THE COAT OF ARMS

The journal of the Heraldry Society

Fourth Series

Volume II

2019

Number 236 in the original series started in 1952

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Printed in Bristol by 4Word Ltd.

ISSN 0010-003X

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THE DISPLAY OF ARMS IN THEIR PRIMARY MARTIAL CONTEXTS PART IIB
The Pre-Classic Period in England, c. 1217 – c. 1327
Flags, old and new: the gonfanon, banner, and pennon

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Abstract

The gonfanon was the only existing type of flag before 1181, and took the form of a small flag with a rectangular field, generally wider than tall, terminating in a set of tails of varying number and length. Presumably because its function was to mark the presence of a commander of a certain rank rather than a particular identity, its field was normally devoid of figures other than decorative patterns in various colours, and even after the emergence of proto-armal designs on the shield, such designs were only rarely displayed on its field. The word gonfanon, to the confusion of historians, continued to be used in that generic sense long after the invention of the later forms of flag with which this article is principally concerned. The first of these was the one to which the name ***baniere*** *or 'banner' was soon given. The banner was also rectangular but devoid of tails and cut with the tall and narrow proportions of the contemporary shield, making it suitable for the display of arms. In the course of the thirteenth century the (always perarmiferous) banner gradually replaced the (sometimes parti-armiferous) gonfanon as the flag borne by continental kings, princes, and barons as the commanders of substantial forces of knights, but in England it seems to have been borne exclusively by the king to at least 1272. By about 1240 in France the right to bear a banner had probably been extended to sub-baronial knights who could muster a force of baronial strength, to whom the title 'knight banneret' was soon given. In England, by contrast, the use of banners (always perarmiferous) by lesser commanders dates only from the reign of Edward I, who seems to have created the first English bannerets in the 1270s. The other general type of flag that emerged in the period under consideration here was the* ***pennon****. It was characterized by a triangular outline, a relatively small size, and a tendency to armifery. Two quite distinct, and probably unrelated, forms of pennon are attested in representations of the later thirteenth century, one probably derived from the gonfanon (whose classic tailed form fell simultaneously into complete disuse), and the other from the contemporary banner. There is no evidence to suggest that their forms bore any particular significance, but the evidence for both their form and their use before 1327 is so slight that it is impossible to make any secure generalizations. It is likely, however, that the pennon was introduced to mark the status of knight bachelor, which had come to stand between that of knight banneret and that of an undubbed man-at-arms.*

The Coat of Arms 4th ser. 2 (2019), no. 236 pp. 27–59.

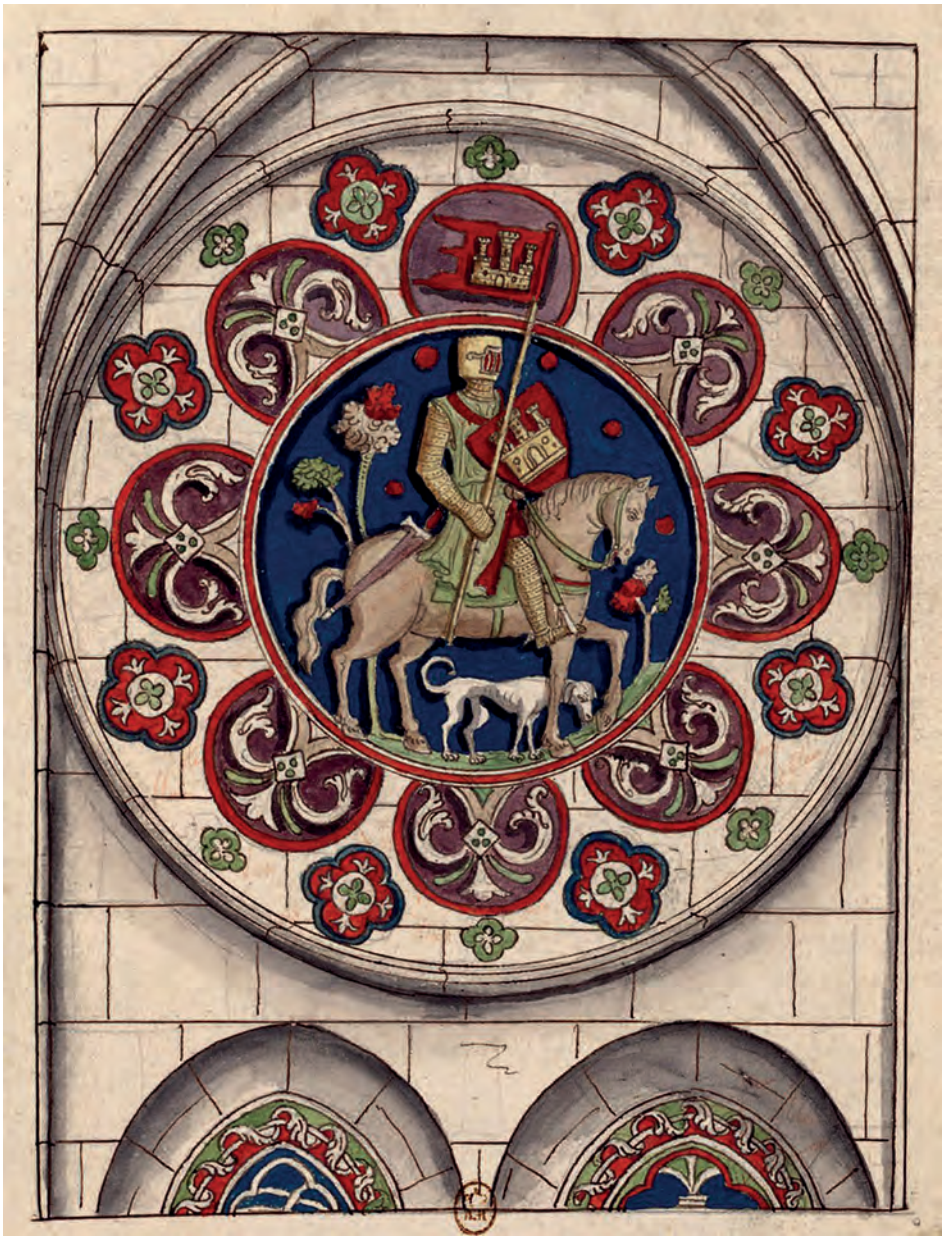

Figure 1: A King of Castile from Chartres, perhaps Alfonso VIII,
Source bnf.fr/ Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS Gagnières 103

This is the concluding section of an article published in the previous issue of The Coat of Arms, itself a successor to an article covering the years c. 1130-c. 1217, to be published in a collection edited by Nigel Ramsay.[1]

6. Martial Flags in England in the Pre-Classic Period, Non-armiferous and perarmiferous.

The sixth and last general type of item of knightly equipment on which arms were displayed in England in the Pre-Classic Period was the flag. Four fairly distinct types of flag were at least occasionally attached to their lances by knights of different ranks in the Pre-Classic Period: (1) the traditional tailed ***gunfanun*** or '**gonfanon'**, (2) the novel *rectangular* **baniere** or '**banner'**, whose name is attested from c. 1110 as a synonym for gonfanon, but whose classic form appeared only in or soon after 1181, and is attested in England only from the 1240s; (3) the two distinct forms of the still more novel *triangular* **pennon** the earlier of which is attested only from c. 1277, and the later from c. 1300. Both of these were normally armiferous in some mode or other. The name ***penon*** – 'big feather' – first appeared in Old French in 1160, and its diminutive (but probably synonymous) derivative ***penoncel*** in 1165, but both must have been used to designate the smaller forms of gonfanon until the 1270s, when the true pennon is first represented.

The earlier of the two distinct types of pennon appears to have been created in the Pre-Classic Period through a gradual modification of the classic gonfanon, which it completely replaced by the end of the Pre-Classic Period, while retaining its general elongate proportions. The other type of pennon, attested from c. 1300, appears by contrast to have been created through a modification of the rectangular banner, whose outline and upright proportions it retained. Both types were characterized by a novel and distinctive *triangular* outline, but shared with the banner the characteristic and in being regularly *armiferous*. Since the history of the gonfanon was continuous from the previous Period, I shall begin with its history in the thirteenth century, and trace its evolution into the isosceles type of pennon.

6.1. The *Gunfanun* or Gonfanon

The **gunfanun** or '**gonfanon'** was a flag derived from the top-mounted **vexillum** of the late Roman cavalry, which from c. 800 – when its classic side-mounted form was adopted by Charlemagne – down to 1181, was the only form of flag displayed by Latin Christian warriors.

According to the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary*, in Anglo-Norman – which remained a normal language of communication for the upper nobility through most of the thirteenth century – the word ***gunfanun,*** derived from the Old Germanic word *gundhya-fano* 'war-sign' is attested (spelled in at least twenty-one different ways) in at least four works written before c. 1230, but in only one written after that date: Langtoft's *Chronicle* of c. 1300. In Middle English, by contrast – which after the loss of Normandy in 1204 gradually became, first a *second* tongue for the knightly nobility, and then the *first* of two tongues spoken in alternation according to the social context – the derivative word ***gounfanoun*** or ***gonfanon*** (spelled in at least eighteen different ways) is attested, and

[1] Nigel Ramsay (Ed) *Heralds and heraldry in medieval England* (forthcoming).

