warden and Canons the appropriation of the church at Saltash, donated by the Black Prince, in return for payment of 2 marks yearly<sup>491</sup> (Fig 56a). Other Grandison seals relating to deeds of 1351 and 1361 also are in the archives (Figs 56b & c).<sup>492</sup>





*Fig 54a: Albert Memorial Chapel on the site of the chapel built by Henry III that was used by Edward III when he founded the Order of the Garter*



*(b)*



*(c)*

*Fig 54: The remains of the original St George's Chapel: (b) Galilee Porch; (c) Plaque in Galilee Porch*



(d)



(e)

*Fig 54: The remains of the original St George's Chapel: (d) Entrance to the Galilee Porch ; (e) north wall of the chapel*



*Fig 55: Aerary Porch built by Edward III*



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

Fig 56: Seals of Bishop John Grandison, in St George's Chapel Archives: (a) 1351 deed with seal attached; (b) 1351 deed with broken seal; (c) 1361 seal the seated bishop with below "de Grandisono" and his armorial coat; (d) 1361 seal reversed showing the Virgin and Child with saints on either side and below the Grandison coats plus a central figure. In the uncoloured wax rim, a half-image of Virgin & Child in red wax, probably formed by a signet ring

Gifts made by the Bishop to St George's Chapel apart from deeds to churches in Saltash and Asshe<sup>493</sup> included a book of legends and masses of Our Lady, mentioned in an inventory compiled in the reign of Richard II. The inventory also describes the chapel's jewels and relics, including two jewelled crosses with wood of the true cross, one evidently from Westminster Abbey<sup>494</sup> and amongst the relics a bone of St Thomas of Hereford.<sup>495</sup> One can speculate that the Bishop's gifts may have included the bone of his kinsman, St Thomas, whose remains were then at Hereford Cathedral and perhaps the silver gilt cup that had belonged to the saint, also mentioned in the inventory. It would be interesting to know whether the other jewelled cross had anything to do with the relics of the true cross given to Dore Abbey by William Grandison in 1321 and to Vale Royal Abbey by Edward I in 1277 or with the one evidently given by Bishop John Grandison to Exeter cathedral that was still there in 1506.<sup>496</sup>

Dalton points out that a copy of the Ottery St Mary statutes was among the charters of Winchester Priory and suggests that Bishop John sent a copy of his statutes<sup>497</sup> to Bishop Edynton (William Edington, consecrated Bishop of Winchester in 1346, who, Baker says, helped celebrate the inaugural mass of the Order) when the latter was drawing up statutes for both the collegiate churches of St George at Windsor and St Stephen at Westminster at Edward III's request. He suggests that Bishop John's close connection with Edward III and founder members of the Order of the Garter and his personal gifts to the chapel of St George accounts for the resemblance between Windsor and Ottery statutes.<sup>498</sup>

In 1349 Edward III petitioned Pope Clement VI to confirm the college's consecration, endowment and statutes, and letters of approval were dispatched by the Pope in November 1350 granting a faculty to the archbishop of Canterbury, then Simon Islip, and William Edington, Bishop of Winchester, to settle the ordinances and statutes.<sup>499</sup> Bishop John Grandison's friend, Cardinal Pierre des Prés, Vice Chancellor of the church from 1325 and based at Avignon with responsibility for drawing up and sending out papal bulls,<sup>500</sup> probably helped facilitate the King's petition.

It has been said that the Grandisons had more relatives and connections among the original Knights of St George and the Garter than any other family in England (Tree 3).<sup>501</sup> Stall plates for founders William Montacute, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Salisbury, Jean de Grailly, Captal de Buch, and "Hugh" Courtenay KG can still be seen in St George's Chapel (Figs 57a to c), together with that of a later Courtenay, "Peter",<sup>502</sup> who was not a founder (Fig 57d).<sup>503</sup> The plate for Katherine Grandison's son-in-law, Roger Mortimer, also a founder, is lost. However, the only Grandison admitted to the Order was Thomas,<sup>504</sup> Katherine's nephew, nominated ca.1370 at the same time as his kinsman, Guy de Bryan (see Tree 3). Bryan's plate is extant (Fig 57e) but that for Thomas has not survived. His coat, or, more accurately, the coat of his grandfather, William, can be seen, together with those of all other members of the Order, on the vaulting of the new roof of St George's Hall in Windsor Castle. Thomas and his wife Margaret are thought to be represented by half figures in brass on the floor of St Mary's chapel in St Michael & All Angels, Lambourn, Berkshire<sup>505</sup> (Fig 50b). Lambourn formed part of his inheritance.





(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

Fig 57: Extant Stall Plates of Knights at St George's Chapel, linked with the Grandison family: (a) William Montacute, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Salisbury, founder (plate made 1741) - Isle of Man quartering Montacute; (b) Jean de Grailly, Captal de Buch, founder (plate made 1422/3 and mislabelled as Piers (Peter) - his brother); (c) Sir "Hugh" Courtenay, founder (plate made 1422/3); (d) Sir "Peter" Courtenay, nominated 1388-39 (plate of unknown date); see note 502



(e)



(f)



(g)

Fig 57: Extant Stall Plates of Knights at St George's Chapel, linked with the Grandison family: (e) Sir Guy de Bryan, nom.ca.1370 (plate made 1422/3); (f) John Montacute, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Salisbury, nom. 1397-99 (plate made 1741 - the name Gilliam (William) is an error) - Isle of Man quartering Montacute; (g) Thomas Montacute, 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Salisbury, nom.1414 (plate made 1741 - blazoning incorrect, should be Montacute quartering Monthermer)



Katherine's grandson, John Montacute, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Salisbury, was made Knight of the Garter between 1397 and 1399<sup>506</sup> (Fig 57f) but in 1400 was beheaded for joining a conspiracy to murder Henry IV and his sons<sup>507</sup> and put Richard II back on the throne. His son, Thomas, made KG by Henry V in 1414<sup>508</sup> (Fig 57g) died at the siege of Orleans in 1428, bringing the main line of the Montacutes to an end (see Tree 5). Thomas's heir was his daughter Alice who married Richard Neville, son of the Earl of Westmoreland, who became Earl of Salisbury in right of his wife. Neville married Alice in or before 1420<sup>509</sup> becoming a Knight of the Garter in 1438 (Fig 57h). He would have been at Bisham in 1435 when a deed of that date relating to rents in Maidenhead and which still bears the remains of the Priory seal<sup>510</sup> was given to St George's by the then Prior of Bisham. The Grandison descendants at Bisham - the Montacutes and Nevilles (Tree 5) - continued their connection with St George's Chapel. Salisbury's sons, Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick and John, Lord Montagu (Fig 57i) were nominated Knights of the Garter in 1460 and 1461/2 respectively; Warwick's sons-in-law, George, Duke of Clarence (Fig 57j) and Richard Duke of Gloucester, later Richard III, (Fig 57k) in 1461 and 1465/6 whilst Richard Pole, the husband of his granddaughter Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, was knighted in 1499<sup>511</sup> (Fig 57l).



(b)



(i)

*Fig 57: Extant Stall Plates of Knights at St George's Chapel, linked with the Grandison family: (b) Richard Neville, 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Salisbury in right of his wife Alice Montacute, nom.1438; (i) John Neville, Lord Montagu, younger son of Richard Neville, 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Salisbury, nom.1461/2. Plates probably contemporary with nomination.*

Later on, a new chapel for the Order was begun in 1475 by Edward IV (1461-1483) and was completed, apart from the crossing, in the reign of Henry VII (1485-1502-3)<sup>512</sup> and their stall plates were transferred to the new chapel. Probably only Richard Pole would have made his first celebration as a Knight of the Garter in the new chapel.



(j)



(k)



(l)

Fig 57: Extant Stall Plates of Knights at St George's Chapel, linked with the Grandison family: (j) George, Duke of Clarence, nom.1461; (k) Richard, Duke of Gloucester, later Richard III, nom.1465/66; (l) Richard Pole, husband of Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, nom.1499. Plates probably contemporary with nomination.



## *A Grand Legacy*

THE two Grandison brothers came to England from Grandson in Vaud (now in Switzerland) in the 13<sup>th</sup> century in the train of Count Peter of Savoy. They led quite different lives. Otho was Edward I's right-hand man. As a soldier he fought the Welsh and the Scots and defended the Holy Land. As a diplomat he was often sent to France, Gascony and to the Pope to sort out various diplomatic tangles usually involving the French.<sup>513</sup> He shared his king's passion for crusading. William, though also close to royalty, in his case the king's brother Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster, married locally - albeit the daughter of a wealthy Anglo-Norman magnate, John Tregoz, had a family and settled in England.

Otho Grandison, almost at the start of his career, before he went to the Holy Land in 1270, is said to have had responsibilities in Ireland as Sheriff of Tipperary and Lord of Clonmel, presumably at the behest of the then Lord of Ireland, Prince Edward. He continued to hold Clonmel and other Irish lands until 1290 when he handed them over to his brother William before going to the Holy Land for the second time. Otho continued to take an interest in the town evidently persuading Edward I in 1298 to give permission for tolls to be collected for the "*greater security of the neighbourhood*". The remains of fortified town walls still exist. The tolls and subsequent grants of "*murage*" would have maintained the walls and their towers. Also at Clonmel is the Franciscan friary of which Otho was a patron. The tower is all that remains of the original church. The Grandison family held Clonmel until 1338 after William's death in 1335.

The two brothers appear to have worked together often. In 1290 Otho transferred his Irish possessions to William and in 1294 William stood in for Otho as governor of Jersey & Guernsey.<sup>514</sup> It is said that Otho, an absentee landlord, was unpopular with the islanders and it is therefore somewhat ironic that in the forecourt of the Guernsey offices of the Credit Suisse Bank there is now a bronze memorial detailing Otho's life history that includes an immense statue overlooking Castle Cornet in St Peter Port (Fig 58a-d).

Unfortunately the memorial (Fig 58b) says that he died in prison after being attacked and robbed when en route to Avignon. He actually died in Aigle (see Fig 2b), some sixteen years after the attack took place - for which the perpetrator was excommunicated. The Chateau at Aigle, near the eastern end of Lake Lemán (Lake Geneva), is today surrounded by vineyards. I like to think Otto was there in 1328, sampling the wine while he wrote his will, dying shortly after!



(a)

This is the story of Edler Schweizer Ritter Othon the First of Grandson. 1238 - 1328. As the friend of Edward the First he established a lasting friendship between England and Switzerland. Between 1269 and 1271 he accompanied the King, Edward the First on a crusade and on one occasion saved the King's life during a battle. He was a great soldier and a brilliant diplomat. Othon was appointed as the Papal Legate to Basel. The German Emperor gave him the castle and town of Laupen. Edward appointed him as Chief Justice of Wales between 1284 - 1294. In 1277 he was appointed as Governor for life of Guernsey and the other Channel Islands. At the age of ninety he travelled to Avignon to help his friends, there he was attacked, robbed and died in prison. His tomb was ordered by the Pope to be placed in the Cathedral of Lausanne.

(b)

Fig 58: Memorial to Otho Grandison at St Peter Port in Guernsey  
 a) Helvetia Court, showing statue of Otho Grandison and tableau of episodes in his life  
 b) Plaque (incorrectly saying Otho was attacked and died in prison)



(c)



(d)

*Fig 58: Memorial to Otho Grandison at St Peter Port in Guernsey*

*c) Model of Otho Grandison on the isle of Guernsey*

*d) Model of Chateau Grandison with figures on horseback representing Prince Edward and Otho Grandison*



## ***The Grandison Built Legacy***

The brothers particularly worked together in connection with building projects, specifically building Edward I's castles in Wales.<sup>515</sup> They were from Vaud, part of the domain of the Counts of Savoy. Master James of St Georges, the famous architect of Edward I's Welsh castles, prior to arriving in England in 1278, had built castles for Counts Peter of Savoy and his brother and heir, Count Philip. Chateau Grandson rebuilt by Otho, beginning by 1277, and according to Arnold Taylor *the archetype of the whole Anglo-Savoyard group of castles*, is said to have been designed by Master James. Its design with separate accommodation for Constable and Lord is reflected in the later castles of Conwy and Caernarfon. It is also described as marking an important stage in regional military architecture that adheres to English architectural practices.

It has been said that Otho Grandison had a special role in the construction of Edward's castles. He was probably involved in site selection and there is evidence that he organised workmen and found funding. He and his brother provided a link between England and Savoy from whence came Master James of St George and it is thought Otho was responsible for bringing him to England. This is very likely as Otho would have seen the castle and town of both Yverdon and St Georges d'Espérance, built by Master James for the Counts of Savoy.

Apart from the Welsh castles, Otho's main built legacy is in Vaud (Switzerland). His castle at Grandson, on the shores of Lake Neuchatel, restored and well maintained, is open to the public. There are extant remains of the town walls he built and the religious houses he supported or founded. The church of St Jean Baptiste in Grandson, the church of the Benedictine priory he supported, still exists though only the tower of the Franciscan monastery he founded remains. Two stone plaques bearing his armorial coat were moved to Chateau Grandson when the rest of that monastery was demolished. Perhaps in choosing to found a house for the Franciscans he was recalling the start of his career in Ireland. East of Grandson, on the lakeshore at La Lance, he founded a Carthusian monastery. A private house is now on the site set amid a productive vineyard. Of the monastic remains, the cloister and church are leased for events including wine tasting of the *Domaine de la Lance*.

Lausanne Cathedral can also be regarded as part of his legacy as he was a donor to the Cathedral that still houses his tomb and effigy.

It is known that there was movement of craftsmen between building projects in Savoy, England, Wales and Gascony even prior to the arrival of the Grandison brothers in England. The Grandisons, connected to the House of Savoy and with links to Hereford Cathedral, Dore and Vale Royal Abbeys, and with responsibilities for Edward's Welsh castles, would have increased such exchange, accounting for Savoyard building techniques being found in Wales and English techniques in Vaud.

Otho was regarded as an expert on Gascon affairs. In the first half of Edward's reign there was considerable building of bastides (new towns) in Gascony. There is some evidence



that Otho may have had an involvement as, in 1278, he issued a grant relating to the siting of bastides. Whether he had a greater role is yet to be discovered. Master James is thought to have been in Gascony from 1287 to 1289, presumably in relation to building castles or bastides for the King.

Both Otho and his brother William were donors to Cistercian abbeys: Otho to Vale Royal Abbey where he helped to lay the foundation stone in 1277 and William to Dore Abbey, Vale Royal's mother house. These places can be regarded as part of their legacy.<sup>516</sup> Masons from Dore worked on Vale Royal, suggesting William's involvement as his wife's family had founded Dore Abbey<sup>517</sup> and on the castles that Edward I built in Wales.

Otho Grandison held the manor of Shene (now Richmond) from 1275 to 1307, when he left England for the last time. It was his principal residence outside London where he entertained Edward I, so it is very likely that he built there, but information is lacking. It is known that in 1299 the manor was in a poor state of repair and that in 1358 Edward III began to redevelop the manor house into a royal palace. If Otho had built then the buildings would have been altered after 1358. However, unfortunately none of the medieval buildings survive.

Farnborough in Kent is also cited as his principal residence and he held various manors in that county. It is possible Otho or his descendants built or rebuilt there but again information is scanty.

The legacy of his brother William to the built environment is again Edward I's Welsh castles where his role appears to have been administrative, though he is credited with completing the Eagle Tower at Caernarfon. Sadly, of the castles William fortified at Ashperton and Eaton Tregoz in Herefordshire, respectively little and nothing remains, though still existing is the church at Ashperton that his wife Sybil Tregoz is said to have built and also the parish church at nearby Stretton (Grandison) which the family may have constructed. William with wife Sybil, by their donations and papal benefits, most likely also funded the early 14<sup>th</sup> century reconstruction of the nave at Dore Abbey, the Abbey where they are both buried. Only a few vestiges of the nave and some of its roof bosses remain. The roof bosses are of high quality making the loss of the nave even more regrettable.

It is almost certain that a Grandison helped rebuild St Katherine's Chapel at Ledbury, Herefordshire, installing new windows and doorways. It has been suggested that William's son John Grandison, Bishop of Exeter (1327-69), together possibly with his brother Peter, did the work and glazed the church possibly as a chantry in memory of their father, putting up their father's coat in stained glass (Fig 10b). However, it is also possible that William d.1335, himself rebuilt it, as he lived to the west of Ledbury at Ashperton and held, to the south of Ledbury, the manor of Dymock where St Mary's Church was rebuilt, most likely in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century.

William Grandison, held Dymock from before 1307 until his death in 1335 and first his sons Peter and John and then grandson Thomas held it until the latter's death in 1376, when William Montacute, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Salisbury, inherited a third of the manor.

Whether William Grandison was responsible for the rebuilding of St Mary's, is undiscovered, but given that the Grandisons held the manor from before 1307 to 1376, it is quite likely that he or his sons, Peter and John or grandson Thomas, who all held Dymock, were involved.

One of William's sons, John Grandison, Bishop of Exeter (1327-1369) made a major contribution to the built legacy of the family. The Bishop completed the nave at Exeter, constructing a magnificent west front, the statues of which include what appears to be a Templar knight or St George. The bishop may have placed this particular statue at the entrance to his mortuary chapel, in deference his uncle Otho. He also made special tribute to his uncle in the windows of St Gabriel's Chapel where the Grandison coat of his two sisters Katherine and Agnes is that used by their crusading uncle rather than their father William. He placed his own coat on a roof boss near to where he started building and elsewhere on the roof placed his image in full pontificals. It is presumed the other armorial coats found on roof bosses, or portraits on corbels, represent donors. Portrait corbels attributed to both Katherine, his sister, and her husband William Montacute, are amongst those present in the nave.

John also rebuilt the church at Ottery St Mary as a replica of Exeter cathedral where he founded a college. This church again contains armorial coats and portraits in stone attributed to donors including the Bishop himself, his uncle Otho, his brother-in-law William Montacute, his sister Katherine, and a kinsman Hugh Courtenay. Bishop John also built onto the Bishop's Palace at Exeter and again the Grandison and Montacute coats have been recorded from the timbers suggesting both were donors.<sup>518</sup>

William Montacute, made Earl of Salisbury by Edward III in 1337, built onto the Great Hall of the Knights Templar at Bisham and also built a priory church there for his foundation of Austin Canons. The design of this church, known from two 15<sup>th</sup> century armorial rolls (Figs 21a & b), is evocative of the design of Exeter Cathedral and Ottery St Mary, though evidently the Bisham church was never completed, as, based on the drawings of it in the rolls, the nave is absent. The similarity in design and the fact that both Bishop John's foundation at Ottery St Mary and that of his brother-in-law's at Bisham occurred in the same year, 1337, suggest that they cooperated in these building projects. Montacute's closeness to Edward III probably helped.<sup>519</sup>

The 14<sup>th</sup> century rebuilding of St Mary's Church at Lydiard Tregoze was also undertaken by the Grandisons, probably by Bishop Grandison's sister, Agnes, who almost certainly put up the extant armorial glass for her husband John Northwood and her parents. Possibly she could have been helped by both Bishop Grandison and her brother in law William Montacute. Her sister Mabel, according to Leland, founded a Grey Friars house at Bedford but this seems only to be remembered by street names. Whether Maud, another sister, who was Prioress at Aconbury, not far from Dore Abbey, built anything there has not been discovered. The priory church, with a fine porch at the west end complete with carved wooden angels, is all that remains of Aconbury Priory.

The effigies and portrait corbels<sup>520</sup> of the Grandison family, described here, perhaps record the appearance of members of the family but also record their donation to the buildings, mostly churches, where these are found. Their armorials in stained glass, stone and wood, serve a similar purpose.

It will be remembered that one of Bishop Grandison's motives for erecting the collegiate college of St Mary of Ottery and very likely his building at Exeter, was *his desire to ensure the never ending remembrance of the deeds of valour and charity wrought by his family and friends, noble and gentle, who together with their willing followers and loyal comrades, whether in England, in France, in Scotland or the Holy Land, helped to fashion the realm and win the nation's place in the world's history which we now gratefully inherit; and who had found their strength at the altar of the church and their delight, as he had done, in serving the Lord.* In this aim, he has been successful, as over six hundred years later they are remembered.

### ***The Chivalric Legacy***

In the 12<sup>th</sup> century the church had harnessed enthusiasm for knighthood in the service of the crusades, initiated in 1095, and the military orders such as the Knights Templar, begun in 1118, had been the result. These orders had been in existence before the idea of King Arthur's Round Table was created and the concept of an order of knighthood which owed its allegiance to the king rather than the world of religion had no counterpart in real life until the existence of the religious knightly orders began to be questioned. The new romances written at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century about King Arthur and his knights contained the new idea of allegiance to a secular lord.<sup>521</sup> Whereas the knights of the military orders swore allegiance to the Pope, Arthur's knights swore allegiance to a king.

Edward III's proposed Order of the Round Table (1344), which arose after the demise of the Templars in 1307, is considered to be part of a general movement towards secularisation of knightly orders and to their use in the context of royal power.<sup>522</sup> Other European orders became a kind of hybrid between religious and secular orders of knighthood with a large element of royal influence which had been totally lacking in the days of the Templars.<sup>523</sup> Such a hybrid was Edward III's Order of the Garter.

It is accepted that Edward III was greatly influenced by the chivalric ideals of his grandfather, Edward I, who as a fifteen year old prince had been knighted in the chapel of St James, patron saint of pilgrims, in the Cistercian monastery at Burgos located on the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela (St James of Compostela) in Spain - a route initiated to inspire the Christian re-conquest of that country then underway. Perhaps being knighted, at what must have been a vulnerable time in his life, in the chapel of that particular saint, inspired his later interest in crusading to the Holy Land. Was Edward III also influenced in his attempt to create a new order of chivalry by a family associated with his grandfather, the Grandisons? The history of that family is redolent with chivalric activity. Otho Grandison had accompanied Edward I (then Prince Edward) to the Holy Land in 1271, fighting alongside the military orders at Acre. Otho was present at tournaments e.g. in 1278 at Compiègne<sup>524</sup> and in 1290 is thought to have attended a tournament held by Edward I at Winchester, for which the extant Round Table was made,

before departing for the Holy Land again. In 1291, sent by Edward, he fought alongside the Templars at the siege of Acre when Palestine was lost. It is generally agreed that chivalry was at its height between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, falling into decadence and decline during the 14<sup>th</sup> century: a decline attributed in part to disastrous crusades and the suppression of the Templars.

Edward III had not had the experience of Edward I, his grandfather, in fighting alongside the military orders at Acre. In 1312, by the time he was born, the Templars had been abolished. As a baby Edward III lived at the old Templar preceptory at Bisham.<sup>525</sup> Its proximity to Windsor makes it likely he was familiar with the building and the story of the Templars. It is also likely that he had heard about his grandfather's experiences in the Holy Land where he was wounded by an assassin's dagger, especially as the dagger appears to have been brought back to England, being mentioned in an inventory of 1340. At that time there was no reason to believe that the age of crusades was over and Edward III, alongside the French King Philip VI, has been described as "*hoping to purchase Immortal Honour by their Deeds of Arms and Noble Chevalry*".<sup>526</sup>

Edward seems to have actively emulated his grandfather's chivalric interests.<sup>527</sup> Evidence of this interest dates from the start of his reign when in 1327 a helmet believed to have belonged to the Sultan Saladin was borrowed from the privy wardrobe apparently for use at Easter, the first major feast of the king's reign. It is suggested that, if it was an authentic object, the helmet may have been acquired by Richard the Lionheart in 1191 when he was on crusade in the Holy Land or by Edward I,<sup>528</sup> who, when Prince, had been at Acre with Otho Grandison.

Perhaps it was the connection between the Templars and Otho Grandison that led in 1335 to Edward III giving Bisham, with its Templar preceptory, to his friend William Montacute, married to Otho's niece, Katherine. In fact, could Montacute's rise be, in part, because of his link with the Grandisons who were well connected to the papacy?

That Montacute was also interested in chivalry is evident. In 1331, before he was made Earl of Salisbury (in 1337) by the king and given Bisham, William had proclaimed and paid for a tournament at Cheapside, London, preceded by a procession of knights dressed as Tartars each linked by a silver chain to a noble and beautiful lady, a procession the King participated in and which William led.<sup>529</sup> It is suggested that an earlier Montacute Roll depicting such linkages inspired the later C15<sup>th</sup> Rolls (Figs 21a&b).

Both Edward I and the III drew inspiration from the cult of King Arthur<sup>530</sup> to promote their endeavours. Edward III's abortive attempt to found an Order of the Round Table in 1344 may have failed because of Montacute's death or the restarting of war with France. For whatever reason, it is interesting that there are very few records of Round Table festivals afterwards.<sup>531</sup>

Both kings seem to have been dedicated to certain saints, specifically Edward the Confessor, the Blessed Virgin Mary and St George. Edward III dedicated the Order of the Garter to these saints, saints also venerated by members of the Grandison family.<sup>532</sup>



Both had Grandisons, or a kinsman, as their right-hand men. Otho and William Grandison were close to the crown during the reign of Edward I. William's son-in-law, William Montacute, was similarly close in the reign of Edward III. Montacute died before Edward's triumph at Crécy and the taking of Calais when Edward established himself as leader of the chivalric world, founding the Order of the Garter to reward those who had helped him achieve these triumphs.<sup>533</sup> It could be said that the Grandison legacy is not just in the built environment but can also be seen in the origins of the Order of the Garter - an order modelled on a religious confraternity that owes much to the early military orders such as the Knights Templar with which the Grandison family had strong links and that numbered John Grandison, Bishop of Exeter, Katherine's brother, among its donors.

While William Montacute and Katherine Grandison were close to the throne of England, their descendants actually ruled. The marriage of their daughter Philippa to Roger Mortimer, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of March (Tree 3), initiated a line of succession leading to Edward IV who seized the throne in 1461. Via Montacute's descendants, Dalton suggests somewhat ambitiously,<sup>534</sup> the present royal family may reckon the Grandisons among their direct progenitors.

# *Appendix 1*

## *Summary of Buildings linked to the Grandison Family*

Note: only buildings with a definite documentary or physical link with the Grandisons are listed. It is very likely there were many other buildings they helped build; see suggestions in text.

<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>BUILDINGS</b>	<b>GRANDISON LINK</b>	<b>PRESENT STATE</b>
<b>IRELAND</b>			
<b>Clonmel</b>	Town Walls	Otho Grandison said to be Lord of the Manor of Clonmel & Sheriff of Tipperary 1265-69. In 1298, thanks to Otho, burgesses obtained grant of customs to help fortify the town. In 1338 his nephew Peter sold the lordship to Maurice Earl of Desmond.	Some town walls remain. Those near to St Mary's Church include square Romanesque towers and may be contemporary with the church (founded by either William de Burgo (d.1205/6) or his son Richard (d.1243). The round tower found elsewhere may be due to Otho.
	Franciscan Friary	Otho is said to have invited the Franciscans to Clonmel in 1269 though others claim Henry III was founder.	The earliest part is the C14th Tower, the rest was rebuilt in C19th. Lost at the dissolution, the Franciscans acquired it again in 1828.
<b>ENGLAND</b>			
<b><u>Herefordshire</u></b>			
<b>Ashperton</b>	Castle & St Bartholomew's Church	Manor granted to William Grandison by Edmund, Earl of Lancaster. It was his principal residence. Licence to crenellate in 1292. Church said to have been built by his wife, Sybil Tregoz, as flood prevented her reaching Stretton Grandison church	Castle lost, some earthworks remain. St Bartholomew's Church extant, though has seen better days.
<b>Stretton Grandison</b>	St Lawrence's Church	Manor held from the Earl of Lancaster, as above. Church said to have been rebuilt by William and his wife in C14th.	St Lawrence's Church extant and thriving
<b>Eaton Tregoz</b>	Castle	William acquired manor after death of his father-in-law, John Tregoz, in 1300 holding it from the king.	No trace remains

<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>BUILDINGS</b>	<b>GRANDISON LINK</b>	<b>PRESENT STATE</b>
<b>Hereford</b>	Cathedral	Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford (1275-82), was great uncle of Sybil Tregoz, William's wife. Thomas (d.1282) was canonised in 1320. He was originally buried in the Lady Chapel where Sybil & William's son Peter (d.1358) has his tomb.	Effigy of Peter Grandison in Lady Chapel. Statues on the tomb include one of St Thomas of Hereford, his kinsman. Medieval Shrine of St Thomas of Hereford now restored and in the north transept.
<b>Dore</b>	Dore Abbey-Cistercian	Dore founded in 1147 by an ancestor of Sybil Tregoz. Sybil and her husband, William Grandison, were both donors and are buried there. William's gift of a relic in 1321 is said to have helped reconstruct the nave.	Now St Mary's Parish Church. Almost all the nave has been lost. Where Sybil and William are buried is not known.
<b>Ledbury</b>	St Katherine's Hospital	Founded ca. 1230 by the Bishop of Hereford and supervised by the Dean & Chapter of Hereford Cathedral. The Grandison family were patrons. An impressive collection of relics was there in 1316, some of which may have come from Otho and William Grandison. The chapel and hall were rebuilt in the C14th either by William Grandison or his sons Peter & John.	The chapel and hall are extant. The east window of the chapel has a mid-C14th armorial coat of the Grandisons (inserted wrongly). Other glass (e.g. the figure of St Katherine), has a similar style to that found in the Latin Chapel of Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, where Elizabeth Montacute (d.1354), mother-in-law of Katherine Grandison, has her tomb. She is said to have funded the Latin Chapel.
<b><u>Cheshire</u></b>			
<b>Vale Royal</b>	Vale Royal Abbey, daughter church of Dore Abbey Cistercian	Otho Grandison among those laying foundation stone in Aug 1277. Soon after 1286 he gave to the Abbot the appropriation of the church of Kirkham granted by the Pope.	Now Vale Royal Golf Club. Some of the original cloister remains. The church, except for part of a pillar, now in the golf course, is lost
<b><u>Gloucestershire</u></b>			
<b>Dymock</b>	St Mary's Church	William Grandison held Dymock from Edward I and subsequent kings. Held by Grandisons until 1375 when grandson Thomas died. His heirs sold the manor though transactions lasted until just before 1408. The church was substantially rebuilt in C14th.	A Victorian chancel screen in the church, apparently based on an original screen, is extant though it is unclear whether the current armorial coats were also present originally. These include the coat of John Grandison, Bishop of Exeter, Williams' son, perhaps a patron.

<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>BUILDINGS</b>	<b>GRANDISON LINK</b>	<b>PRESENT STATE</b>
<b>London</b>	Westminster Abbey	Armorial and figures of Otho and William Grandison recorded on tomb of Edmund of Lancaster (d.1296). William was in his household. Otho appears on a painting on the side of the tomb of Eleanor of Castile (d.1290), wife of Edward I.	Armorial on Edmund's tomb now indistinct and figures lost. Painted figure of Otho, kneeling before the Virgin Mary & Child on Eleanor's tomb, is almost gone though known from an earlier drawing.
<b>WALES</b>			
<b>Flint</b>	Flint Castle	Otho, in Aug 1277, recommended payment to men to raise timber at Flint, probably for a palisade. It is possible he chose the site. The town of Flint surrounded by a ditch is thought to have been initially a dispersal centre from which men were sent to other works. Master James of St Georges arrives in England in 1278. His wages first recorded in the Flint masons account in Nov 1280 when work on the castle probably began. Its design has been compared to the earlier castle at Yverdon, in Vaud, Savoy and its Great Tower may also have been influenced by the Tour de Constance at Aigues Mortes, both known to Otho Grandison.	Flint Castle, located on a rocky outcrop over the Dee, is now under the care of Cadw (Welsh Government's historic monument service). The remains of the Great Tower include the circular intermural passageway. The adjacent town of Flint retains its street layout though, as the town walls were wood not stone, nothing of them now remains.
<b>Conwy</b>	Conwy Castle	It is suggested Otho selected the site of the future town as he attended peace talks there with Llywelyn's delegates at the end of the war of 1277. Work began in 1283 involving Master James of St George. In Dec 1283, John de Bonvillars, said to be Otho's brother-in-law, originally from Bonvillars near Grandson in Vaud, received expenses for going to Wales to supervise the castles there.	Conwy Castle, perched on a large rocky outcrop overlooking the Conwy estuary sea, is now under the care of Cadw. Its design, as in the earlier Chateau Grandson, provides separate accommodation for Constable and King with the latter being a typical Savoy Square. Substantial remains of the stone town walls remain. The Gyffin stream runs on the south side of the castle. Unfortunately so does the railway.



LOCATION	BUILDINGS	GRANDISON LINK	PRESENT STATE
<b>Caernarfon</b>	Caernarfon Castle	Work began on the site in 1283. Otho Grandison became constable of Caernarfon and first Justiciar of North Wales in 1284, the Eagle Tower providing his residence. In Sept 1285 he had a grant of the vacant See of York, the money to be used for castle construction. In 1289 his brother William, from 1287 his deputy, was involved with fortifications at Caernarfon.	Caernarfon Castle close to the shore where the River Seiont flows into the Menai Straits, is now under the care of Cadw. As with Conwy, it provided separate accommodation for Constable and King. The Eagle Tower, still in good condition with a structure similar to that of the great tower at Flint, had three storeys completed by 1285, the top storey only added in 1317 by William who is thought to have added the stone eagles as an allusion to the imperial eagles on the Grandison coat.
<b>Harlech</b>	Harlech	Harlech was begun in 1283 after a force of infantry was led there by Otho Grandison. John de Bonvillars, was its first Constable appointed in 1285. After his death in 1287, his wife Agnes took on the responsibilities of Constable until 1290 when she handed over the completed castle to Master James of St George who then became Constable until the end of 1293.	Harlech Castle built on a rocky crag that commands a view over the surrounding sea, (now much further away) is in the care of Cadw. Its towering gatehouse is a design not found in Savoy, but does exhibit typical Savoyard building techniques, as does Conwy, e.g. putlog holes left by the helicoidal (spiral) scaffolding.

LOCATION	BUILDINGS	GRANDISON LINK	PRESENT STATE
	Other Welsh Castles: those above plus Criccieth, Castell de Bere & Dolywyddelan	William acts as paymaster (document dated between May 1290 and Oct 1292) to fund castle building and repair. This is the period when Otho had returned to the Holy Land. He was at the siege of Acre in 1291.	All in the care of Cadw.
<b>SWITZERLAND</b>			
<b>Grandson</b>	Chateau Grandson	Otho rebuilt his ancestral home on his return from the Holy Land in 1273 and surrounded the town with stone walls. Work began ca. 1277. His architect is thought to have been Master James of St George who in 1273 was working on the castle of Count Philip of Savoy at St Georges d'Espérance and was about to finish the castle at Yverdon near Grandson, begun May 1261, built for Count Peter of Savoy (d.1268).	The chateau is open to the public. Its design, with separate accommodation for Lord (the Grand Chateau) and Constable (the Petit Chateau), is reflected in the later castles of Conwy and Caernarfon. Arnold Taylor considered Chateau Grandson the archetype for the whole Anglo-Savoyard group of castles. Some remnants of the town walls remain. Unfortunately, as the lake has retreated, a railway now runs between castle and lake. Conwy Castle is similarly blighted by a railway.
	St Jean (Baptiste) de Grandson Benedictine	Otho was a donor to this monastery in 1288, 1289 & 1290; latter bequest when en route to Holy Land. Obtained fresh endowments from Pope Clement V (1305-1314). His donations facilitated rebuilding of the quire and side chapels in 1308.	St Jean (Baptiste) de Grandson, comprising a Romanesque nave and C14th quire with windows showing English architectural influence, is extant and has recently been restored.

LOCATION	BUILDINGS	GRANDISON LINK	PRESENT STATE
	Franciscan Monastery	Otho Grandison built this monastery apparently just outside the town walls from ca.1289.	Only the slender tower of the church survives, now attached to the town hall. Otho's coat in stone, retrieved from the monastery when most of it was demolished, can be seen at Chateau Grandson.
<b>La Lance</b>	Carthusian Monastery	Monastery founded by Otho in 1318, adding new building to a church dating from end C12th which has links to his ancestor, Hugues de Grandson.	The earlier church and some monastic buildings remain including the cloister. Surrounded by a vineyard, the complex is now used for winemaking and events e.g. weddings.
<b>Lausanne</b>	Lausanne Cathedral	Otho Grandison (d.1328) was a donor. It is thought the altar frontal that shows his figure kneeling before the Virgin Mary & Child was his gift to the Cathedral. It is now in Berne Historical Museum.	His effigy can still be seen on the left side of the chancel. It is said that when the vault under the effigy was opened in the C18 <sup>th</sup> they found the armed skeleton of a knight.
<b><u>Berkshire</u></b>			
<b>Bisham</b>	Bisham Abbey	The Knights Templar had a preceptory at Bisham in C13th. There is no way of knowing whether Otho and William Grandison visited it before the crusade of 1270.  Katherine Grandison (d.1349), daughter of William and wife of William Montacute Earl of Salisbury (d.1344), lived at Bisham with her husband from ca.1337.	Montacute built a quadrangle onto the end of the hall of the Knights Templar preceptory. He also founded a priory of Austin Canons here in 1337, in the same year that his brother-in-law, John Grandison, founded a collegiate church at Ottery St Mary church. The priory church was demolished in the Dissolution and its precise location is unknown. However drawings made in C15th indicate a very similar design to the Ottery church. Only one side of the quadrangle Montacute built survives. In one of its rooms is a shield of C14th armorial glass of Montacute impaling Grandison, probably retrieved from the priory church and put up again in C16th.

<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>BUILDINGS</b>	<b>GRANDISON LINK</b>	<b>PRESENT STATE</b>
<b>Windsor</b>	Windsor Castle 1344 Order of the Round Table	In Jan 1344 William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, died, apparently at a tournament in Windsor held by Edward III to announce the creation of a chivalric order based on the Round Table of King Arthur. From Feb-Nov 1344 stone from Bisham Quarry was used in the building of the Round Table. In November work stopped.	The location of the Round Table building, in the Upper Ward of the castle, was discovered during filming for a television programme some years ago.
	1348 Order of the Garter	Founded by Edward III. The religious life of the Order was based in the chapel built, in the lower ward, by Henry III. Edward added the Aerary Porch to create a processional route. John Grandison was a donor and possibly helped administer the first mass of the Order in the chapel in 1349. It is suggested that the resemblance between the statutes of the collegiate college of St George and those of Ottery St Mary is due to his influence.	Only the Galilee and a wall of the original chapel of the Order of the Garter survive. Happily, Edward's porch is extant though its access to the Galilee is now blocked. In the C15th Edward IV began building a new chapel for the Order, the present St George's Chapel, at the west end of the original chapel. Its archives include John Grandison's deed of 1351 and several of his seals.
<b>Lambourn</b>	St Michael & All Angels Church	Manor held by Sybil Tregoz & husband William Grandison, inherited by son Peter and then nephew Thomas (d.1375). St Mary's Chapel added in C14th, possibly by the Grandisons.	Brass figures thought to be of Thomas Grandison & wife are located on the floor of the chapel.
<b><u>Devon</u></b>			
<b>Exeter</b>	Exeter Cathedral	William's son, John Grandison, Bishop of Exeter (d.1369) built most of the nave, inserting armorial glass in the windows of the cathedral and his mortuary chapel into the west front.	Happily much of the armorial glass for his family that he placed in St Gabriel's Chapel and probably glazed in 1350-61, is still there. Some has found its way to elsewhere in the cathedral. Almost all of his other glazing has been lost.



<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>BUILDINGS</b>	<b>GRANDISON LINK</b>	<b>PRESENT STATE</b>
<b>Ottery St Mary</b>	St Mary's Church	The collegiate church of St Mary founded here by John Grandison, Bishop of Exeter, in 1337. The church is a replica of Exeter Cathedral. Obits included prayers for his parents who had recently died, as had his patron, Pope John XXII.	Now the parish church. Portrait corbels and armorials in stone are extant for members of the Grandison family and their relatives on the crossing, the Lady Chapel and the altar screen. None of the armorial glass he put up survives.
<b><u>Wiltshire</u></b>			
<b>Lydiard Tregoze</b>	St Mary's Church	Manor held by Sybil Tregoz and husband William Grandison. Leased to Agnes, their daughter, widow of John Northwood, in 1331. After her death in 1348, passed to her niece, Sybil. Bishop John Grandison patron in 1362. Church rebuilt in C14th probably by the Grandisons.	C14th Armorial glass extant for Agnes's parents and husband, probably put up by Agnes as a memorial. The C14th glass is overshadowed by a memorial triptych put up in C17th that is a riot of heraldry for Sybil's descendants.

## Appendix 2

### *The Dedication of the Grandison Family and their Kings to King Arthur, the Virgin Mary, St George & St Edward the Confessor*

#### ***King Arthur***

Geoffrey of Monmouth, a minor ecclesiastic, wrote in the 12<sup>th</sup> century a “History of the Kings of Britain” with Arthur’s reign as its climax. More creative artist than historian, the realm of Arthur, as known to literature, is his chief creation.<sup>535</sup>

The reputed relics of King Arthur and Guinevere were apparently discovered in 1190 at Glastonbury, in the abbey cemetery and translated into the abbey church where they were placed in a double tomb.<sup>536</sup> In 1191 Richard I, on his way to the Third Crusade, presented Tancred of Sicily with a sword which he said was Excalibur, the name now preferred for Arthur’s sword, which had also been dug up at the abbey.<sup>537</sup>

In 1270 Edward I, then Prince Edward and also on a crusade to the Holy Land, is said to have taken a volume of Arthurian romance with him<sup>538</sup> and en route back, when at his uncle, Charles of Anjou’s court in Trapani, Sicily he made his only known attempt at literary patronage by lending Rusticello de Pisa a volume of romance from which the Italian writer was to create a new volume. The resulting Arthurian prose romance “*Mediadus*” is not regarded as outstanding but hints at Edward’s interest in chivalric culture.<sup>539</sup> This interest in Arthur continued once he was king. Queen Eleanor seems to have shared his interest in chivalry for while in the Holy Land she had one of her clerks prepare an Anglo-Norman version of *Vegetius De Re Militari*, the medieval bible of chivalry.<sup>540</sup>

According to contemporary accounts, the tomb of Arthur & Guinevere at Glastonbury Abbey was opened at Easter 1278 in the presence of Edward I and his Queen Eleanor when the bones were taken out from the caskets containing them and kept in the treasury until they could be more fittingly located. “*On the following day... the lord king replaced the bones of the king and the queen each in their own casket, having wrapped them in costly silks. When they had been sealed they ordered the tomb to be placed forthwith in front of the high altar, after the removal of the skulls for the veneration of the people.*”<sup>541</sup> Edward’s own tomb, extant at Westminster Abbey, is reported to exactly match Arthur’s tomb.<sup>542</sup>

In 1278, Edward I had just completed his first successful offensive against Llywelyn ap Gruffyd of North Wales and it is suggested that the translation of the relics was a deliberate act of policy basing his claim to overlordship over the whole island on the rights of King Arthur as recorded in the pages of Geoffrey of Monmouth. He used the same claim when

fighting the Scots twenty four years later.<sup>543</sup> Later, in 1284, Edward held a Round Table at Nefyn in Snowdonia to celebrate victory over the Welsh when he had just gained Arthur's crown surrendered to him by the Welsh along with many other jewels.<sup>544</sup> According to the Lanercost Chronicle these "*ancient and secret treasures of that people dating as is believed from the time of King Arthur*" included a most beautiful piece of the Holy Cross that the Welsh had been accustomed to call "*Crosnaitb*". This is the cross given to Westminster Abbey by Edward I that was later presented to St George's Chapel at Windsor by Edward III shortly after he founded the Order of the Garter in 1348.

In 1290 a tournament with an Arthurian theme was held at Winchester attended by Edward I and it is suggested that Otho Grandison may have been present.<sup>545</sup> Some months later Otho departed for Acre.

Edward I exhibits the most vivid evidence of the obsession of English kings with Arthur, and which was to resurface with Edward III.<sup>546</sup>

Given the interest of his grandfather in Arthur it is not surprising that Edward III, who made a state visit to Glastonbury with Queen Philippa in 1331<sup>547</sup> and adopted the heraldic arms ascribed to Gawain, Arthur's nephew and Knight of the Round Table, at the Dunstable tournament of 1334,<sup>548</sup> would select an Arthurian theme for his 1344 Order of Chivalry choosing to launch it at Pentecost. Whitsun or Pentecost was the date of the great assemblies of Arthur's court at the Round Table in the romances.

Isabella, his mother, was still alive in 1344 when the king put forward his plan to found an Order of the Round Table. Perhaps Edward aimed also to demonstrate to his mother her son's superior aspiration to that of her lover, Roger Mortimer, the Earl of March (ex.1330), who, in 1329, when he ruled England with Isabella, had organised an elaborate tournament in which he took the role of Arthur to Isabella's Guinevere.

### ***The Virgin Mary, St George, St Edward the Confessor***

In 1348 Edward III, in his second attempt to found an Order of Chivalry, dedicated it to God, the Virgin Mary, and SS George the Martyr and Edward the Confessor.

#### **The Virgin Mary**

The Virgin Mary was associated with both religious and military orders. All Cistercian abbeys were dedicated to her. The head of this order, Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux, gave the Order of the Temple their Rule and the Templars regarded the Virgin Mary as patroness and lady of the order.<sup>549</sup> Abbot Bernard's friend and disciple Amédée became Bishop of Lausanne in 1145 and initiated the reconstruction of the cathedral there, dedicated to Our Lady.<sup>550</sup>

Both Otho and William Grandison would have known Lausanne Cathedral, indeed Otho's tomb is there and it is perhaps not surprising that they made donations to Cistercian Abbeys in England - Vale Royal (founder Edward I) and Dore respectively - especially as an ancestor of William's wife, Sybil Tregoz, had founded the latter.

