Names, Arms, and Multiple Identities:
The Representation (and Misrepresentation) of Two or More of the Identities of Armigerous Persons and Their Patrilineages, Dominions, and Domains in Latin Christendom c. 800 – c. 1600[1]

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Part 1 (of 2)[2]

1. Introduction

1.1. The Nature of the Matters to Be Addressed

This article is concerned with the early history of the nature, form, and use of the species of emblem that took the form of a chromatic design covering the whole surface of a shield, flag, coat, or horse-trapper, and is most distinctively called in Modern English by the synonymous terms '**arms**' and '**coat of arms**'.[3] From the emergence of its most primitive

[1] An earlier version of this article was presented at the XXIXth International Congress of Genealogical and Heraldic Sciences held in Stuttgart, Germany, 12-17 September 2010, and was published in the *Genealogica & Heraldica: Identität in Genealogie und Heraldik* (Stuttgart, 2010), pp. 116-139.

[2] The complexity of the subject-matter of this article has necessitated its division of into two parts of roughly equal length. Part 2 will appear in the next issue.

[3] On the origin of the term, 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", esp. Part II. 'The Terms 'Achievement' and 'Coat of Arms', 1562-2014', in *Heraldry in Canada* 49.3 (2016), pp. 36-71

form in the 1130s, more or less distinctive emblems of this evolving type of emblem were increasingly employed by the lay[4] members of the princely, royal, baronial, and knightly strata[5] of the nobilities of Latin Christendom, to represent at least *one* and, eventually, as many as *ten* distinct types of their identity — though which such identities were represented, and how they could be combined, varied significantly from one cultural region to another.[6]

The first five of these ten types of identity were common to most of Latin Christendom, and could be represented everywhere by a **single coat of arms**, without additions. Three of these five types of identity were essentially **personal: (1)** a **generic *nobiliary*** identity; (**2)** a **particular *individual*** identity; and **(3)** a **particular *lordly*** or ***dominical identity***.

Closely associated with the last of these identities were two additional types. **(4)** One of these two was an ***impersonal*** type of identity commonly represented by arms identical to the third type: a particular ***dominional*** or ***domanial identity*** attached to the *lands* over which the lordship in question was (and, in some cases, continues to be) exercised. **(5)** The other was a particular ***patrilineal*** or ***dynastic identity***, which would come to be shared with all members of the knightly and sub-knightly strata of the nobility.

The remaining five types of ***personal*** identity came to be represented through the *combination on a single shield of two or more* distinct coats of arms, through the process best-termed *intra-scutal marshalling*.

(6) Only one of these identities was common to noble persons of both sexes in most of Latin Christendom: what is best described as a

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[4] As my general title indicates, I shall not deal here with *impersonal* armigers other than territorial jurisdictions, or with personal armigers of *clerical* or *monial* status. I shall deal with the practices of both male and female armigers, the latter often being conduits of ancestral arms.

[5] On the origins and nature of these strata, see § 7 below.

[6] 'Identity' itself is a highly polysemous word, and historians have recently debated its use in a variety of contexts. In the period here in question, *identitas* was a strictly learned word, primarily used by theologians and metaphysicians. I shall use it exclusively in the recent but now dominant sense of '*a distinct societal position claimed by an individual or group on the basis of a distinctive shared characteristic or set of characteristics, and normally marked by a distinctive nam*e'.

particular ***utero-patrilineal identity***, based on descent though *female* members of the patrilineages represented, also shared by armigers of all strata. The practice of combining maternal with paternal arms in this way (which eventually came to be multiplied to accommodate as many additional coats as the armiger wished to display) also served to represent the armiger's identity as the lord of at least some of the lands held by those uterine ancestors: what may be called a ***multi-dominical identity***.

(7) The seventh type of personal identity was closely related to the sixth and was initially represented in the same basic manner: the form of marshalling called *impalement*. This type — initially peculiar to *women*— may be called a particular ***marital identity***, as it involved the juxtaposition of the personal arms of a woman in her capacity as a *wife* with those of her husband to represent that relationship. Until very recently, the arms of *unmarried* women in all jurisdictions remained identical to those of their fathers, without any additional marks of difference to distinguish among *daughters* — even by birth order — comparable to those used in the Primary Region (defined below) to distinguish among younger *sons*.[7] Thus, the combination of a woman's paternal arms with those of her husband gave her a distinctive personal coat that represented her two most important identities: **father's daughter** and **husband's wife**. It was from such marital coats that the other forms of *marshalled* coats were later derived, thus permitting the representation of increasing numbers of utero-patrilineal identities both by sons and by daughters.

All of these seven identities came to be represented armorially in most of the lands of Latin Christendom, but the remaining three — the first two similarly represented by the combination of two or more distinct coats on a single shield — were more restricted in their distribution, and the last two were peculiar to a single country.

(8) The more widespread of these three was the identity of the armiger as the holder of an *office* of some sort, and may therefore, be called an ***official identity***. Such offices fell broadly into two classes: **(8a) ecclesiastical** and **(8b) secular**. The former class fell itself into two subclasses: (**8a.i**) **clerical** (especially **episcopal**) and (**8a.ii**) **monastic**

[7] So far, Canada has been the only country to assign a set of **brisures**, or **marks of difference indicative of juniority**, to daughters as well as sons.

(especially **abbatial** and **abbatissal**). All of these offices were most commonly represented by a form of *impalement*, formally identical to that increasingly used by married women, but with the *personal* (or *patrilineal*) arms of the officer in the sinister half and the arms of the *office* in the dexter. In some countries, however, quartering was employed instead, with the official arms in the first and fourth quarters.

(8b) The **secular** offices thus combined with those of the holder's patrilineage were more varied in nature, as were the methods of combining them, and, in both cases, not only the display of official arms by *any* form of intra-scutal marshalling, but the use of any *particular* method for doing so varied significantly from one kingdom to another. As we shall see, the practice in general was particularly important in the Kingdoms of Germany and Lombardy (or Italy).

(9) In the latter kingdom alone, marshalled arms also came to represent an identity as an *hereditary member* of one of the two rival ***parties*** to which most noblemen came to belong — the Guelphs and the Ghibellines: what may be called a ***party identity***.

(10) Finally, in Poland alone, simple personal arms came to represent exclusively an identity as a member of a *union of patrilineages* called by the Polish word for '**cry**', which replaced the normal patrilineal unit in the armorial sphere in that country. This may be called a ***multilineal corporate identity***.

This article seeks to explore the nature and history of those ten types of identity, and of the complex and ever-changing relationships both *among* them and *between* them and the two other types of identity-sign or ***emblem*** that came in the same period to distinguish their bearers from others of the same general type: not only the new ***visual*** type of emblem now called the **arms** or **coat of arms** discussed to this point, but the older ***verbal*** type of emblem that emerged among barons in the decades around 1040: an ***hereditary*** **surname** of any of several types. The article will also deal with the history of those *signs* themselves, and their own increasingly complex relationships with one another — derived, in part, from the extreme instability characteristic of both surnames and arms in the first centuries of their use. It will also deal with problems that arose from the lack in the formative period of any means to coordinate the use of arms, surnames, and patrilineages, which all evolved independently of one

another, and by accident were often adopted by two or more lineages without any distinction among them.

The article will ultimately concentrate on the ways in which the coat of arms was modified to serve the growing number of identities it was required to represent in changing conditions of display, and of the problems inherent in the use of an emblem designed to be represented on the surface of a shield or a flag of limited size, which was itself intended to be carried in various types of armed conflict.

In order to be effective as an emblem in such contexts, the design of a coat of arms had to be sufficiently **bold**, **distinctive**, and **simple** that it could be easily recognized, both at a *moderate distance* and *in the chaos of battle*, as well as in many *non-martial contexts* in which it had to be represented on a much smaller scale and normally reduced from a *polychromatic* to a *monochromatic* representation. At the same time, a coat of arms had ideally to convey information about its bearer sufficient to identify him (or her) in terms of at least *two*, and eventually *several* aspects of his (or her) identity, important in the culture. Furthermore, as the foregoing discussion indicated, these aspects — or *identities* as I shall call them — grew more numerous with time. Finally, as the number of *armigers* grew from a few dozen around 1170 to more than three thousand in England alone by 1315, and to many more thousands by 1530, the design of a coat of arms had — in principle at least — to include a sufficient number of *distinctive* elements to represent at least a *patrilineal*, and in countries like England and France, an *individual* identity.

This set of conflicting demands presented real challenges to the designers of arms, and because before about 1420 no state maintained a central authority or body of experts who could oversee either the *design* of new arms or the *modification* or *combination* of existing ones, until then these challenges were only rarely met in a truly satisfactory way. Only after about 1420, indeed — when their use as the *primary* sign of identification in combat finally ceased, and professional heralds in the employ of kings and princes began to take a more active rôle in *creating* them — did this situation begin to improve, but as I shall demonstrate below in §§14 and 15, far too many unrelated lineages with *different surnames* had already assumed *identical arms*, and far too many lineages with the *same surname* had assumed completely different arms, in each case with little or no

attempt to individualize them by truly distinctive marks of juniority. The latter development was partly the result of (1) the steady increase in the number of rising gentlemen wanting arms for use in exclusively *civil* contexts, where instant recognizability in combat was unimportant; and (2) a growing desire among armigers of all ranks to adapt the design of arms to represent a *new set* of identities.

1.2. The Cultural Environment of the Formative Period c. 1130 – c. 1530

It is important to note here that emblematic arms were a typical product of the aesthetic culture we now (rather misleadingly) call '**gothic**', and emerged at the same time as the styles of architecture, sculpture, and painting to which that name has been attached since the 1660s. Their introduction was also coeval with the crystallization of a new courtly culture centred in the palaces and castles of kings and princes, which blended traditional **piety** (including the **fanatical** type codified in the doctrine of the Crusade, and the more **peaceful** types associated with attendance at services in churches), and the rough **courtliness** of Germanic mead-halls represented *first* in the ***chansons de geste*** set into writing from about 1120, but associated increasingly with the more sophisticated behaviours based partly on classical epics in the new genre called the ***roman*** or romance — dominated from 1155 to 1485 by the imaginative, pseudo-historical literature centred in the court of Arthur, and on the love-poetry invented in southern France in the 1090s.

In this culture, noblemen of the higher ranks were ideally warriors, lords, and polished courtiers. The first of these functions — shared with noblemen of the lower ranks first of ***chevalier***, ***ritter***, or ***knyght***, and then that of ***escuier***, ***edelknecht***, or **noble squire**[8] — was from about 1150 embodied in the status called in the Old French of the earliest epics and romances ***chevalerïe*** — a word represented in Middle English by the roughly analogous word ***knyghtshipe*** and in Middle High German by ***ritterschaft***. It was on the panoply shared by noble *chevaliers*, *knyghtes*, and *ritter* of all ranks that both emblematic ***armes*** and the emblematic ***crestes*** introduced in Germany around

[8] The history of these statuses followed very different trajectories in England — where they were effectively ennobled only after about 1400 — and the rest of Latin Christendom, where they were treated at noble from the years around 1200.

1200 were principally displayed in their original, martial contexts — including both serious battles and the sportive contests called *tournaments* and *jousts*.

In other contexts, arms were always displayed primarily on ***images*** of the knightly shield — sculpted, painted, and set in coloured glass in the current form of the gothic style or the early Renaissance style, largely derived from it. They have, to this day, continued to be represented in association with images of other elements of knightly equipment — especially the great helm and its later derivatives — thus tying them visually to the most glorious period of their past.[9]

Fig. 1. Sir Geoffrey de Luttrell and his wife and daughter-in-law c. 1340; almost every form of primary armifery (the display of arms on physical objects) is represented in this family portrait. (*Online image)*

Arms had soon become in the minds of their noble bearers the visual embodiment of their honour, personal and ancestral, and, in that capacity, were normally displayed from as early as 1170 to about 1690 — in ever greater profusion — on their seals, on their houses, and on their tombs and other monuments — which themselves

[9] See Adrian Ailes, "The Knight, Heraldry, and Armour: The Role of Recognition in the Origins of Heraldry" [i.e., armigery], in *Medieval Knighthood IV: Papers from the fifth Strawberry Hill Conference, 1990*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey, (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 1-21

proliferated in churches of all sorts. From the former date, *particular* arms were even attributed to the fictional heroes of the Arthurian romances The imaginary arms of the imaginary knight Lancelot were probably more familiar to most noblemen by 1200 than those of their own king — as yet unstable in most countries.

As signs of noble ancestry — particular and general — arms were also regularly displayed on the seals and garments of noble *women* — who were, in fact, the first to combine the arms of two distinct patrilineages on a single field (as can be seen both on their gowns in Fig. 1 and on their seals in Fig. 3) and, down to 1690, at least, took at least as much pride in their arms as their male relatives.

Arms and the other emblems of the armorial family also came to be displayed in a growing number and variety of domestic and commemorative contexts, especially on tombs and stained-glass windows, and it was through these that their display became available to the members of the sub-squirely gentry — who had no need for *real* martial panoplies. In the end, it was their continuing value as signs of noble ancestry, both general and particular, that preserved their display into the post-gothic period and even to the present day.

In tracing ***emblematic*** developments in the visual realm, this article will concentrate on the period between the 1130s, when the earliest ***proto-armal emblems*** appeared on the seals of princes, and 1600, when most of the relevant conventions governing the form and transmission of arms and associated armories had been established within the various regnal and regional systems. In its second part, it will also examine some later developments of particular interest in recent times.

When dealing with the history of ***names***, however, and of their changing relationships with patrilineages, the article will survey the stages of their development from Classical Antiquity to the thirteenth century and, in a few cases (where the established conventions were thrown to the winds), to the present. It will distinguish particularly between what I shall call the ‘**apposable patrilineal surname**’ that began to emerge soon after 1000 CE and came to be closely associated with arms, and the various other types of name that preceded it and persisted in rivalry with it for some time.

This article does not claim to be an exhaustive account of any of these matters — which would take a very lengthy book to present —

but seeks rather to give a clear idea of their *general* origins and histories, supported by salient and (when possible) familiar examples. It will provide enough historical background for each type of identity and its verbal and visual representation to allow the reader to understand how they evolved in the centuries before the emergence of either hereditary surnames or hereditary arms, and the very different and long *unstable* relationships that existed between the latter — especially in the first century or so of their co-existence, but even long thereafter.

Finally, the article will devote more attention than is usual in such histories to the *defects* of both surnames and arms as signs of patrilineal and related identities, especially when no clear distinction was made among lineages, lords, and dominions. It will deal in a systematic way with the various ways in which both *arms* and *surnames* failed to represent distinct *lineages*, so that numerous persons of the same lineage bore different arms, and numerous surnames and arms represented unrelated lineages. I hope that it will change the rather simplistic ideas most people entertain about the relationships between names, arms, and the patrilineal kin-groups commonly but misleadingly called 'families'.[10]

It must finally be noted here that our knowledge of the history of arms and armigery is limited by the kind, quantity, and geographical distribution of the **primary sources** for their existence, forms, and uses. These are very uneven in their value and their availability and constrain significantly what can be known about both arms and their use in different periods and countries — especially in their formative periods. To this defect in the primary sources may be added comparable defects in the secondary sources examining them, especially outside the core regions of their early evolution: the Kingdoms of France, England, and Germany.

1.3. The Principal Form of Evidence for Arms before 1244:

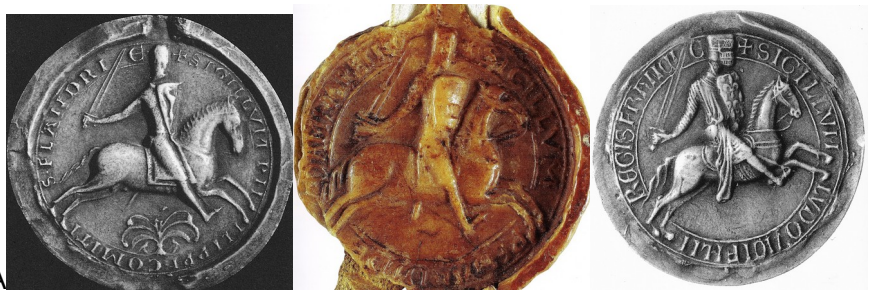
[10] The word **family** and its cognates (from Latin *familia*) properly represent '*a set of persons related by blood or marriage who normally live as part of the same household*'. This is quite different from a **lineage**, which can be defined as '*a kin-group composed of all those descended directly from a common ancestor, either in the **male** line — making it a **patrilineage** — or in the **female** line — making it a **matrilineage***'.

The Seals of Kings, Princes, Barons, Knights, and their Wives and Sisters

The earliest type of source for the history of arms in any part of Latin Europe is the wax **seal** or ***sigillum*** used to authenticate lordly documents, on which arms first appeared in a primitive form in the 1130s in the kingdoms just mentioned. Of the thousands of such seals that once existed, and of the metallic matrices used to impose them, only a tiny fraction have been preserved, and of those, only a substantial fraction have been either *catalogued* or *published*.[11] Most of those that have been preserved are now in archival collections, mainly public but in some cases private, and fortunately for the heraldist, many of those have been published in some form, making them available for study by students of sigillography.

Unfortunately, however, images of arms on seals — at first on the tiny scale permitted by the early equestrian seals (like those in Fig. 2A) and from the 1190s on the more legible scale of the new *scutiferous* type of seal favoured by simple knights (like those in Fig. 2B) — are almost the only source of our knowledge of their form anywhere before about 1244.

[11] On the published sources of English seals of relevance here, see my discussion in 'The Display of Arms in their Primary Martial Contexts, Shields, Flags, Fan-Crests, Saddlecloths, Trappers, and Martial Coats in the Formative Period, c. 1130 – c. 1220' (to appear in Nigel RAMSAY, ed., *Heraldry in Medieval England,* Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2024). The English collections themselves were published in the following works: W. de G. BIRCH, *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 6 vols. (London, 1887-1900), Vol. 2 (1892), (hereinafter referred to as BM), 'Equestrian Seals', nos. 5594-6565, pp. 235-373; 'Catalogue of Seals in the Treasury of the Dean and Chapter of Durham', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 3rd ser., vols. XX and XXI; John A. MCEWAN, *Seals in Medieval London 1050-1300: A Catalogue* (London Record Society: London, 2016); For French seals I consulted G. DEMAY, *Inventaire des Sceaux de la Normandie* (Paris, 1881); and Gérard DÉTRAZ, *Catalogue des sceaux médiévaux des Archives de la Haute-Savoie* (Annecy, 1998).

A 

B 

Fig. 2. Arms set A. on the *EQUESTRIAN* seals of princes c. 1184-1211; and B. set on the *SCUTIFEROUS* ("shield-bearing") seals of simple knights c. 1190
(published in the works cited above)

Aside from the shortcomings of their small scale, sigillary images could represent only the *outlines* of the elements of the arms they bore and, could give no indication of the **colours** or '**tinctures**' of those elements, which were of vital importance to their message. This was especially problematic because of the extremely common employment of design-motifs or 'charges' in a limited range of forms (especially lions and eagles), which were indistinguishable without some indication of the **tinctures** in which they were painted or stained on the shields and the other elements of the martial panoply, or embroidered on the *surcotes* worn over the mail hauberk, on all of which they were represented in their *primary* form.[12]

[12] A number of works by leading heraldic scholars have dealt with the problem of the origin of armigery since 1892, of which the most important were J. H. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville* (London, 1982); Sir A. R. Wagner 'Heraldry' in A. L. Poole (ed.) *Medieval England* (Oxford, 1958), I, pp. 338-81, esp. pp. 346-8; Michel Pastoureau, 'L'héraldique bretonne', *Bulletin de la Société archéologique du Finistère* 101 (1973), pp. 12-48 esp. 126; id. *Traité d'héraldique* (3rd edn, Paris, 1993), pp. 301-303; Brigitte Bedos-Rezac, 'L'apparition des armoiries sur les sceaux en Île de France et en Picardie (v. 1130-1230), in H. Pinoteau, M. Pastoureau, and M. Popoff (edd.), in *Les origines*

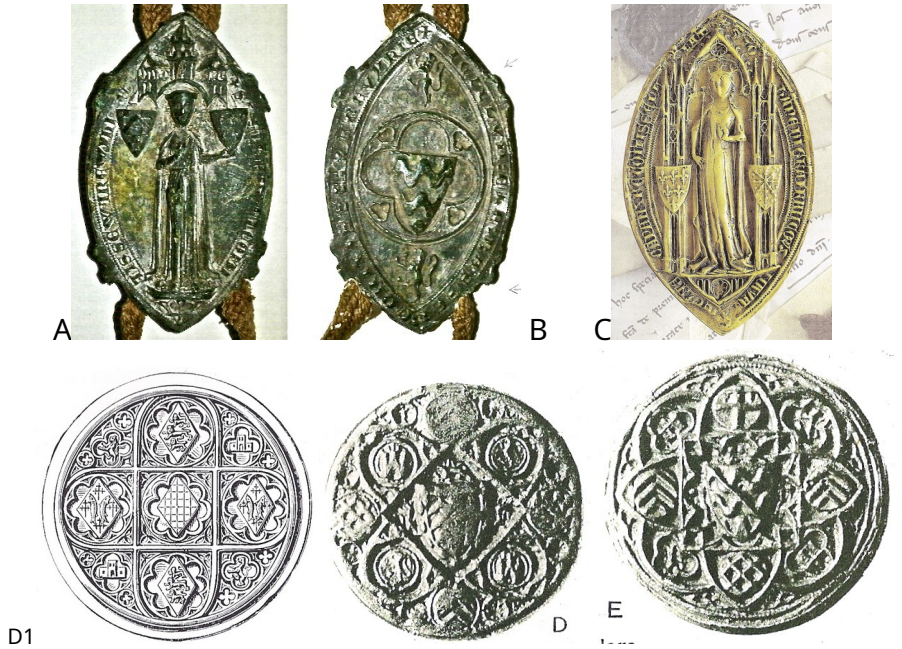


Fig. 3. Seals of noble ladies bearing shields in various manners c. 1220 – c. 1420

A, C. Shields Set to either side of a standing effigy (A., B. Ela Longespee, Css. of Warwick), C. Jehanne, Queen of France and Navarre, B, D1 –E. (fr. St .John Hope, *H.C.D*, 1913); Arms set on shields in gothic frames (D1 Jehanne de Bar, 1306; D Elizabeth de Clare, 1306; E same, 1322)

Our knowledge of the arms borne by men was to be increased exponentially after 1244, when the first painted catalogue was produced in England, but our knowledge of the arms borne by women before about 1330 is derived almost entirely from representations of arms on their personals seals, in rare portraits in psalters like that pictured in Fig. 1, and on various forms of memorial erected after their deaths, including tomb-monuments and stained-glass windows.

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des armoiries: *Actes du 2me Colloque de l’Académie internationale d’héraldique* (Bressannone 1981) (Paris, 1983), pp. 23-41; and Steen Clemmensen, ‘The Proverbial Banner — an axiom revisited: a re-examination of the evidence of early heraldry pre-1200’, in *Frontiers in Genealogy and Heraldry: Proceedings of the 30th International Congress of Genealogical and Heraldic Sciences*, September 2012’, ed. J. T. Anema (The Hague, 2014), pp. 95-105. There is also a useful discussion in David Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins: The roots and branches of power in the twelfth century* (Cambridge, 1986), esp. p. xi and note 10.

A few examples of such representations of female arms from the earliest centuries of their use are given above in Fig. 3, which includes examples of the three main types: (1) **lentoid**, bearing a standing **effigy** of the sigilliger set **between two armiferous shields**; (2) **lentoid**, bearing a larger shield set into an internally-cusped circular frame; and (3) **circular**, bearing the lady's arms at the centre of a lonzengiform or square frame surrounded by other arms in frames of other shapes.

1.4. The Principal Source of Evidence for Arms after 1244: Painted and Blazoned Armorials

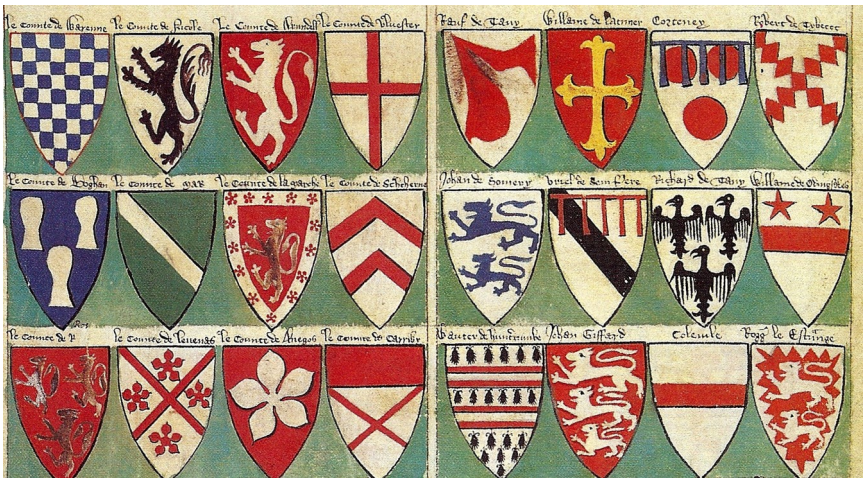

Fig. 4. An excerpt from the Lord Marshal's Roll, 1310

Although a handful of coloured representations of arms in enamel and stained glass have come down to us from earlier dates, revealing the tinctures of a few important arms, it was only from 1244 — when the English monk Matthew Paris produced the first of the new type of ***catalogue*** of contemporary arms now called an **armorial**[13] —

[13] On English armorials in general, see Anthony Richard WAGNER, *Aspilogia* I: *A Catalogue of English Mediaeval Rolls of Arms* (Oxford, Soc. Ant., 1950). On the earliest ones, cited here, see *ibid*., pp. 1-7, and Thomas Daniel TREMLETT and Hugh Stanford LONDON, eds. *Aspilogia* II: *Rolls of Arms of Henry III*, pp. 1-96. The third armorial, called *Walford's Roll* (edited in *ibid*. pp. 97-114) was prepared a generation later, c. 1275. On French armorials of the period, see Gaston SAFFROY, *Bibliographie* …. I, p. 114, and Paul ADAM-EVEN, *Nouvelle Revue Héraldique*, and J.-B. de Vaivre, *Orientations pour l'étude et l'utilisation des*

that we have been able to establish a general knowledge of those *tinctures*.[14] The upper part of the first page of his armorial, representing the armiferous shields of the contemporary counts (or 'earls') of England, is reproduced in Fig. 25 below, and the first three lines of the Lord Marshal's Roll of 1310 are reproduced just below in Fig. 4.

Paris's armorial is of the type composed of painted drawings of the arms included, each coat identified with the name and title of its armiger set above it, but a majority of the later armorials survive only in later copies, in many of which the tinctures are represented either in abbreviated '**tricks**' set around a shield drawn in ink, or, alternatively, in **blazons**, or technical descriptions without any image. All three of the different forms of representation, however, provide an adequate level of information to allow the reconstruction of the arms in full colour, so we have a surprisingly good — if still imperfect — knowledge of the arms borne by men of at least knightly rank in England.

Most of the armiferous (or *proto*-armiferous) seals known from before 1200 were made in France and England, and the same is true of the *armorials* produced before about 1380. For reasons that are unclear, substantially more armorials were produced in England than in France, and those produced in France (the most important of which was the *Le Breton Armorial* of the 1290s, discussed in detail in the following article on differencing) outnumber by a similar extent those produced in Germany or any other country before the 1380s,[15] when

armoriaux du Moyen Age (CNRS, Paris, 1974; *Cahiers d'héraldique* I). On German armorials, see Egon Freiherr VON BERCHEM, D. L. GALBREATH, and Otto HUPP, 'Die Wappenbücher des deutschen Mittelalters', *Archives Héraldiques Suisses* (1924), pp. 17-30.

[14] Only a handful of arms have been preserved in independent polychromatic images before about 1300, in one case in the form of an enamelled plaque, in the others mainly in stained-glass windows, all serving as memorials.

[15] Twenty-five English armorials have survived from the period before 1315, and 73 dating from the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but only 22 purely French armorials are known, dating from the years between 1254 and 1373. French armigers also appear in four English *universal* armorials of the years between c. 1275 and c.1285. German, Italian, and Iberian armorials are even less common. True armorials devoted to Germany alone were produced only in 1309, 1325/45, and 1340/50, but German lords appear in three

the practice of preparing huge, composite armorials covering large parts of Latin Europe was initiated.[16]

The facts that all twenty-four of the armorials compiled in England before the death of King Edward I in 1307 have not only been competently *edited*,[17] but that their designs and elements to 1315 have been competently *analysed* and *set out* in the kind of reference work called an '**ordinary**'[18] — which organizes their contents by the *elements of their designs* — makes it possible to discuss the armorial corpus of England in its first two centuries in ways not possible for any other comparable corpus.

For that reason I shall have rather more to say in this Part of my article about English arms than about all others combined, but shall do my best to provide characteristic examples from the corpora of other kingdoms, so as to give at least a general sense of the variations in national and regional practices. Fortunately, the English and French armorials of the '**universal**' class all include the arms of kings and princes from other parts of Latin Christendom, so one can get a good general sense of noble armigery on that level — especially in Germany — from 1275 onwards.

2. Basic Terms of Heraldic and Onomastic Semeiology

Before proceeding to my discussion of these matters, however, it will be useful to set out some of the technical terms I shall be employing to explain the general nature and functions of armorial signs. Some of these terms are well-established in heraldic studies, but others are less so, and require some explanation. A number of these I myself

armorials of the years c. 1275-c.80.

[16] On these — the first of which was the *Gelre Armorial* of c. 1355-70 — see Steen CLEMMENSEN, *Editing armorials: Cooperation, knowledge and approach by late medieval practitioners* (Copenhagen, 2019), reviewed above in this issue.

[17] The three armorials of the reign of Henry III were edited in *Aspilogia II: Rolls of Arms of Henry III* (London, 1967); those of the reign of Edward I by Gerard BRAULT, *Aspilogia III: Rolls of Arms of the Reign of Edward I (1272-1307)* (London, 1997). Most of the remainder have not been the subject of modern critical editions.

[18] Cecil R. HUMPHERY-SMITH, *Anglo-Norman Armory Two*. (Canterbury, 1984). It examines more than 3000 arms included in armorials of the period before 1315.

introduced, to put on a more scientific basis the study of *emblems* in general, and of *heraldic* emblems in particular, and to situate them in the more general field of **semeiology**, or the science of **signs** of all types.

In the established terminology of semeiology, the term **sign** means *a thing that stands for, represents, or denotes* something else — something that semeiologists call the **referent** of the sign.[19] Signs may be classified on the basis of a number of general principles, but the two of particular relevance here are those of ***general form*** and ***general semantic function***.

The ***general formal type*** of sign to which arms and all related signs belong is one best described as both **visual** and **static**, since their message is conveyed strictly by their *unmoving visual design*. They can be contrasted to the **verbal** type of sign with which they were always closely linked: the **name**, whose sense was conveyed by words composed of a series of *sounds* that in literate societies can be represented in some form of *script*.

In the area of their ***semantic function***, the two most important categories to which both arms and related visual signs belong are (1) what I call **emblems**, which serve to represent the ***particular identity*** of their referent, and (2) what I call **insignia**, which serve to represent some ***generic condition*** or ***status*** of the referent, often shared with many other individuals of the same type. The study of each of these types of sign in general may be called, respectively, **emblematology** and **insigniology**, both of which are divisible into **visual** and **verbal** subfields. Personal ***names*** may be thought of as constituting a type of **verbal *emblem*** and ***titles of status*** as forms of **verbal *insignia***. Their study, therefore, constitutes what may be called, respectively, **verbal** (or **onomastic**) **emblematology** and **insigniology**.

As I shall demonstrate, the design of all particular coats of arms performs a *primarily* ***emblematic*** and *secondarily* ***insignial*** function. However, many such designs include examples of a third functional class of signs: *motifs* that represent ***general ideas*** or ***qualities*** not embodied in a particular status: qualities like courage, honesty, or importance. I call such signs **symbols**, and describe their function as ***symbolic***. In the context of armal design, symbolic motifs serve to

[19] A more extensive discussion of these and related terms can be found in my introductory essay in the first issue of this journal.

suggest in an *unsystematic* way some ***characteristic*** of their referent — called, in this context, the ***armiger*** — including such things as his or her **name** or **occupation** or a **connection** to an ***unrelated*** **armiger** like a lord, patron, or brother-in-arms. The most common type of symbolic figure used in arms, however — the image of a powerful beast like a lion or a bird like an eagle — represented only a claim typical of warriors to possess the strength and ferocity of such creatures.

Emblems, in particular, have taken a wide variety of conventional forms, to whose basic types in any particular system I have assigned the generic term '**species**'. I shall be concerned here almost exclusively with the species of emblem technically called **arms**, or by some synonym of that term. By 'species', in this context, I mean an emblem or insigne of a *culturally-recognized type* whose form and use are determined by *culturally-recognized conventions* — most of which, in the case of arms, evolved without formal intervention between about 1130 and about 1530 in England and until rather later dates in most other lands.

I shall recognize three distinct **stages** in the history of arms that may be seen as '**developmental**' **subspecies**': (1) one of its *formative phase* that I shall call **proto-arms**; (2) one in its more advanced but still *evolving phase* that I shall call **pre-classic arms**; and (3) one in its *mature phase*, with all of its classic features in place, which I shall call **classic arms**.[20]

Though initially unrelated to other such species of emblem, after about 1190 in Germany and its *Region* (defined below) and about 1290 in the *Primary Armorial Region* centred on France, arms gradually came to form the central element of what I call a **family of visual signs** including several additional species of both *emblems* and

[20] I should note here that other schemes of periodization for the development of arms have been proposed by scholars. Among these is one with six stages proposed by Michel Pastoureau: (1) ***géstation*** (1080-1120), (2) ***apparition*** (1120-1160), (3) ***diffusion*** (1160-1200), and (4) ***stabilisation*** (1200-1240), followed by (5) maturation (1240-1330), and (6) ***codification*** (1330-c.1500). The first of these, however, is purely hypothetical, lacking any sort of evidence, and the second and third ignore the fact that the designs of these periods were highly unstable and bore only a loose resemblance to classic arms.

insignia, conventionally associated with arms both through *physical juxtaposition,* and through a set of *common conventions* governing their description in the technical language that in English is called '**blazon'**. The several species of this family came to be called *generically* by the term ***armoiries*** in French and by the derivative term **armories** in English (often loosely employed as synonyms of 'arms' and *armes*), and all of these species can be described as **armorial**,[21] and as forming part of the **armorial family of signs**.

The only other species of the armorial family of interest here is the ***emblem*** that in Old French and Middle English was first called the ***creste*** but later called in French the ***cimier***. This took the form of a figure set at the apex of a knightly helmet, and while initially *two*-dimensional, was from c. 1290 normally *three*-dimensional.[22] Crests were first adopted in Germany in the 1190s and soon became normal both there and in the lands to its north and east, but they did not appear either in France or the British Isles until the 1290s, and did not become common in either region until the 1350s. Crests are mainly of interest in the present context because they came to serve, in the cases of lineages with identical or nearly identical *arms*, as supplementary emblems of ***disambiguation*** and, in some Germanic dynasties, were used in place of the ***brisures*** or **marks of difference** applied to arms in more westerly lands to indicate **juniority**.

Like other emblematic signs of the general ***static visual class*** — of which the most familiar today are the ***flags*** of nations, provinces, and states and the ***logos*** of commercial and industrial corporations — arms represent distinct identities of the ten types identified above through their distinct *designs*. Today these include *figures* and *patterns*

[21] They may also be described as 'heraldic', along with two other families of emblems that constitute what I call the 'heraldic superfamily of signs', but as the influence of the heralds upon them in the period here in question was minor at best, I shall avoid using that term in this article.

[22] Although the placement of a physical crest at the apex of a knightly helm is attested from 1198, when one was represented on the helm represented on the second great seal of King Richard I of England, such crests did not take on the character of an emblem whose form and function were independent of the arms outside Germany and its eastern neighbours before the 1290s, and did not acquire a stable emblematic character anywhere before about 1330. On crests in England, see D'A. J. D. BOULTON, 'The Display of Arms in their Primary Martial Contexts: Pt. 2', *The Coat of Arms* 4.1 (2018), pp. 248-56.

drawn from a very large and almost unlimited corpus in a fixed set of *colours* that are clearly distinguishable from one another. Both figures and patterns can be set in a variety of orientations, numbers, and combinations which, when combined with the colours, permit an immense variety of recognizably distinct designs.

The effectiveness of arms as emblems nevertheless depends upon (1) the physical contexts in which they are displayed, (2) the actual distinctiveness of their designs within the geographical sphere in which they are likely to be displayed, and (3) the clarity of their representation.

When arms were primarily employed in martial contexts, as was true before about 1350, it was important that the designs be simple and bold, and, in general, they were. Before 1530, however, the complete lack on any level in any country of an official body with the authority to *design*, *approve*, or *record* the arms chosen by their bearers or the ancestors of their bearers meant that many designs were not sufficiently distinctive to perform their functions well — in part, as we shall see, because they made use of too restricted a repertoire of figures, in part because their designs were often identical to others in the same country, and in part because they were subject to numerous capricious and, therefore, misleading alterations. Thus, as we shall see, early arms often performed their basic emblematic functions much less effectively than those created in the last five centuries.

To facilitate discussions of arms and their use, and to distinguish them clearly from the various other species of emblem of the armorial family and *their* use, I have also introduced the adjective **armal** to represent the idea '*pertaining to or having the nature of arms*'; the noun **armifery** and the adjective **armiferous** to represent, respectively, the ideas '*the display of arms on physical objects*' and '(of objects) *bearing arms on one or more of their visible surfaces*'; the noun **perarmifery** and the adjective **perarmiferous** to represent, respectively, the ideas '*the display of arms over the entire outer surface of an object like a shield, flag, or coat*' and (of such objects) '*displaying arms over their entire outer surface*'; the noun **armigery** to represent the idea '*the condition or practice of possessing, owning, or using heraldic arms*' by an armiger of any type; the *noun* **armigerate** (with a short 'a') to

represent the idea '*a distinct body of armigers*', especially *regnal* or *regional*; and, finally, the adjective **armigeral** to represent the ideas ***a.*** (when used of rights and practices) '*pertaining to or characteristic of an armiger or armigery*' or ***b.*** (when used of regions or periods) *'defined on the basis of armigery*'. These terms join the long-established terms **armiger** and **armigerous**, respectively *designating* and *describing* an entity that '*effectively possesses arms*'.

In this article I shall confine my remarks largely to the **arms** (or, before about 1220, their unstable antecedents I shall call ***proto*-arms**): the *original* species of sign of the **armorial family**; the *only* such sign in *widespread use* by armigers outside Germany before about 1330; and the only one to be treated before the latter date in anything like a *systematic* way either by *armigers* or by the *heralds* and early *armorists* who, between about 1335 and 1660, organized the unsystematic practices of armigers into what are best termed (according to the case) **regnal** or **domanial *armal* codes**.

