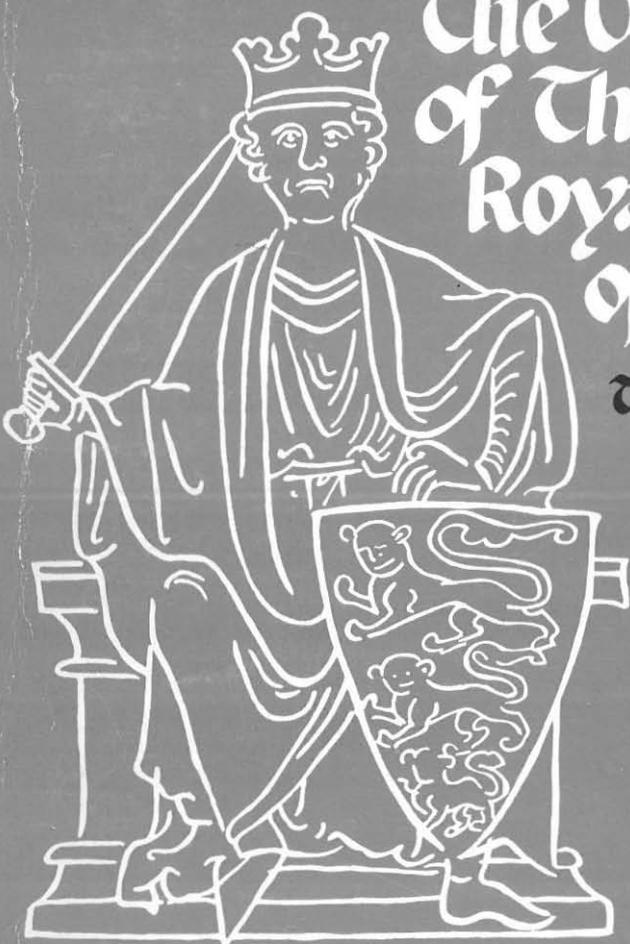


Reading Medieval Studies, Monograph No 2

The Origins of The Royal Arms of England

Their development
To 1199



by Adrian Ailes

foreword by Rodney Dennis, Somerset Herald



*Funeral plaque of Geoffrey,
Count of Anjou (made c. 1151)*

READING MEDIEVAL STUDIES

MONOGRAPH NO. 2

**THE ORIGINS
OF THE ROYAL ARMS
OF ENGLAND**

Their Development to 1199

ADRIAN AILES

Foreword by Rodney Dennys, Somerset Herald



Graduate Centre for Medieval Studies
Reading University

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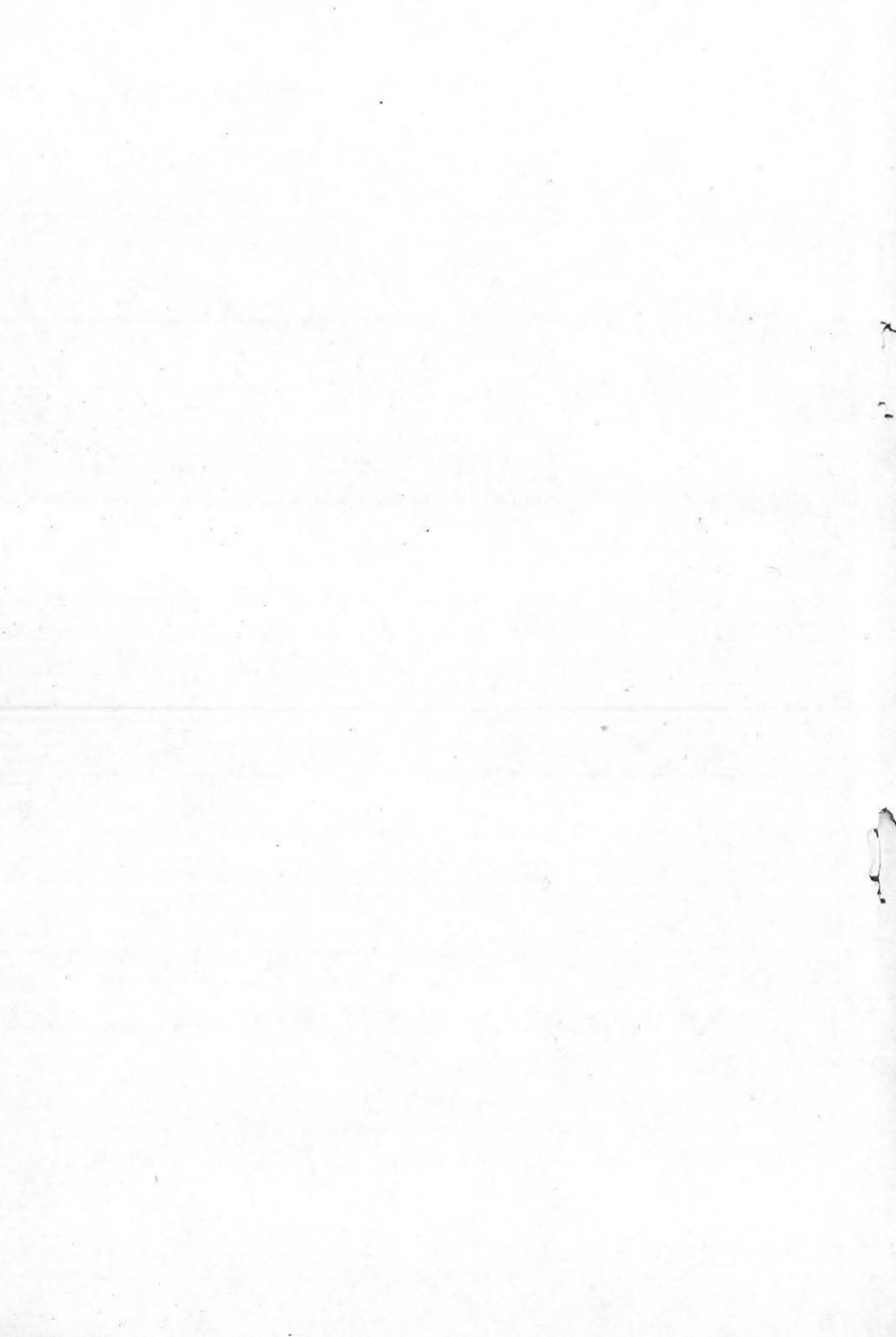
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*“There are three things that
are stately in their stride,
four that move with stately
bearing:
a lion, mighty among beasts,
who retreats before nothing;
a strutting cock, a he-goat,
and a king with his army
around him.”*

Proverbs 30 v. 29–31



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FOREWORD

By Rodney Dennys, Somerset Herald of Arms

The number of people who acquire an interest in heraldry grows steadily every year. Those of us who get really hooked on it tend to become more and more interested in its origins. The origins and development of the royal arms of England are for many of us a natural subject for enquiry, not only because they have played a key part in the politics and dynastic ambitions of the rulers of this country, but also because they illustrate, as few other early arms do, the philosophy of heraldry and the ways in which it was developed in its early, formative years.

Although all armorists would subscribe to the view expressed by Sir Anthony Wagner, now Clarenceux King of Arms, that true heraldry follows a set of systematic rules generally recognised throughout Western Europe, and that such armorial devices descend hereditarily, there was a period, mainly covering the twelfth century, during which armorial practice was much more fluid, what one might call the period of proto-heraldry. In this book Adrian Ailes throws much new light onto this twilight period before the dawn of systematised heraldry.

Like all human institutions heraldry did not emerge, like Aphrodite, fully grown and of perfect shape, but developed over a period of time, to meet contemporary needs. I am inclined to think that gonfanons and banners came first, for there is evidence that flags of one kind or another were used in battle from about the time that men first learnt to fight in formation. Clearly these would not have been armorial, in the accepted sense of the term, although a particular king or commander would tend to use the same flag during his lifetime, as his followers would have got used to it. There are grounds for thinking that heraldry emerged into a more comprehensible form around 1100, and devices which were used for banners could conveniently be adapted for shields, and shortly afterwards on seals.

Mr. Ailes has made skilful use of the slender sources available to us, which have been interpreted differently by practically every person who writes about the subject, but he makes a strong case for his view of the design of the arms of the Kings of England during the twelfth century. Maybe we shall find a solution to the problem of whether Richard I used on his shield one lion or two in some contemporary Arab chronicle, for one would expect Saladin and his commanders to take a keen interest in the armorial emblems used by their enemies. Much of the material in this book is new or, at any rate, has seldom been used in this context before, and Mr. Ailes' careful research on this most important, formative period of English armory has put us all in his debt.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Although this is only a short book I have many people to thank. This work began life as a Masters dissertation submitted in the Graduate Centre for Medieval Studies, Reading University, where it was fortunate to come under the supervision of Dr Brian Kemp. I am grateful to Dr Kemp not only for his helpful advice and encouragement in those formative days but also for his continued interest and support in this project. Many others have also given freely of their time and advice. I would especially like to thank Professor Frank Barlow, Mr Robert Bearman, Professor J.C. Holt, Mr C. J. Holyoake, Mr C.R. Humphery-Smith, M. Léon Jéquier, and Mr Alan Ronnie. I am particularly grateful to Professor M. Alison Stones of the Department of Art History, Minnesota University, for having answered a number of queries regarding illuminated manuscripts, and for having brought the Cartulary of Santiago to my attention. To two of Her Majesty's Heralds I owe a special debt. Mr C.W. Scott-Giles, Fitzalan Pursuivant of Arms Extraordinary, very kindly supplied me with a number of sources to his *Romance of Heraldry*, which he wrote some fifty years ago. My own interest in heraldry owes a great deal to this book, and it has been a privilege to correspond with the author. To Rodney Dennys, Somerset Herald, I am grateful not only for having written the Foreword but also for much lively and enjoyable discussion within the comfort of his offices at the College of Arms.

Professor Wolfgang van Emden, Miss Marianne Brown and Miss Rosemary James, all of the Graduate Centre, have given invaluable assistance with translation. I am grateful to the Librarian of Reading University for having kindly allowed me use of the collection of the late Sir Frank and Lady Stenton, and to the Library Photographic Department for having produced the photographs with such care and courtesy. I would also like to thank Mrs J.C.G. George, Secretary of the Heraldry Society, for having so patiently withstood my many interruptions whilst I rummaged through the library that lines her busy offices. My brother, Mr Murray Ailes, drew the genealogical tables, and Mrs Sharon Davies designed the front cover. Special thanks are due to Mrs Marjorie Edwards for having so expertly typed the final copy.

I have been fortunate in having for my two editors, Dr Malcolm Barber and Dr Peter Noble. Their patience and helpful criticism have been greatly appreciated. I am especially grateful to Miss Patricia McNulty, Director of the Graduate Centre for Medieval Studies not only for having read the complete work in proof but also for her faith in the value of my researches and for having encouraged me to put my ideas into print.

Last, but by no means least, I owe my greatest debt of thanks to my fiancée, Miss Marianne Brown. Her support and encouragement have been invaluable, and a constant reminder to me that there are many other things of much higher value and worthy of more noble praise than even the Royal Arms of England. This book, therefore, is dedicated to her.

INTRODUCTION

For many centuries the question of the origins of the royal arms of England has attracted a wide range of writers, from heralds to amateur enthusiasts. The result has been a diverse mixture of accounts ranging from the scholarly to the purely fictitious. The royal arms, as is the case with all heraldry, have come to be surrounded by countless legends; indeed, the fanciful and the fabulous have become as much a part of the subject as colour.

This rather romantic approach to the subject has been kept alive partly by the notion that coats of arms are a sort of sign language - that heraldry is 'the shorthand of history'. Thus, for example, it was for many years believed that the royal arms of England, Gules, three lions passant guardant or, ¹ were originally composed of the two lions of Normandy to which Henry II (1154-1189) added the single lion of Aquitaine in honour of his wife, Eleanor. This explanation appears credible until we discover that neither Eleanor nor any of her predecessors in the duchy of Aquitaine is known to have ever used the single-lion coat. Henry probably did use two lions passant, but there is no evidence that he did so specifically as duke of Normandy; he certainly does not seem to have ever used the three lions.

Even if the purely fictitious can be quickly dismissed, we are still left with numerous quasi-scholarly accounts of the early royal arms. As early as the mid-thirteenth century the chronicler Matthew Paris attributed the three lions coat (first used in 1195) to all the kings of England since 1066. He even attributed heraldic devices to the pre-Conquest Saxon kings. And yet true heraldry, defined by one modern writer as the systematic use of hereditary devices centred upon the shield, did not appear until the second quarter of the twelfth century. Later, in the fifteenth century, the Sagittary device was attributed, again without foundation, to King Stephen (1135-1154), and in the following century Sir Henry Spelman first put forward the erroneous view, which has since been often repeated, that Richard I (1189-1199) initially used two lions combatant for his arms. Even in the nineteenth century men still believed that Geoffrey Plantagenet, father of Henry II, adopted his planta genista badge for the reason that, having committed some dreadful crime, he had himself flagellated with birches of that plant and wore it in his helmet as a sign of penance and humility. ²

Fortunately, the present century has witnessed a much more scholarly approach to heraldry in general, particularly with the works of Oswald Barron, D.L. Galbreath, H.S. London, P. Adam-Evan, Gerard Brault, and especially Sir Anthony Wagner. Nevertheless, except for London's brief account of the Royal Beasts, ³ these writers have hardly touched upon the royal arms, still less on their origins. In short, there is no thoroughly researched, modern account of the English royal arms, particularly with respect to their origins. ⁴

The same is sadly true as regards all twelfth-century heraldry. Our knowledge of that subject is somewhat similar to our knowledge of castles one hundred years ago. While in the last century there was a concerted attempt to base our knowledge of early heraldry 'on facts',⁵ apart from some notable studies deriving their evidence from contemporary Old French literature, there is still no scholarly work (at least not for England) on the heraldry of that period.⁶

This major gap in our understanding of the emergence of heraldry must obviously be reflected in any study of the royal arms down to 1199. The result has been that their origins and development have been treated in isolation whereas in practice they cannot be fully understood except within the much wider context of the origins and development of all twelfth-century heraldry. For example, it has been argued by some that Henry II used two lions passant not in this instance because he was duke of Normandy, but for the reason that two of those whom he had knighted also used these arms, and it was the practice, so it is said, that newly-dubbed knights adopted or adapted the arms of their patron-in-chivalry. But one may wonder how widespread that heraldic custom was and, indeed, whether it ever existed in the early Middle Ages.

It is also true to say that the rise of heraldry, including the royal arms, has not in its turn been studied in the more general historical context. Why were heraldry and the royal arms twelfth-century phenomena? What effect did, say, feudalism or the Crusades have upon shield devices? Would the suggested partitions of the so-called 'Angevin Empire', or the death of the heir-apparent in 1183, have affected the arms of Henry II's sons? Thus, heraldry and the royal arms need to be studied in the light of both general heraldic trends and twelfth-century events. It is therefore hoped that Part I of the present study will provide the background necessary for a fuller understanding of the origins and development of the royal arms.

Not only is there a dearth of good scholarly works on early royal heraldry, but evidence from primary sources is also very sparse. For instance, none of the royal seals between 1066 and 1189 is armorial. Moreover, of the half dozen or so twelfth-century armorial seals of immediate members of the English royal house only one belongs to an heir-apparent, namely that of John, Lord of Ireland and Count of Mortain, and that has been repeatedly misdated. A tentative search, therefore, has been made here of as much primary material as possible, including seals, manuscript illumination, chronicles and literary evidence, and some administrative records. But even after such a search the evidence is still scanty, so that while strong possibilities can be suggested (for example, that Henry II used two lions passant), absolute certainty as to the definite origin of the English royal arms remains impossible.

Before going any further it will be useful here to dispose immediately of one source of confusion. The royal arms of England have often been referred to as the leopards of England.⁷ The term is taken from the thirteenth

century, when it was believed that a lion was drawn with the head in profile, and the same beast with its head turned full face (or guardant) was a leopard; since leopards were normally depicted as passant, the lions passant guardant of England were seen to fulfil all the requirements of being leopards and therefore soon came to be labelled as such. Moreover, in 1235, as Matthew Paris relates, the Emperor Frederick II sent Henry III three leopards and not lions in recognition of his brother-in-law's shield. However, even the astute Paris was unsure of the exact nature of the beasts displayed upon the royal arms. Sometimes he called them a 'lion', sometimes a 'leopard', sometimes a 'lion or leopard'.⁸ Furthermore, since Paris' day, the leopard proper, that is the mane-less, spotted creature of nature, has become an heraldic charge in its own right, so it is now better to avoid a needless confusion by describing the beasts of the royal arms as lions and not leopards.

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for the success of any business and for the protection of the interests of all parties involved. The document then outlines the various methods and procedures that should be followed to ensure the accuracy and reliability of the records. It also discusses the importance of regular audits and the role of the auditor in verifying the accuracy of the records. The document concludes by stating that the proper maintenance of records is a fundamental responsibility of every business owner and manager.

PART I

HERALDRY

HERALDRY : THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS

Few subjects have engaged so much attention and led to such a variety of investigations and opinions as the origin of armories. The commencement of their use has been referred to various eras and countries, not excepting the most ancient and the most remote.

Article on 'Heraldry', Rees Cyclopaedia
(1819 edition)

Theories as to the origin of heraldry - the answers to the questions, where? and when? - still abound. Doubtless, the dim and distant ancestors of heraldry can be traced back to the military ensigns and personal emblems of the rulers of Sumeria, Assyria, and Upper and Lower Egypt. ¹ Nevertheless, there can be little question of these remote symbols having been responsible for, or having influenced, the rise of heraldry in the Middle Ages. The significance of any emblematic devices that had survived the barrenness of the Dark Ages (except perhaps for the Imperial Eagle and certain dragon devices) had long been lost in the mists of antiquity. Isolated and obscure references in classical literature to even hereditary shield devices must have aroused little if any interest in the medieval mind; their relevance was a thing of the past. ² Personal and tribal emblems might therefore extend back to the very dawn of civilisation, but heraldry as we know it had at no time existed before the second quarter of the twelfth century.

The essential elements that can be said to make up heraldry, however, had all existed in connection with shield devices for many centuries beforehand, though obviously separate from one another. These elements are decoration, association and identification with a person or a group, recognition, and heritability. It was only in the more favourable conditions of twelfth-century, western Europe that they were first able to combine and blossom so profusely into what we know as heraldry. The growth and development of heraldry was thus closely bound up with the growth and development of the twelfth-century, feudal society from which it sprung.

Before examining that society it is worth taking a closer look at these essential elements.

Decoration

Since time immemorial there has been a universal desire amongst men (and women) to decorate their surroundings if not also themselves. Whether for aesthetic or bellicose reasons, decoration lies at the very root of twelfth-century heraldic bearings, as it does at the very root of the emblems of, for example, the Ancient World or the New World of the Americas.³ In his *Conquest of Gaul*, Julius Caesar noticed that 'all the Britons dye their bodies with woad, which produces a blue colour, and this gives them a more terrifying appearance in battle'.⁴ William of Malmesbury in the twelfth century noted that the English at the time of the Norman Conquest gaily tattooed their bodies; old habits die hard, particularly it seems in Britain.⁵

There is little doubt that heraldry in its strictest sense was originally concerned with warfare, with arms and armour; it was, after all, given birth by a society organised for war.⁶ Shields would often be decorated for bellicose reasons; the emblems portrayed posed a terrifying spectacle to the enemy, or were suggestive of strength and courage. The chronicler Gerald of Wales, when comparing the elegant fleur de lys of the more chivalrous French kings with the lions and leopards of the (in his mind) wretched sons of the English king, Henry II, wrote soon after Magna Carta that,

Whereas other princes, wishing to be likened among men in their apparel to fierce and devouring beasts, such as bears, leopards and lions, display them painted on their arms (*in armis*) and banners as an index of their ferocity, these men alone ... mark and adorn their shields and banners, as well as their other armour, with only the simple fleurs de lys.⁷

Gerald of Wales was correct in pointing out that amongst the ruling families of Europe the gentle fleur de lys device was indeed exceptional. The Romans had made use of the terrifying aspects of the eagle and dragon. The Danes used the black raven emblem, a ghastly sight, which on its fluttering flag seemed almost alive. And the rulers of England, Scotland, Wales, Denmark, Norway, Leon, Flanders, and Saxony all subsequently adopted some form of lion device.

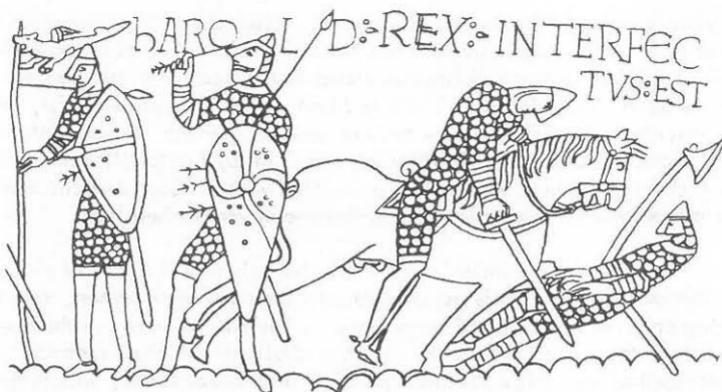


Fig. 1 *Death of Harold beside his Dragon Standard*
(Taken from the Bayeux Tapestry)

The Bayeux Tapestry affords ample evidence of shield and lance decoration. Produced in the 1070s the Tapestry reflects what must have been the popular shield decoration and devices of the time.⁸ There is nothing to suggest that any of these devices were heraldic, although it is just conceivable that some of them may have had some personal significance.⁹

The process of shield decoration continued right up to, and considerably overlapped, the advent of heraldry proper in the second quarter of the twelfth century. In the well known chanson de geste, The Song of Roland (written down in about 1100) both the Pagans and the Frankish army carry decorated shields, some emblazoned with bright flowers, others a quartiers of red and azure, or red and white.¹⁰ Manuscript illumination from the first half of the twelfth century reveals an increasingly more consistent approach to shield decoration with the use of simple geometric patterns, so that by 1150 shields were being painted in a manner very similar to true heraldry.¹¹ Shield decoration was thus beginning to conform to certain new tastes. It was still simply decoration, whether its purpose was aesthetic or the intimidation of the enemy, but it was beginning to follow certain guidelines, and was doubtless being influenced by the growing importance attached to the shield as a means of recognition. Imperceptibly, new shapes and designs with a new order about them were overlapping and competing with the previously random and unsystematic shield patterns that can, for instance, be seen on the Bayeux Tapestry, and, moreover, were beginning to supersede them.

Association

Whether or not a man chose to use one device on one day and another day, his emblazoned shield, or rather shields, would

inevitably come to be associated with him. Like decoration, personal marks or symbols can be traced back to the Ancient World. Engraved seals bearing their individual master's distinctive stamp and indicative of his personal identity and ownership were in use in the late fourth millennium before Christ, long before the invention of writing. The ancient goddess, Athena, for example, can be easily identified on many Greek vases and coins by her familiar owl emblem; the Norse god, Freyr, was clearly associated with his boar device, and there are numerous other examples from before the advent of heraldry.

Flags and standards were a particularly useful means of display, and in time came to be closely associated with their owner or owners, sometimes taking on an almost magical importance. The military units of the Romans venerated their eagle standards, which symbolised both their permanence and their reputations. The Vikings flew aloft their black raven, which, greedy for carrion, was said to flap its wings gaily, but if defeat were close would hang motionless.¹² Uther Pendragon, King of the Britons, took his cognomen from his dragon device, which his son, the legendary King Arthur, is also said to have adopted in the sixth century.¹³ Although both the Normans and the English used dragon emblems at Hastings, Duke William was personally associated with his Papal Banner,¹⁴ and Harold with his standard of the Fighting Man.¹⁵ In 1124 Louis VI, amid much ceremony, took the sacred Oriflamme banner from the altar of the abbey church of Saint-Denis to be his symbolic standard in the defence of the French people against a threatened German invasion.

