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coatofarms@theheraldrysociety.com

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THE DISPLAY OF ARMS IN THEIR PRIMARY MARTIAL CONTEXTS PART 2
The pre-classic period in England, c. 1217 – c. 1327
Shields, Horse-trappers, Martial Coats, Crests and Ailettes

D'ARCY JONATHAN DACRE BOULTON FSA, AIH

Abstract

The shield was the only universal item of military equipment which bore arms in the period 1217–1327, although no original painted examples have survived on tombs, and very few tombs survive which have carved shields. Horse trappers were an elite item primarily used by knights of sufficient wealth to command forces in the field : the greater barons and knights banneret. Among this class the adoption of armiferous (armorial) trappers was almost universal in the period. Conversely, although the wearing of a martial coat over the mail hauberk was shared by all knights, armiferous martial coats were rare, and seldom seen in any source. They became the norm only after 1340. Crests tended to be fan-shaped, and did not serve as underliers for arms until after 1327. There exist early examples of carved emblematic crests, but these did not begin their rise to fashion in England until after c.1295. The shoulder plates known as ailettes were also used by knights of all ranks, but they were only occasionally armiferous. They fell completely out of fashion after the 1340s.

Introduction

This article is a sequel to one with the same general title and theme, covering analogous developments of the preceding phase of just under a century, from c. 1135 to c. 1217, which I called the 'Formative Period'.[1] As that name suggests, it was characterised by the slow emergence of true arms as the basic species of armorial sign, initially among a small group of princes and major barons concentrated largely in England and adjacent regions of France and Lotharingia, but by the end of the

[1] The article in question, 'The Gradual Extension of the Display of Arms in their Primary Martial Contexts: Shields, Flags, Fan-Crests, Saddlecloths, Trappers, and Martial Coats. Part I. The Formative Period, c. 1135 – c. 1220', is to be published in *Heralds and Heraldry in Medieval England*, ed. Nigel Ramsay.

period including a substantial part of the noble knightage of all ranks in those and adjacent kingdoms.

In the Formative Period, these emergent arms are recorded almost exclusively in monochromatic or 'outline' versions on the seals of their bearers. On these they were almost completely restricted until the 1190s to the tiny images of shields held by the effigies of princes on their *equestrian* seals, but were thereafter increasingly (and among men of lower rank exclusively) represented on images of the shield alone, on what are commonly called 'armorial' seals, but are more accurately called 'scutiferous' or 'shield-bearing' seals. On a handful of equestrian seals of the Formative Period, however, a form of what I called 'proto-arms' was also represented on the martial coat, the flag, the saddle-cloth, and (or) the horse-trapper of the owner of the seal. This indicates that arms *might* also be displayed in those contexts, at least by lords of the highest ranks, but such usage was rare in that period.

It is with the display of arms in their primary, essentially *martial* contexts that this article, its predecessor, and its projected successors are concerned: a subject that has been relatively neglected in recent years, but deserves closer attention from heraldic scholars. More precisely defined, the subject of my studies is the display of arms on elements of the martial equipment of knights and men-at-arms in England in the period when *knightly* heavy cavalry still dominated the field of battle; *armorial* (as distinct from *para*-armorial) emblems were still the principal means of distinguishing them in martial contests, military and ludic, and arms (as distinct from later species of armory) still constituted the dominant form of emblem employed. In the Pre-Classic Period with which I am here concerned, these elements continued to include not only (1) **shields**, but (2) **horse-trappers**, (3) **martial coats**, and (4) **flags**. The latter came to include not only variants of the traditional *wide*, *tailed* '***gunfanun***', but of the new *rectangular* type eventually called the '***banere'*** that first appeared in England in the 1190s, and of the two newer *triangular* types to which the name '***penon'*** was given at some time after their appearance in the 1270s. The arms-bearing or '**armiferous**' elements of the panoply also came include, if much more rarely, (5) the paired shoulder-decorations called '***alettes***' that appeared c. 1275 on the continent and by 1289 in England, and (6) the **fan-crests** attested in England from c. 1295 to c. 1350.

I shall be concerned with the history of the display of arms on all of these elements of the contemporary knightly panoply, especially in in what I have called the '**overlying mode**', in which the arms covered their entire outer surface – by far the most common mode in England in all of my Periods – but also in each of the other modes adopted in the period, less commonly employed in England than in France and Germany. I call objects that bore arms over their whole surface '**underliers**' of arms, and those that bore them in some other mode – typically in the form of one or more escutcheons overlain by arms – '**containers**'. As my observations to this point suggest, the display of arms in any mode was much more common on some elements than others, and took much longer to be established than one would have expected, given the obvious utility of most of them.

I shall also discuss the history of the terms used by contemporaries to designate the underliers in question,[2] and discuss the history of the underliers themselves employing the new terms I have adopted for the purpose of analysing heraldic phenomena in a precise and scientific manner. Following the instructions of the Editor, I shall postpone my general explanation of my new, scientific terminology, to an appendix, but having introduced a few of my terms it will be useful at this point to list and define the most relevant of the remaining terms.

Armal: *pertaining to or having the nature of emblematic arms*
Armiferous (of objects): *physically bearing emblematic arms on their surface*
Armifery (of objects): *the condition of bearing arms on their surface*
Armigerate: *a body or class of armigers*
Armigery: *the legal possession and use of emblematic arms*
Cumuliferous: *bearing a representation of an armorial achievement*
Extractive mode: *the removal of the charges of arms from their normal field and either reducing their number (reductive version), or increasing it (multiplicative version)*
Perarmiferous: *bearing arms throughout, i.e over the whole surface*
Underlier: *any object bearing arms in the perarmiferous mode*

The Pre-Classic Period in England, c. 1217 – c. 1327

The period of just over a century roughly framed by the accession of Henry III in 1217 and the death of Edward II in 1327 was broadly characterized by the completion and stabilization of armigery in the knightly order of England, the stabilization of the conventions of basic armal design and its technical description in the emerging language of blazon, and the appearance of various experimental practices related to the transmission of arms and their consequent alteration and combination. Among these were differencing through the addition of both major and minor brisures, and marshalling through dimidiation and quartering. These classic practices remained relatively rare before 1327, however, and competed throughout the period with

[2] For the history of the English words cited in this chapter, I have consulted the relevant entries of the *OED* and the *Middle English Dictionary*, ed. Hans Kurath and Sherman N.Kuhn (Ann Arbor, Michigan, and London, c. 1953– c. 2001), hereinafter cited as ***MED**, and its online form, cited as **MED-o***. For the French words I have used F.Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française...* (10 vols., Paris, 1881–1902) (hereinafter ***DALF***); Adolf Tobler and Ernst Lommatzsch, *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch* (Berlin, 1925–) (hereinafter ***AW***); A[lgirdas] J[ulien] Greimas, *Dictionnaire de l'ancien français, jusqu'au milieu du XIVe siècle* (Paris: Larousse, 1968) (hereinafter ***DAF***); Algirdas Julien Greimas and Teresa Mary Keane, *Dictionnaire du moyen français* (2nd edn., Paris: Larousse, 2001) (hereinafter ***DMF***); Ala Hindley, Frederick W.Langley, and Brian Levy, *Old French-English Dictionary* (Cambridge 2000); *The Anglo-Norman Dictionary* (rev. edn., online at www.Anglo-Norman.net, hereinafter ***AND-o***) and Alain Rey (ed.) *Le Robert dictionnaire historique de la langue française* (3 vols., Paris, 1992), hereinafter ***Robert DHLF***. For the Latin words I have used principally J. F. Niemeyer *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden) (*hereinafter **MLLM***), and R. E. Latham and D. L.Howlett (eds.) *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (hereinafter ***DMLBS***), London, 1975–2013, since 2016 online (***DMLBS-o)***. Unless otherwise indicated, my discussions of historical terms are based on one or more of these works, determined by relevance.

a variety of others – including the complete abandonment of ancestral arms, and various forms of multi-scutal marshalling, primarily on seals. Indeed, as we shall see, some armigers chose to represent different arms on their shields and trappers – effectively an early form of primary-context marshalling.[3]

Although, as we shall see, the practice of employing some sort of proto-emblematic crest was reintroduced experimentally in the final decades of the Pre-Classic Period, the arms remained the only true *species*[4] of armorial emblem used in England to the very end of the Period. In the early years of the Period arms continued to be displayed almost exclusively on the armiger's *shield*, and only gradually came to be regularly displayed in other martial contexts: first on the *horse-trapper*, then on the ailettes and the newer forms of *flag,* and finally (in the last decades of the Period) on the *martial coat* as well. On the basis of these and other developments, the Period (just over a century in length) may be roughly divided into two roughly equal phases: an **Earlier Phase** corresponding to the long reign of Henry III from 1217 to 1272, and a **Later Phase** corresponding to those of his son Edward I (1272–1307) and his grandson Edward II (1307–1327).

The Nature of the Evidence

I must begin with a general revue of the nature and state of the evidence for armifery in primary contexts in England in the Pre-Classic Period. Much of this evidence is similar in nature to that available for the preceding period, discussed in my earlier article. The single most important type of evidence for the display of arms on articles of the knightly panoply remains the **equestrian seals** used for authenticating documents by most of the greater magnates, i.e. the counts or earls,[5] and some of the more important barons (**Figure 1**). I discussed the current state of both of the preservation of such seals and of their publication in my earlier article, and reproduce here the relevant references to them.[6]

[3] On marshalling in this period, see D'A. J. D. Boulton, 'From Two Divisions to Twenty: The Evolution of the Practice of Marshalling Arms in England to 1563 (Especially among the Knights of the Garter)', to appear in *Genealogica & Heraldica*: *Proceedings of the XXXIInd Congress of Genealogical and Heraldic Sciences*, *Glasgow, Scotland, August 2016.*

[4] By the term 'species' I mean a distinct historical type of sign (in this case, an emblem), usually designated by a distinctive generic name, whose form and use are governed by a set of rules and conventions peculiar to it. Other such species of armorial emblem are the supporter and motto.

[5] It has long been the custom in England to refer to the chief dignitaries of the counties by the purely English title 'earl', but given the fact that in most official documents from the Conquest to the fifteenth century they were actually designated either by the Latin title *comes: comites* or its Old French derivative *cuens: c(o)unte*, and that the English dialect of Old French remained the official language of the royal court to 1399, there is an argument for using in cases prior to that date the English derivative of the latter title, count. The Editor has chosen to retain conventional terminology.

