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The Coucy, the Boves, and Heraldry's Coming of Age in the Resafa cup

Richard LESON

En cette année 2021, les éditions en ligne de la Revue française d'héraldique et de sigillographie introduisent la publication d'articles en anglais. Ces travaux, écrits par des auteurs dont la langue maternelle est celle de Shakespeare, seront précédés d'un court résumé en français. Richard Leson, de l'Université du Wisconsin-Milwaukee, inaugure cette nouveauté éditoriale en présentant un article dédié à un objet héraldique célèbre : la Coupe Resafa.

Résumé en français

Les Coucy, les Boves et l'épanouissement de l'héraldique sur la Coupe Resafa

Une coupe excavée en 1982 à Resafa en Syrie est considérée comme le plus ancien objet conservé orné d'un ensemble d'armoiries qui furent réellement portées. Ce récipient est généralement associé à un baron français, Raoul I^{er} de Coucy, mort au cours de la Troisième croisade en 1191/92. Toutefois, l'oncle de Raoul, le puissant seigneur Robert de Boves – mort en juin 1191 – était également présent lors du siège de Saint-Jean d'Acre et pourrait avoir porté les mêmes armes que lui. Cette circonstance n'a jusque-là guère retenu l'attention des auteurs qui se sont intéressés à la Coupe Resafa. Cet article vise à mettre en regard des éléments concernant les deux branches du lignage des Boves-Coucy tirés de la documentation écrite et sigillographique avec les éléments héraldiques figurant sur cette coupe. Bien qu'aucune réponse tranchée ne puisse à ce jour être apportée à l'énigme armoriale posée par les écus, la geste familiale qui se dévoile autour de la coupe, avec ses implications historiques et les interrogations qu'elle soulève concernant l'identité nobiliaire, souligne la place unique et exceptionnelle de cette pièce d'orfèvrerie dans l'histoire des arts héraldiques. Cette figuration très précoce de plusieurs armoiries d'un même lignage sur un objet unique illustre une période clé de l'héraldique : celle d'une prolifération de branches cadettes qui nécessitait d'adopter une identité visuelle singulière et forte par le biais des brisures. Enfin, une approche sur la longue durée des armoiries des Boves-Coucy nécessite de prendre en compte un contexte de craintes de la noblesse de subir un délitement de son pouvoir et de son identité.

A silver-gilt drinking cup unearthed in 1982 from the ruins of St. Sergius, Resafa, holds a special place in the history of heraldry : it is engraved with what may be the earliest extant ensemble of authentic coats of arms (*fig. 1, 2*)¹. In the center of the cup's basin is a large heraldic shield encircled by ten additional escutcheons, many of which correspond to arms borne by French nobles at the end of the twelfth century and beginning of the thirteenth. The radial shields are engraved on repoussé panels, the shape of which seems to have been intentionally devised to accommodate escutcheons. With one exception, the shields were engraved with a technique described as *Tremblerstichlinien* or « tremble line »².

On the cup's rim is an Arabic inscription, clearly of a later date : *This is what Zayn al-Dar, daughter of Mister Abu Durrah, endowed to be added to the estates of Jabar Castle, The Protected*³. At some point, the inscription reveals, the vessel came into the possession of this otherwise unknown Syrian woman, who in due course donated it to Qal'at Ja'bar (on modern Lake Assad, Syria). A Zangid and Ayyubid possession for the greater part of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, Qal'at Ja'bar was destroyed by the Mongols in 1258-1259⁴. By that date, however, our cup was already at St. Sergius, there to be buried along with other precious objects to preserve it from the same Mongol invasion⁵.

Shortly before this study was submitted I learned of the passing of Hervé de Pinoteau. Several years ago he graciously answered questions about the Resafa cup from a stranger whom he had never met. I offer this essay in admiration of his many scholarly achievements and in his honor.

I am grateful to Caroline Simonet and Arnaud Baudin for their helpful comments on this essay. Jaroslav Folda kindly read and commented on an early draft. Martha Carlin generously provided full transcriptions and translations of entries from the cartulary of St.-Jean of Amiens (BM Amiens, ms 0781). For sharing their thoughts on the heraldry cup and for helpful suggestions I am indebted to Laurent Hablot and Jean-François Nieus. Arnaud Baudin, Clement Blanc, and Manonmani Restif kindly helped me locate casts of seals at Reims. I thank Thierry Deprez for assistance in locating the seal of Robert of Boves at Metz. Bruce and Cathy Bauer kindly proofread a late draft of this essay. Any errors are, of course, my own.

1. Syria National Museum, Damascus (Inv. Nr. 29313/14). A facsimile is in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum für Archäologie, Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, Bonn. See most recently Richard A. LESON « A Constellation of Crusade : The Resafa Heraldry Cup and the Aspirations of Raoul I, Lord of Coucy » in *The Crusades and Visual Culture*, ed. Elizabeth LAPINA, Laura WHATLEY, April MORRIS, Susanna THROOP, Burlington, 2015, p. 75-90. On the vessel's discovery and typology, Thilo ULBERT *et alii*, *Resafa III. Der kreuzfahrerzeitliche Silberschatz aus Resafa-Sergiopolis*, Mainz am Rhein, 1990, p. 50-61. The cup's facture agrees with western or central European work of the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries but its heraldic decoration has no parallel among similar metalwork vessels of the period. On its subsequent history in Syria see Glenn PEERS, « Translating Edges in Art of the Medieval Middle East : On the Resafa Hoard and a Painted Bottle from Lichtenstein », in *On the Edge : Time and Space. Proceedings of International Conference 14–15 November 2014*, ed. Zaza SKHIRTADZE, Tbilisi, 2017, p. 9-36.

2. ULBERT, *Resafa III...* (*supra* n. 1), p. 51. The exception (*fig. 2*, shield n° 10) is discussed below.

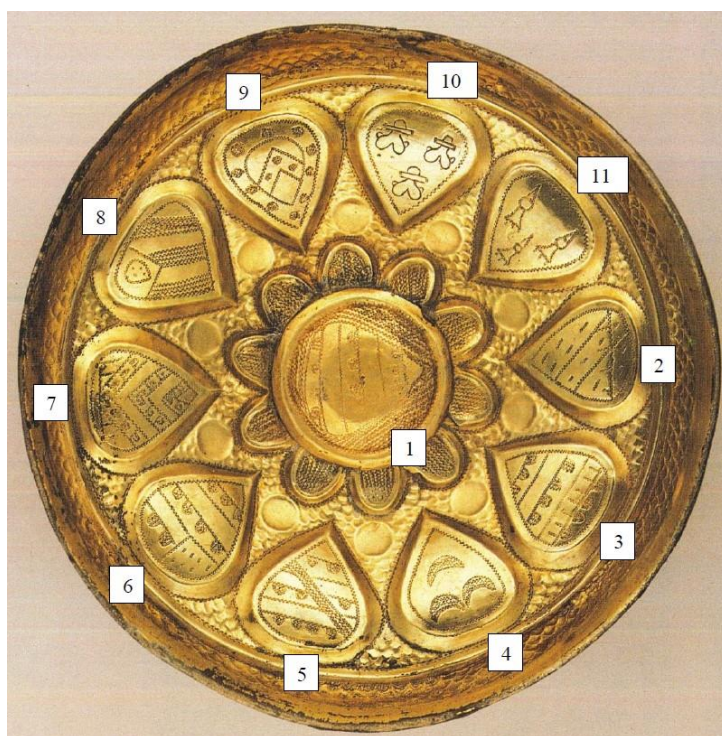
3. This is Peers' translation: « Translating Edges... » (*supra* n. 1), p. 16.

4. *Ibidem*, p. 16-17. The early thirteenth century was a commercially active period for Qal'at Ja'bar, a context that would support the cup's donation at that time. See Christina TONGHINI, *Qal'at Ja'bar: A study of the Syrian fortified site of the late 11th and 14th centuries*, Oxford, 1998 (Council for British Research in the Levant), p. 20-22.

5. Ulbert (*Resafa III...*, see *supra* n. 1, p. 5) gives a 1243-1259 date range for the deposit. On the cult of St. Sergius at Resafa, see Dorothée SACK, « St. Sergios in Resafa: Worshipped by Christians and Muslims Alike » in *Religious Identities in the Levant from Alexander to Muhammed: Continuity and Change*, ed. Michael BLÖMER, Achim LICHTENBERGER, Rubina RAJA, Turnhout, 2015, p. 271-280.



1. Silver-gilt drinking cup (c. 1190-1217).
Syria National Museum, Damascus (Inv. Nr. 29313/14).
Courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut.



2. Silver-gilt drinking cup, view of basin with shields enumerated.

The blazons as proposed here : 1) Boves-Coucy ; 2) Roye or Saveuse differenced (?) ;
3) Boves-Coucy differenced (*lambel de sept points*) ; 4) Ham (?) ; 5) Boves-Coucy
differenced (*bande*) ; 6) Boves-Coucy differenced (*franc-quartier*) ; 7) Amiens
differenced 8) Ponthieu differenced (?) ; 9) Kyme (?) ; 10) Ros (?) ; 11) Unidentified.

Syria National Museum, Damascus (Inv. Nr. 29313/14).
Courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut.

The shields' distinctive charges and the precision with which they were engraved are a strong indication that they are not purely decorative or ornamental but in fact signified specific persons⁶. This was the position of Hervé de Pinoteau, the first to investigate the cup's arms⁷. The present essay follows Pinoteau's fundamental reasoning, accepting the shields' specific, referential function *a priori* of all further attempts to identify the historical persons signified.

At the core of Pinoteau's examination was the unmistakable resemblance between the central arms – *fascé de vair de six pièces* – and those of three of the ten radial shields, which for convenience are referred to here as the three variants (*fig. 2, n° 1, 3, 5, 6*)⁸. The variants repeat the charge of the central shield but with *brisures*, marks of difference that usually served to distinguish members of the same kin group⁹. Thanks to the *brisures* and the cup's archaeological context, Pinoteau adduced an attractive solution for the cup's creation and original ownership : its four related shields referenced the baron Raoul I of Coucy (fl. 1160-1191/2)¹⁰ and his three young sons. Raoul's documented participation on the Third Crusade supplied the conduit by which the cup reached Syria. The arms of the central shield and its three variants therefore referred to the famous *fascé de vair et de gueules* of the lords of Coucy.

Pinoteau's is an elegant solution to the vessel's mysteries, one I followed elsewhere in a recent exploration of the cup's cultural and performative function¹¹. Indeed, it is the explanation best corroborated by the extant sigillographic evidence and it remains, at present, impossible to dismiss. Yet this reading of the cup's shields is not determinative. While we may be confident that *brisures* served to articulate relationships between kin, these relationships were by no means limited to the nuclear family or lineal descent. Indeed, where the *fascé de vair de six pièces* is concerned, there is particular reason to be cautious. As discussed below, Robert I of Boves (fl. 1132, d. 19 June 1191), uncle of Raoul of Coucy, is believed to have borne the same arms as his nephew. What is more, both Robert and his son, the future Enguerrand II of Boves, joined the Third Crusade. To date, however, the Boves family has received limited consideration with respect to the heraldry cup¹². Therefore, this study presents a range of chronological and patronage scenarios for the vessel, including new proposals that incorporate the extant heraldic evidence for the Boves family. As a rule, each proposal proceeds from the assumption that the cup found its way to Syria as a result of Boves-Coucy participation in the great crusades of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century. The date range encompassed by the proposals – 1190-1219 – accommodates the shape of the engraved shields and the

6. In contrast, for example, to decorative coats of arms in later metalwork and manuscript painting. See Michel PASTOUREAU, « The Use of Heraldry in Limousin Enamels », in *Enamels of Limoges : 1100-1350*, ed. Barbara DRAKE BOEHM, New York, 1996, p. 339-342.

