

Third Series Vol.IV part 2.

No.216

Autumn 2008

ISSN 0010-003X

Price £12.00

# THE COAT OF ARMS

an heraldic journal published twice yearly by The Heraldry Society





# THE COAT OF ARMS

*The journal of the Heraldry Society*



Third series

Volume IV

**2008**

Part 2

*Number 216 in the original series started in 1952*

The Coat of Arms is published twice a year by The Heraldry Society, whose registered office is 53 High Street, Burnham, Slough SL1 7JX. The Society was registered in England in 1956 as registered charity no. 241456.

*Founding Editor*

†John Brooke-Little, C.V.O., M.A., F.H.S.

*Honorary Editors*

C. E. A. Cheesman, M.A., PH.D., Rouge Dragon Pursuivant

M. P. D. O'Donoghue, M.A., Bluemantle Pursuivant

*Editorial Committee*

Adrian Ailes, B.A., D.PHIL., F.S.A., F.H.S.

Jackson W. Armstrong, B.A.

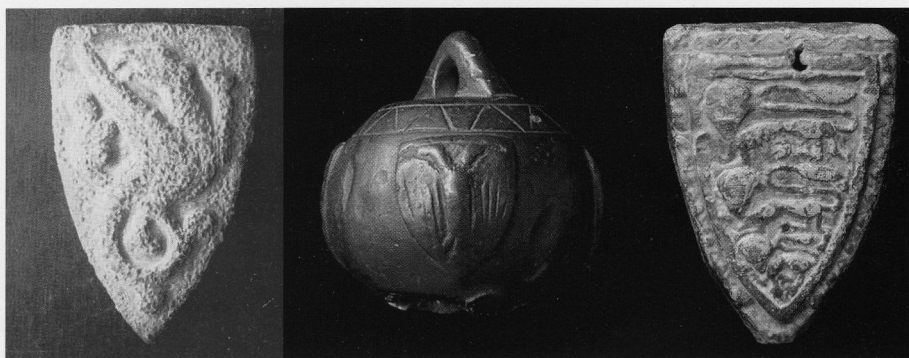
Noel Cox, LL.M., M.THEOL., PH.D., M.A., F.R.HIST.S.

Andrew Hanham, B.A., PH.D.

*Advertizing Manager*

John Tunesi of Liongam

## PLATE 1



Above, left to right (not to scale):

- (a) Copper-alloy shield-shaped weight bearing a wyvern, from Merton, Norfolk (HER 37113). Image scanned from a Polaroid photograph. *See page 93.*
- (b) Copper-alloy steelyard weight with four shields, alternately bearing the arms of England (reversed) and a double-headed eagle, from Catton, Norwich. Height 88mm. Diameter (including shields cast in relief) 89mm. (Norwich Castle Museum Accession no. 1839.14. An engraving of this weight was published in *Archaeologia*, 25 (1834), p. 589, plate lxiv). *See page 95.*
- (c) Lead shield-shaped ½lb pan weight bearing the arms of England, from Pakefield, Suffolk. Width 43mm. Height 59mm. (Norwich Castle Museum Accession no. 1976.73). *See page 95.*

Below, left to right:

- (d) The arms of Arsic (or Harsick) [*Or*] *a chief indented [sable]*, set above the west door of the fifteenth-century tower of St George's Church, South Acre. *See page 98.*
- (e) The early thirteenth-century equestrian seal of Reginaldus Arsic, with the horse's caparison displaying the charge interpreted as a dragon or wyvern with wings expanded (*BM Seals*, no. 5624). BL Add. Ch. 28340. *See page 99.*

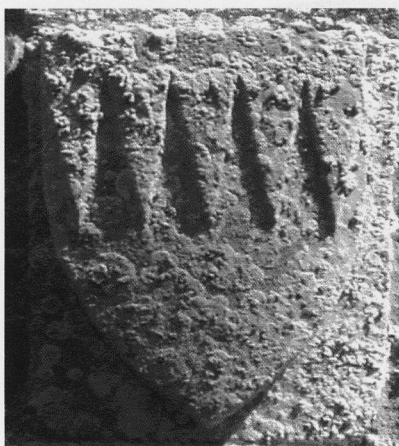


Image by courtesy of the British Library.



