

## 9. BOOK REVIEWS AND SHORT NOTICES

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### 9.1. BOOK REVIEWS

#### 9.1.1. MOLL, RICHARD J., ed. *A Heraldic Miscellany: Fifteenth-Century Treatises on Blazon and the Office of Arms in English and Scots*.

Series: Exeter Medieval Texts and Studies. Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2018. Pp. xii, 298. \$160.00. ISBN 978-1-78138-248-6.

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As its title suggests, this book — by a Canadian professor of medieval English literature at the University of Western Ontario, who is also a member of the Advisory Committee of this journal — is composed primarily of critical editions of texts on broadly heraldic subjects. Six such texts are included in the 'miscellany' — the established term for the type of heterogeneous collection in which such texts have typically been preserved in manuscripts. The last three texts have been preserved (along with numerous other texts) in a single manuscript compiled by a Scottish 'pursuivant' or apprentice herald, and the other three texts have been preserved in from *one* to *ten* distinct manuscripts or early printed books of the same general type.

All six texts are fifteenth-century translations (with more or less extensive modifications) of somewhat older works, or parts of works, in either Latin or Middle French — all of which were themselves composed between 1394 and 1490. The first three works were translated into fairly standard Middle English and the last three into the northern dialect called Middle Scots. They include works of most of the more important types composed on subjects of professional interest to contemporary heralds, and together constitute the most *comprehensive* modern collection of such texts in the dialects of fifteenth-century Britain — and probably in any language of any contemporary region. Furthermore, the texts edited here represent all but one of the *families* of their type (the exception being the numerous versions of what is commonly called *John's Treatise* on armory) expressed in any form of English before about 1486.

Because the heralds themselves only began to employ English in their official documents in the 1440s and few early examples of this usage survive, the texts edited here are of considerable interest to historians of the *technical terminology* of English armory. The works edited also include a good deal of material of interest to social and cultural historians of the English nobility (whose origins and nature many of them discuss), and their often complicated place in the universe of contemporary discourse on such subjects in continental Europe (where most of them originated) should make them of interest to scholars of both English and Latin Christian intellectual history.

The three texts in standard Middle English begin with (1) a translation of the well-known *Tractatus de Armis* or 'Treatise on Arms' by the still-unidentified **Johannes de Bado Aureo**, composed in Latin c. 1395; and (2) a translation of a very popular Latin work called in the best English manuscripts *Eneas de heraldis*. This was included in a letter written in 1451 by the famous Italian humanist **Enea Silvio Bartolomeo Piccolomini** (a cardinal from 1456 and Pope as Pius II from 1458 to 1464), to his friend Johann Hinderbach. (3) The third text edited is the closely related composite work called in its Middle English version *Dionisius, Furst Institutoure*, which is now preserved in a single manuscript. It begins as an English paraphrase of Piccolomini's work but goes on to include various other materials of unknown origin that are of equal interest to heraldic historians.

The three texts in Middle Scots — *The Lawe of Armes within Listis*, *The Persewant*, and *The Origynall Determyning of Blasonyng of Armes* — are *similar* but *unrelated* to those just identified. The first seems to be an original composition in Scots, the second is a *composite* work derived from various Latin and French sources, and the third appears to be derived from a single lost original, probably in Latin. They are associated through their inclusion in a collection made (and personally copied) by the Scottish pursuivant **Adam Loutfut** in the last decade or so of the fifteenth century and were chosen to represent some of the other types of text found in most such miscellanies as well as to include a distinctively Scottish perspective.

All six of Moll's editions are preceded by scholarly introductions discussing the history not only of the *text* but of the various *manuscripts* in which it survives (both types of history being revealed as rather complicated), and the collection as a whole is preceded by a very useful general introduction, whose nature I shall discuss below.

Moll's editions are also provided individually both with brief *textual notes* at the base of the page and with much more extensive *editorial notes* in a series of appendices (pp. 199-253). In the latter, Moll (1) explains his choice of English words, (2) comments on the relationships of passages or sections of each work to their apparent Latin or French sources, (3)

identifies various persons mentioned in them, and (4) provides references to all of the relevant works from which they or their ideas were derived.

These appendices are followed by a list of *works cited* (including, on pp. 255-6, forty-three *manuscripts*; on pp. 256-60, various *printed primary sources*; and, on pp. 260-66, *secondary works*); by a very useful *glossary of technical terms* on pp. 267-288; and, finally, by an *index of proper nouns and select subjects* on pp. 289-98. All of these elements of the scholarly apparatus are presented with admirable clarity and thoroughness.

It must finally be noted here that Moll's book also includes a significant number of **illustrations**, all reproducing those of the manuscripts in which the edited texts are preserved but detached from their original setting and inserted into the printed text. Among these are the splendid frontispieces of two of the works (the *Tractatus* and *Eneas de heraldis*), the purely illustrative figures in the former (including the 20 'beasts' whose meaning is explained and the 61 shields of arms chosen as examples of other types of motif), and, finally, the comparable set of 161 shields of arms presented for the same purpose in the manuscript of *The Origynall Determyning*.

