

Eszter Tarján

FICTITIOUS OR NOT?
CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN ROYAL COATS OF ARMS IN THE
EARLY ENGLISH ROLLS OF ARMS (1272-1307)

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University

Budapest

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(Hungary)

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Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

Chair, Examination Committee

Thesis Supervisor

Examiner

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I, the undersigned, **Name**, candidate for the MA degree in Medieval Studies, declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 18 May 2017

Signature

Abstract

The present research focuses on the general rolls of arms compiled in England during the reign of Edward I (1272-1307), with the emphasis on the Central and Eastern European royal coats of arms.

According to my research hypothesis, several of the fictitious armorial bearings, if not all of them, have some prefiguration and these depictions and blazons are not the result of the compilers' fantasy. I also assume that the appearance of the examined royal coats of arms refers to the given regions' political and dynastical relationships with England under Edward I. Connected to the hypothesis numerous questions are raised: whether the existence of a royal coat of arms in the rolls of arms means an independent or an autonomous kingdom, or how the changes in Central-Eastern European royal coats of arms were followed in the 13th-14th century's England. To be able to answer the questions raised, I must use the methodology of comparative interdisciplinary research. I use sphragistics, numismatic and different kinds of art historical sources (carvings and miniatures) to successfully complete the comparative interdisciplinary research of the examined regions' royal coats of arms.

It has transpired that the prefiguration of the royal bearings, even if they seem fictitious, can be determined after careful interdisciplinary examination. Also, the correct and incorrect elements of the royal coats of arms and different textual traditions can be distinguished.

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Introduction

The present research's wider topic is medieval English heraldry, namely the Central and Eastern European royal coats of arms in the English rolls of arms which were compiled under the reign of Edward I (1272-1307). Heraldry does not have a consensual definition, but its important and primary function was self-representation. Around its appearance in the mid-twelfth century the main function was to identify the knights in armor covering all their faces. For this identification they designed different colorful charges and ordinaries and drew it on their shields. Over the centuries heraldry lost its strong military association and became more and more artistic, up to the point when heraldry completely lost its military function in battlefields, sieges and in tournaments and turned into the instrument of artistic representation.

The present thesis deals with the early medieval English *general rolls* of arms' Central and Eastern European related royal arms. The research focuses on the general rolls of arms compiled in England during the reign of Edward I, with the emphasis on the Central and Eastern European royal coats of arms. These decades mean an outstanding period of English heraldry because numerous rolls of arms were compiled during this period.

Classification of the Rolls of Arms

The group of the general rolls of arms is one of the four different source material groups. The first is the group of *general rolls* which are the topic of the present research. These armorial rolls were registers of the nobility. Also this group of sources contains royal blazons and/or depictions of the royal armorial bearings, like certain kinds of encyclopedic collections. It is important to highlight that in these rolls not only the English royal arm is included, but also other kingdoms', kings' and dynasties' coats of arms are present. Usually the nearby kingdom's

arms are present, but in many cases different faraway lands' coats of arms are also included. The other three groups of the armorial rolls are the following: the *occasional rolls*, which are designed to collect the members of a specific event, like a siege or a tournament (e.g. the Falkirk Roll and the Stepney Roll), the *regional* or *local rolls*, whose goal was to collect all the nobles of a given region (e.g. Dering Roll) and the *institutional rolls*, which were associated with the foundation of an order (e.g. the French Armoarial Toison d'Or).

Historiography

Heraldry has a wide literature, since during the nineteenth century it became a popular historical topic. The early English rolls of arms were first published around this period, but these editions did not meet the requirements of modern critical source editions. These editions do not describe the textual traditions, partly because these works were mainly transcripts of each armorial roll and also because not all the early modern copies and versions were known. During the twentieth century the popularity of the topic was still high, both among French and English scholars. In England Anthony R. Wagner¹ and Cecil Humphrey-Smith², in France Michel Pastoureau³ and Max Prinet⁴ did significant work regarding the early heraldic sources. Several other scholars published remarkable results on the topic, including Gerard J. Brault,

¹ Anthony Richard Wagner, *Historic Heraldry of Britain* (London, New York: Phillimore, 1939), *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939), *Heralds of England* (London: H. M. Stationary Office, 1967), *Records and Collections of the College of Arms* (London: Burkes Peerage, 1952), *Aspilogia I. Catalogue of English Medieval Rolls of Arms* (Oxford: C. Batey, 1950), *Aspilogia II Rolls of Arms Henry III* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967).

² Cecil Humphrey-Smith: *Anglo-Norman Armory* (London: The King's England Press, 1973), *Anglo-Norman Armory Two. An Ordinary of Thirteenth Century Armorial*. (Canterbury: Institute of Heraldic and Genealogical Studies, 1984), *The Cambridge Armorial* (London: Orbis, 1985).

³ Michel Pastoureau: *Traité d'héraldique* (Paris: Picard, 1979), *Les emblèmes de la France* (Paris: Bonneton, 1998) *Figures de l'héraldique* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), *L'hermine et le sinople, études d'héraldique médiévale* (Paris: Le Léopard d'or, 1982)

⁴ Max Prinet: "Le langage héraldique dans le „Tournoiement Antéchrist", *Bibliothèque de École des chartes* 83 (1922): 43–53., "Les armoiries des français dans le poème de siège de Carlevarock", *Bibliothèque de École des chartes* 92 (1931): 345–353, "Les variations du nombre des fleurs de lis dans les armes de France", *Bulletin monumental* 75 (1911): 469–488, "Les insignes des dignités ecclésiastiques dans le blason français de XV^e siècle", *Revue de l'Art chrétien* 61 (1911): 23–41.

Noel Denholm-Young, Paul Adam-Even and Clair Boudreau⁵. Thanks to these outstanding scholars we have adequate critical editions of the rolls of arms. They also provided a convincing summary of the dating and its problems, of the false and incorrect blazons as well as of the textual traditions and the system of copies. They also identified the holders of the coats of arms.

In spite of all the above described scholarly works of the previous decades, historians still owe us a detailed analysis of the early rolls of arms. In the discourse about English rolls of arms the Central European royal coat of arms are only noted sporadically. The proper analysis of these sources would mean a monumental work. Therefore, I focus on one group of the coat of arms, the royal armorial bearings and one region, the Central and Eastern European territories. Furthermore, I also include the records of Cyprus and Armenia because both are Eastern kingdoms, but both have close and special connections with the Western world different from other Eastern kingdoms. Including these latter two regions gives us a distinguished opportunity to examine the differences and the similarities between Cyprus and Armenia, and also between these two kingdoms and Central European territories from political, dynastical, social and cultural aspects. The present analysis also provides an opportunity to examine the foreign policy of England and the image maintained about the known world on a level up to the early fourteenth century unknown.

⁵ Gerard J. Brault: *Early Blazon. Heraldic terminology in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries with special reference to arthurian heraldry* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1997), *Eight Thirteenth-Century Rolls of Arms in France and Anglo-Norman Blazon* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1973), *Aspilogia III. Rolls of Arms Edward I. (1272–1307.)* I–II. (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1997), Noel Denholm-Young: *Seignorial Administration in England* (London: Routledge, 1937), *Collected Papers on Mediaeval Subjects* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1946), *The Country Gentry in the Fourteenth Century: With Special Reference to the Heraldic Rolls of Arms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), Paul Adam-Even: “Un Armorial français du milieu de XIII^e siècle. Le rôle d’armes Bigot 1254”, *Archives Héraldiques Suisses* 4 (1949): 15-75.

Terminology and its problems

Around the second half of the thirteenth century the number of different types of armorial rolls increases at an unprecedented pace. Many sieges, campaigns and tournaments occurred in this period, which might be one reason of the increment of the rolls of arms. The sudden appearance of this material raises several historical, art historical and philological questions, e. g. about their origins. We shall probably never know about the origins of the blazons, the written or the oral tradition of the classic blazons, but we receive a clear picture about the state of the French and English heraldry and the terminology of the shield descriptions from these rolls. Furthermore, we also receive an insight to the standardization level of the heraldic language.

The terminology of heraldry developed continuously, both in France and in England. It is clear that the heralds needed a mnemonic system to achieve their professional requirements, hence when the system and the terminology of heraldry became more and more complex and detailed, the rules of blazoning also became more and more technical, as it is still less specific in the thirteenth century than later. Therefore, we can find different vocabulary in England and in France and also various phrases in the English rolls of arms. An in-depth philological analysis is not part of the present research but when it is required, I include the necessary examination on the adequate level.

Hypothesis and Research Questions

It is always a primary question whether a particular blazon illustrates the contemporary heraldic practice interrelated with the structure of the coat of arms, the terminology used or the depictions or it is the result of the lack of knowledge, false information and misinterpretation. When we read the list of the arm holders many of the royal coats of arms seem fictitious. According to my research hypothesis several of these fictitious armorial bearings if not all have some prefiguration and these depictions. I also assume that the appearance of the examined

royal coats of arms refers to the given regions' political and dynastical relationships with England under Edward I. Connected to the hypothesis, numerous other questions are raised: whether the existence of a royal coat of arms in the rolls of arms means an independent or an autonomous kingdom, or how the changes in Central-Eastern European royal coats of arms were followed in the thirteenth- to fourteenth century's England. Did the scribes work from a standard textual and heraldic tradition and can we distinguish the textual traditions?

Methodology

To be able to answer the raised questions I use the methodology of comparative interdisciplinary research. Due to the lack of armorial rolls in Central and Eastern Europe I cannot compare the examined armorial rolls with the same source material compiled in the examined region. In spite of the missing rolls of arms, we have a rich material of other sources which were used as the displays of self-representation. These sources are primarily seals and coins, but also carvings and other visual evidences, like miniatures, which could serve as early heraldic sources.

Here it is important to remark that the source value of the rolls of arms is extremely high not only because they are the collection of nobility records but also because of the described or depicted colors of the coat of arms. The other groups of heraldic sources typically do not contain the tinctures of the coat of arms: the seals and coins never, the carvings rarely, wall paintings occasionally give the color. The single colorful source group is the above noted illuminated codex miniatures. Thus, I use sphragistics, numismatic and different kinds of art historical sources to successfully complete the comparative interdisciplinary research of the examined regions' royal coats of arms.

The examined regions' lack of sources is quite different. We cannot strictly divide the territories and state that the regions closer to the Western kingdoms are documented more, and

those which are farther are documented less. The Hungarian and Bohemian regions and also the kingdoms of Cyprus and Armenia are relatively rich in extant sources unlike Poland and Serbia. In several cases, I have to include sources which originate later but clearly have textual or pictorial connections with the contemporary material.

It is also an interesting aspect of the research how we, present day researchers interpret the examined regions compared to the scribes' interpretations about the Central and Eastern regions. The modern historian's practice is to handle the Central and Eastern European region as one or two separate units but the contemporary perspective was different⁶. Modern historians would also think – based on the above noted approach – that the result of a comparative analysis would show similarities rather than differences between the Hungarian Kingdom, Bohemia and Poland. The result is surprising because the analysis detects three different models, namely when a royal coat of arms clearly has an antitype, when in contrast with the assumption it does not have an obvious prefiguration and in the third case when the royal coat of arms is clearly fictitious.

Through this research I answer questions by the comparative analysis of the Central and Eastern European regions' royal coats of arms. After a short source introduction where I provide data about the remaining manuscripts and where I also present the blazons examined, the first section of my thesis is the analysis of the coats of arms. In the second part, I examine the connection between the appearance of the given arm and the marital and dynastic strategies of the given region's ruling family. I use comprehensive sources, armorial rolls, seals, coins, carving and illuminated miniatures.

⁶ Nóra Berend, "The Mirage of East Central Europe: Historical Regions in a Comparative Perspective," in: *Medieval East Central Europe in a Comparative Perspective: From Frontier Zones to Lands in Focus*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz and Katalin Szende (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 9-23.

Contribution

The contribution of the present research is the analysis of the early English rolls of arms' royal armorial bearings from a new perspective. Using a comparative approach and interdisciplinary methodology I intend to answer the question whether the appearance of the particular royal coat of arms in the early English rolls of arms refers to the known world of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century's England. Through the analysis of the coats of arms and the examination of the marital strategies we may receive an image of the political relationships and information flow on a new level, on the level of heraldry. The prefiguration of a given coat of arms will be identified, resulting in being able to distinguish the completely fictitious coats of arms from the coats of arms which have a clear antitype.

Sources

The surviving manuscripts and the blazons

In this chapter I introduce my primary sources, the originality, dating problems, structure, content, and the surviving versions of the early English rolls of arms. I also introduce the subject of my research, the Central and Eastern European royal blazons in early English rolls of arms. The scope of my research is the reign of Edward I. It begins in 1272 and it ends by his death in 1307. His rulership was not only the busiest period regarding military campaigns (Wales and Scotland) but it was also tumultuous vis-à-vis the emergence of armorial rolls.



Figure 1 The Last Folio of the Armorial Wijnbergen (late 13th century)

The present examination focus on the royal coats of arms of the Central and Eastern European regions with the Armenian and Cyprian armorial bearings, based on five English manuscripts: the Walford's Roll (C, Cd; 1275), the Herald's Roll (H; 1279), the Camden Roll (D; 1280), the Segar Roll (G; 1285) and the Lord Marshal's Roll (LM; 1307)⁷. A French roll, the Wijnbergen Roll will be used as reference source. These five armorial rolls contain European royal blazons besides the English ones. The Armorial Wijnbergen has a strong linkage with the Lord

⁷ Both surviving variants of the Walford's Roll, C and Cd, are included.

Marshals' roll compiled during the reign of Edward I.

It is not the goal of the present thesis to decide which version or versions of the remaining rolls are the most valuable or to make an attempt to identify their origins, so I use the identification established in Anthony R. Wagner's *Catalogue of English Medieval Rolls of Arms*, which contains all English rolls of arms before 1500. For the critical edition of the armorials I expand on the works of Gerald J. Brault's *Rolls of Arms of Edward I*, and for the Walford's Roll his *Eight Thirteenth-Century Rolls of Arms in French and Anglo-Norman Blazon*⁸. The heraldic terminology and blazon-translations used in this thesis are based on Brault's work, the *Early Blazon*.⁹ Above all, I briefly introduce the textual tradition of the manuscripts because in several cases the number of the surviving versions is considerable.

The coats of arms of Cyprus and Armenia are also involved, the descriptions and/or depictions of Armenia and Cyprus appear in every source which describes Central European shields. Both of the two regions were in a special political situation and had a strong relationship with the Western world. Both of them had political relationship with France and their marital strategies also connect them to western kingdoms. Furthermore, the western kingdoms' interest and the importance of Armenia and Cyprus during the crusades are considerable.

The boldface type manuscripts are those on which my work is based on. In the case of Walford's Roll I use two of the surviving variants. I show through these two versions how to deal with a medieval heraldic document's early modern copy. Also this roll of arms' has critical edition which contains the variants.¹⁰ It demonstrates remarkable philological problems and

⁸ Gerald J. Brault, ed., *Aspilogia III: Rolls of Arms of Edward I. (1272–1307)*, vol. 1 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997). hereafter RoA., Anthony Richard Wagner, *A Catalogue of English Mediaeval Rolls of Arms, Aspilogia I* (Oxford: Harleian Society, 1950). hereafter CEMRA., Gerald J. Brault, ed., *Eight Thirteenth-Century Rolls of Arms in French and Anglo-Norman Blazon* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1973). hereafter ETCR.

⁹ Gerald J. Brault, *Early Blazon, Heraldic Terminology in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries with Special Reference to Arthurian Heraldry* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997)

¹⁰ ETCR, 176.

raises different philological questions. Several of the manuscripts survived in an early modern copy. I also present at the end of the manuscript whether it is a painted or a blazoned document, and also whether is it original or it survived in an early modern copy. The tables are organized according to the armorial rolls, later according to the kingdoms. All the tables contain pictures constructed by me following the blazons. During the source introduction chapter I follow the chronological order of the examined rolls of arms.

The Walford's Roll

Copies of the Walford's Rolls – C and Cd variants (c. 1275)

C: Basic manuscript. London, British Museum, MS. Harl. 6589, fols. 12r-12v. 17th century

Cl: Oxford, Bodleian MS. Top. Gen. c. I. 3117. Lelandi Collectanea, vol. 1, 897-905. 17th-18th century

Cd: Dublin, Trinity College, MS. E. 1-17, fols. 9r-10v. 16th century

In CEMRA Wagner describes the Charles' version¹¹ (C)¹² and from the other textual tradition, the Leland variant (Cl).¹³ Cd is not listed in this work but can be found in *Aspilogia II*. Wagner proposes the date 1275 which was also accepted by London who dealt with the dating problems of the English rolls of arms¹⁴.

