

GENEALOGICA & HERALDICA XXXV

REFORMATION REVOLUTION RESTORATION



CAMBRIDGE
2022

© The Heraldry Society and the authors for their individual articles, 2023

ISBN 978-0-904858-07-5

The responsibility for the accuracy or completeness of the information published herein, including the source and legitimacy of the illustrations lies exclusively with the respective authors, and the Heraldry Society denies any liability in relation thereto

Congress logo by Tania Crossingham

Photographs on the rear cover: Congress banners in Clare College Scholars' Garden by Jack Sain, plaque created for the Congress baton by Paul A. Fox

Printed in Great Britain by 4word Ltd, Bath

Correspondence to coatofarms@theheraldrysociety.com

www.theheraldrysociety.com

LOOKING AT THE START OF HERALDRY: SHOULD WE RESTORE AN OLD METHOD?

PETER G. R. HOWARTH

As a medieval historian, I want to know when heraldry began so that I can see what else was happening at the time in order to place the start of heraldry into context. Anthony Wagner, who did so much for the study of English medieval heraldry, looked at seals from France, England and Germany and found heraldry to have started in the second quarter of the twelfth century.¹ Michel Pastoureau, the doyen of French heraldry, placed the start a little later, between 1140 and 1160.² He too based his dates on the study of seals.



Top left: *Figure 1*: seal of Philippe d'Alsace, count of Flanders and Vermandois: type II, used 1170, diam 88 mm; top right: *Figure 2*: his seal type I, used c.1157, diam 82 mm. Both seals reproduced by kind permission of the National Archives of Belgium in Brussels, seal impressions nos. 21704 and 19505; bottom: *Figure 3*: seal of William de Mandeville, earl of Essex, type I, used *post* 1166, diam 76 mm, from *BM Seals* vol 2, plate ix.

Another who looked at medieval seals for heraldry was Germain Demay (1819–1886), the eminent French sigillographer, who compiled several catalogues of seals, and who wrote a book on medieval dress based on seals.³ He also wrote an article on several aspects of heraldry based on medieval seals.⁴ In the first section of this article, he began by describing a seal of Philippe d’Alsace, count of Flanders 1168–1191. It is from 1170, and shows the count on horseback with a lion on his shield and a lion on his helmet (**Figure 1**). He then describes one from six years earlier, 1164, but this seal has no heraldry at all – the shield just has a boss and a few strengthening bars (**Figure 2**).⁵ This raises the question why, if others were putting heraldry on their seals a generation earlier, Philippe did not bother in 1164 but then did so in 1170. He was not out of touch socially. He was famous internationally for his success on the tournament circuit with his retinue of knights, and he was a well-known patron of trouvères and their romances, being mentioned by name by Chrétien de Troyes. On his first crusade in 1177 he was offered, but declined, the regency of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and on his return from the Holy Land he was made guardian of the eldest son of King Louis VII. Philippe was the sort to start a fashion rather than to let one pass him by; and he was not the only one at this time to use a non-heraldic seal.

Demay had looked at the seals of other twelfth-century families to find the last time that they used a non-heraldic seal and the first time that they used a seal with heraldry. The data he collected is set out in **Table 1**. In the Montmorency family for example, Mathieu I, who was Constable of France and died in 1160, had a non-heraldic seal, and it was his son who used an heraldic seal in 1177.⁶ Conon, count of Soissons, used a non-heraldic seal in 1172 and an heraldic one at some time between 1178 and 1180. The other families follow on. It is noticeable that the counts of Hainault and Champagne, two important counties, were still using non-heraldic seals in the 1180s. Most of the families came from the north-east of France and the adjoining francophone region of the Empire. Looking at the fourth column, the dates for the heraldic seals, we can see that they start off slowly, but after 1190 they come much faster. This is the pattern one would expect for a new fashion, slow to start, but picking up speed as the fashion gradually spread geographically and more people joined in. The most important aspect of Demay’s article