7. Hervé PINOTEAU, « Heraldische Untersuchungen zum Wappenpokal », in ULBERT, *Resafa III...* (*supra* n. 1), p. 77-86.

8. For consistency Pinoteau's numbering of the shields is followed (*ibidem*).

9. There is a considerable literature on *brisures* in French heraldry. See *inter alia* Jean François NIEUS, « L'invention des armoiries en contexte. Haute aristocratie, identités familiales et culture chevaleresque entre France et Angleterre, 1100-1160 », *Journal des savants*, 2017, p. 93-155 and Laurent HABLLOT, « Le lignage brisé : les armoiries comme signes des conflits familiaux au Moyen Âge », in *La Parenté déchirée : les luttes intrafamiliales au Moyen Âge*, ed. Martin AURELL, Turnhout, 2009, p. 1-9.

10. « fl » followed by a date indicates the first mention of a person in a document.

11. LESON, « A Constellation of Crusade... » (*supra* n. 1).

12. NIEUS, « L'invention des armoiries... » (*supra* n. 9), p. 119, n. 77 ; LESON, « A Constellation of Crusade... » (*supra* n. 1), p. 87 n. 6 ; PINOTEAU, « Heraldische Untersuchungen... » (*supra* n. 7), p. 82.

typology of the drinking vessel. The new proposals address chronological possibilities raised by multi-generational use of the same arms by the collateral branches of the Boves-Coucy family. These imaginings do not pretend to be the final word on the Resafa heraldry cup, and hopefully will spur others to pursue and unlock its mysteries. Collectively, however, they underscore the vessel's important place in the development of the heraldic arts: like no other object, its precocious ensemble of cadenced arms is suggestive of the complexities attendant upon the sharing of heraldry by collateral branches of the same family right around the turn of the thirteenth century.

I. RAOUL I OF COUCY ON THE THIRD CRUSADE

As Pinoteau showed, the cup's central charge, *fascé de vair de six pièces*, matches that of the barons of Coucy¹³. The three radial variants of this charge are differenced with a *lambel de sept points*, a *bande*, and a *franc-quartier*, the last engraved with hatch-marks that may denote *hermine* or *billetes*. Having considered the four shields' similarities, Pinoteau arrived at a reasonable hypothesis: the central shield referred to the cup's owner, while its three radial variants signified that owner's sons. With 1258 (the destruction of Qal'at Ja'bar) as a *terminus ante quem*, he sought a Coucy with a crusader pedigree and the requisite number of offspring. This he found in Raoul I of Coucy, who embarked on the Third Crusade in 1190 and died sometime in late 1191 or Spring 1192¹⁴. Raoul had three sons known to have borne arms: his heir, Enguerrand III (fl. c 1191-1242); Thomas, called « Coucy-Vervins » (fl. c 1191-1252); and Robert, called « Coucy-Pinon » (fl. c 1191-1235)¹⁵. The three brothers, Pinoteau proposed, are noticed in the cup's basin by the variants with a *lambel de sept points* (fig. 2, n° 3) a *bande* (fig. 2, n° 5) and a *franc-quartier* (fig. 2, n° 6)¹⁶. It followed that Raoul had brought the cup with him on the campaign and that the vessel was in his possession at Acre before he perished.

Pinoteau's identifications find good support in the sigillographic record. Impressions of Raoul of Coucy's great seal and counterseal, including a pair made 9 May, 1190 (shortly before his departure for Acre) show the arms *fascé de vair de six pièces* (fig. 3, 4)¹⁷. For Pinoteau, these were the arms in the center of the cup, meaning that Raoul was likely the vessel's patron or intended recipient. The variant of the central shield with a

13. PINOTEAU, « Heraldische Untersuchungen... » (*supra* n. 7), p. 77-79. For the Coucy family see especially Dominique BARTHÉLEMY, *Les deux âges de la seigneurie banale. Coucy (XI^e-XIII^e siècle)*, Paris, 2000 (2d. ed.).

14. LESON, « A Constellation of Crusade... » (*supra* n. 1), p. 82-83. Roger of Howden put Raoul's death after Richard's victory at Arsuf (7 September 1191). For Howden see Michel-Jean-Joseph BRIAL, *Recueil Des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, nouvelle édition, t. 17, Paris, 1878, p. 549: *Interim Dux Burgundiae et Radulfus de Cusci, et vicedominus de Pinkenni obierunt apud Accon, octavo die quo venerant illuc*.

15. PINOTEAU, « Heraldische Untersuchungen... » (*supra* n. 7), p. 79-80. Another (fourth ?) son seems to have taken religious orders.

16. *Ibidem*. A shield showing *trois croissants* appears between the variants with a *lambel de sept points* and a *bande*, a curious caesura in an otherwise uninterrupted sequence, a matter discussed further below. As Jean-Claude Loutsch showed, after the *lambel* and the *bande*, the *franc-quartier* was the most commonly used cadency for legitimate heirs in the thirteenth century. See Jean-Claude LOUSCH, « Le franc-quartier : pièce honorable ou brisure ? » in *Brisures, augmentations et changements d'armoiries*, Académie internationale d'héraldique, Bruxelles, 1988, p. 139-162, here at p. 141.

17. The May 1190 impression is ANF, sc/D 1913, the great seal measuring roughly 70 mm. As discussed below, the matrix used for the great seal was not the first Raoul possessed. The casts pictured here (fig. 3, 4) were made after impressions of approximately the same date but in a better state of preservation.

lambel de sept points, he proposed, referred to the future Enguerrand III of Coucy in his role as heir. This is plausible but as yet not proved : all evidence for Enguerrand III's sealing postdates his father's death and shows him with undifferenced arms (*fig. 5*)¹⁸. Thomas of Coucy-Vervins' seal impressions do indeed give the arms of Coucy with a *bande* (*fig. 6*) but likewise postdate his father's death, in this case by more than two decades¹⁹. The third variant, that with a *franc-quartier*, generally resembles the arms of Coucy as borne by Robert of Coucy-Pinon (*fig. 7, 8*)²⁰.



3. 4. Great seal (70 mm) and counterseal (32 mm) of Raoul I of Coucy – 1188-1190
(ANF, moulages sc/F 728, F 728 bis)

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The impressions of Robert's seals, too, date to the 1200s. In his case, however, it is important to note that the *franc-quartier* is plain, and therefore *not* a precise match for the cup's third variant shield²¹. That being said, it remains possible that the variant shield

18. Caroline Simonet has proposed that Enguerrand III was utilizing his great seal by around 1198. See « *Les sceaux des sires et dames de Rozoy : le devenir des roses de Thiérache au XIII^e siècle. Première partie : les origines* », *Revue française d'héraldique et de sigillographie – Etudes en ligne*, 2018-5, décembre 2018, http://sfhs-rfhs.fr/wp-content/PDF/articles/RFHS_W_2018_005.pdf, p. 21, fig. 18 (ANF, sc/D 1021, 80 mm).

19. ANF, sc/D 1914, after an impression of Thomas' great seal (70 mm) made in 1248. A 1224 example of a second (?) great seal with the same cadency exists at 78 mm. See Léon-Honoré LABANDE, *Trésor des Chartes du Comté de Rethel. Sceaux*. Paris, 1914, p. 68 (n° 120).

20. Barthélemy (*Les deux âges*, *supra* n. 13, p. 407 n. 181) cites an entry of 1212 in AD Aisne, G 2, fol 36 v, as the earliest witness to Robert of Coucy-Pinon's sealing activity. Robert's great seal(s?) and counterseal are known from a pair of impressions affixed to the charters AD Marne, 56 H 166 (1214, 1213 a.s.) and 67 H 38 (1218, now lost). Casts are, respectively, AM Reims, ANF/sc Ch 346 (75 mm), Ch 346 bis, and Ch 95 (64 mm), Ch 95 bis. Ch 346 gives *fascé de vair de six pièces, au franc-quartier*. These impressions were evidently unknown to Pinoteau. If, despite the addition of *hermine* or *billetes*, we suppose that the cup's variant shield with a *franc-quartier* refers to Coucy-Pinon, the Reims casts would strengthen Pinoteau's proposal.

21. The arms that Maxime de Sars long ago attributed to the closely related Pierrepont and Roucy-Neuville families would seem tantalizingly close to the cup's third variant shield but are not in fact supported by the sigillographic evidence. See Maxime de Sars, *Le Laonnois féodal*, 5 vol. Paris, 1924-1934, t. 3, p. 15 and p. 37. To Roucy-Neuville Sars assigned « *Fascé de... et de... de douze pièces, au franc quartier d'hermine ...* » ; to « Pierrepont ou Roucy [seconde famille] ancien (Laonnois) : *Fascé de vair et de... de six*

with a *franc-quartier* bears witness to an earlier, perhaps nascent form of the arms of Coucy-Pinon.



5.



6.

5. Great seal of Enguerrand III of Coucy – 82 mm – probably used around 1198
(ANF, moulage sc/D1021)

6. Secret seal of Thomas of Coucy-Vervins – 32 mm – 1245-1248
(ANF, moulage sc/D 1914 bis).

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7.



8.

7. 8. Great seal (50 mm) and counterseal (36 mm) of Robert of Coucy-Pinon – 1214
(ANF, moulages sc/Ch 346, Ch 346 bis).

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pièces, au franc quartier de... ». But the arms of Jean II of Pierrepont (fl. c 1205-51), Robert of Coucy-Pinon's contemporary, were in fact « *fascé de vair, un franc-quartier* » (ANF, sc/D 1022). Jean II's arms, inherited from his father, Robert of Pierrepont, are discussed by Caroline Simonet : « Changer d'armoiries au Moyen Âge : l'exemple des sceaux du Laonnois », *L'ami du Laonnois*, t. 45, Jan. 2010, p. 8-10, here at p. 9. Interestingly, Robert of Coucy-Pinon married Jean II's sister in 1211 : see BARTHÉLEMY, *Les deux âges...* (*supra* n. 13), p. 413 and p. 461, yet it would appear that Jean II's *franc-quartier* was not a reference to his brother-in-law but indeed inherited from Robert of Pierrepont, at least judging from the evidence of an abraded impression of the latter's seal made in 1180 (AD Aisne, H 290). See SIMONET, « *Les sceaux des sires et dames de Rozoy...* », (*supra* n. 18), p. 8, fig. 6 (ANF, sc/P 537).

What was the rationale for the cup's engraving ? Here, Pinoteau suggested that the cup's arms might somehow reflect Raoul's investiture of his three adolescent sons with land and title before his May 1190 departure, an arrangement detailed in the lord's *ordinatio* of that month²². That document stipulated the feudal hierarchy Raoul hoped would govern relations between his sons after his death : Enguerrand III would inherit the barony, while his two younger brothers would receive apanages, a strategy to preserve the integrity of the family's possessions in the face of rapidly expanding royal power²³. It followed for Pinoteau that the cup could have commemorated Raoul's plan, its other radial shields perhaps references to relatives and allies who supported or in some way consented to the lord of Coucy's designs. Who were these other persons ? Before proceeding, it is necessary to review Pinoteau's identifications for the seven, remaining radial shields, and to consider their usefulness for dating the cup's heraldic engravings.