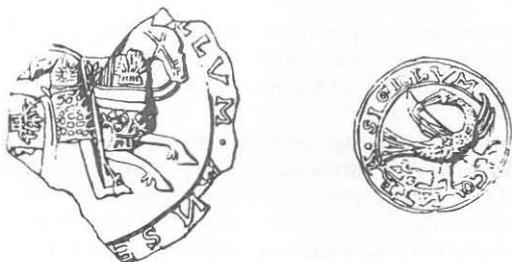
Standards then have clearly been important from the earliest times. The Anglo Saxon chronicler, Bede, mentions that in the seventh century wherever Edwin, King of Northumbria, rode in the land 'the royal standard known as a Tufa ... was borne before him'; this Tufa or Tuf may have been the personal standard of the Bretwalda, the overlord ruler of the several English kingdoms.¹⁶ In battle the leader would often stand near, or ride close by, his personal banner (figs. 1 and 6). Henry II's Constable, Henry of Essex, was to pay dearly for having flung down the royal standard when attempting to escape from the Welsh in 1157.¹⁷ Standard-bearers themselves (signifer or vexillifer) were important as well as privileged men, and were often mentioned by name in the chronicles.¹⁸ As in Classical times, the loss of the standard was considered utterly shameful,¹⁹ and often its capture led to terrible confusion and sometimes disaster.²⁰ Whenever a town was taken the banners of the victors were immediately raised high above the city walls as an indication to all of those entitled to a share of the loot.²¹ As early as the eleventh century banners were used as signs of a truce or neutrality, and as such needed to be clearly recognisable by both sides.²² Often enfeoffment to various lands and lordships was outwardly expressed by investing the knight with the appropriate territorial banner. Thus, in 1172, the duchy of Aquitaine was conferred upon the future king Richard by means of the ducal standard.²³

As increasing importance was being attached to standards and banners, so the devices that were beginning to be displayed on them became more and more important. One of the most important functions of such flags was as rallying points. This was particularly so in the case of those standards fixed into the ground, or set up high on tall masts mounted on wagons, under which men in the fierce heat of battle could find refuge or regroup.²⁴ Clearly, such standards had to be easily distinguishable and well known to the whole army. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries tenants-in-chief, obeying their feudal summons to the king's host, would bring with them a specified number of knights. These knights would have come together under the one banner that served both as their lord's personal mark of identification and as the military ensign of his particular unit. Each of these units or contingents would have been conscious of a sense of unity, perhaps having trained together in the same household.²⁵ In order to reflect this unity they might use pennants or shields of one particular colour.²⁶ Or, as their immediate lord began consistently to use a particular emblem, so his followers, in order to express their association with him or with his territorial lordships or family, would repeat or slightly vary on their own shields and standards this same device.²⁷ In 1167, for example, William Marshal, one day to act as regent of England, was a member of the Tancarville household in Normandy and repeated his feudal lord's arms on his own shield.²⁸

A device associated with an individual or his lands might at first be only quasi-heraldic in nature appearing on seals or coins, or even as a purely decorative or symbolic emblem on a shield.²⁹ Often these devices, regardless of whether they were placed on shields, were given an hereditary use, particularly if they were a pun on the family name. The wheat-sheaves of the Campdaveines,³⁰ Counts of St Pol, first appear on the coins of the counts between 1083 and 1130.³¹ Later they appear strewn across the field of the count's seal (1141-50),³² before finally becoming heraldic in the full sense of the word by being placed on a shield (in 1162)³³ that was subsequently handed down from father to son (figs. 2-5).³⁴



Fig. 2 Seal of Count Enguerrand Campdaveine (1141-1150)



Figs. 3 & 4 Seal and counterseal of Count Anselm Campdaveine (1162)



Fig. 5 Counterseal of Hugh Campdaveine (1223)

Another hereditary seal device from the twelfth century was the griffin preying upon an elephant of the De Redvers, earls of Devon. The first earl, Baldwin (d. 1155),³⁵ his sons, Richard, the second earl (d. 1162)³⁶ and William de Vernon, the fifth earl (d. 1217),³⁷ and his grandson Baldwin, the third earl (d. 1188)³⁸ all used this same design on their seals, though there is no evidence that they ever bore it on their shields. Later, in the thirteenth century, the family adopted the more conventional device of a lion rampant, which soon came to be recognised as the heraldic arms of the De Redvers.³⁹

Perhaps the most famous associative device or badge to become hereditary, and, like the Campdaveine's wheat-sheaves, to later become heraldic by being placed on a shield, is the fleur de lys of the French kings. This famous flower surmounts the sceptre held by Henry I (1031-1060) on his royal seal, and appears as an emblem in its own right on the great seals of Louis VII (1137-1180) and his son Philip Augustus (1180-1223) where it is held in the king's right hand. The badge also appears on coins under Louis VI (1108-1137), and in a quasi-heraldic fashion on the counterseals of Louis VII and Philip.⁴⁰ The latter is known to have borne the device as an heraldic coat,⁴¹ though its first known appearance as such on a seal of the sovereign is in 1223.⁴² Thus, from a purely decorative emblem that had come to be closely associated with the ruling family, the fleur de lys blossomed into a personal hereditary device which in its turn came to be depicted on the shield and so was entered into the rolls of armorial bearings.

Recognition

'A man in full armour was unrecognizable. So each man wore a distinctive coat by which he could be recognized over his armour. This was called his "coat of arms".' ⁴³ If it were as simple as this then all that would be needed to pinpoint the birth of heraldry would be to discover at what moment in history 'a man in full armour was unrecognizable'. True heraldic devices emerged in the second quarter of the twelfth century; yet the need for recognition in battle went back much further than this. Both Edmund Ironside in 1016 ⁴⁴ and William the Conqueror in 1066 ⁴⁵ were forced at particular stages in their respective battles to take off their helmets and declare that they were still very much alive and in command. The need for recognition, therefore, cannot alone explain the rise of heraldry in the twelfth century; nevertheless, it was still an essential ingredient in its origin and development.



Fig. 6 Duke William doffs his helmet in order to be recognized.
Beside him is his standard-bearer.
(From the Bayeux Tapestry)

The employment of professional mounted warriors, or knights as they were called, from the ninth century onwards resulted in very much more expensive and sophisticated armour. The mail hauberk covered the body down to the knees, while the head came to be surrounded with a mail coif surmounted by a nasal helmet (fig.6). Only the eyes and cheeks were plainly

visible; even the chin was covered by a ventail to protect the throat and neck. In the closing decades of the twelfth century the barrel, or pot, helm completely covered the head (fig.8). The poet Wace, in his description of the Battle of Hastings, though no doubt he is reflecting his own contemporary society of the first half of the twelfth century, conveniently summed up the special rôle that recognition played in the development of heraldry when he wrote that,

The knights had
Shields on their necks, lances in their hands,
And all had made cognizances (conoissances)
That one Norman would recognize another
So that in the contention
Norman would not kill Norman
Nor one Norman strike another. 46

A favourite motif of twelfth-century literature is the irony caused by two knights not being able to recognise one another. In the Old French romance *Yvain*, written in about 1177 by that remarkable court poet Chrétien de Troyes, two of King Arthur's knights, Yvain and Gawain, deal each other mortal blows while locked in single combat.⁴⁷ When their identities are eventually revealed, each is stricken with grief for having sought the death of a close friend; the author had earlier remarked that Yvain was so well encased in armour that even those who knew him perfectly could not recognise him.⁴⁸

By Stephen's reign (1135) recognition by means of standards and shields must have been commonplace.⁴⁹ According to the contemporary chronicler Orderic Vitalis, after the Battle of Bremule in 1119 Peter of Maule and others, fleeing from the battle, 'threw away their cognizances (cognitions) in order to avoid recognition'. Orderic also describes how, in a battle later that year, Ralph the Breton, defending the town of Breueuil against the forces of King Louis, 'hurried from gate to gate, frequently changing his arms (arma) to avoid recognition'.⁵⁰

Thus, even before the advent of heraldry, knights were being increasingly recognised by means of their painted shields. The difference, however, between these shield devices and true heraldry was that they were not yet heritable devices carefully passed down through the generations and jealously guarded by the families concerned. Indeed, such designs could be altered or completely changed according to their owner's will. In the meantime, therefore, it was still necessary to use means of identification other than shield designs alone. In 1051 Geoffrey Martel, Count of Anjou, begging a fight with the young Duke William of Normandy, described to the latter's envoys not only what sort of shield he would carry but also his horse and clothing so that William might recognise him.⁵¹ The Duke's messengers in turn, described what sort of accoutrements their master was accustomed to wear in battle. On the Bayeux Tapestry William is given no consistent shield device;

it was his face and voice that his soldiers recognised in battle, not his shield. Often, it was only the individual war-cries of the opposing armies, such as the Frankish 'Mountjoie!' mentioned in The Song of Roland, that distinguished friend from foe.⁵²

At the same time as painted shields were becoming increasingly used as a means for recognition, associative devices, such as the wheat-sheaves of the Campdaveines, were becoming more and more permanent in nature and not surprisingly were beginning to be repeated on banners and shields as visual expressions of personal and family pride. The broad flat surface of the smaller, heater-shaped shield, unencumbered by the central boss of the old, kite-shaped shield, readily lent itself to these painted designs.⁵³ Because of their permanent nature these emblems soon came to be regarded as a very obvious means for the identification of their masters in battle. This may have first become apparent from their use on banners, which, high above the host, could easily be discerned from a distance.⁵⁴ Those knights without a distinctive shield design or associative device would have had to have deliberately adopted some arbitrary design, perhaps the shield decoration that they had previously been using, solely for the purposes of their being recognised in battle. In such cases the design would have had to have been used consistently, and would therefore have often become the established emblem of the knight concerned.

Both banners and shields then were found to be a particularly useful means of recognition (or even deliberate disguise).⁵⁵ However, often a knight became separated from his standard, or the shield might become so heavily punished in battle as to render the devices upon it scarcely recognisable.⁵⁶ A further means of identification, therefore, became increasingly popular - the crest. Again it was probably in the first place a purely decorative device to which new importance came to be attached.⁵⁷ Initially, crests appear to have consisted of painted designs on thin plates, often fan-shaped, surmounting the helmet.⁵⁸ One such early crest, that of



Fig. 7 Seal of Baldwin, Count of Flanders (1197)

Richard I (1195), was decorated with its owner's famous lion device (fig. 18). The first known modelled crest appears in 1197, and again is that of a lion (fig. 7).⁵⁹ Such tall devices towering above the mêlée either on the battlefield or in the tournament could be readily discerned from a distance and were particularly useful for the purposes of recognition if the shield or banner were lost. The introduction of the flat-topped, barrel or pot helm, had therefore two important repercussions for heraldry. In the first place it made the wearer totally unrecognisable except for his heraldic device, and secondly it provided a suitable platform for the crest.

Once a knight had come to be associated and identified with a particular shield device by which he might be recognised, it became increasingly essential that he kept to the same design. Casual and indiscriminate decoration of the shield must have served only to cause confusion. The need for recognition therefore strongly promoted the consistent use of a particular design. It was increasingly necessary that even such details as colour and the number of charges should not be altered. A golden lion rampant on a red shield might identify a very different person from the man who bore a golden lion on a blue shield. Consequently there was a growing system, an increasing orderliness about what, shortly before, had been haphazard shield decoration.

Hereditability

Heraldry has been defined as 'the systematic use of hereditary devices centred upon the shield'.⁶⁰ Perhaps the most essential element of heraldry is that it is hereditary, that the same shield design, unaltered, is passed down from father to son, or from office-holder to office-holder. In this respect medieval heraldry can be seen to share the same essential characteristic as the hereditary shield devices of certain families in Athens in the sixth and fifth centuries before Christ, though the nobility of the early Middle Ages could hardly have been aware of this coincidence.⁶¹

It may be that the hereditary nature of arms owes as much to seal decoration - those quasi-heraldic, associative devices that were their masters' signature in peacetime - as it does to shield decoration. The use of seals was indicative of, and closely connected with, rights of ownership. The legend of a seal, and to some extent the devices upon that seal, distinguished a man as having title to certain lands, castles or offices. On the death of his father the son would hope to come into his inheritance, and might need only to change the name on the seal legend to show that he had stepped into his father's shoes. The twelfth-century earls of Devon consistently used the same seal design passing it down from one earl to the next.⁶² Sometimes, in order to prevent confusion, a small but noticeable change in the design of the seal would be made; the design would be differenced in some way, a practice reflected in heraldic shield devices. Nevertheless, the associative nature of the device was still kept very much in evidence to show that the links had been passed on.

It was not long before such hereditary associative devices, often borrowed from the seal (such as the wheat-sheaves of the Campdaveines), came to be repeated on banners and shields as further, visual displays of their owner's entitlement to certain lordships or offices. Thus heraldic devices containing this all-important element of hereditability were adopted by knights in the twelfth century for two reasons. On the one hand, associative devices already possessing a fixed and hereditary character of their own would be proudly displayed upon the shield, at which point they became heraldic in the full sense of the word; once centred upon the shield they also took on a new importance as the indispensable means of their owner's recognition in battle. At the same time there occurred a second, almost reverse, movement. A knight would be forced to adopt an arbitrary shield device by which he might be identified on the battlefield. Once chosen he would need to keep to that device, in which case it would inevitably come to be closely linked with him. In time his descendants, wishing to express their entitlement to his lands and lordships, would inherit this associative device, and so it would also become hereditary and therefore heraldic. Doubtless, both these processes were simultaneously at work on the growth and development of heraldry during the course of the twelfth century.

Decoration, association and identification with an individual or group, recognition and hereditability were the essential components that came to make up the heraldic bearings that took on such widespread appeal from the mid-twelfth century onwards. But if decoration and personal devices can be traced back to at least the fourth century B.C., if the need for recognition was glaringly apparent more than a century before the introduction of armorial bearings, and if family devices were hereditary in Athens some 500 years before the birth of Christ, then the questions that must be asked are what brought these essential but previously unassimilated elements together for the first time, and why, when this had occurred, did the net result - heraldry - gain such widespread popularity in the western Europe of the twelfth century?

Chapter 2

HERALDRY : PRODUCT OF A NEW AGE

Between 1135 and 1155 seals show the emergence of heraldry in England, France, Germany, Spain and Italy. This sudden appearance at one time over so wide a region prompts the question whether any single cause for it can be found. From long and learned discussion no certainty has issued.

A.R. Wagner, Heraldry in England.

Traditionally the rise of heraldry has been associated with feudalism, the Crusades, and the tournament. On their own these three factors cannot provide a totally adequate explanation for the sudden appeal that heraldry secured in the twelfth century,¹ but in one respect at least they share a common fundamental reason for the birth of heraldry - each is concerned with warfare. Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was a society organised for war, and true heraldry - those hereditary devices centred upon that vital and central piece of military equipment, the shield - was, at least in its immediate origins, very much concerned with war and military matters.²

Feudalism

Feudalism produced two factors basic to the rise of heraldry: the hereditary fief, and the militarily and socially élite class of knights. Both these factors firmly established themselves as permanent fixtures in society during the first half of the twelfth century. Consequently, by the middle of that century heraldry too was beginning to make its presence felt among the nobility of western Europe.

Hereditary fiefs: The break up of the Carolingian Empire in the mid-ninth century, and the collapse of central authority in what is now France, resulted in families and their dependents turning to their local lord for immediate protection. By paying homage and fealty, the small man became the vassal of his new master, normally owing his lord military service. In return he received protection and very often either land (later known as a fief or feodum) on which to settle or perhaps a place in the lord's household. Although this land had to be returned to the lord at time of death, gradually the right of the son to succeed to his father's estates became an accepted part of the system.

In England all land after the Norman Conquest belonged in the first instance to the king - there were no estates (known as allods) that were at the free disposal of their lord. All land was inalienable and reverted to the

crown on the death of its possessor. As on the continent, to avoid rebellion the heir, on payment of an arbitrary sum known as a relief, was usually allowed to succeed to his father's estates without hindrance. But this was not always the case. Until the second quarter of the twelfth century (when heraldic bearings first appear) the hereditary succession of lands in England to all intents and purposes depended upon the caprice of the king. Moreover, the first three Norman kings were loth to recognise the hereditary rights of their barons, and very often they did their best to interfere in the succession to family lordships; Henry I (1100-1135) was especially guilty in this respect.³ One estimate suggests that barely more than half the Anglo-Norman baronies in 1135 had descended undisturbed in the male line since 1086.⁴ This probably overestimates the amount of actual interference that took place, but even so it cannot be denied that when it came to matters of hereditary succession the Norman kings were hardly slow to exercise their powerful, royal prerogative. The voluntas regis - the will of the king - was the crucial factor in the building up and maintenance of territorial wealth. Great estates or lordships could be forfeited and their lords disseised at the stroke of a royal hand, new men were 'raised from the dust' to positions of undreamt of authority,⁵ and on one occasion the inheritance was passed to a younger son simply because the king thought he was a 'better knight'.⁶

The 'Anarchy' of Stephen's reign (1135-1154), initially sparked off by a disputed succession within the ruling family, may well have given the burgeoning aristocracy of the day an opportunity to firmly establish its hereditary rights in specific and unambiguous terms.⁷ By 1135 the practice of granting fiefs 'in hereditary' seems to have hardened,⁸ and the barons were obviously willing to wage war in order to ensure that they kept their family lands and wealth for themselves and their heirs. The use of the writ of right in Henry II's reign (1154-1189), and perhaps more decisively the assize, mort d'ancestor (1176), legally ensured that where possible the heir should succeed to his father's inheritance.⁹ As fiefs, therefore, came to be handed down from father to son, more and more as a matter of course, so the shield devices closely associated with both their owners and his family lands and titles were increasingly passed down through the generations as a visual indication to all that these men had successfully come into their rightful inheritance. Only in this more stabilised climate regarding succession could such devices become truly hereditary and proclaim in bold designs upon the shield the now permanent links between family and fief. This greater security of feudal tenure was also reflected in the increasingly hereditary nature of seals, which, since they were closely connected with (and indeed were indicative of) rights of possession, likewise came to be more consistently regarded as heritable items to be passed down by successive generations. The devices portrayed upon them and emblematic of the family's title to certain lands and lordships similarly became increasingly hereditary in character, and, if not already the case, very often became centred upon the shield as the armorial bearings of the family concerned.¹⁰

Thus the slow development of the security of hereditary tenure was reflected in the equally slow development of heraldry in eleventh- and twelfth-century, feudal society. If the reign of Henry I and the succession of Stephen were a turning point in this fundamental matter of hereditary succession, they were also a turning point in the history of hereditary devices, for it was in these same years that armorial bearings were first introduced into England.¹¹

Knights: As the hereditability of fiefs became firmly established so this led to an increasingly hereditary class of knights, and subsequently a growing class consciousness within this group. The origins and development of heraldry centre very largely around the person of the medieval, warrior knight. The use of more sophisticated armour by knights in this period resulted in a systematic and permanent means for recognising combatants in battle; the growing popularity of personal seals amongst this class provided a brilliant and fertile ground for the display of hereditary associative devices and coats of arms; and above all the knights provided a privileged and wealthy class in which the fashion of heraldry could flourish, and where its military and social potential could be fully realised and jealously guarded.

It was not until well into the twelfth century, however, that knighthood came to imply distinction of birth and education. Only when this had been achieved were the knights (in Latin *milites*), once a very mixed group of men, able to develop into an homogeneous and social élite. Two movements having a bearing on this social development can be discerned amongst the higher ranks of the aristocracy of western Christendom in the late eleventh and early twelfth century.¹² Amongst the nobility there emerged a growing feeling for dynasty, for veneration of ancestors. At the core of this idea of *nobilitas* was noble birth. Gradually this attitude, first seen at the highest aristocratic level, worked its way down to the 'middling' knights, so that by 1165, for example, Richard de Lucy, Henry II's Justiciar, could complain that 'in former times, it was not the custom for every middling knight (*quislibet militulus*) to have a seal, which is appropriate only for kings and great men'.¹³ No doubt Richard would have been similarly offended at the increasing number of lesser knights who were likewise adopting, or perhaps even inheriting, armorial bearings.

At the same time there was a second, reverse movement starting from the bottom of the aristocratic class. At the beginning of the eleventh century, '*miles*' had meant simply a mounted warrior. Gradually the values attached to knighthood (courage, military efficiency, loyalty and so on) spread upwards and came to occupy a key position in the aristocratic ethos. By 1200 this process was complete. The word 'knight', once synonymous with vassal, had by now, at least on the continent, come to express the idea of nobility; though in England it would perhaps be truer to talk of the knights as having evolved into a kind of upper middle-class gentility. Certainly knights everywhere became imbued with a class consciousness. Set apart by their power and wealth, by their mode of life and own 'courtly' code of conduct, the knights

were ready towards the middle of the twelfth century to solidify into a socially privileged class. In England the more open nature of this order meant that there was still opportunity for social movement. Nevertheless, members of the group both at home and abroad still felt themselves part of a distinctive class.

This growing awareness amongst the knightly class of its own more stable and more confident position in society found a visual expression in the colourful and bold designs that, centred upon the shield, lay at the very centre of these changing movements. Just as the noble lord who valued his place in society needed first to be knighted, so increasingly he could not afford to ignore the growing fashion of adopting armorial bearings. Alongside the increasingly hereditary use of patronymic surnames and equestrian seals, heraldic devices reflected one's ancient lineage and title to certain lands and lordships, and thus they rapidly became tokens of family pride and social importance. In this respect coats of arms soon found a ready market as one of the more obvious means by which an aspiring knight or (as was later the case) a civic dignitary or even ecclesiastic, could distinguish himself from the bulk of mankind. In short, heraldry was becoming a status symbol. Geoffrey of Monmouth, writing in 1130s, was doubtless describing his own society when he notes the connection between status and arms at the legendary court of King Arthur: 'Every knight who was renowned for an upright life was there, and used garments and arms of one distinctive colour (unius coloris vestibus atque armis utebatur); even the women of fashion displayed the same colour'.¹⁴

By the end of Henry I's reign the baronial and knightly classes of England were coming to contemplate and develop a more settled and cultured way of life. This growth in their confidence and security meant that later they would be prepared to fight for what they believed to be theirs 'in heredity'. As these classes, therefore, sought to consolidate and protect this more comfortable position in society, so the emblems that they were gradually adopting began to take on a new rôle as prestigious symbols indicative of their owner's status which could be handed down from father to son as family heirlooms. This closing of the feudal ranks, and the growing sophistication of warfare romanticised by its veneer of chivalry, were to be the mainspring of heraldry from the central years of the twelfth century onwards.

Crusades

For the knight eager for renown the Crusades provided a moral justification for waging war. Henceforth, the military élite of knights under its Crusading vows first taken in 1095 killed not man, but evil. Even in death the prize was military and spiritual glory. In seeking to explain any movement that gained widespread popularity in twelfth-century Europe, such as the adoption of armorial bearings, the Crusades must always be a tempting starting point. The Holy Wars brought together in a common venture ideas and influences, trends and fashions, from almost every class and nation in western Christendom.

Moreover, the need for recognition amongst those taking part must have acted as an important stimulus for the adoption of clearly distinguishable and permanent shield devices. ¹⁵ The Crusading knights found themselves stationed in a dry and dusty land where the sun could be blinding. Easily recognisable banners and devices must therefore have been essential. Perhaps more significantly the Crusaders, divided not least by language barriers, must have quickly come to appreciate the obvious value of the visual emblems that belonged to their own individual leaders. Indeed, whereas the sign of the cross symbolised the supra-national character of the Crusaders - their oneness in Christ - even this sacrosanct emblem was later given systematic usage when, in 1188, the various nations taking part chose different colours for their crosses so that they would be able to distinguish between each other. ¹⁶

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries a more confident and less insular Europe was becoming increasingly receptive to new ideas, new philosophies, and new fashions such as heraldry. Even before 1095 the continent was enjoying peaceable, cross-cultural contact with the more advanced civilisations beyond its frontiers in Spain, Sicily, and Byzantium. The Crusades brought East and West still closer together. Those Europeans taking part must have been deeply impressed by the wealth and splendour of Constantinople, the fine silks, rich colours and gorgeous embellishments of the Near East. The eye-witness accounts of the Crusades, for instance, mention with seeming admiration the highly prized standards of the Eastern leaders. ¹⁷

Already in the ninth and tenth centuries a number of territorial magnates of the Byzantine Empire were using quasi-heraldic devices on their banners and shields. ¹⁸ The Saracens too had a peculiar form of heraldry of their own. ¹⁹ During the Third Crusade, Takiedin, a kinsman of Saladin, displayed 'a remarkable device upon his standard - a pair of breeches', ²⁰ and each of his select squadrons carried pennons of a single colour, a practice that in Europe had probably only evolved around the middle of the twelfth century. ²¹

This does not of course mean that the East provided Europe with a fully developed system of heraldry. Armorial bearings did not, after all, take root in western Europe for over half a century after the First Crusade. ²² What the Crusades did do was to provide the continent with completely new vistas, and to enrich it with a new sense of heightened awareness. The first half of the twelfth century, which saw the rise of heraldry in Europe, was an age of triumphant imagination. Crusaders returning home brought with them not only descriptions of the emirs' magnificent standards, the colours and drapery and ornate decoration of the East, ²³ but also tales of exotic beasts such as griffins and elephants, lions and pards, fanciful birds such as peacocks and popinjays, and strange plants and flowers. Such souvenirs were to provide the heraldic menagerie with a new and popular stock.

The Crusades were indirectly responsible for the development of heraldry in another way. Every crusader wore the same badge, the sign of the cross (signum crucis), which not only identified him as a soldier of Christ, but also, as the sign of life (signum vitae), in a very real way protected him. The importance attached to this emblem and the many uses to which it was put must have acted as a stimulus for knights everywhere to decorate their shields, saddles and so forth with a host of other associative devices. For example, when Count Helias (d.1100), the father-in-law of Fulk V Count of Anjou (who later became king of Jerusalem), decided to depart on the First Crusade he told his friends, 'I will not abandon the cross of our saviour which I have taken up as a pilgrim; but I will have it engraved on my shield and helmet and all my arms (in omnibus armis); on my saddle and bridle also I will stamp the sign of the holy cross'.²⁴



Fig. 8 A 13th-century knight whose shield device is repeated on his surcoat, saddle and helm.
(Drawing by Matthew Paris)

The sign of the cross must therefore have acted as a clear precedent not only for decoration but also for the multifarious use of distinguishing devices (compare fig.8); as such it helped pave the way for true heraldry.

Tournaments

The so-called 'Christian knight' who fought on Crusade was the cornerstone of the new ethos of chivalry that flourished in twelfth-century Europe and had such an important influence in the Middle Ages in civilising the feudal governing class of knights. In reality, however, when the knight was not engaged in actual warfare, his mind was all too often taken up with such pleasures of the flesh as hunting or the tournament. The practice of tournaments originated some time around the middle of the eleventh century, but it was only in the following century that these knightly exercises took on a professional and cult nature of their own. The rise of chivalry and its concomitant courtly ethos is closely linked with the rise of heraldry, and this is particularly evident in the development of the tournament.

Like heraldry, tournaments became something of a vogue amongst the nobility of the twelfth century. They were distinctively aristocratic affairs often involving considerable expense and organisation. The stakes were sometimes very high - fortunes could be won or lost, and there are not a few examples of men of the highest political importance losing their lives in these mock battles.²⁵ Tournaments attracted men of the most noble and chivalric stock, such as Philip d'Alsace, Count of Flanders (d.1191), and Henry 'the Young King' of England (d.1183). Consequently these meetings acted as the crossroads for the interaction and fostering of new knightly ideals and fashions, such as heraldry.

