

The Coat of Arms

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THE BOOK OF KNOWLEDGE: A LATE FOURTEENTH-CENTURY ARMORIAL TRAVELOGUE OF ALL THE KINGDOMS IN THE WORLD

STEVEN ASHLEY F.S.A., AND STEEN CLEMMENSEN F.S.A., A.I.H.

Abstract

The Book of Knowledge survives as four manuscript copies of at least two lost, probably late fourteenth-century originals. Modern translations of the Book follow the form of these surviving copies, that is, of a narrative travelogue featuring armorial or pseudo-armorial shields and flags for towns, cities, countries, kingdoms and empires encountered on the imaginary journey. The present authors have attempted to combine evidence presented in the text and illustrations from all the editions and copies of Book, to create an Armory, with the intention of provoking greater interest in the work, and to provide a useful starting point for further armorial research.

Introduction

The *Book of Knowledge* is a late fourteenth-century armorial in the form of an imaginary travelogue which is known through four surviving mid to late fifteenth-century manuscript copies and references to it from 1402.¹ These copies were probably based on at least two lost exemplars. The first published edition of this work, in 1877, was edited by Marcos Jiménez de la Espada from the three manuscripts known at the time.² These are written in Castilian and were considered by the editor to be the work of a Franciscan friar. Espada's edition was translated into English and edited by Sir Clements Markham for publication by the Hakluyt Society in 1912 (**Figure 1**).³

A more recent translation was prompted in part by the reappearance at Sotheby's in 1978 of a fourth manuscript copy,⁴ which had been missing since the seventeenth century. The text of this latter translation by Nancy Marino is based on the most complete surviving manuscript (MS S) whilst incorporating additional information provided

¹ It was used in the planning for the invasion of the Canary Islands in 1402 by the French adventurer Jean de Bethencourt. C.R. Markham, (ed. & trans.) *Book of knowledge of all the kingdoms, lands, and lordships that are in the world, and the arms and devices of each land and lordship, or of the kings and lords who possess them* (London, 1912), p. ix.

² Manuscripts S, N and R (see Sigla below).

³ Referred to as BK or occasionally as Markham in this paper. An abridged version based on Markham was published in B. McCandless and G. Hovey Grosvenor, *Flags of the world* (The National Geographic Society, Washington, D.C., 1917.), pp. 1025–1120 and plate at p. 370.

⁴ Manuscript Z, once owned by the Aragonese historian Zurita. This is probably the earliest known copy, dating to the middle of the fifteenth century. It is also written in Castilian, probably by an Aragonese scribe (Marino 1999, p. xv). Published as M.J. Lacarra, M. del C.L. Ducay, A. Montaner (eds.), «*Libro del Conosçimiento de todos los Regnos et Tierras et Señorios que son por el Mundo, et de las señales et armas que han*» Edición facsimilar, transcripción, estudio y notas del Manuscrito Z de la Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, de Munich [Cod. Hisp. 150] procedente de la «Alacena de Zurita», Zaragoza: Institución “Fernando el Católico” (CSIC)-Excm. Diputación Provincial, 1999. It is referred to as AZ in this paper.

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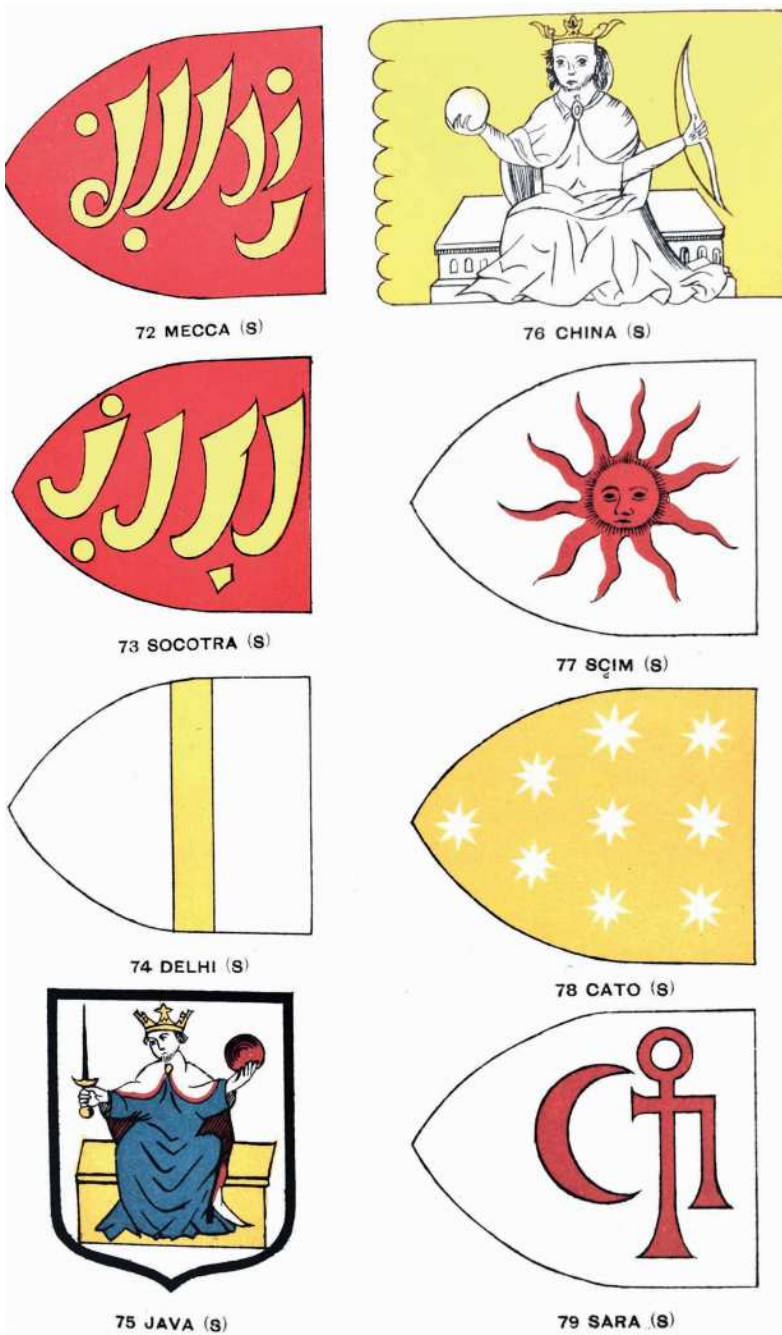


Figure 1: The arms of Mecca, Socotra, Delhi, Java, China, Sçim, Cato and Sara (with a version of the tamga of the Khans of the Golden Horde), as illustrated in Markham, Plate 16.

by the three other copies.⁵ Marino also provides a comprehensive discussion of the geographical, literary and historical context of the *Book of Knowledge*, which is the main basis for the present paper. At the same time a team led by Jesus Maria Lacarra prepared an edition (in Spanish) based on the oldest, but incomplete, version (MS Z) with an emphasis on the heraldry which accompanied the description of towns and realms.

The first author (SA) was initially made aware of the *Book of Knowledge* when preparing a volume of the late John Goodall's collected papers for the Harleian Society.⁶ Goodall referred to *Book* in several of his notes, in particular 'Medieval Royal Arms, a collection from rolls, maps, seals and coins.'⁷

The author and his sources

The original author is anonymous and only identified by his year of birth, 1305. The early editors Jimenez and Markham believed that the *Book* was a true report of a Franciscan monk-explorer. However, there are no indications in the text that could lead to any such conclusion. On the contrary, there are few observations on religious rites, and both contemporary commentators and modern editors have concluded the *Book* does not belong among the many medieval travel reports by members of the minor orders. It is a travelogue written by an imaginative narrator.

Like all the editors, John Goodall noted the similarity of the names and emblems in the *Book* and those used on medieval maps. This was what made the *Book* interesting for an armorial of royal arms. There are basically two types of maps: the portolani, sea charts that could be used for navigation, and mappamundi for a more spiritual use.⁸ Both of which were often decorated with painted arms or flags. Both Marino and Lacarra concluded that the narrative would have been based on one or more now lost portolani maps.⁹ Markham considered this hypothesis but rejected it after a detailed discussion and largely based on the supposed birthdate of the narrator (1305). There are many similarities between the *Book* and two of the best-known portolans, those known as the Angelino Dulcert (or Dalorto) map of 1339 and the Catalan Atlas of 1375¹⁰ (**Figure 2**). The latter is a very fine piece of work, probably intended for the library of a king, representing the higher end of the surviving fraction of what must have been a vast number of such maps which are now missing or destroyed.¹¹

Before we can attempt to place the narrator in time and social space, we need to consider the way he worked, and whether his date of birth (1305) restricts the date of compilation. If true, a probable date would be close to 1360, and at 55 years of age, time for our self-proclaimed traveller to settle down with his memoirs.

⁵ N.F. Marino, (ed. & trans.), *El libro del conocimiento de todos los reinos* (*The book of knowledge of all kingdoms*) (Toronto, 1999). Referred to as EL in this paper.

⁶ S. Ashley (ed.) *At the Roots of Heraldry: Collected Papers of John Archibald Goodall* Harl. Soc. New Series vol. 21 (London, 2018).

⁷ Dated 2004. Unfortunately, it was too incomplete for inclusion in *At the Roots of Heraldry*. Goodall used a selection from Markham's translation.

⁸ J.B. Harley, and D. Woodward, *History of Cartography. I. Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean* (Chicago, 1987), pp. 295–296.

⁹ Marino 1999, op cit, p. xxxi.

¹⁰ Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, IFN-52503220 (Dalorto 1339), GE EE-2371 (Atlas Catalan 1375).

¹¹ Marino 1999, pp. xxviii–xxix.

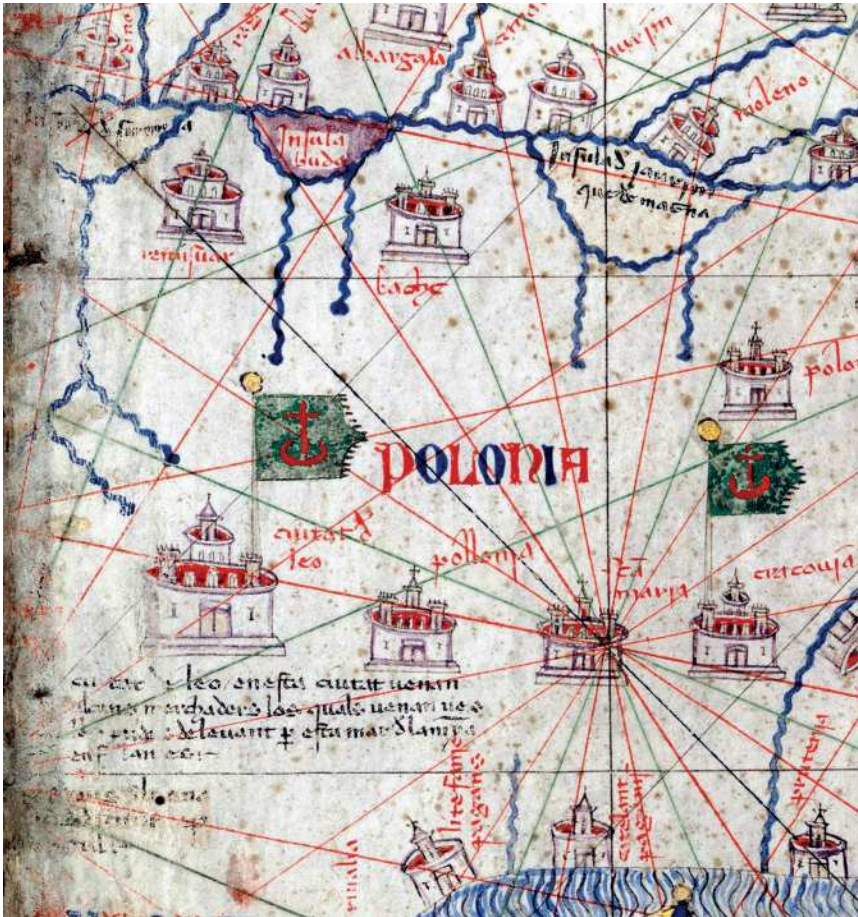


Figure 2: Flags bearing attributed arms for Poland *Vert a cross paty springing from a crescent gules in base*, as shown on the Catalan Atlas of 1375 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, GE EE-2371).

