CHANGING PERCEPTIONS OF HERALDRY IN ENGLISH

KNIGHTLY CULTURE OF THE TWELFTH AND

THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Council of the

University of North Texas in Partial

Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

By

Robert Lee Lewis III, B.A.

Denton, Texas

August, 1996

CHANGING PERCEPTIONS OF HERALDRY IN ENGLISH

KNIGHTLY CULTURE OF THE TWELFTH AND

THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Council of the

University of North Texas in Partial

Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

By

Robert Lee Lewis III, B.A.

Denton, Texas

August, 1996

Lewis, Robert Lee III, <u>Shifting Perceptions of Heraldry in English Knightly Culture of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries</u>. Master of Arts (Art History), August, 1996, 54 pp., 9 illustrations, 37 titles.

The purpose of this thesis is to analyze and discuss the changing ways in which the visual art of heraldry was perceived by the feudal aristocracy of twelfth- and thirteenth-century England. It shows how the aristocracy evolved from a military class to a courtly, chivalric class, and how this change affected art and culture. The shifts in the perceptions of heraldry reflect this important social development of the knightly class.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Heraldry was one of the most prominent types of visual imagery during the Middle Ages. In a world where illiteracy was common and an encounter with images of any kind was certainly more unique than today, heraldic images held a position of great importance. The significance of these images relates to the social and political environments in which heraldry was born and flourished. In order to understand the importance of this visual imagery, the major elements of social and political development during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and their relationship to heraldry must be defined and investigated.

One of the most significant factors concerning the development and importance of the visual language of heraldry was the rise of the warrior class. Prior to the eleventh century, the secular and ecclesiastical worlds were virtually united, as seen in the governmental structures of the Carolingians and the Ottonians. These rulers used the machinery of the Church to carry out imperial business, and in many cases local lords were also Church officials. During the eleventh century in France and England, the feudal system increasingly replaced the old

imperial system, and the ties between lord and vassal became more important politically than the royalty-clergy relationship. Political power was now in the hands of the warrior class, and secular culture reflected its martial lords and their cult of chivalry, the visual expression of which was heraldry. Heraldry, because of its ties to chivalry, was the first secular art to achieve a level of great importance during the Middle Ages, yet the social and political developments that allowed this situation to come about have not been thoroughly investigated.

What was the use of these images, and why were they so important to the knights of this period? In the beginning, "the aim of heraldry was personal identification."[1] Arms designed to accomplish this simple task were often of the type known as "canting" or punning arms, where the elements of the arms made some play on the name of the bearer (the three bulls' heads on the shield of Turnbull, for example). In addition, each device also proclaimed the bearer's ancestry and could refer to specific accomplishments by him or his ancestors (Turnbull's motto is "I saved the King," which refers to an important ancestral accomplishment). The system of primogeniture, in which the eldest male child succeeds the father, definitely affected the growth of heraldry. This development concerning the concept of hereditary right and inheritance was crucial to the establishment of a knight's house as a stable entity that could be

---

[1]Meredith Parsons Lillich, "Early Heraldry," Gesta 30 (1991): 41.

represented by a visual image that would carry on beyond one generation. This characteristic contrasts with earlier medieval traditions of inheritance, which divided the goods of the father equally among the sons, commonly resulting in fratricide and disintegration of the family. The most important aspect of arms in the later medieval period is this: "heraldry. . . could come to record for one sufficiently versed, not merely the identity of an individual and his descent in blood, but a whole associated history of ancestral chivalrous achievement."[2] With all this significance in one's arms, it is fairly easy to understand that arms were considered symbols of honor and good faith. The seals of noblemen often incorporated the arms, which testified that the 'undersigned' was a man of honor whose word would not be broken.[3] Heraldic devices were also the "sign of technical rank of gentility."[4] Nearly all who owned land had arms, so in a sense, to have arms was to be noble. To be without arms would mean that one was not a member of the upper echelon of society. Heraldry became a system of verification of the claim of nobility, the membership card of an elite and restricted club. The heraldic language

---

[2]Maurice Hugh Keen, Chivalry (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 132.

[3]Ann Payne, "Medieval Heraldry," in Age of Chivalry (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1987), 55.

[4]A.C. Fox-Davies, A Complete Guide to Heraldry (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1969), 18.

served yet other purposes, for it was also a "code carrying important messages about ownership, patronage, or, at least, general political affiliation [by the fourteenth century]."[5] The arms of a noble would be on books, plates, in the window donated to the church. Everywhere his arms were, his presence would be felt, because in the minds of medieval men, the arms "symbolized the character of the bearer."[6] One's arms on a window in the cathedral spoke to all who saw it that this window was a gift of a certain generous noble, and without a doubt, such tools helped to reinforce the power and presence of the local lord when his arms were present throughout his area of dominance.

Would the average peasant be able to recognize the identity of a particular device? More than likely, the average medieval person would probably recognize arms that were important in his or her area, and perhaps even the royal arms, but technical knowledge of the art of heraldry was presumably far less common. Heraldry was a vocabulary of visual images that functioned well in an illiterate age. Arms functioned much like images in a church--they expressed a most basic meaning to all, and a very specific meaning to some.

The rise of heraldry to a position of such great importance in the

---

[5]Lillich, 41.

[6]Harold Bowditch, review of E.J. Jones' Medieval Heraldry in Speculum 20 (Jan 1945), p. 116.

Late Middle Ages must depend upon social and political developments in Medieval society between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. By the fourteenth century, arms covered the possessions and dwellings of the aristocracy, and the tournament of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was a ceremonial pageant lavishly decorated with heraldic images. An investigation of these developments should elucidate the underlying forces behind the unprecedented elevation in significance of this chivalric iconography known as heraldry.

Art Historians have largely ignored the importance of heraldry in the consideration of Medieval art. Most only use it as a tool for defining patronage or establishing chronology of art objects. Most scholarship on heraldry has been written by modern heralds and historians, who fail to address issues pertinent to the study of art, or the motivations behind its creation. An investigation of the atmosphere that fostered the development of the most prominent secular imagery of the Middle Ages is necessary to gain insight into Medieval society and its cult of chivalry, further broadening knowledge of Medieval art and the age in which it was created.

Statement of the Problem

This paper investigates how shifting perceptions of the visual art of

heraldry reflected changes in knightly culture of twelfth- and thirteenth-century England.

