

# The Proverbial Banner – an Axiom Revisited: a Re-examination of the Evidence of Early Heraldry pre-1200

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That heraldry is a cross-border phenomenon that developed rapidly is an old observation, and the why and how has intrigued heralds, antiquarians and scholars for centuries. Writers have noted how in a few generations<sup>1</sup> similar visual representations came into use and (most probably) spread out from the Seine-Somme area over a large arc from England over Germany to Italy and Spain. One hypothesis that has gained almost axiomatic truth holds that arms developed from feudal banners, in part absorbing pre-heraldic family emblems and decorative elements on war-shields (Fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> As an extension, that the earliest arms represented feudal units rather than families. Arguments supporting the hypothesis have ranged from early coins, seals and writings to extrapolations from later findings of the same. And it is a beautifully simple story. But perhaps too beautiful and simple – and mostly a story based on extrapolations? A seal, an entry in an armorial or a miniature illustration in a book dating from the 15<sup>th</sup> or even the late 13<sup>th</sup> century, are not really evidence of 12<sup>th</sup> century behaviour.

The earliest example of an armorial banner claimed to represent a fief (and different from any family arms) is that of the mounted knight in the c.1220 stained glass window in the Chartres Cathedral wearing the *lion* shield of the Montfort-l'Amaury family. The *pily-barry* banner has been claimed to represent the county of Evreux. The problem with this interpretation is that there is no supporting evidence, and that the Montforts gave up the county of Evreux in 1200, and also that the *pily-barry* arms have only survived in a few seals from c.1213-1234.<sup>3</sup> There are earlier examples of armorial banners, but in those cases they are either alone or identical to the arms on the shield.

The problems of survival and representativeness have major impact on this discussion. The further back the fewer seals have survived and the fewer documents belonging to people below royalty and high nobility. We have almost an explosion in the number of armorial seals during the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> generation of arms (1175-1225), ably illustrated for France by Michel Pastoureau, who plotted 31 arms from before 1180 compared to 190 by 1200.<sup>4</sup> Most of these came from the middle layer of the land-owning class, with a few notable exceptions, mainly in Germany, as royalty and high nobility were comparatively late in showing their arms. Pastoureau a.o. have ascribed this timing and pattern to a convergence of several developments in the socio-economic (lordship, necessity of authenticating documents), military-

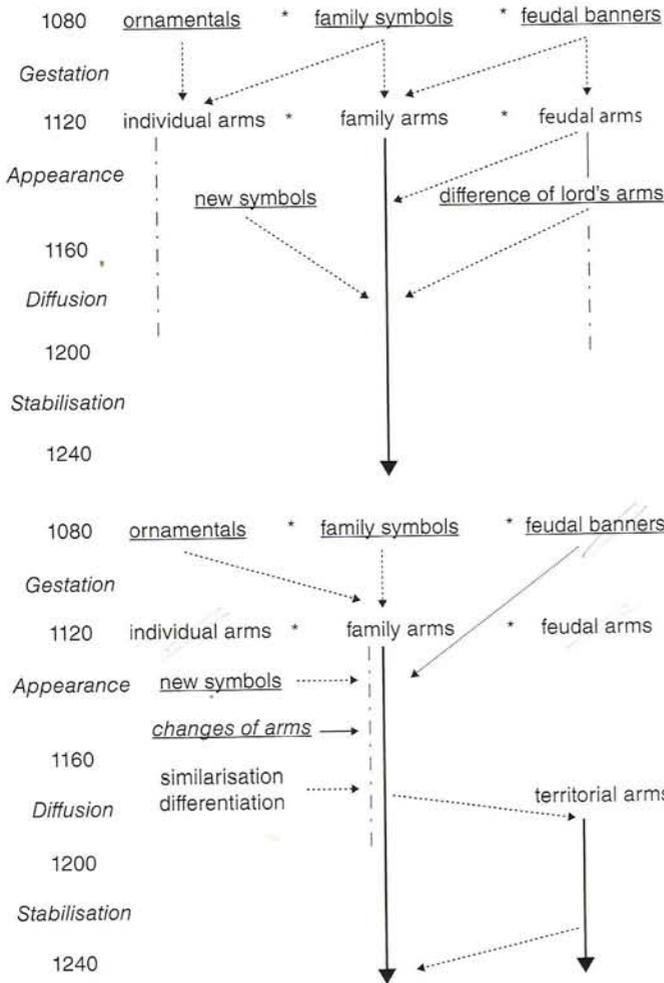


Fig. 1. Possible ways for the development of coats-of-arms.

a: summarized from Pastoureau *Traité*, p. 301;

b: a modification deleting individual and feudal arms as well as the influence of feudal banners.

technological fields (helmets, decorations on shields) as well as in the behaviour of men (rise of tournaments, increased self-consciousness). In addition, one must not forget that the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century was one of civil wars: in England between Stephen and Maud for the crown, in Germany between Staufer and Welfer for influence, and in France for expansion of capetian power over their nominal subjects. For the moment I will suggest that the surviving evidence is representative enough to draw conclusions from. Before going into detail I will suggest that the concept of *individual arms* be abandoned as we have little, if any, evidence to differentiate between this and changes of arms or one-generation armigery.

