The Coat of Arms

Annual Journal of the Heraldry Society

THE COAT OF ARMS

The journal of the Heraldry Society

·ENTALENTE·A·PARLER·D'ARMES·

Fourth Series

Volume V

2022

Number 239 in the original series started in 1952

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THE SYMBOLISM OF THE AFRICAN NATIONS PART 1: ARMS INSPIRED BY CLASSICAL EUROPEAN HERALDRY

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Abstract

Heraldic concepts are a relatively recent introduction to the African continent, the earlier designs having been sent from overseas. Although the rules of heraldry are sometimes incompletely understood, or perhaps deliberately disregarded, the designs which it has inspired have in many instances become treasured. This has been achieved by the incorporation of indigenous flora and fauna, of landscape features, of locally crafted tools and artefacts, and by the inspired usage of colour, synchronised with flag design. African nations have modified armory into something which speaks powerfully to the heart of national sentiments, which include both past struggles and aspirations for the future.

Introduction

At the current time there exist in the world 193 sovereign states and around twelve semi-autonomous, not generally recognized territories. Of these 56, or around 29%, are located on the African continent. As geographical entities all of these countries, with but a single exception, were created in the twentieth century. What went before is an important topic which will be briefly considered.

Pre-colonial Africa

Our knowledge of the historical geography of the continent as a whole, of its early medieval empires, centres of rulership and kingdoms, is heavily dependent on the written accounts of visiting seafarers, beginning with the Portuguese in the fifteenth century.

Time of colonization, the *Scramble for Africa*

Colonialism and imperialism had a slow onset in the African continent between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries. For France, the lost Franco-Prussian War of 1870/71 was an impetus to press ahead with the expansion of colonies. This in turn challenged the British, who were concerned about their position in the world. The German Reich, under Prussian rule, was looking for sales markets and resources for its growing industry. Since large parts of the world were already divided between Belgium, Spain, France, Great Britain, Italy, and Portugal, the focus for Berlin was Africa. The frenzy of colonisation reached its climax in the late nineteenth century following the Berlin Congress on Africa of 1884–5, when seven European states started the so-called *Scramble for Africa*.

The race for colonies was initially more ideologically than economically motivated. The interests of the colonial powers were a mixture of Christian missionary spirit, thirst for research, thirst for adventure, greed for profit and geopolitical strategy. By 1902,
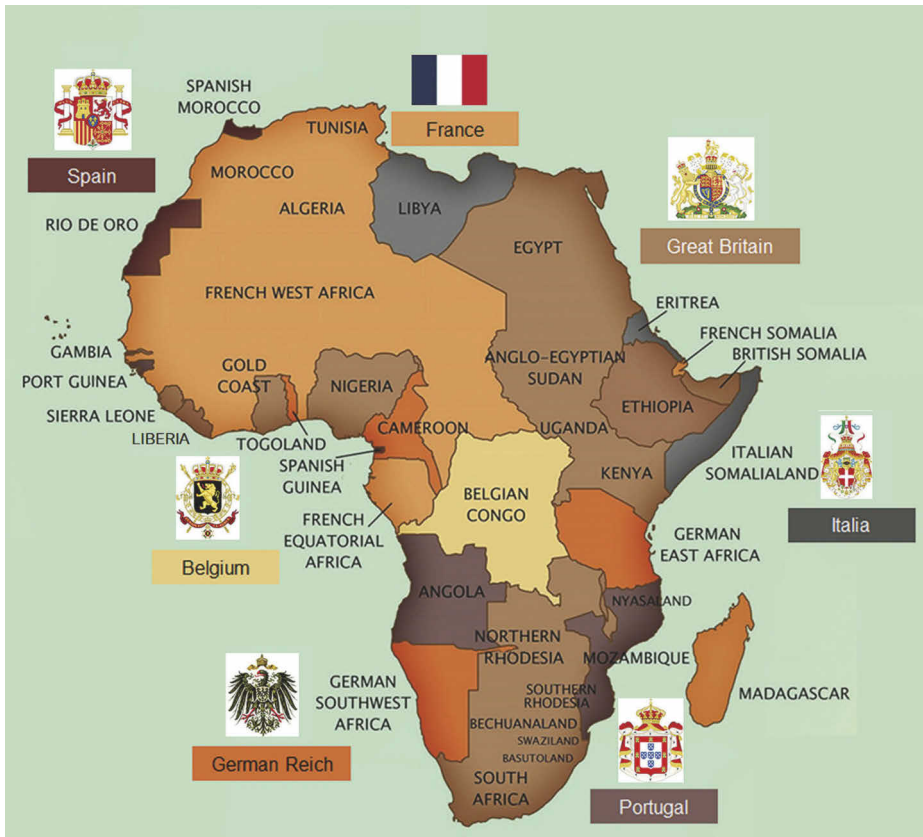
Figure 1: Colonial Africa in 1914.

over 90% of the African continent was divided into colonies, the boundaries of which did not correspond to existing geographical, social and ethnic structures (**Figure 1**).

The decolonization of Africa

Between 1950 and 1990, 52 former colonies or 'protectorates' achieved their independence, with a high point in 1960, when 17 countries were granted autonomy by their former colonial rulers. That is why 1960 has been called "The African Year". Today, the continent consists of 56 individual states, two of which – Somaliland (alias: Republic of Somaliland) and Western Sahara (alias Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic) – are 'countries with limited international recognition' (**Figure 2**).

A look at the state symbolism of the continent shows very different forms, which can be classified into three groups:

    I.   Affected by, or based on, classical European heraldry.
    II.   Purely emblematic.
    III. Analogous to European heraldry, but with African shield shapes.

Figure 2: The countries of the African continent today with their coats of arms and emblems.

Part 1 of this article will consider the first category, the countries in **Figure 3**. The remainder will appear in the next issue of this journal.

1. Countries with arms inspired by classical European heraldry

These are 26 in number, beginning chronologically with Liberia in 1842 and ending with Namibia in 1992. The highest density can be found on the west coast of the continent, the area which corresponds to the first waves of colonization in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The countries are presented in alphabetical order.

Figure 3: The countries included in this article.

Republic of Benin

Colony as "French Dahomey"	1892
Inclusion into French West Africa	1899
Autonomy	1958
Independence from France	August 1st, 1960
Coat of arms adopted	1964
People's Republic of Benin	1975–1990
Re-adoption of 1964 coat of arms	1990

Official description (Figure 4).[1]
Crest: *Two cornucopias sable with ears of corn issuant therefrom;*

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[1] Article 1, *La constitution de la république du Bénin* (1990).

Shield: *Quarterly: 1, Argent, a somba castle or, 2, Argent, a Star of Benin proper, 3, Argent, a palm tree vert charged with fruit gules, 4, Argent, a ship sable sailing on a sea azure; the four quarters sewn with a line gules, at the centre point a lozenge gules.*
Supporters: *Two panthers or, spotted.*
Motto: *"Fraternité, Justice, Travail"* (Brotherhood, Justice, Work).

Figure 4: National arms of Benin. Wikimedia Commons.

Symbolic explanation

The crest of two horns stands for prosperity.

The shield is broken into four quadrants. The top left quadrant has a castle in the style of a traditional Somba tribal fortress or Tata Somba, representing the history of Benin. In the top right quadrant, is the Star of Benin, the highest award of the nation. Below this the ship stands for the arrival of Europeans in Benin, while in the lower left quadrant the palm tree represents natural resources.

The shield is supported by a pair of leopards, the national animal of Benin.
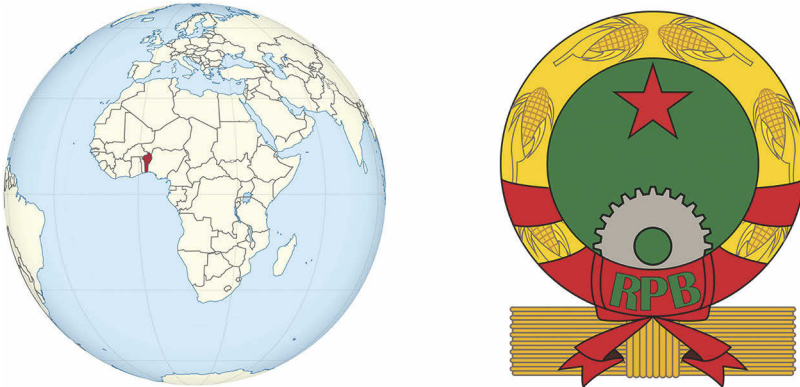
Figure 5: Left: location of the Republic of Benin; Right: emblem of the People's Republic of Benin 1975–1990.

Burkina Faso
(Formerly Upper Volta)

French Protectorate	1896
Part of French West Africa	1904
French Upper Volta	March 1st, 1919
Independence from France	August 5, 1960
Coat of arms adopted	May 4, 1961
Coat of arms changed	1967
Revolution name change: Burkina Faso	August 4, 1984
Coat of arms abandoned	August 4, 1984
New coat of arms adopted	August 1, 1997

Official description[2] (Figure 6)
In the chief on a ribband argent the name of the country: Burkina Faso.
At the heart an inescutcheon charged with the national flag (per fess gules and vert a five pointed star or) debruising two crossed lances, and supported by two stallions rampant argent.
Below, an open book. In base a ribbon bearing the motto of the country "Unité Progrès Justice"(Unity, Work, Justice)*, the ribbon supporting the lances, the stallions, and* two *millet stalks with three pairs of green, half-moon shaped, leaves.*

History and Symbolic explanation
A continuous thread connects the three coats of arms used by the country since independence.

The supporters throughout have been the two stallions said to symbolize the nobility of the burkinabe people, and the shield has always been charged with the national flag

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[2] Law No 020/97/II/AN, adopted by the National Assembly of Burkina Faso meeting in Ouagadougou on 1st August 1997.

Figure 6: Arms of Burkina Faso, Wikimedia Commons.

which was changed in 1984. The black, white and red stripes of the original flag stood for the three tributaries of the Volta River, the Red, White and Black Volta. Placed over the shield on the original arms were the letters R.H.V for République de Haute-Volta (**Figure 7b**). When the shield was Africanized in 1967 these letters were removed (**Figure 7c**). The escutcheon on the third coat of arms of 1997 is the national flag adopted on 4th August 1984, comprising the pan-African colours, red for revolution, green for abundant natural resources and the yellow star being the guiding light of the revolution. For thirteen years following the revolution the national emblem was inspired by communism (**Figure 7d**), but retained an adze and stalks of millet from the earlier arms, and introduced a book. The name Burkina Faso means *Land of the Righteous*. When heraldic arms were restored in 1997 there was a return to arms quite similar to those adopted in 1961, with the lances symbolizing the determination of the sons of Burkina Faso to protect their country; their crossed design representing the vigilance and bravery of the nation. The open book symbolizes the quest for knowledge and education.

Figure 7: Top left 7a, location of Burkina Faso; top right 7b, arms of Upper Volta 1958–1984; bottom left 7c, arms of Upper Volta 1967–1984; bottom right 7d, emblem of Burkina Faso 1984–1997. Wikimedia Commons.

Millet (sorghum) spikes symbolize the desire for food independence and abundance. Pearl millet is an important cereal grain cultivated in this country, where agriculture represents 32% of the gross domestic product. There were two millet stalks in the

compartment of the 1961 arms, combined with two adzes (called dabas).[3] In the 1967 revision the millet stalk was moved to become a single stalk crossed with a spear. The adze was retained in 1967 and 1984 but was removed in 1997. The only other change in 1997 was that of the motto from "*Unité Travail Justice*" (Unity, Work, Justice) to "*Unité Progrès Justice*".

Republic of Cameroon

German colony	July 1884
French Cameroon	1916
British Cameroon	1916
Independence from France	January 1,1960
Independence from UK	October 1, 1961
Coat of arms adopted	January 18, 1996

Figure 8: Arms of Cameroon. Wikimedia Commons.

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[3] The drawing in figure 7b is inaccurate in showing only one stalk of millet.

Official description[4] (Figure 8)

The constitution of Cameroon describes the coat of arms as follows:

The coat of arms of the Republic of Cameroon shall be an escutcheon surmounted by the legend "Republic of Cameroon" and supported by two fasces. In base the motto "Paix Travail Patrie" (Peace-Work-Fatherland). The escutcheon shall be composed of a star on a field [vert] and triangle gules (actually party per pale vert and or, a pile gules) charged with the geographical outline of Cameroon azure, and surcharged with the sword and scales of justice sable.[5]

Symbolic explanation

The shield is based on the colours of the national flag, a tricolour of green, red and yellow, which from 1975 was charged with a five pointed yellow star. The fasces are a symbol of authority, and the scales represent justice. Note that as currently used the legend and the motto are reversed, and the text is given in both French and English.

Figure 9: Left: location of Cameroon; right: coat of arms designed for the German colony in 1914 but never used as a consequence of the First World War. Wikimedia Commons.

Central African Republic

French colony as "Ubangi Shari"	1894
French protectorate	1911
Autonomy	December 1, 1958
Independence from France	August 13, 1960
Coat of arms adopted	May 17, 1963

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[4] Law No.96/06 of 18 January 1996 to amend the Constitution of 2 June, 1972. Part I. Article 1. Num. 4–7.

[5] The official English language version of the text is somewhat garbled and does not adequately describe the arms which were actually used.

Official description (Figure 10)[6]

*Crest. A golden sun (*originally bearing bearing the date December 1st 1958*), topped by a ribbon bearing "ZO KWE ZO" (All People are People). Shield: Quarterly 1: Vert, an elephant's head caboshed argent; 2: Argent, a baobab tree eradicated vert; 3: Or, three mullets of four points sable, one and two, each charged with a roundel argent; 4: Azure, a hand couped pointing to dexter chief sable. Upon an inescutcheon gules a roundel argent charged with a map of Africa sable surmounted by a mullet or.*
Supporters: *The flag of the Central African Republic.*
Motto: *"Unité, Dignité, Travail" (Unity, Dignity, Work).*
Below the shield is the national order, the Order of Central African Merit.

Figure 10: Arms of the Central African Republic. Wikimedia Commons.

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[6] The blazon is supplied in the Constitution of 18 Juillet 2013 Titre II Art. 19.

Symbolic explanation

ZO KWE ZO, the motto in Sango, means "A man is a man" or "All people are people". The elephant and the baobab tree represent nature and the backbone of the country. The gold star on a map of Africa symbolizes the position of the Central African Republic. The hand was the symbol of the dominant MESAN party in 1963 when the arms were adopted. The bottom left quarter represents three diamonds, which symbolize the mineral resources of the country.

Figure 11: Left: location of the Central African Republic; right: the imperial coat of arms of the Central African Empire with the imperial crown of Bokassa I, in use 1976–1979. Wikimedia Commons.

Republic of Chad

French colony	1900
Part of French Equatorial Africa	1910
French overseas territory	1946–1958
Autonomy	November 28, 1958
Independence from France	August 11, 1960
Coat of arms adopted	August 11,1970

Official description (Figure 12)[7]

Crest: *A demi sun gules.*
Shield: *Barry dancetty of eight or and azure.*
Supporters: *Dexter, a goat guardant; sinister a lion or, both charged on the shoulder with an arrow the point upwards gules.*
Suspended below the shield, the medal of the National Order of Chad.
Motto: *"Unité, Travail, Progrès" (Unity, Work, Progress).*

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[7] Jean-Christophe Blanchard. *Drapeaux et armoiries des pays issus de la décolonisation de l'Afrique équatoriale française et de l'Afrique occidentale française. Un marqueur d'indépendance ?.* 2019, p.2.

Figure 12: Arms of the Republic of Chad. Wikimedia Commons.

Symbolic explanation

The arms were designed by Baron Hervé Pinoteau.[8] The colours of the arms reflect the tricolour colours of the national flag: blue, red and gold. The crest of the rising sun is representative of a hoped for new beginning for the country. The wavy lines on the shield symbolize Lake Chad. The mountain goat supporter represents the northern half of the state, which has mountains to the north west, while the lion represents the southern lowland savanna. The red arrows on the supporters and motto are for salt, in the form of natron, mined from the area of Lake Chad and anciently traded to the north across the Sahara by camel train. The National Order of Chad was instituted on April 12, 1960, by President François Tombalbaye, assassinated in 1975.

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[8] Blanchard, op. cit., p.2.

Figure 13: Left: location of the Republic of Chad; right: medal of the National Order

Republic of Congo[9]

French Colony	1880
Part of French Equatorial Africa	1910–1958
Independence from France	August 15, 1960
Coat of arms adopted	August 12,1963
People's Republic of Congo	1970–1991
Coat of arms restored	June 10, 1991

Official description translated (Figure 14)[10]

Crest: *A special forest crown forest crown or. On the circle of the forest crown the words "République du Congo" in letters gules upon a scroll or.*

Shield: *Or on a fess wavy vert a lion rampant gules, armed and langued vert holding a torch sable flamed gules.*

Supporters: *Two elephants sable tusked or, issuing from the flanks of the shield, supported by a tree trunk gules.*

Motto: *"Unité, Travail, Progrès" (Unity, Work, Progress).*

Symbolic explanation

There is no official explanation of symbols of the state coat of arms as described in the constitution of the country. Only in the national anthem, La Congolaise, is there perhaps an allusion to the natural habitats in the country, which can be found in the design of the coat of arms: "Des forêts jusqu'à la savanne, Des savannes jusqu'à la mer". From forests to the savanna, From savannas to the sea. Forests (crown of trees), savannah (habitat of elephants and lions). The fess wavy perhaps represents the Congo river.

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[9] Also known as Congo-Brazzaville. Not to be confused with the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

[10] The arms were adopted by decree no.63–262, 12th August 1963, see *Journal Officiel de la République du Congo*, 15 aout 1963 pp.717–8.

Figure 14: Top, 14a: arms of the Republic of Congo; bottom left 14b: location of the Republic of Congo; bottom right 14c: emblem of the People's Republic of the Congo 1970–1991. Wikimedia Commons.

Republic of Equatorial Guinea

First discovered by the Portugal   1472
Ceded by Portugal to Spain, becoming Spanish Guinea   1778
Independence from Spain   October 12, 1968
Coat of arms adopted   August 21, 1979

Figure 15: Left: Location of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea; right: arms of Equatorial Guinea. Wikimedia Commons.

Official Description (Figure 15)
Crest: *Six stars of six points or.*
Shield: *Argent, a silk cotton tree proper.*
Motto: "*Unidad, Paz, Justicia*" (Unity, Peace, Justice).

Symbolic explanation
The silk cotton tree, *Ceiba pentandra* is understood to represent the location where the first treaty was signed between Portugal and the local ruler. The tree, which can grow up to 77m in height, goes by a variety of names including kapok. A different sub-species is a native of central and south America, and the Caribbean, and thus it is the national tree of Guatemala and Puerto Rico. The six stars are for the continental mainland and the five main islands. The arms are placed on the centre of the national flag which was adopted in 1968, and they derive from the arms of the Spanish colony of Rio Muni, the mainland part of Spanish Guinea (**Figure 16**). The tree was retained, and the crown morphed into the stars.

Figure 16: arms of Rio Muni. Wikimedia Commons.

Republic of Gabon

French protectorate	1838/1841
French colony	1885
Part of French Equatorial Africa	1910
Independence from France	August 17, 1960
Arms adopted	July 15, 1963

Official description (Figure 18)[11]

Shield: *Or, a ship sable flying the flag of Gabon (tierced in fess vert, or and azure) sailing upon an azure sea; a chief vert charged with three bezants.*
Supporters: *Two black panthers guardant*
Compartment: *An Okoumé tree.*
Motto: *"Union, Travail, Justice" (Unity, Work, Justice).* A second ribbon is placed beneath the branches of the okoumé tree and has a motto in Latin *"Uniti Progrediemur" (We shall go forward united).*

Symbolic explanation

The arms were designed by the Swiss heraldist and vexillologist Louis Mühlemann. The three background colours of the shield follow those of the national flag, on which the green represents the equatorial rain forest, the gold the sun, and the blue the sea. The bezants stand for the mineral wealth of the country, which includes gold, manganese and uranium. The ship is now stated by government sources to represent the Gabonese ship of state moving towards a brighter future, while the supporting panthers have become the vigilance and courage of the president who protects the nation. The Okoumé tree *Aucoumea klaineana* is used to produce plywood, one of the country's most important exports.

Figure 17: Location of the Republic of Gabon. Wikimedia Commons.

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[11] Blanchard, op cit, p. 3.

Figure 18: Arms of the republic of Gabon. Wikimedia Commons.

Republic of the Gambia

British Protectorate	1821
British Colony	1888
Independence from UK	February 18, 1965
Arms adopted	November 30, 1964

Official description (Figure 19a)[12]

Crest: *An oil palm tree proper on a helmet to dexter, mantled azure and or.*
Shield: *Azure a Locar axe and a Mandinka hoe in saltire or, a bordure parted per bordure vert and argent.*

Figure 19: Top 19a: arms of the Gambia; bottom left 19b: location of the Republic of the Gambia; bottom right 19c: colonial badge of the Gambia. Wikimedia Commons.

Supporters: on either side a lion guardant proper, the dexter supporting a locar-axe and the sinister an adze, both or.
Motto: *"Progress, Peace, Prosperity"*.

Symbolic explanation

The arms were granted by the College of Arms prior to independence. The crossed axe and hoe on the shield, and borne by the supporting lions, represent the importance of agriculture. They represent the two major ethnic groups of the Gambia: the Mandinka (hoe) and the Fulani (locar-axe). The colours of the shield match the blue, white and green of the lower half of the national flag; the form of the national flag was being determined concurrently with the arms. The African lions themselves convey courage, national pride and steadfastness. The African oil palm *Elaeis guineensis* which is native to west Africa is used to produce palm oil, a principal trade crop. A palm tree featured on the colonial badge of the Gambia which was in use between 1888 and 1965 (**Figure 19c**). The original arms concept submitted to the College of Arms was by Nicholas Potin, a government employee with the Department of Surveys, who won a national design competition.[13]

Republic of Ghana

British Crown Colony Gold Coast	1847
Independence from UK as Ghana	March 6, 1957
Adoption of coat of arms	March 4, 1957

Official description (Figure 20a)[14]

Crest: *A black star bordered in gold on a torse of the national colours, green, red and gold.*
Shield: *Azure on a cross vert fimbriated or a lion passant guardant or, in the first quarter a linguist's staff and ceremonial sword crossed in saltire or, in the second quarter issuant from five bars wavy argent and azure a castle argent upon a mount or, in the third quarter affixed in a grassy plain a cocoa tree proper and in the fourth quarter upon a grassy plain a mine proper.*
Supporters: *Two eagles displayed or around each of whose neck hangs a black star fimbriated or suspended from a ribbon tierced gules, or and vert upon a grassy compartment proper.*
Motto: *"Freedom and Justice"*.

Symbolic explanation[15]

The Ghanaian government in 1956 charged one of its graphic artists, Mr Amon Kotei, with the design of a new national coat of arms. He was instructed to divide the shield

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[13] Bakary Dabo, *The voice of the people: the story of the PPP 1959–1989* (Baroueli, 1992) p.76.
[14] CA Register I 82 p.98.
[15] 'The nation's Coat of Arms', an interview with Amon Kotei published in the *Ghanaian Times* Tuesday, March 6, 2007, p.41.

Figure 20: Top 20a: Arms of Ghana; bottom 20b: location of Ghana.
Wikimedia Commons.

into four parts. In the first quarter a sword used by chiefs, and a staff, used by the linguist (known as an okyeame in Akan), at ceremonies, are symbols for the traditional authority of Ghana. In the second quarter is a representation of Osu Castle on the sea, the presidential palace on the Gulf of Guinea, symbolizing the national government. In

the third quarter: a cacao tree embodies the agricultural wealth of Ghana. In the fourth quarter a gold mine stands for the richness of industrial minerals and natural resources in Ghana. Kotei's design was sent to the College of Arms, which added the British lion to the centre of the shield to represent Ghana's membership of the Commonwealth. The Ghanaian authorities were minded to remove the lion, but the cabinet voted to retain it. The crest of the Black Star of Africa with gold outline is also found on the gold stripe at the centre of the national flag, and represents African emancipation. The tawny eagle supporter (*Aquila rapax*) is a native species and wears around its neck the national order of the Star of Ghana. The national colours of green, red and gold which feature on the flag are the pan-African colours, following those of the original free African state, the Ethiopian Empire.

Republic of Guinea

Colonized by France	September 29, 1898
Independence from France	October 2, 1958
Adoption of coat of arms	1958
Second coat of arms	1984
Third coat of arms	December 23, 1993

Official Description (Figure 21b)

Shield: *Argent, a four branched olive sprig or* (the exact positioning of the branches specified); *in base an inverted arch tierced in pale with the national colours gules, or and vert*.

Crest: *A dove argent holding in its beak the olive branch which extends over the shield*.

Motto: "*Travail, justice, solidarité*" (Work, Justice, Solidarity).
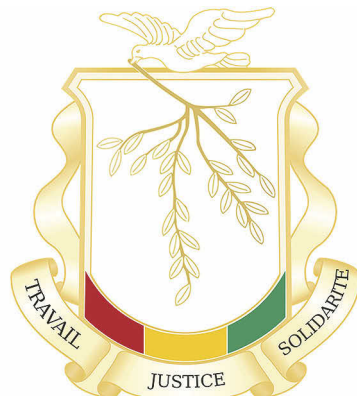
Figure 21: Left, 21a: location of the Republic of Guinea; right, 21b: arms of Guinea. Wikimedia Commons.

History and symbolism[16]

The somewhat unsatisfactory arms currently in use show aspects of continuity from those adopted on independence. The original shield was *Party per pale gules and vert an elephant with trunk raised or* (**Figure 22a**). The olive sprig in the mouth of the dove was originally vert, and formed part of the crest. The arms were changed following a bloodless coup d'etat in 1984, the olive branch altered to gold took the place of the elephant and was charged with a sword and a rifle in saltire, and the inverted arch in base was then added (**Figure 22b**). The national colours, as found on the flag, are the pan-African colours red, green and gold. The sword and rifle were removed in 1993, and the field of the shield was changed from gules and vert to argent. Symbolically the dove of peace must be seen as aspirational in a country which has seen a long series of military coups. The original 1958 shield was in the national colours, the elephant being an apt symbol for a country ruled in dictatorial fashion by the strong man Sékou Touré.

Following his death the elephant had to go, and its replacement with a sword and a rifle was equally apposite following the coup which introduced a new dictatorship. Presumably the removal of these same items in 1984 was an attempt to soften the image of the regime.
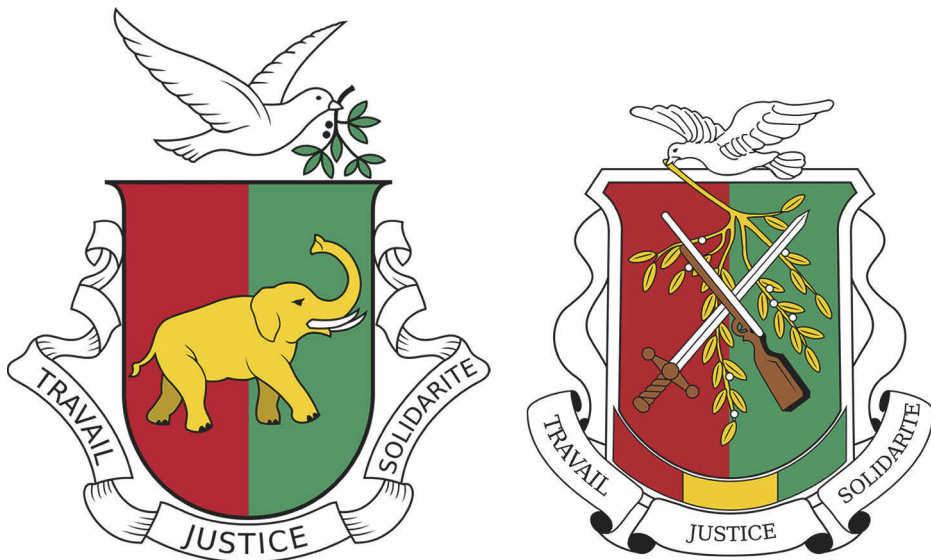
Figure 22: left, 22a: arms of Guinea 1958–84; right, 22b: arms of Guinea 1984–93. Wikimedia Commons.

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[16] Blanchard, op.cit., p.3.

Republic of Ivory Coast

Colony of France	March 10, 1893.
Independence from France	August 7, 1960
Adoption of coat of arms	February 20, 1960
Coat of arms revised	September 21, 1963

Official description (Figure 23)[17]

Shield: *Vert an elephant's head (couped and facing to dexter) argent.*
Crest: *An issuant eclipsed sun radiating of nine parts or.*
Supporters: *Two palm trees or.*
Legend: *Below the shield on a strip or the words "République de Côte d'Ivoire" in letters argent.*
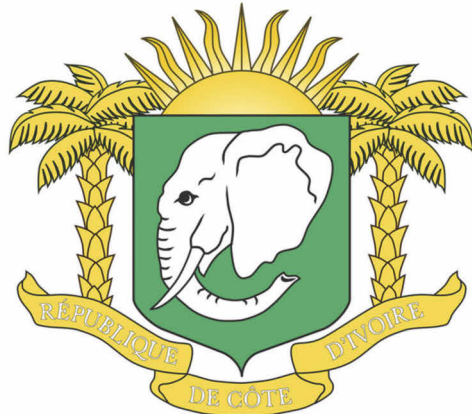
Figure 23: Left, 23a: location of the Republic of Ivory Coast; right, 23b: arms of Ivory Coast. Wikimedia Commons.

Symbolic explanation

The elephant is the largest animal found in Ivory Coast and the source of ivory for which the nation is named. The rising sun is a traditional symbol of a new beginning. The original field colour of the shield was azure. The change brought the arms in to line with the colours of the national tricolour flag of green, white and gold.

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[17] *Journal Officiel de la Republique de Cote Ivoire* 20 février 1960, p.224 decret n° 60–78, modified by decret nº 63–389 of 21 septembre 1963, Journal Officiel 18 Juillet 1964, p.913.

Republic of Liberia

Colony of the USA   December 11, 1821
Independence from USA   July 26, 1847

Official Description (Figure 24)

No official blazon is existing, only a description from the 1847 constitutional convention:
Shield: *A dove on the wind with an open scroll in its claws. A view of the ocean with a ship under sail. The sun just emerging from the waters. A palm tree, and in its base a plough and spade. Beneath the shield the words Republic of Liberia and above the* Motto: *"The love of liberty brought us here".*[18]
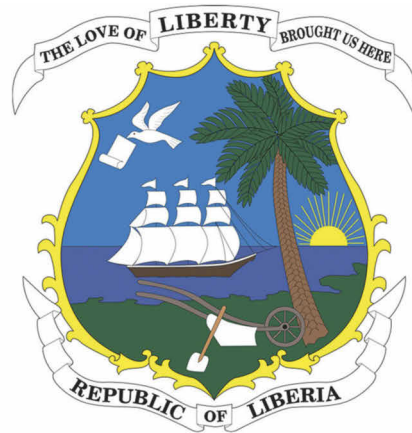
Figure 24: Left, 24a: location of the Republic of Liberia; right, 24b: arms of Liberia. Wikimedia Commons.

Symbolic explanation

The ship symbolizes the ships which brought the freed slaves from the United States to Liberia. The plow and the shovel represent the dignity of labour and hard work through which the nation will prosper. The rising sun in the background represents the birth of a nation. The palm tree, the nation's most versatile source of food, represents prosperity. The white dove with a scroll represents the breath of peace.

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[18] David Kazanjian,'The Speculative Freedom of Colonial Liberia', *American Quarterly,* vol 63, p. 863.

Republic of Malawi

Nyasaland Protectorate	September 15, 1891
British Nyasaland	1914–1963
Coat of arms of Nyasaland	May 2, 1914
Central African Federation [19]	1953–1963
New coat of arms adopted	June 30,1964
Independence from UK as Malawi	July 6, 1964

Official Description (Figure 26)[20]

Crest: *On a helmet to the dexter mantled or and gules a rising sun radiant or above two waves proper, the sun charged with a hovering Fish Eagle.*
Shield: *Tierced per fess 1: Barry wavy of four azure and argent; 2. Gules, a lion passant or; 3. Sable, a rising sun radiant or.* Supporters: *On the dexter side, a lion, and on the sinister side, a leopard both guardant.*
Compartment: *representing the Mulanje mountain proper.*
Motto: *Unity And Freedom, in black lettering on a ribbon or.*

Figure 25: Left, 25a: location of the Republic of Malawi; right, 25b: shield of Nyasaland. Wikimedia Commons.

History and symbolism

The arms derive key elements from the arms granted to the Nyasaland Protectorate on May 2, 1914, which remained in use until 1953 when Nyasaland was federated with Rhodesia. The shield of Nyasaland (**Figure 25**) was *Argent on a rock a leopard statant proper and on a chief wavy sable a rising sun or*. The rising sun earlier featured on the arms of the British East Africa Company. The fish eagle *Haliaëtus vocifer* is taken from the crest of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, granted on August 24, 1954: *A fish-eagle reguardant or, perched upon and grasping in the talons a fish argent* (**Figure 27**). The

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[19] Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland consisting of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.
[20] CA Register I 83 p.12.

Figure 26: arms of the Republic of Malawi. Wikimedia Commons.

eagle is now said to represent the tenacity of the people of Malawi. The shield shows in its upper part the waves of Lake Malawi, in the middle is the lion of England, while the sun in base (and on the crest) symbolises the rise of a new nation, or alternatively, the dawn of freedom in Africa. The name Malawi is taken from the Chewa word meaning flames, an allusion to the flaming waters of Lake Malawi, seen as the sun rises. This metaphor is strongly evident in the national flag. Mount Mulanje (3000 m.) is the highest mountain of Malawi. The lion and leopard supporters are the two largest predators in the country.

Figure 27: arms of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Wikimedia Commons.

Republic of Mauritius

French Colony	1715–1810
British Colony	December 3, 1810
Armorial badge adopted	December 14, 1869
Coat of arms adopted	September 13, 1906
Independence from UK	March 12, 1968

Official description (Figure 28)[21]

Shield: *Quarterly azure and or: 1, A lymphad or; 2, Three palm trees vert;3, A key in pale the wards downwards gules; 4, Azure a pile, and in chief a mullet argent.*

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[21] CA Register I 75 p.43.

Figure 28: arms of Mauritius. Wikimedia Commons.

Supporters: *dexter, A dodo per bend sinister embattled gules and argent; sinister, A sambar deer per bend embattled argent and gules, each supporter holding a sugar cane erect proper.*

Motto: *"Stella Clavisque Maris Indici"* (Star and Key of the Indian Ocean).

History and Symbolic explanation

Mauritius, although in the Indian Ocean, is geographically part of the African continent. The arms were strongly influenced by the shield on the badge of the colony which was adopted in 1869, which also had the same motto (**Figure 29b**). The blazon of the earlier shield is as follows: *Quarterly, 1, A three-masted ship on waves of the sea, proper; 2, Or three stalks of sugar cane proper; 3, Sable a key erect or; 4, Party per fess argent, in chief azure, a six-pointed star argent, in base vert a pile argent, the star being in contact with the pile.*

The main difference between the two coats of arms is that the sugar cane has migrated from the shield to the supporters of the full achievement, sugar being important for the local economy. The ship refers to the European settlers: the Portuguese, Dutch, French, and English. The three palm trees stand for the tropical vegetation and the three dependencies of Mauritius, the Cargados, Agalaga islands and Rodrigues Island. The key symbolizes its strategic importance, while the fourth quarter shows the island as the star of the Indian Ocean. The supporters: an (extinct) dodo (*Raphus cucullatus*) and a sambar deer (*Rusa unicolor*), symbolize the extinct and present wildlife.
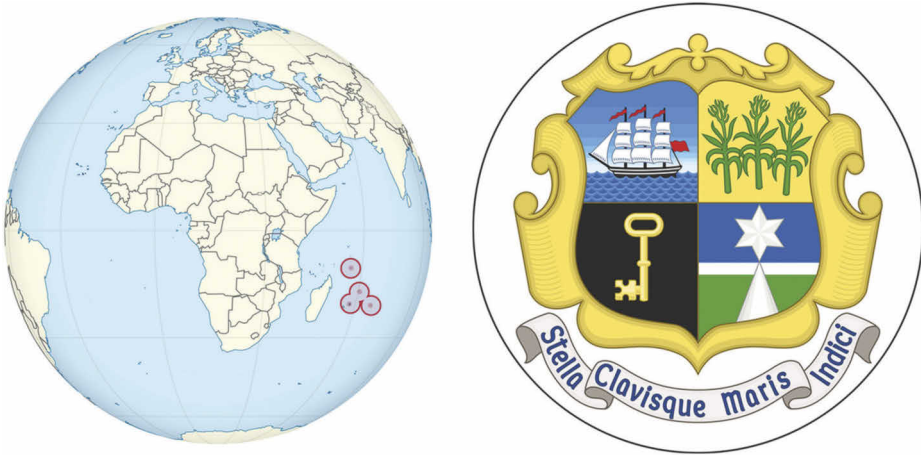
Figure 29: Left, 29a: location of the Republic of Mauritius; right, 25b: badge of Mauritius 1869–1906. Wikimedia Commons.

Kingdom of Morocco

French Protectorate	March 30, 1912
Spanish Protectorate	November 27, 1912
Independent of France and Spain	March 2, 1956
Independence Day	November 11, 1956
Coat of arms adopted	August 14, 1957

Official description (Figure 30)[22]

Crest: *The royal crown of Morocco or, embellished with pearls alternately gules and vert, sustained on two cornucopias.*

Shield: *Gules a bar enarched vert, adorned with two chains of seven lozenges held by the points, in chief or and in base argent; in chief the Atlas mountain range azure surcharged with a demi-sun rising, with fifteen rays or; in base a pentagram vert reaching over the fess.*

Supporters: *Two lions proper, the one in dexter in profile and the one in sinister affronté, the shield bordered with lambrequins or, sustained on two cornucopias.*

Motto: *In Tansourou Allaha Yansouroukoum (If you glorify God, He will glorify you).*

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[22] https://www.maroc.ma/en/content/armorial-bearing. There is no offical blazon but it is blazoned here exactly as it appears on the government website.

Figure 30: Top: arms of Morocco; bottom: Location of the kingdom.
Wikipedia Commons

Symbolic explanation

The arms contain symbols for the Empire (the rising sun), the Territory (the Atlas Range), the State (the pentagram, representing the five principles of Islam), and the ruler, represented by a crown for his civil authority and lions for his armed authority.

The motto is a part of Surah 47 verse 7 of the Qu'ran: "O you who believe! If you help Allah, He will help you and will make your foothold firm".

The achievement was designed by the French heraldist J. Hainaut.[23] The key element of the arms is the green pentagram or seal of Solomon that was adopted as the flag of French Morocco by the Sultan MoulayYoussef on November 17, 1915, and remains the national flag of the kingdom.

Republic of Namibia

Colonized as German South West Africa	1884–1915
Mandated to South Africa as South West Africa	1915–1983
Independence from South Africa	March 21, 1990
Coat of arms adopted	March 28, 1990

Official description (Figure 32)[24]

Crest: *Upon a traditional head-ring vert charged with six lozenges conjoined or, a fish eagle rising wings elevated and displayed proper.*

Shield: *Tierced per bend sinister azure, and vert, a bend sinister gules fimbriated argent and in dexter chief a sun with twelve straight rays or charged with an annulet azure (the Flag of Namibia).*

Supporters: *Two oryx proper.*

Compartment: *A Namib sand dune with a Welwitschia mirabilis on the foreground.*

Motto: *Unity Liberty Justice.*

Figure 31: Left, 31a: location of the Republic of Namibia; right, 31b: proposed arms for German Southwest Africa 1914. Wikimedia Commons.

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[23] *Archivum Heraldicum* 1957, p.44.

[24] *Government Gazette of Republic of Namibia* no.4, March 28, 1990, p.3.

Figure 32: Arms of Namibia.

Symbolic explanation[25]

The official explanation of the elements of the national flag which comprises the shield: the sun is for life and energy. Gold is for warmth, and the colour of the plains and the Namib Desert. Blue represents the Namibian sky, the Atlantic Ocean, the marine resources and the importance of rain and water. Red is for the Namibian people, for their heroism and determination to build a future of equal opportunity for all. White is for peace and unity. Green stands for Namibia's vegetation and agricultural resources.

The explanation of the remaining elements: The African Fish Eagle has excellent vision and stands as a symbol of the farsightedness of the country's leaders. The headband on which the eagle rests represents national traditions and the diamond shapes

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[25] http://www.orusovo.com/symbols/

its mineral resources The Oryx supporter stands for courage, elegance and pride. The *Welwitschia mirabilis* of the compartment is a unique desert plant found in the Namib desert. It is a fighter for survival, a symbol of the nation's fortitude and tenacity.

The compartment is based on that of the arms granted to Southwest Africa in 1963 and designed by Dr Coenraad Beyers of the South African Bureau of Heraldry, founded that year (**Figure 33**). These arms were discontinued in 1980 because of their political association with white South Africa. They were blazoned as follows:

Shield: *Per chevron ployé argent and gules, dexter a karakul ram's face caboshed sable and sinister the head and neck of an Afrikander bull proper, in base two miner's hammers in saltire or and there-under three triangular diamonds argent two and one; on a chief gules a pale argent charged with an eagle sable langued and membered gules, dexter a representation of Fort Namutoni and sinister a Portuguese padrao both argent.*

Crest: *A gemsbok statant guardant proper.*

Supporters: *Dexter a springbok and sinister a kudu, both proper, resting on a desert-like knoll, with a growing Welwitschia mirabilis in the foreground proper.*

Motto: *Viribus Unitis* (With United Forces).
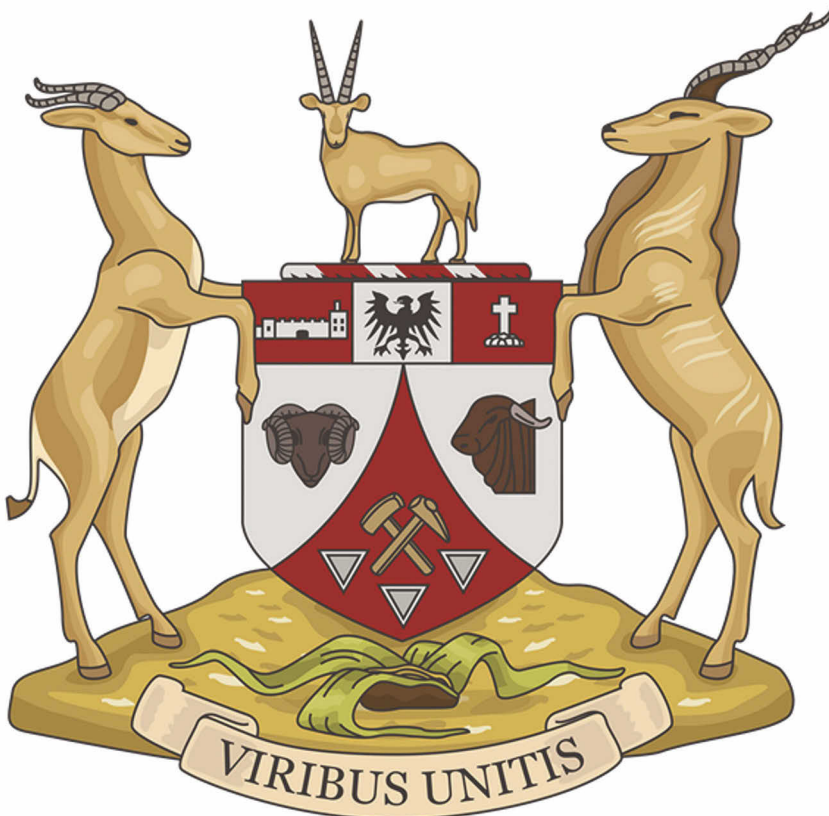
Figure 33: arms of Southwest Africa 1963–1980.

Republic of Niger

French control within French West Africa	1895/1922
Independence from France	August 3, 1960
Coat of arms adopted	December 1st, 1962

Official description (Figure 34)[26]

Shield: *Vert, a sun in splendour or, between to dexter with a spear in pale charged with two Tuareg swords in saltire, and to sinister three ears of millet, one in pale and two in saltire, in base the head of a buffalo, all or.*
Supporters: *This shield rests on a trophy formed by four flags of the Republic of Niger.*
Motto: *République du Niger – Republic of Niger.*

Symbolic explanation

The green field, as on the national flag, stands for the grass plains in the south and west through which the Niger River flows. Representing the people and agriculture of northern part of the country, the Sahara Desert, is the buffalo head and the Tuareg swords, the Tuareg being the Berber nomads. The spear and the millet stand for the Hausa people of the south and their agriculture. The radiant sun which unites all is said to represent the readiness of the people of Niger to fight for their rights.

Figure 34: Arms of the Republic of Niger. Wikimedia Commons.

[26] www.presidence.ne/les-symboles. The blazon is given in Article 1 of the *Constitution de la République du Niger, Adoptée le 18 juillet 1999.*
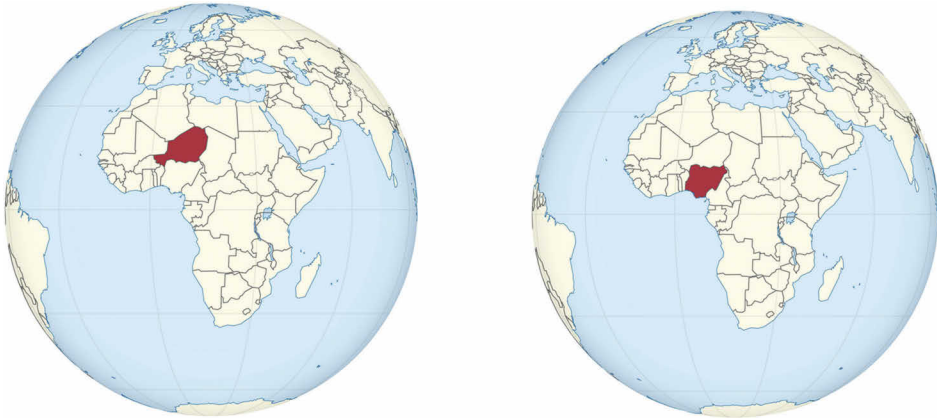
Figure 35: Left: location of the Republic of Niger; right: location of the Republic of Nigeria. Wikimedia Commons.

Federal Republic of Nigeria

British Protectorate Lagos	August 6, 1861
British Colony Lagos	March 5,1862
Oil Rivers Protectorate	1884
Independence from UK as Nigeria	October 1st 1960
Coat of arms adopted	May 20, 1960

Official description (Figure 36)[27]
Crest: *An eagle displayed gules on a torse argent and vert.*
Shield: *Sable a pall wavy argent.*
Supporters: *Two horses argent.*
Compartment: *A grassy field proper speckled with the yellow flowers* (incorrectly shown as red in the image) *of Costus spectabilis, Nigeria's national flower.*
Motto: *Unity and Faith, Peace and Progress.*

Symbolic explanation
An achievement for Nigeria was granted by the College of Arms under royal warrant of 20th May 1960, four months before Independence. The black shield represents Nigeria's fertile soil (today it also brings to mind the country's oil wealth) the wavy white pall symbolizes the meeting of the Niger and Benue Rivers at Lokoja. The supporting horses ('chargers') on each side stand for dignity. The eagle represents strength, while the vert and argent colours of the torse allude to the rich national soil. Costus spectabilis was chosen for inclusion in the coat of arms as it is found all over Nigeria, and also stand for the beauty of the nation. The original motto was "*Unity and Faith*". It was amended in 1978.

[27] CA Register I 82 p.185.

Figure 36: Arms of Nigeria. Wikimedia Commons.

Republic of Senegal

French conquest of Senegal	1695
Colony of France	1895
Independence from France	August 20, 1960
Coat of arms adopted	December 23, 1965

Official description (Figure 37a) [28]

Crest: *A mullet vert*
Shield: *Per pale, sinister half, Or a baobab-tree proper and in base a fess wavy vert: dexter half, Gules a lion rampant or.*
Supporters: *Two palm leaves argent.*
Motto: *"Un Peuple, Un But, Une Foi"* (One Nation, One Goal, One Faith).
Order*: Star of the National Order of the Lion* (**Figure 37c**).

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[28] Blanchard, op.cit., p.3, adopted by government décret n° 65–906 du 23 décembre 1965.

Figure 37: Top, 37a: arms of the Republic of Senegal; bottom left, 37b: location of Senegal; bottom right, 37c: Senegalese Order of the Lion. Wikimedia Commons.
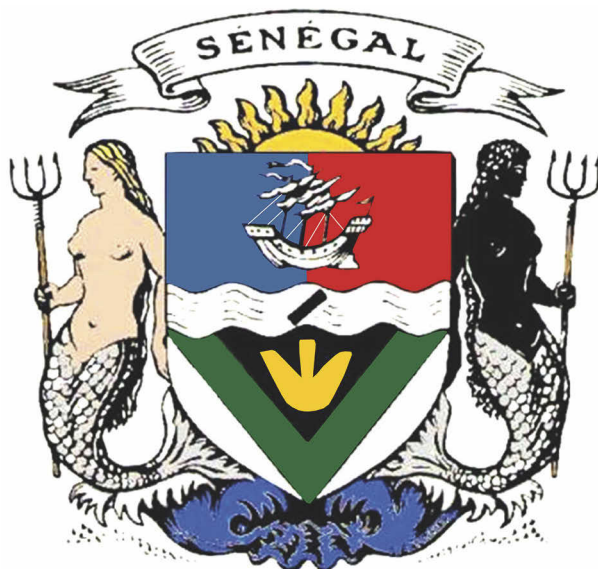
Figure 38: The colonial arms of Senegal. Wikimedia Commons.

Symbolic explanation

The arms were designed by the heraldist Suzanne Gauthier.[29] The mullet vert of the crest is taken from the green star at the centre of the national flag and alludes to Islam, the main religion in Senegal. The flag is in the pan-African colours of red, green and gold, and the arms follow the same colour scheme. The lion was adopted on independence as the key element of the presidential seal, while at the same time the baobab tree was incorporated onto on the seal of state. The lion stands for strength and was used a symbol of power by kings before the French colonised Senegal. The baobab tree *Adansonia digitata,* representing the territory of Senegal, is a defining representative of the local flora. Groups of centuries-old baobab trees are the centre of many villages, its leaves consumed as a vegetable, and its trunk providing strong fibres. The fess wavy vert below the tree represents the Senegal River.

Prior to independence an entirely different coat of arms was in use, designed by the same artist, Suzanne Gauthier, in 1956 (**Figure 38**), blazoned as follows:

Crest: *A rising sun in splendour or.*

Shield: *Parted by a fess wavy argent charged with a bend sinister couped sable; the chief party per pale azure and gules, a sailing ship, sails furled argent; in base, Argent, a pile reversed vert per pile reversed sable the last charged with a spade or.*

Supporters: *sinister, a black mermaid and dexter, white mermaid, each armed with a tetradent on a compartment of the waves of the sea azure and argent.*

Title: *SÉNÉGAL on a ribbon in chief.*[30]

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[29] *Archivum Heraldicum*, 1966 p. 13.
[30] *Archivum Heraldicum*, 1956 pp. 10–11.

The fess wavy with the bend sinister couped symbolizes the river Senegal and the island of St. Louis. The upper part of the arms is the coat of arms of the city of Dieppe from which the French mariners sailed to settle in Senegal. The green pile symbolizes Cap Vert, protruding into the Atlantic. The golden spade on the black pile represents those key ancient sources of wealth in Senegal: gold and groundnuts. The tetradents carried by the mermaids are used in Senegalese coastal fishery, and the supporters emphasize the importance of the sea as a natural resource.

Republic of the Seychelles

British colony	April 23, 1811
Independence from the UK	June 29, 1976
Coat of arms adopted	May 27,1976
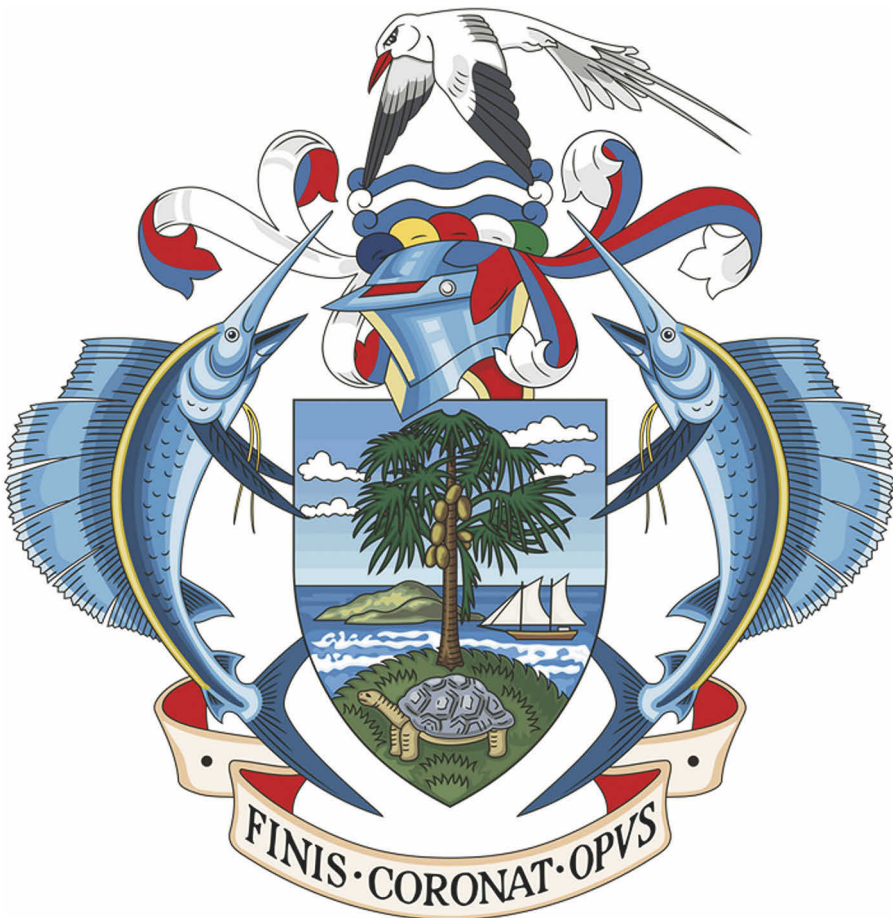
Figure 39: Arms of the Republic of the Seychelles. Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 40: Top left, 40a: location of the Republic of the Seychelles; top right, 40b: badge of Seychelles 1903–1961; bottom, 40c: badge of Seychelles 1961–1976. Wikimedia Commons.

Official description (Figure 39)[31]

Crest: *On a torse of the national colours azure, or, gules, argent and vert, above water— barry wavy azure and argent — a White-Tailed Tropic Bird (Phaeton lepturus lepturus) volant proper.*

Shield*: Azure, a female Coco de Mer Palm (Lodoicea maldivica) issuant from in base a grassy mount, thereon a Giant Tortoise (Testudo gigantea) the whole in front of water rising therefrom to the dexter an island and sailing thereon a two-masted schooner in full sail all proper.*

[31] Republic of Seychelles National Symbols Act no.3, 18th June 1996.

Supporters: *On either side a Sail Fish (Istiophorus platypterus) proper.*
Motto: *"Finis Coronat Opus"* (The End Crowns the Work).

History and Symbolic explanation

The first elements of the arms adopted were the Coco de Mer Palm, the Giant Tortoise, and the motto, which were placed on the badge of the colony in 1903 (**Figure 40b**). This badge was modified in 1961 to take the form of the shield which was later incorporated into the full achievement (**Figure 40c**). The latter was designed by the College of Arms and granted by royal warrant of 27th May 1976. The subjects represent the island's typical wildlife, of which the Sail Fish and the Tropic Bird are fairly widespread, but the palm and the tortoise are rather special and distinctive species belonging to the Seychelles. The Coco de Mer or Sea Coconut is a rare tree originating in these islands (despite its name *Lodoicea maldivica* –which arose because the seeds were found in the Maldives, having been washed across the ocean) and produces the world's largest seed. The Giant Tortoise is similarly endangered and an atoll in the Seychelles is one of its few remaining habitats. The schooner represents the fishing industry. The original torse was in the colours gules, argent and azure, these being the colours of the first national flag. After the adoption of the third national flag in 1996, with its five colours, the colours of the torse were changed, but the mantling was kept in the original colours.

Republic of Sierra Leone

British Crown Colony	1808
British Protectorate	1896
Shield adopted	August 3, 1914
Independence from the UK	April 27, 1961
Coat of arms adopted	November 13, 1960

Figure 41: Left, 41a: location of Sierra Leone, Wikimedia Commons; right, 41b: shield of Sierra Leone 1914, for source see ref. 33 p.31.

Figure 42: Arms of Sierra Leone. Wikimedia Commons.

Official description (Figure 42)[32]

Shield: *Vert a lion passant or armed and langued gules standing on a base argent, two bars wavy azure, on a chief indented of four points argent, three flaming torches sable, the flames gules.*
Supporters: *Two lions rampant or, armed and langued gules, each supporting a palm-tree proper.*
Compartment: *A grassy ground vert.*
Motto: *"Unity, Freedom, Justice".*

Symbolic explanation

The arms were granted by the College of Arms shortly prior to independence, the principal colours of azure, argent and vert being those of the national flag. The lion beneath a zigzag border represents the Lion Mountains, after which the country was named. The bars wavy in base are for the sea, specifically the harbour of Freetown,

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[32] CA Register I 82 p.195.

while the three torches have been interpreted in various ways, including ambition for liberty and knowledge.