Otho prized an image of the Virgin Mary he had in his possession.<sup>551</sup> He is pictured, kneeling before the Virgin and Child, on the remains of a fresco on the ambulatory side of Queen Eleanor's tomb at Westminster Abbey (Fig 12a) and on an altar frontal that he probably donated to Lausanne Cathedral, now in the collection of Berne Historisches Museum, Switzerland (Fig 12b).

Otho's nephew, Bishop John Grandison, also venerated the Virgin Mary. Dalton gives devotion to our Lady as one of the Bishop's motives for the erection of his Collegiate Church of St Mary of Ottery, *manifested throughout the Statutes in everything connected with her hours and masses* and describes both Exeter cathedral (where he built the nave) and Ottery St Mary as "Mary churches".<sup>552</sup> His devotion to the Virgin is probably why he specified that his obit at Exeter should be kept on 22<sup>nd</sup> August, the *morrow of the octave of the Assumption* (Table 4). The Assumption (dated 15<sup>th</sup> August) is described as the bodily taking up of the Virgin Mary, into heaven, at the end of her life. 22<sup>nd</sup> August 1328 was also when he was enthroned at Exeter.

At Windsor, one of his donations to St George's Chapel was a service book for the mass of the Commemoration of the Virgin (an intrinsic part of the Order of the Garter's ceremonies).<sup>553</sup> The Virgin and Child occurs twice on one of his seals in the archives of St George's Chapel, both as a standing figure and as a half figure, the latter in an impression in red wax apparently made by a signet ring (Fig 56d). Grandison was buried with a gold ring bearing a very similar, though not identical image.<sup>554</sup> A half figure of the Virgin and Child also occurs on an ivory triptych bearing his coat of arms.<sup>555</sup> The Virgin was also favoured by the Bishop's brother-in-law, William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, who founded his house of Austin Canons at Bisham in 1337 in honour of St Mary.<sup>556</sup>

## St George

There was a strong connection between the Virgin Mary and this saint. In the late medieval period, St George became regarded as "Our Lady's Knight", identified as the Virgin's champion, publically defending her honour. This concept is regarded as invoking that of "courtly love" where a man, usually a knight, expresses his love for an unattainable, noble woman through service but never seeks to consummate his desire for her. Unattainability is most often due to her being married to someone else although she truly loves her champion. The relationship between the Virgin and St George where the conventions of noble behaviour are never broken represents "perfect" love but when courtly love results in lust getting the better of them, the story seems to end unhappily.<sup>557</sup> Was Edward III influenced to choose St George for his new Order of Chivalry because of this invoking of courtly love? The King associated both the Virgin and St George with the rededication of Henry III's chapel of St Edward the Confessor, at Windsor, that was to be the chapel of his Order of the Garter.

Edward III completed St Stephen's Chapel in the palace of Westminster, begun by his grandfather Edward I. That he had a continuing interest in these two saints can be assumed from the mural featuring both of them that once graced the east end of the chapel



probably executed between 1350 and 1363. The stress on St George and the Virgin reflecting the religious sentiments of the Order of the Garter founded in the 1340s.<sup>558</sup>

The cult of St George was established in Europe before the start of the Crusades, but the latter added impetus to the growth of the cult.<sup>559</sup> The Knights Templar had a particular devotion to St George,<sup>560</sup> reputedly a Christian and an officer in the Roman Army who refused to sacrifice to the Roman Gods, was tried before a heathen ruler, tortured and finally beheaded.<sup>561</sup> The reputation of St George dates from before the 6<sup>th</sup> century so Edward I probably knew of him even before he went, as Prince Edward, on crusade to Acre in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. That he had a special attachment to the saint is suggested by a record that troops in his Welsh campaigns wore the cross of St George<sup>562</sup> and he may also have named one of the bastides he built in Gascony, St Geours d'Auribat, for the saint, founded in the same year, 1285, that he visited Canterbury and gave "four images of gold" consisting of figures of St Edward the Confessor, a pilgrim, St George and St George's horse.<sup>563</sup> Edward I, it has been suggested, may be recognised as the king responsible for adding St George to the canon of "English" saints, for he instigated the practice of displaying St George's banner alongside those of the native patrons St Edmund and St Edward the Confessor,<sup>564</sup> though it was not until the time of Edward III that royal devotion to St George really came to the fore.<sup>565</sup>

Otho Grandison and his nephews were also devoted to St George. Otho dedicated an altar to St George in Lausanne Cathedral. His nephew John, Bishop of Exeter, placed the coat of the saint in the windows of the choir aisles of Exeter Cathedral "*almost as often as Bishop Grandison's own and those of Montacute*".<sup>566</sup> It is likely also that the statue of a knight, sited at the entrance to the Bishop's mortuary chapel at Exeter, represents St George (Fig 33a). John's brother, another Otho, whose tomb and effigy occurs at Ottery St Mary, also appears to have been devoted to St George.<sup>567</sup>

### **St Edward the Confessor**

St Edward the Confessor was the last Saxon King of England, dying in 1066 when his heir was William, Duke of Normandy, his cousin. Edward I was named for the saint and as Prince Edward had dedicated a fraternity at Acre to St Edward the Confessor in 1271<sup>568</sup> when on crusade in the Holy Land. In 1278 he appointed the provost and confraternity of the Order to be custodians of the tower at Acre that he had had built<sup>569</sup>. As Edward III bore the same name the inclusion of this saint in those that the Order of the Garter was dedicated to is understandable, especially as the chapel at Windsor that the Garter Knights used, built by Henry III, had been dedicated by that King to St Edward.<sup>570</sup> Henry III, Edward I's father not only named his son for the saint and dedicated the chapel at Windsor to him but also set about rebuilding Edward the Confessor's church at Westminster where Henry established a shrine into which the saint's bones were translated.

As the following evidence shows, the Bisham Templars and Bishop John Grandison may have venerated this saint:

### **- The Templars**

Henry III's chapel at Windsor, dedicated to St Edward, dates to 1240 with the building at Westminster Abbey begun in 1245. The Knights Templar built their preceptory at Bisham ca 1240 and it is known that St Edward when Edward the Confessor, King of England (1042-1066) had held, amongst his many properties, the manor of Bisham.<sup>571</sup> The remains of murals for St Peter and St John in the great hall of the preceptory suggest a connection with this saint as both SS Peter & John are named in the Legend of St Edward the Confessor. Perhaps the pious Henry III influenced the Templars.

### **- Bishop John Grandison**

Edward the Confessor had in 1061 granted the manor & parish of Ottery to the secular canons of the Cathedral Church of St Mary in Rouen, Normandy, for the salvation and redemption of his soul. This same manor was later where Bishop John Grandison founded his collegiate church of Ottery St Mary having bought it from the Rouen church.<sup>572</sup> It has been suggested that at Ottery, the south side of the church was for women's use and that the south aisle was St Mary's aisle whilst the north, reserved for men, was St Edward's;<sup>573</sup> there may have been an altar for the Confessor in the north aisle of the nave.<sup>574</sup>

The coat of St Edward (*azure a cross patonce between 5 martlets or*) in 1917 is said to have appeared as often as did that of St George in the windows of the choir aisles of Exeter Cathedral<sup>575</sup> In 1849 coats for both saints together with coats for Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, and Bishop Grandison were in a window of the south aisle of the choir.<sup>576</sup> As they are no longer there they have either been lost or moved. It is probably these same coats (except St George) that are now together in the tracery of the great east window. A second coat for St Edward is found at the base of this window very likely the one seen there in 1849.<sup>577</sup> The coats in the tracery probably came from the east window of the chapter house that the descendent of Bishop Grandison, and the Earl of Salisbury's son, Bishop George Neville, built.

## Appendix 3

### *The Countess of Salisbury & the Founding of the Order of the Garter*

The legend connecting the founding of the Order of the Garter with a Countess of Salisbury is well known. As there were two Countesses of Salisbury that could be associated with this story, one of them being Katherine Grandison - a Countess whose brother Bishop John Grandison, was involved the inaugural mass of the Order and was a donor to St George's Chapel - the legend is of interest.

In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the story was that Edward III had retrieved a garter dropped by a lady of the court; only towards the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century was she identified as the Countess of Salisbury.<sup>578</sup> This story is used to account for the use of a garter in the regalia of the Order and the motto *honi soit qui mal y pense* supposedly said by the king to his courtiers after retrieving the garter. The motto in old French translates as “*Shame upon him who thinks evil of it*”.



*Fig 59: Emblem of the Order of the Garter*

It has been suggested that if the figure of the countess is anything more than a 16<sup>th</sup> century invention it is probably more realistic to link her appearance in the garter legend with the 14<sup>th</sup> century account of Le Bel,<sup>579</sup> an account that describes the rape of the Countess of Salisbury by Edward III. The supposed rape has been reviewed many times.<sup>580</sup> Currently, the predominant view appears to be that the story was an attempt by the French to smear

King Edward.<sup>581</sup> However, as Katherine Grandison was one of the Countesses of Salisbury alive at the time (there were two) and lived near to Windsor at Bisham, a fact perhaps not fully appreciated by previous authors, Le Bel's account will be reviewed.

### ***The Name***

In the 1340's there were simultaneously two Countesses of Salisbury: one, Alice, Countess in her own right,<sup>582</sup> and Katherine, as wife of the Earl of Salisbury, both with Bisham connections. Katherine lived at Bisham, a place easily accessible from Windsor.

According to Le Bel<sup>583</sup> the name of the Countess of Salisbury was Alis (Alice). Interestingly, Froissart, who plagiarised and sanitised Le Bel's account, in a second version of his Book 1 (covering the period 1322-78), that shows less reliance on Le Bel,<sup>584</sup> notes that "*The parliament also ordained and confirmed the marriage of Sir William Montagu who had loyally served the King in the Scottish wars..... To reward him for his services, the King gave him the young countess of Salisbury, Madame **Alys**, whose estate he held in wardship. She was one of the most beautiful young ladies in the land*".<sup>585</sup> Thus in the Amiens manuscript, Froissart follows Le Bel<sup>586</sup> who named the countess Alis, whilst in other versions he calls her Katherine.<sup>587</sup>

As is well known, the wife of William Montacute was called Katherine not Alice. She was not a countess when she married before December 1327<sup>588</sup> as Montacute was not made Earl of Salisbury until 1337, when his wife did become a countess. Before 1337 there was however an Alice, Countess of Salisbury who was countess in her own right.<sup>589</sup>

Alice died in 1348, Katherine a year later. Le Bel wrote the relevant chapters in his chronicle between 1358 and 1361.<sup>590</sup> Could le Bel have confused the names? - a possibility that has been suggested.<sup>591</sup>

### ***The Date and Place of the Rape***

Le Bel's story says that in 1342 the countess of Salisbury, her husband being held hostage by the French, is under siege by the Scots in "the castle of Salisbury"<sup>592</sup> when Edward III comes to her rescue. The Scots having left, the countess hearing of the king's approach, throws open the gates and goes to meet him "*most richly dressed*". The king is not able to take his eyes off her and "*a spark of fine love struck upon his heart*".<sup>593</sup> He expresses his feelings, she appeals to his honour and he leaves "*all abashed*".<sup>594</sup> Later in the same year (August 1342 according to Le Bel) the king holds a tournament in London to which he invites many knights from Europe, also commanding Salisbury to bring his wife who comes dressed in as plain attire as possible.<sup>595</sup> No such tournament in August occurs in a list of such events involving Edward III;<sup>596</sup> the indication is that the tournament Le Bel was describing actually occurred in April at Northampton.<sup>597</sup> Salisbury had been captured by the French in Easter 1340 so could he have attended a tournament in April 1342? It has been suggested he was still then in prison<sup>598</sup> thus casting doubt on Le Bel's accuracy. However, Douce states that he did not remain a prisoner of the French for two years, as many writers have affirmed, but was released, probably on parole, eighteen months before the final arrangements for his release were made in June 1342.<sup>599</sup> These final arrangements

included the paying of a ransom, much of which was unpaid on his death. The possibility that he could have attended such a tournament cannot be definitely rejected.

Le Bel claims the countess was raped by the king after he had sent her husband to Brittany.<sup>600</sup> Although there are different estimates of when Montacute actually left in 1342<sup>601</sup> there does appear to have been a narrow window between Montacute departing and Edward himself in mid-October. It has been suggested that it was not impossible that Edward paid a fleeting visit to Wark, but there is no known evidence of it.<sup>602</sup> However, Le Bel does not specify Wark and it could be argued that whilst the “castle of Salisbury” besieged by the Scots was Wark, the “castle” where the rape is said to have occurred and where the countess resided is more likely to be Bisham, the former Knights Templar preceptory where the Earl of Salisbury had established a priory in 1337. Even in the 14<sup>th</sup> century Bisham would have been easily accessible from Windsor both overland and by water, as it is on the Thames.<sup>603</sup>

Le Bel’s lurid account of the rape of the countess is sandwiched between chapters<sup>604</sup> that describe how on his return to England from Brittany the king organised a tournament that took place at the end of January 1344 (Sun 18-Thurs 22 Jan) at which he announced the foundation of his Round Table taking the oaths of certain lords, barons and knights who wished to be members and fixing the day for the holding of the Round Table at the Whitsun (Pentecost) following.<sup>605</sup>

Montacute was with the king in Brittany<sup>606</sup> where he was a sponsor of the truce in January 1343,<sup>607</sup> returning before the king who arrived back in March 1343.<sup>608</sup> If the rape occurred this was when he would have found out about it. However, he was then sent as ambassador to Castile with Henry, Earl of Derby, in August 1343.<sup>609</sup> According to le Bel, when Montacute returned from Brittany he found that his wife would not sleep by his side as she was accustomed to. When he asks why, this wife says “*Certainly, Sir, I am not worthy to sleep on the bed of such a valiant man as you are*”. She then confesses she has been dishonoured, he confronts the king and leaves to die fighting at the siege of Algeciras.<sup>610</sup>

In reality, it appears that Montacute returned from Castile and died shortly after Edward III’s tournament to found the Order of the Round Table held at Windsor in January 1344.<sup>611</sup> The writ of his inquisition post mortem is dated 31<sup>st</sup> January, the day after he died,<sup>612</sup> indicating he died in England following injuries received at the tournament and not, as asserted by Le Bel, at Algeciras fighting the Moors.<sup>613</sup> After his death his wife Katherine took a vow of chastity.<sup>614</sup> The sole source for what happened at this tournament is Version II of Murimuth’s chronicle, that may have been written after 1348 and therefore not by Murimuth d.1347. Interestingly, Version I notes that before the tournament commenced, Edward III gave a solemn feast in the great hall where all the ladies had been gathered and where he “*personally allocated*” their seats according to rank. All the men, apart from two knights from France who were with the ladies, feasted with the Prince of Wales “*in tents and other places*”.<sup>615</sup>



What is certain is that Edward III valued Katherine from early in his reign. She was married to Montacute by December 1327 and by January 1331 Edward was making grants to them jointly, all of which she still held when she died in 1349.<sup>616</sup>

As noted above, Montacute died on 30<sup>th</sup> January. If indeed this was due to injury at the Windsor tournament in January 1344, his participation in the tournament is surprising, as he apparently only had one eye - one is said to have been lost in 1335 when fighting in the Scottish wars.<sup>617</sup> After this tournament and Montacute's death, Edward III continued with his attempt to found an Order of the Round Table, initiating the construction of a round building of 200ft diameter, using stone from various quarries including Bisham<sup>618</sup> that provided the greater part of the stone (chalk).<sup>619</sup> Although this quarry is very near to Bisham Priory, the Montacute's seat, it was probably under the control of Edward III who owned it in 1350.<sup>620</sup>

Katherine reportedly bore six children by her husband, which were born every one/two years starting before 1325. None was born after 1339.<sup>621</sup> She died on St George's Day, 23 April 1349, evidently of the plague<sup>622</sup> and probably at Bisham, not far from Windsor. This means she died on the same day as the first formal celebration of St George's Day by the Knights of the Garter held at Windsor.<sup>623</sup> The nearest to a contemporary chronicle<sup>624</sup> describing this meeting (though it dates to 1350) notes that the Bishop of Exeter helped officiate at the inaugural mass and includes among the knights present, the Earl of Salisbury. The Bishop of Exeter was Katherine's brother John Grandison and Salisbury was her son, William Montacute. If the 1349 date is correct it seems rather harsh that both brother and son were absent from her bedside on the day she died; perhaps they could not be at the deathbed because of the plague. It does raise the question of whether if your king actually raped your sister you would continue to support his projects as the Bishop appears to have done in relation to the founding of St George's Chapel.

After Montacute's death, his executors, including Simon Montacute, Bishop of Ely (his brother), and the Prior of Bisham were summoned to the king's council in August 1344 concerning a debt of £2,400 owed on the earl's ransom payment.<sup>625</sup> This summons is interesting as Montacute never obtained possession of all the lands promised him by the king and at his death was owed a total of £11,720 by the crown, of which some £6,374 was formally written off by his executors in 1346,<sup>626</sup> pursuant to a charge contained in the earl's will, the king highly commending such surrender freely made.<sup>627</sup> Would he have made such surrender if the king had raped his wife? One wonders who paid off his ransom - his executors or the king?

Another puzzle is why his mother, Elizabeth Montacute (née Montfort) d.1354, when she founded a chantry at Christ Church, Oxford in November 1345<sup>628</sup> did not include her son, who had recently died, in those to be prayed for, though she did mention herself her late husband and their ancestors. Two years later she was going overseas on the King's business.<sup>629</sup> Perhaps she had to keep the favour of the King.

While coming down on the side of the story of the rape of the Countess of Salisbury being a deliberate smear by the French propaganda machine the author of the most authoritative

account of the alleged rape concluded “*On the evidence available, allowing the chroniclers a due margin of error, it is surely impossible to decide how much truth there is in the story, with its complex of related incidents, of the rape of the countess of Salisbury. There is undoubtedly a possibility that Edward III raped the countess Katherine (or some other lady)*”,<sup>630</sup> though the author does proceed to cast doubt on the idea.<sup>631</sup>

Le Bel’s account has been compared to Livy’s account of the rape of Lucretia, another model of virtue and steadfastness. It was Pope John XXII who requested the English Dominican Nicholas Trevet to write the first commentary on this,<sup>632</sup> the same Pope who was the patron of Katherine’s brother, John Grandison, Bishop of Exeter. However, Pope John died in 1334, well before the supposed date of the rape. So his request cannot have had a hidden meaning.

Le Bel’s account has an authentic ring but we may never know what really happened. In view of the legends relating to the origins of the Order of the Garter (featuring Edward III picking up a lady’s garter) and the king’s evident interest in chivalry, one can only speculate on the heightened tensions at Round Table tournaments that apparently featured re-enactments of Arthurian damsels in distress and overtones of courtly love. What is sure is that Katherine, Countess of Salisbury, living at Bisham, upstream from Windsor, would be more accessible to the king than perhaps has previously been understood.

### ***The Meaning of “Honi soit qui mal y pense”***

There has been speculation about a manuscript that contains the story of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight. The writing which is in the same hand throughout, except possibly for the motto at the end, is late 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>633</sup> The motto, which reads *HONY SOYT QUI MAL Y PENCE*, is that of the Order of the Garter.

King Arthur and his court features prominently in this story which begins “*The siege and the assault being ceased at Troy*”. An interesting beginning, as the legendary Helen of Troy, married to Menelaus, is said to have been abducted/raped by the Trojan Paris - Helen’s relationship with Paris varying depending on the source of the story from being in love with him (perhaps due to a spell from the goddess Aphrodite) to being his unwilling captive in Troy. The story goes that after the defeat of Troy, Menelaus demanded that only he should slay his unfaithful wife but when he raised his sword to do so, the sight of her beauty caused him to let the sword drop from his hand. As has been noted, there are similarities between this story and that of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight.<sup>634</sup>

In the story the Green Knight arrives at King Arthur’s court and wishes a duel with his opponent being allowed the first strike: the Green Knight to return the blow a year later. Arthur takes up the challenge but Gawain, his nephew, asks for it to be made over to him. After Gawain’s initial encounter with the Green Knight, he travels from the king’s court to the north west of England to meet the Green Knight again. When near to his destination he visits a northern castle whose lord asks him to rest there before his meeting with the Green Knight. He stays for three nights when the wife of his host, who is absent hunting, employs increasingly seductive attempts on his chastity, kissing him three times. Sir

Gawain resists her blandishments but is persuaded to accept a gift, her green silken girdle, as she says *For the man who binds his body with this belt of green as long as he laps it closely about him, no hero under heaven can hack him to pieces*. So protected he meets the Green Knight who turns out to be the woman's husband who had put his wife up to the seduction to test Gawain. Ormrod<sup>635</sup> points out that the crucial link here is that represented in the mind of the individual who added the garter motto at the end of the extant manuscript copy of the poem. In the story Gawain unknots the girdle and flings it at her husband as it represents his cowardice but the latter returns it to him and Gawain keeps it as a constant reminder of his sin. The end of the poem describes his return to Arthur's court wearing the girdle when he says *This is the figure of the faithlessness found in me which I must needs wear while I live*. Did the girdle/belt remind the person who wrote the motto at the end of the poem of the garter with its knot and if so was it more than a physical resemblance?

It is suggested that the hand who wrote the story was probably from Cheshire or Lancashire<sup>636</sup> and in the story itself Sir Gawain is described as riding from North Wales "*Into the wilderness of Wirral, where few dwelled*" and then onwards.<sup>637</sup> Lancashire is not mentioned specifically but is the county north of the Wirral. Could this have reminded the motto writer of Alice, Countess of Salisbury, who had been married to Thomas, Earl of Lancaster?

Arthurian legends tell of Gawain trying to stop his brothers plot to destroy Lancelot and Guinevere (Arthur's wife) by exposing their love affair and of refusing to join Arthur's knights in preventing Lancelot from rescuing Guinevere when she was to be burnt at the stake.<sup>638</sup> Edward in 1334 at the Dunstable tournament appeared in disguise as Monsieur Lionel and adopted arms ascribed to Gawain, with an eagle crest for the fictitious Lionel.<sup>639</sup> This crest made of gold, almost certainly worn at Dunstable was transferred by Edward the following year out of affection and gratitude to William Montacute who in turn passed it in 1339 to his godson, Lionel of Antwerp (Edward's son born 1338). Vale notes that we have a glimpse here of what must have been an abiding enthusiasm in the 1330's.<sup>640</sup> In 1331 Edward III and Philippa, his Queen made a state visit to Glastonbury Abbey where his grandfather had had the reputed remains of Arthur and Guinevere reburied. A recent retelling of Thomas Mallory's *Morte d'Arthur*, written in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, describes Guinevere as being Abbess of the Nunnery at Amesbury where Lancelot saw her and that after she died he took her corpse to Glastonbury to be buried with Arthur. When she was lowered in the earth, Lancelot lay still upon the ground and was rebuked by a former Archbishop of Canterbury for unseemly conduct.<sup>641</sup> Mallory is thought to have drawn on an old French legend that Guinevere died in an Abbey, the same source as the writer of a 14<sup>th</sup> century English romance who names Amesbury as the Abbey concerned.<sup>642</sup> Is there therefore any significance in the gift of Amesbury made by Edward III to William Montacute?<sup>643</sup>

Edward III's first attempt at founding an order of chivalry aimed at creating an order modelled on the Round Table of King Arthur. Le Bel dates the rape of the Countess of Salisbury to around the time the King held a festival at Windsor at which the new order was announced. Did the story of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, not forgetting its introductory mention of the fall of Troy (caused by the beauty of Helen), remind the motto

writer of Le Bel's account of the build-up of tension between the Countess of Salisbury and Edward III that supposedly ended in rape?

Edward III evidently identified himself with Sir Gawain; did he also see himself as Lancelot with the older Montacute as King Arthur and Katherine Grandison, Montacute's wife as Guinevere? And finally, how significant is the report that hardly any Round Table festivals were held after the event at Windsor in 1344,<sup>644</sup> the year Montacute died?

## *Notes to Accompany Main Text & Appendices*

<sup>1</sup> The spelling still used at Exeter & Ottery St Mary.

<sup>2</sup> Vaud had been acquired by Thomas I, Count of Savoy (d.1233). One of his daughters married the Count of Provence and their four daughters all married kings including the English King Henry III (Louda & Maclagan p238; see also note 101). Thomas was also the father of the Grandison's patron, Peter II, Earl of Richmond and Count of Savoy (d.1268). Vaud was just on the borders of Savoy and the county palatine (not the Duchy) of Burgundy and remained a fief of the Holy Roman Empire till Louis XIV absorbed it in 1674 (Dalton 1917 p40). Savoy itself was one of the greatest feudatories of the Empire (Powicke p235). Grandison was held under the Counts of Neuchatel who were vassals of the Emperor as Earl Palatine of the county of Burgundy (*Ibid.* p40). This may account for the Grandisons being referred to as Savoyards and Burgundians. Otho Grandison is included in the Burgundian march of the Wijnbergen Armorial Roll, the earliest French original roll extant. The roll is in two parts, dated 1265-1270 & 1270-1285; the latter includes the Grandison coat (see European Rolls of Arms of the 13<sup>th</sup> century illustrated in <http://medievalgenealogy.org.uk>). Vaud was not always a peaceful place - the Counts of Savoy with the support of the Lausannois often being in opposition to the Bishops of Lausanne (see Clifford p35).

<sup>3</sup> Othon, Otes, Otto, Otton.

<sup>4</sup> ODNB: Otto Grandison p270 suggests 1249/50; Kingsford (p127) suggests 1258, perhaps chosen because their father Peter died ca.1258. He was probably already in England in 1263 when his brothers, in his absence, guaranteed his assent to an agreement made between their mother, Agnes, and Peter of Savoy (Rose Troup p 241).

<sup>5</sup> ODNB: Otto Grandison p269 Peter, Count of Savoy was given the honour of Richmond by Henry III in 1240 and became popularly known as the Earl of Richmond though he never assumed the title (GEC vol 4 Richmond p806, note f). He was responsible for building a great palace on the strand of the Thames which has furnished the name of Savoy to that part of London (Louda & Maclagan p238). Peter (d.1268) left the palace to the hospice of the Great St Bernard in Savoy; Queen Eleanor bought it from the hospice and gave it to Edmund (Crouchback) Earl of Lancaster (Powicke p250 note 2), her younger son, who received a licence to fortify it in 1293 (RFS vol 1 p113). William Grandison was in the household of this prince. The Savoy estate remained with the house of Lancaster until 1399, when Henry Duke of Lancaster seized the throne as Henry IV, and it became part of the assets of the monarchy. It is the single most valuable block of property in the Duchy of Lancaster ([www.duchyoflancaster.org.uk](http://www.duchyoflancaster.org.uk), p56). Nothing remains of Peter's palace, destroyed in the Wat Tyler uprising of 1381 (see Wikipedia: Peter II of Savoy and Savoy-Palace - accessed July 2011) though he is remembered by the gilded statue standing above the doorway of the modern Savoy Hotel. A wall plaque leading up to the hotel entrance notes that Henry III gave the site to Peter in 1246.

<sup>6</sup> Kingsford, p127-8, GEC vol 2, p60 notes that William Grandison was already in the service of Edmund, Earl of Lancaster as his yeoman in 1282.

<sup>7</sup> The nickname is thought to refer to the fact that he took the Cross, not to a physical deformity (Davies p268).

<sup>8</sup> See Tree 1. Gerard Grandison, their brother, and, according to Kingsford (p127), chaplain to Peter of Savoy, must also have been in England, as in 1275 he resigned an archdeaconry and prebend in Salisbury Cathedral (RFS vol 1, p83) and became Bishop of Verdun. His replacement, Anthony Bek (RFS p83) had accompanied Prince Edward to the Holy Land in 1270 and, alongside Otho Grandison and others, was an executor of the Prince's Will, made there in 1272 (RF p885). Otho, as eldest son, inherited Grandison, one of the greatest Vaudois fiefs, that was ruled on his behalf by his mother, Agnes, in her son's absence (Clifford p68).

<sup>9</sup> Clifford, p13. Gascony is in Aquitaine, known as Guyenne in France (Labarge p72-3). Edward I in his youth and during the first half of his reign carried out remarkable organisation work in the duchy (Labarge p 41). Even before he was king, it is known that Prince Edward established bastides at Pimbo (in 1268) and Libourne (in 1269), the latter with the help of his Seneschal, the Savoyard Jean de Grailly (Bentley p 105). The bastides in Gascony were built primarily to extend influence and encourage trade. Ramparts were only built in the war years of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Labarge p 87) during the reigns of Edward II and III (Prestwich p309). However, Edward I did not neglect the defence of Gascony. In 1279 Jean de Grailly was given permission to fortify and build castles at Saintes and all other royal castles in the duchy (Prestwich p310). Prestwich notes that Edward's financial resources in Gascony were inadequate for a programme of castle building such as undertaken in Wales. However, he was able to increase his military authority by partnership agreements, licensing men to build or refortify castles. By the early 1290s he controlled about twenty major



castles in Gascony and many minor defensive sites and walled towns (*Ibid* p311). Was Otho Grandison involved in building bastides or castles? Regarding bastides: in 1278 a grant was made by Otho and Robert Burnell, Bishop of Bath & Wells to the effect that no new bastides would be made to trespass on the jurisdiction of the barons of Bazadais (Labarge p 88). Burnell, in 1289, even had a bastide named after him - *Baa* (*Ibid* p 89). Edward spent two and a half years in the duchy, leaving in the summer of June 1289 (*Ibid* p 61-2). Otho, in 1288, was with him (GEC Grandison p71). Master James of St Georges, Edwards' military architect, had departed for Gascony ca. 1287 when Harlech Castle was virtually finished (Taylor 1986 p71), probably returning with the king in 1289 (*Ibid.*, p72). Did Master James build castles for Edward in Gascony in 1287-89, possibly with Otho's help, before returning to be constable of Harlech? It is tempting to speculate that Otho's experience facilitating castle building in Wales would have been useful when it came to building or fortifying castles in Gascony, prior to war with France which broke out in 1293 (see Powicke p644). Friar (p30) notes that Edward's strategy of colonisation through creating Welsh plantation towns was clearly influenced by his experience in Gascony where he established more than fifty bastides (new towns) in the late 13<sup>th</sup> century. Perhaps the Welsh experience in turn helped fortify at least some of the bastides in Gascony.

<sup>10</sup> The Savoyard Bishop of Hereford, Peter d'Aigueblanche, was involved in negotiating the marriage (Prestwich p22) which is thought to have taken place in Burgos at the Monasterio de las Huelgas at the end of October 1254 (Morris p20, Parsons p16). On 1 November the bride's brother Alfonso X, King of Castile, conveyed to Prince Edward, whom he had knighted, whatever rights he may have had in Gascony (RFS vol 1 p52, Powicke p118). Tradition has it that the knighting ritual took place in the solitary chapel of St James the Great, patron saint of pilgrims, at Las Huelgas, where within the chapel, the seated statue of the saint, with its jointed arms, brandishes a sword used to touch kings on the shoulder to dub them knights (Sanz p48). Such a statue is extant in the chapel. Both Edward and Eleanor could claim descent from the marriage of Henry II of England and Eleanor of Aquitaine, one of whose daughters, Eleanor (1160-1214), married Alphonso VIII of Castile (1156-1214). Eleanor and Alphonso, in 1187, founded the Monasterio de las Huelgas as a Cistercian nunnery and their twin tomb, bearing the castle of Castile and the lions of England can still be seen there (Sanz p9).

<sup>11</sup> Morris, p19-20.

<sup>12</sup> Morris, p20-21.

<sup>13</sup> Prestwich, p54; Clifford, p14.

<sup>14</sup> The manors of Farnborough and Chelsfield in Kent were given to Edmund, Earl of Lancaster after de Montfort's death in 1265 who gave them to Otho Grandison (Hasted vol 2 p 46, 83).

<sup>15</sup> ODNB: Otto Grandison p270.

<sup>16</sup> Kingsford, p128.

<sup>17</sup> According to Brook-Little (p112), the original Grandison coat was *paly of six argent & azure*. To this was added *a bend gules* on which William Grandison charged *3 eagles displayed or*. His brother Otho charged the bend with *3 escallops or* (see Fig 1). The scallop shell is the badge of St James, patron saint of pilgrims, probably assumed by Otho after he went on crusade in 1270.

<sup>18</sup> William and Otho were barons in 1299 (GEC Grandison vol 2, p60, 69). For details of their careers and those of their titled kinsman see GEC and ODNB. Dalton (1917), p40-45, and Kingsford, p171-178, also have biographies of William Grandison's children. Clifford (1961) gives a readable account of Otho's life.

<sup>19</sup> Dalton (1917) p ix.

<sup>20</sup> Clifford, p14, who notes that we have no way of knowing what these services were. The grant, dated 19 Oct 1265, concerned houses at Queenhithe by the Thames that had belonged to Simon de Hadestok (CPR 1258-1266, p467). Queenhithe, near St Paul's in London, was the main dock of the city in the medieval period. It is now the last remaining inlet on the Thames and is surrounded by a flood prevention wall.

<sup>21</sup> Powicke, p118, Otway Ruthven, p164. Henry III was in Bordeaux on 11th October 1254 when he confirmed the grant of Ireland to his son under the seal used in Gascony (RFS vol 1, p52). Edward, presumably around this time, went to Spain where he was married to Eleanor of Castile. By August 1255, Henry was advising Edward *the affairs of Gascony being now settled*, to spend next winter in Ireland, *the condition of which requires reform* (*Ibid* p52) but he didn't go (Powicke p563).

<sup>22</sup> Otway Ruthven, p196 note 13.

<sup>23</sup> Shee & Watson, p7, History of Clonmel: website [www.clonmel.info/clonmel/history.htm](http://www.clonmel.info/clonmel/history.htm). Though common reference is made to Otho Grandison becoming Sheriff of Clonmel in 1265, no documentary source in support has so far been found (J O'Gorman, Tipperary Studies, Thurles, pers comm. 2009).

<sup>24</sup> Burke W P, p13.

<sup>25</sup> Calendar of Charter Rolls 1257-1300 vol II, p254. These lands held in Ireland of the King's grant by service of two knights' fees, included the castle, cantred and land of Hokonagh; the town of Tipperary; the castle and town of Kilfeclie; the land of Muskery; the manor of Kilsylam; the town of Clonmel, and also the land of Estremoye.

<sup>26</sup> Clifford, p111.

<sup>27</sup> CChrR, 1257-1300 p366.

<sup>28</sup> CPR, 1281-1292 p372-3. Out of these lands Okonagh and Tipperary were granted to another nephew, Peter de Estanayaw (Estavayer)

<sup>29</sup> CCR, 1288-1296 p137. Estremoye and Oheny.

<sup>30</sup> Shee & Watson, p7, 25. This purchase is regarded as the origin of the quarrel between the Fitzgeralds and the Butlers as it extended their dominion beyond its natural frontier, the river Suir, into the heart of the Ormond palatinate (Ahern p27 quoting Butler G 1972-74 *Butler Society Journal* v, p320). Ten years earlier, in 1328, James Butler had been created the first Earl of Ormond by Edward III and appears to have been given similar rights to the County of Tipperary and Clonmel as previously held by Otho Grandison.

<sup>31</sup> GEC, Grandison vol 2 p74.

<sup>32</sup> RFS, vol 1, p152.

<sup>33</sup> GEC, Grandison vol 2, p62. Earl of Richmond from 1306 and nephew of Edward I (*Ibid* vol 4 p815). His father, also John, d.1305, had accompanied his brother in law, then Prince Edward, to the Holy Land and been an executor of the Will Edward made at Acre in 1272 (*Ibid* p812). He was married to Edward's sister Beatrice (*Ibid* p813).

<sup>34</sup> Ahern, p16, who points out that a nephew Theobald Grandison, Otho's attorney in Ireland in 1325, died there in 1326 (*Ibid* p24). Theobald may be Thibaut, son of Otho's brother Jacques (see family tree in Clifford end paper). The William Grandison who had letters of protection to go to Ireland in June 1327 appears to have been Otho's brother, though he was very old (GEC Grandison vol 2, p61). He is also cited as taking passage to Ireland on an expedition in 1332 (*Ibid* p61). Perhaps he had to deal with family matters there in 1327, following the death of Otho's attorney.

<sup>35</sup> CPR, 1292-1301, p340 transcribed in Burke W P p215-216.

<sup>36</sup> St Mary's Church was probably founded by William de Burgo (d.1205/6), the first Lord of Clonmel, or his son Richard (d.1243), Justiciar of Ireland 1228-1232: Shee & Watson p23. It is likely some form of wall existed prior to 1298. At Nendrum, on the banks of Strangford Lough, the remains of a walled monastic settlement dating from the 7<sup>th</sup> century can still be seen.

<sup>37</sup> Further murage grants were made in 1319 and also, after Otho's death, in 1335, 1364 & 1408; Burke W P pp 14, 215.

<sup>38</sup> See Burke W P p298 who claims the actual founder was Henry III (cf Shee & Watson p29; Duffy's Hibernian Magazine vol III no 14, 1861 - available on the internet).

<sup>39</sup> Leask, vol 2 p21.

<sup>40</sup> Duffy's Hibernian Magazine, vol III no 14 1861.

<sup>41</sup> Shee & Watson, p30.

<sup>42</sup> Leask vol 3, p46-47, 51.

<sup>43</sup> Clifford, p105. According to the *Bullarum Franciscanum*, the church was to be built on the banks of the Arnon near Grandson (*Ibid*). It appears to have been built in Grandson as its tower still exists.

<sup>44</sup> GEC Grandison, vol 2, p69. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Oliver St John, a descendent of Otho's niece, Mabel, took the name Viscount Grandison of Limerick (GEC Grandison vol 2, p74).

<sup>45</sup> CCR, 1272-1279, p142. Edmunda was an ancestor of James Butler, created Earl of Ormond in 1328 by Edward III (GEC Ormond vol 4 p117) and granted the "*regalities, liberties, knight's fees and other privileges in the County of Tipperary*", constituting the rights of a palatinate with headquarters in Clonmel (Shee & Watson p7). In 1327 Butler had married Eleanor Bohun, sister both of Margaret, who, in 1325, married Hugh Courtenay, (Earl of Devon in 1340) and William Bohun, (Earl of Northampton in 1337). For their links with the Grandison family (see Trees 2, 3, & 4). In contrast to the Grandisons, the Butlers were a family of longstanding prominence in Ireland dating back to the 12<sup>th</sup> century when Theobald Fitzwalter was made Chief Butler of Ireland by Henry II. His descendants adopted the name.

<sup>46</sup> CCR, 1288-1296 p78.

<sup>47</sup> After William died (in 1335) his inquisition post mortem (CIPM, William de Grandissono, vol 7, p461) showed that both Ashperton and Stretton were held from the Earl of Lancaster, "as of his castle of Monmouth". The lordship of Monmouth was among the grants given in 1267 by Henry III to Edmund, his younger son, who became Earl of Lancaster in that year (GEC Lancaster vol 3. p381). Edmund evidently granted it to William, who was in his household. In 1335, the Earl of Lancaster would have been Edmund's younger son, Henry, who had inherited when his elder brother, Thomas, who had rebelled against Edward II, was executed in 1322.

<sup>48</sup> Hillaby, p82, who gives a plan of the castle site. See GEC Grandison vol 2, p60 for licence to crenellate.

<sup>49</sup> Rose Troup, p245. For castle see [www.smr.herefordshire.gov.uk/castles/castlesdata\\_az/ashperton.htm](http://www.smr.herefordshire.gov.uk/castles/castlesdata_az/ashperton.htm). For church [www.visitherefordshirechurches.co.uk/ashperton](http://www.visitherefordshirechurches.co.uk/ashperton). The Ashperton entry notes that William Grandison's steward, Walter de Helyon, was buried in the chancel of Ashperton church with his effigy carved in wood forming the lid of the tomb. Apparently when the roof of the church was being repaired in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, the effigy was moved to the family home of Hellens (now open to the public). It was never returned and now can be seen, in the church at Much Marcle (*Ibid*) splendidly repainted. This is the same

church where resides the lovely tomb of Blanche Mortimer, wife of Peter Grandison. Helyon is said to have served in the Holy Land (*Ibid*) supporting the supposition that William Grandison went on crusade in 1270.

<sup>50</sup> The Ashperton entry on the Herefordshire churches website (see above) says the Ashperton church was where Katherine and John were baptised. Rose Troup (p248) suggests the Stretton church was where John was baptised. Only the Ashperton church was left a bequest (a vestment for a priest) in the Bishop John's Will (Hingeston Randolph p 1519).

<sup>51</sup> Internet source "Landscape Origins of the Wye Valley (LOWV) Settlements-Eaton Tregoz".

<sup>52</sup> The Cistercians (the White Monks) had strong links with military orders such as the Knights Templar. Bernard of Clairvaux (Abbot of the Cistercian Abbey there and later St Bernard, d.1153) was at Troyes in Jan 1129 when the Council established the Rule of the Order of the Temple and gave the brothers a habit (white like the Cistercians). Evidence suggests that he played an important role in drawing up the Latin version of the Order's rule (Nicholson p27). It was, he said, a new type of knighthood which had arisen in the land where Christ had walked on Earth (Nicholson p26). Later, Pope Eugenius III (1145-53) allowed them to wear a red cross on their white mantles, to show they were Christ's knights. The red cross on white was also a symbol of martyrdom (Nicholson p23). The Cistercian houses had several military orders under their tutelage, three of which arose from the Cistercian mother house of Morimund (Demurger (1997) p3). Morimund had daughter houses in France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland and Poland. Dore is the only daughter house of Morimund founded in Britain (Richardson p1).

<sup>53</sup> James, p 116, De Waal p7 in Shoesmith and Richardson; Richardson p1.

<sup>54</sup> Her father, Sir John Tregoz, left no male heirs so his estates were divided in 1302 between Sybil married to William Grandison, and her elder sister Clarice's son, John la Warre, Clarice being already dead (CCR 1296-1302 p564-66; see also his Inquisition Post Mortem CIPM vol 3 p453-456). According to Richardson p96 in Shoesmith & Richardson, Clarice, the elder daughter, inherited Ewyas Harold.

<sup>55</sup> Richardson, p2-3, 6. The north ambulatory built at this time includes a contemporary door very similar to the C13<sup>th</sup> door at the entrance to Bisham Abbey built by the Knights Templar (see Fig 18b).

<sup>56</sup> According to Bishop Richard Swinfield, Cantilupe's successor, writing in 1284, the latter had consecrated the Abbey a few years previously (Williams, p17 in Shoesmith & Richardson).

<sup>57</sup> Clifford, p211; Reg.Clem.V nos 285, 286, 288 p51, Cal. Papal Letters, vol 2 p5.

<sup>58</sup> And also *Flayleye* (Flaxley), both Cistercian monasteries founded by her ancestors (see Reg.Clem.V no 287 p51, Cal. Papal Letters vol 2, p5). Part of the claustral ranges of Flaxley Monastery still exists incorporated into a private manor house. Flaxley is also said to have been founded by Roger, son of Milo Fitzwalter, Earl of Hereford, early in the 12<sup>th</sup> century (VCH Gloucester, vol 2 p 93, vol 5, p138).

<sup>59</sup> Hillaby, p 98-99 in Shoesmith & Richardson. Little of the nave remains but the design of extant nave piers at Dore show similarities to those of Lausanne Cathedral (Harrison & Thurlby p54 in Shoesmith & Richardson) – interesting, given Otho Grandison's connection with that cathedral and also with Master James of St George. Taylor 1985 (p22-23) considers that the Master John who built the latest, most westerly parts of Lausanne Cathedral in the second quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century was the father of Master James of St George, named as John Cotereel (first mentioned in 1227 Diserens p10). Did Savoyard masons do the work at Dore? The source for William Grandison's bequest is *Annales Dorenses*, including pt of BM Egerton MS 3088, a late 13<sup>th</sup> century manuscript with 14<sup>th</sup> century additions (Williams 1966 p88-89; *Ibid*. 1976 p15; *Ibid* p22 Shoesmith & Richardson p 209). All note that the Annals are printed in WAITZ G. (Ed) *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum* (XXVII), Hanover, 1885, p514-531. A common seal of the Abbey engraved ca.1330-34? (Shoesmith & Richardson fig b, p213) shows the abbot in effigy holding a crozier and a book with the Tregoz shield on the dexter side and a blank shield on the sinister side. Dugdale thought the Tregoz shield was there because the family of Tregoz married the heiress of founder Ewyas (Monasticon vol 5, p553). The presence of the Tregoz shield may also be in recognition of the help the Abbey had received from Sybil Tregoz in 1306 and her husband, William Grandison, in 1321. In the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Henry III had confirmed many donations to Dore Abbey (Monasticon vol 5, p555-556.)

<sup>60</sup> Richardson, p90 in Shoesmith & Richardson. Harrison & Thurlby p55-6 in Shoesmith & Richardson say that although the bosses have been attributed to the early 14<sup>th</sup> century, citing Alexander & Binsky p233 cat.101, the consecration of Dore by Thomas Cantilupe (Bishop of Hereford (1275-82) surely marks the completion of the church. However, Richardson p90-91 in Shoesmith & Richardson considers the abbot on the bosses represents Richard Straddel, Abbot from 1305 or 1312 to 1346.