**Family symbols and early arms**

Five examples (Hammerstein 1080, Falkenstein 1160, Minzenberg 1020, St.Pol, Boulogne) are usually mentioned as evidence for the pre-heraldic use of family

symbols later found as principal elements in the coats-of-arms.<sup>5</sup> The three former can be found on coins and are obviously canting on the name, though the Falkenstein coin is not pre-heraldic! But do they refer to fiefs or families? For the socio-economic and mentality reasons noted above, many lords took toponymic names during the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, but did the names refer to their (principal) fief or to their castle? One might extend the question to what was a family? Several people changed their names on documents during their lifetime, and some younger sons chose a different name – possibly in parallel to changes of arms. And more to the point, what influence did this canting nametaking and authentication of coin have on their later adoption of a figure-of-arms? In the case of the Habsburg *lion*, none, as their name came from Habichtsburg, the castle of the falcon. By the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation of arms, coins with the Arnsberg eagle have survived from at bit earlier than on seals.<sup>6</sup>

Hugues (II) de Candavène C.St.Pol (en-Ternoise, fief of Boulogne) struck coins with a garb in centre by 1125, and several of his successors placed garbs on their seals, but only had garbs on a shield by 1223, i.e. 4<sup>th</sup> generation (Fig. 2). The garb of oats is obviously canting on the french *avena* in their family name – and *not* on their comital fief.



Fig. 2. Coins and seals from five generations of the Candavène C.St.Pol-en-Ternoise. 1,2: coins, Hugues (II) c.1125; 3: equestrian seal of Hugues (III), d.1141, reengraved for Enguerran 1145, XDA:68 / XDF:285; 4: equestrian seal of Anselm 1162, XDP:209, XDF:287; 5: armorial seal of Hugues (V) 1223, XDA:229.

Their immediate overlords, the counts of Boulogne, also struck coins, these having triple roundels (boules) placed between the arms of a cross formy. Incidentally, this combination is also known on danish 14<sup>th</sup> century coins. However, the coins were struck c.1165 by Mathieu d'Alsace, a younger son of the count of Flanders, count in right of his wife and member of the third family to hold the county in 'armorial times', the first being that of Godfrey of Bouillon, the second a Blois cadet (and king of England). A couple of Alsace-family countesses, e.g. Ida, 1202, XDD:1058, and one of her husbands, Gerard (also C.Guelders), 1182, XDA:26, used the triple roundels on seals. To me, these arms were chosen by a latecomer as canting on his new fief-by-marriage. The presence of the triple roundels on a banner, a saddle and above a dragon on a shield near the end of the Bayeux tapestry, we can leave to the storytellers. Bishop Odo would hardly present the valiant Stephen-Henry of Boulogne as the man who sat on his arms!<sup>7</sup>

The best example of an early coat-of-arms that can unequivocally be assigned to a family and not to a fief is the *chevronny* or *Or 3 chevrons gules* of the anglo-norman Clares, who obtained much land around Hertford in eastern England after the conquest.<sup>8</sup> It is also one of the earliest arms on seals and cannot be made into a pre-heraldic emblem. Richard FitzGilbert (d.1136) had a son, Gilbert FitzRichard (d.1151), who was created E.Hertford in 1138 at the height of the civil war, and a daughter Rohese (d.1153), who married Gilbert Gant E.Lincoln and had a daughter Alice, who married Simon St.Liz E.Northampton. Gilbert FitzGilbert (d.1148), the brother of Richard, was created E.Pembroke at the same time, because he had inherited lands in Wales and western England from an uncle. Seals from before 1150 have survived from three of the above: Gilbert FG E.Pembroke (XBM:5833), Gilbert FR E.Hertford (Hunter-Blair 2.g) and his sister Rohese (XBM:13048). Seals with the Clare arms are also known for Alice (XBM:13239-13240) and Richard 'Strongbow' E.Pembroke (d.1176), son of Gilbert FG. In passing we may note not only that arms were used by women by the 1<sup>st</sup> generation, but that at least some kept paternal arms or chose maternal arms rather than use their very noble arms by marriage or birth, though in the case of Alice that might be due to the loss of the earldom by St.Liz. When and by whom it was decided to adopt the Clare arms remain pure speculation. It might have been old Gilbert during the 1<sup>st</sup> generation or by mutual agreement between uncle, nephew and niece.

