

**The Practical and the Playful: Fifteenth-Century Heraldic Texts and the
Narrative Construction of Heraldry and Heralds**

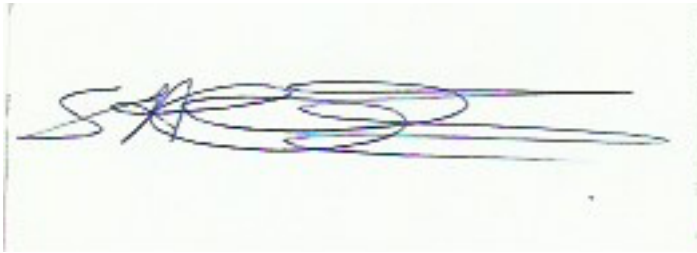
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Declaration of Authorship

I, Sheri Chriqui, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'S. Chriqui', written on a light-colored background. The signature is somewhat stylized and includes a horizontal line extending to the right.

29 March 2018

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There are too many people for me to thank individually, and I appreciate the time as well as the intellectual and emotional support that I have received from them. I would not have been able to undertake this doctoral study without the generous funding that I was awarded by Royal Holloway. I especially owe recognition and thanks to Catherine Nall for her supervision of my work and her mentorship. I am grateful to her for reading several drafts of this thesis and offering perceptive guidance as it refined. I also appreciate her assistance with some of my transcriptions and translations. Her patience and encouragement have helped me to complete this dissertation. On some days, our coffee breaks and chats about Malory made all the difference.

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I owe further thanks to the British Library Board for allowing me permission to include the images in my appendices and for waiving the permission fees. I am also obliged to the librarians at the Folger Shakespeare Library, Exeter Cathedral Library, and Koninklijke Bibliotheek for sending me images of certain heraldic tracts.

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Abstract

This dissertation redirects attention onto the imaginative components of late medieval heraldic texts. Focusing on heraldic texts that were influential or composed in England, I argue for the creativity of heraldic texts and examine the diverse ways that they frequently intersect with late medieval chivalric and literary cultures, revealing an inventiveness and vitality that scholars have not yet substantially explored.

In the first chapter, I historically and culturally contextualise the practice and profession of heraldry. The second, third, and fourth chapters each begin by introducing the sources that will be discussed and considering who tended to write and to own them.

In the second chapter, I introduce late medieval heraldic texts and argue that they can be simultaneously practical and playful. In addition to overviewing two main types of heraldic textual sources, rolls of arms and treatises, I discuss some heraldic texts that are compiled in miscellanies, as this was another medium in which heraldic texts circulated. I then examine the imaginative interest of heraldic texts, assessing the creative ways that they draw upon a range of writing styles and traditions and appropriate chivalric and literary tropes and themes for heraldic purposes.

The third chapter studies heraldic mythmaking, analysing the narrative construction of the legendary origins of heraldry and heralds. I argue that these legendary narratives construct a professional mythology that integrates heraldry and heralds into foundational proto-national and cultural narratives, thereby aggrandising and legitimising them.

The fourth chapter studies heraldic professional self-construction. It examines how late medieval heralds present themselves in the heraldic texts they

produced, revealing their desire to be recognised as learned men who are authorities on heraldry and as chivalric role-models.

Ultimately, this dissertation offers fresh paradigms for comprehending late medieval heraldic texts and the inventive ways that they interact with chivalric and literary cultures.

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List of Abbreviations

Libraries

BL	London, British Library
BM	Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale
BnF	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
Bodl. Lib.	Oxford, Bodleian Library
BR	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale
CA	London, College of Arms
CCCC	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Cambridge
CTC	Cambridge, Trinity College
CUL	Cambridge, University Library
DC	Forres, Darnaway Castle
EAL	Edinburgh, Advocates' Library
EC	Exeter, Exeter Cathedral
ENRS	Edinburgh, National Records of Scotland
EUL	Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Library
FM	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum
FSL	Washington D. C., Folger Shakespeare Library
GL	London, Guildhall Library
KB	The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek
LAO	Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives Office
LPL	London, Lambeth Palace Library
NRS	Northampton, Northamptonshire Record Society
PML	New York, Pierpont Morgan Library
PMM	Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum
QC	Oxford, Queen's College

SA	London, Society of Antiquaries
SHL	London, Senate House Library, University of London
TCD	Dublin, Trinity College Dublin
TNA/PRO	London, The National Archives/Public Record Office
WC	Oxford, Worcester College
WL	London, Wellcome Library
WP	Silsoe, Wrest Park

Abbreviations

A-ND	<i>The Anglo-Norman Dictionary</i> [http://www.anglo-norman.net/]
BHO	<i>British History Online</i> [http://www.british-history.ac.uk/]
BLCIM	The British Library's <i>Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts</i> [http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/]
BLDM	The British Library's Digitised Manuscripts [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/]
BLOG	The British Library's Online Gallery [http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/]
CEMRA	Anthony R. Wagner, <i>Aspilogia I: A Catalogue of English Mediaeval Rolls of Arms</i> (London: The Society of Antiquaries, 1950)
CMCA	Louise Campbell and Francis Steer, <i>A Catalogue of Manuscripts in the College of Arms</i> , vol. 1 (London: College of Arms, 1988)
cr.	created (into heraldic office)
DIMEV	<i>The Digital Index of Middle English Verse</i> [http://www.dimev.net/]
EETS	Early English Text Society
e. s.	extra series
o. s.	original series

n. s.	new series
F. S. A.	Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries
GTRW	Sydney Anglo, <i>The Great Tournament Roll of Westminster: A Collotype Reproduction of the Manuscript</i> , 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968)
HCEC	<i>Heralds' Commemorative Exhibition 1484-1934, Held at the College of Arms, Enlarged & Illustrated Catalogue</i> (London: Tabard Press, 1970)
IMEP	<i>The Index of Middle English Prose</i>
MED	<i>Middle English Dictionary</i> [http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/]
NIMEV	<i>A New Index of Middle English Verse</i> , ed. by Julia Boffey and A. S. G. Edwards (London: British Library, 2005)
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> [http://www.oxforddnb.com/]
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> [http://oed.com/]
RCCA	Anthony R. Wagner, <i>The Records and Collections of the College of Arms</i> (London: Burkes Peerage, 1952)
STS	Scottish Text Society

Short References

- 'S'Ensieult la fondation' [Jean Courtois], Sicily Herald, 'S'Ensieult la fondation du noble office d'armes par Jullius Cesar', in *Parties inédites*, pp. 49-61
- Aspilogia II* Anthony R. Wagner, *Aspilogia II: Rolls of Arms, Henry III* (London: The Society of Antiquaries, 1967)
- Aspilogia III* Gerard J. Brault, *Aspilogia III: Rolls of Arms, Edward I (1272-1307)*, 2 vols (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997)

- Black Book* *Monumenta Juridica. The Black Book of the Admiralty*, ed. by Travers Twiss, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*, Rolls Series 55, 4 vols (London: Longman & Co., 1871-76), vol. 1 (1871)
- De Insigniis* Bartolo di Sassoferrato, *De Insigniis et Armis*, in *A Grammar of Signs: Bartolo da Sassoferrato's Tract on Insignia and Coats of Arms*, ed. by Osvaldo Cavallar, Susanne Degenring, and Julius Kirshner, *Studies in Comparative Legal History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 145-57
- Deidis* Adam Loutfut, *The Deidis of Armorie: A Heraldic Treatise and Bestiary*, ed. by L. A. J. R. Houwen, 2 vols (Edinburgh: STS, 1994)
- Le blason des couleurs* [Jean Courtois], Sicily Herald, *Le blason des couleurs en armes, livrees et devises par Sicille Herault d'Alphonse V, Roi d'Aragon*, ed. by Hippolyte Cocheris (Paris: Auguste Aubry, 1860)
- Online Froissart* *The Online Froissart: A Digital Edition of the Chronicles of Jean Froissart*, ed. by Peter Ainsworth and Godfried Croenen, hosted by the Humanities Research Institute, The University of Sheffield, v. 1. 5, pub. 20 Dec. 2013 [<https://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/>]
- Parker's Heraldry* [James Parker] *Parker's Heraldry: A Dictionary of Heraldic Terms* [<http://karlwilcox.com/parker/>]
- Parties inédites* [Jean Courtois], Sicily Herald, *Parties inédites de l'œuvre de Sicile, héraut d'Alphonse V, roi d'Aragon*, ed. by P. Roland,

Société des Bibliophiles Belges (Mons: Dequesne-Masquillier, 1867)

Survey

Walter H. Godfrey and Anthony R. Wagner, *Survey of London Monograph 16: College of Arms, Queen Victoria Street* (London: Guild & School of Handicraft, 1963). Also available at *BHO*

Tree of Battles

Honoré Bouvet, [*L'Arbre des Batailles*]/ *The Tree of Battles of Honoré Bonet*, ed. and trans. by George W. Coopland (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1949)

Specialist Terminology

Blazon	A technical description of a coat of arms using the professional language of heraldry
Cadency marks	An English system of marks added onto coats of arms to indicate the birth order and, consequently, the hereditary rights of an armigerous individual (Cf. Plate 1, p. 278)
Emblazon	A painted coat of arms
Engartered	A coat of arms that is depicted encircled by a blue garter; this typically indicates installment into the Order of the Garter
Ordinary of Arms	A series of coats of arms systematically arranged, usually according to their charges
Tincture	A technical term used to indicate the metals, colours, and furs used in heraldry
Trick	Roughly sketched coats of arms marked with a code of letters and abbreviations that indicate the details of their design (Cf. Plate 3, p. 280)

Note on Transcription

Unless otherwise indicated, the excerpts that I have quoted from primary texts are transcribed from manuscript sources. I have used italics to identify expansions. I have also treated some abbreviation marks as otiose. When an edition is available, I have included a reference to the corresponding printed passage after citing the manuscript in a footnote. When citing from an edition, I have cited the edited text first in the footnote.

Introduction

This dissertation redirects attention onto the imaginative components of late medieval heraldic texts. Focusing on heraldic texts that were influential or composed in England, I argue for the creativity of heraldic texts and examine the diverse ways that they frequently intersect with late medieval chivalric and literary cultures, revealing an inventiveness and vitality that scholars have not yet substantially explored. For instance, a heraldic text can be a practical text that instructs in heraldic design as well as an account of the legendary origins of heraldry and heralds, a poem, and an example of the prison writing tradition simultaneously. The impulse to narratively reflect upon and construct the practice and profession of heraldry, and to use chivalric and literary traditions for heraldic purposes, is a feature that predominantly appears in fifteenth and early sixteenth-century heraldic texts. Studying these texts offers new paradigms for understanding how chivalric culture influenced the ideological projection of heraldry and heralds in late medieval England. It also reveals how chivalric and literary tropes and traditions helped shape late medieval heraldic texts and heraldic culture—a point that scholars have thus far ignored. As will be discussed, scholars acknowledge the role of heraldry in medieval chivalric culture, and they sometimes acknowledge the role that heraldry plays in certain medieval literary texts, but they rarely examine how medieval heraldic texts draw upon chivalric and literary cultures, often re-orientating them in relation to heraldry.

Addressing a few general assumptions about heraldry and heraldic texts is a necessary starting point for this project. First, heraldry is a medieval phenomenon. Although shields have been decorated with national and personal marks of identification since ancient times, there is no evidence that these marks were consistently used to identify a certain individual as well as that individual's

familial ties and hereditary status until the twelfth century.¹ Heraldry was a by-product of feudal practices and chivalric culture. Coats of arms were proudly displayed on a range of objects, including shields, banners, jewellery, effigies, portraits, house wares, seals, and stained glass windows; they are important records of chivalric culture and of the armigerous community.

Second, heraldry's interest is not purely historical and genealogical, and it never has been. Heraldry cannot be separated from the structures of power and the class elitism that it records and legitimates. As coats of arms came to signify and legitimise the upper echelons of society, the practice of heraldic design and regulation became more specialised, which, in turn, increased heraldic professional authority. Medieval heraldic texts attest to the increasing specialisation of the practice and profession of heraldry; they also reveal a deliberate narratively-constructed authority for heraldry and heralds that helped to generate their exclusivity. This symbiotic relationship makes late medieval heraldic texts interesting not just for their potential historical value, but also for their cultural value.

Third, heraldic texts are not all entirely composed of armorials, which are sequences of painted, sketched (professionally called *tricked*), and/ or described (professionally called *blazoned*) coats of arms. Medieval heraldic texts frequently contain armorials but they can also include other narrative material. This material can range from martial and heraldic regulations to discussions of the different components of a coat of arms and the significance of its design. This narrative material can also include anecdotes, legends, and poems, and these extend the documentary and practical positioning of heraldic records into a more imaginative and playful space.

¹ For more on this point, cf. pp. 37-43.

Fourth, not all heraldic texts were produced by or for heralds. Heraldry did undoubtedly produce some medieval heraldic texts, but, as Torsten Hiltmann has recently argued, heraldic texts were also baselessly attributed to heralds as a way of granting them authority.² Indeed, several medieval heraldic texts were produced by jurists and clerics. Other compilers and composers of these texts remain anonymous. Unless there is substantial evidence that a certain herald had a hand in the authorship or production of a heraldic text, it should not be assumed that a heraldic text is the work of a herald.

Of the methods employed in this study, primary archival research which is, at times, original, is probably the most prominent. This dissertation considers over a hundred manuscripts, most of which I have personally consulted. I have examined, described, transcribed, and analysed relevant portions of these heraldic texts. I have also been attentive to what can be ascertained about their ownership and circulation history. This dissertation explores the interaction between late medieval heraldic writing and other contemporary writing traditions. It engages with a range of texts, from rolls to treatises and miscellanies, and narrative styles, including verse and pictorial narratives. It also examines the relationships between certain manuscripts, especially in texts containing origin narratives, and, at times, it adds new heraldic texts to already established manuscript groups. In addition, this study considers how late medieval historical, cultural, and literary contexts informed the period's heraldic writing. This is, of course, an ambitious scope, and it precludes a comprehensive study of any one or two heraldic texts. Highlighting

² See Torsten Hiltmann, 'La paternité littéraire des hérauts d'armes et les textes héraldiques: Héraut Sicile et le "Blason des couleurs en armes"', in *Estudos de Heráldica Medieval*, ed. by Miguel Metelo de Seixas and Maria de Lurdes Rosa (Lisboa: Caminhos Romanos, 2012), pp. 59-83; and Hiltmann, 'Heralds are Not Heraldry, Heraldry not Heralds: On the Benefits of Clear Distinctions', *Heraldica Nova: Medieval Heraldry in Cultural-Historical Perspectives*, blog post, 24 Jan. 2014, updated 16 Nov. 2016 [<http://heraldica.hypotheses.org/766>, accessed 30 July 2017].

the pervasiveness and the breadth of narrative resourcefulness in late medieval heraldic texts demonstrates that this ingenuity was a fifteenth and early sixteenth-century phenomenon.

Working with medieval heraldic sources can be daunting and brings with it its own challenges. It is not my intention to offer an exhaustive list of these challenges, but to sketch some of the issues that have surfaced over the course of my research. Heraldic output is prolific. Many heraldic manuscripts remain unpublished and unedited. Some manuscripts are still awaiting identification. Others, that are thought to be lost, such as Franciscus de Foveis's *De Picturis Armorum*, which is cited as a source by John de Bado Aureo's *Tractatus de Armis* (c. 1394-5), and, in the mid-to-late fifteenth century, by 'John's Tretis on Armes', may yet surface.³ Some heraldic sources have been added to, emended, or broken apart over time. Complications also arise from later manuscript cataloguing and preservation. A manuscript's contents are not always fully or correctly catalogued. Collation frequently has not been undertaken; post-medieval re-binding often makes original quiring difficult to ascertain. Pages that have been mounted on guards for reinforcement and the random prevalence of large quantities of indeterminate page stubs, especially in the case of re-bound miscellanies at the College of Arms, can make collation seemingly impossible. Many late medieval heraldic texts that circulated in England are macaronic, alternating between Latin, French, and English. Heraldic texts also frequently borrow from works that were composed earlier, sometimes without attribution and, just as frustratingly, sometimes with an incorrect attribution. Working with heraldic texts therefore demands an awareness of source materials and of the copies and varieties of the same material that might be circulating in different manuscripts.

³ Rodney Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1975), p. 67.

My overview of heraldic scholarship will not be exhaustive. Instead, I aim to highlight how scholars have approached heraldic materials and to expose the gaps in heraldic knowledge that have yet to be filled. One prominent approach to heraldic studies is to catalogue heraldic sources. For example, Anthony Wagner (Garter, 1961-78) published *Aspilogia I: A Catalogue of English Medieval Rolls of Arms (CEMRA)* (1950) and *Aspilogia II: Rolls of Arms, Henry III* (1967), both of which describe medieval armorials, summarising their content and outlining any known information about extant copies and ownership history.⁴ Gerard Brault, who specialises in Old French literature, published his two-volume *Aspilogia III: Rolls of Arms, Edward I (1272-1307)* in 1997, furthering knowledge about late thirteenth-century English armorials.⁵ Medieval heraldic treatises have not yet been catalogued in a stand-alone text, but Dennys describes the content of some of them in *The Heraldic Imagination* (1975).⁶ Additional examples of useful catalogues include George Keiser's *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1500*, especially the pages devoted to heraldic materials in volume ten, which deals with 'Works of Science and Information'.⁷ A. S. G. Edwards briefly catalogues heraldic materials in 'Notes on Middle English Heraldic Manuscripts', drawing attention to a few heraldic texts that still await critical consideration.⁸ There are also heraldic catalogues that extend their scope, including manuscripts as well as other material objects. For instance, Richard Marks and Ann Payne compiled and edited *British*

⁴ See *CEMRA* and *Aspilogia II*. Unless otherwise specified, heraldic professional titles indicate the highest title held.

⁵ *Aspilogia III*.

⁶ Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, pp. 59-86. Although they do not have their own catalogue, medieval heraldic treatises tend to be edited and are, therefore, more readily accessible to readers than armorials. For more on treatises and their editions, cf. pp. 77-86.

⁷ George R. Keiser, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1500*, ed. by Albert E. Hartung, vol. 10: Works of Science and Information (New Haven: The Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1998), pp. 3709-12.

⁸ A. S. G. Edwards, 'Notes on Middle English Heraldic Manuscripts', *Notes & Queries* (2015), 217-18.

Heraldry: From its Origins to c. 1800, cataloguing the heraldic exhibition by the same name that was held at the British Museum in 1978 (4 May-27 Aug.).⁹

The medieval heraldic manuscripts in the College of Arms are diverse and relatively unknown, and much scholarly work remains to be undertaken to illuminate, contextualise, and reveal relationships between them. W. H. Black compiled a *Catalogue of the Arundel Manuscripts in the Library of the College of Arms* in 1829.¹⁰ Only a hundred copies of the text were printed, but it has since been digitised and is fully accessible online.¹¹ Wagner also catalogued *The Records and Collections of the College of Arms* (1952), an effort that Louise Campbell and Francis Steer expanded and updated in 1988, in *A Catalogue of Manuscripts in the College of Arms*.¹² In his forward to Campbell and Steer's *Catalogue*, Wagner explains that the volume 'is mainly retrospective looking back to what the sixteenth century Heralds took over from the Middle Ages and the last flowerings from those roots'.¹³ Apart from the descriptions of manuscripts in the College of Arms in some of Wagner's *CEMRA* entries, another rare source of information on the College's medieval collection is the *Heralds' Commemorative Exhibition 1484-1934, held at the College of Arms, Enlarged & Illustrated Catalogue* (1970), which records the manuscripts exhibited in July, 1934, to commemorate the four-hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the College's incorporation in 1484.¹⁴

⁹ Richard Marks and Ann Payne, eds., *British Heraldry: From its Origins to c. 1800* (London: British Museum Publications, 1978).

¹⁰ William H. Black, *Catalogue of the Arundel Manuscripts in the Library of the College of Arms* (London: n. pub., 1829).

¹¹ Due to insufficient funds, Black's *Catalogue* was never published. Sir Charles Young (Garter, 1842-69) paid for the text's private printing. See *CMCA*, p. xiii. The catalogue is digitally available on archive.org and *Google Books*.

¹² See *RCCA* and *CMCA*.

¹³ *CMCA*, p. xv. A second volume to *A Catalogue of Manuscripts in the College of Arms* is currently under preparation. This volume will catalogue the College's records of heralds' visitations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See 'Records and Collections' on the College's website [<http://www.college-of-arms.gov.uk/about-us/records-and-collections>, accessed 10 January 2018].

¹⁴ See *HCEC*.

When it is undertaken, scholarly engagement with heraldry tends to be disjointed. On the one hand, numerous works offer generalised overviews of the historical origins of heraldry, of the technical components of heraldic design, and of the duties and hierarchies of heraldic professionals. On the other hand, most of the scholars who examine heraldic subjects tend to have a very limited focus, such as heraldry in relation to a certain family, building, or object. For example, the Heraldry Society's journal, *The Coat of Arms*, which was first published in 1950, contains articles that tend to have a narrowly confined scope, such as a discussion of 'Heraldic China', or York Herald (cr. 2012), Peter O' Donoghue's 'The College of Arms and the Second World War'.¹⁵ Between the general overviews and the finely focused analyses, there is still room for scholarship, especially for examinations of heraldic materials that can take a broad perspective and highlight connections between sources without losing analytical proximity to a source's content.

Heraldic scholarship has historically favoured an expansive perspective on heraldry, and this penchant can probably be traced to Elias Ashmole. Ashmole, an antiquarian, was created Windsor Herald in 1660, and in 1672, he published his magnum opus, *The Institution, Laws, and Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*.¹⁶ Despite its narrowly defined topic, Ashmole's book is ambitious and encyclopaedic in scope, detailing every minutia from ceremonial procession order to the Order's gowns and installation fees. Ashmole later assisted John Anstis, who was sworn in as Garter King of Arms in 1719, in editing and publishing *The*

¹⁵ Peter E. Hanmer-Farmer, 'Heraldic China', *The Coat of Arms* 2. 13 (1953), 171-2; and Peter O' Donoghue, 'The College of Arms and the Second World War', *The Coat of Arms*, 3rd ser., 9. 2 (2013), 85-102.

¹⁶ See Elias Ashmole, *The Institution, Laws, and Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (London: Nathaneal Brooke, 1672); and Michael Hunter, 'Ashmole, Elias (1617-1692)', *ODNB*.

Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter (1724).¹⁷ In this work, Anstis introduces and transcribes the Order's earliest known records, which were written in Latin c. 1535, and which are compiled in a text called *The Black Book (Liber Niger)* because of its black velvet cover.¹⁸ Ashmole and Anstis were both heralds and their texts primarily function as historical records. Both of their texts overview the inner workings of the Order of the Garter, which was founded by Edward III in 1348 and is England's oldest chivalric order.

Nineteenth-century heraldic scholarship was also encyclopaedic in scope. Whether a work primarily focused on the College of Arms, on recording genealogy, on heraldic practice, or on clarifying heraldic terms, nineteenth-century scholars aspired towards extensive overviews. Mark Noble, a clergyman and antiquary, published *A History of the College of Arms* in 1804.¹⁹ This text has a limited focus, but it is expansive in its approach; Noble covers everything from the College's foundations to the responsibilities of every heraldic professional position, and he also overviews each king of arms, herald, and pursuivant (heraldic apprentice) since Richard III founded the College in 1484. In 1826, the genealogist John Burke first published *Burke's Peerage*, which records the ancestry and heraldry of people who hold hereditary titles in the United Kingdom, and there have since been over a hundred editions updating the work.²⁰ Later in the century, from 1887-98, George Edward Cokayne (Clarenceux, cr. 1894) published *The Complete Peerage*, which also attempts a comprehensive record of armigerous ancestry and heraldry in the United Kingdom, and which has similarly been frequently updated.²¹ Burke

¹⁷ John Anstis, *The Register of the Most Noble Order of the Garter*, 2 vols (London: John Barber, 1724).

¹⁸ *The Black Book (Liber Niger)* is now Windsor, St George's Chapel Archives and Library, MS. G. 1.

¹⁹ Mark Noble, *A History of the College of Arms* (London: J. Debrett and T. Egerton, 1804).

²⁰ John Burke, *A General and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of the United Kingdom* (London: H. Colburn, 1826). For more, including a bibliography of the various editions of *Burke's Peerage*, see www.burkespeerage.com.

²¹ George Edward Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom*, 8 vols (London: George Bell, 1887-98).

and Cokayne are seminal to genealogically focused heraldic studies and they aspire to be comprehensive in their record keeping. This extensiveness is also the case with *Boutell's Heraldry*, which was written by the clergyman and antiquary Charles Boutell in 1863, and which overviews the historical origins and practice of heraldry as well as the different elements of heraldic design.²² Boutell's work was originally published as *Boutell's Manual of Heraldry*, and it was revised by J. P. Brooke-Little (Clarenceux, cr. 1995) in editions released between 1963-83. Boutell's manual is a standard reference text for the study of heraldry. Similarly, James Parker's 1894 *Glossary of Terms Used in Heraldry* attempts a comprehensive overview of heraldic nomenclature, and it, too, has become a foundational heraldic resource.²³

In the early twentieth century, scholars became more interested in heraldry's history. Oswald Barron (F. S. A.), a genealogist who was appointed as Maltravers Herald Extraordinary in 1937, edited and, at times, contributed to a quarterly journal called *The Ancestor*, which ran for twelve issues from 1902 to 1905.²⁴ This journal's articles tend to have a very narrow and historically grounded focus, such as a specific family's arms, a specific heraldic stained glass window, or a specific heraldic text. Barron was particularly interested in medieval heraldry, and he was so unflinching in his preference for it that Anthony Wagner (Garter, cr. 1961) later observed that Barron's 'doctrine was that only mediaeval heraldry was worth serious study'.²⁵ In spite of his inflexibility on this point, Barron's work on *The Ancestor* led him to become a respected heraldic authority. This publication also probably inspired the Heraldry Society to establish its journal, *The Coat of Arms*,

²² [Charles Boutell], *Boutell's Heraldry*, rev. by J. P. Brooke-Little (London: Frederick Warne, 1973).

²³ See *Parke's Heraldry*.

²⁴ *Survey*, p. 276. All twelve issues of *The Ancestor* are available online. See *The Ancestor*, The Online Books Page [http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/serial?id=ancestor, accessed 10 August 2017]. For more on Oswald Barron, see John Campbell-Kease, 'Barron, (Arthur) Oswald (1868-1939)', *ODNB*.

²⁵ Anthony R. Wagner, *Heraldry in England* (London and New York: King Penguin, 1946), p. 24.

in the mid-twentieth century, as the articles presented by both journals, although contextually grounded and insightful, tend to have a myopic approach towards their topics. However, Barron's views were not always so confined; he wrote the entry on 'heraldry' for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in 1910-11, which primarily focuses on medieval heraldry and draws examples from medieval heraldic texts.²⁶

Most of the scholarship on heraldry continues to favour general overviews. There are the guidebooks that, building upon Boutell's example, outline the historical origins of heraldry as well as the various elements of heraldic design. For example, Arthur Charles Fox-Davies, who was a barrister and a journalist, published *The Art of Heraldry: An Encyclopaedia of Armory* in 1904.²⁷ Almost 500 pages in length, this book was an enormous undertaking. Fox-Davies was interested in the history and practice of English heraldry, and particularly in heraldry's artistic qualities, such as the creatively diverse presentations of different elements of armorial design. His work is not always historically grounded, and he makes some unsubstantiated assumptions, such as his assertion that many officers of arms were originally minstrels.²⁸ However, his work does offer a useful overview of heraldry and it has become a popular reference text for heraldic scholars. Fox-Davies recycled and condensed the materials presented in *The Art of Heraldry*, resulting in another popular book called *A Complete Guide to Heraldry* (1909), as well as in his even shorter work, *Heraldry Explained* (1907).²⁹ Fox-Davies also famously clashed perspectives with Oswald Barron, which led to a bitter rivalry between them. As Wagner explains, Fox-Davies was 'an enthusiast for

²⁶ Oswald Barron, 'Heraldry', *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., vol. 13 (1910-11), 311-30. This entry is available online [http://www.nltaylor.net/heraldry/Heraldry_EB11.pdf, accessed 15 August 2017].

²⁷ Arthur C. Fox-Davies, *The Art of Heraldry: An Encyclopaedia of Armory* (London: Bloomsbury Books, 1986).

²⁸ Fox-Davies, *Art*, p. 12.

²⁹ See Arthur C. Fox-Davies, *A Complete Guide to Heraldry*, rev. by J. P. Brooke-Little (London: Thomas Nelson, 1969); and Fox-Davies, *Heraldry Explained* (New York: Brentano's, 1907).

modern heraldry but no great scholar’, and his difference of opinion and approach led Barron and Fox-Davies into ‘an affair of cross purposes, not wholly without comedy’.³⁰

Later scholars have also continued the tradition of offering broad overviews of the historical origins of heraldry, of English heraldic practice, and of armorial design. The antiquarian William H. St John Hope published *A Grammar of English Heraldry* in 1913, which Anthony Wagner (Garter, 1961-78) revised in 1953.³¹ Wagner also published *Heraldry in England* in 1946, while Richmond Herald (cr. 1943), offering his own overview of heraldry and heralds.³² In 1989, Thomas Woodcock, who is currently Garter King of Arms (cr. 2010), and John Martin Robinson, who is Maltravers Herald Extraordinary (cr. 1988), wrote *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry*, providing another useful resource on heraldry that is written by heralds.³³ However, it is important to remember that not all overviews of heraldry are written by heraldic professionals. Stephen Friar, a writer and heraldic consultant, and John Ferguson, a heraldic illustrator, published *Basic Heraldry* in 1993, overviewing the development of heraldry, different kinds of heraldry, including civic and corporate heraldry, and, most prominently, the different elements of heraldic design.³⁴ The medieval historian Michel Pastoureau also wrote a guidebook on heraldry, called *Heraldry: Its Origins and Meaning*, in 1996, which was translated from French into English the following year.³⁵ He overviews

³⁰ Wagner, *Heraldry in England*, p. 24. Heraldic scholars, including Barron and Wagner, have also derided Fox-Davies for advocating that only granted arms are legitimate, as the Court of Chivalry also recognises arms that have been inherited from ‘time immemorial’, which is understood as the Norman Conquest. See Anthony R. Wagner, *Heralds of England: A History of the Office and College of Arms* (London: Her Majesty’s Stationary Office, 1967), pp. 541-5.

³¹ W. H. St John Hope, *A Grammar of English Heraldry*, rev. by Anthony R. Wagner, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953).

³² Wagner, *Heraldry in England*.

³³ Thomas Woodcock and John M. Robinson, *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

³⁴ Stephen Friar and John Ferguson, *Basic Heraldry*, 2nd ed. (Worthing: Bramley Books, 1999).

³⁵ Michel Pastoureau, *Heraldry: Its Origins and Meaning*, trans. by Francisca Garvie (London: Thames and Hudson, 1997).

the history of heraldry from the twelfth century to the twentieth century as well as the components of heraldic design.

Rodney Dennys (Arundel, cr. 1982) published *The Heraldic Imagination* in 1975.³⁶ In this work, Dennys provides a historical overview of the origins of heraldry and heralds as well as descriptions of the contents of key medieval heraldic treatises. He concentrates most heavily on the symbolism associated with animate heraldic charges, particularly heavenly, bestial, and monstrous charges. Dennys consequently provides a very different kind of heraldic overview; his insights offer a foundation that scholars have not yet really built upon. My focus on the creativity of heraldic texts is inspired by Dennys, but the narrative inventiveness that I will be examining is a different kind of imaginative work than the multi-faceted symbolism that Dennys explores.

Heraldic scholars also frequently overview the origins and functions of heraldic professionals. Noble's *A History of the College of Arms* (1804) meticulously outlines every heraldic professional position and its post-holders up until the early nineteenth century. Building upon and updating this work, Walter Godfrey, an antiquarian, and Anthony Wagner, Garter (cr. 1961), wrote *Survey of London Monograph 16: College of Arms, Queen Victoria Street* in 1963.³⁷ In addition to offering more up to date information on the College of Arms, they provide full descriptions of each heraldic professional post and post-holder, thereby updating the historical record of heraldic officers into the twentieth century. Anthony Wagner's scholarly output on heralds is prolific. He wrote *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages* in 1939, focusing on what can be ascertained about pre-fifteenth century officers of

³⁶ See Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*.

³⁷ See *Survey*.

arms.³⁸ He also wrote *Heralds of England: A History of the Office and College of Arms* (1967) and *Heralds and Ancestors* (1978), and he includes a section on heraldic professional duties and incorporation in *Heraldry in England* (1946).³⁹ More recent scholarship on officers of arms contextualises late medieval heralds within their historical, cultural, political, diplomatic, and Continental European contexts. For example, the essays in *The Herald in Late Medieval Europe*, a collection edited by Katie Stevenson in 2009, successfully navigate the difficult task of providing a contextually-aware discussion of the role of late medieval heralds, focusing on the cultural, ideological, and even literary contributions of individual heralds without reverting to broad summaries about their professional functions.⁴⁰ There is still much work to be done on heralds as individuals.

Recent heraldic scholarship has also begun to question long-held assumptions about heraldry and to seek to contextualise heraldic practice within historical, cultural, political, and ideological contexts. Adrian Ailes, the Principal Records Specialist at The National Archives, questions how useful coat armour was as a means of identification during battle.⁴¹ He also questions assumptions about the ordinances of war supposedly issued by Thomas, duke of Clarence, asserting that they were probably forged by Thomas Wriothesley (Garter, 1505-34) to increase the sovereignty of Garter's position over other heralds and kings

³⁸ Anthony R. Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages: An Inquiry into the Growth of the Armorial Function of Heraldry*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956).

³⁹ Wagner, *Heralds of England*; Wagner, *Heralds and Ancestors* (London: British Museum Publications/Colonnade Books, 1978); and Wagner, *Heraldry in England*, pp. 18-24.

⁴⁰ Katie Stevenson, ed., *The Herald in Late Medieval Europe* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009). Although his focus is Elizabethan, Nigel Ramsay's 'William Smith, Rouge Dragon Pursuivant', in *Heralds and Heraldry in Shakespeare's England*, ed. by Nigel Ramsay (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2014), pp. 27-67, also discusses heraldic professionals with a cultural, ideological, and individual sensitivity.

⁴¹ Adrian Ailes, 'The Knight, Heraldry, and Armour: The Role of Recognition and the Origins of Heraldry', in *Medieval Knighthood IV: Papers from the Fifth Strawberry Hill Conference, 1990*, ed. by Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1992), pp. 1-21.

of arms.⁴² In *Bloodied Banners: Martial Display on the Medieval Battlefield*, Robert Jones reassesses the use of weapons and the significance of martial display on the medieval battlefield, ultimately arguing that pageantry on the battlefield was both practical, as a sign of heredity and identity, and ideological, displaying a warrior's individuality and skill as well as increasing his psychological confidence.⁴³ This reconsideration of the role of armour and coat armour opens new ways of understanding the cultural weight of battle gear. Observing this interpretive shift, Steen Clemmensen asserts that, whereas coat armour used to be primarily studied to identify a coat's 'owner or user', or for the 'dating of documents or buildings', heraldic scholars are 'beginning to use coats of arms as part of a palette of arguments when discussing mentality, politics, and social relations'.⁴⁴ Indeed, this is further evidenced by the publication of *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, a volume edited by Peter Coss and Maurice Keen in 2002 which examines heraldry as a display not only of lineage and power, but of social bonds as well as individual and cultural values and anxieties.⁴⁵

On a similarly critical note, Torsten Hiltmann, who studies the cultural history of heraldry, founded a blog called *Heraldica Nova: Medieval and Early Modern Heraldry from the Perspective of Cultural History* in 2013 that reconsiders assumptions about heraldic practice and heraldic professionals, arguing for an examination of medieval heraldic sources that is culturally and ideologically aware.⁴⁶ Hiltmann highlights that scholars generally neglect heraldic sources and overlook heraldry's

⁴² Adrian Ailes, 'Ancient Precedent or Tudor Fiction?: Garter King of Arms and the Pronouncements of Thomas, Duke of Clarence', in *The Herald in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. by Katie Stevenson (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009), pp. 29-39 (pp. 34-5). Also cf. p. 271.

⁴³ Robert W. Jones, *Bloodied Banners: Martial Display on the Medieval Battlefield* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010).

⁴⁴ Steen Clemmensen, *Editing Armorial: I: Cooperation, Knowledge and Approach by Late Medieval Practitioners* (Farum: Books on Demand, 2017), p. 12.

⁴⁵ *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, ed. by Peter Coss and Maurice Keen (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002).

⁴⁶ *Heraldica Nova*, blog [<http://heraldica.hypotheses.org>, accessed 10 August 2017].

ideological and cultural resonances. I agree with his opinion that ‘[t]he studies of heraldists have been too often read and criticised as if they were historical studies—which they are not’.⁴⁷ History is one of many facets that studying heraldry can illuminate, and it does not take precedence over the political, cultural, and ideological work of heraldry and heralds. Studying heraldic sources reveals this imbalance, as they are never purely historical records—and, indeed, sometimes the records are not historically accurate at all, but motivated by political, ideological, and personal agendas.

A sampling of the scholarship reveals an increasing interest in the ways that heraldry functions in medieval literature. Gerard Brault concentrates on the ways that heraldry, and especially *blazon*, the professional language of heraldry, is used in twelfth and thirteenth-century courtly literature written in French.⁴⁸ He establishes that the coats of arms of some Arthurian characters were consistently attributed in literary texts as early as the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Alex Mueller has argued that heraldry is used in the alliterative *Morte Arthure* (c. 1400) to critique heraldic assertions of nobility and power, as these assertions are sustained by ‘the indiscriminate extermination of life’, which is not itself noble.⁴⁹ P. J. C. Field has examined how medieval writers adapted King Arthur’s arms to express particular political and ideological agendas and to appeal to different audiences.⁵⁰ Other scholars have used heraldic sources to interpret literary works.

⁴⁷ Torsten Hiltmann, ‘Heraldry and History: Why is there So Much and at the Same Time So Little Heraldry in Historical Research?’, *Heraldica Nova*, blog post, 23 July 2013 [https://heraldica.hypotheses.org/364, accessed 12 August 2017].

⁴⁸ Gerard J. Brault, *Early Blazon: Heraldic Terminology in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, with Special Reference to Arthurian Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972); and Brault, ‘Literary Uses of Heraldry in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries’, in *The Court Reconvenes: Courtly Literature Across the Disciplines*, ed. by Barbara K. Altmann and Carleton W. Carroll (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003), pp. 15-26.

⁴⁹ Alex Mueller, ‘The Historiography of the Dragon: Heraldic Violence in the Alliterative *Morte Arthure*’, *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 32 (2010), 295-324 (p. 299).

⁵⁰ P. J. C. Field, ‘The Heraldry of the Historical Arthur in the Middle Ages’, in *Marqueurs d’Identité dans la Littérature Médiévale: Mettre en Signe l’Individu et la Famille (XII^e-XV^e Siècles)*, ed. by Catalina Girbea, Laurent Hablot, and Raluca Radulescu (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 109-16.

Kenneth Tiller draws upon heraldic treatises to argue that Thomas Malory uses heraldic *tinctures* (colours) in his descriptions of Sir Gareth's martial competitions to position him as one of the greatest Arthurian knights.⁵¹ The sequence of competitors that Gareth faces, each of whom carries a single-coloured shield, increases in strength, and Tiller posits that this is informed by the increasing nobility attributed to each heraldic colour, and that Gareth works his way through the heraldic colour spectrum and triumphs over each colour.

To my knowledge, scholars have yet to investigate how literary tropes and themes function within heraldic texts. A few scholars have come close to approaching medieval heraldic texts this way. For example, Michel Pastoureau and Lisa Jefferson discuss Arthurian armorials written in French, and their interest is on how the armorials helped codify the arms attributed to Arthurian knights, which then informed the arms attributed to their family members.⁵² They are attentive to how depicted armorial designs reveal the ways certain characters were being interpreted, as well as to how the designs assist in ascribing a manuscript's date and provenance. Their focus, then, is on the heraldic text; they examine Arthurian armorials to determine how they have been shaped by the pre-existing Arthurian tradition. Thus far, however, the intersection of heraldic and literary sources has been examined in a way that privileges literary sources. Heraldic sources are valuable for more than how they can reflect and shape literary efforts. Indeed, heraldic sources can be shaped by literary sources as well, and this can extend beyond how a certain coat of arms is portrayed. There is an imaginative

⁵¹ Kenneth J. Tiller, 'The Rise of Sir Gareth and the Hermeneutics of Heraldry', *Arthuriana* 17. 3 (2007), 74-91. For more on Malory's imaginative uses of heraldry to further his authorial purposes, see Sarah Jane Brazil, 'The Codification of Heraldry in Malory's *Le Morte Darthur*', *The Coat of Arms* 10. 227 (2014), 1-8.

⁵² Michel Pastoureau, *Armorial des Chevaliers de la Table Ronde* (Paris: Le Léopard d'Or, 1983); and Lisa Jefferson, 'Tournaments, Heraldry and the Knights of the Round Table: A Fifteenth-Century Armorial with Two Accompanying Texts', in *Arthurian Literature* 14, ed. by James P. Carley and Felicity Riddy (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1996), pp. 69-157.

and cultural richness to heraldic sources, and it is time for scholars to stop simplifying them as merely historical records, practical texts, or texts that can offer insight into literature. Heraldic sources can be insightful in and of themselves.

In the early 1990s, G. A. Lester drew attention to late medieval English heraldic narratives as 'literary' or 'semi-literary' works, arguing that they exemplify a 'courtly' writing style and that the heralds who wrote many of these narratives made stylistic and rhetorical choices that filtered their documentation of events.⁵³ As Lester's argument is confined to two brief articles, his evidence is a cursory overview of selected historical and ceremonial accounts. However, his work posits new directions for exploring heraldic narrative material.

My purpose is to demonstrate the playfulness of late medieval heraldic texts. I am using the word 'playfulness' in its full connotative potential, as an indication of the imaginative, innovative, resourceful, stylistically diverse flexibility of heraldic writing, which is also always historically, culturally, and ideologically charged. To accomplish this, I build upon existing scholarship, especially the work of Dennys, who underscores the imaginative potential of heraldic works even if he limits that potential to heraldic charges, and of Hiltmann, who offers a corrective to hasty generalisations and assumptions about heraldry and heralds. I also draw upon the growing scholarly understanding that heraldic display is culturally and ideologically laden. This study examines the creative ways in which late medieval heraldic sources position heraldic history, heraldic legends, and heraldic professionals as integral to chivalric, legendary, and national histories. Although I do not limit heraldic narratives to a courtly or literary designation, I share Lester's

⁵³ G. A. Lester, 'The Literary Activity of the Medieval English Heralds', *English Studies* 71. 3 (1990), 222-9 (esp. p. 229); and G. A. Lester, 'Fifteenth-Century English Heraldic Narrative', *The Yearbook of English Studies* 22 (1992), 201-12 (esp. pp. 210 and 212).

interest in narrative construction and in the relationship between late medieval English heraldic writing and other contemporary writing traditions.

The first chapter contextualises the practice and profession of heraldry. Overviewing the development of heraldry and heralds is a necessary starting point for being able to discuss them and to critically engage with heraldic sources. The chapter defines heraldry, considers its historical origins, and clarifies terms that are specific to heraldic practice. It briefly introduces late medieval heraldic regulation. It also outlines the professional hierarchy and professional culture of heralds.

The second, third, and fourth chapters each begin by presenting the sources that will be discussed and considering who tended to write and to own them. The second chapter introduces late medieval heraldic texts and contends that they can be simultaneously practical and playful. In addition to overviewing two main types of heraldic textual sources, rolls of arms and treatises, I discuss some heraldic texts that are compiled in miscellanies, as this was another medium in which heraldic texts circulated. I then examine the imaginative interest of heraldic texts, assessing the creative ways that they draw upon a range of writing styles and traditions and appropriate chivalric and literary tropes and themes for heraldic purposes. Ultimately, the chapter argues for the diversity of heraldic textual sources, for the creativity with which their different writing styles and contexts interact, and for their imaginative appeal.

The third chapter examines heraldic mythmaking, analysing the narrative construction of the legendary origins of heraldry and heralds. I argue that these legendary narratives construct a professional mythology that integrates heraldry and heralds into foundational proto-national and cultural narratives, thereby aggrandising and legitimising them. The sources that I have compiled in this

chapter have not been brought together in this way before, and the contents of several of these sources have not yet been critically examined.

The fourth chapter studies heraldic professional self-construction. It examines how late medieval heralds present themselves in the heraldic texts that they produced, revealing their desire to be recognised as learned men who are authorities on heraldry and as chivalric role-models. The chapter begins by considering how this self-constructed professional image differs from typical late medieval portrayals of heralds. Next, it introduces late medieval heralds as avid collectors, copiers, and producers of heraldic texts. As many late medieval heraldic texts that were copied or composed by heralds have been predominantly confined to internal professional and aristocratic circulation, they are not generally accessible, and their contents are often known through catalogue descriptions more than they are through direct access to them. This chapter considers examples of heralds deliberately projecting and constructing their own professional image. More specifically, it analyses the self-presentation of William Bruges (Garter, 1415-50), John Smert (Garter, 1450-78), William Ballard (March, c. 1479-90), John Writhe (Garter, 1478-1504), and Sir Thomas Wriothesley (Garter, 1505-34).

Studying the ways that late medieval heraldic texts narratively construct heraldry and heralds offers fresh perspectives on late medieval heraldic culture and its interaction with chivalric and literary cultures. Reassessing assumptions about medieval heraldic texts opens new ways to understand and appreciate them: they are simultaneously practical and playful; their content is not confined to sequences of coats of arms; their writers were not all heralds; and their readers were not all heralds and aristocrats. Instead, medieval heraldic texts are creative. The texts contain narratives that draw upon a range of writing styles and traditions: they incorporate legendary narratives, poems, anecdotes, pictorial narratives, and tropes

drawn from and shared with prison writing, chronicles, and romance. It is surprising that scholars have not yet been attentive to these imaginative components of heraldic texts. It is my hope that this dissertation will lay the foundation for further scholarship.

Chapter 1

Contextualising Heraldry and Heralds

1.1 The Development of Heraldic Practice: Coats of Arms

The oldest documented shield of arms in Europe is the one that Henry I supposedly gave to his new son-in-law, Geoffrey, the count of Anjou, who became Geoffrey Plantagenet.⁵⁴ The twelfth-century Benedictine monk and chronicler John of Marmoutier (c. 1180) describes Henry's knighting of Geoffrey in 1127/8, before the young count married the king's daughter, Matilda.⁵⁵ According to the monk, a blue 'Clipeus, leunculos aureos ymaginarios habens, collo ejus suspenditur' [shield, depicting golden images of lioncels, was suspended about [Geoffrey's] neck].⁵⁶ The diminutive 'lioncels' refers to the size of the lions depicted; lions are heraldically called lioncels when there are more than three *charged* (meaning superimposed) on a *field*, which is the professional term used to designate the background space on a coat of arms.⁵⁷ Marmoutier's textual description of this shield is also visually supported by material evidence. Geoffrey's enamel effigy, which was originally positioned above his tomb in the cathedral at Le Mans, Normandy, and has since moved to the nearby Musée de Tessé, depicts him holding a blue (professionally called *azure*) shield charged with six golden lions.⁵⁸ Friar and Ferguson suspect that Henry I passed his own heraldic device onto Geoffrey, as Henry was called the 'Lion of Justice', and as 'it was

⁵⁴ *RCCA*, p. 6; Woodcock and Robinson, *Oxford Guide*, pp. 10-12; and Nigel Saul, *For Honour and Fame: Chivalry in England, 1066-1500* (London: The Bodley Head, 2011), p. 19.

⁵⁵ John of Marmoutier, *Historia Gaufridi Ducis Normannorum et Comitis Andegavorum*, in *Chroniques des Comtes d'Anjou et des Seigneurs d'Amboise*, ed. by Louis Halphen and René Poupardin (Paris: Auguste Picard, 1913), pp. 172-231 (p. 179). Also see Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, pp. 29-30, and Pastoureau, *Heraldry*, p. 18.

⁵⁶ Marmoutier, *Historia Gaufridi Ducis*, p. 179. Also see Jim Bradbury, 'Geoffrey V of Anjou, Count and Knight', in *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood*, ed. by Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey, vol. III (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1990), pp. 21-38 (p. 32).

⁵⁷ Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 30.

⁵⁸ An image of this effigy has frequently been reproduced. For example, see Pastoureau, *Heraldry*, p. 18, or Wagner, *Heralds and Ancestors*, plate I.

during his reign that the first lion was seen in England—at the royal menagerie at Woodstock'.⁵⁹ Woodcock and Robinson, who note a similar shield in Salisbury Cathedral at the tomb of William Longespee, who was the earl of Salisbury and Geoffrey's bastard grandson, also posit that these early coats of arms 'were treated as hereditary'.⁶⁰ Yet these connections are not substantial enough to establish such an early hereditary transfer of arms.

Michel Pastoureau cautions against the common acceptance of such an early date for Geoffrey's arms. Pointing out that Marmoutier wrote his chronicle 'nearly twenty-five years after' Geoffrey's death in 1151, and that Geoffrey's widow commissioned his effigy as a memorial sometime between 1155-1160, Pastoureau concludes that 'Geoffrey Plantagenet probably never bore arms'.⁶¹ Moreover, as Paul Fox clarifies, the effigy 'does not actually name Geoffrey of Anjou'.⁶² Ascribing a shield of arms to Geoffrey posthumously updates his legacy, symbolically associating him with Henry I's support and his bloodline with the legitimate right to rule England. Jim Bradbury postulates that Geoffrey's shield is an early manifestation of what became the English royal coat of arms.⁶³ The royal arms, professionally described *Gules three Lions passant guardant Or*, were first used by Richard I in 1198, though, beginning with the thirteenth-century cleric Matthew Paris, they became posthumously attributed to kings of England beginning with William the Conqueror.⁶⁴ Geoffrey's shield of arms has an *azure* field rather than the royal *gules*, or red, and it is charged with more than three golden lions, but

⁵⁹ Friar and Ferguson, *Basic Heraldry*, p. 16.

⁶⁰ Woodcock and Robinson, *Oxford Guide*, p. 12.

⁶¹ Pastoureau, *Heraldry*, p. 18.

⁶² Paul A. Fox, 'Crusading Families and the Spread of Heraldry', *The Coat of Arms*, 3rd ser., 8. 2 (2012), 59-84 (p. 62).

⁶³ Jim Bradbury, *The Routledge Companion to Medieval Warfare* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 264; and John H. and Rosemary V. Pinches, *The Royal Heraldry of England* (London: Heraldry Today, 1974), p. 13.

⁶⁴ Woodcock and Robinson, *Oxford Guide*, p. 187.

Bradbury's hypothesis is possible; the golden lions do eventually become hereditary devices.

Paul Fox doubts that Henry I gave Geoffrey of Anjou the shield at all, arguing instead that the lion of England originated in Anjou. After all, Marmoutier describes a shield hanging around Geoffrey's neck, but he does not specify that Geoffrey received the shield from his new father-in-law. Fox convincingly posits that Geoffrey received the shield from his own father, count Fulk V of Anjou, who went on Crusade to Jerusalem in 1120 and became King of Jerusalem a decade later, in 1131.⁶⁵ Fox contends that the lion was 'linked to Jerusalem in the minds of the Crusaders', as Jerusalem had a Lion Gate, and as they probably would have encountered living lions and carved statues of lions during their travels.⁶⁶ It is possible that Fulk V gave his son a shield charged with lions as a wedding gift. Yet, even though this gift might have reminded Geoffrey of his father, the charged lions were never used by his father on his own shield, and this precludes the shield from being the earliest example of heraldry.

Hereditary transfer is essential to heraldry. Anthony Wagner defines '[t]rue heraldry' as 'the systematic use of hereditary devices centred on a shield', and he explains that '[n]ational and personal devices without the element of inheritance are, therefore, not heraldry, though they are frequently its forerunners'.⁶⁷ Denny makes a similar point but he is not convinced by Wagner's belief that Geoffrey of Anjou's shield is the 'first definite evidence' of heraldry.⁶⁸ Denny asserts that Geoffrey's shield 'must really be regarded as typical of the period of proto-heraldry, when armorial bearings were being evolved and used in a recognisably heraldic

⁶⁵ Fox, 'Crusading Families and the Spread of Heraldry', pp. 64-5.

⁶⁶ Fox, 'Crusading Families and the Spread of Heraldry', p. 63.

⁶⁷ Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 12.

⁶⁸ Denny, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 30; and Anthony R. Wagner, *Historic Heraldry of Britain* (London: Phillimore, 1972), p. 15.

way without necessarily being hereditary'.⁶⁹ As there is no evidence that Geoffrey's sons used his arms, the assertion that Geoffrey's shield is the oldest documented heraldic example becomes tenuous.⁷⁰ In truth, nobody knows the earliest instance of heraldry, but it appears to have developed in the twelfth century and its roots are martial.

National and personal marks have decorated shields since ancient times, but 'rarely in the long ages between the introduction of shields and the twelfth century do we find anything that looks like a personal shield device consistently used'.⁷¹ When the Normans conquered England, heraldry had not yet developed. The designers of the Bayeux Tapestry 'knew nothing of individualised devices in the 1070s', as the 'same characters appear in arms in different cartoons carrying different designs on their shields'.⁷² In addition, the designs that are depicted on the tapestry's shields were not 'actually used by the descendants' of the prominent warriors who are featured, revealing that the represented devices were not hereditary.⁷³ As Fox-Davies remarks, if William the Conqueror 'had borne arms, they could not fail to have had a place in a nearly contemporary work'.⁷⁴ Something about the twelfth century necessitated the creation of heraldry as a consistent and hereditary practice.

⁶⁹ Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 30. Observing that figures on early seals 'begin to show heraldic charges on their flags and shields', Anthony Wagner contends that heraldic arms and, specifically, 'consistent hereditary devices', were in use in England by around 1150. See Wagner, *Historic Heraldry*, p. 15; and Wagner, *Heralds and Ancestors*, p. 11. David Crouch disagrees. He convincingly argues that early seals are more typical of proto-heraldry because, although they indicate broad familial kinship, there is no evidence that they were hereditary. See David Crouch, 'The Historian, Lineage and Heraldry, 1050-1250', in *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, ed. by Peter Coss and Maurice Keen (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008), pp. 17-37 (p. 31). Crouch argues that early seals provide evidence for devices being used to indicate prestigious familial ties, but that these devices are not technically heraldic.

⁷⁰ Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 30.

⁷¹ Wagner, *Heraldry in England*, p. 5.

⁷² Crouch, 'The Historian, Lineage and Heraldry', p. 29.

⁷³ Fox-Davies, *Art*, p. 7.

⁷⁴ Fox-Davies, *Art*, p. 7.

Shields of arms were decorated to distinguish individuals on the battlefield and during tournaments.⁷⁵ Coats of arms were originally textile surcoats that were worn over armour; they came into use in the twelfth century.⁷⁶ Because they were decorated with the same heraldic insignia as an individual's shield of arms, the term came to designate the heraldic design that was depicted on both the surcoat and the shield, and eventually, to designate the design on the shield.⁷⁷ The introduction of the closed helmet in the early thirteenth century made coats of arms necessary for identifying individuals, as their faces would have been concealed.⁷⁸ For shields and coats of arms to successfully distinguish their wearers, there needed to be someone to observe the battle or tournament who was able to decipher who individuals were based on their heraldic insignia. This duty was probably the beginning of the office of heralds, but it did not necessarily need to be exclusive to them. As Woodcock and Robinson point out, one caveat about this theory of the development of heraldic practice is that a man's shield could easily be obscured from view during a tournament or a battle.⁷⁹ Friar and Ferguson state that '[c]ommon sense suggests that the mud and debris of warfare would quickly obliterate the battered surfaces of shields, rendering them unrecognizable'.⁸⁰ Yet, if an individual's shield of arms became obscured or battered beyond recognition, his surcoat, if he were wearing one, would still distinguish him. Such distinction, however, could be just as effectively achieved through using personal marks. This

⁷⁵ Adrian Ailes, 'The Knight, Heraldry and Armour: The Role of Recognition and the Origins of Heraldry', in *Medieval Knighthood IV: Papers from the Fifth Strawberry Hill Conference, 1990*, ed. by Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1992), pp. 1-21 (p. 6); Dennis, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 68; and Pastoureau, *Heraldry*, pp. 17-19. As discussed in Chapter 3, late medieval heraldic writers, including John de Bado Aureo, Sicily Herald, and Nicholas Upton, uphold this view of armorial origins.

⁷⁶ Fox-Davies, *Art*, p. 8 and p. 35.

⁷⁷ Fox-Davies, *Art*, p. 35.

⁷⁸ Fox-Davies, *Art*, pp. 7-8; Pastoureau, *Heraldry*, pp. 17-19; and *Boutell's Heraldry*, p. 6.

⁷⁹ Woodcock and Robinson, *Oxford Guide*, pp. 1-2.

⁸⁰ Friar and Ferguson, *Basic Heraldry*, p. 10.

theory does not clarify why heraldry developed as a hereditary practice or why individuals began to consistently use the same armorial devices.

The feudal social structure that produced heraldry helps to answer these questions. Under this structure, the upper class ‘were those who held the land, who had military obligations, and who were noble’, and they ‘had to lead their servants and followers into battle’ because they were ‘personally responsible’, when the king called upon them, ‘for the appearance of so many followers’.⁸¹ These men identified themselves in battle and in tournaments through their coats of arms. In addition, because they held their lands through martial service to the king, ‘the right of inheritance by one’s natural heir was an understood condition of feudal tenure’.⁸² Those who held lands passed their lands and their martial obligations onto their heir. Consequently, it became necessary for coats of arms to identify a nobleman’s family in addition to his identity. Arms signify a nobleman’s status in society as well as his martial obligations to the king, and as those, like one’s lineage, generally do not change, the arms that people used became consistent. Similarly, like their lands and their obligations, their coat armour became hereditary. As Pastoureau explains, ‘arms, which were originally individual emblems, became hereditary from the end of the 12th century and acquired their definitive form as a result of being passed down through the same family’.⁸³ Importantly, this does not mean that coats of arms belong to families. Coats of arms belong to individual people and each coat of arms is distinct.⁸⁴ A person who bears arms has either been granted them or has inherited them from their father.⁸⁵ Inherited arms tend

⁸¹ Fox-Davies, *Art*, p. 10. Also see Wagner, *Heraldry in England*, p. 7; and L. G. Pine, *The Story of Heraldry*, 2nd ed. (London: Country Life, 1953), pp. 14-15.

⁸² Wagner, *Heraldry in England*, p. 7.

⁸³ Pastoureau, *Heraldry*, p. 20.

⁸⁴ *Boutell's Heraldry*, p. 10.

⁸⁵ ‘The Law of Arms’, *College of Arms Website* [<http://www.college-of-arms.gov.uk/resources/the-law-of-arms>, accessed 25 June 2016].

to appear to be similar because they represent the same family, but although they contain the same family emblem, slight modifications in their designs distinguish individuals.⁸⁶

The rise of the tournament in the twelfth century may have popularised coats of arms. Tournaments, which were often held to mark festive occasions, were also practical; they provided training in combat methods. New cavalry tactics were introduced in the eleventh century, such as ‘the use of the couched lance by a group of horsemen who mounted a closely coordinated charge as a single unit’, and tournaments enabled fighters to practise wielding their lances against combatant opponents.⁸⁷ Charles Boutell explains that tournaments were ‘occasions for display and pageantry, and it would be natural for leaders of opposed parties, and also for individual participants, in these sporting events, to adopt some device for the occasion, and thereafter consistently to use insignia which their prowess in the lists had made well-known’.⁸⁸ This insignia would have functioned as a mark of personal identification and as a brand that associated individual contestants with their leaders or with their previous performance record. David Crouch asserts that knights ‘did not take up individual devices peculiar to themselves until the early thirteenth century’, before which they had instead ‘identif[ied] themselves by the colours and sometimes the badge of the magnate they served’.⁸⁹ As individual devices became hereditary under the feudal social system, a knight’s coat of arms ‘not only proclaimed his own presence on the field

⁸⁶ Friar and Ferguson, *Basic Heraldry*, p. 22 and p. 184. Charles Boutell explains that, ‘[i]n English heraldry, all persons descended in the legitimate male line from an armigerous ancestor inherit and bear his arms’, but that ‘armorial bearings should be distinctive not only of the family as a whole, but also of its several branches and individual members’. See *Boutell’s Heraldry*, p. 108. Eventually, in the fifteenth century, cadency marks begin to be used in English arms to designate birth order. For more on cadency marks, cf. pp. 181-2, and, for an illustration of them, p. 278.

⁸⁷ Richard Barber and Juliet Barker, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000), p. 14.

⁸⁸ *Boutell’s Heraldry*, p. 6.

⁸⁹ David Crouch, *Tournament* (London: Hambledon and London, 2005), p. 140.

but also that of his ancestors', which placed the family's reputation 'at stake as the knight was their representative'.⁹⁰ Whether he was participating in a tournament or in an actual battle, a knight's coat of arms figuratively made him a synecdoche for the men in his family, both in the past and in the present.

The Crusades may also have played a role in spreading heraldry across Europe. Coat armour purportedly helped crusading Christian men to distinguish their leaders.⁹¹ However, personal marks would have distinguished these men just as effectively. The presence of heraldry, though, would visually affiliate crusading noblemen with their familial and feudal obligations, openly displaying their service and loyalty and expressing 'a sense of shared identity based on kinship and participation in the Crusades'.⁹² Although he does not present enough evidence for his views, Fox-Davies suggests that the Crusades enabled the 'practically coeval' development of heraldic practice throughout twelfth-century Europe.⁹³ He also argues for the importance of the Crusades to heraldry by suggesting that they resulted in 'a large proportion of the charges and terms and rules of heraldry' becoming 'identical in all European countries'.⁹⁴ Indeed, there was some attempt at streamlining heraldic practice, such as in the development of *blazon*, which is the technical language of heraldic description, but Fox-Davies' desire for heraldry to be coherent and for its application to be almost 'identical' across different European countries glosses over its complexities. As Torsten Hiltmann points out, different heraldic writers might have different understandings of the same

⁹⁰ Jones, *Bloodied Banners*, pp. 20-1; and Maurice Keen, *Origins of the English Gentleman: Heraldry, Chivalry and Gentility in Medieval England, c. 1300- c. 1500* (Stroud: Tempus, 2002), p. 51.

⁹¹ Pine, *The Story*, p. 20.

⁹² Fox, 'Crusading Families and the Spread of Heraldry', p. 59.

⁹³ Fox-Davies, *Art*, p. 7; and *Boutell's Heraldry*, p. 4.

⁹⁴ Fox-Davies, *Art*, p. 7.

heraldic term or device.⁹⁵ Moreover, the devices, terms, and rules of heraldry can and do change in different contexts, such as in different countries, different languages, and different times.⁹⁶

1.2 Techniques

Blazon, the specialised professional language of heraldry, aims at describing coats of arms with such precision that they can be accurately painted by someone based upon the description. This specialised language was probably created by heralds for their professional use, but it is not necessarily exclusive to them. Although blazon does not solidify in England until around 1300, its ‘principal terms’ and ‘conventional order’ are evident by the early to mid-thirteenth century.⁹⁷ Consequently, blazon’s origins are contemporaneous with the development of a technical language by other increasingly specialised practices—such as law.⁹⁸ In tandem with the development of heraldry, blazon may have originated within a Crusading context, as it variously uses French, Latin, and Arabic terms to describe arms.⁹⁹ In England, the language of blazon was Anglo-Norman, with Latin and Arabic words being used as technical terms, until the mid-fifteenth century, when

⁹⁵ Torsten Hiltmann, ‘Heraldry as a Systematic and International Language?: About the Limitations of Blazonry in Describing Coats of Arms’, *Heraldica Nova*, blog post, 25 May 2016 [http://heraldica.hypotheses.org/4623, accessed 28 June 2016].

⁹⁶ Hiltmann, ‘Heraldry as a Systematic’, *Heraldica Nova*.

⁹⁷ See Maurice Keen’s ‘Introduction’ to *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display*, ed. by Coss and Keen, pp. 7-16 (p. 9); Brault, *Early Blazon*, pp. 5-8; and Wagner, *Historic Heraldry*, p. 17.

⁹⁸ Law’s technical language developed concurrently with heraldry’s, and it, too, has maintained its thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman ‘core’, which George Woodbine explains is ‘the technical language of the French speaking lawyers in the England of Edward I’. See George E. Woodbine, ‘The Language of English Law’, *Speculum* 18.4 (1943), 395-436 (p. 395). Like heraldic language, legal language is not accessible to those who have not studied it. As will be discussed, there is also some overlap between heraldry and law. Bartolo di Sassoferrato, a prominent Italian jurist, wrote one of the earliest known heraldic treatises in the mid-fourteenth century, and Nicholas Upton, an English cleric who studied law, wrote fifteenth-century England’s most popular heraldic text. Cf. pp. 78-9 and pp. 92-4. Additionally, a group of mid-fifteenth century English heraldic miscellanies are thought to have been produced by law students at the Inner Temple, an Inn of Court in London. Cf. p. 95 and pp. 148-50.

⁹⁹ Edward M. Kandel, ‘The Language of Blazon’, *The Coat of Arms* 146 (Summer 1989), 30-4 (p. 30).

English blazon began to be used and ‘many French terms in more or less Anglicized form were taken over as technical names’.¹⁰⁰

The term ‘blazon’ also becomes more specialised and particular to heraldic practice by the fifteenth century. ‘Blason’, the original Old French word, literally meant ‘shield’, and it was used to refer to a shield, and sometimes to a shield with armorial bearings, throughout the fourteenth and into the turn of the fifteenth century.¹⁰¹ Despite being used since the early thirteenth century, the heraldic practice of blazon, in the sense of using a particular language and form to describe a coat of arms, was not actually called ‘blazon’ until the fifteenth century. The Middle English verb ‘blaze’ originally meant ‘to blow’, particularly in reference to musical instruments, and it was used in this sense since around 1384.¹⁰² The verb’s meaning shifted because it became ‘confused’ with the noun, ‘evidently through associating the infinitive *blas-en* with the pre-existing noun *blason*’.¹⁰³ By the mid-fifteenth century, the verb was used to mean ‘[t]o proclaim (as with a trumpet), to publish, divulge, make known’.¹⁰⁴ This sense fuses the denotation of the blowing of a musical instrument with the connotations of heraldic practice, as a shield proclaims an individual’s identity through the coat of arms that it displays. It could

¹⁰⁰ Wagner, *Historic Heraldry*, p. 17. Also see Wagner, *Heraldry in England*, p. 25; and Bradbury, *The Routledge Companion*, p. 265. Early blazons, such as those recorded by Matthew Paris (c. 1244), were sometimes presented in a mixture of Latin and French. See Wagner, *Historic Heraldry*, p. 17; and Gerard J. Brault, ‘The Emergence of the Heraldic Phrase in the Thirteenth Century’, *The Coat of Arms* 61 (Jan. 1965), 186-92 (p. 191).

¹⁰¹ *OED* blazon (n) 1 a shield used in war (obs.) and 2 (a) a shield in heraldry; armorial bearings; coat of arms; a banner bearing the arms. The first recorded instance of the word ‘blazon’ occurs around 1325, in the Middle English romance *Richard Coer de Lion*, in which it is used to refer to a shield painted with a coat of arms (l. 5727). As evidenced by *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (l. 828), at the turn of the fifteenth century ‘blazon’ was used as a synonym for a shield, but this quickly became obsolete. Also see *MED* blasoun (n) (a) a shield (normally bearing a coat of arms) and (b) a coat of arms; armorial bearings. The *MED* dates the earliest use of the term ‘blasoun’ to refer to a shield in 1278, which precedes the *OED*’s example by almost 50 years. The *A-ND* also records two definitions for ‘blason’, the first meaning ‘shield’ and the second meaning ‘armorial bearings (on shield)’. See *A-ND*, blason 1 and 2 [<http://www.anglo-norman.net/>, accessed 25 June 2016].

¹⁰² *OED* blaze (v. 2) 1 to blow (e. g. with a musical instrument); to puff. The term probably derived from the Old Norse ‘blása’, meaning ‘to blow (as the wind, with the mouth, bellows, a trumpet)’, but it might also have German roots. See *OED* blaze (v. 2) etymology.

¹⁰³ *OED* blaze (v. 2) etymology.

¹⁰⁴ *OED* blaze (v. 2) 2 (a).

also be informed by professional practice, as heralds would have verbally proclaimed the identity of individuals on a battlefield or in a tournament, possibly even accompanied by a trumpet's blow to command attention, and these proclamations would have been based on their ability to read and interpret the armorial bearings displayed on shields.¹⁰⁵ To blaze a shield of arms is to describe it heraldically, and the term to blaze, or to blazon, has been used in this sense since the mid-fifteenth century.¹⁰⁶ William Kuskin explains that 'the noun for *shield* becomes the verb for analysing and announcing the shield's sign', and he attributes this shift to 'a compression of meanings by which the object becomes its own analysis' and 'its own public announcement'.¹⁰⁷ A shield and its coat of arms are treated as one and the same. A coat of arms proclaims the identity of its bearer, but its blazon proclaims the coat of arms through which the bearer is identified. In this way, blazon provides the terminology for describing the signs that signify an armigerous individual's identity.

The conventional order of a blazon is 'to begin with the tincture (colour) of the field or background, next to name the principal ordinary or geometrical figure, thirdly any other charges in the field, and fourthly any charges upon the ordinary'.¹⁰⁸ For example, Geoffrey Plantagenet's shield is blazoned *Azure, six lions rampant or, three, two and one*.¹⁰⁹ *Azure*, which opens the description, indicates that the field is blue. This particular coat of arms does not have a principal ordinary, or geometric shape, so the rest of the description indicates the charges that decorate the field. The arms are charged with six lions in a *rampant* position,

¹⁰⁵ Kandel, 'The Language of Blazon', p. 30.

¹⁰⁶ *OED* blaze (v. 2) 3 (a) to describe heraldically, to blazon. The earliest recorded instance of this use of the verb occurs around 1440.

¹⁰⁷ William Kuskin, *Symbolic Caxton: Literary Culture and Print Capitalism* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008), p. 59.

¹⁰⁸ Wagner, *Historic Heraldry*, p. 18.

¹⁰⁹ Pinches, *The Royal Heraldry of England*, p. 20.

meaning that they are ‘standing erect with the left foot on the ground and the right leg raised, the left forefoot partly raised and the right forefoot fully raised and clawing ferociously’.¹¹⁰ *Or* indicates that these six lions are gold coloured. The final portion of this blazon designates the arrangement of the lions on the shield, as there are three lions on the top row, followed by two lions, followed by the final lion at the bottom. Gerard Brault calls this final portion that indicates the positions of the charges on the shield ‘the heraldic phrase’, and he argues that it is the ‘most important’ as well as the most frequently ignored ‘innovation in blazon’.¹¹¹ ‘The heraldic phrase’ maximises descriptive accuracy and, according to Brault, it began to be used in the mid-thirteenth century.¹¹² Many blazons do not incorporate ‘the heraldic phrase’, but those that do are more precise descriptions.

Blazonry makes the meticulous illustration of coats of arms optional. It does not graphically depict the coats of arms that it describes and yet it accurately records them. Blazon is also succinct; referring to a lion’s stance as ‘rampant’ is clearer, more consistent, and more concise than describing his ‘attitude in great detail’.¹¹³ The technical nomenclature ‘made it possible to explain and discuss heraldry’, an endeavour taken on by the heralds and non-heralds who wrote the heraldic treatises which began to appear in the mid-fourteenth century.¹¹⁴ Blazon also makes ‘*trick*’, which is the technical term for an outline of a coat of arms, optional.¹¹⁵ Trick is a visual sketch of an armorial design that remains unpainted. The tinctures, or colours, that would usually be painted are instead indicated by an abbreviated label, such as an ‘a’ or ‘arg’ for ‘argent’ (silver or white), or a ‘g’ or ‘gu’

¹¹⁰ Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 210.

¹¹¹ Brault, ‘The Emergence’, p. 189.

¹¹² Brault, ‘The Emergence’, p. 189.

¹¹³ *Boutell’s Heraldry*, p. 14.

¹¹⁴ See Keen’s introduction to *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display*, ed. by Coss and Keen, p. 9. Cf. pp. 77-86.

¹¹⁵ Fox-Davies, *Art*, p. 48. Cf. Plate 3, p. 280.

for ‘gules’ (red).¹¹⁶ Trick is a shorthand method for visually recording coats of arms. It was probably developed by heralds seeking to quickly and graphically represent coats of arms, as it bypasses the need to paint tinctures. Like blazon, trick is not necessarily restricted to professional use. Both of these methods accurately communicate the appearance of coats of arms while conserving the time (and materials) that would otherwise be spent emblazoning, or fully painting, them.

1.3 Regulation

Medieval heraldry was not a codified or precise system. Until the Court of Chivalry was established in the mid-fourteenth century, the use of coat armour was largely unregulated. Early grants of arms refer to ‘the grantee’s right to display his arms “in battle and tourney” (as opposed to their domestic display, on plate or vesture or on a seal, of which nothing is said)’.¹¹⁷ A grant of arms confirms an individual’s right to use and publically display those arms, which is significant because, in general, ‘any man could assume any arms he wished, provided they were not another man’s’.¹¹⁸

In *De Insigniis et Armis*, one of the earliest known heraldic treatises, the mid-fourteenth-century Italian jurist Bartolo di Sassoferrato asserts that any man can take arms or insignia of his own volition.¹¹⁹ He also claims that ‘anyone can assume the coat of arms of another’ so long as he does not ‘affect or damage the original bearer’.¹²⁰ Adopting a coat of arms that is identical to another’s can be injurious, especially if those arms are used ‘contemptuously’, harming the original bearer’s

¹¹⁶ Fox-Davies, *Art*, p. 48. Cf. Plate 3, p. 280.

¹¹⁷ Keen, *Origins*, pp. 39-40.

¹¹⁸ Julius F. Harmon, ‘On Identical Arms in British Heraldry’, *The Coat of Arms* 58 (April 1964), 62-5 (p. 64).

¹¹⁹ *De Insigniis*, p. 145-6.

¹²⁰ *De Insigniis*, p. 146.

reputation.¹²¹ A person could ‘lodge’ a complaint against the improper use of arms if he had a ‘good reason’, such as claiming that someone is posing as him, that someone is intentionally using the arms to tarnish his reputation, or ‘to prevent one from being mistakenly killed or injured in place of another’.¹²² As long as one’s arms did not impinge upon another’s life, one was free to choose and use arms even if those arms were already in use. However, Bartolo complicates this general principle by asserting the ‘greater dignity’ of coats of arms that have been granted by a ruling authority (which, in Italy’s case, was the emperor).¹²³ Granted arms have ‘precedence’ over those taken of one’s own volition.¹²⁴ They proclaim one’s right to use a particular coat of arms in battle and in tournaments, thereby recognizing a recipient as approved by and accountable to his sovereign.

Bartolo’s tenets became foundational to heraldic practice. Writing in mid-fifteenth century London, Richard Strangways, a member of the Inner Temple, an Inn of Court, explains that ‘[t]hough a man ber myn armez in his glassewyndowe or in his baner or in his signett or in his cote armour or in any other thyng yett I may nat make no lawfull challenge to them’ unless ‘he ber myn armez in his baner or in his cote ^vpon hym^ in **þe** pleyn felde **þt** is to vndirstonde in bataylle **þan** I shall lawfully challenge them’.¹²⁵ Although it might anger the original arms bearer, unless someone else uses his arms in battle or in a tournament, and both of these instances would require a grant of arms, he has no legal grounds to issue a challenge. As Bartolo indicates, the original bearer can ‘lodge’ a complaint if he has a ‘good reason’, but whereas a grantee’s complaint could be resolved by producing a grant of arms to indicate the rightful and original bearer, the resolution

¹²¹ *De Insigniis*, p. 147.

¹²² *De Insigniis*, p. 147.

¹²³ *De Insigniis*, p. 147.

¹²⁴ *De Insigniis*, p. 148.

¹²⁵ BL MS. Harl. 2259, f. 155r.

of a complaint from someone who has not been officially granted arms would depend upon civil court proceedings, which, in England, was the prerogative of the Court of Chivalry.

