

# BATTLING THE LION: VISUAL COMMEMORATIONS OF CRUSADE IN TWELFTH- AND THIRTEENTH-CENTURY SEALS FROM THE BRITISH ISLES

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*This article examines a group of five surviving twelfth- and thirteenth-century wax seal impressions from the British Isles that depict a scene of an armed knight in combat with a lion. This seal motif has tenuously been linked with crusading in the past, and so this paper seeks to address the connections between the sigillants and crusade, as well as the significance of commemoration of crusade culture on medieval seals. It highlights numerous links between this specific design and crusading experiences, literature and allegory. This paper focuses on an aspect of the medieval memory of crusade and the means of displaying chivalric, crusading identities within literate culture (on charters and letters) and in personal adornment.*

**Keywords:** crusade; medieval; knighthood; sigillography; commemoration

## INTRODUCTION

The culture of crusade was cloaked in symbolism: ‘taking the cross’ quite literally meant an individual sewed a cross on their garments as they took their vow to embark on holy war.<sup>1</sup> The concepts surrounding pilgrimage and crusade were so interwoven that crusaders often adopted the symbolic trappings of a pilgrim: a pilgrim’s hat, a scrip and a walking staff.<sup>2</sup> It was critical for *crucesignati* – those ‘signed with the cross’ – and wider western European society that crusaders could easily be picked out.<sup>3</sup> Identifying who was, or had been, a crusader become increasingly necessary during the thirteenth century; no longer laymen *per se*, crusaders were *milites Christi*, penitents who held special temporal privileges, such as exemptions from crusade taxes and interest on loans, as well as royal or papal protections for their family and property.<sup>4</sup> Participating in crusade was also considered a prestigious act in High Medieval culture.<sup>5</sup> Many individuals were, therefore, especially keen to display their participation. Indeed, one of the few commonalities among those who returned from crusade seems to have been a desire to commemorate their journey.<sup>6</sup>

1. Brundage 1960, 289–310; Munns 2016, 256–8.

2. Tyerman 1995, 567; Webb 2002, 19–20, 22–3; Kenaan-Kedar 2015, 94. For more on personal adornment in the Templars, see Satora 2020, 105–15.

3. Markowski 1984, 157–65.

4. Brundage 1997, 141–54.

5. Guard 2013; Vander Elst 2017.

6. Hurlock 2017, 15–27. See also Housley 2008, 264–89; Esra 2013, 155–70; Morris 2016, 195–215.

Crusaders memorialised their experiences in myriad ways; for example, many of the élite founded religious houses or made benefactions, either in thanks for a safe return and/or to entreat prayers for fallen comrades.<sup>7</sup> Commoners and nobles alike took on epithets that referenced their pilgrimage – such as *Palmer* or *Jerusalemite*, or the various Latinised forms of these names.<sup>8</sup> Following the crusaders' capture of Jerusalem in 1099, and especially Constantinople in 1204, relics and souvenirs flowed back to western Europe where they adorned noble and ecclesiastical spaces, offering tangible connections with the East.<sup>9</sup> It was not atypical for such spaces to include wall paintings depicting (or allegorising) crusading events.<sup>10</sup> Some crusaders' tombs even included epitaphs celebrating the deceased's pilgrimage.<sup>11</sup> Scholarship on the commemoration of crusade has uncovered much about gendered, religious, regional and dynastic identities in the High Middle Ages.<sup>12</sup> However, there remains much to be understood regarding subtle personal expressions of crusading identity in western Europe.

This paper examines a particular motif that appears on some medieval noblemen's seals: a depiction of an armed knight combatting a lion. Medieval seals – referring to either the matrix used to make an impression or the impressions themselves – were used by individuals and institutions to indicate their affirmation to diplomatic materials, such as charters, letters or legal pronouncements.<sup>13</sup> A seal's particular iconography and *legend* (the text around the outer rim of a seal matrix) identified the owner and/or reflected elements of their character, social status, secular or religious affiliations or region.<sup>14</sup> Seals were even used by the élite to augment and celebrate their dynastic memory.<sup>15</sup> In short, seals were personal, highly mobile and an expressive means to display identity. Given contemporaries' predilection for celebrating past crusades, the sigillographic evidence offers an opportunity to explore their more personal commemorations. This article will examine five known seals from the British Isles that bear the lion-battle design (as I term it), belonging to: Roger III de Berkeley (d. c. 1170), Bertram III de Verdun (d. 1192), Hugh de Neville (d. 1234), Saher IV de Quincy (d. 1219) and the latter's son, Roger de Quincy (d. 1264). It will discuss these five individuals' connections to crusade and the links between their unusual choice of seal motif. This paper argues that, over time, the lion-battle schema was used, in part, to display a past pilgrimage, display adherence to crusading ideals, or to broadly celebrate crusading culture.<sup>16</sup>

7. Paul 2020, 167–91.

8. Travellers regularly collected palm fronds from the banks of the river Jordan to prove that they had completed their pilgrimage, hence the cognomen.

9. Lymberopoulou 2012, 136–8; Paul 2012, 90–133, and 2018, 520–32; Lester 2014, 311–28, and 2016, 73–94; Munns 2016, 223–48; Bibby 2020, 175–202.

10. For more on architectural and artistic celebrations of crusade in the British Isles, see Coppack 2000, 145–54; Reeve 2006, 189–22; Barret 2012, 129–68; Lapina 2016, 49–72; Gervers 2018, 376–86; Hundley 2018, 352–75.

11. As quoted in the following: Kenaan-Kedar 2015, 97. See also Gilyard-Beer 1983, 61–6; Paul 2012, 146; Doherty 2017, 874–5.

12. See especially Paul 2012; Lester 2014, 311–28; Cassidy-Welch 2016 and 2019; Hurlock 2017, 15–27. See also Brenner *et al* 2013; Van Houts 2013.

13. Schofield 2016, 35–47.

14. Harvey 1991, 120–4; McGuinness 1993, 175–6; Ailes 2008, 8–11; Clanchy 2013, 309–18; New 2019, 279–309.

15. Johns 2016, 78. See also Zimmermann 2020, 131–2.

16. Maria Georgopoulou has rightly pointed out the 'crucial role' that material culture had in constructions of Frankish Levantine identities; yet, there remains much to be studied regarding crusade and personal material culture in a western European context, see Georgopoulou 2005, 85.