Family	Names	Date: non-heraldic	Date: heraldic	Arms
Flanders	Philippe d’Alsace	1164	1170	lion rampant
Montmorency	Mathieu I/Mathieu II	<i>ante</i> 1160	1177	cross and four eagles
Soissons	Conon	1172	1178–80	lion passant
Beaumont-sur-Oise	Mathieu III	1177	1189	lion rampant
Coucy		1150	1190	barry ermine and plain
Garlande		1170	1192	lion rampant
Saint-Aubert	Gérard	1185	1194	chevrony and border
Hainaut	Baudouin	1182	1195	chevronny
Champagne	Henri II	1180	<i>ante</i> 1197	bend coticed
Perche	Rotrou III/Geoffroi	1190	1197	three chevrons
Avesnes	Jacques/Gautier	1186	1199	bendy
Clermont	Guillaume		1199	two lions passant
Picquigny	Gérard/Enguerran	1190	1199	checky, a chief vair

Table 1: Seals given in G. Demay, ‘Le Blason, d’après les sceaux du moyen-âge’ (1876): last use of non-heraldic seals, first use of heraldic seals.

LOOKING AT THE START OF HERALDRY

is his method, the way he concentrated on the change from non-heraldic to heraldic and saw it not as a single event but as a process over time.

Demay was limited to where he could still find both non-heraldic and heraldic seals within the same family. In order to provide a wider context for his data, I have looked at three of Demay's catalogues, Flanders, Artois and Picardy, and extracted all the early seals. They were then divided into three time periods (see **Table 2**). The first period, from 1130 to 1169, includes the dates suggested by Wagner and Pastoureau for the start of heraldry. The second period, from 1170 to 1189, is when Demay's list had its early stages, and the third period, 1190–1210, is when the numbers of Demay's heraldic seals started to pick up. Within each period the number of seals is divided between non-heraldic and heraldic. Counts and seigneurs are kept separate to see when the different levels of the aristocracy adopted heraldry.

Number of seals N = non-heraldic H = heraldic						
	1130–1169		1170–1189		1190–1210	
	N	H	N	H	N	H
Counts	7	(4)*	7	8	3	9
Seigneurs	6	0	30	3	21	45
* Vermandois, Lorraine, and Candavène (2)						

Number of seals N = non-heraldic H = heraldic						
	1130–1169		1170–1189		1190–1210	
	N	H	N	H	N	H
Counts	15	(3)*	16	18	17	29
Seigneurs	17	0	17	4	31	51
* Vermandois and Meulan (2)						

Above: *Table 2*: seals from G. Demay's catalogues, *Flandre, Artois* and *Picardie*;
 below: *Table 3*: seals from Douët d'Arcq's *Collection de sceaux*.

Most of the counts' seals in the first period were non-heraldic. In those forty years there were just four with devices that looked as if they might be heraldic, devices that are sometimes called proto-heraldic to differentiate them from true heraldry.⁷ In the second period, non-heraldic seals and heraldic ones were about equal; and in the third period a large majority of seals had heraldry. Seigneurs were about twenty years later in adopting heraldry, and even in the last period there were a substantial number who were still using non-heraldic seals.

Whilst Wagner's collection of seals appeared rather suddenly across a wide area of Western Europe,⁸ Demay's list suggests that heraldry spread out more gradually from the region of Flanders. It would help to examine seals from France as a whole to see whether the numbers were any different there. Louis-Claude Douët d'Arcq produced a catalogue of the national collection of seals in Paris.⁹ All the early seals were again extracted and placed into the same time periods as before, with the same division into non-heraldic and heraldic, and the same separation of counts and seigneurs (see **Table 3**). The results are very similar to those for the Flanders region. In the first period, there are only three

comital seals with heraldic-looking devices, for Vermandois and Meulan, and they will be examined in more detail later on. In the second period the numbers of non-heraldic and heraldic seals are about equal, but in the third period, although heraldic seals are in the majority, there are still an appreciable number of seals without heraldry, mostly from the south of France. The figures for the seigneurs are very similar to those for the Flanders region.



Left: *Figure 4*: seal of William de Mandeville, earl of Essex, type II, used c. 1180, diam 82 mm. London, Westminster Abbey Muniments, WAM XCIII. By kind permission of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster; right: *Figure 5*: seal of Philippe d'Alsace, count of Flanders and Vermandois, type III, used 1170, diam 88 mm. From G. Demay, *Inventaire des sceaux de la Flandre* (Paris, 1873).