References to the Court of Chivalry begin to appear in the mid-fourteenth century.¹²⁶ The Court of Chivalry was probably established towards the beginning of the Hundred Years War to adjudicate martial disputes, especially those ‘offenses don beyonde the see in tyme of werre’, as the English common law does not hold jurisdiction beyond England.¹²⁷ The Lord High Constable and the Earl Marshal presided over the Court, but the opinions of heralds and of veteran knights were heavily considered in court proceedings and often ‘regarded as decisive’.¹²⁸ The Court of Chivalry’s focus on military practice and upholding chivalric honour makes it distinctive from common law courts. Because the Law of Arms ‘was an international law’, the cases tried under it were ‘very likely’ to have ‘involve[d] parties of two different allegiances’, and the Court of Chivalry was England’s forum for hearing and settling international disputes put forth by or held against English people.¹²⁹ Richard II is the first English king who is known to have issued Ordinances of War, in 1385.¹³⁰ War ordinances regulate the war-time behaviour of soldiers, outlining the expected protocols for dealing with a variety of issues

¹²⁶ Keen, *Origins*, p. 25.

¹²⁷ *Black Book*, vol. 1, p. 281; and Keen, *Origins*, pp. 26-7.

¹²⁸ Maurice Keen, *The Laws of War in the Late Middle Ages* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), p. 16. Keen clarifies that the Lord High Constable and the Earl Marshal were both ‘originally hereditary offices’. See Keen, *Origins*, p. 29. Anthony Wagner explains that Henry VIII expired the office of the Lord Constable, but that the Earl Marshal continues to preside over the Court of Chivalry and to try Peerage cases. Wagner affirms that the Court of Chivalry ‘has not been abolished’, but that ‘no case has been brought in it since 1734’. See Wagner, *Heraldry in England*, p. 15. Actually, the last case to be brought before the Court of Chivalry was in 1954, when Manchester Corporation sued the Manchester Palace of Varieties for illegally using the corporation’s arms. See ‘The Law of Arms’, *College of Arms Website* [<http://www.college-of-arms.gov.uk/resources/the-law-of-arms>], accessed 25 June 2016].

¹²⁹ Keen, *The Laws of War*, p. 23.

¹³⁰ Maurice Keen, ‘Richard II’s Ordinances of War of 1385’, in *Rulers and Ruled in Late Medieval England: Essays presented to Gerald Harris*, ed. by Rowena E. Archer and Simon Walker (London: Hambledon Press, 1995), pp. 33-48 (p. 48); and the *Black Book*, vol. 1, pp. 453-8.

from misconduct to ransoms, safe-conducts, judicial duels, and heraldic disputes.¹³¹ Indeed, heraldic disputes were ‘most likely to arise’ on military campaigns because campaigns increased the probability that men bearing the same coats of arms would come into contact with each other, whether they were originally from places that are close to each other or far away.¹³² Different individuals using the same coat armour ‘could cause real confusion and contention’ between the individuals involved as well as their followers, and winning a claim against a perceived armorial usurper at the Court of Chivalry was a way of ensuring that one’s arms would be publically recognised as one’s exclusive property.¹³³

Although many of the Court’s cases tended to be international, the presented disputes were sometimes between English subjects. Original records are scant but a few transcripts of heraldic cases that were brought before the Court of Chivalry survive.¹³⁴ One of the Court’s more famous cases is a six-year lawsuit that began in 1385, between Richard, lord Scrope of Bolton, and Sir Robert Grosvenor of Cheshire, over the right to bear the arms *azure a bend or*.¹³⁵ Approximately 300 of the 450 depositions that were taken in this case survive, and one of these depositions was given by Geoffrey Chaucer on 15 October 1386.¹³⁶ Chaucer attested that he saw Richard Scrope bearing these arms, as well as his cousin Henry Scrope, who bore them with a label as a mark of difference, while

¹³¹ Keen, *The Laws of War*, esp. pp. 7-22.

¹³² Keen, *Origins*, p. 41.

¹³³ Keen, *Origins*, p. 41.

¹³⁴ See Keen, *Origins*, pp. 43-70, for more on the testimonies presented before the Court. Also see G. D. Squibb, *The High Court of Chivalry: A Study of the Civil Law in England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1959), p. 16.

¹³⁵ Keen, *Origins*, pp. 44-5. A transcript of the French language proceedings for this case has been published. See N. Harris Nicolas, *The Controversy between Sir Richard Scrope and Sir Robert Grosvenor in the Court of Chivalry*, 2 vols (London: Samuel Bentley, 1832).

¹³⁶ Lee Patterson, *Chaucer and the Subject of History* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), p. 180; Derek Pearsall, *The Life of Geoffrey Chaucer: A Critical Biography* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), pp. 8-11; and Peter Brown, *Geoffrey Chaucer* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 46-7. Chaucer was a herald’s son-in-law, as his wife, Philippa, was the daughter of Sir Payne Roet, Guyenne and Aquitaine King of Arms (cr. c. 1334). See *Survey*, p. 262; and Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 18.

he was in France.¹³⁷ Chaucer's deposition indicates that 'il lez vist armer par tout le dit viage tanque le dit Geffrey estoit pris' [he saw them armed for the entire [of the said] journey [campaign] in the course of which the said Geoffrey was captured [as a prisoner of war]].¹³⁸ Chaucer also confirmed that 'com long temps qe lez auncestres du dit Monsieur Richard out usez lez ditz armes' [for a long time, the ancestors of the said Monsieur Richard have used the said arms], and that 'il ad oy dire qil passe la memoir de homme' [it is said about him that they [the arms] go back beyond man's memory].¹³⁹ These are known to be Scrope's ancestral arms and they are closely affiliated with Richard Scrope. This assertion is significant because, according to the Law of Arms, a right to a coat of arms could 'be established only by proof of a grant from a lawful authority', such as a king or a king of arms, 'or by descent from one who had borne arms from time immemorial which, in the Court of Chivalry, was deemed to be 1066'.¹⁴⁰ Consequently, if a nobleman did not have a grant of arms, he could prove his unique right to bear his arms by establishing his direct line of descent from a nobleman who used the same arms at the time of the Norman Conquest. Robert Grosvenor was a knight from Cheshire who used the same arms as Scrope, and Chaucer attested to seeing these arms, which he had understood to be Scrope's arms, attributed to Grosvenor in London.¹⁴¹ This was apparently a common mishap, as some armorial designs were 'prone to crop up independently elsewhere', and although Grosvenor also claimed that his ancient ancestors used his arms, because he was 'much less distinguished' than Scrope, he eventually lost the case.¹⁴² Consequently, even though a person

¹³⁷ Pearsall, *The Life*, p. 9; and Brown, *Geoffrey Chaucer*, pp. 46-7.

¹³⁸ Qtd. in Brown, *Geoffrey Chaucer*, pp. 46-7. This is Brown's translation. I have added internal brackets to indicate my own clarifications. For a transcription of Chaucer's deposition, see Martin M. Crow and Clair C. Olson, eds., *Chaucer Life-Records* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), pp. 370-1.

¹³⁹ Crow and Olson, eds., *Chaucer Life-Records*, p. 371. This translation is mine.

¹⁴⁰ Friar and Ferguson, *Basic Heraldry*, p. 72.

¹⁴¹ Pearsall, *The Life*, p. 9.

¹⁴² Pearsall, *The Life*, p. 10.

could take a coat of arms of his own volition, the arms that were recognised as legitimate and/or that indicated a particularly noble and ancient descent took precedence. When different noblemen claimed the same arms, precedence could be established through a grant or through a more distinguished line of descent.

The Court's heraldic proceedings could lead to a claimant's winning the exclusive right to use a particular coat of arms. The losing claimant would be required to use different arms or to alter their arms enough so that they could not be confused with the winner's arms, which would necessitate more than a slight emendation to keep the losing individual from being confused with the winning individual or as a member of the winning individual's family. Heraldic trials presented before the Court of Chivalry were not restricted to people petitioning for the sole right to bear a particular coat of arms. Other types of litigations included those by men who did not have a male heir bequeathing their arms, sometimes along with their surname and their land, onto a nephew or other close family member.¹⁴³ Court proceedings could thus enable men to identify who would inherit their arms in the absence of an heir. There are also records of a couple of unique heraldic cases: in one case, from 1370, William de St Leger of Cowden, in Kent, sells his coat of arms to Sir Thomas Hoo for an unspecified amount of money, and, in the other case, from 1395, a woman named Alice lodges a complaint against William Tanner, asserting that 'he had usurped arms that were hers by hereditary right'.¹⁴⁴ Although she could not display her inherited arms as a man would, in battle or during a tournament, the fact that she sued a man who used her arms reveals the familial dignity attached to them and her desire to keep her arms exclusively associated with her family.

¹⁴³ Keen, *Origins*, pp. 38-9.

¹⁴⁴ Keen, *Origins*, p. 39 and p. 43.

Heraldic cases only represent a portion of the cases litigated at the Court of Chivalry.¹⁴⁵ As the Court was most active between ‘the second half of the fourteenth century and the first decade of the fifteenth’, these cases reflect a growing need for armorial regulation in the late medieval period.¹⁴⁶ By the beginning of the fifteenth century, this need to restrict who could bear coat armour led Henry V to impose the first official stipulations on heraldic practice. Henry V’s proclamation, which is dated 2 June 1417, was sent to the sheriffs of Hampshire, Wiltshire, Sussex, and Dorset. It states that

no man of whatsoever estate, degree or condition shall assume arms or coats (*tunicas*) of arms called ‘cotearmures’ unless he possess or ought to possess the same in right of an ancestor or by gift of one having sufficient power [...] except the men who with the king bore arms at the battle of Agencourt.¹⁴⁷

This decree limits the bearing of coat armour to those who have been officially granted arms, to those who can claim an ancient ancestral right to arms, which

¹⁴⁵ The Court of Chivalry’s records ‘do not include a single case’ of martial misconduct or desertion, and there is no evidence of the medieval Court enforcing ‘military discipline’. See Squibb, *The High Court*, pp. 7-8. However, there is evidence that the penalties for some of the Court’s cases were degrading. Prisoners of war could be shamed by reversing their arms, which entailed ‘display[ing] them upside down somewhere where they would be seen by military men who would recognise the imputation of dishonour’. See Keen, *Origins*, p. 32. Other penalties were more severe. In cases ‘where one party appealed another of treason or dishonourable conduct’, a judicial duel was held and the loser often lost his life. Similarly, traitors who were captured ‘in the course of civil wars’, such as in the Wars of the Roses, were stripped of their coat armour before being executed. For example, when passing judgement over the Lancastrian knight Sir Ralph Grey, who was captured as a traitor in 1464, the constable John Tiptoft tells the knight that his coat of arms would be torn off his body so that he ‘shouldest be as well degraded of [his] worship, noblesse and arms as of the order of knighthood’. In addition to being stripped of his arms, Grey was given another coat of arms displaying his arms reversed, which he was made to wear as he walked through the town of Bamborough, in which he was captured, and onto the scaffold on which he was executed. See Keen, *Origins*, p. 29 and pp. 35-6.

¹⁴⁶ Keen, *Origins*, p. 43.

¹⁴⁷ *Calendar of the Close Rolls: Henry V, 1413-1419*, vol. 1 (London: His Majesty’s Stationary Office, 1929), p. 433. For the Latin text of this decree, see Thomas Rymer, ed., *Foedera*, vol. 9 (London: Apud Joannem Neulme, 1739-45), p. 457. For an online edition of the Latin text, see ‘Rymer’s *Foedera* with Syllabus: April-June 1417’, *BHO*. For further discussions of this decree, see Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 64; and Maurice Keen, ‘Heraldry and Hierarchy: Esquires and Gentlemen’, in *Orders and Hierarchies in Late Medieval and Renaissance Europe*, ed. by Jeffrey Denton (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), pp. 94-108 (p. 103).

typically implies tracing their descent to a nobleman who fought during the Norman Conquest, and to those who fought with Henry V at the Battle of Agincourt, which took place two years earlier, in 1415.

Henry V's 1417 restrictions did not go unchallenged. The requirements that one should either have arms by a grant from a king, by right of ancestry, or by having fought alongside the king at the Battle of Agincourt were not contested. However, Henry V also granted heralds 'sufficient power' to confirm and grant arms, requiring an armigerous man to 'shew [his coat of arms] clearly to persons now or hereafter appointed by the king by whose gift he has [them]'.¹⁴⁸ Although anyone could still take an ensign of their own volition, these were not officially recognised as arms, but as personal marks of identification. Unlike coats of arms, personal marks do not carry affiliations with social status, lineage, and/or recognised war heroism. As Richard Strangways asserts in the mid-fifteenth century, 'Theys be neuer armys but a marke as marchawntes use for eny man^{ne} may take hym a marke but no armys w^{it}bowt an herowd'.¹⁴⁹ Yet, whereas Strangways accepts the king's extension of the power to grant arms onto heralds, Nicholas Upton, another mid-fifteenth century heraldic writer, does not. Upton argues that 'yf eny mane bere suche aremes as heraldes haythe gewyne theme, They be of no gretter auctorite thane thos whyche a mane takythe a pone hyme of hys owne powre'.¹⁵⁰ In Upton's view, heralds do not have a superior authority to grant arms.

¹⁴⁸ *Calendar of Close Rolls: Henry V*, p. 433.

¹⁴⁹ BL MS. Harl. 2259, f. 110r.

¹⁵⁰ Citations from Nicholas Upton's *De Studio Militari*, which was written in the mid-fifteenth century in Latin, will be from the single known English translation. References will cite John Blount's early sixteenth-century English translation, Bodl. Lib. MS. Eng. Misc. D. 227, as well as Craig Walker's unpublished edition of Blount's translation. See Craig G. Walker, 'An Edition with Introduction and Commentary of John Blount's English translation of Nicholas Upton's *De Studio Militari*', 2 vols (unpublished doctoral thesis, The University of Oxford, Faculty of Modern History, 1998). For the edited text, see vol. 2. For more on Upton's treatise, cf. pp. 82-4. For the extract cited above, see Bodl. Lib. MS. Eng. Misc. D. 227, f. 217v; and Walker, 'An Edition', vol. 1, p. 108, and vol. 2, p. 196.

Strangways and Upton were not heralds, but whereas Strangways, a student, respected heralds, Upton, a lawyer and cleric who served in France during the Hundred Years War, perceived heralds as equal to other men.¹⁵¹ It was common practice to adopt one's own arms until late in the fifteenth century, and despite Henry V's attempt at regulation, doing so 'was not necessarily frowned on'.¹⁵² Some people continued to perceive self-adopted arms and the arms granted by heralds as equal, although both of these options were still less weighty than arms granted by a king or acquired through right of ancestry.

The medieval practice of heraldry was largely unregulated. The Court of Chivalry began to regulate the use of arms by limiting particular arms to particular people and by advocating for armorial designs to be distinctive enough from each other that their bearers would not be confused with each other. In the practice of reversing arms, the Court also offered a process through which coat armour could be used to degrade individuals who showed themselves to be unworthy of the dignity of their armigerous status. Henry V furthered heraldic regulation in his 1417 restrictions, which sought to curb self-adopted arms and to stipulate who could bear and who could grant them. His restrictions increased the authority of heralds and, even though that authority was not always readily accepted, this official recognition probably helped to pave the way for the imaginative interest in and narrative construction of heraldry and heralds in fifteenth and early sixteenth-century heraldic texts in England.

1.4 The Development of the Heraldic Professional

¹⁵¹ For more on Strangways and Upton, cf. pp. 104-21.

¹⁵² Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 130.

It is a common assumption that heraldry is primarily the work of heralds and that they are the experts in heraldic practice. Torsten Hiltmann corrects this view; he asserts that medieval heralds ‘were not exclusively occupied by heraldry or, more precisely, coats of arms’ and that ‘heraldry was not only the business of heralds’.¹⁵³ A few examples have already been presented of people who were not heralds but who engaged with heraldry, ranging from the Italian jurist Bartolo di Sassoferrato to the London student Richard Strangways, to Nicholas Upton, who was a cleric. Heralds also engaged with heraldry, although some of them, such as Thomas Wriothesley (Garter, 1505-34), were more actively involved with it than others.¹⁵⁴

Heralds were not ‘exclusively occupied’ with identifying and recording coats of arms. Maurice Keen explains that ‘although there are a few scattered references to heralds of arms in twelfth-century texts, it is not at that stage by any means clear that heraldry [...] was as yet a principal concern of theirs’.¹⁵⁵ Prominent twentieth-century heraldic scholars such as Fox-Davies and Wagner have argued that the duties of the earliest heralds often intersected with those of minstrels.¹⁵⁶ This argument, however, is unconvincing: minstrels would have been occupied with singing, dancing, and entertaining, and these are not activities with which heralds have been associated. There may have been some official duties that heralds and minstrels shared, such as organising and facilitating events, but

¹⁵³ Hiltmann, ‘Heralds are not Heraldry’, *Heraldica Nova*.

¹⁵⁴ For a discussion of Wriothesley’s extensive manuscript collection and production, cf. pp. 217-39. Gemma Watson’s recent research on Roger Machado (Clarenceux, 1494-1510) demonstrates that he was more interested in diplomacy than in coats of arms. See Gemma L. Watson, ‘Roger Machado: A Life in Objects’, in *Writing the Lives of People and Things, AD 500-1700: A Multi-Disciplinary Future for Biography*, ed. by Robert F. W. Smith and Gemma L. Watson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2016), pp. 89-113.

¹⁵⁵ Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 125.

¹⁵⁶ Fox-Davies, *Art*, p. 12; Wagner, *Heralds and Ancestors*, pp. 8-9; and Wagner, *Heralds of England*, pp. 3-4.

this slight overlap is not enough to validate Wagner's assertion that '[t]he outside world was apt to confuse heralds with minstrels'.¹⁵⁷

Heralds were initially responsible for overseeing tournament festivities and their work would have ranged from inviting guests, publicising the events, facilitating during proceedings, and announcing the proceedings, which entailed being able to recognise tournament contestants based upon their coats of arms.¹⁵⁸ Herald also acted as messengers and, as they frequently liaised between opposing parties in times of war, they were granted diplomatic immunity.¹⁵⁹ By the fourteenth century, some heralds took advantage of this immunity and engaged in espionage. English heralds spied on the French court for Edward II, and, as Gemma Watson argues, Roger Machado (Clarenceux, 1494-1510) was probably engaged in espionage on Henry Tudor's behalf.¹⁶⁰ Herald also responsible for keeping records of scores during tournaments, recording promotions to knighthood, counting and identifying noble bodies on battlefields, organising ceremonies such as marriages and funerals, and, since Henry V's 1417 heraldic regulations, confirming and/or granting coats of arms.¹⁶¹ Herald consequently had a broad range of professional responsibilities that extended beyond identifying and recording coats of arms. However, they needed to learn about heraldry for their professional practice and they consequently came to be regarded as heraldry's 'acknowledged experts'.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁷ Wagner, *Heralds and Ancestors*, p. 9; and Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 3.

¹⁵⁸ Fox-Davies, *Art*, pp. 12-13; Wagner, *Heralds and Ancestors*, p. 8; and Wagner, *Heraldry in England*, p. 18.

¹⁵⁹ Fox-Davies, *Art*, pp. 12-13; Wagner, *Heralds and Ancestors*, p. 8; and Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 134.

¹⁶⁰ Gemma L. Watson, 'Roger Machado, Perkin Warbeck and Heraldic Espionage', *The Coat of Arms* 10. 228 (2014), 51-68 (p. 53 and pp. 61-3).

¹⁶¹ Herald would have supplemented their income by collecting fees for their services. Noble cites examples of officers of arms' fees from the fifteenth century and he asserts that they 'were considerable'. He also reveals that, in addition to their fees, heralds would have received expensive gifts in their diplomatic roles. Such 'considerable' fees and gifts would have been in addition to their yearly salaries, which would have been £40 for Garter, £20 each for provincial kings of arms, 20 'marcs' for each herald, and £10 for each pursuivant. See Noble, *A History*, pp. 47-8.

¹⁶² Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 162 and p. 134.

Heralds probably began as ‘wandering free lances, hired casually for each occasion’, but by the fourteenth century, their service became more fixed as they became affiliated with the royal and noble households that they served.¹⁶³ Most early heralds remain anonymous. By the fourteenth century, heralds were increasingly identified by their professional titles, and these titles were often taken from their employer, their employer’s badge, or their employer’s location.¹⁶⁴ For example, Anjou King of Arms served John, duke of Bedford and Anjou from 1425 to 1436, Derby Herald served Henry IV while he was earl of Derby and he became a royal herald when Henry was crowned in 1399, and March began as a private herald to Edmund Mortimer, third earl of March, in 1377, but he entered royal service after the earl’s death and became a royal King of Arms.¹⁶⁵ As Derby Herald demonstrates, heralds could follow their employers into positions of higher rank. They could also be demoted alongside their employers, as in the case of Gloucester Herald, who served the duke of Gloucester, became a King of Arms under Richard III, and had his title lapse on Henry VII’s accession.¹⁶⁶ Fifteenth-century kings positioned their private heralds as representatives of their sovereignty. Thus, ‘[s]pecific officers of arms were created with titles derived from the royal house: Lancaster King of Arms (c. 1399), Gloucester King of Arms (1483), and Richmond King of Arms (1485)’.¹⁶⁷ These heralds became kings of arms on royal accession, when they became affiliated with royal households, but this does not mean that

¹⁶³ Wagner, *Heraldry in England*, p. 18. Also see Friar and Ferguson, *Basic Heraldry*, p. 26; Fox-Davies, *Art*, p. 13; and Pastoureau, *Heraldry*, p. 74.

¹⁶⁴ Wagner, *Heraldry in England*, p. 18; and Katie Stevenson’s ‘Introduction’ to *The Herald in Late Medieval Europe*, pp. 1-8 (p. 4). Stevenson argues that these professional titles came into use in the late fourteenth century. Lester disagrees, asserting that the titles came into use in the first half of the fourteenth century, and citing among his evidence a 1327 reference to Carlisle Herald. See ‘The Literary Activity’, p. 222.

¹⁶⁵ *Survey*, p. 229, p. 249, and pp. 276-7.

¹⁶⁶ *Survey*, p. 258; and Noble, *A History*, pp. 64-5.

¹⁶⁷ Jackson W. Armstrong, ‘The Development of the Office of Arms in England, c. 1413-1485’, in *The Herald in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. by Katie Stevenson (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009), pp. 9-28 (p. 21). Also see *Survey*, p. 130, p. 258, and pp. 143-4.

their titles were not previously in use. Lancaster herald debuts in 1347, Gloucester herald served the dukes of Gloucester since at least the last quarter of the fourteenth century, and Richmond was a private herald from 1421 until 1485, when Henry VII made Roger Machado, who was then Richmond, a king of arms.¹⁶⁸ Consequently, professional titles could move between noble and royal households. Individual heralds could also move: they could shift their service from one noble household to another and they could move up or down the professional hierarchy.

The earliest records of heralds in England date from the reign of Edward I and they reveal that a professional hierarchy ‘was already in place’.¹⁶⁹ A 1276 charter refers to ‘Peter “rex hyraudaorum”’, and the king’s household accounts reveal that ‘Robert Parv[us] “regi heraldorum” and Nicholas Morell, “regi haraldorum, roi dez haraz”’ were each paid twenty shillings in 1290.¹⁷⁰ Kings of arms were attached to royal households and they had primacy over private heralds who served nobles. Heralds, in turn, had primacy over pursuivants. Pursuivants were messengers who assisted heralds and, after seven years of apprenticeship to a herald, they became eligible for promotion as heralds.¹⁷¹ Like royal heralds, who had precedence over private heralds, royally appointed pursuivants had primacy over pursuivants who served in noble households. In this way, the hierarchy of heraldic professionals moved upwards, from private pursuivants, to royal pursuivants, to private heralds, to royally appointed heralds and kings of arms. However, kings of arms attached to royal households were distinct from provincial

¹⁶⁸ *Survey*, p. 130, p. 258, and pp. 143-4.

¹⁶⁹ Armstrong, ‘The Development’, p. 9; and Wagner, *Heralds and Ancestors*, p. 9.

¹⁷⁰ Armstrong, ‘The Development’, p. 9, n. 1. As Armstrong indicates, the payments are also cited by Anstis in *Register*, vol. 1, on p. 302 and p. 319; by Wagner in *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 27 and p. 39; and by Noel Denholm-Young, *History and Heraldry 1254 to 1310: A Study of the Historical Value of the Rolls of Arms* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. 54-63 and p. 166.

¹⁷¹ Noble, *A History*, p. 70.

kings of arms, who oversaw all the heralds and the royally appointed kings of arms within their provinces. Kings of arms were responsible for recording armorial bearings and ensuring their distinctiveness, confirming armigerous ancestry, and designing, and, beginning in the fifteenth century, granting, coats of arms.¹⁷² Kings of arms were responsible for their particular regions and accountable to their corresponding provincial king. Anthony Wagner explains that '[i]n England there were at one time three provinces, those of Norroy, North of Trent, of Clarenceux, South of Trent, and of March in the West Country and Welsh marches', but that 'March vanished before 1500 and his province was divided between the other two' provincial kings.¹⁷³ This professional hierarchy for officers of arms has remained consistent from the late fifteenth century to this day.

Since the redistribution of March's province, there have been two provincial kings of arms. Clarenceux King of Arms had the more 'senior' position and his province spanned lands that were once owned by the earls of Clare.¹⁷⁴ There has been a Clarenceux King of Arms since around 1334, but the southern province was not exclusively his jurisdiction until approximately 1420.¹⁷⁵ Norroy was the second provincial King of Arms and his province was in the north, spanning up to the Scottish border.¹⁷⁶ There has been a provincial king of arms in the north since about 1276, but his title remained inconsistent until Thomas Holme was created Norroy in 1464.¹⁷⁷ Consequently, the titles and jurisdictions of the provincial kings of arms did not become standardised until the fifteenth

¹⁷² *Boutell's Heraldry*, p. 260.

¹⁷³ Wagner, *Heraldry in England*, p. 19.

¹⁷⁴ *Survey*, p. 74.

¹⁷⁵ *Survey*, pp. 74-5. Clarenceux was initially called 'surroy', which refers to his southern province. See Noble, *A History*, p. 20.

¹⁷⁶ *Survey*, p. 101.

¹⁷⁷ *Survey*, p. 101. Prior to Holme's creation as Norroy, this provincial king was variously styled 'Norroy' or 'of the north'. From Henry IV's accession, Lancaster Herald, who was at that time Richard Bruges, became the north's provincial king of arms, and Lancaster continued to serve as the provincial king until Holme was appointed Norroy. See *Survey*, p. 101 and p. 130.

century. March King of Arms began as a private herald to Edmund Mortimer and entered into royal service by 1384, after the earl's death.¹⁷⁸ He was the provincial king in the western portions of England, including Wales and Cornwall, until his title lapsed under Richard III and his position was supplanted by Gloucester.¹⁷⁹ William Ballard (cr. 1481) was the last March King of Arms.

There were six heralds in ordinary under the provincial kings of arms and they were all royally appointed. A herald 'in ordinary' was a member of the 'the Corporation of the College of Arms', and additional heralds who were created by a royal warrant were called 'Extraordinary', as they were not officially members of the College.¹⁸⁰ Some of these heralds in ordinary were also, for a time, kings of arms in royal households. The heralds of arms in ordinary were Chester, Lancaster, Richmond, Somerset, Windsor, and York.¹⁸¹ Scholars disagree about when these heralds in ordinary were created; however, except for Windsor and, possibly, York, it appears that they were instituted by royal appointment at the close of the fourteenth century or during the fifteenth century.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁸ *Survey*, p. 276.

¹⁷⁹ *Survey*, p. 277; and Fox-Davies, *Art*, p. 16.

¹⁸⁰ *CMCA*, p. xxvii.

¹⁸¹ *CMCA*, p. xxvii; and *Survey*, pp. 119-93. For more on the different types of heralds, see *Survey*; Noble, *A History*; and Fox-Davies, *Art*, pp. 12-26.

¹⁸² Edward III created Chester Herald around 1393 to serve the Prince of Wales. See *Survey*, p. 119. Chester was elevated to a king of arms upon Henry V's accession. See Noble, *A History*, p. 66. Lancaster was created in the mid-fourteenth century as a private herald and he was elevated as a royal king of arms between Henry IV's accession and 1464. Richmond was a private herald from his creation in 1421 until 1485, when he became a king of arms under Henry VII, and he has since been a herald of arms in ordinary. See *Survey*, p. 130 and pp. 143-4. Somerset began as a private herald in the mid-fifteenth century. He was a herald in ordinary by 1485 and he became a private herald again, to Henry VIII's son, Henry Fitzroy, in 1525. He returned to his status as a herald in ordinary on Fitzroy's death in 1536. See *Survey*, p. 152. Windsor is believed to have been created to serve the Order of the Garter, which was established in the mid-fourteenth century, yet there appears to have been a Windsor Herald practising since 1338, a decade earlier than the Order was founded. See *Survey*, p. 167. The first reliable reference to the final herald in ordinary is from 1484, in a payment made to John Water for his service as York Herald. Godfrey and Wagner suggest that York might have been active a bit earlier but not before the accession of Edward IV. Noble made the same point in 1804. See *Survey*, p. 182; and Noble, *A History*, p. 67. However, Fox-Davies places York's creation much earlier, as he argues that York Herald was established by Edward III when he created his son, [Edmund of Langley], as the first duke of York. See Fox-Davies, *Art*, p. 18.

Similarly, all four of the royally appointed pursuivants were created in the fifteenth century. Henry V created Bluemantle to serve the Order of the Garter, ‘from whose blue mantle the title is almost certainly derived’.¹⁸³ Henry VII created Portcullis, whose title derives from a badge that the king inherited from his mother.¹⁸⁴ Rouge Croix, whose name alludes to St George’s cross, was created in the early fifteenth century, either during Henry IV’s or Henry V’s reign.¹⁸⁵ Finally, Henry VII created Rouge Dragon, whose name alludes to the Tudor badge, in honour of his coronation.¹⁸⁶

This professional classification system ensured that officers of arms were accountable to each other for their work. Pursuivants were overseen by heralds, heralds were overseen by kings of arms, and kings of arms and heralds were overseen by provincial kings of arms. The resulting professional culture was in some ways like that of professional trade guilds, as it attempted to regulate heraldic work and who could engage in it.¹⁸⁷ Heraldic professionals also had a guild-like internal training system, as pursuivants served as apprentices to heralds and needed ‘to rise gradually from extraordinary to ordinary pursuivants, and they were to be seven years pursuivants, before they could become heralds’.¹⁸⁸ Although a herald’s authority to grant arms remained contentious throughout the fifteenth century, because of Henry V’s 1417 decree bestowing this power onto heralds, they gained some control over their craft.

¹⁸³ *Survey*, p. 193.

¹⁸⁴ *Survey*, p. 203.

¹⁸⁵ *Survey*, p. 209. Godfrey and Wagner explain that the earliest known reference to Rouge Croix by title dates from 1418-19, but he might have been active before this date.

¹⁸⁶ *Survey*, p. 219.

¹⁸⁷ For more on guilds, see Gervase Rosser, *The Art of Solidarity in the Middle Ages: Guilds in England, 1250-1550* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Linne R. Mooney and Estelle Stubbs, *Scribes and the City: London Guildhall Clerks and the Dissemination of Middle English Literature, 1375-1425* (York: York Medieval Press, 2013); and Steve Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

¹⁸⁸ Noble, *A History*, p. 70.

Heraldic professionals, like guild professionals, also had a specific professional language. Maurice Keen states that ‘the established vocabulary of blazon made it possible to explain and discuss heraldry, the colours and charges of shields, their symbolism and the nature of rights in them, at length in written treatises’.¹⁸⁹ Blazon provided the terminology with which to accurately describe and discuss heraldry. Even though non-professionals could teach themselves blazon, heralds would probably have been trained to correctly use it during their apprenticeships as pursuivants, making them the practised experts at blazon’s application.

Granting these similarities with guilds, medieval heraldic professionals perceived themselves as more analogous to a chivalric order. Throughout Western Europe, fourteenth and fifteenth-century heralds came to see themselves ‘as an international brotherhood, *Le Noble Office d’Armes*’.¹⁹⁰ According to Anthony Wagner and H. Stanford London, there was a ‘feeling then strongly prevalent that heralds were, like craftsmen in their guilds, in some sense members of one body, *l’office d’armes*, irrespective of their separate employments and allegiances’.¹⁹¹ They also assert that frequent alternation between royal and private service helped to create comradery and community between heraldic professionals.¹⁹² There appears to have been a joint professional sense of belonging to a specialised community. Jackson Armstrong clarifies that this ‘heraldic fraternity’ was not just local or national, but, ‘just like the law of arms’, international, and ‘within each sovereign

¹⁸⁹ See Keen’s ‘Introduction’ to *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display*, ed. by Coss and Keen, p. 9.

¹⁹⁰ Anthony R. Wagner and H. Stanford London, ‘Heralds of the Nobility’, in *The Complete Peerage*, ed. by Geoffrey H. White, vol. xi (London: St Catherine Press, 1949), appendix C, pp. 39-104 (pp. 44-5); Armstrong, ‘The Development’, p. 20; Wagner, *Heralds and Ancestors*, p. 52; Wagner, *Heralds of England*, pp. 40-4; and editor P. Roland’s introductory comments to Sicily Herald’s ‘S’Ensieult la fondation’, p. 49.

¹⁹¹ Wagner and London, ‘Heralds of the Nobility’, p. 45.

¹⁹² Wagner and London, ‘Heralds of the Nobility’, pp. 44-5.

realm it took on a “national” character’.¹⁹³ Consequently, although they belonged to a broader international professional coterie, all English heralds were accountable to the English crown.¹⁹⁴ This international brotherhood was not just perceived as an office, but as a noble office, *Le Noble Office d’Armes*, intimating that heraldic work served an honourable, higher purpose. Wagner explains that the ‘international character’ of this professional brotherhood ‘was a natural consequence’ of the heralds’ diplomatic duties as well as of ‘the fact that they were professional exponents of an international code of manners, that of knighthood or chivalry’.¹⁹⁵ Like the knights whose arms they had just been given the right to grant and regulate, fifteenth-century heralds understood themselves as working within their own prestigious non-martial chivalric order.

In 1415, a couple of years before he gave heralds the right to grant arms, Henry V appointed William Bruges as the first Garter King of Arms.¹⁹⁶ Edward III had established the Order of the Garter, which is the oldest and most prestigious chivalric order in England, in the mid-fourteenth century.¹⁹⁷ Bruges’ appointment was the first time that a king of arms was attached to a chivalric order rather than to a royal household.¹⁹⁸ Being affiliated with the highest order of knighthood in England increased the prestige of the heraldic profession. Bruges’ appointment also set a second precedent, as ‘it was the first time that the holder of

¹⁹³ Armstrong, ‘The Development’, p. 20.

¹⁹⁴ Armstrong, ‘The Development’, p. 20.

¹⁹⁵ Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 43.

¹⁹⁶ *Survey*, pp. 39-40. Before he was created as Garter, William Bruges served as Chester Herald from 1398 and, from 1413, as Guyenne King of arms, who was responsible for overseeing the English provinces in south western France. See *Survey*, p. 40; and Adrian Ailes, ‘Bruges, William (c. 1375-1450), herald’, *ODNB*.

¹⁹⁷ See Hugh E. L. Collins, *The Order of the Garter, 1348-1461: Chivalry and Politics in Late Medieval England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); and Stephanie Trigg, *Shame and Honor: A Vulgar History of the Order of the Garter* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012). Although they are more antiquated accounts, also see Ashmole, *Institution* (1672), and Anstis, *Register* (1724).

¹⁹⁸ *Survey*, p. 38; Armstrong, ‘The Development’, p. 22; and Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 62.

a particular [heraldic] title was designated as *ex officio* doyen of the office of arms'.¹⁹⁹ As Garter King of Arms, William Bruges was responsible for supervising all the other English heralds; he had seniority over provincial kings of arms, heralds, and pursuivants.²⁰⁰ However, being King of Arms 'of the English', Garter did not have a province.²⁰¹ Bruges' medieval successors were his son-in-law, John Smert (Garter, 1450-78), John Writhe (Garter, 1478-1504), and Writhe's son, Sir Thomas Wriothesley (Garter, 1505-34), all manuscript collectors.²⁰²

Guilds were sometimes granted civic arms in recognition of their corporate status and their professional quality and legitimacy. The patent that William Bruges granted to the Drapers' Company of London on 10 March 1439 is the earliest known grant of arms made by a heraldic professional.²⁰³ However, 'between then and the end of the century no fewer than twenty-eight grants were issued by the heralds to London companies'.²⁰⁴ Heraldry became increasingly active granting coats of arms during the second half of the fifteenth century. Moreover, like these guilds to which they granted patents, English heralds were also incorporated in the second half of the fifteenth century.

¹⁹⁹ *Survey*, p. 38. Godfrey and Wagner clarify that, before Bruges' appointment, 'now one, now another officer was "roy d'armes d'Angleterre"', though it is not clear whether this primacy was acquired by seniority or by royal favour' (p. 38). Bruges' most immediate precursor was his father, Richard Bruges, who served John of Gaunt as Lancaster Herald before being elevated to Lancaster King of Arms by 1392. Upon Henry IV's accession to the throne, he became 'Lancaster, king of the north', acting as Norroy before the title was standardised and, possibly, also as 'doyen of the English heralds'. See *Survey*, p. 103. If he did act as doyen, overseeing all the heralds and kings of arms, then his position directly anticipated Garter's creation.

²⁰⁰ See *Boutell's Heraldry*, p. 260; Wagner, *Heralds and Ancestors*, p. 52; and *CEMRA*, p. xxvii.

²⁰¹ Ailes, 'Ancient Precedent', p. 29; and Wagner, *Heralds of England*, pp. 161-5. Garter's lack of a province led to a contentious dispute in 1530 between Garter and Clarenceux over whether Garter has any jurisdiction to grant and confirm arms in Clarenceux's province. Clarenceux eventually won. For more on this dispute, see Ailes, 'Ancient Precedent', pp. 29-39; Wagner, *Heralds of England*, pp. 161-5; and Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, pp. 83-99.

²⁰² Cf. pp. 217-39.

²⁰³ Wagner, *Historic Heraldry*, p. 21; Friar and Ferguson, *Basic Heraldry*, p. 130; and *HCEC*, p. 55, no. 62. Also see Marks and Payne, *British Heraldry*, pp. 58-9 and, for a copy of the original patent, p. 63, entry no. 111.

²⁰⁴ Marks and Payne, *British Heraldry*, p. 58.

English heralds held a Chapter meeting at Rouen in 1420/1 at which they agreed to adopt a common seal, to recognise Garter's supremacy, and to include private heralds 'as brethren' who would be 'permitted a seat in the chapter according to the dignity of their master'.²⁰⁵ Some organisational structure was therefore already in place before 1484, when officers of arms were officially incorporated by Richard III, who founded the College of Arms.²⁰⁶ The College 'was (and remains) a body corporate comprising the Officers of Arms in Ordinary', who are also members of the royal household.²⁰⁷ Incorporation enabled heralds to 'partition fees paid to the office as a whole', 'regulate their own professional conduct', 'have their books preserved on record', and acquire property.²⁰⁸ Richard III granted heralds a house called Coldharbour in which 'to keep their records' and to engage in their studies.²⁰⁹ Henry VII annulled this incorporation when he defeated Richard the next year, and it was not until Mary Tudor gave the heralds a charter in 1555 that they acquired their current official corporate home, which is

²⁰⁵ Armstrong, 'The Development', p. 26. Wagner explains that French heralds organised themselves a bit earlier. They 'won the use of a chapel in the Royal palace in Paris' in 1407, where they worked and kept their books, and Wagner suggests that English heralds were inspired to become organised as well. See Wagner, *Heralds and Ancestors*, p. 52; and *RCCA*, pp. 8-9. Adrian Ailes clarifies that the common seal that English heralds agreed upon has never 'been discovered'. See Ailes, 'Ancient Precedent', p. 39.

²⁰⁶ Armstrong makes this argument in 'The Development', p. 26. For more on the foundation of the College of Arms, see *Survey*, pp. 1-36; *RCCA*, pp. 8-15; *CMCA*, pp. xii-xiii; and Noble, *A History*, esp. pp. 54-5. For the original charter of incorporation, see BL MS. Cotton Faustina E. I, ff. 30v-1r.

²⁰⁷ Friar and Ferguson, *Basic Heraldry*, p. 70.

²⁰⁸ Armstrong, 'The Development', p. 25; and Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 123.

²⁰⁹ Wagner, *Heralds and Ancestors*, p. 52. Coldharbour was located at what is now 89 Upper Thames Street, in London. See Noble, *A History*, pp. 54-5; *RCCA*, p. 9; and *Survey*, p. 1. Coldharbour had a distinguished history. In the mid-fourteenth century, it was the home of William de Montagu, earl of Salisbury, and of Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford. Henry IV lived there in 1400 and Henry V lived there as the Prince of Wales. Margaret of Burgundy stayed at Coldharbour during her visit to England in 1480, revealing that the house was still highly respected and associated with the aristocracy just a few years before it was given to the heralds. See *Survey*, p. 1; and Noble, *A History*, pp. 54-5. George Squibb (Norfolk Herald Extraordinary, cr. 1959) suggests that the impetus for incorporation was to allow heraldic officers to acquire Coldharbour. See G. D. Squibb, ed., *Munimenta Heraldica 1484-1984*, n. s. vol. 4 (London: The Harleian Society, 1985), pp. 1-2. Armstrong also cites Squibb's point in 'The Development', on p. 25.

called Derby Place, and which became the College of Arms.²¹⁰ Despite their lack of corporate status during the early Tudor years, heralds remained active members of the royal household. Mark Noble argues that the College, ‘at no time since its establishment, was in higher estimation, nor in fuller employment’, than it was during Henry VIII’s reign, with the king even appointing lodging in Windsor Castle to be permanently reserved for the active Garter.²¹¹ Consequently, as Armstrong observes, incorporation had ‘minimal significance’ to the development of the heraldic profession.²¹²

From freelance work to noble and royal households, to obtaining the right to grant arms, and, eventually, incorporation, the development of the heraldic professional reveals an increase in prestige that is matched by an increase in regulation.

²¹⁰ Noble, *A History*, p. 55; *RCCA*, p. 12; and *Survey*, pp. 1-2. Henry VII gave Coldharbour to his mother, Margaret Beaufort. Derby Place, which is now the College of Arms, is located at 130 Queen Victoria Street, in London, near St Paul’s Cathedral.

²¹¹ Noble, *A History*, p. 101 and p. 104.

²¹² Armstrong, ‘The Development’, p. 24.

Chapter 2

The Practical and the Playful:

An Introduction to Late Medieval Heraldic Texts and Textual Culture

Heraldic texts provide us with a range of sources that reflect upon the practice and profession of heraldry. I do not intend for this chapter to repeat the work of cataloguers and writers who have already compiled descriptive lists of known heraldic texts.²¹³ Instead, this chapter introduces different types of heraldic texts: rolls of arms and treatises. Rolls of arms, which are also called armorials, are painted, blazoned, and/ or tricked records of particular groups of coats of arms. Treatises concentrate on legal and practical martial and heraldic regulation. Although such categorization can be limiting and unsatisfactory, it can also be useful for distinguishing textual features. Armorials visually record heraldry while treatises present martial and heraldic literature. I shall also be considering some heraldic texts that are compiled in miscellanies. Miscellanies contain a range of texts that are usually thematically related, and they were another medium in which heraldic texts, including armorials and treatises, circulated.

This chapter will demonstrate that, in addition to their more practical components, several heraldic texts engage with heraldry more imaginatively than scholars have thus far acknowledged. My introduction to heraldic texts will be selective, not exhaustive. The texts that are overviewed have been selected because they represent certain types of heraldic writing. The treatises discussed have been chosen because they are key treatises that have been influential on medieval heraldic writing and heraldic culture as well as because of their content, as they frequently present narratives that intersect with late medieval chivalric and literary

²¹³ See *CEMRA*; *CMCA*; Denny, *The Heraldic Imagination*, esp. pp. 212-17; and Keiser, *A Manual*, pp. 3709-12.

cultures. The miscellanies that are introduced have been selected because their content exemplifies the diverse ways that heraldic writing draws upon chivalric and literary tropes and themes. Most of the treatises and miscellanies introduced in this chapter will be further examined in subsequent chapters.

2.1 What is a Heraldic Text?

Any text that incorporates a coat of arms is not necessarily heraldic. For instance, including a book plate or a textual illumination that depicts an owner's arms is functionally heraldry, as it affirms the identity and status of the armigerous individual. Unlike coats of arms, heraldic texts are reflective; they self-consciously focus on the art, the practice, and the profession of heraldry. Whether they are recording coats of arms or participants in events, as rolls of arms do, discussing heraldic procedures and regulations or outlining various elements of heraldic design, as treatises do, or compiling a range of information about heraldry together with other materials that consequently become contextually affiliated with heraldry, as miscellanies do, heraldic texts treat heraldry self-reflexively. They are self-referential, self-analysing, and, by creating a textual tradition about heraldry and heralds, self-constructing.

Scholars have not yet explicitly acknowledged the self-reflexivity of heraldic texts; instead, they have broadly categorised the texts as practical. George Keiser includes heraldic texts in his catalogue of Middle English scientific and practical treatises, and he concedes that 'surprisingly few have been exploited for their historical, literary, or linguistic interest'.²¹⁴ Keiser identifies the heraldic texts that he catalogues generally, as treatises, even though, as he acknowledges, some

²¹⁴ Keiser, *A Manual*, p. 3709.

of them are short legendary tracts and three of them are poems.²¹⁵ To be clear, some treatises are presented as poems or as tracts. Short treatises are sometimes called tracts. A heraldic tract usually excludes discussions on the art of war and focuses on heraldic practice and design. Heraldic tracts typically draw upon information gleaned from earlier treatises. As will be discussed, some treatises and tracts also contain more imaginative components, including verse, heraldic origin legends, and narratives about historical and legendary chivalric figures. These forms of writing are not mutually exclusive and often overlap. In some texts, origin legends and chivalric narratives are presented as poems, and in others, romance and allegory playfully interact. Consequently, labelling the variety of textual materials and writing traditions that are presented in treatises and tracts as practical detracts from their creative diversity.

Some medieval heraldic texts are intended for practical use while others have a veneer of potential practicality. For example, armorials, which depict the coats of arms of particular groups of individuals, were useful as historical records. Similarly, treatises contain sections delineating the different types of heraldic tinctures (colours) and charges, as well as their potential symbolic significance, and this information can have instructive application. The texts were repositories of specialist knowledge and, therefore, they were instructional to professionals, amateurs, and enthusiasts alike.²¹⁶ Other sections of heraldic texts position

²¹⁵ Keiser, *A Manual*, pp. 3709-12.

²¹⁶ For more on practical texts, see Keiser, *A Manual*, pp. 3595-8; George R. Keiser, 'Practical Books for the Gentleman', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: 1400-1557*, ed. by Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 470-94; Emily Steiner, *Documentary Culture and the Making of Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Lisa H. Cooper, 'The Poetics of Practicality', in *Middle English*, ed. by Paul Strohm, Oxford Twenty-First Century Approaches to Literature (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 491-505; and Linne R. Mooney, 'Manuscript evidence for the Use of Medieval English Scientific and Utilitarian Texts', in *Interstices: Studies in Middle English and Anglo-Latin Texts in Honour of A. G. Rigg*, ed. by Richard F. Green and Linne R. Mooney (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), pp. 184-202.

themselves as of practical application even if they probably were not. For instance, attributions of coats of arms to the Nine Worthies are ultimately fanciful despite their historical posturing. Attributed coats of arms were presented as practical historical records, and these fictitious arms are often displayed alongside the coats of arms of historical chivalric figures. These textual curiosities were valued for the imaginative ways that they enabled heraldic practice to intersect with historical and legendary chivalric culture. At the same time, the more practical components of heraldic texts also have an imaginative appeal, as descriptions of the significance of various heraldic tinctures and charges can be as creative as they are instructive.²¹⁷ For example, treatise writers disagree on whether gold, which is professionally called *or*, or silver, which is called *argent*, is the noblest heraldic metal, and they offer creative explanations to support their preference, ranging from Bartolo di Sassoferrato's assertion that gold is the closest colour to the sun's light to Richard Strangways' preference for silver because it can be seen from the greatest distance on a coat of arms.²¹⁸

It is generally conjectured that medieval heraldic texts were produced by or for heralds. Jean-Pascal Pouzet has argued that '[a] sizable proportion of library and archival books were predominantly "in-house" products'.²¹⁹ As heralds were private officers in noble and royal households, they probably created and maintained the heraldic records that were produced in their particular households. However, especially before the fifteenth century, the authorship of most heraldic texts cannot be discerned. In 1902, Oswald Barron denounced medieval heraldic

²¹⁷ Denny focuses on the imaginative playfulness of heraldic charges and their attributed significance in *The Heraldic Imagination*, esp. in his chapters on heavenly charges, hybrid human-monster charges, and beastly charges (pp. 89-195).

²¹⁸ *De Insigniis*, p. 153. For Strangways' view, see BL MS. Harl. 2259, f. 157v.

²¹⁹ Jean-Pascal Pouzet, 'Book Production Outside Commercial Contexts', in *The Production of Books in England, 1350-1500*, ed. by Alexandra Gillespie and Daniel Wakelin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 212-38 (p. 222).

texts as the unprofessional and unscientific works of ‘Master Mumblazon’, a figure representative of those writers of heraldic texts who were not heralds, from Bartolo di Sassoferrato, who was a jurist, to Nicholas Upton, who was a jurist and a cleric, to the clerics known as John de Bado Aureo and Juliana Berners, whose textual authorship has been attributed with uncertainty.²²⁰ Barron’s denunciation draws attention to the incongruence of attributing a mastery of heraldic knowledge to an assortment of enthusiasts who had not been professionally trained in heraldic regulation and practice. His derogatory tone when referring to these writers as ‘mumblazon’ highlights their ineptitude, as blazon is the professional language of heraldry, and these writers, whom Barron perceived as impostures, had not been professionally trained in the materials that they pretended to have mastered. More recently, in 2012, Torsten Hiltmann questioned the assumed origins and authorship of heraldic texts, emphasising their intentional and frequently groundless attributions to heralds as a means of ascribing authority.²²¹ Hiltmann highlights the circular logic of assuming that medieval heraldic texts were written by heralds because they were the professionals, pointing towards texts authored by jurists and clerics not, as Barron did, with disparagement, but with celebration, perceiving them as rich contributions toward a more precise interrogation of the

²²⁰ Oswald Barron, ‘Heraldry Revived’, *The Ancestor* 1 (1902), 36-57 (p. 38). There is some contention around John de Bado Aureo’s identity. Translating his name from Latin to English, he is alternatively called John of Guildford. Jones suggests that this is a pseudonym and that the man was really a lawyer and cleric named Sion Trevor (d. 1410). See Evan Jones, ed., *Medieval Heraldry: Some Fourteenth Century Heraldic Works* (Cardiff: William Lewis, 1943), pp. 9-16; and Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 67. Julia Boffey explains that *The Boke of St Albans* is attributed to Juliana Berners in the explicit to the tract on hunting, but that this attribution is not evident in the text’s surviving manuscript copies (LPL MS. 491, and Bodl. Lib. MS. Rawl. poet. 143). She further clarifies that the manuscripts that do include the attribution are copied from printed editions, which compromises the trustworthiness of the attribution’s originality. See Julia Boffey, ‘Berners, Juliana (fl. 1460)’, *ODNB*. Berners’ attribution is to the tract on hunting; even if this attribution were trustworthy, it would not necessarily extend her supposed authorship to the other tracts in the text.

²²¹ Hiltmann, ‘La paternité’, pp. 59-83. Hiltmann stresses that ‘même les attributions que l’on croyait les plus certaines s’avèrent fausses’ (p. 60).

relationship between heralds and heraldry.²²² Heralds probably wrote some medieval heraldic texts but they did not write all of them.

Heraldic texts demonstrate the existence of a broad reading interest in the culture and application of heraldry. Keiser proposes that ‘such information as these treatises made available would readily be seen as useful to all the landholding classes, including merchants, in fulfilling their responsibilities and social pretensions’.²²³ His insight reveals that medieval readers and owners of practical texts acquired more than guidance on the manners, behaviours, and specialised interests of the social class to which they belonged or to which they aspired to belong. By possessing or owning a practical text, these readers were already brought closer to achieving their social pretensions, as the text itself signified a particularly niche interest and generated social prestige even if it remained on a shelf and was not often used or read.

Indeed, heraldic texts appealed to a range of medieval readers. As will become evident, these texts were predominantly used by heraldic professionals, amateurs, and enthusiasts, by jurists and clerics, and by gentlemen and aristocrats who had an interest in chivalric culture. Readers of heraldic texts who were not heraldic professionals might have approached them as practical texts and specialised entertainment, but they might also have valued them as reflections on the inner workings of chivalric culture. In addition, the heraldic texts that include imaginative elements, such as legendary and chivalric narratives and poems, would have had a different type of appeal to readers that was probably analogous to that of romance. Like a heraldic text’s practical qualities, these imaginative components

²²² Hiltmann, ‘Heralds are Not Heraldry’, *Heraldica Nova*.

²²³ Keiser, *A Manual*, p. 3596.

would have distinguished a reader's taste as niche and as aligned with noble and chivalric reading vogues.

Like modern readers, medieval readers probably used their texts in a variety of ways for diverse purposes. As Julia Boffey and A. S. G. Edwards caution, 'any reconstruction' of the ways that medieval readers used books 'is, at best, speculation'.²²⁴ This difficulty is partly because the 'availability or popularity of texts has in general to be deduced from the very fallible evidence of the numbers of surviving copies,' and partly because knowledge about readers depends upon frequently 'untrustworthy' prefatory information and internal manuscript annotations.²²⁵ Boffey and Edwards are not specifically discussing heraldic texts, but their scepticism of the possibility of reconstructing medieval reading practices applies equally to medieval readers of heraldic texts. Although it is not always 'trustworthy', some information about a text's reader can be ascertained in dedications and annotations, considering ownership inscriptions, being attentive to translations and who is engaging in them, and examining clues about textual circulation. When it is available, evidence for the author, owner, or reader of a heraldic text will be discussed as each text is introduced.

2.2 Rolls of Arms

Rolls of arms, which are also called armorials, are a type of heraldic text, and they record painted, blazoned, and/or tricked coats of arms in groups that are historically or thematically related. Anthony Wagner explains that '[r]olls of arms is the generic name given to medieval manuscript records of armorial bearings'.²²⁶

²²⁴ Julia Boffey and A. S. G. Edwards, 'Literary Texts', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: 1400-1557*, ed. by Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 555-75 (p. 556).

²²⁵ Boffey and Edwards, 'Literary Texts', p. 556.

²²⁶ *CEMRA*, p. xi.

He further clarifies that some rolls are actually ‘long rolls of vellum’ while others are books, and that, in most cases, ‘we possess no originals at all, whether roll or book, but merely copies made by heralds and others in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries from originals which have since perished or been lost’.²²⁷ Some rolls of arms were copied earlier than the sixteenth century. According to Friar and Ferguson, there are 350 known surviving European rolls of arms, of which 130 were produced in England.²²⁸ Steen Clemmensen updates these numbers, asserting that there are 419 known surviving medieval armorials, and that 194 of these were produced or copied in the medieval period.²²⁹ Indeed, many pre-fifteenth century rolls survive because heralds and others copied them in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

The proliferation of rolls of arms in England from the mid-thirteenth century attests to a rising interest in martial records. Many thirteenth-century rolls of arms do not survive in their original form. The Matthew Paris Shields offer a rare example of four thirteenth-century variant witnesses, as well as a thirteenth-century copy of one of them.²³⁰ The original Dering Roll (c. 1275), which lists knights of Kent and Essex and is currently housed in the College of Arms, also survives, as does its fifteenth-century copy, its seven sixteenth-century copies, its three seventeenth-century copies, and the twentieth-century copy that Anthony Wagner made from the original in 1938.²³¹ In some cases, as with Glover’s Roll (c. 1255), Charles’ Roll (c. 1285), and St George’s Roll (c. 1285), later copies attest

²²⁷ Wagner, *Historic Heraldry*, p. 24.

²²⁸ Friar and Ferguson, *Basic Heraldry*, p. 50. For catalogues of rolls of arms, see *CEMRA*, *Aspilogia II*, *Aspilogia III*, and *CMCA*.

²²⁹ Clemmensen, *Editing Armorial I*, p. 13.

²³⁰ *CEMRA*, pp. 1-3. The four manuscripts are: BL MS. Royal 14 C. VII (c. 1250-9); BL MS. Cotton Nero D. I, ff. 170r-v (c. 1244), which was copied in the sixteenth century in BL MS. Harl. 246, f. 15r; CCCC MS. 26 (c. 1253), of which, unusually, a thirteenth-century copy survives (BL MS. Cotton Nero D. V); and CCCC MS. 16 (c. 1253).

²³¹ *CEMRA*, pp. 14-16. The original Dering Roll was Phillips MS. 31146 before it was purchased for the College of Arms.

to the existence of a lost original.²³² A fragment survives of the original Herald's Roll (CA MS. B. 29, pp. 20-7, c. 1270-80), and it survives because the vellum was cut into pieces in the sixteenth century and the individual coats of arms—including those of kings, knights, and characters from chronicles and romance such as Gawain, Roland, and Bevis—were mounted onto paper, although not in their original order.²³³ The surviving fragment of the late thirteenth-century original is now comprised of 195 shields, which, in comparison with the 697 shields included in FM MS. 297, a fifteenth-century copy of a fourteenth-century copy of this roll, reveals how much has been excised during the editing cut-and-paste process.

As the above examples demonstrate, rolls of arms present a range of records. To more precisely classify these records, Wagner creates sub-generic categories for armorials based on their content. He categorises rolls of arms as 'occasional' (the arms of those who were present at a particular event); 'general' (the arms of the armigerous community, hierarchically ordered from royalty to the nobility, to knights and esquires); 'local' (the arms of a particular region or county); 'illustrative' (non-heraldic documents that include arms as marginal illustrations; not as heraldry, but as a record of heraldry); and 'ordinary' (arms that are grouped together according to common features).²³⁴ Each of these categories reflects upon

²³² *CEMRA*, pp. 3-7, 21-3, and 19-21. Consider the following sixteenth-century copies of now lost originals: a copy of Cooke's version of Glover's Roll is WP MS. 16, ff. 10r-16v; Robert Glover's blazoned copy of Harvy's version, a lost roll dated c. 1255, is now CA MS. L. 14, ff. 38r-42r; and a copy of St George's version, a lost roll dated c. 1258, is BL MS. Add. 29796. Similarly, the earliest surviving version of Charles' Roll is SA MS. 517, which is a fifteenth-century copy of the late thirteenth-century work. Two sixteenth-century copies of this work are CA MS. Vincent 174, ff. 1r-16r, and BL MS. Add. 4965, ff. 10r-25r. St George's Roll is very similar to Charles' Roll, but it orders its arms differently. The earliest known copies of this roll date from the second half of the sixteenth century. Their shelf marks are CA MS. Vincent 164, ff. 1r-21v, and QC MS. 158, ff. 113r-55r.

²³³ *CMCA*, pp. 221-3. The Herald's Roll fragment is now bound in a volume containing three original medieval rolls, all presented as pieces of the original vellum mounted on paper leaves. The other two rolls contained in the volume are the Talbot banners (c. 1442), which stand out because of their late medieval date, and Povey's Roll, which dates from the first portion of the fourteenth century, and is distinct because it is a unique witness, being both original and the only surviving version of the work.

²³⁴ *CEMRA*, pp. xiv-xv, and Wagner, *Historic Heraldry*, pp. 24-5. Also see *Boutell's Heraldry*, p. 271.

the practice of heraldry. *Armorial*s catalogue arms. They tend not to contain imaginative features in the way that treatises and heraldic writing compiled in miscellanies do. As they began to circulate in the second half of the thirteenth century, rolls of arms predate heraldic treatises, which appear in the fourteenth century, and miscellanies, which become popular in the fifteenth century. This evidence suggests that the penchant for incorporating imaginative elements into heraldic texts is a late medieval trend.²³⁵

2.3 Treatises

Treatises, on the other hand, concentrate on legal and practical martial and heraldic regulation. They reflect on a range of topics from who can bear arms to how arms should be designed and the significance of different elements of heraldic design. Denny explains that treatises discuss ‘the technicalities and practice of armory’.²³⁶ They can also theorise ‘on the laws and art of war’, although such theory is usually accompanied by a ‘short section on armory’, and they sometimes include information about a herald’s duties.²³⁷ Treatises are practical and theoretical texts. Their more theoretical components might aspire towards practicality, as in discussions about what comprises nobility or what constitutes the noblest heraldic tincture (colour), but these discussions are not practical to the same degree as are instructions on how to use blazon and the names and appearances of different heraldic charges.

²³⁵ *The Herald’s Roll* (CA MS. B. 29, pp. 20-7), which includes the arms of chronicle and romance characters alongside historical arms, makes room for imaginative components in heraldic records, in some ways anticipating later medieval approaches to heraldic textual creation. However, this approach is rare in pre-fifteenth century armorials.

²³⁶ Denny, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 212.

²³⁷ Denny, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 212.

Medieval heraldic treatises were predominantly written by jurists and clerics. They were widely circulated and frequently copied, especially by those who compiled heraldic miscellanies. Treatises and miscellanies contain a wealth of materials that borrow from other types of writing. Consideration of a few key treatises and of the distinguishing characteristics of heraldic miscellanies illustrates that their variety contributes to their wide appeal. These materials are also important because they are self-reflective. They offer insight into the ways that late medieval heraldic writers understood and imagined heraldry and heralds.

One of the earliest known heraldic treatises is the Italian jurist Bartolo di Sassoferrato's mid-fourteenth century *De Insigniis et Armis* (c. 1355).²³⁸ Bartolo's text 'is transmitted in about 100 manuscripts' and it 'became an authoritative source' on heraldic jurisprudence.²³⁹ Its thirty-three chapters cover a range of topics from the need to regulate the use of arms to the significance of heraldic emblems. Bartolo's work influenced other heraldic writers, including Honoré Bouvet, the Benedictine who wrote the late fourteenth-century French treatise *L'Arbre des Batailles* (*The Tree of Battles*, c. 1380s).²⁴⁰ Like Bartolo's treatise, Bouvet's

²³⁸ *De Insigniis*, pp. 145-57. For an older edition, see Jones, ed., *Medieval Heraldry*, pp. 226-52. Bartolo's work was the earliest known treatise until 1967, when Ruth Dean discovered the Anglo-Norman *De Heraudie*, which was copied into the 'St Alban's Formulary' (CUL MS. Ee. iv. 20, ff. 160v-61v) sometime after 1382. For more on this treatise, see Ruth Dean, 'An Early Treatise on Heraldry in Anglo-Norman', in *Romance Studies in Memory of Edward Billings Ham*, ed. by Urban T. Holmes, no. 2 (Hayward: California State College Publications, 1967), pp. 21-9. Gerard Brault dates the Anglo-Norman text to the mid-fourteenth century, arguing that much of it was copied from the late thirteenth-century Herald's Roll. See Gerard Brault, 'The Relationship between the Herald's Roll, Grimaldi's Roll and the Dean Tract', *The Coat of Arms*, n. s. 1 (1975), 211-20. Dennys suggests that the treatise was probably written c. 1300, that it may have been inspired by the Herald's Roll, and that it was possibly even compiled by the same person. See Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 61 and p. 212. Although I will not be focusing on *De Heraudie*, it is relevant to this discussion because it might be earlier than Bartolo's work.

²³⁹ *A Grammar of Signs: Bartolo da Sassoferrato's Tract on Insignia and Coats of Arms*, ed. by Osvaldo Cavallar, Susanne Degenring, and Julius Kirshner, Studies in Comparative Legal History (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), p. 2.

²⁴⁰ George W. Coopland has edited and translated Bouvet's treatise. See *Tree of Battles*. The author's name is variously spelled 'Bouvet' and 'Bonet', but as his work is originally in French, I will be using the French spelling.

treatise circulated widely.²⁴¹ It was popular enough in England for Richard Strangways to offer a Latin extract of the text in his mid-fifteenth-century heraldic miscellany.²⁴² In his treatise, Bouvet reflects upon a variety of martial subjects from just war theory to the ideal qualities of a knight. He also addresses practical martial concerns such as how to treat prisoners, monetary compensation, and, in a section lifted ‘almost verbatim’ from Bartolo, who is not acknowledged, heraldic regulation and armorial design.²⁴³

The earliest known heraldic treatise that was produced in England is John de Bado Aureo’s *Tractatus de Armis*, which was written in Latin towards the end of the fourteenth century (c. 1394-5).²⁴⁴ In the treatise’s introduction, de Bado Aureo reveals that he writes at the request of ‘dame Anne, sumtyme queen of Englund’,

²⁴¹ Coopland identifies forty-nine manuscript copies, most of which are in French. See *Tree of Battles*, p. 218. Gilbert of the Haye translated Bouvet’s work into Scots English in 1456, and this was the closest to an English version that the treatise came until Coopland’s 1949 edition. See *Gilbert of the Haye’s Prose Manuscript (A. D. 1456): The Buke of the Law of Armyis, or Buke of Bataillis*, ed. by J. H. Stevenson, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1901), esp. p. lxxvii; and *Tree of Battles*, esp. p. 218.

²⁴² See *Strangways’ Booke* (BL MS. Harl. 2259, ff. 20v-21r). Also cf. p. 95.

²⁴³ *Tree of Battles*, esp. chapters 85-129 (pp. 179-206); and Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, pp. 64-5.

²⁴⁴ The British Library holds three fifteenth-century copies of the *Tractatus de Armis*. Of these, two are of the version Edward Bysshe printed in 1654 (BL MS. Add. 37526 (ff. 9r-27r) and BL MS. Add. 29901 (ff. 60r-79r)). See Edward Bysshe, ed., *Nicolai Vptoni, De Studio Militari, Libri Quatuor, Iohan. de Bado Aureo, Tractatus de Armis, Henrici Spelmanni, Aspilogia* (London: Johannis Martin & Jacobi Allestrye, 1654). As Evan Jones notes in *Medieval Heraldry*, ‘[t]he former does not mention the name of the author, and the latter, which agrees more closely with Bysshe’s printed version, mentions the author as *De Bado Aureo*’ (p. xviii, n. 1). John de Bado Aureo’s treatise is the second text in Bysshe’s edition, pp. 1-45 (each text’s pagination begins at ‘1’). Jones also prints this version of the treatise on pp. 95-143. For a French translation, see BL MS. Stowe 668 (ff. 52v-74v). My citations from this treatise will be drawn from the single known English translation, in Bodl. Lib. MS. Laud. Misc. 733 (ff. 1r-17v). This translation is followed in the mid-to-late fifteenth century manuscript by a *Brut* chronicle (ff. 18r-168v). An English translation of this treatise has not yet been published. Jones initially identified MS. Laud. Misc. 733 as a copy of John’s ‘Tretis on Armes’, to which I will return, but he did so without consulting the manuscript, noting that it had been ‘placed in safety for the duration’ of WWII (p. 213, esp. n. B). H. Stanford London, writing a decade after Jones, relates that he asked P. S. Spokes to consult the manuscript, and that ‘in reality it is merely an English version of de Bado Aureo’s *Tractatus*’, and that the colophon explicitly attributes the text to ‘Johannem de Vade Aurio’. See H. Stanford London, ‘Some Medieval Treatises on English Heraldry’, *The Antiquaries Journal* 33. 3 (1953), 169-83 (p. 170). Also see Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 67 and p. 213. The third manuscript, which was copied, according to the opening note, in 1449, is, as Evan Jones observes, closer to Upton’s treatise, which had been written a few years earlier (c. 1446). See BL MS. Add. 28791. The opening note indicates that the text was written ‘anno Domini millesimo CCCC° XLIX° regnique Regis Henrici Sexti...’ (f. 5r). See Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 68; and Jones, ed., *Medieval Heraldry*, p. xviii, n. 1, and p. 144. Jones prints this version of the treatise on pp. 144-212.

and scholars agree that this is probably a reference to Richard II's queen, Anne of Bohemia, who died in 1394.²⁴⁵ The queen's request for the creation of a treatise reveals that heraldic texts interested and were appreciated by a variety of readers—including female readers.

Indeed, Anne of Bohemia is not an isolated example of a woman who had an interest in heraldic texts. For example, the *Talbot-Shrewsbury Book* (BL MS. Royal 15 E. VI, c. 1444-5) was a gift from John Talbot, the first earl of Shrewsbury, to Margaret of Anjou in honour of her betrothal to Henry VI.²⁴⁶ In addition to romances and chronicles, the miscellany contains texts that are related to heraldry, including a copy of Bouvet's treatise (ff. 293r-325v), statutes of the Order of the Garter (ff. 439r-40v), and Christine de Pisan's treatise *Les Fais d'Armes et de Chevalerie* (ff. 405r-38r). Given the content of this miscellany, Margaret of Anjou appears to have had an interest in chivalric culture, and heraldic texts are a part of that culture. Margaret of Anjou probably also owned a copy of *Thomas Jenyns' Book* (c. 1410), which, according to Wagner, appears to be derived from Cooke's or Cotgrave's *Ordinary* (c. 1340), as her coat of arms is painted at the beginning of the manuscript.²⁴⁷ Christine de Pisan, whose treatise is included in the *Talbot-Shrewsbury Book*, is another woman who engaged with chivalry and heraldry. The heraldic portion of Christine's text was heavily influenced by Bouvet's treatise, which was in turn influenced by Bartolo.²⁴⁸ Like their work, her work was widely circulated, although the surviving evidence suggests that her treatise became popular in England only after its inclusion in the *Talbot-Shrewsbury Book*. *Le Livre des Fais d'Armes et de Chevalerie* (c. 1409) survives in twenty-one manuscripts and,

²⁴⁵ Bodl. Lib. MS. Laud. Misc. 733, f. 1r. Also see Denny, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 67; Woodcock and Robinson, *Oxford Guide*, p. 51; and Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 67.

²⁴⁶ Royal MS. 15. E. VI, *BLDM*.

²⁴⁷ BL MS. Add. 40851, f. 5r; and *CEMRA*, pp. 73-5.

²⁴⁸ Denny, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 66.

as Craig Taylor points out, ‘just one comes from England before 1445, BL MS Harley 4605; this copy was completed in London on 15 May 1434’.²⁴⁹ At Henry VII’s request, Christine’s treatise was translated from French into English and printed by William Caxton in 1489.²⁵⁰ Margaret Beaufort, who was Henry VII’s mother, also owned a copy of Christine’s treatise.²⁵¹ These examples demonstrate that Anne of Bohemia’s desire for a heraldic text is representative of the reading interests of women of her high social status in the late medieval period.

Sicily Herald, who is often identified as Jean Courtois (d. c. 1436-7), stands out among the writers of heraldic treatises. As his title indicates, Sicily Herald was a professional herald, and he is believed to have served Alphonso V, King of Aragon, Sicily, and Naples.²⁵² Sicily Herald’s treatise, *Le blason des couleurs en armes* (c. 1416-36), primarily deals with heraldic tinctures and their correlation with planets, precious stones, and days of the week.²⁵³ The text ‘had considerable

²⁴⁹ Craig Taylor, ‘English Writings on Chivalry and Warfare during the Hundred Years War’, in *Soldiers, Nobles and Gentlemen: Essays in Honour of Maurice Keen*, ed. by Peter Coss and Christopher Tyerman (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009), pp. 64-84 (p. 73, n. 45).

²⁵⁰ Christine de Pisan, *The Book of Fayttes of Armes and of Chyualrye*, trans. by William Caxton, ed. by A. T. P. Byles, EETS o. s. 189 (London: Oxford University Press, 1932); and Catherine Nall, *Reading and War in Fifteenth-Century England, From Lydgate to Malory* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2012), p. 162.

²⁵¹ Catherine Nall, ‘Margaret Beaufort’s Books: A New Discovery’, *Journal of the Early Book Society* 16 (2013), 213-20.

²⁵² Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 76 and p. 214. Roland argues that Sicily Herald's identity is disputable, and that late medieval France's new heraldic science is often attributed to Sicily Herald, which may be no more than a title devoid of individual authorship. See *Parties inédites*, p. xi. Roland's edited text contains the documents purportedly collected by Sicily Herald during his time in office (p. xii). It is therefore possible that Sicily Herald did not author any of the collection's works, just as it is possible that he authored some of them. Roland believes that two different people authored the first and second portions of the text (p. xii). He also speculates that the fifteenth-century manuscript, which is now BnF MS. fr. 387, and was previously Bibliothèque Impériale fonds de Baluze 6993, originally belonged to the Bibliothèque du Roi (p. xii). Interestingly, the BnF's online catalogue of archives and manuscripts ascribes the manuscript's first tract to 'Sicille, herault', and the second tract to 'Jean Herard'. See 'François 387', *Archives et Manuscrits, BnF Online Catalogue* [<http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc50312v>, accessed 2 Oct. 2016]. It is possible that Sicily Herald and Jean Herard were two distinct individuals. Jean Herard could also be a bastardisation that conflates the name Jean Courtois with the title Sicily Herald.

²⁵³ Hippolyte Cocheris speculates that Sicily Herald only wrote the text's first portion, and that another anonymous herald composed the second portion. See *Le blason des couleurs*, pp. x-xvi. He also dates the text's composition to c. 1435-58, a date Dennys later adjusts, perceiving it as too late. For more, see *Le blason des couleurs*, p. xviii; and Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 76 and p. 214. This text has also recently been edited and translated into English. See Roy Osborne, *Sicily Herald and the Blazon of Colours, Renaissance Colour Symbolism I* (Raleigh: Lulu/ Thylessius Books, 2017).

contemporary popularity' but a catalogue of its manuscript copies has yet to be compiled.²⁵⁴ There is an old edition of *Le blason des couleurs en armes* that was published in French in 1860.²⁵⁵

Nicholas Upton's mid-fifteenth century *De Studio Militari* was, like many of these treatises, immediately successful.²⁵⁶ Upton was a lawyer and a cleric who served Thomas of Montague, earl of Salisbury, in France during the Hundred

Unfortunately, I discovered this book a month before submission. Lulu's website indicates that the first edition was published in March 2018 [http://www.lulu.com/, accessed 25 March 2018]. However, *amazon.co.uk* indicates that it was published in 2017.

²⁵⁴ Denny, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 76. Despite his comment on the treatise's popularity, Denny does not cite Sicily Herald's manuscripts. Cocheris cites two manuscript copies of the treatise, Bibliothèque Impériale fonds de Colbert 9385. 3. 3, a s. xvii copy, and Bibliothèque Impériale fonds de Baluze 6993. 2 (now BnF MS. fr. 387), a late fifteenth-century manuscript which contains in its preamble the minutes ('le procès-verbal') of a meeting held at Arras in 1434. According to Roland, the 'premier' manuscript of *Les blason des couleurs en armes* is Bibliothèque Impériale fonds fr. 4366, which he argues was part of the Bibliothèque du Roy before 1457. For more on these manuscripts, see Cocheris' 'Préface', pp. xviii-xxi, and Roland's 'Introduction' to *Parties inédites*, p. xix. Cocheris only references the two manuscripts. He does not provide a list of the manuscripts containing Sicily Herald's text, opting instead to list the works' earliest printed editions. To my knowledge, a comprehensive list of Sicily Herald's works and their manuscript copies has not yet been endeavored. If one were to be, it would need to include the two fifteenth-century armorials that are attributed to him. One of these (now BnF MS. fr. 4366), contains 1,836 arms, and is explicitly named the *Armorial du heraut Sicile*. See Gaston Saffroy, *Bibliographie Généalogique, Héraldique et Nobiliaire de la France*, vol. 1 (Paris: Librairie Gaston Saffroy, 1968), p. 2903. According to Saffroy, the armorial survives in five copies, but as Torsten Hiltmann points out, the oldest copies date from the seventeenth century, 'and the only indication of its authorship is in the title', which attributes the work to Sicily Herald ('par Secille herault'). See Torsten Hiltmann, 'Potentialities and Limitations of Medieval Armorials as Historical Source: The Representation of Hierarchy and Princely Rank in Late Medieval Collections of Arms in France and Germany', in *Princely Rank in late Medieval Europe: Trodden Paths and Promising Avenues*, ed. by Thorsten Huthwelker, Jörg Peltzer, and Maximilian Wemhöner (Ostfildern: Thorbecke Jan Verlag, 2011), pp. 157-98 (p. 175, n. 54). Steen Clemmensen mentions this armorial in his *Ordinary of Medieval Armorials* (Copenhagen: Societas Heraldica Scandinavica, 2006), p. 219, and he identifies the work as attributed to Jean Courtois. Hiltmann describes the second armorial as 'the so-called *Armorial of Sicily Herald*' (BnF MS. fr. 32753), and it also survives in a seventeenth-century copy of a lost original that attributes authorship to Sicily Herald (p. 175). As Hiltmann points out, this armorial is also mentioned in Jean-Bernard de Vaivre, 'Orientations pour l'étude et l'utilisation des armoriaux du Moyen Age', *Cahiers d'héraldique* 1 (1974), i-xxxiv (p. ix and p. xvi). Vaivre mentions that the work is at times attributed to Jean Courtois (p. ix). This information about manuscripts that are attributed to Sicily Herald has not been brought together before and could be useful for future researchers.

