FOREIGN LIONS IN ENGLAND

EAST CENTRAL EUROPEAN ROYAL COATS OF ARMS IN THE ENGLISH COURT DURING THE REIGN OF EDWARD I (1272–1307)

Eszter Tarján

Introduction

The present paper deals with the early rolls of arms in medieval England, the so-called *general rolls of arms* and specifically royal symbols connected to East Central Europe, the Hungarian, the Bohemian and the Polish royal coats of arms[1]. This research focuses on the general rolls of arms compiled in England during the reign of Edward I. Those decades signified an outstanding period of English heraldry because numerous rolls of arms were compiled during them.

It is always a central question whether a particular blazon illustrates the contemporary heraldic practice interrelated with the structure of the coat of arms, the terminology used or the depictions. Or, is the result of the lack of knowledge, false information and misinterpretation? When we read the list of the arm holders, many of the royal coats of arms seem fictitious. According to my research hypothesis, several of these fictitious armorial bearings, if not all, have some prefiguration. I also assume that the appearance of the examined royal coats of arms refers to the given regions' political and dynastical relationships with England under Edward I or before him. Connected to this hypothesis, numerous other questions are raised regarding whether the existence of a royal coat of arms in the rolls of arms means an independent or an autonomous kingdom, or how the changes in East Central European royal coats of arms were followed in England in the thirteenth to fourteenth century. Did the author work from a standard textual and heraldic tradition and can we distinguish the textual traditions? Through this research, I answer questions by the comparative analysis of the East Central European region's royal coats of arms.

Here it is important to remark that the source value of the rolls of arms is extremely high not only because they are a collection of the nobility's records but

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

also because of the described or depicted colors of the coat of arms. The other groups of heraldic sources typically do not contain the tinctures of the coat of arms. Seals and coins never do so, carvings do rarely, and wall paintings occasionally give the color. The single colorful source group is the aforementioned illuminated codex miniatures. Thus, I use sphragistics, numismatic and different kinds of art historical sources to successfully carry out comparative interdisciplinary research of the examined region's royal coats of arms.

The coat of arms of the Hungarian Kingdom and Slavonia – The Hungarian lions and the Slavonian heads

The Hungarian coat of arms appears in almost every English armorial roll as well as in French ones.[2] The latter show an interesting picture because they contain the Hungarian blazon in two instances. The descriptions of the two examined versions of the earliest rolls are very similar but not identical. Notably, the Walford's Roll survived in an early modern copy, and there is a high chance that the copyist deleted, and/or added elements, and/or changed colors according to his own knowledge or ideas. Therefore, in version C of the Walford's Roll, the three blue Hungarian lions are standing in gold, and in the Cl variant, three red lions with crowns are standing in gold.

Before a more in-depth analysis of the coat of arms variations, a few words are in order about the precursors of the Hungarian lion and a brief history of the Hungarian royal coat of arms based on other relevant sources. Due to the lack of armorial rolls in East Central Europe, I cannot compare the examined armorial rolls with the same source material compiled in the examined region. In spite of the missing rolls of arms, we have a rich supply of other sources which were used as the displays for self-representation. These sources are primarily seals and coins, but also carvings and other visual evidence like miniatures which could serve as early heraldic sources.

Under the Arpadian dynasty, the kings of Hungary wore two distinct armors. The one was a shield with red and silver bars, the other was the armor with the double-cross.[3] The bearing changed from king to king, but a recent paper suggests that the double-cross appeared on the royal coat of arms only during the

[2] Vid. Appendix

[3] Iván Bertényi, *Magyar címertan* [Hungarian heraldry] (Budapest: Osiris, 2003) 29–30; József Laszlovszky, *A magyar címer története* [The history of the Hungarian coat of arms] (Budapest: Pytheas, 1990), 4–9.

reign of Béla IV (1235–1270) and not earlier during the reign of Béla III as was previously suggested.[4] In Béla III's reign, it was only a regal symbol. The usage of the double-cross was renewed by Béla IV, in order to symbolize his different political goals and character, and to clearly disavow his father's and uncle's ruling style.[5] But before the double cross became the Hungarian royal insignia, Emeric (1196–1204), the uncle of Béla IV, and Andrew II (1205–1235), Béla's father, used seals with lion symbols. The lion pattern appears on the earliest heraldic record of the Hungarian Kingdom, the Golden Bull of Emeric, from 1202.[6] However, according to its circumscription the date of the charter is 1199,[7] and as noted previously, the double cross was used on royal coats of arms only during the reign of Béla IV.[8] Irrespectively, the fact remains that on this Golden Bull the lion was used as a royal insignia for the first time and also that it contains the earliest surviving evidence for the bars.[9] There are nine lions on a barry field on the seal of Emeric in 1202.

The Hungarian lion's origin is debated regarding whether it is connected to Eastern or Western sources, or to general biblical tradition.[10] Besides historians, art historians also dealt with the lions as recurring elements of royal insignia. Their main source is a fresco in the royal chapel in Esztergom, where we can find lions depicted with palmette ornamentation. [11]

Besides Emeric, Andrew II's coat of arms also bore the lions on a shield. The number of the lions was inconsistent; at times it was seven or nine at other

---

4 Tamás Körmendi, "A magyar királyok kettőskeresztes címerének kialakulása" [The first appearance of the double-cross variant of the Hungarian Kings' coat of arms], *Turul* 84 (2011): 73–83.

