

The arms of Montfort-l'Amaury.

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The genealogy of the maison Montfort-l'Amaury and the coats-of-arms used by its members have been described before. However, there are a few contradictions in the papers mentioned.

The family who used either or both of the arms *Pily-barry argent-gules*¹ and *Gules a lion queue fourchy argent* were descended from the counts of Hainaut through Guillaume de Hainaut, who by 1003 married an heiress of Montfort (canton Montfort-l'Amaury, département Yvelines, west of Paris) and took their name from this place and castle. The Montforts had or got close ties to the royal houses and several of the leading families in both England and France. Succeeding his older brothers Richard and Simon (II), Amaury (III) inherited the county of Evreux in 1103 from his mother Agnes. In general, the genealogies in Civel, Brooks and Davies agree and use the numbering proposed in 1910 by Rhein. However, there are differences in details and in the dates of death, and Davies has the Amaurys one number higher, i.e. Amaury (VI) for Amaury (V) as used here. The contradictions discussed concern the descendants of Simon (III), the title E. Gloucester, the origin of and by whom the two coats-of-arms were used.

A few uncontested facts.

Simon (III), d.c.1180, C. Evreux, married secondly after 1160 Amice, d.1215, daughter and heiress of Robert FitzPernell E. Leicester (d.1204), and they had three sons: Amaury (*I,G*),² Simon (IV), and Guy (*I,F*), 1170-1228, S.Brethencourt & Ferté-Alais & Castres & Lombers.

Simon (IV) dit *le Grand*, c.1160-1218, took part in the early operations of the 4th Crusade, but left for Palestine before the conquest of Constantinople. On his return to England he became E. Leicester in 1204 succeeding his maternal grandfather. Leaving England, he became one of the leaders of the Albigensian Crusade. Following this he was deprived of the English earldom in 1210, but in France was created V. Carcassonne & Béziers and D. Narbonne. He married Alice de Montmorency and had four sons: Amaury (V), Guy d.1220 C.Bigorre j.u., Robert o.s.p.1226, and Simon (V).

Simon (V), E. Leicester, married in 1238 Eleanor, sister of Henry III, was appointed Steward of England the same year, served as principal English commander 1248-54. As the leader of the baronial party he revolted later, captured the king in 1364 and assumed the title of E. Chester, but was killed 1265 at the battle of Evesham after Henry III and prince Edward escaped. A contemporary carving in the choir of Westminster shows the *lion* arms, with which he sealed. The arms of their sons on the (now destroyed) tomb of Eleanor in Paris all have the *lion* arms.³

Amaury (V), 1192-1241, C. Montfort 1224 (not 1218), appointed constable of France 1230 succeeding his maternal uncle Mathieu (II) de Montmorency, married Beatrice d'Albon and had a son Jean d.1248, not 1241 as in Davies. Amaury (V) sealed and countersealed as connétable in 1230 with the *lion* (XDD:711a+b, equestrian) and in 1234 sealed with the *lion* (XDD:712a, equestrian) and countersealed with *pily-barry* (XDD:712b). The 1248 seal of his son Jean also have both arms (XDD:713a *lion*, 713b *pily-barry*). The *pily-barry* arms are both displayed on banners.

A stained glass window in the Chartres Cathedral dated c.1220 displays a mounted knight with the *lion* arms on his shield and the *pily-barry* on the lance banner.

Most Montfort seals ⁴ have either no arms or the *lion*, except for the above and a seal and counterseal (XDD:10138, both *pily-barry* on shields) dated 1216 with the legend: SIGILLV.. MAR.. CI COMTIS GLOVERNIE, i.e. Amaury E. Gloucester.

The Amaury problem.

In his 1975 paper T.R. Davies proposed that Amaury (I,G) died 1191, married Mabel of Gloucester, held the title E. Gloucester j.u., and had a son Amaury (II, G), E. Gloucester, who died c.1216. He attributes the *pily-barry* in XDD:10138 to Amaury (II, G),⁵ but places it earlier than 1216. In addition Davies has Simon (IV) as the C. Evreux, who sold the county to the French king in 1200 and then took as the first the title of C. Montfort.