<sup>61</sup> Williams, 1966, p83, reviews his abbacy, details that demonstrate his involvement with Vale Royal Abbey, from accepting the resignation of its abbot in 1315 to, in 1329, trying to resolve a dispute with one of its monks and agreeing visitation expenses. He evidently was also concerned with Hereford Cathedral and Flaxley Abbey. At the former he preached at the funeral of Bishop Swinfield in 1316, and was a sub collector in the diocese in 1329 whilst in 1335 he was one of the abbots administering Flaxley Abbey during pleasure.

<sup>62</sup> Richardson, p90-92 and Hillaby, p98 both in Shoesmith & Richardson, Alexander & Binsky, p 233.

<sup>63</sup> Hillaby, 98 in Shoesmith & Richardson.

<sup>64</sup> Cal.Papal Letters vol 2 p140.

<sup>65</sup> Williams (1976), p15. Richard (Straddel), Abbot of Dore, together with William's sons (Peter & John Grandison) and a daughter (Agnes de Norwood/Northwood) were his executors (see CCR 1337-1339 p302). William is described as being "late executor of the will of Blanche of Navarre" (*Ibid.* p302). William had been in the household of Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster (d.1296) and was an executor with Blanche (Edmund's second wife) of Edmund's will (CCR 1296-1302 p387). Blanche of Navarre, was widow of Henry, King of Navarre and daughter of Robert, Count of Artois (died in 1302); William was her executor (RFS vol 1, p259). It seems that William stayed in Edmund's household throughout his career and after his death served Edmund's widow as her executor.

<sup>66</sup> Richardson, p96 in Shoesmith & Richardson. Bishop John Grandison, their son, wrote to Pope Benedict XII that his mother was buried at Dore and his father, though born in Burgundy, had determined to be buried beside her (Dalton 1917 pVIII). Grandison wrote to the Abbot of Dore in 1328, soon after becoming Bishop, concerning "*pannos aureos et capas ostendatis* and other ecclesiastical ornaments (Hingeston-Randolph Part I, p34).

<sup>67</sup> Otho Grandison had been a member of the English embassy, and in 1305 at the papal court in Lyons had dealt with the newly crowned Pope, Clement V, concerning Edward I's request that Cantilupe be canonised (see Clifford p208). Cantilupe was canonised by Pope John XXII in 1320 (Dalton 1917 p51). For the involvement of a John Tregoz, possibly Sybil's father (see Tree 2), in the justification for canonisation, see note 98.

<sup>68</sup> Dalton (1917), p44. Effigies of Peter and Otho survive as does Bishop John's burial chapel, but no effigy of Katherine exists, unless she can be associated with that of an unidentified female brought from Bisham together with that of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, both of which, very worn, are now located in St Mary's, Burghfield. There are no remains of Bisham Priory church above ground. A ground probing radar survey of the area to the north of Bisham Abbey was carried out in 2005 but unfortunately was not completed. Resistivity work has given an indication of ancient walls but the location of the priory church is still unknown.

<sup>69</sup> Richardson, p92-3 in Shoesmith & Richardson.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p96.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p96. In 1895 the effigies were under the windows of the north & south aisles at the east end of the church (see ground plan opposite p118 in James 1926). Clifford also built castles. It is thought Roger Clifford began to build a castle at Hawarden, about 8 miles from Flint, shortly after his previous castle on the site was sacked by the Welsh in the 1282 rebellion. It has been pointed out that the great tower at Hawarden closely copies the circular plan of the Flint tower with a ring of chambers and passages in its disproportionately thick walls though built with a smaller budget (Goodall p163 in Williams and Kenyon). Clifford would certainly have had the connections to get his castle rebuilt (see note 72).

<sup>72</sup> The great grandmother of William's wife, also named Sybil, had married as her second husband Roger Clifford d 1231 (see family tree in Shoesmith & Richardson p95). Their son, was the Roger Clifford (d.1286), that had accompanied Prince Edward to the Holy Land in 1270 (Moor p213; see ODNB for Clifford's career and for Lord Edward's Crusade). Both Clifford and Otho Grandison were among the executors named in the Prince's will written at Acre in June 1272 (for will transcription see RF p885-886) a few days after Edward was attacked by a Saracen assassin (Clifford p30-31). Evidence indicates they were both close companions to Prince Edward in 1273 during their return from the crusade (see Prestwich p84). Clifford's son, another Roger, was drowned in 1282 crossing the bridge of boats made over the Menai Straits from Anglesey to Bangor to facilitate an attack on the Welsh but which resulted in the king's forces being ambushed by them - an attack from which Otho Grandison only narrowly escaped (Taylor 1986 p64-65). Richardson p96 in Shoesmith & Richardson think the effigy is more probably representing the father than the son.

<sup>73</sup> Ormerod vol 2 p147, Brownbill p4; Williams p16 in Shoesmith & Richardson. In 1263 the attack against the king was begun by Roger Clifford d.1286 and the Marchers with the plunder of manors of the unpopular Bishop of Hereford, the Savoyard Peter de Aigueblanche, who was seized and sent to Clifford's castle at Eardisley (Powicke p175) but by 1264 Prince Edward had drawn Clifford and others back to his side (*Ibid.* p185). In 1265 Clifford visited the captive Edward in Hereford Castle prior to his escape (Morris p66) and went with him to the Holy Land in 1270. It is thought to be his effigy that is one of the two still at Dore Abbey.

<sup>74</sup> Ormerod, vol 2 p147, Brownbill p2-5; Williams p 16 in Shoesmith & Richardson.

<sup>75</sup> Brownbill, p viii; he also suggests (p v) that *The Ledger-Book of Vale Royal* may have been written ca 1338.

<sup>76</sup> Ormerod, vol 2 p147 who transcribes this charter *Ibid* p 167. The charter says "we, being sometime in danger at sea have founded the abbey at Darnhall (as) a monastery of the Cistercian order" (Brownbill, p viii, who concludes the vow was made shortly after Christmas 1263). The first foundation charter of the new abbey was made at Winchester in 1270 (Colvin vol 1 p248), before Edward became King. The original intention was to establish an abbey at Darnhall in Delamere Forest and a colony of Cistercian monks from Dore Abbey lived there for several years. Meanwhile a better site was found four miles away at a place to which Edward gave the name Vale Royal, and the Darnhall monks moved there into temporary

accommodation in 1281 (*Ibid.*). Darnhall and Vale Royal are both in Cheshire, where the King was Lord of Chester and as Brownbill (p viii) says “the charges to the new Abbey fell almost exclusively upon the revenues of the earldom of Chester which were no doubt regarded as Edward’s private revenue distinct from national taxation”. For a history of this building see Colvin vol 1 p248-257. For transcriptions of several of the charters see Ormerod vol 2, p167-170 & Monasticon vol 5 p704-711.

<sup>77</sup> Cheshire was part of the earldom of Chester. The Lordship of Chester but, not the title of earl, was conveyed by Henry III to Prince Edward in 1254. The title of earl was given to Simon de Montfort in 1264 (forfeited 1265). Who held the earldom immediately after 1265, is not clear. Royal control at Chester made possible Edward I’s conquest of North Wales. In 1301 Edward I conveyed the title and lands of the earldom to his son, the first English Prince of Wales, when the earldom consisted of Cheshire and Flintshire. From the late 14<sup>th</sup> century the earldom of Chester has always been conferred on the Princes of Wales (Wikipedia Earl of Chester acc July 2011).

<sup>78</sup> Robert Burnell, then Chancellor and Bishop of Bath & Wells, celebrated mass at the ceremony (Brownbill p 5). When Prince Edward went off on crusade in 1270, Burnell had been appointed one of the Prince’s attorneys in England during his absence. He is considered to be a close friend and confidant of Edward (Cloake p12). Jean I de Grailly, a Savoyard d. ca 1301, had, in 1265, helped Queen Eleanor, Edward’s mother, to organise resistance to Simon de Montfort and in 1266 was given lands including the lordship of Benauges by an ascendant Edward (Powicke p288) then still a Prince. Jean I de Grailly had been seneschal in Gascony for Edward’s father Henry III in 1266 and was also seneschal there for Edward I in 1278-87 (*Ibid* p288, 802). He was with Edward and Otho on crusade in the Holy Land and when Edward sailed from Acre in 1272 he was left behind in command (Prestwich p83; Clifford p32, 109). However in Gascony in 1287 he was found to have misappropriated funds while Seneschal, bringing his career to an end (Labarge p55). Jean I turned over his lands in Gascony to his son Pierre and returned to Savoy (*Ibid* p55). The family originated from Grailly (Grilly) is in the neighbourhood of Gex (Powicke p288, note 2) see note 337 for the castles he held at Grilly and Rolle in Vaud. Jean later fought alongside Otho at the fall of Acre in 1291 (Kingsford p141; Runciman p414, 418-9). Benauges Castle, partially ruined, still exists surrounded by vineyards (pers. observation 2006). See note 332. In the nearby church at Uzeste there is a Grailly effigy, identified as Pierre I de Grailly (ref cited in Vale p98), and as Pierre de Grailly (d.1303) (Cassagnes Brouquet p31). Pierre I de Grailly (Perart de Grilly) participated in a tournament at Chauvency in October 1285 (Vale pp7, 98, 162). Uzeste historian, C V Richecour (pers. comm. 2009), suggests the effigy is of Pierre I, son of Jean I. According to an internet pedigree (<http://fabpedigree.com/s008/f445470.htm>) Pierre died ca.1290 i.e. before his father Jean I who died ca 1301/2. The shield of the effigy bears a four point label, indicative of an eldest son who had died before his father, and the date ca.1290 suggests Pierre may have died at the fall of Acre when Jean I was wounded and had to be rescued by Otho Grandison (Runciman p418-419). However, according to Beltz p28-29 Jean II de Grailly died in 1343 - before his father Pierre II (d.1356), so it could be his effigy. The sons of Jean II by his wife Blanche Foix were Jean III, Captal du Buch, who was a founder member of the Order of the Garter (Beltz p28-29) and hero of the Battle of Poitiers in 1356 (Labarge p141) and his brother, Pierre, who held Benauges and Castillon on the Dordogne (Labarge p127). Beltz p29 points out that the stall plate for the founder knight, unfortunately names the wrong brother as the Captal du Buch, identifying him as Piers (sic) (see Fig 57c). See note 501 for Garter Knights connected to the Grandisons.

<sup>79</sup> Ormerod, vol 2 p147; Brownbill p5. The Abbey was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary (as were all Cistercian abbeys) and the Abbot of Dore was its visitor (*Ibid.* p31). The latter was allowed to claim 30 shillings and 4 pence for his travelling expenses plus much smaller amounts for his chaplains and other attendants (Monasticon vol 5 p 703). Its design is attributed to Master Walter of Herford or Hereford (Colvin vol 1, p249) who was Master of the works at Vale Royal from 1277 to 1290; later from 1295 until his death in 1309 he was chief mason at Caernarfon (*Ibid.* p205). His principal assistant, John of Battle, (*Ibid.* 207), undermaster at the Abbey from 1278 to 1280 (*Ibid.* p483), was later responsible for five of the crosses made from 1291 to 1294, after the death of Edward I’s Queen, Eleanor, to mark the funeral procession from Lincoln to Westminster (*Ibid.* p483).

<sup>80</sup> Some of the first entries in Vale Royal accounts for 1278 relate to payments to carpenters for building accommodation for masons and other workers (Salzman 1952 p39) and in November 1278, walls in the process of erection and the foundations were being protected from the winter frost and rain (*Ibid* p91).

<sup>81</sup> Brownbill, p9. According to Ormerod vol 2 p147, white monks (i.e. Cistercians) from Conway who had been moved to Naenam (Maenam) in Llanrwst, displaced by the destruction of their monastery to make room for the erection of Conway castle, were incorporated with the monks of Vale Royal about this period. However, Taylor 1986 p47 considers they were established at a new foundation of Edward’s at Maenan in 1284. The Cistercian abbey of St Mary at Conway had been the burial place of Llywelyn the Great d.1240 and others of his line. As has been noted the expense involved in uprooting the convent was offset politically by the demonstration of the eclipse of the native dynasty and its institutions (Taylor 1986 p45). Establishing these monks into his own foundation underlined the point. Also hugely symbolic is Edward’s evident decision in 1284, after the second Welsh war was over, to melt down the silver seals of Llywelyn, the first



“Prince of Wales” (d.1282), his brother Dafydd (ex.1283) and wife Eleanor, late Princess of Wales and from them to make a new chalice which the king conferred on the new abbey of Vale Royal (Taylor 1985 p198-199).

<sup>82</sup> Ormerod, vol 2 p148; Colvin vol 1, p253. For details of Straddel (Stradell)’s Abbacy see Williams 1966 p84-85). Unsurprisingly, given that both Dore & Vale Royal were Cistercian Abbeys, the event was celebrated on Aug 15<sup>th</sup>, the festival of the Assumption of the Virgin and the sermon touched on the Blessed Virgin (*Ibid* p 85).

<sup>83</sup> Colvin, vol 1, p248. It is suggested that Walter of Hereford, the Vale Royal master mason, may have played a part in the re-foundation of the Conwy Cistercians at Maenan (Taylor 1986 p47, note 7). Vale Royal Abbey was built of red-brown Triassic Helsby Sandstone from Delamere Forest in Cheshire (Lott p119 in Williams & Kenyon), taken from the Eddisbury Quarry, 5 miles west of the Abbey (Colvin vol 1 p250). A red Triassic sandstone was among the building stone used for Rhuddlan Castle (see Lott p119 in Williams & Kenyon).

<sup>84</sup> Brownbill, p11, note 2.

<sup>85</sup> Fishwick, p1.

<sup>86</sup> Taylor (1985), p185. The alms roll of 12 Edward I (1283-4) records a donation of £526 6s 8d to the Abbot of Vale Royal for the construction of the king’s abbey (Taylor 1985 p260, 280).

<sup>87</sup> Brownbill, p11. Monasticon vol 5 p706 transcribes the charter. In 1290 the king ordered all payments to be stopped “because the king has ceased to concern himself with the works of that church and henceforth will have nothing more to do with them” (Colvin vol 1, p252). What lay behind this decision is not recorded; Queen Eleanor’s death or, more likely, misappropriation by the monks incurring the king’s displeasure has been suggested (*Ibid.* p252). By 1305 he had so far relented to make the abbot a gift towards roofing the church (*Ibid.* p252, note2) but it was only finished when another royal benefactor came forward, Edward the Black Prince, who in his capacity as Earl of Chester set himself the task of completing the work his great grandfather had begun (*Ibid.* p253). An indenture of 1359 shows that the Black Prince, with the Abbey, engaged a mason to build 12 chapels round the east end of the quire of the abbey church (Salzman 1952 p439). The plaque on the site of the abbey church indicates seven round chapels with interconnections of unknown function (Fig 6c).

<sup>88</sup> Five were named as “of Dore” and three “of Ewyas” (Brownbill p239, 240). Ewyas Harold is near to Dore Abbey. In 1285 much trouble was caused by the imprisonment of a mason named John of Dore (one of the five) who with other royal workmen was accused of taking venison from Delamere Forest (Colvin p249-250). It is suggested that John was a lay brother of the mother house with building experience (Williams 1966, p71).

<sup>89</sup> Taylor (1986) p126 who suggests he may also have worked for Count Philip of Savoy at his castle of St Georges-d’Esperanche in 1274 and 1275, probably in association with Master James of St George citing other English craftsmen that worked for the Counts of Savoy at about that time. See also Colvin vol 2, p1036.

<sup>90</sup> Taylor (1986), p126 who says he is *presumably* identical with the Caernarfon carpenter. See Brownbill, p240, for him at Dore.

<sup>91</sup> Colvin, vol 1, p257.

<sup>92</sup> Excavations show that the Vale Royal church was longer than that of Fountains Abbey and was therefore the longest Cistercian church in England (Brownbill p ix). See Fig 6c. Colvin, vol 1, p255, compares the plan of Vale Royal with other Abbey churches. Interestingly, the flag of the golf club is Edward’s royal coat - *Gules three lions rampant or* - with the addition of what appears to be a walking stick in pale.

<sup>93</sup> Alexander & Binski, p112.

<sup>94</sup> Ormerod, vol 2 p153, who transcribes the valuation made by Henry’s agents *Ibid* p171-173.

<sup>95</sup> Burrows, p6.

<sup>96</sup> Chapuisat.

<sup>97</sup> Aigueblanche negotiated Prince Edward’s marriage to Eleanor of Castile in 1254 (Prestwich p22) and was chaplain to Eleanor, wife of Henry III. He is credited with building the north transept of the cathedral and would have been familiar with the work going on at Westminster Abbey with which this transept has many points in common (Burrows p10). His monument in the same style as the transept closes the end of its aisle. In the aisle is the shrine of St Thomas of Hereford (Thomas Cantilupe) formerly in the Lady Chapel. Aigueblanche, as lord of Briancon, is thought to have been responsible for building a castle at Feissons sur Isere in French Savoy, the 13<sup>th</sup> century round donjon of which still exists. The 16<sup>th</sup> century adjoining building is now used for events.

<sup>98</sup> The Bishop (d.1282) was born ca 1218 at Hambleton, Bucks (ODNB: Cantilupe), a village not that far from Bisham Abbey. The 12<sup>th</sup> century or late Saxon font that he was baptised in, is still in the church of St Mary the Virgin at Hambleton. For some time the church contained relics of St Thomas, whose bones were interred in the shrine at Hereford Cathedral (St Mary the Virgin, Hambleton, church guide). The chancel, which was lengthened in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, has windows and a sedilia that incorporate well preserved portrait heads, carved of chalk, in the string course (*Ibid.*). One of the heads on the sedilia is of a Bishop, perhaps representing St Thomas and a further mitred head occurs on a window stop. It is most likely that the work on the chancel was done by or in memory of the Badlesmere family who were lords of the manor from ca.1300, according to the church guide. Sir Bartholomew Badlesmere was hanged in 1322 for allying himself

with Thomas, Earl of Lancaster (ex. 1322), against Edward II after which the king granted Hambleton to his favourite Sir Hugh Despenser. After Despenser was hanged in 1326, the manor was regained by Bartholomew's son Sir Giles Badlesmere (d.1338). Giles was the first husband of Elizabeth Montacute (see Tree 3 endnote 13), daughter of Katherine Grandison and William Montacute and so a distant kinswoman of St Thomas (see Tree 2). Her second husband, Sir Hugh Despenser (d. 1349), was son of Edward II's favourite (GEC, Despenser vol 2 p273). She is buried at Tewkesbury Abbey with her second husband (*Ibid.* p274).

<sup>99</sup> In 1263 the bishop was seized at the high altar and sent to Roger Clifford's castle at Eardisley (Burrows, p8; Powicke, p175).

<sup>100</sup> See Powicke, pp175 & 182. Apparently, Cantilupe disapproved of the appointment of foreigners to important posts in Church and State in England (see Burrows p8). The Cantilupes were Normans who came over with the Conqueror and received from him great estates and honours which they greatly increased, becoming by marriages kin of the Strongbows, and Marshals, earls of Pembroke, of the Fitzwalters, earls of Hereford and the Braoses, lords of Abergavenny (Thurston & Attwater, p19). Presumably Cantilupe felt threatened by the later arrivals.

<sup>101</sup> The daughters of Raymond V, Count of Provence, each married kings. Margaret married (1234) Louis IX, King of France (canonised as St Louis); Beatrice married (1246) Louis's younger brother, Charles of Anjou who became Charles I, King of Sicily & Naples; Eleanor married (1236) Henry III, King of England; Sanchia married as his second wife (1243), Henry's younger brother Richard, Earl of Cornwall, King of the Romans (for Trees see Louda & Maclagan Tables 2 and 64; Morris p438 & Goldstone p311). The cousins, Edward I, son of Henry III and Charles II of Anjou, son of Charles I, had a particular involvement with the Papacy and Provence (see Table 1). For a readable account of the "Four Queens" see Goldstone.

<sup>102</sup> Prestwich, p46-49.

<sup>103</sup> Burrows, p8-10.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, p10.

<sup>105</sup> CCR, 1288-1296, p460. William had to have his own property restored in January 1296 when he was in Gascony with the King's brother Edmund (*Ibid.* p502). He seems to have also helped his kinsman, Henry Bonvillar, then Prior of the Cluniac monastery at Wenlock, to regain the priory's lands (VCH Salop vol 2 p38).

<sup>106</sup> Dalton (1917), p51 note 2. 1320 was the year that Adam Murimuth, later a famous chronicler, was granted a prebend at Hereford Cathedral (Hallam 1990 p14). For Murimuth's connection with Bishop John Grandison, see note 457. For the connection between the Grandisons and the Papacy see Table 1.

<sup>107</sup> Clifford p 208, who notes that John Ditton, one of Otho's clerks, brought papal bulls entrusted to him by the autumn parliament in London to help the embassy. Three years later, in 1308, Ditton, at the request of Otho, Lord of Grandison was granted by Clement V, a license to hold besides the rectory of Kemsing (one of Otho's manors in Kent), another benefice value 100 *l* and a canonry and prebend of London (Cal. Papal Letters vol 2, p 45).

<sup>108</sup> A John Tregoz in 1287 had a vision while keeping vigil at the tomb - cited by the Papal Commissioners as one of the miracles (Alexander & Binski p224). Possibly these family skeletons coloured Bishop John Grandison's view of cults. He apparently declared it was wrong to give public veneration to people who had not been canonised and ordered that no-one should hold a vigil until that person was added to the catalogue of saints (Orme p109, 114).

<sup>109</sup> Shoesmith & Richardson, p101-2. In 1283 Cantilupe's remains had been placed under a slab in the Lady Chapel where they remained until moved into a table tomb in the north transept in April 1287. A new shrine was constructed in the Lady Chapel into which the remains were translated in 1349. There they remained until 1538 when they were removed, though his bones seem to have been preserved locally until the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Some remains said to be his are still honoured in several churches. The ODNB Thomas Cantilupe. In 1841 the remains of a 14<sup>th</sup> century shrine, evidently that of Cantilupe, was found hidden in the groin of the central tower of the cathedral (Hillaby p132).

<sup>110</sup> Hereford Cathedral Guide, p11. The shrine has for many years been back in the north transept, built by Bishop Peter d'Aiqueblanche ca.1250 (*Ibid.* p14). It has recently been provided with a brightly coloured cover. The newly restored shrine was consecrated on 8 November 2008 when it contained a portion of the relics of St Thomas, on loan from the Society of Jesus at Stonyhurst (Anglican Wanderings blog).

<sup>111</sup> ODNB: Thomas Cantilupe.

<sup>112</sup> It was restored and repainted in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century by Cottingham "in conformity to the original work" according to Aylmer & Tiller, p271, and was again repainted in 1948 (pers comm. James Anthony, 2005). The eagles are painted onto a flat surface but there is some slight incision in the stone in the case of a single "paly" part of the coat unless this is just the paint used.

<sup>113</sup> Rose Troup, p271, notes similarities between the draperies on the Virgin over Peter's tomb and the Angels in the Minstrels Gallery at Exeter. These similarities, together with others involving a carved boss at Ottery St Mary and the carved ivories of Bishop Grandison, are attributed to the Hereford School of Carving (*Ibid.*

p266-271). The statues over the tomb were found ca.1842 hidden in masonry that filled the eastern archway of the choir. They were replaced, evidently damaged (the Virgin Mary, Christ and St John were headless) and probably not in the proper order (*Ibid* p272 see fig XXV on page 273). Since then they have been restored and rearranged. The two saintly bishops can be identified from the extant window ca.1310, in Credenhill Church, Herefordshire, where they are both identified by name, Cantuar (Canterbury) for Becket seen holding a cross staff, and Cantalupo for Cantilupe holding a crosier, with between them the shared Christian name (see Alexander & Binski p212). In another link with Hereford, there is an impression of Bishop Grandison's seal on a charter of April 1328 in Hereford Cathedral that was made by the seal now in the British Library (Add. charter 15453; see Alexander & Binski p230 who illustrate the seal). An identical seal (Fig 56c) from a deed of 1361 is among the muniments of St George's Chapel, Windsor.

<sup>114</sup> Pevsner p32 *A note on the art of the Exeter carvers*, p25-32 in Cave (1953).

<sup>115</sup> Iles, 1996, p13.

<sup>116</sup> Hillaby, pxiii.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid*, pxiii-xiv. The Grandison shield was reversed when last inserted in the window. The photo shows it correctly.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid*, p95.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid*, 136.

<sup>120</sup> See Hillaby, p84 who suggests the considerable Roman component of the St Katherine's collection was built up by Otho.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid*, p76. Hillaby p77 notes the difficulty that canonisation took place in 1320, four years after the inventory was drawn up, but does not regard this as a problem as the cult of Thomas Cantilupe with its abundant miracles, had been initiated at Easter 1287. Hillaby (p93-4) draws parallels with the stained glass in the Latin Chapel of Christ Church, Oxford, built 1330-40 and in particular cites an unusual pattern of semicircles found in the nimbus of the Virgin and the Angel Gabriel at Oxford, found also in the single remaining Ledbury figure, that of St Katherine, plus similar facial features and portrayal of hair. Interestingly, Elizabeth Montacute, née Montfort (d.1354), mother-in-law of Katherine Grandison (d.1349), founded a chantry in 1346 at Christ Church and was a donor to this church. According to her entry in Wikipedia (acc July 2011), she funded the Latin Chapel. For her tomb there see note 258. The Grandison shield at Ledbury shows similar foliate diapering to those at Bisham and Exeter supporting the idea that they are roughly contemporary and probably all glazed with the help of Bishop Grandison. Hillaby (p92) suggests a workshop active in the West Midlands 1330-50 was responsible for the windows in the Latin Chapel and those at Ledbury. Unfortunately, at Exeter, there are no records for the period between 1334 and 1340 (Erskine p xxxii). It has been suggested that the 1340 accounts indicate that the west gable window was in the process of glazing (*Ibid* p xxxiii) though armorial evidence, presented here, suggests that the earliest date the west window could have been glazed was 1350. After a further break of several years in the record, accounts from 1346-1353 indicate diminished activity even before the "Black Death Pause" of 1348 (*Ibid* p xxxiv), the only skilled labour recorded being a solitary glazier ca. Christmas 1350 setting two windows made from the church's own supply of glass into St Radegund's Chapel, what became the Bishop's mortuary chapel. Thereafter there is a long silence of the records for the eighteen years that follow the last meagre account of 1352-3 (Erskine p xxv). Glazing evidently took place at Exeter while the West Midlands workshop was active but it is not possible to say whether glaziers from that workshop were used. Evidence will be presented to date the insertion of armorial glass for the Grandisons and their relatives into the windows of St Gabriel's Chapel at Exeter to ca.1350-61, after the period when the West Midlands workshop is said to have been active. Probably Bishop Grandison had glazing done after 1358 when his financial position improved as he was heir of his brother Peter who died in that year.

<sup>122</sup> Monasticon vol 6 has a transcript.

<sup>123</sup> CIPM, vol 14 p136-137.

<sup>124</sup> The screen was created by Roland Paul who is credited with restoring Dore Abbey in the 19<sup>th</sup> century with great sensitivity (Hillaby p37 in Shoesmith & Richardson).

<sup>125</sup> VCH Gloucester vol 2 p93. For the building history of Dymock church see Drinkwater: for the screen see Trans Bristol & Gloucs Archaeol Soc 1908 vol 31 p2-3).

<sup>126</sup> Clifford, p211 who notes that he sought benefits for his sons John and Thomas (citing Reg. Clem V nos 285-286; see also Cal.Papal Letters vol 2 p5).

<sup>127</sup> Cal Papal Letters, vol 2 p5. This papal letter notes that the purpose of the visits to Dore & Flaxley monasteries is to celebrate divine service to pray for the souls of the elder sons of her husband and all the faithful departed. It has been suggested these were William's sons from an earlier marriage (for discussion see GEC vol 2 Grandison p61-62). A tentative pedigree in Hingeston Randolph identifies them as Theobald and Otho.

<sup>128</sup> There is speculation that the master mason who supervised the early work, *Master Henry "de Reyms"* may have been from Rheims in France. New buildings at Rheims, Amiens, Paris (Sainte Chapelle), Chartres and Beauvais are said to have greatly influenced the architect of the new Gothic Abbey at Westminster. The early

part of the rebuilding followed the demolition of the eastern part of the Confessor's church in 1245 and the whole eastern arm of the church (ambulatory and its chapels, transepts and chapter house) appear to have been built by 1259. By 1269 the choir and eastern part of the nave were virtually complete and a new shrine for the Confessor was ready (Westminster Abbey Official Guide p7-8). New church dedicated 13 October 1269, the day of King Henry's patron saint, St Edward the Confessor (Powicke p224). By 1272, the year of Henry III's death, five bays of the nave were finished. After Henry's death, the west end of the Norman nave remained attached to the far higher Gothic building to the east for over a century (Westminster Abbey Official Guide p7-8). Morris (p368) considers that Edward I was not as devoted to the saint as his father though he did fund the creation of the royal mausoleum around the shrine (see note 133) and gave donations including "a piece of the Cross, set in jewels brought from Wales" (Westminster Abbey Official Guide p41). This cross was given to St George's Chapel, Windsor, by Edward III, when he founded the Order of the Garter (see note 494)

<sup>129</sup> Taylor (1985) p253 note 21.

<sup>130</sup> The saint's body was translated to the new shrine in 1269; only the shrine base of Henry's work remains (*Westminster Abbey Official Guide*, p41), the upper part dating from 1557 (*Ibid.* p43).

<sup>131</sup> Who had initially planned to be buried with his wife in the church of the Knight Templars in London (Nicholson p175). Perhaps he was trying to outdo his contemporary King Louis IX (St Louis) of France who had already begun to build Sainte Chapelle in Paris by May 1244, the chapel being consecrated in April 1248 (Finance, p6-7) before Louis embarked on his first crusade.

<sup>132</sup> Named for the saint (Westminster Abbey Guide p43). Edward's remains lie in a plain tomb chest (*Ibid.* p45) - a tomb that is said to exactly match the tomb of King Arthur at Glastonbury Abbey that Edward had ordered and placed there with great ceremony in 1278 (Coldstream N, p58, in Ford; cf Appendix 2, Arthur).

<sup>133</sup> For a plan of the shrine see Westminster Abbey Guide p37. Henry survived to see the Confessor's translation to the shrine in 1269, but died himself in 1272. At his funeral his body was laid before the High Altar in the grave that had been the Confessor's. The body was later placed in a splendid tomb prepared by his son Edward I who was the first king crowned in Henry III's new Church (*Ibid.* p45). It was Edward who converted the sanctuary and shrine chapel into a royal mausoleum (Coldstream p56, in Ford). He also gave, as an offering to the Confessor, the Coronation Chair, made and decorated in 1300 by Master Walter, the King's painter (Lethaby p139).

<sup>134</sup> Lethaby, p142, who also says that Otho was one of the ten knights carrying banners, the remains of which were figured on the front of the tomb (*Ibid.*). I am grateful to Richard Mortimer, Archivist of Westminster Abbey, for this reference. Edmund's effigy shows the cross-legged pose associated with the crusader. It is, not surprisingly given the location, still in a good state of preservation.

<sup>135</sup> Vane, p57, in Saul, notes the dedication to St Edward the Confessor not to St George.

<sup>136</sup> Parsons, p29.

<sup>137</sup> Otho had surrendered them to the King who re-granted them to him and his heirs in 1296. CChrR 1257-1300, p465.

<sup>138</sup> Parsons, p85.

<sup>139</sup> Parsons p207; Westminster Abbey Official Guide, p43; Lethaby p141 who further suggests he may have gone on crusade on the Queen's behalf though the threat from the Saracens seems the more likely reason. Lethaby also notes the remarkable parallel between the painting and the altar frontal and suggests one was done with a memory of the other. Lethaby's suggestion that the little figure of Otho and his shield of arms was added by some western embroiderer onto the frontal of eastern origin, can be challenged as the golden grapevine to the left of the Virgin and child on the frontal (Fig 12b) is foreshortened to accommodate the kneeling figure of Otho, in comparison with the vine on the right, suggesting that the inclusion of the figure was part of the original design. It seems unlikely that the execution of the work would be done in different parts of the world (see note 361). Otho was dedicated to the Virgin Mary (see Appendix 2).

<sup>140</sup> After the debacle of Acre, Otho retired to Cyprus with the remnant of the Templars, remaining there for three years (Kingsford p150). He returned to England before August 1295 (GEC vol 2, p72; cf Kingsford p152 who gives early 1296 for his return) though he is recorded in Armenia in 1294 and 1298/99 (Demurger (2005) p77). He became Baron Grandison in September 1299 (GEC vol 2 p69).

<sup>141</sup> CPR, 1281-1292, p417. Ditton (Woodditton), left by Queen Eleanor for life to Otho, was under a royal grant of 1317, inherited by his nephew, Gerard d'Oron (d.1334). It then passed to a tenant (VCH Cambridgeshire vol 10 p86-90.)

<sup>142</sup> Parsons, p160. Otho received the manor of Shenly, Herts, in compensation (VCH Bucks vol 4 p251-254).

<sup>143</sup> Parsons, pp34, 268. Parsons records him as a witness in Eleanor's surviving acts, dated from 1279 to 1290.

<sup>144</sup> Runciman, p413. The castle and town of Acre were surrounded by an inner and outer wall; each wall with towers at intervals (for map of Acre in 1291 see *Ibid.* p415). Edward's tower was entrusted in 1278 to the custody of the provost and confraternity of St Edward of Acre, an entirely obscure English order of Knights

(Prestwich p79; CPR 1272-1281 p296). This must be the order dedicated to St Edward the Confessor founded there by Edward in 1271 (see Vane p57, in Saul).

<sup>145</sup>Taylor (1985) p33.

<sup>146</sup> Kingsford, p133. The castle website says that the chateau was reconstructed and enlarged by Thomas I of Savoy (1189-1233) and his sons including Peter (II), Master of the castle from 1255-1268 and his brother and successor Philip. Peter's architect is reported to be Peter Mainier whilst Philip's was Master James of St George. Peter's architect is said to have given the edifice its actual size and appearance (leaflet at chateau). Chillan has a number of square towers and is not a Carré Savoyard. More reminiscent of the work of Master James are the semi-circular towers that are also present. Interestingly such towers have been called typical Welsh features [www.castlewales.com/cricth.html](http://www.castlewales.com/cricth.html). .

<sup>147</sup> Clifford, p35.

<sup>148</sup> RFS vol 1, p80.

<sup>149</sup> Taylor (1985), p34-35.

<sup>150</sup> See section on Castles and Monasteries in Vaud.

<sup>151</sup> Prestwich, p4 in Williams and Kenyon.

<sup>152</sup> Taylor (1985) p86.

<sup>153</sup> Taylor (1985) p9 note 1 *Ibid* 1985 p3-4 details the architectural features found in Edward's castles that are likely to be directly derived from a continental source e.g. helicoidal or inclined scaffold paths, evidenced today by putlog holes; full-centred and circular arches; distinctive types of garderobe and windows at Harlech and embellishment of the crenellations at Conwy.

<sup>154</sup> Taylor (1985) p64. Even before the arrival of Master James, the ability to build such castles is apparent. Caerphilly Castle in Glamorgan, the largest castle in Wales and *one of the finest and most ambitious architectural creations ever raised during the Middle Ages* (Renn p3) was constructed almost entirely between 1268 and 1271 with substantial additions in the late 1270s and 1280s (*Ibid* p12) for Gilbert de Clare (1243-95), Earl of Gloucester & Hereford. Its inner ward is said to anticipate both Harlech and Beaumaris and displays knowledge of earlier French plans eg Dourdan, built for the French king, Philip Augustus (d.1223), and which was begun ca.1220 (Alexander & Binski p247). Dourdan, square with towers at three corners and an isolated donjon (great tower) on the fourth, has walls punctuated by towers in the middle of each side and two flanking the gate (twin tower gatehouse). Its donjon is typical of those built by Philip Augustus and the French nobility in C13th (Wikipedia Chateau Dourdan accessed 23 July 2012). This donjon anticipates the Tour de Constance at Aigues Mortes, built for his grandson Louis IX between 1241 and 1250 (dates from Albaric p18), a great tower that has been compared with the later one at Flint (Perfect p47). This suggests masons moved not only between Savoy and England (see Castles in Vaud) but also between France and England in the C13th. There is some indication that De Clare's mason had experience of building in Byzantium and the Holy Land. Caerphilly is an early example of a castle surrounded by concentric defences. Its round towers, twin towered gatehouses and spectacular water defences can still be seen. The two fortified dams that hold back Caerphilly's water defences may have been influenced by Byzantine architecture. The south dam (1268-71) in particular invites comparison with the C5th Fildami cistern near Constantinople (Alexander & Binski p247). Concentric castles appeared in the Crusader states (first in the late 1160s) before they appeared in Western Europe (Nicolle p28). Twin towered gatehouses are also linked to the Holy Land where the keep (donjon) was lost being replaced by a more strongly fortified entrance gate (Soden p125). Only at Builth, razed by Llywelyn in 1260 (Taylor 1986, p3) and the first of Edward's new works (for which the accounts run from May 1277 - Taylor 1986 p2-3) was there a keep built on an elevated mound. This is thought to be because of the restrictions of the site (Browne p62 in Williams & Kenyon). Another feature, said to be characteristic of medieval Islamic architecture, is the shouldered arch (Edwards & Edwards p1). This is found at Caerphilly in its outer main gatehouse (personal observation 2011). The gatehouse is dated to ca. 1277-90 (ground plan in Renn 1997) though apparently it had doors and windows replaced in the C15th (*Ibid* p28). The shouldered arch is so common in Caernarfon castle that it is also called the Caernarfon arch (Friar p5) and also occurs in the west gatehouse of the earlier Rhuddlan castle (see Taylor 2004 p8). This arch is found in the castle of Yverdon (De Raemy p68 fig 58), completed in 1277 (see *Ibid* p139) and Grandson (personal observation 2011), begun in 1277 (De Raemy p240), in Vaud. Did the Savoyards bring the shouldered arch to Wales or was it already known?

<sup>155</sup> Taylor (1985) p36.

<sup>156</sup> Taylor (1985) plates 17 & 22. The interior plan has been compared with the arrangement of the inner ward at Conwy (plate 17). In another link, the 1794 plan shows a garden in the outer ward, perhaps in the same position as the garden created for Count Philip at St Georges in 1275 (see Taylor 1985 p37, De Raemy p202 fig301). Queen Eleanor was with Edward when he visited St Georges (Parsons p31) and would have seen this garden. Perhaps it inspired her to commission gardens in the courtyard at Rhuddlan Castle (in 1282-83 accounts - Ashbee p79 in Williams and Kenyon) and Conwy (in 1283 - Turner p53 *Ibid*), the latter in the east barbican (Ashbee p74, 77 *Ibid*). It has been suggested that important insights can be gained by studying



structures, such as gardens placed in the immediate vicinity of castle buildings (Liddiard p195 in Williams and Kenyon). According to De Raemy (p202) Chateau Grandson also had gardens in the outer ward.

<sup>157</sup> Taylor (1985) p8. Coigny et al, p14, 44 describes the tower (donjon) as originally isolated. De Raemy (p62, fig 51) notes a type of embrasure at Yverdon that includes a *voute en mitre* (mitred arch) that is unique in Savoy but found more frequently in Great Britain. He records the *voute en mitre* in embrasures at Flint though with some differences to Yverdon (*Ibid* p312 fig 517) (see Castles and Monasteries in Vaud). The similarity between Flint and Yverdon is not mentioned in more recent work. Instead, comparisons have been drawn with Aigues Mortes that Edward passed through on his way to join his uncle, Louis IX (St Louis) and thence to the Holy Land. It has been said that the Tour de Constance offers a superficial resemblance to Flint's great offset tower (Lilley p109 in Williams and Kenyon) though it does not have Flint's ring of mural chambers at ground or first floor level (Goodall p162 in Williams and Kenyon). Perfect (p47) says the similarity between the Tour de Constance and the Donjon tower at Flint is quite remarkable, the two towers having the same dimensions and that both have two floors with intercommunicating segment shaped rooms leading from a central area. Certainly the overall size of the Flint donjon resembles the Tour de Constance and the circular intermural passageway that runs round the ground floor at Flint could be compared with a similar structure located between the upper and lower rooms of the Tour de Constance (with arched openings from it allowing the lower room to be monitored). Perhaps Flint also had an oculus in the centre of each ceiling to admit light, as at the Tour. However, the rooms leading from the central area in the Tour de Constance appear to be large embrasures and are not directly comparable to the ring of mural chambers in the upper floor at Flint. Parallels have been drawn between Aigues Mortes and castle building operations in Wales citing that it was a walled town, had a regular grid pattern of streets and was connected to the sea by a newly excavated channel plus it has a tower, (the Tour de Constance) independent of the town walls (Prestwich p4 in Williams and Kenyon). However, according to Albaric (p29) the town walls (*enceinte*) were built by the son of Louis IX, Philippe le Hardi, who signed an agreement with a builder in May 1272. Wikipedia for Aigues Mortes (acc Jan 2012) says the Tour de Constance is all that remains of the castle built in Louis IX's reign whilst its walls were begun in 1270 and completed in 1300. Prince Edward therefore couldn't have seen the completed walls in 1271 and he did not revisit Aigues Mortes on his return journey (via Trapani and Oviedo- See Map 2). It is not clear what the castle looked like.

<sup>158</sup> Taylor (1986) p17.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid*, p18-19.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid*, p18-19. Master Richard of Chester was in charge of this early work (*Ibid* 1986 p17) and there has been speculation about his role and that of Master Bertram in the design of Flint & Rhuddlan castles (Turner in Williams & Kenyon p48). At Rhuddlan in 1277 diggers were hired to divert the River Clwyd into a canal (Taylor 1986 p27) with Master James arriving in spring 1278 (*Ibid* 1986 p28). Taylor 1986 p29, points out that Rhuddlan was substantially finished by autumn 1280 when preparations were underway to transfer the main building effort to Flint. Before the arrival of Master James at Flint, the work of the masons, according to the Nov 1277-Mar 1279 building account, was limited to preparing stone in the quarry across the Dee at Nesshead for revetting the castle ditch (*Ibid* 1986 p19). Apparently during this period the ditch was instead revetted temporarily with turves (*Ibid* 1986 p19 n.13). There is no obvious evidence of stone revetting now at Flint. In the same account reference is made to towers at Flint being so far advanced as to be roofed in lead (*Ibid* 1986 p19). This is thought to refer to the roofing of the towers on the gatehouse of the outer ward (*Ibid* 1986 p20 n 1, Renn & Avent p12). Stone would have been needed for the outer ward wall, a remnant of which exists. Taylor (1986 p19) quotes an obscure item in the earliest account relating to "tables" that were possibly connected with the setting out of the positions of the castle walls and towers but notes that these are more likely to have been "targets" as they were bought from archers. There does not appear to be any firm evidence that construction of the castle itself had begun before 1281 (see Taylor 1986 p20-21) - that is after Master James arrived there, so it is more likely he designed the castle. Evidence from pugholes in the North West tower indicate the use of the spiral scaffolding technique of the Savoyards and is probably due to the influence of Master James (Vicky Perfect pers. comm. Aug 2012).

<sup>161</sup> Taylor (1986) p20-21. The Flint great tower was roofed with lead (see *Ibid* p24) and all the towers, based on the 1610 map by John Speed (see Renn & Avent p20) had battlements open to the sky. Yverdon towers appear to have been covered over. The present tiled roofs were added after 1378, when a fire destroyed the original shingles (Coigny et al p41).

<sup>162</sup> Renn & Avent, p9.

<sup>163</sup> Taylor (1986) p25. It is suggested the accommodation in the Great Tower might be for visits by the justice of Chester and that in 1301 it accommodated Prince Edward, the future Edward II, when a special wooden viewing platform was put at the top of the tower (Taylor 2004 p27). De Raemy (vol 1 p293) suggests the Great Tower provided accommodation for the Constable. Very likely both are right.

<sup>164</sup> Humphries, p29.

<sup>165</sup> For Yverdon where the defences are described as mainly man-made and partly natural; Taylor 1985 p24-25. For ditch digging at Flint *Ibid* 1986 p18-19 and for a plan of the castle showing the outer bailey and moat

see *Ibid* 1986 pl. 3. Both castle and town of Flint are shown in John Speed's 1610 map (Renn & Avent p20). A comparable map for Yverdon showing the castle, town walls, main streets and water defences in 1686 is given in Taylor (1985) p25. In both Flint and Yverdon the main streets run towards the castle though the shape of Yverdon's town layout is more skewed, as is Rhuddlan's (see Lilley p104 in Williams and Kenyon). Lilley, commenting on the *enduring myth* that Edward's new Welsh towns derived from continental models such as the bastide towns of south west France (Gascony), points out that the layout of the new towns do not share very much in common with those of Gascony and that the Flint street pattern is based on a series of longitudinal street blocks, with a single cross-street and no central *place* (square) (*Ibid* p109 in Williams and Kenyon). Flint remains much as laid out in 1277, the 1610 Map of John Speed showing the layout of parallel streets running down towards the castle, which is separated from the town by a wide ditch once filled with sea water; the town protected by a ditch and banks on either side (Renn & Avent p18, 20), presumably the town ditch also filled with water. The waters of the Dee came up much closer to the castle even as late as 1742 (see Renn & Avent p15). A difference is that the Yverdon town walls were of stone (see De Raemy p58) whilst those of Flint (and of the contemporary Rhuddlan,) were of wood and no longer exist (see Taylor 1986 p30). The overall similarity in design of castle and town layout supports the comment of Taylor (1985 p8) that Yverdon anticipated Flint.