With a particular interest in the heraldry of English medieval families, I wanted to apply Demay's method to English earls to see how their seals changed from non-heraldic to heraldic. I started with William de Mandeville, third earl of Essex 1166–1189. His first seal had no heraldry. He is shown on horseback carrying a plain shield with just a central boss (**Figure 3**). Since he did not become earl until 1166, the seal cannot be any earlier than that. Then, around 1180, he adopted a new seal where his shield is divided Quarterly (**Figure 4**). This seal is interesting, and not just for its coat of arms. Sandy Heslop has drawn attention to the style of this second seal and compared it to the third seal of Philippe d'Alsace (**Figure 5**).¹⁰ William was brought up with Philippe at the court in Flanders, and they later fought alongside each other in the Holy Land. Comparing the two seals, it can be seen how the helmet on both of them pushes into the space for the legend, and the tip of the sword does the same, with just enough room between them for a single letter. The shape of the horse is the same, and the riders' legs are straight, pushing forward against the stirrups. William's seal is not a slavish copy, but the likeness is there.¹¹ Once William started using his new seal, other earls followed (see **Table 4**). Unfortunately, there is a problem with English seals in the twelfth century. The Anglo-Norman aristocracy normally did not bother to date their charters, and we therefore have

LOOKING AT THE START OF HERALDRY

to estimate dates for seals, using biographical information. Hence the vague dates for these seals, making this list not nearly as tidy as Demay's.

Family	Names	Date: non-heraldic	Date: heraldic	Arms
Mandeville of Essex	William I	<i>post</i> 1166	<i>c.</i> 1180	quarterly
Clare of Hertford	Roger/Richard III	<i>c.</i> 1153	1184	three chevrons
Huntingdon	William/David	<i>ante</i> 1185	1185	three piles
Bigod of Norfolk	Hugh I/Roger II	<i>c.</i> 1130–40	1189–1205	lion passant
Beaumont of Leicester	Robert III/Robert IV	1168–90	1190	checky
Bohun of Hereford	Henry		1190 or later	bend and six lions
Ferrers of Derby	William II	1191–99	<i>post</i> 1191	vairy
Aubigny of Arundel	William II/William III	<i>c.</i> 1180	<i>post</i> 1193	lion rampant
Longespee of Salisbury	William I		<i>post</i> 1196/1219	one lion/six lions
Warene of Surrey	Hamelin/William IV	1164–1202	1202 or later	checky
Quincy of Winchester	Saher IV	'late 12th century'	1207 or later	fess + label/ seven mascles
Vere of Oxford	Aubrey IV/Robert I	1194–1214	1214 or later	quarterly and mullet
Chester (and Lincoln)	Hugh/Ranulf	1153–81	1217	three garbs
Beaumont of Warwick	Henry II/Thomas	1204–29	1229 or later	checky, a chevron
Redvers of Devon	William/ Baldwin III	1193–1217	<i>c.</i> 1230 or later	lion queue fourchy

Table 4: English comital seals: last use of non-heraldic seals, first use of heraldic seals.

Some of the entries deserve further comment. Amongst the Beaumont earls of Leicester, Robert III Blanchesmains was earl until 1190 and used a non-heraldic seal.¹² His son, Robert IV fitz Pernel, also used a non-heraldic equestrian seal, but in 1195 began to use a small counterseal bearing a checky shield.¹³ This counterseal has the legend ✠ SECRETVM ROBERTI DE BRETVEL, the name he used before he became earl. However, he also used a different counterseal, an antique gem with the legend SIG COMITIS, which must date from after he became earl.¹⁴ Again as earl, on a charter to the city of Leicester, he used a double-sided seal with a non-heraldic equestrian obverse and a free-standing ermine cinquefoil on the reverse.¹⁵ Seen together, these three seals must question how significant the one with a checky shield really was.

Several families did not adopt heraldry until the thirteenth century. Hamelin de Warene was earl of Surrey until 1202 and used a non-heraldic seal with 'a long convex shield with ornamental star and central spike'.¹⁶ His son, William IV, was the first in the family to use heraldry.¹⁷ Aubrey IV de Vere, like his father, used a non-heraldic seal and was earl of Oxford until 1214.¹⁸ His brother, Robert I, did not use his heraldic seal until after that date.¹⁹ William, earl of Devon until 1217, used seals with the Redvers griffin and elephant on them.²⁰ Baldwin III, his grandson, succeeded him as a babe in arms and presumably did not adopt his coat of *Or; a lion rampant queue fourchy azure* before he was at least thirteen in 1230.²¹ It might have been later, since he was knighted and invested with the earldom by Henry III in December 1239.