## LIONS, CRUSADE AND SYMBOLISM

Interest in ‘crusading symbols’ is not new. Antiquarians attempted to link various heraldic symbols – crosses, stars and animals like swifths, owls and even the ass – with crusade.<sup>17</sup> Most of these associations had no basis in medieval sources; rather, they were often the product of families’ spurious claims to some crusading pedigree. Nevertheless, it is possible that the crusades helped in the dissemination of heraldic devices or inspired some sigillographic topoi, which were recognised as such by contemporaries.<sup>18</sup> Adrian Ailes, for one, placed great importance on returning crusaders’ stories of ‘exotic beasts’ for the ‘heraldic menagerie’ that developed on medieval seals.<sup>19</sup>

Overt celebrations of crusade have been identified on medieval seals from Latin Christendom. Kathryn Hurlock has shown that when one English nobleman, Geoffrey of Dutton, returned from the Fifth Crusade (1217–21), in 1220, he adopted a seal design showing a hand grasping a palm frond.<sup>20</sup> It has been suggested that the seal of Henryk the Bearded, duke of Silesia (c 1224), which depicted him holding a palm frond, may indicate his participation in a crusade to the Levant or Prussia.<sup>21</sup> Mikołaj Gładysz notes the equestrian seal of Konrad I of Masovia (d. 1247) – a leader in the Prussian Crusade of 1222–3 – which depicted Konrad carrying a cross along with a banner emblazoned with a cross.<sup>22</sup> William Chester Jordan, too, has drawn attention to the seal of Gobert Sarrasin, a Muslim convert to Christianity who came to France at the close of the Seventh Crusade (1248–54) with King Louis IX of France.<sup>23</sup> Gobert’s seal depicted a king’s head (possibly representing Louis IX) facing another head that bore a bonnet, or possibly a turban (perhaps representing Gobert).<sup>24</sup> Gobert’s seal may have celebrated his conversion within the context of a crusade that was otherwise dogged by Christian failures. Despite the likelihood that all these seals denoted some connection between their owner and crusade, it is hard to grasp exactly what message these motifs communicated; few definitive programmatic crusading symbols have been identified.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, it should certainly not be assumed that everyone who returned from crusade subsequently adopted a seal that celebrated their venture.<sup>26</sup>

This article is concerned with a particular motif, rather than one individual’s seal: the pictorial scheme of a knight in combat with a lion. This motif has been linked with crusade

17. Coss 2002, 51–2; Fox 2012, 59–84; Siberry 2021, 78–83. For a 13th-century example of a seal impression depicting a star and crescent moon, see BM, 1875,0120.40.

18. Fox 2012, 59–84.

19. Ailes 1982, 32–6; Fox 2012, 59–84. L A Mayer noted that, despite the appearance of animals that were foreign to Europe, such as lions, on western European heraldry these motifs were not necessarily based on Islamic art or sigillography: Mayer 1933, 9. For more on the art of the Crusader states, see Folda 2005.

20. Hurlock 2017, 15–27.

21. Gładysz 2012, 165–6, n 81.

22. *Ibid.*, 200–1.

23. Jordan 2019, 116.

24. *Ibid.*, 118; see also Goodall 1990, 274–5.

25. Paul notes the ambiguities of crusading iconography on crusaders’ tombs: Paul 2012, 145–6.

26. William II Longespée, for example, was an avid crusader – going on the Barons’ Crusade (1239–41) and dying on the Seventh Crusade in 1250; he used a seal with an obverse armorial design and a counterseal with a motif of a sword protruding into the legend – a play on his name. For an example, used just prior to going on his second crusade, see Berkshire County Record Office, D/QI/T13/11. For more on his interest in crusade, see Lloyd 1991, 41–69.

in the past. Writing in the 1880s, Henry Barkly claimed that this device was assumed by crusaders to ‘typify their adventures to the East’.<sup>27</sup> It is unclear how Barkly came to this conclusion. Nevertheless, John Goodall investigated the Eastern associations of the lion-battle motif. He was convinced that a thirteenth-century matrix from England,<sup>28</sup> which depicted a knight stabbing a lion, was modelled, directly or otherwise, from the Classical iconography of the ancient Assyrian royal lion hunt.<sup>29</sup> Goodall speculated that an Assyrian seal-ring that bore a similar image could have been brought to England by crusaders or pilgrims, and that this inspired the artist who made this matrix, or a precursor. Goodall further believed that this was the origin of depictions of knights fighting lions on medieval seals. Intaglio gems from antiquity were readily incorporated into medieval seals, many of which would have found their way to Europe via returning pilgrims.<sup>30</sup> However, we might consider whether the owners of lion-battle seals were (knowingly or otherwise) replicating a design that originated on souvenirs from the East, or if the design itself was meant to communicate something more directly regarding crusade culture, or the sigillants’ personal or family travels to the Holy Land.<sup>31</sup>

This is a complex task, namely because lions (and leopards) were ubiquitous in western European art and heraldry. They were used to represent a wide variety of ideas, drawing inspiration from Classical and popular teachings, as well as Christological allegory.<sup>32</sup> Medieval bestiaries considered the lion to be a potent symbol of Christ. It was thought that lions were born dead and came to life after three days, as their father breathed or roared over them, in direct parallel of God’s resurrection of Christ.<sup>33</sup> Christ was also directly referred to as the ‘Lion of Judah’, in reference to Jacob’s prophecy in the book of Genesis.<sup>34</sup> Both these themes may have influenced seal motifs from the British Isles: the sleeping-lion motif recurs reasonably frequently in catalogues of medieval seals and Alister Sutherland noted one, admittedly very rare, example of an English seal that depicted a lion which had a *legend* that explicitly confirmed the scene as a representation of Christ.<sup>35</sup>

Biblical stories of lions may have influenced medieval seal design.<sup>36</sup> The Old Testament figure of Daniel, for example, was thrown into a lion den and survived unscathed because

27. Barkly 1883–4, 201.

28. BM, OA.7414.

29. Goodall 2001, 44.

30. The SiMeW database (Schofield *et al* 2016) contains two 13th-century seals that incorporated gems with Arabic script, see SiMeW, 134, no. 47 and 219, no. 1167. See also Henig and Heslop 1986, 305–9; Henig 2008, 28; McEwan 2016b, 21; Simonet 2019, 355–96.

31. Resl points out that the bulk of known medieval animal symbolism represents the interests of ecclesiastical and lay élites, see Resl 2007, 2.

32. My sincere thanks to Ella Paul of the Treasure Trove Unit (National Museums of Scotland) for sharing her insights into lion symbolism on medieval Scottish seals. See also Shenton 2002, 69–81; Barnet 2006, 14; Jäckel 2006; Baker 2017, 27–8 and 37; Harris 2021, 185–213. For more on medieval animal symbolism, see especially Klingender *et al* 1971; Hassig 1995; Salter 2001; Resl 2007; Mann 2009.