I shall consider each of the seven parts of Moll's modern *Miscellany* briefly in turn, beginning with its **General Introduction** on pp. 1-25. In this, Moll ably situates his texts and their authors and translators (when they can be identified) in the cultural world of the professional heralds and amateur heraldists of Latin Europe in the fifteenth century; the variety of **subjects** they attempted to explain; and finally of the various **kinds of manuscript** in which they have been preserved. It is unfortunate that Moll (p. 2) took as his definition of 'heraldry' one proposed by Sir Anthony Wagner based on loose modern usage, as it originally meant (and logically still means) '*the whole profession and expertise of the heralds*' and should be distinguished from its subfield related to armorial emblems, which is properly called '*armory*' (a distinction Wagner himself made in other contexts). He is also previous in his use of the expression '*cote armour*' (p. 7, etc.) to mean 'arms'; down to about 1485, that phrase seems always to have designated (like its synonym '*cote of armes*') the actual *garment* on which emblematic arms were most commonly displayed in the fifteenth century. But these are small matters, and Moll actually treats as *heraldic* all of the other matters of professional concern to heralds.

The variety of these matters is clear from the range of topics typically included in heraldic miscellanies and, more particularly, in Moll's own *Miscellany*, which begins with (1) one of the earliest '**systematic treatments of heraldic design**' and goes on to include two important works on (2) the **origins of arms** and (3) the **heraldic profession** concerned with them; (4) an '**ordinance of battle**', setting forth rules for *trial by combat* (overseen in England and probably in Scotland by the High Court of *Chivalrie* or martial affairs); (5) a tract on the **investiture, employment,**

**duties**, and **privileges** of the heralds; and, finally, (5) a work on the **Ancient origins of knighthood, arms**, and the '**Office of Arms**' or **heraldic profession** aimed at armigerous gentlemen rather than heralds.

Against all known evidence but in keeping with the ideas of scholars of these subjects at the time they were composed, all of the works claim an *Antique* origin for those phenomena and the intervention of such prestigious monarchs as Alexander of Macedon and Julius Caesar – who, in reality, had nothing whatever to do with any aspect of heraldry. Moll argues that the collection illustrates the steady growth in the *prestige* and *authority* of the heralds during the course of the fifteenth century, beginning by pointing out the small place occupied by heralds in the doctrines of the earliest treatises on armory, composed between the 1340s and the 1390s, and their steadily more prominent place in those of the fifteenth century – many composed by the leading French heralds of the period.

Moll goes on to discuss the increasing standardization of the organization of general treatises on heraldic matters from the 1430s onward and the influence of French works on those of other countries – especially England. To someone like myself who is familiar both with these works and with the earlier scholarship on them, his introduction (with the minor reservations noted above) appears at once thorough, sound, and clearly expressed, and his book would be an excellent introduction to the field of heraldic and what I have called 'heraldistic' *erudition* in its formative period.

The first of the particular texts edited in the Miscellany is the unique Middle English translation of the *Tractatus de armis* generally attributed to a '**Johannes de Bado Aureo**', whose name is given in the explicit of this translation. As Moll explains, the editor of the Latin original of this text, Evan John Jones (1943), identified him on the basis of his name with a **Siôn Trevor**, Bishop of St. Asaph (d. 1410), but Moll argues convincingly against that identification (based partly on the name of a much later translator into Welsh) and leaves the author's identity unknown. Bado Aureo claimed that he had composed the work at the request of Richard II's queen, Anne of Bohemia, so it is probably datable to the years around her death in 1394. Moll notes the dependence of the work on the armorial doctrines of the Italian jurist Bartolo da Sassoferrato, who had been a councillor of Anne's father, the Emperor Karl IV, and had composed the foundational treatise in the European tradition, *De insigniis et armis*, in 1355. It was the latter work that introduced the wholly groundless notion that both the *nature* and the *posture* of the non-geometrical figures in arms (especially beasts) and the '*tinctures*' or colours of all figures were *symbolic* of the personal qualities of their first bearers.

Moll does an excellent job in describing Bado Aureo's *Tractatus* and its own influence and provides a useful critique of Jones's edition of the

Latin original — adding five manuscripts and one early printed version of the text to the four known to Jones; sorting them into the two traditions identified by Jones as *Tractatus* I and II; and adding a sixth witness in the extensive quotations found in a later version of the short work called *John's Treatise* (the earliest work on armory in Middle English) made by Richard Strangways. Moll also determined that his English translation was based on yet another Latin version, so far unidentified. As I made a photographic copy of the sole manuscript of the English version (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud misc. 733), I can attest that his edition is accurate.

The second work edited in the *Miscellany* is the *Eneas de heraldis* (*Eneas on the heralds*). This was a pseudo-historical account of the origins of the heralds and their profession, composed, as noted above, by the great Italian humanist **Enea Piccolomini** — ostensibly on the basis of a Latin translation of a Greek work by Thucydides (v. c. 480 – c. 400 BCE) but in fact on the basis of the *Indica*, a Latin translation of the *Indikê* of the second-century Greek writer **Arrianos** (called 'Arrian' in English, b. 86 CE). Moll argues that the verbal similarities between the Latin *Indica* and the *De heraldis* make it clear that the latter was based upon the former but notes that Piccolomini inserted into his model a whole series of statements on the origins of the heralds — naturally unknown to Arrianos because, as we now know, heralds first appeared only around 1150 CE. Arrianos is said to have attributed their creation to **Dionysus** (wrongly portrayed in the *Indikê* as the conqueror of India) rather than to **Julius Caesar**, to whom Piccolomini himself — in company with other fifteenth-century authors — had assigned the act of creation.

