

Kinship networks: towards a new understanding of the origins of heraldry

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Few aspects of heraldry have excited more attention than its origins in the twelfth century. There is wide agreement that the first true arms belong to the period between the First and Second Crusades. Changes both in knightly society and in the equipment of warfare had taken place in the eleventh century without which this new phenomenon could not have happened. In particular there was a need to be able to distinguish friend from foe on the battlefield, for which distinctive markings on shields and lance pennons had evolved before the year 1100. Colourful surcoats became an further means of identification following their introduction with the First Crusade. It being well established that heraldry came in to being in western Europe, the Crusades are not now generally regarded as being a very significant factor except as a possible source of inspiration for heraldic animals such as the lion, the eagle and the griffon.¹ The current consensus on the evolution of heraldry has been perhaps best summed up by Michel Pastoureaux when he said 'it has yet to be established which are the oldest extant arms, although to do so is a rather futile exercise: the appearance of arms is not due to any individual initiative but was a social phenomenon which took place over a fairly long period of time.'²

In order both to better understand this 'social phenomenon' and to redefine what role, if any, the Crusades had to play in the origins of heraldry, a study was made of the careers and inter-relationships of all those individuals considered by modern scholars to have borne arms in the early developmental phase of heraldry between 1130 and 1165.³ What emerged from this analysis was extremely surprising. Early heraldry was found to occur exclusively in a small interconnected group of families who were integrally involved with the Crusading movement. Jonathan Riley-Smith and Jonathan Phillips have studied these same families in detail.⁴ They are characterized by their support for the Papacy and religious reform, by links to reformist Cluniac monasticism, by earlier involvement with pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and, following the First Crusade, by their support for the military religious orders.

Since all the early armigers are linked together an attempt has been made to show how heraldry might plausibly have spread through this kinship network. Some of the evidence on which this scheme is based will be presented. You will see immediately that Count Geoffrey of Anjou has been placed at the centre and I will attempt to justify this placement. It would not be catastrophic for the model if this was not in fact the first true heraldic shield, but I believe that the study of the social network

provides new evidence to support its primacy. It will be necessary to devote the first section of this article to the shield of Geoffrey of Anjou and to the crucial role that has been played by the lion.

The evidence that Geoffrey was presented with a leonine shield of arms by his father-in-law king Henry I of England at his knighting in 1128 (range 1127-1129), when he was about 15 years old, is based on a historical account written circa 1170 by the monk John of Marmoutier, who by his own admission had never met the count.

A suspicion has therefore been entertained that his description of the arms was based on the famous plaque of Geoffrey from the cathedral of Le Mans. His description however does not match what we see on the plaque. John mentions lions on Geoffrey's slippers but no heraldry on his helmet, which is described as being encrusted with jewels, all of which is wrong if the plaque was its source. The effigy on the lost tomb of Geoffrey he described as being sumptuously adorned with gold and jewels, with depictions of the count dispensing ruin to the haughty and grace to the lowly. This tomb is thought to have been completely destroyed by the Huguenots in 1562. There are other reasons, apart from the discrepancy between the historical account of the knighting and the description of the tomb, why we should not hesitate to accept John's account. The part of his history concerning the knighting is couched in terms that suggest it was based on an earlier epic poem. Moreover it is known that one of John's key informants was Thomas de Loches who served as chaplain to both Geoffrey and his father.⁵

The Le Mans plaque is our next most important source on Geoffrey's arms. It was presumably displayed in association with Geoffrey's tomb without being an integral part of it, which means that it could potentially pre-date the actual tomb. Two aspects of it are quite remarkable: firstly the count is not named on it, and secondly the two lines of eulogy are entirely in the present tense, which might briefly be summarized as "O prince, you are the defender of the church". That he is not named suggests that the heraldry was so well known to contemporaries that to name him would be superfluous. That it is written in the present tense would imply that it was set up in Geoffrey's lifetime by a bishop who was keen to flatter his count. The eulogy would fit well with the period after 1144 when Geoffrey's subjugation of Normandy brought peace to the region. Stylistically it is very close to the undoubted funeral plaque of bishop Ulger from his cathedral at Angers which dates to 1148-9. This plaque names its bearer and carries an epitaph in the past tense.