33. Haist 1999, 4–5; Cohen 2019, 179.

34. Haist 1999, 1–6; Genesis 49:9–10.

35. For examples, see DCA, Medieval Seals, nos 306, 552, 1322, 1518, 1583, 1640, 2198, 2210, 2353, 2571, 2721, 2723; Cherry 1997, 128; McEwan 2016b, 17 and 26. Sutherland’s example included the *legend* ‘VICIT:LEO:DE:TRIBV:IVDA’, which Sutherland translated as ‘the lion of the tribe of Judah has conquered’: Sutherland 2020, 1, 27–8. See also New 2002, 47–68.

36. Beullens 2007, 127–51.

of his faith.<sup>37</sup> Similarly, the legend of St Jerome safely removing a thorn from a lion's paw was particularly popular during the thirteenth century.<sup>38</sup> Also, the Four Evangelists were symbolised by animals: a man for Matthew, an ox for Luke, an eagle for John and, crucially, a lion for Mark.<sup>39</sup> Seals that depict a lion in reference to St Mark, however, appear to have included the other three Evangelists in the motif.<sup>40</sup> More confrontational encounters with lions could also have served as inspiration.<sup>41</sup> In the Old Testament, Samson wrestled a lion with his bare hands and killed it, and David similarly bragged to King Saul that he had killed lions and bears while a shepherd.<sup>42</sup> The *c* 1180 seal of Edward of Restalrig (Lothian, Scotland) depicted an unarmoured man kneeling on a lion, while gripping the animal's jaws.<sup>43</sup> Sometime between *c* 1222 and 1256, Ralph, son of Waukelin de Gosfend, granted lands in Navestock (Essex) to St Paul's Cathedral (London); his seal, still attached to the charter, depicts a man kneeling on a large lion, while holding its jaw and raising a straight object in their right hand, possibly a sword or club.<sup>44</sup> Similarly, a seal belonging to William of Ayremynne (later bishop of Norwich, 1325–36), dating to 1322, depicted a bearded man on top of a lion, holding its jaw.<sup>45</sup> The imagery on these seals have very similar compositions and are probably representations of Samson rending the lion or, in Ralph's case, possibly Herakles attacking the Nemean Lion. Similarly, many thirteenth-century knightly tomb effigies depict a lion, dog or dragon at the feet of the deceased, possibly inspired by a line in the Psalms: 'thou shalt walk upon the asp and the basilisk; and thou shalt trample underfoot the lion and the dragon'.<sup>46</sup>

Lions also featured in popular chivalric romances during the High Middle Ages, which again could explain their depictions on knightly seals. Chrétien de Troyes' *Yvain, the Knight of the Lion* (*c* 1180) is perhaps the most important piece of literature with this regard. A prominent aspect of this narrative involves Yvain saving a lion from a dragon, and it becomes his loyal companion.<sup>47</sup> This was an especially popular story, translated by contemporaries into various vernacular languages.<sup>48</sup> Seal makers, or those who commissioned them, may have drawn inspiration from the *Yvain* legend. The PAS database

37. Daniel 6:22.

38. Salter 2001, 11–24.

39. Mâle 1984, 34–7.

40. For an example, see the 1312 seal of Adam of Morpeth: DCA, MS Misc. Ch. 4091.

41. Leson 2022, 127–46. My thanks to Richard Leson for kindly offering his insights on medieval art and providing me with this paper.

42. Judges 14:5–6; 1 Samuel 17:34–6.

43. DCA, MS Misc. Ch.725. For a description, see Laing 1850, 87, no. 500; Beam *et al* 2019, no. 1433.

44. LMA, CLC/313/L/H/002/MS25122/Country Deed 402. My sincere thanks to Louise Harrison of LMA for offering insights on this charter. My dating of the deed is based on the appearance of the witnesses Lord Gilbert de Breaute and John Wiger; the former was a brother or half-brother of Falkes de Breaute and was fined in 1224 for his part in the civil unrest that surrounded the Siege of Bedford, while John Wiger appears in an audit of 1222, holding lands in Navestock. Also, Master Robert de Barton of St Pauls (d. *c* 1259), who received the grant from Ralph, was promoted from Master to Dean in 1256. See respectively Dryburgh and Hartland 2007–9, I, 389, no. 348; Hale 1858, 77; Simpson 1887, App 464, n (a).

45. DCA, MS Misc. Ch. 4474.

46. Gittos and Gittos 2019, 180; Psalms 91:13.

47. For the text in Old French, see Foerster and Reid 1942. For the text in English, see Raffel and Duggan 1987; see also Hunt 2005, 156–68.

48. Sunnen 1990, 104–78. Imagery based on the *Yvain* story, or a related work, was even reproduced on the Valbjófsstaður Door in Iceland: Harris 1970, 125–46.

contains a thirteenth-century seal matrix, or possibly a token, found in London that appears to show Yvain stepping on a dragon, with his sword raised, as a lion turns to look at its rescuer.<sup>49</sup> The seals of William de Irby, Geoffrey de Wenali (both from the 1290s) and William de Braose, (dating to 1301) depicted lions fighting wyverns/dragons, perhaps in anticipation of Yvain's arrival.<sup>50</sup> The Yvain legend may also have been invoked in the late twelfth-century seal of Hemming, son of William Stawelaus, which survives appended to a charter concerning lands in Saltfleetby (Lincolnshire).<sup>51</sup> The motif shows an armed knight almost comically stepping on the tail of a dragon and moving to strike it. Alister Sutherland stated: '[The seal] indicates that [Hemming] was a knight, capable of qualifying as one, or aspired to be one.'<sup>52</sup> Whether this seal depicts Yvain, or perhaps St George or St Michael, fighting a dragon is unclear; the armed figure could equally represent Hemming himself locked in 'spiritual warfare'.<sup>53</sup>

If a lion-battle motif was indeed intended as a reference to *Yvain*, the motif may also have crusading allusions: *Yvain* was allegorised in numerous crusade narratives. High Medieval Occitan troubadours – notably the continuator of the *Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise* and the writer of the *Notitiae Duae Lemovicenses* – described an apocryphal story in which, during the First Crusade (1095–9), Gouffier of Lastours rescued a lion from a serpent, and the beast stayed with Gouffier until he set sail for home, whereupon the lion drowned trying to swim after him.<sup>54</sup> Later generations supposedly remade Gouffier's tomb at Châlard (western France), decorating it with an image of a lion and serpent.<sup>55</sup> Similarly, an anonymous fourteenth-century writer working at Newburgh Abbey (Yorkshire) claimed that Roger de Mowbray (d. 1188) saved a lion from a serpent while returning from crusade and the lion accompanied Roger back to England (Roger actually died in the East, however).<sup>56</sup> Despite these narratives taking inspiration from *Yvain*, their focus on crusaders' encounters with wild beasts was by no means unique.<sup>57</sup>

Chroniclers, such as Robert the Monk and Albert of Aachen, reported that Wicher the Swabian singlehandedly killed a lion during the First Crusade.<sup>58</sup> The twelfth-century Kurdish writer, Usāma Ibn Munqidh (d. 1188), famously recalled that one Levantine-Frankish knight hunted a leopard that resided in a ruined church in Hunāk, near Ma'arrāh-al-Nu'mān. However, the beast killed the knight and became locally known as 'the leopard that takes part in holy war'.<sup>59</sup> When describing battle, chroniclers also

49. The object has a *legend* in French that has not been deciphered, but does not appear to include a name: 'ORAG RANCZnCLA [...] TROPPORT BATAILLE.I.A.CIS', see PAS, LON-5DC7Co; Sumnall 2012.

