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His Grace The Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal

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John Tunesi of Liongam

e-mail: honsecheraldrysociety@goolemail.com

Membership Secretary

Jane Tunesi of Liongam

e-mail: membership@theheraldrysociety.com

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Azure, six cinquefoils argent. However, Bishop William is identified as a younger son of Sir Simon Fraser of Oliver Castle whose arms are found in contemporary rolls such as the Caerlaverock Poem as *Sable, six cinquefoils argent.* The azure field for Fraser arms dates from two or three generations later.

On occasion it would have been useful if the heraldic notices had been expanded: for instance Bishop John Lindsay of Glasgow (d 1335) has two seals delineated which display *inter alia* the arms of Lindsay of Lamberton, Abernethy and Coucy, which have merited considerable discussion over the years in earlier Scottish heraldic treatises. Similarly the attractive seal of Bishop James Kennedy of St Andrews (d 1465) has two versions of the Kennedy arms which merit further comment.

After 1540, with Calvinism spreading throughout the country, bishops were appointed at the instance of the Crown under an arrangement whereby a large part of the revenues was diverted into lay hands. These 'tulchan' bishops provide a much wider range of names than hitherto; for instance three members of the Chisholm family were consecutively bishops of Dunblane. Also apparent now is a modest amount of differencing, for example the various Forbes bishops of the families of Corse, Craigievar, and Corsindae, add an appropriate charge to their three bears' heads. Some unusual charges are found – the eye of Scougal, the camel's head of Forman, and the wild cats of Scheves. The third and most recent group have a much less Scottish feel: however an interesting charge of *Three salmon interlaced* originated in the diocese of Aberdeen and has been utilised by some of its bishops. Three useful appendices provide lists of bishops in their sees.

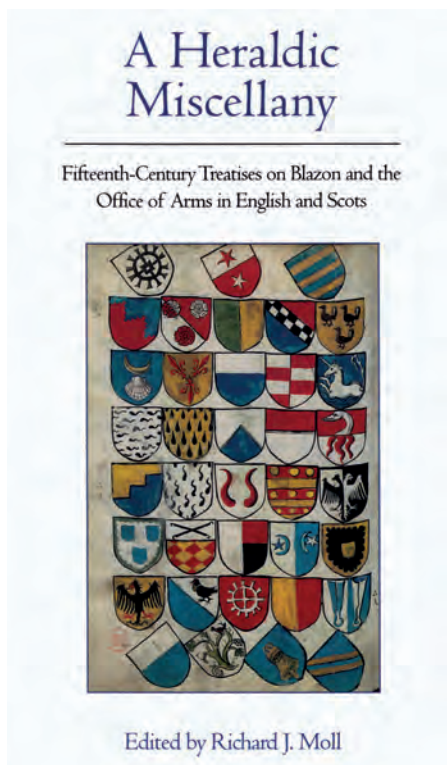
Bruce McAndrew

Richard J. Moll (ed.), *A Heraldic Miscellany: Fifteenth-Century Treatises on Blazon and the Office of Arms in English and Scots*. Liverpool: Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies, 2018. xii + 298 pp. Hardcover. ISBN: 978-1-78138-248-6. £100.

In this volume, Moll usefully discusses and edits some fifteenth-century treatises on blazon and the office of arms that were composed in or translated into English and Scots. Moll is attentive to the relationships between these treatises as well as to their composition, their circulation and ownership histories, and, crucially, to the content of their narratives. In doing so, Moll collates knowledge about these texts within their manuscript contexts and he also makes the narratives themselves, which were previously unedited, accessible.

French is traditionally the language of heraldry, and most medieval heraldic texts were initially composed in French or Latin, but an increasing number of heraldic texts were written in or translated into English and Scots in the fifteenth century. Furthermore, while the practice of heraldry and the professional office of arms are distinct and should not be conflated, some fifteenth-century heraldic texts developed a close association between heraldry and heralds, and, as Moll points out in his introduction, the texts that he edits in this volume are among those that attest to this phenomenon.

