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‘Van den grave te makene’: The Matter of Heraldry in a Psalter for the Count of Flanders (Royal Library of Belgium MS 10607) and in the Urban Media of Ghent

By Elizabeth Moore Hunt, University of Wyoming

In the illuminated folios of a petite psalter in Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium MS 10607, marginal images and heraldic blazons frame and customize the psalms for its probable owner, the Count of Flanders, Guy of Dampierre (d. 1305). (Figure 1) The “Dampierre” Psalter’s repertoire of marginal images that depict social and animal vignettes is remarkable in that some of the humorous subjects developed in reference to the socio-cultural climate of thirteenth-century Flanders. Surviving blazons in the margins also point to members of the Count’s retinue. The marginal spaces that host heraldry in the Psalter find parallels in the material environment and objects associated with the Count that contribute to structuring a framework of reception for the arms of Flanders, in particular, and heraldry more broadly. The surviving material environment of

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1 I thank Richard A. Leson and Anne Rudloff Stanton for reading previous drafts of this article. I am also grateful to the University of Wyoming International Travel Grant and the Wyoming Institute for Humanities Research for supporting the travel to study the works of art and reproductions presented here.
the seat of the county, Ghent, which was one of the period’s wealthiest cities, and archival documents concerning the court of Flanders provide a range of socio-spatial contexts for the working of heraldry. This paper explores how the relationships between heraldry, imagery, and objects unfolded in various contexts to circumscribe the Count’s person and to signify comital authority in Flanders at a period when the language of heraldry was accelerating its public potency as a means to assert noble identity.

In her study of manuscripts illuminated in France, Alison Stones places the artist responsible for the Dampierre Psalter with group of illuminators in Thérouanne, whose illustration of a volume of *Lancelot du Lac, Queste del Graal*, and *Mort Artu* (Yale University Library, Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscripts, MS 229) is connected, also through marginal heraldry, to Guy’s second son, William of Termonde.2 (Figure 2) The Dampierre Psalter contains fifty-three blazons, which are located in the escutcheons that frame the ten surviving full-page miniatures depicting the cycles of the Infancy and Passion of Christ, and in the marginal spaces of nine folios throughout the manuscript, held by knights, apes, and boys. In addition to four blazons of Flanders, consisting of a black rampant lion on gold ground (*or, a lion rampant sable*), six cadenced shields reference four of Guy’s sons, supporting the psalter’s connection to the Count of Flanders. A psalter, however, is not documented in their surviving inventories. MS 10607 was rebound in the sixteenth century, and its earliest documented home is in the library of the Jesuits in Antwerp in the seventeenth century.3 Although later hands altered and damaged many of the blazons, a few of the surviving marginal blazons reference

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contemporary castellans and Ghent itself, situating the manuscript in the heart of late thirteenth-century Flanders. One triad of shields blazoned with the lion of Flanders demonstrates a particularly corporate identity of the Count with Ghent. Two of them include cadences for Guy’s first son, Robert of Béthune, who, in 1305, would become

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count upon Guy’s death in Philip the Fair’s prison in Compiègne, and his second son, William of Termonde, who is a well-documented patron of literature and illuminated manuscripts.⁴ (Figure 1) Vaulted over the initial “D” opening Psalm 52, the three shields nest like corbels on a buttress over the historiated initial framing the martyrdom of St. Peter. Their physical connection evokes the Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Peter in Ghent, which had served as the burial ground for the Counts of Flanders in previous centuries.⁵

The use of heraldry to proclaim familial identity was particularly critical for Guy, who was the fifth-born son of a female ruler, Margaret of Constantinople, Countess of Flanders and Hainaut. Upon Margaret’s death in 1280 the French king, Philip III, granted Hainaut to Jean II d’Avesnes, the Countess’s first grandson from her former, annulled marriage to Bouchard d’Avesnes. In addition, struggles among the increasingly wealthy burghers of Flanders and the kings of France and England compounded the problems that Margaret and Guy faced during their nearly three decades of co-rule.⁶ Thus, claims on the lion of Flanders were already laden when Countess Margaret aimed to establish a comital necropolis at the Cistercian abbey at Flines near Douai. The tombs of Guy’s family members there amplified the employment of heraldry to assert the familial

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⁴ See Mary D. Stanger, “Literary Patronage at the Medieval Court of Flanders,” French Studies 11, no. 3 (1957): 214-229.
identity of the Dampierre lineage by arranging the blazons of their ancestors in order of hierarchical importance around the base of the gisant.\(^7\) Lacking a contemporary heraldic

\(^7\) Anne McGee Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, the Low Countries, and England* (Pennsylvania State University Press), 54-58 and Fig. 27. Family members include Guy’s daughter-in-law, Blanche of Sicily; his sister, Abbess Marie de Dampierre (d. 1304); and either his younger brother or nephew, Jean I or II, whose shield included a label with five points. Meanwhile, at the mendicant churches in Valenciennes, the Avesnes branch of Margaret’s annulled marriage also employed heraldry on tombs; they further divided the gender of its ancestors and multiplied the complexity of the heraldic systems to promote their legitimacy.
tomb for Guy, which was not erected at Flines until the sixteenth century, we can profitably engage the heraldry surrounding his psalter and in the media of his socio-spatial environment as a way to understand the extent to which heraldry articulated the Count’s presence, authority, and identity during his lifetime.

Other blazons in the Dampierre Psalter and the Yale Arthur point to a network of lesser nobles whose titles appear alongside the Count and his sons in surviving armorial rolls dating between 1250 and 1300. Based on its stylistic quality and collection of blazons, Kerstin Carlvant suggests that the Psalter was made as a gift for the Count upon his formal accession in 1278, possibly from the very nobles who constituted his Audiëntie and whose blazons are displayed. Beyond the Psalter, the preservation of marginal heraldry in other media provides an opportunity to inquire about the framing properties of heraldry and to make tangible the material landscape in which heraldry operated for the court of Flanders. The reflexive associations with the heraldry in the Count’s manuscript, in the city, and in the trappings of his household attest to the deliberate negotiation of the lion of Flanders as a broadly visual currency capable of extending the terms of comital identity.

8 Gaspar and Lina, Les Principaux Manuscrits (1937), 219-28. For the armorial rolls, I depend on Jean-Marie Van den Eeckhout, Armorial de la Flandre Medievale Pt. I (Sint-Niklaas, Belgium, 2014), 168; Pt. II, 183-185. I thank Christiane Van den Bergen-Patens for this reference and conferring with me about the shields in MS 10607 during my visit at the Royal Library of Belgium in 2012. I am grateful to Ann Kelders for her feedback and for arranging my work with the manuscripts there; Bernard Boussmanne generously allowed me to examine the psalter and to reproduce the images herein.