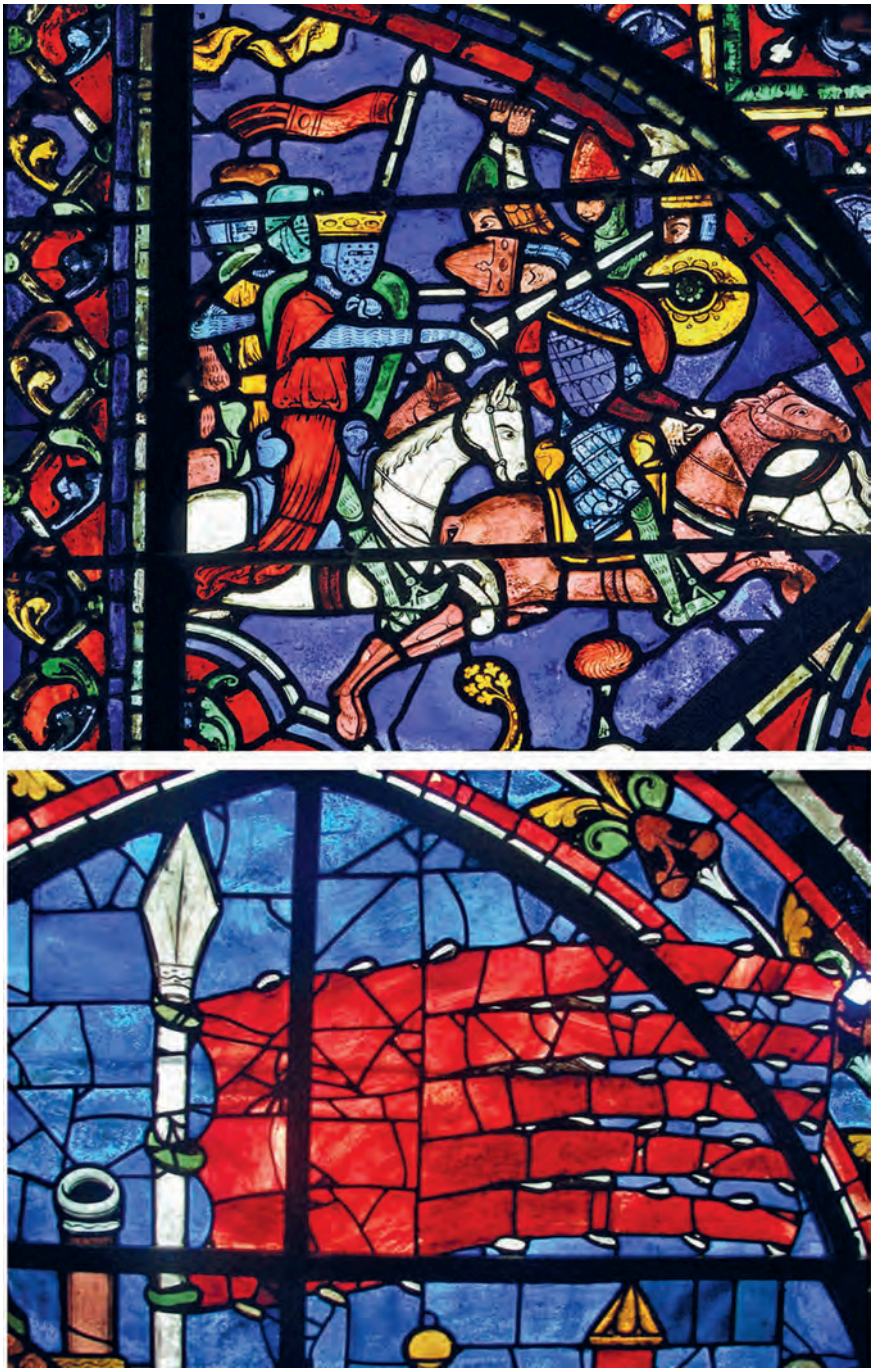

Figure 2: Chartres windows, top: Charlemagne carrying the Oriflamme gonfannon. bottom: Detail of the Oriflamme as carried by Charles of Metz

primarily after 1330. The *Middle English Dictionary* cites *twelve* cases of its use in its primary sense – that of a flag borne as the rallying-emblem of a host or any major division thereof – between 1300/30 and 1450/1500. There are *twelve* cases of its use over the same period to designate a minor lance-flag of pennon type, and *one* case (c. 1330) of its use to designate a top-mounted ecclesiastical flag of the sort that would come to be called from 1595 a 'gonfalon', which retained the structure of the ancestral Roman *vexillum*. It would thus appear that the Anglo-Norman *gunfanun* retained its primitive sense of 'flag' throughout these three centuries, and could be applied to any of the different forms of flag that then existed.

The evidence for the form and use of flags of all kinds is more restricted than that for the other elements of the knightly panoply in the Pre-Classic Period, primarily because English knights of this period were *never* portrayed on their seals, and only in one case on a surviving tomb-monument, carrying a flag of any kind. Images of knights bearing flags in England before the 1270s are found almost exclusively in the illustrations of the manuscripts of the works of Matthew Paris, prepared in the 1240s. By contrast, images of contemporary French knights bearing flags have been preserved both in those and in a few comparable works of the period, and more distinctively in portraits in stained-glass – especially the memorials to donors in the clerestory of the Cathedral of Chartres believed to have been set up in the 1220s and '30s.[2] Nothing comparable to the latter exists in England before the 1340s.

In England images of flags can be found on *civic seals*, which represent them flying both from battlements and from the decks and masts of ships. While these cannot serve as direct evidence for the use of flags on lances carried in battles and martial contests, they do give a clear sense of the forms of flags in England at more or less precise dates from the beginning to the end of our Period.[3] The oldest seals in the series are those Ipswich and Pevensey, which date from c. 1200 and c. 1207 respectively. Both include traditional gonfanons, with either two or three tails, flying from the top mast of a ship. The latest seal in the set is the second seal of Dover dating from 1305, near the end of our period. Its ship, which also bears a large banner of the royal arms on its poop, has a large gonfanon on traditional form at the top of its mast, its field bearing a *diagonally* counter-scored design, presumably decorative.[4] The gonfanons of Ipswich and Lyme Regis are charged with crosses, but none bore a truly distinctive emblematic design. Their presence indicates that gonfanons continued in use in England in contexts other than the panoply of knights at least to about 1305 and that the form of the established elongate type changed very little to that date. It is therefore quite possible that essentially similar gonfanons continued to be borne throughout this period by the counts or earls,

[2] Michel Pansard, *Chartres: La grâce d'une cathédrale* (Strasbourg, 2013), p. 86.

[3] There are twelve examples from the thirteenth century in Gale Pedrick, *Borough Seals of the Gothic Period* (London, 1904), with a more geographically limited collection, overlapping with Pedrick's in Geoffrey Williams, *The heraldry of the Cinque Ports* (Newton Abbot, 1971), which usefully provides more precise dating for the seals of Cinque Port communities. For thirteenth such seal , that of the Bailiffs of **Norwich** of 1223–6, see Matthew Sillence, 'Continuity and Change in the Civic Seals of Norwich', COA no. 233/234 (2017) pp. 13–22 (15) Fig. 1a.

[4] Pedrick plate xxiii

Figure 3: Gonfannons and banners on seals. Top left: gonfannon of John Margrave of Brandenburg, 1220; top right: banner of Conrad Landgrave of Thuringia, 1234; Bottom: tall narrow banner of Duke Bengt Birgirson of Denmark, 1283**.** Author's Collection.

and possibly by other the military commanders of comparable importance who would eventually bear banners and take the title 'banneret'.

From the evidence of civic seals, I turn to that of the stained-glass memorials in the cathedral of Chartres, which represent exclusively men with knightly panoplies from the first decades of our period, though none based even primarily in England. One of these is a memorial to a King of Castile, possibly Alfonso VIII (d.1214) – father of Blanche, wife of King Louis VIII of France and mother of St. Louis IX (who ruled 1226 to 1270, attaining his majority in 1234).[5] Alfonso is depicted riding to the sinister with a shield of the arms of Castile (*Gules a castle triple-towered or*) on his left arm, and a gonfanon bearing the same arms attached to a white lance in his right hand (**Figure 1**). Except in being armiferous and having a field and tails that are red throughout, the flag has all of

[5] Editor's note: see the paper by Pidal in this issue of the Coat of Arms.

the classic characteristics of a gonfanon: a field half-again as wide as it is high, with three tongue-like tails arising from its fly set with spaces between their bases. It is the earliest perarmiferous gonfanon I have found, and one of very few. The great majority of those represented after 1220 remain devoid of significant emblems of any sort.

A somewhat different form of the gonfanon is represented at Chartres in a window showing St Denis conveying the *Oriflamme* to Alberic Clement du Mez, Marshal of France from 1185 to 1191 or to one of his successors between 1204 and 1200 (**Figure 2b**).[6] The flag in this case is also red, but nearly square and devoid of any charge, with five long narrow tails. This version of the *Oriflamme* was soon afterwards represented in a drawing by Matthew Paris, and is pre-armal. A different form of what is again probably intended to be the *Oriflamme* appears in two other windows in Chartres Cathedral, both representing Charlemagne in battle with Saracens (**Figure 2a**). Both represent small gonfanons of traditional proportions, the first a pale yellow in colour with only two tails, and the second red throughout with three tails.

The only other *armiferous* gonfanons I have found appeared on the seals of certain German princes, who retained an attachment to that form of flag much longer than their more westerly equals. These, however, were not perarmiferous, but bore the arms on the inner division of their field. As can be seen in **Figure 3a** , what was surely an armorial eagle was inserted into the inner or central segment of the field of the Marquises or Margraves of Brandenburg from 1190, and appeared as the sole figure on the unified field of the gonfanon borne by Marquis Johann von Askanien on his seal of 1220–1266. In all of these flags the problem presented by the narrowness of the field of the contemporary wide gonfanons was dealt with by setting the charge on it with its head to the staff, so that the design was upright only when the flag was held in the couched position. It would appear that this arrangement was found to be less than optimal, however, because by 1234 (when an armiferous banner appeared in place of a gonfanon on the seal of Landgrave Conrad of Thuringia) had superseded the gonfanon as the underlier of the landgravial arms. (**Figure 3b**).

Despite this, some German princes retained into the last decade of the thirteenth century an even wider version of the traditional tailed gonfanon, devoid of any emblematic sign, and therefore presumably as a traditional insigne of their princely dignity. A good example of this can be seen in **Figure 4**, the seal of Ludwig II von Wittelsbach, Duke of Upper Bavaria from 1253–1294.

