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(a) Robert I (Bruce), king of Scots, and his first wife Isabel of Mar. See page 57.



(b) Robert II, king of Scots, and his first wife Elizabeth More or Mure. See page 59.

PLATE 2



Robert I (Bruce), king of Scots, and his second wife Elizabeth de Burgh. From the Lambeth Armorial of 1597-1625. See page 59.

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PETTICOAT PROPAGANDA

Bruce McAndrew

The Armorial of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount (DLM), which dates from 1542, is a particularly important Scottish roll of arms, being considerably longer than any of its predecessors, and having legal status.¹ It is divided into six sections - ancient worthies, European kings, Scottish kings and queens, earls and lords, extinct peers, and gentlemen - a format that is largely followed by its successors over the next sixty years, though not all the armorials display all the sections. The sections of these manuscripts relating to Scottish kings and queens are the starting point for the present study: the Workman Manuscript (henceforth WMS) (c. 1566), the Hector le Breton Armorial (henceforth HLB) (1565-81) and the Lambeth Armorial (1597-1625) contain particularly relevant material.

In some of the armorials the kings' arms are displayed on their surcoats, and those of the queens on their full skirts, occasionally impaling those of her husband with her own. In others, the two shields are impaled on a lozenge or shown as arms accolé. A typical example, from the Hector le Breton Armorial (HLB3), purports to display the arms of Malcolm III Canmore (died 1093) and his saintly second wife, Margaret (died 1093), but as they were both dead long before the advent of heraldry in the second quarter of the twelfth century, our suspicions should be raised regarding the accuracy of the armorial information displayed on these vignettes.

The first example to be considered in detail is that of Robert I (Bruce) (died 1329) and his first wife, Isabel of Mar (died by 1302), whose skirt displays a quarterly coat with an inescutcheon overall (WMS78, HLB4) (**Plate 1a**). It is well established that before he became king, Robert bore the saltire and chief of the Bruces of Annandale, arms that he laid down when he claimed the kingdom in 1306 and adopted the royal arms of Scotland as displayed in the first and fourth quarters. His wife, Isabel, was the sister of Gartnait, Earl of Mar (died before September 1305), who himself married one of the sisters of the future king.² The arms of the early earls of Mar are well attested, for instance in Walford's Roll and in the Heralds' Roll, both dating from the period of 1260x80, as *Azure a bend between six cross crosslets fitchy or* (C63, FW84), thereby corresponding with the second and third quarters on the skirt.

¹ A detailed description of this armorial and the other Scottish armorials mentioned in the text can be found in Alex Maxwell Findlater, *Aspilogia Scoticana* (Edinburgh 2006). Particularly relevant is the illustration on p. 54 from Kimble's Scottish Armorial, an English heraldic manuscript of c. 1565, which displays the coats analysed in detail in this paper.

² Details of the descents of the earls of Mar are taken from Sir James Balfour Paul (ed.), *The Scots Peerage*, vol. 5 (Edinburgh 1908), s.v. Ancient earls of Mar, pp. 566-589.

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As a glance at the arms of Scottish earls in the Lord Marshal's Roll of c. 1295 shows (LM45-LM56), there were no quartered coats of arms in use at this time.³ The origin of the complex coat on the skirt of Bruce's first wife can be established nevertheless by following the male line of the Mar earls which terminated on the death of Thomas, Earl of Mar in 1373x74. Lands and title passed to his sister, Margaret, who married as her first husband Sir William Douglas, later 1st Earl of Douglas. On his death in 1384, their son James is generally found styled as Earl of Douglas and Mar; he died at Otterburn in 1388, so strictly speaking this style is incorrect as his mother lived on until 1389x93. His quartered arms, among the earliest found in Scotland, are displayed in the Scottish section of the Armorial de Gelre (1370-95) (GL684) bearing Douglas and Mar. While the Douglas title, under the entail of 1342, passed to Sir Archibald Douglas the Grim, lord of Galloway, the Mar earldom passed to the 2nd Earl's sister, Isabel Douglas. Her first marriage to Sir Malcolm Drummond was short-lived and she married second, Sir Alexander Stewart, illegitimate son of the Wolf of Badenoch, and so a grandson of Robert II. Countess Isabel resigned her earldom in 1404 in favour of her second husband and their heirs, so Alexander Stewart is still found as Earl of Mar even after his wife's death in 1408. Indeed he held the title till 1435 when he died without leaving any legitimate issue. His illustrious career included leading the Scots army against the forces of the Lord of the Isles at Harlaw in 1411.