²⁵⁵ For the text, which Cocheris edited, see *Le blason des couleurs*. There is also an edition of *Parties inédites de l'œuvre de Sicile*, which collects the various papers that Sicily Herald purportedly compiled, and some of which he may have written, that was published in French in 1867. See Roland, ed., *Parties inédites*.

²⁵⁶ Edward Bysshe printed Nicholas Upton's Latin text. See Bysshe, ed., *Nicholai Vptoni*, pp. 1-259. Francis P. Barnard printed textual excerpts in *The Essential Portions of Nicholas Upton's De Studio Militari* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931), and Craig Walker offers an unpublished edition of Blount's English translation in 'An Edition', vol. 2. There are eighteen Latin manuscripts of *De Studio Militari*, three of which only present extracts from the text. Walker lists Upton's manuscripts in 'An Edition', vol. 2, p. xxiv.

Years' War.²⁵⁷ His mixture of theoretical knowledge and practical experience distinguishes him from his predecessors. Anecdotally, Upton reveals that Salisbury sought his advice on heraldic matters and that Upton granted coats of arms to Salisbury's men as a result. In 1424, for example, Upton granted arms *Argent three ox heads sable* to a man pierced by a spear in his genitals, an ascription that Upton viewed as appropriate because oxen are gelded animals.²⁵⁸ Upton's treatise is also distinctive because of the variety of Latin and French sources that he uses. Craig Walker began the process of identifying some of these sources in his 1998 doctoral thesis.²⁵⁹

Upton dedicates his treatise to Humphrey, duke of Gloucester (d. 1447), Henry IV's youngest son, and the text interested and was circulated among prominent late medieval gentlemen. A copy of Upton's treatise was commissioned by Sir Edmund Rede (BL MS. Cotton Nero C. III), a Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire landowner and avid book collector who was knighted in 1465 (d. 1489).²⁶⁰ A copy was also commissioned by John Hals (FM MS. 324), who was Margaret of Anjou's chaplain and Henry VI's keeper of the privy seal (d. 1490), and by John Morton (CA MS. Arundel 64), Henry VII's lord chancellor who was

²⁵⁷ Upton graduated as a bachelor of civil law in 1421, a bachelor of canon law in 1427, and a doctor of canon law in 1439. See Walker, 'An Edition', vol. 1, pp. 4-5, and Alfred B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to AD. 1500: P-Z*, vol. 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), p. 1933. He was ordained a priest in 1421, served as the canon of Wells Cathedral and as probend of Dindar in 1431, and, in 1446, which is around the time that he wrote his treatise, he resigned as canon of St Paul's Cathedral on his appointment as precenter of Salisbury, where he died in 1457. See Walker, 'An Edition', vol. 1, pp. 7-9; and Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 78. Upton served Salisbury in France from c. 1421-2, presumably until the earl's death in 1428. See Walker, 'An Edition', vol. 1, p. 6.

²⁵⁸ Bodl. Lib. MS. Eng. Misc. D. 227, f. 143r; and Walker, 'An Edition', vol. 2, p. 126.

²⁵⁹ Walker, 'An Edition'. Walker demonstrates that Upton's work is derivative of the legal and heraldic writings of his predecessors, including Bartolo de Sassoferrato, John de Bado Aureo, Bartholomaeus Anglicus, John of Legnano, and Bernard of Clairvaux. Upton also cites sources that have yet to be identified, such as Bertrand Caprioli, and he sometimes confuses his sources, as when he cites Alexander Neckham as the basis of fourteen birds in his bestiary when the information is really drawn from Thomas of Cantimpre. See Walker, 'An Edition', vol. 1, p. 24 and p. 82.

²⁶⁰ Nall, *Reading and War*, p. 52, and esp. n. 17 for details about Rede's book collection. Also see Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 79.

made a cardinal in 1493 (d. 1500).²⁶¹ About twelve years after Upton wrote his treatise, in 1458, Baddesworth copied a version of it (BL MS. Add. 30946) that rearranges the material so that the heraldic portions precede the discussions of soldiers and warfare, and so that descriptions of heraldic charges are paired with an example of an individual who bears them.²⁶² Two copies of the Baddesworth version (BL MS. Harl. 3504 and Arundel Castle MS. 'Heraldry') belonged to William Tyndale, who was created Lancaster King of Arms in 1447.²⁶³ Tyndale's ownership of these manuscripts suggests that the Baddesworth version of Upton's text appealed to heralds and that they might have viewed the reorganisation of materials as more functional for their professional purposes. There is also a nearly contemporary translation of Upton's Latin treatise into English. John Blount, an early sixteenth-century law student at the University of Oxford, translated the text, which survives in one copy (Bodl. Lib. MS. Eng. Misc. D. 227).²⁶⁴ This translation was commissioned by William Blount, fourth Lord Mountjoy, who was closely connected to Henry VIII's court and friends with Thomas More and Desiderius Erasmus.²⁶⁵ As these examples demonstrate, late medieval gentlemen, courtiers, and heralds were interested in Upton's treatise, which reveals that they desired to acquire and/or to be affiliated with specialist knowledge about heraldic regulation

²⁶¹ Walker, 'An Edition', vol. 2, p. iv; Rosemary C. E. Hayes, 'Hals [Halse], John (c. 1407-1490)', *ODNB*; Christopher Harper-Bill, 'Morton, John (d. 1500)', *ODNB*; and Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 80.

²⁶² The name Baddesworth and the copy's date derive from the text's explicit: '[e]xplicit libellus. vocatus libellus de officio militari script[us] per baddesworth anno. domini. m. iiiii. lviii?' (f. 110v). Also see Walker, 'An Edition', vol. 2, pp. ii-iii; and Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 82. The armorial sections of the Baddesworth manuscript are regularly annotated, revealing careful and engaged reading practices.

²⁶³ Walker, 'An Edition', vol. 2, p. ii, n. 3, and p. iv. Also see Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 82. Dennys points out that Robert Glover, Somerset Herald, made a copy of the Baddesworth version of Upton's text in 1572 (CA MS. Vincent 444).

²⁶⁴ Bodl. Lib. MS. Eng. Misc. D. 227, f. 1r. Also see Joseph Foster, ed., *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714*, early series, vol. 1 (Oxford: Parker and Co., 1891), p. 141; and Walker, 'An Edition', vol. 1, p. 17, and vol. 2, p. xxii.

²⁶⁵ James P. Carley, 'Blount, William, fourth Baron Mountjoy (c. 1478-1534)', *ODNB*. Despite their shared surname, there is no explicit familial connection between John and William Blount.

and armorial design. Owning a copy of Upton's treatise marked a reader's curiosity and knowledge as niche. Owning Upton's text also marked a reader's awareness of the interplay between heraldic and chivalric culture. Displaying one's ownership of the treatise garnered status and prestige, as it signaled a participation in chivalric culture and in the construction and legitimation of nobility.

The Boke of St Albans (c. 1486), which is also known as *The Book of Hawking, Hunting, and Blasing of Arms*, is comprised of the three tracts in this sub-title, and draws heavily upon Upton's heraldic section for its own.²⁶⁶ As Julia Boffey explains, the text is attributed to Juliana Berners in the explicit to the tract on hunting, although '[n]o reference to an author is made in either surviving manuscript copy of the text' (LPL MS. 491 and Bodl. Lib. MS. Rawl. poet. 143).²⁶⁷ Boffey indicates that there are two manuscripts that derive from a printed compilation of the hunting tract that include the attribution, but that, as they draw upon printed material, they do not offer substantive evidence that Juliana authored the work.²⁶⁸ This treatise writer's identity consequently remains ambiguous. In his annotation in a copy of the 1486 edition of this treatise, the post-medieval historian William Burton (1575-1645) identifies Berners as the prioress of Sopwell, a nunnery near St Albans.²⁶⁹ This hypothetical and unsubstantiated identity was further developed and, as Boffey asserts, 'effectively formalized', by Joseph Haslewood (1769-1833), an antiquarian who, in 1810, published a facsimile of

²⁶⁶ I will be citing from the edition of this text. See [Juliana Berners [?]], *The Boke of St Albans*, in *Heraldic Miscellanies, Consisting of the Lives of Sir William Dugdale, Garter, and Gregory King, Esq. Windsor Herald, written by themselves; with an Exact Copy of the Third Part of 'The Boke of St Albans', First printed in 1486* (London: T. Cadell, 1800), pp. 67-112. For a facsimile of the text, see William Blades, ed., *The Boke of Saint Albans by Dame Juliana Berners* (London: Elliot Stock, 1881). The text was the last of eight books printed by the 'Schoolmaster Printer' at the St Albans Press, in Hertfordshire, and Wynkyn de Worde republished it in 1496.

²⁶⁷ Julia Boffey, 'Berners, Juliana (fl. 1460)', *ODNB*.

²⁶⁸ Boffey, 'Berners, Juliana (fl. 1460)', *ODNB*. These manuscripts copied from printed editions are Magdalene College, Pepys Lib. MS. 1047, and BL MS. Harl. 2340. Also see 'The Press at St Albans', in Lotte Hellinga's *William Caxton and Early Printing in England* (London: The British Library, 2010), pp. 90-9, esp. pp. 96-8.

²⁶⁹ CUL Inc. 3. J. 4. 1 [3636], f. 79r; and Boffey, 'Berners, Juliana (fl. 1460)', *ODNB*.

Wynkyn de Worde's 1496 edition of this treatise, which Haslewood supplemented with his own introduction to the text and its supposed author.²⁷⁰ The text's heraldic section borrows from other treatises, but *The Boke of St Albans* is different because it is written in English and, as will be discussed, it uses a biblical register to explicate heraldic regulation and practice.

Introducing what treatises are, what they tend to include, who tends to write them, and who tends to own them establishes the necessary foundation for discussing many late medieval heraldic texts. Treatises primarily reflect upon martial and heraldic regulation and practice. Yet, like the miscellanies into which portions of treatises are frequently copied, these texts can also include prose narratives and, less frequently, verse, often appropriating literary techniques to stylise and add authority to heraldic material.

2.4 Heraldic Verse Texts

Some heraldic treatises are rendered in verse. These poems typically focus on heraldic practice, delineating the different tinctures, or colours, and charges that can be displayed on a coat of arms, and they also tend to include brief accounts of the legendary origins of heraldry and/or heralds. Consequently, heraldic verse texts are similar in content to heraldic tracts, and the primary difference between these two text types is that tracts are in prose while these are rhymed poems. This overview of heraldic verse texts will introduce two heraldic poems and the miscellanies in which they are contained. To my knowledge, these are the only two heraldic tracts that are presented in verse in English and Scots English. These

²⁷⁰ [Juliana Berners], *The Boke Containing the Treatises of Hawking; Hunting; Coat-Armour; Fishing; and Blasing of Arms: As Printed at Westminster, by Wynkyn de Worde*, intr. by Joseph Haslewood (London: White & Cochrane, 1810). The tract on fishing was Wynkyn de Worde's addition. Also see Boffey, 'Berners, Juliana (fl. 1460)', *ODNB*.

poems are important sources for my subsequent discussions on the intersection of late medieval heraldic textual material with chivalric and literary cultures and traditions. These verse tracts further demonstrate the diversity and vitality of late medieval heraldic texts and heraldic culture.

BL MS. Harl. 6149 is a Scots English heraldic miscellany that is attributed to Adam Loutfut, who is presumed to have been Kintyr Pursuivant.²⁷¹ Loutfut was a Scottish scribe who served Sir William Cummyrn of Inverellochy, who was Marchemond Herald and, from 1512, Lyon King of Arms.²⁷² A colophon written in Latin at the end of the manuscript's second text, on f. 44r, indicates the above relationship between Loutfut and Cummyrn and dates the manuscript to 1494, but it does not specifically identify Loutfut as Kintyre Pursuivant. Sally Mapstone observes that another colophon on f. 78r 'attributes the translation of a different work on the blazoning of arms not actually present in this manuscript to "kintyr purseuant"', revealing a conflation of Loutfut and Kintyre that is questionable.²⁷³ If Loutfut was Kintyre Pursuivant, then this manuscript was produced by a heraldic professional, and if he was not, then the compilation was probably produced for a heraldic professional, William Cummyrn.²⁷⁴

Loutfut's miscellany contains heraldic texts, texts that are related to heraldry, and chivalric texts. For example, the miscellany includes an extract from

²⁷¹ This manuscript has been described in Houwen's edition of Loutfut's *Deidis*, vol. 1, pp. xxxv-lv. The edited text's name derives from the explicit of the heraldic tract on ff. 5r-42r, which reads 'Explicit the deidis of Armorie. etc.' (f. 42r).

²⁷² BL MS. Harl. 6149, f. 44r; and 'Detailed Record for Harley 6149', *BLCIM*.

²⁷³ See Sally Mapstone's review of Houwen's edition of *The Deidis of Armorie*, in *The Review of English Studies*, n. s. 49. 196 (1998), 501-3 (pp. 501-2); and Houwen's comment that 'Kintyre Pursuivant' is 'presumably Loutfut' (*Deidis*, vol. 1, p. xxxix).

²⁷⁴ Not much is known about this manuscript's ownership history. Houwen explains that '[a]ll that is known about the manuscript before it ended up in the Harley collection' is that it belonged to the 'Lee' family, which 'has not yet been traced', in the seventeenth century. See *Deidis*, vol. 1, p. xl. Houwen bases this claim on ownership notes inscribed into the manuscript, such as the name 'George Lee', which appears on ff. 17r, 20r, and 25r, and which is accompanied by the date 1684 on f. 17r. For more on this and other 'Lee' family ownership inscriptions in the manuscript, see *Deidis*, vol. 1, p. xl, n. 19; and 'Detailed Record for Harley 6149', *BLCIM*.

Upton's discussion on heraldic colours (ff. 62r-77r) as well as a copy of Bartolo's *Tractatus* (ff. 155r-64v). It also includes extracts that allegedly paraphrase Vegetius (ff. 128v-32v), who wrote the influential late fourth-century Roman military treatise *De re militari*, although they are really based on Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum*.²⁷⁵ In addition, this miscellany contains a copy of *The Book of the Ordre of Chyualry* (ff. 83r-109r), which was copied from Caxton's printed text translating a French rendering of Ramon Llul's Catalan original.²⁷⁶ According to Houwen, three scribes 'probably' copied BL MS. Harl. 6149, and Adam Loutfut's hand is responsible for ff. 1r-44r, f. 78r, and ff. 83r-173r.²⁷⁷ Consequently, Adam Loutfut probably authored the prose heraldic tract on ff. 5r-42r, which is called *The Deidis of Armorie* because it is referred to by this title in the text's explicit (f. 42r), as well as the 'Poem on Heraldry' on ff. 151r-5r, which is comprised of thirty-six rhyme royal stanzas.²⁷⁸ Although Loutfut was Scottish and wrote in Scots English, his miscellany includes texts that were popular in England. The heraldic texts he probably authored are informed by heraldic treatises that were popular in England and, at times, by heraldic tracts that were composed in England and written in English, and this is especially evident in Loutfut's presentation of the legendary

²⁷⁵ Catherine Nall, 'Military Writings in Medieval Britain', in *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Medieval British Literature*, ed. by Siân Echard and Robert Rouse, 4 vols (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2017), vol. 3, pp. 1357-62 (p. 1362).

²⁷⁶ Caxton's translation and Loutfut's Scots English translation of it are edited together in A. T. P. Byles, ed., *The Book of the Ordre of Chyualry*, EETS o. s. 168 (London: Oxford University Press, 1926). Loutfut's translation of Caxton's text was itself copied into other manuscripts, as witnessed by the late fifteenth century QC MS. 161, ff. 65r-82v; and the sixteenth-century EAL MS. 31. 5. 2 (c. 1530) and EAL MS. 31. 3. 20 (1586). See "'Appendix A": Caxton Prints for which a Copy-Text Survives or which were Used as Copy', in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain, 1375-1475*, ed. by Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall, Cambridge Studies in Publishing and Printing History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 419-25, esp. p. 424, no. 18. I have not consulted the Edinburgh manuscripts. QC MS. 161 is a full copy, with minor variations, of BL MS. Harl. 6149, and as such, it contains a copy of Loutfut's 'Poem on Heraldry' on ff. 110r-13v. See *NIMEV*, no. 800; and R. H. Bowers, 'The Middle Scotch Poem on Heraldry in Queen's College MS. 161', *Modern Language Notes* 51. 7 (1936), 429-31.

²⁷⁷ *Deidis*, vol. 1, p. xxxvii.

²⁷⁸ Loutfut's poem has been printed as 'A Scotch Copy of a Poem on Heraldry', in Humphrey Gilbert, *Queene Elizabethes Achademy: A Booke of Precedence*, ed. by F. J. Furnivall, EETS e. s. 8 (London: N. Trübner & Co., 1869), pp. 93-104. *The Deidis of Armorie* has also been printed. See *Deidis*, vol. 1, pp. 1-62.

origins of heraldry and heralds. Therefore, Loutfut's heraldic tract and poem are important additions to a broader discussion of the diversity of late medieval English heraldic texts and their intersections with chivalric and literary cultures.

FSL MS. V. a. 198 is a miscellany comprised of forty-four folios containing prose, verse, and music (c. 1475-1600), including chronicles of saints and kings of England (1476), a brief history of England from the beginning of the world, and the last portion of the Renaissance play *Gismond of Salerne*, which was performed before Queen Elizabeth I.²⁷⁹ This compilation also contains a late fifteenth-century English poem that I will dub Joubard's 'Poem on Heraldry' (ff. 6r-9v), after its allegedly imprisoned author, who identifies himself as 'Joubard' in the work's last line.²⁸⁰ George Keiser asserts that this poem, which consists of twenty-eight rhyme royal stanzas, remains unedited.²⁸¹ However, the poem has been edited by Joseph Haslewood, a nineteenth-century antiquarian who wrote under the pseudonym 'Eu. Hood' for *The Gentleman's Magazine*.²⁸² Haslewood, who also published a facsimile of Wynkyn de Worde's 1496 edition of *The Boke of St Albans* in 1810, was one of this miscellany's former owners, and his edition of the poem was published in *The Gentleman's Magazine* in 1826.²⁸³ To my knowledge, except for Haslewood, scholars have not yet examined Joubard's poem.

²⁷⁹ FSL MS. V. a. 198 was formerly catalogued as MS. 1232. 3, part ii, and, before that, as MS. Phillipps 9613. For more on this manuscript and its contents, see 'MS V A 198', *Hamnet: Folger Library Catalog* [<http://hamnet.folger.edu/>, accessed 5 Dec. 2015].

²⁸⁰ Keiser includes this poem on heraldry as item no. 506 in *A Manual*, p. 3712. Also see *NIMEV*, no. 2537, and *DIMEV*, no. 4026. *NIMEV* catalogues the text as a prisoner's poem and does not mention that the poem is about heraldry. *NIMEV* relates that the poem occurs on ff. 5r-8r, and *DIMEV* places the poem on ff. 5r-9v. The poem actually occurs on ff. 6r-9v. According to the Folger's online catalogue, this manuscript was interleaved in the early nineteenth century (c. 1809). A later reader has also transcribed the poem's first two stanzas on the interleaf opposite f. 6r.

²⁸¹ Keiser, *A Manual*, p. 3712.

²⁸² 'Eu. Hood' [Joseph Haslewood], 'An Ancient Poem on Heraldry', *The Gentleman's Magazine* 96. 2 (Jan. 1826), 413-16. Also see Alan Bell, 'Haslewood, Joseph (1769-1833)', *ODNB*. Haslewood's edited text reverses the order of the poem's first and second lines. I am grateful to Catherine Nall for bringing this manuscript to my attention and for pointing out that it has been edited.

²⁸³ The Folger's online catalogue reveals that Haslewood was one of the manuscript's former owners. See 'MS V A 198', *Hamnet: Folger Library Catalog* [<http://hamnet.folger.edu/>, accessed 5 Dec. 2015]. The poem's publication in this magazine suggests that Haslewood and the magazine's

I have re-dated Joubard's 'Poem on Heraldry'. Joseph Haslewood argues that Joubard's 'Poem' was composed late in the fifteenth century, and he specifically restricts the period of the poem's composition to the last decade of the century.²⁸⁴ Although I disagree with his diagnostic examples, I agree with Haslewood's assessment of a late fifteenth-century date. However, I see no reason to restrict the poem's composition to the last decade of the century, as it could have been composed earlier. The poem is preceded in the manuscript by a chronology that ends by referencing the 'tyme Harfleet was taken' and the 'batel of Agyngkorte', both of which occurred during Henry V's reign, revealing that the poem was written down during or after Henry V's reign.²⁸⁵ Haslewood conjectures that the poem 'will probably be found later by some years than the end of the chronological table', presenting as his evidence a reference to Richmond Herald in the sixth stanza and mention of the king's upcoming expedition to go 'ouer the see' in the fourth stanza.²⁸⁶ Citing Mark Noble, Haslewood asserts that Richmond Herald was first appointed by Henry VII.²⁸⁷ Based on this knowledge, Haslewood speculates that the expedition being referred to may have been the king's 'partial assistance' to Anne, duchess of Brittany, in 1489, his approach to wage war in Calais in 1492, or, on a less grand scale, to the king's 'leaving England in 1500 on account of the plague'.²⁸⁸ However, Haslewood misreads Noble. Noble states that Henry VII first created Richmond Herald as a King of Arms.²⁸⁹ Richmond was a

editors presumed that its content would be of interest to the magazine's readers, who, implicitly, were predominantly male and educated. *The Gentleman's Magazine* was in print from 1731 to 1907, and it circulated widely 'throughout Britain and across the English-speaking world'; yet, by 1826, the magazine was ninety-five years old, and it came to be associated with 'old-fashioned' attitudes and middle-class readers. See Gillian Williamson, *British Masculinity in The Gentleman's Magazine, 1731-1815* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 1-3.

²⁸⁴ 'Eu. Hood', 'An Ancient Poem', p. 414.

²⁸⁵ FSL MS. V. a. 198, f. 6r; and 'Eu. Hood', 'An Ancient Poem', pp. 413-14.

²⁸⁶ 'Eu. Hood', 'An Ancient Poem', p. 414.

²⁸⁷ 'Eu. Hood', 'An Ancient Poem', p. 414.

²⁸⁸ 'Eu. Hood', 'An Ancient Poem', p. 414.

²⁸⁹ Noble, *A History*, p. 87. Noble clarifies that it was common practice, upon a king's accession, to create a King of Arms 'with the same title the monarch had used when a subject' (p. 87). On

herald in his province from 1421 to 1485.²⁹⁰ As Richmond served as a herald in his province before Henry VII's reign, and as the other heralds that Joubard invokes are not restricted to Kings of Arms, it is equally possible that this poem was composed before Henry Tudor was crowned.²⁹¹ Additionally, a king's upcoming voyage 'ouer the see' is not necessarily restricted to Henry VII's expeditions.

Based on internal evidence that does not include Haslewood's diagnostic examples, Joubard's 'Poem on Heraldry' was probably written down in the second half of the fifteenth century, and this date could probably be further restricted to the last quarter of the fifteenth century. The poem must have been composed after 1415, as Joubard calls upon 'master garter', and it must also have been composed after 1421, when Richmond Herald was created.²⁹² As this is the only known copy of Joubard's poem, it is unclear whether the script is written in the original composer's hand or whether it is, in fact, a copy. The hand that wrote down Joubard's 'Poem' generally adheres to typical Secretary handwriting. Standard features of Secretary handwriting become evident when comparing Joubard's poem with other late medieval texts, such as, for example, when compared with the hand of *The Beauchamp Pageant* (c. 1483-92).²⁹³ As is typical of

his accession, Henry VII made Roger Machado, who is 'said to have been Richmond herald to Henry before Bosworth', a King of Arms, and after Henry's death, Richmond became one of the six heralds in ordinary. See *Survey*, p. 143 and p. 79.

²⁹⁰ *Survey*, p. 143.

²⁹¹ For a discussion of Joubard's invocation of heralds, and specifically his positioning of heralds as his muses, cf. pp. 128-31.

²⁹² *Survey*, pp. 38, 79, and 143.

²⁹³ Compare FSL MS. V. a. 198, f. 6r with the *The Beauchamp Pageant* (BL MS. Cotton Julius E. IV). *The Beauchamp Pageant* has been reproduced in full. See *The Beauchamp Pageant*, ed. by Alexandra Sinclair (Donington: The Richard III and Yorkist History Trust, 2003). For an example, see *The Pageants'* representation of Richard Beauchamp's death and the six lines of text that accompany it (f. 26v). An image of this folio is also available online at 'Death of Richard, The Pageants of Richard Beauchamp', *BLOG*. As is typical of Secretary script, both hands present a horned, triangular-shaped one compartment 'a', a 'y' with a descender that sometimes flips backwards, and a flat-capped 'g'. Also diagnostic of Secretary script in Joubard's 'Poem' is the word-final kidney-shaped 's' (see, for example, 'alas' in l. 2 and 'thys' in l. 8). The hand that composed Joubard's

Secretary handwriting, both writers present letters with pronounced horns and the texts appear to have been written at a quick speed. Both hands also construct a few letters that are more looped in aspect than is typical for very late in the fifteenth century. For example, Joubard's 'Poem' presents some looped 'w' graphs, and the *Pageant* presents looped ascenders in some of its 'd' and 'h' graphs.²⁹⁴ This information reveals that Joubard's 'Poem on Heraldry' could have been written down in the years before Henry VII's accession to the crown in 1485. The poem could have been written down during Richard III's reign (1483-5), during Edward V's reign (1483), or during the last years of Edward IV's reign (1471-83). There is no substantive reason to confine the date that the poem was written down to the last decade of the century. However, the poem's predominantly Secretary hand and the strapwork design of the poem's opening initial letter suggest that this text was written down during the last quarter of the fifteenth century, as strapwork was a popular decorative feature in the late fifteenth century.²⁹⁵

Heraldic verse texts contribute to the diversity of heraldic textual materials and further demonstrate the playfulness of late medieval heraldic writers, who drew upon a variety of cultural and literary traditions and used them in the service of heraldry.

poem frequently presents long hair-line strokes on the descenders of letters, a feature that further suggests a late fifteenth-century date.

²⁹⁴ See FSL MS. V. a. 198, f. 6r, esp. ln. 8-9, where the 'w' is looped in 'Now', 'lowe', and 'wys'. Also see BL MS. Cotton Julius E. IV, f. 26v, esp. the 'h' and 'd' ascenders in 'knyght departed' (l. 2). Sinclair reproduces this folio opposite p. 155 in her edition of *The Beauchamp Pageant*.

²⁹⁵ Carol Meale explains that, '[w]hilst foreign-trained scribes, such as Ricardus Franciscus, had been accustomed to using strapwork flourishing on initials from the mid-fifteenth century onwards', this form of calligraphic decoration 'became increasingly popular with book artists and early printers alike during the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries'. See Carol M. Meale, 'The Politics of Book Ownership: The Hopton Family and Bodleian Library, Digby MS 185', in *Prestige, Authority and Power in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts*, ed. by Felicity Riddy (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2000), pp. 103-31 (p. 119). For examples of strapwork flourishes, which are alternatively called cadel capitals, see J. J. G. Alexander, *The Decorated Letter* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), p. 27, and Marc Drogin, *Medieval Calligraphy: Its History and Technique* (New York: Dover, 1980), pp. 160-4. For examples by Ricardus Franciscus, who was trained in France and an early adopter of this technique in England, see figure xxx in Alexander, *The Decorated Letter*, p. 27, and plates 142-3 in Drogin, *Medieval Calligraphy*, pp. 162-3.

2.5 Miscellanies

Miscellanies contain a variety of texts that are not always directly affiliated. As Julia Boffey and John J. Thompson clarify, miscellanies can take the form of anthologies of ‘closely related’ thematic material, into which texts ‘from many different sources were copied together, in planned sections, to make up large volumes which could have served both individual and corporate needs’, and they could also take the form of ‘manuals and “commonplace books”, sometimes produced in idiosyncratically personal ways’ according to ‘the whims of their owners’.²⁹⁶ Heraldic miscellanies tend to compile thematically related material, and this material is often linked by chivalric concerns. These miscellanies proliferated in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. As this assertion is based on the surviving manuscript evidence, it probably understates the large numbers of heraldic miscellanies that were compiled during this time. Many heraldic texts have not survived; some texts have been lost and others are probably in some archive or private collection awaiting identification.

Given the abundance of late medieval heraldic miscellanies, this introduction to them will necessarily be selective. The examples discussed in this section have been chosen because they illustrate the diversity of heraldic content in miscellanies and because they will be subject to further investigation later in this chapter as well as in subsequent chapters. In addition to these select examples, more texts from heraldic miscellanies will be introduced and examined as they are relevant to discussions at later points in this dissertation.

²⁹⁶ Julia Boffey and John J. Thompson, ‘Anthologies and Miscellanies: Production and Choice of Texts’, in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain, 1375-1475*, ed. by Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 279-315 (p. 279 and p. 292). Also see Stephen G. Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel, *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1996).

Heraldic texts can be incorporated into predominantly non-heraldic miscellanies. For example, the *Talbot-Shrewsbury Book* contains three texts that are related to heraldry amidst the fifteen works that it compiles. This miscellany is not a heraldic miscellany because most of its texts are not predominantly concerned with heraldry. Instead, they are concerned with chivalry, and a reader's engagement with the few works that relate to heraldry in the volume is guided by this broader textual environment. Similarly, non-heraldic materials such as ceremonial and historical accounts are often incorporated into heraldic miscellanies, and the primarily heraldic textual environment that contains these non-heraldic materials can inform the ways that readers interpret them. A heraldic textual environment can also inform the accounts presented by non-heraldic materials, as is exemplified by the increased presence of heralds in historical and ceremonial accounts that are contained within heraldic miscellanies that were compiled by or for heralds.²⁹⁷

Most heraldic miscellanies are comprised of seemingly haphazard and idiosyncratic collections of materials. Heraldic miscellanies can contain painted, blazoned, or tricked armorials, with blazons describing arms using the professional language of heraldry, and trick outlining armorial design and indicating which tinctures, or colours, ought to fill each of the coat's components. Miscellanies can include treatises, although when they do, these are usually in short, excerpted segments. Miscellanies might also incorporate other types of heraldic records, such as ancestral pedigrees and grants of arms, as well as non-heraldic records, such as ceremonial and historical accounts. As is the case with medieval miscellanies in general, the variety of materials that are compiled together are not generically constrained.

²⁹⁷ Cf. Ballard's ceremonial account, on pp. 248-53.

Some heraldic miscellanies are whimsically and idiosyncratically compiled. The arrangement of the contents in these texts are probably not planned. These miscellanies typically take the form of manuals or working books, and they assemble a diverse assortment of materials that might be useful as a reference compilation to someone studying heraldry or as a record and work book to a professional herald.²⁹⁸ For example, *Strangways' Book* (BL MS. Harl. 2259), a mid-fifteenth century heraldic miscellany, was probably written by a law student named Richard Strangways at London's Inns of Court.²⁹⁹ This miscellany presents an assortment of extracts from texts relating to heraldry, including a Latin extract from 'Honore Boneti' (ff. 20v-1r), which is interesting because Bouvet wrote his treatise in French, and it also presents a variety of sketched and, sometimes, painted coats of arms accompanied by their blazons and brief explanations clarifying the significance of the tinctures, or colours, and charges displayed. H. Stanford London suggests that Strangways was 'quite young' when he wrote the book and that it probably comprises his lecture notes.³⁰⁰ There is evidence of learning and correction to support London's assertion that the text is a work book. For instance, having blazoned a painted shield charged with antlers as 'cabaged',

²⁹⁸ Cf. pp. 217-39.

²⁹⁹ For more on Richard Strangways, see London, 'Some Medieval Treatises', p. 174.

³⁰⁰ London, 'Some Medieval Treatises', pp. 174-5. London bases these deductions on the text's appearance as 'a mere notebook, a hotchpotch of heraldic memoranda jotted down haphazard', and the text's ink, which reveals that 'the notes were made over a period of time' (pp. 174-5). Dennys agrees with London. He asserts that 'the first part of [the manuscript] appears to be notes of lectures based on John's 'Treatise'', and adds that 'the writing and the drawings give the impression that they were roughly and hurriedly done'. See Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 86. *Strangways' Book* does present a 'haphazard' assortment of contents, but the text's status as a 'mere notebook' is questionable. Strangways certainly does not produce a high-grade manuscript, but despite its disparately compiled contents, the manuscript appears to be somewhat attentive to its visual appeal. The first page of the manuscript's text, for example, which happens to contain a heraldic origin narrative discussed in the next chapter, fills the entire marginal space surrounding the text-block with red, yellow, and blue decorative spots (f. 11r). Cf. Plate 1, p. 278. This is an unusual decorative feature. Although Strangways might decorate a page of notes for his own enjoyment, his mis-en-page appears deliberately, albeit hurriedly, executed, and, as such, may be intended for readers other than himself. He may have compiled this book for his own personal use and heraldic instruction. It is doubtful that this compilation was intended to be presented before gentlemen or aristocrats, but it might have been produced for others in Strangways' particular social or academic circles. Strangways appears to be a bit more conscientious than London and Dennys acknowledge.

Strangways corrects himself, painting another shield charged with a hart's head and antlers and blazoning that as 'cabaged'.³⁰¹ Then, placing a manicule that points towards the incorrect blazon underneath the correct one, he notes that 'Thys hed may nad be callyd cabbaged ne capagyd for an hertes hed shalle haue hys eyne *and* be nose'.³⁰² There are other examples of this type of correction, such as when Strangways clarifies that a structure can only be called a castle on a coat of arms when it touches 'bothe sydes' of the shield's borders and that, if the field, or background, is visible on the structure's sides, it should instead be blazoned as a tower.³⁰³ Strangways' miscellany is instructive in personally tailored ways, revealing the difficulties that Strangways might have encountered as he learned about heraldic practice.

Other heraldic miscellanies were professionally compiled as records for posterity. The contents of these miscellanies tend to be thematically related, and, although the order in which sections are arranged might not have been planned, there appears to have been some deliberation in selecting material for inclusion. For example, *Writhe's Garter Book* (c. 1488) is a heraldic miscellany that is currently held in the private library of the duke of Buccleuch.³⁰⁴ In *CEMRA*, Anthony Wagner calls the entire compilation *Writhe's Garter Book*, and he later acknowledges that this has led to some confusion, as the *Garter Book* is only the second section of a larger miscellany.³⁰⁵ Portions of this miscellany have been edited, but, despite

³⁰¹ BL MS. Harl. 2259, ff. 100v-01r.

³⁰² BL MS. Harl. 2259, f. 101r.

³⁰³ BL MS. Harl. 2259, f. 45r.

³⁰⁴ *Writhe's Garter Book* is in the duke of Buccleuch's private library, and is, therefore, largely inaccessible. It is held at the duke's estate at Boughton House, near Geddington, Northamptonshire, and the house has 'only been open to the general public since 1976, and then solely for a limited period each summer'. See Tessa Murdoch, ed., *Boughton House: The English Versailles* (London: Faber and Faber, 1992), p. 11. The volume is titled 'Wriothesley's collections relating to the knights of the Garter'. See *CEMRA*, p. 122. This is probably because Thomas Wriothesley (Garter, 1505-34) inherited the book from John Writhe (Garter, 1478-1504), who was his father, and added material to it.

³⁰⁵ *CEMRA*, pp. 122-3; and *Medieval Pageant: Writhe's Garter Book*, ed. by Anthony Wagner, Nicolas Barker, and Ann Payne (London: The Roxburghe Club, 1993), p. 1.

being specifically named in the edition's title, *Writhe's Garter Book* has yet to be reproduced.³⁰⁶ To mitigate confusion, I will be calling the miscellany *Writhe's Garter Book* and the actual Garter book *Writhe's Garter Armorial*.

Writhe's Garter Armorial, a painted armorial of Knights of the Garter accompanied by short marginal narratives about each knight, is the second text in *Writhe's Garter Book* (pp. 33-104). It is followed by a section of twenty-four full paged paintings depicting the creation of Knights of the Bath (pp. 105-28), which, in turn, is followed by ancestral pedigrees (pp. 129-44), including one that outlines the ancestry of Elizabeth Wydville, Edward IV's queen.³⁰⁷ According to Wagner, these portions of the miscellany, which are its second, third, and fourth sections, comprised the manuscript's original compilation, and this original content was 'written and painted by or for' John Writhe (Garter, 1478-1504).³⁰⁸ Wagner identifies Writhe's handwriting in many of the narratives in *Writhe's Garter Armorial* and in the ancestral pedigrees, and he argues that the similarity of the paintings in these sections, as well as the paintings of the ceremony of the knighthood of the Bath, suggest that these sections constituted the volume's original content and that

³⁰⁶ See *Medieval Pageant*. None of the plates reproduced in this edition are of *Writhe's Garter Book*, or, to be more precise, *Writhe's Garter Armorial*. Instead, the edition presents full-paged colour reproductions of the paintings of the ceremony of the knighthood of the Bath and of the two sections of the Salisbury Roll. This edition describes the contents of *Writhe's Garter Armorial*, but it does not include images or transcriptions of it. See *Medieval Pageant*, 'Appendix A' (pp. 65-7) and 'Appendix C' (pp. 76-80). The College of Arms holds an incomplete sixteenth-century copy of *Writhe's Garter Armorial* (CA MS. Garter Stalls temp. Hen. VII and Hen. VIII), and it contains many blank pages as well as engartered coats of arms accompanied by the names of Garter knights, but without the narratives that are meant to supplement them. Despite these gaps in the copy, London explains that the portions that are present help to fill in the gaps from the original Garter book, as fifteen or sixteen pages from the original have gone missing. See H. Stanford London, *The Life of William Bruges, the first Garter King of Arms*, Harleian Society Publications, vol. 111/12 (London: Northumberland Press, 1970), p. 112. There are also two seventeenth-century copies of *Writhe's Garter Armorial*. Wagner reveals that the copy held by the British Library (BL MS. Add. 37340) was mistaken by the British Museum's catalogue editor 'for a 15th-16th century original', and that Francis Wormald first recognised its 'true character' in 1948. The second seventeenth-century copy (NRS MS. Finch-Hatton 17) belongs to the earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham. See *CEMRA*, pp. 123-4. As the original manuscript is inaccessible, I will be using the incomplete copy in the College of Arms and the British Library's seventeenth-century copy as the basis for my discussions of this text.

³⁰⁷ *Medieval Pageant*, pp. 1-2.

³⁰⁸ *Medieval Pageant*, p. 1.

this content was either painted by Writhe or under his supervision.³⁰⁹ This original content evinces a shared interest in the relationship between nobility, responsibility, and service. Knights of the Garter and Knights of the Bath serve and protect the king and his subjects, and Writhe's inclusion of pedigrees, which delineate noble ancestry, contextually associates a noble lineage with a responsibility to serve. However, whether Writhe planned for these sections to be included together or their collection was coincidental and convenient remains unclear.

Like most of John Writhe's books, *Writhe's Garter Book* was inherited by his son and successor, Thomas Wriothesley (Garter, 1505-34).³¹⁰ Wriothesley added to his father's miscellany, preceding *Writhe's Garter Armorial* with statutes of the Order of the Garter from 1519 and 1521 (pp. 1-32).³¹¹ Also added to the miscellany's original content, following Writhe's pedigrees, is an incomplete late fifteenth-century copy of the Salisbury Roll (pp. 146-58), which Wagner asserts was bound into the volume by 1697, and the Salisbury Roll (c. 1463), with the original vellum cut into pieces and mounted on paper (pp. 176-225).³¹² Nicolas Barker asserts that the incomplete copy of the Salisbury Roll was also made under Writhe's supervision, but, as Wagner points out, it was probably not included in

³⁰⁹ *Medieval Pageant*, p. 1.

³¹⁰ Cf. pp. 232-6.

³¹¹ *CEMRA*, p. 122.

³¹² *CEMRA*, pp. 103-4; and *Medieval Pageant*, pp. 1-2. The Salisbury Roll is distinctive as an armorial because of its late medieval date. It depicts images of the earls of Salisbury and their wives, linked together by a rope, with the men holding their heraldic banners and the women wearing their married arms impaling their paternal arms on their mantles. These images are reproduced in *Medieval Pageant*. For a comparison of the two versions of this roll, see Susan Crane, 'Representations of Courtship and Marriage in the Salisbury Rolls', *The Coat of Arms* 3rd ser., 6. 1 (2010), 1-15. Nicolas Barker explains that the Salisbury Roll was probably originally produced as a supplement to the ceremonies that Richard Neville, earl of Salisbury and Warwick in 1463, organised for the reburial of his father, Richard, and his brother, Thomas. His father had married the heiress of the last Montagu earl of Salisbury. See Nicolas Barker, 'Books and Manuscripts', in Tessa Murdoch, ed., *Boughton House: The English Versailles*, pp. 171-3 (p. 171). Thus, the Salisbury Roll pictorially presents the genealogy of the Montagu family, and, as Boughton House has been the Montagu family home for almost five centuries, it makes sense that this manuscript is in the family's private collection.

the miscellany's original content.³¹³ However, these additions to the miscellany are closely thematically related to the original content and appear to have been deliberately selected for inclusion. Statutes of the Order of the Garter compliment a Garter armorial, and the Salisbury Roll, which pictorially depicts the earls of Salisbury and their wives linked together by a rope, highlights the importance and records the legitimacy of a noble lineage, and, therefore, functionally resembles Writhe's ancestral pedigrees.

Another professionally compiled heraldic miscellany is the early sixteenth-century *Prince Arthur's Book* (CA MS. Vincent 152), which is affiliated with Thomas Wriothesley (Garter, 1505-34). This miscellany contains several sections of Wriothesley's great ordinary of English arms, an ambitious project to present a comprehensive record of English coats of arms, arranged according to their charges or the initial letters of a surname, that he never completed.³¹⁴ It also contains a diverse range of material, including sections on crests (pp. 72-82 and 84-5), banners (pp. 93-108), Garter armorials (pp. 57, 151-5, 157-60), and even a genealogical tree depicting Edward III with his five sons branching from him (p. 91).³¹⁵ Campbell and Steer explain that this vellum miscellany was produced under

³¹³ Barker explains that the Salisbury Roll 'passed to the Kingmaker's son-in-law, Richard III, for whom a copy of the Roll was made, with his own figure and that of his wife, Anne Neville, added', and that this copy, which was made under John Writhe's supervision, is the incomplete copy that comprises the fifth section of *Writhe's Garter Book*. See Barker, 'Books and Manuscripts', p. 171. Also see *Medieval Pageant*, p. 1.

³¹⁴ The sections of Wriothesley's ordinary in this manuscript include crosses, saltires, lions, fesses and bars, and crescents. See CA MS. Vincent 152, pp. 3-50, 61-71, 122-31, 133-48, and 162-74. Also see *Aspilogia II*, p. 259; and *CMCA*, p. 388. For more on Wriothesley's great ordinary, which Anthony Wagner has identified in sections of several manuscripts that are associated with him, cf. pp. 236-7.

³¹⁵ For a description of the manuscript, see *CMCA*, pp. 387-91; and *HCEC*, no. 108, pp. 72-3. The manuscript's post-medieval ownership has not yet been clearly traced. The arms of Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby (c. 1433-1504), who was Henry VII's stepfather, face p. 211. See *CMCA*, p. 390, and Michael J. Bennett, 'Stanley, Thomas, first earl of Derby (c. 1433-1504)', *ODNB*. The arms of William Dethick (Garter, 1586-1606) are on p. 147. Dethick was dismissed from his post as Garter because he 'bribed the signet clerk to add a clause to his patent, dated 21 April 1586, allowing him to make visitations and grant arms, thus breaching the rights of Norroy, Ulster, and Clarenceux kings'. See Anthony R. J. S. Adolph, 'Dethick, Sir William (1543-1612)', *ODNB*. The manuscript is also associated with Augustine Vincent (Windsor, 1624-6), and with John Vincent (1618-71), his son. See *CMCA*, p. 388 and p. 390.

Wriothesley's supervision, and that it was 'probably compiled over a period extending from about 1520 or earlier up to Wriothesley's death [in 1534], with a few revisions even after that'.³¹⁶

The miscellany's title is a misnomer based on a rumor that it was 'made for the purpose of teaching the laws of armory, together with the arms in use in England, to Arthur, Prince of Wales'.³¹⁷ Wriothesley would have overseen the production of this manuscript as Wallingford pursuivant (cr. 1489) to Prince Arthur before he was appointed Garter.³¹⁸ However, this tale is probably false; the majority of the manuscript consists of armorials and it does not contain any instructional texts on heraldic regulation or design. In addition, a painting that displays Prince Arthur's arms impaling the arms of Katherine of Aragon has been pasted onto the manuscript's second leaf.³¹⁹ The name 'Prince Arthure' is inscribed above the impaled arms. Fox-Davies suggests that this painted coat of arms was originally made for Henry VIII and Katherine, his first queen, and that after their divorce, 'it is quite possible that the owner of the manuscript, fearing he might lose his head by the ownership or exhibition of the painting, altered the coat so that it would suit Prince Arthur'.³²⁰ If Fox-Davies is correct, and the inscription of the prince's name above the coat of arms to stress that the arms are his suggests that he probably is, *Prince Arthur's Book* records the shifting dynamics in Henry VIII's court as he divorced and remarried.³²¹

³¹⁶ *CMCA*, pp. 387-8.

³¹⁷ Fox-Davies, *Art*, p. 427; and *CMCA*, p. 240.

³¹⁸ Fox-Davies, *Art*, p. 427; and *Survey*, p. 62.

³¹⁹ CA MS. Vincent 152, p. 1.

³²⁰ Fox-Davies, *Art*, p. 427. Also see *CMCA*, p. 388, especially the description of how the arms have been altered 'by painting out the regal crown' and by the 'addition of a label on arms and dexter supporter to refer them instead to Prince Arthur'. The inserted label is a cadency mark. A label of three points, such as the one inserted here, indicates 'the eldest son in the lifetime of his father'. See Woodcock and Robinson, *Oxford Guide*, p. 66.

³²¹ Further examples of this shift are evident throughout CA MS. Vincent 152. A pen drawing of a young, unbearded, enthroned Henry VIII depicts his unaltered arms impaling the arms of Katherine of Aragon (p. 90). Henry VIII's shield of arms impaling Katherine's is also depicted on

Heraldic miscellanies appropriate material from historical sources and, in their own way, become historical sources. This is predominantly evident in the short narratives about historical chivalric figures that often accompany their corresponding coats of arms in Garter armorials. These narratives offer brief biographies of armigerous individuals, highlighting their chivalric exploits and often ending with a brief indication of how they died and where they are buried. For example, *Writhe's Garter Book* (c. 1488) incorporates the biographical narratives of several Garter knights, from Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, who 'kepte our sees well in his dayez that all nacions dred oure Englissh shippis', to John Fastolf, 'a Riche knyght and grete bilder' who was apparently also 'a speciall goode mayster to the officers of armes'.³²² These narratives record the noble conduct of Garter knights, and, in doing so, they assert that each knight merits his prestigious status, thereby reinforcing each knight's nobility and chivalric reputation. John Fastolf is commended for his respect for officers of arms, and this explicit connection between the chivalric reputation of a Garter knight and his service to heraldry appears distinctive to Garter armorials. In the Garter armorial contained within *Prince Arthur's Book* (CA MS. Vincent 152), the biographical narrative that accompanies Edward III's painted and enGartered coat of arms praises the king because, in addition to his martial accomplishments at Crécy and Calais, he was the 'fyrste founder of the noble Ordre of the Garter'.³²³ *Prince Arthur's Book* also highlights Henry V's contribution to heraldry, as the biographical narrative accompanying his enGartered arms celebrates the king as the 'ffounder of the king

p. 132, but here, as in the example on p. 1, a label has been superimposed on the king's arms to make the shield 'seem to refer to Prince Arthur's marriage'. See *CMCA*, p. 389.

³²² As *Writhe's Garter Book* is in the private library of the duke of Buccleuch, my citations of this text are from the incomplete sixteenth-century copy. See CA MS. Garter Stalls temp. Hen. VII and Hen. VIII, f. 3r and f. 24r.

³²³ CA MS. Vincent 152, p. 51.

of armes of the sayd ordre of the gartier named gartier king off armes of Englishmen'.³²⁴ In these ways, the biographical narratives of Garter knights add heraldic history to chivalric history. The narratives construct the prestige of royal and noble Garter knights, and, in doing so, they interject heraldic interests into the historical, political, and chivalric record.

This introduction to heraldic miscellanies is necessarily selective, but even this small sampling reveals the diversity of the materials that they compile, from armorials to treatise extracts, texts and paintings related to ceremonies, ancestral pedigrees, and narratives about historical chivalric figures. This sampling also demonstrates the different types of people who produced or contributed to heraldic miscellanies, from law students with an interest in heraldic practice to professional heralds. Miscellanies were frequently personally tailored to the needs and interests of their intended users, whether those users were students who desired heraldic instruction, heralds, who used miscellanies to compile heraldic records, or royals and aristocrats, for whom heralds probably constructed heraldic miscellanies as records honouring their service to and engagement in chivalric culture, as well as their ancestral lineage.

In general, heraldic texts were predominantly written by jurists, clerics, and heraldic professionals. They appealed to a broad range of readers, from aristocrats, who were interested in chivalric texts, to students, who sought instructive guidance. The texts granted readers and owners access to specialist knowledge and a means of displaying their interest in chivalric culture. They also granted the prestige of being connected to heraldry, a niche chivalric sub-cultural subject, and, at least through affiliation with heraldry, to the nobility, whose status heraldry legitimates.

³²⁴ CA MS. Vincent 152, p. 52.

Heraldic texts draw upon a variety of writing styles, from documentary and instructional modes to poetry. The texts are practical, yet within that space there is also room for more imaginative ways of engaging with heraldry, and the intersection of various writing traditions in these texts attests to such playful openness.

2.6 The Imaginative Interest of Heraldic Materials

The playfulness of late medieval heraldic texts interacts with their broader historical, literary, and political contexts. This creativity challenges outdated perceptions of heraldic texts. Barron's 'Master Mumblazon' is not just an inept and unprofessional writer, but, suggestively, through the derogatory tone of this title, the content of his work is also predominantly boring, probably comprising a sequence of arms or blazons and not offering much textual variety. Although this description of seemingly homogenous heraldic textual content is probably accurate in the case of most rolls of arms, it is far from the truth with regards to treatises and miscellanies. These texts intersect with a variety of cultural and literary traditions in unexpected and playful ways. The artistic visions that they present are, at times, instructive, but they are also lively and entertaining, and, at the same time, they can be politically and ideologically motivated. This section studies select examples from heraldic texts to demonstrate the diversity of their material and the creativity with which their different writing styles and contexts interact, and it ultimately argues for their imaginative appeal.

This selection of heraldic materials borrows from a range of literary traditions. Thus far, scholarship has glossed over or ignored the interplay of different chivalric and literary tropes and themes in heraldic texts. It is my contention that these playful, non-practical elements of heraldic texts are worth

exposing and examining, as they yield new perspectives on late medieval heraldic texts and heraldic culture. They reveal the diversity of heraldic textual material and they draw attention to the dynamism of late medieval heraldic culture. They also reveal how heraldic texts borrowed from and interacted with their historical, chivalric, and literary cultural environments, with which they shared a common interest in the construction of prestige, power, and nobility. By drawing attention to the imaginative playfulness of heraldic texts, I do not mean to suggest that late medieval heraldic writers were the only ones who used literary tropes and themes or rhetorical framing devices when writing practical texts. I also do not mean to suggest naivety or innocence in their creative process. Heraldry cannot be separated from the structures of nobility and power that it records, signifies, and legitimates. Heraldic texts cannot be separated from these structures either. Their more playful and creative textual material is grounded in a complex interlayering of cultural and historical traditions that reinforce the construction of nobility.

Richard Strangways' miscellany includes excerpts from treatises, painted shields, blazons, and notes reflecting upon heraldic practice, and it also contains narrative heraldic material that, probably because the text has not yet been edited, has not been examined. Among this narrative material, *Strangways' Book* presents heraldic exegetical accounts that playfully apply features associated with other forms of writing onto their heraldic subjects.³²⁵ These anecdotal narratives use figurative language to explicate heraldic practice. One such narrative, for example,

³²⁵ Most of the anecdotes that explicate heraldic terms and practice appear to be contained within *Strangways' Book* and its sibling manuscripts. For a further example of Strangways' exegetical anecdotes, see BL MS. Harl. 2259, f. 27v. Versions of the anecdote on f. 27v are also presented in some of Strangways' sibling manuscripts. See, for example, CA MS. 'Heralds' Tract' (uncatalogued; rebound with a spine reading 'Treatise on Heraldry temp. Hen. IV, c. 1460', ff. 13r-23r), esp. f. 20r; and the mid-sixteenth century 'Povey's Tract' (CA MS. B. 19), f. 4v. For more on this manuscript family, cf. pp. 141-51.

equates the necessity for charging a lion on a shield as singular with the need for a single ruler over a land. Strangways relates that

Doctors sey þer may nat be ij Lyons in a feld for a Lyon ys kyng of all bestes
and woll sofer ne beste haue rewle þer he ys and also be cause of þer cruelte
and so þey wryte þat ^yt^ ys as inconvēyent for þat cause to haue ij Lyons
in o feld as to haue ij kynges in o londe *quod notandum* and þer for a Lyon
^ys^ þe most worshypfull thyng þat may be in armys[.]³²⁶

The professional heraldic lexicon, which designates the background space on a coat of arms as a ‘field’ and the object imposed upon that space as a ‘charge’, makes possible a literal reading of this passage that restricts the use of lions as charges. Fox-Davies cites an ‘ancient rule’ which states that only one lion can be charged upon a shield, and he clarifies that ‘when two or more lions rampant appear upon the same shield, unless they are combatant, they are always’ called lioncels.³²⁷ Lioncels are specifically young lions, and this is interesting because any ferocity that is associated with being ‘rampant’ is made diminutive and less threatening. Therefore, rampant lions are either combatant, which suggests that they are fighting to the death, or single, which connotes full ownership of a field.

³²⁶ BL MS. Harl. 2259, f. 67v. I am grateful to Hannes Kleineke for helping me to decipher the Latin abbreviation in this passage. The ‘q nd’ in the manuscript abbreviates ‘quod notandum’ (which is to be noted). Cappelli cites a similar formation of the letter ‘d’, which closely resembles a sigma ‘s’ in this manuscript, in his entry for ‘notandum’. See Adriano Cappelli, *Lexicon Abbreviaturarum: Dizionario di Abbreviature Latine ed Italiane* (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 2012), p. 237. This anecdote is also presented in Bodl. Lib. MS. Eng. Misc. f. 36, on f. 21r. This manuscript, which is derivative of *Strangways’ Book*, dates from the end of the fifteenth or the early sixteenth century. See *IMEP: Handlist XII: Manuscripts in Smaller Bodleian Collections*, ed. by Ralph Hanna (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997), p. 3. This anecdote is not presented in the sibling manuscripts associated with *Strangways’ Book*. I have not been able to identify its source. The anecdote is not in bestiaries, it is not in Bartholomaeus Anglicus’s influential mid-thirteenth century proto-encyclopedia, *De proprietatibus rerum*, and it is not in the *Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers*, which was printed by William Caxton, the first printer in England, in 1477. Therefore, this anecdote might be original to Richard Strangways.

³²⁷ Fox-Davies, *Art*, pp. 121-2.

This exegetical narrative also equates lions with kings, which is an appropriate correlation because lions are traditionally emblematic of kingship.³²⁸ Citing Isidore of Seville, Upton explains that the lion ‘haithe hys name owte of greke callid *leo* wiche betokeneth in englishe A kinge; As to saye he ys king of All beestes’.³²⁹ Margaret Haist asserts that the lion’s association with noble blood can be traced back to the biblical lion of Judah, and that the animal consequently ‘represents Christ, the culmination of Judah’s bloodline’.³³⁰ Haist explains that, like Judah, the lion is ferocious and powerful, but being representative of Christ, it should also be merciful.³³¹ Strangways’ lion is not merciful; he asserts that lions are characterised by ‘*per* cruelte’.³³² The larger problem that Strangways presents, that there should not be two lions in one field, or two kings in one land, could be reflective of the writer’s mid-fifteenth century English context. Strangways and his contemporaries would have recognised the grim reality that having two kings in one land, or two kings fighting for one land, is politically dangerous, unstable, and ‘*inconuenient*’. In addition to having lost most of its land in France during the Hundred Years War, mid-fifteenth century England had to contend with having ‘*ij kynges in o londe*’, as between 1461 and 1471, there were literally two kings, Henry

³²⁸ Lions have been present in England since the early thirteenth century and they quickly became emblems of English kings. Sally Dixon-Smith explains that lions were frequently displayed as signs of prestige and ‘living heraldry’ at the Tower of London’s Royal Menagerie until it closed in 1835. See Sally Dixon-Smith, ‘Animal Diplomacy: The Royal Menagerie at the Tower of London and the “Royal Beasts” Exhibition’, Session 631: ‘Money, Munitions, and Menagerie: The Birth of Royal Institutions at the Tower of London’, Leeds International Medieval Congress, 7-10 July 2014, conference presentation.

³²⁹ Bodl. Lib. MS. Eng. Misc. D. 227, f. 117r; and Walker, ‘An Edition’, vol. 2, p. 104.

³³⁰ Margaret Haist, ‘The Lion, Bloodline, and Kingship’, in *The Mark of the Beast: The Medieval Bestiary in Art, Life, and Literature*, ed. by Debra Hassig, Garland Medieval Casebooks, vol. 22 (New York: Routledge, 2013), pp. 3-22 (p. 4).

³³¹ Haist, ‘The Lion’, p. 4.

³³² According to the *MED*, ‘*cruelte*’ has been used since the last quarter of the fourteenth century to connote the ferocity of animals or of people, pitilessness, and an inclination to inflict suffering. See *MED*, *cruel* (adj.) 1 (b), 2 (a), and 3. The *OED* gives an earlier date, citing an example of the disposition to inflict suffering from 1297, of the word being used to describe the ferocity of men and animals in 1330, and of the word being used to designate ferocious action since c. 1400. See *OED*, *cruel* (adj.) 1 (a), 1 (c), 2 (a), and 2 (b).

VI and Edward IV, and when one was in power, the other was in exile or imprisoned.³³³ Just as a lion will not obey another lion in Strangways' anecdote, having two kings is dangerous because one king does not have rule over the other. Thus, a king's strength as a leader, which can be gauged by his sovereignty and his success on the battlefield, at least partially depended upon his ability to be ruthless. This strength came to be associated with the word 'worship', and it therefore illuminates Strangways' description of the lion as the 'most worshipfull thyng' in arms.³³⁴

Strangways also presents verses on the Nine Worthies, which he supplements with each hero's armorial blazon, written inside a sketched outline of a shield of arms.³³⁵ The Nine Worthies are paragons of chivalry. There are three pagans (Hector of Troy, Alexander the Great, and Julius Caesar), three Jews (Joshua, King David, and Judas Maccabeus), and three Christians (King Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Bouillon). The Worthies became popular in the late medieval period and they were often represented in art, literature, and pageantry.³³⁶

³³³ Alison Weir, *Britain's Royal Families: The Complete Genealogy* (London: Vintage Books, 2008), p. 133 and p. 139.

³³⁴ 'Worship' was used since the twelfth century to designate high social status (c. 1150) and high esteem (c. 1175), but it was not used as a term of respect for a high-ranking person or as a term designating sovereignty until 1400. It also did not become associated with valour in battle until 1400. See *MED*, worship(e) (n.) 3 (a), 1 (a), 3 (b), 6, and 1 (h).

³³⁵ BL MS. Harl. 2259, f. 39v. Also see *NIMEV*, no. 1181.5/1; and cf. Plate 2, p. 279. Joshua's blazon is the exception to this as Strangways has left it incomplete.

³³⁶ Key texts establishing the popularity of the Nine Worthies tradition include Thorlac Turville-Petre, 'The Nine Worthies in *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*', *Poetica* 11 (1979), 28-45; Paul Meyer, 'Les Neuf Preux', *Bulletin de la Société des Anciens Textes Français* 9 (1883), 45-54; and Roger Sherman Loomis, 'Verses on the Nine Worthies', *Modern Philology* 15. 4 (1917), 211-19. For extracts about the Nine Worthies from a range of medieval works, see the appendix to *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*, ed. by Israel Golláncz (London: Roxburghe Club, 1915), n. pag. For examples of the Worthies from medieval art, see the thirteenth-century statues of them, known as the 'Nine Good Heroes', in the town hall at Cologne, Germany, as well as the surviving early fifteenth-century tapestries (c. 1400-10) from the Netherlands depicting five of the Worthies that are on view at The Cloisters in New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art. For online access to these works, see 'Nine Good Heroes', *Middle English Alliterative Poetry* [<https://mediakron.bc.edu/alliterativepoetry/nine-good-heroes-1>, accessed 10 April 2017], and browse the 'Nine Heroes Tapestries', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art* [<http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/>, accessed 10 April 2017].

Attributing coats of arms to the Worthies is not unique to Strangways.³³⁷ However, usually, when they are included in texts, these coats of arms are presented as an armorial sequence and they tend not to accompany narratives about the heroes. For example, BL MS. Harl. 2169 is a heraldic miscellany that dates from the last quarter of the fifteenth century.³³⁸ Most of the manuscript is comprised of tricked armorials.³³⁹ This miscellany is called *Randle Holme's Book* because it belonged to Holme, a herald painter in Chester who wrote his name at the top of f. 1r, probably sometime in the seventeenth century.³⁴⁰ It presents the tricked arms of the Nine Worthies on f. 5v, in three rows of three.

The first tricked shield on this folio of *Randle Holme's Book*, which belongs to Hector, is depicted as *sable, two lions rampant combatant or*.³⁴¹ This depiction is generally in line with the blazon that Strangways ascribes to Hector, 'he b[ere] asure ij lyons rampant combatant or enarmyd goules'.³⁴² *Holme's Book* indicates that the

³³⁷ For a detailed list of the coats of arms that have been attributed to the Worthies in Continental armorial and pictorial sources, see Steen Clemmensen, 'The Nine Worthies and Other Ternionen: A Survey of the Literature and Iconography', 2nd rev. ed. (2017) [http://www.armorial.dk/german/Ternionen_2017.pdf, accessed 20 April 2017]. For a shorter list based on Continental pictorial sources, see François Velde, 'The Nine Worthies', *Heraldica* [<http://www.heraldica.org/topics/worthies.htm>, accessed 20 April 2017].

³³⁸ See 'Detailed Record for Harley 2169', *BLCIM*; and *CEMRA*, pp. 101-2.

³³⁹ Only a few folios in this manuscript depict contents that are not sequences of arms. The manuscript begins with full-paged drawings of William I, Henry V, and Henry VI mounted on horseback, with a narrative description about each king above the depicted figure (ff. 1r, 2r, and 3r). To my knowledge, these narratives and depictions have not yet received scholarly attention. There are also full-paged drawings of Christ holding banners and surrounded by shields (ff. 66r and 67r), and tables listing saints, English kings, nobles, and Worthies (ff. 72r-5r).

³⁴⁰ 'Detailed Record for Harley 2169', *BLCIM*; and *CEMRA*, p. 101. There is some uncertainty as to Randle Holme's dates and identity because four successive generations of men named Randle Holme belonged to the same family in Chester. The first of these men (c. 1570-1655) was a herald and alderman, and his son (bap. 1601, d. 1659) was also a herald, whose eldest son (1627-1700) was a herald and herald painter. This third Randle Holme also had a son (c. 1659-1707), who 'seems not to have been a deputy herald' although he was a herald painter. See Anthony R. J. S. Adolph, 'Holme, Randle (1627-1700)', *ODNB*. The third and fourth Randle Holme are more probable candidates for the man who owned this manuscript because they were herald painters. Before belonging to Holme, or to the Holme family, this manuscript was probably owned by Phyllepe Bowth or Bowthe, whose name was inscribed on f. 1r in the sixteenth century. It was 'acquired with other Holmes manuscripts by Robert Harley in 1710 through the mediation of Francis Gastrell, bishop of Chester'. See 'Detailed Record for Harley 2169', *BLCIM*. The manuscript was purchased by the British Library, along with the rest of the Harley collection, in 1753.

³⁴¹ BL MS. Harl. 2169, f. 5v. Cf. Plate 3, p. 280.

³⁴² BL MS. Harl. 2259, f. 39v.

field is sable, while Strangways presents it as azure. Strangways is also more complete in recording armorial detail, as his blazon indicates that the lions are ‘enarmyd’ gules, while the tricked arms only indicate the tinctures of the field and the charge. This general agreement on key features of Hector’s arms is unusual because, as Roger Sherman Loomis asserts, the ‘heraldry of the Nine Worthies was never fixed’.³⁴³ This flexibility could partially result from the fact that the Worthies are attributed arms; the heroes pre-dated the use of consistent hereditary heraldry and, therefore, they would not have been bound by a specific and historically accurate heraldic design. This flexibility also attests to the imaginative playfulness of heraldic writers. The arms that these writers created for and attributed to each Worthy can share common features, but, because they are not fixed, they can be embellished to suit an individual armorial designer’s preferences and still be regarded as valid. The London Roll (BL MS. Add. 29502, verso side, c. 1470) demonstrates this point, as the first nine shields of arms depicted on the roll, presented as three rows of three, record the arms of the Nine Worthies.³⁴⁴ Hector’s arms are presented on the last shield in the sequence, which is the third shield in the third row, and it depicts him bearing *gules a lion rampant and a halberd back to back or*.³⁴⁵ According to this roll, Hector’s arms have a red, or gules, field. The shield

³⁴³ Roger Sherman Loomis, ‘The Heraldry of Hector or Confusion Worse Confounded’, *Speculum* 42. 1 (1967), 32-5 (p. 32). Cf. pp. 194-5; and Plate 3, p. 280.

³⁴⁴ Cf. *CEMRA*, p. 105. The paint on this roll is faint and faded. The recto side presents the only copy of the Third Calais Roll (c. 1348). See *CEMRA*, p. 61. Wagner’s entry on the London Roll in *CEMRA* does not indicate that these first nine arms are ascribed to the Worthies. I am grateful to Horst Schroeder’s useful article that briefly lists twenty-five sources on the Nine Worthies from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries which scholars have rarely researched for drawing my attention to these shields. See Horst Schroeder, ‘The Nine Worthies: A Supplement’, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 133 (1981), 330-40 (pp. 332-3, entry no. 4).

³⁴⁵ BL MS. Add. 29502, verso side, shield no. 9. Also see Schroeder, ‘The Nine Worthies: A Supplement’, p. 332, entry no. 4. This presentation of Hector’s arms is closer to the way that a contemporary French text on the Worthies depicts his armorial design. This printed text includes woodcut images of each of the Nine Worthies, and each man is depicted carrying his coat of arms. See *Le Triomphe des Neuf Preux* (Abbeville: Pierre Gerard, 1487). Hector’s arms, on f. 118r, are charged with an erect lion holding an axe, rather than depicting them back to back, as does the *London Roll*.

also includes one rampant lion as a charge, rather than two, as Strangways and *Holme's Book* report, and the lion is portrayed back to back with an axe. Hector's coat of arms in this roll is remarkably different from his arms in the other two heraldic manuscripts.

Even though the heraldry of the Nine Worthies was never standardized, there appears to have been a general agreement on the appearance of a few of their arms. Julius Caesar, for example, is consistently attributed the imperial eagle as his armorial charge. Strangways records that 'he b[ere] gold a dowbyll egypt displayd sabyll membryd of hym self'.³⁴⁶ As his explanation clarifies, this shield is not charged with two eagles, but with two eagles, or rather, eagle heads, that share one body. *Randle Holme's Book* similarly tricks Caesar's arms, attributing to him a sable double-headed eagle on a gold field.³⁴⁷ The London Roll also agrees with this ascription, as it presents Caesar's arms as *or the Imperial eagle sable*.³⁴⁸ Likewise, Charlemagne's arms are consistently presented as *azure three fleurs-de-lis or dimidiated with or the Imperial eagle sable*, or, as Strangways abbreviates, 'he bere Rome and fraunce'.³⁴⁹ By incorporating the Nine Worthies, these heraldic texts draw upon and interact with broader literary and cultural traditions about the heroes, and they

³⁴⁶ BL MS. Harl. 2259, f. 39v.

³⁴⁷ BL MS. Harl. 2169, f. 5v.

³⁴⁸ BL MS. Add. 29502, verso side, shield no. 1; and Schroeder, 'The Nine Worthies: A Supplement', p. 332, entry no. 4. Unsurprisingly, Caesar's arms are the same as those attributed to the Roman Empire. Caesar's arms are also very similar to the arms that are commonly attributed to King Arthur's eldest nephew, Gawain. The connection between Gawain and Rome is appropriate; as Geoffrey of Monmouth relates in his twelfth-century chronicle, Gawain was sent to Rome when he was a boy and he served and was knighted by the pope. See Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, ed. by Michael D. Reeve, trans. By Neil Wright (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009), pp. 204-5, para. 154. However, the difference between these arms is their colour: Caesar's arms display a black (*sable*) double-headed eagle on a gold field, whereas Gawain's arms show a gold double-headed eagle on a purple field (*purpure, a two-headed eagle displayed or*). For painted examples of these shields, see the fifteenth-century armorial of the Knights of the Round Table that is bound between ff. 2 and 4 in Bodl. Lib. MS. e. Museo 78. This manuscript once belonged to a French king of arms, as an inscription on f. 1r indicates that it is a 'Livre du Roy d'Armes Monjoye'. Also see Jefferson, 'Tournaments, Heraldry and the Knights of the Round Table', p. 79.

³⁴⁹ BL MS. Add. 29502, verso side, shield no. 2; and Schroeder, 'The Nine Worthies: A Supplement', p. 332, entry no. 4. Also see BL MS. Harl. 2259, f. 39v; and BL MS. Harl. 2169, f. 5v.

apply heraldry onto those traditions, attributing coats of arms to heroes who would have lived before the twelfth century, when heraldic practice became standardized.³⁵⁰

The quatrains that highlight the biographical details of each of the Nine Worthies, which supplement each Worthy's armorial blazon, are unique to Strangways; his book's sibling manuscripts do not include them and they are not presented in any other manuscript.³⁵¹ In 1889, F. J. Furnivall transcribed Strangways' text on the Worthies, but he did not discuss or analyse it.³⁵² Indeed, scholars have not yet been attentive to Strangways' text and to how it intersects with the broader literary and cultural traditions of the Nine Worthies.³⁵³

Jacques de Longuyon is credited with the earliest known literary representation of the Worthies, as his poem 'Les Neuf Preux', which is inserted into his longer poem about Alexander the Great, *Les Voeux du Paon* (c. 1312), describes each of the Worthies.³⁵⁴ Thorlac Turville-Petre argues that de Longuyon probably drew upon an already established tradition, and that 'it seems safe to assume' that the Worthies became popular because of their inclusion in this widely

³⁵⁰ For more on the development of heraldic practice, cf. pp. 36-43.

³⁵¹ BL MS. Harl. 2259, f. 39v. Also see *NIMEV*, no. 1181.5/1.

³⁵² F. J. Furnivall, 'The Nine Worthies and the Heraldic Arms they Bore', *Notes and Queries* 8, 7th ser. (1889), 22-3.

³⁵³ A few scholars have mentioned Strangways' text on the Worthies but they have not specifically analysed it. In an article written in 1917, Roger Sherman Loomis refers to Strangways' text and prints the section on Hector of Troy, but he does not discuss it further. See Loomis, 'Verses', p. 216. John Hawley Roberts also mentions Strangways' text in his discussion of Alexander the Great's portrayal as the conqueror of the world, and, although he does not explore it further, he cites Strangways' presentation of Alexander's armorial blazon. See John Hawley Roberts, 'The Nine Worthies', *Modern Philology* 19. 3 (1922), 297-305 (pp. 302 and 304). A rare and more recent example of a scholar who mentions Strangways' text is John Withrington. He includes Strangways' verses on King Arthur when considering the fifteenth-century tradition that Arthur will one day return to England, although he does not specifically quote or analyse Strangways' text. See John Withrington, 'The Arthurian Epitaph in Malory's *Morte Darthur*', in *Arthurian Literature* 7, ed. by Richard Barber (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1987), pp. 103-44 (p. 106).

³⁵⁴ Jacques de Longuyon, *Les Voeux du Paon*, in [John Barbour], *The Buik of Alexander*, ed. by R. L. Graeme Ritchie, STS n. s. 25, vol. 4 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1929), pp. 402-6, ln. 7484-579. Golláncz presents these lines from the poem as item no. vi in his appendix to *The Parlement*.

circulated poem.³⁵⁵ The Worthies appear in the English alliterative poems *The Parlement of the Thre Ages* (c. 1350, ln. 300-583) and the *Morte Arthure* (c. 1400, ln. 3408-3445), as well as in the *Buik of Alexander* (c. 1438, ln. 9897-10,018), which translates de Longuyon's poem into Scots English, and in "The "Ballet of the Nine Nobles"" (c. 1438-47), a Scots English poem that truncates the sections on the Worthies in the *Buik* and the *Voeux*.³⁵⁶ With the exception of *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*, which provides detailed and lengthy biographical descriptions, devoting as many as seventy-two lines to Alexander the Great, each of these poems briefly highlights each Worthy's life.

Strangways abbreviates each Worthy's narrative into a quatrain, yet he draws upon details offered by the *Parlement* rather than those presented by the *Voeux*, the *Buik*, and the 'Ballet'. For example, Strangways writes

Lo alexander that wan nere all erthe
 yett haue wyne *and* women hym *conqueryd*
 Enpoysand was thys *prince* of conquerors
 Whan he was in *the* freshest of hys flour*es*[.]³⁵⁷

Strangways presents Alexander the Great as both conqueror and conquered. He also emphasises the centrality of wine and women to the hero's life. The *Voeux*,

³⁵⁵ Turville-Petre, 'The Nine Worthies', pp. 29-30. He explains that *Les Voeux du Paon* survives in about forty manuscripts, and that 'at least one' of these, BL MS. Add. 30864, 'was apparently transcribed in England in the late fourteenth century (p. 30).

³⁵⁶ See *The Parlement*, pp. 15-37; *Alliterative Morte Arthure*, in *King Arthur's Death*, ed. by Larry D. Benson (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1986), pp. 115-238 (pp. 212-13); and [Barbour], *The Buik*, pp. 402-6. Golláncz presents the *Buik*'s section on the Worthies as item no. vii in his appendix to *The Parlement*. "The "Ballet of the Nine Nobles"" survives in four manuscripts of Bower's *Scotichronicon* (CCC MS. 171, f. 371r; DC MS. Donibristle, f. 433v; ENRS MS. GD 45/26/48, f. 420v; and EUL MS. 186, f. 434r). For a discussion of the Worthies in the *Buik* and the 'Ballet', see Emily Wingfield, *The Trojan Legend in Medieval Scottish Literature* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2014), esp. her chapter on 'Troy in the Older Scots Romance and Nine Worthies Tradition', on pp. 52-88. Also see p. 70, n. 52, for more on the 'Ballet' manuscripts. Wingfield identifies EUL MS. Dc. 7. 63, ff. 155v-56r as a further copy of the 'Ballet' (p. 70). For the edited text, see W. A. Craigie, 'The "Ballet of the Nine Nobles"', *Anglia* 21 (1899), 359-65. Golláncz includes the poem as item no. x in his appendix.