The *checky Or-azure* arms of the C.Vermandois, sometimes claimed as the oldest recorded, are possibly correct, but on rather weak evidence – and they are hardly emblems in long use for this ancient county. We have two rather bad impressions of the seal of Raoul (I), d.1152, C.Vermandois and sénéchal of France, but the evidence for colouring is indirect and was – as far as I know – first recorded during the second quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>9</sup> Adelaide, the mother of Raoul (I) and heiress of a line going back to carolingian times, married Hugues Capet, son of the king of France. Besides Raoul (I), they left two daughters, Mahaut, who became ancestor of the Beaugency and Dreux families, and Isabelle, who married first Robert (I) de Beaumont C.Meulan & E.Leicester and then William de Warenne E.Surrey, both anglo-normans. The Beaugency and Warenne descendance used *checky Or-azure* with or without modification. Isabelle and Robert (I) de Beaumont had twin sons, Waleran C.Meulan and Robert (II) E.Leicester. The Leicester branch became extinct in 1204 with the grandson of Robert (II), who was the only in the line to leave a seal (*checky*). However, as the agnatic line of the Meulan descendance later used *checky Or-gules* and the cognatic line (Craon) *lozengy Or-gules*, we might question the assumed colour scheme and its relation to the royal colours of France.

### Banners for diverse uses

Checky, fretty, barry, paly, bendy and cross patterns are all weak evidence for early heraldry, especially if the images are of bad quality. Checky might easily be misread (or overread) as chainmail or textiles, as has been the case for the second seal of Waleran C.Meulan & E.Gloucester, a nephew of Raoul (I) of Vermandois (Fig. 3).<sup>10</sup>

The cross might as well be an emblem representing a crusader or simply a fill like many striped patterns.<sup>11</sup> The striped patterns might actually be banners flowing in the wind. The type illustrated in fig.4 is by far the most common form of equestrian seals where the rider carries a (non-armorial) banner, and can be found from pre-heraldic times up to around 1220 in most countries, mainly used by princes and higher nobles, but also by plain knights. The pattern may shift from three ribbons to the gonfalon-type with a square cloth and 3-5 ribbons flowing. Besides seals one can find gonfanons (decorated and plain) in miniatures and capitals in bibles and psalters as well as on fresco decorations in churches and manors.<sup>12</sup>

Much has been written on the handing over of banners during the investiture with a princely fief. The ceremony is known from the 12<sup>th</sup> century *Rolandslied*, where Charlemagne invested Roland with the Spanish March, and also prominent in the German legal writings of the *Sachsenspiegel*, but only codified in early 14<sup>th</sup> century. Feudal banners (*Lehensfahnen*) were known in Germany from at least 1002, but the problem with this type of evidence is that these banners had only a symbolic value by themselves – and not by any figure or colour, as demonstrated by Carl Erdman in 1932.<sup>13</sup>

### Representative or not?

We have hardly a small handful of seals with armorial or pseudo-armorial banners surviving from the first two generations, though a few more can be dated to around the turn of the century at the end of the third generation. Is it likely that this is because the number of



Fig. 3. Five representations of the reverse of the 2<sup>nd</sup> seal of Waleran, 1104-1166, C.Meulan 1118 & E.Gloucestre c.1138.<sup>10</sup>  
 a: King Waleran 177 (photo);  
 b: Crouch Images 227;  
 c: Galbreath *Lehrbuch* 22;  
 d: Hunter-Blair *Armoriales* 2;  
 e: Wagner *Heraldry* 339. Images were taken from XDD:716 (c) and from XBM:5666 on BM, Harl.Ch.45.i.30 (a, b, d, e).



Fig. 4. Early English banner seals.<sup>12</sup>  
 a: William II Rufus, king of England 1082-1100;  
 b: Elias Pidele, knight, 12<sup>th</sup> century.

seals surviving is so small that armorial banner seals would be unlikely to show up? As an example, we have 132 acts of Waleran C.Meulan, but only a dozen impressions of his two seals.<sup>14</sup> The answer can only be subjective, but a few numbers may assist in answering.

The Demay inventory of seals in the archives of the *departement du Nord* has 232 entries from the first five generations (1125-1250) with 36 belonging to titled nobility and 196 to various lords.<sup>15</sup> Most of the arms are also known from 14<sup>th</sup> century armorials, and all seals later than 1210 are armorial – well, apart from two equestrian hunting seals of the dukes of Brabant. Nearly all of the earlier seals belong to the third generation and show a nearly fifty-fifty distribution, 10 armorial : 13 non-armorial among the titled nobility and great officers and 21:19 among the lords and castellans.