Method

This research is based on a detailed investigation of Medieval English society from the beginning of the twelfth century to the end of the thirteenth century. Through a close examination of primary and secondary sources, I have endeavored to establish the political and social developments of English society that supported the rise of heraldry. The methodology of this thesis is similar to that found in the cultural histories of Georges Duby in <u>Age of the Cathedrals</u> and Erwin Panofsky in <u>Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism</u>. The perception and significance of visual imagery, literacy, feudalism, and changing cultural values all affected the development of this art, and these are the factors that have been investigated. What is heraldry? This was the first question to be answered. Through study of important contemporary literature such as Chrétien de Troyes's Arthurian romances and Geoffrey of Monmouth's <u>History of the Kings of Britain</u>, as well as many secondary sources, this paper explored the ways in which heraldry was perceived by the knightly class of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, including important historical and social facts concerning the art of heraldry, its

development, and its significance to the aristocracy. This research led to a discovery of a change in the perception of heraldry that simultaneously occurred in other areas of society during this period. As heraldry changed from a functional military science to a symbolic expression of new chivalric ideologies, so too did contemporary literature and an extremely important social phenomenon known as the tournament. This led to the next area of investigation: the Medieval tournament. First, the tournament had to be defined and explained, from the early twelfth century to the late thirteenth century. The origin and reason for the creation of the tournament were discussed, and the significance of the tournament to this society was also examined. The tournament underwent a gradual evolution from functional to symbolic much like heraldry, and it was necessary to show this in order to reinforce the idea that the change in the perception of heraldry was indicative of a greater social change occurring during this period. Finally, this paper examined the concept of chivalry and the change in values reflected in the literature from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and how this social change affected the significance of heraldry. There was a marked difference between the chivalric ideal of the twelfth century and the ideal of the thirteenth century, and this was shown in the stories of King Arthur and his knights, the legendary founders of the world of chivalry. The ideology of the knightly class gradually evolved beyond brutal

military origins to a more ceremonial and courtly belief, and this paper illustrated how social change was reflected in the different perceptions and significance of the visual art of heraldry.

Review of Literature

Most heraldic literature has dealt with the art as a science, and has focused on the explanation of terms and practices, along with the chronology of developments within the field. A.C. Fox-Davies <u>A Complete Guide to Heraldry</u>, a massive tome, traces the historical development of heraldry, from its military beginnings to the art that exists today. This is one of the main references for any discussion of heraldry. Its approach is mostly historical and technical in nature, but it fails to probe the artistic aspects of heraldry or its ties to chivalry. Most guides like this are written by heralds themselves, and their dry, scientific dialogues often focus on the technical intricacies of heraldry and usually ignore visual and social importance of the art.

Sir Anthony Wagner's <u>Heralds of England</u> takes a biographical approach to the important men of heraldry. Wagner, a British herald himself, gives a brief but insightful look into the lives of early heralds. However, most of his book deals with important personages from the sixteenth century onward, which is out of the scope of this study.

Meredith Parsons Lillich, in "Early Heraldry: How to Crack the Code," discusses the use of heraldry to the art historian in establishing patronage and date. She illustrates many ways in which a basic knowledge of heraldry can aid the medievalist in the study of art objects embellished with heraldic designs. Since much of the art of this era bore the arms of its patrons, heraldry can provide a wealth of information about those patrons and their motivations in commissioning specific works of art. Much scholarship on heraldry takes a similar approach. Authors discuss a window in a church, or some other such object bearing arms, and reveal the family and history behind the work.

In "Medieval Heraldry," Ann Payne, an art historian, surveys the importance of heraldry during the Middle Ages. This work is significant in that it discusses the widespread use of heraldry in the Middle Ages and the importance of such images, but it is of use only to those seeking a general survey of the topic. Another important work is by the historian Maurice Keen. In Chivalry, Keen investigates the relationship between heraldry and that important cult of the warrior class, chivalry. Keen describes the move of heraldry to the center of chivalric practice, yet he fails to consider the importance of the rise of the warrior class and its effect on the use of heraldry.

Heraldry has been a topic of investigation on an extensive scale in historical scholarship. However, art historians have largely avoided the

issue, except for the occasional discussion of a heraldic device in a specific work of art. Most of the heralds' scholarship on their art is concerned with formal qualities and the evolution of art. The significance of the heraldic image, its ties to chivalry, and the effects of the rise of the warrior class all need to be investigated more thoroughly.

CHAPTER 2

HERALDRY

In Chrétien de Troyes's <u>Erec and Enide</u>, written at the end of the
twelfth century, the hero of the tale, Erec, seeks a knight who has
wronged him.[1] Erec follows the knight to a village, and upon procuring
lodging from a generous old man, Erec inquires as to the identity of the
knight with the "gold and azure arms" who preceded Erec into the
village.[2] The old man recognizes the knight who bears those arms as a
formidable warrior who has won a local contest for the past two years.
The significance of this is that Erec described a knight merely by the
knight's arms and learned important information about the knight's
personal history and ability as a warrior, not merely the name of the
knight. This example illustrates the manner in which heraldry would be
used and understood by the end of the thirteenth century, as a visual
code expressing more information than the identity of the bearer.
Heraldic devices, originally intended as a means of identification, would
gradually undergo a transition from a functional art to a symbolic art

---

[1]Chrétien de Troyes, <u>The Complete Romances of Chrétien de
Troyes</u>, trans. David Staines (Bloomington: Indiana University Press,
1990), 4-9.

[2]Ibid., 8.

11

during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. By the end of the thirteenth century, the arms of a man would reveal not only his identity, but also his personal history and accomplishments, as well as the chivalric achievements of his ancestors.

Heraldry, or "the systematic use of hereditary devices centered on the shield," came into use during the second quarter of the twelfth century.[3] From this point, heraldry soon became the most important secular imagery of the Middle Ages. This art was the most pervasive form of visual imagery in Medieval society. Yet, how was it distinctly different from military banners and standards used by soldiers in the Roman Empire, or the personal devices of early medieval warriors? As the quotation above states, heraldic imagery is 'systematic' and 'hereditary.' The hereditary aspect of heraldry will be discussed first.

Images from the Bayeux Tapestry (c. 1070-1080) clearly show some forms of decoration on the shields of the warriors.[4] (Fig. 1) However, these images are not particular to individual families or areas, and there is no evidence that they passed on to descendants of those involved at Hastings. Such decorations or devices, in heraldic terms, are

---

[3]Richard Marks and Ann Payne, eds., British Heraldry (London: British Museum Publications, Ltd., 1978), 12.

[4]Maurice Hugh Keen, Chivalry (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 124.

usually described as personal devices. Personal devices most likely were decorative motifs picked by the individual, lacking chivalric or historical meaning and never passed down a family line. Because such motifs never survived for more than a generation, the personal devices never acquired any ancestral or hereditary significance. Within a century of Hastings true heraldry begins to appear, and the devices of the higher nobility began to pass from generation to generation.[5] Geoffrey the Fair, knighted in 1128 with a blue shield bearing six gold lions around his neck, was buried with that same shield placed on his tomb in 1152. Geoffrey's son William used a single lion, but "his bastard grandson, William of Salisbury (d. 1227) bore the same device as Geoffrey, six lioncels on a blue shield."[6] By taking the arms of his grandfather, William had chosen a family device, rather than a personal device, thus indicating the beginnings of heraldry.

The "systematic use" of devices refers to the manner in which shields are decorated with heraldic elements. The rules governing this decoration are extensive and the vocabulary itself is archaic and unique to the art of heraldry. The colors of heraldry are properly called 'tinctures,' of which there are five: *gules* (red), *azure* (blue), *vert* (green),

---

[5]Ibid., 126.

