

The Coat of Arms

Annual Journal of the Heraldry Society



Series 4 Volume 1 Number 235 2018

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53 Hitchin Street, Baldock, Hertfordshire SG7 6AQ

The Society was registered in England in 1956 as registered charity no. 241456.

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Printed in Bristol by 4word Ltd.

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ISSN 0010-003X

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The journal of the Heraldry Society



Fourth Series

Volume I

2018

Number 235 in the original series started in 1952

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There follow seventeen new plates, in the same style, of banners and standards of significance to the Order in Tudor times, but which had not been included in the manuscript. Some of these individuals were not members of the Order. Unfortunately, there appear to be some anachronisms here – quartering arms of the Order with personal arms is a relatively modern usage and was certainly not done by Hugh Revel in the early thirteenth century; Paul Fox² found no evidence of ensigning personal arms with the Chief of Religion before the siege of Rhodes in 1480, so we should not see such usage by Roger de Vere (Grand prior in 1269), Robert Hales (Prior in 1372) and probably John Langstrother (Grand Prior in 1469).

The main body, some ninety plates, in uniform style with the earlier ones, is devoted to members of the Order since about 1800. The introduction tells us that selection was “a difficult business” and that many others might have been included. Notwithstanding, there are some surprising omissions of living English Knights, including Field Marshal Lord Guthrie and Cecil Humphery-Smith. Each plate is accompanied by a typically brief entry of genealogical rather than biographical information about the subject. Some of the entries are quite minimalist, while others seem overly long in comparison. There is a number of noticeable errors – both typographical and factual – in the text. It is unfortunate that Peter Drummond-Murray did not live to review critically his own first draft, and Anthony Delarue considers himself to be an artist rather than a writer. Had the text been given a final review shortly before printing, the fact that Matthew Festing had abdicated at the beginning of 2017 would have been noticed. The reference in the title of the book to the Order of St John instead of the Order of Malta might lead British readers to suppose that there is some reference here to the Venerable Order of St John, which is not the case. This being about a Roman Catholic order, the confusion is somewhat exacerbated by the inclusion of two notable Protestants: the Prince Consort and King Edward VII.

The work, which must stand on its artistic merit rather than on its attention to detail, is rounded off with an excellent and effective name index and unusually, a most interesting bestiary index. Over all, this is a very attractive and very reasonably priced book, perhaps to adorn the coffee table, but not entirely to be relied upon as a work of reference.

Richard C.F. Baker

Steen Clemmensen, *Editing Armorial: Cooperation, knowledge and approach by late medieval practitioners* (Copenhagen 2017) 2 vols pp 380+220, 2nd vol tables, plates and bibliography. Paperback. ISBN-10: 8771883355, ISBN-13: 978-8771883350. Print on demand £49.62.

As the title suggests, this is not a light read, but is rich in detail of what can be gleaned from making careful study of the key European armorials from the late Middle Ages (1340–1530). In this context practitioners were those who edited armorials. Wherever

² Paul A Fox, *Coats of arms of Knights of The Order of Malta in Malta, Rhodes and Rome, Proceedings of the XXth Colloquium of the Académie Internationale d'Héraldique*, Copenhagen 2017 (forthcoming).

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possible the armorials studied were divided into multiple segments representing particular countries and regions. These segments were then dated and compared with equivalent sections from other armorials, thus affording considerable insight into mode of composition. As part of this project the author developed an online ordinary of medieval armorials which includes all the individuals identified on the armorials studied. Of the 419 armorials identified 129 were from England-Scotland, 114 from France, 112 from Germany-Switzerland and 42 from the Low Countries, the remaining small group being from Italy and Iberia. The largest and most significant 44 from northern Europe, many of them published, were selected for evaluation. These were largely the same armorials from which the modern ordinaries of Siebmacher, Burke's General Armory and Rietstap drew heavily. The most copied roll fell outside the terms of reference, this being the English Parliamentary Roll of c 1310 which has 49 known copies. The meat of the book, sandwiched between introduction and conclusions, comprises a detailed breakdown of the selected armorials, as further delineated by the addenda in the second volume.