Finally, because the term '**arms**' itself has become ambiguous in the usage of many heraldists, I must emphasise that I shall use *both that word itself* and its traditional English synonyms **coat of arms** and **coat** (used whenever a *singular* noun is convenient) to designate *exclusively* that species of emblem that has always taken the form of a **conceptually *chromatic* (and normally at least *dichromatic*) design** that was originally displayed — in what I call the ***primary mode* of armifery**— ***overlying*** (that is, ***covering the whole surface of***) princely, baronial, and (from c. 1190) knightly ***shields***, and from various dates between about 1150 and 1330 covering, in addition, the whole surface of knightly ***horse-trappers***, ***martial coats***, and ***flags*** (especially the rectangular type called the **banner**). The full range of martial contexts achieved by 1340 and the corresponding range of civil contexts for the personal display of arms by noble women can be seen in the portrait of Sir Geoffrey de Luttrell and his wife and daughter-in-law in Fig. 1, on p. 6 above.

3. The Armigeral Regions to Be Examined

This article will examine the evolution of the use of arms to represent these different types of identity in three of the four more westerly of the principal **armigeral**[23] **regions** of Latin Europe, defined on the basis

[23] On the term 'armigeral', one of a set I have created on the basis of the established term 'armiger', see below, § 1.3. Here it refers to the dominant

of the time and extent of their reception of the conventions initiated and first developed in northern France. **(1)** The first of these was what may be called **PRIMARY** or **FRANCOPHONE REGION**, including **France** itself, the Kingdom of **Arles** or **Burgundy** and region of **Lotharingia** (which, in strictly political terms, formed, like Arles, part of the Holy Roman Empire), and including in addition not only **England, Wales**, and **Lowland Scotland**, but the crusader principalities of the **Levant**, **Cyprus**, and the **Balkans** — all heavily settled by knights from northern France at dates between 1050 and 1204. It was in this region that the more important developments first occurred, and most of my attention will centre on it.

The next two regions shared an origin in the Frankish empire of the Carolingians: **(2)** what I shall call the **GREATER ITALIAN REGION**, including all of **Italy** (divided between the northern **Kingdom of Italy** or **Lombardy** (also part of the Holy Roman Empire), and the two independent **Kingdoms of Sicily** in the south, plus various islands); and **(3)** the **GERMANOPHONE REGION** centred on the **Kingdom of Germany**— the core of the **Holy Roman Empire**, including numerous autonomous principalities, dynastic domains, and even regional republics like **Switzerland** and the later **Netherlands**.

The remaining three regions all developed from states outside the Frankish kingdom of the Carolingians and retained, in consequence, rather distinctive cultures. **(4)** The first of these was the **GREATER IBERIAN REGION**, mainly divided into three major regnal domains with their own official languages: **Portugal** in the far west, **Castile-Leon** in the centre, and **Navarre**, **Aragon,** and **Catalonia** in the south-east — the last dynastically associated with the insular kingdoms of **Mallorca** and **Sicily** and with Occitanophone **Provence** in the Kingdom of **Arles** or **Burgundy**. In these territories — effectively divided into the Lands of the **Crowns of Portugal**, **Castile**, and **Aragon** — armigery evolved along distinctive lines and at somewhat later dates.

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patterns in the use of arms by individuals in relationship to their kindred.

Map 1. The Kingdoms of Latin Christendom c. 1350
The heavy line marks the eastern boundary of Latin civilization

The same can be said of the fifth and sixth armigeral regions: **(5)** the **SCANDINAVIAN-BALTIC REGION** in the far north, whose three kingdoms of **Denmark**, **Sweden**, and **Norway** developed mainly under Germanic influences; and **(6)** the **FAR EASTERN REGION**, including the BALTIC lands of **Latvia**, **Lithuania**, and **Estonia**, the SLAVIC kingdoms of **Poland** and **Bohemia**, and the NON-INDO-EUROPEAN Kingdom of **Hungary** — in all of which armigery developed at much later dates and along very distinctive lines. In the present article, I shall confine my remarks very largely to developments in the first three regions just defined, which led in all of the areas of interest.

4. The Phases in the History of Armigery

The article will examine the different ways in which arms were used in each of the Regions identified to represent the different types of identity I have distinguished, especially in the first *four* general phases of their design and use, and especially in the Primary Region: the

Formative, the **Proto-Classic**, the **Early Classic**, and the **Late Classic Phases**.

What I call the **FORMATIVE PHASE** — which in the Primary Region lasted from c. 1130 to c. 1230 — was characterized by the introduction and gradual extension of the practice of displaying distinctive visual emblems on elements of knightly equipment — especially shields — and the equally gradual establishment of the **basic conventions and elements of armal design** in each region. These included (1) the classic set of acceptable colours or '**tinctures**'; (2) the most common **figures**, **partitions**, and **patterns**; and (3) the ***stability*** in the *number* and *disposition* of those elements in a single coat. The conventions in question also included (4) the various practices related to the ***transmission*** of arms to the descendants of the earliest armigers — though these did not crystallize before the following phase.

It must be emphasized that — although a handful of princes had adopted and employed an emblematic sign of some sort by 1130 — there was no general tradition in any part of Latin Europe of employing stable and distinctive visual emblems of any kind on shields, flags, or any other elements of the knightly panoply, so the earliest proto-armigers were inventing an *essentially new* kind of practice for which no precedents existed, and all of its practices had to be invented as the need for them became apparent.

Inevitably, however, the noble warriors of the outer regions emulated at least loosely the practices established somewhat earlier in the Primary Region, so that the emblems they eventually adopted were at least recognizable as forms of the same general type of emblem, and were called by analogous names: most, in fact, names meaning 'arms' in the sense of '**martial equipment'** (including Old French ***armes*** and Old High German ***wappen***) — though other, unrelated names were also adopted, including ***blason*** in Old French, ***senhal*** in Old Occitan and Catalan, and ***stemma*** in Italian.

The **PROTO-CLASSIC PHASE** — extending in the Primary Region from about **1230** to the years around **1330** — saw the gradual development of the classic conventions governing the ***transmission*** of arms and the ***alteration*** of arms to indicate ***juniority*** and the initiation of some of the practices governing their ***combination*** for various purposes by some form of *intra-scutal* ***marshalling***. All of these

conventions and practices remained in a state of flux throughout the phase, however, and their classic versions gradually emerged in a context of radical *experimentation* and extreme *variation* — not only from region to region and kingdom to kingdom, but from lineage to lineage within each kingdom.

Only in the **EARLY CLASSIC PHASE** —which in the Primary Region lasted from about **1330** to about **1430** — did what proved to be the classic practices in these and other areas of armigery finally stabilize, and thereafter continue their development along lines established early in the phase. This phase also saw the *regularization* of the practice of **conferring** arms by kings, princes, or their agents on worthy subjects, and the first stage of the process of converting the **heralds** of most kingdoms from freelance criers to members of regional corps of royal and princely agents, charged with keeping records of the armories borne by their subjects, and eventually with conferring new ones on those judged worthy.

The **LATE CLASSIC PHASE** — extending everywhere from about **1430** to about **1530** — was characterized (1) by a marked decline in the *display of arms in their primary martial contexts*; (2) at least partly in consequence of this, by a similar decline in the Primary Region in the *practices of* ***differencing for juniority*** *through adding major brisures,* at least outside royal and princely lineages; (3) by the first stages in the ***multiplication of intra-scutal quarterings*** that to some extent replaced the addition of brisures; and (4) in England and Ireland, by the gradual ***replacement*** below the royal level of the truly distinctive ***major brisures*** like labels and bordures with ***miniature brisures*** drawn from a standard set and employed in a 'systematic' manner that actually deprived them of any real meaning. The Late Classic Phase was also characterized in most countries by a considerable ***extension*** *of the practice of true armigery* beyond the traditional martial stratum to which it had been confined into the new strata composed of mere **gentlemen** and their descendants. Their rise, and the practice of conferring new arms upon them by the royal and princely heralds, substantially increased the size and complexity of the noble armigerate in a number of countries and necessitated a corresponding increase in the number of design-elements permissible in arms — including new partitions, outlines, and tinctures.

In many continental countries, including France, armigery also became progressively more common among the members of the highest sub-noble stratum of society, the *bourgeoisie*, requiring the introduction of extra-scutal insignia (especially helms and coronets) to distinguish ***noble*** *esquires* and *gentlemen* from ***ignoble*** armigers.

5. The Representation of Different Types of Armiger

5.1. A General Typology of Armigers

From the question of the types of identity represented by arms and the methods adopted to represent them, I must turn to that of the nature of the *armigers* they have been employed to represent, of which certain general types were introduced in § 1. Here I shall sort them out on the basis of additional principles, especially the distinction between *natural* and *conventional* entities. The variety of armigers classified in this fashion has not only changed significantly over time but has long varied even more significantly both within and among the lands where arms and armigery were introduced.

Broadly speaking, armigers have always fallen into one of two general classes, which may usefully be designated by the terms **natural** and **conventional**.

(1) Under the name ***natural*** **armiger,** I include (1a) all **individual persons** in their character as such, and (1b) all **collectivities of persons** defined on the basis of some form of *consanguineal kinship*. Members of the broad class of *collective natural armigers* may be usefully described as **gentile** (in the established sense 'constituting a clan, tribe, or race') and their different collectivities designated by the general term **kindreds**. And, as we shall see, the most important type of kindred that came to be represented by arms took the form of a **patrilineage** or some *division* of a kindred — best termed '**branches'**, '**sub-branches**', and '**infra-branches'**.

(2) Under the name ***conventional*** **armiger,** I include all entities created by some form of *convention* or *legal fiction*, disregarding any form of natural or biological relationship. Before 1530, these armigers included various types of **corporation** (especially religious houses and orders, colleges, confraternities, and municipal councils), certain types of **office** (especially palatine, mainly as we have seen in the German

lands of the Holy Roman Empire), certain types of **territorial jurisdiction** (especially *dominions*, within which territorial lordship was exercised), and at least one type of **association** composed of unrelated natural kindreds (the Polish 'cry').

I shall concentrate in this article on armigers of the *natural* type and discuss those of the conventional type only to the extent that they affected the practices of personal armigers in their capacities as either **officers** or (much more commonly) **territorial lords**. I shall also concentrate largely on the period before about 1330, when the classic practices finally began to crystallize, because that is the period in which the value of arms as signs of *identity* was most problematic.

As I shall demonstrate, despite the now long-established association between arms and *kindreds* of various sorts — most of them forms of patrilineage — for most of the Formative Period of their existence, arms had only a loose association with such kindreds, so the earliest type of natural armiger (or proto-armiger) was the **individual**.

Nevertheless, even in that Period, armigery did come in a growing number of cases to represent membership in some sort of patrilineal kindred, and, because many of those kindreds had themselves begun to take shape and acquire a distinctive **name** — a form of *verbal* emblem — more than a century before they began to adopt a *visual* emblem in the form of proto-arms, it will be useful to begin with an account of the history of such patrilineages in their pre-armigerous phase.

6. The Ten Basic Types of Identity Historically Represented by Arms

I may now turn to the central matter of this article: the different types of *identity* that came to be represented both by arms and by surnames in the course of the first three centuries of their history in Latin Europe, and how those representations evolved over the next few centuries.

6.1. Arms as Signs of Individual Identity

The first type of identity in question, in the order of their historical appearance, was the ***particular*** **identity** of their bearers as **unique individuals**. For the **proto-armigers** of the first two or three generations, this was often the *only* type of identity certainly indicated

by the (frequently unstable) emblematic design they set on their shields and, increasingly, on their horse-trappers and banners.[24] Though increasingly called from the 1170s by their classic Old French name ***armes*** and its equivalents (including ***armes*** in Middle English from 1330), because they lacked several of the more distinctive characteristics of classic arms,[25] such emblems in this formative stage of their development are best designated by the term **proto-arms**, their characteristics described as **proto-armal**, their bearers called **proto-armigers**, their use called **proto-armigery**, and the practices related to them called **proto-armigeral**.

Though proto-arms would come to represent other types of identity in the second and third generations of their bearers, the signification of *individual* identity would continue to be an important function of the new species of emblem on all levels of the social hierarchy in the lands of what I shall call the **Primary Armigeral Region**, centred on northern France, down to at least 1600. Down to 1330, indeed, the representation of that type of identity was often emphasized to the extreme prejudice of the representation of the other types of identity that were gradually added.

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[24] On the display of proto-arms, especially in England and France, see D'A. J. D. BOULTON, 'The Gradual Extension of the Display of Arms in their Primary Martial Contexts: Shields, Flags, Fan-Crests, Saddlecloths, Trappers, and Martial Coats. Part I. The Formative Period, c. 1135 – c. 1220', which was to have been to be published in *Heraldry in Medieval England*, ed. Nigel RAMSAY, 2020, but may have to be resubmitted to The Coat of Arms. On the display of arms in the following century, see IDEM, 'The Display of Arms in their Primary Martial Contexts: Shields, Horse-Trappers, Martial Coats, Crests, Ailettes, Part IIA. The Pre-Classic Period in England, c. 1217 – c. 1327', in *The Coat of Arms: Annual Journal of the Heraldry Society* (of England)], ser. 4, vol. 1, no. 235 (2018), pp. 218-257, and "The Display of Arms in their Primary Martial Contexts: Shields, Horse-Trappers, Martial Coats, Crests, Ailettes, Part IIB. The Pre-Classic Period in England, c. 1217 – c. 1327: Flags", in *ibid.,* ser. 4, vol. 2, no. 236 (2019), pp. 27-59.

[25] Proto-arms differed from their 'classic' successors in being quite unstable in their design and transmission, and neither marshalled or differenced in any regular manner. In consequence, I designate their bearers **proto-armigers**, and the practice of using them **proto-armigery**.

In most cases, however, *individual* identity among the junior members of noble lineages in the Primary Armigeral Region came to be distinguished from their ***patrilineal*** identity after about 1270 by an unsystematic but effective practice of '**differencing**' their paternal arms through various forms of alteration, especially the addition to them of figures now called '**major brisures**', which did not disguise the underlying design. This practice would persist in essentially its original form on the higher levels of the nobiliary hierarchy to the present day, but after about 1420 in the lower levels of the hierarchy it would be progressively replaced either by a more *systematic* but less *effective* practice of differencing with '**minor brisures**', or in some countries with the complete cessation of any such practice.

Thus, in those countries, the representation of *individual* identity was eventually either seriously *weakened* or wholly *abandoned*.

6.2. Arms as Insignia of Generic Magnatial and Nobiliary Identity

The second type of identity represented by proto-arms, simultaneously with the first, was the ***generic*** **identity** of their bearers as members of an élite stratum of Latin Christian society. The function of arms in representing this type of identity was essentially what I call ***insignial***, since it was indicative of a *generic status* rather than a *peculiar identity*. It would remain one of the most important functions of arms down to the present in countries in which armigery has remained legally restricted to nobles, and the formal grants and confirmations of arms and associated emblems and insignia that were increasingly issued from the later fourteenth century were either associated with, or actually constituted, a formal conferral of noble status.[26]

From the 1130s to the 1180s, the only (proto-)armigerous stratum of society was that of **princes** and **great barons**, soon joined by their wives and their children, and, by about 1230, by most **kings** and **emperors** and their wives and children. It can, thus, be defined as the stratum of *magnates* or great lords and their families and designated the ***magnatial nobility***.

[26] On the conferral of nobility by letters of armigeration, see D'A. J. D. Boulton, "The Concept of Nobility in the Letters Patent of Nobilitation and Armigeration issued in Germany, France, and England, c. 1330 – c. 1480", given at the 44th Annual Congress on Medieval Studies, University of Western Michigan, Kalamazoo, May 2009, and the works cited therein.

In the 1190s, however, the use of proto-arms — which I call **proto-armigery** — spread downward to the much larger stratum of landed knights and their families, newly-admitted at that time to the widening stratum of well-born warriors: a societal order whose members were generically called *gentiles* or *nobiles* in contemporary Latin and by corresponding words in the vernacular dialects of the period.

For the next century or two, arms would serve as the most important visible sign of identity as a member of this ***knightly nobility*** as a whole, which in France and most continental countries soon came to include the ***patrilineal descendants*** of knights who failed to take up knightly status proper but continued to maintain a noble lifestyle and a martial career as permanent ***squires***. In England, by contrast, armigery would be socially permitted to permanent squires and their families only in the later fourteenth century, when they, too, would become members of the noble (or gentle) order of society along with their non-martial descendants and others who achieved a minimally noble style of life — the mere gentlemen who came to constitute the 'parish gentry' below the 'county gentry' of the knights and squires.

Thus, armigery continued to mark one's identity as a member of the noble order, and this is still the case in the lands in personal union with the United Kingdom — in all of which arms may legally be obtained only by inheritance or by a formal grant from the appropriate officer of the Crown.

In many continental countries, by contrast, this exclusive association of armigery with nobility would end in the late thirteenth century, when increasing numbers of wealthy townsmen of the ignoble status of **burgess** (Middle French ***bourgeis***) began to assume arms outside the nobiliary system, and to display them in the many *non-martial* contexts into which they had been extended by noble armigers.[27] Nevertheless, even those arms — generally ignored by royal heralds and noblemen — were an effective (if arguably extra-

[27] On what in English must be designated 'burgess arms and armories', see esp. the articles in *Les Armoiries non-nobles en Europe: XIIIe-XVIIIe s.: IIIe Colloque International d'héraldique, Montmorency 19-23 septembre 1983*, ed. Hervé Pinoteau, Michel Pastoureau, & Michel Popoff (Paris, Le Léopard d'or,

legal) mark of a relatively high status and associated the ignoble armigers with the nobility through a form of imitation.

Nobiliary identity remained peculiar in the realm of armigery in that it was based on a status that was common to large and growing numbers of unrelated, or only distantly related, individuals, and was marked by the possession of arms *of any design whatever*, rather than of a very *particular* design. As I noted above, in representing such a *generic* type of identity, arms performed the function of the signs I have called **insignia** rather than that of **emblems**. Their function as such was gradually augmented from the early fourteenth century by a growing variety of associated signs of a ***purely insignial*** character — coronets, crowns, collars, staves, mantles, and the like — marking not *noble status* in general, but particular *ranks*, *honours*, and *offices* within the noble order.[28]

In this article, however, I shall be concerned exclusively with the purely ***emblematic*** representation of ***essentially peculiar*** identities, so I shall have relatively little to say about the *generic* sorts of nobiliary identity that were also characteristic of all of the individuals in my census. Their existence must nevertheless be borne in mind.

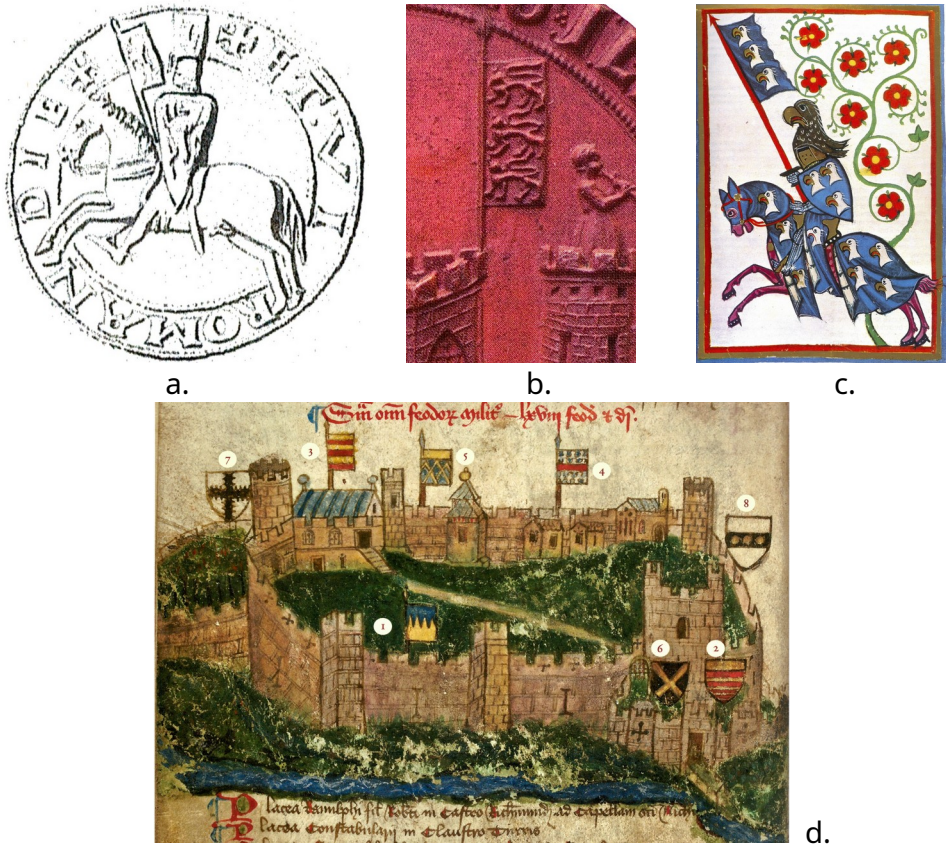
6.3. Arms as Signs of Particular *Dominical* Identity

The third type of personal identity that came to be embodied in arms in the royal and princely strata of the nobility (at roughly the same time as the other types considered to this point) was related to their nobiliary identity but remained peculiar to individual armigers. I have called this a **dominical identity**, as it represented the *lordship* either of one or more particular *lordly territories* of any rank — to which I have given the generic term **dominion**[29] — or, alternatively, the lordship of

[28] On the history of extra-scutal insignia, see esp. D'A. J. D. BOULTON, 'The Formative Phases in the History of the Systems of Headgear of Civil Rank, Especially in Germany and England, 1228-c.1530,' to the XIIth International Colloquium on Heraldry, Groningen, The Netherlands, 3-7 September 2001, published in the proceedings of that Colloquium.

[29] In my doctoral thesis for the University of Pennsylvania, completed in 1978, I adopted the term **dominion** to represent the concept '*a named territorial entity ruled by a territorial lord of any rank, and commonly bearing a dominional title (empire, kingdom, principality, duchy, etc.) derived from the dominical title of its lord (emperor, king, prince, duke, etc.)*'. I similarly adopted the adjective **dominional** with the sense '*pertaining to or having the nature of a dominion*',

the *whole set of dominions* of any rank that constituted what I have called the **domain** of any territorial lord who possessed *two or more mutually independent*



a. b. c. d.

Fig. 5. Early examples of banners bearing arms as signs of lordship
a. Seal of Phelippe d'Alsace, C. of Flanders and Vermandois c. 1181
b. Banner of England on the Seal of Rochester c. 1200
c. Ulrich von Liechtenstein c. 1250
d. Baronial Banners on the walls of Richmond Castle c. 1400

dominions.[30] One of the most important uses of proto-arms and their classic successors on the level of the princes and barons, who were the first to adopt them, was to represent the identity of these lords as

and the adjective **dominical** with the sense '*pertaining to or having the nature of a territorial lord or territorial lordship in the abstract*'.

[30] In my doctoral thesis I adopted the term **domain** to represent this concept, and the adjective **domanial** to mean '*pertaining to or having the nature of a domain*'.

commanders of the hosts of their dominions or domains. On the highest levels, they came from the 1180s to be displayed not only on the shield and trapper of the lord himself when he rode into battle, but upon a new form of martial flag — the tall, rectangular **banner** that replaced the traditional **gonfanon**, whose *elongate* proportions and *horizontal* orientation were found to be ill-suited to the display of the new species of emblem they or their fathers had adopted at various times in the previous several decades.[31]

The proto-arms on those banners — soon flown from the parapets of the castles and cities of their lord's domain and from the masts of his ships — must quickly have become the most visible signs of his lordship, either of his principal *dominion* or of his *domain* as a whole. Despite its obvious utility as an underlier of arms, however, the use of a banner by sub-regal lords spread relatively slowly, beginning in **Germany** and spreading to **France** only in the 1190s and to **England** in the 1290s. Even then, it remained restricted to knights who could bring to the host a significant company of men including other knights and led to the designation of these commanders by the new title *chevalier banneret* or "**knight banneret**". At about the same time, however, the simple knights *bacheler* or "**bachelor**" who served under the bannerets began to display their arms on the small, triangular flag they affixed to their lances: flags that were soon designated *penons* or '**pennons'**. An early representation can be seen in the portrait of the knight bachelor Sir Geoffrey de Luttrell in Fig. 1 (p. 6).

The radical changes of design to which proto-arms were often subjected in the first century or so of their use (examined at length below) must have undermined this function in that period in cases where it was practised, but once a stable design had been adopted, it soon came to be recognized as the mark of lordship in its bearer's dominion or domain, and of the lord himself as such. This was the case, for example, in the domain of Count Baudouin IX of Flanders from the time his black rampant lion on gold — still used today to represent the Flemish division of the Kingdom of the Belgians — appeared on the earliest known banner in the 1180s, and in the

[31] On the origins of the armiferous banner and pennon and their adoption in England, see D'A. J. D. BOULTON, The Display of Arms in their Primary Martial Contexts: Shields, Horse-Trappers, Martial Coats, Crests, Ailettes, Part IIB. The Pre-Classic Period in England, c. 1217 – c. 1327: Flags'. (See above, n. 3)

domain of the King of England from 1198, when Richard 'Lionheart' adopted the three gold lions passant on red that are still the arms of kingship in England and, since 1921, have been quartered as such in the arms of the King or Queen of Canada as well.[32]

As I demonstrated in a communication to the VIIIth Colloquium of the International Heraldic Academy in 1993,[33] however, before the fourteenth century — when (as we shall see) the practice of combining arms by 'marshalling' two or more of them on the same shield spread from Spain to countries of the Primary Region — **simple dominical arms** almost always represented the lordship of the whole **domain** of a lord rather than any particular dominion. In addition, this ***domanio-dominical*** identity was rarely distinguished in any way from a lord's ***individual*** or ***patrilineal*** identity. This fusion of dominical references was essentially a result of the general practice of adopting a *single coat* to represent all of the proto-armiger's identities, and the lack of any tradition of employing *distinct* emblems of any sort for particular jurisdictions. It would eventually be replaced when the custom of combining arms by ***intra-scutal marshalling*** was introduced, as we shall see.

In the meantime, however, the arms that were identified in the armorials that began to be compiled around 1245 as those of the *rex Jerosolimitani, landgravius Duringie*, and *comes Provincie* (in the marginalia of Matthew Paris' chronicles of c. 1245-51), or *Le Roy d'Angleterre*, *Le Duk de Bourgoyn*, and *Le Duke de Bavaire (in Walford's Roll* of c. 1275)[34] — all served to represent those personages not

[32] On these banners, see D'A.J.D. BOULTON, 'The Gradual Extension of the Display of Arms in their Primary Martial Contexts: Shields, Flags, Fan-Crests, Saddlecloths, Trappers, and Martial Coats. Part I. The Formative Period, c. 1135 –
c. 1220', to appear in *Heraldry in Medieval England*, ed. Nigel Ramsay.

[33] This was subsequently published as 'Dynasties, Domains, and Dominions: The Use and Non-use of Territorial Arms by French Princes, c. 1200-c.1500', in *Académie Internationale d'Héraldique, VIII Colloquium, Canterbury, 29th August-4th September 1993, Proceedings*, Cecil R. HUMPHERY-SMITH, ed., Canterbury, 1995, pp. 39-74.

[34] The earliest English armorials, including the *Matthew Paris Shields* of 1245-51, *Glover's Roll* of 1253, and *Walford's Roll* of c. 1275, were published by Thomas Daniel TREMLETT and Hugh Stanford LONDON, *Aspilogia* II, Rolls of Arms

merely as the lords of their named *dominions*, but of their associated *domains*, which were often vastly more extensive. Down to various dates before 1259, the Kings of England were also the Lords of Ireland, Dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Counts of Anjou, Maine, and Poitou, while the contemporary Counts of Flanders were also Counts of Hainaut and Holland (and, in the case of Count Baudouin IX, Emperor of Constantinople), and the Counts of Barcelona were also the Kings of Aragon and Counts of Provence in the Kingdom of Burgundy or Arles. All of those kings and princes used the same simple arms throughout their domains, making them ***domanio*-dominical** arms rather than what may be distinguished as ***dominio*-dominical** arms, representing lordship in a single dominion.

The introduction of the practice of setting *more than one coat of arms* on the surface of a shield or comparable underlier (illustrated below in Fig. 7) made it possible to represent simultaneously the lordship of two or more *different* dominions, and to replace the use of domanio-dominical arms with dominio-dominical arms. The process of sorting out this distinction — which made the dominical references of arms increasingly precise — would take most of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as we shall see.

6.4. Arms as Signs of Particular *Dominional* and *Domanial* Identity

The fourth type of identity that came to be represented by arms was an **impersonal** one, closely related to the personal identity I have called *dominical*. Gradually, through a natural semantic extension (to which their increasing use by the *agents* of the lord in his absence must have contributed), most ***dominio-dominical*** and ***domanio-dominical*** arms came to be thought of as being *additionally* the arms of those **dominions** or **domains** *as such* — or as what may be called (according to the case) **dominional** or **domanial arms**.

The clearest sign of the completion of this transition is the use of the *dominion's* name alone to refer to the arms: '**England**' rather than '**the King of England**' and '**France ancient**' (*Azure, semé of fleurs de lys Or*) versus '**France modern**' (*Azure three fleurs de lys two and one Or*). The later evolution of these distinctions naturally paralleled that of the evolution of the *dominical* function of arms, but the arms in question were employed in different contexts with only an indirect

of Henry III (London, 1967, Woodbridge, 2009).

reference to the person of the lord whose arms they were in the personal sphere.

6.5. Arms as Signs of Patrilineal and Intra-Patrilineal Identities, Including Dominico-Dynastic Identities

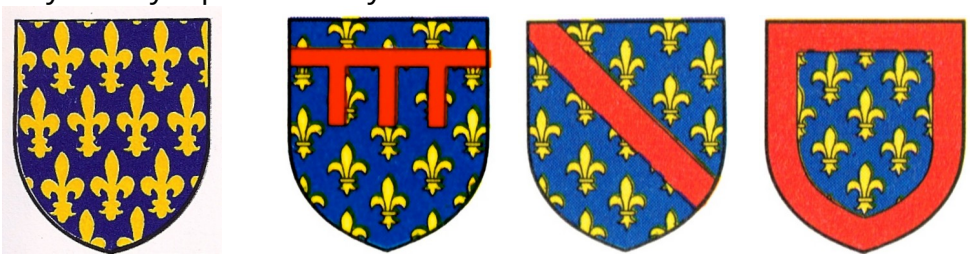
The fifth type of identity that proto-arms came to represent may be called in general terms the **patrilineal identity** of the personal armiger. This was an essentially ***collective*** rather than *individual* identity, so its representation emphasized *genealogical* or *dynastic solidarity* over both space and time.

The patrilineal type of representation emerged when the originally individual arms of princes and barons came to be used in a reasonably *consistent* way by their children and later patrilineal descendants, and, after 1200, this practice was transmitted to the arms of noble knights and their children and descendants. And as I noted above, in the Primary Region, it was consistently modified from 1270 or so to permit the representation of the identities of *individual* members of the patrilineage through the practice of adding **differences** to the patrilineal arms by its junior members (as seen in Fig. 6 below) — a distinction that remained impossible in the other Regions until it became permissible to include **additional arms** by **intra-scutal marshalling** and afterwards to *rearrange* those shared by the various individuals who inherited them.

As I shall demonstrate below, however, the representation of ***patrilineal* identity** by arms in a *consistent* way took much longer to establish than that of any of the other types of identity noted to this point, and its effectiveness continued to be undermined by the inconsistent and misleading practices of adopting and modifying armal designs in the period before about 1330.

Although the abstract notion of a **patrilineage** can be defined quite clearly on the basis of descent in the male line (and the transmission of a particular Y-chromosome), the nature of the collectivities treated by their members as *patrilineal* entities in my period actually varied quite considerably, and evolved significantly between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries. They came to be identified by two distinct types of hereditary marker or **collective emblem** — a **surname** and a **coat of arms** — but the former often

preceded the latter by more than a century, and, as I shall demonstrate, both types remained quite unstable down to about 1340, and both have continued to be subject to change for various reasons down to the present day. In addition, the use of an hereditary surname did not come into use among *royal* and *princely* families until the fifteenth century or later. Thus, the notion of the distinguished *patrilineage* that has long been a central element of the ideology of the nobilities of Latin Christendom was to a considerable extent an artificial and malleable construct, and for at least three centuries was only loosely represented by either name or arms.



King of France | **Charles Capet d’Anjou** | **Robert C. de Cler.,** | **Pierre C. d’Alençon**
Kingdom of France 1270 to 1376 | **Count of Anjou (County of Anjou)** | **C. of Clermont Cy. of Clermont (later Dy. of Bourbon)** | **C. of Alençon Cy. of Alençon (later Cy. of Valois)**

Fig. 6. Arms representing true dominico-dynastic identities in France (after Neubecker, *Grand Livre d’Héraldique*, p. 98)

Furthermore, both in France and in the other kingdoms that came to be ruled by members of the French royal house now called ‘**Capetian**’, versions of the regal arms (initially ***Azure, semy of fleurs de lys Or*** — later called ‘**France ancient**’) differenced in one of the manners currently normal for cadets in France (mainly **labels** and **bordures**, seen in Fig. 6 above) also came to represent the *principal dominion* conferred upon those cadets as apanages, or acquired by them through inheritance, and in either case transmitted with those lands to their heirs, so they became in effect not only **intra-patrilineal arms**, but what might be called **sub-dynastic** arms — representing established *branches* of the royal dynasty — and also both **dominical** and **dominional** arms.

The arms assigned by King Loys VIII to his second son Robert, to whom he gave the County of Artois — ***France ancient with a label of three points gules, each point charged with three castles Or*** — were at once **dynastic** and **dominical**, and became in effect the **dominional** arms of **Artois**. In the same way, the arms he assigned to his third son Charles — which bore a ***plain label gules*** — became those both of the Counts of **Anjou** descended from him, and of the county itself, for as long as it remained in his branch of the royal house.

If a more important dominion was acquired by the head of such a branch, however, the *dominical* sense of the dynastic arms was transferred primarily to that new dominion — the case of the **Clermont** branch of the House of Capet that acquired the Duchy of **Bourbon**, whose arms — France ancient differenced by a **bend gules** — became associated *primarily* with that duchy, while remaining *domanial*.

The same arms might also be regranted to a later cadet if the line of an earlier cadet had become extinct. This was the case of the arms with a **bordure gules** initially granted by Loys IX to his son Pierre, whom he made Count of **Alençon**, but were regranted by Phelippe III to his cadet Charles, whom he made instead Count of **Valois**.

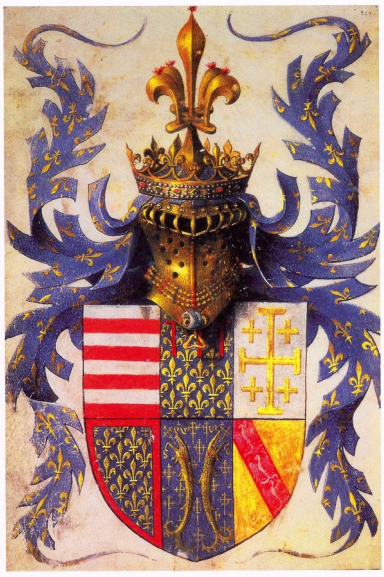


Fig. 7. Marshalling the arms of kingdoms and principalities:

**a. The arms of René Capet d’Anjou, titular King of Hungary, Naples, and Jerusalem,
and Duke of Anjou, Bar, and Lorraine, quartering their arms
b. Felipe I, King of Castile, Leon, Aragon, and Sicily, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy and Brabant, Count of Flanders and Tyrol, as Sovereign of the Golden Fleece
(after Neubecker, *Grand Livre*)**

The employment of arms that had begun as differenced versions of the royal arms as arms of dominion became increasingly common when they were combined with those of other lineages that had come to be used in the same way. This can be seen in Fig. 7 in the quarterly coats of two kings who employed differenced arms to represent parts of their extensive domains. The former included **Anjou Ancient** (the arms of the older cadet branch of Anjou with a ***label gules***) to represent the Kingdom of mainland Sicily and **Anjou Modern** (the arms of the later branch, with a ***bordure gules***) to represent the Duchy of Anjou. The quarterly coat of the second king (Felipe II of Spain) included two quarters to represent the older domain of the later cadet branch of Dukes of **Burgundy** (the newer Capetian arms with a ***bordure compony*** in addition to the older arms of the *original* cadet branch of Burgundian dukes: ***bendy with a bordure gules***). These quarterings all represented actual lordship of the dominion they represented, and such quarterly coats may be called **true multi-dominical coats**.

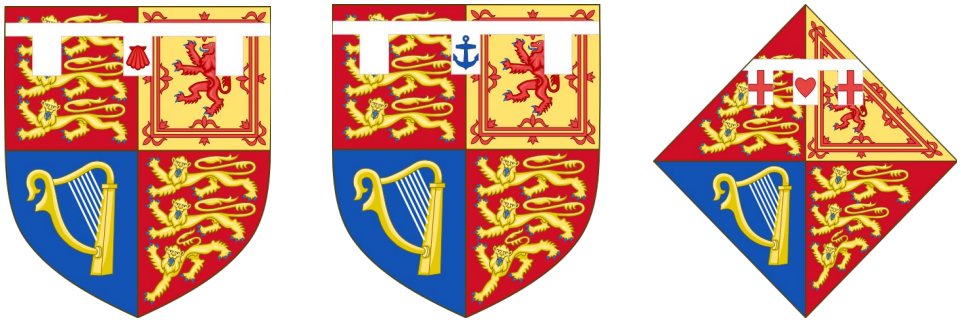
Once the practice of quartering the arms of the original dominion of a dynasty with those of new dominions acquired by its chief through any of the possible means — which included *conquest* as well as the more usual *inheritance* — the **full quarterly coat** was normally inherited by the junior members of the dynasty, duly **differenced** in the traditional ways, with brisures including ***bordures***, ***labels***, and ***bendlets***. In England, this practice began under Edward III soon after his formal declaration of his intention to employ both the title and the arms of the Kingdom of France, displayed in the first and fourth quarters of a new quarterly design.

From that time to the personal union of England and Scotland, the sons and daughters of the English kings all used as their personal arms a distinctively differenced version of the arms of the Kingdom of France (initially with the fleurs-de-lys strewn in the original fashion,

later with the three of 'France Modern') quartering those of England. In practice, of course, even the French quarterings in the king's own coat were merely **arms of *pretension***, while those in arms of the royal children of both sexes implied nothing more than a potential claim to succeed to the throne of France if it were ever conquered. In effect, the quarterly coat came to be seen as the arms of the King of England, and with differences that of the members of the royal house in general.

For the cadets, neither element of the quarterly coat — which in the arms of the king were at least *in principle* dominical — represented any form of authority in either kingdom, or over any lesser dominion, even though royal sons were all eventually given what in other kingdoms were dominical titles (*dux* and *comes* in Latin) and supported with baronial estates; only the heir apparent was endowed with real *dominions* (the **Principality of Wales**, the **Duchy of Cornwall**, and the **County Palatine of Chester**), and the others must be classified as merely *titular* princes. Not surprisingly, their arms did not come to be associated with particular estates (and, thus, remained **non-dominical**), and although their constituent quarters represented kingships in the arms of the king, in the arms of the other members of the royal house they represented nothing more than a potential right to succeed to those kingships. They must therefore be classified as **pseudo-dominical dynastic arms**.