I found only three gonfanons in the published illustrations to Matthew Paris' chronicles, which are our sole source for coloured images of gonfanons in England in the Pre-Classic Period. One appears in a scene representing French knights dying of the plague, two of whom bear banners and one a gonfanon with a small square field, devoid of motif, and two long tails. The next gonfanon – a tiny flag with three tails – appears as a crest on the helm of the protagonists in a scene depicting the death of Gilbert le Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke. The third appears in a scene in the Life of St. Alban, representing the victory of King Offa of Mercia over his enemies. It is borne by Offa's commander on his couched lance, and charged (like his shield and coat) with the arms *Argent three lions passant sable*. This flag

[6] Either Henri Clément I, fourth Marshal from 1204–1214, or Jean Clément III, fifth Marshal from 1214 to 1220

Figure 4: Seal of Ludwig II von Wittelsbach, Duke of Upper Bavaria, 1253, Author's Collection.

is of particular interest here, not only because it is *perarmiferous*, but because it bears a greater resemblance than earlier gonfanons to the later *pennon*. It has the usual three tails, but its overall shape appears to be triangular, as the long tapering tails arise from the field in a continuous manner.

Another gonfanon with similar tails and a quasi-armal design is represented in a large coloured drawing by Paris of a knight apparently pledging himself as a crusader (**Figure 5**). The knight wears a red arming-coat strewn with outlined crosses patty (nine of which are partially visible) and carries, leaning on his shoulder, a lance bearing a gonfanon with a traditional wide rectangular field in proportions three to two. It has three long triangular tails, not quite twice the width of the field. This flag, like the previous one, appears to be a form transitional between the gonfanon and the later pennon, and could therefore be called a **proto-pennon**. Unlike the last noted, it is not strictly armiferous, but the three crosses patty arranged in fess on a red field within a sort of bordure could be seen as a reductive-extractive version of the design on the knight's arming-coat.

Figure 5: Matthew Paris drawing of a knight pledging himself as a Crusader. BL Royal MS 2A XXII f.220.

Matthew Paris had a habit of strewing small charges in loose arrangements to decorate otherwise blank arming coats, and the fact that (at least in other contexts) such coats rarely if ever bore *real* emblematic arms in this period, leads one to doubt that these were even *meant* to be arms. Similar flags with blank fields are also represented borne by three knights in scene depicting the army of Holofernes, originally in the Sainte Chapelle in Paris, and now in Philadelphia Museum of Art (**Figure 6)**. There is a single representation of knights carrying lances in the Morgan Bible of c. 1250.[7]

The evidence thus reviewed suggests that the traditional gonfanon continued in use in some contexts – especially the towers of towns and castles and the masts of ships – until the last decades of our Period. Whether it continued in use as a command flag on the field of battle cannot be known for certain. Nevertheless, given the facts that counts had borne such a flag at the head of their forces in battle since as early as the ninth century, and that (as we shall see) there is no evidence at all for the replacement of the gonfanon by the banner in England before the 1270s at the earliest, and probably not before 1297, it is actually more likely than not that the gonfanon continued to be used in England in the traditional way until that time, as a mark of *status* rather than *identity*.

6.2 The *Penon* or Pennon c.1275–1327

Two quite distinct forms of flag ultimately designated by the term *penon* or 'pennon' appear in images dating from the last quarter or so of the thirteenth century. Because they had quite distinct shapes that suggest quite different origins, I shall consider them separately, beginning with what was probably the older. The words *penon* and *penoncel* – 'big feather' and 'little big feather' – came into use roughly a century before the type of flag to which they came to be distinctively attached.

The earliest mention I have found of the display of pennons in combat is in the heraldic praise-poem *The Siege of Caerlaverock*, composed to commemorate the capture of that Scottish castle by the King Edward I in July 1300.[8] The poem begins with a general description of the host of 3000 men assembled before the castle with "Many fair pennons set on lances, … many banners deployed'.[9] Later in the poem is a single further reference to a pennon with a black saltire engrailed, "he had a yellow banner and a pennon: John Botetort was his name".[10] This seems to imply that Botetort used both a banner and a pennon of his arms, but because no other banneret is said to have had both, this could be an example of inserting a word for the purpose of rhyme and scansion. Given that the men to whom he attributes banners all seem to be knights banneret, it

[7] William Noel and Daniel Weiss, *The Book of Kings: Art, War, and the Morgan Library's Medieval Picture Book*, ed. (London, 2002) fig. 9, p. 49.

[8] The poem is preserved in London, BL, MS. Cotton Caligula A, XVIII, fols. 23b -30b, and many later manuscripts, listed in Wagner, *CEMRA*, pp. 29–32. It has been most recently and reliably edited by Gerard J. Brault, in *Eight Thirteenth-Century Rolls of Arms in French and Anglo-Norman Blazon* (State College, Pennsylvania, 1973), pp. 101–22. Its armorial elements were edited by Brault in a different form in which the men whose arms were blazoned in it are clearly distinguished, numbered, and identified with modern forms of their names and death dates, see *Aspilogia III: The Rolls of Arms of Edward I* (1272–1307) (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1997), pp. 432–43.

[9] *Meint beau penon en lance mis, Meinte baniere deploié*'. Lines 20–21.

[10] *A un sautoir noir engrellie/ Jaune baniere ot e penon,/Johans Boutetorte ot a noun*, Lines 328–30.

Figure 6: The Host of Holofernes from the Sainte-Chapelle, Reproduced courtesy of the Philadelphia Museum of Art.[11]

is likely that the distinction had already been made between knights with a right to a banner and those denied that right, to whom the old term *bachiler* or 'bachelor' – initially meaning 'young knight' but eventually meaning 'knight without a following' – would be attached, and that the 'many fair pennons' were set on the lances of the latter.[11]

6.2.1. The Isosceles Pennon, 1277–1327

What was probably the earlier of the two forms of pennon was almost certainly created through the modification of the smaller, tapering form of gonfanon through the fusion of its tails and the imposition on it of a strictly triangular outline. Because its sides retained

[11] Purchased with funds contributed by Mrs. Clement Biddle Wood in memory of her husband, 1930.

the equal length of the parent flag, its field had the outline of an isosceles triangle, and it may usefully be called the **isosceles pennon**.

Two subtypes of the isosceles pennon emerged around the same time: one, the only type which was certainly borne in England during this period, I have called the **acute elongate subtype**, as it was cut with a very acute apex, and its equal sides were at least three times the dimension of its base, attached at the staff. The other subtype – not clearly attested in England before 1327, but ancestral to flags attested from the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries – had shorter sides and a rounded apex, and will be termed as the **rounded short subtype**.[12]

I have found only two representations of the first in English sources of our Period. The earlier of these is engraved on the latten effigy of the English knight Sir John d'Abernon d.1277.[13] This is the only surviving English funeral effigy of any type produced in the whole Pre-Classic Period to include either a lance or a lance-flag of any form. D'Abernon's pennon is quite small and quite narrow, with a height-width ratio of 1.5: 5, including a short fringe that surrounds its outer margin. It bears his arms – *[azure] a chevron [or]* set with the chief to the staff, so that it would have been upright when the lance was held in the horizontal, couched position, rather than in the vertical position normally associated with banners.

The only other representation of such a pennon I could discover was in a manuscript made late in the reign of Edward I (c. 1300), now preserved in the British Library (**Figure 7**). This depicts four armed knights kneeling before a prince, two of them holding lances to which are attached very narrow pennons of the type in question. As both pennons appear to be white and devoid of any design whatever, it is not clear what their function was – though it is possible that they were intended merely to mark the status of *knight bachelor*, by that time distinctly superior to that of simple man-at-arms (in France already identified with the status of permanent squire). This suggests that from the time of its introduction the pennon was intended to perform that insignial function, just as the banner performed that of marking the status of banneret: a situation at least implied in the Caerlaverock poem. By the end of our period, the pennon had become the mark of the status of ordinary knight, and its introduction vastly increased the number of flags borne on the lances of any host composed of what were thenceforth called *gens d'armes* or 'men-arms'.

6.2.2. The Tall Right-Angled Pennon.

The second general type of pennon that appeared in the last quarter of the thirteenth century is one that appears to have been created by cutting a banner in half along a diagonal line running from its upper attachment to the staff to the lowermost point of its fly. I have found representations of this type – which may be called the **tall right-angled pennon** – in only four manuscripts of the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries: one French, one Spanish, and two English.

[12] An example is represented in a manuscript of William of Tyre's *History of Outremer*. See Barbara Drake Boehm and Melanie Holcomb (Eds) *Jerusalem 1000–1400: Every People under Heaven*, catalogue of the exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of New York (New York, 2016), pp. 217–8.

[13] Illustrated in part one of this paper, *COA* no.235 p.238.

Figure 7: Isosceles pennons in BL Arundel MS. 83, f. 132.

In the **French** manuscript (**Figure 8**) five such pennons appear, borne on the lances of mounted men-at-arms who are following a similarly-accoutred knight with a *banner*. The latter was presumably a knight banneret, and the others were probably knights bachelor under his command. All of these flags are perarmiferous (the banner bearing *Or a lion rampant gules*), but the disposition of the charges in the arms on two of the pennons is inverted to fit the field: *one charge over two* rather than *two over one*. This is a good example of the *reordering mode* of display, presumably common on pennons of this type.

In the **Spanish** manuscript (**Figure 9**), by contrast, depicting an army of Alfonso X, all of the men-at-arms bear such pennons, and the designs they bear are all either plain, barry, or bendy patterns, or sets of roundels arranged in pale – presumably to fit the narrow field. These patterns appear to have been intended to represent arms, as the same patterns are repeated on the shields of four of the knights. In the earlier of the two **English** manuscripts, dating from c. 1300 (**Figure 10**), a crowned king, wearing over mail armour an arming-coat charged with four bars, is depicted kneeling before nine similarly-accoutred and kneeling men-at-arms. The farthest four of these hold lances bearing pennons of the type in question, each charged with three bars. In the later manuscript – the Luttrell Psalter of c 1330 – the portrait of Sir Geoffrey Luttrell depicts him with maximally armiferous accoutrements, including a pennon of the type in question charged with his arms, *Azure a bendlet between six martlets argent.*[14]

[14] Illustrated in the first part of this paper, *COA* no 235 p. 254.