After weighing several possibilities, the next shield (according to Pinoteau's numbering, *fig. 2*, n° 2) Pinoteau assigned to the Roye family of Picardy²⁴. Without tincture, the traditional Roye heraldry is simply a *bande*, although branches of the family modified those arms with a *lambel* in the thirteenth century, similar to the shield in the cup. This identification, however, does not account for the shield's diagonal marks, which recall heraldic *batons* or *billetes*. Such marks are not a feature of the Roye arms. If the marks were meant to represent *billetes* (which, admittedly, are usually vertical), the shield is a better match for the Saveuse family of Picardy. Pinoteau recognized this possibility, but preferred Roye due to that family's kinship ties to the lords of Coucy. If, however, we insist on a Third Crusade context for the cup, a Saveuse identification would make sense, as a specific candidate for the shield is available.



9. Seal of Simon of Saveuse (22 mm) – 1300 (ANF, moulage sc/Cl 8471).

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22. Raoul's *ordinatio* is known through the transcription in Francois de L'ALOUËTE, *Traité des nobles et des vertus dont ils sont formés : levr charge, vocation, rang & degré : des marques, genealogies & diuerses especes d'iceus : de l'origine des fiefs & des armoiries*, 4 vol., Paris, 1577, t. 1, p. 121–123. See also LESON, « A Constellation of Crusade... » (*supra* n. 1), p. 84–86 ; *Crusade Charters 1138–1270*, ed. Corliss KONWISER SLACK and Hugh Bernard FEISS, Tempe, 2001, p. 116–121.

23. On the outcome of this strategy, see BARTHÉLEMY, *Les deux âges...* (*supra* n. 13), p. 217, p. 405–411.

24. PINOTEAU, « Heraldische Untersuchungen... » (*supra* n. 7), p. 81.

As observed recently by Bernard Schnerb, a Philippe of Saveuse participated in that campaign²⁵. His arms are unknown, but a 1300 seal impression of a descendant, Simon of Saveuse, gives « Écu à la bande accompagnée de douze ? billettes, 6 et 6 » (fig. 9)²⁶. We might then blazon the cup's shield as *une bande chargée de quatre billettes, accompagnée de dix billettes, 5 et 5, brisé d'un lambel de quatre points*. Could the shield refer to Philippe or, in light of its *brisure*, a brother or son ? Ultimately, neither of these identifications for shield n° 2 are conclusive, although both are conducive to a date of 1190-1191.



10. Great seal of Eudes III of Ham (75 mm) – 1223 (ANF, moulage sc/D 2353).

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Shield n° 4 (fig. 2, n° 4), *trois croissants*, Pinoteau identified with Eudes of Ham, a distant relative of the Coucy family²⁷. Eudes' heraldry finds ready corroboration in the sigillographic record (fig. 10), but he is documented on both the Third and Fourth Crusades and was still alive by 1223, so his arms by themselves are of limited use in

25. Bertrand SCHNERB, *La Noblesse au service du prince. Les Saveuse : Un hostel nobel de Picardie au temps de l'Etat Bourguignon (v. 1380-v. 1490)*, Turnhout, 2018, p. 29, n. 1. Philippe (« Philibert ») had three sons but none are documented on crusade. It is possible that Philippe's brother Simon (d. 1191), or his eldest son, Gui, could be the cup's reference. With respect to the post-Third Crusade possibilities for the cup's origins explored below, it is worth noting that Schnerb makes no reference to any member of the Saveuse family on either the Fourth or Fifth Crusades.

26. ANF, sc/CI 8471 (22 mm).

27. For Eudes of Ham see PINOTEAU, « Heraldische Untersuchungen... » (*supra* n. 7), p. 80-81, p. 85-86. His arms are confirmed by seal impressions : ANF, sc/D 2353, a cast of a great seal impression made in 1223 (75 mm). Jean LONGNON, *Les compagnons de Villehardouin : recherches sur les croisés de la quatrième croisade*, Genève, 1978, p. 158-159. Given the context Pinoteau's identification seems likely, even in the absence of tincture.

fixing the date of the heraldry cup's engravings. This shield also has the curious distinction of interrupting the sequence of the three variant shields, appearing between n° 3 and 5. Pinoteau contemplated whether this was some sort of recognition of Eudes' role in the creation of the cup, perhaps a sign that he had knighted the young Enguerrand III before departing with the boy's father for the Holy Land. This is possible, but I think it likely that the interruption had a more simple function : it signaled that the relationship between the referent of shield n° 3 and the patron (the owner of the central arms, *fig. 2*, shield n° 1), was different from that between the patron and the referents of shields n° 5 and 6. For example, if Raoul of Coucy was indeed the referent of the central arms, the interruption of the variants served to isolate and emphasize the privileged status of the future Enguerrand III as his father's heir vis-à-vis his younger brothers, Thomas of Coucy-Vervins and Robert of Coucy-Pinon.

The most readily recognizable of the other radial shields in the cup's basin is *trois chevrons de vair, brisé d'un lambel de sept points*, undoubtedly a member of the noble family of Amiens (*fig. 2*, shield n° 7). As Pinoteau showed, the presence of Amiens makes sense in light of kinship ties to Raoul of Coucy : Dreux of Amiens was the lord of Coucy's cousin. Dreux was also present on the Third Crusade. In May 1191 he arrived at Acre in the company of Philip II of France²⁸. As Dreux's arms are unknown, Pinoteau inferred them on the basis of those of his eldest son, Pierre, who after his father's death in 1191 or 1192 is said to have borne *three chevrons vair* undifferenced²⁹. Thus, Pinoteau reasoned, the Amiens arms in the cup might have referred not to Dreux, but to his heir, Pierre of Amiens, who later died on the Fourth Crusade³⁰.

To the right of the Amiens shield is an escutcheon charged *bandé de six pièces, au franc-quartier chargé d'un écusson d'hermine* (*fig. 2*, n° 8), which Pinoteau tentatively connected to a Guy of Noyelles (d. 1205)³¹. This Guy was younger brother of Jean I, Count of Ponthieu (d. 1191), who arrived at Acre, probably with his sibling, in summer 1190³². Guy's arms are unknown. A loan receipt of June 1191, a document evidently unknown to Pinoteau, confirms that he was at Acre, but this new information does not resolve the question of the shield's referent³³. There are other possibilities. A 1238 armorial counterseal impression of Fastred d'Avesnes, scion of a cadet branch of the Avesnes family, shows *bandé au franc-quartier* (*fig. 11*). The grandfather of this Fastred,

28. *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, ed. William Stubbs, London, 1864, p. 213 (« Drogo de Amiens »).

29. PINOTEAU, « Heraldische Untersuchungen... » (*supra* n. 7), p. 81-82. The arms of Pierre of Amiens are given by Joseph NOULENS, *Maison d'Amiens. Histoire généalogique*, Paris, 1888, p. 102, citing « Archives de l'Abbaye du Gard, Yzeu, 74 », the latter a source I have been unable to consult.

30. On Pierre of Amiens see Longnon (*supra* n. 27), p. 197-199.

31. PINOTEAU, « Heraldische Untersuchungen... » (*supra* n. 7), p. 82. I am grateful to Caroline Simonet and Arnaud Baudin for the suggestion that the object in the *franc-quartier* represents *un écusson d'hermine*.

32. *Itinerarium peregrinorum* (*supra*, n. 28), p. 332 (« Iohannes de Pontiniaco comes »), p. 371. Jean's arms, too, are not certain, but the charge *bandé de six pièces* is not far from that of his son Guillaume III, Count of Ponthieu, in 1212. See ANF, sc/D 1066 : « *trois bandes à la bordure* ». A version of these arms including a *franc-quartier* charged with a device (see *fig. 2*, shield n° 8) could denote Guy's cadet status relative to his elder brother.

33. SOTHEY & CO. 1987, p. 34 (lot 35, n° 18 : *John, count of Pontieu, stands surety for 200 « livres tournois » borrowed from Salvagius Testa...of Genoa, by Gui de Noellis...on behalf of all the crusaders from the town of Abbeville (capital of the County of Ponthieu), dated 'in castris iuxta Accon', June 1191*). This charter was unknown to Pinoteau but supports his placement of Guy on the Third Crusade. For a transcription of the document see BnF, ms. lat. 17803, fol 71, n° 195.

of the same name, was a brother of Jacques of Avesnes, one of the greatest heroes of the Third Crusade. Jacques arrived at Acre around September of 1189 and was killed, along with several of his kinsmen, at the battle of Arsuf in September 1191³⁴. Was one of those kinsmen the elder Fastred, and if so, do the arms in the cup refer to him ?



11. Counterseal of Fastred d'Avesnes – 1238 (ANF, moulage sc/D 2165 bis).

Tous droits réservés aux Archives nationales, Paris.

Laurent Hablot recently identified the charge on shield n° 11 as *trois chandeliers*³⁵. In later centuries the Canlers family of Picardy bore the arms *d'azur à trois chandeliers d'or*, a fine example of *armes parlantes*, or a heraldic device that is a visual pun on the sound of the family's name³⁶. A similar pun may be at work here, but it might also have played on the owner's office (perhaps a *chambellan*)³⁷. Apart from its possible geographical implications, this charge will remain of limited use for analysis of the heraldry cup until it is firmly associated with a family of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.

34. *Itinerarum peregrinorum* (*supra*, n. 28), p. 276 : *Tres cum eo consanguinei ejus reperti sunt occisi quibus...* Enguerrand III of Coucy struck an alliance with Gauthier d'Avesnes in 1203. See BARTHÉLEMY, *Les deux âges...* (*supra* n. 13), p. 418, 427, and 439. I owe the reference to the arms of Fastred d'Avesnes to Caroline Simonet. I have also wondered if this shield might refer to the arms of a certain Nicolas de Montigny, a Norman knight, whose seal impression of 1205 was described by Douët-d'Arcq as « *Quatre cotices, à un franc canton chargé d'un objet indistinct* » (ANF, sc/D 2920, a cast of an armorial seal, 26 mm). But in this case I suspect that the indistinct object in the *franc canton* was probably meant to represent an *escallop*, which would then anticipate the later arms of this Norman family. In either event, whether Ponthieu, Avesnes, or Montigny, an identification and rationale for the presence of these arms in the cup remain unresolved.

35. HABLOT, personal communication of 19 June 2018. See also PINOTEAU, « *Héraldische Untersuchungen...* » (*supra*, n. 7), p. 82 (« *Sorlieu* »). See now Laurent HABLOT, *Manuel de Héraldique emblématique médiévale*, Tours, 2019, p. 50.

36. Jean-Baptiste RIETSTAP, *Armorial general*, Gouda, 1861, p. 217, col. 1 (« *Canlers ou Caulers...* : *D'azur à trois chandeliers d'or* »).

37. HABLOT (*supra*, n. 35). I am grateful to Hablot for sharing this observation.



12.



13.

12. *Inverted arms of « Philippi de Kime »* (Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, c. 1240-1255, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College ms. 016II, fol 155 v.).

Courtesy of the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

13. *Arms of « Roberti de Ros »* (Matthew Paris, *Liber additamentorum*, c. 1250-1259, London, British Library, Cotton ms. Nero D I, fol. 171).

Courtesy of the British Library.