[6] Discussions of the seals are given in C. H. Hunter-Blair, 'Armorials upon English Seals, from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Centuries', *Archaeologia*, lxxxix (1943), pp. 1–26 and plates I-XVI (hereinafter **AES)**. See also *BM Seals* nos. 5594–6565; 'Catalogue of Seals in the Treasury of the Dean and Chapter of Durham', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 3rd ser., vols. XX and XXI (hereinafter **AA**); John A. McEwan, *Seals in Medieval London 1050–1300: A Catalogue* (London Record Society: London, 2016) (hereinafter

Figure 1: The equestrian seal of Richard de Clare d.1262. By kind permission of The Society of Antiquaries of London. (Museum drawer F14)

SML); P.D.A.Harvey and Andrew McGuinness, *A Guide to British Medieval Seals* (Toronto, 1996). In addition I have consulted the following: G. Demay, *Inventaire des Sceaux de la Normandie* (Paris, 1881) (Hereinafter **ISN**); and Gérard Détraz, *Catalogue des sceaux médiévaux des Archives de la Haute-Savoie* (Annecy, 1998) (hereinafter **AHS**); Jean-Luc Chassel, ed., *Sceaux et usages de sceaux: Images de la Champagne médiévale* (Paris, 2003) (hereinafter **SCh**); Inès Villela-Petit, ed., *1204: la quatrème Croissade, de Blois à Constantinople* (Paris, 2005) (hereinafter **IVCroiss**); Daniel Power, 'The Declaration on the Norman Church (1205): a study in Norman sigillography', and Brian Kemp, 'Family identity: the seals of the Longespées', in Philipp Schofield, ed., *Seals and their context in the Middle Ages* (Oxford and Philadelphia, 2015), pp. 35–62 and 137–150. For the general situation in France in the period, I have consulted especially Michel Pastoureau, *Traité d'héraldique* (Paris, 1979), which includes many images of seals. (hereinafter **Past. *TH***).

Representations of knights in full panoply became much more numerous in most regions of Latin Europe after about 1220, spreading from seals to various forms of **memorial**, including **tomb-figures** in high[7] and no relief,[8] and **stained-glass windows** – the first and most important of which in this Period were set up as memorials to donors in the Cathedral of Chartres in the 1220s or '30s.[9] All of these images were likely to include representations of the subjects' arms in whatever contexts were currently fashionable, and in contrast to the previous Period – for which the evidence for contemporary armifery is almost exclusively sigillary and thus achromatic – many of these were at least initially polychromatic.

Nevertheless, the visual evidence surviving from the Period under review remains far from extensive, especially in England where images of knights in stained glass are unknown before 1327.[10] The earliest images I have found of armiferous English knights in stained glass are those in the windows of Tewksbury Abbey, dating from c. 1340–44.[11] Most of the numerous surviving sculptured tomb-figures were probably painted in lifelike colours when they were first set up in the churches in which they still lie, but almost nothing of that paint has survived, and it is very difficult to determine even if they were painted at all. Only the effigy of William

[7] On sculpted tomb-effigies, see esp. Henry Lawrence and T. E.Routh, 'Military Effigies in Nottinghamshire before the Black Death', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, 28 (1924) (hereinafter **Tr. Th. Soc.**); Arthur Gardner, *English Medieval Sculpture* (New York, 1935), which devotes substantial chapters to the subject of tomb-effigies (hereinafter **Gard EMS**); Henry Lawrence, *Heraldry from Military Monuments before 1350 in England and Wales* (London, 1946); H. A Tummers, *Early Secular Effigies in England in the Thirteenth Century* (Leiden, 1980); Mark Duffy, *Royal Tombs of Medieval England* (Stroud, Gloucestershire, 2003) (hereinafter **Duffy RT**); and Rachel Anne Dressler, *Of Armor and Men in Medieval England: The Chivalric Rhetoric of Three English Knights' Effigies* (Aldershot, 2004). I must thank the Editor, Dr. Paul Fox, for references to the first and third of these. Line-drawings of a large number of both sculpted and engraved English effigies were also reproduced in Joseph Foster, *The Dictionary of Heraldry: Feudal Coats of Arms and Pedigrees* (1st edn. *Some Feudal Coats of Arms* (London, 1902), 2nd edn. under the first title, ed. J. B. P. Brooke-Little, (New York, 1989), and I have included a number of these as illustrations below.

[8] On engraved tomb-effigies, commonly called 'brasses', see Muriel Clayton, *Catalogue of Rubbings of Brasses and Incised Slabs* (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1968); M. W. Morris, *Monumental Brasses: The Portfolio Plates of the Monumental Brass Society*, 1894–1984 (Monumental Brass Society, Woodbridge, 1988); and Jerome Bertram, *Monumental Brasses as Art and History* (Monumental Brass Society, Stroud, Gloucestershire, 1996). Of these, the first has by far the largest number of images relevant to the current Period.

[9] These have been published in several places, especially Michel Pansard (Ed.) *Chartres: La grâce d'une cathédrale*, (Strasbourg, 2013), hereinafter **Pansard**; On the English evidence see Richard Marks, *Stained Glass in England During the Middle Ages*, London, 1993), esp. ch. 7.

[10] On heraldic arms in decorative works of our period, see J. Cherry, 'Heraldry as Decoration in the Thirteenth Century', in W. M. Ormrod (ed.) *England in the Thirteenth Century* (Stamford, 1991); and Peter Coss, 'Knighthood, Heraldry, and Social Exclusion in Edwardian England', in Peter Coss and Maurice Keen (eds.), *Heraldry, Pageantry, and Social Display in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2002), pp. 39–69.

[11] On these images, which depict eight standing knights wearing armiferous arming coats, see esp.Coss, 'Knighthood', pp. 48–9, and Plate 4 on p. 50.

de Lusignan, called 'de Valence' preserves its original colours, because it alone was sheathed in gilded and enamelled metal (**Figure 2**). In addition, the engraved two-dimensional effigies on latten that largely took the place of the carved effigies in the latter half of the period for all but the grandest armigers, though again in some cases originally coloured, are now uniformly devoid of colour. Such tomb-effigies do represent the forms of armour and arming coats in greater detail than earlier types of image, but add little to the information on armifery provided by the effigies on equestrian seals, and of course entirely lack the images provided by the latter of the harness of war-horses – including both trappers and chamfron-crests when they, too, began to appear under Edward I.

Images of armed knights both on foot and on horseback did become more common in the Pre-Classic Period in painted illustrations to histories and romances in surviving manuscripts [12] – in all of which warriors of every past era were depicted in the martial panoplies of the artists' own day. Perhaps the most important of these manuscripts are the *Maciejowski Bible* in the Morgan Library (also called the 'Morgan Bible'), and the *Manesse Codex* or *Große Heidelburgische Liederhandschrift*. The former includes many fine illustrations of Biblical warriors in the guise of contemporary knights, probably painted in northern France around the middle of the thirteenth century. [13] The latter is a compilation of the works of the principal Germanophone poets of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, accompanied by imaginary portraits of them in knightly dress with their arms on their coats as well as their shields, sometimes displayed on their horse-trappers also.[14] Unfortunately, nothing comparable to these works has survived from England in this Period, and the earliest and most interesting illustrations of this type are drawings made by the monk Matthew Paris for his own histories between 1244 and 1259 (**Figure 3**).[15] Despite his habit of

[12] Many of these have been published either in specialized works like *Les Manusrits de/ The Manuscripts of Chrétien de Troyes*, ed. by Keith Busby, Terry Nixon, Alison Stones, and Lori Walters (2 vols., Amsterdam and Atlanta, 1993), and Michel Pastoureau, *Armorial des chevaliers de la Table Ronde: Etude sur l'héraldique imaginaire à la fin du Moyen Age* (Paris, 2006); or more general works, including David Edge and John Miles Paddock, *Arms and Armor of the Medieval Knight: An Illustrated History of Weaponry in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1988).

[13] The main part of this work is preserved in New York, Morgan Library, as Ms. M 638. Many of the illustrations appear in *The Book of Kings: Art, War, and the Morgan Library's Medieval Picture Book*, ed. William Noel and Daniel Weiss (London, 2002), hereinafter Noel and Weiss.

[14] This work has been published online as *Große Heidelburgische Liederhandschrift-digi-ub-uni-heidelberg.de.*

[15] Matthew Paris (v. c. 1200–c. 1259), composed four distinct chronicles: the *Historia Anglorum*, the *Chronica Majora*, the *Abbreviatio Chronicorum*, and the *Flores Historiarum*. All four were illustrated by the author, and both text and illustrations have been preserved in a number of manuscripts. The *Chronica Majora* is a history of England from the Creation in two volumes, the second volume covering the period from 1189 to 1259. A Modern English translation of that volume was published by Richard Vaughan (*The Illustrated Chronicles of Matthew Paris: Observations of Thirteenth-Century Life* [1984, 2nd edn. 1993]), with a small selection of illustrations; a larger proportion of the illustrations to the volume were then published and examined by Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1987) hereinafter **Lewis;** and the heraldically relevant content of all of the manuscripts