Figure 8. Banner and tall right-angled pennons c. 1280 Source bnf.fr/ Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS Fr 9084.

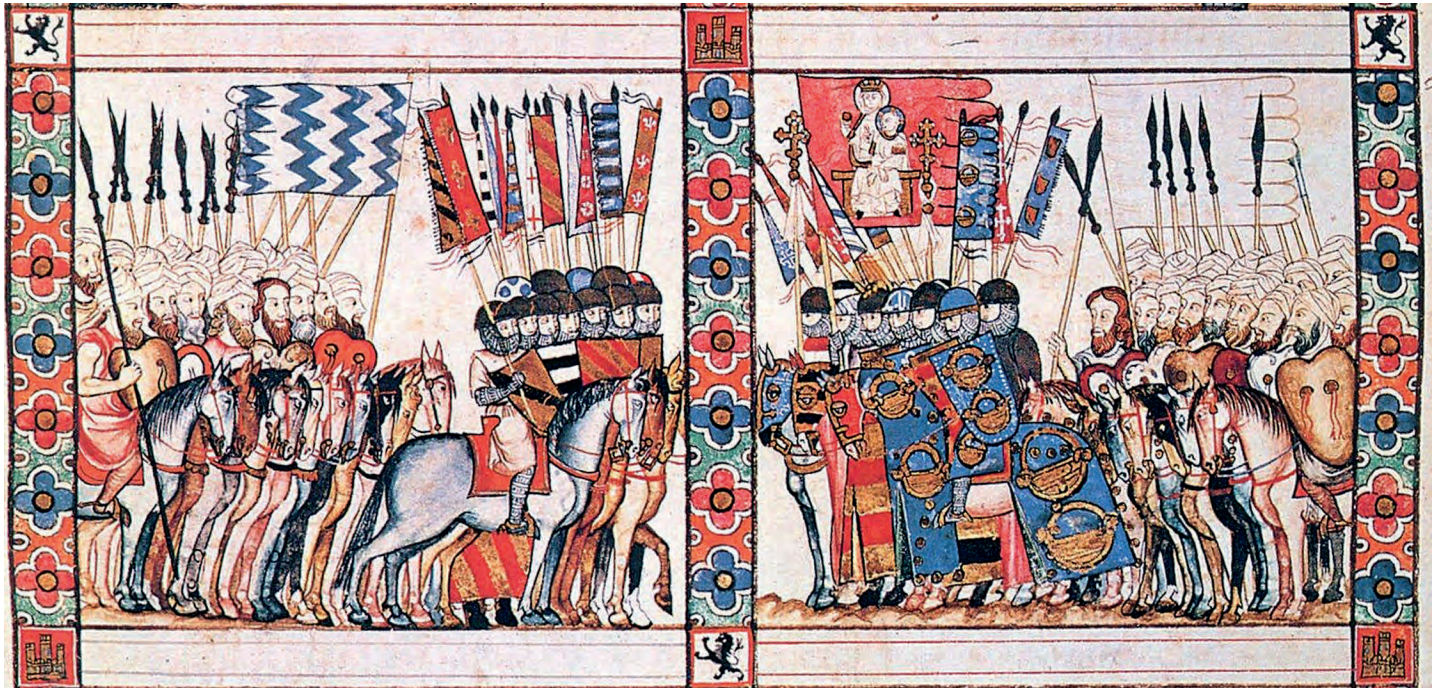

Figure 9: Codex Santa Maria, El Escorial MS T.I.1, Cantiga 181.

Figure 10: Pennons in BL Royal MS.19 B xv.

The evidence of these manuscripts thus suggests that tall right-angled pennons were in widespread use in the most westerly parts of Latin Europe between about 1270 and about 1330.

6.3 The Baniere, Baner, or Banner

The history of the banner in England in the Pre-Classic Period is only a little better recorded than that of the gonfanon and pennon. The Old French word *baniere* was an old one – derived through the Late Latin *bandum* from the Old Gothic *bandwa* 'sign' – but before the late twelfth century, when the type of flag to which the name was soon particularly attached – it had remained a synonym of *gunfanun* in the sense of 'flag'. The classic tall banner covered with heraldic arms was represented on the counter-seal of the Count of Flanders in or soon after 1181, in several German manuscripts of c. 1200, and was probably adopted by the English king Richard the Lionheart to bear his very similar first arms on his crusade of 1190. Other references to, and images of, banners remain very rare throughout the Pre-Classic Period. Indeed, the only mention of its name in the latter Period cited in the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* is in the *Ancrene Riewle*, a translation c. 1300 of a Middle English text of c. 1200–1230. The relevant passages in the Middle English work are both allegorical, but clearly refer to a flag borne before a host.[15]

[15] *MED*-o, 'banere'; The same is true of an Anglo-Norman passage *AND*-o, 'baner' (*Ancren*2 125.31). For MED-o, AND-o see the first part of this paper COA no. 235 p.220.

In England, the earliest representations of banners – several bearing the new royal arms adopted by Richard in 1198 (*Gules three lions passant guardant in pale or*) – appear on civic seals. The very earliest of these seals is that of Pevensey made soon after 1207.[16] A traditional gonfanon was set on the mast of the ship that dominated its design, but a tiny tall banner was set on its forecastle. Its scale does not permit any design to be seen on its surface, but it perhaps bore the new royal arms in token of the royal patronage of the Cinque Ports. The seal of the Barons of London, which dates from c. 1223 depicts on its obverse a figure of St Paul standing behind the city carrying a very tall banner of the royal arms.[17] The images on these seals demonstrate that the new, armiferous form of flag created by the Count of Flanders c. 1181 had indeed come into use in England by 1207, but suggest that to at least 1223, it was largely or entirely restricted to the use of the king. Similar banners are represented on nine additional borough seals of the late thirteenth or fourteenth century published by Pedrick. That of Rochester is illustrated in **Figure 11**. In four cases the banner lacks any design, probably because of the small scale on which they were represented. Dating from the reign of Edward I , the seal of

Figure 11: Seal of Rochester, Kent with the banner of England. By Gracious permission of the Society of Antiquaries of London, Museum drawer D11.
Photograph by Paul A Fox.

[16] Pedrick plate ii.

[17] Sillence, 'Norwich', p. 15, Fig. 1b; Pedrick plate xi.

Faversham shows a ship with two banners. That on the forecastle bears a *cross*, while that on the poop appears to bear the arms of Clare (*Or three chevronels gules*).[18] In three of the four remaining cases, either the sole banner, or one of the two banners represented, clearly bears the arms of the king. On the seal of Hastings the second banner bears the arms of Hastings itself (England dimidiating the Cinque Ports); on that of Lyme Regis it bears the arms of Queen Eleanor of Castile (dating it to 1272–90). What these images demonstrate is that by the 1290s persons and entities other than the king had begun to make use of armiferous banners, and that the persons in question included the Queen and Gilbert de Clare.

Among the earliest representations of banners outside England in the Anglo-French world are those set up as memorials to donors in the clerestory of the Cathedral Chartres in France.[19] Only one of these has an even marginal connection to England: John I de Montfort, third Count of Montfort l'Amaury in succession to his grandfather Simon de Montfort IV – who had been the fifth Count or Earl of Leicester in succession to Robert de Beaumont from 1205/6, and from 1215 had been Count of Toulouse and Duke of Narbonne in succession to the displaced Count Raymond VI. Count Simon IV was the principal leader of the Albigensian Crusade before his death in 1218, and was succeeded in his English domain by his younger son (John I's uncle): the famous Simon V, who as Earl of Leicester would become the leader of the opposition to Henry III and his son the future Edward I.

John is represented in the Chartres memorial window on a trapperless horse, bearing on his left arm a shield of the arms *Gules a lion rampant queue fourchée argent*, and carrying in his right hand a lance to which is attached a tall banner (exactly twice as tall as it is wide) bearing a completely different design: *Per pale indented gules and argent* (**Figure 12**). This discrepancy is unexplained, but what is of interest here is that the *form* of his banner conformed both to the earlier and later model for banners in both France and England, and was clearly perarmiferous, like the flags carried on the lances of the other leaders memorialized in the Chartres windows. King Louis VIII 'the Lion' of France himself (who had actually attempted to seize the throne of England from his cousin King John 'Lackland') is probably represented in another window, holding a lance bearing a similar banner, but one with wider proportions: two wide to three high. It is emblazoned with the original arms of France: *Azure semé of fleurs de lis or* (**Figure 13**).

True banners began to appear on the seals of German princes in the 1230s, where (as the seal of Landgrave Conrad of Thuringia suggests) they gradually replaced the gonfanons that their sigillary effigies had continued to bear as a traditional mark of their

[18] Pedrick plate viii; Williams, *Cinque Ports*, pp. 101, 108. Editor's note: Gilbert de Clare (d.1295), earl of Gloucester and Hertford, was never an admiral during the reign of Edward I, contrary to what Williams stated, nor was he Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. In 1290, shortly following his marriage to the king's daughter Joan of Acre, the earl and his wife departed on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, see GEC vol 5 pp. 702–8. Faversham being the closest member of the Cinque Ports confederation to their castle of Tonbridge, it would not be too surprising for the men of that port to have conveyed them, a proud event commemorated on their seal. Pride in having carried such august personages would also explain the presence of the queen's arms on the seals of other Cinque Ports. The cross banner on the Faversham seal lends support to the crusading hypothesis, Gilbert de Clare having taken the cross for the second time in 1290.

[19] Pansard, *Chartres*, op. cit.

Figure 12: Chartres, John de Montfort and his banner.

status as a military commander. The equestrian seal of Otakar II, Duke of Austria and Styria, adopted in 1273 (**Figure 14**) depicted him holding a shield of the arms of Austria (*Gules a fess argent*) carrying a tall narrow banner of the arms of Styria (*Vert a panther argent*). The seal of his neighbour John 'the Blind', King of Bohemia and Poland, created after 1314 (**Figure 15**), represented him with the arms of Bohemia (*Gules, a lion rampant queue fourchée*) on his shield, and the arms of Poland (*Gules an eagle displayed argent*) on a very similar (though less elongate) banner. In the same period the Danish duke, Bengt Birgirson (**Figure 3c**) bore a similar banner on his lance, with intermediate proportions. In a number of cases the knightly poets memorialized in the Manesse Codex were also represented bearing tall banners of their arms, some with the distinctive Germanic tail or *Schwenkel* attached to the dexter chief (as can be seen in **Figures 3a and 4**).