The lion supporters underscore the canting aspect of the lion on the shield, while the palm trees take us back to the badge of the colony granted by the College of Arms on 30th July 1914, and blazoned: *Per pale, dexter, A seascape, a sailing ship in the distance, and a liberated African slave on the shore, all proper; sinister, Or, a palm-tree proper; overall a chief of the first Union Jack* (**Figure 41b**).[33]

Federal Republic of Somalia

Italian protectorate Somaliland	1880
Under British control	1941–1950
UN trust territory under Italian administration	1950–1960
Coat of arms adopted	October 10, 1956
Independence from the UK and Italy.	July 1st, 1960
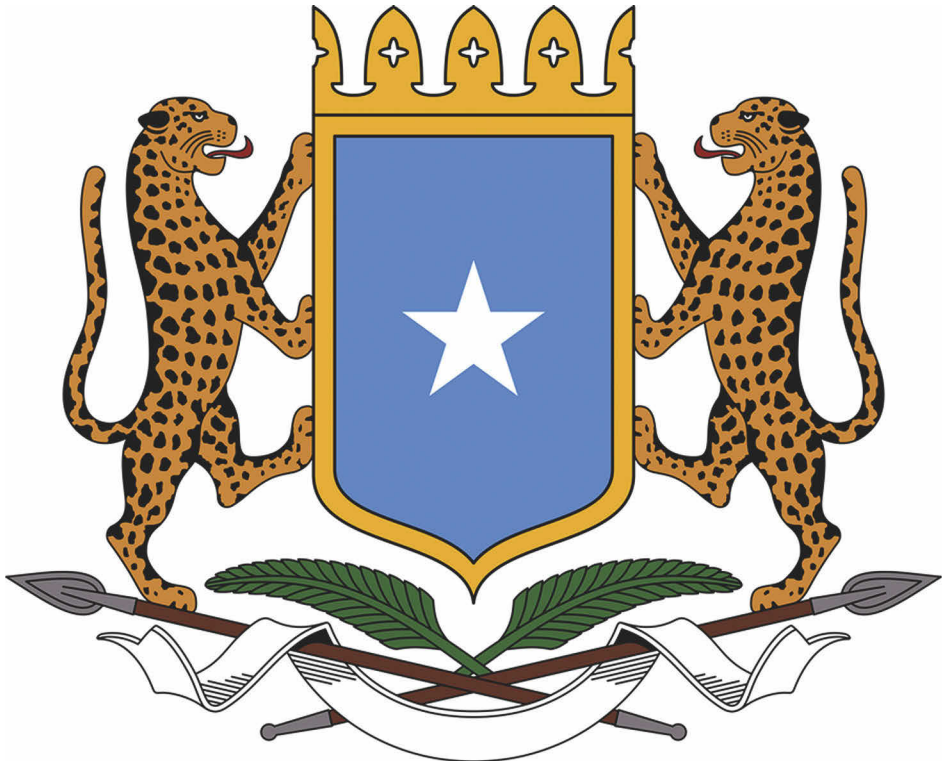
Figure 43: Arms of Somalia. Wikimedia Commons.

[33] *Flags, Badges & Arms of His Majesty's Dominions Beyond the Seas and of Territories under His Majesty's Protection.* Part II. (London, 1932), p.31; CA Register I. 77 p.114.

Note: Somalia is composed of two parts:

1) Italian Somaliland, Former Italian colony, where Italy obtained control in 1889 and incorporated it as a state in Italian East Africa in 1936. Italian East Africa was formed through the merger of Italian Somalia, Italian Eritrea, and the newly occupied Ethiopian Empire.
2) British Somaliland, whose coast came under British influence in the early nineteenth century, fell under Italian control in World War II. Britain invaded in 1941 and retained control until it became a U.N. trust territory under Italian administration in 1950. In 1960, both parts were united to form the independent Republic of Somalia. On May 18, 1991, Somaliland left the state federation and declared its independence, which, however, has not been internationally recognized.

Official description (Figure 43)[34]

Crest: *A decorated emblem with five golden heads, with two lateral ones halved.*
Shield: *Azure a five-pointed star argent, a bordure or.*
Supporters: *Two leopards proper.*
Compartment: *Two palm leaves (and two crossed spears) interlaced with a white ribbon.*[35]

History and symbolic explanation

Both British and Italian Somaliland possessed coats of arms, and elements from both have been incorporated into the arms of the independent state. Those of British Somaliland were granted by the College of Arms under royal warrant of December 18, 1950, and are blazoned as follows:

Crest: *On a wreath azure and vert a kudu-head guardant, between its horns the Imperial State crown.*
Shield: *Per pale: dexter: Vert, a minaret or; sinister: Azure two bars wavy argent, in chief a dhow sailing to the dexter and in base an anchor per pale or; above all a chief or, two spears in saltire charged with a Somalian shield proper* (**Figure 44b**).

The arms of Italian Somaliland were used over a much longer period, having been adopted by decree of the 3rd of April 1919.[36] They are blazoned:

Crest: *An antique crown of nine points.*
Shield: *Parted by a fess wavy argent, in chief, Azure a leopard passant guardant proper; above his head a mullet argent; in base, Gules two stars of six points argent* (**Figure 44a**).

As can be seen, the arms lend particularly from those of the Italian colony, from which we have a variation on all the key elements. The mullet argent on an azure field taken from the chief is now rationalised as representing the five territories inhabited by the Somali people: the former British and Italian colonies, Djibouti (formerly French Somaliland), the Ogades of Ethiopia and northern Kenya. The leopard from

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[34] Provisional Constitution of the Federal Republic of Somalia, August 1, 2012, Article 6, p.2.

[35] The spears are accidentally omitted from the official blazon.

[36] Giacomo Bascapé, & Marcello del Piazzo, *Insege e Simboli. Araldica Pubblica e privata medievale e moderna* (Roma, 1983).

the chief has become the supporters, and the antique crown has morphed into the curiously described 'decorated emblem with five golden heads', which takes the form
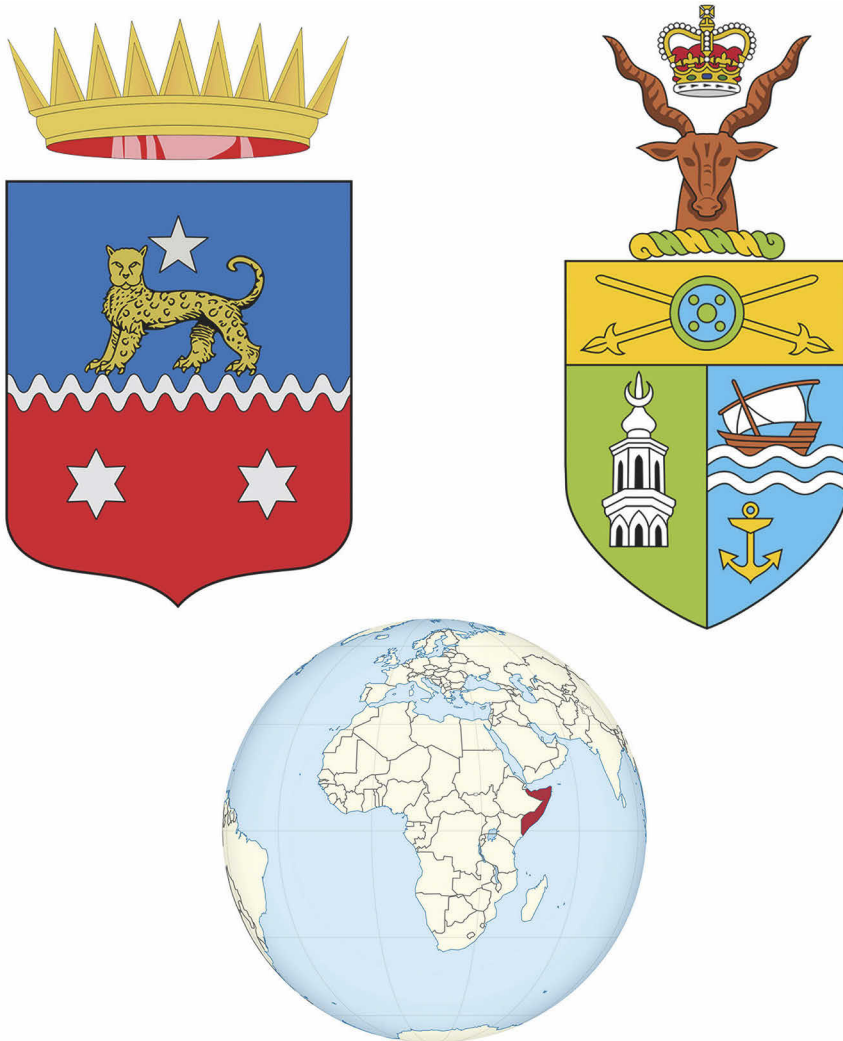
Figure 44: Top left, 44a: arms of Italian Somaliland; top right, 44b: arms of British Somaliland; bottom, 44c: Location of Somalia. Wikimedia Commons.

of traditional Somali architectural elements. From the arms of British Somaliland we have only the tribal spears, and the crest of the Great Kudu *Traghelaphus strepsiceros* has been incorporated into the badge of the Somali police.

Republic of Tunisia

French protectorate	May 12, 1881
Independence from France as a kingdom	March 20, 1956
Adoption of coat of arms	June 21, 1956
Declaration of republican status	July 25, 1957
Coat of arms revised	May 30,1963

Figure 45: Arms of the Republic of Tunisia. Wikimedia Commons.
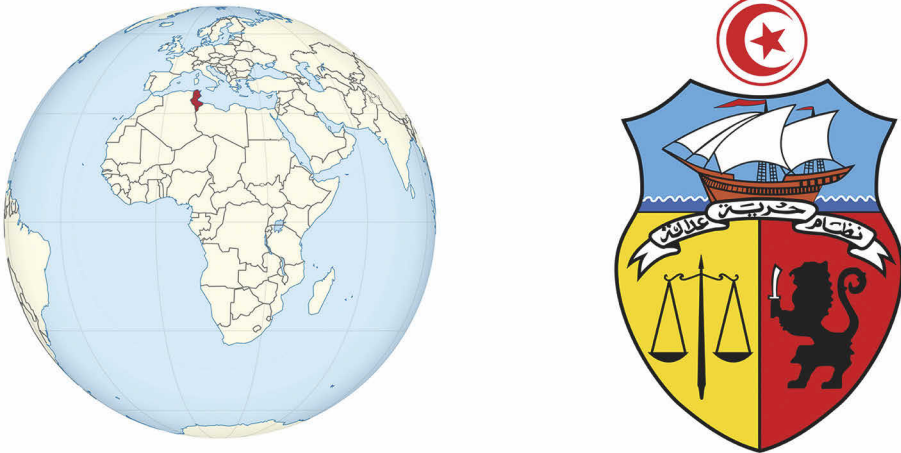
Figure 46: Left, 46a: location of Tunisia; right, 46b: arms of Tunisia 1957–63.
Wikimedia Commons.

Corrected official description (Figure 45)[37]

Crest: *A white circle with a figure of a red star with five points encircled by a red crescent.*

Shield: *Or, party per pale, on the sinister side a lion rampant sable turned to the right armed with a scimitar argent; on the dexter side, a set of scales sable; on a chief or, a ship sable with sails argent and flying flags gules sailing on a sea azure. In the centre a scroll or with the motto of the Republic: Liberty – Order – Justice, inscribed sable.*

History and Symbolic explanation

The arms of the newly independent kingdom in 1956 (a republic from 1957) bore a shield with the same elements as the current arms, of which the ship is representative of freedom, the lion of order, and the scales symbolize justice (**Figure 46b**). The crest of the red crescent and star placed on a white disk is taken from the centre of the national flag, and is the oldest component of the shield. The flag was adopted on 20th October 1827 (ratified 1831) by decree of Husayn, Bey of Tunis, and became the flag of the French protectorate in 1881. In 1963 the lower elements of the shield were transposed and the colour scheme was changed. The scribe who recorded the official blazon at this time was no heraldist, and confused sinister with dexter.

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[37] Décret du 21 juin 1956 (12 doul kaada 1375) sur les armoires du Royaume; *Journal Officiel de la République Tunisienne*, Loi N° 63–26 du 30 mai 1963 (7 moharrem 1388); relative aux Armoiries de la République.

Republic of Zambia

British Protectorate of Northern Rhodesia   1911
Coat of arms adopted   August 16, 1939
Independence from the UK as Zambia   October 24, 1964
Revised coat of arms adopted   October 24, 1964
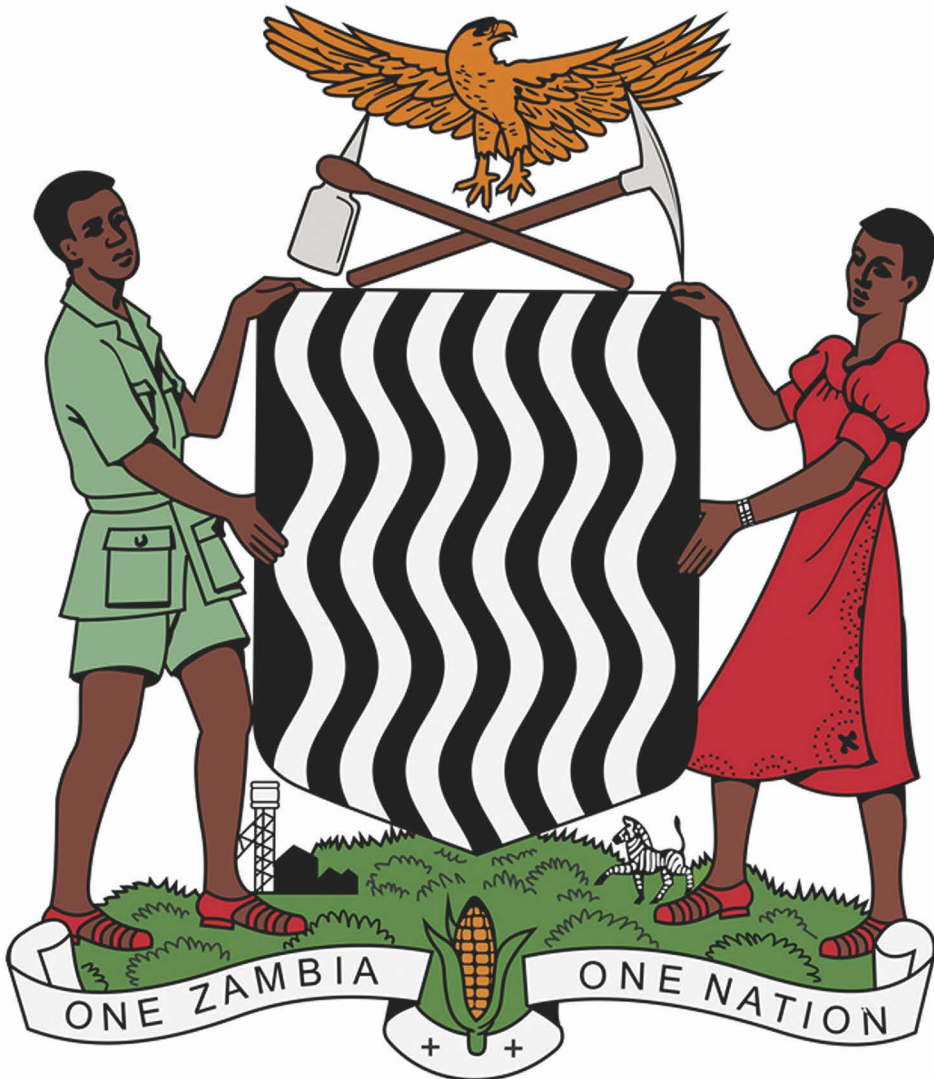
Figure 47: Arms of the Republic of Zambia. Wikimedia Commons.

Official description (Figure 47)[38]

Crest: *An eagle or displayed above a crossed hoe and pickaxe proper.*

Shield: *Sable six pallets wavy Argent.*

Supporters: *Sinister, A Zambian man in bush khaki shirt and shorts; dexter, a Zambian woman vested in traditional garb gules.*

Compartment: *On a grassy ground on the dexter the escalator of a pit, in the middle an ear of maize, and on the sinister a zebra, all proper.*

Motto: "*One Zambia, One Nation*".

Figure 48: Left, 48a: location of Zambia; right, 48b: shield of Northern Rhodesia 1939–1953. Wikimedia Commons.

Symbolic explanation

The shield represents that great national icon, the Victoria Falls, with white water cascading over black rock. The magnificent falls are on the Zambezi River, from which derives the name of Zambia. The African Fish Eagle, a symbol of Zambia's freedom, is also known as the Eagle of liberty, and represents the people's ability to rise above every problem. In nature it has a striking white head and neck, but here in gold. The pick and hoe represent the country's economic backbone, agriculture and mining. The man and woman symbolize the Zambian family. The man is dressed in bush khaki shirt and shorts, the clothes of a worker before independence, and the woman is in traditional dress. The height of both genders is the same, depicting equality.

The maize cob, the mine shaft-head and the zebra on a green compartment symbolize the natural resources, agriculture, minerals, game, and the land. The country's motto emphasizes the need for unity in the country of over 72 ethnic groups.

The original colonial coat of arms, comprising a shield only (**Figure 48b**) was the same, but with the eagle holding a fish in its talons (identifying it as a Fish Eagle), placed

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[38] CA Register I 81 p.12.

on a chief azure. Between 1953 and 1963 this shield was combined with elements from the arms of Southern Rhodesia (see next) and Nyasaland (see Malawi) as part of the Central African Federation (**Figure 27**). The revised 1964 arms were not granted by the College of Arms.

Republic of Zimbabwe

British colony of Southern Rhodesia	1924
Coat of arms adopted	July 11, 1924
Renamed as Rhodesia	October 7,1964
Unilateral declaration of independence	November 11, 1965
Restoration of British suzerainty	December 12, 1979
Independence from the UK as Zimbabwe	April 18, 1980
New coat of arms	September 21, 1981

Official description (Figure 49)
Crest: *On a torse or and vert a mullet gules charged with the Great Zimbabwe Bird or.*
Shield: *Vert the ruins of Great Zimbabwe argent and a chief paly wavy of fifteen pieces argent and azure.*
Supporters: *On each side a kudu; behind the shield a hoe and an A.K. automatic rifle in saltire, both proper.*
Compartment: *The African soil charged with a cotton flower between a sheaf of wheat and a maize-cob proper.*
Motto: *"Unity, Freedom, Work"*.

Symbolic explanation[39]
The crest of a Great Zimbabwe Bird was copied from the arms of Southern Rhodesia, and is a highly important cultural artefact of the Shona people. Eight examples carved from soapstone, and believed to represent Bateleur Eagles, were excavated from the ruins of Great Zimbabwe, which gives its name to the country. Great Zimbabwe flourished as a city for centuries before being abandoned in around 1450. The red star and the A.K.47 rifle convey the revolutionary nature of the 1980 achievement of black majority rule. The bird and star also occupy the base of the national flag. The rifle and adze in saltire mark the transfer from war to peace. The chief of the shield is copied from the arms of Zambia, where it represents the Victoria Falls that lie between the two countries. It is said with the green field of the shield to stand for the soil and water of Zimbabwe.

The previous arms adopted in 1924 (**Figure 50**) are blazoned as follows:
Crest: *On a helmet to the dexter lambrequined or and vert, the Great Zimbabwe Bird or.*
Shield: *Vert, a pick or and on a chief argent a lion passant gules between two thistles leaved and slipped proper.*
Supporters: *Two Sable Antelopes proper.*
Motto: "*Sit Nomine Digna*" (May She be Worthy of the Name).

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[39] https://zimembassydc.org/country-profile/.

Figure 49: Top: arms of Republic of Zimbabwe; bottom: location of Zimbabwe.
Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 50: Arms of Southern Rhodesia 1924–1964 and of the Republic of Rhodesia 1965–80. Wikimedia Commons.

The chief was taken from the arms of Cecil John Rhodes, the founder of Rhodesia on which the central bend is *argent a lion passant gules between two thistles proper*. The motto alludes to his name becoming that of the country. The pick is for the mining industry which made Rhodes such a wealthy man. The antelopes were presumably changed to kudu to avoid too much correspondence to the earlier arms.

In the sixteenth century, the Portuguese, who were working up the Zambezi river from the coastland that is now Mozambique, encountered the Kingdom of Mutapa, which was centred on the area that is now Zimbabwe. It has been incorrectly stated that in 1569 Sebastian I, king of Portugal granted arms to the king of that region, which were later illustrated as *Azure an African hoe barwise bladed or and handled argent between two*

arrows in pale argent (**Figure 51**).[40] King Sebastian did indeed send an expedition into the region in 1569, and it was later recorded that Chisamharu Negomo, king of Mutapa, bore as his ceremonial objects a small hoe with an ivory handle and two assegai spears.[41] The king threw the hoe at people who displeased him from time to time. We can be fairly confident therefore that the arms described were merely attributed on the basis of the published reports of this expedition. The kingdom came to an end in the eighteenth century.

[40] Stephen Slater, *The Complete Book of Heraldry* (London, 1999), p.228.

[41] S.I.Mudenge, *A political history of Munhumutapa* (Harare, 1988), p.113 note 31.

Figure 51: The great king of Mutapa (Monomotapa) as envisaged by Nicholas Larmessan in 1655–80, with his attributed arms © The Trustees of the British Museum, Museum number O,3.219.

THE ARMS OF CISTERCIAN ABBEYS AS DRAWN BY DOM ANSELM BAKER, Part 5: CHESHIRE, HEREFORDSHIRE, LEICESTERSHIRE, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, STAFFORDSHIRE, WARWICKSHIRE, WALES, AND MAN

MICHAEL CARTER, F.S.A., F.R.HIST.S.

Combermere Abbey, Cheshire: *Quarterly gules and or a bend sable and over all in sinister flank a crosier palewise gules.*

Originally a Savignac house, Combermere was founded in 1133 by Hugh Malbank, second baron of Wich Malbank. Together with all other Savignanc houses, in 1147 Combermere was absorbed into the Cistercian Order. The abbey settled a number a daughter houses. However, in common with so many other monasteries, its history was marked by occasional disorder, lapses from the Rule and debt. It was suppressed in 1538, at which time the community consisted of the abbot and thirteen monks.[1]

The abbey's arms are those of the founder's family.[2] The earliest evidence for their use by Combermere is provided by a late-fourteenth-century heraldic roll. [3] However, the crosier is shown as *Argent*, rather than the *Gules* given by Dom Baker. Very similar arms were again given to the abbey in William le Neve's book of c.1500, though this time without the bend and crosier.[4] Shortly after, John Leland recorded the arms as *Quarterly gules and or a bend sable a crosier palewise argent*.[5]

Little now remains of the abbey's buildings, but there is no doubt that the use of heraldic ornament was widespread. The post-Dissolution house at Combermere retains portions of the monastic south range, including the refectory. Its hammer-beam roof is ornamented with the abbey's arms.[6] Other evidence comes from the records of the famous dispute at the end of the fourteenth century between Sir Richard Scrope and Sir Robert Grosvenor regarding the right to the arms *Azure a bend or*. The abbot of Combermere was summoned as a witness in support of the Grosvenor claim. He testified that these arms, which he recognised as those of Grosvenor, were painted on an altarpiece at his monastery.[7]

[1] *VCH Cheshire*, vol. 3, pp.150–156.

[2] DBA vol. 1, p. 337.

[3] The County Roll of Richard II.

[4] DBA vol 4, p. 313.

[5] J.A. Goodall, 'Arms of Religious Corporations', in *At the Roots of Heraldry: collected papers of John Archibald Goodall*, ed. S. Ashley, Harleian Society, vol. 21 (2018), p. 93.

[6] *VCH Cheshire*, vol. 3, pp. 150–56.

[7] R. Stewart-Brown, 'The Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, vol. 89 (1938), p. 18.

Combermere . Cheshire.

v.

Founded by Hugh de Malbanc Lord of Nant=
wich, a.d. mcxxxiii, dedicated to B.V.Mary and
S.Michael.

Figure 1: Combermere Abbey, Cheshire. All drawings by Dom Anselm Baker
photographed by Paul A Fox and reproduced with the gracious permission of the
Abbot and Community of Mount St Bernard's Abbey, Leicestershire.

Vale Royal, Cheshire: *Gules three lions passant gardant or over all a crosier palewise sable in a border sable bezanty.*

The abbey's name and coat of arms are witness to its exalted founder, King Edward I (1272–1307). The monastery was founded in fulfillment of a vow made during a perilous sea crossing in the winter of 1263–64; the foundation charter was issued in 1270. Had Edward's plans been fully realised, Vale Royal would have been the largest and grandest Cistercian house in England. However, by 1290, the king had lost interest in abbey, then only partially complete. Works recommenced in the mid-fourteenth century thanks to the patronage of Edward, the Black Prince (d. 1376). But, in 1360 the incomplete nave was blown down during a storm. Eventually, the community had to seek the permission of Richard II (1377–99) to reduce the 'height and width' of their church.[8]

The abbey had multiple heraldic identities, all derived from its royal patron. The earliest evidence is provided by Sir George Calveley's Book, which dates to c.1350–1450. This gives the blazon *Gules three lions passant guardant or over all a crosier palewise argent*. An early-sixteenth-century source gives a slightly different version: *Gules three lions passant guardant with a cross crosslet fitchy or between the forepaws over all a crosier palewise argent headed or*. At around this time, the abbey was using a seal ornamented with the arms of England. It is to the eighteenth-century antiquarian Thomas Tanner that we owe the arms attributed to the abbey by Dom Baker. It is difficult to account for Tanner's inclusion of the bezanty border of the earls of Cornwall.[9]

The use of heraldry to ornament the buildings of the abbey is hinted at by the testimony given by the abbot of Vale Royal in support of Sir Richard Grosvenor's claim to use the arms *Azure a bend or*. The abbot stated these arms, which he believed to be those of Grosvenor, adorned the walls of his church.[10]

Dore Abbey, Herefordshire: *Gules two bars gemel and in chief a lion passant guardant or.*

Dore abbey, or as it is more usually called Abbey Dore was founded in 1147 by the local lord Robert of Ewyas. He brought over a colony of monks from Morimond (Haute-Marne). Dore was the only English abbey to be founded from this 'elder daughter' of Cîteaux, and itself founded a series of daughter houses.[11]

The founder was buried at Dore, so too his elder son, also called Robert (d.1147), and a younger son called William became a monk at the abbey. By marriage to Sybil, the granddaughter and only surviving heir of the founder, the patronage of the abbey and lordship of Ewyas passed to Robert de Tregoz.[12] The arms attributed to the monastery

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[8] *VCH Cheshire*, vol. 3, pp. 156–165.

[9] Goodall, op.cit., p. 132. An unfinished version of the arms (three lions without the crosier) is included in Sir William le Neve's Book, c. 1500; *see DBA* vol. 1, p. 288.

[10] Stewart-Brown, 'The Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy', p. 19.

[11] For a summary of the history of the house, see Robinson, ed., *Cistercian Abbeys of Britain* (London, 1998) pp. 101–2.

[12] The descent of the lordship is outlined in R. Richardson, 'People of the Abbey', in *A Definitive History of Dore Abbey*, ed. R. Shoesmith and R. Richardson (Almeley, 1997), pp. 94–95.

Vale Royal, or De Valle Regali: Cheshire. *

vi.

Prince Edward, eldest son of Henry iii, began an Abbey on his manor of Dernhall, a.d. mcclxvi, but when he became King, a.d. mcclxxvii, he built a stately Abbey at this place whither the Monks removed, a.d. mcclxxxi.

Figure 2: Vale Royal, Cheshire.

Dore, Herefordshire.

XXiii.

Robert de Ewyas youngest son to Harold
Lord of Ewyas, built here tem steph, an Abbey for
White Monks, to the honour of Blessed Mary.

Figure 3: Dore Abbey, Herefordshire.

by Dom Baker are those of Tregoz.[13] Although it is entirely plausible that Dore used the arms of descendants of the founder,[14] medieval evidence for the use of this or any other shield by the monastery is lacking.[15]

The abbey was suppressed in 1536, the east end of its church restored for Anglican worship in the seventeenth century.[16] Preserved there are two ex situ thirteenth-century knightly effigies, possibly descendants of the founder. The elites were seeking burial within the abbey's church until well into the late Middle Ages, and large portions of the nave were given over to lay burials.[17] Reset close to the high altar are numerous thirteenth-century floor tiles with various coats of arms. They can leave little doubt that Dore's church was replete with heraldic decoration.[18]

Garendon Abbey, Leicestershire: *Gules a cinquefoil ermine argent over all a crosier in bend or.*

Robert, Earl of Leicester settled a colony of monks from Waverley (Surrey) at Garendon in 1133, making the abbey one of the earliest Cistercian foundations in England. The site in the wild Charnwood Forest would have appealed to the Cistercians' desire to found their monasteries in inhospitable locations, 'far from the concourse of men'. Earl Robert was generous to his new foundations, and gifts from other benefactors ensured that by the end of the twelfth century it was the owner of estates in neighbouring counties. The early success of the community is shown by its foundation of daughter houses at Bordesley (Worcestershire) and Biddlesden (Buckinghamshire).[19]

Evidence from seals shows that the abbey was using heraldry from at least the mid-thirteenth century. The seal of Abbot Symon, datable to 1251, has a field decorated with estoiles and a fourteenth-century abbatial seal has a shield with *three estoiles*.[20] However, by the early-sixteenth century the abbey was using the arms illustrated by Dom Baker. These are attributed to Garendon in an early Tudor book of arms and confirmed by John Leland, the antiquary.[21] They likely refer to the abbey's founder. The late John A. Goodall noted that the *cinquefoil ermine* was associated with the first earls of Leicester from as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century.[22]

With an income of only £168, Garendon was dissolved in 1536 as one of the lesser monasteries. It was already partly ruinous, and nothing remains of its buildings above ground. However, the plan of the east end of the church and structures in the east

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[13] *DBA* vol. 1, p. 78.

[14] For instance, Rievaulx, founded by Walter Espec, used the arms of his de Roos descendants, differenced by a crosier; see the earlier article in this series, *COA* no. 235 (2018), pp.122–24.

[15] None of the abbey's known seals are ornamented with heraldry; see R.H. Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals in the Public Record Office*, vol. 1: *monastic seals* (London, 1986), p. 1; *BM Seals* vol. 1, p. 535.

[16] J. Tonkin, 'The Scudamore Restoration', in *Definitive History*, ed. Shoesmith and Richardson, pp. 173–76.

[17] J. Hillaby, 'Cults Patrons and Sepulture', in *Definitive History*', ed. Shoesmith and Richardson, pp. 103–112.

[18] A. Vice, 'The Medieval Floor Tiles', in *Definitive History*, ed. Shoesmith and Richardson, p. 80.
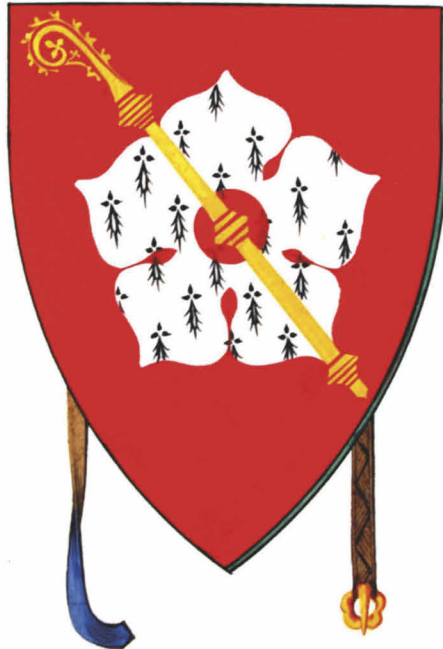
[19] *VCH Leicestershire,* vol. 2, pp. 5–7.

[20] BM Seals vol. 1, p. 562; *DBA* vol. 3, pp. 288, 290.

[21] CA L10 65v; J. Leland, *Collectanea*, vol. 1, ed. T. Hearne (London, 1744), p. 100.

[22] Goodall, 'Arms of Religious Corporations', p. 101.

Figure 4: Garendon Abbey, Leicestershire.

range, including the fourteenth-century chapter house with polygonal east end, have been uncovered by excavation.[23]

Pipewell Abbey, Northamptonshire: *Argent three crescents gules impaling azure a crosier in pale or.*

A daughter house of Newminster (Northumberland), Pipewell was founded in 1143 by William Boutvillain (or Batevileyn, Boutvileyn). There were significant building works at the abbey in the early-fourteenth century, the chapter house being dedicated in 1312. King Henry VIII visited the monastery in 1509, marking the occasion with an offering of 6*s* 8*d*. The abbey's hospitality, charity and maintenance of the Divine Office were praised in 1536, but its inevitable suppression came in November 1538. The community then consisted of the abbot, thirteen monks and forty servants. The abbey was granted to Sir William Parre (d. 1547), and was rapidly looted by the local populace. By 1720, there were no standing remains.[24]

    The abbey's arms were those of founder's family.[25] These are impaled with a crosier, an obvious symbol of abbatial authority, and are documented in two early-sixteenth-century sources: an early Tudor book of arms, and also by John Leland, antiquary and librarian to Henry VIII.[26] Tantalising evidence of the presence of heraldic ornament at the monastery is hinted at by its Dissolution inventory which lists a '2 alter clothes of blake velvet, inbroderyd with lyons and crownes of goold' and and cope 'spottyd with lyons'.[27]

Croxden Abbey, Staffordshire: *Or a bend between six martlets sable* (sic).

In 1176 Bertram de Verdun, lord of Alton, a baron of the Exchequer and a royal justice, settled a community of monks from Aunay-sur-Odon in Normandy at Cotton, near Alton. Within three years, monks moved a few miles south to Croxden.[28] The Verduns retained an intimate relationship with Croxden, its church becoming the family mausoleum. This tradition of burial was maintained until 7 June 1335 when Joan, the last of the Verduns, was interred amid great ceremony before the high altar.[29]

    The arms attributed to Croxden by Dom Baker are in fact those Croxton Abbey, a house of Premonstratensian canons in Leicestershire. They are the arms of the Luttrell family, recorded as those of Croxton by John Leland.[30]

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[23] Robinson ed., *Cistercian Abbeys of Britain*, pp. 119–20.

[24] For summaries and the abbey's history, see *VCH Northamptonshire*, vol. 2, pp.116–121. What is known of the buildings is discussed in Robinson ed., *Cistercian Abbeys of Britain*, p. 137.

[25] For the arms of Boutvillain, see *DBA* vol. 3, p. 87.

[26] CA L10 66; Leland, *Collectanea*, vol. 1, ed. Hearne, p. 48.

[27] W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum: a new edition*, ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel, vol. 5. (London, 1849), p. 440.

[28] *VCH Staffordshire*, vol. 3, pp. 226–230.

[29] J. Hall, 'Croxden Abbey Church: Architecture, Burial and Patronage', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 160 (2001), pp. 85–93.

[30] Goodall, 'Arms of Religious Corporations', p. 95.

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Pipewell, olim s. Marie de Divisis, Northamptonshire.

William de Bontevylein, founded this Abbey in the year mcxliii, and dedicated it to the Blessed Virgin.

Figure 5: Pipewell Abbey, Northamptonshire.

xlvi.

Chotes, or Chotene, and Crokesden
or Croxden, Staffordshire.

Bertram de Verdun, a.d. mclxxvi,
gave a peice of ground at Chotes where-
on to build a Monastery; which was af=
terwards removed to Crokesden.

Figure 6: Croxden Abbey, Staffordshire.

However, there is sound evidence to suggest that Croxden was using the arms of its patronal family, the Verduns, which were *Or fretty gules*.[31] Impressions of the abbey's seal survive from the fourteenth and early sixteenth century. Both are ornamented with a shield bearing the *fretty* arms of Verdun.[32]

Croxden was dissolved in 1538. Impressive ruins of its church are now in the care of English Heritage. Excavation of the site uncovered a late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century military effigy. This likely commemorated a member of the Verdun family.[33] If so the shield would have been emblazoned with their arms: this heraldry would have proclaimed the bond between patron and monastery, and served as a prompt for the monks to remember their founder and his descendants in their prayers and masses.

Dieulacres Abbey, Staffordshire: *Azure three garbs or over all a crosier palewise argent.*

A daughter house of Combermere (Cheshire), the abbey's origins go back to a monastery founded sometime between 1146 and 1153 by Robert the Butler at Poulton (Cheshire). However, in 1214, inspired by a vision, Ranulph de Blundeville, earl of Chester, moved the community to the site of a former hermitage on the banks of the Churnet, one mile north of Leek. When Ranulph told his wife Clemence of his vision and plans, she was said to have exclaimed 'Deux encres' (God increases), giving the monastery its name. Ranulph died in 1232. His attachment to the monastery is shown by the burial of his heart there, and in 1253 his widow was also interred at the monastery.[34]

Given the intimacy of the relationship between the patron and his monastery, it is no surprise that the abbey adopted the wheatsheaf arms of Blundeville,[35] differenced by a crosier. They occur in a late-fourteenth-century heraldic roll (though without tinctures) and were seen by John Leland, in a window at the monastery.[36]

The abbey was dissolved in 1538, at which time its community consisted of the abbot, Thomas Whitney, and twelve monks, who were supported by thirty servants and nineteen lay officials. The monastery was also providing sustenance to eight 'lauders' and bedewomen. Whitney died in 1558. He remained attached to his monastic vocation and former abbey until the very end, his will requesting burial at Westminster Abbey, recently refounded by the Catholic Mary I, and he left a silver-gilt chalice to his nephew on condition 'that if the monastery of Delencres be hereafter re-edified the said chalice to be restored to the said monastery'.[37] By 1612, the site of the former monastery had been occupied by farm buildings. There are now only the scantiest of in situ architectural remains.[38]

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[31] *DBA* vol. 4, p. 100.

[32] *BM Seals* vol. 1, p. 525; Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*, pp. 28–29.

[33] Hall, 'Croxden Abbey', 113, 115.

[34] *VCH Staffordshire*, vol. 3, pp. 230–235.

[35] *DBA* vol. 4, p. 109.

[36] CA CY 74, 296; Leland*, Collectanea*, ed. Hearne, p. 52.

[37] *VCH Staffordshire*, vol. 3, pp. 230–235. For similar hopes for the revival of monastic communities during the reign of Mary I, see C. Cross, 'The Reconstitution of Northern Monastic Communities in the Reign of Mary Tudor', *Northern History*, 29 (1993), pp. 200–4 and M. Carter, 'Unanswered Prayers: A Cistercian Missal at York Minster Library', *Antiquaries Journal*, 95 (2015), pp. 267–7.

[38] Robinson ed., *Cistercian Abbeys of Britain*, p. 100.

xlvii.

Dieulacres, Staffordshire.

Founded by Richard Blundevill the third, Earl of Chester, a.d. mccxiv; who translated the Monks from Pulton in Cheshire, hither, and dedicated it to S. Mary and S. Benedict.

Figure 7: Dieulacres Abbey, Staffordshire.

Combe Abbey, Warwickshire, two shields drawn: *Azure two lions passant guardant argent; Sable three combs argent on a chief or a mitre gules.*
Richard de Camville founded the abbey in 1150.[39] His descendants subsequently used the arms *Azure three lions passant argent.*[40] The abbey adopted a variant of these arms. The seal attached to the monastery's surrender deed of 1539 has a shield of arms with *three lions and a label of three point*s.[41] However, medieval evidence for the use of arms with two lions by either Camville or the abbey is lacking.

Nor is there any evidence of use by the abbey of the second shield attributed to it by Dom Baker. *Sable three combs argent* were the arms of the Tudor prelate Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of London (1523–30) and later Durham (1530–52; 1556–59).[42] These arms occur in a variety of media, including on floor tiles where they are surmounted by a mitre.[43] It is possible that Dom Baker mistakenly gave them to Combe in the not unreasonable belief that the combs canted on the monastery's name.[44]

Merevale Abbey, Warkwickshire: *Vairy or and gules.*

A daughter house of Bordesley (Worcestershire), Merevale was founded in 1148 by Robert, earl Ferrers. His descendants remained associated with the monastery for the next four hundred years. In 1253, William, earl Ferrers, was buried in its chapter house and in 1538 the recently suppressed monastery was granted to the then Lord Ferrers.[45] Evidence for the abbey's use of the arms of Ferrers in the Tudor period is provided by John Leland, who recorded them in a window at the monastery.[46]

The abbey's gatehouse chapel survived as a parish church and retains portions of its medieval glazing.[47] This included heraldic glass, and now lost heraldic panels were documented by the Warwickshire antiquary Sir William Dugdale (1605–86). The latter included glass depicting two knights in heraldic surcoats and carrying shields charged with the arms of Ferrers. A second panel drawn by Dugdale is extant and shows a lady and a knight supporting a shield with the arms of Hardreshull. The style of the armour is mid-fourteenth century allowing identification of the figures as Sir John Hardeshull (d. c. 1365) and his wife Margaret.[48]

A surviving fifteenth-century panel shows the arms of Ferrers quartered with those of de la Roche (*Gules three fishes naiant argent*). Edmund Ferrers of Chartley (d. 1435)

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[39] *VCH Warwickshire*, vol. 2, pp. 73–75. For the abbey's surviving remains, see Robinson, op.cit., pp. 89–90.

[40] *DBA* vol. 1, p. 282.

[41] Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*, vol. 1, p. 26.

[42] *DBA* vol. 3, p. 77.

[43] J.A. Goodall, 'English Medieval Armorial Tiles: An Ordinary', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 153 (2000), p. 113.

[44] For abbey's using canting coats, see Goodall, 'Arms of Religious Corporations', p. 141.

[45] *VCH Warwickshireshire* vol. 2, pp. 75–78.

[46] Leland, *Collectanea*, vol. 1, ed. Hearne, p. 51.

[47] In the mid-fourteenth century the chapel was the focus of pilgrimage; see J. Hall, 'English Cistercian Gatehouse Chapels', *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses*, 52 (2001), pp. 81–3.

[48] R. Marks, 'Cistercian Window Glass in England and Wales', in *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, ed. C. Norton and D. Park (Cambridge, 1986), p. 221.
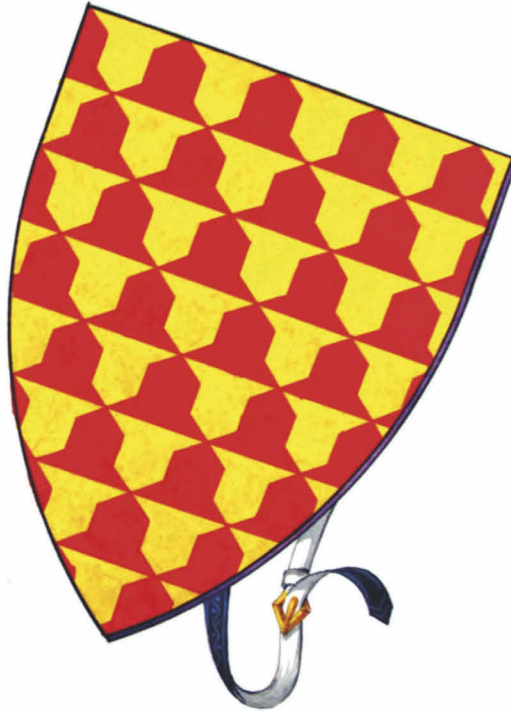
Combe, olim Smite, near Brinklow Warwickshire :-

lii.

Founded by Richard de Camvilla a.d. mcl, dedicated to the B.V. Mary.

Figure 8: Combe Abbey, Warwickshire.

Mereval, or De miravalle, Warwick-shire. liii.

Robert iun, Earl of Ferrars and Nottingham, founded an Abbey here in honour of Our Lady, a.d. mcxlviii.

Figure 9: Merevale Abbey, Warwickshire.

was married to Ellen de la Roche. In the same window are quarries with the horseshoe badge of Ferrers (the horseshoes cant on the family name). The arms of Ferrers and de la Roche are also depicted separately in glass of the same date.[49]

The fifteenth-century glass also includes panels that suggest the monastery had multiple heraldic identities. A shield has the arms *Argent a sword or between a crescent and a pierced mullet;* the abbey's seal depicts the Virgin and Child between a crescent and a star or mullet. Accompanying this panel is a shield that bears the arms *Argent a crosier or over a bend checky*. These are close to the arms of Clairvaux (*Sable a bend checky gules and argent*), one of the greatest abbeys of the Cistercian Order, and St Bernard's own monastery. Furness Abbey (Lancashire) used a variation of these arms (*Sable a bend checky argent and azure*).[50] Evidence for the abbey's use of the arms of Ferrers is provided by John Leland, who recorded them in a window at the monastery.[51]

Dugdale's description of now lost glass shows that additions were made to the chapel's glazing scheme in the early-sixteenth century. This included a panel that showed the arms of the See of Bangor *(Gules a bend or guttee-de-poix between two pierced mullets argent)* impaling those of Thomas Skevington (*on a chevron between three doves and in chief three gilly flowers with three annulets*). Skevington's illustrious ecclesiastical career started as s a monk of Merevale. He was educated at St Bernard's College, Oxford and in 1477 he was elected abbot of of Waverley (Surrey). In 1509 he was appointed Abbot of Beaulieu (Hampshire). In the same year he became Bishop of Bangor, holding both the Welsh see and the abbacy of the Hampshire monastery until his death in 1533.[52]

WALES
Valle Crucis Abbey, Denbighshire: *Gules a lion rampant barry argent and sable between three cross crosslets fitchy or.*

The abbey of the 'valley of the cross' was founded in 1201 by Madog ap Gruffudd (d. 1236), the ruler of northern Powis. The Latin name of the monastery was derived from the nearby Pillar of Eliseg, a ninth-century memorial cross with an inscription recording the genealogy and deeds of the kings of Powis.[53]

An early-sixteenth-century book of arms shows that the abbey was using the shield given above.[54] A variant of the arms is given in Welsh sources: *Barry argent and gules a lion rampant sable*. Sir William Dethick (c.1542–1612) gave the abbey's arms as *A lion barry between cross crosslets argent*, whereas Thomas Tanner, the eighteenth–century prelate and antiquary, attributed to the abbey a shield consisting of *A lion with three bars*.[55] The lion is likely a reference to the founder's family. The great grandson of the

[49] Marks, op.cit. p. 222.

[50] Ibid; Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*, vol. 1, p. 60.

[51] Leland, *Collectanea*, vol. 1, ed. Hearne, p. 51.

[52] Marks, op.cit., p. 223; Glanmor Williams, 'Thomas Skevinton [Skeffinton; formerly Pace], d.1533', *New DNB*.

[53] Robinson ed., *Cistercian Abbeys of Britain*, pp. 194–97.

[54] CA L10 66.

[55] Goodall, 'Arms of Religious Corporations', p. 132.

De valle crucis Llan-Egwiste, lxx.

Founded by Madox ap Griffith Maylor, prince of Powis, a.d. mcc, dedicated to the B.V. Mary.

Figure 10: Valle Crucis Abbey, Denbighshire.

founder (also called Madog ap Gruffudd) was buried before the high altar of the abbey church in 1306. His magnificent funerary slab survives and is incised with a shield with a *lion rampant*.[56] The abbey apparently had a second coat. A seal (1534) depicts a shield of arms *checky*.[57] There is no ready explanation for the use of these arms by Valle Crucis.

Basingwerk Abbey, Flintshire: *Argent on a cross engrailed vert five mullets or.*

Ranulf de Gernon, earl of Chester, founded the abbey for a community of Savignac monks in c.1131. Like all other Savignac houses, in 1147 it was absorbed into the Cistercian Order. Its border location ensured that it enjoyed the patronage of both English and Welsh potentates. The latter included Prince Dafydd ap Llywelyn (d. 1246) who in 1240 granted to the community the church at Holywell and the pilgrimage chapel and well-shrine of St Winifred there. The abbey was dissolved in late 1536 or early 1537, its choir stalls removed to the church of St Mary on the Hill, Chester.[58]

The arms given above are documented in a heraldic source of c.1500 as the personal arms of one William de Basingwerk.[59] They were attributed to the abbey by Thomas Tanner, the eighteenth-century prelate and antiquary.[60] However, medieval evidence for the use this or any shield of arms by the abbey is elusive. None of the seal impressions surviving from the abbey are decorated with shields of arms. However, an impression dating to 1465 depicts an abbot kneeling in adoration of the Virgin and Child and carries the initials H W with a pastoral staff over the latter letter. This is plausibly the monogram of Henry de Wyrehall, abbot of Basingwerk between c.1430 and c.1465.[61]

Neath Abbey, Glamorgan: *Gules three clarions or.*

Originally a Savignac house, Neath was founded in 1130 by Richard de Granville, constable to Earl Robert of Gloucester. The monks rapidly prospered. In 1147, their abbey, with all the Savignac foundations, was accepted into the Cistercian Order. Neath's church was rebuilt between c.1280–1320. Its ornament was evidently rich. In December 1284, Edward I visited the abbey and presented the monks with 'a very beautiful baldachin', likely a canopy for the high altar.[62] A magnificent tiled pavement was laid in the choir, the transepts and the entire eastern arm. The tiles date to c.1340 and have a strong heraldic element.[63] Included in their number are tiles with shields of

[56] D.M. Robinson, *The Cistercians in Wales: architecture and archaeology, 1130–1540* (London, 2006), pp. 288–89.

[57] Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals*, vol. 1, p. 92.

[58] Robinson, *The Cistercians in Wales*, pp. 225–30.

[59] *DBA* vol. 3, p. 223.

[60] T. Tanner, *Notitia Monastica* (London, 1744), CCXI.

[61] *BM Seals* vol. 1, p. 437.

[62] Robinson, *Cistercians in Wales*, pp. 261–67.

[63] J.M. Lewis, *The Medieval Floor Tiles of Wales* (Cardiff, 1999), pp. 240–45.

lxxi.

Bassingwerk, in the parish of Holy=
well, Flintshire.

Ranhulph, Earl of Chester began a
Monastery here a.d. mcxxxi, which was
improved & made into an Abbey for Cister=
cian Monks by Henry ii, about the year m=
clix, dedicated to S. Mary.

Figure 11: Basingwerk Abbey, Flintshire.

Neith, Glamorganshire.

lxxiii.
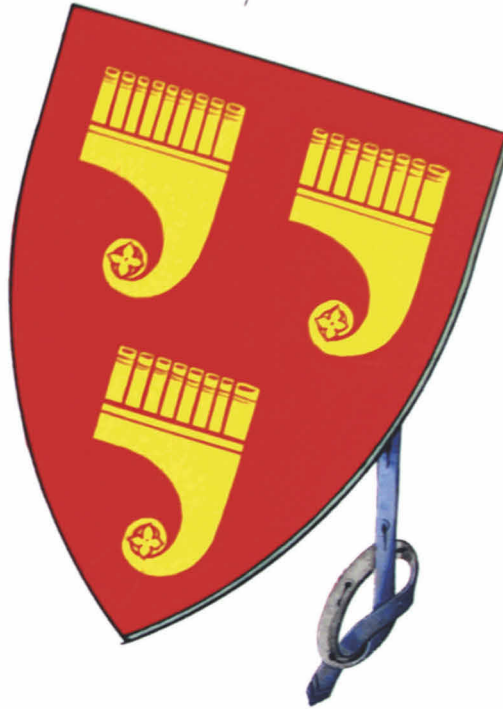
Richard de Grainville & Constãce his wife, gave their chapel in the Castle of Neith, the tithes belonging to it, a large tract of waste land, & other possessions, tem Hen i, to the Abbot of Savigny near Lions in France, that an Abbey might be built here. An Abbey was built, & colonised with monks from Savigny { who afterwards became Cistercians,} & dedicated to the most Holy Trinity.

Figure 12: Neath Abbey, Glamorgan.

arms bearing *Three clarions*. These arms also occur on the abbey's seal.[64] They can be identified as the arms of Grenville, the abbey's founding family.[65]

Building work continued at Neath well into the sixteenth century and the monastery was praised by Leland as 'the fairest abbey of all Wales'. It was dissolved in 1539. Parts of monastic buildings were incorporated into a Tudor mansion. However, this had been abandoned by the eighteenth century.[66]

Rushen Abbey, Isle of Man: *Argent a cross sable fretty or.*

The abbey's arms are documented in an early Tudor book of arms.[67] They defy a ready explanation. However, the late John Goodall speculated that they could be connected to the founder, Olaf, King of Man.[68] He founded the abbey in 1134 as a daughter house of Furness (Lancashire). Rushen became the sepulchre of the kings and bishops of Man. It maintained a bond with its motherhouse throughout the Middle Ages, and there are affinities between the architectural development of the two monasteries. These include the building of a sumptuous abbatial residence in the late fourteenth century, and also the erection of a bell tower. At Rushen it was above the north transept where the Kings of Man lay in their tombs.[69]

. . . .

This concludes the series of drawings by Dom Anselm Baker which were his attempt to create an armorial of the Cistercian abbeys of England and Wales, and began with issue number 235 (2018).

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[64] Goodall, 'English Medieval Armorial Tiles', p.122; Ellis, *Seals*, vol. 1, p. 63.

[65] *DBA* vol. 3, p. 265; Goodall, 'Arms of Religious Corporations', pp. 77–78.

[66] Robinson ed., *Cistercian Abbeys of Britain*, pp. 149–51.

[67] CA L10 65v.

[68] Goodall, 'Arms of Religious Corporations', p. 123.

[69] G. Coppack, 'The Planning of Cistercian Monasteries in the Later Middle Ages: the Evidence from Fountains, Rievaulx, Sawley and Rushen', in *The Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation England*, ed. J.G. Clark (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 207–09.

lxvi.

RUSSIN, or Ryshen, otherwise Bally
salley Isle of Man.

A religious foundation was began here
a.d. mxcviii by Mac Manis governour of the
Isle; but Olave King of Man, having given
some possessions here to the Abbey of Furnes,
Ivo, Abbot of that House built a Monastery here
a.d. mcxxxiv, to the honour of the Blessed Virgin.

Figure 13: Rushen Abbey, Isle of Man.

AN EARLY EXAMPLE OF THE ARMS OF NORMANDY ON A GROUP OF MEDIEVAL FURNITURE FITTINGS FROM NORFOLK

STEVEN ASHLEY, F.S.A., F.H.S.

Abstract

A reconstructed armorial hinged hasp from Norfolk appears to be decorated with the arms of Stonor, and also those of Normandy, making it probable that the furniture to which it was originally attached belonged to Sir John de Stonor (d.1354), Chief Judge of the King's Bench, who had important links to the Channel Islands.

An armorial hasp (**Figures 1.1,** and **4**) from a chest or casket [1] was found with the aid of a metal detector in August 2003, in the parish of Mulbarton, Norfolk [2] and the details of its discovery reported to the Finds Identification and Recording Service of Norfolk Landscape Archaeology.[3] It bears the arms of Stonor, of Stonor, Oxfordshire. Subsequently, the probable joining hinge-plate for this hasp, displaying arms usually associated with the Duchy of Normandy, was found in the same field in January 2006 (**Figures 1.2, 2** and **4**). The centre of the field is c. 450m west of the approximate centre of Mulbarton village and c. 600m west (and a little to the north) of the Parish church of St Mary Magdalen.

In 2008 a hinge-plate of remarkably similar form (**Figure 1.3**) was discovered in Old Catton, Norwich.[4] It is decorated with an engraved stylised butterfly. The butterfly is one of the badges of the family of Audley. It also comprises the single charge on the arms of at least three other families and is a symbol of the Resurrection.

The locations of these three cast pieces, which derive from two sets of furniture, lie close to, or on the outskirts of Norwich (at c. 11km and c. 4.5km from the centre of the medieval city). The distinctive forms of these fittings appear to be unparalleled elsewhere, perhaps indicating that they were manufactured locally.

The Mulbarton hinge-plate and hasp

An incomplete gilt copper alloy hinged hasp in two joining parts (**Figure 4**). The hinge-plate comprises a cast lozengiform plate with a double loop at one end to accommodate

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[1] Chests were made by woodworkers and were somewhat larger than caskets, which were made by metalworkers or, if wooden, by leather workers (because they were usually covered in leather, see J. Brennan 'Furnishings' in G. Egan, *The Medieval Household: Daily Living c. 1150–c. 1450* (London, 1998), pp. 65–84 (65)). A variety of large iron-bound wooden chests with a useful discussion of their classification can be found in D. Sherlock *Suffolk Church Chests* (Ipswich, 2008). See also Elizabeth Danbury, 'Security and Safeguard: Signs and Symbols on Boxes and Chests,' in John Cherry and Ann Payne (eds.), *Signs and Symbols: Proceedings of the 2006 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donnington, 2009), pp. 29–41.

[2] Norfolk Historic Environment Record (NHER) 37179, Portable Antiquities Scheme database NMS-7EDD95.

[3] Now Norfolk Historic Environment Service.

[4] NHER 51381. The context of the object within the medieval landscape is uncertain as the field in which it was found now lies on the edge of the developed outskirts of the city and its airport.

Figure 1, no. 1*:* copper alloy armorial hasp from Mulbarton; no. 2: copper alloy armorial hinge-plate from Mulbarton; no. 3: copper alloy armorial hinge-plate from Old Catton. Drawn by S. Ashley.

Left, *Figure 2:* Copper alloy armorial hinge-plate from Mulbarton. Photo: David Wicks, Norfolk Landscape Archaeology. Right, *Figure 3*: drawing of seal of Sir John de Stonor, ex Dashwood plate 12, no. 4.

the single loop on the separate hasp to form a hinge. There is a rectangular projection broken across a rivet-hole at the other end (extant length 52mm, width 27mm). The face of the lozenge is decorated with arms on a lozengiform field,[5] and the reverse has a large circular depression. There are traces of gilding over much of the surface, and a fragment of the red enamelled field survives in the engraved arms: *Gules two lions passant guardant or.* These arms are usually associated with the Duchy of Normandy, where their earliest use dates to the fourteenth century.[6] They have also been retrospectively attributed to William I, William II, Henry I and 'Norman Kings'. However, John before his accession as king in 1199 certainly had a shield bearing these arms, and they were possibly used by John's father Henry II.[7]

The hasp, now detached from the hinge-plate, comprises a cast lozengiform plate with a loop for the hinge at the upper end and a rectangular perforated projection at the foot (length 59mm, width 27mm). The face of the lozenge is also decorated with arms (on a lozenge) and has a large circular depression on the reverse. Traces of gilding survive but the enamel is missing from the field. The arms are: *[?Azure] two bars dancetty a chief or,* and are likely to represent a variant version of the arms

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[5] Arms are often depicted on lozenges in the Middle Ages, there being no exclusively female use of the lozenge as a shield at this time, e.g. on horse furniture, see S. Ashley *Medieval Armorial Horse Furniture in Norfolk* (Dereham, 2002), pp. 16–18, figs. 17–18.

[6] Adrian Ailes *The Origins of the Royal Arms of England* (Reading, 1982), p. 15 and note 2 on p. 45.