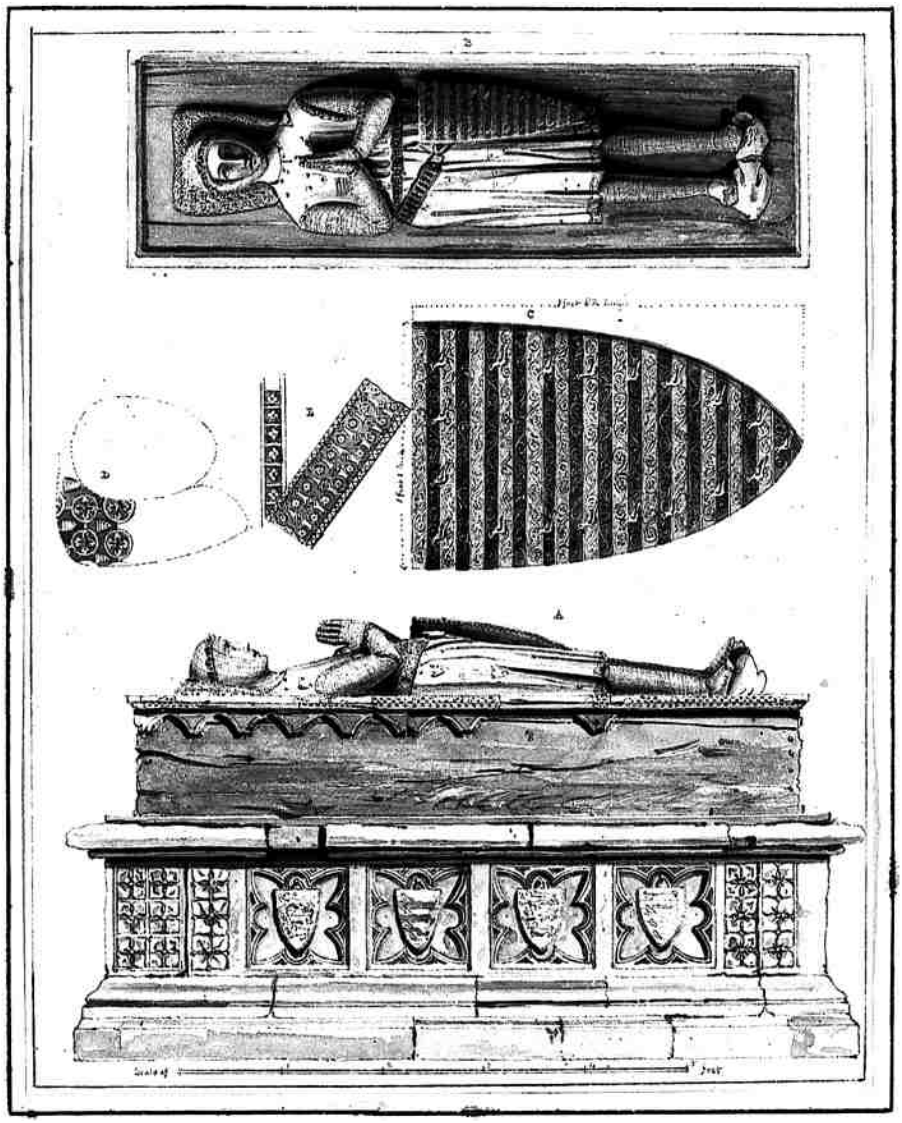

Figure 2: Tomb of William de Lusignan, Westminster Abbey from John Preston Neale and Edward Wedlake Brayley, *The history and antiquities of the abbey church of St Peter, Westminster*, 2 vols (London 1818–23), vol 2 p.153.

Figure 3: Horse trappers drawn by Matthew Paris.The death of Harald Hardrada from his life of King Edward the Confessor Cam bridge University Library MS Ee.3.59 f.31r

setting in the margin armiferous escutcheons of important personages mentioned in the text (especially when they acceded or died), only a handful of the figures included in his illustrations depict historical figures in their armiferous panoplies.

One of Matthew's works also includes the first armorial of English arms, whose escutcheons, painted between 1250 and 1259, provide us with our earliest evidence for the *tinctures* of well over a hundred different arms (including some of foreign princes) previously represented only achromatically on seals.[16] Only one additional armorial – Glover's Roll, preserved in three manuscripts of c. 1253–58, and thus coeval with Matthew Paris's – has come down to us from the First Phase of the Period,[17] but no fewer than twenty-eight have been preserved from the Second Phase, more or less evenly distributed between 1275 and the 1320s.[18] These works are extremely useful for tracing the progress of armigery, armal design, differencing arms for juniority,[19] and (in rare cases) marshalling, but because the arms they record are depicted (if at all) exclusively within the frames of shields, they tell us nothing at all about non-scutal armifery in any of its many possible contexts. The same can be said about the representations of armiferous shields increasingly set up in churches and domestic buildings, either as memorials to donors, or simply as acknowledgements of the importance of particular lineages.[20] It must be noted that literary works of various kinds – especially romances and didactic poems – include a growing number of references to knightly arms, dress, and equipment, and these provide us with information about the *names* given to such things by contemporaries, if little else about them.

In consequence of the continuing deficiencies in all other areas, the most important source of images of mounted knights in full contemporary panoply for the Pre-classic Period is the corpus of surviving equestrian seals, of which an important constituent for the later Phase is the set of seals (many of them equestrian) attached to the Barons' Letter to the Pope of 1301, conveniently published by Lord Howard de Walden in 1900.[21]

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containing his works were listed and described in the second volume of the *Aspilogia* series, *Rolls of Arms: Henry III, The Matthew Paris Shields*, ed. Thomas Daniel Tremlett, [pp. 2–86] *Glover's Roll c. 253–8 and Walford's Roll c. 1273*, ed. Hugh Stanford London, and Additions and Corrections to CEMRA by Sir Anthony Wagner (Woodbridge, 1967).

[16] Published in ibid., pp. 89–159.

[17] Those of the reign of Edward I – the last to appear to date – were published in *Aspilogia* III (2 vols., London, 1997), edited by Gerard Brault.

[18] *Glover's Roll* was published in Aspilogia II, *ut supra*.

[19] I prefer the term 'juniority' to the traditional term 'cadency', in part because the latter is an ill-formed word intended to refer to *cadetship*, or the status of being a younger son or kinsman of a chief, but more importantly because differencing was never limited to cadets, but included heirs apparent in the lifetime of their father. Such heirs apparent were not cadets, but they were *junior* to their father.

[20] On these see esp. Coss, 'Knighthood'.

[21] *Some Feudal Lords and their Seals MCCCJ, with an Introduction by Lord Howard de Walden* (1903, repr. Bristol, 1984) (hereinafter **BLt**).

The Organization of the Survey

I shall now turn to my review of the history of armifery on the various underliers associated with the knightly panoply in the Pre-Classic Period. Given that arms had already been set at least occasionally on all of the underliers save the *ailettes* – which first appeared only in the Second Phase of the current Period – I shall consider them in the order in which the display of arms upon them was either fully *generalized* or became at least relatively *common*: (1) the **shield**, (2) the **trapper**, (3) the **arming coat**, (eventually called the *cote armure* or *cote of armes*), (4) the **ailette**, and (5) the **fan- crest**, used both on the helms of men-at-arms and on the chamfrons of their horses. I shall conclude with (6) the three forms of armiferous **flag** employed in this period – the **gonfanon**, the **banner**, and the **pennon** – all of which are omitted from my tables in part because they are almost never included either in sigillary or memorial contexts, and in part because down to c. 1295 vexillary armifery seems to have been largely or entirely restricted in England to royal banners – of which I have found representations only in the Chronicle of Matthew Paris. As I shall demonstrate, armifery was actually *common* in England in the Period *only* on the first two forms of underlier – the shield and trapper – and was by no means universal on the second.

The tables indicate the various underliers that might have borne arms, and those that actually did so. **Table 1** sets out the evidence from the equestrian seals I have been able to discover, including all of those belonging to English armigers in the Period, and a sampling of coeval seals belonging to French armigers, to give some sense of both the similarities and the differences in practice between the two rival kingdoms. The first two seals were adopted just before the beginning of the Period, but were used during it, and exemplify some of the transitional variations in the sites of armifery.

It is worth noting that I could find only eleven English equestrian seals used primarily in the First Phase, before the accession of Edward I, and four contemporary French seals of sufficient interest to include. For the Second Phase I found eighteen seals, and supplemented them with five from France or Burgundy, and two from Scotland. The general consistency of the pattern of armifery in these countries over spans of several decades, suggests that they constitute an adequate sample of the general practice of the Period, and the deviant seals I included to give some sense of the variety that continued to exist within that practice.

Given the convenience of such a table for purposes of both presentation and analysis, I decided to set out the evidence from tomb effigies in the same general way, merely omitting the columns for trappers and chamfron crests, and replacing them with a column for armiferous fan-crests and ailettes. As can be seen in **Table 2,** I found only twenty-one armiferous English effigies of either type surviving from the whole period, and only one French effigy that seemed sufficiently interesting to add. Once again, the pattern of usage is remarkably consistent in both phases of the Period, with only a handful of deviations from the norm, and is also consistent with the pattern seen on equestrian seals – some of which represented armigers who were also represented by tomb effigies.

Table 1a. Armifery on Equestrian Seals 1207 – 1330 (part 1 – to 1289)

Key. In these tables the field colour of the last four columns indicates the presence (a) of the item named in the context and (b) the presence of arms on the item. A **blank** field indicates the **absence of the item**, a **grey** field the **presence of the item** but the **absence of arms** upon it, and a **coloured** field the **presence of arms** or a **crest**.

Evidence	Date	Sigilliger	Arms	Shield	Trapper	Coat	Crest	*Chamfron Crest*
AES IV e Siddons	1207 -15	Robert Fitzwalter (Shield of Quincy in field)	*A fess between2 chevrons*					
BM seals 6328	1209 -72	Richard Plantagenet E. of Cornwall, and C. of Poitou	*Lion rampant crowned, bordure w. orle of roundels*					
Figure 8	1215 -26	William Longespee, E. of Salisbury	***Shield:** 6 lions rampant* ***Trapper:** 1 lion*					
BM Seals 100	1216	**Henry III, King of England**	***3 lions passant guardant***					
SCh, p. 45	1220 -34	Thibaut IV, C. Pal. of Champagne	*A bend cotised patterned*					
Past. *TH* p. 174, fig. 218	1225	Robert III Capet de Dreux, C. of Dreux	***Shield:** Dreux* ***Trapper:** Lion rampant, debruised by bendlet*		*Lion ramp+ bendlet*			
Figure 5+7	1227 -43	Hubert de Burgh, E. of Kent	*Lozengy [gules] and vair (c. seal)*					
GBMS, p. 44	c. 1235	Roger de Quincy	*Masculy*					
Figure 1+9	c. 1250	Richard de Clare, E. of Gloucester, Hertford	***Shield:** 3 chevrons* ***Trapper:** 2 pallets*		2 pallets			
Past. *TH*, p. 42 no. 23	1251	Raymond V, V. of Turenne	*Bendy* **Banner w. couched lance**					
Figure 12	1262 -95	Gilbert de Clare, 7. E. of Gloucester and Hertford	***Shield:** 3 chevrons*					
reverse		Ibid.	***Shield:** 3 chevrons*		2 pallets			
AES IV d	1247-1310	Robert FitzRoger of Warkworth	*Quarterly and a bendlet (rev. on Trapper)*					
AES IV c	1254 -65	Robert de Ferrers, E. of Derby	*Vair*					
BLs p 3	1254 1301	John de Warenne, E. of Surrey	*Chequy [Or and azure]*					
SCh, p. 103, f. 103	1261	Gaucher, C. of Rethel	*2 combs in pale*					
Figure 11	1272	**Edward I, King of England**	***3 lions passant guardant***					
PRO Seals Vol 1 P265	1275	Edmund of Almaine, E. of Cornwall	*Lion rampant crowned, bordure w. orle of roundels*					
Figure 19	1275	Humphrey de Bohun, E. of Hereford	*Bend cotised between 6 lions*					
Past. *Traité* p. 42, no 27	1278	Gerard de Marbaix, kt	*A fess and in chief three martlets*					

Table 1b. Armifery on Equestrian Seals 1207 – 1330 (part 2 – 1290-1330)