The use of dynastic arms in a predominantly *dominical* sense normally allowed them to be retained *in that sense alone* when the original dynasty was replaced by another — as happened in England in both 1485 and 1603. This situation usually entailed the quartering of the old dominico-dynastic arms as ***arms of dominion*** with those of the new dynasty, but in some lands — including both England and Scotland — the new dynasties simply adopted the established ***dominical*** arms of the king as those of their dynasty, abandoning their established patrilineal coat. The Tudor and later Stewart kings also retained as quarters the arms of France, which they and their heirs continued to claim until 1801, and these were included in the differenced arms of their sons and daughters.



William, as Duke of Cambridge (as Prince of Wales, w/o scallop) **Prince Andrew, as Duke of York** **Princess Anne, The Princess Royal**

Fig. 8. Arms of Junior Members of the British royal house made up of the arms of dominions over which they have no current dominical rights (England, Scotland, and Ireland) after Neubecker, *Grand Livre*

In fact, junior members of most royal and princely dynasties in Europe similarly displayed the full quarterly arms of the king or prince who was their chief, often without any differences. Once again, in the arms of the **chief** of the dynasty, the quarterings indicated *actual* lordship over the lands they represented and were, thus, fully **dominical**. In the arms of his sons, daughters, and other patrilineal descendants, the quarterings were usually purely **dynastic** emblems — indicative at most of a *potential* right to possess some or all of the dominions in question and, therefore, ***pseudo-dominical*** in nature. This has continued to be the case in Great Britain and its associated realms, including Canada, where the arms newly recognized for the junior members of the royal family are differenced versions of those of the monarch — now King Charles III — using the same marks of juniority as they use in England, some of which are shown in Fig. 8 above.

This practice was adopted in a growing number of royal lineages, and those of the more important princely lineages of the Holy Roman Empire — including that of the Habsburg Archdukes of Austria, whose chief normally occupied the Imperial throne. In most of these dynasties, however, the use of *dominional quarters* by *non-regnant* cadets was associated with the use of the corresponding

dominical titles belonging to the dynasty, suggesting a sort of co-regency.[35]

6.6. Arms as Signs of One or More Utero-patrilineal Identities, Indicated through Intra-scutal Marshalling

Before the introduction of *marshalling* more than one coat on a single field, the only type of lineal identity that *could* be represented, in principle, at least, was the simple *patrilineal* one just discussed. In practice, however, the wealth and status of armigers were often derived largely from their wives or mothers, and, in some cases, this was effectively recognized by the adoption of the name and arms of the mother's patrilineage rather than the father's. As we have just seen, however, when the heirs to regal and princely dignities thus inherited additional kingdoms and principalities, the *abandonment* of their patrilineal arms — closely associated with their principal dominion or domain and, thus, with their dominical dignity — was out of the question. The solution to this problem of representation that was discovered in the thirteenth century in Iberia and southern Italy was to combine the arms of both father's and mother's patrilineages and domains on the same shield or comparable underlier by some form of what is now called **marshalling** — a practice whose evolution I examined in detail for the meeting of the Académie Internationale d'Héraldique in Glasgow in 2016,[36] and whose use for *dominical* purposes I examined above in § 3.5.

Even in their basic form, such arrangements permitted the display of at least *one* — and, in the case of *simple* quartering, up to *four* — distinct coats of arms on the same shield. One of these — normally the first — was almost always the *patrilineal* arms of the

[35] On this see Alan B. BRANDOW and Matthias PFAFFENBICHTER, 'Maximilian I and the Rise of the House of Habsburg', in Pierre TERJANIAN, ed. *The Last Knight: The Art, Armor, and Ambition of Maximilian I* (New York, 2019), pp. 39-52.

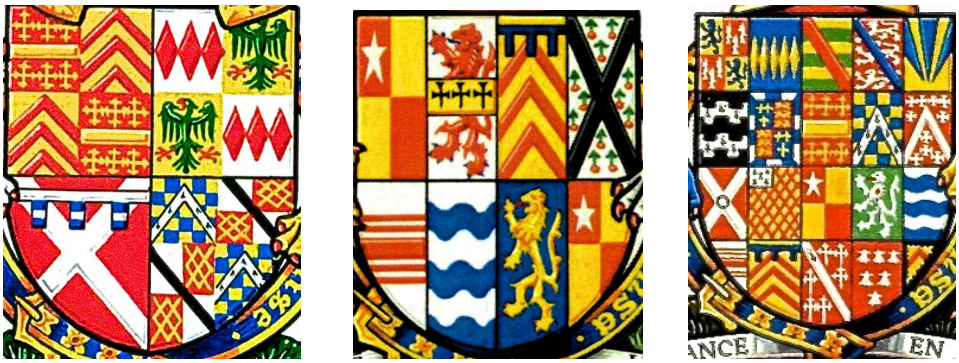
[36] "From Two Divisions to Twenty: The Evolution of the Practice of Marshalling Arms in England to 1563 (Especially among the Knights of the Garter)", to have appeared in *Genealogica & Heraldica*: Proceedings of the XXXIInd Congress of Genealogical and Heraldic Sciences, Glasgow, Scotland, August 2016

bearer, associated with his ancestral dominion, but the others were normally those of the patrilineages of what were strictly *uterine* ancestors of the armiger: mothers, grandmothers, and so on. The compound coats are therefore best designated by the new term **utero-patrilineal arms**, and they allowed their bearers to represent not only their own strictly *patrilineal* identity, but a growing number of such **utero-patrilineal identities**.

King Edward III 1330 Shrewsbury
4 qs. 2 different coats

R. Beauchamp, E. of Warwick 1422/3 - 8 qs., 8 diff. coats

J. Talbot, E. of 1424 – 4 qs., 4 diff. coats



R. Neville, E. of Warwick and Salisbury, 1590
13 qs., - 7 diff. coats

R. de Vere, E. of Oxford c. 1575 – 8 qs., 8 diff. coats

H. Percy, E. of Northumberland c. – 20 qs. 20 diff. coats

Fig. 9. Stages in the development of marshalling arms by 'quartering' in England by the King and higher peers c. 1330-1575 (after Neubecker, *Grand Livre d'Héraldique*)

In England, where Edward III marked his claim to France in this way in 1330, the practice soon spread to the higher peers, who 'quartered' the arms of their uterine inheritances in the progressively complex manner represented in Fig. 9 above, involving both 'quarters'

and inescutcheons. The former was initially kept to the natural four quarters, which by *counter-quartering* four *quarterly* coats could provide as many as sixteen fields for arms. Next, under the Tudors, by increasing the number of primary 'quarters' to as many as were required, arranged in growing numbers of rows and columns, quartering could by used to include any number of such divisions. The arms of the Elizabethan Earl of Northumberland in Fig. 9[f} included four rows and five columns, holding twenty different coats, and the following three centuries saw the steady increase in the number of 'quarters' lords of the older lineages decided to include in their 'great arms'. This increase culminated in the coat of the third Duke of Buckingham and Chandos shown in Fig. 10 b, which included no fewer than 719 quarterings representing mainly uterine ancestors, many of them repeated several times because of multiple inheritances of quarterly coats.

Fig. 10. The Arms of the third Duke of Buckingham and Chandos

with 719 quarterings (many repeated several times)
All but the first are uterine arms.

In the case of the earliest armigers to employ these practices — all kings and princes — the new arms included in the compound design seem to have been thought of as primarily **dominical** in their function, representing the additional dominions or domains added by the inheritance. As marshalling was adopted by members of ever lower strata of the nobiliary hierarchy, however, the additional arms were increasingly associated, *first*, with the diverse **estates** of uterine ancestors inherited by the armiger, and then — especially when the marshalled arms were inherited by cadets who did not share in any part of the estates in question — exclusively with the noble **lineages** from which they were descended through uterine ancestors.

In effect, the practice of marshalling utero-patrilineal arms allowed all descendants to represent a **multi-lineal identity**, and permitted the more fortunate descendants to represent a **multi-*dominical* identity** as well. Such quarterings also came to serve as memorials to many patrilineages that had fallen into extinction, and whose arms would otherwise have fallen entirely into disuse.

In England in particular, this practice was paralleled in the sphere of *onomastics* by three distinct practices. (1) The *first* of these was that of employing the **surnames** of uterine ancestors as **forenames** — begun around 1500 by such lineages as those of Darcy and Conyers, in which the names Darcy Conyers and Conyers Darcy came to be employed over many generations. (2) The *second practice* to be introduced for this purpose was that of **multiplying the use of such surnames as forenames** from the original *one* to as many as a *dozen*. (3) The *third practice*, adopted in the meantime, involved the employment of such surnames as **additional surnames** indicative of uterine ancestry, in a hyphenated series of up to five members.

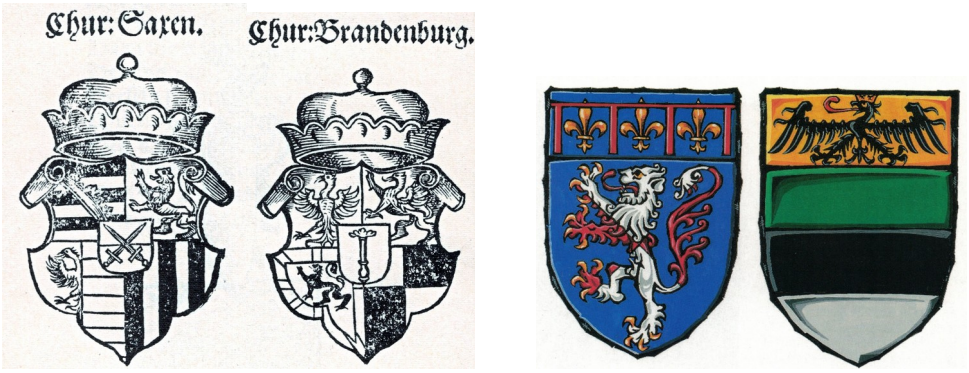
The three practices culminated in the nineteenth century in such **compound surnames** as that of the third Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, noted above for his 719 quarterings: **Richard Plantagenet Campbell Temple-Nugent-Bridges-Chandos-Grenville**.

6.7. Arms as Signs of Official Identity

The use of arms to represent the possession of **particular secular offices** was a relatively late development and was largely restricted to the Kingdoms of Germany and Italy — traditional divisions of the Holy

Roman Empire. In the former, the offices thus represented were associated with a parallel set giving their holders the right to participate in the election of the emperor and were themselves attached to the imperial court. These included the offices of **Archmarshal** and **Arch-chamberlain**, held respectively by the Elector-Duke of Saxony and the Elector-Margrave of Brandenburg, whose arms in those capacities are represented in Fig. 11a.

In Italy, by contrast, the offices were attached to the court of the pope — the dominant power in the peninsula. In Germany, the official arms were normally displayed on inescutcheons set over the quarterly arms of their holders, in a fashion that had come to be used in the fifteenth century for the display of additional and dynastic arms. In Italy, they were set in several different manners, including the peculiarly Italian one of using a pale between normal quarters as an analogous division of the field. I shall treat the usage of both kingdoms briefly in Part 2.



a.1. Elector-Duke of Saxony **a.2. Elector-Margrave of Brandenburg** **b.1. Guelph Partisan** **b.2. Ghibelline Partisan**

Fig. 11.a. Arms as Signs of a. Official Identity (Germany, prince electors), b. Arms as Signs of b. Party Identity (Italy)[37]

6.8. Arms as Signs of Membership in a Political Party or Faction

In the Kingdom of Italy — the southernmost division of the Holy Roman Empire until its conquest by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1801 —

[37] The electoral arms, from Martin Schrot, *Wappenbuch des Heiligen Römischen Reichs* (Munich, 1581), p. 10v; the party arms, from Stephen Slater, *The Complete Book of Heraldry*, (London,1999). p. 201.

the contest for the dignity of Emperor of the Romans that emerged in the last years of the twelfth century and continued well into the thirteenth gave rise to a division of the nobility into two ***political parties***, membership in which was generally hereditary. One of these parties, whose members supported the claims of the Swabian dynasty alternatively named **von Staufen** and **von Waiblingen**, came to be known from the Italian version of the latter name as ***Ghibellini*** or **Ghibellines**. The other party, who supported the claims of the German branch of the Lombard house of **Este**, which had inherited the lands of the Saxon dynasty known from its single hereditary name of **Welf**, were called by the Italian version of that name the ***Guelfi*** or **Guelphs**. The members of the former party came to adopt as their **party arms** that of the Empire itself — ***Or a double-headed eagle displayed sable*** — and combined it in various ways that I shall examine below with their own patrilineal arms (including a chief like that shown in Fig. 11.b.2) as a mark of that hereditary form of partisanship. The Guelphs, by contrast, chose as their party arms those of a later champion of their cause, Charles *Capet* d'Anjou, Count of Anjou, who succeeded in conquering the kingdom of 'Sicily' — which included the southern half of the Italian peninsula — from the rival dynasty. His arms were one of the earliest differenced versions of the royal arms of France: ***Azure semy of fleurs de lis Or, a label gules***. The Guelphs also combined their party arms with those of their patrilineages, set primarily on a *chief*. I shall examine the details of these practices, including their chronology, in Part 2 of this article.

6.9. Arms as Signs of Membership in a Multilineal Corporation

As I noted above, the final identity that came to be represented by the arms of lay male noblemen was that of membership in a **multilineal** (or **non-compatrilineal**) corporation — of a type that largely replaced the patrilineage in the armorial sphere — was peculiar to Poland, where it came to be known by a word meaning 'cry' or 'war-cry'.

I shall examine its origins and the way in which it functioned briefly in Part 2 below, but its peculiarity sets it outside the traditions with which I shall be principally concerned.

7. The Patrilineage and the Representation of Patrilineal Identity

7.1. Patrilineal Kindreds and Their Verbal Markers

In Western Europe, armigerous kindreds almost invariably took the form of what anthropologists call a **patrilineage**[38] of some sort: a type of **unilineal kindred** composed (at least in principle) of all those descended from a founding male ancestor, exclusively through subsequent male ancestors. In principle, therefore, all of its male members should have shared a common Y-chromosome (though, of course, the existence of such a chromosome was unknown to any of them until very recently). The members of such kindreds *as such* may be called **compatrilineal kinfolk, kinsmen**, and **kinswomen.**

In practice, of course, *historically recognized* patrilineages have included only a small fraction of the kin-groups whose male members shared a common Y-chromosome, because their recognition began many millennia after the earliest bearers of that chromosome, when for one reason or another a segment of a previously unrecognized patrilineage had been founded by a man of some consequence in his social milieu, and had acquired by some process — usually informal — a distinctive *marker* of some sort, initially borne by his nearest kinfolk, and later by his patrilineal descendants.

After about 1170, in Latin Europe, such a marker might take the form of a static visible emblem of the type by then already called by words synonymous with ‘arms’, but comparable visual markers of patrilineal identity were virtually unknown before that date, and rare before about 1200. In the preceding three millennia of European history, indeed, the only form of emblem used to identify a patrilineal kindred — if anything of the sort was recognized at all — had been a common ***name***. This name might serve either in what I shall call an ***unapposable collective manner*** — that is, as a *strictly collective name that could not be associated with* (or ***apposed to***) a personal name — or in an ***apposable individual manner*** — that is, as the equivalent of a modern surname, apposed to an individual name either before or after it. The latter type may be termed an ***apposable surname***.

In Europe, at least, the former, unapposable type of name seems to have preceded the latter and long remained the more

[38] The term **patrilineage** was introduced in English in 1949 on the basis of the adjective **patrilineal**, itself introduced in 1904 (*OED* 2-*ol*)

common. In fact, stable *apposable* surnames of the modern type antedated arms as marks of membership in a patrilineage by little more than a century in Latin Christendom, despite the widespread recognition of patrilineal kindreds of various types. I shall trace the history of these types of name before about 1100 CE, when the Modern types began to crystallize, in Part 2 of this article, and deal here with the latter types that came to be associated with royal and noble patrilineages, and with their arms, beginning with royal lineages, and the effects on their structure and naming patterns of the changes in the rules governing accession to the throne.

I should nevertheless observe here that the earliest type of collective dynastic name was ***patronymic*** in character, normally based on the sole name of the founder of the lineage, either with some form of **suffix** with the sense of '**son of**' or '**descendant of**' (-***idês*** in Greek, -***ing*** or -***ung*** with a plural *suffix* in the Germanic dialects, and the plural -***achta*** in Irish Gaelic) or some equivalent form of **prefix** (***mac*** in both Irish and Scottish Gaelic, and ***O*** in the former, and ***ap*** in Welsh). In England the dynasties thus named included the ***Cerdingas*** of Wessex who united the English lands in 954 and ruled to 1066, and in Francia the founding ***Merovingi*** (descendants of Merovech) and their supplanters the ***Carolingi*** (descendants of Carolus or Carles) who ruled to 987, when they were replaced by the ***Robertingi*** or **Robertines**, later informally called the '**Capetians**'. Before about 1000, only the Gaelic names were treated as *apposable* surnames of the modern type, but not long after 1000 both names preceded by the ***patronymic*** prefix ***le fitz*** in Norman French, and the new type of ***dominical*** surname preceded by a word meaning 'of' (***de*** in the dialects of French, ***von*** in those of German), came to be employed as surnames.

8. Changing Principles Governing the Succession to Kingship and the Structure of Royal Lineages in the Latin Christian World

The practices of naming noble lineages after 1000 were also affected by the practices that affected their *structure*, modelled largely on the new rules governing the succession to the regal dignity. It will be useful to begin by observing that the kind of *automatic* succession of the eldest son of a deceased king that would be normal in most kingdoms after about 1250 — what is usually called ***male-preferential***

primogeniture — was almost unknown on the regal level in Latin Europe before about 1200. Instead, succession had been based either (1) on ***election*** from within the royal kindred in the Goidelic Celtic realms of Ireland and Scotland; (2) on the ***ordered succession*** of all sons in each generation among the Merovingians of Francia and the Cerdingas of Wessex and England; (3) on some form of ***partition*** between the sons of the current king among the Carolingians of Greater Francia; or, finally, (4) on ***election*** by the principal magnates of the realm from within the royal lineage (normally the eldest son of the current king) among the Capetians of West Francia or France from 987 to 1180.

It was only in the years around 1200 that the succession to the throne in most kingdoms began to be aligned with the principles of primogeniture that had arisen over the previous century on the level of the new *principalities* and other subordinate dominions, in keeping with the new rules governing the succession to *fiefs* — the hereditary type of vassalic provend that emerged in the latter half of the twelfth century. Even then the principle of *election* was preserved, to its dissolution in 1806, in the greatest monarchy of all: the union of the old Kingdoms of East Francia (or Germany), of Lombardy (or Italy), and of Burgundy (or Arles), in what was called from 1054 the *Imperium Romanum*, from 1157 the *Sacrum Imperium*, from 1254 the *Sacrum Romanum Imperium* or 'Holy Roman Empire', and finally from 1512 in German the *Heiliges Roemisches Reich Teutscher Nation* or 'Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation'. The effects of these practices on the early stages of armigery in these kingdoms we shall see below.

8.1. The Attributes of Emperorship and Kingship after 1000 and the Structure of Imperial and Royal Households

The patrilineal form of kinship was only one of a number of characteristics of imperial and regal status in Latin Christendom that would be adopted by the higher strata of territorial lords that emerged and crystallized in the years between about 950 and 1220, which contributed in a significant way to the emergence and generalization between about 1135 and 1220 of the type of hereditary emblem called *armes*.

The visual insignia of kingship, derived from those of the later Roman and Byzantine Emperors, were also given their classic identities

in these years.[39] They included an **open crown**, usually heightened with fleurons, and a set of **manual insignia** including one or more **sceptres**, a **sword**, and an **orb** surmounted by a cross. These all appeared in various combinations in the various versions of the royal '**majesty portrait**', which was itself most commonly represented on the new **great seal of majesty**, used for the authentication of documents issued by the royal chancery — the office of the ***cancellarius*** or '**chancellor**'. On its single face was represented a portrait of the ruler seated affronty on his ***throne***, wearing his ***crown***, and holding some set of the *manual insignia* of kingship.

Robert, K. of France, 997

Phelippe I, K. of France, 1082

Lowis VII, K. of France, 1175

Fig. 12. Some of the earliest seals of majesty in France (from Dalas, *Corpus*)

This form of seal was introduced by the Western Emperor Otto III (whose mother was a daughter of the Eastern or 'Byzantine' Emperor) in 1002, and was adopted by most Latin kings — including those of France (beginning with Henri I in 1027[40]) and England (beginning with the Norman Williame I in 1066) — by about 1070. The Great Seal of Canada has retained this design to the present day.

The regal seal would eventually serve itself as an important context for the display of heraldic arms, but did so only rarely

[39] On the history of royal and noble seals and their use, see esp. Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, Brigitte Bedos-Rezac, 'L'apparition des armoiries sur les sceaux en Île de France et en Picardie (v. 1130-1230), in H. Pinoteau, M. Pastoureau, and M. Popoff (edd.), in *Les origines des armoiries*: *Actes du 2me Colloque de l'Académie internationale d'héraldique* (Bressannone 1981) (Paris, 1983), pp. 23-41

[40] On French regal seals from 1027, see Martine DALAS, *Corpus des sceaux français du Moyen Age*, Tome II: *Les Sceaux de rois et de régence* (Paris, 1991), pp. 141 ff.

anywhere before about 1350, and never in France. The importance of its appearance in this period is that its design would serve as a general model for the new *princely* seals on which proto-arms would make their earliest appearance in the 1130s. On these seals, however, except in Germany the portrait of the prince they represented was normally represented in a martial and equestrian form, rather than one of civil majesty.

The royal chancellery was only one of the several administrative departments into which the royal household (***domus***) or palace (***palatium***) had been organized since Merovingian times, each under the authority of a great officer of state. These departments included the **hall** (***aula***) under the ***seneschal*** (***seneschalcus***); the **bottlery** or **buttery** (***botelerie***) under the **butler** (***botiler***); the **stable** (***stabulum***) under the ***comes stabuli*** or **constable (*conestable*),** assisted by the ***marescalchus*** or **marshal** (***mareschal***). All of these offices were held by men of noble and even princely status, and the last two were in effect the commanders of the royal *host* or army.

9. The Origins of the Subregal Strata of Territorial Lords, and their Adoption of Patrilineal Kindreds, Surnames, and Seals

Map 2. The Civil Provinces and City-territories of Gallia or Gaul c. 420 The boundaries of the provinces are marked with a heavy line, those of the *civitates* or city-territories with a fine line. Civil and ecclesiastical units had the same seats, names, and boundaries in this period, as they had done before the Frankish conquests.

9.1. The Roman and Frankish Gubernates in Gaul, c. 420 – c. 987

The royal household itself stood at the centre of a more or less elaborate network of regional officers, whose number had originally included the hierarchy of appointive governors bearing the titles ***dux** (‘leader’)* or ‘duke’, and ***comes*** (‘companion’) or ‘**count**’, and their vernacular equivalents — which, like their Latin models, came to vary significantly from one kingdom to another when they appeared in writing in the twelfth century.

The characteristic structures and attributes of the three distinct strata of the nobilities that took shape in most of Latin Europe between about 950 and about 1200 were largely borrowed from those adopted by kings and their kindreds at somewhat earlier dates. The changes in question — including the conversion of the older forms of kinship structure into patrilineages and (on the higher levels) the creation of dominical households with departments and officers modelled on those of the king — spread slowly downwards through the ranks and strata of the nobilities of Latin Christian society, whose members gradually assimilated themselves to the royal model of kinship and self-presentation, each according to its place in the emerging hierarchy.

The process naturally began in the highest of the existing strata, that of the holders of the gubernatorial offices that had traditionally been *appointive* within sets of the kindreds of the principal landowners and officeholders of the gubernate, or gubernatorial territory. A more or less standard hierarchy of such gubernates had been inherited by the conquering Franks from the Romans, and these (represented in Map 1 below) were preserved with relatively few alterations of their names and borders down to the time of the accession of the first, weak king of the third (Capetian) dynasty in 987.

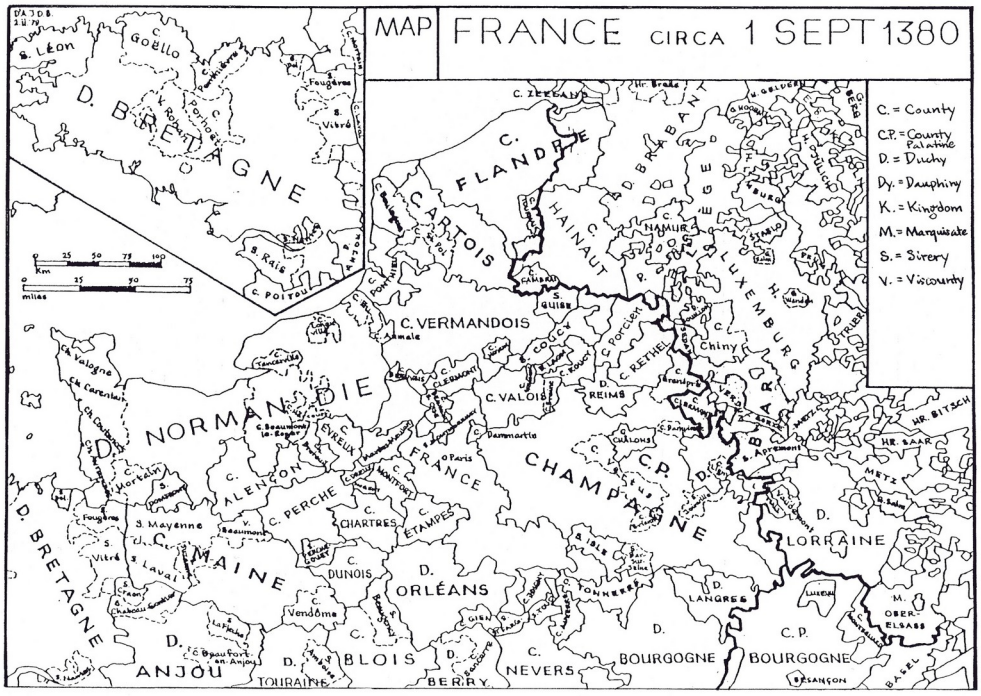
The smaller of these units (**Map 2**) preserved the names and borders of the Roman ***civitates*** or ‘city states’, the basic units of their system of government, and were governed in the secular sphere by titular ***comites*** or ‘companions’ of the king, whose title of ***comes*** gradually lost its original sense, and took on its modern sense of ‘**count**’, just as ***comitatus*** came to take on the sense of ‘**countship**’ or ‘**county**’. Counts were appointed by the king for an open term, and before about 987 — when their office became effectively hereditary — were subject to removal and transfer. In the ecclesiastical sphere, the

civitates were the jurisdictions of ordinary **bishops**, and thus corresponded to what came to be called **dioceses**.

The larger administrative units, including between four and ten *civitates*, were derived from the Roman administrative ***provinciae*** or '**provinces'**, and retained that designation in the ecclesiastical sphere, where they were the territories of **archbishops**. In the civil sphere some of the provinces had been placed under the authority of a superior officer of the rank of ***marchisus comes*** or ***marchio*** or ('march count' — 'march' being the term for a border region), or in some cases one of the higher rank of ***dux*** ('commander' or 'duke').

9.2. The Conversion of the Gubernates into Principalities, and the Emergence of the Stratum of Princes and Their Titles, c. 888 -c. 1200

The gubernates in question as they existed at around 420 are shown in Map 2 above, and, while some of these — especially those in the areas of the highest levels of Frankish settlement in the northeast — were partitioned in the fourth and fifth centuries, most retained their late-Roman boundaries to the years around 987.



Map 3. The Principalities and Major Baronies of North-Eastern France and Adjacent Germany c. 1380

After 888, however, when the Frankish empire was definitively partitioned into the four regional kingdoms that would survive in some form or other for the next thousand years (those of **West Francia** or **France**, **East Francia** or **Germany**, **Burgundy**, and **Lombardy**), and royal authority was severely weakened in all but the second of these, the current occupants of the gubernatorial offices gradually made their offices *hereditary* and proceeded to usurp royal authority within their former **gubernates** — thus converted into ***dominions***[41] — and to seize, when possible, the lands of their weaker neighbours. In these ways, the holders of the now ***dominical*** dignities of **count**, **marquis**, and **duke** converted themselves into a novel class of ***principes*** or '**princes**': the new generic designation for quasi-regal lords of less than regal rank. It would be among the new class of territorial princes, and the immediately dependent class of **barons** that took shape below it after the year 1000, that the use of emblematic arms would emerge in the twelfth century. Map 3 below gives the boundaries of the principalities c. 1380, most of which had been established within those borders by 1100.

Something must be said here about their origins and internal structures. The titles borne by these princes in the lands of Romance speech everywhere included some, at least, of the set that in Latin were designated by the words ***dux***, ***marchio*** or ***marchisus comes*** ('march-count') simple ***comes***, and ***vicecomes***, which in Old French came to be represented by the derivative words ***duc(s)***, ***marchis***, ***cuens***: ***co(u)nte***,[42] and ***vezcuen***s: ***vezco(u)nte*** — the latter two words having distinct *oblique* cases which eventually replaced the nominative forms. In Middle English, these titles were represented by forms derived from the French dialect of Normandy, though before the fourteenth

[41] I have adopted the term "dominion" to represent the jurisdictional territory of a territorial lord of any rank, and the adjective "dominical" in the sense "*pertaining to or having the nature of territorial lordship*".

[42] It must be noted here that Old French retained in the singular two of the traditional six cases of Latin — nominative and "oblique", the latter a conflation of the other five — so many masculine words had two quite different singular forms. This was true of the derivative of the words for "duke" and "count": ***dux*** (accusative ***duce(m))*** and ***comes*** (accusative ***comite(m)***), the former giving rise to ***ducs***: ***duc*** and the latter to ***cuens*** (or ***quens***): ***counte*** (or ***conte***).

century, the only dignity of the series introduced into the British realms themselves was that of ***comes***/ ***cuens***, eventually represented in English by the Old English title ***earl*** ('nobleman'). Before 1300, however, when Middle English began to replace Anglo-Norman French as the language of the English nobility, dignitaries of this rank were called ***cuens***: ***counte***, and I shall therefore call them by Modern English word '**count**'.[43]

In France, the dominions of these princes came at the same time to be designated by derivative titles: in Latin ***ducatus***, ***marchionatus***, ***comitatus***, and ***vicecomitatus***, and in Old French by numerous variations on ***duché***, ***marquisat***, ***counté***, and ***vezcounté***, from which the Modern English equivalents ***duchy***, ***marquisate***, ***county***, and ***viscounty*** were eventually derived. Analogous words developed in all of the other Romance languages, increasingly representing a local hierarchy.

In the Kingdom of East Francia or Germany, however, a somewhat different set of dignities emerged — lacking an equivalent of *vicecomes*, but adding from an early date two special types of ***comes*** or 'count'. In **Middle High German**, the first three standard titles had come to be represented by indigenous words, including ***herzog*** (from Old High German ***herizogo*** 'army leader', the sense of the Latin *dux*), and by several compounds of the Germanic word for 'count': ***grave*** or ***graf***. The oldest of these compound titles was ***markgrave***, later ***markgraf***, representing *marchisus comes*, '**count of a march**', while the next represented that of the Carolingian office of '**count of the Palace'**, a judicial office of the central administration, in Latin called a ***comes palatinus*** and in Old French a ***cuens palatins*** — eventually rendered into English as '**count palatine**'.

In Germany, an ***office*** of this last type was attached to the court of each of the regional duchies into which the kingdom came to be divided, and in each of these, the officer in question came to enjoy a jurisdiction identified with the duchy as a whole. As a result, there were not only **Dukes** but **Counts Palatine** of **Saxony**, **Franconia**, **Bavaria**, and so forth. The earliest form of the German title was ***palatsgrave*** — 'palace count' — but this was gradually worn down to ***pfalzgraf***.

[43] The spelling "counte" is attested from 1298, but various others including "conte" were used before the 1590s, when "count" finally prevailed. (*OED*)

The other title created on the same model was the Middle High German ***lantgrave*** or 'land-count', which designated the holder of a new type of territorial jurisdiction invented by the king not long before 1100, and set between that of a count and that of a duke. In Latin, these newer titles were not actually translated, but merely *Latinized* in forms like ***palsgravius*** and ***landgravius***, and, by analogy, the standard Latin ***marchio*** was replaced with ***margravius***, based on the vernacular title ***markgrave***.

In French, these German titles — applied exclusively to the Germanophone lands of the Empire — were converted into ***margrave***, ***palsgrave***, and ***landgrave***, and those forms were later introduced into English. Nevertheless, in Middle English, the more traditional form ***conte palatin*** ('**count palatine**') came to be preferred to *palsgrave* and its variants, presumably because the former title came to be used formally by two Francophone princes: the Count Palatine of Champagne in France proper and the Count Palatine of Burgundy in the kingdom of the same name — whose principality came rather confusingly to be called not only the **Counté Palatin ('County Palatine')** but the **Franche Countée ('Free County') de Bourgogne**.

Outside the lands that had once formed part of the Frankish Empire, the range of dominical titles that came into use between c. 1000 and c. 1200 was in general much smaller, and limited primarily to those represented by the titles ***comes*** and ***princeps*** or 'prince' — the latter title used in this *specific* way having originated in Lombard Italy and having spread from there to the Levant by leaders of the First Crusade of 1095 from that region, where one of the generic principalities was given the *specific* title '***Principality*** of Antioch'. Only after 1300 were most of the other titles introduced in the other kingdoms of Latin Christendom.

9.3. Other Early Marks of Princely Status: Quasi-Regal Households, Portrait Seals, and Proto-Arms

Between about 1030 and 1200, throughout the former lands of the Frankish empire, the greatest of these (generic) princes, at least, shored up their usurpations of regal authority by emulating such traditional regal practices as organizing their **household** into formal **departments** under officers with traditional titles equivalent to **chancellor**, **seneschal**, **butler**, **constable**, and **marshal**, and by the

adoption of a **seal** to authenticate their acts, bearing their name and image, and kept by their chancellor.

a. Foulk Nerra, C. of Anjou and Maine, 987-1040 **b. Williame I, D. of Normandy c. 1050** **c. Phelippe d'Alsace, C. of Flanders & Vermandois, 1162**

Fig. 13. Three early equestrian seals c. 1000 – 1162. Only one is armiferous

Rather than employing on their seal the ***majesty*** type of portrait employed by kings, however, most princes adopted the ***equestrian*** type described above in § 1.3, depicting them as armoured mounted warriors of the sort that were called *caballerii* in Latin, *chevaliers* in Old French, and *knightes* in Middle English. As I noted above, it was in the equestrian portraits on the seals of these princes that the earliest surviving images of the new form of emblem I have called '**proto-arms**' appeared in the 1130s. The design of such seals was centred on a ***portrait*** of the ***sigilliger*** (as the referents of seals may be termed), in which he was normally portrayed in contemporary armour and bearing a shield, and often, in continental lands, a command flag, at first in the form of a *tailed* and *horizontally elongate* ***gonfanon*** or, increasingly from 1180, a *vertically* elongate ***banner***[44] — on which the

[44] On these flags and their use in the eleventh and subsequent centuries, see esp. D'A. J. D. Boulton, 'The Display of Arms in their Primary Martial Contexts: Shields, Horse-Trappers, Martial Coats, Crests, Ailettes, Part IIB. The Pre-Classic Period in England, c. 1217 – c. 1327: Flags', in *The Coat of Arms,* ser. 4, vol. 2, no. 236, (2019), pp. 27-59. The gonfanon was a type of flag derived from a Roman model, originally attached to a horizontal bar suspended from the head of a lance, but under the Carolingians attached directly to the shaft of the lance in the modern fashion. It was a flag with a field that was much narrower in its vertical dimension than in its horizontal one with three or more tails at its outer end and was never used to display any form of emblem. The banner was by contrast a tailless rectangular flag that until the fourteenth century had a much greater vertical than horizontal dimension

new **proto-armal** emblem could more easily be represented. From the time of its adoption in real life in the decades between about 1150 and about 1180, this emblem was often shown covering the horse-trapper represented on the seal, as can be seen in Fig. 15 below.

As the drawing in Fig. 13a suggests, this general form of seal design seems to have been introduced for **Count Foulk** (or **Foulques**) 'Nerra' of Anjou and Maine, at some time before his death in 1040, but the earliest surviving seal of this type was that of his neighbour **Duke Williame 'the Bastard'** of Normandy, adopted at some time before his conquest of England in 1066. After that the equestrial portrait was set on the *reverse* of the new seal of majesty he adopted as king — whose *bifacial* form, with a majesty portrait on the obverse, was also invented for him at the time. The general design of Williame's seal has been retained by his successors on the reverse of the English (and later British) throne. It is on that face of the royal seal that the royal arms first appeared both in England and in other kingdoms, which adopted either an ***equestrian*** or (in some cases) a purely ***scutiferous*** *reverse* or *counterseal*.

The seals of the vast majority of princes were unifacial, however, and, except in Germany, almost always equestrian. In Germany by contrast, (as Fig. 14 suggests), *standing* portraits were common before about 1260, and, after 1200, a number of dukes chose to employ a version of the *seated majesty* seal typical of emperors and kings.

a. Heinrîch VI, D. of Bavaria c. 1045

b. Johann, Margrave of Brandenburg, 1220-66

c. Cuonrad, Landgrave of Thuringia, 1234

and seems to have been invented to bear the arms of the Count of Flanders: *Or a lion rampant sable*.

Fig. 14. Standing and Seated Portraits on the Seals of German Princes, carrying *flags* (2 *gonfanons* and a *banner*) and *shields* (the last 2 *armiferous*)
All of these images are from seals in the author’s collection.

Unlike kings, however, in both their *standing* and their *seated* portraits, these princes had themselves represented holding a **shield** in their left hand and a **flag** in their right — the latter most commonly a gonfanon, which was a standard insigne of their princely status in all divisions of the old Frankish empire. As Fig. 14b suggests, however, the ***horizontally* elongate shape of the gonfanon** did not lend itself to the display of proto-armal emblems — designed to fill the surface of a ***vertically* elongate shield** when they began to appear in the 1130s — and by about 1280 the older type was replaced everywhere by the new ***upright-rectangular*** type designed for the purpose, called a ***baniere*** or ‘**banner**’.

During the first century or so of their use, however, all three types of princely seal conveyed the identity of their sigilliger primarily through a **Latin inscription**, including their **name** and principal **titles**, set around the perimeter of the seal. That practice — again of regal origin —would continue even when both emblems and insignia indicative of the identity and status of the sigilliger had become standard features of their design, and persists to this day.