Earlier in the Period, in the *Chronica Majora* of Matthew Paris, the banner of the Knights Templar – *Argent a chief sable* – appears in three illustrations.[20] This *vexillum templi*, like the banner of the King of England, is represented as a standard rectangular type, three to four times as tall as wide. Paris' drawing of the pre-armal *Oriflamme* is

[20] Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1987) pp. 47, 48, figs. 47, 48, p. 239, fig. 153

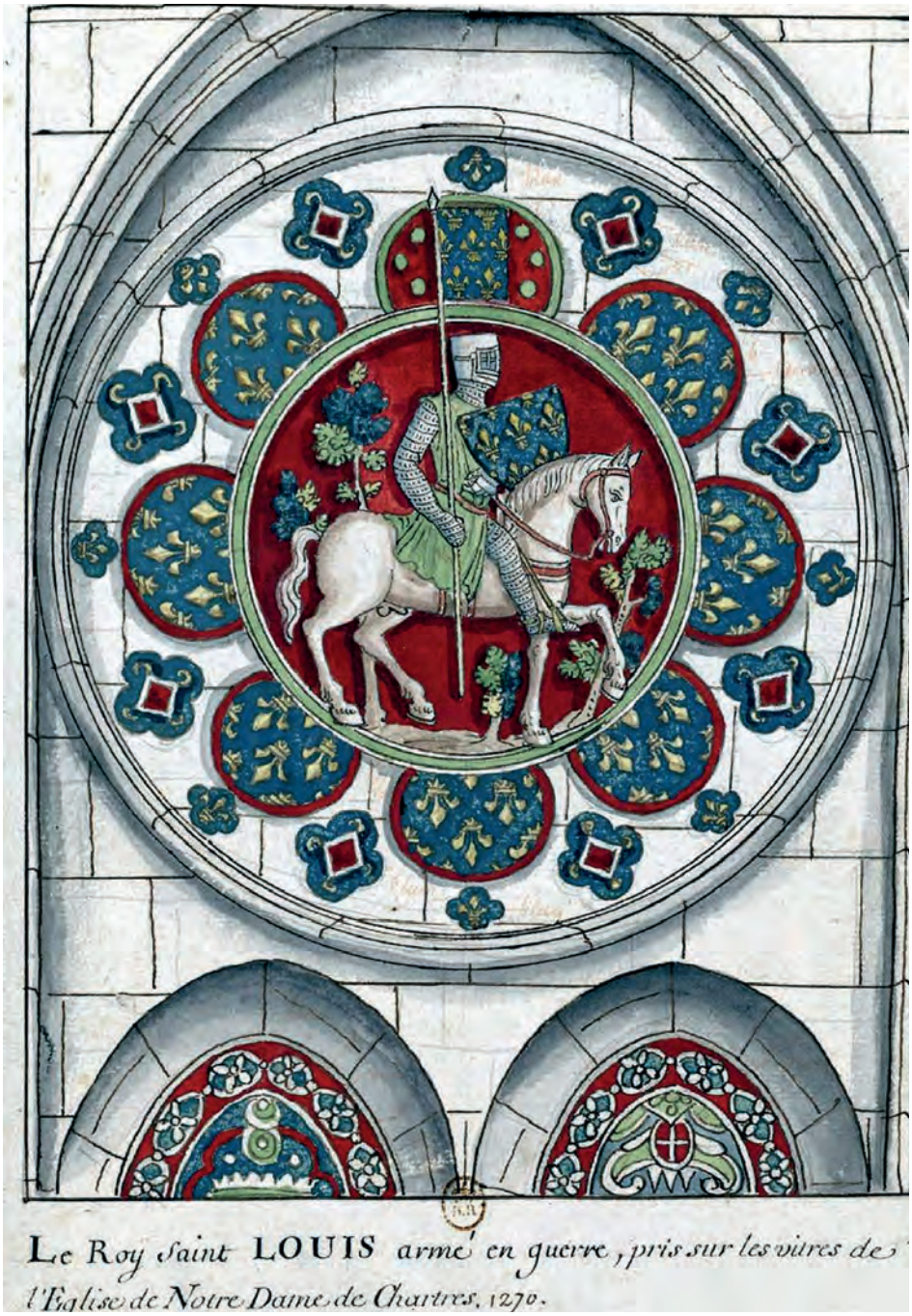

Figure 13: Chartres, putatively Louis VIII, labelled in the manuscript as Louis IX. Source bnf.fr/ Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS Gagnières 76.

Figure 14: Seal of Ottakar II, Duke of Austria and Styria 1273**.** Author's Collection

Figure 15: Seal of Jan King of Poland and Bohemia 1314, Author's Collection

gules throughout, and of comparable proportions, with eight narrow tails attached to its fly edge, all half as long as the width of the field. It is similar but not identical to the image of same flag in the window of Chartres Cathedral. The third banner represented, the *vexillum hospitalis*, the arms of the Knights Hospitaller, bearing the arms of the Order, *Gules a cross argent* , deviates thoroughly from the norm, having a field that is only slightly taller than wide, and five tongue-like tails about half as long as the field is wide attached to its fly edge. The last two flags appear to be hybrids of the normally tailless banner and the invariably tailed gonfanon. They both have proportions of roughly 3 high to 1 wide.

The other eight banners represented by Matthew Paris all lack tails, and are generally of taller or narrower proportions. Five such banners of the proportions one to four are borne by knights in a ship in a sea-battle off Sandwich, all charged with quasi-armal designs (**Figure 16c**). Two more banners of still taller proportions are held by French knights in a group of six dying of the plague; both bear quasi-armal designs, and the one that is fully visible is more than five times as tall as it is wide.[21] An eighth banner appears in the illustration of King Offa's victory examined above; it is of similar proportions, but bears the commander's arms (*Argent three lions passant sable*): the first example of a banner echoing the arms either on the shield or on the coat of its armiger.[22]

Most of the other representations in Matthew's works are of very large banners of the arms of King Henry III flying from fixed poles on the towers of castles: Bedford Castle, Gannock Castle, and Lincoln Castle (the first represented in **Figure 16a)**. These all resemble very closely the banners represented on civic seals examined above. The last, like the French banners in the battle of Sandwich, has proportions of 4 high to 1 wide. In the first illustration a smaller banner bearing imaginary arms flies over a gallows. There is also a representation of what is presumably meant to be the royal arms on the sail of a ship – another form of underlier for which there is much more evidence in later centuries, but may well have been fairly common in the thirteenth as well. It is reproduced here in **Figure 16b**.

The representations cited to this point suggest that banners, though normally perarmiferous, varied widely in proportions in the 1240s and '50s, and were often so narrow that many armal designs could not have been displayed on their surface without some form of *reordering* of the charges – of a type seen in a number of German banners painted in the Manesse Codex (**Figure 17**). The only other work of the period that includes images of flags of all types is the Morgan Bible, prepared as we have seen around 1250 in France, and therefore representing French rather than English practices. On one of the leaves six knights bear small, white, two-tailed gonfanons, while a sixth carries a very tall banner (height to width proportions 5 to 1) with the arms *Argent three cinquefoils in pale sable*.[23] A version of this arms is also set on his shield, but in a different arrangement and tinctures: *Argent, three cinquefoils two and one sable*. This is the most common version of what I called the ***reordering mode***.

[21] Ibid., p. 211, fig. 127

[22] Ibid., p. 383, fig. 227

[23] William Noel and Daniel Weiss, *The Book of Kings: Art, War, and the Morgan Library's Medieval Picture Book*, ed. (London, 2002) fig. 9, p.49.

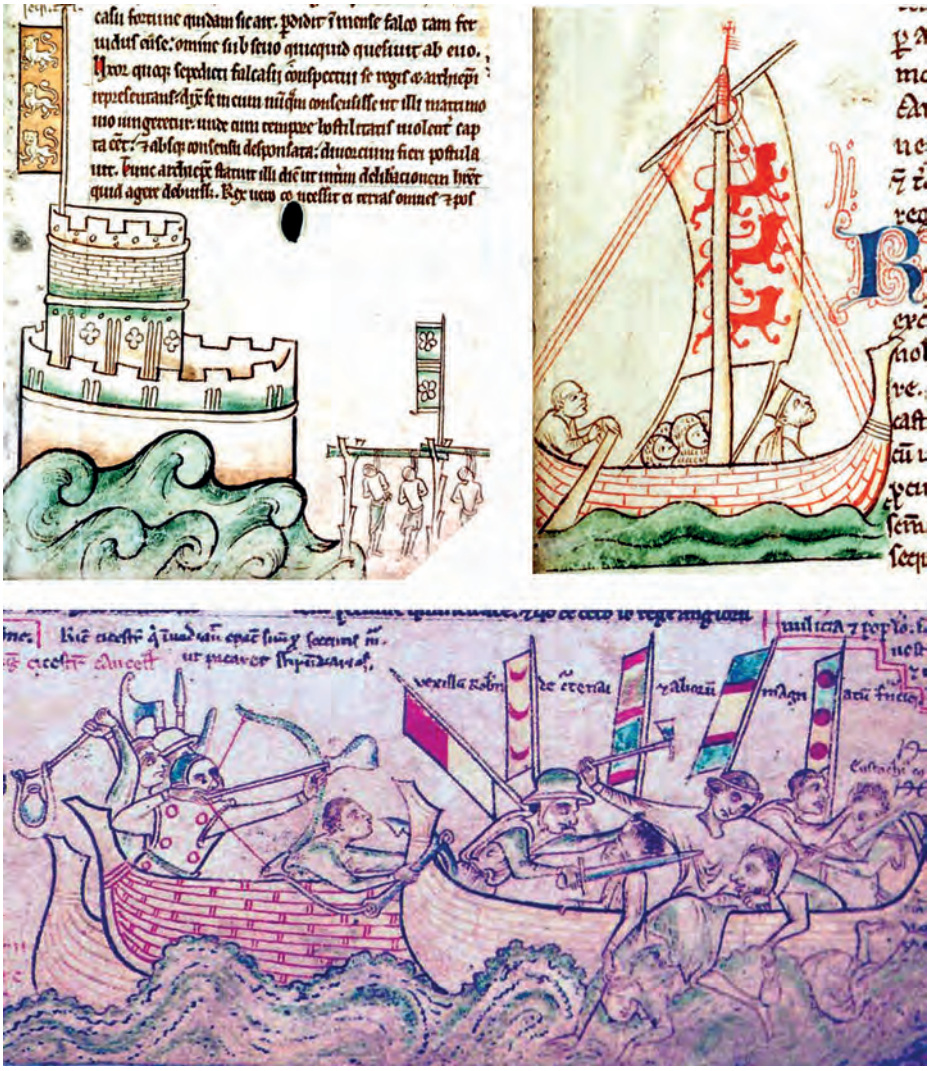

Figure 16: Drawings by Matthew Paris. top left 16a, Bedford Castle, Parker Lib MS 16II f.60. Top right 16b, ship, bottom 16c MS 16II f.52r.