By far the most curious of the cup's heraldic engravings are the pair of radial shields that Pinoteau assigned to the English families Kyme – *un chevron chargé de trois besants, une bordure besantée de dix pièces* – and Ros – *trois bouges* – (fig. 2, shields n° 9, 10)³⁸. The Kyme identification finds support, albeit of a later date, in Matthew Paris' *Chronica Maiora* (c. 1240-1255)³⁹, where a shield for the deceased « Philippi de Kime » (d. 1242) gives *or, un chevron gueules, une bordure sable besantée d'or* (fig. 12). The Matthew of Paris shield is not a perfect match for that in the heraldry cup, as the *chevron* lacks the requisite *trois besants*, but it is very close indeed. For the Ros arms, we may similarly point to the shield Matthew assigned to a « Roberti de Ros » in the so-called *Liber additamentorum* (c. 1250-1259), discussed further below (fig. 13). Yet if the cup dates to the Third Crusade, to whom, exactly, did the Kyme and Ros arms refer ? As discussed elsewhere, knights of these same English families were indeed present at Acre. Roger of Howden, in his account of those who died in 1190, lists a Walter of Kyme and a Walter of Ros⁴⁰. To the best of my knowledge, the siege of Acre is the only historical context for which documentation attests to the joint presence of a lord of Coucy and knights of these English houses, a situation that would seem to bolster Pinoteau's dating of the heraldry cup.

In summary, Pinoteau's scenario holds that 1) the four shields in the cup reference Raoul of Coucy and his adolescent heirs ; 2) Raoul brought the cup on the Third Crusade ; 3) the vessel left Raoul's possession coincident with his death, which occurred

38. PINOTEAU, « Heraldische Untersuchungen... » (supra n. 7), p. 82.

39. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College ms. 016II, fol 155 v.

40. LESON, « A Constellation of Crusade... » (supra n. 1), p. 79 ; BRIAL, *Recueil Des Historiens...* (supra n. 13), p. 512-513 (*Walterus de Kyma filius Philippi Kyma....Walterus de Ros frater Petri de Ros*).

sometime after June 1191⁴¹. This proposal furnishes an attractive catalyst or motive for the engravings, namely the inheritance plan outlined in Raoul's *ordinatio*. It requires, however, that we accept the assignment of heraldry to adolescents, a practice for which there is no firm evidence at this early moment in heraldic usage. Moreover, Dominique Barthélemy, the authority on the Coucy family, places the birth of Enguerrand III around 1176, followed shortly thereafter by his brother Thomas⁴². This meant that the three brothers were too young to join their father on the Third Crusade. The same would probably hold true for the arms of Pierre of Amiens, who like Raoul's children was likely not of age to join the campaign and was therefore left behind in Picardy.

Where and when, then, were the heraldic engravings executed ? Along with Pinoteau, we might imagine some sort of ceremony, perhaps a tournament hosted by Raoul in the Coucy barony to celebrate his sons' investiture and consolidate support for the plan laid out in his *ordinatio*⁴³. Such an event could have drawn foreign interest. As David Crouch observed, « Travel to France was apparently long regarded as an important part of the education of every young English nobleman. There was no better way of getting yourself seen and noticed than raising your banner in some corner of a foreign field »⁴⁴. Could a tournament, then, explain the English shields' presence in the cup ? If it did, was this tournament the origin of an alliance between Picard and English knights, one registered in the cup's arms that later continued on the Third Crusade ? Perhaps. As Crouch also reminds us, « Time and again...crusading contingents arose out of tournament fellowships »⁴⁵. Alternatively, as I have suggested elsewhere, the Picard knights could have encountered Walter of Kyme and Walter of Ros at Acre, when the arms of the new English allies could then have been added to the cup, perhaps completing its decoration⁴⁶. Indeed, a close examination of the *trois bouges* of the Ros shields reveals that they were engraved with a different burin than the rest of the heraldic charges. Was this change in tools an improvisation made in the context of a desperate situation like a siege ? All of this remains speculation. Raoul's *ordinatio*, in particular, may be a red herring where identification of the heraldry cup's variant shields are concerned. As we will see, these uncertainties are compounded by the heraldic evidence for the cadet branch of the famous Coucy family.

41. Loan receipts written at Acre in June 1191 prove that Raoul was still alive at that time. The previous month (May 1191) he had vouched for a loan of 100 silver marks made by a Genoese merchant. The debtor's names betray origins in Picardy and the Île de France – for example Fargniers (Aisne) and *Fossatis* (probably Fosses, Val-d'Oise), but unfortunately these persons do not appear to have any connection to the cup's heraldry. The May receipt was sold at auction in 1987. See SOTHEBY & CO. (*supra* n. 33), p. 33 (lot 35, no 8). For a transcription, see BnF, ms. lat. 17803, fol 6, n° 42. A second receipt (see fol 72, n° 196), written in June, shows Raoul standing surety for a loan to a Iohannes Ravevalle. These receipts were evidently unknown to Pinoteau.

42. BARTHÉLEMY, *Les deux âges...* (*supra* n. 13), p. 406-407.

43. PINOTEAU, « Heraldische Untersuchungen... » (*supra* n. 7), p. 86.

44. David CROUCH, *Tournament*, Hambledon-London, 2005, p. 41.

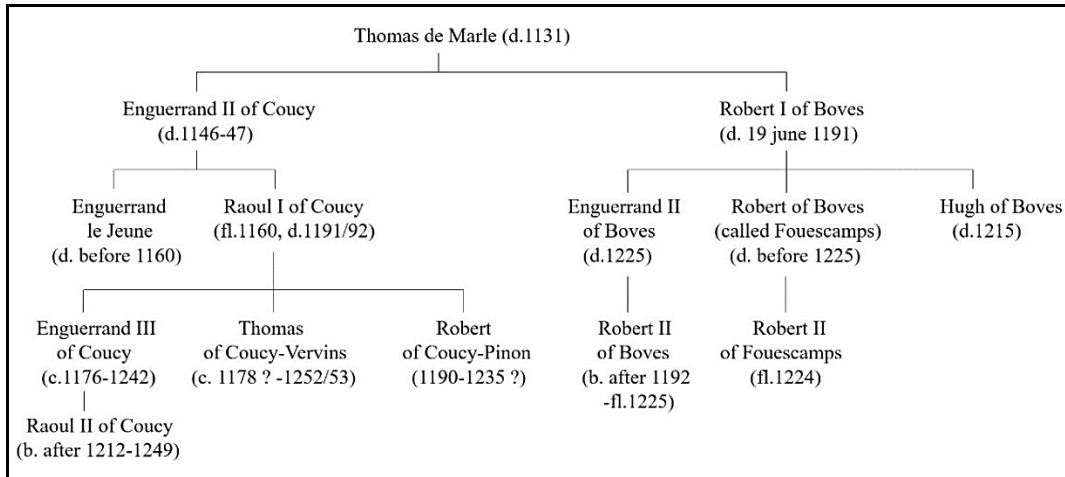
45. *Ibidem*, p. 7.

46. LESON, « A Constellation of Crusade... » (*supra* n. 1), p. 78-79. Elsewhere I indicated that this encounter could have taken place at Acre in the late summer or autumn of 1190, a dating based on Roger of Howden's list of the crusader dead at the end of 1190. However, as discussed below, it is possible that the English knights arrived as late as June 1191, with Richard I, which would necessitate a slightly later date for the English shields were they indeed added at Acre.

II. ROBERT I OF BOVES AND SON(S) ON THE THIRD CRUSADE

The great spanner in the cup's heraldic works is the putative heraldry of Robert I of Boves, seasoned crusader and uncle of Raoul I of Coucy (*see genealogy 1*)⁴⁷. The heraldry borne by his descendants indicates that Robert, like his nephew Raoul, bore the arms *fascé de vair de six pièces*⁴⁸.

Genealogy of the Boves and the Coucy



Indeed, impressions of the obverse and reverse of the great seal of Enguerrand II of Boves (fl. c 1190, d. 1223), Robert's eldest son and heir, give charges identical to those of the lords of Coucy (*fig. 14*)⁴⁹.

47. The most readily available history of the Boves family remains Auguste JANVIER, *Histoire de Boves*, Paris, 1989, (2d. ed.). For Janvier's discussion of Robert see p. 57-76. I have as yet been unable to consult Olivier Leblanc's 2003 dissertation on the Boves family, but see his « Picardie, croisades, et les Sires de Boves », in *Orient et occident du IX^e au XV^e siècle : actes du colloque d'Amiens, 8, 9, et 10 Octobre 1988 organisé par le CAHMER*, 2000, p. 29-56 ; *idem.*, « Aux origines de la seigneurie de Coucy, la lignée des Boves-Coucy », *Revue archéologique de Picardie*, t. 1-2, 2005, p. 145-154.

48. NIEUS, « L'invention des armoiries... » (*supra* n. 9), p. 132, n. 127. Just like his nephew Raoul, Robert of Boves had four sons : Enguerrand II of Boves, Robert of Boves, called Fouencamps, Hugh of Boves, and Thomas of Boves. The last was canon and later provost of Amiens. See Eugène MULLER, *Le Prieuré de Saint-Leu d'Esserent : cartulaire (1080-1538)*, Pontoise, 1901 (Aux bureaux de la Société Historique), p. 97 (item XCIV, May 1202).

49. ANF, sc/P 169. Germain DEMAY (*Inventaire des sceaux de la Picardie*, Paris, 1877) blazoned the shield on Enguerrand II's great seal (of 55 mm) of 1212 as *fascé de vair et de...de six pièces* but described the counterseal escutcheon as « Écu fascé de vair chargé de trois besants ou tourteaux en chef ». I suspect that these « besants ou tourteaux » were the results of a nineteenth-century attempt to restore a crumbling seal impression. Those earlier restorations have since been removed from the original impression. See <https://recherche.archives.somme.fr/ark:/58483/a011261413567RbZgAD>. The arms described in the next entry in Demay's catalog (P 170), on a cast after an undated and detached impression (*fig. 14*) of the same seal and counterseal (now Musée de Picardie, Amiens, MP.2001.4.16), Demay blazoned *fascé de vair et de.....de six pièces*.



14. Counterseal of Enguerrand II of Boves (60 mm) – c. 1212
(ANF, moulage sc/P 170 bis).

Tous droits réservés aux Archives nationales, Paris.

