One group of shields illustrated in the catalogue hints at a rather conservative approach, varying only slightly the composition of the arms. Carved stones for the families of Sechiari, Schilizzi, and Vouro all display arms comprising different numbers of stars between three (or in one case, four) bends sinister, probably to indicate familial relationship. However, one coat, displaying the arms of Sechiari (*Between four bends to sinister eleven stars (1,3,3,3,1)*), demonstrates rather more invention outside the confines of the shield, with its strange array of small supporters comprising a flanking pair of stylised leopards confronted regardant, a pair of birds perched on the upper angles, and a cypress tree (appearing here more like a elf's cap, or a cornucopia) as a possible crest (**Figure 1**).[6]

This volume contains much of interest, and not only for the student of Greek and Levantine heraldry. It is a timely and welcome addition to the steadily growing corpus of increasingly vulnerable armorial material culture in and around the Mediterranean Sea.

Steven Ashley

Steven Thiry and Luc Duerloo (eds.), *Heraldic Hierarchies: Identity, Status and State Intervention in Early Modern Heraldry*, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2021. 274pp, 26 colour, 21 black and white illustration, 5 tables, 5 figures. Paperback. ISBN 978-94-6270-243-1. €55

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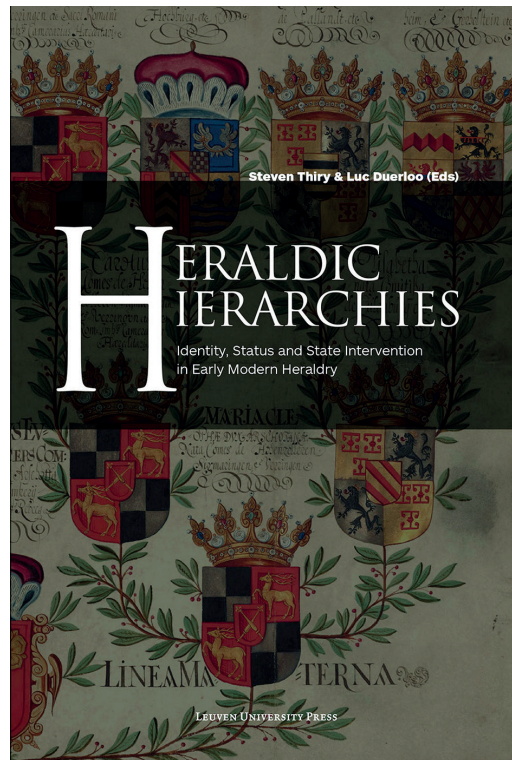
[6] Plate 8a.

Early modern Europe was characterised by a very hierarchical society, and also saw widespread use of heraldry, yet the two have not often been studied together. *Heraldic Hierarchies* is an effort to redress this by examining the key role heraldry played in strategies of representation to indicate or construct one's place in early modern society. The eleven chapters (plus introduction) come from papers presented at the joint XXIst AIH Colloquium and IXth Arenberg Conference for History in 2019. As such, it is not surprising (though refreshing) that the contributions are not restricted to the British Isles, but cover Western Europe, with excursions to the Middle East, and America; they also reference a wide range of recent scholarship in several languages. The chapters are organised into three thematic groups, with the first in each section being a longer "keynote" contribution. A combined bibliography, followed by brief biographical notes on the authors concludes the volume.

Hamish Scott opens the first group of chapters by proposing five factors that led to the development of the aristocracy as an elite group within the nobility of European countries, and fostered their coherent sense of identity over time: connection with the ruling dynasty, large landholdings, changing inheritance practices to transmit these holdings intact to the next generation, dynastic marriages, and a deliberately constructed familial identity. He identifies heraldry as a principal component in this last, due to its versatility of use, the information it encodes, and its graphic nature for a strongly visual society.

Clément Savary discusses the 'pennon' – an alternative form of marshalling prevalent among the French nobility from the late-sixteenth century. The order of quarters was freely chosen to highlight one's ancestry or prestige, and matrilineal quarterings were used without regard for whether the woman was an heraldic heiress. Savary argues this practice has been misunderstood by later scholars. He illustrates through several case studies how this form of marshalling was used to assert a place among the nobility, rather than record a strict lineage, and how contemporary genealogical publications were mined for material to bolster these claims. However, it is sometimes difficult to match up the arms as described in the text with the contemporary illustrations provided.

Camille Pollet attempts to shed light on the debate on whether bearing arms was restricted to nobles, as the heraldic textbooks say (the elite school) or a broader circle, as practice seems to indicate (the egalitarian school). He approaches the question by examining contemporary nobiliary treatises and dictionaries in several languages to see what they say explicitly or implicitly about heraldry. Not unexpectedly, these texts show that heraldry was both strongly correlated with, yet not exclusively confined to, the nobility; though one wonders if some of these texts form the basis of the arguments of the elite school. Pollet ultimately concludes that the use of heraldry is a social strategy, and both this and the treatises need to be interpreted in their social and political context.

Simon Rousselot focusses on the emblematic system used by the Mamluks in Egypt which has some fascinating parallels with heraldry – it was used from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries both as an individual visual identifier by the socio-political elite, and as a mark of membership in this group. The emblem was known as a *rank* (plural *runūk*), and developed in four stages: from a single symbol within a round field, (often denoting early-career position with the palace, e.g. a cup for a cupbearer) to a device

split into two or three horizontal fields, each charged with single or composite symbols. Rousselot proposes that the social and political upheaval from 1380 to 1420 – which strengthened the position of the sultan vis-à-vis the emirs – influenced the later forms of *runūk*. Through several reigns he traces the consistent use of the principal device from the sultan's *rank* in the *runūk* of the emirs of his household.