The royal blazons in the Walford's Roll, version C:¹⁵



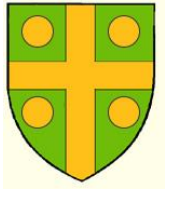

¹¹ Weston S. Walford, "A Roll of Arms of the Thirteenth Century," *Archeologica*, 39 (1864): 373-88.

¹² CEMRA, 8.


¹³ CEMRA, 9., Anthony Richard Wagner, *Aspilogia II: Rolls of Arms Henry III*, Harleian Society 114 (Oxford: Society of Antiquaries of London, 1957)

¹⁴ Stanford H. London: "Some Medieval Treaties on English Heraldry" *Antiquaries Journal* 33 (1953): 169-83.


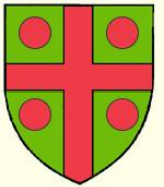

¹⁵ ETCR, 38.

10. Bohmia	<i>Le Roy de Boeme</i>	<i>d'argent un lion sable couronné</i>	
12. Hungary	<i>Le Roy de Hungrey</i>	<i>d'or estenzelé a trois leon passans d'azure</i>	
13. Cyprus	<i>Le Roy de Cypre</i>	<i>vert besantee un crois passant d'or</i>	
14. Armenia	<i>Le Roy d'Ermeny</i>	<i>d'or un leon rampant gulez un border gulez indentée</i>	

The royal blazons in the Walford's Roll, version Cd:¹⁶

10. Bohemia	<i>Le Roy de Bowheme</i>	<i>d'argent ung lion sable corone or a une cross or sur l'esspaule</i>	
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¹⁶ ETCR, 57-58.

11. Hungary	<i>Le Roy de Hungrie</i>	<i>de or estenzelé de gules a treys lions passanz coronés</i>	
33. Cyprus	<i>Le Roy de Scypre</i>	<i>vert besanteé de gules un croyz d'or passant</i>	
37. Armenia	<i>Le Roy d'Armynye</i>	<i>d'or a un lion rampant de gules a une bourdoure de gules endentit</i>	

The Herald's Roll

Copies of the Herald's Roll (HE) 1279:

HEa: Basic manuscript. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS. 297. 15th century, painted

HEb: London, College of Arms MS B. 29, pp. 20-27. 13th century – painted (serious damage)

HEc: London, College of Arms, MS. Vincent 165, fols. 131r-152v. 16th century

HEd: London, College of Arms, Muniment Room, box 15, roll 24. 16th century, painted

HEe: London, Society of Antiquaries MS. 664, vol. 2, fols. 1r-12v. 17th century, painted

HEf: London, College of Arms, Muniment Room, box 15, roll 14. 16th century

HEg: Oxford, Queen's College MS. 158, pp. 455-98. 16th century

HEh: London, College of Arms MS. Vincent 164, fols. 160r-172v. 16th century

HEi: London, College of Arms MS. Gybbon's ordinary of Arms, pp. 131-36. 17th century



HEj: London, College of Arms MS. Everard Green Roll. 16th century, painted

HEk: London, College of Arms MS. M. 9 bis, fols. 20v-29r, painted

HEl: London, British Library MS. Harl. 1068, fols 163v-183r



Wagner's CEMRA contains the descriptions of all copies. He distinguishes the text variants as follows: Herald's Version (HEb), the Fitzwilliam Version (HEa, HEc, HEd, HEe) – which is the most complex, the critical edition of the HE roll is based on the Fitzwilliam version – Bedford's Version (HEf, HEg, Heh, HEi) and the Everard Green's version (HEi). HEk and HEl are independent copies.¹⁷ Most of the surviving copies and originals are seriously damaged.

The royal blazons in the Herald's Roll:¹⁸

14. Hungary	<i>Le Roy de Hungrie</i>	<i>gules, a lion rampant or, collared azure</i>	
15. Armenia	<i>Le Roy de Ermine</i>	<i>a cross gules charged at the fess point with a crown or</i>	

¹⁷ CEMRA, 9–14.

¹⁸ RoA, 86-87.

18. Bohemia	<i>Le Roy de Bealme</i>	<i>azure three barges or</i>	
26. Cyprus	<i>Le Roy de Cypre</i>	<i>argent, five bars azure a lion rampant gules crowned</i>	

The Camden Roll

Copies of the Camden Roll (D) c. 1280:

Da: Basic manuscript. London, British library Cotton Roll XV. 8. 13th century, painted

Db: Oxford, Queen's College MS. 158, pp. 349-65. 16th century

Dc: London, Colleg of Arms MS. Vincent 164, fols. 111r-119v. 16th century

Dd: London, British Library MS. Harl. 6137, fols. 66v-72r. 16th century

De: London, College of Arms MS. L. 14, fols. 62r-70r. 17th century

Df: London, College of Arms MS L. 14, part 1, fol. 57.

Dg: Stratford-on-Avon, Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Record Office, Archer Collection, MS 44, pp. 31-33, cols. 31-35. 17th century

All manuscripts are described in Wagner's CEMRA.¹⁹ Wagner's and Brault's research suggest that the Camden Roll is very likely based on the HEa Roll. The copyist of the Camden Roll added 49 new items, and these are placed at the end of the volume.²⁰

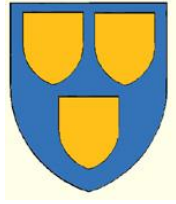

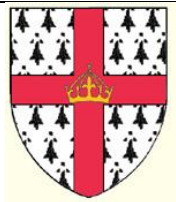

The roll can probably be dated to 1280 because Patric de Chawurth (149. record in the source) succeeded his brother in 1279 and Barth[olomew] de Sulee (No. 160.) died in 1280.²¹

¹⁹ CEMRA, 16–18.

²⁰ RoA, 172.

²¹ CEMRA, 17.

The royal blazons in the Camden Roll:²²

11. Cyprus	<i>Rey de Cypres</i>	<i>azure, three shields (targes) or</i>	
12. Bohemia	<i>Rey de Bealme</i>	<i>azure, three barges argent</i>	
15. Armenia	<i>Rey de Ermyne</i>	<i>ermine, a cross gules charged at the fess point with a crown or</i>	
94. Hungary	<i>Rey de Hungrie</i>	<i>gules a lion rampant or</i>	

²² Cyprus, Bohemia, Armenia: RoA, 177; Hungary: RoA, 185.

The Segar Roll

Copies of the Segar Roll (G), c. 1285:

Ga: Basic manuscript. London, College of Arms MS. L. 14, part 1, fols. 26r-31v. 16th century, painted.

Gb: London, College of Arms MS. L. 14, part 1, fols. 52v-61r. 17th century

Gc: London, British Library MS. Harls. 6137, fols 61r-66v. 17th century

Gd: London, Society of Antiquaries MS. 664, vol. 8, fols. 4v-5r. 17th century

Ge: Stratford-on-Avon, Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Record Office, Archer Collection MS 44, pp. 35-36, cols. 38-40. 17th century

All the copies are described by Wagner in CEMRA.²³ As Brault points out, the surviving manuscripts are closely related, there are a number of small differences and they also have some mistakes in common.²⁴

Wagner proposed that the date of the roll is 1282, because Thomas de Berkely succeeded his brother in 1281 (G 175) and both Giles de Argentine (G 141) and William de Audley (G 131) died in 1282.²⁵ However, the fact that William de Ros bore a blue label until his father's death in 1285, and the presence of Mortimer (G 153) who was knighted in 1285, both prove that the roll comes from 1285.²⁶


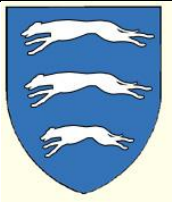

²³ CEMRA, 18–19.

²⁴ RoA, 307.

²⁵ CEMRA, 24.

²⁶ RoA, 308.

The royal blazons in the Segar Roll:²⁷

19. Armenia	<i>Rey de Ermenye</i>	<i>azure, a lion rampant argent</i>	
22. Hungary	<i>Rey de Hungrie</i>	<i>azure, three greyhounds courant argent</i>	
23. Cyprus	<i>Rey de Scypre</i>	<i>or a moor's head sable hooded argent</i>	

²⁷ RoA, 310.

The Lord Marshal's Roll


Copy of the Lord Marshal's Roll (LM) c. 1295/1310.:

LMa: London, Society of Antiquaries MS. 664, vol. 1, fols. 19v-25r. 17th century, painted

A single version is described by Wagner in CEMRA.²⁸ The manuscript has many mistakes and missing blazons, and the compiler of the original version or the early modern copyist often mistook the blue color for silver.²⁹

Wagner first suggests that roll is from the reign of Edward I.³⁰ However, he later states that the correct date is 1310, three years after Edward's death.³¹ Humphery-Smith also accepts the latter dating.³² But because the Lord Marshal's Roll has many individuals in common with the Collin's Roll (Q)³³, it is reasonable to conclude that it was compiled close in time. In addition, several people died in the year 1295 and they are not listed in Q, which suggests that the date of the roll is in fact 1295 rather than 1307 or 1310.

The royal blazons in the Lord Marshal's Roll:³⁴

2. Cyprus	<i>Le Roy de Chypre</i>	<i>argent, 10 bars azure a lion rampant gules</i>	
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²⁸ CEMRA, 38.

²⁹ RoA, 323.





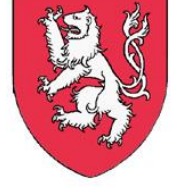
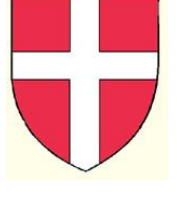
³⁰ CEMRA, 38.

³¹ CEMRA, 260, 264.

³² Cecil R. Humphery-Smith, *Anglo-Norman Armory*, vol.2 *An Ordinary of Thirteenth-Century Armorial* (Canterbury: Institute of Heraldic and Genealogical Studies, 1984).

³³ RoA, 324.


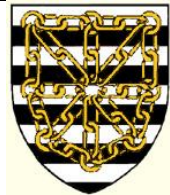

³⁴ Cyprus, Slavonia, Armenia: RoA, 325; Bulgaria, Poland, Bohemia: RoA, 326; Serbia: RoA, 327.

3. Slavonia	<i>Le Roy de Esclevoni</i>	<i>azure, three human heads argent crowned or</i>	
4. Armenia	<i>Le Roy de Hermenie</i>	<i>argent, a lion passant gules</i>	
15. Bulgaria	<i>Le Rey de Bulgaria</i>	<i>sable, a lion rampant quardent argent crown or</i>	
16. Poland	<i>Le Rey de Poulan</i>	<i>gules, a horse saddler or</i>	
19. Bohemia	<i>Le Rey de Behaigne</i>	<i>gules, a lion rampant with a forked tail crossed in saltier argent</i>	
26. Serbia	<i>Le Rey de Servie</i>	<i>gules, a cross argent</i>	

The Wijnbergen Roll

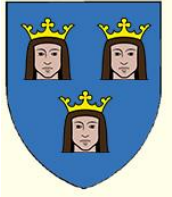


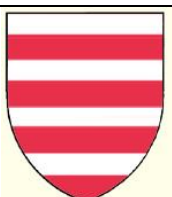
The Wijnbergen Roll or the Armorial Wijnbergen is a medieval French roll of arms. It has two separate parts, in the first part the vassals of Louis IX of France (1226-1270) are collected. This section was compiled around 1265 and contains 256 records. The second part is the collection of the vassals of Philip III of France (1270-1285), it was compiled around 1280 and contains 1056 records. The Wijnbergen Roll was published by Paul Adam-Evan between 1951-52.³⁵

The royal blazons in the Wijnbergen Roll:³⁶





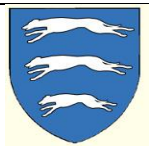

1266. Bohemia	<i>le Roy de Boeme</i>	<i>De gueules au lion d'argent à la queue fourchée, passé en sautoir et nouée, couronné d'or</i>	
1267. Hungary	<i>le Roy de Hongrie</i>	<i>Fasce d'argent et de sable à l'escarbuncle fleuronnée d'or brochant</i>	
1269. Armenia	<i>le Roy dermine</i>	<i>D'or au léopard lionné de gueules</i>	


³⁵ Paul Adam-Evan and Léon Jéquier, "Un armorial français du milieu du XIII^e siècle: L'armorial Wijnbergen," *Archives Héraldiques Suisses* (1951): 49-62, 101-110. (1952): 28-36, 103-111.






³⁶ Royal Library in Brussels, Collection Goethals, MS. 2569, fol. 35r.


1270. Slavonia	<i>le Roi dezclauonie</i>	<i>D'azur semé de croisettes d'or à 3 têtes de reines au naturel couronnées brochant</i>	
1276. Cyprus	<i>le Roi de Chipre</i>	<i>Burelé (16) d'argent et d'azur au lion de gueules armé et couronné d'or brochant</i>	
1296. Poland	<i>le Roy de Poulenne</i>	<i>De gueules au cheval gai (poulain) d'argent</i>	
1305. Hungary	<i>le Roi de Hōgrie</i>	<i>Fascé (8) d'argent et de gueules</i>	

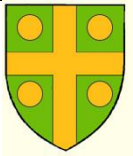






The Variants of the Royal Coats of Arms



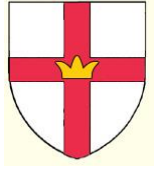



<i>The Hungarian Royal Coats of Arms</i>				
<i>Walford's Roll</i> <i>C version</i>	12. Hungary	<i>Le Roy de Hungrey</i>	<i>d'or estenzelé a trois leon passans d'azure</i>	
<i>Walford's Roll</i> <i>Cd version</i>	11. Hungary	<i>Le Roy de Hungrie</i>	<i>de or estenzelé de gules a treys lions passanz coronés</i>	
<i>Herald's Roll</i>	14. Hungary	<i>Le Roy de Hungrie</i>	<i>gules, a lion rampant or, collared azure</i>	
<i>Camden Roll</i>	94. Hungary	<i>Rey de Hungrie</i>	<i>gules a lion rampant or</i>	
<i>Segar Roll</i>	22. Hungary	<i>Rey de Hungrie</i>	<i>azure, three greyhounds courant argent</i>	
<i>Wijnbergen Roll</i>	1267. Hungary	<i>le Roy de Hongrie</i>	<i>Fasce d'argent et de sable á l'escarboucle fleuronée d'or brochant</i>	


	1305. Hungary	<i>le Roi de Hōgrie</i>	<i>Fascé (8) d'argent et de gueules</i>	
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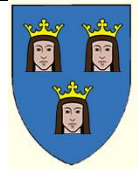
<i>The Bohemian Royal Coats of Arms</i>				
<i>Walford's Roll</i> <i>C version</i>	10. Bohemia	<i>Le Roy de Boeme</i>	<i>d'argent un lion sable couronné</i>	
<i>Walford's Roll</i> <i>Cd version</i>	10. Bohemia	<i>Le Roy de Bowheme</i>	<i>d'argent ung lion sable corone or a une cross or sur l'esspaule</i>	
<i>Herald's Roll</i>	18. Bohemia	<i>Le Roy de Bealme</i>	<i>azure three barges or</i>	
<i>Camden Roll</i>	12. Bohemia	<i>Rey de Bealme</i>	<i>azure, three barges argent</i>	
<i>Lord Marshal's Roll</i>	19. Bohemia	<i>Le Rey de Behaigne</i>	<i>sable, a lion rampant quardent argent crown or</i>	



<i>Wijnbergen</i> <i>Roll</i>	1266. Bohemia	<i>le Roy de Boeme</i>	<i>De gueules au lion d'argent á la queue fourchéé, passéé en sautoir et nouée, couronné d'or</i>	
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<i>Versions of the Royal Coats of Arms of Cyprus</i>				
<i>Walford's Roll C version</i>	13. Cyprus	<i>Le Roy de Cypre</i>	<i>vert besantee un crois passant d'or</i>	
<i>Walford's Roll Cd version</i>	33. Cyprus	<i>Le Roy de Scypre</i>	<i>vert besantee de gules un croyz d'or passant</i>	
<i>Herald's Roll</i>	26. Cyprus	<i>Le Roy de Cypre</i>	<i>argent, five bars azure a lion rampant gules crowned</i>	
<i>Camden Roll</i>	11. Cyprus	<i>Rey de Cypres</i>	<i>azure, three shields (targes) or</i>	
<i>Segar Roll</i>	23. Cyprus	<i>Rey de Scypre</i>	<i>or a moor's head sable hooded argent</i>	
<i>Lord Marshal's Roll</i>	2. Cyprus	<i>Le Roy de Chypre</i>	<i>argent, 10 bars azure a lion rampant gules</i>	
<i>Wijnbergen Roll</i>	1276. Cyprus	<i>le Roi de Chipre</i>	<i>Burelé (16) d'argent et d'azur au lion de gueules armé et couronné d'or brochant</i>	