Evidence	Date	Sigilliger	Arms	Shield	Trapper	Coat	Crest	Chamf Crest
Past. *TH* p. 40 no 20	1290	Gui de Dampierre, C. of Flanders	*Lion rampant*					
IV Croiss. s. 18968	1295	Guillaume de Condé	*A fess*				*Dragon crest*	
Figure 21	1295 1301	Thomas, E. of Lancaster, Leicester, Derby	*England with a label [azure]*				***Dragon crest***	***Dragon crest***
BLt p. 9	1297 1301	Ralph de Monthermer, E. of Gloucester & Hertford	*[O]r an eagle displayed [vert]*				***Eagle displayed***	***Eagle disp.***
Figure 19	1299 1301	Humphrey de Bohun, E. of Hereford and Essex	*[Az] a bend cotised [arg] between 6 lions [Or]*				Fan	Fan
BLt p.16	1298 1301	Guy de Beauchamp, E. of Warwick	*A fess betw. 3 crosses* ***(Counterseal of Neubourg)***					
BLt p. 21	1295	Richard Fitzalan, E. of Arundel	*[Gules] lion [Or]*				Fan	Fan
Figure 18	1299	Henry de Percy, Ld. of Leconfield etc.	*[Or] lion [azure]*				Fan	Fan
BLt p. 45	1295 1301	Theobald de Verdon	*Fretty*					
BLt p. 52	1301	John St. John, Ld. of Halnaker, Sussex	*On a chief two mullets*				*Lion pass. gu. bet 2 branches*	*Same*
BLt p. 69	1299 1307	John Fitz Reginald of Blenlevney	*3 lions rampant*				Fan	Fan
BLt p. 85	1299 1301	John le Strange, Lord of Knokyn	*[Gu] 2 lions pass. [argent]*				Fan	Fan
BLt p. 86	1298 1301	Thomas de Moulton, Ld. of Moulton	*[Argent] 3 bars [azure]*				Fan	Fan
BLt p. 126	1295 1301	Peter de Mauley IV, Ld. of Mauley	*A bend*				Fan	Fan
BLt p. 132	1298 1301	Henry de Pinkney	*A fess lozengy*				Fan	Fan
Past. *TH*, p. 40, no 21	1303	Amé V, C. of Savoy	*A cross*				Fan	Fan
Ashdown, p. 116, f. 144	1305	Edward, Prince of Wales (Edward II)	*England w. a label of five points*				Fan	Fan
AES IV j	1307 -24	Aymer de Valence, E. of Pembroke	*Barry an orle of martlets*				Fan	Fan
SCh, p. 105, n. 106	1308	Gaucher de Châtillon, C. Porcien, Const. Fr.	*3 pallets vair and a chief*				*Dragon crest*	
AES IV k	1309 -68	Patrick of Dunbar, E. of March	*Lion rampant*					
AES V a	1318	Robert I, King of Scots	*Scotland*					

Table 2. Armifery on Tomb Effigies and Portraits c. 1220- c. 1330

Place, Evidence (effigy)	Date	Armiger	Arms	Shield	Coat	Crest/ Ailettes
Temple Ch. Lond. Gardner, no. 301 (+ Duffy, RT, p. 64)	p. 1220	William le Mareschal, E. of Pembroke	*None (prob. painted on shield)*			
Salisbury Cath. (Duffy, RT, pp. 66-67)	p. 1226	William Longespée, E. of Salisbury	*6 lions rampant, 3, 2,1 (carved in relief)*			
Bitton Church (Foster, p. 21)	1227	Sir John de Bitton	*A fess*			
Blyth, Notts. (Tr.Th.S., 28)	c. 1240	Sir William Fitzwilliam	*Lozengy [argent and gules?]*		1	
Stoke d'Abernon, Surrey (Fost. p. 63)	1277	Sir John d'Abernon	*A chevron* **Figure 10**			
St Bride's Ch., Glamorg. (Fost., 27)	1285	Sir John le Botiler	*3 covered cups* **Figure 10**			
Trumpington Ch., Camb. (Fost, p 193)	1289	Sir Roger de Trumpington	*Crusily, 2 trumpets in pale mouths up*			**Ailettes**
Figure 2	p. 1296	William 'de Valence', E. Pem.	*Barruly Or + az.*		**Semé of escutcheons**	
Duffy, RT, p. 94 **Portrait w. S. Geo.**	p. 1297	Edmund Plant. E. of Lancs. etc.	***none*** ***Eng. w lab. of Fr.***			**+banner**
Inchmaholme Ch. (Foster, p. 71)	1301	Sir John Drummond	*3 bars wavy*			
Bristol Cath. (Foster, p. 63)	1320s	de Berkeley	*A chevron between 9 crosses patty*			
Brittany	c. 1301	Gautier de Machecoul	*chevronny*		**Semé of escutcheons**	No helm
Acton, Suffolk (Foster, p. 38)	1302	Sir R. de Bures	*Erm., on a chief ind. 3 lions rampant*			
Figure 16	1307	Sir Robert de Septvans,	*3 winnowing fans*		**5 fans (4 visible)**	**1 fan on each aillette**
Figure 16	1307	Sir Edmund Gascelin	*Billety and a label of 3 points*		2	
Pebmarsh Ch., Essex (Foster, p. 88)	1323	Sir William FitzRalph	*On each of 3 bendlets sinister 3 fleurs de lis*			
Westley Waterless (Foster, p. 57)	c. 1325	Sir John de Creke	*A fess*			
Pickering Church, Yorkshire (Duffy, p. 36)	c. 1326	Sir William de Bruce of Ugglebarnby	*A saltire engrailed and a chief*		3 (shortened at the front)	
Staunton, Notts. (Tr.Th.S., 28)	c. 1326	Sir William de Staunton?	*?*		4	
Minster Sheppey	c. 1330	Sir John de Northwood	*Ermine a pale engrailed*		(shortened at the front	
Gorleston Ch. Suffolk (Fost., p. 8)	c.1330 -40	Sir Henry Bacon	*A bend lozengy on a chief 2 mullets of 6 pts*		(knee-length)	**Ail. charged with a cross**

The Survey of Armifery by Type of Underlier

1. The Shield

The shield continued to be borne by all knights as an element of their defensive panoply throughout and beyond the Pre-Classic Period. Furthermore, the evidence suggests that virtually all knightly shields had come to be painted with their bearer's arms by the beginning of the Period, and this, too remained true throughout and beyond it. Of the effigies represented on both seals and tombs in this Period, all but two – the *seal* of Robert de Ferrers, Earl of Derby (1254–65) and the *tomb* of Edmund Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster from 1297 – included a shield held by the subject. In the latter case its absence may be explained by the fact that images of the armiferous shield were set elsewhere on the tomb.

Contemporary illustrations representing knights in martial dress regularly show them bearing shields, and like those carried by the sigillary and memorial effigies, these shields were normally armiferous from the beginning of the Period. Only the shields borne by the full-relief effigies carved in stone (beginning with that of William le Mareschal of c. 1220 [22]) normally lack any sign of arms, and as I observed above, that is almost certainly a result of the fact that they were applied exclusively in *paint* which has long since disappeared. Only a handful of carved shields of this Period – beginning with that of William Longespee of c. 1230 [23] – retain raised (but now monochromatic) images of armal charges carved on their surface. The others I have found are an effigy of c.1260 at Leighton-under-Wrekin, a Berkeley effigy of c.1300 from Bristol, an effigy of c.1310 at Gosberton, and a lost brass of Sir William Gascelin (d. 1307) from Peterborough Abbey.[24] The only effigial shield of the Period to retain its arms in their full tinctures seems to have been that of William de (Lusignan-)Valence, Earl of Pembroke, whose effigy was covered in enamelled metal. Despite the absence of arms on the shields of most other tomb-effigies, their universal presence on those represented on seal effigies, and the fact (to be demonstrated below) that shields would continue to be the principal underliers of arms well into the following Period, makes it all but certain that every knightly shield in England was charged with arms throughout the Pre-Classic Period.

During the course of the Period the English knightly shield underwent significant changes both in shape and in size, the former in response to changes in *fashion*, and the latter to changes in the *armour* worn beneath the shield, which (as had occurred in the previous Period) made its protective cover steadily less important. These changes followed a general pattern very similar to that of neighbouring Flanders, for which Galbreath created a useful diagram of which the relevant part is given here in **Figure 5**.[25] The shrinkage of the shield in its turn made it a less effective context for the

[22] See Gardner, *Sculpture*, p. 160, fig. 301, and Duffy RT p. 64.

[23] See ibid., pp. 65–68.

[24] All but the last are published in Gardner, *Sculpture*. The last is preserved only as a drawing in a manuscript on Edwardian knights, now BL Add MS 74174 f 121r; Charles Moor, *The knights of Edward I*, 5 vols, Harl Soc vols 80–4 (London 1929–32) vol. 2 p. 94; *DBA* vol 2 p. 128. I am grateful for this reference to the Editor, Dr. Paul Fox.

[25] D. L. Galbreath and Léon Jéquier, *Manuel du Blason* (2nd. edn., Lausanne, 1977), p. 82.

Figure 4: Equestrian seal of Hubert de Burgh d.1243. By kind permission of The Society of Antiquaries of London (Museum drawer F11). This is the first English seal to show arms on the arming coat as well as on the shield and trapper.

display of the arms, and almost certainly contributed to the more general spread of armifery to other elements of the panoply, both traditional and novel.

Judging both from the images of shields set on seals [26] and in the illustrations to the works of Matthew Paris made in the 1240s and '50s, the English shield did not complete the transition from its original **amygdaloid (Figure 4 and 6)** [27] to its classic **trianguloid** shape [28] until the 1260s. This was when the *transitional* form

[26] The seals of Robert Fitzwalter of 1207; of Richard de Clare, Count of Gloucester and Hertford of 1250; and of his son and successor Gilbert of 1262–95, all bear shields with rounded corners.

[27] I have introduced this term, which literally means 'almond-shaped', to replace the traditional but ambiguous term 'kite-shaped'.