Like most things chivalric, including the adoption of armorial bearings, the origins of the tournament lay in northern France.²⁶ William Marshal, who as a knight-errant in the reign of Henry II won fame and fortune roving from one tournament to another, was told that he would only be able to gratify his chivalric passions in France; England in contrast was deadly dull.²⁷ Henry II of England, following the command of the Church, had put a ban on these 'torments' as one witty English courtier called them,²⁸ and it was not until 1194, and then for financial gain, that they were once again permitted in this country.²⁹ It is perhaps significant that not only were armorial bearings introduced into England during the reign of Stephen, but that after the accession of Henry II with the subsequent absence of tournaments, it took a long time for heraldry to establish itself firmly this side of the Channel.

The most significant connection between heraldry and the tournament must, however, lie in the rise of heralds of arms, those men who made it their business to know and recognise knights by their shields and banners. With the growing sophistication of armour, itself stimulated by these knightly exercises, recognition at tournaments was essential; it was important to know your enemy. The courtly literature of the period abounds with references to jousts taking place between two individuals unaware of one another's identity. Often this would be due to one of the knights having deliberately entered the meeting

under bogus arms.³⁰ As on the battlefield, so in the tournament mêlée, shields and crests (as well as war-cries) were the only means of distinguishing friend from foe.

Heralds had originally been criers (*præcones*) who made formal announcements to citizens in the streets,³¹ or to members of households and courts,³² or more usually to the assembled military host.³³ Very often they became closely associated with minstrels and jongleurs either as colleagues or rivals, and sometimes the two rôles were combined.³⁴ Not surprisingly then, the main qualification of a herald for much of the twelfth century was a good voice. Later they also came to attach themselves to knights-errant eager for glory, and would announce through the countryside forthcoming tournaments in which their masters would be taking part.³⁵ At the meeting itself it became the special rôle of the heralds who could identify the various shields to announce each combatant at his entry. The earliest known reference to a herald of arms appears in the description of a tournament, and comes from a courtly French romance written in the 1170s.³⁶ The herald in this episode is clearly expected to recognise the hero's shield.

Thus it became the peculiar concern of the heralds, once originally criers or minstrels, to be able to recognise instantly heraldic devices; indeed they were to give their name to such emblems. It was also very probably the heralds who helped to evolve the consistent and systematic use of such arms, and who in the following century persuaded clerks to 'write' them down as long rolls of painted shields so that they could be better memorised. As the tournament, with all its chivalric attraction and splendour of display gained importance, so in turn the heraldic arms and the work of the heralds present took on new significance. Random and inconsistent use of arms must have served to confuse not only those taking part, but more especially the new breed of heralds.

On succeeding to the throne of England in 1199, King John discarded his own arms, which had served him well since 1185, and adopted instead those of his brother, Richard the Lionheart. Thus even the highest family in the land had come to realise the potential honour that could be attached to certain shield devices. John's new arms, the three golden lions passant guardant on red, were clearly more than simply shield decoration or the purely practical means of his recognition in battle. They were the visual expression of his new standing in society. As an hereditary device this prestigious shield has remained the heraldic arms of every sovereign of England since that date.

By the end of the twelfth century heraldic arms were in general use from the king right down to the humble shire knight. From the opening decades of the following century shields not blazoned with arms were rapidly becoming the exception. That these devices if used consistently took on a new

importance of their own, either for the purposes of recognition or as symbols of knightly honour and lordship, soon became obvious.

Furthermore, an increasingly systematic usage had come to be applied to shield devices. For example, ties of feudal dependency or loyalty, kinship or affection, were reflected in variations or 'differences' of an initial coat.³⁷ The families of Say, Beauchamp of Bedford, Clavering, Vere, Lacy and possibly a few others, all connected with one another through the notorious rebel leader, Geoffrey de Mandeville (d. 1144) and his wife, but not otherwise, used slight modifications of the 'premier' coat, Quarterly, or and gules, which was later re-adopted by Geoffrey's successors in the Earldom of Essex.³⁸ Likewise, a number of associative devices found their way into a host of related shields. Twelfth-century examples include the chevrons of the great house of Clare,³⁹ the wheat-sheaves of the counts of Clermont-en-Beauvaisis,⁴⁰ and most important of all the lion of the ruling family of England.⁴¹

Such relationships might also be reflected on the shield by the practice of 'marshalling'. In this process two separate shields were repeated side by side (on a single new shield) either whole, i.e.



Fig. 9 Bottom shield: The dimidiated arms of the Emperor, Otto IV.
(Drawing by Matthew Paris)

'impaled', or literally cut in half, i.e. 'dimidiated'; shields 'quartered' together do not seem to have appeared until the following century.⁴² Otto IV (elected King of the Romans in 1198 and crowned Emperor in 1209) dimidiated the arms of England with those of the Empire, 'out of affection for the king of England' (fig.9).⁴³ In the thirteenth century, seals (particularly of women and heiresses) often bore two or more separate shields reflecting various family or feudal relationships.⁴⁴

The increasing popularity of heraldic devices resulted from the mid-twelfth century onwards, in arms being repeated on horse trappings⁴⁵ and linen surcoats - hence 'coats of arms'.⁴⁶ Crests too, and even the helmets themselves might reproduce the principal shield device (fig.8).⁴⁷ Women's garments, particularly mantles, were also decorated heraldically, often with very striking and beautiful results,⁴⁸ and women themselves were increasingly using their own, personal armorial seals.⁴⁹

But despite this growing sophistication and familiarity, heraldry at the close of the twelfth century was still very much in its infancy. While by 1200 there were fairly full descriptions of shields, it was not for another half century, with the influence of heralds and the appearance of rolls of arms, that the grammar and vocabulary of heraldic blazons became rigidly established.⁵⁰ For the meantime, there was still a large degree of uncertainty and fluidity about shield design.⁵¹ It was in these initial stages of the development of heraldry that the royal arms of England first appeared; they have remained unchanged ever since.

PART II

THE ROYAL ARMS

THE HOUSE OF NORMANDY : 1066-1154

Two more Dragons shall follow, one of which
 will be killed by the sting of envy, and the
 second will return under the cover of authority.
 The Lion of Justice will come next, and at his
 roar the towers of Gaul shall shake and the
 island Dragons tremble.

Geoffrey of Monmouth, 'Prophecies of Merlin'

The century following the Norman Conquest witnessed the emergence of armorial bearings in England, though even at the close of this period heraldry was still very much an exotic plant this side of the Channel. Not surprisingly then, there is no direct evidence of any hereditary devices being used by the ruling family during this time,¹ although this may have been due also to the fact that William Rufus was the only Anglo-Norman king between 1066 and 1154 to succeed his father; indeed, the period witnessed two contests (following 1087 and 1135) fought over disputed successions within the royal family itself. Nevertheless, each of the Norman kings almost certainly used some form of personal standard.

William I

As far as is known neither William I nor his son, William Rufus, used any kind of consistent shield device, or even proto-heraldic device. There is certainly no evidence that any of the Norman kings bore either the arms, Gules, two lions passant guardant or, traditionally associated with the duchy of Normandy,² or the three lions shield of England (adopted in 1195), which was first attributed to them, without foundation, by Matthew Paris in the mid-thirteenth century.³

In a well known scene at Hastings the Conqueror was forced to doff his helmet and show his face, thus proving to his men that he was still alive and in command (fig.6).⁴ Later, during a battle in 1079, even his own son Robert unknowingly unhorsed him, and only recognised his father when he began to speak.⁵ It was thus William's face and voice, and not any specific shield device, that his men recognised in battle. William of Poitiers (writing in about 1073-74), when given the opportunity to describe the young Duke's shield, makes no mention of any emblem or device,⁶ and Wace (writing in about 1160), when describing the same scene, simply adds that he carried a plain, golden shield.⁷ The Bayeux Tapestry is likewise silent on the subject and reveals no consistent shield device used by the Conqueror.⁸

Nevertheless, William probably did use some form of personal standard other than, of course, the Papal Banner granted to him specifically for the invasion of England.⁹ Flags and standards had for some time come to be closely associated with their owner or owners; at Hastings, for example, Harold was personally associated with his standard of the Fighting Man.¹⁰ Such a banner belonging to the Conqueror would no doubt have acted as a rallying standard under which he could have grouped the many diverse elements of his invasion force. It may be that his personal standard was that of the duke of Normandy,¹¹ being perhaps a simple affair comprising a cross or roundels, or possibly a single colour.¹²

William II

As with his father there is no evidence that William Rufus used a consistent shield device. Indeed, he had a very similar experience to that of his father when he too was mistakenly unhorsed, and only recognised when he could voice his opinion; the guilty knight even admitted that he had mistaken the King for a mere soldier.¹³ On the Conqueror's death in 1087, Robert, the eldest son, received the patrimony, Normandy, whilst Rufus took the acquisition, England. Had their father, therefore, used some specific flag or device for the Duchy it would probably have been jealously guarded by Robert. Presumably Rufus would have had to adopt some other standard until such time as he virtually gained possession of the Duchy in 1096.

Certainly during Rufus' reign, flags and banners were becoming increasingly important, and no doubt the King of England had his own personal flag. Orderic Vitalis, describing the scene after Le Mans had been handed over to William, states that, 'as soon as the guardians had withdrawn they [Rufus' men] took over all the defences of the city and raised the king's standard (*vexillum regis*) with great ceremony from the main tower'.¹⁴ Such a flag, clearly recognisable to all, must have constituted something more than a simple lance pennant as depicted on William's royal seal. It may, for instance, have been a distinctive gonfalon, rather like the celebrated Oriflamme mentioned in The Song of Roland.

Henry I

After the sudden death of William Rufus in 1100 there followed a long reign of comparative peace in the Anglo-Norman realm which saw the gradual emergence of a new militarily and socially élite class of knights, and a more settled aristocracy; a period in which the civilised arts of life were cultivated, and which witnessed the first examples of true heraldry.¹⁵

The new king, Henry, probably used some sort of lion device which he may well have depicted on the personal standard that he is known to have used. In 1102 the besieged castle of Bridgnorth welcomed the king's troop 'with the royal standard' (*cum regali vexillo*),¹⁶ and at the Battle of

Bremule in 1119, Edward of Salisbury, 'a brave champion', is said to have been the King's standard-bearer.¹⁷

In an age when other kings and nobles were using quasi-heraldic devices, and in which standards and shields were becoming increasingly important as a means of recognition, it may be assumed that Henry also was using some kind of device. As we have seen, associative devices, particularly on seals, were at this time coming to be used more consistently as the lands and titles whose possession they indicated gradually became more stable and settled. The kings of France, for instance, had long been associated with their quasi-heraldic device - the fleur de lys.¹⁸ Similarly, Henry appears to have been identified with the lion. Within a few years of his death he was closely linked with the 'Lion of Justice' mentioned in Geoffrey of Monmouth's popular work 'The Prophecies of Merlin' written in about 1136-38;¹⁹ perhaps this was in recognition of the great strides forward made in the administration of English government and law during his reign. Geoffrey also described Henry's sons as 'the cubs of the lion',²⁰ and the King is known to have kept these royal beasts, along with leopards, in his menagerie at Woodstock.²¹ Moreover, a number of his close relations and descendants used a lion device (see fig. 14 and the family tree at the end of this chapter).

One such person was his son-in-law, Geoffrey Count of Anjou, the father of Henry II. According to the chronicler John of Marmoutier, writing in about 1170, Henry knighted Geoffrey on the tenth of June 1128, in an elaborate ceremony at Rouen in preparation for the latter's wedding a week later to the King's daughter, Maud, widow of the Emperor Henry V.²² The young man (Geoffrey was then aged fourteen), having bathed and put on shoes that bore little golden lions, received from Henry a blue shield similarly charged with golden lioncels (*leonculus aureos*). Geoffrey continued to use these arms until his early death in 1151²³ when they were incorporated in the famous enamel plaque (*frontispiece*) hung over his tomb in Le Mans cathedral.²⁴ The arms were therefore used consistently, and indeed can be called heraldic in the strict sense of the word, since Geoffrey's bastard grandson, William Longespée Earl of Salisbury (d. 1226) also bore them as did his own descendants.²⁵

Geoffrey's shield very probably reflected Henry's own arms, which probably also consisted of a lion or lions. The King may well have bestowed such a shield upon his future son-in-law both as an honour and as an outward expression of their new association. In 1128 Henry was particularly anxious to see his daughter wedded to Geoffrey le Bel.²⁶ It was hoped that one day the marriage would provide the English King with a grandson and heir. More significantly the union would both avert the immediate danger of Anjou joining the recently established Franco-Flemish alliance threatening Henry's duchy of Normandy, and would also put an end to the long standing Anglo-Angevin rivalry. It would not not have been surprising, therefore, if in 1128 Henry had chosen to reflect the familial and political importance of his new relationship



Fig. 10 *Effigy of William Longespée, Earl of Salisbury (d. 1226) in Salisbury Cathedral*

with Geoffrey by bestowing on the young Angevin a shield with arms very similar, though not identical, to his own.²⁷

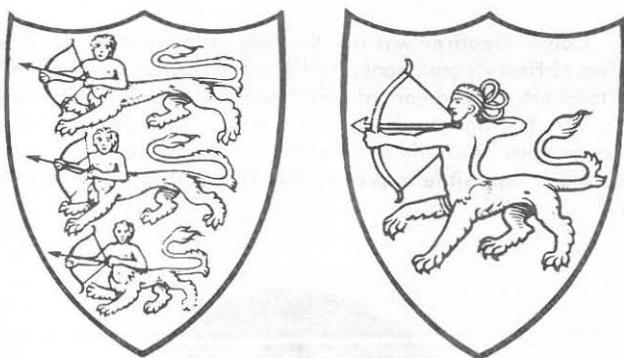
Count Geoffrey was not the only relation of Henry to use a lion device. Two of Henry's grandsons, William FitzEmpress (d.1164),²⁸ and William FitzRobert, second earl of Gloucester (1147-1183),²⁹ did so (figs. 15 and 11), and it is almost certain that a third, Henry II, used lions in some form or another upon his shield or shields. It may reasonably be concluded, therefore, though impossible to prove, that Henry also used a lion device in some way.



*Fig. 11 Seal of William FitzRobert (d. 1183)
Grandson of Henry I.*

Stephen

'Of outstanding skill in arms, but in other matters almost an idiot' was how one contemporary courtier described Henry's nephew and successor, Stephen.³⁰ After a long period of comparative calm, coupled with the rise of chivalry and a growing desire for security of hereditary succession, Stephen's reign saw the general advent of true heraldic bearings into England. Stephen himself doubtless used some sort of associative device. Traditionally, though again without any foundation, he has been credited with the Sagittary symbol. Nicholas Upton, writing in about 1446, ascribed to him the arms, three Sagittaries on a red field (fig.12), because he had ascended the throne under that zodiacal sign.³¹ Ralph Brooke, York Herald (1593-1625), later ascribed a single golden Sagittary on red to Stephen (fig.13), repeating Upton's explanation and adding that the device also alluded to the victory clinched by Stephen's archers when he was claiming the throne in 1135.³² Both these shields it must be remembered, however, are the products of much later generations, and there is no contemporary evidence that Stephen used either coat.



Figs. 12 & 13 Two versions of the arms attributed to King Stephen.

Nevertheless, like his predecessor, he did use a personal standard.³³ Possibly this would have been more in the shape of an heraldic banner, deeper than it was broad, as opposed to the gonfanon with its long, tapering streamers. According to the contemporary chronicler Henry of Huntingdon, Stephen's royal standard (*ipsius regis insignita vexillo*) was carried at the Battle of Lincoln in 1141.³⁴ The King deployed his troops so that men of his own personal army, presumably consisting of his best knights, were entrusted with the care of this standard. Evidently this flag was of sufficient importance to be very closely guarded, though unfortunately it is not described by any of the chroniclers.³⁵

There is no evidence that either of Stephen's sons, Eustace (d.1153) or William (d.1160), used arms. In 1153 the King recognised the future Henry II as his lawful heir 'by hereditary right', and when in the following year after nineteen long winters he died, the throne of England passed to the young Angevin.



Overleaf: The Lion of England and its descent within the royal family

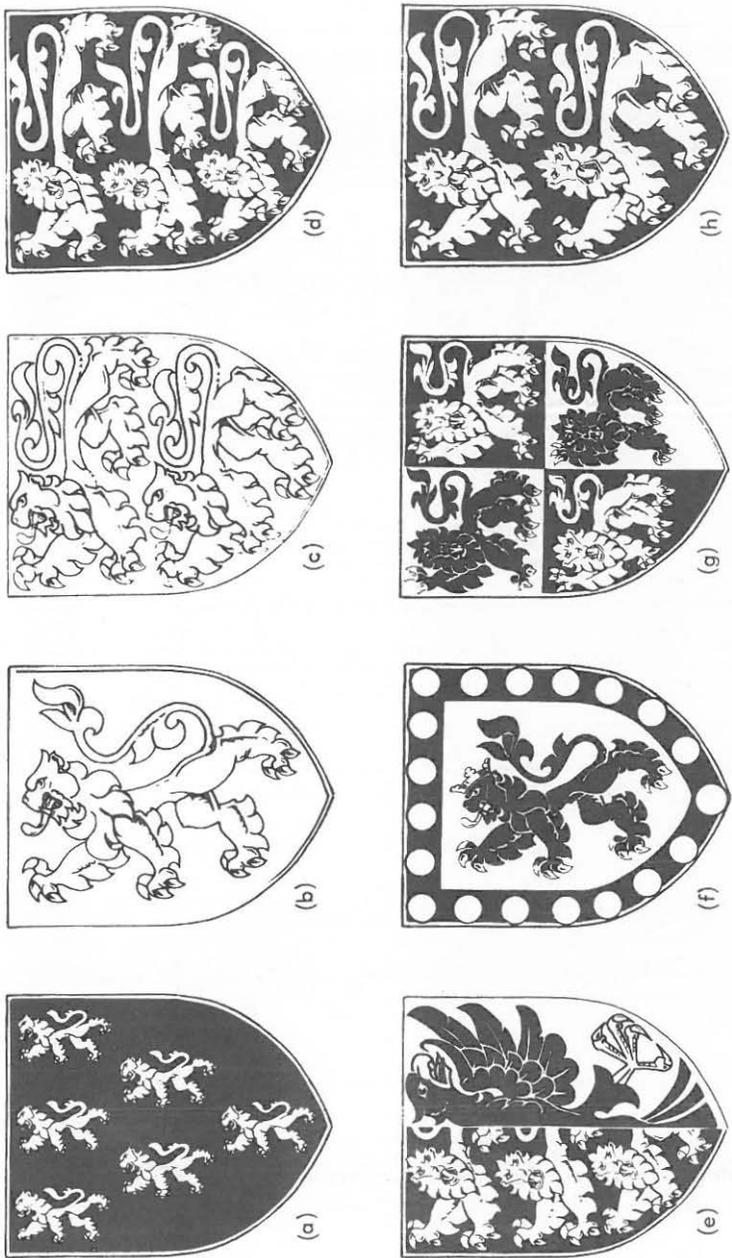
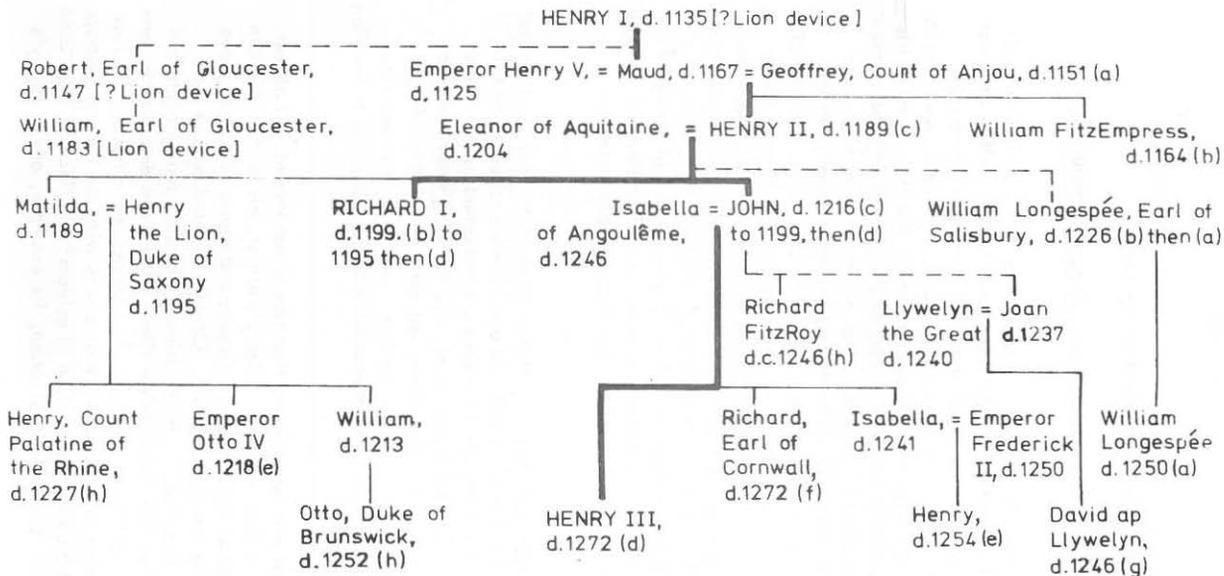


Fig. 14 The Lion of England and its descent within the royal family.



(a) Azure six lions rampant or.

(b) A lion rampant.

(c) Two lions passant.

(d) Gules three lions passant guardant or.

(e) England dimidiating the Empire.

(f) Argent a lion rampant gules crowned or within a bordure sable bezanty.

(g) Quarterly or and gules four lions passant guardant counterchanged.

(h) Gules two lions passant guardant or.

1. This pedigree is based upon that by Wagner in 'Heraldry' in Medieval England (1958) though here amended.

2. Henry II probably also used shields (a) and (b).

3. Henry, Duke of Brunswick used (b), but long before marrying Matilda, daughter of Henry II.

HENRY II : 1154-1189

He scorned to place proud necks under the French
And the indomitable lion rejected any yoke.

Stephen of Rouen, Draco Normannicus

The ruler of an 'empire' that stretched from the Scottish lowlands to the Pyrenees, Henry FitzEmpress was the most powerful, as well as the most respected, leader of his day. Not surprisingly he is known to have used armorial bearings of some sort. An eye-witness account of the Crusades states that in 1187 a company of troops that had been raised in the Holy Land at his expense were ordered to set the arms (les armes) of the king of England in their banners; sadly, no description of these arms was given.¹ Certainly other contemporary kings and rulers, such as Ferdinand II King of Leon, Philip d'Alsace Count of Flanders, and Henry the Lion Duke of Saxony, had also all found it convenient to adopt or inherit armorial bearings.² Henry's father, Geoffrey Count of Anjou, his brother, William FitzEmpress, and at least one of his sons all used arms during his lifetime. Unfortunately, once again, none of Henry's seals,³ nor those of his wife Eleanor,⁴ and their sons, Henry the Young King,⁵ Richard Duke of Aquitaine,⁶ or Geoffrey Duke of Brittany⁷ reveal any heraldic emblems. However, since we know that Henry II certainly used arms, it does not necessarily follow that these people were non-armigerous.

Like his predecessor Stephen, Henry is known to have used a royal standard, and doubtless the devices displayed upon it were repeated on his shield. In 1157, when the King and his men were ambushed by the Welsh, Henry of Essex the King's Constable panicked, and throwing down the royal standard (vexillo regio), declared that Henry was dead and that all should flee.⁸ That later he had to pay heavily for this crime reveals something of the importance attached not only to his treasonable action, but also to the flag that he was privileged to carry.

Exactly what was depicted on that flag is not known, but almost certainly it consisted of a lion or lions. Henry's father, his brother William FitzEmpress (fig.15), and at least three of his sons and seven of his grandsons used a lion shield of some sort (see fig.14). Other kings and princes were decorating their shields likewise.⁹ Henry himself (in the opening quotation to this chapter) was called 'the indomitable lion',¹⁰ and was described by one of his courtiers as having a 'lion-like face'.¹¹ Moreover, a number of close associates, perhaps wishing to stress their relationship with the King or perhaps having been given shields by him as a token of esteem and affection, also used the lion as their device. Eustace FitzStephen, for example, one of Henry's

chamberlains, used a lion device on his seal,¹² as did nother close attendant to the King, Richard de Comville (d.1176).¹³ Warin FitzGerold, Gervase Paynell, Hugh IV Count of St Pol, Henry Count Palatine of the Rhine, and the Counts of St Walery and Mortain, all close associates or relations of Henry II, also used lion shields.¹⁴ That Henry did likewise seems inevitable.



Fig. 15 Seal of William FitzEmpress, brother of Henry II (1154-1164).

Traditionally Henry is said to have been responsible for adding the lion rampant of Aquitaine in honour of his wife Eleanor to the two lions shield of Normandy, thus producing the three lions passant guardant shield of England. There is in fact no evidence that either of these duchies was using these precise arms at that time,¹⁵ though it is highly probable that Henry did use a shield charged with two lions passant guardant. As well as this last coat, Henry may well have also used two other shields - a single-lion shield and the golden lions rampant on blue that belonged to his father, Geoffrey Le Bel, Count of Anjou.

The Angevin Coat: Azure, six Lions rampant or

In an age when male line descent was all important, Henry II's ancestry was clearly Angevin.¹⁶ In 1128, when his mother, the Empress Maud, heiress of Normandy, was married to Geoffrey of Anjou, the peoples of that county rejoiced, for in their eyes England and Normandy would be added to their Empire. By the time that Henry had succeeded to the throne of England he had taken over two other 'empires': the duchy of Aquitaine (by his marriage in 1152 to Eleanor, recently divorced from King Louis of France, and Duchess of Aquitaine in her own right), and the duchy of Normandy (his mother's inheritance). From December 1154 he was accordingly styled 'King of the English, Duke of the Normans and Aquitanians and Count of the Angevins'. Anjou might come last in this formidable list, but it was there that the very beginnings of his Empire lay.