The section on English armorials is dominated by the great fourteenth-century ordinaries that are *Thomas Jenyns' Book* and *William Jenyns' Ordinary*. The compiler of Thomas Jenyns drew heavily upon rolls of arms from before his own lifetime, many of the arms ultimately derived from the *Ashmolean Roll* of c 1334/5 while the original compiler of William Jenyns drew upon contemporary observations recorded over a number of decades. Many of the European armorials are shown to derive from a combination of these two contrasting approaches. *Willement's Roll* from the reign of Richard II is only briefly discussed, but a much fuller account of it, constituting the first ever in depth analysis of this important armorial, has been published by Clemmensen online. It is identified as an original and contemporary collection made in 1392–3 which like William Jenyns did not apparently draw to a significant degree from any earlier known armorials. The *Gentry Roll*, supposed by Wagner to date c 1480, actually overlaps with the so called *Rouen Roll* of c 1410, and Clemmensen identifies them as part of the same early fifteenth century armorial, for which he has also made an edition available online. Of armorials studied which saw their origins outside the British Isles, many include important subsections of English knights and peers, while some also include a Scottish section.

From France the *Armorial Urfé* was divided into 54 segments for analysis, collated over a very broad sweep of time from 1300 to 1390, perhaps observations made by successive French heralds making and keeping records of the nobility when they visited foreign courts. The often stated nominal date of 1380 must be rejected, and Clemmensen dates the largest, English, section of 269 items to 1381. It shows overlap, but no concordance, with two English armorials from the reign of Richard II, Willement's Roll and William Jenyns' Ordinary. Additions were made up to 1425, and the earliest surviving manuscript is in blazon only and written in an early fifteenth century hand. It was owned by Simon de Morhier who was provost of Paris in 1422–36 during the English suzerainty.

Distinct from but roughly contemporary with the *Urfé* is the French *Armorial Navarre*, again in blazon form only. The French and English royal families therein are datable 1368–75, although other sections are c 1350. The Navarre was used in the

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creation of the Armorial Berry, an unfinished work of Gilles de Bouvier (d. c 1456) Berry King of Arms to the dauphin from 1420. Bouvier stipulated that his manuscript was to be placed in the rooms of the French heralds at St Antoine-le-Petit in Paris.

Two connected armorials from the Low Countries provide useful illustrations of armorial construction in the early fifteenth century. The *Bellenville* and *Gelre Armoriale* were both the work of heralds in the service of the duke of Guelders and compiled shortly after 1400, perhaps after the compilers left the service of the prince. These armorials were disseminated through a chain of heralds in service to the Valois and then the Hapsburg rulers of the Low Countries, and became incorporated into the Burgundian Toison d'or Armorial.

The Gelre is known to have been the autograph work of Claes Heinenzoon (d.1414) a herald of the duke of Guelders for nearly thirty years and then herald of the count of Holland for the last ten years of his life. The *Gelre* segments might all plausibly have been collected by Heinenzoon over his long career as an herald, many sections are in his hand. The English section of 79 coats Clemmensen argues probably utilised a lost collection made during the reign of Edward I, with additions up to 1388.

The *Bellenville* is assumed to have been produced by Johan von Vlatten (d.1406) another herald of the duke of Guelders. It includes sections collected at jousts or tournaments and from many regions between 1332 and 1400. The famous English jousters Reginald Cobham of Sterborough and William Fitzwarin, both of whom died in 1361, occur together twice in it. Jéquier earlier proposed that five segments derived from crusades against the Wends, which Clemmensen refutes in one instance as this segment comprises 60% Scots and 40% Englishmen who are hardly likely to have been crusading together in the fourteenth century.

The *Armorial Toison d'Or* was the work of John le Fèvre (d.1468) a pursuivant to Henry V in 1415, then Charolais Herald to the duke of Burgundy and Toison d'or King of Arms to the same in 1430. The Normandy segment derives from the Wijnbergen Roll of c 1280, so there was not too much concern about creating a list of living noblemen! The English section has been much studied, and it is impossible to reconcile all the dates therein: "no period will fit all items". Despite making this observation Clemmensen maintains that the English collection was made by a Burgundian herald in 1397, but this has been disputed.³ There is a surprising absence of certain key individuals living at that time, combined with the inclusion of others who were then long deceased, and an alternative explanation would be that this was a working list kept by one or more Burgundian heralds over a significantly longer period of time. The English subgroup is one of the more useful segments for studying the evolution of derivatives of this armorial. The dating of the French section is similarly contradictory, including elements both pre 1415 and from the 1430s. Some of the Scottish arms also belong to an earlier period, but most sections are dated to the 1430s. Austria, for instance, is ascribed the date 1433, even though it includes Eberhard von Kapellen, who was dead by 1410. It is concluded that the Toisson d'or was worked on at the Burgundian court by several heralds working over a prolonged

