

CORRESPONDENCE

The display of arms in their primary martial contexts. *Philip Lankester writes:* Professor D'Arcy Boulton [*CoA* no. 235(2018) pp. 218–57] makes a very useful attempt at surveying the surviving early evidence. In Table 2 (p. 231) he lists 'Armifery on Tomb Effigies and Portraits c. 1220 – c. 1330'. Unfortunately, tomb effigies are much harder to date than many seals (evidence from which is listed in Tables 1a and 1b) because they could be erected some years before or after the date of death of the person commemorated. Identification can be equally problematic where inscriptions are lacking or incomplete, or where successive members of the same family bore the same first name and the inscription does not include a date of death. Some of the dates given in Professor Boulton's table fail to take account of scholarship over the last 50 years, and this is particularly apparent in the dates assigned to some of the earliest English military brasses, many of which are now dated a generation later than they had been for many years. The dating of some of the sculpted effigies mentioned has also been revised or challenged. To be fair, these revised datings, particularly of the early brasses, have taken a while to percolate into the more general literature and some dates are still being debated, so it is understandable if scholars who are not specialists in funerary monuments are unaware of the latest scholarship, especially those working on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean.

To discuss in detail all the dates given in Professor Boulton's Table 2 would take up more space than could reasonably be allowed in 'letters to the editor', so I will concentrate on the English-made brasses. The key publication is *The Earliest English Brasses; patronage, style, workshops 1270–1350*, ed. John Coales (Monumental Brass Society, London, 1987). In a masterly introduction, the late Malcolm Norris showed how many of the dates traditionally assigned had acquired increasing authority through frequent repetition, and how they were successfully challenged in several publications from the mid-1960s. The remaining chapters in the book accepted and developed the consequences of the revised dating. In the following summary, Boulton's dates are in brackets. Stoke d'Abernon, Surrey (1277), is now identified as Sir John II d'Abernon, d.1327; Trumpington, Cambs (1289) has been advanced to Sir Roger II de Trumpington, d.1326; Sir Robert de Bures at Acton, Suffolk (1302) is now thought to have died c.1331; at Pebmarsh, Essex, Sir William FitzRalph (1323) has similarly been moved on to c.1331–8. The brass of Sir John (and his wife Alyn) de Creke at Westley Waterless, Cambs, is now dated c.1340–45, so putting it some way beyond the c.1330 end date of Boulton's table, and the very similar brass at Stoke d'Abernon (not included in Boulton's, table) is now identified as Sir John III d'Abernon, d.1339–50. Boulton's date of c.1330–40 for the Bacon brass at Gorleston, Suffolk, agrees with the date proposed by Paul Binski in *The Earliest English Brasses* but has since been challenged by Sally Badham who prefers a date of c.1305 and identifies it as John Bacon (*Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, 16.1 (1997), pp. 2–25). The date of the Septvans brass at Chartham, Kent, is also controversial. In *The Earliest English Brasses* the traditional identification (Sir Robert Septvans) and date were advanced to his son Sir William Septvans, d.1322, but several subsequent authors have argued for the original identification and a date in the

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first decade of the fourteenth century. The relevant publications for the latter brass are summarised by Brian and Moira Gittos.¹

D'Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton responds: This brief essay and accompanying **Table** are intended as corrections to my Table 2 based on Philip Lankester's observations, and taking into account some of the most recent scholarship in the archaeological study of tomb monuments in England. Works by specialists in this field, mainly published in *The Earliest English Brasses: patronage, style, workshops*, edited by John Coales (Monumental Brass Society, London, 1987), but also in an article by Sally Badham in *The Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society* vol.16.1 (1997), and most recently by Brian and Moira Gittos in their book *Interpreting Medieval Effigies: The Evidence from Yorkshire to 1400* (Oxford, 2019). As I have never claimed to be an expert in the dating of such monuments, I am content to stand corrected by those who are, and as can be seen here, have revised my own Table 2 accordingly. In that revised version (provided with an initial column indicating reigns) the effigy traditionally attributed to Sir John d'Abernon I, who died in 1277, has been reassigned to his son Sir John d'Abernon II, who died in 1327; the effigy traditionally attributed to Sir Roger de Trumpington I, who died in 1289, has been reassigned to his son Sir Roger de Trumpington II, who died in 1326; the effigy traditionally attributed to Sir Roger de Septvans, who died in 1307, has been reassigned to his son William de Septvans, who died in 1322 (though this identification is now contested); the effigy traditionally attributed to Sir Roger de Bures, though to have died in 1302, has been re-dated to 1331; and the effigy traditionally attributed to Sir Henry Baron, who died c. 1330, has been reattributed to his father (?) Sir John Bacon, who died c. 1305.