Henry's paternal grandfather, Fulk V Count of Anjou (d.1142), almost certainly used some form of arms, or at least a royal standard, as king of Jerusalem;¹⁷ Henry's father, Count Geoffrey, was certainly armigerous. Since becoming count of Anjou himself in 1151, Henry may well have adopted his father's coat, Azure, six lions rampant or. The only evidence for this, however, is slight. Firstly, one of Henry's illegitimate sons, William Longespée Earl of Salisbury (d.1226), and his descendants used this same coat, which means that initially it must have descended through Henry II himself. Secondly, in his *Chroniques des ducs de Normandie*, the French poet, Benoît, attributed to William I (without foundation) a shield identical to that of Count Geoffrey.¹⁸ Benoît's work had been specially commissioned by Henry, and it is possible that the author had wished to flatter his patron by deliberately associating him heraldically with his great ancestor, William the Conqueror. Otherwise there is no further evidence that Henry used this shield.

The Anglo-Norman Realm

Three lion shields have been commonly attributed to Henry II: a lion rampant, two lions passant guardant, and the three lions passant guardant of England. There is no evidence whatsoever that this last coat was ever used by Henry, though it is very probable that he used one or both of the other two shields.

A Single Lion Rampant: By 1150 Henry was duke of Normandy, and by Christmas 1153 Stephen's officially acknowledged successor and 'heir by hereditary right' to the kingdom of England.¹⁹ Since before the age of ten years he had claimed both the Duchy and the Kingdom as his inheritance by right of his mother, Maud; in his earliest known charter (1141) he styled himself 'Henry, son of King Henry's daughter and rightful heir to England and Normandy'.²⁰ It is thus very possible that, wishing to emphasise these hereditary rights, he deliberately chose the arms not of his father, Geoffrey of Anjou, but rather those of his maternal grandfather, Henry I, who, as king of England, had very probably used a lion device, possibly a single lion rampant.

Count Geoffrey was never regarded (at least outside Anjou) as the equal of his wife, the widow of an emperor and daughter and heiress of a king of England and duke of Normandy. Henry thus looked more to the King of England as his illustrious forebear (and after whom he had been named) than to his Angevin equivalent, a mere count. Furthermore, his father Geoffrey had planned to divide his lands on his death so that it was not Anjou but England and Normandy that Henry was to look to as his permanent inheritance; Henry was to have Anjou only until such time as he could come fully into his mother's Anglo-Norman inheritance.²¹ In the end he did, of course, reject this settlement, and from 1154 he retained his so-called 'Angevin Empire' in toto.

Had Henry wished to associate himself with his maternal grandfather, which seems to have been the case, then he might well have adopted the lion device that his royal ancestor had very probably used. He had, moreover, been brought up in the household of that most chivalrous patron of the arts and favourite son of Henry I, Robert, Duke of Gloucester, and there is evidence that Robert likewise used a lion device. ²²

There is also some evidence from contemporary literature that Henry II bore a single-lion coat. ²³ Around 1160 the poet Thomas, who was probably attached to Henry's court, wrote an Old French version of the famous romance of Tristan and Queen Iseult. Unfortunately only a fragment of this work remains, though much of the rest can be ascertained through derivations based on Thomas' original work. Two such derivations are the Old Norse *Tristamsagga* and the Middle English *Sir Tristram*. The former describes the cloth trappings of Tristan's horse as red with golden lions, and the latter talks of Tristan's *lyouns* in this connection. Moreover, the decorated Chertsey Tiles from Chertsey Abbey, Surrey (about mid-thirteenth century), which all take their material from Thomas' version of the Tristan legend, depict the hero with a lion rampant on his shield. ²⁴ It is possible then, that in the missing portion of Thomas' *Tristan*, the hero's arms were Gules, a lion rampant or. Since Thomas was probably closely associated with the royal court, it is possible that these arms are a clear allusion to those of Henry II, heraldic flattery in literature not being uncommon in this period.

Henry's brother, William FitzEmpress, and two of his sons, William Longespée Earl of Salisbury and Richard as king, bore shields bearing a single lion rampant. There does not seem to have been any organised system of cadency (the differencing of shields by closely related members of a single family) as early as the mid-twelfth century, though brothers and sons for some time to come would carry shields very similar, if not identical, to a premier coat in much the same way as sub-vassals and related families were doing. ²⁵ It is possible, therefore, that Henry II used just such a coat consisting of a single lion.

Two Lions Passant (Guardant): Two arguments have been put forward in the past to suggest that Henry bore this coat. Traditionally he is said to have borne these arms as duke of Normandy. More recently it has been argued that since two of those whom he had knighted used this same shield then, according to the practice whereby a 'patron-in-chivalry' bestowed upon the newly-made knight a shield identical or similar to his own, Henry must have likewise used a shield charged with two lions passant. ²⁶ However, both explanations are not entirely valid. The first can be readily dismissed since the two lions shield did not become officially associated with Normandy for a number of centuries to come; the second cannot alone provide sufficient grounds to justify the belief that Henry used these arms. There are, however, other reasons to support this theory, which will become obvious if we take a closer look at this so-called chivalric custom.

The two men whom Henry knighted and who are supposed to have subsequently adopted their patron's arms are John, fifth son of Henry II,²⁷ and Hugh IV, Count of St Pol (d.1205).²⁸ (That John was using lions passant (see fig.16) and Henry is supposed to have used lions passant guardant is of little significance in these early days of heraldry.)²⁹



Fig. 16 Seal of John, Lord of Ireland Count of Mortain (1185-1199).

However, as in the case of Henry I and Geoffrey of Anjou, the subsequent use of a particular shield by a newly-dubbed knight does not necessarily prove that the patron-in-chivalry who knighted him was using those precise arms. The practice of adopting the patron's arms may not have been as widespread as was once thought.³⁰ It is more likely that, since both John and the Count of St Pol had been knighted by the king of England, both very naturally wished to express their association with the crown by adopting or adapting his shield device; the two lions coat, if it were the arms of Henry II, would obviously have been a prestigious shield to reflect in one's own arms. Or it may be that Henry II deliberately bestowed upon these two young men a version of his own shield as a sign of honour or perhaps personal affection.³¹ In 1185 when he was knighted (after which date he used an armorial seal), John was in high favour with his father. It was hoped that he would soon be king of Ireland (though this never came to pass), and in July 1187, a couple of years later, it was proposed that he should hold all his father's continental estates except Normandy which would remain with England as the heritage of his intransigent older brother, Richard.³² The Count of St Pol, when he was knighted by the King in 1179, was also in Henry's good books. According to the English Exchequer account for Michaelmas 1179, the King pardoned Hugh from a debt of 11½ marcs - not an enormous sum, but a pardon all the same.³³ Both John and Hugh therefore had good reason to reflect in their own arms those of the

king of England, and it is perhaps this evidence rather than any so-called chivalric custom of the time that should lead us to suppose that Henry used two lions passant guardant as his coat of arms.

If both these knights were following a particular custom of automatically assuming their patron's arms, then we might expect to find two corollaries: first, that knights dubbed by the same patron all bore arms similar or identical to the premier coat of that patron; and second, that those using similar or identical arms were knighted by a common patron. Unfortunately, evidence does not support either of these two assertions, at least for the twelfth century, though that of course does not mean that men like John or the Count of St Pol did not, for some other reason, assume a version of their patron's arms.

Examples of newly-made knights adopting arms very dissimilar from those of their patron are not uncommon, though evidence for the twelfth century is generally very scanty; seldom are the arms of both the patron and the newly-dubbed knight known.³⁴ Orderic Vitalis notes in his chronicle that after the death of Robert Count of Meulan, 'his particular supporter and advisor', Henry I, brought up the Count's twin sons Waleran and Robert 'as affectionately as his own children', and that when they reached adolescence he knighted them.³⁵ There were therefore very strong bonds between these two young knights and their patron-in-chivalry, the King. Henry I probably used a lion device, yet it is known that at least Waleran used a checky shield.³⁶ There does not seem then to have been any adoption, or even adoption, of the patron's shield in this early instance where such a practice might have been strongly suspected.

In 1173 Louis VII, who was probably using the fleur de lys shield at the time, knighted Richard, the son of Henry II.³⁷ Nevertheless, Richard later used two shields both of which bore some form of lion device and not the French flower. Indeed, it would have been strange in the light of his later enmity with Louis' successor Philip Augustus had he borne arms reflecting those of the kingdom of France. As duke of Aquitaine and later as king of England, doubtless he would have wished to have associated himself heraldically with those territorial lordships. Whereas it was always intended that Richard's older brother, the Young King, should also be knighted by Louis, he was in fact knighted by his chivalric tutor, the up and coming William Marshal.³⁸ No arms are known for either of these men in 1173, when the ceremony took place, but once again it would have been extraordinary if the heir to the Anglo-Norman throne had not associated himself with that high office but had instead taken the arms of, in this instance, a landless knight-errant.³⁹

Again, had the practice been widespread and the adoption of one's patron's arms automatic, those in high station such as the king of England, would have been perpetually bestowing their arms on all and sundry. Henry I knighted amongst many others his son-in-law Geoffrey of Anjou, the twin sons of Robert of Meulan already mentioned, Stephen later king of England,⁴⁰ and David, later king of Scotland (1124-1153).⁴¹ Those whom Henry II knighted

included Malcolm, King of Scotland (1153-1165)⁴² and his brother, David Earl of Huntingdon (d.1219);⁴³ Stephen's son William Count of Boulogne and Mortain,⁴⁴ two of his own sons, Geoffrey Duke of Brittany⁴⁵ and John,⁴⁶ and of course the Count of St Pol.⁴⁷ Furthermore, the problem would have been exacerbated in the following century when there arose the fashion of mass investitures, in which the king, amid much splendour, knighted sometimes more than fifty young men all on the same occasion.⁴⁸

Had all these young men even adapted the arms of their king, then there would have been little honour left in the bestowal of such a prize. As we know, Robert's son, Waleran, used a checky shield; David, Earl of Huntingdon, probably used a shield charged with three piles.⁴⁹ Moreover, it would have been strange if, for example, Stephen and his opponent Geoffrey, Maud's husband, both knighted by Henry I, used the same arms. Another curious feature would have arisen from the fact that Henry I knighted David, King of Scotland, David in his turn knighted Duke Henry later king of England,⁵⁰ and Henry as king of England in his turn knighted Malcolm, King of Scotland. Whose arms would have been adopted by whom? Furthermore, there certainly would have been little that was hereditary about such coats.

Again, had the practice of adopting one's patron's arms been widespread, it might be expected that those using identical or similar arms were knighted by a common patron. Thus, it has been suggested that since John and the Count of St Pol were using the same arms and it is known that their common patron was Henry II, he too must have used these arms. However, there does not appear to be any evidence that Gervase Paynell, for example, who was using this shield in 1187, was also knighted by Henry II.⁵¹ Nor does there appear to be any evidence that Bernard IV Count of St Walery, Warin FitzGerold, and Henry Count Palatine of the Rhine, who all used this coat, were knighted by Henry. Nevertheless, in spite of this, it was no accident that these particular men, including John and the Count of St Pol, used the two lions passant shield (though presumably with different colours); for all were close associates of Henry II.

Gervase Paynell was baron and lord of Dudley Castle, and in the civil war supported Henry's mother against Stephen.⁵² Despite a brief lapse when he joined the Young King's rebellion in 1173, Gervase continually enjoyed the King's favour, and in September 1189 he attended the coronation of Henry's son, Richard. He died in about 1194⁵³ when his estates and coat of arms passed through his sister and heiress, Hawise, to the Somery family.⁵⁴

Two other close friends of Henry II were Reginald II and his son Bernard IV (the older), both Counts of St Walery.⁵⁵ The former was for a time one of Henry's stewards before his accession in 1154, and during his reign was also his Justiciar for all of Normandy.⁵⁶ His arms are not known, but his counterseal device was a lion passant.⁵⁷ In either 1166 or 1167

Reginald was succeeded by his son Bernard⁵⁸ who, like his father, had been one of a group of ambassadors sent to the Pope in 1165 by Henry in his notorious quarrel with Becket. In 1186 Bernard was once again called upon to act as a royal ambassador, this time alongside the famous Justiciar Ranulph Glanville. Bernard died on Crusade, probably in 1191, and was succeeded by his brother Thomas early in 1192.⁵⁹ Both men used the arms, two lions passant as depicted on their seals, Thomas having assumed the arms on his brother's death.⁶⁰

Another trusted officer of the crown was Warin FitzGerold (d. 1216). He came from a family of hereditary chamberlains,⁶¹ and it is known that Warin was himself a chamberlain to both Henry II and Richard I, having succeeded to his father's lands in 1177-78 when he was aged about ten or eleven.⁶² His seal depicts the arms, two lions passant guardant,⁶³ which he had very probably inherited from his father, Henry FitzGerold.⁶⁴ Henry II may well have bestowed these arms upon the FitzGerolds in recognition of their services to the crown, or it may be that the family deliberately adopted them as a visible expression of their high station within the royal household.

Henry Count Palatine of the Rhine (d. 1227) was, after John, perhaps the closest in this list to King Henry II who was his grandfather. His mother, Matilda (b. 1156), was Henry's eldest daughter, and early in 1168 she was married to Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony and Bavaria (d. 1195). After his forfeiture in 1182, Henry the Lion and his wife remained in exile in England until 1185, and then again in 1189.⁶⁵ During this time their sons, Henry, Otto and William, were brought up in the court of the king of England, which seems to have made a lasting impression not only on their minds but also on their shields. Even before 1195, when he became Count Palatine of the Rhine (by right of his wife) and Duke of Brunswick (his father's inheritance), Henry, the eldest son, seems to have been using the two lions shield.⁶⁶ His brother, the Emperor Otto IV, was a close friend and ally of both King Richard and King John, and he later dimidiated the arms of the Empire with those of England 'out of affection for the king of England' (fig. 9).⁶⁷ The youngest son became known as William of Winchester (where he was born in 1184), and his son Otto, as duke of Brunswick, also bore the arms, Gules, two lions passant guardant or.⁶⁸ While, then, Henry the Lion had for many years used a single lion rampant,⁶⁹ it is significant that his eldest son, presumably also 'out of affection for the king of England', chose rather to adopt the two lions passant guardant coat.

Except for John and the Count of St Pol, there is no evidence that any of these close associates of the King were in fact knighted by him.⁷⁰ There can be no suggestion that their common shield - two lions passant - was therefore a result of their having been knighted by a common patron-in-chivalry. As far as is known, no such single person existed. But here, nevertheless, is the strongest argument for Henry having used the two lions passant coat. The only factor uniting all these illustrious but otherwise

unconnected men was their bond of association and friendship with the person of this one great King.⁷¹ It is therefore extremely likely that this particular shield was a very real reflection of the one common link between all these men, namely, Henry II. If he had used this coat, then the fact that all these men were his close associates would have been reason enough either for him to have bestowed upon them arms very similar to his own as a sign of honour, or for each of them to have deliberately adopted some version of the royal arms (regardless of whoever knighted them) as a mark of identifying themselves with their friend and royal master.

It is possible then that Henry used the Angevin coat, a single lion, or the two lions passant; certainly he was using arms of some sort in 1187. During his reign heraldry was still very much at a tender age, and there were no strict rules regarding its practice.⁷² A man could change his shield device at will; such a move would not have appeared strange or irregular. It was only towards the end of the reign that heralds of arms appeared, and initially their task was the recognition rather than the systemisation and classification of armorial bearings.⁷³ It may be that at one or two points in his lifetime Henry decided to change his shield device. At least three of his own sons, Richard, John, and their half-brother, William Longespée Earl of Salisbury, at some point discarded their old shields and adopted new ones.⁷⁴ William Marshal originally used the coat of his feudal overlord, but later, when he himself received lands and offices, adopted arms which soon became identified with his own family. Ranulph, Earl of Chester (1181-1232), exchanged his lion rampant shield for the three wheat-sheaves that are still the arms of that Earldom.⁷⁵ There are numerous other examples of men changing their arms, especially from the more armorial thirteenth century.⁷⁶ That Henry II used two or three different arms in turn would not, therefore, have been surprising; neither he nor his son Richard are the only English monarchs ever to have done so.⁷⁷

It is also possible that Henry may have used these three different coats concurrently.⁷⁸ Again, there would have been nothing unusual in this, especially if the various arms reflected several offices, such as the gold lions rampant on blue for the Count of Anjou.⁷⁹ Even today the monarch and Prince of Wales are both entitled to a number of entirely different coats of arms reflecting their various titles, though both are, of course, normally associated with some form of the arms of the United Kingdom. Often during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a feudal overlord would carry a banner charged with an entirely different device from that of his shield.⁸⁰ A famous example is that of the De Montfort knight in the stained-glass window at Chartres.⁸¹ Moreover, Matthew Paris obviously did not find it unusual to attribute three different arms to Harold II of England, and more than one coat each to Haakon IV, King of Norway, Philip Augustus, and the Saxon Kings Offa and Edmund Ironside.⁸² Perhaps in his multifarious rôle as King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine and Count of Anjou, Henry likewise bore several

arms at the same time. That this inconsistency was not very practical, however, for the purposes of recognition, and that he probably considered one coat his premier arms, probably meant that Henry was usually associated with one shield, possibly the two lions coat.

Henry died on the sixth of July 1189 a tired and broken man. His sons had in turn rebelled against him; each wanted division of their father's lands during his lifetime. The Angevin 'Empire' was little more than a loose federation of states which family squabbles and the laws of inheritance might have any day split apart. Moreover, both Henry and his father, Count Geoffrey, had planned to partition their lands; Richard also envisaged division. None of the family conceived of the Empire as a single united dominion.

In such circumstances there could have been little question of a single, hereditary coat of arms for the Angevin Empire. Henry the Young King, a man 'fruitful of new devices in war, who roused chivalry from something like slumber, and raised it to the height',⁸³ must have used arms of some sort, and the likelihood is that he adopted a shield similar to that of his father who had associated him on the Anglo-Norman throne by having him crowned joint-king.⁸⁴ His premature death in 1183 forced Henry II to revise his arrangements for the settlement of his vast territories. The old King's proposal that John should now become Count of Poitou was, however, rejected by Richard who refused to step into his deceased brother's shoes and release Aquitaine to his younger brother. Richard may well have chosen, therefore, to ignore the arms of his older brother, having himself come to be more closely identified with the Duchy he had grown up in than with the Anglo-Norman realm.⁸⁵ Thus, when John adopted the two lions passant coat in 1185, he may not only have been adopting a shield very similar to that of his father, but may also have been choosing a version of his deceased older brother's arms which were now in a sense vacant. Moreover, since the death of the Young King, John held first place in his father's affection so that it would not have been surprising if both the Young King and John had carried shields equally similar to that of their father. As for the fourth son, Geoffrey, knighted in 1178, he would probably have been using distinctive arms as duke of Brittany; the death of his older brother in 1183 does not seem to have altered his position in the family ranks in any significant way.

Henry's reign was clearly important in the development of the royal arms, and it is almost certain that he was the first king of England to use armorial bearings.⁸⁶ However, as with the Empire over which he ruled, there remained after his death little certainty as to their future; indeed, by the end of the century, King John had forsaken his two lions shield in favour of the newer shield of his late brother Richard - three lions passant guardant.

RICHARD I : 1189-1199

The King of England, that most fearful lion was aroused . . . and roared horribly, burning with a rage worthy of such a beast.

The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes
of the Time of Richard I

Richard the Lionheart, who succeeded to his father's vast territories in July 1189, used two shield devices.¹ Not surprisingly they both consisted of a lion or lions. Between his accession and at least 1195 Richard bore a single lion rampant, and for the remainder of his life until 1199 he bore the distinctive coat which has ever since remained the royal arms of England and still today holds premier place in the sovereign's shield - Gules, three lions passant guardant or.² Richard was thus the first English monarch to use this particular coat. Both his shield devices are depicted on his equestrian great seals (figs. 17 and 18),³ which hence supply the dates, though there is also other evidence that he was clearly associated with these 'arms'.⁴



Fig. 17 First great seal of Richard I (1189-1198).



Fig. 18 Second great seal of Richard I (1195–1199).

A number of important questions can be raised regarding Richard's seals and the arms depicted upon them. When and why did Richard change his first great seal? Did this first great seal depict a single lion rampant as stated above, or did it in fact depict two lions combatant, that is, two lions rampant facing one another (fig. 19)? Why did Richard change his arms at the same time as his seal? And finally, why did he subsequently choose three lions passant guardant for his new coat? Some of these questions have already been answered, some have been given undue emphasis, others have been largely ignored.

When and why did Richard change his great seal?

Fortunately this question has been fully answered elsewhere.⁵ The English Exchequer accounts or 'pipe rolls' as they are called, reveal that Richard had his second great seal cut some time between May 21st and Michaelmas 1195.⁶ The reason for this new seal appears to have been the straightforward one of financial gain. Richard was never slow to seize an opportunity to raise ready cash, be it for the Crusades, his French wars, or otherwise; he is even reported to have once declared 'I would have sold London if I could have found a bidder'.⁷ By creating a new great seal he was able to declare all existing charters under the old seal void unless renewed under the new seal; for this service he could make a monetary charge. This may therefore explain the delay between Michaelmas 1195 and Spring 1198 in putting the new seal

into use. When it was made known that all charters under the old seal needed to be regranted, a general outcry against the proceedings may have forced the King to abandon the project, and to continue using his old seal. Later on, however, financial stress may have forced him to put his plan into action. While it is true that the old seal had fallen into enemy hands when Richard was in captivity (1192-93) its continued use after his return suggests that the creation of a new seal was not in response to the appearance of forgeries.⁸ Thus, for over two years at least, between 1195 and 1198, there were two great seals in existence. The first depicted a single lion rampant, and the second the new three lions coat of England.

Did Richard's first great seal depict a single lion or two lions combatant?

While the fundamental questions concerning Richard's arms must surely be why did he change his arms in 1195, and why to three lions passant guardant, these have in fact been largely overshadowed by the controversy surrounding the shield device depicted on his first great seal. This seal depicts the King on horseback galloping to the right (fig.17). Only one half of his heavily-curved shield is visible, and that bears a complete lion rampant towards the sinister (that is, the left of the shield-bearer), and therefore facing to the centre of the shield, which is marked by a boss. Because only the right half of the shield is shown, it has been suggested that there was intended to be another lion symmetrically opposite on the hidden, left-hand side of the shield facing towards the visible lion.⁹ In support of this theory it can be argued that the visible lion is facing to the sinister, whereas heraldic charges normally face to the dexter (that is, the right of the shield-bearer).

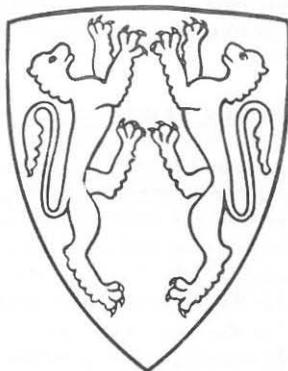


Fig. 19 Suggested arms of Richard I as used by him before 1195.

Therefore, if Richard's lion is not to be an anomaly there must be a further lion balancing the visible lion. This would then produce a perfectly acceptable heraldic coat, namely, two lions combatant.

Furthermore, literary evidence has been put forward to prove that this was the case. While on Crusade in 1191 Richard used a saddle the back of which, according to the eye-witness account known as the Itinerary of Richard I, was painted 'with two little golden lions facing and snarling at one another, each stretching out one of its forelegs against that of the other as if to maul [its opponent]'.¹⁰ It has also been noted that the 'contemporary' poet, William the Breton, spoke of 'the gaping jaws of the [plural] lions' on Richard's shield when he was still Count of Poitou.¹¹ Since this would have been a number of years before Richard first used his three lions coat he clearly must have been previously using a shield charged with more than a single lion rampant.

It is possible, however, to raise a number of objections to these arguments. That the lion device is shown in toto on only one half of the shield need not necessarily mean that a second lion was repeated on the hidden side. Both Richard's three lions passant guardant and John's two lions passant as Lord of Ireland are depicted on their seals virtually wholly within the visible halves of their shields (see figs. 18 and 16).¹² Similarly, both the seal (1171) of Philip d'Alsace Count of Flanders (1168-1191), and the first seal of Patrick sixth Earl of Dunbar (1248-1289) depict a lion wholly within the visible half of their owner's shields,¹³ and yet both these seals depict on the reverse their owner's shield of arms - a single lion rampant (figs. 20-22).¹⁴ The same is true of contemporary manuscript illumination. The heavily-curved shield of Alphonso IX, King of Leon (1188-1230), for example, is similarly charged with a lion rampant wholly on the visible surface, yet as king of Leon he is known to have borne the familiar single-lion coat of that Kingdom (fig. 26).¹⁵

It might then be asked why the engraver faced Richard's lion to the sinister, if not to counterbalance an opposite lion? In other words, why create a design that might be ambiguously interpreted, since by itself the lion to the sinister was something of an anomaly? The simple answer is that to the twelfth-century engraver the design was in no way suggestive of ambiguity for, as we shall see, he could well have depicted Richard's lion facing either way. The fact that the King is portrayed galloping to the right simply meant that it would be easier to fit the whole lion into the visible portion of the shield by having the lion also face the sinister, towards the centre of the shield. Thus the seals of Philip d'Alsace and Patrick sixth Earl of Dunbar, portray the lions in exactly the same way as on Richard's seals and yet both these men are known to have borne single lions rampant. Had the individual seal engravers of these three men attempted to show the lions on the visible shield-halves facing to the dexter (that is, the normal way for heraldic charges to face) and turning away from the centre of the shield, there would in fact be a much better case for



Fig. 20 *Seal of Philip d'Alsace,
Count of Flanders (c. 1170)*



querying whether there were two lions on the one shield since lions back to back ('addorsed') appear to be more common in early heraldry than lions face to face.¹⁶

Whatever the case, it is extremely doubtful whether Richard's seal designer realised that he might be creating what for armorists was an ambiguous design. The fact is that single lions on shields at the end of the twelfth century could face in either direction. Philip d'Alsace's second seal and counterseal (fig. 23) show the Count galloping to the right and left respectively. Again he carries a lion rampant on his shield but now it faces in the opposite direction - dexter.¹⁷ Moreover, the device is repeated identically on his banner. The Count had not changed his arms between the two seals, nor was the second seal designer incorrect in showing his lion design differently; it was simply that in this rudimentary stage in the development of heraldry, long before treatises on the subject had been written, lions like any other heraldic beast could be portrayed facing either way.¹⁸ Patrick's predecessors and successors in the Earldom of Dunbar all bore the lion facing in a direction different from that of Patrick's seal.¹⁹ Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, the Crusader (d.1218), bore the lion rampant on his shield sometimes to the sinister (fig. 24), and at other times, like the remainder of his family, to the dexter.²⁰ Ferdinand II of Leon (1157-1188) bore a lion rampant to the sinister on his shield, yet his son and successor, Alphonso IX, faced it to the dexter (figs. 25 and 26).²¹ Before the period of the heraldic treatises then, it does not seem to have been particularly important which way heraldic charges faced.²² That Richard's lion on his first great seal faced the sinister would not have seemed irregular. That it is shown wholly within the right half of the shield was simply the engraver's way of depicting the whole design of an equestrian portrait in profile.