Much has been written by learned men of the lion in art, but the fact that Geoffrey of Anjou's rampant lions were without precedent in western art has not been explained. There were plenty of classical models available to the artist who created Geoffrey's shield, but the convention from the classical period onwards in Europe had been to show the lion either passant or sejant. In an age where the past was venerated and art was conservative, the appearance of the lion rampant is surprising. Only one earlier example can be found and that is from remote antiquity in the form of the Assyrian cylinder seal. It seems tenuous to suggest that such a seal had come into

the possession of the count of Anjou, but if it had, it would have come as a memento from a trip to the Holy Land. The similarity between the heraldic lion rampant and the Assyrian lion is not coincidental: the Assyrians were fond of hunting lions, and lion hunts are also known to have taken place in the Holy Land at the time of the Crusades. King Henry I of England owned at least one lion, but he is unlikely to have seen lions hunting, and there was no heraldry in England during his reign. There were arguably eight lions on the shield and their multiplicity would suggest the inspiration may have come from observing a pride of lions on the attack.

It is not difficult to imagine why the lion quickly became popular with crusading knights. First and foremost they would have admired their skill in hunting and killing. The lion would remind a crusader of Jerusalem itself which at this time had a Lion Gate, not the same as the current Lion Gate, taken by the brothers Eustace III count of Boulogne and Godfrey de Bouillon (d. 1100) in 1099. Eustace, before he retired as a monk of Cluny in around 1125, minted a denier showing a lion passant over an arcaded edifice in commemoration of this famous action.

The designer of Geoffrey of Anjou's shield must surely have had some crusader connection, which makes it overwhelmingly probable that we can identify this individual as the boy's own father, Fulk of Anjou. Fulk led a force to Jerusalem in 1120 where he became closely associated with the Knights Templar. He is known to have been present at the knighting, but soon afterwards he returned to the Holy Land and became King of Jerusalem in 1131. He is known to have loved symbolic objects. An ivory tau given to him by the sultan of Egypt was later sent to his son in Anjou to be used as a hereditary symbol of authority.

There is also literary evidence in the form of the autobiography of his father count Fulk Réchin (d. 1109) that the quality that his line valued most highly of all was *prohess*. The cover of the famous Melisende Psalter is thought to have been made for King Fulk as a gift for his wife Queen Melisende, and bears lions on its ivory covers. On the front cover is King David overcoming a maned lion, while on the back is a series of six roundels each depicting a king, presumed to be Fulk. In the top central lacunus a key decorative panel appears to show a lion goring a camel, although both animals are crudely executed. In support of this attribution is the coronation mantle of Roger II king of Sicily from the same period, which also shows a lion attacking a camel.

The idea of putting a charge on his son's shield and helmet is something which Fulk may have copied from his father-in-law Helias, count of Maine (d. 1110), who after making his Crusader pledge had the cross engraved on the shield and helmet which he wore for the rest of his life. Helias was the grandson of Lancelin de Beaugency, for more of whom see below. The charge on Geoffrey's shield was every bit as symbolic as the crusader cross, it is clearly intended to give a message. Robert of Rheims, who was an eyewitness to the First Crusade, writing circa 1107 described Godfrey de Bouillon, guardian of the Holy Sepulchre as having courage 'like a roaring lion who feared the attack of no man'. The shield was a precious gift from father to son which would naturally have been handed down over the generations, providing an

explanation for one of the key aspects of heraldry, its hereditary nature.