³⁵⁷ BL MS. Harl. 2259, f. 39v; cf. Plate 2, p. 279.

the *Buik*, and the ‘Ballet’ present Alexander as the conqueror of the world, and the *Voeux* and the ‘Ballet’ even specify that he conquered every land under the sky in twelve years.³⁵⁸ Unlike the ‘Ballet’, which does not mention the hero’s death, the *Voeux* and the *Buik* assert that Alexander was poisoned, although they do not clarify who poisoned him.³⁵⁹ Strangways also does not specify who poisoned Alexander. The *Parlement*, in contrast, explains that the ‘cursid Cassaunder in a Coupe’ offered Alexander a poisoned drink.³⁶⁰ It presents Alexander’s death as a covert military conquest; the hero is killed because of his penchant for wine as well as his enemy’s clandestine tactic.

Strangways blames women and wine for Alexander’s demise. Other fifteenth-century verses on Alexander’s life also present the hero’s weakness as women. The prefatory pages of an early fifteenth-century medical text contain quatrains on three of the Worthies, specifically, Julius Caesar, Alexander, and Hector.³⁶¹ Unlike Strangways’ quatrains, and the verses on the Worthies in most of the other texts already discussed, this manuscript, like the *Alliterative Morte Arthure*, presents each Worthy’s narrative in the first person.³⁶² In the second

³⁵⁸ See de Longuyon, *Les Voeux*, p. 403, ln. 7495-501; [Barbour], *The Buik*, p. 403, ln. 9913-19; and Craigie, ‘The “Ballet”’, p. 360, ln. 7-9. Also see items vi, vii, and x in Golláncz’s appendix.

³⁵⁹ See de Longuyon, *Les Voeux*, p. 403, l. 7499; and [Barbour], *The Buik*, p. 403, l. 9917. Also see items vi and vii in Golláncz’s appendix.

³⁶⁰ *The Parlement*, p. 22, ln. 400-1.

³⁶¹ WL MS. 225, f. 2r. Most of this manuscript is an English copy of the Dominican Henry Daniel’s late fourteenth-century *Liber uricrisiarum*. However, the first four folios contain miscellaneous Latin and English texts, one of which presents the verses on the Worthies. The Wellcome Library’s online catalogue presents a detailed entry on this manuscript. See ‘MS 225’, *Archives and Manuscripts*, Wellcome Library [http://archives.wellcomelibrary.org/DServe/, accessed 19 April 2017]. This manuscript is digitally available online, at ‘Henry Daniel, *Liber uricrisiarum*, in English’, *Medieval and Early Modern Manuscripts*, Wellcome Library [http://wellcomelibrary.org/item/b19708075#?c, accessed 19 April 2017]. Also see NIMEV, no. 1322.5. These verses have been published. See Arne Zettersten, ‘The Middle English Lyrics in the Wellcome Library’, *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 68.3 (1967), 288-94 (pp. 292-3).

³⁶² See the *Alliterative Morte Arthure*, pp. 208-13, esp. lines 3272-327, in which the Worthies speak, and lines 3408-45 for a description of each Worthy. For a further example of verses on the Nine Worthies that are presented in the first person, see LAO MS. 2 Tennyson D’Eyncourt K/1 (c. 1453-61). The text on the Worthies, which appears at the end of the roll, has been edited. See Thorlac Turville-Petre, ‘A Poem on the Nine Worthies’, *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 27 (1983), 79-84; and NIMEV, no. 1367.55. Turville-Petre argues that the verses in this manuscript were probably composed either to be performed in a pageant by actors playing the Worthies or to be

quatrain, which is devoted to Alexander, the hero asserts that, ‘saue þe ile of women’, he has conquered ‘all þe world’.³⁶³ Despite his martial prowess, Alexander is presented as unable to subdue women. This narrative is reminiscent of Strangways’ description of Alexander as a hero who had ‘ner[e]ly’ conquered ‘all erthe’, but who succumbed to wine and women. Consequently, a conqueror’s military power is presented as insufficient without the guidance of restraint and moral virtue.

Strangways is closer to the *Parlement* than he is the *Voeux*, the *Buik*, and the ‘Ballet’ in his representation of King Arthur. He writes

What kyng hath passyd arthur *in* honour
 Whych many a thowsand as seyth myn auctor
 ffull manly slowgh *witb* calybron hys bronde
 ye *and* yett lyueth arthur *in* an other londe[.]³⁶⁴

Strangways highlights Arthur’s valiance in battle. He also draws attention to the ambiguity of Arthur’s death and to the possibility that the hero is alive in some distant and inaccessible place. In doing so, Strangways participates in a broader literary and cultural preoccupation with the finality or dubiousness of Arthur’s death.

This quatrain is at odds with the way that Arthur is represented in the *Voeux* and the *Buik*, as these texts focus on Arthur’s earlier adventures, specifically pointing out that the hero slew a giant at St Michael’s mount who desired to obtain

inscribed under each hero’s depicted image (p. 80). This is a convincing argument, especially because the Worthies are presented as speaking in first-person in a fifteenth-century mumming play on the Nine Worthies (Bodl. Lib. MS. Tanner 407, f. 32v), and in French verses on a mid-fifteenth century woodblock (c. 1454-7). Golláncz includes both texts in his appendix to *The Parlement* (entries no. xiii and xiv). Also see *NIMEV*, no. 3666. This potentially performative context also applies to the quatrains on the Worthies in WL MS. 225, f. 2r, as they, too, are in first-person.

³⁶³ WL MS. 225, f. 2r, l. 6; and Zettersten, ‘The Middle English Lyrics’, p. 292, l. 6.

³⁶⁴ BL MS. Harl. 2259, f. 39v; cf. Plate 2, p. 279.

Arthur's beard.³⁶⁵ This episode is recounted in Geoffrey of Monmouth's twelfth-century chronicle *The History of the Kings of Britain* as well as in the early fifteenth-century alliterative poem *Morte Arthure*.³⁶⁶ The 'Ballet' focuses on Arthur as a European conqueror, specifying that he slew two giants in hand-to-hand combat and naming them as Lucius, the Roman procurator, and Frolo, the Roman tribune in France, both of whom are characters that are slain in Geoffrey's chronicle, although, in this text, they are not giants.³⁶⁷ Crucially, the *Voeux*, the *Buik*, and the 'Ballet' do not mention Arthur's death.

However, several texts that present the details of Arthur's life and accomplishments do incorporate an account of the hero's death. The *Alliterative Morte Arthure* grants Arthur an unambiguous Christian death, asserting 'thus passes his spirit// and spēkes hē no more!'.³⁶⁸ The roll with the octaves on the Worthies held at the Lincolnshire Archives Office similarly suggests that Arthur's death is final, as Arthur is presented complaining that 'fals Mordryd at Glassonbury dyde me betraye'.³⁶⁹ The *Parlement*, in contrast, presents Arthur as a brave conqueror with an ambivalent death, as, after he is defeated in battle, Arthur's knight sees him on a boat with Morgan le Fey and 'othire of his ferys', drifting into the distance.³⁷⁰ This account agrees with Geoffrey's presentation of Arthur's death, in which the hero is 'mortally wounded [letaliter uulneratus est]' and taken to Avalon to be

³⁶⁵ See de Longuyon, *Les Voeux*, p. 405, ln. 7548-57; and [Barbour], *The Buik*, p. 405, ln. 9981-92. Also see item numbers vi and vii in Golláncz's appendix.

³⁶⁶ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History*, pp. 224-6, para. 165; and *Alliterative Morte Arthure*, pp. 140-9, ln. 842-1159.

³⁶⁷ Craigie, "The 'Ballet'", p. 362, ln. 37-42; and entry no. x in Golláncz's appendix to *The Parlement*. Also see Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History*, pp. 206-8, para. 155, for Geoffrey's account of Arthur slaying Frolo, and p. 246, para. 175, for his account of how Lucius is killed by 'an unknown lance'. The *Alliterative Morte Arthure* relates that Arthur kills Lucius (p. 179, l. 2255).

³⁶⁸ *Alliterative Morte Arthure*, p. 237, l. 4327.

³⁶⁹ LAO MS. 2 Tennyson D'Eyncourt K/1; and Turville-Petre, 'A Poem', p. 83, l. 56.

³⁷⁰ *The Parlement*, p. 31, ln. 509-12. This account does not mention Lucius or Frolo, although it does include a description of Arthur killing a dragon, rather than a giant, on St Michael's mount (ln. 486-7).

healed.³⁷¹ However, the *Parlement* does not specify that Arthur will be healed, whereas Strangways implies that the hero is healed, as he ‘lyueth’ in another land. On this point, the *Parlement* is closer to Layamon’s *Brut* (c. 1200-20), which describes Arthur sailing into the distance in a small boat occupied by two unnamed women.³⁷²

Strangways’ account of Arthur’s post-death life does more than take a stance on Arthur’s mortality; it participates in a hopeful discussion with other late medieval narratives about Arthur’s survival and, consequently, the tantalizing possibility that he will return to the world and restore chivalric ideals. This sentiment is expressed in Bodl. Lib. MS. Tanner 407, as f. 32v presents a fifteenth-century mumming play on the Nine Worthies in which Arthur asserts ‘3yt shall I come a3en, thow it be long’.³⁷³ The recto side of this page contains three quatrains that John Withrington suggests are probably also fragments of a pageant, as they are written in the first-person voices of King Arthur, Charlemagne, and King David.³⁷⁴ The last line of King Arthur’s quatrain asserts, ‘And yet, is he levand in another londe’.³⁷⁵ This line is almost identical to Strangways’ ‘ye *and* yett lyueth arthur *in* an other londe’.³⁷⁶ Golláncz dates this manuscript as contemporary with Edward IV, who reigned from 1461-70 and 1471-83, and Withrington agrees, arguing for a late fifteenth-century date.³⁷⁷ This is significant because Richard Strangways composed his miscellany in the mid-fifteenth century, which suggests

³⁷¹ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History*, pp. 252-3, para. 178, ln. 81-2.

³⁷² *Layamon’s Arthur: The Arthurian Section of Layamon’s Brut (lines 9229-14,297)*, ed. and trans. by W. R. J. Barron and S. C. Weinberg (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2008), pp. 254-5, ln. 14,283-7.

³⁷³ See item no. xiii in Golláncz’s appendix to *The Parlement*; *NIMEV*, no. 3666; and Withrington, ‘The Arthurian Epitaph’, p. 105.

³⁷⁴ Bodl. Lib. MS. Tanner 407, f. 32r; and Withrington, ‘The Arthurian Epitaph’, p. 105.

³⁷⁵ Bodl. Lib. MS. Tanner 407, f. 32r. Withrington quotes the entire quatrain in ‘The Arthurian Epitaph’, pp. 105-6.

³⁷⁶ BL MS. Harl. 2259, f. 39v.

³⁷⁷ See item no. xiii in Golláncz’s appendix to *The Parlement*; and Withrington, ‘The Arthurian Epitaph’, p. 105.

that, if a late fifteenth-century ascription is accurate, then the writer of the verses was either directly or indirectly familiar with Strangways' text or with a version of it.

Indeed, the most famous late medieval account of Arthur's life, Thomas Malory's *Le Morte Darthur* (c. 1470), intersects with and synthesises the various accounts of Arthur's death. In Malory's rendition, three queens, one of whom is Morgan le Fey, as well as a fourth woman, the Lady of the Lake, carry Arthur away on a ship.³⁷⁸ These women bring Arthur 'to hys grave', and Malory relates that a hermit who 'sometyme' was the Bishop of Canterbury witnessed a body being interred—although he 'knew nat in sertayne' that this body was, in fact, Arthur's.³⁷⁹ In this way, Arthur's death becomes simultaneously concrete and ambiguous. Moreover, Malory asserts that there are rumours that Arthur 'ys nat dede', that he 'had by the wyll of Oure Lorde Jesu *into another place* [my italics]', and that he 'shall com agayne'.³⁸⁰ Malory's use of the words 'into another place' shares the same sentiment with the language that Strangways uses; both writers indicate that Arthur is alive somewhere else and keep this secret location unnamed. Malory does not

³⁷⁸ Sir Thomas Malory, *Le Morte Darthur*, ed. by P. J. C. Field, 2 vols, Arthurian Studies 80 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2013), in vol. 1, p. 928, ln. 7-11.

³⁷⁹ Malory, *Le Morte Darthur*, vol. 1, p. 928, ln. 17-20. Malory's sources for this scene relate that Arthur's knight watches the boat disappear and that a hermit witnesses the ladies bury Arthur's body. See Benson's 'Introduction' to *King Arthur's Death*, p. xv and p. xviii. Also see *Stanzaic Morte Arthur*, in *King Arthur's Death*, ed. by Larry D. Benson (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1986), pp. 3-111; esp. pp. 98-9, ln. 3500-53, as well as p. 111, l. 3958-9, which specifies that Arthur's queen, here named Gaynor, is buried next to Arthur at Glastonbury. *La Mort Artu*, the third portion of the Lancelot-Grail (or Vulgate) Cycle (c. 1215-35), asserts that Arthur's knight watches the boat filled with ladies disappear into the distance with Arthur, who is mortally wounded, and that a hermit witnesses these ladies, whom he does not know, bury Arthur's body, which he clearly identifies as Arthur. See *The Death of Arthur*, in *Lancelot-Grail: The Old French Arthurian Vulgate and Post-Vulgate in Translation*, ed. and trans. by Norris J. Lacy, vol. 7 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010), p. 129.

³⁸⁰ Malory, *Le Morte Darthur*, vol. 1, p. 928, ln. 22-4. In the Post-Vulgate *Death of Arthur*, which is Malory's source for these rumours, Arthur's knight and the hermit open Arthur's tomb to verify that the corpse that has been interred there is, in fact, the king's. Arthur's helmet is all that the knight sees when he looks inside Arthur's tomb. The Post-Vulgate presents Arthur's death as 'mysterious', but it does not explicitly assert, as Malory does, that the hero is not dead, that he resides in another land, or that he will one day return. See *The Post-Vulgate Cycle: The Quest for the Holy Grail and The Death of Arthur*, in *Lancelot-Grail: The Old French Arthurian Vulgate and Post-Vulgate in Translation*, ed. by Norris J. Lacy, trans. by Martha Asher, vol. 9 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010), p. 408.

locate this other place as Avalon and he does not allow the ship to disappear into the distance; instead, he clearly asserts that people believe that the hero is still alive somewhere else, and that, one day, he will return. This use of the same sentiment to describe Arthur's fate raises questions about how a mid-fifteenth and a late fifteenth-century writer might arrive at similarly ambiguous conclusions about Arthur's whereabouts instead of specifying that he has relocated to Avalon. If Malory was not familiar with Strangways' text, which he probably was not, this impulse to keep Arthur's location ambiguous points to a possible and unidentified shared source. At the same time, the distinction between these two accounts is that Strangways locates Arthur's unidentified whereabouts in an actual land, which suggests that it is an earthly location even though it might not be easily accessible, while Malory's indication that this other location is a 'place' does not ground it on Earth and, especially because Arthur has been taken to this other place 'by the wyll of Oure Lorde Jesu', insinuates that this place could potentially be heaven. This insinuation, in turn, correlates Arthur with Christ, and correlates Arthur's potential return to restore chivalric ideals with Christ's hoped-for return to and redemption of the world.

Strangways' verses on the Worthies thus creatively intersect with broader literary and cultural traditions about the heroes. Given that heraldic texts are often positioned as historical records, it is not surprising that their narratives can also draw upon documentary and chronicle sources. For example, de Bado Aureo and Upton each narrate the succession of kings from Brutus to Edward III and accompany each description with a painted and/or blazoned portrayal of each king's royal arms.³⁸¹ Their depiction of these arms is significant because,

³⁸¹ See de Bado Aureo's *Tractatus de Armis*. For a late fifteenth-century English translation of the heraldic portion of this treatise, see Bodl. Lib. MS. Laud. Misc. 733, ff. 1r-17v. This treatise is followed in the manuscript by a prose *Brut* narrative (ff. 18r-168v) that also finely illustrates each

historically, heraldry did not develop as a consistently used hereditary practice until the twelfth century. Retroactively granting arms to British kings validates England's peculiar mixture of a chronicle-based fictive and historical monarchical genealogy, amplifying England's history of conqueror kings and especially their history of ruling over parts of France.

Nicholas Upton presents heraldic material resourcefully. Upton uses chronicle sources to serve his political and ideological motives as he argues for England's legitimate claim to France. For example, Upton incorporates Henry V's Mantes ordinances into his treatise, and he draws upon Geoffrey of Monmouth's *The History of the Kings of Britain* to hereditarily connect Henry V's claim to the French throne to the legendary British kings who conquered France. Henry V's campaigns in France were 'concerned with reclaiming what he saw as his lost inheritance', which he based on his descent from Edward III, whose grandfather was Philip IV of France, and from William the Conqueror, who was the duke of Normandy before he ruled England.³⁸² Military ordinances establish the rules for how an army ought to behave during war, and they tend to regulate conduct in battle, in duels, and when taking hostages, as well as wages and the treatment of local civilian populations.³⁸³ Henry V's Mantes ordinances were crucial to his martial success and they had a practical as well as an ideological purpose: they

British/English king's royal arms. For Upton's presentation of this monarchical genealogy, see John Blount's English translation of Upton's *De Studio Militari* (Bodl. Lib. MS. Eng. Misc. D. 227, ff. 119r-24v). Also see Walker, 'An Edition', vol. 2, pp. 106-10.

³⁸² Marcus Cowper, *Henry V: Leadership, Strategy, Conflict* (Oxford: Osprey, 2010), p. 4 and p. 6.

³⁸³ For more on military ordinances, see Anne Curry, 'The Military Ordinances of Henry V: Texts and Contexts', in *War, Government and Aristocracy in the British Isles, c. 1150-1500: Essays in Honour of Michael Prestwich*, ed. by Chris Given-Wilson, Ann Kettle, and Len Scales (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008), pp. 214-49. Also see Rémy Ambühl, *Prisoners of War in the Hundred Years War: Ransom Culture in the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 28-31; and Nall, *Reading and War*, pp. 50-3. For more on earlier English military ordinances, see Keen, 'Richard II's Ordinances'.

controlled soldier behaviour by promoting respectful interaction, especially among those soldiers who were lower down on the social scale.³⁸⁴

Upton connects Henry V's statutes on prisoners of war to King Arthur, thereby grounding the English territorial and ideological claim to the French throne in Galfridian evidence that extends it to a more ancient genealogical link than William the Conqueror. He explains that the 'old statutes made vpon prisoners' were

made furste As men thinke by Arthur And his successors, bothe kinges of
 fraunce And of Englonde. And specially by the fore saide Edward And
 Also by the moste victorious And cristen prince herry the vth king of
 Englande, gouernyng than the Realme of fraunce, And proclamed in euery
 place heyre Apparent.³⁸⁵

In this way, Upton connects Henry V to Edward III and Arthur, who all made dynastic claims to the throne of France. To signify his assumed position as the king of both England and France, Edward III quartered the French and English royal arms in 1340.³⁸⁶ Upton perceives this quartering as justified. He asserts that Edward III is the 'very trew enheritor' of France because his mother was the French king's 'dowghter & heyre' and because the Black Prince captured John the

³⁸⁴ BL MS. Lansdowne 285 contains the earliest known copy of Henry V's ordinances of war (ff. 144r-50r/ ff. 141r-7r [refoliation]). This manuscript was made for John Paston (d. 1479) and it is the 'Grete Book' whose costs are accounted for in the Paston letters. For more on the manuscript, see G. A. Lester, *Sir John Paston's 'Grete Book': A Descriptive Catalogue, with an Introduction, of British Library MS. Lansdowne 285* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1984); and Curry, 'The Military Ordinances', pp. 217-8. Interestingly, this manuscript was owned by Garter Kings of Arms Thomas Wriothesley (Garter, 1505-34), Gilbert Dethick (Garter, 1550-84), and William Dethick (Garter, 1586-1606). See Lester, *Sir John Paston's 'Grete Book'*, pp. 58-9. Blount translates Upton's copy of Henry V's ordinances in Bodl. Lib. MS. Eng. Misc. D. 227, ff. 125v-36r. Also see Walker, 'An Edition', vol. 2, pp. 111-19.

³⁸⁵ Bodl. Lib. MS. Eng. Misc. D. 227, f. 125v; and Walker, 'An Edition', vol. 2, pp. 110-11.

³⁸⁶ Adrian Ailes, 'Heraldry in Medieval England: Symbols of Politics and Propaganda', in *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, ed. by Peter Coss and Maurice Keen (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002), pp. 83-104 (p. 88).

Good at Poitiers.³⁸⁷ Walker explains that Upton ‘perhaps considered’ that the ‘statute on prisoners had a provision for the ownership of prisoners’ goods’, inferring from that provision that capturing a prisoner also entitles one to that prisoner’s arms.³⁸⁸ Upton insists that Edward III and ‘[a]ll hys heyres’ have a ‘lawfull’ right to the captured French king’s arms.³⁸⁹ Consequently, Edward III’s claim to the French throne is legitimate because of his bloodline but also because France is rightfully his according to the statutes on prisoners of war.

Upton also draws upon Geoffrey’s chronicle to establish that King Arthur has a lawful right to rule over France because of his descent from Belinus, the fictional ancient British king who conquered France.³⁹⁰ Upton makes this rightful territorial claim evident by asserting that Arthur sometimes used Belinus’ arms, ‘iij golden crownes, in A felde of Azoure’, and by inserting an anecdote which he draws from Geoffrey’s chronicle into his earlier discussion on justified duels, in which Arthur, while claiming a right to France because of his descent from Belinus, vanquishes Frolo, the Roman tribune, in a duel.³⁹¹ In this way, Upton brings the political and ideological weight of chronicle-based history into his text to support

³⁸⁷ Bodl. Lib. MS. Eng. Misc. D. 227, ff. 106v-7r and f. 125v. Also see Walker, ‘An Edition’, vol. 1, p. 73, and vol. 2, p. 94. *Prince Arthur’s Book* (CA MS. Vincent 152) implicitly makes a similar case for Edward III’s territorial claim based on his prisoners of war. A brief biographical narrative about Edward III asserts that he he ‘hadde the king of ffrance John *and* the king of Scotland david his *prisoners*’ (p. 51).

³⁸⁸ Walker, ‘An Edition’, vol. 1, p. 89. As Curry explains, although it was the Black Prince who captured King John, ‘civil law determined that whatever the son gained should be to the father’s advantage’. See Curry, ‘The Military Ordinances’, p. 222.

³⁸⁹ Bodl. Lib. MS. Eng. Misc. D. 227, f. 107r. Also see Walker, ‘An Edition’, vol. 1, p. 73, and vol. 2, pp. 94-5.

³⁹⁰ Bodl. Lib. MS. Eng. Misc. D. 227, f. 60v; and Walker, ‘An Edition’, vol. 2, p. 64. Also see Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History*, Book Three, pp. 56-7, para. 42, l. 155-63.

³⁹¹ Bodl. Lib. MS. Eng. Misc. D. 227, ff. 119v-20r, for Belinus’s arms, and, for the anecdote, ff. 60r-1v. Also see Walker, ‘An Edition’, vol. 2, p. 106 and pp. 62-5. For Geoffrey’s account, see *The History*, esp. Book 4, which offers a genealogy of British kings, and Book 9, ch. 11, for Arthur’s duel with Frolo. Walker explains that Upton’s account of this duel is ‘a mainly word for word copy’ of Geoffrey’s narrative. See Walker, ‘An Edition’, vol. 1, p. 50. Upton acknowledges that this section of his treatise is indebted to his source material, asserting that ‘these be the very wordes of the cronicle’. See Bodl. Lib. MS. Eng. Misc. D. 227, f. 63r; and Walker, ‘An Edition’, vol. 2, p. 65. Blount’s manuscript’s foliation is out of sequence in this section, as f. 60r is followed by ff. 62r-v, 60v, 61r-v, and 63r. This sequencing is due to a scribal error. For more on this, see Walker, ‘An Edition’, vol. 2, p. vi, p. 63, n. 1, and p. 65, n. 3.

his view of England's lawful right to France. Upton's text, like Geoffrey's text, intersects the fictive with the historical and presents the resulting hybrid text as legitimate documentary evidence. Moreover, because Upton's text is a heraldic treatise that deals with military regulations as well as with practical heraldic design, his overlapping of chronicle-based conquest history with law and heraldic practice invites a reading of that history as legally accurate and legitimate.

Heraldic texts can also reveal their political and ideological motives when they record the intersection of historical events with romance and allegory. Historical events that straddle these different modes of presentation, such as tournaments, become even more politically driven when recorded through a heraldic text's idealised documentary lens. For example, the Great Tournament Roll of Westminster commemorates the tournament that was held on the 12th and 13th of February, 1511, in honour of Katharine of Aragon, to celebrate the birth of Henry VIII's son.³⁹² The roll is an illuminated pictorial record of the occasion that depicts the processions and the joust that took place on the second day.³⁹³ Sydney Anglo surmises that Thomas Wriothesley, who was Garter King of Arms when

³⁹² CA MS. Great Tournament Roll of Westminster is a vellum roll comprised of thirty-six membranes that is almost sixty feet long. It has been reproduced in a series of engravings in *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. 1 (London: The Society of Antiquaries, 1747), n. pag. More recently, the roll has been edited and photographically reproduced in *GTRW*. Also see *HCEC*, no. 23, pp. 40-2, and plates vi-ix. Henry, duke of Cornwall, the prince whose birth the tournament celebrated, died shortly after the festivities (b. 1 Jan., d. 22 Feb.).

³⁹³ There are other records of the Westminster Tournament that supplement this roll's pictorial narrative. Two contemporary chronicles describe the occasion: *The Great Chronicle of London*, which was written between the mid-fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and survives in one manuscript copy (GL MS. 3313), and *Hall's Chronicle*, which was written by Edward Hall (d. 1547) and first published in 1548. *Hall's Chronicle* was originally published as *The Vnion of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancaster & Yorke*. See *The Great Chronicle of London*, ed. by A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley (London: Guildhall Library, 1938), pp. 368-74; and *Hall's Chronicle* (London: J. Johnson et al., 1809), pp. 517-19. There are also manuscript records that relate to the Westminster Tournament, and Anglo reprints them in his appendix to *GTRW*, vol. 1. The Revels Account of Richard Gibson (TNA/PRO MS. E. 36/ 217), which Anglo relates is written in Gibson's hand, lists the supplies and expenses for the pageant that preceded the tournament (Appendix III, pp. 116-33). The jousting cheques for the tournament record the jousters and their scores (Appendix II, pp. 112-15). Anglo explains scoring methods and how to decipher these cheques (p. 38, n. 4). Also see Sydney Anglo, 'Archives of the English Tournament: Score Cheques and Lists', *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 2 (1961), 153-62.

the tournament took place, was probably either directly or indirectly responsible for the text's creation.³⁹⁴ The Westminster Tournament Challenge (BL MS. Harl. 83 H. 1) helps to clarify the events depicted by the Westminster Tournament Roll. The Challenge takes the form of an allegorical narrative that 'dictates the purpose of the joust and the articles of combat', and, as Alison Walker points out, it is 'the only original manuscript of its type known to survive'.³⁹⁵ Ultimately, the Great Tournament Roll of Westminster and the Westminster Tournament Challenge are politically and ideologically motivated. They document an event that was itself an idealised performance, and their purpose, like the event's purpose, is to aggrandise the king, even if it means manipulating and idealising the historical record.

The Great Tournament Roll of Westminster has a different kind of imaginative appeal because it intersects with romance tropes and with allegory in its execution. As Richard Barber and Juliet Barker explain, fifteenth and early sixteenth-century tournaments often took the form of *pas d'armes*, which were spectacles that drew upon romance tropes to contextualise jousting within a performed narrative about defending the kingdom or a particular area.³⁹⁶ Barber and Barker assert that, '[t]hrough the influence of the romances, the quest for individual prowess had become the overriding theme of chivalric ambitions'.³⁹⁷

³⁹⁴ *GTRW*, vol. 1, p. 75. Anglo explains that '[t]he identity of the artist responsible for the execution of the Roll is not known although the subject-matter, form, and style of the manuscript, together with the fact of its survival at the College of Arms, indicate that he was a herald or in the heralds' employ' (p. 75). For more on Wriothesley as an owner and copyist of heraldic texts, see *CEMRA*, p. 156; and cf. pp. 234-9. Alison Walker, who engages in a palaeographical analysis of the tournament challenge, argues that it has 'a strong connection with Thomas Wriothesley'. See Alison Tara Walker, 'The Westminster Tournament Challenge (Harley 83 H 1) and Thomas Wriothesley's Workshop', *Electronic British Library Journal*, article 9 (2011), 1-13 (p. 1). Although the challenge and the roll are two separate works, Wriothesley's palaeographical connection to the challenge makes it probable that he is also, at least in some capacity, linked to the roll.

³⁹⁵ Walker, 'The Westminster Tournament Challenge', p. 1. The challenge is printed in *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. 1, n. pag.; and in *GTRW*, vol. 1, Appendix I (II), pp. 109-11. Anglo clarifies that The Great Tournament Roll of Westminster does not include a copy of the challenge. See *GTRW*, vol. 1, p. 74, n. 1.

³⁹⁶ Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 107.

³⁹⁷ Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, p. 110.

Indeed, the Westminster Tournament was really a celebration of Henry VIII's individual prowess. The event applauded the king's virility and his longevity, as embodied by his newly born son and heir. It also provided the king with a forum through which to display his martial strength, his noble character, and, probably most importantly, his wealth, which is evidenced in everything from the decorations to the worn apparel, to his queen who sits under a golden canopy. The occasion's purpose was really to glorify and celebrate the king. Moreover, because Thomas Wriothesley, who was Garter King of Arms in 1511, when the tournament took place, was probably either directly or indirectly responsible for the roll's creation, this text provides an example of a herald not just recording a historical event, but creatively participating in its historical documentation to filter the proceedings so that they aggrandise the king.

The Westminster Tournament Challenge, which elucidates the events that are pictorially depicted by the Great Tournament Roll of Westminster, presents the tournament's allegorical framework, which is itself heavily indebted to romance ideals. According to the challenge, 'Noble Renome Quene of the Royalme named Cuer noble', has heard of the English prince's birth, and, considering the King of England's 'expert nobles', she sends four knights from her realm to 'accomplishe certaine feates of Armes'.³⁹⁸ These four knights are called Ceure loyall, Vailliaunt desyre, Bone voloyr, and Joyous panser, and their roles were correspondingly played by Henry VIII, Sir Thomas Knyvet, Sir William Courtenay, and Sir Edward Neville.³⁹⁹ The allegorical premise of the Great Tournament of Westminster is not focused on a need to defend the kingdom from a particular danger, but it does

³⁹⁸ *GTRW*, vol. 1, Appendix I (II), p. 109.

³⁹⁹ *GTRW*, vol. 1, p. 51. This allegorical framework was a common feature of Burgundian tournaments. For key studies on Burgundian tournaments, see Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969); Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*; Crouch, *Tournament*; and Coss and Keen, eds., *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display*.

create a narrative that is concentrated in a trope that is common to romance, as these disguised men joust to honour a woman. This woman is simultaneously Queen Katherine of Aragon, who has just given birth to Henry VIII's son, and 'Noble Renome', an allegorical queen who personifies the nobility and fame that can be achieved through a 'cuer noble', or 'noble heart'. The tournament displays and works to enhance Henry VIII's nobility and fame, a purpose that is made acute by his allegorical moniker, 'Ceure loyall', or 'loyal heart', which directly connects the king to 'Cuer noble', the ideal chivalric realm that is ruled by 'Noble Renome', or fame. Consequently, on an allegorical level, these four knights compete for their own honour, for the honour of their realm, 'Cuer noble', a place that is presumably named for the noble hearts of its citizens and which stands in for Henry VIII's court, and for the honour of their queen, 'Noble Renome', whose name is suggestive of the fame garnered by noble deeds, and who is doubled by Henry VIII's queen.⁴⁰⁰

This tournament was at least nominally held in Katherine of Aragon's honour. In the Great Tournament Roll of Westminster, the procession to the lists leads to a depiction of the disguised king jousting in front of a gallery with an entrance that has been made in the likeness of a castle, and on which the queen sits under a golden canopy to observe the jousts, surrounded by men to her right and women to her left, some of whom lean against the railing.⁴⁰¹ The king, who is disguised as 'Ceure loyall', which is evident because the name 'loyall' is indicated on his surcoat, is in the act of jousting in front of the gallery. He wears 'a lady's sleeve or scarf, in gold and red' on his helmet, and these colours match with the queen's gold and red head-dress, suggesting that the king wears the queen's token

⁴⁰⁰ *MED*, *renome* (n.) (a) Renown, fame, glory, and (b) reputation.

⁴⁰¹ CA MS. Great Tournament Roll of Westminster, membranes 25-6. Also see *GTRW*, vol. 1, pp. 96-7, and vol. 2, plate xvi.

as he jousts.⁴⁰² This depiction is reminiscent of Thomas Malory's portrayals of knights wearing a lady's token and jousting in her honour, as does Sir Lancelot, who wears Queen Guinevere's golden sleeve at the Tournament at Westminster as well as the Maid of Astolat's scarlet sleeve while jousting at Camelot in disguise.⁴⁰³ The Great Tournament Roll of Westminster shares this feature with romance narratives. It exalts the king's loyalty to and love for his queen and it consequently deflects the occasion's true purpose, which is to glorify the king. Like an allegory, which claims to be about one thing but is really about something else, this event claims to honour Queen Katherine when it really celebrates Henry.

The Great Tournament Roll of Westminster depicts and glamourises the historical record. For example, the roll shows the disguised king shattering his lance against his opponent's helmet. However, as Anglo points out, '[t]he jousting cheques reveal that the King did not break a single stave on the head either on this day or on the first'.⁴⁰⁴ The roll makes the king's performance at this tournament appear to be more successful than the historical record reveals. This dignifies Henry VIII's chivalric ability as he jousts before his queen, romanticising the day's events. The joust is also the highlight of the Great Tournament Roll of Westminster, as, except for this one scene of the disguised king jousting before his queen, the entire roll is devoted to the processions that lead to it and away from it.

In addition, the Great Tournament Roll of Westminster ends with a five-stanza poem that celebrates Henry VIII as the tenth Worthy.⁴⁰⁵ The poem asserts that 'harry our kyng' is 'felowe to the worthys nyne', and it twice questions 'why

⁴⁰² *GTRW*, vol. 1, p. 97, and vol. 2, plate xvi.

⁴⁰³ Malory, *Le Morte Darthur*, vol. 1, p. 832 and p. 806.

⁴⁰⁴ *GTRW*, vol. 1, p. 97, n. 1. Also see the king's score in the tournament's jousting cheques, which Anglo prints in the same volume (Appendix II, p. 112).

⁴⁰⁵ CA MS. Great Tournament Roll of Westminster, membrane 36. Also see *GTRW*, vol. 1, pp. 106-7, and vol. 2, plate xxiii. This poem is also mentioned by Schroeder in 'The Nine Worthies: A Supplement', pp. 334-5, entry no. 9.

not thou the tenth as well as they the nyne'.⁴⁰⁶ By positioning Henry VIII as the tenth Worthy, the poem intersects with a broader tradition of attributing this status to those who are seen as paragons of chivalric virtue and martial skill.⁴⁰⁷ The poem also elevates Henry VIII above the other Worthies and as beyond comparison with them, stating that 'The noble nyne which was the worthyest/ To thy begynnyng was not comparabyll'.⁴⁰⁸ It positions Henry VIII as the Worthies' 'ayre', and as heir to their honour and fame, which his honour and fame surpasses.⁴⁰⁹ Consequently, the speaker, who directly addresses Henry, exclaims that 'Not Charles of ffrauce nor Arthure the worthe', Alexander, David, 'nor godfras larges was not lyke thyne'.⁴¹⁰ Whether it is genuine, heart-felt praise or, as is more probable, a display of performed admiration, this commendation of Henry VIII stresses that the king exceeds the other Worthies. The speaker locates the king's greatness in his 'larges', indicating that his generosity with spending money and

⁴⁰⁶ CA MS. Great Tournament Roll of Westminster, membrane 36, lines 14, 20, and 28. Also see *GTRW*, vol. 1, pp. 106-7, and vol. 2, plate xxiii.

⁴⁰⁷ For example, in his early fifteenth-century poem 'The Title and Pedigree of Henry VI' (c. 1422), John Lydgate praises Henry V, asserting that 'he may among þe Worthie Nyne/ Truly be set & reconed for oon'. See John Lydgate, 'The Title and Pedigree of Henry VI', in *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, ed. by Henry N. MacCracken, EETS o. s. 192, vol. 2 (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), pp. 613-22 (p. 619, ln. 217-18). Also see Schroeder, 'The Nine Worthies: A Supplement', p. 331, entry no. 1. Lydgate was not the first to propose a tenth Worthy. In the late fourteenth century, Eustache Deschamps compared Bertrand du Guesclin (d. 1380), who led the Valois army to several victories, with the Nine Worthies, and Jean Cuvelier, who is attributed with the late fourteenth-century poem *La Chanson de Bertrand du Guesclin*, positioned the hero as the tenth Worthy. See Craig Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood in France during the Hundred Years War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 118; Richard Vernier, *The Flower of Chivalry: Bertrand du Guesclin and the Hundred Years War* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), p. 196; and *La Chanson de Bertrand du Guesclin de Cuvelier*, ed. by Jean-Claude Faucon, vol. 1 (Toulouse: Éditions Universitaires du Sud, 1990), esp. p. 216, ln. 10857-60. The fifteenth-century Scots poem 'Ballet of the Nine Nobles' devotes a stanza to detailing the lives of each of the Nine Worthies, and it also presents a tenth stanza, which celebrates Robert the Bruce, who, 'throu hard feich[t]yng', led the Scots to victory against 'the mychtth kyng/ Off ingland, Edward [II]'. See Craigie, 'The "Ballet"', p. 362, ln. 55-60; and entry no. x in Golláncz's appendix to *The Parlement*. This poem does not explicitly assert that Robert I is the tenth Worthy, but, by devoting its final stanza to him, the 'Ballet' implicitly inserts the Bruce into the Worthies tradition. For more on the poem's construction of Robert the Bruce as the tenth Worthy, see Wingfield, *The Trojan Legend*, pp. 70-3.

⁴⁰⁸ CA MS. Great Tournament Roll of Westminster, membrane 36, ln. 15-16. Also see *GTRW*, vol. 1, p. 106, and vol. 2, plate xxiii.

⁴⁰⁹ CA MS. Great Tournament Roll of Westminster, membrane 36, l. 22. Also see *GTRW*, vol. 1, p. 106, and vol. 2, plate xxiii.

⁴¹⁰ CA MS. Great Tournament Roll of Westminster, membrane 36, ln. 25-7. Also see *GTRW*, vol. 1, p. 106, and vol. 2, plate xxiii.

giving gifts is unmatched.⁴¹¹ This insinuates that the people who are responsible for writing this poem and making this roll, who are probably Thomas Wriothesley and those heralds, pursuivants, and painters who worked under his direction, expect to be well paid for their services and for glorifying the king. The saccharine tribute appears appropriate in context, as the Great Tournament Roll of Westminster celebrates the king in his prime, idealising his performance at the joust before his queen and emphasising his virility, which is further evidenced by the recent birth of his son. The roll's closing poem bolsters its political and ideological construction of a carefully modified historical record that aggrandises the king. In doing so, the poem provides further evidence for the unexpected inventiveness of heraldic texts. This heraldic text intersects Henry VIII's performance at the Great Tournament of Westminster with a broader literary and cultural tradition about the Worthies, and it also evinces an open willingness to manipulate historical records to suit royally-sanctioned political and ideological objectives.

Joubard's 'Poem on Heraldry' presents further evidence for the diversity and liveliness of heraldic texts. The poem participates in the broader tradition of prison writing, or, at least it draws upon it as a trope and uses it to frame the writer's larger artistic vision. Joubard, the ostensibly imprisoned speaker, opens his poem by lamenting his plight as a prisoner. This frame is distinctive among heraldic tracts. Joubard's representation of himself as a wrongfully imprisoned man who composes a literary work while reflecting upon his predicament draws upon a literary convention popularised by imprisoned writers such as the early sixth-century Boethius and the late fifteenth-century Thomas Malory. However,

⁴¹¹ *MED*, *larges*(se) (n.) 1 (a) Willingness to give or spend freely, and 2 (a) Liberal bestowal of gifts, grace, etc.

although some evidence can be gleaned for why Joubard might be imprisoned, this evidence, which is detailed below, is not substantial enough to warrant his imprisonment, and this, along with his use of the conventional modesty topos, suggests that Joubard is probably posturing himself as imprisoned.

Joubard does not present himself as a lover, but he does make use of the exaggerated emotional turmoil that literal and metaphorical prisoners exhibit in the prison writing tradition as a result of being denied access to their beloved.⁴¹² Drawing upon the language of love, which metaphorically correlates the hyperbolised heartache of an unrequited love with imprisonment, Joubard exclaims that he is a ‘wreche’ and that, although he is ‘wrongefully [...] oppreste’, he ‘petuously [...] wayle[s] and complayne[s]’, ‘[b]esechyng of pardon’.⁴¹³ In the first five stanzas of the poem, he asks to be pardoned three times, once for his ‘offence’, and twice for his questionable knowledge about heraldry, and he even implores the reader to ‘adde and mynyshe’ to the content of the poem as ‘seme[s] beste’.⁴¹⁴ The speaker employs dubitatio, expressing doubt in his ability to perform his task. He also appeals for correction, which is a conventional feature of late medieval texts. The appeal is a formality that works in conjunction with the modesty topos in this poem, and it does not necessarily mean that Joubard doubts his own authority, as he is confident enough in his heraldic knowledge to compose a poem about heraldry. Joubard also emphasises his humility, as, for example, when he addresses heralds directly in the sixth stanza, which he opens with ‘I humble yow be seche’ and closes with ‘I humble to 3ow calle’.⁴¹⁵ Joubard petitions the heralds in a

⁴¹² See, for example, Geoffrey Chaucer’s presentation of Palamon and Arcite in ‘The Knight’s Tale’, in *The Canterbury Tales*. Also see the way that James I presents himself after seeing a lady outside of his prison window in his semi-autobiographical poem *The Kingis Quair*.

⁴¹³ FSL MS. V. a. 198, f. 6r, ln. 19, 1, and 6; and ‘Eu. Hood’, ‘An Ancient Poem’, p. 414.

⁴¹⁴ FSL MS. V. a. 198, ff. 6r-v, ln. 6, 28, 31, and 35; and ‘Eu. Hood’, ‘An Ancient Poem’, p. 414.

⁴¹⁵ FSL MS. V. a. 198, f. 6v, ln. 36 and 42; and ‘Eu. Hood’, ‘An Ancient Poem’, p. 414.

manner that resembles an unrequited lover's pleas to his beloved, and his asserted negation of his own authority, which invites readers to amend the heraldic content of his poem, as well as his expressed humility, serve to elevate heralds as the experts on the subject and to mitigate, or at least seem to mitigate, Joubard's knowledge. In addition to his hyperbolic lamentation of his allegedly wrongful imprisonment, these features are standard components of late medieval texts working within frameworks of modesty and humility.

Joubard states that the purpose of his poem is 'To speke of armys'.⁴¹⁶ He petitions the heralds to support his writing as if he were invoking the muses. For example, Joubard writes: 'O master garter I humble yow be seche,/ Ierlonde, Claronsewys, Norrey, and Chester,/ Wyndesore, Rychemonde, Uncelis. O ze, frescheste of speche,/ And euery offecer of armys I requyre,/ As well as your namys ware wryten here,/ Now gentyle cales, and messengeres alle,/ Be my supporte I humble to zow calle'.⁴¹⁷ Joubard calls upon the heralds to 'supporte' him in his poetic endeavour, and he probably imagines this support to come in the form of accuracy as he discusses heraldic topics as well as in the form of a blessing to present such specialist material. He uses the poetic device of an invocation to position himself as a humble supplicant as he seeks guidance and approval for his task.

Joubard does not disclose for which 'offence' he has allegedly been imprisoned, but internal clues make it possible to speculate that his imprisonment may have at least partially been derived from an improper use of arms. He reveals at the end of the first stanza that he has been led to his predicament 'thorough necglige/zce', and he stresses in the seventh stanza that 'A nobylman Armys muste

⁴¹⁶ FSL MS. V. a. 198, f. 7r, l. 51; and 'Eu. Hood', 'An Ancient Poem', p. 414.

⁴¹⁷ FSL MS. V. a. 198, f. 6v, ln. 36-42; and 'Eu. Hood', 'An Ancient Poem', p. 414.

declare', and in the eighteenth stanza, that 'In euery poynte warre, pece, oþer
tourney,/ In felde or skyrmysche, whether 3e se,/ Thow muste [heraldry] lerne'.⁴¹⁸
 Joubard emphasises that it is important to properly learn about heraldry and to
 correctly declare one's arms. This is a practical concern, but it also positions
 heraldry as an important aspect of chivalric and cultural display, as declaring one's
 arms also publically declares one's legitimate status as a noble and as a member of
 the chivalric elite. Joubard further stresses that 'if a gentyl man know nat all
 thyng,/ He may inquire of herraudes the gyse', revealing both the importance of
 accuracy when dealing with arms and the importance of drawing upon a herald's
 expertise to assuage uncertainty.⁴¹⁹ Joubard is careful to recognise and call upon
 distinct heralds and he is equally careful and detail-oriented as he goes on to
 describe heraldic tinctures and charges. If Joubard was imprisoned because of a
 lack of propriety in his use of arms, then a poem demonstrating his acquired
 knowledge and his respect for heraldic expertise would be a fitting move towards
 repairing his negligence.

However, there is no evidence that people were imprisoned because of
 heraldic malpractice. The Court of Chivalry might ban a person from using
 particular arms, ask a person to alter their arms, disarm a person, and/or impose a
 fine, but the Court's decisions were often ignored or appealed.⁴²⁰ Maurice Keen
 explains that the people who brought armorial cases before the Court were
 emotionally invested in asserting familial descent and martial honour, that pursuing
 a case in the Court was expensive, and that, as a result, an unfavourable judgement

⁴¹⁸ FSL MS. V. a. 198, ff. 6r, 7r, and 8r, ln. 7, 48, and 120-22; and 'Eu. Hood', 'An Ancient Poem', pp. 414-15.

⁴¹⁹ FSL MS. V. a. 198, f. 9r, ln. 169-70; and 'Eu. Hood', 'An Ancient Poem', p. 415.

⁴²⁰ Squibb, *The High Court*, pp. 21-3. Squibb explains that disputes were frequently settled with trials by duel or single combat, and that these usually ended with the loser being disarmed (p. 23). Also, cf. pp. 47-55.

would often be met with disdain ranging from a refusal to participate in battle to a vow to sue for an appeal even if it meant that future generations of heirs would continue to pursue the suit.⁴²¹ Consequently, the Court's authority was never secure. It was possible to be arrested by the Constable and imprisoned by the Marshal, both of whom presided over the medieval Court of Chivalry, by defaulting on a debt that was undertaken before the Marshall or by owing money to the king.⁴²² However, Joubard's emphasis on arms and heralds would not make sense if the cause of his imprisonment were debt. It is more probable that the writer took on the persona of the imprisoned Joubard to frame his poem on heraldry. Further potential indication of such literary posturing is Joubard's name, as it was not a common medieval name and is probably a pseudonym, although the significance of this name remains unclear.⁴²³

Joubard's 'Poem on Heraldry' presents heraldic material in unexpectedly creative ways. The poem draws upon a range of resources, from prison writing to the modesty topos and poetic invocations to the muses. This attests to the imaginative diversity of heraldic texts, a diversity that scholars have thus far largely ignored. Heraldic writers use a variety of different writing styles. They participate in broader literary, cultural, political, and ideological discussions. They can intersect with historical events as well as with romance and allegory. They can undertake political and ideological work. They can also just have fun, playfully interacting with their heraldic content as Strangways does as he anecdotally

⁴²¹ Keen, *Origins*, p. 41 and p. 58.

⁴²² Joseph Edmondson, Robert Glover, and Joseph Ayloffe, *A Complete Body of Heraldry*, vol. 1 (London: T. Spilsbury, 1780), p. 71. They also explain that the Marshall is entitled to fees from every person who is created with a noble title (p. 69).

⁴²³ The name 'Joubard' does not appear in records of medieval aristocratic or common names. It is not included in George E. Cokayne's *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct, or Dormant*, ed. by P. W. Hammond, new ed., 14 vols (Gloucester: A. Sutton, 1982-98). It also does not appear in the AHRC-funded database containing the names of English soldiers during the Hundred Years War. See 'The Soldier in Later Medieval England Online Database' [www.medievalsoldier.org, accessed 28 April 2017].

correlates charging a lion on a shield of arms as singular with the practical need for one ruler in a land. Heraldic texts can be simultaneously practical and playful, and it is time to set aside dismissive preconceptions about the narrowness of their content, to recognise their resourcefulness, and to insert these texts into broader conversations about medieval chivalric literature and culture.

Heraldic texts can also contain legendary narratives. There was a late medieval desire to situate heraldry and heralds within a distant past that precedes heraldry's twelfth-century historical origins. Heraldic writers inserted heraldry and heralds into existing cultural and national legends, predominantly tracing heraldic roots to such figures as Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Brutus, and even the biblical Abraham. Heraldic origin legends reveal fifteenth-century attitudes toward heraldry and heralds. They also reveal an intersection of heraldry with cultural and national narratives, thereby broadening perspectives about the ideological work of heraldic texts. Given the number and variety of heraldic origin legends that circulated in the fifteenth century, it is surprising that scholars have not yet examined them. The next chapter studies these legends.

Chapter 3

Heraldic Mythmaking:

Constructing the Legendary Origins of Heraldry and Heralds

Heraldic origin tales are narratives that explain how or why heraldry and heralds came into being, and these tales appear to have developed in the fifteenth century. The narratives are not present in the surviving late medieval copies or in the remaining original fragments of thirteenth and fourteenth century rolls of arms. Bartolo di Sassoferrato's mid-fourteenth century treatise does not include an account of heraldic origins. Neither does Honoré Bouvet's, as he stays close to Bartolo when discussing heraldry.⁴²⁴ Scholars have dated specific manuscripts that contain heraldic origin narratives, but these narratives have not yet been acknowledged as a fifteenth century phenomenon. It was not until 1415 that Henry V appointed William Bruges as the first Garter King of Arms.⁴²⁵ As heralds were reorganised under Garter's oversight and as Henry V issued a royal demand in 1417 for stricter regulation over the bearing of arms, a confluence of heraldic professional self-branding and self-validating appears to have become necessary.⁴²⁶ There is a correlation between the fifteenth-century's reorganisation of professional heraldry and the emergence of the stories that seek to legitimise heraldic professional practice. This correlation illumines heraldry's maturation process. Heraldic writers were evaluating and validating the historical, cultural, and practical significance of heraldry and of heralds to the nobility. These writers reveal a concentrated period of heraldic professional self-consciousness.

⁴²⁴ See Coopland's 'Introduction' to *Tree of Battles*, pp. 15-69. Coopland observes that '[a]ll that the *Tree* contains on the subject of heraldry is to be found in the *De Insigniis*' (p. 34). Also see Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 65.

⁴²⁵ Wagner, *Heralds and Ancestors*, p. 52; and *CEMRA*, p. xvii.

⁴²⁶ Cf. pp. 53-6.

This chapter examines heraldic origin narratives and what they contribute to an understanding of the ways that the fifteenth century imagined heraldry and heralds. I shall begin by introducing the manuscripts that contain heraldic origin accounts. Dennys indicates a few of these manuscripts in *The Heraldic Imagination*, but he does not discuss or analyse the origin narratives.⁴²⁷ Rather, he reveals their presence as he documents various manuscript contents. Campbell and Steer catalogue the College of Arms' manuscripts and specify those containing origin narratives as well as their (frequently indeterminate) manuscript relationships, but the narratives are not distinctly collated or indexed.⁴²⁸ These are useful foundations for studying heraldic origin tales. However, the known manuscript sources have not yet been gathered and examined together. George Keiser valuably begins this process in the four pages he devotes to heraldic texts in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1500*, as most of the manuscripts he lists contain origins tales.⁴²⁹ Keiser's focus is on identifying the manuscripts, yet he provides modern English translations of the opening sentences of four of the origins tracts that he mentions.⁴³⁰ He does not discuss these extracts. A. S. G. Edwards adds to and corrects Keiser's list, but he, too, focuses on identifying manuscripts rather than specifically discussing their narrative content.⁴³¹ Building on Keiser and Edwards, this chapter compiles a fuller list of heraldic manuscripts and, unlike them, it specifically focuses on those manuscripts containing heraldic origin narratives. It also presents and analyses the narratives, questioning what the tales reveal about the ways that the late medieval period conceptualised heraldry and heralds.

⁴²⁷ Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, pp. 33, 68, 72-86, and 212-17.

⁴²⁸ *CMCA*, pp. 24-5, 28-33, 49-53, 81-5, 141-54, and 161-6.

⁴²⁹ Keiser, *A Manual*, pp. 3709-12.

⁴³⁰ Specifically, he presents the opening lines of the 'Ashmolean Tract', Adam Loutfut's 'Poem on Heraldry', Adam Loutfut's *Deidis of Armorie*, and, in the *Boke of St Albans*, 'The Boke of the Lynage of Coote Armuris (Liber Armorum)' and 'The Boke of Blasyng of Armyes'.

⁴³¹ Edwards, 'Notes', pp. 217-18.

Heraldic origin narratives appropriate aspects of the culture of knighthood and are deliberately constructed to participate in a broader chivalric context. Legendary accounts connect the origins of knighthood with secular and sacred Western cultural master narratives. For example, Isidore of Seville (c. 560-636) locates the creation of knighthood in Rome when Romulus designates the best soldiers as professionals, thereby connecting the martial profession with the legendary origins of the city that became the centre of a European empire.⁴³² Alternatively, Ramon Llull, in *The Book of the Order of Chivalry* (c. 1274-6), locates the origins of knighthood in a nascent biblical world, when the most noble men were selected to the vocation and devoted themselves to restoring the fallen virtues of charity, loyalty, truth, and justice.⁴³³ These conceptual understandings of knighthood's sacred and secular roots were established by the fifteenth century if not well before.⁴³⁴ Heraldic origin narratives borrow features from knighthood's origin narratives, especially when locating points of origin, when describing the intrinsically noble character of their subjects, and when emphasising the usefulness

⁴³² Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. by Stephen A. Barney et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), IX. iii. 32, p. 201.

⁴³³ Ramon Llull, *The Book of the Order of Chivalry*, trans. by Noel Fallows (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013), p. 40 and p. 42.

⁴³⁴ For example, Nicholas Upton's secular vision of knighthood directly follows Isidore's. Upton relates that Romulus selects the best fighters as his soldiers and he stresses that knighthood is 'properly An offyce And noo order'. See Bodl. Lib. MS. Eng. Misc. D. 227, ff. 7v-8r and f. 5r. Also see Walker, 'An Edition', vol. 2, p. 16 and p. 13. Labelling knighthood as an 'order' invests it with associations of martial and religious vocations and their frequently conflated ideological practices, which lead secular battlefields to coalesce with the spiritual one. Catherine Nall argues for this point in the fourth chapter of *Reading and War*, on pp. 114-38, and esp. on p. 118. In contrast, Upton's preference for the term 'offyce' instead of 'order' positions knighthood as a profession within the secular realm. For Upton, knighthood is not an inherited honour, but a public service through which virtuous, courageous, and disciplined men gain honour. He writes that knighthood is an office of the 'payne & labowre of war [...] fyrst & not of dignite'. See Bodl. Lib. MS. Eng. Misc. D. 227, f. 8r; and Walker, 'An Edition', vol. 2, p. 16. Nall and Walker clarify that Upton's perspective on knighthood as a public service is influenced by Vegetius, and Nall argues that Upton's Vegetius material is quoted from John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*. See Nall, *Reading and War*, p. 12, n. 5; and Walker, 'An Edition', vol. 1, p. 28. Llull's scriptural sacralisation of knighthood was also influential. For example, Llull probably indirectly influenced William Langland's assertion that 'David in hise dayes dubbed knyghtes', that the angels are Christ's knights, and that they are led by the archangels. See William Langland, *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, ed. by A. V. C. Schmidt (London: Everyman, 1995), p. 19 (Passus I, ln. 98-9 and 105-10). Also see Nall, *Reading and War*, pp. 122-3.

of their subjects to chivalric culture. However, in contrast to knighthood's origin legends, which have been the subject of some critical attention, heraldry's origin legends still await exposure and scholarship. This chapter begins to fill that gap.

3.1 Sources

John de Bado Aureo's *Tractatus de Armis* (c. 1394-5) contains the earliest known account of the origins of heraldry. The treatise survives in two versions, and both begin with a few lines about how colours distinguish arms before entering into a detailed discussion of heraldic tinctures, explaining that charges were introduced as marks of further differentiation.⁴³⁵ This account briefly highlights the development of the armorial signification of difference, but it does not engage in the type of etiological imaginative mythmaking typical of origin narratives.

To my knowledge, the first instances of heraldic origin legends are contained in early fifteenth-century French texts. The earliest of these accounts is in Bodl. Lib. MS. Rawl. C. 399, ff. 76r-80r, and it is the only copy known to date.⁴³⁶ Wagner dates this copy to the 'middle or early fifteenth-century', but he asserts that 'the document itself must have been written within a few years of 1400'.⁴³⁷ The origins account is more accurately described as a brief reference towards the end of a letter answering seven questions about the roles of heralds and pursuivants, as well as how they are created, than as a detailed story about heraldic beginnings. The writer of Rawlinson letter claims to have been the King of Arms of the March of Anjou and Touraine, who, as he says, was appointed to his office

⁴³⁵ There is a single known English translation, in Bodl. Lib. MS. Laud. Misc. 733, ff. 1r-17v. Cf. p. 79, n. 244.

⁴³⁶ Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 41. Wagner provides a detailed description of the contents of this letter (pp. 41-5), although his focus is not on the origin tale in particular. M. J. Huxtable also briefly discusses the letter in 'Colour, Seeing, and Seeing Colour in Medieval Literature' (unpublished doctoral thesis, The University of Durham, 2008), pp. 176-8.

⁴³⁷ Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 41.

in May 1389.⁴³⁸ Based on this claim, Wagner suggests that the writer was likely ‘Nicolas Villart, dit Calabre, roy [d’armes] d’Anjou’.⁴³⁹

Sicily Herald, who is often identified as Jean Courtois (d. c. 1436-7), wrote two of the early heraldic origins texts.⁴⁴⁰ It is tempting to assume that Sicily Herald influenced ‘Banyster’s French Treatise’, another early account discussed below, because Sicily Herald’s work ‘had considerable contemporary popularity’.⁴⁴¹ Although plausible, such an assumption remains speculative in the absence of explicitly ascribed dates. Both of Sicily Herald’s treatises have been published, although they have not yet been translated into English. His best-known work is *Le blason des couleurs en armes* (c. 1416-36), which primarily deals with heraldic tinctures and their correlation with planets, precious stones, and days of the week, and which presents a brief account of the origins of arms.⁴⁴² Sicily Herald also presents a narrative explaining the origins of heralds in ‘S’Ensieult la fondation du noble office d’armes par Jullius Cesar’.⁴⁴³

Another early witness of a heraldic origin account is in CA MS. M. 19.⁴⁴⁴ The vellum, early fifteenth-century French manuscript contains an armorial portion (ff. 1r-24r), named ‘Banyster’s Roll’ after an early owner whose name appears in the upper right corner of the last flyleaf’s recto side, and a heraldic treatise (ff. 25r-229v), which Dennys dubs ‘Banyster’s French Treatise’.⁴⁴⁵ It was

⁴³⁸ Bodl. Lib. MS. Rawl. C. 399, f. 76r.

⁴³⁹ Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 41.

⁴⁴⁰ Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 76 and p. 214.

⁴⁴¹ Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 76. Dennys, however, does not cite Sicily Herald’s manuscripts.

⁴⁴² *Le blason des couleurs*, pp. 17-19.

⁴⁴³ See ‘S’Ensieult la fondation’. This origin account, which begins with the words ‘Selon les ditz des philosophes’ (p. 49), has been copied into later manuscripts under the title ‘Les dis des philosophes’. For examples, see CA MS. L. 6 (ff. 20r-8r), CA MS. L. 10 bis. (ff. 26r-32r), CA MS. Arundel 26 (ff. 11v-28r), and BL MS. Cotton Nero D. II (ff. 254v-6v).

⁴⁴⁴ *CMCA*, pp. 161-6; and Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, pp. 73-4 and p. 214. For scholarly opinion on the manuscript’s date, see the additions and corrections to Wagner’s *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 161, addition no. 18.

⁴⁴⁵ *CMCA*, pp. 161-6; and Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, pp. 73-4 and p. 214. Both *CMCA* and Dennys list the treatise’s components, which include a visitation of the Pays de Caux (ff. 1r-24r); a

likely ‘compiled during the English occupation of Normandy by a Norman employed as herald or pursuivant’ under the English, and, as far as is known, it is a unique copy.⁴⁴⁶ Dennys finds the manuscript ‘noteworthy’ because of its large section on animate heraldic charges, which, he argues, reveals an escalation in the types of beasts appropriate for arms.⁴⁴⁷ However, he does not mention the presence of heraldic origin legends in the treatise. The section of the manuscript that Dennys lists as dealing with the duties of heralds and pursuivants actually presents two different accounts of the establishment of heralds (ff. 79v-84v). In addition, wedged within a section focusing on the characteristics expected of a herald (ff. 151r-53v), this same manuscript presents a third rendition of the origins of heralds. Providing three alternative accounts of the genesis of the heraldic profession reveals concern over who should perform the role of a herald and over establishing a herald's professional legitimacy.

As will be shown, the narrative patterns that emerge from these early fifteenth-century manuscripts become foundational to heraldic origin tales. The most prominent emerging feature is a connection to Alexander the Great or to Julius Caesar, two of the pagan Worthies associated with the ancient establishment of Europe as an empire. However, the third account that 'Banyster's French Treatise' presents of the origins of heralds, which asserts that the archangels were the first heralds, is more obscure.

French translation of Llull's *Book of the Order of Chivalry* (ff. 25r-55v); a description of the coronations of French kings (ff. 55v-9r); a tract on the government of princes (ff. 59v-79v); a section on the creation of heralds and pursuivants, indicated by Dennys as a section on the duties of heralds and pursuivants (ff. 79v-84v); a section that Campbell and Steer describe as ‘a manual for the instruction of heralds and pursuivants’ (p. 163; ff. 85r-143v), which includes a discussion on heraldic tinctures (f. 87r), a lengthy section on animate charges (ff. 95v-119v), and heraldic duties during ceremonial occasions (ff. 130v-43v); a short treatise entitled ‘Comment on doit faire empereur’ (ff. 143v-51r); a section on the qualities of heralds (ff. 151r-3v); and an armorial of Christian kings and French families (ff. 153v-229v).

⁴⁴⁶ Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 161, addition no. 18. Also see *CMCA*, p. 161; and Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 73 and p. 214.

⁴⁴⁷ Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 74.

To my knowledge, the only other instance of this narrative occurs in CA MS. M. 16 bis. Although this is a sixteenth century compilation, the account is written, in French, on the first six unnumbered folios at the beginning of the manuscript (before f. 1r). Campbell and Steer explain that these folios were ‘taken’ from a different manuscript in the early sixteenth century, ‘though the treatise itself is of earlier composition’.⁴⁴⁸ The six folios are entitled ‘Enseignemens Natablez Aulx poursuiuans’, and they contain three distinct sections. The first of these is an account of Alexander’s granting his chief captains coats of arms as well as Julius Caesar’s granting coats of arms and creating the office of heralds. The second portion is a dialogue between the author and a pursuivant about heraldic tinctures and charges, and the third includes the brief explanation that the archangels Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Uriel were the first heralds.

This text is closely connected to heraldic tracts that are compiled in two other sixteenth-century manuscripts held at the College of Arms (CA MS. M. 4, ff. 35r-7v, and CA MS. L. 10 bis., ff. 2r-4v). CA MS. M. 4 is a sixteenth century miscellany that is predominantly written in French and that includes an incomplete copy of the origin accounts found in MS. M. 16 bis.⁴⁴⁹ It contains the accounts of Alexander’s establishment of the use of arms and of Julius Caesar’s creation of heralds, but, as it breaks off before the end of the dialogue with the pursuivant, it does not include the archangel account.⁴⁵⁰ Another manuscript, CA MS. L. 10 bis., includes a fragmentary English translation of the accounts in MS. M. 16 bis. and MS. M. 4, but like MS. M. 4, it breaks before the end of the dialogue and, therefore,

⁴⁴⁸ *CMCA*, pp. 141-2. CA MS. M. 16 bis. is bound together with MS. M. 13 bis. For a description of the manuscript, see *CMCA*, pp. 141-54.

⁴⁴⁹ *CMCA*, pp. 81-5. The manuscript, which was owned by Christopher Barker, is presently bound with MS. L. 18 and MS. M. 17. Barker (d. 1550) was Charles Brandon's private herald from 1513-22, when he became Richmond Herald. He was appointed Norroy in 1536, and he succeeded Thomas Wall as Garter King of Arms that same year. See Noble, *A History*, pp. 139-40.

⁴⁵⁰ CA MS. M. 4, ff. 35r-7v; and *CMCA*, p. 142.

omits the archangel account.⁴⁵¹ MS. L. 10 bis. is a mid-sixteenth century manuscript, and, with the exception of the first treatise, it is written in French. However, because the origin accounts under consideration are presented in the first treatise, this manuscript provides a rare English copy. The myths of origin in these three manuscripts appear to have been copied from one another, but the archangel origin account that is presented in CA MS. M. 16 bis. is left out of the copies, which are incomplete. I shall be calling this manuscript group the sixteenth-century French sibling group. It is impossible to determine which copy came first and if these are the only manuscripts involved, but the paucity of witnesses to the archangel narrative reveals an overwhelmingly secular emphasis in myths of heraldic origin.

As the fifteenth century progresses, popular heraldic treatises begin to incorporate heraldic origin legends. Clément Prinsault's *Treatise*, a 'widely copied' French text written c. 1439-44, contains an account of the origins of arms.⁴⁵² Nicholas Upton's mid-fifteenth century *De Studio Militari* also includes accounts of the origins of heraldry and of heralds.⁴⁵³

Heraldic texts begin to be written in English in the mid-fifteenth century, suggesting a growing interest in making heraldic works accessible and practical for

⁴⁵¹ For a description of CA MS. L. 10 bis., see *CMCA*, pp. 49-53. The manuscript is bound with MS. L. 12a, MS. L. 13, and MS. M. 15.

⁴⁵² Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 74. There are several manuscript copies of this treatise, including twenty-three or, possibly, twenty-four fifteenth-century copies, twenty-three sixteenth-century copies, and eight seventeenth-century copies. See D'Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton, 'Advanced Heraldic Studies: An Introduction, Part II, Division B', *Alta Studia Heraldica* 4 (2011-12), 1-104 (p. 77). Of these, two notable fifteenth-century manuscripts are BnF MS. Fr. 5936, which is the only copy that explicitly ascribes the treatise to Prinsault, and BL MS. Lansdowne 882, which I have consulted and which contains the armorial origin account on f. 37r. For an edition of the treatise, see L. C. Douet d'Arcq, 'Un Traité du blason du xv siècle', *Revue Archéologique*, 1st ser., vol. xv (1859), 257-74 (Douet d'Arcq's discussion) and 321-42 (Prinsault's *Treatise*). Douet d'Arcq questions Prinsault's authorship and points out the single manuscript ascription to him on pp. 267-8.

⁴⁵³ See Bodl. Lib. MS. Eng. Misc. D. 227, ff. 15r-v, for Upton's account of the origins of heralds, and ff. 82v-3r, for his account of the origins of arms. Also see Walker, 'An Edition', vol. 2, p. 23 and p. 82.

English speaking users.⁴⁵⁴ In addition to John Blount's early sixteenth-century English translation of Upton's treatise (Bodl. Lib. MS. Eng. Misc. D. 227), a group of at least sixteen mid-to-late fifteenth-century English heraldic manuscripts contributes importantly to a discussion of heraldic origin accounts. These manuscripts are clearly closely related, but exactly how they are related remains unclear. This group was first identified by H. Stanford London in 1953, when he bifurcated it into two main strands, highlighting the 'Ashmolean Tract' (Bodl. Lib. MS. Ashmole Rolls 4, formerly MS. Ashmole 15A) and *Strangways' Book* (BL MS. Harl. 2259) as each strand's 'eponymous members'.⁴⁵⁵ The mid-fifteenth century 'Ashmolean Tract' survives on the dorse side of the Ashmolean Roll (c. 1334-5).⁴⁵⁶ Cecil Humphery-Smith (F. S. A.) transcribed and edited the 'Ashmolean Tract' in 1960.⁴⁵⁷ With the exception of the quatrains on the Nine Worthies, *Strangways' Book* has not yet been edited.⁴⁵⁸ London concentrates on deciphering the relationships between the manuscripts, and, when he does reference a manuscript's contents, his focus tends to be on the depicted coats of arms and their accompanying blazons (descriptions of the coats of arms using the professional

⁴⁵⁴ As has been established in Chapter 2, heraldic texts are primarily practical texts. Rolls of arms provide a record of who nobles were, of which nobles were present at a specific occasion, and of different types of heraldic designs. Treatises offer practical military advice regarding how to conduct oneself in war, and they tend to include an armorial section that overviews the different types of heraldic devices used in arms to enable the user to describe the arms he might witness on a battlefield.

⁴⁵⁵ London, 'Some Medieval Treatises', p. 171.

⁴⁵⁶ *CEMRA*, pp. 57-8. The roll is comprised of six vellum membranes. The Ashmolean Roll is presented on the recto side. Based on the shields depicted on the Ashmolean Roll, Wagner asserts that it was compiled c. 1334-5. Bodl. Lib. MS. Ashmole Rolls 4 is the earliest known copy of the roll. This copy was probably written down in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. See *CEMRA*, p. 57.

⁴⁵⁷ 'The Ashmolean Tract', ed. and trans. by Cecil R. Humphery-Smith, in 'Heraldry in School Manuals of the Middle Ages, II', *The Coat of Arms* 6. 44 (1960), 163-70. For the origin tale, see pp. 164-5. I will cite from the manuscript rather than the printed text, as there are a few minor spelling variations between the two (i.e. he writes 'recorden' instead of the manuscript's 'recordyn', 'abyse' rather than 'avyse', etc.).

⁴⁵⁸ Cf. pp. 104-18.

language of heraldry). London does not discuss the manuscript group's origin narrative.

According to London, the 'Ashmolean Tract' is the prototype for three other heraldic works. The first of these is the mid-fifteenth century 'John's Tretis on Armes' (BL MS. Add. 34648), which London argues is an abbreviated, 'almost word for word' version of the 'Ashmolean Tract'.⁴⁵⁹ As will be discussed, the language in 'John's Tretis' is more precise than in the 'Ashmolean Tract'. This may be one of the reasons that led Dennys to disagree with London and to argue that 'John's Tretis' is actually the manuscript group's prototype.⁴⁶⁰ Boulton agrees with Dennys, asserting that 'John's Tretis' 'may have been the first such work to be written in English'.⁴⁶¹

It is also questionable whether the other two texts that London identifies are versions of the 'Ashmolean Tract'. The mid-fifteenth century 'Bradfer-Lawrence Tract', which is the third item (ff. 22r-25v) in the Bradfer-Lawrence Roll (BL MS. Add. 61902), differs enough from the 'Ashmolean Tract' to cause London to comment on its variance.⁴⁶² London reflects that the tract 'contains many

⁴⁵⁹ London, 'Some Medieval Treatises', p. 171, and p. 183, esp. no. 9. Scholars disagree about the surviving manuscript copies of John's 'Tretis'. The text has been printed in Jones, ed., *Medieval Heraldry*, pp. 213-20. In addition to BL MS. Add. 34648, a vellum manuscript which comprises solely this treatise, Jones identifies two other late medieval witnesses, one being BL MS. Harl. 6097 (ff. 1r-10r), and the other being Bodl. Lib. MS. Laud. Misc. 733 (ff. 1r-17v). As already indicated, Jones identified the Bodleian manuscript as a copy of John's 'Tretis' without consulting it, and London corrected Jones a decade later, clarifying that the manuscript is really an English version of de Bado Aureo's *Tractatus*. For more, see Jones, ed., 'Tretis on Armes', in *Medieval Heraldry*, p. 213, esp. note B; London, 'Some Medieval Treatises', p. 170; and Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 67 and p. 213. Also cf. p. 79, n. 244. London also disagrees with Jones' identification of MS. Harl. 6097 as John's 'Tretis', asserting instead that the manuscript is an Elizabethan copy of the 'Herald's Tract', to which I will return. For London's correction, see 'Some Medieval Treatises', p. 170. Dennys presents MS. Harl. 6097 as a contemporary copy of John's 'Tretis', and indicates a further contemporary copy, 'on a loose sheet of paper' which 'looks like a lecturer's notes', in his private collection, which he identifies as Dennys MS. 10. See *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 86 and p. 216, esp. no. 19. BL MS. Harl. 6097 is bound with BL MS. Harl. 4145, which precedes it in the volume.

⁴⁶⁰ Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 84 and p. 216.

⁴⁶¹ Boulton, 'Advanced Heraldic Studies', p. 79.

⁴⁶² The Bradfer-Lawrence Roll is a paper manuscript of v+76 folios. London confirms the manuscript's date as c. 1445-6 in a letter he wrote to Bradfer on 19 November 1952, which is attached to the first flyleaf. In his letter, London explains that he based this dating on Beauchamp's

passages which are also in the Ashmolean manuscript, but these are paraphrased and often condensed, whilst there are many other passages which are not to be found in any version of the Ashmolean tract'.⁴⁶³ The 'Bradfer-Lawrence Tract' is very similar to the 'Ashmolean Tract' and the other tracts in this manuscript group in its presentation of heraldic colours and various armorial charges, including the fifteen different types of lion charges and the fifteen different crosses, as well as a bar, a bend, and other similar charges. However, unlike the other manuscripts in the group, this tract does not include a heraldic origins narrative.⁴⁶⁴ Although it is unable to contribute to a discussion of origin tales, the 'Bradfer-Lawrence Tract' merits mention here as a variant of the other tracts in this group.

The third text that, as London asserts, is derived from the 'Ashmolean Tract', is Adam Loutfut's 'Poem on Heraldry' (BL MS. Harl. 6149, ff. 151r-5r).⁴⁶⁵ Unlike the other tracts in this group, Loutfut's work is in verse, being comprised of thirty-six rhyme royal stanzas, is written in Scots English, and dates to 1494, the close of the fifteenth century. In the one brief paragraph that London devotes to Loutfut's poem, he acknowledges that the verses are not a close copy of the 'Ashmolean Tract', and that their unique points of divergence 'may well be

patent as Duke of Warwick in the manuscript, as Beauchamp was styled as an earl in 1444 Patent Rolls, which record letters patent that officially grant titles issued by the King. London was attentive to this manuscript's armorial, adding several corrections and notes. For example, a note at the top of f. 48r in what is presumably London's handwriting indicates that 'Those arms that are marked with a star may be found in the Peerage of England'. His corrections tend to clarify the identity of an individual. He adds 'Earl of Sanderland' next to 'Lord Spencer' (f. 49r), 'of Kent' next to 'Lord Hastings' (f. 49v), 'Earl of Stamford' to 'Lord Gray of Wylton' (f. 53v), and 'Russel Duke of Bedford' to 'Lord Russel' (f. 57v). London suggests in 'Some Medieval Treatises' that the tract 'was probably compiled by a Yorkshireman' (p. 173). Dennys does not mention the Bradfer-Lawrence Roll in *The Heraldic Imagination*.

⁴⁶³ London, 'Some Medieval Treatises', p. 173.

⁴⁶⁴ Instead, the text begins, 'After the oppinioun of some of the olde descrybers or blasers of armes þe bene none armys þroplie bot if þei haue with in þame Beste or feule or cros or thing...'. The writer also laments that there are many 'noble þersones which haue stond long in worschip & noblayd of old tyme whos armes haue none of þes forsaid signes as bestes & foules...'. See BL MS. Add. 61902, f. 22r.