Among the other ways in which the new princely dynasties of the tenth and eleventh centuries assimilated themselves to the regal model of lordship were the adoption not only of the **patrilineal form of kinship** noted above, marked by some form of hereditary surname, but a **succession-system** to their principal dominion that, in the kingdoms of the Primary Region, tended in the direction of **primogeniture** and the consequent creation of junior branches of the lineage which might *eventually* inherit that dominion but, in the meantime, had to be supported with lesser dominions detached from the patrimony of the lineage as **appanages**.[45]

[45] On the familial and lineal structures of Latin Christendom in the centuries after the collapse of the Roman Empire, see esp. *A History of the Family*, Volume II: *Distant Worlds, Ancient Worlds*, ed. André Burguière et al., Intro. By Claude Lévis-Straus & Georges Duby.

d. Wm. Longespee, C. of Salisbury c. 1205-26

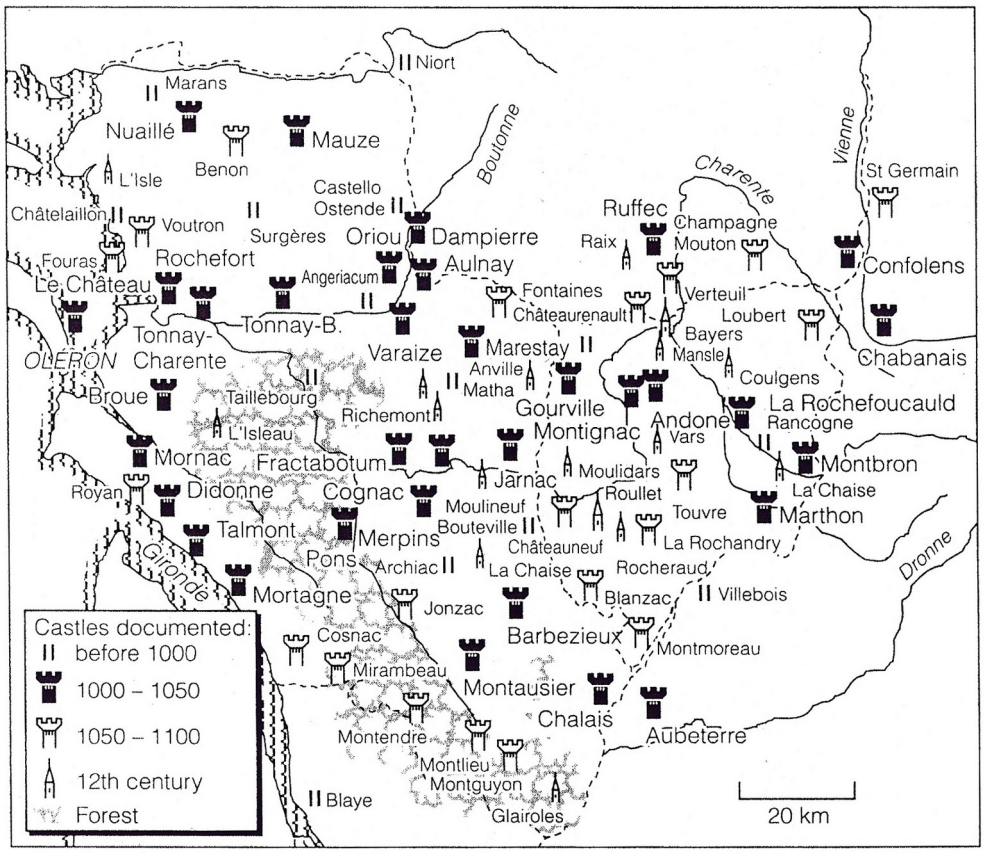
e. Gaucher, C. of Rethel, France 1261

f. Bengt Birgirson, Duke in Scandinavia, 1283

Fig. 15. Equestrian seals with arms on shields, banners, and horse-trappers

The first seal is from a study of the Longespees, the others from the author's collection

Even more significantly in the present context, it was mainly among the princes of the Primary Region that the practice of adopting **proto-armal emblems** — soon to be closely associated in principle both with *patrilineality* and *primogeniture* — was initiated, beginning by the 1130s, when their earliest known examples appeared on their equestrian seals.



Map 4. The spread of castles in and around the County of Poitiers or Poitou, c. 990 – c. 1200

The lords of these castles were normally immediate* vassals *of the count, eventually holding by* feudal *tenure the* castellanies *created around each of them

10. The Emergence of the Castellanial and Baronial Strata, and Their Emulation of the Princes, c. 1000 – c. 1200

In the meantime, beginning around 1000, within the (still unstable) boundaries of the new principalities that had taken shape in the former lands of the Frankish empire, some of the authority usurped by the princes from the king was further usurped by noble landowners with no claims to higher offices. Most of these were major vassals of the new princes, who, in France in particular, created new dominions for themselves within the new principalities, centred on one or more ***castella*** or castles — a new form of structure serving as both a palatial residence and a fortress. The first of these private fortresses were constructed only in the 990s — when some of the earliest were built by princes like Count Foulk ‘Nerra’ of Anjou — but, between then and c.

1200, they were created in ever greater numbers in every successor-state of the Frankish empire, both by the princes themselves and by their leading vassals, and were also given ever more solid and sophisticated forms.

The new ***castellocentric dominions*** based on these fortresses came to be called by various terms in different kingdoms. In France, where the process of creating them began, these terms included ***castellania*** and its variants in Latin, and ***chastellenie*** in Old French — both represented by '**castellany**' in English by 1357. Their lords came to be called by derivative titles, including most commonly ***castellanus*** in Latin and ***chastellain*** in French — though both of those titles were also used of officers in command of a princely or royal castle. I have found no comprehensive list of castellanies in France, but some sense of their number can be derived from Map 4 below, representing the history of castle-building in the vast County of Poitou — an element of the demesne of the Kings of England in the twelfth and subsequent centuries, immediately to the south of Anjou.

a. Robert, L. of Wavrin **b. Bouchard, L. of Guise** **c. Oudart, L. of Aulnay**

1139 **1155** **1205**

Fig. 16. Early proto-armiferous seals of simple castellans in France

In England — where the equivalent unit of lordship created after the Conquest of 1066 was normally neither *compact* (being composed of widely scattered groups of manors confiscated from the defeated Saxon thegns) nor *castellocentric* (though many soon came to include a castle) — the analogous lords came to be called ***barones*** or ***barons*** (literally '*true men*') and their dominions ***baroniae*** in Latin, and some variant of ***baronies*** in Norman French — terms also used loosely

of the grander of their analogues in France. New dominions of this type continued to be created in England from time to time down to about 1300, when the total number that had ever existed had probably reached 204.[46]

In both France and England, the latter terms came in the twelfth century to acquire a technical sense, indicative of their place at the summit of in the emerging hierarchy of feudal tenure, and, in France, ***bers: baron*** came to be used in this context of the greater princes themselves, who as the immediate vassals of the king came to be called the ***Barones Regni*** or '**Barons of the Realm'**. From shortly after 1200, indeed, the twelve most important of these *tenurial* barons — divided equally between secular princes and bishops who held either duchies or counties — were promoted to the supreme subregal secular dignity of ***Par Francie***, ***Per*** or ***Pair de France*** ('Peer of France'), whose holders alone could sit in judgement on one another in the ***Cour de Pairs***. Their core dominions came to bear the peculiarly French designations ***paritas/ pareria Francie*** in Latin and ***perie***/ ***pairie de France*** in Old French.

Not surprisingly, once established, the **castellans** of France of all ranks, and their analogues the **barons** of England, soon began to emulate the princes in adopting patrilineal kinship practices and, between about 1130 and 1200, the use of either an ***equestrian*** seal — essentially similar in form and size to those adopted from the 1040s by princes — or a ***scutiferous*** seal, bearing an ***armiferous shield*** alone.

A growing number of the castellans and barons of these and adjacent regions in Germany would also use such seals to display the proto-arms they had adopted from the 1130s, but, as we shall see, that practice was relatively rare before about 1190.

11. The Emergence of the Stratum of Noble Knights and Landed Squires, c. 1000 – c. 1225

[46] On English territorial baronies and baronial lineages, see Ivor J. SANDERS, *English Baronies*: *A Study of their Origin and Descent 1086-1327* (Oxford, 1960). He identified 132 estates certainly held by baronial tenure in England and another 72 probably so held, for a total of 204. Not all of these existed at the same time, or were held at the same time, and some were held simultaneously with one or more others, so the total number of barons at any given time before 1337 was probably around 150.

In most kingdoms, the lowest stratum of what would become the classic nobilities of Latin Christendom — that of the **knights** and **landed squires** — evolved in tandem with that of the castellans at dates between c. 1000 in France, 1066 in England, and c. 1090 in Germany.[47] The castellanial- baronial castles of France were from the beginning manned with growing numbers of ignoble mounted warriors called ***milites*** (singular ***miles*** 'soldier') in formal Latin, and by some derivative or equivalent of the vulgar Latin ***caballerius*** ('horseman') in the emerging vernacular languages: ***cavaller***, ***chevaler***, ***caballero,*** and the like in the Romance languages; from around 1000 some version of the new word ***ritter*** or ***ridder*** ('rider') in most Germanic and Slavic languages, and (after the introduction of knights into England in 1066) either ***riddere*** or ***knyght*** in English (the latter a respelling of the Old English title ***cniht*** 'servant', used of heavy infantrymen of comparable social status before the Conquest).

Increasing numbers of such warriors were given small tenements held by *beneficial* (later *feudal*) tenure to support them in return for their services, making them members of the lowest stratum of the emerging feudo-vassalic hierarchy, and (since such *feuda* or *fiefs* commonly took the form of a **manor** — the basic form of dominion, typically including only a single village and its agricultural lands) — converting them into the lowest class of *territorial lords*. In England, many manorial boundaries antedated the conquest of 1066, and manors continued to constitute the basic units

not only of baronial, but of royal, episcopal, and monastic estates. A sense of the size and distribution of manors in that kingdom can be seen from the map of the manors of Lincolnshire — a large county on the eastern coast whose bishop, based in the city of Lincoln, presided over a vast diocese extending as far as Oxford. It also indicates the location of its 34 **castles**, some of which were the seats of **baronies** including several other manors..

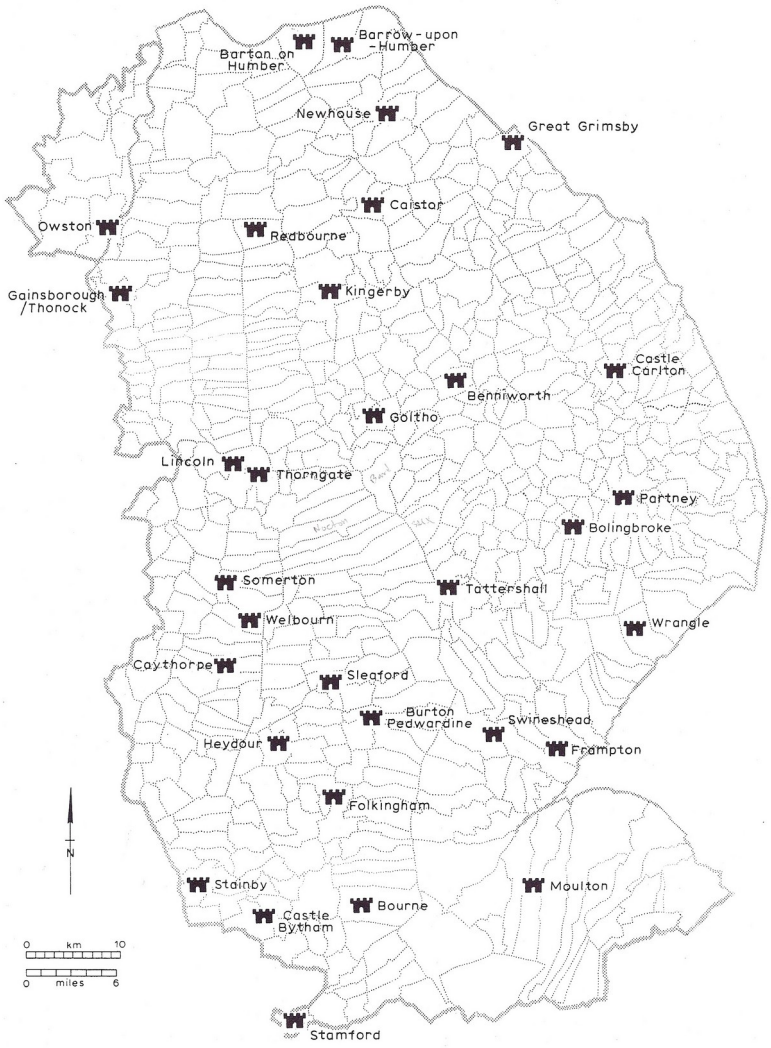
The practice of making simple knights the lords of one or more manors opened up a path for the collective elevation of the landed

[47] On the origins of the English knightage, see esp. D'A. J. D. Boulton, 'Classic Knighthood as Nobiliary Dignity: The Knighting of Counts and Kings' Sons in England 1066-1272', in *Medieval Knighthood V: Papers from the fifth Strawberry Hill Conference 1994*, ed. S. Church, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1995, pp. 40-100.

knights into the evolving nobility of their kingdom after about 1170. Men of this rank also began to adopt both **seals** and **proto-arms** in the 1190s, but, rather than *equestrian portraits* — as I noted above in § 1.3 — the field of the (much smaller) knightly seals bore a simple image of the sigilliger's *shield*, itself bearing a monochromatic image of his newly adopted proto-arms. A set of these are shown in Fig. 2.

It has been estimated that, by the accession of King Johan in 1199, the number of knights in England had risen to somewhere between 4000 and 5000,[48] but the great majority of them were never provided with a fief of any kind, and had to support themselves either as martial retainers in a lordly household, or as mercenaries hired for service in particular campaigns by noble commanders.

[48] See Peter Coss, 'The Origins of the English Gentry', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 6th Series, no. 5, p. 216, citing a study by Kathryn Faulkner.



Map 5. Castles and Manors in the County of Lincoln (Lincolnshire) in England

Manors *were the basis of the wealth of lords of all ranks, lay and clerical, from the king, queen, and two archbishops — who held many, widely scattered — down to ordinary knights who might hold one or several, and mere squires who held one at most.*

Castles *— of which there were eventually 34 in Lincolnshire — served as the seats of manors as well as the baronies of which they were the* capita*. They were held only by those of the higher ranks, from king to baron, and served as political centres for the estates of such men (and occasional women, including the queen). Unlike those on the continent, most baronies and comparable great estates in*

England were composed of manors scattered over several counties, typically held in several small groupings.

Most such landless knights probably did not adopt either seals or arms, and after about 1200 their sons, along with the sons of the poorer of the *landed* knights, increasingly declined to accept the increasingly burdensome duties of knightly status (which, in England, included holding a variety of functions within the administration of the shires or counties), and retained throughout their careers the status of ***escuier*** or 'squire' they had used as *apprentice* knights. In France and most continental kingdoms, the *landed* squires, at least, retained their status as members of the nobility, and continued to use emblematic arms like other noblemen, but in England they lost both their *noble status* and their *right to arms*, and would not begin to resume either until the later fourteenth century.

12. The Generalization of the Structures of the French Nobility

I have concentrated to this point on developments in France and England, but the nobilities of the other lands of Latin Christendom shown on Map 1 above — the former East Frankish realms of Burgundy and Germany, the formerly Lombard Kingdom of Italy (reduced to its northern territory after the Norman conquest of the south in the 1050s), the newly-created Norman Kingdom of 'Sicily' (including southern Italy), and the Visigothic kingdoms of the Iberian peninsula expanding southward in their steady reconquest of the lands conquered by Muslim invaders in 711 — all underwent broadly similar developments in roughly the same period, resulting, by 1300, in *essentially* similar structures and practices. The nobilities of the lands of the Central Region defined above — including the three kingdoms of Scandinavia and the lands of the Bohemian and Hungarian Crowns — did so under western influence only in the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, though *armigery* spread eastward more slowly than other elements of the western cultural complex.

All four of the strata that would successively embrace both ***sigilligery*** and ***armigery***, and would come to be regarded as divisions of the *noble* order or estate, had been established in most of the core regions of Latin Christendom by 1200, and in its northern and eastern extensions by 1400. Furthermore, the members of all four strata

throughout Latin Christendom had successively embraced the form of lineage that armigery would come to represent — the **patrilineage** — and the (more or less) **hereditary surname** and emblematic **arms** that would serve to identify it.

12.1. The Development of the Classic Noble Patrilineage

Aside from their shared martial function and their shared status as *territorial lords*, the members of the expanded nobility that took its classic shape in the more westerly kingdoms in the twelfth century were united by a network of ***feudo-seignioro-vassalic relationships*** that (among other things) defined the ways in which lands held in ***benefice*** or (after about 1170) in ***fief*** were transmitted to their heirs. In the Primary Region of Latin Europe defined above, the rule that governed the transmission of fiefs imposed both *impartibility* for the core of the land held in fief, and the *restriction of the succession* to that core to the eldest son of the deceased or demitted holder, allowing some provisions for younger sons and dowries for daughters. This rule thus established the pattern of **primogeniture** both for the inheritance of ***feudal dominions*** (that is, dominions held in fief of some higher lord) and for the inheritance of ***emblematic arms*** in that region.

The new **noble patrilineage** defined by these conventions came eventually to be designated *generically* in most contemporary languages by a word meaning '**house**' (attested in this sense in the Germanic languages from c. 1000).[49] In the Romance Languages, however, it was initially designated by words cognate with the Old French ***lignage*** — first attested in the Old French *Vie de Saint Alexis* of c. 1120 and itself introduced into Middle English (in the form *linage*) by 1330.[50] Words of this form were probably first adopted in this sense on

[49] The Old English word ***hus*** is attested in this sense from as early as 1000 (*OED* 2, VII, p. 437). In Old and Middle High German, the equivalent word was *hûs*. In Old and Middle French, the analogous word was *maison*, from the Latin *mansio*, but the latter did not come into use in the relevant sense until the later fourteenth century. Instead, *maison* was originally employed primarily to designate a lord's household, in Latin called his *familia*.

[50] On the history of these words, see '**lignage**' in F. GODEFROY, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française…* (10 vols., Paris, 1881-1902); and in Algirdas Julien GREIMAS and Teresa Mary KEANE, *Dictionnaire du moyen français* (2nd edn., Paris:

the level of the territorial princes of Old Francia and its colonies between about 950 and 1100, then on that of castellans and their social equivalents between 1050 and 1150, and finally on that of knights and their undubbed descendants at dates between about 1100 and 1250, according to country.

Outside of Old Francia, this devolutionary process started and ended later but was complete almost everywhere in the noble Estate by 1400. It is significant that the phrase *de lignage* and the related adjective *lignagié* both indicated *noble* ancestry in Old French without further modification — the essence of the noble condition being descent from distinguished ancestors whose identity was generally ‘known’.

What made it known or knowable were, of course, the **name** and **arms** that had come to represent it.

12.2. The Adoption of Apposable Patrilineal Surnames in Noble Lineages in the Western Realms c. 1000 – c. 1200

Even in 1400, as I shall show, the notions of what constituted a *distinct patrilineage*, and of how its members should be marked *as such*, remained far from firmly settled. Nevertheless, certain general practices supportive of patrilineality were gradually established after about 1000, initially on the princely and baronial levels, and by 1200 on the knightly level as well.

Within a few generations of their formation, almost all noble kindreds of the new patrilineal type came to be distinguished by a more or less *common* (and more or less *stable*) verbal emblem in the form of an ***apposable patrilineal name***. At first, this was often used separately from the individual name or names of its members (in the traditional manner of the unattachable dynastic name characteristic of royal and princely lineages), but it was increasingly set after the latter in the fashion of a modern **surname** — as the appearance of the noun ***surnom*** and the verb ***surnommer*** in the Old French of the twelfth century suggests.[51]

Larousse, 2001); and ‘**lineage**’ in *OED* 2. The modern spelling of the English word appeared only in the late seventeenth century. ‘**Surname**’ is only attested in Middle English in the relevant sense from 1393.

[51] See *Robert DHLF*, t. 2, p. 2385, where it is defined as a ‘*nom ajouté*’ or ‘added name’. The modern French *prénom* and *nom de famille* are not attested before the sixteenth century.

Documentary evidence shows that, after the final collapse of the Classical Roman **trinominal system** in the sixth century (involving a ***nomen*** preceded by a ***praenomen*** and followed by a ***cognomen*** (like *Gaius Iulius Caesar*) the practice of employing a second name began again in Latin Europe in the eighth century with the appearance of what in English are usually called 'nicknames' in the new **Arnulfing** (later **Caroling**) dynasty: Pepin **'the Short'**, Charles **'Martel'**, and the like. This practice was later supplemented by a revival of the primitive practice of adding **non-hereditary patronymic surnames**, which came into general use in the eleventh century on levels that, as usual, began in the high nobility and spread steadily downwards.[52]

Different practices of surname formation developed in the various Latin kingdoms and their linguistic regions. In **West Francia** or **France**, official Latin acts of all kinds required the name of the father to be set after that of the son who was either the author or the object of the act, initially in the form ***Johannes Petri filius*** (**John son of Peter**), but frequently (especially in the southern regions of Occitania where the vernacular dialects were forms of what is now called 'Old Occitan') in the shortened form ***Johannes Petri*** — (**John Peter's**) — no doubt reflecting vernacular usage. In the Old French of the northern regions of the kingdom, the word *filius* in these names was rendered either by *fils*, or in the Norman dialect by *fitz* — set before rather than after the father's name.

Precisely the same Latin forms were used in the Frankish region of Iberia called **Catalonia**, where the Occitan dialects called '**Catalan**' were spoken. In the rest of **Christian Iberia** — eventually divided into kingdoms of remotely Visigothic origin called **Navarre**, **Aragon**, **Castile**, **Leon**, and **Portugal** — a similar practice arose among the nobles of those kingdoms after the reconquest of their lands from the Muslims. This practice involved the addition of a special patronymic suffix to the paternal name, attested in Latin from 780 in the form -**iz** (**Siliz** 'son of Silo') and from the twelfth century in the vernacular dialects in the derivative forms -**ez** (***Fernández***, ***López***), -**az** (***Diaz***), -**iz** (***Roiz***), and -**es** (***Mendes***).

[52] For this and what follows on the history of surnames, see esp. DAUZAT, *Les Noms de Personnes,* pp. 40-50. I have introduced my own terms to present his account, and a number of additional examples.

Throughout the lands of **France** and **Iberia**, however, members of the nobility increasingly added to these patronymic surnames a second surname of a ***topographic*** nature, referring to the principal dominion held by the chief of the lineage and preceded (both in Latin and the vernacular dialect) by the particle **de** ('of'), variously pronounced. In most of France — the principal exception being Normandy — this type of surname soon replaced the patronymic surname completely on that social level, but, in Iberia, both types of name were normally retained, and the number of **toponyms** (or **kyrionyms** as they might better be termed, as names of dominions) could rise to two or three, separated by the word for 'and'. Thus, surnames of the form **Ruiz de Alarcon y Mendoza** became common in Visigothic Iberia.

In the various territories of **Italy**, a different form of surname developed in the same period, in which the ***patronymic*** name was expressed in the plural, indicating a common descent from a collective patrilineage. This sometimes involved a suffix derived from the Germanic ***-ing*** (like **Obertenghi**), reflecting the practices of the sibs that had preceded the patrilineages as units of noble kinship on the princely level. On the lower levels of the nobility, however, the collective name was usually a plural form of the founder's forename. Thus the lineage founded by a man named **Orsino** (from Latin **Ursinus** 'little bear') came to be called the **Orsini**. When used as surnames such names might be preceded by the particles **dei** or **degli** ('of the'): **dei** (or **de'**) **Medici**, **degli Orsini**. Only in a few patrilineages was a name of this type either *augmented* or *replaced* by one of the kyrionymic type — **d'Este** being a prime example.

In the **Germanophone lands** of the **Central Region,** the French convention of using *only* kyrionymic surnames prevailed in noble lineages, but the Latin preposition *de* was rendered in the vernacular by the Germanic ***von***. Thus arose such famous surnames as **von Wettin**, **von Oldenburg**, **von Hohenstaufen**, and **von Habsburg**. In cases where the kyrionym was preceded by a definite article (*der* or *die*), the name was preceded by **von dem**, and the particle was eventually elided to produce **vom**. When a noble lineage partitioned its estate in such a way that only one of its members held the dominion from which it took its name, the possessor of the eponymous dominion could set the additional particle **zu** ('to' or 'at', sometimes

used in place of *von*) after the **von**, producing the prefix **von und zu** (or **vom und zum**).

In much of north-western Europe, however, patronyms prevailed over kyrionyms. The form of the patronym adopted inevitably varied from one country to another and one region to another within countries. In the Celtic far west, the early traditions of collective patronymic names gave rise to hereditary *surnames* of the new type, all based on the *forename* of the founder. In **Scotland,** such names invariably began with **mac** (‘*son of*’) — **Mac Donald**, etc., — while, in **Ireland,** they could begin with either **mac** (**Mac Cana** etc.) or **O** (‘*descendant of*’, producing **O Neill**), etc. In the northern realms of **Scandinavia**, the equivalent form of name reversed the order, setting the word ‘**son**’ or ‘**sen**’ after the forename of the founder, producing names like **Johansson** and **Nilsen**.

An essentially similar practice to that of Denmark was adopted in the culturally related kingdom of **England**, but survived the Conquest of 1066 only on the sub-noble levels of society. The new nobiliary surnames introduced by the Conquest naturally conformed primarily to the conventions of Northern France — not only of Normandy, but of the neighbouring regions of Picardy, Maine, Brittany, and Poitou — from which the conquering lineages had come. Many such names were simply *imported* from ancestral lands in France, where a kyrionym preceded by the particle *de* referred to the principal castle or manor of the founder there.

A considerable number of baronial patrilineages in post-Conquest England continued to bear kyrionymic surnames derived from their ancestral lands in Normandy and adjacent regions of France. Surnames like **de Areci** (later **de Arcy** and **Darcy**), **de Beauchamp**, **de Beaumont**, **de Clare**, **de Ivry**, **de Mandeville**, **de Montgomery**, **de Neville**, and **de Saint Valery** — all referring to lands in Normandy, and most adopted at some time before the Conquest[53] — continued to be borne for centuries on English soil and, in many cases, are still borne by their descendants nearly a millennium later. By

[53] The earliest general record of such names is the Domesday Book of 1087, in which all of the earliest holders of English baronies are listed, often in several places. Some of their names appear in Norman and other French sources from before the Conquest as well, and many in various records of the subsequent century, including chronicles.

contrast, other such names, like **de Port** (used by the post-Conquest Lords of Basing to 1213), were replaced by the name of *another* of their properties in Normandy (in this case **Saint-Jehan-le-Thomas**, which became first **de Saint-Johan** and later **Saint John**). All but the last of these *surnames*, therefore, antedated by a century or more the *arms* their members would eventually assume.

In the century or so after the Conquest, however, new kyrionyms on the same model were adopted by the heads of many baronial lineages, based on a castle or estate in England rather than France. Among these were the Norman-English **de Dacre**, **de Greystoke**, and **de Moulton** — all with lands in Cumberland on the border with Scotland (though Moulton itself was in Lincolnshire). The same practice spread to Scotland after the settlement of many Normano-English knights there. Among the names produced in that manner were the Norman-Scots **de Graham**. The preposition (or 'particle') 'de' was generally abandoned when Norman French was replaced by Middle English after about 1380, but survived in a few cases, especially those in which the 'e' had elided with a following vowel (the cases of **Darcy**, **Daubeney**, and **Devereux** among many others). When it later became fashionable to bear a name of obviously pre-Conquest origin, the initial 'D' was often separated again and followed by an apostrophe — the case of **D'Arcy** from at least 1759, when my ancestor D'Arcy Boulton I was born — though his fictitious contemporary, **Fitzwilliam Darcy** of ***Pride and Prejudice***, retained the older spelling.

No doubt under Celtic influence, however, in Francophone Normandy, Brittany, Ireland, and Britain generally, the surnames adopted after the Conquest were frequently *patronymic*, with the prefix meaning '(the) son of' expressed by Norman French **li/ le Fitz** initially set as a separate phrase before the personal name but eventually attached to the surname as a prefix. The article **li**/***le*** ('the') was itself generally retained until the late twelfth century but fell out of use in virtually all cases at various dates after 1200. No fewer than *forty-three* of the noble lineages whose arms were included in the thirteenth-century armorials analysed by Humphery-Smith that I shall examine below bore surnames of this form, including the Norman-Irish **FitzGerald,** the Breton- Scottish **FitzAlan,** and the Norman-English **FitzEdmund**, **FitzEustace**, **FitzJohn**, **FitzMaurice**, **FitzRobert**, **FitzRoger**, **FitzWalter**, and **FitzWilliam** (all variously written).

Finally, in a substantial minority of the new noble patrilineages, the surname chosen on both the baronial and sub-baronial levels had some other sort of reference. Most common were the names of royal or princely **offices** held by their founders, especially those of **steward**, **butler**, **constable**, **marshal**, and **forester** — the last of which gave rise in England to the variants **Forester**, **Forster**, and **Foster**, often used by branches of the same patrilineage. Once again, such names were initially preceded by the definite article **li** or **le**, so the lineage of the hereditary marshal of England took the surname **li**/**le Mareschal** (eventually Anglicized as **Marshal**), while that of the hereditary Butler of Ireland similarly took the surname **li/ le Boteler** (later Anglicized as **Butler**).

In France, comparable *official* surnames were adopted in the same period, including in Normandy that of **le Botiler** (later **Bouteiller**) **de Senlis.** That name included a kyrionym *after* the name of the office — which was actually attached to the *duchy* as a whole rather than to Senlis. Similarly, the Lord (later Count) of Tancarville, Hereditary Chamberlain of Normandy, was often referred to as ***Le chambellan*** **de Tancarville**.

Foreign immigrants in all countries were sometimes saddled with names meaning '**the Foreigner**' (**le Strange** or **l'Estrange** in England, and **Welsh** in Ireland), or specifying their precise origin, like '**the Brabanter**' (**le Brabanson**). All of these became *hereditary surnames* of the type still in general use today — heritable, in principle, by all of their patrilineal descendants, and normally set immediately after their given name or names.

Curiously, given their early adoption of the patrilineal form of kindred, it was the *royal* patrilineages that were the last to adopt ***hereditary apposable surnames***, and, down to the fifteenth century, the legitimate children of the Kings of England and France used only the territorial surnames '**d'Angleterre**' and '**de France**', while their younger sons and their patrilineal descendants used the names of the principal dominion the latter had been given in appanage, like '**de/ of Cornwall' 'de/ of Lancaster',** '**d'Anjou**', '**de Valois**', and '**de Bourgogne'**. The royal lineage as a whole had, in the meantime, no common surname.

12.3. The Adoption of Branch-Surnames in Noble Lineages and

How they can be Represented

In Normandy, the practice of employing distinctive branch-surnames had begun in the eleventh century, disguising the origins of such branches of the ducal (and from 1066 royal) lineage through the use of such *kyrionyms* as ‘**de Clare**’, and those of their junior sub-branches by *patronyms* like ‘**FitzWalter**’. As we shall see in Part 2 of this essay, in most such cases, the junior sub-branches also adopted *arms* unrelated to those of the senior branch of their lineage, further obscuring a connection one might have thought they would be eager to emphasise.

In order to clarify the actual relationship of cadet branches that employed *only* branch-names of either type, I shall insert before those names the relevant patrilineal name and, when required, the name of a **primary branch**, both in italics Thus, for example, I shall give the members of the cadet branches of the House of Normandy a compound surname of the form ***de Normandie*-Clare** or ***de Normandie-Clare*-FitzWalter**, as is appropriate.

Variations on this historical practice were common throughout Latin Christendom, obscuring the primary patrilineal identity of most of the junior members of the local royal dynasty. This was especially true of those descended from *illegitimate* sons, who were normally obliged to adopt distinctive surnames and often distinctive arms once armigery had been established. It will be more useful, however, to examine such variations under the heading of *ramification* or ‘branching’, so I shall postpone it to the appropriate section of Part 2 of this article.

12.4. The Terms ‘Nominiger’, ‘Nominigery’, and ‘Nominigerous’

As there existed no distinctive word with the sense of ‘*the practice of bearing an hereditary apposable surname*’, I invented one based on my term for the parallel practices of bearing emblematic *arms* and *seals*: **nominigery**, with the corresponding agent-noun **nominiger** and adjective **nominigerous**.

Alas, as my immediately preceding observations suggest, the relationship between the *nominigery* and *armigery* of noble patrilineages is one of the most complicated I shall consider. This was true not only because the former developed more than a century

before the latter, but because, in practice, the two forms of marking patrilineages often failed to correspond *either* with one another *or* with the nature of the relationships among their bearers.

As a result, many natural patrilineages or segments of them came to bear two or more surnames, while many kinsmen with the same surname bore two or more basic coats of arms or arms that were sufficiently different that their underlying similarities were unrecognizable. Finally, to make matters more complex still, many completely *unrelated* patrilineages independently assumed the same *surname*, along with quite different arms: a vexatious phenomenon I shall examine in § 15 below.

In any case, it can be said that, on the ***sub-regal*** levels of the noble order, most of the older patrilineages passed through what may be called a **pre-nominigerous phase** before achieving the **classic nominigerous** phase, typically in the decades after 1000.

13. The Development of the Use of Emblematic 'Arms' to Represent Noble Identity c. 1130 – c. 1300

Either a century or so later (on the higher levels) or at about the same time (on the lowest), the surname (itself still quite unstable) was joined as a sign of membership in a noble patrilineage by a comparable **visual emblem**, initially displayed primarily or exclusively covering the whole outer surface of the emblematiger's functional shield. Such emblems — first attested, as I have noted, on the equestrian seals of princes and barons in the 1130s — were initially called by phrases meaning '*martial cognizances*' (***conoissances d'armes*** in Old French), but from the 1170s, they were increasingly called by a truncated form of that phrase: ***armes*** or '**arms'**, and by its equivalents in the other languages of Europe.[54] Thus, ***armigery*** completed the triad

[54] On the history of these terms, see D'A. J. D. BOULTON, 'Advanced Heraldic Studies: An Introduction. Part II. The Terminology of the Field: Its Nature, History, and Inadequacies. Division A. The First Two Periods, c. 1170-1335', in *Alta Studia Heraldica* 3 (2010), pp. 1-54; '"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

of emblematic practices initiated by ***nominigery*** and first complemented by ***sigilligery***.

In most cases, the members of the numerous *homonymous* lineages just noted assumed *arms* that were completely different from one another, but, as we shall see in § 13.4, many *unrelated* lineages adopted *identical* basic arms, so that neither surnames nor arms would be certain marks of patrilineal relationships.

13.1. Contexts, Designs, and Sources

I turn now to an extended account of the origin of arms and of their adoption as emblems by members of all five of the strata of the new nobilities between c. 1130 (and possibly in some cases as early as 1100) and c. 1400. I shall begin with a brief discussion of how arms functioned as static visual emblems in the first centuries of their use.

On the most general level, it may be said that arms, like the modern flag-designs they inspired, were essentially *highly stylized graphic designs* that represented their referents through a **distinctive combination and arrangement of figures**, **patterns**, and **colours**, arranged in keeping with a growing set of conventions adopted to assure a high level of both ***visibility*** and ***legibility*** in the contexts of the various types of combat in which they were habitually displayed — primarily (1) real ***battles***, (2) the *mock* battles called ***tournaments***, and (3) the mounted duels called ***jousts***.

Visibility and legibility in such contexts ideally required the designs to be relatively simple in structure, limited in content, and composed of distinctive and easily recognized motifs in a limited set of primary colours, arranged so that motifs in darker colours (in practice **red**, **blue**, **black**, **green**, and **purple**) were set on fields of lighter colours (**yellow** or **gold** and **white** or **silver**) or on ***dichromatic patterns*** called **furs** (initially only **ermine** and **vair**, but later including numerous tinctural variants), and vice-versa.

It is striking that the designs adopted for display on their shields, first by princes, then by barons, and finally, from the 1190s, by simple knights, all rejected the *motifs* (especially dragons), *colours*, and *arrangements* of the older tradition of shield decoration, best known

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II. "The Terms 'Achievement' and 'Coat of Arms', 1562-2014', in *Heraldry in Canada* 49.3 (2016), pp. 36-71

from the Bayeux 'Tapestry'.[55] Instead, they adopted various new types of motif and design, almost certainly inspired by those of the Levantine textiles first encountered during the First Crusade of 1095-99 by the fathers of the earliest *attested* proto-armigers, and then encountered by growing numbers of those proto-armigers themselves during the Second Crusade of 1145-49, and the Third Crusade of 1189-92.

There can be little doubt about the importance of these Crusades for both the general adoption of proto-arms and for the forms taken by their designs. Certainly, participation in these massive armed pilgrimages — which brought together forces including princes, barons, and knights from almost every part of Latin Christendom — must have played a major role in spreading the *idea* of adopting personal and proto-lineal emblems of *any* kind and, in practice, after 1145, those of the newly-established kind soon to be called ***armes***. It was from these exotic fabrics that the classic motifs of the ***lion rampant*** and the ***eagle displayed*** were *directly* derived, and the later animal motifs (all much rarer than the first two, as I shall show) were *indirectly* derived, being treated in the same stylized manner.

Such textiles probably inspired, in addition, the various *geometrical* patterns of ***checks*** and ***stripes*** — horizontal, vertical, and diagonal — that also made up a high proportion of the earliest armal designs, and were certainly represented on the new, loose ***surcotes*** adopted as part of civil dress by noblemen in the same period. The latter were almost certainly the models for the martial ***cotes*** or ***cotes d'armes*** on which proto-arms also came to be displayed — in some cases from the very beginnings of armigery in the 1130s,[56] but *commonly* only from the 1330s. The ways in which these motifs came to be used, however, proved to be seriously problematic, as we shall see.

Before examining the evidence for the emergence of what I call '**classic arms**', it will be useful to set out the terms I have adopted for the classification of their **pre-classic** predecessors in the century or so before 1220, when the form, at least, of classic arms had been effectively established. I first defined the key term '**arms**' (along with

[55] On these designs, see D'A. J. D. BOULTON, 'The Display of Arms', Pt. I, § 00.
[56] See D'A. J. D. BOULTON, 'The Display of Arms', Pt. 1, § 00.

its useful English synonym '**coat of arms**') 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:

> **(Classic) Arms**: (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-face, and has since then been designated in all languages by a word either* cognate *or* synonymous *with the original Old French name* **armes**;[57] *(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 must always be either* ***white*** *(or silver) or* ***yellow*** *(or gold); (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****; and (5)* ***capable of being described precisely and embodied legally in the technical language ultimately called 'blazon' in English****; (6) intended to represent either* ***a single legal entity within a particular state or heraldic jurisdiction*** *— most commonly a* ***patrilineage*** *or, in jurisdictions traditionally practising primogeniture,* ***a particular member of an armigerous patrilineage****,* ***distinguished by genealogically significant alterations to the original design****, normally since about 1330 through the* ***addition of conventional marks*** *(especially* ***bordures****,*

[57] All European languages employ 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 languages, including words based on the French ***blason*** 'shield-face' in all of the Romance languages, the word ***senhal*** 'sign' in Occitan and Catalan, and the peculiar word ***stemma*** in Italian, of Greek origin.

> ***labels**, and **bendlets**) to the basic design, in a more or less cumulative fashion.*

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 personal use to the primary armiger, had yet to be fully established.

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 gave rise to fully armal ones through modifications of their design and use — especially in the area of heritability — may be distinguished as '**proto-armal emblems**' or '**proto-arms'**. The bearers of such emblems may, therefore, be called '**proto-armigers**' and their practices called '**proto-armigery**'.

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, including tinctures and charges.[58] Emblems subject to these pre-classic conventions may usefully be distinguished as '**pre-classic arms**'.