Soon after Geoffrey's knighting and his marriage to Henry I's daughter the Empress Maud he 'went to the borders of Flanders and to lands far away to seek out tournaments'. This might have been the occasion when many knights were first introduced to his now famous shield. At one of his early tournaments near Mont St Michel he fought on the side of the Bretons. The seal of *Stephen count of Brittany and earl of Richmond* (d. 1136) showed semy of fleurs de lis on both shield and surcoat. Roger de Mowbray, who married count Stephen's grand-daughter, Alice, also adopted the fleurs de lis, as shown on his seal which dates before 1157. Roger participated in the Second Crusade where he famously killed a muslim leader in single combat. Stephen was a member of a Crusading family, having succeeded his nephew Conan as Earl of Richmond after Conan's death on the First Crusade in 1098. Stephen's cousin duke Alan of Brittany was married to Ermengarde the sister of Fulk V count of Anjou. Stephen was further linked to Anjou in being a benefactor of the Abbey of Saints Sergius and Bacchus at Angers. A field of fleur de lis can be seen on the background of Geoffrey of Anjou's funeral plaque.

You will see that I have given to Ralph Count of Vermandois (d 1152) a pivotal role in the early diffusion of heraldry (Fig. 1). His importance has long been recognised since the chequy field which he adopted as his arms can be seen on the flag of his seal from 1135. A later seal from 1146 shows chequy on the shield itself. While he and Geoffrey of Anjou in later times were frequently at war, they had certainly known

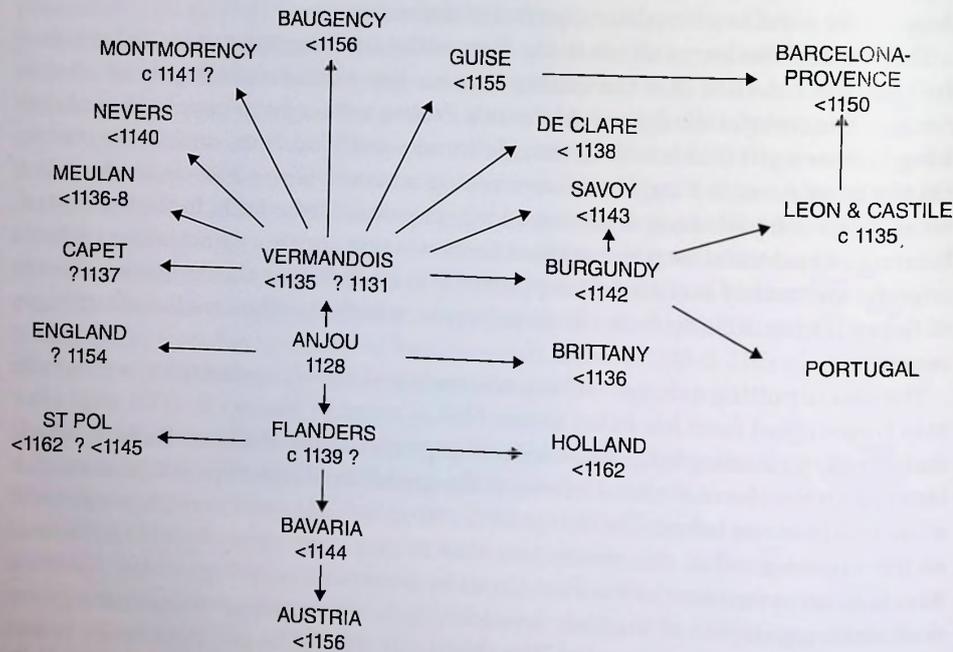


Fig. 1. Model for dissemination.