10 Malcolm Vale’s study of household expenditures and accounts provides greater detail for these courtly contexts, The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Court Culture in North-West Europe (Oxford: University Press, 2000).
Recent studies of manuscripts made for identifiable clients consider the significance of surrounding contexts of visual culture to concretize meaning and experience for the medieval individual. Drawing from the built environment as well as the iconographic traditions in a broad range of media, such studies can position the original viewer with in a simultaneous “capture” of the centers and peripheries that often elude media-specific scholarship.\textsuperscript{11} A Psalter-Hours made for Guy’s granddaughter, Jeanne of Flanders, provides an exemplary case in which the heraldry embedded in the line-endings and the repeated lions posturing in the margins, as Richard Leson shows, position the reader at the threshold of the portal of her new home estate in Coucy-le-Château, whose entry tympanum features a knight battling a lion.\textsuperscript{12} References to the castellans of Flanders and specifically the city of Ghent in the Dampierre Psalter foster speculation as to how the heraldry in the manuscript resonated for the Count, and conversely, the prosperity of the region invites a material investigation as to how the matter of displaying the lion of Flanders outwardly projected the comital family’s identity and authority within the city walls. Following an examination of the referential aspects of heraldry in the Psalter, I turn to investigate at the visual contexts of heraldry in the social environment of Ghent and the court of Flanders in order to argue for connections that formulated the identity of the Count, or in other words, to consider the matter that made the count matter.


The castellany around the Count’s periphery

During the period’s burgeoning market for illuminated manuscripts, the desire to demonstrate literacy as a trait of noble blood resulted in wide range of interpretive strategies and individual investments for the illumination of devotional manuals. Marginal imagery expanded and diversified to individualize a visual program for a text or client, and the systematic application of heraldry further customized a manuscript for a particular person. The Dampierre Psalter is one of the premiere examples of these developments during the last decades of the thirteenth century, especially in terms of localizing the interaction of text and marginal imagery for the intended reader. As other scholars have examined in various case studies of individual manuscripts, the visual diversity and complexity of marginal imagery effectively intensified the reader’s cognitive engagement with the whole of the texts and images. Unlike a number of contemporary manuscripts with marginal imagery, however, the Dampierre Psalter lacks images of a patron or client in prayer, so the inclusion of heraldry in the margins allows the blazons to serve as nodes, or nexuses, where the Count’s external environment discourses with the finely inked and gilded pages. The customization of the heraldry and socio-political imagery recognizes the Count’s presence as the intended reader and in turn emphasizes the military, political, and administrative authority befitting his status as the noble prince of the region.

13 For a useful list of patrons and owners, see Stones, Gothic Manuscripts, Pt. I, v. 1, 94-132.
15 For the emergent depictions and interior visuality of women readers during the thirteenth century, see Alexa Sand, Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation in Late Medieval Art (Cambridge University Press, 2014).
During the latter third of the thirteenth century, illuminators in the centers of Thérouanne, Bruges, Ghent, and Saint-Omer enlivened several kinds of manuscripts, including devotional books, romances, and encyclopedia, with a shared repertory of motifs suitable for reading knowledge. The various vernacular sources of certain idiosyncratic motifs—including nesting eggs as slanders against “tailed” Englishmen, knights recoiling from snails likened to Lombard bankers, and Reynard the Fox vignettes from the Flemish Van den Vos Reynaerde—imply a multilingual audience that was aware of the local social and political references. Given such literary enhancements, the Count’s attention to the marginal imagery was heightened for thematic repetitions throughout the folios. Similarly, clusters and concentrations of imagery contribute to activating the framework of the margins in terms of value construction. As Madeline Caviness has shown in her comparative tabulation of the marginal images in several devotional books, a high percentage of youthful boys poke around the Dampierre Psalter’s text pages, which celebrated continuous blood lineage among sons, while fearful hybrids and fecund motifs like rabbits and foliage conjured terms of chastity and pregnancy for married aristocratic women. In the Dampierre Psalter margins, both youths and male hybrids sport the blazons of local nobility and by virtue of their lower rank underline their subordination to the Count. The social landscape in the margins of

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16 I examine the repertory of marginalia in several types of manuscripts stemming from the Dampierre court illuminators in *Illuminating the Borders*, passim.
the Dampierre Psalter thus anticipates that which appears more descriptively in the
Luttrell Psalter, made in East Anglia for Sir Geoffrey Luttrell (British Library, Add. MS
42130). As Michael Camille’s study of its productive context shows, the performance of
noble lineage and class difference in the margins structured the personal reflection of the
intended reader as lord over his territories and as a knight, or miles Christus.¹⁹

Comparatively speaking, the Dampierre Psalter’s princely reader was a knight who had
served in the Crusade to Tunis in 1270 and the lord over a string of wealthy merchant
towns. The socially-oriented motifs and shields in the Dampierre Psalter’s margins stress
the terms of his landed power, phrased in the Psalms as ruling lands, conquering cities,
and distributing laws.

A heraldic reference to the family of castellans of Ghent demonstrates the range
of local signification intimated by a single blazon. At the beginning of Psalm 106 (fol.
166r), a chainmailed knight with animalistic hindquarters terminates the lower border and
holds an oxidized sword and damaged shield bearing the perceivable blazon of sable, a
chef argent or ermine.²⁰ (Figure 3) The belted torso, mailed mittens, and banded hood
echo the accouterments of knights in effigy, and in particular that of Gerard “the Devil”
in the former church of Saint-John the Baptist in Ghent, which was recorded by Antoine
de Succa in his c. 1601-1604 sketchbook as displaying a heater shield with the castellan’s

¹⁹ Michael Camille, Mirror in Parchment: the Luttrell Psalter and the Making of Medieval England
(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 180 and 270. For the contexts of reception from the marginal
spaces of Gothic art more generally, see Michael Camille, Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval
²⁰ Both are recorded with the Ghent castellany entries, van den Eeckhout, Armorial Pt. I, 165-167. “Vilain
de Gand,” as listed in Gaspar and Lyna, Les Principaux Manuscrits, 45, was one branch of the family, E.

https://digital.kenyon.edu/perejournal/vol4/iss4/5
Figure 3 Psalm 106, Psalter of Guy of Dampierre. Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, MS 10607, fol. 166r. Reproduced with permission of the Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels.