[7] Ibid, 45–77. The *DBA* lists Brunswick, Douvre, and Rey in addition to Normandy, England, Henry I and William I (vol. 1, p. 264).

of Stonor, *Azure two bars dancetty or a chief argent*.[8] The seal of John de Stonor(e), Chief Justice of the Kings Bench (d.1354), displaying these arms, is attached to a deed of 1329–30 concerning several pieces of land in the parish of Fincham, Norfolk which is illustrated in Dashwood's *Engravings from Ancient Seals* (**Figure 3**).[9] On 26th June 1319 Stonor was appointed as a justice to enquire into allegations of misgovernment of the Channel Islands. The enquiry is reported to have been "of great importance for the early constitutional history of those islands".[10] The official seals of Guernsey and Jersey are charged with the three lions of England, granted to them by letters patent of Edward I in 1279.[11] The islands were also all that remained to England of Normandy, and a contemporary Englishman would presumably have understood the implied significance of the arms *Gules two lions passant guardant or*.

Original articulation

Similar distortion on the integral loops of both parts of this furniture fitting suggests that they were originally joined, by a pin or bar, with the double-loop of the hinge-plate forming a hinge with the single loop of the hasp (**Figure 4**).

Unfortunately, the resultant reconstructed arrangement is problematic, with the two sets of arms lying head-to-head. If the hasp was resting or secured in a normal vertical position, the arms of Stonor would be displayed correctly on the face of the box. If the lid of the box was gabled or had a convex lid, then the two lions on the arms on the hinge-plate would be inverted, which is clearly unacceptable. If the lid was flat then the arms could be read from above and 'behind' the box, even though this still appears to be a rather awkward and unsatisfactory arrangement.

As already noted, all three loops are slightly twisted and distorted as though the hasp and plate were wrenched off the chest or casket to which they were once attached. It may be that the riveted plate was also broken at this time. Alternatively, the damage and distortion could have occurred in the ground after the separation of the hinged arrangement from its original position. In both cases, considering the angle of distortion on all three loops, it is likely that the damage occurred whilst the two parts were still articulated.

The Old Catton hinge-plate

This probable hinge-plate comprises a cast copper alloy lozengiform plate with a double loop at one end to accommodate the single loop of a missing probable hasp. It is broken before the springing of a rectangular projection at the other end (extant length

[8] DBA vol. 1, pp. 33–4. The Stonors seem not to have owned land in Norfolk, but John de Stonor (Chief Justice of the Common Pleas 1330–54, with two intermissions) was a commissioner in Norfolk (e.g. in 1331: *CPR 1330–1334* pp. 204, 207); the same arms are on his tomb in Dorchester abbey church, Oxon (personal communication from Sir John Baker).

[9] G.H.D[ashwood] *Engravings from Ancient Seals attached to Deeds and Charters in the Muniment Room of Sir Thomas Hare Baronet of Stowe-Bardolph* Sigilla Antiqua, 2 vols, (Stowe-Bardolph, 1847 and 1862), vol. 1, pl. 12, no. 4.

[10] Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, *The Stonor Letters and Papers 1290–1483*, Camden Soc. 3rd ser. vol. 29 (London, 1919) vol. 1, p. viii.

[11] CPR 1272–81 p. 337. For more on the seals see *Cartulaire des Îles Normandes*, Sociéte Jersiaise (St Hélier, 1924).

Figure 4: the reconstructed probable original articulation of the hasp and hinge-plate from Mulbarton. Photo: David Wicks, Norfolk Landscape Archaeology.

35mm, width 25mm) (**Figure 1.3**). The face of the lozenge is decorated with an incised butterfly within a lozengiform border, and the reverse has a large circular depression. Traces of gilding survive but there is no trace of any possible enamelling within the engraved lines.

Many examples of contemporary medieval enamelled copper alloy harness pendants bearing the badge or device of a butterfly have been found in recent years.[12] Norfolk examples include a pendant from Gooderstone[13] and a stud from Great Dunham.[14] Some depictions are more elaborate than others and tinctures vary, so this assemblage of horse furniture may comprise a combination of devices and/or badges representing known armigerous families, unknown armigerous families, or those used in a purely decorative manner.[15]

The butterfly is one of the well-known badges of the Audley family.[16] A branch of the Audleys owned Wensum Lodge, Norwich, in the fourteenth century.[17] A butterfly may also have been used as a badge by Nicholas Girlington of Yorkshire.[18] However, when a charge is placed on a shield (heater-shaped, lozenge or otherwise) it is much more likely (and more correctly) to represent the arms of a family, rather than be a badge. A single butterfly is recorded as the coat of arms of at least three families: Bolour, Malevil and Mayre, the latter of which is present on a seal of 1291 for John, son of John Mayre, Burgess of King's Lynn, Norfolk.[19] The arms of Malevil, like those of Mayre, only appear on a seal (of the early fourteenth century) and nowhere else, so both lack tinctures. The arms of Bolour also appear on a seal, used in 1420. They are recorded in manuscript sources as well, and can, therefore, be blazoned: *Argent a butterfly displayed sable*.[20] If the butterfly on the Old Catton plate was originally enamelled and intended to represent arms on a lozenge, then the field would have comprised a colour on which the gilded charge of the butterfly was placed, giving us the incomplete blazon: *[?] a butterfly displayed or*. This appears to rule out Bolour as a candidate for the arms, leaving us with the untinctured arms of Malevil and Mayre. Of these Mayre, with their known relatively

[12] See list in John Baker 'Heraldic Insights from Small Metal Artefacts 1250–1350' in Nigel Ramsay (ed.) *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages* (Donington, forthcoming), and P. Reavill, 'Shropshire: Waters Upton' in 'Artefacts of Interest' in *CoA* 3rd ser. 8 (2012), no. 224, pp. 125–9.

[13] NHER 38100, PAS SF8239, illustrated ibid., p. 128, Fig. 2.

[14] NHER 51155.

[15] The number and variety of depictions of butterflies (and/or moths?) on medieval horse furniture may suggest a purely decorative function – see J. Baker 'Heraldic Insights' op. cit.

[16] 'Sir John Awdeley, Kt.' *A butterfly charged with a crescent for difference*. The two other badges are: *A moor's head in profile proper, filleted round the temples, charged with a crescent for difference*, motto *Je le Tiens* (on a Standard – CA MS I.2) and *A fret* (J.R. Planché, *The Pursuivant of Arms* (London, 1859), p. 190). See also A.C. Fox-Davies *Heraldic Badges* (London, 1907), pp. 76f.; Thomas Willement. MS. *Extracts Memorandums Notes etc. on the Badges, Cognizances, Motts[sic], Livery Colours Etc. Etc. that have been used within these kingdoms (and others)* vol. 2. 1819, p. 404; Sir James Audley (d. 1386) *A butterfly argent Siddons Badges*, vol. 2.2, p. 18; harness pendants in *City of Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery Heraldic Exhibition* (Birmingham, 1936), pp. 20–1, nos. 158–9, 167.

[17] J.I. Dent, and J.S. Livock *Wensum Lodge: The Story of a House* (Norwich, 1990), p. 16.

[18] *A bee or butterfly* (allusion to arms) *Siddons Badges*, vol. 2.2, p. 131.

[19] *DBA* vol. 4, p. 179.

[20] *DBA* vol. 4, p. 179; *CA*. MSS, L1, L2, L10, c. 1520.

local connections, may be the more likely original owners of these possible arms. That said, the butterfly has been associated with death, resurrection, and immortality since Classical times, and became a popular symbol of the Resurrection and the survival of the soul during the Middle Ages.[21]

Conclusions

The forms of chest or casket to which these fittings were attached is unknown. Their probable arrangement, comprising a riveted hinge plate with twin hinge-loops with a separate single-looped hasp with slot, can be seen on a reliquary casket of c. 1400 (of possible East Anglian origin) illustrated in Alexander and Binski.[22] Although not of the highest quality, this copper alloy casket is engraved, gilded, and enamelled, and represents a form found throughout Europe in the Middle Ages. The best-known example of such furniture with enamelled armorial decoration, is the Valence casket, the surface of which is covered with an elaborate pattern of lozengiform shields bearing arms. It has been suggested that the combination of these arms dates the casket to c. 1290–1324.[23] The scale of both caskets is probably a little smaller than the boxes to which our incomplete fittings were attached, which, in any case, may have been constructed from wood rather than sheet metal. If, as seems probable, the pair of fittings described above was made for the Chief Justice Sir John de Stonor, it would date between 1320 and his death in 1354.

As can be seen from the preceding discussion there is much uncertainty surrounding these few scant fragments from what must have been significant composite pieces of furniture. Even so, enough survives of these unusual variant forms of fitting with their distinctive decorated lozengiform plates with hollowed reverse, unparalleled elsewhere,[24] to suggest they may have been manufactured locally, for a noble patron or patrons. It is to be hoped that in time these tentative conjectures will be confirmed, or disproved, by the discovery of other more complete examples.[25]

[21] V. Nazar 'Chasing Butterflies in Medieval Europe' *Journal of the Lepidopterists' Society*, vol. 68, no. 4 (2014), pp. 223–31.

[22] *The Age of Chivalry* (London, 1987), p. 225, no. 88.

[23] Ibid, pp. 357–8, no. 362. See also J. Titterton 'The Valence Casket and its Original Owner' in *CoA* no. 161 (1993), pp. 16–26.

[24] Portable Antiquities Scheme database checked 3.3.2021.

[25] I am most grateful to Sir John Baker, Adrian Ailes, and Paul Fox for their comments on the text. Sir John also provided additional information on the arms of Stonor. Andrew Hall kindly prepared a digital version of my original drawings for publication.

THE DILKE-DEVEREUX ARMORIAL PEDIGREE AT MAXSTOKE CASTLE, WARWICKSHIRE

BERNARD A. JUBY, Hon F.H.S.
Illustrations by Lee Lumley

Abstract

The splendid armorial pedigree at Maxstoke vaunts the descent of Dilke from the royal family, and from other great English houses. It deserves to be better known, having been produced under the authority of the great herald and antiquarian William Camden. As was common for the period it includes both attributed arms and pedigree elements that do not withstand modern scrutiny. Although its text has been published before, it has never been published in illustrated format.
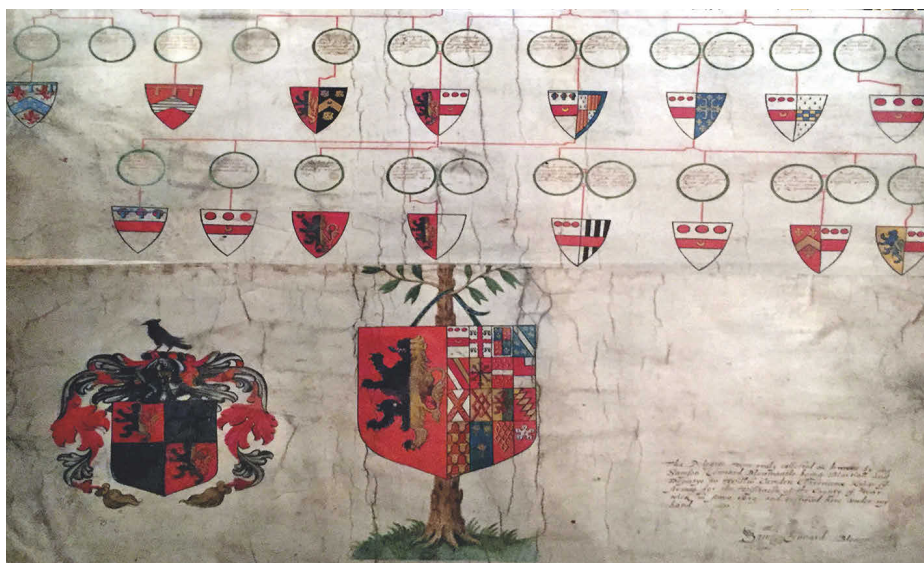
Figure 1: the bottom of the original armorial roll. Photograph by Bernard Juby.

Introduction.

In 1619 Sampson Lennard, Bluemantle Pursuivant of Arms and Marshal and Deputy to William Camden, Clarenceux King of Arms for the Visitation of the County of Warwick, produced an armorial pedigree of Thomas Dilke and his wife, Howard Devereux (**Figure 1**). Drawn on parchment in a glazed wooden frame it is currently attached to the wall on the left-hand side of the main doors of the banqueting hall of the privately-owned, moated, Maxstoke Castle near Coleshill, Warwickshire. Although there is a small part missing towards the bottom of the parchment all of the coats of arms portrayed are intact.

The castle was built by Sir William de Clinton, 1st Earl of Huntingdon, having received a licence to crenelate in 1345. Humphrey Stafford, 1st Duke of Buckingham, acquired it in 1437 by exchanging it for manors in Northamptonshire.
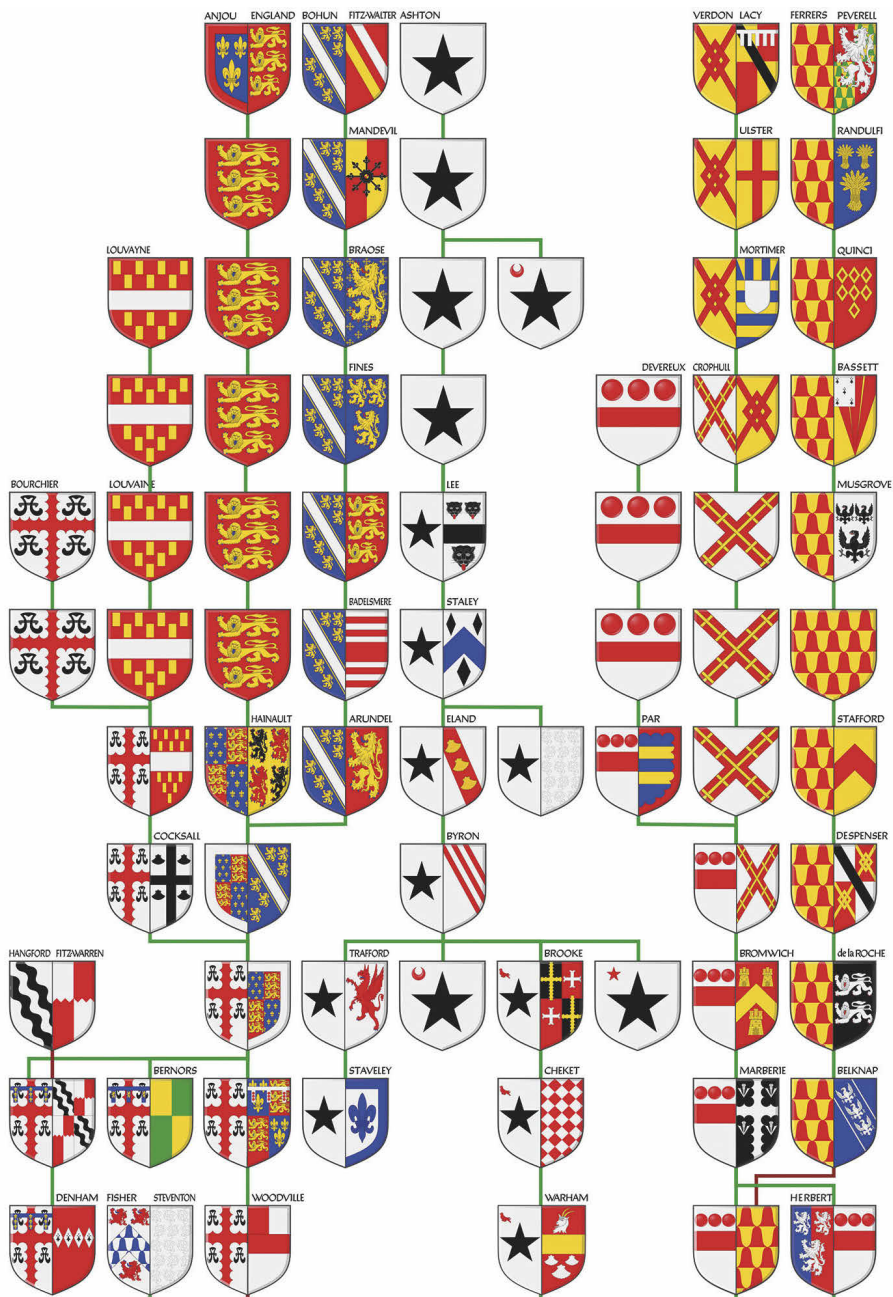
Figure 2: approximate shield arrangement of the top half of the Dilke Roll.
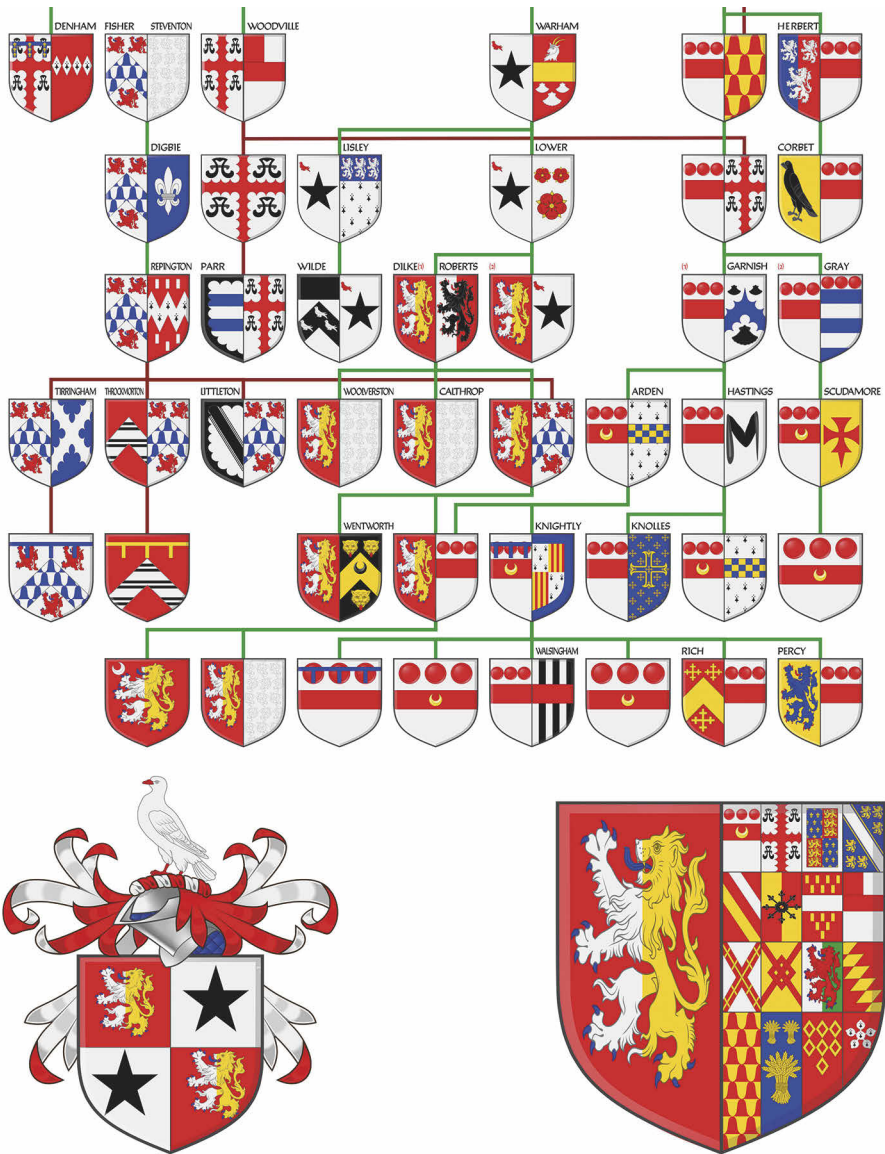
Figure 3: approximate shield arrangement of the bottom half of the Dilke Roll, including overlap.

The present family, the Fetherston-Dilkes, first came into possession in the seventeenth century by marriage. In the eighteenth century William Dilke of Maxstoke married Mary Fetherston-Leigh of Packwood House near Knowle, subsequently taking the name of Fetherston-Dilke.[1]

As its heading states (in Latin), "The genealogy of the most dignified man Thomas Dilke of Maxstoke Castle in the County Warwick, Gentleman, with the extremely noble pedigree of Lady Howard, his wife, the daughter of Edward Devereux of Castle Bromwich in the same County, Knight and Baronet, from the ancient and noble stock, or family, of the Devereux, Barons Ferrers of Chartley originating in the County of Stafford." The bulk of the pedigree traces the descent of Devereux from Plantagenet (via Thomas of Woodstock), Bohun, Ashton, Verdon, Ferrers of Chartley and Bourchier.

There are one hundred and ten small shields in sixteen lines of descent and a further two large shields at the bottom. One of these is superimposed on a tree at the base of the pedigree and bears the arms of Dilke impaling Devereux, the latter arms being quarterly of sixteen, to vaunt the fact that the most illustrious descents came through Howard Devereux, who married Thomas Dilke c.1610 (**Figures 5 and 6**). To the left of this was added, seemingly as an afterthought, the arms of Dilke quartering Ashton, to mark an earlier marriage alliance which was clearly of great importance to the family (**Figure 4**). As can be seen from photographs of the original, the manuscript was expensively produced with the application of gold and silver. The latter has tarnished to black with the passage of time.

Each line of the pedigree will now be taken in turn, with armigers in bold. The information provided is from the roll, with names and phrases translated from the Latin. A transcript of the pedigree, with arms in blazon, was privately printed in 1866.[2]

Attributed arms are marked with an asterisk *.

1st line – five shields:

The **Royal Arms** *: *Gules three lions passant guardant or* for Empress Matilda (a.k.a. Maud), the daughter and heiress of King Henry I impaled with those of her husband, Geoffrey V of **Anjou*** (here named Geoffrey Plantagenet) whose attributed arms, *Azure three fleur-de-lys or a border gules* are those adopted by the Capetian house of Anjou in the fourteenth century.

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[1] Michael Fetherston-Dilke*, A Short History of Maxstoke Castle and its owners* (1982).

[2] *The Dilke Pedigree compiled by Samson Lennard, Bluemantle, 1619. Copied from the Original Roll in the possession of Charles Fetherston-Dilke, Esq., of Maxstoke Castle* (London, 1866).

Humphrey **de Bohun***: *Azure a bend argent cotised or between six lions rampant of the last* and his wife Margaret, the daughter and co-heiress of Miles **Fitz Walter***: *Gules two bends the one or, the other argent.*[3]

Horneus **Ashton***: *Argent a mullet sable.*[4]

John de **Verdon***, of Weobley: *Or a fret gules* and his wife Margaret, the daughter and heiress of Gilbert de **Lacy***: *Quarterly or and gules a bend sable over all a label of five points argent.*[5]

William **Ferrers,** Lord of Tutbury (died 1190): *Vairy or and gules* and his wife, Margaret, the daughter and heiress of William **Peverell***: *Quarterly gules and vair or and vert, a lion rampant argent armed and langued azure.*[6]

2nd line – five shields:
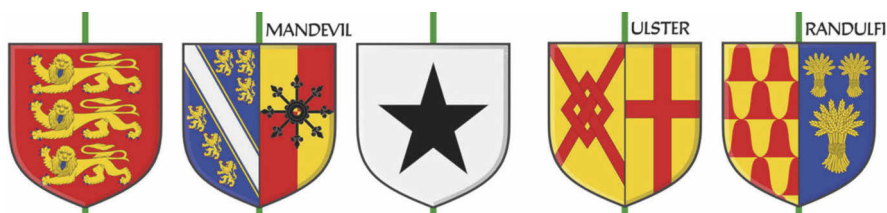
[3] The arms of Miles ("FitzWalter") of Gloucester appear to have been devised in the fourteenth century, *DBA* vol. 2 pp. 106–7. They occur in the Tewkesbury Benefactors' Book, Bodl. Top Gloucs D2.

[4] The early part of the pedigree of Ashton prior to the marriage of Sir John de Asheton to Margery Byron is entirely at variance with that supplied by Joseph Foster in *Pedigrees of the county families of England vol 1, Lancashire* (London, 1873). Sir John's grandfather Roger was the first to be surnamed de Asheton; his paternal line great grandfather was Orm Fitz Edward. The family became associated with Ashton-under-Lyne in 1335, see Edward Baines, *The History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster*, ed. John Harland (London, 1868) vol. 1. p. 428. The arms are first attested in the later fourteenth century, *DBA* vol. 4 pp. 245–6.

[5] The fret of Verdon is twelfth century on the basis of seal evidence, DBA vol. 4 p. 90. The tinctures are first recorded in the thirteenth-century Glover's Roll: *Aspilogia II, Rolls of Arms of Henry III* (London 1967), 'Glover's Roll', ed. Hugh Stanford London, p. 132.

[6] The *vairy* arms of Ferrers can be dated on seal evidence to the twelfth century, with tinctures recorded in the Mathew Paris shields, *DBA* vol. 4 pp. 447, 451–2. The canting arms *Argent six horseshoes sable 3,2 and 1* were later attributed to Henry de Ferrers (d.c.1101). These arms with the tinctures reversed can be seen in the stained glass windows of the Great Hall of Baddesley Clinton moated manor, where they were installed by Henry Ferrers, the Antiquary, see Bernard A Juby, *Baddesley Clinton, Warwickshire – An Heraldic Guide*, The National Trust. The horseshoe arms are further noticed in University of Pennsylvania Ms Codex 1071, *The names and armes of all the nobilitie who were in England at the tyme of King William the Conqueror*, dating 1597. For the evolution of the arms of Ferrers see Paul A. Fox, *Great Cloister, a lost Canterbury Tale* (Oxford, 2020) pp. 303–4. The arms here attributed to Peverel occur only in Prince Arthur's Book, from the reign of Henry VIII, *DBA* vol. 1 p.145. For the origin of the quarterly arms of Peverel see Fox, *Great Cloister,* pp. 525–6.

King Henry II of **England*** : *Gules three lions passant guardant or.*

Humphrey **de Bohun***: *Azure a bend argent cotised or between six lions rampant of the last* and his wife, Matilda, sister and heiress of William de **Mandeville***: *Quarterly or and gules an escarbuncle of eight rays floretty sable.*[7]

Thomas de **Ashton***: *Argent a mullet sable.*

Theobald, Lord of **Verdon**: *Or a fret gules*, and his wife, the un-named daughter of the Earl of **Ulster***: *Or a cross gules.*

William, Earl **Ferrers,** Earl of Derby: *Vairy or and gules* and Agnes, 2nd daughter and co-heiress of Randulf, Earl of **Chester***: *Azure three garbs or.*

3rd line – seven shields:
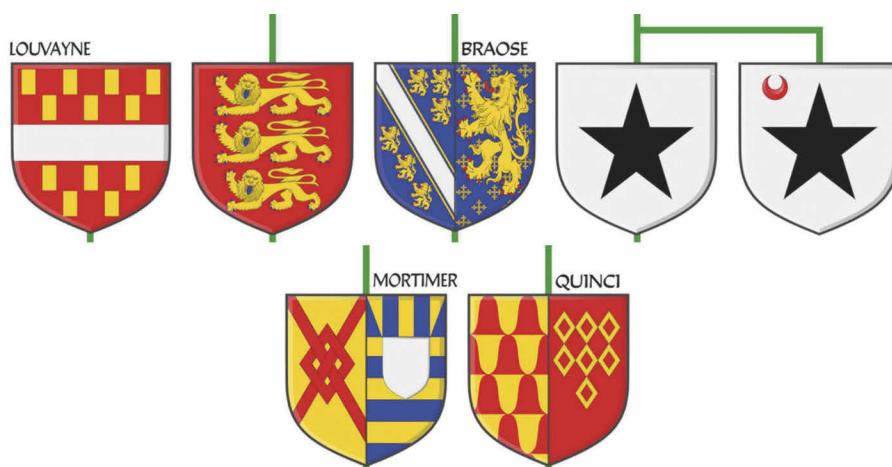
Matthew de **Louvayne** (Leuven in Belgium)*: Gules a fesse argent between twelve billets or*.

King John of **England:** *Gules three lions passant guardant or.*

Humphrey **de Bohun** (died 1275): *Azure a bend argent cotised or between six lions rampant of the last* and his wife Eleanor, daughter and co-heiress William de **Braose** of Gower and Bramber: *Azure semé of crosses crosslet or a lion rampant of the second armed and langued gules.*

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[7] The cotises were added to the arms of Bohun by Humphrey V de Bohun between 1239 and 1259, prior to which the bend was not cotised. The earliest record of the uncotised arms is c.1200 as borne by Henry de Bohun (d.1220), 1st earl of Hereford, see Paul A Fox, 'Origin of the arms of Bohun', *Antiquaries Journal* vol. 99 (2019), pp. 101. The earliest notice of the escarbuncle arms of Mandeville is in the fifteenth century, *DBA* vol. 3 p. 263.

Robert de **Ashton**, son and heir: *Argent a mullet sable*.

Gilbert de **Ashton**, second son: *Argent a mullet sable, a crescent for difference gules*.

Theobald de **Verdon**: *Or a fret gules* and his wife, an un-named daughter of Edmund **Mortimer**: *Barry of six or and azure an inescutcheon argent on a chief of the first three pallets between two gyrons of the first*.

William, Earl **Ferrers** and Derby (died 1250) : *Vairy or and gules* and his wife Margaret, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Roger de **Quincy**, Earl of Winchester: *Gules seven mascles conjoined or, three, three and one*.

4th line – seven shields:
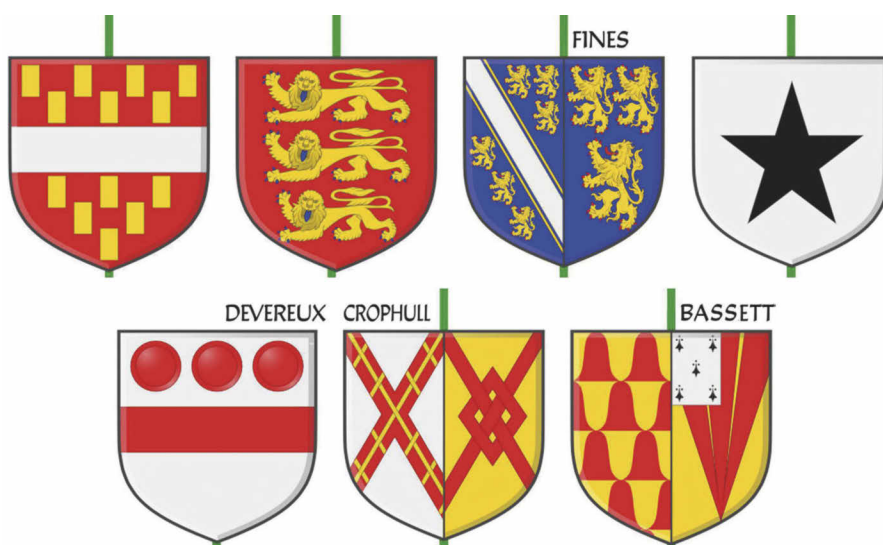
John de **Louvayne**: *Gules a fesse argent between thirteen billets or*. Note the additional billet.

King Henry III of **England***: Gules three lions passant guardant or*.

Humphrey **de Bohun,** Earl of Hereford and Essex, and Constable of England (died 1298): *Azure a bend argent cotised or between six lions rampant of the last* and his wife, Matilda, daughter of Ingelram de **Fines**: *Azure three lions rampant or armed and langued gules*.

Thomas **Ashton** of Ashton in County Lancashire: *Argent a mullet sable*.

Devereux: *Argent a fess gules in chief three torteaux*.

John **Crophull**: *Argent a saltire gules fretty or* and his wife Margery, daughter and heiress of Theobald de **Verdon:** *Or a fret gules.*

Robert, Earl **Ferrers** and Derby: *Vairy or and gules* and his wife, an un-named daughter of Ralph de **Bassett***: Or three piles meeting in base of escutcheon gules, a canton ermine.*

5th line – eight shields:
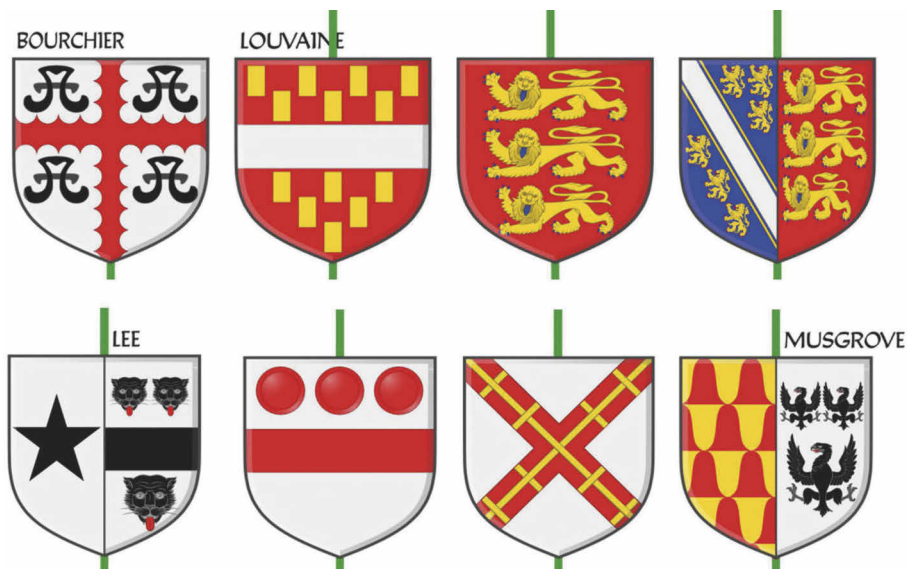
Bartholomew de **Bourchier**: *Argent a cross engrailed gules between four water bougets sable.*

Thomas de **Louvaine**: *Gules a fesse argent between thirteen billets or, 4 and 3 in chief, and 3,2 1 in base.*

King Edward I of **England**: *Gules three lions passant guardant or.*

Humphrey **de Bohun,** Earl of Hereford: *Azure a bend argent cotised or between six lions rampant of the last*, killed at the Battle Boroughbridge as an ally of the Rebellious Thomas, Earl of Lancaster. His wife, Elizabeth was daughter of **King Edward I:** *Gules three lions passant guardant or.*

John de **Ashton** of the County of Lancaster: *Argent a mullet sable*, and his wife Margaret, sister of Perkin de **Lee**: Argent a fess between three leopard's faces sable.

Walter **Devereux**: *Argent a fess gules in chief three torteaux.*

Thomas **Crophull**: *Argent a saltire gules fretty or.*

John **Ferrers** of Chartley, buried at Gloucester, 1311: *Vairy or and gules,* and his wife Avice daughter of Roberti **Musgrove***: Argent, three eagles displayed two and one sable.*

6th line – eight shields:
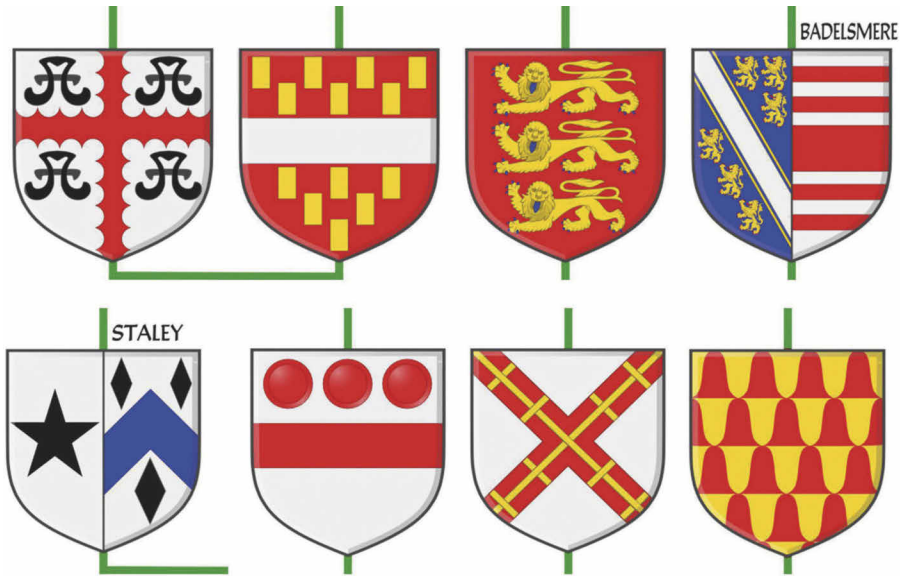
Bartholomew de **Bourchier**: *Argent a cross engrailed gules between four water bougets sable*.

John de **Louvayne**: *Gules a fesse argent between thirteen billets or,* died 31 January, 21 Edward III (1347).

King Edward II of **England**: *Gules three lions passant guardant or.*

William **(de Bohun),** Earl of Northampton and Hereford (died 1340): *Azure a bend argent cotised or between six lions rampant of the last*), and his wife Elizabeth, sister and co-heiress of Giles, Lord of **Badlesmere**: *Argent a fess between two bars gemelles gules.*

John de **Ashton** of Ashton under Lyne, in County Lancashire: *Argent a mullet sable*, and his wife, an un-named daughter and heiress of Ralph **Staley**: *Argent a chevron azure between three fusils sable.*

Walter **Devereux**: *Argent a fess gules in chief three torteaux.*

John de **Crophull**: *Argent a saltire gules fretty or.*

Robert, Earl **Ferrers** of Chartley, born in the year 1309: *Vairy or and gules*.
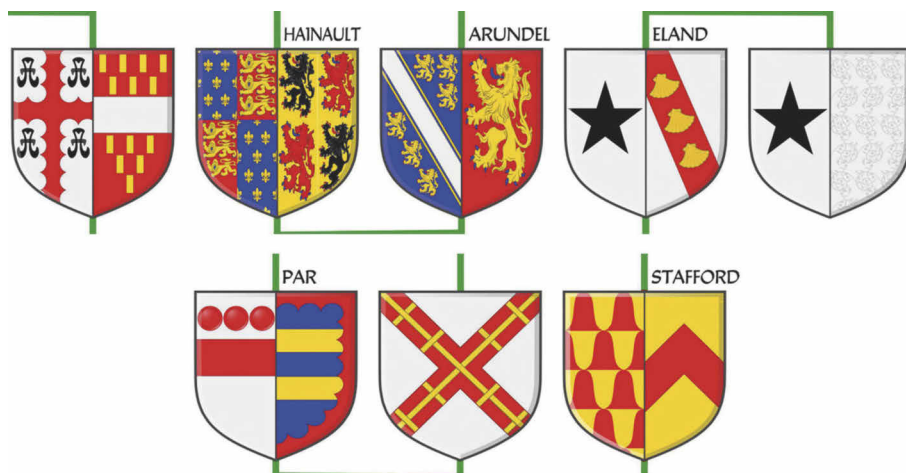
7th line – seven shields:

William de **Bourchier**: *Argent a cross engrailed gules between four water bougets sable,* and his wife Eleanor, daughter and heiress of John de **Louvayne**: *Gules a fesse argent between thirteen billets or.*

King Edward III of **England:** *Quarterly France and England*, and his Queen, Philippa, daughter of William of **Hainault** and Holland: *Quarterly 1&4 Or a lion rampant sable armed & langued gules, 2&3 Or a lion rampant gules armed & langued azure.*

Humphrey **(de Bohun),** Earl of Essex and Northampton and Constable of England, died 1372: *Azure a bend argent cotised or between six lions rampant of the last*, and his wife Joan, daughter of Richard, Earl of **Arundel**: *Gules a lion rampant or armed and langued azure*.

Joan, the daughter of an un-named **Eland** of Yorkshire: *Argent on a bend gules three escallops or,* and her husband John de **Ashton** of Ashton-under-Lyne, in Lancashire: *Argent a mullet sable*, followed by his second wife, Margaret, impalement blank.

Walter **Devereux**: *Argent a fess gules in chief three torteaux,* and his wife Anne, daughter of John **Par***: Azure two bars or within a bordure engrailed gules.*

Thomas **Crophull**: *Argent a saltire gules fretty or.*

John, Earl **Ferrers** of Chartley, born 1331. Buried at Nazareth in Spain *: Vairy or and gules*, and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of the Earl of **Stafford***: Or a chevron gules.*

8th line – five shields:

William de **Bourchier**: *Argent a cross engrailed gules between four water bougets sable,* and his wife the un-named daughter of **Cocksall**: *Argent a cross between four escallops sable.*

Thomas (of Woodstock, sixth son of Edward III) Duke of Gloucester*: Quarterly France and England, a bordure argent,* and his wife Eleanor, daughter and co-heiress of Humphrey **de Bohun,** Earl of Hereford: *Azure a bend Argent cotised or between six lions rampant of the last*.

Thomas **Ashton** of Ashton under Lyne, in Lancashire: *Argent a mullet sable*, and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of John de **Byron**: *Argent three bendlets enhanced gules.*

Walter **Devereux,** died 4 Henry IV (1402–3): *Argent a fess gules in chief three torteaux,* and his wife Agnes, daughter and heiress of Thomas **Crophull**: *Argent a saltire gules fretty or.*

Robert, Lord **Ferrers** of Chartley : *Vairy or and gules,* and his wife Margaret, daughter of Edward Lord **Despenser**: *Quarterly argent and gules, in second and third quarters a fret or, over all a bend sable.*

9th line – eight shields:

Thomas **Hankford:** *Argent two bends undé sable,* and his wife Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of John, Lord **Fitz Warren** (of Whittington Castle, Shropshire): *Quarterly per fess indented argent and gules.*

William de **Bourchier**, Earl of Essex and Ewe[8]: *Argent a cross engrailed gules between four water bougets sable,* and his wife Anne, daughter of **Thomas**, Duke of Gloucester: *Quarterly France and England, a bordure argent*.

John de **Ashton** of Ashton, in Lancashire, son and heir: *Argent a mullet sable*, and his wife Douce, daughter of Edmund **Trafford:** *Argent a griffin sergeant gules armed and langued azure.*

Edmund **Ashton** of Chaterton in County Lancashire, second son: *Argent a mullet sable a crescent gules for difference.*

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[8] He was never, in fact, Earl of Essex.
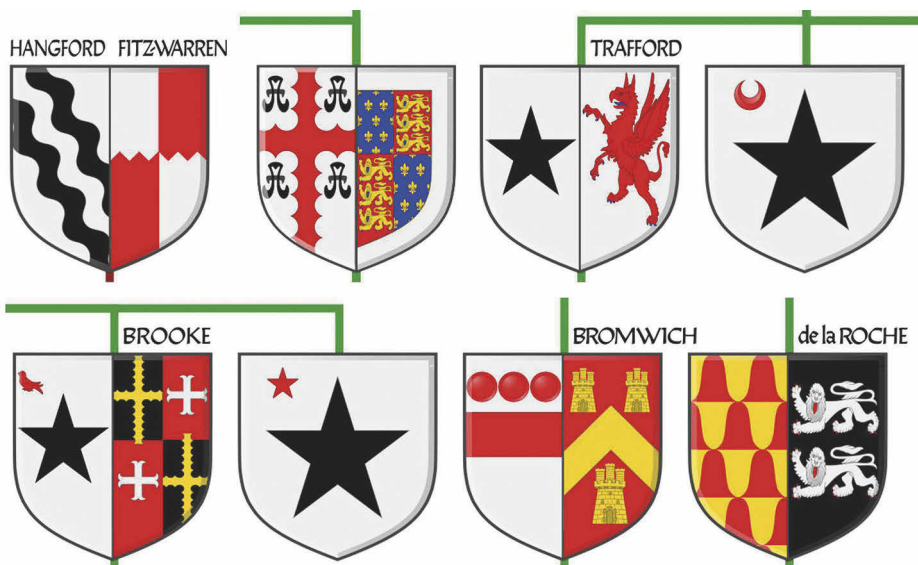
Nicholas **Ashton**, Justice of the Common Bench, fourth son*: Argent a mullet sable in chief, a martlet gules for difference,* and his wife Margaret, daughter of Lord **Brooke**: *Quarterly 1 and 4 sable a cross engrailed or, 2 and 3 gules a cross moline argent.*

Geoffrey **Ashton**, third son: *Argent a mullet sable a mullet gules in chief for difference.*

Walter **Devereux:** *Argent a fess gules in chief three torteaux,* and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas **Bromwich**: *Gules a chevron or between three towers, triple tower of the second.*

Edmund, Lord **Ferrers** of Chartley: *Vairy or and gules,* and his wife Eleanor, daughter and heiress of Thomas **de la Roche:** *Sable two lions passant guardant in pale argent armed and langued gules.*

10th line – seven shields:

William (**Bourchier),** third son**,** Earl of Essex: *Argent a cross engrailed gules between four water bougets sable overall a label of three points azure charged with nine fleurs de lis or,* and his wife Anne, daughter and heiress of Lord **Fitzwarren**: *Quarterly 1 and 4 argent two bends undé sable, 2 and 3 quarterly per fess indented argent and gules.*

John (**Bourchier**), second son*: Argent a cross engrailed gules between four water bougets sable, over all a label of three points azure charged with three lions rampant or,* and his wife Margaret, daughter and heiress of Richard, Lord **Berners**: Q*uarterly or and vert.*
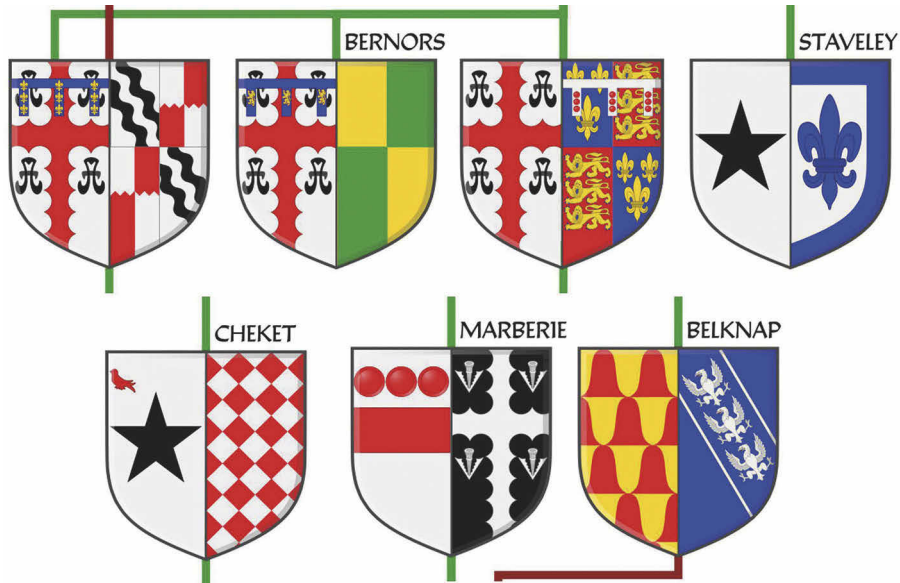
Henry **Bourchier**, Earl of Essex, son and heir: *Argent a cross engrailed gules between four water bougets sable,* and his wife Isabel, sister of **Richard**, Duke of York, father of King Edward IV of England: *France and England quarterly , a label of three points charged with nine torteaux.*

Thomas **Ashton** of Ashton in the County of Lancashire*: Argent a mullet sable*, and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Ralph **Staveley**: *Argent a fleur de lis azure within a bordure of the second*.

Edmund **Ashton**, son and heir of Nicholas: *Argent a mullet sable a martlet gules for difference,* and his wife, the un-named daughter of Richard **Cheket** of Cornwall: *Lozengy argent and gules*.

Walter **Devereux**: *Argent a fess gules in chief three torteaux,* and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of John **Marberie:** *Sable a cross engrailed argent between four pheons of the second.*

William, Lord **Ferrers** of Chartley: *Vairy or and gules,* and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Hamo **Belknap**: *Azure three eagles in bend between two cotises argent.*

11th line – six shields:

Un-named **Bourchier**: *Argent a cross engrailed gules between four water bougets sable overall a label of three points azure charged with nine fleurs de lie or,* impaling *Gules four fusils in fess ermine.* Although these are not named they are the arms of **Denham** of Devonshire and Kent.
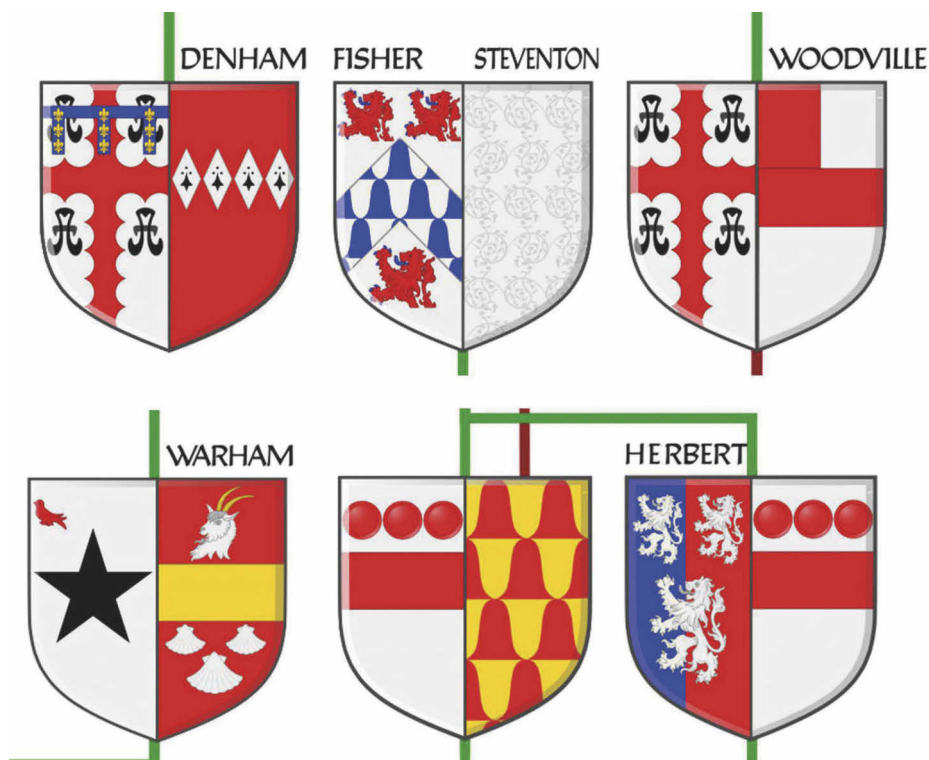
John **Fisher** of Dottell in Shropshire*: Argent a chevron vair between three demi-lions rampant gules armed and langued azure,* and his wife Anne, the unarmigerous daughter of William Steventon of Dottell.

William, Viscount **Bourchier**: *Argent a cross engrailed gules between four water bougets sable,* and his wife Anne, daughter and heiress of Richard **Woodville**, Earl Rivers*, Argent a fess and a canton gules.*

Nicholas **Ashton**, son and heir of Edmund Ashton: *Argent a mullet sable a martlet gules for difference,* and his wife Magdalene, sister of William **Warham**, Archbishop of Canterbury*: Gules a fess or between in chide a goat's head erased argent attired or and in base three escallops argent.*

Walter **Devereux**, Knight of the Garter, Lord Ferrers of Chartley in the time of Edward IV, killed at Bosworth with Richard III: *Argent a fess gules in chief three torteaux,* and his wife Anne, daughter and heiress of William Lord **Ferrers** of Chartley: *Vairy or and gules*.

William **Herbert**, Earl of Pembroke*: Per pale azure and gules three lions rampant argent,* and his wife Agnes, daughter of Walter Devereux: *Argent a fess gules in chief three torteaux.*

12th line – six shields:
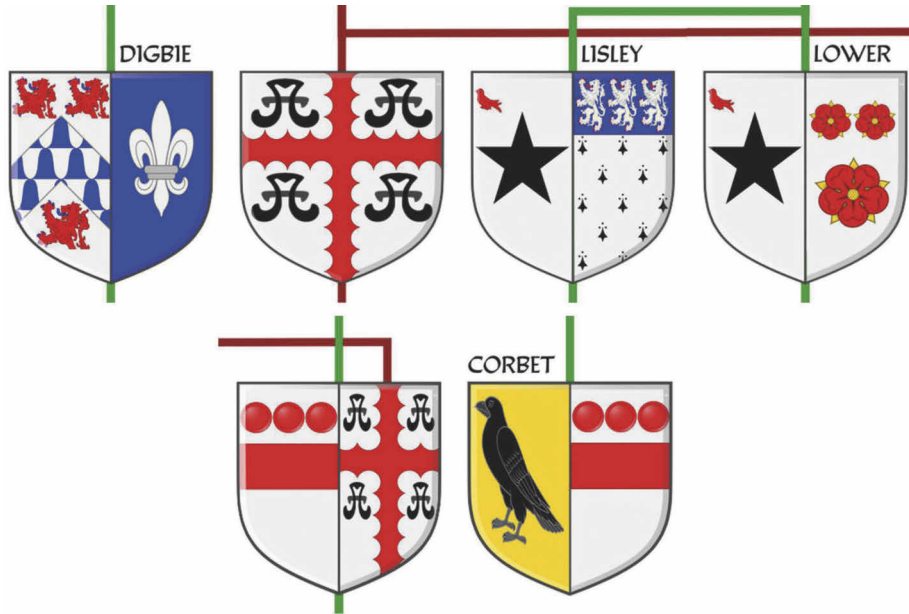
John **Fisher** of Pegenton, in Warwickshire: *Argent a chevron vair between three demi-lions rampant gules armed and langued azure,* and his wife Katherine, daughter of Thomas **Digbie**: *Azure a fleur-de-lis argent*.

Henry **Bourchier**, Earl of Essex: *Argent a cross engrailed gules between four water bougets sable.*

Edmund **Ashton**: *Argent a mullet sable a martlet gules for difference*, and his wife Margaret, daughter of John **Lisley** of Surrey: *Ermine on a chief azure three lions rampant argent armed and langued gules.*

William **Ashton**: *Argent a mullet sable a martlet gules for difference,* and his wife, the un-named daughter and heiress of **Lower** of Polsecoth in Cornwall: *Argent three roses gules barbed and seeded or.*

Cecelia, sister and heiress of Henry **Bourchier:** *Argent a cross engrailed gules between four water bougets sable,* impaled with the arms of her husband John **Devereux**, Knight of the Garter, Lord Ferrers of Chartley: *Argent a fess gules in chief three torteaux.*

Richard **Corbet**: *Or a raven sable,* and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Walter **Devereux**, Lord Ferrers of Chartley: *Argent a fess gules in chief three torteaux.*

13th line – seven shields:
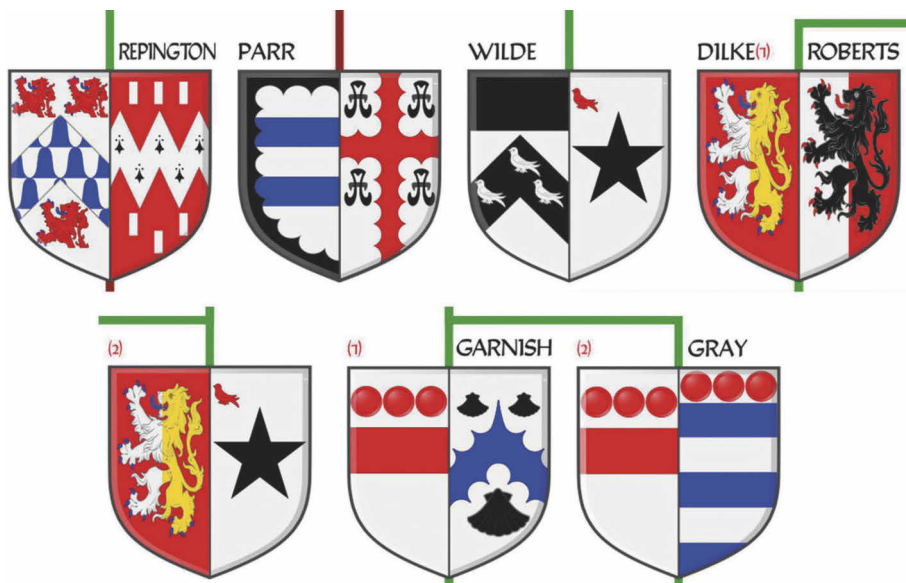
Clemence **Fisher** of Packington, Warwickshire, knight: *Argent a chevron vair between three demi-lions rampant gules,* and his wife Mary, daughter of Francis **Repington** of Armington in Warwickshire: *Gules a fess dancetty ermine between six billets argent.*

Anne **Bourchier**: *Argent a cross engrailed gules between four water bougets sable,* daughter and heiress, married to William **Parr**, Marquis of Northampton, heir of his family: *Argent two bars azure within a bordure engrailed sable.*

Mary **Ashton**: *Argent a mullet sable a martlet gules for difference,* daughter and heiress, married to Wyat **Wilde**: *Argent a chevron sable, thereon three martlets argent, a chief of the second.*

An un-named daughter of William **Roberts** of Sutton Chenell in Leicestershire: *Per pale argent and gules a lion rampant sable armed and langued gules,* and her husband, Richard **Dilke** of Kirkby Malorie in Leicestershire, son and heir: *Gules a lion rampant per pale argent and or.*[9] Dilke's second marriage was to Elizabeth, only daughter, and heiress of William **Ashton**: *Argent a mullet sable a martlet gules for difference.*

Walter **Devereux**, Viscount Hereford, Knight of the Garter, and Lord Ferrers of Chartley: *Argent a fess gules in chief three torteaux,* with his second wife Margaret, daughter of

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[9] It is interesting to note that several armigerous families living in close proximity in Leicestershire used variations of a lion rampant. As well as those noted above (viz; Dilke and Roberts) were Segrave and Belers who bore *Sable a lion rampant argent crowned or* and *Per pale sable and gules a lion rampant argent* respectively.