The imaginary voyage

Although the *Book* was originally thought by its nineteenth-century editor to be an account of a remarkable series of travels, Marino, Lacarra and Riquer¹² consider it to be a geographic context for a roll of arms. During the narrator's incredible journey, he 'visited' cities and countries which no longer existed, some of whose names are now uncertain or unidentified, and others which were legendary or invented. Amongst many notable episodes on his travels, the author claimed to have seen Noah's Ark on top of Mount Ararat, stayed in the fabled castle of Gog and Magog and visited the home of Prester John.

¹² M. de Riquer, 'La heráldica en el Libro del Conocimiento y el problema de su datación' in *Dicenda: Cuadernos de Filología Hispánica*. Vol. 6 of *Estudios y textos dedicatos a Francisco López Estrada* Universidad Complutense (Madrid, 1987).

The narrator was well prepared from whatever sources he may have used, as the journey of the presumed/imaginary traveller follows a logical course without major diversions.¹³ He began in his home country of Castile,¹⁴ moved through Navarre into France (illustrated shields and flags, nos. 1–6), then into the Low Countries, (well known for their export of cloth), and on to Germany, around the Baltic Sea (without mentioning the salted fish exporting Hanse), across the North Sea from Norway to Britain (nos. 7–23). From there he travelled across the Iberian peninsula along the northern coast of the Mediterranean visiting Florence, Rome and Naples; up the Adriatic to Venice and through Hungary to Greece (nos. 24–40).

The next leg took him back along the eastern and southern coast of the Mediterranean, Turkey, Cyprus, Syria, Egypt, and Tunis before seeing Sardinia and Morocco (nos. 41–75). The third leg includes a jump from Western (nos. 76–79) to Eastern Africa (nos. 80–82), where Prester John had moved to Ethiopia from his earlier abode in India. The fourth leg began in Arabia across the Red Sea and continued to India and over Indonesia to China (nos. 83–92). The return trip was along the Silk Road through Persia and Turkey to the Balkans and into southern Russia (nos. 93–119). The final non-armorial leg was through the Baltic to Denmark, on to Flanders and at last back to Seville, from where he had first begun his virtual circumnavigation of the known world.

The knowledge of and descriptions of arms.

The work contains the arms of around 100 countries, towns and their rulers (in the form of both shields and flags). The limited aim of this paper is to present this information in the form of an Armory, based in the main on the editions by Markham and Marino, in order to bring the armorial potential of the *Book of Knowledge* to the attention of a specifically heraldic audience.¹⁵ As such we have attempted a blazon for as many of the arms as possible. The blazons were based on a combination of the text and illustrations in all the editions and in the facsimile of manuscript Z. Where the evidence is uncertain, and more generally as an aid to interpretation, we have included quotations from either or both publications beneath the blazon. Inevitably there will be discrepancies and uncertainties of blazon, therefore, when in doubt the reader may wish to consult the existing manuscripts, at least one of which is available online.¹⁶

¹³ Viewed by the emblems (flags and arms) alone the path appears straightforward, but the full narrative gives a more complex picture with several returns and jumps.

¹⁴ Marino 1999, p. 108.

¹⁵ Previous considerations of the specifically heraldic nature of the *Book* by Riquer have been published in Spanish: *Heráldica castellana en tiempos de los Reyes Católicos* Biblioteca Filológica, Quaderns Crema (Barcelona, 1986); ‘La heráldica en el Ld C’ (1987, op.cit.); and ‘La heráldica en el Ld C por tercera vez’ in *Letters and Society in Fifteenth-Century Spain: Studies Presented to P.E. Russell on His Eightieth Birthday* (London, 1993). However, the work was not mentioned by W.T. Collins in his note on ‘Spanish Armorial’ in the *CoA* (1993 no. 161, pp. 39–44). More recently an online blog has featured the *Book*: Christof Rolker, ‘The World as a Coat of Arms and Presentation: The Libro del conocimiento’, in: *Heraldica Nova: Medieval and Early Modern Heraldry from the Perspective of Cultural History* (a Hypotheses.org blog), published: 09/02/2015, Internet: <https://heraldica.hypotheses.org/2735>.

¹⁶ (Z) MS BSB-Hss Cod.hisp. 150, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich: <https://www.bsb-muenchen.de/en/collections/manuscripts/languages-regions/occidental-manuscripts/>. Or consult the facsimile volume (Lacarra, Ducay and Montaner (eds.) 1999).

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Marino suggests that rather than a mendicant friar, the author of this work could have been a herald, or at least someone who had similar responsibilities at a royal court.¹⁷ However, for the former the descriptive language for the arms is perhaps rather basic, combining common names and accepted heraldic terminology. There are many variations in the painted depictions of the arms or flags between the four surviving manuscripts, which are due to different interpretation by the artists, who must have worked from the textual description rather than visual exemplars. The flags are non-standard forms and many of the arms are incorrect, invented or out-of-date. That said, there is more precision in the descriptions of the heraldry than of the modes of travel or the peoples encountered thereon, lending weight to the interpretation of *Book* as primarily a heraldic work. There is much invention contained within, including many fictive and attributed arms for the more 'exotic' non-European countries and kingdoms. These exotic arms reflect something of the narrator's interpretation of the nature of their location, religion and peoples, for example the use of palm trees and mountains, pseudo-Arabic scripts, *tamgas*¹⁸, griffins, idols, and enthroned emperors.

There are at least three major problems with the copyists' and the modern editors' handling of arms and flags (emblems). One is the inconsistency in description and in depiction of figures of arms and their positions. Some composite arms are placed *per fess* in some manuscripts, but *per pale* (impaled) in others. The emblems may be interpreted as flags in one presentation and on shields in another. This is also true for some simple arms, e.g. the pales of Aragon [25] which are depicted as bars on a shield laid on the side. The actual rendering of the figures of arms is also evidence of unfamiliarity with the blazoning and drawing of arms. The alleged arms of Narbonne [26] are essentially a cross between four nails placed either on a shield or on a flag. Two manuscripts have a simple cross between upright triangles, one has a cross bottonny between nails, and the last a thin forked cross between inward pointing triangles.¹⁹ An experienced armorist would have expected a variation of the cross of Toulouse (*a cross clechy voided and bottonny*), the arms of its overlord.

The arms of Constantinople [98] were probably introduced by the Latin emperors after 1204 and retained when the Palaeologi succeeded. Its *cross between four figures* has several variants here, but this is a feature it shares with most medieval armorials. The figures vary between fire-steels, B's, annulets, roundels, crosslets and annulets charged with crosslets. Some are even blazoned as chain links.

The arms of Navarre [4] were obviously unknown to all the artists. Only for manuscript S is there any similarity to the actual *fret of chain* or *escarbuncle-like* coat of arms.

Tinctures were a practical problem during the Middle Ages, so it comes as no surprise that the narrator's fondness for the costly purple must be rendered blue, e.g. for Africa [55]. The black crescents (actually, either decrescents or increscents), have a greenish tinge on fo.10r in MS Z (**Figure 3**) unlike the sharp black used for the checky in Morocco [67] or some of the outlines. In the text the colour red is never blazoned as *gules*, but is always described as vermillion ('cardinal red' in Markham), the name of the mercuric sulphide pigment in common use, and a term which can also be found in

¹⁷ Marino 1999, xli–xliv.

¹⁸ Clan symbols of the nomadic peoples of the Eurasian steppe. They were used as brands, property marks and signs of authority and may also have had magical or apotropaic significance.

¹⁹ These triangles are actually drawn randomly oriented, not inward, in MS Z, fo.6v.



*Figure 3: The arms of Africa, Tunis, Çerdeña, Corsica, Bona, Constantine, Béjaïa and Brischan
as shown in MS Z, fo.10r
(Cod.hisp. 150, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich).*

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blazoned armorials and in chronicles. Some early Spanish heralds used vernacular in their blazons.²⁰

The third problem concerns how well the *Book* reflected contemporary use of the actual and attributed arms and emblems. Lacarra and co-workers attempted to answer this by presenting a concordance between the 97 items common to all four manuscripts and a selection of six armorials, two treatises and eight maps.²¹ On the face of it there appears to be good correspondence between at least one of the manuscripts and one of the five medieval Anglo-French armorials.²² This disappears on closer examination. The two armorials in the Goodall paper do not give any blazons to compare with, only the names, so they must be discarded. Lacarra compared 37 emblems with those in the *Wijnberghen* armorial and found 7 identical (including Navarre in S only).²³ About half (14) were obviously different and the other half (16) somewhat similar in the opinion of Lacarra and co-workers. That should come as no surprise. Most of the names of the somewhat similar and non-identical emblems belong to imaginary arms, which cannot be used to judge the narrator's competence as an armorist, but only, at most, his knowledge of such sources that have survived to the present. A modern armorist would reasonably calculate that about 30 emblems out of the 119 listed here would have been used as arms, and that the narrator may have known up to 14 – if we credit the copyists with all the mistakes.²⁴

The situation improves if the *Book* is compared with the portolans. The Dalorto 1339 portolan has 38 identical and 21 somewhat similar out of 61 comparable emblems. The 1375 Catalan Atlas also has a high score out of 66 comparable devices.²⁵

What is the value of the *Book* as an armorial?

Before answering this question, we must sort out the confusion made by the four copyists and their illustrators from what the narrator intended to show. There are instances where the arms differ among the manuscripts.²⁶ One of the first is the journey through Eastern Europe where three arms [12, 13, 14]²⁷ represent Lithuania, Poland and Ukraine (i.e. the town of Lemberg). Apparently unknown to the narrator these three were to be effectively unified in 1386 as a consequence of the marriage of Jogailo or Jagiello (1354–1434)

²⁰ Marino p. xliii, e.g. by Garci Alonso Torres, 1476/96.

²¹ Lacarra pp. 70–75.

²² *Wijnbergen*: P. Adam-Even & L. Jéquier, 'Un Armorial Français du 13e Siècle (Wijnberghen)' *Archives Héraldiques Suisse*, 65 (1951) 49–62, 101–110; 66 (1952) 64–68, 103–111; 68 (1954) 55–80; *Bergshammars*: J. Raneke I, II. (Lund, 1975); *Lord Marshall*: C.R. Humphery-Smith, *Anglo-Norman Armory Two: an Ordinary of Thirteenth-Century Armorials* (Canterbury, 1984); G.J. Brault, *Rolls of Arms of Edward I. Aspilogia III*, vol. I–II (Woodbridge, 1997); *Thornton Kings*, and *d'Ewes' Kings*: J.A. Goodall, 'Roll of arms of kings: Some recent discoveries in the British Library' *Antiquaries Journal* vol. 70, 1990, pp. 82–94.

²³ Castile, Aragon, Portugal, France, England, Navarre, all well known to Castilians at the time, as also the Holy Roman Empire must have been. Fewer items were comparable in the other armorials and treatises. Lacarra actually mentions only 6 as identical, but misclassifies England.

²⁴ Seven emblems noted above, plus Rome, Naples, Sicily, Venice, Hungary [31–34, 36], Flanders for Bruges [7], and Constantinople [98].

²⁵ Lacarra p. 75.

²⁶ e.g. Navarre and Toulouse, discussed above.

²⁷ The numbering of devices in the various editions of *Book* is in Roman numerals. In the Armory (see below) we have used Arabic numbers, except for references to EL (Marino), where Roman numerals have been retained.



Figure 4: Limestone slab dated to 1342, from the city walls of Caffa (Feodosia), on the Crimean coast of the Black Sea. The shield bears the tamga of the Khans of the Golden Horde. The slab, comprising three joining pieces, also displays the arms of Genoa. (Photograph courtesy of Nicole Kançal-Ferrari).

Grand Duke of Lithuania, who adopted Christianity, was baptized in 1386, married the heiress Hedwig of Poland (1371–1399) and became King Ladislas II of Poland. Their son, Ladislas III Jagiello (1423–1444), succeeded his father as King of Poland and his uncle Vytautas as Grand Duke of Lithuania in 1434.²⁸ All manuscripts have the hexagram [12] for Poland but differ for the other two as MS S has a variant hexagram for Poland and a cross for Lemberg. MSS Z, N and R have variants of a peculiar elaborate form of cross for the latter places. All the copyists appear confused.

Some apparent invention appears to be rooted in fact, see, for example, the ‘h’-formed *tamga* illustrated in the several entries which refer to the Uxbeco Emperor of Sara.²⁹ These probably refer to Uzbeg (Öz Beg Khan) (1313–1341), who, along with his grandfather Mengü-Timur (Möngke Temür) (1266–80), and father, Toqta (Tochtu etc.) (1290–1312) all used this *tamga* as their device when Khan of the Golden Horde (**Figure 4**).³⁰ The version of the *tamga* in MSS Z and R is shown several times in the Dulcert (or Dalorto) map of 1339, placed in the area occupied by the Horde, which comprised a division of the Mongol Empire lying between the Urals and the Caspian Sea (**Figure 5**). The versions in Markham (MSS S, N, see **Figure 1**, 79, SARA) and Marino are imprecise and somewhat misleading.