Figure 4 Antoine De Succa, Mémoriaux. Royal Library of Belgium, MS II 1862, fol. 64r. Photo: http://belgica.kbr.be/fr/coll/ms/msII1862_fr.html.
blazon.\textsuperscript{21} (\textbf{Figure 4}) Referenced by his nickname in the same armorial rolls with the Dampierre cadets, Gerard the Devil is listed alongside the châtelain de Gand (his brother, Hugo III, and nephew, Hugo IV), as well as his son, Bernard “de Meere.”\textsuperscript{22} His father, Siger III, was known in literary circles as the inspiration for Reynard the Fox in the Flemish \textit{Renaerte}.\textsuperscript{23} Similar to the effigy’s form, the border herm associates the heraldry with the city of Ghent in light of the ensuing verses, where wandering in a “wilderness

\textsuperscript{21} Antoine de Succa, \textit{Mémoiriaux}, Royal Library of Belgium, MS II 1862, fol. 64r; the artist’s notes include the Villains de Gand after noting the Duivelsteen, located “dict le fratre” (near the brothers). M. Comblen-Sonkes and C. Van den Bergen-Pantens, \textit{Les mémoriaux d'Antoine de Succa} (Brussels, 1977), 192-194.
without water” is contrasted to finding a “city of habitation” (106: 4-6). During Guy’s lifetime, Gerard built a stone residence neighboring Saint-John’s, dubbed the “Duivelsteen.” Its corner turrets framing arcaded stories—albeit with updated pointed

Figure 6a Gravensteen, Ghent, 12th century. Photo: anonymous, 1914-1918, reproduced with permission of the Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage.

Figure 6b Gravensteen, Ghent, 12th century. Photo: Author.
arches--echo the twelfth-century façade of the “Gravensteen,” the Count’s castle, and its situation alongside the Scheldt echoes the count’s defensive moat spurring from the Leie.  

(Figures 5-6) By the end of the thirteenth century, one of the castellan’s principal peacetime duties was to oversee and police commercial traffic on the waterways through town, thereby ensuring the tax revenue for the Count.  

On that end of town near the southern port (the Braamport), Ghent’s castellany occupied a lucrative post over the expanding textile industry, so the castellan’s blazon accentuates the urban prosperity expressed in the psalm.

Several blazons peppered in the Dampierre Psalter’s margins appear adjacent to psalms regarding princes and city structures, bolstering their ascription to the Count’s own Audiëntie of the c. 1270s-80s. One of the difficulties in identifying some of the blazons in the psalter, including that attributed to Ghent above, is that they appear to have been modified by attempts to gild silver over the original lead-based white that was used for argent and ermine devices. The metallic pigment further amalgamated with any mercury-based vermilion used for tinctures and cadences. Two blazons illustrate these effects but retain enough of their original devices to suggest certain castellans in the Count’s retinue. The blazon of argent, a lion rampant sable appears twice, each with different argent grounds: one is re-gilded silver in an escutcheon of a prefatory miniature (fol. 9v), and the other retains a lead-based white ground in the margin (fol. 216r).

(Figure 7) Held by a youthful centaur emerging from the line-ending, the hybrid body

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connects to the text of Psalm 145, which implores the faithful to “put not your trust in princes.” Among the families suggested for this blazon in the Royal Library’s catalogue, it likely indicates the Fiennes, listed repeatedly in the armorial rolls alongside the Dampierre clan. William II of Fiennes, the castellan of Bourbourg on the French border, was one of Guy’s prison companions; his son later inherited the castellany and married Guy’s daughter, Isabella, in 1307.

Figure 7 Psalm 145, Psalter of Guy of Dampierre. Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, MS 10607, fol. 216r. Reproduced with permission of the Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels.

Another connection to Guy’s inner circle is the damaged blazon of the lords of Ghistelles, *gules, a chevron ermine*, appearing on a marginal shield at Psalm 118: 33-34,
Nested in the upper stem of the letter L, beginning *Legem*, or law, a youthful bachelor crouches behind the shield, on which a chevron is barely visible beneath amalgamated silver and red, and defends the text, so to speak, with an epee drawn against a winged serpent. The physical proximity of the image and text here may reinforce the verses that emphasize the purpose and custody of God’s laws, “Set before me for a law the way of thy justifications, O Lord, and I will always seek after it” (Psalm 118: 33). Often listed in the armorial rolls of 1260-1290, the Ghistelles family held the hereditary title of chamberlain to the Count of Flanders and also frequently held the castellany of Bruges. Household accounts noting the chamberlain indicate the ceremonial requirements of the office, including attendance at feast days and attention to aspects of wardrobe, like removing his mantle when in service to the count. The illuminated tie between the chamberlain’s blazon and the letter of the law (*Legem*) on fol. 184v reaffirms the custody of the Count’s legal authority that was expected of the comital office, especially as a crowned serpentine prince coiled within the letter seems to undermine the lesser noble’s protection.

The second type of modification on some of the Dampierre Psalter’s heraldry occurs on the fields retouched with brushed gold. Two brief examples point to contemporary castellans, and although poorly preserved in the psalter, their blazons appear together on the same folio in the Yale *Lancelot* (fol. 100v) and are repeated in the

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29 The miniature’s escutcheons include the oxidized blazon of Ghent, one attributed to the Gruthuse of Bruges, and one of Flanders cadenced with a crown, possibly that of Jean of Namur, Guy’s first son with Isabella of Luxembourg, Stijns, “Het Psalter,” 87; Van den Bergen-Patens, *Les Principaux Manuscrits*, 45. Another candidate for the Flanders shield here would be Guy’s fifth son stationed in the court of Charles of Anjou in Naples, Philip of Chieti and Teano.
31 Vale, *The Princely Court*, 44.
armorial rolls (See Figure 2). At Psalm 60 in the Dampierre Psalter, a knight wearing a
gilded tunic raises his falchion against a lion that bites and claws his shield with its tail
between its legs. The partly damaged shield bears the blazon, or, a cross gules, that of the
Lords of Mortagne who served as the castellans of Courtrai and as bailiffs in Tournai (fol.
94r). The use of a knight to refer to a titled castellan may echo the fortress metaphor
evoked in the Psalm, “a tower of strength against the face of the enemy,” the latter
embodied by the lion, perhaps serving as a symbol of royalty rather than a totemic
identification for Flanders. A similar architectural reference may have occasioned the use
of the blazon of or, a lion rampant gules appearing on a pennon held by a partially
mailed ape in the margin of Psalm 23. Its verses implore the princes to lift their gates,
mentioned four times, and praise “the Lord mighty in battle” (v. 8). The blazon may
belong to Bergues Saint-Winnoc, a castellany that was opened to wool trade in 1276 with
Guy’s authority. The Dampierre Court artists were attentive to the text of the Psalms, so
the tower of strength, the lifted gates of princes, the custody of law, and a city for
habitation support appropriate placement for the array of castellans obsequious to the
Count at the time of his accession.