I have identified only two English manuscripts of this Period containing images of even a single banner. One such image is in a manuscript of c. 1300 now kept in the British Library (**Figure 18**). It represents Christ leading nine crusaders on horseback, the three whose shields are even partly visible bearing shields charged with the arms *Argent a cross gules*. Five of the knights also bear lances to which are attached banners of the proportions 1 to 0.4, charged with the same arms. The banners are of the same height as the shield borne by the leader of the knights (distinguished by a great helm), and would thus in reality have been about twenty inches tall.

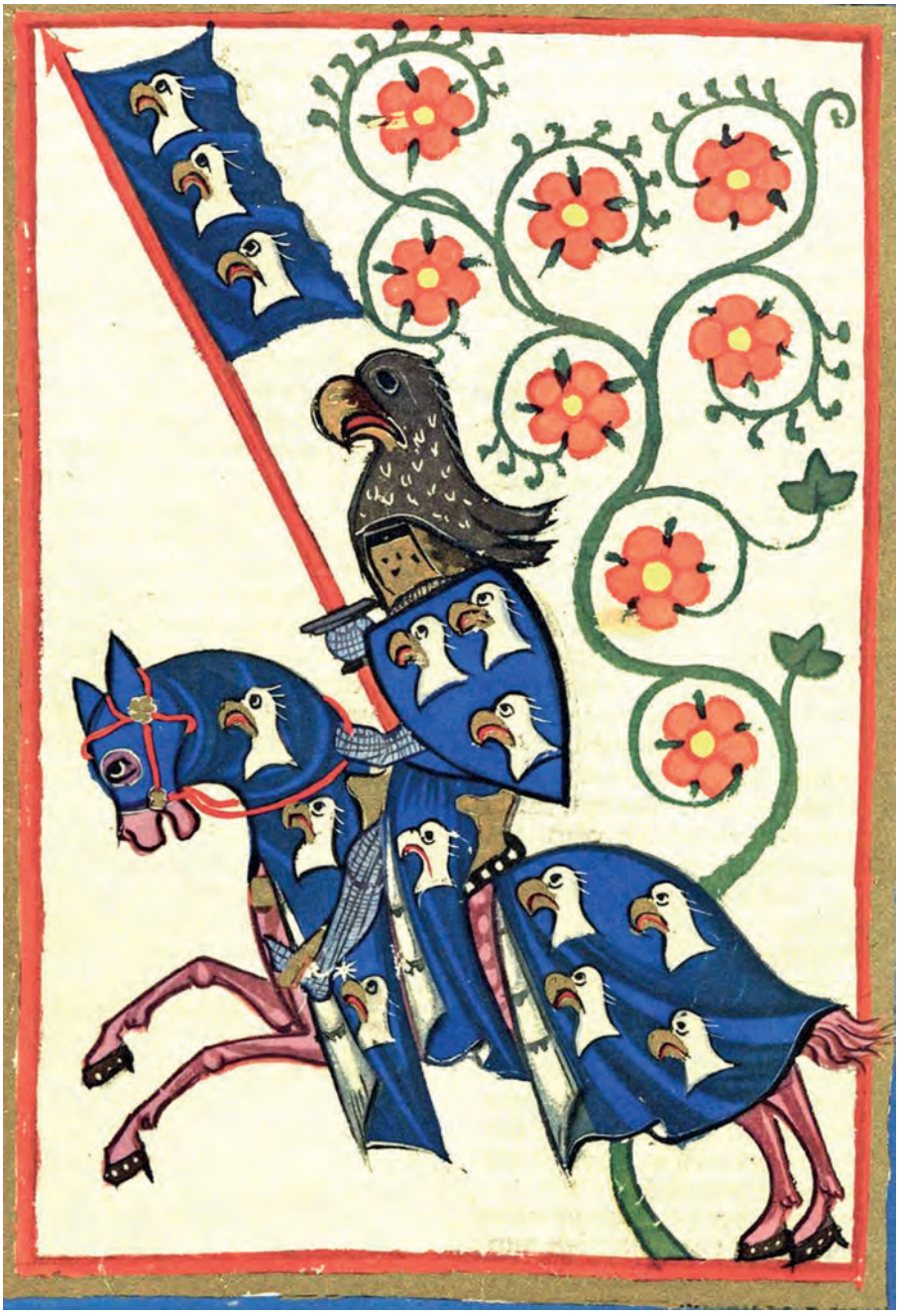

Figure 17: example of Extractive and reordering modes from Codex Manesse, Heidelberg Univ Lib Cod.Pal.Ger. 84B f.184v.

The second example is the portrait of Edmund 'Crouchback' Plantagenet, painted at some time after his death in 1296, and already noted in the context of the section on the arming-coat (see part 1 of this paper Figure 15).[24] His banner is emblazoned with the arms also represented on his shield and arming-coat. Standing next to him St. George is represented in a similar panoply, holding a banner of the same size and proportions emblazoned with his (attributed) arms: *Argent a cross gules*. Both banners are quite small compared to earlier examples, but retain a tall rectangular shape – in this case of the proportions 1.75 x 1, or somewhat less than twice as high as wide. It would appear from the progression of these examples that banners became steadily shorter in their proportions during the course of the Period, or at least of its Second Phase, although in England the only representations that can be cited date from c. 1245 and c.1300.

6.3.2. Banners and bannerets.

As I noted above, the *Chronica Majora* of Matthew Paris contains a number of representations of banners borne by *French* knights, many of whom were presumably of baronial rank, but some of whom might well have been knights 'banneret'. It is generally held (though on rather thin evidence) that down to about 1230 the right to bear a command flag remained restricted in France to the princes and barons whose ancestors had borne the gonfanon, and who could command a unit of mounted knights and squires (soon to be collectively termed *gens d'armes* or 'men-at-arms'). Very little seems to be known as yet about the history of the adoption of banners either by French princes or by French barons – the latter of whom probably usurped what was originally a princely prerogative.

By about 1250, however, the right to bear a banner seems to have been extended in France to a growing number of sub-baronial knights rich enough to recruit comparable units, who came in consequence to be called *chevaliers bannerets* or 'knights banneret'. In England the title first appeared in its Latin form *bannerettus* or *banerectus* in Matthew Paris' chronicles of the 1240s, and then in the accounts of the royal household from 1260.[25] Nevertheless, the vernacular form of the title (whose singular was often written ***banerez*** or ***bannerès***) is first attested in Old French only in Philippe de Beaumanoir's *Les Coutumes de Beauvaisis* of 1283, where its significance was also first explained.[26]

The Latin title *bannerettus* occurs again in England in texts of 1264, 1265, and 1288, while the synonymous title ***miles vexilliferus*** ('flag-bearing knight') is attested

[24] Bod MS Douce 231 f.1r. See COA no 235 p.249.

[25] See David Crouch, *The Image of the Aristocracy in Britain 1000–1300* (London and New York, 1992), p. 116.

[26] Alain Rey (Ed), *Le Robert dictionnaire historique de la langue française* (3 vols., Paris, 1992) vol I, p. 320, gives the date 1283 for *baneret*; F. Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française.…* (10 vols., Paris, 1881–1902) mentions the forms *banere* and *banerain* but gives no dates; Adolf Tobler and Ernst Lommatzsch, *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch* (Berlin, 1925-) vol. I, col. 823, gives the reference to Beaumanoir.

slightly earlier.[27] Whether any of the knights referred to in these texts were themselves English, however, or if so, were operating in England rather than in the extensive lands of the Kings of England in France, is unclear. It has long been held that the status of (knight) banneret first appeared in England in the reign of Edward I (1272–1307), and in fact the earliest specific references I could find to bannerets in documents issued in the name of an English king were in a roll of military wages of 1277. The next were in a writ of summons to the Earl of Lancaster of 1318, which indicated that there were several bannerets in the Earl's service at that time.[28] The first attestation of the word in an English-language text occurs in Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle* of 1297.[29] This evidence suggests that bannerets, though clearly known in England by 1260, remained rare in that kingdom itself until about the 1290s, and between 1272 and 1297 may well have been appointed only in the French lands of the English Crown, on the model of local practice there.

The word finally appeared in Anglo-Norman in 1300 or 1301 in the poem *The Siege of Caerlaverock*, the author of which declared that his intention was to tell the reader of 'All the arms and the names of the **bannerets**' assembled on the field before Caerlaverock. He referred to a banneret who led a hundred 'good bachelors', and declared that the four divisions of the English host included no fewer than 87 bannerets. In describing the arms of 106 men, including some on the Scottish side, he referred explicitly to only 51 *banners* borne by these men, but made it clear that the other arms he described were also displayed on banners as well as shields. He mentioned without describing the banners of the arms of Saints Edmund, George, and Edward, borne before the king himself along with the banner of his personal arms. In addition, the poet provided rare descriptions of the material of which the banners (and other textile elements of knightly equipment) were made, and how they were decorated – beginning with the statement that 'There was much rich decoration embroidered on sandalwood and samite', and mentioning 'Many a rich gambeson decorated with silk and cotton wool and cotton'.