⁴⁶⁵ Cf. pp. 87-8. Loutfut's poem was edited in 1869, and it has not been edited since then. See 'A Scotch Copy', pp. 93-104.

Loutfut's own work'.⁴⁶⁶ Portions of the verses are clearly indebted to the 'Ashmolean' narrative, but it can be misleading to understate the distinctiveness of the text surrounding that narrative. It is more accurate to present the poem as partially derived from its predecessor than to position it as a textual version of the 'Ashmolean Tract' that is on par with the level of similarity that the 'Bradfer-Lawrence Tract' and John's 'Tretis on Armes' share with it. Loutfut's poem diverges enough from the 'Ashmolean Tract' to render it one of a few potential sources Loutfut uses rather than the poem's primary textual source.

Joubard's 'Poem on Heraldry', which has been introduced in the previous chapter, may also be loosely based on the 'Ashmolean' narrative.⁴⁶⁷ FSL MS. V. a. 198, ff. 6r-9v, shares the Ashmolean narrative's interest in the classical origins of heraldry, as well as in outlining heraldic tinctures, the precious stones to which they correlate, and listing eighteen different lion charges as well as seventeen different crosses (while the Ashmolean lists fifteen of each type). However, Joubard's poem is distinctly different. His narrative is framed by his plea for a pardon. Rather than beginning the narrative, the section concerned with heraldic origins closes Joubard's poem, being presented in the final three stanzas. The poem is not a version of the 'Ashmolean Tract' and London appropriately does not mention it. Yet, although less prominently than Loutfut, Joubard may be drawing upon the Ashmolean narrative as one of his sources.

A few other manuscripts that London does not mention are also affiliated with the 'Ashmolean Tract'. CUL MS. Dd. x. 52 is a heraldic manuscript that dates to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.⁴⁶⁸ This manuscript's contents are

⁴⁶⁶ London, 'Some Medieval Treatises', p. 173.

⁴⁶⁷ Cf. pp. 89-92 and 128-32.

⁴⁶⁸ MS. Dd. x. 52 is catalogued as number 610 in *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, ed. by Charles Hardwick and Henry R. Luard, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1856), pp. 437-8. It is a paper quarto manuscript, and although the

all focussed on heraldry, and it contains an origins narrative on ff. 103r-6r that stays very close to the 'Ashmolean Tract'.⁴⁶⁹ George Keiser and Margaret Connolly are the only scholars who have acknowledged this tract as belonging to the 'Ashmolean' textual family.⁴⁷⁰ Bodl. Lib. MS. Bodley 487 (c. 1500) also contains a copy of the Ashmolean narrative (ff. 91r-3v), which, to my knowledge, has only been included in discussions of this textual group by Erik Kooper and Annelies Kruijshoop.⁴⁷¹ A manuscript in Exeter (EC MS. 3533, ff. 79v-83v) is more loosely based on the Ashmolean narrative, distinctively expanding the tale with its opening details.⁴⁷² The Exeter narrative is not found in the other affiliated manuscripts. A.

Catalogue dates it to the early sixteenth century, Keiser dates it earlier (c. 1475). See George R. Keiser, 'A Tretys of Armes: A Revision of the 'Ashmolean Tract'', *The Coat of Arms* n. s. 11 (Spring 1996), 178-90 (p. 183, n. 2). This manuscript is also described by Margaret Connolly in *IMEP: Handlist XIX: Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge (Dd-Oo)* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2009), p. 66. Connolly, like Keiser, dates the manuscript to the end of the fifteenth century.

⁴⁶⁹ The bulk of the manuscript contains a Latin copy of Upton's *De Studio Militari* (ff. 1r-87r). The *Catalogue* incorrectly indicates that only the fourth book of Upton's text is present. This is followed by John de Bado Aureo's *Tractatus* (ff. 87v-98v), which is colourfully painted, and three short heraldic treatises, the first extracted from Bartholomaeus (ff. 99r-102v), the second (which is the version of the 'Ashmolean Tract'), an English tract entitled 'Bonus tractatus de armis in anglicis' (ff. 103r-6r), and the last being a lapidary (ff. 123r-30v). Ff. 106v-22v are blank, and quiring helps to explain their presence. The manuscript is constructed out of eight quires, composed as I-V¹⁶, VI¹⁸, and VII-VIII¹⁶. The first four folios of quire VII present Bartholomaeus' text, and the second four folios contain the origins narrative. The quire's remaining eight folios are blank. The first eight folios of quire VIII are also blank, and the last eight folios present the lapidary. Although speculative, it is possible that the last quire, which contains the lapidary, was added to the manuscript after the first two tracts had been attached to Upton's and de Bado Aureo's treatises. The text measures at approximately 860mm. x 570mm., with a text block of 680mm. x 460mm. Like the 'Ashmolean Tract' (Bodl. Lib. MS. Ashmole Rolls 4), the 'Cambridge' origin narrative is followed by a description of heraldic tinctures and charges, including the fifteen different lion charges (f. 104v) and the fifteen different crosses (f. 105r). I am indebted to Catherine Nall for bringing this manuscript to my attention.

⁴⁷⁰ Keiser, *A Manual*, p. 3930, item 497; Keiser, 'A Tretys of Armes', p. 183, n. 2; and Connolly, *IMEP: Handlist XIX*, p. 66.

⁴⁷¹ Erik Kooper and Annelies Kruijshoop, 'Of English Kings and Arms', in *In Other Words: Transcultural Studies in Philology, Translation, and Lexicology presented to Hans Heinrich Meier on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. by J. Lachlan Mackenzie and Richard Todd (Dordrecht: Foris, 1989), pp. 45-56 (p. 55, n. 9). MS. Bodley 487 is a compilation of theological and historical texts written in Latin and, to a lesser degree, English. According to a marginal note on f. 121v, John Curteys (d. 1509), who entered New College, Oxford in 1474, compiled the manuscript. Also see *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, by Falconer Madan and H. H. E. Craster, vol. 2, part 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922), entry no. 2067, pp. 193-4. The *Summary Catalogue* relates that the 'heraldic manual' begins on f. 95r and it does not identify the text as belonging to the Ashmolean group. With the exception of the first sentence, which introduces the tract as one that will provide 'a scorth informaçon of armis' (f. 91r), the text is a faithful copy of the Ashmolean account.

⁴⁷² For more on the Exeter tract, which is variously written in Latin, French, and English, see N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), p. 839. The manuscript appears to have been a household text, as, in addition to the English origins tract, it

S. G. Edwards explains that, although Keiser believes the mid-to-late fifteenth century Exeter manuscript is an 'original' copy of the 'Ashmolean Tract', '[t]he evidence of its incipit suggests that it is another copy of the revised version' of the tract that is otherwise 'uniquely recorded' in BL MS. Harl. 992, ff. 12r-17v, which was written c. 1500.⁴⁷³ The Exeter narrative is similar to the one in Harley 992, but the two texts have their differences. An additional version of the Exeter and Harley 992 origin narrative survives in a fifteenth century addition on the dorse side of a thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman roll that is held in the Netherlands (KB MS. 75. A. 2/2).⁴⁷⁴ I shall be calling this narrative the 'Hague Tract'. Kooper and Kruijshoop argue that the Hague tract 'closely resembles the Ashmolean tract', which they point out was also written on the dorse side of a manuscript roll.⁴⁷⁵ However, the tract's opening details align it more closely with the Exeter and Harley narratives, which are related to the Ashmolean tract, but they are not as close to it as are 'John's Tretis' or *Strangways' Book*.

contains a Latin list of the names of Oxford townspeople (ff. 1r-39v), rules for labourers, in Latin (ff. 60r-v) and English (ff. 60v-86r), and various legal forms and armorials. I am indebted to Daniel Wakelin for bringing this manuscript to my attention.

⁴⁷³ Edwards, 'Notes', p. 217; and Keiser, *A Manual*, p. 3930, item no. 497. BL MS. Harl. 992 is an early sixteenth-century paper heraldic miscellany. The manuscript is catalogued as no. 992 in *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. 1 (London: George Eyre and Andrew Strahan, 1808), p. 501. The miscellany also contains a French heraldic treatise on ff. 57r-60v. Keiser dates the origins narrative, which is the sixth item in the manuscript, to c. 1500, arguing that 'the fact that the leaves on which it is copied are smaller in size (157 x 104 mm; writing area 95 x 63) than most of the rest of the leaves in the volume suggests that it was copied prior to and independently of the other material'. See Keiser, 'A Tretys of Armes', p. 178. Keiser also edits this origins narrative in 'A Tretys of Armes', offering both a diplomatic transcription (pp. 184-7) and a modern translation (pp. 187-90).

⁴⁷⁴ For a brief description of this manuscript, see Kooper and Kruijshoop, 'Of English Kings and Arms', pp. 45-50; and Edwards, 'Notes', p. 118. The recto side of the roll consists of a pedigree of Britain's kings, beginning with the legendary Brutus and ending with Edward I. Henry III is the last king to be fully described, a detail which Kooper and Kruijshoop take 'as sufficient evidence that the genealogy was completed not long after Henry's death in 1272'. See 'Of English Kings and Arms', p. 48. Three English texts and one Latin text were added to the roll's dorse side in the fifteenth century. The first of the English texts is the heraldic tract, hereafter the 'Hague Tract'. Kooper and Kruijshoop offer a diplomatic transcription of the text in 'Of English Kings and Arms', pp. 51-2. They also explain that the other fifteenth-century additions include an English roll of arms, a short Latin chronicle of the kings of England from William the Conqueror to Henry III, and a seventeen-line English astrological text (p. 49).

⁴⁷⁵ Kooper and Kruijshoop, 'Of English Kings and Arms', p. 49.

The second strand that London identifies of this English heraldic manuscript group is more consistent than the first. According to London, this strand's earliest representative is *Strangways' Book* (BL MS. Harl. 2259), which was probably written by Richard Strangways, a law student at the Inner Temple in the mid-fifteenth century.⁴⁷⁶ London suggests that *Strangways' Book* probably comprises Richard Strangways' lecture notes.⁴⁷⁷ This educational context is important, as it leads London to conclude that *Strangways' Book* and the other four manuscripts he groups as versions of it derive from a common unknown source, a source whom he speculates was 'a professor of heraldry lecturing near the Inns of Court'.⁴⁷⁸ London identifies two contemporary versions of *Strangways' Book*, namely the 'Heralds' Tract' (an un-catalogued manuscript in the College of Arms, c. 1460, ff. 13r-23r), and *Patrick's Book* (PMM MS. C. B., 5. 6, post 1461).⁴⁷⁹ The other two manuscripts that he includes in this group, 'Povey's Tract' (CA MS. B. 19, f. 1r) and 'Kimbey's Tract' (BL MS. Harl. 3526, ff. 56r-82r), are Elizabethan

⁴⁷⁶ London, 'Some Medieval Treatises', p. 174.

⁴⁷⁷ London, 'Some Medieval Treatises', p. 174-5.

⁴⁷⁸ London, 'Some Medieval Treatises', p. 175. Also see Cecil R. Humphery-Smith, 'Heraldry in School Manuals of the Middle Ages, I', *The Coat of Arms* 6. 43 (1960), 115-23 (p. 116, n. 3), where he stresses that these sibling manuscripts are not copies of each other, but rather, as London speculates, versions of each other, comprised of notes taken by students studying the same material under the same instructor.

⁴⁷⁹ London, 'Some Medieval Treatises', p. 175 and p. 183. The spine of the post-medieval binding of the 'Heralds' Tract' reads 'Treatise on Heraldry temp. Hen. IV'. Although the manuscript is not catalogued, it is held in the College of Arms' miscellaneous manuscript collection. The paper manuscript measures at approximately 335 mm. x 225 mm. It is foliated iii (post-medieval)+ i (medieval)+ 43 ff.+ i (medieval)+ iii (post-medieval). The original flyleaf appears to be an English legal document complaining and presenting testimony against individuals who appeared in church drunk. Briefly, the manuscript's contents include several sketched and incomplete armorials interrupted by blank pages, and, in their midst, the 'Heralds' Tract' (ff. 13r-23r; paginated as ff. 1-11). It is probable that these coats of arms are contained in other manuscripts, but work has yet to be carried out to specifically identify this manuscript's armorials. I have not been able to consult *Patrick's Book*, as it is held in Antwerp, but London has probably correctly identified it as a version of Strangways' text.

copies.⁴⁸⁰ The content of each of these five tracts is very similar.⁴⁸¹ Humphery-Smith argues that the 'Ashmolean Tract' belongs to the group of manuscripts composed by law students, and, consequently, collapses London's separation of the group into two different strands.⁴⁸² Additionally, Jones' printed edition of John's 'Tretis on Armes' contains the text of the Strangways' narrative because Jones incorrectly believed that BL MS. Harl. 6097 is a copy of John's 'Tretis'.⁴⁸³ London disagrees with Jones, and he clarifies that the Harleian manuscript is actually an Elizabethan copy of the 'Heralds' Tract', which convincingly affiliates it with the *Strangways'* group.⁴⁸⁴

Dennys accepts London's premise about the Inns of Court, asserting that '[i]t begins to look as if' heraldic treatises and rolls of arms 'were probably used for teaching purposes' in the mid-fifteenth century.⁴⁸⁵ However, he reconstructs London's relational paradigm. Dennys argues that John's 'Tretis on Armes' is the earliest prototype, and that the other manuscripts are 'fairly close' versions

⁴⁸⁰ London, 'Some Medieval Treatises', p. 175. According to the title page of 'Povey's Tract', Povey gave the manuscript to the College of Arms in 1669. Povey's manuscript also includes an Elizabethan copy of the Mandeville Roll (c. 1460) on ff. 26r-9v, which is notable because, as Campbell and Steer indicate, it is the only surviving copy. See *CMCA*, pp. 210-11. A portion of 'Kimbey's Tract' that lists and describes the arms of England's chronicle-based, fictive-historic kings is written in Latin (ff. 60v-2r). This list is not presented by Strangways, although it is included in Upton's treatise (Bodl. Lib. MS. Eng. Misc. D. 227, ff. 119r-24v), as well as in de Bado Aureo's (Bodl. Lib. MS. Laud. Misc. 733, ff. 37r-8v).

⁴⁸¹ *Strangways' Book* begins with the assertion that 'As kynges of herowdys Recordyn *the* begynyng and grownde of armez was furst fownde at *the* gret assege of nobylle Troye bothe *with* in *the* cyte and *with* owt...!' (BL MS. Harl. 2259, f. 11r). This opening is textually close to John's 'Tretis on Armes', which, in Jones' printing, begins: 'First, as herodes recorden, the beginnunge and grownde of Armes was at the Sege of Troy, withinne the towne and withoute...' (Jones, ed., 'Tretis on Armes', p. 213). Strangways specifies that kings of heralds record the tale, and amends the location from a town to a city. But, unlike the printed text, the manuscript of John's 'Tretis' is identical to the account in Bodl. Lib. MS. Ashmole Rolls 4, indicating that 'First as herodes recorden was at the Sege of Troy' (BL MS. Add. 34648, f. 3v). As well as other slight variations in phrasing, the omission of the 'begynyng and grownde of armez' from John's 'Tretis' and the 'Ashmolean Tract' may exemplify why London feels it is necessary to bifurcate these two tracts from the rest of the Strangways' group. London also does not explicitly identify the two tracts as the creations of students at Inns of Court, as he does the manuscripts of the Strangways' group.

⁴⁸² Humphery-Smith, 'Heraldry in School Manuals of the Middle Ages, II', p. 163.

⁴⁸³ Cf. p. 79, n. 244, and p. 143, n. 459. Also see Jones, ed., 'Tretis on Armes', p. 213.

⁴⁸⁴ London, 'Some Medieval Treatises', p. 170.

⁴⁸⁵ Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 86.

'inspired' by it.⁴⁸⁶ The manuscripts he specifies as derived from John's 'Tretis' include the 'Ashmolean Tract', the 'Heralds' Tract', the 'Harleian Version' of John's 'Tretis' (which is actually a copy of the 'Heralds' Tract'), the initial narrative portion of *Strangways' Book*, *Patrick's Book*, and the 'Sloane Tract'.⁴⁸⁷ With the exception of the 'Sloane Tract' (BL MS. Sloane 3744, ff. 2v-7r), the narrative content presented by the manuscripts in this group is alike.

The 'Sloane Tract' (c. 1470), which Humphery-Smith anecdotally explains Hugh Stanford London 'dismiss[ed]' as 'of little importance', is an anomalous fit in this manuscript group.⁴⁸⁸ London asserts that 'from the somewhat cursory glance [he] gave it', the manuscript is 'no more than a version (perhaps varied somewhat in some detail) of the mid-fifteenth century Ashmolean tract and others of that school'.⁴⁸⁹ Yet, although 'Sloane' does draw upon the Ashmolean/Strangways/John's 'Tretis' narrative, it is also radically divergent from the tracts in this group. To begin, the text is written in Latin and English. Humphery-Smith translates the Latin and English portions into modern English in his edited text, and he does not offer diplomatic transcriptions.⁴⁹⁰ As will be discussed, the details of the Latin text that opens the tract follow existing heraldic narrative conventions, but the tract is closer to 'Banyster's French Treatise' than it is to the 'Ashmolean' and Inns of Court genesis accounts. Following its origin narrative, the Latin text of the 'Sloane Tract' elaborates upon rules of arms, such

⁴⁸⁶ Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 216.

⁴⁸⁷ Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 86 and p. 216.

⁴⁸⁸ Humphery-Smith, 'Heraldry in School Manuals of the Middle Ages, I', p. 115. Humphery-Smith explains that the 'small Sloane manuscript 3744 consists of about thirty short tracts on alchemy, chemistry, philosopher's stone and similar topics. It also has a short biographical note on Thomas Bradwardine, Archbishop of Canterbury (1349)' (p. 117). He also edits the tract. See 'The Sloane Tract', ed. and trans. by Cecil R. Humphery-Smith, in 'Heraldry in School Manuals of the Middle Ages, I', *The Coat of Arms* 6. 43 (1960), 115-23.

⁴⁸⁹ Qtd. in Humphery-Smith, 'Heraldry in School Manuals of the Middle Ages, I', p. 115.

⁴⁹⁰ 'The Sloane Tract', pp. 118-23. In his frustration with the tract's 'almost unintelligible sentences', Humphery-Smith muses that '[i]t should be remembered that this tract is but a note-book of a scholar with little knowledge of Latin syntax and little more of English' (p. 123).

as that 'one must not place metal upon metal' or 'colour upon colour', and on the basic types of heraldic charges.⁴⁹¹ The tract's English portion is presented on ff. 3v-6v, and it is primarily concerned with blazoning arms.⁴⁹² But when the text shifts back to Latin, the 'Sloane Tract' offers another armorial origins account that traces arms to scriptural times and, therefore, connects the tract to other late fifteenth-century heraldic texts such as *The Boke of St Albans* (c. 1486) and Adam Loutfut's *The Deidis of Armorie* (BL MS. Harl. 6149, ff. 5r-42r, 1494).⁴⁹³

Other mid-to-late fifteenth century manuscripts that do not belong to the 'Ashmolean'/Strangways group also explore heraldic origins. CA MS. L. 6, ff. 11r-18v, is a French heraldic tract that Richard Moll dubs 'Brutus the Emperor', and it presents an account of the origins of heralds.⁴⁹⁴ Campbell and Steer describe it as 'a romance [...] evidently of North French or English composition', and they date the tract to 'probably [the] third quarter to [the] end' of the fifteenth-century.⁴⁹⁵ As Moll points out, 'most readers would question' Campbell and Steer's designation of the text as a 'romance'.⁴⁹⁶ Moll edits the text and offers a critical introduction to it, but he does not translate the French into English.⁴⁹⁷ CA MS. L. 6 once belonged to William Jenyns, Lancaster Herald (1516-27), whose notes of

⁴⁹¹ 'The Sloane Tract', pp. 118-19.

⁴⁹² BL MS. Sloane 3744, ff. 3v-6v. Briefly, this section presents a list of some thirty different types of crosses in arms (ff. 3v-4r), discusses the difference between lions and leopards in heraldry (f. 4r), the types of armorial differences (ff. 4v-5r), a few different bird charges (f. 5v), and heraldic colours (f. 5v). Cadency marks are also explained (ff. 6r-v). In Humphery-Smith's edition, see pp. 119-22.

⁴⁹³ *The Boke of St Albans*, pp. 67-112. Adam Loutfut's heraldic treatise has been printed. See *Deidis*, vol. 1, pp. 1-62.

⁴⁹⁴ CA MS. L. 6 dates to 'before 1527', and, among its fourteen entries, in addition to the Brutus narrative (ff. 11r-18v), which is written in French, the manuscript contains an account of Julius Caesar's establishment of the office of heralds that closely follows Sicily Herald's version, titled 'Les dis des philosophes' (ff. 20r-8r), a copy of de Bado Aureo's *Tractatus* (ff. 32r-73r), and a French translation of Bartolo's *De Insigniis et Armis* (ff. 74r-84r). The manuscript is bound together with CA MS. L. 5 bis. and CA MS. L. 8a. It is described in *CMCA*, pp. 28-33. Moll introduces and edits the origins tract. See Richard J. Moll, "'Brutus the Emperor": National and Heraldic Foundations in London, College of Arms L6', *Mediaeval Studies* 75 (2013), 109-45.

⁴⁹⁵ *CMCA*, p. 29.

⁴⁹⁶ Moll, 'Brutus the Emperor', p. 109.

⁴⁹⁷ For Moll's edition of the tract, see 'Brutus the Emperor', pp. 136-45.

ownership are found on f. 129v and f. 150v.⁴⁹⁸ The manuscript probably also belonged to Thomas Wriothesley, Garter King of Arms (1505-34).⁴⁹⁹

A further account of the origins of heralds is presented in the form of a letter that is ascribed to Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (d. 1464), who was the Bishop of Siena from c. 1447, and Pope Pius II from 1458.⁵⁰⁰ The writer asserts that this letter was written at Vienna, in June of 1451.⁵⁰¹ R. Wolkan edited the original Latin text in 1918.⁵⁰² The letter was translated into English in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.⁵⁰³ Like the Latin original, the English version is addressed to 'Johan Enderbache', the 'Kyngis Secretary', but unlike the original, the translation is undated and its writer claims that it was written at Cologne.⁵⁰⁴

⁴⁹⁸ *CMCA*, p. 28.

⁴⁹⁹ *CMCA*, pp. 10-14; and Moll, 'Brutus the Emperor', p. 135.

⁵⁰⁰ *CMCA*, p. 25.

⁵⁰¹ Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, 'Bischof Eneas an Johann Hinderbach', in *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*, vol. 1, ed. by R. Wolkan, *Fontes rerum austriacarum* II, vol. 68 (Vienna: Alfred Holder, 1918), letter no. 5, pp. 10-16 (for the location and date, see p. 10).

⁵⁰² Piccolomini, 'Bischof Eneas an Johann Hinderbach', pp. 10-16. Manuscript copies of the Latin text with British provenance include BL MS. Harl. 6149, ff. 79r-82r, BL MS. Stowe 668, ff. 3r-5r, and QC MS. 161, ff. 63r-4v. See David Rundle, "'Heralds of Antiquity': Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini and the British 'Thucydides'", in *Essays in Renaissance Thought and Letters: In Honor of John Monfasani*, ed. by A. Frazier and P. Nold (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2015), pp. 23-35 (p. 31, n. 30).

⁵⁰³ See, for example, the mid-to-late fifteenth-century English translations in CA MS. Arundel 26, ff. 41r-51v, and Bodl. Lib. MS. Ashmole 764, ff. 1r-8r. For further copies of the English translation, see the early sixteenth-century CA MS. L. 5 bis., ff. 24r-6r, which also has a French adaptation of portions of the tract on ff. 6r-15r, and the mid-sixteenth-century CA MS. L. 10 bis., which contains an English fragment of the text (f. 2r). A. S. G. Edwards points out a sixteenth-century English and French miscellany that contains a copy of the English translation (TCD MS. 661, pp. 79-94). See Edwards, 'Notes', p. 217. TCD MS. 661 has been mis-paginated, as p. 91 is followed by a second p. 82, p. 83, and p. 84. Consequently, the Piccolomini tract ends on p. 94, which has been mis-paginated as p. 84. Also see Bodl. Lib. MS. Douce 271, ff. 64v-73r, although, as Rundle points out in 'Heralds of Antiquity', this copy diverges from the other translations (p. 31, n. 30). The list of English translations sometimes erroneously includes CA MS. Arundel 63. For example, see *IMEP: Handlist IX: Manuscripts in the Ashmole Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford*, ed. by L. M. Eldredge (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1992), p. 29. Also see Edwards, 'Notes', p. 217; and Rundle, 'Heralds of Antiquity', p. 31, n. 30. The College of Arms no longer holds a manuscript numbered Arundel 63. When the College's Arundel manuscripts were rebound in the 1820s, the conservators and cataloguers wrongly thought that MS. Arundel 63 was MS. Arundel 26, probably because both manuscripts contain Statutes of the Order of the Garter and because MS. Arundel 26 had been misplaced. Consequently, what should have been MS. Arundel 63 was given the number Arundel 26 instead. Rather than correcting the mistake, they left the manuscript with the title Arundel 26, and when the original MS. Arundel 26 was found, they renumbered it as MS. Arundel 26/X. The manuscript now known as MS. Arundel 26/X solely contains the Statutes of the Order of the Garter. I am thankful to Lynsey Darby, the College's archivist, for explaining this mix-up to me.

⁵⁰⁴ CA MS. Arundel 26, f. 41r., and *CMCA*, p. 25. Intriguingly, A. S. G. Edwards asserts that the English translation is originally attributed to William Bruges, the first Garter King of Arms (c. 1415-50). See Edwards, 'Notes', p. 217. However, Edwards does not cite his source and, when I asked him about it, he could not recall where he read about this attribution. He may be mistaken on this

Two mid-to-late fifteenth century manuscripts are notable among the copies of the English translation. William Black posits that the English copy of this tract in CA MS. Arundel 26, ff. 41r-51v, is in John Writhe's (Garter, 1478-1504) handwriting.⁵⁰⁵ Although Black's supposition is plausible, the evidence for it remains inconclusive. Some of the letters in this copy, such as 'h', 'd', and 't', resemble Writhe's formation of these letters elsewhere, such as in CA MS. L. 8a, but the handwriting in MS. Arundel 26 appears more carefully executed.⁵⁰⁶ It is certain that Writhe had an interest in Piccolomini's tract. CA MS. Arundel 26 belonged to John Writhe as well as to his son, Thomas Wriothesley (Garter, 1505-34), and, as Black observes, the manuscript 'contain[s] several of their autographs'.⁵⁰⁷ The second notable English translation of this tract is Bodl. Lib. MS. Ashmole 764, ff. 1r-8r. This copy of Piccolomini's letter is attributed to the scribe Ricardus Franciscus, who composed the manuscript for John Smert, the second Garter King of Arms (c. 1450-78).⁵⁰⁸ Piccolomini's letter also interested other heralds who did not hold the position of Garter. For example, TCD MS. 661, which contains the English translation on pp. 79-94, belonged to Nicholas Narboon (Ulster, 1566-88), who probably inherited the miscellany with the rest of

point, and he claims that Nigel Ramsay (F. S. A.) disagrees with it. However, if he did read it somewhere credible that is not often consulted, then he may have come across something that awaits further scrutiny. The attribution to Bruges is not present in any of the manuscripts containing the English translation.

⁵⁰⁵ Black, *Catalogue of the Arundel Manuscripts*, p. 37.

⁵⁰⁶ CA MS. L. 8a is a miscellany that contains rare examples of prose written in John Writhe's hand. Writhe writes about the ideal attributes of a herald (f. 3v); an account of the battle of Harfleur (ff. 40r-50v); and an account of Edward III's heroic actions while he was at war with France (ff. 77r-82v). For more on Writhe's prose in this manuscript, cf. pp. 254-9.

⁵⁰⁷ Black, *Catalogue of the Arundel Manuscripts*, p. 37.

⁵⁰⁸ *IMEP: Handlist IX*, p. 29. Also see Nall, *Reading and War*, pp. 41-2; and Nall, 'Ricardus Franciscus writes for William Worcester', *Journal of the Early Book Society* 11 (2008), 207-16. As Nall explains, Ricardus Franciscus was a French-trained scribe who copied at least thirteen works, and he 'seems to have specialised in producing French and English military texts for a militarised audience'. In addition to John Smert, his clientele included John Fastolf, William Worcester, and the Whetehill family. See Nall, *Reading and War*, pp. 41-2.

his father's manuscripts.⁵⁰⁹ His father, John Narboon, was Richmond Herald (cr. 1536) until he died in the Tower of London in 1540.⁵¹⁰ An edition of the English translation of this letter has yet to be undertaken.

This review of the manuscripts containing heraldic origin legends is not exhaustive, as additional narratives and copies await identification, but it begins an overdue compilation process. Including textual variants and close copies, this overview features twenty-nine manuscript sources and one printed text, *The Boke of St Albans*. Twenty different heraldic origin narratives emerge out of seventeen distinct treatises, all of which date to the fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries. This evidence reveals that heraldic origin legends are not rare, isolated tales. These narratives proliferate and engage in a broader cultural discussion about the significance of heraldry and heralds. Over the course of the fifteenth century, they create a professional mythology that integrates heraldry and heralds into foundational proto-national narratives. The ideological shift resulting from this integration aggrandises and legitimises heraldry and heralds. It roots them in an ancient past far older than the actual practice or profession of heraldry, and it connects that past to legendary cultural origins to narratively construct conceptions of heraldry as culturally vital.

3.2 Myths of Heraldic Origins

When they are discussed by scholars, heraldic origin narratives tend to be treated cursorily. For example, Humphery-Smith notes that the 'Sloane Tract' 'begins with the story that armorial bearings were first used at the siege of Troy and were

⁵⁰⁹ T. K. Abbott, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, and Co., 1900), p. 111; and *Survey*, pp. 302-3.

⁵¹⁰ Abbott, *Catalogue*, p. 111; and *Survey*, pp. 144-5. Why Narboon was imprisoned in the Tower remains unknown.

brought to England by the 'Trojan Brutus', and because his purpose is to provide a transcription of the tract, which he does, his analytical discussion remains scant.⁵¹¹ Dennys cites two sentences from Humphery-Smith's transcription, revealing that young girls originally acted as messengers between armies and that frequent pregnancy led to their replacement by old soldiers, who were themselves replaced by younger men.⁵¹² Dennys then dismisses the story as one of 'occupational hazards' and turns his attention to the earliest historical evidence for heralds.⁵¹³ While Humphery-Smith focuses on the tract's account of heraldry's origins, Dennys is interested in its account of the origins of heralds. A distinction between these two different narrative traditions is important: the practice of heraldry should not be conflated with the profession of heralds. To highlight similarities and differences between texts, I shall be organising my discussion of origin narratives by text.

Craig Walker mentions that heraldic texts frequently place the origins of arms in 'a clear, ancient (and unhistorical) context'.⁵¹⁴ To support his claim, Walker points to 'John's Tretis', which places heraldic origins at Troy, to 'Prinsault's Treatise', which connects them to Hector of Troy, Alexander the Great, and Julius Caesar, and to the *Deidis of Armorie*, which traces heraldic origins to such figures as the biblical Joshua, David, and Judas Maccabeus, as well as to Alexander the Great.⁵¹⁵ However, as his focus is on Nicholas Upton, Walker does not discuss these origin narratives. Accounts of the origins of heraldry frequently depict the introduction of coat armour by Hector of Troy, Alexander the Great, or Julius Caesar. Through association with these three pagan worthies, heraldry becomes,

⁵¹¹ 'The Sloane Tract', p. 116.

⁵¹² Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 33.

⁵¹³ Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 33.

⁵¹⁴ Walker, 'An Edition', vol. 1, p. 72.

⁵¹⁵ Walker, 'An Edition', vol. 1, p. 72.

as they are, ancient and dignified. Yet the stories themselves remain mysterious. Richard Moll and George Keiser, who examine accounts of the origins of heralds, are rare exceptions, as they are the only scholars I have encountered who present and engage with the import of their texts.

It is not until the fifteenth century that heraldic texts include prose that self-consciously connects a herald's duties to an imagined ancient past and, more to the point, to a past that frequently dovetails the origins of heraldry as a practice and of heralds as a profession with elements from proto-national origin narratives. Romanticising heraldry's past reveals the heraldic profession's desire for a particularly noble recognition and ancient affiliation. It also reveals that heraldic writers valued heraldry as an elite social practice and as a marker of social prestige and distinction. They understood that society's perceptions of an individual's identity construct and validate that identity. Heraldry is practical; it distinguishes and identifies the bearers of coats of arms. As such, its object is really the viewer, who through seeing a particular coat of arms should be able to recognise and, therefore, validate, the bearer's nobility, identity, and achievements. Creating narratives that connect heraldic practice to something culturally weighty, such as religious or national foundational accounts, extends their gravitas onto heraldry and heralds.

3.3 Early Fifteenth-Century Accounts in French and Latin

John de Bado Aureo's *Tractatus de Armis* presents a brief account of the development of armorial distinction. The text begins with a few lines about how colours distinguish arms before entering a detailed discussion of armorial tinctures and charges. It also specifies that arms were developed to make 'worthy' men discernible from one other, and it clarifies that 'worthynes' can designate a person's

‘wysdome’, ‘connyng’, ‘strength’, or ‘degre’.⁵¹⁶ This interest in distinguishing coats of arms and their bearers situates the *Tractatus de Armis*, which dates to c. 1394-5, within a broader cultural preoccupation with elevating the martial social elite above others and affirming their prestigious status.

The Rawlinson letter (c. 1400) begins to conceptualise the origins of heralds. The King of Arms writes that either Julius Caesar or Alexander the Great (‘cesar et aultres Alixandre’) established the office of heralds (‘les premiers que les fonderent et nômerent heraulx’), and he blames his uncertainty on misplacing his book (‘perdy mon liure’), which leads him to depend on his memory.⁵¹⁷ He also reveals that the first heralds (‘premiers heraulx’) were old men (‘estoitent vieulx’) who used to be valiant knights and squires (‘tresvaillans cheualiers et escuiers’).⁵¹⁸ These narrative components become foundational to later origin tales. Bringing in Caesar and Alexander, two of the pagan Worthies, directly connects heralds with Europe’s ancient Greco-Roman cultural origins. It also connects heralds with ancient rulers who, according to this narrative, needed heraldic services to manage their vast empires, and who created the office of arms to meet that demand. The King of Arms further explains that, according to his lost book, the first Christian princes initially appointed twelve heralds (‘au nombre de. xii’), and he draws a comparison between them and Christ’s apostles (‘Car comme les xii. appoustees’).⁵¹⁹ During their prime, heralds had fought to defend the faith, and in their old age, they become messengers, and their role is valued just as if they were Christ’s messengers.⁵²⁰ The Christian princes selected one of these twelve heralds

⁵¹⁶ Bodl. Lib. MS. Laud. Misc. 733, f. 9v; and Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 68.

⁵¹⁷ Bodl. Lib. MS. Rawl. C. 399, f. 79r; and Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 43. The writer’s comment that he has lost his book suggests that written origin tales had been circulating earlier than or contemporaneously with the turn of the fifteenth century. If any of these texts have survived, they have yet to surface or to be identified.

⁵¹⁸ Bodl. Lib. MS. Rawl. C. 399, f. 79r.

⁵¹⁹ Bodl. Lib. MS. Rawl. C. 399, f. 79v; and Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 44.

⁵²⁰ Huxtable, ‘Colour, Seeing, and Seeing Colour’, pp. 176-8.

to be the King of Arms. This narrative grants heralds both pagan and Christian roots. It also sets a precedent, as heralds in origin narratives are never fully instated as capable adult men in their prime. Instead, the various narratives present heralds and proto-heralds as those who are not active knights: as maimed soldiers, as old men, as young boys, as young women, as demi-god heroes, and even as angels.

Sicily Herald's *Le blason des couleurs en armes* (c. 1416-36), which was frequently copied by later medieval heraldic writers in England, begins with 'Le très noble et très puissant roy Alexandre de Macédoine', and goes on to relate that Alexander the Great established arms to distinguish his noble warriors ('pour exaulcer le nom et la vaillance de ses chiefz et gouverneurs de guerres').⁵²¹ After deliberating with his counsellors, and especially after consulting Aristotle ('et en espécial du très noble docteur et philosophe nommé Aristote'), Alexander ordains that his noble men wear coats of arms and other para-heraldic devices ('enseignes, bannières, pennons et tunicques, qui de présent s'appellent cottes d'armes') so that their noble actions in battle could be more easily observed and guarded ('pour l'honneur de noblesse observer et garder').⁵²² Aristotle's inclusion in the narrative is intriguing; his authority is presented as necessary for Alexander's decision-

⁵²¹ *Le blason des couleurs*, p. 17. A few examples of later medieval manuscripts that copy this opening include Bodl. Lib. MS. Ashmole 764, f. 9r, Bodl. Lib. MS. Eng. Misc. f. 36, f. 4r, and Bodl. Lib. MS. Douce 278, f. 1r.

⁵²² *Le blason des couleurs*, p. 18. Writing early in the fifteenth century (c. 1400-9), Christine de Pisan connects Alexander the Great with the establishment of governmental offices, although she does not specify which offices were established. She writes that '[w]han the grete alexandre had subdued and ouercome the thirde parte of Assie', he, fearing that the 'kynges & princes of the lande' would lead rebellions, took them with him. He then 'stablysshed certeyne captaynes that he chose out', leaving the conquered people to be 'gouerned by suche of the comynaultee as they were hemself'. See de Pisan, *The Book of Fayttes*, pp. 121-2. Christine's Alexander personally selects common people to govern his conquered territories. He removes the nobles to accomplish this transfer of power, but as he treats his hostages 'as though he wolde worshippe them', he still manages to gain their 'loue' (pp. 121-2). Although her narrative is not specifically about heraldic origins, it does provide a blueprint for some later accounts of the origins of heraldic office. For example, Adam Loutfut's late fifteenth-century *The Deidis of Armorie* (BL MS. Harl. 6149), to which I will return, recounts an 'auld historie' that depicts Julius Caesar establishing government offices in conquered territories (ff. 5r-8v). His account specifies that among these offices that 'govern[ed] al things', heralds were appointed 'to be at Iugement of armis' (f. 5r). Sicily Herald, however, connects Alexander to the establishment of coats of arms rather than to heraldic office.

making process. Alexander the Great was famously tutored by Aristotle, and the author could be displaying the seriousness with which Alexander makes this decision, as Alexander is careful to inquire after the opinions of his most trusted counsellors and his mentor. Alexander's special attention to Aristotle's advice is in keeping with the widely known *Secreta Secretorum* tradition, grounded in a pseudo-Aristotelian epistolary text in which the philosopher purportedly writes advisory letters to Alexander on good governance.⁵²³ Like the *Secreta Secretorum*, Sicily Herald's narrative notably maintains a secular interest. He presents arms as a means of visibly distinguishing Alexander's men on a battlefield and highlighting their actions of 'noblesse'. As a result, the text implicitly argues that 'noblesse' requires more than noble behaviour, and that it is an observer's recognition of noble acts that renders them distinctive.⁵²⁴ Accepting this premise also suggests that noble behaviour is inspired in the person being observed when that person is aware that they are being observed, and even more directly, that they are individually recognisable and, therefore, accountable to observers. Robert Jones explains that '[d]eeds of great valour not only had to be done, but also had to be seen to be done', and that armorial devices, which were 'supposedly unique to the individual, ensured that deeds of valour [and of dishonour] would be visible across the battlefield to friends and foes alike'.⁵²⁵ Sicily Herald's heraldic origins account

⁵²³ The *Secreta Secretorum* is an Arabic text purporting to be a translation of an ancient Greek original. The Arabic text survives in approximately fifty manuscripts, the earliest of which dates c. 941. It was translated into Latin in the twelfth century and became a popular medieval European text, being translated into various languages from Anglo-Norman to Dutch and even Hebrew. The Latin text survives in about five hundred manuscripts. See M. A. Manzalaoui, ed., *Secretum Secretorum: Nine English Versions*, EETS o. s. 276, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), esp. p. ix; Steven J. Williams, *The Secret of Secrets: The Scholarly Career of a Pseudo-Aristotelian Text in the Latin Middle Ages* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2003), esp. pp. 1-2; and Lin Kerns, *The Secret of Secrets (Secreta Secretorum): A Modern Translation, with Introduction, of The Governance of Princes* (Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2008), esp. p. v.

⁵²⁴ Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knightbood*, pp. 62-5.

⁵²⁵ Jones, *Bloodied Banners*, p. 19 and p. 20.

draws attention to the viewer's role in making coats of arms markers of social and martial distinction.

Sicily Herald also presents a narrative explaining the origins of heralds. In 'S'Ensielt la fondation du noble office d'armes par Jullius Cesar', he relates that Julius Caesar first created the office of heralds after the siege of Carthage to accommodate and make use of veteran soldiers who were no longer able to fight.⁵²⁶ Caesar established and endowed a college ('fist construire et édifier ung très bel et solemnel colliége très largement garny') to allow veterans a place in which to live honest, noble, and contemplative lives ('avoir leur vie honnestement contemplativement').⁵²⁷ To live a life of 'honestement' necessitates a virtuous lifestyle that is 'upright', honest, and honourable.⁵²⁸ To live a contemplative life requires reflectiveness, thoughtfulness, and self-awareness. In a manner similar to Lull, whose late thirteenth-century Catalan treatise begins with a once-valiant knight choosing to be a hermit upon recognising that 'his days were numbered' and that 'nature was rendering him unable to wield arms because of old age', this insertion of contemplative practice may have been produced by a desire to correlate the secular with the sacred.⁵²⁹ Sicily Herald emphasises the honest and upright character of these noble old men who became the first heralds. Given that they had been soldiers or knights before growing old, and in light of legendary attributions of a noble and worthy comportment to knights, it can be deduced that,

⁵²⁶ 'S'Ensielt la fondation', pp. 49-61. According to Sicily Herald, these 'chevalliers nobles' (noble soldiers) were 'débilitéz' (debilitated) by their 'vieillesse' (old age) (p. 49).

⁵²⁷ 'S'Ensielt la fondation', p. 50. This detail about Caesar's establishing a college is also mentioned by Moll in 'Brutus the Emperor', p. 111, although he does not elaborate further or offer a broader account of Sicily Herald's treatment of heraldic origins. A version of this collegial story can also be found in CA MS. 5 bis., ff. 6r-7v.

⁵²⁸ *A-ND*, 'honestement' (adv.) 1, 'in an upright way, honestly' and 2, 'fittingly, properly, honourably' [<http://www.anglo-norman.net/D/honestement>, accessed 30 May 2017]. Also see *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (1330-1500)*, 'honestement' (adv.) a, 'À propos d'une pers., de son comportement, d'une action, d'une attitude', and a (1), 'D'une manière estimable, honorablement' [<http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/definition/honnêtement>, accessed 30 May 2017].

⁵²⁹ Lull, *The Book of the Order of Chivalry*, p. 35.

with the exception of youth's strength and agility, these veterans would transfer their ideal knightly qualities into their new office as heralds. In other words, Sicily Herald presents heralds as being aged and respected knights, and underscores that, despite the physical debilitations of age, their service is useful and worthy of estimation. His emphasis upon the importance of old age to wise counsel relates to the advisory literary tradition, exemplified by texts such as John Lydgate's *The Siege of Thebes*, in which old men offer guidance on military and princely conduct to young, reckless princes.⁵³⁰ In this tradition, old men offer advice based on their acquired wisdom and experience to younger men, especially sharing knowledge about how to navigate chivalric and courtly demands. Moreover, Caesar's creation of a college for their purposes highlights the aged heralds' continued intellectual acuity.⁵³¹ In this way, Sicily Herald constructs a narrative of a socially useful post-chivalric career that refuses to diminish a veteran's dignity or to sever him from some form of active service. Sicily Herald adds that, upon establishing the heraldic office, Caesar appointed kings of arms and delineated heralds' duties and fees. Caesar also appointed pursuivants, selected from young, amiable men who were no older than twenty ('gens de l'eage de 20 ans ou en dessus, bien doctrinès et de bonne condition'), to serve heralds as apprentices ('comme le bon disciple') and to

⁵³⁰ John Lydgate, *The Siege of Thebes*, ed. by Robert R. Edwards, TEAMS Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001). Merlin similarly advises Uther Pendragon in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *The History*, esp. in Books 8-11. This advisory tradition frequently overlaps with the *speculum principis* ('mirrors for princes') literary tradition. Fifteenth-century examples of this genre include Thomas Hoccleve's *The Regement of Princes*, which was written for the future Henry V, and John Skelton's *Speculum Principis*, written at the end of the century for the future King Henry VIII. See *Hoccleve's Works: The Regement of Princes*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall, EETS e. s. 72 (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co., 1897); and F. M. Salter, 'Skelton's *Speculum Principis*', *Speculum* 9. 1 (1934), 25-37.

⁵³¹ Although she does not mention heralds specifically or offer a connection to Julius Caesar, Christine de Pisan similarly associates arms with aged men and a collegial environment. She explains in *The Book of Fayttes of Armes and of Chyualrye* that 'auncyent worthy men' in Greece and Rome desired to 'lerne & vndrestande' the 'arte' of arms 'aboue al other thing', and that they set up schools to teach their children about arms and to train them to be warriors (pp. 28-9). For Christine, the origins of arms are pre-Roman, as they were already in use in ancient Greece, whose height preceded Rome's. The collegial environment she presents is also more intellectually and practically instructive than it is contemplative.

carry out more arduous tasks.⁵³² Although not explicitly stated, it is probable that these young pursuivants who trained under veteran heralds were exempted from active knighthood and became the first adult heralds. In this way, Sicily Herald constructs a narrative about the development of the professional office of heraldry. He includes an account of heraldic origins, but he also looks beyond it to explain current professional practice, grounding the educational path towards becoming a herald within a classical framework.

For Sicily Herald, a herald's work is valiant work. He explicitly links his pride in his profession with what he presents as heraldry's classical etymology. Sicily Herald writes that veteran knights are called heralds because 'her', the first syllable, is the Greek equivalent of what in Latin would designate the powerful, wise, and aged ('...car *her* en grec est entendu en latin comme puissant, saige ou ancien').⁵³³ In so doing, he reiterates a link between heraldry and Europe's Greco-Roman roots, and maintains positive connotations for age as a source of experience and wisdom. Yet his attribution of ancient roots to heraldic office goes further than Caesar or Greece. Although they were not yet officially heralds, Courtois points to biblical heraldic precursors. He explains that heraldry did not only begin with Romans and pagans ('non pas seulement par les Rommains et payens'), but that its earliest manifestations were in other nations ('par les aultres nations'), and that it has been a valuable service to both Jewish and Christian kings and princes ('juifz comme chrétiens, roix et princes').⁵³⁴ For example, he asserts that heralds perform a legal function ('héraulx sont [...] comme vrais légalz') in the *Book of Maccabees*.⁵³⁵ Although heralds are not explicitly present in the *Book of*

⁵³² 'S'Ensieult la fondation', p. 52.

⁵³³ 'S'Ensieult la fondation', p. 51.

⁵³⁴ 'S'Ensieult la fondation', p. 54.

⁵³⁵ 'S'Ensieult la fondation', p. 54.

Maccabees, messengers play an important role in liaising between heathen and Jewish kings, and the text heavily stresses the importance of the law.⁵³⁶ This emphasis provides an apt correlation given the close relationship between law and heraldry. Treatises on heraldic jurisprudence begin with Bartolo and, by the mid-fifteenth century, are copied and extracted from in London's Inns of Court, where lawyers are trained.⁵³⁷ Sicily Herald also includes an anecdotal account of King David sending messengers to King Amon, and is keen to stress the ancient foundations of heralds even before they were officially professionally recognised.⁵³⁸ In this way, he manages to bring together classical and scriptural cultural roots and to apply both to ground and dignify his profession.

'Banyster's French Treatise', the early fifteenth-century manuscript that is written entirely in French and that was probably compiled by a herald or pursuivant who was employed by the English during the English occupation of Normandy, also presents an account of the origins of the heraldic profession. The text begins '[E]ntemps que Iules cesar emperour des Roumins conquesta aufrique...', and goes on to describe how Caesar went to the 'occident' and established government offices, including the office of arms, appointing a king of arms ('mestier darmes') to oversee discussion of laws and judgements on which, it is argued, we must depend ('discuter des drois et Iugemens qui en doiuent despendre').⁵³⁹ Wagner notes that this manuscript's treatises 'appear to have much in common with those of Sicily herald', and this origin account is no exception.⁵⁴⁰

⁵³⁶ *The Vulgate Bible: The Minor Prophetic Books and Maccabees*, ed. by Angela M. Kinney, vol. v (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), pp. 275-555. The law's centrality to the text is succinctly demonstrated by Mattathias's final words to his sons, as he lies on his deathbed exclaiming, 'O my sons, be ye zealous for the law, and give your lives for the covenant of your fathers' (p. 293).

⁵³⁷ Heraldic works associated with London's Inns of Court appear to be grounded in John's 'Tretis' and the Ashmolean Tract, to which I will return.

⁵³⁸ For his account of David and Amon, see Sicily Herald's 'S'Ensiult la fondation', p. 55.

⁵³⁹ CA MS. M. 19, f. 80r.

⁵⁴⁰ Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 58.

However, this account fuses elements into a narrative that is ultimately different. Caesar establishes the heraldic office and kings of arms, but veterans and a college are not mentioned, and the account seems closer to Christine's tale of Alexander establishing new infrastructure.⁵⁴¹ In addition, the text's emphasis upon a herald's function as primarily being to supervise and facilitate legal discussions invites conjecture as to whether its emphasis was inspired by Bartolo as well as Courtois. Describing society as 'depend[ent]' upon the law, and the law as 'depend[ent]' upon heralds, the text presents a syllogism arguing for society's dependence upon heralds.

After revealing that Caesar first established heraldic office, the tale shifts focus onto Alexander and offers an alternative account (ff. 81r-4v).⁵⁴² This multiplicity of origin narratives in the same manuscript reveals that the writer is concerned with defining heraldic work and who ought to perform it. This second account establishes an already indicated narrative pattern, as it asserts that Alexander the Great first employed virginal girls ('notables pucelles sans tache de vilaine Renom^mee') as diplomatic messengers ('les quelles pucelles portoient et Rapportoint les messaiges darmes').⁵⁴³ The writer ascribes this narrative about proto-heraldic maidens to 'maistre Jehan erart'.⁵⁴⁴ It is possible that 'Jehan erart' is the same man as 'Jean Herard', to whom is attributed authorship of one of the heraldic treatises in BnF MS. fr. 387.⁵⁴⁵ It is also possible that this name is indicative of Sicily Herald, as Jean Courtois might have been referred to as Jean [the] Herald. However, if this is the case, then the text's ascription of the narrative

⁵⁴¹ Cf. p. 158, n. 522.

⁵⁴² Campbell and Steer acknowledge the presence of this origins account in their list of the manuscript's contents. See *CMCA*, p. 162.

⁵⁴³ CA MS. M. 19, f. 81v.

⁵⁴⁴ CA MS. M. 19, f. 81r.

⁵⁴⁵ Cf. p. 81, n. 252.

is incorrect: Sicily Herald does not present an account of virginal girls as proto-heraldic messengers. Instead, he asserts that the first heralds were veteran soldiers.

The narrative about virginal girls in ‘Banyster’s French Treatise’ constructs the heraldic profession as a profession for young, able-bodied men. According to this narrative, there were gluttonous ribalds (‘Ribaulx gloutons’) who took (‘prindrent’) and dishonoured (‘deshonnouer’) the girls by force (‘les dictes pucelles par force’).⁵⁴⁶ The writer condemns these men as crude and sexually voracious rapists. He also punishes their disreputable behaviour, asserting that, for their offense towards the said girls (‘offense vers les dictes pucelles’), the ribalds are taken and detained prisoners (‘soient prins et detemptes prisonniers’).⁵⁴⁷ Nonetheless, the girls are replaced by old veteran knights (‘les nobles anciens chevaliers qui plus ne rouoient porter les armes’), and, because there were not so many veterans to be found (‘on ne pot recouurer de tant de viellars chevaliers’), these old men were replaced by the young, fit men who became the first heralds.⁵⁴⁸

This account positions the heraldic profession as a profession for men. The martial society that employed the virgins valued their untouched bodies, and yet it was unable to guarantee that their bodies would remain intact while working within a male-dominated military environment. The violence of the battlefield carried over into violence against women and this necessitated that men replace women as messengers. Despite referencing a mid-fifteenth century recension in the ‘Sloane Tract’ (c. 1470) and not indicating earlier witnesses, Dennys accurately observes that this account highlights potential ‘occupational hazards’, thereby emphasising the importance of a herald’s fitness.⁵⁴⁹ Being a diplomatic messenger

⁵⁴⁶ CA MS. M. 19, f. 81v.

⁵⁴⁷ CA MS. M. 19, f. 82r.

⁵⁴⁸ CA MS. M. 19, ff. 82v-3r.

⁵⁴⁹ Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 33.

is a vulnerable position. The girls were sexually compromised, but even men, be they old or young, face potential risks when liaising between friends and enemies, usually in foreign lands. The demands of the position are enough to render old veteran knights ineffective, making physical fitness and vigour important qualities in successful heralds. Unlike Sicily Herald's account, the young men in this narrative explicitly replace the debilitated veterans. In these ways, this manuscript's account inserts gender, age, and strength into consideration as requirements for undertaking heraldic office.

Indeed, the Latin opening of the 'Sloane Tract' is derived from 'Banyster's French Treatise', as it presents the narrative that heralds were originally girls who primarily served as diplomatic messengers. In this text, the girls are called 'puelle decentes'.⁵⁵⁰ Humphery-Smith archaically translates this phrase as 'comely girls', which highlights their physical attractiveness, but the original text more accurately connotes girls who are proper, decent, and suitable for the position.⁵⁵¹ If these girls are proper and decent, they are also implicitly virginal, as they are not yet women. The 'Sloane Tract' relates that the girls, who were frequently pregnant, were replaced by veteran soldiers riding in chariots: '*quibus omnes favebant pro sexu sicut illi impregnantes ordinatum est que milites veterani in curribus vecti vice puellarum partes pugnancium mediarent*' [so that, they being impregnated, it was ordained that veteran soldiers riding in chariots replace the girls as mediators in war].⁵⁵² Humphery-Smith translates that the girls 'were often made pregnant', but the original text suggests an even more passive state of constant impregnation.⁵⁵³

⁵⁵⁰ BL MS. Sloane 3744, f. 2v.

⁵⁵¹ 'The Sloane Tract', p. 118.

⁵⁵² BL MS. Sloane 3744, f. 2v. I am grateful to Hannes Kleineke for helping me with this transcription and translation. The added detail of the chariots is, as far as I know, unique to this tract.

⁵⁵³ 'The Sloane Tract', p. 118.

This passive language, which intimates a lack of agency, is evocative of rape. The text does not explicitly assert such violence. These girls were unable to perform their proto-heraldic duties because they conceived, which shifts the emphasis from men who cannot restrain their sexual impulses and instead highlights the incompatibility of a procreating female body with the profession's tasks. The text does not give any reasoning as to why pregnancy makes the girls unable to function as messengers.

Aged veterans in this narrative are similarly unable to properly perform their tasks, even with their chariots, as they cannot bear the required exertion. The veterans assert that their labour is not tolerable [sed cum ipse nequebant labore tolear], and they are replaced by younger men, who become the first heralds.⁵⁵⁴ Consequently, age and physical fitness are presented as crucial qualities in heraldic officers. Young men replace those who are too old, who themselves replaced those who were too young. Male bodies also replace female bodies, suggesting that the ability to become pregnant was perceived as debilitating for females and as an inconvenience to the predominantly male martial community that they served.

Adam Loutfut's *The Deidis of Armorie* (1494) translates 'Banyster's French Treatise' from the French into Scots English.⁵⁵⁵ Loutfut presents the narrative about Julius Caesar establishing the office of arms in his conquered lands and creating heralds 'to be at iugement/ of armes'.⁵⁵⁶ He also asserts that Alexander the Great used 'noble madenys' to carry out proto-heraldic duties, and he

⁵⁵⁴ BL MS. Sloane 3744, f. 2v; and 'The Sloane Tract', p. 118. Humphery-Smith translates this phrase as 'they could not stand the pace' (p. 118).

⁵⁵⁵ Houwen is also convinced that Loutfut is translating 'Banyster's French Treatise' (CA MS. M. 19). See *Deidis*, vol. 1, p. xlii. However, he does not discuss the shared attribution of this origins narrative to 'Thon Herrart' / 'John Erart' by both texts.

⁵⁵⁶ BL MS. Harl. 6149, f. 5r; and *Deidis*, vol. 1, p. 1. This account is drawn from the first origins narrative in 'Banyster's French Treatise'. See CA MS. M. 19, ff. 79v-81r.

incorrectly attributes this narrative to ‘Thon Herrart’, as does ‘Banyster’s French Treatise’.⁵⁵⁷ Loutfut emphasises that the maidens are noble while the French treatise states that they are virginal girls. Nobility can connote modest, and therefore, virginal behaviour, but it also designates an elite social status. Unlike the ‘Sloane Tract’, which asserts that young girls were replaced as proto-heralds by veterans because they were ‘impregnated’, Loutfut’s text follows ‘Banyster’s French Treatise’, declaring that ‘rebaldis’ forcefully dishonoured the maidens.⁵⁵⁸ Loutfut also condemns the ribalds, stating that they should be ‘haldin prisonetis’ and ‘punyst’.⁵⁵⁹ Unlike the ‘Sloane’ tract’s properly suitable and implicitly virginal girls, Loutfut and ‘Banyster’s French Treatise’ assert that the girls were maidens and that they could no longer perform their duties because the men whom they encountered could not ignore or restrain their sexual urges. Girls are not presented as incapable of fulfilling the tasks required of heraldic office, but as not suited to the position because of how the men they encounter might respond to them.

Whereas Sicily Herald and the ‘Sloane Tract’ state that veterans are replaced because they cannot keep up, Loutfut, following ‘Banyster’s French Treatise’, asserts that ‘men couth *nocht* find sa mony/ auld *knychtis* till *exers* þe said office’.⁵⁶⁰ Without enough veterans to perform heraldic duties, the task transferred to younger injured knights before it was finally given to healthy young men. Consequently, young, healthy male heralds continue a professional legacy that was established by those who were not at their fittest, whether because of their age, of their sustained injuries, or of the sexual and physical vulnerabilities of young girls.

⁵⁵⁷ BL MS. Harl. 6149, f. 6r; and *Deidis*, vol. 1, pp. 2-3. Also see CA MS. M. 19, ff. 81r-4v.

⁵⁵⁸ BL MS. Harl. 6149, ff. 6r-v; and *Deidis*, vol. 1, p. 3.

⁵⁵⁹ BL MS. Harl. 6149, f. 6v; and *Deidis*, vol. 1, p. 3.

⁵⁶⁰ BL MS. Harl. 6149, f. 7r; and *Deidis*, vol. 1, p. 4.

In addition to attributing the origins of heralds to both Julius Caesar and Alexander, ‘Banyster’s French Treatise’ briefly presents a third genesis account for the heraldic profession. In a section focussing on the characteristics expected of a herald (ff. 151r-53v), a few lines indicate that the archangels Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Uriel, being God’s ‘principal messagier[s]’, were the first heralds.⁵⁶¹ This account echoes equations of knighthood with angels and archangels, and it similarly grants a coalescing between sacred and secular warfare, though its emphasis is on the crucial function of messengers in war rather than on fighters.⁵⁶² The tale also positions heralds as the inheritors of an office so dignified that it originally directly served God. According to John Trevisa’s late fourteenth-century English translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus’s *De proprietatibus rerum*, archangels are the ‘hiest messangeres’.⁵⁶³ They are ‘principle a mong angelis’ because they ‘schewe prophecies to prophetis’ and ‘teche’ and ‘lede’ other angels, and angels, in turn, are tasked with teaching and leading virtuous people to be like God (‘repare þe ymage of god’).⁵⁶⁴

⁵⁶¹ CA MS. M. 19, f. 151r. CA MS. M. 16 bis. also presents this archangel narrative on the first six unnumbered folios at the beginning of the manuscript (before f. 1r). To my knowledge, this is the only other known instance of this origins narrative. Like ‘Banyster’s French Treatise’, CA MS. M. 16 bis. attributes its origins account to ‘Maistre Jehan erart’ (unnumbered and pre-foliation, but it would be f. 4v). The narrative briefly mentions that girls were the original messengers before moving into the archangel account. Unlike ‘Banyster’s French Treatise’, this narrative does not mention ribalds or imply that the girls were raped.

⁵⁶² Nall additionally examines *Knyghthode and Bataile* (c. 1459-60), an English verse translation of Vegetius’s influential Latin war treatise *De Re Militari* (c. 383-450). She argues that the text ‘invests knighthood with angelic quality’, as it asserts that ‘Man shal ben angelike’ through knighthood, and that knights, who represent the best of humanity, could potentially become angels themselves, replenishing heaven’s population which has dwindled since ‘Lucyfer[’s] falling’. See Nall, *Reading and War*, p. 122; and *Knyghthode and Bataile*, ed. by R. Dyboski and Z. M. Arend, EETS o. s. 201 (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), pp. 5-7, ln. 106-65, esp. l. 159 and ln. 163-5. Lull’s connection of knighthood to a biblical framework and his emphasis upon knightly virtue develop into the equation of that virtue with the spiritual realm, of knights with angels, and, therefore, of knights with the spiritual beings that directly serve and represent Christ.

⁵⁶³ BL MS. Add. 27944, f. 7r. Bartholomaeus Anglicus is here drawing upon Isidore of Seville, who calls archangels the ‘highest messengers (*summus nuntius*)’ and explains that ‘they hold primacy among the angels’. See Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies*, VII. v. 6, p. 160.

⁵⁶⁴ BL MS. Add. 27944, f. 7r. Although this resembles the views expressed by *Knyghthode and Bataile*, the emphasis is on archangels as envoys between God and other angels as well as between God and people, whereas the poem is more interested in archangels as martial, fashioning them as God’s warriors.

The sixteenth-century French sibling manuscript group mythologises the origins of heralds differently, dovetailing the beginnings of heraldic practice with the first granted arms. CA MS. L. 10 bis. (ff. 2r-4v) is a fragmentary English translation of the other two texts in this group, CA MS. M. 16 bis. (first six pre-foliated pages) and CA MS. M. 4 (ff. 35r-7v), which are written in French. According to this narrative, Alexander the Great ‘ordeyne[s] by the good advyce of his counsell’ and of ‘the famous doctor Aristotele’ to ‘geve vnto the chief lordes *and* captaynes of his companye’ banners and coats of arms ‘according’ to their ‘hardynes *and* valliantness’.⁵⁶⁵ Alexander decrees that his men should be granted arms to match with their bravery. This account is different from Sicily Herald’s narrative about the origins of heraldic practice, in which Alexander ordains that his men wear coats of arms so that they can be distinguished from one another on a battlefield, enabling an individual man’s identity, bravery, and achievements to be recognised. In this narrative, the focus is on granting arms based on a warrior’s already recognised bravery and achievements. By conferring coats of arms in accordance with a warrior’s perceived martial courage, skill, and value, this narrative’s Alexander establishes a hierarchy even among his chief lords and captains. This account is also different from the narrative about the origins of heralds presented by ‘Banyster’s French Treatise’, in which Julius Caesar establishes the office of arms and appoints a king of arms. In CA MS. L. 10 bis., the narrative’s ruler, Alexander, commands for coats of arms to be given to his chief fighters. A ruler confers the authority to grant arms. This narrative depiction therefore reflects historical practice. It accentuates that heralds, whether directly or, if serving a noble, indirectly, ultimately attend to the ruler’s wishes and act under the ruler’s authority.

⁵⁶⁵ CA MS. L. 10 bis., f. 2r.

This manuscript group also presents Julius Caesar's creation of heraldic practice distinctively. According to the narrative, after Alexander decreed that arms should be given to his chief fighters, Julius Caesar similarly 'ordeyne[d] to gyve' arms to his knights 'wherby they might be the better knowen'.⁵⁶⁶ This account relates that the impetus for Caesar's command for granting arms was so that it would be discernible which of his knights behaved 'courageously *and* valiantly' on the battlefield and which behaved 'cowardly and fayntely'.⁵⁶⁷ The narrative is thus closer to Sicily Herald's account of Alexander establishing arms so that his fighters could be distinguished in battle. However, it shares with the Alexander narrative that precedes it in the manuscript an emphasis on ranking fighters based upon their martial performance. This manuscript group presents Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar using arms to signify the varying degrees of skill and courage of their best fighters.

In addition, this narrative offers an account of the origin of heralds and emphasises the profession's potential dangers. The writer asserts that Julius Caesar 'did sende his messangers throughowt all the hole world as well to his enemys as to his ffriendes, that all such as has territoryes and lordshipps shulde condesend to this ordenawnt for the welth of noblesse', to 'graunte' messengers, whom he named heralds, 'liberties, both to go and come safle'.⁵⁶⁸ Heraldry is here presented as global emissaries, and the importance of their being granted safe passage is equated with the 'welth of noblesse'. Caesar appeals to his friends' and his enemies' desire to be recognised as noble people, imploring respect for the messenger regardless of one's response to the message. This diplomatic immunity

⁵⁶⁶ CA MS. L. 10 bis., f. 2v.

⁵⁶⁷ CA MS. L. 10 bis., f. 2r.

⁵⁶⁸ CA MS. L. 10 bis., f. 2v.

is a critical condition of a herald being able to perform his office, and it grants heralds a special social status, even among the noble community they serve.

The first chapter of Clément Prinsault's *Treatise* (c. 1439-44) deals with heraldic origins, and it is here that all three of the pagan Worthies are mentioned together as responsible for establishing heraldry. The text begins, 'Le très vaillant et victorieux Alixandre, roy de Macédoyne, le très puissant troyan Hector, le très prudent empereur Jules César, et plusieurs aultres nobles princes', and relates that these princes, desiring to discern valiant martial acts ('par laquelle l'on peust clèrement discerner et juger de leurs vaillants et preux faits'), ordained that soldiers wear signs of difference.⁵⁶⁹ These signs came to be called arms ('Laquelle enseigne à présent est appellée armes'), and they were passed on to future generations as a record of martial bravery to be emulated ('...affin qu'en recordation et mémoire desdictes vaillances, ilz soient plus enclins et animez à ensuyvre et imiter les beaulx faits, prouesses et vaillances de leurs prédécesseurs').⁵⁷⁰ *Prinsault's Treatise* inserts Hector into the narrative, completing the triptych of pagan Worthies associated with heraldry. But he is not present in every copy. For example, the British Library's copy of the treatise leaves Hector out, possibly because Hector may not have been in the scribe's exemplar.⁵⁷¹ The treatise also establishes a transition in the language used to describe armorial signs, as signs came to be called arms, and as arms became specifically attached to inheritance. This narrative pattern later becomes characteristic of accounts of the origins of heraldry that are written in English. The popularity of Sicily Herald's texts and of *Prinsault's Treatise* makes both writers important inclusions in a discussion of the generation of origin

⁵⁶⁹ Douet d'Arcq, 'Un Traité', p. 322.

⁵⁷⁰ Douet d'Arcq, 'Un Traité', p. 322.

⁵⁷¹ BL MS. Lansdowne 882, f. 37r. This manuscript does not include the entirety of *Prinsault's Treatise*, but it does present an abridged version of the text's introduction as well as the entire first chapter.

narratives, as they helped to set the conventional standard and as later writers drew upon and copied them.

Nicholas Upton adheres to Sicily Herald's model in *De Studio Militari's* heraldic emergence narratives. Like Sicily Herald, Upton asserts that the profession began with old or wounded soldiers who, over time, 'wer had in soche honowre that by them there prynces bysynes war schewde to ther Aduersaryys, & rebels, wytheowte eny hurt or perell', and that 'In ther placys be vsyde nowe heraldes off Aremes'.⁵⁷² These ancient veterans were held to be so virtuous and admirable that princes confided in them and enemies respected them enough to grant them immunity from harm. Upton stresses that these soldiers were sharp intellectually but physically vulnerable. He explains that they were 'more setby than other olde Sowriars that war not wownedyd, bothe bycause they war gretly experte In feetes of warre' and because they volunteered themselves 'to the vtter destruction of there bodyys'.⁵⁷³ They sacrificed their physical health, overexerting their wounded bodies in order to serve their sovereign and their community. In this way, Upton's narrative exhibits an interest in the dynamics of youth and age and their importance to being able to properly perform heraldic professional work. Upton does not mention the creation of a college for the retired soldiers, and he also uniquely does not mention Julius Caesar, revealing his interest to be more grounded in historical plausibility than in legendary mythmaking.

Upton's account of heraldic origins is practical and not fictive. He does not connect the origins of arms to Alexander the Great. However, he maintains the narrative that heraldry developed because knights could not be recognised in

⁵⁷² Bodl. Lib. MS. Eng. Misc. D. 227, f. 15v; and Walker, 'An Edition', vol. 2, p. 23. Upton attributes the tale to 'one Bertrandus, A doctor', whom Craig Walker surmises is Bertrand Caprioli, and whose work probably existed even though it remains unknown. See Bodl. Lib. MS. Eng. Misc. D. 227, f. 15r; and Walker, 'An Edition', vol. 1, p. 29, esp. n. 48.

⁵⁷³ Bodl. Lib. MS. Eng. Misc. D. 227, f. 15r; and Walker, 'An Edition', vol. 2, p. 23.

battle as they were 'kouerd in ther harnes'.⁵⁷⁴ Upton explains that before arms were in use, people 'cowlde not dyscerne who scholde be the dooer' of noble acts on the battlefield, nor could they determine their leaders from the crowd, or who has survived or perished during battle.⁵⁷⁵ Upton's interest in the semiotic transaction that occurs between the person being observed and the observer was, as previously discussed, an already established element of narratives about the origins of heraldic practice.

Where Upton does completely—and uniquely—diverge from tradition is not in considering the establishment of heraldry, but in his discussion of the craft necessary to create arms. Intriguingly, he introduces an origin narrative to explicate the genesis of the heraldic art of personalising armour by adding tinctures and designs. Upton explains that, 'by the craftt off payneters', armigerous men 'made certen dyfference off ymages' to decorate their shields and outer garments so that they could be individually and visually known.⁵⁷⁶ This is an expected solution to the problem of not being able to distinguish individual soldiers on a field. Less expectedly, Upton traces this craft to ancient Egypt. He writes that

The egiptions war the fyrst that fownde the crafft of payntyng by drawyng the ymage off man by certen lynes and then puttyng to some one colowre playne & symple, As they had at honde, Then after dyuerse colowres as they cowlde gett & soo at last by labowre & diligence browght hyt to good facion & forme.⁵⁷⁷

Upton has tremendous respect for the creative processes of armorial design. Beginning with simple lines and, perhaps, a colour, the process develops into a

⁵⁷⁴ Bodl. Lib. MS. Eng. Misc. D. 227, f. 82v; and Walker, 'An Edition', vol. 2, p. 82.

⁵⁷⁵ Bodl. Lib. MS. Eng. Misc. D. 227, f. 83r; and Walker, 'An Edition', vol. 2, p. 82. Also see Ailes, 'The Knight, Heraldry and Armour', p. 6.

⁵⁷⁶ Bodl. Lib. MS. Eng. Misc. D. 227, f. 83r; and Walker, 'An Edition', vol. 2, p. 82.

⁵⁷⁷ Bodl. Lib. MS. Eng. Misc. D. 227, f. 82v; and Walker, 'An Edition', vol. 2, p. 82.

thoughtfully and diligently constructed design composed of multiple tinctures and fashioned to reflect an intended bearer's personality and lineage. Echoing divine acts of creation, the careful painter is described as 'at last' arriving at a creation of 'good facion & forme' after a 'labowre & diligence' of love. Upton does not specifically equate the founding painters with heralds. The painters' skills are directly pertinent to heralds for differentiating coats of arms, but, as is evidenced by Upton's designing and granting of coats of arms to the earl of Salisbury's men during the Hundred Years' War, heralds were not the only people designing and granting coats of arms.⁵⁷⁸

The connection to Egypt, however, is at first baffling. It would make more sense if Upton placed emphasis upon Alexander the Great, as Alexander conquered Egypt, establishing Alexandria, but this is not the case. It would also make more sense if Upton traced the origins of colours and painting to India, as Sicily Herald does, but this, too, is not the case.⁵⁷⁹ The only clue Upton offers about Egypt's significance is in his bestiary, in which he metonymically equates heralds with doves, birds that he reveals were trained to carry people's messages in ancient Syria, Egypt, and Alexandria.⁵⁸⁰ Walker asserts that he has 'not identified a source for Upton's account of the origins of heraldry', and he observes that Upton 'seems quite unique' in his association of armorial origins 'with the origin of painting and the country of Egypt'.⁵⁸¹ Walker's assertion is accurate, as the association of armorial origins with Egypt is unique. However, Upton's presentation of the development of images as well as its association with Egypt is

⁵⁷⁸ For more on Upton and the earl of Salisbury, cf. pp. 82-3.

⁵⁷⁹ Sicily Herald writes, 'Celluy qui trouva l'invention des couleurs fut Gigès l'Indien, en l'art de paincture...'. See *Le blason des couleurs*, p. 70.

⁵⁸⁰ Bodl. Lib. MS. Eng. Misc. D. 227, f. 162r; and Walker, 'An Edition', vol. 2, p. 146.

⁵⁸¹ Walker, 'An Edition', vol. 1, pp. 71-2.

drawn directly from Isidore. In his section on pictures, called 'De picturis', Isidore writes that

The Egyptians first discovered the picture when they outlined a person's shadow with a line. It began like this, and was followed by the use of single colors, and afterwards by assortments of colors, so that gradually this art defined itself, and devised light and shadow and the differences in color. For this reason even now painters (*pictor*) first draw certain shadows and the outlines of the images to come, and then fill in the colors, following the order in which the art was discovered.⁵⁸²

As has been demonstrated, early fifteenth-century heraldic narratives, which tended to be written in French and Latin, trace the origins of heraldry to a practical necessity, as men needed to be discernible from one another on the battlefield. The use of arms is presented as sanctioned by rulers and socially useful. *Prinsault's Treatise* diverges from this framework, being interested in arms as signs of familial descent and ancestral inheritance.

Narratives about the origins of heralds connect them to sacred and secular Western cultural heroes, from Jewish and Christian kings and princes to Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar, two of the pagan Worthies. These narratives stress the importance of experience and age for heraldic professionals. The first heralds are frequently presented as veteran soldiers. Their age and/or maimed status is significant; they have acquired wisdom through experience on the battlefield as well as through reflection on their experience once they could no longer fight. These veterans are often depicted as virtuous and thoughtful. Sicily Herald and

⁵⁸² Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies*, XIX. xvi. 2, p. 380. Walker's footnotes indicate that Isidore is Upton's source for the discussions of colour and painting that directly precede and follow the Egyptian segment. See Walker, 'An Edition', vol. 2, p. 82. Given his careful attention to Upton's sources, Walker's omission that Upton's inclusion of Egypt is probably drawn from Isidore is surprising.

Upton stress their usefulness and imply that the veterans are role-models for the chivalric community. Even in ‘Banyster’s French Treatise’, which in one account presents the first heralds as legal advisors and, in another, as archangels, the first heralds are still upheld as wise role-models who are necessary for secular and sacred social order. Another origins account in this treatise, however, raises anxieties about a herald’s gender, age, and strength, arguing that young men make the most effective and useful heraldic professionals. This account emphasises the dangers that heralds face while performing their diplomatic roles and cautions that women and old men are not as suited to the position as young adult men. The English fragment of ‘Banyster’s French Treatise’ points out the significant role that heralds play as global emissaries and argues for the importance of granting them diplomatic immunity. Overall, then, the first half of the fifteenth century imagines heralds as socially useful and estimable.