[6]Ibid., 126.

purpure (purple), and *sable* (black).[7] The metals are two in number: *or*

(gold) and *argent* (silver). There are also two furs used in blazoning

(decorating) the shield: *ermine* and *vair.* Blazon (the heraldic description

of the shield) orients the shield into right (*dexter*) and left (*sinister*), and

then divides it into four quarters. Every geometric shape has its own

specific heraldic term, as does every animal (further differentiated by

pose), inanimate object, or other decorative element in this art. The arms

are divided into 'ordinaries' and 'sub-ordinaries,' which are the

nonobjective decorative elements of the arms. One example of an

ordinary is a bend, which is a broad band going from the right (*dexter*)

top (*chief*) to the left (*sinister*) base. (Fig. 2) Another ordinary is the fess,

a single horizontal band across the center of the shield, and when there

is more than one horizontal band, they are called bars. (Figs. 3, 4) Sub-

ordinaries are smaller elements that are less commonly used than the

ordinaries. Animals, plants, flowers, and inanimate objects are referred

to as charges. Thus, the arms of William of Salisbury described above are

blazoned so: *azure, six lioncels or.* The color of the field is listed first,

followed by the ordinary, sub-ordinary, or charge (in this case, six lions,

called *lioncels* when more than one appears on a shield) and the color of

the ordinary, sub-ordinary, or charge. A red band across a silver shield,

---

[7]Arthur Charles Fox-Davies, <u>A Complete Guide to Heraldry</u>
(London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1969), 13.

such as the arms of Melville, would be blazoned thus: *argent, a fess*

gules. These few examples illustrate why heraldry has been called "a

study which loads the memory without improving the understanding."[8]

The exact point in time when the laws of blazon began to be

uniformly and universally adopted is not known, and how these laws

were devised is also unknown at this time. However, by the end of the

twelfth century, most arms conformed to these laws, and the first

English roll of arms (a roster of arms of knights in a geographic area or

participating in a particular event), Glover's Roll, appeared by the mid-

thirteenth century.[9]

Now that the terms "hereditary" and "systematic" have been

clarified, the history of heraldry and its importance can be discussed.

The most commonly accepted explanation for the origin of heraldry

relates to technological developments in armor. Armor from the twelfth

century was primarily chain mail, covering the knight from head to foot.

Full mittens with slit leather palms that could be pushed up the arm

when not in use covered the hands, mail leggings protected the legs, with

plate protection around the knees and lower legs, a full mail *hauberk* or

---

[8]Ann Payne, "Medieval Heraldry," in <u>Age of Chivalry</u> (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1987), 55.

[9]Keen, 129; French rolls of arms, such as the Bigot Roll, also begin to appear at this time; there are minor differences between German, French, and English heraldry, but the significant rules are followed across the Continent.

shirt covered the upper body, and a mail *coif* covered the head. The most important and relatively new (early twelfth-century) development in armor was the great helm, a fully closed helmet, which encased the head in steel or iron and greatly improved the protection of the knight. However, this advance made identification of the individual nearly impossible. Thus, a visual image that was easily recognizable and could be associated with a particular person became a practical necessity of war. Knights at this time also wore a linen surcoat over their mail to protect it from the elements and to reduce the temperature of the mail after being out in the sun (heat exhaustion was a common ailment among the Crusaders, who literally baked in their mail). The knight's charge would be placed on this surcoat, and from this originates the term "coat of arms."[10] The shield, the coat, the accoutrements of the horse, all would bear the charge of a knight, as would his seal, his gatehouse, and, eventually, his plates and other possessions. However, this last example occurs more often after the mid-fourteenth century, when there was an explosion in the decorative uses of heraldry. Heraldry, originally a military necessity, reflected a shift in medieval society from legitimate military concerns to the more symbolic, courtly concerns of the chivalric caste.

After the Norman Conquest, certain changes took place in English

---

[10]Fox-Davies, 13.

society that eventually aided in the development of heraldry, one of which concerns language and literacy. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, England was a land of three languages. English or the old Anglo-Saxon dialect was the language of the lower classes, French (Anglo-Norman) was used by the ruling class and polite society, and Latin was the language of the Church and of law.[11] "During the thirteenth century a noble might be brought up with the proverbial prattle of his wet nurse, be taught the niceties of French by his mother, and learn Latin declensions under the tutor's birch."[12] In such a society the visual would cross language barriers and the boundaries of literacy, and heraldry would effectively communicate to a broad range of English society. But how widespread was an understanding of heraldry?

By the second quarter of the thirteenth century, the monastic chronicler Matthew Paris (c.1200-1259) was reproducing arms in full color with the correct blazon written underneath. Matthew, known best for his Chronica Majora and Historia Anglorum, was a Benedictine monk at the monastery of St. Albans. Throughout his works Matthew used heraldic images and terminology. Richard Vaughan, Matthew's primary biographer, has concluded that Matthew was not merely copying images,

---

[11]M.T. Clanchy, From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066-1307 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 154.

[12]Michael Camille, "The Language of Images," in Age of Chivalry (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1987), 33.

but instead fully understood the art and terminology of heraldry. He

bases this on a detailed study of the shields in Matthew's chronicles.

Each of the shields is blazoned in Matthew's own handwriting, and there

are more than 298 shields in Matthew's works.[13] This suggests that

heraldic knowledge may have been more widespread in the Middle Ages

than is usually thought, especially because most of Matthew's shields

were painted before the first catalogued roll of arms, Glover's Roll

(c.1255). If a Benedictine monk had obtained a full working knowledge

of heraldry before the production of regular rolls of arms, then it is highly

likely that exposure to heraldic images was common enough to allow an

educated person to have specialized knowledge of the art and a common

person at least some familiarity with significant arms. Matthew's

complete comprehension of a visual language used exclusively by the

knightly class illustrates how pervasive these images were, especially

because of the way in which Matthew used the heraldic images. In his

chronicles, Matthew included the arms of important persons mentioned

in the nearby text, and when the shield is inverted, this indicates that

the bearer of the arms has died. This use of heraldry as a visual

language that aids in the comprehension of the text is consistent with

Michael Camille's thoughts on Medieval society's dependence on images

---

[13]Richard Vaughan, Matthew Paris (Cambridge: Cambridge
University Press, 1958), 250-251.

and the ways in which image and text were used together as a single entity, where the text or image could not be completely understood if separated.[14] As noted earlier, the language of the polite society was French, and many of the terms in heraldry indicate the French origins of the art. Yet, though only a small percentage of the population may have understood the blazon of the shields, the images themselves bridged the literacy gap and broke the language barrier much as would portal sculpture on a church. Visual imagery was a much more effective communicator in the society of three languages that was twelfth- and thirteenth-century England.

Another element of Medieval English society brought over by the Normans was the institution of feudalism. This political structure was based on mutually beneficial relationships between members of the aristocracy. A powerful lord would give out parcels of land or fiefs to lesser men in exchange for oaths of loyalty and promises of armed men in time of conflict. A less powerful knight would seek to ally himself with a stronger lord for protection. Vassal and lord were bound to each other in an aggreement of mutual protection, and the gift of fiefs cemented the contract. This system provided social and political stability, as the aristocracy was bound together as a class and power was dispensed in an organized, rigid manner.

---

[14]Camille, 33.

One of the characteristics of this feudal system that also aided the development of heraldry was the system of inheritance known as primogeniture. This system strictly regulated the designation of heirs in a family. The eldest son inherited all of his father's possessions, land, and titles, while the other sons made their own fortunes or joined the clergy. The rigidity of this system provided stability in the social and political worlds, and primogeniture also prevented disputes between the males of a family upon the father's death. Heraldry could not have existed without a rigid system of inheritance, and the solidification of the aristocracy (a result of feudalism) helped to insure that heralry was strictly the privilege of the upper class. Heraldry represented ideas that were important to this privileged class.