<sup>166</sup> Taylor (1985) p86-7.

<sup>167</sup> These town walls, including its mural towers, are of stone, those at Conwy showing the spiral (helicoidal) pattern of pugholes that supported the builders ramp, a Savoyard building technique, also found in the castle (see Ashbee p22-23). Similar pugholes can be seen in the gatehouse at Harlech Castle (see Taylor 2002 p18-19).

<sup>168</sup> Taylor (1985) p26, who notes the different style and greater degree of embellishment of Caernarfon (symbolising its Roman origins and using the likeness of the walls of Constantinople to invoke the imperial theme) and the differing towers (round at Conway, polygonal at Caernarfon) but nevertheless concludes that the resemblances both in detail and plan of the two castles are unmistakable. See also Brears p91 in Williams and Kenyon. Ashbee p77 in *Ibid* feels the similarity can be overstated.

<sup>169</sup> See note 290.

<sup>170</sup> Taylor (1986) p65.

<sup>171</sup> Villandraut Castle guide p7. Bertrand de Got, Archbishop of Bordeaux and also lord of Villandraut & Uzeste, became Pope Clement V in 1305 (see Table 1; Fig 14b). Pope Clement V (d.1314) became infamous for, in 1307, being bullied by the French King into agreeing to the suppression of the Templars. The tomb of Pope Clement is extant in the 12<sup>th</sup> century church at nearby Uzeste, the east end of which he rebuilt and which was dedicated in 1313 (Laroza p9). His tomb is in the middle of the choir. Interestingly, on its north wall is an effigy of a member of the de Grailly family, Counts of Benauges, perhaps moved there when the choir was rebuilt. This has been identified as representing Pierre I de Grailly (ref cited in Vale p98), and as Pierre de Grailly (d.1303) (Cassagnes Brouquet p31). Pierre I de Grailly (Perart de Grilly) participated in a tournament at Chauvency in October 1285 (Vale pp7, 98, 162). Uzeste historian C V Richecour (pers. comm. 2009) also suggests the effigy is of Pierre I, son of Jean I. Jean I had turned over his lands in Gascony to his son Pierre when he himself returned to Savoy (Labarge p55). According to an internet pedigree (<http://fabpedigree.com/s008/f445470.htm>) Pierre died ca.1290 i.e. before his father Jean I who died ca 1301. The shield of the effigy bears a four point label, indicative of an eldest son who had died before his father, and the date ca.1290 suggests Pierre may have died at the fall of Acre when Jean I was wounded and had to be rescued by Otho Grandison (Runciman p418-419). However, according to Beltz p28-29, Jean II de Grailly died in 1343 - before his father Pierre II d.1356, so the effigy could be that of Jean II. The sons of Jean II by his wife Blanche Foix were Jean III, Captal du Buch, who was a founder member of the Order of the Garter (Beltz p28-29) and hero of the Battle of Poitiers in 1356 (Labarge p141) and his brother, another Pierre, who held Benauges and Castillon on the Dordogne (Labarge p127). Beltz p29 points out that the stall plate for the founder knight unfortunately named the wrong brother as the Captal du Buch, identifying him as Piers (sic) (see Fig 57c). See notes 78 and 332 for more on Benauges Castle and the de Grailly family. See note 501 for Garter Knights connected to the Grandisons.

<sup>172</sup> Cassagnes Brouquet p18, Villandraut Castle guide p7. Powicke p444 dates it from ca.1308. Letters were sent by the Pope from there in Nov 1306- Feb 1307 especially over Christmas (Reg Clem V Anno 2 p2-153). Pope Clement had first-hand knowledge of the work of Master James as in 1295, when as Master Bertrand de Got, Pope's chaplain, he visited Edward I at Conwy, sent by the Pope (Boniface VIII) in an attempt to make the Kings of England and France make peace with each other (CCR 1288-1296 p442). Master James's current castle building project, at Beaumaris, had not resumed in 1304-5 and in 1305 a Beaumaris rental records him as non-resident, so perhaps he was involved at Villandraut. If so, he was not out of the country long. It is thought he was with Edward I in England in December 1304, and July & September 1306 (Taylor 1986 p111, note 8).

<sup>173</sup> Castles built or wholly rebuilt by Edward I (Builth, Aberystwyth, Harlech, Caernarfon, Beaumaris, Conwy, Rhuddlan, Flint, Hope). Welsh castles repaired by Edward I (Dryslwyn, Dynevor, Castell-y-Bere, Criccieth,

and Dolwyddelan) Alexander & Binski p334-336. Taylor (1986) piii, lists Castles of the War of 1277 as Builth, Aberystwyth, Flint, Rhuddlan, Ruthin and Hawarden; Castles of the War of 1282-1283 as Hope, Denbigh, Holt, Chirk, Dolwyddelan, Conway, Harlech, Criccieth, Castell y Bere, Caernarfon and Beaumaris. Those not built for the king were “lordship” castles.

<sup>174</sup> Master James arrived in Wales in spring 1278, leaving the court in April *to ordain the works of the castles there* (Taylor 1986 p28), though he may have been present in 1277 (Taylor 1963 p294). He is named for St Georges d’Esperanche, which in 1273 was a Savoy enclave within the territory of the dauphins of the Viennois (Taylor 1985 p29). The frontier between Savoy & France was redefined in 1355 and it became French ([www.saintgeorgesdesperanche.fr/](http://www.saintgeorgesdesperanche.fr/)). The castle there (a tower, sections of wall and other remnants remain) was built by Master James for Philip, Count of Savoy beginning in 1268/9, completed in 1275 (Taylor 1985 p34). Colvin vol 1, p203-204) gives 1270-72 and queries whether he himself was a Savoyard by birth (*Ibid.* p204). A 1794 sketch of the castle shows it was quadrangular with octagonal towers at the corners (Taylor 1985 p15 & pl 22c). For the evidence that Master James was the builder of St Georges see Taylor 1985 p29-43. It has been suggested that Edward I may have met Master James in 1273 when, on returning from the Holy Land, he visited St Georges (Prestwich p84) in June to take homage from Count Philip (RFS vol I, p80). It is known that Master James was paid in November 1273 at St Georges for castle works (see Taylor 1985 p93-96 that lists payments to Master James from 1266-1275). Philip (d.1285) was the younger brother of Peter, Count of Savoy (d.1268), who brought the Grandison brothers to England (see tree in Louda & Maclagan p239).

<sup>175</sup> Colvin, vol 1 p204. For a summary of Master James career see *Ibid* p203-205.

<sup>176</sup> The general plan of Rhuddlan has been attributed to Master Bertram, a Gascon, with the King (Taylor 2004 p2). However, in the Wardrobe Account, whilst Master Bertram, Master Peter (another Rhuddlan building master) and Master James are all three referred to as *Ingeniores*, Master James alone is also referred to as *Le Mazun* (Taylor 1986 p29). Master Peter is thought to have arrived from across the channel in January 1277 and was probably the Peter Morel who was paid for shipping boatloads of stone from Boulogne to the Tower of London works in 1278 (*Ibid* p29 and note 2). Perhaps he also was a Gascon.

<sup>177</sup> Coldstream, p8; Coldstream in Williams and Kenyon p40, 41, 43. See also Kenyon p152, *Ibid.*, & Ashbee p72 *Ibid.*, who argue that the design features of Edward’s castles, such as concentric curtain walls, regular disposition of mural towers, massive gatehouses combining defensive and residential features and sophisticated use of water defences, were present in English castles for decades before James of St George and his fellow Savoyards came to Britain. Several of these design features were absent from the architectural tradition of Savoy, leading to the conclusion that much of the design of the north Wales castles came directly from English castles built earlier in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Taylor (1985 p15-16 pl 17) considered that the residential blocks at Conwy and Champvent were planned and orientated as at St Georges but this resemblance has been challenged (Ashbee p83 in Williams and Kenyon). Champvent, near to Chateau Grandson, was rebuilt beginning in 1295 (De Raemy p186, Pradervand 2010 p166), i.e. after Conwy, by Pierre de Champvent, Edward’s Chamberlain and Otho Grandison’s cousin. Its chapel, as at Conwy, is in one of the towers, (see De Raemy p193 fig287, Pradervand 2010 p166) and also connects to the largest room (see De Raemy p189 fig283), as at Conwy, a pattern common to more than one site in Welsh castles (Ashbee p83 in Williams & Kenyon). Taylor (1986 p16) speculated that a chapel may have existed in a tower at St Georges. Both Pierre and Otho would have been able to facilitate movement of craftsmen between Savoy and Wales. The similarities suggest Taylor was correct in linking these buildings to a common architect. Interestingly, Champvent retains the Great Tower in its Savoy Square (see De Raemy p187-88) as occurs at Yverdon and Flint, though at Champvent it does not appear to have been separated from the main building. Lilley p109 (in Williams and Kenyon) discussing the towns attached to the Welsh castles while noting that Master James arrived late on the scene at Rhuddlan and Flint, points out that he was there at the start of construction at Conwy and Beaumaris and might well be seen as their designer, as the layout of these two new towns had common forms.

<sup>178</sup> De Raemy, vol 2 Appendix 4. See also Taylor (1985) p26. This argument has overtones of the earlier argument concerning the role of Pierre de Mainier and Master James of St George (see note 293).

<sup>179</sup> Coldstream, p43 quoting Prestwich p209 in Williams and Kenyon. Lilley p109 *Ibid* cites Otho as an individual who had input into creating new urban landscapes in Wales. See also Prestwich p4 in Williams & Kenyon who also quotes Taylor’s suggestion that a letter of April 1277 relating to the repair of Dolforwyn Castle was likely to be from Otho, wherein the writer feared that if Master Bertram was employed he “*will devise too many things and perhaps the king’s money will not be so well employed as it needs to be*”. If it was Otho’s letter, he evidently already had some responsibility for castles even before the castle building began. Interestingly, Master Bertram is credited with the planning of Rhuddlan castle begun in September 1277 but was replaced by Master James after six months (Taylor 2004 p2). Perhaps Otho got rid of him.

<sup>180</sup> Renn, p3, 12-13, see also ground plan. Interestingly, whilst the ground plan dates the North Dam Platform to ca 1277-90, an exhibition in the castle suggests the platform was probably built after the death of Gilbert de Clare in 1295.

<sup>181</sup> Twin towered gatehouses in Wales and neighbouring Cheshire date back to the early 13<sup>th</sup> century. The twin towered gatehouse at Criccieth Castle in Wales was probably built between 1230 and 1240 for Llewellyn the Great (d.1240) (Coldstream p6), though some argue it was built by Edward I. It was in English hands by 1283 (Taylor 1986 p73), who considers the surviving buildings date from before the English took over, though the heightening of the gatehouse he attributes to them). The Criccieth gatehouse is said to have many similarities to that at Beeston Castle, built ca.1220 by Ranulf de Blonderville (Blunderville) Earl of Chester (d.1232) and Montgomery Castle built for Henry III from ca 1223-1227 [www.castlewales.com/criccth.html](http://www.castlewales.com/criccth.html). This source claims that these gatehouse towers possess typical Welsh features particularly their semi-circular (D shaped) plan. However such D shaped towers were found earlier, in the new curtain wall and gatehouse at Beeston (see Soden p125). Blonderville had just returned from the 5<sup>th</sup> Crusade and in the Holy Land castles were mainly built without a keep (donjon) with a more strongly fortified entrance gate serving the same function. Athlit, a Templar castle, built in 1217, to which Ranulf contributed while commanding at Damietta, was conceived without a keep and with strong D shaped towers on the curtain wall and flanking the entrance, as seen later at Beeston. It is suggested he influenced the spread of these new designs on his return home (*Ibid* p125). He would have been in a position to influence Llewellyn as he helped mediate after Llewellyn's attack on England in 1223 by marrying his nephew and heir, John Scot, to Llewellyn's daughter Helen (*Ibid* p99). After John's death in 1237 the earldom was appropriated by the crown (*Ibid* p130). In 1254 Henry III passed the Lordship of Chester but not the title of earl to his son, the Lord Edward (Wikipedia - Beeston Castle/Earl of Chester accessed July 2011; Wikipedia: Ranulph de Blonderville: accessed July 2011).

<sup>182</sup> De Raemy, p315. Goodall (p164 Williams & Kenyon) speculates that the design of Caerphilly could be regarded as a reduced version of Henry III's plans for the Tower of London of 1238 or 1239, an exemplar for a regularly planned castle enclosed by an apron wall and moat. One can equally speculate that such designs arrived in Savoy via masons returning from England (See Castles & Monasteries in Vaud for details of such exchange) or even from the Crusader states where concentric castles appeared before they did in Western Europe (Nicolle p28).

<sup>183</sup> Taylor (1986) p31.

<sup>184</sup> Kingsford, p133. Otho is considered to have supervised the building or rebuilding of a number of castles and that even before Conwy castle was started, Otho was hiring men, buying land for their living quarters to be built on and paying them. The revenue of the Archbishopric of York, vacant from 1285 was turned over to him to help pay for the castles (Clifford p72-73).

<sup>185</sup> GEC Lancaster p383.

<sup>186</sup> ODNB: Sir Otto Grandson p270. At the end of the war of 1277 Otho had participated in peace negotiations with Llewellyn's delegates at Conway when it is suggested the site's advantages may have been noted (Taylor 1986 p45). Before Nov 1277 he had to hand over Anglesey, of which he was custodian, to Llewellyn (GEC Grandison vol 2 p70 note e). Evidently Llewellyn didn't hold it for long as in 1282 Otho had a narrow escape when with an army from Anglesey he passed over what appears to have been a temporary bridge of boats laid across Menai Straits, only to be ambushed by the Welsh (Taylor 1986, p62-65).

<sup>187</sup> Powicke, p422.

<sup>188</sup> Necessitating the removal and re-housing of the Cistercian Abbey of St Mary. It is suggested the presence of the abbot of Vale Royal at Conwy as early as April 1283 may be connected with it (Taylor 1986 p46).

<sup>189</sup> Taylor (1963) p301. *Ibid* 1986 p49, 65, 79. Work on Conwy Castle began in 1283, supervised by John de Bonvillars (Bevillard) (*Ibid* 1986 p49-50) who is said to be Otho's brother-in-law, married to his sister Agnes. (*Ibid* 1985 p221). However, according to Clifford, sister Agnes was married to Ulrich de Vuippens (Wypeyns) and an obit for Agnes de Wypeyns occurs in a family breviary (see note, Table 4). Clifford lists Bonvillars as a brother-in-law but his wife's name is not given (see family tree in Clifford end paper). Perhaps Agnes married twice. Bonvillars is near Grandson on Lake Neuchatel. Taylor 1985 (p87) says he was Otho's tenant at Grandson and Otho's deputy in North Wales until his death on 1287 when he was succeeded by William Grandison, Otho's brother (*Ibid* 1986 p50, note 1). The association of John de Bonvillars with Grandson is discussed elsewhere (see Vaud (Switzerland)). John Bonvillars first appears in English records in 1277 and six years later is supervising the building of Edward's castles (*Ibid* 1985 p 211-213). At Conwy in 1285-6 repairs were done to the hall of the Justiciar, Otho de Grandson (*Ibid* 1986 p55-56, note 1). Work began at Harlech after infantry led by Otho Grandison marched there in April 1283 (Taylor 1986 p65). Savoyards closely associated with Otho Grandison worked on this Castle, a connection further exemplified by its initial constables (Taylor 1986 p66 note 3). John de Bonvillars, Otho's Deputy, was the first constable, appointed in 1285. After his death in 1287, his wife Agnes assumed the constable's responsibilities until August 1290 when she surrendered the finished castle to Master James of St Georges (Taylor 1985, p221-227; 1986 p66 note 3). Colvin vol 1 p204 says Master James was appointed Constable of the newly completed castle in July 1290, a post he held till the end of 1293.

<sup>190</sup> ODNB: Otto de Grandson p270.

<sup>191</sup> Phillips p33 points out that construction of the castle had only recently begun and that whereas the Eagle Tower may have been sufficiently complete to house this important event, the actual birthplace was probably

the king and queen's lodgings, a wooden building which had recently been provided with glazed windows for additional comfort. He was the first English Prince to hold the title Prince of Wales, formalised by Parliament in 1301 (Wikipedia Edward II acc July 2011).

<sup>192</sup> Taylor (1986) p79, Taylor (2004), p38. The new castle incorporated the motte of the previous Norman castle (Taylor 1986 p77-78). For the building of Caernarfon see [www.castlewales.com/caernarf.html](http://www.castlewales.com/caernarf.html), and Taylor 1986 p77-103.

<sup>193</sup> There was a Welsh tradition current at the time that Emperor Constantine's father, Magnus Maximus, was buried there (Caernarfon had been a Roman site, Segontium; see Taylor 1986 p77-78, Taylor 2004 p5-6). For photos of Constantinople's 5<sup>th</sup> century walls see Taylor 2004 p39 and Taylor 1986, plate 2B. More recently Taylor's suggestion that Caernarfon's banded walls were based on those of Constantinople has been questioned in favour of Roman symbolism based on Britain's legendary past including an Arthurian element (Wheatley quoted in Coldstream p41 in Williams & Kenyon). Copying the Constantinople design seems more likely, and anyway Constantine was a Roman.

<sup>194</sup> Ormrod in Saul 2005 p22.

<sup>195</sup> Taylor (2004) p39, Taylor (1986) p81.

<sup>196</sup> GEC, vol 2 Grandison p71.

<sup>197</sup> CPR, 1281-92, p302; see Kingsford p133, though Taylor (1986), p85 note 1, thinks the original wording need imply nothing more active than residence with the garrison establishment and cites evidence that one of his functions was to do with auditing accounts. A document, dated between May 1290 and Oct 1292, details payments for work on the wall, castle and ditch of Conwy, Caernarfon, Harlech, Criccieth, Castell de Bere and Dolywyddelan, paid by order of William Grandison (Edwards p 118).

<sup>198</sup> Taylor (1986) p83. The unfinished castle was sacked by the Welsh in 1294 (*Ibid* 1986 p85). The rebuilding in the following years appears to have been organised by the king's brother, Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster (see *Ibid*, p86). Edmund had earlier in 1277 been organising the building of the castle at Aberystwyth (*Ibid* p7-8). William Grandison was in his household (see note 6).

<sup>199</sup> Taylor (1986) pp85, 93. It is suggested that the ring of wall chambers in the Eagle Tower was inspired directly by the Great Tower at Flint (Goodall p162 in Williams & Kenyon). The Welsh had attacked the north side of the castle which was apparently still under construction. It was rebuilt mainly in 1296-1323 (see Brown p97) and lacks the "Constantinople" banding of the south side. The castle was not finished until at least October 1327 (Taylor 1986 p93).

<sup>200</sup> William is said to have become Deputy after the death of John de Bonvillars (Taylor 1986 p71) who was Otho's deputy until his death in 1287 (*Ibid*. p50, note 1). Kingsford p179 gives an account of the Bonvillars who seem to have been kinsmen of the Grandisons (see family tree on endpapers in Clifford).

<sup>201</sup> Suggested in the exhibition in the Eagle Tower at Caernarfon 2006. Vaud, where the Grandisons came from, was a fief of the Empire (Dalton 1917 p40). For the Grandison coats see Fig 1. Apparently there were also sculptures of human heads on the battlements (Ashbee p77 in Williams and Kenyon).

<sup>202</sup> Contemporary account by the secretary of William de Beaujeu, the Master of the Temple in Jerusalem (in Nicholson p196-7).

<sup>203</sup> Kingsford, p133.

<sup>204</sup> VCH Berks vol 2, p84, vol 3 p147.

<sup>205</sup> Mainly of chalk with Purbeck marble shafts in the entrance porch and also in the windows of the Great Hall. It is likely this chalk came from the quarry just downstream which was still in use in the 14<sup>th</sup> century when chalk from Bisham quarry was used in the construction of the Round Table building at Windsor Castle (Munby et al p53, 56). Blocks, composed of flints, also used in the Templar building were almost certainly also local.

<sup>206</sup> VCH Berks vol 3, p139. Later building in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries has obscured the exterior of the Great Hall.

<sup>207</sup> Hone has transcribed many early charters relating to the grant of Bisham to the Knights Templars and other related documents. The earliest is the charter of King Stephen (1135-1154) confirming the grant of the manor of Bistelesham (Bisham) by Earl Robert Ferrers to the Temple of Solomon at Jerusalem (Hone p24-27, see also p56-57). The years 1135-1154 are during the period when the Christians held Jerusalem. This grant was confirmed by Henry II (1154-1189) (*Ibid*). VCH Berks (vol 3, p139) dates the preceptory to the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>208</sup> Hone, p126. Two years later in 1337 he was made Earl of Salisbury.

<sup>209</sup> In 1267 he became Earl of Lancaster (GEC Lancaster vol 3, p381).

<sup>210</sup> Rose Troup, p247. William features in a story relating to the attempt to kill Prince Edward at Acre. Edward fought off the assassin when it is variously said that a Grandison sucked poison from the wound. Ebal, William or Otho have all been suggested (see GEC vol 2, p69-70, note d) or Eleanor, Edward's wife (see Kingsford p125-126). The story appeared 50 years after the event (Kingsford p125) and is regarded as hearsay (*Ibid*, Prestwich, p78) so cannot be relied on to place William at Acre though he might well have been. The contemporary Templar of Tyre describes the attack and says "*The lords came to the wounded prince and*



sent for all the physicians and *slaves*, who sucked the wound and drew out the poison, so that he made a good recovery” (Hallam 1989 p278). “Slaves” (my emphasis) sounds more likely. Interestingly an exchequer inventory of Edward III seems to indicate the dagger involved may have been brought back to England. It says “*Un cultell dont le roi Edward estoit naufray en la terre seinte en Acres* (E101/333/15 dated May 14 Edw III, cited in Vale p93 who says “Evidently the details of the episode were assumed to be familiar”).

<sup>211</sup> Pers. comm., Evelyn Lord, 2006.

<sup>212</sup> Lord p103.

<sup>213</sup> Pers. comm., Evelyn Lord, 2006.

<sup>214</sup> GEC Lancaster vol 3, p386 no. 1, citing CPR 1292-1301, p223. Edmund, by his wife Blanche, widow of the King of Navarre, left two sons, Thomas and Henry. Thomas inherited, being Earl of Lancaster and Ferrers (Derby) in right of his father and Earl of Lincoln and Salisbury in right of his wife, Alice de Lacy. Thus rights to the earldom of Salisbury came to Bisham.

<sup>215</sup> Runciman, vol 3, p416. For a more detailed account of the fall of Acre and Otho’s role in it see Kingsford p141-150. As Acre was about to fall to the Saracens, the remaining Templars, together with other knights including Otho Grandison, had retreated to the Templar fortress. A rear-guard action appears to have allowed Otho and many of the fugitives to escape by sea (*Ibid* p149). It is tempting to speculate that the escape was via the 350m tunnel, built in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, which connected the fortress and the port. This tunnel was discovered accidentally in 1994.

<sup>216</sup> Demurger (2005) p141. The plan included the Pope forming a new military order to re-conquer the Holy Land and also administer it under the supervision of the Papacy; the kings of Jerusalem were to be done away with (Clifford p131 citing Kohler). Prestwich p75, again citing Kohler, says that the treatise argued that it was best for crusaders to arrive in the autumn, preferably in Armenia, so that the army and in particular its horses could be ready to march on Jerusalem in the following spring.

<sup>217</sup> The chapel was built by Henry III in 1240 (St Georges Chapel Guide) contemporary with the Bisham preceptory (13<sup>th</sup> century; VCH Berks vol 3 p139; or late 13<sup>th</sup> century, *Ibid* p140). The only remains of Henry’s chapel is its north wall and the Galilee porch with its original door that is located at the east end of the chapel built by Edward IV for the Order in the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Fig 54a & b). The decorative ironwork on the door, in a “Tree of Life” design, was a new French fashion that first appeared in England at the chapel (1240-9) (Alexander & Binski p174).

<sup>218</sup> Dugdale, vol 2 p177, Nicholson, p175, Plate 6.12. The Temple moved from the Old Temple in Holborn to this larger site which originally included most of what is now Lincolns Inn. The knights built a round church patterned after the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. An inscription on the Round Temple records that it was consecrated by the Patriarch Heraclius on 10 February 1185 in honour of the Virgin Mary. It is thought that King Henry II was also present on that day inaugurating a long association between the royal family and the Temple ([www.innertemplelibrary.org.uk](http://www.innertemplelibrary.org.uk)). In the stained glass of the east window of the south aisle Henry II is shown holding the Round Temple and Henry III is shown holding the Temple with the chancel he added. Henry II, however, preferred burial in France (in Fontevraud Abbey) where his effigy still can be found.

<sup>219</sup> Nicholson, p175-6.

<sup>220</sup> GEC, Grandison vol 2, p73 citing *Chron.& Mem. Adam Murimuth* p11. For Murimuth’s connection with the Grandison family see note 457). Lanercost Priory in England, near to the Scottish Border, was where Edward I, due to ill health, stayed from September 1306 to March 1307 in a vain last attempt to fight the Scots. Otho was with the King at Lanercost in the autumn of 1306 and at the Carlisle Parliament in March 1307. In May he was supposed to be ready to cross with an embassy to France but the embassy was delayed and he was still in London when rumours of the King’s death (in July 1307) reached him (Clifford p215). Clifford p120 thinks Otho gave the chronicler details of the fall of Acre (see Chronicle of Lanercost p78-80). Certainly the details given and views expressed attributing the fall to the *corrupt life of its citizens which wrought the ruin of papal troops and also to the false and craven faith of the spiritual fathers* (*Ibid* p78) indicate an eye witness, most likely Otho. Details of the Welsh wars including the building of Flint Castle, the acquisition of Welsh treasures including the Crosnaith after the surrender of Llewellyn (*Ibid* p34) and the building of a bridge of boats across the Menai Straits when Roger Clifford drowned (*Ibid* p38), could also all have come from Otho, told to the chronicler while he was at Lanercost with the King. The Chronicle (p170) notes that in 1300 Otho was on an embassy to the Pope in Rome attempting to counter the Scottish mission earlier in the year. This is the same year that brother William was with the King participating in a successful siege of Caelaverock Castle in Scotland (see the Caerlaverock Poem that lists those present, blazoned in Brault).

<sup>221</sup> Clifford, p272. Table 1 indicates the Popes with whom Otho mainly worked.

<sup>222</sup> Demurger (2005), p266. Dugdale (p179-184) gives an account of proceedings against the Templars in 1309. His account, published in 1717, concludes that most of the French writers agree that King Philip IV, the Fair of France, had conceived an implacable hatred against the Templars on account of some words

uttered by them at the time that a great mutiny of the people happened in Paris and he resolved to be revenged on the whole order (*Ibid* p 183).

<sup>223</sup> Clifford, p22.

<sup>224</sup> RFS, vol 1 p148. Anthony Bek, Prince Bishop of Durham 1284-1311, who in 1307 had conducted the funeral service for Edward I in Westminster Abbey, was the main investigator of the Templars in 1308 (Wikipedia Anthony Bek acc July 2011). His experience of the Templars in the Holy Land when, alongside Otho Grandison, he accompanied the then Prince Edward there in 1270, no doubt informed his handling of the situation. Like Otho he was also an executor of Edward's Will made at Acre in 1272.

<sup>225</sup> RFS, vol 1 p148.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid*, p155 see note 230. The downfall of the Templars caused Otho to lose an annuity of 2000 livres tournois that had been granted him thirty years before by Jacques de Molay, Master of the Temple "*in consideration of the great service which the noble and puissant Sir Otho de Grandson hath done and does for us*" (Kingsford, p160), indicating a long standing association with that Order. Otho used his influence on Pope Clement V to obtain compensation and was granted for life three houses of the Temple in France, houses that occurred in the original Templar grant of 1277 (*Ibid*, p160). Otho had evidently produced as evidence the 1277 grant, based on which the Pope confirmed on 15 Sept 1308 (Reg Clem V 1885 no 2938, p137) the pension made to Otho by the Master of the Temple. Philip, King of France, made an equivalent grant to Otho on confiscated lands of the Order which was later ratified by the Pope when these lands were turned over to him (Clifford, p227). The French grant, dated 26 November 1308 at *Fontem Bleaudi* (Fontainebleu) was confirmed by the Pope on July 1309 at Avignon (Reg Clem.V, 1886 no 4404, p213-216).

<sup>227</sup> Clifford, p245. Pope Clement V had in 1310 summoned Jacques Duèze, chancellor to Charles II of Naples to Avignon for advice on the Templars (NNDB biography Pope John XXII a.k.a. Jacques Duèze online). Duèze wrote a report for the Council of Vienne (1311-12) on the issues to be discussed there, the most important of which was the trial of the Templars (pers. comm. Malcolm Barber 2007). Duèze recommended suppression to serve the best interests of the church (see NNDB Pope John XXII biography online). He became Pope in 1316, his connection with Charles II probably ensuring the papacy stayed at Avignon (see Table 1). He has been described as less exclusively Gascon in outlook than Clement V (Labarge p107). There is a curious geographical link between Duèze and the suppression of the Templars. Of the 94 depositions surviving from the Templar provincial hearings, 44 were held in Cahors in Oct/Nov 1307 with a further 5 held there in January 1308 (Barber M, pp 69, 324). Cahors, in the 13<sup>th</sup> century was on the southern border of considerable ecclesiastical lands (see Barnes p95) and was the birthplace of Duèze. It is said that the admission of a sergeant at Montpezat de Quercy, that he had adored an image of Baphomet (Mahomet in Occitan, the language of that area) was the sole testimony on which was based that accusation against them (Aubarbier p210-211). Montpezat is near to Cahors and the birthplace of Pierre des Prés (whose family were seigneurs of the town), appointed Cardinal by Duèze after he became Pope (see note 418). It is also said that a renegade Templar, Esquieu de Floyran, who had denounced the order, was the origin of the campaign of slander against them. He became seigneur of Montricoux where there was a large Templar commandery (Aubarbier p210). That Floyran, Comprior of Montfaucon, claimed the role of prime mover in the whole affair is cited by Barber M p65. Was Montricoux a reward? Montricoux, Montpezat and Cahors, where Duèze was from, are all in the same area of Quercy. Is this a coincidence or indicative of a coordinated campaign against the Templars originating in that area? Did the fact that the Templars were bankers seal their fate? Aubarbier p208-209 says that Duèze, was a member of a family of bankers from Cahors, and after the destruction of the Order sold their possessions in Cahors to the Hospitallers and rebuilt there St Barthélemy, a Templar church. His brother Pierre, said to be Bishop of Cahors (Barber R. 1999 p234) built a palace next door to this church (*Ibid*. p234). Dr V. Groom (pers comm. 2007), however, thinks the Duèze family were merchants not bankers, that St Barthélemy was not a Templar church and that Pierre Duèze was not Bishop of Cahors. Cassagnes-Brouquet p33 says the Pope was from a rich middle class family, his father was banker to the bishops of Cahors and (*Ibid*. p34), and that his brother Pierre was ennobled by Philip V in 1316 (the same year that Jacques Duèze became Pope as John XXII). Pierre was evidently not Bishop of Cahors in 1317, when it is said the then Bishop, Hugues Géraud, attempted to poison the Pope and cardinals close to him (*Ibid*. p35-36). Pierre des Prés, was a lawyer, who had been involved in the trial of Hugues Géraud which is said to have gained him the Pope's friendship (Moureau p4). Identifying Pierre as Bishop of Cahors may have been a mistake, although Internet sources say he built the palace next to the church, said to date from c1290-1300, i.e before his brother was Pope. The Pope remained very attached to Cahors giving it advantages including helping the Friars Minor reconstruct their church (Cassagnes-Brouquet p34). St Barthélemy is not mentioned.

<sup>228</sup> Clifford, p245. Excepting Templar assets on the Iberian Peninsula that were granted to the kings of Castile, Aragon, Portugal and Majorca to help them fight the Moors. The Pope when suppressing the Templars notes the role of the King of France in reporting the Templars "crimes" and interestingly says "*He (the King) was not moved by greed. He had no intention of claiming or appropriating for himself anything from the Templars*

*property; rather in his own kingdom he abandoned such claim and thereafter released entirely his hold on their goods*” (Vox in excelso 1312, [www.piar.hu/councils/ecum/ecum15.htm](http://www.piar.hu/councils/ecum/ecum15.htm) translated from Tanner NP).

<sup>229</sup> John can be found, from 1313, studying in Paris (see ODNB: John Grandison p266). John Grandison was in the habit of scribbling corrections on books in his possession and a note on one makes reference to being a student in Paris in 1314 and the burning of the Templars, giving rise to the suggestion that he may have been present at the burning of Jacques de Molay, Master of the Temple (Rose Troup p250). Otho Grandison and Jacques Duèze, who became Pope John XXII in 1316, appear to have been at the See at Avignon around the same time (see Table 1). Perhaps this contact helped Otho in later years place his nephew John as chaplain to Duèze). A breviary in the British Library (Roy Ms 2A XVIII) has a Calendar with Grandison obits scribbled on it (see Table 4). This manuscript was once thought to belong to the Bishop (Clifford p70) though the Library Catalogue now dates it to after his death.

<sup>230</sup> An inventory of the possessions of the Knights Templar in England can be seen at The National Archives (TNA) at Kew. The 1309 inventory (Compotus), by Richard Damory, of the Bisham preceptory can be found under TNA reference Exchequer: Pipe Office: Miscellaneous Enrolled Accounts (E358/20 mm.20-21); for a translation of the inventory see Hone p105-108.

<sup>231</sup> The Hospitallers appear to have retained rights to the advowson of the nearby church of Holy Trinity cited as patron in 1314, 1334-1335, 1352-1450 (Jones p23). Thomas was holding Bisham in 1316 (VCH Berks vol 3 p146). While Bisham was in the king’s hands various people were housed there including in 1313 his baby son (b. Nov 1312), later Edward III (see *Ibid.* p146). Bisham may have been regarded as a healthy place for a baby. It seems to have been regarded so in the time of both Henry VIII (see Dormer p16) and Charles I (VCH Berks vol. 3 p148, note 81).

<sup>232</sup> Otho’s nephew, Peter Grandison was involved in Lancaster’s rebellion in 1322 (for more on this see section on Lydiard Tregoze).

<sup>233</sup> In December 1345 the Prior of Bisham was holding the manors of Bustlesham (Bisham) Mountagu (Montacute) and Bolestrode (Bulstrode) and obtained an exemplification of an indenture of the Hospitallers dated 17 Edward II (1324) granting various manors *sometime of the Templars*, including Bisham, to Hugh Despenser. These they had acquired by virtue of an ordinance of Pope John XXII (CPR 1345-48 p22).

<sup>234</sup> He was eventually killed reputedly with the aid of a red hot poker. His son Edward III commemorated his father with an elaborate alabaster tomb in Gloucester Cathedral where the latter was buried after his murder in September 1327. Mortimer 2004, p244-264, claims this was a false report and that he survived in secret.

<sup>235</sup> Douch p85; ODNB: William Montagu p773.

<sup>236</sup> Made Bishop of Exeter by papal provision in 1327 (ODNB: John Grandison, p266).

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid.*, p266.

<sup>238</sup> Moureau, p4, see note 418 for information about the Cardinal.

<sup>239</sup> Peter Grandison, Montacute’s brother-in-law, was married to Roger’s daughter Blanche (see Tree 2).

<sup>240</sup> Douch, p86. Mortimer (2006) (p82) points out that the plan was the king’s “secret design”, so named in a charter dated 18 Jan 1331 that detailed Montacute’s reward (CChrR vol 4, p199).

<sup>241</sup> The King’s advisers suggested he be rewarded with 1000*l* of land in fee (CChrR vol 4 p199). Interestingly, as indicated in the charter, those same lands - castle, town, manor and honour of Dynbegh (Denbigh), cantreds of Ros, Reywynok and Kaermerdyn and commote of Dynmael - had also been held by Alice, late the wife of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, who had quit-claimed them to Edward II for 1000 marks by the year. This same Alice later quit-claimed her rights to Bisham to Montacute (Hone p126). Montacute and his heirs were to hold the castle and lands from the king and his heirs by services due to the value of 1000 marks in part satisfaction of the 1000*l*. Edward III is said to have confirmed an exchange between Isabella (his mother) and Montacute of a 1000 marks that included the castle and manor of Hawarden, the castle and vill of Mold (both west of Chester) and the Seneschalship of Chester, making Hawarden the principal place (Anon 1822 p11,19). The Montacutes still held Mold in 1386, when his son, William Montacute, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Salisbury, obtained a licence to alienate the advowson of Mold to the prior and convent of Bisham (VCH Berks vol 2, p82). The wardship of many of the Mortimer estates and the marriage of the heir, Roger (grandson of the executed Earl of March), were in 1336 granted to Montacute (GEC March vol 3 p443). Roger later married Montacute’s daughter Philippe (Philippa). Dalton 1917 p59 note 1.

<sup>242</sup> Two charters are dated 18 Jan 4 Edward III (=1331): one for Crookham (Croukham), Berks and the other entitled Southampton that included Christchurch Twynham, Westover (Westovre) and Ringwood (Ryngwode). In total Montacute and his wife held five grants jointly from the King as detailed in the Montacutes’ Inquisition post mortem. The remaining three are undated (see CIPM vol 8, p386-388). All five were retained by Katherine (d.1349) after her husband’s death in 1344 (see her inquisition CIPM vol 9, p273-274). At Christchurch Priory there is a Montacute Chantry in the north transept consisting of two small chapels. According to the Guidebook p24, the double chapel was built between 1260 and 1270. If these dates are correct the Montacute Chantry was built before William Montacute was granted Christchurch. According to Perkins p102 the chantry was built by the De Redvers Earls of Devon, the last of whom died in 1263. Perhaps the Montacutes decorated it. Portrait corbels in the chantry include one of a woman with a wimple,

a fourteenth century fashion. Interestingly, the masonry of the Priory has been linked to Exeter Cathedral. The stone reredos at Christchurch dated ca.1350-60 has been compared to the west front of Exeter, dated 1350-65, and is attributed to the Exeter workshop (Alexander & Binski p106). The west front at Exeter Cathedral was built by Bishop Grandison; did he provide the workmen for Christchurch where the reredos and other building took place in the fourteenth century? Perhaps this building included work on the chantry. That there was a strong link with the Montacute family that lasted at least until the sixteenth century is indicated by the presence of the beautiful Salisbury chantry chapel built by a Montacute descendent, Margaret, Countess of Salisbury (see Tree 5) at Christchurch Priory - a chantry unfortunately unused, as Henry VIII had her beheaded and she is buried at the Tower.

<sup>243</sup> Montacute was given the reversion of the manor of Bustlesham (Bisham) in April 1335 to be held by him after the death of Alice, widow of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster (ex 1322), and her second husband Ebulo LeStrange. Ebulo died in September 1335 and Alice (d.1348) appears to have given up her life interest as Montacute was holding the manor in 1337 when he founded a priory of Austin canons there (Hone p126). This reference describes the priory as newly founded in 1335 but this is a mistake. The licence founding the monastery is dated March 1337 (CPR 1334-1338, p434).

<sup>244</sup> In 1337 he granted a former Templar purpresture to William Trussell (of nearby Shottesbrooke; see VCH Berks vol 3, p165) the same year that he founded the Augustinian Priory at Bisham. William Trussell (d.1363), also in 1337 established a collegiate church at Shottesbrooke (VCH Berks vol 2, p102). Montacute is likely to have been a donor to the Shottesbrooke church as the Montacute coat was among the armorial glass recorded from the east window there by Ashmole in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Ashmole 850 f 290 Bodleian Library, Oxford) together with other coats linked to the Montacutes. These have been identified in Darracott (p4-12) as (a) *Mortimer* for Roger Mortimer (d.1360) who was his ward from 1336 and married Montacute's daughter Philippa (GEC March vol 3, p443). (b) *England with a bordure argent*, probably for Joan of Kent (d.1385) who was married to Montacute's son John from before Feb 1341 to 1349 when the marriage was annulled (GEC Salisbury vol 5, p390 note a). (c) *Warene*, John Warene Earl of Surrey (dsp.1347) who, with his wife Joan of Bar (granddaughter of Edward I) held the manor of Amesbury, Berkshire from William Montacute (d.1344) (see CIPM 2004 p145). (d) *Fitzalan*, Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel whose son Edmund, by his first wife Isabel Despencer, was betrothed to Sybil Montacute, Salisbury's daughter in 1331 (Burtscher p33) - see note 387 for his unfortunate history. Richard's father Edmund Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel (d.1326), had been a ward of John Warene senior (d.1304), grandfather of John (d.1347). Edmund married the younger John's sister Alice (ODNB John Warene d.1347). Their son Richard eventually inherited both the earldoms of Arundel and Surrey. (e) *Bohun*. Humphrey Bohun, 6th Earl of Hereford & Essex (d.1361) or his brother William, (d.1360) who helped in the Nottingham coup, led by Montacute, which overthrew Roger Mortimer in 1330. The study of the armorials once at Shottesbrooke is important as it may indicate those who had been represented in Bisham Priory Church, already destroyed by the time Ashmole visited, with only a few of its shields surviving (Darracott p2-3). Several of the men, including Montacute, had an involvement with the overthrow of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, at Nottingham in 1330 and were present at the siege of Berwick and battle of Halidon Hill in 1333. The conquering of Berwick by Edward III is specifically mentioned by Montacute on the foundation brass of Bisham Priory (*Ibid* p9) see note 246.

<sup>245</sup> CPR, 1334-38 p434, 552 CPR 1338-1340 p110 CChR 1327-1341 p419-421. The latter charter dated April 1337 details Edward's grants to the priory given *out of piety and affection to the said earl* and more so because the earl had founded chantries there to pray for the king and queen and their children.

<sup>246</sup> CPR, 1334-1338, p434. The foundation "stone" of the priory is of latten or other copper alloy. After the Dissolution it evidently came into the hands of the Hyde family. It survives as a palimpsest at St James the Great, Denchworth, reused for William Hyde d.1567 and his wife Margery Denchworth d.1562. This brass is fixed to the wall in the church so that the original inscription cannot be seen. Its French inscription translates as: "*Edward King of England who carried on the siege before the City of Berwick and conquered in battle the said City on the eve of St Margaret in the year of grace 1333 laid this stone at the request of Sir William de Montague, the founder of this house*" (description in Alexander & Binski p498, who date it ca.1340). Montacute had been in command at the siege of Berwick (GEC Salisbury vol 5, p386).

<sup>247</sup> GEC, vol 5, Salisbury p387, note b.

<sup>248</sup> The Templars probably used the same quarry. The head of a pointed 14<sup>th</sup> century window in Montacute's addition can still be seen at Bisham. It is in the remaining side of the quadrant, three sides of which were demolished in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The window has been dated to late 14<sup>th</sup> century (VCH Berks vol 3, p144) i.e. after the first earl's death (in 1344) but as he is known to have been buried in the priory church he built at Bisham it seems more likely that the quadrant (cloister), which presumably was part of the priory, was also built before his death.

<sup>249</sup> Drawings of Bisham Priory Church occur in the Salisbury Roll thought to have been commissioned by Richard Neville, the Kingmaker, for the reburial of his father at Bisham in 1463 (Payne p193). The Salisbury

Roll is owned by the Duke of Buccleuch. A second drawing occurs in Salisbury Roll A, commissioned by Richard III 1483-85 in held by the British Library (Add. MS45133 f.52v).

<sup>250</sup> The original Salisbury Roll of ca.1463, apart from showing the church with a central tower, also represents what appears to be the north transept with a view of the interior of the church showing vaulting and a tiled floor. Copy A of 1483-85 instead represents this as a side chapel as at Exeter and Ottery St Mary. It also depicts buttresses with gablets and decorative pinnacles similar to those at Ottery but absent in the original drawing. Both Rolls feature in the gable, statuary of Christ on the Cross in front of a bearded and crowned God the Father, representing the Holy Trinity (Payne p194). Payne thinks the artist of the original drawing might have been attempting to depict a real building but could what appears to be a much larger building than in Copy A have been built without buttresses? The architecture of the church, especially the windows, depicted in Copy A is more typically 14<sup>th</sup> century. Perhaps if the ground plan was ever properly investigated it would be possible to say which drawing was more accurate. The twin towers at Exeter once had spires; one removed by 1618, the other in 1752 (Dalton 1917 p14). A drawing from a chart of Exmouth Harbour dating from the time of Henry VIII shows Exeter's twin spires clearly (Lysons & Lysons 1822, vol 2, opposite p320). At Ottery, although only the spire of the north tower is extant, presumably both once had spires. Very similar spires were once on Bisham Priory church (Fig 21 a & b) and on the central tower at Hereford Cathedral (Fig 9) also built in the 14<sup>th</sup> century financed by offerings to the shrine of St Thomas of Hereford (Thomas Cantilupe, kinsman by marriage of the Grandisons - see Tree 2).

<sup>251</sup> Montacute's (Montagu's) biography notes that he corresponded with Bishop John on both personal and political matters (ODNB: Montagu p775).

<sup>252</sup> Montacute built onto the east end of the Templars' hall, blocking up the east window (uncovered in the 19<sup>th</sup> century). He appears to have built a two storey, four-sided quadrant which formed a cloister at ground level. This still existed in 1552 (see the Surveyor's Report in Powell pxviii) but was partially demolished subsequently and the stone reused. Only one side, with its "great chamber" and cloister under, remains, still attached to the Templars' hall.