Piccolomini then proceeded to attribute the *contemporary privileges* of the heralds to a whole series of later rulers culminating in **Charlemagne** (c. 800) and quoted at length from an imaginary '*Lex heraldorum*' or '*Law of the Herald's*'. Moll argues that the English translation of the *De heraldis* was based on the Latin version preserved in London, British Library MS Stowe 668. This manuscript is itself a late fifteenth-century *miscellany*, with texts in Latin, French, and English, probably owned by John Writhe, Garter King of Arms (1478-1504) — who certainly owned a manuscript containing the English translation of the text copied in his own hand (London, College of Arms MS Arundel 26). Of the five surviving versions of the English text, indeed, this is the closest to the Latin original, and, on linguistic grounds, Moll argues convincingly that the translation itself was probably made by Writhe. He goes on to provide thorough descriptions of all five manuscripts in which the work has been preserved and to establish the complex relationships among them (represented in a useful stemma).

The third text edited by Moll in his *Miscellany* — *Dionisius, Furst Institutoure* — is itself a composite work uniquely preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 271. It begins as a paraphrase of the *Eneas de*

*heraldis* but replaces *Piccolomini's* account of Caesar's establishment of the heralds with one borrowed from the very influential treatise now called the *Traité en forme de questionnaire* – composed shortly before his death in 1437 by **Jehan Courtois**, Sicily Herald – one of the most influential authors of the period. The text then returns to Piccolomini's stories about Octavian, Attila, Theodoric, and Charlemagne as promoters of the heraldic profession.

Having finished this presentation, the unknown compiler of the manuscript goes back in time to discuss such omitted topics as the *first tournament*, which he declares to have been held at Olympia after the fall of Troy (another passage borrowed from Sicily Herald). The latter is probably the earliest author to convert the tournament – a sport invented in its most primitive form in France around the year 1100 CE – into one invented in Greece around 1200 BCE.

The compiler of the manuscript concludes this section with a discussion of the *rights, privileges, and fees due to heralds* who assist at tournaments and royal ceremonies and finally with an account of the procedures to be followed at the *investiture of a herald*.

This is followed by a section composed of a whole series of short discussions of *heralds, distinctions of nobility, orders of knighthood*, and comparable subjects, borrowed from a variety of sources in both English and French. Moll ends his general introduction by arguing that *Dionisius* should be regarded as 'a unified work in a single hand', though one yet to be identified.

Space does not permit a comparable discussion of the last three texts in the collection, already introduced above, but it is worth observing that they form part of an unusually **comprehensive collection** of heraldic texts originally composed in French; that they are all essentially **composite works**; and, finally, that they deal mainly with matters not touched on in the first three: **trial by combat** in *The Lawe of Armes within the Listis* (text on pp. 134-145); the **ideal qualities of a pursuivant**, how that office was to be entered and supported, and what legal privileges it conveyed; and, finally, **how to blazon arms** in the text called *The Persewant* (primarily based on a letter by **Anjou Herald** but supplemented from a treatise on armory, whose text is on pp. 150-160). Finally, in *The Origynall Determyning of Armes* (text and illustrations pp. 170-98), the discussion turns to a theoretical explanation of the **relationship between arms and gentility**. This was clearly composed for an audience of *armigers* rather than heralds – laying a heavy emphasis on the *symbolic* implications of the tinctures of arms first proposed by Bartolo da Sassoferrato and establishing an imaginary correspondence among *tinctures, precious stones*, and the *nine orders of angels* (set out in Table 5). All of these matters are treated in similar ways in other, contemporary works.

In general, it can be said that Moll has done an admirable job in establishing the *sources* and *relationships* among the complex texts he has edited in this volume and the nature and content of the texts themselves. The editions are models of their kind, meticulously reconstructed and clearly presented, and will surely be of considerable use to heraldists and heraldic historians — whose interests in such matters have increased significantly in recent years — as well as to students of Middle English language and literature.

**9.1.2. STEEN CLEMMENSEN. *Editing Armorial: Cooperation, knowledge, and approach by late medieval practitioners.***

2 vols., Books on Demand, Copenhagen, Denmark, and Norderstet, Germany, 2017.

The review that follows is based on the evaluation I gave to a book already published but submitted to the historical faculty of the University of Copenhagen as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

The examination began with an oral defense of the thesis by the candidate — a mature student with a substantial professional oeuvre in a wholly different field, who, in addition, had already established a considerable reputation as a heraldist — especially through his editions of many of the medieval armorials about which he now wrote in general terms.

My evaluation was presented orally to an audience of local scholars in the great hall of the University along with several comparable evaluations given by leading heraldists from several European countries, and the whole event concluded with a vote on whether the work should be accepted as a thesis for a doctorate. Happily, it was, so what was by both British and North American standards a rather gruelling form of examination — not only for the *examinee* but for his *examiners* — may be regarded as a success.

Although the title of this book is somewhat misleading — it should read something like '*Problems and Methods Related to the Editing and Interpretation of Large Composite Armorial Produced in Latin Europe between c. 1380 and c. 1520 Based on a Systematic Understanding of the Objects, Sources, and Practices of Their Compilers*' — it is a masterful account of the subject thus defined and should be read with care by anyone undertaking the complex and onerous task of preparing editions of the documents in question.

It is not without flaws (generically described below), but these are all relatively trivial and easy to correct and are offset by the enormous quantity of material dealt with in a fully scientific way by the author — who has already established a considerable scholarly reputation in the field

of heraldic studies, both through his own editions of many of the armorials in question and through his many excellent articles analyzing the history of other forms of broadly heraldic phenomena, published, among other places, in the proceedings of the annual colloquia or congresses of the International Heraldic Academy.