What these changes mean for the general picture of armifery in the century between c. 1220 and c. 1330 (roughly corresponding to the reigns of Henry III, Edward I, and Edward II, and the first three years of that of Edward III) can be summarised as follows. The number of relevant effigies from the reign of Henry III remains at 3 (discounting the first in my list, whose arms have been worn away); the number from the reign of Edward I falls from 8 (including 4 outliers) to 6 (with the same outliers); the number from the reign of Edward II rises from 6 to 7, and the number from the first years of the reign of Edward III rises from 2 to 3. These numbers are all remarkably small, and it is particularly striking that the number of strictly *English effigies* bearing arms from the long reign of Edward I is reduced to 3: the first in the regnal list being *Welsh*, the second a *non-monumental* portrait, the fifth a *Scottish* effigy, and the sixth a *French* effigy.

The re-dating of the d'Abernon effigy moves the only monumental image of a pennon (in this case armiferous) from 1277 to 1327; and that of the Trumpington effigy moves the only monumental image of armiferous ailettes from 1289 to 1326. The small set of armiferous arming coats – 5, spread between c. 1240 and 1326 – is unaffected by the reassignments in question. Thus, the main effect of the changes in question is to move to significantly later dates the evidence for armiferous ailettes and pennons.

¹ *Interpreting Medieval Effigies: The Evidence from Yorkshire to 1400* (Oxford and Havertown PA, Oxbow, 2019), Appendices (available at https://books.casematepublishers.com/Interpreting_Medieval_Effigies_Online_Appendices.pdf) pp. 243–4.

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

King	Place, Evidence (effigy)	Date	Armiger	Arms	Shield	Coat	Crest, etc.
Hen III 1216 - 1272	Temple Ch. Lon. Gardner, n. 301 (+ Duffy, RT, p. 64)	p. 1220	William le Mareschal, C. of Pembroke	<i>None (prob. painted on shield)</i>			
	Salisbury Cath. (Duffy, RT, pp. 66-67)	p. 1226	William Longespée, C. of Salisbury	<i>6 lions rampant, 3, 2, 1 (carved in relief)</i>			
	Bitton Church (Foster, p. 21)	1227	Sir John de Bitton	<i>A fess</i>			
	Blyth, Notts. (Tr.Th.S., 28)	c. 1240	Sir William Fitzwilliam	<i>Lozengy [argent and gules?]</i>		1	
Edw I 1272 - 1307	St Bride's Ch., Glamorg. (Fost., 27)	1285	Sir John le Botiler	<i>3 covered cups</i>			
	Westminster Ab. (Bedingfield, p. 57)	p. 1296	William 'de Valence', C. Pem.	<i>Barruly Or + az.</i>		Semé of escutcheons	
	Duffy, RT, p. 94	p. 1297	Edmund Plant. C. of Lancs. etc.	<i>England w label of France</i>			
	Portrait w.S. Geo.						
	Bristol Cath. (Foster, p. 63)	c. 1300	Sir Thomas de Berkeley	<i>A chevron betw 9 crosses patty</i>			
	Inchmaholme Ch. (Foster, 71)	1301	Sir John Drummond	<i>3 bars wavy</i>			
	BRITTANY	c. 1301	Gautier de Machecoul	<i>chevronny</i>		Semé of escutcheons	No helm
Edw II 1307 - 1327	Gorleston Ch. Suffolk (Fost., 8)	c.1305	John Bacon	<i>A bend lozengy on a chief 2 mullets of 6</i>		(knee-length)	Ailettes w. cross
	Peterbor. Abbey (BL Ad 74174)	1307	Sir Edmund Gascelin	<i>Billey and a label of 3 points</i>		2	
	Chatham, Kent (Foster, p. 177)	1322	Sir William de Setvans, d. 1322	<i>3 winnowing fans</i>		5 fans (4 visible)	
	Pebmarsh Ch., Essex (Foster, p88)	1323	Sir William FitzRalph	<i>On 3 bendlets sinist. 3 fleurs de lis</i>			
	Westley Waterless (Foster, p. 57)	c. 1325	Sir John de Creke	<i>A fess</i>			
	Trumpington Ch., Camb. (Fost, 193)	1326	Sir Roger de Trumpington II	<i>Crusily, 2 trumpets in pale</i>			Ailettes w. arms
	Pickering Ch, Yorks (Duffy, 36)	c. 1326	Sir Wm de Bruce of Uggelbarnby	<i>A saltire engrail. and a chief</i>		3 (short at the front)	
	Staunton, Notts. (Tr.Th.S., 28)	c. 1326	Sir William de Staunton?	<i>?</i>		4	
Edw III 1327 - 1331	Stoke d'Abernon, Surrey (Fost. p. 63)	1327	Sir John d'Abernon II	<i>A chevron</i>			armiferous pennon
	Minster Sheppey, Brass Rub p. 3	c. 1330	Sir John de Northwood	<i>Ermine a pale engrailed</i>		(shortened at the front)	
	Acton, Suffolk (Foster, p. 38)	c. 1331	Sir R. de Bures	<i>Erm., on a chief ind. 3 lions ramp.</i>			