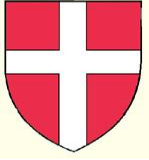
<i>Versions of the Armenian Royal Coats of Arms</i>				
<i>Walford's Roll</i> <i>C version</i>	14. Armenia	<i>Le Roy</i> <i>d'Ermeny</i>	<i>d'or un leon rampant gulez</i> <i>un border gulez indantee</i>	
<i>Walford's Roll</i> <i>Cd version</i>	37. Armenia	<i>Le Roy</i> <i>d'Armynye</i>	<i>d'or a un lion rampant de</i> <i>gules a une bourdoure de</i> <i>gules endentit</i>	
<i>Herald's Roll</i>	15. Armenia	<i>Le Roy de</i> <i>Ermine</i>	<i>a cross gules charged at the</i> <i>fess point with a crown or</i>	
<i>Camden Roll</i>	15. Armenia	<i>Rey de Ermyne</i>	<i>ermine, a cross gules</i> <i>charged at the fess point</i> <i>with a crown or</i>	
<i>Segar Roll</i>	19. Armenia	<i>Rey de Ermenye</i>	<i>azure, a lion rampant argent</i>	
<i>Lord Marshal's Roll</i>	4. Armenia	<i>Le Roy de</i> <i>Hermenie</i>	<i>argent, a lion passant gules</i>	

<i>Wijnbergen Roll</i>	1269. Armenia	<i>le Roy dermine</i>	<i>D'or au léopard lionné de gueules</i>	
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<i>Versions of the Slavonian Royal Coats of Arms</i>				
<i>Lord Marshal's Roll</i>	3. Slavonia	<i>Le Roy de Esclevoni</i>	<i>azure, three human heads argent crowned or</i>	
<i>Wijnbergen Roll</i>	1270. Slavonia	<i>le Roi dezclauonie</i>	<i>D'azur semé de croisettes d'or à 3 têtes de reines au naturel couronnées brochant</i>	

<i>Versions of the Polish Royal Coats of Arms</i>				
<i>Lord Marshal's Roll</i>	16. Poland	<i>Le Rey de Poulan</i>	<i>gules, a horse saddler or</i>	
<i>Wijnbergen Roll</i>	1296. Poland	<i>le Roy de Poulenne</i>	<i>De gueules au cheval gai (poulain) d'argent</i>	

Versions of Other Central and Eastern European Royal Coats of Arms

<i>Lord Marshal's Roll</i>	15. Bulgaria	<i>Le Rey de Bulgaria</i>	<i>sable, a lion rampant guardent argent crown or</i>	
<i>Lord Marshal's Roll</i>	26. Serbia	<i>Le Rey de Servie</i>	<i>gules, a cross argent</i>	

Analysis of the royal coats of arms

If we take a closer look at the sources, we find for each coat of arms various descriptions. In this present chapter, I go through the variations of the bearings, analyze and classify them. I start the examination with the Hungarian and the Slavonian coat of arms, in the next place I continue with the Cyprian and Armenian armorial bearings and afterwards comes the analysis of the Bohemian coats of arms. In the last segment of the chapter, I will be concerned with the problems of the rarely mentioned blazons, the Polish, the Bulgarian and the Serbian coats of arms.

In the analysis I follow the chronological order of the rolls of arms but if the examination's logic requires I merge the armorial rolls. The Lord Marshal's Roll and the French reference source, the Wijnbergen Roll will always be studied together.

According to my above mentioned hypothesis, – that these armorial rolls refer to England's political relationships and interest, as well as to the cultural connections and geographical knowledge – I examine in this chapter whether the coat of arms which are labeled as fictitious arms are indeed fictitious or if they are based on an averrable antitype or a detectable source.

The coat of arms of the Hungarian Kingdom and Slavonia-

The Hungarian lions and the Slavonian heads

The Hungarian coat of arms appears almost in every English armorial rolls as well as in French ones. The latter show an interesting picture, because they contain the Hungarian blazon in two instances. The descriptions of the two examined versions of the earliest rolls are very similar but not identical. Notably, the Walford's Roll survived in an early modern copy, and there is a high chance that the copyist deleted, and/or added elements, and/or changed colors according to his own knowledge or ideas. Therefore, in version C of the Walford's Roll the three blue Hungarian lions are standing in gold, and in the CI variant three red lions with crowns are standing in gold.

Before a more in-depth analysis of the coat of arms variations a few words are in order about the precursors of the Hungarian lion and a brief history of the Hungarian royal coat of arms. Under the Arpadian dynasty, the kings of Hungary wore two distinct armours. The one was a



Figure 2 The Seal of Bela IV (1251)
(DL50617)

shield with red and silver barres, the other was the armour with the double-cross.³⁷ The bearing changed from king to king, but a recent paper suggests that the double-cross appeared on the royal coat of arms only during the reign of Béla IV (1235-1270) and not before, as previously suggested.³⁸ Under his reign, it was only a regal symbol. The usage of the double-cross was renewed by Béla IV,

³⁷ Iván Bertényi, *Magyar címertan* [Hungarian heraldry] (Budapest: Osiris, 2003) 29-30; József Laszlovszky, *A magyar címer története* [The History of the Hungarian Coat of Arms] (Budapest: Pytheas, 1990), 4-9.

³⁸ Tamás Köröendi, "A magyar királyok kettőskeresztes címerének kialakulása" [The first appearance of the double-cross variant of the Hungarian Kings' Coat of Arms], *Turul* 84 (2011): 73-83.

in order to symbolize his different political goals and character, and to clearly disavow his father's and his uncle's monarchic style³⁹.

But before the double cross became the Hungarian royal insignia Emeric (1196-1204), the father of Béla IV and Andrew II (1205-1235), uncle of Béla IV used seals with lion symbols.

The lion pattern appears on the earliest heraldic record of the Hungarian kingdom, the Golden Bull of Emeric from 1202. However, according to its circumscription the date of the charter is 1199,⁴⁰ and as noted previously the double cross was used on royal coats of arms only during the reign of Béla IV.⁴¹ Irrespectively the fact remains that on this Golden



Figure 3 The seal of Andrew II (1221)
(DL39250)

Bull the lion was used as a royal insignia for the first time and also that it contains the earliest surviving evidence for the *barres*.⁴² There are nine lions on a *barry* field on the seal of Emeric in 1202.

The Hungarian lion's origin is debated, whether it dates back to Eastern or Western, biblical tradition⁴³. Besides historians, art historians also dealt with the lions as recurring elements of

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ György Szabados, "Imre király házassága, aranybullája" [The Marriage and the Golden Bull of King Emeric], *Századok* 136 (2002): 349–50.

⁴¹ Körmendi, "A magyar királyok," 73–83.

⁴² Imre Takács, *Az árpád-házi királyok pecsétjei* [Royal Seals of the Árpád Dynasty], *Corpus Sigillorum Hungariae Medievalis* 1 (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2012).

⁴³ Eastern influence: György Györffy, "A magyar nemzetségtől a vármegyéig, a törzstől az orszáig" [From Hungarian kindred to county, from tribe to country], in *Tanulmányok a magyar állam eredetéről* ed. György Györffy (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1959), 1–126., Western influence: Iván Bertényi, "Az Árpád-házi királyok címere és Aragónia" [The Coats of Arms of the Arpadian Kings and Aragon], in *Királylányok messzi földről: Magyarország és Katalónia a középkorban*, eds. Ramon Sarobe and Csaba Tóth (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2009), 189; Ferenc Donászy, *Az Árpádok címerei* [The Coats of Arms of the Arpadians] (Budapest: Donászy Ferenc, 1937), 23.

royal insignia. Their main source is a fresco in the royal chapel in Esztergom, where we can find depicted lions with palmette ornamentation.⁴⁴

Besides Emeric, Andrew II's coat of arms also bore the lions on a shield. The number of the lions was inconsistent, at times it was seven, sometimes nine. The other striking fact is that Andrew had used it only as king and not as duke of Slavonia. His seal from 1220 bears seven lions recognizable in bars⁴⁵. After 1235 the royal lions faded from use, only the bars remained.

The Slavonian duke's legal situation and status is remarkable in the context of seal and coat of arms use, because both kings Emeric and Andrew used the lion symbol as the king of Hungary and not as the duke of Slavonia. Emeric was the first who bore this ducal title between 1194 and 1196. He was followed in this position by Andrew, his brother, between 1197 and 1205. Shortly after came Andrew II's heir, Béla, between 1220- 1226, who was also followed by his brother, Coloman, king of Galicia



Figure 4 The Seal of Emeric (1202)
(DL39249)

between 1226-1241. The list will close with Stephen in 1245 and Béla IV between 1260-1269. As Kristó highlights in an argument with Györffy about the legal position of the Slavonian duke, only three of them, Emeric, Béla and Stephen, were firstborn and also crown princes during their rulership as Slavonian dukes⁴⁶. Andrew II used military force to make his brother Emeric hand over the duchy after their father's death. However, as Ladislas III (1204-1205) was born only in 1199, when Andrew II attacked his brother for the dukedom, he was in fact

⁴⁴ Mária Prokopp, *Esztergom: A királyi vár freskói* [Esztergom: The frescoes of the Royal Castle] (Budapest: TKM Egyesület, 2001), 5.

⁴⁵ Bertényi, *Magyar címertan*, 65.

⁴⁶ Gyula Kristó, *Feudális szétagolódás Magyarországon* [Feudal disintegration in Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979), 54., György Györffy, "A magyar nemzetségtől a vármegyéig, a törzstől az orszáig" [From Hungarian kindred to county, from tribe to country], *Századok* 92 (1958): 584.

the crown prince.⁴⁷ Moreover, later Béla IV in 1245 proclaimed his son, Stephen, as duke of Slavonia without any legal exception. Without doubt it was possible only if this tradition had had an institution beforehand. In this regard, the seal usage suggests that the lions were definitely royal symbols in the Hungarian heraldic tradition used only by the kings.

In the following I examine the versions of Hungarian insignia, specifically the variations of the bearings in chronological order. This chapter also examines the Slavonian blazon. As mentioned previously the Walford's Roll survived in early modern copies. Because it exists in two distinct textual traditions, the present discussion contains one description of each. Variant C features three walking azure lions in gold, and Cd has three walking gules lions with crowns. The gold tincture and the lion elements are the same in both textual traditions, even though the original colors of the Hungarian royal bars were red/gules and silver. Both blazons follow the rules of tinctures of heraldry, but not those of color blazoning. The phrasing is also remarkable: both versions describe the lion's position as a walking lion, by using the word *passant*.

The next roll in chronological order is the Herald's, but because the Camden Roll is based on the Herald's Roll, I examine these together. The Herald's text specifies that the Hungarian coat of arms is a gules lion standing in gold, armed azure, and in the Camden Roll, a gules lion stands in gold. The colors are the same, the only difference is the presence of azure nails. Thus, notably, the color azure appears here again, even though officially the Hungarian royal insignia never contained any blue elements except during the Angevin-era when the Angevins' blue field behind the gold lilies were integrated into the Hungarian king's coat of arms to. By all means, the most interesting element of the Hungarian shield in these rolls is that the lions are

⁴⁷Attila Zsoldos, *Családi ügy: IV. Béla és István ifjabb király viszálya az 1260-as években* [A family affair, The conflict between Béla IV and Stephen the Younger King in the 1260s] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, 2007), 15.

described as *rampant* and not *passant*, standing and not walking. *Rampant* is the incorrect term to describe both Emeric's or Andrew II's coats of arms.

The Segar Roll is a very remarkable source. *G* features three silver greyhounds running in azure. Again, the structure of the shield is correct, one metallic and one color. The greyhound motif appears only here, it does not exist anywhere in thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century heraldry. The word *courant* is also not part of the heraldic terminology. In my opinion, this suggests that by the time the compiler composed the list of the armorial bearings he had seen an original document with the Hungarian seal, otherwise he would have followed the existing pictorial and textual tradition of the lion motif. A later chapter discuss whether this was the seal of Emeric or Andrew.

In the following I introduce the control source interrelated with the English Segar Roll, the Lord Marshal's roll. It is a unique piece, based on the French Wijnbergen Roll, which is the reference source material of this research. Curiously, the Lord Marshal's Roll does not contain the blazon of the Hungarian king. On the other hand, the French control material, the Wijnbergen Armorial, does in two distinct variations. It shall probably remain an open question why the Hungarian blazon is missing from LM, and for what reason the Wijnbergen Armorial contains two versions of it.

The Wijnbergen Roll's blazons present an intriguing picture. The first description, item 1267 in the list, is a blazon of a coat of arms with silver and black barres and with a gold charboucle/escarboucle with fleurs de lis. According to the other item, no. 1305, the Hungarian king's insignia is a coat of arms with silver and gules barres. It is certifiable that the Hungarian king has never had charboucles in their coat of arms. There was one royal coat of arms which contained this element: the royal insignia of Navarre, which is found in every early English and French roll of arms and was a well-known armour. The compiler did not conflate them,

most likely it is a mistake of the scribe. The second blazon is clearly the correct blazon of the Hungarian royal coat of arms. This means that the Hungarian royal blazon was different in the



Figure 5 The Seal of Sigismund (DL8295)

French tradition, but most importantly it shows that the French and English knowledge about the European royal bearings was distinctly different.

Based on the brief summary above about the Hungarian coat of arms tradition and the seals of Emeric and Andrew, it is evident that the lion was a Hungarian royal symbol, and that the Hungarian royal armorial bearings had a determinate antitype in the English rolls of arms.

Besides a detectable heraldic antitype it is also justifiable to suggest that a Hungarian armorial tradition was known in England independently of the French convention.

Here I have to enter into details about the Slavonian coat of arms, because in the English Lord Marshal's Roll the Slavonian coat of arms features three silver human heads with gold crowns in a blue field, which is similar to the Dalmatian coat of arms. The Wijnbergen Roll specifies three gold queens' heads with crowns in a blue field. The question arises instantly which part of Europe the compiler meant by Slavonia. There are different opinions and argumentations about the exact identity of Slavonia.⁴⁸ Zsoldos suggests that the region of Slavonia was the territory between the Drava river and the Adriatic Sea⁴⁹. Accepting this suggestion, points to an interesting parallelism with the Dalmatian coat of arms in structure and colors.

⁴⁸György Györffy "Szalvónia kialakulásának oklevélkritikai vizsgálata" [Diplomatics critique of the development of Slavonia], *Levéltári Közlemények* 41 (1970): 223-40., Gyula Kristó, *A feudális széttagolódás*, 84-138.

⁴⁹ Attila Zsoldos, "Egész Szlavónia bánja," [The *banus* of all Slavonia], in *Tanulmányok a középkorról* Analecta Mediaevalia 1, ed. Tibor Neumann (Budapest: Argumentum, 2001), 269-81.

The earliest correct depiction of the Dalmatian coat of arms, three gold leopard heads with crowns in a blue field, appears with these colors in the fifteenth century, in the so-called Corvinas, codices prepared for the Hungarian King Matthias from the 1460s onwards.⁵⁰

Obviously, there are earlier sources, for example it

appears on the coins of Sigismund and also on his *sigillum duplex*, the fourth smaller armorial



Figure 6 Carving from Ostrovica
(1347)

bearing around the royal insignia is the Dalmatian coat of arms with the crowned leopard heads.⁵¹ For a long time scholars took it for granted that the first mention of the Dalmatian insignia in all the surviving sources is found in the Gelre Armorial. This collection of coats of arms was compiled in the 1370s in the Holy Roman Empire and describes this particular coat of arms as a red field and silver leopard heads with crowns. This means between the Lord Marshal's Roll and the Gelre Armorial is a sixty-years hiatus. But a carved stone panel from Ostrovica from 1347 is certainly the earliest known representation of the Dalmatian coat of arms⁵². By this material we got closer to our English heraldic sources and the sixty-years hiatus decreases only to thirty. The fact that Slavonia never had

any royal armorial bearings in the Middle Ages, and that in the Western European heraldic

⁵⁰ Tamás Körmendi, "Dalmácia címere a középkori magyar királyok heraldikai reprezentációjában" [The Dalmatia Coat of Arms in the Medieval Hungarian Kings' Heraldic Representation], in *Archivorum historicumque magistra*, ed. Zsófia Kádár, Bálint Lakatos, Áron Zarnóczky (Budapest: Magyar Levéltárosok Egyesülete, 2013), 391–408.