<sup>253</sup> The scallop shell is the badge of St James (the Iberian patronal saint whose shrine is at Compostella) who, Tyerman (p171) says, was transformed into a "knight of Christ" and heavenly intercessor for the success of Christian warfare. St James has become the patron saint of pilgrims.

<sup>254</sup> John XXII, who succeeded Clement V (d. 1314) in 1316; see Table 1.

<sup>255</sup> Nicholson, p231.

<sup>256</sup> When Alphonso XI's nephew was King of Aragon as Peter IV (see table 46 Louda & Maclagan).

<sup>257</sup> ODNB: Montagu p774. Le Bel's assertion that he died fighting at Algeciras after a confrontation with Edward III about the king's rape of his wife is contradicted by the earl's inquisition post mortem, the writ of which is dated 31 Jan 1344, the day after he died (CIPM vol 8 p386): a bit difficult if he died in Algeciras.

<sup>258</sup> GEC, vol 5 Salisbury p388. Interestingly, an inquisition made at Maidenhead in June 1344 only records him holding the advowson of the Bisham (Bustlesham sic) Priory (CIPM vol 8 p389). In November 1345, a little over a year and a half after Montacute's death, his mother, Elizabeth née Montfort (d. 1354), founded a chantry in the Augustinian monastery of St Frideswide at Oxford to pray for her, for her late husband William and their ancestors (CPR 1345-1348,p12, Evans p4). To finance the two priests that served it she gave the monastery the southern half of Christchurch meadow (Evans, p4; Evans et al p6). Perhaps she chose the Augustinians because her son had chosen them for his Bisham foundation. Her effigy, still with much of its colour, can be seen in the monastery church, now Christ Church Cathedral, on her tomb positioned between the Lady Chapel (probably its original site) and the Latin Chapel. The tomb, with her children represented as weepers, all unfortunately now headless, survived the makeover given to the church when Cardinal Wolsey created Christ Church College in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Interestingly, the Latin Chapel in the cathedral, completed 1338 (Evans et al p2), has armorial glass for Courtenay in one of the windows. A "Pitkin Guide" booklet *Christ Church Stained Glass* says that this window was given by the Courtenay family when the Latin Chapel was built in the 1350's (cf 1338 date given above). The figures in this window are among those almost certainly executed by the same workshop as glazed St Katherine's Chapel in Ledbury for the Grandisons (see note 121). Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon (d.1377), was close to the Grandisons and is the probable donor here (see Tree 4). Regarding the difference in dates for the construction of the chapel perhaps what was meant was that the Chapel was completed in 1338 but glazed in 1350. Close parallels between window tracery and mouldings of the Chapel and Shottesbrooke Church suggest they were built or begun around the same time possibly using the same school of Oxfordshire masons (Saul N 2002 p267). Shottesbrooke Church in Berkshire was founded by William Trussell in 1337. See note 244 for Trussell's connection with William Montacute, son of Elizabeth Montfort. The Montacute coat also occurs on the stone vaulting of the cloister roof at Christ Church but this is later, said to be late 15<sup>th</sup> century (Christchurch Cathedral Reference Guide unpub ms).

<sup>259</sup> According to Version 2 of Adam Murimuth's Chronicle. The two versions give different dates, which is surprising as Murimuth, in 1344, was based at Wraysbury near Windsor. It has been suggested that he didn't write Version 2 (Munby et al p183 note 2). See note 459.



<sup>260</sup> GEC, vol 5 Salisbury p388, note b, quoting the will of his daughter, Philippa. The old Dictionary of National Biography has him buried in Whitefriars, London, but this is corrected in the ODNB p775. The Prior of Bisham was one of the executors of Montacute's will (CCR 1343-46, p461).

<sup>261</sup> Vane, p40 in Saul.

<sup>262</sup> There are different opinions on the date of this inaugural feast/mass; see note 479.

<sup>263</sup> Dalton (1917) p44. See also Camden's *Britannia* who calls her Certes.

<sup>264</sup> Ormrod (2000) p102-104.

<sup>265</sup> VCH, Berks vol 2, p82. The reference to the church being "in a great measure unbuilt" is confirmed by the extant drawings of it dating from the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Figs 21 a & b) that can be interpreted as showing that the nave was never built. Only the year before William Montacute, the 2<sup>nd</sup> earl, had directed in his will, 20 April 1397, that he be buried at Bisham (GEC Salisbury vol 5, p390, note d), in the collegiate church of the priory of Bustlesham-Montacute in Berks, which had been founded by his father (Beltz p37) and left 500 marks for work on the church building (Compton p35). Interestingly, nearness to Windsor Castle was blamed for increased claims on hospitality (VCH Berks vol 2, p82).

<sup>266</sup> GEC, Salisbury vol 5, p392. The plan was to seize Henry IV at Windsor but the king got wind of the affair and the conspirators scattered. Salisbury was nearly cut off at Maidenhead where he was involved in a sharp fight at the bridge. He escaped but was later captured at Cirencester (Compton p37). His wife Maud obtained a licence in November 1420 to have his bones removed from Cirencester Abbey to Bisham Priory for burial. The licence refers to him as founder of the priory which is incorrect (see CPR 1416-22 p312). Her will, dated 22 June 1424, is extant (PROB 11/3 in the National Archives) and directed burial at Bisham (GEC vol 5 Salisbury p393, note d). Her will is indexed as for Maud Montague, Countess of Salisbury, but the name on the document itself looks more like Matilda.

<sup>267</sup> GEC, Salisbury vol 5 p393. In 1409, 1413 and 1414 several churches were appropriated to Bisham increasing its revenue (see VCH Berks vol 2, p83).

<sup>268</sup> CIPM, 6-10 Henry VI p146, Ed. Noble 2004.

<sup>269</sup> The Nevilles were holding Bisham in 1435 when the prior of Bisham made a concordat relating to rents in Maidenhead. This deed, with the remains of the priory seal, is in the archives of St Georges Chapel, Windsor (see deed XV58 D70 Dalton 1957 p144). The oval seal is much broken but is said to represent the Virgin Mary seated and holding a globe surmounted by a cross (VCH Berks vol 3, p147 note 54). This is difficult to see.

<sup>270</sup> For a transcription of a contemporary account of the re-burial see Napier p110-112. Evidently the west door of Bisham Priory Church was big enough to admit a man on horseback, as during the ceremony "*After the Gospel, the two King of Arms went to the church door at the west end, and there fetched in an armed man on horseback trapped, with an axe in his hand, the point downwards, being in the arms of the Earl, where they received him, and brought him up to the quire door, where he alighted, and held his horse in his hand, and there stood until the mourners had offered.*" (*Ibid.* p111). Interestingly, the door at the west end of Ottery St Mary church, built by Montacute's brother-in-law, Bishop John Grandison, is quite large being about 9 feet high (see Fig 44).

<sup>271</sup> Payne, p193.

<sup>272</sup> Also killed at the battle of Wakefield.

<sup>273</sup> Both are shown linked to the church by a silver chain. Other couples in the Roll are shown similarly linked. Payne p192 speculates that there may have been a family record of the Cheapside tournament of Sept 1331 paid for by William Montagu that was recalled in the Salisbury Roll. At Cheapside William led a procession which included the king, Edward III, through the London streets. The procession was of knights clad and masked like Tartars each linked by a silver chain to a noble and beautiful lady. The king led his sister Eleanor (see Stubbs p354-5). Queen Philippa appears to have been watching as Vale (p57) cites sources that say that at the Cheapside tournament the Queen's stand collapsed. The tinctures of the Neville coat on the c1463 Roll are reversed being *argent a saltire gules* instead of *gules a saltire argent*. It is suggested this was done as a form of differencing arms (Payne p195 citing suggestion of Sir Anthony Gardner). Certainly, specific Nevilles are recorded as bearing *argent a saltire gules* or *gules a saltire argent* in several 13<sup>th</sup> century heraldic rolls presumably to distinguish them from one another (see the Stirling Roll; Walford Roll pts 1 & 2; Collins Roll Pt 3; St Georges Roll pt 3 on medieval heraldry web site: <http://medievalgenealogy.org.uk>). See also Foster p147, who attributes this coat to the Nevilles of Hornby, Yorks. John Neville of Hornby was among the group of lords who, led by Montacute, overthrew Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, in 1330 (Mortimer 2006, p2). Perhaps his armorial occurred in an earlier Montacute Roll. Richard Neville, who became Earl of Salisbury in right of his wife, was son of Robert Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, by his second wife, Joan Beaufort, and so of a cadet branch of the earls of Westmoreland. Salisbury's coat was *gules a saltire argent* with a three point label, *argent and azure* for Beaufort. It is not clear why Salisbury's son Richard would have used the alternate Neville coat in the Roll. The more usual *gules a saltire argent* is found on a later Roll (Salisbury Copy A) done ca.1483-85, perhaps for Richard III and inspired by Neville's original. Interestingly, the figures of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, and his wife Alice Montacute in the earlier Roll are drawn showing

armorials that give precedence to Alice whereas in the later Roll this precedence is lost (see Payne plates 16, 15&17). The extant coat of Salisbury in a window at Bisham shows he gave precedence to his wife.

<sup>274</sup> Warwick's own coat is lost. As the coat is encircled by the Garter he must have put up the glass after he was nominated KG (ca. Sept 1460 - Begent & Chesshyre p313) which supports the idea of preparations for the funeral in 1461. The extant coat for his parents is one of two recorded by Ashmole. Elias Ashmole visited Bisham during 1664-1666 and recorded the armorial glass he saw (*Ashmole 850 f 284* in the Bodleian Library, Oxford).

<sup>275</sup> GEC, Salisbury vol 5, p399-400. A similar shield, without the garter, and now lost was recorded by Ashmole.

<sup>276</sup> Powell, pxix.

<sup>277</sup> Clifford p12, who suggests that the annual pension of £20 granted to Peter Grandison, father of Otho and William, in June 1252, may have been for his sons' services.

<sup>278</sup> Clifford, p68.

<sup>279</sup> Taylor (1985) p8-9, who notes that Grandson and the nearby castle of Champvent, (built by Otho's cousin, Peter Champvent, another lifelong friend and servant of Edward I) both lack early documentation. The first surviving financial document dates from 1391 when the Seigneurie was administered by Savoy after the fall of the last Seigneur de Grandson, Hugues, who was accused of forgery (*faux dans les titres* De Raemy p240). However, Dalton 1917 p41 says Otho III (d.1397), who also fought for the English, was the last of the family to whom the castle belonged. Killed in a duel at Bourg en Bresse by Gerhard de Estavayer, Otho III was the poet and warrior Chaucer referred as the *flour of hem that make in Fraunce* (*Ibid*).

<sup>280</sup> De Raemy, no 98 p240.

<sup>281</sup> This was done by his constable and without doubt friend, Pierre d'Estavayer, who also used the same labour for his castle on the other side of the lake, but the work there commenced around 1285. (pers.comm. De Raemy 2010). Estavayer was probably Otho's brother in law (see family tree in back plate of Clifford).

<sup>282</sup> Taylor (1986) piii. In August, on Otho's high recommendation, payment was made to men raising timber at Flint, perhaps for a palisade *Ibid* 1986, p18-19. For the similarities between the castles in Yverdon in Vaud, Switzerland and Flint; see "Castles in Wales".

<sup>283</sup> Dendrochronology of the wood of the towers of the "grand chateau" indicates the trees were felled in autumn-winter 1277-78, 1278-79, 1279-80, etc (pers.comm. De Raemy 2010).

<sup>284</sup> Clifford, p34.

<sup>285</sup> *Ibid*, p35-36.

<sup>286</sup> Taylor (1985) p253 note 21.

<sup>287</sup> *Ibid*, 1985 p34-35.

<sup>288</sup> GEC, Grandison vol 2 p70.

<sup>289</sup> Taylor (1985) p9 n1.

<sup>290</sup> Information at Chateau Grandson - text under direction of Daniel de Raemy, who suggests Master James may have been able to begin the work in say 1276-77 just before leaving for Wales (De Raemy pers. comm. 2011).

<sup>291</sup> Master John (d. by 1268), in the second quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, was responsible for the latest, most westerly parts of Lausanne Cathedral (Taylor 1985 p22-3). The west window of the cathedral is considered to resemble the east window of the hall of Conwy Castle (*Ibid* 1985 p24-5 pl 19). Taylor 1985 p25 suggests the military architect (Master James) was reflecting the source of his inspiration (the Cathedral). He may also have been utilising patterns taught to him by his father.

<sup>292</sup> Coigny et al, p8. As with most Swiss castles, the towers are covered with a tiled roof. According to the guidebook, *Le Chateau d'Yverdon – sept siècles d'histoire*, these were added at Yverdon after a fire in 1378 (*Ibid* p41).

<sup>293</sup> Taylor (1985) p11, 83. Master Peter Mainier was the Keeper of the Count's Works (*Ibid* p11). Taylor notes (p24) that Swiss sources have identified, quite wrongly, Peter Mainier as the architect and military engineer of Count Peter. Taylor thinks he was essentially the Clerk of Works and not the craftsman.

<sup>294</sup> De Raemy, p46, 70.

<sup>295</sup> Dendrology indicates the wood used was felled in autumn 1276 (De Raemy p46). The lower part of the great tower was built in 1259-1262 by Peter of Savoy and the higher part in 1275-1277 by Philip of Savoy (*Ibid* p138-139).

<sup>296</sup> De Raemy, p46, figs34 & 35.

<sup>297</sup> De Raemy, fig 51 p63.

<sup>298</sup> Though he points out this is the only example from before the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century *Ibid* p311, citing Knight whose ground plan dates the tower, where the windows are, to 1219-1245. A more recent guide (Turner 2010) dates this tower, even earlier, to 1189-1219. It is now thought to have been built by the famous William Marshal, probably as private apartments for him and his wife Isabel de Clare, who he married in 1189, inheriting her old outmoded castle (Turner p 10, 33, ground plan at back of guide). De Raemy p311 also says

the *route en mitre* was recorded from the castle at Caerphilly (on gateways, bays and embrasures dated to 1272-1278). However, the specific example he illustrates - embrasures with arrow slits in the north dam (*Ibid* fig 516 p312) - is later. Renn (see ground plan at back of guide) dates the north dam to about 1277-90, by which time Chateau Yverdon was already finished (see De Raemy p139).

<sup>299</sup> *Ibid*, p285.

<sup>300</sup> *Ibid*, p311.

<sup>301</sup> *Ibid*, p45.

<sup>302</sup> Taylor (1985) p32 suggests that Philip, having resigned his ecclesiastical benefices on becoming Count (he had been Archbishop of Lyon), may have been feeling the loss of his ecclesiastical residences, that included two palaces and the status that went with it, and so built a new castle at St Georges.

<sup>303</sup> *Ibid*, p32-34. A 1794 sketch of the castle shows it was quadrangular with octagonal towers at the corners (Taylor 1985 p15 & pl 22c). For the evidence that Master James was the builder of St Georges see Taylor 1985 p29-43. Whether Master James was a Savoyard by birth is less certain (Colvin vol 1 p204).

<sup>304</sup> Taylor (1985) p96. It is known that Master James was paid in November 1273 at St Georges for castle works (see Taylor 1985 p93-96 that lists payments to Master James from 1266-1275).

<sup>305</sup> De Raemy, p286.

<sup>306</sup> Taylor (1985), p97 suggests the last evidence of his presence in Savoy may be an undated entry in the account of the castellan of Bourge-en-Bresse and Châtillon-sur-Chalonne for the year commencing 1 March 1277 concerning the expenses of “the mason”, travelling from Bourg to St Georges.

<sup>307</sup> Taylor (1985) p94.

<sup>308</sup> Clifford; see family tree on end plate.

<sup>309</sup> Taylor (1985) p88, correcting p64.

<sup>310</sup> *Ibid*, p86-87.

<sup>311</sup> De Raemy, p241, 244,247,248.

<sup>312</sup> De Raemy, p311 says that Master James originated a particular type of arrow loop with a triangular bevelled exterior at the lower end that is found at the base of the towers at St Georges (commenced in 1269). He records this very rare design at Grandson, in the lower part of the south curtain wall (1277-1281), Morges (ca 1286-7) and Rhuddlan in Wales (commenced also in 1277) near the base of the north east curtain wall (see illustrations in *Ibid* p312-3 fig 519-521). At Rhuddlan such loops are also found alongside the entrance to the east gatehouse (personal observation 2011). If Master James originated this arrow loop then he must have been at Rhuddlan at the early stages of building or a Savoy mason, arriving before him, knew how to build them. However, similar arrow loops, though with a shorter splay, occur in the earlier Beeston Castle built in the 1220's, in both the inner gatehouse and the D shaped towers of the outer ward (personal observation August 2012), suggesting the technique was well known by the time Edward's castles were built. Friar (p181) describes them as a common form of arrow loop called a *fish tail* which has a triangular splay at the foot to increase the field of vision at the base of the wall.

<sup>313</sup> De Raemy, p240, 249 for water defences. For the layout of Grandson town in 1713 and 1828 that shows traces of the town walls built at the end of C13<sup>th</sup> see *Ibid* p35 fig 25.

<sup>314</sup> De Raemy, p240.

<sup>315</sup> Taylor (1985) p9 n1. Bourgeois 1935 (Pt 2 p8) considers Grandson does not correspond to the Savoy “rectangle”, possibly because the 13<sup>th</sup> century reconstruction was on the ancient plan. However, his 1911 plan does differentiate the eastern half with its round towers (Grand Chateau) from the western half with its semi-circular ones (Petit Chateau).

<sup>316</sup> De Raemy, p240.

<sup>317</sup> *Ibid*, p242, indicates the constable at Grandson during the rebuilding was John de Bonvillars. Taylor (1985 p87) says John de Bonvillario was Otho's tenant at Grandson, but neither give any dates. English records locate John de Bonvillar at the siege of Dolforwyn in Wales in 1277 (Taylor 1985 p211-212). Bonvillar, probably Otho's brother in law, from a village of that name near to Grandson, is thought to have returned temporarily to Vaud in 1278-1279 where he sealed a deed at Evian in March 1279, probably returning to England with Otho as he received a grant in Jan 1280, exchanging it in June 1281 (*Ibid* 1985 p6-7, 212-213). Bonvillar, before the end of 1283, had oversight of the royal works in Wales, (*Ibid* 1985 p213) was appointed constable of Harlech Castle in 1285 and died at Dryslwyn, Wales, in 1287 (*Ibid* 1985 p215, 223). It is difficult to see when he could also have been constable of Grandson. However, there is another John de Bonvillars who worked for Otho. In September 1309, a John de Bonvillari, described as clerk to Otho Grandison Knt, is noted as holding, beside benefices in Lausanne and elsewhere, the parish church of Middilton super Valle in the diocese of York (Cal. Papal Letters vol 2p59 - this does not claim he was Otho's nephew). Taylor 1985 p221 identifies him as a nephew and says that in 1334 he was acting as an executor of Otho's will. His probable relationship to John Bonvillar (d.1287) seems confused (see *Ibid* 1985 p221 and n1).

<sup>318</sup> De Raemy pers comm. 2011. De Raemy p241 fig 373 shows the construction of the Grand and Petit Chateaux which included the C12<sup>th</sup> Romanesque tower being partially demolished, the remaining part being incorporated into the north curtain wall and the demolished material being reused to heighten the west

curtain wall. An existing building of ca. 1230 was integrated into the new Petit Chateau and semi-circular towers were added to the curtain wall.

<sup>319</sup> Taylor (1985) p26.

<sup>320</sup> See Brown p101, who points out that, as at Conwy, the inner sanctum, to contain the apartments of the King and Queen which were never completed, was intended to be the Inner Bailey, to be cut off from the Outer Bailey by fortified buildings, never completed either. At Caernarfon the Outer Bailey housed the Eagle Tower that provided accommodation for Otho Grandison.

<sup>321</sup> Taylor (1985) p64-66.

<sup>322</sup> *Ibid*, p67.

<sup>323</sup> GEC, Grandison vol 2, p70. Burnell was one of Prince Edward's trustees when the Prince went off on crusade with Otho Grandison in 1270. It is considered that he is the only official that can be associated with Edward's buildings because his house at Acton Burnell in Shropshire has vaults similar to those at Caernarfon (Coldstream p42 in Williams & Kenyon). However, Burnell was close to Otho Grandison so the similarity in vaults could be due to Otho's contacts among the masons. In 1271 Burnell bought the manor of Shene (Sheen), selling it to his friend Otho Grandison in 1275 (Cloake p13). It was Otho's principal residence outside London (Biddle p364 note 88) where he had hunting rights (see Cloake p13). The manor house was on the riverside and had a moat (*Ibid* p219). Shortly after 23 April 1290, the children of Edward I were at Shene, probably with Otho, awaiting the king's coming en route to London from the Winchester tournament of 20 October which Otho is thought to have attended (Biddle p 362, 364 note 88). Otho reinvested Burnell with Shene when later that year he went on crusade again, retrieving it on his return in 1296, by which time Burnell had died. The inquest held in 1292 after his death records that his holding at Shene included a capital messuage with a garden, a dovecot and park, plus arable land, meadow, pasture, a rabbit warren and a fishery (Cloake p14). Records indicate that by 1299 the manor was in a poor state of repair. Otho left England in 1307, after the death of Edward I and Shene came into royal ownership (Cloake p15). Otho held Shene over a period of thirty years. It is very likely he built there. Unfortunately, even if he did, none of the buildings survive. Edward III, in 1358, began work to turn the manor house of Shene into a proper royal palace (Cloake p20-22, 219). The King died there in 1377 (Mortimer 2006 p390). Holinshed says that Richard II, distraught after the death of his wife Anne there in 1394, had the manor "thrown down". It was rebuilt by subsequent kings (see Cloake, Colvin vol 2 p995-1002) but the medieval buildings were largely destroyed in a fire in 1499 (Colvin vol 2 p 1001). The site of the original manor house that was redeveloped by Edward III is thought to be where are now the gardens of Trumpeter's Lodge and part of the grounds of Asgill House (Cloake p 219). The manor of Shene was renamed Richmond (Colvin vol 2 p994). Robert Burnell was more fortunate. The remains of the fortified manor house he built at Acton Burnell (English Heritage) and the neighbouring church of St Mary's, still survive.

<sup>324</sup> De Raemy, p241 fig 373. Pugholes in the curtain wall of the outer ward at the east end of the castle are still visible (personal observation 2011).

<sup>325</sup> De Raemy, p249 fig 388. De Raemy (p249) records that the terraces were constructed on an unstable *morain eminence* and were lapped by the waters of the lake (now receded with a railway line between lake and castle) that spread out to the north and east in an artificially enlarged depression (a moat) fed by the lake (south) and the Grandsonnet river (west of town).

<sup>326</sup> Information at Chateau Grandson that also notes the similarity to Conwy Castle. Both round and D shaped towers are found in the castles in Wales (see the section on "Castles in Wales").

<sup>327</sup> De Raemy, p249-250. Parallels between Vaud castles and those in Guyenne and Gascony have been linked to Jean Mésot who may have joined the service of Peter of Savoy in 1253-4 when the count was fighting alongside Henry III, King of England against the French. Mésot, as *Magister Ingeniorum*, worked for Henry III and was in England in August 1261 with Jean de Grailly. In the same year he is in the service of Peter of Savoy, continuing to work in Savoy and England until 1275 (*Ibid* p282-3).

<sup>328</sup> Philip of Savoy, who inherited from his brother Peter, was Archbishop of Lyon and built St Georges to reaffirm the position of his lineage in the region (De Raemy p200).

<sup>329</sup> De Raemy, p110, 249-250, 285. At Yverdon, it occurs in the later stage of building, from 1275-77, under Philip of Savoy (De Raemy p139).

<sup>330</sup> Coldstream p4 notes that corbelled latrine outlets and window tracery at Harlech, similar to that found in Saillon Castle, Savoy, (built 1259-61 for Peter of Savoy (De Raemy p138)), were designs found in Savoy but were previously unknown in buildings in Wales.

<sup>331</sup> Taylor (1986) p126-129.

<sup>332</sup> *Ibid* (1986) p126-129. Where Edward I was adding, in 1275-81, an outer curtain wall and associated defences (Keevill p60). The Tower of London was significantly enlarged in the reigns of Henry III (1216-72) and his son Edward I (1272-1307) (*Ibid* p59). Bertram, probably of Gascon origin and a military engineer of long experience, was also working on the Tower in 1276 (Taylor 1986 p126). In 1253 Bertram was at the siege of Benauges Castle in the Gironde (*Ibid* p126) as was Jean Mésot, *magister ingeniorum* of the king of England, an expert on siege engines and architecture (De Raemy p282). Henry III took the castle from a

rebellious baron in that year (Barber R. 1999 p296). Mésot, possibly from Landes (De Raemy p282) south of the Gironde (both parts of Gascony) and Bertram would have regarded Henry III as their sovereign lord. In 1266 the lordship of Benauges was amongst the estates granted to Jean de Grailly by Prince Edward with whom he had a long association (Powicke p288); see note 78. It is thought de Grailly had work done ca. 1270 on the castle that has remains of latrines similar to those built by Master James of St George and a window of a type found at Chateau Grandson (De Raemy p332). Gascony was in English hands from 1204 to 1453 and when English rule came to an end, Benauges Castle was one of the last to hold out against the French (Labarge p228).

<sup>333</sup> Taylor (1986) p126.

<sup>334</sup> Savoyard canons were at Hereford Cathedral from 1245 to 1320, especially between 1255-1295 (see Chapuisat p51). Many prelates from Savoy had an English career including William Champvent, Clerk of Henry III and later Bishop of Lausanne (1273), whilst Girard de Vuippens, was canon of York and Archdeacon of Richmond before becoming Bishop of Lausanne (1302) *Ibid* p46. Champvent was Otho Grandison's cousin whilst Vuippens was his nephew (see family tree in end plate of Clifford). A Savoyard was even Archbishop of Canterbury: Boniface, brother of Peter Count of Savoy, was Archbishop from 1241 to 1270.

<sup>335</sup> Burrows, p10. The architect of the new Gothic Abbey was greatly influenced by new buildings in France, such as Rheims and Sainte Chapelle in Paris built by Henry III's brother in law Louis IX. The original architect was *Henry de Reyns* possibly from Rheims (Westminster Abbey Guide p8) and if so was probably French.

<sup>336</sup> Taylor (1985) p93-96, who notes that Masot or Massout had special responsibility for works services (*Ibid* p84 note 4).

<sup>337</sup> With Jean de Grailly (De Raemy p282). The family originated from Grailly (Grilly), west of Lake Geneva/Leman (Powicke p288, note 2), now on the French side of the border with Switzerland. Around 1271 (presumably before he went on crusade with Otho Grandison in 1271) de Grailly built a Savoy Square at Grilly, towards the end of his life (ca. 1302) adding a donjon (De Raemy p227). By 1295 de Grailly had obtained Chateau Rolle (on the northern shore of the same lake) built ca. 1264 for Ebal (Ebullo) de Montibus by Jean Mésot. Peter de Grailly modified it in 1310 (*Ibid* p227). De Montibus was Constable of Windsor Castle from 1266-68 (Wikipedia Constables and Governors of Windsor Castle acc July 2011).

<sup>338</sup> De Raemy, p282. Mésot was ennobled in 1254 and in the same year received a "robe" as did another engineer, Bertram, who later worked on Rhuddlan in Wales in 1277-78 (*Ibid* p282-3).

<sup>339</sup> *Ibid*, p284.

<sup>340</sup> De Raemy, p288.

<sup>341</sup> *Ibid*, fig 378 p244. They seem to have been enclosed at the end C15th /start of the C16th (see *Ibid* pXIV-XV).

<sup>342</sup> *Ibid*, p288.

<sup>343</sup> Dalton (1917) p41. It is also said that the House of Savoy took over in 1391 when the last seigneur of Grandson, Hugues, was condemned *pour faux dans les titres* (forgery) De Raemy p240. Bourgeois (1922) p152 says that Hugues died in England where he had taken refuge after evading prison following a death sentence. It was the death of both of these men that brought the Sires de Grandson to a tragic end (see *Ibid* p152).

<sup>344</sup> Clifford p105. The Pope's Register identifies the Besancon priories as those of Praelas and St Germani (Reg.Nic IV no 1771 p328-329). In 1289 Otho, with William Hotham, was in Italy on an embassy to Pope Nicholas IV to lay Edward's case before the Pope aimed at resolving the Sicilian question (Clifford p97, 100-101, transcribes Otho's acerbic speech on behalf of his King to the Pope), at a time when there was alarming news from the Holy Land. The Pope agreed to grant money to the Patriarch of Jerusalem to fortify Acre, the only town remaining to the Christians and to send out twenty galleys under the leadership of Jean de Grailly. The embassy was completed in November but Otho stayed on at the Curia, not returning to England till March 1290 (*Ibid* p 103-104).

<sup>345</sup> Clifford, p103-5, 113. The 1290 grant is in the Archives Cantonales Vaudoises and has attached to it his seal bearing his coat with its scallop difference mark. A photo of the seal is given in Clifford (opposite p79). Cf Pradervand (2006) p65 who gives more details of the priories involved.

<sup>346</sup> Pradervand (2006) p64.

<sup>347</sup> Kingsford, p159.

<sup>348</sup> Pradervand (2006) p66, De Raemy, p292, fig 471.

<sup>349</sup> De Raemy, p210, 288, 292, fig 471.

<sup>350</sup> Hereford Cathedral is surrounded by a parish of which St John the Baptist is the patron saint. For centuries, parishioners have been allowed to use part of the Cathedral as their parish church. In the north transept there is a statue of the saint (Hereford Cathedral Guide 1996 p5). This transept was built ca. 1250, by the Savoyard Bishop, Peter de Aiqueblanche, and houses the shrine of St Thomas of Hereford (*Ibid* p14), kinsman of William Grandison's wife, Sybil.



<sup>351</sup> Richardson, p13.

<sup>352</sup> Kingsford p159 citing Reg Clem no 2885-6 dated 1308. This reference details the granting by Pope Clement V (1305-1314) of indulgences to those attending the church on certain saints' days. Clifford p114 says Otho probably visited home between July and September 1290 when his Franciscan church had been building for almost a year and had progressed so far that the Pope could grant indulgences to all who should visit it. The Pope in 1290 was Pope Nicholas IV. The founding of the Franciscan friary seems to date from December 1289 which is probably when he was given the permission of Pope Nicholas IV to build, at his own expense, a church for the Friars Minor (Franciscans) *on the banks of the Arnon near Grandson* (Clifford p105). As noted by Bourgeois 1922 p170, the site evidently changed as the church was built in Grandson town near the lake. It was located on the banks of the Grandsonnet River. A town plan of Grandson giving the position of the walls built around the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century shows that the monastery was outside the town walls proper though it had its own walls (see De Raemy p35 fig 25).

<sup>353</sup> Clifford, p259, who notes that Pierre, Otho's nephew, son of his brother Jacques, was also a donor. Bourgeois 1922 p227 says La Lance was given to the Premonstratensian order to run as a grange and was not a real monastery, dating the church and cloister to 1318-1328 and attributing the old fashioned style to the persistence of Romanesque influence (*Ibid* p323). . The Premonstratensian Abbaye de Joux was where, since its foundation by Ebal de Grandson in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, all Otho's ancestors had been buried (Clifford p211). This may be why, in 1306, Otho obtained a grant from the Curia for the Abbaye (see *Ibid* p211). Reputedly Otho's heart was buried at La Lance (Taylor 1985 p8) though Pradervand (p68) says it was given to the Franciscans at Grandson. La Lance was secularised in 1538 after which the buildings were modified (Bourgeois p228).

<sup>354</sup> Clifford, p259, notes that the church has been divided into a two storey barn! The La Lance website says it was divided in C19th to create a wine press below and a library above..

<sup>355</sup> Clifford, p276-77. His death has incorrectly been located at Lausanne (see Dalton 1917 p42). Also incorrectly, information at Chateau Grandson in 2005 said he died when attacked & imprisoned by Aymon de la Palud, Lord of Varembe while en route to Avignon to see Pope John XXII to obtain a blessing for a new crusade and that Pope John XXII excommunicated the participants in the ambush and their lands were confiscated – an inaccuracy immortalised in bronze on the memorial to Otho Grandison outside the Credit Suisse bank in Guernsey (see Fig 58). However, the attack took place in 1312 not 1328, and it was Pope Clement V who threatened excommunication (see Clifford p246-7; Reg Clem 1887 no. 8205 p139-40). Otho died the day after making his will, dated 4th April 1328, at Aigle, 50 miles from Grandson, possibly en route back from the Holy Land (Clifford p274-5). Aigle, just to the east of Lake Lemman, is on one of the most important medieval trade routes (through the Great Bernard Pass) to the Mediterranean (see Baker).

<sup>356</sup> ODNB, John Grandison p266; Dalton 1917 p42; though Kingsford p159 says William's son Otho was his principal heir in England though on p171 he cites sons, Peter and Otho as the chief English heirs. Dalton p104 quotes the Bishop as saying that his father (William) and his own brothers, had made over to his brother Otho "secundus", all their share in the said uncle's (Otho) patrimony abroad.

<sup>357</sup> Clifford, p276-7.

<sup>358</sup> Succeeded Pope Clement V in 1316.

<sup>359</sup> According to information at Chateau Grandson. According to Clifford p IX when the vault under Otho Grandison's effigy was opened in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century they found an armed skeleton of a knight with his spurs at his heels and his lance and shield by his side. Two centuries later the tomb was demolished to cut a doorway through to allow tourists to visit the excavations in the crypt. What happened then to Otho's skeleton is not recorded.

<sup>360</sup> GEC, vol 2 p75 says in 1317.

<sup>361</sup> Stammler suggests it could be one of the "golden cloths" mentioned in Otho's Will. Clifford (insertion between pages 78 & 79) however could not identify it from cathedral inventories of 1529 or 1536 concluding there is nothing definitely known as to its provenance. This spectacular piece of gold embroidered red silk that features a tiny figure of Otho kneeling before the Virgin and child (Figs 12b & c) and flanked by St Gabriel and St Michael, was loaned by the Historisches Museum of Bern to the exhibition, *Byzantium 330-1453* at the Royal Academy of Arts in London in 2008-2009, where it was labelled a funerary cloth, said to have embellished Otho's tomb (Cormack & Vassilaki p445). Most authorities refer to it as an altar frontal (Clifford between p78-9, and Stammler) and having seen Otho's tomb, it is difficult to see how the textile (3.28m long) could have been used to adorn it. Fig12a shows him similarly kneeling before the Virgin and child from a drawing made from the fresco on the tomb of Queen Eleanor d.1290 in Westminster Abbey. Lausanne Cathedral, reconstructed by Amédée , friend and disciple of St Bernard of Clairvaux, who became Bishop of Lausanne in 1145, is dedicated to Our Lady. It has a 13<sup>th</sup> century porch with a tympanum showing Christ crowning his mother (Diserens p30-33, 40). For Otho's dedication to these saints see Appendix 2.

<sup>362</sup> William's career recalled that of his great uncle. Like him, he frequented the courts of princes and participated in a crusade in 1366-68 (Pradervand (2006) p68). He accompanied Amedee VI, Count of Savoy, in a successful expedition to assist the Byzantine Emperor John V, the count's cousin, against attack by the

Ottoman Turks who had virtually cut Constantinople off from the West (Hallam 1989 p284). This is almost certainly why the Grandison armorial coat used by William bears the difference mark of his great uncle, the scallop shell. This coat with the molet indicating he was a third son, occurs in the corners of silver gilt plaques that are thought to have once formed a portable altar/reliquary dated to ca. 1370. His name Guillaume Grandson and motto also occurs on the plaques that are now on display in Fribourg Museum. They were acquired after the battle of Grandson in 1476 (Tresor de la Cathedrale Saint Nicholas de Fribourg p98) and are thought to have come originally from the Priory of John the Baptist at Grandson (*Ibid.* p112, Pradervand (2006), p66, 69). One plaque depicts St John the Baptist together with St Mary Magdalene, patrons respectively of the priory and its north chapel (*Ibid* p69).

<sup>363</sup> *Ibid*, p68-69.

<sup>364</sup> Kingsford, p159.

<sup>365</sup> ODNB, John Grandison, p266.

<sup>366</sup> Clement V in 1308 granted William Estenaye (sic) a variety of English benefices at his uncle's request with the added proviso that he was free from the obligation of being ordained priest for five years (Cal Papal Letters vol 2 p45) and in 1311 Otho requested the Pope to allow William to visit his archdeaconry of Lincoln by deputy for three years (*Ibid* p86).

<sup>367</sup> Grandison's Register vol 1, f 37 cited in Britton p92. Before Grandison, Walter Bronescombe (Bishop of Exeter 1258-1280) began the rebuilding of the Norman cathedral which was continued by Peter Quinil (Bishop 1280-1291) who transformed the Norman towers into transepts. Thomas Bitton (Bishop 1292-1307) and Walter Stapledon (Bishop 1308-1326) continued the work (see Erskine et al 1988, p24-36).

<sup>368</sup> The nave was complete by about 1350 as may be inferred from roll of 1350-51 where a charge was made of 14s for glazing two windows in his mortuary chapel Britton p94. It is also suggested that the high vault of the nave was virtually complete by the early 1340s (Erskine et al p40). Work on the image screen of the west front was apparently still going on in 1375 after his death in 1369 (*Ibid*, p44).

<sup>369</sup> Bishop & Prideaux, p157 et seq writing in 1922, describe the heraldry of the cathedral including the Grandison armorial boss "indicating his own work" and note that several times repeated are the arms of Montacute and Northwode (sic) indicating that these members of the Bishop's family also contributed (*Ibid.* p157). A roof boss bearing the Northwood coat can still be seen. Rose Troup (p254) attributes this boss to Otho Northwood, the Bishop's nephew and Archdeacon of Exeter in 1329, and suggests he contributed (cf dates for Otho in Tree 3). However, the boss bears the undifferenced coat, which if correct should indicate either the Bishop's brother-in-law John Northwood (d.1317) or his eldest son Roger Northwood d.1361, the eldest of the Bishop's nephews. Roger's brothers John and Otho were canons at Exeter but their coats should indicate their cadet status (see Tree 3 note 11).

<sup>370</sup> The statue holds the neck of something in its right hand and appears to be using its left arm to cradle it, but unfortunately the object has been broken off. Britton, p111, lists the statues in the west front. However, this particular statue was not identified. St George was not included in the list

<sup>371</sup> Demurger (2005), p26.

<sup>372</sup> Otho dedicated an altar in Lausanne Cathedral to this saint (GEC vol 2, p75).

<sup>373</sup> Britton p111.

<sup>374</sup> Dalton (1917) p42; see also note 356.

<sup>375</sup> It is known that Bishop John, writing to the Bishop of Lausanne, asked that when the property of his lately deceased uncle, Otho de Grandson (d. 2 April 1328), was divided, if any books *de usu Anglicano* or ornaments of the chapel of Grandson, were found they might be sent to him (Dalton 1917 p vii, p104, Kingsford p171-172).

<sup>376</sup> Richard Symonds's Diary p83. He describes the chapel as *where Bishop Careyes monument is*. However Bishop Careys monument is on the north side of the cathedral and is not in a chapel. Symonds (p89) transcribes the inscription on said monument "*In memorium Valentini Carey ... obit 10 Junii 1626*" noting that the verger told him that Carey was buried in St Pauls. That he made an error in naming Carey and not Bronescombe as the Bishop whose monument was in the south chapel is shown by his note (p92) "*The rebels when they had this city digged up the monument in the south chapel where Bishop Carye lyes , and they found a coffin of stone with the bones of a man whole together. Upon the breast lay a silver chalice, which they took away*". He was patently not referring to the Carey monument in the north aisle as he had already noted that Carey was buried in St Paul's. Further confirmation that Symond was referring to St Gabriel's Chapel comes from Dugdale who notes a case with a skeleton in that Chapel in a floor plan of the cathedral (Monasticon vol 2, p16); perhaps the one dug up by the rebels.

<sup>377</sup> Dalton (1917), p42, says the shells recall his visits to the Holy Land.

<sup>378</sup> Richard Symonds's Diary p83.

<sup>379</sup> Bishop John fortunately made a habit of placing his coat on his possessions, including a famous group of ivories (Swanton p148 and Alexander & Binski p463-467). Two held by the British Museum are currently displayed in the refurbished (2009) Medieval Room.

<sup>380</sup> Like his father he also predeceased his grandfather, the Earl of Devon (see Tree 4). The tomb of his grandparents is at Exeter Cathedral, now in the south transept having been moved from the Courtenay chapel

that was ca.1826, between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> column from the transept on the south side of the nave (Britton p136). A floor plan shows both tomb and a Courtenay brass (for his uncle, Sir Peter Courtenay KG d.1405, according to Beltz p161) were here (Monasticon vol 2 p512-513). The chapel no longer exists (Erskine et al p104). In the window opposite was once stained glass of Courtenay impaling Bohun for the earl and his wife (Polwhele vol 2 p3). This impaled coat was recorded in 1644 as well as many others for the Courtenay family (Richard Symonds's Diary p38, 83-93) and may be the extant coat in the east window of St John the Evangelist's Chapel Fig 37. The stone slab with inlaid brass of his uncle, Sir Peter Courtenay KG, is now in the south choir aisle. Oddly, Peter's coat is impaled though the impalement is blank as might be expected as he died unmarried; the epitaph once on the tomb is given by Polywhele vol 2, p3. For the distant relationships with the Grandisons see Trees 2 & 3.

<sup>381</sup> A similar coat (Courtenay quartering Redvers and impaling Bryan) occurs on a shield at the base of the tomb of the Earl of Devon (d.1377) at Exeter. For Margaret's parentage see GEC Bryan vol 1 p361, corrected in Hammond, and GEC Devon vol 2 p325 for her marriage. Elizabeth Montacute married Sir Guy de Bryan after the death of her second husband, Sir Hugh Despenser, in 1349 (See Tree 3). Quartering the coat with that of Redvers is presumably representing the coat of Robert de Courtenay and Mary de Redvers, daughter of William de Redvers, Earl of Devon. Robert was father of Hugh Courtenay (d.1291) (see Tree 2) and it was from this marriage that the Courtenays were assisted in acquiring the earldom of Devon (see Burke B. p140). Other shields on the tomb represent the ancestors and descendants of the Earl of Devon; his three surviving sons, Bishop William, Philip married to Anne Wake, and Peter are represented at its foot. The shields appear to be modern.

<sup>382</sup> GEC, March vol 3 p443. Dalton 1917 p58 note 1 says Peter Grandison was one of his guardians.

<sup>383</sup> William Bohun d.1360 was the 5<sup>th</sup> son of Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford & Essex by Elizabeth Plantagenet, daughter of Edward I. The effigy of Margaret, William's sister, occurs in the south transept, alongside her husband Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon (d.1377). William was therefore uncle of their son Hugh Courtenay, founder Knight of the Garter d.1349 whose stall William took when he became a K.G. in 1349 (Beltz cl). The Bohun coat now in the east window at Exeter bears William Bohun's difference mark (three mullets pierced on the bend; see Foster p25, and Fig 39b. These may have once been coloured (*gules pierced vert*) but if so the colour is now lost.

<sup>384</sup> Richard Symonds's Diary p83: Northwode (sic), Mortimer, Montacute, Bohun, Courtenay impaling Bryan, Fitzalan quartering Warren(sic), Grandison, Northwode impaling Grandison, Montacute impaling Grandison (the latter entry is unclear but must have been this shield), Grandison. From its blazon, one of the Grandison coats is clearly for William Grandison or his son Peter, the other probably for the Bishop. This chapel has two windows. Using the present distribution of shields as a guide, the south window of six lights held six shields whilst the east window of five lights held four shields distributed as still shown in the east window of St John's Chapel (two each in lights two and four), to where some of the shields were moved in the past.. It is probable that the grisaille windows now in the east window of St John's Chapel originated in the east window of St Gabriel's chapel and moved with the shields. Perhaps these shields were moved as part of the work commissioned in 1750 when local glazier Joseph Tucker undertook to "Compleat & Repair" the Great East Window using medieval glass from incomplete windows then remaining elsewhere in the cathedral (Brooks & Evans p164), St John's Chapel being one of his sources (*Ibid* p85). However, based on a drawing of the Great East window in ca 1820 (Brooks & Evans p45) the shields in St Gabriel's Chapel, except perhaps a single Grandison shield (in 2H using notation figure i in Brooks & Evans), were not among the coats of arms introduced into that window.

<sup>385</sup> No armorial glass was recorded from this chapel in 1644 (see Richard Symond's Diary p91). Bishop & Prideaux p148 note that the grisaille windows in the chapels of St John the Evangelist and St Gabriel may be as early as 1300 to 1310. Could Bishop Grandison have inserted the armorial shields into existing grisaille windows? The ease with which these shields have been chopped and changed over the years suggests this is likely. Of the ten shields in St Gabriel's chapel in 1644 (Symonds p83), five remained, located in the east window there in 1849, with two moved to the east window in St John's chapel where they are still (see Hewett p105, who calls the latter, St Mary Magdalene's chapel). In 1877 in St Gabriel's Chapel, when five shields from the east window were moved to the south window, two of the shields were exchanged with others from the 1644 glazing (see Fig 35; Drake plate XVIII cf. Hewett p105-6), that had presumably been kept in store. After the 1939-45 war, when the medieval glass was restored to the south window the shields changed again. At the present, four of the five shields moved there in 1877 form part of the current glazing together with the Courtenay/Bryan coat which was restored to the window. The Bohun coat was moved to the great east window.