3.4 The Trojan Connection: Myths of the Origins of Heraldry Written in English

Heraldic origin narratives begin to be written in English in the mid-fifteenth century. In contrast to the heraldic origin accounts that were produced in the first half of the fifteenth century, which predominantly trace the origins of heraldry to Alexander the Great, mid-to-late fifteenth-century heraldic origin narratives written in English often move the place of armorial origin to Troy, from where England traces its chronicle-based fictive and historical monarchical genealogy. Claiming descent from exiled Trojans enables a transference of the noble and heroic qualities associated with Trojans onto the British people, and it is a part of a narrative tradition of linking British origins back to Troy and Brutus. Raluca Radulescu explains that ‘[i]t is not surprising that fifteenth-century readers became

interested in history written in the vernacular; learning from the history of the nation was a way of claiming a share in the national past at a time when national sentiments were running high'.⁵⁸³ It is therefore possible that mid-to-late fifteenth-century English heraldic writers were also inspired by Trojan narratives to imagine the ways in which heraldry and heralds might have contributed to the establishment of legendary national origins. Narratively constructing such a contribution would legitimise heraldic practice and the heraldic profession, enabling them to 'claim' their 'share' in the nation's legendary past.

The legendary origin accounts in the mid-to-late fifteenth-century English heraldic manuscript group that H. Stanford London first recognised as closely related should, hypothetically, be similar. Consequently, an examination of the 'Ashmolean Tract', which London identifies as one of the group's source texts, becomes a necessary starting point for delineating comparisons with its sibling manuscripts. The genesis account in the 'Ashmolean Tract' begins:

Fyrste as harowdes recordyn was atte the Sege of Troy with inne the towne and wyth owte for the dowtynesse of the dedis that was shewed on bothe partyes And for as moche as ther was so howge multitude of pepyl That one myghte nou3te be knowe from a nothir of ther poyntes of worshype caused the kyng[es] wyth inne the towne and *witb* owte to drawe to gedir And be ther discrete avyse concentyd togedyr that euery man that dede a poynte of worschyp to hym selfe shulde bere a marke in tokyn of hys dowtynesse that the pepylle myghte have the more knowlyche of hym...⁵⁸⁴

⁵⁸³ Raluca L. Radulescu, 'Writing Nation: Shaping Identity in Medieval Historical Narratives', in *A Companion to Medieval English Literature and Culture, c. 1350-c. 1500*, ed. by Peter Brown (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), pp. 358-73 (p. 361).

⁵⁸⁴ Bodl. Lib. MS. Ashmole Rolls 4; and 'The Ashmolean Tract', p. 164. For more on this roll and my decision to cite from the manuscript, cf. p. 142, n. 457. As the edition is more readily available, I also provide references for the corresponding edited text despite its minor spelling and expansion discrepancies. In my transcription, I have altered 'kyng', which appears as singular in this

The tract opens by foregrounding the role of the herald as the recorder and keeper of heraldry's legends and specialised knowledge. The presented narrative is similar to Sicily Herald's early fifteenth-century French origins account in *Le blason des couleurs en armes* (c. 1416-36), which explains that Alexander the Great, after seeking advice from his counsellors, ordered his noble warriors to wear coats of arms so that they and their actions could be more easily distinguished in battle.⁵⁸⁵ The 'Ashmolean Tract' analogously presents armorial origins as derived from royalty. Here, several kings are involved in the decision-making process before proclaiming that arms should be used. This is a practical decision because arms visibly distinguish men on a battlefield. They also help to distinguish a man's 'dowtynesse', or the bravery and nobility of his actions on the field, which in turn reveal the worthiness of his character.⁵⁸⁶

The 'Ashmolean Tract' also relates that Brutus brought hereditary arms into Britain, thereby shifting the narrative's focus from Troy to Britain. The tract asserts that

[F]orthermor ye shulle have knowliche That whanne the sege of Troye was broken The lordes wentte forthe in to othyr dyuersis londys To seke more auentures and into thys londe of Englonde come a dowghte man that was called Brute and *witb* hym come grete multitude of pepylle and they slewe the Ieawntes and inhabite the londe *witb* the Brutes men and the merkes of the many peple that he browght *witb* hym lefte in Englonde and soo succedith forthe to here successoures...⁵⁸⁷

manuscript, to 'kyng[es]' because it is plural in other versions of this narrative. The singular does not make sense in context, suggesting that this is probably a scribal error.

⁵⁸⁵ Cf. pp. 157-60.

⁵⁸⁶ *MED* *doughti* (adj. and n.), 1 (a) bold, brave, valiant, strong in battle or combat, (b) ~in armes, (c) of an action, blow, fight, etc.: strong, fierce, valiant, and (d) as noun: bold warrior(s). Also 2 (a) excellent, worthy, honorable, noble.

⁵⁸⁷ Bodl. Lib. MS. Ashmole Rolls 4; and 'The Ashmolean Tract', pp. 164-5.

Arms are presented as having been in England since its inception: they arrived on the island with Brutus and his men, who probably used their arms in battle against the giants, and they were hereditarily passed on to later generations. In this way, the text appropriates the Brut legend for heraldic purposes. It is pertinent that Brutus and his men are described as inhabiting England, not Britain. Brutus is legendarily connected to Britain, which was named after him. However, conquered portions of Britain were renamed England when, with the Anglo-Saxon conquest, the land passed from the British to the English. That Brutus is described in England emphasises succession and inheritance. This emphasis, in turn, correlates with the ‘merkes’ that Brutus and his men brought into England, as these marks became hereditary.

The tract further points out that arms were initially known as ‘merkes’ and that they came to be known as arms instead of marks because they ‘shulde have a fayrer name’.⁵⁸⁸ This shift in preferred heraldic vocabulary indicates that this tract’s anonymous writer desired to elevate heraldic arms over other types of identifying insignia, thereby reinforcing the armigerous community’s elitism and prestige. By the mid-fifteenth century, when this tract was written, the term ‘mark’ was increasingly used in domestic rather than martial contexts. The word ‘mark’ has long been used to indicate a personal standard or a banner, and, as Robert Jones explains, a banner, which is ‘an ancient form of display’, is ‘an extension of its owner, advertising his location and reassuring his men of his continued presence on the battlefield’.⁵⁸⁹ A banner marks its owner’s ‘authority to lead’, but by the end of the fourteenth century, in addition to designating ‘the badge or insignia of a sovereign or lord’, a ‘mark’ also came to refer to a ‘familial badge’ that was stamped

⁵⁸⁸ Bodl. Lib. MS. Ashmole Rolls 4; and ‘The Ashmolean Tract’, p. 165.

⁵⁸⁹ *OED*, mark (n. 1) 5, ‘a standard or banner. *Obs.*’ Also see Jones, *Bloodied Banners*, p. 33 and p. 43.

onto housewares to indicate ownership.⁵⁹⁰ In contrast to ‘marks’, which came to be used in a household context, the term ‘arms’ became more specialised from the fourteenth century onwards. It was initially used to designate armour or weapons, but it also came to designate heraldic insignia and the professional practice of arms.⁵⁹¹ This mid-fifteenth century tract draws attention to this change in terminology. It is possible that the introduction of marks of cadency had something to do with this shift, as the term ‘mark’ later came to be associated with cadency marks in English heraldic contexts.⁵⁹²

Cadency marks are a uniquely English system of heraldic attribution and they are used to distinguish arms within the same family in accordance with birth order. These marks are superimposed over an armigerous individual’s coat of arms to more specifically identify him and his familial and inheritance position. The cadency system ‘attributes a label of three points to the eldest son in the lifetime of his father and one of five points to his eldest son, a crescent to the second son, a mullet (a five-pointed star) to the third, a martlet to the fourth, an annulet to the fifth, a fleur-de-lis to the sixth, a rose to the seventh, a cross moline to the eighth, and a double quatrefoil to the ninth’.⁵⁹³ There is pre-fifteenth-century evidence that a label of three points was used to identify an eldest son while his father remained alive. This is exemplified by the arms of Edward the Black Prince, who, like his father, Edward III, bore the quartered arms of England and France, and,

⁵⁹⁰ Jones, *Bloodied Banners*, p. 43; and MED, mark(e) (n. 1) 5 (b), ‘the badge or insignia of a sovereign or lord; a personal or familial badge stamped on vessels’.

⁵⁹¹ OED, arms (n.) 2 (a), ‘Weapons of war or combat’, with the first cited instance listed c. 1200. By the beginning of the fourteenth century, this definition broadened. See 3 (a), ‘Armed combat as a professional activity’, 3 (b), ‘Fighting; war; active hostilities’, 4 (a), ‘Defensive coverings for the body worn when fighting; armour’, and 5 (a), ‘Heraldic charges or devices depicted on an escutcheon or shield and unique to a person, family, corporation, country, etc.’. These examples all begin to be used c. 1300. Also see MED, armes (n. pl) 1a (a), ‘The weapons of a warrior’, 2a (a), ‘The practice of arms’, and 3 (a), ‘Her. The insignia of a knight, nobleman, etc.’

⁵⁹² OED, mark (n. 1) 14 (b), ‘Heraldry. A small charge added to a coat of arms as a sign of distinction’, with the first noted instance of this use listed in the seventeenth century.

⁵⁹³ Woodcock and Robinson, *Oxford Guide*, p. 66. Also cf. Plate 1, p. 278.

to indicate his status as the heir apparent, the prince's arms were superimposed with a label of three points argent.⁵⁹⁴ However, the number of points on a label was not yet codified in the fifteenth century and earlier.⁵⁹⁵ To my knowledge, there is no evidence of marks being systematically used to identify sons who were not first-born before the fifteenth century. Earlier methods of differentiating between fathers and sons as well as between sons, both in England and on the Continent, include changing the tincture (colour) of a field (background) or charge and *geratting*, or repeatedly displaying subordinate charges on a coat's field or charge.⁵⁹⁶ Woodcock and Robinson claim that the cadency mark differentiation system 'is said to have been invented by John Writhe Garter, in about 1500'.⁵⁹⁷ Woodcock and Robinson are mistaken on this point, however, as cadency marks are present in the mid-fifteenth century 'Ashmolean' group tracts. Friar and Ferguson offer a more general but accurate assessment, asserting that cadency marks were introduced into English heraldry in the fifteenth century.⁵⁹⁸ Consequently, as 'arms' replaced 'marks' to refer to heraldic insignia, 'marks' may have grown to designate a particular distinguishing element within that insignia.

⁵⁹⁴ Lucy Freeman Sandler, 'Lancastrian Heraldry in the Bohun Manuscripts', in *Illuminators and Patrons in Fourteenth-Century England: The Psalter and Hours of Humphrey de Bohun and the Manuscripts of the Bohun Family* (London: The British Library, 2014), pp. 203-16 (pp. 205-6 and 212-13).

⁵⁹⁵ Robert Gayre, *Heraldic Cadency: The Development of Differencing of Coats of Arms for Kinsmen and Other Purposes* (London: Faber and Faber, 1961), p. 46.

⁵⁹⁶ Gayre, *Heraldic Cadency*, pp. 26-37.

⁵⁹⁷ Woodcock and Robinson, *Oxford Guide*, p. 66. Use of the word 'difference' to denote unlikeness or a feature of unlikeness appears to have been a 1390s phenomenon; its earliest attributed users include Chaucer and Gower, as well as John Trevisa, who translated Bartholomaeus Anglicus's popular mid-thirteenth century encyclopaedia, *De proprietatibus rerum*, into English. See *OED*, difference (n.) 1 (b), 'A particular way in which two or more things differ'. Also see *MED*, difference (n.) 1, 'The fact of difference in kind', both (a) 'without constr.' and (b) 'with prep. phr.' Additionally, see 2 (a), 'That feature, or group of features, which makes for difference in kind'. Bartholomaeus Anglicus's Franciscan book was popular among religious, academic, and courtly circles. John Trevisa translated the text from Latin to English c. 1394-8, and this translation was published by Wynkyn de Worde c. 1495. See *On the Properties of Things: John Trevisa's translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus De Proprietatibus Rerum: A Critical Text*, ed. by M. C. Seymour et al., vol. III (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), esp. p. 1 and pp. 10-11.

⁵⁹⁸ Friar and Ferguson, *Basic Heraldry*, p. 184.

In addition to desiring a 'fayrer' label for heraldic insignia, the 'Ashmolean' narrative works to increase the prestige of armigerous men. When engaging in a fight, a 'gentlymanne' is to wear 'hys habite of worshyp', which, because he acquired it with his 'manly hondis of worship' and 'the force of myghte', came to be called a 'cote of armes'.⁵⁹⁹ Coats of arms signify their bearers' strength, nobility, and manliness. They also work on a genealogical level, as it is through them that 'euery gentilman holdyth her londes of here prodecessoures'.⁶⁰⁰ The strength of coats of arms goes beyond their ability to differentiate fighters, as arms visually represent familial ties and inheritance claims, thereby cementing social distinctions between individuals. This visual representation is reinforced by the cadency marks that literally separate the tract's narrative of armorial origins from its narrative of the establishment of arms in Britain.⁶⁰¹ Cadency marks are visually central to the narrative. They highlight concerns over difference and distinction, especially when familial inheritance and ownership of ancestral lands might otherwise be claimed by multiple family members. Moreover, as heraldic arms 'were passed down from one generation to the next they came to embody the heritage and lineage of the family', which meant that 'a family's name and reputation were at stake as the knight was their representative'.⁶⁰² The introduction of hereditary armigerousness into this origins narrative consequently emphasises not just the distinct position of

⁵⁹⁹ Bodl. Lib. MS. Ashmole Rolls 4; and 'The Ashmolean Tract', p. 165. The repeated use of the term 'worship' in mid-to-late fifteenth-century heraldic texts fits in with the extended use of the term by Malory and other writers interested in chivalry in the period. As discussed in the previous chapter, Richard Strangways also employs this term in his anecdotal narrative explicating heraldic terms. Cf. pp. 105-7.

⁶⁰⁰ Bodl. Lib. MS. Ashmole Rolls 4; and 'The Ashmolean Tract', p. 165. Humphery-Smith transcribes 'euery' as 'eny'.

⁶⁰¹ The remainder of the 'Ashmolean Tract' (Bodl. Lib. MS. Ashmole Rolls 4) moves into a discussion of heraldic metals and colours, of different types of heraldic charges (including fifteen different lions and fifteen different crosses), as well as of a few fesses, bars, chevrons, and pellets.

⁶⁰² Jones, *Bloodied Banners*, pp. 20-1.

an individual within a family but also that individual's ability to represent a family and its ancestors, whether that be to the family's honour or to its disgrace.

More broadly, certain features emerge to distinguish the 'Ashmolean' narrative group. The story relates that arms began at the siege of Troy as a means of distinguishing fighters to make their prowess in battle known. Cadency marks, used in arms to identify family members and their birth orders, are next described, followed by an account of how Brutus and his knights inhabit Britain, decide to call their armorial marks 'arms', and begin hereditary armigerousness. After the origins tale, the tracts go on to describe heraldic tinctures and charges, including the fifteen different types of heraldic lion charges and the fifteen different crosses.⁶⁰³

However, a search for similarity should not come at the expense of acknowledging distinction and difference. Some of the tracts that H. Stanford London categorises as 'sibling' manuscripts are much more distinctive than he allows. London argues that 'John's Tretis on Armes' is an abbreviated, 'almost word for word' version of the 'Ashmolean Tract', and, indeed, the two texts are very similar.⁶⁰⁴ Like the 'Ashmolean Tract', 'John's Tretis' begins, 'First as herodes recorden was at the Sege of Troy...'.⁶⁰⁵ Both tracts foreground the role of the herald in establishing heraldic records for posterity. The rest of the treatise's content also continues to be very close to the 'Ashmolean Tract'. The only differentiating

⁶⁰³ *Strangways' Book* is an exception. After Strangways describes tinctures, he also describes charges. He portrays twelve 'olde' crosses (f. 12v) and forty-seven 'newe' crosses (ff. 29r-31v). His depiction of not fifteen, but nineteen different lion charges, comes much later in the manuscript (ff. 66r-9v).

⁶⁰⁴ London, 'Some Medieval Treatises', p. 171 and p. 183, esp. no. 9.

⁶⁰⁵ BL MS. Add. 34648, f. 3v. Jones's edition states that 'John's Tretis' begins by specifying that 'the beginnunge and grownde of Arms was at the Sege of Troy'. See Jones, 'Tretis on Armes', p. 213. The phrase 'the beginnunge and grownde of Arms' is present in BL MS. Harl. 6097, which Jones identifies as a copy of 'John's Tretis', but which is really an Elizabethan copy of the 'Herald's Tract'. See London, 'Some Medieval Treatises', p. 170. BL MS. Harl. 6097 relates that 'As kings herodes Recordith the beginnunge & grownde of armes was firste att greate assege of Troye...' (f. 1r).

feature between the two accounts is that 'John's 'Tretis' begins with a preamble that precedes the origin account, while the 'Ashmolean Tract' and every other known version of this origin narrative do not. In the preamble, the writer asserts that his name is John, and that he, being tired of people 'blasyng slomerously', has undertaken to translate a 'litill tretis' by Francois de Foveis 'oute of latyn into englissh'.⁶⁰⁶ John complains that people are being 'slomerous' when blazing arms, indicating his disdain for inattentive and soporific heraldic writers.⁶⁰⁷ This contempt suggests that John has witnessed a leniency in the amount of accuracy or detail offered by descriptions of arms and that he hopes that his work will help to rectify the situation. Consequently, John's derision reveals that he perceives himself as more accurate in his heraldic knowledge than other heraldic writers and practitioners. In addition, his positioning of his text as the remedy for inattentive heraldic work supports Dennys and Boulton, who assert that 'John's 'Tretis' may have been the prototype for the Ashmolean narrative group. The unique presence of this stated writing objective makes 'John's 'Tretis' stand out. John narratively constructs his own authority.

Adam Loutfut's 'Poem on Heraldry' (1494) also diverges enough from the 'Ashmolean Tract' to raise questions about London's judgement that Loutfut's work is derivative. The poem relates how, 'In werris of thebes athenis *and* troyis toumis [...] *prñcis nobillis and commyniteis*' bore banners and other signs to identify themselves on the battlefield, and that, 'Be celestial inspiring', they began to place colours and metals on their shields, thus creating the first coats of arms.⁶⁰⁸

⁶⁰⁶ BL MS. Add. 34648, f. 3v; and Jones, 'Tretis on Armes', p. 213. John de Bado Aureo also cites Francois de Foveis's mid-fourteenth century work *De Picturis Armorum* as a source for his *Tractatus de Armis*, but, thus far, de Foveis's text has yet to be identified and is only known because of these two references to it. See Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 67 and p. 213, no. 4.

⁶⁰⁷ *MED*, slomberish (adj.); Also slomerish, 'sleepy, somnolent'.

⁶⁰⁸ 'A Scotch Copy', pp. 93-4, ln. 8-14 and ln. 19-20; and BL MS. Harl. 6149, f. 151r.

Although this origins narrative is not limited to Troy, all the settings are classical rather than biblical. Nonetheless, Loutfut insists that the use of arms was originally divinely inspired. His assertion that banners and other proto-heraldic signs were used by princes, nobles, and communities suggests that the earliest use of signs on a battlefield may not have been limited to royalty and nobility. Loutfut does not clarify who is included in the earliest banner-bearing communities. These communities were perhaps comprised of clans that were bound by kinship and/or loyalty, and they might also have been loyal to the princes and nobles they fought alongside, who probably had their own personally identifying proto-heraldic insignia. Loutfut emphasises that individuals could be clearly identified by their pro-heraldic insignia. The poem relates that, even though 'in *thai* dais heraldis war not create/ Nor *that* armes set in propir estate', Palamon and Arcite were 'Be *ther* cotis of armes knawin parfite' when they were wounded during the Theban war.⁶⁰⁹

The beginning of Loutfut's 'Poem on Heraldry' appears to be original, but once his poem begins to focus on Troy, it does draw upon the 'Ashmolean' narrative. Loutfut writes, 'Bot eftir *that* troy quhar so mony kingis war/ Seging without and othe within the toun [...] That nobillis bere merkis to mak be knawin/ *ther* doughtynes in dedis of armes schawin'.⁶¹⁰ Like the other 'Ashmolean' group narratives, the phrasing emphasises the siege within and without the town. Marks are also born by nobles, who adopt them to make their prowess in battle recognisable to observers. The next stanza describes the cadency marks that distinguish sons from their fathers, as well as birth order, and, as in the 'Ashmolean Tract', this is followed by an account of Brutus's arrival in Britain after Troy falls.

⁶⁰⁹ 'A Scotch Copy', p. 94, ln. 34-5 and l. 32; and BL MS. Harl. 6149, f. 151v.

⁶¹⁰ 'A Scotch Copy', p. 94, ln. 36-7 and ln. 41-2; and BL MS. Harl. 6149, f. 151v.

According to Loutfut, Brutus came to Britain '*with folkis populus/ And brocht with him this werly merkis thus/ quhiche succedis in armes to this date*'.⁶¹¹ There is no emphasis on hereditary succession or on the refining of the word 'marks' into 'arms'. Instead, Loutfut describes marks as 'werly', which is a form of 'warly', meaning war-like, thus attesting to their importance during war and to warriors.⁶¹² 'Werly' is also a form of 'worthy', indicating that marks are valued, associated with nobility, and, importantly, that they are beautiful.⁶¹³ This is a rare instance of a heraldic writer expressing an aesthetic appreciation of marks as attractive and worthy in and of themselves.

Loutfut's interest in heralds in his 'Poem on Heraldry' is not a concern that the other 'Ashmolean' narratives explicitly share. This difference can probably be attributed to Loutfut's presumed position as Kintyr Pursuivant as well as to his work being compiled within a miscellany that was produced for William Cummyn, who was Marchemond Herald and, from 1512, Lyon King of Arms.⁶¹⁴ Loutfut asserts in his Scots English poem that '*lang efter troy heraldis war nocht creat*'.⁶¹⁵ He explains that many people believe Julius Caesar was the first to properly blaze arms, and then describes heraldic tinctures (colours and metals) and charges in the same manner as the 'Ashmolean Tract'.⁶¹⁶ But after he describes armorial charges, and unlike the 'Ashmolean' narrative, Loutfut's attention turns to heralds. He

⁶¹¹ 'A Scotch Copy', p. 95, ln. 53-5; and BL MS. Harl. 6149, f. 151v.

⁶¹² *OED* warly (adj. and adv.) 1 (a.) and (b.), 3, and 4.

⁶¹³ *OED* worthy (adj.) 1. Of a thing: having great value or importance; noble, fine, excellent, worthy. Also see *MED* worthlī (adj.), especially (b.) important, significant; having intangible value; (c.) honorable, estimable; noble; respectable; and (e.) splendid, excellent; beautiful; also attractive.

⁶¹⁴ Cf. p. 87.

⁶¹⁵ 'A Scotch Copy', p. 95, l. 56; and BL MS. Harl. 6149, f. 151v.

⁶¹⁶ 'A Scotch Copy', p. 95, ln. 57-65; and BL MS. Harl. 6149, ff. 151v-2r. Loutfut follows his discussion of tinctures with descriptions of the different types of heraldic charges, from pales to bends and chevrons. After again stressing that '*Non bot gentillis suld cotis of armes were*', he lists the fifteen different heraldic lion charges as well as the fifteen different crosses (pp. 98-9, ln. 113-21 and ln. 126-42; ff. 152v-3r). In this way, the poem draws heavily upon the 'Ashmolean' narrative. Loutfut's poem also distinctly digresses from the 'Ashmolean Tract'. For example, Loutfut describes precious stones as having originated in paradise ('*come first frome paradise*'), and he presents the '*hie planetis*' as being '*signis of the air*' (p. 100, l. 189 and l. 192; f. 154r).

asserts that the use and recording of arms needed regulation since ancient Roman times and that heralds had the requisite skill set to meet this need. According to Loutfut, heralds and kings of arms originated when '*pryncis* of nobillest mynd/
And *specialy this* seid Iulius cesar/ *ther* attentik worthi ordour did fynd/ fful honorable in erth *and* necesser/ 'To bere armes' and 'blasoune' them.⁶¹⁷ Julius Caesar, as well as other 'nobillest' princes, perceived heralds as 'fful honorable' and 'necesser[y]'. Their expertise in arms and their skill in blazon made them indispensable to the armigerous community. Consequently, heralds and their work were highly regarded and perceived as essential to maintaining a martial social order.

Loutfut further explains that there are three levels to the heraldic professional 'ordour regall', the first and lowest level being that of pursuivants, the second level, heralds, and the highest level being that of the King of Arms.⁶¹⁸ In this way, hierarchical distinctions in the heraldic professional order reflect those of the social order, positioning the king as the group's most respected member. Like the nobility in the social order, heralds who are not kings are held up as model citizens who are worthy of admiration. The veracity of a herald's speech is unquestioned, as '*all thingis* be takin treuly as *thai* attest', and, like knights, heralds protect '*Noblis, vergynis, and wedois* in *ther* nedis', as well as support the '*sure feith*' of '*holy chirche*'.⁶¹⁹ According to Loutfut, heralds have the same set of responsibilities as knights. Loutfut's praise goes so far as to claim that, without heralds, '*honerable actis* in armis' are '*seldim donne*'.⁶²⁰ In addition to their expertise, heralds are crucial witnesses that attest to honourable martial actions, which makes

⁶¹⁷ 'A Scotch Copy', p. 101, ln. 203-7; and BL MS. Harl. 6149, f. 154r.

⁶¹⁸ 'A Scotch Copy', p. 101, l. 209 and l. 211; and BL MS. Harl. 6149, ff. 154r-v.

⁶¹⁹ 'A Scotch Copy', p. 101, l. 219 and ln. 221-2; and BL MS. Harl. 6149, f. 154v.

⁶²⁰ 'A Scotch Copy', p. 101, ln. 224-5; and BL MS. Harl. 6149, f. 154v.

them key spectators in the process of recognizing prowess and rewarding it with social esteem. Heralds are also role-models who, like knights, are expected to protect those in need, especially unmarried women and the church, which grants heralds a heroic role within the chivalric social structure.

Although London does not include it in his discussions, Joubard's 'Poem on Heraldry' may also be loosely based on the 'Ashmolean' narrative group. As previously established, Joubard's poem distinctively draws upon the broader genre of prison writing to frame its heraldic content.⁶²¹ The poem shares some features with the 'Ashmolean' narrative group, particularly in its description of heraldic tinctures and charges. Also like the other texts in this narrative group, Joubard's 'Poem' is written in English and it dates to the second half, and, probably, to the last quarter of the fifteenth-century.⁶²²

Joubard's 'Poem on Heraldry' is markedly different from the other 'Ashmolean' group narratives. In addition to its frame, which is drawn from the prison writing tradition, and its context, which is later than most of the other mid-fifteenth century narratives, the poem is also different in its presentation of heraldic origins. Rather than appearing at the work's beginning, as it generally does in other English heraldic tracts, Joubard's origins narrative is positioned at the end of his poem. Also unlike other English narratives, Joubard opts to trace armorial origins to Hector of Troy rather than to the exiled Trojan, Brutus. According to Joubard, Hector, '[i]n whom was euery trougthe and gentylnes', addressed the Trojans '[f]ull wysely', commanding 'euery man that manly durste abyde' to take 'a marke' by which to be recognised during battle.⁶²³ This account corresponds with the 'Ashmolean' narrative. Arms are still traced to the siege of Troy and they are

⁶²¹ Cf. pp. 128-9.

⁶²² For more on the manuscript's date, cf. pp. 90-92.

⁶²³ FSL MS. V. a. 198, f. 9v; and 'Eu. Hood', 'An Ancient Poem', p. 416.

still introduced to enable fighters to be recognised in battle. In this case, it is the king's son rather than the king himself who gives the order that every man should take a mark by which to be known. Joubard does not indicate that Hector seeks counsel before ordering his men to take marks. He also omits cadency marks and the tale of Brutus arriving in Britain. Yet, Joubard's account of the actual origins of arms is similar to the 'Ashmolean' storyline. Also like the 'Ashmolean Tract', Joubard's poem emphasises that arms are hereditary. He concludes that 'thus armys fyrste dyd vpryse,/ And if ze come of nobyl perage/ By your armys knowyn ys the lynage'.⁶²⁴ Arms signify their bearer's position in society and within their family. After he presents his heraldic origin narrative, Joubard closes his poem by returning to bemoaning his plight, and he cautions readers to beware of 'couetusnes' and to remember the fickleness of fortune's wheel, thereby echoing classical Boethian consolation.

The mid-to-late fifteenth century 'Exeter Tract' is also loosely based on the 'Ashmolean' narrative, distinctively expanding the tale with its opening details. The tract begins with 'Ye shull vndyrstand that armes began at the sege of Troy', which is very similar to the other English narratives.⁶²⁵ However, the story quickly diverges, explaining that 'there was a worthy lord of the Cytie [Priamus] and he had thre sonnes Ector Paris and Troylus the whyche on of them was on of the ix worthy that is to say Ector'.⁶²⁶ This narrative identifies Priam's sons and highlights Hector as being one of the Nine Worthies. In this way, the Exeter tract highlights distinctions between sons before it presents the cadency marks that help to distinguish their arms and their familial status. The narrative further relates that 'Thys worthy kyng Priamus was be segyd for hys doughters sake that was callyd

⁶²⁴ FSL MS. V. a. 198, f. 9v; and 'Eu. Hood', 'An Ancient Poem', p. 416.

⁶²⁵ EC MS. 3533, f. 79v.

⁶²⁶ EC MS. 3533, f. 79v.

maydyn Elene'.⁶²⁷ This textual detail stands apart because it diverges from traditional narratives about the siege and fall of Troy. Helen of Troy was not, of course, Priam's daughter.

Only after these familial details does the 'Exeter Tract' relate the conventional 'Ashmolean' account of how Troy was besieged and of how the 'multitude of peple bothe *witb* In the town and *witb* owte' could not discern 'what man dyd a poynt of worschip to hym'.⁶²⁸ The tract continues to follow the 'Ashmolean' group's narrative, asserting that 'all the kyngys *witb* other princes and lordys' agree to declare that 'euery man that dyd a poynt of worschip to hym self shulde bere a marke'.⁶²⁹ The king's decree is followed by the expected descriptions of cadency marks, which are themselves followed by an account of Brutus's arrival in Britain with his men.

A. S. G. Edwards suggests that the Exeter narrative is 'another copy' of a revision of the 'Ashmolean Tract' that is otherwise 'uniquely recorded' in BL MS. Harl. 992, ff. 12r-17v.⁶³⁰ Although these two tracts are similar, they have their differences. George Keiser relates that the Harley 992 author 'has taken considerable liberties with the standard material. The rewriting betrays a fascination with narrative and a pleasure in retelling historical events that almost overshadow the desire to provide heraldic information'.⁶³¹ The Harley narrative is more direct and accurate than is Exeter's. It begins, 'Ye shall vnderstonde ate seege of troye there fyrste began worship. Kynge Pryamus he was kynge of Troye and he had iij sonnes—Ector, Parys, and Troyles. And for maiden Elen and for

⁶²⁷ EC MS. 3533, f. 79v.

⁶²⁸ EC MS. 3533, f. 79v.

⁶²⁹ EC MS. 3533, f. 79v.

⁶³⁰ Edwards, 'Notes', p. 217.

⁶³¹ Keiser, 'A Tretys of Armes', p. 178.

the gylden flees the Seege began'.⁶³² The content of this tract is predominantly the same as that presented by the 'Exeter Tract'. The Harley narrative even explicitly positions Helen of Troy as a maiden, as does the 'Exeter Tract'. This, of course, is not true, as Helen of Troy was married to Menelaus. However, the Harley narrative does not incorrectly claim that Helen is Priam's daughter.

Unlike the 'Ashmolean' group's narrative, which only identifies Brutus by name, the Exeter and Harley accounts identify the Trojan king and his sons, grounding heraldic origins within the context of the Trojan war. The Harley narrative also embellishes its origins account in ways that the 'Exeter Tract' does not. The author of the Harley narrative explicitly refers the reader to 'þe boke of Troye' to establish a broader narrative context for his origins account.⁶³³ He claims that this book would help the reader to discern 'how the planettes asperyd to Ectore, Parys, & Troyles', and his use of the word 'asperyd' to describe the princes' astrological fate connotes the harsh and cruel destinies awaiting them.⁶³⁴ He also asserts that the length of the city is 'Thre dayes journey', and that 'There was one monethe warre and anothere pees' over the course of 'xxxty yere'.⁶³⁵ These details of space and time, and of astrological fate, grant the narrative a level of depth that most other English heraldic tracts do not share. This origins narrative is also distinctive because it describes heraldic tinctures and their corresponding precious stones before introducing cadency marks. Then, instead of narrowing in on Brutus and Britain, the narrative takes a broader perspective. The writer explains that

⁶³² BL MS. Harl. 992, f. 12r; and Keiser, 'Transcript of British Library MS Harley 992 (ff. 12r-17r)', in 'A Tretys of Armes', pp. 184-90 (p. 184).

⁶³³ BL MS. Harl. 992, f. 12r; and Keiser, 'Transcript', p. 184.

⁶³⁴ BL MS. Harl. 992, ff. 12r-v; and Keiser, 'Transcript', p. 184. Also see *OED*, *aspire* (v.) II, 'To breathe desire towards'; 3 (intr.), 'To have a fixed desire, longing, or ambition for something...'; and 3 (a), 'with *to*', which cites the earliest instance of this connotation c. 1460. See further, *MED*, *aspre* (adj.) (a) 'Harsh: harsh (words); sharp, severe (pain, grief), angry (mood); cruel (experience, fate); fierce (conflict); cruel, savage (people)'; and *MED*, *aspīere* (n.) (c) one who lies in ambush, a waylayer'.

⁶³⁵ BL MS. Harl. 992, ff. 12r-v; and Keiser, 'Transcript', p. 184.

‘whan the Sege of Troye brake vp, and all the warre was done’, that ‘ffranke’, who ‘was a noble man’, ‘enhabyted ffraunce’, ‘Italye enhabyted lombardye’, and Brutus ‘enhabited Englonde’.⁶³⁶ The Trojan exiles dispersed and their leaders founded different countries.

Harley 992 is also distinctive in its presentation of the shift from marks to arms. The text relates that ‘al the armes that now bethe camme oute of these markes of Troye’.⁶³⁷ However, the text offers a reason for this transference of terminology that is less vague than a desire for a ‘fayrer’ name. According to the narrative, ‘merchauntes’ increasingly ‘made merkes vpon there packes of merchandyse’, and the Trojan fighters ‘had grete dispite that the merchauntes shulde call theys merkes as they dide there’.⁶³⁸ Recalling the increasing application of the term ‘mark’ to stamps made upon housewares, this mercantile connection is rather fitting. In response, the Trojans, who desired to designate their insignia as derived from the noble ‘pedegru of Troye’, ‘seide they wolde have theire merkes called anoþer name’, and they settled upon calling them arms ‘in tokening that they were gotten with strengþe of menis armes’.⁶³⁹ Consequently, the shift from marks to arms is attributed to a desire to maintain a prestigious and noble distinction from merchants that would also connect an armigerous person to his Trojan ancestry. The tract concludes by listing eighteen different types of crosses and fifteen different lions, in a manner resembling the ‘Ashmolean’ narrative group, but the details of the Harley manuscript are unlike those presented by any of the other heraldic origin narratives.

⁶³⁶ BL MS. Harl. 992, ff. 15r-v; and Keiser, ‘Transcript’, p. 185.

⁶³⁷ BL MS. Harl. 992, f. 15r; and Keiser, ‘Transcript’, p. 185.

⁶³⁸ BL MS. Harl. 992, f. 14r; and Keiser, ‘Transcript’, p. 185.

⁶³⁹ BL MS. Harl. 992, f. 14r; and Keiser, ‘Transcript’, pp. 185-6.

The ‘Hague Tract’ shares with Harley 992 and the Exeter narrative an interest in the Trojan royal family, although, like the other origin tales, the story diverges in its details. This tract ascribes the first coat of arms to Hector, relating that ‘wher for hyt ys to wytt that Ettore the sun of Pryamus kyng/ of troy bere on hym the ffyrst Cote of armys that euyr was seyn’.⁶⁴⁰ Even more intriguingly, the tract offers a heroic account as to how Hector acquired this first coat of arms. The ‘Hague Tract’ relates that when Hector was ‘a chylde kept in hys craddyll’, he was ‘left alone for hys Noorse’ and, while his nurse was away, ‘ther come two lyonys whych/ were lowys in the kynges palleys & gette the durrys Oppyn & cam ther’.⁶⁴¹ Two of the king’s lions escaped from their cell and came upon the child in his cradle. Hector, here depicted as young and vulnerable, was clearly in danger, yet even while he was in his cradle, he is portrayed as a mighty, fierce warrior. The tract recounts how ‘Ettore lay in/ hys craddyll & he caght one of ham in euery of hys handys & chokked ham both’.⁶⁴² Hector manages to choke two lions with his bare hands while he is still in his cradle, thereby demonstrating the heroic magnitude of his physical strength. The narrative offers an anecdote about how his ‘moder Eccuba the queen made a cote of rede sylke & ther vpon wrought two/ lyonys of golde’, and that she placed the silk ‘all above hys armure’ when he left to fight against the Greeks.⁶⁴³ In this way, the first coat of arms celebrated and memorialised Hector’s martial accomplishments. This differs from the

⁶⁴⁰ KB MS. 75. A. 2/2; and Kooper and Kruijshoop, ‘A Treatise on Heraldry’, pp. 51-2 (p. 51).

⁶⁴¹ KB MS. 75. A. 2/2; and Kooper and Kruijshoop, ‘A Treatise on Heraldry’, p. 51.

⁶⁴² KB MS. 75. A. 2/2; and Kooper and Kruijshoop, ‘A Treatise on Heraldry’, p. 51.

⁶⁴³ KB MS. 75. A. 2/2; and Kooper and Kruijshoop, ‘A Treatise on Heraldry’, pp. 51-2. For more on Hector’s arms, cf. p. 108. Like the arms of most of the other Worthies, Hector’s arms were never fixed. Lydgate, for example, presents a different variation, describing Hector’s arms as displaying three lions on a gold field: ‘þe feld of whiche was of purid gold/ Witþ þre lyouns, in story as is told,/ Of whos colour is made no mencion;/ But, as I fynde by discripcioun,/ þei wer passaunt, 3if I report ari3t’. See John Lydgate, *Lydgate’s Troy Book, A. D. 1412-20*, ed. by Henry Bergen, Part I: Prologue, Book I, and Book II, EETS e. s. 97 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co., 1906), II. p. 387, ln. 8479-83.

‘Ashmolean’ narrative, which celebrates and memorialises Brutus’s arrival in England with arms but does not go so far as to connect the creation of arms to him. Early fifteenth-century narratives that connect the origins of arms to Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar tend to present the heroes ordaining that warriors wear arms and Caesar appointing heralds, but the narratives do not assert that the heroes themselves bore the first coats of arms. The sixteenth-century French sibling group at the College of Arms, which presents the two heroes ordaining the granting of the first coats of arms, also does not specify to whom the first arms belonged.

As a young prince, Hector demonstrates that he will become a suitable leader as he has the strength and ability to outmatch two lions. Moreover, although they were probably posthumously attributed, William the Conqueror’s arms are usually presented as either ‘*Gules, two lions passant guardant or*’, which became Normandy’s arms in the mid-fourteenth century, or ‘*Gules three lions passant guardant or*’, the arms that Matthew Paris ascribes to him in the mid-thirteenth century.⁶⁴⁴ The arms that Hector’s mother devises for him are very similar in charge and tincture to William the Conqueror’s ascribed arms, and given the fact that the ‘Hague’ narrative is written in English, this may not be a mere coincidence.⁶⁴⁵

The ‘Sloane Tract’ (BL MS. Sloane 3744, ff. 2v-7r) is another anomalous fit in this English heraldic manuscript group. Unlike all of the other heraldic tracts written in English discussed here, ‘Sloane’ begins and ends in Latin.⁶⁴⁶ The opening Latin text relates how, '[a]t the time of the Trojan War of Alexander the

⁶⁴⁴ Pinches, *The Royal Heraldry of England*, p. 4; and Adrian Ailes, *The Origins of the Royal Arms of England: Their Development to 1199*, Reading Medieval Studies, Monograph no. 2 (Reading: Graduate Centre for Medieval Studies, 1982), p. 45.

⁶⁴⁵ For more on lions and their connection to English kingship, cf. pp. 104-7. After the initial anecdote about Hector in his cradle, the ‘Hague Tract’ follows the ‘Ashmolean’ narrative. The text does not include a discussion of heraldic charges and it is shorter than the other English narratives.

⁶⁴⁶ Humphery-Smith translates the Latin and English portions into modern English and he does not offer a diplomatic transcription. See ‘The Sloane Tract’.

Great', men wore signs of 'deserved honours [...] on the outside of their tunics; these were called "coats of Arms" and this custom was established among the Greeks and eastern peoples'.⁶⁴⁷ Fictive-historical chronology does not seem to matter here, as Alexander and Troy are conflated into a single time-space, and arms are traced back to a distant 'Greek' and 'eastern' past. This is very different from the Ashmolean/Strangways narrative group, to which H. Stanford London attaches the narrative, as those tracts do not mention Alexander the Great or the east at all. Also unlike the 'Ashmolean'/ Strangways group's genesis accounts, this tract's opening Latin text continues by presenting the narrative that young girls were the first proto-heralds, and that they were replaced by veterans who were themselves replaced by young men.⁶⁴⁸ This narrative hearkens back to 'Banyster's French Treatise' for its treatment of gender as well as to Sicily Herald for its portrayal of aged men.

The English portion of the 'Sloane Tract' describes heraldic tinctures and charges as well as cadency marks. Being derivative of the 'Ashmolean' narrative group, the 'Sloane Tract' shares these conventional 'Ashmolean' features. However, like the tract's Latin opening, its closing Latin portion is distinctive: the narrative connects armorial origins to scriptural times. The tract ascribes to each of the twelve tribes of Israel its own armorial charge:

Aaron's coat of insignia is an apt example of coats of arms [...] It was made up of twelve colours and on to it, in this case, are fastened precious stones. But whatever arms or insignia the twelve tribes of the sons of Israel bear, to the Hebrews, these came down: In Ruben the form of a man, in Symeon a spear, in Levi the Ark of the Covenant, in Juda the lion, [...etc.]⁶⁴⁹

⁶⁴⁷ 'The Sloane Tract', p. 118.

⁶⁴⁸ Cf. pp. 163-8.

⁶⁴⁹ 'The Sloane Tract', p. 122; and BL MS. Sloane 3744, f. 6v.

Unlike every other text that is affiliated with the Ashmolean/ Strangways narrative group, the 'Sloane' tract's writer chooses to offer a biblical example of coat armour. Yet, according to the biblical narrative, which is recorded in Exodus 28, Aaron's coat is made of linen and it is not a coat of arms.⁶⁵⁰ This multi-coloured coat is decorated with twelve precious stones, each of which is engraved with the name of one of the sons, and, therefore, tribes, of Israel.⁶⁵¹ The 'Sloane' tract's writer transforms Aaron's linen coat into a coat of arms. He also stresses that arms 'came down' to the Hebrews by lineal descent.⁶⁵² In this way, the tract shares an emphasis upon armorial succession with the 'Ashmolean'/ Strangways group, but that is as far as an affiliation between these narratives can be discerned. Alternatively, the 'Sloane Tract' can be connected to other late fifteenth-century heraldic texts that similarly connect coats of arms to biblical times.

The third part of *The Boke of St Albans* (c. 1486), for example, concentrates on 'the linage of coot armuris: and how gentilmen shall be knowyn from ungentilmen'.⁶⁵³ *The Boke of St Albans* is interested in lineage and status rather than martial prowess. It is particularly interested in acknowledging gentility. Although it was typical to connect gentility with biblical origins in medieval writing, this connection is not commonly made in medieval heraldic texts that were written in English. This text is unusual among the English tracts because it connects the origins of gentility to God and the origins of human gentility to Adam and Eve's son Seth, whom the text relates became a gentleman while his brother Cain became

⁶⁵⁰ Exodus 28, 'Douay-Rheims Bible + Latin Vulgate', *Douay-Rheims Bible Online* [<http://www.drbo.org/drl/chapter/02028.htm>, accessed 8 June 2017].

⁶⁵¹ Exodus 28, 'Douay-Rheims Bible + Latin Vulgate', *Douay-Rheims Bible Online* [<http://www.drbo.org/drl/chapter/02028.htm>, accessed 8 June 2017].

⁶⁵² Like the arms of the Nine Worthies, the insignia of the twelve sons, or tribes, of Israel is not fixed. The arms that are attributed to the twelve tribes are sometimes drawn from Genesis 49.

⁶⁵³ *The Boke of St Albans*, p. 67. For easier readability, I will be replacing the text's long 's' [f] with an 's'.

the first 'chorle' as a consequence of Abel's murder.⁶⁵⁴ Remaining within this biblical register, *The Boke of St Albans* also relates that 'that gentilman Jhesus', who is a 'gentilman by is modre Mary' because he was 'borne very god and man', is the 'prynce of cote armure'.⁶⁵⁵ Yet, even though Jesus, who can trace his gentility to both God and man, is the prince of arms, he is not their originator. This text traces armorial origins to the angels. In this way, it hearkens back to 'Banyster's French Treatise', but whereas the earlier tract presents archangels as the first heralds, this tract traces the origins of coat armour to the heavenly battle that led to Lucifer's exile. The text's incipit relates that

Insomuch thatt all gentilnes cummys of God of hevyn, at hevyn I will begin, where were v orderis of aungelis, and now stande but iv, in cote armoris of knowlege encrowned ful hye with precious stones, where Lucifer with myliony's [sic] of aungelis owt of hevyn fell unto hell and odyr places, and ben holdyn ther in bonage, and all were erected in hevyn of gentill nature.⁶⁵⁶

The angels used arms in their battle against Lucifer and his followers. By describing these arms as 'cote armoris of knowlege encrowned ful hye with precious stones', the text invites different readings. The angels could be metaphorically armed with knowledge. Reverence for this knowledge is expressed through the figurative image of knowledge being crowned. Alternatively, the angels that are armed with knowledge could be wearing crowns decorated with

⁶⁵⁴ *The Boke of St Albans*, pp. 68-9.

⁶⁵⁵ *The Boke of St Albans*, p. 69. Christ's description as the 'prynce of cote armure' is comparable to his appearance as a knight in the B Text of *Piers Plowman*. Langland calls Christ 'Jesus the justere' and describes the resurrected Christ jousting against Satan in Hell, which is presented as a castle. See William Langland, *The Vision of Piers Plowman* (London: J. M. Dent, 1978), p. 235, Passus 19, l. 10, and, for a description of the joust, pp. 219-34, Passus 18, esp. ln. 22-3 and 260-409. The B Text also expands upon this biblical register, presenting Abraham as 'an heraud of armes'. See Langland, *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, p. 203, Passus 16, l. 177.

⁶⁵⁶ *The Boke of St Albans*, p. 67.

precious stones. Or, on a more literal level, the angels could be using coats of arms that have been skilfully decorated with precious stones. In this sense, the precious stones act as proto-charges and tinctures, and they figuratively crown the shield they decorate.

Indeed, the text explicitly connects this battle with the beginning of heraldic tinctures. It clarifies that the angels wore crowns decorated with precious stones to battle and that each particular stone correlated with its wearer's characteristics, which later became the characteristics affiliated with each heraldic tincture and its associated precious stone.⁶⁵⁷ For example, when describing the properties of sapphire, the blue stone that the text specifies is called 'azure' in arms, *The Boke of St Albans* relates that the 'virtue therof is the gentilman that in his cote armure bereth that stone wise and vertuys in his working in his kingis battayle shal be, the wich is reserved to tronus crowne that was wise and vertuys in his kyngis battayl of hevyn, when they fought with Lucifer'.⁶⁵⁸ Azure arms affiliate their bearer with the wisdom and virtue of the angel whose crown was decorated with sapphire during the heavenly battle. Although this heavenly origin predates the twelve tribes of Israel, it shares with the 'Sloane Tract' a biblical context as well as an interest in tinctures and their associated precious stones.

Another late fifteenth-century text that is comparable to the 'Sloane Tract' is Adam Loutfut's *The Deidis of Armorie* (BL MS. Harl. 6149, ff. 5r-42r). Loutfut's text shares with the 'Sloane Tract' an interest in biblical armorial origins.⁶⁵⁹ In *The Deidis of Armorie*, Loutfut explains that 'þe eldast/ knowlege þat men findis of armes

⁶⁵⁷ *The Boke of St Albans*, pp. 69-70.

⁶⁵⁸ *The Boke of St Albans*, pp. 69-70.

⁶⁵⁹ Although it is not contained within *The Deidis of Armorie*, a narrative depicting the archangels Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Uriel as the first heralds is also incorporated into BL MS. Harl. 6149, on ff. 50r-1v. This narrative about the origins of heralds is also drawn from 'Banyster's French Treatise' (CA MS. M. 19, ff. 151r-53v). Cf. p. 169. Houwen mentions the presence of this archangel narrative in *Deidis*, vol. 1, p. xliii.

þat is þe armes of Iosue'.⁶⁶⁰ He goes on to list a few of the other Worthies, such as King David, Judas Maccabeus, and Alexander the Great, as having born arms, but, with the exception of Alexander, his focus in these examples remains on biblical times. In this way, Loutfut's narrative shares the closing portion of the 'Sloane' tract's emphasis on biblical figures who wore coats of arms, consequently linking arms to sacred religious history.

In contrast, the 'Ashmolean'/ Strangways group's origin narrative does not mention Alexander the Great or Israel. Instead, its focus is on England. The tracts are fully, not partially, written in English. Troy's inclusion is literally directly connected to the Brutus narrative by descriptions and graphic portrayals of cadency marks, which highlight the importance of hereditary arms, and which link Britain's history with Troy's through Brutus.

3.5 Late Fifteenth-Century Accounts in French and Latin

Heraldic texts that were written in English are more interested in armorial origins than in heralds, probably because these writers are concerned with heredity and with connecting the use of arms in England to antiquity. Non-English language heraldic texts also focus on lineage and links to the classical and biblical past. Additionally, these texts are attentive to the heraldic profession, and they question who ought to be performing heraldic duties, what kinds of duties heralds ought to perform, and how heralds should be treated by those receiving their messages and services. Early fifteenth-century heraldic texts written in French and Latin establish these lines of inquiry, and, in the late fifteenth century, narratives about heralds are copied, translated, built upon, and, at times, re-envisioned in innovative ways.

⁶⁶⁰ BL MS. Harl. 6149, f. 15v; and *Deidis*, vol. 1, p. 19.

The heraldic tract written in French in CA MS. L. 6, ff. 11r-18v, which Richard Moll dubs 'Brutus the Emperor', presents an account of the origins of heralds. Campbell and Steer describe 'Brutus the Emperor' as a 'romance', a generic designation that Moll, who edits the text, questions but does not specifically address.⁶⁶¹ The narrative shares more with chronicle-based legendary history than romance.⁶⁶² Uniquely developing its Brutus narrative, this text connects Brutus with the creation of heralds.

'Brutus the Emperor' presents a version of the Albina narrative that, as Moll explains, 'is closely related to the classical tale of Danaus and his fifty daughters'.⁶⁶³ Conhesacq, the Greek emperor, and Sarimedec, his wife, have one son, named Brutus, and thirty daughters ('seullement vng filz, le quel eut nom Brut, et xxx filles').⁶⁶⁴ Conhesacq arranges for his daughters to marry thirty princes, but the sisters, led by Albine, the eldest, secretly plan to murder their husbands on their wedding night ('soubtilla de faire faire trente couttiaus pour occire leurs mariz la premiere nuyt qui seroient en la plus consolacion avec elles').⁶⁶⁵ The youngest sister ('le plus jeune') reveals their plan, and the emperor, after listening to his

⁶⁶¹ *CMCA*, p. 29; and Moll, 'Brutus the Emperor', p. 109.

⁶⁶² For more on the features associated with the romance genre, see Helen Cooper, *The English Romance in Time: Transforming Motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Death of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Nicholas Perkins and Alison Wiggins, *The Romance of the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2012); Raluca L. Radulescu and Cory J. Rushton, eds., *A Companion to Medieval Popular Romance* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2009); and Raluca L. Radulescu, *Romance and its Contexts in Fifteenth-Century England: Politics, Piety and Penitence* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2013).

⁶⁶³ Moll, 'Brutus the Emperor', p. 114. The conventional Albina story relates that Albina and her twenty-nine sisters are exiled, usually from Greece, for either attempting to murder or murdering their husbands, and that, after landing on an island they name 'Albion', after Albina, they sleep with Incubi and beget giants. When Brutus arrives on that island after the fall of Troy, he kills the giants and conquers parts of the land, and those conquered areas are consequently named 'Britain'. The narrative's fullest surviving copy is in BL MS. Cotton Cleopatra D. IX, ff. 67r-8v. For an edition, see *Des Grantz Geanz: An Anglo-Norman Poem*, ed. by Georgine Elizabeth Brereton, *Medium Aevum Monographs 2* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1937). Also see Lisa M. Ruch, *Albina and Her Sisters: The Foundation of Albion* (Amherst: Cambria Press, 2013). Geoffrey of Monmouth asserts that the island upon which Brutus arrives is called Albion, but he insists that 'it had no inhabitants save for a few giants'. See Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History*, pp. 26-7, para. 21.

⁶⁶⁴ 'Brutus the Emperor', p. 136, ln. 8-10. Moll speculates that the king's awkward name may be the result of a scribal palaeographical error (p. 134).

⁶⁶⁵ 'Brutus the Emperor', p. 136, ln. 13-15.

counsellors ('assembla son conseil'), punishes all but his youngest daughter with exile.⁶⁶⁶ The sisters are exiled because they refuse to be exchanged between men and because they rebel against their father's authority. Moll clarifies that the tract's author was familiar with Jean de Wavrin's chronicle, as he draws upon it when he presents Albine's plot for the sisters to have thirty knives ('trente couttiaus') on hand to kill their husbands during the night.⁶⁶⁷

Narrative attention next shifts onto Brutus, who becomes emperor when his father dies from grief over his exiled daughters. Two prophetesses, Dalbara and Nynins, have premonitions of the Virgin Mary. Dalbara foretells that a virgin will carry a king ('viendroit vne vierge qui porteroit vng roy'), and Nynins obtains 'a miraculous banner with an image of the Virgin', which she uses to heal Dalbis, who suffers from leprosy ('laquelle estoit mallade de la malladie lépreuse').⁶⁶⁸ This miraculous banner functions differently from the heraldic marks discussed thus far, as, in addition to being a sign of distinction and authority, it is a devotional object. Moll illuminates the significance of this image, explaining that 'the banner which portrays the Virgin Mary reflects the arms of King Arthur which routinely appear in heraldic rolls, but no such connection is articulated'.⁶⁶⁹ The affiliation between Arthur's arms and the Virgin Mary can be traced to Geoffrey of Monmouth, who describes Arthur's shield, called 'Pridwen', as 'depict[ing] Mary,

⁶⁶⁶ 'Brutus the Emperor', pp. 136-7, ln. 19-27.

⁶⁶⁷ Moll, 'Brutus the Emperor', p. 118; and Jehan de Waurin, *Recueil des Croniques et Anchiennes Istories de la Grant Bretagne: From Albina to A. D. 688*, ed. by William Hardy (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1864), p. 19. Waurin writes: 'Et pourtant face chascune de nous pourveance d'un fort coutel bien trenchant' ['Meanwhile let each of us provide herself with a strong and sharp knife'] (p. 19); and Moll, 'Brutus the Emperor', p. 118.

⁶⁶⁸ 'Brutus the Emperor', p. 137, l. 34, and p. 138, l. 55. Also see Moll's summary on p. 110.

⁶⁶⁹ Moll, 'Brutus the Emperor', p. 113. For example, John de Bado Aureo and Nicholas Upton attribute these arms to Arthur. See Bodl. Lib. MS. Laud. Misc. 733, f. 37v; and Bodl. Lib. MS. Eng. Misc. D. 227, f. 120v. Upton describes these arms as 'a siluer crosse & vpon the Right syde of hyt, the ymage of our lady w^t her some sytting on her right Arme, in A grene felde' (Bodl. Lib. MS. Eng. Misc. D. 227, f. 120v). He further explains that Arthur took these arms in addition to Belinus's arms and Uther's arms.

the Holy Mother of God, to keep her memory always before his eyes'.⁶⁷⁰ Therefore, instead of separating individuals so that their personal achievements can be recognised, arms are presented as devotional and unifying objects.

The banner's sacred purpose is further reinforced, as Dalbara gives it to a pursuivant to deliver to her brother, Dardanus, with whom Brutus is at war. The text relates that she calls a 'demandeur de terre', a land messenger, 'que nous appellons a ceste heure poursuiuant d'armes', whom we now call a pursuivant of armes, to deliver the 'drap' to her brother.⁶⁷¹ It further clarifies that he is someone 'lesquelz seruoient en icelluy temps de l'estat de vroy disant et furent les premiers de ceste office', who serves his time as a herald [as a proclaimer] and was among the first to hold that office.⁶⁷² This diplomatic messenger prefigures a pursuivant. The role of heralds ('les officiers vroy disans') is further stressed in the tract's description of the battlefield, as they are able to recognise the individuals performing valiant actions by their arms ('qu'ilz eussent congnoissance de ceulx qui vaillamment se portoient en armes').⁶⁷³ However, once the delivered banner depicting the Virgin is displayed ('drap ouquel la figure de la Vierge Marie estoit'), a stag ('cerf') appears and Brutus and Dardanus become reconciled.⁶⁷⁴ The tract's focus on heralds suggests that, like Mary, officers of arms work towards the establishment of peaceful relations between opposing people. By delivering the banner, the herald in this text delivers the potential for reunion and peace. Although the devotional connotations are unusual, they do suggest that heraldic office is simultaneously sacred and secular work.⁶⁷⁵

⁶⁷⁰ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History*, pp. 198-9, ln. 109-10.

⁶⁷¹ 'Brutus the Emperor', pp. 138-9, ln. 73-6.

⁶⁷² 'Brutus the Emperor', pp. 138-9, ln. 74-5.

⁶⁷³ 'Brutus the Emperor', p. 139, ln. 89-90.

⁶⁷⁴ 'Brutus the Emperor', p. 139, ln. 91-8.

⁶⁷⁵ Moll makes a similar point in 'Brutus the Emperor', p. 134.

When the tract returns its focus onto Albine and her exiled sisters, proto-heraldic messengers continue to play a crucial role. When Brutus learns that his sisters have arrived on an island without men ('sans hommes'), and that they have been sleeping with 'merchant sailors' and begetting 'uncivilized children', he sends a messenger to inquire after them.⁶⁷⁶ This narrative alters the conventional account that the sisters mate with Incubi, opting instead to present the males as merchants ('les marchans'), which is an interesting choice in light of MS. Harl. 992's distaste for the baseness associated with them.⁶⁷⁷ Significantly, Brutus asks for a messenger ('vroi disans') to carry a message to Albine of his own volition. Moll explains that 'when Brutus calls his own *vroy disans* and asks for a volunteer to represent him on a voyage in which he will carry "on his chest the device of his lord and on the top of the mast a banner of silk, painted with the same device", the man who steps forward seems to be doing something new, but the text never explicitly says so'.⁶⁷⁸ The envoy agrees to take the message and to honourably represent Brutus, and he promises to do so on pain of death ('promis a son maistre [...] d'y aller et qu'il yroit s'il deuoit mourir en la peine').⁶⁷⁹ The envoy's delivery of this message is crucial, as Albine treats Brutus's proto-herald respectfully even as she responds to her brother's message with contempt. She bestows the messenger with rich gifts that she acquired from the merchants ('luy donna Albine de moult beaux dons et riches joiaux qu'elle auoit conquis sur les marchans'), yet she replies to her brother by asserting how much she despises his arms and ensigns ('je luy veulx depeser et rompre ses armes, et son enseigne'), and by denouncing their sibling relationship

⁶⁷⁶ 'Brutus the Emperor', pp. 140-1, ln. 120-50, esp. l. 131. Also see Moll's critical introduction, p. 110.

⁶⁷⁷ 'Brutus the Emperor', p. 140, l. 122.

⁶⁷⁸ Moll, 'Brutus the Emperor', p. 113, and, in the edited text, p. 141. The cited text reads: '...a sa poitrine l'enseigne de son seigneur et au bout du mast vne banniere de soye, figuree a ladite enseigne' (ln. 151-3).

⁶⁷⁹ 'Brutus the Emperor', p. 141, ln. 146-7.

([il] n'est pas mon frere').⁶⁸⁰ In this way, she denies her brother's identity and his familial connection to her. The narrative also positions heralds as neutral parties within diplomatic communication, and offers a precedent for how they are to be treated with respect and generosity regardless of the news that they deliver. Brutus responds to Albine's dismissal with brutality. He attacks the island and murders most of his sisters and their children, and the remainder of the narrative focuses on his exploits in Europe, and specifically in France.

Although heralds are not the protagonists of 'Brutus the Emperor', they are its focus. The tract's concluding paragraph states that its central concern has been to explicate how heralds ('vardissans') were made and begun ('furent faiz et encommencéz'), and it therefore positions the narrative as a heraldic origins tale.⁶⁸¹ The tract reveals that heraldic service began under Brutus and that the first heralds volunteered for their duties. It also demonstrates the protocols for how to interact with heralds. Its presentation of arms and banners as objects of devotion that can initiate reconciliation suggests that heraldic work is sacred work, and its secular grounding in legendary origin tales enables heralds to be inserted into already established and accepted chronicle-based fictive histories, thereby granting their profession gravitas and antiquity.

The letter ascribed to Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, which was originally written in Latin and was allegedly composed in 1451, presents a more ambivalent tone. This letter, which was translated into English in the mid-to-late fifteenth

⁶⁸⁰ 'Brutus the Emperor', p. 142, ln. 169-76.

⁶⁸¹ 'Brutus the Emperor', p. 145, l. 258. Also see Moll's critical introduction, p. 132. Moll speculates that this final paragraph may be a later addition to the tract that was 'intended to act as a bridge between "Brutus" and the rest of the manuscript'. He points to a brief reference to Julius Caesar's support for heralds as 'agree[ing] with the next text in the manuscript, "Les dis des philosophes"', and he suggests that another reference to Alexander the Great 'probably points to a tract by the Sicily herald'. See 'Brutus the Emperor', p. 145, n. 129. Also see pp. 132-3 of Moll's critical introduction.

century, appears laudatory on the surface.⁶⁸² The tract asserts that heralds are positioned in between men and gods, that they derive from heroes, that the ancient Greek god Dionysus initially created them, and that they assisted Dionysus in civilising India. Piccolomini explains that 'heraudis ben they that *witb* oure gret forfadirs heroes were named for as they saide gretter then man and lesse than the goodes they were'.⁶⁸³ Herald's are presented as 'half goddes'.⁶⁸⁴ They are higher than men and therefore closer to the gods. In this way, the tract hearkens back to imagining heralds as archangels, who are closer to God. However, in this narrative, heralds began as heroes, and heroes begin as men. Men who demonstrate prowess in battle are recognised as heroes. This suggests that the first heroes and, therefore, the first heralds, were veterans of war even though they may not have been aged or wounded.

Piccolomini explains that 'heraudis ffirst Institutour was Dionisius', and that they assisted the Greek god in his endeavour to civilise 'wilde peple' in the 'londe of Inde'.⁶⁸⁵ According to the narrative, which closely follows the classical historian Arrian's *Indica*, Dionysus 'first armed with an oste assayled the londe of Inde', where he met 'wilde peple etyng Ryndes *and* bark of tren' as well as the 'raw flesh of wilde bestis'.⁶⁸⁶ He then 'gaderid' people 'in to citees and taught hem to yoke oxen in the plough sowe sedis honoure the goddes kombe here herys' and, of course, being the god of wine, 'he gaffe hem the wynys as he dede the greke'.⁶⁸⁷ Dionysus gave the Indian people social order, the skills to grow food, and wine. He also offered instructions on personal hygiene, such as how to comb hair, and

⁶⁸² For more on copies of the English translation, cf. p. 152, esp. n. 503.

⁶⁸³ CA MS. Arundel 26, ff. 41v-2r.

⁶⁸⁴ CA MS. Arundel 26, f. 42r.

⁶⁸⁵ CA MS. Arundel 26, f. 42v.

⁶⁸⁶ CA MS. Arundel 26, f. 42v; and Arrian, *Indica*, in *Arrian's Anabasis of Alexander and Indica*, trans. by Edward J. Chinnock (London: George Bell, 1893), pp. 399-452, esp. chapter 7, p. 407. David Rundle cites Flavius Arrianus as the tract's source in 'Heralds of Antiquity', p. 26.

⁶⁸⁷ CA MS. Arundel 26, f. 42v; and Arrian, *Indica*, chapter 7, p. 407.

on how to honour the gods, especially himself. Arrian claims that the music and dances that Dionysus taught the Indians help to explain why ‘even to the time of Alexander the Indians still advanced into battle with the sound of cymbals and drums’.⁶⁸⁸ It seems unusual that the god of wine is attributed with such a grand civilising endeavour. Dionysus tends to be more closely associated with festivity, jocundity, fertility, and the arts, and not with waging wars on exotic places and civilising nomadic inhabitants. Arrian’s depiction of Dionysus arriving in India and civilising its ‘nomads’ helps to clarify Piccolomini’s portrayal of the classical god.⁶⁸⁹ However, Piccolomini’s narrative incorporates classical elements uniquely. Piccolomini stays close to Arrian’s account of Dionysus’s expedition into India, but unlike Arrian, who does not specify the identities of the men who accompanied Dionysus, Piccolomini asserts that these men were the first heralds. Consequently, Piccolomini presents heraldic work as socially useful work that is sanctioned by and in the service of gods. He transforms Arrian’s narrative into an account of heraldic origins.

Piccolomini’s account shares certain narrative details with other heraldic tracts. He relates that, after Dionysus gave the people ‘armys marcial and correctid hem to the culture of clenness in lyvng’, he was ready to leave and go to ‘othir Regions’, but some of the men in his ‘company’ were ‘with age made impotent and broken’.⁶⁹⁰ If the men who arrived with Dionysus in India were not yet old, then some of them had aged by the time that the god was ready to leave India in pursuit of further conquests. The king, whom Dionysus appointed from among his companions, tells these old men that they should stay in India and retire from knighthood. He states, ‘here loke ye Abide the Rewardis of youre laborers here

⁶⁸⁸ Arrian, *Indica*, chapter 7, p. 407.

⁶⁸⁹ Arrian, *Indica*, chapter 7, p. 407.

⁶⁹⁰ CA MS. Arundel 26, f. 42v.

sette yow stille And this fertly [fertile] lond that youre myghty Armes haue wonnen welde it for euere This day I acqyte you of al laboure of knyghthode and wol that ye be called aunceant honorable knyghtes and hereos'.⁶⁹¹ The veterans retire from active military service and they are told to enjoy the lands that they have helped to conquer. They are still honourably regarded and they continue to serve their princes and their communities. The remainder of the tract traces the generations of kings that generations of heralds served, highlighting not only the antiquity of heralds but also their continued usefulness. Piccolomini relates that heralds actively served Indian princes until the land was conquered by 'kyng Alisaundir', after which point they began serving Grecian and Roman princes, including Julius Caesar.⁶⁹² Herald also served many generations of biblical kings from the 'tyme of Daud' to 'Salamon' and 'many Othire kynges hebraykes amonge the machabeis also'.⁶⁹³ The text presents heralds as vital to ancient classical and biblical princes. The respect that heralds garnered was likely bolstered by their age and experience, a detail that hearkens back to Sicily Herald, as does the reference to the Maccabees.

Piccolomini's narrative appears to partake in the generally laudatory sentiment of other heraldic origin tales. However, as Cecelia Ady points out, Piccolomini was a humanist pope and a practitioner of the art of rhetoric.⁶⁹⁴ David Rundle makes a similar point, arguing that Piccolomini presents a satire.⁶⁹⁵ Reading the origins tale as satirical highlights the absurdity of the human desire to locate beginnings, a desire which leads many to blindly accept ridiculous narratives such

⁶⁹¹ CA MS. Arundel 26, f. 43r. There is an extra 'n' in 'wonnenn', and this is probably a scribal error.

⁶⁹² CA MS. Arundel 26, f. 45r and f. 46v.

⁶⁹³ CA MS. Arundel 26, f. 46v.

⁶⁹⁴ See 'The Man of Letters', in Cecelia M. Ady, *Pius II (Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini): The Humanist Pope* (London: Methuen, 1913), pp. 280-303 (esp. p. 287 and p. 303).

⁶⁹⁵ Rundle, 'Heralds of Antiquity', p. 29.

as this one, which purports to trace heralds to the heroes who helped Dionysus to civilise India. Rundle argues that Piccolomini's irony was lost on his fifteenth-century English readers.⁶⁹⁶ Heraldic origin narratives do overwhelmingly and understandably present a celebratory attitude toward heralds and heraldry. Their literary inventiveness and legendary posturing are a part of their appeal.

Significantly, these narratives are also a fifteenth-century phenomenon. Although heraldry is ancient, it did not develop as a system of identification with specific descriptive language and hereditary assignation until the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.⁶⁹⁷ One can only speculate as to why origin tales do not appear until the fifteenth century. Hindsight may play a part in the delay. Heraldic writers had more liberty to imagine professional origins once the system was firmly established and in use. The early fifteenth-century appointment of a Garter King of Arms and the consequent reorganisation of heralds contributed to an increased interest in who heralds were and how they came to be. Additionally, Henry V's 1417 restrictions on who could bear arms and his assertion that heralds had the right to grant arms generated interest in arms and heralds. The authority of heralds to grant arms was still under debate well into the fifteenth century, and some heralds and heraldic writers viewed narratives about the origins of heralds as a means of legitimising the profession. As heralds became more important, they needed authenticating narratives. This creates a mutual relationship; myths of origin grant heraldic professionals authority, and their increasing authority generates more heraldic professional origin myths. Creating a space for heralds in legends of antiquity lends the gravitas of antiquity onto the heraldic profession.

⁶⁹⁶ Rundle, 'Heralds of Antiquity', p. 31.

⁶⁹⁷ See St John Hope, *A Grammar of English Heraldry*, pp. 1-2; Wagner, *Heraldry in England*, p. 5; and Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 12 and p. 17.

The longevity and authority of antiquity are similarly transferred onto the practice of heraldry in myths of armorial origins. As Maurice Keen observes, heraldry had 'originally' been 'the preserve of the greater aristocracy', and it was directly affiliated with knighthood, but, 'in time', it became 'emblematic of the pride of birth, station and culture of the nobility in its broadest range', extending chivalry away from the battlefield and into the court, where any recognised gentleman could bear arms.⁶⁹⁸ This move away from the battlefield and into the court could also account for the move in heraldic texts from the thirteenth-century's rolls of arms to the fourteenth-century's legal heraldic tracts and the fifteenth-century's heraldic origin narratives. While rolls of arms and legal tracts continue to be composed in the fifteenth century, origin narratives appear in the fifteenth century. The origin narratives written in English that begin to surface in the mid-fifteenth century are particularly interested in how heraldry fits into the broader English national vision, which is itself rooted in conquest and empire building, as is evidenced by legendary foundation accounts about the Trojan exile, Brutus.

Heraldic origin narratives are retrospective. They look back at the roots of Western classical and biblical culture and they insert heralds and heraldry into the established legends, thereby granting them cultural weight and antiquity. Heraldic origin narratives are also introspective. They look within, examining the qualities that distinguish heraldry and heralds and make them useful to society. Finally, the narratives are prospective, anticipating the continued importance of heraldry to society. Fifteenth-century heraldic writers composed these narratives so that future generations would read them. These narratives are deliberate records for posterity. Although heralds and heraldry are not conventional aspects of

⁶⁹⁸ Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 128.

legendary narratives about Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Brutus, or Lucifer's fall from heaven, the narrative positioning of heralds and heraldry in classical and biblical antiquity is a move towards blurring the original legends and making room for the heraldic legends to perhaps one day themselves become conventional.

Chapter 4

Aggrandising Reflections:

Heraldic Professional Self-Construction

This chapter examines how late medieval heralds present themselves in the heraldic texts that they produced. It reveals that heralds desired to be viewed as holding a lucrative and authoritative professional position and that they perceived their work as integral to the chivalric communities they served. Herald project an image of themselves as role-models for gentlemen. They engage in professional self-branding, constructing a narrative about the calibre of their character that aligns them with chivalric values. Late medieval heralds depict themselves as loyal, courageous, temperate, and educated men who are intrinsically noble. They also emphasise their critical importance in adjudicating nobility, in making ceremonies function, and in serving as messengers for the elite. Examining how heralds portray themselves reveals how they understand their professional role and how they want to be viewed. It also underscores their effort to construct an exclusive professional brand that identifies them as worthy of the highest esteem.

This self-constructed professional image differs from typical late medieval portrayals of heralds. Herald frequently feature in non-heraldic chivalric texts, where they tend to be depicted fulfilling one of their professional duties. Their ability to recognise a knight based upon his coat of arms or his physical appearance is emphasised in a range of works from Jean Froissart's late fourteenth-century *Chronicles* of the first portion of the Hundred Years War to Thomas Malory's late fifteenth-century *Le Morte D'Arthur*. Herald are also presented delivering diplomatic messages, authenticating rumoured events with their eyewitness accounts, and advertising upcoming tournaments. Several heralds make brief appearances in these texts, yet they function as minor characters who facilitate

communication between the key players. In contrast, when heralds present *themselves* fulfilling some of these same tasks, they turn the focus, even if momentarily, onto themselves and onto how important their role is to the depicted event. This chapter considers a selection of visual and written evidence to support this assertion.

Visual portrayals of heralds typically position them as marginal figures as well. Their narrative presence is generally absent from the visual record in Froissart's *Chronicles*, which is surprising because over 150 manuscript copies of Froissart's text survive and several of these contain detailed illuminations.⁶⁹⁹ These illuminations frequently depict heraldry: there are marginal coats of arms, kings and queens who are identified by the heraldic insignia on their clothing, and heraldic banners that accompany and differentiate groups of people.⁷⁰⁰ However, heralds themselves are notably absent from these images. This is especially apparent in illuminated scenes depicting events at which heralds are generally expected to be present. For example, heralds are not included in portrayals of the peace talks between Scotland and England or of the peace treaty between France and Navarre; they are not depicted at King John II's coronation; and, despite Froissart's explicit statement that three heralds helped to identify the dead after the battle of Crécy, they are not depicted in images of this scene.⁷⁰¹

⁶⁹⁹ 'How the Material was Selected: The Manuscript Tradition of Froissart's *Chronicles*', in *Online Froissart*, apparatus, accessed 12 Dec. 2016.

⁷⁰⁰ See PMM MS. 15. 4, f. 1r, for examples of marginal coats of arms; BM MS. 864, f. 1r and f. 46v, for examples of English and French kings and queens wearing identifying heraldic mantles; and, for an example of banners identifying groups, see the depiction of the sea battle off La Rochelle in BR MS. 88, f. 3r. For these folios, see *Online Froissart*, navigate, manuscript facsimiles [https://www.dhi.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/, accessed 8 March 2017].

⁷⁰¹ See KB MS. 72 A 25, f. 187r, for a depiction of the peace talks between Scotland and England, and KB MS. 72 A 25, f. 354v, for a depiction of the peace treaty between France and Navarre. For these images, see *Online Froissart*, navigate, manuscript facsimiles, external web links [https://www.dhi.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/, accessed 8 March 2017]. In addition, *Online Froissart* presents five different manuscript illuminations of the coronation of King John II of France, and none of them depicts the presence of a herald. See *Online Froissart*, navigate, miniatures [https://www.dhi.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/, accessed 8 March 2017]. For an image of the dead being identified after the battle of Crécy, see KB MS. 72 A 25, f. 144r, *Online Froissart*, navigate, manuscript

One of the few instances in which heralds are depicted by an illumination of Froissart's text is in a portrayal of Edward III adopting the quartered arms of France and England.⁷⁰² Two men stand in the background, to the king's left, one wearing a tabard decorated with the arms of England and the other wearing one with the arms of France. These men witness the scene, but they are not illustrated as active agents in it, as the king directs his attention toward the French man who stands to his right, which is a depiction of Robert, the count of Artois, who Froissart relates encouraged the king's ambitions in France.⁷⁰³ Another illumination of Froissart's narrative that illustrates a herald is in a manuscript that belonged to Edward IV (1461-70 and 1471-83).⁷⁰⁴ The image presents Henry IV's coronation and depicts a herald standing in the background. The herald is identifiable because he wears the tabard of his office as a royal king of arms and he also holds a heraldic banner that displays the quartered royal arms. He is present at the scene, yet he remains peripheral to the action. When heralds are illustrated, this marginal portrayal of them tends to be the norm.