⁵¹ Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Diplomatikai Levéltár [Hungarian National Archive State Archive, Diplomatical Archive]. hereafter DL 8295, (1406), DL 8832, (1418)

⁵² Nikša Stančić, and Dubravka Peić Čaldarović, "Prvi sjedinjeni grb Kraljevstva Dalmacije, Hrvatske i Slavonije iz 1610. godine" [The First Incorporated Coat of Arms of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia from 1610], *Rad Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti: Razred za društvene znanosti* 50 (2013): 71–93.

textual tradition never appears in the Dalmatian coats of arms, make this parallel all the more remarkable⁵³. This description may certainly be considered as the earliest evidence for the colors of the Dalmatian coat of arms.

Based on the variants examined above the following can be concluded. The lion symbol was clearly the base charge of the Hungarian heraldic tradition in England. The description of the lion's position highlights that the composer of the Herald's Roll and also the scribe of the Camden Roll had never seen the original seal, otherwise they would have known that the Hungarian lions' position was the same as that of the lions' on the English royal coat of arms. This corroborates my opinion that this imperfect blazon was not borne out of a lack of terminological knowledge. This illustration has a connection with depictions and blazons in the Danish and Norwegian royal armorial's. The layout and false colors attributed to the Hungarian kings' coat of arms are based on the Danish and Norwegian royal armorial bearings.⁵⁴

It has been demonstrated that the layout of the shields was depicted correctly and they followed the main heraldic rules. Gold as a heraldic tincture is also a common, incorrectly used element. The blue heraldic weapons on the lion are also fictive. Another possibility, as seen in the case of the Segar Roll, is that the compiler was aware of the original document but chose to abandon the extant convention. This is similar to what may have happened in the case of the Wijnbergen Roll, where the compiler had more recent and more accurate knowledge about the Hungarian royal coat of arms. Finally, it has been demonstrated that in the Hungarian heraldic tradition the lions were only royal symbols.

⁵³ Körmendi, *Dalmácia címere a középkori*, 397.

⁵⁴ Eszter Tarján, "A Camden- és a Walford-tekeres uralkodói címereinek néhány problémája," [The Royal Blazons of Walford's and Camden Rolls of Arms], in *Magister Historiae*, ed. Mónika Belucz et al. (Budapest: ELTE BTK Történelemtudományok Doktori Iskola, 2014), 183–186.

Contrary to previous opinions that the Hungarian royal coats of arms were fictive insignias, made up by the compilers of the early English rolls of arms, these points suggest that the blazons were either based on common knowledge about the coat of arms, or that the compilers were aware of the insignia of Hungarian kings.

The Coat of Arms of Bohemia - A well-known lion?

The Bohemian coat of arms has a unique place among the examined items because of its rarity and appearance. Of the five examined source records, only two contain an almost correct blazon of the Bohemian armour: *in red field a silver lion with crown and forked tails*. This is quite a remarkable situation because, on the one hand, the ruling Přemysl family was a well-known and old European dynasty founded by Borivoj I (872-889/894) in 872, on the other hand, Bohemia was an imperial state inside the Holy Roman Empire and its ruler was a prince-electors in the empire⁵⁵. The Bohemian lands were not an independent territory when Edward I reigned and the rolls of arms were compiled.

The correct descriptions of the Bohemian coat of arms are in both variants of Walford's Roll and the Lord Marshal's Roll (LM), the latter based on the French Wijnbergen Roll (WJN). Both the LM and WJN describe it almost identically. I follow the chronological order in my analysis as I did previously. The descriptions of the Bohemian coat of arms in the Herald's Roll and in the Camden Roll's versions are briefly discussed in the section dealing with the problems of the word *tagres*. The fact that the Segar Roll does not contain the blazon or depiction of the Czech lands' bearings makes the Bohemian case more interesting.

When the Walford's Roll was compiled around 1275, Přemysl Ottokar or Ottokar II (1253-1278) reigned as the king of Bohemia from 1253 onwards. He was the second son of Wenceslaus I and also the younger brother of Vladislaus. When Vladislaus died in 1247, Ottokar became the margrave of Moravia, duke of Austria, Styria and Carinthia, and ruled these lands until 1278⁵⁶.

⁵⁵ Nóra Berend, Premyslaw Urbanczyk, Premyslaw Wiszewski, eds., *Central Europe in the High Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland c. 900–c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 408.

⁵⁶ Berend, Urbanczyk, and Wiszewski, eds. *Central Europe in the High Middle Ages*, 411.

In the C version of Walford's Roll, the king of Bohemia's coat of arms is said to bear *in a silver field a black lion with a crown*, in the Cd variant *in a silver field a black lion with a crown*



Figure 7 The Coin of Wenceslaus II (1278-1305)

shouldering a cross. The Cd version contains an extra element, the cross on the lion's shoulder, while an element is missing from the C variant. The correct missing element is the *queue forchée*, the forked tail. The C and Cd

variants are early modern copies and the original manuscript or the one which these variants are based on is missing, so incidental transmission errors are difficult to infer. The possible explanations for the variation are the following: the copyist knew that something was missing and added a standard or an often-used element—a process that demonstrated previously. But it is also possible that he had an old, bad quality depiction of the Bohemian coat of arms in which the tail was not clearly visible, so he added – again – a standard basic element. It is also interesting from a philological point of view that “shouldering” was a rarely used term in the early English heraldic terminology⁵⁷. In addition to these problematic elements, the colours are not correct since Bohemian kings never had a black lion: they bore a black eagle on their shield. The manuscripts do not mention the position of the charge, that is, whether the lion is *rampant* or *passant*.

Surviving seals and coins confirm that the lion symbol was used as a royal insignia. The middle and small bracteates of Ottokar II, ruler of the Bohemian lands until 1278, feature a lion.⁵⁸ This

⁵⁷ Gerard J. Brault, *Early Blazon* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997.) 192.

⁵⁸ Zdeněk Petrů, Luboš Polanský, “Mince posledních Přemyslovců, [The Coins of the Last Přemysls]” in *Přemyslovci Budování Českého Státu*, eds. Petr Sommer, Dušan Třestík, and Josef Žemlička (Prague: Archeologický Ústav, Historický Ústav, 2009), 216.

lion is the same as in the earliest depictions and also the same as what the WJN Roll describes: a standing crowned lion with forked and crossed tails. Similarly, this lion pattern appears on the copper (groat) of Wenceslaus II (1278-1305), a standing, crowned lion with forked and crossed tails.⁵⁹ The great seal of Wenceslaus from 1297 also contains the lion motif.⁶⁰ This is especially interesting since the lion is part of a complex seal composition: on each side of the sitting imperial figure with the royal ensigns there are two shields. The one on the right side has an eagle, the one on the left has a lion with the double and forked tails. Importantly, these royal symbols whose shield features in a seal composition indicate that the lion and the eagle were both used as royal insignias.



Figure 8 The Great Seal of Wenceslaus (1297)

The case of the Bohemian coat of arms in the Herald's Roll and in the Camden Roll is unusual. In these cases, the first question is not the reason why the Bohemian coat of arms' blazon contains a *barges* (a barge, a galley) element, but which region the name Bealme stands for. First and foremost, Bohemia and the Bohemian kings never bore any royal insignia with a barge. For instance, two other early appearances of the Czech lion in a shield are almost contemporary. The first one is in the illuminated Latin manuscript of the Passional of Abbess Kunigunde from 1312/13-1321.⁶¹ On the first page of the document there is a shield: a silver lion with a crown in a red field. The second early depiction of the Bohemian coat of arms is from the Codex Manesse, also known as *Große heidelberger Liederhandschrift* (c.1300-

⁵⁹ Karel Maráz, "Vaclav III," in *Přemyslovci Budování Českého Státu*, eds. Petr Sommer, Dušan Třestík, Josef Žemlička (Prague: Archeologický Ústav, Historický Ústav, 2009), 343.

⁶⁰ Dana Dvořáková-Malá, "Vaclav II," in *Přemyslovci Budování Českého Státu*, eds. Petr Sommer, Dušan Třestík, Josef Žemlička (Prague: Archeologický Ústav, Historický Ústav, 2009), 331.

⁶¹ Národní knihovna České republiky, Prague, XIV.A.17. 1v.

c.1340), where Wenceslaus II's figure is flanked by two shields. The one on the right has a checky (gules and sable) eagle in azure, and the one on the other side displays the silver lion with forked tails in a red field with a crown⁶².



Figure 9 The Coat of Arms of Hákon Hákonarson in *Chronica Majora*

Several different theories and interpretations emerged to explain the Bohemian barges during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, this question has been around from as early as the seventeenth century, Bealme was interpreted as Bethlehem by the copyist Richard Kimbey.⁶³ It is also a notable connection that he made a copy of the Camden Roll as well.⁶⁴ Denholm-Young also shared this interpretation in his *History and Heraldry*.⁶⁵

Another interesting theory is by Felix Hauptmann, who draws attention to a very similar item in the chronicle of Matthew Paris.⁶⁶ King Haakon VI of Norway (1217-1263) bore a similar coat of arms: *gules, three barges or, in the middle chief a crosslet formy argent*.⁶⁷ The cross is a new element in the Norwegian coat of arms. Brault suggests that Haakon has the crosslet in his coat

⁶² Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, Cod. Pal. Germ. 848. Fol. 10r, accessed April 21, 2107, <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg848/0015?sid=03683688192d9895cc00597a92586996>.

⁶³ James Greenstreet, "The Original Camden Roll of Arms," *Journal of the British Archaeological Society* 38 (1882): 311.

⁶⁴ Today this copy can be found in the British Library: MS. Harl. 6137, ff. 66b-72b.

⁶⁵ Noel Denholm-Young, *History and Heraldry 1254 to 1310: A Study of the Historical Value of the Rolls of Arms* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965) 46.

⁶⁶ Felix Hauptmann, "Die Wappen in der Historia Minor des Matthaeus Parisiensis," in *Jahrbuch der K. K. Heraldischen Gesellschaft Adler* 19, (Vienna: Carl Golden's Sohn, 1909), 20-55.

⁶⁷ The correct coat of Arms of Norway is a gold lion holding a silver axe in a red field.

of arms to symbolise the fact that he took the cross around 1250.⁶⁸ As a possible explanation for the territory named Bealme and its coat of arms with galleys, Hauptmann suggests that the barge symbol is connected to the city arms of Bergen where Haakon IV was crowned.⁶⁹ It is important to stress that this shield with barges is not the coat of arms of Norway or of the kings of Norway, it was attributed to Hákon Hákonarson by Matthew Paris. However, connection can be detected by the seal of Haraldr Óláfsson, King of Man and the Isles. He had a seal with a ship in his coat of arms and he was the vassal of Haakon IV.⁷⁰

The Camden Roll's scribe clearly copied the Herald's Roll's description, except for the colour of the *barges*. While it is gold in the Herald's Roll, the Camden Roll describes it as silver *barges*.

As mentioned above, the Segar Roll does not contain a description of the coat of arms of Bohemia. This fact is notable because, as previously noted, the Segar Roll is not based on any known textual traditions, its scribe did not use any of the known, earlier compiled armorial rolls, but his work is based on his own knowledge. We have also seen in the previous chapters that it is highly possible that the scribe of this roll worked at the royal chancellery, hence he had the opportunity to see the assumable Hungarian seal and the golden bull of Leo I. Therefore, the absence of the Bohemian coat of arms could not mean anything other than that the scribe of the Segar Roll did not have any sources on which his blazon could be based.

The Lord Marshal's Roll together with the Wijnbergen Roll describe a correct coat of arms. However, many coats of arms are missing from the Lord Marshal's Roll. It survived in an early modern copy, and its scribe mistook the blue colour for silver. It is based on the French

⁶⁸ Brault: *Early Blazon*, 115.

⁶⁹ Hauptmann, "Die Wappen in der Historia Minor," 51.

⁷⁰ *Aspilogia II: Rolls of Arms. Henry III. The Matthew Paris Shields, c. 1244-59*, ed. Thomas D. Tremlett (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 1967) 171.

Wijnbergen Roll, its source value is not as high as that of the others. Even so, for one reason it is still a remarkable document, and this value stands out here. The French blazon gives a very detailed shield description: it mentions not only the forked tails but also that they cross each other in a saltier shape. The LM's blazon compared to the French roll's coat of arms is - again - a simplified description. It is notable that exactly this practice can be detected regarding these two rolls in the case of the Armenian coat of arms.

Through the analysis we have seen that the Bohemian coat of arms was not part of the standard English royal armorial bearings listed in the early armorial rolls. We have seen that Walford's Roll is problematic, although it mentions the Bohemian lion but without the lion's position which is particular. The description also contains incorrect colours. In the case of the Herald's and the Camden Rolls, it cannot be indubitably declared that the word Bealme does not refer to the Bohemian lands, but the presumable Scandinavian connection seems more substantiated and reasonable. In the previous chapters it was noted that while the LM was based on the French armorial roll, the LMs' examined elements either had some antitype or an averrable source. The Bohemian case is different. This is the item which apparently looks like a standard element of the English rolls of arms but it is not. I suggest two possible explanations. First, as noted above, Bohemia was not an independent region, but an imperial state of the Holy Roman Empire. Therefore, the Bohemian lands had a different legal status than the other examined kingdoms, which were all sovereign states. In the second place, as it will be discussed in a later chapter, the Bohemian rulers' political interests were supported more by German, Hungarian and Polish oriented marital strategies and they organized their dynastic politics accordingly.

The Coat of Arms of Cyprus - The Second House of Lusignans and the Red Lions

The coat of arms of Cyprus shows a very notable picture, because its numerous descriptions and depictions remaining in the source material. As in the previous chapters, the analysis follows chronological order of armorial rolls.

The first mention of the royal coat of arms of Cyprus is in Walford's roll. In the manuscripts, both the *C* and *Cd* variants, the royal coat of arms of Cyprus is *in green field gules bezant*⁷¹ and *a gold cross*. On the first level of analysis it is clear that this is a fictitious blazon. Kings of Cyprus never bore any shield like this or any similar. Moreover, I did not find any similar armorial bearings of the region. The question emerges what kind of blazon is this, why they created it and how. As it is known from previous researches, this structure is very close to Constantinople's coat of arms, I suggest accepting that the compiler used the coat of arms of Constantinople as an antitype to create a new shield of Cyprus.⁷²

The scribe of Walford's roll did not know the proper blazon of the royal coat of arms of Cyprus, however he knew that the kingdom of Cyprus existed. Presumably he considered describing the unknown bearing because Cyprus strongly connected to the western kingdoms and its cultural tradition. These facts are more remarkable because at that time the king of Cyprus was Hugh III who established the second house of the Lusignan dynasty in Cyprus, the Lusignan-Antiochian House⁷³. I will enter into detail later regarding dynastical relationships, but I think it is important to mention here that also the Lusignan family's descendent, William de Valence (? - 1296) bore the title of Earl of Pembroke, whose original name was Guillaume de Lusignan. He was the younger son of Hugh de Lusignan (c. 1183- 1249), count of Marche. This was a

⁷¹ roundlet

⁷² Tarján, "A Camden- és a Walford-tekeres uralkodói...", 186.

⁷³ Peter W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades 1191-1374* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 30., 37.

well-known fact in England especially if we consider that he was a close relative of Henry III and he also supported him and Prince Edward, - later Edward I- against Simon de Montfort and the barons. Taking into consideration the improper and fictitious blazons appear to be multilayered.