This suggests that Robert of Boves' claim to the *fascé de vair de six pieces* could have predated that of his nephew, a possibility supported by the recent publication of the arms of Enguerrand II of Coucy (d. 1147), Robert's elder brother and father of Raoul I of Coucy. Enguerrand II of Coucy did not bear the famous Coucy arms but rather a more simple device, a shield *chevronné*⁵⁰. Accordingly, Jean François Nieus has suggested that the charge *fascé de vair et de gueules* was originally devised for Robert, progenitor of the family's cadet branch⁵¹. Such heraldic decisions could have been made around 1131, at the death of the brothers' notorious father, Thomas of Marle. With Thomas' death, the barony passed to Enguerrand II of Coucy, while Boves, Thomas' holdings in the ancient county of Amiens, went to Robert. Subsequently, the brothers accompanied Louis VII of France on the Second Crusade, but only Robert returned alive, now the senior member of the extended Boves-Coucy family. Then, in 1154, Robert seems to have made a failed attempt to wrest the barony from his adolescent nephews, Enguerrand, called « le Jeune », and Raoul⁵². As a consequence, and on account of various offenses against the Church, Robert was sent into exile. He ended up in Calabria in the company of a sister's son, Evrard of Squillace, whom he supported against the powerful admiral Maio of Bari⁵³. By

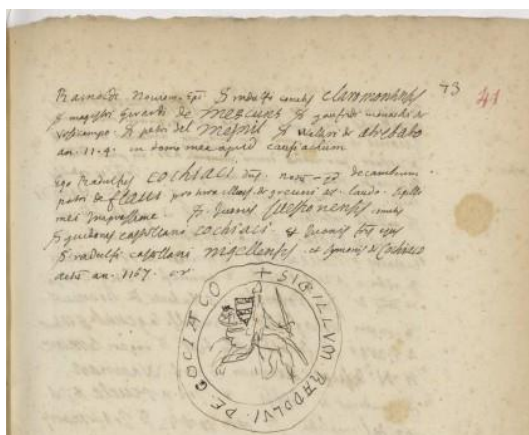
50. As proved by an impression of Enguerrand II of Coucy's equestrian seal of c 1139-47 (attached to AD Aube, 3 H 107). See Jean-Marc ROGER, Laurent VEYSSIÈRE et Jean WAQUET (ed.), *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Clairvaux au XII^e siècle*, Paris, 2004, p. 48-49 (n° 20), p. 607 (n° 36).

51. NIEUS, « L'invention des armoiries... » (*supra* n. 9), p. 136-137, against the later, legendary origins of the *fascé de vair et de gueules*. On those legends see Dominique BARTHÉLEMY, « Les sires fondateurs : enjeux impliqués dans les traditions et les recours au passé en seigneurie de Coucy », in *Temps, mémoire, tradition au Moyen Âge. Actes du XIII^e congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public, Aix-en-Provence, 4-5 juin 1982*, Aix-en-Provence, 1983, p. 185-203, here at p. 197, p. 203 n. 58.

52. BARTHÉLEMY, *Les deux âges...* (*supra* n. 13), p. 100-101.

53. See Ugo FALCANDO, *La historia ; o, Liber de Regno Sicilie e la Epistola ad Petrum panormitane ecclesie thesaurarium*, Gian Battista SIRACUSA (ed), Roma, 1897, p. 22-23 : *...inter quos erat et Robertus Bovensis, comitis Ebrardi, ut ferebatur, avunculus, vir quidem armis strenuus, sed parum habens fidei, quem Francorum rex, ob prodicionem quam ibidem perpetraverat, ad tempus iusserat exulare* ; Edoardo D'ANGELO, « The Pseudo-Hugh Falcandus in His own Texts », in *Anglo-Norman Studies XXXV : Proceedings of the Battle Conference*, ed. David BATES, Suffolk, 2012), p. 141-161, here at p. 148-150 ; Jean-Marie MARTIN, « Centri fortificati, potere feudale e organizzazione dello spazio », in *La Calabria medievale*.

1160 Enguerrand le Jeune had died and Raoul I of Coucy reached his majority. At that moment, Robert seems to have still been in exile in Italy⁵⁴.



15.



16.

15. First (?) Great seal of Raoul I of Coucy – 1167

Undated pen and ink sketch by Gaignières (BnF MS. lat. 5473, fol 73).

Tous droits réservés à la Bibliothèque nationale de France.

16. Great seal of Robert I of Boves – 1190

(AM Metz, II 226/2, répertoire XXIII H 17-18-1190).

Tous droits réservés aux Archives municipales de Metz.

Nieus has pondered whether a reconciliation between Robert and Raoul led to the latter's adoption of his uncle's arms, perhaps in the environs of Raoul's 1160 majority⁵⁵. If Robert was the original owner of the *fascé de vair de six pièces* and Raoul, under his uncle's tutelage, adopted his arms, this would explain the young lord of Coucy's appearance with these arms seven years after his accession, as shown in a drawing of an 1167 impression of his great seal (fig. 15)⁵⁶. Perhaps this adoption was not the only time Raoul followed his uncle's lead. By 1190 Raoul was using a new great seal, one which resembled the only known witness to his uncle's great seal, which Robert employed in the same year (fig. 3, 16)⁵⁷. Are the similar great seals a sign of cooperation, or simply a

I quadri generali, Augusto PLACANICA, Rome, 2001, p. 487-522, here at p. 504 ; JANVIER, *Histoire de Boves...* (supra n. 47), p. 63-65.

54. FALCANDO, *La historia...* (supra n. 53), p. 55-56.

55. NIEUS, « L'invention des armoiries... » (supra n. 9), p. 132 n. 127, p. 135-136 n. 133, noting the traditional role of uncles (albeit maternal) in the military training of young nobles ; see also BARTHÉLEMY, *Les deux âges...* (supra n. 13), p. 101, p. 123. From a practical point of view, Raoul's adoption of his uncle's arms would have served to distinguish him visually from those many nobles who bore arms *chevronné*.

56. See BnF, ms. lat. 5473, fol 73, an unedited notebook compiled by the antiquarian François Roger de Gaignières, for the drawing of an 1167 impression of Raoul's great seal. This is the earliest witness to Raoul's arms of which I am aware. A drawing of an 1174 impression (AD Aisne, ms. 2, H 325, fol 131) proves Raoul still possessed the same matrix in that year. I am grateful to Jean François Nieus for bringing the 1174 drawing to my attention. According to Nieus (personal communication, 22 March 2017), the 1174 impression (and hence that of 1167) was probably from a matrix « cut around 1160 ». See also BARTHÉLEMY, *Les deux âges...* (supra n. 13), p. 104-105 n. 214.

57. An impression of the great seal of Robert I of Boves is attached to the charter AM Metz, II 226/2, Répertoire XXIII H 17-18-1190. See Émile BROUETTE, « Répertoire sigillographique de la collection de Salis », *Revue Belge de numismatique et de sigillographie*, t. 126, 1980, p. 220-224, here at p. 221 ; Henri

measure of popular taste ? Moreover, could it be that, rather than reconciliation, Raoul's adoption of *fascé de vair de six pièces* coincided with Robert's exile, was undertaken without his uncle's consent, and was therefore a measure of revenge for Robert's earlier attempt to disinherit the heirs of Enguerrand II of Coucy ? Lacking firm evidence for the arms of Robert I of Boves, the above must remain supposition. Still, the fact that Enguerrand II of Boves appears with the *fascé de vair de six pièces* in the early thirteenth century is a strong indication that his father carried those arms as well. It would follow that, by 1190, Raoul of Coucy and Robert of Boves had shared the *fascé de vair de six pièces* for a full three decades. As discussed below, this sharing of arms between the two branches of the family would continue for another thirty years.

If the arms in the center of the cup referred to Robert of Boves, the catalyst for the engravings may have been the Third Crusade itself. We might think of the shields as the commemoration of a collective crusader vow to liberate Jerusalem, perhaps taken after a tournament in Picardy, one unconditioned by the sort of concerns outlined in Raoul's *ordinatio*. Indeed, not only was Robert also on the crusade, but he brought one of his children with him. Like his nephew, he embarked for the Levant in May or June 1190, arrived at Acre in July, and died on the campaign⁵⁸. Roger of Howden indicated that he was dead by the end of that year, but a little-discussed pair of entries in the cartulary of Saint-Jean of Amiens gives the exact date of his demise : 19 June 1191⁵⁹. As he was accompanied to Acre by his eldest son, the future Enguerrand II of Boves, we might imagine that the variant shield with a *lambel de sept points* belonged to his heir. Conceivably, then, the other variants of the *fascé de vair de six pièces* could refer to Enguerrand's younger brothers, Robert of Boves, called « Fouencamps » and Hughes of Boves ; while their presence on the crusade is unconfirmed, they were probably old enough to join the campaign, unlike their Coucy cousins⁶⁰. The arms of Robert of

TRIBOUT DE MOREMBERT, « Chartes et documents concernant le nord de la France (Flandres, Artois, Tournaisis) conservés aux Archives de la ville de Metz », *Bulletin trimestriel de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie*, t. 47, 1957, p. 102-154, here at p. 133. The arms carried by the equestrian effigy are mostly illegible but may show at least one horizontal line indicative of *fascé*. The iconography of the May 1190 impressions, of both uncle and nephew is ultimately indebted to that of the seal of Philip of Alsace, Count of Flanders, an observation I owe to Nieus (*supra* n. 56). For his part, Robert may have commissioned his matrix after his return from exile in Italy, perhaps in the 1160s or 1170s ; in this, he may have been emulating the fashion of his lord, as he was a vassal of Philip of Alsace.

58. *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum ; eine zeitgenössische englische Chronik zum dritten Kreuzzug in ursprünglicher Gestalt*, Hans Eberhard MAYER (ed), Stuttgart, 1962, p. 332 (« Robert de Bonis » among the arrivals) ; Roger of Howden acknowledges Robert's death but without giving a clear date (see BIAL, *Recueil Des Historiens...*, *supra* n. 14, p. 512).

59. For Roger's list see BIAL, *Recueil Des Historiens...* (*supra* n. 14), p. 512 (*Robertus de Boves*). BM Amiens, ms. 0781, items 28-29, fol 34v-35. Item 28 records an 1191 gift made by Beatrix of St. Pol (Robert's widow) and his younger sons, Robert of Fouencamps and Hugh of Boves, for the benefit of the deceased's soul. Item 29 is an 1192 affirmation of the same gift by Enguerrand II, who is now styled lord of Boves. Enguerrand II states that his assent was delayed because he was detained in Acre. See also Adrian de LA MORLIERE, *Recueil de plusieurs nobles et illustres maisons vivantes et estintes en l'estendue du diocèse d'Amiens et à l'environ, des alliances et vertueux actes des seigneurs et des abbayes, prieurez et églises collégiales par eux fondées*, Paris, 1642, p. 260 ; JANVIER, *Histoire de Boves...* (*supra* n. 47), p. 77. Were the original charters to resurface with seal impressions intact they might help to resolve the mystery of the heraldry cup : the cartulary transcriptions reference the seals of Robert of Fouencamps (1191) and Enguerrand II of Boves (1192). My thanks to Martha Carlin for a transcription and translation of these entries.

60. With the *caveat* that neither Robert of Fouencamps nor Hugh of Boves are documented at Acre. It is clear (*supra* n. 59), that the two were in France in 1191, although it is not impossible that one or both had returned with news of the father's death.

Fouencamps and Hughes of Boves are unknown, but a January 1224 impression of the seal of the future Robert II of Fouencamps gives the charge *fascé de vair de six pieces, au franc-quartier chargé de quatre merlettes* ? (fig. 17)⁶¹. Could this be an echo of the cup's third variant shield, that with a *franc-quartier* ? It is an identification as plausible as Robert of Coucy-Pinon. The second variant, with a *bande*, we might then assign to the third son, Hughes of Boves.



17. Seal of Robert II of Fouescamps (50 mm) – 1224

(ANF, moulage sc/P 172).