A presentation copy of John Lydgate's *Lives of Saints Edmund and Fremund* that was produced as a gift for Henry VI to celebrate his visit to the Benedictine abbey of Bury St Edmunds c. 1434 also portrays a herald carrying out his professional duties.⁷⁰⁵ A miniature at the top of f. 86r, which spans the width of

facsimiles, external web links [<https://www.dhi.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/>, accessed 8 March 2017]. Those surveying the dead in this image are not heralds, as they are not depicted wearing a herald's tabard. For Froissart's statement that three heralds helped to identify the dead, see Jean Froissart, *Froissart's Chronicles*, ed. and trans. by John Jolliffe (London: Penguin, 1967), p. 151.

⁷⁰² BM MS. 864, f. 46v. See *Online Froissart*, navigate, manuscript facsimiles [<https://www.dhi.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/>, accessed 8 March 2017].

⁷⁰³ See Froissart, *Froissart's Chronicles*, p. 98; and Godfried Croenen, Peter Ainsworth, and Inès Villela-Petit's description of the manuscript's miniature in 'Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 864', *Online Froissart*, navigate, codicological descriptions [<https://www.dhi.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/>, accessed 8 March 2017].

⁷⁰⁴ BL MS. Royal 18 E. II, f. 404r. For Edward IV's ownership of the manuscript, see 'Writing and Picturing History: Historical Manuscripts from the Royal Collection', *BLCIM*.

⁷⁰⁵ BL MS. Harl. 2278, f. 86r. Also see 'Detailed Record for Harley 2278', in *BLCIM*, which suggests that the manuscript was made under Lydgate's supervision, as he was a monk at the abbey. William Curteys, the abbot, commissioned the manuscript. The 'Detailed Record' points out that the royal

the page, depicts the Viking leader Hyngwar sending a herald to Fremund. The herald is plainly dressed in a white mantle and he wears a pouch attached to his belt, into which he places the message that he carries. He wears a purple cloak that is decorated with golden snakes, and this cloak functions as his professional dress, designating him as a messenger and, therefore, as someone who can travel safely to deliver his message to Fremund. Hyngwar and the herald stand at the centre of the miniature, yet the image appears to be more focused on the task at hand than on the individuals being portrayed. Hyngwar's interest in the herald—and, presumably, the viewer's as well—is directly linked to the herald's ability to deliver the message. A second miniature at the bottom of the same folio emphasises this point, as it depicts the same herald delivering Hyngwar's message to Fremund, who is distinguished from his army by his golden crown and the golden cross that is displayed on his surcoat. The herald kneels on one knee in deference to Fremund as he delivers his message. Hyngwar and his army are depicted standing behind the herald, on the opposite side of the miniature from Fremund and his men. Unlike the first miniature, this image portrays Hyngwar wearing a purple surcoat decorated with golden snakes, and this detail is important because the herald's cloak matches Hyngwar's surcoat, identifying him as the Viking leader's herald. These two miniatures portray the importance of a herald's function as a messenger to military leaders; they focus on a herald's professional utility rather than his individuality.

arms are presented on f. 6r, that there is a portrait of Henry VI on f. 6v, and that there is a later royal pressmark, 'No 467', on f. 1r. Henry VI was twelve years old when he visited the abbey. Also see Kathleen L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390~1490, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, vol. 6, 2 vols (London: Harvey Miller, 1996), esp. vol. 2, cat. no. 78, pp. 225-9. Scott argues that this copy was 'certainly finished before 1444, when Lydgate added further stanzas—not in this copy—to his poem concerning miracles purportedly performed by St Edmund in 1441 and 1444' (p. 228). This manuscript has been fully digitally reproduced and is available on *BLCIM*.

Similarly, in a miscellany that belonged to the knight John Astley (d. 1486) which includes accounts memorialising his own feats of arms, a herald is depicted in a champ clos watching and, probably, acting as a referee, as Astley engages in foot combat with Philippe de Boyle of Aragon.⁷⁰⁶ Henry VI is portrayed watching over the proceedings, which took place at Smithfield c. 1441-2.⁷⁰⁷ The herald, who is depicted wearing the professional tabard of his office, stands near and observes the combatants as they fight; the value of his presence at the scene derives from his fulfilling this needed professional task. The king's, the herald's, and the viewer's focus is directed onto the knights who are engaged in foot combat—an activity that, as Kathleen Scott points out, is not often represented by late medieval miniatures and 'undoubtedly reflect[s]' Astley's 'individualistic wishes'.⁷⁰⁸

Additionally, heralds sometimes decorate the margins of pages. For example, the *Talbot-Shrewsbury Book* depicts a herald standing in the lower right corner of a few folios.⁷⁰⁹ His tabard, which displays the arms of John Talbot, the first earl of Shrewsbury, and of Margaret Beauchamp, the earl's wife, identifies him as their herald.⁷¹⁰ He is depicted holding a flagpole that displays the royal arms of England and Anjou, which is appropriate because the manuscript was a gift from John Talbot to Margaret of Anjou in celebration of her betrothal to Henry VI.

⁷⁰⁶ PML MS. M. 775, f. 277v. This image is reproduced in Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, vol. 1, image no. 396, cat. no. 105. Scott discusses the manuscript in vol. 2, cat. no. 105, pp. 289-93. Evidence of Astley's early ownership of this manuscript includes the portrayal of his crest, arms, or armorial colours on ff. 2v, 275v, and 277v, and the presence of his arms on ff. 25r, 131r, and 274r. See Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, vol. 2, cat. no. 105, pp. 291-2; and Nall, *Reading and War*, p. 25. Nall explains that 'Astley commissioned or came into possession of a manuscript originally containing the prose translation of *De re militari*, Stephen Scrope's translation of Christine de Pizan's *Épître d'Othéa*, Lydgate's verses on the coronation of Henry VI and the *Secrets of Philosophers*' (p. 25). She also clarifies that Astley had accounts of his own feats of arms added to this text, specifically the challenge of Piers de Masse to Astley on ff. 275v-6v, and the challenge of Philippe de Boyle to Astley on ff. 277v-9r (p. 25, esp. n. 63).

⁷⁰⁷ Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, vol. 2, cat. no. 105, p. 290.

⁷⁰⁸ Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, vol. 2, cat. no. 105, p. 291; and Nall, *Reading and War*, p. 25.

⁷⁰⁹ See BL MS. Royal 15 E VI, ff. 43r, 70r, 155r, 207r, and 227r.

⁷¹⁰ 'Detailed Record for Royal 15 E VI', *BLCIM*.

The coats of arms on display are the focus of this image, however, and not the herald.

Heralds tend to be absent from heraldic texts until late in the medieval period. Typically, they are not present in rolls of arms. They are mentioned in heraldic treatises, usually in the context of a heraldic origins narrative, as already discussed. Heralds also appear in discussions of their authority to grant arms, as is evident in Upton's *De Studio Militari*, in which Upton denies that a herald's authority is superior to anyone else's except for the king's.⁷¹¹ Heraldic texts that are known to have been produced by or for heralds begin to appear in the fifteenth century and heralds depict themselves in some of these texts. The ways that heralds portray themselves in their own works offer a more nuanced perspective on the heraldic professional.

Late medieval heralds worked to construct their own professional image. They wanted to be valued for their specialised knowledge of heraldry. Before discussing some of the manuscripts that heralds produced and the ways that they present themselves in these texts, it is necessary to introduce the broader heraldic textual culture with which heralds engaged in their pursuit of obtaining and displaying their professional expertise.

4.1 Heralds and their Books

Late medieval heralds were keen collectors, copiers, and producers of heraldic texts, and the book-centred culture that this activity generated contributes to the construction of a herald's professional image. Indeed, the College of Arms was founded as a professional home for heralds and their books.⁷¹² Richard III

⁷¹¹ Bodl. Lib. MS. Eng. Misc. D. 227, ff. 217r-v. Also see Walker, 'An Edition', vol. 1, p. 108, and vol. 2, p. 196. Cf. pp. 53-5.

⁷¹² Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 55.

officially incorporated heralds in 1484 and gave them a house called Coldharbour, in which ‘every kyng of armes had hys place severall for hys oune lybrary’.⁷¹³ It was, therefore, a huge loss for the heralds when Henry VII annulled their incorporation after defeating Richard the next year. They did not regain corporate status until 1555, when Mary Tudor gave them a charter and Derby Place, which became the College of Arms.⁷¹⁴ Jackson Armstrong points out that before heralds were incorporated in 1484, their books ‘were in the personal possession of individual officers of arms’.⁷¹⁵ Armstrong also cites Squibb’s argument that the impetus for incorporation may have been acquiring Coldharbour as a space for a shared professional library.⁷¹⁶ Heraldic texts are therefore integral components of the professional culture of heraldry. Books offered late medieval heralds a way of acquiring a broad range of knowledge as well as expertise. At a time when the authority of heralds was still being challenged, gaining expertise was one way that heralds could assert their professional necessity.

Thomas Wriothesley (Garter, 1505-34) believed that heralds should own a broad range of texts from history and conduct books to chivalric texts and heraldic treatises. He asserts that, ‘in tyme convenient’, a herald should ‘appli hym selff to

⁷¹³ TNA/PRO State Papers (I) 73, f. 190r. Wagner cites this source in *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 94, n. 2. Also see *Survey*, p. 1. Coldharbour was located at what is now 89 Upper Thames Street, in London. The house had a distinguished history. In the mid-fourteenth century, it had been home to William de Montagu, the earl of Salisbury, and to Humphrey de Bohun, the earl of Hereford. It was also home to Henry IV in 1400, and to Henry V while he was still the prince of Wales. In 1480, Edward IV’s and Richard III’s sister, Margaret of Burgundy, stayed at Coldharbour during her visit to England. See Noble, *A History*, pp. 54-5; *Survey*, p. 1; and C. L. Kingsford, ‘Historical Notes on Mediaeval London Houses’, in *London Topographical Record*, vol. 10 (London: London Topographical Society, 1916), pp. 94-100.

⁷¹⁴ *RCCA*, p. 12. Derby Place/The College of Arms is located south of St Paul’s Cathedral. Like Coldharbour, it has distinguished royal connections. Thomas Stanley, who married Henry VII’s mother in 1482 and who was created the earl of Derby in 1485, built the house. See *Survey*, pp. 2-3; and John Stow, *Survey of London*, ed. by C. L. Kingsford, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), pp. 16-17. Dennys explains that the house burned down during the Great Fire of 1666, ‘though all’ of the heralds’ ‘records and books were saved’. See Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 55; and cf. pp. 56-7.

⁷¹⁵ Armstrong, ‘The Development’, p. 25; and Wagner, *Heralds of England*, p. 123.

⁷¹⁶ Armstrong, ‘The Development’, p. 25; and Squibb, ed., *Munimenta Heraldica*, pp. 1-2.

Rede bokys of maniers[,] eloquence[,] cronicles[,] actes and gistes of honnour[,] faictes off armes[,] and propriete of colours[,] herbes[,] and stones that they may therby more propereley and conveniently assigne armes to eury persone accordingly'.⁷¹⁷ Wriothesley understands the knowledge that heralds acquire from this wide-ranging reading material to be relevant to their being able to correctly and conscientiously design coats of arms. Wriothesley presents heralds as well-informed thinkers and critical readers who 'appli' themselves towards cultivating their professional expertise. Moreover, his stipulation that heralds engage with a broad range of texts is reinforced by the evidence that survives of what types of books heralds were interested in reading, owning, and copying.

Individual late medieval heralds probably had their own private collections of books, and, because the evidence is sparse, it is difficult to determine the size and scope of those collections. Thus far, scholarship has not given focused attention to late medieval heralds and their book collections. Scholars tend to discuss a herald owning or producing a text, or to compile lists of manuscripts and their owners or producers, who were sometimes heralds. Anthony Wagner compiles a list of the owners, copiers, and editors of medieval rolls of arms, and this list includes some heralds.⁷¹⁸ Wagner briefly identifies individuals before listing the armorials associated with them. He does not discuss what the texts reveal about the reading interests of their owners. Campbell and Steer compile a list of manuscripts in the collections at the College of Arms that were owned or produced by late medieval and early Tudor heralds, and they are especially attentive to manuscripts associated with Thomas Wriothesley.⁷¹⁹ Rodney Dennys includes a

⁷¹⁷ CA MS. L. 8a, f. 54r. Campbell and Steer attribute this hand to Thomas Wriothesley in *CMCA*, p. 35.

⁷¹⁸ *CEMRA*, pp. 136-56.

⁷¹⁹ *CMCA*, pp. 1-14.

chapter on heralds and their libraries in *The Heraldic Imagination*, but this chapter, which is three and a half pages in length, focusses on the book collections of Thomas Benolt (Clarenceux, 1511-34) and Robert Glover (Somerset, 1570-88).⁷²⁰ Dennys discusses the diversity of texts in these collections and the broad reading interests that they present. Drawing upon Dennys and Wagner, this discussion begins with an overview of Benolt's books and what they reveal about his interests. Then, expanding in scope, it presents a broader consideration of the books that are affiliated with key late medieval heralds. This discussion will not be exhaustive. It aims to highlight the range of materials that some medieval heralds owned, copied, or produced, and, therefore, to present these heralds as contributing to the construction of a bibliophilic heraldic professional culture.

The inventory that survives of Thomas Benolt's library, which he bequeathed on his death in 1534 to Thomas Hawley, who succeeded him as Clarenceux, to be perpetually passed on to the next Clarenceux, suggests that heralds liked to keep their books within close professional circulation.⁷²¹ It also reveals the herald's broad reading interests. Amongst other texts, his collection contains all four volumes of Froissart's *Chronicles*, Boethius's *The Consolation of Philosophy*, the Old Testament, two bestiaries, and 'fourteen volumes of treatises on heralds, heraldry, chivalry, and war', including Vegetius's *De re militari*.⁷²² Benolt also owned copies of Bouvet's and de Bado Aureo's heraldic treatises.⁷²³ Whether or not he actually read all of the books that he owned, this inventory highlights Benolt's interest in history and philosophy as well as in the practical treatises that

⁷²⁰ Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, pp. 55-8.

⁷²¹ Benolt's inventory has been printed in Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, appendix F, pp. 150-7. Also see Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, pp. 56-7.

⁷²² Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, appendix F, pp. 153-4, items 24, 31, 47, 26 and 53, and 50, respectively. Also see Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, pp. 56-7.

⁷²³ Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, appendix F, p. 152, items 21 and 23, and p. 155, item 65. Also see Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, pp. 56-7.

underpin his professional work. It projects an image of a man who has a curious mind, is well-read, and is informed. Because Benolt's books were passed on to future Clarenceux kings of arms, it is probable that he acquired some of these texts from the Clarenceux who preceded him, and it is also probable that his collection is not dissimilar from the personal libraries of other heralds.⁷²⁴ Moreover, these reading tastes align heralds with the chivalric and noble communities that they served, as medieval readers with an interest in chivalry who were not heraldic professionals, such as John Paston and Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, also owned a similar assortment of books in their own private libraries.⁷²⁵

There is evidence that some late medieval heralds owned military texts. John Smert (Garter, 1450-78) owned a copy of the English prose translation of Vegetius' *De re militari* (Bodl. Lib. MS. Douce 291).⁷²⁶ Catherine Nall explains that the book initially belonged to the Chalons family, and she suggests that it might have come into Smert's possession through his father-in-law, William Bruges (Garter, 1415-50), as Bruges affirmed John Chalons' gentility in 1446.⁷²⁷ Thomas Wriothesley owned John Paston's 'Grete Boke' (BL MS. Lansdowne 285).⁷²⁸ G. A. Lester points out that Wriothesley's crest and the initials 'Th' and 'WR' have been added to the bottom of f. 2r, and they suggest that Wriothesley probably inherited the book from his father, John Writhe (Garter, 1478-1504).⁷²⁹ Wriothesley also probably owned a copy of Caxton's *The Game and Play of Chess*

⁷²⁴ Dennys briefly discusses the library inventory of Robert Glover (Somerset, 1570-88). Glover's book collection is similar in thematic interest to Benolt's, and Dennys, noticing this, suggests that 'it might well have been the kind of library that a fifteenth-century herald would also have collected and used'. Glover probably inherited some of his collection from previous heralds. See Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination*, p. 56.

⁷²⁵ Nall, *Reading and War*, pp. 38-40.

⁷²⁶ Nall, *Reading and War*, pp. 31-2.

⁷²⁷ Nall, *Reading and War*, p. 40; and London, *The Life of William Bruges*, p. 20.

⁷²⁸ Lester, *Sir John Paston's 'Grete Boke'*, p. 58; and Nall, *Reading and War*, p. 32.

⁷²⁹ Lester, *Sir John Paston's 'Grete Boke'*, p. 58. An image of Wriothesley's crest and initials in this manuscript is available to view online. See 'Lansdowne 285 f. 2', *BLCIM*.

(BL MS. C. 10. b. 23), to which he added his coat of arms, on f. 2v, and his signature, on f. 3r.⁷³⁰ Nall adds that this copy of Caxton's text previously belonged to John Paston II.⁷³¹ These examples reveal that books were exchanged between heraldic professionals and the chivalric community.

Heralds also collected heraldic texts that had been owned and created by other heralds. John Writhe owned *Bruges' Garter Book* (BL MS. Stowe 594, c. 1430-40) and *Ballard's Book* (CA MS. M. 3, c. 1465-90).⁷³² His son, Thomas Wriothesley, inherited and added to these manuscripts.⁷³³ He also inherited the manuscripts that his father produced, *Writhe's Book of Knights* (BL MS. Add. 46354) and *Writhe's Garter Book* (currently held in the private library of the duke of Buccleuch).⁷³⁴ Wriothesley owned sections of *Sir Thomas Holme's Book* (BL MS. Add. 45133, c. 1446-90), and his father, John Writhe, probably owned some of these sections as well.⁷³⁵ The insular medieval circulation of these texts suggests that heralds valued each other's work and that they kept their professional knowledge among themselves. Further supporting this assertion is that Charles Wriothesley (Windsor

⁷³⁰ Lester, *Sir John Paston's 'Grete Boke'*, p. 59; and Nall, *Reading and War*, p. 32.

⁷³¹ Nall, *Reading and War*, p. 32. Nall cites the *Paston Letters* as evidence for this identification. See *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by Norman Davis, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971-6), esp. vol. 1, p. 517, item 4.

⁷³² *CEMRA*, p. 83 and pp. 111-12. William Bruges was the first Garter King of Arms (1415-50), and William Ballard was March King of Arms (cr. c. 1479, d. c. 1490). Kathleen Scott adjusts the commonly accepted c. 1430 date for *Bruges' Garter Book*, arguing that, based on the hats in the illuminations and the composition of the portraits, the text was probably produced c. 1440. See Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, vol. 2, cat. no. 84, p. 242.

⁷³³ Wagner suggests that Wriothesley added captions to *Bruges' Garter Book* on f. 7v and f. 8r. See *CEMRA*, p. 84. Wright is not as convinced. He believes that the hand belongs to one of Wriothesley's assistants. See C. E. Wright, *English Heraldic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: The British Museum, 1973), p. 16. Either way, the manuscript would have passed through Wriothesley's workshop and, at least temporarily, been under his oversight. Wriothesley also added considerably to sections of *Ballard's Book*. See *CEMRA*, pp. 111-15.

⁷³⁴ *CEMRA*, pp. 120-1 and pp. 122-3. *Writhe's Garter Book* also belonged to Elias Ashmole (Windsor, 1660-75, d. 1692). The 2nd duke of Montagu (d. 1749), who owned the book in the early eighteenth century and from whom the duke of Buccleuch is descended, probably purchased it from Ashmole. See London, *The Life of William Bruges*, p. 112.

⁷³⁵ *CEMRA*, p. 92. Thomas Holme was Clarenceux from 1476 to 1494. Wagner explains that *Sir Thomas Holme's Book* refers to three different manuscripts that 'were at any one time all bound between two covers or possessed by one owner'. See *CEMRA*, p. 92. These three manuscripts are now BL MS. Harl. 4205, BL MS. Add. 45133, and a selection of unnumbered and unbound leaves at London's Guildhall Library Print Room. See 'Detailed Record for Harley 4205', *BLCIM*; and Nall, *Reading and War*, p. 33.

Herald, 1534-62) probably inherited Thomas Wriothesley's library, as he sold many of his father's books to William Dethick (Garter, 1586-1612).⁷³⁶

Thomas Wriothesley engaged prolifically with rolls of arms, copying and embellishing a surprisingly large number of them. Many thirteenth-century armorials do not survive in their original form, yet a fragment of the Herald's Roll (CA MS. B. 29, pp. 20-27, c. 1270-80) survives because the vellum was cut into pieces in the sixteenth century and mounted onto paper.⁷³⁷ There are at least five versions of the Herald's Roll. The Heralds' Version (CA MS. B. 29, pp. 20-27) is the fragmented and mounted thirteenth-century original.⁷³⁸ The other varieties are the Fitzwilliam Version (FM MS. 297), which is a fifteenth-century armorial; the Earl of Bedford's Version, which was owned by the earl of Bedford in 1583, before it became lost; Everard Green's Version (CA MS. Everard Green Roll, c. 1525-30), and three divergent sixteenth-century copies.⁷³⁹ These versions are relevant because the Heralds' Roll clearly appealed to Wriothesley. Wagner hypothesises that the Fitzwilliam Version belonged to Wriothesley. He argues that Garter copied and embellished it, and that the aggrandised copy became the Earl of Bedford's Version, which belonged to Wriothesley, who added the last eight shields to the armorial before it came into the earl's possession.⁷⁴⁰ If this is true, then Wriothesley made two copies of the Herald's Roll, as he also either produced or oversaw the production of the Everard Green Version, to which he added coats

⁷³⁶ Lester, *Sir John Paston's 'Grete Boke'*, p. 59; and Noble, *A History*, p. 175.

⁷³⁷ *CMCA*, pp. 221-3; and cf. p. 76.

⁷³⁸ *CEMRA*, p. 10.

⁷³⁹ *CEMRA*, pp. 10-13. Although the Earl of Bedford's version is lost, it survives in sixteenth and seventeenth-century copies. The two sixteenth-century copies are CA MS. Muniment Room, Box 15, Roll 14, a paper roll in trick that Wagner suggests was probably copied by Robert Cooke (Clarenceux, cr. 1567), and QC MS. 158, pp. 455-98, which Robert Glover (Somerset Herald, cr. 1571) copied in trick in 1583.

⁷⁴⁰ *CEMRA*, pp. 10-12. Although itself an early to mid-fifteenth century copy, the Fitzwilliam Version has also undergone a late medieval aesthetic operation of sorts, as what was initially a roll was taken apart, bound into a book, and colourfully painted in the late fifteenth century. See *CEMRA*, p. 10. If Wagner's supposition regarding Wriothesley's ownership of Fitzwilliam is correct, Wriothesley may also be responsible for the roll's late medieval aesthetic embellishments.

of arms associated with his family.⁷⁴¹ Furthermore, Wagner supposes that one of the divergent copies of this armorial was also ‘probably’ made for Wriothesley, which would make the Herald’s Roll an armorial that received an enormous amount of Garter’s attention.⁷⁴²

Wriothesley also copied a range of fourteenth and fifteenth-century armorials. He made blazoned copies of the early fourteenth-century Galloway Roll (c. 1300) and the Stirling Roll (c. 1304), both of which commemorate English knights who served Edward I in his campaign against Scottish independence, and both of which are bound in CA MS. M. 14 bis. (pp. 376-90 and pp. 580-6, respectively).⁷⁴³ The original armorials have been lost. Also bound in CA MS. M. 14 bis. are Wriothesley’s blazoned copies of the Parliamentary Roll (version II. B, c. 1312) and of St George’s Roll (version II, c. 1285).⁷⁴⁴ Wriothesley copied *Thomas Jenyns’ Book* (c. 1410), which Wagner suggests is derivative of Cooke’s or Cotgrave’s mid-fourteenth century Ordinary (c. 1340), although the manuscript has an additional section of shields belonging to late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century earls, lords, and knights.⁷⁴⁵ There are two versions of *Thomas Jenyns’ Book* and they are very similar; the main difference between them is that one (BL MS. Add. 40851) was probably made for and certainly owned by Margaret of Anjou, whose shield of arms is painted on f. 5r, while the other, a lost vellum book,

⁷⁴¹ *CEMRA*, pp. 10-12. Green (Somerset, 1911-26) gave the armorial to the College of Arms in 1920.

⁷⁴² *CEMRA*, p. 13.

⁷⁴³ *CMCA*, p. 155; and *CEMRA*, pp. 34-5 and p. 36. *CEMRA* cites the older foliation (ff. 168-75 and ff. 269-72, respectively). For more on Edward I and the Scottish War for independence, see Matthew Strickland, ‘A Law of Arms or a Law of Treason? Conduct in War in Edward I’s Campaigns in Scotland, 1296-1307’, in *Violence in Medieval Society*, ed. by Richard W. Kaeuper (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000), pp. 39-78. As Wagner explains in *CEMRA*, the Galloway Roll is one of the earliest known examples of a roll of arms arranging its presentation of knights in accordance with the retinues in which they served.

⁷⁴⁴ *CMCA*, p. 155; and *CEMRA*, pp. 48 and 20-1. Also see CA MS. M. 14 bis., pp. 44-94 and pp. 364-73 for the Parliamentary Roll, and pp. 392-421 and p. 461 for St George’s Roll. This is a unique copy of this version of St George’s Roll.

⁷⁴⁵ See shield numbers 1213 to 1595 in BL MS. Add. 40851, ff. 56r-71v; and *CEMRA*, pp. 74-5. As Wagner points out, scholars have not yet studied these later additional shields.

belonged to the gentleman Thomas Jenyns, who gave it to Robert Glover (Somerset Herald, cr. 1571), who owned the manuscript in 1578.⁷⁴⁶ Wagner suggests that the original manuscript may have been Margaret's copy, but it may also have been a lost manuscript from which both versions were copied. It is unclear which version of *Thomas Jenyns' Book* Wriothesley copied, but his work is bound alongside the other rolls that he reproduced, in CA MS. M. 14 bis. (pp. 462-527 and pp. 560-79).⁷⁴⁷ Wriothesley also made a trick copy of the first 126 shields of arms in Fenwick's Roll, a fifteenth-century work contemporaneous with both Henry V and Henry VI; and he owned the late fifteenth-century *Collingborne's Book* (CA MS. B. 22, ff. 50-60 and ff. 26-49, bound in this order), as evidenced on f. 31r, where the name 'Wrythesley' appears in his hand.⁷⁴⁸

Late medieval heralds also produced books. Chandos Herald, who was the private herald of Sir John Chandos, accompanied Chandos and the Black Prince on military campaigns, and especially on the 1367 Spanish campaign.⁷⁴⁹ He composed a poetic account of the Black Prince's life (c. 1380-5).⁷⁵⁰ The book does not concentrate on heraldry but it does focus on history, war, and chivalry, and these themes interested heralds as much as they interested other late medieval readers.

⁷⁴⁶ *CEMRA*, pp. 73-6. BL MS. Stowe 696 is a sixteenth-century copy of the lost Jenyns' manuscript. The other four sixteenth-century copies of the book are in blazon, trick, or both. Robert Glover's trick copy is now QC MS. 158, pp. 548-648 (c. 1580).

⁷⁴⁷ *CEMRA*, p. 77, cites the old foliation (ff. 212r-43v and ff. 259r-68v).

⁷⁴⁸ For Wriothesley's trick copy of the first portion of Fenwick's Roll, see BL MS. Add. 45132 (formerly Clumber MS. 188), ff. 180-6. Also see *CEMRA*, p. 82 and p. 110.

⁷⁴⁹ *The Life and Campaigns of the Black Prince*, ed. and trans. by Richard Barber (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002), p. 8.

⁷⁵⁰ There are two known manuscripts of Chandos Herald's narrative: WC MS. 1 (c. 1380), and SHL MS. 1 (c. 1385). For an edition of the Worcester College manuscript, see *Life of the Black Prince by the Herald of Sir John Chandos*, ed. by Mildred K. Pope and Eleanor C. Lodge (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910); and for an edition of Senate House's manuscript, see *La Vie du Prince Noir by Chandos Herald*, ed. by Diana B. Tyson (Tübingen: Max Niemayer Verlag, 1975).

William Bruges, the first Garter King of Arms (cr. 1415), produced *Bruges' Garter Book* (BL MS. Stowe 594, c. 1430-40), the first Garter armorial.⁷⁵¹ The book depicts the founding knights of the Order of the Garter, England's first chivalric Order that Edward III established in the mid-fourteenth century. The manuscript is unique, as it is the only known copy of this work, and it contains twenty-seven colour drawings, each of which devotes a full page to portraying an individual. Twenty-six of these drawings depict Edward III, his eldest son, the Black Prince, and the original twenty-four knights of the Garter. These men are presented in an ascending order that corresponds to their Garter Stall numbers in St George's Chapel, where the Order convenes.⁷⁵²

The remaining drawing, however, precedes the others, including the depiction of Edward III, who occupies the first Garter Stall.⁷⁵³ This drawing is of the Garter King of Arms, and his placement in the manuscript before those who occupy Garter Stalls is suggestive of the importance that Bruges attached to his position as Garter.⁷⁵⁴ Garter's placement at the beginning of the armorial could relate to ceremonial processional order. Mark Noble explains that Garter 'ranks in the order of procession next before the sword; except the constable or marshal attend, and then they precede him'.⁷⁵⁵ It is customary for a sword or swords to be carried before a ruler in processions. David Hilliam explains that during a procession, the sovereign follows the bearers of the Sword of State, the Sword of

⁷⁵¹ 'Detailed Record for Stowe 594', *BLCIM*.

⁷⁵² BL MS. Stowe 594, ff. 7v-20r; *CEMRA*, pp. 83-6; and Nigel Saul, 'St George's Chapel and the Foundation of the Order of the Garter', in *St George's Chapel, Windsor: History and Heritage*, ed. by Nigel Saul and Tim Tatton-Brown (Stanbridge: The Dovecote Press, 2010), pp. 45-51.

⁷⁵³ BL MS. Stowe 594, f. 5v and f. 7v.

⁷⁵⁴ As Scott points out, the pictures of the Garter knights 'are no longer in their original setting and possibly not in their original order'. See Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, vol. 2, cat. no. 84, p. 242. However, Bruges would probably not present a portrait of himself amidst the sequence of Garter knights, as he was not himself a knight. His kneeling posture in the image also sets him apart from the knights, who stand upright.

⁷⁵⁵ Noble, *A History*, p. 59.

Spiritual Justice, the Sword of Temporal Justice, and the Sword of Mercy, which has a blunt tip.⁷⁵⁶ Therefore, Garter processes before the monarch, the sword bearers being the only individuals processing between them unless the constable or marshal are present.

In addition to William Bruges, *Bruges' Garter Book* was owned by John Writhe, who added to the manuscript.⁷⁵⁷ Wagner explains that, when they have been provided, most of the names written in the banners that hover above each depicted individuals' head in *Bruges' Garter Book* are in John Writhe's hand, and a few of the other additions that have been made to the manuscript, particularly on ff. 7v-8r, are in Thomas Wriothesley's handwriting.⁷⁵⁸ It is not surprising that future Garter kings would have an interest in owning the first Garter armorial.⁷⁵⁹ Indeed, Writhe's ownership of *Bruges' Garter Book* probably inspired the later Garter to make his own Garter book.

John Smert, the second Garter King of Arms (1450-78) and William Bruges' son-in-law, did not produce a book. However, he did authorise and oversee the production of grants of arms, and one of these grants is relevant to this inquiry into the ways that medieval heralds projected and promoted themselves. Smert granted arms to London's Worshipful Company of Tallow Chandlers on 24 September, 1456.⁷⁶⁰ The grant was copied by Ricardus

⁷⁵⁶ David Hilliam, *Crown, Orb, and Sceptre: The True Stories of English Coronations* (Sutton: Stroud, 2001), pp. 211-12.

⁷⁵⁷ *CEMRA*, pp. 83-4.

⁷⁵⁸ *CEMRA*, p. 84.

⁷⁵⁹ Some of *Bruges' Garter Book's* post-medieval owners were also heralds. The book is known to have belonged to Elias Ashmole, Windsor Herald (d. 1692), John Anstis, Garter (d. 1744), William Bayntun, F. S. A. (d. 1785), John Meyrick (d. 1805), John Towneley (d. 1816), and Richard, the first duke of Buckingham and Chandos (d. 1839). See *CEMRA*, pp. 83-4. The second duke of Buckingham and Chandos sold the manuscript to the fourth earl of Ashburnham in 1849, and the British Museum purchased it from the fifth earl of Ashburnham in 1883. See 'Detailed Record for Stowe 594', *BLCIM*.

⁷⁶⁰ The original grant has been retained for display by the Company. For more on the grant, and for a reproduction of it, see Susan Higgins, *To See the Light: Understanding the armorial bearings of the Tallow Chandlers* (London: Tallow Chandlers' Company, 2012). This text is available online

Franciscus, a scribe who trained in France and who, as Catherine Nall explains, ‘copied at least thirteen works including, suggestively, Bodl. Lib., MS Laud Misc. 570, an extremely expensive volume of Christine de Pizan’s *Épître d’Othéa* and the *Livre des quatre vertus* belonging to Sir John Fastolf.’⁷⁶¹ Franciscus also made ‘a less deluxe copy’ of the *Livre des quatre vertus* for Fastolf’s secretary, William Worcester.⁷⁶² It is interesting that Franciscus, who copied this grant of arms, also had experience copying military texts.

The Tallow Chandlers’ Company grant was illuminated by William Abell, a limner who often collaborated with Ricardus Franciscus.⁷⁶³ Therefore, William Abell is responsible for the crowned man wearing a heraldic tabard that displays the English royal arms who is depicted inside the grant’s historiated initial ‘A’. There is some disagreement concerning who this crowned man portrays. Susan Higgins, who writes on behalf of the Tallow Chandlers’ Company, explains that the man in the illumination depicts Henry VI, and that his presence acts as a ‘royal endorsement’ of the Company.⁷⁶⁴ However, her explanation is not satisfying. As is evidenced by Garter’s portrayal in *Bruges’ Garter Book*, on f. 5v, a crown and a heraldic tabard that is decorated with the English royal arms are Garter’s professional dress.⁷⁶⁵ Kings of arms wear crowns as markers of their professional status.⁷⁶⁶ Geoffrey Chaucer describes these crowns in *The House of Fame* (c. 1380-

[<http://www.tallowchandlers.org/wpcontent/uploads/2015/10/Understanding-the-Armorial-Bearings.pdf>, accessed 3 January 2017]. Also see *HCEC*, no. 66, p. 57.

⁷⁶¹ Nall, *Reading and War*, p. 41. Nall overviews several of the other works that Franciscus is known to have copied. Also see Martha W. Driver, “‘Me fault faire’: French Makers of Manuscripts for English Patrons”, in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England, c. 1100- c. 1500*, ed. by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (York: York Medieval Press, 2013), pp. 420-43 (p. 429). On pp. 442-3, Driver lists fifteen manuscripts that were copied by or are attributed to Ricardus Franciscus, as well as two others that are possibly in his hand.

⁷⁶² Nall, *Reading and War*, p. 41; and Nall, ‘Ricardus Franciscus’, pp. 207-16.

⁷⁶³ Driver, “‘Me fault faire’: French Makers of Manuscripts”, p. 429; and Nall, *Reading and War*, p. 42, and esp. n. 168.

⁷⁶⁴ Higgins, *To See the Light*, pp. 6-7.

⁷⁶⁵ Noble, *A History*, p. 49; and Fox-Davies, *Art*, p. 19.

⁷⁶⁶ Noble, *A History*, p. 49.

1). Chaucer relates that, upon entering the House of Fame, the dreamer sees a large group of pursuivants and heralds, and that ‘somme corouned were as kynges,/With corounes wrought ful of losenges’.⁷⁶⁷ The crowns identify the kings of arms, marking their authority over the other heralds. They are embellished with lozenges, which are diamond-shaped, but, as H. Stanford London points out, lozenge-shaped arms did not designate a maiden or a widow until the sixteenth century.⁷⁶⁸ He explains that ‘the use of lozenge-, oval- and round-shaped figures for the display of armorial bearings was not uncommon’ in the late thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries.⁷⁶⁹ Fox-Davies, who understands the portrait inside this grant’s historiated initial to be of John Smert, consequently presents a more convincing view.⁷⁷⁰ Further supporting this view is that the figure inside the historiated initial holds a white wand, which he points toward the granted coat of arms and its crest. Mark Noble clarifies that Garter carried a ‘white rod, gilt at the end’, and that this has since been replaced by a sceptre.⁷⁷¹ Abell composed this depiction of Smert and Smert signed and sealed the grant, but, importantly, Abell worked under Smert’s oversight, and his depiction of the Garter King of Arms probably necessitated Smert’s approval.⁷⁷²

William Ballard was a private herald who served Henry, duke of Exeter, in 1460, and he became March King of Arms, whose jurisdiction lies in the west of England, Wales, and Cornwall, under Edward IV, ‘probably from 1479, when the king created his son Earl of March’.⁷⁷³ Ballard continued to serve as March King

⁷⁶⁷ Geoffrey Chaucer, *The House of Fame*, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. by Larry D. Benson, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 347-73 (p. 364, l. 1316-17).

⁷⁶⁸ London, *The Life of William Bruges*, p. 95, n. 10.

⁷⁶⁹ London, *The Life of William Bruges*, p. 95, n. 10.

⁷⁷⁰ Fox-Davies, *Art*, p. 1 and p. 19.

⁷⁷¹ Noble, *A History*, p. 48; and Fox-Davies, *Art*, p. 19.

⁷⁷² For Smert’s role in signing and sealing the grant, see Driver, “‘Me fault faire’”: French Makers of Manuscripts’, p. 442; and Nall, *Reading and War*, p. 42.

⁷⁷³ *HCEC*, p. 57. There are some minor discrepancies in the dates given for Ballard’s appointments. Unlike *HCEC*, *CEMRA* indicates that Ballard served the duke of Exeter in 1469 (p. 112). *CMCA*

of Arms under Richard III and Henry VII.⁷⁷⁴ *Ballard's Book* (CA MS. M 3) is 'perhaps the oldest known working book of an Officer of Arms'.⁷⁷⁵ John Writhe purchased the book from William Ballard's widow after Ballard's death at about 1490.⁷⁷⁶ An inscription at the bottom of the first page indicates that 'This boke was bought of the Wydow of marche king of armes by gartier Roy darmes dez anglois'.⁷⁷⁷ Anthony Wagner tentatively identifies the handwriting as Thomas Wriothesley's even as he concedes that it could also be Writhe's hand.⁷⁷⁸ Closer examination of handwriting samples in CA MS. L 8a that have been attributed to Writhe and Wriothesley suggests that Wagner's identification is probably correct and that Wriothesley wrote this inscription.⁷⁷⁹

states that William Ballard was appointed March King of Arms around 1481 (p. 2). Godfrey and Wagner also date his appointment at 1481. See *Survey*, p. 280. Also see Noble, *A History*, p. 64 and p. 87.

⁷⁷⁴ *HCEC*, p. 57; and *CEMRA*, p. 112.

⁷⁷⁵ *CMCA*, p. 97; and *HCEC*, pp. 57-8. For descriptions of this manuscript, see *CMCA*, pp. 97-102; *CEMRA*, pp. 111-115; *HCEC*, no. 67, pp. 57-9; and *RCCA*, p. 84. The description in *HCEC* is also written on the manuscript's initial flyleaf.

⁷⁷⁶ See the inscription at the top of CA MS. M 3, f. 1r. Also see *CMCA*, p. 2; *CEMRA*, pp. 111-12; Wagner, *Historic Heraldry*, p. 30; and Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 108. Catherine Nall briefly discusses Writhe's purchase of this manuscript in *Reading and War*, on p. 33, as does Linne Mooney in 'A New Manuscript by the Hammond Scribe', in *The English Medieval Book: Essays in Memory of Jeremy Griffiths*, ed. by A. S. G. Edwards, Vincent Gillespie, and Ralph Hanna (London: The British Library, 2000), pp. 113-23 (p. 117). Nall also cites Mooney's discussion.

⁷⁷⁷ CA MS. M 3, f. i r. The manuscript's first two folios are unnumbered and the third folio is marked as f. 1. This inscription appears on the recto side of the first unnumbered folio. This inscription is also cited in *HCEC*, p. 57, and *CEMRA*, pp. 111-12, although with a few differences in spelling and capitalization.

⁷⁷⁸ Wagner discusses the inscription's handwriting in *CEMRA*, p. 111.

⁷⁷⁹ The prose portions of CA MS. L 8a that are attributed to John Writhe are a section on the ideal qualities of a herald (f. 3v), an account of the battle of Harfleur (ff. 40r-50v), and an account of Edward III's noble actions while he was at war with France (ff. 77r-82v). Thomas Wriothesley's prose contributions to this manuscript include tournament seating arrangements (f. 5r), a Christmas prayer for the king (f. 57v), and ordinances of war (ff. 33v-8r and ff. 52v-4r). See *CMCA*, pp. 33-7. A comparison of letter samples from each man's hand suggests that Wriothesley produced the inscription in *Ballard's Book*. Writhe tends to write the letter 'f' with a straight cross-bar that extends longer on the right (on f. 3v, see both instances of 'of' in line 1 and the 'of' in line 6, as well as 'frequentacion' in line 11; on f. 40r, see the 'of' in lines 1 and 4; and on f. 77r, see the 'of' in lines 1, 3, 10 and 11). In contrast, Wriothesley's 'f' tends to have a shorter cross-bar with a descending hook (on f. 5r, see the 'of' in lines 1, 11, and 23; the example in line 23 is particularly interesting because the cross-bar is extended longer, like Writhe's, but a slight flick downward can be discerned in the initial stroke, suggesting the hand's natural inclination; also see on f. 54r, 'of' in line 1 and 'off' in line 19). This 'f' with a short cross-bar and descending hook is evident in all three instances of the word 'of' in the inscription in *Ballard's Book*. Additionally, Writhe's 'd' regularly has a loopy ascender that is very slightly angled over the bowl. Wriothesley sometimes loops his 'd' ascenders (see f. 5r, lines 6 and 16) and sometimes presents a straight-lined ascender (see, for example, f. 5r, lines 1, 3, and 19; and the 'and' in lines 1 and 7 of the Christmas prayer on f. 57v), although his ascender usually sharply inclines over the bowl and hovers above the preceding letter. On f. 33v,

When Writhe purchased *Ballard's Book*, the manuscript contained about 420 painted coats of arms and 136 in blazon.⁷⁸⁰ The first portion of the manuscript dates to between 1465 and 1490.⁷⁸¹ In addition to armorials, the manuscript's original section contains narrative texts that range in scope from Ballard's genealogy to accounts of ceremonies. Wagner distinguishes four scribal hands in this original section and he identifies William Ballard as 'hand A'.⁷⁸² Campbell and Steer assert that the original portion of the manuscript was 'written and painted by or for William Ballard', and this suggests that the other three original scribal hands were working under Ballard's instruction.⁷⁸³ The second portion of *Ballard's Book* dates from the early sixteenth century and it is mostly comprised of painted armorials and ceremonial accounts that Thomas Wriothesley added to the manuscript, which came to his possession after his father's death.⁷⁸⁴ Sections of

for example, Wriothesley consistently mixes looped and straight-lined ascenders, and they all sharply incline. All three instances of the letter 'd' in the inscription in *Ballard's Book* are formed with a straight-lined ascender that is presented at a sharp incline, extending beyond the letter's bowl. A further example is the way that each herald forms the letter 'g'. There are a few exceptions in which Writhe forms the letter with the descender curling inward, to the left (see f. 3v, 'knowlage' in line 8), but he generally produces a 'g' with a descender that flicks to the right, away from the letter's bowl (see f. 3v, 'berryng' in line 5 and 'etyng' in line 6; f. 40r, 'Reyngne' and 'kyng' in line 1; and, on f. 77r, 'grett' in line 1 and 'largely' in line 4). Wriothesley's 'g' consistently curls inward, to the left and under the letter's bowl, and the stroke sometimes rises again to complete, or almost complete, a full loop (see, in the Christmas prayer on f. 57v, 'myghty' in line 1 and 'hignesse' in line 4). This 'g', with the descender rising to almost complete a loop, is also evident in the inscription in *Ballard's Book*. These small differences in the letter forms suggest that Wriothesley wrote this inscription.

⁷⁸⁰ Wagner, *Historic Heraldry*, p. 30. Wagner suggests that some of these armorials might record proto-visitations. See *RCCA*, p. 84. Also see *CMCA*, p. 2; and *HCEC*, p. 58. Heralds conducted visits to armigerous families within their province to confirm and record legitimate coats of arms. Visitations were not formalized until 1530, when Thomas Benolt, Clarenceux King of Arms (1511-34), was commissioned by Henry VIII with letters patent to visit armigers in his province and to register their arms. This commission complicated the relationship between Garter and the other kings of arms because Garter, being affiliated with the Order of the Garter, did not have a province. Thomas Wriothesley, who was Garter at the time, believed that he should also be able to engage in visitations, but, because he had no province, he was excluded. For more on visitations and this controversy, see Wagner's *Heralds and Ancestors*, pp. 32-3; *Historic Heraldry*, p. 22; *Heralds and Heraldry*, pp. 83-99; and *Heralds of England*, pp. 161-5.

⁷⁸¹ *CMCA*, p. 97.

⁷⁸² *CEMRA*, p. 112, and *CMCA*, p. 468. Ballard was the scribe of ff. 1r-15r, 35v-42v, and 98r.

⁷⁸³ *CMCA*, p. 97.

⁷⁸⁴ *CMCA*, p. 2 and p. 97. *CMCA* describes the contents of Wriothesley's additions on pp. 99-102. Also see *CEMRA*, pp. 112-15. *HCEC* only describes the content of the manuscript's original portion (pp. 58-9). Post-medieval owners of *Ballard's Book* include William Hervy, Clarenceux (d. 1567), whose signature appears in the upper margin of the first flyleaf. Campbell and Steer intimate that the manuscript also belonged to 'at least the next two holders of the office of Clarenceux after

Ballard's Book have been copied but the manuscript has not yet been reproduced in full.⁷⁸⁵

John Writhe also produced and compiled heraldic books. He made an armorial called *Writhe's Book* (CA MS. M 10, c. 1480), which depicts the coats of arms of knights and gentry during Henry IV's reign.⁷⁸⁶ He also produced *Writhe's Book of Knights* (BL MS. Add. 46354, temp. Henry VII), an armorial of the knights created 'between 1460 and the early part of Henry VIII's reign', which also contains shields and crests that Writhe designed, or oversaw the conception of, for newly created knights.⁷⁸⁷ The original sections of *Writhe's Garter Book* (c. 1488), which are comprised of *Writhe's Garter Armorial* (pp. 33-104), twenty-four full paged paintings depicting the creation of Knights of the Bath (pp. 105-28), and ancestral pedigrees (pp. 129-44), were also 'written and painted by or for' John Writhe.⁷⁸⁸

Writhe's Garter Armorial was probably inspired by Writhe's ownership of *Bruges' Garter Book*. Anthony Wagner describes the armorial as containing '[v]ery

Hervy'. See *CMCA*, p. 102, n. 8. They also point out that CA MS. M. 1. D. 14 includes a note on p. 310 by Robert Glover, Somerset herald (d. 1588), in which he cites *Ballard's Book* as his source and indicates that the manuscript was then, in 1583, 'in the Keeping and possession' of Robert Cooke, Clarenceux (d. 1593). They suggest the probability that Richard Lee (d. 1597), who succeeded Cooke as Clarenceux, also owned the manuscript, as he wrote the index of names corresponding to the arms presented which has been bound in at the front of *Ballard's Book*. See *CMCA*, p. 101, and p. 102, n. 8. *CEMRA* includes a full transcription of Robert Glover's note (p. 115, B). *Ballard's Book* also contains an entry on f. 79r that Campbell and Steer surmise might have been made by John Gibbon, Bluemantle (d. 1718) (*CMCA*, pp. 101-2).

⁷⁸⁵ *CEMRA* cites three sixteenth-century copies of armorial sections in *Ballard's Book* (p. 115). Robert Glover, Somerset Herald (d. 1588), made two of these copies. BL MS. Harl. 2076, ff. 143v-7r, is a trick copy of ff. 35v-42v in *Ballard's Book*, and it records coats of arms from Lancashire and Cheshire. Glover's other copy, CA MS. M. 1. D. 14, pp. 310-17, is also in trick. It duplicates the original manuscript's f. ii v and ff. 1r-5v, which present the blazons of armigerous Cheshire families. The third copy, TNA/PRO MS. Egmont 197, displays the painted coats of arms of the gentry in Devonshire and Cornwall.

⁷⁸⁶ *CEMRA*, pp. 108-9; and *CMCA*, pp. 133-4. *Writhe's Book* is closely related to *Peter Le Neve's Book* (BL MS. Harl. 6163, c. 1480-1500). The first 870 coats of arms in *Peter Le Neve's Book* closely resemble those presented in Writhe's armorial, and a hand that Wagner identifies as 'probably Writhe's' is 'scattered throughout' *Peter Le Neve's Book*. For more on this and for a description of *Peter Le Neve's Book*, see *CEMRA*, p. 109.

⁷⁸⁷ *CEMRA*, pp. 120-1.

⁷⁸⁸ *Medieval Pageant*, p. 1. *Writhe's Garter Book* presently belongs to the duke of Buccleuch and is kept in his private library at Boughton House. Cf. p. 96, n. 304.

handsome paintings of the shields, crests, and badges (some displayed on banners) of the Knights of the Garter, stall by stall, from the founders, with biographical notes in the margins, compiled by John Wrythe, Garter, who himself wrote the legends to the original entries'.⁷⁸⁹ Writhe's arrangement of his *Garter Armorial* closely resembles Bruges' presentation of Garter knights in accordance with their stall numbers, which suggests that he modeled his text on the earlier Garter's work. Yet, unlike *Bruges' Garter Book*, *Writhe's Garter Armorial* does not depict visual portraits of Garter knights. Writhe presents a more traditional armorial, as his book is a sequence of coats of arms, but he also unconventionally supplements each coat of arms with a brief narrative about the individual Garter knight. H. Stanford London points out that this armorial is important because it 'nearly always gives the crest' of the Garter knight 'and often the badge as well'.⁷⁹⁰ Also unlike Bruges, Writhe does not represent himself in his *Garter Armorial*.

Writhe also composed a heraldic miscellany (CA MS. L. 8a) that is unusual because it contains prose in his handwriting.⁷⁹¹ Observing that Writhe's handwriting in this manuscript is 'rather roughly written', Campbell and Steer suggest that it 'has something of the character of working papers'.⁷⁹² This is probably an accurate assessment. In portions of the manuscript, such as the blazons on ff. 8v-15r, and the record of founders, benefactors, and burials in Yorkshire churches, on ff. 72r-6v, Writhe added to the original material.⁷⁹³ The sections of this manuscript that are in Writhe's hand are predominantly records that pertain to his work as a heraldic professional. These records range in content, from rough blazons (ff. 1r-2v) to a royal warrant appointing the earl of Arundel as

⁷⁸⁹ *CEMRA*, p. 122.

⁷⁹⁰ London, *The Life of William Bruges*, p. 112.

⁷⁹¹ *CMCA*, p. 2; and cf. pp. 230-1, n. 779.

⁷⁹² *CMCA*, p. 11.

⁷⁹³ *CMCA*, p. 33 and p. 36.

the king's lieutenant at a Garter ceremonial in 1490 (f. 3r), the ideal qualities of a herald (f. 3v), an account of the battle of Harfleur (ff. 40r-50v), and notes on the appropriate apparel on the battlefield for a baron or banneret while in the king's company (ff. 85v-7r).⁷⁹⁴

Thomas Wriothesley added to many of his father's books. He added to ff. 7v-8r in *Bruges' Garter Book*.⁷⁹⁵ To *Ballard's Book*, he contributed numerous armorial sections.⁷⁹⁶ He also added an account of the jousts at Prince Arthur's wedding in 1501 (ff. 24v-6v), which includes 'perhaps the oldest known' jousting cheques, recording points scored (f. 25v).⁷⁹⁷ Wriothesley added material to the first section of *Writhe's Book of Knights* (pp. 1-143), which is mostly comprised of armorials of created knights, and the third section of the book (pp. 196-384) contains arms that were made by him or designed under his supervision.⁷⁹⁸ The first portion of *Writhe's Garter Book* (pp. 1-32), which is comprised of the 1519 and 1521 statutes and ordinances of the Order of the Garter, are also in Wriothesley's hand.⁷⁹⁹

In addition, Wriothesley expanded his father's heraldic miscellany (CA MS. L. 8a). His initials, 'Th' and 'WR', are evident on f. 57v, and the mark 'Thc', which is a common abbreviation for Jesus Christ, and which appears in several manuscripts that are associated with Wriothesley, is present throughout the miscellany.⁸⁰⁰ Wriothesley's additions to this manuscript range from tournament seating arrangements (f. 5r) to a table of the kings of England up to Henry VII (f.

⁷⁹⁴ See *CMCA*, pp. 33-7, for a description of the manuscript. The book has been bound together with CA MS. L. 5 bis. and CA MS. L. 6. See *CMCA*, p. 24.

⁷⁹⁵ *CEMRA*, p. 84.

⁷⁹⁶ *CEMRA*, pp. 111-15. Also see CA MS. M. 3, ff. 15v, 29v-32r, 34v-5r, 40v, 48v-87r, 92v, 94r-7v, an insertion of four painted coats of arms between f. 98r and f. 98v, and an insertion of five coats of arms at the end.

⁷⁹⁷ *CEMRA*, p. 113.

⁷⁹⁸ *CEMRA*, p. 120.

⁷⁹⁹ *CEMRA*, p. 122.

⁸⁰⁰ See CA MS. L. 8a, ff. 33r-v, 34v, 35v, 36v, 42v, 52r, and 77r. Also see *CMCA*, pp. 34-5, and p. 37, n. 4.

17r), Kentish blazons (f. 23v), and a Christmas prayer for the king (f. 57v).⁸⁰¹ He also added ordinances of war on ff. 33v-8r that are ‘very closely related’ to Henry V’s war ordinances, and he made another copy of these ordinances in CA MS. M. 16 bis., on ff. 5v-10v.⁸⁰²

Wriothesley’s most controversial contribution to this miscellany, however, are the ordinances on ff. 52v-4r. Wriothesley attributes the ordinances to Richard, duke of Gloucester; but, as Anthony Wagner, Campbell and Steer, and Adrian Ailes point out, the text is of the ordinances of Thomas, duke of Clarence, and it is probably a forged document that Wriothesley made up to increase his sovereignty as Garter over other heralds.⁸⁰³ Campbell and Steer explain that the ‘crucial point’ is that Richard, duke of Gloucester’s ordinances ‘do not establish the primacy of Garter over the other kings of arms, as those of the Duke of Clarence purport to do’.⁸⁰⁴ Adrian Ailes asserts that the duke of Clarence’s ordinances are ‘known only from several later copies’ and that ‘Clarence almost certainly did not issue them’, which leads him to conclude that Wriothesley probably ‘doctored’ the ordinances of Richard, duke of Gloucester, to enhance his power over other kings of arms and to promote his position as Garter.⁸⁰⁵ This is a compelling argument because early fifteenth-century evidence for these

⁸⁰¹ *CMCA*, pp. 33-7.

⁸⁰² *CMCA*, p. 34. These ordinances have been edited. See *Black Book*, vol. 1, pp. 281-95.

⁸⁰³ See Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, pp. 59-63; Wagner, *Heralds of England*, pp. 67-8; *CMCA*, p. 35; and Ailes, ‘Ancient Precedent’, pp. 34-5. Wagner prints these ordinances in *Heralds and Heraldry*, appendix C, pp. 136-8. He argues that ‘we may accept the Orders of the Duke of Clarence as genuine’ because they ‘fit in with’ other early fifteenth-century evidence of Henry V’s interest in heraldic matters, especially his appointment of Garter King of Arms and his 1417 restrictions on who can bear arms. However, pointing out Henry V’s interest in heraldic practice does not necessarily establish that his brother, Thomas of Lancaster, who was created the duke of Clarence in 1412, also took a vested interest in heraldry. Anstis addresses the controversy around the authenticity of these ordinances in *Register*, vol. 2, pp. 323-4.

⁸⁰⁴ *CMCA*, p. 35.

⁸⁰⁵ Ailes, ‘Ancient Precedent’, p. 32 and p. 35. Other early sixteenth-century copies of these ordinances include BL MS. Lansdowne 285, ff. 207r-9r, and BL MS. Add. 4101, ff. 62-4. Wagner points out that Thomas Wriothesley owned both manuscripts and possibly wrote the copies of the duke of Clarence’s ordinances that they contain. See Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 136.

ordinances does not exist, because the earliest known copies of these ordinances are in Wriothesley's hand, and because the ordinances grant Garter a supremacy that other ordinances do not grant. If Wriothesley did compose the duke of Clarence's ordinances, then his authorship is a deliberate act of self-promotion, and it is a provocative example of how heralds used texts to construct their professional authority.

Wriothesley's manuscript output was prolific and he probably had a hand in more manuscripts than are presently attributed to him. Garter House was built under his instruction, and it was used as a 'base for the heralds in the years before their second charter, but [it] was also where Wriothesley (himself able to paint and draw) maintained his workshop'.⁸⁰⁶ Many manuscripts that are associated with Wriothesley that he did not inherit from his father were produced either by him or under his direction in his workshop.

The most ambitious of Wriothesley's projects is a comprehensive ordinary of English arms which was never finished and which Anthony Wagner has identified in sections of various manuscripts that are associated with him.⁸⁰⁷ For example, *Prince Arthur's Book* (CA MS. Vincent 152) is interspersed with armorial sections devoted to crosses, saltires, lions, fesses and bars, and crescents.⁸⁰⁸ CA MS. Vincent 153 also contains a section of Wriothesley's armorial, for the letter 'G' (pp. 270-80); CA MS. L. 9 presents sections for the letters 'I-P' (ff. 2r-14v, 33v-77v, and 81v-109v); and CA MS. L. 10 presents the letters 'A-D' (ff. 1v-45v, 50v-

⁸⁰⁶ Robert Yorke, 'Wriothesley [formerly Writhe], Sir Thomas (d. 1534)', *ODNB*; and *Survey*, p. 44. For more on Wriothesley's workshop and the heraldic painters who collaborated with him, see Ann Payne, 'Sir Thomas Wriothesley and his Heraldic Artists', in *Illuminating the Book: Makers and Interpreters, Essays in Honour of Janet Backhouse*, ed. by Michelle P. Brown and Scot McKendrick (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1998), pp. 143-61.

⁸⁰⁷ *Aspilogia II*, pp. 258-9. Also see *CMCA*, pp. 1-2, 12, 42-3, 46-7, 240, 387-8, and 391-3.

⁸⁰⁸ *Aspilogia II*, p. 259; and *CMCA*, p. 388. Also see CA. MS. Vincent 152, pp. 3-50, 61-71, 122-31, 133-48, and 162-74.

7v, 60v-2r, and 72v-86r) and a section of eagles (ff. 100v-4r).⁸⁰⁹ There are probably more sections of Wriothesley's ordinary awaiting identification.

Other manuscripts that are associated with Wriothesley and his workshop are CA MS. M. 7, a painted armorial that features knights of the Garter and of the Bath; CA MS. M. 17, a Garter ceremonial that Campbell and Steer explain is 'almost entirely in Wriothesley's handwriting'; and the painted armorial on the first thirty folios of CA MS. M. 9 bis.⁸¹⁰ He also contributed to a few miscellanies. Campbell and Steer observe that 'nearly all' of the material in CA MS. L. 12b, which is focused on Henry VIII's 1513 Thérrouanne expedition, 'on which Wriothesley accompanied Henry', is in Wriothesley's hand.⁸¹¹ He wrote sections of CA MS. M 16 bis., a miscellany that Christopher Barker (Garter, 1536-50) liberally added to.⁸¹² Wriothesley's 'Thc' mark appears on a folio numbered '1a' in this manuscript, as well as on the upper margins of ff. 5v and 8v.⁸¹³ Like his father and William Bruges, Wriothesley also made a Garter Book.⁸¹⁴ *The Wriothesley Garter Book* (c. 1530) is distinctive because it depicts what 'may be the first contemporary view of the opening of Parliament' in 1523.⁸¹⁵ Like Bruges, Wriothesley depicts himself in his *Garter Book*, asserting his presence in the text and the importance of his position in the court.

⁸⁰⁹ *Aspilogia II*, pp. 259; and *CMCA*, pp. 391-2, 42-3, 46-8, and p. 12.

⁸¹⁰ *CMCA*, pp. 12-13, 120-2, 85-7, and p. 131. Campbell and Steer speculate that another manuscript, CA MS. L. 6, is probably in Wriothesley's 'youthful handwriting', as the script is not characteristic of his hand, yet it is still 'very much' like the script used in sections of CA MS. M. 14 bis., CA MS. L. 9, esp. ff. 110r-18r, and CA MS. M. 16 bis., esp. ff. 145v-7r. See *CMCA*, p. 13 and pp. 28-33. CA MS. L. 6 belonged to William Jenyns (Lancaster, 1516-27), whose name appears on ff. 129v and 150v. Campbell and Steer suggest that Wriothesley probably gave or sold the manuscript to Jenyns. See *CMCA*, p. 28 and p. 14.

⁸¹¹ *CMCA*, p. 12 and p. 58.

⁸¹² *CMCA*, pp. 141-54.

⁸¹³ *CMCA*, pp. 142-3.

⁸¹⁴ Royal Library MS. The Wriothesley Garter Book, RCIN 1047414.

⁸¹⁵ 'The Wriothesley Garter Book, c. 1530', *Royal Collection Trust* [<https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/1047414/the-wriothesley-garter-book>, accessed 10 Jan. 2017]. The manuscript was purchased for the Royal Library by Queen Victoria in 1892.

As already discussed, CA MS. Great Tournament Roll of Westminster and The Westminster Tournament Challenge (BL MS. Harl. 83 H. 1), which were made to commemorate the 1511 tournament that celebrated the birth of Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon's first son, are affiliated with Wriothesley's workshop.⁸¹⁶ So, too, is *Prince Arthur's Book* (CA MS. Vincent 152), which contains large sections of Wriothesley's great ordinary as well as a range of material, from a series of painted banners with animal supporters to instructions for the English king when he attends the Order of the Golden Fleece, which is a European chivalric order that was established by the Burgundian duke Philip the Good in 1430.⁸¹⁷

From Bruges to Wriothesley, many late medieval heralds were active readers, copiers, and/or composers of heraldic texts. These heralds were invested in constructing an image of their professional culture as centered around books and as central to the authentication and recording of nobility. They wanted to be regarded as well-read men who had an acquired expertise in chivalry and heraldry. They desired esteem from the communities they served. At the same time, this scholarly projection is elitist: as many heraldic texts, especially those copied or composed by heralds, were confined to internal professional and aristocratic circulation, their contents can become increasingly obscure to those who do not have privileged access to them. Unlike heraldic treatises, which were widely circulated in the fifteenth century, the content of most heraldic texts that were made by heralds would have been as intellectually and practically inaccessible to

⁸¹⁶ These manuscripts have already been introduced. Cf. pp. 120-8.

⁸¹⁷ See CA MS. Vincent 152, pp. 93-108, for the painted banners. H. Stanford London discusses this series in *Royal Beasts* (East Knoyle: The Heraldry Society, 1956), p. 6. Wriothesley began this series at about 1520 and it was 'continued by other hands down to about 1570'. See *CMCA*, p. 389. Some of the banners in this series have been copied in CA MS. I 2, pp. 1-16. This is another manuscript associated with Wriothesley's workshop, and the copied banners in it are tricked rather than painted. The first page of this series in *Prince Arthur's Book* (p. 93) has also been reproduced in *HCEC*, plate no. XXXI. For the procedural instructions for the king on attending the Order of the Golden Fleece, see CA MS. Vincent 152, p. 177. Campbell and Steer point out that these instructions are in Wriothesley's hand. See *CMCA*, p. 389.

those who were not members of the College of Arms as knowledge about the internal affairs of the Order of the Garter would be to non-members of the chivalric order. This inaccessibility amplifies the importance of heralds and the exclusiveness of their professional skills and knowledge.

4.2 Illuminated Evidence: William Bruges' Self-Portrayal

Bruges' Garter Book (c. 1430-40) is the earliest known armorial of the Order of the Garter and it presents one of the earliest examples of heraldic professional self-branding.⁸¹⁸ Garter's depiction on f. 5v is markedly different from the way that the manuscript portrays Edward III, the Black Prince, and the original twenty-four Garter knights.

The founding members of the Order of the Garter are each presented in a similar compositional style. Each knight is depicted standing at the centre of a page, wearing armour, a surcoat that displays his personal coat of arms, and the blue cloak of the Order of the Garter, which displays the Order's emblem on the left shoulder.⁸¹⁹ The emblem of the Order of the Garter is the red cross of St George, the Order's patron, encircled within a garter on which the Order's motto,

⁸¹⁸ The earliest Garter armorial is allegedly contained within Willement's Roll (c. 1395), which has been lost. There are two nineteenth-century copies of this roll and they were both made by Thomas Willement (F. S. A.). He made a trick copy (SA MS. 346, ff. 115r-34r) and a coloured facsimile (FSL MS. 1199). He also edited the trick copy. See Thomas Willement, *A Roll of Arms of the Reign of Richard the Second* (London: William Pickering, 1834). Also see *CEMRA*, p. 72, where Wagner suggests that Willement's copies were based on a now lost late fifteenth or early sixteenth-century copy of the lost original. He also posits that the first twenty-four shields, which are the shields that correspond to the founding knights of the Garter, 'may have been added by the copyist' (p. 72). If his speculation is correct, then *Bruges' Garter Book* is the earliest known Garter armorial. Importantly, the late fifteenth or early sixteenth-century copy of this roll that Wagner catalogues as lost has since been found and identified, and it is now BL MS. Egerton 3713, which has been affiliated with Thomas Wriothesley and his workshop. See 'Willement's Roll', *The Connoisseur* 135 (1955), 196-7. The Garter section of Willement's Roll is an armorial: it is a sequence of coats of arms that belong to the founding Garter knights, and their membership in the order is indicated by the garter, inscribed with the order's motto, which encircles each coat of arms.

⁸¹⁹ The surcoats of seven Garter knights remain blank, as they are unfinished. These knights are Sir John Grey (f. 11r), Sir Otes Holland (f. 13r), Sir Bartholomew Burghersh (f. 16r), John, Lord Mohun (f. 16v), Sir Thomas Holland (f. 17r), Sir Harry Eam (f. 19v), and Sir Walter Paveley (f. 20r). See Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, vol. 2, cat. no. 84, p. 241.

‘Honi soit qui mal y pense’, is inscribed.⁸²⁰ Each knight holds his cloak’s tassel with his left hand and lays his right hand on a placard that indicates the coats of arms of his Garter Stall successors. By having each founding Garter knight display the arms of his Garter Stall successors, with some shields left blank, waiting to be filled, Bruges reveals his belief in the Order’s longevity.⁸²¹ A banner scrolls across the page, hovering over each man’s head, indicating his name, in French; as most of the inscribed names are in John Writhe’s hand, William Bruges probably left these banners incomplete.⁸²²

Overall, the miniatures of the founding Garter knights are atypical for an armorial because they depict full-figured people who wear and display their coats of arms, and this is a feature that later armorials, such as the Salisbury Roll (c. 1460), possibly draw upon.⁸²³ Bruges does not just present the arms of the founding Garter knights; he depicts them displaying their arms and those of their

⁸²⁰ Stephanie Trigg discusses the possible origins of this motto in *Shame and Honor*, pp. 3-5. A legendary account purports that the countess of Salisbury lost her garter while dancing during a ball at Calais, and that Edward III retrieved it for her while onlookers laughed. The king is said to have declared ‘Honi soit qui mal y pense’ in response. However, as Boulton argues, the garter was probably ‘inspired by the essentially similar device of the Castilian order of the Band, and was chosen because it was an obsolescent item of male attire that would be distinctive when worn’. See D’arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325-1520* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000), p. 113. The commonly accepted origin for this motto, which asserts that it rebuts a negative response to Edward III’s claim on the French throne, is a more probable explanation. As the dean and canons of Windsor Castle’s College of St George clarify, the motto ‘actually refers to the king’s claim to the French throne, a claim which the Knights of the Garter were created to help prosecute’, and the emblem of the garter probably ‘derive[s] from the straps used to fasten plates of armour’. See ‘History: The Most Noble Order of the Garter’, *Windsor Castle, College of St George* [<https://www.stgeorges-windsor.org/about-st-georges/history/the-order-of-the-garter.html>, accessed 19 Jan. 2017]. Elias Ashmole offers further evidence for this explanation, asserting that the mantles of the Order of the Garter are blue because blue is the colour of the field in the French royal arms, which became quartered with the English royal arms just a few years before the Order of the Garter was established. See Ashmole, *Institution*, p. 209.

⁸²¹ For a complete list of the Garter knights who are named and/or armed in *Bruges’ Garter Book*, including those indicated on the placards as Garter Stall successors, see London, *The Life of William Bruges*, pp. 47-56.

⁸²² Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, vol. 2, cat. no. 84, p. 241; and *CEMRA*, p. 84.

⁸²³ The Salisbury Roll is in the private collection of the duke of Buccleuch, and it comprises the sixth portion (pp. 176-225) of *Writhe’s Garter Book*. See *CEMRA*, pp. 103-4 and p. 123. It depicts illustrations of the earls of Salisbury and their wives, linked together by a rope, with the men holding their heraldic banners and the women wearing their married arms impaling their paternal arms on their mantles. For more on this roll, cf. pp. 97-8.

successors. Kathleen Scott reminds viewers that these ‘miniatures were made about one hundred years after the foundation of the Order in 1348 and do not represent true portraits of the founders’.⁸²⁴ She explains that three illustrators produced the miniatures from the same prototype, and that ‘[a]ll three artists undoubtedly worked together under common direction’, probably in the same workshop that illustrated such manuscripts as *Sir Thomas Holme’s Book* (BL MS. Harl. 4205, c. 1446-90) and the Aldermen of London Roll (GL Print Room, c. 1446).⁸²⁵ The paintings in these texts are stylistically reminiscent of one another.

In contrast to the founding members of the Order of the Garter, who are depicted standing up and displaying their placards, Bruges depicts himself kneeling in prayer. The Garter King of Arms kneels on both knees on a cushion with his palms touching, a posture that commonly evokes humility, piety, and supplication.⁸²⁶ In his study of gestures in medieval narratives, John Burrow explains that, in general, ‘the more you lower your body, the more humbly you submit’.⁸²⁷ *Bruges’ Garter Book* is not a book of hours, but the stance in which the Garter King of Arms is portrayed connotes a similar piety.

⁸²⁴ Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, vol. 2, cat. no. 84, p. 241.

⁸²⁵ Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, vol. 2, cat. no. 84, p. 242. Also see her descriptions of *Sir Thomas Holme’s Book* and the *Aldermen of London*, in vol. 2, cat. nos. 85 and 86, pp. 243-7. For sample images from these texts, see Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, vol. 1, image nos. 333 and 335. H. Stanford London first drew attention to the resemblances between the Garter knights in *Bruges’ Garter Book* and the aldermen in the Aldermen of London Roll in *The Life of William Bruges*, p. 42.

⁸²⁶ For example, The *Bedford Hours* (BL MS. Add. 18850, c. 1410-30), which was made slightly earlier than *Bruges’ Garter Book* (c. 1430), contains miniatures of Anne of Burgundy and her husband, John, duke of Bedford, praying. Anne of Burgundy venerates her namesake, St Anne, as well the Virgin Mary and the infant Christ, on f. 257v, and she is depicted kneeling on both knees on a cushion with her palms touching in a gesture of prayer. An inscription on f. 256r made by John Somerset, who was Henry VI’s tutor, indicates that Anne of Burgundy gave this book to Henry VI at Rouen as a Christmas present in 1430. See ‘Add MS 18850’, *BLDM*.

⁸²⁷ John Anthony Burrow, *Gestures and Looks in Medieval Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 18. Burrow points out that late medieval courtesy books distinguish kneeling on both knees as an appropriate gesture of submission before God, whereas kneeling on one knee is more suitable when gesturing submission before a person, as ‘one reserves some honour for oneself’ (p. 19). However, he acknowledges that it is more typical to portray kneeling on both knees in English and French texts, that kneeling on both knees is ‘certainly not confined to religious contexts’, and that kneeling on one knee does not necessarily ‘imply any reservation’ (p. 19).

The miniature of John, duke of Bedford, on f. 256v in the *Bedford Hours* (BL MS. Add. 18850, c. 1410-30), offers a provocative comparison to Bruges' depiction of himself as Garter. Like his wife, Anne of Burgundy, who is depicted on f. 257v, the duke of Bedford kneels on a cushion and his posture and his meeting palms communicate that he is engaged in prayer. Yet, unlike his wife, who venerates the Holy family, the duke is depicted praying before St George. St George is identifiable because his tunic displays his emblem, a red cross, and because, like the founding Garter knights in *Bruges' Garter Book*, he wears the blue cloak of the Order of the Garter. The duke faces the saint, who gazes down at the petitioner's kneeling body. Manuscript illuminations tend to present a praying person facing in the direction of the (usually holy) figure to whom their prayer is directed.⁸²⁸

The presentation of the duke of Bedford in the *Bedford Hours* is comparable to the way that *Bruges' Garter Book* depicts the Garter King of Arms because both men kneel in prayer before St George. However, while the duke prays before a haloed man who wears the chivalric order's cloak, the saint that Garter venerates is presented as armed and turbaned, and as actively slaying a dragon who covers between his feet. St George presses his sword, which he holds with one hand, and his lance, which he holds with his other hand, into the dragon. He is portrayed as an active and militant chivalric figure, and, as he is the patron saint of England, as a national figure as well.

⁸²⁸ For example, see the patron who is shown praying before the Virgin and Child in CTC MS. B. 11. 7, f. 20r, in which, like St George in the *Bedford Hours*, the Virgin and Child are depicted gazing down at the penitent figure. Scott reproduces this image in *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, vol. 1, plate 9, facing p. 33. Another example is presented in FM MS. Add. 3-1979, f. 10v, which portrays a patroness kneeling in prayer before the Virgin and Child as well as an angel who observes her act of veneration. In this image, the patroness faces the Virgin and even lifts her head to make eye contact. See Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, vol. 1, image 316, cat. no. 80.

Unlike the duke of Bedford, who faces St George in the *Bedford Hours*, *Bruges' Garter Book's* Garter King of Arms does not face St George; his body, although slightly angled, faces in the viewer's direction. St George is depicted standing behind Garter and gazing down at him. This positioning is reminiscent of a miniature that depicts a kneeling monk with his palms facing each other, but not quite touching, in a copy of the allegorical poem *Desert of Religion*.⁸²⁹ This monk's gesture, with his palms not quite touching, is the same as the gesture that John Lydgate makes in a miniature that portrays him kneeling at the shrine of St Edmund, and it is suggestive of humility and reverence.⁸³⁰ However, Lydgate is depicted facing the shrine that he venerates, while the *Desert of Religion* monk, like Garter in *Bruges' Garter Book*, stations himself at a slight angle that faces outward, toward the viewer. An angel hovers above and slightly behind this monk, resting his hands on a very large shield bearing the arms of the Trinity, which covers the angel's figure below the waist. The angel could be appearing above the monk, and he could also be watching over the monk as the monk prays to God. Similarly, St George could be appearing beside Garter, and he could also be watching over Garter as Garter prays to God.

Kathleen Scott asserts that Garter's portrayal in *Bruges' Garter Book* is uncommon in medieval English illumination, as '[a]lthough patrons are frequently pictured with other iconic subjects, they are seldom depicted kneeling before saints'.⁸³¹ Indeed, it is unusual that Garter, as well as the duke of Bedford, kneel before St George. Anne of Burgundy kneels before St Anne, but she is also

⁸²⁹ BL MS. Cotton Faustina B. VI, pt. 2, f. 18v. Scott reproduces this miniature in *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, vol. 1, image 252, cat. no. 63.