50. Birch 1887–1900, IV, 632, no. 17152, and 645, no. 17210; II, 559, no. 7794. See also MacDonald 1904, I, 80, no. 455.

51. TNA, DL 27/285.

52. Sutherland 2020, I, 133. See also Postles 2006, 24 and 29, App III.

53. Henderson 1978, 40, n 18.

54. Sweetenham and Paterson 2003, 9–17, esp 11–14; Hodgson 2013, 81–2. See also Harris 2021, 204.

55. Arbellot 1881, 38. I was made aware of this via Sweetenham and Paterson 2003, 14.

56. Dugdale 1848, VI, part I, 320, no. 6. For more on this text and Roger, see Gilyard-Beer 1983, 62; Tyerman 1988, 31; Burton 2006, 39–40; Paul 2012, 86 and 156.

57. Paul 2014, 305–9.

58. Sweetenham 2005, 199–200; Edgington 2013, II, bk 7, 57. See also Hodgson 2013, 82–3; Edgington 2019, 165–82.

59. Hitti 1987, 140–1. See also Cobb 2007, 57–68.



frequently compared crusaders to lions in combat.<sup>60</sup> Indeed, legendary ‘lion knights’, as Nicholas Paul has termed them, became a notable feature of crusading romance and dynastic traditions.<sup>61</sup>

While these stories served a didactic purpose, highlighting the crusaders’ prowess or spiritual triumph (or the opposite in the case of Usāma Ibn Munqidh), we should not necessarily think of these narratives as being entirely fanciful. So-called ‘big cats’, such as the Asiatic lion (*Panthera leo persica*), the leopard (*Panthera pardus*) and the cheetah (*Acinonyx jubatus*) were all still found in the Levant and Syria during the Middle Ages, though in dwindling numbers.<sup>62</sup> Outside of royal menageries, such as Woodstock Palace or the Tower of London, pilgrimage to the Holy Land offered northern European people the opportunity to see flora and fauna in the wild that they would seldom encounter in their homelands.<sup>63</sup> It is entirely plausible that seals could serve as a media to celebrate such encounters. While commenting on the seals of Frankish Levantine nobles and religious leaders, Laura Whatley noticed that some ‘reflected the sensory aspects of visiting the Holy Places’.<sup>64</sup>

#### LION-BATTLE SEALS

Hugh de Neville’s seal represents the clearest example of a lion-battle motif that may depict the sigillant’s experiences on crusade (fig 1). Hugh – a nobleman who predominantly held lands in Northumberland and Essex – was a participant on the Third Crusade (1189–92).<sup>65</sup> His seal impression survives on two undated, thirteenth-century documents; one is attached to a quitclaim to Canterbury Cathedral (though the seal is badly damaged), and a second (better preserved) example is appended to a charter granting land in Oystergate (London) to one Gilbert de Aquila.<sup>66</sup> The front of the impression depicts a knight on foot, facing right, raising a sword to strike a leaping lion, while the rear of the impression bears Neville’s heraldry. No heraldry is visible on the figure’s shield, so it is hard to say if this is a depiction of Hugh or a purely allegorical scene. Matthew Paris (d. 1259), however, the chronicler of St Albans Abbey, reported that while Hugh was on crusade he encountered a lion and shot the beast in the chest with arrows before dispatching it with his sword.<sup>67</sup> Given reports like that of Usāma ibn Munqidh, it is certainly possible that this could have happened. Yet, as David Crook noted, it is equally possible that the motif on Hugh’s seal inspired Matthew’s story.<sup>68</sup> When Hugh returned from

60. Park 2018, 148. See also Harris’s discussion of crusading leaders’ leonine sobriquets: Harris 2021, 198.

61. Paul 2014, 305–9.

62. Nicholas 1999, 266–7; Schnitzler and Hermann 2019, 340–53. Hodgson has raised a similar point with respect to Godfrey of Bouillon’s battle with a bear: Hodgson 2013, 84.

63. O’Regan *et al* 2006, 385–94; Grigson 2016, 1–4. Cf Pastoureau 2007, 214.

64. Whatley 2012, 256, and 2019a, 55.

65. Young 1996, 24; Crook 2004. Hugh’s presence on the crusade is confirmed by both Ambroise and the writer of the *Itinerarium*: Nicholson 2001, bk 6, cpt 22, 361; Ailes and Barber 2011, 182, LL. 11386–7.

66. McEwan 2016a, 56 nos 376–7; CCA/DCC–ChAnt/W/80; LMA, CLC/313/L/H/001/MS25121/1479. My sincere thanks to Louise Harrison of LMA for offering insights on the literature surrounding the latter seal.

67. Luard 1872–83, III, 71.

68. Crook 2004.

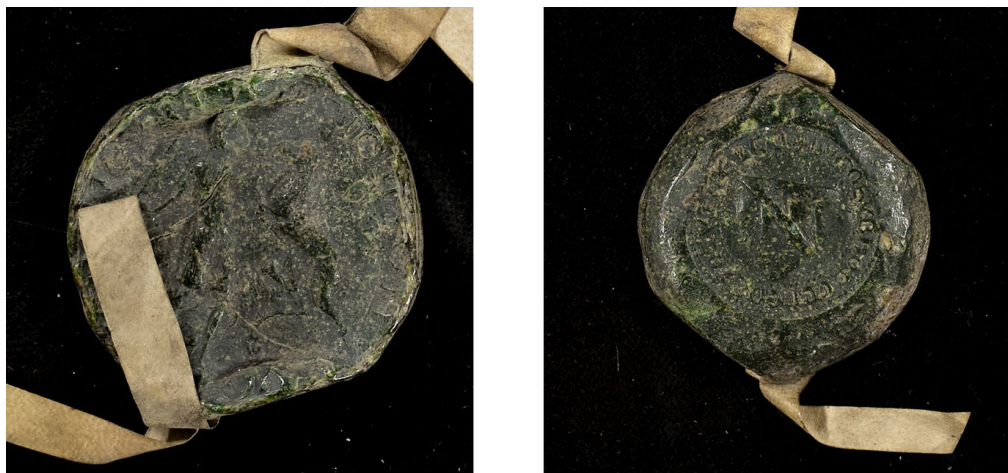


Fig 1. Hugh de Neville's lion-battle wax seal (left) and its counterseal (right) – LMA, CLC/313/L/H/001/MS25121/1479. *Images*: reproduced by permission of the Chapter of St Paul's Cathedral, London. © St Pauls Cathedral.

crusade, he gave an account of his experiences to the chronicler Ralph of Coggeshall (fl. 1207–26), who does not relate any lion-hunting tale.<sup>69</sup> Despite these ambiguities, Hugh is not alone as a crusader who used a seal with this motif.