Nicolas Civel in 1996 listed Amaury (V) as E. Gloucester and has Amaury (I,G), d.c.1220, as C. Evreux and married to Hovis, a daughter of Robert E. Gloucester (d.1147). Simon (IV) is untitled.

So there are four conflicting claims: 1) how many earls of Gloucester, 2) how many Amaurys, and 3) was the wife's name Hovis (Amice) or Mabel, and 4) who sold Evreux?

Let us begin with the first earls of Gloucester. According to the *Complete Peerage* (GEC) ⁶ the first earl was a natural son of Henry I king of England named Robert, who was created earl in 1122. Robert was prominent in the Civil War of Stephen and Maud, which brought the Angevin Plantagenets to the throne, and died in 1147. He was succeeded by his son William (o.s.p.m.1183), who left three daughters, of which Amice, the middle one, married Richard FitzRoger de Clare (d.1217), E. Hertford by 1173. Their son Gilbert (d.1230) succeeded his father as E. Hertford in 1217 and is noted as E. Gloucester 1218, which leaves only the period 1183-1218 for other incumbents as the Clares held the title until extinct in 1314.

The eldest daughter, Mabel, married c.1170 Aumary (I,G) C. Evreux, who died c.1191, leaving an underaged son Aumary (II,G), o.s.p. before November 1213. Amaury (II,G) attested charters in 1203 and 1204 as E. Gloucester, but later attested as C. Evreux.

The youngest daughter, Isabel (d.1217), was married by papal dispensation in 1189 to John 'Lackland' C. Mortain & E. Gloucester (j.u.), but divorced in 1199 as John became king of England. She was probably held in custody until she was married secondly to Geoffrey de Mandeville E. Essex (d.1216). Geoffrey also attested as E. Gloucester (j.u.). On her death the title went to her nephew Gilbert de Clare.

By (at least later) custom the earldom ought to have gone to the husband of the elder daughter, Mabel, but with the king's prerogative both Henry II and his successor Richard I could divert it to the husband of the younger sister, John, who was now heir apparent to the throne. After his divorce John, who now had no claim on the Gloucester title, negotiated a deal whereby Amaury (II,G) got that earldom (but not all the lands) in exchange for the county of Evreux. Evreux was then offered to Philippe 'August' of France as part of the dowry of John's niece Blanche on her marriage to Louis de France. In may 1200 Amaury (II,G) quitclaimed the transfer of Evreux to Philippe 'August' with a seal with the legend: SIGILLUM ALMARICI COMITIS GLOVERNIE. ⁷ Amaury (II,G) probably stayed in England with his wife Millicent Gurnay until he died in 1213.

As Amaury (V) had no claim to the title of E. Gloucester, we may disregard that proposal by Civel, and also, from Davies, that Simon (IV) could have been C. Evreux. The charter with the seal XDD: 10138 must be from before November 1213, when Amaury (II, G) died. Amaury (V) was created C. Montfort in 1224, when he renounced all rights to lands in Languedoc.⁸

The *pily-barry* problem

The earliest recorded coat-of-arms of the Montforts is the *lion queue-fourchy*, found on XDD: 707 with the legend SIGILLVM SIMONIS DE MONTFORTIS and dated 1195, i.e. for Simon (IV) as S. Montfort, and on the seal of Amice de Leicester (1204) in Paris, BnF, ms.lat.5441-1:260, then a widow, probably as courtesy to her late husband Simon (III), who died c.1180.⁹

As this was later used by all branches, the commentators agree that the *Gules a lion q.f. argent* became the coat-of-arms of the maison de Montfort, with Civel extending the arms to representing the Montfort-l'Amaury fief in Yvelines. Only Matthew Paris has the arms in both Gu-Ar and Ar-Gu.¹⁰