⁸³⁰ BL MS. Yates Thompson 47, f. 4r. This manuscript is a copy of Lydgate's *Lives of Saints Edmund and Fremund* that was made after 1461, as it includes internal references to Edward IV. See 'Detailed Record for Yates Thompson 47', *BLCIM*.

⁸³¹ Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, vol. 2, cat. no. 84, p. 242.

kneeling before the Virgin and Child, who are frequent subjects of veneration and supplication.

In contrast to the haloed saint that the duke of Bedford venerates in the *Bedford Hours*, the saint that Garter kneels before in *Bruges' Garter Book* is dressed in exotic martial attire. Underneath his plate armour, he wears what appears to be a fringed or feathered tunic with long sleeves that reach down to his knees. He also wears a golden turbaned cap that is topped at the centre with three large white ostrich feathers. St George was typically portrayed wearing full plate armour and exotic headgear and he is sometimes depicted wearing a turban. For example, the *Dunois Hours* (BL MS. Yates Thompson 3), which was made after 1436, portrays him as turbaned on f. 274v.⁸³² However, this turban, which appears to be made from threads of fabric that have been twisted together, is less ornate than the one depicted by *Bruges' Garter Book*. The saint in the *Dunois Hours* is also depicted in full plate armour but he does not wear an elaborately fringed tunic. Another example is presented by the *Beaufort/Beauchamp Hours* (BL MS. Royal 2 A. XVIII, c. 1401), which illustrates St George wearing full body armour and a surcoat on f. 5v, but his surcoat is not as stylistically unusual as is the fringed surcoat presented by *Bruges' Garter Book*.⁸³³ Like the *Dunois Hours* and *Bruges' Garter Book*, the *Beaufort/Beauchamp Hours* depicts the saint in distinctive headgear, as his armour's helmet has a pointed, triangular shape and is topped by a large white feather.⁸³⁴ Kathleen Scott states that the significance of the ostrich feathers that decorate St George's headpiece in *Bruges' Garter Book* 'is not known', but the saint's distinctive

⁸³² 'Detailed Record for Yates Thompson 3', *BLCIM*.

⁸³³ 'Royal MS. 2 A XVIII', *BLDM*.

⁸³⁴ The figure of St George that is depicted in an early fifteenth-century *South English Legendary* (Bodl. Lib. MS. Tanner 17, f. 91v) also wears a pointed, triangular-shaped helmet, but this helmet is not decorated with a feather. Scott reproduces this miniature of St George, who is fully armed and haloed, in *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, vol. 1, image 186, cat. no. 45.

headgear is probably used to signal his exotic origins.⁸³⁵ St George is believed to have been a Christian Roman soldier who was born in the East, usually somewhere in Turkey or Palestine, and he is credited with such acts as slaying a dragon to save a princess from being sacrificed to it and appearing to save the Christian Crusaders at Antioch in 1098.⁸³⁶ The fringed tunic and golden turban that St George wears in *Bruges' Garter Book* consequently adhere to as well as enhance the exotic way that the saint is conventionally portrayed, and his plate armour, shield, sword, and lance, as well as the cowering dragon that he slays, all work together to attest to his martial prowess.

Bruges' Garter Book represents Garter wearing the quartered royal arms of his office on his tabard and a double-tiered golden crown that is embellished with tiny empty shields on his head. William Bruges, the newly appointed Garter King of Arms, probably depicts himself wearing a double-tiered crown to differentiate himself from and to signify his superiority over other kings of arms. Adrian Ailes describes Bruges' crown as 'a highly elaborate affair studded with small plain shields as described by Chaucer in his *House of Fame*'.⁸³⁷ As already mentioned, Chaucer describes the crowns of kings of arms, and the small shields probably refer to the authority that kings of arms had over other heralds. Garter's double-tiered crown with its decorative plain shields in *Bruges' Garter Book* may refer to Garter's newly granted authority over other heraldic professionals, even kings of

⁸³⁵ Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, vol. 2, cat. no. 84, p. 242.

⁸³⁶ See Jonathan Good, *The Cult of Saint George in Medieval England* (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2009), p. 28; Jenny Stratford, 'St George and St Denis', in *The Battle of Agincourt*, ed. by Anne Curry and Malcolm Mercer (London: Royal Armouries, 2015), pp. 50-62 (p. 50); and Giles Morgan, *St George: Knight, Martyr, Patron Saint and Dragonslayer* (Harpenden: Pocket Essentials, 2006), pp. 9-10 and pp. 79-82.

⁸³⁷ Adrian Ailes, 'William Bruges' Garter Book', in Jenny Stratford, 'St George and St Denis', p. 55. London also connects Bruges' crown in this image to Chaucer's description. See London, *The Life of William Bruges*, p. 95.

arms, and, therefore, at least nominally, his oversight over English heraldic practice.

The illustration of Garter in *Bruges' Garter Book* is an early example of deliberate heraldic professional self-construction. Bruges adopts a position of humility. His kneeling before St George is indicative of his personal and professional devotion to the saint. This devotion is reinforced by William Bruges' will, in which he requests his 'body to be brought and buried in the church of Seynt George' at Stamford.⁸³⁸ He bequeathed several expensive possessions to the church, ranging from silver basins and candlesticks to velvet and satin robes, and he requested to have some of his possessions sold to fund the church's refurbishment.⁸³⁹ Bruges also bequeathed large stone 'ymages of the Trinite oure Ladie and Seynt George' to the church's Lady chapel, specifying that the stones were to be packed and moved to Stamford at his expense.⁸⁴⁰ By choosing to be buried at the Church of St George, generously bestowing gifts upon the church, including an image of St George, and investing in the church's longevity, Bruges reveals how integral St George is to his private devotional life and to how he would like to be memorialised. Moreover, his private devotion dovetails with his professional devotion to the Order of the Garter. Bruges commissioned and paid for a series of stained glass images depicting scenes from the life of St George as well as each of the founding knights of the Order of the Garter to decorate the church's chancel windows.⁸⁴¹

⁸³⁸ 'Appendix VII: Will of William Bruges, Garter', in London, *The Life of William Bruges*, pp. 85-7 (p. 85).

⁸³⁹ 'Appendix VII: Will of William Bruges, Garter', pp. 85-7.

⁸⁴⁰ 'Appendix VII: Will of William Bruges, Garter', pp. 86-7.

⁸⁴¹ London, *The Life of William Bruges*, pp. 57-67; and Samantha Riches, *St George: A Saint for All* (London: Reaktion Books, 2015), pp. 84-5. Most of these windows were destroyed during the Civil War in the seventeenth century.

Bruges' presentation of himself as Garter in *Bruges' Garter Book* is remarkably different from typical portrayals of heralds. His depiction of the heraldic professional is more complex than the marginal treatment of heralds by Froissart and the *Talbot-Shrewsbury Book*. Garter is presented with humility and some authority; with a strong allegiance to his work, to the Order of the Garter, to the king, and to St George; and with an implicit belief in the importance of his role as Garter and of the professional service that he renders. This presentation of a heraldic professional is unusual and it appealed to later heralds, who also chose to depict themselves in their own heraldic texts and who similarly desired to belong to the aristocratic and gentry chivalric community and to espouse the ideals of chivalry.

Bruges' presentation of himself probably influenced the way that John Smert, the second Garter King of Arms and Bruges' son-in-law, presents himself within the historiated initial 'A' of the grant of arms that he authorised for the Tallow Chandlers' Company in 1456. Smert is depicted wearing the quartered English royal arms on his tabard as well as a golden crown, although this crown is less ornate than the one embellished with small plain shields that Bruges portrays Garter as wearing. Unlike Bruges, however, Smert is represented standing upright. He points his right index finger upwards while his left hand holds his wand, which is directed at the new coat of arms that he is authorising.⁸⁴² The image portrays Garter as an authoritative figure who has the king's permission to grant arms; this

⁸⁴² Smert's depiction of himself probably inspired later heralds to include similar images of themselves within the historiated initial letters of grants of arms that they confirmed. For example, Clarenceux King of Arms Thomas Hawley (1536-57) granted a coat of arms to John Fennar in 1556, and he similarly depicts himself within the historiated initial 'T', standing upright, wearing the royal arms on his tabard as well as a golden crown on his head, and pointing upwards with his right index finger as well as down towards the granted arms with the white wand in his left hand.

permission is displayed by the royal arms on his tabard, which indicate that he directly serves the king.

4.3 Narrative Evidence: William Ballard's Ceremonial Account

A different example of heraldic professional self-promotion is March King of Arms (cr. c. 1479) William Ballard's first-hand account of the marriage of Richard, duke of York, to Anne, countess of Norfolk, in 1477.⁸⁴³ Officers of arms are usually crucial figures in facilitating ceremonial proceedings. Anthony Wagner explains that heralds 'were made responsible for the whole conduct of tournaments and their ceremonious preliminaries', and that they facilitated other types of ceremonial occasions as well.⁸⁴⁴ However, narrative descriptions of ceremonial festivities usually do not centre attention on heralds.

Typically, heralds are briefly mentioned in ceremonial accounts. For example, Edward Hall's chronicle, which was published in 1548, records the presence of heralds at Henry VIII's 1509 coronation. Hall describes a private herald preceding the knight he serves as they enter the king's court, the two being greeted by Garter, and the private herald proclaiming that his knight will fight anyone, regardless of their social status, who challenges the king's authority.⁸⁴⁵ After this knight leaves, Hall relates that the kings of arms and heralds cried largess, which is a form of verbal praise proclaiming a person's monetary generosity, and this suggests that the officers of arms were paid for their services.⁸⁴⁶ However,

⁸⁴³ CA MS. M. 3, ff. 8v-14v. Ballard's first-hand account of the duke of York's wedding and the celebrations that followed has been copied into other manuscripts. See, for example, Bodl. Lib. MS. Rawl. B. 102, ff. 18r-20v, and Bodl. Lib. MS. Ashmole 856, pp. 94-104. For the printed text, see *Illustrations of Ancient State and Chivalry from Manuscripts Preserved in the Ashmolean Museum*, ed. by William H. Black (London: Roxburghe Club/ William Nicol Shakespeare Press, 1840), pp. 27-40.

⁸⁴⁴ Wagner, *Historic Heraldry*, p. 14.

⁸⁴⁵ *Hall's Chronicle*, pp. 509-10.

⁸⁴⁶ *MED*, 'larges(se)'⁷ (n.) 1 (a) Willingness to give or spend freely; liberality, generosity, munificence; 2 (a) Liberal bestowal of gifts, grace, etc.; and (b) a call soliciting gifts or alms, or giving thanks for their bestowal.

Hall does not specify whose largess is proclaimed, and his ceremonial account shifts focus back onto the king and his guests. Hall was not a herald.

Ceremonial accounts written by heralds tend to depict heralds similarly, briefly acknowledging their presence, that they precede their lords, and that they cry largess. Bluemantle Pursuivant's account of the creation of Lord Gruthuise as earl of Winchester c. 1471-2 describes heralds preceding the king and his lords when the king retires to his chamber.⁸⁴⁷ Bluemantle also records that, earlier that evening, after feasting, 'the Kinge of his grace gave vnto his office of armes his larges'.⁸⁴⁸ In response, Garter, who was, at the time, John Smert, thanks the king, and, because 'Garter had an Impediment in his tonge', Norroy, who was Thomas Holme, cried the king's largess throughout the hall.⁸⁴⁹ Bluemantle's inclusion of Garter's tongue injury adds individuality to Garter's portrayal. Yet the narrative focus returns to the festivities and away from the heralds, who remain minor players in the ceremonial record.

In contrast, by the end of William Ballard's narrative of the nuptials of the duke of York and the countess of Norfolk, the heralds upstage the newlyweds. As the duke of Norfolk's only daughter and heir, Anne Mowbray was 'the richest and most noble' of heiresses, and Richard, who was King Edward IV's second son, became extremely rich because of this marriage, as Anne brought her fortune into

⁸⁴⁷ 'The Record of Bluemantle Pursuivant, 1471-1472', Appendix XV in Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), pp. 379-88 (p. 384). Bluemantle's account is not fully historically accurate. Directly before he describes the king, his lords, and the heralds retiring, Bluemantle relates that 'the King creat a King of Arms, baptysed hym and set a croune on his hed, which was called Rychemond' (p. 384). However, Richmond Herald was created as a King of Arms by Henry VII, in 1485. See Noble, *A History*, p. 87; and *Survey*, p. 143 and p. 79. Also cf. pp. 90-1. Bluemantle is probably referring to either Thomas Griffin or William Brereton. Griffin was created Richmond Herald 'on or soon after 13 October 1472', when a Richmond Herald, who was probably Griffin's predecessor, William Brereton, was created Guyenne King of Arms. See *Survey*, p. 143 and p. 264. Bluemantle identifies himself as the writer of this ceremonial record when describing the feast of St George (p. 381). However, as there were six Bluemantle pursuivants during Edward IV's reign, the writer's identity remains uncertain. See *Survey*, p. 194.

⁸⁴⁸ 'The Record of Bluemantle Pursuivant', p. 383.

⁸⁴⁹ 'The Record of Bluemantle Pursuivant', p. 384.

the Yorkist royal family.⁸⁵⁰ What is surprising about the marriage is that the duke of York and the countess of Norfolk were ‘aged four and a half and five respectively’, and that they ‘were not merely betrothed, but actually married in St Stephen’s Chapel, Westminster’.⁸⁵¹ This was an extravagant wedding for an extremely young couple. William Ballard, who served the duke of Exeter as a private herald at the time, was present at the festivities.⁸⁵² Overwhelmed by the number of noble guests at the tournament that was held to celebrate the marriage, Ballard writes that ‘the prese’ was ‘so grete that I myght nat se to write the names of them that served, the haboundaunce of noble poeple was so innumerable’.⁸⁵³ Yet he was able to see enough to write a narrative account of the proceedings, and his rendition of the events is filtered by his perception of the importance of heraldic professionals. His narrative presents kings of arms as central characters in the ceremonial event.

The wedding and celebrations lasted a week, and on the final day, after feasting and dancing, the tournament champions were awarded prizes. One would expect this narrative to focus upon the princess distributing prizes to the victors. This tends to be case in other ceremonial events at which prizes are awarded. For example, an account of the creation of Henry, duke of York, in 1494 records that the princess awarded prizes to the tournament champions.⁸⁵⁴ Similarly, in her

⁸⁵⁰ Francis Sandford (Lancaster Herald), *A Genealogical History of the Kings of England* (London: Thomas Newcomb, 1677), p. 393; and David Baldwin, *The Lost Prince: The Survival of Richard of York* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2007), p. 52.

⁸⁵¹ Anne Crawford, ‘The Mowbray Inheritance’, in *Richard III: Crown and People*, ed. by J. Petre (London: Richard III Society, 1985), pp. 79-85 (p. 80).

⁸⁵² *Survey*, p. 277. Ballard was not appointed March King of Arms until c. 1481.

⁸⁵³ CA MS. M. 3, f. 11v; and *CEMRA*, p. 113.

⁸⁵⁴ ‘The Creation of Henry Duke of York’, Appendix A. VI in *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII*, ed. by James Gairdner, vol. 1 (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1861), pp. 388-404 (p. 395 and p. 398). This narrative also specifies that the heralds’ fees were paid (p. 390) and that largess was cried (pp. 393-4).

discussion of the duke of York and the countess of Norfolk's marital festivities, Philomena Jones describes how

the little Princess presented the prizes to those judged to have performed best in the jousting. To Sir Thomas Fynes she gave an 'A' of gold with a diamond as the best jouster, to Richard Haute an 'E' of gold with a ruby as best runner in harness, and to Robert Clifford an 'M' of gold with an emerald as best competitor with swords.⁸⁵⁵

Jones cites William Black's *Illustrations of Ancient State and Chivalry* as her source for this version of events.⁸⁵⁶ However, Black presents an edition of Ballard's narrative, and Ballard's narrative surrounds the description of the princess distributing prizes with longer and more detailed accounts of the role that heralds played in the process of granting these awards. Ballard's rendition makes the heralds overshadow the princess and the winners who are awarded prizes. He writes that

the kynges of Armes and herawdes were called to come eftsones to the presence and to deliuer the emprises to the ladyes. Clarencyaux kyng of Armes of the South marches of Englund presentid the a with the dyamont to the right high and excelent Princesse Elizabeth first doughter to the kyng oure souerain lorde. And this was his wordes[:] right high and excelent Princesse here is the prise the which ye shall awarde vnto the best Iuster of the Iustice Ryalle.⁸⁵⁷

⁸⁵⁵ Philomena Jones, 'Anne Mowbray', in *Richard III: Crown and People*, ed. by J. Petre (London: Richard III Society, 1985), pp. 86-9 (p. 87). Jones explains that Thomas Fynes 'was the second son of Richard, Lord Dacre of the South, Chamberlain to Elizabeth Woodville'. In addition, Richard Haute 'was a cousin of Lord Rivers through his mother Jane Woodville, aunt of Elizabeth Woodville. He rose in the Buckingham rebellion in 1483, and was attainted afterwards, but not executed' (p. 89, note 9). Also see Peter Fleming, 'Haute Family (per. c. 1350-1530)', *ODNB*. Robert Clifford's identity remains enigmatic.

⁸⁵⁶ Jones, 'Anne Mowbray', p. 89, n. 9.

⁸⁵⁷ CA MS. M 3, f. 14r; and Black, ed., *Illustrations*, p. 39. Black's spelling deviates from Ballard's. All quotes are directly from Ballard's account.

This narrative directs attention onto the heralds who deliver the prizes to the ladies, who will in turn deliver them to the victors. In this way, Ballard brings heralds to the forefront of his narrative and highlights the instrumental role that they play during ceremonial occasions.

After Clarenceux King of Arms delivers his prize for the best joustier, Norroy King of Arms delivers the prize of an ‘E of gold with a Rube’ to be awarded to ‘the best Rynner in Ostyng harneys’, followed by March King of Arms, with a prize of ‘an m of gold with an Emerawde to award who so Turneyd best with swerde^s’.⁸⁵⁸ This is not an isolated instance of the heralds’ being made the centre of attention. Indeed, Ballard’s rendition of events positions the princess’s delivery of the prizes, which is succinctly presented, between the actions and words of heralds.

After explaining that the kings of arms deliver the prizes to the princess to be awarded, Ballard states that she distributes them to the victors, and it is this small section of the narrative that Jones presents as a record of the events. Ballard relates that the princess delivers a golden ‘A’ to Thomas Fynes, a golden ‘E’ to Richard Haute, and a golden ‘M’ to Robert Clifford.⁸⁵⁹ Then his attention returns to the heralds, who immediately begin to proclaim the winners and their prizes. Ballard writes,

than the kynges of Armes and herawdes Cryed in the said high presence[:] Oyes Oyes Oyes. Sir William Trussell Iusted wele[,] William Say Iusted right wele[,] Thomas ffynes Iusted best. for the which the princesse of the

⁸⁵⁸ CA MS. M. 3, f. 14v; and Black, ed., *Illustrations*, pp. 39-40.

⁸⁵⁹ Black suggests that the ‘A’ and ‘M’ stand for ‘Anne Mowbray’, and that the ‘E’ stands for her sister-in-law, Elizabeth. See Black, ed., *Illustrations*, pp. vi-vii.

feste awarded hym the prise of the Iustice Ryall that is to say an A of gold.

Quod Clarencyeux.⁸⁶⁰

It is probable that because Ballard was himself a herald, he was attentive to heraldic duties and, therefore includes them in his recording of events. *Ballard's Book* was his 'working book', and his account of the ceremonial proceedings could reflect his own interests as a reader of his personal memoirs as well as a professional.⁸⁶¹ However, his presentation of other ceremonies in this manuscript, such as his account of the coronation of Edward IV's queen in 1465, does not feature heralds.⁸⁶² This narrative of the granting of tournament prizes is rare, as Ballard asserts and celebrates the important role that heralds play during official events, a role that is often unacknowledged in such narratives.

After Clarenceux's proclamation, Norroy and March kings of arms issue similar statements for the best runner in harness and the best competitor with swords. Ballard then clearly concludes the narrative, writing 'this endeth the matrimoniall feste of the high prince and princesse afore rehersed'.⁸⁶³ However, he does not end at this statement. Instead, Ballard's narrative concludes by detailing the payment of heraldic fees. He writes that 'the right high and victorious Erle Ryvers rewarded the kynges of Armes and heraudes with xx marces'.⁸⁶⁴ Such an assertion of fees paid is conventional. An account of celebrations for the New

⁸⁶⁰ CA MS. M. 3, f. 14v; and Black, ed., *Illustrations*, p. 40.

⁸⁶¹ *HCEC*, p. 58.

⁸⁶² CA MS. M. 3, ff. 6r-8r.

⁸⁶³ CA MS. M. 3, f. 14v; and Black, ed., *Illustrations*, p. 40.

⁸⁶⁴ CA MS. M. 3, f. 14v; and Black, ed., *Illustrations*, p. 40. According to H. Stanford London, Francis Thynne (Lancaster Herald, 1602-08) claimed that he found a record of the celebrations for this royal wedding in a contemporary manuscript, and that, according to this unidentified manuscript, the new knights of the Bath that were created a few days before this tournament took place 'declined to pay a great part of the heralds' fees'. Apparently, the heralds complained to the Lord Chamberlain, who informed the king and the duke of Gloucester, and the knights were made to pay their fees. London states that he has not found this manuscript and he correctly points out that this incident is not recorded in *Ballard's Book*. See London, *The Life of William Bruges*, p. 34. I have also not been able to locate this manuscript. However, if Thynne's account is true, then it helps to clarify why Ballard concludes this narrative by emphasising that the heralds have been paid.

Year in 1488 that was probably written by a herald, as it is compiled with other ceremonial and martial accounts written by Henry VII's royal heralds, reports that the king 'yave to his officers of armes vj li. of his largesse', that the queen 'yave to the same officers xl s.', and that the 'kynges moder yave xx s.'.⁸⁶⁵

It is also probable that a herald wrote the five-stanza poem previously discussed that celebrates Henry VIII as the tenth Worthy at the end of the Great Tournament Roll of Westminster. In addition to the roll being associated with Thomas Wriothesley's workshop, the poem's speaker asserts that Henry VIII's largess surpasses the largess of the Nine Worthies.⁸⁶⁶ G. A. Lester explains that '[t]he issue of fees was vitally important to the heralds', and that this contributed to 'their habit of writing, compiling, and copying, for by their books they were able to justify their rights and dues by reference to precedent'.⁸⁶⁷ Having already asserted the necessity of heraldic officers, Ballard concludes his narrative by offering a reminder that these officers expect to be paid for their services. Consequently, the newlywed royal couple are not the focus of this narrative's conclusion; they are upstaged by the kings of arms.

4.4 The Herald as an Exemplar: John Writhe's Narrative Construction

While William Ballard is concerned with promoting the important role that heralds play at ceremonies, John Writhe (Garter, 1478-1504) is more attentive to the personal attributes and values that make a successful herald. CA MS. L. 8a contains rare examples of prose written in John Writhe's hand, and, in one of these, he

⁸⁶⁵ *The Herald's Memoir 1486-1490: Court Ceremony, Royal Progress and Rebellion*, ed. by Emma Cavell (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2009), p. 151. Also see BL MS. Cotton Julius B. XII, f. 45v.

⁸⁶⁶ CA MS. Great Tournament Roll of Westminster, membrane 36, ln. 15-27. Also see *GTRW*, vol. 1, p. 106, and vol. 2, plate xxiii. Cf. pp. 126-8.

⁸⁶⁷ Lester, 'The Literary Activity', p. 226.

outlines what he perceives to be the ideal qualities of a herald.⁸⁶⁸ He asserts that a herald ought to be wise, humble, honest, temperate, and courteous.⁸⁶⁹ In doing so, he draws upon a wealth of textual material, as these qualities are associated with the knightly ideal.

Writing in the late thirteenth century, Ramon Llull correlates the temporal and spiritual aspects of knighthood, and he asserts that, in addition to martial training, which refines the body, ‘so justice, wisdom, charity, loyalty, truth, humility, fortitude, hope and prowess, and the other virtues similar to these, pertain to the knight with respect to the soul’.⁸⁷⁰ According to Llull, an ideal knight must be noble, not just by his lineage but also by the virtuous ways in which he conducts himself. He explains that nobility and chivalry are closely joined, ‘for nobility is nothing less than a continuance of ancient honour’, and chivalry is the ‘Order and Rule’ that regulates and upholds that honour.⁸⁷¹ This closeness of association has resulted in ambiguity about the distinctions between chivalry and nobility. Maurice Keen explains that, at the end of the thirteenth century, ‘[t]he words *chevalerie* and *noblesse* have begun to be capable of bearing complementary meaning: they will mean different things in some contexts, but very much the same thing in others’.⁸⁷² Those who are not knights but who can prove their noble lineage can aspire to be chivalrous and noble in their behaviour, and, therefore, to conduct themselves as knightly.⁸⁷³ There is some disagreement in the later medieval period about how essential lineage is to nobility; writers such as Bartolo

⁸⁶⁸ CA MS. L. 8a, f. 3v. The entire prose section is contained on this folio. Campbell and Steer identify this hand as Writhe’s in *CMCA*, p. 2. The other examples of prose written in Writhe’s hand in this manuscript are an account of the battle of Harfleur (ff. 40r-50v) and an account of Edward III’s noble actions while he was at war with France (ff. 77r-82v).

⁸⁶⁹ CA MS. L. 8a, f. 3v.

⁸⁷⁰ Llull, *The Book of the Order of Chivalry*, p. 47 and p. 5.

⁸⁷¹ Llull, *The Book of the Order of Chivalry*, p. 58.

⁸⁷² Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 145.

⁸⁷³ Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 145.

de Sassoferato, Honoré Bouvet, and Christine de Pisan assert that chivalric and noble behaviour is more important than lineage because it reveals a true, internal nobility.⁸⁷⁴ This argument would have appealed to heralds, as they were not aristocrats.

The correlation between a knight's conduct and the state of his soul is crucial to understanding and examining his nobility. Lull argues that a knight 'who has no faith cannot be trained in good habits', and that '[e]very knight must know the seven virtues that are the root and beginning of all good habits'—namely, faith, hope, charity, justice, prudence, fortitude, and temperance.⁸⁷⁵ These virtues were commonly extolled in the late medieval period as necessary attributes of nobility and gentility.⁸⁷⁶ Geoffroi de Charny, a French knight who was killed at the battle of Poitiers in 1356, asserts in his *Book of Chivalry* that knights require 'good qualities' to reach their fullest potential for greatness, and that, to practice these qualities, they should be 'men of worth, wise, loyal, without arrogance, joyful, generous, courteous, expert, bold, and active, and of good conduct toward all others, without indulging in self praise or speaking ill of others'.⁸⁷⁷ Charny stresses the importance of temperate and well-intentioned conduct. He praises behaviour that is not self-aggrandizing and that is aware of how actions and words impact on other people. Indeed, conduct books 'warned that men would lose social standing if they behaved without courtesy or demonstrated that they were not gentle and well-

⁸⁷⁴ Jackson Armstrong explains that the Bartolo 'emphasised honour as the reward of virtue, and played down the idea that lineage was the essence of nobility (though he conceded that lineage predisposed a man to virtuous deeds)'. As he points out, Bouvet and Pisan drew their ideas from Bartolo and shared this perspective. See Armstrong, 'The Development', p. 12.

⁸⁷⁵ Lull, *The Book of the Order of Chivalry*, p. 71.

⁸⁷⁶ The number of these virtues sometimes varies from seven to twelve. They are praised by a range of late medieval texts. For example, see Alain Chartier's *Le Breviaire des Nobles*, in *The Poetical Works of Alain Chartier*, ed. by James C. Laidlaw (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp. 395-409. Chartier's early fifteenth-century poem was translated into Scots English in 1508.

⁸⁷⁷ Geoffroi de Charny, *A Knight's Own Book of Chivalry*, intr. by Richard W. Kaeuper, trans. by Elspeth Kennedy (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), p. 104.

governed'.⁸⁷⁸ The argument that one's gentility could be gauged by one's behavioural habits opened the way for those who were not noble to begin asserting the internal nobility of their character. Consequently, conduct books such as *The Boke of Curtasye* (c. 1460), which asserts that 'Yf thow be gentylmon, 3omon, or knaue,/ The nedis nurture for to haue', and *The Babees Book* (c. 1475), which aspires to instruct 'alle of tender age' in virtuous behaviour, are concerned with teaching a range of people good habits, from how to conduct themselves while at a meal to how to engage only in pleasant and inoffensive conversation.⁸⁷⁹

John Writhe works within this tradition of the intrinsic nobility of self-governance when describing the ideal qualities of a herald. For example, he stresses the importance of temperance to a herald's character, as a herald should be 'in al his wordes and answers plaisant[,] sobre of drynkyng and etyng', and 'dylygent and redy'.⁸⁸⁰ Writhe asserts that a herald ought to be able moderate his behaviour. His emphasis upon this quality is especially appropriate because a herald represents the noble or royal person whom he serves and any perceived misconduct would become affiliated with his patron. Consequently, Writhe, having switched to French, warns against a herald's spending time with 'gens de male vie', as those who are unable to govern themselves would negatively influence a herald's behaviour, which, in turn, could potentially also tarnish the patron whom the herald serves.⁸⁸¹

To my knowledge, Writhe's description of a herald's ideal characteristics is not directly drawn from another source. However, it is loosely based on the oath

⁸⁷⁸ Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood*, p. 73.

⁸⁷⁹ *The Boke of Curtasye*, in *Early English Meals and Manners*, ed. by Frederick J. Furnivall, EETS o. s. 32 (London: Oxford University Press, 1931), pp. 175-205 (p. 177, l. 3-4). Furnivall edits the text from BL MS. Sloane 1986, ff. 12r-27r. Also see *The Babees Book*, on pp. 250-58 in the same volume (esp. p. 250, l. 5). Furnivall edits this text from BL MS. Harl. 5086, ff. 86r-90r.

⁸⁸⁰ CA MS. L. 8a, f. 3v.

⁸⁸¹ CA MS. L. 8a, f. 3v. Writhe switches from English to French in the second portion of this prose piece.

that heralds take upon their creation, in which they swear to be honest, loyal, virtuous, and discrete.⁸⁸² The oath ends with a ‘promise’ to ‘forsake all vices, and take you to all virtues, and to be no commyn goerse to tavernes, the which might cause unvirtuousness and uncleane langage’.⁸⁸³ A herald’s temperate and virtuous conduct is, therefore, of the utmost importance.

Writhe’s prose constructs a complex image of the ideal herald as a virtuous figure who adopts chivalric values. He opens his brief narrative on the ideal qualities of a herald by asserting that ‘An herauld shuld be myrrower of al honour and of al curtesy’, and that ‘yeff honour wer lost hit shul be found in heraulde’.⁸⁸⁴ In this context, a mirror is more than a looking-glass. The *MED* clarifies that the word also connotes a reflection and, significantly, a model of virtuous conduct and excellence.⁸⁸⁵ Writhe therefore presents the herald as an exemplar; he suggests that the herald should embody the best version of an individual in chivalric society. Writhe argues that a herald should encapsulate chivalric ideals. He draws upon typical advice literature and the ‘mirrors for princes’ tradition, positioning heralds as paragons of virtue and following his hyperbolic expectations with a short didactic guide for heralds about the importance of moderate conduct. Writhe goes so far as to assert that heralds embody nobility and, therefore, that they can restore honour to the world should it ever disappear. This distinguishes heralds from the nobles they serve, as the noble community is not mentioned as having this special capacity for restoring a fallen chivalric world’s lost honour.

According to the *MED*, in addition to designating someone’s position or rank, the term ‘honour’ can also refer to a ‘state or condition inspiring respect’,

⁸⁸² ‘The Othes of Heraudes’, in *Black Book*, vol. 1, pp. 297-9.

⁸⁸³ ‘The Othes of Heraudes’, p. 298.

⁸⁸⁴ CA MS. L. 8a, f. 3v.

⁸⁸⁵ *MED* ‘mirour’ (n.) 2 (a.), (b.), and (c.).

fame or ‘good repute’, and, crucially, ‘[n]obleness of character or manners’, which includes traits such as graciousness, courtesy, virtue, and ‘moral and spiritual uprightness’.⁸⁸⁶ The noble chivalric community also embodies and promotes these characteristics, but Writhe’s prose suggests that there is something about the honour that heralds embody that elevates them above others. Heralds are both like and unlike the noble community they serve. They are not aristocrats or martially active knights, but their professional office grants them a respectable position among the chivalric community. Writhe argues that heralds can aspire towards ‘good Renome’, achieving fame and inspiring respect, and that they can accomplish this through mindful and courteous behaviour.⁸⁸⁷ Heralds have a professional expertise that aristocrats and martially active knights do not have, and, according to Writhe, this expertise informs the ways that heralds conduct themselves personally and professionally.

Importantly, this expertise also contributes to the construction and the preservation of heraldic professional elitism. By writing about the qualities of an ideal herald, Writhe projects the best version of himself—of the professional and the individual that he aspires to become. In his ideal world, heralds, who encapsulate all the world’s honour, would serve as role-models for the chivalric community as well as for the world at large.

4.5 Thomas Wriothesley’s Self-Promotion: Narrative and Visual Constructions of Garter King of Arms

This same manuscript also contains the ordinances of war that Thomas Wriothesley (Garter, 1505-34) possibly forged, as discussed above.⁸⁸⁸ Assuming

⁸⁸⁶ *MED* ‘honour’ (n.) 5 (a.), 3 (a.), 2 (a.), and 4, respectively.

⁸⁸⁷ CA MS. L. 8a, f. 3v.

⁸⁸⁸ CA MS. L. 8a, ff. 52v-54r; and *CMCA*, p. 35. Cf. pp. 235-6.

that Wriothesley did, in fact, forge this text, he, like his father, has extremely high standards for how heralds should conduct themselves. He states that the purpose of these ordinances is that ‘more honnour better Rewle and gouuernance may be provyded amonge all thoffice of armes to their comfort and consolacion’.⁸⁸⁹ According to Wriothesley, heralds need to learn how to govern themselves to increase their honour. He argues that officers of arms ‘shalbe of honest *and* goodly berryng *and* behaueour’.⁸⁹⁰ Like Writhe, he praises temperance as a crucial virtue for noble behaviour, restricting where heralds can go, with whom they can associate, and how they should speak. Wriothesley writes that officers of arms should ‘vse and haunte honest place and compaignie and flee and eschew all places *and* persones that are uponly *and* manyfestely slaundred’.⁸⁹¹ His exhortation that heralds should keep ‘honest place and compaignie’ indicates more than that they should only affiliate with truthful, virtuous, and good people and the places that these people frequent. ‘Honest’ also indicates that the people and places that heralds associate with should be honourable, respectable, and, importantly, noble.⁸⁹²

Consequently, Wriothesley requires that heralds limit themselves to virtuous conduct and virtuous and noble company, as well as the respectable places that these virtuous nobles attend. He further asserts that heralds should ‘eschew shame and vicious langaige’ and be wary of ‘talking uponly namely in presens of people’.⁸⁹³ Like Writhe, Wriothesley desires that heralds will be attentive to how they behave and are perceived by other people. He hopes that they will temper

⁸⁸⁹ CA MS. L. 8a, f. 53v; and f. 52v, which similarly asserts that the ordinances are presented for ‘good Rule to bee had amonge all thoffice of armes’.

⁸⁹⁰ CA MS. L. 8a, f. 53v.

⁸⁹¹ CA MS. L. 8a, f. 53v.

⁸⁹² *MED* ‘honest(e)’ (adj.) 1 (a.) Of persons, their reputation, desires: honorable, respectable, noble, and 2 (c.) befitting one’s social status or office.

⁸⁹³ CA MS. L. 8a, ff. 53v-4r.

their language and be aware that others are constantly judging and evaluating their characters. Wriothesley's didactic prose, like his father's, belongs to a wider fifteenth-century cultural interest in texts that offer advice on personal and professional conduct and that encourage readers to become role-models for others.

The extreme virtue that Writhe and Wriothesley expect from officers of arms derives from the oath that heralds take upon their creation. A portion of this oath asks heralds to be virtuous, 'to forsake all vices', and to avoid taverns, as they are unsavoury places that expose one to disreputable behaviour and 'uncleane langage'.⁸⁹⁴ A herald is expected to live, rather than merely perform, a virtuous existence, and this noble conduct, in turn, is perceived by others as a reflection of his inner worth. Yet, unlike his father, who writes about the ideal qualities of a herald, Wriothesley packages his expectations in the form of war ordinances, and war ordinances offer rules of engagement for actual people. Because of this generic presentation, Wriothesley can project ideal standards of conduct onto real officers of arms. This projection resembles the oaths that heralds take upon their creation, as they swear to uphold, to the best of their ability, the virtuous principles set before them. Writhe's prose, in contrast, offers an ideal for real officers to aspire towards, but it does not achieve the behavioural expectation that Wriothesley's text and the oath that heralds take demand.

Wriothesley expects his officers of arms to become avid readers of a broad range of texts. He asserts that, 'in tyme convenient', a herald should 'appli hym selff to Rede bokys of maniers[,] eloquence[,] cronicles[,] actes and gestes of honnour[,] faictes off armes[,] and propriete of colours[,] herbes[,] and stones that they may therby more propertley and conveniently assigne armes to euery *personne*

⁸⁹⁴ 'The Othes of Heraudes', p. 298.

accordingly'.⁸⁹⁵ Heralds are expected to be well-versed in history, conduct books, chivalric texts, and heraldic treatises, and the knowledge that they acquire from this broad range of reading material apparently informs and influences their being able to properly and conscientiously design coats of arms. This stipulation is reinforced by the evidence that survives of what types of books heralds were interested in reading, owning, and copying, from Froissart's *Chronicles* to Boethius's *The Consolation of Philosophy* and John Paston's 'Grete Boke'.⁸⁹⁶ This is a far more complex representation of a herald than is typically presented by other late medieval texts. Wriothesley is concerned with the intellectual foundation that leads a herald to decide upon armorial design. He is also concerned with a herald's moral foundation, as evidenced by his engagement with cultivating habits of virtuous conduct.

In addition to his construction of heralds, Thomas Wriothesley also worked to project an image of himself as Garter. His self-portrait is probably presented in The Great Tournament Roll of Westminster, which has already been discussed. The roll depicts officers of arms participating in the procession to the lists.⁸⁹⁷ The officers ride on horseback in three pairs. The first pair are pursuivants, and they are depicted wearing long yellow gowns and miniature tabards that appear somewhat like bibs, as they do not reach their waists. John Anstis (Garter, cr. 1719) observed that the pursuivants wear their tabards transversely and that their

⁸⁹⁵ CA MS. L. 8a, f. 54r.

⁸⁹⁶ Cf. pp. 217-39.

⁸⁹⁷ CA MS. Great Tournament Roll of Westminster, membranes 7-8. Also see *GTRW*, vol. 1, pp. 87-8, and vol. 2, plate v. Late medieval chronicles that describe the Westminster Tournament do not specify that officers of arms were participants in the procession to the lists. *The Great Chronicle of London*, which was written between the mid-fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, reports that the king's pavilion was followed by nine 'henshmen' who carried the coats of arms of different countries. See *The Great Chronicle of London*, p. 372. These 'henshmen' were probably the officers of arms. *Hall's Chronicle*, which was published in 1548, does not mention officers of arms or henshmen when describing the procession, although Hall does report that the king was followed by 'three aydes'. See *Hall's Chronicle*, pp. 517-18.

tabards are smaller than those worn by the heralds who follow them.⁸⁹⁸ Next, there are two pairs of kings of arms; they are not crowned, but they are identifiable as kings of arms because, as does John Smert in his self-portrayal, they each carry a white wand in their left hand. Mark Noble and Fox-Davies both explain that Garter carries a white wand, but, as there cannot be four Garter kings of arms, these officers holding wands are probably provincial kings of arms.⁸⁹⁹ The first herald in the last pair, however, stands apart from the others because he wears a black hat that is tied around his chin. This hat probably distinguishes Garter Wriothesley from the other heralds, who remain hatless. Sydney Anglo notes that each of the heralds carries a white wand and that the final herald wears a hat, but he does not ascribe any interpretive significance to these details.⁹⁰⁰ Given that the Westminster Tournament Roll is affiliated with Wriothesley's workshop, and that Wriothesley was the active Garter King of Arms when this tournament took place, I would suggest that the image is probably meant to represent Wriothesley.⁹⁰¹ He

⁸⁹⁸ Anstis, *Register*, vol. 2, pp. 288-90 (esp. p. 289); and *GTRW*, vol. 1, p. 87, n. 1.

⁸⁹⁹ Noble, *A History*, p. 48; and Fox-Davies, *Art*, p. 19.

⁹⁰⁰ *GTRW*, vol. 1, pp. 87-8.

⁹⁰¹ James Dallaway identifies this herald who wears a hat as 'John Wriothesley', thereby conflating John Writhe with his son, Thomas Wriothesley. However, as Dallaway identifies 'John' Wriothesley's son as Thomas Wriothesley, Garter, he clearly perceives this portrait to be of John Writhe. See James Dallaway, *Inquiries into the Origin and Progress of the Science of Heraldry in England* (Gloucester: R. Raikes, 1793), plate 9, facing p. 134, and p. 134. Dallaway argues that John 'Wriothesley' was 'allowed' to wear a hat because he was 'very far advanced in years', and that he died in the year following the tournament (p. iv). However, as John Writhe died in 1504, and as this tournament took place in 1511, Dallaway is incorrect and this image is probably a portrayal of Thomas Wriothesley. Wriothesley is also known to be depicted in other manuscripts that are affiliated with his workshop. *Prince Arthur's Book* (CA MS. Vincent 152) portrays him seated at a table with Ferdinand, archduke of Austria, who he was sent to invest into the Order of the Garter in 1523 (p. 178). See *CMCA*, p. 390; and Wagner, *Heralds and Ancestors*, p. 65, plate x. In this image, Garter wears a red gown rather than a tabard displaying the royal arms. The emphasis appears to be on the quality of his company rather than on him as an officer of arms. This painting has been reproduced. See Ashmole, *Institution*, facing p. 404; *HCEC*, plate xi; and Wagner, *Heralds and Ancestors*, plate x. Wriothesley is also represented in *The Wriothesley Garter Book*, which depicts the opening of Parliament in 1523. Like *Prince Arthur's Book*, the *Garter Book* focuses on Garter's exclusive company rather than on the centrality of his position as Garter. See 'The Wriothesley Garter Book, c. 1530', *Royal Collection Trust* [<https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/1047414/the-wriothesley-garter-book>, accessed 20 Jan. 2017].

is portrayed as one herald among the other officers of arms, but he is also a slightly distinct figure who is set apart from them.

Wriothesley also used Garter armorials to promote his services as Garter King of Arms. To my knowledge, this strategy is unique among late medieval heralds. The Garter armorials in *Prince Arthur's Book* (CA MS. Vincent 152) do not just display the arms of the men who are invested into the Order of the Garter encircled by a Garter, which is inscribed with the Order's motto. In addition to this conventional armorial style that pictorially records lists of arms, *Prince Arthur's Book* surrounds several of the enGartered arms with narrative prose indicating something about who the knight is, what he wore upon his installation, and, in some instances, the gifts and fees that he made to Garter for his installation. These gifts and fees are, at times, revealing. Craig Taylor explains that, '[b]etween men of different status, gift-giving was a means for the social superior to mark out the recipient as worthy of friendship, goodwill and favour, and in return to receive loyalty, fidelity and gratitude, while also building a reputation as a man of means and generosity'.⁹⁰² In this context, gift-giving is a way for a newly inducted Garter knight to demonstrate goodwill and gratitude towards Garter for the induction services rendered as well as a way for him to display his wealth and generosity, which he probably hopes would reiterate his worthiness for his new appointment. In turn, Garter, as the recipient, is shown to be worthy of such luxurious gifts and fees, gifts that surpass the fees received by any other officer of arms.

This extravagance is no small feat. Mark Noble explains that kings of arms wore 'extremely rich' attire, usually consisting of a long mulberry-colored gown that was 'furred round the neck' underneath their tabards, and that their wardrobe

⁹⁰² Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood*, p. 75.

allowance in the fifteenth century averaged approximately seventy-one pounds.⁹⁰³ Noble also asserts that the fees for heraldic services were ‘considerable’, ranging from £100 for a coronation to five pounds for Christmas festivities.⁹⁰⁴ Clive Cheesman (Richmond Herald, cr. 2010) clarifies that fees for patents of arms are set on ‘a sliding scale’ that ‘reflect[s] the grantee’s wealth’, and this same principle probably also applies to other heraldic services rendered.⁹⁰⁵ Importantly, these fees were in addition to each herald’s yearly salary.⁹⁰⁶

The Garter armorials in *Prince Arthur’s Book* provide evidence for the fees and gratuities that Garter received after installing new Garter knights.⁹⁰⁷ For example, the prose that surrounds one enGartered coat of arms relates that ‘Syr henry Guldeford banaret and Comptroller of the kynges house was also Installed at the said feste fine for his goune to the said *Sir* Thomas Gartier kyng of Armes foure poundes and also gaue to hym an Annuyte of fourti shyllinges by the yer’.⁹⁰⁸ Given that he is a newly installed Garter knight, the gown that Guildford pays for is probably the blue cloak of the Order of the Garter. It is unclear whether the

⁹⁰³ Noble, *A History*, p. 49.

⁹⁰⁴ Noble, *A History*, p. 47.

⁹⁰⁵ Clive Cheesman, ‘Grants and Confirmations of Arms’, in *Heralds and Heraldry in Shakespeare’s England*, ed. by Nigel Ramsay (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2014), pp. 68-104 (p. 77).

⁹⁰⁶ Noble explains that Garter’s yearly salary was forty pounds, provincial kings of arms earned twenty pounds, heralds earned twenty marcs, and pursuivants earned ten pounds. See Noble, *A History*, p. 48.

⁹⁰⁷ CA MS. Vincent 152. The armorial for Garter knights installed under Henry VII is on pp. 151-55; and the armorial for Garter knights installed under Henry VIII is on pp. 157-60.

⁹⁰⁸ CA MS. Vincent 152, p. 160. To my knowledge, no-one has pointed out how similar the Garter armorial on pp. 157-60 of *Prince Arthur’s Book* is to the Garter armorial in CA MS. M. 7, on p. 36-f. 44v (the manuscript’s page numbers shift to foliated numbers). The first section of this manuscript, which contains armorials of knights and Garter knights appointed by Henry VIII (pp. 2-36 and ff. 37r-44v), was produced in Wriothesley’s workshop. See *CMCA*, p. 120. Campbell and Steer describe the armorial in CA MS. M. 7, p. 36-f. 44v, as ‘arms and crests of Knights of the Garter, most *temp.* Hen. 8 but continued into the reign of Philip and Mary’, and they observe that ‘each shield [is] encircled by a Garter, with notes of the “fines” given by the new knights to Garter King of Arms at their installation’. They acknowledge Wriothesley’s hand in some of the captions up to f. 40r, but they do not connect this armorial section with the armorial of Garter knights installed under Henry VIII in *Prince Arthur’s Book*. See *CMCA*, pp. 121-22. The two armorials resemble each other in their presented order of coats of arms, their page layout, and their accompanying prose descriptions. The section that ends on p. 160 in *Prince Arthur’s Book* corresponds to the end of the section on f. 40r in CA. MS. M. 7, although the armorial in this manuscript continues further.

annuity that he bestows upon Garter is a set fee for his installation or whether it is a tacitly expected gratuity, but the large sum of forty shillings per year does demonstrate that the new Garter knight is, and can afford to be, generous with his wealth.

There is no indication in these armorials that Henry Guildford or any of the other newly installed Garter knights gave their robes to Garter. However, the prose that surrounds several of the enGartered coats of arms predominantly and consistently describes what types of robes each of these knights wore to their investiture. For example, the text relates that Prince Arthur wore a ‘gowne cramesyn veluet lyned *witb* blacke damaske’, and that ‘The kyng of portugal John’ also wore a ‘cramesyn veluet’ gown.⁹⁰⁹ Philip, the king of Castile, wore ‘a large gowne of cloth of golde lyned *witb* blacke damaske’, and he also ‘gaue’ Garter ‘a hondred crownes for his Largesse’.⁹¹⁰ There is a striking level of detail in these descriptions of each knight’s gown. Mark Noble and Elias Ashmole explain that, typically, the installation of a Garter knight earned Garter the knight’s uppermost garment, or cloak, which the knight leaves in the chapter house when the investiture begins, as it is replaced during the ceremony with the Order’s blue cloak.⁹¹¹ Ashmole further elaborates that, ‘when Garter had received the Knight’s Gown, he immediately put it on, and wore it during the whole Ceremony of Installation’, and he clarifies that this is why the gown that Henry, duke of York, the future Henry VIII, wore to his installation ‘was made large enough for Garter’s use’ even though he was a small child.⁹¹² Indeed, the prose surrounding the young duke of York’s enGartered coat of arms in *Prince Arthur’s Book* indicates that he

⁹⁰⁹ CA MS. Vincent 152, p. 151.

⁹¹⁰ CA MS. Vincent 152, p. 151. Ashmole also refers to Garter’s receiving the king of Castile’s gown in *Institution*, p. 460.

⁹¹¹ Noble, *A History*, p. 47; and Ashmole, *Institution*, p. 458 and p. 460.

⁹¹² Ashmole, *Institution*, p. 460.

wore a gown of ‘cremosin veluet lyned *with* blacke satyn’, and that, because the prince was ‘yong and tender of aige’, the gown ‘was made large’.⁹¹³ These narrative descriptions record the luxuriousness of each knight’s gown, but, importantly, they also record Garter’s earnings. The accrument of these gowns, fees, and gratuities seems improbably lavish. However, a comparable example of payment made to a herald is evident in Chester Herald’s account of his presentation of Anthony Woodville, lord Scales’ challenge to Antoine, grand bastard of Burgundy, to combat at Smithfield in June, 1467.⁹¹⁴ After presenting lord Scales’ challenge to the bastard of Burgundy, ‘Chester received, for his pains, the rich gown furred with sable which the Bastard had worn at the ceremony, together with his black velvet doublet, and also 40 guilders.’⁹¹⁵ Garters Writhe and Wriothesley enjoyed similar professional compensation for their installation of Garter knights under Henry VII and Henry VIII.

The robes described in *Prince Arthur’s Book* were probably given to Garter as payment for his services. Further evidence for this assertion is offered by the prose that hovers above Maximilian I’s enGartered arms. Maximilian I was nominated as a Garter knight c. 1490.⁹¹⁶ The text relates that ‘The king of Rommanis maximilien at the Reception of the gartier gaue to the kyng of armes of thordre a gowne of cloth of golde furred *with* martres’.⁹¹⁷ Maximilian I is a highly prestigious chivalric and royal figure and it is not surprising that his gown is made of cloth of gold and lined with ermine.⁹¹⁸ What is unusual about this example is that, rather than indicating that he wore this gown at his investiture as many of the

⁹¹³ CA MS. Vincent 152, p. 151.

⁹¹⁴ Lester, *Sir John Paston’s ‘Grete Boke’*, pp. 123-5 and p. 127; and BL MS. Lansdowne 285, ff. 29v-43r.

⁹¹⁵ Lester, *Sir John Paston’s ‘Grete Boke’*, p. 127.

⁹¹⁶ No. 239, ‘List of the Knights of the Garter’, *Heraldica* [<http://www.heraldica.org/topics/orders/garterlist.htm>, accessed 5 April 2017].

⁹¹⁷ CA MS. Vincent 152, p. 151.

⁹¹⁸ *Parker’s Heraldry*, martre (fr.), see Weasel; weasel (fr. belette), [...] the ermine.

other prose segments do, the text explicitly states that he gave the gown to Garter, who, at the time, would have been John Writhe.

In addition, the prose section relates that he gave Garter an additional present and that, unlike the King of Castille's gift, Maximilian's gift to Writhe is not just monetary. Maximilian gives Garter 'a george of golde armed *witb* dyamate standyng on a tarras vnder a tre *witb* vii orient perles hangyng on the same and ii hondrede Renyshe guldyns and at his Installacion for the larges a hondred guldyns'.⁹¹⁹ In addition to monetary gratuity, Maximilian gives Writhe an ornate and bejeweled golden figure of St George. Boulton helps to make sense of this figure. He explains that Henry VII added a collar to the Order of the Garter's insignia, probably to align it with the use of similar collars by Continental chivalric orders such as France's Order of St Michael the Archangel, and that this collar is described by the revised 1519 statutes of the Order of the Garter.⁹²⁰ According to the statutes, the collar is made of gold 'wayng thyrty ounces of Troy weyght and not above', and it is comprised of twenty-six 'pieces in the fasshion of Garters', separated by gold knots, in the 'myddes of which Garters' are alternating double roses, one being white with a smaller red rose within, and the next being red with an interior white rose.⁹²¹ Just as an image of Michael the Archangel hangs from the French Order's collar, an image of St George hangs from the Order of the Garter's collar.⁹²² The statutes decree that members of the Order are 'bounde to were' this collar, which is called the 'Great George', especially during 'principall and solempne feastes of the yere', although they should typically wear the image

⁹¹⁹ CA MS. Vincent 152, p. 151.

⁹²⁰ Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown*, p. 160. For the revised statutes, see Ashmole, *Institution*, pp. 743-52, and esp. see pp. 751-52, statute 38. Boulton also cites these statutes on p. 160, n. 265.

⁹²¹ Ashmole, *Institution*, p. 751; and Marks and Payne, *British Heraldry*, p. 122.

⁹²² Ashmole, *Institution*, p. 751-2; and Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown*, p. 160.

of the saint on a 'small Chayne of Gold' on regular days, with the exception of times of sickness or war, when they should wear it on a piece of lace or silk.⁹²³

The 'Great George' refers to the pendant that hangs from the collar of the Order of the Garter; an image of the saint that hangs from any other chain or lace is called the 'Lesser George', and, as Ashmole explains, it became fashionable among knights, even among those who did not belong to the Order, to wear a 'Lesser George'.⁹²⁴ This fashion for wearing an image of George clarifies why the Order's collar needed to be precisely thirty ounces of gold as well as why the collar 'may not be made more richer with stones or other thynges': the authenticity of the collar that distinguished the wearer of a Great George needed to be easily recognised.⁹²⁵ For example, Mary Tudor and Charles Brandon's wedding portrait clearly portrays the Garter knight wearing the Order's collar with a Great George dangling from it.⁹²⁶ The statutes of the Order decree that the collar cannot be altered in any way, but that the image of St George 'may be garnished and enryched' to suit its owner's 'pleasure', and, indeed, Brandon's Great George is decorated with a single pearl which suspends below the saint.⁹²⁷

The Great George and the Lesser George are always depicted in the same stance: the saint is portrayed in a 'riding posture' as he combats the dragon with his drawn sword.⁹²⁸ This context illuminates Maximilian I's gift of a golden St

⁹²³ Ashmole, *Institution*, p. 752 and pp. 226-7.

⁹²⁴ Ashmole, *Institution*, pp. 226-7.

⁹²⁵ Ashmole, *Institution*, p. 752.

⁹²⁶ Celia Fisher, 'The Queen and the Artichoke: A Study of the Portraits of Mary Tudor and Charles Brandon', *The British Art Journal* 3. 2 (2002), 20-7. The original portrait has been lost. Fisher explains that there are four known copies of the portrait and that the only one that is on public display, which is a part of the marquis of Tavistock's private collection, is at Woburn Abbey in Bedfordshire (p. 20). Fisher also includes a reproduction of this wedding portrait on p. 21. Boulton points out the Garter collar in this portrait in *The Knights of the Crown*, p. 160, n. 268.

⁹²⁷ Ashmole, *Institution*, p. 752 and p. 226.

⁹²⁸ Ashmole, *Institution*, p. 226. For close-up photographs of a Great George suspended from the Order of the Garter's collar and of a seventeenth-century pendant of a Lesser George, see Marks and Payne, *British Heraldry*, cat. and colour plate nos. 250 and 251, and p. 128 for their catalogue descriptions.

George armed with a diamond who is represented standing under a tree that has pearls as leaves. Garter King of Arms is not a martially active Garter knight, and Maximilian's gift presents the saint in a stance that is not martial. This expensive, lavish jewelry indicates Maximilian's awareness of the appropriateness of gifting a bejeweled St George to the English chivalric order's King of Arms in gratitude for his installation. Although Garter is not martially active, he is a member of the Order of the Garter, and, judging by Bruges' kneeling reverence before St George in his *Garter Book*, as well as by his personal devotion to the saint, as demonstrated by his patronage of and burial at the Church of St George in Stamford, John Writhe, Henry VII's Garter King of Arms, would equally have an affinity for the Order's patron saint and would probably take a personal liking to his extravagant gift.

Prince Arthur's Book was produced in Thomas Wriothesley's workshop, and, as Campbell and Steer point out, the captions in the text's Garter armorials are 'at least partly' in Wriothesley's hand.⁹²⁹ Wriothesley appears to be self-consciously promoting his—and his father's—work as Garter. He records newly installed Garter knights, yet he is aware of his own role in investing each of these knights into the Order. He takes pains to describe the monetary compensation and gratuities that he receives in exchange for Garter installation. Although he seldom asserts that a knight's gown is gifted to him, he may be tacitly presenting his earnings through his detailed descriptions of the gowns. Whether they are explicit or implicit, the instances that offer insight into Garter's finances are calculated and deliberate. Wriothesley projects an image of himself as essential to the proceedings of the Order of the Garter—and he is, indeed, essential to them. He portrays himself as a man who serves the social elite and he presents the Garter knights as

⁹²⁹ *CMCA*, p. 389.

grateful and indebted to him for his professional services—and, indeed, both assertions are true.

Wriothesley's sense of self-importance is further reiterated by the ordinances of war which he probably forged to establish his supremacy over the other heralds and kings of arms. The first of the thirteen items that comprise the ordinances of Thomas, duke of Clarence, asserts that

Premierement nous voulons et ordonnons que Jarretiere Roy d'armes des Anglois ait et jouysse toutes ses libertees et franchises comme Souverain en l'office d'Armes, et que tous aultres Roys d'armes herauldz et poursuyvantz l'honneurent et reverencent comme chief et principal dudit office selon la teneur de sa creacion [First we want to and ordain that Garter King of Arms of the English has enjoyed all his liberties and exemptions as a king in the Office of Arms, and that all other kings of arms[,] heralds[,] and pursuivants honour and revere as chief and principal said office according to the content of her creation].⁹³⁰

The ordinance decrees that Garter King of Arms of the English should be at liberty to enjoy the privileges associated with his office and that he should be regarded as a sovereign among the other officers of arms. By comparing Garter's position to that of a sovereign's, the decree stresses Garter's superiority over all other heraldic officers. The ordinance's second clause then demands that all kings of arms, heralds, and pursuivants should honour and revere Garter as their 'chief'. The ordinance attempts to regulate how other officers of arms should behave around Garter, stipulating that they ought to see their own position as subservient to their 'chief', whom they ought to regard with reverence.

⁹³⁰ Wagner, 'Appendix C' in *Heralds and Heraldry*, p. 136. Translation mine.

When Henry V appointed William Bruges as the first Garter King of Arms, he granted Garter oversight over the other officers of arms.⁹³¹ The duke of Clarence's ordinances, however, build on this granted oversight, specifying that all other officers of arms should regard Garter with the same respect that they would a king. If Wriothesley wrote these ordinances, then his request for subservience and respect from other heraldic officers reveals the dignity and pride with which he held his superior status as Garter. His deliberate act of self-promotion also evinces his need for his perceived superiority to be acknowledged and affirmed by those working under his supervision.

Although this discussion of the ways that heralds construct their own professional image begins and ends with an examination of St George and a Garter King of Arms, Bruges' display of humility is entirely absent from Wriothesley's self-interested professional ego. Yet there are common themes that link these various heralds and the ways that they desire to be perceived. They share an interest in presenting their professional culture as an essentially bookish one, and they want to be regarded as well-read men with a broad understanding of the world as well as with a measure of professional expertise. They also want to be regarded as essential to heraldic practice and to the elite chivalric aristocratic and gentry community. Herald's present themselves in a way that is different from the two-dimensional characters who only enter a scene to fulfill a task, as in Froissart, or to display a coat of arms, as in the *Talbot-Shrewsbury Book*. Bruges presents himself as subservient, yet with a degree of authority. Similarly, Smert is concerned with projecting his professional authority to grant arms. Ballard highlights the centrality of heralds to ceremonial events, refusing to allow them to be silently glossed over by the actions of socially superior royal characters. Writhe projects his professional

⁹³¹ *Survey*, p. 38; *Boutell's Heraldry*, p. 260; and Wagner, *Heralds and Ancestors*, p. 52. Cf. pp. 53-5.

ideal of a herald's work and lifestyle, inviting heralds to aspire towards virtuousness. Wriothesley's expectations of heraldic professional conduct resemble his father's. In addition, he envisions heralds as informed and curious readers. Wriothesley appears to have some insecurity about his position in relation to other heralds and kings of arms, as he stresses his importance as Garter and how essential he is to the chivalric community. Whether he is asserting his prominence over other heralds or carefully detailing every fee and gift that he receives, Wriothesley's pride in his office as Garter, like Bruges' pride, is evident.

Conclusion

Studying late medieval heraldic texts and the narratives that they present about heraldry and heralds enriches an understanding of medieval chivalric culture and of the primary sources that are available to illuminate medieval English heritage. This study challenges prevalent assumptions about what heraldic texts contain, drawing attention to expected contents, such as ceremonial accounts and heraldic regulations, but also to unexpected and imaginative contents, such as verse, legends, anecdotes, and authorial self-promotion. It reorients perspectives on late medieval chivalric culture, which often privilege a literary or historical lens of understanding, opting instead to frame comprehension through narratives that serve heraldic purposes. It highlights connections across disciplines, as heraldic narratives draw upon proto-national origin accounts, upon fictive-historical legendary figures such as the Nine Worthies, upon classical poetic invocation and the prison writing tradition, and even upon documentary biographical and financial accounts, incorporating them for heraldic purposes. It also compiles late medieval heraldic texts in ways that they have not yet been assembled, providing a detailed discussion of heraldic sources that contain heraldic origin accounts and of some prominent late medieval heralds and the books that they owned, copied, and/or produced. This study additionally draws upon material that, in some cases, has not been edited or digitised, such as *Strangways' Book* and many of the manuscripts in the College of Arms.

Consequently, this dissertation makes several original contributions to existing knowledge about late medieval heraldic texts, including making portions of texts that are predominantly difficult to access accessible; compiling information about textual ownership and circulation history; providing original, if experimental, analysis of heraldic textual narratives; demonstrating relationships between

different heraldic textual narratives; demonstrating that heraldic narratives interact with other late medieval writing traditions; and offering fresh paradigms for appreciating the inventiveness presented by some heraldic texts, as well as for comprehending the cultural, ideological, and, at times, professional work that these texts undertake. These contributions are important because they expose a part of chivalric culture that has been understudied and undervalued, especially by humanities scholars.

This investigation considers the types of insights that could be gained by incorporating heraldic sources into humanities studies, and especially into literary and cultural scholarship. For instance, heraldic sources can expand perspectives on chivalric cultural practices, such as investiture into the Order of the Garter and how it might frame the ways in which a knight is textually presented. They can enlarge examinations of medieval chronicle sources and their construction of England's fictive-historic origins, contributing heraldic and martial textual contexts to narratives about Arthur vanquishing Frolo, as in Upton's treatise, or introducing a new range of medieval narratives that are grounded in chronicle fictive-history, as do legends about the origins of heraldry and heralds. They challenge understandings about the types of late medieval writers who made use of narrative frames based upon prison writing, or who wrote about the Nine Worthies, showing that these literary techniques and subjects were also used to promote heraldry. They also highlight the general absence or, at best, the marginal presence of heralds in ceremonial narratives that are incorporated into romances, chronicles, and historical records, which, according to chivalric cultural practice, is inaccurate. The minimisation of their presence in these accounts and of their contribution to ceremonial and tournament proceedings illuminates cultural and authorial focus and invites consideration of the purposes for their textual

suppression. Furthermore, texts written or produced by heralds can contribute to studies of chivalric conduct literature and widen perspectives on the contexts in which medieval conduct literature was produced. Therefore, studying heraldic sources deepens an understanding of heraldic and chivalric culture, as well as of chivalric literature, ultimately promoting English heritage.

Appendices

Plate 1:

©British Library Board, BL MS. Harl. 2259, f. 11r, *Strangways' Book*

Illustrates: The first page of Strangways' origins narrative; his unusual mis-en-page; and cadency marks.

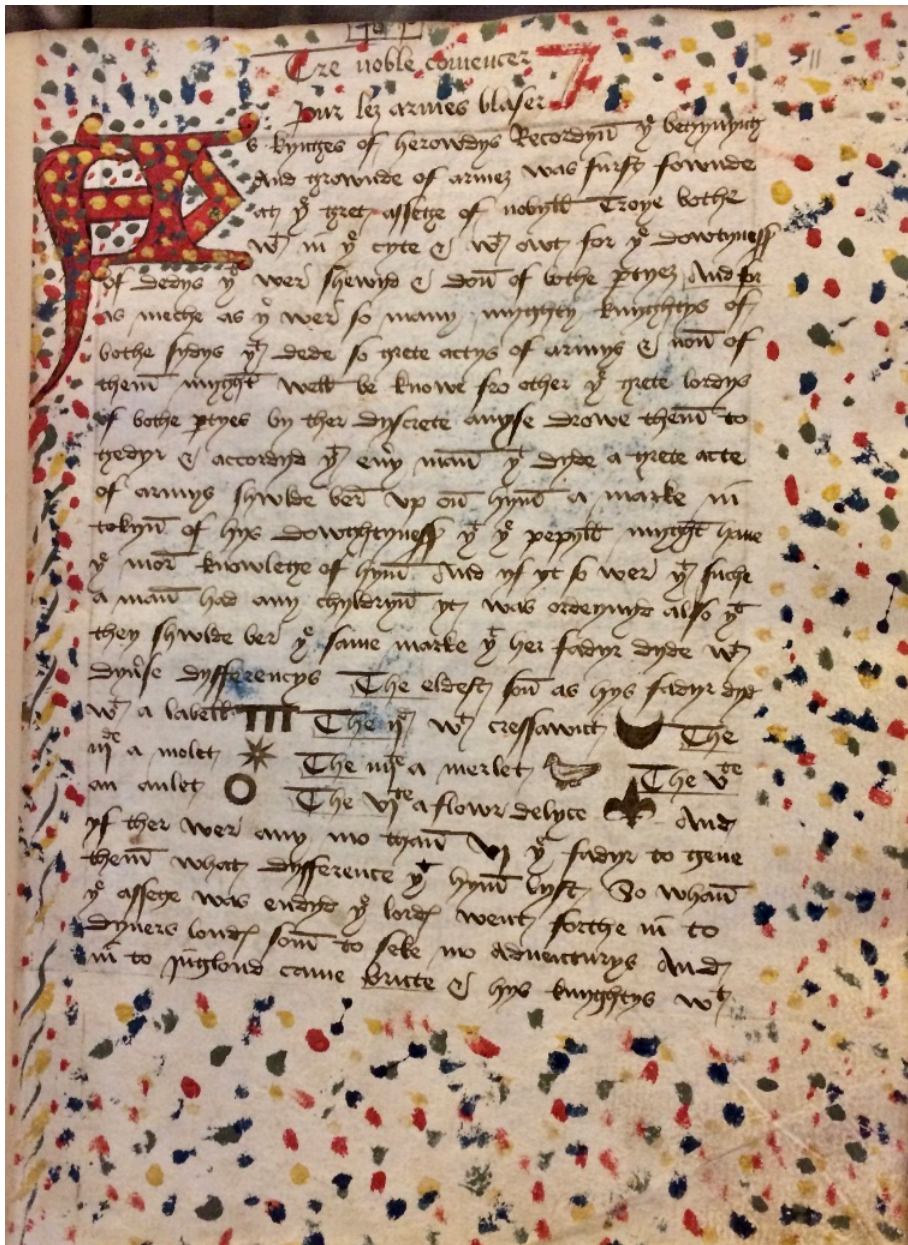


Plate 2:

©British Library Board, BL MS. Harl. 2259, f. 39v, *Strangways' Book*

Illustrates: Quatrains about the Nine Worthies, supplemented by their armorial attributions.

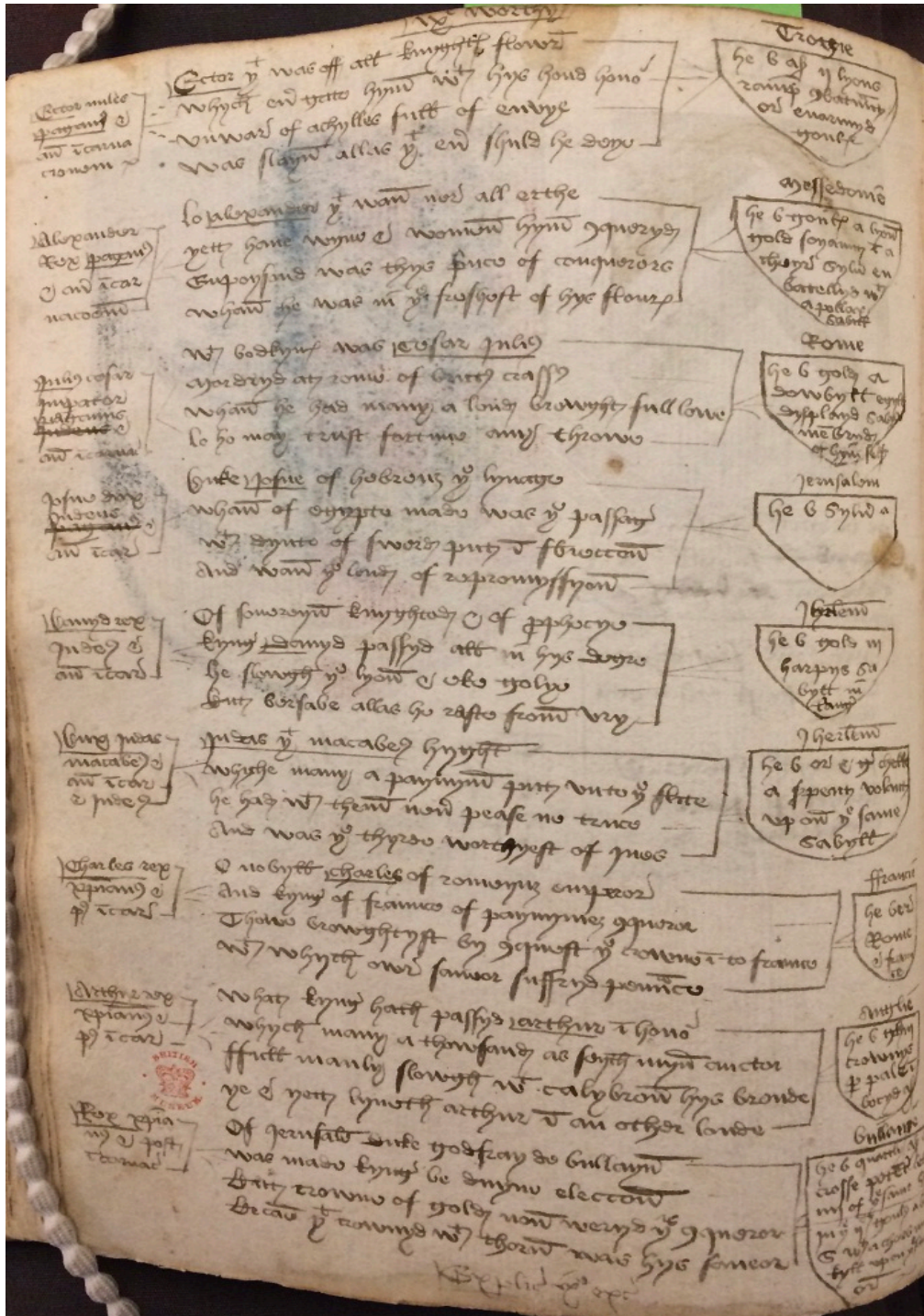


Plate 3:

©British Library Board, BL MS. Harl. 2169, f. 5v, *Randle Holme's Book*

Illustrates: Attributed arms of the Nine Worthies, in *trick*.



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⁹³² A * indicates manuscripts that I have not personally or digitally consulted.

MS. Add. 29901
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MS. Add. 45132
MS. Add. 45133
MS. Add. 46354
MS. Add. 61902
MS. C. 10. b. 23
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MS. Cotton Cleopatra D. IX
MS. Cotton Faustina B. VI, pt. 2
MS. Cotton Faustina E. I
MS. Cotton Julius B. XII
MS. Cotton Julius E. IV
MS. Cotton Nero C. III
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MS. Cotton Nero D. II
MS. Cotton Nero D. V
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MS. Harl. 3526
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MS. Stowe 594
 MS. Stowe 668
 MS. Stowe 696
 MS. Yates Thompson 3
 MS. Yates Thompson 47

London, College of Arms:

MS. Arundel 26
 MS. Arundel 26/X
 MS. Arundel 63
 MS. Arundel 64
 MS. B. 19
 MS. B. 22
 MS. B. 29
 MS. Everard Green Roll
 MS. Garter Stalls temp. Hen. VII and Hen. VIII
 MS. Great Tournament Roll of Westminster
 MS. Herald's Tract (uncatalogued)
 MS. L. 5 bis.
 MS. L. 6
 MS. L. 8a
 MS. L. 9
 MS. L. 10
 MS. L. 10 bis.
 MS. L. 12a
 MS. L. 12b
 MS. L. 13
 MS. L. 14
 MS. L. 18
 MS. M. 3
 MS. M. 4
 MS. M. 7
 MS. M. 9 bis.
 MS. M. 10
 MS. M. 13 bis.
 MS. M. 14
 MS. M. 14 bis.
 MS. M. 15
 MS. M. 16 bis.
 MS. M. 17
 MS. M. 19
 MS. Muniment Room, Box 15, Roll 14
 MS. Vincent 152
 MS. Vincent 153
 MS. Vincent 164
 MS. Vincent 170
 MS. Vincent 174
 MS. Vincent 444

Other London Libraries:

*Guildhall Lib. MS. 3313
 *Guildhall Lib. Print Room (loose leaves)
 Lambeth Palace Lib. MS. 491
 Senate House Lib., University of London MS. 1
 Society of Antiquaries MS. 346
 Society of Antiquaries MS. 476
 Society of Antiquaries MS. 501
 Society of Antiquaries MS. 517
 *The National Archives/Public Record Office MS. E. 36/217
 *The National Archives/Public Record Office MS. Egmont 197
 The National Archives/Public Record Office State Papers (I) 73
 Wellcome Lib. MS. 225

Oxford, Bodleian Library:

MS. Ashmole 764
 MS. Ashmole 773
 MS. Ashmole 856
 MS. Ashmole 1121
 MS. Ashmole 1804
 MS. Ashmole Rolls 4
 MS. Bodley 487
 MS. Douce 271
 MS. Douce 278
 MS. Douce 291
 MS. e. Museo 78
 MS. Eng. Misc. D. 227
 MS. Eng. Misc. f. 36
 MS. Holkham Misc. 31
 MS. Laud. Misc. 733
 MS. Rawl. B. 102
 MS. Rawl. C. 399
 MS. Rawl. poet. 143
 MS. Tanner 17
 MS. Tanner 407

Oxford College Libraries:

*Queen's College, MS. 158
 *Queen's College, MS. 161
 *Worcester College, MS. 1

Other Misc. Libraries:

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum MS. 15. 4
 *Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MS. C. B, 5. 6
 Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS. 88
 Dublin, Trinity College Dublin MS. 661
 New York, Pierpont Morgan Lib. MS. M. 775

The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek MS. 72 A 25
 The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek MS. 75. A. 2/2
 Washington D. C., Folger Shakespeare Lib. MS. 1199
 Washington D. C., Folger Shakespeare Lib. MS. V. a. 198

Scotland:

*Edinburgh, Advocates' Lib. MS. 31. 3. 20
 *Edinburgh, Advocates' Lib. MS. 31. 5. 2
 *Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Lib. MS. 186
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 *Forres, Darnaway Castle MS. Donibristle

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