What were the ideas that were important to the knightly class that were represented in heraldry? As previously mentioned, the early message of arms was identification, both individual and ancestral. The feudal organization of the Normans was more centralized and stable than Anglo-Saxon society had been, and bonds between lord and vassal were protected at all costs. This military society and its hereditary system of primogeniture allowed for powerful houses to be formed by the end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth century. It is this system of inheritance and hereditary status that provided the necessary circumstances for personal devices to become hereditary, and, in

combination with one other element, the result was a visual art that represented the concerns of the aristocracy. "The missing element, which begins to appear towards the end of the twelfth century, is a particular pride in descent, a kind of inherited glory, which finds its expression in heraldry."[15]

Early heraldry reflected the original association with battle and the need for an effective means of recognition. "Canting" or punning arms used word play to identify the charge with the bearer, such as the three bulls' heads of Turnbull, or the three swine or boars' heads of Swinton. (Figs.6, 7) These arms cleverly use the heraldic elements to represent visually the names of the bearers. These simple approaches to heraldry revealed the emphasis on function in early heraldry--identify the bearer on the battlefield. During the thirteenth century, however, arms carried more information than mere identity. Arms became a symbol for an entire family: the history of one's ancestors and the lineage of the individual could be expressed through heraldry. John de Dreux (d. 1333) had the arms of two families from whom he was descended quartered (divided equally among the four quarters of the shield, with a chief indented in quarters 1 and 3 and a lion rampant in quarters 2 and 4) as his own shield. (Fig. 8) This concept can be seen at the level of

---

[15]Richard Barber, The Knight and Chivalry (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), 30.

absurdity in the nineteenth-century arms of Lloyd of Stockton, which have three hundred and twenty-three quarterings. (Fig. 9) The arms alluded to the military and political accomplishments of a family, and also represented the individual bearer's achievements and character.

The information to be gained from a knight's arms was great enough to cause some knights to compete in tournaments anonymously, so that any glory earned would be based strictly on skill alone. In Chrétien de Troyes's _Cliges_, the hero, Cliges, brings four sets of colored armor with him to a tournament sponsored by King Arthur.[16] On the first day, clad all in black, Cliges amazed his opponents with his skill, but he carefully guarded any information about his identity. The second day, Cliges wore green armor; on the third, vermillion; and on the fourth day, white. Eventually, the other knights figured out that one man was responsible for unhorsing so many knights, and when Cliges revealed his identity, the praise lavished upon him was great indeed. Without the assistance of heraldry, the other knights were unable to discern anything about the knight who had decisively won the tournament: his identity, his genealogy, or even his country of origin. Cliges, son of the Byzantine emperor and a formidable warrior in his own right, felt that it would be a greater test of his ability to compete as an unknown, without the benefit of his social status or reputation, either of which might somehow aid him

---

[16]Chrétien de Troyes, 143-147.

in the tournament, perhaps in terms of intimidation or respect for high social position. This example also illustrates the importance of the tournament to Medieval society, and the parallel relationship to heraldry, which will be discussed in the next chapter. The manner in which arms were read underwent a transition from individual identification to symbolic representation of an entire bloodline.

In the early days of heraldry, this art served as a system of identification necessitated by developments in armor. It soon stood as a symbol of individual and ancestral achievement, and eventually became a symbolic art form representing the aristocracy's cult of chivalry.[17] So, in less than a century, arms acquired importance as a visual expression of class membership, and since arms were restricted to the aristocracy, the knightly class was able to use heraldry as a document that verified, and therefore established, social status.[18] Heraldry evolved from a purely functional medium to a symbolic visual art, and this transition from functional to symbolic is echoed throughout aristocratic society of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. One of the most important elements of this changing society was the Medieval tournament.

---

[17]Keen, 142.

[18]Charles Wood, The Quest for Eternity: Manners and Morals in the Age of Chivalry (London: University Press of New England, 1983), 105.

CHAPTER 3

THE TOURNAMENT

The feudal aristocracy of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was primarily centered around the knight and the martial world. In fact, it was this relation to knighthood that essentially defined the upper class. Though there were gradations of this nobility, from landless knight to magnate of great domains, the military tradition was the common bond among the social elite. Secular literature, like Chrétien de Troyes's Arthurian romances, glorified the knightly class and its wartime pursuits. The code of conduct of the nobility, chivalry, was meant specifically for warriors. The martial tradition permeated nearly every aspect of medieval noble life, and, both socially and politically, "power was based almost entirely on force of arms."[1] As a result, the necessity for training and the quest for personal glory led to a new chapter in the history of medieval society. Though the battlefield was the best source for such training, an alternate and less deadly arena for preparation was needed. Chivalric society centered around this training ground, where a knight learned battle techniques and proper codes of conduct. During

---

[1]Richard Barber, The Knight and Chivalry (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), 12.

the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, one of the most important elements of the chivalric world came into being: the tournament. As the tournament became the altar at which the rites of chivalry were practiced, so too did heraldry, as an integral part of the tournament, become the visual art of the knightly class. These elements of medieval society were originally crucial to the military way of life, but eventually, both heraldry and the tournament became important symbolic elements of the aristocracy's chivalric world. Therefore it is necessary to understand the tournament, the way in which it became central to the medieval aristocracy, and the evolution of the tournament from functional to ceremonial in order to support the argument that the same social developments can be seen in heraldry.

War was a way of life for the English nobility of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. To the north, there was Scotland, with which England's relationship was tenuous at best; to the south, France, a decidedly unfriendly neighbor looking for any advantage against the English kings, who held more land in France at times than did the French kings. For example, Henry II (1154-1189), hereditarily Duke of Normandy and Count of Anjou and Maine, married Eleanor of Aquitaine (c.1122-1204) two months after her divorce from Louis VII (1108-1179),

king of France, and thereby gained control of all of western France.[2] Yet, because of these holdings, which actually dwarfed the royal demesne of Louis VII (now known as the Ile-de-France), Henry II of England was (theoretically) considered a vassal of the king of France. This complicated relationship fostered much hostility, which often developed into full scale war. The kings of England were constantly trying to increase their holdings in France, and at the same time, the French kings strove to eject the English from France entirely. As power was based on force of arms, the contest for power between the kings of England and France was often decided on the battlefield, and keeping one's knights well trained became a priority.

The kings of England were also beset with internal disputes at this time. Henry II experienced rebellions from two of his sons, Henry the Young King (c.1155-1183) and Richard I (1157-1199). Henry's youngest son, John (1167-1216), was constantly dealing with revolt from his barons at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and these revolts eventually led to the Magna Carta.[3] England during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was a land of almost constant warfare, whether on a major or minor scale, domestic or foreign. This volatile environment

---

[2]R.H.C. Davis, A History of Medieval Europe (London: Longman, 1988), 290.

[3]David Crouch, William Marshall: Court, Career, and Chivalry in the Angevin Empire 1147-1219 (London: Longman, 1990), 108-110.

required military training and readiness, and the tournament was the tool for the education of young knights and the exercise of the battle-worn.

The tournament, or hastilude, as it is sometimes called, "seems to have emerged in the late eleventh or early twelfth century."[4] The origins of the tournament are French, and for this reason contemporary chronicles refer to the hastilude as the *Conflictus Gallicus*.[5] Another French advance that migrated to England with the Normans concerned fighting techniques, and this new technique was definitely a contributing factor to the rise of tournaments. In essence, this new combat style had the mounted knight holding a heavy lance under the right arm, in the 'couched' position, which allowed the knight to "put his full weight behind his lance and to unhorse his opponent without losing his own weapon."[6] A charge of cavalry using this technique, when properly coordinated and executed as a group, was extremely effective in wreaking havoc on enemy lines. Practice was needed to perfect such a maneuver, because maintaining close ranks was crucial and difficult to achieve, and this practice was accomplished in tournaments.