The seal of Isabel, Countess of Mar, of 1404 is extant and displays a female figure holding in each hand a shield bearing arms: dexter, *A heart and on a chief three mullets* (Douglas); sinister, broken, but probably bearing Mar; legend (Gothic lower case): S' de. marr.et.garviath (SAS660).

The arms of Alexander Stewart, Earl of Mar, are painted in the Scottish section of the Grand Armorial Equestre de la Toison d'Or and bear *Quarterly 1 & 4 azure a bend between six crosses-crosslet fitchy or* (earldom of Mar), *2 & 3 or a fess chequy argent and azure between three open crowns gules* (Stewart cadet) (TO972), thereby providing the source of the arms in the inescutcheon.

Thereafter the Mar earldom became an appanage of the Crown despite the efforts of the heirs general, the Erskines, who quartered the Mar arms as part of their claim.⁴ It was usually awarded to a younger son of the king and was held by John (died 1479), younger son of James II and Mary of Gueldres, and a second John (died 1503), younger son of James III and Margaret of Denmark.⁵ Their arms are generally given as *Quarterly 1 & 4 Scotland, 2 & 3 Earldom of Mar; overall on an inescutcheon or a fess chequy azure and argent between three crowns gules* (DLM52, HR87) where the inescutcheon is generally held to represent the lordship of the Garioch. More importantly, however, the arms borne by Robert I's first wife on her skirt in the illustration have been replicated, arms which only appear in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries, two hundred years after the marriage of Robert I to Isabel of Mar.

³ B. A. McAndrew, *Scotland's Historic Heraldry* (Woodbridge 2006), p. 59.

⁴ *Scots Peerage* 5, s.v. Erskine earl of Mar, pp. 590-636.

⁵ *Scots Peerage* 5, s.v. Stewart earl of Mar, pp. 637-9.

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Clearly the heralds of the day have hijacked the later complex coat and substituted it for the plain arms of the earldom.

Before considering the complexities of Robert I's second queen, the quartered coat of Elizabeth More (often given as Mure), the first wife of Robert II, is worthy of attention (WMS83, HLB8) (**Plate 1b**). Her arms are given as *Quarterly 1 & 4 argent on a fess azure three stars argent* (for More, her patronymic), *2 & 3 azure three garbs or* (supposedly for Comyn), arms essentially repeated in other sixteenth-century armorials (DLM39, FAL9).

Elizabeth More died before 2 May 1355, a date well before quartered coats are found in Scotland. She was the daughter of Sir Adam More, but not of Rowallan,⁶ as this estate in the barony of Hawick was still held at this period by Walter Comyn of Rowallan.⁷ Walter Comyn died in the period 1372x82 when his son-in-law, Adam More, is found as lord of Rowallan.⁸ Presumably it was the son of Adam More and the Comyn heiress of Rowallan, yet another Adam More, who was the owner of a seal bearing *On a fess three cinquefoils* (a mistake for stars) *with two garbs in chief and* (possibly) *a third in base* (SHS51903).⁹ In contrast, Sir William More of the principal line of the family bore *On a fess three stars* (SAS2041, SAS2042) on his seal of 1357 (**Chart 1**, over).

Using this contemporary evidence it seems likely that the branch of the More family that held Rowallan added three Comyn garbs to differentiate themselves from the stem line, subtly altered by the sixteenth-century heralds who removed the garbs from the More shield and placed them in a separate quarter. They were then tintured gold on azure to provide a link to the Comyns of Buchan, a branch of the most important baronial house in thirteenth-century Scotland. However the relationship of the Comyn of Rowallan family to the principal Comyn branches of Badenoch, Buchan and Kilbride remains obscure.