I shall comment briefly on each of its chapters in turn, starting in **Volume I**, which begins with an **Introduction** (corresponding to **Chapter 1**) called **Heraldry, armory, and society – challenges of research** (pp. 15-34).

In this chapter, Clemmensen begins by setting out an account of the nature of the matter to be discussed and the terms that he will employ for analyzing and classifying the various forms of document to which the name 'armorial' can reasonably be attached. He takes due cognizance of the scientific terminology I have myself proposed both for the classification of heraldic phenomena generally and of armorials in particular and adopts from it those terms that were most useful for his purposes. Since I did not anticipate the need for classes based on the types and combination of sources, of related groups, and of composite types that *borrowed from* or *incorporated fully* earlier armorials, he has created new terms for these phenomena, which are, of course, central to his interest in the thesis.

He gives, in addition, a useful summary of the *types of primary source* that survive for armorial studies and of the *current state of the literature* on that subject and on the *established terminology* for describing them in all of the principal languages of Europe – referring the reader to **Appendices 2, 3, and 4 in Vol. II** for further details.

He also discusses the *problems related to the identification* (and, therefore, to the *enumeration*) of *distinct armorials*, concluding with his own figure of 419 distinct 'medieval' armorials, of which **194 survive** in at least one version of contemporary manufacture, and a number survive in **more than 20 copies and versions** of various dates. The quantity alone of these works, multiplied by the number of manuscripts and versions in which they have come down to us, gives a sense of the daunting character of the task of sorting them all out and providing even a preliminary analysis of their contents and (often complex) relationships.

Clemmensen presents, in addition, unprecedented examinations of the practices of modern editors and the levels of analysis to which they subjected the works they have edited – indicating, most importantly, the *failure* of most of them to deal with the phenomenon central to his own analysis of them: that of the *borrowed segments* that many of them include and the evidence such segments provide of the *relationships* among those armorials. He takes note of the matters typically included in the introductions to editions of armorials by earlier scholars – of whom only three other than himself (Jéquier, Raneke, and Blanchard) had attempted



to establish their *segmentation*, while only two others (Pastoureau and Popoff) had contributed to our understanding of this phenomenon through their recognition of *variant forms* of the major armorials that effectively constituted *groups* of armorials with similar contents, divided into what Clemmensen calls '*segments*'.

Clemmensen then explains briefly his own extraction from these editions of a sufficient body of data to form a **database**, from which he was then able to establish a *draft structure* of each armorial thus analysed in terms of segments and to identify variant versions of particular arms that could serve as markers for such segments borrowed from particular sources. Using this methodology, he was able to identify the six different **groups** of armorials that serve as one of the organizing bases of his thesis, beginning with the *Urfé Group* and the *Toison d'Or Group* and proceeding to the *Ashmole Group*, the *Ryneck Group*, and the *Bodensee Group*. The whole approach he has taken to establish these groups is quite original, and both his establishment of the fact of *their* existence and that of the existence of the *segments* of which they are composed constitute very important contributions to our understanding of their nature and origins.

At this point, in § 1.2.3 (pp. 24-28), Clemmensen turns to the question of the *identity*, both general and particular, of the **compilers** of the armorials with which he is concerned. He begins by dismissing the traditional belief that most of the compilations were prepared by heralds, pointing out that only *seven* heralds can certainly be identified as the authors of such works and that recent research on the heralds as a class has added nothing to support the idea of their general authorship of such works and that clear evidence has been found that at least *some* armorials were produced by artisans in *commercial work-shops*, either to satisfy *commissions by amateur armorists* or *speculatively* for sale to such armorists or others with a less systematic interest in arms.

He also indicates that our previous knowledge of how armorials in general were *received* and *used* is 'almost nil' and that very little effort has been expended to date not only on the questions of the *identity* of their **compilers** and those for whom they were compiled but also on the *purposes* for which they were compiled and the *methods* involved in their *compilation* and *production*. This is certainly true and alone justifies the efforts he has himself expended on these questions.

Even before tackling these questions, Clemmensen notes a major change between the content of the earlier and the later armorials. Most of the armorials of the **formative period** — the *thirteenth* and *earlier fourteenth century* — and some of those of the *fifteenth* as well, seem to have been made to record the names and arms of men who participated in *particular campaigns, tournaments, or jousting contests* and were organized on the basis of the *units, teams, or pairs* that appeared in such particular events.

As early as 1280, however — and much more *commonly* from about 1380 — *considerably larger armorials* were created, whose **segments** *were defined by the geographical territory* of those listed without reference to any particular event and whose **sub-segments** were *organized by their social rank*, usually in *descending order*. The organization of such armorials suggests a desire on the part of the great lord who commissioned them to have a **register** of his vassals and rerevassals and of their arms — possibly to serve his heralds as a basis for determining their appearance at musters. It is on the latter sort of armorial that Clemmensen has concentrated his attention.

Clemmensen has also proceeded on the hypothesis that the compilers of such armorials cooperated with one another in various ways to establish the widest range of entries possible of interest to the person or persons for whom each armorial was prepared. To get a sense of how this might have been done in as wide an area as feasible, he has chosen **44 segmented armorials** from **four distinct regions** in which they were produced (England, France, the Low Countries, and Germany). These armorials include 36 that had already been provided with some form of edition, transcription, or facsimile, which among them included more than 1,000 distinct *segments* and c. 64,000 distinct *entries*. He explains in a reasonable way his principles for both the *inclusion* and the *exclusion* of c. 250 armorials from his corpus (based largely on their relevance to his project, the availability of information about them, and the degree of their interest to the modern scholar).