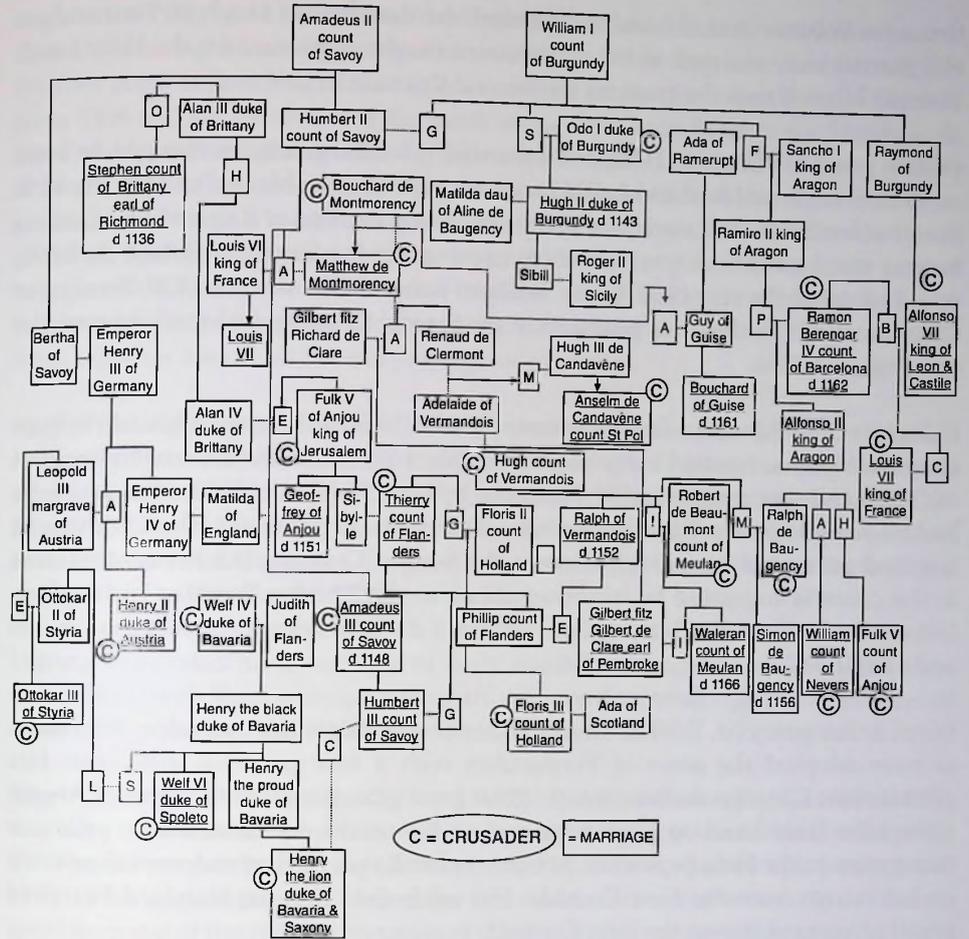


Fig. 2. Genealogical scheme.

each other socially in the peaceful years of the early 1130s, and they were related through the house of Beaugency. Ralph's father Count Hugh of Vermandois (d. 1101), the son of Henry I of France, carried the Pope's golden banner on the First Crusade. Had he known that Fulk of Jerusalem had invented Geoffrey's arms this would have carried great weight with Ralph of Vermandois. The colours of his arms, azure and or, were much used by other Capetian descendents suggesting that these may have already been established as the royal colours. In 1131 he was created seneschal of France, and his arms might plausibly date from this time.

The four nephews will be considered briefly. They were also cousins of Geoffrey of Anjou:

Waleran count of Meulan and Lord of Worcester had adopted chequy arms, probably chequy gules and or) based on those of Vermandois by 1136-38. He was son of the First

Crusader Robert count of Meulan by Isabel, the daughter of Hugh of Vermandois. His parents were married on the eve of count Hugh's departure for the Holy Land. Waleran himself took the cross for the Second Crusade in 1146.

William count of Nevers (d.1148), from the duchy of Burgundy, is thought to have carried an eagle on his shield based on a vestigial wing on his seal of 1140. He took the cross for the First Crusade and apart from being nephew of Ralph of Vermandois he was also linked to Anjou in that his great uncle, the Crusader Robert de Sablé, was a vassal of the counts of Anjou. William was a close associate of St Bernard of Clairvaux (d.1153) the great promoter of the Second Crusade, for which he took the cross again in 1146.

Gilbert fitz Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Pembroke (d. 1148) was the brother in law of Waleran Count of Meulan, married to the niece of Ralph of Vermandois. He came to England in 1137/8 and was created earl of Pembroke by king Stephen in 1138, after which he had an armorial seal made showing six chevrons on his shield. The Civil War in England prevented his participation in the Second Crusade, but his commitment to the cause is suggested by his benefactions to the Knights Templar. His nephew Gilbert fitz Richard de Clare, earl of Hertford (d <1153) bore three chevrons on his seal of 1141-46.