---

[4]Juliet Barker, The Tournament in England, 1100-1400 (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1986), 4.

[5]Francis Henry Cripps-Day, The History of the Tournament (London: B. Quartich, 1918), 5.

[6]Barker, 4.

The early tournament was of the type known as a *mêlée*. The organized pageantry of one knight jousting another that is often depicted in romances and today in Hollywood has little in common with the hastilude of the twelfth century, but is more a development of the late thirteenth century onward. The *mêlée* essentially consisted of two large bodies of knights facing each other across a field, charging, and then engaging in individual combat. Quite often, infantry also accompanied the knights into the tournament, much as they would in war. The areas where tournaments took place were commonly called 'lists'; knights that were successful in the tourneys were noted as having won reputations in the lists.[7] A place and time would be chosen for the tournament, notices sent out, and knights and lords who wished to participate would make plans to attend. At first it seems that there is little difference between the tournament and war, and in the early days of the hastilude this is probably an accurate assessment. However, the goals of the tournament differed from the goals of warfare. In the lists, knights sought personal glory and wealth, and the death of a participant or his horse was seen as a grave misfortune, as opposed to warfare, where the goal was military victory with less concern for wealth, and where death of the enemy was a necessity, not a misfortune. The tournaments offered knights places to test their abilities and to take captives for ransom. A young knight

---

[7] Ibid., 12.

"must have seen his blood flow and felt his teeth crack under the blow of his adversary . . . thus will he be able to face real war with the hope of victory."[8] Knights who were captured in tournaments ransomed themselves and usually lost their horses and equipment as well. William the Marshal (1147-1219), son of an insignificant court official and one of the greatest knights in history, started out his long and successful career at his first tournament in 1167, where he captured three knights, one a courtier of the Scottish king, an important capture; the ransoms in money and horses allowed him the financial independence to take leave of his lord and travel to other tourneys, where he would achieve great success in the lists.[9] The Marshal's success at tournaments earned him great renown and even greater wealth, and his military prowess earned him the respect of friend and foe. So central to medieval society was the tournament that success in the lists could greatly advance one's career. The Marshal soon became part of Henry II's household or *mesnie*, and from the period 1180-1210 the Marshal established himself as one of the greatest magnates in England, and eventually, in 1216, he became Regent of England.[10] The Marshal rose from the son of a minor court official to Regent of England and acquired vast landholdings through his

---

[8]Cripps-Day, 3.

[9]Crouch, 34.

[10]Ibid, 118.

military achievements. Accomplishments such as the Marshal's were not common, but in the twelfth century (before the boundaries of the upper nobility had been completely solidified) it was possible to rise above one's original status and achieve success through military prowess, and the best place to demonstrate such prowess was the tournament.

The necessary equipment for the tournament during this period bears little resemblance to the specialized plate tournament armor of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The knight of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries wore the same armor in tournament and war. The great helm, hauberk, greaves, gauntlets, and surcoat were the knight's main protection. Mail was still the primary element, and full plate armor would not appear until the fourteenth century. The knight of the twelfth century needed three horses in order to live up to the minimum standards for a bachelor knight: "a sumpter for his baggage, a palfrey for riding about, and a big-boned war horse for the tournament and battle."[11] The one-on-one jousts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries required specially trained horses and specialized armor, but the *mêlée* of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries was still a forge where the fires of combat prepared one for war, and those successful in the hastilude were often the great leaders on the battlefield.

Tournaments were quite often international events. Knights from

---

[11]Ibid., 26.

England and the Continent continually traveled, following the chance to win fame and wealth. In fact, during the twelfth century, the tournament was banned by various kings of England, including Henry I (1068-1135) and his grandson, Henry II.[12] However, these kings only banned hastiludes in England, not in Normandy, and thus, the sons of Henry II and other English knights went abroad to tourney. By the end of the twelfth century, Richard I, a prominent tourneyor in his youth, set the tournament under royal control, a marked difference from other kingdoms, and issued a writ designating five sites for tourneying and a graduated fee scale for knights wishing to participate.[13] This is not to say that tournaments had not existed in England prior to Richard's writ; Richard was merely trying to exercise control over an existing situation and at the same time fill the royal coffers. By controlling the central event of chivalric society, Richard I was able to strengthen royal influence over the chivalrous aristocracy. Later English kings would seek to control all aspects of the chivalrous world (including heraldry, with the appointment of official heralds, the professional practicioners of this art, from the fourteenth century onward and the establishment of the College of Arms in 1555), establishing the court as the center, but Richard's actions in licensing tournaments effectively used a social phenomenon to

---

[12]Barber, 155.

[13]Barker, 11.

increase the power and influence of the crown.[14]

Tournaments were in need of official restraint: the damage to the surrounding lands was extensive at times, and tournaments often developed into miniature wars between bickering lords or became gatherings of disgruntled nobles plotting a rebellion.[15] Quite often those who disobeyed royal sanctions against tournaments had their lands seized by the king and were imprisoned or fined heavily. Walter Marshal, a son of William the Marshal, was at first denied his inheritance by Henry III in 1241 for participating in a tournament expressly prohibited by the king.[16] Matthew Paris records that Earl Gilbert Marshal, older brother of Walter, was fatally injured while trying to prove himself in the lists at this same tournament.[17] Thus, the tournament of this period was still a dangerous and violent training ground.

Nevertheless, by the mid-thirteenth century, crowds of observers and courtly atmosphere were becoming more and more regular. The

---

[14]Arthur Charles Fox-Davies, A Complete Guide to Heraldry (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1969), 22; the College is made up of Kings of Arms, which are essentially heralds of the highest rank, Heralds, and Pursuivants of Arms, which are somewhat junior heralds; the title of Garter King of Arms, the principal King of Arms, has existed since at least 1420; The College is the heraldic arm of the Crown, and only the College can verify claims of nobility and knighthood.

[15]Ibid., 11-12.

[16]Matthew Paris, Historia Anglorum (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1852), Vol I, 378-379.

[17]Ibid., 360-361.

attendance of observers at tournaments is virtually unheard of throughout most of the twelfth century, but at the very end of the twelfth century and throughout the thirteenth, spectators were an accepted element of the tournament.[18] Knights on crusade in Cyprus held a 'Round Table' in 1223, where individuals took on the identity of their favorite Arthurian characters, tourneyed, and generally acted out the Arthurian romances.[19] Such romantic gatherings were full of pageantry and role-playing, and several Round Tables took place on the Continent during the thirteenth century.[20] Women were an especially new addition to the tournament, and their participation in hastiludes seems to coincide with the completion of Chretien de Troyes's romances. These trends show the gradual ceremonializing of the tournament, where the staged combat of the tourney became the focus of knighthood and chivalric society. The tournaments of the late thirteenth century were no longer focused on military training, but instead had become the main social events of chivalric society. By the mid-fourteenth century, the joust was an obsolete military tactic, and the closed-face helm had been abandoned in war, yet tournaments focused on the joust, and

---

[18]Ibid., 101.