# A WYVERN ON A TWELFTH-CENTURY ARMORIAL WEIGHT FROM NORFOLK

Steven Ashley

An unparalleled late twelfth-century shield-shaped weight bears a wyvern<sup>1</sup> in relief on its upper face. The identity of the arms is obscure. However, there is a possibility, based on a seal extant in the collections of the British Library, that they relate to arms attributed to Reginaldus (or Reynold) Arsic.<sup>2</sup>

Whatever the origin of the arms, the weight upon which they are displayed appears to represent the earliest armorial example discovered thus far. It is hoped that the publication of this note will draw attention to the lack of armorial weights datable to the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries and lead to the identification of hitherto unrecognised examples in museums and private collections.

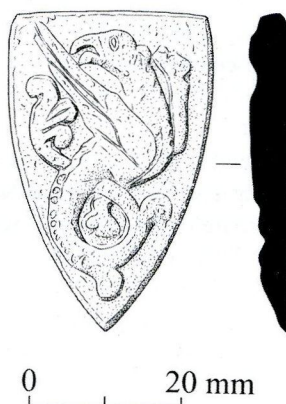


Figure 1: A copper-alloy shield-shaped weight bearing a wyvern, from Merton, Norfolk (HER 37113). Scale 1:1.

## Discovery

A flat pan weight, cast in the shape of a shield charged with a wyvern (see **Figure 1** and **Plate 1a**), was found by John Harvey whilst metal detecting in the parish of Merton, Norfolk,<sup>3</sup> in February/March 2002 and the details of its discovery reported to the Finds Identification and Recording Section of Norfolk Landscape Archaeology at Gressenhall.<sup>4</sup>

## Description

A copper alloy weight, shield-shaped, bearing a wyvern cast in relief on the upper face. The surface is pitted by corrosion. There is a slight chamfer at the top of the

<sup>1</sup> A dragon with two legs. Most European dragons were shown with two legs until the later Middle Ages. Examples of the less common four-legged dragon can be seen on an English or German mirror case of c.1180-1200: N. Stratford, 'Metalwork' in G. Zarnecki, J. Holt and T. Holland (edd.), *English Romanesque Art 1066-1200* (London 1984), pp. 232-95 at 252, no. 255.

<sup>2</sup> BL Add. Ch. 28340. *A dragon or wyvern wings expanded* for Reginaldus Arsic, equestrian seal, early thirteenth century (*BM Seals* 5624).

<sup>3</sup> Norfolk Historic Environment Record 37113.

<sup>4</sup> Subsequently the weight was sold to a dealer in antiquities and its present whereabouts are unknown.

shield on the flat reverse. It is 27mm wide, 42.5mm long and weighs 26.21g, 0.92oz, 404.48 grains.

The wyvern is arranged carefully to occupy fully the face of the shield. It is shown to sinister and regardant, with its sinister limb raised and its tail curled forward, over and back under its body in front of the lower dexter limb and behind the upper end of the tail, with its trefoil or acanthus leaf terminal curling back again almost to touch the oblique upward-angled triangular wing. Engraved detail delineates the wyvern's eye, wings, the beaded spine along the back of its tail and foliate terminal. The form of the wyvern, in particular the foliate tail, and the shape of the shield, indicate a late twelfth-century date of manufacture for this object.

### Weight

The weight, at 26.21g, is close to the significant unit of weight (26.6g) identified from around 200 Hiberno-Norse finds from Dublin.<sup>5</sup> Many contemporary Late-Saxon/Anglo-Scandinavian weights from East Anglia conform to the Dublin unit of weight.<sup>6</sup> These weights are earlier than the example under discussion here and non-armorial. Most are lead or lead with a fragment of scrap silver or copper-alloy set into the upper surface. That said there is a possible Late Saxon weight of cast copper-alloy decorated with a quadruped in the collections of the British Museum.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, probable eleventh-century discoidal weights of lead and lead encased in copper alloy, decorated with floriated crosses, are known from excavations in Winchester.<sup>8</sup>