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Also in favor of the cup's focus on Robert of Boves is the general agreement of the radial charges with the geo-political landscape of the Amienois. When the identifiable shields are plotted on a map, Amiens, Boves and (if we grant it pride of place) Saveuse, form a particularly tight cluster. Both Robert I of Boves and Philippe of Saveuse were patrons of the Abbey of Saint-Fuscien, in the diocese of Amiens⁶². Indeed, prior to his Calabrian exile, Robert had claimed the title of Count of Amiens through his wife⁶³. For their part, the brothers Dreux and Pierre of Amiens were the grandsons of Robert's sister Mathilde, who had married Guy, Count of Amiens⁶⁴. Like Raoul of Coucy, then, both Dreux and Pierre would have acknowledged Robert of Boves as a powerful uncle. Neither Ponthieu nor Avesnes fit neatly here, but it is interesting that Count Jean of

61. The original seal (50 mm) is appended to AD Somme 9H_SC_92/1. Demay (P 172, 50 mm) does not describe the *franc-quartier*. The *brisure* is far more evident on the cast now in the national archives. As we will see, this Robert, whom I will call Robert II of Fouencamps, changed his arms completely in subsequent years.

62. See SCHNERB, *La Noblesse...* (*supra* n. 25), p. 29 n. 1, referencing Philippe's donations to Saint-Fuscien in 1190.

63. JANVIER, *Histoire de Boves...* (*supra* n. 47), p. 58-61. NIEUS, « L'invention des armoiries... » (*supra* n. 9), p. 132 n. 127 noted the shared *vair* and *gueules* of the Coucy and Amiens arms, which he suggested might be the result of a historical Boves-Amiens relationship, one perhaps motivated by Robert's early claim to the comital dignity.

64. NOULENS, *Maison d'Amiens...* (*supra* n. 29), p. 25.

Ponthieu appears in close proximity to Robert in at least one list of those newly-arrived at Acre in the summer 1190 with Count Henry of Champagne⁶⁵.

A « Boves and Son(s) » proposal therefore holds that 1) Robert of Boves is the referent of the cup's central shield, his three adult sons signified by the three variants ; 2) Robert and (at least) his eldest son, the future Enguerrand II of Boves, brought the cup on the Third Crusade in May or June 1190 ; 3) the cup was lost or sold around the time of Robert's 19 June 1191 death. The substitution of Robert of Boves for Raoul of Coucy does not resolve the question of where and when the cup was engraved. However, the introduction of the precise date of Robert's death has implications for the date of a possible meeting at Acre between a Picard contingent signified by the cup's shields and the English knights Walter of Kyme and Walter of Ros whose arms might have been added at the siege. Since Roger of Howden's late 1190 obituary for Robert of Boves is inaccurate, perhaps the same may be assumed for the death dates of Walter of Kyme and Walter of Ros, who appear almost immediately *after* Robert in Howden's list of the 1190 dead⁶⁶. Conceivably, then, Walter of Kyme and Walter of Ros, too, perished not in 1190 but in 1191, perhaps around the same time as Robert. To move their death dates forward recommends their arrival at Acre with Richard I, on 8 June 1191. Thus, if it is indeed Robert of Boves signified by *fascé de vair de six pieces* in the center of the heraldry cup, the possibility emerges that the Kyme and Ros arms were added to the vessel between 8-19 June 1191, or shortly thereafter.

III. THE BOVES-COUCY FAMILY ON THE THIRD CRUSADE : JOINT REPRESENTATION

A third proposal offers something of a compromise : members of both branches of the family are represented by the four similar shields in the cup's basin. To begin with, let us suppose that in May or June 1190, with the cup in their possession, Robert of Boves embarked with his son, Enguerrand, and his nephew Raoul on the journey that would take them to Acre. In other words, the members of the extended family operated as a unit⁶⁷. We can then propose the following : the cup's central arms (*fig. 2*, shield n° 1) refer at once to the lord of Coucy and the lord of Boves. The curious interruption of the three variant shields (*fig. 2*, n° 3, 5, 6) by shield n° 4 would then serve to accentuate the importance of Robert's heir, Enguerrand (shields n° 3, *lambel de sept points*), relative to

65. *Itinerarium peregrinorum* (*supra* n. 28), p. 92 (*Iohannes de Pontiniaco comes, Erardus de Castiniaco, Robertus de Buovis...*).

66. BRIAL, *Recueil Des Historiens...* (*supra* n. 14), p. 512-513.

67. Cooperation and joint travel are plausible. BARTHÉLEMY, *Les deux âges...* (*supra* n. 13), p. 123 n. 271, refers to an 1190 *wionage* agreement in which Raoul of Coucy cooperates with his cousins (the three sons of Robert of Boves) and acknowledges their common descent. It is certain that Robert (surely with his son, the future Enguerrand II of Boves), arrived at Acre around the same time as Raoul of Coucy, in summer 1190. See LESON « A Constellation of Crusade... » (*supra* n. 1), p. 79, where it is suggested that Raoul arrived with Henry of Champagne or shortly after. The *Itinerarium peregrinorum* (*supra* n. 28), p. 332, has Robert arriving shortly after Henry. Olivier LEBLANC (« Picardie, croisades... », *supra* n. 47, p. 46), without reference to the heraldry cup, also proposes joint travel : « ...le vénérable Robert I^{er}, croisé dès 1188 [sic], emmène son entourage dans l'expédition. Il est accompagné de son fils Enguerrand II de Boves... Jean I^{er} de Ponthieu, de ses neveux, le normand Évrard de Squillace et le sire de Coucy Raoul I^{er}, de son petit-neveu Dreux II d'Amiens et de ses cousins Enguerran de Crêvecouer et Raoul I^{er}, comte de Clermont ». Unfortunately Leblanc cites no source to confirm cooperation or joint travel by this « entourage ». Evrard of Squillace, with whom Robert stayed during his exile in Italy, was probably dead before the Third Crusade.

his younger sons Hugh of Boves (shield n° 5, a *bande*) and Robert of Fouencamps (shield n° 6, a *franc-quartier hermine*)⁶⁸. In summary, a « Joint Representation » proposal holds that 1) the heraldry cup travelled to Acre in the baggage of the Boves-Coucy family 2) the cup was lost or sold, either after the death of Robert of Boves on 19 June 1191, or upon the subsequent demise of Raoul of Coucy later that year. The possibility of an encounter with the English knights and their addition to the cup remain chronologically possible in this « Joint Representation » proposal.

Elsewhere, in keeping with Pinoteau, I imagined the heraldry cup shared by Raoul, his relatives, supporters, and new English allies at the siege of Acre. To drink from the cup lent tacit acceptance to the lord of Coucy's wishes as outlined in his *ordinatio*⁶⁹. The two new proposals examined above – wherein all or some of the heraldic referents are replaced with members of the Boves family – would change that dynamic. Either Raoul's lineal descent concerns are supplanted by those of his uncle (« Boves and Son(s) ») or sublimated by the total, disparate concerns of the combined collateral branches (« Joint Representation »). All of these proposals, however, presume a certain continuity where intention and reception of the heraldry cup were concerned, a fixed or stable meaning. Because it spoke to relations between kin, the cup more likely invited myriad ruminations on the past, present, and future by all persons signified, especially those that shared the same heraldic charge. In a camp beset by death and disease, thoughts of this sort were perhaps all the more poignant. Surely, then, their emotional power was amplified in those rare moments of celebration. The 8 June 1191 arrival of Richard I at the siege was one such moment. It refers specifically to cups shared by the revelers and discussions of days gone by :

« It would have been difficult to find anybody who was not praising and rejoicing, each in their own way. Some testified to the joy of their hearts by singing popular songs, others recited "epic tales of ancient heroes' deeds", as an incitement to modern people to imitate them. Some gave the singers wine in costly cups, others passed the night in a great dance, and the mean and the great mingled together regardless of rank »⁷⁰.

This moment of solidarity, which may have led to admission of the English knights to the heraldic ensemble of this particular « costly cup », surely saw a gathering of the Boves-Coucy family members. It was probably one of the last moments shared by the trio of uncle, son, and nephew, for eleven days later Robert succumbed to injury or disease. He was succeeded on the spot by his son, now Enguerrand II of Boves whom, in theory, abandoned any *brisure* signifying his status as heir. In heraldic terms, he was now the visual equivalent of his more powerful cousin, the lord of Coucy. But by Fall 1191 or

68. As observed above (n. 60), no documentation puts Robert of Fouencamps or Hugh of Boves at Acre, but it is possible that one or both went on crusade and returned with news of their father's death in 1191.

69. On this possible relationship of the 1190 *ordinatio* to the heraldry cup see PINOTEAU, « Heraldische Untersuchungen... » (*supra* n. 7), p. 83 ; LESON, « A Constellation of Crusade... » (*supra* n. 1).

70. See *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* (*supra* n. 28), p. 212 : *Nec enim de facili inveniretur qui modo suo cessaret a laudibus et gaudio; aut enim cordistestantes laetitiam resonant populares cantiones, 'Aut antiquorum praeclare gesta priorum,' exempla recitabantur incitamenta modernorum. Hi cantantibus vina propinant in vasis pretiosis, alii quibuslibet indifferenter accipientibus, pusillis cum majoribus, summo cum tripudio noctis transigebant instantiam.* The English translation is that of Helen J. NICHOLSON, *Chronicle of the Crusade : A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, Crusade Texts in Translation 3, Aldershot, 1997, p. 202, n. 5.

early Spring 1192 Raoul, too, was dead. In short order Enguerrand II of Boves returned to France, perhaps in possession of his cousin's body and, it is possible, the heraldry cup, in which case the cup returned to Syria years later, as we will see. Now the eldest surviving male member of the two collateral branches of the family, Enguerrand II would have shared his recollections of the crusade, including the demise of his venerable father and cousin, with Raoul of Coucy's ambitious heir. Enguerrand III of Coucy, now around sixteen or seventeen years old, remained at least partially under the protection of his mother. If, as discussed below, the young lord of Coucy begrudged sharing arms with his older cousin, who was now an accomplished warrior, there was nothing he could do for the moment but wait.

IV. BEYOND THE THIRD CRUSADE : PRINCE LOUIS' 1216-1217 INVASION OF ENGLAND

Enguerrand II of Boves' return to France and subsequent participation with his brothers in the Fourth and Fifth Crusades open a door to alternative explanations for the cup's origins and journey to Syria. Pinoteau certainly knew this and did not rule out the possibility of a post-Third Crusade origin entirely⁷¹. Still, he had good reason to settle on the Third Crusade since, as we have seen, the putative English shields are a major obstacle to a post-1191 date for the vessel's heraldic engravings. For now, the documented presence of Walter of Kyme and Walter of Ros at Acre and the possible association of those knights with the charges of shields n° 9 and 10 would seem a formidable obstacle to a post Third Crusade date for the vessel's heraldic decoration⁷². However, if we set aside this obstacle, a series of post-Third Crusade possibilities for the vessel emerge, scenarios equally if not better supported by the sigillographic record than any of the proposals explored heretofore. These proposals similarly call for « Joint Representation » of the Boves and Coucy branches.

Let us consider first the Boves' brothers considerable crusading activity in the early thirteenth century. On 28 November 1199, Count Thibaud III of Champagne took the cross following a tournament at the castle of Ecri. Among those who followed his example were, according to Villehardouin, Enguerrand II of Boves and his younger brother, Robert of Fouencamps⁷³. Like Pinoteau, I do not think that this moment was the catalyst for the cup's engravings ; if we accept that the variant shield with a *lambel de sept points* refers to an heir, it was certainly not a son of Enguerrand III, and Robert II of Boves would have been no more than seven years old. Still, the Fourth Crusade provides a possible conduit to Syria, since in due course the three Boves brothers arrived at the 1202-1203 siege of Zara. After the city was captured, Robert of Fouencamps joined an embassy to Rome, but rather than rejoin the army traveled instead to Syria⁷⁴. His journey to Syria thus furnishes the first of two plausible, post-Third Crusade conduits for the

71. PINOTEAU, « Heraldische Untersuchungen... » (*supra* n. 7), p. 85-87.

72. It is worth noting, however, that Enguerrand III would later marry his daughter Marie to the King of Scotland, a connection to the north of Britain that the English shields curiously foreshadow.