Robert **Garnish** of Enton in Suffolk and the widow of William Lord Willoughby of Parham: *Argent a chevron engrailed azure between three escallops sable.*

This is followed by Walter Devereux's marriage to his first wife Mary, daughter of Thomas **Gray**, Marquis of Dorset: *Barry of six argent and azure in chief three torteaux.*

14th line – nine shields:
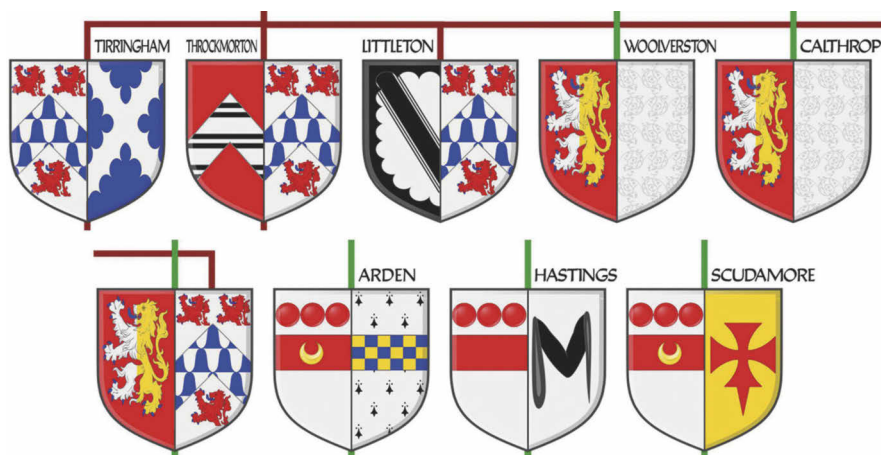
Robert **Fisher** of Packington, Warwickshire, living 1619: *Argent a chevron vair between three demi-lions rampant gules,* and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Anthony **Tirringham** of Tirringham: *Azure a saltire engrailed argent.*

Letice (**Fisher**), wife of Clement **Throckmorton** of Haseley in Warwickshire: *Gules on a chevron argent three bars gemmelle sable,* impaling **Fisher**: *Argent a chevron vair between three demi-lions rampant gules.*

Mary (**Fisher**), wife of Edward **Littleton**, of Pillaton Hall, Staffordshire: *Argent a bend between two cotises, within a bordure engrailed sable,* impaling **Fisher**: *Argent a chevron vair between three demi-lions rampant and erased gules.*

George **Dilke**, son and heir, married to an un-named daughter of Woolverston of Newhall: *Gules a lion rampant per pale argent and or.*

William **Dilke**, second son, married to an un-named daughter of **Calthrop**: *Gules a lion rampant per pale argent and or a crescent argent for difference.*

Anne, eldest daughter of Clement **Fisher** of Packington: *Argent a chevron vair between three demi-lions rampant gules,* and her husband Thomas **Dilke** of Maxstock, Warwickshire:*Gules a lion rampant per pale argent and or.*

Edward **Devereux**, of Castle Bromwich, Warwickshire, Baronet: *Argent a fess gules in chief three torteaux, a crescent for difference*, and his wife Katherine, daughter of Edward **Ardren** of Parkhall, Warwickshire: *Ermine a fess chequy or and azure.*

Richard **Devereux**, who predeceased his father: *Argent a fess gules in chief three torteaux,* and his wife Dorothy, daughter of George **Hastings,** Earl of Huntingdon: *Argent a maunch sable.*

Walter **Devereux**, second son: *Argent a fess gules in chief three torteaux, a crescent or for difference,* and his wife Joan, daughter of John **Scudamore**: *Or a cross patté fitched at the foot gules.*

15th line – eight shields:
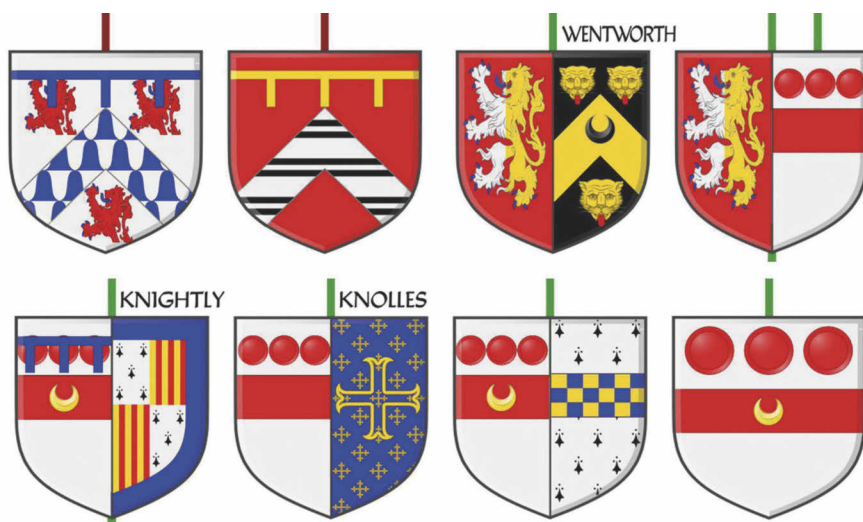
Clement **Fisher**, son and heir, 6 years old in 1619*: Gules a lion rampant per pale argent and or, a label of three points azure.* Another roundel for his brother Thomas Fisher, second son.

Clement **Throckmorton**, son and heir, age 15 in 1619: *Gules on a chevron argent three bars gemmel sable, a label of three points or.*

Fisher **Dilke**, second son: *Gules a lion rampant per pale argent and or,* married to an un-named daughter of **Wentworth** of Lillington in Oxfordshire: *Sable a chevron between three leopard's heads or, a crescent sable for difference.*

Thomas **Dilke** of Maxstock Castle in Warwickshire, esquire: *Gules a lion rampant per pale argent and or,* and his wife Howard, daughter of Edward **Devereux** of Castle Bromwich, baronet: *Argent a fess gules in chief three torteaux.*

Walter **Devereux,** son and heir, living 1619: *Argent a fess gules, thereon a crescent or for difference, in chief three torteaux, a label of three points azure,* and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas **Knightley** of Burghall, Staffordshire: *Quarterly 1 and 4 ermine, 2 and 3 paly of six or and gules a bordure azure.*

Walter **Devereux,** created 1st Earl Essex by Queen Elizabeth in 1572. Died in Scotland 1576: *Argent a fess gules in chief three torteaux,* and his wife Letice, daughter of Francis **Knolles**, Knight of the Garter, afterwards wife of Robert, Earl of Leicester: *Azure semé of crosses crosslet or a cross molines of the second voided throughout the field.*

George **Devereux,** second son: *Argent a fess gules thereon a crescent or for difference in chief three torteaux,* and his wife, an un-named daughter of **Arden**: *Ermine a fess chequy or and azure.*

George **Devereux,** son, surviving: *Argent a fess gules in chief three torteaux a crescent or for difference.*

16th (and last) line – eight shields:
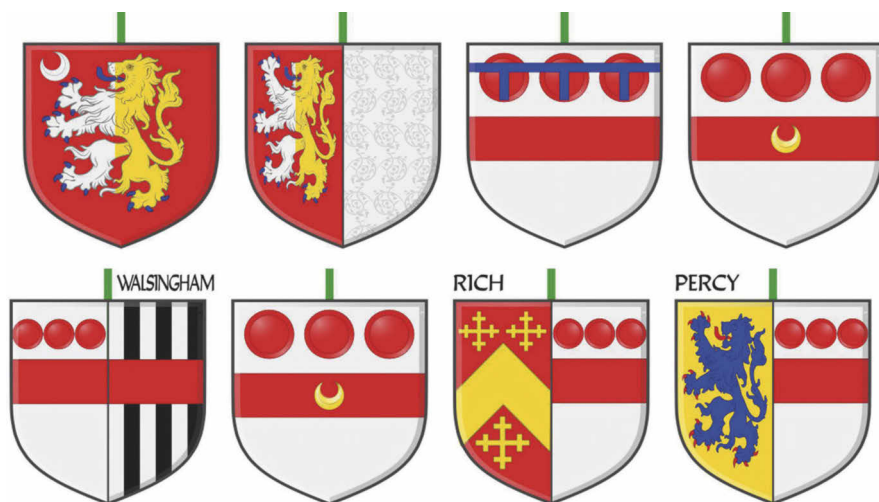
1) Katherine, only daughter (of Thomas **Dilke**) aged 3 in 1619: *Gules a lion rampant per pale argent and or, a crescent argent for difference,*

2) Thomas **Dilke**, son and heir: *Gules a lion rampant per pale argent and or*. This is shown impaling a blank shield.

3) Essex **Devereux**, son and heir, aged 4 in 1619: *Argent a fess gules, in chief three torteaux, a label of three points azure.*

4) Leicester **Devereux**, second son, aged 2 in 1619: *Argent a fess gules, in chief three torteaux, a crescent or for difference.*

5) Robert **Devereux**, Earl of Essex and Marshal of England, beheaded 1600*: Argent a fess gules, in chief three torteaux,* and his wife Frances daughter and heiress of Francis **Walsingham** and widow of Phillip Sydney: *Paly of six argent and sable a fess gules.*

6) Walter **Devereux**, second son, died at Rouen in France in 1591: *Argent a fess gules, in chief three torteaux, a crescent or for difference.*

7) Robert Lord **Rich** of Lees and newly created Earl Warr by King James: *Gules a chevron between three crosses crosslet or,* and his wife Penelope, daughter of Walter (**Devereux**), Earl of Essex: *Argent a fess gules, in chief three torteaux.*

8) Dorothy (**Devereux**), wife of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and widow of Thomas Parrott, illustrated with her husband's arms of **Percy***: Or a lion rampant azure armed and langued gules.*[10]
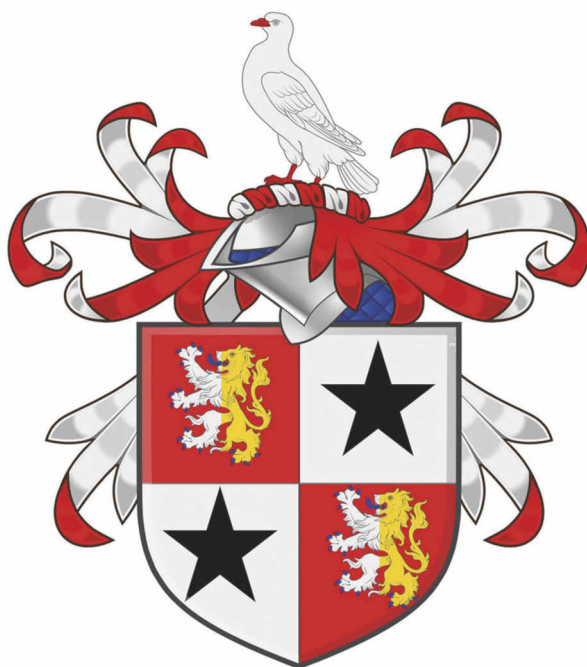
Figure 4: Dilke quartering Ashton from the bottom left of the roll.

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[10] On the pedigree the order is shown; 3,4,1,2,5,6,7,8. Although shields 4 and 6 appear to be the same they are actually for Leicester Devereux and Walter Devereux respectively.
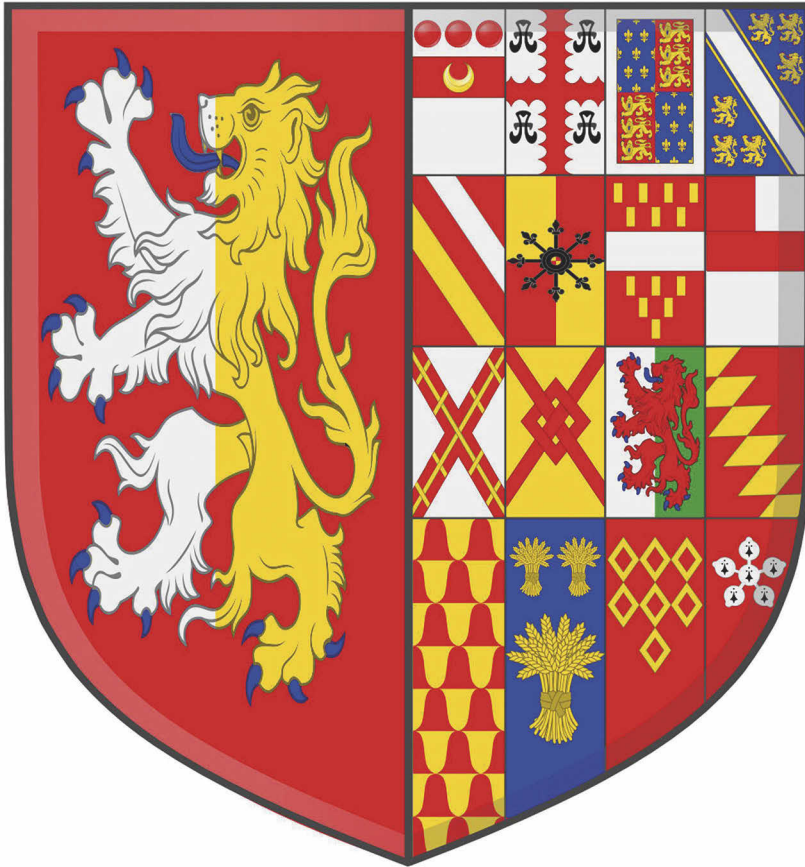
Figure 5: the redrawn centre shield of Dilke impaling Deverux. The Devereux quarterings are 1: Devereux with a crescent for difference, 2: Bourchier, 3:Thomas of Woodstock, 4: Bohun, 5: Miles of Gloucester, 6: Mandeville, 7: Lovayne, 8: Woodvile, 9: Crophull, 10: Verdon, 11: Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, 12: Marshal, 13: Ferrers, 14: Blondevill, 15: Quincy, 16: Beaumont.

Below these is the inscription, "This Pedigree was truly collected and drawne by me Samson Lennard, Blewmantle being Marstiall and Deputye to William Camden Cleranceus Kinge of Armes for the Visitation of the County of Warwichshire in anno 1619 and certified trew under my hand. Sams. Lennard Blewmantle."[11]

Figure 6: Dilke impaling Devereux from the original roll. Note the tarnished silver.
Photograph by Bernard Juby.

that, for a hobby, he re-created ancient armorial pedigrees, and he very kindly volunteered his assistance with this project. It had been hoped to illustrate this article entirely with photographs of the original roll, but the location and glass covering precluded the taking of photographs of sufficient quality.

TRANSFORMATION OF HERALDIC DECORATION: THE 'RADCLIFFE BED'

PETER N. LINDFIELD, F.S.A.

Abstract

The 'Radcliffe bed' was largely manufactured in the mid-nineteenth century from historic woodwork supplemented by new carved elements awash with heraldic decoration. Produced by an antiquary, architect, designer, and faker of historical furniture, this bed appears to have been designed for personal consumption and display by George Shaw, the antiquary, in his own house to vaunt his connection to the Radcliffes of Ordsall Hall in Manchester. This essay explores the bed's design and the ways in which Shaw used heraldry to fabricate the bed's historical links to the Radcliffes.

The 'Radcliffe bed' (**Figure 1**) was last sold on 30 April 2014, and described by the auction house as 'an impressive Elizabeth I oak and inlaid tester bed, circa 1580, bearing the coat of arms of the Ratcliffes [Radcliffes] of Ordsall Hall, Lancashire, incorporating some associated and some later elements'.[1] Whilst noting the bed's inclusion of late-Tudor and more modern woodwork, the relationship between these different components was not addressed in detail. Adam Bowett has made some more recent observations concerning the bed's newer additions from the 1840s, but his note in the *Regional Furniture Society Newsletter* did not unpack fully the bed's remarkably rich Victorian additions.[2] Indeed, the relationship between the ancient and the nineteenth-century carved woodwork is crucial when we come to understand the bed's apparent identity as a piece of ancient furniture: despite appearing antique, large parts of its structure, including the footboard, tester, and headboard are Victorian fabrications. The 'Radcliffe bed' sits firmly within the well-known and documented industry of cut-and-shut furniture produced in nineteenth-century Britain: dealers sold ostensibly 'new' pieces of furniture much like the 'Radcliffe bed' in the Tudor and Elizabethan styles (**Figure 2**) incorporating cobbled-together spolia along with newly carved historicizing woodwork to fill in the gaps.[3] This essay, by offering a close reading of the 'Radcliffe bed', demonstrates in specific detail how heraldic forms found on and around escutcheons appropriate to the bed's purportedly original owners – Sir John Radcliffe (*c.*1536–89) and Anne Asshawe (1545–1627) – were used by George Shaw (1810–76), antiquary, architect, and forger, to produce a series of calculated *en suite* decorations in the 1840s – certainly before 1848 when the bed was seen and described as complete—to augment the bed's early woodwork celebrating the Radcliffe–Asshawe marriage.

Crucially, we know that Shaw owned this bed and that he constructed it from pieces of ancient woodwork as well as newly carved oak. It was photographed at his

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[1] Bonhams, *The Oak Interior*, (Oxford, 2014), lot 197. https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/22148/lot/197.

[2] Adam Bowett, "New Light on the Ordsall Hall Bed," *Regional Furniture Society Newsletter* Spring, no. 72 (2020), pp. 8–9.

[3] Mark Westgarth, "A Biographical Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Antique & Curiosity Dealers With Full Explanation and Plates," *Regional Furniture* XXI (2009), pp. 1–23.

Figure1: The 'Radcliffe Bed', *c.*1572, *c.*1843–48. Private Collection on Loan to Ordsall Hall, Salford. © Peter N. Lindfield.

house in Uppermill surrounded by other pieces of furniture that he had made when the contents of St Chad's, his home in Uppermill on the border of Greater Manchester and Yorkshire, was put up for auction in 1920. Seen in 'bedroom over dining room' (**Figure 3**),[4] the bed was catalogued as 'an exceptionally fine OLD OAK "ELIZABETHAN" BEDSTEAD, richly carved and inlaid, with canopy supported on massive columns

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[4] Allen Mellor & Co, "*St. Chad's*" *Uppermill, Saddleworth, Yorks: Catalogue of the Valuable Antique & Modern Furniture etc., Including a Very Fine Collection of Old Oak*, (Oldham, 1920), opp. p. 19.
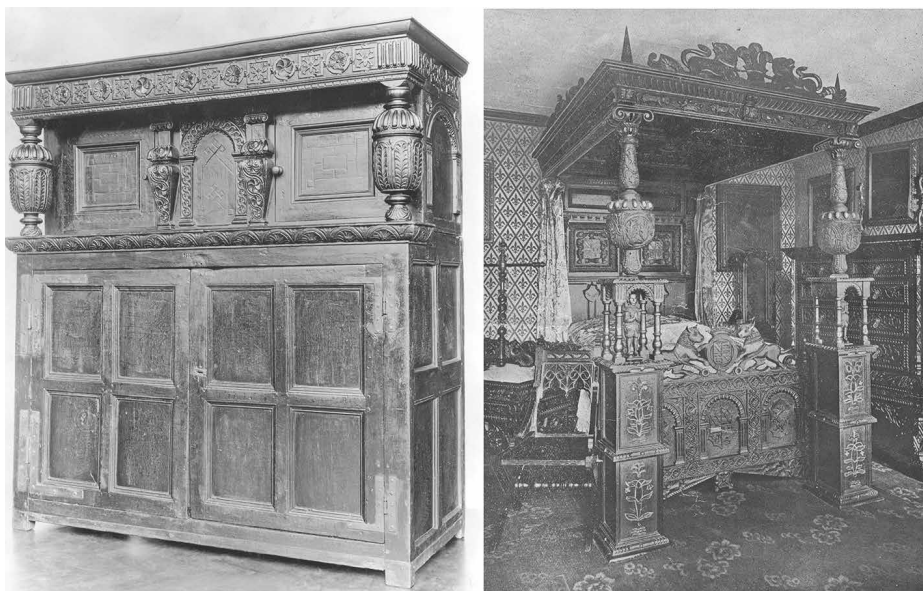
Left, *Figure 2:* Press Cupboard 1610, *c.*1875–1910. W.32-1913. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Right, *Figure 3*: Bedroom Over Dining Room, from Allen Mellor & Co, *"St. Chad's", Uppermill* (1920).

emblazoned with the 'Radcliffe' coat of arms. A very rare specimen'.[5] Allen Mellor & Co, the auctioneers, did not appear to question the bed's age too much, and it was promoted as a rare and old bed. As it turns out, however, we have a first-hand account of the bed from 1848 recorded by one Mr Burd, an agent of Algernon Percy (1792–1865), fourth Duke Northumberland, who had been dispatched to Shaw's premises to investigate the vast range of ancestral Percy furniture sold to the Duke by Shaw in the 1840s. Burd's letter, dated 10 May 1848, not only recorded his impressions of the bed, but also some observations made about it by Shaw. Moving through the house, Burd and Shaw climbed 'up stairs where he [Shaw] shewed me a Magnificent bed though alas as he said put together and I fancied not quite in unison but he said the parts which seemed so were one when he got them'.[6] Burd, clearly, was sceptical of the bed's homogeneity—even the old woodwork did not appear to be coherent despite Shaw's claim that the pieces of ancient work came to him all together. Documenting the bed, Burd described it in detail and also the heraldic decoration, which he drew and recorded the quarterings. Beginning the entry, he,

> fear[ed] I cannot give you a just idea of this piece, on the sides & the top are (new) arms of boyhood He[nr]y VIIth […] at the bed head are two coats belonging to two families of Radcliffe (once of Ordsall Hall in Manchest[er]) these are the two coats

5 Ibid., p. 22.
6 Alnwick Castle, The Archives of the Duke of Northumberland, DP/D4/I/99, 10 May 1848.

[illustration]
I cannot recollect the other families.
I will give you a faint sketch of the bed at the lower end in front are three coats
which I will sketch over the page.[7]

Figure 4: The supposed 'Boyhood arms of Henry VII' inserted on the underside of
the tester on the 'Radcliffe bed', *c*.1843–48. © Bonham's.

These three escutcheons found on the footboard are recorded by Northumberland's
agent as of Harrington (dexter), Sir John Radcliffe's quartered arms as found on the
headboard (centre), and Trafford (sinister).[8] He clearly suspected the bed's compilation
over a period of time, and he also recorded Shaw admitting to producing it as a piece
of cut-and-shut.

[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.

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The pertinent question arising from this admission, of course, is which parts of the bed are ancient, and which parts are modern and by Shaw: Burd does not really help in this regard as the only piece recorded as 'new' is the royal achievement inserted at the centre of the tester (**Figure 4**). Indeed, Burd on his own, or reporting Shaw's interpretation, misidentified this achievement as belonging to the young Henry VII; this is clearly incorrect as they would have been the Tudor arms of Elizabeth I (if contemporary with the Radcliffe-Asshaws marriage) and they are certainly not Henry VII's arms from his accession. This achievement was manufactured by Shaw—note the

Figure 5: The headboard of the 'Radcliffe bed', *c.*1572, *c.*1843–48. Private Collection on loan to Ordsall Hall, Salford. © Peter N. Lindfield.

crude figuring of the supporters' faces typical of Shaw's output—and clearly intended to enhance the bed's status and appearance of age articulated by the remainder of the bed's heraldic decoration. The headboard (**Figure 5**) described by Burd matches that seen on the bed today: two painted achievements are inset within a pair of panels. On the left is the shield for Sir John Radcliffe (**Figure 6**) quartering 1. Ratcliffe of Ordsall, *Two bends engrailed and in chief a label of three points*; 2. Leigh of Boothes, *Two bars,*

Top, *Figure 6:* Detail of the Sir John Radcliffe arms on the headboard of the 'Radcliffe bed', c.1572. Bottom, *Figure 7*: Detail of the Anne Asshawe arms from the same location. © Bonham's.

over all a bend; 3. Arderne, *Three cross crosslets fitchy and a chief*; and 4. Sandbach, *A fesse between three garbs*. The shield on the right for Anne Asshawe (**Figure 7**) quarters: 1. Radcliffe, *A bend engrailed*; 2. derivative of Asshawe, *A chevron between three martlets*; 3. English, *Three lion passant*; and 4. Hulton, *An eagle displayed*. These arms record the marriage of Sir John Radcliffe to Anne Asshawe in 1572, with Anne armigerously rich and able to bear, amongst other arms, Asshawe, Harrington, English, and Hulton: displayed together, these arms tie the bed into the history of Ordsall Hall in Salford (**Figure 8**), even though Shaw admitted creating the bed from a collection of ancient and modern woodwork.

Figure 8: Ordsall Hall, Salford. © Peter N. Lindfield.

The remaining heraldry strewn over the bed was concocted and executed by Shaw's workshop, and the largest concentration of such decoration (the crestings, including three ostrich feathers flanked by supporters on the front face of the tester, no longer survive with the bed) is found on the footboard that has been understood as a fragment from a seventeenth-century joined chest (**Figure 9**).[9] The crude quality of carved decoration applied to the front and sides of this footboard—both the heraldic shields and guilloche pattern on the rails and stiles—are coherent and also consistent with the incised decoration applied to the newel posts on the staircase of Shaw's house, St Chad's. This suggests that the whole footboard was conceived and executed in Shaw's workshop. The range of shields applied to this panel demonstrates Shaw's attempt to further enhance the bed's connection to the Radcliffes and Ordsall Hall by providing a greater contextual range of armorials. The footboard is topped by a shield quartering Radcliffe with Fitzwalter within a garter, crested by an earl's coronet, and flanked by two bull supporters gorged with a coronet, all upon an engrailed base. This

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[9] Bowett, "New Light on the Ordsall Hall Bed," p. 9.

achievement, displaying the Radcliffe quarterings found in the earls of Sussex's arms, must surely be in reference to the connection between Sir John Radcliffe's father, Sir William Radcliffe (1502–68), and the earls of Sussex when he inherited the Fitzwalter estates from Henry Radcliffe, second Earl of Sussex, (1506/7–56), following the failure of his own heirs.[10]

Figure 9: Detail of the front of the Radcliffe Bed footboard by George Shaw's workshop, *c.*1843–48. Private Collection on loan to Ordsall Hall, Salford.
© Peter N. Lindfield.

Beneath this, on the footboard proper, are three shields, each of the barbed Tudor shape derived by Shaw from the examples found on the Henry VII and Elizabeth of York bed that he had studied and recreated in the 1840s (**Figure 10**). The central shield on the footboard repeats the quarterings of Sir John Radcliffe's arms found on the headboard, and it is flanked by Harrington (courtesy of Sir John's marriage to Anne Asshawe who was the great granddaughter of Isabel Radcliffe [*c.*1441–97] and Sir James Harrington [*c.*1447–97] of Wolfege), and Trafford (from Sir John's mother, Margaret Trafford [*b. c.*1509]). Both flanking shields reference armigerous ancestors, and, in addition to the Sussex branch of the Radcliffes represented by the achievement above the footboard, underscore the history of Ordsall Hall. The sides of the footboard are also carved with the Radcliffe arms of *a bend engrailed* impaling Mowgrave of Yorkshire differentiated by a *mullet in chief*; all set within a Tudor-shaped escutcheon matching

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[10] Burke LG 1847, vol.2, p. 1092.

those on the front of the footboard, itself within a guilloche pattern (**Figure 11**). This is a bespoke addition created for the bed, and when combined with the rest of the heraldic decoration strewn over the footboard, this bed became a genealogical record of the Radcliffes' family history.[11]

Shaw's most amusing re-use of heraldic ornament was applied to the frieze running around the bed's tester. To the front we see the gorged bull supporters from the footboard

Left, *Figure 10:* Heraldic decoration found on the Henry VII and Elizabeth of York marriage bed, c.1486. © The Langley Collection. Right, *Figure 11*: Detail of the sides (dexter [L], sinister [R]) of the Radcliffe Bed footboard by George Shaw's workshop, *c.*1843–48. Private Collection on Loan to Ordsall Hall, Salford. © Peter N. Lindfield.

set facing a coronet (**Figure 12**); another coronet is set above the centreline of the gadrooned cornice, a pattern repeated upon the tester's side friezes (**Figure 13**). The increased length is filled by the addition of notably cruder bulls (not gorged) flanked by a dragon (dexter) and lion (sinister); each quartet of beasts centres upon a *fleur-de-lis*. The additional supporters are taken from the royal arms, albeit swapped around, and the

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[11] These arms are in the east window of Oldham Church and recorded in the compendium of Lancashire family arms, *Heraldica Lancastria*, that Shaw consulted: Manchester Record Office GB127, MS 929.6. L3, v.4, f. 711.

Top, *Figure 12:* Detail of the frieze on the front of the Radcliffe Bed's tester, c.1843–48. Middle, *Figure 13*: Detail of the frieze on the side of the same. Bottom left, *Figure 14: Detail of the term figures on the headboard of the Radcliffe Bed*. Bed from a private collection on loan to Ordsall Hall, Salford. © Peter N. Lindfield. Bottom right, *Figure 15:* Detail of term figures from Shaw's carved panelling installed in Hopwood House, Rochdale, 1850s. © Andy Marshall.

use of the *fleur-de-lis* surely also refers to the royal arms that are otherwise absent from Radcliffe heraldry. Demonstrating a higher level of craftsmanship is a yet more unusual series of three *term* figures set on the headboard to frame the achievements. Each term bears a shield (**Figure 14**), bordered with a thick outline as found on the footboard's shields. Rather than displaying the quarterings of the Radcliffes, these, instead, depict the Radcliffe crest within each escutcheon: *A bull's head erased sable armed or, ducally gorged, lined, and ringed argent*, albeit missing the tether. Such a placement of crest upon escutcheon, surely, could only be a nineteenth-century conceit? There are other occasions where Shaw took heraldic devices and placed them out of context on escutcheons, such as the Percy crescent on furniture for the Duke of Northumberland, while other additional pieces have recently come to light. Such term figures found on the 'Radcliffe bed' appear atypical within the context of Shaw's known *corpus* of faked historical furniture, yet they correspond very closely to a series of carved oak interiors that he supplied to Hopwood House, Rochdale, Greater Manchester, in the 1850s (**Figure 15**).[12] The 'Radcliffe' bed's decorative programme can therefore be seen as an 1840s precursor to the more firmly Elizabethan-style woodwork that he produced for Hopwood in the 1850s, a development that signals his movement away from the direct imitation of the Henry VII and Elizabeth of York bed. Indeed, the term figures' intermediary position in his *corpus* between these two styles is shown by a continued use of mantling taken from the Henry VII and Elizabeth of York bed that appears like cusped scrollwork.

Given that most of the armorials applied to the Ordsall Hall bed were produced by Shaw in the 1840s, and certainly before May 1848 when Burd saw it in Uppermill, the only 'period' heraldic fixtures are those found on the headboard. But, as recorded by Burd, this ancient woodwork appears to have been brought together—we know that Shaw, like those in his antiquarian circle, collected historical woodwork fragments avidly.[13] The bed is consequently one of Shaw's most important pieces of 'cut-and-shut' furniture that celebrated his personal connection to the Radcliffes whose arms can be found on his own furniture designs, both executed and hypothetical. A further example, to be explored subsequently, is his panelled heraldic sitting room at St Chad's. The Radcliffe family appears time and again in his correspondence and diaries, for example the entry for Saturday 4 February 1832 records how he had

> Wrote a long letter to Mr Raines, thanking him for his information respecting the Radcliffes and his description of Scaitcliffe [Hall, Todmorden, West Yorkshire], and also requesting him to send me the M.S. pedigree book mentioned in his letter, along with a book on Heraldry which he has lately purchased and which he wishes me to bind in brass with clasps for him.[14]

Indeed, as illustrated here, Shaw's interest in the Radcliffes was bound up his cognate passion for the study of heraldry, and studying the tangible remains of history expressed through architecture and interiors.

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[12] Clare Hartwell, Matthew Hyde, and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Lancashire: Manchester and the South-East, Pevsner architectural guides*, (London, 2004), pp. 518–20.

[13] See Manchester, Chetham's Library, Raines/2/2/178, letters 5, 7, 10, 22, 24, unnumbered.

[14] Oldham, Oldham Local Studies and Archives, M175/1/3, f. 20.

Crucially, Shaw visited Ordsall Hall—the bed's purported historical and original home—and his detailed record of the house, including its history, visual effects, and numerous modifications, underscore the bed's personal relevance. On Saturday 10 February 1832, more than a decade before Shaw produced the bed, he rode from Knutsford to Manchester, and, after dinner, he,

> went down to Ordshall [sic], to see the venerable old Hall, the ancient residence of the Radcliffes from whom my Grandfather is descended.—The Hall is a large irregular pile of building, apparently built at numerous periods, and surrounded by a moat in a good state of preservation. The Entrance is over a narrow bridge, and under an embattle'd [sic] archway where formerly hung ponderous oaken gates;—and from this, a flagged path conducts to the Entrance of the Hall.—The exterior of the edifice presents a picturesque assemblage, of gables, chimneys, steep roofs, and turrets.—built partly of Stone, partly of brick, and partly of Wood and plaster; of which later materials, at some time it has also been composed.—The Hall has been a magnificent and immense apartment supported, like the collegiate church, on 2 rows of clustered columns, of great height and massive beauty and covered with a Norman bracketed roof, like that of Westminster Hall.—This spacious room was lighted by two large embayed in oriel windows almost filled with stained glass glowing with the atcheivements [sic] of the Knightly family of Radcliffe the possessors, and the various families with whom they were connected by marriage;—and amongst the numerous escutcheons &c. are signets of some of the old kings and queens of these Realms in brilliant colours.—The floor is of diamond flags, and the lofty pillars and roof of English oak.—This Noble Hall is miserably spoiled by being divided into two or three rooms, completely destroying the effect which its large dimensions and beautiful construction would have given it.—
>
> —The whole house is in fact completely modernized.—and the old lofty rooms, dont [sic] form inferior modern ones, although the change displays a barbarity of taste truly astonishing.—There is a Stone Coffin behind the house cut in two pieces, one of which is used as a pig trough, and the other as a washing basin, for the labouress .—In one of the bed rooms I visited, apparently in ancient days the state bed chamber, are two windows each containing the figure of a king, in stained glass, but without any legend.—There is no old furniture, or armour left in the hall, and with the exception of stained glass no pictures—The property now belongs to Mr. W. Egerton of Tatton, who, not being connected with the family, cannot be expected to feel any interest in preserving the antiquity and character of the Edifice.[15]

Shaw, here celebrating Ordsall Hall's medieval fabric and opining its subsequent 'barbaric' refashioning, was clearly invested in Ordsall Hall's history courtesy of his connection to the Radcliffes. He retained the Ordsall Hall/Radcliffe bed, we can assume out of choice, and, despite being an *en suite* fantasy, the escutcheons and heraldic devices decorating the bed link Shaw as its owner to Sir John Radcliffe, Anne Asshawe, and Ordsall Hall.

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[15] Ibid., ff. 43–45.

A QUESTION OF WYVERNS OR DOLPHINS

STEEN CLEMMENSEN F.S.A., A.I.H.

Abstract

This paper explores the distinctive brisures adopted by five brothers of the Mauley family in the late thirteenth century, and attempts to resolve a difficulty of identification caused by a contradiction between two rolls of arms.

For nearly one hundred years it has been common knowledge that Edmund Mauley, who drowned trying to cross the Bannock Burn outside Stirling Castle on Monday June 14th 1314, was buried or at least had his cenotaph in the church of Saint Andrews in Bainton in Yorkshire (**Figure 1**). That is except for a recent post on the tripadvisor website and a note in a book from 2019 by Brian and Moira Gittos, which suggests that the tomb was for his brother John.[1] The authors do not give much evidence for their conclusion, but do supply some hints.

The basic work on the monument was published in 1929 by a respected archaeologist William M. l'Anson and faithfully repeated not only by the monument experts Henry Lawrance in 1949, Mark Downing in 2014, and the armorist Gerard J. Brault in 1997, but also on numerous websites, so why should there be a problem?[2] Brault provides one reason. Bannockburn was not the first of Edmund's encounters with Stirling. Both brothers were present at the passage of a ford by the advance guard of the army of Edward I on May 30th 1304 during the siege of Stirling. The passage evolved into a skirmish, and the names and arms of the English participants were recorded in an armorial, the *Stirling Roll of Arms,* with John in ST:93 having wyverns as a brisure and Edmund in ST:95 having dolphins. When Brault considered the opposite combination supplied by a later armorial, the *Parliamentary Roll of Arms* (at N:720 and N:721), on the basis of the traditional attribution of the monument at Bainton carved with a shield bearing the wyverns, he concluded that the compiler of the *Stirling* must have transposed the names.[3] It may have influenced him that Edmund was the better known of the two.

The Yorkshire Mauleys were latecomers with a peculiar attitude to naming. The eldest sons were always named Peter, and the later heads of the family numbered themselves. Peter I (d.1242) arrived from Poitou and rose in the service of King John. He was awarded the marriage of the heiress Isabel deTurnham in 1214, who brought him 33 knight's fees from her grandfather William Fossard of Mulgrave (d.1195). Among these properties was the advowson of Bainton. His son Peter II (d.1279) had four sons: his heir Peter

[1] B. & M. Gittos, *Interpreting medieval effigies - evidence from Yorkshire until 1400* (Oxford, 2019) pp. 71–2.
[2] W.M. l'Anson, 'The medieval military effigies of Yorkshire (Part II)', *Yorks Arch J*, vol. 20 (1929), pp. 1–67 (51–52); H. Lawrance: '*Heraldry from Military Monuments from before 1350'* (Harl. Soc. no.98, 1946), p. 29; M. Downing, '*Military effigies of England & Wales, vol. 7. Warwickshire-Yorkshire East Riding'*(Shrewsbury. 2014), p. 103; G.J. Brault, *'The Rolls of Arms of Edward I'* (Woodbridge. 1997), vol. 2, pp. 287–8.
[3] CA M.14 bis f. 269r-272r, the *Stirling Roll of Arms*, in Brault *Rolls,* op.cit.*,* vol. 1 pp. 483–94 (492–3); BL Ms Cotton Caligula A.xviii, ff. 3r–21v, the *Parliamentary Roll of Arms*, edition by S. Clemmensen expected 2022; CEMRA pp. 36, 42.

Figure 1: top, The Mauley tomb in the Church of Saint Andrew, Bainton (Yorks ER). (photograph courtesy of Eddie Walker, Goolio60); bottom, drawing of the effigy from *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* vol. 29 (1929), p. 56.

III (c.1249–1308), Robert (d.1331, who used eagles as his brisure), John (d.s.p.1331), Edmund (d.s.p.1314) and Stephen (d.s.p.1317), a royal clerk, archdeacon of Cleveland and rector of Bainton. Edmund had a fine career, possibly through an association with Piers Gaveston, the favourite of Edward II. That monarch created Gaveston Earl of Cornwall on August 6th 1307 as one of his first actions as king. Edmund de Mauley got his first royal grants the next year, and by 1310 had advanced to become steward of the royal household, a position he kept (with interruptions) until his death. We know very little of John, except that he must have been an efficient administrator as he was granted several properties by his nephew Peter IV (d.1348) including the family seat Mulgrave Castle.[4]

Two coats of arms are attributed to the Mauleys. The better known is *Or a bend sable*, but two armorials and a number of later extracts have *Vair a maunch gules*. Hugh Stanford London proposed that the latter was the ancient arms of Mauley and that the former was that of Fossard adopted by Mauley - but when? The only relevant evidence for the *maunch* comes from a Peter in *Glover's Roll* (B:124) of c.1255 and in the *St. George Roll* (E:115) of c.1285. The earliest evidence for the *bend* is in *Segar's Roll* (G:134) of c.1282, supported by seals of c.1300, and by the use of the bend by all the sons of Peter II. The sons became active c.1270.[5] All three armorials are general compilations for which an overlap in time would not be surprising. The change of arms probably took place between 1260 and 1270 in the time of Fossard's great grandson Peter II. As we shall see, the old coat of arms was not forgotten. The sons differenced the new family arms with three small figures placed on the bend, except for the eldest, who used a label.

The monument in Bainton is located on the wall between two windows, and consists of a stone plinth with a worn effigy below a trefoiled niche, with three carved shields placed above. The warrior is fully armed and wears a shield carved with his arms. It is unusual in that the knight's head is bare and has long tonsured hair. Stylistically it has been dated to c.1336 by Anson and to 1330–40 by Downing. This is two decades after the death of the presumed occupant, a fact which puzzled Anson. The arms above the tomb have been repainted and are: firstly, *A hand holding a fleur-de-lis issuing from a maunch on a field vair* (Mauley ancient); secondly, *A bend with a label of five points* (Mauley modern, for an heir or cadet); and thirdly, *On a bend three wyverns*. The monument may be considered in combination with the 'Mauley' stained glass windows in York Minster (**Figures 2–4**) donated by archdeacon Stephen Mauley.[6]

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[4] GEC vol. 8 pp. 554–71 (559–60 note h); C. Moor, *The Knights of Edward I* vol. 3 (Harl.Soc.,vol. 30, 1930), pp. 135–8.

[5] Hugh S. London, 'Glover's and Walford's Rolls', in *Rolls of Arms of Henry III*. ed. A.R. Wagner, (London, 1967), pp. 67–204 (139) ; Brault *Rolls*, op.cit. vol.1, *St. George's Roll* pp. 202–256, *Segar's Roll* pp. 309–322; CEMRA pp.18–19,

[6] D.J. Hawke,'*The Medieval Heraldry of York Minster*', (Wakefield 1971), pp. 17, 77–79, 93 (pen drawing of arms), 101; P. Armstrong, *Bannockburn 1314. Robert Bruce's great victory*, (Oxford, 2002), p.19: drawing of a window with nearly illegible arms purporting to be wyverns on a bend. Hawke has Peter I as Peter Trehous and the 'maunch' as arms of Trehous. The stained glass was restored in 1903 and has parts that are still partly illegible.
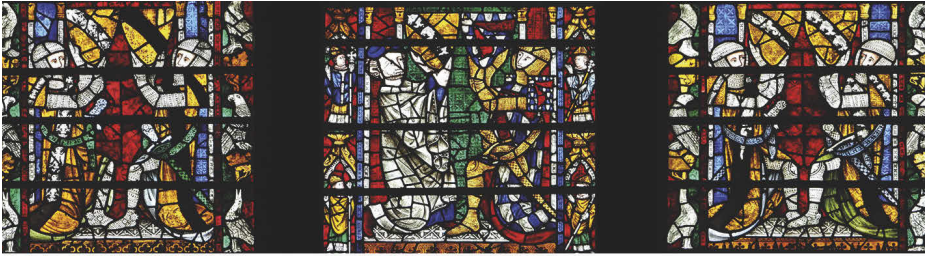
Figure 2: top, central section of the Mauley window in York Minster, fourth bay in South Aisle; bottom: left hand panel of the above window depicting on the left Robert Mauley and on the right Peter III de Mauley. Photographs by Paul A. Fox.

Figure 3: centre panel of the Mauley Window in York Minster showing on the left
Stephen de Mauley (incorrectly restored with arms of Edmund) and on the right his
father Peter II de Mauley. Photograph by Paul A. Fox.

The description by Hawke gives left to right the arms of Robert (eagles) & Peter
III (plain), Stephen (cleric holding dolphins) & Peter II (maunch), 'Edmund' (snakes)
& 'John' (dolphins). The current configuration is an incorrect restoration as the shield
held by Stephen had three crosslets on the bend according to notes made in 1640 by
the herald painter and antiquarian John Withie, arms also found carved in stone on the
south side of the nave.[7]

Further information from York Minster is supplied by a now lost effigy, damaged
by the fire in 1829, but described and illustrated in varying quality.[8] The descriptions

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[7] Hawke *York Minster*, op. cit., p. 17, shield no.8; Charles Jackson, 'Armorial tiles found at Rossington', in
The Herald and Genealogist, vol. 2 (1865) pp. 500–502, with comments by J.G. Nichols on pp. 502–507
(504); Hawke *York Minster* p. 17, shield no.8. Editor's note: a number of windows in the Minster were
significantly damaged by gunshot during the Civil War.

[8] *Herald and Genealogist*, vol. 2 (1865), op. cit., pp. 503–4, see note 7.

indicate that surcoat and shield from this lost tomb bore *A bend charged with three eaglets*, such as those found on tiles at the site of the former Rossington Manor, once held by Robert Mauley (d.1331). The tomb chest held the four arms of his brothers (plain bend, crosslets, wyvern, dolphins). This effectively confirms the crosslets as the brisure of archdeacon Stephen, leaving the wyvern and dolphins to be distributed between John and Edmund.

For the tomb and arms at Bainton to belong to Edmund it must be argued that his body was brought thence from Scotland to Yorkshire and the tomb constructed much later, perhaps as part of a rebuilding programme which followed a Scottish raid in 1322. By this time Peter IV had inherited the property of three of his uncles. The case for assigning the Bainton tomb and its wyverns to John rests on three arguments: 1 proximity in time; 2 proximity in property; 3 the hair.

John held Kilnwick by Watton, just four km southeast of Bainton, where he prospered as a local administrator of the family lands. He served as an attorney in 1286, and in 1300 was on a commission on intrusions into the lands of Peter IV, then a minor, (though Peter III was still living). In 1317 he became executor to his brother Stephen (d.s.p.1317) the archdeacon of Cleveland and rector of Bainton. Peter IV is known to have held court in Bainton in 1316, and to have paid considerable sums for his sins to the Minster, so he may have supported building work at Bainton.[9]

By 1322 John held the family seat of Mulgrave Castle and other properties of Peter IV for life, including some formerly of Edmund. John would have had the means to make a suitably impressive memorial for himself. He also succeeded his brother Stephen as rector in Bainton and was described as "knight and acolyte". This suggests that the former warrior had taken minor orders and had duly been tonsured. L'Anson noted his surprise on the hair and the style of armour. Edmund, although he received part of the family lands as a fief of his father and brother, is not recorded in having anything to do with Bainton. He held in Seaton 22 km southeast of Bainton, and spent most of his career on royal service.[10]

The scholarly linkage of Edmund to Bainton is based solely on the dubious evidence of the Parliamentary Roll, and in a circular argument the Bainton tomb has been assumed to prove that the Parliamentary Roll is correct, and the Stirling Roll incorrect. The historical evidence rather points to John Mauley (d.s.p.1331), a former strenuous knight and present rector of Bainton, having made himself a memorial there marked with his arms *Or on a bend sable 3 wyverns argent.* In conclusion the author of the *Stirling Roll* appears to have had better control of his data than the later compiler of the *Parliamentary Roll*. This is to be expected given the differing nature of these two rolls.[11] This changes our understanding of right-hand panel of the Mauley window at York, which should be read John (vipers or wyverns) and Edmund (dolphins).

[9] Moor *Knights*, op.cit., vol. 3 p. 137; Hawke *York Minster,* op.cit., p. 17

[10] Edmund also held Ascot-in-Gt.Milton (Oxon) and had several royal grants for life.

[11] Of which rather more will be said in my forthcoming publication of the Parliamentary Roll.

Figure 4: right hand panel of the Mauley Window in York Minster which the Stirling Roll identifies as on the left John de Mauley and on the right Edmund de Mauley. Photograph by Paul A. Fox.

THE ENIGMATIC ARMS OF TRENCAVEL

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Abstract

The powerful Occitane family of Trencavel was integrally connected with the Albigensian Crusade, and has become a focus of considerable corpus of pseudo-history relating to the quest for the Holy Grail. This has led to a surprising amount of interest in the family's arms. This paper looks at the surviving evidence from seals and other sources in an attempt to disentangle the diverse theories connected with the symbolism of the arms.

In the summer of 1209 French knights responded to Pope Innocent III's call to arms against the Cathar heresy that was sweeping the south of what is now France, having taken the cross they invaded the county of Toulouse, then an independent principality. Meanwhile, the leaders of the Crusade entered into negotiations with the excommunicated Count of Toulouse, Raymond VI, who having assessed the impending threat, chose to surrender to the mercy of the invaders, leaving his prevaricating vassals to fend for themselves. The Count had to undergo the humiliation of public repentance, but having thus saved his life, and that of his family, he was later permitted to return to Toulouse.

After the abdication of Raymond VI, the primary target of the Crusaders was the lands of the wealthy and influential Viscounts Trencavel who were key vassals of the Counts of Toulouse. Raymond Roger Trencavel, Viscount of Béziers, Albi and Carcassonne, took too long to ponder the Crusader proposal. As a result, he was denied the opportunity to surrender, and fled in haste to the fortress of Carcassonne, abandoning his lands, and leaving behind most of his possessions. On July 21st 1209 the French army approached the walls of Béziers, an important centre of Trencavel influence, and the following day the city fell. The invaders staged a terrible massacre in the city. The cruelty towards the local residents was recorded by the chronicler Caesar Heisterbach, the horror and brutality of which rings down to this day. When the soldiers asked the leader of the campaign, the papal legate Abbot Arnold Amalric, Abbot of Cîteaux , how to distinguish heretics from Catholics, he allegedly replied: "Kill everyone, the Lord will recognize his own." [1]

In early August, almost without encountering resistance, the Crusader army approached Carcassonne and laid siege to the fortress. Realizing that the city was not ready for a long siege, Raymond Roger agreed to enter into negotiations, but having been lured out of the walls with false guarantees he was taken prisoner. [2] After the capture of the Viscount, Carcassonne was soon taken. According to the chronicler, residents were allowed to leave their homes, taking with them only what was on them. Viscount

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[1] In the original, the abbot's Latin phrase "Caedite eos. novit enim Dominus qui sunt eius" ("Kill them all, for the Lord will know them who are His") contains an obvious reference to the Apostle Paul's second Epistle to Timothy (2 Timothy 19).

[2] *Song of the crusade against the Albigensians* : Guillaume de Tudèle et continuateur anonyme, Chanson de la Croisade contre les Albigeois , en vers. BNF Ms. fr. 25425, Laisse no. 33.
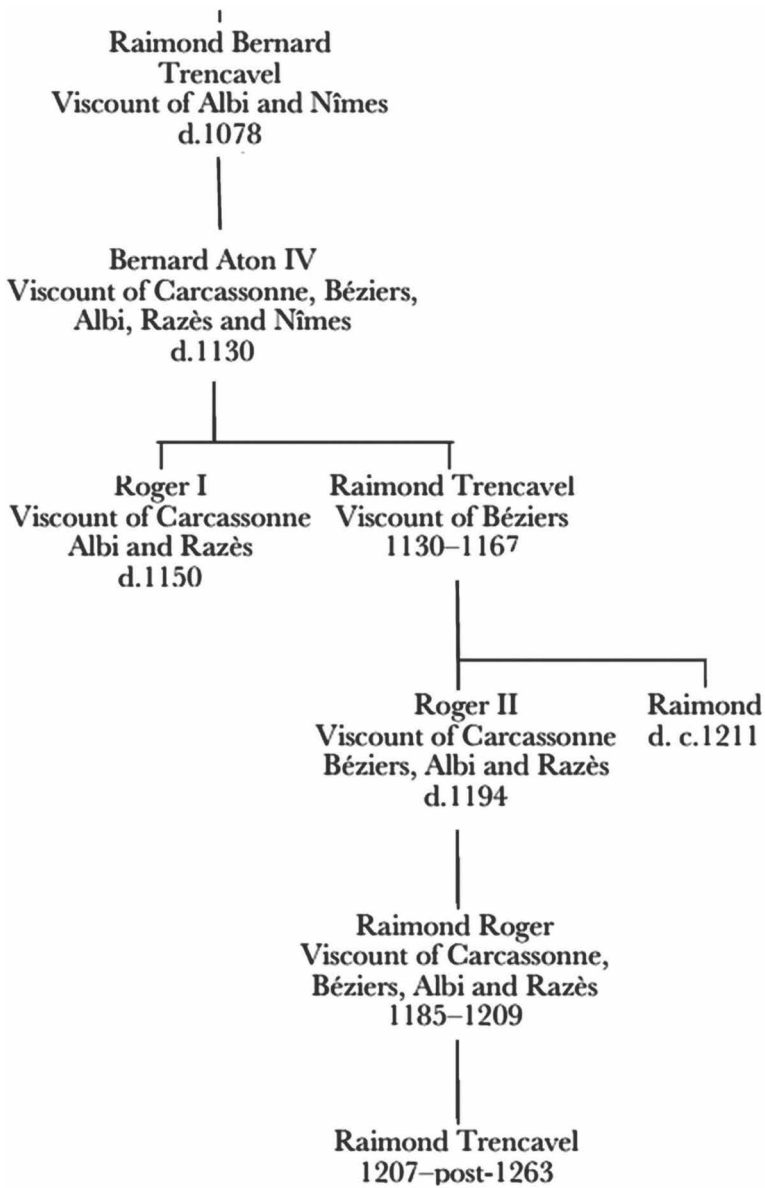
Figure 1: Fragment of the Trencavel genealogy
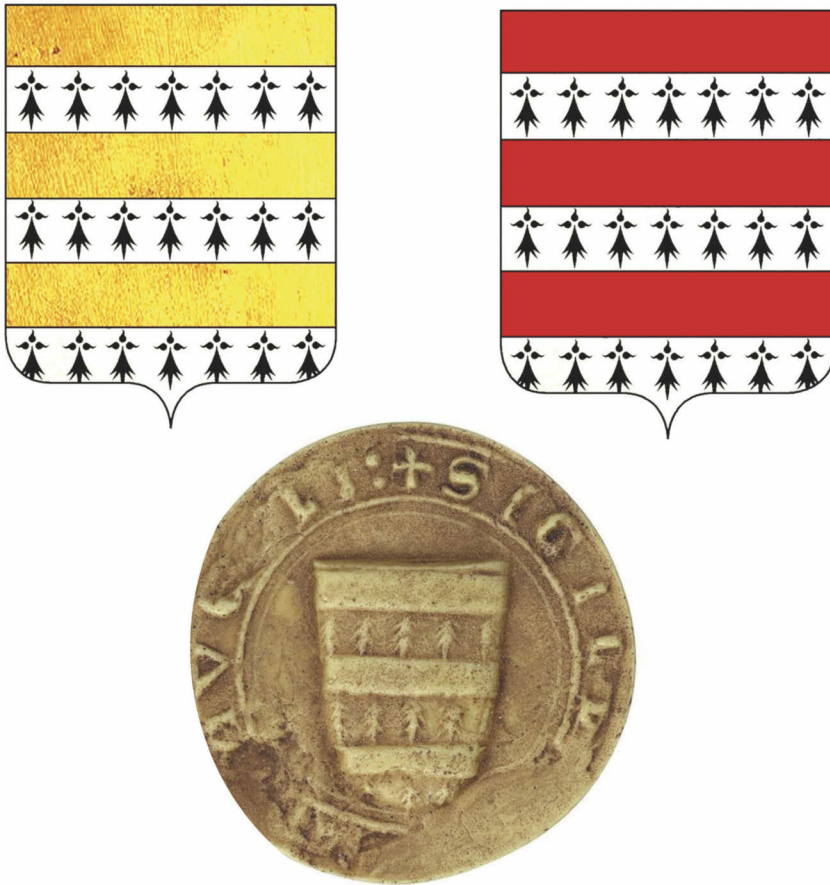
Figure 2: top left, 2a: supposed ancient arms of the city of Béziers according to Reitstap; top right, 2b: reconstructed arms of Trencavel. Source of a and b: geneanet. org ; bottom, 2c: seal of Raymond II Trencavel, with ermine tails, appended to his charter of 1248, Douët-d'Arcq no.761, archives nationale de France, Paris.

Trencavel was imprisoned in his own dungeon, where he died under suspicious circumstances. [3] All the lands and possessions of the family were transferred to Simon de Montfort (d.1218) who had made a name for himself during this military campaign. He was believed to be uniquely qualified to cope with the rebellious spirit of the local population.

Despite the fact that the son and heir of the Viscount, Raymond II, survived and went on to fight for his inheritance, the family had suffered a hammer blow from which it never recovered. Unrest in the region continued for another two decades, with the unfolding

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[3] Elaine Graham-Leigh, *The Southern French Nobility and the Albigensian Crusade* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 42, 47-49, 51, 69.

events, known to history as the Albigensian Wars or the Crusade against the Albigensians, being recorded in the chronicles of William of Tudela (*Song of the Crusade against the Albigensian*s), Pierre de Vaux (*History of the Albigensians*), and others.[4]

The momentous events of these times have propelled the Trencavel family into the realm of modern folklore, and they have become widely known figures in popular culture. However, we are concerned here more with their rise than in their inglorious end. The ancestor of this powerful family was Bernard, Viscount of Albi, who flourished in the early tenth century. His great-grandson - Raymond Bernard (d.1078) - thanks to a propitious marriage, added Carcassonne, Beziers and Razes to the family possessions (**Figure 1** pedigree). The son of the latter - Bernard Hato IV (1078–1130) - having also gained Agde, divided his possessions between three heirs. The elder Roger I (d.1150) received Carcassonne, Albi and Razes, the middle Raymond I (d.1167) - Béziers and Agde, the younger Bernard Hato V - Nimes (d.1163). On the death of his older brother, Raymond succeeded him, thus reuniting the fief which then passed in its entirety to Raymond's eldest son Roger II (1167–1194). The Raymond Roger of the Albigensian Crusade was the son of Roger II. Raymond II Trencavel (1207–1263) was only two years old at the time of his father's death in the dungeon, and grew up in exile at the court of the Aragonese king. Upon reaching his majority Raymond II began an active campaign to recover return his inheritance. After the death of Simon de Montfort at the siege of Toulouse in 1218, Montfort's son Amaury was unable to hold on to the continually troubled lands in Languedoc, and Raymond II managed to hold Béziers from 1224 to 1226, after which he gave the territory to the French king in exchange for a monetary allowance, and returned to Aragon.[5] Thereafter the name Trencavel disappeared and was seen no more in French genealogy.[6]

A mute witness of the rise and fall of the Trencavel family is their coat of arms. It is well known, and has come down to us largely thanks to the coats of arms of the cities that adopted them. We are also fortunate to have several preserved seals. The main version of the arms is now considered to be *Barry gules and ermine*. It is believed that this is the coat of arms depicted on the seal of Raymond II Trencavel (**Figure 2c**). Other variants of this coat of arms are also known, which are often found in historical and pseudo-historical literature. Disputes have arisen not only about the correct tinctures of the coat of arms are, but also about what exactly is depicted on the *bars argent*, because on some of the seals they do not look like ermine tails (**Figures 7, 9, 11.**) It has been postulated that the charges on the bars might have changed over time. The correct tinctures have perhaps been preserved in the *Barry argent and gules* of the city of Béziers, to which a chief has been added.

The ermine tails are not seen in any known manuscripts which include the Béziers coat of arms, such as that in Hozier[7], but a connection with the Viscounts Trencavel

[4] Guilhem de Tudel, *Canso de la Crosada* (Song of the crusade against the Albigensians) BNF Ms fr. 254254; P de Vaulx-Cernay, *Histoire de l'hérésie des Albigeois et de la sainte guerre contre eux de l'an 1203 à l'an 1218.* (Paris, 1824).