In the case of the Herald's and Camden Rolls the picture becomes more complex. It is unasserted that the scribe had an antitype to create the fictive coat of arms of Cyprus, but if the blazon of Bealme from the Herald's roll is involved there is an observable parallelism, which helps us to understand why the description of coat of arms of Cyprus' king's is *azure, three targes or*, in blue filed three gold shields figure on the list. The 18th description of the Herald's roll is the blazon of Bealme, where the coat of arms of the king Bealme is *azure, three barges de or, in blue field three gold barges*.⁷⁴ The jingle of the words *targes* and *barges* is clear. It is also clear that the two words vary orthographically only in the initial letters, the structure, the

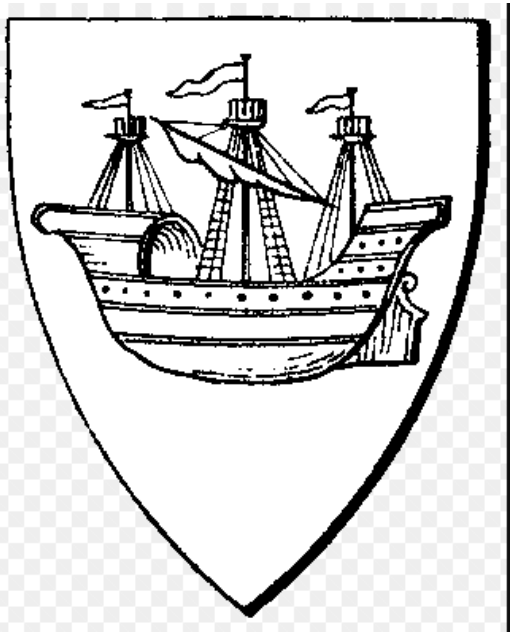


Figure 10 A heraldic ship (Parker: *A Glossary of Terms Used in Heraldry*)

field color and also the color of the charges are the same. Brault suggests that the scribe of the Camden roll created the shield with ships, because the word *ship* in English sounds like *Chiper*, *Chyppre*, *Chippres* etc.⁷⁵ We also know that the painted shield of Cyprus in the Camden roll is erased.⁷⁶ Additionally, I highlight two facts. First, that the blazon of the royal armour of Cyprus is proper – except the number of the bars – in the Herald's roll: *argent, five bars azure a lion rampant gules crowned*

⁷⁴ HE fol.1r., Brault, „*Rolls of Arms of Edward I. ...*” 86.

⁷⁵ Brault, *Early blazon*, 115.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

(barry silver and blue, a red lion stands, crowned). Moreover, in the second place it shades the situation that the word *escutcheon* relates to heraldry and to the word *shield*, because its meaning is shield. In addition, Brault suggests that the word *targes* was not in use for to mark a shield at that time. Noting these statements and that the scribe of the Camden roll copied his version from the Herald's, I suggest the explanation when the Camden's compiler tried to reproduce the Herald's roll he made a mistake. He copied the coat of arms of Bealme as the bearing of Cyprus's king. He or later someone realized the scribe's failure and made an attempt to correct it by erasing the depicted shields. I suggest the concept of Brault is not to be rejected but only the similarity of the consonant does not explain such a variance from the original armorial bearing, especially because in the HE the description is proper.

At the case of the Segar roll the standard solution for the unknown coat of arms connected to the Southern kingdoms and Middle East regions. Those regions' coat of arms analysis is not



Figure 11 The Gros of Henry II (1285-1324)

part of this examination, but to give fictitious armours with various symbols connected to the Arabian culture was accepted. One of the frequently used charges was the moor's head with or without hood, beside the lion

symbol. The compiler of the Segar roll did not know the blazon of Lusignans, therefore he created one according to the usual process, based on a sort of common knowledge. His knowledge was wide enough to know that the kingdom of Cyprus somehow connects to the Western world, therefore it needs to occur on an armorial list like the Segar, furthermore he also knew that Cyprus somehow connects to the Eastern regions as well.

The blazon of the Lord Mashall's and Wijnbergen Rolls both are very close to the real coat of arms of Lusignans. The silver and blue bars and the red lion meet reality, the number of the bars are various and also in the Wijnbergen Roll the lion is armed and crowned with gold. The latter description is closer to the reality, the proper blazon of Cyprus' king's coat of arms is in *barry argent and azure a lion gules and crowned or*.

Considering all these statements that developed through the analysis, we find an arresting situation. Chronologically, the last English armorial roll based on the French reference source brings a proper description, in addition only one roll describes it according to reality, the Herald's roll. We already know that the copyist of the Camden Roll possibly made a mistake during the compilation. It also starts to stand out that the scribe of Segar roll did not work from the standard textual tradition, but from his own knowledge, which was deficient regarding the coat of arms of Cyprus. In the case of Walford's roll, we have seen that the scribe did not know the shield of the Lusignans. Therefore, he created one based on the coat of arms of Constantinople.

The question raises instantly why was the knowledge of the English armorial lists' scribes in almost every case so poor. Moreover, connecting to this question, why was the knowledge of



Figure 12 The Coat of Arms of Henry IV (1324-1359) in Bellapais Abbey

the French scribe so proper that he even describes the crown of the Cyprian lion. I suggest the following explanation: the Cyprian Lusignan dynasty originates from

France, and that time the older branch of Lusignans also held possession in the Kingdom of France. Hugh of Lusignan XIII (1259-1303) was the count of La March (Hugh VIII) and the count of Angoulême as well (Hugh IV). This close geographical, cultural and political connection explains clearly why the French scribe knew that accurately the blazon of Hugh III (1267-1284) or Henry II (1285-1324) of Cyprus. Even so we do not know why the English compilers had such an inaccurate knowledge regarding the coat of arms of Cyprus, while one of the politically very important English aristocrats, William of Valence, alias Guillaume de Lusignan was undoubtedly a descendent of Lusignans. The fact that he changed his name to *Valence* does not give a convincing elucidation. It is understood at that time they used an accurate registry of pedigree. Nevertheless, the proper blazon of the coat of arms of Cyprus in the Herald's roll. In the second chapter follows – connecting to the dynastic relations –, the examination of the Lusignan's dynastic relationships both on Cyprus and the surrounding kingdoms as well as in Western Europe.

The Coat of Arms of Armenia - The Cilician Leos and their Lions

The versions of the Armenian Kingdom's coat of arms also presents remarkable aspects of the early English armorial rolls. The remaining blazons and depictions are almost the same or very similar to each other, except in one textual tradition. The Herald's and the Camden Rolls represent a very different shield than the other rolls.

First of all, I have to clarify what Armenia means in the context of the present research. Furthermore, what is the proper name of the examined region and I also introduce the brief history of the Cilician region. The phrase Kingdom of Armenia could mean different territories. Earlier the region was ruled by different caliphs (the Umayyad and the Abbasid, 645), it was part of the Byzantine Empire (1045) and also part of the Seljuk Empire (1071). Later, during the eleventh century Armenia was ruled by Ruben/Roupen I, Prince of Armenia (1080-1095) and the Roupenian dynasty until Leo I (1198-1219). He established the Christian Armenian Kingdom, the kingdom of Armenian Cilicia. This new realm was a powerful Christian territory with extensive diplomatic relationship. Hence, the correct appellation of the examined region is Kingdom of Armenian Cilicia or Little Armenia.⁷⁷

On the one hand, the case of the Armenian coat of arms in the early English armorial rolls is slightly different than previously the Hungarian and the Cyprian was, but on the other hand, the situation of the Armenian Kingdom and the Kingdom of Cyprus are quite similar. In the following chapter I examine the description variants of the Armenian coat of arms in chronological order and I also explain the distinctions and the similarities.

The first examined armorial document is Walford's roll. Both in Walford's manuscripts variants the blazon of Armenia is the following: *in gold field, a standing red lion and red*

⁷⁷ I use the following phrases as synonyms to cover the examined region: Armenia, Armenian Kingdom and Cilicia.

bordure. The descriptions differ only orthographically which is not relevant in the present research. In 1275, when probably Walford's Roll was compiled, the ruler of Armenia was Leo



Figure 13 The Golden Bull of Leo I (1199-1219)

II (1269-1289). He was a member of Hetoumid dynasty, the son of Queen Isabelle (1219-1252) and the grandson of Leo I (1199-1219) and Sibylla of Lusignan (1210-1219) ⁷⁸. The surviving coins, minted during the reign of Leo II

demonstrate that the lion symbol was in use under his rulership as a royal insignia⁷⁹. He was not the first Armenian king whose royal symbol was the lion, it will be discussed later in the present chapter.

The description in the Herald's Roll is different. According to the blazon, the coat of arms of the Armenian king is a red cross charged at the fess point with a gold crown. It is notable and important that the blazon does not say anything about the field tincture. The scribe of the Camden Roll took over accurately the description of the Herald's Roll, he also added the missing field tincture. In the Camden Roll the above described cross and the crown are in an ermine field. Possibly, the explanation of this fictitious field solution is that the compiler of the Camden Roll did not know the Armenian coat of arms at all, but he noticed the missing element of the blazon while copying. He completed the description with the missing data. It was an allusive element: the word ermine. According to the scribe of the Camden roll the coat of arms of Armenia was a crowned cross in an ermined field. The canting arms or *arms perlantes* were not rare at that time, some of the royal bearings are also represented in this category.⁸⁰ The

⁷⁸ Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades 1191-1374*, 30.

⁷⁹ <http://www.ancientarmeniancoins.com/coins/levon-leo-II.html> Accessed: 2017. 03. 04.

⁸⁰ The coat of arms of Castile and Leon. The former had a castle, the latter a lion. Both are noted in almost every general rolls of arms.

jingle of the words king of *Ermyne* and the field tincture *ermine* is clear. This solution was not peculiar, the usage of the canting arms and its usage to replenish the missing data were accepted.

The next description of the Armenian coat of arms in the Segar Roll (G). It is the following: *a standing silver lion in a blue field*. The lion is correct the colors are not. As we have already seen in the case of the Hungarian and Cyprian bearings, the scribe of this roll did not use any previously compiled source. Therefore, I assume that he used his own knowledge when he composed the *G* armorial roll. I also assume that the situation is the same as in the case of the running Hungarian greyhounds: the scribe had seen a seal attributed to the Armenian king. This explains why he blazoned the charge appropriately. Since the seal has no color, he knew the lion badge, but he did not know the correct colors of the Cilician coat of arms. It is also an interesting observation that the scribe used the word *rampant* to describe the position of the presumed lion of an Armenian seal.

Before a more in-depth analysis a brief look has to be taken into the different Western and Eastern depiction styles.

Comparing a Western European lion depiction with the Armenian presentation definite distinctions can be detected. When the Western



Figure 14 Copper coin of Leo II (1270-1289)

lions are described by the word *rampant*, it means a profile depicted lion, which stands on the two back legs and the forepaws are raised⁸¹. The lions described by the word *passant* are also depicted in profile, one forepaw is raised, the others are on the ground. This lion is the so

⁸¹ Arthur Charles Fox-Davies, *A Complete Guide to Heraldry* (London: Bracken Books, 1929), 174-176., Michel Pastoureau, *Traité D'Héraldique*, 139., 144.

called walking lion. The principally known walking lions are the English royal lions, sometimes, mostly in the French heraldic terminological tradition a lion in this walking position used to be described as a leopard (*leopard-lionné, lion-léopardé*)⁸². The interesting fact is that the Armenian lion cannot be described clearly by any of those standard heraldic words (rampant



Figure 15 Silver coin of Leo II (1270-1289)

and passant), regarding the lion's position. The reason is that it is the combination of the two positions. The Armenian lion's body is depicted in profile, its legs are longer

than in the Western tradition and its head is shown from front and also the mane is presented in a different way. The tail is also different. Noting those facts and also accepting that the compiler of the Segar Roll used his own knowledge based on presumably his cognition, obviously he had to decide whether it is a *lion rampant* or a *lion passant*. He chose the *lion rampant*.

The last examined English rolls of arms, the Lord Marshal's Roll (LM), based on the Wijnbergen Roll, are more distinct in the Armenian coat of arms than previously the above analyzed ones. The Wijnbergen depicts a red leopard-lion (follows the French terminological tradition) in gold field, the LM describes a red lion in a silver field. The color differences cannot be explained, but the simplified charge by the scribe of the LM roll can be justified. As noted previously the word leopard was not standard in the English heraldic tradition, this term was never used at that time, it does not appear on the early English armorial rolls at all. Based on

⁸² Fox-Davies: *A Complete Guide to Heraldry*, 173.

these facts, it is clear that author of the LM simplified the French version's charge to the standard English practice.

However, the question emerges: how did they have such accurate knowledge about the Armenian coat of arms and how was the lion pattern accepted as the Armenian royal insignia in the English heraldic tradition? The lion motive had a long career in the Armenian Kingdom. The usage of the lion symbol as a regal signet goes back to Leo I. He was the founder of the Armenian Kingdom and the first king of Armenian Cilicia. On his golden bull appears a standing lion with crown.⁸³ This is one of the earliest depictions of the Cilician armorial bearings and it also has a record in England. I discovered a record in an early exchequer inventory: a golden bull of Leo I of Armenia is listed there⁸⁴. This inventory was compiled under the direction of Walter Stapleton, Bishop of Exeter in 1323. Though it is a later compiled inventory but the description demonstrates it stems from Leo I and from his legates: *Leuon Regis Ermenye, Bulla aurea signata directa. E. Regi Angi pro nunciis ipsius Rex Ermenie benigne recipiendis*.⁸⁵ Probably this golden bull was the source of the scribes. It is more conceivable because the seal was available for them at the chancellery.

To conclude the Armenian royal coat of arms has a very specific background. The knowledge about the Armenian coat of arms was standard under Edward I. This is supported by the fact that except one textual tradition, the insignia is described mostly identically. The Herald's and the Camden Rolls describe a fictitious cross. It is unknown why the scribe of the Herald's Roll had no correct knowledge about the Cilician armour. Nevertheless, these manuscripts,

⁸³ Vahan M. Kurkjian, *A History of Armenia*, (Armenian General Benevolent Union of America, 1958). Chap. 29. Accessed: 2017. 07.04.

http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Gazetteer/Places/Asia/Armenia/_Texts/KURARM/29*.html#note1

⁸⁴ *The Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of Majesty's Exchequer, together with other Documents Illustrating the History of that Repository. Vol. I.* ed. Francis Palgrave (London: G. Eyre and A. Spottiswood, 1831), 102.

⁸⁵ *The Antient Kalendars and Inventories*. 102.

especially the Camden Roll, demonstrate a remarkable practice: how they used the canting arms to create a fictitious coat of arms for lack of correct knowledge.

The Armenian coat of arms was also a great example to instantiate the philological differences between the English and French heraldic terminology through the words leopard and lion. Not only philological differences can be detected through the Cilician armorial bearings, but it also shows the interconnection of a philological and a depictorial problems. How to blazon a standard heraldic pattern which differs from the Western European representation, in such a way that the function and the platform of the appearance is agree. By this question one of the most interesting aspects of the Armenian coat of arms is present and the comparison with the Cyprian royal sign is also detected. Both the Armenian Kingdom and the Kingdom of Cyprus were provincial regions with a strong political, cultural and dynastical connection with the Western world. However, in this context Cyprus had a stronger relationship with France and England even though the major part of the Armenian nobility was French as well as in Cyprus. While Lusignan's lion follows accurately the Western rendering, the Armenian design is based more on the Eastern tradition. The examination of the marital strategies, the dynastic relationships, cultural and political connections could respond to the question emerged. In a latter chapter a more in-depth analysis helps to understand these relationships.

Other Central and Eastern European Coats of Arms - Bulgaria, Poland and Serbia

As the last part of the analysis of the Central and Eastern European related coat of arms in early English rolls of arms, I examine the armorial bearings of Bulgaria, Poland and Serbia. The order of the analysis is not chronological. The first examined armour is the Bulgarian because its first mention is in the Lord Marshal's Roll (LM) and most likely it is connected to the Crusades. The Polish coat of arms is the next analyzed description because it is blazoned both in the French reference source, namely the Wijnbergen Roll (WJN) and also in the English Lord Marshal's Roll. The Serbian coat of arms will be the last examined record of the present research, because it has the least and latest source.

Bulgaria

The late thirteenth century's Bulgarian inner political situation did not serve the extensive diplomatic relationships with the Western world. It was the time of the Second Bulgarian Empire (1185-1393) when the LM roll was compiled. The Emperor (*Tsar*) of Bulgaria in 1295 was Smilets (1292-1298). He was under Mongolian lordship but in 1298 he was disenthroned. We do not have any heraldry related sources from his reign. His first successor was his son, Ivan II (1298-1299); later Chaka of Bulgaria (1299-1300) occupied the throne, who was the son of the Mongol leader, Nhogai Khan⁸⁶. After these two short rules started the reign of Theodor Svetoslav (1300-1322), who brought relative stability to the Bulgarian Empire.⁸⁷

As noted above, the Bulgarian royal coat of arms' first record is in the Lord Marshal's Roll. According to the scribe of the LM roll, the Bulgarian king bore *a silver lion with gold crown in a black field*. From the fourteenth century the Gelre Armorial contains the coat of arms of

⁸⁶ Dimităr Koszev, Hriszto Hrisztov and Dimităr Angelov: *Bulgária történelme* [The History of Bulgaria] (Budapest: Gondolat, 1971), 46-47.