5 Ibid.

6 DL 39 249.

7 György Szabados, "Imre király házassága, aranybullája" [The marriage and the golden bull of King Emeric], *Századok* 136 (2002): 349–50.

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

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

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

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

times. The other striking fact is that Andrew had used it only as king and not as duke of Slavonia. His seal from 1220 bears seven lions recognizable in bars[12]. After 1235 the royal lions faded from use and only the bars remained.

In the following section, I examine the versions of Hungarian insignia, specifically the variations of the bearings in chronological order. As mentioned, the Walford's Roll survived in early modern copies. Because it exists in two distinct textual traditions, the present discussion contains one description of each. Variant C features three walking azure lions in gold, and Cd has three walking gules lions with crowns.[13] The gold tincture and the lion elements are the same in both textual traditions, even though the original colors of the Hungarian royal bars were red/gules and silver. Both blazons follow the rules of tinctures of heraldry, but not those of color blazoning. The phrasing is also remarkable: both versions describe the lion's position as walking by using the word *passant*.

The next roll in chronological order is the Herald's, but because the Camden Roll is based on the Herald's Roll, I examine these together. The Herald's text specifies that the Hungarian coat of arms is a gules lion standing in gold, armed azure, and in the Camden Roll, a gules lion stands in gold.[14] The colors are the same, the only difference being the presence of azure nails. Thus, notably, the color azure appears here again, even though officially the Hungarian royal insignia never contained any blue elements except during the Angevin era when the Angevins' blue field behind gold lilies was integrated into the Hungarian king's coat of arms.[15] By all means, the most interesting element of the Hungarian shield in these rolls is that the lions are described as *rampant* and not *passant,* standing rather than walking. *Rampant* is the incorrect term to describe both Emeric and Andrew II's coats of arms.

The Segar Roll is a very remarkable source. The roll features three silver greyhounds running in azure.[16] Again, the structure of the shield is correct, one metallic and one color. The greyhound motif appears only here; it does not exist anywhere in thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century heraldry. The word *courant* is also not part of the heraldic terminology. In my opinion, this suggests that by the time the compiler composed the list of the armorial bearings, he had seen an original document with the Hungarian seal. Otherwise, he would have followed

[12] Berényi, *Magyar címertan*, 65.
[13] Vid. Appendix.
[14] Vid. Appendix.
[15] Gárdonyi Albert, "A Magyar Anjouk címeres emlékei" [The heraldic records of the Hungarian Anjous], Turul 56 (1936): 12–18.
[16] Vid. Appendix.

the existing pictorial and textual tradition of the lion motif. Moreover, the Segar Roll was composed at the end of the thirteenth century, and the seal with the lion motif was used at the beginning of the thirteenth century. What could happen to a wax seal during at least fifty years? In my opinion it would be very easy to interpret a damaged lion motif from the seal of Andrew II as another quadruped animal in a running position.

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

The Wijnbergen Roll's blazons present an intriguing picture. The first description, item 1267 in the list, is a blazon of a coat of arms with silver and black bars and with a gold charboucle/escarboucle with *fleurs-de-lis*. According to the other item, no. 1305, the Hungarian king's insignia is a coat of arms with silver and gules bars.[17] It is demonstrable that the Hungarian kings never had charboucles in their coat of arms. There was one royal coat of arms which contained this element, the royal insignia of Navarre, which is found in every early English and French roll of arms and was a well-known armor. The compiler did not conflate them; most likely it is a mistake of the scribe. The second blazon is clearly the correct blazon of the Hungarian royal coat of arms. This means that the Hungarian royal blazon was different in the French tradition, but most importantly it shows that French and English knowledge about the European royal bearings differed distinctly.

Based on the brief summary above about the Hungarian coat of arms tradition and the seals of Emeric and Andrew, it is evident that the lion was a Hungarian royal symbol, and that the Hungarian royal armorial bearings had a determinate antitype in the English rolls of arms. Besides a detectable heraldic antitype, it is also justifiable to suggest that a Hungarian armorial tradition was known in England independently of the French convention.

Here I have to enter into detail about the Slavonian coat of arms and the region's brief history and legal status, because in the English Lord Marshal's Roll, the Slavonian coat of arms features three silver human heads with gold crowns in a blue field which is similar to the Dalmatian coat of arms.

[17] Vid. Appendix.

The Slavonian duke's legal situation and status is remarkable in the context of seal and coat of arms usage, because both Kings Emeric and Andrew used the lion symbol as the king of Hungary and not as the duke of Slavonia. Emeric was the first who bore this ducal title between 1194 and 1196. He was followed in this position by Andrew, his brother, between 1197 and 1205. Shortly afterwards came Andrew II's heir, Béla, between 1220–1226, who was also followed by his brother, Coloman, king of Galicia between 1226–1241. Béla IV continued this tradition, with his elder son Stephen in 1245, and his younger son Béla in 1260, becoming the Duke of Slavonia.