Fig. 23 Counterseal of Philip d'Alsace, Count of Flanders (c. 1181)



Fig. 24 Seal of Simon de Montfort, the Crusader (c. 1195)

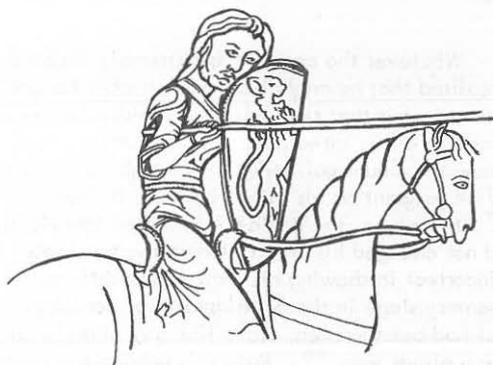


Fig. 25 *Ferdinand II, King of Leon (1157–1188)*
(From the Cartulary of Santiago (Tumbo A))



Fig. 26 *Alphonso IX, King of Leon (1188–1230)*
(Cartulary of Santiago (Tumbo A))

The evidence of the saddle design can be questioned. Firstly, decorated saddles were not uncommon and were often painted with random designs or associative devices (compare figs.8 and 26).²³ That Richard was likewise decorated need not have been particularly significant. No attempt, for example, was made on his first great seal to depict any design upon the saddle. The author of the Itinerary, in describing the saddle, has not singled it out for special attention. On the same occasion he describes in equal detail Richard's clothes, hat, sword and staff, as well as his magnificent Spanish charger. Moreover, this same chronicler, who later describes Richard's banner, makes no suggestion that the King's saddle depicted the royal arms.

Secondly, the description of the saddle does not correspond to the view that Richard's shield device was two lions combatant. The saddle is described as portraying two lions facing one another each with one foreleg stretched out against that of the other. In early depictions of lions rampant, both forelegs were raised above (sometimes one was level with) the beast's shoulder (compare figs.23 and 24).²⁴ Had this been the case on Richard's saddle, we might have expected the chronicler to mention that both forelegs were thrust out comparatively against those of its opponent; yet he specifically states that only one foreleg of each animal is in such a position. The most likely interpretation, therefore, of his words is surely that the lions facing one another are passant, that is, with three legs firmly on the ground with one foreleg 'stretched out as if to maul'.²⁵ In any case, whatever the stance of the little lions on the back of Richard's saddle their significance should not be exaggerated, since they were probably nothing more than mere decoration. An excellent contemporary example of this can be seen in the portrait of Alphonso IX (fig.26). His shield bears a lion rampant, but the lion that decorates the back of his saddle is either passant, or possibly even stantant (that is, with all four legs on the ground).

Equally the evidence of William the Breton that Richard, before he was king, bore a shield charged with lions may also be discounted. It seems that rather than a two lions combatant shield the poet had the three lions coat very much in mind when describing Richard's shield. The Philippide was written some thirty years after the event which it is describing, and in the intervening period the three lions coat had come to be closely associated with the English royal family, having been used by three successive kings of England. In view of this it would not have been unnatural for William to have ascribed these well-known arms to the young heir to the throne before 1189. In another thirty years time Matthew Paris was to attribute the same coat to all the kings of England since the Norman Conquest. It would be rash, therefore, to cite this poem as evidence that before 1195, indeed before 1189, Richard was using two lions combatant.

The question must now arise whether or not there is any positive evidence that Richard initially bore a single lion rampant coat. His father may have done so, certainly his uncle William FitzEmpress and his half-brother

William Longespée did, and later Richard himself was to use a single-lion device for his crest. Fortunately the very same author who so carefully described Richard's vestments and saddle did not omit to also describe the royal banner that the King would have been using before 1195. This he states clearly bore a single lion (*ad regium cum leone vexillum*);²⁶ since a single lion passant was a rare coat and did not suit itself easily to the tall, upright banners (as well as shields) used in the late twelfth century presumably this lion would have been rampant. The *Itinerary* and the Old French account of the Third Crusade by Ambroise, both of which stem from a common eye-witness source but neither of which is a translation of the other, agree on this description of Richard's banner.²⁷ In view of this and the lack of clear evidence to the contrary, it seems highly unlikely that Richard bore two lions combatant on his first great seal.

Why did Richard change his arms?

Of greater significance than the device on Richard's first seal is the fact that shortly before or in 1195, the King changed his arms. Exactly why he did so is obviously impossible to say, but a simple explanation might lie in the fact that a single-lion shield was not distinctive enough for a great warrior king such as Richard. The need for clearly recognisable devices was particularly acute in the Holy Land.²⁸ Furthermore, the introduction of more sophisticated armour, particularly the barrel-helm (which Richard wears on his second great seal), resulted in shields and banners becoming more and more indispensable as a means of recognition.

Yet Richard must have been only one of a great number of men bearing a single-lion rampant coat. Many kinds of men from kings right down to middling knights all used this same single device.²⁹ In the very first rolls of arms the lion is quite clearly the most common charge. Out of the 127 different coats portrayed in the Matthew Paris shields (c.1244-1259) twenty-seven are lions, and these are usually rampant.³⁰ The lion may have traditionally been considered a royal beast, but this does not seem to have hindered the large assortment of men who subsequently adopted it as their own personal device. In short, there could have been little that was distinctive about Richard's single-lion coat. Indeed, all the chroniclers give pride of place to his dragon standard, long associated with the English kings.³¹

If Richard was unhappy with his rather commonplace coat of arms, then at the same time he was probably also determined to exchange them for a much more meaningful and distinctive coat; the likelihood is that he had just such a shield in mind. Faced with the growing intransigence of his brother John in England, Richard may well have decided to make a clear identification with the Kingdom he had inherited from his father by adopting arms identical or at least very similar to those of Henry II. Since the late King had probably used two lions passant,³² Richard may well have decided that he would discard his own shield in favour of a very different coat reflecting

this more distinctive and prestigious shield. The need to cut a new great seal in 1195, moreover, would have conveniently afforded him the opportunity to make a radical alteration in the royal arms since the new seal itself (on which his arms would be displayed) needed to be substantially different in design from its predecessor (so that existing charters under the old seal would not escape the profitable process of renewal). It is Richard's second great seal, therefore, that supplies us with the earliest evidence of his new shield design - three lions passant guardant.

Why three lions passant guardant?

To answer this question it is necessary to look at the situation in England in 1194 and 1195 since it was in the latter year that Richard seems to have first used his new coat of arms. On his return from the Holy Land in 1194, Richard's position was fairly secure despite the actions of his brother John, Count of Mortain, and his own period of captivity.³³ Nevertheless, he still needed to ensure that he was the recognised ruler of the Kingdom, and on 17 April he was once again acclaimed the rightful king of England in a second 'coronation' ceremony.³⁴ Over the course of the following year Count John and a number of his supporters, as well as those who had allied themselves to the king of France, had their lands forfeited, and John himself was barred altogether from the Kingdom.³⁵ Amongst those dispossessed by Richard at this time were two very notable men, Hugh IV, Count of St Pol, and Thomas, Count of St Walery.³⁶ At some time then between 1194 and 1195, the lands of the Count of Mortain, the Count of St Pol, and the Count of St Walery were all confiscated and placed in the King's hands.³⁷ Furthermore, all three men, because of their previous independent associations with Henry II, bore the same coat of arms, two lions passant.³⁸ Thus it may be that in 1194 and 1195 this particular coat was very much associated with certain individuals of the rebel camp. Certainly it must have been well known that they were the arms of the leading rebel exponent Count John.

Richard may have decided at this time that another means (other than his coronation) whereby he might emphasise his rightful position as regards the throne would be to inherit his father's royal arms. Had he planned to do this in 1194 he would, however, have been faced with the embarrassing possibility of having to adopt the same arms as those of his most notable adversaries, since Henry II's arms were also very probably two lions passant. Perhaps to overcome this situation, Richard added a third lion passant guardant to the existing two. In this way he was able not only to create arms closely related to those of his father, whose Kingdom he had inherited and which he was determined to keep, but also to produce for himself a very distinctive and handsome design which was certainly uncommon in the twelfth century. Moreover, he could now be more easily recognised by his shield device. Four lions passant guardant, whilst constituting an even more distinctive coat, would have been too complicated and overcrowded a design to be clearly distinguishable in battle, and lions rampant on the other hand would not have reflected

his father's premier lions passant coat. Three lions passant guardant was therefore the most sensible and desirable option at the time.

To summarise, then, Richard may have been wanting for some time to change his single-lion coat for more distinctive armorial bearings. The threat to his position in England in 1194 possibly induced him to adopt arms similar to those of his father, but for various reasons over the course of 1194 and 1195 these new arms could not be identical to those of Henry II. Moreover, he needed some new device for his second great seal in order to distinguish it clearly from the old one. Having chosen new arms, he therefore had then incorporated in the new seal produced some time between May and Michaelmas 1195, and it was this design that his brother and successor, John, later chose to adopt on his accession in 1199.

CONCLUSION

Three leopards of fine gold set on red; courant, fierce, haughty and cruel; to signify that like them the King is dreadful to his enemies, for his bite is slight to none who brave his anger.

The Siege of Caerlaverock (c.1300)

John's accession in 1199 was by no means everywhere undisputed. Whereas he was received as king of England and duke of Normandy without opposition, the nobles of Anjou, Maine and Touraine recognised Arthur of Brittany, his young nephew in a senior line, as their liege lord according to the custom of their counties.¹ It may be, then, that John would otherwise have been quite happy to continue with the arms he had been using for the past fourteen years and which very probably reflected his father's even older shield, but faced with this very real threat to his position he chose instead to adopt his brother's arms, which were scarcely five years old (and which may have been adopted partly in opposition to his own two lions coat), as an immediate indication to all that he had indeed come into Richard's full inheritance.² Thus, the adoption of his brother's shield - the three lions passant guardant - in 1199 was probably not a foregone conclusion, and different circumstances might have dictated different subsequent heraldic events.

It may seem strange that it took so long for the leading family in the realm to settle for a particular coat. However, succession to the English throne between 1066 and 1199 was no easy matter. In comparison with the Capetian kings of France who prudently begat at least one male heir each, and whose hereditary associative device, the fleur de lys, therefore stretched way back into the eleventh century, the kings of England all too often had to fight for their throne. William Rufus and Richard I were the only two kings to succeed their fathers on the Anglo-Norman throne during this period. This insecurity and instability as regards the succession within the ruling family may well have been reflected in its late adoption of a single, hereditary shield. Even as late as 1199 John could choose between two shields of almost equal merit, both reflecting different familial and political interests.

Nevertheless, a common thread does run through the pattern of twelfth-century royal heraldry, namely, the Lion of England. As an associative device it can be traced back to the reign of Henry I; certainly Henry II's father, Count Geoffrey, used lions on his shield. The importance attached to this device can best be seen in the way in which it was adopted in one form or another not only by the descendants of Henry I, but also by those closely associated with the ruling house. Indeed, it is often only by examining the known arms of such individuals that we can build some sort of picture of those



Fig. 27 *The royal arms today.*

of the monarchs themselves and follow their development into the thirteenth century when, at the cutting of a new seal for Henry III in 1218, the arms of the king of England were unquestionably taken to be three lions passant guardant, and have remained so ever since.³

ABBREVIATIONS used in the footnotes.

- AES. C.H. Hunter Blair, 'Armorial upon English Seals, from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Centuries', Archaeologia, lxxxix (1943), 1-26 and pls I-XVI.
- Asp., ii. Aspilogia: Being Materials of Heraldry, ed. A.R. Wagner, vol.ii: Rolls of Arms, Henry III (Oxford, 1967).
- BL. British Library.
- BM. W.de G. Birch, Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, 6 vols (London, 1887-1900).
- BS. Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals, ed. L.C. Loyd and D.M. Stenton (Oxford, 1950).
- CP. Complete Peerage, 13 vols (London, 1900-59).
- DA. See DP.
- Ddq. L.Cl. Douët d'Arcq, Archives de l'Empire: Collection des Sceaux, 3 vols (Paris 1863-68).
- DF. G. Demay, Inventaire des sceaux de la Flandre, 2 vols (Paris, 1873).
- DN. G. Demay, Inventaire des sceaux de la Normandie (Paris, 1881).
- DNB. Dictionary of National Biography.
- DP. G. Demay, Inventaire des sceaux de l'Artois et de la Picardie, 2 parts in one vol (Paris, 1875-77).
- DS. C.H. Hunter Blair, 'Catalogue of the seals in the Treasury of the Dean and Chapter of Durham', Archaeologia Aeliana, 3rd series, vii-xvi (1911-19).
- EHD., ii English Historical Documents, ii, 1042-1189, ed. D.C. Douglas and G.W. Greenaway (London, 1953).
[All references are in translation.]
- EP. F. Eygun, Sigillographie du Poitou (Poitiers, 1938).
- EYC. Early Yorkshire Charters, ed. W. Farrer and continued by C.T. Clay, 12 vols (Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1914-65).
- PRO. R.H. Ellis, Catalogue of Seals in the Public Record Office: Personal Seals, vol.i (London, 1978).
- PRS. Pipe Roll Society.

RHC.Occ., iii Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux,
vol.iii (Paris, 1866).

RS. Rolls Series.

Notes to INTRODUCTION

1. For an explanation of heraldic terms used in this book see the glossary on pp. 114-15.
2. This and other romantic tales can be found in A. Brunet, The Royal Armorie of Great Britain from the time of the Ancient Britons to the reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria: The Institution of Chivalry and the Origin of Emblematic Insignia of Ancient Nations (London, 1839), p. 145. For the reason why Geoffrey is supposed to have adopted the badge, see G. White, 'The Plantagenet Enamel at Le Mans', CP., xi, Appendix G, pp. 133-42 (p. 140 note (e)); and A. L. Poole, Domesday Book to Magna Carta, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1955), p. 129, n. 2.
3. H. S. London, Royal Beasts (Heraldry Society, 1956).
4. The best account, though brief, is W. J. Petchey, The Armorial Bearings of the Sovereigns of England, 2nd ed. (London, 1977). The much larger work by J. H. and R. V. Pinches, The Royal Heraldry of England (London, 1974) is lavishly illustrated, though the text needs to be read with some caution; likewise, The Royal Arms: its Graphic and Decorative Development (London, 1980) by Charles Hasler. 'The Royal Heraldry of England' in several parts by C. R. Humphery-Smith and M. G. Heenan in the Heraldry Society's, The Coat of Arms, vi-iix (1960-67), is an admirable piece of work attempting to encompass in serial form the whole history of the royal arms. Unfortunately it must be a skeleton account, and has therefore little to say on the origins of the royal arms. The Rev. E. E. Dorling's Leopards of England (London, 1913) is a straightforward account containing nothing new. References to early royal and princely heraldry of Scotland and Wales can be found in the well-researched booklet by C. J. Holyoake, Heraldic Notes on the [Great Britons] Issue of Postage Stamps (Canterbury, 1976). J. P. Brooke-Little's Royal Heraldry: Beasts and Badges of Britain (Derby, 1978) is an excellent introduction to the whole subject, but again is only intended as a basic guide.
5. See especially J. R. Planché, The Pursuivant of Arms: or Heraldry Founded upon Facts [first published: 1851], 3rd ed. (London, 1873).
6. L. Bouly de Lesdain, 'Etudes héraldiques sur le XIIe siècle', Annuaire du conseil héraldique de France, xx (1907), 185-244; J. Marchand, 'L'art héraldique d'après la littérature du Moyen Age. Les Origines: la Chanson de Roland', Le Moyen Age, xlvii (1937), 37-43; P. Adam-Even, 'Les usages héraldique au milieu du XIIe siècle', Archivum Heraldicum, 1963, A° lxxvii, Bull. no. 2-3, pp. 18-29. Much of this material is summarised in the introduction to G. Brault, Early Blazon (Oxford, 1972).

7. On the subject of lion or leopard, see Oswald Barron, article on 'Heraldry', in Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th ed. (1910), 311-30 (p.325); and H.S. London's 'Lion Guardant or Regardant', Coat of Arms, ii (1952-53), 194-95, and 'Lion or Leopard', ibid., 291-22.
8. Gerald of Wales, writing c.1217, talks of the 'pards and lions' of the English (a leopard was a cross between a lion (leo) and a pard) ('De Instructione Principis' in Opera, ed. J.S. Brewer, J.R. Dimock and G.R. Warner, 8 vols (RS., 1861-91), viii. 320).

1. See esp. W.S. Ellis, Antiquities of Heraldry (London, 1869), in which the author sought to establish links between heraldry and the devices of other civilisations, distant both in time and space. A detailed and sensible approach to the subject of the origins of heraldry can be found in Léon Jéquier's new edition of D.L. Galbreath's Manuel du Blason (Lausanne, 1977), chapter 1.
2. In Vergil's Aeneid, for example, Aventinus carries a shield device (insigne paternum) inherited from his father (Aeneid, book vii, l.657); for further references to quasi-heraldic shield devices in classical literature see A.C. Fox-Davies, A Complete Guide to Heraldry (London, 1909), 6-10.
3. In 1660 John Gibbon, later Bluemantle Pursuivant, was amazed to see the shields and bodies of the native red Indians in Virginia 'painted with the colours and symbols of his favourite science'; thus he concluded, 'that Heraldry was ingrafted naturally into the sense of the human Race' (A.R. Wagner, Heralds of England (London, 1967), 304-5). A great deal of work has been done on the so-called 'heraldry' of other civilisations. Apart from Fox-Davies and Ellis already cited, see also L.A. Mayer, Saracenic Heraldry (Oxford, 1933); S. Bolton, 'Some Aspects of Japanese Heraldry and Genealogy', Coat of Arms, vii (1962), 110-15; P.M. Spiegel, 'Japanese Heraldry - A Study of Mon', Parts 1, 2 and 3, Coat of Arms, vol. ix (1966-67), 128-38, 166-76, 204-8; and W.H. Comte Rüd de Collenberg, 'Byzantinische Proto-heraldik des Xten und XIten Jahrhunderts', Communication of 11th International Congress of Genealogical and Heraldic Sciences (Munich, 1974).
4. Caesar, The Conquest of Gaul, tr. S.A. Handford (Harmondsworth, 1951), p.136.
5. William of Malmesbury, De Gestis Regum Anglorum, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols (RS., 1887-89), ii. 305; EHD., ii, p.291.
6. True heraldic devices should be both hereditary and at some point displayed upon the shield. Although the hereditary nature of arms owes much to the peacetime use of seals (see below, pp.30-31), which as indications of ownership came to be handed down from father to son, it must also be remembered that true heraldry are those hereditary devices centred upon the shield - a piece of military equipment. Early seal devices were very often not depicted as such, and in many cases were nothing more than their owner's badge or associative device, e.g. the hereditary seal device of the earls of Devon. For the view that heraldry owes more to seals than to warfare, compare the passage quoted in T. Innes, Scots Heraldry, rev. M.R. Innes (London and Edinburgh, 1978), p.12; and I. Mackay, 'Whence Armory?', Coat of Arms, xii (1971), 107-14.

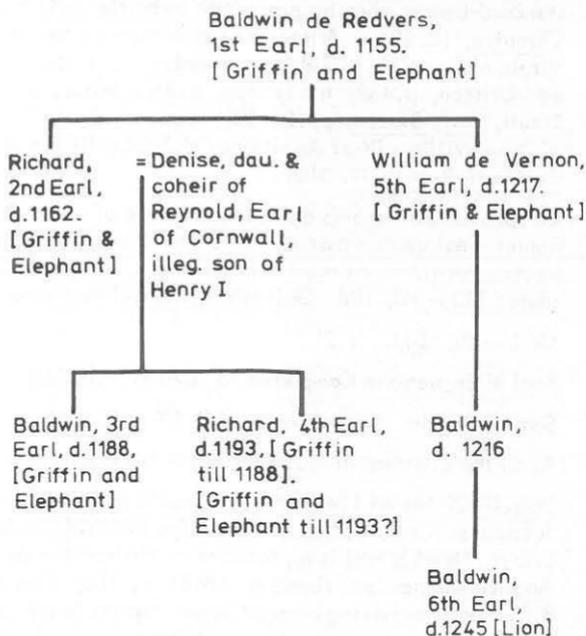
7. Gerald of Wales, 'De Principis Instructione', Opera, viii. 320-21.
8. Some early shield designs seem to owe their origins to the metal shield strengtheners; thus the borders or the boss of the shield might be decorated (compare Florence of Worcester describing the gilded boss and studs on a Saxon shield, Chronicon ex Chronicis, ed. B. Thorpe, 2 vols (London, 1848-49), ii. 195).
9. At such an early stage in the development of shield design and heraldry, and in the light of the purely decorative mode of the Tapestry in which men's horses and vestments as well as shields are wont to change colour and shape, perhaps the inconsistency of shield devices portrayed should not be given too much importance: compare J. Mann, 'Arms and Armour', in The Bayeux Tapestry, ed. F.M. Stenton (London, 1957), 56-69 (p.65); and P.E. Bennett, 'Encore Turold dans la Tapisserie de Bayeux', Annales de Normandie, 30^e Année, no. i (1980), 3-13 (esp. pp.7-9).
10. Song of Roland, tr. by H.S. Robertson (London, 1972) II.1276, 1299, 1354, 1600, 1810. See also J. Marchand, art. cit., and G. Brault, op. cit., p.29; for 'a quartiers' see Brault, p.266. Compare the seemingly non-heraldic, 'beautiful painted shields' in Jordan Fantosme, 'The Metrical Chronicle of Jordan Fantosme', in Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I, ed. R. Howlett, 4 vols (RS., 1884-89), iii. 202-377 (p.297), I.1114.
11. See P. Gras, 'Aux origines de l'héraldique: la décoration des boucliers au début du XII siècle d'après la Bible de Citeaux', Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartres, cix (1951), 198-208; the well-known depiction (c.1130) of the dream of Henry I by John of Worcester: MS Corp. Chri. Coll. Oxon., clvii, fo.382 (illd. in The Chronicle of John of Worcester, 1118-40, ed. J.R.H. Weaver (Oxford, 1908)); and 'the Morgan Leaf' (c.1160) from the Winchester Bible depicting the story of David: Pierpont Morgan Library, Lib. 619v (illd in C.M. Kauffmann, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, iii: Romanesque Manuscripts, 1066-1190 (London, 1975), p.9). For earlier MS illumination of shield patterns see Lynn White Jr, Medieval Technology and Social Change (Oxford, 1962), 150-51.
12. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, tr. G.N. Garmonsway (London, 1972), 'E' version, sub anno 878, p.77 and n.5; for further references see N. Lukman, 'The Raven Banner and the Changing Ravens', Classica et Medievala, xix (1958), 133-51.
13. Geoffrey of Monmouth, The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth, ed. A. Grison, reprinted (Geneva, 1977), 419-20, 438, 483; tr. by Lewis Thorpe, History of the Kings of Britain (Harmondsworth, 1966), 202, 217, 248; Wace, Le Roman de Brut de Wace, ed.