But if the *lion* arms were for the family, what might the *pily-barry* arms be for? The colours are *gules-argent* in the Chartres window, but *argent-gules* in the English armorials and in the Lanquedoc segment in one late French armorial (BER:946). Did the glazier get it wrong? - or did the scribe-painters, who, except the French one, might have known each other or worked from one of earlier armorials. We will probably never know for sure. But we might guess why great expenses were made to have a Montfort knight filling the large (5 m Ø) rose window in the South Choir Clerestory.¹¹ Chartres was their home diocese, and the main structure of the cathedral was being finished and the windows being glazed with magnificent stained glass. Some windows had been donated by the French queen. What more fitting or imposing memorial could be made in order to remember the crusader-subjugator of Languedoc, who almost doubled the territory under the direct control of the French king. Among the several proposals, the more likely would be that the donation was made for Simon (IV) by Amaury (V), when he brought back the preserved body of his father in 1224. But the arms would not necessarily be those used by Simon, but could be the ones used by Amaury in his 1234 seal (XDD:712): *pily-barry* on the banner and *lion q.f.* on the seal. And, of course, the window would glorify the whole Montfort family.

Most armorists adhere to the notion that arms displayed on banners relate to fiefs, and many that this form of display of arms antedates their use on shields. The notion is primarily based on preheraldic (and later) miniatures showing the vassal receiving a banner on making homage to his overlord. Actually, there are very few examples of early seals (all equestrian), miniatures or decorations with banners-of-arms. Most of the equestrian seals have nondescript banners or no banners at all, being either in hunting pose or wielding swords. The 12th-13th century banner-seals appear to have been used only by, or possibly reserved for, the higher nobility of northern France. Of these few, the most quoted are those of the counts of Vermandois and Flanders, who have the same symbol on both shield and banner.¹² One of the few shield-banner combinations with different arms belongs to the Montforts. Some combinations of different arms or symbols have been explained with the non-family one symbolising spiritual matters. In addition there are a few seals with banners alone, e.g. the 1303 seal of the Languedoc town-commune of Agde with *paly-undy* or rather *barry-undy or-azure*, which may or may not refer to the town's overlord, at the time the bishop Raymond du Puy, or simply the river Hérault.¹³

At least four hypotheses have been advanced for the *pily-barry* arms: 1) the ancient arms, replaced by the *lion*; 2) arms representing the English barony of Hinckley; 3) arms representing the office of Steward of England as held from 1238 by Simon (V) E. Leicester, and 4) arms of the county of Evreux in Normandy.

The first hypothesis, the ancient arms, is impossible to prove, and therefore a usable, though unlikely, fall-back position. But the earliest evidence of the arms is the seal of c.1213 and the contemporary window of c.1220, while we might reasonably assume that the *lion* arms were adopted before 1180.

The second hypothesis, the Honour of Hinckley, as noted by Wagner and Tremlett, was based on a later entry in the *Great Coucher Book of the Duch of Lancaster*, and is highly unlikely. It was one of several demesne manors near the Borough of Leicester, but it was not a major Leicester fief.¹⁴

The third hypothesis, Steward of England, would be reasonable in the light of the banner-fief notion, as Simon (V) used this office of his as one argument for seizing power in 1264.¹⁵ However, it is untenable as the arms were used before that by his cousin Amaury (II, G).¹⁶ Arms transformed from family emblems into emblems of office are well documented for the two other high offices of Lord High Constable of England and Earl Marshal of England.

The above leaves us with the county of Evreux as a possible banner-fief. This was convincingly argued by Davies in 1975 and modified independently by Civel in 1996. The principal argument of Davies was that the *pily-barry* arms were only used by men who were C. Evreux. For this he attributed the Chartres window to Simon (IV, d.1218), and argued that Amaury (II,G) was isolated from the rest of the family being brought up in England without any contact with the French branches. Having misread GEC, he also had Simon (IV) as the C. Evreux, who sold the county to the French king. As he was unaware of the seals used by Amaury (V) and Jean and the BER: 946 entry, his argumentation was consistent, but incomplete and partly wrong.