The inclusion of the Count’s expanding affinal ties among the array may account
for other blazons in the escutcheons, while the reception of some inclusions may have
changed enough from one decade to the next to occasion their alteration. For example,

32 Stones “Illustrations of BN,” 232, suggests other possibilities; van den Eeckhout, Armorial, Pt. II, 183-
185. For additional context, see Elizabeth Willingham, ed., Essays on the Lancelot of Yale 229, ed.
(Brepols, 2007). The manuscript is digitized online at http://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/, s.v. “MS 229.”
33 Warlop, Flemish Nobility, 924-926. Documented on the same page as Guy’s sixteenth-century effigy, the
effigy of Roger de Mortagne (d. 1275/6) at Flines dates to his death, (De Succa, Mémoriaux, fol. 14). The
gisant wears a knee-length tunic with his shield placed over his sheath, the belt for which is enhanced with
care in the drawing.
34 Warlop, Flemish Nobility, 656-657; Van den Eeckhout, Armorial, Pt. I, 40; Pt. 2, 184. Gérard de Viaene
is another possibility for or, a lion rampant gules, Pt. I, 440-441; Pt. II, 183-185.
another candidate for the blazon, or, a lion rampant gules, is Floris V, Count of Holland, who was married to Guy’s daughter, Beatrice (d. 1291). In 1296, Floris allied with France and restricted the access to the River Scheldt, halting the trade in wool, so Guy and Edward I of England arranged for his assassination; if the Count of Holland was later recalled by the ape’s pennon, then too was the historical memory of the closed gates verbalized by the text. The same verses considered above also warn of enemies, so heraldry may have proved in post-production to be a rather unstable signifier for indicating political allies as well as foes, and the attempted alterations attest to a later audience’s shifting concerns. Rather than explicitly warn against disloyalties, however, the shields as a collection more likely complement the count’s retinue with feudal relationships associated with their comital offices at the time of the manuscript’s production. The lower status of the figures bearing blazons acknowledges their subordination to the Count’s position, gazing over his manuscript and perhaps sharing its images with confidants. At this time, the Count’s awards of charters and privileges to towns may have compromised the administrative roles entrusted to the castellans, so the employment of their shields and weapons alongside the text could work to highlight the necessity of their military and jurisdictional duties while remaining visible, and risible, to the Count’s favor.35

The quires that house the blazons (at Psalms 23, 60, 106, 118 and 145) contain clusters of marginal motifs idiosyncratic to the Dampierre court painters and others that reflect the Count’s princely spatial environs. For instance, a shield of Flanders held by a bearded herm appears on the same bifolium as the Mortagne shield and in a quire that

35 Blommaert, Châtelains, 180-181.
contains two motifs from the Flemish *Reynaerte*. Scenes of hunting also seem to complement the heraldic nodes in some quires. The *monde renversé* of a hare with the hunter slung over its shoulder (Psalm 22, fol. 40v, next to the verse, “protect me from my enemies”) and the Bestiary depiction of a beaver biting its testicles (Psalm 24, fol. 39) appear as *exempla* near the ape’s pennon of *or, a lion gules* in the fifth quire which also houses two sirens, further supporting the blazon’s association with the coastal castellany of Bergues. Above the Ghent castellan blazon, a youth wearing a gilded tunic and holding a falcon with his glove echoes the captives given mercy in Psalm 105:46. (Figure 3) In the seventeenth quire containing the Ghistelles shield, the capture of a bear on a lead appears on the same folio (fol. 184v), while on the recto a gilded knight recoils cowardly from a rabbit under the text, *concurri* (fol. 184), and charges against a boar and a fox occur together on another folio (fol. 187). (Figure 8) A similar cluster of marginal hunting motifs appears in the quire of Yale 229 that contains the marginal jousts with blazoned shields, while each of the illustrations features castle facades as knights arrive and depart, evoking the itinerancy of princely courts (fols. 98r, 99r, 99v, and 104v). (see Figure 2) While perusing the marginal imagery of hunts and jousts, heraldic references to the castellans echo the Count’s retinue that accompanied him for tournaments, hunting gatherings, and feast days at favorite estates like Wijnendale, Lille, Courtrai, Male, and Petegem.36

Through the marginal heraldry in the Dampierre Psalter, the reader considers the place of his castellany in his own political, military, and social spheres. Such proximity of heraldry to the textual and visual contents of the manuscript effectively frames the

identity of the Count, whose reading knowledge of Latin Psalms, or with a Dominican confessor or one of his own court clerks, may have contributed to understanding their significance in staking out the extent of his domain and his political position. It is worth considering parallels for the display of heraldry in the built environment of the city and the material surroundings of the court as aspects that structured the identity of the Count and that of his descendants. Ample contextual information for heraldry in various media provides a way to explore a contemporary framework of reception for the Count and an articulation of his identity that affected the claims that could be made by the lion of Flanders in subsequent generations.\(^{37}\)

**The heraldry around the Count’s center**

An instance of Ghent’s civic blazon in the margin plays upon the expectations of heraldry performing in association with the body and identity of the Count. Along the foredge of Psalm 71, the figure of a young man wearing a gilded tunic and an arming cap with a faded red strap bears the blazon of the city of Ghent, consisting of a white lion rampant on a black ground (\textit{sable, a lion rampant argent}).\(^{38}\) (Figure 9) The Ghent city shield shares a bifolium, fol. 98v at Psalm 65, on which a full-length siren occupies the initial ‘I,’ a motif that distinguishes the Dampierre court painters’ repertoire in the context of the port and canal towns dominated by shipping.\(^{39}\) His spear points to the word

\(^{37}\) Ibid., 281-282. Vale further argues that the archival evidence for the structures of court patronage and the artistic workmanship in the late thirteenth century shows that the cultural patronage dependent on “flourishing urban resources” was easily “taken up and absorbed by the Burgundian court,” rather than a product of it.


\(^{39}\) I consider such clusters as these in greater detail in Illuminating the Borders, 29-32, 63-65, and 93-95.
“filio” of the psalm verse that asks God to “Give to the king thy judgment, and to the king’s son thy justice: To judge thy people with justice, and thy poor with judgment.”

The marginal image offers a reflexive comment on the text it embraces: the youth rides not on the destrier, or warhorse, of a prince, the word to which his spear points, but on a palfrey, a horse more common to “thy people.” Psalm 71’s text on the juridical power of the prince over the people perhaps provided an appropriate place for the city’s representation as an equestrian parody. The cultural memory regarding Ghent, however, was certainly more complex, and included his mother’s policies damaging the English imports of wool in the 1270s followed by Guy’s restoration of the city’s thirty-nine aldermen in 1280.40 This civic heraldic reference to Ghent guides the Count’s reception toward the administration of

Figure 9 Psalm 71, Psalter of Guy of Dampierre. Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, MS 10607, fol. 110v. Reproduced with permission of the Royal Library of Belgium, Brussels.