The first text that Moll edits is *Tractatus de armis*, which is the earliest known heraldic treatise that was produced in England. The text is generally attributed to Johannes de Bado Aureo, about whom almost nothing is known. It was written in Latin towards the



end of the fourteenth century (c. 1394–5). In the treatise’s introduction, Johannes reveals that he writes at the request of ‘dame Anne, sumtyme queen of England’, and, as Moll acknowledges, this is probably a reference to Richard II’s queen, Anne of Bohemia, who died in 1394. The queen’s request for the creation of a treatise reveals that heraldic texts interested and were appreciated by a variety of readers – including female readers.

The *Tractatus de armis* discusses heraldic colours (professionally known as *tinctures*) as well as animate and inanimate charges. The treatise was translated into Welsh, French, and English in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Latin text of the treatise has been edited by Edward Bysshe in 1654 and by Evan Jones in 1943.¹⁸ In this volume, Moll valuably presents the first edited version of the English translation. The text that he edits is taken from Bodl. MS Laud misc. 733 (ff. 1r-17v), which contains a unique copy of the English translation of the treatise. As Moll points out, this translation is close to the Latin text, but ‘none of the known manuscripts of the Latin text are the direct source for the English work’ (p. 36). It is also of interest that the English translation of the treatise is followed in the mid-fifteenth-century manuscript by a *Brut* chronicle.

¹⁸ See Edward Bysshe, ed., *Nicolai Vptoni, De Studio Militari, Libri Quatuor; Iohan. de Bado Aureo, Tractatus de Armis, Henrici Spelmanni, Aspilogia* (London: Johannis Martin & Jacobi Allestrye, 1654), pp. 1–45 [each text’s pagination begins at ‘1’; the treatise is the second text in Bysshe’s edition]; and Evan Jones, ed., *Medieval Heraldry: Some Fourteenth Century Heraldic Works* (Cardiff: William Lewis, 1943), pp. 95–143.

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The second text Moll edits is *Eneas de heraldis*, which is presented in the form of a letter that is ascribed to Eneas Silvio Piccolomini, who was the Bishop of Siena from c. 1447, and Pope Pius II from 1458. The writer claims that this letter was written at Vienna, in June of 1451. The letter circulated widely, surviving in about twenty manuscripts, and it was translated into many languages – including English, French, German, and Spanish – in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Like the Latin original, the English version is addressed to Johann Hinderbach, the ‘kyngis secretary’, but unlike the original, the translation is not dated, and its writer claims that it was written at Cologne. Piccolomini’s letter relates that Dionysus instituted the office of arms during his time in India. Moll observes that the letter draws heavily from a text by the Greek historian Flavius Arrianus (Arrian) called the *Indica*, which is included in his *Anabasis Alexandri*. He suggests, as other scholars have before him, that the treatise is a satire and that its ironic tone was lost on early vernacular translators.

Moll discusses the relationship between the Latin and English copies of *Eneas de heraldis*. He also offers insight into the compilation, circulation, and ownership histories of the three fifteenth-century copies of the English translation (CA MS Arundel 26, ff. 41r-51v; Bodl. MS Ashmole 764, ff. 1r-8r; and a fragment in Bodl. MS Douce 271, f. 65v). This information has not been brought together with this level of detail before. Moll uses Arundel 26, which is closest to the Latin original, as his copy text.

To my knowledge, Moll is the first to seriously discuss *Dionisius, Furst Institutoure*, the third text that he edits, and to clearly differentiate it from *Eneas de heraldis*, which it paraphrases and expands. He points out that the text is not listed in manuscript catalogues and helpfully ascertains points of convergence and divergence with the more well-known *Eneas de heraldis*. The treatise describes the foundation of the office of arms, which it links with the development of the tournament and the public exclamation of largess. There is only one known copy of this treatise, and it is compiled in Bodl. Lib. MS. Douce 271 (ff. 66r-73r).