The major problem with the Evreux hypothesis, as noted by Civel, is that all surviving evidence of the arms belongs to the period after the sale. The Civel-modification is that Simon (II,G) after the sale in 1200 introduced the Evreux-arms, not as presumptive but in remembrance of that great fief, and in effect made it a second family coat-of-arms displayed on a shield. At the time there were a few arms shown dimidated or semi-dimidated, but quartered arms only spread northwards from Spain a generation or two later.¹⁷ Presumably, Amaury (V) had the same idea when he had to give up the great Languedoc possessions, re-adopting the emblem of the family's most important fief, but independently chose the banner representation. This was continued by his son, Jean, the last of the line. In the words of Civel: ".. aucun fief mais à une maison". If the *Glover* entry for Simon (V) is nearly contemporary, this could be a family decision or even one taken by Simon (IV).

The entry in the *Armorial Berry* was painted almost two centuries after the family became extinct, and might have been copied from an older armorial referring to a descendant of the Ferté-Alais line of Guy (I,F), possibly Philippe (I) or (II), both C. Castres – or it could have been taken from the Chartres window. Gilles le Bouvier Berry king-of-arms was also a principal historian of his time.

Whether the *pily-barry* arms were really a banner-fief emblem of Evreux is a matter of opinion – and if so, the only real evidence of this phenomenon known to this author.

Notes.

1. The arms might be blazoned *pily-barry*, *per pale indented*, or *emmanché*.
2. The problematic Amaurys (I,G / I of Glos) and (II,G / II of Glos) and Guy (I,F) a.o. are my numbers for ease of discussion.
3. Davies p.233; Menestrier 169.
4. See Civel, pp.102-106, for reproductions of the seals, of which a few are appended.
5. Davies, p.231, 233 (1215, drawing, Foster text only, obverse alone), 238. Davis p.233 is wrong in assuming that no other armorials show the *pily-barry* coat.
6. As the GEC is largely documented with charters and seals, it ought – without contrary documentation – to be taken for valid evidence on English affairs.
7. No other details of the seal of 1200 are given in GEC 5:693.
8. Civel p.85, XDD:710 (1230) COMITIS MONTFORTIS
9. Taken from Bony, pl.III, p.48/49.
10. See the list of arms in armorials appended.
11. Colour photograph in Galbreath & Jéquier p.29.
12. Vermandois and Flanders on Galbreath & Jéquier p.28; Habsburg is also known from a seal of 1220.
13. Pastoureau p.93, the present wikipedia entry mistakenly refers to 'three waves' representing the river, the Canal du Midi and the Mediterranean as mentioned for arms matriculated in 1697. The 13th century overlords were the Trencavels C.Toulouse, who used *barry ermine-gules*.
14. Proposed in Wagner RAH p.18 (MPA:30, death of Simon (IV), shield with *lion* arms) and noted by Davies p.231; for Hinckley, see Maddicott p.46.
15. Simon (V) Montfort E.Leicester is discussed in Brault RAE 2:253-254, 299-300. The *pily-barry* arms on a banner is mentioned in the legend to the entry in some versions of the *Glover* armorial (B:4, B:4-bis, Wagner RAH 115).
16. Proposed by Wagner HB p.1 in 1939.
17. See Clemmensen OM for examples: e.g. Otto IV king of the Romans 1209.

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Clare 3:244; Gloucester 5:682-715; Leicester 7:537-547;

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Seals:

XBM Walther de Gray Birch: *Catalogue of Seals in the British Museum I-VI*. - London 1887-1900.

XDD L. Douët d'Arcq: *Inventaire & Documents .. Collections de sceaux .. I-III*. - Paris 1863-1865.

Armorial:

B = GVR c.1255, *Glover's Roll* [Brault RAE; Wagner RAH].

BEL c.1390, Paris, BnF, ms.fr.5230, *armorial Bellenville* [Jequier BEL; Pastoreau BEL]
Léon Jéquier, *L'armorial Bellenville, Cahiers d'Héraldique*, 5 (1983). [Jequier BEL].
Michel Pastoreau et Michel Popoff, *Armorial Bellenville – BnF ms.fr.5230*, [Pastoreau BEL] - St.Jorioz 2004;

BER c.1455, Paris, BnF, ms.fr.4985, *armorial dit de Berry* = Emmanuel de Boos: *Armorial de Gilles le Bouvier, héraut Berry*. (Paris, BnF ms. fr. 4985). [Boos BER] – Paris 1995.