[28] I have introduced this term to replace the traditional but widely unintelligible term 'heater-shaped', which referred to a type of smoothing-iron called a 'heater' but now simply called an 'iron' in North

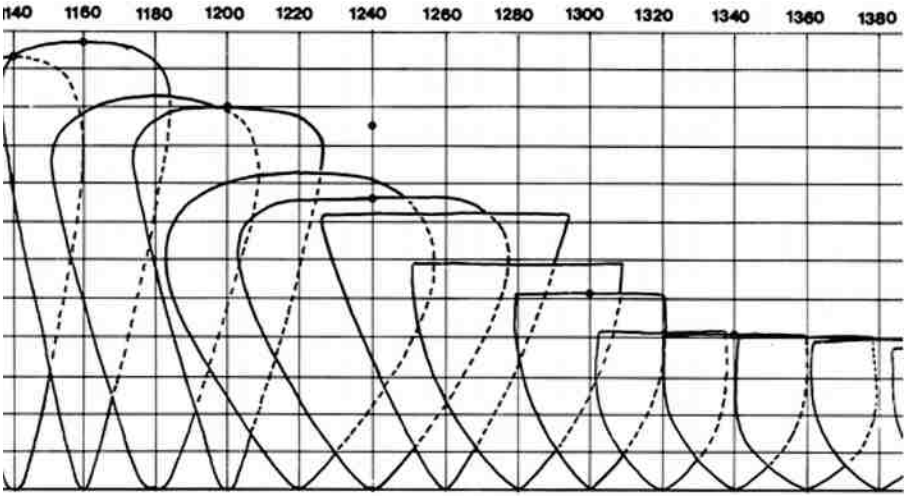

Figure 5: The Pattern of Changes in the Size and Shape of the Shield in Contemporary Flanders (after Galbreath, *Manual du Blason*, p. 82) The pattern in England was similar, but its course was more uneven than the diagram suggests, and (as Fig. 2 shows) trianguloid shields appeared by 1205.

with a flattened top but rounded corners that had been introduced by 1200 was finally superseded by the *classic* type with a straight top and square corners. The classic type was in existence by 1205, and soon became the dominant type borne by sigillary effigies in England, and the near-universal type among funerary effigies from the beginning of the Pre-Classic Period.[29]

At first the shield retained a relatively elongate profile, between three times and twice as long as the top was wide, as seen on the tomb-effigies of William le Mareschal and William Longespee, and on the equestrian seal of the latter (**Figure 7**). It began to shrink by 1235, however, and by 1260 it was generally much shorter, often with much straighter sides, whose length was only slightly longer than the width of the top. [30] What may be called the classic shape of the '**knightly war-shield**', with similar proportions but distinctly curved sides, also emerged in this period, as can be seen from a series of seals bearing the arms of the chief of the Plantagenets

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America. The distinctive characteristics of a trianguloid shield were a straight upper rim and sides of equal length that tapered in a more or less convex manner to a point at the base that was more or less obtuse.

[29] It appears on the tomb-effigies of both William le Mareschal and William Longespee, and on the effigies of knights erected between c.1240 and c. 1260 reproduced in Gardner, Sculpture, pp. 160–165, figs. 302–307. It also appears on every equestrian seal except that of Humphrey de Bohun, Count or Earl of Hereford and Essex of c. 1275.

[30] For example, those of John de Lacy of 1235, William Longespee of 1245, Richard de Clare and John de Warenne of c. 1250, and Robert de Ferrers of c. 1265, published in Hunter-Blair, *Archaeologia* 89, pl. VII, nos. e, g, a, c, and b.

Figure 6: Transitional proto-trianguloid shield on counter seal of Hubert de Burgh d.1243, By kind permission of The Society of Antiquaries of London (Museum drawer F12).

of Cornwall of c. 1235 and 1272.[31] This shape would be retained with only minor variations for another century (**Figure 8**).[32]

Although there remained considerable variation in size and shape to nearly the end of our Period, the evidence suggests that the shield became on average not only relatively but absolutely shorter between 1230 and 1272 – that borne by Sir John d'Abernon in his 'brass' effigy of c. 1277 (**Figure 11**) extending only from the point of his shoulder to the top of his hip. This would have meant a height of roughly eighteen inches: roughly the final dimension maintained for as long as the shield was still borne in combat. This shrinkage was no doubt at least partly a response to the improvements in body armour that took off shortly after the accession of Edward I in 1272, and would continue until about 1410.

These improvements, largely involving the progressive addition of elements of plate covering the existing mail, are well-understood, and need no detailed comment

[31] See ibid., pl. VII, nos. d, i, and l.

[32] See ibid., p. VIII.

Figure 7: Equestrian seal of William Longespee.

here.[33] They are of interest in the present context only because they eventually led to the complete abandonment of the shield, and in the meantime must have contributed to the extension of armifery from the shield to other elements of the knightly panoply. The first supplementary underlier to come into widespread use in England below the level of the kings themselves (who alone seem to have made use of an armiferous *banner* to about 1295), is the flag-like garment adopted for covering the fore and rear-quarters of horse, known to contemporaries by such phases as the *couverture a cheval*, but most conveniently called in Modern English by the later name 'trapper'.[34]

[33] The best account of these changes is still that of Claude Blair, *European Armour circa 1066 to circa 1700* (London, 1958, repr. 1979), pp. 37–52 (hereinafter **Blair**).

[34] The object in question is now variously termed the '**trapper**' (from c. 1400), '**housing**' (c. 1450), and '**caparison**' (1598), though it was known in our present Period by quite unrelated names. It was initially designated in Anglo-Norman the ***coverture*** (a general term for coverings of both cloth and mail, first attested in Wace's *Roman de Rou* mainly composed after 1170), or more precisely the ***coverture*** or ***covertor a cheval*** 'horse covering', first attested in Thomas of Kent's *Roman de Toute Chevalerie* of 1175/99), and still in use (in the form ***couvretures de chevales***) in a financial document of the court of Mahaut, Countess of Artois, of c. 1306–17. In addition it came to be called by the equally general name

Figure 8: Couner seal of Richard de Clare d.1262, By kind permission of The Society of Antiquaries of London. (Museum drawer F14)

2. The *Coverture a cheval* or Horse-Trapper (Figure 11).

The history of the use of the *couverture a cheval* or horse-trapper in England, and of the display of arms upon it between 1223 and 1327, are almost as easy to reconstruct as that of the armiferous shield, because the trapper was increasingly represented on the equestrian seals of the period, and its appearance on such seals, and the growth of armifery in such representations, probably corresponded fairly closely to its use in the real world of combat.

The first appearance of the horse trapper was on the seal of Simon de Senlis (or Saint Liz), Earl of Huntingdon and Northampton, around 1147, and the second was on that of William FitzEmpress around 1156. In France a third trapper appeared on the seal of Count Anselme Campdaveine of 1162. [35] Their examples were not followed in a sigillary context until almost the end of the Formative Period. In 1207 trappers again appeared on the seals of Saher de Quincy, Earl of Winchester, and

harnois or ***herneis*** (also first attested in the *Rou*) 'harness, equipment', initially applied to that of knights themselves, but by 1268 (when trappers had become common) extended to the 'harness' of their horses.

[35] A drawing of which is to be found in Ailes, *Origins*, p. 27.

Figure 9: LEFT Sir John d'Abernon d. 1277 Stoke d'Abernon, RIGHT, John le Botiler d.1285 Glamorganshire.

Figure 10: Seal of Gilbert de Clare d.1295, obverse. By kind permission of The Society of Antiquaries of London. (Museum drawer F14)

his kinsman Robert FitzWalter.[36] In all five of these representations the trapper was armiferous on both its anterior and posterior sections, and presumably on both sides of each, so that each complete trapper bore four emblazonments of the arms. Given the size of the four panels involved – which was considerably greater than that of the ever-shrinking shield – the trapper was an exceptionally useful form of underlier for the display of arms, so it cannot be surprising that both its use and the display of arms upon it appear came to be widespread among the greater barons of both England and much of continental Europe in the thirteenth century.

What is surprising is that, once introduced, the use of the armiferous trapper did not spread much more rapidly than it seems to have done. Manuscript evidence suggests that as late as the later years of the century it was still a common practice to use trappers devoid of any form of figure, and the evidence of seals indicates that in England, at least, the use of trappers did not become general until after the accession of Henry III in 1216. In fact, neither he nor his younger brother Richard, Earl of Cornwall and Count of Poitou (whose seal was made in 1209) ever had one represented on his equestrian seal. The first member of the royal house to display a

[36] Both are illustrated in the paper on Brotherhhod in arms in this issue of the *CoA*.

trapper on his seal was the head of an illegitimate branch: **William Longespee**, Earl of Salisbury, whose seal (**Figure 7**) was in use from 1215 to 1226. For reasons that are unclear, given the superior amount of space trappers provided for the display of arms, he chose to have an extractive-reductive version of his arms set on his trapper: a single lion out of the six he had inherited from his grandfather Geoffrey Plantagenet, and displayed on his shield. No other sigilliger is known to have done this, but as Table 1a indicates, at least three other princes in the Pre-Classic Period – one French and two English – chose to display a *different* emblem on their trapper than the outline arms displayed on their shield. In 1225 **Robert III Capet de Dreux**, Count of Dreux and Braine, had the outline of his patrilineal arms (*Chequy or and azure, a bordure gules and a canton ermine*) set on his shield, and the outline of wholly different arms (a lion rampant debruised by a bendlet) set on his trapper.

Decades later, first **Richard de Clare**, sixth Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, and then his son and successor **Gilbert de Clare**, did the same, respectively in c. 1250 and 1262 (and in the case of the latter only on the *reverse* of the seal). This practice – relatively common on the continent – is best understood as a form of extra-scutal marshalling: a way of displaying arms representing different inheritances without combining them on a single field in the later fashion, comparable to the much more common contemporary practice of setting two or more armiferous escutcheons on a seal of the scutiferous type.

As can be seen in Tables 1 and 2, the practice of including an armiferous trapper in an equestrian seal was all but universal in England after the accession of Henry III, the only sigilligers to deviate from it being **Gilbert de Clare** on the *obverse* of his seal of 1262 (**Figure 10**), and **Edward Plantagenet of Cornwall**, called 'of Almaine', on his seal of 1275,which conformed to the design of the seal of his father Richard of 1209. In the meantime, the new king, Edward I, had finally brought *regal* practice in line with that of the English baronage by having a trapper of the royal arms set on his great seal of 1272 (**Figure 11**). This, with minor additions to the field, would be used not only by his son **Edward II** from 1307 to 1327, but by his grandson **Edward III** from the latter date to 1340.