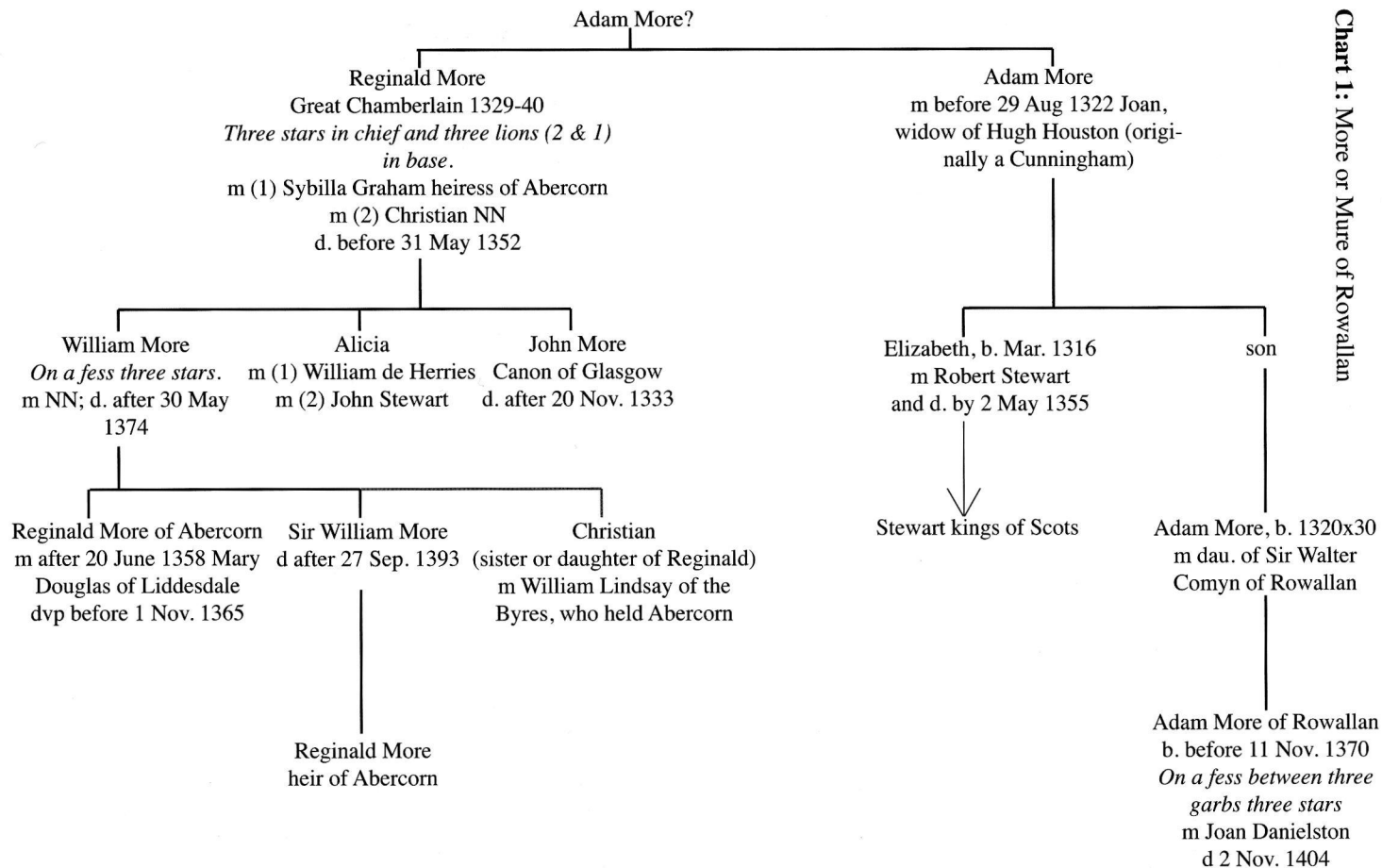
A final, more complex example concerns Robert I's second wife, Elizabeth de Burgh (died 1327), daughter of Richard, 2nd Earl of Ulster (died 1326) (WMS79, LA10) (**Plate 2**). Again suspicions are immediately aroused when such a complex quartered coat of arms is supposedly in use during the 1320s, decades before such coats were utilized in Scotland. And of course our reservations are confirmed when the rolls of arms of the reign of Edward I are checked: in these sources the arms borne

⁶ *Scots Peerage* 1 (Edinburgh 1904), p. 15.

⁷ James Paterson, *History of the Counties of Ayr and Wigton*, vol. 3 part ii (Edinburgh 1866), pp. 439-40; see also J. M. Thomson et al. (edd.), *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum. The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh 1882-1914), p. 7b, #24, where the lands of Rowallan are stated to be in the barony of Hawick. Thanks are due to Mr A. B. W. MacEwen for bringing this information to my attention.

⁸ A. MacLean, Draft Calendar of the Loudoun Muniments, LO/1/12. Thanks are due to Mr J. P. R. Ravilious for providing a copy of this material. A misdated charter of Walter Comyn of Rowallan is displayed in the online exhibition of futuremuseum.co.uk, a partnership of councils in the southwest of Scotland. See http://futuremuseum.co.uk/Collection.aspx/medieval_families/Object/charter_by_walter_comyn_of_rowallan. Accessed 23 November 2010.