The fourth column of Table 4, showing when each comital family first used an heraldic seal, has dates ranging from 1180 to 1230, a spread of fifty years. This raises a question about how the other levels of the aristocracy fitted in with their adoption of heraldry. Walter Birch, in his catalogue of seals in the British Museum, was really only interested in heraldic seals, but he did produce a list of equestrian seals where he included both heraldic and non-heraldic seals. Equestrian seals were used by all levels of

the aristocracy from knights to earls. Because of the lack of dates on charters, Birch was only able to allocate them either to the twelfth or to the thirteenth centuries. During the twelfth century they would have included those who were most likely to have adopted heraldry. However, around the turn of the century a few men of baronial rank or similar started to use armorial seals, those where the principal device was a shield of arms, instead of using equestrian seals.²² By about 1230, ordinary knights also started using armorial seals. In summarising Birch's figures (see **Table 5**), I have therefore limited his thirteenth-century seals to those up to 1230, even though there were many equestrian seals being used after then. Within each time period the seals are divided amongst three levels of the aristocracy, earls, barons and knights.

Number of seals	N = non-heraldic H = heraldic			
	'12th century'		'13th century' (1200–1230)	
	N	H	N	H
Earls	28	6*	6	9
Barons	37	6	12	18
Knights	192	2	143	10

* includes Waleran de Beaumont of Worcester, Gilbert de Clare of Pembroke, William de Aubigny of Arundel

Table 5: 'Equestrian Seals' from *BM Seals*, vol. 2, pp. 235–373.

Amongst the earls, there were many with non-heraldic seals in the twelfth century. Of the other six, three were from late in the century (Leicester, Hertford, Derby) and three of them earlier on and had proto-heraldic devices (Worcester, Pembroke, Arundel). Amongst the barons, there were only six from the twelfth century with heraldry, all late in the century, and four of them were still alive in 1210. Even in the thirteenth century, there were still a substantial number without heraldry. There were hardly any knights in the twelfth century using heraldry on their seals, and even up to 1230 there were only a few. The pattern with all three ranks of the aristocracy was similar, being spread over time, with the barons later than the earls, and the knights later still. However, by the time of Glover's Roll in the 1250s, although most of the entries in the roll were for earls and barons, there were a good few well-to-do knights as well.

There is now a need to examine at least some of the proto-heraldic seals used to place the start of heraldry in the first half of the twelfth century, in order to see how close they are to being true heraldry. An early pair of such seals are those of Raoul I, count of Vermandois, and his nephew, Waleran, count of Meulan and earl of Worcester. Both men, at the same time, used equestrian seals where they are carrying banners with chequers on them.²³ Demay's drawings, taken from these seals, appear at the top of **Table 6**.²⁴ Later, they both had new seals where the chequers decorate their shields as well as their banners.²⁵ These seals, seen on their own, have naturally led writers to believe that the chequers formed the family arms. However, Table 6 shows that adding the rest of the family's seals raises questions about that belief.

In Waleran's family, his eldest son used a non-heraldic seal; and whilst his younger son used an armorial seal, it bore a lion, not chequers. Waleran's twin brother, Robert II of Leicester, had a non-heraldic seal, as did his son, Robert III. The result is that nobody else in Waleran's immediate family used chequers.

Raoul I of Vermandois had three children, none of whom had any issue of their own. Raoul II had a non-heraldic seal. He had succeeded under age and by then was