<sup>386</sup> Many such coats are detailed in Symonds's Diary. The Courtenay coat was probably inserted when the medieval glass was restored to the south window of St Gabriel's Chapel after the Second World War. It was not there in 1877 when Drake restored the window (see Fig 35).

<sup>387</sup> Hingeston Randolph, vol 3, p1518, who names him Edward Arundel. They were betrothed 30 Jan 1331 (Burtscher p33), married before July 1349 (GEC Arundel vol 1, p244 note b). The coat of Fitzalan quartering

Warenne has a three-point label, indicating the eldest son and heir. Edmund was son of Richard Fitzalan Earl of Arundel (d.1376) and his first wife, Isabel Despenser, daughter of Hugh Despenser the younger ex.1326. Isabel's brother, another Hugh Despenser, was married to Sybil's sister, Elizabeth from 1341-1349 when he died. Richard's father, Earl Edmund had supported the Despensers; was executed also in 1326 and his son Richard disinherited. Richard led an unsuccessful rising in June 1330 and then had to flee the country (Burtscher p31-32). He was restored to favour after Mortimer was overthrown. In Dec 1344 he had his marriage to Isabel annulled by Clement VI bastardising Edmund, and in February 1345 married Eleanor, daughter of Henry, Earl of Lancaster (d.1345), widow of John Lord Beaumont (d.1342), a lady with whom he had previously cohabited. The marriage took place at Ditton in the presence of Edward III (GEC Arundel vol 1, p243-4). Interestingly, Bishop John Grandison's Register records the grounds for the annulment/divorce; these included the statement that they had been "*forced by blows to cohabit so that a son was born* (Hingeston Randolph p988) and evidently at least one daughter (GEC Arundel vol 1, p243 note d & GEC vol XIV p38). In March 1345, a Papal Dispensation validated the marriage with Eleanor (GEC Arundel vol 1, p244, note d), ODNB Richard Fitzalan d.1376). Another Papal dispensation in July 1345, for the earl's second marriage, ignored the first marriage and referred to Edmund as being *begotten in fornication* (GEC vol XIV p38). It is suggested the second dispensation was required because Arundel had been excommunicated. Clement VI granted the annulment and revoked the excommunication early in 1345. It has been pointed out that Simon Montacute, Bishop of Ely (d. June 1345), had a valid motive for excommunicating Arundel as he was Sybil's uncle (Burtscher p44). The Bishop of Chichester (Robert Stratford, Lord Chancellor) is said to have excused himself from taking part in the dispensation, which shows he disapproved of the annulling of the first marriage (GEC vol XIV p38) though he seems to have been responsible for bastardising Edmund by pronouncing sentence of divorce (GEC Arundel p244, note d). Edmund's attempts to overturn the annulment by appealing to the Pope were unsuccessful as were his violent efforts in 1377 to retain lands given to his mother after the divorce. He ended up in the Tower from which he was only released after three men including John Montacute, his brother-in-law, and Guy de Bryan, then married to his sister-in-law, Elizabeth (her third husband), stood surety for him. After this he disappears but is known to have died between 1379 and 1387. (Burtscher p42-48 gives a full account of Edmund's sad story; see also Higginbotham <http://www.susanhigginbotham.com/subpages/divorce.html>). The earldom descended via Eleanor's son, also Richard, from Arundel's second marriage. Eleanor's brother was Henry, created Earl of Derby in 1337 and Duke of Lancaster 1351, who was a founder Knight of the Garter and appears to have been close to William Montacute (see note 501). He is said to have participated in the Cheapside Tournament in 1331 (Wikipedia for Henry of Grosmont, Duke of Lancaster (d.1361) - acc July 2011) organised by Montacute (Stubbs p354). A coat for Lancaster (England with a label charged with fleur de lis) once occurred in a window at Exeter (Richard Symonds's Diary p85) and may have occurred in the west window (see Table 2b). The east window of the chapel of St John the Evangelist, (also named for St Mary Magdalene - Britton p126; Hewett p105; Cave p39) has two other armorials. One, the Stafford coat with a bordure possibly with mitres, has been attributed to Bishop Stafford (Hewett p.105, Bishop & Prideaux p.148). The tomb of Edmund Stafford, Bishop of Exeter 1395-1419, occurs nearby. The other is a shield for the Earl of Devon (Courtenay impaling Bohun). It appears to have had a bordure added, presumably to make it fit the space available. It is quality glass with diapering absent from the Stafford coat. Perhaps it is the shield for the Earl of Devon (d.1377) and his wife, which once occurred opposite the Courtenay chantry chapel in the south aisle (see Polwhele vol 2 p3; Symonds's Diary p87). Both were recorded in their present location in 1849 (Hewett p105).

<sup>388</sup> Brooks & Evans p158, though they felt it was stylistically different from those still in the chapel. Drake who restored the south window in 1877 (see Fig 35), reintroduced the Bohun shield (absent in 1849 – see Hewett p105) evidently to accompany the shield for the Earl of Devon (Courtenay impaled with Bohun) he had removed from the east window.

<sup>389</sup> William Bohun was in the group, led by Montacute, that succeeded in overthrowing Roger Mortimer, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of March, at Nottingham Castle in 1330, and in 1337 both were made earls by Edward III (Mortimer 2006 p81, 138; Ormrod 2005 p24). In 1332 Bohun was granted the manor of High Wycombe in Buckinghamshire (VCH Bucks vol 3 p123, Lipscomb vol 3, p640) located on the opposite side of the Thames to Bisham in Berkshire that Salisbury obtained in 1335. Northampton married, in 1335, Elizabeth Badlesmere, widow of Edmund Mortimer d.1332, the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of March's son, a marriage said to have been arranged to put an end to the enmity between the two families (GEC Northampton vol 4, p665 note a, p667).

<sup>390</sup> See Burtscher p46 who points out that his seal of 1368 had the quartered coat with the label. Exactly the same coat was originally in a window of St Gabriel's Chapel, Exeter (now in St Johns' Chapel); see Table 2a. No glazing activity in relation to the east window is noted for this period (see Brooks and Evans p163-164). However, this does not mean glazing in the chapel didn't occur ca.1350-1361, as there is a long silence of the records for the eighteen years that follow the last meagre account of 1352-3 (Erskin pxxv).

<sup>391</sup> Dalton (1917) p214-215. The Bishop was heir to his brother Peter (d.1358). Trouble with Peter's Will resulting in the then Bishop of Hereford declaring Peter intestate, and the Pope in 1359 ordered the Bishop

of Wells to sort it out (see GEC Grandison vol 2 p64, note I). Such inheritance would have helped fund the glazing.

<sup>392</sup> See Richard Symonds's Diary p83-93. He makes no mention of the Great East Window which was first glazed early in the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Brooks & Evans p163). Symonds evidently did not notice the coats for William Courtenay, Archbishop of Canterbury, from 1381 (d.1396) and the impaled coat for his parents Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon, (d.1377), and Margaret Bohun d.1391, that would have been in the main quatrefoils of the window, put up when Robert Lyen was contracted to restore the window in 1391 (*Ibid* p128, p149.). The earliest drawing of the window, done in ca.1820 (*Ibid* p45), shows them in these quatrefoils. In 1877 when Drake restored the south window of St Gabriel's Chapel he evidently moved Devon's coat there (see Fig 35). It is unclear why, in a Drake MS quoted by Brooks & Evans p149, he should say he moved Devon's coat to the east window of the chapter house. When Drake then restored the east window in 1884-1896 (Brooks & Evans p165) he put new glass in the quatrefoils, probably leaving Devon's coat in St Gabriel's Chapel and placing his son, Archbishop William's coat, at the base of the east window (*Ibid* p50 shows the east window after Drake's restoration). Devon's coat was returned to its original position after World War II when Drake's new glazing was destroyed. The coat of the Archbishop is still languishing at the base of the east window.

<sup>393</sup> Richard Symonds's Diary p88.

<sup>394</sup> Erskine, xxxiv. Britton p94 notes that in a roll of 1350-51 a charge was made of 14s for glazing two windows in his mortuary chapel. No glazing activity in relation to the east window is noted for this period (see Brooks and Evans p163-164). However, this does not mean glazing in the chapel and elsewhere didn't occur ca.1350-1361, as Erskine pxxxv notes there is a long silence of the records for the eighteen years that follow the last meagre account of 1352-3.

<sup>395</sup> Other portrait corbels are thought to represent Edward, the Black Prince, and a coronetted female, perhaps representing his wife, Joan the *Fair Maid of Kent*, granddaughter of Edward I, or of Isabel, Countess of Bedford (Dalton 1917 p61). The former is more likely. This portrait, the only one on the south side of the nave, faces that attributed to Katherine. Joan had earlier been married, possibly before 10 Feb 1340/41, to William Montacute, son of Katherine and the Earl of Salisbury (GEC Salisbury vol 5 p390 note a), a marriage annulled by the Pope in November 1349 because of her even earlier marriage to Sir Thomas Holland who became Earl of Kent in right of his wife in that year. Holland died in 1360 and Joan married the Black Prince the following year (ODNB Joan, countess of Kent). Portraits of Edward III and his wife Philippa occur on corbels that support the minstrels' gallery (Dalton 1917 p61) probably added by Grandison (ODNB: John Grandison p267). Heads of the king and queen also occur on roof bosses at the apex of the nave next to the gallery together with that of a young woman. In 1644 Richard Symonds recorded several royal coats in the windows. In one window, France quartering England, devised by Edward III, occurs between the coat of William of Wykeham (d.1404) (who rebuilt Windsor Castle for Edward III and was later in 1366 elected Bishop of Winchester) and an impaled Royal coat (the impalement, 1 & 4 "imperfect"; 2 & 3 *Or a lion rampant gules*) perhaps for Philippa of Hainault, Edward's wife); see Richard Symonds's Diary p86. The west window once contained the Royal Coat with a label azure (*Ibid* p88) probably for the Black Prince, son of Edward III (see Table 2b). Further windows associate the coat of the Black Prince (with a label argent) with those of Montacute and Courtenay (*Ibid*, p85). The extant royal coats, using France modern, now in the East Window are from the reign of Henry IV (Brooks & Evans p152) and include coats for his sons. These extant coats have been identified as those seen by Symonds (*Ibid* p152) but this is unlikely. Symonds did not record the difference marks seen in these coats and as noted above the royal coats he saw were probably from the reign of Edward III. According to the cathedral website, Henry IV visited the cathedral in 1403. His wife, Mary Bohun was granddaughter of William Bohun, Earl of Northampton, and grandniece of Margaret Bohun, wife of the Earl of Devon (Brooks & Evans p152), both commemorated in the cathedral. Perhaps the extant royal coats were put up to mark this visit. Symonds only recorded armorials from the cathedral, missing those put up in the reign of Edward IV from the chapter house, where they must have been in 1644 as the chapter house was rebuilt in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century. The Tudor glass could have come from elsewhere - for example the windows of the cloister, demolished after the Civil War. Henry IV funded stone armorials for himself and his sons on the vault of the cloister at Canterbury, rebuilt ca.1410-20 (see Messenger).

<sup>396</sup> Dalton (1917) p40.

<sup>397</sup> Lyson & Lyson, 1822, p cclviii.

<sup>398</sup> Alexander & Binski, p464.

<sup>399</sup> Now in the Victoria & Albert Museum (*Ibid*. p464).

<sup>400</sup> Alexander & Binski, p464, though his mother was of the Tregoz family not, as stated in this source, the Montacute family. A similar female head can be seen as a corbel in St Stephen's chapel in the south aisle at Ottery St Mary church built by the Bishop and on the roof of the nave of St Mary's, Lydiard Tregoze, possibly rebuilt by his sister Agnes.

<sup>401</sup> Richard Symonds's Diary p83-93.



<sup>402</sup> Erskine et al, p128 says that Robert Lyen re-glazed the window in 1391 retaining the old glass where appropriate but adding new glass including heraldic shields for the Courtenay family and of various bishops for the tracery openings in the head of the window. It is suggested here that the Grandison coat is from earlier glazing done during the Bishop's episcopate.

<sup>403</sup> Brooks & Evans, p123. It is possible these two coats were the ones recorded in the south aisle of the choir in 1849 (see Hewett p106).

<sup>404</sup> See note 270. The Chapter House scheme appears to have included all past Bishops of Exeter. See Brooks & Evans pp121-128 for movement of stained glass from Chapter House to east window during Tucker's repairs in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It is likely that the coat of Montacute quartering Monthermer recorded by Hewett (p106) in the choir in 1849 had come from the chapter house glazing and probably represented Bishop Neville's grandfather, Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury (Tree 5). No such coat was recorded in the church itself in 1644 (see Richard Symonds's Diary). This coat is now lost.

<sup>405</sup> Erskine et al (1988) p47.

<sup>406</sup> Brooks & Evans, p123. Booth's coat does not occur in the extant glass. It is not known whether it occurred in the original scheme, his coat does occur on the roof of the chapter house.

<sup>407</sup> Dalton 1917 pviii, 12; ODNB: John Grandison p267. Son Hugh became the next Earl of Devon 1340-1377. The manor of Ottery had been give to Rouen in 1060 by St Edward the Confessor (Dalton 1917 p11). The College seal, a pointed oval with the Coronation of the Virgin by Our Lord, seated at her side, and in the base a shield bearing the Bishop's coat as founder, is held by the British Museum (Dalton 1917 p212, Birch p696).

<sup>408</sup> Worthy C. See <http://patp.us/reading/exeter.aspx>.

<sup>409</sup> GEC, Devon vol 2 p323-324. If Grandison did intercede he evidently had forgiven his "cousin" for his refusal, at the start of the Bishop's episcopate, to help him discharge the diocesan debt and for demanding before the enthronement, his rights to the Bishop's palfry, all silver vessels used and all wine left over from the enthronement feast, an arrangement agreed by an ancestor with Bishop Bronescombe. Grandison's acerbic comments on this are recorded (Rose Troup p261; see also Hingeston-Randolph part I, p202-3 & part III, p xv-xvi).

<sup>410</sup> Dalton (1917) p13 et. seq. describes the transformation in detail; Whitham p3-4. ODNB: John Grandison p267 notes the copying of the twin towers and internal resemblance to Exeter in the vaults and figured roof bosses. At Ottery, the "Dorset" aisle on the north side of the nave and the porch on the south side were later additions of ca. 1520 (Whitham p15-16). A college of secular canons founded by Bishop Bronescombe in 1265 at Glasney, Cornwall is also said to be have been modelled on Exeter. Bishop Grandison left a bequest of 20 marks to the college of St Thomas the Martyr at Glasney "for the new work there" (Hingeston Randolph p1514). Sadly, only part of a wall and arch remain (internet History of Glasney College).

<sup>411</sup> Whitham, p6. Rose Troup p265 who also notes that an altar was dedicated to her name saint and Katherine's head is carved on the north side of the Lady Chapel, in a position usually assigned to the chief benefactor.

<sup>412</sup> Rose Troup, p263 suggests the effigies were originally in front of an altar on the south side of the entrance to the quire so that Otho's turned head could gaze at the great rood. She also suggests that the stone canopies are of a different stone with the effigies being mutilated to fit their new location (*Ibid*). In his will of 1358 Otho left his lands and tenements in London to the collegiate church of Saint Mary of Ottery, his wife, Beatrice, was an executor. He also left bequests to his son Thomas, bastard son William and sister Matilda (Maud), Prioress of Aconbury. To his daughter Elizabeth he left silver purchased from the executors of Nicholas Malemayne (Beatrice's father). In contrast to his uncle Otho's funeral instructions, his will specified that no armed man or horse should go before his body and that the corpse should not be covered with coloured or golden cloth or with his arms but only a white cloth with a red cross. The will can be viewed on line at:

<http://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/Research/Libr/Wills/Lbth/Bk25/page%20592.htm>.

<sup>413</sup> His coat differenced with a buckle occurs on the altar cornice (see Table 3).

<sup>414</sup> Dalton (1917) p60 describes this coat as bearing "a label azure charged with three pellets (black roundels) probably for Sir Hugh, grandson of him whose effigy and arms are in the transept (at Exeter) or Sir Peter his brother". Presumably due to cleaning, the label is now charged with three bezants (gold roundels), a difference mark recorded for Sir Hugh Courtenay (Foster p56). The same coat occurs on the crossing. It is likely that the Courtenay coat at Ottery St Mary is for Sir Hugh Courtenay, made Knight of the Garter (KG) in 1349 whose grandfather, father and uncle had been witnesses, on Christmas Eve 1337, to the deed giving the manor and church to the Warden and Canons (Dalton 1917 p12).

<sup>415</sup> The coats of arms on the cornice were originally painted on a flat surface but in 1833 Edward Blore cut these into the stone (Whitham p11, Dalton 1917 p 58). The screen was repainted in 1971. At some point the blazon became inaccurate, switching the original *paly argent and azure* for *paly azure and argent*.

<sup>416</sup> Rose Troup, p265.

<sup>417</sup> John Grandison had been chaplain to Pope John XXII (at Avignon) and papal nuncio to France & England in 1326 just before the Pope provided him to the See of Exeter (GEC Grandison vol 2, p64). Pope John XXII was Cardinal Jacques Duèze (d'Euse) from Cahors, who spoke Occitan and poor French (Cassagnes-Brouquet p10). He had succeeded Pope Clement V (d. 1314) in 1316 (see Table 1). See note 227 for his involvement in the suppression of the Templars. Pope John died in 1334 and his tomb at the Cathedral of Our Lady of the Doms in Avignon, made between 1336 and 1351, is attributed to an English architect, either Hugh Wilfred who built a chapel in the cathedral in 1321-2 or Johannes Anglicus (Cassagnes-Brouquet p37). The style evokes a number of English tombs of the start of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (*Ibid.* p37). All that is left is the battered canopy; the effigy is lost, but what remains is similar to the canopy of Edward II's tomb at Gloucester. Edward III buried his father at the cathedral there in December 1327. The king's effigy of alabaster and London work is dated to ca 1330 (Verey & Welander p143).

<sup>418</sup> Dalton (1917), p215-6. He was Archdeacon of York in 1323 where he also held a canonry and prebend at the same time as Bishop Grandison who had been holding one since 1309 (*Ibid* p216), but these may just have been rewards given by the Pope and whether either actually ever went to York is unclear. They may have met there or at the Curia in Avignon. The Cardinal reportedly consecrated Grandison as Bishop of Exeter in the Dominican church in Avignon on 18 October 1327 (Dalton 1917 p43, Britton p36) and stood with him at the Curia in 1343 to present the petition for Papal Confirmation of the Ottery foundation (Dalton 1917 p215-6). Cardinal Pierre des Prés was from Montpezat de Quercy, east of Bordeaux. Created a cardinal by Pope John XXII in 1320 he was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Holy Roman Church by the Pope in 1325 serving till his death in 1361 (Wikipedia: Pierre Desprès & Apostolic Briefs acc July 2011). He thus served four Popes, John XXII, Benoit XII, Clement VI and Innocent VI. All four Popes built at Avignon. Pope John XXII, who made Avignon the papal residence, modified the existing Bishop's Palace; Benoit XII demolished this palace and built what is now the Old Palace; Clement VII added what is now the New Palace and Innocent VI added the town's ramparts (The Popes' Palace, Avignon - Visitors Guidebook). See also Table 1. The Chancellery dealt with the dispatch of papal correspondence and allocation of ecclesiastical privileges (*Ibid.* p8). However it seems likely that, as Vice Chancellor, the Cardinal would have played a major role in finding the finance for all this building. In Avignon he is mostly famous for, in 1358, obtaining permission from Pope Innocent VI to transform St Peter's church there into a college (see Cassagnes-Brouquet 2005). He certainly built in his home town of Montpezat. In 1323 he had obtained permission from Pope John XXII to create a priory there which in 1334 was transformed by Pope Benoit XII into the collegiate church of St Martin of Tours (Moureau p5). This church (Fig 45b), constructed from 1337 to 1351 in a meridional gothic style (quite different to that of the Ottery church) still has roof bosses carved with his coat of arms (Moureau p6; Bentley p48-49) and his tomb of white Carrera marble is extant and untouched by the passage of time (Fig 45a). One wonders whether the Cardinal when writing the statutes for his collegiate church included prayers for his friend Bishop Grandison (d.1369). The Cardinal died of the plague in 1361. Montpezat de Quercy was pro-English. For decades the lords of Monpezat had taken the side of the English against the French (Bentley p102). In 1323 when the abbot of a priory at Saint-Sardos built a bastide sponsored by the French King, the then lord, Raymond Bernard, whose castle was the priory's close neighbour, had his men burn down the bastide the night before the official ceremony and hung the French official from the stake bearing the Royal Arms (Labarge p112-3). In 1342, when Edward III was besieging Vannes in Brittany, the Cardinal was one of the prelates sent by the Pope to try to bring peace. With the king was William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury (Froissart vol 1, p124). One can speculate that the Cardinal's friendship with Salisbury's brother-in-law, Bishop Grandison, may have helped to achieve the three year truce at Malestroit in January 1343 that followed the negotiation.

<sup>419</sup> Dalton (1917) p214-215.

<sup>420</sup> Neil Stratford (in Swanton p146) suggested that the portrait on the corbel of Bishop John in the Lady Chapel "best be consigned to Victorian history so heavily has it been re-cut". However, there is no documentary evidence that this is so (Stratford pers. comm. 2007). As noted by Dalton 1917 p70, the portraits of Bishop John and sister Katherine in the Lady Chapel show a family resemblance, so it is likely that either all or none of the corbels were re-cut.

<sup>421</sup> These portraits are presumed to relate to the coats on neighbouring small bosses on the crossing that surround a central boss depicting the founder, Bishop John, in full pontificals. The coats are located: EAST - the Grandison coat with a mitre for difference for Bishop John; NORTH - the Montacute coat for William Montacute, his brother in law; WEST - the Grandison coat with scallop shells for difference for Otho Grandison the Bishop's uncle; SOUTH - the Courtenay coat with *bezants* for difference for Hugh Courtenay founder KG. Dalton 1917 p51 described the Courtenay coat as bearing three *annulets or* and (*Ibid.* note 2) identified it as that of Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon (d.1340) (the former Courtenay's grandfather) but the earl's coat would be undifferenced and this coat bears the *bezant* difference mark (as occurs on the altar screen, Table 3). Both are gold (*or*) so it would be easy to mistake a *bezant* for an *annulet* as these coats are high up and difficult to see. Dalton identified the related portrait as representing Agnes, Lady Devon, the earl's wife. The portrait seems to be of a beardless youth (Fig 48d) and based on the adjacent coat, is a portrait of

Hugh Courtenay, later a founder KG, who would have been in twenty five when the church was completed in 1342. Foster, p56, notes that at the siege of Calais in 1346-7 he bore, *bezants* (Cotton MS), *annulets or* (Harl. Ms) and also *crescents or*. The coats on the crossing all occur on the altar cornice with the exception of the coat of Otho, the Bishop's uncle; instead the coat of the Bishop's brother, also Otho, is blazoned on the cornice.

<sup>422</sup> Yet more portraits, including long haired males and females (one with wimple), two clerics and a bishop (all bug-eyed), occur on corbels in the two choir aisle chapels. Dalton's assertion (1917 p67) that those in the south aisle chapel were copied from a boss of four female heads in the Lady Chapel at Exeter (attributed to St Martha with wimple, St Mary Magdalene and two Mary's) is untenable as, not only are they dissimilar but two of the Exeter portraits are of men (see Cave p34, plate15) though his other suggestion may be true, that this chapel, in the same relative position as at Exeter, may have also been dedicated to St Gabriel and possibly also St Anne (Dalton 1917 p67).

<sup>423</sup> Dalton (1917) p46-47, citing a 1585 Roll of Arms compiled by Joseph Holland. He describes coats for Bishop John, his father William, his uncle, Otho, and his brother, also Otho. It is impossible to say when this glass was put up. The other coats in the description span a wide time frame and include the Neville arms.

<sup>424</sup> Dalton (1917) p13.

<sup>425</sup> See note 611.

<sup>426</sup> GEC, vol 5 Salisbury p388, note b.

<sup>427</sup> Suggested by Dalton 1917 p9 and based on the presence of a copy of the statutes of Ottery St Mary among the charters of Winchester Priory which he thinks may have been sent by Grandison to Bishop Edyndone (Edington) of Winchester when the latter was drawing up the statutes for both collegiate churches of St George at Windsor and St Stephen at Westminster. See *Ibid.* pxii-p27. See note 497.

<sup>428</sup> See Dalton (1957) p53. For his donations see section on *The 1348 Order of the Garter*.

<sup>429</sup> See note 479 for the dating of the inaugural feast/mass.

<sup>430</sup> CIPM, vol 3 p453-456.

<sup>431</sup> Beltz, p177. Chelsfield was one of the Kent manors granted to Otho Grandison, his great uncle, that Thomas evidently inherited from his father, also Otho, whose will of 1358 mentions bequests to the church of *Chellesfeld*. Great uncle Otho also had Farnbergh (Farnborough) and Kemsing in Kent (see C.Chr.R. 1257-1300 p284, 346) and the manor of Grandisons alias Wilmington (Hasted vol 2 p328-342). Whether the Grandisons built in Kent has yet to be discovered. According to its website, St Giles Church, Farnborough, had work done in the 14<sup>th</sup> century (the north aisle was added which has a two light window in the decorated style) and Farnborough is said to have been Otho Grandison senior's principal seat (Hasted vol 2, p46). Also the church of St Mary the Virgin at Kemsing was rebuilt in the 13<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup> century according to the church guide. The church still has a roundel in stained glass of the Madonna and Child, variously dated to 1220 (Friends of St Mary Enrolment Form) or late 13<sup>th</sup> century (Church Guide). 1285 was when Otho (senior) and his heirs were granted a weekly market at his manor of La Sele by Kemsing and a yearly fair (C.Chr.R. 1257-1300 p284) and in 1308, after he had left England for good (in 1307 after the death of Edward I) he asked Pope Clement V to license John Ditton to hold, besides the rectory of Kemsing, one other benefice and a canonry and prebend in London (Cal. Papal Letters vol 2 p45). Whether Ditton went there is debatable, as in 1311 Otho requested that Ditton, described as canon of London, be allowed to visit by deputy for three years (*Ibid* p 86). Otho could well have helped rebuild a church dedicated to one of his favourite saints (see Appendix 2). In 1290 there was a similar grant of weekly market and yearly fair for his manors in Farnborough and Chelsfield (C. Chr. R. 1257-1300 p346). The St Giles Fair is still held in Farnborough on the first Saturday in September. St Giles was a popular saint in Western Europe due partly to Crusaders who passed through St Gilles (Provence) on the way to the Holy Land ([http://www.farnborough-kent-parish.org.uk/parish\\_st\\_giles.html](http://www.farnborough-kent-parish.org.uk/parish_st_giles.html)) acc. May 2013. As Otho senior was a crusader he would have had an interest in this saint.

<sup>432</sup> For the descent see VCH Berks vol 4 p254. Lambourn occurs in William's Inquisition Post Mortem CIPM vol 7 p461 described as rented out to Richard le Cleet and Alice his wife. As noted above, yet another *Grandisons* (alias Wilmington) manor exists in Kent. This manor descended from Otho to his brother William and thence to Agnes whose husband John Northwood became entitled to it in her right (Hasted vol 2 p328). The Northwoods, like the Grandisons, were landowners in east Kent (Dalton 1917 p44). After the Northwoods it was held by Richard Fitzalan, 11<sup>th</sup> Earl of Arundel, who died possessed of it in 1397, when he was executed for opposing Richard II (Hasted vol 2 p328). His daughter married Katherine's grandson, William (Tree 5) - see note 387 for the connection of Edmund Fitzalan with the Montacutes. Subsequently, Wilmington was held by Katherine's descendent Richard Neville the Kingmaker, who held it in the reign of Henry VI (and Edward IV). After his fall from grace it was held by the Crown. A later king, Henry VIII, granted it to Neville's descendent Margaret, Countess of Salisbury (Tree 5). After that king had had her executed, he granted it to her second son, Geoffrey Pole, who alienated it, including certain annual rents called *Grandison Rents* (see Hasted 1797 vol 2, p328-342). The parish church of Wilmington, St Michael & All Angels, dates from Saxon times so would have been there when the manor was held by Otho Grandison.

Also during the reign of Edward IV, Richard Neville, the Kingmaker resided in a manor house in the village (Wikipedia Wilmington, Kent acc July 2011). Whether the Grandisons, or their descendants, did any building or rebuilding in the village has not been discovered but is possible.

<sup>433</sup> Thomas did not hold Lambourn when he died (see CIPM vol 14, p136-139, 299).

<sup>434</sup> VCH Berks vol 4 p254. Katherine's descendent Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, held it in 1428 but it was sold thereafter (see *Ibid.* p255).

<sup>435</sup> Mainly the south aisle and St Mary's Chapel were rebuilt (see VCH Berks vol 4 p261 for plan).

<sup>436</sup> See Hingeston-Randolph, Part III, pxxxii. They apparently had a house also at Oxenhall, near Gloucester. In March 1328 the Bishop and his brother Peter visited them there (*Ibid.* px).

<sup>437</sup> VCH Berks vol 4 p264 note 75, though confusingly, in the main text, it is suggested the half figures may represent John Estbury (d.1438) and Agnes his wife (*Ibid.* p264). Pevsner 1966 p164 identified them as Sir Thomas Grandison (d.1375) and wife whereas the new revision of Pevsner (Tyack, Bradley and Pevsner p351) has gone with the Estbury identification. The male figure features a moustache and forked beard - more reminiscent of the fashion in the reign of Richard II than that of Henry VI, so could represent Thomas Grandison and his wife Margaret.

<sup>438</sup> GEC, Grandison vol 2, p63 note a.

<sup>439</sup> VCH, Wilts vol 9 p78.

<sup>440</sup> William's Inquisition notes the grant to Agnes and that he held *Lydeyard Tregoꝝ* in right of his wife Sybil who was heir to John Tregoꝝ who held the barony of Ewyas of the king in chief (CIPM vol 7 p460).

<sup>441</sup> VCH, Wilts vol 9, p78-79; GEC Grandison vol 2 p 68 note a. Rose Troup (p247) has suggested that Agnes or a son was buried in Tewkesbury Abbey as a tomb there bore shields for ancestors of Grandison and Northwode.

<sup>442</sup> Attwood, p7. For details of the triptych see Carne B, 2007. Kingsford p176 quoting Leland's Itinerary, vol iv, p23, says Mabel was the foundress of the Grey Friars house at Bedford. Wikipedia for Greyfriars, Bedford (acc July 2011), gives either Mabel Pateshulle or John St John (alive during the reign of Edward II) as possible founders; perhaps they both were. The two families were later linked by marriage when Mabel's great granddaughter, Margaret Beauchamp, married as her first husband Oliver St John (d. 1437) (see Kingsford p176). By her second husband, John Beaufort, she bore Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII (*Ibid.*).

<sup>443</sup> Twinned with La Chapelle sur Vire at Tessy sur Vire, Normandy. Near that church there is a sign proclaiming "*Le Pays de Tessy* twinned with *The Lydiards, Wiltshire*" (Lydiard Tregoze & Lydiard Millicent). This is where the Tregoꝝ (Troisgoꝝ, Tregotz) family originated from. Information in the church (rebuilt 1886) notes that an ancestor of the Tregoꝝ family was at Hastings with William the Conqueror in 1066 and that Robert Tregoꝝ, who held an important place in the court of King John, had married, before 1189, Sybil of Ewias (they were the father and mother of the Robert Tregoꝝ who died in 1268; see Tree 2) and had founded a priory and chapel at La Chapelle sur Vire in 1197 (*Histoire d'un pèlerinage* p11). However, Saltzman 1955 p34 notes that *If, as the so-called Battle Abbey Roll claimed, the head of the family came over with the Conqueror, there is no evidence in Domesday Book or elsewhere that he acquired any estate in this country. The first member of the family noted in England was William de Tregoꝝ who in 1130 held land in Essex and Norfolk.* I am grateful to Brian Carne for this reference. GEC vol 6 Tregoꝝ p16 notes that the families of Tregoꝝ in East Anglia and South East England in the 12<sup>th</sup> century were related and were probably also connected to the Tregoꝝ lords of Ewyas Harold, Herefordshire.

<sup>444</sup> Carne (1977), who notes (p37) that Otho Northwood, possibly Agnes's son, was presented to the benefice of Lydiard Tregoze by Agnes in 1342. Dalton 1917 p45 says Otho Northwood (*another of the family*) was collated by the Bishop Grandison to a Canonry at Ottery in 1348, was Treasurer and Canon of Exeter in 1349 and Archdeacon of Exeter in 1350. Another Northwood, John, Agnes's younger son, was Archdeacon of Exeter 1330 when he resigned in favour of William Grandison, the Bishop's brother. John was appointed a canon at Exeter in 1333. There was a brass at Ottery Church in John's memory (*Ibid.* p45). A nave roof boss at Exeter bears the coat of Northwood.

<sup>445</sup> Begent & Chesshyre, p17.

<sup>446</sup> Barber R, p83 in Munby et al.

<sup>447</sup> As noted in McKisack p251. Beltz (pxxxvii) transcribes the entry in Froissart that dates the initial feast of the Order of the Garter to St George's Day (23 April) 1344, and declares the extreme improbability of Froissart being deceived as to the date of the foundation of the Order (*Ibid.* p xxxvi). But he was!

<sup>448</sup> Recent archaeological research at Windsor has revealed the location of the Round Table building of the earlier order (see Munby et al 2007).

<sup>449</sup> We have no idea what this implied as no account of how a round table was organised has survived (Barber p86 in Munby et al). Festivals known as Round Tables are documented from 1232 onwards when Henry III refers in an official document to knights assembling for a "Round Table", a kind of tournament. Re-enactment appears to have been involved. What emerges is a pattern of increasingly elaborate scenarios based loosely on the characters of Arthur's court rather than on the actual events of the romances, with an

emphasis on role playing and with knights playing Lancelot, Gawain, Lionel and even Arthur's treacherous nephew Mordred together with ladies playing Guinevere and Soredamors (*Ibid.* p87, 149 in Munby et al).

<sup>450</sup> Barber, p75 in Munby et al (2007). See Appendix I, King Arthur, for more detail.

<sup>451</sup> Barber, p77 in Munby et al.

<sup>452</sup> Boulton, p97. "There can be no doubt that one of Edward III principal objects in thus 'refounding' the Round Table was to associate himself as strongly as possible in the eyes both of his own subjects and of his allies and enemies in Scotland and on the continent with King Arthur. In this he was following in the footsteps of his grandfather and model Edward I, who in separate ceremonies had caused the supposed bones of Arthur and his queen to be solemnly reburied beneath the high altar of Glastonbury Abbey, and his supposed crown, surrendered by the defeated Welsh, to be placed at the shrine of Edward the Confessor at Westminster" (*Ibid.* p108, citing Vale p16-19 who ( p2,) suggests that the young Edward III made a conscious attempt to model himself on the chivalric ideals of his successful grandfather, Edward I, a chivalric hero and semi legendary figure; both reigns being characterised by much recorded tournament and associated activity).

<sup>453</sup> Alexander & Binski, p63.

<sup>454</sup> Munby, p227 in Saul; Biddle pp347, 362, 375. Recent research has revealed that the round table still located in the great hall at Winchester was built and installed in 1289-90 as part of a campaign by Edward I to emphasise the Arthurian credentials of this city and to associate his own public image with this hero of chivalry (Ormrod p22, in Saul). It is thought the table was hung on the wall there when the hall was renovated in 1348-9 (Biddle p401). It is suggested that William Edington, Bishop of Winchester, and William of Wykeham could have been involved (*Ibid.* p401). 1348-49 was during the reign of Edward III.

<sup>455</sup> Biddle, p364 and his note 88.

<sup>456</sup> GEC, Grandison vol 2 p71. Before leaving Otho put his affairs in order. In England he appointed his brother William and the prior of Wenlock, another Savoyard, his attorneys (CPR 1281-92 p362; CCR 1288-96 p460). In Ireland he granted his towns of Clonmel and Kilfeakle and the manor of Kilsheelan to William (CChR 1257-1300 p366); to his nephew Pierre de Vuippens went his lands in Estremoy and "Oheny" which were already rented to the Earl of Ulster, and another nephew got the vill of Tipperary and Acconagh (CPR 1281-92, p372-73). See Clifford p111.

<sup>457</sup> Adam Murimuth (d.1347) had links with Exeter from 1308 when he was granted a pension from the then Bishop, Walter Stapledon, and was a Canon there from 1318 until his death (ODNB: Adam Murimuth). He undertook many missions abroad and from 1312 to 1323 was quite often at the Curia in Avignon (*Ibid.*). John Grandison was at Avignon after 1317 where he became the protégé, friend and chaplain to Pope John XXII (r.1316-34). See ODNB: John Grandison p266. Murimuth, described as Rector of Cliffe in the Rochester Diocese, administered the see of Exeter twice, once after the murder of Bishop Stapledon (sic) in October 1326 and then after the death of Bishop Berkeley in June 1327 (see Hingeston-Randolph Part I, pxi). Grandison had been with Archbishop Laudun in London in December 1326 to press the right of Pope John XXII to provide to the vacant see, but they agreed to accept the King's choice. After Berkeley's death, Bishop Grandison became Bishop of Exeter by papal provision in October 1327 (*Ibid.* pxii), the Pope having put aside both the Exeter canon, one John Godeleghe, elected by the chapter there, and the King's choice of Thomas Cherletone, Canon of York, in favour of Grandison, his own chaplain and former pupil. Grandison was confirmed as Bishop of Exeter together with Thomas Cherletone as Bishop of Hereford at Avignon on 18 October 1327. Strangely, two weeks after his consecration the Pope "evidently ignorant of what had been done" was instructing his Chancellor to negotiate for the election of John Godeleghe (*Ibid.* pxii). Both bishops had been consecrated by Cardinal Pierre des Prés, (*Ibid.* pxii), Grandison's friend, who perhaps had helped the matter along. In February 1328 Grandison appointed Murimuth his Vicar General (*Ibid.*, part III pix) and in 1329 he was confirmed as precentor at Exeter, an office he exchanged for Wraysbury in 1337 (ODNB: Murimuth). He was reprovved by Grandison in 1334 for over-ambition and frequent absence from Exeter (*Ibid.*, for letter see Hingeston-Randolph part I p 269-271) which perhaps influenced him to move to Wraysbury where his quite small church of St Andrews, can still be seen. His biographer (ODNB, Murimuth.) reads disappointment in his chronicle, from his frequently sharp criticism of papal provision and of individuals appointed to bishoprics. Murimuth was a canon of St Paul's, London from 1325 (*Ibid.*) gaining a prebend there in 1325 and a second richer one in 1328 (Hallam 1990 p14). The *Annales Paulini* (Stubbs) composed by the cathedral clergy at St Paul's would have been known to him and he would have been familiar with the account in the annals of an elaborate tournament held at Cheapside in 1331 by William Montacute (see note 273). Murimuth's acquaintance with the Grandison family and his proximity to Windsor Castle (Wraysbury is near Windsor), where Montacute was apparently fatally injured during the 1344 tournament (Version 2), suggests that his account of Montacute's death should have been well informed which makes it all the more puzzling that the second version of his chronicle got the date wrong. It's suggested this version was written by someone else (see note 459). In 1348, after Murimuth's death, the advowson of the Wraysbury church was granted by the Edward III to the Dean & Canons of Windsor and in the following year a vicarage was ordained (VCH Bucks vol 3 p325).



<sup>458</sup> Both are transcribed in Munby et al p180-185. Murimuth (d.1347) began to write his Chronicle after 1325 and possibly not until 1338. In its first form the history ran to 1337; a second edition carried it on to 1341. In its final form it ends with the author's death in 1347 (ODNB: Murimuth).

<sup>459</sup> The date given in the second version of Murimuth is clearly wrong (Munby et al, p183 note 3). This version states that three days of feasting and jousting started on the Sunday after the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Mary (2<sup>nd</sup> Feb) i.e. on 8<sup>th</sup> Feb 1344, with the solemn mass occurring on the following Thursday i.e. 12<sup>th</sup> Feb. The problem is that, again according to the second version, Salisbury died a week after the end of the feast i.e. 19<sup>th</sup> Feb, after being wounded in the jousting, but according to GEC (Salisbury vol 5, p388) citing his inquisition post mortem (CIPM vol 8 p386), he died on 30<sup>th</sup> January. Munby et al p183 note 2, speculate that the second version may not be by Murimuth himself and suggest that this version was written after 1348 because of a reference to the festival occurring on St George's Day indicating confusion with the Garter feasts. If it was written after 1348 it could not have been by Murimuth who died in 1347. If Salisbury did participate then the tournament must have been in January as noted in the first version. The January date for the festival to launch the Round Table order is confirmed by the kitchen accounts that record greatly increased expenditure from Sun 18 Jan to Thurs 22 Jan (Munby et al p238-9; Vale p67).

<sup>460</sup> Only the second version of Murimuth's Chronicle gives the number of knights; see Munby et al p184.

<sup>461</sup> See note 457 for his connection with the Grandisons. Murimuth's Chronicle, second version, transcribed in Munby et al p182, says that during the course of the tournament Montacute had been "frustratus" (*Ibid.* p187 and Thompson E M 1889 p232) which Vane (p40 in Saul) translates as "smashed up" and Munby et al (p184) describes as "wounded". It also means trick or deceive which makes the Le Bel's account relating to Montacute's wife (called Alice by Le Bel) interesting. See Appendix 3. A recent biography (ODNB: William Montacute) says he was "apparently present" at the 1344 festival citing Murimuth. St John Hope omitted the last sentence concerning Montacute's death from his transcriptions of the chronicle (English p112, Latin p123). Le Bel says after confronting Edward III about Katherine's rape he departed for Castile and was killed fighting the Moors at Algeciras (Le Bel vol 2, p30 & 33-34). However, his inquisition post mortem says he died *Friday next before the Purification last* i.e. 30 Jan 1344 (CIPM vol 8, p386) and as the writ is dated 31 January 1344, the day after he died, it is impossible that he died in Algeciras.

<sup>462</sup> Le Bel, vol 2, p27. It is immediately followed by an account of the rape of Salisbury's wife by Edward III. For more on the rape see Appendix 3. Whitsun or Pentecost was the date of the great assemblies of Arthur's court at the Round Table in the romances; the king's ideas have a clear basis in Arthurian stories (Barber R 2003 p43). Pentecost 1306 was when his grandfather, Edward I, knighted his son and nearly 300 young men at Westminster Abbey, prior to the "Feast of Swans" regarded as a piece of Arthurianism (Powicke p514-5) illustrating Edward III's desire to emulate his grandfather. Edward's proposed Round Table at Pentecost (described in Murimuth version I) seems never to have been held (Vale p67).

<sup>463</sup> Vane, p40, in Saul.

<sup>464</sup> See note 461.

<sup>465</sup> Brindle & Priestley, p204, in Saul. Thomas Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana* described it as being of 200 feet diameter (transcribed in Munby et al p188). Evidence of a building of this diameter has recently been discovered in the upper ward (Barber R 2007, p12-18). Reconstruction attempts suggest a circular building in stone, resembling a cloister, around a central open space, with perhaps a series of rooms on the outside of the cloister (Munby et al p124).

<sup>466</sup> Salzman (1952) p131.

<sup>467</sup> Munby et al, p202, 204.

<sup>468</sup> Munby et al, 2007 p56.

<sup>469</sup> Brindle & Priestley p205, in Saul 2005. For the building accounts see Munby et al, Appendix C. Colvin vol 2 p881 note 1 says that the Bisham quarry belonged to the king in 1350 when it was used for his great building programme that started then. Presumably he owned it in 1344.

<sup>470</sup> ODNB, William Edington.

<sup>471</sup> Biddle, p400.

<sup>472</sup> Edington was papally provided to the See of Winchester in Dec 1345 and consecrated Bishop of Winchester in 1346 (ODNB: William Edington). Edington's links with Bishop John Grandison relating to the statutes of the 1348 Order of the Garter and the presence of both Bishops at the inaugural mass of the Order are discussed in the section *The 1348 Order of the Garter*.

<sup>473</sup> Barber R, p41 in Munby et al.

<sup>474</sup> Munby, p45 in Munby et al.

<sup>475</sup> For a discussion about the founding of the Order of the Garter and the Countess of Salisbury see Appendix 3.

<sup>476</sup> Barber R, p99 in Munby et al.

<sup>477</sup> Vale considers (p79-80) that the first recorded use of the garter device was on large streamers provided for ships, probably for the Crécy campaign of 1346 and that the king's bed powdered with garters and the motto *boni soit q'mal y pense* and jupons similarly powdered, were taken on the same campaign - the Crécy victory

prompting Edward to make the device he had adopted for the campaign the basis for an order of chivalry (*Ibid.* p82). It is not known why the garter was chosen as the vehicle for Edward's motto and there is no contemporary evidence for the legend associating the foundation with a garter dropped by the Countess of Salisbury (*Ibid.* p82).

<sup>478</sup> He also increased the number of clergy. The patent notes that the existing chapel had been dedicated to Edward, the Confessor (CPR 1348-50 p144). Vale (p83) points out that although the college and order were closely linked it is important to remember that the college and order were always quite distinct institutions with their own separate statutes and officers.