Simon de Beaugency (d. 1156) as the fourth nephew of Ralph of Vermandois is believed to have adopted the arms of Vermandois with a fess gules for difference. His grandfather, Lancelin de Beaugency (great great grandfather of Geoffrey of Anjou) visited the Holy Land on pilgrimage and on his return dedicated a new priory at Beaugency to the Holy Sepulchre. Simon's father Ralph further endowed the priory on his return from the First Crusade. His uncle Odo was the standard bearer of Hugh of Vermandois on the First Crusade.

Other families within the orbit of the House of Vermandois:

Bouchard Lord of Guise who had an eagle on a roundel on his long shield on his seal of 1155 was a vassal of the counts of Vermandois who accompanied Louis VII on the Second Crusade in 1147. He was named for his grandfather Bouchard de Montmorency who died in Jerusalem some time between 1130 and 1132 and his adoption of the eagle lends considerable support to an early origin for the arms of Montmorency or a cross gules between four eagles displayed azure. I propose that these arms were adopted by Bouchard of Guise's uncle *Matthew I de Montmorency* who was the constable of France from 1138. The arms of Montmorency in turn are linked to those of the House of Savoy gules a cross argent. Amadeus of Savoy (d. 1148) carries a cross bearing a pennant on his seal of 1143, which Galbreath and others have argued is the cross of Savoy. The lance flag in itself is unfortunately not proof of heraldry. The House of Savoy were involved in supporting the papacy in putting together an army

to go to the Holy Land even before the First Crusade. Amadeus III was known as 'the Crusader' having himself taken the cross in 1128. It has long been considered that the first arms of Savoy were the eagle, as seen on the counter-seal of Count Thomas from 1206 and on the shield of the tomb of his son Count Peter. Since Matthew de Montmorency married Adelaide de Maurienne widow of Louis VI of France, mother of Louis VII, and daughter of Humbert III count of Savoy in 1141 then it can hardly be a coincidence that his arms combine the cross with the eagle, both used by the house of Savoy. Matthew's sons and heirs were not descended from Savoy, their mother being a natural daughter of Henry I of England, which makes the origin of the Savoy linked arms in a later generation unlikely. In terms of kinship the house of Savoy links together almost all the early armigerous families.

Hugh II duke of Burgundy (d. 1143) was a comrade in arms of Ralph of Vermandois in the royal army of France and by 1142 he was using an equestrian seal with what appear to be three pales on the lance flag, assumed to be arms *bendy of six or and azure*. His father died in the Holy Land in 1102, while he himself was closely associated with St Bernard of Clairvaux the great exponent of the Crusades who drafted new statutes for the Templars in 1128.

Having elaborated an inner core of early heraldic crusading families with close connections with Vermandois, it is instructive to consider what might have influenced other contemporary families to adopt heraldic devices.

King Alfonso VII of Galicia and Leon (d. 1157) also became king of Castile in 1135, was then crowned as 'Emperor of all the Spains'. His adoption of the arms *argent a lion rampant purple* by the year 1147 is attested by a contemporary epic poem. From early in his reign Alfonso VII used the lion on his coinage as a canting emblem, a good example of the rising reputation of the lion in the early twelfth century. In the earliest examples the engraver clearly had little idea what a lion looked like, but later on the lions took on a typically heraldic appearance. As to his likely influences: his father was of the comital house of Burgundy, making him the first cousin of the Hugh II duke of Burgundy. He was closely allied to the papal reformist movement via the Abbey of Cluny, and a participant in the Second Crusade on the Iberian peninsula.

Raymond Berengar IV count of Barcelona and prince of Aragon (d. 1162) was using the now familiar *paly or and gules* arms of Aragon by 1150. He had impeccable crusader credentials: his grandfather and namesake died on the First Crusade while his father became a fully professed Templar knight in 1131. The earliest datable charter on which his armorial seal survives records a gift to the Knights Hospitaller. He was the brother-in-law of Alfonso VII with whom he fought in the Second Crusade, and a cousin of Bouchard of Guise.