[58] 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 in 1265, when at twenty he was made Count of Derby.

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. The term '**pre-armiform**' may be used of early types of emblem used on shields and flags, whose forms bore no more than a loose resemblance to those of classic arms.

13.2. The Sigillary Evidence for Proto-Armigery in Latin Europe to c. 1220

Given both the *inherently chromatic* character of heraldic arms and the very high number of early arms with *identical formal designs*, it is unfortunate that — as I observed above in § 1.3 — almost the only surviving evidence we possess for their adoption and use in the period of just over a century before 1244 — when the first painted armorial appeared in the *Chronica* of the English monk **Matthew Paris** — was the representation of their *achromatic* designs on the seals of the earliest proto-armigers.

It is equally unfortunate that, before 1190, almost all of the seals in question were of the *equestrian* type favoured by princes down to at least 1310,[59] on which the proto-armal emblems were represented (if at all) on a very small scale on the prince's **shield** and, in a few cases, repeated on a **horse-trapper** (attested from c. 1147 but common only after 1150[60]), **flag** (attested from 1161 but rare everywhere before 1220 and almost unknown in England[61]), and **arming-coat** (attested from c. 1227 but very rare before c. 1330[62]). Furthermore, the number of seals on which proto-armal designs were represented before about 1207 in any part of Latin Europe remained quite small, though it grew more or less steadily from about 1135 onwards.

It must be noted here that — although no scholar disputes the fact that the earliest *direct* evidence both for proto-armigery in general and for the particular *forms* of the earliest proto-armal emblems is found on these mainly equestrian seals — a number of academic heraldists have postulated that many such emblems were adopted for

[59] On the sigillary evidence, see BOULTON, 'The Display of Arms in their Primary Martial Contexts', Parts I and II *passim*.

[60] Ibid., Part IIA, § 3.2

[61] Ibid., Part IIB

[62] Ibid., Part II, § 3.3

display on shields but either *not* represented on a seal before 1200, or represented on seals of which no exemplars have survived. The evidence adduced for this theory is the existence of whole sets of *related* emblems borne in the thirteenth century by cousins, whose common proto-armigerous ancestors lived in the early twelfth. The scholars who accept the theory — whose number has included the distinguished heraldists **Donald Lindsay Galbreath**, **Michel Pastoureau**, **Jean-François Nieus**, and, most recently, **Steen Clemmensen**[63] — argue on these grounds that the origins of **proto-armigery** (to use my own term) should be dated to the years around 1100, either *during* or immediately *after* the *First* Crusade, and that the earliest ***actual* proto-armigers** were the *fathers* of the first ***attested*** proto-armigers, and the *grandfathers* of the next set.

This is certainly a plausible argument, given the rapid development in the first decades of the twelfth century of the new knightly sport called the ***tournoiement*** or "**tournament**" and of the later importance of armigery in identifying its participants. At least in the cases for which there is later evidence, the argument can, therefore, be accepted as *probably* true. Nevertheless, both because of the *complete absence of direct contemporary evidence* for proto-armigery in the first decades of the twelfth century, and because of the *extremely irregular* practices involving both the *use* of emblems by individual proto-armigers, and of the *transmission* of those emblems to their descendants that I shall demonstrate in this section, the claim for a *general* or even *widespread practice* of adopting proto-arms before 1150 must remain at best *unproven*. It is also significant that, as my first table below indicates, even the emblems set on the shields and other elements of the martial panoply of seals before 1147 are of a **quasi-armal** character at most, and that *fully* armiform designs appear anywhere only in the 1150s. This suggests that **true armigery** — or the bearing of arms conforming fully to the classic conventions of armal design — did not emerge until at least 1150, and quite possibly later still.

[63] Steen Clemmensen, 'The Proverbial Banner — an axiom revisited: a re-examination of the evidence of early heraldry pre-1200', in *Frontiers in Genealogy and Heraldry:*

The most recent of several surveys of the sigillary evidence for early armigery is that of the French scholar **Jean-François Nieus**.[64] The latter — whose object was to trace the emergence of armigery in Latin Christendom generally before 1160 — was able to identify only *thirty-three* seals on which appeared emblematic figures or designs that could be regarded as either **pre-armiform** or **armiform**, set either directly on the field of the seal itself, or on one or more items of knightly equipment and dress.

Nieus set out the evidence provided by these seals in two tables: **Table 1** for the period before 1150 (effectively covering the nearly four decades from 1110/14, when the first appeared, and 1130/49); and **Table 2** for the period 1150 - 1160 (effectively covering the years 1148/52 - 1156/66). I have incorporated his material into the preceding tables.

Nieus' Table 1 included *seventeen* **emblematiferous** seals — that is, seals bearing *some form* of emblematic design. Of these seals, *thirteen* (including *seven* of the first eight, first attested between 1126 and 1130) belonged to princes or major barons whose lands lay wholly or largely in the Kingdom of **France**, while the remaining four belonged to princes whose lands lay largely in **England**. My two tables are sorted by date. The lands of ten of the former thirteen lay primarily in north-eastern France: three Counts of **Vermandois**, of whom the second was also Count of **Clermont-en-Beauvaisis** (emblems attested 1126, 1130/50, 1146); two Counts of **Meulan** (emblems attested 1137/8, 1139/40); one Count each of **Saint-Pol** (att. 1127/29), **Soissons** (att. 1146), and **Roucy** (att. 1149); and one *Lord* each of **Coucy** (att. 1132/47) and **Guise** (att. 1155). One of the two Counts of **Meulan** (Waleran II) was also the **Count of Worcester** in England from 1139 to 1155, and was thus the earliest attested proto-armiger in that country — though his proto-arms were first attested on his first seal as Count of Meulan alone in 1137/8.

The three remaining sigilligers in this set, by contrast, ruled lands in the far south: a Lord of **Mauléon** (emblem att. 1130/49) and one of **Rodez** (att. 1140), and a Count of both **Provence** and **Barcelona** (att. 1150). Three of the four primarily ***English*** lords included in Nieus' first table were members of cadet branches of the ducal-royal house of

[64] Jean-François NIEUS' 'L'Invention des armoiries en context. Haute aristocratie, identités familiales et culture chevaleresque entre France et Angleterre, 1100 – 1160', *Journal des savants*, automne 2017, pp. 93-155.

Normandy: **Gilbert de *Normandie*-Clare**, **Count of Hertford** from 1138, (whose *chevronny* proto-arms appear on his seal of 1146/8); his namesake **Gilbert 'Strongbow' de *Normandie*-Clare-*Pembroke***, **Count of Pembroke** (whose achromatically identical proto-arms appear on his seal of 1146); and **Robert *de Normandie-Gloucester***, **Count of Gloucester** from 1122 to 1147, (whose pre-armal *lion passant contourné* appeared on his seal in 1150/53).

Table 1. Sigillary Evidence for Proto-Armigery in the English Sphere to 1171

Evidence	Date	Sigilliger/ Proto-armiger	Type and design of emblem	Shield	Flag	Coat
AES I a (DS 1420)	1113-24	**David of Scotland** 2b C. of Huntingdon	**Pre-armal figure** ***A rose***			No
EngRomArt No. 371	1118-68	**Robert de Beaumont** 1st C. of Leicester	*None*			No
Ailes, HE p. 7 n.27 Pastoureau *Traité*, p. 31	1st seal c. 1135	**Raoul I Capet de Vermandois** *C. of Vermandois* (v. c. 1100-1152)	**proto-armal *geometric*** *Chequy with very small divisions*			No
Ibid.	2nd seal 1146		***Same design***			No
Ailes, HE p. 5 n. 16 pl. 4	a. 1135/7	**Estienne de Penthièvre**, *C. of Brittany* (v. c. 1057-1135/7	**Quasi-armal *figural pattern*:** *Semy fleurs de lis?*			No
AES I c, d (DS 397)	1137-46	**Alan III de Bretagne** 1st C. of Richmond	*None*			No
AES I h (DS 1900)	c. 1140	**Henry of Scotland** 3rd C. of Huntingdon	*None*			
Ailes, HE p. 6 n.19	1136/40	**Waleran de Beaumont** *C. of Meulan and* 1st C. of Worcester (v. 1104-1166)	**Quasi-armal *geometric pattern*:** *Chequy with very small divisions*			
Ailes, HE p. 5 n. 14, pl. 3 BM X 6218	c. 1139	**Roger de Mowbray** Lord of Mowbray (v. c. 1120-1188)	**Quasi-armal *figural pattern*:** *Non-staggered semy of fleurs de lis*			
Ailes, HE p._ n. 22	1146/8	**Gilbert Fitz Gilbert de Clare** 'Strongbow' 1st C. of Pembroke (v. c 1100-1148)	**Quasi-armal *geometric*** *Seven chevronels tightly arranged*			
Ailes, HE p. 6 n. 20 AES II g (PRO)	1146	**Gilbert Fitz Richard de Clare** 1st C. of Hertford (v. 1115-1152)	**Quasi-armal *geometric*** *Seven chevronels tightly arranged*			
AES II a (DS 398)	c. 1146	**Conan IV de Bretagne** 2nd C. of Richmond	*None?*			
AES III b (BM 6403)	c. 1147	**Simon II de Senlis,** 3rd C. of Huntingdon, Northants (d. 1153)	*None?*			
AES III b (BM 6403)	c. 1147	**Engelger de Bohun,** (d. 1153)	**Proto-armal, geometric** (bend)			

No seal	Plaque 1155/ 65	**Geoffrey d'Anjou,** (v. 1113-51)	**Proto-armal, *lions*** *Azure six lions ramp. O)*			
Ailes HE Pl. 1	1156/ 63	**William 'Fitz Empress' d'Anjou** (v. 1136-1164)	**Armiform, lion** *One lion rampant contourné*			?
AES II d (DS 1989)	c. 1164)	**Elie de Pidel**	*None*		(obv.)	
AES I j BM IX 6318	c. 1171	**Geoffrey d'Anjou,** *D. of Brittany*, 3a. C. of Richmond	*None*			

a. Roger de Mowbray, L. of Montbrai c. 1135

b. Waleran de Beaumont, C. of Meulan, 1136/40

c. Gilbert fitz Gilbert de Clare, 1st C. of Pembroke, 1138-56

d. William FitzEmpress d'Anjou, 1156/63

e. Geoffrey d'Anjou, D. of Brittany, C. of Richmond c. 1171

f. Richard fitz Gilbert de Clare, 2nd C. of Pembroke c. 1172

Fig. 17. The Earliest Relevant Equestrian Seals Representing Proto-Armiferous Shields and a Proto-Armiferous Flag (b), Coats (a, b), Saddlecloths (a, b), and Trapper (d) c. 1135 – 1198

The remaining English sigilliger in this list is **Baldwin de Redvers**, **Count of Devon** from 1141 to 1155 (whose pre-armal *griffin* appeared on ***the field of his seal*** by 1143/44). In fact, it must be noted here that *five* of the *seventeen* sigillary emblems Nieus identified as appearing before 1150 were represented directly on the *field* of the seal rather than on an image of a shield, and were therefore, by definition, *pre-armal* in character. In France, these included the emblems of the **Count of Saint-Pol** and two of the three southern

lords (the **Count of Rodez** and the **Lord of Mauléon**), leaving only seven true proto-armigers.

Of their emblems, the first *two* were represented only on a ***gonfanon***, *seven* of the *eight* later ones were represented only on a ***shield***, while *one* (the chequy pattern of **Waleran de Beaumont**, **Count of Meulan** and **Worcester**) was represented on his ***gonfanon***, ***shield***, ***coat***, and ***saddlecloth***. In England, only the emblems of the **Counts of Devon** and **Gloucester** were set directly ***on the field*** of the seal, leaving the *chevronny* patterns of the **Clare Counts of Hertford** and **Pembroke** — both represented on the sigilliger's shield — alone in the ***proto-armal*** category. These are all listed in my own Table 1.

Nieus' Table 2 (on his p. 112), which, in principle, covers the single decade from 1150 to 1160, includes sixteen emblematiferous seals. This is only one fewer than the set of such seals listed in his Table 1, which had covered the four preceding decades — indicating a *quadrupling* of the *rate* of adopting emblems suitable for use on seals at least. The *geographical spread* of the sigilligers displaying some sort of emblem somewhere on their seal also increased significantly.

Both increases were probably stimulated by the Second Crusade: fought, as I noted above, from 1147-49. Nevertheless, *twelve* (or three quarters) of the *sixteen* sigilligers in question were once again based either in France or in England, though the proportion was now reversed, only five being French and seven English.

The other four sigillary emblematigers attested from the 1150s were quite scattered geographically. *One* was based in central Italy: **(1) Guelfo VI *Welf*/ d'Este, Marquis of Tuscany** in the Kingdom of Lombardy and **Duke of Spoleto** in the Kingdom of Sicily (seal attested from 1152); *two* had lands in the eastern marches of the Kingdom of Germany: **(2) Heinrîch II 'Jasomirgott' von Babenberg**, eighth **Margrave** and first **Duke of Austria** (attested from 1156); and **(3) Ottakar III von Traungau-Steyr**, sixth **Margrave of Styria** (attested from 1159); and, finally, **(4)** *one* was based in Francophone Lotharingia: **Baudoin IV de Flandre-Hainaut, Count of Hainaut** (attested from 1158).

In the period between 1160 and 1200 — ignored by Nieus but covered by the much earlier work of Galbreath and Jéquier[65] — six

[65] Donald Lindsay GALBREATH, Léon JÉQUIER, *Manuel du Blason*

additional lords in the Low Countries of greater Lotharingia and neighbouring parts of north-eastern France set proto-arms on their seals, including two dukes, one margrave, one landgrave, one count palatine and major count, and one major baron: **(5) Phelippe d'Alsace**, sixteenth **Count of Flanders** and twelfth of **Vermandois** (attested in 1160/2); **(6) Florenz III von Holland**, twelfth **Count of Holland** (attested in 1162); **(7) Mathieu II de Montmorency, Lord of Montmorency** (attested in 1166/77); **(8) Baldewin V de Flandre-Hainaut**, fifteenth **Count of Hainault** (attested c. 1182/95); **(9) Henri II de Troyes,** eleventh **Count of Troyes** and second **Count Palatine of Champagne** (attested between 1180 and 1196); and, finally, **(10) Henrich I von Leuven**, who was promoted from **Landgrave** to **Duke of Brabant** in 1183, and adopted proto-arms in or soon after 1190, when he succeeded his father Godefried III as **Count of Leuven** and **Brussels**, **Margrave of Antwerp**, and **Duke of Lothier** or **Lower Lotharingia**. As their titles suggest, all but the Lord of Montmorency were among the greatest princes of their regions.

In the same decades, five additional princes of the strictly **Germanophone** regions of the German kingdom — including two dukes and three counts — set proto-armal emblems on their seals: **(11) Heinrîch II and XII**, 'the Lion' ***Welf*/d'Este**, fourteenth **Duke of Saxony** and twenty-sixth **Duke of Bavaria**; **(12) Otto V and I von *Scheyern*/ Wittelsbach**, **Count Palatine of Bavaria** and later twenty-seventh **Duke of Bavaria**; **(13) Ludwig II von Öttingen**, **Count of Öttingen** in Swabia; and **(14) Hartmann III von Dillingen**, seventh **Count of Dillingen** in Swabia. By 1200, therefore, *proto*-armigery, at least, had become *common*, if not yet universal, among the greater princes of Germany.

Finally, two rulers at least partly based in the **Iberian Region** also set proto-arms on their seals late in this period. These were **Sancho I *Capet de Bourgogne*-Portugal**, second **King of Portugal** from 1187; and **Ramon Berenguer IV de Barcelona**, seventeenth **Count of Barcelona**, and **Count of Provence** and **Forcalquier** in the Kingdom of Burgundy from 1209.

It is perhaps surprising that **kings** were not among the leaders of the movement to adopt armiform emblems, but it is likely that they initially saw them as beneath their dignity. Nevertheless, most western kings did adopt arms before 1230. The first King of England who

certainly bore arms was **Richard I 'Lionheart' *de Gâtinais/ Anjou***, who set arms on his seal soon after succeeding to the throne in 1189 — though, as we shall see, he did not adopt what would be the *definitive* version of the English royal arms until 1198. It is likely, however, that his father, **King Henry II**, had borne related proto-arms from soon after his accession in 1154 — which would have made him one of the earliest kings to do so. The classic arms of the ruler of **Germany** and its '**Holy Roman Empire**' — ***Or an eagle displayed sable*** — are similarly attested in images from the 1190s.

The kings of the remaining Iberian kingdoms of **Castile**, **Leon**, and **Navarre** would follow the examples of their regal neighbours in **Aragon** and **Portugal** in the early years of the following century, as would the Kings of **France** (in 1223 on the accession of **Loys 'the Lion'**, who had set the arms in question — **Azure *semy of fleurs-de-lis Or*** — on his seal of 1211 (when he was only the heir apparent), and **Scotland** (whose king **Williame I 'the Lion'** set a version of the classic arms of Scotland ***A lion rampant* gules *within a double tressure* Or**) on his seal at about the same time). The kings of the Scandinavian Region began to adopt arms in the same period. The first King of **Denmark** to do so was **Knud VI** of the House of Estridsen (1047-1412), whose seal of c. 1194 bore what proved to be the classic coat ***semy of hearts and three lions passant***, the tinctures of which — the field ***Or***, the hearts ***gules***, and the lions ***azure*** — would not be recorded until 1270. The classic arms of the Kingdom of **Sweden**, by contrast (***Azure three crowns Or***) would not be adopted until 1364, and those of the Kingdom of **Norway** (***Gules a lion rampant Or, crowned Or holding an axe Or with a blade Argent***) only later still.

13.3. The Designs of the Proto-Arms of the Barons (and Baronesses) of England

I now turn to an analysis of the evolution of armal ***design*** in England in the Formative Period. The seven **English** proto-armigers of the earlier decades represented in Nieus' table were **Richard de Lucy** (att. 1148/52), **Rogier de Mowbray** (att. 1154/5), **Williame Fitz Empress *de Gâtinais/ Anjou* - *'Plantagenet'*** (att. a. 1156), **Engelger de Bohun** (att. 1151/7), and three more members of the Clare branch of the Norman ducal-royal house: **Walter Fitz Robert** (**de *Normandie*-Clare**), Lord of Little Dunmow (ancestor of the **FitzWalters**) (att. 1147/60); **Rohaise de**

***Normandie*-Clare**, **Countess of Lincoln** (att. c. 1156); and her daughter **Alice de Gand**, **Countess of Northampton** (att. 1155/60).

Of these seven proto-armigers, both Richard de **Lucy** (whose pre-armal emblem was a single ***luce*** or 'pike', ancestral to the *three* in the *classic* arms of the Lucys) and the two **ladies** (who displayed the pre-armal *chevronny* pattern of the **Clares**) set their emblem on the field of their seals — in the cases of the ladies, no doubt, at least partly because the idea of setting them on a detached escutcheon — the normal sigillary setting of arms on sub-princely seals from about 1190 — had not yet emerged.

The English proto-armigers of the years between c. 1155/60 and c. 1207 are listed in the second of my own Tables, set immediately below. These tables were initially prepared to indicate the growth among persons with some connection to England of what I have called ***armifery*** —the **display of arms in different physical contexts**. These tables provide the *sources* for the information they display in the first column and descriptions of the *emblems* in the fourth. They naturally overlap heavily with those of Nieus in the years before 1160 but add nearly five decades to them in their narrow geographical sphere. All but one of the seventeen sigilligers in Table 2 set armiform emblems on their seals and may, therefore, be regarded as proto-armigers.

A brief **survey of the designs** of the English arms and those of their French ancestors in the four tables just summarized or presented may serve as a sort of baseline for all later developments. Two broad categories of designs may be recognized: one composed of **purely geometrical** elements, and one composed of **non-geometrical figures**, especially **beasts**. Although the earliest figure set on a shield (the **rose** of David of Scotland) was *non*-geometrical, it was also ***pre*-armal**, and the earliest ***proto*-armal** designs (defined as such on the basis of their later evolution into *truly* armal designs) were all ***geometrical***. These include the ***chequy*** pattern (1) on the two seals of the Count of **Vermandois** (c. 1135, 1146); (2), (3) on the seal of Waleran de **Beaumont**, Count of Meulan in France and Worcester in England (1136-40); (4) on those of Robert de **Beaumont,** Count of Leicester (c. 1168/89); and (5) of Williame de **Warenne**, Count of Surrey (1202);

Table 2. Sigillary Evid. for Proto-Armigery in the English Sphere, 1172-1207

Evidence	Date	Sigilliger/ Proto-armiger	Type and design of emblem	Shield	Flag	Coat

Ailes, HE p.7 n. 22 AES p. 3 fig. 3	c. 1172	**17. Richard Fitz Gilbert de Clare** 2nd C. of Pembroke (v. 1130-76)	**Proto-armal geometric** *Three chevronels?*			
Nieus, E, H, S	1147/60	**Walter Fitz Robert (de Clare)**	**Armif., geomet.** *Chevronny*			
	c. 1168/ 1189	**Robert de Beaumont** 3rd C. of Leicester 1168 (d. 1190/1)	**Armiform, geometrical** *Chequy*			
AES III a (BM 5604)	c. 1180	**William d'Aubigny II** 2nd C. of Arundel 1186-93	***Lion**? (Lion pass. on counter-seal)*			
AES III h, BM 5659	c. 1185	**Hugh de Beauchamp**	**Armiform** *Fretty*			
PRO P234	1185-1219	**David of Scotland** 8th C. of Huntingdon 1185	**Armiform** *3 Piles*			
BM 6005	12 c	**Robert FitzRoger**	**Armiform** *Quarterly*			
Ailes ORA p. 75	1189-99	**Johan *d'Anjou*** L. of Ireland (b. 1166)	**Armiform, *lions*** *Two lions passant*			
Ailes ORA	1st seal 1189-98	**Richard *d'Anjou*,** K. of England 1189-99 (b. 1166)	**Armiform, *lion*** *Lion rampant contourné*			
Ailes HE pl. 7	1189/95	**Baudoin VI de Béthune** (1158-1212)	**Armiform** *Per fess in chief 5 bendlets*			
AES III c (DS 2805)	c. 1195	**Patrick I de Dunbar 4th** *C. of Dunbar or March (*Scotland*)*	**Armiform, *lion*** *Lion rampant*			
Ailes ORA	2st seal 1198-9	**Richard I *d'Anjou*** K. of England 1189-99	**Armiform, *lions*** *3 lions pas. guard*			
BM 5697	L 12 c	**Robert de Berkelai**	**Armiform *chevron***			
PRO	c. 1200	**Richard des Essarts**	*Escarbucle*			
BM 6154	c. 1200	**Simon de Kyma** *(of Etherington, Lincs.)*	**Armiform** *chevron*			
AES III d (BM 6524)	c. 1202	**Williame de Warenne,** *C. of Surrey*	**Armiform *Chequy*** *(also on scutifer. reverse)*			
AES III e (BM 6255)	c. 1207	**Saher de Quincy,** *C. of Winchester*	**Armiform** *Fess w. label of 7 points*			

Key to colours in last three columns: **Blank= item absent on seal**
Grey = item present but lacking design **Blue = item present bearing design**

(6) and (7) the design with seven ***chevronels*** on the seals of the two **Gilberts de Clare**, Counts of Pembroke and Hertford (1146); (8) the

similar ***chevronny*** pattern in the design of Walter de **Clare** (c. 1160); and (9) the *three* ***chevronels*** in the design of Richard de **Clare** (c. 1172); (10) the ***bend*** in the design of Engelger de **Bohun** (c. 1147); (11) the single ***chevron*** in the designs of Robert de **Berkelai** and (12) Simon de **Kyma** (c. 1200); (13) the ***fretty*** pattern in the design of Hugh de **Beauchamp** (c. 1185); (14) the three ***piles*** in the design of David **of Scotland**, Count of Huntingdon (1185); (15) the ***quarterly*** pattern in the design of Robert **FitzRoger**; and, finally, (16) the ***fess*** *and* ***label*** in the design of Saher **de Quincy** (both c. 1200). There were, thus, ***sixteen*** designs of the geomerical type, including *five* designs composed of a ***chequy*** pattern; *four* designs including a ***chevron*** or various numbers of ***chevronels***; *one* design including a ***fretty*** pattern; *one* design including three ***piles***; and one design including a ***fess*** and a ***label***.

Designs including ***non*-geometrical** proto-armal figures were far less common, and had an even more restricted range of charges: essentially two. They included (1) the ***semy of fleurs de lis*** of Estienne de **Penthièvre** and Rogier de **Montbrai**/**Mowbray**, and (2) the ***lions***, *rampant* and *passant*, of the six members of the House of **Gâtinais**/**Anjou**; of Williame **d'Aubigny** II, Count of Arundel; and of Patrick **de Dunbar,** Count of Dunbar or March in Scotland — a total of *eight* proto-armigers belonging to *five* patrilineages.

As we shall see, all of these designs seem to have given rise, in the early decades of the thirteenth century, to numerous imitations, some *close* but many only *loosely analogous*. The designers of the early thirteenth century — confronted in England with the need to distinguish about 150 ***baronial*** lineages[66] and several times that number of *merely* ***knightly*** ones[67] — introduced a large number of additional geometrical motifs, and an even larger number of non-geometrical ones.

Nevertheless, as I shall demonstrate in § 13.4, the number of both types of motif — geometrical and non-geometrical — proved

[66] See Sanders in n. 63 above.

[67] On the size of the English knightage in the thirteenth century, see Gerard Brault, *The Rolls of Arms of Edward I (1272-1307)* (Woodbridge, 1997), p. 60. He cites the studies of Noel Denholm-Young, who argued that only 'strenuous knights' —made use of the arms that were recorded in the Rolls, and that in any one year, although there were probably 1250 'actual' (i.e., dubbed) knights, no more than 500 of all ranks (including barons) were actually engaged in warfare.

inadequate to their needs, in large part because certain motifs (like ***lions***) proved to be far more popular than others. The extent of these additions and modifications only began to become clear after 1244, when (as noted above) the first, rather limited armorial of the English nobility was created by Matthew Paris. The full extent of the armigerate remained obscure to scholars until the *ordinary* based on the much more comprehensive armorials of the later decades of the century was compiled by Cecil Humphery-Smith in 1984. I shall examine some of the more interesting revelations of the latter work in § 13.5 but, in the meantime, shall examine what we know of the transmission of the arms established by about 1200 to the descendants of their first adopters — first in England and then on the continent.

13.4. The Transmission of Arms in English Lineages before 1275

13.4.1. Unstable Proto-Armigery in Baronial Patrilineages

One of the distinctive characteristics of what I have called 'classic' arms is that they are hereditary and normally pass to all of the descendants of their users with relatively minor changes to indicate juniority in the lineage. This sort of transmission did exist in the early thirteenth century, and may even have been practised by a majority of the armigers of that period, but a substantial minority (including the heirs of most of the proto-armigers just identified) ignored it completely. This, of course — especially when it was associated with a radical change of surname — tended to undermine the value of arms as a mark of patrilineal identity, so its occurrence requires some explanation.

As I have just shown, the only English baronial patrilineages for which there is any *direct* evidence of proto-armigery before about 1207 are those of **Beaumont**, **Montbrai (or Mowbray)**, **Clare, Bohun**, **Aubigny**, **Beauchamp**, **Berkeley**, **Warenne**, and **Quincy.** Surprisingly, only *two* of the nine proto-arms borne by the men of these lineages — those of **Aubigny** and **Warenne** — were transmitted to the heirs of their adopters without at least significant modifications, and the latter already represented, as I shall show, the *borrowed* arms of another lineage.

a. Beaumont 1 b. Beaumont 2 c. Mowbray 2 d. Clare 1 e. Clare 2

Fig. 18. The First and Later Arms of the Beaumonts, Mowbrays, and Clares

(1) As we have seen, **Waleran de Beaumont**, Count of Meulan in Normandy and of Worcester in England, and his cousin **Robert de Beaumont**, third Count of Leicester in England, both displayed *chequy* patterns on their seals of 1136/40 and c. 1168/89, respectively, comparable to those of their contemporaries of the houses of Vermandois and Warenne: ***Chequy azure and Or***. By 1244, however, their descendants would adopt the wholly unrelated coat ***Azure, a lion rampant Or***.[68]

(2) **Rogier de Mowbray** had displayed a quasi-armal pattern of *fleurs-de-lis* on every element of his panoply represented on his seal of c. 1139, but his descendants are next recorded with the equally unrelated arms ***Gules, a lion rampant argent***, borne by another Rogier (Lord of Thirsk) on the seal he affixed to the Magna Carta. This design was transmitted unaltered to his heirs.[69]

(3) **Gilbert Fitz Gilbert de *Normandie*-Clare**, first Count of Pembroke, and his cousin **Gilbert Fitz Richard de *Normandie*-Clare-*Hertford***, first Count of Hertford, set similar monochromatic predecessors of the later arms of Clare directly on the face of their seals of 1138/56 and 1146 respectively, but, by 1244, the *seven* closely-set chevronels (of unknown tinctures) depicted on those seals would be replaced by arms of the form ***Or, three chevronels gules***[70] (seen in Fig. 18e). This reduced number had been adopted by 1215, when they appeared on Gilbert’s seal appended to the Magna Carta, and arms differing from these only by the reversal of their tinctures had been

[68] HUMPHERY-SMITH, *Anglo-Norman Armory*, pp. 74, 78, and 66

[69] Mowbray, *Anglo-Norman Armory*, pp. 74, 78, 66

[70] Clare, ibid., p. 265

adopted by his probable kinsman **Richard II de Montfichet**, similarly appended to the famous document.

Bohun 1 Bohun 2 Bohun 3 Aubigny

Fig. 19. The First and Later Arms of the Bohuns and Aubignys

(4) The **Bohun** Counts of Hereford retained their original *bend* (of unknown tinctures, but probably ***argent* on *azure***) but, by 1244, had set it between ***six lions rampant Or***, and later added a pair of ***cotices argent*** and changed the tincture of the bend from argent to ***Or*** (seen in Fig. 19 no. 3 and Fig. 25 no. 7). The lions were almost certainly borrowed from the arms borne by the Longespee Counts of Salisbury (seen in Fig. 15) — who were actually members of an illegitimate branch of the current English royal house (best called that of *Gâtinais*/Anjou), whose senior members bore completely different arms. The Bohun design would be borne by their patrilineal heirs for as long as they persisted, differenced with additions by their cadets.[71]

(5) As I noted above, the heirs of Williame **d'Aubigny,** Count of Arundel and Sussex, retained the lion rampant he had adopted around 1180, setting it in gold on a red field in the design ***Gules, a lion rampant Or***. This design has been transmitted to their successors in the dual dignity to the present day.[72]

[71] Bohun, ibid., pp. ___

[72] Aubigny, ibid., pp.

Beauchamp 1

Beauchamp 2

Beauchamp 3

Qy, Or & gu, bendlet gu crosslets

Gules, a fess Or

Same betw 6

Fig. 20. The Successive Arms Used in the Senior Branch of the Beauchamps

(6) The history of armigery in the House of **Beauchamp** has recently been the subject of a substantial article by Steen Clemmensen,[73] and its early phases can therefore be treated at somewhat greater length. According to Clemmensen, several sets of men bearing the surname Beauchamp “Fair Field” — *probably* but not *certainly* branches of the same lineage — were established in England at or soon after the Conquest. The **Hugues de Beauchamp** noted above as having set a *fretty* design on his seal seems to have belonged to a set of Beauchamps that died out before the earliest armorial was prepared, so their proto-arms were abandoned.

The Beauchamps who gave rise to the later Counts of Warwick were descended from a different **Hugues** de Beauchamp, who arrived with the Conqueror, and was given substantial estates in Bedfordshire, along with the hereditary office of constable of the county. This Hugues had two sons: **Simon**, who died some time after 1136 leaving only a daughter, and **Robert**, who died leaving three sons. The first of these was **Milo**, who died without issue in 1143; the second son was **Payn**, who inherited the Bedford estates conferred by the Conqueror, and married Rohese de Vere — widow of Geoffrey de Mandeville, Count of Essex — and died in 1144 leaving issue; and the third son was **Walter** (I), who acquired the manor of Elmley on the border of Warwickshire and Gloucestershire.

[73] Steen CLEMMENSEN, ‘The Beauchamps of Warwick and Their Use of Arms’, *Genealogy*, 2, 38 (2018), pp. 1-19

It was either **Payn** or one of his descendants of the senior, surviving Bedford branch who adopted the arms ***Quarterly Or and gules, a bendlet gules***, clearly based on those of the Mandeville Counts of Essex: ***Quarterly Or and gules***. Both of these arms appear on the first page of Matthew Paris's armorial of 1244 (represented in Fig. 25 below), duly assigned to **Williame de Mandeville** and **Williame de Beauchamp**. Other Mandevilles and Beauchamps of the senior, Bedford branch would bear variations of those arms — the former including ***Quarterly vair and gules*** and the latter ***Quarterly argent and sable***, borne by a Geoffrey de Beauchamp in *Glover's* and *Walford's Rolls* of c. 1275. (Illustrated in Fig. 20.1 above).

The founder of the junior but ultimately sole surviving branch of the Beauchamps, **Walter Beauchamp I of Elmley**, adopted as his arms the equally simple design ***Gules a fess Or***, retaining only the *tinctures* of the arms of the chief of the lineage (*Quarterly Or and gules*). That design (Fig. 20.2) would be retained by his son **William II**, but his eldest grandson **William III** (v.c. 1210-68) added to this design ***six small crosses*** — either *crosslets* or crosses *botany* — three in chief and three in base. He may have done this as a form of difference while he was only the heir apparent, but, if so, he retained them after his succession to the chiefship in 1236, and the resulting coat — ***Gules a fess between six crosslets Or*** (Fig. 20.3)— would remain thereafter the arms of the senior surviving line of the Beauchamps — Counts of Warwick from 1268 when **William IV** inherited the dignity through his mother, Isabel de Mauduit, sister of the eighth count.

(7) The case of **Saher (or Saer) de Quincy III** is perhaps the most peculiar, because, for much of his life, he bore *two* distinct coats. Saher was a cadet of an important Norman family with close ties to the royal family of Scotland, and a close ally of his uterine cousin **Robert *de Normandie-Clare* FitzWalter**, with whom he led the opposition to king Johan in the years around 1200. He married **Marguerite de Beaumont**, one of the two sisters of Robert, Count of Leicester, who died in 1204, leaving his vast estate to be divided between those sisters. When the partition was finally completed in 1207, Saher was created the first Count of Winchester.

Up to that point, Saher had probably retained the arms that had appeared on his first seal, dated to just after 1200 and revealed in

contemporary renderings as ***Or, a fess gules and a label of eleven points azure*** (Fig. 21a). In fact, he clearly retained that design for some purposes until his death in 1219, as it appeared on his seal attached to the Magna Carta in 1215. Nevertheless — probably at or shortly after his elevation to the countship in 1207 — he adopted for most purposes a new and wholly different coat, apparently inspired by the very similar coat of the Paynel Counts of Angus in Scotland:[74] ***Gules, seven mascles conjoined three, three, and one, Or***. It was these arms — seen in Fig. 21c on the seal of his close friend Robert Fitz Walter (where it seems to have served as a token of *brotherhood in arms*) — that would be borne by his patrilineal descendants, the Counts of Winchester.

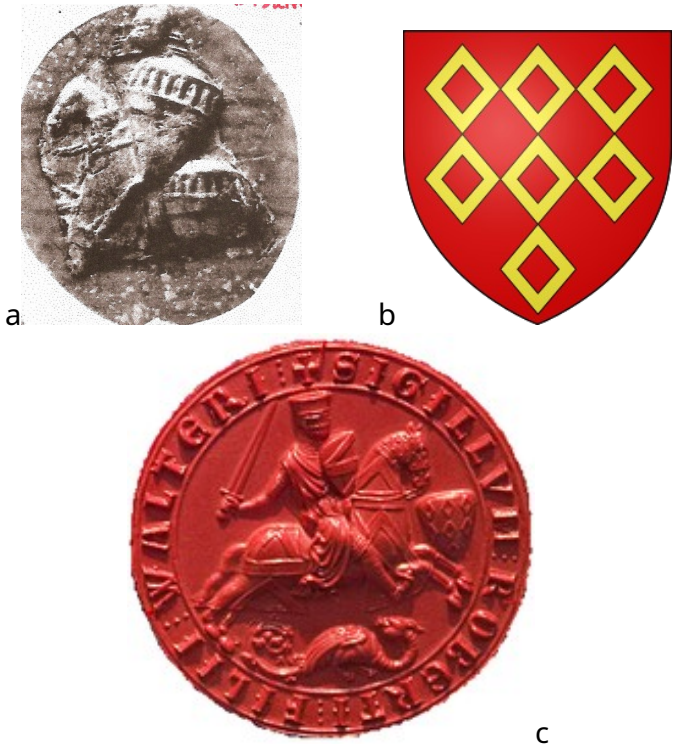
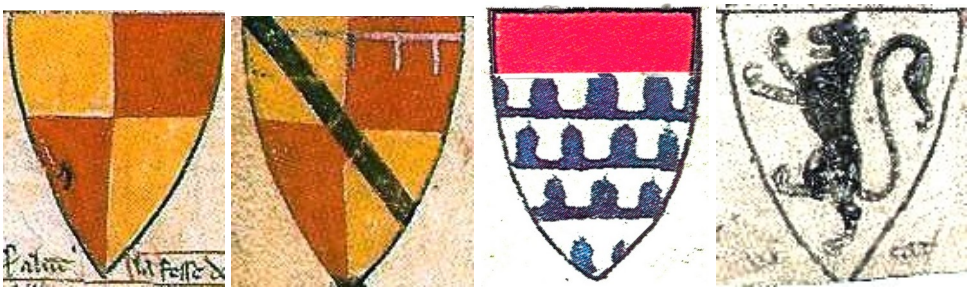


Fig. 21. The First and Later Arms of Saher de Quincy, Count of Winchester
The first shield bears the original arms, the second the new arms of c. 1207, and the seal shows the second on the field of the seal of his friend Robert Fitz Walter (de Clare).

[74] Quincy, ibid., pp. ___. See Fig. 20.



a. Quart. Or & gules b. Diff. by a bendlet sa. c. Vair a chief gu. d. Ar. Lion sa./ purp.

Fig. 22. The four different coats borne in the House of Fitz Rogier

(8) Finally, some of the agnatic descendants of the Robert **Fitz Rogier** listed in my table of proto-armigers preserved his quarterly coat in what were probably its original tinctures — ***Quarterly Or and Gules*** (a design identical to that of the **Mandevilles**). Some cadets used versions differenced by a ***bendlet*** or ***riband sable***[75] (which looked like variants of the arms of Beauchamp of Bedford), while others replaced that design with others quite unlike it: ***Vair, a chief gules*** and ***Argent, a lion rampant sable*** or ***purpure***.[76] Thus, this lineage acquired both one *duplicative* coat with *variants*, and *two others*, one equally *duplicative* (all seen in Fig. 22).

All of this suggests that armigery in the English baronage remained extremely *unstable* before 1244, and that only a small fraction of the coats adopted *before* 1200 were passed unaltered to descendants after that date. This may well be true, but the state of the evidence does not permit so firm a generalization, and what evidence we do possess suggests that patterns of inheritance became steadily more consistent, at least to the extent that the overall structure of their designs was increasingly maintained, especially in the senior line of each patrilineage — that is, the one composed of eldest sons in each generation from the founder.