Nicholas Vernot begins the second group of chapters by demonstrating that the connection between nobility and heraldry was well established in the early modern period, but finds a lack of quantitative data on the use of arms by commoners. To stimulate research in this area he proposes three hypotheses and a theoretical framework in which to analyse them: 100% of the nobility were armigers; between 0.1 and 5% of the population bore arms; the proportion of commoner armigers varied from place to place, but they could always claim elite status on some grounds. Drawing on sociology for the concept of a 'reference group' he characterises the use of arms by non-nobles as 'anticipatory socialisation' (p.109), and devotes the rest of his chapter to the strategies commoners used when adopting arms to claim their place in the social hierarchy.

José Manuel Valle Porras analyses in detail the certifications of arms by the Spanish king of arms Diego de Urbina. By comparing the dates of the certificates with the dates of other honours he shows that the certification of arms was typically sought a few decades after the early stages of prominence, but a decade or more before a family received greater honours. The timing is strong evidence that these certifications were an important factor in social rise. However, Valle Porras also shows that the arms "certified" by Urbina were usually those of an existing armigerous family with the same name, but no genealogical connection, and in at least one case were drawn up by the petitioner himself. Valle Porras does not directly speculate on Urbina's motivation for what is to modern eyes a breach of trust by an heraldic official, though he clearly situates him (and subsequent kings of arms) as key players in the regulation of Spanish nobility.

Dominique Delgrange's chapter (the only one in French) discusses an unpublished verse polemic from Lille, c.1653. After situating the poem in its historical context, and briefly describing the officers of arms responsible for Lille, Delgrange analyses the poem for date, location, and authorship. The primary complaints of the poem are financial – the provincial king of arms in Lille and his deputy charged excessive fees to issue certificates, and enforced the Edicts of 1595 and 1616 overzealously for financial gain. Delgrange shows how the poem is symptomatic of both the local dissatisfaction with the interference in heraldic display, and the wider European trend of greater state regulation of heraldry at this time.

Steven Thiry opens the final group of chapters by seeking to re-evaluate the role the state played in regulating heraldry in the early modern period. He argues that in this hierarchical society, social position was a constantly-negotiated lived experience, not a static quality. This led both to "bottom-up" calls for protection of heraldic privileges by nobles jealous of their status, and to "top-down" responses by the ruler, which became an additional way of projecting authority. A nice comparison of several jurisdictions emphasises this point. Thiry also points out that when rulers tried to use coats of arms as codified markers of social boundaries, tension arose between neat boxes of new regulation and centuries of precedent. In some cases, this allowed armigers to actively engage with the system and raise their social standing.

Antoine Robin investigates another aspect of the state's control over heraldry: heraldic iconoclasm in sixteenth-century France via a case study of the heraldic *damnatio memoriae* of Charles III Bourbon. As a high-profile case this is unusually well documented, avoiding the common problem (by definition) with this topic of an absence of evidence. Robin shows that the destruction of Bourbon's arms was often partial and very specific; for example only his badge of a flaming sword might be erased, leaving untouched the shield which was so similar to other members of the Bourbon or royal families. Robin argues this suggests the iconoclasm was more about enforcing or projecting royal power rather than dishonouring or removing the memory of Charles.

Richard Cust examines collective displays of heraldry in England in the Tudor period, and takes as his starting point the Green Gallery of Lord Burghley at Theobalds. This comprised one tree for each county decorated with the arms of the principal nobility therefrom. Cust demonstrates how this work was a natural outgrowth of Burghley's interests in pedigrees, connections, and geography. Though multiple examples he shows how this art form flourished in the 1570s to 1590s, due in large part to the increase in genealogical interest, and influx of new members into the gentry, plus a growing sense of local pride. Cust argues such artworks could be read as indicating (collective) membership of a social elite, but also as indicative of the ever-present concern over precedence.

Joseph McMillan examines the decline in use of personal arms in the government sphere in North America from 1775. Spanish possessions are mentioned briefly, but McMillan focusses on the former British colonies. Between 1775 and 1779 official seals with royal symbolism, and personal seals of governors or other officials, were independently replaced with public seals across all thirteen colonies and nascent federal institutions. McMillan identifies several changes in political thought which led to an emerging consensus that private heraldry was not appropriate under the new political regime.

The volume is a wide-ranging *tour de force* of early modern European heraldry (and further afield) which will repay any reader interested in the influence of shifting notions of noble identity on armorial display, heraldry's role in shaping and contesting status, or state regulation of heraldry.

Philip Allfrey

William Shand and Andrew Wallington-Smith, *Heraldry & Stained Glass at Apothecaries' Hall*, London: Bloomsbury/Philip Wilson, 2020. 288pp, colour photographs throughout. Hardcover. ISBN 978-1-78130-106-7. £50.

I am particularly pleased to review this book as the Apothecaries' Hall was the venue for the last talk and presentation (*Treasures of the Livery Halls*) I delivered before the UK went into lockdown in March 2020. The heraldry of other livery halls featured prominently in that presentation but I was not aware at the time of the work being done to record the heraldry on display around me as I gave that talk.

Heraldry & Stained Glass at Apothecaries' Hall is the result of a collaboration between Past Master William Shand and the erstwhile Clerk to the Society of