Thus, it is at least likely that the use of the true banner as the normal command flag on the sub-regal level in England came into use between 1297 and 1300. The likelihood of this is increased by the fact that the word for 'banner' itself first appeared in Middle English in the Chronicle of 1297, and is next recorded in Anglo-Norman only in the *Anomimalle Chronicle* of the 1380s.[30] The fact that I have found no representations of sub-regal banners in English works before a date around 1300 – when the examples noted above of the knights following Christ and the portraits of Edmund Crouchback and

[27] R. E. Latham and D. L. Howlett (Eds.), *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (London, 1975–2013) Fasc. I (1975), p. 179. It is also attested in the form *banneretus* (J. F. Niemeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden) p. 80). The later synonym ***vexilliger*** 'flag-bearer' is attested in English texts from c. 1385. (R. E. Latham, Revised Medieval Latin Word-List [London, 1965], p. 510). See also J. Enoch Powell and Keith Wallis, *The House of Lords in the Middle Ages* (London, 1968), p. 288.

[28] Both cited in Powell and Wallis, op. cit., pp. 287–88.

[29] *OED 2*, I, p. 936.

[30] For its attestations in Anglo-Norman see Alan Hindley, Frederick W. Langley, and Brian Levy, *The Anglo-Norman Dictionary* (rev. edition, online at www.Anglo-Norman.net 'baner'; for those in English see *OED 2-o*, 'banner'. In Middle English it is cited in ***????***1200) *Ancrene Riwle* (Cleo. C.vi) (1972) *221 Schrift..is gumfainuner & bereð* þe ***banere*** *biforn algodes ferde*.

St. George were painted – lends further weight to the case that sub-regal banners first appeared in England around that year, and only gradually came into general use in the next three or four decades.

Even on the seals of French and other continental princes living west of the Rhine the display of banners remained quite rare before 1330. I have found an image of a banner on only one of the dozens of equestrian seals of that Period that have survived from either England or France: that of Raymond V, Viscount of Turenne in Aquitaine, and a vassal of Henry III of England.[31] He had himself represented in the unusual attitude of charging with a couched lance, and his armiferous banner is attached to that lance. In Germany and its hinterland, banners only came into vogue in the early decades of the fourteenth century. Before that time most of the flags represented on seals continued to be wide gonfanons of the type that emerged in the last decades of the twelfth century, and persisted to the end of the thirteenth (as can be seen on the seal of Duke Ludwig of Bavaria in **Figure 4**).

So meagre is the evidence for the form and use of banners in England in the Pre-Classic Period that more general observations are difficult to make. Nevertheless, it would appear that banners were used in a much more limited way in England in that Period than they were in on the continent – and especially in France – and that before about 1300 were largely or entirely confined to the king and his officers. Even after 1300, when a host bearing banners certainly fought before the Castle of Caerlaverock, evidence for their use by anyone in England is extremely scarce.

Summary of the Developments of the Pre-Classic Period

The principal developments of the Pre-Classic Period were the following: (1) the completion of the process of extending **scutal armifery** to the whole knightage; (2) the completion of the process of extending the use of **horse-trappers** to the upper knightage, at least, and of **armifery** to most such trappers by 1250; (3) the completion of the process of extending the wearing of **arming-coats** over hauberks to at least a substantial majority of the knightage by about 1250, and virtually all of it by 1290; (4) the beginning, around the very end of the Period, of the process of extending **armifery** to those coats, mainly in the **perarmiferous mode**, but at least occasionally in the **multiscutiferous mode**; (5) the widespread adoption of **ailettes** between about 1285 and the end of the Period, and the display either of *full* or (more commonly) an *extracted* element of the bearer's arms on many (but never all) such shoulder-decorations; (6) the probable replacement by the end of the Period of the traditional **gonfanon** by one or the other of the two forms of **pennon** that appeared in the 1270s: the **wide isosceles type** probably derived from the gonfanon itself, and the **tall right-angled type** probably derived instead from the tall banner (neither of which has left much evidence of its existence or use before 1327); (7) the *probable* extension of the use of the **tall banner** itself from the king (to whom it was probably restricted from around 1195) to the new class of knights 'banneret' after about 1297; (8) the general extension of **perarmifery** to all three of the new types of flag as they came into use; and finally (9) the beginning, in the 1290s, of the practice (limited to the end of the Period to a small minority of knights) of employing both **galeal**

[31] See Michel Pastoureau, *Traité d'Héraldique* (Paris,1979) p. 42.

and **chamfron-crests**, normally in the form of fans (never certainly armiferous) – but occasionally in the form of independent figures – none of which is known to have been extracted from the arms.

Thus, by the end of the Period in 1327, armifery was nearly universal on shields and trappers, and probably on such pennons and banners as were actually in use, but was still quite unusual on arming-coats, and as far as we can tell, unknown on other items of the knightly panoply.

Excursus on my New Scientific Terminology

It will be useful at this point to present a short discussion of the reasons I have felt obliged to create such a terminology, or even to introduce new terms: a practice that has been extremely rare since about 1611, when the establishment of the classic quasi-technical terminology was completed with the publication of the second volume of Guillim's *Display of Heraldrie*.[32] Over the years I had found that heraldic historians – like most other types of historian – have been more than a little casual in their use of words, borrowing most of their quasi-technical terms from ordinary language, using many of their established terms in several very different senses without clear differentiation, and failing to create truly distinctive terms for many phenomena that were of central interest to them, but could not easily be represented with existing words.

My own early formation in both linguistics and zoological taxonomy gave me a sense not only of what a sound disciplinary terminology *could be* but of how to *create* one, and made me increasingly frustrated with the state of the technical lexicon available for precise generalization in this field of study, especially over long periods, and across cultural boundaries. This in turn finally led me to adopt both for my own purposes, and for those of the scholarly journal *Alta Studia Heraldica* I founded in 2008 for the Royal Heraldry Society of Canada, a much more rigorous approach to the creation of historiographical and heraldistic terms. I set out to both to create a set of wholly new terms, based where possible on the existing ones, and to impose not only on the *new* terms that I created but on the *existing* terms that I retained, the usual scientific requirements for terms of disciplinary discourse.

These were essentially the following: (1) that each term should ideally be used in a *single clearly-defined* sense, different from that of all other terms of the same *structure*, at least (making allowance for broadly synonymous phrases), so that there is wherever possible a *one-to-one correspondence* among term, concept, and definition. This permits the avoidance of three of the unfortunate characteristics of all ordinary language: ***polysemy*** (or the attachment of several distinct senses to a single word), ***polylexy*** (or the existence of several words representing a single sense), and the ***partial synonymy*** that such redundancies give rise to.

The other general principles of term-formation I adopted were (2) that the *sense* of each term should be suggested wherever possible by its *form* (including both its stem

[32] On his contributions and those of his predecessors see esp. D'A. J. D. Boulton, 'Coat of Arms' and 'Armorial Achievement ': The History of their Use as Terms of Armory, and of the Unfortunate Confusion of their Senses', Part I. 'The Term 'Coat of Arms' and its Synonyms, 1340–1892 ', in *Heraldry in Canada* 49.1–2 (2015), pp. 50–72

Figure 18: Banners in BL Royal MS 19B XV f.37.

and its ending); (3) that each term should be defined in a ***monothetic*** way – that is, that its definition should state the *whole set of characteristics* of the phenomenon defined (A, B, C, *and* D), rather than a partial and variable set (*some of* A, B, C, *or* D); and (4) that where possible each term should form part of a ***hierarchy*** of terms, representing types and subtypes of the phenomenon in question, defined by the addition or subtraction of characteristics included in its definition. Most of the existing terms of heraldic studies fall far short of all of those desiderata, especially as those terms are currently employed by heraldists.

Another principle that I have found to be essential for the proper general discussion of historical phenomena of all kinds is that a sharp distinction must be made between the scientific terms of *historiography*, adopted according the principles just listed, and the *historical* words that represented approximately the same ideas. Words of the families including the modern terms 'armory', 'blazon', and 'heraldry' have all had this sort of history, making all of them extremely ambiguous in current usage. The key word 'heraldry' itself – introduced only in 1572 in Bossewell's *Workes of Armorie* in the

etymologically appropriate sense '*the craft or professional expertise of the heralds*' – gradually acquired, through ever looser use in senses both natural and unnatural for a word of its type in ordinary language (an abstract noun based on a concrete noun of status or function), no fewer than *fifteen* quite different major senses, many of which had several subsenses (giving a total of *nineteen*). Most of these senses (especially those associated with *non*-heraldic emblems) are both wholly inappropriate and not easily distinguished from context. The most inappropriate of these senses is the most recent, and the most common in heraldic studies today: that of '*the systematic use of hereditary devices centred upon the shield*', which in reality has always been an activity of armigers rather than heralds, and is therefore much better represented by the term 'armigery' that I created for the purpose.

In any case, terms with such a broad and overlapping range of senses, often ill-suited to their form, are hardly conducive to anything resembling scientific discourse (especially when cognates acquire, by addition and loss, quite different semantic ranges), and while an historian of heraldic phenomena must be *aware* of both the historical and modern ordinary-language senses of such terms, he or she has need of a much better set for analytical purposes: what may be called *taxonomic terms of discourse*, capable of sorting phenomena unambiguously into clearly-defined categories, created as needed to discuss those of interest to the scholar. Sometimes this entails little more than restricting and clarifying the semantic range of a term to its original or most useful sense, as I have done with 'heraldry' – adopting the short definition '*The craft or profession of the heralds of arms of the Latin European tradition, as it has existed at any time since c. 1170, including all areas of its expertise and duties*'.[33] More often, however, the establishment of suitable terms involves the creation of both new *definitions* for existing words, and new *words* with equally new definitions to represent the many important phenomena that have not been given distinctive names, but if recognized at all, have been lumped under inappropriate but established terms like 'heraldry'.