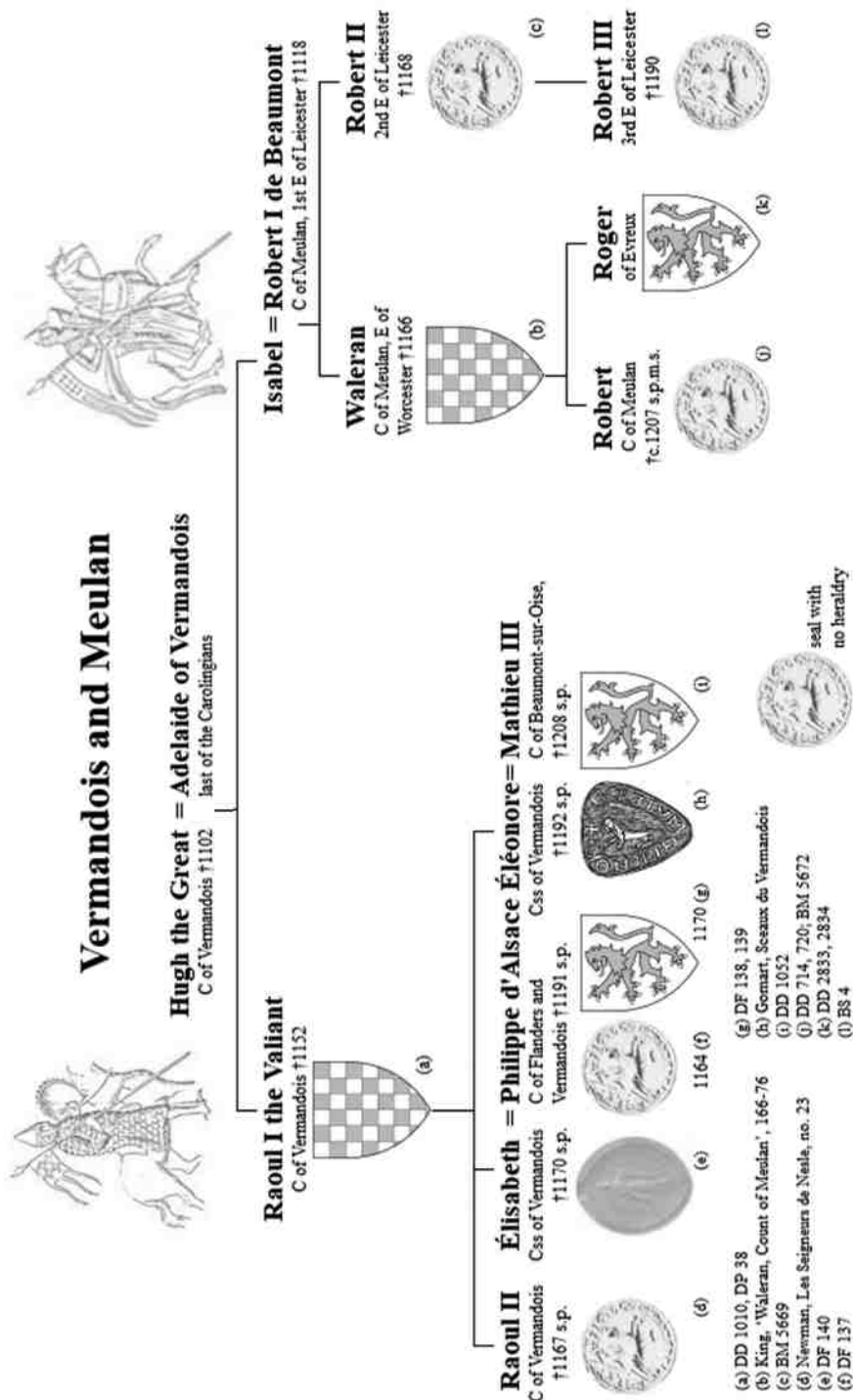


Table 6

already suffering from leprosy. He soon had to relinquish control of the county to his elder sister Élisabeth, which in fact meant her husband, Philippe d'Alsace. She had a normal seal, a pointed oval with a standing figure, and we have already seen Philippe's two seals. His counterseal as count of Vermandois still used his Flemish lion. When Philippe died, his sister-in-law Éléonore became at least titular countess of Vermandois. By then, she was married to Mathieu of Beaumont-sur-Oise, another one who had a lion on his seal. Éléonore had an ordinary seal similar to her sister's, but she may also have used a privy seal with a lion on it to match her husband's. When she died in 1192, the county of Vermandois disappeared completely, its lands absorbed into the royal domains of Philip Augustus of France. The result was no more chequers, and no more counts of Vermandois.

It really does not look as though the rest of the two families saw the chequers as a family symbol. A more likely explanation is that Raoul used the chequers as personal decoration, and they were then copied by Waleran because he wanted favours from a highly influential relative. Later on, as we have already seen (Table 4), the son of Robert III of Leicester, Robert IV fitz Pernel, used a checky shield on one of his counterseals, but that would have been a fresh decision. Whether he thought he was copying a distant ancestor or not, it could not have waved a retroactive wand to change the status of the checky seals of Raoul of Vermandois and Waleran of Meulan. They could only ever be forerunners.