⁹ The existing pedigrees of the Mores of Rowallan are erroneous. The chart is based on the researches of Messrs J. P. Ravilious and A. B. W. MacEwen and used with their permission.



by the earls of Ulster are *Or a cross gules* (Q13, J13), a far cry from the quartered coat in the sixteenth-century armorial.¹⁰

Detailed examination of the sixteenth-century manuscripts under consideration provides a blazon for this entry as follows: *Quarterly 1 argent two lions passant in pale sable, 2 & 3 azure a star of twelve points or circularly voided azure charged with an escutcheon or, 4 gules a swan with wings closed argent; overall an inescutcheon Barry of six argent and gules.* More important however is the text ‘...married ...Duke of Holsters daughter’, which points to a duke rather than an earl, and to Holstein rather than Ulster.

Holstein had been held by the Schauenburg/Schaumburg dynasty from an early date. The family had split into six branches by the beginning of the 1300s but a century on most of these lines had died out leaving the Rendsburg branch as the most important.¹¹ In 1386 Margaret, Queen of Denmark, invested Count Gerhart VI of Holstein-Rendsburg (died 1404) with Schleswig as a hereditary dukedom thereby uniting Schleswig with Holstein, a relationship made more complicated by the fact that Schleswig was part of Denmark while Holstein was formally part of the Holy Roman Empire. The count-dukes then adopted the quartered arms of Schleswig (*Or two lions passant guardant in pale azure*) and Holstein (*Gules a nettle leaf argent*) (DWF528, DWF529, and MIL1061 have the Schleswig quarter with semy of hearts gules).¹² The latter example in the *Donaueschinger Wappenbuch* identifies the owner as *herzog zum schledwick und graff zum holstain*.

Gerhart VI was murdered in 1404 and was succeeded by two of his sons in succession, Heinrich IV (died 1427) and Adolf IX (died 1459). Both died childless, and as no other count of the Schauenburg extended family could advance a claim to both counties, Adolf IX was succeeded in Schleswig-Holstein by his nephew, Christian. He was the son of Hedwig (died 1436) and her second husband, Dietrich, Count of Oldenburg, and he placed *Or two bars gules* for Oldenburg (GL169) on an inescutcheon above the quartered coats of his duchies. Christian, however, had become King of Denmark in 1448, and consequently placed his Schleswig-Holstein achievement on the arms of his dominions which were *Quarterly 1 Denmark, 2 Sweden, 3 Norway, 4 Kingdom of the Wends*, the four quarters separated by the cross of Dannebrog.¹³ Later versions substitute *Gules a swan with wings elevated argent* for Stormarn, an area in the south-east of Holstein, for one of the quarters of either Schleswig or Holstein.¹⁴ So a reasonably good correspondence between the quarters has been established except for the flaming star or nettle leaf quarter(s).

¹⁰ Gerard J. Brault, *The Rolls of Arms of Edward I* (Aspilogia 3: London 1997), vol. 2, p. 85.

¹¹ Hermann Grote, *Stammtafeln. Mit Anhang: Calendarium medii aevi* (Leipzig 1877), p. 208; see also www.jmarcussen.dk/historie/reference/holstein.html.

¹² S. Clemmensen (ed.), *Ordinary of Medieval Armorial* (CD-rom, Copenhagen 2006).

¹³ Erling Svane, *Det danske Rigsvåben og Kongevåben - udvikling og anvendelse* (Odense University Studies in History and Social Sciences 160: Odense 1994), p. 85, fig. 66.

¹⁴ N. G. Bartholdy, ‘The swan of Stormaria – a myth in the Danish royal arms?’, in J. D. Floyd and C. G. Burnett (edd.), *Genealogica et Heraldica. Myth and Propaganda in Heraldry and Genealogy. Proceedings of the XXVII International Congress of Genealogical and Heraldic Sciences, St Andrews, 21-26 August 2006* (Edinburgh 2008), pp. 175-84.