- Ivor Arnold, 2 vols (Paris, 1938-40), II.9283-88. For further references see J.S.P. Tatlock, 'The Dragons of Wessex and Wales', Speculum, viii (1933), 223-35; Holyoake, Heraldic Notes on the Issue of Postage Stamps, pp.23-24, 35-42 (esp. pp.39-40); and Brault, Early Blazon, p.23, n.3.
14. See below, p. 98, n.9.
 15. William of Poitiers, Gesta Guillelmi ducis Normannorum et regis Anglorum, ed. R. Foreville (Paris, 1952), p.224; William of Malmesbury, De Gestis Regum, ii. 302. For Harold's dragon standard (fig.1) see Tatlock, art. cit., and references cited there.
 16. Bede, History of the English Church and People, tr. L. Sherley-Price (Harmondsworth, 1968), pp.132, 341 (compare p.159; and also Henry of Huntingdon, Historia Anglorum, ed. T. Arnold (RS., 1879), p.57).
 17. See below, p. 54.
 18. William of Malmesbury (op.cit., ii. 298) states that in 1066 Harold chose his standard-bearers according to their military skill and wisdom. Names of standard-bearers are given by Orderic Vitalis, The Ecclesiastical History, ed. and tr. M. Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford, 1969-1980), ii. 7, 123; iii. 125; v. 79, 239; vi. 237; Henry of Huntingdon, pp.121, 224; Roger of Howden, Chronica, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols (RS., 1868-71), iii. 129; 'The Itinerary of Richard I', in Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I, 2 vols (RS., 1864-65), i. 415; and Ambroise, L'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte, ed. G. Paris (Paris, 1897), II.11433-34 (for the relationship between the 'Itinerary' and Ambroise see below, p.72).
 19. Raymond d'Aguilers, 'Historia Francorum qui ceperent Iherusalem', in RHC.Occ., iii. 231-309 (p.247); and in trans. by J.H. and L.L. Hill (Philadelphia, 1968), p.40.
 20. Anna Comnena, Alexiad, tr. E.R.A. Sewter (Harmondsworth, 1969), p.173; quoted by R. Dennys, The Heraldic imagination (London, 1975), p.26. In the Roland the loss of his dragon standard convinced the pagan emir, 'That he is wrong and Charlemagne is right' upon which the Saracens fell silent (II.3551-55). Captured standards were great prizes in war, and were often donated to churches or religious houses (William of Poitiers, p.224; Orderic Vitalis, v. 181-183, 189; vi. 241; Gesta Francorum, ed. and tr. R. Hill (London, 1962), 95-97; Henry of Huntingdon, p.203; and Howden, Chronica, iii. 108).
 21. A number of such incidents are recorded: Raymond d'Aguilers, RHC.Occ., iii. 237; tr. Hill and Hill, p.21; Gesta Francorum, p.47; Fulcher of Chartres, A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127, tr. F.R. Ryan and H.S. Fink (Tennessee, 1969), p.121;

- Orderic Vitalis, ii. 309; v. 93, 173; vi. 29; 'Itinerary', pp.164, 202, 233-34, 355; Ambroise, II.821-39, 9311-9326; Richard of Devizes, Chronicles of the Time of Richard I, ed. and tr. J.T. Appleby (London, 1963), p.24; and Howden, Chronica, iii. 58. During the 3rd Crusade the raising of banners over various cities by the individual leaders led to a number of disputes, the most famous being in 1191 when Richard cast down from the walls of Acre the standard of the Duke of Austria (see K. Norgate, Richard the Lion Heart (London, 1924), pp.165-66, 330-31; John Gillingham, Richard the Lionheart (London, 1978), pp.176-77; and Poole, Domesday Book to Magna Carta, p.362, n.1.).
22. Gesta Francorum, pp.71, 92; S. Runciman, A History of the Crusades, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1951-54), i, 286-87.
23. Norgate, op. cit., p.11. For other examples see F.L. Ganshof, Feudalism, tr. P. Grierson, 3rd ed. (London, 1964), pp.viii and frontispiece, 126; and M. Bloch, Feudal Society, tr. L.A. Manyon, 2 vols (London, 1962), i, p.173 and pl.v.
24. Geoffrey of Monmouth, ed. Grison, p.487, tr. Thorpe, p.251; 'The Chronicle of Richard of Hexham' in Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I, iii. 139-78 (pp.162-63); 'Itinerary', pp.249-50. For the 'Standard' see also below, p.100, n.35. Standards have been used as rallying points since O.T. Times (Numbers, i.52, ii.2, 34); compare Raymond d'Aguilers (c.1097): 'They [the Crusading host] came together each one to his sign (signum) and to his cognatio-num' (RHC.Occ., iii.259).
25. For evidence that contingents (conrois) were organised round individual gonfanons see J.F. Verbruggen, 'La tactique militaire des armées de chevaliers', Revue du Nord, xxix (1947), 161-80; R.A. Brown, Normans and the Norman Conquest (London, 1969), p.172 n.147. Lords led their own retinues in battle (for examples see C.W. Hollister, Military Organization of Norman England (Oxford, 1965), pp.88-89), and in the later 12th century men were grouped under knights-banneret (Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, ed. P. Meyer, 3 vols (Paris, 1891-1901), II.4750-76).
26. The practice appeared c.mid-12th century; see Le Roman de Troie par Benoît de Sainte Maure, ed. L. Constans (Paris, 1904-12), II.6721-22; Adam-Evan 'Les usages héraldiques', pp.20-21; and Expugnatio Hibernica: The Conquest of Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis, ed. and tr. A.B. Scott and F.X. Martin (Dublin, 1978), p.168. The use of livery appeared as early as 1218 (N. Denholm-Young, History and Heraldry (Oxford, 1965), pp.17-18; compare the passage quoted below, p.35).
27. For 'differencing' in general see below, pp.40-41

28. Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, I.1478; S. Painter, William Marshal (Baltimore, 1933), p.24. In 1187 the arms of Henry II were repeated on his knights' banners (see below, p.54).
29. The seal of William II, King of Sicily, bore a cross surrounded by the note: 'This sign (signa) he causes to be borne before him by his standard-bearer when he goes forth to battle' (illd in Howden, Chronica, ii. 98). Arthur is said to have borne the image of the Virgin Mary on his shield 'for remembrance' (Geoffrey of Monmouth, ed. Grison, p.438; tr. Thorpe, p.217; Wace, Brut, II.9293-96; Brault, Early Blazon, pp.24-25); compare the harlot shield-device of Duke William IX of Aquitaine, d.1126 (William of Malmesbury, De Gestis Regum, ii. 510).
30. Campdaveines = champ d'avoine, or field of oats. Another twelfth-century seal device that was a pun on the family surname and later became heraldic was the Luce (or pike) of the Lucys (BM.11439 (dated 1135-54), illd Galbreath, Manuel du Blason, p.31).
31. Galbreath, ibid., p.21.
32. Seal of Enguerrand Campdaveine (DA.69; DF.285).
33. Seal of Anselm Campdaveine (DP.209; DF.287).
34. As on the counterseal (1223) of Hugh V, Count of St Pol (DA.229).
35. Ddq.10129 (dated 1146-55). A seal is attached to a charter of Baldwin's: King's College, Cambridge MS 2W4 (St James' Priory, Exeter, Deeds), and is reproduced in William Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum new ed. (London, 1846), v, 106; I am grateful to Dr. B.R. Kemp for having brought these charters to my notice, and also to Mr R. Bearman, currently preparing a Ph.D. (London) on the De Redvers charters, for confirming much of my findings on the family's seals.
36. BS.283; BL. Cotton MS Julius C. vii, fo.176v; BL. Stowe MS 666, fo.7; also seal attached to King's College, Cambridge MS 2W6 printed in Monasticon Anglicanum, v, 106.
37. BL. Cotton MS Julius C. vii, fo.139v; and Stowe MS 666, fo.6.
38. Seal attached to King's Coll., Cambridge MS 2W12.
39. According to Planché, Pursuivant of Arms, pp.94, 99, and Ellis, Antiquities of Heraldry, p.181, Richard, 2nd Earl (Planché mistakenly calls him 3rd Earl) changed his griffin device for a lion rampant on his marriage with the granddaughter of Henry I. Both authors appear, however, to have confused the two Richards, the 2nd and 4th Earls, and there is no evidence that either of these men ever used a lion shield. Richard, 4th Earl, is known to have used a single griffin passant on his seal before his brother's death (Cotton Julius C. vii,

fo.176, and Stowe 666, fo.6v) but no seal survives for him as earl. According to Asp., ii (pp.10, 65) the lion shield of the De Redvers family was first used by Baldwin, 6th Earl (d.1245). The family tree is as follows:



40. Louis VII: BM.18075; note, Louis used a number of counterseals, compare Ddq. 37; Philip II: BM.18076; Ddq. 38 (both seals are illd in the BM Catalogue).
41. Philip certainly used a royal standard ('Itinerary', pp.164-65, 371; Howden, Chronica, iii. 112, 117) and Gerald of Wales talks of the French King, i.e. Philip (c.1217) using lilies on his shield (passage quoted above, p.22). Moreover, when Philip was crowned joint king during his father's lifetime he wore a blue dalmatic and blue shoes sewn with little, golden fleurs de lys (Barron, article on 'Heraldry', Encyclopaedia Britannica, p.312). Also, his own son, later Louis VIII, as prince used a seal (1211) on which he carries a shield charged with fleurs de lys; the counterseal is a shield semy of fleurs de lys (DA. 1; BM.19468). That Philip used such a flory shield is inevitable.

42. BM.18077; Ddq. 40. Useful references to the history of the fleur de lys can be found in Holyoake, *op. cit.*, pp.52-54.
43. The passage is quoted from Sir Ian Moncreiffe and Don Pottinger's light-hearted account, Simple Heraldry (London, 1972), p.10.
44. William of Malmesbury, De Gestis Regum, i. 215.
45. William of Poitiers, p.190; EHD., ii, 226; Bayeux Tapestry (see fig.6).
46. Wace, Roman de Rou, ed. H. Andresen (Heilbronn, 1879), ll.7699-7706; quoted by A.R. Wagner, Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1956), p.121.
47. Les Roman de Chrétien de Troyes, iv: Le Chevalier au Lion (Yvain), ed. M. Roques, reprinted (Paris, 1971), ll.5985-6377.
48. Ibid., ll.5874-77.
49. The use of the term 'conoissances' in the Roland suggests that shield devices were already becoming a means of recognition at the turn of the eleventh century (see Brault, Early Blazon, pp.147-48).
50. Orderic Vitalis, vi. 243, 247.
51. William of Poitiers, p.40; William of Malmesbury, De Gestis Regum, ii. 288; Wace, Rou, ll.4441-48, where he gives William a gold shield; Adam-Even 'Les usages héraldiques', pp.18-19. For the date see D.C. Douglas, William the Conqueror (London, 1964), p.59 n.7. See also D.J.A. Matthew, The Norman Conquest (London, 1966), p.132; and below, p. 45.
52. For example, in the Roland both the leaders, Charlemagne and Baligant, who each carry decorated shields, only recognise one another when each voices his war-cry (ll.3564-66); Wace describes a battle in which men could not distinguish friend from foe 'save only by the war-cry they shouted'; compare Orderic Vitalis, v.369, vi. 217, 243; and Jordan Fantosme, 'Metrical Chronicle', ll.1776-79. It is not without significance that one of the Latin words for a device is the same as that for a war-cry: signum.
53. In Thomas' Tristan, possibly written before 1160, a minor character carries the same arms on his lance penant and shield (Thomas, Les Fragments du Roman de Tristan, ed. B.H. Wind (Geneva and Paris, 1960), Fragment Douce, ll.909-12; Brault, Early Blazon, pp.19-20).
54. During the First Crusade, for example, the Turks could see from a distance 'the banner (signum) of the mighty Pope advancing' (Fulcher of Chartres, tr. Ryan, p.105; RHC.Occ., iii. 311-485 (p.348)); in 1174 William, King of Scotland, gradually discerned the banners of the enemy initially believing them to be of his own men (William of Newburgh, 'Historia Rerum Anglicanum' in Chon., Stephen, Henry II,

- Richard I, i.184); compare Histoire de Guillaume-le Maréchal, II.4907-10.
55. For a fictional, but strictly contemporary, example see Les Romans de Chrétien de Troyes, ii: Cligés, ed. A. Micha, reprinted (Paris, 1975), II.1815-39, where the hero and his men enter the besieged town of Windsor disguised in the enemy's arms; even ships sailed under false colours (Howden, Chronica, iii. 112).
56. Ambroise, II.9311; Les Romans de Chrétien de Troyes, i: Erec et Enide, ed. M. Roques, reprinted (Paris, 1978), II.3947-56.
57. The same is probably true of helmets painted with their owners' arms or device. These preceded the use of crests in the 12th century, and may well have suggested the more solid and sophisticated crests later used; see below, p. 96, n. 47.
58. For fan-shaped crests in general, see Fox-Davies, Complete Guide to Heraldry, pp.327-330.
59. DA. 52. Modelled crests also appear in the Aeneid of Heinrich von Veldeke, illustrations produced c.1210-20 (see The Coat of Arms, new series, vol.ii (1977), p.201; and Vesey Norman, The Medieval Soldier (London, 1971), p.225 and pl. 21).
60. By Wagner, Heralds and Heraldry, p.12.
61. See C.T. Seltman, Athens: Its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion (Cambridge, 1924), pp.xvii, 19-37; compare R. Mathieu, Le Système Héraldique Français (Paris, 1946), pp.14-15; and A.R. Wagner, 'Some Aspects of Heraldry', The Genealogists Magazine, vii (1936), 217-27 (p.221).
62. See above, p. 26. David I (1124-53) and Malcolm IV (1153-65) of Scotland used the same seal as Alexander I (1107-24), changing only their names in the seal legend (Alexander I: DS.3075; David I: DS.3076; Malcolm IV: DS.3077; The Acts of Malcolm IV, King of Scotland, 1153-65, ed. G.W.S. Barrow (Edinburgh, 1960), p.87).

1. Two neglected areas, which may well have been decisive to the widespread appeal of heraldry, are (i) the Normans and (ii) women.
2. It was only later that the potential of heraldry to fulfil a civil as well as a martial need was fully realised. When this did happen, corporates and colleges, priests and laymen, came to share with kings and noblemen in the use of armorial bearings.
3. See esp., R.H.C. Davis, 'What Happened in Stephen's Reign', History, xliv (1964), 1-12 (6-11); and J.C. Holt, 'Politics and Property in Early Medieval England', Past and Present, lvii (1972), 3-52. For Henry I see R.W. Southern, chapter on 'King Henry I' in Medieval Humanism and Other Studies (Oxford, 1970), 206-33.
4. Davis, art. cit., p.9; but compare Holt, art.cit., p.30.
5. Orderic Vitalis, vi. 17; Southern, op. cit., passim.
6. By Henry I (Pipe Roll 10 John (PRS., new series, xxiii, 1945), p. 113; F.M. Stenton, First Century of English Feudalism, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1961), p.38).
7. See esp., Davis, art. cit., passim.
8. Theories vary as to the date of incontrovertible heritable tenure in England; for a summary see Holt, pp.3-4.
9. The distinction between 'hereditability' and 'inheritance' has, not surprisingly, been dealt with by legal historians. Prof. S.E. Thorne in 'English Feudalism and Estates in Land', Cambridge Law Journal, new series, vi (1959), 193-209, maintained that heirs only inherited their land (that is, the land passed directly to them from their ancestors independent of the lord) towards the close of the 12th century; otherwise they received land by hereditary tenure as early as the second quarter of the 12th century. Prof. Thorne views the assize, mort d'ancestor, as marking a special stage in the development of the 'true lord' (verus dominus). More recently, Prof. S.F.C. Milsom in The Legal Framework of English Feudalism (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 179-86, regards the use of the writ of right, by taking the final decision as to who was to succeed out of the lord's court (once supreme) and into the county or royal court, as being of similarly high importance, and making 'the first and perhaps the decisive step in bringing down the seignorial world'. This development he sees as occurring during the reign of Henry II. It is perhaps worth comparing Prof. Holt's view in 'Politics and Property in Early Medieval England - A Rejoinder', Past and Present, lxxv (1974), 127-35 (p.123), where he argues that for contemporaries the concepts of 'hereditability' and 'inheritance' were one, and that hereditability, involving the

definition of the tenant's rights, especially of his power to alienate, was a lawyer's notion, barely apparent even in Glanville's day (c.1189).

10. See above, pp.25-26, and p.31 .
11. For evidence that heraldry arose in England during Stephen's reign see J.H. Round, Geoffrey de Mandeville (London, 1892), 392-96; and also by Round, 'The Introduction of Armorial Bearings into England', Archaeological Journal, li (1894), 43-48. It has since been shown that Waleran, Earl of Worcester and Count of Meulan, was using a truly heraldic device (a chequy shield) as early as 1138 (G.H. White, 'The Warenne Group of Checkered Shields', CP., xii (i), Appendix J; for a full bibliography on Waleran's seal see British Heraldry, ed. R. Marks and Ann Payne (London, 1978), p.16). For continental examples of early armorial seals see A.R. Wagner, chapter on 'Heraldry' in Medieval England, ed. A.L. Poole, 2 vols (Oxford, 1958), i, 338-81 (pp.342-44).
12. For what follows see esp. G. Duby, 'The Diffusion of Cultural Patterns in Feudal Society', Past and Present, xxxix (1968), 3-10.
13. The Chronicle of Battle Abbey, ed. and tr. E. Searle (Oxford, 1980), p.214.
14. Geoffrey of Monmouth, ed. Grison, p.457; tr. Thorpe, p.229. G. Brault (Early Blazon, pp.29-30) views this supposedly Arthurian use of a single colour as implying that Geoffrey regarded twelfth-century heraldic ornament as containing an element of pretence; it is, however, unlikely that heraldry in the 1130s when Geoffrey was writing had reached anything like a meretricious state. Wace, writing c.1160, though again supposedly of ancient times, states that no rich man was without his gonfanon or other ensign (Rou, II.3939-44; passage quoted in Wagner, Heralds and Heraldry, p.121).
15. At Arsur, for example, on the 3rd Crusade the poldre (dust or sand) was so thick that men could not recognise each other (Ambroise, II.6495-6500).
16. The French adopted red crosses, the English white, and the Flemish green (Howden, Chronica, ii. 335).
17. Gesta Francorum, pp.95-97; Fulcher of Chantres, ed. Fink, p.242; 'Itinerary', pp.190,193; Ambroise, II.1652-59.
18. W.H. Comte Rüdte de Collenberg, 'Byzantinische Protoheraldik de Xten und XIten Jahrhunderts'; Galbreath, Manuel du Blason, p.22.
19. Mayer, Saracenic Heraldry, where the author considers Eastern devices to be truly heraldic since they were both hereditary and concerned with armoury and the shield (pp.1, 40-41).

20. 'Itinerary', pp.272-73; Ambroise, II.6563-68.
21. 'Itinerary', p.273; Ambroise, II.6575-77; see Galbreath, Manuel du Blason, p.36, n.23; and above, p.25.
22. There appear to be three groups of views as regards the Crusades and heraldry: (i) those ascribing East to West influence, e.g. D.C. Munro, The Kingdom of the Crusaders (New York, 1966), pp.193-94; Joan Evans, Life in Medieval France (London, 1957), p.97; and esp. C. Kephart, Origins of Heraldry, 2nd ed. (Washington, 1953), and T.R. Davies, 'As it was in the Beginning', The Coat of Arms, new series, vol.iii (1978-79), 114-124; Mayer does not, however, hold to this view; (ii) those believing the reverse to be true, i.e. West to East influence, e.g. Lynn White Jr., Medieval Technology and Social Change (Oxford, 1962), p.35; and finally (iii) those who believe that the Crusades had no effect on the heraldry of either civilisation.
23. Items brought from the East (or adopted there by knights) were often richly decorated with small charges in much the same way as heraldic devices were to be used for decoration. In Beroul's version of the Tristan legend, for example, Queen Iseult swears over relics placed on a fine silken drapery from Nicea which is embroidered with small animal figures (Beroul, The Romance of Tristan, ed. A. Ewart, 2 vols (Oxford 1970), i, l.4127; tr. A.S. Frederick, The Romance of Tristan (Harmondsworth, 1970), p.140), compare the 'little lions' on Geoffrey of Anjou's shoes (see below, p. 47); the golden fleurs de lys on the shoes of the young Philip Augustus (see above, p. 88, n.41; and the silver crescents adorning Richard's vest while he was on Crusade ('Itinerary', p.197).
24. Orderic Vitalis, v. 231.
25. For example, Geoffrey Duke of Brittany, son of Henry II, in 1186 (Howden, Chronica, ii. 309); and Geoffrey de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, in 1216 (CP, v, 129).
26. Pride of place in the tournament lists went to the French knights who were considered the military glory of the universe (Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, II.4481-84; Gerald of Wales, Opera, viii. 18). For the tournament in this period and its origins see N. Denholm-Young, 'The Tournament in the Thirteenth Century', in Essays Presented to Maurice Powicke (Oxford, 1948), pp.240-68; Painter, William Marshal, pp. 58-59; and D.M. Stenton, English Society in the Early Middle Ages (Harmondsworth, 1965), 81-89.
27. Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, II.1536-45; R.W. Southern, chapter on 'England's First Entry into Europe', in Medieval Humanism, pp.135-57 (p.143).

28. Walter Map, De Nugis Curialium, ed. M.R. James (Oxford, 1914), p.80; W.L. Warren, Henry II (London, 1973), p.582.
29. Howden, Chronica, iii. 268; William of Newburgh, 'Historia', Chrons., Stephen, Henry II and Richard, ii. 422.
30. Walter Map, op. cit., p.117; Beroul, Tristan, ed. Ewart, i, ll.3985-4019; tr. Frederick, pp.137-38; Cligés, ll.4552-4922; Lancelot, ed. M. Roques, reprinted (Paris, 1978), ll.5495-5635. Compare above, p.28; and Brault, Early Blazon, p.30.
31. For examples of the civic duties of heralds see Howden, Chronica, ii. 94; Map, pp.32, 132; and John of Marmoutier, Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou, ed. L. Halphen and R. Poupardin (Paris, 1913), p.180.
32. For examples of courtly duties of heralds see the passage of Peter of Blois quoted by Warren, op.cit., pp.209-10; Map writes of a herald at the court of Henry I (De Nugis, p.219).
33. References in the chronicles to the specifically military duties of heralds are innumerable. William of Poitiers (writing c.1073-74) mentions an instance as early as 1066 (ed. Foreville, p.162; EHD., ii, 221; compare Orderic Vitalis, ii. 209). There are numerous references to heralds on the 1st Crusade, e.g. Gesta Francorum, p.46; and Fulcher of Chartres, RHC.Occ., iii, 348; ed. Fink, p.104. The 'Itinerary' (3rd Crusade), names Richard's herald as Philip (p.365), and describes Saladin's captured herald as 'the one who was accustomed to proclaim his edicts' (p.369). The contemporary writer, Ambroise, whose account is based on the same eye-witness source as that of the 'Itinerary', described these men in the Old French as crieor and banisseur (ll.9849-50, 9709-11), rather than heralds in the sense of heralds of arms, hyraut d'armes, a term used as early as the 1170s; the two functions were obviously becoming distinct. Herald probably also shouted out orders on the battlefield or perhaps blew the signalling trumpets; etymologically the word herault means 'army-wielder' (see Orderic Vitalis, v. 115; Fulcher of Chartres, RHC.Occ., iii, p.436; ed. Fink, p.222; Wagner, Heralds of England, p.1; compare William of Poitiers (p.40) where Foreville translates classico (i.e., a signaller) as 'herald').
34. Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, ll.977-81, 3485-520; Wagner, Heralds and Heraldry, pp.26, 28; and Denholm-Young, History and Heraldry, pp.54-60.
35. Early heralds may have acted like publicists, spreading abroad their masters' fame (see Guillaume le Maréchal, ll.5222-29, and vol. iii, p.xlv; Wagner, Heralds and Heraldry, pp.27-28, 130-31; and compare Yvain, ll.2204-8).

36. Lancelot, written by Chrétien de Troyes (l.5537). It should be noted, however, that Dr Denholm-Young has seriously questioned whether heralds were truly involved in organising tournaments in 12th-century England since the first reference to such appears as late as 1265 (History and Heraldry, p.5).
37. In heraldry there are two forms of differencing: (i) Cadency brisures, i.e., the bearing of a premier coat with some small addition such as a label by junior members of that family, e.g., brothers, cousins; (ii) Derivative arms, i.e., either adoption or adaption of an initial coat by persons wishing to be in some way associated with an individual or to reflect some relationship. By 1199 differencing only seems to have existed in this second sense. See Galbreath, op.cit., 29-30, 33, and chapter X; and Adam-Even, 'Les usages héraldiques', pp. 25-26; but compare Brault, Early Blazon, p.19. In Lancelot (c.1177) two companions carry shields noticeably similar to each other (ll.5793-98).
38. Round, Geoffrey de Mandeville, pp.392-96; A.R. Wagner, Historic Heraldry of Britain, reprinted (London and Chichester, 1972), p.36; Wagner, 'Heraldry', Medieval England, pp.350-52; see also below, p.113, n.2. A similar early group of related shields revolved round the chequy coat of the Warennes (see White, GP., xii (i) Appendix J; and Wagner, 'Heraldry', Medieval England, pp.339-43).
39. Ellis, Antiquities of Heraldry, p.200; Round, 'Introduction of Armorial Bearings into England', pp.43-48; and Wagner, Historic Heraldry of Britain, p.37.
40. Galbreath, op.cit., pp.244-45. It was from these counts that the earls of Chester in the 13th century probably took their wheat-sheaves (Asp., ii, p.22, note to no.48), which, as Camden first noticed (Remains, 1674 ed., p.277), likewise found their way into related groups of shields. Ellis cites a number of early, related groups of shields, and some of these have been reprinted by C.R. Humphery-Smith, Anglo-Norman Armory (Canterbury, 1977), 202-7; however, Ellis' pioneering work (1869) is often unreliable and urgently needs revision.
41. See fig.14.
42. The earliest known example of impalement or dimidiation is probably that shown on the seal of Robert of Pinkney c.1195 (illd AES., pl. VI(f)); compare BS.351 (1199). The earliest example of quartering dates from 1230 when Ferdinand of Spain quartered the arms of Castille and Leon; no other quartered coat appears in Matthew Paris or Glover's or Walford's Roll (Asp., ii, p.112).
43. Matthew Paris: 'Scutum mutatum pro amore regis Anglie'; see Asp., ii, p.60; and below, p. 61.