Bertram III of Verdun, seneschal of Ireland, another participant on the Third Crusade, used a very similar design (fig 2).<sup>70</sup> Bertram's seal survives attached to his foundation charter for the Cistercian Abbey of Croxden (Staffordshire), from 1176.<sup>71</sup> It again depicts an armed knight on foot, facing right, ready to strike a rearing lion. Significantly, however, the only crusading venture that Bertram is known to have joined was the Third Crusade, and he died during the campaign – therefore, his lion-battle seal pre-dates his pilgrimage.<sup>72</sup> Bertram did have other connections to crusade: his ancestor Roland of Verdun had been on crusade and Bertram's first wife, Matilda de Ferrers, came from a family with a strong crusading tradition – Matilda's father, William de Ferrers earl of Derby (d. 1190), would also join the Third Crusade.<sup>73</sup> Before leaving for the Holy Land, Bertram may have displayed his wider attention to crusading culture (and its dangers) when he dedicated the House of the Crutched Friars in Dundalk (County Louth) to St Leonard, patron saint of women in labour and horses, but also of captives and prisoners of war.<sup>74</sup>

69. Stevenson 1875, 45; 'sicut dominus Hugo de Nevilla, qui in eodem certamine erat, nobis retulit'. See also Andrea and Whalen 2008, 265–75.

70. Dace 1999, 79; Hosler 2018, App D, 185. For more about the de Verdun family, see Hagger 2001.

71. Bodleian, MS Ch. Staff. a.2, charter 47. The *legend* is badly damaged, the only visible letters are: 'SIGILU[M] . . . N'. For an earlier photograph of the seal, see Sullivan and Gilbert 1874–84, pt 2, App II, no. 4.

72. Hagger 2001, 56–7.

73. Dace 1999, 79; Evans 2000, 69–81; Bennet 2021, 286.

74. Hagger 2001, 54; Smith 2004, 60; Hurlock 2013, 122.





Fig 2. Bertram III de Verdun's wax seal – Bodleian, MS Ch. Staff. a.2, charter 47. *Image:* © Bodleian Libraries, Oxford.



Fig 3. Roger III de Berkeley's wax seal – HCA Deed 775. *Image:* © Chapter of Hereford Cathedral.

A third seal that conforms to the same pattern as Bertram and Hugh's, and the earliest example, belonged to Roger III de Berkeley, a Gloucestershire-based nobleman (fig 3). This seal is attached to a letter that Roger sent to Archbishop of Canterbury Theobald (dating sometime between 1148 and 1161).<sup>75</sup> It, too, depicts an armed knight facing right, carrying a shield with some apparent vertical lines that may be a trace of heraldry, while raising a sword to strike a leaping lion. Unlike the other two sigillants, however, there is no

75. HCA, Deed 775; Lysons 1803, pl CVI, no. 1.

evidence that Roger went on crusade. Around 1131, Roger II de Berkeley (Roger III's father) founded a priory dedicated to St Leonard – patron saint of prisoners of war, among others – at his manor of Stanley (now Leonard Stanley, Gloucestershire).<sup>76</sup> Roger II may have done this while terminally ill, as he was dead by Michaelmas 1131.<sup>77</sup> At the time, his heir, Roger III, was in his majority but apparently abroad, as the family lands were temporarily held by William de Berkeley (Roger II's nephew).<sup>78</sup> Henry Barkly believed that this inheritance situation, combined with the evidence of Roger III's lion-battle seal, indicated that Roger III had been in the Holy Land at the time of his father's death.<sup>79</sup> However, this interpretation presumes that lion-battle seal motifs were exclusively deployed by men who had been on crusade, and this is a dangerous assumption, particularly for such an early date.<sup>80</sup>

That said, Roger II's interest in St Leonard (similarly to Bertram III de Verdun) while his son was (seemingly) abroad is intriguing. It is possible that Roger III went on crusade after he assumed the family lands; however, he was certainly in England from 1146–8, when those joining the Second Crusade (1147–54) would have departed.<sup>81</sup> The author of the *Gesta Stephani* noted briefly that Philip FitzRobert fought bravely against Roger's enemies in Gloucestershire during the unrest of the so-called Anarchy (1135–53) and then departed for Jerusalem, but there is no mention of Roger accompanying Philip.<sup>82</sup> During the seventeenth century, John Smyth of Nibley wrote that an ancestor of the Berkeley family was believed to have gone on crusade.<sup>83</sup> Members of the early modern gentry were all too keen to claim crusading forebears, so it is hard to give the story credence or ascribe it to Roger III.<sup>84</sup> These later legends may have been based on Robert de Berkeley (d. c. 1224), who was a *crucesignatus* in 1202, but was asked by King John to defer his vow.<sup>85</sup> Without any indications that Roger III went on crusade or held any interest in the military orders, it seems his lion-battle seal cannot firmly be linked with crusading ideas. This shows that, if the lion-battle seal came to hold some crusading connotations, this association probably did not appear fully formed.<sup>86</sup>

The three lion-battle seals examined share a similar composition. These seals do not appear to be so-called 'canting' or 'rebus' designs – that is, seals that make a visual pun on the sigillant's name or character.<sup>87</sup> Furthermore, we have seen how lion symbolism could hold Christological or Arthurian allusions, yet these themes do not neatly fit Hugh, Bertram and Roger's seals. Their seals depict a warrior striking a lion – making it highly unlikely the lion represents Christ or Yvain's lion companion. Also, the knights

76. Page 1907, 72–3.

77. Barkly 1883–4, 199.

78. Ibid, 200–1.

79. Ibid, 201.

80. Harvey and McGuinness 1996, 79; McEwan 2016b, 18.

81. Roger III granted the St Leonard's priory to St Peter's Abbey in 1146 and he was personally attacked at Berkeley Castle in March 1148: see Dugdale 1848, I, 541–64, esp 550, and V, 427, no. 10; Potter and Davis 1976, 190–1, cpt 97.