There are two well-known groups of later, armorial, weights. The first group comprises spherical copper-alloy steelyard weights dating from the second half of the thirteenth century. They are decorated with shields in relief and have (or had) a lead core. Steelyard weights of this type have been studied and published extensively by G. Dru Drury.<sup>9</sup> They usually bear the arms of England, three lions passant guardant;

<sup>5</sup> A. J. Mainman and N. S. H. Rogers, *Finds from Anglo-Scandinavian York* (York 2000), p. 2563. It is unlikely to be for a troy ounce. According to S. E. Kruse, 'Late Saxon Balances and Weights from England', *Medieval Archaeology* 36 (1992), pp. 67-95 at 86, evidence for the troy unit cannot be pushed back any earlier than the thirteenth century. Conversely, R. D. Connor, *Weights and Measures of England* (London 1987), pp.117-31, proposed an ancient origin for the troy weight. A troy ounce should be 480 grains. The weight described above is 404.48 grains (and is therefore 15.7% under weight for a troy ounce).

<sup>6</sup> Kruse, op. cit. p. 89. There are more than fifty late Saxon weights from Norfolk recorded in the Norfolk Historic Environment Record, many of which relate to the Dublin unit of weight.

<sup>7</sup> D. M. Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork 700-1100* (London 1964), catalogue no. 150.

<sup>8</sup> For two lead weights (tentatively dated late ninth to eleventh century) and two lead weights encased in openwork copper alloy (eleventh century?), see M. Biddle, 'Weights and measures' in M. Biddle (ed.), *Object and Economy in Medieval Winchester* (Winchester Studies 7. i and ii: Oxford 1990), pp. 908-28 at 910, fig. 280, pl. LIX.

<sup>9</sup> G. Dru Drury, 'Thirteenth century steelyard weights' in *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club* [hereafter *PDNHFC*] 47 (1926), pp. 1-24; 'A thirteenth century steelyard weight', *PDNHFC* 48 (1927), pp. lxxviii-lxxix; 'A 13th century steelyard



of Poitou, a lion rampant;<sup>10</sup> and a double-headed eagle that refers to the Hanse and the Holy Roman Empire (see **Plate 1b**).<sup>11</sup> This use of all three arms has been attributed to Richard, Earl of Cornwall and Poitou (d.1272), younger brother of Henry III, after his election as King of the Romans in 1257, and/or his son Edmund, the second Earl who died in 1300, when the Earldom became extinct.<sup>12</sup> However, the eagle on Richard's (and Edmund's) arms should be single-headed (*Or an eagle displayed sable*).<sup>13</sup> Some of the larger examples of these weights have a fourth shield bearing the arms of Cornwall.<sup>14</sup>

The second group consists of lead shield-shaped flat pan weights that usually display charges relating to the arms of England, such as three lions passant guardant (see **Plate 1c**), a lion rampant or a crowned fleur-de-lis.<sup>15</sup> There are also examples

[Note 9 continued]

weight', *PDNHFC* 52 (1930), pp. xlix-li; 'A further series of thirteenth century steelyard weights', *PDNHFC* 58 (1936), pp. 35-42; 'A further series of four thirteenth century steelyard weights', *PDNHFC* 64 (1943 for 1942), pp. 21-4; 'Some additional thirteenth century steelyard weights', *PDNHFC* 75 (1953), pp. 84f.

<sup>10</sup> M. Elvins, 'The bezants of Cornwall', *CoA* 2nd ser. 9 (1991), pp. 150-4 at 150f.

<sup>11</sup> The German merchants of the Hanse settled in London and received their first charter from Henry III 'at the instance of the most serene Prince of the Roman Empire, our Brother'; J. B. Ward-Perkins, *London Museum Medieval Catalogue* (London 1940), pp. 172f.

<sup>12</sup> J. Cherry, 'Steelyard weights', in P. and S. Saunders (edd.), *Salisbury Museum Medieval Catalogue Part 1* (Salisbury 1991), pp. 47-9, at 47.