Variations among branches, however, would continue to be relatively extreme by later standards, as numerous more or less radical methods of differencing to indicate juniority were introduced,

[75] On the FitzRoger arms, see ibid., pp. 63, 149-150, and Gerard J. BRAULT, *Aspilogia* III, *Rolls of Arms of Edward I (1272-1307)*, vol. II, p. 173.
[76] Ibid., p. 63, and 271.

and some armigers chose to abandon their patrilineal arms for others inherited from their wives or mothers. Early examples of such radical practices can be seen in the royal house itself in the years before 1255.

13.4.2. Unstable Proto-Armigery in the English Royal House, 1154-1255

Armigery in the still *nameless* royal house — founded as such by **Henry II** in 1154, but only called 'Plantagenet' under Edward IV in or after 1461 — was surprisingly slow to emerge, and remained remarkable for its instability before 1255.

The royal house or patrilineage itself is first recorded as that of the **Counts of Gâtinais** in north-eastern France, but had acquired the countship of Anjou in 1060 through the marriage of Count **Geoffrei II** of Gâtinais with Ermengarde, daughter of Geoffrei II 'Martel' of Anjou. The latter was the last of the line of counts founded by **Ingelger**, *Viscount* of Anjou under Count **Robert 'the Strong'** — who was himself the founder of the Robertian/Capetian lineage of the Kings of France. The resultant segment is best called from 1060 the **House of Gâtinais/Anjou**.

King Henry's father, Count **Geoffrei V 'the Fair'** or **'Plantagenet'**, had succeeded his father Count Fulk V 'the Young' as Count not only of Anjou, but of the neighbouring counties of Maine and Touraine, and had also become Duke of Normandy in the right of his wife, the Empress Maheut or Matilda — widow of the German King and Emperor, Heinrîch V and IV, and the last survivor of the senior branch of the ducal and royal House of Normandy.

There is no strictly contemporary evidence that Geoffrei 'Plantagenet' made use of *any* armiform emblem before his death in 1151. On his tomb in the Cathedral of Le Mans in Maine, however — set up by his widow Matilda at some time between 1155 and 1165 — Geoffrei is depicted on a large plaque of Limoges enamelware, holding a long shield bearing a fully armiform emblem — *Azure*, *six lions rampant three, two, and one*. This is, in fact, the very first such emblem to be recorded in its *full armorial tinctures*, so the tomb-plaque provides a unique basis for reconstructing the subsequent variations in the arms used by Geoffrei's patrilineal descendants. As Fig. 23 shows, most (and probably all) of those descendants would also bear arms including *lions* (mainly *gold*), but their numbers and tinctures would both *vary* and *change* significantly between 1151 and 1199.

Geoffrei 'Plantagenet' had three *legitimate* sons by Matilda, and six *illegitimate* sons by other women. The former were (1) **Henry** '**Curtmantle**', born in 1133, knighted in 1148, Duke of Aquitaine from 1152 in the right of his wife Aliénor de Poitiers, and successor to his mother's first cousin Estienne de Blois as King of England from 1154 to 1189; (2) **Geoffrei** '**FitzEmpress**', created Count of Nantes in Brittany, but dead without issue in 1158; and (3) **Williame** '**FitzEmpress**', alias '**Longuespee**', v. 1136-64, created Viscount of Dieppe c. 1155, but also dead without issue in 1164. Of these sons, only the last is *known* to have used arms, represented only on his seal of c. 1160: a design of *unknown* field-tincture set both on his shield and horse-trapper, bearing a single lion rampant, also of *unknown* tincture.

Henry 'Curtmantle', as Williame's older brother and heir to the throne, is likely to have made use of similar arms, and it has been argued that he might well have begun with his *father's* arms with its *six* gold lions on an azure field and, at some time later, reduced their number to *one*. His
arms during his later years — and possibly after the death in 1164 of his younger brother Williame, who certainly used the single lion from c. 1160 — would, therefore, have been ***Azure a lion rampant Or***.[77]

If so, the original arms were to be *revived* for the elder of his two *illegitimate* sons by his mistress Rosamund Clifford: **Williame**, called **Longespee** ('Longsword', b. c. 1176), who after his marriage to the heiress of Williame **d'Evreux**, Count of Salisbury, was in 1196 given that countship and transmitted it to his heirs. Thus, the *original* arms of the House of Gâtinais/*Plantagenet* — ***Azure six lions rampant Or*** — were uniquely preserved in this illegitimate segment of the lineage.

[77] See Paul FOX, FSA, 'A Medieval Enamel Belt or Strap Fitting, and its Possible Connection with the Arms of King Henry II', *The Antiquaries Journal*, vol. 99 (2019), pp. 95-103. on Williame's seal of 1180, are first attested for his grandson Williame IV (d. 1221) in Matthew Paris's armorial of 1244. stylistically datable to the years c.

a. Geoffrei ‘the Fair’

b. Henry II ‘Curtmantle’ i.? ii.?

c. Williame FitzEmpress

d. Williame ‘Longsword’

e. Henry ‘the Young’

f. Richard (I) ‘Lionheart’ i ii

g. Johan ‘Lackland’ i, ii h. Richard ‘of Cornwall’ i. Edmund ‘Crossback’

Fig. 23. The successive arms of the male members of the Royal House of *Gâtinais*/Anjou or *Plantagenet* c. 1151-1255

In the meantime, **Henry 'Curtmantle'** had himself begotten five *legitimate* sons by **Aliénor de Poitiers**, Duchess of Aquitaine, four of whom survived childhood: (2) **Henry** 'the Young King', v. 1155-83 (so-called from his coronation in 1170 as junior co-king), who died without surviving issue; (3) **Richard** 'Lionheart', v. 1157-99, Count of Poitou and Duke of Aquitaine by cession from his mother from 1168 and King of England from his father's death in 1189 to 1199 (when he also died without issue); (4) **Geoffrey**, v. 1158-86, Count of Richmond in England and Duke of Brittany and Count of Anjou in France, whose only son **Arthur** (v. 1187-1203) would succeed him in his dignities but die without issue; and, finally, (5) **Johan** 'Lackland', v. 1167-1216, Count of Mortain in Normandy, Lord of Ireland, and, finally, King of England from 1199 to 1216 (when he would be succeeded as King by the elder of his two sons, **Henry III**).

It is likely that all five of these men used arms derived from those of their grandfather Geoffrei 'the Fair', but we know nothing of those borne by either the first Henry or Geoffrei, and both Richard and Johan seem to have used at least two different coats at different stages of their lives. It has been suggested that **Henry**, as co-king, might have borne the same arms as his father did in his later years — probably ***Azure a lion rampant Or*** — and **Richard**, on his first great seal as king (used from 1189 to 1198), seems to have borne *either* the same arms with the ***lion contourné*** (that is, facing to the *sinister* instead of the normal *dexter*), or possibly replaced by ***two* lions *combatant*** (one being hidden by the curvature of the shield on the seal). The royal arms might, therefore, have become in those years either ***Azure a lion rampant contourné Or*** or ***Azure two lions rampant combatant, Or***. The former is more likely.

Richard's next brother **Johan** 'Lackland' bore on the seal he used as Count of Mortain from 1185 to 1199 a radically different version of Geoffrei's arms, in which the *number* of lions was certainly increased from one to *two*, their *posture* was altered from rampant to *passant*, their *facial orientation* was altered from normal to *guardant*, and their *arrangement* on the field was altered from the original, *even* distribution around the field, to a distribution *in pale*, or one above another. Given what we know of the final design, it is also likely that the field tincture was altered from azure to *gules*, though this is

uncertain. The result was a coat that can be blazoned ***Azure*** or ***Gules two lions passant guardant in pale Or*** (Fig. 23g.i).

Johan used these arms as regent for his brother while the latter was in captivity after his capture during his return journey from the Third Crusade, though the great seal in use in that period still bore Richard's arms with the *single visible lion contourné* until 1198. At that time, **Richard**, having again returned to England to deal with various crises, decided to adopt as his own arms a design clearly based on that of his brother, but added a *third* lion above the two Johan had used, and apparently adopted a field tincture of *gules* — establishing what became the definitive design: ***Gules three lions passant guardant in pale Or*** (Fig. 23f.ii).

It was this coat that would be preserved thereafter as the arms of the *King* of England and, ultimately, of the *kingdom* as well, but it would not become the basic arms of the *younger* sons of the English king — and, therefore, of the royal *patrilineage* as a whole — until 1255, when the second son of Johan's older son, King Henry III — **Edmund** 'Crossback' (or 'Crouchback'), Count of Lancaster — was assigned a version of his father's arms, differenced with a ***label of three points of France (azure, each point charged with three fleurs de lys Or)***: the first example of the use of a classic **brisure** in the royal lineage (Fig. 23i).

In the meantime, however, Johan's own *second* son, **Richard** 'of Cornwall' (v. 1209-1272), Count of Cornwall and Poitou (and, from 1257, King by election of the Romans and of Germany), had taken a very different coat, with ***a lion gules on a field argent surrounded with a bordure sable charged with an orle of bezants*** (Fig. 23h), and sometimes represented with a ***gold crown*** on the lion's head. This design resembled those of his patrilineal ancestors only in having the (very common) charge of a *lion rampant*, but closely resembled those of one of his vassals in Poitou. His descendants would bear those arms until the extinction of his branch in the late twentieth century, along with the *segmental* surname **Cornwall** — neither name nor arms suggestive of any connection to the English royal house of Gâtinais/Anjou, of which they constituted a branch.

Even earlier, however, another closely-related branch of the House of Gâtinais/Anjou had assumed both a different *surname* and different *arms*, in this case, on the basis of a pair of uterine descents —

one indirectly from the Capetian Counts of Vermandois and the other directly from the Warenne Counts of Surrey. The founder of this branch was **Hamelin**, the eldest but *illegitimate* son of Count Geoffrey 'the Fair' and, thus, the elder half-brother of King Henry II and the uncle of Kings Henry 'the Young', Richard, and Johan. In 1164, Hamelin's father arranged his marriage to one of the wealthiest heiresses in England, **Isabel de Warenne**, *suo jure* fourth countess of Surrey in succession to her father Count Williame IV — whose great-grandfather, Williame I of Warenne (his seat in Normandy), had been a companion of the Conqueror in 1066 and, in 1088, had been created the first Count of Surrey by the latter's son King Williame II. He and his heirs were commonly called 'Count of **Warenne**' rather than (or in addition to) 'of **Surrey**' — though Warenne was never actually a county and was, of course, in France rather than England.

On his marriage to Isabel de Warenne and investiture with the countship of Surrey, **Hamelin *de Gâtinais/ Anjou*** adopted **de Warenne** as his surname, and his descendants thereafter bore both that *name* and — from an uncertain date before 1202 — *arms* indicative of their descent, not from the earlier *Warennes* — who, as far as we know, had not yet adopted arms by the death of Williame IV — but from the **Counts of Vermandois**.

Of importance here is that his wife Isabel's father, Count Williame III de Warenne, had been the son of Count Williame II by **Isabel (*Capet*) de Vermandois**, Countess of Leicester, herself the daughter of **Hugues (*Capet*) 'de Vermandois'** by Adelaide **(*Caroling*) 'de Vermandois'**, *suo jure* Countess of Vermandois: the daughter and heiress of the last *Carolingian* Count of Vermandois, Herbert IV. As we saw in the previous section, Count Raoul I of Vermandois had displayed a ***chequy*** design of unknown tinctures (but probably *azure and Or*) on his seal as early as c. 1135, and it is certain that, at some time before 1202 (when their outline appeared on the seal of Count Williame), those arms were adopted by Raoul's *doubly uterine* descendants the 'Warenne' Counts of Surrey.

Thus, the agnatic descendants of King Henry II of England came to bear **three entirely different *surnames*** and ***arms* to match each of them** — two of them indicative of a ***uterine*** rather than ***patrilineal*** descent.

13.4.2. Unstable Armigery among Continental Princes c. 1135-c. 1330

Not surprisingly, in light of the account just presented of the arms used by the members of the English upper nobility and royal house in the Formative Period, the early sigillary evidence suggests not only **(1)** that proto-armigery was still relatively *rare* before 1170, but **(2)** that the designs of proto-arms were only *rarely* transmitted to heirs in their original form *anywhere* before 1200,[78] and **(3)** that even after that date, were not always transmitted in a *truly integral* form.

This was no less true in continental patrilineages than in those of England I have just examined, and, in a number of cases across the Channel, the level of variation among the descendants of an early proto-armiger was even more extreme.

This variation can be seen especially clearly in the chart of the arms of the descendants of **Thierry II de Bar**, **Count of Bar**, **Ferrette**, **Montbéliard**, and other lands in Burgundy and Lotharingia, prepared by the late D. L Galbreath, and reproduced in part above in **Fig. 24**.[79] Thierry (alias Dietrich) died in 1103, at least thirty years before the emergence of any known proto-arms, but his three sons and daughter all lived to dates between 1149 and 1163, and, despite the lack of any *direct* evidence for armigery for any of them on surviving seals, they seem to have adopted arms conceived of as forming a *family of designs*, because their children all used arms of that form in the later decades of the century.

[78] See the discussion of the earliest armiferous seals and their owners in ibid., pp. 22-24.

[79] JÉQUIER, *Manuel du Blason*

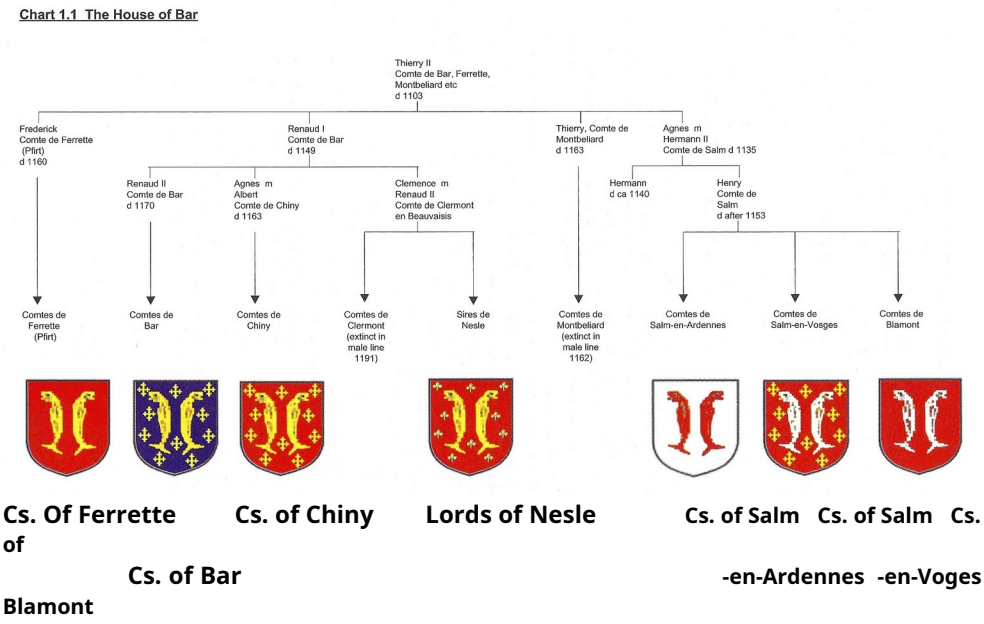


Fig. 24. Unstable Transmission among the Descendants of Count Thierry II
Count of Bar, Ferrette, Montbéliard (Mömpelgard), and Chiny

The heirs of the eldest son, Friderîch, who inherited the **County of Ferrete** (or **Pfirt**) and died in 1160, adopted a coat with a red field whose charges — a ***pair of barbels addorsed Or*** — canted on the dynastic name of Bar. The second son, **Renaud I**, who inherited the County of Bar itself and died in 1149, appears to have adopted a version of that design in which the *field tincture* was changed from ***gules*** to ***azure***, and the field was further ***geratted with cross-crosslets Or***. This coat was employed by his only son **Renaud II** and all of his successors as **Counts of Bar**.

Renaud I also had two daughters, who — rather surprisingly — transmitted versions of his arms to *their* descendants, though the latter belonged to two quite distinct patrilineages. The elder daughter, **Agnes**, married **Albert de Chiny, Count of Chiny**, who died in 1163, having apparently adopted arms that differed from those of the Counts of Bar only in having a red rather than a blue field. The younger daughter, **Clemence**, married **Renaud II de Clermont**, **Count of Clermont-en-Beauvaisis** in north-eastern France, but his elder son died without male issue in 1191, and it was left to his younger son

(who became the lord of the nearby **barony of Nesle**) to pass on a version of the arms of Bar — in this case based on that of Chiny, with the ***cross-crosslets*** replaced by ***trefoils slipped***. Count Thierry I's youngest son, **Thierry de Bar-Montbéliard**, who inherited the **County of Montbéliard**, probably adopted a similar coat before his death in 1163, but died without male issue, and — if such arms ever existed — his *uterine* descendants made no use of them.

It was Renaud I's daughter, **Agnés de Bar**, who transmitted versions of his arms to her descendants by her husband, **Hermann II von Salm**, **Count of Salm** (d. 1135) — all of whom were also descended from her *second* son **Heinrîch** or **Henri**, **Count of Salm** in succession to his brother Hermann from 1140 to 1153. Henri divided his estate into three parts — the first called the **County of Salm-en-Ardennes**, the second the **County of Salm-en-Voges**, and the third the **County of Blamont** — and their counts all bore versions of the arms of Bar: the first with the field altered from ***gules*** *to* ***argent*** and the ***barbels*** *to* ***gules***, the other two with the original ***fields gules*** but ***barbels argent***, and, in the second case, with a field ***geratted*** like those of Bar and Chiny with ***cross-crosslets***.

Thus, *seven* versions of the arms of Bar came to be borne by *two* branches of the **House of Bar** itself (**Bar-Ferette** and **Bar-Bar**), *one* branch of the **House of Clermont** (**Clermont-Nesle**), and *three* branches of the **House of Salm** (**Salm-en-Ardennes**, **Salm-en-Voges**, and **Blamont**).[80]

There are numerous additional examples of the ***imperfect*** (or ***unsystematic***) transmission of proto-arms on the princely level in the later twelfth century. In addition to the arms of Geoffrey 'Plantagenet' (c. 1150), whose case I examined above, these include those of **Guillaume II**, first proto-armigerous Count of Nevers (1140); of **Heinrîch 'the Lion' d'Este/*Welf***, first proto-armigerous **Duke of Saxony and Bavaria** (1144); of **Bouchard de Guise**, first proto-armigerous **Lord of Guise** (1155); and of **Henri (or Heinrîch) I von Leuven**, first proto-armigerous **Duke of Lothier and Brabant** (c. 1189)

[80] Similar but distinctive transmissions of arms occurred among the descendants of Estienne, Count of Burgundy and Vienne (d. 1102), represented in a table by Galbreath in his *Manuel du Blason* (w. Léon Jéquier, Lausanne, 1977), pp. 248-249.

— none of whose arms were transmitted to their heirs without major alterations.

In the last case, the original arms of the **Count of Leuven** took the form ***Gules, a fess argent*** (the eventual arms of the Dukes of both **Austria** and **Lothier**), but they were soon superseded by the arms later attached to the **Duchy of Brabant** (***Sable, a lion rampant Or***). In the same period, the original arms of the **Counts of Flanders** and **Hainaut** — what, on the first seal of Count Baudoin V, appear as a ***chevronny*** pattern in uncertain tinctures — were replaced by the classic coat ***Or, a lion rampant sable***. As it happened, these were the first arms known to have been represented on a *tall* banner, whose shape was almost certainly chosen to suit the upright design of the arms in question.[81]

Other patterns of transmission also emerged in the last decades of the twelfth century. Rather surprisingly, the novel proto-arms used by Johan 'Lackland' *Plantagenet* from 1185 until he succeeded his brother Richard on the English throne in 1199 — ***Gules, two lions passant guardant Or*** — were apparently adopted in 1196 by his *uterine nephew* **Otto d'Este/*Welf*** (son of his sister Eleanor *Plantagenet*, Duchess by marriage of **Saxony and Bavaria**), when Richard gave Otto (or Othon) the Duchy of **Aquitaine**. Equally surprisingly (as we shall see below), the same coat would become the arms of the senior, German branch of Otto's lineage, who had been **Marquises of Este** from 1097 but, from 1180, were referred to by the collective name **Welf**. The junior, Italian branch of that lineage, which retained the marquisate and surname of **Este**, would later adopt the wholly different arms ***Azure an eagle argent***, eventually with ***legs*** **and a** ***crown Or***.

Perfect (or near-perfect) transmissions of arms became more common in the next generation of continental princes. At least the *achromatic designs* of the proto-arms adopted by Margrave **Otakar III** of Styria in 1159; by Count **Philippe d'Alsace** of **Flanders and Vermandois** in 1160/2; by Count **Florenz III of Holland** in 1162; by Lord **Mathieu II of Montmorency** in 1166/77; by Count Palatine **Henri of Champagne** in 1180/96; and by Duke **Henri I of Lothier and**

[81] On these arms, see BOULTON, 'Display of Arms II', *The Coat of Arms*, pp. 218ff.

Brabant c. 1190, were all transmitted to their heirs after 1200, and their tinctures were probably fixed by dates between 1190 and 1240. Nevertheless, for causes I shall explore below in Part 2 of this article, most of them would undergo a long series of modifications and additions, and some would be replaced by others.

Thus, many of the earliest proto-armigers *effectively* belonged to the class of ***individual natural armigers***, because their proto-arms were not at first treated as the hereditary arms of their patrilineage — not being either *inherited* by them or *transmitted* to their heirs. Why this should have been the case is unclear, but it may have been for the simple reason that there was only a very limited tradition of employing a visual sign comparable in any way to proto-arms as an emblem representing any sort of identity other than individual. Only a few emerging patrilineages adopted a custom of using any *other* sort of emblem in the consistent and heritable way that alone could permit it to represent either the lineage or any of its dominions.[82]

It is also significant that it was only in this formative period of armigery that the older tradition of *electing* kings was definitively replaced in Latin Christendom (except in the Holy Roman Empire) by one of *inheritance*, establishing the fundamental importance of patrilineages on all levels of the ruling order — and encouraging the members of royal lineages to mark their membership through the use of some recognizable version of the emblem used by the king. This was no doubt emulated in lineages of ever lower standing, promoting the custom that **arms**, like **surnames**, ought to indicate membership in a particular princely or baronial dynasty. Both customs, however, took a surprisingly long time to be general.

13.5. The Generalization and Eventual Stabilization of Magnatial Arms in England c. 1141-c. 1240

By the time the monk Matthew Paris assembled his brief, painted armorial around 1244, the arms of most of the noble patrilineages in England — baronial and knightly — seem to have become reasonably stable, though the need to *difference* the arms of younger sons and the branches they founded had already begun to introduce the kinds of

[82] See the discussion of the pre-armal monetary marks in D. L. GALBREATH and Léon JÉQUIER, *Manuel du Blason* (Lausanne, 1977), p. 21.

variations through ***additions*** that would continue for the next two centuries.

More importantly, by 1244 armigery itself seems to have been generalized within the ranks of the English nobility — as is suggested by the inclusion of the arms of all but one of the seventeen existing English counts in the first three rows of the first page of the armorial, represented in Figs. 25 and 26, followed by the arms of a total of 113 additional counts, barons, and knights in its remaining pages. By the time the earliest of the longer armorials were composed around 1275, the number of English armigers had probably risen to well over a thousand, including both barons and knights — though no single armorial included the arms of all of them. The largest number of arms in an English armorial of the *thirteenth* century — the ***Collins Roll*** of 1296 — is 598. By comparison, the largest number of arms in a contemporary French armorial —the ***Le Breton Armorial*** of c. 1292 (to be examined in Part 2 of this article) — is 906.

The whole set of English armorials composed before 1307 includes more than 3000 distinct coats, but a high proportion of them are different versions of the arms of a much smaller number of patrilineages, borne in different generations and differenced in various ways to indicate juniority or some other relationship. Surprisingly, a large number of men bearing the same surname are listed in those armorials with different arms or radically different versions of the same arms.

14. The Adoption of Closely Similar or Identical Arms in England in Non-compatrilineal Lineages c. 1215-c. 1315

14.1. Motifs in the Earliest English Armorial (c. 1244)

As I indicated above, the *motifs* of which the arms adopted after 1215 were composed mostly fell into the same formal categories as those found in the later proto-arms of the Formative Period, and seem to have been adopted on the basis of a practice of ***adaptive variation*** on established models. Once again this can be seen in the arms depicted in the very first manuscript armorial — that of the English monk

Matthew Paris, completed around 1244.[83] On its first page (represented below in Figs. 25 and 26), there are forty-two different coats arranged in seven rows of six, all drawn and painted in full colour and identified with inscriptions set below them.

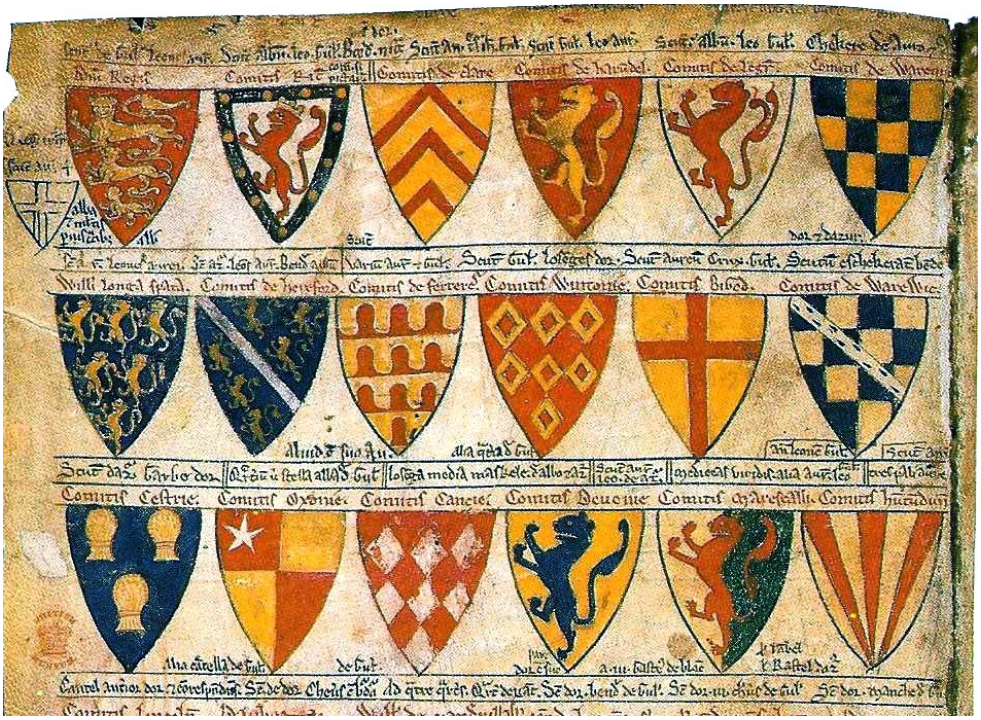


Fig. 25. The Arms of the King and the Counts of England in the Matthew Paris Armorial of c. 1244 (the earliest surviving armorial); the upper half of fol. 1

a. England, b. Cornwall (*Cornwall*), c. Clare (*Gloucester*), d. Aubigny (*Arundel*), e. Warenne (*Surrey*),
f. Longespee (*Salisbury*), g. Bohun (*Hereford*), h. Ferrers (*Derby*),
i. Quincy (*Winchester*), j. Burgh (*Ulster*), k. Beauchamp (*Warwick*), l. Comyn (*Chester*),
m. Vere (*Oxford*), n. Burgh (*Kent*), o. Lisle (*Devon*), p. Le Mareschal (*Pembroke*),
q. Scotland-Huntingdon (*Huntingdon*) – *Names in parentheses are those of counties*

Of these coats, fourteen include what are called ***beasts*** (meaning living creatures), of which eleven are ***lions*** (ten *rampant* and one *passant*), one is an ***eagle*** *displayed*, and two are sets of three other ***birds*** (***popinjays***, *close* rather than *displayed*), and three ***fishes*** (***luces***).

[83] This was edited and partially reproduced in Thomas Daniel Tremlett, *Rolls of Arms: Henry III – The Matthew Paris Shields c. 1244-59*, … (Woodbridge, 1967), pp. 1-86.

Only four coats include other *non*-geometrical figures: two of them *botanical* (a ***garb*** or *sheaf of wheat*, and three ***fleurs-de-lis***) and the other two *artefactual* (three ***covered cups*** and one lady's sleeve or ***manche***).

The remaining twenty-nine coats on the page are composed of purely geometrical figures of extremely varied types. Among them are *four* with different kinds of ***cross***; *five* including the ***chevronels*** of **Clare** (two of them with the central ***bars*** of **FitzWalter**); *two* with the established ***chequy*** pattern of **Warenne**; *one* with the derivative ***lozengy*** pattern and another with its hollowed-out version called ***masculy***; *one* with the comparable pattern called ***vairy***, composed of rows of stylized squirrel-skins dyed in pairs of contrasting tinctures other than the *argent* and *azure of* ***vair*** proper; *five* of the established ***quarterly*** pattern of the **FitzRogers** (three of them *debruised* by the ***bendlets*** commonly used for ***differencing*** — a figure also set between the six lions of the first set); *one* including a ***fess*** (charged with three ***roundels***, commonly used for *differencing* to mark juniority); *one* a related ***barry*** pattern with a novel ***wavy*** outline for its six elements; and *one* with a novel combination of triangular figures called ***piles***.

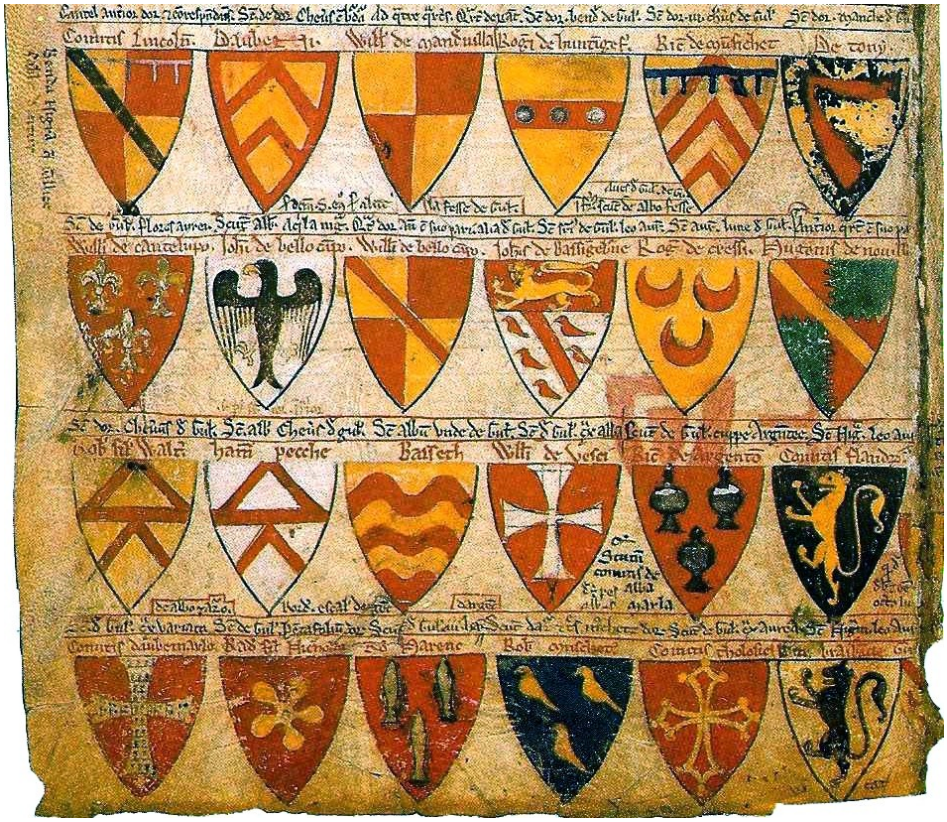


Fig. 26. The lower half of fol. 1 of the Matthew Paris Armorial of 1244

One coat (that of the Vere Count of Oxford) also includes what was to be an important element of the later system of differencing — the ***mullet*** or spur-rowel — and another coat includes three ***crescents***, also later used especially for differencing. The most complex coat is one that sets the single ***passant lion*** on a ***chief*** above a field on which a ***bendlet*** is placed between six small birds called ***martlets***— yet another type of charge that came to be used especially for differencing.

It is worth noting that all but one of the designs in Matthew Paris’s armorial conform to the classic (but as-yet-unofficial) convention that, for reasons of visibility and distinction, tinctures later called ***metals*** — **silver/white** and **gold/yellow** — and the other tinctures later called ***colours***, should not be placed over others of the same class. The exception (the arms of Le Mareschal, Count of Pembroke) is also the only design to include a field *party per pale* in a ***metal*** (*Or*) and a ***colour*** (*vert*), over which is set a single charge in a ***colour*** (a *lion rampant*).

The armorials produced in and after 1275 include all of these forms of design, along with a bewildering variety of additional ones with generally similar elements arranged in a much larger number of combinations, but following the same basic conventions. For example, many more arrangements of ***bars*** in differing numbers and tinctures (including the conventional *furs, ermine,* and *vair*) with differing outlines (including *nebuly*, *indented*, and *engrailed*) can be seen in these armorials. Many additional types of basic charge — including new types of *beast* — were also added to the very small set seen in the armorial of 1244.

These additions to the repertoire of charges ought, in principle, to have permitted a corpus of several thousand different arms with little or no repetition or overlap, in which every armigerous patrilineage had a basic coat of arms of *unique design*, and every member of that lineage had a *clearly differenced version* of that design. This was the obvious goal of a system of emblems intended to represent both lineal and intralineal identities as clearly and unequivocally as possible.

Unfortunately, nothing like that happy state was achieved even approximately, in England or anywhere else, before the late sixteenth century. In practice, far too many new armigers chose to adopt arms that were either *extremely similar* or actually *identical* to those of a number of other armigers who were not members of the same patrilineage.

The reasons for this situation were probably twofold. One of these was the complete lack in any country before 1530 *either* of anything like an official **registry** of arms *or* of a **body of royal officers** with the authority to create such a registry, and enforce the *ideal* principle of '**one man, one coat**' in the contexts of musters and knightly sports. Not until 1530 were the heralds of England (the country with the strongest heraldic establishment) given such authority.

This left the decision of what form the arms of a young nobleman should take at the time of his admission to knighthood (when arms were probably assigned, given their apparent restriction to dubbed knights in England) either to his **father** or (more rarely, it

would appear) to the **lord who made him a knight**.[84] Nor was there any rule preventing an armiger from *altering* or even *abandoning* the coat thus acquired later in his life, and, as we have seen in the practices of the English royal house around 1200, a number of early armigers did so at least once and sometimes twice.

The other reason for the high level of repetition among arms was the marked tendency of proto-armigers to adopt (or have assigned to them) as elements of their arms, motifs, colours, arrangements, and abstract patterns, on the basis of a simple *imitation* of those adopted earlier by their relatives, friends, allies, or lords. This was probably indicative of a strong desire on the part of new armigers to suggest such relationships, even at the expense of the individual distinctiveness ultimately required.

A related practice even more harmful to the goal of representing *clearly* what began as a *few dozen* individual identities (those of princes and major barons) but soon rose to representing *hundreds* and then *thousands* of such identities, was that of effectively **restricting the range of *motifs* employed** in armal designs with any frequency to a relatively small proportion of the *possible* set, some of which were used with only very minor and scarcely noticeable variations by large numbers of *individuals* and, in consequence, by the *lineages* descended from them.

14.2. The Repetitive Use of a Limited Range of Beasts

As we have seen, one of the most common types of motif or '**charge**' included in early arms was what was called a ***beste*** or 'beast' — a term that meant '*living creature, real or imaginary, especially of mammalian, reptilian, avian, or aquatic form*'. An analysis of the arms represented in the new general *Ordinary of British Arms* acquired before 1500, published by the Society of Antiquaries,[85] reveals *thirty-two* species of

[84] I have as yet found no clear evidence for the practice of assigning arms.

[85] *Dictionary of British Arms: Medieval Ordinary* (London, 1992-2014). The frequency of beasts in the thirteenth century can be seen from a survey of the animal-motifs found English armorials of that period, of which a useful ordinary was prepared by Cecil HUMPHERY-SMITH (*Anglo-Norman Armory: An Ordinary of Thirteenth-Century Armorials*, Canterbury, 1984). Some 29 coats included one or more ***merlettes*** or **martlets** (a common form of brisure), while only 3 included a **hare** or a **horse**, and 2 included a **dolphin** or a **hedgehog**, and only 1 included a **bear**, a **coney** (or **rabbit**), a **stag**, a **hind**, a

mammalian '**beasts**',[86] *sixteen* species of '**birds**', and *four* species of '**fishes**',[87] for a total of *fifty-one* species of **creature** that would be included in arms by 1500.[88]

A comparable analysis of Humphery-Smith's *Ordinary* derived from the armorials of the period 1275 – 1315, however, reveals that the number of **beasts** included in their designs increased only from the *five* in Matthew Paris's armorial — the ***lion***, ***eagle***, ***martlet***, ***popinjay***, and ***luce*** — to include nine others — the ***bear***, ***rabbit*** (or ***coney***), ***hare***, ***stag***, ***hind***, ***horse***, ***bull***, ***greyhound***, and ***wolf*****.** Moreover, most of these new species appeared in only a handful of coats, often foreign: the ***rabbit***, ***stag***, ***hind***, and ***wolf*** each in a *single* coat (mainly foreign); the ***bear*** in *two* (both English); the ***greyhound*** in *five* (four of them English **Mauleverers**, on whose name they canted); the ***talbot hound*** in *one* (English); the ***hare*** in *three* (all foreign and imaginary);

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heron, or a **popinjay**.

[86] I presented a lecture on the variety of beasts included in heraldic arms at New York University on 4 November 2013 — "Heraldic Beasts: Their Selection and Semeiotic Function in the Design of Arms, Crests, and Badges c. 1140 - c. 1500"— and the following list is extracted from the handout I prepared for that lecture. It is based mainly on Humphery-Smith's *Anglo-Norman Armory* and the four volumes of the *Dictionary of British Arms*. The **BEASTS** *stricto sensu* listed are, in alphabetical order after no. 1: (1) the **lion** (192 p.), (2) the **leopard** or 'pard', (3) the **antelope**, (4) the **bear**, (5) the **boar**, (6) the bull, (7) the camel, (8) the **dragon**, (9) the **cat**, (10), the **deer**, (11) the **dog**, (12) the **elephant**, (13) the **fox**, (14) the **goat**, (15) the **hare**, (16) the **coney** or **rabbit**, (17) the **leveret** or **greyhound**, (18) the **horse**, (19) the **ass**, (20) the **donkey**, (21) the **mule**, (22) the **otter**; (23) the **ox**, (24) the **porcupine**, (25) the **ram**, (26) the **rat**, (27) the **sheep** or **lamb**, (28) the **squirrel**, (30) the **tiger**, (31) the **urchin** or **hedgehog**, and (32) the **wolf**. Only those in ***red letters*** were mentioned in the earliest treatise on armory, Bado Aureo's *Tractatus de Armis* of c. 1395.