Returning now to the lion, further support for the key role played by the Holy Land and the House of Anjou in the origins of the lion rampant comes from Flanders.

Thierry of Alsace, Count of Flanders (d. 1168) went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1139 where he married Sibilla of Anjou, the daughter of Fulk king of Jerusalem. In 1163 their son Philip's equestrian seal showed the lion of Flanders on his helmet, shield and banner. The lion on his helmet is reminiscent of the headgear of Geoffrey of Anjou on his commemorative plaque. The possibility that it was his father Thierry who first adopted the lion of Flanders has not found favour with modern heraldists, but such a possibility is strongly supported by a study of the coinage minted by Count Thierry.

There is a very striking coin which was minted in Edessa between 1108 and 1118 by Queen Melisende's father King Baldwin II of Jerusalem.⁶ In 1144 Edessa fell to Islam, triggering the Second Crusade. There exists a corpus of Flemish deniers clearly inspired by Baldwin's coins of Edessa, but with the addition of a lion rampant to the shield.⁷ It has long been assumed, based on the seal of Philip of Flanders who acceded in 1168, that the coins are his. However, whilst there exists a whole series of deniers bearing Philip's name, none of them are heraldic and none of them resemble the coins of Edessa. The historical context of the Edessa inspired deniers surely belongs to the time of Thierry of Alsace, who perhaps began minting them after 1144 as a political statement in support of the recapture of Edessa. Thierry must have seen the original coins on his numerous travels to the Holy Land, which he visited on four separate occasions. Thierry of Alsace and Fulk of Anjou were well acquainted with each other in the Holy Land. It is highly plausible that Thierry's adoption of the lion was both a compliment to his father-in-law and a visible expression of his commitment to the crusading cause. Pastoureaux's lion map puts Flanders at its epicentre in terms of the popularity of the lion in arms based on medieval armorials.

Florence III count of Holland was the great nephew of Thierry of Alsace count of Flanders and he adopted a lion on his shield by 1162, which we can safely conclude was the same arms or a lion rampant gules which were later attested to the Counts of Holland. Florence's father Dirk went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1138 while his mother later died and was buried there. The same year that his heraldry is first recorded on a datable seal he married Ada of Scotland, and thus he became the brother-in-law of William the Lion, king of Scotland who is thought to have taken the same arms as his royal shield. It is quite likely that as with Henry the Lion in Germany, of whom more will be said, he took his epithet "the Lion" from his heraldry. The double tressure was not added to the arms of Scotland until the time of Alexander III (1249-1286), perhaps in deference to the fact that his cousins the Counts of Holland had been the first to adopt the arms. Florence III joined the Third Crusade in 1189 and was buried in Antioch in 1190.

At this point it would be instructive to consider how the lion rampant became an hereditary shield amongst the descendants of Geoffrey of Anjou. History does not record the arms borne by Geoffrey's son Henry Plantagenet, although we do of course know that Geoffrey's arms were adopted by Henry's natural son, William Longspée earl of Salisbury. Few heraldists would doubt that Henry II kept his father's golden lions, but he seems to have reduced their number and may have changed the colour of the field. This can be deduced by the arms used by his eldest son Richard Coeur de lion at the time of his accession as king of England. It seems that Henry took as his model not his father's shield, but the lion rampant from his helmet. His brother William fitz Empress count of Poitou also bore a single lion rampant on his shield, as shown on his 1156 seal.