<sup>13</sup> *DBA* 2, p. 138. Richard would have borne a single-headed eagle as King of the Romans. Confusion regarding the number of heads on the eagle might have sprung from various contributory factors. The motif of a double-headed eagle is commonly found on Byzantine textiles and the influence of such imports on early arms was considerable. Double-headed eagles occur for example on the tunic of the Emperor Henry II (1002-24): T. D. Tremlett and H. S. London, *Rolls of Arms of Henry III (Aspilogia 2)*: London 1967), pp. 15f., no. 21. This motif was translated from textiles to heraldry proper, with perhaps the first attributable example in the Empire of an eagle with two heads appearing on the seal of Count Ludwig von Saarwerden, of Alsace, in 1185 (personal communication from Helmut Nickel). Another example of a shield bearing the double-headed eagle, possibly belonging to the early thirteenth century, can be seen being carried by St Mengold on his shrine in Huy, Belgium: N. Rogers, 'The shrine of St. Mengold at Huy and its heraldic importance' *CoA* 2nd ser. 5 (1983) no. 127, pp. 176-82. Matthew Paris (c.1244-59) attributes the arms *Or a double-headed eagle displayed sa.* to the Emperor Otto IV (1209-1218) (Tremlett and London, loc. cit.) and Walford's Roll (c.1273) assigns a double-headed eagle to the Emperor and a single-headed eagle to the King of the Romans or the King of Germany (Tremlett and London, op. cit. pp. 167f., nos. 1 and 8). The employment of the double-headed eagle on these thirteenth-century steelyard weights, if intended for the King of the Romans, the Hanse or the Empire, appears to be erroneous. It does, however, foreshadow the first official use of these arms for the Empire, where, under the Emperor Sigismund, they replaced the single-headed eagle in 1443. See also R. Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination* (London 1975), pp. 171-3.

<sup>14</sup> *Ar. a lion rampant gu. crowned or queue forchée gu. in a bordure sa. bezanty* (Tremlett and London, op. cit. p. 20, no. 38, where the lion's tail is forked in error), see also Dru Drury, 'Thirteenth century steelyard weights', p. 4, and Cherry, 'Steelyard weights', p. 47.

<sup>15</sup> N. Biggs, *English Weights: an illustrated survey* (Powys 1992), pp. 42f.

that bear a simple cross and other devices are found occasionally. Although their date range is rather uncertain, some at least appear to belong to the end of the fourteenth century.<sup>16</sup> A lead shield-shaped weight of this type, for sixteen troy ounces and bearing a single fleur-de-lis, was found on an abandoned farmstead north of Kendal, Cumbria. It was thought in this case that the charge might relate to the family of Edmund Langley, Duke of York, who became Lord of the Manor of Wakefield in 1347.<sup>17</sup>

In addition to these two large groups of armorial weights, a thirteenth-century copper-alloy shield-shaped weight bearing the arms of England, three lions passant guardant, has been noted by John Cherry.<sup>18</sup> Copper-alloy weights of this form and date appear to be uncommon.

No characteristically twelfth-century weights, other than the example described here, have been identified. That is not to say that other weights did not exist then, but that the majority of those (probably almost exclusively lead) weights so far discovered, bear no diagnostic features. 'High status' finds of all kinds for this period are relatively few in number when compared with those from preceding and succeeding centuries. This relative paucity of finds does reflect to some extent a genuine lack of copper-alloy objects available for use during the twelfth century.<sup>19</sup>

### The Shield

This type of flat-topped shield<sup>20</sup> first appeared towards the end of the twelfth century and can be seen, for example, on a carved relief of c.1180 in the church of St Mary, Barfreston, Kent.<sup>21</sup> Flat-topped shields are carried by some of the knights and warders

<sup>16</sup> That is, during the period following the conversion (c.1380-90) of the avoirdupois pound from a subdivision into 15 ounces into a binary scale of 16 ounces (Biggs, *English Weights*, p. 42). On the other hand, it is probable that different systems of weighing were in use at the same time, see the discussion of three lead shield-shaped weights in G. Egan, *The Medieval Household: daily living c.1150-c.1450* (London 1998), pp. 320-2, fig. 239, nos. 1031f. (and one un-numbered). The first of these weights is decorated with a cross (?fleur) between roundels or bezants cast in relief. The second two both bear *A lion rampant crowned in a bordure bezanty* and are dated to the late fourteenth century. The arms appear to refer to those of the late thirteenth-century Earls of Cornwall (see above). A unique set of six composite bronze, lead and iron avoirdupois weights, also belonging to the second half of the fourteenth century, are held in the City Museum, Winchester. They each carry three, four or six shields on which are the arms of Edward III. France Ancient is quartered with England and the date usually assigned to the set is 1357 (Connor, *Weights and Measures of England*, p. 129).