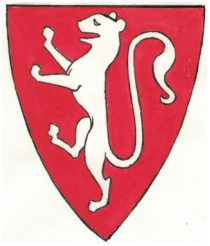
[87] The **BIRDS** were, again in alphabetical order after no. 1, and with the same colour-code: (1) the **eagle**, (2) the **cock**, (3) the **crow**, (4) the **dove**, (5) the **falcon**, (6) the **griffin** (7) the **heron**, (8) the **martlet**, (9) the **owl**, (10) the **peacock**, (11) the **pelican**, (12) the **pheasant**, (13), the **popinjay** or **parrot**, (14) the **swan**, (15) the **lapwing**, and (16) the **ostrich**. The **FISHES** were (1) the **luce**, (2) the **crab**, (3) the **dolphin**, and (4) the **barbel**.

[88]

the ***hedgehog*** or ***urchin*** in *two* (both English **Herries**, again canting); and the ***horse*** in *two* (both foreign).

In fact, only *two* of these fourteen species — the original ***lion*** and ***eagle*** — appeared in more than three coats. Both of those species, however, were extremely common: *several hundred* coats included from one to six ***lions***, and *one hundred and sixty-four* coats included ***eagles*** in a similar range of numbers per coat.

To make matters worse, designs including lions and eagles in the *same numbers and tinctures* were commonly adopted by several unrelated armigers. To note only the simplest designs involving the most common leonine posture (***rampant***), by 1315, members of *five* English lineages (**Dunbar**, **Everingham**, **Merk**, **Mowbray**, and **Weckingden**) bore the arms ***Gules a lion rampant argent***; *four* lineages (those of **Bigod**, **Brewes**, **Burghersh**, and **FitzAlan**) bore ***Gules a lion rampant Or***; *three* lineages (**Brian**, **Montalt**, and **Wikes**) bore ***Azure a lion rampant argent***; *six* lineages (**Bibbesworth**, **Bilnenone**, **Neville**, **Rhodes**, **Ronty**, and **Sully**) bore ***Azure a lion rampant Or*** (probably borne by King Henry II); *seven* lineages (including **Kingston**, **Renedoker**, **Segrave**, and **Verdon**) bore ***Sable a lion rampant argent***; *three* lineages (**Archer**, **Nortoft**, and **Pultimore**) bore ***Sable a lion rampant Or***; *one* lineage (**Bolbel**) bore ***Vert a lion rampant ermine***; *one* lineage (**Norton**) bore ***Vert a lion rampant Or***; *one* lineage (**FitzSimon**) bore ***Azure, a lion rampant ermine***; *one* (**Nerford**) bore ***Gules a lion rampant ermine***; and *one* (**Beveringham**) bore ***Gules a lion rampant vair***. This amounted to a total of ***thirty-one*** lineages whose members bore a ***single lion rampant*** in basic tinctures (including the furs *ermine* and *vair*) without further modifications — among them ***six identical sets*** of from *three* to *six* lineages.[89]




Dunbar, Everingham, Merk, Mowbray, **Bigod, Brewes, Burghersh, FitzAlan** **Bibbesworth, Bilnenone, Neville,** **Kingston, Renedoker, Segrave, Verdon**

[89] HUMPHERY-SMITH, *Anglo-Norman Armory Two*, passim.

Weckingden **Rhodes, Ronty, Sully** **+ 3 others**

Fig. 27. Some of the identical designs of English Arms in the thirteenth century:
four of the 77 coats including only a *single lion rampant*,
borne by members of 22 patrilineages

The number of such designs was further extended through minor modifications like changing the ***tincture*** of the lion's ***tongue*** (later joined in many cases by its ***claws***), and the division of its ***tail*** into two *branches* (eventually called ***queue-fourchy*** or ***double queued*** according to the depth of the division). Of these designs, there were ***fifteen*** tinctural variants, borne by members of ***twenty-two*** lineages.

Arms might also be modified through the placement of such artificial attributes as a ***collar*** around the lion's neck (found in ***eleven*** tinctural variants in *ANA*2, borne by ***eight*** English lineages) or of a ***crown*** on the lion's head — examples of which are found in ***sixteen*** tinctural variants, borne by members of ***twenty-four*** different lineages.

These modifications brought the number of distinct coats including only a **single lion rampant** as a charge on a plain field to ***seventy-seven***, and that number was increased to ***eighty*** by three coats with ***barry fields***. The addition of a *bordure* of some sort increased the number of *uni-leoniferous* British coats in the census by about a dozen to just over ***ninety***.

Finally, the number of arms whose sole *form* of charge was that of a *lion rampant* was increased by the multiplication in the ***number*** *of lions* to ***two***, ***three***, or ***six*** — the number in the arms both of the **Longespees** and the **Bohuns**. In fact, arms composed *solely* of ***three lions rampant*** were borne in ***ten*** different tinctural arrangements by no fewer than ***twenty-one lineages***, and members of ***five*** such lineages (**Belhous**, **Bellyns**, **Coumbe**, **Creuilly**, and **Talbot**) bore the arms ***Argent, three lions rampant gules***.

Fig. 28. A Section of the Group of Arms Bearing *two lions passant in pale* (from *Prince Arthur’s Book*).[90] Arms borne by Stranges are at 2, 8, 10, and 11.

Designs including ***lions passant*** (‘walking’)— the only other bodily attitude attested before 1307 — were also very common, especially in pairs set in pale. By that year, ***sixteen*** lineages — those of **Brampton**, **Canuit**, **Canville**, **Ereby**, **Felton**, **Foliot**, **Giffard**, **Goldington**, **Hardenstone**, **le Strange**, **Oreby**, **Paynell**, **Pedwarden**, **Poleford**, **St Valery**, **Springhose**, and **Somery** — employed versions of that design differing only in their *tinctures* (twelve of which can be seen in Fig. 28 above).[91] Again, there were several cases of *identical* designs, but, more surprisingly, there were several with *different tinctures* that represented members of the *same* lineage — including that of **le Strange**, whose members bore *four* tinctural variants of the original coat ***Gules, two lions passant argent*** (all included in Fig. 28).

Lions both rampant and passant were also commonly distinguished by a change in ***facial orientation***, primarily to that called ***guardant***, or ‘looking *outwards*’, though occasionally ***regardant***, or ‘looking *backwards*’. The former orientation was particularly common for *passant* lions, presumably on the model of the English royal arms — which were certainly one of the earliest to include lions ‘***passant guardant*’**. Humphery-Smith identified **nine** designs with ***two*** such

[90] From a page reproduced in Thomas Woodcock and John Martin Robinson, *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry* (Oxford, 1988), pl. 1, f. p. 48

[91] Ibid., pp. 106-07. In some cases, the earliest recorded versions are differenced with labels, bends, or bendlets.

lions adopted by 1307, representing ***thirteen lineages,*** and **eight** designs with ***three*** passant lions not-guardant, representing ***ten lineages***.

Humphery-Smith also identified **twenty-two** designs bearing ***three lions rampant,*** set *two and one* — some on *plain* fields and others on *barry* fields — together representing only slightly fewer lineages, and **sixteen** designs bearing ***six lions rampant*** as their primary charges — a number equivalent to those bearing *pairs of lions passant* listed above. Thus, the lion in one posture or number or another was the sole or dominant element of a high proportion of the arms borne in England before 1307.

14.3. The Repetitive Use of a Narrow Range of Geometrical Patterns

The same kind of multiplicity can be found in the armorials of the period among a number of ***simple geometrical designs***, which formed similar **families of arms** with a high degree of resemblance and overlap. The most notorious of these are the families composed of arms with **(a)** a simple **quarterly design** and **(b)** a simple **chequy** design.

In the armorials of the period before 1307 included in Humphery-Smith's *Ordinary*, **quarterly arms** without any additional charges were borne in ***thirteen*** tinctural variations by members of ***seventeen*** distinct lineages, including **Beauchamp** (once) and **Mandeville**, **Say**, and **Sulleny** (all three with *three* tinctural variants). It was also borne with a ***label of five points*** for difference, in *five* different tinctures, one surcharged, by members of ***six*** *additional* houses: **Cheyney** (with *two* tinctural variants), **Rochefort** and **Huntingfield** (with *two* tinctural variants), **Pomfret**, and **Kenei** — and in four *additional* versions with ***labels of three points*** in *three* different tinctures (one surcharged), bringing the total number of lineages with this design to ***twenty-three***. Finally, in a *formal* variant involving an ***indented horizontal partition-line*** (and, in one case, ***a label of three points***), the **quarterly** pattern was borne in ***seven*** tinctural variants by seven **FitzWarrens** and one **More**; in ***three*** additional tinctural variants by members of the houses of **Bromley**, **Acton**, and **Perot**; and, in the case with the *label*, that of **Hodenet** — bringing the total number of

lineages with a ***simple quarterly coat*** to ***twenty-nine***. This was the same number as that of the lineages with ***single unaugmented lions rampant***.

The arms bearing only a **simple chequy design** were less numerous, but gave rise to a larger family through the addition of various other charges. The basic coat in two tinctures was probably adopted first by the Warennes, as heirs of the Vermandois, but the armorials of the period include ***seven tinctural variants*** borne by ***ten lineages***: those of **Warenne, Tateshale**, **Gatton**, **Mouncy**, **Vaus** or **Vaux**, and **Moulton**. The **Vauxes** bore them in variants of ***argent and gules*** and ***gules and argent*** (determined by the tincture of the first square on the shield), the **Moultons** in variants of ***Or and gules*** and ***Or and sable*** — though branches of the latter lineage also bore arms with three *bars*, in two tinctural variants: ***Gules, three bars argent*** and ***Argent, three bars gules***.

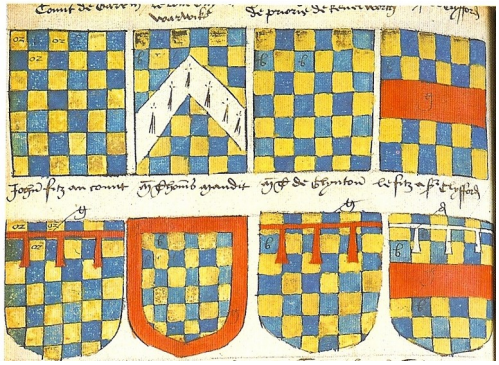


Fig. 29. Some Members of the Warenne Group of Arms
(from *Flowers' Ordinary* c. 1520)[92]

As this suggests, the other **geometrical groups** of arms included one composed of arms whose design consisted of a ***field with two bars***. The English armorials of the census include **four** lineages bearing ***Argent, two bars azure***, **six** bearing ***Argent, two bars gules***, **three** bearing ***Gules, two bars Or***, **two** bearing ***Sable, two bars Or***, and **two** bearing ***Azure, two bars Or***: a total of **seventeen** coats with this simple design in simple tinctures, with **five sets** of *identical* arms. Many others differed only in such minor ways as the use of a ***fur*** for a tincture, or the addition of a ***bar***.[93]

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[92] From a page reproduced in Woodcock and Robinson, *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry* (Oxford, 1988), pl. 2, f. p. 48

[93] Ibid., passim.

Coats whose principal charge was a ***fess*** — in effect, a *single* bar of wider proportions — were slightly less common in the armorials analysed, but are of interest here because they include the arms of the principal branch of the House of **Beauchamp** — who, as we have seen, succeeded the Beaumonts as Counts of Warwick, having adopted arms quite different from the simple quarterly of the senior branch.

In addition to the chief of that branch of the Beauchamps, **two** other lineages (**Bertram** and **Jauche**) bore ***Gules, a fess Or***; **two** others (**Mascy** and **Solers**) bore ***Or, a fess azure***; **seven** lineages (**Bethune**, **Chavent**, **Coleville**, **Kent**, **Locres**, **Marmoun**, and **Thweng**) bore ***Argent, a fess gules***; **three** lineages (**Charneux**, **Mesri**, and **Perweis**) bore ***Gules, a fess argent***; **one** lineage (**Waleys**) bore **both** ***Gules, a fess sable*** and ***Gules, a fess ermine***; **five** lineages (**Abbehale**, **Coleville**, **FitzWilliam**, **Haveskerke**, and **Obehale**) bore ***Or, a fess gules***; **one** (a branch of **Darcy**) bore ***Sable, a fess Or***; **one** (**Dyne**) ***Or, a fess sable***; **one** (**Kerdif**) ***Azure, a fess Or***; and **two** (**Bitton** and **Tibouville**) ***Ermine a fess gules***. Thus, the basic design of a field with *a single fess in basic tinctures* was borne by members of ***twenty-six lineages*** in thirteenth-century England.

More surprising still is that versions of these designs differenced with a **label**, a field strewn with **billets**, and one strewn with **cross-crosslets** — all borne by members of the House of **Beauchamp** — were similarly used (in various dichromatic combinations) by at least *one* and as many as *three* other lineages.[94]

14.4. The Repetitive Use of a Narrow Range of Lesser Charges, like Cinquefoils, Escallops, and Birdbolts

A limited set of lesser charges was also employed with surprising frequency. Charges like **cinquefoils** and **escallops** came to be used by a number of different patrilineages, once again, in some cases, in identical numbers, arrangements, and tinctures. The design composed of ***three cinquefoils*** *on a plain field* was borne by **seven** different lineages — **Bardolf**, **Burwenton**, **Darcy**, **Estenhull**, and **Mauclerk** in England, and **Carrick** in Scotland — and members of those of **Bardolf**,

[94] Ibid., pp. 374-76

Darcy, and **Estenhull** all bore the same version of this design: ***Argent, three cinquefoils gules***.[95]

Darcy arms of that design are also recorded with ***bordures engrailed gules*** and ***indented sable*** — presumably differences. One Darcy reduced the number of cinquefoils in his arms from ***three*** to ***one*** (a design shared with **three** other lineages), and some Darcys replaced the cinquefoils with ***roses***. Two Darcys bore ***Gules, three roses argent*** (one with a ***label azure***); one bore ***Argent, three roses gules (within a bordure engrailed sable)***; and one bore ***Argent, semy of roses gules*** (only *technically* distinct from the ***Argent, ten roses gules*** of **Roseles**). And, as we have seen, one line of Darcys bore the wholly *unrelated* arms ***Sable, a fess Or*** — bringing the number of distinct coats borne by members of that baronial lineage to **five**, not counting those with obvious brisures.

In the case of **escallops**, the design composed of three on a plain field was also borne by **five** different lineages, of which **two** — **Dacre** and **Prayers** — bore it in the same tinctures: ***Gules, three escallops argent***.[96]

A few lesser charges, by contrast — especially those used exclusively to play on the armiger's *surname* — remained quite rare, and therefore produced minimal duplication (though still more than might have been expected). As I shall show in § 15 below, only **three** lineages are recorded in thirteenth-century armorials as using arms including **bird-bolts** or **bozons** — the blunt-headed crossbow-bolts used for hunting birds and small game. All were clearly adopted for *canting* purposes. ***Argent, three bird-bolts in pile gules*** was adopted both by a lineage named **Bozon** and by one named **Boulton**, and a version with those tinctures reversed was adopted by one named

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[95] Ibid., pp. 448-49, 452-53

[96] Ibid., p. 351. Eventually a third lineage using that design would be introduced by immigration: that of (**Van**) **Keppel**, Lords of Keppel in Gelderland from 1179**.** A member of that lineage (Arnold Joost Van Keppel, created Earl of Albemarle in 1696), arrived with King William III, and in England he and his descendants have used his ancestral arms without difference to the present day. Another coat of the thirteenth-century had *three escallops on a field barry of twelve* (**FitzRalph**), one had *six escallops on a plain field* (**Scales**), two had *ten escallops* (**Estcote** and **Scales**), and one had a *semy of escallops* (**Boyton**) (Ibid., p. 352).

Boltesham.[97] By the fifteenth century, a version in the form ***Azure, three bird-bolts palewise Or*** had been adopted by another lineage named **Bolton** (that of **Bolton-le-Moors** in Lancashire: my own probable ancestors), later differenced by a probable cadet who had settled in Lincolnshire (**Henry Bolton of Stixwold**, my certain ancestor) by changing the orientation of the birdbolts from *palewise* to *fesswise*.

I shall have more to say about these arms in the final section of this Part — which will also show that even such obvious canting charges were more often ignored than adopted, because most of the numerous armigerous lineages named '**Bolton**' or '**Boulton**' included *no* **birdbolts** in their arms (though one had charges in the much less recognizable form of **door-bolts**).

14.5. Other Groups of Arms in Latin Christendom and Their Common Origin in the Imitation of a Distinguished Model

The sort of replication found in all but the last set of cases — and, indeed, in a majority of those recorded in the armorials of the thirteenth century — was by no means confined to any single country, but quite common throughout the lands of Latin Christendom.

It is likely that there were scores of arms consisting of a **single lion rampant** beyond the twenty-nine in thirteenth-century England, and an even greater number with such minor distinctions as a **crown** set on its head or a **sword** or **axe** placed in its paws (**Norway**). Other distinctions included a **bordure** set around it; small charges like **billets** (County Palatine of **Burgundy**) strewn over the field; and geometrical patterns (especially **barry**) set either on the *field* (Barony of **Lusignan**) or on the *lion* itself (Landgraviates of **Thuringia** and **Hessen**). Arms whose sole *major* charge was a **single lion rampant**, augmented in one or more of these ways, ultimately included those of eight *kingdoms* (**Scotland**, **León**, **Norway**, **Sweden**, **Finland**, **Armenia**, **Bohemia**, and **Bulgaria**) and many major *principalities* (including **Flanders**, **Holland**, **Brabant**, **Namur**, and the **County Palatine of the Rhine**) — and an even greater number of baronial houses in England alone, as we have seen.

[97] *Anglo-Norman Armory*, p. 211)

The largest **groups of arms** in England (and, presumably, in other countries) seem to have originated in the imitation of the arms of particular dignitaries. In the case of the patrilineages bearing arms similar to those of the **le Stranges** — ***Gules, two lions passant argent*** shown in Fig. 28 above — the original model for the latter would appear to have been the arms of the future king, **Johan 'Lackland'**, borne before his ascent to the throne on the death of his older brother Richard in 1199.

Strikingly, however, only a handful of men outside the royal family in England are recorded as using arms modelled directly on those adopted by King Richard himself in 1198: ***Gules, three lions passant guardant in pale Or***. **David Flutewick** bore the ***three lions passant guardant sable on a field argent***, **Piers Haloure** bore them in in ***sable on a field Or***, and **Thomas Lodelowe** or **Ludlow** bore them either ***argent on a field azure*** or the ***reverse***.

A similar number of arms found in the English armorials in Humphery-Smith's census seem to have been inspired by those of the contemporary Kings of France, which, from about 1220, were ***Azure, semy of fleurs-de-lis Or***. Members of the houses of **Peyfrer(er)**, **Graucure**, and **Mortimer** bore tinctural variants of those arms, and members of a much larger number — *seventeen* — bore tinctural variants of the *later* version of the French royal arms, in which the number of fleurs-de-lis was reduced to three. Johan Cantelupe actually bore ***Azure, three fleurs-de-lis Or***, accidentally anticipating the post-1380 arms of France. None of these lineages had any special relationship to either royal house, so there was clearly no prohibition on the imitation of royal arms by unrelated subjects.

Other groups of arms comparable in numbers to those involving two lions were based on those of such great houses as those of **Warenne** (noted above with ten tinctural variants of the basic design but with additions like a fess, bordure, or label like those shown in Fig. 18, including many others suggested in Fig. 29 above) and **Clare** (whose ***Or three chevronels gules*** gave rise to a similar number of variants with different numbers of chevronels or chevrons, many with similar additions).

14.6. The Polysemy and Resultant Confusion Created by the Existence of Numerous Identical Arms, and the Lack of Effective Remedy before 1530

As a result of the practice of adopting arms in this manner — which gave rise to dozens of groups of identical or nearly identical arms — a very high proportion of the earliest arms were fundamentally *polysemous*, representing numerous different armigers without distinction, both within and across the borders of kingdoms. We shall see some of the unfortunate consequences of these and other unsystematic practices for the effectiveness of arms as truly distinctive emblems of patrilineages and their members in Part 2 of this article. The most obvious of these consequences was that those bearing such arms would have been very difficult for their fellow knights to distinguish from one another in the context of *battles*, but it would also have undermined the value of civil displays of the arms on clothing, accessories, and memorials.

The fact and extent of such confusing multiplications of a single design are also strongly indicative of a total lack of *coordination* in the adoption of armal designs throughout the formative period, and thoroughly undermine the old idea that the *heralds* (who had emerged in the latter decades of the twelfth century in their original rôle as tournament criers) played any significant rôle in the process of selecting distinctive designs. Certainly, the existence of so many similar and even *identical* coats must have made their basic task of *identifying* them — either in martial sports or in musters on the field of combat — extremely difficult.

Although *conscious imitation* certainly played a major rôle in the multiplication of identical designs, in many cases, the founders of unrelated patrilineages must have adopted similar or identical arms within the same kingdom quite *accidently*, because the geographical separation between their lands meant that neither adopter had any knowledge of the arms of the other. Such duplication was essentially harmless as long as members of both lineages remained within their original geographical sphere — usually a single county or pair of counties — but led to problems and disputes when they found themselves operating in the *same* sphere — especially the royal host, where both would have displayed their arms, and some distinction between them must have been tactically necessary.

In most kingdoms, there was no legal remedy to such disputes — always based on precedence of usage — but, in England, from c. 1350, they could be brought before the new court of martial affairs called the *Curia Militaris* or *High Court of Chivalrie*, under the presidency of the *appointed* High Constable and the *hereditary* Marshal of the realm. The records of several such cases have been preserved, the best known being that between the chiefs of the lineages of Scrope and Grosvenor, whose ancestors had adopted the same simple arms ***Azure, a bend Or***. Only Scrope's coat is recorded in the armorials of the census, Grosvenor being listed with one in the same *tinctures* but with a *garb* in place of the *bend*. The judgement in this case was given in favour of Scrope, and Grosvenor was obliged to revert to his ancestral coat with the garb — still borne today by his heir, the Duke of Westminster.

In the absence of anything like a compendious (if still incomplete) register of armigerous lineages before the late seventeenth century, there must have remained many examples of comparable duplication unknown to the armigers in question.[98] After Henry VIII's establishment of the heraldic Visitations in 1530, such adjustments were, in principle, imposed (albeit in many long stages) by the heralds on the basis of their ever more copious records of armigery within the kingdom as a whole, and, from that time, the *principle* (if not the *reality*) of '**one lineage, one coat**' has been largely maintained in England. In reality most heraldic Visitations were incomplete, and many counties were visited at rather late dates. How the heralds dealt with the numerous examples of redundancy that had existed before the earliest visitations remains unclear, but a great many are still recorded in the standard works of reference.

15. The Use of Wholly *Unrelated* Arms by *Homonymous* but *Unrelated* Patrilineages

15.1. The Origins of the Practice, Especially in England

To this point, I have dealt primarily with the problems that arose from the adoption of *similar* or *identical* arms by members of distinct patrilineages with *different* surnames, and the changes either of *names* or of *arms* or of *both* within natural patrilineages. Both practices gave

[98] On these matters, see G. D. Squibb, *The High Court of Chivalry: A Study in the Civil Law in England* (Oxford, 1959)

rise to numerous **nominal** and **nominal-armal *segments*** (as I shall call them), whose relationships to one another were obscured by such changes. These were problems that seem to have been especially common in princely and baronial lineages, as I shall demonstrate in Part 2 of this article.

On the lower levels of national armigerates, however, a different problem arose with the growth of armigery, beginning in the **squirage** or ***county* gentry** (as it came to be called in England), composed of squires who did not seek knighthood, and their wives and children.[99] The practice of declining knighthood among those qualified for it in order to avoid the expenses associated with it while *retaining* armigery and other marks of noble status was common in France and other continental lands from the early thirteenth century. In England, by contrast, armigery among the landed squires — later grouped with the knights as constituting the lower nobility or **gentry** of individual counties — seems to have remained relatively rare before the later fourteenth century.

In the fifteenth century, however, armigery not only became normal on the level of the **county gentry** in England — mainly composed of simple knights and their descendants who possessed manors — but spread further downwards into the growing class of what were eventually called the **parish gentry**: men of the newly-defined rank of simple **gentleman** and their wives, whose education and lifestyle were comparable to those of the manorial lords of both knightly and squirely rank and their wives but who possessed only modest, intra-manorial properties, and were commonly obliged to practise a learned profession — in law, medicine, or the church. On both the county and parish level, like those above it, once established, **armigery** — considerably expanded through grants from the royal heralds charged with overseeing such matters, but also by informal assumption — was inherited by both the sons and daughters of the primary armiger, and transmitted to the descendants of the former to the present. Lineages of all these origins and ranks appear among the gentlefolk portrayed in the novels of Jane Austen, where the notion of 'gentility' united the sub-parial ranks for most social purposes,

[99] On the history of the English gentry, see esp. Peter Coss, 'Knights, esquires, and the origins of social gradation in England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., no. 5, pp.216-238.

including marriage — though the model of '*Mr* Darcy' with his vast estate was actually an earl.

Members of both of the newer classes of armigerous gentlefolk, like their analogues in continental countries, nevertheless functioned primarily within the boundaries of a single county or comparable jurisdiction and were virtually unknown much beyond its boundaries. In consequence, knowledge of the history of their patrilineages and of the surnames their founders had adopted was similarly constrained geographically.

The first relevant consequence of this situation was a **multiplication of *unrelated* armigerous patrilineages *bearing the same surname*** but generally unknown to one another. The second relevant consequence was that numerous such **co-nominal** but **non-consanguineal** lineages (as they may usefully be called) acquired, by one means or another, completely different arms. The surnames of such lineages, both *among* and even *within* counties, might be of any origin — **patronymic**, **official**, **occupational**, **descriptive**, or **toponymic** — but those of the last category were the most common type used by noble lineages both before and after about 1400 and are, therefore, of particular interest.

15.2. The Problem of Identical Toponyms and the Consequent Multiplicity of Identical Toponymic and Kyrionymic Surnames

Most toponymic surnames were derived from that of a village with which the lineage was particularly associated in either of two *very different ways*. In the circles of the nobility before about 1250, when most of their later surnames were adopted, the association involved the *lordship* of the village in question and of the manor of which it was the administrative centre. As I noted above, such toponymic surnames — which included **de Clare**, **de Arcy**, **de Dacre**, **de Moulton**, **de Bolton**, and hundreds of others — may be subclassified as **kyrionyms** and described as ***kyrionymic*** or '*lordly* names'.

The bearers of such kyrionyms were not necessarily the *current* lords of such manors, but merely members of the lineage of one of its early lords, descended in the male line from its founder. Normally, when the manor (and the barony of which it might also be the *caput*) passed from its first to a later lineage, the new lord kept his own ancestral name and transmitted it to his agnatic descendants, with various forms of difference for cadets, while the surname derived from

it continued to be used without difference by the members of the surviving cadet branches of the lineage of the original lord — some of whom were often the lords of other manors.

The second type of relationship with a village that gave rise to one or more toponymic *surnames* was very different. Many ignoble lineages seem to have acquired a toponymic surname merely because they *came from the place* so named, and had moved to another place. In this way, any number of quite unrelated patrilineages might acquire the name in question at various different times. Such names may be subclassified as **non-*kyrionymic toponymic* surnames**.

From the point of view of the historian of both *nominigery* and *armigery*, this problem of distinguishing among lineages with either type of toponymic surname is further complicated by the fact that, in most countries, many **village-names** appeared in two or more counties or comparable jurisdictions and in some cases, even appeared in different parts of a single county. Even relatively rare names like '**Dacre**' might be used of more than one village,[100] and more common names (including '**Bolton**' and '**Moulton**') might be used of up to a dozen or more.[101] In the latter situation, even if only *one* patrilineage had taken its surname from each village in question, that surname would have come to be borne by members of numerous, quite unrelated patrilineages. Assuming that each of the villages in question gave its name to the patrilineage of an early lord or principal landowner, and that each of those patrilineages became armigerous either through assumption (the normal method before 1400) or through a royal grant during the course of the fourteenth or a subsequent century, by 1500, there would have been at least a dozen wholly unrelated ***armigerous* patrilineages** bearing the same ***kyrionymic* surname**. It is also likely that junior branches of many of

[100] According to the *DEPN* (p. 108) the Celtic name **Dacre** was found *both* in Cumberland (where its eponymous castle gave its name to a baronial family and to its parial barony, long one of the oldest), and *also* in neighbouring N. Yorkshire.

[101] According to the *DEPN* (pp. 247-8), the name **Moulton** (whose meaning was "*the settlement of a man named Mula, or one where mules are kept*") appears not only in **Lincolnshire** (where it was the eponymous seat of a baronial family that held the great honour of Gillesland in Cumberland, later passed to their neighbours the Dacres, and was itself eventually inherited by the Boultons of Stixwold), but also in **Cheshire**, **Northamptonshire**, **North Yorkshire**, **Suffolk**, and **Norfolk**.

these lineages adopted unrelated arms at various dates after departing from the ancestral village.

In addition, there might also have been as many as several dozen *other* patrilineages descended from men of humble status who had merely come *from* the village in question. Most of these would *not* have acquired arms while living there, but some of them *might* have done so at later dates, when one of their members had achieved an adequate claim to *gentility* and, therefore, to *armigery* — its principal mark.

15.3. A Salient Example of a Set of Identical Toponyms: The Twelve Villages Named 'Bolton' in Northern England and Adjacent Regions of Scotland and Ireland

Among the very large set of co-nominal patrilineages thus affected is that bearing my own surname: that of **Bolton** or **Boulton** — forms that were mere orthographic variants before the eighteenth century.

All of these surnames were certainly derived from the Old English ***bothltun***, meaning "*a settlement with a special structure of some sort (probably a tower)*". This was, in fact, a rather common name for villages in northwest England, and was also found across the border in Scotland and across the sea in Ireland. No fewer than twelve villages bearing that name are now known, most situated in the counties of England along the north-western coast, from Lancashire northward, and in the adjacent marches of Scotland.

The *Dictionary of English Place-Names* lists six of these, with the dates and earliest-recorded forms of their names (mainly in the Domesday Book of 1086) as follows. Three are in **Lancashire** and four in **Yorkshire**:[102] (1) **Bolton-le-Moors** (Lancashire, ***Boelton***, 1185, later divided into **Great** and **Little Bolton**); (2) **Bolton-by-Boland** (Lancashire, ***Bodeltone***, 1086); (3) **Bolton-le-Sands** (Lancashire, ***Bodeltone***, 1086); (4) **Bolton Castle** (North Yorkshire, ***Bodelton***, 1086); (5) **Bolton Percy** (North Yorkshire, ***Bodeltune***, 1086); and, finally, (6) **Bolton-upon-Dearne** (South Yorkshire, ***Bodeltone***, 1086). From other sources, I identified two others in Yorkshire: (7) **Bolton** (modern **West Yorkshire**) and (8) **Bolton-on-Swale** (modern **North Yorkshire**).

[102] A. D. Miles, *Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 2nd edn., Oxford, 1997

In addition to the eight Boltons in these two historic counties, I identified four others: two in England in counties *north* of Yorkshire, one in Scotland, and one in Ireland: (9) **Bolton** (Northumberland, ante 1225); (10) **Bolton** (Cumberland, now Cumbria); (11) **Bolton** (East Lothian, Scotland); and (12) **Bolton** (Armagh, Northern Ireland).

Each of these twelve villages probably gave rise to at least one and probably several eponymous patrilineages, wholly unrelated to one another, because the number of distinct **coats of arms** borne over the centuries by individuals whose surname was derived from that of one or another of the villages in question is an astonishing ***forty***.

15.4. The Forty Distinct Armigerous Lineages with the Surname 'Bolton' or 'Boulton' derived from One or Another of the Twelve Villages, Distinguished by the Design of Their Arms

The multiplicity of distinct lineages bearing the surname 'Bo(u)lton' is confirmed by the multiplicity of coats of arms borne by those of them important enough to have become armigerous, and some of whose chiefs were probably the lords of one of the manors centred on a village named 'Bolton' at some point in their early history.

Unfortunately, in most cases, it is impossible to associate particular armigerous lineages named 'Bo(u)lton' with a particular village of the same name, especially in counties in which there are two or thee villages of that name. The historian is, in consequence, obliged to sort them out on the basis of the general designs of their arms — and, in a few cases, on the county with which they were recorded. These include a considerable number of counties in which there was *no* village named 'Bolton'.

In addition, what is of particular interest here is the extreme *diversity* of the arms borne by the lineages named 'Bolton', whatever their association might have been to any particular *village* of that name. As I noted above, most of the arms borne by English subjects before the first heraldic visitations in 1530 have recently been assembled in the four volumes of the ***Dictionary of British Arms*** (***DBA* I-IV**), published by the Society of Antiquaries of London under the

principal editorship of Thomas Woodcock — initially Somerset Herald, then Norroy and Ulster King of Arms, and, finally, Garter Principal King of Arms — between 1992 and 2014. Many later versions of these arms, and some unrelated arms also borne by Boltons, had earlier been collected by Sir Bernard Burke, Ulster King of Arms, in his ***General Armory*** (***BGA***), of which the last edition was published in 1884, and republished most recently in 1984. I have accordingly conflated these lists to obtain as comprehensive a picture as possible of the arms employed by lineages named 'Bolton' or 'Boulton'.

As I observed above, the arms recorded in those works for individuals with a version of the surname **Bolton** include no fewer than ***forty*** distinct designs, which themselves fall into as many as ***thirteen*** distinct ***design-groups*** — two more than there are (or were) villages named Bolton. I have designated these design-groups by the letters A to N, and subdivided several of them (especially family B, to which nearly half of the designs belong) — into several **subgroups** and **infragroups** on the basis of common modifications of the basic design.

I have defined a '**design-group**' on the basis of the principal charges included in the design, which varied enormously from one to another. I list below the particular designs under the heading of the design-group and subgroup to which they belonged and indicate, to the extent my sources permit, (a) the particular lineage of Boltons or Boultons who employed the design in question at some time in its history; and (b) when the design in question is first attested.

It is striking that, in many cases, no connection can be established between the armigerous lineage in question and *any* locality, let alone a particular *village* bearing the name Bolton. It is also striking that some basic designs were borne without distinction by several sets of Boltons with different seats. These must be presumed to have been branches of the same lineage that failed to adopt any form of difference in their arms.

The designs are arranged and identified below in a roughly chronological order, based on the earliest dated coat in the design-group.

Note: *The representations below of the arms in question are all by the author, mainly based on* ***blazons*** *in the works of reference cited above*. *I have represented them in the style of the late fourteenth century, because I*

have always found it the most elegant, but of course they may be represented in any other appropriate style.

***Abbreviations*:** *DBA* = *Dictionary of British Arms: Medieval Ordinary* (London, 1992-2014); *BGA* = *Burke's General Armory* (London 1884, 1984)

15.5. The Sixteen Design-Groups of Arms (A-O) and Forty Distinct Coats of Arms Associated with the Surname 'Bolton' or 'Boulton'

A

Fig. 30. BOLTON ARMS OF DESIGN-GROUP A

Design-Group A. The oldest group of designs, attested from 1282, includes only one coat, not obviously related to any other borne by a Bolton, but very similar to that of Johan de la Mare (ANA2, p. 167)

(1) ***Argent, on a bend sable three eagles displayed Or*** (*DBA* II, p. 9; *Segar's Roll* (lost) **c. 1282**, 163) **1.** Johan **Bolton**

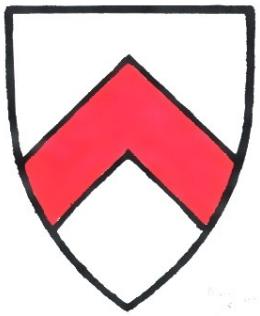
* * .* * .* * * .* * .* *

Design-Group B. This group, including at least *twenty-two* distinct coats, is made up of designs involving either ***chevrons*** or ***bends gules*** **(often *engrailed*),** usually bearing ***lions, lions' heads,*** or ***lions' faces*** (blazoned ***'leopards' faces'***). On the basis of a central figure in the form of **1.** a **chevron**, **2.** a **plain bend**, and **3.** a **bend engrailed,** it may be divided into three subgroups.

These arms may well have had independent origins and converged as a result of emulation among *unrelated* lineages named Bolton. The armigerous lineages were widely scattered, having seats in **Yorkshire**, **Lancashire**, **Staffordshire**, **Norfolk**, **Suffolk**, and **Essex** (in

England), **Pembroke** (in Wales), and **Waterford**, **Wexford**, **Dublin**, **Louth**, and **Leinster** (in Ireland).

The arms of this family also closely resembled those born by members of lineages named PULTNEY, WROTHE, and MARCHALL, suggesting some sort of relationship among the lineages in question.



B.1

Fig. 31. BOLTON ARMS OF DESIGN-GROUP B, SUBGROUP B1

Design-Subgroup B.1. A set of designs in *DBA* II and *BGA* with a ***field argent bearing a chevron gules***. The earliest is dated **1350.**

B.1. **(1)** ***Argent a chevron gules*** borne by **Bolton of Brazeel**, **Cy. Dublin**, Ireland (*BGA*, p. 97)

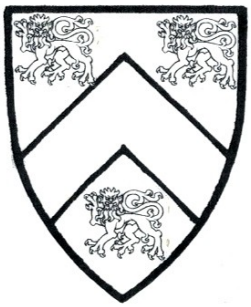
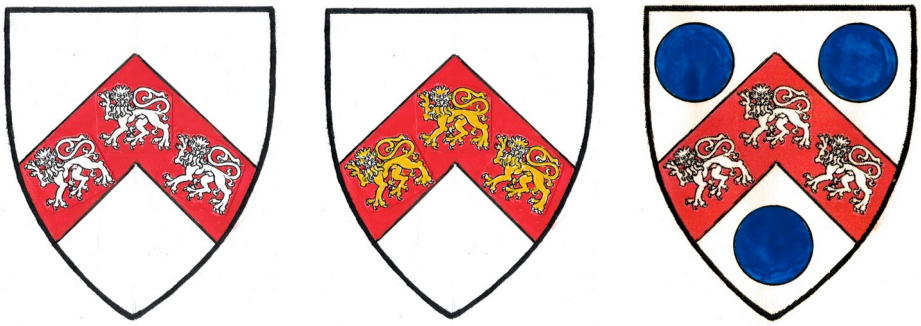


Fig. 32. BOLTON ARMS OF DESIGN-SUBGROUP B.2

Design-Subgroup B.2. A single design in which the chevron is set between ***three lions passant guardant***.