Also within the orbit of the Counts of Flanders in the early heraldic period was the county of Saint-Pol. Alongside the lion of Leon the arms of Counts of St Pol in Artois are the earliest known examples of canting in heraldry. The area where they ruled was known to the romans as Tervana ie terra avenae, in French terre d'avoine or land of oats, for its principal crop. The family from an early period took the surname campus avenae, field of oats, in French champ d'avoine or later Candavène. Count Hugh III (1126-41) and perhaps his predecessor showed a sprig of oats on his coins, this having remained the main local produce. His son Enguerrand on his seal is riding across a field of oats, thereby spelling out his surname, while Enguerrand's brother Anselm was using the oatsheaf on his shield and horse caparison by 1162. This has been looked upon as some kind of evolutionary process, a drift in the direction of heraldry, but an alternative interpretation is that when the first member of the family was inspired to adopt a shield of arms there could only be one choice of charge and that was the oatsheaf. Hugh III in 1128 became the brother-in-law of Ralph of Vermandois, and he was also closely associated with the Counts of Flanders, putting him right at the fulcrum of the origins of heraldry. He was part of the crusading nexus of families: his father and his elder brother both went on the First Crusade, in which the latter was killed.

The lion in Germany

Henry the Lion duke of Bavaria and Saxony (1129/30-1195) bore a lion on the shield of his seal in 1144 when he was only fourteen or fifteen years old. In view of Henry's youth when he adopted arms it is highly probable that he was actually following his uncle, duke Welf VI, although we only have evidence for Welf's own usage of the lion on arms from 1152. Henry the Lion was married to the daughter of one of Welf's principal supporters, Conrad of Zähringen. It was not a love match and the couple later divorced, whereupon she married the count of Savoy. Quite likely it was Welf who selected the bride. He was the grandson of the First Crusader Welf IV and Judith of Flanders, herself the sister of the famous Crusader Robert II count of Flanders. I propose that Welf and Henry were inspired to adopt the lion by their kinsman the Count of Flanders, which would necessarily be very soon after the likely date for the adoption of arms by Thierry of Alsace. Welf was a prominent participant in the

Second Crusade, having been sought out by St Bernard when he visited Germany in 1147: he was present at a magnificent franco-german meeting which took place at Acre in 1148. It seems that Henry the Lion took his name from his heraldry, rather than the other way round.

The two other known examples of heraldry in the german speaking world in the early heraldic period are both linked to the Welfings and both went to the Holy Land on the Second Crusade.

Henry II Duke of Austria adopted an heraldic eagle by 1156. For a time he was the step father of Henry the Lion. In 1148 he made a spectacular marriage to Theodora Comnena, niece of the Byzantine emperor Manuel I, in Constantinople. It is very likely that his adoption of the eagle was influenced by his imperial Roman connections, but the possibility also arises that his uterine half brother Conrad III King of Germany and their nephew Frederick Barbarossa, also present on the Second Crusade, adopted the eagle as a true heraldic charge at this time, following its long usage by the Holy Roman Emperors as an emblem. We have seen that Bouchard of Guise and William of Nevers adopted the eagle in a slightly earlier period, and Henry of Austria would have the opportunity to observe both of their arms on the Second Crusade.

Otakar III margrave of Styria (d. 1164) chose the lion as his heraldic device and was using it by 1160. His brother-in-law was Welf VI and he was also a cousin of Henry Duke of Austria. Otakar's mother Elizabeth joined the First Crusade, on which she died, as a widow in 1100. He brought Byzantine artists back with him to his principality in the aftermath of the Second Crusade.

Some of the examples cited above are on more secure footing than others, but taken as a whole the pattern is highly intriguing. It was not a selective list: no other certain examples from the period 1130-1165 could be identified, but the new kinship model of early heraldic development might make it easier to identify other possible examples.

Let us consider the royal arms of France. It has long been contended that Louis VII who ruled from 1137 to 1180 was the first armorial king of France, and indeed one of the counter seals that he used depicts a single fleur de lis. This does not prove that he used it on his shield. The first literary evidence of the banner *semy de lis* comes from the reign of his son Philip Augustus. The purist would be inclined to suggest that the arms were devised by Philip Augustus. Louis VII was passionate about the Crusades and took part in the Second Crusade. One might consider many potential stimuli for his devotion, but one of them was certainly Ralph of Vermandois who became his tutor as dauphin in 1135. The arms of France might be interpreted as the arms of Vermandois with the gold checks replaced with fleurs de lis. It would seem highly probable that Louis VII adopted arms under the influence of his erstwhile tutor, and that he took them with him on the Second Crusade. This might explain why the fleur

de lis was adopted by the Saracens in the immediate aftermath of this crusade. A good example is the mihrab of the madrasah a built by Louis VII's nemesis Nur ad-din Zangi in Damascus between 1154 and 1173.⁸