C = WAL c.1275, *Walford's Roll* [Brault RAE].

CKO c.1340, Oxford, Queen's College ms.158, *Cooke's Ordinary* [CEMRA 58, Mitchell CKO, 1982].

COF *Roman du castelain de Coucy & de la dame de Fayel*, composed c.1300, fictitious tournament.
Max Prinnet 1920, les armoiries dans le roman du chatelain de Coucy, *Romania* 46:162-179;

D = CMD c.1280, *Camden Roll*, [Brault RAE].

E = STG c.1285, *Stirling Roll*, [Brault RAE].

F = CHL c.1285, *Charles Roll*, [Brault RAE].

FW = HE = HER c.1280, *Herald's Roll, alias FitzWillam's version* [Humphery-Smith FW].
Cecil R. Humphery-Smith: *Anglo-Norman Armory*. [Humphery-Smith FW] - Canterbury 1973.

G = SEG c.1282, *Segar's Roll*, [Brault RAE].

GEL c.1385, Bruxelles, KBR, Ms. 15652-56, *Armorial Gelre* [Bergens GEL; Adam GEL].
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LBQ c.1380/1450, Paris, BnF, ms.fr.5232:5r-572r, *Un provincial d'armoyries .. Le Blancq*. [Popoff LBQ, trans; Clemmensen LBQ, draft].

LBR c.1300, *L'armorial Le Breton*, Paris, AN, AE I 25no.5 (MM 684)
Emmanuel de Boos: *L'armorial Le Breton*. [Boos LBQ] - Paris 2004.

MPA 1259, *Matthew Paris: Liber Additamentum*, London, BL, Cott.Nero D.i, fo.170rv;

MPH 1244, *Matthew Paris: Historia Anglorum*, London, BL, Royal 14C.vii, fo. 1r-154v, TD Tremlett in: Wagner RAH 1-86;

N = PAR 1312, *Parliamentary Roll of Arms*, c. 1310 [CEMRA 42].

NAV c.1375, Paris, BnF, ms.fr.14356, *armorial dit du héraut Navarre*. [Clemmensen NAV, draft].

P = GRI c.1350, *Grimaldi Roll*, [CEMRA 52].

PO = POW c.1350, Oxford, Bodley, Ashmole 804/iv:1r-28v, *Powell's Roll*, c.1350 [CEMRA 61].

SIC c.1425, Paris, BnF, ms.fr.4366 + BA, ms.4910, *armorial dit du héraut Sicile*. [Clemmensen SIC, draft].

SP = SMP c.1300, *Smallpece's Roll*, [Brault RAE].

TJ = TJQ c.1340/1410 London, BL, Add.40851, *Thomas Jenyn's Roll, Queen Margaret's version* [Boos TJ].
Emmanuel de Boos: *L'armorial ordonné de la reine Marguerite* [Boos TJ] - Paris 2004.

URF c.1380, Paris, BnF, ms.fr.32753, *armorial d'Urfé*. [Clemmensen URF, draft].