[5] C de Vic & J. Vaissète, *Histoire générale de Languedoc.* 15 vols (Toulouse, 1872–1892) vol. 8, pp. 846–848.

[6] L. d'Alauzier, 'L'héritage des Trencavels', *Annales du Midi*, vol.62 (1950).

[7] Charles-René d'Hozier, BNF, *Armorial général de France, dressé, en vertu de l'édit de 1696,* vol.14, Languedoc pt.1 p. 249. In 1696 the chief azure was charged with three fleurs de lis or.
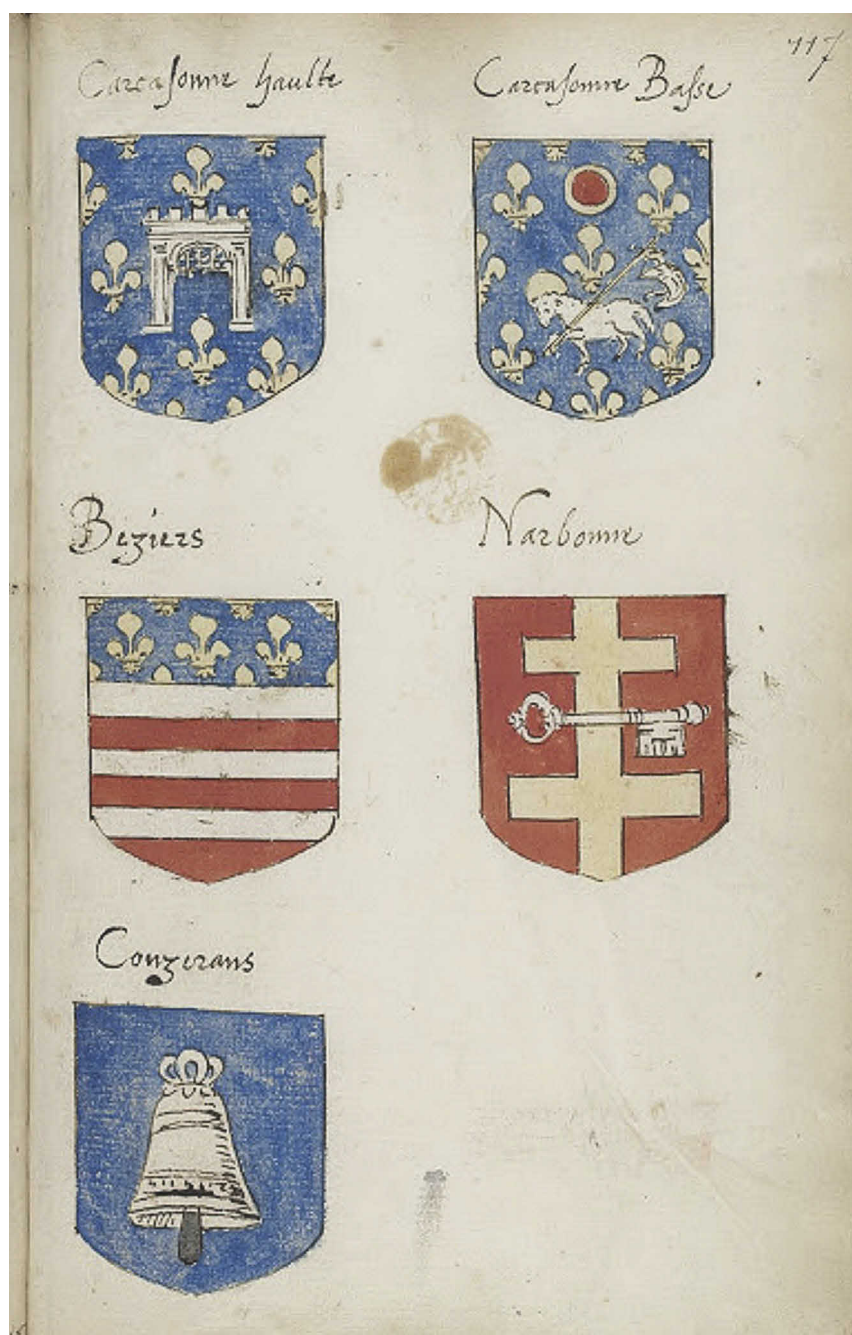
Figure 3: middle left, arms of Béziers c.1600 from BNF Ms.fr 17256 f.117r, the Armorial de La Planche.

seems apparent, and the same theme of alternating bars gules and argent is found in other heraldry from the former territory of the Viscounts, notably the city Uzès, which now has arms identical to those of Béziers. A *Barry or and ermine* version of the arms is given by Rietstap in his Universal Armorial (**Figure 2a**).[8] He states these as being the arms of "Languedoc Béziers", as distinct from those of "French Béziers", to which he ascribes *Barry gules and ermine a chief azure semy of fleur de lis or* (**Figure 3**). The latter arms are a symbolic representation of the incorporation of the city into the French crown in 1226.

It is improbable that *Barry or and ermine* was ever used as arms by the city of Béziers, but this version of the coat of arms has taken on a life of its own, being wrapped up in a bogus mystery of the Trencavel. The shield has become widely dispersed in fiction, and is actively reproduced to this day. It is with these arms, for example, that Raymond Roger appears in the television series "Labyrinth", released in 2012, and based on the 2005 novel of the same name by Kate Mosse.[9] The novel speculates on the legend connecting the Trencavel with the Order of the Templars and the history of the Holy Grail. A wave of mysticism, beginning at the end of the nineteenth, and continuing into the first half of the twentieth centuries, has projected occult activities onto the Viscounts of Trencavel, apparently inspired by Catharism.[10] The topic still attracts the attention of amateur researchers, which only contributes to an increase in the number of conspiracy theories.[11] The latter, in turn, provokes some interest into their imagined coat of arms and its history.

Having dealt with the question of tinctures, let us turn to the difficulty caused by the ermine bars. The reason for the assumption that initially something other than ermine tails was used on the arms of Trencavel is a seal of 1226, often mistakenly believed to be the seal of Raymond II, but in fact the seal of the commune of Béziers (**Figure 4a**). It was affixed to a charter by which the inhabitants of the city promised to obey the king of France. It is perhaps not surprising that this seal has been mistaken for the personal seal of the Viscount. The obverse depicts an armed horseman with the Trencavel coat of arms, a motif not typical for city seals. The legend clarifies the seal's purpose. It reads "comune civi [tatis biterr] icensiu [m ...]" (commune of the city of Béziers). The reverse depicts the lamb of God (**Figure 4b**).

Comparison of the Béziers seal with the seals of other cities in the region confirms that the placing of a horseman with the seigneur's personal seal on the obverse is unique, and probably had a certain motive. The relationship of the Viscounts with the bishop and primate of Béziers remained tense for a long time, and that even led to an uprising in 1167, after which Roger II was forced to promise not to decide anything without the consent of the bishop.[12] This practically excluded the Viscount from control over the affairs of the city. It would be surprising for there to have been the arms of Trencavel on the seal prior to 1224 when Raymond II regained control of the city. It can

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[8] *Rietstap* vol.1, p.195.

[9] Kate Mosse*, Labyrinth (London, 2005).

[10] N.Peyrat. Histoire des Albigeois: les Albigeois et l'Inquisition (Paris, 1872); O.Rahn*, Kreuzzug gegen den Gral. Die Geschichte der Albigenser (Broschiert, 1934).

[11] R. Nelli*, Histoire secrète de Languedoc* (Paris,1978), pp. 204–210.

[12] G. Debax*, "Les premiers notaires de Bèziers (dernier tiers du XII*e* siècle)", in *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale. Vol. 51, no.202 (2008), p. 8.

Figure 4: Top left, 4a: obverse of the 1226 seal of the Béziers commune depicting Viscount Raymond II, Douët-d'Arcq no. 5614 archives nationale de France, Paris. Top right, 4b, reverse of the same seal; bottom, 4c: detail of the Trencavel arms on the horse caparison.

be assumed that no matter how coldly their subjects treated the Viscounts Trencavel, they liked the rule of the Montforts even less.[13] Unfortunately seals of the commune have not survived prior to 1226.

Eighty years later, the horseman reappeared on the seal of Béziers, this time dressed in French royal lilies (**Figure 5**). After giving up the lands in favour of receiving financial support, Raymond II nevertheless did not renounce the title of Viscount Béziers, which is confirmed by the legend of his seal of 1247: *vice: comi-ti: biterehsis* (Viscount of Béziers). This seal is also interesting because it offers another representation of the figures on the bars argent, giving rise to their interpretation as ravelles (**Figure 6**).

[13] *Graham-Leigh, o*p. cit., pp. 143–147.

Figure 5: Left, 5a, seal of Béziers 1303 with a horseman carrying the French royal coat of arms Douët d'Arcq no. 5616 archives nationale de France, Paris; right, 5b, arms of Béziers under the French monarchy, source: geneanet.org.

The French historian Laurent Macé, on the basis of the available pictorial sources, stated that ermine fur appeared on the seal of Raymond II for the first time in 1248, arguing that when he lost the title of viscount, he also abandoned the ancient family coat of arms, replacing the original version with ermine fur.[14] The question of what is depicted on early seals, if not ermine tails, remains open. Macé himself supports a widespread view that it was nothing more than a radish.[15] The idea that this root crop offers the explanation for the mysterious Trencavel arms is based on the assumption that many coats of arms of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are canting in nature. It has been theorised that the nickname "Trencavel" which one of the founders of the dynasty received can be interpreted as the Occitan trenca ravel (French tranche ravelle), that is, "chopped radish".[16] According to another version ravelle is the Occitan version of the crevalle - the name of small fish similar to sardines. Another suggestion is that the nickname comes from the Occitan trenca avelana – "a device for cracking nuts."[17] Then we have the suggestion that the correct interpretation is trenca vel, where vel

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[14] Laurent Macé,"Par le tranchant, la rave et l'hermine. Pouvoir et patronyme : les sceaux des Trencavel (XIIᵉ–XIIIᵉ siècles)", in *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, no.202 (2008), pp. 105–128.

[15] Laurent Macé, "Tranchetoison: Onomastique, héraldique et sigillographie de la maison vicomtale des Trencavel (XIe–XIIIe siècle), in *Le Moyen Age* vol 127 (2021), pp. 355–379.

[16] Some publications translate the word ravelle as *radish* or *turnip*, the exact translation from Old French cannot be established. Editor's note: in Frédéric Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancien langue françaises et tous ses dialects du IXe au XVe siècle,* 8 vols (Paris, 1891–1902) vol 6 p. 624 ravelin is a small radish, while ravel is both the base of a tree and a sort of fish.

[17] Gauthier Langlois*,* "À propos d'une représentation du Viscount Trencavel sur une peinture murale de la conquête de Valence: l'exil du dernier Viscount de Béziers, Albi et Carcassonne dans les états de la couronne d'Aragon", in *Bulletin de la Société d'Études Scientifiques de l'Aude*, vol. 104 (Carcassonne, 2014), p.57.

Figure 6: obverse and reverse of the 1247 seal of Raymond II Trencavel, with detail
of the shield and horse caparison showing the "ravelles", Douët-d'Arcq no.760.
archives nationale de France, Paris.

means "veil, veil, banner", and the whole nickname means "ripper of the veils", which
correlates with the connection of the Trencavel to stories about the Holy Grail.

There are times when attempts at decipherment reach the point of heraldic
absurdity. Gerard de Sed, as proof that the ermine was always intended, argued that
since ermine is a fur symbolic of purity it is presented in the coat of arms as raia
mond "pure stripe", which is consonant with the name Raymond, and also alternates
with the roge (meaning red in Occitan) , consonant with the name Roger. [18] It seems
superfluous to explain why this version is bad, starting with the fact that the coat of
arms is generic, and not personal, and ending with the fact that the interpretation of
the symbolic colour of tinctures appeared only in the fifteenth century. Such versions,

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[18] Gerard de Sède, *Vues hérétiques sur l'héraldique, Le blason, son écriture, son symbolisme et sa
phonétique* (Paris,2003), pp.104-105.
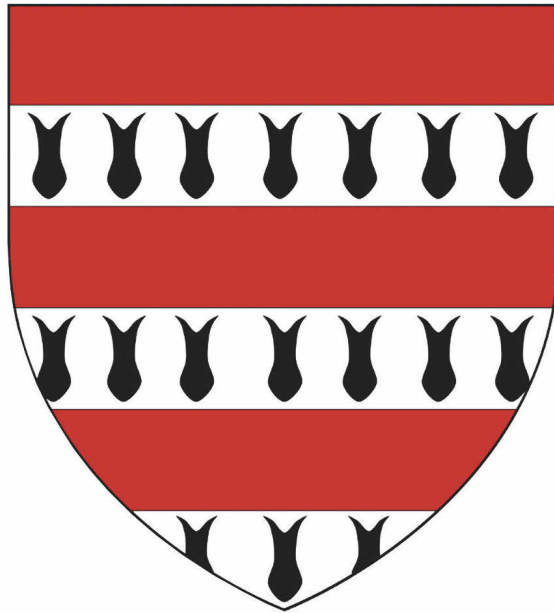
Figure 7: detail of the arms of Raymond II Trencavel in 1247 with an interpretation of his arms charged with ravelles. Douët-d'Arcq no.760. archives nationale de France, Paris. Shield: source, Wikimedia Commons.

put forward by amateur historians, are undoubtedly not devoid of their charm and find their followers, especially laying on the fertile soil of mysticism. Unfortunately such linguistic games with heraldic terms often leads us in a false direction. The principle of constructing a coat of arms based on the sound of a name in the early period of

heraldry had a somewhat different, rather literal descriptive character which could be read without hints and puzzles.

For the heraldry to have been in any way connected with the surname Trencavel it is necessary for us to examine how this was used by the family. For the historiography of the Middle Ages it is customary to utilise fixed surnames in order to avoid confusion, and this is often done in retrospect. Surnames as they are used today only began to appear in the twelfth century. They are associated with a whole series of social and cultural processes, part of which was the origin of the coat of arms, associated simultaneously with the name, the figure of the ancestor-founder and the land, the inheritance of which was the fundamental principle of genealogical memory.[19] The representatives of the Trencavel clan considered Béziers as the main land holding, calling themselves the Viscounts of Beziers (and not, as one might expect, of Albi) in the legends of all their seals and in most documents, but not everyone used the surname Trencavel.[20]

The first usage of the cognomen Trencavel was by Raymond Bernard (d.1078), Viscount of Albi. After him his grandson Raymond I was mentioned in 1142 as *Raymundus qui cognominor Trencavelli*.[21] Graham-Lee, the researcher of the feudal nobility of southern France, notes that subsequently this epithet was associated only with those descendants of the clan who bore the name Raymond, suggesting that it was in commemoration of the founder-ancestor, rather than a generic surname. She also draws attention to the fact that surnames among the Languedoc nobility were very rare, and most importantly, they always remained individual and were never inherited.[22] Nevertheless, every generation of viscounts had its own Raymond, and if he was not the eldest son and heir, he was still Seigneur Béziers (except perhaps Raymond, brother of Roger II). The next example cited by Graham-Lee also contradicts her own observation about the use of the surname exclusively by men with the names Raymond. Thus Ermerganda, daughter of Bernard Hato IV, was also named *Trencavella* in the letters of her son.[23] The last representative of the genus, Raymond II, used this nickname so intensively that it replaced his first name.[24] In all probability this way of identifying himself was part of the campaign to return his father's inheritance.

It thus appears that the surname Trencavel was strongly associated with by the Viscounts of Béziers, and was used in relation to this family, if not always by its representatives themselves, then by the rest of the Languedoc nobility, starting from its very appearance in the eleventh century. Only after the final loss of their Languedoc possessions did the descendants of Raymond II abandon the surname.[25] It is therefore concluded that to have had canting arms based on the name Trencavel is plausible.

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[19] R.Bloch. "Étymologie et généalogie: theories de la langue, liens de parenté et genre littéraire au XIII siècle" in *Annales, Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* vol.36 annee N 5, sept-oct. (1981), p. 950; G.Duby, "Structure de parenté et noblesse dans la France du Nord aux XI et XII siècles" in *Hommes et structures du Moyen Age*. (Paris, 1973), p. 283.

[20] Graham-Leigh, *o*p. cit., pp.145–146.

[21] *Ibid., p.*144.

[22] ibid

[23] ibid

[24] *Ibid.*,p. 145

[25] Alauzier, *o*p. cit., pp. 181-186.
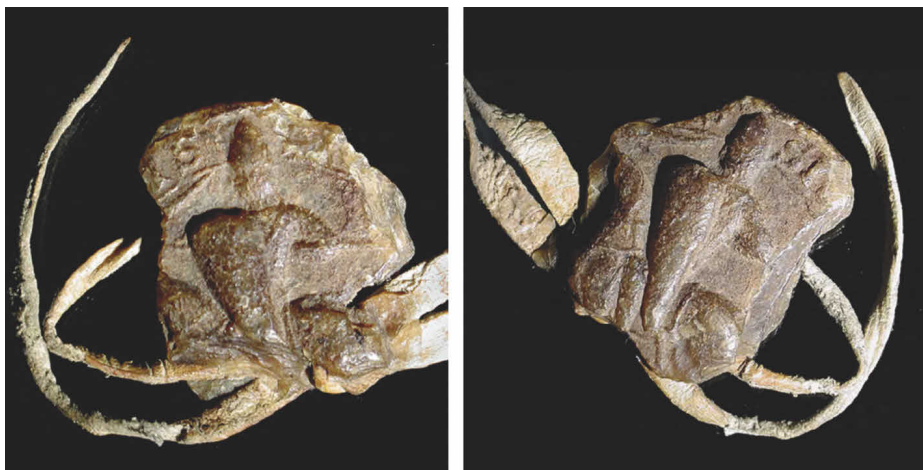
Figure 8: obverse and reverse of the seal of Viscount Roger II (d.1194) used in 1185. Archives départementales de la Haute-Garonne, H. Malte, Pézenas no.10.

Although seal usage by the nobility was already widespread in Languedoc by the middle of the twelfth century, when heraldry originated, the earliest known seal for a member of this family is that of Roger II, only recently discovered in an archives and dating to 1185. (**Figure 8**). [26]

A horseman is depicted on both sides of the seal, which is quite typical for the second half of the twelfth century. Roger is armed with a large kite shield, but the poor state of preservation of the seal impression does not allow us to say whether there are any heraldic designs on it. Notwithstanding, the surface of the shield does look flat enough to suggest that it might not yet have been heraldic. The next surviving seal of the Trencavel is the seal of Raymond Roger on a charter of 1202 making a grant to the Templar commandery at Pézenas (**Figure 9**). Once again a poor state of preservation, does not allow us to unambiguously interpret the presence of the coat of arms on the rider's shield, but the presence of a bar or fess seems clear, and perhaps there are markings upon it, but this might be perceived as being more with the eye of faith of the author. (**Figure 9**).

The earliest seal of Trencavel which unquestionably contains the coat of arms which has been the subject of this paper is that belonging to Raymond Trencavel, appended to a charter of 1211 (**Figure 10**). The surviving letters of the legend read "R .... AVEL"(reverse side) "+ S. RA .... EL"(obverse side), which together with the coat of arms gives the identity of the owner. This is also the first instance of the presence of the surname on a seal. The entry from the Douët d'Arcq catalogue states that the seal confirms the charter by which "R. Trencavel, son of R. Trencavel and his wife S. transfer to Simon de Montfort all his rights in the Viscounties of Béziers, Carcassonne,

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[26] Hélène Débax & Laurent Macé , "Deux sceaux inédits des Trencavel (1185 et 1202)", in *Annales du Midi: revue archéologique, historique et philologique de la France méridionale*, no. 116 (2004), p. 383.
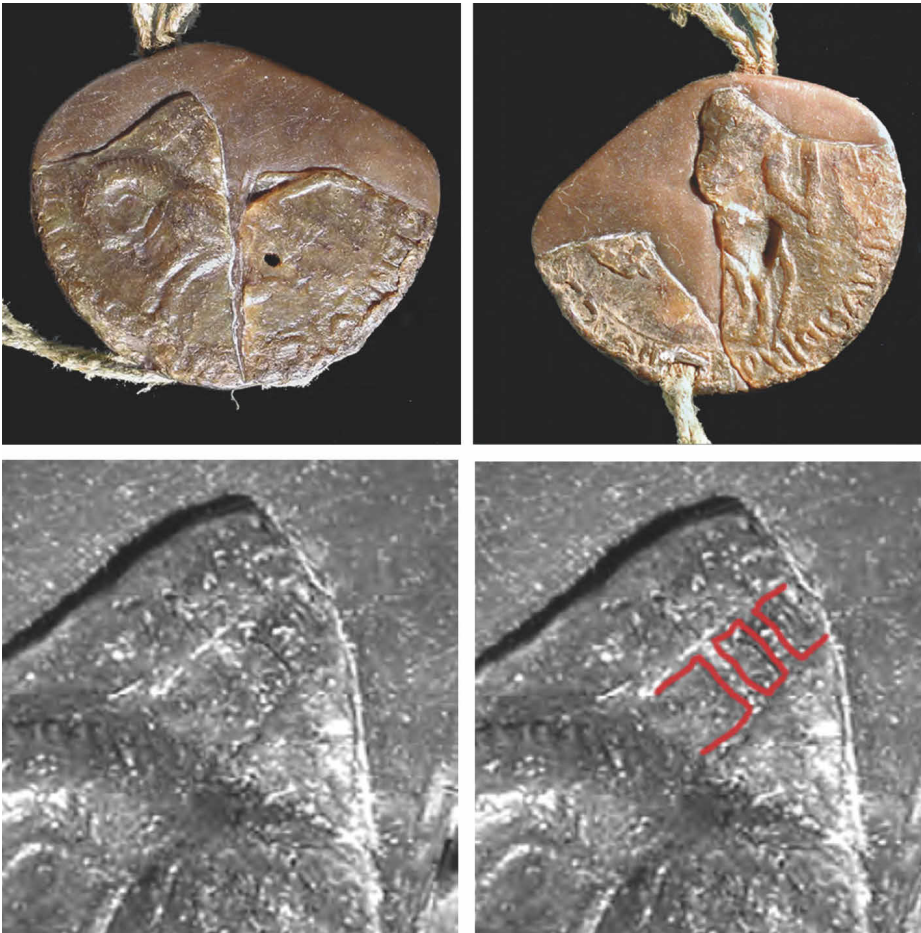
Figure 9: top: obverse and reverse of seal of Viscount Raymond Roger appended to a charter of 1202; below, author's suggested reconstruction of the markings on the bend or fess. Archives Départementales de la Haute Garonne, H. Malte, Pézenas no.19

Agde and Razes." [27] Spouse S. can only indicate Saura the second wife of Viscount Raymond (d.1167). The large gap in the legend between the name Raymond and the surname Trencavel indicates that the formula was Raymond …..son of … Trencavel. The mother of the then four year old Raymond II, was Agnes of Montpellier. This seal belonged not to Raymond II but to the boy's great uncle Raymond, son of an earlier Raymond Trencavel , and was the only surviving adult male member of the family at this time. It is impossible to know for how long before 1211 the great uncle Raymond had been using the seal.

[27] Douët-d'Arcq no. 759, vol.1, p. 384. The charter was signed on 9th July 1211 at Ripam Tarni and is not to be confused with a charter signed on behalf of Raymond II at Toulouse on 9th June 1211 from which no seal survives, see *Histoire General de Languedoc* (Paris, 1737) vol. 3 Preuves p. 232.

Figure 10: Obverse and reverse of 1211 seal of Raymond Trencavel, with detail of the two shields. Douët d'Arcq no. 759, 759b. archives nationale de France, Paris.

The few and poorly preserved seals of the previous generations of Trencavel are in complete contrast to the large number of impressions associated with Raymond II. During his reign Bézier's seal with his coat of arms and several personal seals were made. The image of his seals had a symbolic function in the long fight for his inheritance against the Montforts. We have seen a variety of ways in which the figures on the silver bars of the arms of Raymond II were crafted over his lifetime, the work of different craftsmen, some of them not necessarily well versed in the relatively new heraldic vocabulary, and relying on both previous images and their own imagination. While some examples clearly resemble ermine tails, others do not. An extreme example is the 1269 seal of Raymond's son Roger (**Figure 11**) and the abovementioned 1226

Figure 11: Seal and counter-seal of Roger de Béziers, son of Raymond II, with detail of the coat of arms on the counter-seal. Douët-d'Arcq no.762 archives nationale de France, Paris.

seal of the Béziers commune **(Figure 4)** on which the figures do not resemble ermine tails but rather some other object. Clinging to the idea that the arms are canting one might look for a heraldic figure or division that would be consonant to the family name and visually similar to the images on seals. And there is such term as tronçonné. So here we might add another hypothesis to the many theories concerning the figures on the Trencavel arms. Tronçonné is a rare heraldic term found in only a few sources, and exclusively applied to the de Trie family. It can be found in the Chifflet-Prinet Roll (CP / CPF, 1295–1298), in which "Monsieur Renaud de Trie carries the arms *Or a bend tronçonneé argent and azure"*, and in Walford's Roll.[28] The arms are described in like manner in the poem entitled "The Tournament at Chauvancy" by the troubadour Jacques Bretel, who gives an account of a tournament which took place at Chauvancy

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[28] "Walford's Roll" in *Aspilogia II: Rolls of Arms of Henry III,* ed. Hugh Stanford London (London, 1967), p. 194; Gerard Brault, Early Blazon 2nd ed. (Woodbridge, 1997), p. 284.
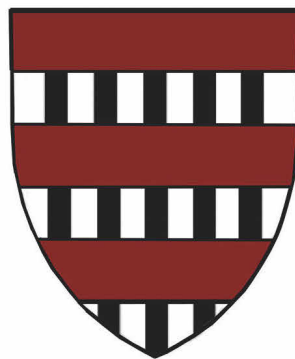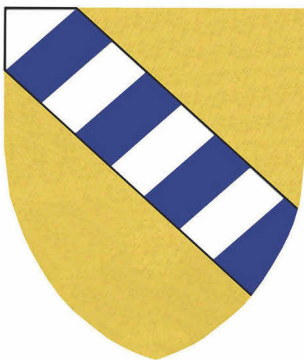
Figure 12: Top, 12a: Renaud de Trie jousts with Gerard de Loos at the Chauvency tournament of 1285, Bodl. Ms douce 308 f.120r. Source, Digital Bodleian CC-BY-NC 4.0 © Bodleian Libaries, University of Oxford. Bottom left, 12b: arms of Trie; bottom right, 12c: author's reconstruction of possible origins of the arms of Trencavel with reference to **Figures 4** and **9**.

in 1285, in which Renaud de Trie participated.[29] The illustration to the manuscript gives the idea of what it actually looked like (**Figure 12a**). The term itself is believed to be derived from the French verb trancher (to cut or sever) or the word tronc - old. French "Trunk, log, post" and in the heraldic sense preceded what is now termed gobony in English, being a vertical alternation of stripes. It is not difficult to notice some visual similarity between the Trie bend and the Trencavel bar (**Figure 12b**), and there is a phonetic consonance between tronçonneé and Trencavel, taking into account the due difference between the langue d'oc and the langue d'oil. Thus, it can be suggested that the difference in depictions of the arms of Trencavel could be the artists' interpretations of their idea of a tree trunc and that might justify the appearance of vertical bars, spruce-like figures and notorious ravels. However, as the term did not pass into the heraldic vocabulary it soon became forgotten. Later artists or craftsmen copied previous images in the manner they saw fit and so they became ermine tails.

In conclusion, I would like to cite another image of this coat of arms, which was discovered relatively recently. In 2014 Langlois was able to identify as Raymond II Trencavel a horseman from a wall image of the early fourteenth century from the wall of the castle of Alcañiz in Aragon (**Figure 13**).[30] The scene itself represents the capture of Valencia between 1232 and 1238. At this time the last Trencavel was in exile in Aragon. Langlois, on the basis of the surviving documents of the viscount's stay, was able to prove that he took part in the royal campaign to seize Valencia, retained a high position, despite the loss of all property privileges. This image, unfortunately, does not in any way confirm the hypotheses given in the article. But it does not refute them either. This is another visual embodiment of the coat of arms, which outlived its owners and having originated quite early in the story of heraldry, still arouses interest.

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[29] Jacques Bretel, "The Tournament at Chauvancy" verses 2218–2221, in Nigel Bryant (ed.), *The Tournaments at Le Hem and Chauvency* (Woodbridge, 2020); D.S. Staroskolskaya, "Heraldry of the Chauvancy Tournament", in *Proceedings of the State Hermitage Museum, vol. 99: Heraldry: research and practice: proceedings of a scientific conference dedicated to the memory of S.N. Troinitsky* (St Petersburg, 2020).

[30] Langlois*, op. cit.,* pp. 49–60.
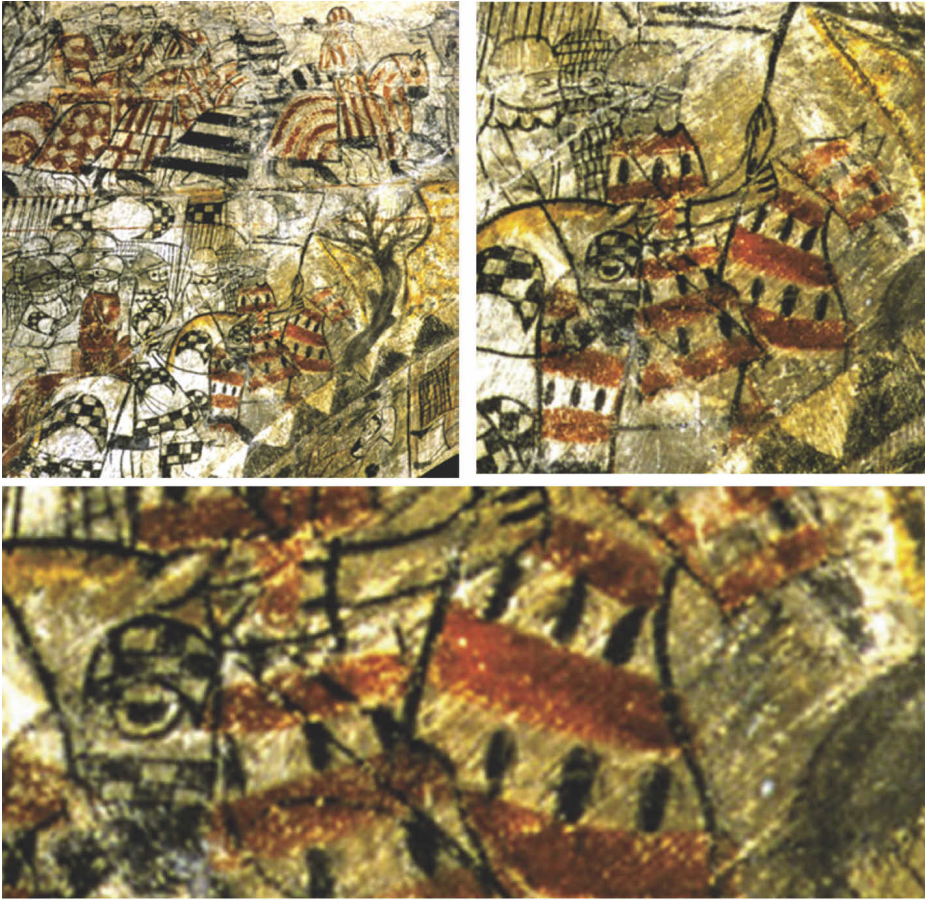
Figure 13: Raymond II Trencavel as part of the Aragonese army from the castle of Alcañiz, Photograph: Gerard Langlois.

HERALDRY IN J.R.R. TOLKIEN'S LEGENDARIUM

AGNIESZKA ŻUREK, B.A.

Abstract

J.R.R. Tolkien developed within a vast corpus of texts and pictures, not all of them published, a whole imaginary world of Middle-earth with its entire history, divided into four ages, its different races and cultures, and even its different languages. Heraldry served its own function within this complex system. Three contrasting heraldic systems can be discerned. That of the Third Age is analogous to the early phase of armoury medieval Europe, with certain important differences. In the Second Age there was a focus on creating attributed arms for the heroic period of the First Age. An original heraldic scheme for the First Age was developed by Tolkien in a series of drawings made in 1960, these being stylistically somewhat reminiscent of the Japanese mon. As a consequence of these different approaches, the heraldry of the First Age gives an appearance of being self-contradictory, partly due to the constant evolution of the author's ideas, partly to the little attention that Tolkien paid to heraldry. This paper details what can be deduced about how the author viewed heraldry, and how he made use of it as a foil to enhance his characterisations.

Historical and fantasy novels frequently mention coats of arms, sometimes even comprehensive heraldic systems. Their main function is mimetic: if the presented world imitates a historical time and place characterized by an expanded heraldic system, the author can transfer it (or, if it is a fantasy novel, creatively transpose it) in order to make his work more authentic. However, numerous authors introduce only isolated motifs (usually derived from various places and times) to evoke an impression of an undefined remoteness. The heraldic vocabulary, even when used improperly, serves as a signal evoking a chivalric age, its image modelled by popular culture that is attractive to the reader who does not wield a developed critical apparatus. We might say that it has an ornamental function[1]. Heraldry is by definition a system of conventionalized symbols, so it is also a perfect medium to indirectly convey information about the presented world. Consequently, there are numerous examples of allusive arms which can inform us about their bearers' character or life experience. This can apply both to individuals and to groups such as nations. It may also be considered as having a symbolic function which literary heraldry shares with imaginary heraldry.

No discussion of heraldry in fantasy literature can be complete without considering the works of J.R.R. Tolkien. There is extensive literature about Tolkien but little research

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[1] The definitions of mimetic and ornamental functions are partially inspired by the idea of two types of archaization defined by K.F. Rudolf in *Archaisation in Literary Translation as Nostalgic Pastiche* (Berlin, Bern, Brussels New York, Oxford, Warsaw, Vienna, 2019). In his typology, mimetic archaization implies a meticulous reproduction of all language features characteristic of a specific age, whereas solemnising archaization only suggests these features in order to produce an undefined impression of solemn oldness. Such differentiation can be applied not only to linguistic stylisation but also to any imitation of historical background.
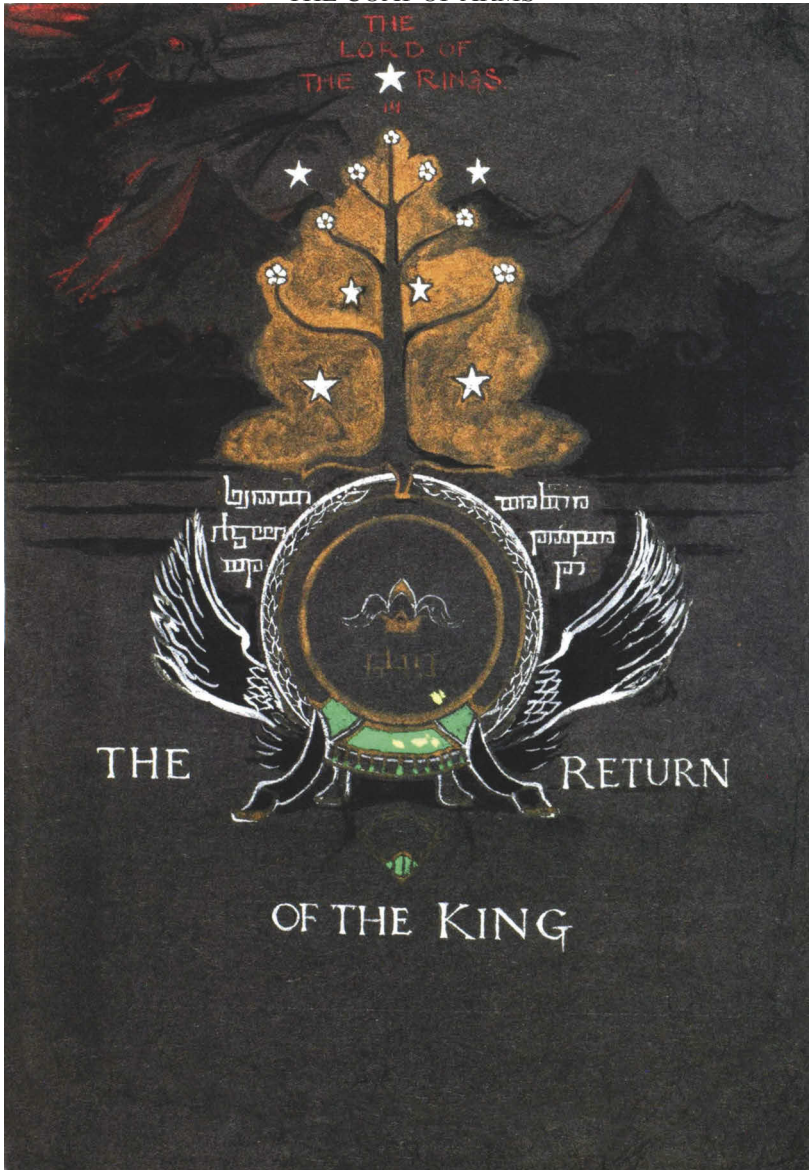
Figure 1: dust jacket design for *The Return of the King*. Oxford, Bodleian Libraries,
MS. Tolkien Drawings 90, fol. 30 © Tolkien Trust 1992, 1995.

has been devoted to the heraldry in his works. It does not even get a mention in the vast
majority of research on the role of medieval literature in Tolkien's, including important
works such as the *Road to Middle-earth*, *Tolkien the Medievalist* and *Tolkien's Modern
Middle-Ages*.[2] Some papers have been identified which contain valuable observations

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[2] T.A. Shippey, *The Road to Middle-earth* (Boston, 1983); *Tolkien the Medievalist*, ed. J. Chance (London,
New York, 2003); *Tolkien's Modern Middle-Ages*, ed. J. Chance and A. Siewers (New York, 2005).

and interpretations, but they cover only fragments of the legendarium.[3] Moreover, some of these date to a time before *The History of Middle-earth* was published, so the material they analyse is incomplete and their conclusions are often invalid.

The present article discusses the heraldic motives in all the texts and visual materials of the legendarium produced by Tolkien[4] himself, of which only a small part was published in print before his death. The corpus covers *The Hobbit*, *The Lord of the Rings*, *The Silmarillion*, *Unfinished Tales of Númenor and Middle-earth* and *The History of Middle-earth*, which is a textual base for *The Silmarillion*.[5]

Firstly, a problem of compatibility between the lexis used by Tolkien and heraldic terminology should be discussed. Tolkien never uses the term *coat of arms*, preferring the more general and non-specialist word *emblem* or alternatively the item that the arms are displayed on, typically a banner or a shield. Describing the shield, Tolkien uses *field* is but only rarely *charge*, replacing the latter with such words as *device*[6], *token*[7]*, emblem*[8] and *badge*[9]. The noun *blazon* serves as a synonym for *charge*[10] and the participle *unblazoned* for "a plain shield"[11]. Tolkien does not describe other elements of the achievement, except for the crest[12] (and even then the word signifies non-heraldic

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[3] Sam Long, 'Heraldry in *The Lord of the Rings',* in *Mallorn: The Journal of the Tolkien Society*, vol. 1 (1970), pp. 5–7; Margaret R. Purdy, 'Symbols of Immortality: A Comparison of European and Elvish Heraldry', in *Mythlore*, vol. 9 (1981), no. 1, pp. 19–36; Catalin Hriban, 'The Eye and the Tree. The Semantics of Middle-earth Heraldry', in *Hither Shore*, vol. 8 (2001), pp. 198–211; Jamie McGregor, 'Tolkien's Devices: The Heraldry of Middle-earth', in *Mythlore*, vol. 32 (2013), no. 1, pp. 95–111. The composition of the present article is partially (in the fragment concerning *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*) compatible with the composition of Hriban's and McGregor's works (the arms of the protagonists and antagonists are discussed separately) due to an apparent similarity between the arms within the groups. However, I analyse more extended primary material (none of the above four articles discusses heraldry in *The History of Middle-earth*, except for *The Fall of Gondolin* which is rather superficially discussed by Hriban); as a consequence I have reached entirely different conclusions.

[4] Tolkien used without initials in this paper means J.R.R. Tolkien.

[5] Both *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings* were repeatedly revised by the author, so the editions are slightly different, but these changes are irrelevant to the purposes of the present study. I assume the reader knows the plot of *The Hobbit*, *The Lord of the Ring* and, in general, *The Silmarillion* but will explain the detail about textual variants published in *The History of Middle-earth*.

[6] For example: "on his shield was the star on a blue field that was his device" (Tolkien, *The Shaping of Middle-earth* [= *The History of Middle-earth*, vol. 4], ed. Ch. Tolkien [London, 2002], p. 106).

[7] For example: "with gilded banners bearing his token of the Ship and the Silver Swan" (Tolkien, *The Return of the King* [London, 2011], p. 771).

[8] For example: "It bore a running horse, white upon green, that was the emblem of the House of Eorl" (Tolkien, *The Two Towers* [London, 2011], p. 522).

[9] For example: "As soon as Aragorn catches the sight of the city, and of the enemy, he hoists his standard (the White Crown with the stars of Sun and Moon on either hand: Elendil's badge)" (Tolkien, *The War of the Ring* [= *The History of Middle-earth*, vol. 8], ed. Ch. Tolkien [London, 2002], p. 399).

[10] For example: "Morgoth's shield was black without a blazon" (Tolkien, *The Shaping of Middle-earth*, p. 106).

[11] For example: "his vast shield, sable unblazoned" (Tolkien, *The Lost Road and Other Writings* [= *The History of Middle-earth*, vol. 5], ed. Ch. Tolkien, [London, 2002], p. 284).

[12] "his helm was adorned with a device of metals and jewels like to two swan-wings" (J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Book of the Lost Tales. Part Two* [= *The History of Middle-earth*, vol. 1], ed. Ch. Tolkien, [London, 2002], p. 164).

decorations of a helmet, especially a horsetail[13]). The tinctures are usually referred to by common English names. Only *sable*[14] is used more frequently than its common synonym *black*; *argent*[15] and *azure*[16] are occasional, while there are no instances of *or*, *gules* and *vert*. *Sable*, *argent* and *azure* are sometimes placed outside the context of heraldic terminology.[17] Tolkien used the words *white* and *argent* interchangeably in the single instance of the banner of the Stewards of Gondor.[18]

The Hobbit, which is the first published novel of the legendarium, contains some quasi-heraldic information about the colours of the banners of the Five Armies: green for the Silvan Elves, blue for the Lake-men[19], red and black for the wolves and goblins.[20] The symbolism of tinctures is here maximally simplified, as banners metonymically define the particular troops. The colour green suggests the forest of Mirkwood, blue – the Long Lake, while red and black – a bloodthirsty army of the enemy.[21] No more complicated elements are introduced, probably because *The Hobbit* is dedicated to young readers.

The most consistent heraldic system can be found in *The Lord of the Rings*, though even here only a small number of arms are described. Arms are supplied for three of the protagonist states: Gondor (*Sable a tree argent*[22]), Rohan (*Vert a horse argent*) and Dol Amroth (*Azure, a ship with a swan-prow argent*). All three charges refer to the beginnings of the countries or their founding myths. The White Tree of Gondor represents the tree in the courtyard of Minas Tirith which is a symbol of continuity between Gondor and Númenor, where the seed came from. By taking care of the White Tree, the kings of Gondor legitimized the power of their own dynasty, as their remote ancestor was Elros, the first king of Númenor, who received the tree Nimloth from the Elves of Eressëa.

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[13] For example: "Then one rode forward, a tall man, taller than all the rest; from his helm as a crest a white horsetail flowed" (Tolkien, *The Two Towers*, p. 432).

[14] For example: "a white tree flowered upon a sable field" (Tolkien, *The Return of the King*, p. 953), "his mighty shield/ a vast unblazoned sable field" (Tolkien, *The Lays of Beleriand* [=*The History of Middle-earth*, vol. 3], ed. Ch. Tolkien, [London, 2002], p. 248).

[15] "the standard of the Stewards, bright argent like snow in the sun, bearing no charge nor device" (Tolkien, *The Return of the King*, p. 965–6).

[16] "a golden swallow that winged through an azure field" (Tolkien, *The Shaping of Middle-earth*, p. 7).

[17] For example: "Until the twinkle of the early stars/ Is tangled palely in their sable bars" (Tolkien, *The Book of the Lost Tales. Part Two*, p. 33); "Stands gazing out across an azure sea/ Under an azure sky" (Tolkien, *The Book of the Lost Tales. Part Two*, p. 136); "white were its timbers as the argent moon" (Tolkien, *The Shaping of Middle-earth*, p. 149).

[18] "white banners broke and fluttered from the battlements" (Tolkien, *The Return of the King*, p. 751); "the standard of the Stewards, bright argent like snow in the sun, bearing no charge nor device" (ibidem, p. 966). A noteworthy detail is that *charge* and *device* are listed as separate items. I use the label "arms" (with quotation marks) to name the quasi-heraldic emblems of the First and Second Age of Middle-earth. The reasons will be explained in detail in the further part of the article; here should be only mentioned that these "arms" violate many rules of heraldry.

[19] Tolkien, *The Hobbit*, (London, 2011), p. 240.

[20] Ibidem, p. 257.

[21] Hriban, 'The Eye and the Tree', pp. 202–3.

[22] A dust jacket design for *The Return of the King* (reproduced in Catherine McIlwaine, *Tolkien. Maker of Middle-earth*, [Oxford, 2018], p. 374) provides some information about the graphic form of the tree. Nevertheless, it should be highlighted that the design does not present the actual arms but a symbolic representation of crucial elements of the plot, especially the titular "return of the king".

That act symbolically sanctioned the continuity between the High Elves' tradition and the Númenoreans (Nimloth descended from Galathilion, the tree created as an imitation of Telperion which served as a symbol of all High Elves – see the discussion below). The charge manifests the Gondorians' belief that they are High Men, in contrast with the other peoples of Middle-earth whom they classify as Men of the Twilight and Men of Darkness[23] and thus symbolically legitimize Gondor's position as the leader of all the people of Middle-earth (**Figure 1**). It represents the tradition that passed from Elves to Men as well as the central conflict, as in legendarium the trees are strictly associated with light[24] and contrasted with the darkness of the Enemy's domain.[25]

The primacy of Argent

The tinctures in Gondor's arms complete the symbolism of the charge: argent on sable represents the light triumphing over darkness. It is even more expressive for the arms of the kings. It is the only example of a difference between the arms of the ruler and the country and can be interpreted as evidence of an extraordinary status of the kings of Gondor (along with a plain argent banner of the Stewards which expresses the hope of the return of the king) and a more developed chivalric culture. The royal arms include two additional elements: a crown and seven five-pointed stars. The index for *The Lord of the Rings* claims that stars represent the seven palantíri which Elendil brought to Middle-earth from the ruin of Númenor.[26]

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[23] Tolkien, *The Two Towers*, pp. 678–9.

[24] The tree motif is very popular in Tolkien's fiction, even in short stories outside the legendarium. In *Smith of Wooton Major* the King's Tree is the centre of Faery: "he saw the King's Tree springing up, tower upon tower, into the sky, and its light was like the sun at noon; and it bore at once leaves and flowers and fruits uncounted, and not one was the same as any other that grew on the Tree" (J.R.R. Tolkien, *Smith of Wottoon Major*, ed. V. Flieger, [London, 2005], p. 28). *Leaf by Niggle*, a short story that is recognized as substantially autobiographical, depicts the Tree as a symbol of beauty which the artist's ultimate purpose, a reflection of the divine light. In the legendarium Silver Tree and Golden Tree produce light and their destruction signifies the end of the golden age. A fruit of the Golden Tree and a flower of the Silver Tree became, respectively, Sun and Moon. Therefore the White Tree of Gondor, though it does not emit light, constitutes its symbol. A detailed analysis of the symbolics of trees in Tolkien's work requires a separate study, so I purposefully omit the issue of the tree as a symbol of life (or *axis mundi*) as it only has indirect influence on the issue of tree in the heraldry of the legendarium.

[25] Darkness and lack of vegetation (or its fading) are the dominant features of Mordor and other lands conquered by the Enemy. See for example: "Even to the Mere of Dead Faces some haggard phantom of green spring would come; but here neither spring nor summer would ever come again. Here nothing lived, not even the leprous growths that feed on rottenness" (Tolkien, *The Two Towers*, p. 631); "Ashes and dust and thirsty dune/ withered and dry beneath the moon,/ under the cold shifting air/ sifting and sighing, bleak and bare;/ of blistered stones and gasping sand,/ of splintered bones was built that land" (Tolkien, *The Lays of Beleriand*, p. 280). Consequently, every charge of a floral ornament should be recognized as a declaration of resistance against the Enemy's power.

[26] Such interpretation, as it was proposed by the author himself, should be recognized as the dominant one but it does not exclude another possibility: the seven stars may represent the constellation of Valacirca (which is the analogy of Ursa Major).

Figure 2: a modern take on the arms of the kingdom of Gondor.
Source, Wikimedia Commons

[they] originally represented the single stars on the banners of each of seven ships (of nine) that bore a palantír; in Gondor the seven stars were set about a white-flowered tree, over which the Kings set a winged crown].[27]

In the first draft of *The Return of the King*, the royal arms included the symbols of a sun and moon instead of seven stars. Except for an obvious symbolism of light, they are also figurative emblems for Elendil's sons, as the names of Isildur and Anárion mean, respectively, "Servant of the Moon" and "Son of the Sun".[28] Identical symbolism

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[27] Tolkien, *The Return of the King*, p. 1152.

[28] Tolkien claimed the names of Isildur and Anárion are "heraldic", as well as the names of the cities they founded: Minas Ithil ("Tower of the Moon") and Minas Anor ("Tower of the Sun"), *Guide to the Names in the Lord of the Rings,* in *A Tolkien Compass,* ed. J. Lobdell [La Salle, Illinois 1975], pp. 153–201 (192). It can be interpreted as follows: these names, just like arms, constitute symbols. Their sequence is of particular significance, as the name of the first-born is derived from the Moon and the name of the second-born from the Sun. In the legendarium the Moon is older than the Sun. The Sun is strictly associated with Men and the Moon

occurs in the engraving on the blade of Andúril: "a device of seven stars set between the crescent Moon and the rayed Sun"[29] which heralds Aragorn's reign over Arnor and Gondor as the heir of both Isildur and Anárion.[30]

The tincture argent represents white flowers and undersides of leaves of the White Tree. Silver has an exalted status in the legendarium. Pastoureau's research on imaginary heraldry demonstrates argent carries no negative connotations.[31] *Or*, on the other hand, can symbolise both pride and treason.[32] The virtues of silver perhaps derive from Biblical exegesis, in which the colour has been associated with faith, spiritual rebirth, chastity and virginity.[33] In Tolkien's notes the contrast between the complete positivity of silver and the dubious virtue of gold (often associated with moral degeneracy) is given a cosmological significance: the author explains that at the very beginning of the world matter was marred but not equally:

> Morgoth's power was disseminated throughout Gold, if nowhere absolute (for he did not create Gold) it was nowhere absent . . . It is quite possible, of course, that certain 'elements' or conditions of matter had attracted Morgoth's special attention (mainly, unless in the remote past, for reasons of his own plans). For example, all gold (in Middle-earth) seems to have had a specially 'evil' trend - but not silver.[34]

It is not a coincidence that all three principal charges of the protagonists in *The Lord of the Rings* are of argent tincture. Conversely, an association of *Or* and *sable* has connotations of pride and submitting to evil forces, which can be demonstrated in the description of Númenorean banners during their assault on Valinor: "their banners were golden and black"[35]; "[the King's ship was] golden and sable"[36]. Another example is the arms of the House of the Harp of Gondolin which will be discussed in detail below:

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with Elves: "the Sun was set as a sign for the awakening of Men and the waning of the Elves, but the Moon cherishes their memory" (Tolkien, *The Silmarillion* [London, 2013], p. 110). The names of Isildur and Anárion tell the story of the Moon and Sun and the story of Elves and Men. S.B. Straubhaar ('Gondor', in *J.R.R. Tolkien Encyclopedia*, ed. Michael Drout, New York, London [2007], pp. 248–249) points out that Osgiliath can be recognized as another "heraldic" city as it refers to the name of Elendil (which means "Lover of Stars" in Quenya while Osgiliath means "Citadel of Stars" in Sindarin) and to stars which are older and more important than Sun and Moon.

[29] Tolkien, *The Fellowship of the Ring* (London, 2011), p. 276.

[30] Hriban ('The Eye and the Tree', p. 205) notes that reforging of the blade is a symbolic representation of "reforging", i.e. reuniting the kingdoms of Arnor and Gondor.

[31] Michael Pastoureau, 'Figures et couleurs péjoratives en héraldique médiévale', in *XV Congreso Internacional de las Ciencias Genealogica Y Heraldica [Comunicaciones al], Madrid, 19–25 septembre 1982*, (Madrid, 1983), vol. 3, pp. 293–309 (297).

[32] Ibidem, p. 298.

[33] Rudolf Suntrup, "Agenteus, argentum - silbern, silberweiß, Silber", in: idem, *Lexikon der Farbenbedeutungen im Mittelalter* (Köln, 2011), pp. 83–116.

[34] Tolkien, *Morgoth's Ring*, p. 400.

[35] Tolkien, *The Silmarillion*, p. 332.

[36] Ibidem, p. 333. An early variant of the text provides different tinctures: "red as the dying sun in a great storm and as black as the night that cometh after" (Tolkien, *Sauron Defeated* [= The History of Middle-earth, vol. 9], red. Ch. Tolkien [London, 2002], p. 385). Violence and domination occupy a special position within the symbolism of red; the tinctures strongly correlate with Ar-Pharazôn's plan to conquer Immortal Lands.

> Behind them came the host of the Harp, and this was a battalion of brave warriors; but their leader Salgant was a craven, and he fawned upon Meglin. They were dight with tassels of silver and tassels of gold, and a harp of silver shone in their blazonry upon a field of black; but Salgant bore one of gold.[37]

While the "brave warriors" use the argent tincture, their cowardly leader prefers Or, which is an allusion to his conceit and moral corruption. His exposition of a golden charge suggests Salgant wanted to seem royal (in medieval English sources or occurs in 80–90% of earls' arms but in only 45–60% of knights' arms[38]) and he was punished for that: he became a buffoon, a king's parody.

The colour argent in Elendil's charge serves as a manifesto of his opposition against the pride of the kings of Númenor and the return of the symbolism of light which is expressed also in Elendil's name[39]. The royal arms in both forms (the earlier one, with Sun and Moon, and the later one, with seven stars) constitutes a complex symbol that evokes the beginnings of Gondor. It tells the story of Elendil and his sons (whose names are symbolized by the Moon and Sun), their return to Middle-earth with symbols of hope and renewing (White Tree and the palantíri) and their combat with Sauron (sable field and the winged-crown in the shape of a helmet).

Jamie McGregor suggests a different interpretation of the sable field:

> Mere blackness in itself, then, is not evil; only the context makes it so. Likewise, in heraldic practice, the Enemy does not enjoy a monopoly on the use of black—although, as Aragorn notes, "he does not use white" (III.1.416), so that the clean and elegant contrast of the white tree on black differs substantially in its effect from the unrelieved darkness associated with Mordor, its armies and its denizens. . . . Indeed this difference recalls Tom Bombadil's memories of "the dark under the stars when it was fearless—before the Dark Lord came from Outside" . . . The implications are of a primordial darkness immanent with mystery, profoundly awe-inspiring, and untainted by the shadow of evil.[40]

Nevertheless, the argument about the "primordial darkness" cannot be applied to the symbolism of heraldic tinctures. The fragment McGregor quotes corresponds with some early texts of the legendarium which confirms that before Melkor destroyed the original harmony of Arda, the darkness had no connotation with evil: "luring and restlessness and horror they brought, turning the dark into an ill and fearful thing, which it was not before".[41] However, those times belong to a very remote past, when the Earth was unpeopled and only the most educated knew the glimpse of them from legends.[42]

However, the text also suggests an alternative interpretation, contrary to the King's intention: the image of stormy twilight and the upcoming night suggests the fate of the King's army and Númenor itself.

[37] Tolkien, *The Book of the Lost Tales. Part Two*, p. 173.

[38] Thorsten Huthwelker, *Die Darstellung des Rangs in Wappen und Wappenrollen des späten Mittelalters* (Stuttgart, 2013), p. 54.

[39] The name Elendil is translated in two ways: "Elf-friend" or "Star-lover" (Tolkien, *The Return of the King*, p. 1152). Silver has connotations with both of these meanings (an association between the Elves and silver, their beloved metal, is strongly established in the legendarium).

[40] McGregor, 'Tolkien's Devices', pp. 99–100.

[41] Tolkien, *The Book of the Lost Tales. Part One*, p. 99.

[42] Surprisingly, McGregor did not invoke the most convincing argument for his thesis. In the incomplete story *Tar-Elmar* the Númenoreans come to Middle-earth on black ships with black sails and raise an enormous panic. Having been asked about the black colour, they answer: "The black sails are to us a sign of honour, for

Moreover, the blackness of Mordor is not unrelieved but contrasted with the charge of the Red Eye (see the discussion about the arms of the antagonists below). The main plot within the legendarium is the fight of light and darkness: the Valar create the vessels of light (the stars, Two Lanterns, Two Trees and finally Moon and Sun) and Morgoth destroys them or at least attempts to do it. The symbolism of light in Tolkien's works is too complex to discuss in detail; here should only be mentioned that blackness, defined as the lack of colour, symbolizes not only darkness but also void (see the discussion about Morgoth's arms below).