After these French and Anglo-Norman families, the next proto-heraldic seal comes from Germany. Henry the Lion (d. 1195), duke of Saxony and Bavaria, had a life-size statue of a lion in the courtyard of his castle in Brunswick and he used an equestrian seal in 1144 with a lion rampant on the shield. Donald Galbreath and Anthony Wagner saw the lion as his coat of arms.²⁶ But they did not realise that he used a total of eight different seals in four different styles.²⁷ On both of the first two seals, he had a lion on his shield. But seals three, four and five have shields that are left blank. On seals six and seven, the shield is decorated once more, but this time with a central boss and radiating lines. Unfortunately, in 1180, Henry fell out with the emperor Frederick Barbarossa, with the result that he was stripped of his duchies and banished from the Empire. He stopped using his earlier large seals, with a banner on them to represent his status as an imperial prince, and used a much smaller seal which might well have been the one he used to seal his letters. This small seal has a lion statant guardant, but not on a shield.

Taking all the seals into account, including those with blank shields and with radiating lines, the lions look as if they were just decoration. Shields had been decorated ever since the time of the Greeks and Romans. Perhaps Henry was just showing that he too had some decorated shields.

We now need to look at some early English seals, those of the Clare earls of Hertford and Pembroke. We have seen how families changed their seals from non-heraldic to heraldic. In the case of the Clare earls of Hertford, Roger the second earl used a non-heraldic equestrian seal around 1153 where the rider carries a plain shield.²⁸ His son, Richard III, at sometime after 1184, used an equestrian seal where the shield bears his newly devised arms of three chevrons.²⁹ Roger's cousin, Richard fitz Gilbert, earl of

LOOKING AT THE START OF HERALDRY

Pembroke, also known as Strongbow, had a seal like Roger's where the shield is plain.³⁰ Strongbow's son, Gilbert de Strigoil, unfortunately died before he got past the age of thirteen, and so the Clare earls of Pembroke never had any arms.

Of course, as **Table 7** shows, other members of the family used seals that look as if they might have been heraldic; but the question is whether they in fact change anything. The seventeenth-century drawings at the top of Table 7 show the double-sided seal, now lost, of Gilbert fitz Gilbert of Pembroke, Strongbow's father.³¹ On the obverse, he is shown carrying a striped shield. This side of his seal is very similar to the one-sided seal of his nephew, Gilbert III, earl of Hertford – both men alive at the same time and both with striped shields. Since only half the shield is visible, the stripes are supposed to be half of six or seven chevrons. This idea is based on the seals of Rohese, Gilbert of Hertford's sister, and her daughter, Alice. But the men's stripes do not look like chevrons, which raises the question of just how important it was that the chevrons should be recognised. Perhaps the stripes – or chevrons – were just decoration.

On the reverse of Gilbert fitz Gilbert's seal is a most unusual figure carrying an oversized arrow and the same striped shield. As Horace Round put it, he looks as if he is defending himself after being surprised at night.³² On the other hand, with the long hair, the figure might be that of a woman. Whatever the image represents, it was important enough for Strongbow to use the same figure on the reverse of his seal. In fact, it looks as if he used his father's matrix and just changed the legend; but then comes the big difference. Strongbow did not copy the obverse of his father's seal. He chose something new, with a plain shield – just as Roger of Hertford did. Both men were alive at the same time and both had non-heraldic seals.

We are then left with the two women's seals. The main thing that worries me about them is their shape. The pointed oval was used by women and churchmen to distinguish their seals from the belligerent world of the male warriors; it seems an inappropriate shape for heraldry with military connotations. In addition, other women's seals, even much later in the twelfth century, either did not have any heraldry at all or, if they did, it was shown on a shield. Perhaps the decorations on the pointed ovals had a different significance. Chevrons do not have to be heraldry.³³ These additional Clare seals do complicate matters, but for me the most telling evidence is the way Strongbow copied the reverse of his father's seal but not the striped shield on the obverse.