82. Potter and Davis 1976, 190–1, cpt 98.

83. Smyth of Nibley 1883–5, I, 219.

84. Siberry 2021, 61.

85. Lloyd 1988, 89.

86. Leson has proposed that encounters with fearsome beasts, among other topoi in chivalric art and romance, became more popular in the 1200s, as crusading successes diminished.

87. McGuinness 1993, 170–1. A 12th-century example, similar to the seals discussed, belonged to Richard Cano – it displayed a dog leaping up at a knight, see Salisbury Museum, SBYWM/1971/192. My sincere thanks to Megan Berrisford of Salisbury Museum for sharing her thoughts on the item. See also Beckwith 1972, 132, no. 77; Cherry 1991, 31, no. 6; Goodall 2001, 45.

are depicted armed with shield and sword – markedly differently from the story of Samson. Richard Leson has considered these ambiguities in relation to the *c* 1225–30 tympanum that once adorned the donjon of Coucy-le-Château (northern France). This sculpture, similarly, depicted a knight in battle with a lion. Leson notes that there could have been many dimensions – ‘legendary, biblical, and romantic’ – to the tympanum’s symbolism.<sup>88</sup> However, he argues convincingly that the sculpture was part of the Coucy dynasty’s celebrations of their ancestor, Thomas of Marle (1073–1130), and alluded to the latter’s experiences on the First Crusade.<sup>89</sup> Similarly, Amanda Luyster has observed the blend of crusading, Old Testament and (lost) romance themes in the schema of the *c* 1250 Chertsey Tiles from England – which famously depicted Richard the Lionheart in (a fictional) battle with Saladin, as well as knights in combat with lions.<sup>90</sup> Thomas Morin has also observed some comparable iconography appearing in another crusading context: on a 1248 seal belonging to a Frankish Levantine nobleman, Hugh de Gibelet, which depicted a knight wielding a sword while riding a lion.<sup>91</sup>

The fourth and fifth seals to be discussed, those of Saher IV de Quincy (d. 1219) and Roger de Quincy (d. 1264), follow the same general composition as Hugh, Bertram and Roger’s (fig 4). Examining these seals will help unpack some unanswered questions regarding the theme of identity in the sigillographic lion-battle motif and the significance of its potential relationship to crusading.

#### WHY CELEBRATE CRUSADE ON A SEAL?

Seals were an important means for the knightly and noble classes to communicate their status: equestrian seals, for instance, appear to have exclusively been used by men from these social strata.<sup>92</sup> Larger numbers of laymen began engaging in sealing culture and using seals of their own towards the end of the twelfth century, due, partly, to legal necessity as well as lesser knights’ social aspirations.<sup>93</sup> Although Latin Christians from all social classes participated in crusade, the movement was conceived as a pursuit of the élite.<sup>94</sup> We might consider, therefore, whether celebrations of crusade, or participation in it, on a seal could have been a means of expressing (or claiming) authority and prestige. This could have had added significance for the usage of a seal. By the late twelfth century, attaching seals to legal documents was rapidly becoming a means of validating the item.<sup>95</sup> Displaying that the sigil-lant had previously been, or intended to become, a crusader may have given added gravitas to their endorsement of a deed.<sup>96</sup> It has been noted that many jurors in twelfth-century

88. Leson 2018, 43. See also Ambrose 2005. My thanks to Thomas Morin for showing me the latter source.

89. Leson admits that there was no report of Thomas fighting a lion, see Leson 2018, 45–58. For a comparable numismatic celebration of crusade, see Fox 2012, 63.

90. Luyster 2022, 86–120. My sincere thanks to Amanda Luyster for providing me with this paper.

91. Morin 2021. My sincere thanks to Thomas Morin for sharing his presentation paper, slides and thoughts on this seal.

92. Crouch 1992, 242–6; Johns 2016, 80–1; McEwan 2016b, 21–3. Brigitte Bedos-Rezak (2018, 46–7) reminds us that conveying social status was by no means the only usage for seals.

93. Harvey and McGuinness 1996, 77; Crouch 2011, 51–5, esp 53; McEwan 2016b, 23. See also Coss 2002, 39–68.

94. Housley 2006, 8–9; Dickson 2008, 16; Hosler 2020, 145–66.

95. Johns 2016, 79.

96. On the lasting power of wax impressions, see Bedos-Rezak 2018, 50.



Fig 4. Reverse of Saher IV de Quincy's seal (left) – Magdalen College, Brackley Charter A2. *Image:* reproduced with the permission of the President and Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford. © Magdalen College. Reverse of Roger de Quincy's seal (right) – TNA, DL 27/203. *Image:* © The National Archives.

Gloucestershire had been to the Holy Land and this may indicate that they were considered more trustworthy than others because of the spiritual penance they had undertaken.<sup>97</sup>

Let us examine the seals of the Anglo-Scottish noblemen Saher IV de Quincy, earl of Winchester, and his son Roger de Quincy, earl of Winchester and constable of Scotland.<sup>98</sup> Saher IV altered his seal's design throughout his life, using as many as four different designs, but settled on a lion-battle motif sometime after 1207.<sup>99</sup> The obverse of this latter design shows an equestrian scene, while the reverse is very similar in design to the other three lion-battle motifs discussed.<sup>100</sup> The reverse of Saher IV's seal shows an armoured knight on foot, facing left, raising a sword in his right hand and a shield in his left, which displays his newly-adopted arms: seven mascles. A lion leaps up at the knight. Roger de Quincy's seal is nearly identical, except for a small floret with six petals that appears between the battling figures.<sup>101</sup> The surviving examples of Roger's seal can be dated sometime after 1235, though, given the design's similarity to that of his father's, it is probable

97. Stacy 2001, 65. See also Brundage 1997, 141–54.

98. For a discussion of these men's background, see Painter 1961, 230–9; Simpson 1985, 102–29; cf Wilkinson 2007, 30.

99. Vincent 2018, 86. My thanks to the reviewers for alerting me to this source. See also Simonet 2022, 1–20.

100. Magdalen College, Brackley Charter A2; Vincent 2018, 92, n 16.

101. TNA, DL 27/203; Laing 1850, 113–4, no. 682 and pl XI; Birch 1887–1900, II, 342, no. 6346; MacDonald 1904, I, 280–1, nos 2226–7. Other examples may be seen on Magdalen College, Oxford, Brackley Charters C.125, 4A and 8. My thanks to Dr Rachel M Davies for her advice on the latter seals.