²⁸ D. Schwennicke, *Europäische Stammtafeln, Neue Folge. Stammtafeln zur Geschichte Europäischer Staaten*. vol. 2 (Marburg, 2003), pp. 124–5.

²⁹ Kharism, Norgancio, Sara and Uxbeco. Dernent also refers to the Emperor of Uxbeco but Marino illustrates a triple-towered castle as the device.

³⁰ J.A. Goodall 2018, ‘At the Pre- and Proto-Historic Roots of Heraldry: A Study of the Possible Influence of some Ancient and Medieval Asiatic Devices on European Heraldry’ in Ashley, S., op.cit. pp. 1–26 (6–7).

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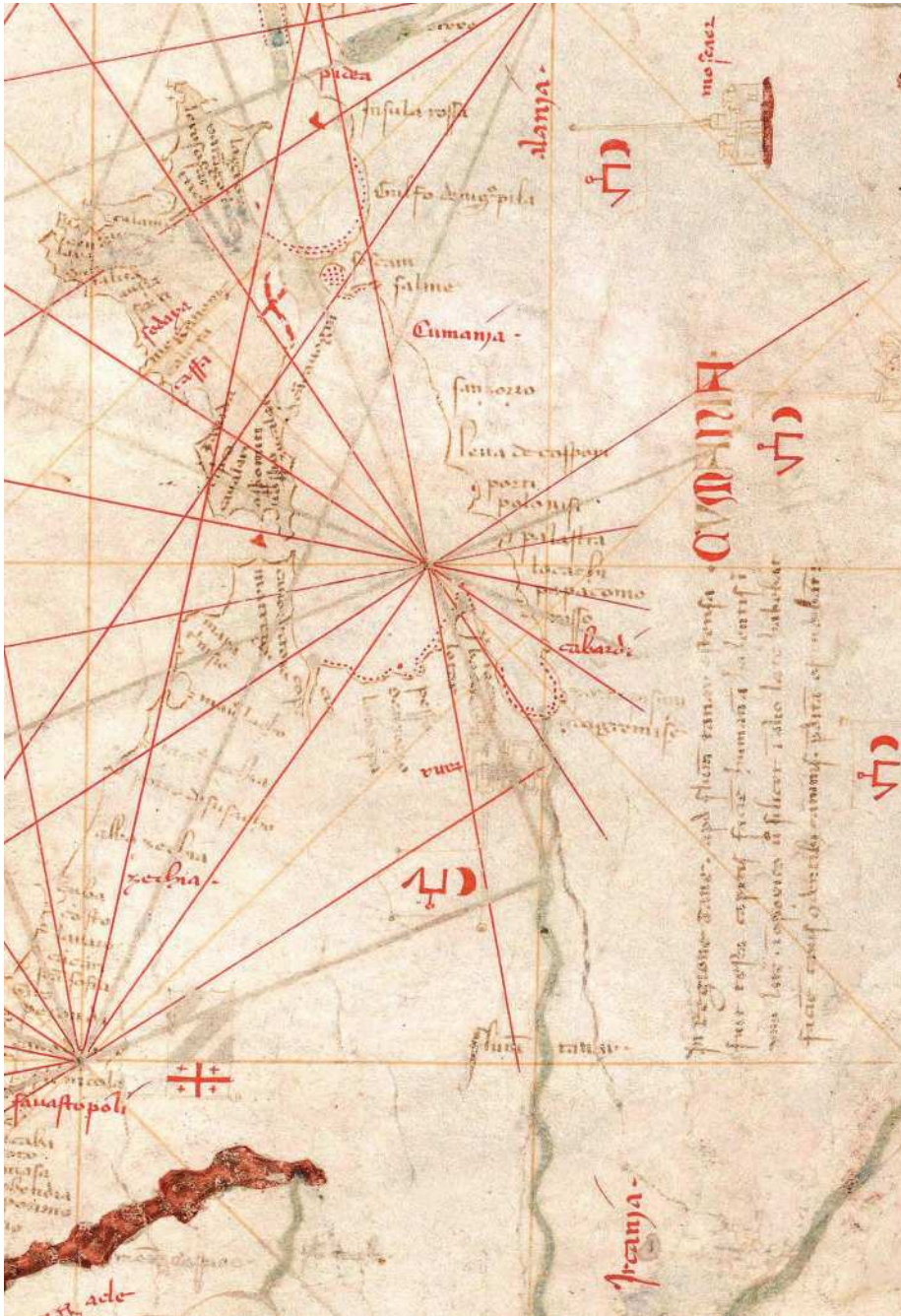


Figure 5: The tamga of Khans of the Golden Horde placed around the Black Sea on the Dulcert (or Dalorto) map of 1339 (South is at the top, to the left as here orientated). (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, IFN-52503220).

Marino, and Riquer before her, attempted to use the arms and flags to pinpoint the time of compilation. Both settled on the arms of France as the single important piece of evidence. According to Riquer, the *Book* used the France modern arms with only three fleurs-de-lis introduced in 1376. This is true, although with some caveats. Riquer is right in noting that King Charles V ‘the wise’ (d. 1380) of the junior Valois branch used this emblem on the seals used in his absence (a regency seal) during the last half dozen years of his reign.³¹ This is not the same as demonstrating that the *modern* arms were in general use in France at the time. The younger arms may be found on regency seals as far back as 1314 in the reign of the Capetian King Philip IV ‘the handsome’.³² It is more likely that the *modern* arms (with fewer flowers indicating minor importance than the great seal) only came into general use during the minority 1380–88 of Charles VI ‘the mad’ (1368–1422) when it was used on the counterseal to the great seal and on the obverse of the regency seal.³³ Between 1374–1421 the counterseal to the regency seals was the *ancient* arms, *Semy-de-lis*.

Irrespective of this discussion, the most important refutation is that MS Z has the *ancient* arms on its fo.3r ‘con flores de oro’, so we may conclude that how to represent France was simply the choice of the copyists and the illustrators, not the narrator.³⁴ Markham used a similar argument for the arms of Majorca before 1375, which is invalidated by the narrator’s general ignorance of European arms.³⁵

The value of the *Book* to armorists cannot be separated from its narrator. All modern commentators, including the present authors, agree that it could not be a mendicant friar. There is less agreement on who he was and when it was written. If his date of birth (1305) is accepted, he would have reached the venerable age of 75 by 1380, but this is dependent on the (invalidated) claim by Riquer and Marino that it was written after 1376. Markham is on safer ground preferring a date before 1375. Perhaps we should forget 1305 and look elsewhere? Another famous travelogue, that of (but not by) Jean de Mandeville narrates travels across the world during 1322–56.³⁶ It was first circulated 1365/66 and must have reached Spain before 1400. Both the narrator and the copyists must have known several travelogues. The vignette of headless monsters on the oldest manuscript (Z, fo.5r, see **Figure 6**) is almost identical to that in the *Livre des merveilles* or memoirs of Marco Polo

³¹ M. Dalas, *Corpus des sceaux francais du moyen-âge, vol.2, Les sceaux des rois et de régence* (Paris, 1991), pp. 220–221, sceaux de substitution, no. 141 (1374, 70/80mmØ), no. 142 (1376, 83 mmØ), counterseal no. 142 bis (1376, 28 mmØ, flory).

³² Dalas pp. 168, 196–197, no. 86 (1314, cs, 18mmØ, châtelet de Paris), no. 113 (1343, 63 mmØ), no. 115 (1347, conseil, 22mmØ).

³³ Dalas pp. 229–230, no. 148 (1380, in majesty, 109mmØ), no. 148bis (1380, counterseal, 36 mmØ); no. 149 (in use 1380–1421, regency seal, 84mmØ), no. 149bis (1380, counterseal, 30mmØ, flory).

³⁴ Updating or improving the arms of famous or important people during the copying of armorials is not unusual. *Willement’s Roll* was compiled c.1395 but the surviving copy (BL Egerton 3713) dates from c.1500 and was made in the Wriotheley studio. It begins with the founding knights of the Garter and has France quartering England with the *semy-de-lis* for Edward III, while the arms of Richard II (deposed 1399) and the royal dukes (numbers 26–30) all have the *three fleurs-de-lis* introduced by his successor Henry IV. See Thomas Willement, *A Roll of Arms of the Reigns of Richard the Second* (London, 1834); Steen Clemmensen, *Willement’s Roll of arms* (Farum, 2009 at www.armorial.dk).

³⁵ Markham, p. ix.

³⁶ C.W.R.D. Mosely, *The travels of Sir John Mandeville* (London, 1983) p. 10, front- and back covers from BnF, MS fr.2810.

Parti de la abada de boerim a
entre en una naue i pafe a
una ysla q dizen golandia i fu
zese en calu del golfo de alema
nia. En la q ysla ay una grado
quodas q dizen busir en q son
noventa parrochias i la ysla
era toda poblada i apries della
es el ysla q
qna q dizen
ovilia i el fer
desta ysla ha
un senall de un
ponton de ban
das amarillas



Parti de golandia i torne
me pa goas una pynna
q es entre suecia i nuruega
i faller tres abades grades
ala una dizen escol. Ala o
calman. ala otra q mtepan
dne i apries desta abades esta
el fize el mar de alemania
un grado golfo filera del quo
al son muchas abades el
mar deste golfo es toda cosa
da i clada de los grades fijos
de la tras montana i las gati
esta goaa co
drigen a es
pana i fue
hon senos
della grand
tiempo i las
senas deste
rey no son
un pyn con
atal



Parti de goaa i subi alas alas
sierras de nuruega q es un fe
quato muy fuer en q son dize q
vades grandes conbiene faser ala
mayor della dizen. fize to to
nan los fize. ala otra dizen nu
droya. ala ot dizen bronde ala ot
truleret i en las montanas desta
nuruega gran muchas alas. Cu
rifaltes. Acorco. falcones. Ot
sy. gran muchas animalas fi
cepes. yabalies blancos i osse
blancos i dizen q un ynfante
fize del fer de nuruega conguo
el condado de fflandes ent tiempo
del fer arto de brechina. fize
per q nuruega atalante conbi
la tras montana es tierra de sa
vinda en q fize el qyne todo
un dia i una noche cada vinda
fize sepe meses i otros sepe
meses la noche i ay entre unas
gentes q ha
las mtegas
fundas en
los pechos
q no ha en
ello mugue
pero p non
las by i el
fer de sta nu
ruega ha
un senall de un ponton de oro con
un leon pieto



Parti de nuruega en una naue
de ingleses i romanos el ca
nyno contra el zomente i ben
mes abades yslas q dizen in sula
cola tence benques a otra que
dizen in sula ventola i tence de
nynos a otra ysla muy grade

Figure 6: The arms of Gotland and Sweden and two monstrous headless men from Northern Scandinavia as shown in MS Z, fo.5r
(Cod.Hisp. 150, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich).

manuscript once owned by John ‘the Fearless’ Duke of Burgundy (d.1419) now in Paris as BnF, MS fr.2810.

Arms were rarely included in travelogues, but imaginary arms inspired by travelogues became rather popular ingredients in late medieval armorials, at least from c.1380.³⁷ The *Book* may be a party to this fashion. The narrator is presented as a Castilian living in the south (in Seville) far away from the court in Burgos. We may disregard this as we have done with the birth date, but we need to consider the political situation in Spain. During 1367–69 there was civil war with a change of ruler and both English and French intervention, so the arms of France and England would be well known to chroniclers as well as soldiers and civilians in the north. In 1375 the Infante John of Castile (King John I, 1379–90) married Eleanor, daughter of Peter IV of Aragon, as a bond of amity between the two realms. It is likely that the more recent Aragonese exploits, including the conquest of Majorca, would be known at the court of Castile soon after. After Eleanor’s death, John married in 1383 Beatrice, who became queen of Portugal and was deposed the same year. Portugal [2] is only mentioned in passing even though there was a short war between Castile and Portugal in 1385. One further political development could have been noted in the *Book*. The grand duke of Lithuania, Jagiello, married Jadwiga the heiress to Poland and was elected king and ruler of a territory that embraced present Moldavia, Ukraine, and Belarus and bordered on the Khanate of the Golden Horde and the Grand Duchy of Moscow, i.e. items [99–100, 110–119]. Instead it refers only to Uzbek Khan (d. 1341), probably from a portolan like the 1339 Dulceto chart.