⁸⁷ Richard J. Crampton, *A Concise History of Bulgaria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 27-28.

Bulgaria. According to the description it is *fascé, the first quarter is the coat of arms of Constantinople*⁸⁸. From the fifteenth century several records survived. One of the most frequently mentioned sources is from Constance. Ulrich of Richenthal wrote his chronicle around 1420-21 about the Ecumenical Council of Constance, giving us rich source material regarding heraldry. The depiction of the Bulgarian royal coat of arms in the chronicle is the following: *three sable lions passant with crown*.⁸⁹ All these sources demonstrate that the lion pattern was part of the Western-European heraldic tradition in the context of Bulgaria, but without having any clear antitype.

Not only the lion was a frequently used motive attributed to the Bulgarian royal family. In several early modern sources, a bull's head appears. A red bull's head with a cross between the horns is visible in the Wernigeroder Wappenbuch from the late fifteenth century⁹⁰. Also this depiction appears in the Codex 391 from the 1530s.⁹¹ Sometimes this coat of arms is attributed to the Duke of Bulgaria.⁹² Since the Bulgarian region has a rich collection of surviving



Figure 16 The Coin of Ivan Shishman

numismatic sources, I looked over the remaining materials.⁹³ I have found a later billon of Ivan Shishman (1371-1395) the eldest son of Ivan Alexander (1331-1371) whereon an unclear lion

⁸⁸ Royal Library of Belgium, MS. 15652-5. Fol. 104v.

⁸⁹ A Chronicle of the Council of Constance by Ulrich von Richenthal - *Aulendorf Codex 477*, (New York: The Spencer Collection of the New York Public Library)

⁹⁰ *Wernigeroder Wappenbuch*, Munich, Bavarian State Library, Fol. 17r., Hss. Cod.icon. 308 n.

⁹¹ *Codex 391*, Munich, Bavarian State Library, Fol. 4v., Hss. Cod.icon. 391.

⁹² *Armorial by Conrad Grünenberg, Wappenbuch 9210*, Munich, Bavarian State Library, Fol. 83, Hss. Cgm. 9210.

⁹³ Konstantin Dochev, *Coins and Coin Usage in Turnovo (XII-XIV c.)* (Tirnov, 1992), Ivan Jordanov: "Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria I-II", in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 98 (2005):129-33. and *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 101 (2009): 819-24., Nikola Mouchmoff, *Numismatique et Sigillographie Bulgares* [Numismatics and Sigillography of Bulgaria], (Sophia, 1924), Yordanka Youroukova and Vladimir Penchev: *Bulgarian Medieval Coins and Seals*, (Sofia, 1990)

depiction is⁹⁴. It is unclear because the body of the figure is clearly a standing lion, with lion paws and a lion tail, but the head is a bull head with horns. I have also found some earlier material that is worth noting. The golden signet ring of Kaloyan (1197-1207) shows a spotted quadruped passant. The depicted animal regarding heraldry is the closest to a lion. We also know that Kaloyan had active



Figure 17 The Signet Ring Of Kaloyan

diplomatic relations with Innocent III and the papal court, as he received his crown from the pope. However, it cannot be conclusively stated that this quadruped pattern is the antitype of the Bulgarian lions in the early English armorial rolls but the similarity is doubtless.

Poland

The coat of arms of Poland is interesting from two aspects. First, because it is mentioned both in the Lord Marshal's Roll (LM) and in the Wijnbergen Roll (WJN), which is the source of the LM armorial roll, but the copy is incorrect. As described previously, the LM roll's source value is different due to the many errors, missing elements and the color changes, but this is the single serious philological misinterpretation of the French blazon regarding the Central and Eastern European royal coat of arms. The French roll describes the king of *Poulenne's* coat of arms as follows: *a silver horse in red field*. The term used by the compiler of the WJN roll to describe the horse pattern is *cheval gai*. This heraldic term's meaning is a *naked horse without any harnesses*. In contrast, the LM roll describes it as follows: *a gold horse saddler in a red field*. The blazon of the LM roll is completely the opposite of the WJN roll's description. Also the

⁹⁴ Billon is a coin of silver mixed with much copper, or made of copper with a small amount of silver.

correct colors of the Polish coat of arms in the WJN roll are copied with mistakes. Red and the silver are the proper colors of the Polish royal arms.

This situation is an excellent example of the differences between the English and the French heraldic terminology. The French heraldic language is more plentiful than the English, however, the English took it over. We do not know anything certain about an original classical heraldic language but it existed during the twelfth century.⁹⁵ Contemporaneously with the appearance of the rolls of arms both in France and England around the middle of the thirteenth century, the language of the English law became more technical. Even if the language of law originally was French, it developed in its own idiomatic way, like the language of heraldry.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, this mistake in the LM roll demonstrates that not all of the French technical words were clear, and their meaning was not always interpreted properly.



Figure 18 The Seal of Ladislaus I (1261-1333)

The personal and the dynastical insignia of the Piasts was a white eagle that reaches back to ancient times⁹⁷. The first appearance of the eagle on a royal display is from 1295 on the seal of Przemysł II (1290-1296)⁹⁸. An eagle pattern with open wings with a head and a crown depicted in profile is visible on his seal.

This depiction is the most frequently used

eagle symbol in heraldry. Also the Codex Manesse at the appearance of Henry IV Probus

⁹⁵ Brault, *Early Blazon*, 18.

⁹⁶ George E. Woodbine, "The Language of English Law", *Speculum* 18 (1943): 395-436.

⁹⁷ László Tapolcai, *Lengyelország történeti és mitikus kezdetei. A tér alakulása* [The Early and Mythical History of Poland. The conversion of the Space] (Budapest: United U-rope, 2010), 41-54. see also: Oswald Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów* [The Genealogy of the Piasts] (Krakow: Avalon, 2005)

⁹⁸ Franciszek Ksawery Piekosiński: *Pieczęcie polskie wieków średnich: cz. 1 - Doba piastowska* [Polish Seals of Middle Ages part 1. - The age of Piasts] (Krakow: Księgarni Spółki Wydawniczej Polskiej, 1899), pt.1.

(1288-1299) represents eagles on his shield on the horse-blanket and also on his clothes.⁹⁹

Furthermore, on the seal of Ladislaus I of Poland (1261-1333) from 1320 an eagle appears with



Figure 19 The Seal of Casimir III (1333-1370)

a detailed depiction.¹⁰⁰ Also the standard eagle symbol appears on the seals of Casimir III the Great (1333-1370).^{101 102}

The horse with or without a harness or a saddle does not appear on the seals of the Polish kings, but the eagle frequently does. Without clear evidence nothing can be safely demonstrable

but the comparison with the Norwegian coat of arms in Walford's Roll (C) deserves attention. The situation could be similar because according to the C manuscript, the royal coat of arms of Norway is a gold horse in a red field. The surviving evidences prove that Magnus VI (1263-1280) had a seal with a horse pattern and several other kings also used similar seals, but the coat of arms and the royal insignia was the lion with an axe.¹⁰³ As the particular research of the French royal blazons is not part of the present work nothing can be determined. However, the takeover of the French heraldic terminology sometimes caused misinterpretations in the English copies of armorial rolls.

Serbia

The Wijnbergen Roll does not contain the blazon of Serbia but according to the Lord Marshal's Roll, the coat of arms of Serbia is a silver cross in a red field. After the analysis of the remaining

⁹⁹ Codex Manesse: Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, Cod. Pal. Germ. 848. Fol. 11v.

¹⁰⁰ Marian Gumowski ed., *Pieczęcie królów i królowych Polski. Tabularium Actorum Antiquorum Varsoviense Maximum, Divisio Prima "InSimul"* [Seals of Kings and Queens of Poland] (Warsaw: Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, Wydawnictwo DiG, 2010), 2-3.

¹⁰¹ Idib. 5-7.

¹⁰³ Christian Brinchmann, *Norske Konge-Sigiller og andre Fryste Sigiller fra Middelalderen* [Norwegian Royal Seals and other Seals from the Middle Ages] (Kristiana:Rigsarkivar, 1924), 5.

sigillographical evidence, which is mainly Byzantine, I cannot find any clear antitype for the arm described.¹⁰⁴ All these seals follow the Eastern seal representation, hence they are far from



Figure 20 Saint George on a Coin - Found in Serbia (c. 12th century)

the Western representational and heraldic tradition. Except for two of the surviving seals, they do not show a human figure. On one of these exceptions from the twelfth century, Saint George is depicted, on the other seal is a cross.¹⁰⁵ This cross clearly has no heraldic context. On the one hand, it is too early, as it originates from the tenth or eleventh century with a circumscription around the cross. The seal-carving is with Greek letters.

The cross clearly stands on a base but the support is outside the circumscription. Therefore, the cross pattern is clearly not an insignia.

An interesting comparison is that the Byzantine Palaiologos dynasty bore a silver cross in a red field.¹⁰⁶ Since the Serbian region was under Byzantine influence until the early thirteenth century,¹⁰⁷ the Serbian rulers' dynastic politic is closely connected to the Byzantine emperors' family. The situation becomes more noteworthy if we consider that the Palaiologos dynasty ruled only from 1259, when the Byzantine control declined¹⁰⁸. Therefore, I suggest an

¹⁰⁴ Ljubor Maksimovic, Marco Popovic, "Les sceaux byzantins de la région danubienne en Serbie," in *Byzantine Sigillography 3* ed. Nikolas Oikonomides (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1993), 113-142. see also: John Nesbit and Nicolas Oikonomides eds. *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art, vol 1*. (Washington D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1991), 101.

¹⁰⁵ Maksimovic, Popovic, "Les sceaux byzantins", 122.

¹⁰⁶ Ottfried Neubecker, *Heraldry - Sources, Symbols and Meaning* (Twickenham: Tiger Books International, 1997), 106.

¹⁰⁷ Paul Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier. A Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900-1204*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 117-55.

¹⁰⁸ Timothy E. Gregory, *A History of Byzantium* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 282-97., see also: Warren Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 735-59., Donald M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium 1261-1453* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 39-148.

explanation which is close to the above described Cyprian situation. The LM's roll's compiler had some knowledge about the Serbian region – beyond the presence of the Serbians which is per se remarkable comparing with the other armorial rolls, – and he also knew something about the Byzantine interest in the Balkan. Moreover, he had some knowledge about the ruling dynasties' coat of arms, thus he conflated these two details and created the above described Serbian royal coat of arms.

The fact that the Wijnbergen Roll, namely the origin of the Lord Marshal's Roll does not contain either the depiction or description of the Serbian coat of arms but the LM does, raises several questions. Does it mean that the compiler of the LM's Roll was more aware of the Central and Eastern European region's coat of arms tradition? It seems he was not, but I presume the presence of the royal armorial bearings in the early rolls of arms refers to the world and the political situations as they were known in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century England.

Marital Strategies and Dynastic Relationships of the Central and Eastern European Kingdoms in the Context of the Early English Rolls of Arms

In the present chapter I examine the marital strategies and dynastic relationships of the Central and Eastern European regions under Edward I (1272-1307). This date is a point of origin. For the examination of the dynastic connections I cannot avoid the earlier marriages. Therefore, I go back to the late twelfth century during the research. This part of the research is important because it brings us closer to the understanding of the early English heraldic tradition. Through this overview I answer the question whether the marital strategies' aspect of an extensive diplomatic relation reflects the appearance and of the Central and Eastern European kingdoms' coats of arms. By this research I also place the known historical data into a new context and a new perspective of information flow can be examined on a so far unexplored level, on the level of heraldry. The accent is on the contemporary rulers but in several cases I have to examine former kings as well as queens whose coats of arms appear in the source materials. The analysis of marital strategies does not mean that the single connecting point is the dynastic relations between the European kingdoms. Obviously each kingdom and empire had its own extensive diplomatic relation with its different aspects. Dynastic politics is only one of the perspectives¹⁰⁹.

After each kingdom's short discussion, I provide a genealogical chart. People connected to the Western world are marked by blue, people with Eastern connections are marked by in rose.

¹⁰⁹ Ferenc Makk, *The Árpáds and the Comneni, Political Relations Between Hungary and the Byzantium in the 12th Century* (Budapest: Akadémia Kiadó, 1989), 107-15.

The examined families' members are always marked in orange. In the Bohemian case the German relations are also marked in rose. If the relation cannot be clearly distinguished whether it is more Western or Eastern I marked the name by blue and rose.

Not only the dynastic connections deserve consideration. Although it is the most illustrious level of diplomacy other interesting examination could help to answer my research questions. One of these examination aspects is the network system of the clerical leaders. The quality and the speed of the information flow also could be examined through the clerical connections. They functioned as contacts between kingdoms, clerical delegates often were present at the diplomatic occasions, in addition, in 1220 the high priests of Hungary made pilgrimage in England. This pilgrimage was under the reign of Andrew II when the lion seal was in practice.¹¹⁰ This raises interesting questions, but to answer the question would be over the limit of the present research.

The Kingdom of Hungary

In the previous chapter's analysis, it was shown that the Hungarian royal coat of arms, namely the different forms (color, position) of the lions go back to the early thirteenth century when the lion pattern was in practice for a short period. It was used by Emeric (1196-1204) and Andrew II (1205-1235). Therefore, the Hungarian lion must have become known in England sometime in the first three decades of the thirteenth century.

Emeric's mother was Agnes of Antioch, the first wife of Béla III. In the Hungarian tradition Agnes's name was Anna of Châtillon¹¹¹. It is important to note that the second wife of Béla III

¹¹⁰ László Solymosi, „Magyar főpapok angliai zarándoklata 1220-ban,” [The Pilgrimage of the Hungarian Higher Priests in England in 1220] in *Történeti Szemle* 55 (2013): 527-40., see also: Ferenc Makk, *Magyar külpolitika (896-1196) I-II* [Hungarian Foreign Policy (896-1196)] (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 1993).

¹¹¹ Mór Wertner, *Az Árpádok családi története* [The Family History of the Árpáds] (Nagybecskerek: Pleitz Fer. Pál Könyvnyomda, 1892), 366. see also: Attila Bárány, József Laszlovszky and Zsuzsanna Papp, *Angol-magyar kapcsolatok a középkorban I-II* [English and Hungarian Relations in the Middle Ages I-II] (Máriabesenyő:

was Margaret of France, Queen of Hungary. The two marriages of Béla III reflect that he was a considerable monarch in Europe with extensive Western European relationships. His son continued his heritage. Emeric's wife was Constance of Aragon (1198-1204) from the Barcelona House, who was the daughter of Alfonso II of Aragon (1164-1196) and Sansha of Castile (1174-1196)¹¹². Later she became the Queen of Germany and Sicily (1215-1220) and a Holy Roman Empress (1220-1222). Their son Ladislaus III (1204-1205) succeeded Emeric after his death but he died unexpectedly one year after his coronation¹¹³.

The crown fell to Andrew II, whose first wife was Gertrud of Merania (1205-1213) until her assassination¹¹⁴. She descended from the most prominent Bavarian family, the House of Andechs. Her father was Berthold IV of Andechs (d. 1204), her mother was Agnes, from the most prominent Saxon family, from the House of Wettin. The importance of Gertrud's family can be demonstrated by the marriage of her sister Agnes (d. 1201), who married to Philip II of France (1179-1223).

Andrew's second wife was Yolande de Courtenay (1200-1233) from the Courtenay family¹¹⁵. This family was a branch of the Capetians, which was one of the most ancient and prestigious ruling dynasties. Yolanda's father was Peter II of Courtenay, later he became the Latin Emperor of Constantinople (1216-1217), her mother was Yolande of Flandres. Andrew was succeeded by Béla IV (1235-1270), who married Maria Laskaris (1235-1270)¹¹⁶. Maria came from a

Attraktor, 2008, 2011), 201-3., Attila Zsoldos, *Az Árpádok és asszonyaik* [The Árpáds and their Women] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, 2005), 189., György Szabados, "Aragóniai Konstancia magyar királyné" [Constance of Aragon the Queen of Hungary] in *Királylányok messzi földről, Magyarország és Katalónia a középkorban*, ed. Ramon Sarobe, Csaba Tóth (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2009), 163.

¹¹² Szabados, „Aragóniai Konstancia magyar királyné,” 163-75.