73. Geoffrey de VILLEHARDOUIN, *La conquête de Constantinople*, Edmond FARAL (éd), Les Belles Lettres, 2 vol., Paris, 1961, t. 1, p. 10.

74. *Ibidem*, p. 10 : « ...jurerent sor sainz loialment que il feroient le message en bone foi et que il repairoient a l'ost. Mult le tindrent bien li troi, et li quarz malvairement, et ce fu Roberz de Bove : qar il fist de messaje al pis qu'il pot, et s'en perjura, et s'en ala en Surei apres les autres ».

heraldry cup's journey to Resafa. The second is supplied by the travels of his elder brother. Fifteen years after Zara, Enguerrand II of Boves and Robert of Fouencamps joined the Fifth Crusade. Following the 1219 siege of Damietta, Enguerrand II traveled to Syria. He was back in France by 1223⁷⁵. We can say with some assurance that Enguerrand II's c. 1219-1223 journey to Syria furnishes a *terminus ante quem* for the vessel's arrival in that part of the world.

I would not be the first to entertain a post-Third Crusade date for the heraldry cup. Bernd Ulrich Hucker proposed that it was engraved at the time of Enguerrand III of Coucy's second marriage (c. 1203-1204), to Matilda of Bavaria. This meant that the cup's central shield referred to the lord of Coucy. Two of the three variants (fig. 2, shields n° 3, 6) Hucker assigned Enguerrand III's younger brothers, Thomas of Coucy-Vervins and Robert of Coucy-Pinon. Rather than to Thomas of Coucy-Vervins, he gave the variant with a *bande* (n° 5) to an unknown bastard of Enguerrand III⁷⁶. There are problems with this interpretation. Perhaps the greatest difficulty is the fact that Enguerrand III had no documented children – legitimate or otherwise – until he married for the third time. This was his 1212 union with Marie of Montmirail. Then there is the problem of the shield with a *lambel de sept points* (n°3). To which of Enguerrand's brothers would Hucker assign this shield ? Clearly it referred neither to Thomas nor Robert of Coucy-Pinon. For it to signify the heir of Enguerrand III, the future Raoul II of Coucy (after 1212-1250, d. Mansourah), the cup would have to date after 1212. But accepting a *terminus ante quem* of c. 1219-1223 for the cup's arrival in Syria proposed above, that shield would then refer to an adolescent.

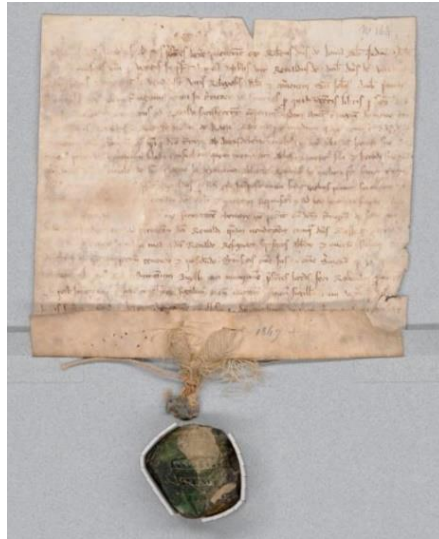
If the cup's engravings postdate the Third Crusade, the variant shield with a *lambel de sept points* makes more sense in light of evidence for the Boves family. Enguerrand II's son and heir, the future Robert II of Boves (d. 1248-1249), is a plausible referent. Though his parents married in 1192, we do not have a date of birth for him. In December 1225 Robert II sealed a land transfer as *Dominus de Bova*, revealing that Enguerrand II was dead by that date (fig. 18). To the same document, the new lord of Boves promised that he would add an impression of his new seal, replacing the old one already affixed, after he received the belt of knighthood⁷⁷. Presumably, this would have been a typical equestrian great seal, but the attached armorial seal impression gives only an escutcheon with the *fascé de vair de six pieces* undifferenced (fig. 19)⁷⁸. The angular shape of this shield suggests that the matrix was cut in the 1220s, but unfortunately the damaged legend gives only : S'. ... BOVA. So it is impossible to know with absolute certainty if the matrix for this impression was struck before or after Robert assumed the Boves lordship. To put it another way, it is unclear if the attached impression was made by Robert II's old or new seal.

75. LONGNON, *Les compagnons...* (supra n. 27) p. 123-124.

76. Bernd Ulrich HUCKER et alii (ed.), *Otto IV : Traum vom welfischen Kaisertum*, Petersberg, 2009, p. 224, p. 366-367 (cat. n° 53). Hucker does not offer any suggestion as to how the cup reached Syria.

77. AD Somme, 1H_SC_18/81225. For a transcription, see BM Amiens, ms. 0781, items 202, fol 276 : ...post susceptum cingl[u]m sigillum meu[m] mutare. Novum sigillum cum veteris pre[se]ntib[u]s litt[er]is facerem appendi. For a discussion of this document see JANVIER, *Histoire de Boves...* (supra n. 47), p. 109. That Robert II was made knight after his accession to the Boves lordship is not unusual for the early thirteenth century. John I of Dreux, for example, enjoyed the comital dignity for seven years prior to his 1241 knighting by Louis IX, at which moment he was 26 years old. See Jean de JOINVILLE, *Vie de saint Louis*, Jacques MONFRIN (éd), Paris, 1995), p. 202-3.

78. ANF, sc/P 173 (45 mm).



18. Charter sealed by Robert II of Boves – 1225 (AD Somme, 1H_SC_18/81225).

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19.



20.

19. 20. Seal and counterseal of Robert II of Boves (45 mm) – 1225
(ANF, moulages sc/P 173, P 173 bis).

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On the reverse of the same seal impression is an escutcheon with the same charge (fig. 20). Interestingly, this counterseal impression seems to have been made with the same matrix used by Enguerrand II (fig. 14) : the impressions of father and son are near identical, and in each case lack an inscription.

The 1225 charter and its seal impression thus neither prove nor disprove that Robert carried the family arms with a *lambel de sept points* prior to his father's death. Indeed, it is possible that the armorial matrix responsible for the charge on the impression's obverse (fig. 19) was cut shortly after Enguerrand II's demise in 1223, in which case it represents the new seal Robert II promised to add to the document. Given the reference to Robert's impending knighthood in the 1225 charter, he might have been anywhere from fifteen

years old to his mid-twenties in that year. As discussed below, his father returned from the Albigensian Crusades in 1215 and subsequently departed on the Fifth Crusade in 1219. I would therefore like to suggest the possibility that the cup was engraved during the four-year span 1215-1219, and that the *lambel de sept points* was a reference to the future Robert II of Boves, who may have been in his mid- to late teens, if not older, during that period. Given the shape of the shields this seems more plausible than a reference to the future Raoul II of Coucy, who during the same time period was only around three to seven years old. But what, then, of the two other variant shields ?

Between 1215-1219 we may be confident that the *fascé de vair de six pieces* charged with a *bande* (fig. 2, n° 5) referred to Thomas of Coucy-Vervins, who by that date was probably in his late thirties. The variant with a *franc-quartier d'hermine* (n° 6) would then refer to one of three candidates : Robert of Coucy-Pinon, Robert of Fouencamps, or the future Robert II of Fouencamps. The last, as we have seen, sealed in January 1224 with the arms *fascé de vair de six pieces, au franc-quartier chargé de quatre merlettes* (fig. 17). In that year Robert of Fouencamps remained alive ; hence, his son styled himself *miles, primogeniti domini Roberti de Bova*⁷⁹. In December, the latter called himself *Robertus de Bova iunior, miles*⁸⁰. Like his first cousin, Robert II of Boves, we do not have a birthdate for the junior Robert of Fouencamps, but given that he is already a knight in 1224 we might assume that he was slightly older than Robert II. In other words, if the cup were to date c. 1215-1219, Robert of Fouencamps junior would be as viable a candidate for shield n° 6 as his father or his other, older cousin, Robert of Coucy-Pinon. Arguably, his *franc-quartier* charged with *merlettes* makes him a better candidate for the variant than the other two men, although we cannot say this with certainty.

What context might we adduce for the engraving of the heraldry cup during the period c. 1215-1219 ? I would like to propose the possibility that the cup commemorates Boves-Coucy family participation in Prince Louis' 1216-1217 invasion of England. The Anonymous of Béthune reports that Enguerrand III of Coucy and his brothers Thomas of Coucy-Vervins and Robert of Coucy-Pinon, along with a contingent of fifty followers, were among the French lords who followed the future Louis VIII on that expedition ; Enguerrand III, Louis' friend and confidant, was assigned guard of the city of London during the winter 1216-1217⁸¹. To the best of my knowledge there is no proof that members of the cadet branch were with their Coucy cousins in England, but there is good reason to suspect that at least some of the Boves family were present. The two Enguerrands had both fought in the Albigensian Crusades. Enguerrand II had departed for the south of France in 1211 and did not return until 1215⁸². He was joined in that effort – for however long is not clear – by Enguerrand III of Coucy and his two apaganist brothers.⁸³ Since a great many of the knights of the Albigensian crusade also travelled

79. Per AD Somme 9H_SC_92/1. See also ANF, sc/P 172.

80. Victor DE BEAUVILLÉ (ed.), *Recueil de documents inédits concernant la Picardie*, t. 3, Paris, 1877, p. 2, item n° III.

81. Léopold DELISLE (ed.), *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*. Nouvelle édition, t. 24-2, Paris, 1904, p. 426 : « Engorrans de Couchi et si dui frère, Thomas et Robers, le servirent ensemment en cele guerre à cinquante chevaliers ». See also BARTHÉLEMY, *Les deux âges...* (*supra* n. 13), p. 422.

82. For his presence in Picardy in 1215 see John BALDWIN (ed.) *Les Registres de Philippe Auguste*, t. 1, Paris, 1992, p. 415-416. I owe this citation to Daniel POWER, « Who went on the Albigensian Crusade », *English Historical Review*, vol. CXXVIII, October 2013, p. 1047-1085, here at p. 1065-1066 n. 79. See also BARTHÉLEMY, *Les deux âges...* (*supra* n. 13), p. 423.