From the above it appears that any speculation on dating and on its narrator must be based largely on negatives. To make any sense, we should disregard the mendicant, birth date, arms of France and Majorca, experience as traveler or explorer, and probably also any formal training in armory or any ceremonial or messenger function as a herald. What we have is literacy, access to rare and costly manuscripts like a portolan, and leisure time in which to study them and write, which indicates a degree of affluence. It is perhaps unlikely that he was a merchant – too little opportunity to take time off, although most merchants would have had at least some travel experience, so he could have been a lazy younger son. Other occupations – a clerk, teacher, secretary at court, to a prince or to a merchant – are possible. A more likely scenario is that the narrator was a nobleman of independent means with an interest in literature and little taste for politics or soldiering. He need not have been living in the south, most Castilians would know Seville as a principal centre of commerce. It is certainly feasible that he could have owned a portolan. We know of four surviving copies of *Book* from around 1450 plus at least two now lost. There were probably more, as it must have been easy to get one around 1400 as de Bethencourt did.³⁸ *Book* appears to have been close to a local long-lived commercial best-seller at the time, probably around 1380, during a period of relative peace on the Iberian Peninsula and coinciding with the change of royal arms in France. For the modern reader it gives a glimpse of medieval fascination with strange foreign mores and for the armorist a summary of a culture of creating arms based on merchants’ need for quick recognition of who ruled what and where – in marked contrast

³⁷ S. Clemmensen, *Editing armorials. Cooperation, knowledge and approach by late medieval practitioners*. I–II vol. 1 (Copenhagen, 2017), pp. 295–308.

³⁸ See footnote 1.

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to the Anglo-Franco-German tradition of creating imaginary arms from conventional figures like ordinaries, lions, eagles and other birds and beasts.³⁹

SIGLA

Manuscript sources:

- BHM Armorial Bergshammar, edition Raneke 1975.
GRU Conrad Grunenberg's armorial, c.1484, editions Popoff 2011, and Clemmensen 2009.
URF Armorial de Urfé, c.1420, Paris, BnF, MS fr.32753, edition Clemmensen 2016.
WIN Armorial Wijnbergen, c.1285, edition Adam-Even and Jéquier 1951–54.
N MS 9055 (Siglum N) Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid). Incomplete, on paper. Illustrated with 110 arms.
R MS 1890, University of Salamanca (formerly in the Royal Palace in Madrid). Complete, on paper, but with poorly executed arms (hastily painted and incomplete). Illustrated with 106 arms (and spaces for 16 more).
S MS 1997, Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid). Most complete text and the one used as the basis for the translation in EL (49 folios, vellum, includes a portrait of the probable author and other decorative illustrations). Illustrated with 108 arms (and spaces for 9 more).
Z MS BSB-Hss Cod.hisp. 150, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich. Carelessly compiled and incomplete at its end (20 folios, vellum, illustrated with the arms and person of the king of Castile seated with three officials). Illustrated with 98 arms.

(Manuscripts N, R and Z were probably all copied from the same source).

Main published sources:

- BK *Book of the Knowledge of all the Kingdoms, Lands and Lordships that are in the World, and the arms and devices of each land and lordship, or of the kings and lords who possess them* (Markham edition 1912).
EL *El Libro del conocimiento de todos los reinos (The Book of Knowledge of All Kingdoms)* (Marino edition 1999).
AZ *Libro del Conosçimiento de todos los Regnos et Tierras et Señorios que son por el Mundo, et de las señales et armas que han* (Lacarra edition of MS Z 1999).

ARMORY

The information given in each entry is arranged in the following way (if known):

(i) Name of City, Country, Kingdom or Empire (and variant names) with number from EL in square brackets; (ii) Blazon (in italics) or less formal description based on the

³⁹ We are most grateful to Adrian Ailes, Andrew Rogerson and Melanie Rolfe for commenting on early drafts of this paper and to Nicole Kançal-Ferrari of Marmara University, Istanbul for kindly allowing us to use her photograph of the limestone slab in Feodosia museum, which bears the *tamga* of the Khans of the Golden Horde.

images and texts describing the emblems in the transcriptions; (iii) Whether the arms are placed on a flag or a shield; (iv) Text in the transcriptions and their references (BK: Markham; EL: Marino; AZ: Lacarra); (v) The manuscript sources in brackets (S, N, R and / or Z); (vi) References (in upper case Roman numerals) to illustrations in Marino (EL); (vii) Our comments.

Occasionally a note or comment from an entry in Goodall's unpublished paper has been added to the text, in which case it is followed by: (JAG)

ADALIA (SATALIA), King of [41], Antalya on the southern coast of Anatolia in Asia Minor

1. *Argent five bars wavy purple a hexagram sable* (Flag)

'A flag with bars wavy argent and purple and over all the sign of Solomon's seal'

BK p. 19, pl. 9, no. 35 (S)

'A flag with gold and cardinal red bars wavy, and near the staff an emblem like this one'

EL p. 33, XLIIa and b.

2. *Argent a hexagram sable, on a base wavy purple two bars wavy argent* (Shield)

BK p. 19, pl. 9, no. 35 (N, R, Z)

It seems likely that [...] these were intended to represent the same design: Solomon's seal (or hexagram) and paly wavy or dancetty; the variants with the latter in the base must derive from a gonfannon. Although not a major charge in Mayer⁴⁰ it is found on the portolan charts for Brischia and Samsun, and the paly dancetty pattern was also given for Konya. Artin Pacha⁴¹ suggested a possible connection of the seal with its use by the janissaries for one of their 'Orta'⁴², and to its use on North African coins in 1144 and in the nineteenth century. In the latest portolani the Ottoman crescent often replaces the older coats (JAG)

AFRICA, King of [55]

Argent a crescent purple (Flag) (on a shield in Z, see **Figure 3**)

'White with a purple moon'

BK p. 24, pl. 12, no. 50 (S)

'A white flag with a cardinal red moon'

EL p. 43, LV.

The city of Africa, inferred as Almahdia / Mahdia, a coastal town in Tunis.

Cf. TUNISIA, BONA

ALEXANDRIA, King of [51], in Egypt

Or on a roundel sable a lion passant guardant argent (Flag)

BK p. 23, pl. 11, no. 46 (S)

'A yellow flag with a black wheel in the centre, and in the wheel a brown lion'

EL p. 41, LI.

ALMAHDIA, King of, see AFRICA, Tunisia

AMINA (AMENUAN), King of [79], on the Sub-Saharan trade route

'*A white flag with an idol [sable]*' – drawn as a naked gesticulating man.

BK p. 35, pl. 15, no. 69 (S)

⁴⁰ L.A. Mayer, *Saracenic heraldry* (Oxford, 1933), p. 8.

⁴¹ Y. Artin Pacha, *Contribution à l'étude du blason en Orient* (London, 1902), p. 175 and n. 1.

⁴² Equivalent to a battalion.

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‘A White flag with an idol’

EL p. 61, LXXIX.

ARAGON, King of [25], in Spain

Paly of ten or and gules (Flag)

BK p. 14, pl. 5, no. 20 (S)

‘Nine yellow and vermillion pales’

EL p. 23, XXV.

Apart from the reference in BK the portolan charts normally give the arms of Aragon to Valencia. In them the pales are usually reduced to two, or even one; and the axis is almost always horizontal rather than vertical suggesting they were taken from gonfanons. The coins often have only two pales on them, a sensible reduction in view of the small size. Paly or four pales were used by the Counts of Barcelona and Provence from 1150, later kings of Aragon; Valencia was Gules-Or (inverted) in BHM:24, 3383 (c.1450), formally a kingdom, but in reality a province of Aragon from c.1250.⁴³

The seal of Peter II, the Catholic, (1196–1213) [of Aragon] has the trappers with ‘the bars of aragon’ (sic), and that for James I (1213–76) four pales on a shield (Navaro,⁴⁴ nos. 352, 356), the same number are on the counterseal of Peter IV (1336–87) with a crown over the shield (ibid. no. 465, used in 1346). The armorial seal for Constance, wife of Peter III, the Great, (1262–1302) has only three pales (ibid. no. 406). John I (1387–95) used a counterseal with a dragon (ibid. no. 506). In the fifteenth century the arms were often shown on a crowned lozenge, as by Ferdinand I (1412–16), Alfonso V (1416–18) and John II (1458–79), also found on the coins after the union of the crowns (ibid. nos. 532, 536 and 561) (JAG)

ARMALET (ARMALEC, ALMALEC), empire of [90], probably in India

Argent a pale or (Flag)

BK p. 44.

EL p. 77, XC.

Cf. DELHI, VIGUY, BURMA

ARMENIA THE LESS / MINOR, King of [46]

1. *Per fess argent a cross paty throughout between four crosslets gules purpure semi-de-lis or*. (Flag).

BK p. 20–1, pl. 10, no. 41. (S) has a confounded version of the text, which confuses the arms of Lesser Armenia with that of Cyprus.

2. ‘*A white flag with a vermillion lion in a field of white*’

EL p. 37, XLVI.

BAGDAD (BANDACHO) [83], in Iraq

Argent a triangle point down gules (heart shaped emblem on red background, MS Z)

BK p. 40, no. 72, omits any mention of this emblem.

EL p. 69, LXXXIII, compares the emblem with the Tower of Babylonia.

The king of Mesopotamia uses the same emblem on blue, as in MS Z, not mentioned in EL.

BAYONNE [3], in Gascony

Argent a cross gules

⁴³ *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vols. 1–9 (München and Zürich, 1977–98), vol. 8 p. 1380.

⁴⁴ A.G. Navaro, *Catálogo de sellos, y Sellos reales* (Madrid, 1974).

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BK p. 3, pl. 1, no. 3 (S)

‘A white flag with a vermillion cross’

EL p. 7, III.

The arms of St George as the military flag of the English kings (JAG).

BÉJAÏA (BUGIA), King of [61], in Algeria

Gules a crossbow in pale or (Flag) (see **Figure 3**)

BK p. 25, pl. 13, no. 53 (S)

‘A vermillion flag with a yellow crossbow’

EL p. 43, LXI.

Bugia is noted c.1291 with a roundel in WIN:1291, and by 1420 with a similar looking tortoise in URF:2723 and dependent armorials.

BENGAL, see VIGUY

BOCARIN, see CATO

BOHEMIA, King of [11]

Argent a lion rampant gules crowned or (Flag)

BK p. 8, pl. 3, no. 10 (S)

‘A white flag with a vermillion crowned lion’

EL p. 13, XI.

BONA (HIPPO), King of [59], ancient Hippo, present Annaba in Algeria

‘A white flag with a black moon’ (Not illustrated).

BK p. 24–5.

‘A white flag with a black moon’ (see **Figure 3**)

EL p. 43, LIX.

Cf. TUNIS, AFRICA

BOSNIA (BOXINA), King of [36]

Per fess gules and or in chief a mullet of eight points argent in base on a roundel vert a cross gules. (Shield)

BK p. 17, pl. 8, no. 29 (S)

‘The lord of these mountains has as his insignia the same as the King of Esclavonia’

EL p. 28, footnote 72: the roundel is absent in S.

Cf. SLAVONIA, ESCLAVONIA

BRISCHAN, King of [62], possibly Biskra / Briskara south of Constantine in Algeria, or between Oran and Algiers (see **Figure 3**)

1. *Argent a hexagram with each point set between a pair of annulets sable* (Flag)

BK p. 25, pl. 13, no. 54 (S)

‘The king has as his insignia a white flag with an emblem like the one that is here’

EL LXIIa (S, Z)

2. *Argent a heart pierced by an arrow set within a hexagram sable* (shield)

EL LXIIb (R)

‘The king has as his insignia a white flag with an emblem like the one that is here’

EL p. 45.

BUDA, City of [71], El Bayadh, capital of the Tuat region south of the Atlas mountain range

Argent a crescent gules (Flag)

‘Its flag is white with a red moon’

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BK p. 30, pl. 14, no. 62 (S)
'A white flag with a vermillion moon'
EL p. 53, LXXI.