For another angle we might look to Poitou, south of the Loire, where Francois Eygun catalogued 109 armorial seals from before 1250 distributed among 53 families.<sup>16</sup> Most of the coats of arms could be confirmed by later seals, but 36 were single occurrences. One third belonged to males of just two families, the Lusignans and the Thouars, and these included 3 of the 6 seals from just before 1200. Another 28 seals of males were dated to 1200-1220. Women, heiresses of or married into 9 families, accounted for 13 armorial shields, dated from 1216 on. Most females used paternal arms, but a few had combinations or just the arms of their husbands. As observed by Brigitte Bedos-Rezak<sup>17</sup>, most seals of the magnate class (*domini*) were equestrian or had female figures with the arms on counterseals, while the lesser lords and knights (*milites*) used simple shields or just the figures of arms. Among the 345 seals she reviewed from between 1105-1230, there were only 33 seals from before 1180. Of these 8 were armorial and 25 non-armorial – and the banner seals were non-armorial, except for Vermandois, Meulan, Savoie mentioned above and Flanders below.

Michel Pastoureaux plotted the spread of arms throughout France with just 31 places by 1080, mainly north of the Seine, and 190 by 1200. Of the latter, 5 were in the Poitou area and 25 south and west of the Loire-Rhône line.<sup>18</sup> While the data are in any case sparse, it is striking that there are only 10 non-armorial seals in the Eygun collection from before 1250 surviving in the departemental archives, and for some of these the counterseal might be missing or not affixed. Guillaume (III) d'Aspremont sealed in 1243 without arms, but with arms (*lion cr.*) on his counterseal in 1247. His father, Guillaume (II), sealed c.1200 with his arms (*lion cr. and label*).<sup>19</sup> Like a handful of other families, the Aspremonts must have adopted arms before 1200, but abstained from always using their arms in authenticating documents.

### **Some banners – more or less armorial**

Most of the equestrian seals with armorial banners reproduced in the literature are of a later date, usually from the 6<sup>th</sup> generation or later, e.g. Renaud C.Guelders (1298) and Bernard C.Anhalt (1301) with the same arms on shield and banner, and there is a magnificent seal with the lion banner of Bohemia, shield of Austria and horse trapper decorated with arms of Styria a.o. of Otakar II king of Bohemia and D.Austria & Styria (1269). A pity that the gonfanon/banner of Otto C.Anhalt (1269)

had only a decorative pattern, and not the *demi-eagle impaling Barry* arms of the shield.<sup>20</sup>

Even though a banner might look armorial, this could be misleading as the przemyslid duke Sobieslaw of Bohemia sat on his throne with a fretty banner and plain shield in his c.1130 seal, but on the reverse of the 1194 seal his successor (later king) Otakar I sat with a banner *vairy* and a shield charged with an *eagle*. The banner and shield on the obverse were plain.<sup>21</sup>

Three successive babenberger dukes of Austria and Styria used an interesting series of equestrian seals. The babenbergers acquired Styria in 1192 when the otakarer line became extinct. The last of the line, Otakar (IV), had a plain banner and the styrian *panther* on the shield in 1186. The new duke Leopold (V), d.1194, an equally plain banner and a shield with the babenberger *eagle*, his son Leopold (VI), d.1230, used two seals, one with the babenberger *eagle* on banner and shield for Austria, and one with the *panther* for Styria. The grandson, Frederick (II), d.1246, discarded the eagle and adopted the now famous austrian *fess* or Bindenschild by 1230, but left the banner plain.<sup>22</sup>

According to the seals, the askanier margraves of Brandenburg came late to arms. The 'founder', Albrecht 'the bear', did not seal with arms, but his grandson Otto (II) did move from plain surfaces in 1197 to the Brandenburg *Argent eagle gules* on both shield and banner in 1202. At least by 1269 a cadet line of Anhalt dimidated the Brandenburg *eagle* with the *Barry Or-sable* used in 1174 by Bernhard C. Anhalt & Aschersleben & D. Saxony, the 7<sup>th</sup> son of Albrecht. Some coins struck by Albrecht and his son Otto (I) might have *Barry* patterns on a shield, but plain banners. One might speculate whether the *Barry* was the ancient askanier arms with the *eagle* being adopted as a support emblem for the emperor, and in 'reverence' for the acquisition of Saxony, formerly held by the welfer Heinrich 'the lion'.<sup>23</sup>

The Bunte Löwe or *Azure lion barruly argent-gules* of Thuringia might have been adopted before 1182, and we find it on the shield of Landgraf Ludwig in 1202 with a plain (or lozengy) banner, while his successor Konrad in 1233 had a lion on both shield and banner – both with plain lions, not barruly.<sup>24</sup> The staufer emperors might use the imperial eagle, but as dukes of Swabia they used a lion-derived emblem, just as their welfer adversaries. In 1192 duke Konrad has a single lion, by 1214 increased to the present *Or 3 lions passant (guardant) Sa* – even for the four year old son of emperor Friedrich II.<sup>25</sup>