<sup>479</sup> Vale, p83. Figure from Lysons & Lysons 1813. Vale p83 proposes that the first formal St George's Day meeting of the Knights of the Garter was that held on 23 April 1349 and this is now widely accepted, (Ormrod p20 in Saul; though Vale does not say that the Order was effectively instituted at the Windsor tournament of 24 June 1348). If 23 April 1349, St George's Day, is correct, then Katherine Grandison died on the same day, probably of the plague (see CIPM vol 9, p273-4; GEC Salisbury vol 5 p388). Geoffrey Baker's Chronicle dated the inaugural mass to St George's Day 1350 (see Barber R 2003 p83, though this author, on p85, considers it took place on 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1348; see also note 483). Biddle p516 describes the Chronicle's date of 1350 as "*one of the earliest feasts of the Garter*" citing evidence that Edington was present at Windsor in April 1350 (*Ibid.* p517). Vale (p84) notes that the *terminus ad quem* for the foundation of the order was 2 Sept 1349, when Queen Philippa offered a cloth of gold at the tomb of Hugh Courtenay, heir to the earldom of Devon and a founder member of the Order (see Tree 4). However, there does not appear to be a contemporary list of founder members. The earliest list seems to date from 1415, included in the earliest record of the statutes (see Begent & Chesshyre p13, p357 note 61). Forde Abbey, where Courtenay was buried, originally a Cistercian monastery, is now a stately home open to the public. It is due east of Ottery St Mary.

<sup>480</sup> Hugh Trevor Roper notes (preface in Hallam 1995, p16) that Baker continued Murimuth's Chronicle. Baker's is the nearest to a contemporary account of the founding of the Order of the Garter (Barber R 2003 p83, who transcribes the Chronicle's account of the first feast of the Order on St George's Day - *Ibid.* p83-84).

<sup>481</sup> See Barber R (2003) p83.

<sup>482</sup> Dalton (1917) p39, describing the three buckles on the coat of Otho, the Bishop's brother (see Table 3) notes that this is the same symbol as adopted by Edward III for the badge of the Order of the Garter. The buckle, however, is only part of the Garter badge.

<sup>483</sup> Barber R (2003) p84, who considers that if Baker is correct in naming the three bishops who celebrated mass it could not have taken place in 1349 as there was no Archbishop of Canterbury between August 1348 and July 1349. However, John Ufford had been nominated for the post in September 1348, but died (on 20 May 1349 of the plague) before he was consecrated (Wikipedia- Archbishops of Canterbury acc July 2011). Could he have officiated? Katherine Grandison died of the plague, shortly before Ufford, on St George's Day 1349. Barber R 2003 (p84) concludes that the best evidence indicates a date of 1348; but see note 479.

<sup>484</sup> Burgess, p77, in Saul. Only the north wall remains of Henry's chapel, (Fig 54e) visible from the Dean's Cloister that was built in 1240 at the same time as the original chapel though its inner arcading dates from soon after the foundation of the college in 1348 (St George's Chapel Guide, 1993, para 53), Edward III added the attractive Aerary Porch (Fig 55) to form a processional way. Knights would robe up in the vestry (now the Deanery chapel) and process along the cloister to the porch and thence through the still extant doorway (Fig 54a) of the Galilee at what was then the west end of St George's Chapel. In 1477-8 the south doorway of the Aerary Porch was blocked by the building of a new vestry (Colvin vol 2 p874), part of Edward IV's new St George's Chapel. There is also a direct access from the original vestry to Henry III's chapel, through a little corridor, on one wall of which someone in the past has carved out a cross. I am grateful to the Right Revd. David Conner, Dean of St George's Chapel, for allowing me to see the former vestry. There are other graffiti in the corridor suggesting prisoners may have been kept here at some point.

<sup>485</sup> Saul, p9. Re-ordering from 1350 -1353 included re-roofing and glazing the chapel, new stalls, a pew for the Queen and providing a belfry (St John Hope part I p159). A few remnants of what may be Edward III's glazing are extant in the vestry of his chapel (the vestry is now the Deanery chapel). One of the remnants is a full length figure of St Stephen (Wayment p59, 61 in Brown S.). The presence of a figure of St Stephen at Windsor may be linked to the report that the windows for the chapel were made in 1351-52 by the same men who glazed St Stephen's Chapel, in the palace of Westminster (Salzman 1952 p181). Edward I had rebuilt an earlier chapel there, planned as a two-storey building to rival the Sainte Chapelle in Paris built by his uncle Louis IX (Saint Louis), but when construction was halted in 1297 building had only reached to window sill level in the upper storey (Alexander & Binski p337-339). Edward III completed it in 1348 and founded the College of St Stephen (Fell & Mackenzie p7). It has been suggested that the statutes of this collegiate foundation also may have been patterned on those of Ottery St Mary (Dalton 1917 p9). Of Edward I's building only the lower storey (as St Mary Undercroft) remains, "atrociously restored" as the chapel of the House of Commons (Alexander & Binski p338). Dalton (1917 p9) suggests that Bishop John Grandison sent

a copy of the Ottery St Mary Statutes to William Edington, Bishop of Winchester, when the latter was drawing up statutes for both collegiate churches of St George's at Windsor and St Stephen at Westminster by Edward III's command.

<sup>486</sup> Brindle & Priestley, p223, in Saul 2005. The works included, between 1350 and 1354, the setting up of a great clock. According to Colvin vol 2, p875 this is the earliest mechanical, weight driven, striking clock for which we have certain and authentic record in England, antedating even Edward's clock at Westminster by more than 10 years. Bishop Grandison, donor to St George's Chapel, had experience of clocks. At Ottery St Mary church exists a clock, described as one of the oldest surviving mechanical clocks in the country, thought to have been put there by Bishop Grandison, though the first reference to its existence is in the college rolls of 1437-38 (Whitham p9). At Exeter Cathedral there was a clock in 1284, possibly a water clock. A clock is also mentioned in the Fabric Rolls of 1328 (the start of Bishop Grandison's episcopate) and references to repairs and other maintenance continues from then on until 1464-5 (Erskine et al p133). It is suggested that at one time there may have been two clocks in the building (*Ibid* p133). It is not clear what type the 1328 Exeter clock was. If mechanical it would predate that of Windsor (1350-54). The present clock at Exeter dates from the last quarter of the fifteenth century and is traditionally thought to be the gift of Bishop Peter Courtenay, Dean of Exeter (and Windsor) 1476, Bishop 1478-87 (*Ibid*), when he was translated to Winchester, succeeding William Waynflete. As Bishop of Winchester he then became Prelate of the Order of the Garter. Courtenay was a descendent of the Powderham branch of the family of the Earls of Devon.

<sup>487</sup> Barber, p82 in Munby et al. For the rebuilding of the Royal Lodgings in the Upper Ward of Windsor Castle between 1357 and 1368 see Wilson p15-94.

<sup>488</sup> The name derives from *errarium* meaning treasury which is on the upper floor of the porch;  
www.stgeorges-windsor.org.

<sup>489</sup> Tatton Brown, p55 in Munby et al.

<sup>490</sup> Colvin, vol 1, p881 lists the quarries including Bisham. Tim Tatton-Brown in a television programme "*The Real Knights of the Round Table*" noted that stone used in work done in the 1350's included the use of blocks of local chalk from Bisham.

<sup>491</sup> Deed XI K3; see Dalton 1957 p53. The archives possess a collection of deeds donated by Rev Hingeston-Randolph who edited the Register of Bishop John Grandison.

<sup>492</sup> Deeds XI K37 1 & 2; see Dalton 1957 p53. One side of the large seal now separated from its deed (XI K37 2) also bears a small impression in red wax that appears to have been made by a ring (Fig 56d). See Dalton 1917 p43. This ring was similar but not identical to the signet ring discovered when his grave at Exeter cathedral was opened in the early 1950's (see Alexander & Binski p482). This ring is now in the Cathedral Library.

<sup>493</sup> Dalton (1957) p53. The chapel still retains these deeds and the Bishop's seal.

<sup>494</sup> This cross called *Greth* containing wood of the true cross is said to have been brought from the Holy Land and given to Edward I by Welshmen in 1273 (Tennant p5-14; VCH Berks vol 2, p109). 1273 seems to be an error. Taylor 1985 (p 283-4 n 49) says the official record of the presentation of the Cross Neith (sic) to King Edward was at Conway in June 1283 and the St George's Chapel Guide says it was taken by Edward I from Llewellyn after he was killed in battle in 1283. In October 1284 a Welsh clerk was granted a King's Scholarship at Oxford for bringing the Cross to the king and ten named Welshmen and their heirs were exempted from compulsory military service in perpetuity for having surrendered the relic to the king via the Justice of Chester. Thenceforward the Cross was the king's most treasured possession and appears to have accompanied the king on all his travels (Taylor 1985 p283-284 note 49). The king was evidently still embellishing the reliquary containing the relic with jewels in 1296 (see *Ibid* p283-4 note 49). Edward I donated the Cross to Westminster Abbey (Westminster Abbey Guide p41). During the reign of Edward II it was kept in the Tower of London and was presented to St George's Chapel by Edward III shortly after he founded the Order of the Garter. The Cross was disposed of after the Reformation (St George's Chapel Guide 1993 para 51). It is suggested that the reliquary containing the Cross stood in one of the niches near to the Cross Gneith Boss, one of the bosses of the early 16<sup>th</sup> century nave vault, by the Lincoln Chapel at St George's, where its likeness in the form of a great Celtic wheel-cross on a square base, standing between kneeling figures of Edward IV and Richard Beauchamp, Bishop of Salisbury, who oversaw the building of the new St George's Chapel in the 15<sup>th</sup> century may still be seen (Taylor 1985 p284 note 49, St George's Chapel Guide para 51).

<sup>495</sup>VCH, Berks vol 2, p109-110.

<sup>496</sup> The Exeter Cross from the 1506 inventory plus other ornaments, many bearing the Grandison coat, are described in Rose Troup p257-258. The will of Bishop Grandison includes a bequest to Exeter of a cross gilt with precious stones enclosing a piece of our Lord's Cross (Hingeston-Randolph p1513). For the other crosses see Sections on Dore Abbey & Vale Royal Abbey.

<sup>497</sup> Dalton (1917) p9. For Ottery St Mary (OSM) statutes see Dalton 1917 pxii to p27. The statutes of the College of St George have not been published. The archives of St George's Chapel possess a bound copy of page proofs of the statutes and injunctions of the Chapel, compiled, from 1895, by Dalton. Included in this

document is a transcription of the Papal Bull of Clement VI dated 30 November 1350 at Avignon and sent to Simon Islip, Archbishop of Canterbury and William Edington, Bishop of Winchester, granting authority to *either of you* to draw up statutes for governing the college. The latter compiled them. The statutes, to which seals were attached at Southwark on 30 November 1352, by the Bishop of Winchester (and by Edward III, Robert, Bishop of Salisbury and his Chapter and William Mugge, Warden), are similar to those of OSM in that they deal with the management of the collegiate church. Among the similarities is that the college seal was to be kept under three keys (OSM Dalton 1917 pxvi, St Georges Dalton unpub p16a). Required behaviour in the choir also figured in both. Quite separate statutes relate to the Order of the Garter. The earliest set of these statutes extant was issued by Henry V in 1415 and dealt with the composition and functioning of the Order (see Jefferson p52-57 in Begent & Chesshyre; Biddle p515).

<sup>498</sup> Dalton (1917) p9; see note 497.

<sup>499</sup> Biddle, p514 citing Cal Papal Letters vol 3, 1342-62, p395.

<sup>500</sup> Moureau p4; see note 418 for information about the Cardinal.

<sup>501</sup> Dalton (1917) p40. **William Montacute**, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Salisbury was a founder member, married to Joan of Kent from the winter of 1340-41 (ODNB Joan of Kent). This marriage was annulled in November 1349 and the pope ordered that she be restored to her lawful husband Thomas Holland, another founder whom she'd married clandestinely in spring 1340 (*Ibid*, GEC Kent vol 3 p151 note j). This means that in April 1349, thought to be the first meeting of the knights of the order, she was still married to Salisbury. He afterwards married, Elizabeth, daughter of another founder, **John, Lord Mohun** of Dunster. Other members who were kinsmen of the Grandisons were:

**Hugh Courtenay** (d. 1349; see Trees 1 and 3); founder.

**Roger Mortimer** (Tree 3), married to Katherine's daughter Philippa, whose aunt Blanche was married to Katherine's brother, Peter (Tree 3). Mortimer was restored to the title of Earl of March in 1354 (GEC March vol 3, p444); founder.

**William Bohun, Earl of Northampton**, stepfather of Roger Mortimer, inherited the stall of his nephew Hugh Courtenay in 1349.

Founder members with Grandison connections include:

**Jean (III) Grailly**, Captal du Buch (based at Teste de Buch on the Arcachon basin) whose ancestor, Jean I, a Savoyard, had been Seneschal in Gascony in 1266 and had been on crusade with Otho Grandison and Prince Edward in 1271 (Prestwich p83; see note 78); and

**Henry, Earl of Derby**, later Earl of Lancaster (a descendent of Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster, who had gone on crusade with Otho Grandison in 1270 and been overlord of Bisham).

Derby had been close to William Montacute the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Salisbury. Both were offered as hostages (GEC Lancaster vol 3 p403), had gone on embassy together in 1343 to Castile, where it is said Salisbury fought the Moors (GEC Salisbury vol 5, p387). Begent & Chesshyre, p11, say both fought with the Order of the Band at the siege of Algeciras in 1343. Both Derby and Salisbury are said to have played leading roles in the tournament in 1344 when the latter was injured and later died (according version II of Adam Murimuth's chronicle that may not have been written by Murimuth. See notes 459 & 461.

<sup>502</sup> Both Hugh and Peter Courtenay were Knights of the Garter and are both represented by extant stall Plates at St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle. St John Hope (plates XXXI and XLVI) when describing the coats on the stall plates of both Hugh (a founder knight) and his brother Peter (nom Oct 1388-Apr 1389), gives them both the same difference mark (silver annulets). This is very unlikely. "Peter"'s plate (Fig 57d), that has no name, was studied. It is a little over 4 cms long, of brass which was engraved to allow the insertion of three red torteaux and the blue label. Where the blue label has been lost the annulets project, apparently from the main brass plate thus creating "gold" annulets, a known difference mark for Sir Hugh Courtenay (see Foster p56). There is one other comparable plate that happens to be in the same stall: for Henry 4<sup>th</sup> Lord Fitzhugh nominated 1409. This would suggest that the "Peter" Courtenay plate was not made before ca. 1409 and, as there is no name on it, could possibly represent Sir Hugh Courtenay, a founder knight. The plate for Sir "Hugh" Courtenay (Fig 57c) dates from ca. 1422/3 when four plates were purchased by the Dean & Canons including a rectangular plate for John of Lancaster nom ca.1400 (later Duke of Bedford) see Begent & Chesshyre p186. Pote confusingly identifies both Fig 57 (c) & (d) as representing Hugh Courtenay, first founder (p288 and 294), adding *alias Sir Peter Courtenay* to the Courtenay nominated in the reign of Richard II (p288). The "Hugh" plate is a cut-out of ca. 1422/3, smaller than the others of that design. A not inconsiderable number of plates both for first founders and their successors were, it would appear, made ca. 1422/3. Details of payments for these have not survived, dating being on artistic grounds (Begent & Chesshyre p185-186). Many are cut-outs and of a similar pattern.

<sup>503</sup> A compilation of Garter statutes in 1415 said that when one of the first founders die a metal plate bearing his helmet (and crest) and arms shall be affixed to the back of the stall. No contemporary plates survive for the Founder Knights probably because they were never erected (Begent & Chesshyre p186). It is thought therefore that there were no plates in the third quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and the scheme to put up plates

when the first founders shall die was only put into practice from 1415 onwards (*Ibid* p185). These authors speculate about the earliest plate: that of Ralph, Lord Basset of Drayton, elected 1368 and thought to date from his death in 1390 (*Ibid*. p185) but this is not regarded as a true stall plate. It is thought the plate was at one time affixed to a tomb or stone memorial; how it came to be used as a stall plate is a matter of conjecture (Begent et al p136). The earliest record in the archives relates to payment to a messenger made in 1415/16 for bringing the mantle and stall plate of Sir John Dabrichcourt to the chapel (Begent & Chesshyre p185). The plates for the three Earls of Salisbury were made in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Fellowes pix) including that of the founder knight William Montacute (*Ibid* p62). These 18<sup>th</sup> century plates contain errors: the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl's plate is misnamed William instead of John (*Ibid* p7) and the plate of the 4<sup>th</sup> Earl Thomas is incorrectly blazoned with the Monthermer instead of the Montacute coat, being in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> quarter (see Fig 57g).

<sup>504</sup> By 1370 Thomas had inherited from his father Otho (d.1359) and his uncles Peter (d.1358) and John (d.1369) (GEC Grandison vol 2, p66-67).

<sup>505</sup> Suggested in VCH Berks vol 4, p264 note 75 and identified as such by Pevsner p164. He had no children so his aunt's descendants inherited. For his heirs see CIPM vol 14 p136-139, p299. They included William Montacute, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Salisbury and Sir Guy de Bryan K.G.

<sup>506</sup> Begent & Chesshyre, p311.

<sup>507</sup> GEC, Salisbury, vol 5, p392.

<sup>508</sup> *Ibid*, p394.

<sup>509</sup> GEC, Salisbury, vol 5 p395.

<sup>510</sup> Only a remnant of the red seal remains, said to represent a large oval with on it the figure of the Virgin Mary seated and holding a globe surmounted by a cross (see VCH Berks vol 3, p147 note 54).

<sup>511</sup> Dates from Appendix A in Begent and Chesshyre. The son of Richard Pole and Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, Cardinal Reginald Pole, when Dean of Exeter, had possessed a copy of *The Life of St Thomas of Canterbury*, written by Bishop John Grandison. In 1917 this copy was in the Bodleian Library (Dalton 1917 p117). The Cardinal's comments on Henry VIII's marriage to Anne Boleyn, led to his mother, the Countess, being imprisoned in the Tower and beheaded in a brutal manner.

<sup>512</sup> When Sir Reginald Bray, Henry VII's High Treasurer, died (1503) he left a large legacy sufficient to pay for the chapel's completion including the vaulting of the Nave & Choir. Henry VIII completed the fan vaulting over the crossing in 1528 (Saint George's Chapel Guide 1993 para 7).

<sup>513</sup> In 1278 he was with Robert Burnell, Bishop of Bath & Wells and the Chancellor, having been on embassy in France and was en route to Gascony when the king wrote to them that he had no one about him who could do his will better (CCR 1272-1279, p493).

<sup>514</sup> GEC, Grandison, vol 2, p60. Apart from one short interval from June 1294 to April 1298, Otho who had leased the islands in 1275 had a free grant of them in 1277 until his death in 1328. The 1277 grant was made "on account of his intimacy with the King of his long and faithful service from an early age" (*Ibid* p69-70; Clifford p56) – similar sentiments to those present in his grant of Irish lands. His only recorded visit was in 1323 when he resided at Jersey Castle (Clifford p266 citing Cartulaire des Isles Normandes no. 60) i.e. Mont Orgueil castle. He also apparently visited Guernsey where a *M. Otes de Grauntsoune* reportedly came to St Peter Port to carry away someone's corn (see Kingsford p167-8). He would presumably have stayed at Castle Cornet. Rose Troup p241 note 9 suggests it was actually his nephew, also Otho, who was there in 1323. It has been proposed that Otho Senior's continuous absence resulted in his ministers developing an internal administration that formed the basis for the medieval administration of the islands in its more permanent shape (Patourel p46). Unfortunately the accounts for Otho's long tenure as warden have not survived so it is not known whether he did any building work at Castle Cornet or Mont Orgeuil (Gorey) but little seems to have been done. The inhabitants complained to the king in 1324-5 about Otho's abuse of authority and also of the defenceless state of the islands. In 1327 custody was given to John Roches and Robert Norton as *Otho Grandison who holds said custody for life does not stay in the islands or provide sufficient guard against hostile attack* (Sausmarez p50). After Otho's death in 1328, extensive repairs to both castles were found to be necessary (Colvin vol 2, p604), suggesting little work had been done recently. Later, after Otho's death, William's son-in-law, William Montacute, was from 1334-7, joint keeper of the Channel Islands with Henry de Ferrers (GEC Salisbury p386). Patourel (p63) suggests it is unlikely they paid very much attention, in person, to their duties in the Islands, and this is most likely also true of William Grandison's period when he stood in for his brother. Otho was, however, interested enough in the Channel Islands to evidently request in 1308 that Pope Clement V write to the King with a decree that the inhabitants of the islands shall not be cited in any law suit beyond the sea not making mention of the indult (Cal. Papal letters vol 2, p45).

<sup>515</sup> See section on Welsh Castles.

<sup>516</sup> See section on Dore Abbey and Vale Royal Abbey; the former still a church, the scant remains of the latter incorporated into a prestigious golf club.

<sup>517</sup> On the death of Sybil's father, Sir John Tregoz, Ewyas Harold, near to Dore Abbey went to his grandson, John le Warre, whose mother was Sibyl's elder sister Clarice (GEC Tregoz, vol 6, p22, note e).



<sup>518</sup> For Bishop John's legacy in relation to the liturgy and his collection of books see ODNB: John Grandison p266-267, and as a patron of the arts see Alexander & Binski p463-467.

<sup>519</sup> Two portraits (on a roof boss and a corbel) of Edward III and a bust of the King on the west front (Fig 53) occur at Exeter and the king's heraldic coat also occurs at Ottery (see Table 3).

<sup>520</sup> Portrait corbels were put up by Bishop John Grandison both at Exeter Cathedral and Ottery St Mary Church. In the mid 14<sup>th</sup> century it may have been common practice for corbels to feature portraits perhaps of donors. See note 98 for such portraits in the church at Hambleden where the Grandison kinsman, Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford (Tree 2) was baptised.

<sup>521</sup> Barber, p75, 139-140 in Munby et al.

<sup>522</sup> *Ibid*, p146.

<sup>523</sup> *Ibid*, p140.

<sup>524</sup> Coss, p85. A Hugh Courtenay was also present (see Vale p22), probably he who became Earl of Devon in 1335, dying in 1340 (Tree 2 & 4). Bishop Grandison officiated at his funeral in February 1341 (Dalton 1917 p52).

<sup>525</sup> Born Nov 1312, he lived at Bisham in 1313 (VCH Berks, vol 3, p146). It seems to have been deemed a safe place to escape disease (Dormer vol 12, p16).

<sup>526</sup> McKisack, p123. The dagger is mentioned in an inventory of 14 Edward III (Vale p93 citing E101/333/15 dorse).

<sup>527</sup> For a list of the tournaments of Edward III 1327-1355 see Vale p172-174, and Barber p35 in Munby et al.

<sup>528</sup> Vane, p35-6 in Saul.

<sup>529</sup> See note 273. Vale p72 speculates on the source of the fairly detailed knowledge necessary for providing the masks for the "Tartars" (the name given to Mongols) at this tournament. It is quite possible that Montacute obtained the information from his wife's family. Her uncle, Otho Grandison, had been in Gascony in 1287 (dealing with the misdeeds of the seneschal Jean de Grailly; see Clifford p110) when the Mongol Ilkhan Arghun sent a representative to Bordeaux to meet Edward I, who had long advocated a Mongol alliance to help the crusade (Runciman p399). Otho after the fall of Acre in 1291 subsequently visited Armenia (1294 and 1298/99 Demurger (2005) p77) and has been suggested as the author of a treatise on how to regain the Holy Land favouring an alliance with the Armenians (a vassal of the Ilkhan), together with a Mongol alliance, which he felt was necessary for the success of the expedition (Clifford p130-131, citing Kohler; see also Demurger (2005) p77). Demurger (2005) p141 describes various "treatises" ascribing two "plans" to Otho composed ca.1300. Otho very likely saw Mongol costume including masks on his visits to Armenia. Montacute was among the participants at the Dunstable tournament of 1334, a tournament which Vale considers reflected the King's enthusiasm for matters Arthurian (Vale p68 & p142); see note 548.

<sup>530</sup> The Arthurian interests of the two kings and their chivalric links are detailed in Vale, p93.

Arthur's cult seems to have been widespread. In 1286 the story of the Round Table was part of a pageant held at Acre to mark the coronation of Henry II of Cyprus as King of Jerusalem (Runciman p397; Barber p94 in Munby et al). The first record of re-enactment of the Round Table that survives comes from the Kingdom of Cyprus in 1223 (*Ibid*. p86 in Munby et al).

<sup>531</sup> Barber p99 in Munby et al.

<sup>532</sup> See Appendix 2. Interestingly, one of the early chapter seals, dated ca.1350 (Fig 53), shows St George flanked by the coats of St Edward the Confessor and St Edmund. St Edmund is not included in the saints mentioned in the patent establishing the Order (CPR 1348-50 p144). Is his coat used on the seal in deference to his great uncle, Edmund, brother of Edward I, who had also gone on crusade?

<sup>533</sup> Barber, p152 in Munby et al.

<sup>534</sup> Dalton (1917) p59.

<sup>535</sup> Ashe, p4 in Ashe et al.

<sup>536</sup> Raleigh Radford, p98-99 in Ashe et al. A discovery said to have involved Henry II (Barber p75 in Munby et al). This source gives the discovery date as 1189.

<sup>537</sup> Ashe, p7 in Ashe et al; Barber p75 in Munby et al.

<sup>538</sup> Barber, p75 in Munby et al.

<sup>539</sup> Parsons, p30.

<sup>540</sup> *Ibid*, p29.

<sup>541</sup> Raleigh Radford, p99-100 in Ashe et al. 1278 was when Edward was busy conquering the Welsh. It is suggested the visit to Glastonbury was to make it clear that Arthur would not return to help them (Ashe p11).

<sup>542</sup> Coldstream, p58, in Ford. This source says that Edward I ordered Arthur's tomb and placed it in the choir at Glastonbury with some ceremony in 1278. However it is also said that Richard I had provided a double tomb for the remains of Arthur and his Queen (Chronicles quoted in Raleigh Radford p99-100, in Ashe et al) and it was this tomb that was opened in 1278 in the presence of Edward I (*Ibid* p99).

<sup>543</sup> Raleigh Radford, p109-110 in Ashe et al. The so-called Crown of Arthur was handed over to Edward I in Aberconwy Abbey where Llywelyn the Great was buried, associating Arthur, not with the princes of Wales

but with the Kings of England. The Abbey was then moved to make way for Conwy castle (Coldstream p42 in Williams and Kenyon, Ashe et al p11).

<sup>544</sup> Barber, p95, 115 in Munby et al; Pearsall p12 in Ford.

<sup>545</sup> Biddle, p364, note 88 quoting a suggestion by Dr Arnold Taylor.

<sup>546</sup> Barber, p96 in Munby et al. See Vale p2 for the common Arthurian and chivalric links between Edward I and Edward III, absent in the intervening reign of Edward II. At the beginning of the career of Edward III it was noted that he, like King Arthur, had been called to the Kingdom of Britain in the 15<sup>th</sup> year of his age (Dalton 1917 p 147).

<sup>547</sup> Ashe et al, p12.

<sup>548</sup> Vane, p38 in Saul 2005. At the Dunstable tournament of 1334 Edward III appeared as Lionel (according to Arthurian legend, Lancelot's cousin) and almost certainly wore a gold eagle crest, giving the crest to William Montacute the following year out of affection and gratitude. In 1338 Edward's second surviving son was born and was named Lionel. Montacute, his godfather, transferred the crest to him in 1339 (Vale p68-9). It is suggested standards, provided after Lionel's birth, were for two tournament teams, one headed by Edward III with leopard crests and the other by Montacute, as proxy for Lionel, with eagle crests (Vane p39 in Saul 2005).

<sup>549</sup> Nicholson, p2.

<sup>550</sup> Diserens, p33.

<sup>551</sup> Mentioned in his will (Clifford, p277).

<sup>552</sup> Dalton (1917) p ix, 65. To encourage offerings, the Bishop, when visiting Avignon in 1343, had obtained from Pope Clement VI two Bulls of Indulgences for all coming to Ottery church on the five chief feasts of the Virgin, on both festivals of St Edward the Confessor and on the date when the church was dedicated (Dalton 1917 p107).

<sup>553</sup> Vale, p53 citing m 1 in Ashmole 47 (an inventory of the goods of St George's chapel, Windsor 1384-5) in the Bodleian Library.

<sup>554</sup> Alexander & Binski, p482. This was discovered during work on the Bishop's chapel and can be seen in Exeter Cathedral library.

<sup>555</sup> The Coronation of the Virgin and the Annunciation are also depicted on other ivories once owned by the Bishop; see Alexander & Binski p465-7. The ivories owned by the British Museum are now displayed in the refurbished Medieval Room.

<sup>556</sup> CChrR, 1327-1341, p419. VCH Berks vol 2, p82 says the foundation charter, dated 22 April 1337, was dedicated *in honour of Our Lord Jesus Christ and St Mary the most glorious Virgin His Mother*<sup>66</sup> but only Mary is cited in the charter of that date published in CChrR 1327-1341, p419-421. The 1899 OS map of Bisham Abbey notes *the remains of the Abbey of St Saviour and St Mary AD 1138*. This incorrect date is due to a typographical error in Ashmole who gives 1138 instead of 1338 (actually it should be 1337) though he correctly gives William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury as the founder (Ashmole 1736 p199). The mapmaker is presumably responsible for converting Ashmole's original *Blessed Saviour and the Virgin Mary*. Payne p194 notes that by the time of Richard II the priory was dedicated to the Holy Trinity.

<sup>557</sup> Riches, p68-p69.

<sup>558</sup> Alexander & Binski, p499-500. The mural, destroyed in c1800 is known from a drawing. This shows the King and St George regarding the seated Virgin above. The King's sons occur behind the King with, it would appear, Queen Philippa and her daughters behind St George.

<sup>559</sup> Riches, p12. The historical existence of the martyr George is attested by the fact that his tomb at Diospolis (Lydda now Lydd) in Palestine was being visited by pilgrims from the west in the 6<sup>th</sup> century and that churches were dedicated to him in the East even earlier (Rushforth p220). Riches p7 points out that churches built around 346 at Shaqqa and Ezra in Syria were dedicated to St George.

<sup>560</sup> Nicholson, p149.

<sup>561</sup> Riches, p2. Dragons and the rescue of princesses were later additions to the legend (*Ibid.* p2-3).

<sup>562</sup> Morgan, p57 in Saul.

<sup>563</sup> Taylor (1985) p 293. St Geours d'Auribat, founded 1285, has a fountain dedicated to St George (Bentley p1-7, 201).

<sup>564</sup> Riches, p103.

<sup>565</sup> *Ibid.*, p104.

<sup>566</sup> Dalton (1917) p40.

<sup>567</sup> His will specifies no armed men or horse to go before the corpse on the day of burial nor any coloured or golden cloth or his arms to cover the body *only a white cloth marked with a red cross* - both stipulations in contrast to his uncle Otho, whose will specified that his corpse should approach Lausanne Cathedral preceded by two mounted men wearing his colours and one carrying his pennon and that the horses should be magnificent and have trappings bearing his arms and one should carry his armour (Clifford p276-77).

<sup>568</sup> Vane, p57 in Saul. In 1285 on a pilgrimage to Canterbury the King gave four golden images, one of which was a figure of St Edward the Confessor (see Taylor 1985 p293).

<sup>569</sup> Possibly Otho Grandison was behind this appointment. It occurred on the same day (28 Dec 1278) that two bills involving Otho were issued: a licence for him to demise to farm certain lands & tenements late of Walter de Burgo in Kilkosny (Ireland) and a writ concerning the appointment of Justices to hold Assizes in the Channel Islands where he was Warden (CPR 1272-1281 p296).

<sup>570</sup> Morris, p8-9, says Henry filled his palaces with images of his favourite saint and never failed to celebrate his two annual festivals, commissioning Matthew Paris to write a history of the saintly king's reign. For the rebuilding of Windsor Castle for Henry III including the Chapel of St Edward see Tatton Brown in Munby et al, p24-26.

<sup>571</sup> Domesday Book for Berkshire.

<sup>572</sup> Whitham, p3.

<sup>573</sup> Dalton (1917) p37.

<sup>574</sup> *Ibid*, p v, though the church plan locates the altar in the extension to the north aisle, the Dorset aisle, added ca. 1520. The Dorset aisle is also linked to the Grandisons as it was built by Cicely Bonville, a direct descendent of Katherine Grandison (see Whitham, p4) probably using funding from both of her husbands (Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, and Henry Lord Stafford).

<sup>575</sup> Dalton (1917) p40,

<sup>576</sup> Hewett, p106

<sup>577</sup> *Ibid*, p105

<sup>578</sup> Ormrod, p28 in Saul.

<sup>579</sup> *Ibid*, p29.

<sup>580</sup> See Gransden; Packe; and Mortimer (2006) p191-198. Beltz (xlii-xlvi) also discusses it, estimating that Katherine would only have been two years older than the King (*Ibid* p xlv n4).

<sup>581</sup> Gransden, p333-344. ODNB: William Montacute p775.

<sup>582</sup> Countess of Salisbury as descendent of William Longespée, Count of Salisbury. She also had a connection with Bisham as widow of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, who had been overlord of Bisham and had been executed in 1322 for rebelling against Edward II. Alice and her 2nd husband, Sir Ebles Lestrangle (dsp 1335) were granted Bisham jointly in 1334 by the Duchy of Lancaster (Hone 1893 p59). In the following year the king gave Montacute the reversion of the manor (see note 243).

<sup>583</sup> Jean Le Bel was a Canon in Liège, Belgium, whose patron was John of Hainault, uncle of Edward III's wife Philippa. Le Bel accompanied Edward III on his Scottish campaign in 1327 (Hallam 1990, p107) the year William Montacute was also summoned for service in Scotland; Montacute married Katherine in or before that year (see GEC Salisbury p38, 387). We do not know whether Montacute and Le Bel knew each other. Le Bel's account of the rape occurs in Chapter 65. Chaps 1-39 were written between 1352 and 1356, the remainder (including chap 50 - Edward III at Wark; chap 61- the tournament in London & chap 65- the rape) between 1358 and 1361 (Thompson PE 1966 p9).

<sup>584</sup> The Amiens manuscript, Brereton, p25.

<sup>585</sup> *Ibid*, p59.

<sup>586</sup> Le Bel, vol 2, p2.

<sup>587</sup> See Froissart, vol 1, p115.

<sup>588</sup> The date of a licence to William Montacute to enfeof the manor and advowson of Donyate, Co Somerset for it to be re-enfeofed to him, Katherine his wife and his heirs (CPR 1327-30, p199).

<sup>589</sup> GEC Salisbury, vol 5 p385. She was a descendent of William Longespée, Earl of Salisbury (d.1226) who was a bastard half-brother of Richard I (*Ibid*. p379). Interestingly, the Salisbury Roll made ca 1463 begins with figures of both king and earl. See Payne p190. Yet another Alice, wife of Sir Edward Montacute, brother of the Earl of Salisbury, is proposed by Packe p116. She, however, was not Countess of Salisbury.

<sup>590</sup> Brereton, p9.

<sup>591</sup> Gransden, p336.

<sup>592</sup> Assumed to be Wark Castle. Wark Castle, manor and borough in Northumberland, was held by William Montacute for life of the king in chief by service of a knight's fee with remainder to his son John and his heirs (CIPM vol 8, p388). It is said that Montacute was given Wark as part reward for his share in the arrest of Mortimer (Packe p105). However, this castle is not mentioned in the charter rolls that describe Montacute's reward. See notes 241 & 242.

<sup>593</sup> Le Bel, vol 1, p291 (see pages 284-295 for complete account of the Wark encounter).

<sup>594</sup> Lord Berner's translation in Froissart p102-3.

<sup>595</sup> Le Bel, vol 2, p2-3 who says that during the tournament Lord John Beaumont was killed. See Froissart vol 1, p115-117 for an English version. However, according to Murimuth the tournament when Beaumont was killed was held at Northampton on 15<sup>th</sup> April (*quinzaine de Paques*) (Thompson EM p124 cited in Le Bel vol 2, p2, note 2). According to Beltz (pxlvi n1) the writs ordering his inquisitions were dated 26 June 16 Edw 3 (1342). It's also said he died in May 1343 (Burtscher p43). Beaumont's death widowed his wife, Eleanor of Lancaster, who in February 1345 married Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel in the presence of Edward III

and his Queen. Arundel obtained an annulment of his first marriage to Isabel Despenser, an annulment that made a bastard of Edmund their son, married to Sybil, daughter of William Montacute. It is said that Arundel profited by the timely deaths of Beaumont and the Earl of Salisbury (d.30 Jan 1344) without which the marriage could not have been envisaged (Burtscher p43).

<sup>596</sup> Munby et al, p35, though this list is not exhaustive. It does not include the tournament organised by Montacute at Cheapside in 1331 that involved the King. See note 273.

<sup>597</sup> See note 595.

<sup>598</sup> Gransden, p337.

<sup>599</sup> Douch, p86. GEC Salisbury vol 5 (p387 note g) says he was released from imprisonment in Paris in 1342 but ODNB: William Montagu p774 says he was released under the terms of the truce of Esplechin in September 1340, citing a council summons of Nov 1340 and an appointment to a lord's committee in April-May 1341 (see also Packe p112). However, if so, how credible is it that his wife was defending his castle in the north against the Scots when her husband was already released? N.B: It is thought that Edward I could have gone to relieve "the castle of Salisbury" in Dec 1341 or Jan 1342 when he was campaigning in the north (Gransden p335). *Ibid.* p335 note 6 cites evidence that Montacute was released on 4 June 1342 and suggests the tournament could have occurred sometime after early June when Salisbury was released by the French and before 23 July when Edward III confirmed an agreement with John de Montfort's party at Windsor (*Ibid.* p337).

<sup>600</sup> Le Bel's editors date the rape to 1344 (vol 2, p30-34) and note 2 lists two French reports of this incident plus one from Flanders. For more on these chronicles see Gransden p333 note 4. The rape is either omitted altogether by Froissart or referred to saying he has "never heard this evil report confirmed" (Amiens Ms, Thompson PE 1966 p13). As Le Bel (vol 2, p31) said Edward threatened his personal valets with death if they interfered, this may not be surprising.

<sup>601</sup> Gransden, p337 says Montacute left with Robert de Artois on 14 August whilst Mortimer 2006 p469 note 45 quotes records that show that though he was preparing to sail on 3<sup>rd</sup> September, he was still in England on 26 September when he was present at a dinner with the royal family.

<sup>602</sup> Gransden, p337-8 for dates.

<sup>603</sup> Bisham Quarry, not far from the manor house, was close enough to Windsor for boats to ferry chalk blocks there for the Round Table building that was commenced after Salisbury's death.

<sup>604</sup> Le Bel, chapter LXIV p26-27 and chapter LXVI p34-35. The rape is in chapter LXV p30-34. All the chapters are dated 1344 by his editors.

<sup>605</sup> Murimuth Version I (who gives Sunday January 19<sup>th</sup> instead of 18<sup>th</sup>) in Munby et al p180; see also kitchen accounts for confirmation of the dates (*Ibid.* p239).

<sup>606</sup> Froissart, vol 1, p124, where they besieged Vannes (McKisack p131).

<sup>607</sup> ODNB, William Montagu p774. They reached a truce at Malestroit in Jan 1343 (McKisack p131) when Montacute was one of the English representatives and Cardinal Pierre des Prés one of the Papal nuncios (see Froissart vol 1, p124, ODNB William Montagu d.1344). The Cardinal was a friend of Montacute's brother-in-law, Bishop John Grandison, which must have helped - note 418.

<sup>608</sup> Montacute, on 28 February 1343, acknowledged deeds granting his rights to certain lands, tenements etc to the Prior of Hurley (CCR 1343-46, p91). He was present when the great seal was delivered to the king on 4<sup>th</sup> March, two days after the latter landed at Weymouth (CCR 1343-46 p97). Packe p122 is incorrect in saying Montacute went straight from Brittany to Algeciras.

<sup>609</sup> CCR, 1343-46 p226.

<sup>610</sup> Le Bel, vol 2, p32- 34.

<sup>611</sup> The account of his death is taken from Murimuth II which may have been written after 1348 and not by Murimuth (Munby et al p183 note 2) see note 459.

<sup>612</sup> CIPM, vol 8 p386.

<sup>613</sup> Le Bel, vol 2 p34.

<sup>614</sup> GEC, Salisbury vol 5, p388. In 1345, the year after Montacute died, she presented a new rector to the chapel of Crookham. On the basis of its architecture it is thought the lower part of the nearby Thatcham church was built at around the same time, possibly erected by the inhabitants (Barfield vol 1 p40) or by Katherine, as his memorial (*Ibid.* p174).

<sup>615</sup> Murimuth Version I transcribed in Munby et al p180.

<sup>616</sup> See above note 242. Another mark of favour by Edward III, was allowing his cousin Joan (the Fair Maid of Kent), by Feb 1340/41, to be married to William, Katherine's eldest son by the Earl of Salisbury. The marriage was annulled in 1349 due to her previous marriage, age eleven, to Sir Thomas Holland, who alleged that, in his absence in Prussia she was married to Montacute (GEC Salisbury vol 5 p389-390 note a). Strangely, Holland became steward of the young couple after January 1344 when William succeeded as 2<sup>nd</sup> earl of Salisbury. Only the acquisition of ransom money from Edward III enabled him to finance an

annulment from the Pope (see ODNB Joan of Kent). After the death of Holland in 1360 she married the Black Prince.

<sup>617</sup> Dalton (1917) p59, note 1, Douche p87; Burke B, p372.

<sup>618</sup> Brindle & Priestley in Saul p204-205. The king having announced the foundation of his Round Table, and taken the oaths of certain lords, barons and knights who wished to be members of the said Round Table, fixed the date of Pentecost (23<sup>rd</sup> May in 1344) for the holding of the Round Table (Murimuth Version 1 in Munby et al p180). It is evident from the building accounts that construction of the Round Table building had not been completed by Pentecost, when stone was still being brought from Bisham (see Munby et al p214) though work was well on the way to tailing off compared to the peak of activity in February and March (*Ibid.* p202-8).

<sup>619</sup> Salzman (1952) p131 citing St John Hope vol 1, p115.

<sup>620</sup> Colvin, vol 2 p881 note 1.

<sup>621</sup> Wikipedia: Catherine Montacute Countess of Salisbury (acc July 2011).

<sup>622</sup> CIPM, vol 9, p273-4.

<sup>623</sup> Vale, p83 cited by Ormrod p20 in Saul 2005. See *The 1348 Order of the Garter* above.

<sup>624</sup> Geoffrey Baker's Chronicle. The chronicle dates the event to 1350 not 1349; see note 479.

<sup>625</sup> CCR, 1343-46 p461.

<sup>626</sup> ODNB, William Montagu (d.1344) p775.

<sup>627</sup> Rotulus Normannie in CPR Edward III 1345-1348 p473.

<sup>628</sup> CPR, 1345-1348 p12.

<sup>629</sup> CPR, 1345-1348 p431.

<sup>630</sup> Gransden, p340.

<sup>631</sup> Mortimer (2006) p196 also regards the story as false.

<sup>632</sup> Gransden, p342.

<sup>633</sup> Stone, p144, discussed by Ormrod p30 in Saul 2005.

<sup>634</sup> Vale p71 notes that familiarity with the Troy story is reflected in frequent allusions in 14<sup>th</sup> century vernacular literature (e.g. Sir Gawain and the Green Knight II, 1-19). Stone fully transcribes the story.

<sup>635</sup> Ormrod, p30 in Saul 2005.

<sup>636</sup> Stone, p144.

<sup>637</sup> *Ibid.*, p47.

<sup>638</sup> Gawain, Wikipedia (acc July 2011).

<sup>639</sup> Vane in Saul 2005 p38, though Vale p68, who suggested the king was present incognito at the tournament, cites Wardrobe Accounts that refer to items bearing the arms of Lionel (a Knight of the Round Table, and Lancelot's cousin).

<sup>640</sup> Vale, p69.

<sup>641</sup> Ackroyd, p311, 314.

<sup>642</sup> VCH, Wilts vol 3, p259; Goodhugh 2004 and Wikipedia Amesbury (acc July 2011). The priory church survives as the parish church of SS Mary & Melor, Amesbury, and it was evidently an important priory. It is said that Edward I visited for the first time in 1275, his daughter Mary and his mother, Eleanor of Provence were veiled as nuns in 1285 and Eleanor was buried before the high altar there in 1291. Isabel of Lancaster, sister of Eleanor of Lancaster, who married Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, was Prioress there in 1343, dying before February 1349 (VCH Wilts vol 3, p242-259). The Prioress in 1391 was Sybil Montague (Montacute) (d.1420), who in 1400 was apparently imprisoned by hooligans for several days (Goodhugh 2004, VCH Wilts vol 3 p242-259). She would be a kinsman of the Montacutes. The Nunnery at Amesbury appears to have been one of the select retreats for females of the higher ranks of life (Monasticon vol 2 p334).

<sup>643</sup> That William Montacute held Amesbury, see the inquisition post mortem of Sir Thomas Montacute (d.1428), his descendent, which also says William rented it to Sir John Warenne, Earl of Surrey (d.1347) and Joan his wife who were holding it when he died in 1344 (CIPM 2004 p 145). This is probably why Amesbury (Wilts) does not figure in William's inquisition post mortem (CIPM vol 9 p 386-389).

<sup>644</sup> Noted by Barber, p99, in Munby et al.