that Roger used this design earlier.<sup>102</sup> Roger's seal, in particular, is an especially eye-catching object. In his catalogue of seals, Henry Laing set aside his academic tone, calling it 'exceedingly beautiful'; William Rae MacDonald's personal copy of his catalogue of Scottish seals had a leather cover with tooled depictions of this seal.<sup>103</sup>

Saher IV and Roger, like Bertram III de Verdun and Hugh de Neville, had distinct connections to crusade. Saher IV's father, Robert de Quincy (d. 1197), had been a minor leader on the Third Crusade.<sup>104</sup> Saher IV's father-in-law (and Roger's grandfather), Robert de Beaumont III earl of Leicester (d. 1190), and the latter's son, Robert Fitz-Pernel (d. 1204), also joined the Third Crusade.<sup>105</sup> During the Fifth Crusade, the Quincy family leapt at the opportunity to be involved: Saher IV and his three sons, Roger and two called Robert, all took the cross. The eldest brother, Robert, died in 1217 before setting out, but his wife, Hawisa, ensured his status as a *crucesignatus* was remembered by having him buried in the Knights Hospitaller's house of Clerkenwell (London).<sup>106</sup> In 1219, Saher IV sailed directly to Damietta in Egypt; however, he died within a month of arriving and asked his 'sons' to take his heart and entrails back to be buried at Garendon Abbey (Leicestershire) – presumably this was Roger and the younger Robert.<sup>107</sup> Roger did not do homage for his father's lands until around 1221, so he probably remained on crusade until the Christian army disbanded.<sup>108</sup> Robert the Younger also vowed to go on crusade a second time in 1250.<sup>109</sup> In short, father and son were intimately connected to the crusading movement.

Their seals are loaded with chivalric imagery. The legend on the obverse of Saher IV's seal identifies him and his status as 'earl of Winchester', while the reverse includes Christ's last words according to Luke 23:46: 'into your hands, lord, I commit my spirit'.<sup>110</sup> The obverse of Roger's, likewise, describes him as 'earl of Winchester'; the reverse as 'Constable of Scotland'.<sup>111</sup> These lofty designations are not purely reflections of personal choice, but official titles. Both men are depicted as armed knights, their heraldry appearing on the shield of the knight on foot, the shield of the mounted knight and on the horse's caparison. Furthermore, a wyvern appears under Roger's horse on the obverse (though not on Saher IV's) and upon the helmet-crest on the reverse on both seals, which may have been an added allusion to their ties with other nobles. Robert FitzWalter (d. 1235) – a close

102. Alexander and Binski 1987, 252, no. 143.

103. Laing 1850, 113, no. 682; National Library of Scotland, shelf mark Hall.139.c.4.

104. MacQuarrie 1985, 28–31; Bennet 2021, 164, 182 and App 1, 343.

105. Round 1899, 102–3, no. 306; Bennet 2021, App 2, 357.

106. Wilkinson 2007, 42; Reynolds 2021, 197 and 212–3.

107. For Saher's departure, see Hewlett 1886–9, II, 235. The Waverley annalist states that Saher called upon his sons: '*convocatis igitur pueris suis*': see Luard 1864–9, II, 292. For more on the interpretation of this, see MacQuarrie 1985, 36–7; Lloyd 1988, 107.

108. In July 1220 news of Saher's death reached the sheriffs of Oxfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Cumberland and Huntingdonshire, who were instructed not to disseise Roger of his inheritance in those areas. By Easter 1221 William of Knapwell was named in a plea as Saher's bailiff – perhaps because Roger had not returned to take over as William's employer. Roger had probably returned before Nov 1221, when he was liable for repayment on lands in Oxfordshire held in pledge from Isabela de Bolbec: see respectively Hardy 1833–44, I, 423; Maxwell Lyte 1901, 243; CRR, x, 92; Dryburgh and Hartland 2007–9, I, 233, n 24. For more on this crusade's conclusion, see Powell 1986, 157–93.

109. MacQuarrie 1985, 49.

110. The legends read, respectively, 'SIGILLUM SEHERI DE [QU]INCI COMITIS [WIN]TONIE' and 'IN MANU TUAS DOMINE COMENDO SPIRITUM MEUM'. For interpretation, see Vincent 2018, 92, n 16.

111. The legends read, respectively, 'SIGILL ROGER[I DE QUINC]I COMITIS WINCESTRIE' and 'SIGI[LL ROGERI DJE QUINCI CONSTABULARII SCOCIE'.

friend of Saher IV and another Fifth Crusader – had an equestrian seal that also depicted himself riding over a wyvern, and included the seven mascle Quincy arms, a nod to his friendship with the family.<sup>112</sup> The wyvern upon Saher IV's and Roger's helmet-crest may also have had Arthurian/crusading connotations. Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain* (c 1138) has King Arthur don a helmet engraved with his standard, the red dragon, as Dubricius encourages Arthur and the Britons to fight the pagan Saxons, stating that if they fall in battle their sins will be cleansed.<sup>113</sup> The antiquarian Thomas Astle posited that the flower on Roger's seal was an allusion to the arms of Roger's relatives, the Beaumont earls of Leicester – another celebration of noble ties.<sup>114</sup> The sheer complexity of their design on as small a medium as a seal matrix would have incurred costs, and so also displayed the wealth of the Quincys.<sup>115</sup>

Saher IV and Roger were evidently very keen to celebrate their masculine, chivalric identity, and the lion-battle scene helped promote this persona.<sup>116</sup> Unlike the other seals discussed, the use of heraldry on the reverse of both men's seals indicates that these are distinct representations of these men (or possibly just Saher IV) fighting a lion. Like Bertram III de Verdun, Saher IV adopted the lion-battle motif before setting out on crusade, but whether this was before he formally became a *crucesignatus* is hard to say. It has been suggested that he, like many others, may have taken the cross before the First Barons' War began in 1215 (in which he was a key leader), given both sides' adoption of crusading rhetoric to describe their cause.<sup>117</sup> It is tempting to think that Saher IV had crusade on his mind when choosing the wording for the legend on the reverse of his seal; however, nothing can be said with certainty unless new evidence comes to light to more accurately date his adoption of the lion-battle motif. Roger, however, almost certainly used the lion-battle design after crusading, and in imitation of his father's seal. Grant Simpson believed the image was emblematic of Roger's courage in battle.<sup>118</sup> P D A Harvey and Andrew McGuinness thought it was a biblical or political allusion; however, they were unaware of any other seals with this motif at the time.<sup>119</sup> Roger's seal design is perhaps best understood as a celebration of continuity with his father, and it was perhaps significant that the transmission of family power occurred while they were on crusade together. The symbolism that this father and son adopted conveyed their noble warrior status and perhaps celebrated crusade culture – as 'romance', as well as allegorising lived, imagined or (in Roger's case) shared experiences.