BURMA (OXANAP), King of [88]

Argent a pale or (Flag)
'A white flag with a pale of gold'
BK p. 44, pl. 16, no. 74 (S)
'A silver flag with a gold pale'
EL p. 75, LXXXVIII.
Cf. DELHI, VIGUY

CARAOL, city / kingdom of [111], on the Caspian Sea

Or a square gules (Flag)
'A yellow flag with a vermillion square'
EL p. 101, CXI.
Cf. PERSIA, SALDANIA

CASTELLE, (SINOPE), Kingdom of [106], on the Turkish Black Sea coast

Gules a cross between four chain links or
'A red flag with a golden cross between four chain links'
BK p. 57.
'A vermillion flag with a gold cross and four gold links'
EL p. 99, CVIa (S), CVIb (N) (links drawn as annulets). Both are depicted on shields.
The arms are variations of those of the Latin and Palaeologi emperors of Constantinople.

CATO, kingdom of [93], Kattakurgan in Central Asia between Samarkhand and Khiva,
Or a semy of estoiles argent (of eight points) (see **Figure 1**)

'A yellow flag with many white stars'
BK p. 51, pl. 16, no. 78.
'A yellow flag with many white stars'
EL p. 87, XCIII.

The arms are repeated for the city of Bokhara (Bocarín) in Turkmenistan.

ÇERDEÑA, King of [57], island of Sardinia in the Mediterranean

'The King of ÇERDURÑA has the bars of Aragon on his flag' (not illustrated)
BK p. 24.
'The King of Cerdeña has as his insignia the pales of the King of Aragon' (see **Figure 3**)
EL p. 43, LVII.

CEUTA (ÇEPTA), King of [65], in Morocco, opposite Gibraltar

Gules two keys erect with bits to dexter chief argent

BK p. 26, pl. 13, no. 56 (S)
'Vermillion flag with two white keys'
EL p. 45, LXV.

One of the examples of a North African town with a persistent device (JAG), but not this emblem. Ceuta was seized in 1415 by Portugal with troops from Lisbon. In 1668 Portugal ceded it to Spain, but it kept its arms, which were similar to those of the city of Lisbon (*Gironny Argent and Sable*) with the arms of Portugal on an inescutcheon.

CHINA (CATAYO, GRAND CHAM), Emperor of [91], and Java [89]

Or a king seated on a throne with an orb in his right hand and a bow in his left argent (Flag) (see **Figure 1**)

‘A gold flag in the middle an emperor seated, in white clothes, with an imperial crown on his head, in one hand a Turkish bow, in the other a golden apple’

BK p. 45, pl. 16, no. 76 (S), for China.

‘A gold flag and in its centre an emperor seated with white clothing, and he has an imperial crown on his head, and in his hand a Turkish bow, and in the other hand a gold apple’

EL pp. 75 and 77, XCI.

The normal Chinese imperial emblem was the lung dragon (JAG).

‘They adore the Emperor of Cathay, whose image they have on their flags’

BK p. 44, pl. 16, no. 75 (S), for Java.

‘[They] worship the Emperor of Catayo, whose vassals they are. And they have his image on their flags’

EL p. 75, LXXXIX.

There were Chinese trading settlements on some of the islands in the Indonesian archipelago from at least the Sung and Yüan dynasties and this presumably refers to one of these (JAG)

CONSTANTINE (CONSTANTINA), King of [60], in Algeria

Party per fess argent and or (Flag)

‘A flag parted per fess white and yellow’

BK p. 25, pl. 13, no. 52 (S)

‘Per pale white and yellow’

EL p. 43, LX.

AZ p. 60, 10r, heart-shaped *per pale Or and Argent*, each subfield in a red border (see **Figure 3**)

CONSTANTINOPLE [98]

1. *Quarterly 1 and 2 gules a cross between four firesteels* [‘chain links’] *or 2 and 3 argent a cross gules* (Flag)

BK p. 55, pl. 17, no. 82 with order reversed (S)

The arms of Constantinople quartering Genoa, presumably for the Genoese colony at Pera. On portolani the two flags are often depicted in proximity and it is likely that this confused the author (JAG)

2. *Quarterly 1 and 4 gules a cross patonce between two annulets or (i in sinister chief and sinister base, ii in sinister chief and dexter base), 2 and 3 argent a cross patonce gules* (Shield)

BK p. 55, pl. 17, no. 82 with order reversed (N, R)

‘A quarterly flag two quarters white with vermillion crosses, and the other two quarters are vermillion, each with a cross of gold and four gold links’

EL p. 95, XCVIIIa (S), and b (N, R). The two are essentially identical.

CORINCHO (KONGOS), King of [43], ruins of Corycos (Curcho), 50 km NE of Silifke (Seleucia) on the southern coast of Turkey

Sable a cross between four crosslets argent (Flag)

BK p. 20, pl. 9, no. 37 (S), as Kongos.

‘A black flag with five white crosses’

EL p. 35, XLIII.

AZ p. 59, no. 40, 8v, ‘ciudad de satalia.’

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CORSICA (CORÇEGA) [58]

Argent a cross gules (see **Figure 3**)

BK p. 24. (Not illustrated)

‘A white flag with a vermillion cross’

EL p. 43, LVIII.

It bears this flag ‘because [the island] was taken by the Genoese’ (JAG).

CUMANIA [102], the territory north of the Black Sea and along the Volga

Argent a decrescent to dexter a tamga to sinister gules (Flag)

BK p. 59–60, the text is confused.

EL p. 97, CII, include kingdoms of Tana and Canardi.

Cumans, a Turkish speaking tribe, which later settled in Hungary, Bulgaria and Anatolia

Cf. UXBECO, SARA.

CUNIO, King of, see ICONIUM

CYPRUS (CHIPRE), King of [47]

Per pale dexter argent a cross patonce between four crosslets gules sinister purple two fleurs-de-lis in pale or (Shield)

BK p. 20, pl. 10, no. 42 (S)

‘A flag per pales, one pale cardinal red with gold flowers because the king is of the House of França, and the other pale [has] five vermillion crosses’

EL p. 37, XLVII.

The arms are a confounded version of Jerusalem impaling France, though the Lusignan kings of Cyprus, Jerusalem and lesser Armenia never adopted any variant of the arms of France. They used various combinations of quarters of *Argent a cross of Jerusalem or*; *barry argent and azure over all a lion gules* (Lusignan); *Sable a lion or* (Armenia); and *Gules a lion argent* (Cyprus).

DAMASCUS, King of [49], in Syria

Or a crescent argent (Flag)

BK p. 22, pl. 11, no. 44 (S)

‘A yellow flag with a white moon’

EL p. 39, XLIX.

DELHI (DELINI, LINI or BENGAL) [86]

Argent a pale or (Flag) (see **Figure 1**)

‘A white flag with a gold pale’

BK p. 42, pl. 16, no. 74 (S)

‘A silver flag with a gold pale’

EL p. 39, LXXXVI.

Cf. BURMA, VIGUY, ARMALET

DENMARK (DACIA ‘of the Danes’), King of [10]

Or three lions passant to sinister sable (Flag)

BK p. 7, pl. 3, no. 9 (S)

‘A flag of gold with three black lions’

EL p. 13, X.

The arms of Denmark, documented 1194, are *Or three lions passant azure crowned gules semy of hearts gules*.

Cf. FRISIA

DERNENT (DEREBENT) [110], Derbent on the coast of the Caspian Sea

‘Flag as that of UXBECO’

BK p. 58.

‘Its King has as his insignia an emblem like Uxbeto because he is his vassal’⁴⁵

EL p. 101, CX.

Cf. KHARISM, NORGANCIO, SARA, UXBECO

DONGOLA, King of [76], west of Nubia in sub-Saharan African

Argent a double cross formy sable (Flag, shield, variant details)

BK p. 32, pl. 14, no. 66 (S, R; N, Z)

EL p. 57, LXXVIa, b (S, R, N, Z). Red background, no border in MS Z.

EGYPT, King (or Sultan) of [50]

Argent a crescent azure (Flag)

‘A white flag with a blue moon’

BK p. 22–3, pl. 11, no. 45 (S)

‘A white flag with a blue moon in the centre’

EL p. 41, L.

EL SUS (SOUCE, ÇUÇIA), King of [68], in the Atlas Mountains

Argent a lion rampant to sinister sable (Flag).

‘White with a black lion’

BK p. 27, pl. 14, no. 59 (S).

‘A white flag with a black moon’

EL p. 43, LXVIII.

EMPIRE, see GERMANY

ENGLAND, King of [21, 22]

Quarterly 1 and 2 gules three lions passant guardant or 3 and 4 azure three fleurs-de-lis or (2, 1) (Flag)

BK p. 12, pl. 5, no. 18 (S). Quarterings and lions reversed.

‘The king of these lands has as his insignia a quarterly flag: in two quarters there are gold flowers on a field of blue because the king is of the House of França: in the other two quarters there are in each three long gold leopards, and the field is vermillion’

EL p. 21, XXI.

AZ no.6, MS Z fo.5v, Quarterly 1 and 4 *semy of fleurs-de-lis*.

The same arms are used for IRELAND [22] in BK p. 12 (not illustrated) and in EL p. 21, XXII.

The arms of England have been updated (incorrectly) by the copyists.

ESCLAVONIA, see SLAVONIA, Bosnia

FEZ, King of [66], in Morocco

Argent (Flag)

‘Flag all white’

BK p. 26, pl. 13, no. 57 (S)

‘Its king has an entirely white flag as his insignia’

EL p. 45, LXVI.

FLANDERS, (FLANDES), Count of [7]

Or a lion rampant sable (Flag)

BK p. 5, pl. 2, no. 7 (S)

‘A flag of gold with a black lion’

⁴⁵ Shown in EL as a triple-towered castle.

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EL p. 9, VII.

AZ p. 57, VII 'señor de brujas'

Lacarra et. al. (1999) conflates the county of Flanders with the city of Bruges.

FLORENCE, Lord of [30]

Argent a cross gules (Flag)

BK p. 15. (Not illustrated)

'Its lord has as his insignia a white flag with a vermillion cross'

EL p. 25, XXX.

The 'cross of the people' (as it is sometimes referred to), seems to have been used from the mid thirteenth century for the 'Podesta of the host and guard of the Carroccio' (Villani⁴⁶ Book VI, cap. 40), and, in the 'Ordinances of Justice' made in 1292 'the ensign and standard of the said Popolo was decreed to be a white field with a red cross' (ibid. BI VII, cap. 1) (JAG)

FRANCE, King of [6]

Azure three fleurs-de-lis or (Flag)

BK p. 5, pl. 2, no. 6 (S)

'A blue flag with three gold fleurs-de-lis'

EL p. 9, VI.

AZ p. 57, no. 6, MS Z fo.3r, *semy of fleurs-de-lis*.

FRISIA, King of [9]

Or three lions passant to sinister sable (Flag)

BK p. 7, pl. 3, no. 9 (S)

'A gold flag with three long black lions'

EL p. 11, IX.

Cf. DENMARK. West Frisia has *Azure two lions passant guardant or billety argent* in medieval armorials, e.g. GRU:425.

GALICIA (GALLIZIA, LEON, LEMBERG, LUMBREL), King of [14], province in southern Poland including the city of Lwow / Lviv / Lemberg

1. *Vert a cross gules* (Flag)

BK p. 9, pl. 4, no. 13 (S)

'A green flag with a vermillion cross'

EL p. 15, XIVa (S)

2. *Argent a cross formy issuing from a crescent gules* (Shield)

BK pl. 4, no. 13 (N, Z)

EL p. 15, XIVb (N, Z)

GENOA, Lord of [27]

Argent a cross gules in dexter chief the letters JUSTI in sinister chief the letters CIA sable (Flag)

'A white flag with a red cross, and with the word JUSTICIA'

BK p. 15, pl. 6, no.22 (S)

'A white flag with a vermillion cross. On it is written 'Justicia'

EL p. 25, XXVII.

⁴⁶ R.E. Selfe, and P.H. Wicksteed (eds), *Selections from the first nine books of the Croniche florentine of Giovanni Villani* (London, 1897).

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The Genoese colonies on the Black Sea used the tower device of the Genoese coins with the *tamgas* of the khans of the Krim Tartars (Lunardi 1980⁴⁷ and Retowski 1906–14⁴⁸) (JAG)

Cf. CONSTANTINOPLE

GERMANY, Emperor of [8]

Argent an eagle displayed sable crowned or (Flag)

BK p. 6, pl. 2, no. 8 (S)

‘The Emperor of Alemaña has as his insignia a yellow flag with a crowned black eagle’

EL p. 11, VIII.