40 Nicholas, Medieval Flanders, 180-181.
his subjects, over which his own blazon was used to project and reify his authority.

The use of a youth on a palfrey displays a lower status in order to debase a more common type of princely representation, the equestrian portrait, which appeared on the seals belonging to Guy of Dampierre and his contemporaries.\(^{41}\) (Figure 10) With sword raised and helmet affixed, the noble authority and masculinity of the Count is sutured with heraldic devices emblazoned on his shield and embroidered on his tunic and destrier cover. By contrast, Countesses Margaret’s seals convey aristocratic birth with one of two standard compositions used for women: one on horseback with a falcon held aloft, and the other a swaying stance, with a lily in one hand and her fingers clasping her cloak strap with the other.\(^{42}\) Rather than blazoned on her garments, Margaret’s heraldry flanks her

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\(^{42}\) Brigette Bedos-Rezak, “Women, Seals and Power in Medieval France, 1150-1350” in *Women and Power in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds. Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1988), 61-82, at 75-76, on the larger shift from the fleur-de-lis to the hawking scene around 1250. During the late thirteenth century, women’s uses of seals were limited to matters of their own properties.
body as addorsed lions floating in mid-space. The blazon of Flanders that swathes Guy and his horse’s bodies promotes his identity as *milites* and *nobilis*, warrior knight and corporeal inheritor. The textiles merging his heraldry with his body are reflected in descriptions of cloths and mantles in Guy’s inventory of 1305 and Robert’s of 1322, several of which were colored red and green and specified as having “des armes monsingneur de Flandres.” A description of the Count’s tunic--made of yellow velvet lined with green silk taffeta and embroidered with the arms of Flanders--attests to the actuality of his branded costume so that the living referent corroborates with his ubiquitous image.

The practice of using seals created a form of representation that, by virtue of its repetition and immediate recognition, gave heraldry its potency to constitute historical identity, as Brigette Bedos-Rezak observes in the development of sealing practices among lay nobility in the northern French counties. As a public and replicable verification for a wide range of territorial, juridical, and legal acts, the equestrian signage replicates the presence and authority of the Count on the charters and privileges of towns, abbeys, and guilds established throughout Flanders. The equestrian seal translates from its wax impression to its gilding on parchment in a historiated initial beginning the Privilege of the City of Ghent dated 8 April, 1297, and copied in the *Rodenboek* in

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43 Guy’s earlier seal contemporary with that of Margaret’s bears the rare instance of an inscription stating that he was the “son of X, his mother,” Bedos-Rezak, “Women, Seals and Power,” 72.
44 Dehaisnes, *Documents*, 171-172.
45 Ibid., 246-47.
Ghent.\textsuperscript{48} (Figure 11) In this charter, Guy replaced the Ghent Thirty-Nine with his own pro-Flemish aldermen and issued a new code for the administration of the city.\textsuperscript{49} Armed in action with helm and crest and clothed in the blazon of Flanders--repeated on the

\footnotesize\textsuperscript{48} So named for its red binding, but also called the “Gheluwen bouck” (Yellow book), City of Ghent, City Archives, Series 93, nr. 3, fol. 18r. This resemblance is noted in the entry for \textit{Gent Duizand Jaar Kunst en Cultuur: Boekdrukkunst, Boekbanden, Borduurkunst, Edelsmeedkunst, Miniatuurkunst} (Gent: Bijlokmuseum, 21 Juni-31 Augustus, 1975) cat. no. 580, 354. I am grateful to Guy Dupont at the Ghent City Archives for supplying me with information on this manuscript, containing 237 documents dating from 1175 to 1539. According to Dupont, the Rodenboek contains around fifty cartularies and registers of archival records (including statutes, liberties, privileges, etc.) transcribed by the Ghent city clerks, the earliest dating to 1405 by the same hand that transcribed the 1297 privilege.

\footnotesize\textsuperscript{49} Leen Charles and Marie Christine Laleman, \textit{Het Gent Boek} (Stad Gent: De Zwarte Doos, Waanders, Uitgevers), 88.
destrier twice, his breastplate, and shield--Guy is further identified by the text next to the initial, “Guy, Lord of Flanders and Marquis of Namur.” From his location in the initial, the Count’s sutured body materializes his written authority, merging with the written word as the new laws are issued in Flemish, the language of the city’s inhabitants. This part of the text actually introduces the Count in French and explains that the laws are written hereafter in the “langage flamenge,” so that the people know “leur coutumes, leur ysages, et leur drois en autres choses” (customs, fees, and rights and other things). To borrow observations made by Bedos-Rezak on the scope of verifying land transactions via the seal, the Count’s legal authority emanated from his individual character, which was constituted by both his diplomatic enunciation in a bilingual agreement and his replicon to assure his presence.\(^{50}\) In the use of the Count’s heraldic seal for the “Great Charter” in at least two fifteenth-century copies, Guy’s place as both author and authority reifies the governance of the city under comital jurisprudence and communicates his identity within the social and moral order of Flemish urban society.\(^ {51}\)

The relationship of the equestrian seal with the city persists in the built environment in the form of ceramic decoration, which would be emulated by other nobles and officers in towns by the early decades of the fourteenth century. Rather than reading texts about their governance with the multilingualism of the Count,\(^ {52}\) the urban populace viewed the equestrian seal from the street, displayed on building façades and over

\(^{50}\) “Medieval Identity,” 1509.

\(^{51}\) Bedos-Rezak, “Medieval Identity,” 1532. In addition to the frontispiece of the Rodenboek, a second copy in the Rijksarchief, “Cartulary for the city of Ghent,” fol. 6, dates to 1400-1410. The shields held by a wildman and wildwoman (and held by two wildwomen in the second copy) above the initial contain the blazons of Flanders and Burgundy. To the left of the initial is the blazon for Ghent; the two remaining in the left margin are: **gules, chef argent, patriarchal cross vair and gules** (Ypres?) and **barruly argent and gules, lion rampant azur** (Audenaarde?).

\(^{52}\) On the multilingualism of the Dutch court, for example, see Vale, The Princely Court, 290.
gateways. Ceramic statuettes representing knights mounted on destriers and glazed with heraldry survive in a fragmentary state in several locations throughout Flanders, including Bruges, Ypres, and Courtrai. Later entries in the Ghent’s city accounts suggest that such figures adorned building façades or gables. An entry dated to 1323-1324 notes a sum paid to a potter “van den grave te makene” (to make the count). An earlier payment to a potter for “six beasts ‘for mounting’ on the gate” suggests that they were made to place on the six city gates, which were maintained by the Count. One statuette features a yellow-glazed destrier with rampant lions applied in low relief and darker green glaze, echoing the embroidery of his velvet and taffeta tunic. (Figure 12) Excavated on the Bennesteeg, the find spot is situated in the mercantile trade center of the

Figure 12 Ruiterstatuette, STAM – Ghent City Museum, inv. 911. Photograph by Michel Burez, reproduced with permission of the STAM – Ghent City Museum.