Returning finally to the core area and the Flanders *lion*, presumably an emblem of the comital fief, held of the kings of France. Actually it is a comparatively latecomer, and possibly born out of a love for jousting and tournaments. Its first occurrence was not on the banner as generally assumed, but on both banner and shield. Despite some disagreement on dating, the first seal of Philippe d'Alsace was probably made in 1163 after he became C. Vermandois by marriage. He was already co-count with his father Thierry and had sealed without arms in 1157. This first seal was of the common type of a mounted knight wielding sword and shield and the title 'comes flandrie', but with the fairly novel feature of a lion on the shield (Fig. 5)<sup>26</sup>. The smaller counterseal

had lions, not only on the shield, but also on the banner and the 'tophat' helmet and the title 'et viromandie'. A later 2<sup>nd</sup> seal was close imitation, though the *lion* was facing in the opposite direction, and the knight was bearing a 'bowler' helmet – a counterseal has not survived for use with the 2<sup>nd</sup> seal. His contemporary and fellow admirer of tournaments, Henri 'the liberal' C.Champagne had a seal of similar style.<sup>26</sup>



Fig. 5. 1<sup>st</sup> armorial seal (obverse and counterseal) of Philippe d'Alsace C.Flanders & Vermandois (d.1191), probably adopted 1163, but also dated as late as 1181.

### A simplification

In his cautious and persuasive approach to the origins of arms, Michel Pastoureau proposed three main visual influences and three types of arms.<sup>27</sup> Of these the concept of individual arms was rather cavalierly discarded as lacking distinction and being easily confused with changes of arms. The influence of ornamentals has never been questioned and remains in my view the most important visual influence on early arms. Family symbols probably played a role for a few families, but mostly when the symbol was canting on a name. In my view the choice of such a symbol would be obvious, and the examples (boules / Boulogne, Falkenstein, etc.) bear this out. I have not met a non-canting emblem carried from pre-heraldic use on to a coat-of-arms. We should probably take this in parallel to the adoption of toponymic names, a tradition which continued into modern times, and might even reverse course. Two danish families of literary fame, Rosenkranz and Gyldenstjerne, named themselves from either their crest ornament or their figure-of-arms – and as late as the early 16<sup>th</sup> century.

Banners no doubt became important in the promulgation of arms, especially for the upper classes, but had hardly any influence in the early development of arms. As noted by Carl Erdman feudal banners had no distinctions, but only a value through the ceremony of investiture.<sup>28</sup> Contemporary literature mostly speaks of uniformly coloured banners, and so were they painted in miniatures.<sup>29</sup> Most of the early banners mentioned above were plain or diapered. Except for one or two related examples, armorial banners belong to the 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> or later generations of arms, and were contemporary or later than arms on the shield. Though the Vermandois banner of c.1135 pre-empts the shield and surcoat version of 1146 by a decade, we must compare this with the Clare-Pembroke shield of c.1140 and the Meulan reverse/counterseal banner-arms of 1141, which must yield pride of place to the faint checky shield of its obverse partner.<sup>30</sup> With no arms on feudal banners there can hardly be any feudal arms!

Nevertheless, feudal arms might just be a figure of speech. There can be no doubt that contemporaries regarded some arms as territorial. Mathieu d'Alsace obviously chose

the 3 roundels as canting for his county by marriage as early as the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation, and these arms continued to represent the county for centuries.<sup>31</sup> We cannot know whether he intended them to be for his family, as he only had daughters as heirs, or whether they used the arms as family or ruler? Though many early arms from Germany are commonly regarded as territorial, they would soon be found on the seals of cadets, i.e. as family arms, and might well have begun as such. In any case, none of these were pre-heraldic emblems. In the case of the babenbergers, changes of arms and modification of arms created a series of territorial arms later adopted by the habsburgers, but as the Bindenschild<sup>32</sup> was the arms of a mid-level comital family, it also shows a shift from family to territorial to (new) family to (newer) family to territorial. So perhaps we might take the outcome to be that arms might be conceived as *my arms*, but continued as either family or territorial depending on the fortunes of biology and politics. In any case many arms would shift between both labels.

So in summary, at the present level of information banners had no influence on the early development of arms and did not represent fiefs, neither major ducal or comital ones nor the more humble baronial or manorial fiefs. But once adopted, arms would be placed wherever it pleased their owner, and evolve into excellent emblems for his possessions – as they are today.<sup>33</sup>