## CONCLUSION

Latin Christians saw crusade as an opportunity to do penance and endure the rigors of wild landscapes, and, although there was an overwhelming variety of intentions behind lion

112. BM, 1841,0624.1; Harvey and McGuinness 1996, 45, no. 39; cf Vincent 2018, 88–91. For more on non-heraldic family motifs on seals, see Harvey 1991, 124–7; Kemp 2015, 137–50; Schofield 2016, 55.

113. Reeve and Wright 2007, bk 9, 199, l. 108. See also Putter 2011, 85–108.

114. *Vetusta Monumenta*, III, pl XXVIII, 19, no. 3. My thanks to Dr Rachel M Davies for showing me this source.

115. On seal artisans, see McEwan 2016b, 16.

116. For more on knightly status and seals, see Ailes 2008, 8–11; Johns 2015, 271–80; Neville 2017, 110.

117. Tyerman 1988, 136–7.

118. Simpson 1965, 164–5.

119. Harvey and McGuinness 1996, 44, no. 38.



symbolism in the Middle Ages, the five sigillants discussed may have used their lion-battle motif as a celebration of their experiences (or desire to experience) the physical and spiritual ordeals of crusade.<sup>120</sup> These five individuals chose remarkably similar seal motifs, which differ dramatically from many of their peers. It cannot definitively be proven that this motif was an intentional celebration of holy war – there is no evidence the earliest sigillant, Roger III de Berkeley, ever went on crusade – and so, even if we assume the lion-battle motif came to be associated with crusade, this may have been a later phenomenon, and could still have held a multiplicity of meanings for sigillants or contemporary viewers. Yet, four of the five sigillants discussed had links with crusade, which makes it plausible that their highly specific choice of seal design was linked. Indeed, the resemblance of their seals' design with the tympanum of Coucy-le-Château's donjon or the lion-battle scenes in the Chertsey Tiles – along with their corresponding crusading associations – lends further weight to this interpretation. It may even be that these individuals saw each other's seal designs and adopted them precisely because of their shared experiences on crusade. Though some departing crusaders left their seals behind, for fear of theft and fraudulent misuse while on the march, Hugh could have seen Bertram's lion-battle seal while they were on the Third Crusade (alongside Saher IV de Quincy's father, Robert).<sup>121</sup> Similarly, Hugh, Saher IV and Roger de Quincy were members of the Baronial faction from 1215 during the First Barons' War, which may have provided Saher IV, in particular, an opportunity to admire Hugh's lion-battle seal.<sup>122</sup> However, this study has focused on a small number of case studies, and so no firm conclusions can be made regarding the intended symbolism behind the lion-battle seal design.

Indeed, this paper only focused on a single seal design, but there are opportunities for further research on seals, crusade culture and other animal symbolism. Debra Hassig, for example, has argued that some twelfth- and thirteenth-century bestiaries alluded to crusade when depicting war-elephants.<sup>123</sup> There are certainly examples of the elephant-and-castle seal motif from the British Isles; however, this paper has not had the scope to explore these further.<sup>124</sup> Individuals also changed their seals' design during their lifetime, and it is worth considering whether crusade influenced their choice. William de Mandeville, third earl of Essex, for example, adopted a seal around 1180 modelled on the seal of Phillip of Alsace, count of Flanders; the two were on crusade together from 1177–8.<sup>125</sup>

The '*prud'homme*', or prudent knight, of the High Middle Ages was both militarily accomplished as well as educated: the exhibition of crusade culture – with the overtones of piety and martial acumen – on an aspect of the knight's literary accoutrement would have been a fitting blend of chivalric display. Whatever their precise motives, the five noblemen examined may have felt that their identity could be distilled, on as small an object as a seal, to their interest in holy war. It is also worth appreciating that seals – particularly those with gemstones – may have been worn by their owner for display or to entreat luck or divine

120. For more on crusade and the 'wild', see Spacey 2021, 352–3.

121. An English court case from 1229 revealed that a woman entrusted with her crusading brother's seal may have, ironically, used it fraudulently: *CCR*, XIII, 443–4, no. 2107.

122. Crook 2004; Oram 2004.

123. Hassig 1995, 136–43.

124. SiMeW (Schofield *et al* 2016), 282, no. 1929.

125. Harvey and McGuinness 1996, 6.

intervention.<sup>126</sup> This holds some significance for any interpretation of seals with potential crusading implications. Other than crusaders' practice of sewing crosses onto their garments, there has been limited consideration for other displays of crusading culture in lay-people's adornment.<sup>127</sup> The lion-battle sigillants may have worn their seal matrices to be instantly recognised as adherents to crusading culture.

Matthew Paris may well have concluded that Hugh de Neville had fought a lion on crusade because he had seen Hugh's seal, but perhaps that is exactly what Hugh wanted Matthew to think.

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#### ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

##### Abbreviations

BL	British Library, London
BM	British Museum, London
Bodleian	Bodleian Libraries, Oxford
CCA	Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Canterbury
CCR	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls</i>
CRR	<i>Curia Regis Rolls</i>
DCA	Durham Cathedral Archives, Durham
HCA	Hereford Cathedral Archives, Hereford
HMSO	His/Her Majesty's Stationary Office
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives, City of London
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
PAS	Portable Antiquities Scheme
SiMeW	'Seals in Medieval Wales Database', in Schofield et al 2016, 127–325
TNA	The National Archives, London

126. Cherry 1997, 133–4; Antoine 2005, 101–11. PAS contains two relevant objects: a 12th–13th-century gilt buckle found in Norfolk depicting a knight advancing on a lion, and an elaborate 13th-century silver gilt brooch found in Northampton, showing a rearing lion grasping the shield of a mail-clad knight: PAS, NMS-631E52 and NARC-C45437.

127. See the following exceptions: Saul 2009, 228; Satora 2020, 105–15; Siberry 2021, 78–83.

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CCA/DCC-ChAnt/W/80  
CRR, x, 80  
DCA, Medieval Seal, no. 306  
DCA, Medieval Seal, no. 552  
DCA, Medieval Seal, no. 1322  
DCA, Medieval Seal, no. 1518  
DCA, Medieval Seal, no. 1583  
DCA, Medieval Seal, no. 1640  
DCA, Medieval Seal, no. 2198  
DCA, Medieval Seal, no. 2210  
DCA, Medieval Seal, no. 2353  
DCA, Medieval Seal, no. 2571  
DCA, Medieval Seal, no. 2721  
DCA, Medieval Seal, no. 2723  
DCA, MS Misc. Ch. 4091  
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