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53 An example with a vair pattern dating before the destruction of the Templehof (Dobbel Slot) in 1312 resides in Melle at the Gemeentelijk, Een Stad In Opgouw, 163. Described here as a “nokbekroning” (ridge crown), a mount at the apex of a gable accounts for figures in the round; however, a sixteenth-century drawing by Jan Stassins illustrates an equestrian knight framed in relief over one of Ghent’s gates, 146. “Vj beesten die up de porte staen,” Gent, Duizend Jaar Kunst en Cultuur: Stadsontwikkeling en Architectuur, Keramiek, Koper en Brons, IJzerwerk, Tin, Meubelkunst, Tapijtkunst (Gent: Centrum voor Kunst en Cultuur, 11 Juli-14 September, 1975), 205-207, Cat. nos. 420-422. Previously published in Joseph Casier and Paul Bergmans, L’art ancien dans les Flandres (région de l’Escaut): mémorial de l’exposition rétrospective organisée à Gand en 1913 1 (Brussels, 1914), 49, pl. XI, figs. 26-27. For a map of the six ports, Een Stad in Opgouw, 126.
54 See note 45. Bijloke Museum, inv. 911; Duizend Jaar Kunst, 206.
Graslei harbor, the Church of Saint-Nicholas (begun 1280), and the town’s Belfry (begun 1314). Another statuette with the arms of Flanders was found to the east of the Gravensteen near Saint-Jacob’s and Boudelo Abbey in “Oude Vest te Gent,” where much of the textile exports took place, and two others were found in nineteenth-century excavations of the Friday Market close to the castle. According to the socioeconomic map of fourteenth-century Ghent, the various find spots reflect streets that housed higher percentages of traders, bankers, and patricians – thus placing the seal of the Count in view of those subject to his administrative and juridical authority. Although the Count’s household may have spent relatively less time in Ghent in a given year, preferring estates in Lille, Courtrai, and Wijnendale, the statuettes marked the urban stone façades with the authoritative seal of the Count’s body, as if a seal on parchment, and made the Count’s jurisdiction visible at street level.

In chivalric culture, the sartorial coding for *militas-nobilis* reinforced the authority of the equestrian seal, “in which representation matches real presence,” so that the identity of the knight’s person was seamlessly articulated by his blazon. As Susan Crane suggests in *Animal Encounters*, the knight’s technological superiority, including warhorse, weaponry, and equipage, amounted to prosthetic extensions of the knight’s chivalric performance of self-identity. The merger of the Count’s body with his heraldry and warhorse culminates in the performative display of funerary processions,

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56 Bijlokmuseum, inv. 460; Ibid., 205.
57 Bijlokmuseum, inv. 7833; Ibid., 207.
58 Nicholas, *Metamorphosis*, Table 4.1 and map, 68-69.
60 Bedos-Rezak, “Medieval Identity,” 1490.
which was described in detail for Robert of Béthune, for example. The semiotic grafting of identity, sign, and referent in death operated similarly to the living practice of sealing, replicating, and disseminating the identity of the referent. By the turn of the fourteenth century, the sign system of heraldry merged with its bearer’s identity and enmeshed that identity with the objects bound to the ceremony surrounding the Count’s princely station. In *The Performance of Self*, Crane argues for the totemic identification of selfhood beyond the individual body, “a titled knight’s identity is impressively magnified in tournaments and other performances submitted to public judgment,” thus implicating a colluding audience in the formation of identity. Incorporated in the outward “gestures of self-presentation,” heraldry concretized identity and verified presence, which Crane argues “amount to the very constitution of the self” before a participating audience. It is through outward signs broadcast in multiple media that the noble aristocracy could use heraldry as a way to make claims about aspects of identity, whether familial, horizontal, feudal, or individual. As Bedos-Rezak reconsiders in the outcomes of sealing praxis, “The aristocracy… came to recognize itself in terms of its sign-objects, and it was in terms of these objects that the morality and the standards of the group--eschatological concerns, warfare, penitential needs, spiritual intentions, accountability, kindred--came to be expressed.” Those standards are revealed and reified through the interaction of heraldry with the socio-spatial contexts that occasion its modular repetition. The lion of

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63 “Seals were signs that encoded the concept of medieval identity as replicable resemblance,” Bedos-Rezak, “Medieval Identity,” 1533.
65 Ibid., 107.
Flanders at the turn of the century provides one such highly visible case for examining the impact of comital identity on the urban landscape as well as its courtly contexts.

By the late thirteenth century, heraldry decorated a wide range of media that thrived on aristocratic patronage and that used the language to delimit its environments by surrounding windows, floors, and textiles and accentuating portable luxuries, like enamelwork and illuminated codices. As a reverberating sign, heraldry had the capacity to articulate architectural and material surroundings in ways that reflect the “social environment.”

For instance, as Malcolm Vale observes, extensive payments were recorded for liveries ordered by several courts, including Flanders, Hainaut, and Holland, for particular feasts, hunts, and tournaments, for which heraldic display played its most lively role. Fine cloths of various colors and heraldic devices also filled entire rooms to celebrate the birth of a grandson or to outfit a bridal trousseau. In the inventories and account books listing such textiles, the clerk often notes the placement of the blazons, whether in an all-over arrangement (“seme tramlines,” “dyaspres,” “diaspre par places,” “wambisies”) or straight-edged along hemlines (“a plates,” “de plates,” “bordé,” “bordure”). Rather than a merely decorative element, the use of heraldry can be seen, much like manuscript marginalia, in linguistic terms of framing status within a spatial context and asserting the loyalties owed to the noble family, in this case the Count of Flanders. In framing and articulating interior spaces, the textile descriptions echo patterns that were emergent in the “Saracen” textiles documented in several of Guy’s

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69 Ibid., v. 1, 171-172.
contemporaries’ belongings, and they provide a glimpse of the salles aux écus of the princely châteaux and hotels frequented on the court’s itinerant routes.\(^70\)

As Wim DeClerq and Guy Dupont emphasize in their study of the châteaux associated with the Flemish nobility of the later Middle Ages, the tenacity of armorial identification within the built environment structured the experience and reflexive positioning of a spatial identity.\(^71\) Few remains survive from the late thirteenth century, but some excavations have yielded ceramic tiles with heraldic devices that echo the lustre of court culture in Flanders. Such simple devices as lions, splayed eagles, fleurs-de-lis, or ermine patterns fill the square tiles which were used to outline larger shapes; for example, stretches of tiles repeating rampant lions and galloping equestrians form borders around geometric formations in the octagonal tower of Notre-Dame de Saint-Omer.\(^72\) Square tiles found at the Abbey of Saint-Bertin in Saint-Omer display a few shields with basic devices, but the two-toned glazing was not useful to specify an individual family. Dating to the end of the thirteenth century and first quarter of the fourteenth century, a contemporaneous group of these motifs— including fleurs-de-lis, busts, stags, hounds and fish—covered floors in the château of Hermelinghen, the Abbey of Saint-Bertin, and various locations in the town of Thérouanne; the latter two locations were possible centers where the illuminators of the Dampierre Psalter and Yale Arthur were based.\(^73\)

\(^{70}\) Vale, *The Princely Court*, 84, 152.