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Surprising though it may seem these are two different interpretations of the same charge, whose origin can be dated as far back as 1247 when Graf Adolph IV sealed with a bordure indented. In subsequent generations the charge took on a more exaggerated form and was described as a nettle leaf.¹⁵ A typical example is found in a document promulgated by Eric of Pomerania, King of Denmark 1396-1439: *folium urticae quod est signum et de armis dominorum de Holstein*.¹⁶ Further development of the charge led to a nettle leaf accompanied by three nails where it should be noted that the central portion of the charge has adopted an almost circular shape, leading to a further variant of the arms, a sunburst, which is found in many different forms (**Chart 2**). However the Scottish authorities have gone badly wrong with respect to colour, which says little for the heralds of the day: the country had a Danish queen from 1469 to 1486 and again from 1574 to 1619, the latter's lifespan covering the period of production of many of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century manuscript armorials.

So what is the rationale behind the utilization of these quartered coats? It was primarily one of status, I suggest, particularly regarding the relationship between the two kingdoms in the British Isles. By and large the consorts of the Scottish kings were drawn from the English royal family and the European aristocracy, but following the Interregnum, Balliol, Bruce and the early Stewarts all married within the purlieu of the local aristocracy and subsequently there was a need to elevate the status of their wives to correspond with that of earlier and later monarchs. And hence the heraldic display on the queens' skirts of marriages of comparable status to those of the English kings.

However this propaganda needs to be seen as part of a much bigger problem – the English king's claim to primacy within the British Isles, and as a corollary the subordinate nature of the Scottish kingship. The English viewpoint had of course been strengthened by the capture and homage of William I in 1174, though he was released from these vows when Richard I needed money for his crusading ventures. Alexander II sought to secure the right to anointing and coronation from the Pope in 1221, but was thwarted when Henry III objected, the Pope ultimately taking the part of the English king. Both parties clearly accepted the ecclesiastical view that a true king was created by such religious symbolism, and without them kingship was defective and hence subordinate. So the adoption of the double tressure flory counterflory at the end of Alexander II's reign or at the start of the next may be part of the same argument; the fleurs-de-lys have long represented kingship and placing them on a double tressure surrounding the Scottish rampant lion can be interpreted as a sign of separate and independent kingship.¹⁷

¹⁵ Poul Bredo Grandjean, *Det danske Rigsvaaben* (København 1926), p. 117, Table 5.

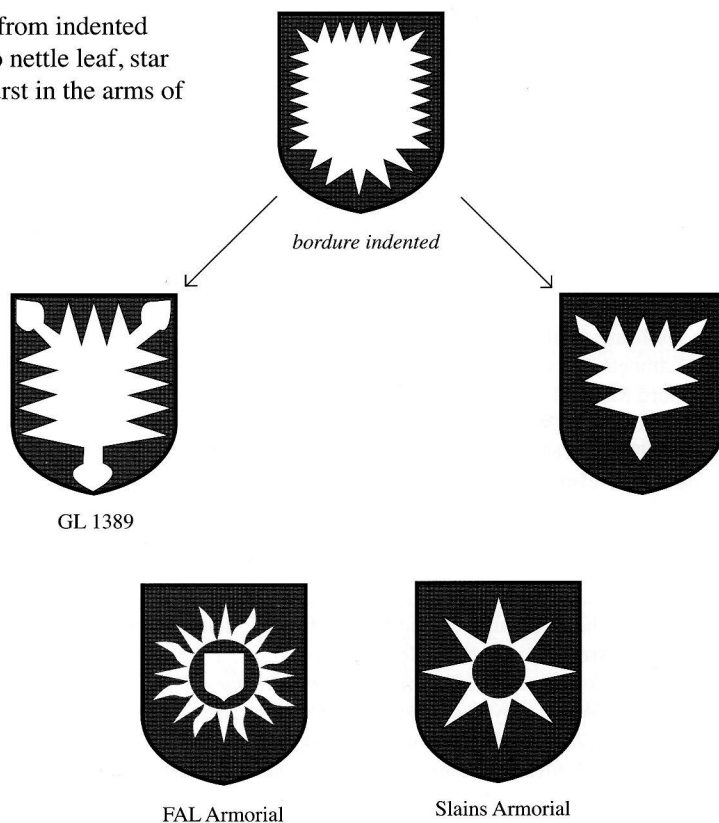
¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 292f.

¹⁷ John Malden, 'The double tressure', in *The Heraldry Society of Scotland* (edd.), *Emblems of Scotland* (Edinburgh 1987), p. 13.

My thanks are due to the Lyon Office for permission to publish royal vignettes from the Forman Armorial and to Academic Microfilms Ltd for permission to publish an illustration from the Lambeth Armorial.

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Chart 2: from indented bordure to nettle leaf, star and sunburst in the arms of Holstein.