There is not space to look at all the evidence used to support the idea of heraldry starting in the first half of the twelfth century. Nonetheless, the examples given here show the effect of setting the evidence back into its context of non-heraldic seals. In looking for the start of heraldry, I find myself attracted much more to the idea that it spread out gradually from Flanders and the neighbouring region from 1170 onwards rather than its sudden emergence over a wide area of western Europe in the second quarter of the twelfth century. But in order to make such a choice, we need the different approach used by Demay, where we look not just at those seals with heraldry but also at those without it. The context of non-heraldic seals is just as important as the early heraldry we are seeking. We must take the non-heraldic seals into account, one way or another, when considering how heraldry started. What I am really pushing is the restoration of the approach to the start of heraldry used by Germain Demay nearly a hundred and fifty years ago.

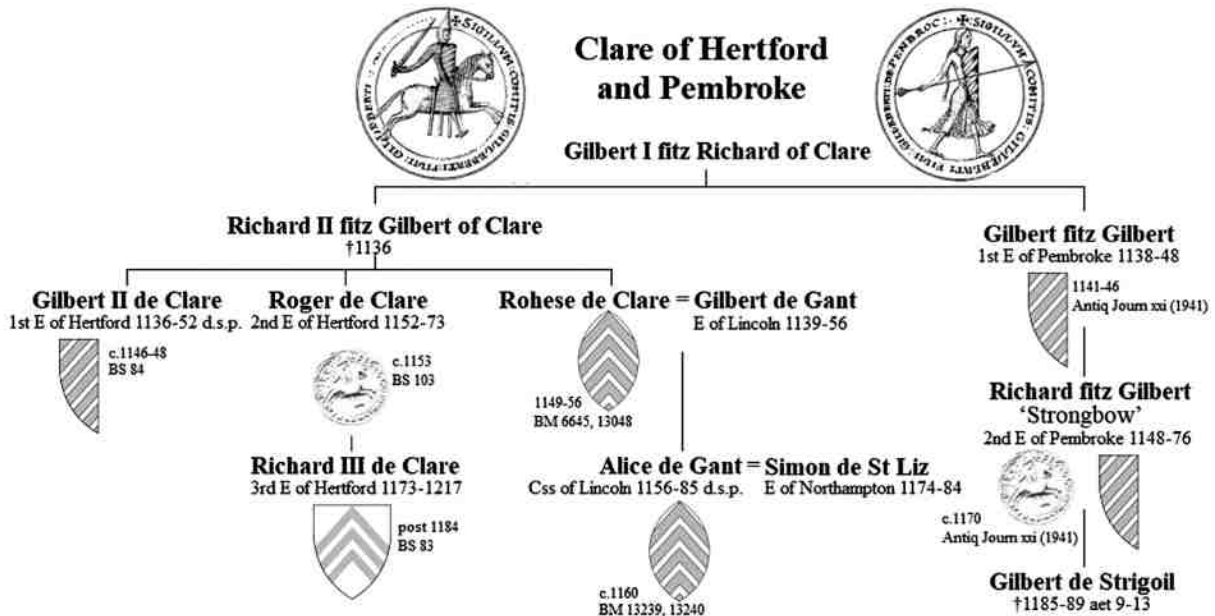


Table 7

¹ A. R. Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages*, (London, 1956), pp. 13–14.

² M. Pastoureau, *Traité d'héraldique*, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1997), p. 32.

³ Demay catalogued seals from the provincial archives of Flanders (1873), Artois and Picardy (1877), and Normandy (1881) and from the Collection Clairambault (1885). He also wrote *Le Costume au Moyen Age d'après les sceaux* (Paris, 1880).

⁴ G. Demay, 'Le blason, d'après les sceaux du moyen-âge', *Mémoires de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France*, vol. 37 (1876), pp. 39–88; also reprinted as a separate pamphlet (1877). As one would expect, some of the details in his article have since been amended by later research, but the overall conclusions remain valid.

⁵ For more detailed research into the seals of Philippe d'Alsace and their dates see T. de Hemptinne, A.E. Verhulst and L. de Mey (edd.), *De oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen (juli 1128-september 1191)*, 3 vols (Brussels, 1988–2009), vol. 2.

⁶ Demay mixed up the names. Mathieu I's son was called Bouchard. Mathieu II was Bouchard's son.

⁷ For example, R. Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination* (London, 1975), p. 29; M. Pastoureau, 'La Diffusion des armoiries et les débuts de l'héraldique' in *La France de Philippe Auguste: le temps des mutations*, ed. R. Bautier (Paris, 1982), p. 749.