<sup>17</sup> Connor, *Weights and Measures of England*, p. 128.

<sup>18</sup> J. Cherry, 'Heraldry as decoration in the thirteenth century' in W. M. Ormrod (ed.), *England in the Thirteenth Century* (Stamford 1991), pp. 123-34 at 131f. and plate 28.

<sup>19</sup> S. Ashley, 'Recent Finds of Anglo-Norman 'high-status' objects from Norfolk', *Norfolk Archaeology* 45 (2006), pp. 105-8; D. A. Hinton, *Gold and Gilt, Pots and Pins: Possessions and People in Medieval Britain* (Oxford 2005), pp. 171-9.

<sup>20</sup> Classed as 'Norman convex' by George Grazebrook in *The Dates of Various-shaped Shields: with coincident dates and examples* (Liverpool 1890), pp. 17f. and plate 1, no. 4.

<sup>21</sup> D. Nicolle, *Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era, 1050-1350: Western Europe and the Crusader States* (London 1999), p. 59, fig. 123b, c and d.



present in the hoard of walrus-ivory chessmen discovered on the Isle of Lewis and belonging to the second half of the twelfth century.<sup>22</sup> Shields of similar form can also be found on late twelfth/early thirteenth-century seals, for example those of David, Earl of Huntingdon (of 1185-1219) and William de Braose (of c.1200).<sup>23</sup>

### The Wyvern or Dragon

Wyverns with foliate or acanthus leaf tails inhabit the pages of illuminated manuscripts from the eleventh<sup>24</sup> and twelfth centuries.<sup>25</sup> Beasts with similarly foliate tails are also found in sculpture during this period. For example, wyverns with triangular wings and jutting forepaws decorate late eleventh-century capitals in Stogursey Church, Somerset. Many of these wyverns are depicted with a distinctive line of longitudinal beading, running from the head along the neck, body and tail, both in illuminated manuscripts and on pieces of sculpture based on manuscript exemplars.<sup>26</sup> This beading can be seen on a rather naive flat carved wyvern on a font of c.1140, in the church of St James, Avebury, Wiltshire. It is also present on a more assured and ornate carving of confronted wyverns on a font in the church of St Bridget, Bridekirk, Cumberland. This latter example belongs to the third quarter of the twelfth century.<sup>27</sup> A wyvern of similar form, again with beaded spine, triangular wings and foliate tail, can be found on the back of the throne of a king amongst the Lewis chessmen.<sup>28</sup>

Wyverns and dragons are also encountered frequently in decoration on Romanesque metalwork of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, sometimes in combination with men and other creatures such as serpents, lions and griffins.<sup>29</sup> A number of wyverns with elaborate foliate tails are present on examples of twelfth/early thirteenth-century horse furniture from Norfolk.<sup>30</sup>

### The Arms

What then is the significance of the placement of a wyvern on this shield-shaped weight? By the end of the twelfth century shields were usually decorated with charges

<sup>22</sup> N. Stratford, *The Lewis Chessmen and the enigma of the hoard* (London 1997; rev. reprint 2001), e.g. the knight shown in plate 24, Iv. Cat. 114 and the warder shown in plate 30, Iv. Cat. 121.

<sup>23</sup> *PRO Seals*, P234 and P1090.

<sup>24</sup> F. Wormold, 'Decorated initials in English MSS. From A.D. 900 to 1100', *Archaeologia* 91 (1945), pp.107-35 at 124.

<sup>25</sup> For instance those shown in C. M. Kauffmann, 'Corpus of canon law' and 'St Jerome, Commentaries on the Old Testament' in Zarnecki, Holt and Holland (note 1 above), p. 107, nos. 41-2.

<sup>26</sup> C. Hicks, *Animals in Early Medieval Art* (Edinburgh 1993), p. 263-5 and fig. 5.9.

<sup>27</sup> G. Zarnecki, *Later English Romanesque sculpture 1140-1210* (London 1953), cat. nos. 4, 71, 72.