GOTLAND (GOTLANDIA) [16], islands of Ösel and Gotland with the city of Visby in the Baltic sea

1. *Barry of eight purpure and or*

‘A flag of gold and purple bars’ (Flag)

BK p. 10, pl. 4, no. 15 (S)

EL p. 17, XVIa (S)

2. *Bendy of eight purpure and or a border gules* (Shield)

BK p. 10, pl. 4, no. 15 (N)

EL p. 17, XVIb (N, R)

3. *Argent three pales or surmounted by four bends azure* (Shield) (see **Figure 6**)

‘A flag with yellow and cardinal red crossed bands’

EL p. 17, XVIc (Z)

AZ p. 57, MS Z fo.5r ‘rey de las yslas de Visvy y Oxilia’

See also SWEDEN as GOTLAND [17].

GOTONIE (KAMARANKA), Kingdom of [78]

‘Gold sashes tied on a lance’

EL p. 59, LXXVIII.

BK p. 34.

AZ p. 61, MS Z fo.13v ‘reynado de Geconie’

Perhaps Kamaranga of the West African coast.

Cf. TOLOMETA.

GRAÇIONA, Emperor of [80], Civitas Syone, Aksum in Ethiopia

Argent a cross paty throughout sable (Flag)

‘A white flag with a black cross’

BK p. 35–6, pl. 15, no. 70 (S)

‘A silver flag with a black cross’

EL p. 63, LXXX.

AZ p. 61, no. 79, MS Z fo.14r, ‘enperador Abdeselib’, an ally of Prester John.

GRANADA, King of [24]

‘A red flag with Arabic letters of gold’ (Flag)

BK p. 14, pl. 5, no. 19 (S)

‘A vermillion flag with gold Arabic letters, such as Mohammed, his prophet, and this is it that follows’

EL p. 23, XXIV.

⁴⁷ G. Lunardi, ‘Le monete delle colonie Genovesi’, *Atti della societa ligure di storia Patria* n.s. 20 (94), fasc. 1 (Genoa, 1980).

⁴⁸ O. Retowski, *Genuesko-Tatarskija monety* (Berlin, 1906–14).

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The script is probably a garbled version of *Wailgalib ill Allah* – ‘No conqueror but God’ (JAG)

GROPIS, King of [77], one of the Bissagots islands, off Guinea-Bissau

1. *Argent a standing male figure arms outstretched sable* (Flag)

BK p. 33, pl. 15, no. 67 (S)

‘A white flag with the figure of their idol’

EL p. 57, LXXVII.

2. *Argent a standing dog-headed figure walking to dexter with right arm raised sable a bordure gules* (Shield)

BK p. 33, pl. 15, no. 68 (N)

3. *Argent a human figure standing with a sling in his sinister hand sable* (Shield)

AZ fo. 13r (Z).

GUINEA, King of [72]

Or a mount sable. (Flag)

‘A gold flag with a black mountain in the middle’ – the mountain drawn with small trees.

BK p. 30, pl. 14, no. 63 (S)

‘A gold flag with a black mountain in the centre’

EL p. 53, LXXII.

Cf. TAMMERGRUT.

HIPSILI (ATOLOGO, STOLOGO), King of [109], in Asia Minor

1. *Gules a roundel sable* (Flag)

BK p. 58, pl. 19, no. 88 (S)

2. *Gules a voided roundel sable* (Shield)

BK p. 58, pl. 19, no. 88 (N)

‘A vermillion flag and in the centre a black wheel’

EL p. 101, CIX.

HIRCANIA (ARCANIA, YRCANIA), King of [119],

Vert a cross springing from a chevron in base within a border gules (Shield)

BK p. 61, pl. 20, no. 94 (S)

‘The king of Siria and also the one from Arcania have this insignia’

EL pp. 106–7, footnote 261, CXIX. (N) (no border)

Located in western Siberia, north-east of the Urals. The device looks like a rationalization of a *tamga* (JAG)

HUNGARY (UNGRIA), Kingdom of [38]

Barry gules and argent and a chief azure semy-de-lis or. (Flag)

BK p. 18, pl. 8, no. 31 (S)

‘A flag per pale, one pale with the flowers of Françaia, because the king is of the House of Françaia, and the other pale [with] vermillion and white bands’

EL p. 31, XXXVIII.

AZ p. 59, no. 36, 8r, blazon only, *a roundel charged with a star* [37] for Morea is depicted along with the blazon.

The fleurs-de-lis refer to Louis I of Hungary (1326–1382), who descended from Charles of Anjou, brother of St Louis. In *Armorial Gelre*, no. 500, fo. 52v1, he has the quarterings *Per pale [barry argent and gules (Hungary)]; Azure semy-de-lis or (Anjou); Gules an eagle argent (Poland, king of, 1370); Gules a cross argent on a mount vert (Hungary, king of, 1342); Gules three lion's heads argent (Dalmatia, king of, 1370).*

ICELAND (IBERNIA) [23]

Or lion sable (Flag)

‘the king of this island has for his device the same flag ... as the king of Noruega’
(Norway)

BK p. 13 (not illustrated)

EL p. 23, XXIII.

ICONIUM (CUNIO) [44], in Asia Minor, Konya in Anatolia in Turkey; sultanate of Ikonium or Rum, seldjuk to c.1300, then Mongol

Argent four bars wavy gules (Flag)

BK p. 20, pl. 10, no. 39 (S)⁴⁹

‘A flag with white and vermillion bars wavy’

EL p. 35, XLIV (S)

IRELAND, see ENGLAND

JAVA, King (or Emperor) of, in Indonesia, see CHINA and VIGUY (see **Figure 1**)

JERUSALEM, (IHERUSALM), Province of, see SYRIA

KHARISM (KHIVA), see UXBECO

LEMBERG (LEON, LUMBREC), King of, see GALICIA

LITHUANIA (LITEFAMA, COURLAND), King of [12]

Argent a star of David, seal of Solomon or hexagram) sable (Flag)

BK p. 8, pl. 3, no. 11 (S)

‘A white flag with this black emblem’

EL p. 15, XII.

The arms of Lithuania were *Gules a mounted knight argent armed with sword and shield charged with either azure a patriachal cross or, or azure the pillars of Gediminas or*.

Cf. POLAND

LODOMAGO, King of [99], on west coast of the Black Sea

Gules a cross between four firesteels or (Flag)

‘A red flag with a yellow cross between four chain links’

BK p. 55, pl. 17, no. 81 (S)

‘A cross of gold and four gold links’

EL p. 95, XCIXa (S)

‘A cross between four annulets’ (Shield)

EL XCIXb (N, R)

These are versions of the cross and firesteels flag of the Byzantine emperors, commonly substituting bezant coins (annulets, roundels or roundels filled with a cross) as canting devices.

LOMBARDIA [28]

Gules a square argent

Not mentioned with emblem in BK.

EL p. 25, XXVIII.

LUCHA (LUCHON), King of [52], Lukk on the Libyan coast close to the border with Egypt

Or a crescent argent (Flag)

‘A yellow flag with a white moon’

BK p. 23, pl. 12, no. 47 (S)

EL p. 41, LII.

⁴⁹ In Markham the attribution has been transposed with no. 38 for TURKEY.

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MAGDASOR, Emperor of [82], Mogadishu in Somalia

Argent a cross paty sable (Flag)

‘A white flag with a black cross’

BK p. 38, pl. 15, no. 70 (S)

EL p. 67, LXXXIIa (S) (Flag), LXXXIIb (N, R, Z) (Shield)

Cf. GRAÇIONA, PRESTER JOHN

MAYORCA (MALLORCA, MAJORCA), King of [63], annexed 1375 by Aragon

Barry of twelve sable and vert (Flag)

BK p. 25, pl. 13, no. 55 (S)

‘Green and black pales’

EL pp. 44–5, footnote 120, LXIII.

AZ p. 60, no. 62, 10v, *Or four pales gules* – as for ARAGON.

MARRAKESH (MARRUECOS), King of, see MOROCCO

MAXAR, (MASQUACOTR) [117]

Purpure semy of mullets of eight points argent (Flag)

‘A purple flag with white stars’

BK p. 61, pl. 19, no. 92 (S)

‘A cardinal red flag with white stars of silver’

EL p. 105, CXVII.

The text identifies the place as the province containing Kazan and Moscow, but the plate gives Orenburg, the distance between these cities makes a connection with fourteenth-century Moscow unlikely. The design is similar to the impalement in the arms for Sandomir on the Polish great seals⁵⁰ (JAG), which are *Barry argent and gules impaling azure semy of mullets or*.

MECCA (MEÇA, MECA) [84], capital of the Empire of the Arabs,

Gules an inscription or (Flag) (see **Figure 1**)

‘A red flag and on it Arabic letters in gold’

BK p. 41, pl. 16, no. 72 (S)

‘A vermillion flag, and in the centre gold Arabic letters’

EL p. 71, LXXXIV.

The inscription is garbled, see GRANADA

MESOPOTAMIA, see BAGDAD

MOREA, Prince of [39]

Argent an annulet enclosing six curved spokes gules infilled or (Shield)

BK p. 19, pl. 8, no. 33. (N, R). The flag is blank in S, and not mentioned in Markham’s text.

‘A white flag with this yellow emblem outlined in vermillion’

EL pp. 32–3 and footnote 78, XXXIX.

AZ p. 59, 8r (Z), has the flag alongside the text on Hungary, and the arms of the Order of St. John [40] for Rhodes alongside the text on Morea.

See RHODES

MOROCCO (MARRUECOS) [67]

Gules a rectangle / square checky sable and argent (Flag)

BK p. 26, pl. 13, no. 58 (S)

⁵⁰ See K. Seroka, ‘Sandomierskie Voivodship in the Former Poland – Political and Administrative Status’ in *Barometr Regionalny: kwartalnik społeczno-gospodarczy: magazyn naukowy*, T. 16, nr 5 (2018) pp. 59–68, at pp. 64–5, fig. 1.

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‘A vermillion flag with white and black checky’

EL p. 47, LXVII.

A footnote in EL (p. 46, footnote 125) suggests that the narrator has confused Morocco with Tunis.

NAPLES (NAPOL), King of [32]

Purpure semi-de-lis or a label gules (Flag: S, Shield: R, N, Z)

‘A purple flag with gold fleurs de lys ... Above is a red slip which they call a label’

BK p. 16, pl. 7, no. 25.

‘A cardinal red flag with gold flowers because he is of the House of França. And on the upper part is a vermillion stripe which they call the lambel’

EL p. 27, XXXIIa (S)

The label drawn as either (1) a serrated chief or (2 and 3) a bar invected on the lower edge. The number of fleurs-de-lis varies between the manuscripts. Naples was ruled by members of the House of Capet-Anjou, who bore *Azure semy-de-lis or and in chief a label gules*.

NARBONNE, Lord of [26]

1. *Argent a cross trefly between four nails gules* (Flag)

BK p. 14, pl. 6, no. 21 (S)

‘A white flag with a red cross like that of Tolosa’ (Toulouse)

EL p. 25, XXVIa (S)

‘A white flag with a vermillion cross like that of Tholosa, and in each quarter an emblem like this one, because this city belonged to Don Remondo, Count of Tolosa’

The arms could be very confused versions of the Cross of Toulouse.

2. *Argent a cross between four triangles gules* (Shield)

BK p. 14, pl. 6, no. 21 (N)

EL XXVIb (R)

3. *A cross ?fleury between four inward pointing triangles* (Flag)

EL XXVIc (Z)

NARENT, King of [37], ‘in Dalmatia at mouth of river Narenta (Neretva)’

Quarterly purpure and argent (Flag)

BK p. 18, pl. 8, no. 30 (N)

‘A quartered flag, two [of its] quarters cardinal red, and two white’

EL p. 31, XXXVII.⁵¹

AZ p. 59, no. 35, 7v (Z), *Quarterly azure and argent* (Shield)

NAVARRRE [4]

1. *Gules an escarbuncle made of rays of chain or* (Flag)

BK pp. 3–4, pl. 1, no. 4 (S)

EL p. 7, IVa (S)

2. *Azure three chains fesswise and three fleurs-de-lis in chief or [a border gules⁵²]* (Shield)

BK pp. 3–4, pl. 1, no. 4 (N)

⁵¹ Markham wrongly illustrates two further variants: *Sable a cross formy fuchy Argent between four crosslets Or*. (Shield). BK pl. 8, no. 30. (S) and *Azure a cross patonce between four crosslets Argent*. BK pl. 8, no. 30 (R). According to EL p. 30, footnote 74 the shields in the three manuscripts are the same except R which has ‘diagonal lines through both white quarters.’

⁵² As illustrated in Markham.