Armiferous trappers were in general use among English earls throughout the Pre-Classic Period, and were the principal underliers of their arms after their shields. The evidence from the other types of source for the period suggests that in non-sigillary contexts, trappers, with or without arms, were primarily used by knights of sufficient wealth to command forces in the field – that is, by the greater barons and what in France were coming to be called 'knights banneret' , and served to set them apart in martial situations. This is especially clear from the illustrations in the Morgan Bible, in which trappers (all in single colours unrelated to those of the arming coats worn by the riders, and without either decorative or emblematic motifs of any kind) are represented almost exclusively adorning the horses of commanders of forces made up of other knights.[37]

[37] 1. Fig. 20, fol. 30v: The second panel represents the leader of a unit of knights riding a horse with the ***sole trapper*** in the unit, **green semé of red roses with white centres** (***unarmorial design***); 2. Fig. 22, fol. 10: again the leader rides the sole horse with a ***trapper***, **pure white** in this case; 3. Fig. 2, p. 40: Joshua, in

Figure 11: Great Seal of King Edward I. (Editor's Collection)

Matthew Paris's illustrations suggest that the use of trappers even by commanders was not as widespread in England before 1250, as the sigillary evidence indicates, for the horses represented in the vast majority of them lack trappers. Only four trappers appear in the published illustrations, and one of these was of plain red, rather than bearing the quasi-armal designs represented on the rider's shield.[38]

3. The Martial or Arming-Coat (*Cote a armer*, *Cote armee*, *Cote d'armes*)

The '**martial coat**' was worn both in true battles and in the martial sports derived from them, generically called 'tournaments' and 'jousts'. This type of coat, worn over the mail hauberk but *not* over any comparable type of textile garment, was always referred to in contemporary French texts by the name ***cote***, given to the undercoat

a red arming coat, appears twice on a horse with a ***white trapper***; 4. Fig. 9, p. 49, fol. 20v: Leader of the Israelites rides to battle wearing a ***green coat*** and riding a horse with a ***red trapper***; 5. Fig. 12, p. 52 (fol. 24v detail) Saul rides to battle on the sole horse with a ***trapper***, again **pure white**; 6. Fig. 13, p. 53 (fol. 22r detail) Saul rides into battle in a ***white coat*** on a horse with ***a red trapper.***

[38] Lewis pl. XIV, p. 185, fig. 106.

of civil attire, rather than by the name ***surcote***, applied to the slightly shorter civil garment worn over the civil *cote*, and from which it seems in fact to have been derived. It should not, therefore, be called by the conventional English name 'surcoat'.

The martial *cote* is first attested on the seal of Waleran de Beaumont, Count of Meulan in France and Earl of Worcester in England, which was engraved in 1136/40, and came gradually into use among English knights during the course of the Formative Period.[39] If we may judge from its representation on sigillary effigies, its wear seems to have been universal among knights of baronial and higher rank by the death of King John in 1216, as every one of the men represented on both the seals and the tombs of the Pre-Classic Period is represented wearing the contemporary form of this coat.

Conveniently, in the present context, the earliest distinctive name given to this coat in Old French – ***cote a armer*** or 'arming-coat' – is first attested around 1200, and remained the *only* name for such a coat in any relevant language down to about 1265, and the most common one to perhaps as late as 1340. Between 1265 and 1275, however, three related names for coats worn over armour are also occasionally found in Old French texts, and should be noted here. These are ***cote armée*** and ***cote armoiré*** or ***armoire***[40] (the first of which meant literally 'armed coat' or 'martial coat'), and ***cote d'armes*** – which meant essentially the same thing – the phrase '*d'armes*' having been the principal contemporary equivalent of the later words derived from the Classical Latin adjectives *martialis* and *militaris*.[41] The familiar phrase *hiraus* or *herault d'armes*, for example, meant literally 'martial crier', and '*home d'armes* meant 'martial man, warrior'. *Cote armoiré* may have been the source of the later Middle English name for such a coat, ***cote armure***, attested from 1330, and used in that or the later spelling '**coat armour**' to designate first the coat itself, and then from about 1485 the arms set on it as well, until the early years of the twentieth century. *Cote d'armes* was certainly the model for the Middle English '***cote of armes***' (later written '**coat of arms**'), which first appears in a work of Chaucer around 1385. It would thereafter serve as a perfect synonym of *cote armure*/ *coat armour* to c. 1914, and has survived the latter phrase now for over a century as the sole true synonym of the older term 'arms', presumably because it is singular and 'arms' is (illogically) plural.[42]

[39] *Cotes* are worn by the owners of twenty-three of the forty equestrian seals in my census of the Formative Period, but only five of the last ten of these men wore a cote, so it was still far from universal in 1207.

[40] This word is usually transcribed in the latter manner, without an accent on the final e, but this makes it a very odd word, whose form is difficult to account for. I am therefore inclined to believe that it is a variant of *armoirié*, the perfect participle of the verb *armoirier*, which eventually, at least, meant 'armoriated' or 'painted with arms' in the heraldic sense. On the other hand, such coats were very rarely charged with arms before about 1340, so it must have had some other implication before that date.

[41] See the entries in the relevant dictionaries cited in n. 1.

[42] On the history of these terms and the coats they initially represented, see D'A. J. D. Boulton, ' "Coat of Arms" and "Armorial Achievement": The History of their Use as Terms of Armory, and of the Unfortunate Confusion of their Senses", Part I. 'The Term "Coat of Arms" and its Synonyms, 1340–1892', in *Heraldry in Canada* 49.1–2 (2015), pp. 50–72.

All four of these expressions were used exclusively of the martial coat based on the original type of civil *surcote*. This *cote* always differed from its civil model in lacking sleeves, but otherwise continued to resemble the civil *surcote* in being a loose garment, falling to somewhere between the knees and the ankles of its wearer. Its length did tend to decrease in the course of the Period, from ankle-length to mid-calf by 1300, and to just below the knees by 1327, but this shrinkage would have had little impact on its effectiveness as an underlier of arms, on those occasions when it had been used for that purpose. The first phase in the history of the knightly coat as such – lasting for the two centuries between about 1136 to about 1327 – may therefore be called the ***cote a armer*** or '**arming-coat**' period.

All of the visual evidence I have discovered indicates that the arming-coat became normative at least in formal situations by the earliest years of the Pre-Classic Period. Every single formal effigy of an armiger, set either on an equestrian seal or on a tomb, is clad in such a garment. The great majority of the representations of knights of all ranks in the illustrations to Arthurian romances also show them wearing such a coat, suggesting that they were part of normal knightly dress, and not merely worn on formal occasions. Nevertheless, there are exceptions, and the proportion of coatless knights in Matthew Paris' illustrations to his *Chronica Majora* – drawn as we have seen in the 1240s and 50s – is significantly larger (as **Figure 12** suggests).[43] It is therefore possible that, at least down to 1250, arming coats, like horse-trappers, were mainly employed by knights of baronial or higher rank.

We are here concerned primarily with arming-coats used as the underliers of arms. Much to my own surprise when I undertook to trace their history in that capacity, armifery on arming-coats took much longer to take off than armifery on horse-trappers. Despite the fact that both the first and the second English sigilligers to have themselves represented in an arming-coat (Waleran de Beaumont noted above, and his exact contemporary Roger de Mowbray) had a proto-armal design represented on that coat, I found only three later English lords of any rank who chose to do so at any time before the end of the Formative Period. Moreover, very few martial coats worn by English knights on seals or tomb effigies of the Pre-Classic Period bear arms. I have found only a handful of examples in France in the same Period.

The absence of arms might have been explained away on the grounds that it would have been too difficult to represent arms in such a context, but even if that had been true in the case of seals, it would not have been in the case of the full-scale effigies used on tombs, and the explanation is further undermined by the fact that arms were regularly represented in both types of context after 1340. In addition, the general abstention from displaying arms on martial coats before the latter date is confirmed by the evidence of all of the various types of polychromatic representation that have survived. From the windows of Chartres Cathedral in the 1220s, to the paintings in the Morgan Bible of the 1250s, and illustrations of manuscripts of the years after 1300, the *cotes a armer* of knights of all ranks are normally represented in single colours, unrelated to those of their arms. A particularly striking example in the Chartres windows is the representation of Guérin de Friaize and Geoffroy de Meslay

[43] Lewis, p. 185.

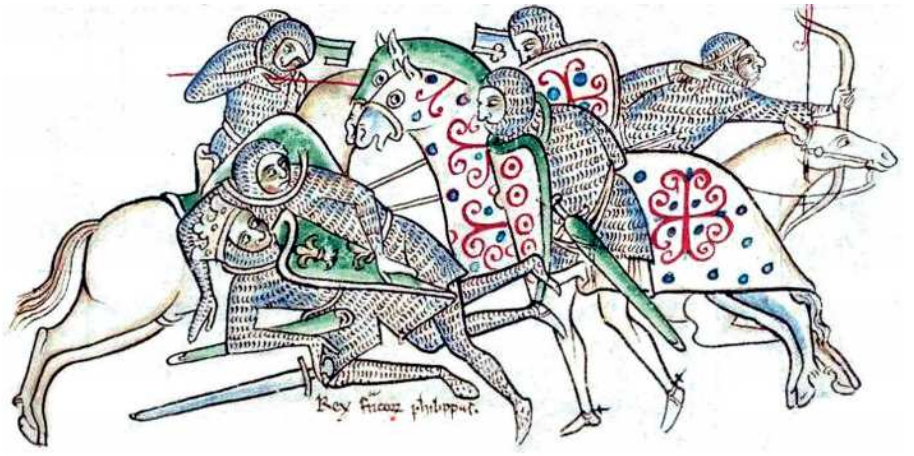

Figure 12: Battle of Bouvines from Matthew Paris, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 16 f.37r.

in armour, supporting shields of their arms (*Gules a bend between six martlets argent* and *Gules fretty or*), and wearing ankle-length *cotes a armer* in plain purple and plain rose respectively (**Figure 13**). [44]

There were of course a few exceptions to this rule. I have found two representations of a French knight wearing an armiferous arming coat in the windows of Chartres Cathedral: that of Pierre 'Mauclerc' Capet de Dreux, Count of Dreux by apanage and of Brittany by marriage, whose whole arming coat is covered with the chequy arms of his line; and that of Alberic Clement du Mez, Marshal of France, depicted receiving the *Oriflamme* from St. Denis. The part of his coat above his waist is emblazoned with his arms – *Azure, a cross recerclé argent debruised by a bendlet gules*. [45] In England, Matthew Paris was fond of representing quasi-armal designs on *cotes* (often involving small charges like roundels, annulets, crosses, and roses) as well as on shields, trappers, and banners. A prime example is the scene representing Offa's victory, where a plausible armal design based on that of the arms of England is set on the shield, coat, gonfanon, and banner of Offa's commander – the last borne by a supporting knight similarly clad.[46] Additional representations of this type are those of the French knights at Gaza and of Hugues de Bourg or Burgh fleeing the field of Bouvines (**Figure 12**), wearing a coat, shield, and trapper all charged with versions of the arms on the shield: *Argent, semé of roundels, a cross pommy*. On the coat there are two such crosses, one above and one below the waist, and on the trapper four visible: two in front and two behind. Both are cases of extractive-multiplicative display, which might well represent a current (if exceptional) practice,

[44] Pansard, p. 55.

[45] Pansard, p. 86.

[46] Lewis, pp. 382, Fig. 226.

Figure 13: Guérin de Friaize and Geoffroy de Meslay, Chartres Cathedral.

but might also be an invention of the artist. In any case, they were not the real arms of Hugues de Bourg.