<sup>28</sup> Stratford, *The Lewis Chessmen*, Iv. Cat. 78.

<sup>29</sup> See examples in N. Stratford, 'Metalwork', in Zarnecki, Holt and Holland, pp. 249f., 252, nos. 247, 248, 255.

<sup>30</sup> S. Ashley, *Medieval Armorial Horse Furniture in Norfolk* (East Anglian Archaeology 101, 2002), fig. 7, no. 18; fig. 8, nos. 20-1; fig. 9, no. 26.

of some armorial meaning rather than with purely decorative figures.<sup>31</sup> As a personal device amongst the knighthood and nobility the wyvern is uncommon. There are only three examples of arms with a single wyvern/dragon belonging to the late twelfth/early thirteenth century that are recorded in the card index for the *Dictionary of British Arms*.<sup>32</sup> Of these, the early thirteenth-century equestrian seal of Reginaldus (or Reynold)<sup>33</sup> Arsic of Silverley, Cambridgeshire, on which the caparison of the horse displays a charge interpreted as a dragon or wyvern with wings expanded, appears to offer the best hope of identification for the arms on the weight.<sup>34</sup> Reynold Arsic was in possession of the manor of Silverley (*Silverlia*), Cambridgeshire, held as two knight's fees, in 1187-97.<sup>35</sup> His son Geoffrey held the manor from 1215.<sup>36</sup> The family of Arsic (or Harsick), traced its origins to 'Sir EUDO DE ARSIK' (of South Acre), who 'held this lordship of the Earl WARREN about the reign of *Hen. I.* by the service of being CASTELLAN or keeper of his castle at ACRE or CASTLE-ACRE...'.<sup>37</sup> They held land and were involved in the regulation of markets in central Norfolk during the twelfth to fifteenth centuries.<sup>38</sup> The arms of Arsic would, therefore, be appropriate on a weight originally employed in an official or semi-official manner. However, there are two main objections to this attribution. Firstly, the more usual arms of Arsic/Harsick are *Or a chief indented sable* (see **Plate 1d**).<sup>39</sup> The only record of the wyvern charge is taken from the seal of Reynold noted above. Secondly, the identification

<sup>31</sup> A. Ailes, 'Heraldry in twelfth-century England: the evidence' in D. Williams (ed.), *England in the Twelfth Century: Proceedings of the 1988 Harlaxton Symposium* (Woodbridge 1990), pp. 1-16.

<sup>32</sup> These are (i) *A dragon or wyvern wings expanded* for Reginaldus Arsic, equestrian seal, early thirteenth century (*BM Seals*, 5624); (ii) *A wyvern passant to sinister* for Gervase Avenel, c.1230: J. H. Stevenson and M. Wood, *Scottish Heraldic Seals: royal, official, ecclesiastical, collegiate, burghal, personal* (three vols., privately printed 1940), vol. 2, p. 233, no. 163; and (iii) *A wyvern regardant tail nowed* for Anselm Wittune of Molle, co: Roxburgh c.1170: Stevenson and Wood, op. cit. vol. 3, p. 650 (unnumbered).

<sup>33</sup> *Reginaldus* is a Latinised version of the Old German *Raginald*, a variant form of *Reynold*: P. H. Reaney and R. M. Wilson, *A Dictionary of English Surnames* (London 1991), p. 376.

<sup>34</sup> The knight's shield is now blank.

<sup>35</sup> *Pipe Rolls 1188* (Pipe Roll Soc. xxxviii), 62; *1191-2* (Pipe Roll Soc. new ser. ii), 184; *1197* (Pipe Roll Soc. new ser. viii), 78.

<sup>36</sup> BL Cotton Ms Nero C. ix, f. 53; *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum* i. (1833), 270; *Curia Regis Rolls* ix. 123; xiii, no. 1521; *Liber de Bernewelle* (1907), 259.