\(^{71}\) For the use of ceramic floor tiles, stove tiles, and bosses with heraldry, initials, and emblems to circumscribe the identity of aspiring lower noble owners of fifteenth-century châteaux, see DeClercq, *et al.*., “Vivre Noblement,” 22-29.

\(^{72}\) Martine Carette and Didier Dereux, *Carreaux de Pavement Médiévaux de Flandre et d’Artois (XIIIe-XVe siècles)* (Arras: Musée se Saint-Omer, 1985), 133-134, Pls. XVI-XVII, Figs. 16-17; for the Abbey of Saint-Bertin, Pls. XXXVIII-XLI.

\(^{73}\) Carette and Dereux, *Carreaux de Pavement*, 73, and cat. nos. 7 (115-117), 11 (120-123), 15 (125-136), 17 (137-139).
Figure 13a-13b Tilework at the former Saint-Bavo’s Abbey, Ghent, c. 1251-1300. Reproduced with permission of the Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage.

Surviving tiles from Saint-Bavo’s in Ghent echo the same motifs and patterns. (Figure 13a-b) The overall design and the repetition of the motifs in the tilework parallel the increased production of tapestry and other trappings of the court where the use of heraldry could permeate the socio-spatial contexts of the nobility.

Heraldry’s framing function in tilework and textiles finds comparable luster in surviving glass dating to about the same period. Closer to the center of Ghent, the Dominican Abbey’s church building contained stained glass windows with heraldic motifs and patterns dating to the building’s c. 1280 construction. The curved edges and consistent widths of the heraldic panels indicate that they bordered the intrados of the lancets, framing the windows like tracery. (Figure 14) The piecemeal survival of these fragments cannot provide a full picture of their original order, of course. The panels with

74 Een Stad In Opbouw, 104-105.
heraldic motifs likely alternated in a pattern with other colors, as evidenced in one strip
with blue and red squares still attached on either side of a corner piece, (Figure 15) and
perhaps with other blazons, as those on a belt described in Robert of Béthune’s
possession as having alternating squares with lions of Flanders and Brabant (sable, a lion
rampant or).76 The ribbons of heraldry hemming the lancets circumscribed the space and
heightened the currency of the local nobility’s benefaction of the new Dominican church.
The use of heraldry in stained glass served to promote a family’s public identity and
continued memory, and the local nobility adopted the practice as well to display
publically heraldic arms across aisles and generations. The array of heraldry in the
church’s windows echoes that in the Dampierre Psalter’s margins, and some blazons
indeed match quite closely. (Figure 14b) The largest percentage display the black lion of
Flanders on yellow ground, several of the silver lion of Ghent on black ground, and other
fragments are suggestive of local nobility. Panels bearing argent, a lion rampant sable
may indicate the Fiennes family, which had been featured twice in the Psalter.77 In
combination with the lions of Flanders, several panels with a castle façade motif were
tentatively attributed to the memory of the abbey’s founders, Countess Joan of
Constantinople (1205-1244) and Ferdinand of Portugal (1212-1233).78 (Figure 14c)
Although it would not be unusual to see heraldry commemorate retroactively in this way,

76 De Schryver, Drôleries à Gand, e.g. Fig. 15; 73, fig. q. The belt is listed as “une cainture coponnée des
armes de Flandres et de Brabant, ferrée d’argent doré” in Dehaisnes, Documents, 241. Guy’s daughter
Margaret married the Duke of Brabant in 1273.
77 De Schryver, Drôleries à Gand, 72, Figs. b, j, d.
78 Ibid., 75, Figs. f, k, w, describes as “des chateaux de Castille,” 88.
Figure 14a-c Stained glass fragments with lions rampant, including a) *bend* cadence, b) Ghent and Fiennes (?), and c) Oudburg (?), from the former Dominican Abbey (Het Pand, University of Ghent, Ghent, Belgium). Reproduced with permission of the Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage.

Figure 15 Stained glass fragment with lion rampant, from the former Dominican Abbey (Het Pand, University of Ghent, Ghent, Belgium). Reproduced from de Schryver, *Drôleries à Gand*, 73.
the castles are painted in white on black grounds, rather than red on gold for Castille, and Portugal’s heraldry contained an ermine-lozenged cross. Rather, association with the Oudburg castellany north of Ghent can be forwarded.\textsuperscript{79} In the windows’ encasement with local blazons, including Flanders with the city of Ghent, the Fiennes family, and nearby Oudburg, a circle of lateral ties borne of feudal allegiance to the Count echoes the practices seen in the surviving heraldic references at Notre Dame at Chartres.\textsuperscript{80} Likewise, the array of heraldry in the margins of the psalter proximally maps the local circle of the Count and contributed to the ideal of the Count’s authority as reflected in his environs.

On several panels, a diagonal *bend* splices a rampant lion, indicating the cadence of William of Termonde. (\textbf{Figures 14a-15}) The grisaille artists likely shared the same models for drolleries found in the margins of the romance attributed to William’s patronage, Yale MS 229, and like the Dampierre Psalter enjoyed the connection between fox fables and heraldry.\textsuperscript{81} One close copy occurs with a fable from the \textit{Van den Vos Reynaerde} of the fox and the stork, which drinks from the fox’s shallow dish with difficulty, then it drinks from its own high-neck vessel that leaves the fox thirsty.\textsuperscript{82}

(\textbf{Figure 16}) The sequence of the Renardian motifs framed with the heraldry of Flanders invites the abbey church’s audience to draw from their literary knowledge and to consider their physical proximity to the Gravensteen, the count’s castle, only 500 meters further down the River Leie and visible from the bridge adjacent to the abbey. (\textbf{Figure 17})