A final example of interest drawn by Matthew Paris is an equestrian portrait of Richard le Mareschal (third Earl of Pembroke and Marshal of England in succession to his brother William, from 1231 to 1234), in which his shield, arming-coat, and helm are all charged with (and in the case of the helm, surmounted by) red hammers: apparently a mark of his office, as it appears elsewhere in the manuscript in that rôle, but not of course the historical arms of the Marshal (*Per pale argent and vert, a lion rampant gules*). Matthew Paris left many coats blank, and many knights coatless, but most of the 'arms' in his works are so fanciful it is difficult to know how seriously to take his treatment of them in any primary context.

I have in fact found only four representations of English knights wearing truly armiferous arming-coats at any time in the Pre-Classic Period. [47]The earliest, the only one dating from the Earlier Phase, and the only one set on a seal, was that of **Hubert de Burgh** (b. c. 1170), a close adherent of John 'Lackland' both as Count of Mortain and King after 1199, and Justiciar of England from 1215 to 1234. Hubert was made Earl of Kent when Henry III was declared of age in 1227, and died in 1243. On his counterseal as earl presumably cut for him in or soon after 1227, he had himself represented wearing a coat covered with the arms that also covered his shield and horse-trapper: *Lozengy vair and gules.* (**Figure 4**). What inspired him to do this when there were no English models and very few French models is unclear, but he may have wished to distinguish himself as a leader among English barons.

The next two representations of English knights in armiferous arming-coats appear on tomb effigies of the years 1296 and 1307 – more than half a century later. Despite the closeness of their dates they are very different in character. The former is the effigy of **William de Lusignan**, called from his birthplace near Lusignan in Poitou 'of Valence'. He was one of the sons of Hugues de Lusignan, Count of La Marche and Angoulême in Aquitaine, and through his mother, Isabel of Angoulême, widow of King John, a half-brother of Henry III and uncle of Edward I (**Figure 2**). Following his marriage to Joan de Munchensy, heiress of the Mareschal Earls of Pembroke, William became in her right the Lord of Pembroke in Wales and of Wexford in Ireland, and claimed both the earldom of the former and the palatine rights that had been attached to it during the earldom of his wife's grandfather William le Mareschal. He played a prominent role in the conflicts of the later years of the reign of Henry III, and following his death in 1296 was buried in Westminster Abbey. His effigy, presumably erected there around 1300 by his son and successor Aymer, is unique among those that survive from our Period in being covered with metal sheeting, itself covered in coloured enamel. His shield was covered in the English version of the barruly arms of the Lusignans (*Barruly [of twenty-eight] argent and azure, an orle of [19] martlets gules*). while his arming-coat was sewn with small escutcheons of his arms, similar to those on the cushion supporting his head.

The third effigy to represent a knight with an armiferous arming-coat is that of Sir **Edmund Gascelin**, who died in 1307. This was long preserved in Peterborough Abbey, but is now known only from an old drawing published in Dugdale's Book of Monuments (**Figure 14**).[48] In contrast to the Earl of Pembroke's three-dimensional effigy, Sir Edmund's was an engraved plate in two dimensions, and it is unlikely that any colours were included in it, but it did represent his arms – billety with a label of three points (two showing) on his shield, and a billety pattern (minus the label) on the part of his arming-coat above his sword-belt. Thus, if the drawing is to be accepted as accurate, a slightly defective version of his arms was set in a perarmiferous manner on the upper part of his arming-coat, at some time after his death in 1307.

[47] The case of Robert de Septvans I have set aside as his arming coat was strewn with charges of his arms in the extractive-multiplicative mode.

[48] BL, Add MS 74174, f 121r. I must thank the Editor for the reference to this drawing.

Figure 14: LEFT, lost tomb of Sir Edmund Gascelin d. 1307 from Peterborough Abbey, wearing non matching ailettes, BL Add MS 74174, f 121r. RIGHT, brass of Sir Robert Septvans d.1306, Chartham, Kent

The fourth and final representation of a knight with an armiferous arming coat is of yet another type: a portrait preserved in a manuscript probably painted at some time after 1296, now kept in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (**Figure 15**).[49] This represents the younger brother of King Edward I, **Edmund 'Crouchback'** – who had been Earl of Leicester in succession to Simon de Montfort from 1267, first Earl (Palatine) of Lancaster from 1276, and Count Palatine of Champagne *jure uxoris* from 1276 to 1284, and died in 1296. In the portrait Edmund stands before St. George, similarly accoutered in a mail hauberk covered by a knee-length arming coat, and holding a shield and a banner of his arms (the earliest representation of a sub-regal banner in England, as we shall see). Like his shield and banner, Edmund's coat is charged with his arms throughout: the regal arms differenced with a label of five points azure, each point charged with *three fleurs-de-lys or*. These arms, which descend onto the skirt of the long coat, are more clearly visible on his shield and banner. St. George displays his attributed arms, *Argent a cross gules*, in a similarly threefold manner: on his shield, his banner, and his coat. Whatever its precise date, this seems to be the earliest polychromatic representation of an a truly perarmiferous coat in England, as the second —in the portrait of Sir Geoffrey de Luttrell painted in his psalter of c. 1335–40 – is probably at least three decades later (**Figure 18**). [50]

Based on all of the evidence thus reviewed, therefore, its seem likely that while arms were *occasionally* displayed on the arming-coat in the Pre-Classic Period, in the fashion already seen on occasion in the twelfth century, and certainly normal after about 1330, this practice remained exceptional until the early years of the fourteenth century. Why this should have been so must remain a mystery, as the arming coat would certainly have been a very useful underlier for arms in all forms of martial contest, especially when the fighting took place on foot.

4. The *Creste* or 'Crest', c. 1295–1327

By the term 'crest' in an heraldic context is meant an object affixed to some part of the skull of a helm – typically, and in England exclusively, the apex. The earliest known crests appeared more or less simultaneously in France, Germany, and England in the 1190s. They represented two very distinct types of galeal ornament: one in the form of a roughly semi-circular fan on which a figure of some sort might be painted, and the other in the form of a free-standing figure, initially two-dimensional as if cut with a fretsaw from a thin piece of wood. Two forms of fan-crest would also emerge, of which the earlier, as first seen on the second seal of Richard the Lionheart (dating 1198) was connected to the summit of the helm all along its lower edge. [51] The second type, which seems to have been introduced in both France and England nearly a century later, was attached by a sort of stem growing out of its base and raising it above the summit. The two types may be distinguished as '**stemless**' and

[49] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Douce 231, published online in the Wikipedia article on the earl.

[50] The manuscript is now preserved in London, British Library, Additional MS. 42130. The image has been published many times, most accessibly in *The Luttrell Psalter*, ed. Janet Backhouse, in the series Medieval Manuscripts in the British Library (London and New York, 1989).

[51] Reproduced in Adrian Ailes, *The origin of the royal arms of England* (Reading 1982), p. 65, fig. 18.

Figure 15: Edmund Crouchback, Bod MS Douce 231 f.1r.

'**stemmed**' (**Figures 16 and 17**). Richard's wide, **stemless fan-crest** was represented bearing one of the three lions passant guardant that he had adopted as the charges of his arms in the same year. They appear for the first time on the shield carried by his effigy on that seal. In all likelihood this single lion was used instead of the three set on his shield because the size and shape of the crest permitted only one lion to be recognizably visible.

Richard's crest, with its extractive-reductive version of his new arms, was probably inspired by the earliest known **free-standing crest**, which resembled it except in omitting the fan. It appeared in the previous year (1197) on the equestrian seal of Baudoin IX de Flandre-Hainault, Count of Flanders in succession to Philippe d'Alsace from 1194, Count of Vermandois from 1191 and of Hainault from 1195, and subsequently first Latin Emperor of Constantinople, from 1204 to 1205. Like that painted on his predecessor Count Philippe's top-helm, this crest again took the form of a lion (presumably sable) extracted from the comital arms, and from its golden field.[52]

In marked contrast to the situation in Germany – where Baudoin's lion soon established a new model that would be widely imitated – comparable independent emblematic crests would not appear in England or France before the 1290s. Furthermore, the practice of painting extracts of the arms either directly on the helm or on a fan-crest like that of Richard the Lionheart seems to have ceased in England after Richard's death, and so far as I have found, was not revived until the 1330s. Only in Germany have I found evidence of the display of arms on such a crest before 1300.[53]

The arms thus remained the only distinct *species* of emblem in the armorial family outside Germany down to c. 1295, when the use of a more or less distinctively **emblematic crest** on the helm was finally introduced into both France and England. Unfortunately for the historian of such phenomena, however, the use of a comparable crest that was either purely *decorative* in character, or supportive on occasion of a *secondary* representation of the arms or some part thereof, had begun in both countries in the 1270s, and the transition from this non- or semi-emblematic type to the classic independently emblematic type was not generally complete before the

[52] Galbreath and Jéquier p. 173, Fig. 465;Pastoureau, *Traité*, p. 207;Ailes, 'Origins', p. 29 fig. 7.

[53] The most important source for the design of German seals is Gustaf A.Seyler, *Geschichte der Heraldik: Wappenwesen, Wappenkunst, Wappenwissenschaft*, 2 vols. (Nuremberg, 1890; repr. Neustadt an der Aisch, 1970). The complete arms of the German knight Burkart von Hohenvel (or Hohenfel) appear on a large fan-crest set atop his helm in his portrait in the *Manesse Codex*, fol. 215, as did those of the knight Rennehart von Ethendorf on his seal published in Seyler, *Geschichte*, fig. 95, but that seems to have been unusual, because simple fan-crests were never fashionable in Germany. Arms were more likely to be displayed on **banners** or (as in the seals in fig. 72 and 73) the flanges of a pair of **auricles** or **side-crests** (as in fig. 85), which though unknown in England (at least in their fully developed form), were very popular in Germany. Simple **spiciform** or 'spike-shaped' auricles were worn in both France and England in the early fourteenth century, set in pairs to either side of the apical crest, perhaps to protect the latter. The earliest I have found is on the seal of the future Philippe V of France, probably adopted in 1311; a similar pair can be seen flanking the perarmiferous fan-crest of Geoffrey de Luttrell in his portrait.

Figure 16: Stemless fan crest of Henry de Percy on his seal of 1301, Society of Antiquaries drawer F32.

1340s. In that decade its use also spread to a substantial part of the armigerate of England, converting the crest into a standard species of the armorial family.

Given this history, it cannot be surprising that there are very few references to this new species of emblem in England before 1335 – or indeed for some time after that date – in any of the three languages used in our England, or that the armorials composed before that time neither mention nor represent it. What is clear from the few surviving references is that the names given to the pre-classic types of crest, including those whose function seems to have been purely *decorative*, were retained without modification for the classic *emblematic* type.