[19]Barker, 88-89.

[20]Ibid, 89; the earliest recorded English Round Table is 1328, outside the scope of this discussion.

tourneying armor became more and more specialized, with elaborate plate armor and the full frog-face helm with a closing visor. The nobility of this later period embraced its military past, and created a false world centered around Arthurian legends and staged combat. In the twelfth century, heraldry, tournaments, and chivalry all served necessary purposes, gradually becoming more ceremonial and less military by the end of the thirteenth century.

The tournament, like heraldry, developed out of a practical military need, a training ground for the upper class, whose primary occupation was war. If heraldry was the visual emblem of chivalry, the tournament in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was the crucible in which the realities of chivalry were forged. And it is this testing ground, this *mêlée*, around which the chivalric cult centered, and where the nobility of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries gathered to celebrate the way of the warrior known as chivalry, which was the defining spirit of the feudal aristocracy during the Middle Ages. This class of people, the knightly class, centered its existence around the military lifestyle, and the visual imagery that pervaded this society was, naturally, of military origin. This art had to express the concepts and values that were important to the upper class, in essence chivalry, and the visual art known as heraldry served this purpose well. As the concerns of the aristocracy evolved, and the knightly society became more involved with ceremony, heraldry and

the tournaments reflected this change and evolved as well.

CHAPTER 4

CHIVALRY AND KNIGHTLY CULTURE

Western European society began to rebuild itself around the tenth

century. The barbarian invasions had ended, and this subsequent

stability allowed people to rise out of the Dark Ages and begin a new era.

The new political structure known as feudalism came into existence, and

this system based on vassalage and land ownership strengthened the

interrelationships of the ruling class known as the feudal aristocracy.

Though power was based on land, the ability to hold that land depended

on military might. Thus, the knightly class rose to positions of great

power. This class was at first brutal and somewhat uncivilized, yet a

gradual transition toward more courtly behavior can be seen in

aristocratic society during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The art

and literature of the feudal aristocracy reflect this evolution in content

and interpretations, as images, stories, and social events grow out of

military traditions and become more symbolic of the chivalric ideal.

What exactly was a knight in the twelfth century? According to

Maurice Keen, the definition of the word knight, from the French

chevalier, is best summed up thus:

It denotes a man of aristocratic standing and probably of

noble ancestry, who is capable, if called upon, of equipping himself
with a war horse and the arms of a heavy cavalryman, and who
has been through certain rituals that make him what he is--who
has been 'dubbed' to knighthood.[1]

The knights were members of the landholding class. Their wealth and

power were based on land, and the agricultural economy was dependent

on them as landlords. However, not all knights were born landholders.

Younger sons were often faced with the prospects of becoming

churchmen or living off the generosity of the oldest son, who stood to

inherit everything. Many of these young men became the free wandering

knights, often called the *knights-errant*, who offered their services in

exchange for equipment, land, or wealth. Armor was expensive, and it

was often necessary for a young knight to enter into such an agreement

to obtain the proper outfitting for combat. On a more significant level,

such agreements progressed into vassal-lord relationships, where

powerful lords exchanged large land grants or promises of equipment to

lesser landholders in exchange for political and military support, namely

in the form of well-trained knights. The warrior class was "bound

together by its privileges and its position at the peak of the political and

social system."[2] These men built complicated political alliances to

---

[1]Maurice Hugh Keen, Chivalry (New Haven: Yale University Press,
1984), 1-2.

[2]Georges Duby, The Age of the Cathedrals (Chicago: The University
of Chicago Press, 1981), 39.

strengthen the powerful and protect the more vulnerable, and this in turn solidified the boundaries of the upper class. But the social ties of the knightly class truly bound them together against other classes and caused the way of the warrior to become a lifestyle exclusive to the aristocracy. This secular cult is commonly known as chivalry.

The best understanding of what chivalry was during this period can be found in contemporary literature. Arthurian tales from the period show the gradual evolution of the idea of the perfect knight. Geoffrey of Monmouth's <u>History of the Kings of Britain</u>, completed in 1136, presents an early view of King Arthur and his knights. As discussed in the previous two chapters, the twelfth century was a period where the tournaments were more brutal, where heraldry was primarily a functional art, and where society as a whole had not yet developed the ceremony surrounding the world of chivalry that would become evident in the thirteenth century. Geoffrey's Arthur is a product of that society, beset by war at every turn. The text is violent and clearly interested in little other than tales of Arthur's prowess as a warrior. The king battles giants, Romans, Scots, Picts, the Irish, Saxons, Danes, and numerous other foes. Arthur was unparalleled in battle or courage, never shirking a challenge, and always able to rally his forces by a show of bravery. Take for example this excerpt from a battle with the Saxons, which until this point, had not been going well:

He drew his sword Caliburn, called upon the name of the Blessed Virgin, and rushed forward at full speed into the thickest ranks of the enemy. Every man whom he struck, calling upon God as he did so, he killed at a single blow. He did not slacken his onslaught until he had dispatched four hundred and seventy men with his sword Caliburn. When the Britons saw this, they poured after him in close formation, dealing death on every side.[3]

Clearly, the most important aspects of the knight at this time were courage and ability. Geoffrey devotes approximately three-fourths of his tales of Arthur to superhuman deeds performed in battle. This reflects the twelfth-century focus on military might and performance in a war environment. Religious attitudes and proper treatment of one's vassals are seen in Geoffrey's work as well. Arthur was pious, respectful of the Church and humble before God, and, more importantly, Arthur was generous. When Arthur is first introduced in the text, he is described as a young man of "outstanding courage and generosity"; upon his coronation Arthur "observed the normal custom of giving gifts freely to everyone."[4] Courage, prowess, generosity, piety--these were important qualities of the twelfth-century knight. Courtly behavior merits only brief mention in The History of the Kings of Britain. Geoffrey speaks of grand social events attended by thousands, stating simply that "Britain had

---

[3]Geoffrey of Monmouth, The History of the Kings of Britain, trans. Lewis Thorpe (London: Penguin Books, 1966), 217.

[4]Ibid., 212; the text states further: "in Arthur courage was closely linked with generosity, and he made up his mind to harry the Saxons, so that with their wealth he might reward the retainers who served his own household."

reached such a standard of sophistication that it excelled all other kingdoms in its general affluence, the richness of its decorations, and the courteous behavior of its inhabitants."[5] However, it is obvious from Geoffrey's text that courtliness was of minor importance in the twelfth century, when battle, bravery, and generosity (in terms of rewarding loyal vassals with the spoils of war) were the characteristics of a great knight and lord. Once again, this reflects the more brutal nature of twelfth-century society which was reflected not only in the literature but also in the *mêlée* and in the functionalism of early heraldry.