## Notes and references

- 1 By generations (of arms) I mean successive periods of 25 years beginning 1025 with 3 generations to 1200 and 15 generations in the Middle Ages (to 1500). It might change the details, but not the substance, if a generation was defined as 33 years, e.g. J. Raneke, *Bergshammervapenboken* (Lund 1975) 8. Among the more important or widely read works on the origins of heraldry are: Gustav A. Seyler, *Geschichte der Heraldik*, Siebmacher Band A (Nürnberg 1890, reprint 1970); G.A. Seyler, *Geschichte der Siegel* (Leipzig 1894); John Woodward & George Burnett, *Woodward's A Treatise of Heraldry British and Foreign* (1892, new edition Newton Abbot 1969); Arthur C. Fox-Davies, *A Complete Guide to Heraldry* (London 1929, reprint 1993); Donald L. Galbreath & Léon Jéquier, *Lehrbuch der Heraldik* (2. Ed. Lausanne 1978) (*Manuel de Blason*); Michel Pastoureau, *Traité d'Héraldique* (Paris 1979, 3rd.Ed. 1997); *Les origines des armoiries. 2me Colloque du Academie Internationale d'Héraldique, Bressanone / Brixen 1981* (Paris 1983); Erich Kittel, *Wappentheorien, Archivum Heraldicum* (1971) 85:18-26, 53-59.
- 2 The 'banner hypothesis' has been presented in various forms. One of the most eloquent and at the same time cautious versions was summarized in the figure on p. 301 in Michel Pastoureau, *Traité*. His argument was first proposed in 1976 and has been repeated in several of his publications, most recently in the 2010 re-issue of *Une histoire symbolique du Moyen Âge occidental* (Paris 2004). The relevant points are summarised in *figure 1*.
- 3 Steen Clemmensen, *The arms of Montfort-l'Amaury* (2011), [www.armorial.dk](http://www.armorial.dk). The window is reproduced in colour in Galbreath *Lehrbuc*, p. 29.
- 4 Maps of seals <1180 and <1200 in Pastoureau *Traité* p. 303, probably from the same sources as used by Bedos-Rezak, note 17.

- 5 The Candavène, Boulogne, Hammerstein, Minzenberg and Falkenstein examples have been discussed and illustrated in Pastoureau *Traité*, 302; Galbreath *Lehrbuch*, 23-39 n. 18 Candavène coin 1083-1130; M. Gil & J-L. Chassel, *Pourquoi les sceaux? La sigillographie, nouvel enjeu de l'histoire de l'art* (Lille 2011) 221 ; XDA, XDP : G. Demay, *Inventaire des Sceaux de l'Artois & Picardie* (Paris 1877); XDD: L. Douët d'Arcq, *Inventaire .. Collections de sceaux.I-III* (Paris 1863); XDF: G. Demay, *Inventaire des sceaux de la Flandre I-II* (Paris 1873).
- 6 Walther (II) von Arnberg (fl.1135-c.1170) struck bracteates with eagles, but also 'eagle above lion passant', G. Förschner, *Deutsche Münzen. Mittelalter bis Neuzeit der Münzprägende Stände. I. Adel bis Augsburg* (Melsingen 1984), items 1151, 1148. The seal of Heinrich Gf. Arnsberg of 1181 has a 'free' eagle, Seyler *Heraldik*, p. 71.
- 7 Mathieu d'Alsace C. Boulogne j.u., d.1174, brother of Philip C. Flanders and Baldwin C. Hainaut. Seals in Pastoureau *Traité*, p. 46; J-L. Chassel (ed.), *Les Sceaux, sources de l'histoire médiévale en Champagne* (Paris 2007) 21; Pastoureau, *Une histoire*, 214-216. Bayeux tapestry, Edition Ville de Bayeux 2008, positions 51/52 and 56/57 of 58.
- 8 For the Clares: G.E. Cockayne, Vicary Gibbs, *The Complete Peerage* (London 1910-1959), 3:242-247, 5:682-715, 6:498-503, 10:348-358; and Gant 7:672-673. Arms in Galbreath, *Lehrbuch*, 23; Anthony Wagner, 'Heraldry' in: A.L. Poole, *Medieval England* (Oxford 1958), vol. 1 p. 340, 342; XBM: Walther de Gray Birch, *Catalogue of Seals in the British Museum I-VI*. (London 1887-1900); C.H. Hunter-Blair, 'Armorial upon English Seals from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century', *Archaeologia* (1943), 89:2-26, fig. 2g (PRO D.Lancs.Ch.A.157). Rohese also used a non-armorial seal, XBM:6645.
- 9 Raoul C.Vermandois, XDP:38 (banner, 1135), XDD:1010 (shield, 1146), reproduced in Pastoureau *Traité* p. 31. Arms in colour, e.g. LYN:540 (*armorial Lynce nich*, c.1440, Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, Ms.II.6567). The Vermandois-derived arms in Wagner *Heraldry* p. 341 have no colours (i.e. seals only) for Vermandois and Robert Beaumont 4E.Leicester (o.s.p. 1204; XBM:5674, 1195), *Or-gules* for the Meulan descendance, and *Or-azure* for the Warenne and Beaugency descendance.
- 10 For the Beaumont twins: David Crouch, *The image of aristocracy in Britain 1000-1300* (London & New York 1992) 220-226; David Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins. The Root and Branches of Power in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge 1986); Waleran C. Meulan & E. Worcester, 1104-1166, ANdF L. 893 no. 28 (no arms, 1st seal, 1137/38); Edmund King, 'Waleran count of Meulan' in: Greenway & al. (Eds.), *Tradition and Change. Essays in honour of Marjorie Chibnall* (Cambridge 1985) 165-181, pl.3-4, (photo). The 2<sup>nd</sup> equestrian seal has on the obverse an armorial shield and the title of C.Meulan, and on the reverse a gonfanon a.o. with arms and the title of E.Worcs. It was probably cut c.1139 with impressions dated 1141-1150. XBM:5666 (>1144, BM, Harl.Ch.45.i.30), XBM:5668 (c.1138, BM, Add.Ch.20419), XDD:715-716 (so+sr, so, no mention of arms, Arch.l'Empire L 1442, possibly ANdF L.892 no.19-20), and in King *Waleran of Meulan*, 177 (photo), Wagner *Heraldry*, 339 (pix), Crouch *Image*, 227 (pix) and Galbreath *Lehrbuch*, 22 (1136/38, pix).
- 11 The C. Savoie Amadée (III) in 1143 and Humbert in 1151 have a cross on a gonfanon claimed as the arms of Savoie (*Gules cross argent*), but so had Stephen-Henry C. Blois in 1095 from a family which by 1176 used the Champagne *bend cotised*. Coins of Valdemar I king of Denmark, r.1157-1182, had a gonfanon with a cross symbolizing his crusades