44. For example, Humphrey de Bohun set two small quarterly shields of the Earldom of Essex on his seal either side of the Bohun arms to show that in 1239 he had acquired that Earldom (BM.5720; *Asp.*, ii, p.17); see also the seal of Agnes de Vescy (d.1253): BM.6726; DS.2537; and illd AES., pl.XV(i) and (j). Robert FitzWalter (d.1235) and Saher de Quincey (d.1219) displayed one another's shields beside their own arms on their individual seals (respectively, BM.6016, and BM.6356) probably as a sign of their comradeship (see Mark and Payne, *British Heraldry*, p.16).
45. Earliest examples can be seen on the seal (1154-64) of William Fitz-Empress (fig.15) and the seal (1162) of Anselm Campdaveine, Count of St Pol (fig.3). See AES., p.5; and Adam-Even, 'Les usages héraldiques', p.27.
46. Adam-Even, *art. cit.*, p.27; compare the decorated surcoats in the Winchester Bible (c.1160-c.1170) fo.69, illd in Norman, *The Medieval Soldier*, pl.9; and the seal (c.1180) of Roger de Mowbray: DS.1837, T840; BM.6219; illd AES., pl.II(f).
47. For examples of early, painted helmets, which probably preceded the use of modelled crests, see the contemporary chronicles illd in Norman, *op.cit.*, pl.25 (c.1197); and *The Coat of Arms*, new series, vol.ii (1976), p.200 (c.1210-20). The seal and counterseal (fig.23) of Philip d'Alsace, Count of Flanders (c.1181) provide the earliest known example of a helmet painted heraldically (J.T. de Raadt, *Sceaux armoiriés des Pays-Bas*, 4 vols (Brussels, 1898-1901), vol.i, p.454; DF. 139).
48. Compare the seal (c.1220) of Margaret, Countess of Winchester: DN.56; illd AES., pl.XV(c). According to a late 12th-century authority, Eleanor, daughter of Henry II and wife of Alphonso VIII, King of Castille, wore a lion device on her mantle (Adam-Even, *art. cit.*, p.26).
49. The chevrons of the De Clares (not on a shield) can be seen on the seal (after 1156) of Rohese, Countess of Lincoln: BM.13048; and the arms of Portugal are displayed on a shield on the seal (1189) of Maud of Portugal, Countess of Flanders: DF.141, 142; for both seals see A.R. Wagner, *Heralds and Ancestors* (London, 1978), pp.12-13. See also Mathieu, *Le Système Héraldique Français*, p.26.
50. Doubtless this refinement in blazon by c.1250 was also due to the realisation that precision in heraldry could have legal consequences and that a man could be taken to court for having usurped another's shield. For the development and formulation of blazon, see Brault, *Early Blazon*, pp.5-18.
51. See below, p.103, n.29.

1. The royal seals reveal no shield emblems or hereditary devices though this does not necessarily mean that the monarch concerned was non-armigerous, e.g., both Geoffrey of Anjou and his son, Henry II, used arms, and yet both their seals are non-armorial (see A.B. and Allan Wyon, The Great Seals of England (London, 1887), pp.5-14; BM.15-53; DS.3013-20). It should be noted that William the Conqueror's first seal and Rufus' second seal are forgeries (Facsimiles of English Royal Writs to A.D. 1100, ed. T.A.M. Bishop and P. Chaplais (Oxford, 1957), p.xxii); and that Henry I's traditional 'first' seal is also a forgery (P. Chaplais, 'Seals and Original Charters of Henry I', English Historical Review, lxxv (1960), 260-75 (pp. 262-65). For Stephen's seals see Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, vol.iii, 1135-1154, ed. H.A. Cronne and R.H.C. Davis (Oxford, 1968), pp.xv-xvii; and Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, iv: Facsimiles of Original Charters and Writs of King Stephen, the Empress Matilda and Dukes, Geoffrey and Henry, 1135-54, ed. H.A. Cronne and R.H.C. Davis (Oxford, 1969), pls. I and II. William probably did not have a ducal seal before 1066 (J. Le Patourel, The Norman Empire (Oxford, 1978), p.244 and n.1). Stephen's seal (1127) before he became king is non-armorial (BS.423).
2. These arms appear to have become officially associated with the Duchy as late as the 14th century (see N.V.L. Rybot, 'The Arms of England the Leopards of Normandy', Coat of Arms, vi (1960), p.162). Matthew Paris did not know of any separate arms for Normandy (Asp., ii, p.75).
3. Asp., ii, pp.11-14, and 58-59.
4. William of Poitiers, p.190; EHD., ii, p.226. Compare above, p.27.
5. Florence of Worcester, Chronicon ex Chronicis, ii. 13; Simeon of Durham, 'Historia Regum' in Opera, ed. T. Arnold, 2 vols (RS., 1882-85), ii. 208.
6. William of Poitiers, p.40.
7. Wace, Rou, II.4441-48. Benoît de St Maure (c.1174) describes the same scene, but gives William a blue shield charged with golden lions for which there is no other authority (Chroniques des ducs de Normandie par Benoît, ed. Carin Fahlin (1954), II.36941-47; see also Adam-Even, 'Les usages héraldiques', pp.18-19; and Brault, Early Blazon, p.21). According to Frank Barlow (William I and the Norman Conquest (London, 1965), p.29), the Duke used a shield decorated with a floral cross and stars at Dinant in 1064. However, this information is from the Bayeux Tapestry, and it is doubtful whether any significance should be attached to it; I am grateful to Professor Barlow for having supplied me with the source of his reference.

8. Compare previous note and p.84, n.9.
9. For the Papal Banner see William of Poitiers, pp.154, 184; EHD., ii, pp.219, 225; D.L. Galbreath, Papal Heraldry, revd G. Briggs (London, 1972), p.2. It is not certain whether the banner depicted alongside William in the Bayeux Tapestry (see fig.6) is his Papal Banner; R. Dennys (The Heraldic Imagination, p.26) believes that the flag depicted was William's 'battle-banner' which he had used on his invasion of Brittany (1064) as shown on the Tapestry.
10. See above, pp.24-25.
11. Traditionally the De Tosny family were the hereditary standard-bearers of Normandy. According to Orderic Vitalis (iii. 125), Roger of Tosny was 'the famous standard-bearer of all Normandy', though he adds (ii. 173) that, at Hastings, Thurstan, son of Rollo, carried the standard of the Normans (vexillum Normannorum); see also CP., xii(i), p.755 and note (e).
12. Two leaders of the 1st Crusade, Bohemond and Baldwin, used banners of a single colour (Fulcher of Chartres, ed. Fink, pp.99, 158). Compare the lance penants on the seals of the early Norman kings.
13. William of Malmesbury, De Gestis Regum, ii. 364.
14. Orderic Vitalis, v. 247.
15. See above, pp.33-35.
16. Orderic Vitalis, vi. 29.
17. Ibid., vi. 237. After this battle Henry purchased the royal standard of his defeated enemy, King Louis of France (ibid., vi. 241).
18. See above, p.26
19. Passage quoted at the beginning of this chapter (Geoffrey of Monmouth, 'Prophecies of Merlin' in Historia Regum Britanniae, ed. Griscon, p.387; tr. Thorpe, p.174). Orderic Vitalis (writing c.1140) interprets the 'Lion of Justice' as King Henry (vi. 387); for evidence that Orderic used Geoffrey's prophecies see J.S.P. Tatlock, The Legendary History of Britain, reprinted (New York, 1974), 419-21.
20. Geoffrey of Monmouth, Historia, ed. Griscon, p.387; tr. Thorpe, p.174; Tatlock, op. cit., p.65.
21. William of Malmesbury, De Gestis Regum, ii. 85.
22. John of Marmoutier, Chroniques des Comtes d'Anjou, pp.179-80. For the date see Kate Norgate, England Under the Angevin Kings, vol.i, pp.258-60.
23. John of Marmoutier mentions that, in a fight after his dubbing, Geoffrey used 'Pictos leones preferens in clypeo' (Planché, The Pursuit of Arms, p.96).

24. The plaque has been discussed exhaustively, but see esp. G. White, 'The Plantagenet Enamel at Le Mans', CP., xi. Appendix G, pp. 133-42; and Wagner, Historic Heraldry of Britain, p.40, and references cited there. Recent work includes, R. Viel, Les origines symboliques du blason (Paris, 1972), chapter 2; M-M. Gauthier, Emaux du moyen âge occidental (Fribourg, 1972), 81-83; H. Lardain, 'Contributions à l'étude des origines de l'émaillerie limousaine', Monuments et Mémoires, lx (1976), 114-22; Galbreath, Manuel du Blason (1977), 25-26. The plaque is illustrated in colour in Wagner, Heralds and Ancestors, p.16.
25. Wagner, Historic Heraldry of Britain, p.40; Asp., ii, p.21; BM.6191. Although Geoffrey's shield from the enamel shows only four lions, from the shape of the shield two or more may be inferred. While this may not correspond exactly with the number of lions on William's shield (fig.10) and the chronicle evidence does not specify the number of lions on Geoffrey's shield in 1128, nevertheless, both men's shields were blue, charged with little golden lions; during the twelfth century the number of lions on a powdered shield would not have been defined exactly; compare White, op. cit., p.135; and below, p.103, n.29.
26. For the important political objectives of the wedding see C.W. Hollister and T.K. Keefe, 'The Making of the Angevin Empire', Journal of British Studies, xii (1973), 1-25.
27. It is highly unlikely that Henry decorated Geoffrey with a shield identical to his own. In the first place, Geoffrey was not to succeed Henry as king of England and duke of Normandy by right of his wife. Nor did the King wish Anjou and the Anglo-Norman realm ever to be permanently united under one ruler. Any distinctive shield that Henry might have been using specifically as king of England and duke of Normandy in 1128 was not, therefore, to become the property of Geoffrey, but rather the inheritance of his hoped-for son. Secondly, it is not at all certain that the practice whereby a newly-made knight, such as Geoffrey, adopted the arms of his patron-in-chivalry, was in fact widespread, particularly at this early stage in the development of heraldry (see below, pp.57-62). Nevertheless, in 1128 Geoffrey was vital to Henry's plans so that even if father and son-in-law were not as close as outward ceremonial might suggest, it is still the likelihood that in those honeymoon days the shields of both men, though not exactly the same, were very closely related to one another.
28. BS.429 (Dec.1154-Jan.1164); Facsimiles of Early Charters from Northamptonshire Collections, ed. F.M. Stenton (Northants Record Soc., vol.iv, 1930), pp.24-26; The Heralds Commemorative Exhibition Catalogue, 1934, reprinted (London, 1970), p.69.
29. BS.288; Planché, Pursuivant of Arms, p.95; Ellis, Antiquities of Heraldry, p.181; CP., v, pp.687 note (a), 688 note (j); Earldom

- of Gloucester Charters, ed. R.B. Patterson (Oxford, 1973), p.24. No seal exists for William's father, Robert, 1st Earl of Gloucester and favourite son of Henry I; however, it is possible that he used an identical lion device. Mr Patterson (*op. cit.*, p.24) has put forward the very feasible proposition that the use of consul in the legend of William's seal suggests that it was an altered version of Earl Robert's seal. This would explain the presence of consul here since Earl William did not use the word in his titles, whereas his father did. Thus, as Mr Patterson concludes 'we probably need only substitute RODBERTI (or ROBERTI) for WILLELMI in the legend to recreate Earl Robert's seal'. Compare above, p.90, n.62.
30. Walter Map; quoted by D.M. Stenton, English Society in the Early Middle Ages, p.35.
31. Nicholas Upton, De Studio Militari, ed. E. Bysse (London, 1654), pp.129-30, where he describes the sagittaries as having gold lions' bodies with the remaining human portions in silver (the bows being also gold).
32. R. Brooke, A Catalogue and the Successions of the Kings, Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earls and Viscounts of this Realm of England (1622), pp.6-7.
33. It has been argued that Stephen's army could not have been using armorial devices, since in 1136 Judhael of Totnes and his men were able to mingle unnoticed amongst the royal camp then besieging Exeter (R.H.C. Davis, King Stephen (London, 1967), p.25, n.4; Dennys, The Heraldic Imagination, p.29). While this may be so, Stephen's army must have been using banners of some sort, and it is very possible that Judhael and his men disguised themselves under these royal banners (compare above, p.90, n.55).
34. Henry of Huntingdon, p.271; EHD., ii, 307.
35. Henry of Huntingdon (p.262) and Ailred, Abbot of Rievaulx ('Relatio de Standardo' in Chron., Stephen, Henry II and Richard, iii. 181-99 (p.181)) describe 'the Standard' at the Battle of the Standard (1139) in Yorkshire as the royal standard. However, as another contemporary writer shows, the banners affixed to the pole (set on the cart) were in fact those of the saints, John of Beverley, Wilfred of Ripon, and Peter the Apostle ('Chronicle of Richard of Hexham' in Chron., Stephen, Henry II and Richard, iii. 139-78 (p.163); EHD., ii, p.320). Moreover, Stephen was not present at the battle. Henry and Ailred were probably, therefore, using the phrase 'royal standard' in the sense of the flag or flags of the royal camp (compare Howden, Chronica, i. 193).

1. Chronique d'Ernouf, ed. La Mas Latrie (Paris, 1871), p.157; Runciman, History of the Crusades, ii, p.454; London, Royal Beasts, p.9.
2. Further rulers included, Raymond IV, King of Aragon, Vladislav of Bohemia and the Kings of Jerusalem. For other examples see Wagner, Heralds and Ancestors, pp.12-13; and Galbreath, Manuel du Blason, pp.23-24.
3. As Duke of Normandy: BM.6320, 6322; as King, 1st seal: BM.55; Ddq.10004; 2nd seal: BM.56; Ddq.10005. See also A.B. Wyon and A. Wyon, The Great Seals of England, pp.15-16; and Warren, Henry II, frontispiece, where the second great seal is described. According to William St John Hope (whose annotated BM Catalogue of Seals I have used) BM.78 is a forgery.
4. EP.3-5. Eleanor (despite having her own non-armorial seals) continues to be posthumously awarded the armorial seal of her namesake and daughter-in-law, the wife of Henry III; most recently by J.H. and R.V. Pinches, The Royal Heraldry of England, p.19.
5. BM.79. According to Howden (Chronica, ii. 47) the King of France had this seal made for Henry (hence the continental design). Like his brother, John, the Young King used a signet ring or secretum ('The Metrical Chronicle of Jordan Fantosme', in Chrons., Stephen, Henry II and Richard, iii. 225; V.H. Galbraith, 'The Literacy of the Medieval English Kings', in Proceedings of the British Academy (1935), 201-38 (p.221)).
6. EP.6. In their 'Royal Heraldry of England', Part IV, Coat of Arms, vii (1962-63), p.19, C.R. Humphery-Smith and M. Heenan state that Richard used a lion rampant on his seal as Duke of Aquitaine prior to 1189. The seal Mr Heenan examined (see Coat of Arms, vi (1960-61), p.215) appears, however, to be Richard's first great seal.
7. BM.6318; DN.28; EYC., iv, p.74; illd AES., pl.1(j). (It should be noted that BM.Catal., ii, pl.IX wrongly depicts BM.5666 as this seal). Neither of the seals of Geoffrey's son, Arthur, is armorial (BM.19373, 19374; Ddq.532, 533; CP., x, p.799).
8. William of Newburgh, 'Historia' in Chrons., Stephen, Henry II and Richard, i. 108; Gervase of Canterbury, Historical Works, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols (RS., 1879-80), i. 65.
9. For example, the Duke of Saxony, the Marquis of Tuscany, the Count of Flanders and the King of Leon.
10. Stephen of Rouen, 'Draco Normannicus' in Chrons., Stephen, Henry II and Richard, ii. 585-781 (p.720); quoted in J.C. Holt, 'The End of

the Anglo-Norman Realm' in Proceedings of the British Academy (1975), 223-265 (p. 245).

11. The courtier was Peter of Blois; Norgate, England Under the Angevin Kings, vol. i, p. 409.
12. Stenton, Early Northants Charters, pp. 100-1.
13. BS. 10; DN. 160; for Richard see R. W. Eyton, Court, Household and Itinerary of Henry II (London, 1878), pp. 202, 204; and Pipe Rolls 3 & 4 Richard I (PRS., new series, ii, 1926), pp. xxv-xxvi.
14. See below, pp. 60-61.
15. Neither William IX nor William X, Dukes of Aquitaine and respectively grandfather and father of Eleanor, used armorial seals (EP. 1, 2). For Normandy see above, p. 97, n. 2. It is worth noting that Matthew Paris believed the King of England used three lions on his shield 'because he was king, duke and count' (Asp., ii, p. 34).
16. That Anjou was the fountainhead of Henry's Empire, see J. Le Patourel, 'The Plantagenet Dominions', History, 1 (1965), 289-308.
17. Compare Baldwin's banner (Fulcher of Chartres, ed. Fink, p. 158) and the royal standard of Jerusalem offered to Henry II at Reading in 1185 (Gerald of Wales, Opera, viii. 203).
18. Benoît, Chronique, II. 36941-47; see above, p. 97, n. 7; and compare below, n. 78.
19. Stephen recognised Henry's hereditary right to the English throne in November 1153, and in the following month declared him to be his adopted 'son and heir' (Warren, Henry II, pp. 51-52; and EHD., ii, 404-7).
20. Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, vol. iii, 1135-1154, ed. H. A. Cronne and R. H. C. Davis (Oxford, 1968), no. 634; note the omission of any claim to Anjou.
21. Henry was to succeed to the lands his father had acquired by marriage, but because he could not succeed to the English throne while Stephen was still alive, he was allowed temporarily to retain Anjou and Maine. Once he had fully recovered his mother's inheritance he was to restore Anjou and Maine to his younger brother, Geoffrey (see Holt, 'End of the Anglo-Norman Realm', p. 240, n. 2.).
22. See above, p. 99, n. 29.
23. For what follows see Brault, Early Blazon, p. 20 and the references cited there, esp. R. S. Loomis, 'Tristan and the House of Anjou', Modern Language Review, xvii (1922), 24-30. See also Gottfried von Strassburg, Tristan with the 'Tristan' of Thomas, tr. A. T. Hatto (Harmondsworth, 1967), Appendix 3: Tristan's Angevin Escutcheon, 365-66 (not included in Brault's references). Compare below, n. 78.

24. Loomis, Illustrations of Medieval Romance on Tiles from Chertsey Abbey (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature), ii. 2 (Urbana, 1916), 50-55.
25. See above, pp.40-41.
26. This theory has been persuasively argued by R. Viel, 'Les armoiries probable d'Henri II d'Angleterre', Archivum Heraldicum, A° lxx (1956), Bulletin no.2-3, pp.19-23.
27. Ibid. The arms are displayed on John's seal (fig.16) which until recently was thought to have been first used by John in 1177; however, he was only ten years old at that time, and did not in fact use the title 'Lord of Ireland' (as on his seal) until his majority and knighthood in 1185 (see Adrian Ailes, 'The seal of John, Lord of Ireland and Count of Mortain', The Coat of Arms, new series, vol.iv (1981), pp.341-50).
28. Viel, art. cit., p.20, drawing his information from P. Adam-Even, 'A propos d'un curieux usage héraldique', Archivum Heraldicum, A° lxxviii (1954), Bulletin 1-2, pp.9-10. See, however, Coat of Arms, n.s. iv (1981), 387. Hugh's two lions passant are depicted on his seal: Ddq.361 (1190) and DA.70 (1201).
29. Initially, in the rudimentary stages of heraldry the posture of a beast's head was of little consequence. It was only much later that the need for precision became apparent (see above, p.41). Thus the mid-13th century rolls of arms reveal a number of meaningless discrepancies: tails are sometimes shown single, at other times forked (e.g. Asp., ii, pp.8, 18, note to no.30, 20, note to no.36); the number of points on a label (compare the Lacy label in Asp., ii) or a star (compare the de Vere mullet in ibid.) often vary. One version of Glover's Roll describes the lions on Roger de Somery's shield (ibid., p.134) as passant guardant ('leopardz') while another, like Walford's Roll (ibid., p.186) describes them as lions passant; similar confusion exists with the lion shield of Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, d.1282 (see ibid., p.169, note to no.13).
30. The custom has been recently discussed with special regard to the arms of William de Valence (d.1296) who was knighted by his half-brother, Henry III. However, even here it does not seem that William automatically quartered his arms with the royal arms when he was knighted in 1247. See The Coat of Arms, iii, pp.5, 45-46, 87-89, 204, 251; iv, pp.43-44, 87-88; Adam-Even, 'A propos d'un curieux usage héraldique', pp.9-10; and Galbreath, Manuel du Blason, p.242.
31. To bear arms almost identical to those of the king would probably have needed his expressed permission, though there is no evidence to prove this.

32. Gerald of Wales, Opera, viii. 32. It is difficult to know whether Henry II, after 1183, was determined to make John his heir rather than Richard. Circumstantial evidence (granting John a shield almost identical to his own?) suggests that he did, but he never made any positive move to secure the succession for John (see Warren, Henry II, p.622).
33. Pipe Roll 25 Henry II (PRS., vol. xxviii, 1907), p.119.
34. Only one other twelfth-century example of a newly-made knight adopting his patron's arms has been noted, namely, William Marshal (Coat of Arms, iv, p.143). However, the Marshal used the Tancarville arms because he was then a household knight of that lord, and therefore repeated his suzerain's device on his shield, and not necessarily because he had been dubbed by him. Indeed, later, when William received lands and titles of his own, he used an entirely different coat.
35. Orderic Vitalis, vi. 329.
36. White, 'The Warenne Group of Checkered Shields', CP., xii(i), Appendix J, 26-28; see above, p. 92, n.11.
37. Howden, Chronica, ii. 55.
38. Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, II.2084-92; Painter, William Marshal, pp.34-35.
39. Later as Regent, William knighted the boy-King, Henry III, immediately prior to his coronation in 1216 (Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, I.15314-15). By this time the Marshal was very probably using the coat, Per pale or and vert, a lion rampant gules (Asp., ii. p.18), and yet not surprisingly, the new King immediately adopted the three lions passant guardant coat as used by two of his royal predecessors.
40. P. Guilhiermoz, Essai sur l'origine de la noblesse en France au Moyen Age (Paris, 1902), p.393, n.3.
41. Orderic Vitalis, iv. 275.
42. Howden, Chronica, i. 217; CP., vi, p.644.
43. Howden, Chronica, ii. 4.
44. Guilhiermoz, op. cit., p.415, n.64.
45. Roger of Howden, Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols (RS., 1867), i. 207. Authorship of this work was for long attributed to Benedict of Peterborough.
46. Howden, Chronica, ii. 303; Ralph of Diceto, Opera Historica, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols (RS., 1876), ii. 34.

47. Adam-Even, 'A propos d'un curieux usage héraldique', p.10.
48. For examples, see Stenton, English Society in the Early Middle Ages, p.98; and Denholm-Young, History and Heraldry, p.25.
49. PRO. P.234; BM.15666; BL. Cotton MS Julius C. vii, fo.178; compare Asp., ii, p.39.
50. Howden, Chronica, i. 211; Warren, Henry II, p.36.
51. Gervase's arms are depicted on his equestrian seal (1187), illd in Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, revd ed. (1846), v, p.204; see also EYC., vi, p.49, n.9.
52. DNB.; before the death of Stephen he witnessed a number of charters issued by Duke Henry in England (EYC., vi, p.48).
53. EYC., vi, p.49.
54. CP., xii(i), pp.109-10; Asp., ii, p.134.
55. For the family see G.H. Fowler, 'De St Walery', The Genealogist, new series, xxx (1913), 1-17. For Reginald see also Regesta, iii, pp.xxv-vi; and L. Delisle, 'Introduction' [a separate volume] to Recueil des Actes de Henri II (Paris, 1909), p.421.
56. Fowler, art. cit., 3-4; Regesta, iii, p.xxxv; and Delisle, op. cit., p.421.
57. Calendar of Documents Preserved in France, vol.i, ed. J.H. Round (London, 1899), p.374.
58. Fowler, art. cit., p.4; H.E. Salter, Facsimilies of Early Charters in the Oxford Muniment Rooms (Oxford, 1929), no.80.
59. Pipe Rolls 3 & 4 Richard I (PRS., new series, ii, 1926), p.xxvi. Bernard V (the Younger) had died at Acre c.1190, and thus never succeeded his father (Howden, Chronica, iii. 89; Fowler, p.9).
60. Bernard's seal (1181): Cal., Docts in France, i, p.380; Salter, Oxford Charters, no.82. Thomas' seal: BM.6408, 6409; Salter, Oxford Charters, no.93 (1192-98).
61. His uncle, Warin FitzGerold (d.1159), was chief chamberlain to Henry II (Regesta, iii, p.xxxvii); another uncle, Henry Fitz Gerold (d.1174-75) was also a chamberlain to Henry II; see the pedigree in CP., viii, opp.p.48.
62. That Warin was chamberlain to Henry II see the writ on p.lxxii, Memoranda Roll I John (PRS., new series, xxii, 1943). For his succession see Pipe Roll 24 Henry II (PRS., xxvii, 1906), p.xxii; and for his age, see CP., viii, pedigree opp.p.48.
63. BS.307, where the arms are placed on a shield. The charter is dated between 1193 and 1216.

64. The pedigree on folio 125v in Cotton Julius C. vii is confused. Henry (d.c.1174) and Warin (d. 1159), recorded there as the sons of Gerold and bearing the arms, a lion passant guardant and two lions passant guardant respectively, are in fact the grandsons (and not the sons) of Gerold.
65. Poole, Domesday Book to Magna Carta, p.376.
66. H. G. Ströhl, Deutsche Wappenrolle (Stuttgart, 1897), pp.72-73; London, Royal Beasts, pp.12, 53. G. A. Seyler (Geschichte der Heraldik, reprinted (1970), p.247), has suggested that Henry deliberately differenced the three lion coat of England, but, as London pointed out, this would assume that the three lions coat was used before 1195, and for that no evidence has yet been found; the likelihood is that Count Henry had Henry II's arms in mind when he adopted the two lions passant guardant coat.
67. The explanation is quoted from Matthew Paris (Asp., ii, p.60); see also above, p.41. As Paris also noted (Asp., ii, p.60) Otto used the imperial, double-headed eagle (fig.9: upper shield) undimidiated, and these arms can still be seen on the pommel of a sword made for the Emperor in c.1200 (iild in Christopher Brooke, The Twelfth Century Renaissance (London, 1969), p.67). For Otto's non-armorial seals, see EP.7; DF.20; and BM.21146. A fellow countryman of Otto's, and again a nephew of an English King, also used the arms of England and the Empire dimidiated (see Asp., ii, pp.76, 77). He was Henry, son of the Emperor Frederick II by Isabella (d.1241) daughter of King John. He died in 1254. Wagner ('Heraldry' in Medieval England, p.347) has incorrectly noted him as 'Henry, King of Jerusalem, d.1253'.
68. Seyler, op. cit., p.246.
69. He was using a lion device on his equestrian seal as early as 1144 (Galbreath, Manuel du Blason, p.23; iild Wagner, op. cit., p.342).
70. Two other associates of the King (who were likewise not necessarily knighted by him) may have used versions of the royal arms. William, Count of Clermont-in-Auvergne, possibly used the two lions passant coat (equestrian seal, 1199) to express his association with Henry II who had intervened in the Auvergne in 1167 to restore his ousted grandfather, William VII the Younger (d.1169) (BM.19413; Ddq., 383; N. de Wailley, Elements de Paléographie, 2 vols (Paris, 1838), ii, p.172; Eyton, op. cit., p.106; see also Galbreath, pp.243, 244, 246), Robert Viel ('Les armoiries probables d'Henri II', p.20) citing P. Adam-Even mentions that the seneschal of Anjou bore the arms, two lions passant with a bordure of shells. Unfortunately he cites no name or date, but the seneschal may have been Stephen de Marzai (d.1193), who held that office certainly between 1180 and 1189. William of Newburgh states that Henry "

had raised Stephen from humble beginnings (see DNB., under 'Turnham, Stephen de (d.1215)').