B.2.i. **William de Bolton** (*York Deeds*, I, 3, **1350**):
(2) ***No tinct., a chevron between 3 lions passant guardant*** *DBA* II, p. 292,



B.3.iii. **B.3.iv.** **B.3.v.**

Fig. 33. Bolton Arms of Design-Subgroup B.3

Design-Subgroup B.3. A set of designs in *DBA* II and *BGA* with a **field argent bearing a chevron** (usually ***gules***) ***charged with three lions passant***, usually ***guardant*** and either ***argent*** or ***Or***. The four dated designs are of **1336**, **1336**, **1353**, and **1363**. The bearers of these arms seem, from *Burke*, to have lived in **Yorkshire**, **Lancashire**, and **Leinster**. (p. 426. A set of **eleven Bolton** arms with this basic design)

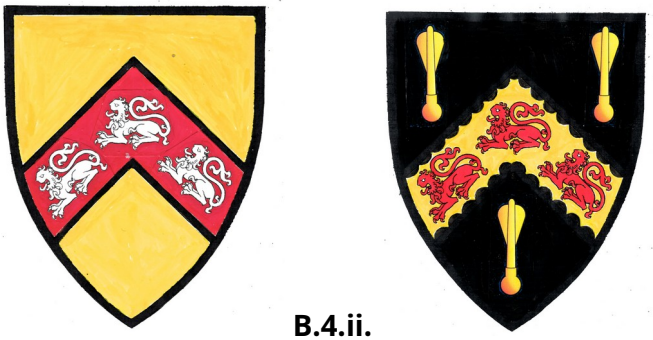
B.3.i. (3) *On a chevron three lions passant guardant (no tinctures):* **10.3. John de Bolton** (seal, Birch 7652); **Iohannis de Boulton, 1353**

B.3.ii. (4) *Argent on a chevron gules three lions passant guardant untinctured:* **10.4. Msr. R. de Bolton** (*AS* 373)

B.3.iii. (5) *Argent on a chevron gules three lions passant guardant Argent:* **10.5. *N* Bolton (L10 84b)**

B.3.iv. (6) *Argent on a chevron gules three lions passant guardant Or:* **10.6. Bolton** (*WJ*, 1336); **Monsire de** (*CG* 142); **Robert de** (*TJ* 194); **Robert de** (*TJ* 697); **Sr R de Bolton** (*CKO* 148)

B.3.v. p. 484. **(7) *Argent on a chevron gules, between 3 roundels azure, 3 lions passant guardant argent: N.* Bolton** (XV I, 125)



B.4.i B.4.ii.

Fig. 34. Bolton Arms of Design-Subgroup B.4

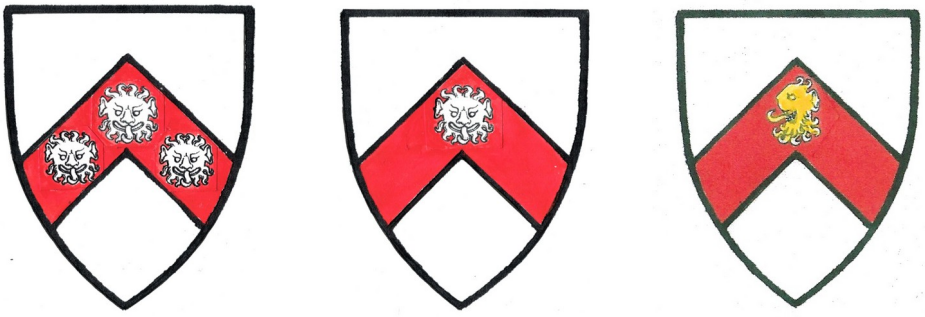
Design-Subgroup B.4. (BGA, p. 98) In this subgroup, the *attitude* of the lions on the chevron was altered from ***passant* to *couchant***. The same design was used by the various branches of the Boltons of Brazeel listed below. In Infragroup B.4.ii the tinctures are radically altered, and the chevron is engrailed and set between three birdbolts palewise.

B.4.i. (8) *Or, on a chevron gules, three lions couchant argent*

10.10. Bolton of Bective Abbey, Co. Dublin (formerly of Brazeel)
10.11. Bolton of The Island, Co. Wexford, Ireland
10.12. Bolton of Tullydonald, Co. Louth, Ireland

B.4.ii. (9) *Sable, on a chevron engrailed between three bird-bolts palewise Or, three lions couchant gules* {to which was later added *a canton argent thereon a sword erect within a wreath of laurels on the dexter and cyprus on the sinister, and inscribed above the word 'Moodkee'*]

10.13. Bolton of X6 (presumably a branch of Bolton of Brazeel)



B.5.i B.5.ii B.5.iii

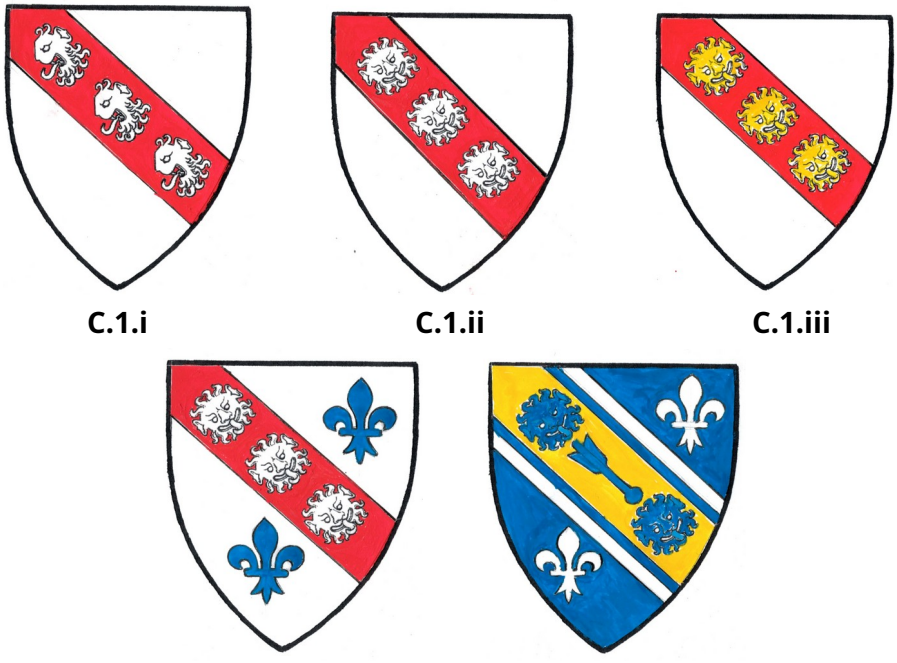
Fig. 35. Bolton Arms of Design-Subgroup B.5

B.5. (p. 440) In this subgroup the *lions passant guardant* of the previous subgroup were replaced either with three "**leopard's faces**"(*facing outwards*) or with one "**lion's head**". Three infra-groups were thus constituted: **i.** with **three faces**, **ii.** with **one face**, and **iii.** with **one head**.

The first listed design of the group and its first subgroup was
B.5.i. (10) ***Argent on a chevron gules, three leopard's faces argent***
10.7. Bolton of Lancaster (*L2*, 58, 2)

B.5.ii. (BGA, p. 105) The first listed design was
(11) ***Argent on a chevron gules, a leopard's face argent***
10.8. Boultoun of Suffolk

B.5.iii. (BGA, p.98) **(12)** ***Argent on a chevron gules, a lion's head Or***
10.9. Bolton or Boulton of X5



C.1.i **C.1.ii** **C.1.iii**

C.1.iv **C.1.v**

Fig. 36. Bolton Arms of Design-Subgroup C.1

Design-Group C. A set of 8 designs resembling those of Group B in their tinctures and charges, but replacing the chevron of that Group

with a **bend**: ***plain***, ***cotised***, ***engrailed***, ***couped***, or ***reversed***. All but the first of the bends are charged with three ***lion's faces***.

Two subgroups may be distinguished on the basis of the *lack* or *presence* of ***engrailment***: **C.1 *plain*** and **C.2 *engrailed***. Two designs of the former group are further distinguished by the addition of charges to the field, and in one case the substitution of a canting charge — a birdbolt — for one of the leopard's faces. Most retain the tinctures of Group B for the field and bend (in one case reversed), but one substitutes azure for gules and Or for argent

Design-Subgroup C.1. Variations with a plain bend

C.1.i. (*BGA*, p. 97) **(13) *Argent on a bend gules three lion's heads of the field***

3. Bolton of Boyland, Cy. Norfolk, 1563

C.1.ii. (*BGA*, p. 97) **(14) *Argent on a bend gules three leopard's heads of the field* 4. Bolton of N1**

C.1.iii. (15) *Argent on a bend gules three leopard's heads Or*

5. Bolton of N2

C.1.iv. (16) (*BGA*, p. 97) ***Argent on a bend gules three lion's heads caboshed of the field between two fleurs-de-lis*** (gr. By Garter Dethick, 1555)

6.1. Bolton of Bolton Hill, Cy. Pembroke, 1555

6.2. Capt. Thomas Bolton of Faithlegg, Cy. Waterford, Ireland, 1662

6.3. Bolton of Mount Bolton (cdt. of Faithlegg), **Cy. Waterford, Ireland**

6.4. Bolton of Curraghduff and Brook Lodge, Cy. Waterford, Ireland

C.1.v. (17) (*BGA*, p. 105) A variant adding **a bend cottised**, with numerous added charges. ***Azure, on a bend Or, cottised argent, between two fleurs-de-lis of the second, a birdbolt between two leopard's faces of the field.***

7. Matthew Boulton of Birmingham, High Sheriff of Staffordshire

C.2.i **C.2.iii** **C.2.iv**

Fig. 37. Bolton and Boulton Arms of Design-Subgroup C.2

Design-Subgroup C.2. (in *DBA* II, p. 38) included *three* versions of the basic design involving **a bend engrailed**:

C.2.i. (18) ***Argent, on a bend engrailed gules, three leopard's faces argent*** (att. in *DV* 14a, 540; L1 b2, 4; L2, 58, 3; L10 83b, 14.) **Domville Roll**, c. **1470**
((Also in *BGA*, p. 105) for
8. Boulton of Burston, Norfolk, and Yorkshire)
The variations were:

C.2.ii. (19) *the same* with a ***bend sinister*** (LE 440); and

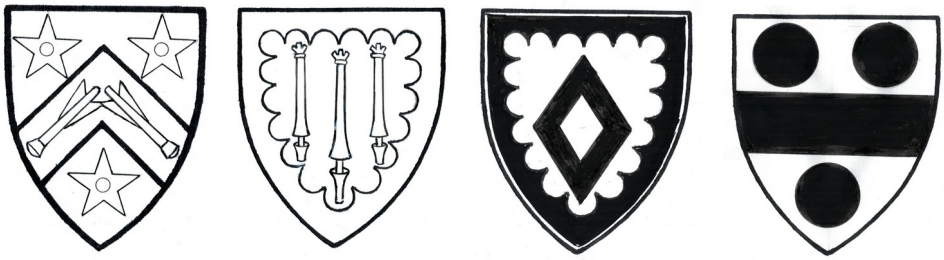
C.2.iii. (20) *the same* with the **main tinctures *reversed*** and the **faces in a *third tincture***: thus, ***Gules on a bend sinister engrailed argent, three leopard's faces vert*** (PT 900).

The chieftains of two branches of the presumed Bolton lineage represented by this subgroup — traceable from shortly after 1600 in New Malton, Yorkshire, but by 1900 settled in Essex — were eventually promoted to the dignity of baronet.

C.2.iv. (21) One of these was that of **Boulton of Copped Hall, Totteridge, Cy. Essex**, promoted to a baronetship in 1905, and the other was that of **Boulton of Braxted Park**, **Cy. Essex**, promoted in 1944.

The arms of the latter are given in *Burke's Peerage, Baronetage, and Knightage* (*BPK*, 107th edn., 2003), p. 454, as ***Argent, on a bend engrailed couped gules, three lions' faces Or***.

* * * * * * * *



D E F G

Fig. 38. Bolton Arms of Design-Groups D, E, F, and G

DESIGN-GROUP D. This group includes one coat, generally unrelated to others, but again including two **birdbolts** of the kind included as canting charges in the arms of Boulton of Lancashire, Lincolnshire, and Ireland.

(22) (L2, 58, 2): **No tinctures**, in a quarterly coat representing **Bolton of Bolton-by-Bowland,** Lancashire: ***On a chevron between three mullets pierced two BIRDBOLTS.***

11. Mill. Steph. Bolton *DBA* II, p. 393.

DESIGN-GROUP E. A group characterized by a ***field charged with three spears or lances***, variously oriented. These designs are mainly associated with lineages bearing the names CARLAW or CARLOW (a town and county in south-eastern Ireland) rather than BOLTON. In fact, the group includes only *one* coat borne by a lineage with the latter name: *DBA* IV, 422: (No tinctures)

(23) no tinct., *3 tilting spears palewise in fess within a bordure engrailed*.

12. John of Bolton (Ionis de Boltone) (seal, Wentworth, uncat., **1389**)

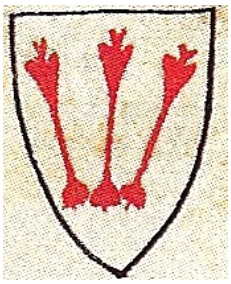
DESIGN-GROUP F. This group includes only an isolated, individual Bolton, whose arms bore a ***mascle*** or ***voided lozenge*** within a bordure.

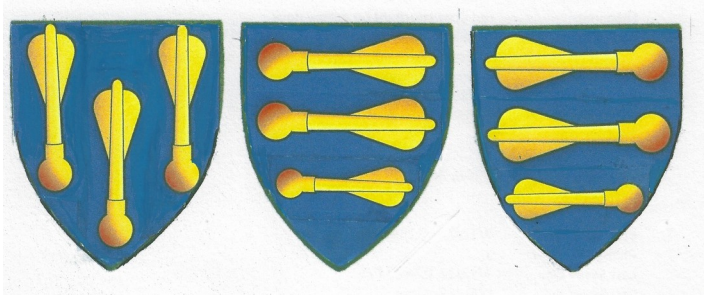
(24) *Argent a mascle within a bordure engrailed sable*. *DBA* IV, 201: ii.

13. Robert de Bolton (Yorkshire Deeds, V, 131 (**1351**))

DESIGN-GROUP G. This, the seventh design-group, also includes only a single individual **Bolton**, of unknown locality, with arms unlike any other.

(25) ***Argent a fess sable between three pellets*** (*DBA*, p. 97)





H.1 **H.2** **H.3** **H.4**

Fig. 39. Bolton (and Boulton) Arms of Design-Group H

DESIGN-GROUP H. The eighth design-group that is associated with lineages bearing the name Bo(u)lton is the group to which belong the arms of my own patrilineage — the **Boultons of Stixwold and Moulton, Lincolnshire**. Its figural elements consist exclusively of **birdbolts**, always exactly **three in number**, but variously oriented. Four distinct designs are recorded in two distinct tincture-groups — one with the **bolts *gules* on an *argent* field**, and the other with the **bolts *Or* on an *azure* field**.

(26) In fact, only one individual with the relevant surname — one **Rauf de Boultum** — is recorded in the *DBA* with a coat of this family, blazoned ***Argent three birdbolts gules, in pile, heads to the base***. This appears in a record of the College of Arms (MS L 10) dated to c. 1520, so it comes at the very end of the period covered by the *Dictionary*. It is

identical to the coat of the (then extinct) lineage of **Bozon**, noted above.

(27) Significantly, its design also resembles that of one other coat borne by a lineage named Bolton at about the same time — the **Boltons of Bolton-le-Moors** in **Lancashire**, whose arms are *described* simply as ***Azure, three birdbolts Or*** but *represented* on the wall of the parish church as ***palewise, heads to the base, two and one, overlapping*** (as depicted in Fig. 39, H.2). In its *elements* and *tinctures*, this coat is identical to that of the **Bo(u)ltons of Lincolnshire** and, as I have argued, is probably ancestral to it.

(28) Burke, in his *General Armory*, records, in addition, the arms of **Boulton of Moulton** (p. 97): ***Azure three birdbolts fesswise in pale heads to the sinister Or***

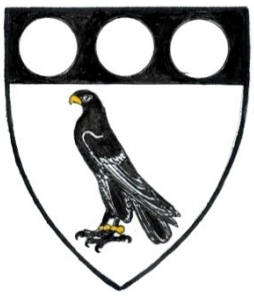
(29) A closely related coat for a **Sergeant [at-Law] Bolton** who died in 1787 (p. 97): ***Azure three birdbolts fesswise in pale heads to the dexter Or***. This looks like an earlier version of that of **Boulton of Moulton**, in which the birdbolts had not yet been reversed to face the sinister, and is probably a version of the arms of Henry Boulton V of Moulton, who was a lawyer and quite possibly a sergeant-at-law.

J.1.i

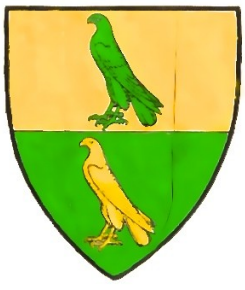
J.1.ii

J.1.iii

J.2



J.3



J.4

Fig. 40. Bolton Arms of Design-Group J

DESIGN-GROUP J. The six designs of this group all bore either a principal charge or a *pair* of such charges in the form of a **falcon close.** The designs fell into three **subgroups**: 1. *four* coats bearing a single falcon ***argent on sable***; 2. a *single* coat in the same tinctures, in which the falcon rests on a mount vert in base; 3. a *single* coat bearing the same design with the tinctures ***reversed***, augmented by a chief bearing three plates; and 4. a single coat, per fess with ***two falcons Or and vert***.

The seats of the Boltons represented by these coats were in **Lancashire**, **Norfolk**, **Suffolk**, **Staffordshire**, **London**, **Surrey** (in England), and **Stirling** (in Scotland), but the armigers were probably related.

J.1.i. (30) (*BGA*, p. 97) ***Sable a falcon close argent***
Bolton, Cy. of Lancaster
Bolton, Lord Mayor of London, 1667

J.1.ii. (31) (*BGA*, p. 105) ***Sable a falcon close argent, jessed, belled, and beaked Or*** **Bolton of Woodbridge**, **Suffolk**

J.1.iii. (32) (*BGA*, p. 105) ***Sable a falcon argent, on a canton Or a garb gules, the whole quartering azure a chevron between two fleurs-de-lis in chief and a crab in base, Or***
16.5. Bolton of Gibbon Grove, Surrey

J.2. (33) (*BGA*, pp. 98, 105) ***Sable on a mount vert issuant from the base, a falcon close argent, jessed, belled, & beaked Or, with a trefoil in its beak***
16.4. Bolton of Cranwich, Norfolk

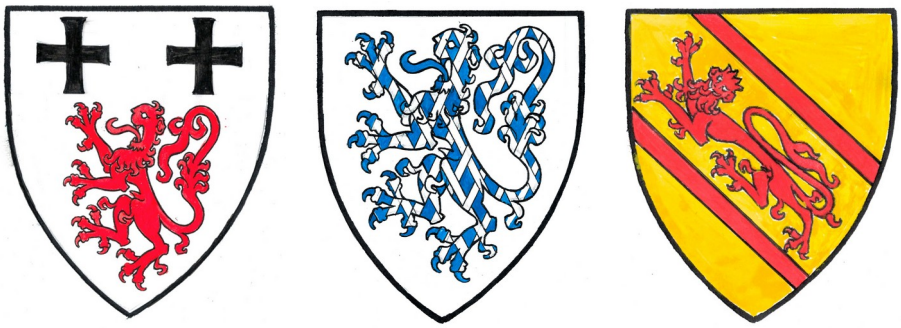
J.3. (34) (*BGA*, p. 105) ***Argent a falcon close sable*****,** ***jessed, belled, and beaked Or, on a chief of the second three plates***
Bolton of Carrbrook, Stirling, Scotland

J.4. (35) (*BGA*, p. 105) ***Per fess Or and vert, two falcons close in pale counter-changed***
16.6. Boulton of Forebridge Villa, Staffordshire

* * * * * * * * * * *

The last five design-groups — K, L, M, N, and O — all include only a single design each, unrelated to those of any of the other families.

The first three of these designs have in common as their sole or dominant charge a ***single lion*** — a charge common in Group B— but they are all quite different in their particulars, which include the tinctures of the field (***argent*** and ***Or***), the tinctures of the lion (***gules*** and ***azure*** **fretty argent**), the posture of the lion (**rampant** and **passant bendwise**), and additional charges (**crosses** and **bendlets**).



K **L** **M**

Fig. 41. Bolton Arms of Design-Groups K, L, and M

DESIGN-GROUP K. This group includes only one coat, not related to others:

(36) ***Argent, a lion gules, in chief two crosses couped sable*** (*DBA* I, p. 215: *Creswick's Roll* 67, **c. 1510**)

16. Bolton *unidentified*

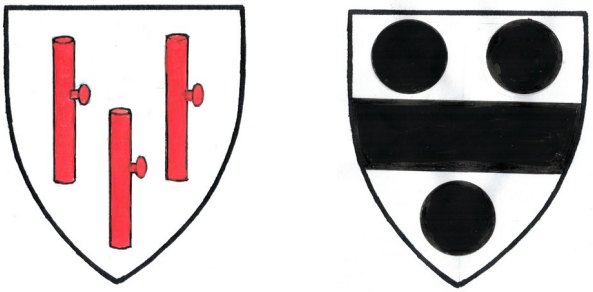
DESIGN-GROUP L. This is again a family of one design, with a single **lion rampant**, **17.** borne by a lineage named **Bolton** otherwise ***unidentified***.

(37) ***Argent, a lion rampant azure, fretty of the field***

These arms closely resemble those of one Alan Boxhulle, differing only in having a field tincture *argent* rather than *Or* (Humph.-Smith, *ANA*, p. 83)

DESIGN-GROUP M. This is a third group with only one design, with a single **lion passant** bendwise, representing an otherwise ***unidentified*** lineage:

(38) ***Or, a lion passant guardant between two bendlets, gules***



N **O**

Fig. 42. Bolton Arms of Design-Groups N and O

DESIGN-GROUP N. A lineage of **Boltons** in **Yorkshire** noted in *DBA* bore a canting coat in which **door-bolts**, probably set *palewise*, replaced the bird-bolts of group H:
(39) ***Argent three door-bolts (palewise?) gules***

DESIGN-GROUP O. A lineage of **Boltons** otherwise ***unidentified*** also noted in the *DBA* bore:
(40) ***Argent a fess sable between three pellets*** (i.e., **roundels sable**), a design unrelated to any of the others save perhaps J2, which included roundels, but as part of an otherwise different design.

15.5. Conclusion: The Lack of Any Predictable Relationship between Patrilineal Surnames and Emblematic Arms (and *the Consequent Rebuttal of the Doctrine of 'Arms for Your Name'*)

On the basis of the evidence just presented, there can be no doubt whatever that the surname 'Bolton' and its variants were adopted quite independently by at least *fourteen* (and possibly as many as *forty*) distinct lineages that eventually became armigerous, and that the latter adopted arms with **forty distinct *designs***, belonging to **fourteen different *design-groups*** (A-O), whose common elements were indicative both of the existence of blood relationships *within* each group, and of a lack of relationship with any of the lineages employing arms of the other design-families.

Unfortunately, only in a few cases (including that of Bolton-le-Moors, Lancashire) can any attachment to a particular *village* named **Bolton** be firmly established, or any particular *genealogical*

relationship between what I shall call **con-armigerous** lineages — those sharing clearly-related arms — that first appear in different counties or regions.

My account to this point should leave no doubt that the simple one-to-one relationship between **names** and **arms** imagined by those who sell 'arms for your name' was far from normal, and that not only did many *unrelated* lineages with ***different surnames*** bear *identical* arms (as I demonstrated above in § 14), but numerous lineages with the ***same surname*** were wholly unrelated to one another, and bore ***wholly unrelated arms*** — many of them shared with other lineages bearing *different surnames*. It is also likely that most Bolton lineages, like most others with relatively common surnames, never acquired arms.

Thus, while the possession *both* of a **common surname** *and* of **arms with a common basic design** *differenced* in a **systematic way** are strongly indicative of a true patrilineal relationship between or among the armigers in question, possession of any *one* of these characteristics without the others is *not* indicative of such a relationship — though, given the complex histories of both surnames and arms, it is entirely possible for persons with *neither* a common surname *nor* common arms to be members of the same patrilineage, as both surnames and arms were acquired independently.

Furthermore, it must be emphasized that most **lineages bearing any particular surname —** including common ***toponyms*** like 'Bolton', borne by numerous persons of numerous different patrilineages, only a minority of which are likely to be armigerous — have **no *prima facie* right to *any* form of ancestral arms**, and no more than a *possible* claim to *any* of the ***particular*** arms borne by their **co-nominigers** (as those with the same surname may be termed).

In consequence, any claim a person who is *not certainly* descended from armigerous ancestors might wish to make to hereditary armigery can only be made on the basis of sound genealogical research, proving patrilineal descent from the founder of an armigerous lineage. Even then, it should be noted, such a proof would result in a claim only to a *duly differenced* version of the arms in question, assigned either by a herald or by the chief or name and arms of the lineage in question — in the case of my own lineage, a position currently held by myself.

15.6. The Importance of Establishing Sedal Names and Systematic Brisures to Distinguish Homonymous Patrilineages and Their Branches

In consequence of the confusion this homonymity continues to give rise to, it is also necessary for an historical genealogist to distinguish all otherwise *homonymous* lineages with an additional *sedal* name — that of the current or traditional ***sedes*** or **principal seat** of the chief of the lineage. For reasons that should be more than clear at this point, a surname without such an addition is all but meaningless in genealogical or historical contexts.

Unfortunately, it is not always a simple matter to choose a **sedal name** to distinguish a lineage bearing an otherwise non-distinctive surname, as seats (in principle the primary residence of the Chief of Name) are often changed for various reasons — especially emigration — and may be changed several times. My own lineage of Boultons may serve as an example of such changes over the centuries.

The main stem of my own lineage should probably be identified (on armorial evidece) as that of ***Bolton of Bolton-le-Moors, Lancashire***, and, in the case of my apparent branch (which appeared in Lincolnshire, directly to the east of Lancashire, late in the reign of Elizabeth I, and successively acquired the manors first of **Stixwold** and later of **Moulton**), should be referred to (down, at least, to the loss of those manors in 1834) by the *branch* name ***Boulton of Stixwold and Moulton, Lincolnshire***.

However, both the current Chief (myself) and almost all of the surviving members of that lineage now live in North America (my sister Mary Georgina, a professor in Oxford, England, being the only exception). This creates another problem of nomenclature typical of the current state of diaspora among armigerous patrilineages, which should be dealt with along the following lines.

In 1797, **D'Arcy Boulton I** — the second son of the then Chief of Name **Henry Boulton V**, squire of Moulton — began a five-year migration to the newly-founded capital of the newly-created Province of Upper Canada — a town then called **York**, but renamed **Toronto** in 1834. Soon after his arrival, in 1805, D'Arcy I was given the office of Solicitor General of the Province, and acquired the 200-acre 'Park Lot' (13) (an official manor, initially associated with that office by the

founder of the Province in 1791). Its Georgian manor-house — completed by his son **D’Arcy II** in 1817, and now the oldest house in Toronto — was called ‘**The Grange**’, probably after the original name of the similar manor-house in Rappahannock County, Virginia, built around 1670, which had been the seat of his wife’s family, the Robinsons, as the seat of their 65,000 acre plantation, before their forced migration to Upper Canada as leading Loyalists.

Because D’Arcy II became Chief of Name on the extinction of the senior branch of the Boultons in England in 1834, his lineage was then best *redesignated* **Boulton, originally of Bolton-le-Moors, Lancashire, later of Stixwold and Moulton, Lincolnshire, and then of The Grange, York, later Toronto, Upper Canada**. After the Act of Confederation of 1867, which renamed the province ‘**Ontario**’ and transferred the name ‘**Canada**’ to the new federal dominion, the last part of the designation had to be changed to ‘**Ontario, Canada**’.[103]

On the death without issue in 1874 of my thrice-great uncle The Hon. **William Henry Boulton** (sometime Mayor of Toronto), the chiefship passed to his younger brother Lt.-Col. The Hon. **D’Arcy Edward Boulton** of **The Lawn, Cobourg, Ontario** (sometime Mayor of Cobourg), and, on *his* death in 1902, it passed to *his* eldest son, Lt.-Col. The Hon. **Charles Arkoll Boulton**, by then of **The Manor, Russell, Manitoba** (a Senator of the Dominion of Canada). There the seat remained to the death in 1948 of the Senator’s eldest son, Lt.-Col.

[103] Although The Grange was donated in 1911 to become the first home of what is now the Art Gallery of Ontario, and is still maintained as a part of that institution, it is generally looked upon among my kinfolk as our traditional seat, and in 2017, I presided as Chief of Name and Arms over a large gathering of the descendants of its builder in celebration of the 200th anniversary of its construction, at which my chiefship was ceremoniously proclaimed. The connections with Stixwold and Moulton — in whose parish churches our seventeenth- and eighteenth-century ancestors are buried and memorialized — have also been generally remembered by my relatives, uterine no less than agnatic, and, like many of them, I have made a pilgrimage to both villages. Alas, they are both much farther from where most of my kinsmen and -women now live, in very small villages, both relatively difficult to get to compared to a building in old Toronto. Unfortunately, nothing whatever remains of the manor-house and parish church of Bolton-le-Moors itself — in the latter of which the oldest representation of the arms was found and photographed.

D'Arcy Everard Boulton, when it passed to *his* eldest surviving son, my father, **Dacre Fiennes Boulton** — who had resettled in Toronto in 1940. There the seat remained to his death in 1984, but, from that time to my own return to Toronto in 2007, it was in South Bend, Indiana, USA — where I, his only son, worked as a professor at the University of Notre Dame. When I die, *sine prole*, some time in the next twenty years, the *chiefship* will pass either to my childless first cousin once-removed **Fraser Angus Boulton** or (if he dies before then without a son) to his brother **D'Arcy VIII** (father of **D'Arcy IX**), and the *seat* will pass, by convention, to the residence of one or the other in the coastal village of Tofino, British Columbia.

So many changes of chiefly residence, however, make the designation of a lineage based on the *current* residence of the chief too unstable to be useful, and it would, therefore, be preferable to employ instead the name of the *original* residence in the Country in question. For that reason, my own lineage should continue to bear a version of the first name set in boldface above — actually recognized by most living members.

In more general terms, it is important to emphasise that failing to make such general geographical and sedal distinctions among otherwise homonymous lineages — like the twenty or more that bore or bear the surname **Bolton** or **Boulton** — has led to the sort of chaos that allows arms-mongers to hawk 'arms for your name' to people who have no right whatever to the arms being offered, and probably no right to any existing arms at all.

Such people *might*, however, have a right to a version of a coat of arms and accompanying crest *completely different* from the one offered to them, representing an *unrelated* lineage bearing their surname. I have myself been offered a certificate mendaciously attesting my right to the arms of the chief of a lineage named 'Boulton' quite unrelated to my own, but erroneously treated as if it were the only lineage bearing the surname.

Even in the unlikely case that the recipient of such an offer did actually belong to the lineage represented by the arms offered, however, the recipient is even *more* unlikely to be the rightful *chief* of the lineage in question — who alone enjoys the right to employ its *plain* or *undifferenced* arms — and would have a right to bear only a duly *differenced* version of the arms, in principle clearly indicative of his

or her place in the lineage in question. This place — like the identity of the lineage as a whole to which the client belonged — could only be based upon genealogical research of a sort that arms-mongers are never prepared to undertake.

15.7. The Value of Accumulated Quarterings and Brisures for Identifying Lineages and Their Branches

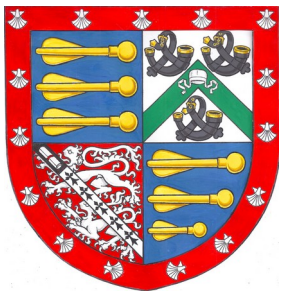
It is unclear from the *published* records whether most of the numerous arms borne by other lineages bearing the name 'Boulton' or 'Bolton' acquired any quarterings through descent from heiresses — only those of **Bolton-by-Bowland** and **Boulton of Moulton** having been preserved in such an arrangement. This is unfortunate, as quarterings — like differences applied systematically to arms — are very useful indicators of the ancestry of *individual* bearers of this and other surnames borne by many different lineages, and work even better in combination.

The Boultons of Moulton had acquired, by c. 1800, a right to two different quarterings as a result of the marriage of D'Arcy I to the coheiress of **King's Sergeant-at-Law James Forster, cadet of Adderston**, whose father had himself married a coheiress of **Master of the Rolls Sir John Strange, Knight, cadet of Hunstanton**. The arms of the first of these men, duly differenced, have long been quartered with those of Boulton of Moulton in Canada, and those of the second, similarly differenced, have been added more recently. Both have become, in effect, an integral part of the personal arms of all living members of that Boulton lineage — in part by being bound with them by brisures in the form of bordures (like those represented below).

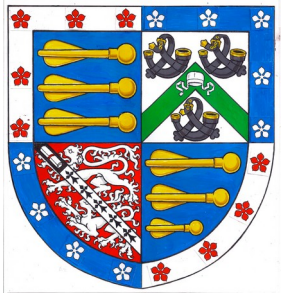
The accumulation of such quarterings and brisures are additional aspects of armigery ignored by those who fraudulently hawk "arms for your name" — who also ignore the rule that only a *chief of name* has a right to bear the *plain* or *undifferenced* arms of a patrilineage. In principle — and in my lineage in *practice* — the use of brisures of various kinds that serve to individuate arms makes it much harder to make false claims to the arms of a lineage. I conclude, therefore, with illustrations of a selection of the arms currently borne by some of my kinsmen, showing (1) the differenced quarterings of **Forster of Adderstone** (***Argent, on a chevron vert between three***

bugle-horns sable *[now* ***differenced with the bonnet of a king's sergeant-at-law of the first****]*) and **Strange of Hunstanton** (***Gules, two lions passant argent, debruised by a bendlet ermine*** *[now* ***charged in chief with a compon sable bearing a roll of the second bound with tape of the first****]*) and (2) some of the **differences** I have assigned to all cadets, alluding, in most cases, to elements of the arms of uterine ancestors: the ***escallops*** of **Dacre** & **Keppel**, the ***cinquefoils*** of two lines of **Darcys** and the **Robinsons of Rappahannock, Va.,**, and the ***fleurs-de-lys*** of the **Lennard Lords Dacre.**

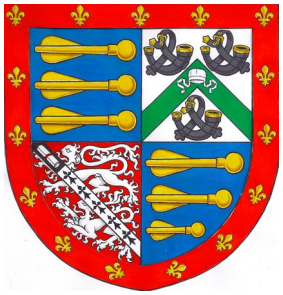
THREE UNCLES AND THREE COUSINS OF THE CURRENT CHIEF



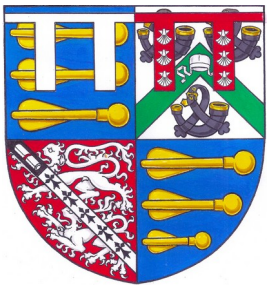
Keppel Charles Boulton Boulton
(*bordure of* Dacre *or* Keppel)



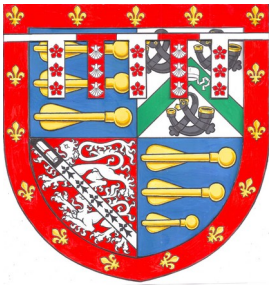
Angus George Boulton
(*bordure of* Darcy of Nocton, *quartering* Darcy of Knayth)



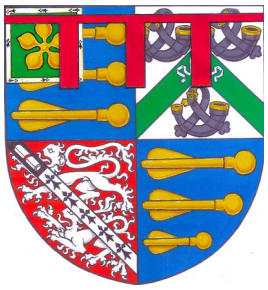
Melfort Lennard
(*bordure* of Lennard Lords Dacre)



Fraser Angus Boulton Boulton
(label as hr. presumptive: diff.,
Plain* + Dacre/ Keppel*)



Melfort Richard Boulton
(bordure of Lennard, label* of Darcy of Nocton *&* Dacre*)



D'Arcy Charles
(*canton of Robinson,* + *plain label gules*)

Fig. 43. The Arms of Six Junior Members of the House of Boulton of Moulton, Lincolnshire, and The Grange, Toronto

Elements of the outer achievement can also serve to distinguish members. The distinctive full achievement of the Chief can be seen on p. vi above.

The End of Part 1 of this Article

Sommaire en français

Cet article, divisée en deux parties, examine toute une série de thèmes de l’histoire de la représentation, systématique ou non, soit par surnoms (signes verbaux) soit par armes (signes visibles d’une espèce conventionelle héraldique), de plusieurs types d’identité personnelle, patrilinéale, et seigneuriale, dans l’Europe de l’Ouest surtout entre 800 et 1600 a.d., et surtout aux royaumes de France et d’Angleterre. Il se concerne principalement de l’évolution des formes et pratiques des armes comme signes d’identité des sept types normaux en leurs pays d'origine: (1) une identité générique **nobiliaire** ***— c’est a dire, come membre de l’ordre noble de la société, dont la fonction théorique était de protéger et de gouverner les autres; (2) une identité*** **individuelle** ***dans cet ordre, en principe unique; (3) une identité seigneuriale ou*** **dominicale***, associée à une seigneurie territoriale (un dominion) pariculière, comme une baronnie ou un comté; (4) une identité impersonnelle*** **dominicale***, attachée au territoire lui-même; et (5) une identité*** **patrilinéale***. Ces cinq types d’identité pouvaient se représenter par un simple dessin sur un écu ou surcote, mais par la combinaison de deux ou plus des ces dessins on pouvait en représenter deux ou plusieurs; (6) une identité*** **utéro-patrilinéale***; (7) une identitié*** **multi-dominicale***, dérivée d’une sucession en ligne maternelle ou utérine; (8) une identité*** **officielle***, comme titulaire d’un office important; (9) une identité de*** **parti***, surtout en Italie du Nord ou la noblesse s’est divisée entre les Guephes et les Guibellins; (10) (uniquement en Pologne), une identité*** **corporate-multilinéal***, comme membre d’un ‘cri’ formé de l’union de plusieurs patrilineages.*

La seconde partie se concerne de l’environnement culturel dans lequel la pratique d’inventer et de porter les emblèmes visible appelés ‘armes’ a apparu au douzième siècle en Europe de l’Ouest; les sources pour leur formes et dévélopement jusqu’à 1500; les termes de base de la sémiologie héraldique et onomsique; les regions examinées; les phases de l’histoire de l’armigérie, ou l’utilisation des armes; et en §6 les modalités par lesquelles chacqune des 10 types d’identité deviant exprimée: surtout l’identités **individuelle, nobiliaire, dominicale, domaniale, patrilinéale, intra-patrilineal***, et*** **utéro-patrilinéale***. La §7 raconte l’histoire du patrilineage et son emblème verbal classique: le*** **surnom** ***héréditaire. La §8***

raconte l'histoire des attributs de la dignité royale après l'an 1000, surtout le* sceau de majesté*, qui constituerait le modèle des* sceaux équestres *princiers et baronniaux, sur lesquels les* armes 'héraldiques' *— le nouveau type d'emblème visible — apparaîtront entre 1130 et 1230.

Les §§ 9-15 tracent aussi l'histoire des niveaux princiers et baronniaux de la noblesse émergente, et des niveaux plus bas des chevaliers et des écuyers, et de leurs adoptions successives de surnoms et d'armes plus ou moins héréditaires, et les problèmes qui résultaient du manque de contrôle des dessins adoptés, et les adoptions de beaucoup de dessins identiques par des lignages différents.

La section finale expose le problème de la multiplicité de surnoms identiques représentants des lignages différents qui portent des armes emblématiques différentes, par ex. les lignages anglais nombreux qui portent le surnom 'Bolton' ou 'Boulton'.