Third Age kingdoms

Although it is not explicitly stated in any text, it could be assumed that the White Tree was on the arms of the kingdoms of both Gondor (**Figure 2**) and Arnor. There are three clues: the winged crown and seven stars allude to Elendil, the ruler of both kingdoms and ancestor of both dynasties; seven stars signify the seven palantíri before they were divided between two kingdoms; finally, in Elendil's intention the supreme authority above the kingdoms was supposed to be held by Isildur's heirs. There is only one textual fact that testifies against the hypothesis: the winged crown of the monarchy is named "The Crown of Gondor" and the kings of Arnor used the jewel Elendilmir as their insignia. However, it might be assumed that the dividing of the insignia between the two dynasties was formally performed after the elder dynasty lost their authority over Gondor. The label "Star of the North Kingdom" always evokes the actual jewel
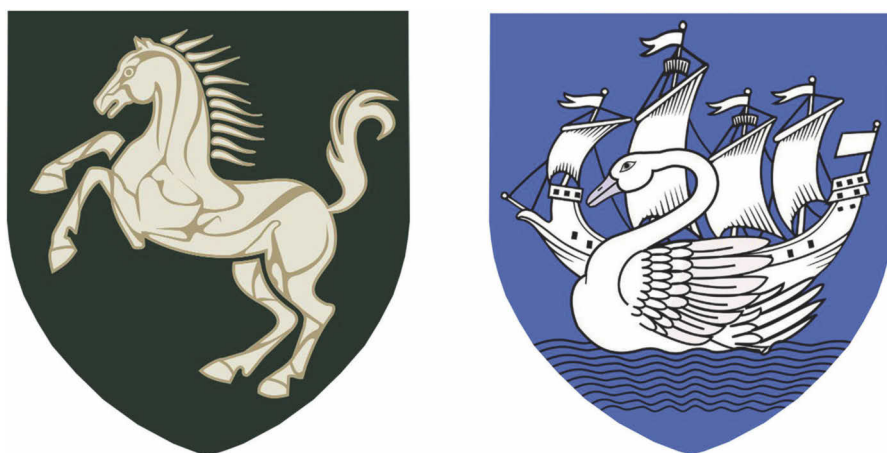
Figure 3, left 3a, a modern take on the arms of Rohan; right, 3b, a modern take on the arms of Dol Amroth. Source, Wikimedia Commons.

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they are the fair night before the coming of the Enemy, and upon the black are set the silver stars of Elbereth" (Tolkien, *The Peoples of Middle-earth* [=*The History of Middle-earth*, vol. 12], ed. Ch. Tolkien [London, 2002], p. 436–437). However, in *Tar-Elmar* the Númenoreans are not morally blameless, they treat all people of Middle-earth as barbarians who do not deserve for fundamental rights: "Here the men of the West have resolved to make their homes, and the folk of the dark must depart – or be slain" (ibidem, p 437), so the black colour may be interpreted as a signal of their corruption.

Elendilmir and not an abstract image that might have been placed on a hypothetical arms.

The White Horse of Rohan (**Figure 3a**) also harks back to the beginnings of the country. It recalls the name of the Rohirrim: "Masters of Horses".[43] The charge may also represent Felaróf (the steed of Eorl) and indirectly, the Battle of the Fields of Celebrant, which was a founding action for the country of Rohan and its royal dynasty. These are the only arms in the legendarium for which an extratextual motivation must be considered as distinct from the inner logic of the presented world. There is a clear parallel between the Rohirrim and the Anglo-Saxons in terms of their language[44], poetry[45] and some elements of material culture[46]. The readers can associate the White Horse of Rohan with the Horse of Uffington[47], especially because of its colours (the

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[43] Tolkien, *The Return of the King*, p. 1185.

[44] *Lord of the Rings* uses the technique of a lost manuscript; the Prologue and Appendixes claim that the novel is in fact *Red Book of Westmarch* written by Frodo and translated into English by Tolkien. Appendix F claims that Common Speech was translated as English and the model for language of Rohirrim was Old English: "The Mannish languages that were related to the Westron should, it seemed to me, be turned into forms related to English. The language of Rohan I have accordingly made to resemble ancient English, since it was related both (more distantly) to the Common Speech, and (very closely) to the former tongue" (Tolkien, *The Return of the King*, p. 1136). It is very significant that Tolkien used here a vague expression "ancient English" rather than "Old English" which would indicate a specific period in the diachrony of the English language. As Tolkien was a professional linguist, such a choice could not be accidental; probably he intended to obscure an association between the Rohirrim and Anglo-Saxons. This might be confirmed by an author's note: "This linguistic procedure does not imply that the Rohirrim closely resembled the ancient English otherwise, in culture or art, in weapons or modes of warfare, except in a general way due to their circumstances: a simpler and more primitive people living in contact with a higher and more venerable culture, and occupying lands that had once been part of its domain" (ibidem, p. 1136). Nevertheless, Ch. Tolkien perceives that statement as illegitimate: "My father asserted that he had represented the tongue of the Rohirrim as Old English because their real language stood in a relation to the Common Speech somewhat analogous to that of Old English and Modern English. This is perhaps difficult to accept: one may feel that the impulse that produced the Riders of Rohan and the Golden Hall was more profound, and that my father's statement should be viewed as an aspect of the fiction of authenticity - for the idea of 'translation' had a further fictional dimension in its presentation as a conception established from the outset" (Tolkien, *The Peoples of Middle-earth*, p. 71). The issue was exhaustively researched by T.A. Shippey (*J.R.R. Tolkien – Author of a Century* [Boston, New York, 2002]) and Thomas Honegger ('The Rohirrim 'Anglo-Saxons on Horseback'? An Inquiry into Tolkien's Use of Sources', in *Tolkien and Study of his Sources: Critical Essays*, ed. J. Fisher [Jefferson, North Carolina, London, 2011], pp. 116–132).

[45] The Rohirrim poetry and the Old English is similar in terms of its form (alliterations, metre) and its elegiac characteristics, a profound impression of passing away, fading and lamentation for the lost splendour of the fathers (Shippey, *J.R.R. Tolkien – Author of a Century*, p. 124). The poem *Where is the horse and the rider* is a paraphrase of a fragment of the Old English poem *The Wanderer* and *Arise, arise, riders of Theoden* is an adaptation of *The Finnsburg Fragment* (ibidem, p. 124).

[46] A probable model for the Golden Hall in Meduseld is Heorot as it was described in *Beowulf* (Shippey, *J.R.R. Tolkien – Author of a Century*, p. 121–122). The tombs of the kings of Rohan in Edoras might be recognized as a reflection of the tombs discovered in 1939 in Sutton Hoo (Deborah Sabo, 'Archaeology and the Sense of History in J.R.R. Tolkien's Middle-earth', in *Mythlore*, 26.1, no. 2 [2007], pp. 91–112).

[47] T.A. Shippey, *J.R.R. Tolkien – Author of a Century*, p. 92. That guess was confirmed by Ch. Tolkien, who mentioned his father's admiration for Uffington Hill (John Garth, *The Worlds of J.R.R. Tolkien. The Places*

geoglyph is graved in the chalky ground and surrounded by grass; from above it seems white on green). Until the twentieth century it was commonly believed that the Horse of Uffington was made by order of the kings of Wessex and, specifically, that Alfred the Great commanded its creation to commemorate the battle of Ethnadun.[48] The poem by G.K. Chesterton *The Ballad of the White Horse* (which Tolkien knew and was probably partially inspired by[49]) depicts it as a symbol of England and its capacity for rebirth despite numerous invasions. *Gules, a horse rampant argent* is the arms of Lower Saxony[50] and the county of Kent. The imaginary heraldry relates it to the medieval kingdom of Kent[51]; the brother of the legendary founder of Kent, Hengest, was named Horsa.

The charge of the swan-prow ship of Dol Amroth (**Figure 3b**) ought to be explained by its bearers' ancestry. The princes of Dol Amroth were descendants of Imrazôr the Númenorean and his wife Mithrellas, an elfin from Lórien, so the ship may represent Vingilot, the vessel of Eärendil (the ancestor of the royal dynasty of Númenor) or the swan-boats of Lórien. These explanations are not contradictory, as ultimately both of them allude to the swan-ships of the elven tribes of the Teleri who were ancestral to the rulers of Lórien, Celeborn and Galadriel, and of the royal dynasty of Númenor (via Elwing, Eärendil's wife). Such ships were described in *The Silmarillion*: "For that was their city, and the haven of their ships; and those were made in the likeness of swans, with beaks of gold and eyes of gold and jet"[52] and a similar vessel was painted by Tolkien on a watercolour from 1928 **(Figure 4)**.[53] A swan in Tolkien's works does not bear the ambiguity characteristic of

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that Inspired Middle-earth, [London, 2020], p. 145). Garth notices also that the White Horse was believed to be the emblem of Anglo-Saxons during their invasion of Britain (ibidem).

[48] See William Plenderleath, *The White Horses of the West England*, (London, 1892). He quotes numerous historical research and literary pieces, including folk ballads that associate the Uffington Horse with Alfred the Great.

[49] Christopher Clausen, "The Lord of the Rings" and "The Ballad of the White Horse", *South Atlantic Bulletin*, 39.2 (1974), pp. 10–16. Clausen indicates numerous structural parallels between *The Lord of the Rings* and *The Ballad of the White Horse*, including a cosmic battle of the alliance of "good" races against the outnumbering forces of evil and restoration of the rightful king to the throne. Joseph Pearce (*J.R.R. Tolkien. Man and Myth: A Literary Life*, [London 1998]) considers Clausen's statements overegged but he admits *The Ballad* contributed to Tolkien's imaginary landscape. In a letter to his son Christopher (*The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien,* [London, 1995], p. 104) Tolkien wrote that he read *The Ballad of the White Horse* in his youth and was profoundly impressed but years later he noticed the poem is glittering but superficial. The letter was written in 1944 when Tolkien worked intensively on *The Lord of the Rings*, so it does not deny the influence coming from the time he was fascinated with Chesterton's vision.

[50] Fifteenth-century heraldic legend has it that the original charge of the Saxons was a black horse; the tincture was changed into white when prince Widukind converted to Christianity. For a detailed discussion over the charge of Saxons see Christian Weyers, 'Das Sachsenroß: Biographie eines Hoheitszeichens', *Archiv für Diplomatik*, 54 (2008), pp. 99–146.

[51] Stephen Friar, *Basic Heraldry*, (New York, London, 1993).

[52] Tolkien, *The Silmarillion,* p. 62.

[53] See reproduction in McIlwaine, op. cit., p. 221. It is a sailing ship with a swan-prow and swan-sides. There is a nine-rayed golden sun on the sail, the banner is red, and if there is any charge, it is illegible. The charge of a nine-rayed sun is not attributed to any person, family or country in the legendarium. Alternatively, it may indicate the "arms" of Finwë as it was designed about thirty years later (see the detailed discussion below).

Figure 4: swan vessel, Halls of Manwe. Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS. Tolkien Drawings 89, fol. 13 © Tolkien Trust 1973.

medieval bestiaries where it symbolizes not only love and music, but also pride and hypocrisy.[54] The swan as an element of courtly culture[55] particularly correlates with the characteristics of Dol Amroth. In many countries only noblemen had the privilege to own swans or to hunt them, so an association between these birds and high social classes has been forged[56]; in England since the thirteenth century all wild swans have been recognized as the king's possession.[57] Tolkien alluded to that tradition in a letter to Pauline Baynes: "[swans] were creatures who looked for the return of their rightful Lord, the true King".[58] People of Dol Amroth are claimed to be superior to all other citizens of Gondor[59] due to their pure Númenorean ancestry and to the elven blood in their rulers' veins. Consequently, the charge of the swan can be recognized as an indicator of the high court culture of the country.

All three arms (of Gondor, Rohan and Dol Amroth) serve a dual function: they refer to the founding myths of the countries, and they legitimize the power of their rulers. All of which places Tolkien's heraldry in the realm of imaginary heraldry rather than in the real world, with armorial charges that recall specific elements of the history of the country or family. The dynasties and their countries are represented by identical coats of arms. The only existing variation is the royal arms of Gondor which bore an augmentation of the national arms with the addition of a crown and seven stars. It seems almost certain that members of the dynasty, with the exception of the king, did not use the royal arms, but rather the arms of Gondor without augmentation; there is no sequence of abatements such as in English heraldry.

The charge of Finwë has sixteen rays; moreover, the emblems of the Noldor should not be exposed on a ship of the Teleri (especially on the time in the presented world the watercolour refers to: based on the Sun and Moon depicted concurrently on the sky it can be precisely determined as the first year of the Sun, only few years after the kinslaying in Alqualondë).

[54] Michel Pastoureau, *Bestiaires du Moyen-Âge*, (Paris, 2011), pp. 153–5.

[55] Chivalric romances tell of ladies and knights being transformed into swans or sailing in swan-drawn boats. In heraldic legend, the Swan Knight was the ancestor of families bearing the swan as charge or crest, for example Beauchamp; this ancestry was attributed to Godfrey de Bouillon (Anthony Wagner, 'The Swan Badge and the Swan Knight', *Archaelogia*, vol. 97 [1959], pp. 127–138).

[56] Andreas Deutsch, 'Das Tier in der Rechtsgeschichte – eine Gesamtschau', in *Das Tier in der Rechtsgeschichte*, eds. A. Deutsch and P. König (Heidelberg, 2017), pp. 11–102.

[57] Andreas Deutsch, 'Von Schwanereien und Schwaneneiern. Rechtshistorische Notizen zum Schwan', in *Festschrift für Gernot Kocher zum 75. Geburtstag : „....ich rief dich bei deinem Namen und gab dir Ehrennamen"*, edd. G. Kocher and B. Holcman (Maribor, 2017), pp. 87–122.

[58] Tolkien, *The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien*, p. 339.

[59] See for example: "And last and proudest, Imrahil, Prince of Dol Amroth, kinsman of the Lord, with gilded banners bearing his token of the Ship and the Silver Swan, and a company of knights in full harness riding grey horses; and behind them seven hundreds of men at arms, tall as lords, grey-eyed, dark-haired, singing as they came" (Tolkien, *The Return of the King*, p. 771); "and with him went the Prince of Dol Amroth in his shining mail. For he and his knights still held themselves like lords in whom the race of Númenor ran true" (ibidem, p. 824). There is a discussion among the readers if "full harness" means plate armour which could mark a differentiation between the Men of Dol Amroth and other people of Gondor who bear only mail. The time it suggests as the source of inspiration, when plate armour was widespread, is later than the time indicated by the culture of Gondor, excluding Dol Amroth. The discussion is summarized (though not solved) by Thomas Honegger 'Riders, Chivalry and Knighthood in Tolkien', *Journal of Tolkien Research*, 4, no. 2 (2017).

It should be considered why the number of arms in *The Lord of the Rings* is so small. The narration does not validate the hypothesis that other families and provinces had their own arms which were not described in the plot. The existing arms are strongly exposed, especially on the banners (for example, the banner of Dol Amroth is mentioned seven times and the charge of the Silver Swan six times). Of eight divisions of troops from Gondor's provinces described approaching Minas Tirith only one (of Dol Amroth) has its own banner. In the battle of the Black Gate of Mordor the entire army of Gondor and its allies has only three banners, although the soldiers differ in terms of their ethnicity, warfare and armaments. The army of Rohan (6000 men) in the battle of the Pelennor Fields has but one standard; Éomer, the king's nephew, does not use his own banner, even when he undertakes an independent military campaign. When Aragorn and his friends meet Éomer for the first time, the narration provides a detailed description of horses, riders, their clothes and armaments but no banner is mentioned. The only fragment contradictory to the thesis that the entire kingdom of Rohan was represented by only one banner, is an author's note about the First Battle of the Fords of Isen. It claims that after Théodred was slain and Grimbold forced Saruman's army to retreat, "above the hasty mound of Théodred in the middle was set his banner".[60] The syntax does not allow to determine unambiguously whether the banner belonged to Grimbold or to Théodred, but there are strong premises to believe it was Théodred's: Grimbold headed the left wing of the Rohirrim army in the Battle of the Pelennor Fields and he had no banner (neither did Elfhelm, the leader of the right wing). Théodred was the king's heir, and in the First Battle of the Fords of Isen he acted on behalf of his father, who did not take part in the campaign. It might easily be assumed that he was entitled to use the king's banner. The banner serves as a manifesto for the very idea of kingship, as demonstrated in the scene of passing the banner from dying Theoden to Éomer in the Battle of Pelennor Fields.[61] Théodred used it during the campaign when he, as the heir, embodied the king's authority.

There is one apparent solution to the dilemma of the small number of arms: Gondor's social stratification appears to be almost flat. There are no developed feudal relationships[62] and all the citizens are directly subordinate either to the king, or the Steward ruling in the king's name. The military leaders or governors of provinces do not have formal titles and even the possessors of hereditary offices are legitimized only by the king's will and their own competitions. Dol Amroth is excluded from the rule, as it was an almost independent country with a strong dynasty holding a unique title of a Prince.[63] Lack of expanded heraldry emphasizes the equality of Gondor's citizens, despite their different ethnicities.

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[60] Tolkien, *Unfinished Tales of Númenor and Middle-earth*, London (1998), p. 473.

[61] See note 100.

[62] The word *vassal* appears in *The Lord of the Rings* only once, as a metaphor (concerning eagles – *The Return of the King*, p. 948) and the word *liege-lord* appears twice, concerning the King (*The Return of the King*: pp. 880; 977).

[63] According to the author's note to *Cirion and Eorl* the title of Prince was granted by Elendil (Tolkien, *Unfinished Tales*, p. 409). Ch. Tolkien notices that such conception cannot be agreed with the tale about the princes' origin from Imrazôr, who lived about two thousand years after the death of Elendil (ibidem, p. 409).

It is suggested that in the past (in relation to the time of action) the heraldry of Gondor could have been much more developed. When recounting the times of slow decline during the reign of the last kings, Faramir claims: "Childless lords sat in aged halls musing on heraldry".[64] There are two possible explanations: either the heraldry of Gondor in the kings' time was more developed, or the sentence should be interpreted as a metaphor. The only evidence that the first option might be correct comes from a passage in *Unfinished Tales* concerning the war between Gondor and the Wainriders in the year 1944 of the Third Age. After king Ondoher was slain on the battlefield and the banner was captured, Minohtar, the king's sister-son and Captain of the Right Wing, "raised his own banner"[65] and took command of the army. The phrase "his own banner" may suggest it was Minohtar's family's arms; it would prove that noble families of Gondor other than the royal house and the house of Dol Amroth bore their coats of arms. However, in this instance the king had been slain, the rightful heir was a minor, and the entire country was under threat of the Wainrider's invasion, and Minohtar was effectively acting as regent. Raising the banner with the ordinary arms of Gondor without the royal augmentation, Minohtar took command and temporarily demanded the obedience which was paid to the king. As the king's banner was captured by the Wainriders, its symbolic qualities as the embodiment of the kingdom's power had to be continued by Minohtar's standard. It might be argued that the expression "raised his own banner" could be purely metaphorical, but in Tolkien's idiolect there are very few instances of the phrases with the word "banner" used only as a metaphor without a reference to a physical object.[66]

The passage about childless lords musing on heraldry is only one element of a long passus concerning the end of the age of kings:

> Death was ever present, because the Númenoreans still, as they had in their old kingdom, and so lost it, hungered after endless life unchanging. Kings made tombs more splendid than houses of the living, and counted old names in the rolls of their descent dearer than the names of sons. Childless lords sat in aged halls musing on heraldry; in secret chambers withered men compounded strong elixirs, or in high cold towers asked questions of the stars.[67]

Here a struggle for immortality degenerated into a pathological fascination with death, focusing on the past and neglecting the moral duties. A developed heraldic system can be recognized as a component of the illusion of immortality which was the main reason

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It might be asked why Tolkien conceived the two contradictory ideas. Probably he assumed that a unique status of Dol Amroth's princes could have been granted only by the founder of the kingdom.

[64] Tolkien, *The Two Towers,* p. 678.

[65] Tolkien, *Unfinished Tales,* p. 379.

[66] For example: "you are our captain and our banner" (Tolkien, *The Two Towers,* p. 501). In numerous contexts the meaning is primarily metonymical, indicating an army or its commander: "all men would flock to my banner" (*The Fellowship of the Ring*, p. 398); "the banners of Fingon passed over Anfauglith and were raised before the walls of Angband" (*The Silmarillion*, p. 227); "the banners of the sons of Fëanor assailed the enemy in the rear" (*The Silmarillion*, p. 228). The level of literalness in these expressions varies from almost literal (the second one) to mostly metonymical (the first one) but in all cases a physical object exists in the presented world.

[67] Tolkien, *The Two Towers,* p. 678.

of the downfall of Númenor, and nearly drew the same fate on Gondor. John Bowers remarks that the idea of high court culture degenerating into morally marked weakness might have been inspired by the court of Richard II[68], including the king's obsession with astrology, his ancestry and heraldry. Bowers draws a parallel between the kings of Gondor building the tombs more splendid than houses and Richard II investing in royal tombs in Winchester; he also compares "musing on heraldry" with the exposition of royal insignia on numerous works of art, including the Wilton Diptych.[69]

Tolkien did not consider heraldry itself as evil, as is proved by the richness of entirely positive symbolism of the protagonists' arms, and by several passages in the texts outside the legendarium, especially the poem *Mythopoeia* which clarifies Tolkienian theory of myth and its connection with theology:

> I would with the beleaguered fools be told
> that keep an inner fastness where their gold
> impure and scanty, yet they loyally bring
> to mint in image blurred of distant king
> or in fantastic banners weave the sheen
> heraldic emblems of a lord unseen.[70]

Both heraldic emblems and coins are symbolic analogies of a person. The "lord unseen" although himself inaccessible, could be recognized symbolically through the code of heraldry.

Heraldry of allies of the Dark Lord

The first element to be discussed is the arms of Harad: *gules* (Tolkien uses the word "scarlet" which may suggest *sanguine* rather than *gules*), *a serpent sable* (**Figure 5c**). There is no information about the social structure of Harad, but it might be assumed that the Black Serpent is the dynasty's emblem as well as that of the state by analogy with the protagonists' arms. The clash of the armies of Rohan and Harad in the battle of the Pelennor Fields is described as a single combat between two heraldic beasts: "displaying his standard, black serpent upon scarlet, he came against the white horse and the green".[71] A metonymy that decodes a person by their heraldic charge is a common literary device but in *The Lord of the Rings* it has an extraordinary significance: the charges define the actual features of the persons and states they represent. Within the symbolic discourse of the epic, the serpent banner carries all the negative connotations of the animal. It is borne both by the leader of the Haradrim and by the country of Harad itself. In Christian symbolism the serpent's most common association is as an allegory of Satan, the serpent from Genesis being identified with the devil. In English tradition the serpent represents Satan (*Revelation*. 12:9, King James version) In the legendarium the word *serpent* can mean both a snake and a dragon; and thus the question arises which of these two the serpent on the banner of Harad is intended to represent. There is no explicit answer in the text, but there are some extratextual reasons to refute the

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[68] John M. Bowers, *Tolkien's Lost Chaucer* (Oxford, 2019), p. 138.

[69] Ibidem, p. 138.

[70] Tolkien, *Tree and Leaf. Mythopoeia. The Homecoming of Beorhtnoth Beorhthel's son* (London, 2001), p. 88.

[71] Tolkien, *The Return of the King*, p. 839.
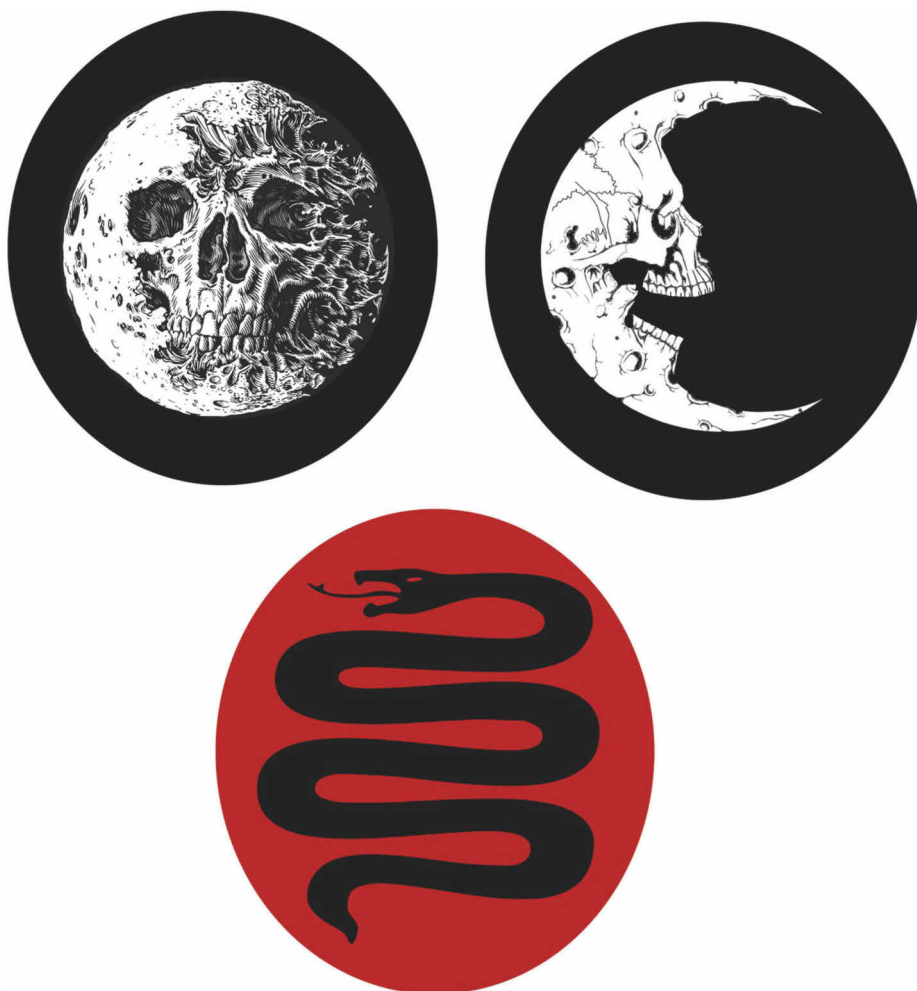
Figure 5: modern takes on the arms of the allies of Sauron. Top, 5a and b, two interpretations of the arms of Minas Morgul based on tattoo designs. The top left design is anonymous, the top right is after VonKowen; bottom, arms of Harad, source: Wikimedia Commons.

hypothesis of a dragon. In English heraldry the dragon occupies a significant position. It is the charge of Wales and it was ascribed in attributed heraldry to Uther Pendragon, sometimes to King Arthur himself.[72] It seems highly improbable that Tolkien would

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[72] Michel Pastoureau, *Armorial des chevaliers de la table Ronde. Etude sur l'héraldique imaginaire à la fin du Moyen Age* (Paris, 2006), p. 25.

associate Harad, a country which is defined as culturally alien[73] with a symbol so closely connected with British identity.

The arms *Gules a serpent sable* violate the rule of tinctures. Hriban[74] claims it is a signal of Harad's ignorance or disdain towards the high culture of Gondor. However, it is highly problematic to talk about "ignorance" and "disdain" in the relationships between Gondor and Harad, as the cultural exchange between these countries was very small, and the heraldry of Harad had to develop independently. Consequently, violation of the rule of tinctures should be recognized as the signal of foreignness (corresponding with Sinex's remarks[75]) rather than of barbarity. An interesting aspect is that non-English speaking readers, even if they possess specialist knowledge in heraldry, may ignore that important detail. In some countries, especially in Central and Eastern Europe, sable is perceived as a neutral category that belongs neither to colours nor metals; therefore, putting sable on gules (or other colours) does not violate the rule of tincture. Moreover, Polish researches in heraldry suggest the neutrality of sable (or, in older studies, gules[76]) as a general rule applicable for all European heraldic systems.[77]

The symbolism of gules and sable is a more important topic than violation of the rule of tinctures. Both tinctures have negative connotations in the legendarium (see footnote 36 on Númenorean sails and the discussion over Morgoth's plain sable shield below) and their combination evokes danger, for example in the combat of Gandalf and the Balrog.[78] Other examples are the banners of goblins in the Battle of Five Armies and the emblem of Mordor. In the arms of Harad the combination of these two tinctures with the charge of serpent make a particularly compelling image of cruelty, maliciousness and violence.

The arms of Minas Morgul (**Figure 5a** and **b**) are a perfect example of an ally of Sauron adopting antagonistic heraldry. The tinctures are identical to those used in the arms of Gondor, argent on sable. The charge of the Moon deformed by a skull relates to a founding myth, just like the arms of its adversaries.[79] The Moon represents Minas Ithil, Tower of the Moon, and the skull evokes the Ringwraiths conquest of that Tower. Here is an explicit challenge and insult directed at Gondor, both in the parody of tinctures and in reminding of the dishonour which Gondor suffered by the loss of Minas Ithil. The Moon also stands for Isildur[80] whom Sauron particularly hated and feared. By conquering Isildur's fortress and transforming it into Minas Morgul the Ringwraiths manifested their Master's triumph, so emphatically expressed in the

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[73] Margaret Sinex, "Monsterized Saracens," Tolkien Haradrim, and Other Medieval "Fantasy Products", *Tolkien Studies*, vol. 7 (2010), pp. 175–196.

[74] Hriban, 'The Eye and the Tree', p. 207.

[75] Sinex, op. cit.

[76] Sylwiusz Mikucki, 'Barwa w heraldyce średniowiecznej. Cz. 1: Herby rycerstwa zachodniego i polskiego', *Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego we Lwowie*, vol. 9 (1928–1929), pp: 191–250.

[77] Such definition of the rule of tinctures is included even in academic textbooks such as: Janusz Szymański, *Nauki pomocnicze historii*, (Warszawa, 2009).

[78] Miriam Miller, 'The Green Sun: A Study of Color in J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*', in *Mythlore*, vol. 7 (1981), pp: 3–11 (7).

[79] Tolkien, *The Return of the King*, p. 997.

[80] See footnote 28 about the "heraldic" names of Elendil's sons.

charge of the disfigured Moon. Such interpretation is allowed by the characteristics of the Lord of the Nazgûl. His mode of speech (sophisticated, slightly archaic and full of metaphors) and behaviour (especially the challenge he sent to Eärnur, only to capture, torture and kill him) prove that he was perfectly aware of the conventions of high court culture and was able to manipulate them for his own benefit. The Disfigured Moon is neither a personal nor a family emblem of the Lord of the Nazgûl, who does not embrace his family identity, and acts only under function-names such as Wraith-king and Morgul-lord. The Ringwraiths have lost their personalities along with all individual features such as faces and names. Any personal token such as a coat of arms would deeply contradict such a conception.

The Red Eye of Sauron and the White Hand of Saruman should not be labelled as arms: the plot precludes any possibility they could be hereditary. They represent persons who cannot have any offspring and their domains are so strictly bound to these rulers that they collapse at the very moment of their defeat.[81] Their function is similar to that of the Turkic tamga: they were used to mark both items and living creatures that they possessed. The Red Eye depicted on the shields of orcs is not their liege-lord's arms but a proprietary sign; it reflects the social relationships in Mordor based on terror rather than loyalty. The soldiers of Saruman have his initial engraved on their helmets (the "S" rune). The Red Eye was engraved, painted or stamped on various items, starting with trees and ending on the human heads used as missiles during the siege of Minas Tirith. The emblem of the Red Eye serves as a signature, being placed mostly on disfigured or defiled items. There is a primal connection between the Red Eye, the entire country of Mordor it represents, and the imperative focussed on the destruction of high culture, as we define it.

The charge of the Red Eye is not only a symbolic representation of an abstract idea but an actual image of Sauron as he was imagined by the characters. We have no clue about the physical body Sauron adopted at the end of the Third Age.[82] His name is never spoken or spelt by his subjects[83] nor many of his enemies[84], so they use the label "the

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[81] The destruction of Mordor is an inevitable consequence of Sauron's fall, though some aspects of corruption or marring the material world last much longer. Isengard is transformed (into a garden), rather than destroyed, and this fact is an explicit illustration of the victory of nature over a technological dictatorship. The tree (a vertical emblem associated with nature) triumphs over the White Hand (a vertical emblem manifesting human supremacy). Such transformation should be recognized as a signal of Tolkien's attitude towards nature and human attempts to dominate it or deform for utilitarian purposes.

[82] McGregor ('Tolkien's Devices', p. 103) notices that many readers assume the fiery eye was the physical embodiment of Sauron only because they are influenced by P. Jackson's movies. The text does not provide any reason for such level of confidence: the vision Frodo saw in the mirror of Galadriel might have been symbolic and Pippin did not see an eye in palantír.

[83] See: "Neither does he use his right name, nor permit it to be spelt or spoken" (*The Two Towers,* p. 416).

[84] See for example: "The Nameless Enemy has arisen again" (*The Fellowship of the Rings*, p. 245), "not if the Nameless One himself should come, not even he could enter here while we yet live" (*The Return of the King*, p. 822). Such reluctance to name the Enemy, derived from abomination rather than fear, can be found also in *The Silmarillion*: "But that name he has forfeited; and the Noldor, who among the Elves suffered most from his malice, will not utter it, and they name him Morgoth, the Dark Enemy of the World" (p. 23). Also, Mordor is called the Nameless Land and Cirith Ungol the Nameless Pass.

Eye".[85] This is an emanation of his persona as a vigilant, ever-spying and ever-watchful ruler of a totalitarian country. He is also spoken of as the *Lidless Eye*, the eye that never closes or sleeps. Such omniscience points to one of the sources of inspiration: in Christian iconography the eye is a symbol of God.[86] Since both Morgoth and Sauron intend to place themselves in the position of God, the emblem of the Red Eye manifests their usurpation of God's prerogatives. There is also a more contemporary inspiration: an eye is a symbol of invigilation and absolute control. Consequently, the Red Eye on the banners, shields and helmets of Mordor's soldiers serves not only as a manner of identification and a proprietary sign, but also a warning for the orcs who are held in obedience only by a fear of their powerful and omniscient lord.[87] The Eye highlights the crucial characteristics of the relationships of dependency in Mordor: the charge is recognized as a source of fear, and not one of pride, and neither is it representative of any sense of belonging. The fear is amplified by numerous "small eyes", *i.e.* the spies and denunciators that Sauron's army is so full of. The symbol taps into human society's widespread belief about the "evil eye" which may cause physical harm by a mere look.[88] Sauron's merest look is a form of torture in itself.[89] Finally, Edward Lense has suggested the Celtic god Balor (often nicknamed Balor with the Evil Eye) as a possible inspiration for the Red Eye charge.[90]

Saruman's emblem (*Sable a hand argent*) is more ambiguous. An open hand corresponds with Saruman's actions, as he preferred parleying and deceptive promises over open violence.[91] In contrast with the Red Eye, Saruman's charge does not aim to produce fear but to decrease the potential victim's vigilance. We must also think of the symbolism of the Manus Dei (hand of God) as a visual demonstration of God's power.[92]

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[85] There are too many examples to enumerate them all. See: "Is Saruman the master or the Great Eye?" (*The Two Towers*, p. 446); "You ought to know that they're the apple of the Great Eye" (ibidem, p. 452); "I was heavy with thought, and weary after my struggle with the Eye of Mordor" (ibidem, p. 499), "But we must at all costs keep his Eye from his true peril" (*The Return of the King*, p. 880).

[86] Liselotte Kaute, 'Auge, Auge Gottes', in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 1: *Allgemeine Ikonographie. A-Ezechiel* (Freiburg, 2012), pp: 222–3.

[87] The Orcs are presented as rebellious by nature and inclined to inner feuds. See: "they were certainly dominated by their Master, but his dominion was by fear, and they were aware of this fear and hated him" (Tolkien, *Morgoth's Ring*, p. 417); "But there remained one flaw in his control, inevitable. In the kingdom of hate and fear, the strongest thing is hate. All his Orcs hated one another, and must be kept ever at war with some 'enemy' to prevent them from slaying one another" (ibidem, p. 420).

[88] Amica Lykiardopoulos, 'The Evil Eye: Towards an Exhaustive Study', in *Folklore*, vol. 91 (1981), no. 2, pp: 221–230.

[89] See: "The Eye: that horrible growing sense of a hostile will that strove with great power to pierce all shadows of cloud, and earth, and flesh, and to see you: to pin you under its deadly gaze, naked, immovable" (*The Two Towers*, p. 630); "He will bear thee away to the houses of lamentation, beyond all darkness, where thy flesh shall be devoured, and thy shrivelled mind be left naked to the Lidless Eye." (*The Return of the King*, p. 841).

[90] Edward Lense, 'Sauron is Watching You: The Role of the Great Eye in *The Lord of the Rings*', in *Mythlore*, vol. 4 (1976), no. 1, pp: 3–6.

[91] McGregor, 'Tolkien's Devices', p. 107.

[92] Oskar Holl, 'Hand Gottes', in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie,* vol. 2: *Allgemeine Ikonographie. F-K* (Freiburg, 2012), pp: 211–2.

Perhaps Saruman, who has unwittingly made himself Sauron's parody, is using this charge to manifest that he possesses absolute power, like Sauron himself. The tincture argent is a consequence of Saruman's epithet "Saruman the White", he having begun his career as a White Wizard until which he betrayed the values of his order. McGregor suggests an interesting interpretation of the sable field's symbolism, or to be more precise, its lack of symbolism:

> Where the royal standard of Gondor evokes a profound night sky, and Mordor's banners the blackness of the abyss, that of Isengard does neither. It is curiously abstract in fact, as if aiming at nothing more than a pretentiously stylish contrast.[93]

The Twelve Houses of Gondolin

In the early texts of the legendarium there are two extensive passages concerning heraldry and it might be deduced that originally the author intended to create a much more developed heraldic system that we can reconstruct from *The Lord of the Rings*. The most researched fragment is the enumeration of the Twelve Houses of Gondolin and their banners.[94] Unfortunately only three of the twelve arms can be entirely reconstructed from the text (**Table 1**): the House of the Mole, the House of the Heavenly Arch and the House of the Harp. The others are either mere fragments, or the charge can only be guessed based on the name of the House or the colour of its clothing. Such guesses may prove to be false: for example, the charge of the House of the Swallow is the arrowheads. His descriptions serve as further evidence that Tolkien did not pay particular attention to the rules of blazon.

These are not family arms because the affiliation to particular houses did not depend (or depended only secondarily) on family bonds. Some houses were built up around a prominent person (such as Tuor or Meglin), others were gatherings of craftsmen performing particular occupations, or were associations based on common likings and conventions of behaviour. Relatives could belong to different houses and a person was able to switch house, as is proven by the founding of the House of the Wing. Consequently, the "arms" of the Houses might be compared with the arms of municipal guilds, and the charge of the Stricken Anvil certainly alludes to a craft.

The "arms" of three houses: the King's guard, the House of the Wing and House of the Mole are particularly interesting in terms of an antecedent symbolism which can be discerned. Firstly, let us consider the heart emblem of the Royal Guard. Turgon, Elven king of the Noldor, bore a charge comprising of three elements: sun, moon and scarlet heart. According to *Gilfanon's Tale: The Travail of the Noldoli*, Turgon adopted the

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[93] McGregor, 'Tolkien's Devices', p. 109.

[94] Tolkien, *The Book of the Lost Tales. Part Two*, p. 172–4.

House	Charge	Tincture of charge	Field	Clothing
King's Guard	Sun, Moon, Heart	Argent, Or, Gules (sanguine?[95])	[96]	Silver, gold, scarlet
Wing	Wing	Argent	[97]	-
Mole	plain sable			Black
Swallow	Arrowheads	-	-	White, dark blue, purple, black
Heavenly Arch	Jewel of seven gems	(colours of gems)	Azure	Many colours
Pillar	-	-	-	-
Tower of Snow	-	-	-	-
Tree	-	-	-	green
Golden Flower	Sun	Or (?)[98]	-	-
Fountain	-	-	-	-
Harp	Harp	Argent	Sable	-
Hammer of Wrath	Stricken Anvil	-	-	-

Table 1: the Seven Houses of Gondolin.

scarlet heart as his charge to commemorate his father Finwë Nólemë[99] who was killed by the orcs in the Battle of Unnumbered Tears and his heart was cut out. The sun and moon probably represent the trees Glingol and Bansil which were planted in the king's courtyard in remembrance of the Two Trees of Valinor (the Sun and the Moon descended

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[95] Tolkien uses the label "scarlet".

[96] A dash represents a lack of information.

[97] Hriban ('The Eye and the Tree', p. 200) deduces it was purple on the basis of the *Tale of Eärendel*: it claims Tuor's sails during his last voyage were purple. However, *Tale of Eärendel* does not describe the charge of the Wing on Tuor's sail. It might be suggested by the name of the ship, Swanwing.

[98] It might be deduced from the name of the House and the proper colour of the Sun.

[99] Tolkien, *The Book of the Lost Tales. Part One*, p. 241. The names could be misleading, as Tolkien modified the narration many times and gave the existing names to new characters. The characteristics of Finwë Nólemë was later splintered into two characters: Finwë and his son Fingolfin who is the father of Turgon in *The Silmarillion*. In *The Book of the Lost Tales* the Battle of Unnumbered Tears took place before the founding of Gondolin.

from a flower and a fruit of the Two Trees). Turgon's "arms" can be recognized as neither hereditary nor bound with the kingship over Gondolin but rather an individual emblem strictly connected with personal experience. This common characteristic of Elvish heraldry is a direct consequence of a key difference between Elves and Men, which is immortality. A clear separation of the person and their rank and an idea of the coat of arms as a symbol identifying position rather than a person can only develop if the office is more enduring than the individual. Among the Elves an individual might even be more long-lived than a country. In this society the position of a king (or any other ruler) is not intended to be inherited; the king's life can only be ended with a dramatic event such as war or murder. Human societies in contradistinction evolved a concept of kingship having a duality or "two bodies", the mortal and the immortal.[100] Among the Elves the king's physical and spiritual bodies are almost entirely united and there is no need for separation between the arms representing the king and his office.

Secondly, the wing of the House of Wing. Tuor, a human hero of the First Age, bore arms which are again a record of previous experiences, commemorating the swans which guided him on his way to a fateful meeting with Ulmo. *The Fall of Gondolin* describes how this device was granted to Tuor by his sovereign, king Turgon:

> Upon a time the king caused his most cunning artificers to fashion a suit of armour for Tuor as a great gift, and it was made of Gnome-steel overlaid with silver; but his helm was adorned with a device of metals and jewels like to two swan-wings, one on either side, and a swan's wing was wrought on his shield.[101]

No document or official proclamation is mentioned but the mere giving of the gift (especially if it was made publicly) is tantamount to making a proclamation.[102] The charge of a swan-wing and a crest of swan or seagull wing were adopted by a group of Elves who assembled around Tuor when he married princess Idril, which led to the establishment of the House of the Wing. It is also suggested that "arms" of a swan-wing was hereditary: "Then were the Gondothlim glad, and they made in after days the Eagle a sign of their kindred in token of their joy, and Idril bore it, but Eärendel loved rather the Swan-wing of his father".[103] This passage proves that heraldry of the First Age

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[100] Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton and Oxford, 2016). The idea of the two bodies can be traced within the legendarium but only in human societies. It is singularly manifested during the battle of Pelennor Fields and the mode Éomer succeeded Théoden as the king of Rohan. The words "Théoden king .. He is dead. But Éomer King now rides in the battle" (*The Return of the King*, p. 845) vividly resemble the famous expression "The king is dead! Long live the king!" which Kantorowicz interprets as the very incarnation of the idea of two bodies (Kantorowicz, op. cit., p. 412). Arno Meteling ('Grenzen der Gemeinschaft. Zum Politischen in J. R. R. Tolkiens *The Lord of the Rings*', in *Parole(n) – Politische Dimensionen von Kinderund Jugendmedien*, vol. 2, ed. C. Roeder [Ludwigsburg, 2020], pp. 199–212) claims that Aragorn's public image and behaviour allow us to recognize the duality of his body. Meteling does not involve heraldry in his research but the augmented arms of the kings of Gondor representing the spiritual body of the king confirms his conclusions.

[101] Tolkien, *The Books of the Lost Tales. Part Two*, p. 164.

[102] Hriban, 'The Eye and the Tree', p. 200.

[103] Tolkien, *The Books of the Lost Tales. Part Two*, p. 193.

Figure 6: Idril's Device. Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS. Tolkien Drawings 91, f.11
© Tolkien Trust 1973, 1992, 1995.

was remarkably fluent: the elves who survived the battle forsook the emblems of their houses and adopted the charge of the Eagle.

In his commentary on *The Fall of Gondolin* Ch. Tolkien suggests a different explanation for the swan charge's origin: *Of Tuor and his Coming to Gondolin* informs us that the swan was an emblem of Tuor's foster-father Annael and his kinsfolk the Grey Elves. Since Tuor's actual father was Huor and not Annael it must be assumed that in his youth he used the "arms" of his genetic father's House of Hador.[104]

The "arms" of the House of the Mole, *plain sable* at first sight appear discrepant since such a device is attributed to Morgoth in various texts: *The Lay of Leithian*, "his mighty shield a vast unblazoned sable field"; *Quenta Noldorinwa* "Morgoth's shield was black without a blazon"; *Quenta Silmarillion* "his vast shield, sable unblazoned";

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[104] See Tolkien, *Unfinished Tales,* pp. 85–86: "Then at last Húrin sprang into his saddle, and his golden banner was unfurled". The golden colour is not identical to the colours of Húrin's sovereign, king Fingon (see the discussion below on the "arms" of Fingolfin's family) which suggests the House of Hador was represented by their own coat of arms.

Grey Annals "his vast black unblazoned shield".[105] The tincture sable here represents darkness and nothingness, with black being here understood as a lack of colour rather than a colour. According to *Myths Transformed* Morgoth's aim was not just to dominate but to utterly annihilate the world. Having enslaved all living creatures he would have destroyed also his slaves and the very matter of the world had the world been in his power.[106] The aims of Sauron are different: he intends to dominate the world but not to destroy it. His emblem sable stands in contrast with gules.

Although Meglin, of the House of the Mole, is definitely a negative character in *The Fall of Gondolin* (though in later texts he became a tragic figure), the members of the House of the Mole were not aware of their leader's treason. Since they are miners who spend a substantial part of their lives underground sable serves as a metonymy for their profession. The shields of the House are plain but the warriors use the symbol of a mole and therefore they wear sable skins on their helmets. Although the similarity between the shields of the House of the Mole and Morgoth's shield cannot be recognized as a random coincidence in view of the characteristics of Meglin, the tribal symbolism does not connotate nothingness but rather the dark tunnels of the mines.

Meglin's plain sable shield also reminds us of the black knight who appears not infrequently in Arthurian romances. In this corpus the nameless knight with a monochromatic shield (typically sable, gules or vert) is hiding his identity, usually for heroic reasons, but sometimes acting as a villain.[107] A monochromatic knight brings chaos and poses a threat to the stability of social structures.[108] Meglin acts as an outsider, his black clothes and arms among the colourful folk of Gondolin emphases his otherness[109] and he ultimately brings destruction to the city. In the eyes of Tuor, the central character of the story, Meglin can be interpreted as a "black knight": a mystery and danger (though not fully realized) which has to be faced in final combat.

The Fall of Gondolin is crucial for the legendarium. Tolkien referred to it as a real text existing within the fictional world: "Of the deeds of desperate valour there done, by the chieftains of the noble houses and their warriors, and not least by Tuor, much is told in *The Fall of Gondolin*".[110] Ch. Tolkien believes that his father did not abandon the concept of the rich heraldry of Gondolin and would certainly have included it in his last and most developed version (*Of Tuor and his Coming to Gondolin*) had it been completed.[111]

Alex Lewis and Elizabeth Currie suggest a complex parallel between the heraldry of Gondolin and medieval romances of Troy but they do not provide sufficient evidence.

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[105] Tolkien, *The Lays of Beleriand*, p. 285; *The Shaping of Middle-earth*, p. 106; *The Lost Road and Other Writings*, p. 284; *The War of the Jewels*, p. 55.

[106] Tolkien, *Morgoth's Ring*, p. 396.

[107] Dean Miller, *Epic Hero* (Baltimore, London, 2000), p. 263–4.

[108] Bruno Quast, "Monochrome Ritter. Über Farbe und Ordnung in höfischen Erzähltexten des Mittelalters", in: *Die Farben Imaginierten Welten. Zur Kulturgeschichte ihrer Codierung in Literatur und Kunst vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. M. Schausten (Berlin, 2012), pp. 169–182 (171,176).

[109] Meglin's otherness is highlighted by his physical characteristics, as he is dark-skinned while other people of Gondolin have light complexion; Meglin is even said to "have Orcs' blood in his veins" (Tolkien, *The Book of the Lost Tales. Part Two*, p. 165). Monochromatic sable encodes Meglin's physical and psychical otherness, which likens him to mystical or even supernatural figures of chivalric romances.

[110] *The Silmarillion*, p. 291.

[111] Tolkien, *The Book of the Lost Tales. Part Two,* p. 211.

They have also posited the Nine Worthies and their imaginary arms (as they are depicted on an illumination from the late fourteenth-century manuscript *Le Chevalier Errant*[112]) as the source of Gondolin heraldry.[113] Among the nine arms they focus on five and indicate them as a possible inspiration for Tolkien. They include: king David (*Azure a harp or*) for the House of the Harp; Alexander the Great (*Or a double-headed eagle displayed sable*) for the House of the Tree; Juda Maccabeus (*Argent a bird sable*) for the House of the Wing and the House of the Swallow; Charlemagne's *fleur de lis* and Godfrey of Bouillon's *Argent a cross potent between four crosses Or* for the House of Golden Flower. Of these only harp seems remotely plausible. Birds are so common in heraldry that it seems unreasonable to link Judas Maccabeus's sable bird with a white swan wing and for swallow (which additionally occurs only in the name of the house, while the charge was arrowheads). A visual similarity between the cross of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the sun is at least doubtful; even less convincing is the suggestion that a double-headed eagle might be taken for a tree. It seems that Lewis and Currie's arguments are based on the pre-assumed idea that the medieval retellings of Troy myth are the ultimate source for *The Fall of Gondolin*. It was criticized by Thomas Honegger, who claims that: "to argue that Tolkien consciously modelled his tale on several of the medieval versions of the fall of Troy seems to me to overtax parallels that are likely to occur in any medieval account of a siege".[114]

Elvish heraldry

A long passage about Elvish heraldry can be found in Tolkien's *The Shaping of Middle-earth:*

> And three great armies had Gelmir[115] under his lordship, and Golfin his son was captain of one, and Delin his son of another, and Lúthien (not that Lúthien of the Roses who is of another and a later tale[116]) of a third; and Golfin's might was in swordsmen, and Delin had more of those who bore the long... elfin spears, but Lúthien's joy was in the number and... of his bowmen and the bow has ever been the weapon wherein the Elf-kin has had the most wondrous skill. Now the colours of the Gnomes were gold and white in those ancient days in memory of the Two Trees, but Gelmir's standard bore upon a silver field a crown of gold, and each captain had a fair banner; and the sign of Golfin in those days was

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[112] *Le Chevaliere Errant*, Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, fr. 12559, fol. 125.

[113] Alex Lewis and Elizabeth Currie, *The Forsaken Realms of Tolkien. J.R.R. Tolkien and the Medieval Tradition*, (Oswestry, 2009), pp. 50, 54. Although the entire subchapter is titled "Heraldry in linguistic games", only a small part actually concerns heraldry.

[114] Thomas Honegger, "The Passing of the Elves and the Arrival of Modernity: Tolkien's 'Mythical Method'", in *Tolkien and Modernity*. vol. 2, ed. by T. Honegger and F. Weinreich (Zurich, Wien, 2006), pp. 211–233, p. 218.

[115] That character should be confused neither with Gelmir son of Guilin of Nargothrond nor with Gelmir of the Havens who brought a warning from Ulmo to Orodreth of Nargothrond. Here Gelmir is the High King of the Noldor in the time they returned to Middle-earth, analogically with Finwë Nólemë from *The Book of Lost Tales* and Fingolfin from later texts.

[116] Lúthien of the Roses is Eriol, the main character of the frame story of *The Book of the Lost Tales*. Of course, none of them corresponds with Lúthien, daughter of Thingol.
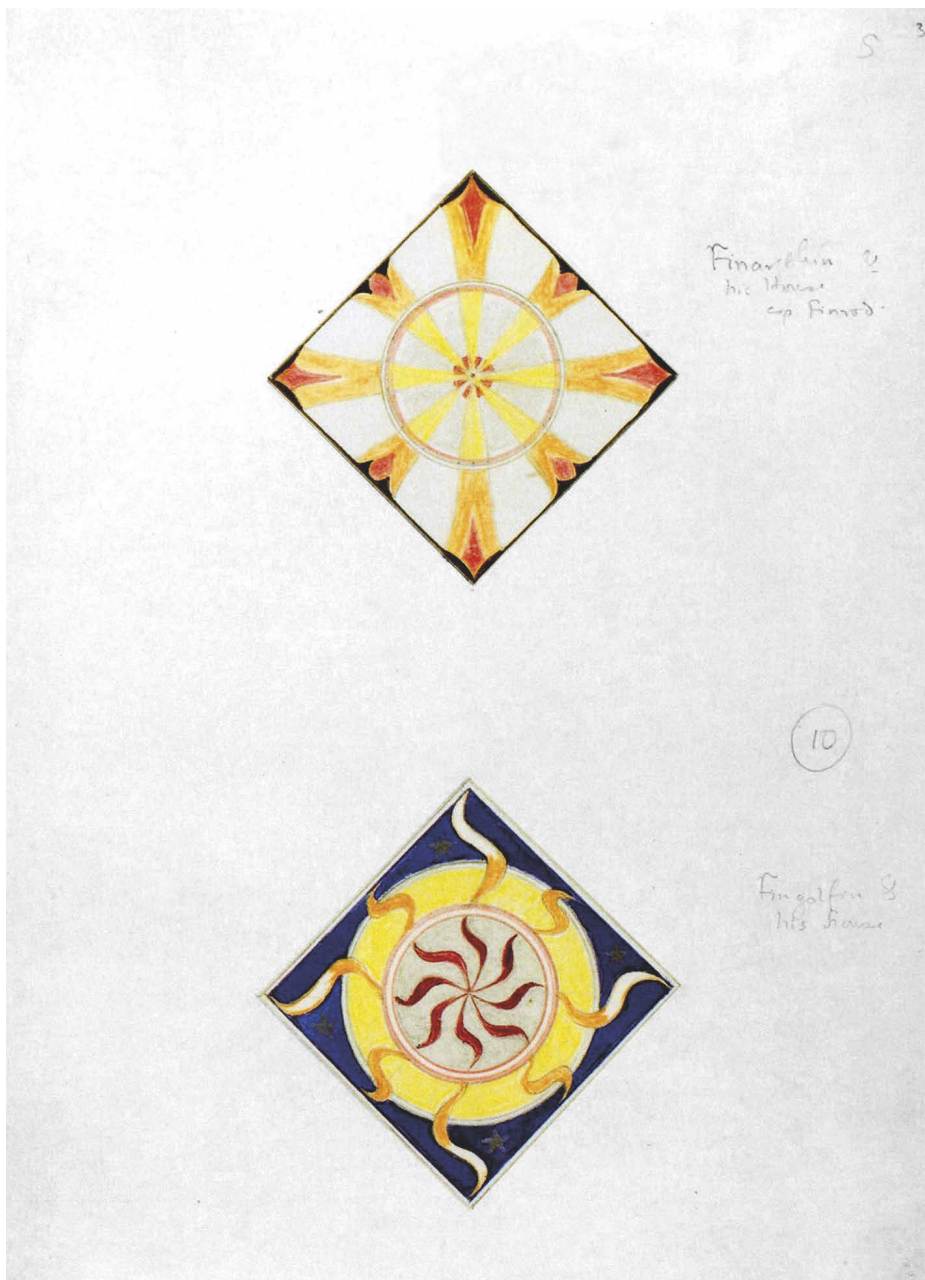
Figure 7: Heraldic devices for the houses of Finarphin and Fingolfin.
Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS. Tolkien Drawings 91, fol. 3r
© Tolkien Trust 1973, 1995.

upon gold a silver sword, and of Delin a green beech leaf upon silver diapered with golden flowers, and of Luthien a golden swallow that winged through an azure field as it were the sky set with silver stars, and the sons of Feanor wrought that standard and those banners, and they shone by sunlight and by mist and by moonlight and by starless dark by the light of the Gnome-wrought gems that sewed them.[117]

There are four "arms" here and two of them violate the rule of tinctures (Or on argent for Gelmir's banner, argent on Or for Golfin's banner). In living heraldry the rule which precludes putting metal on metal was broken even less frequently than the related rule concerning the placement of colour on colour.[118] There are at least two possible explanations why Tolkien did not apply this traditional prohibition. The first would be that he was simply unaware of it. In his scholarly works he focused on the Old English and Middle English periods, and the rules of heraldry were only just beginning to be codified towards the end of the latter period. Moreover, he usually analysed the texts in terms of their language and poetics and not the historical data which could be deduced from them, an approach which he described in *Monsters and Critics*.[119] Violation of the rule of tinctures might have been deliberate to suggest that the tale belongs to a very remote time, taking the end of the Third Age as the reference point. While the Third Age roughly corresponds with medieval Europe, the First Age should be defined as "heroic times" characterised by epic poetry. Metatextual qualities of the tales about the First Age suggest they are much closer to a myth or heroic epic than to a novel.

In the above text there is an obvious connection between the charges and the troops who bear them: a sword for swordsmen, a branch for spearmen (branch and spear share such features as the shape and material) and a swallow for the bowmen; in *The Fall of Gondolin* the best bowmen were gathered in the House of the Swallow. The royal banner (*Argent a crown or*) bears no individual quality and represents the idea of kingship itself.

In other texts concerning the First Age information about heraldry are scattered, and present numerous contradictions. A clue about a developed heraldic system of the Noldor might be deduced from *The Annals of Aman*: "and shields they made displaying the tokens of many houses and kindreds that vied one another".[120] Here not only the royal house but also other families are using unique arms, but surprisingly, other texts provide only very fragmentary information about the arms of the members of the dynasty. A coherent description of Fingolfin's "arms" can be reconstructed from various texts about his duel with Morgoth: in *The Lay of Leithian*, "shield he bore with field of heaven's blue and star of crystal shining pale afar"[121]; in *Quenta Noldorinwa*, "on his shield was the star on a blue field that was his device"[122]; in *Quenta Silmarillion*, "his blue shield was set with crystals"[123]; and in *Grey Annals*, "his blue shield set with

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[117] Tolkien, *The Shaping of Middle-earth*, p. 7.

[118] Bruno Heim, *Or and Argent* (Gerrards Cross, 1994), p. 10.

[119] Tolkien, *The Monsters and the Critics and Other Essays* (London, 1997), p. 17.

[120] Tolkien, *Morgoth's Ring*, p. 96.

[121] Tolkien, *The Lays of Beleriand*, p. 285.

[122] Tolkien, *The Shaping of Middle-earth*, p. 106.