To summarize the kinship model, it would be difficult to argue that it is a mere coincidence that all the early armigers are related to each other. It is true that there was a lot of intermarriage between noble houses, but the unifying factor in this network is that and that every single family is a crusading one. Those who were not crusaders themselves had fathers or other close relatives who were. It is striking that no early heraldry occurs amongst the many families who did not participate in the First or the Second Crusades. How then might the Crusades have led to the birth of heraldry, and why is it that nothing apparently happened for three decades following the First Crusade? What could have made heraldry so attractive to this particular kinship group while at the same time for thirty to forty years it was seemingly unattractive to outsiders?

To answer these questions it is necessary to explore the collective mind set of the early armigers. They were willing to make tremendous sacrifices to protect Jerusalem and its Holy Sepulchre, and this set them apart from the silent majority at that time. They took tremendous pride in having made that sacrifice, they chose to marry the womenfolk of others who shared the same mind set. A revered member of their kinship network gave his son a shield with lions which was much seen and displayed. Soon afterwards he attained the enormous prestige of becoming King of Jerusalem. Others in this circle decided to emulate Geoffrey of Anjou by devising their own distinctive shields, but quite naturally the majority chose to use the lion, which made them think of the Holy Land. The kinship network of the crusading families provided the vehicle by which the idea spread throughout western Europe from north to south and west to east. If the first ever heraldic shield was indeed that of Geoffrey of Anjou this does not mean that he invented heraldry: his usage of the shield only acted as a catalyst. It was how the kinship group as a whole responded to it which defined heraldry's earliest precepts.

The idea of decorating shields goes right back to the ancient world, but this was something new, a matching device on shield and banner, on helmet and horse harness. It was also an entirely new concept, an outward manifestation of a set of shared ideals and of pride in the sacrifice made in going to the Holy Land. Some of that pride transferred itself to the shields themselves, helping to explain why they immediately became hereditary in nature, something which marks out heraldry from earlier shield devices. Families who failed to see the draw of the crusades failed equally to see the attraction of heraldry while it remained the token of a private club, and indeed because all the early families were crusaders others may have felt it to be presumptuous to copy the idea. But the early armigers being in the upper echelons of society a trickle down effect was inevitable, until by the last quarter of the thirteenth century it had become a craze.

Notes and references

In the interests of space the number of references has been limited. An extensive reference list can be found in a related paper entitled "The Crusades and the origins of heraldry" in the *Coat of Arms* 2012.

- 1 Michel Pastoureau, *Traité d'Héraldique*, 5th edition (Paris 2008) 87.
- 2 Michel Pastoureau, *Heraldry, its origins and meaning* (London 1997) 18.
- 3 The majority of these were conveniently listed in D.L.Galbreath and Léon Jéquier, *Manuel du Blason*, 2nd Ed. (Lausanne 1977), and in Anthony Wagner, *Heralds & Heraldry in the Middle Ages*, 2nd Ed. (Oxford 1956).
- 4 Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders 1095-1131* (Cambridge 1997); Jonathan Phillips, *The Second Crusade, extending the frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven 2007).
- 5 Jim Bradbury, 'Geoffrey V of Anjou, Count and Knight' in: Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (Eds.), *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood III, Papers from the Fourth Strawberry Hill Conference 1988* (Woodbridge 1990) 21-38.
- 6 Alex Malloy, Irene Preston and Arthur Seltman, *Coins of the Crusader States*, 2nd ed. (Fairfield 2004) 243-245.
- 7 Alexandre Hermand, *Histoire Monétaire de la Province d'Artois* (St Omer 1843) 151-157 and plate III nos. 24-30.
- 8 L.A.Mayer. *Saracenic heraldry*, Oxford 1933, p22 and plate XIX i.