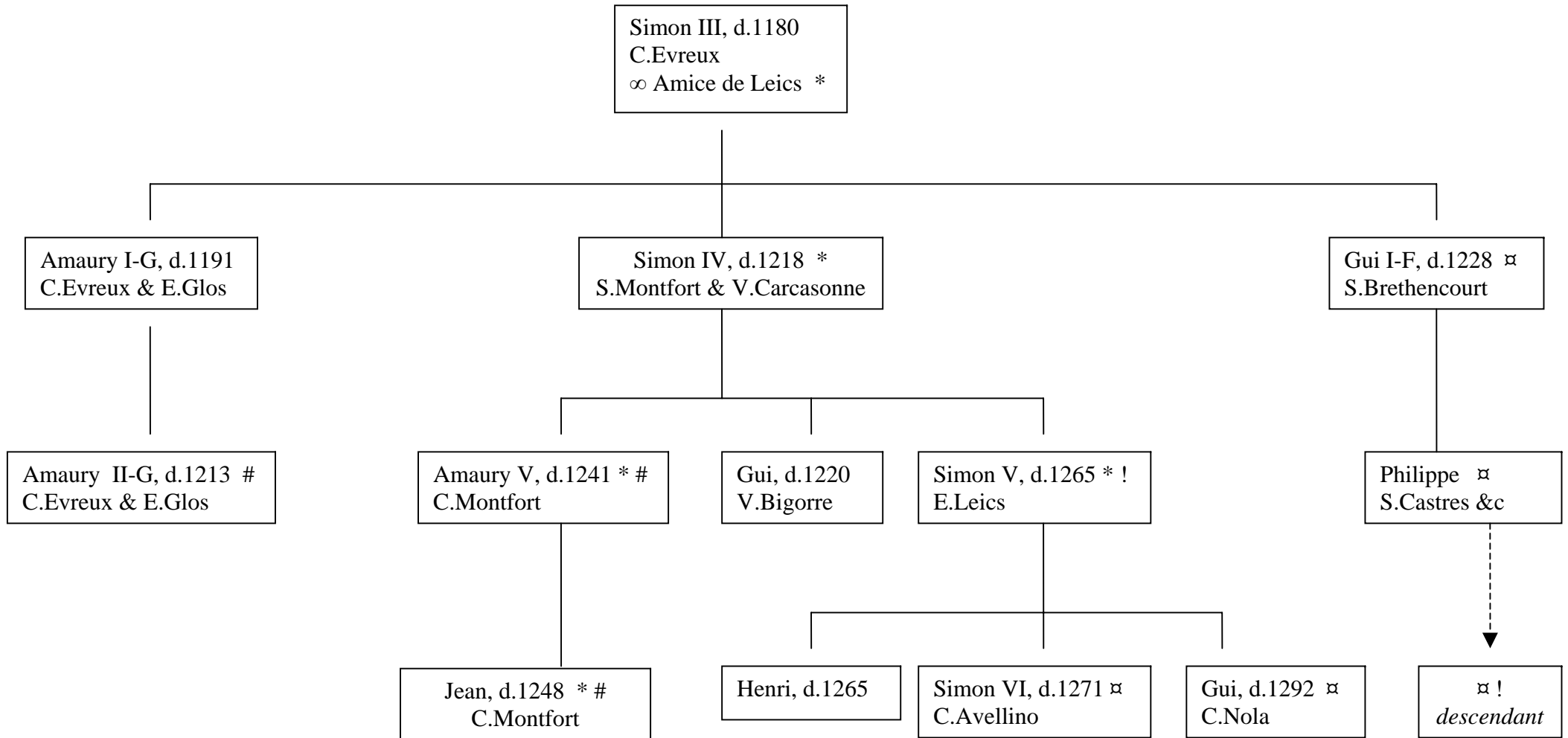
WIN 1267/c.1300 den Haag, KNGGW, *Wijnbergen Wappenbok*. [Adam WIN].

Paul Adam-Even et L. Jéquier, Un armorial français du XIII^e siècle. L'armorial Wijnberghen, *Archives Héraldiques Suisses*, 65 (1951):49-62, 101-110; 66 (1952): 28-36, 64-68, 103-111; 68 (1954): 55-80. [Adam WIN].

WJ = WJO c.1380, *William Jenyns's Ordinary*, c. 1380 [CEMRA 69; Clemmensen WJ].

WNR c.1307, *William le Neve's Roll*, [Brault RAE].

Simplified genealogical table of some Montforts-l'Amaury
 sealed with * lion q.f., ☒ lion differenced; # pily-barry, ! pily-barry in armorial;

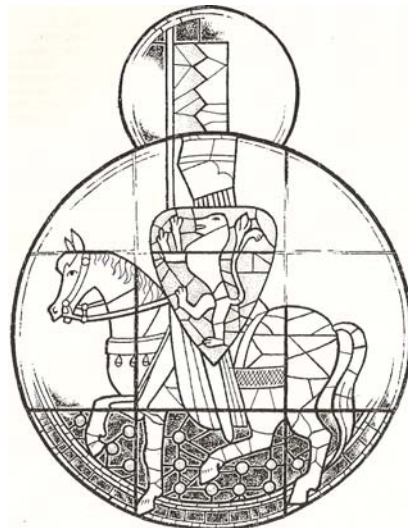


XDD:10138, Amaury (II,G), <1213;

XDD:712, Amaury (V), 1234



XDD:713, Jean, 1248



Chartres Cathedral, window, c.1220,

Seals and stained glass of Montfort-l'Amaury showing the *pily-barry* arms.