\textsuperscript{79} For \textit{sable au château d’argent}, Van den Eeckhout, \textit{Armorial}, Pt. I, 167; the blazon appears in an armorial with the Dampierre cadets and on the seal of a Ghent alderman in 1244.
\textsuperscript{80} See Lester, “Casket of John of Montmirail,” pp. 50-86.
\textsuperscript{81} De Schryver, \textit{Drôleries à Gand}, 72, fig. k, 73, figs. l and q.
\textsuperscript{82} De Schryver, \textit{Drôleries à Gand}, 91-92. Some of the surviving pieces align stylistically with the marginal grotesques found in later manuscript illumination centered in Ghent; a 1332-1333 entry in the city accounts makes note of a gift paid to the Dominicans for glass for the church. 85. William of Moerbecke had translated the Aristotle’s \textit{History of Animals} here, among other works.
The structural array of heraldry framing the windows incorporates the signs of the local lower nobility as a means to assert connections with the comital family. Such arrays also appear across more personalized items made with enamel, the escutcheons of which blazoned with the heraldry of neighboring northern French nobles, including the lion of Flanders, and containing legal documents within. Among Robert of Béthune’s belongings at his death in Courtai in 1322, a small green coffret that held ivory and crystal reliquaries included the arms of his second wife, Yolande II, Countess of Nevers,

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83 See Lester, “Coffret of John of Montmirail,” Fig. 1. Enamels of Limoges, cat. no. 123, 360-363.
The arms of Flanders and Nevers decorate a small buckler, a set of knives with metal rings, and a pair of slipper buckles, as well as a belt buckle bearing the arms of Nevers and Rethel, the latter belonging to his daughter-in-law. Later in the same paragraph of bedazzled objects, a more extensive description of a silk purse includes a head sculpted from red stone, a silver boss for a seal, and the arms of Flanders and Luxembourg, which belonged to Guy’s second wife, Isabelle of Luxembourg. The documentation of the arms in the accounts attests to the distinguishing significance that heraldry communicated in the contexts of various materials and the systematic networking of heraldry to reiterate alliances forged by marital ties.

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84 Dehaisnes, *Documents*, 241.
85 Ibid., 241, 246.
86 See Lester, “Coffret of John of Montmirail,” Fig. 3, for the Bourse of Peter of Dreux.
“Des armes monsingneur de Flandres” is used to describe numerous items in the inventories of Guy and Robert upon their deaths. Guy’s list includes several goblets and chalices described with some degree of detail for their material make-up and the inclusion of heraldry. For example, listed among a dozen or so chalices, a silver hanap with a filigree cover and eamed with the arms of Flanders occasions the clerk’s
extended description. In Bruges in 1306, Robert purchased a flared cup enameled with the arms of Flanders, complete with a leather case and a filigree lid with an acorn-shaped ornament. Such goblets and other luxury items must be echoed in a footed mazer and its custom leather case now in the British Museum, probably made in Mechelen. (Figure 18) Iridescent-winged kingfishers collared with gold shields of Flanders fill the basse-taille lozenges of the base, and a soaring kingfisher with a Flanders shield dangling from its collar alights the lid ornament. The use of a kingfisher could invoke a symbol of married love from Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* and would place the imagery for such a mazer appropriately in the context of a wedding gift. The leather case that contained the mazer survives and displays an embossed pair of shields with the blazons of Flanders and Ghistelles, pointing to a mid-fourteenth century manufacture for the union of Louis de Flandres, the illegitimate son of Louis de Mâle, Count of Flanders (1346-1384), and Mary of Ghistelles. Such goblets were also described among the gifts sent to Guy from Edward in September, 1297; one was enameled “above and below” with France, Navarre, Flanders, Brabant, and Ponteau, with a sapphire atop, another had the escutcheons of England, and yet another with the exterior set with France and Navarre. Although their alliance would dissolve, the exchange of gifts among the princely parties pinpoints how heraldry manifested the ideals of noble lineage, weaving gilded emblems into the fabric of surroundings and parading alliances through shiny opulence. In the sense that the exchange of gifts was articulated in part by the pedigree of the heraldry, so too heraldry

87 Dehaisnes, *Documents*, 169.
88 Ibid., 174.
90 Dehaisnes, *Documents*, 93.
would articulate the pedigree of those who were counted among the Count’s _Audiëntie_ in the margins of his Psalter at the very moment of his political ascendancy.

The objects described in expense accounts, inventories, and receipts far outweigh the surviving evidence of material culture in Flanders dating to the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. What material remains do provide, in tandem with accounts of their greater number and some sense of their original contexts, is an understanding of how heraldry operated to convey the identity of a person or family to a viewing audience that was sensitive to physical placement and aware of the metaphorical properties of heraldic representation. Where sealing practice conveyed the “aura of their physical presence,” heraldic framing also performed a role in defining the nobility’s identity and presence within the urban and court environments.\(^9\) The Count's reflection of his princely identity in the Psalter likewise depends on the referential networks that his castellany’s heraldry stakes out in reference to his physical environs. The appropriations of the lion of Flanders by Dampierre descendants during their continued struggles against the French crown and pro-French factions attest to the powerful relationship that heraldry provided as a means to assert individual position, status, and identity.

In its growth alongside and in opposition to the fleur-de-lis of France, the lion of Flanders gained visual currency with the territorial claims and laws enforced by the Count. When investigating the era of Guy of Dampierre, the romanticist and nationalist fervor of Hendrik Conscience’s _The Lion of Flanders_ (1838) and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow’s “The Belfry of Bruges” (1846) has varnished the portrait of the Count as elderly, hapless and ineffective in prison. It was during Guy’s tenure, however, that the

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character behind the lion of Flanders gained regional currency, or its pro-Flemish bite. Used since the rule of Philip of Alsace in 1163, the lion of Flanders increased its visibility at a time when the media of the princely courts incorporated more emblems into their designs, and that of Flanders endured to represent one of the wealthiest centers of Europe through the Renaissance. One legend that has endured is that a shibboleth during the Bruges Matins of 1302 was “schild en vriend” (shield and friend), which was difficult to pronounce by French speakers. It sums up the emblematic impact that the lion of Flanders blazon had on the urban environment from the time of Guy of Dampierre and his pro-Flemish laws and privileges. The language of heraldry in the contexts of the city, and in the Psalter, formulates a framework for the Count’s individual reception of his socio-material landscape. When Michael Camille suggests that the Luttrell Psalter “embodies a newly nascent nationalism” of “English-ness,” he supports the notion through a more medieval lens than a modern one. The notion of “Flemish-ness” also underlines the marginal applications of heraldry in the Dampierre Psalter and the domains of the Count, including references to living castellans and relatives rather than dead ancestors, to assert the reader’s position, status, and identity. The framework for heraldry—that of Flanders in the framing elements of the material environment as well as that of the castellans in the periphery of the text’s margins—assists to identify the Count in the center and to make the Count matter.