# Table 1

## Popes from 1271 to 1352

Civil war in Italy between supporters of the Pope and the Holy Roman Emperor prevented the Pope from living in Rome. Throughout the 13<sup>th</sup> century the Pope and Curia were constantly on the move, finally settling in Avignon.

NAME	PONTIFICATE DATES	REMARKS ON POPE	GRANDISON CONNECTION
Gregory X	1271-6	As Archbishop of Liège, accompanies Prince Edward to join the crusade of his uncle Louis IX King of France, becoming Pope after the king died (1270) and they join the crusaders at Tripoli. Accompanies Edward to Acre. Famously says in a sermon on leaving Acre <i>If I forget thee O Jerusalem let my right hand forget her skill</i> (Psalm 137). Edward becomes King of England as Edward I in 1272 while en route back from the Holy Land.	Otho Grandison accompanies Prince Edward on crusade to the Holy Land (1270-72). En route they stay in Sicily with another of Edward's uncles, Charles I of Anjou, King of Sicily & Naples (d.1285) who had seized the throne in 1266 from the heir of Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor (d.1250), after Pope Urban IV had granted it to him. Charles was brother of Louis IX, King of France.
Innocent V	1276		
Adrian V	1276		
John XXI	1276-7	Charles I, King of Sicily & Naples purchases rights to Kingdom of Jerusalem, then in the control of Moslems.	
Nicholas III	1277-80		
Martin IV	1281-5	1282 "Sicilian vespers" when Sicilians revolted against the Angevin government of Charles I of Anjou (d.1285). Peter III of Aragon becomes King of Sicily.	
Honorius IV	1285-7		Otho involved as diplomat in the "Sicilian Vespers". Obtains endowment for Vale Royal Abbey.
Nicholas IV	1288-92		Otho a hostage after the release of Charles of Salerno, Edward's cousin, in 1288, (captured in 1284 off Naples). As Charles II of Anjou (from 1285) he was King of Naples but no longer King of Sicily. Otho released spring 1289. Pope gives grants to Benedictine monastery in Grandson and gives permission for Otho to build at his own expense a Franciscan friary there. Fresh endowments given by later Pope Clement V. Otho sent by Edward I to Holy Land and was at fall of Acre in 1291.
Celestine V	1294		
Boniface VIII	1294-1303	1297 Louis IX, King of France canonised as St Louis. The then king, Philip IV, refused to recognise the Pope's temporal supremacy and captures him at Anagni, near Rome, in 1303. Released by townspeople, the Pope died shortly after.	1295 Bertrand de Got, then Pope's chaplain, sent to England by the Pope to try and reduce discord between England and France. Meets Edward I at Conwy.
Benedict XI	1303-4		

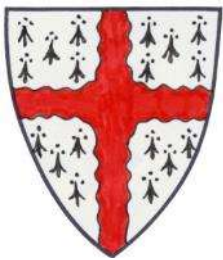








Clement V	1305-14	Bertrand de Got (Gouth) born ca.1264 at Villandraut, Gascony (overlord Edward I). Archbishop of Bordeaux prior to becoming Pope. Only Pope not a cardinal. Order of the Temple suppressed during his papacy. Arrived in Avignon in March 1309 staying at the Dominican convent. Avignon in Provence which belonged to Charles II of Anjou, King of Naples & Sicily (latter nominally), who as such was vassal to the Pope.	1305: Otho in embassy at Lyons when new Pope crowned. At request of Edward I, canonisation of Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford & ancestor of Sybil Tregoz, wife of William Grandison on agenda. 1306: William Grandison obtains benefits for his sons John & Thomas and for Dore Abbey. 1307: After death of Edward I, Otho Grandison leaves England but continues working for his son Edward II. He spends most of the next ten years at Avignon possibly as England's resident ambassador. In Oct: French King, Philip IV, arrests the Templars. 1308: In Sept, Pope confirms pension made to Otho by the Master of the Temple in 1277. Philip IV compensates Otho for loss of Templar annuity by granting him seized assets in Nov 1308. Grant confirmed by Pope at Avignon July 1309. 1312: Otho attacked when en route to Avignon for papal blessing prior to going to the Holy Land. Didn't go.
John XXII	1316-34	Jacques Duèze (d'Euse), born 1249 at Cahors. His family said to be bankers. In 1309 appointed chancellor of Charles II King of Naples and in 1310 transferred to See of Avignon where he delivered legal opinions favourable to the suppression of the Templars. Appointed cardinal of Porto in 1312, becoming Pope after an interregnum caused by power struggle between Italians who wanted papacy returned to Italy & Gascons who wanted to retain power. Duèze of the French/Provençal party neither wanted Gascons to retain power nor have the papacy returned to Italy. Modified the palace where he had been bishop to be the papal palace. Credited with making Avignon the papal residence.	1320 Pope canonises Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford as St Thomas of Hereford. 1323 Pierre des Prés born at Montpezat de Quercy (near to Pope's birthplace, Cahors), appointed bishop cardinal of Palestrina (Praeneste in Italy). Vice-chancellor from 1325 to 1337 and again from 1343 to his death in 1361. He served four Popes, all of whom built at Avignon. 1327 Pope makes Otho's nephew, John Grandison, his former chaplain, Bishop of Exeter. In October Grandison consecrated by his friend, Cardinal des Prés, in the Dominican church at Avignon. 1328 April Otho Grandison dies. Information at his castle at Grandison, Switzerland says the Pope instigated the mausoleum for Otho in Lausanne cathedral that includes his effigy. Bishop John enthroned at Exeter on 22 August 1328. 1329 Edward III, under control of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, establishes private means of communication with Pope using as courier, William Montacute. Mortimer executed 1330.
Benedict XII (Benoit XII)	1334-42	Jacques Fournier, once John Grandison's tutor in Paris Demolished the Bishop's Palace and on the site built the "Old Palace".	Bishop John Grandison writes to the Pope that his mother was buried at Dore Abbey and his father (William d.1335), though born in Burgundy, had determined to be buried beside her.
Clement VI	1342-52	Pierre Roger, who, when Archbishop of Rouen, sold the manor of Ottery to Bishop Grandison. Added the "New Palace" in Avignon that still bears his heraldic coat.	1343 On 6 July, Pierre des Prés, Vice-chancellor, presents petition for papal confirmation of Bishop John's collegiate foundation at Ottery. 1344/5 Annuls marriage of Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, to Isabel Despencer, bastardising their son Edmund, husband of Sybil, daughter of William Montacute and Katherine Grandison. 1349 Edward III petitions the Pope to confirm the consecration, endowments and statutes of the collegiate church of St George in Windsor Castle. Letters of approval sent by the Pope in Nov 1350 (while Pierre des Prés is Vice Chancellor). Bishop John Grandison is a donor to the college.
Innocent VI	1352-62	Added ramparts to Avignon	

Sources:

- Dalton (1917).
- Cassagnes-Brouquet.
- Housley p457 List of Popes - Nicholas V 1328-33, the antipope, has been omitted.
- The Pope's Palace Avignon, Visitor's Guidebook.
- Runciman vol 3 p345.
- For the power struggle that led to the election of John XXII see notes by Burkle- Young F.A.
- For website on The Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church-Papal elections of the XIV century (1301-1394) see: [www.fiu.edu/~mirandas/conclave-xiv.htm](http://www.fiu.edu/~mirandas/conclave-xiv.htm).

Table 2a

Armorial glass seen by Richard Symonds in 1644  
in St Gabriel's Chapel, Exeter Cathedral

Drawing	Armorial Glass	Blazon	Name	Grandison Connection	Location in 2009
		<i>Ermine a cross enrailed gules</i>	Sir John Northwood (Northwode) d.1349	Husband of Agnes Grandison d.1348 (sister of Bishop John Grandison)	St Gabriel's Chapel – south window
		<i>Barry (6) or and azure, on a chief of the first 3 palets between 2 esquires based of the second, overall an inescoccheon argent</i>	Sir Roger Mortimer, founder KG 1349 2 <sup>nd</sup> Earl of March 1354 d.1360	Husband of Philippa Montacute d.1382 (niece of Bishop John Grandison); less likely Blanche Mortimer d.1347 married to Sir Peter Grandison (brother of Bishop John Grandison)	Lost
		<i>Argent three lozenges conjoined in fess gules</i>	William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury d.1344	Husband of Katherine Grandison d.1349 (sister of Bishop John Grandison)	St Gabriel's Chapel – south window
		<i>Azure a bend argent cotised or, between 3 hyonceanx rampant of the last with 3 mullets argent pierced on the bend (colour on mullet possibly lost)</i>	William Bohun, Earl of Northampton KG 1349 d.1360	Stepfather of Roger Mortimer, 2 <sup>nd</sup> Earl of March, who was married to Philippa Montacute d.1382 (niece of Bishop John Grandison)	Near to apex of Great East Window
		<i>Or three torteaux gules (2 &amp; 1) a label azure impaling or three piles meeting in base azure</i>	Sir Hugh Courtenay d.1374 impaling the coat Margaret Bryan d.1361	Margaret was stepdaughter of Elizabeth Montacute d.1359 (niece of Bishop John Grandison) on Elizabeth's marriage to her father, Sir Guy de Bryan	St Gabriel's Chapel - south window











Drawing	Armorial Glass	Blazon	Name	Grandison Connection	Location in 2009
		<p><i>Gules a lyon rampant or (Fitzalan) quartering chequy or and azure (Warene) overall a 3 point label argent</i></p>	<p>Sir Edmund Fitzalan (named as Edmund Arundel) d. by 1382, elder son of Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel (d.1376)</p>	<p>Husband of Sybil Montacute (niece of Bishop John Grandison)</p>	<p>St John the Evangelist's Chapel – east window</p>
		<p><i>Paly (6) argent and azure on a bend gules three eaglelets displayed or</i></p>	<p>Sir William Grandison d.1335  or  Sir Peter Grandison d.1358</p>	<p>Father of Bishop John Grandison  or  The Bishop's elder brother</p>	<p>St John the Evangelist's Chapel – east window</p>
		<p><i>Ermine a cross engrailed gules impaling paly (6) argent and azure on a bend gules three escallops displayed or</i></p>	<p>Sir John Northwood d.1317 impaling the coat of Agnes Grandison with the scallop mark of her uncle Otho Grandison</p>	<p>Husband of Agnes Grandison d.1348 (sister of Bishop John Grandison and niece of Sir Otho Grandison d.1328)</p>	<p>St Gabriel's Chapel – south window</p>
		<p><i>Argent three lozenges conjoined in fess gules impaling paly (6) argent and azure on a bend gules three escallops displayed or</i></p>	<p>William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury d.1344 impaling the coat of Katherine Grandison with the scallop mark of her uncle Otho Grandison</p>	<p>Husband of Katherine Grandison d.1349 (sister of Bishop John Grandison and niece of Sir Otho Grandison d.1328)</p>	<p>St Gabriel's Chapel – south window</p>
		<p><i>Paly (6) argent and azure on a bend gules a mitre between 2 eaglelets displayed or</i></p>	<p>Bishop John Grandison d.1369 with the mitre on the bend as his difference mark</p>	<p>Bishop of Exeter (1327-1369) Builder of the nave and the splendid west front of Exeter Cathedral</p>	<p>At apex of Great East Window</p>

Table 2b

*Armorial Glass seen by Richard Symonds in 1644 in the West Window of Exeter Cathedral*



Shield	Beauchamp of Bletsoe	Bryan	Grandison	Mortimer	Royal Coat with label	England Coat with label	Unidentified Coat	Northwood
<b>Identification</b>	Sir Roger Beauchamp d. 1380, husband of Sybil Pateshulle, (by 1347) the Bishop's niece. Baron of Bletsoe in right of his wife	Sir Guy de Bryan d. 1390 husband of Elizabeth Montacute, (after 1349), the Bishop's niece	John Grandison, Bishop of Exeter (1327-69) d.1369	Roger Mortimer d.1360 KG 1349 (founder) Husband of Philippa Montacute, the Bishop's niece; restored to earldom of March 1354	? Edward, the Black Prince, son of Edward III d. 1376	? Henry "of Grosmont" dsp 1361, Earl of Lancaster, Duke of Lancaster in 1351	Probably a member of the Basset family	Sir Roger Northwood d.1361, the Bishop's nephew
<b>Blazon</b>	<i>gules a fess between six martlets or, a mullet sable pierced or</i>  Cadet Coat of the Beauchamps of Powick	<i>Or, three piles azure</i>	<i>paly (6) argent and azure on a bend gules two eaglets and a mitre displayed or</i>	<i>barry (6) or and azure, on a chief of the first three palets between two esquires based of the second, over all an inesccheon argent</i>	<i>azure, semy fleur de lis quartering gules three lions passant guardant or, a label of three points azure</i>	<i>Gules, three lions passant guardant or, a label of three points azure</i>  In another window the label is charged with <i>three fleur de lis</i> or for Lancaster with next to it the Royal coat with <i>a label of three points argent</i> for the Black Prince	<i>paly (6) or and gules, on a chief in canton a mullet</i>	<i>ermine a cross engrailed gules</i>  Symonds says "Northwode". As no difference marks are described, assume the attribution to be for Roger, the eldest son



Table 3: Heraldry on the cornice of the Altar Screen in the Collegiate Church of Ottery St Mary for the founder, John Grandison, Bishop of Exeter, his family and his King



Shield	Grandison	Northwood (Northwode)	Mortimer	Tregoz	France	Royal Coat	Grandison	Montacute	Courtenay	Grandison
<b>Identification*</b>	Sir Otho Grandison, brother of the founder (d.1359) buried at Ottery St Mary	Sir John Northwood married to Agnes (d.1348) the founder's sister	Roger Mortimer d.1360 married to Philippa the founder's niece d.1382**	Sibella Tregoz mother of the founder d.1334	Isabel, d.1358 Queen Dowager of Edward II, daughter of Philip IV of France & mother of Edward III	Edward III borne by him from ca 1337 when he assumed the title King of France d.1377	John Grandison, Bishop of Exeter (1327-69) founder of the collegiate church of St Mary at Ottery	William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury d.1344 married to Katherine (d.1349), the founder's sister	Sir Hugh Courtenay K.G. (founder member of the Order) d.1349	Sir William Grandison, father of the founder d.1335 or Peter d.1358 the founder's elder brother
<b>Blazon</b>	<i>paly(6) argent and azure on a bend gules three buckles, tongues erect bendwise or</i>	<i>ermine a cross engrailed gules</i>	<i>barry(6) or and azure, on a chief of the first three palets between two esquires based of the second, over all an inescutcheon argent</i>	<i>or two gemelles and in chief a lion passant guardant gules</i>	<i>azure, semy fleur de lis or France Ancient</i>	<i>azure, semy fleur de lis quartering gules three lions passant guardant or</i>	<i>paly(6) argent and azure on a bend gules two eaglets and a mitre displayed or</i>	<i>argent three lozenges conjoined in fess gules</i>	<i>or three torteaux gules (2 &amp; 1) a label (3) azure on each pendant as many bezants</i>	<i>paly (6) argent and azure on a bend gules three eaglets displayed or</i>

\*Identified by James Pulman, Yeoman Usher of the Black Rod (see Cornish S.W 1869: *Short notes on the church and parish of Ottery St Mary, Devon*, new ed. c.1928 Cornish F.F Eland Bros p 6), except for the Courtenay coat which Pulman identified as for Peter Courtenay (Ktd 1367, KG 1388) younger brother of the Sir Hugh identified here.

\*\*Alternatively this shield could represent Blanche Mortimer, married to Peter Grandison, the Bishop's brother.

## Table 4

*Obits kept at the Collegiate Church of Ottery St Mary, founded by John Grandison,  
Bishop of Exeter (1327-1369)*

Founder's Obits from Statutes of College AD 1339 – chief obits in bold
<b>William Grandison</b> , his father d. 27 June 1335 *
<b>Sybil née Tregoz</b> , his mother d. 21 Sept 1334, her obit kept at 21 Oct , probably date of burial *22 Oct
<b>The Bishop</b> himself d.16 July 1367 *22 Aug morrow of octave of Assumption (date of obit kept at Exeter, also date when Bishop was enthroned there in 1328)
<b>Pope John XXII</b> d. 4 Dec 1334
<b>Cardinal Peter des Près</b> , Bishop of Praeneste (Palestrina) d.13 May 1361 (obit kept at 17 May probably date of burial)
The Bishop's brothers
Peter Grandison d. 10 Aug 1358
Otho Grandison d. 21 May 1359
Thomas Grandison d. 14 July 1317 *13 July
William Grandison d. 5 June 1330
The Bishop's sisters
Agnes (Northwood) d. 3 Dec 1348 *4 Dec
Mabel (Pateshulle) d. 19 Aug 1339
Katherine (Montacute) d. St George's Day 23 April 1349 *
Maud/Matilda, Prioress of Aconbury d. before 1368
The Bishop's brother-in-law
William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury d. 30 Jan 1344
The Bishop's uncle
Otho Grandison, 5 April 1328 *

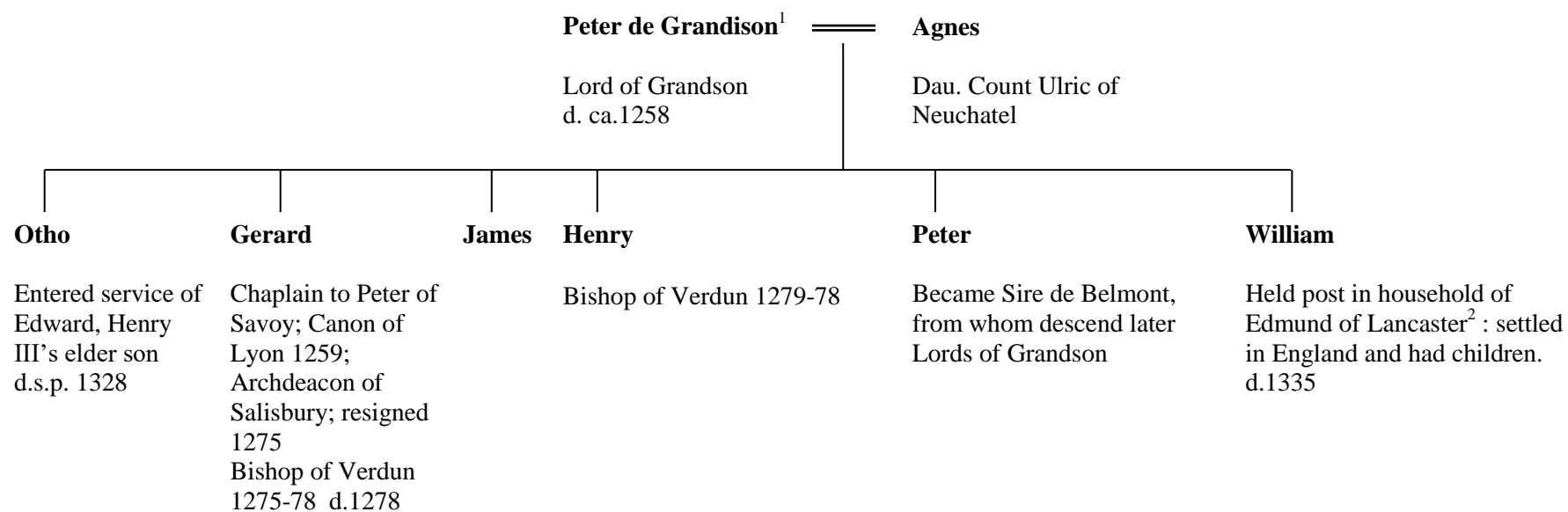
Source: Dalton (1917) p214- 216, except for death of Otho Grandison (from Clifford p276). Dalton gives 2<sup>nd</sup> April 1328, but as he made his will on 4<sup>th</sup> April (Clifford p275) this is an error. These obits were still kept in the 15<sup>th</sup> century except for those of brother Peter, brother-in-law, William Montacute and sisters Mabel & Maud (Matilda). New obits were by then being kept for several other people including: Edward, the Black Prince (d. 11 June 1376) and Peter Courtenay, *armigeri*. It is not clear whether this is Sir Peter Courtenay KG who died Feb 1404/5 as the obit was kept on 27 Oct. For C15<sup>th</sup> obits see Dalton 1917 p218-221.

\*Obits scribbled in BM Roy Ms 2A XVIII, folios 28-33; date, if different, added in blue (see Madden 1834 p277-280):

Mabel Tregoz (d.1297) 3 Aug, the Bishop's maternal grandmother; Agnes Grandison (d. after 1283) 25 June, Bishop's paternal grandmother; prob. Peter Grandison (d. ca. 1258) 2 July, Bishop's paternal grandfather; Blanche née Mortimer (d.1347) 3 June, Bishop's sister-in-law; James (d. unknown) 31 July; and Gerard Grandison (d.1278) Bishop of Verdun 13 Dec, both uncles of the bishop; Agnes de Wypeyns 9 Dec, Bishop's aunt; Donsolisie Grandison of Albo Castello 22 Oct, relationship unknown.

This was once considered to be a Breviary belonging to Bishop Grandison (Clifford p70) but is now dated to the 15<sup>th</sup> century by the British Museum. Philip Beauchamp, the Bishop's grandnephew, inherited a breviary from the Bishop. It seems likely that Philip's great-grandniece, Margaret Beauchamp, knew of this breviary, probably containing obits put in by the Bishop and had the same obits transcribed onto the calendar of a new breviary together with that of her husband John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset (d.1444). The obits are said to be in the same hand. BM Roy Ms 2A XVIII is this new breviary.

*Tree 1: Early Grandisons*

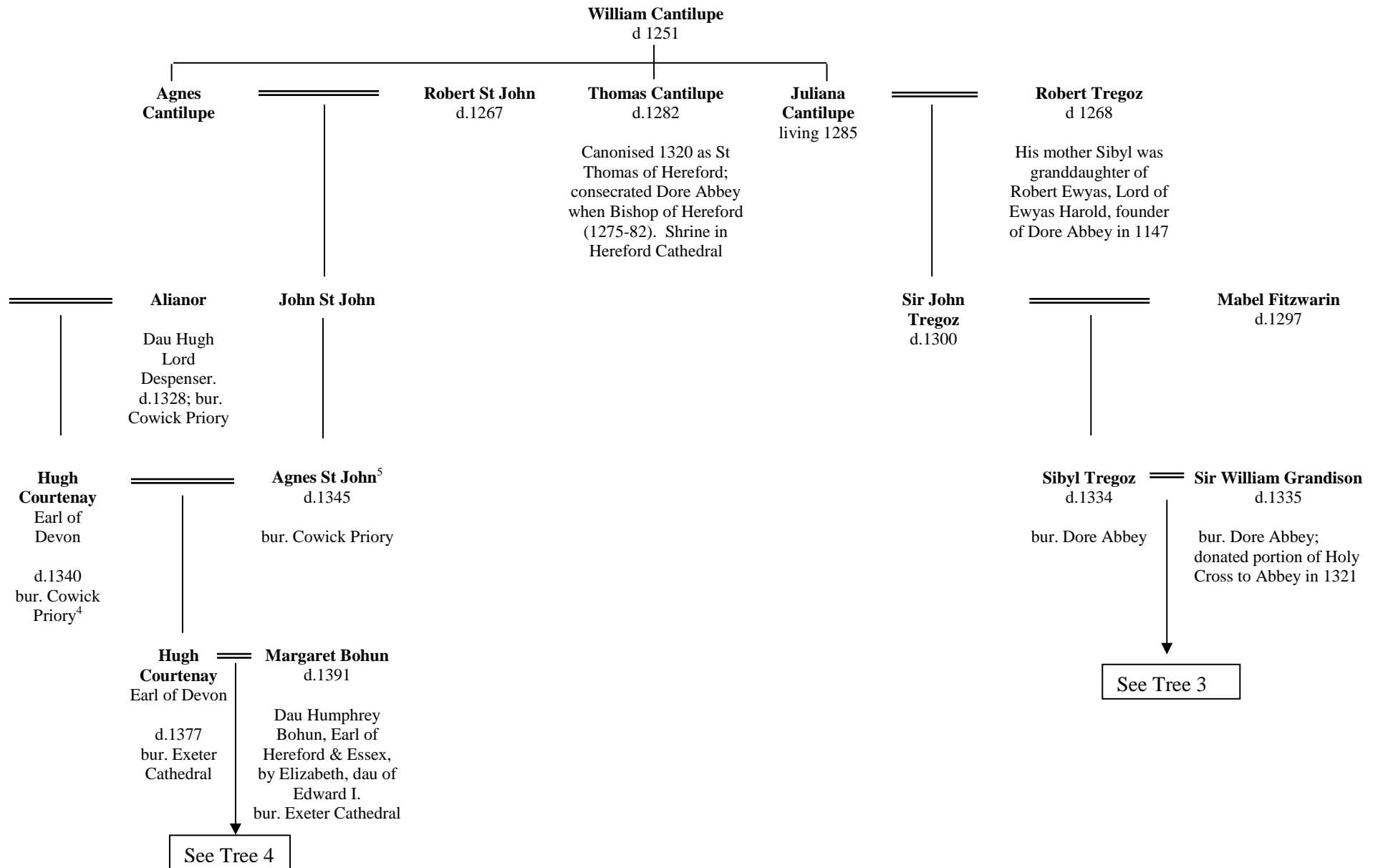


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Source: Kingsford. For a more complete tree see back plates of Clifford.

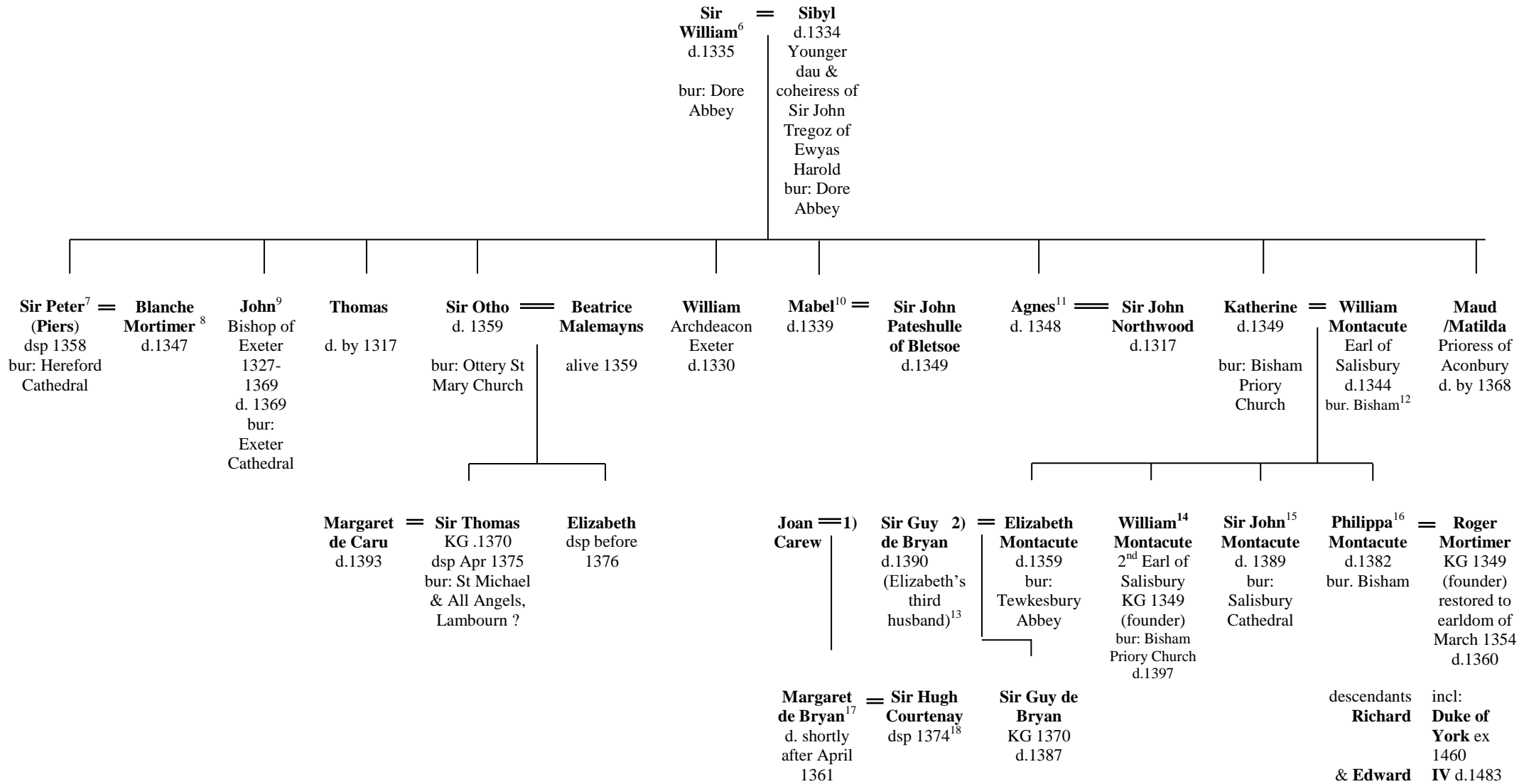
*Tree 2: The Cantilupes showing their links with the Tregoz family, the Grandisons and the Courtenays<sup>3</sup>*

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Tree 3: The Grandisons

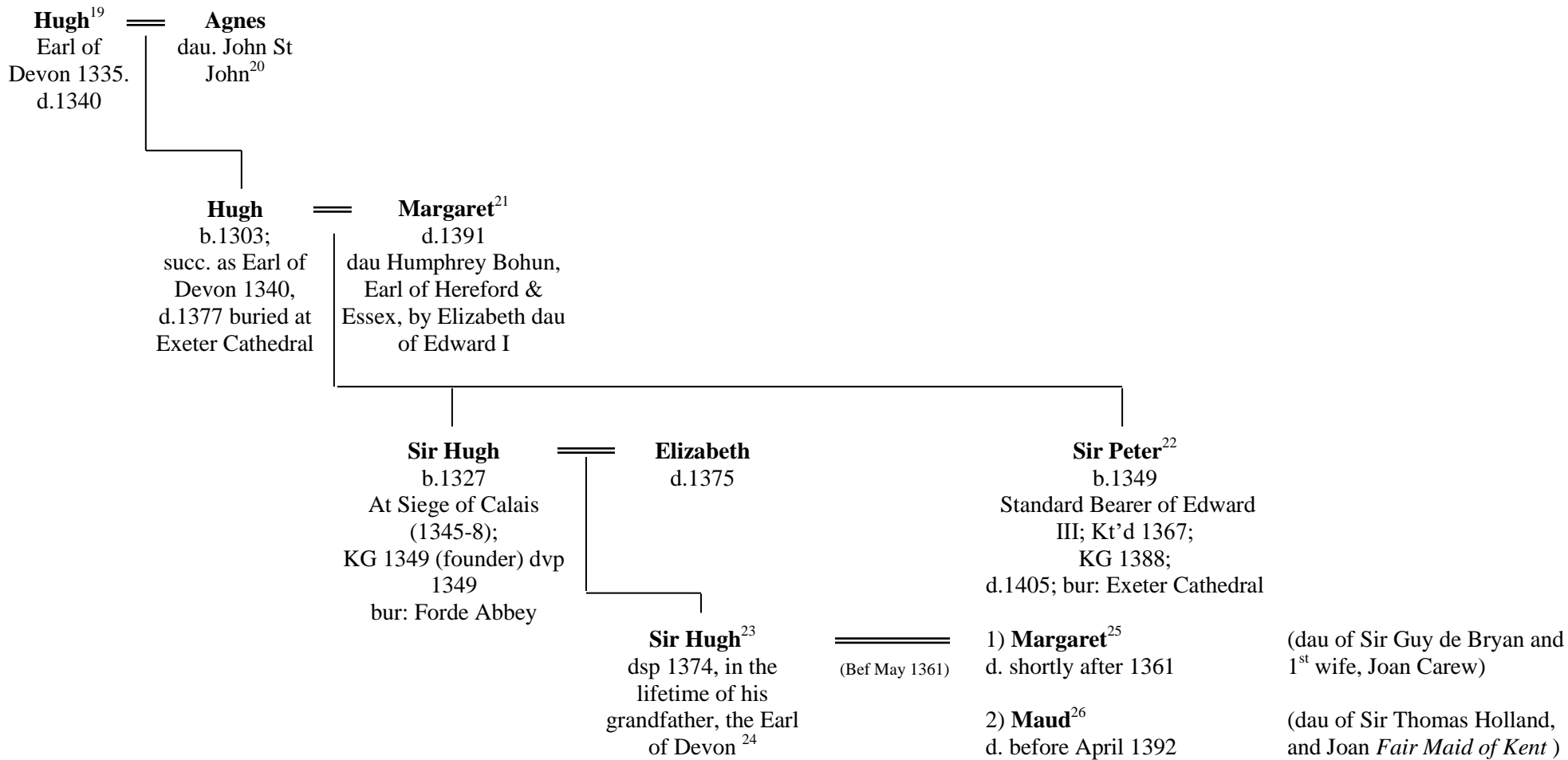
185



Mostly compiled from Cokayne G.E. (1987), *The Complete Peerage*, Alan Sutton; vol 1: de Bryan; vol 2: Devon (Courtenay), Grandison; vol 3: March; vol 5: Salisbury.



*Tree 4: Descent of the 14<sup>th</sup> Century Courtenays*



*Tree 5: The Descendants of Katherine Grandison - the Montacutes & Nevilles of Bisham "Abbey"*

**William Montacute\***  
1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Salisbury d. 1344; granted Bisham by Edward III in 1335

**Katherine Grandison\***  
dau of William Lord Grandison d 1349

*Her brother John Grandison, Bishop of Exeter 1327-1369*

**William Montacute\***  
2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Salisbury founder K.G. d.1397

**Sir William Montacute\***  
Killed by father at tournament at Windsor dsp 1382

1. **Joan** dau of Edmund Earl of Kent- annulled  
2. **Elizabeth** dau of John Lord Mohun of Dunster

**Elizabeth**  
dau Richard Fitzalan Earl of Arundel

**Sir John Montacute**  
d.1389

**John Montacute\***  
3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Salisbury K.G. 1397/99 beheaded 1400

**Margaret**  
dau of Thomas, Lord Monthermer

**Thomas Montacute\*** 4th Earl of Salisbury K.G. c.1414  
Shot in face at Siege of Orleans; d.1428

**Maud**  
dau Adam Francis, Mayor of London d.1424

**Alice Montacute\***  
Countess of Salisbury d.1462

*His brothers  
George Neville Bishop of Exeter 1456- 65  
John Neville\* Marquess of Montagu*

1. **Eleanor** dau Thomas, Earl of Kent  
2. **Alice** dau Thomas Chaucer

**Richard Neville\*** 6th Earl of Salisbury & Earl of Warwick in right of his wife; killed at Barnet 1471

**Richard Neville\***  
5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Salisbury in right of his wife; beheaded 1460

**Isabel Neville**  
d.1476

**Anne Beauchamp**  
dau Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick d.1492

**Margaret**  
Countess of Salisbury Beheaded in Tower 1541. Last Neville to hold Bisham

**George**  
Duke of Clarence Executed in Tower, 1478

\* = bur. at Bisham Priory Church

## *Notes to Accompany Family Trees*

<sup>1</sup> His brother Henry Grandison was Lord of Chauvent (Champvent) and surnamed “de Chauvent” from whom the cadet line of the Grandisons named de Chauvent descend see Hingeston-Randolph F C, 1899 - Pedigree of the family of Grandison compiled by F.J.B. Winchester that includes many notes on the family. This pedigree has Peter and Agnes being the grandparents of Otho et al but this has been disregarded by Kingsford and GEC. Henry’s son Peter was a contemporary of Otho and William Grandison and is thought to have been taken to England by Peter, Count of Savoy, at the same time (Clifford p12). Peter de Champvent became chamberlain of Edward I (Ibid p147).

<sup>2</sup> Edmund of Lancaster, (Crouchback) younger brother of Edward I, was overlord of Bisham from 1266, i.e. when Templars still held it. Edmund was dead by the time they were suppressed in 1307 when their assets were supposed to go to the Knights Hospitallers. This didn’t happen partly because, as Edmund’s son, Sir Thomas claimed the overlordship. William Montacute was granted the reversion of Bisham in 1335 (Hone p126) and apparently obtained a quitclaim from Thomas’s widow, Alice, of her rights to the manor (VCH vol 3, p146-7) William Grandison, his father-in-law did not die till 1335 so could perhaps have influenced the transfer of Bisham to Montacute.

<sup>3</sup> After Dalton (1917) (p51-52) and GEC. For Ewyas family tree see Shoesmith and Richardson p95.

<sup>4</sup> Funeral (Feb 1341) officiated by Bishop John Grandison, (Dalton 1917 p52). He is described as the Bishop’s “cousin” who refused to help the Bishop financially when the latter first arrived at Exeter (see Oliver p79-80).

<sup>5</sup> Her brother, Lord St John of Basing, married Isabella, Hugh Courtenay’s sister (Dalton 1917 p52).

<sup>6</sup> His elder brother, Sir Otho Grandison, went to the Holy Land in 1270-72 with Prince Edward, who succeeded as Edward I en route back from the crusade. Otho became a close friend of the King. After Edward’s death in 1307 Otho (d.1328) returned to the family seat at Grandson, on north shore of Lake Neuchâtel, now in Switzerland, where the castle he rebuilt still stands.

<sup>7</sup> Peter’s tomb in the Lady Chapel has a canopy similar to the Minstrels Gallery in Exeter cathedral (Fig 8). Pevsner notes stylistic connections between the tomb and nave bosses at Exeter (see Cave p 32, note 4). The shrine of Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford (1275-1282), by then St Thomas of Hereford and an ancestor of Peter’s mother, was in the Lady Chapel when Peter’s tomb was built (now in the north transept).

<sup>8</sup> Daughter of Roger Mortimer (ex. 1330) 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of March. Her monument in St Bartholomew’s, Much Marcle, Herefordshire “as lovely as any bequeathed to us by the medieval church” (Jenkins S 1999, p274).

<sup>9</sup> Consecrated Bishop of Exeter in Oct 1327 after the death of Bishop Berkeley. Rebuilt almost all of the nave of Exeter Cathedral including the erection of the Minstrels Gallery. Buried in a chapel within the west front of the cathedral; see Fig 32a.

<sup>10</sup> Son and heir William (dsp.1368) married Joan, daughter of Roger, Lord Grey of Ruthin. Daughter Sybil married Roger Beauchamp d.1380, who became Baron of Bletsoe in her right (summoned to parliament as such in 1363) and they inherited Lydiard Tregoze. Beauchamp was one of Edward III’s leading courtiers, eventually becoming chamberlain of the royal household (Roskell et al vol 2, p154). Their son, Philip Beauchamp, grandnephew of Bishop Grandison, inherited several religious books including a breviary from the Bishop and a vestment suggesting he was an ecclesiastic. Philip was an executor of the Bishop’s will (Hingeston Randolph vol 3 p 1518-9). See Table 4 for more on the breviary. Three other daughters, Alice, Katherine and Maud,

married respectively Thomas Wake, Robert Tuddenham and Walter de Fauconberg (Dalton 1917 p44). Thomas Pateshull, who was collated to a canonry at Exeter in 1342 by Bishop Grandison (*Ibid.* p44) was probably a kinsman.

<sup>11</sup> They had two, maybe three, sons. Roger the eldest (d.1361) married Juliana de Say and John DD, Chancellor of Oxford University 1345-1348 who in 1333 had been appointed a canon at Exeter by his uncle, Bishop Grandison (Dalton 1917 p44-45). Otho, instituted at Lydiard Tregoze in 1342 by Agnes Northwood, possibly his mother (Carne 1977 p37) was appointed to a canonry at Ottery in 1348, canon of Exeter 1349, archdeacon of Exeter 1350. Dalton 1917 p45 says he was “another of the family”. Compare with Kingsford p176 who says there were four sons, eldest son Roger, John and Otho, successively Archdeacons of Exeter and Totnes under their uncle and a fourth son, William who was a Knight Hospitaller. The Northwood boss on the nave roof at Exeter was probably put up by Roger Northwood as there are no difference marks.

<sup>12</sup> In 1337 obtains licence to found house of Austin Canon in his manor of Bisham. Christmas 1337 his brother-in-law, the Bishop of Exeter, obtains a licence to found a collegiate church at Ottery St Mary. The church the Bishop builds, completed ca.1342 (Dalton 1917 p13, Whitham p4), is a replica of Exeter cathedral. Drawings of Bisham Priory Church done in the 15<sup>th</sup> century suggest that this also was built to imitate Exeter. Quite probably William Montacute had the Bishop’s help.

<sup>13</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> husband: Sir Giles Badlesmere (d.1338); 2<sup>nd</sup> husband: Sir Hugh Despenser (d.1349). Elizabeth is figured in the Salisbury Roll linked by a silver chain to Despenser but with the Bryan coat poised over said chain (see Payne plate 7).

<sup>14</sup> William married Joan of Kent before Feb 1341, the marriage being annulled 1349 to allow her to return to a previous husband, Thomas Holland. Interestingly, not only William, but also her mother, Margaret (née Wake), objected to Thomas recovering his conjugal rights (Cal. Papal Letters vol 3, p252-3). After the death of Thomas (d.1360), Joan married the Black Prince. William married, secondly, Elizabeth Mohun (GEC Salisbury vol 5 p390).

<sup>15</sup> John fought at Crecy 1346 & Poitiers 1356. Effigy in north aisle of Salisbury Cathedral. He was an executor of the will of his uncle John Grandison, Bishop of Exeter (Hingeston Randolph p1519) who bequeathed him various items including two silver basins bearing the Montacute arms and a ruby ring that had belonged to the Bishop’s father (*Ibid* p1518). John’s son became the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Salisbury (see Tree 5).

<sup>16</sup> Other daughters of William and Katherine were Sibyl m. Edmund, 1<sup>st</sup> son of Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel; Agnes m. John, son and heir of Roger, Lord Grey of Ruthin (GEC Salisbury p388 note b).

<sup>17</sup> She was the step-daughter of Elizabeth Montacute who married Margaret’s father, Sir Guy de Bryan in 1349 or 1350. See GEC Devon vol 2 p325, & Bryan vol 1 p361 as corrected in Hammond vol XIV.

<sup>18</sup> Son of Sir Hugh Courtenay (d.1349) KG (founder member) and grandson of Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon (d.1377) who is buried at Exeter Cathedral.

<sup>19</sup> Dalton (1917) (p51 note 2) says the arms on the roof boss in the crossing of Ottery St Mary are for him whereas the coat on the cornice of the altar screen he identifies a “*probably for Sir Hugh, grandson (sic - should be son) of him whose effigy and arms are in the transept (presumably referring to Exeter Cathedral), or Sir Peter his brother both Knights of the Garter*” (p 60) See Tree 4. Heraldic evidence supports the identification of both coats as representing Sir Hugh Courtenay (d.1349) founder KG.

<sup>20</sup> Agnes St John, the mother of the Earl of Devon (d.1377), was a distant cousin of Sybil Tregoz, the mother of John Grandison, Bishop of Exeter 1327-1369 (see Tree 3), and on first coming to the diocese, the Bishop addressed her as “cousin” (Dalton 1917 p51 note 2).

<sup>21</sup> Also buried at Exeter. Effigies of both extant located in the south transept. They had 8 sons and 9 daughters. Other sons included, Edward (b. betw. 1329/34; dyp.1372) (his son was the 3<sup>rd</sup> earl), William (b.ca.1342), Archbishop of Canterbury from 1381, (d.1396); and Philip (b. betw. 1340/46; d.1406) who married Anne Wake and built Powderham Castle.

<sup>22</sup> He was a younger son (described as 5<sup>th</sup>, Beltz p328; 6<sup>th</sup>, Dalton 1917 p52). Dalton 1917 p52 believes he was a donor to Ottery St Mary Church, as his name occurs in the obit list (*Ibid.*). This list is from the 15<sup>th</sup> century (see Table 4).

<sup>23</sup> His coat impaled with that of his wife occurs in the armorial glass of St Gabriel's Chapel (see Table 2a) and on his grandfather's tomb at Exeter. Neither bears any difference mark on the label.

<sup>24</sup> As his eldest son and grandson had already died the earldom of Devon descended to Edward, son and heir of Edward Courtenay of Goodrington, who was the 3<sup>rd</sup> son of the last earl (GEC Devon vol 2, p324).

<sup>25</sup> Her step-brother Guy Bryan, son of Elizabeth Montacute, was made KG 1370 at the same time as Thomas, son of Otho & nephew of Bishop Grandison (see Tree 3).

<sup>26</sup> Maud, after Hugh's death, in 1380 married Waleran de Luxembourg, Count of Ligny and St Pol, who died in 1415.

## *Abbreviations*

BAA:	The British Archaeological Association
Cal Papal Letters:	Calendar of Papal Letters
CCR:	Calendar of Close Rolls
CChR:	Calendar of Charter Rolls
CIPM:	Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem
CPR:	Calendar of Patent Rolls
GEC:	see Cokayne
Monasticon:	Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum, see Caley et al
ODNB:	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
Reg. Clem:	Regestum Clementis Quinti
Reg. Nic IV:	Registres de Nicolas IV
RF:	Rymer's Foedera
RFS:	Rymer's Foedera- Syllabus
VCH:	Victoria County History: for Berks see Ditchfield & Page; for Bucks see Page 1969; for Cambridgeshire see Wareham & Wright 2002; for Gloucester see Page 1907 & Currie et al 1996 ; for Salop see Gaydon & Pugh (Eds) 1973; for Wilts see Pugh and Crittall (Eds)1956.



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