[123] Tolkien, *The Lost Road*, p. 284.

a star of crystal".[124] Six texts mention the banners Fingolfin ordered to display when his folk returned to Middle-earth and all versions refer the same colours "blue and silver" without information about the charge.[125] The tinctures correspond with Fingolfin's shield.

It has been suggested that that *Azure a star argent* was inherited by Fingolfin's sons. *Of Tuor and his Coming to Gondolin* claims that Fingolfin's banner was displayed in Gondolin.[126] In several of Tolkien's writings Fingon's banner is blue and silver.[127] However, in other versions it is plain argent.[128] Perhaps Tolkien twice changed his mind but another explanation seems more convincing: Fingon does not act only as a representant of the family but as a leader of a broad and unstable alliance, and not all its members accept his supremacy as the High King of the Noldor. It can be easily imagined that Fingon decided to expose the least controversial emblem which could symbolise the League instead of his family "arms". Additionally, a banner of plain argent constitutes the most expressive contrast with plain sable banners of Morgoth.

According to *The Shibboleth of Fëanor* (1968) Gil-galad's[129] shield was "overlaid with silver and set with a device of white stars, shone from afar like a star in sunlight

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[124] Tolkien, *The War of the Jewels*, p. 55. *Quenta Silmarillion* does not mention the charge but it should not be presumed that the author changed his mind (*Grey Annals*, written at the same time, informs about the star) but only rearranged the text; it is strong evidence that the precision of blazoning was not important for Tolkien.

[125] *Sketch of the Mythology* written between 1926 and 1930, *Quenta Noldorinwa* from 1930, *The Earliest Annals of Valinor* from 1930, *The Later Annals of Valinor* written between 1930 and 1937, *Quenta Silmarillion* from 1937 and *Quenta Silmarillion* from 1958.

[126] Tolkien, *Unfinished Tales*, p. 74. It does not contradict *The Book of the Lost Tales*, where Turgon's "arms" is Sun, Moon and Scarlet Heart as it should be recognized as Turgon's personal emblem and Fingolfin's banner (*Azure a star argent*) represents the family. However, the origin of Scarlet Heart involved in *The Book of the Lost Tales* is no longer valid in *Quenta Silmarillion* (the story about Finwë Nólemë's heart cut off by the orcs disappears in later versions).

[127] *Sketch of the Mythology, Grey Annals* and *Narn I Chin Húrin* See also Tolkien, *The Shaping of Middle-earth*, p. 26: "Finweg falls, his blue and silver banner is destroyed"; *The War of the Jewels*, p. 75: "He was overborne by the Balrogs and beaten to the earth and his banners blue and silver were trodden into dust"; *The Silmarillion*, p. 229: "and his banner, blue and silver, they trod into the mire of his blood" (the paragraph comes from *Narn I Chin Húrin* – Douglas Kane, *Arda Reconstructed. Creation of the Published Silmarillion* [Bethlehem, 2011], p. 186).

[128] *The Lay of the Children of Húrin*, *The Lay of Leithian*, *Quenta Noldorinwa*, *Quenta Silmarillion* from 1937 and *Quenta Silmarillion* from 1958. See Tolkien, *The Lays of Beleriand*, p. 96: "when the white banners of the ruined king were rent with spears"; ibidem, p. 212: "The song of Fingon Elves yet sing,/captain of armies, Gnomish king,/ who fell at last in flame of swords/ with his white banners and his lords"; *The Shaping of Middle-earth*, p. 118: "he was beaten to the earth and his white banners were trodden under foots"; *The Lost Road*, p. 311: "he was overborne by the Balrogs and beaten to the earth, and his white banners were trodden underfoot".

[129] The concept of Gil-galad's lineage was changed multiple times. For the first time he is mentioned as a descendant of Fëanor, then as a son of Felagund. *Grey Annals* and *Quenta Silmarillion* from 1958 state Gil-galad was Fingon's son. Ch. Tolkien included this version in *The Silmarillion*; he even modified such texts as *Aldarion and Erendis* to fit it (Tolkien *The Peoples of Middle-earth*, p. 351). Lastly, a note written about 1968 claims Gil-galad's father was Orodreth (ibidem, pp. 350–1); Ch. Tolkien did not decide to modify the earlier texts following it.

or moonlight"[130]. It corresponds with a poem included in *The Lord of the Rings* (incipit: "Gil-galad was an Elven king"): "the countless stars of heaven's field were mirrored in his silver shield".[131] Of course, these "arms" once again violate the tincture rule; a white charge on a silver field would be faintly visible. A drawing from 1960 depicts two visual representations of Gil-galad's "arms": *Azure, twelve stars argent*. As could be seen, the tinctures are the same as in Fingolfin's and Fingon's "arms" but the charge is twelve stars instead of one.

In *The Lord of the Rings* the charge of the house of Fëanor is an eight-rayed star, visually represented on the west gate of Moria. It might suggest a Silmaril: on a drawing from 1960 the Silmarils have eight facets.[132] There are four sketches of the gates of Moria (all reproduced in *J.R.R. Tolkien: Artist and Illustrator*[133]); all of them present a single eight-rayed star, although the first version of the text mentions three stars, not one: "More clearly than all else there shone forth palely three stars with many rays".[134] Gandalf's statement that the star is the charge of the house of Fëanor, appears only in the third, final version of the text[135], when Tolkien decided that Celebrimbor, the carver of the signs on the gate of Moria, was Fëanor's grandson[136]. This fact demonstrates that heraldic function was only secondarily given to the star.

The group of symbols on the gate of Moria comprises an eight-rayed star, two trees which signify the High Elves (i.e. the Noldor, corresponding with the texts quoted above that the Noldor adopted gold and silver as their colours in remembrance of the Two Trees); a hammer, anvil, crown and seven stars.[137] It cannot be determined unambiguously whether "the emblems of Durin"[138] that Gimli mentions are only the hammer and anvil or also the crown and the stars.

Some passages of *The Silmarillion* confirm that the sons of Fëanor had their own common "arms", different than the "arms" of the ruling house of Fingolfin. For example: "in the east was raised the standard of the sons of Fëanor, and in the west the standard of Fingon, High King of the Noldor".[139] If, as *The Lord of the Rings* suggests, the star was both Fëanor's and Fingolfin's charge, the "arms" should differ in terms of

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[130] Tolkien, *The Peoples of Middle-earth*, p. 347–348.

[131] *The Fellowship of the Ring*, p. 185. Tolkien used a similar metaphor to describe Thingol's banner (*The Lays of Beleriand*, p. 154): "the starlight in his banners caught".

[132] Wayne G. Hammond and Christina Scull, *The Lord of the Rings. A Reader's Companion* (London, 2014), p. 28.

[133] Wayne G. Hammond and Christina Scull, *J.R.R. Tolkien: Artist and Illustrator* (London, 1995), p. 183.

[134] Tolkien, *The Return of the Shadow* [= *The History of Middle-earth*, vol. 6], ed. Ch. Tolkien (London, 2002), p. 449.

[135] Tolkien, *The Treason of Isengard* [= *The History of Middle-earth*, vol. 7], ed. Ch. Tolkien (London, 2002), p. 180.

[136] The evolution of the concepts of Celebrimbor's lineage is summarized in Tolkien, *The Peoples of Middle-earth*, pp. 317–8.

[137] Although the crown and seven stars appears also in Gondor's coat of arms, there is no genealogical association between them. The gate was forged in the Second Age, about two thousand years before the state of Gondor was founded.

[138] *The Fellowship of the Ring*, p. 304.

[139] *The Silmarillion*, p. 224.

tinctures but there is no such information in the text. Although "the banner of the sons of Fëanor" or "the banner of Maedhros" is mentioned in almost all versions of the story about the Battle of Unnumbered Tears, no colour or charge is indicated.

The charge of the youngest line (i.e. the descendants of Finarfin) is described in detail in the story of Beren and Lúthien. The context is always the same: the charge is sculptured on Felagund's ring:

> to see the jewels green that burned
> in Beren's ring. These Gnomes had set
> as eyes of serpents twined that met
> beneath a golden crown of flowers
> that one upholds and one devours
> the badge that Finrod made of yore
> and Felagund his son now bore[140]

Figure 8: Device for Lúthien Tinúviel
Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS. Tolkien Drawings 91, fol. 7
©Tolkien Trust 1973, 1992

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[140] Tolkien, *The Lays of Beleriand*, p. 190, *Lay of Leithian*, lines 1097–1103.

and:

> this ring was like to twin serpents, whose eyes were emeralds, and their heads met beneath the crown of golden flowers, that one upheld and the other devoured; that was the badge of Finarfin and his house[141]

Because these "arms" do not appear in any other context (for example, on a shield or banner) the field is never described. The evolution of the text reveals an interesting detail: in the first version of *Lay of Leithian* the Noldorin prince who aided Beren is Celegorm (the same character who acts as an antagonist in later texts) and he gave Barahir the ring forged by his father Fëanor. However, the description of the ring does not change even if its bearer is a completely different character of a different lineage. Here once again we see Tolkien's lack of careful attention in dealing with the sphere of heraldry; a charge of two serpents is a mere ornament and it does not belong to any developed heraldic system. It can be assumed it was established for the sake of Beren and Lúthien's story only. The design of two entwined serpents perfectly harmonizes with the shape of a ring.

In *The Lord of the Rings* the sons of Elrond bear "a banner of silver"[142] which might suggest their father's family emblem. Plain argent corresponds with the description of Vingilot, the ship of Elrond's father Eärendil, provided in Bilbo's song at Rivendell. The version which was eventually published claims only: "light upon her [Vingilot's] banners laid"[143] which does not indicate the colour unambiguously but an alternative version confirms that the banners of Vingilot were silver: "with silver were her banners sewn".[144] Not just the banners but the entire ship shared the same colour: "white were its timbers as the argent moon, golden were its oars, silver were its shrouds, its masts were crowned with jewels like stars".[145] Vingilot constitutes an important component in the symbolism of light that Eärendil represents.[146] The plain argent banner should not be recognized as his "arms" but it does share a function of coats of arms as a metonymy for the character. The silver banner of Elrond's family on their arrival at Minas Tirith can similarly be interpreted as a manifestation of the symbolism of light. In the Third Age a complex parallel is created between Aragorn and his ancestors, Eärendil and Elendil. The name that Aragorn was given as a child, Estel ("Hope"), corresponds with the name of Eärendil as the Morning Star, Gil-Estel ("Star of Hope").

A common element of the "arms" of the First Age is that they tend to bear a rich encrustation with jewels. Not only are banners ornamented in such way, but also shields. The most expressive example is the shield of the House of the Heavenly Arch

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[141] *Quenta Silmarillion* from 1937; text was included in *The Silmarillion* on p.195, the only modification which Ch. Tolkien inserted is the name of Finarfin adjusted to the actual version):

[142] *The Return of the King*, p. 972.

[143] *The Fellowship of the Ring*, p. 234.

[144] Tolkien, *The Treason of Isengard*, p. 103. Ch. Tolkien argues that it was the final version prepared for publication but the manuscripts were mislaid and accidentally the publisher received the earlier version (ibidem). Also, a line from an early-abandoned version of the poem serves as indirect evidence that the Vingilot's banner was silver or white: "as flying foam her banner flowed" (ibidem, p. 103).

[145] *Quenta Noldorinwa* in: Tolkien, *The Shaping of Middle-earth*, p. 152.

[146] For detailed discussion over the symbolical transformation of Eärendil into the Morning Star see Kristen Larsen, "Sea Birds and Morning Stars: Ceyx, Alcyone, and the Many Metamorphoses of Eärendil and Elwing", in *Tolkien and the Study of His Sources*, ed. J. Fisher (Jefferson, NC and London, 2011), pp: 69–83.

of Gondolin which includes seven precious stones: ruby, amethyst, sapphire, emerald, chrysoprase, topaz and amber. The shield of Fingolfin is "set with crystals" and the shields of the Noldor of Valinor are "emblazoned with devices of silver and gold and gems".[147] Later classical heraldry eschews such ornamentation of the shields. An intratextual motivation is possible, since the Noldor designed most beautiful jewels, but an extratextual motivation seems equally convincing: such ornamented shields have been found to be associated with early examples of heraldic art, such as the tomb of Wiprecht von Groitzsch. Created in about 1225, his shield has precious stones placed

Figure 9: device for Lúthien Tinúviel
Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS. Tolkien Drawings 91, fol. 9
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[147] Tolkien, *Morgoth's Ring*, p. 277. That passage was not published in *The Silmarillion*, although it is a part of *Quenta Silmarillion* from 1958 which is the base for that part of the book. Kane claims it is an example of numerous omissions in the chapter which were dictated only by Ch. Tolkien's preferences (op.cit., p. 89).

at the umbo and around the rim.[148] We might infer from this that the early eras of the legendarium are set either in the pre-heraldic age or in the very early period of heraldry.

An original heraldry for the First Age

Finally, a group of "heraldic devices" designed by Tolkien in 1960 should be discussed. There are 28 completed drawings and some barely started pencil sketches.[149] They depict the personal "arms" of various characters of the First Age of Middle-earth: five versions of Idril's device, three of Eärendil, two of Finwë, Finarfin, Gil-galad and Lúthien and one of Fëanor, Fingolfin, Finrod, Elwë, Melian, Beor, Hador, Beren, Haletha and the Silmarils, plus a further two unlabelled drawings. (**Figures 6,7,8** and **9)** Most of the devices of men, plus Finrod's device, are figurative, while the majority of Elvish devices could be defined as multicolour kaleidoscopic mandalas.[150] They are composed of geometrical and floral elements —the latter dominate in the devices of females. Their structure is characterized in a concise note penned by Tolkien:

> Women within a circle personal
> Men within a lozenge
> general (impersonal) designs or
> emblems of a family square
> (or [?] once, circular).
> The rank was usually held to be
> shown by number of 'points' which
> reached the outer rim
> four was prince) 6–8 kings
> the great ancestors
> sometimes had as many [as] 16 as in
> House of Finwë.151

The rules defined in the note have been applied in most of the drawings but there are some exceptions. For instance, the device of the House of Haleth is presented in a lozenge while it should have been a square or a circle as the House was founded by a woman. Sometimes there is a short commentary along with the bearer's name, for example the device of the Silmarils is labelled as "Ancient Emblem representing the derivation of the Silmarils from the Light of the Trees upon Ezellohar"[152] and one of Idril's devices as "Menelluin Irildeo Ondolindello", which in Quenya it means "Cornflower of Idril from Gondolin".[153]

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[148] Claudia Kunde, "Grabmal des Wiprecht von Groitzsch (Abguss)", in *Der Naumburger Meister. Bildhauer und Architekt im Europa der Kathedralen*, *Vol. 2: Ausstellungskatalog*, ed. H. Krohm and H. Kunde (Petersberg, 2011), pp. 847–851.

[149] The number is provided in https://tai.tolkienists.org/t/heraldicdevices. The drawings were reproduced in various publications such as calendars by Harper Collins Publishers, catalogues of exhibitions and research books devoted to Tolkien's art. The biggest collections can be found in: Christopher Tolkien, *Pictures by J.R.R. Tolkien* (London, 1979); Hammond and Scull, *J.R.R. Tolkien* and McIlwaine, op. cit.

[150] Hammond and Scull, *J.R.R. Tolkien*, p. 196; McIlwaine, op.cit., p. 80.

[151] Quoted by: Hammond and Scull, *J.R.R. Tolkien*, p. 191.

[152] Ch. Tolkien, *The Pictures by J.R.R. Tolkien*, p. 85.

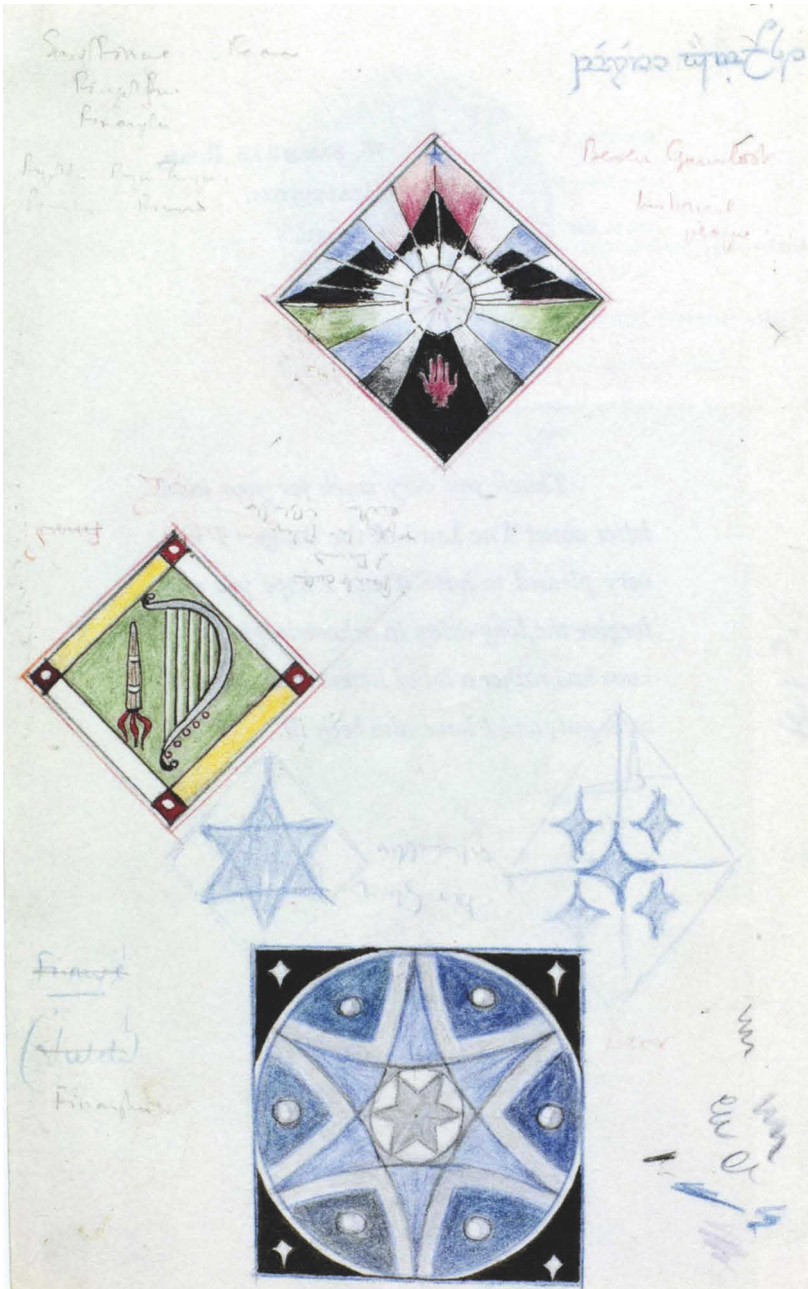[153] Hammond and Scull, *J.R.R. Tolkien,* p. 193.

Figure 10 heraldic devices for Finarphin, Finrod and Beren.
Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS. Tolkien Drawings 91, fol. 29
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Many of these "heraldic devices" include some elements which associate them with the life of their bearers. A harp and torch in Finrod's device presumably recall the episode when Finrod met the first group of men in Beleriand and played his harp for them. A torch might be a metaphorical representation of "light" he brought. Beren's device depicts a three-peaked mountain, a jewel, and a bloody hand; such a cluster of visual elements illustrates Beren's deeds, as he came into Morgoth's fortress under the three-peaked mountain of Thangorodrim and won a Silmaril but lost his right hand. (**Figure 10)** Some allude to the etymology of their bearers' names. There are stars in Gil-galad's device (his name means "Starlight") and flames in Fëanor's device ("Spirit of Fire"). More difficult is to indicate similarities based on family relationships, for instance, the devices of Elwë and Finwë (who were not relatives) differ only in terms of colours, and one of Finarfin's devices is almost identical to one belonging to Eärendil, although the family relationship between them was very remote.

The device of Finwë poses a particular problem because it is labelled "Winged Sun". All texts agree that Finwë was slain before the Sun arose for the first time. Purdy claims Finwë's device might be an example of later attributed heraldry, or might have been adopted by Finwë after his reincarnation.[154] The second hypothesis should be refuted as *Quenta Silmarillion* from 1958 states Finwë never reincarnated (the text was published in *Morgoth's Ring* in 1993 so it was not known to Purdy in 1981). Hammond and Scull propose a different interpretation: according to Tolkien's notes published in *Myths Transformed* the actual cosmology of the legendarium harmonizes with contemporary astronomy, making the Sun older than the Earth.[155]

The characteristics of these "arms" in terms of their style, colour, shading, with commentaries that attribute most of them to individuals rather than families or offices, might appear strange to scholars of conventional heraldry. Their visual form has much in common with the aesthetics of two styles of art: Art Nouveau and Art déco.[156] The stylistic similarities with Japanese the mon (monshō, mondokoro, kamon) are much more recognizable than with any European arms. If there is any association with the art of Europe, it might lie with tangled floral ornaments depicted on the shields of the statues on the west choir of Naumburg cathedral (**Figure 11**).[157]

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[154] Purdy, op. cit., p. 21–22.

[155] Hammond and Scull, *J.R.R. Tolkien,* p. 194.

[156] John Garth ("Artists and Illustrators' Influence on Tolkien", in *J.R.R. Tolkien Encyclopaedia*, pp: 36–37) states that the "heraldic devices" and other Tolkien's pictures drawn at the same time, such as Númenorean tiles and carpets were inspired by the works of William Morris, particularly by his handicraft.

[157] Such ornaments so uncommon in later heraldic art, that sometimes they are not recognized as heraldic figures at all (Heiko Brandl, "Westchor", in *Der Dom zu Naumburg,* vol. 2: *Ausstatung*, Regensburg [2018], pp. 383–498).

Vaclav V. Filip claims Wilhelm's shield was modelled after proto-heraldic shield of Wiprecht von Groitzsch ("Die Wappenbilder der Stifterfiguren", in *Der Naumburger Meister*, pp: 990–7). The originality of the ornaments (although the colours were in some cases altered when the statues were repainted in the sixteenth century) was confirmed by infrared scanning and microscopic examination, see Daniela Karl, *Die Polychromie der Naumburger Stifterfiguren. Kunsttechnologische Untersuchung der Farbfassungen des 13. und 16. Jahrhunderts* (Regensburg, 2015).
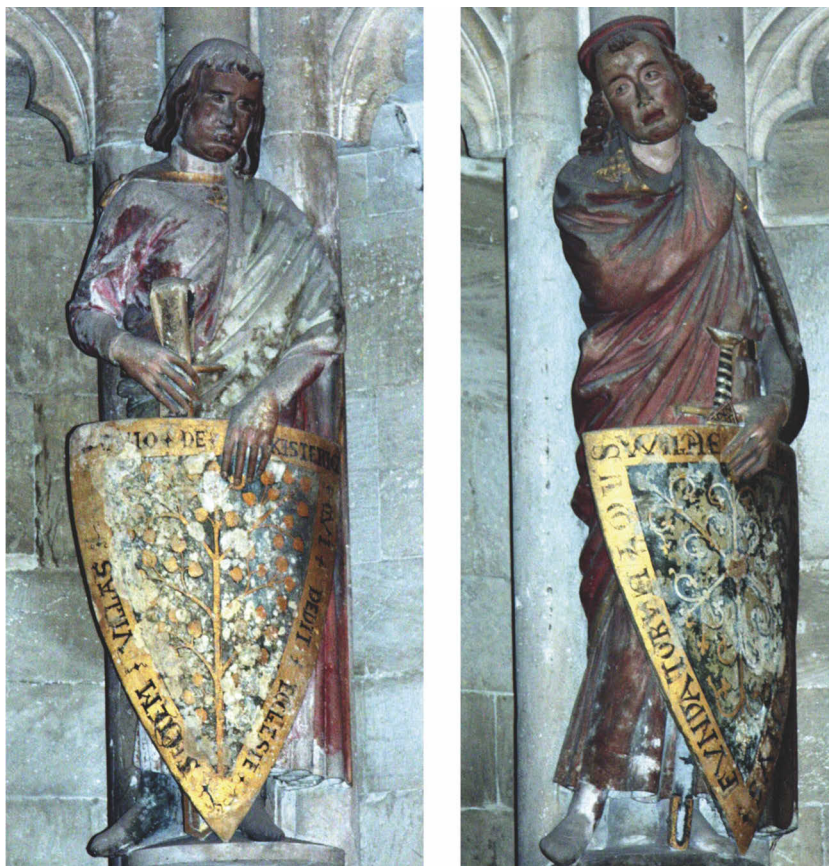
Figure 11: shields from Naumburg cathedral. Photographs by Adam Żurek.

With few exceptions, the drawings are mostly at variance with the information about the heraldry of the First Age provided in the texts. One possibility is that Tolkien developed a new heraldic system which he intended to include in the *Quenta Silmarillion*, but this conclusion seems improbable. According to notes collected in *Myths Transformed* all tales about the First Age were written by the Men of Númenor in the Second Age, whose reflections were transmitted in the framework of the heroic epic. What is recorded in the narration is not the actual heraldry of the First Age but a later Númenorean tradition. On that basis the drawings of 1960 might represent original emblems prior to their transformation by later tradition. The drawings perhaps constitute a visual analogy with the concept of *Essecilmë*, which is a name every person adopted in early youth as distinct from the name or names given at birth by parents.[158]

[158] Tolkien, *Morgoth's Ring,* p. 214–215. There is an argument against associating the "heraldic devices" with *Essecilmë*, as the text discusses only the customs of the Noldor and the drawings depict the devices of men as well as those of the elves. In answer to this I would point out a statement made in *Quenta Silmarillion* that the men of the Three Houses of Edain adapted the high culture of the Noldor so they might borrow their proto-heraldic practices.

Such private names connect with the person's inner character rather than their public persona. *Essecilmë* cannot therefore appear in "heroic tradition" as the stories included in *The Silmarillion* do not record the *Essecilmë* of any character of the First Age, with the single exception of Fëanor, who acted publicly under his *Essecilmë,* but it was identical with the name chosen by his mother. For the same reason, the narration does not confirm the presence of the devices presented on the drawings.

Conclusions

To summarize, Tolkien's texts and drawings suggest there are three separate heraldic systems in the legendarium, with varying compatibility with the rules of real-world heraldry. The heraldry of the Third Age roughly reflects the rules established in medieval Europe. Charges such as a tree, a horse and a ship are found in numerous authentic coats of arms. The tincture used, argent, sable, azure, vert, and gules correspond with the tinctures of classic heraldry. *The Lord of the Rings* presents only human arms so it may be inferred that in the legendarium heraldry was invented and codified by men. The information about heraldry in the texts concerning the First Age can be interpreted as a form of attributed heraldry with interpolations made by human authors. The texts present ideas about the pre-heraldic age held by the first generations of the heraldic age, when the rule of tinctures did not apply, and precious stones were placed on shields. The quasi-heraldic devices depicted in the pictures from 1960 belong outside the convention of the heroic epic. They perhaps reflect the "real" life of the characters, rather than the interpolations of a later narrator. They do not look properly heraldic because they belong to pre-heraldic times.

Such conclusions can only be drawn by following clues about the legendarium placed in notes which Tolkien made in his later years. By utilising these it has been possible to bridge the apparent divide between the three heraldic systems. There is every indication that the science of heraldry was a matter of small importance for Tolkien. For him it does not play a mimetic function, he tends to use arms more as a vehicle for symbolism. Certain tinctures and charges can be decoded by following founding myths and utilising the known hierarchy of colours within the legendarium, a precision which would be impossible in real-world heraldry because numerous sources provide different, mutually exclusive keys to the symbolism of charges and tinctures. Tolkien's heraldic system is quite uncomplicated, including as it does only a small number of arms, a reflection on the flat social structure of his imaginary societies. Hriban's conclusion that "the heraldic rules and visual canon are treated with the same philologist's care as the vocabulary and grammar rules of his created languages"[159] seems overstated. Tolkien did of course treat many aspects of his fictional world with "philologist's care" but for him heraldry was primarily an ornament and a space for symbolic narration.[160]

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[159] Hriban, 'The Eye and the Tree', p. 211.

[160] This paper is a reworking and an adaptation of a paper with the same title published in Polish in *Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego* N.S. vol. 20, 2021, pp. 139–174.

LETTERS FROM TREGARON – A STUDY IN HERALDIC PRACTICE IN ELIZABETHAN WALES

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Abstract

This paper presents excerpts from four letters written by the unofficial herald deputy Thomas Jones to Garter William Dethick between 1588 and 1602. They shed new light on the way that the College of Arms managed its affairs in Wales during an important period for the codification of Welsh heraldry.

Introduction

In 2019 four hitherto unnoticed letters from Thomas Jones of Fountain Gate, Tregaron, an energetic promoter and compiler of Welsh pedigree rolls, to William Dethick, Garter King of Arms in London, were discovered in the library of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. The correspondence sheds light on the relationship between these two men and their approach to the granting of arms and crests in Elizabethan Wales, and the warm friendship which existed between them for some ten years, if not longer. The letters also elicit details of how and for how much, payments for the herald's services were made, and the practices regarding the confirmation of Welsh coats of arms which appear to have been accepted as a general convention. The discussion will begin by describing the manuscripts, and will then discuss the writer and the recipient of the letters, their subject-matter, and payment for the granting of crests, and will close the discussion by drawing conclusions.

The Manuscripts of Caius College Library

The letters are included in different manuscripts which comprise miscellaneous documents collected by successive heralds and arms painters of the Knight family. The first of these was Edmund Knight, Norroy King of Arms, who died in 1593, leaving two sons – Thomas Knight, Chester Herald, who died soon after 1618[1], and John Knight (II), the renowned painter-stainer of London.[2] At his death in 1618 the latter bequeathed 'all my bowkes of armes and petegrees withe all outher things that apartayne to my proffesion of payntinge' to my son Thomas Knight, arms painter to the Heralds' office[3], from whom, in turn, his son William Knight, also an arms painter of London, acquired them. By *his* will of 1660, he ordered them to be sold for the benefit of his wife and children by his executor and brother, John Knight, the King's serjeant-surgeon. They were then valued at £40, but one John Graves of St. Dunstan-in-the-West, arms painter and apprentice to William Knight, offered £90 for them. John Knight demanded £150, but they remained unsold, and at his death in 1680 he bequeathed them to Caius College

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[1] Mark Noble, *History of the College of Arms* (London, 1805) pp. 172, 210.

[2] Edward Town, "A Biographical Dictionary of London Painters 1547 – 1625"*, Walpole Society,* vol. 76 (2014), pp. 124–5.

[3] *Duck* v *Myles and John Holland*, Caius College MS, Cur.Mil Boxes 13/36mm, 19/7c to 7, 20 June, 1639.

where they remain today.[4] The letters are bound with other unrelated items, some glued in; the pagination of each manuscript is irregular and the folio numbers entered on each letter seem to bear no relation to other items in the collection. The manuscripts relevant to Thomas Jones are 573/280 (1588), 599/281 (1596) and 606/513 (1602). The letters appear to have been written by a scribe, and two are seemingly copies, while two are signed by Thomas Jones. In addition there is a pedigree noted 'By me Thomas Jones of fowntaingate', glued into 573/280.

The writer of the letters

Thomas Jones of Fountain Gate (Porthffynnon), Tregaron in Ceredigion was born about 1532, the illegitimate son of Sion ap Dafydd ap Madog ap Hywel Moethe of Porthffynnon and Catrin, the illegitimate daughter of Maredudd ap Ieuan ap Robert. He was thus descended from an old family whose patriarchal ancestor was Gwaithfoed Fawr of Ceredigion.[5]

By 1559 he was known as Twm Sion Cati (after his parents).[6] Known in Welsh legend as a brigand in his youth, an *englyn* (a short poem) attributed to him in a manuscript written soon after his death boasts of his being able to drive cattle from Cornwall to Arwystli (in mid-Wales), to house break, and to distribute largesse. He is celebrated in folk lore as the Robin Hood of Wales. In 1559 however he was described as a 'gentleman' and was granted a pardon for *omnia escapia et cautiones,* but two years later appeared before Glamorgan grand sessions on suspicion of felony. Tradition records his prosperity in Brecon in early life – he later married the daughter of Sir John Price of Brecon – and in 1572 he was a buyer of land near Porthffynon (Fountain Gate), his ancestral home. In 1601 his local standing is indicated by his stewardship of the lordship of Caron, in which his estate was situated.[7]

In addition to the *englyn* noted above, other sources suggest that he was a cattle drover. After he had visited his cousin John Dee, the astrologer and mathematician, in Manchester in August 1595, Dee wrote that he 'rode towards Wales bak agayn the 13th day to mete the catall coming' and in September Dee wrote 'seventeen hed of cattell from my kinsfolk in Wales by the courteous Griffith David (perhaps Thomas Jones's son-in-law) nephew to Mr Thomas Griffith browght' (his brother David Griffith may have been the father of Griffith David).[8] Food supplies in the form of cattle on the hoof are also recorded by Dee during the period.[9] At his death in 1609 Thomas Jones's inventory records, among a substantial number of livestock, fifty-one kine valued at £38.[10]

In a *cywydd* (an alliterative Welsh poem) by the poet Sion Mowddwy in 1597, round about the time when the letters were written, he is portrayed as an old man, bald and white–bearded. As a cattle drover he would have driven cattle to the rich markets

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[4] Deposition in the case *Re Percy's Pedigree*, Caius College Cur.Mil. Boxes x/ii; x/23/12, Deponents Act Book, 1687–1702 4 June 1688 No 22 (Deponent John Graves b. 1643 apprentice to William Knight 1655–60).

[5] Samuel Rush Meyrick, *Heraldic Visitations of Wales* (Llandovery, 1846), pp. 45–6.

[6] Sion is Welsh for John.

[7] Daniel Huws, 'Thomas Jones [known as Twm Siôn Cati] (1532–1608/9)', *New DNB*.

[8] P. Russell, 'Divers Evidences Antient of Some Welsh Princes' *Classiques Garnier* (2018), pp. 395–426 (398).

[9] *Ibid*, p. 397.

[10] Will and Inventory, NLW, DS/1609/20.

in England: he knew the world. For other travellers he provided the safety of a convoy and in an age without banks he was often entrusted with large sums of money.[11] But it is as a genealogist that he is remembered here. He had spent some time collecting genealogies in Glamorgan, where he found time to admire the ladies of the 'Fro' (the Vale) – with the result that he quarrelled over one of them with Dafydd Benwyn of Llangeinwys, the Glamorgan bard.[12] It has long been known that in the reign of Queen Elizabeth the Welsh gentry took to the fashion of having their pedigrees recorded on rolls with painted coats of arms. Thomas Jones has been recognized as the foremost promoter of this fashion. Major Francis Jones, Wales Herald, described him as 'one of the first (if not the first) Welsh genealogist to make out fully emblazoned pedigrees, and a pioneer'.[13] His contemporary Dr John David Rhys in his *Cambrobrytannicae Cymraecaeve Linguae Institutiones et Rudimenta* of 1592 said that 'whoever professed himself to be a herald bard had to be thoroughly acquainted with the real descents and armorial bearings of the gentry of Wales' and that 'the most celebrated, accomplished and accurate is reckoned Tomas Sion alias Moetheu of Porth-y-Ffynon near Trev Garon; and when he is gone it will be a very doubtful chance that he will be able for a long time to leave behind him an equal'.[14] In addition he was later described as 'industr(iou)s and scienced' by William Dethick, Garter King of Arms[15], but it has only recently come to be accepted that Thomas Jones himself had no part in the scribing or painting of these rolls. His reputation lay in his detailed knowledge of Welsh pedigrees and the heraldry associated with them rather than any skill as a scribe or arms painter. A single letter of his, now in the College of Arms, allows us to see that his handwriting was poor and his English shaky; he had not had formal schooling. Indeed recent discoveries show that all known original pedigree rolls attributed to him up to the year 1591 are in the hand of Richard Adams, arms painter of Ludlow.[16]

In later life he married as his second wife Joane (born 1542) the widow of Thomas Williams of Ystrad Ffin and daughter to Sir John Price of Brecon, and niece of the Countess of Essex.[17] According to John Dee's mind, Thomas and Joane were a couple whilst her husband was still living. Their acquaintance, if not their dalliance, probably went back to the 1560s when he was in Brecon.[18] His antiquarian associates were George Owen of Henllys, Sir John Wyn of Gwydir and the deputy herald Lewys Dwnn. He claimed to have been acknowledged as a kinsman by Lord Burghley (also descended from Hywel Moethe).[19] Recent research has begun to suggest that there were informal channels of

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[11] Daniel Huws, 'Twm Sion Cati', *Carmarthenshire Antiquary, vol.*45 (2009) pp. 39–45 (43).

[12] F. Jones, 'An approach to Welsh Genealogy' *Trans. Hon. Soc. of Cymmrodorion* (1948), p. 384, citing *Traddodiad Llenyddol Morgannwg,* p. 87.

[13] *Ibid*, p. 397.

[14] Meyrick, *op.cit.,* p. 45 n. 5 citing *Cambrobrytannicae Cymraecaeve Linguae Institutiones*

[15] W.A. Littledale, *Miscellaneous Grants of Arms* I, Harl.Soc. vol.76 (1925), pp. 121–2. The grant cited refers to him as 'a Gent of Great Industry & Science', see n.35 and 38.

[16] Discussions with Dr Daniel Huws 2019.

[17] The countess in question was Elizabeth wife of Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex. Thomas Jones's wife Joan married thirdly after his death Sir George Devereux, brother to Walter, Cromwell's successor as Earl of Essex.

[18] Huws, *op. cit* p. 43.

[19] Huws, *DNB*, *op. cit.*

influence and knowledge between Welshmen and the College of Arms – for example both Lewys Morgannwg, one of the best known bards of the mid-sixteenth century, and his associate Richard Thomlyns, scribe and arms painter of Denbigh, both served Sir Gilbert Dethick, Garter King of Arms;[20] and Dr Daniel Huws has suggested that Sir John Price was instrumental in getting Gruffudd Hiraethog (bard and pupil of Lewys Morgannwg) appointed deputy herald for Wales;[21] and as has been noted, he was an associate of Dafydd Benwyn who is known to have made a copy of one of Thomas Jones's pedigree rolls.

The recipient of the letters

The four letters were written to William Dethick, Garter King of Arms. One includes his name in the salutation (606/513a): 'Right Worp[ll] Mr William Dethick'. One has his address on the verso (599/281): 'To the Ryte worship[ll] William Deathicke Alias Garter Esqre principall Kinge at Armes At his house Raght over Against Doctors Comons in London…'[**Figure 1**]; and from both internal and external evidence it is certain that two others are also written to him (573/280 and 606/513b).
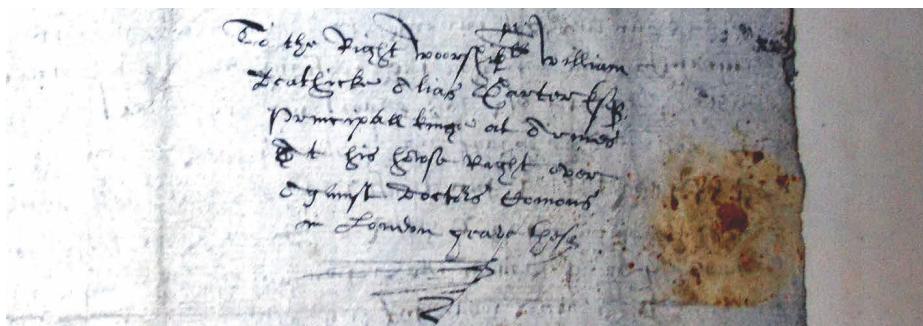

Figure 1: reverse of letter regarding David Lloyd of Pengwernolau showing William Dethick as the addressee. Caius College Ms 599/281 f. 2v. Courtesey of the Master and Fellows of Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge.

Dethick was a complex and contradictory man. Even allowing something for the general violence and manner of the age and the fact that our information comes from those hostile to him, he was a man of violent temper. 'He beat and wounded his owld father S[r] Gilbert Derike … in the open strete', 'he wounded his owne brother with his dagger in the Castle of Wyndesore at an Instalaccion', was involved in many 'owtrages and braules' such as striking with his dagger one Master Browne in Westminster Abbey 'after a funeral of great estate', and at the funeral of Sir Henry Sydney he beat the Minister in the Church at Penshurst.[22] He struck heralds and pursuivants at public ceremonies if they offended him, and he assaulted the wife of John Hart, Chester Herald, by rubbing hot ashes into her hair.[23] There were numerous other instances,

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[20] R. Colley, 'The Pedigree Roll of Gawen Goodman 1584', *Denbighshire Historical Society Transactions,* vol.62 (2014), pp. 73–90.

[21] Discussions with Dr Daniel Huws 2019.

[22] Ralph Brooke, *Detections and Abusesse of William Dericke.* Folger Shakespeare Library Ms x.d. 313, 423.

[23] BL Lansdowne Ms. 18 f.5 ; Sir Anthony Wagner, *Heralds of England* (London,1967), p. 201.

Figure 2: letter regarding Richard Pryse of Gogerddan. Caius College Ms 573/280 f.92. Courtesey of the Master and Fellows of Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge.

and although many emanate from the aggressive and troublesome Ralph Brooke, York Herald, statements were specific, made publicly and from different quarters.[24] But so too, Tregaron was witness to similar violence – the Vicar led several attacks by mobs of

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[24] Wagner, *ibid.*

men and women armed with swords, staves, pitchforks and pikes against Thomas Jones and his household in which he was almost killed, and they tried to hang his son. Later in the year he was wounded by the gleve of Morgan David, and on another occasion was saved by chance after the Vicar had approached him with a concealed dagger.[25] And yet, in strictly heraldic matters, Dethick seems, on the whole, to have enjoyed a good reputation, notwithstanding criticism levelled against him for granting arms to base persons. Camden, whose praise is weighty and was not lightly given, describes him as most zealous in all that belongs to the study of honour and nobility.[26] He was a lover and promoter of learning and one of a select number of antiquaries who entered into a society in 1593 meeting at his lodging – the forerunner of the Society of Antiquaries. Whilst it is true that he was accused of granting arms to base persons, this accusation 'was an old one brought out of store whenever a stick was wanted to beat a King of Arms with'.[27] As everyone knew, one of the chief purposes of granting arms was to confirm the gentility of persons not yet formally established. A grant of arms provided social legitimation for those at the lower elevations of the social pyramid who lacked the legal certification that came, for example, with knighthood or peerage. It is hardly surprising with the increasing number of aspirants from newly enriched families, if an element of venality crept in. The urge for enhanced social respectability and integration remained especially acute throughout the period.[28]

In addition, the request for a grant was often supported by the production of a pedigree, and in this sphere Dethick was also accused of producing doubtful genealogy; but, it might be argued that in some cases these may have been based on as much recorded evidence as could be mustered at that time. Like legal fictions they were designed to achieve a result which was widely accepted as more or less legitimate, but which could not be otherwise accurately or conclusively achieved – the line between fiction and bold assertion or conjecture may have been a faint one.[29] Indeed, Dethick was not alone in being so accused – other eminent heralds were similarly criticized, as too was Thomas Jones (at least in the later opinion of Humfrey Wanley[30]); but it must also be admitted that the science and critical standards of genealogy were as yet still to be developed and refined.

The subject matter of the letters

Three of the letters relate to the grant of a new crest and at the same time a confirmation of a paternal coat of arms. The fourth relates to evidences to support a confirmation

[25] Daniel Huws,'Twm Sion Cati', in: *A Birthday Book for Brother Stone,* Ed. Rachel May & John Minford (Hong Kong, 2003), p. 43; and Huws *DNB, op.cit.*

[26] Camden, *Britannia* (London,1600), p. 250: 'Gulielmus Dethicus principalis Armorum Rex Garterii nomine notus, omnium quae ad honorem at nobilitatis rationem spectant studiosissimus'. Wagner *op. cit.* p. 204.

[27] Wagner, *ibid.*

[28] Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558–1641* (Oxford,1965)*,* p. 65; Robert Tittler, *Portraits, Painters and Publics in Provincial England 1540 -1640* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 102–5.

[29] J.H. Baker, 'Tudor Pedigree Rolls and their Uses,' in Nigel Ramsay (ed.), *Heralds and Heraldry in Shakespeare's England* (Donington, 2014), p. 149.

[30] Humfrey Wanley, commentary to Harl. Ms. 1500 in his catalogue of Harleian Manuscripts – 'I have heard that this Jones of Fountayn –gatte was in his time a notable forger of Welsh pedigrees'. This has since been taken in a derogatory sense but could the term 'forger' have had its other meaning of a 'creator' or 'maker'? I have seen the term used in its sense of 'to form' in sixteenth and early seventeenth century scripts.
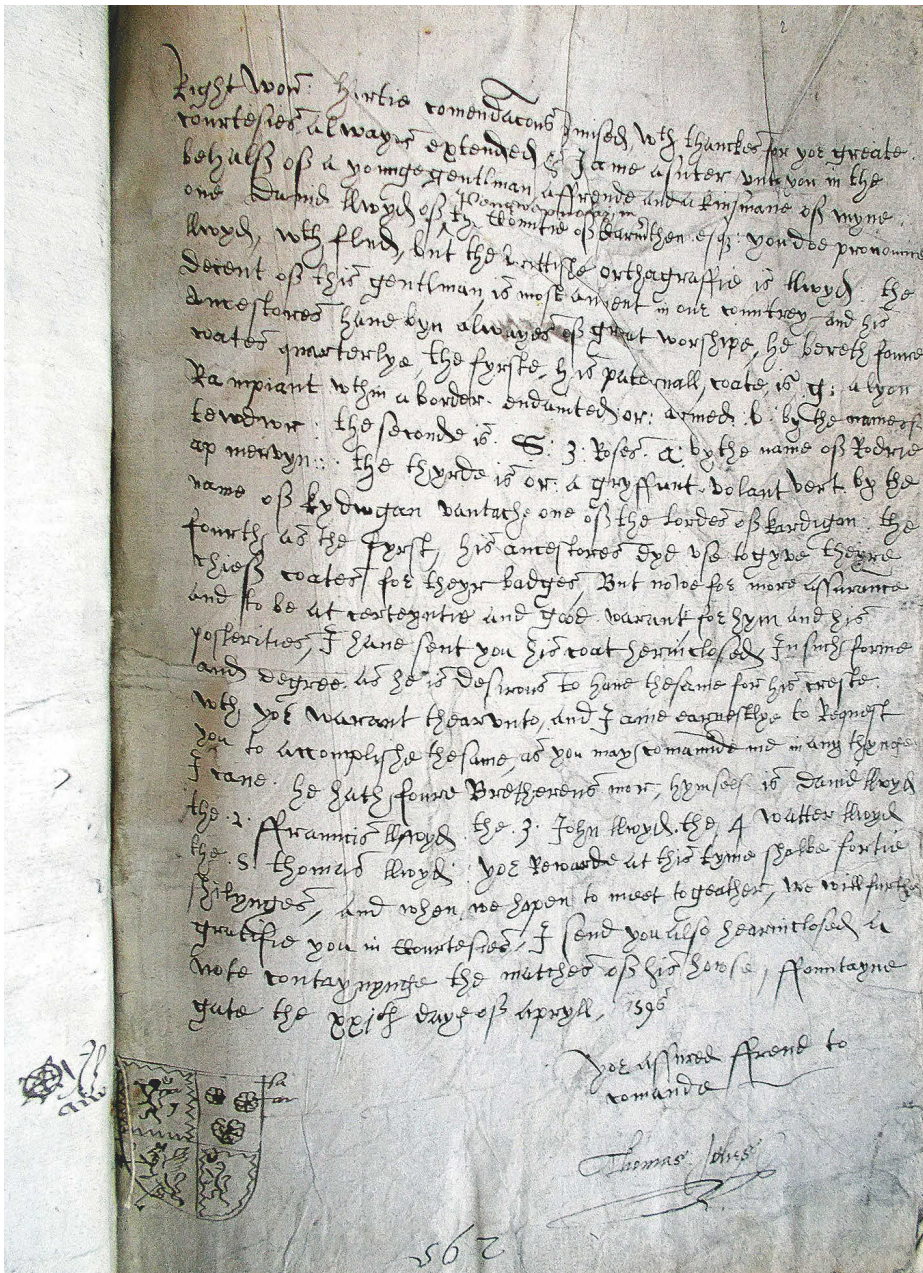
Figure 3: letter regarding David Lloyd of Pengwernolau, Caius College Ms 599/281 f. 2r. Courtesey of the Master and Fellows of Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge.

of a paternal, quartered coat together with the grant of a crest. In the case of Welsh arms, at this time, heralds seem to have been content to confirm the traditional coats attributed to patriarchs of centuries before, many of whom had lived in non-heraldic times, and some of whom were merely mythical figures. Was this done uncritically, or was it a recognition that these arms had, whatever their attribution, by now achieved an authority or authenticity of their own by systematic use?[31] For example, the preamble in many fifteenth and sixteenth century grants recognized 'armes they and their ancestors have borne tyme out of minde' or 'by what they were due to them for ever neither can tongue expresse or the memory of man recollect'.[32]

In the present letters we see the coat of Gwaithfoed confirmed to Richard Pryse of Gogerddan at some time after 1588 [**Figure 2**]; the coats of Rhys ap Tewdwr, Rhodri ap Merfyn and Cadwgan Fantach confirmed to David Lloyd of Pengwernolau in 1598 (Dethick differencing the coat of Rhys ap Tewdwr by charging the border with torteaux) [**Figure 3**]; the coats of Rhys ap Tewdwr and Gwaithfoed confirmed to John Lloyd of Llanfair Clydogau after 1602; and that of Rhys ap Tewdwr to Walter Jones of London in 1602.

Thomas Jones, in these letters, sets out the ancient usage of these coats by each potential grantee, at times supplying a pedigree. In the case of Richard Pryse he asks that 'he may be Licenced by yo^u to beare in Crest or baidge some of his Auncient paternall Coate that his Auncientrie have born before… wthout corrupcon or difference (573/280); for David Lloyd he says 'the Decent of this gentleman is most ancient in our countery and his Ancestors haue bin alwayes of great worshipe. he bereth foure coates quarterlye'(599/281); in the case of John Lloyd 'That Coate he doth beare by his grandmother daughter & coheire to John Gwyn Esqr & paternally descended from Tewdwr…. – But his paternall coate is the coate of Gwaythvoed^{33}' (606/513) [**Figure 4**].

The main purpose of the letters, however, is to pray for the grant of a crest which was often lacking in the case of ancient arms. Most such grants, after confirming the arms, contain the words 'And for as much as I finde no creast unto the same as commonly to all auncient Armes there belongeth none'[34]and in the grant of a crest to Walter Jones, Dethick says 'for that there hath ben no ancient creast or cognisance appropriate unto his Predecessors[35]'. Thomas Jones states that 'our Auncientries did use to geave the whole Coate in Baidge' or 'his ancestors dyd use to gyve theyre chief coates for theyr badges' (573/280 and 599/281 respectively), that is, they bore as a crest

[31] Michael Powell Siddons, *The Development of Welsh Heraldry*, vol. I (Aberystwyth,1991), p. 324.

[32] W. Paley Baildon, 'Heralds' College and Prescription', *Ancestor*, vol. viii (1904), p. 125, citing *Tonge's Visitation of Yorkshire*, Surtees Soc. vol. 41 (1863) App xxxviii and BL Harl. Ms. 1470, f. 153.

[33] This seems to clarify the uncertainty about the arms in Lewys Dwnn *Visitations of Wales*, ed. Samuel Rush Meyrick (Llandovery,1846), p. 164: Arfau Jankyn Lloyd Esquier (father of John Lloyd) of Llanvair Klydoge Q1 3 llew blaidd y dwnn kynta Q2 Gwaithvoed ail Klothien Q3 Tewdwr Q4 Y blaidd val y Dwns.

[34] R. Colley, *The Grants of Arms of Robert Cooke 1567–93* (forthcoming) e.g., no 52 Thomas Smythe of Credenhill 1569 (NLW Ms Twiston Davies 4 No 9018 original patent); No 67 Edward Owen of Shrewsbury 1582 (*Genealogist* vol. xxii p. 154, *Misc. Gen. et Her.*, 2nd Ser., vol, ii, p. 249).

[35] Willoughby.A. Littledale, *A Collection of Miscellaneous Grants*, Harl. Soc. vol. 76 part I (1925), p. 121. The original grant hangs framed in the hall at Chastleton House, Oxfordshire and it is from this that the actual words are taken, Littledale having used BL, Add Ms 5524, f.206 which is different in minor instances of words and spelling from the original patent.

Figure 4: letter regarding John Lloyd of Llanfair Clydogaun showing the signature of Thomas Jones, Caius College Ms 606/513. Courtesey of the Master and Fellows of Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge.

the same charge as in the shield. But from the letters we see the practice of differencing the device used in the coat to be used as a crest – in the case of Richard Pryse, he says 'he is more desirious to geave the foresaid Lion in suche order as yor wo^r shall devise' and the '*Lion Ramping Regardant Sable*, *armed gules*' as a crest holds in his forepaws *a fleur-de-lys or* [**Figure 5**]; in the margin of the letter is a naively tricked drawing of the crest. For David Lloyd the *Lion rampant or* as a crest bears *a crescent sable* on his shoulder and holds in his forepaws a *Rose argent, seeded gules, leaved vert* – he says 'I have sent you his coat hereinclosed in such forme and degree as he is desirous to have the same for his creste' – a painted roundel accompanying the letter shows this crest [**Figure 6**]. For Walter Jones, the '*Lyon Rampand' or*, as a crest becomes '*a demy lion rampant or armed and langued azure houlding a mollett gules*'; with regard to his descent from Hywel ap Rhys he explains 'howell was the 3 son of the L^d Rs Prince of South Wales there you must sett a molet till you come to the achievements all …. (the mullet was the cadency mark of the third son).The claws and tongue of another tincture is not a difference but simply heraldic artistic style. For Thomas Barrett of Pendyn (referred to in a memorandum) he takes *a lion rampant or* from one of the quartered coats, charges the beast with a *crescent gules*, holding in his forepaws an *escallop sable* taken from the paternal coat.[36] In the case of John Lloyd, he says 'Yo^u knowe that Mr Prise of Cardigan shire doth beare the same lion embracing a flower de luce; so is Mr Lloyd desirous to have som devise in his bearing of that Lion Contrary to that order as Mr Price doeth beare it.' So, the *lion rampant regardant sable* becomes a *demi lion rampant regardant sable holding in his forepaws a bezant or annulet or* – the marginal trick is not sufficiently distinct to differentiate between the two. It is also interesting to speculate whether Thomas Jones had some connection with the grant of arms to Ryse Morris of London by Robert Cooke, Clarenceux King of Arms in 1587. Descended from Rhys ap Tewdwr he differenced the paternal coat by adding pellets (roundels sable) to the *indented border or* and one on the shoulder of the lion. The crest is the same as the coat – *a lion rampant or* but *differenced with a collar gules, holding in both forepaws a pellet*.[37] These seem to follow the practices recorded in the letters.

The correspondence between Thomas Jones and Dethick is evidence of a careful and considered approach to the granting of both arms and crest. It also evinces an assertiveness on the part of the former in his heraldic dealings with the latter, who, conversely, seems to have had a large degree of confidence in him. The letter relating to Walter Jones resulted in an unusual sequel, for in the patent confirming arms and granting a crest in 1602 [**Figures 7** and **8**], Dethick actually includes in the patent itself the following words relating to the quartering allowed to Walter Jones –

'As appeareth by his pedigree and discent made and collected out of sundry evidences by Thomas Jones of Tregaron a Gent of Great Industry & Science in ye antiquities & genealogies of ye worshipful gent in his Maties Principalitie of Wales …'[38]

which appears to be contemporaneous with the pedigree roll on paper produced by Thomas Jones for Walter Jones of Chastleton in 1601 'perused and alowed by William

[36] Siddons, *Welsh Heraldry* op cit vol.II, (Aberystwyth,1993), p. 17.

[37] *Ibid* vol. IV (Aberystwyth, 2006) p. 183; Colley, op.cit, No. 252 (Cooke's Gifts. CA, Ms. B.EDN 23v; Queen's College Oxford, Ms 146, 241 vi; CA Ms F13 f.20v; Society of Antiquaries, Ms 385, f. 44).

[38] Littledale, op.cit. pp. 121–2, but *vide* f. *35 supra.*

Figure 5: achievement of Richard Pryse of Gogerddan in the pedigree roll drawn up by Thomas Jones 1590. © National Library of Wales, Roll 226. For blazon see the appendix.

Dethicke garter principall Kinge of Armes'.[39] He had earlier sent the pedigree to Dethick showing his entitlement to bear the coat of Rhys ap Tewdwr. In the letter he blazons the coat using the language of fantastical symbolism rather than the normal heraldic terminology, which was advocated at the time by, for example, Sir John Ferne, in which the names of the planets were used for the heraldic tinctures – Mars for gules, the Sun for or and Jupiter for azure. He says: 'he did beare *Mars a Lyon Rampand within a border indent Sol armed Iove.*' This practice was favoured by contemporary scholars

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[39] Michael Powell Siddons, *Welsh Pedigree Rolls,* NLW 1996, p. 42 no. 199 formerly at Chastleton House and at that time in Oxfordshire County Archives.

Figure 6: the painted crest of David Lloyd of Pengwernolau, Caius College Ms 599/281 f.1. Courtesey of the Master and Fellows of Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge.

for blazoning the arms of sovereign princes.[40] The purpose of this letter regarding the arms of Walter Jones was to show that Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, through his descent from 'Gwladys d: & coeh : to howell ap Rs ap Tewdwr'[41] bore the same coat but with a different border. He states 'The L^d Talbotes ever synce hath borne the coate of Tewdwr but the Talbotts beare yt engrailed & the offsprings of Tewdwr Indented.'

This is set out in the patent by Dethick who goes on to say 'I have thought good to aquaint the right honourable Gilbert Earle of Shrewsbury in this behalf… and by his Lordships consent to exemplifie the same (to Walter Jones)'. The deference demonstrated here probably arose from the fact that Gilbert Talbot was the son of George, earl of Shrewsbury, who had been Earl Marshal and as such would have presided over the College of Arms at the time of the quarrelsome jurisdictional troubles which involved *inter alia* William Dethick. It is evident from these letters that both Thomas Jones and

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[40] William Newton, *A Display of Heraldry* (London,1846), p. 21.
[41] Whilst the heraldry is accurate, the descent differs somewhat from modern genealogies.