Appendix

The following rolls of arms are cited. Abbreviations for English rolls of arms are the standard sigla used by *CEMRA* and *Aspilogia*.

- ASPII *Aspilogia II*: T. D. Tremlett and H. S. London (edd.), *Rolls of Arms. Henry III* (Oxford 1967). Edition of the Matthew Paris Shields, c. 1244-59; Glover's Roll c. 1253-8; and Walford's Roll c. 1273.
- ASPIII *Aspilogia III*: Gerard J. Brault (ed.), *The Rolls of Arms of Edward I* (London 1997). Edition of Herald's Roll, Dering Roll, Camden Roll, St George's Roll, Charles' Roll, Segar's Roll, Lord Marshal's Roll, Collins' Roll, Falkirk Roll, Guillim's Roll, Caerlaverock Poem, Galloway Roll, Smallpece's Roll, Stirling Roll, Nativity Roll, Fife Roll, and Sir William le Neve's Roll.
- C Walford's Roll, c. 1275: see *Aspilogia II* above.
- DLM Armorial of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, 1542 with some later additions: see D. Laing (ed.), *Armorial of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount* (Edinburgh 1822), limited hand-painted edition; D. Laing (ed.), *Armorial of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount* (Edinburgh 1878). Numbering used here follows R. W. Mitchell, *Handlist of Scottish Rolls of Arms* (Peebles 1982-85).
- DWF Donaueschinger Wappenbuch, 1433: S. Clemmensen (ed.), *Ordinary of Medieval Armorial*s (CD-rom 2006).

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- FAL Forman (Advocate's Library) Armorial, 1561–65: R. W. Mitchell, *op. cit.*
- FW Fitzwilliam Museum version of the Herald's Roll: Cecil R. Humphery-Smith, *Anglo-Norman Armory* (Canterbury 1973).
- GL Armorial Gelre, 1370–95: Paul Adam-Even (ed.), *L'Armorial universel du héraut Gelre*, (first edn. Neuchâtel 1971; new edn Leuven 1992, with a complete set of plates). The Scottish coats of arms are summarised in R. W. Mitchell, *op. cit.*, #3. Numbering used here follows Adam-Even.
- HLB Hector le Breton's Armorial, 1565-1581: R. W. Mitchell, *op. cit.*
- HR Hague Roll, 1592, with some later additions: R. W. Mitchell, *op. cit.* See also C. Campbell, 'The Hague Roll', *The Double Tressure* 10 (1988), p. 33 for corrections to Mitchell's listing.
- J Guillim's Roll, 1295–1305: see *Aspilogia III* above.
- LA Lambeth Armorial, 1597-1625: Academic Microfilms (CD-rom 2005).
- LM Lord Marshal's Roll, 1295: see *Aspilogia III* above.
- MIL Miltenberger Wappenbuch, 1490: J. C. Loutsch, *Archives Héraldiques Suisses* 103 (1989), 95-165; 104 (1990), 40-67, 122-164; 106 (1992), 42-68; 107 (1993), 61-141; see also S. Clemmensen (ed.), *op. cit.*
- Q Collins' Roll, c. 1295: see *Aspilogia III* above.
- SAS William Rae Macdonald, *Scottish Armorial Seals* (Edinburgh 1904).
- SHS J. H. Stevenson and M. Wood, *Scottish Heraldic Seals*, 3 vols. (Glasgow 1940). References to these volumes are in the form ABCXY where the first three digits provide the page number, and the last two the item number on the page.
- TO Grand Armorial Équestre de la Toison d'Or, 1433–35: Michel Pastoureau and Michel Popoff (edd.), *Le Grand Armorial Équestre de la Toison d'Or* (St Jorioz 2001). More readily available, but incomplete, is R. Pinches and A Wood (edd.), *A European Armorial* (London 1971). The Scottish coats of arms are summarised in R. W. Mitchell, *Scottish Arms from the Continent* (Peebles 1982), #4, and a detailed analysis of the Scottish material has been provided by C. Campbell, 'Scottish Arms in the Armorial Equestre', *CoA* 12 (1971), pp. 58, 115, 171. Numbering used follows Pastoureau and Popoff.
- WMS Workman Manuscript, 1566 with numerous later additions to c. 1605: R. R. Stodart, *Scottish Arms*, vol II (Edinburgh 1881), Chapter 6, pp. 95-270, though omitting a few items, remains the only critical edition. Numbering used follows an unpublished listing of B. A. McAndrew and R. W. Mitchell.