¹¹³ György Szabados, "Imre és András", *Századok* 133 (1999): 85-111., Wertner, *Az Árpádok családi története*, 373.

¹¹⁴ László Szende, "Szentföldről Katalóniáig. II. András külpolitikája és dinasztikus kapcsolatai a korabeli Európában" [From the Holy Land to Catalonia. The Foreign Politics and the Dynastic Relations of Andrew II in the Contemporary Europe] in *Egy történelmi gyilkosság margójára, Merániai Gertrúd emlékezete, 1213-2013*, ed. Majorossy Judit (Szentendre: Ferenczy Múzeum, 2014), 29-42., Wertner, *Az Árpádok családi története*, 416.

¹¹⁵ Wertner, *Az Árpádok családi története*, 421., Zsoldos, *Az Árpádok és asszonyaik*, 190.

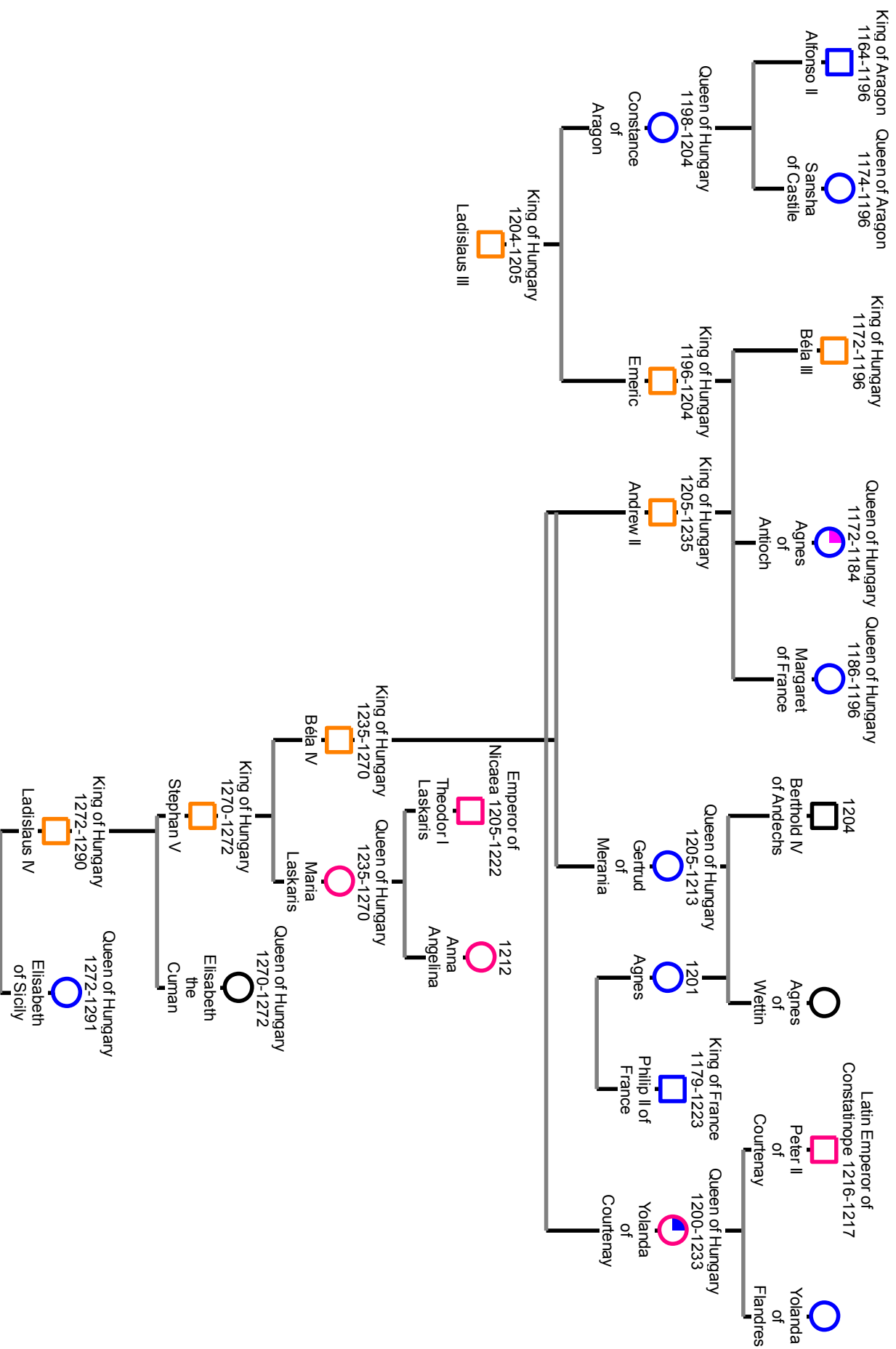
¹¹⁶ Wertner, *Az Árpádok családi története*, 456, 460.

vague family. Her father was Theodor I Laskaris (1205-1222) Emperor of Nicaea, her mother was Anna Angelina (d. 1212). After the short reign of Stephan V. (1270-1272) the crown fell onto Ladislaus IV (1272-1290), who married an eminent Western and Southern European family's descendent, Elisabeth of Sicily, whose other name was Elisabeth of Anjou (1272-1291)¹¹⁷.

Through the overview of the Hungarian kings' marriages in the thirteenth century it stands out that the Hungarian royal dynasty was one of the important and well-known ruling families. They had notable links both in Eastern European kingdoms and Western European territories. In both regions they married into the most eminent families. Therefore, it is not unexpected that the Hungarian rulers' coats of arms were registered, especially not if we consider that Andrew II was deeply involved in the fifth Crusade (1217-1221). The Crusade and other political relations, like the close relationships of Robert Bishop of Esztergom (1226-1239) in England (he was invited to the transference of Thomas Becket's bones in 1220) also demonstrate the strong linkage with the Western world. On his way home from the Crusade, Andrew II proposed to Maria Laskaris for his son, the latter Béla IV, hereby in the second half of the thirteenth century the Hungarian marital connections were stronger with Eastern territories. The lion pattern of Emeric and Andrew II was consolidated in the English heraldic tradition before the marriage of Béla IV.

¹¹⁷ Wertner, *Az Árpádok családi története*, 534.

The Árpád Dynasty in the 13th century



The Kingdom of Bohemia

As it was previously noted, the case of the Bohemian royal coat of arms is special. It differs because Bohemia was not a sovereign kingdom, but part of the Holy Roman Empire. Therefore, it had a different legal position than the other regions examined, with different political and economic interests. This results in the fact that the Bohemian kings' royal insignia did not have such a strong standard as the other examined kingdoms. As they are collected in the source chapter, there is no proper blazon or depiction to assure us about the Bohemian royal coat of arms' existence in the early English heraldic tradition. Also the absence of the examined armour in the Segar Roll confirms this view. In the following I collect all the data about the royal marriages from the late twelfth century when Bohemia became a kingdom in 1198.

When Ottakar I (1197- 1230) became king of Bohemia in 1198 he was already married to Adelheid of Meissen (1198-1199). Her parents were Otto II (1156-1190) the Margrave of Meissen and Hedvig of Brandenburg (1140-1203), who descended from the House of Ascania. After Adelheid's short queenship, Ottakar married Constance of Hungary (1199-1230), whose father was the previously noted King Béla III of Hungary and her mother was Agnes of Antioch (1154-1184)¹¹⁸. From these two marriages several children were born, including Saint Agnes. Their other three children were Anne (1238-1241), who became the Duchess of Silesia, Dagmar (1205-1213), who married Valdemar II and became the Queen of Denmark, and Wenceslaus I (1230-1253). Wenceslaus married Kunigunde of Hohenstaufen (1230-1248). Her father was Philip of Swabia, Prince of the House of Hohenstauf and also elected king of Germany (1198-1208)¹¹⁹. Kunigunde's mother was Queen Irene Angelina (1193-1208) of Sicily. From this marriage two children were born: Beatrice (1225-1290), who became

¹¹⁸ Petr Sommer, Dušan Třestík and Josef Žemlička, eds., *Přemyslovci Budování Českého Státu*, (Prague: Archeologický Ústav, Historický Ústav, 2009), 575.

¹¹⁹ Sommer, Třestík and Žemlička, eds., *Přemyslovci Budování Českého Státu*, 575.

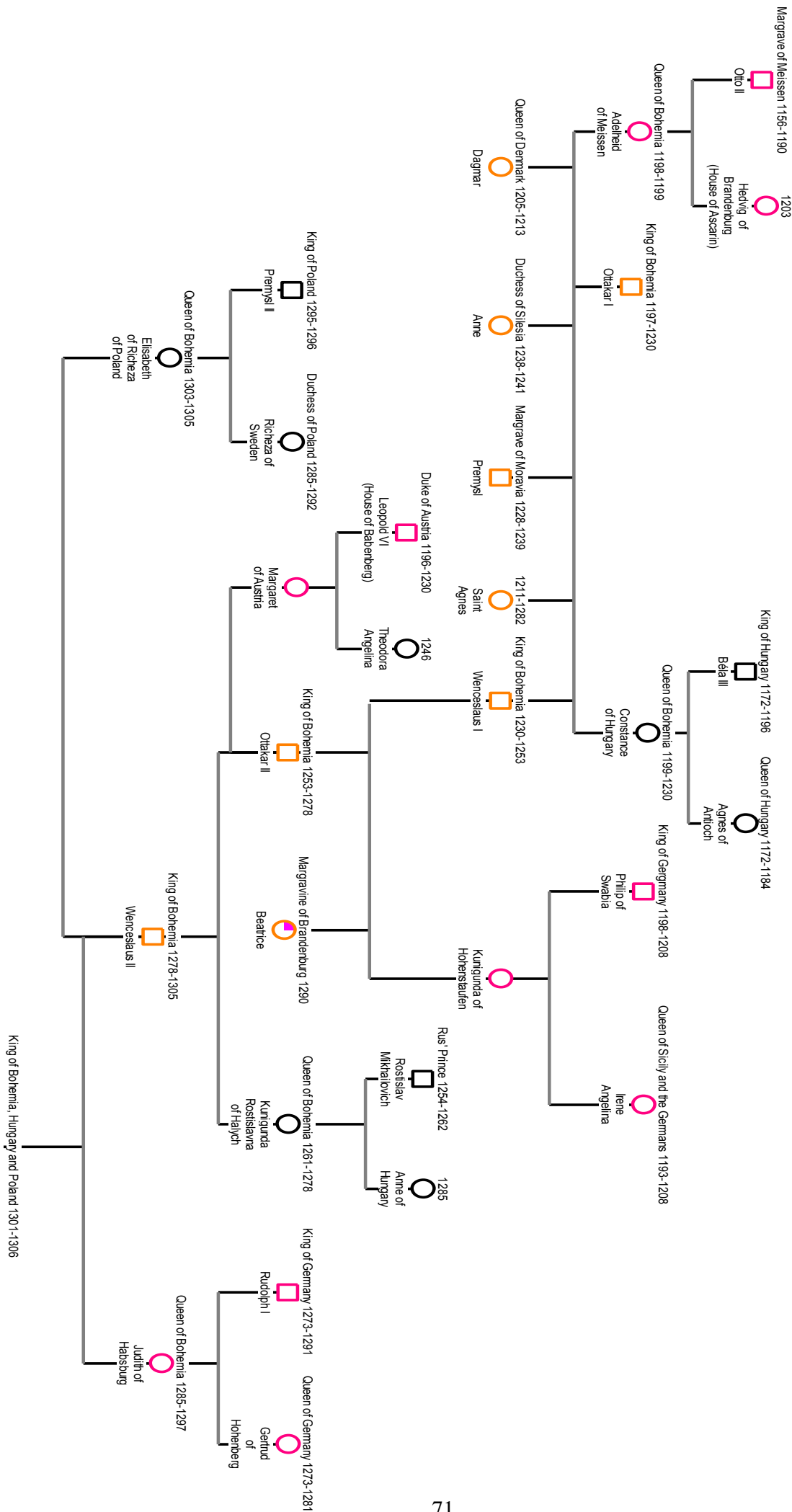
Margravine of Brandenburg and King Ottakar II of Bohemia (1253-1278). Ottakar II married twice: his first wife was Margaret of Austria (1253-1260), who was the daughter of Leopold VI Duke of Austria (1195-1230) member of the Brandenburg-House and Theodora Angelina (d. 1246)¹²⁰. Ottakar's second wife came from an Eastern family, Kunigunde Rostoslavna of Halych (1261-1278) was the descendent of Rostislav Mikhailovich Rus' Prince (1254-1262) and Anna of Hungary (d.1285). Wenceslaus II King of Bohemia (1278-1305) was born from this marriage. He married twice, firstly a member of a prominent family, Judith of Habsburg (1285-1297)¹²¹. Her father was the illustrious King Rudolph I of Germany (1273-1291), her mother was Queen Gertrud of Hohenberg of Germany (1273-1281). Judith was the mother of the crown prince, Wenceslaus III, who became King of Bohemia, Hungary and Poland. Wenceslaus II's second wife was Elisabeth of Richeza of Poland, who was the descendent of King Premysl II of Poland (1295-1296) and Richeza of Sweden (1285-1292). This marriage was childless.

The present compilation shows that the Bohemian dynastic politics was opened to the Holy Roman Empire and to the surrounding kingdoms. During the thirteenth century the Bohemian kings mostly married German nobles from the most prominent families, including the Brandenburgs, Hohenstuffs, Hohenbergs and Habsburgs. If the royal marriage was related from outside the Holy Roman Empire, it was mostly a new connection with the Hungarian Kingdom.

¹²⁰ Josef Žemlička, *Přemysl Otakar II.: král na rozhraní věků* (Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2011), 699.

¹²¹ Josef Žemlička, The Czech State in the Era of Přemyslid Princes and Kings (from the Beginning of the 11th Century to 1306) The Realm of Přemysl Otakar II and Wenceslas II in *A History of the Czech Lands*, eds. Jaroslav Pánek et al. (Prague: Karolinum Press, 2011), 114.

The Přemysl Dynasty in the 13th



The Kingdom of Cyprus

The analysis of the previous chapters showed that the coat of arms of the kings of Cyprus was known in the thirteenth century in England. Only the numbers of the bars varied, but the original coat of arms of the Lusignan House, the silver and blue bars are blazoned or depicted properly except in two rolls of arms. The correct blazon is in Herald's Roll and the Lord Marshal's Roll. It is also correctly depicted in the Wijnbergen Roll, which is not surprising considering the Lusignan family's origins. The proper appearance in Herald's Roll proves the English knowledge of the Cyprian royal coat of arms.

The Kingdom of Cyprus's ruling family was the ancient French noble family, the Lusignan family. The first king of the Crusade Kingdom was Aimery of Cyprus. Before he became the first king of Cyprus in 1196, his ancestors were the Lords of Cyprus. Aimery was succeeded by Hugh I of Lusignan (1205-1218). Hugh married a descendant of a well-known French noble family, Alice de Champagne (1210-1232).¹²² She was the daughter of Henry II (1166-1197) Count of Champagne and Isabelle I of Jerusalem (1190-1205), who was the Queen of Jerusalem. Henry I of Lusignan (121-1253) King of Cyprus was born from the marriage of Hugh I and Alice.

Henry I joined in marriage with Plaisance of Antioch (d. 1216) Queen of Cyprus and Regent of Jerusalem. Plaisance's father was a member of the House of Antiochia, Bohemund V of Antioch (1233-1252)¹²³. Her mother was an Italian noble, Lucienne dei Conti de Segni. Plaisance's and Henry's eldest son was the latter Hugh II of Lusignan (1253-1267) King of Cyprus. He never united in marriage, hence the crown of Cyprus fell to Henry I's sister, to Isabelle of Lusignan (d. 1264). Isabelle's husband was Henry of Antioch (d. 1276), who was

¹²² Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus...*, 30.

¹²³ Ibid.

the descendant of Bohemund IV of Antioch (1201-1216, 1219-1233) Prince of Antioch¹²⁴. He was also a member of the House of Antioch and Poitiers. By his marriage with the above noted Isabelle de Lusignan the House of Antioch-Poitiers-Lusignan came into existence. Their eldest son, Hugh III (1267-1284) followed Hugh II on the throne. Hence, Hugh III became the King of Cyprus and also the King of Jerusalem. His wife was the descendant of one of the most prominent crusader families, the Ibelins.