Section A of his introduction concludes in § 1.3 (pp. 31-34) with a detailed explanation of the methods he employed to analyze the structure and contents of the armorials he selected — too numerous to rehearse here but all clearly relevant to the project and explained in a clear and consistent manner. His discussion of the techniques of comparing the armorials and placing them in *groups* (explained at greater length in Chapter 3) is particularly interesting as is his short discussion in § 1.3.3. of the evidence for the identity of the *makers*, the *purposes*, and the *audiences* of these armorials and the extent to which this evidence **undermines** the traditional notion that they were mainly produced by *heralds* for their own *records*.

**Part B** of the Introduction, called **Analysing Armorials**, begins with **chapter 2** (pp. 35-50), called **Medieval armorials – form and use**. Its first subsection (§ 2.1), called **Classification**, deals with the question of *how* armorials should be classified. In it, Clemmensen argues that — in contrast to the smaller armorials of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that were clearly the products of *individual compilers* — the larger composite armorials of the later fourteenth and still later centuries were usually the product of *several compilers* and existed in the form of *partial drafts in loose-leaf collections* for long periods of time. He proceeds to discuss in

more detail the classification of such armorials, rehearsing various bases for classifying them and schemes involving several different principles – including (at particular length) one I proposed myself for use in a general study of the history of armory. Of my classes, he determined that, for his purposes, only what I called ‘**armigeral groups**’ – based on the types of armiger included – were of real relevance, and he adopted it with only minor modifications to incorporate other classes. Nevertheless, he found my distinctions among geographical types of armorial to be too restrictive for the reality he confronted, and I found his argument quite convincing. Theoretical models must always defer to actual evidence.

This discussion of the classification of armorials is followed in § 2.2. (**Evolution of the use of armorials**) by one on the **periodization** of their production on the basis of those types, which is also both original and convincing. It assigns many of the particular armorials to a succession of five periods: (1) **Formative** to 1220/1250, (2) **Proto-classic** 1220/50-1340/60, (3) **High Classic** 1340/60-1530, (4) **Late Classic** 1530-1600, and (5) **Post-Classic** 1600-1660/90) and to sub-periods within the first two of these. Having myself worked with armorials in manuscripts from the full range of his periods, I can say that I found this classification to be both sound and useful, and I shall adopt it myself for future work.

The introduction proceeds to discuss (in § 2.3, **Relations between armorials**), in five subsections, the methods that should be used for determining the *unitary* or *non-unitary* nature of armorials. This begins with an analysis of the different modes of *copying* and continues with *collections*, *remakes*, *selections*, and the *level of trust* one can place in the accuracy of a particular armorial without knowing its history based on the known history of the arms it includes and the general reliability of its compiler. He finally discusses at some length the common causes of the *misidentification* of arms and the problems they can give rise to – singling out the *Grüenberg Armorial*, compiled in the late fifteenth century, as a particularly *unreliable* source for many of the arms it includes.

**Chapter 3 (Methods of analysis**, pp. 51-60) is devoted to a discussion of the *methods of analysing armorials*, beginning with comparisons based partly on their size. He notes that the larger armorials of the later period were usually made up of many *segments*, some of them seriously *disordered*, and that it takes careful analysis of their content to recognize such flaws.

The criteria he proposes for determining the identity of segments are, first, § 3.1 the *commonality* of their material; second, § 3.2 the *identity of the entries* and their *markers* and *legends* (which must be examined carefully); and finally, § 3.3 *sequences*, including *segmentation*, *alignment*, *layouts* and *overlays* – all of which again must be examined with care.

**Chapter 4 (Pictorial assessment**, pp. 61-70) and, especially, **§ 4.1 (Images)** deal primarily with the assessment of *pictorial representations* of arms in armorials, beginning (1) with the problem of determining whether they are *sufficiently similar* to be regarded as *intentionally identical* and (2) suggesting that many pictorial details need to be ignored for such purposes. (3) It proposes no fewer than *eight categories of possible errors in representing arms*, falling into *three groups* on the basis of their severity. (4) It goes on to discuss the *frequency* with which such errors are found in armorials and (5) the *difficulties of determining errors* in armorials whose contents lack, in large part, the additional and more reliable testimony of *sigillary* images. (6) It next turns to the techniques used by artists for *drawing* and *painting* armorials and the growing use of the practice of *pre-stamping* pages with woodblock outlines of the standard elements of achievements: **shields, helms, and mantling**.

(7) The chapter concludes in **§ 4.2. (Words**, pp. 68-70) with an assessment of problems related to the *use of words* in armorials, especially in *blazons* and *tricks*. He explains that these problems arise from three distinct sources: (a) *unintelligible scripts*, (b) *missing words and phrases*, and (c) *defective formulations*. As usual, all of them must be recognized and dealt with as required when preparing an edition.

The last two chapters of Part B examine more particular problems in detail. **Chapter 5** (pp. 71-80) deals with the sources of the *English* arms included in the armorials of the *Toison d'or Group* and **Chapter 6** (pp. 81-98) with the creation of the highly complex *Codex Bergshammar*. Both serve to exemplify the kinds of problems and techniques discussed in the earlier chapters of the Part and do so quite admirably.