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EL p. 7, IVb (N, R, Z)

The versions in R, N, Z are confounded renderings of Evreux (*Azure flory or with a bend compony argent-gules*) quartering the chains of Navarre (*Gules a cross and saltire within an orle all of chain or*) for Charles II d'Evreux (d.1387), who became king of Navarre in 1349. There are many variants of these arms, including as an escarbuncle.

NORGANCIO, (KHARISM, KIVA), King of, see UXBECO

NORWAY (NOERUGA), King of [18]

Or a lion rampant sable

BK p. 11, pl. 4, no. 16 (S)

'A gold flag with a black lion'

EL p. 19, XVIII.

The arms of Norway are *Gules a lion rampant or holding an axe argent*.

Cf. FLANDERS, ZEELAND

ORENBERG, see MAXAR

ORGANA, King of [73], in Upper Senegal

1. *Argent a palm tree vert between two keys both with wards downward to dexter or* (Flag)

'a white flag with a green palm tree and two keys'

BK p. 31, pl. 14, no. 64 (S)

2. *Argent a palm tree vert between two keys erect addorsed both with wards erect vert within a bordure or fimbriated gules* (Shield)

BK p. 31, pl. 14, no. 62 (N)

'A white flag with a green palm tree and two keys'

EL p. 55, LXXIII.

PALOLIMEN (SCUTARI), King of [107], Üsküdar on the Turkish side of Istanbul

'his insignia like one that is Castelle's' (Shield)

EL p. 99, CVII (N)

1. *Argent a decrescent to dexter a tamga to sinister gules* (S), like [94. 102]

2. *Gules a cross between four annulets or* (N) like Castelle / Sinope [106]

PERSIA [95]

Or a square Gules (Flag)

BK p. 53, pl. 17, no. 80 (S)

'A gold flag with a vermillion square in the centre'

EL p. 91, XCV.

Cf. CARAOL, SALDANIA

PHILADELPHIA, (FERADELFIA), King of [108], Turkish town of Alasehir in ancient Lydia, 100 km east of Smyrna, seized 1390 by Turks

1. *Barry of six purple and argent on a chief argent a cross paty gules*

'The King has for his device a flag parted per pale, argent and azure and on the field Argent a cross Gules'

BK p. 58, pl. 18, no. 87 (Flag: S; Shield: N)

'All of these cities [Palolimen, Diaschilo, Veda, Ferandelfia, Faya] are in Turquia and in ancient times they called it Asia Minor. The king of these cities has as his insignia a flag with white and cardinal red bands, and near the bar a vermillion cross and the field is white'

EL p. 99, CVIII.

2. *Per pale or a square gules and argent a cross formy gules*

AZ p. 59, no. 42, 8v (Z)

Philadelphia is mentioned in EL p. 35 and BK p. 20, corresponding to AZ p. 59, without any mention of arms. Both Jimenez (tables in AZ, no. 38) and Markham (pl. 18, no. 87, S, N) have variants of the 'square and cross' emblem noted for Turkey [42]

PIACENZA, Italy, see PISA

PISA [29], in Italy

1. *Gules*. (Flag)

BK p. 15, pl. 6, no. 23 (S)

'An entirely red-coloured flag'

EL p. 25, XXIXa (S)

2. *Gules a square argent* (Shield)

BK p. 15, pl. 6, no. 23 (N)

EL p. 24, XXIXb (N, R, Z), see footnote 61 noting that these are the arms of Piacenza: *Argent a wolf sable impaling gules a square argent*.

POLAND (POLONIA), King of [13]

1. *Vert a hexagram on its side on a sexfoil gules both voided argent* (Flag)

'A green flag with this sign in red'

BK pp. 8–9, pl. 3, no. 12 (S)

'A green flag with this vermillion emblem'

EL p. 15, XIIIa (S)

2. *A cross paty springing from a crescent in base*⁵³ (Shield) (see flags on a portolan, **Figure 2**)

EL p. 15, XIIIb (N, Z)

3. *A cross paty* (Shield)

EL p. 15, XIIIc (R)

The arms of Poland were *Gules an eagle argent crowned or*.

Cf. LITHUANIA AND LEMBERG

PORTUGAL [2]

Argent five quinas per saltire within a border gules charged with eight triple-towered castles or (Flag)

BK p. 3, pl. 1, no. 2 (S)

'The insignia of the king of this kingdom is a flag with castles around it and escutcheons in the centre'

EL p. 5, IIa (S) (Flag)

EL p. 5, IIb (N, R, Z) (Shield)

PRESTER JOHN (PRESTE JUAN) [81], Patriarch of Nubia and Ethiopia

1. *Argent a triple-barred cross paty sable a bordure gules* (Flag)

BK pl. 15, no. 71 (S)

EL LXXXIc (N)

2. *Argent a Latin cross paty between two crooks sable* (Flag)

'a white flag with a black cross having two crooks one on each side'

BK p. 37, pl. 15, no. 71 (N)

EL LXXXIa (S)

⁵³ This device is similar to the herb of well-known Polish clan arms e.g. Nowina, Ratuł and Szeliga (J. Szymanski, *Herbarz średniowiecznego rycerstwa polskiego* (Warsaw, 1993), 200, 248, 268, which can be found in Western armorials, e.g. BHM:2175, 2200, 2219.

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3. *Argent a cross patonce sable between two crooks (or croziers) labelled or [a bordure gules⁵⁴]* (Shield)

BK pl. 15, no. 71 (R)

EL LXXXIb (N)

‘The insignia of Prester John is a silver flag with a black cross and on both sides two crooks in this manner, because in the land of Nubia and of Ethiopia there are two emperors: one is the emperor of Graçiona and the other is the emperor of Magdasor’

EL p. 65.⁵⁵

4. *Argent a cross sable* [Shield]

AZ p. 61, no. 80, 15r [Z]

RHODES (RODAS) [40]

1. *Gules a cross paty argent between four crosslets sable* (Shield)

BK pl. 8, no. 32 (N)

Markham mistakes these arms for those of MOREA.⁵⁶

2. *Gules a cross formy throughout argent* (Shield)

BK p. 19, pl. 9, no. 34 (N)

‘This island is of the Order of Saint John, and his is its insignia a vermillion flag with a white cross’

EL p. 33, XL (where the illustration shows a small cross paty, as in N and Z)

ROME, city of [31]

1. *Gules a cross formy argent and letters SPQR in bend or* (Shield)

BK p. 16, pl. 6, no. 24 (N)

‘The insignia of Roma is a vermillion flag with a band of gold with letters that say Senatus Populusque Romanus, and a white cross before the letters’

EL p. 27, XXXIb (N, R, Z)

2. *Gules on a fess or the letters SPQR sable* (Flag)

BK p. 16, pl. 6, no. 44 (S)

EL p. 27, XXXIa (S)

RUSSIA (ROXIA), Kingdom of [114]

1. *Gules a triple-towered castle argent* (Flag)

BK p. 60, pl. 19, no. 91 (S)

‘Its insignia is a red flag with a castle in the centre’

EL p. 105, CXIV.

2. *Gules a triple-towered castle or a border sable* (Shield)

BK p. 60, pl. 19, no. 91 (N)

Cf. DERBENT, SARA, SABUR, SICÇIA, XORMAN

SABUR [113]

Argent a triple-towered castle gules

EL p. 103, CXIII.

Marino proposed Kostroma, town and province north-east of Moscow, for Castrama, the capital of Sabur.

Cf. RUSSIA

⁵⁴ As illustrated in Markham.

⁵⁵ As can be seen above in this entry there has been some muddling of sources by Markham, see EL p. 64, footnote 158.

⁵⁶ See EL pp. 32–3 and footnote 78, XL.

SALDANIA, King of [96], Soltaniyeh al. Zagan in Iran

Or a square gules (Flag)

BK p. 53, pl. 17, no. 80 (S)

‘A gold flag with a vermillion square in the centre’

EL p. 91, XCVI.

Cf. CARAOL, PERSIA

SALONICA, (SALONICO, THESSALONICA), King of [97]

1. *Gules a cross between four firesteels* (‘chain-links’) or (Flag)

BK p. 55, pl. 17, no. 81 (S)

‘A vermillion flag with a gold cross and four gold links’

EL p. 93, XCVIIa (S)

2. *A cross between four annulets* (Shield)

EL XCVIIb. (N, R). Eslabones = firesteels, links.

Cf. CONSTANTINOPLE

SAMSUN (SEMISO), King of [105], ancient Amisus on the Black Sea east of Trebizond

1. *Argent on a hexagram sable a quatrefoil* or

BK p. 57, pl. 18, no. 86 (S)

‘A white flag with an emblem like this one’

EL p. 99, CVa (S)

2. *A hexagram* (Shield)

EL p. 99, CVb (N)

SANT ESTROPOLI, (SEBASTOPOL, SEVASTOPOL), King of [103], Sukhumi in Georgia, on the eastern coast of the Black Sea

Gules a sinister hand couped palm outward argent (Flag)

BK p. 57, pl. 18, no. 84 (S)

‘A vermillion flag with a white hand’

EL p. 97, CIII.

Marino assumes this to be Sebastopol on the Crimea, but Harley and Woodward 1987⁵⁷ place it as the present Sukhumi in Georgia. Markham simply notes it as Sebastopol.

SARA [112], Saraj, capital of the Golden Horde, on the Volga near Volgograd

Argent a decrescent to dexter a tamga to sinister gules (Flag) (see **Figure 1**)

‘The device of the Emperor of Sara is a white flag with a red sign’

BK pp. 51 and 59, pl. 16, no. 79.

‘The insignia of the Emperor of Sara is a white flag with a vermillion emblem’

EL p. 103, CXII (drawn here as a triple-towered castle and described as the emblem of the Emperors of Uzbekistan, p. 102, footnote 248)

Cf. DERNENT, KHARISM, NORGANCIO, UXBECO

SARDINIA, see ÇERDEÑA

SAVASCO (SAMARIA) [45], Sebaste, modern Siwas in Asia Minor⁵⁸

1. *Argent a cross paty between four crosslets gules* (Shield)

BK p. 20, pl. 10, no. 40 (S)

EL XLVb (N, R, Z)

2. *Argent a cross between four crosses paty gules* (Flag)

BK p. 20, pl. 10, no. 40 (R)

⁵⁷ *History of Cartography*, op.cit. p. 379, fig. 19.2.

⁵⁸ The ancient name for Turkey, sometimes confused with the Levantine Samaria.

THE COAT OF ARMS

‘A white flag with five vermillion crosses’

EL p. 35, XLVa (S)

3. *Argent a cross patonce between four crosslets gules* (Shield)

BK p. 20, pl. 10, no. 40 (N)

Marino has it as the ancient name for Turkey, sometimes confused with the Levantine Sebasteia in Samaria, while Markham muddled the sources for Savasco. Sebasteia al. Siwas, a town and diocese in Pontus-Cappadoccia on the river Halys, was on the trade route from Ayas in Cilicia to Trapezunt, founded by Pompeius as Megalopolis, renamed Sebasteia by Augustus; principal city of the kingdom in Armenia; destroyed 575 by Sassanids, residence of the Turk Danismendiden c.1090; by 1335 residence of the Eretna dynasty until 1398, when taken by the Osmans, but then lost in 1402.⁵⁹

Cf. TURKEY

ŞÇİM, King of [92], possibly Sinkiang

Argent a sun gules (Flag) (see **Figure 1**)

BK p. 50, pl. 16, no. 77 (S)

‘The insignia of the King of Şçim is a silver flag with a figure of the sun in the centre’

EL p. 85, XCII.

Sinkiang is between China [91] and Bokhara [93]

SCOTLAND (ESCOÇIA), King of [20]

Gules three lions passant guardant to sinister or (Flag)

BK p. 11, pl. 5, no. 17 (S)

‘The king of this Eşçocia has as his insignia a vermillion flag with three long gold lions’

EL p. 19, XX.

The narrator substitutes England for Scotland. The arms of Scotland are *Or a lion gules within a double tressure flory and counter-flory gules*.

SCYTHIA (SICÇIA), King of [115]

Gules a triple-towered castle argent (Flag)

B p. 105, CXV.

SEGILMASIYALE (SULGUMENÇA, the ancient SEGELMESSA) [69], Tafilet in the Moroccan Atlas Mountains

Argent a palm root erased and coupé vert (Flag)

BK p. 29, pl. 14, no. 60 (S)

‘A white flag with the root of a green palm’

EL p. 51, LXIX.