- across the Baltic Sea. Savoie, Pastoureau *Traité*, 36, Wagner *Heraldry*, 342, Galbreath *Lehrbuch*, 23; Blois: Gil *Pourquoi sceaux*, 238; Denmark: E. Christiansen, *Northern Crusades. The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier 1100-1525* (Basingstoke 1980) 138.
- 12 Examples of banners with flowing striped patterns can be found in most books on seals, e.g. W. de Gray Birch, *Seals* (London 1907) table 4n2 (Wm II Rufus R.England, 1082-1100), table 22n2 (Elias Pidele, knight,12C). A pair of jousting knights with gonfanon-like pennons on their lances was painted c.1175 on the interior wall in Lyngby Church (Denmark). Among the spiritual book: the Winchester Bible of 1170 and the well-known kneeling knight of the Westminster Psalter, an addition c.1250 (BL, ms.Royal 2A XXII fo.220r).
  - 13 *Rolandslied* by Konrad of Regensburg, 12C, Heidelberg, University Library, ms. Palat. germ.112, reproduced in: R. Bloch, *Feudal Society* (London 1961). *Heidelberger Sachsensspiel*, ms.Palat.germ.164:21r, in: F.L. Ganshof, *Feudalism* (London 1971). Carl Erdman, 1932, *Kaiserfahne und Blutfahne*, cited from Kittel *Wappentheorien* p. 19.
  - 14 Crouch: *The Beaumont Twins*, p. xi for number of acts, and note 10 for his seals.
  - 15 Demay, *Inventaire .. Flandre*, XDF:97-1830, 5482-5586. Mainly from southern Flanders and Hainaut, including the 'four castellanies' around Lille which at various times were in Flanders or Artois / Picardy. Arms of towns, ladies and clerics are omitted.
  - 16 Francois Eygun, *Sigillographie du Poitou, jusqu'en 1515* (Poitiers 1938) (XEP).
  - 17 Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, 'L'apparition des armoiries sur les sceaux en Ile-de-France et en Picardie (v.1130-1230)', in 2. *Colloque d'AIH*, 33. An excellent summary and analysis of 345 lay seals, mainly from Douët d'Arcq, *Inventaire* (XDD).
  - 18 Pastoureau *Traité*, 303, see note 4.
  - 19 XEP:73, 74, 72.
  - 20 T. v.d. Laars, *Wapens, vlaggen en zegels van Nederland* (Amsterdam 1913/1989) 20 (1198, Renaud C.Guelders); Seyler, *Siegel* 265 #216 (1301, Bernard C.Anhalt); K.R. Pakosta, *Die Herkunft des Rotweissrot Bindenschildes* (Wien 1976) 72 (1269, Otakar II); Seyler, *Siegel*, 126 #86 (1269, Otto C.Anhalt).
  - 21 Sobieslaw c. 1130, Otakar I Przemysl 1194 in: *Neue Siebmacher*, bd.2, 1.1.2 table 138. The lion emblem of Bohemia was a later adoption.
  - 22 The otakarer duke Otakar (IV) of Styria (1186, Pakosta, *Herkunft*, 27). The babenberger dukes were Leopold (V), d.1194, of Austria 1177 & Styria 1192 (K. v. Sava, *Die Siegel der österreichischen Regenten* (Wien 1871), www); Leopold (VI), d.1230, of Austria 1198 & Styria 1194 (panther: Laars, *Wapens*, 20; Sava, *Regenten*; Galbreath, *Lehrbuch*, inside cover. Eagle: Sava, *Regenten*; Galbreath, *Lehrbuch*); Friedrich (II), d.1246 (1230, Pakosta, *Herkunft*, 33 photo; Sava, *Regenten*). D. Schwennike, *Europäische Stammtafeln*, 3:27 (Otokarer), 1.1:84-85 (Babenberger).
  - 23 Askanier margraves of Brandenburg and counts of Anhalt: Schwennike, *Stammtafeln*, 1.2:182-194; Albrecht 'Bär', 1162, Seyler, *Heraldik*, 72 #5, 77 #22-27 (also Otto (I), d.1184), 81-82 #31; Otto (II), 1197, 1202, Seyler, *Heraldik*, 72 #6; for Otto of Anhalt 1269, see note 20, Anhalt = Brandenburg dimidating Ballenstedt. Bernhard, d.1212/18, C.Anhalt & Aschersleben & D.Saxony, seal 1174 and coins with *barry Or-Sa* (Ballenstedt), Seyler, *Heraldik*, 77. The askanier were said to be descendants of a C. Ballenstedt.