**Part C, Armorial Groups** (pp. 99-286), consists of six chapters (7-12) that discuss problems related to *particular groups* of armorials that Clemmensen has identified and the bases for his assignment of the constituent armorials to each of the groups. The dominant armorials in these groups are 7. **the Toison d'Or group**, 8. **the Urfé group**, 9. **the Bellenville and Gelre group**, 10. **the Rineck group**, 11. **the Bodensee group**, and 12. **the Ashmole group** (named from its earliest editor). The six chapters in question effectively contain the substance of his argument for the existence of such groups both *in particular* and *in general* but are too detailed to summarize meaningfully here. What can be said is that the presentation and argument are quite convincing and should serve as instructions for all future editions.

**Part D, Trends and Practitioners** (pp. 287-260), is composed of four chapters (13-16) concerned with different elements of the cultural milieu from which the armorials arose and both the **types of person** who *produced* armorials and the types *for whom they were produced*.

**Chapter 13 (Reality and Imagination**, pp. 287- 308) deals variously in five sections with (a) *heraldic fantasies*; (b) the **representation of social strata** within national nobilities; (c) *realms real and imaginary*; (d) the influence of *heroic literature*; (e) **embodied symbols** of an *ideal social order*; and (f) the transmission of traditional *heroic fiction* in armorial forms.

**Chapter 14 (The transition from personal to family organization**, pp. 309-318) deals, as its title suggests, with (a) the *transition* in armorials from their early focus on *individual armigers* to the later focus on ‘*families*’ (or more accurately *patrilineages*) and an increasing indifference to individuals – (b) with a foray into armorials as *images of the contemporary world*.

**Chapter 15 (Heralds, antiquarians, and institutions**, pp. 319-344) is concerned with the *roles played in the compilation of armorials* (a) first by *heralds* and then (b) by *antiquarians* and later *copyists*.

**Chapter 16 (Commissioners and bookmaking**, pp. 345-360) discusses first (a) the several different *classes of men who commissioned armorials*; then (b) their *users*; next (c) the *types of book* in which armorials were published; next (d) the *organization of the production* of such books; and then (e) the *artisans* who engaged in their production. It concludes with a discussion of (f) the various levels of *cost* associated with their production based on *manpower, materials, and productivity*.

All of these chapters are somewhat less original in their content than the preceding ones but are distinctive in concentrating on the place of armorials in particular in the world of the heraldic manuscript.

**Part E**, called **Findings**, consists of a single **Chapter 17 (Cooperation, copying and commercialization**, pp. 361-380). This picks up on the themes of Chapter 16 but looks at them from three different perspectives. Section 17.1, **Regional developments** (pp. 361-366), does so from a *regional perspective*, with subsections on **France and the Low Countries**, **The Empire**, and **England**. Section 17.2 (**Modes of work**, pp. 367-373) deals with *matters related to* (1) *observation*, (2) *re-use*, (3) *invention*, and (4) *illustration*. Section 17.3, **Practitioners and audience**, pp. 374-380, has three subsections: (1) *class, visuality, and consciousness*; (2) *heralds, artisans, and armorists*; and, finally, (3) *criteria, if any*, for assessing such things.

The chapter thus rounds out the picture painted of the place of armorials in contemporary culture in a thorough and satisfying manner.

**Volume 2** of the work begins with a set of nine **Appendices** (pp. 5-180), which are followed by an extensive **Bibliography** (pp. 181- 220).

The Appendices include a significant number of organized lists and tables of relevant matters along with a surprising number of useful maps.

These add significantly to the value of the work to a serious heraldic scholar, especially to one interested in the armorials of the period covered.

The tables begin on pp. 9-22 with the **core set of armorials**, the **marches of arms** recognized for sorting them geographically, and the **abbreviations** and terms employed to identify and describe them. All of these are clearly organized and precisely expressed.

They are followed by what Clemmensen calls 'surveys' of selected armorials, organized by the group to which he has shown they belong: (1) those of the time of **Edward I of England (1272-1307)** p. 23; (2) those of the *Toison d'or* (or **Golden Fleece**) **Group** pp. 24-47; (3) the **Urfé Group** pp. 48-64; (4) the **Bellenville-Gelre Group** pp. 65-86; (5) the **Bodensee Group** pp. 87-101; and, finally, (6) particular segments in three *ordinaries* pp. 102-105 and (7) armorials including **imaginary arms** (pp. 106-108).

These lists vary to some extent in their internal structure according to the nature of the work or works surveyed, but they are all presented as *tables* (generally preceded by different types of comment on the sources and the places they have been published), in which either *segments* or *individual items* are set in a column, followed by *up to nine parallel columns* indicating their appearance in as many armorials identified at the top of the column by their sigla and followed at the right by a wider column in which comments of from one to a dozen lines are included, often indicating the date of origin of the item or segment and additional locations in which the item or segment can be found.