83. *Ibidem*, p. 420.

north to support Philip Augustus in 1214, it is likely that Enguerrand II was with his cousins at Bouvines, although only the presence of the three Coucy brothers is attested on the side of the French king.⁸⁴ In any event, it is conceivable that among the lord of Coucy's fifty followers in 1216 were members of his family's cadet branch : if not Enguerrand II of Boves himself, then his son, the future Robert II of Boves. If not Enguerrand II's brother Robert of Fouencamps, then his son of the same name. Indeed, in this scenario, the variant shield with a *lambel de sept points* (fig. 2, n° 3) would, again, more likely refer to the future Robert II of Boves than Raoul II of Coucy, as the latter would have been no older than four years in 1216. Thus, in this essay's final proposal, the heraldry cup's central shield would refer either to Enguerrand II of Boves or Enguerrand III of Coucy, and its three variants to the future Robert II of Boves, Thomas of Coucy-Vervins, and one of the three remaining Roberts : Coucy-Pinon, Fouencamps, or the latter's son. As to the other radial shields, the Anonymous of Béthune at least mentions Renaud of Amiens and his younger brother Thibaud with Prince Louis in 1216⁸⁵. Renaud had inherited the castellany of Amiens following the death of his brother Pierre, the firstborn of the children of Dreux of Amiens. As such he carried the arms of Amiens undifferenced⁸⁶. For his part, Thibaud always differenced the Amiens arms with a *franc-quartier*⁸⁷. I would suggest, then, that the cup's Amiens shield refers to the son of Renaud of Amiens and Nicole of Boves : Jean of Amiens. By 1248 (albeit well after the 1227 death of his father), Jean carried the family arms undifferenced⁸⁸. Both Renaud and his son were, of course, related to both branches of the extended Boves-Coucy family by blood.

The 1216 invasion of England also offers a plausible explanation for the presence of the English shields that Pinoteau attributed to the Ros and Kyme families. Robert of Ros (d. 1227) was one of the twenty-five co-signers of Magna Carta ; he supported Prince Louis' claim to the English throne even after the death of John Lackland in October 1216⁸⁹. As mentioned above, the arms of a *Roberti de Ros* appear in the so-called *Liber additamentorum* of Matthew Paris (fig. 13). These arms referred either to the Magna Carta signee or to his son of the same name⁹⁰. A Simon of Kyme (d. 1220), brother of the Walter of Kyme who had died at Acre in 1190 or 1191, had a similar history ; he may

84. On the possibility of Enguerrand II of Boves' presence at Bouvines see JANVIER, *Histoire de Boves...* (*supra* n. 47), p. 88-97, esp. 97. He at least stood surety for Philip Augustus in the matter of the ransom of the captive Eustache de Rieu.

85. DELISLE (ed.), *Recueil des historiens...* (*supra* n. 81), p. 72 : « Rainaus d'Amiens ; Thiebaus, ses frère ».

86. ANF, sc/D 1172.

87. ANF, sc/P 90 et P 91.

88. ANF, sc/P 89.

89. Walter Eustace RHODES and Hugh M. THOMAS, « Ros, Robert de », *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 22 September 2005, 3 p. [<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-24077?sessionid=912B72E4AB075717BBDEDDA8C7629632>] (consulted 27 November 2020). See also Robert GRIFFITH-JONES, David PARK (ed.), *The Temple Church in London : History, Architecture, Art*, Woodbridge and Suffolk, 2010, p. 80-81, 88-91. I am grateful to Zachary Stewart for bringing this publication to my attention. The fourteenth-century effigy of a Ros knight now in the London Temple that bears the family arms belongs to a direct descendant of the Robert who signed Magna Carta. However, tradition holds that Robert de Ros, who became a Templar shortly before his death, was also buried in the London Temple church upon his 1227 death.

90. Anthony WAGNER *et alii*, *Rolls of Arms Henry III*, Aspilogia, t. 2, Woodbridge and Rochester, 2009, p. 47.

have opposed John at Stamford in April 1215 and was captured in 1217⁹¹. His arms are evidently unknown but probably resembled those of his son, the *Philippi de Kime* (d. 1242) commemorated by Mathew Paris in his *Chronica Maiora* (fig. 12) ; the arms in the cup may therefore refer to him. In any event, both Robert of Ros and Simon of Kyme were sympathetic to the French cause. For his part, the lord of Coucy may have already had his eyes set on a future alliance with northern English magnates like these men. Indeed, a putative accommodation between Enguerrand III and the two English barons would foreshadow one of his greatest achievements : the 1239 marriage of his daughter Marie to Alexander II of Scotland.

While more research is necessary, the 1216-1217 invasion of England strikes me as the best possible solution to the mysterious coupling of the Boves-Coucy heraldry with the shields of English families outside of the context of the Third Crusade. If this were the case, we might imagine the cup's engravings made in connection with the rebellious English barons' June 1216 proclamation of Prince Louis as king of England. The heraldry cup would then commemorate the alliances forged between French and English supporters in honor of Louis' ascension – however brief – to the English throne. Beyond the cup's heraldic complement, this proposal finds support in the vessel's facture. Thilo Ulbert, the archaeologist responsible for the cup's discovery at Resafa in 1982, showed that it belongs to a type of wide-mouthed silver drinking cups that seem to have been produced in Scandinavia and England throughout the Middle Ages⁹². Indeed, the best parallels for the *Tremblerstichlinien* technique are found on these objects, which are well illustrated in Aron Andersson's 1983 study *Medieval Drinking Bowls of Silver found in Sweden*⁹³, which Ulbert relied upon. As Andersson observed : « In the Viking age, at least, it was customary for the guests to drink two and two out of the same bowl. And the same custom is known in England in the 12th century, and is called a Saxon courtesy »⁹⁴. It is not hard to imagine that this custom, or one like it, continued in England into the early thirteenth century. I would suggest, finally, that the cup was created and engraved in England for this purpose over the course of the winter 1216-1217. The motive : cross-channel support of Prince Louis' campaign for the English throne. It would follow that the cup was later brought on the Fifth Crusade by Enguerrand II of Boves or his brother Robert of Fouencamps in 1219. Following their participation at the siege of Damietta, the cup travelled with Enguerrand to the Levant, there eventually to become the possession of Zayn al-Dar.

CONCLUSION : THE RESAFA CUP AND THE LONGUE DURÉE

By the end of the twelfth century, use of the same arms by multiple branches of powerful families necessitated the creation of *brisures*, signs devised to fix heraldic references to particular individuals and articulate their relational status within a larger kin group⁹⁵. The sub-textual meanings of *brisures* are manifold. Among them are historical

91. Bryan GOLDING, « Simon of Kyme : the Making of a Rebel », *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, t. 27, 1983, p. 23-36.

92. ULBERT, *Resafa III...* (*supra* n. 1), p. 50-61.

93. Aron Anderson, *Medieval Drinking Bowls of Silver found in Sweden*, Stockholm, 1983.

94. *Ibidem*, p. 3 and n. 10.

95. For a fuller discussion of these issues see HABLLOT, « Le lignage brisé... » (*supra* n. 9). Michel PASTOUREAU, *Traité d'Héraldique*, Paris, 2008 (5th ed.), p. 55-60.

concerns or anxieties about the disintegration of power and identity. A *longue durée* perspective on the heraldry of the Boves-Coucy family positions the Resafa cup as an emblem of such concerns.

Sometime before 1239, Robert II of Boves had abandoned his father's *fascé de vair de six pieces* in favor of a *bande coticée* (fig. 21)⁹⁶. By that same year, Robert II's cousin, now Robert II of Fouencamps, had likewise abandoned his cadenced version of the family arms – *fascé de vair de six pieces, au franc-quartier chargé de quatre merlettes* – having adopted an *écu, au chef chargé de trois étoiles* instead (fig. 22)⁹⁷. For whatever reason, it seems the *fascé de vair de six pieces* had become the prerogative of the main branch of the extended family alone. It is tempting to ascribe this heraldic change to pressure exerted on the Boves branch by Enguerrand III of Coucy following the death of his cousin, the redoubtable warrior Enguerrand II of Boves. We know that the lord of Coucy attempted to diminish apaganist rights allotted his own brother Thomas of Coucy-Vervins in the *ordinatio* of Raoul I, a situation that ultimately had to be adjudicated by Philip II Augustus⁹⁸. If Enguerrand III was willing to disenfranchise his sibling, it is easy to imagine he resented his cousins' use of the *fascé de vair de six pieces* or variants thereof.



21.



22.

21. Secret seal of Robert II of Boves – 1239

(ANF, moulage sc/D 1542 bis).

22. Second seal of Robert II of Fouescamps (55 mm) – 1239

(ANF, moulage sc/P 330).

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The events of Bouvines may have decisively shaped the lord of Coucy's thoughts on this matter. By 1214, Enguerrand III was among Philip II's most powerful vassals and a

96. ANF, sc/D 1542 (70 mm).

97. ANF, sc/P 330 (55 mm).

98. BARTHÉLEMY, *Les deux âges...* (*supra* n. 13), p. 410-411.

particular friend of Prince Louis. On July 27, along with his two younger brothers, he joined the king and his son at Bouvines, where he is said to have distinguished himself in battle⁹⁹. The lord of Coucy would have appeared on the battlefield decked out in the *fascé de vair et de gueules* and, we may be certain, his two brothers with the same arms differenced with a *bande d'or* and a *franc-quartier d'or*. But opposite the French, allied with the Emperor, the King of England, and the Counts of Flanders and Boulogne, was Enguerrand III's mercenary cousin, Hugh of Boves, the younger brother of Enguerrand II and Robert of Fouencamps. Hugh had accepted the bribes of John Lackland. Given the arms of his elder brother and nephews, it is very likely that Hugh bore some form of the Boves-Coucy heraldry onto the field at Bouvines¹⁰⁰. Judging from Matthew Paris' report, he quickly bore them off: Hugh was the first to flee the battlefield¹⁰¹. It is easy to imagine this was an annoyance if not an embarrassment for the lord of Coucy and that he began especially to begrudge the cadet branch's use of the family arms at this point. Still, there remained little he could do about the matter as long as Enguerrand II of Boves remained alive. The reputation of Enguerrand II – a veteran, ultimately, of the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Crusades, as well as a four-year stint in the south of France – was a credit to the extended Boves-Coucy family, one that surely dissuaded the ambitious lord of Coucy from any attempt to monopolize the arms so long shared by the two branches. That the abandonment of the *fascé de vair de six pieces* by Robert II of Boves and his cousin Robert of Fouencamps took place after the c. 1225 death of Enguerrand II of Boves is therefore probably meaningful. By that date the lord of Coucy was at the height of his powers and perfectly capable of compelling his younger cousins to abandon their fathers' arms¹⁰².

Thus, even without a perfect solution to when, where, and why, the heraldic « schism » that ultimately took place between the two branches of the Boves-Coucy extended family provides a useful lens through which to view the cup's armorial contents. Indeed, the shields' *brisures* speak to larger concerns about the diffusion of power within an extended noble kin group and attendant efforts to control that situation through the imposition of a symbolic grammar. Given its late-twelfth century or early-thirteenth century date, the cup is an especially precocious example of an object other than a seal matrix to bear witness to these developments. The very fact that the four related shields belong to a single, integral object enables the vessel to speak to issues of identity and anxiety with a cogency unparalleled by any other artifact of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. The cup remains a bewildering puzzle, but one that, on account of *brisures*, is emblematic of a particular moment: when heraldry came of age. At the very least, the colorful history of the extended Boves-Coucy family offers the opportunity to contemplate what particular anxieties or concerns may have been at stake for the owner of the heraldry cup, and to imagine the power such a luxury object exercised in driving social and symbolic developments.

99. *Ibidem*, p. 421.

100. Hugh's arms are unknown. Those depicted by Matthew Paris (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College ms. 16, fol 37) are certainly imagined.

101. Matthew PARIS, *Flores historiarum*, Vol. II: A.D. 1067–A.D. 1264, Henry Richards LUARD (ed), *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*, t. 95, London, 1890, p. 152.

102. This would agree with Barthélemy's observation that there is little evidence of cooperation between the two branches of the family in the thirteenth century. BARTHÉLEMY, *Les deux âges...* (*supra* n. 13), p. 123.