The literature of the thirteenth century, much like the tournament, shows a greater focus on the ceremonial, courtly nature of chivalry. Chrétien de Troyes, writing at the very end of the twelfth century, created an Arthurian world that would have great impact on the society of the thirteenth century. Chrétien's tales of the king and his court leave behind the brutal tales of military prowess that were the focus of Geoffrey of Monmouth tales. This is not to say that Chrétien's knights have retired from the field; instead their tales are of individual combat, full of ceremony and pomp, focusing on the more esoteric qualities of a knight. In Erec and Enide, Chrétien's hero, Erec, is an extremely brave and able knight, a valiant warrior, but his courage and bravery are tempered with manners and courtliness. Unlike Geoffrey, who preferred

---

[5]Ibid., 229.

action to sermons on behavior, Chrétien spends much of his text
discussing nobility, courtesy, love, generosity (simply for the sake of
being generous, not as payment for service), and other courtly behavior.
Erec is forced to depend on the generosity of a stranger, when Erec,
unarmed, seeks an arrogant knight who has wronged him: "Dear host, I
call upon your noble nature. As a reward and service, advise me, I beg
you, how I can procure some arms, be they old or new, ugly or
beautiful."[6] Erec, graciously supplied by his host, faces this arrogant
knight and defeats him in battle, sparing him at the last minute, because
the knight begs for mercy, and a just knight such as Erec cannot kill a
supplicant knight pleading for mercy. The author spends much of Erec's
tale dealing with the love between Erec and his new wife, Enide, and
Chrétien professes the proper kinds of love between a lord and his lady.
Festivities and ceremony are described to the finest detail, and the
correct, chivalric behavior of a knight is the main focus. This emphasis
on manners, love, and courtliness is in great contrast to the legends from
Geoffrey of Monmouth. Take for example this quotation from Chrétien's
King Arthur:

> I am a king. And so I must not lie or condone any base,
> dishonest, or unreasonable act. I must uphold truth and right.

---

[6]Chrétien de Troyes, The Complete Romances of Chrétien de
Troyes, trans. David Staines (Bloomington: Indiana University Press,
1990), 9; the examples of knightly behavior are all taken from this story,
1-86.

The function of a true king is to observe the law, truth, faith, and justice. In no way would I wish to do wrong or to be disloyal to the weak any more than the strong. It is wrong for anyone to have reason to find fault with me.[7]

Compare this to the Arthur of the twelfth century, Geoffrey's Arthur, who was more likely to speak as he does in this excerpt from History of the Kings of Britain when in battle with the Romans: "Are you letting these effeminate creatures slip away unhurt? ... Remember your liberty, which these halflings, who haven't anything like your strength, plan to take away from you! Not one must escape alive!"[8] The Arthur of the twelfth century clearly rules by the sword as a warrior-king, as opposed to Chrétien's more stately and regal Arthur, who rules by the scepter. Military prowess, loyalty, generosity, courtesy, nobility, piety--all were elements of this order known as chivalry, but the differing emphasis on certain aspects reveals an important change in medieval society during this period. Arthur was the most important literary figure of the chivalric age, and the different perceptions of him reveal a change in values among the aristocracy which is mirrored in the evolution of the tournament and the understanding of heraldry.

In The History of the Kings of Britain, Geoffrey of Monmouth refers to the wearing of arms by any knight who "was in any way famed for his

---

[7]Ibid., 23.

[8]Geoffrey of Monmouth, 255.

bravery."[9] This indicates that arms were restricted to those who had shown courage and ability in battle, but other than bravery and identity, the arms would seem to carry no other meanings. Yet, as discussed in Chapter 2, Chrétien's hero Cliges is obliged to compete anonymously, lest his arms reveal too much information about him or give him an unfair advantage because of his formidable reputation. Heraldry of the later period carries much more esoteric information about the bearer, symbolizing his reputation and his character, as well as that of his family. Tournaments, as discussed in Chapter 3, also became more symbolic in nature, with pageantry and spectators to see the spectacle of the late thirteenth-century tournament. The twelfth-century *mêlée* was much more violent and less controlled than the thirteenth-century hastilude. But, as it became less effective as a training ground, chivalric society embraced the tournament as a social event, where literary characters could be brought to life, and where the imaginary world of the romances could seem real. The art, literature, and social practices of this period effectively illustrate the gradual transition of twelfth- and thirteenth-century aristocratic society from martial to ceremonial.

---

[9]Ibid., 229.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This paper has investigated English society of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The visual art known as heraldry began as a result of advance in military technology combined with feudalism and a system of inheritance known as primogeniture. Through analysis of contemporary literature and the social phenomenon known as the tournament, this paper traced a gradual change in society that was paralleled by a new perception of the visual art known as heraldry. This art did not change in appearance, but the meaning of the images became less functional and more symbolic of chivalric virtues and knightly culture. This study expands the understanding of heraldry and the way in which heraldic images were perceived. This work also explains the evolution of chivalric culture from its military origins to the more ceremonial practices of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the chivalric world was one of fantasy and pageantry. Such information greatly benefits the study of the world of chivalry.

The importance of this study is that it views the perception of heraldry as a social phenomenon, subject to the changing attitudes of the society that created it. Heraldry was an important visual art of the

important shift in the chivalric ideology among this class. No study of a society or class would be complete without investigating the ways in which important social concepts were visually represented, and this paper reveals those values and the ways in which they were expressed in heraldry.

Current scholarship on heraldry commonly deals with the appearance of heraldry and the laws of blazon. This study complements such information by providing important clues about perception and the ways in which heraldry reflects the social environment in which it was created. It is necessary to understand how heraldry was viewed and used by the chivalric society in order to gain insight into chivalric culture, and this paper provides such information. This will allow other scholars to understand better the cult of chivalry and how chivalric society of later centuries relates to its military beginnings. The pageantry and ceremony of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that are often associated with the concept of chivalry cannot be adequately explained without the analysis of twelfth- and thirteenth-century social and political structures and the evolution thereof contained in this paper. Therefore, this study also provides a point of departure for future scholarship on the chivalry of the later centuries as a continuation of the developments discussed in this paper.

This thesis has explored aristocratic society of the twelfth and

thirteenth centuries in order to understand the art of heraldry. The change in perception of heraldic images reflects social developments that are echoed in the literature and social practices of the period, and the change of the aristocracy from a military class to a courtly, chivalric class begins during these two centuries. This study has presented heraldry in a new light, and the conclusions of this paper further the understanding of Medieval society, through investigation of the visual arts.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1--Shields from the Bayeux Tapestry
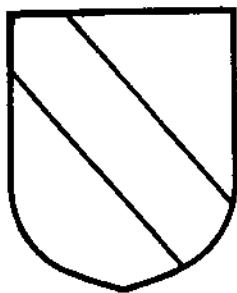
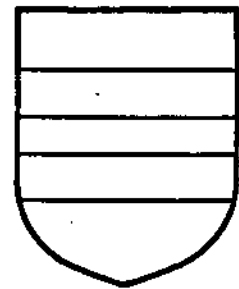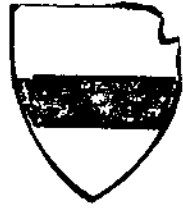
Fig. 2--A Bend
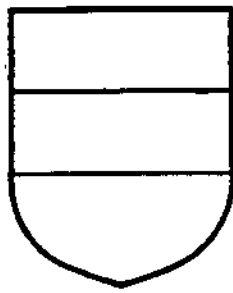
Fig. 3--A Fess