<sup>37</sup> Francis Blomefield and Charles Parkin, *An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk* vol. 6 (London 1807), p. 77; see also Walter Rye, *Norfolk Families* (Norwich 1913), p. 310. Many monuments to the family of Arsic lie in the church of St George in South Acre including 'a *Knight Templar* in his military vest, cross-legg'd, his hands conjoined at his breast, with a great broad belt and sword, and a lion couchant at his feet, all of stone; there is no inscription or arms, but it is most likely in memory of Sir EUDO HARSICKE, the first of that name, for the monument bespeaks great antiquity': Blomefield and Parkin, p.81. However, although the figure of the knight is likely to be for a member of the Arsic family, it dates to c.1300 rather than to the early twelfth century.

<sup>38</sup> Blomefield and Parkin, op. cit. pp.77f.

<sup>39</sup> J. Corder, *A Dictionary of Suffolk Arms* (Ipswich 1965) col. 234.



by Walter de Gray Birch: *A dragon or wyvern wings expanded*, upon which the DBA entry is based, seems open to question. The seal is now very worn and incomplete and although it is possible that a wyvern or dragon is depicted on the horse cloth, in its present state it could equally well be a griffin or some other beast or monster. That said it is likely that the condition of the seal has deteriorated since the late nineteenth century when it was first described (see **Plate 1e**).

An alternative possibility for the identification of the wyvern on the weight, originally considered but later rejected due to lack of parallels, is that it might have referred to the late twelfth century revival of the wyvern as a royal standard.<sup>40</sup>

## Conclusion

As Adrian Ailes has stated, the main sources of evidence for heraldry in the twelfth century, 'perhaps the most exciting phase in a continuum that has endured for over eight centuries', are seals, manuscript illumination and contemporary writing.<sup>41</sup> Archaeological finds are adding steadily to the number of twelfth-century proto-armorial and armorial objects available for research. Finds of objects within classes such as horse furniture, seal matrices and personal dress fittings have become more frequent over recent years, due in the main to the advent of metal-detecting.<sup>42</sup>

The armorial weight described here appears to be the first that can confidently be ascribed to the twelfth century on stylistic grounds. Nobles, sheriffs, commissioners, officers of the crown and such-like would have undertaken the regulation of weights, on a local, hundredal or county basis, in the name of the king.<sup>43</sup> It is likely that the wyvern arms displayed here were used in a similar manner and to similar purpose as royal arms on later examples of weights, namely, to legitimise the machinery of regulation. However, until other evidence is found the identity of their original owner remains a matter open to speculation.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>40</sup> J. S. P. Tatlock, 'The Dragons of Wessex and Wales', *Speculum* 8 (1933), pp. 226, 234f.; C. Lofmark, ed. G. A. Wells, *A History of the Red Dragon* (Llanrwst 1995), pp. 54f.; S. Ashley (in preparation), 'King Arthur's dragon: the revival of the dragon or wyvern as an English royal standard'.

<sup>41</sup> Ailes, 'Heraldry in twelfth-century England' (note 31), p. 16.

<sup>42</sup> For examples of such finds from Norfolk, see Ashley, *Medieval Armorial Horse Furniture* (note 30 above); H. Geake, A. Rogerson and S. Ashley, 'Medieval seal matrices from Norfolk 1996-8, 1999 and 2000', *Norfolk Archaeology* 43 (1999-2001), pp. 353-8, 508-12 and 683-8; A. Rogerson and S. Ashley, 'Medieval seal matrices from Norfolk 2001-2005', *Norfolk Archaeology* 44 (2002-5), pp. 133-7, 348-53, 558-63 and 732-6; 45 (2006), pp. 108-112; Ashley, 'Recent finds of Anglo-Norman 'high-status' objects from Norfolk' (note 19 above), pp. 105-8.

<sup>43</sup> J. T. Rosenthal, 'The Assizes of Weights and Measures in medieval England', *The Western Political Quarterly* 17. 3 (Sep. 1964), pp. 409-22.

<sup>44</sup> I am grateful to Adrian Ailes, John Cherry, Helmut Nickel, Andrew Rogerson and Melanie Rolfe for commenting on the text. I am also indebted to Thomas Woodcock, Norroy and Ulster King of Arms, and Janet Grant of the College of Arms who kindly copied and supplied me with the relevant entries for wyverns and dragons from the card index for the forthcoming volume of the *Dictionary of British Arms*. Figure 1 and Plates 1a to 1d are by the writer. Plate 1e was kindly provided by the British Library.