³ CoA no 211 (2006) pp 11–26, no 212 (2006) pp 125–6.

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period between 1434 and 1461. This raises the possibility of a somewhat collegiate approach to heraldry at the Burgundian court, an interesting topic which has been previously neglected. A crucial early part of the compilation was an armorial of the Peace of Arras in 1435 at which Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, changed alliances.

Roughly contemporary with the Toison d'or, and compiled by another herald at the Burgundian court, was the *Lyncenich Armorial*. Sections from the *Lyncenich* and the *Toison d'or* were combined with parts of the *Gelre* c 1450 to create the *Bergshammer Armorial*. It is contended that this was the work of a Burgundian herald working at Lille who was able to place the three sources together side by side. Further evidence of the cross border collecting activities of heralds is provided by the *Heessel compendium* which bears the autograph of Hendrik van Heessel, who began his career working as a pursuivant for the Emperor Sigismund in 1432–3. His work included sections from the Toisson d' or, probably copied during his stay at the Burgundian court in 1434–7, when he was Ruyers King of Arms to Philip the Good. It is suggested that he was a likely source for the Bohemia and Moravia sections of the *Bergshammer* and *Lyncenich* armorials. These were not incorporated into the Toisson d'or itself. The Burgundian armorials known collectively as the “Toisson d'or Group” share the characteristic of having genealogical clusters of arms for prominent nobles.

Another clustering of armorials takes its name from a manuscript created for a non herald in 1473. He was André de Rineck (d.1527) governor of Metz in Lorraine. The various segments of this armorial were collected over a long period, at least from 1380 to 1470. Partly taken from the *Berry* and the *Urfé* Armorials, the Armorial Rineck itself became the main source for several near contemporary armorials. A small English section appears to derive from the Toisson d'or group. The Rineck was probably copied in Metz, perhaps based in a putative earlier armorial created for Jean d'Anjou, duke of Lorraine (d.1470) before 1453, as proposed by Blanchard.

The fifteenth century was when heraldry truly came of age, in the sense that laymen increasingly began to make collections of arms purely for personal pleasure and interest. As the century wore on such compilations became increasingly marketable. Nowhere is this development more clearly manifest than in the German speaking world. One such collector was Ulrich Richental (d.1437), a burgher of Constance who noted the arms of 230 bishops and cardinals who attended the great Council of Constance in 1414–18 in order to illustrate an account of that extraordinary period in the life of his town. The clerics comprised 27% of the arms in his armorial, the nobility 45%, with the remainder being kings, popes, towns and imaginary arms. The *Richental Armorial* includes probably the earliest known listing of the arms of universities, including Oxford. The legendary king Prester John was included, and arms were created for many colourful and exotic kingdoms. Richental evidently combined a keen interest in the world with a fertile imagination. His work was not actually published until after his death, but proved to be enormously influential, not least after it was printed in 1483. It inspired a whole series of copycat productions painted in the area of Lake Constance and therefore called the Bodensee Group. A derivative was made for Konrad Grünenberg (d c 1494) who was mayor of Constance

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in 1470. There is wide diversity of material here, aimed at entertaining and amusing laymen with an interest in heraldry. There was a strong focus on the higher nobility from all lands, on imaginary arms of heroes and villains from the past, with a virtual tour of the whole world. There are also the members of various local tournament societies. SC notes the involvement of no less than four German heralds in the production of armorials for commercial use.

Editing *Armorials* puts together for the first time and in considerable detail a great deal of valuable information on a broad sweep of fourteenth and fifteenth century armorials, and warrants a place on the bookshelf of all those interested in medieval heraldry.

Paul A Fox