XDD:712, 1234, 80 mm Ø, Amaury (V) C.Montfort, d.1241, legend destroyed

XDD:713, 1248, 48 mm Ø, Jean C.Montfort, d.1248, S IOH.I.S:COMIT.. ..I.S:FORTIS

XDD:10138, <1213 (not >1216), 75 mm Ø, Amaury (II,G) E.Glos,
SIGILLV.. MAR.. CI COMITIS GLOVERNIE, and SECRETUM A. COMITIS GLOVERNIE

Window, placed c.1220, possibly for Simon (IV) V.Carcasonne, but with arms of Amaury (V)

Armorial with arms of the Montfort-l'Amaury

	1 G A	lion q.f.
B	4	le comte de leycestr' de gules ove un leon blank la cove furchee [+ <i>bis-item</i>]
COF	20	simons de monfort
D	137	simon montfort
F	2	earl of montfort
F	26	earl of leicester
FW	47	le cunt symond
G	44	earl of leicester
<i>GEL</i>	780	<i>grv van monfoort</i>
<i>LBQ</i>	726	<i>le conte de montfort</i>
LBR	181	mes' guie de monfort
LBR	649	..
MPH	30	symon comes montefortis
MPH	31	frater .. ejusdem symonis (guy)
<i>N</i>	<i>1040</i>	<i>sr earl of leicester</i>
<i>NAV</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>le conte de montfort, de gueules a un lion d'argent rampant a la queue fourchiee</i>
<i>ORL</i>	<i>137</i>	<i>conte de monfort cormantoy en l'evesché de chartre porte</i>
<i>PO</i>	<i>594</i>	<i>.. <at wod></i>
<i>SM</i>	<i>71</i>	<i>leicestrie -- cte de leicestre</i>
<i>TJ</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>symon monfort conte de leicestre porte de goules a un leon rampant d'argent a la cove fourchee</i>
<i>URF</i>	<i>2793</i>	<i>le conte de monfort, de gueles a j lion d argent a le queuee fourquie</i>
WIN	91	guy de montfort
<i>WJ</i>	<i>145</i>	<i>montfort</i>
	1 G A	lion rampant
<i>BER</i>	<i>66</i>	<i>le conte de montfort per</i>
MPA	91	..
<i>PRT</i>	<i>892</i>	<i>le conte de montfort, de geulle au lion dargent membre dor</i>
<i>SIC</i>	<i>1222</i>	<i>le comte de montfort, de gueulle au lyon d argent arme d or</i>
	1 G AB	lion q.f & label
C	183	philip mountfort
LBR	187	mes' jehan de monfor
WIN	92	phe de monfort
	1 G AS	lion q.f & bend
WIN	93	jeh de monfort
	1 A G	lion q.f.
<i>CKO</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>sr de mounford</i>
MPA	6	comitis de legrecestria
MPC	15	comes de montforte s
<i>PO</i>	<i>418</i>	<i>sr .. / <monford></i>
	1 A G	pily-barry
B	4-bis	..et la baner party endented d'or et de gules
<i>BER</i>	<i>946</i>	<i>le conte de castres</i>
E	19	earl of leicester
F	63	counte de leucestre
FW	50	le cunte de leicestre
G	47	le veyl escu de leycestre
<i>P</i>	<i>56</i>	<i>le conte de leycestre</i>
<i>SP</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>leyr</i>
<i>TJ</i>	<i>1262</i>	<i>le conte de leycestre port party d'argent & de goules endentee</i>
<i>WNR</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>earl of leicester</i>

items extracted from Clemmensen OM; *items in italics are post-1300*;