⁸ Wagner himself mentioned 'this sudden appearance at one time over so wide a region', *Heraldry in England* (Harmondsworth, 1946), p. 6.

⁹ L.-C. Douët d'Arcq, *Collection de sceaux*, 3 vols (Paris, 1863–68).

¹⁰ T.A. Heslop, 'Seals as Evidence for Metalworking in the Later Twelfth Century', in S. Macready and F.H. Thompson (edd.), *Art and Patronage in the English Romanesque*, (London, 1986), p. 52.

¹¹ There are others amongst Philippe's family and neighbours who copied his seal: Mathieu III, count of Beaumont-sur-Oise, Gerard, count of Guelders, Conon, count of Soissons, Bouchard de Montmorency, and Henri II, count of Champagne. For illustrations, see P. Bony, *Un siècle de sceaux figurés (1135–1235)* (Paris, 2002), figs 286, 273, 199, 192, 275.

¹² L.C. Loyd and D. Stenton (edd.), *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals*, (Oxford, 1950), [hereinafter BS], no. 4.

¹³ *BM Seals* 5674.

¹⁴ *Douët d'Arcq* 10161.

¹⁵ John Nichols, *The history and antiquities of the county of Leicester*, 4 vols in 8 (London, 1795-1811), vol. 1, plate xi, fig. 3.

¹⁶ *BM Seals* 6319.

LOOKING AT THE START OF HERALDRY

¹⁷ *BM Seals* 6524.

¹⁸ *BM Seals* 6500-1.

¹⁹ *BM Seals* 14133, BS 72.

²⁰ R. Bearman, *Charters of the Redvers Family and the Earldom of Devon, 1090-1217* (Exeter, 1994), p. 51.

²¹ Thomas Daniel Tremlett, 'The Matthew Paris Shields', in *Rolls of Arms Henry III* (London, 1967), p. 29, no. 75.

²² Robert fitz Meldred, lord of Raby, Durham, from 1195 to 1242-48, and of the barony of Ashby, Lincs, jure uxoris, used an armorial seal (*BM Seals* 9746, Durham Seals [DS] 1742); so did his half-brother, Gilbert Hansard of Hornby, Yorks, and eleven other manors (DS 1184). Another who used an armorial seal was Robert de Pinkeny (*BM Seals* 12,646), who held the barony of Weedon Pinkeny, Northants, from 1209 to 1232. For DS see W. Greenwell and C.H. Hunter Blair, 'Durham Seals', *Archaeologia Aeliana* (1911-20).

²³ *Douët d'Arcq* 716 and 1010.

²⁴ G. Demay, *Le Costume au Moyen Âge d'après les sceaux* (Paris, 1880), p. 111 fig. 59, p. 113 fig. 62.

²⁵ *Douët d'Arcq* 715; G. Demay, *Inventaire des sceaux de la Picardie* (Paris, 1877) [hereinafter DP], no. 38.

²⁶ D.L. Galbreath, *Manuel du Blason* (Lausanne, 1942), p. 26; A.R. Wagner, 'Heraldry', in A.L. Poole (ed.), *Medieval England*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1958), vol. 1, p. 344, and fig. 67 on p. 342.

²⁷ For illustrations, see 'Welfensiegel: Ein Projekt der Historischen Kommission für Niedersachsen und Bremen e.V.' www.historische-datenbanken.niedersachsen.de/ nos. 1220, 3, 1221, 1512, 4, 1, 5, 1126; also J. Luckhardt and F. Niehoff (edd.), *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit* (Brunswick, 1995), i. 154-57, 594-96, nos. D 1, D 2, D 3, D 4, G 90, D 5, D 6.

²⁸ BS 105.

²⁹ BS 83.

³⁰ A.R. Wagner, 'A Seal of Strongbow in the Huntington Library', *The Antiquaries Journal*, vol. 21 (1941), pp. 128-32.

³¹ From J.H. Round, 'The Introduction of Armorial Bearings into England', *The Archaeological Journal*, vol. 51 (1894), between pp. 46 and 47 (copied from BL Lansdowne MS. 203).

³² *Ibid.*, p. 45 n.

³³ See the many chevrons used as decoration in Norman churches, including, for example, Durham cathedral and the parish churches of Adel, Leeds, and Kilpeck, Hereford.