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Honorary Secretary

John Tunesi of Liongam

e-mail: honsecheraldrysociety@googlegmail.com

Membership Secretary

Jane Tunesi of Liongam

e-mail: membership@theheraldrysociety.com

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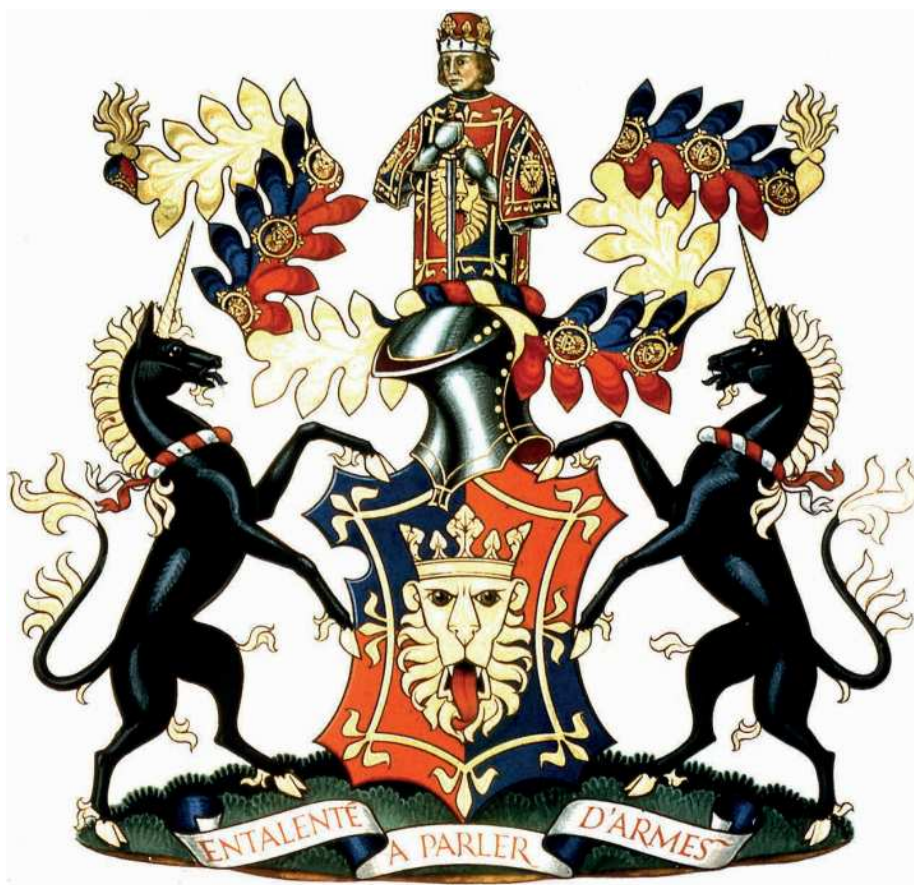
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