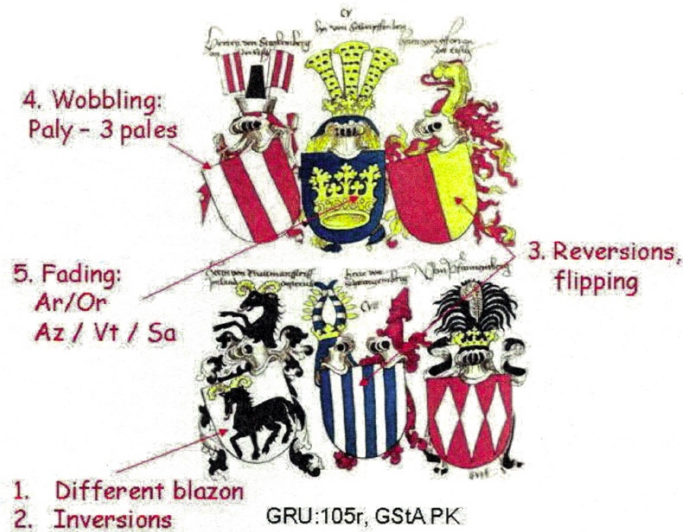
The following survey of the *Chiffre* and *Rebecq* *Armorials* (pp. 46-7) is presented in the form of a *non-tabular list* of segments, and several of the tables are followed by lists of the manuscripts in which the works surveyed have been preserved.

The tables in general are not easy to interpret without the explanatory text in Vol. I and the list of sigla, but they do represent a very concise and unambiguous method of presenting the evidence on which the key arguments of the work are made and would undoubtedly be extremely useful to any scholar who wished to undertake further work of any sort on the armorials thus surveyed.

**Section 6** (pp. 109-125) examines the structures of the manuscripts of certain composite armorials, dealing with such technical questions as row-to-row perturbation, page structures, quire structures, and the reuse of woodblocks in manuscripts of the **Bodensee Group**. These codicological questions have rarely been addressed by the editors of such manuscripts and shed new light on the processes of their compilation that significantly increases our understanding of how armorials were actually assembled.

**Section 7** (pp. 126-159) is composed of 25 detailed *comparisons* of *particular segments* or *types of segment* (e.g., those including English or Bohemian arms and those with displays of the ancestors of major

personages), which all serve to illustrate his arguments about the ways in which these segments were borrowed and inserted into different composite works.



**Section 8** (pp. 160-175) consists of 16 illustrations of various types, illustrating such topics as *types of variation in blazoned and painted arms* (seen in his figure above), *painting techniques, similarities* among the miniatures in two or more different manuscripts, and the use of *woodblocks* for the common *structural elements* of arms (*shields*) and achievements (*helmets, mantlings, scrolls*), *layout* types, *helmet* types, *legend* types, and types of *imaginary arms*. These illustrations were well-chosen, organized, and reproduced and contribute significantly to the reader's understanding of the practices and phenomena discussed in the relevant chapters of Vol. I.

**Section 9** (pp. 176-180) contains six *maps* of Latin Europe in the fifteenth century, providing some very useful geographical information for readers not equipped with historical atlases (and even for those of us who are).

#### **Bibliography** (pp. 181-220)

The second volume concludes with a bibliography, beginning with (1) a section of *published armorials* listed by Clemmensen's established *sigla* in alphabetical order (pp. 181-187) and followed by (2) one on *collections of armiferous seals* (pp. 187-188).

The final section of the Bibliography (pp. 188-220) is a list of the books and articles cited in his text. Its 32 pages include more than 500 works of every *genre* and in every one of the *languages* of Latin Europe related to the themes of his thesis published since at least 1672. I could find no obvious omissions and can say that it should serve for

some time as the most thorough multilingual bibliography for the field of the study of medieval armorials in Latin Europe as a whole.

### **A General Assessment of the Work**

As my foregoing analysis of the contents of Clemmensen's thesis should suggest, it is far too *comprehensive*, and its bases far too *numerous* and individually *complex* and *varied* for a reviewer even to attempt an examination of *all* or even *most* of his reconstructions for their individual accuracy. The best that can be expected is an evaluation of the author's knowledge and understanding of the subject and the validity of his approach based upon the *evaluator's* own prior knowledge of (some of) the material and his experience with the practices of editing and classifying texts of the types in question – supplemented (in the unusual case of a candidate like Steen Clemmensen) with the examiner's familiarity with the *published* work of the author (both in the area of editions of armorials and in related areas of historical heraldic studies) and with his reputation as a scholar in the field.

On all of these grounds, I can say without hesitation that I believe Clemmensen's book/ thesis to be at once critically sound, significantly innovative, and extremely impressive – not only in its vast *scope* but also in the clarity and soundness of its novel terms, classes, and approaches to its central themes. It will almost certainly remain the most important work in its field for many years to come.

## **9.2. SHORTER NOTICES OF RECENT BOOKS OF PARTICULAR INTEREST TO HERALDIC SCHOLARS**

My purpose in adding this second new type of appendix to *Alta Studia Heraldica* is to introduce to the community of heraldic scholars in Canada some of the specialist publications that have contributed in important ways to our understanding of heraldic phenomena, and would be difficult to review in detail, but ought at least to be noticed. I hope that the notices will at least lead the readers of this journal to seek out the works in question when seeking sources for the subjects with which they deal. For reasons of time, I have been able to include only one such review in this issue, but plan to add more in the next issue.

### **9.2.1. TORSTEN HILTMANN & LAURENT HABLLOT, eds. *Heraldic Artists and Painters in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times*.**

Heraldic Studies no. 1 (series edited by the authors), Thorbecke Verlag, Stuttgart, Germany, 2018. 235 p.