The dismal state of the taxonomic lexicon of our field thus explained obliged me to adopt many new terms to fill the numerous gaps in the lexicon, formed in keeping with the principles enunciated above. I began this process by distinguishing 'heraldry' itself from the new term '**heraldica**', with the related but distinct sense '*the whole set of phenomena historically of professional interest to heralds of arms*', and then redefined the ambiguous adjective '**heraldic**' as '*pertaining to or forming part of heraldica*'.

[33] Definitions essentially similar to this one are presented as the primary sense(s) of 'heraldry' in all of the principal dictionaries of Modern English (including the *OED)*: 'The art or science of a herald', and the *Collins English Dictionary* (2 edn., London, 1986, p. 715): '1. the occupation … concerned with the classification of armorial bearings, the allocation of rights to bear arms, the tracing of genealogies, etc.; 2. the duties and pursuit of a herald;'). It is the only sense given in most authoritative handbooks and articles on the field published in the last century. These include: Charles Arthur Fox-Davies, *Complete Guide to Heraldry* (1 edn. London, 1909; 2 edn. rev. by Charles A. H. Franklyn (London, 1949), p. 1; Oswald Barron, 'Heraldry', *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11 edition, 1911), 13, p. 311; Anthony Wagner, *Historic Heraldry of Britain: An Illustrated Series of British Historical Arms, with Notes, Glossary, and an Introduction to Heraldry* (Oxford, 1939; repr. London, 1972), p. 14; John P. Brooke-Little, *Boutell's Heraldry* (1 edn., London, 1867; rev. edn. London, 1950 and 1970), p. 2; Stephen Friar, *A Dictionary of Heraldry* (London & New York, 1987), p. 6.

The latter definition makes it permissible to describe arms as 'heraldic' from their first appearance, because true arms were in fact coeval with heraldry, and they occupied from the beginning a central place in the professional interest of the heralds – even if the latter probably had little influence upon their actual development in the first century or two of their history. I also adopted the adjective '**heraldistic**' to identify ideas and terms created and employed over the centuries by the *students* of heraldica, since 1814 called '**heraldists**', and used it primarily to deal with approaches to heraldic phenomena outside the strictly professional domain of heralds.

I then turned to more fundamental heraldistic concepts. Whenever possible I borrowed existing terms from other scientific disciplines, beginning with semeiotics – the general science of signs – but even then had often to create new terms based upon them to serve my more particular purposes. I first adopted the basic semeiotic term '**sign**' (with the sense '*something used to represent something else*') to represent a fundamental concept; defined the existing words '**emblem**' as '*a sign of particular identity*' and '**emblematic**' as '*pertaining to or having the nature of an emblem*'; introduced the new noun '**emblematiger**' (modelled on 'armiger') with the sense '*a person or entity represented by a particular emblem of any type*'; and the new adjectives '**emblematigerous**' (modelled on 'armigerous') with the sense '*possessing a distinctive emblem of any type*', and '**emblematiferous**' (modelled on 'armiferous') to describe *objects* bearing emblems of any type on their surface. I also adopted the existing word '**insigne**' (plural '**insignia**') in the sense '*a formal sign of a generic nature or status*' and the new word '**insignial**' with the sense '*pertaining to or having the nature of an insigne*'. These terms permit one to speak of 'heraldic' arms as a '**species**' (or *particular historical type*) of *emblem* with secondary *insignial* functions, forming the core of a '**family**' of associated emblems and insignia. I restricted the existing term '**symbol**' in an heraldic context (especially **intra-emblematic**) to the sense '*a sign of some characteristic of an armiger other than particular identity or generic status*', typically alluding to the armiger's name, profession, avocation, nationality, or the like.

From the existing heraldistic lexicon I adopted the word '(an) **armory**' in a more systematic (and less ambiguous) version of its early concrete sense: '*an emblematic or insignial sign forming part of the family of signs formally associated with heraldic arms, especially in the context of the compound emblem called an* ***armorial achievement***'. I thn redefined the ambiguous traditional term '**armorial**' more usefully as '*pertaining to or having the nature of an armory or armories*', and contrasted it to the new term '**armal**', created from the Latin *armalis* to bear the narrower sense '*pertaining to or having the nature of emblematic arms*'. This distinction – previously impossible without some sort of explanatory phrase – was particularly important in the present essay, which has been concerned with the *arms* rather than with the various other species of armory or armorial sign.

I then defined the key term '**arms**' itself (along with its useful English synonym '**coat of arms**', which I nevertheless avoid) in a manner that allows a clear distinction between it and other, merely similar types of sign, and between the classic type and its antecedents:

(1) *a species of static visual emblem that crystallized in the core region of Latin Christendom in the late twelfth century in the context of the knightly shield, and has since then been designated in all languages by a word either cognate or synonymous with the original Old French name* armes;[34] *(2) taking the form of an* inherently fielded *and* inherently chromatic *design comparable to that of a modern flag, covering the whole surface of an underlying object or a representation of such an object, most commonly a form of shield, but also including various types of flag, garment, crest, horse-trapper, and sail; (3) normally including at least two colours taken from a conventionally limited set of primary colours (white, yellow, red, blue, black, green, and purple), of which one is either white or yellow; (4) with few exceptions including* either *[4a] a geometrical pattern,* or *[4b] a set of one or more figures of an abstract or representational nature,* or *[4c] some combination of motifs of any of these types, [4d] in each case drawn mainly from a growing conventional set; [4e] normally arranged in keeping with established conventions governing their number, disposition, orientation, and combination of colours; (5) capable of being described precisely and embodied legally in the technical language ultimately called 'blazon'; (6) in principle unique within a particular country to a single owner or* 'armiger'*, either* individual *or* collective*, and either personal or impersonal, and [6b] displayed only by that armiger in his or her presence in the case of personal arms, and in the presence of the chief officer in the case of corporate arms; and (7) among personal armigers normally transmissible in an essentially* stable *form to the patrilineal descendants of the first* armiger *and his heirs, [7a] without modification in lands in which inheritance has normally involved equal partition, but [7b] in lands in which inheritance was governed by primogeniture, transmissible to cadets only with modifications sufficient to mark their juniority; [7c] eventually transmissible to heirs general through some type of* marshalling *(especially* quartering*), combining paternal and matrilineal arms on the same field.*

An emblem that conforms to all of the particulars of this definition may be regarded as an example of '**classic arms**': the type that has prevailed in England and most of Latin Christendom and its colonial diaspora since about 1330. Before that date, however – and especially before about 1220 – the emblems ancestral to classic arms conformed only loosely to my definition, because the classic canons of design, *intra-* and *inter-*generational stability, patterns and modes of heritability, and restriction of use to the armiger, had yet to be fully established. (It should go without saying that I make a sharp distinction between the terms 'coat of arms' and 'armorial achievement', though these very different types of emblem are more often than not conflated in the usage even of heraldists who ought to know better.[35])

[34] All languages possess a term of this semantic etymology – Occitan-Catalan *armes*, Castilian and Portuguese *armas*, Italian *arme*, German *Wappen*, and so on – though additional terms have been adopted in many of them, including words based on the French *blason* in all of the Romance languages, and the peculiar word *stemma* in Italian, of Greek origin.

[35] On these terms, see my article "'Coat of Arms' and 'Armorial Achievement': The History of their Use as Terms of Armory, and of the Unfortunate Confusion of their Senses", Part I. "The Term 'Coat of Arms' and its Synonyms, 1340–1892", in *Heraldry in Canada* 49.1–2 (2015), pp. 50–72; Part II. "The Terms 'Achievement' and 'Coat of Arms', 1562–2014', in *ibid.* 49.3 (2016), pp. 36–71

Those emblems whose form and use both *resemble* but *deviate* significantly from my definition in their design, stability, heritability, and restriction of use I have called '**quasi-armal emblems**' or (more briefly) '**quasi-arms**'. Quasi-armal emblems that eventually gave rise to fully armal ones through modifications of their design and use – especially in the area of heritability – I distinguished in the predecessor of this article as '**proto-armal emblems**' or '**proto-arms'**. By about 1220 the only aspects of contemporary usage in England and most of Latin Christendom that still deviated from the classic were in the areas of stability – the retention of the same basic design both within the lifetime of their bearer and from one generation to the next – and the pattern of alteration or 'differencing' by cadets on inheriting the ancestral arms, which often involved not mere *additions* of the classical type, but more or less radical *substitutions* of various sorts.[36] Emblems subject to these pre-classic conventions may usefully be distinguished as '**pre-classic arms**'. The general term '**armiform emblem**' may then be used to designate the emblems of all three stages of historical development that conformed to the classic canons of individual design, regardless of the other elements of their usage.

I have already set out most of my terms derived from the related words 'armiger' and 'armifer', and shall not repeat my discussion of them here. The same is true of my use of the terms '**mode of display**' and those representing the principal modes used for primary armifery in England, including the '**reordering mode**' and the '**extractive mode**' in its '**reductive**' and '**multiplicative**' versions. I have additionally distinguished several **secondary modes** of armal display, involving either what I called '**representational secondary underliers**' like the perarmiferous escutcheons strewn on items of dress in what I called the '**multiscutiferous mode**', or alternatively what I called '**decorative underliers**' like perarmiferous lozenges or roundels, which may be arranged in what I called the '**continuous-pattern mode of armal display**'. The latter mode was not uncommon in England in the decoration of objects of numerous non-martial types, and was also used in some continental countries (especially Germany) in that of martial coats and trappers. aldic phenomena, and will soon be accessible online in the part of the RHSC site devoted to *Alta Studia Heraldica*.

[36] It is worth noting here that such substitutions were characteristic of the arms of the members of the house of Plantagenet from the 1070s to the 1120s, and that the first royal cadet to be assigned the contemporary royal arms differenced with a brisure of the classic type was the younger son of Henry III, Edmund 'Crouchback' (b. 1245), probably armigerated by his father either in 1255, when at ten he was invested with the kingship of Sicily, or 1265, when at twenty he was made Earl of Derby.