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Figure 7: the achievement of Walter Jones in the grant of arms by William Dethick of 1602 National Trust at Chastleton House. Courtesey of the Trustees of the National Trust. For blazon see the appendix.

Dethick took great care in differencing the several crests requested, at the same time as allowing the ancient paternal coats to be confirmed.

Payment for granting crests

The letters give a telling insight into the payments for the grant of a crest. In the letter in 606/513 (1602) Thomas Jones says 'I know yor Rewarde for Crestes vnder yor warrant is somtymes x^{li} of a frend v^{li} as I have payed you for Mr Barretts crest. Yo^u shall have but xl^s of him (John Lloyd) at my Request & overboldnes allwayes'. In letter 599/281 (1596) he says 'yor Rewarde at this tyme shalbe fortie shilynges and when we happen to meet togeather we will further gratifie you in courtesies.' In letter 573/280 (1588) he says 'and hit shall gratifie yo^u for the same this being bould vpon yo^u according to my old custome in the behalf of my frends' thereby implying that the payments in respect of his friends are less, as set out in the letter regarding John Lloyd. In letter 606/513 (1602) he gives an idea of what the 'Courtesies' might be – 'If God will grant us Life and health till the next somer after Trinitie terme I would you durst be so bold as to appoint me a meting at my Coz Jones and there to Trye our manhood who cann best eate fatte venison'. Venison was given for reward as a sign of gentility: eating venison was an acceptable gift between gentlemen. Since the permission to hunt for game came from the Queen, to enjoy venison together was a mark of social status and a gesture of esteem. Such meals of venison and other game were lavish and forbidden to the general population. In a ballad of an earlier time the prestige associated with this meat is evident:

> Anone before our kynge was set
>   The fatte venison
> The good whyte brede the good rede wyne
>   And thereto the fyne ale and brown[42]

The fact that Dethick enjoys this long standing relationship with Thomas Jones over many years has perhaps another dimension. The College of Arms had to find a pragmatic way of dealing with matters which arose at some distance from London. The appointment of deputy heralds to some extent regularized matters which lay beyond its control – such agents were particularly necessary in the instances discussed here, which required a knowledge of the Welsh language. Although in the pedigree roll made for Johan and Maude fflywelin in 1608 Thomas Jones describes himself as 'principalle heraulde for all Wales'[43] and the pedigree of Gwyllym of Llanfair Cilgedin in Monmouthshire is noted as 'approved by Mr Lewis Dun and Mr Thomas Jones of fountayne gate, heraulds att armes' there is no record of him ever having been appointed deputy herald or indeed holding any other official office[44], though Lewys Dwnn had

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[42] See Barbara A. Hanawalt, 'Ballads and Bandits:Fourteenth Century Outlaws and the Robin Hood Poems', in: *Robin Hood, An Anthology of Scholarship and Criticism* ed. Stephen Knight (Cambridge,1999) pp. 262–284; B.A. Hanawalt 'Men's Games, King's Deer. Poaching in Medieval England', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, vol. 18 (1988).

[43] NLW Roll 17.

[44] BL Harl. Ms 3538 f.3.

Figure 8: letters patent granting arms to Walter Jones by William Dethick of 1602
National Trust at Chastleton House. Courtesey of the Trustees of the National Trust.

been so appointed; but since it was the College's policy to limit the number of people undertaking the work of heralds, there was no official vacancy for Thomas Jones to fill, though he did assist Dwnn. The production of pedigree rolls, however, benefitted both Jones and Dethick by providing the former with the lucrative business of pedigree making for potential grantees of arms and the latter with pedigrees that might support such grants, for which Dethick could charge a substantial fee. The business generated by Jones at a local level was a fruitful source of money for both and so it seems that Dethick was prepared to concede part of his fees for granting crests to Jones to keep him happy and assure the future conduit of business to London. This accounts, perhaps, for the confident and assertive manner in which Jones himself appears to set the level of Dethick's fees for granting crests.

Figure 9: title cartouche from the pedigree roll of Richard Pryse showing the characteristic design and red paint employed by Richard Adams. © National Library of Wales, NLW Roll 226.

Conclusion

These episodes reveal how the College of Arms relied on local heraldic and genealogical practitioners in areas where the heralds could not effectively operate, due either to the need to understand the Welsh language or to have access to the ancient manuscripts held in private libraries. Thomas Jones possessed both such requirements, which were enhanced by his extensive network of friends and relations. How Thomas Jones came to be involved in his work on pedigree rolls and grants of arms is uncertain but it is likely that he saw the chance of creating a niche market among the Welsh gentry who were eager to display their standing and connections through the production of attractive and impressive pedigree rolls and grants of arms.

The relationship between Jones and Dethick is also evidence of a gradual shift from one paradigm to another in the practice of Welsh genealogy. Welsh bards such as Gruffudd Hiraethog and Lewys Morgannwg had assisted the College of Arms for some time. The bardic order from which they were drawn was jealous of its role as the traditional custodian of genealogical knowledge in Wales. The activities of bards who worked with the heralds may have been acceptable to the bardic order simply because they were bards themselves, and products of the bardic system. Thomas Jones was neither bard nor poet and operated outside this circle, even employing an English arms painter, Richard Adams of Ludlow, to execute his pedigrees rather than maintaining a purely Welsh tradition [**Figure 9**]. The geography of genealogical expertise is Wales was undergoing a change. The growing demand for the more visible and outward displays of privilege and status which pedigree rolls satisfied meant that the older reliance on bards who eulogized their patrons in verse, incorporating their heraldry in poetry, was gradually waning.

Whilst a grant of arms may have been the certification of gentility, the pedigree roll had a wider purpose. It exhibited the relationship between people of power and influence and those who aspired to it. The nuanced and intricate web of interconnection between descendants of a common ancestor, now largely lost, was fully understood by the participants in the quest for social advancement and promotion.[45]

APPENDIX of BLAZONS

Figure 5. Richard Pryse

Q1   *Or a lion rampant regardant sable armed and langued gules* (Gwaithfoed)
Q2   *Sable a lion rampant argent* (Teithwalch)
Q3   *Per pale azure and sable three fleurs de lys or* (Ynyr Gwent)
Q4   *Or a gryphon segreant vert* (Elffyn ap Gwyddno)
Q5   *Gules a gryphon or* (Maredudd ap Llywelyn)
Q6   *Ermine a saltire gules* (Osbwrn Wyddel)

Impaling for Gwen daughter and sole heiress of Tomos ap Rhys ap Morus
Q1 and 4 *Sable three nag's heads erazed argent* (Blayney)
Q2 and 3 *Sable a chevron between three fleurs de lys argent* (Gollwyn ap Tangno)

Crest: On a wreath or and sable. *A lion rampant regardant sable armed and langued gules holding in his fore-paws a fleur de lys or mantled gules double argent.*

Figure 7. Walter Jones

Q1   *Gules a lion rampant or armed and langued azure within a bordure indented and a mullet in dexter chief of the second* (Rhys ap Tewdwr)
Q2   *Or a lion rampant gules* (Rhiwallon ap Cynfyn)
Q3   *Gules a garb or thereon a crow sable* (Vaughan of Tyle Glas)
Q4   *Paly of six or and azure on a fess gules three mullets or* (Clanvow)
Q5   *Gules two bars paly argent and sable* (Barre)
Q6   *Argent a stag trippant sable* (Jones of Monmouth)
Q7   Blank
Q8   As Q1

Crest: *on a wreath or and gules a demi-lion rampant or armed and langued azure holding in his fore-paws a mullet gules, mantled gules doubled argent.*

ARTEFACTS OF INTEREST

Including items reported under the Portable Antiquities Scheme and the Treasure Act

A further short selection of small finds of heraldic or related interest. Most are items found by metal detectorists and recently reported under the terms of the Treasure Act 1996 or the Portable Antiquities Scheme. All these have a unique PAS number. Objects submitted to H.M. Coroner as potential treasure have a T number prefixed by the year in which they were submitted. Norfolk objects also have a Norfolk Historic Environment Record (NHER) number. One item listed was found during archaeological excavation; it is now in the custody of a county museums service.

2022.1 HAMPSHIRE: WEST TYTHERLEY
DOR-1363A3. **See Figure 1.**

A medieval silver pedestal matrix with an oval bezel. The handle terminates in an open-work trefoil through the top of which passes a suspension loop with circular terminals

Figure 1: seal of Joan de Estcote (d.1316).

containing a separate rivet. On the face of the seal is a shield with the arms *A fess fretty* (or possibly *charged with three saltires*) *between three mullets of six points pierced*. The legend reads S' IOHANNE DE ESTCOTE. Dividing the legend and the internal border of dots at 3, 9 and 12 o'clock, are three escallops, the one at 12 o'clock larger than the other two. The seal is 31.18 mm high; the dimensions of the face are 19.95 mm x 16.67 mm. Weight: 13.89g. Found 29 September 2020.

This is evidently the seal of Joan de Estcote (d. 1316: *CIPM Ed. II*, vol. 2, no. 24), wife of Hugh de Estcote (m. 1280) and heir to Walter de Langford (her father) and Roger de Langford (her uncle). Joan inherited her father's land at West Tytherley, where this seal was found: see *VCH Hants* 4, p. 519. Hugh de Estcote's arms were *Sable six escallops or* (*DBA* vol. 3, pp. 261–2) or *Sable semy of escallops or* (G. J. Brault, *The Rolls of Arms of Edward I* (*Aspilogia* 3: Woodbridge, 1997), vol. 2, p. 155) and were presumably the source of the escallops used in the border here. Joan's paternal arms were not previously known, though other medieval families of the name of Langford are recorded as using pierced mullets (*DBA* 4, p. 257). The style of the seal and the engraving is consistent with an early-fourteenth-century date.

Ciorstaidh Hayward-Trevarthen

2022.2 KENT: OLD ROMNEY
KENT-9E270E. **See Figure 2.**
A medieval cast copper-alloy seal matrix with an unusually squat tapering, faceted handle terminating in a ring. The face of the die is circular and engraved with central device of a triple-towered castle dimidiating a fleur-de-lys, with a fish below. Encircling the device is a beaded border outside which is the legend +S' STEPh'I DE POISSIACO. CL'I. Diameter 19.98mm; height 19.04mm; weight 8.83g.

The legend identifies the owner as a Stephen or Étienne de Poissy, clerk. For the central device of a castle dimidiated with a fleur-de-lys on a counter-seal used by the castellany of Poissy in Île-de-France, see Douët d'Arcq no. 5050 (on an act of 1413) = *www.sigilla.org/sceau-type/chatellenie-poissy-contre-sceau-64896*. The fish, a further canting reference to Poissy, appears on a seal of the commune: *www.sigilla.org/sceau-type/commune-poissy-sceau-74726*. It is doubtful whether the Étienne de Poissy can be the fourteenth-century prelate of the same name who was cardinal and bishop of Paris (d. 1373) and was known in England as the negotiator of the release of John II of France after the Treaty of Brétigny in 1360.

Jo Ahmet

Figure 2: seal of Stephen de Poissy, clerk.

2022.3 LANCASHIRE: OVER KELLET
LANCUM-C9773E. 2020 T774. **See Figure 3.**
A complete medieval cast silver pointed-oval seal matrix of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. There is an integrally cast suspension loop and vertical rib on the reverse; this loop has been broken at some point. On the face of the matrix is a shield with a star and crescent moon above within an inscription apparently reading +SIGILL' ADE FILA D DRELL. The consecutive Ds appear to be joined by a short horizontal line; this may be a fracture or could be a form of abbreviation or ligature for DE (as

interpreted here). The letters FIL in FIL(I)A(E) seem to be oriented differently from the rest of the text, the right way up but back-to-front. Dimensions of face 30.95mm x 21.63mm; thickness 2.66mm in thickness (5.92mm including the raised transverse bar; 7.22mm at the suspension loop); weight 13.22g. Found February 2020.

The heraldry is currently unidentified. The arms seem to be *Two bars wavy and a canton with a label of four points over all*. It is possible that the two deep horizontal lines across the middle of the shield are a deliberate defacement in order to put the seal out of action, or, if made by a herald, to declare the heraldry unlawful. Ada daughter of Drell, if that is how the legend is to be interpreted, is likewise as yet unidentified. The findspot is in the manor of Carnforth, inherited from the Lancaster family in the thirteenth century by the Lindsays; Ada, widow of William Lindsay and sister of John Baliol, King of Scots, was sued in her own right over property in the manor in 1292; *VCH Lancs* 8, p. 169 n. 41. It is possible that Ada was a name used by other women in the area in subsequent generations.

Ian Bass

Figure 3: seal of Ada fil(i)a d(e) Drell (?).

2022.4 NORFOLK: ACLE
NMS-001D36. NHER 42590. **See Figure 4.**
Medieval enamelled copper-alloy elaborate armorial quatrefoil stud from harness, worn and corroded, and now missing the surface treatment of the metal (tinning or gilding). There is a short integral spike for attachment on the reverse (length 8mm). Although damaged, much of the enamelled decoration survives. The arms can be blazoned *Azure*

three bends or (or *argent*) *on a chief gules three fleurs-de-lys or* (or *argent*). Dimensions 34 x 34mm; weight 11.18g. 14th-15th century.

The arms have not been identified and are not listed in *DBA*.

Steven Ashley

Figure 4: unidentified armorial harness stud.

2022.5 NORFOLK: ROYDON

NMS-71554C. NHER 61456. 2020 T841. **See Figure 5.**

A small gold signet finger-ring, probably sixteenth or early-seventeenth century in date. The hoop is D-shaped in cross-section, with the interior flat or very slightly convex and the exterior more strongly convex. The bezel is oval and flat and is set longitudinally; it is engraved with a quartered coat of arms on a lozenge, set within a fine border of tiny stamped double crescents. The hoop flares from a minimum of 2.85mm wide and 1.4mm thick at the back of the hoop, to vertical shoulders. Length from the top of the bezel to the back of the hoop, 16.25mm. External width of the ring, 18.8mm. Internal width, 15.4mm. The bezel measures 17 x 14.7mm. Weight 8.22g.

The arms are *Quarterly 1 a fess engrailed between three fleurs-de-lis, 2 on a fess between two chevrons a crescent, 3 a chevron between three covered cups, 4 fretty on a chief a lion passant guardant*; at fess point, over all the quarters, is a pierced mullet. There are traces of pecking or stippling on the fess in the first quarter, on the field in the second quarter and on the chevron in the third quarter. The quarters stand for 1 Ashfield, 2 Tendring, 3 Butler, 4 Mapershall, and are the arms of the Ashfields of Stowlangtoft in Suffolk; subsequently, having sold the Stowlangtoft estate to the D'Ewes family in 1614, they were of Nether Hall in Harkstead, in the south of the same county, and were created baronets in 1626. John Ashfield (lived in the time of Edward IV according to a pedigree recorded in the 1634 Visitation of London: CA MS 2.C24/535) married Florence daughter and heir of John Butler whose mother was a Mapershall heiress; the elder son of this marriage was John Ashfield of Stowlangtoft who died 1499. The Tendring quartering stands for the elder John's stepmother, Cecilia, eldest daughter and co-heiress of John Tendring of Brockdish in Norfolk. The ring was presumably made for a daughter of a third son of this family, perhaps daughter of Edward third son of the

latter John, or of Thomas third son of Robert Ashfield of Stowlangtoft, High Sheriff of Suffolk 1577. For a pedigree of the family see W. J. Corbett and T. Tindal Methold, 'The rise and devolution of the manors in Hepworth, Suffolk' (part 2), *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History* 10.2 (1899), pp. 125–43 with pedigree on p. 130.

Steven Ashley

Figure 5: signet ring for a female member of the Ashfield family.

2022.6 NORFOLK: SUSTEAD
NMS-62FBFB. NHER 64307. **See Figure 6.**
Worn and corroded medieval copper alloy horse harness pendant, shield-shaped with suspension-loop. Red and blue enamel and a fragment of tinning at the base of the suspension-loop. The armorial decoration on the face is *Barry of twelve argent*

and azure an orle of six martlets gules. Height 43mm; width 25mm; weight 10.89g. Mid-13th to mid-fourttenth century.

The arms are those of Valence, Earls of Pembroke (*Barry argent and azure an orle of martlets gules*).

Steven Ashley

Figure 6: horse harness pendant with the arms of Valence.

2022.7 NORFOLK: SWANNINGTON

NMS-E248A4. NHER 41137. **See Figure 7.**

Post-medieval silver hawk ring or vervel of Lewis and Richardson type C.i, narrow D-sectioned band applied with shield (8.5 x 10mm) bearing the engraved arms *Three annulets* (2 and 1) within an incised bordering line. The band is set horizontally on the reverse of the shield and bears an inscription around the flat outer face: **John Riches**. Internal diameter of band 5.5mm. Weight 1.01g. 17th century.

The family of Riches is recorded with these arms in the sixteenth century: W. B. Bannerman, *The Visitations of Kent taken in the Years 1530–1, and 1574*, vol. 2 (Harl. Soc. vol. 75: London 1924), p. 23.

Reference: M. Lewis and I. Richardson, *Inscribed Vervels* (BAR British series 648: Oxford 2019).

Steven Ashley

Figure 7: hawk ring of John Riches.

2022.8 OXFORDSHIRE: EYNSHAM

Oxfordshire Museums Service OXCMS 1995.342.sf1198. **See Figure 8.**

A medieval cast copper-alloy shield-shaped harness pendant with a slightly bent integral suspension loop. The shield is *Gyronny of twelve pieces*, alternately showing traces of red enamel and gilding. The reverse is undecorated. Dimensions of shield 48mm x 28mm; weight 15g.

The pendant was uncovered during archaeological excavations at Eynsham Abbey, for which see A. Hardy et al., *Ælfric's Abbey: Excavations at Eynsham Abbey, Oxfordshire, 1989–92* (Oxford Archaeology, Thames Valley Landscapes 16: 2003). It was excavated from early post-medieval deposits and was thought to have been disturbed from earlier deposits. The arms *Gyronny of twelve or and gules* are likely to be those of the Bassingbourne family (*DBA* 4, pp. 117–18) whose principal estates were at Badlingham, Cambs., but also held property further west. One line of the name is found at Lillingstone Lovell in north Bucks., 30–35 miles from Eynsham. Nicholas Bassingbourn married Alice Lisors, heiress of Richard Engaine (the Domesday proprietor of Lillingstone and an estate focussed in and around Northants) and was lord of Lillingstone *c*.1235. Nicholas' and Alice's son Humphrey Bassingbourn d. 1280: . *CIPM Edward I* vol. 2 p. 199; *VCH Bucks* 4, pp. 191–7.

Angie Bolton and Clive Cheesman

Figure 8: horse harness pendant with gyronny arms, probably those of Bassingbourne.

2022.9 OXFORDSHIRE: WOODSTOCK
BERK-EF3022. **See Figure 9.**

A medieval cast copper-alloy shield-shaped horse harness pendant with attachment loop at the top. The face of the pendant presents a red enamelled field, the enamel being cracked and missing in places, in which are three charges apparently chess rooks. There are traces of gilding present on all surfaces, as well as small patches of pale green patina. Length 29.97mm; width 15.81mm; thickness 4.95mm; weight 5.01g. Late 12th to 14th century. See *DBA* vol. 2, pp. 258–9, for shields of this design. St George's Roll (*c.* 1285/1480) ascribes *Gules three chessrooks untinctured* to Simon le fiz Simon; the Parliamentary Roll of *c.* 1312 gives 'de goules a iii roks de argent' for Sire Richard Walsingham.

Angie Bolton and Clive Cheesman

Figure 9: horse harness pendant with probable chessrooks.

2022.10 STAFFORDSHIRE: SHENSTONE

WMID-1885E1. 2021 T160. **See Figure 10.**

An incomplete early modern silver seal matrix, of the pedestal/pendant type. The faceted oval base survives, the handle having broken off. The bezel has a ropework border and shows a shield with arms that might be blazoned either *Barry of six on a chief three cinquefoils* or *Three bars and in chief three cinquefoils*. A cadency mark of a crescent just overlaps the chief. Height of surviving part of seal: 7.9 mm. Dimensions of face: 15.9 mm x 13.4 mm. Weight: 3.7 g. Found by Scott Bevan, 21 March 2021.

The heraldry is difficult to ascribe. Possibilities include the Kent family of Filmer (*Sable three bars and in chief three cinquefoils or*). If the number of bars on the shield is not reliable there are many further possibilities, including Denton (*Argent two bars gules and in chief three cinquefoils sable*). No obvious local associations appear.

Teresa Gilmore

Figure 10: broken pedestal seal matrix with unattributed arms.

2022.11 SUFFOLK: MONKS ELEIGH

PUBLIC-00B9AA. **See Figure 11.**

A complete medieval copper-alloy shield-shaped harness pendant with integral suspension loop: late thirteenth to early fourteenth century. The face shows the arms *Ermine two chevrons gules in chief a label of three points azure*. There are stray traces of red enamel in the upper left of the shield. Length 43mm; width 26mm; thickness 4mm; weight 11.6g. Found by Emma Pierce 1 November 2020.

The arms are those of the Suffolk family of Seymour (St Maur): *DBA* 2, p. 504.

Jo Ahmet

Figure 11: horse harness pendant with arms of Seymour.

2022.12 WILTSHIRE: WROUGHTON
OXON-46EAA2. **See Figure 12.**

Medieval copper-alloy cast harness pendant in the form of a shield, with an integral perforated lug. The design appears to be simply a chevron in a plain field; traces of gilding and enamel suggest the chevron was *Or* and the field *Gules*. Length 44.04mm; width 25.7mm; thickness at loop 8.71mm; weight 13.83g. Thirteenth-fourteenth century.

The design is hard to attribute, although *Gules a chevron or* is relatively rare for such a simple design, and there are no stand-out candidates. *DBA* vol. 2, p 265, offers attributions to individuals of the names of John Champernoun (Dering Roll, *c.* 1275), Fulford (Devon: Peter Le Neve's Book, 1480–1500), Phelip de Kyme (Heralds' Roll, Fitzwilliam Version: 15th cent.), and Thomas de Verres (Sir William Le Neve's Book, *c.* 1500). There are also two unattributed or anonymous instances.

Angie Bolton

Figure 12: horse harness pendant with unattributed arms found in Wiltshire.

BOOK REVIEWS

Elmar Hofman, *Armorials in Medieval Manuscripts: Collections of coats of arms as means of communication and historical sources in France and the Holy Roman Empire (13th – early 16th centuries)*, Heraldic Studies 4, Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2022. 378 pp. ISBN: 9783799515542. €58.
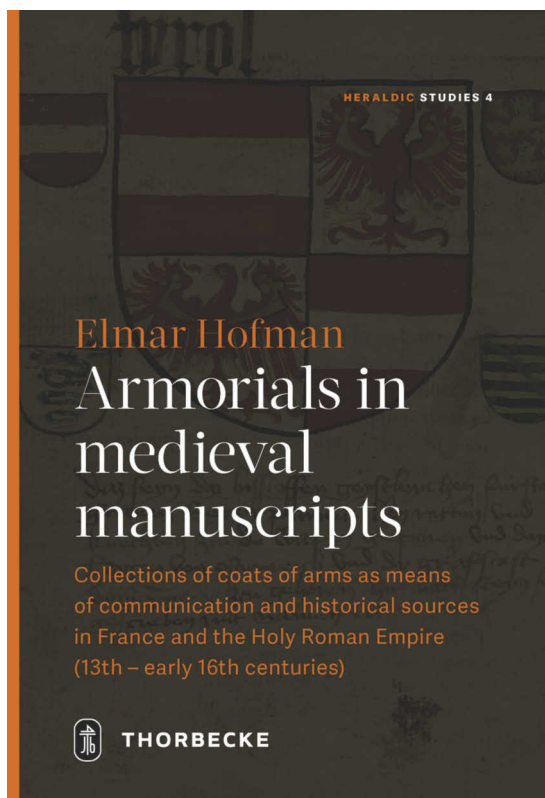
Medieval armorials are a key source for historians and heraldists alike. Since the nineteenth century, many have been edited in one form or another (facsimile, heraldic editions, databases), and they figure prominently in the scholarly literature. Nonetheless, while we know a lot about individual armorials, general studies on the genre are largely lacking. It is therefore most welcome that Elmar Hofman's monograph (the published version of his Ph.D. thesis) provides an overview of manuscripts armorials from the thirteenth to the early sixteenth centuries. Based on the study of many manuscripts Hofman addresses many fundamental questions: Who produced and used these manuscripts? How were arms selected, arranged, and presented? Which conventions guided both the production and the (medieval) understanding of these armorials? How can we date the manuscripts? And crucially, how can we determine what the purpose of these works was?

The first chapter contains an overview of existing scholarship, including a brief but illuminating account on various heraldic editions of armorials (and, sadly, in many cases their shortcomings). Hofman contrasts the more or less continuous interest in armorials by heraldists with the more recent interest by academic historians. He himself identifies as a historian, with his main question being how medieval armorials can be 'studied as means of communication and as historical sources' (p. 24).

Chapter two is mainly devoted to the tricky question of defining armorials. As Hofman rightly points out, many of the existing definitions are quite broad (indeed, sometimes vague), but in practice many scholars silently adopt a very narrow definition of 'armorials proper': books or perhaps rolls containing hundreds of arms but little if any other content. As Hofman makes clear, such a narrow definition is both unfounded and detrimental to research. Consequently, his own corpus of 135 manuscripts includes all 'major' armorials, many lesser-known examples, but also a fair share of borderline cases. At the same time, he strictly excludes medieval armorials extant only in modern copies (e.g. *Bigot* or *Charolais*). For pragmatic reasons he gives preference to manuscripts available in facsimile editions or digital form. The selection is not entirely consistent, though. For example, of the six manuscripts of the chronicles of Diebold Schilling found at www.e-codices.ch, Hofman includes only one, even though all six are lavishly illuminated with many coats of arms and heraldic banners. Yet the crucial point is that Hofman's corpus is both large and diverse.

The next chapter makes a strong case for the use of medieval manuscripts, rather than modern copies or editions. As Hofman makes clear in a number of fine case studies, medieval manuscripts often were the result of a multi-stage production, and even if they were finished at some point (many were not), later readers would often make further changes, with coats of arms being added, deleted, painted over, and so on. The quire structure, changes of hands, incomplete paintings, the use of different inks and colours, or sometimes even the pricking provide valuable evidence for these developments. Hofman is definitely correct that most of this precious information is lost in modern copies of these armorials and that it also tends to be ignored in most heraldic editions; hence one can only agree with his conclusion to work from manuscripts rather than editions whenever possible.

Chapter four concentrates on the 'content' of armorials, that is, content other than the arms themselves. Evidence comes from additional materials (above all texts), but also the selection and arrangement of the arms. This brings up the question of classification of armorials, which traditionally was based on these criteria, e.g. 'occasional rolls' (containing arms of participants of certain tournaments or other events) or 'ordinaries' (with arms arranged by charges and ordinaries). Hofman provides an overview of textual markers which are found in his manuscripts and which often serve as chapter title of sorts, i.e. dividing an armorial into sections while also indicating the selection criteria for the arms found in the respective section ('wapen van Holland', 'tout les contes', 'reichsstedt' and the like, p. 109). On this basis, he distinguishes sixteen different patterns of arranging arms, providing examples for all of them. One of his findings is that the famous *marches d'armes* (or 'kingdoms' of individual heralds) in medieval times were but rarely used to arrange the material. Likewise, when it comes to armorials linked to specific events ('occasional rolls'), Hofman makes a compelling case that older scholarship was often rash in interpreting the arms in question as those

of participants. Instead, most compilers of armorials were primarily concerned with social status when it came to selecting and arranging coats of arms. This is not an entirely new finding, but Hofman adds valuable findings on the basis of a large corpus of armorials, and also makes clear that much more research can and should be done on this topic.

In the next chapter, Hofman addresses the makers and users (or 'consumers', as he calls them) of the armorials. Like Torsten Hiltmann and others, Hofman stresses that it was the exception rather than the rule that armorials were composed or used by heralds. At the same time, there is ample evidence for other readers – mostly from the high nobility, but also ecclesiastical institutions and townsmen. Hofman rightly stresses that many of his manuscripts can be shown to have been 'commissioned, received, and possessed' by high nobility (p. 190). The importance of armorials for courtly culture is beyond doubt, but one could also have mentioned that compared to other manuscripts, those commissioned and/or possessed by dukes and kings had a much higher chance of being preserved, studied, and digitized. After all, these lavishly illuminated codices tended to end up in national libraries, where they were relatively easy to access, and the same national libraries often took the lead in the digitization of manuscripts.

The sixth chapter deals with the ways arms were typically presented and arranged. For example, certain arms were often highlighted by placing them prominently at the beginning of a section, or in the upper left corner of a page, and/or painting them larger than the following arms; this pattern is often used to display the arms of a lord and his vassals. In contrast, many armorials present large numbers of coats of arms in very uniform fashion and in the same size, thus stressing equality within the respective group, for example members of the same tournament society, ecclesiastical institution, or city council. Hofman presents these and other arrangements of arms that could be understood as representing social relations, whether they stressed hierarchy or equality.

Only after having carefully discussed the social background and the different conventions does Hofman turn in chapter seven to the interpretation of armorials in the narrow sense: what was the purpose of individual manuscripts? By this point, he has already made clear that existing classifications are often too coarse, and indeed often rely more on speculation than solid evidence from the sources. Hofman distinguishes four main purposes: the transmission of knowledge of actual arms and also heraldry; 'commemoration' (e.g. the memory of extinct families or the origins of a dynasty); 'expression of identity', above all by making clear who belongs to a specific group (a tournament society, an urban elite, etc.) and who does not; and 'support of a claim', for example legitimate rule over certain territories or political unity within specific groups like the Hanseatic League.

The final chapter presents the conclusions, repeating above all the call to study medieval armorials from the manuscripts themselves. Indeed, Hofman has presented a cogent case that much remains to be done, and that both historians and heraldists will profit from such studies. The book is therefore both a welcome contribution to our understanding of medieval armorials, and a call for future research.

While it cannot hide its genesis as a Ph.D. thesis, and presentation may not always be very elegant (there are sub-sub-sub-chapters of sometimes only two pages, there is a fair share of internal overlap, and occasionally academic jargon prevails over clarity),

Hofman's book is an excellent study. He knows the manuscripts in question very well, he is thoroughly familiar with the scholarly literature (whether written in Dutch, English, French, or German), and he makes compelling arguments concerning the variety of forms, and purposes, of medieval armorials. Importantly in a book that relies so heavily on visual evidence, there are many high-quality illustrations. Readers who want to take a closer look at the manuscripts Hofman so frequently refers to will find very useful the list of digitized armorials at https://heraldica.hypotheses.org/1770 – a list to which Hofman has contributed substantially but which he curiously does not mention in his book. Another feature sadly lacking are indices; in particular, a manuscript index and one for armorials would have been most welcome.

Yet these are minor issues given the overall quality of the book. Clearly both historians (who so often have neglected armorials) and heraldists (who all too often relied on imperfect editions) will profit from reading this book; it is a must-read for any future editor of pre-modern armorials. Hofman's book itself already marks considerable progress in the study of medieval armorials, and hopefully will inspire even more research into these manuscripts.

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Ioanna N. Koukouni, *Chios dicta est… et in Aegæo sita mari: Historical Archaeology and Heraldry on Chios*. Oxford: Archaeopress Archaeology, 2021. 330 pp, 18 figures, 6 maps, 125 plates. Paperback ISBN 978-1-78969-746-9 £54.00 E-book ISBN 978-1-78969-747-6 £16.00

This volume on the archaeology and heraldry of Chios follows in the wake of another from the same publisher which dealt with medieval carved stone (much of it armorial) from the island of Rhodes[1] and the subject matter of both books shares similarities of geography, history, and presentation. The island of Chios is the largest Greek island in the eastern Aegean and is situated *c*. 290 km to the NW of Rhodes. Both Chios and Rhodes lie just off the Turkish coast and both have been affected by the despoliations of devastating earthquakes and conquest by the Ottoman Empire.

Chios has a well-harboured coastline, is agriculturally rich, and advantageously positioned for trade. It has changed hands many times. In 1304 the island was ceded from the Byzantine Empire to the Genoese, it was repossessed in 1329, and captured back again by Genoa in 1346. In 1566 it was invaded by the Ottomans. There was even a short-lived Venetian occupation of the island in 1694.

Following a comprehensive introduction in which there are useful discussions on the historical significance of lead seals, heraldry, and vernacular sculpture, the book is divided into two parts. The first, 'Historical Archaeology of Mount Amani', includes a broad and well-illustrated survey of the archaeology, historic topography, settlement patterns, defensive works, and material culture of rural NW Chios, centred around

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[1] A.M. Kasdagli, *Stone carving of the Hospitaller period in Rhodes: Displaced pieces and fragments* (Oxford: Archaeopress Archaeology, 2016), reviewed by the writer (S. Ashley, 2019, *CoA* 4th series 2, no. 236, pp. 234–6).
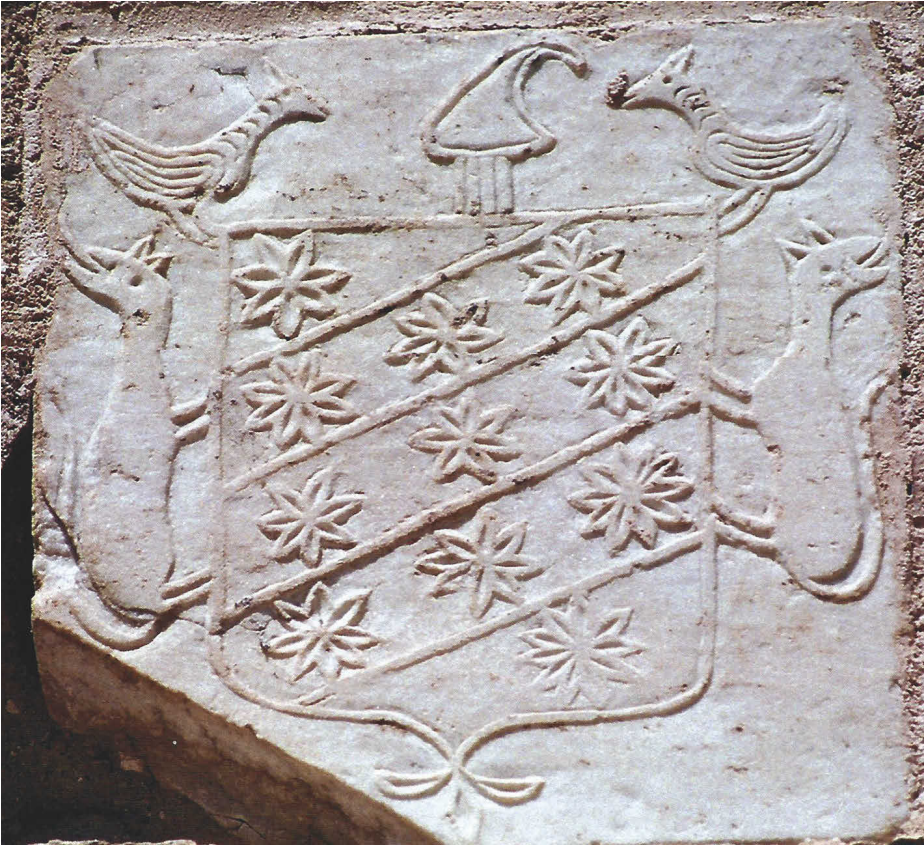
Figure 1: a seventeenth-century marble slab bearing the arms of Sechiari, set in the outer wall of the Casino, an aristocratic club at Kampos, Chios.

Mount Amani. This section also contains an historiographic overview of research undertaken on the island in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The second part of the book, of particular interest to the present readership, 'Heraldry and vernacular sculpture', catalogues and discusses the decorative stone carving of the island. Just over a hundred examples are illustrated with photographs, of which around half are armorial or include armorial elements in their design. The catalogue is divided into three main periods:

(1) The Genoese occupation, from the fourteenth century, when the first coats of arms were introduced, to the sixteenth century, by which time the Chiot nobility had begun to intermarry with noble Genoese families and adopt their own arms. To begin with these arms were recognised by the Genoese and enrolled in their *Liber Nobilitatis*. This was superseded for Chiots by their own *Libro d'Oro*.[2]

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[2] An image reproduced from the cover of Ph. P. Argenti *Libro d'Oro della Noblesse de Chio* (London, 1955) illustrates the arms of the '37 noble families of Chios', although I counted 40 (excluding four shields that are named but blank).

(2) The period of commercial expansion under the Ottomans, *c*. 1700–1822, where personal and professional symbols were adopted by the nouveau riche. Native Chiots held key posts in the Ottoman administration of the island and developed into an influential class of Phanariots,[3] many of whom later settled in the largest and busiest ports, such as Smyrna (Izmir) and Alexandria.

(3) Nineteenth-century vernacular, involving a greater use of pictorial reliefs and inscriptions. Most of these carvings were commissioned by newly wealthy families who had little connection with the original nobility of the island, such as merchants and ship owners. They commemorated their success and newfound status with images carved in the naïve local vernacular, employing floral, figurative, and geometric designs, and protective and religious symbols, to accompany personal and family names, dates, and initials.

The catalogue begins with the arms of the Giustiniani, comprising those families who participated in the Maona, a mercantile company which ran the infrastructure of the island and had monopolies in mastic, alum from Phocaea,[4] pitch, and salt. The members of the Maona abandoned their surnames at the end of the fourteenth century and adopted the clan name of Giustiniani, taking arms displaying: *A triple-towered castle*. In 1413 the German Emperor Sigismund granted the Giustiniani rulers of the island a chief of the Empire to create arms comprising: *A triple-towered castle on a chief a crowned demi-eagle displayed*. Some examples of these arms can be found in situ in defensive structures, others have been reused in the façades of secular buildings and churches. Both forms of the arms are recorded in a recently published armorial for Cyprus and the Latin East, along with the Chiot/Genoese arms of Zaccarria ('Lords of Chios'), and the possible arms of the family of Marchi of Famagusta (*On a bend indented a lion rampant*), present on the citadel in Chios town.[5]

The stonework includes arms carved on family chapels, funerary monuments, fountains, capitals, window drums, and door heads. Later work has inscriptions, depictions of saints, and other apotropaic symbols and motifs. Most of the stone employed was quarried on the island and consists of polychrome sandstone and marble. Ex situ examples of carvings can be found in the collection of the Byzantine Museum of Chios, some of which were derived from the earthquake of 1881, which destroyed much of past architectural glories. The armorial stonework which remains in place conforms to the popular Genoese (and wider) tradition of displaying family arms carved on lintels over doorways. Similarly, in the countryside there are many square towers which dot the rural landscape and have their origins with great landowners and magnates of the Byzantine Empire. These towers have few openings, and were used for storage and supervision of crops. They are set within citrus groves, the impressive gateways to which are decorated with arms carved in marble.

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[3] Prominent Greek officials and merchants who served under the Ottoman Empire, the name being derived from the Phanarion quarter of Constantinople where many of them lived.

[4] On the NW coast of Anatolia.

[5] J.A. Goodall 'An Armory for Cyprus and the Latin East' in S. Ashley (ed) *At the Roots of Heraldry: Collected Papers of John Archibald Goodall* Harleian Society New Series vol. 21, (London, 2018), pp. 27–74.

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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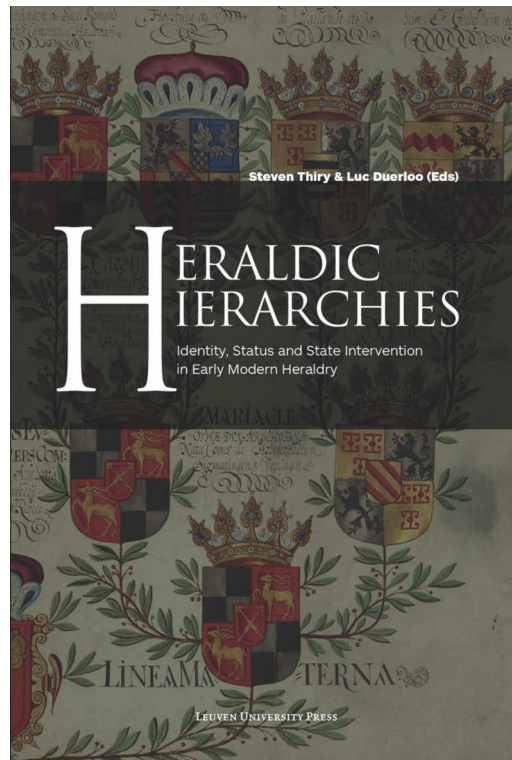
[6] Plate 8a.

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

HERALDRY & STAINED GLASS AT APOTHECARIES' HALL

WILLIAM SHAND
& ANDREW WALLINGTON-SMITH

Apothecaries Andrew Wallington-Smith, ably supported by many Freemen and Liverymen of the Society, and by former Garter King of Arms Sir Thomas Woodcock. This substantial hardback publication explores the various ways in which heraldry has been employed to decorate the Society's hall over the past 350 years.

Although much of the book is dedicated to the hall's stained glass, and most of that features heraldry, the authors explore the use of heraldry in documents, silverware, flags and even membership merchandise. A great deal of attention has been given to documentary research, and the book, while thorough, remains an accessible read, aided by a wealth of colour photography.

The City of London's livery halls are richly decorated treasure troves of civic, corporate, and personal heraldry, and the Apothecaries' Hall, located on Black Friars Lane, is the oldest among them. Most of the Society's first hall was lost to the great fire of 1666, and rebuilding on the same site began in 1672 incorporating elements of the fabric of the first hall. Shand and Wallington-Smith's book begins its exploration of the Society's heraldry some fifty years earlier with the original grant of arms of 1617, which they point out was not paid for until 1620, coinciding with the time when the Society received its Royal Charter from King James I.

I was surprised to learn that the hall was unscathed by Zeppelin raids during the First World War and experienced only minor damage during the Second World War. The author's research reveals that it was not until April 1943 (two years after the Blitz and before the V1 and V2 rockets) that plans were discussed to relocate the Society's paintings and stained glass to the Foundling Hospital in Berkhamsted, Hertfordshire. These and other treasures were promptly returned to the hall in May of 1945.

The opening chapter provides a thorough and insightful exploration of the Society's armorial achievement, and makes particular note of the Society's motto taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses OPIFERQUE PER ORBEM DICOR* (and I am called throughout the world the bringer of aid). This motto is recorded in the blazon, which is unusual in English heraldry, as are the unicorn supporters – believed to come from those of James I who granted the Society's charter – and the depiction of Durer's Rhinoceros for the crest. Another unusual aspect of the letters patent highlighted in the book is the Society's usage of a peer's helm. The reason for this is unknown, and while not unique among City companies, the authors note that the Corporation's own arms depict a peer's helm without authority.

The Society is rightly proud of its arms and the various ways in which they are depicted in the hall warrant 43 pages of sumptuously illustrated coverage before we get a peek at the many other heraldic delights within and without the hall, such as glazed pottery pill tiles featuring the Society's arms. These working items may be spotted by the eagle eyed from time to time; an example similar to those shown in the book caught your reviewer's attention at Townend, a National Trust property in Cumbria (England) while writing this review on holiday!

The extensive stained glass in Apothecaries' Hall provides the authors with ample materials for colour photos depicting the Royal arms, the arms the City of London, the arms of the Society, and those of numerous past masters (**Figure 1**). An appendix is dedicated to biographies of each of the past masters whose arms are displayed in the great hall, including several granted in the twenty-first century. One chapter is given over to the Bristow panel, arms of past master Dr Uriah Bristow (1803–04) which employs panes of glass believed to date from the sixteenth century, and may have come from the Bristow family's estate at Ayot St Lawrence in Hertfordshire.

The authors note that the practice of past masters adding their arms to the stained glass in the Great Hall is a relatively recent innovation, and one that has not been consistently observed. This is also true of other livery halls – not all masters are interested in becoming armigerous, not all may be able to justify the outlay. That said, the windows in the Great Hall include sufficient blank escutcheons to keep an enterprising herald in business for a few decades.

The book closes with the intriguingly titled chapter 'Heraldic Strays' which includes the arms of the Spectacle Makers' Company, tenants in Apothecaries' Hall since 1946, and depictions of the Society's arms in St Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe (the Society's church), and Chelsea Physic Garden, established by the Society in 1673.

Shand and Wallington-Smith's masterpiece is an excellent addition to the contemporary feast of books on livery company halls, treasures, and heraldry that have been published in the past five years. It provides an easy-to-read peek into the history of the Society's hall, its landmark events, and some of its past masters; appreciation of the heraldry is aided by a handy glossary to heraldic terms and conventions.

Paul Jagger

Figure 1: arms of J.H.Jeffcoat, Master of the Apothecaries 1905-6 from p.ii.

Julian Luxford (ed.), Adrian Ailes, and Susan Powell, *The Founders' Book – A medieval history of Tewkesbury Abbey*, Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2021. vii + 216pp inc. 72 colour pages. Hardcover. ISBN 978-1-907730-89-4. £35.

This handsome and erudite book is a full-size facsimile of Bodleian Library MS Top. Glouc. D. 2. The editor, Professor Julian Luxford and the other two contributors, Dr

Adrian Ailes and Professor Susan Powell are leading academics in their specialist fields. Luxford is Professor of Art History at the University of St Andrews, and specialises in medieval monastic art and architecture, Ailes is a leading expert in medieval heraldry, former Head of Early Modern Records at the National Archives and a Vice-President of the Heraldry Society, and Powell a specialist in Middle English and medieval Latin at the University of Salford.

The Founders' Book was written and illustrated by the monks of Tewkesbury Abbey in the late-fifteenth century. The work, in Latin, records the beginnings and history of the abbey through the lives of its benefactors from its foundation in 1102 by Robert Fitzhamon, to the battle of Tewkesbury in 1471. In the tenth century Tewkesbury was a Benedictine priory subordinate to Cranborne Abbey in Dorset. William the Conqueror gave the estate of Cranborne to Robert Fitzhamon, who was later also granted the lordship of Tewkesbury. He rebuilt the priory as an abbey, after which Cranborne came under the new and revitalised Tewkesbury Abbey.

Professor Luxford expertly discusses the dating of the manuscript, together with its provenance, the purpose for its creation, its artistry, and the physical composition of the original Founders' Book. The history of the volume is described in some detail – its construction, its nineteenth century rebinding, and its history from the Dissolution of the Monasteries to the present day. It is noted to be the work of several scribes, but is seen as a single entity. Also discussed is the purpose of the drawings and the text that accompanies them. The book is essentially a catalogue of the royal and noble benefactors of the abbey, and each entry is accompanied by a full coloured image of the individual(s) together with their coat of arms, real or attributed. It was completed by the mid-1490s, as the styles of costume and armour in the illustrations make clear. The original artists paid little attention to the niceties of the historical accuracy of the armour and dress of the early benefactors, which is not unusual for the time, and does not detract from the naive charm of the illustrations. Luxford analyses each of the illustrations and explains some of the hidden meanings behind them, for example the image of Gilbert de Clare III (killed at the battle of Bannockburn, 1314) and an inverted torch to signify the extinction of his noble line.

Dr Ailes provides an excellent analysis of the heraldry. His introduction and overview are incisive and comprehensive. They are followed by a catalogue which contains biographical details of all the people illustrated and blazons of their arms. He makes the very valid point that the Founders' Book is not just a list of benefactors, but it is also effectively a roll of arms. His section ends with a glossary of heraldic terms used in the text. Each founder's entry starts with a biographical note, a brief description of their image and any arms worn, followed by the blazon and identification of any accompanying arms painted in the margin. There is also a list of secondary sources with abbreviations used as references. The heraldry is, in typical medieval fashion, displayed on shields, surcoats, and ladies' mantles.

The book commences with the foundation of the Tewkesbury monastery attributed to Oddo and Doddo in 715; they are shown bearing the arms of Tewkesbury Abbey (*Gules a Tewkesbury cross or*) [**Figure 1**]. These and later benefactors are nearly all bedecked in splendid heraldic surcoats or mantles [**Figure 2**]. Most illustrated pages contain more than one shield of arms, many quartered, and there is also a touching deathbed scene of Isabella Despenser. Ailes draws attention to the almost contemporary

Figure1: the founders Oddo and Doddo. © Bodleian Libraries

Rous Roll which was compiled by John Rous (died 1491), a chantry priest of Guy's Cliff in Warwick, which must have been a major source and reference for the Founders' Book. The third section comprises Professor Powell's transcriptions and translations of the Latin text of the manuscript and is an impressive work. She commences by describing her editorial approach and noting that the original Latin is reliant upon abbreviations which she has expanded in the text. The transcription of the Latin text is given on one page and the opposite page contains the translation, making it easy to read and study. For those of us whose Latin is basic, Powell's translation makes (thankfully) easy, instructive ,and enjoyable reading.

This edition of the Founders' Book is an extremely valuable addition to the bookshelves of any student of late medieval English monastic and heraldic manuscripts. It is in full colour, and the vibrancy of the images, despite their amateur quality, bring it to life. The original artwork is not of the highest standard, and certainly not of the level found in such manuscripts as the Luttrell Psalter, the Macclesfield Psalter, or the Beauchamp Pageant. It is a much more basic work but it does have a great sense of charm.

Robert S Harrison

Figure 2: the elaborate heraldic display of Thomas Despenser II, K.G. (killed in 1400). © Bodleian Libraries.

List of Abbreviations and recurring short titles

Al. Cant.	J. and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (2 parts in 10 vols., Cambridge 1922-54)
Al. Ox.	J. A. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses* (2 series in 8 vols., London 1887-92)
Ant. J.	*Antiquaries' Journal*
ar.	argent
b	born
Balfour Paul, Ordinary	Sir James Balfour Paul, *Ordinary of Arms* (second edn., Edinburgh 1903)
BL	The British Library, London
BM	The British Museum, London
BM Seals	W. de G. Birch, *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (6 vols., London 1887-1900)
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
Bodl.	The Bodleian Library, Oxford
Boutell, rev. JBL	*Boutell's Heraldry*, revised by J. P. Brooke-Little (rev. edn., London 1970)
BRS	The British Record Society
Burke GA	J. and J. B. Burke, *The General Armory* (London 1842; enlarged edn. London 1878, re-issued with a supplement 1884). Unless otherwise specified, a citation of this book refers to the frequently reprinted edition and supplement of 1884.
Burke LG	J. and J. B. Burke (original editors), *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry* (first edn., 3 vols. 1843-9; many subsequent edns.) Cite by year only; e.g. Burke LG 1952. Editions and their years are conveniently listed in Burke's Family Index (London 1976)
Burke LG Scot	*Burke's Landed Gentry of Great Britain together with members of the titled and non-titled contemporary establishment*. 19th edn., volume 1: The Kingdom in Scotland; ed. Peter Beauclerk-Dewar (Wilmington, Delaware, 2001)
Burke PB	J. and J. B. Burke (original editors), *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage.* Cite by year only: e.g. Burke PB 1970.
Burke PB 1999	*Burke's Peerage & Baronetage*. 106th edn., ed. Charles Mosley (Crans, Switzerland, 1999)
Burke PB 2003	*Burke's Peerage Baronetage & Knightage. Clan Chiefs. Scottish Feudal Barons*. 107th edn., ed. Charles Mosley (Wilmington, Delaware, 2003)
CA	The College of Arms, London
CChR	*Calendar of Charter Rolls*
CCR	*Calendar of Close Rolls*

CEMRA	A. R. Wagner, *A Catalogue of English Medieval Rolls of Arms* [Aspilogia 1] (London 1950)
CFR	*Calendar of Fine Rolls*
CIMisc	*Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous*
CIPM	*Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*
CLR	*Calendar of Liberate Rolls*
CoA	*The Coat of Arms*
co.	comitatu: in the county of
Coll.Top.&Gen.	*Collectanea Topographica & Genealogica* (1834-43)
CPR	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*
CSP Dom	*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*
CSP For.	*Calendar of State Papers, Foreign*
CSP Ire.	*Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland*
CSP Ven.	*Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice*
CTB	*Calendar of Treasury Books*
CTP	*Calendar of Treasury Papers*
CUL	Cambridge University Library
DBA	*The Dictionary of British Arms. Medieval Ordinary*. Vol. 1 ed. D. H. B. Chesshyre and T. Woodcock (London 1992). Vol. 2 ed. T. Woodcock, Hon. J. Grant and I. Graham (London 1996). Vol. 3 ed. T. Woodcock and S. Flower (London 2009). Vol 4 ed T.Woodcock and S. Flower (London 2014).
Debrett	J. Debrett (original editor), *Debrett's Peerage of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London 1802). Many subsequent edns. with various titles down to Debrett's Peerage and Baronetage, ed. Charles Kidd (London 2003). Cite by year only.
d.	died
div.	divorced
dsp	Decessit sine prole- died without issue
DNB	*The Dictionary of National Biography*. Unless specified otherwise, the original edition is intended. The 2004 edition should be referred to as ' new DNB'.
Douët D'Arcq	M Douët D'Arcq, *Collection de sceaux*, 3 vols (Paris 1863-68).
erm.	ermine
Fairbairn	*Fairbairn's Book of Crests of the Families of Great Britain and Ireland* (fourth edn., 2 vols., London and Edinburgh 1905).
Fox-Davies AF	Arthur Charles Fox-Davies, *Armorial Families. A Directory of Gentlemen of Coat Armour* (first edn., Edinburgh 1895; seventh and last edn., 2 vols., London 1929. Cite by year only.
fun. cert.	funeral certificate
GEC	G. E. C[okayne], *Complete Peerage* (first edn., 8 vols., London and Exeter 1887-98; revised and enlarged edn. by Hon. Vicary Gibbs and others [G. E. C.'s editorship nominal], 13 vols. in 14, London 1910-59; supplement vol. 14, Stroud 1998). Unless otherwise specified the revised edition is intended.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Genealogical Mag	*The Genealogical Magazine* (1897-1904)
Genealogist	*The Genealogist* (1876-1922)
Gen Mag	*The Genealogist's Magazine* (1922-)
Gent's Mag.	*The Gentleman's Magazine*. Up to 1810 cite by year and page number only: thus Gent's Mag. 1779, p. 643. From 1810 the pagination started afresh halfway through the year, so cite (e.g.) Gent's Mag. 1843 (ii), p. 221.
Godfrey & Wagner	Walter H. Godfrey and Sir Anthony Wagner, with H. Stanford London, *The College of Arms* (London Survey Committee monograph 16: London 1963)
Grantees of Arms	Joseph Foster, ed. W. Harry Rylands, *Grantees of Arms named in Docquets and Patents to the end of the Seventeenth Century* (Harl. Soc. vol. 66, London 1915).
gu.	gules
Harl. Soc.	Harleian Society
Hist. Parl.	*The History of Parliament*. Cite the various parts in the form Hist. Parl.: The Commons 1660-90.
HMC	*Historical Manuscripts Commission*. The folio series of HMC reports may be cited in the form HMC Seventh Report (1881); the octavo series as HMC Portland IV (1891).
IPM	inquisition post mortem
JBAA	*Journal of the British Archaeological Association*
m.	married
MI	monumental inscription
Misc.Her.& Gen	*Miscellanea Heraldica et Genealogica* (1874-1938)
Moule	Thomas Moule, *Bibliotheca Heraldica Magnae Britanniae* (London 1822)
N & Q	*Notes & Queries*
NEHGR	*New England Heraldic and Genealogical Register*
NLW	The National Library of Wales
OED	The Oxford English Dictionary
OIOC	Oriental and India Office Collections
Pap. Reg.	*Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland; Papal Letters* (14 vols., 1894-1961)
Pap Petits	*Petitions to the Pope* (one vol., 1897).
Papworth	J. W. Papworth, ed. Alfred W. Morant, *Ordinary of British Armorials* (London 1872)
PCC	Prerogative Court of Canterbury
PCY	Prerogative Court of York
PPR	Principal Probate Registry
PR Scot	Public Register of All Arms and Bearings in Scotland.
PRO	Public Record Office
PROME	*The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, gen. ed. C. Given-Wilson, edd. P. Brand, A. Curry, R. E. Horrox, G. Martin, W. M. Ormrod, J. R. S. Phillips (16 vols., Woodbridge 2005: also online at www.british-history.ac.uk and www.sd-editions.com)

purp.	purpure
qtly.	quarterly
Reid & Wilson	*Ordinary of Arms* volume II, ed. David Reid of Robertland and Miss Vivien Wilson (Edinburgh 1977)
Rietstap	J. B. Rietstap, *Armorial Général* (2nd ed., 2 vols., Paris 1884-7, with 8 supplement vols. and 6 vols. of illns. by V. and H. V. Rolland, Lyons 1904-54)
Rot Parl	*Rotuli Parliamentorum* (6 vols., ed. J. Strachey, 1767-77, repr. 1783, with index 1832).
sa.	sable
Shaw, Knights	Wm. A. Shaw, with G. D. Burtchaell, *The Knights of England* (2 vols., London 1906).
Siddons DWH	Michael Powell Siddons, *The Development of Welsh Heraldry* (4 vols., Aberystwyth 1991-3, 2007). Volume 2 (A Welsh Armorial) may be cited as DWH 2; volume 3 (An Ordinary of Welsh Arms together with Mottoes of Welsh Families) as DWH 3; and volume 4 (supplementary volume) as DWH 4.
Siddons Badges	Michael Powell Siddons, *Heraldic badges in England and Wales* 4 vols (Woodbridge 2009)
Soc. Ant.	The Society of Antiquaries of London
TNA	The National Archives, London
unm.	unmarried
V&A	The Victoria & Albert Museum, London
VCH	*The Victoria County History of England*. Specific county histories may be cited as, e.g., VCH Bucks, VCH Oxon and so forth.
vt.	vert
WG 1	P. C. Bartrum, *Welsh Genealogies A.D. 300-1400* (8 vols., Cardiff 1974). Cite by ancestral or regional heading, e.g. Adam ab Ifor 1, Tegeingl 5.
WG 2	P. C. Bartrum, *Welsh Genealogies A.D. 1400-1500* (18 vols., Aberystwyth 1983). Cite as for WG 1. A descent running from WG 1 to WG 2 with the same name and number may be cited simply by reference to WG.

ARTICLES