This work — one of the first extensive studies of the whole field of *heraldic artists* as such to be written in any language — originated in a conference held at the University of Poitiers in France in 2014 as part of a series organized annually from 2011 by **Laurent Hablot** of the University of Paris, called '**Journées héraldiques à Poitiers**'. It includes fourteen articles, seven in French and seven in English, written by scholars based in Germany, France, Belgium, Italy, Austria, England, Romania, Denmark, and the United States.

According to the Preface by the editors (pp. 7-8), the book was intended to be 'the first publication in our new book series "**Heraldic Studies: Medieval and Early Modern Heraldry from the Perspective of Cultural History**". The series is innovative and original in several ways, both due to its planned contents and to the way it will be published. Focusing on heraldic *sources* and studying them from the perspectives of *cultural history*, Heraldic Studies will 'break new ground'. This new approach is certainly to be welcomed, but it is unfortunate that the authors do not acknowledge the extent to which the journal *Alta Studia Heraldica* has anticipated and laid some of the foundations necessary for the success of their efforts.

The greatest shortcoming of the first volume is in fact its lack of a common or sound *terminology* for the discussion of the matters included, and their relationship to the more systematic elements of heraldic studies as I have defined them in the first issues of this journal. The authors merely employ the crude and often misleading terms established by heraldists in the various European languages during the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In most other respects, however, the articles included in the first volume of this projected series are admirable additions to our knowledge and understanding of the segment of the previously neglected field on which they concentrate.

After the Preface, the book is organized into five divisions by subject or theme, beginning with an *Introduction* by the editors divided into two parts: '*Arms and Art in the Middle Ages: Approaching the Social and Cultural Impact of Heraldry by its Artisans and Artists*' by **Torsten Hiltman** of the University of Münster in Germany (pp. 11-23) and '*Art, esthétique et productions héraldiques au Moyen Age: Considerations générales*' by **Laurent Hablot** (pp. 24-42). The various contributors are almost all identified with cities including universities, so I have assumed that they are attached to the universities in question, but this may not be the case with some of them.

The **first topical** division, '**The Artists**', includes three articles in FRENCH by scholars at universities in Belgium, France, and Italy. These are, respectively, **Marc Gil** of the University of Lille (*Peinture d'armoiries, une activité parmi d'autres du peintre médiéval*, pp. 43-55); **Matteo Ferrari** of

the University of Poitiers (*Identité et culture des peintres héraldistes dans les villes italiennes aux XIIIème -XIVème siècles*, pp. 56-75); and Luisa Gentile of the University of Turin (*Armes, héralts, et héraldique de part et d'autre des Alpes Occidentales*, pp. 76-96).

The **second topical** division, called 'Conception', includes two articles in ENGLISH by scholars at universities in England and Austria: **Oliver Fearon** of the University of York ('As Yt Ys Made', *Gender and Description in Plans for Armorial Displays by the English Gentry c. 1460-1500*, pp. 97-112) and **Andreas H. Zajic** of the University of Vienna (*The Influence of Beneficiaries on the Artistic Make-up of Imperial Grants of Arms or: How Do Heraldic Images Get into Late Medieval Charters*, pp. 113-134).



The **third topical** division, called 'Specific Supports and Contexts', includes three articles in ENGLISH and one in FRENCH from scholars in Austria, Denmark, Romania, and France: **Martin Roland** of the University of Vienna (*Medieval Grants of Arms and their Illuminators*, pp. 135-155); **Steen Clemmensen**, whose thesis I reviewed above (*Armorial as Commercial Ventures?*, pp. 156-166); **Radu Lupescu** of Cluj-Napoca (*Heraldic Commissions in an Architectural Context: Case Studies from Transylvania*, pp. 167-178); and **Anne-Sophie Bessero-Lagarde** of Paris (*Les auteurs des pompe funèbres héraldiques à la Renaissance: Artistes de renom, associations de peintres et ateliers spécialisés*, pp. 179-192).

The fourth and final topical division, on 'Individual Artists and their Work', includes one article in ENGLISH and two in FRENCH by scholars at universities in the United States, Italy, and France: **Tanja Jones** of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, USA (*Vivified Heraldry: On Pisanello's Medallion Imagery*, pp. 193-206); **Alessandro Savorelli** of the University of Florence (*L'héraldique des Della Robbia à Florence entre abstraction et naturalisme*, pp. 207-221); and **Jean-Christophe Blanchard** of the

University of Nancy (*Georges Gresset, peintre et héraut d'armes des ducs de Lorraine (1523-1529)*, pp. 222-235).



Most of the articles just listed (including those of the two editors) have also been provided with at least one and often several illustrations in the form of photographic images of relevant works of heraldic art, numbered by article rather than continuously. All are appropriate to their context and well-reproduced, in most cases in full colour. They represent a wide range of styles and physical contexts, and their use as illustrations to the very particular accounts of their production adds a good deal to our understanding of the forms and processes by which broadly 'heraldic' (and mainly armorial) images were created and the purposes for which they were employed. I have reproduced two of these here as examples.

Some of the articles have also been provided with very useful tables, comparable to those in Clemmensen's book, reviewed above.

### *Sommaire en Français*

*Ce livre se présente comme l'un des premières études étendues sur le champ général des artistes héraldique. Il derive des papiers présentés à un colloque à l'Université de Poitiers en 2014, organisé annuellement par Laurent Hablot de l'Université de Paris. Le volume inclue quatorze articles, sept en anglais et sept en français, écrits par des spécialistes établis en neuf pays. Il constitue en principe the premier volume d'une nouvelle série...*