Two unrelated but essentially synonymous words came to be used to designate the crest in Old French, one of which was later adopted in Middle English, and the other (with modifications) in Middle High German. The former word was ***creste*** or ***crete*** (modern *crête*), a derivative of the Latin *crista* 'the crest of a chicken', which had been introduced into Old French in that sense by 1180.[54] In its newer sense, associated with helms and chamfrons, it appears first in a work of the later twelfth

[54] *DALF*, II, col. 368c; Tob.-Lom., *AW*, II col. 1036–37; *Robert DHLF*, I, p. 947.

Figure 17: Stemmed fan crest of Humphrey de Bohun d.1322, By kind permission of The Society of Antiquaries of London. (Museum drawer F8)

century – the epic poem *Aliscans* of c. 1180[55] – and next in the *Tournoi de Chauvency* of 1285.[56] Given the date of the former work, the crests mentioned in it must have been purely decorative, but it is possible that those in the second work – composed in Lorraine, a Francophone region of Germany where as we have seen the classic type of crest had emerged by 1200 – were emblematic. In Anglo-Norman the word ***creste*** would be attested in a relevant sense only in the translation of the Latin work *De re militari* by Fl. Vegetius Renatus made in 1270/1,[57] in which it designates the purely *insignial* crests of the Roman army, not the *emblematic* crests of the type then still confined to Germany.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* includes no citation for the derivative word ***crest*** in any sense in Middle English antedating the year 1380, but the *Middle English*

[55] *Aliscans, chanson de geste*, ed. Guessard and A. de Montaiglon (Paris, 1870).

[56] On the poem, see Jacques Bretel, *Le Tournoi de Chauvency; édition complète*, ed. Maurice Delbouille (Paris & Liège, 1932).

[57] *AND-o*, 'crest'; Lionel K.Carley, *The Anglo-Norman Vegetius. A Thirteenth-Century Translation of the 'De Re Militari' of Flavius Vegetius Renatus*, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis (Nottingham Univ., 1962).

Dictionary includes one of 1278 and another of c. 1312. The former is a passage in the records of a tournament of that year that reads: '*Item ij* ***Crest*** *and j Blazoun*'.[58] The second is in a passage of a will of c. 1312, in which it is listed after a sword and a vestment (presumably a coat), valued at 10 s. and 5 s. respectively, and is itself valued at 12 d.[59] It is unclear whether either of these crests was emblematic rather than purely decorative, and if emblematic, whether it was autonomous in the classic manner or merely armiferous – like that of Sir Geoffrey de Luttrell in the portrait in his psalter of c. 1340 (**Figure 18**). Still, there is no reason to doubt that the name *crest(e)* was immediately applied to the autonomously emblematic crests that superseded their purely decorative predecessors around 1340, as it is the only word known to have been used of such objects in English before that date, and either the sole or the principal word used to designate them from 1350 to the present.

This cannot be said about crests in France, however, because the word *creste* seems to have fallen completely out of use there for these objects at some time after 1285, and the only word certainly applied to the emblem in question after that date in French of any developmental state was the unrelated ***cimier***[60] – which lacks any cognate in English of any period.

Visual evidence for the use and form of crests in England in the Pre-Classic Period is found primarily in seals of both major types: equestrian, and strictly armorial or cumuliferous: that is, bearing minimal achievements in which a (usually tiny) crested helm is set above a shield of the arms in something like the classic arrangement. As **Table 3** indicates, crests are entirely lacking in surviving tomb effigies made before 1327. As Table 2 indicates, no crests of any form were represented on English equestrian seals before 1295, when the earliest example of the three-dimensional type destined to prevail after 1340 appeared on the seal of Thomas Plantagenet of Lancaster, Earl of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby (**Figure 19**). The earliest form of crest to appear in this context was that of a simple fan, broadly comparable to the one used by Richard the Lionheart on his seal of 1198, but possessing a stem and lacking any element of the sigilliger's arms. The seal in question was that of Nicolas de Condé, Lord of Morialmé in France, whom I have included because of his role as a pioneer in this area. He also pioneered in the practice of setting an identical fan on the chamfron of his horse, which would eventually become the norm in England, as Table 1b indicates.

[58] *MED*, I, p. 156.

[59] *Ibid*.

[60] This word – derived from the Graeco-Latin *cyma* 'tender shoot of a legume', whence 'apex of any object', through the Old French *cyme* (1175) and *cime* (c. 1200) – is itself attested from c. 1200 in the sense of 'apex, highest point'. *Cimier* came to be used at least occasionally of the crest set on knightly helms by 1190, when it appeared in the history *La Conqueste* de *Jerusalem*, completed not long after 1187, but seems otherwise to be unattested in this sense before 1389. It is therefore possible that in France *creste* and *cimier* were used interchangeably to designate crests from 1190 to some time between 1285 and 1389. Eventually, *cimier* would become the normal word for the crest in French (though only after a competition with the new rival *timbre*), and would serve as the model not only for the equivalent words in all of the Romance languages, but (more surprisingly) for words for arms and armories generally in most other languages (God., *DALF*, IX, col. 94b; Tob.-Lom., *AW*, II, col. 433–4 ; *Robert DHLF*, p. 756).

Figure 18: Sir Geoffrey Luttrell from the Luttrell Psalter, BL Add MS 42130 f.202v.

Table 3. Evidence of crests and supporters from non-equestrian seals 1298-1301

Evidence	Date	Sigilliger	Arms	Shield	Crest	Supporters
BLt p. 29	1298 1301	Henry Plant. E. of Lancaster, Leicester	*England a bendlet*		*Dragon crest* on helm,	*Dragon* supporters
BLt p. 82	1299 1301	Robert de la Warde	*Vair*		**Fan** on helm over shield	none
BLt p. 154	1301	Hugh Poyntz,	*Barry, a label of 5 points*		**Fan** on helm over shield	none
BLt p. 174	1301	Walter de Mouncy	*Chequy*		*Fox crest* on helm over shield	none
BLt p. 175	1301	Ralph FitzWilliam	*Barry of 8, 3 chaplets*		**Fan** on helm over shield	none

Eventually such fan-crests, human and equine, would come to serve as underliers of the arms (as would be the case of Sir Geoffrey de Luttrell in the 1330s), but I have found no trace of this practice before the end of the Pre-Classic Period around 1327, and the fans employed as crests were all too small and too deeply fluted to have served that purpose effectively. It would thus appear that they normally remained purely decorative adjuncts to the helm and chamfron, probably painted in bright colours, but devoid of armal or other emblematic elements. The first clear example I have found of an armiferous fan-crest on either a knightly helm or on a chamfron is in fact in the portrait of Sir Geoffrey de Luttrell, painted in his famous psalter shortly after the end of the Pre-Classic Period, and including one of each (**Figure 18**).

Rather more surprisingly, the fashion for using this decorative type of crest is attested in England in a sigillary context only from 1299 to 1307. In this period of only eight years, eight such crests appeared on equestrian seals, and three more on the new type of **cumuliferous** seal, one of these being a counterseal. In the case of the Earl of Lancaster figures constituting proto-supporters were set to either side of the crest. Why helms bearing minute and completely generic fan-crests should have been displayed this way is a mystery, but it may be that the practice was merely imitative of the more rational practice that had preceded it in comparable contexts by four years in both France and England (in 1295): that of employing a crest in the form of a three-dimensional figure, at first quite unrelated to the arms but increasingly alluding to it in some way.

For reasons that are difficult to fathom, the earliest such crests took the form of a *dragon* (of the contemporary two-legged kind later renamed a 'wyvern'). Both Guillaume de Condé in France and Thomas of Lancaster in England set a dragon statant on their helms in 1295, and the latter began a new fashion by setting one on the chamfron or face-plate of his horse. Two years later Ralph de Monthermer, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, set an eagle extracted from his patrilineal arms in both of those positions, anticipating a form of crest that would become common in the later fourteenth century, but he failed to inspire any of his contemporaries to do likewise. Finally, in 1301, Walter de Mouncy, for reasons that are even harder to understand,

Figure 19: Thomas Earl of Lancaster 1295, By kind permission of The Society of Antiquaries of London. (Museum drawer A4)

draped a dead fox over his helm as a sort of crest. Only Monthermer's crest had any connection to his arms, however, so the practice is of little interest here except as an curious alternative to the more obvious practice of displaying the arms on a fan-crest, which would take off only briefly in the 1330s.

5. The *Alettes* or 'Ailettes', c. 1289 – 1330

The final occasionally armiferous element of the knightly panoply certainly employed in our Period by English knights of less than baronial rank was the armorial panel now normally called an *ailette*. The name of this element of knightly equipment was actually written ***alette*** in Old French from 1164 and from 1313 in Anglo-Norman. It finally entered Middle English after 1400 in the form ***alet***, by which time it designated a long-outmoded type of object. ***Alette*** had been respelled ***ailette*** in Modern French by 1564, and reentered Modern English in 1814 as an historical word in the Modern French form.

The objects thus named generally took the form of rectangular plates or panels of some relatively soft material laced to the sides of the shoulders and projecting up on either side of the head. Claude Blair reports that images of these supplemental

panels appear in Latin Europe generally (minus Germany) from c. 1275 to c. 1350,[61] but as my own tables indicate, evidence for their use in England begins only with the incised effigy of Sir Roger de Trumpington erected after his death in 1289, and remains rare even thereafter.

As the Tables indicate, ailettes are not represented on any seal effigy of our Period, and only on three additional tomb effigies: those of Sir Roger de Septvans of 1306, of Sir Edmund Gascelin of 1307, and of Sir Henry Bacon of 1330. Not long after the latter date a pair was represented on the portrait of Sir Geoffrey de Luttrell in his psalter. They are fully armiferous, as are those on the Trumpington effigy, and Blair opines that their primary function was to serve as underliers of arms. Unfortunately, the evidence for this in England is otherwise rather thin. Septvans – whose arms were a field bearing *three* winnowing fans – set a single fan on each of his ailettes (an example of the *reductive* version of extractive armifery), while he employed the *multiplicative* version on his coat (**Figure 14**). Both Gascelin and Bacon, by contrast, charged their ailettes with single cross: a charge entirely absent from his arms, and presumably intended to represent the arms of St George, patron saint of England, and therefore service to the English king. It would thus appear that ailettes could be charged with a number of different types of motif, only some of which were armal, or even armorial. Ailettes thus decorated would survive with little alteration in England down to the 1340s, and then fall completely out of fashion – perhaps as a result of the general extension of armifery to the *arming coat* that was completed at about that time.

This paper will conclude with flags: The Gonfanon, Banner, and Pennon in the next issue of the Coat of Arms, and an excursus on the author's new terminology.

[61] Blair pp. 45–46.