Fig. 4--Two Bars

Fig. 5--Arms of Melville

Fig. 6--Arms of Turnbull

Fig. 7--Arms of Swinton

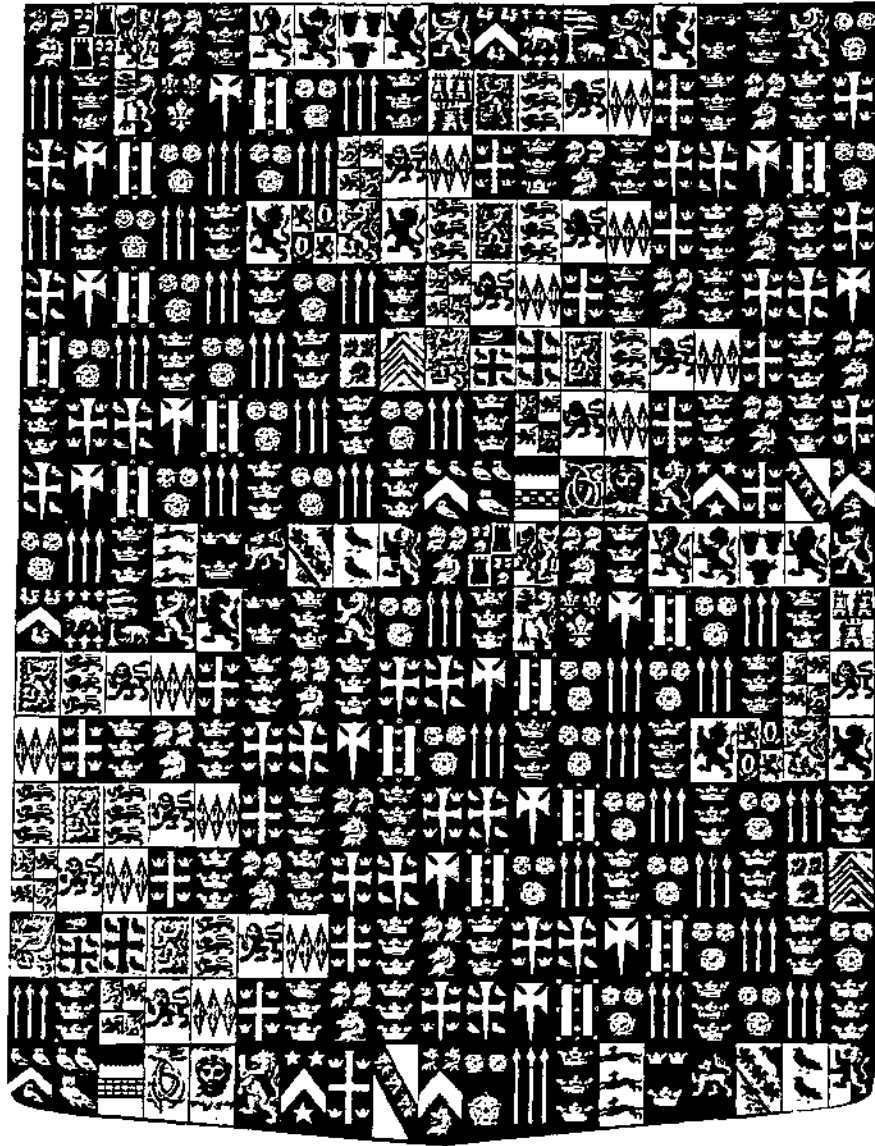Fig. 8--Arms of John de Dreux

Fig. 9--Quarterings of Lloyd of Stockton

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alexander, Jonathan, and Paul Binski, eds. Age of Chivalry. London: Weidenfield and Nicholson, 1987.

Allcock, Hubert. Heraldic Design. New York: Tudor Publishing Co., 1967.

Barber, Richard W. The Knight and Chivalry. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970.

Barker, Juliet. The Tournament in England, 1100-1400. Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1986.

Bennet, Adelaide. "Anthony Bek's copy of Statuta Anglae." In England in the Fourteenth Century, ed. W.M. Ormrod, 1-27. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1986.

Brooke-Little, J.P.B. "Commemorative Heraldry." Royal Society of Arts Journal CXXXIII (Sept 1985): 724-731.

Burnett, C.J. "Scottish Honors, Dingwall Pursuivant of Arms: the Order of the Thistle." Country Life CLXXXI (June 1987): 102-105.

Caviness, Madelaine. The Windows of Christ Church Cathedral Canterbury. London: Oxford University Press, 1981.

Chrétien de Troyes. The Complete Romances of Chrétien de Troyes, translated by David Staines. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990.

Clanchy, M.T. From Memory to Written Record England, 1066-1307. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979.

Cripps-Day, Francis Henry. The History of the Tournament. London: B. Quartich, 1918.

Crouch, David. William Marshall: Court, Career, and Chivalry in the Angevin Empire 1147-1219. London: Longman, 1990.

Curnow, Peter. "Design and Practice in British Architecture." Architectural History XVIII (1984): 1-14.

Davis, R. H. C. A History of Medieval Europe From Constantine to St. Louis. London: Longman Group, 1979.

Dere, Anne Claire. "La Tapisserie dite Des Etats De Bretagne." Revue du Louvre et des Musees de France XXXIII (1983): 345-348.

Duby, Georges. The Age of the Cathedrals. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981.

Fox-Davies, A.C. A Complete Guide to Heraldry. London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., 1969.

Geoffrey of Monmouth. The History of the Kings of Britain, translated by Lewis Thorpe. London: Penguin Books, 1966.

Gould, Karen. The Psalter and Hours of Yolande of Soissons. Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1978.

Hasler, Charles. The Royal Arms. London: Jupiter Books, 1980.

Henderson, George. "Romance and Politics on Some Medieval English Seals." Art History I no. 1 (Mar 1978): 26-42.

Keen, Laurence. "The Medieval Decorated Tile Pavements at Worcester." In Medieval Art and Architecture at Worcester Cathedral, ed. Alan Borg. London: British Archaeological Association, 1978.

Keen, Maurice. England in the Later Middle Ages. London: Methuen & Co., 1973.

_____. Chivalry. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984.

Le Rougetel, Hazel. "The Rose of England." Royal Society of Arts Journal CXXXVI (Sept 1988): 742-744.

Lillich, Meredith Parsons. "Early Heraldry." Gesta 30 (1991): 41-47.

_____. "The Arms of Coucy in Thirteenth-Century Stained Glass." Metropolitan Museum Journal XIX-XX (1984-1985): 17-24.

_____. "The Consecration of 1254: Heraldry and History in the Windows of Le Mans Cathedral." Traditio XXXVIII (1982): 344-352.

Marks, Richard and Ann Payne, eds. British Heraldry. London: British Museum Publications, Ltd., 1978.

Paris, Matthew. Historia Anglorum. London: Henry G. Bohn, 1852.

Payne, Ann. "Medieval Heraldry." In Age of Chivalry. London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1987.

Robinson, John Martin. "Pride in Genealogy: The Court of Lord Lyon King of Arms." Country Life CLXXI (August 1987): 82-84.

Vaivre, Jean-Bernard de. "Les Vitreaux de la Maision de Navarre a a la Cathedrale d'Evreux." In Evrecin, Lieuvin, Pays d'Ouche. Paris: Societe Franciase d' Archeologie, 1983.

_____. "L'heraldique et L'histoire de L'art du Moyen Age." Gazette des Beaux-Arts XCIV (Nov1979): 145-158.

Vaughan, Richard. Matthew Paris. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958.

Wagner, Sir Anthony. Heralds of England. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1967.

Wood, Charles T. The Quest for Eternity: Manners and Morals in the Age of Chivalry. London: University Press of New England, 1983.