71. Henry, Count Palatine of the Rhine, was also, of course, John's nephew.
72. See above, p. 41.
73. See above, pp.38-39, 41.
74. In c.1195 Richard changed his lion rampant arms for three lions passant guardant. In 1199 his successor, John, forsook his old arms in order to adopt his brother's shield. Their half-brother, William Longespée, also used a lion rampant shield (seal: 1196-1205) before changing to the Angevin coat of his grandfather (Cal., Docts in France, i, pp.61-62; White, 'The Plantagenet Enamel', p.141, note (h)).
75. (i) Lion device: BS.116; BM.7520, 8530; DS.584; illd AES., pl.VI(a); (ii) wheat-sheaves: BM.5813. See Asp., ii, pp.22-23; and Wagner, Historic Heraldry of Britain, p.41.
76. For example, Charles, King of Sicily (d.1285), and Henry II, Count of Luxembourg (d.1281), changed their arms (Asp., ii, pp.167, 190); for further examples see Galbreath, Manuel du Blason, pp.241-47.
77. Edward III (in 1340), Henry IV (in 1406 or 1407), William and Mary (twice in 1689), Queen Anne (in 1707), and George III (in 1801 and 1816) all changed the royal arms during their reigns.
78. In his Roman de Troie (c.1160-c.1180), Benoît attributes to both the leaders, Hector and Achilles, two shields each: a single-lion shield and a two-lions coat (Adam-Even, 'Les usages héraldiques', pp.22, 23). Since this work was dedicated to Henry's wife and Henry was supposed to have had a Trojan ancestry there may be some significance in these shields.
79. John de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln (d.1240) used both the family, Lacy arms, and, as Constable of Chester, a version of the Earldom of Chester arms (Asp., ii, p.116). Compare Denholm-Young, History and Heraldry, pp.43-45.
80. See Denny, The Heraldic Imagination, pp.27-28. Galbreath has made the interesting suggestion that in such cases the banner was that of the territorial lordship under which the local feudal host was accustomed to gather, and that the shield device was that of the individual leader's family, i.e. his own personal device or arms (Manuel du Blason, p.30).
81. The knight is either Simon de Montfort (d.1218), John Count of Montfort l'Armaury (d.1249), or the rebel leader, Simon de Montfort, d.1265 (see Wagner, Historic Heraldry of Britain, p.35;

Galbreath, p.30; Asp., ii, p.18; and T.R. Davies, 'The Merciless Montforts: some problems', Coat of Arms, new series, vol.i (1974-75), 231-42). For Simon de Montfort's two sets of shields see Denholm-Young, op. cit., pp.43-45.

82. Asp., ii, passim.
83. Walter Map, De Nugis, p.139; compare Gerald of Wales, 'De Principis Instructione', Opera, viii. 173-74.
84. The Young King's banner is mentioned but not described in Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, II.4908, 5527. Without foundation Matthew Paris attributed the three lions coat of England to Henry, adding black to the shield on two occasions as a sign of mourning (Asp., ii, pp.14, 59).
85. There was little love between Richard and his father, and after 1183 Henry tried to keep the succession open; by 1186 he was, however, forced to consider Richard as his heir (Warren, Henry II, pp.596-98), though he seems unwilling to have agreed to this publicly until a few days before his death (Warren, pp.622-23; Gillingham, Richard the Lionheart, pp.120-22).
86. Henry may have inherited the Angevin coat from his father, thus making the arms hereditary and therefore heraldic. Certainly the two lions passant (guardant or otherwise) were used by his son, John, grandsons Henry Count of Palatine of the Rhine and Richard FitzRoy, and eventually by his descendants as the dukes of Brunswick. (For Richard FitzRoy, John's illegitimate son, see The Genealogist, new series, xxii, pp.105-11; and Denholm-Young, op.cit., p.12 and n.3. Richard was born c.1195 and died after May 1242. For his armorial seal: BM.14270; illd AES., pl.VI(m)).

1. It is not known when the epithet 'Lionheart' came into general use; one writer used it within eight years of Richard's death (see Norgate, Richard the Lion Heart, pp.33-34). The opening quotation from the contemporary chronicle of Richard of Devizes (ed. Appleby, pp.19-20) describes King Richard's anger at the slaying of his unarmed men in Sicily.
2. The tinctures are first supplied by Matthew Paris, c.1244 (BL.Cotton MS. Nero D. I, fo.170b: Asp., ii, p.36). There is some vague literary evidence that Henry II bore Gules, a lion rampant or (see above, pp. 57-8), and these may have provided the colours for Richard's first coat - a lion rampant. Otherwise, the only other evidence for the tinctures of Richard's single-lion shield, is that of the eye-witness Arab chronicler, Bohadin, who speaks of 'a red banner' floating from the bridge of Richard's personal warship whilst it was outside Jaffa, i.e. before 1195 (The Crusade of Richard I: Extracts from the Itinerarium Ricardi. etc., ed. T.A. Archer (London, 1888), p.299).
3. Richard had been using an earlier equestrian seal as Count of Poitou since at least 1182 (EP., p.54), but this was non-armorial (ibid., no.6).
4. Richard's first seal device may not have been strictly 'arms' (i.e. true heraldic bearings), since there is no direct evidence that they were inherited or became hereditary. Nevertheless, for the sake of convenience they are called arms, and doubtless Richard himself regarded them as such.
5. In L. Landon's masterly account of the vicissitudes of both Richard's seals in The Itinerary of King Richard I (PRS., new series, xiii, 1935), Appendix A, pp.173-83; and also by J.H. Round, Feudal England (London, 1895), pp.539-551. John Anstis, Garter King of Arms (1715-1744) believed that it was customary for rulers returning from crusade to have a new seal made; he cites the examples of Thierry, Count of Flanders in 1159, and Philip, his son in 1179 ('Aspilogia', vol.i, being BL. Stowe MS 665, fo.32).
6. Pipe Roll 7 Richard I (PRS., new series, vi, 1929), pp.xxix and 113; Landon, op. cit., p.178. Richard had been using his first great seal since September 1189.
7. Richard of Devizes (ed. Appleby), p.9.
8. John may, however, have made illegal use of the true seal during this period (see Landon, p.176).

9. First suggested by Henry Spelman (d.1641) in his 'Aspilogia' in Nicolai Uptoni de Studio Militari, ed. Bysshe, p.46. The view was generally accepted until seriously questioned earlier this century by Oswald Barron, in his article on 'Heraldry' in Encyclopaedia Britannica (p.312).
10. 'Parte nihilominus posteriori binis aureis sese respicientibus hirriendo leunculis, singularum uno pedum anteriorum versus alterutrum tanquam ad lacerandum porrecto' ('Itinerary', p.197).
11. 'Ecce comes Pictavus, agro nos provocat; ecce Nos ad bella vocat. Rictus agnosco leonum Illius in clypeo ...'
Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume Le Breton, ed. F. Delaborde, 2 vols (Paris, 1882-85), liber iii, ll.446-47.
12. Even so the seal of Hugh, Count of St Pol (d.1205) portrays a shield identical to that of Count John's and it has been suggested that on the hidden side he also bore the impaled arms of his own family, the Campdaveines (Adam-Even, 'A propos d'un curieux usage héraldique', p.10, n.5). It is doubtful, however, if this was in fact the case.
13. Philip's seal: DF.138 (dated 1170); Patrick's seal: DS.2808; BM.15682 (dated c.1251).
14. Compare the similarly cramped lions on the 1st seal (no date) of Patrick, 4th Earl of Dunbar, 1182-1232 (DS.2804; illd DS. pl.34, and in J.H. Stevenson, Heraldry in Scotland (Glasgow, 1914), vol.i, pl.1 (4)), and the great seal (1229) of Alexander II, King of Scotland (DS.3079; illd DS. pl.46; and in Stevenson, op.cit., pl. II (7)).
15. The painting is in the Cartulary of Santiago known as Tumbo A in the Cathedral Archives at Santiago de Compostela. The equestrian portrait of each monarch was probably added during their individual reigns so that the paintings might be strictly contemporary. I am indebted to Professor Alison Stones for information regarding this Cartulary. See Galbreath, Manuel du Blason, p.93.
16. Lions adorsed appear on the shield of Lausus as depicted in Heinrich von Veldeke's Eneit (fo. liii), dated c.1200-20. They also appear in the Bigot Roll (1254); see G. Brault, Eight Thirteenth Century Rolls of Arms (Pennsylvania, 1973), p.22, no.154; and compare EP. 194 (1273), and Raadt, op.cit., vol.i, p.363 (1268).
17. DF.139; both seals illd in Raadt, vol.i, pl.II.
18. Compare the much later De Insigniis et Armis (c.1354) of Bartolo di Sasso Ferrato, chapters 14 and 31 (printed in Dennys, The Heraldic Imagination, pp.62-64; and C.R. Humphery-Smith, 'Heraldry in School Manuals of the Middle Ages, III: Bartholus's Treatise', Coat of Arms, vii (1962-63), 200-2). See also below, n.22.

19. DS.2804-14, and pls. 34-35.
20. The BM Catalogue of Seals is confused. Simon de Montfort (d.1218) used two seals: BM.6234, Ddq.707 (illd here as fig.24); and BM.6235, Ddq.708, which repeats the lion sinister on the counterseal. Matthew Paris depicts Simon's lion to the dexter (Asp., ii, p.18), and this is how it appears on the shield of the famous De Montfort knight in the Chartres window. Simon's son, the famous rebel leader, Simon de Montfort (d.1265), used a counterseal depicting the lion to the dexter (BM.6236).
21. Ferdinand's portrait is Tombo A, fo.44v (see above, n.15).
22. There are a number of 12th- and 13th-century examples of lions and other beasts on shields facing to the sinister. William FitzEmpress (d.1164), Richard's uncle, for example, bore a lion rampant sinister on his shield (fig.15); compare BM.19413, 20521, 20543; PRO. P.787; DS.2537 (the Marshal's arms on this seal); and DS. pls.III, XVI, XXV. Chronicle evidence and illuminated manuscripts of the 12th century also reveal lions sinister on shields, e.g. The Sicilian Chronicle of Peter of Eboli, c.1197, being Codex 120/ii of the civic library of Bern (fo. 109); illd Gillingham, Richard the Lionheart, fig.8; and the York Psalter, c.1170-75, being Glasgow University Hunterian Ms. U.3.2. (fo. 54v); illd in Norman, The Medieval Soldier, pl.16.
23. The poet Chrétien de Troyes in the 1170s wrote of a saddle of epic design which had taken several years to create, and of another which was painted with a golden lion (Erec et Enide, ll.5287-5300, 3669-70). Matthew Paris made a number of drawings (e.g. fig.8) in which saddles are similarly decorated (Asp., ii, pp.85-86, nos 30(a), 31(b), 33(c); Mr T.D. Tremlett has overlooked the lion rampant on the back of Harold's saddle in Paris' depiction of Stamford Bridge, 1066; described in Asp., ii, p.84, and illd. in Dennys, The Heraldic Imagination, opp. p.32.
24. See Fox-Davies, Complete Guide to Heraldry, pp.174, 175; and A.R. Wagner article on 'Heraldry' in Chamber's Encyclopaedia (1950 and later ed.), 35-44 (p.42).
25. While at the end of the 12th century the posture of a beast's head was of not too much consequence, its stance, i.e. whether it was passant or rampant, would have made a much more noticeable difference to the shield design, and therefore was presumably fixed.
26. 'Itinerary', p.415.
27. Ambrose: 'a la baniere al lion' (l.11527). For the close relationships between the Itinerary and Ambrose see The Crusade of Richard the Lionheart by Ambrose, ed. J. La Monte (New York, 1976),

pp.4-18; and J. G. Edwards, 'The Itinerarium Regis Ricardi and the Estoire de la Guerre Sainte' in Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait (Manchester, 1933), 59-77.

28. See above, p.36.
29. The Kings of Leon, Bohemia and possibly Scotland, the Counts of Flanders, Dukes of Saxony, Earls of Dunbar, Arundel and Chester, for example, plus a host of lesser men were all by this time using single-lion rampant coats; compare Ambrose, II.10995-96.
30. Asp., ii, p.7. In Glover's Roll (c.1253) and Walford's Roll (c.1275) the lion figures in about one coat in five, usually as the sole or principal charge; in the former roll no other beasts are found (ibid., p.107).
31. For example, Richard of Devizes, p.23; Howden, Chronica, iii. 129, Gesta, ii. 191. For the dragon standard and the English kings see Tatlock, 'The Dragons of Wessex and Wales', Speculum, viii.
32. See above, p. 62; Henry's lions may also have been guardant but the distinction was then considered unimportant (see p.103, n.29).
33. For John's actions during this time see Landon, op. cit., Appendix E, pp.196-208.
34. Howden, Chronica, iii. 247-48. It has been argued that this was not a second coronation but rather a revival of the traditional crown-wearing ceremony which had last been observed in 1158 (see J.T. Appleby, England Without Richard, 1189-1199 (London, 1969), pp. 138-39, and references cited there.
35. Howden, Chronica, iii. 241; Landon, p.86.
36. Pipe Roll 7 Richard I (PRS., new series, vi, 1929), p.xviii; Hugh for having aided the King of France (ibid.), and Thomas for aiding John (Pipe Roll 6 Richard I (PRS., new series, v, 1928), p.xxi.
37. John, however, appears to have been substantially forgiven by his brother in 1195 (Landon, pp.206-7).
38. See above, p.60; both Hugh and Thomas bore their lions as passant guardant, but this distinction would have been unimportant (see above, n.32).

Notes to CONCLUSION

1. Arthur was the posthumous son of Geoffrey, Duke of Brittany, John's deceased older brother. According to the representative principle he was therefore heir to the English throne; (for the casus regis see the forthcoming work by Prof. J.C. Holt). No arms are known for Arthur.
2. It was about this time arms were beginning to follow lands, titles and offices in much the same way as seal devices. Thus, both the children of Beatrice de Say and Geoffrey FitzPeter (d.1213), Geoffrey and William, assumed the name Mandeville, and, also, as earls of Essex, readopted the quarterly arms of their distant forebear, Geoffrey de Mandeville, 1st Earl of Essex (d.1144), even though their own father had used slightly different arms (see Wagner, 'Heraldry' in Medieval England, pp.350-51).
3. They have not always, however, retained the premier place in the sovereign's shield; for nearly half their life-span they took second place behind the French fleurs de lys.

GLOSSARY of heraldic terms used in this book.

- Adorsed : Placed back to back.
- Argent : Silver, usually represented by white.
- Armory : Now usually synonymous with the general term 'heraldry'; it refers more specifically to the art and science of the devices borne upon the shield and its accompaniments, whereas 'heraldry' also incorporates the rôle of heralds.
- Arms : Strictly the devices painted on the shield. It is now used more loosely, as in 'the royal arms' when speaking of the whole achievement of crest, supporters, etc.
- Azure : Blue.
- Badge : A distinctive device which is never as such borne upon the shield. Usually employed as a mark of ownership; often found on seals in the 12th century.
- Banner : A rectangular flag of arms. During the 12th century the height gradually became greater than the width.
- Bezanty : Powdered with gold roundels (or bezants).
- Bordure : A narrow border round the edge of the field.
- Cadency : A system of heraldic charges, e.g. a label, placed on the shield in order to distinguish cadet branches from the head of their house.
- Checky : The field, or charge, is coloured in small squares of alternate metal and colour, like a chess-board.
- Chevron : A band shaped like an inverted 'v'.
- Combatant : When two creatures, especially lions, are depicted facing each other and rampant with outstretched paws as if in combat.
- Counter-changed : When the field is divided into two different tinctures and a charge superimposed over the whole field has the colours reversed accordingly.
- Crest : The device set upon the helm (and not on the shield).
- Dexter : The right of the shield-bearer, thus the left-hand side of the shield for the viewer.
- Differencing : A practice whereby an initial coat is altered (e.g. by adding some small device) to either distinguish different members of a family from one another, or deliberately to reflect an association within a family or group.

<u>Dimidiated</u>	:	When two separate shields are literally cut in half and placed side by side on a single new shield.
<u>Field</u>	:	The basic surface of the shield on which the charges are placed.
<u>Fleur de lys</u>	:	The heraldic lily.
<u>Gonfanon</u>	:	A small lance-flag, originally with streamers from the fly, but also applied loosely to the knight's lance-pennon.
<u>Guardant</u>	:	When a creature, such as a lion, is looking full-faced at the spectator.
<u>Gules</u>	:	Red.
<u>Impaled</u>	:	Said of two coats of arms shown <u>in toto</u> and side by side on the same shield.
<u>Label</u>	:	Consists of a narrow band across the top of the shield with three or five tags (points) pendant from it.
<u>Marshalling</u>	:	The combination of two or more coats of arms on one shield to indicate a marriage alliance, a union of lordships, etc.
<u>Or</u>	:	Gold. Often represented by yellow.
<u>Passant</u>	:	Walking, and always depicted side view.
<u>Per Pale</u>	:	When the shield is divided into two halves down the centre.
<u>Pile</u>	:	A wedge-shaped figure normally issuing from the top of the shield.
<u>Quarterly</u>	:	When the shield is divided into four quarters.
<u>Rampant</u>	:	Said of a lion when standing erect in an attitude of attack with three paws raised.
<u>Sable</u>	:	Black.
<u>Sejant</u>	:	Sitting.
<u>Semy</u>	:	Of the field when strewn with an indefinite number of some small charge.
<u>Sinister</u>	:	The left of the shield-bearer, thus the right-hand side of the shield for the viewer.
<u>Stantant</u>	:	Standing, with all four feet on the ground.
<u>Vert</u>	:	Green.

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Chapter 5

RICHARD I : 1189-1199

The King of England, that most fearful lion was aroused . . . and roared horribly, burning with a rage worthy of such a beast.

The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes of the Time of Richard I

Richard the Lionheart, who succeeded to his father's vast territories in July 1189, used two shield devices.¹ Not surprisingly they both consisted of a lion or lions. Between his accession and at least 1195 Richard bore a single lion rampant, and for the remainder of his life until 1199 he bore the distinctive coat which has ever since remained the royal arms of England and still today holds premier place in the sovereign's shield - Gules, three lions passant guardant or.² Richard was thus the first English monarch to use this particular coat. Both his shield devices are depicted on his equestrian great seals (figs. 17 and 18),³ which hence supply the dates, though there is also other evidence that he was clearly associated with these 'arms'.⁴



Fig. 17 First great seal of Richard I (1189-1198).

unconnected men was their bond of association and friendship with the person of this one great King.⁷¹ It is therefore extremely likely that this particular shield was a very real reflection of the one common link between all these men, namely, Henry II. If he had used this coat, then the fact that all these men were his close associates would have been reason enough either for him to have bestowed upon them arms very similar to his own as a sign of honour, or for each of them to have deliberately adopted some version of the royal arms (regardless of whoever knighted them) as a mark of identifying themselves with their friend and royal master.

It is possible then that Henry used the Angevin coat, a single lion, or the two lions passant; certainly he was using arms of some sort in 1187. During his reign heraldry was still very much at a tender age, and there were no strict rules regarding its practice.⁷² A man could change his shield device at will; such a move would not have appeared strange or irregular. It was only towards the end of the reign that heralds of arms appeared, and initially their task was the recognition rather than the systemisation and classification of armorial bearings.⁷³ It may be that at one or two points in his lifetime Henry decided to change his shield device. At least three of his own sons, Richard, John, and their half-brother, William Longespée Earl of Salisbury, at some point discarded their old shields and adopted new ones.⁷⁴ William Marshal originally used the coat of his feudal overlord, but later, when he himself received lands and offices, adopted arms which soon became identified with his own family. Ranulph, Earl of Chester (1181-1232), exchanged his lion rampant shield for the three wheat-sheaves that are still the arms of that Earldom.⁷⁵ There are numerous other examples of men changing their arms, especially from the more armorial thirteenth century.⁷⁶ That Henry II used two or three different arms in turn would not, therefore, have been surprising; neither he nor his son Richard are the only English monarchs ever to have done so.⁷⁷

It is also possible that Henry may have used these three different coats concurrently.⁷⁸ Again, there would have been nothing unusual in this, especially if the various arms reflected several offices, such as the gold lions rampant on blue for the Count of Anjou.⁷⁹ Even today the monarch and Prince of Wales are both entitled to a number of entirely different coats of arms reflecting their various titles, though both are, of course, normally associated with some form of the arms of the United Kingdom. Often during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a feudal overlord would carry a banner charged with an entirely different device from that of his shield.⁸⁰ A famous example is that of the De Montfort knight in the stained-glass window at Chartres.⁸¹ Moreover, Matthew Paris obviously did not find it unusual to attribute three different arms to Harold II of England, and more than one coat each to Haakon IV, King of Norway, Philip Augustus, and the Saxon Kings Offa and Edmund Ironside.⁸² Perhaps in his multifarious rôle as King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine and Count of Anjou, Henry likewise bore several

included Malcolm, King of Scotland (1153-1165)⁴² and his brother, David Earl of Huntingdon (d.1219),⁴³ Stephen's son William Count of Boulogne and Mortain,⁴⁴ two of his own sons, Geoffrey Duke of Brittany⁴⁵ and John,⁴⁶ and of course the Count of St Pol.⁴⁷ Furthermore, the problem would have been exacerbated in the following century when there arose the fashion of mass investitures, in which the king, amid much splendour, knighted sometimes more than fifty young men all on the same occasion.⁴⁸

Had all these young men even adapted the arms of their king, then there would have been little honour left in the bestowal of such a prize. As we know, Robert's son, Waleran, used a checky shield; David, Earl of Huntingdon, probably used a shield charged with three piles.⁴⁹ Moreover, it would have been strange if, for example, Stephen and his opponent Geoffrey, Maud's husband, both knighted by Henry I, used the same arms. Another curious feature would have arisen from the fact that Henry I knighted David, King of Scotland, David in his turn knighted Duke Henry later king of England,⁵⁰ and Henry as king of England in his turn knighted Malcolm, King of Scotland. Whose arms would have been adopted by whom? Furthermore, there certainly would have been little that was hereditary about such coats.

Again, had the practice of adopting one's patron's arms been widespread, it might be expected that those using identical or similar arms were knighted by a common patron. Thus, it has been suggested that since John and the Count of St Pol were using the same arms and it is known that their common patron was Henry II, he too must have used these arms. However, there does not appear to be any evidence that Gervase Paynell, for example, who was using this shield in 1187, was also knighted by Henry II.⁵¹ Nor does there appear to be any evidence that Bernard IV Count of St Walery, Warin FitzGerold, and Henry Count Palatine of the Rhine, who all used this coat, were knighted by Henry. Nevertheless, in spite of this, it was no accident that these particular men, including John and the Count of St Pol, used the two lions passant shield (though presumably with different colours); for all were close associates of Henry II.

Gervase Paynell was baron and lord of Dudley Castle, and in the civil war supported Henry's mother against Stephen.⁵² Despite a brief lapse when he joined the Young King's rebellion in 1173, Gervase continually enjoyed the King's favour, and in September 1189 he attended the coronation of Henry's son, Richard. He died in about 1194⁵³ when his estates and coat of arms passed through his sister and heiress, Hawise, to the Somery family.⁵⁴

Two other close friends of Henry II were Reginald II and his son Bernard IV (the older), both Counts of St Walery.⁵⁵ The former was for a time one of Henry's stewards before his accession in 1154, and during his reign was also his Justiciar for all of Normandy.⁵⁶ His arms are not known, but his counterseal device was a lion passant.⁵⁷ In either 1166 or 1167

The two men whom Henry knighted and who are supposed to have subsequently adopted their patron's arms are John, fifth son of Henry II, ²⁷ and Hugh IV, Count of St Pol (d.1205). ²⁸ (That John was using lions passant (see fig.16) and Henry is supposed to have used lions passant guardant is of little significance in these early days of heraldry.) ²⁹



Fig. 16 Seal of John, Lord of Ireland Count of Mortain (1185-1199).

However, as in the case of Henry I and Geoffrey of Anjou, the subsequent use of a particular shield by a newly-dubbed knight does not necessarily prove that the patron-in-chivalry who knighted him was using those precise arms. The practice of adopting the patron's arms may not have been as widespread as was once thought. ³⁰ It is more likely that, since both John and the Count of St Pol had been knighted by the king of England, both very naturally wished to express their association with the crown by adopting or adapting his shield device; the two lions coat, if it were the arms of Henry II, would obviously have been a prestigious shield to reflect in one's own arms. Or it may be that Henry II deliberately bestowed upon these two young men a version of his own shield as a sign of honour or perhaps personal affection. ³¹ In 1185 when he was knighted (after which date he used an armorial seal), John was in high favour with his father. It was hoped that he would soon be king of Ireland (though this never came to pass), and in July 1187, a couple of years later, it was proposed that he should hold all his father's continental estates except Normandy which would remain with England as the heritage of his intransigent older brother, Richard. ³² The Count of St Pol, when he was knighted by the King in 1179, was also in Henry's good books. According to the English Exchequer account for Michaelmas 1179, the King pardoned Hugh from a debt of 11½ marcs - not an enormous sum, but a pardon all the same. ³³ Both John and Hugh therefore had good reason to reflect in their own arms those of the