SINOPE see CASTELLE

SICILY, (ÇEÇILIA), King of [33]

Per saltire 1 and 4 argent an eagle displayed sable 2 and 3 or four pales gules (Flag)

BK p. 16, pl. 26 (S)

‘The king of this Çeçilia has as his insignia a quarterly flag’

EL p. 27, XXXIII (quarters 2 and 3 drawn as *paly of six*).

The arms are also known as Trinacria, combining Germany or Hohenstaufen with Aragon.

⁵⁹ *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, op. cit., vol. 7, p. 1942.

Cf. ARAGON

SLAVONIA (ESCLAVONIA), King of [35], between rivers Drave and Save, next to Styria.

Per pale or and gules with a mullet of eight points argent to sinister (Flag)

‘A yellow flag in halves, the red half near the hoist has a white star and the other half is yellow’

BK p. 17, pl. 7, no. 28 (S)

‘A flag divided in two vertical stripes: in the vermillion stripe near the staff is a white star, and the other stripe is yellow’

EL p. 29, XXXV.

Cf. BOSNIA

SOCOTRA (SICOCRA) [85], island of Aden in the Indian Ocean

Gules a pseudo-Arabic inscription or (Flag) (see **Figure 1**)

‘A red flag with Arabic letters’

BK p. 41, pl. 16, no. 73 (S)

‘A vermillion flag with Arabic letters’

EL p. 71, LXXXV.

SOUDAN, Kingdom of, see GOTONYE

SPAIN (CASTILE), Kingdom of [1]

Quarterly 1 and 4 gules a castle or (Castile), *2 and 3 argent a lion purpure* (Leon) (Flag)

BK p. 3, pl. 1, no. 1 (S)

‘A flag with two castles and two lions, quartered’

EL p. 5, I.

STOLOGO, see HIPSILI

SUMATRA (TRAPOUANA), King of, see VIGUY

SWEDEN (SUEVIA, GOTIA), King of [15, 17]

Or two lions combatant gules (Flag)

‘A yellow flag with two red lions facing each other’

BK p. 9, pl. 4, no. 14 (S). Drawn as combatant.

‘A yellow flag with two vermillion lions, one facing the other’

EL p. 17, XV.

AZ p. 57, MS Z fo.5r (S) (see **Figure 6**)

The same arms are used for GOTLAND [17] in BK p. 10 (not illustrated) and in EL p. 17, XVII.

The arms of Sweden at the time would probably be the current ones: *Azure three crowns or* introduced after 1363. Before that, Sweden used the arms of the ruling house, the Folkunga: *Azure three bends sinister argent and over all a lion gules crowned or*.

SYRIA (SURIA) [48]

1. *Argent a cross between four crosses paty gules* (Flag)

XLVIIIa (EL: S)

2. *Three crosslets in pale and one on sinister chief and another in dexter base* (Shield)

XLVIIIb (EL: N, paty; BK: S, patonce)

3. *A cross paty coupé between four crosslets* (Shield)

XLVIIIc (EL: R, Z; AZ: Z, *argent-gules*, all potency)

‘An entirely white flag with vermillion crosses in a field of white’

EL p. 39, XLVIII.

BK p. 22, plate 11, no. 43.

THE COAT OF ARMS

AZ p. 59, no. 47, 9r.

There is confusion between the coats of arms attributed to Syria among Marino and Markham.

TAFILET (SUGULMENÇA), see SEGILMASEYALE

TAUSER, King of [74], near Upper Senegal,

Or a mount sable (Shield)

‘A flag of yellow with a black mountain, like the King of Guynoa’

BK p. 31.

‘A gold flag with a black mountain’

EL p. 55, LXXIV.

Cf. GUINEA

TOCORON, King of [70], Tamgrout or Tagounite, a famous Sufi centre on the Oued Draa on the southern side of the Moroccan Atlas range

Argent a mount sable (Flag)

‘A white flag with a black mountain in the middle, like that of the King of Guynoa’

BK p. 30, pl. 14, no. 61 (S)

‘A white flag and in the centre a black mountain’

EL p. 53, LXX.

Cf. GUINEA

TOLOMETA (PTOLEMAIS), King of [53], Tulmaythah, north-east of Benghazi in Libya

Argent (Flag)

‘A white flag with a yellow sash on a lance’

BK p. 23, pl. 12, no. 48 (S).

‘Yellow sashes atop a lance’

EL p. 41, LIII.

TOULOUSE (TOLOSA), Lord of [5]

1. *Gules a cross paty or* (Shield)

BK p. 4, pl. 4, no. 5 (S)

EL Vb. (R)

AZ p. 56, no. 5, 3r (Z)

2. *Gules a cross with crenelated ends or* (Flag)

BK pl. 4, no. 5 (R)

A cross with crenelated ends (Flag)

EL Va (S)

3. *Quarterly 1 and 4 gules three pales or, 2 and 3 argent a cross gules* (Shield)

BK pl. 4, no. 5 (N)

Quarterly 1 and 4 paly of six, 2 and 3 argent a cross (Shield)

EL Vc (N, Z)

‘A vermillion flag with across of gold painted in this manner’

EL p. 7, V.

Both Marino and Markham have confused the sources.

TRANSYLVANIA (SILUANA, SEPTEN CASTRA), King of [118], central region of Romania

Vert a scimitar erect gules hilt and quillons or (Flag)

‘A green flag with a red scimitar’

BK p. 61, pl. 20, no. 93 (S)

‘A flag with a vermillion scimitar’

EL p. 105, CXVIII.

TREBIZOND (TRAPESONDA), Emperor of [104]

Gules a double-headed eagle displayed or (Flag)

BK p. 57, pl. 18, no. 85 (S)

‘A vermillion flag with a gold eagle with two heads’

EL p. 99, CIV.

TREMISIN (TREMEÇEN), King of [64, 75], Tlemcen in Eastern Algeria

1. *Argent a crescent azure* (Flag)

‘White with a blue moon’

BK p. 25.

2. *Purple a crescent argent* (Flag)

‘A purple flag with a white moon’

BK p. 32, pl. 14, no. 65 (S)

‘A cardinal red flag with a white moon’

EL p. 55, LXXV.

Tlemcen was visited twice. Ruled by Ziyenids 1235–93, then to Morocco (Lane-Poole 1881,⁶⁰ p. 51).

TRIPOLI (TRIPOL), King of [54]

1. *Argent a palm tree vert between two keys pointing downwards confronted gules* (Flag)

‘A white flag with a green palm tree and two red keys’

BK p. 24, pl. 12, no. 49 (S)

2. *Argent a palm tree vert between two keys erect addorsed gules* (Shield)

BK p. 24, pl. 12, no. 49 (R); border Gules added (N)

‘A white flag with a green palm tree and two vermillion keys’

EL p. 41, LIV.

AZ p. 60, no. 53, 9v, the keys are painted Azure.

TUNIS (TUNEZ), King of [56]

Argent a crescent sable (Flag) (see **Figure 3**)

BK p. 24, pl. 13, no. 51 (S)

‘A white flag with a black moon’

EL p. 43, LVI.

Tunisia was ruled by the Hafsidis from 1229 to 1574 when the third conquest by the Ottomans was the last.⁶¹

Cf. AFRICA, BONA, EGYPT

TURKEY (TURQUIA) [42]

1. *Per fess argent a cross gules or a rectangle gules* (Flag)

BK p. 19, pl. 9, no. 36 (S)

2. *Per pale dexter or a square gules sinister argent a cross paty fitchy gules* (Shield)

BK p. 19, pl. 9, no. 36 (N)

3. *Per pale dexter argent a cross between four crosslets gules sinister or a rectangle gules* (Shield)

BK p. 19, pl. 9, no. 36 (R)

⁶⁰ S. Lane-Poole, *The Coins of the Mongols in the British Museum*. Catalogue of Oriental coins in the British Museum vol. 6 (London, 1881).

⁶¹ C.E. Bosworth, *The Islamic dynasties* (Edinburgh, 1980), pp. 35–7.

THE COAT OF ARMS

‘A flag per pale, one pale yellow with this vermillion emblem, and the other half white with five vermillion crosses’ (Shield)

EL p. 33, XLII.

4. *Per pale dexter argent a cross paty between four crosslets paty gules sinister or a rectangle gules* (Shield)

‘un pendon prieto con cinco cruces blancas atales’; ‘rey de antroçeta et corinco’

AZ p. 59, no. 41, 8v (Z), the crosslets can be read as paty or potency.

BK pl. 10, no. 38 (S) Cunio is similar to the above, while BK pl. 11, no. 39 Turquia actually belongs to no. 36 Iconium [44]⁶²

Cf. SAVASCO

UXBECO (UXBECCO, UXBETO, NORGANÇIO), Empire of [94], Golden Horde Khanate

Argent a decrescent to dexter a tamga to sinister gules (Flag)

‘A white flag with the sign of the Uxbeco Emperor of Sara red’

BK p. 51, pl. 16, no. 79 (S)

‘The king of this Norgancio has as his insignia a white flag with these vermillion signs, Uxbecco Emperor of Sara’

EL p. 87, XCIV.

AZ p. 62, no. 95, 19v, ‘el rrey desta norgança’.

A flag with this *tamga* is shown in the Dulcert (or Dalorto) map of 1339 for the Golden Horde, a division of the Mongol Empire, lying between the Urals and the Caspian Sea (see **Figure 5**). Mengu-Timur (Möngke Temür) (1266–80), his son Toqta (Tochtu etc.) (1290–1312) and grandson Uzbeg (Öz Beg Khan) (1313–1341) all used this tamga as their device as Khan of the Golden Horde.⁶³ EL p. 98 note 239 has it as Uzbekistan in Central Asia. Its capital was Saraj [112].

Cf. DERNENT, SARA, CUMANIA, PALOLIMEN

VENICE, Lord of [34]

Argent a lion of St. Mark sejant to sinister holding a scroll argent between his paws (flag)

‘Argent, a winged lion gules like the lion of St. Mark’

BK p. 17, pl. 7, no. 27 (S)

‘A white flag with a vermillion winged lion, like the Evangelist Saint Mark’

EL p. 29, XXXIV.

VIGUY [87], Kingdom of Vijayanâgar (1336–1565), in Dekkan in South India

Argent a pale or (Flag)

‘Here are the great griffins and the great cockatrices. The King has for his device a white flag with a gold wand’

BK pp. 42–43, conflated Viguy, Java and Sumatra

‘Here can be found large griffins and crocodiles. And the king has as his insignia a silver flag with a gold pale’

EL pp. 73–5, LXXXVII.

Jimenez conjectured that Viguy was between Delhi and the Bay of Bengal, while Markham proposed Bijaya-nagar or Narsinga.

Cf. DELHI, BURMA

VISBY, see GOTLAND

⁶² In Markham the attribution has been transposed with no. 38 for ICONIUM.

⁶³ Goodall 2018, pp. 6–7.

WIDDIN (VEÇINA) [101], in Bulgaria

Argent four squares gules (2, 2) (Flag)

BK p. 56, pl. 17, no. 83 (S)

‘A white flag with these vermillion emblems’

EL p. 97, CI.

Bulgaria, by 1203 larger than modern Bulgaria, capital Tirnovo (al. Garnovo), later at Widdin (al. Boddin) on the Donau, absorbed by Ottomans 1398; ruled 1323–1393 by the dynasty of the Schischmaniden, bojars of Widdin, tzars in Tirnovo, from 1369 Ottoman dominion.

XORMAN (capital of ROXIA / RUSSIA) [116], Kiev in Ukraine

1. *Vert a mullet of eight points or a border gules* (Shield)

BK p. 60, pl. 19, no. 89 (S)

‘A green flag with a gold star’

EL p. 105, CXVI (N)

2. *Argent two crescents addorsed or* (Flag)

BK pl. 19, 90 (N)

3. *Gules a triple-towered castle* (Flag)

‘A red flag with a castle in the centre’

EL p. 105, CXIV.

Marino propose this as Kholm in Afghanistan, but from the text it is more likely to be Kiev / Kyiv, capital of Ukraine and before that of Rus, but seized by Lithuania during the reign 1345–77 of Grand Duke Olgerd (Chew,⁶⁴ map 6).

Cf. DERBENT, SARA, SABUR, SCYTHIA

ZEELAND (SALANDA, COLANDA), ‘king of this island’ [19], in the Netherlands

Or a lion rampant sable (Flag)

BK p. 11, pl. 4, no. 16 (S)

‘A gold flag with a black lion’

EL p. 19, XIX.

Arms of Flanders, its parent county.

Cf. NORWAY

⁶⁴ A.F. Chew, *An Atlas of Russian History* (New Haven, 1966).