Hugh III married Isabelle of Ibelin (d. 1324). Isabelle was the daughter of Guy of Ibelin (1215-1255) marshal of Cyprus and Philippa Berlais. Hugh III and Isabelle's eldest son succeeded the father, John I (1284-1285)¹²⁵. Because during the first year of their reign he was poisoned, John was succeeded by his brother Henry III (1285-1324) King of Cyprus and Jerusalem. Henry's wife was Constance of Aragon or Constance of Sicily (d. 1344) daughter of Frederik III of Sicily (1295-1337), the son of Peter III of Aragon. Constance's mother was Eleanor of Anjou (1302-1337), descendent of one of the most ancient and eminent French noble families, the Capetian House¹²⁶.

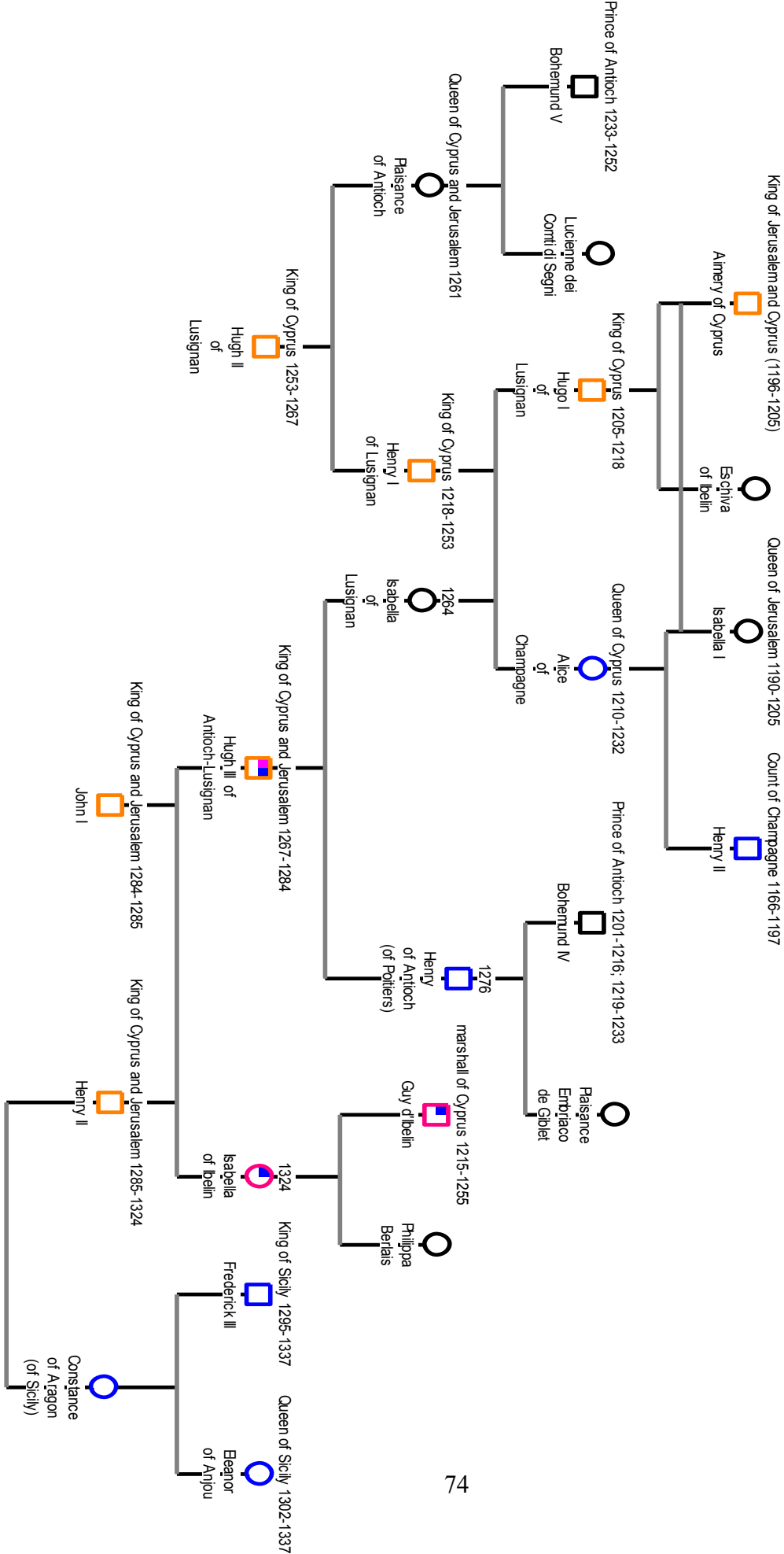
The present data shows that the Cyprian royal family, the House of Lusignan and Antioch had considerable dynastic relations both in the Crusader region and in the Western territories. The latter evidently and mainly married with the families of the Kingdom of France, but a few unions were related to Southern European regions' ruling families: with Sicily and Aragon. The dynastic relations connected the Lusignan House of Cyprus to the most prominent noble houses, including the Anjou, Capetian and Poitiers. Also their Eastern marital politics focused on the region's well-known and influential families, the House of Ibelin and Antioch.

¹²⁴ Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus...*, 37.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Edbury, „Dynastic Politics, Commerce and Crusade, 1324-1369,” in *The Kingdom of Cyprus...*, 141-79.

The Lusignan Dynasty in the 13th century



The Kingdom of Armenia

As it is shown in the previous chapters, on the coat of arms of Armenia a lion appears with two exceptions. Improper depiction occurs only in the Herald's Roll and in the Camden Rolls but the latter was copied from Herald's Roll. Therefore, they can count as one. In the other armorial rolls the Armenian lion pattern appears in various ways. The position of the lion varies, sometimes it is a standing lion (*rampant*), sometimes it is a walking lion (*passant*). The English royal chancellery had a golden bull from Leo I of Armenia, which was most probably the base of their knowledge of the Armenian royal coat of arms¹²⁷. However, the Armenian lion depiction differs from the Western European: it is not obvious whether it falls in the category of a lion rampant or a lion passant.

Irrespectively of the Armenian royal coat or arms' prefiguration, the analysis of the Armenian dynastic politics shows an interesting picture.

The first king of Armenia was Leo I (1199-1219), who was the tenth Lord of Armenia before he became king. Therefore, he used to be counted as Leo II as well, hence their descendants, named Leo also have two numberings. I mark both of the numerations. Leo I related in marriage with Sybilla of Lusignan, daughter of the already noted Aimery II of Cyprus and Isabelle I of Jerusalem. Their daughter was Queen Isabelle of Armenia (1219-1252). Her first husband was also the previously noted Philip of Antioch, son of Bohemund IV Prince of Antioch and Plaisance Embriaco of Gibelet. After he was poisoned, Isabelle married the son of her regent Hethum I (1226-1270). Hethum was the son of Constantine (d. 1263) Regent of Armenia and Alix Pahlavouni of Lampron. Hethum and Isabelle had a son, the latter Leo II/III (1270-1289).

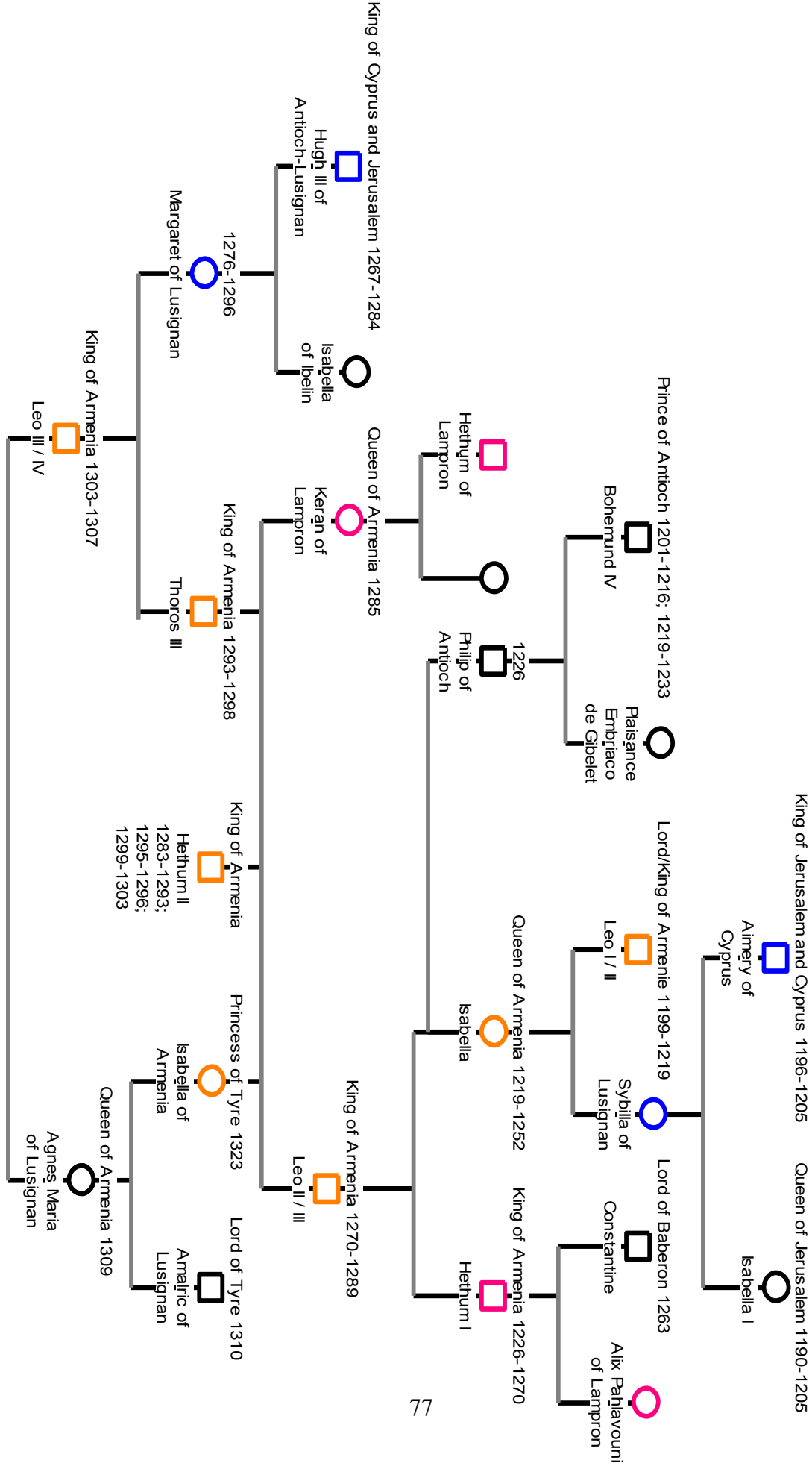
¹²⁷ *The Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of Majesty's Exchequer, together with other Documents Illustrating the History of that Repository. Vol. I.* ed. Francis Palgrave (London: G. Eyre and A. Spottiswood, 1831), 102.

His wife was Keran of Lampron (d. 1285), daughter of Hethum of Lampron, her mother is unknown. They had ten children, several became kings of Armenia. Firstly Hethum II succeeded his father. He reigned three times with hiatus between 1289-1293, 1295-1296 and 1299-1303. He was deposed by his brother Thoros III between 1293-1298. Thoros's wife was Margaret of Lusignan (1276-1296), daughter of the previously noted King Hugh III of Cyprus and Isabelle of Ibelin. Before Thoros was murdered, they had one child who became the king of Armenia after his uncle, Hethum II's death. Thoros's and Margaret's son reigned as Leo III/IV (1303 and 1307). He married his cousin Agnes Marie of Lusignan (d. 1309). Agnes was the daughter of Amalric of Lusignan (d. 1310) Lord of Tyre and Isabelle of Armenia (d. 1323) Princess of Tyre. Isabelle was the daughter of Leo II/III and Keran of Lampron, sister of Hethum II and Thoros III.

This compilation shows duality. The Armenian royal dynasty mainly married local noble families' members but these families always had strong Western European connections and interests¹²⁸. This was crucial for a Christian kingdom far in the East surrounded by the Mongols and Mamluks.

¹²⁸ Jean Richard, *The Crusades c.1071-c. 1291*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 300-407.

The Rubenian and the Hethumid Dynasties in the 13th century



Conclusions – Fictitious or not?

With the present research I have intended to show that the Central and Eastern European royal coats of arms in thirteenth-century English rolls of arms are not distinctly fictitious only because they differ from the official armorial bearings borne by the kings of the examined regions. Although only a few armorial rolls are extant either in an original manuscript or in an early modern copy, the source material is still rich in versions of royal coats of arms. The present research is supported by including the most complex French armorial roll as a reference source.

The above noted blazons seem fictitious at first glance because they differ from each other and also from the correct bearings. Sometimes the given examined royal coats of arms are completely different, sometimes one or more identical elements appear on the various depictions or blazons of the examined coat of arms. According to my hypothesis, these royal coats of arms have some determinable prefiguration even if they seem fictitious. Also the existence of the armorial bearings refers to the known world in thirteenth century England.

The present research has applied several approaches to identify the correct and the fictitious elements, including philological, sphragistical and numismatic research. The analysis of each region's ruling dynasties' surviving seals, coins and other heraldic sources show that these families' and rulers' royal insignia had a distinct status in the English heraldic textual tradition.

The lion became the standard element of the Hungarian royal coat of arms, even if it was used only for two decades on the seal of Emeric and Andrew II in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century. The versions are various. Originally the Hungarian lions are in walking position, but sometimes the lions are noted as standing (*rampant*) sometimes as walking (*passant*). In one roll the lions are noted as running lions (*courrant*). Based on this description, the compiler of

this roll must have seen the seal of Emeric or Andrew. In addition, this leads to the assumption that the text of the roll is not part of any early heraldic textual tradition. Through the analysis of the Hungarian coat of arms it also developed that the Dalmatian coat of arms was known in Western Europe and this is its first appearance.

It turned out that the Bohemian coat of arms – in contrast to general assumptions – was not part of the early English heraldic tradition. The explanation could be its different legal status, since Bohemia was not an independent kingdom, but part of the Holy Roman Empire.

The Lusignan coat of arms of Cyprus, and the Armenian royal bearings of the Hethumids was known in thirteenth-century England. Both crusader states were in a special political and cultural situation as a result of the strong Western European interest. Furthermore, because the Lusignan dynasty had French origins and some members of the family had active political roles in England, their coat of arms was known in England. In addition, the ruling family of Cyprus used the ancient coat of arms of the Lusignans.

The Armenian royal lion was also part of the heraldic standard, even if the Eastern depiction differs from the Western European. By reason of this difference of the presentation, the position of the lion was not clear for the compilers: whether it features a *lion rampant* or *passant*. Nevertheless, the antitype of the Armenian lions can be detected by a list in a royal inventory from the early fourteenth century where the golden bull of Leo I of Armenia is listed.

The case of other Central and Eastern European related royal blazons, including the coat of arms of Bulgaria, Poland and Serbia are also different. These regions are not well documented regarding heraldic sources, and their royal insignia appear in those English sources which are based on the French Wijnbergen Roll. Because of the lack of sources, later minted coins or later used seals have to be involved into the research. The Bulgarian lion shows an interesting parallelism with the problematic of the Armenian coat of arms' depiction, the Polish royal

insignia does not appear in a correct form, neither in the English nor in the French reference sources. Moreover, it has emerged that the compiler of the Lord Marshal's Roll had some knowledge about the Byzantine interest in the Serbian region.

The known world and the information flow can be unravelled regarding the changes of the relevant royal dynasties' coats of arms. One of the possible approaches was to examine the marital strategies of the given dynasties. It turned out that if the royal families' dynastic politics tended to focus on Western Europe, principally on France and England, their coats of arms were more likely to be known than the insignias of the regions of which ruling dynasties had a non-Western European centred marital strategy.

Since the present research focused only on the Central and Eastern European royal coats of arms, the examination can be extended to other regions of Europe: Southern territories, including Portugal, Aragon, Navarre, Leon and Sicily, the Northern part, including Denmark, Norway and the Isle of Man, the coats of arms of France and the Holy Roman Empire and ultimately the Northern African fictitious royal armorial bearings. Also the contemporary network system can be seen as a complex future research topic whose first step is the examination of the dynastic relations.

From the present research it has transpired that the prefiguration of the royal bearings can be determined after careful interdisciplinary examination even if they seem fictitious. Also the correct and incorrect elements of the royal coats of arms and different textual traditions can be distinguished. These new data refer to the known world of late thirteenth-century England, and also the information flow about the changes of the given regions can be evaluated on a new level and from a new perspective.

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