The last three treatises that Moll edits are in BL MS Harley 6149, a heraldic miscellany with a Latin colophon dating it to 1494 that is attributed to Adam Loutfut, who is presumed to have been Kintyr Pursuivant. Loutfut was a Scottish scribe who served William Cumming of Inverallochy, who was Marchmond Herald at the time. Most of the texts compiled in this miscellany are written in Scots and reflect themes that would have been of personal or professional interest to a late medieval Scottish herald. L.A.J.R. Houwen has already described this miscellany in detail in his edition of Loutfut’s *The Deidis of Armorie*.¹⁹

Moll’s contribution here is to offer editions of three other heraldic treatises that are compiled in this miscellany. The first of these is a Scots treatise on trial by combat entitled *Pe Lawe of Armes* within *Listis* (ff. 109r-15v), which outlines rules for judicial combat to settle criminal and personal disputes. The second text is a Scots treatise on the office of arms that Moll titles *The Persewant* (ff. 133v-39v), after its heading. Intriguingly, this text begins with a fanciful account of Trojan women designing and sewing coats of arms. It then shifts into a widely disseminated legendary heraldic narrative that

¹⁹ See L. A. J. R. Houwen, ed., *The Deidis of Armorie: A Heraldic Treatise and Bestiary*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 1994).

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was popularised by early fifteenth-century French heraldic treatises. According to this narrative, maidens acted as early messengers before they were replaced by the men who became the first heralds, and their replacement is usually attributed to their vulnerability to being raped and to their frequently becoming pregnant. The text then segues into a formulaic question-and-answer session discussing the virtues and practices required of a pursuivant. Finally, the third text that Moll edits from this miscellany is a Scots treatise on gentility and arms, which he titles *The Orignall Determyning of Blasonyng of Armes* (ff. 140r-150v), after its heading, Moll points out that, while *The Persewant* was written for 'practicing heralds', this text was probably written for a 'gentle audience interested in their own gentility' (p. 161). Moll further explains that, like the *Liber Armorum*, which comprises the third section of *The Boke of Saint Albans* (1486), this heraldic treatise ascribes biblical origins to nobility and equates human virtues and hierarchies with angelic ones. Moll effectively outlines points of comparison between these two texts and posits a few of the sources they might share.

Moll's volume is a refreshing and overdue resource. Late medieval heraldic treatises have much to contribute to our knowledge of medieval chivalric literature and culture, and, by making some of these texts more readily available for the first time, Moll paves the way for deeper understanding and new perspectives. This edition is the kind of text that I was hoping to find when I first began researching late medieval heraldic treatises, but it did not yet exist. I am glad that it does now.

Sheri Chriqui

Steen Clemmensen, *The Powell Roll of Arms*. Farum, Denmark 2018. 216pp. Ebook. ISBN 978-87-970977-0-0. Free download from www.armorial.dk.

The roll itself, which is in book form, can be viewed online in its entirety on the Bodleian Library website, it being Bod MS Ashmole 804 part iv. Sir Anthony Wagner dated the roll c. 1345–51 and had very little to say about it. Denholm-Young speculated that it created for Robert Ufford, K.G. (d.1369), earl of Suffolk. On the basis that this was a roll of living knights Clemmensen has felt able to date the compilation more precisely, to 1347–8. It follows a conventional structure beginning with royals, followed by barons and then by knights, although there are more barons shown with ordinary shields in the main body of the roll than with banners at the head of the roll. The painting seems to have been done by one person, and the first 168 coats of arms are enhanced with the application of gold and silver. The legends are in diverse hands, with some being altogether absent. While Wagner calls it 'original', and Clemmensen correctly points out that it is impossible to know the date of the surviving version, in my view Ashmole 804 iv cannot be the original. Rather, it was copied at a time when many of the legends could no longer be read, and a variety of individuals (by this stage, surely heralds) then tried to fill in the blanks.

The larger part of the book comprises Clemmensen's edition of the roll, and he has assembled a lot of material which will be of use to future researchers. This work has produced a variety of interesting observations. There are around two hundred brisures here, almost a third of the total number of 672 items, but only three families have