- 24 Ludwig LGf. Thuringia, seal 1219, Seyler, *Siegel*, 262 #211; Konrad, 1233, Seyler, *Siegel*, #206. Konrad became grand master of the Teutonic Order in 1239, his funeral shield has survived. H. Waldner: *Die Ältesten Wappenbilder* (Berlin 1992) 29 has a reference to an armorial shield on the seal of LGf. Ludwig (III) from 1182.
- 25 Konrad von Staufen, D.Swabia, seal 1192, and Heinrich (V), seal 1214, *Neue Siebmacher* 2/1.1.2 table 2; Heinrich, 1211-1242, son of emperor Friedrich II, D.Swabia, crowned king of the Romans 1222, seal 1216; Seyler, *Siegel*, 193-194 #132.
- 26 Philip d'Alsace, d. 1191, C. Vermandois 1163 j.u., C. Flanders 1168, co-count 1157. XDF:137 (c.1157, no arms). XDF:138 (1168/1170, 2<sup>nd</sup> seal, 'flandrie', equestrian, knight with sword and shield, *lion ab dx*), Jean-Luc Chassel (ed.), *Sceaux et usages des sceaux. Images de la Champagne médiévale* (Paris 2003) 23 (photo); Chassel, *Sceaux ..l'histoire médiévale*, 115 (text). XDF:139 (1162/1181, 1st seal obverse, 'flandrie', equestrian, knight with sword and shield, *lion ab sn*), XDF:139b (smaller counterseal, 'viromandie', equestrian, knight with banner ch. *lion*), and Jean-Théodore de Raadt, *Sceaux armoiriés des Pays-Bas et des pays avoisinants I-IV* (Bruxelles 1897-1901) 1:454 (1162, text), 1:57 pl.II (photo); XDF-date 1181; Galbreath, *Lehrbuch*, 28 (1162, pix); Chassel, *Sceaux .. l'histoire*, 115 (1163, text). Henri 'liberal' C. Champagne, d. 1181, seal 1176, Chassel, *Sceaux .. l'histoire*, 170.
- 27 See note 2 and figure 1.
- 28 See note 13 for Erdman.
- 29 Examples may be found in Seyler, *Heraldry*, Pastoureau, *Traité*, Galbreath, *Lehrbuch*, and Crouch, *Images*. One of the more important quotes is from the *Alexiad of Anna Comnena* (London 1969) (Ed. E.R.A. Sewter) for the normans of the 1<sup>st</sup> Crusade in Constantinople.
- 30 For Vermandois, see note 9; Meulan, note 10 and figure 3; Clare, note 8.
- 31 Boulogne, see note 7. His brother Philip chose the lion for Flanders, unless it was already used by their father Thierry. Another brother Baldwin was C. Hainaut before inheriting Flanders in 1191. He used chevronny arms as C. Hainaut.
- 32 Bindenschild and Babenberg, see note 22, for Habsburg, see i.a. Schwennike, *Stammtafeln*, 1.1:38-46 and Sava, *Regenten*.
- 33 Arms were painted on shield, banners and helmets, e.g. on the enameled funeral plate, c.1170, of Geoffrey C.Anjou, and in the miniatures in W. Noth, *Heinrich von Veldeke. Miniaturen der Berliner handschrift des Eneit Romans* (1984); and *Petri de Ebulo: Carmen de Bello Siculo inter Henricum VI imperatorem et Tancredum*, Bern, Bibl. Bongarsiana, ms. 120:109r.

# GENEALOGICA & HERALDICA

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