As Kristó highlights in an argument with Györffy about the legal position of the Slavonian duke, only three of them, Emeric, Béla and Stephen, were firstborn and also crown princes during their rulership as Slavonian dukes.[18] Andrew II used military force to make his brother Emeric hand over the duchy after their father's death. However, according to Attila Zsoldos, since Ladislas III (1204–1205) was born only in 1199, when Andrew II attacked his brother for the dukedom, he was in fact the crown prince. Moreover, later Béla IV in 1245 proclaimed his son, Stephen, as duke of Slavonia without any legal exception. Without doubt, this would have been possible only if such a tradition had a precedent beforehand.[19] In this regard, the seal usage suggests that the lions were definitely royal symbols in the Hungarian heraldic tradition used only by the kings.

The Wijnbergen Roll specifies three gold queens' heads with crowns in a blue field.[20] The question arises instantly regarding which part of Europe the compiler meant by Slavonia. There are different opinions and argumentations about the exact identity of Slavonia.[21] Zsoldos suggests that the region of Slavonia

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

[19] Attila Zsoldos, *Családi ügy: IV. Béla és István ifjabb király viszálya az 1260-as években* [A family affair, The conflict between Béla IV and Stephen the Younger King in the 1260s] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, 2007), 15, Attila Zsoldos, "Hercegek és Hercegnők az Árpád-kori Magyarországon" [Princes and princesses in the Arpadian Hungary], in *Hercegek és hercegségek a középkori Magyarországon*, ed. Attila Zsoldos (Székesfehérvár: Városi Levéltár és Kutatóintézet, 2016), 12.

[20] Vid. Appendix.

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

was the territory between the Drava river and the Adriatic Sea.[22] Accepting this suggestion points us to an interesting parallelism with the Dalmatian coat of arms in structure and colors.

The earliest correct depiction of the Dalmatian coat of arms, three gold leopard heads with crowns in a blue field, appears with these colors in the fifteenth century in the so-called Corvinas. These were codices prepared for the library of the Hungarian King Matthias from the 1460s onwards.[23] Obviously, there are earlier sources; for example it appears on the coins of Sigismund and also on his *sigillum duplex*. The fourth smaller armorial bearing around the royal insignia is the Dalmatian coat of arms with the crowned leopard heads.[24] For a long time scholars took it for granted that the first mention of the Dalmatian insignia in all the surviving sources is to be found in the Gelre Armorial. This collection of coats of arms was compiled in the 1370s in the Holy Roman Empire and describes this particular coat of arms as a red field and silver leopard heads with crowns. This means a sixty-year hiatus between the Lord Marshal's Roll and the Gelre Armorial. But a carved stone panel from Ostrovica from the late fourteenth century is certainly the earliest known representation of the Dalmatian coat of arms.[25] With this material, we approach closer to our English heraldic sources and the approximately sixty-year hiatus decreases to only thirty years. The fact that Slavonia never had any royal armorial bearings in the Middle Ages, and that in the Western European heraldic textual tradition never appears in the Dalmatian coats of arms, make this parallel all the more remarkable.[26] This description may certainly be considered as the earliest evidence for the colors of the Dalmatian coat of arms.

---

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

[23] Tamás Körmendi, "Dalmácia címere a középkori magyar királyok heraldikai reprezentációjában" [The Dalmatia coat of arms in the medieval Hungarian kings' heraldic representation], in *Archivorum historicumque magistra*, ed. Zsófia Kádár, Bálint Lakatos, Áron Zarnóczky (Budapest: Magyar Levéltárosok Egyesülete, 2013), 391–408.

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

[25] Nikša Stančić, and Dubravka Peić Čaldarović, "Prvi sjedinjeni grb Kraljevstava Dalmacije, Hrvatske i Slavonije iz 1610. godine" [The first incorporated coat of arms of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia from 1610], *Rad Hrvastke akademije znanosti i umjetnosti: Razred za društvene znanosti* 50 (2013): 71–93.

[26] Körmendi, *Dalmácia címere a középkori,* 397.

Based on the variants examined above, the following can be concluded. The lion symbol was clearly the base charge of the Hungarian heraldic tradition in England. The description of the lion's position highlights that the composer of the Herald's Roll and also the scribe of the Camden Roll had never seen the original seal. Otherwise, they would have known that the Hungarian lions' position was the same as that of the lions on the English royal coat of arms. This corroborates my opinion that this imperfect blazon was not borne out of a lack of terminological knowledge. This illustration has a connection with depictions and blazons in the Danish and Norwegian royal armorial bearings. The layout and false colors attributed to the Hungarian kings' coat of arms are based on the Danish and Norwegian ones.[27]

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

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

The coat of arms of Bohemia – A well-known lion?

The Bohemian coat of arms has a unique place among the examined items because of its rarity and appearance. Of the five examined source records, only two contain an almost correct blazon of the Bohemian armor: *in red field a silver lion with crown and forked tails*.[28] This is quite a remarkable situation because, on the one hand, the ruling P*řemysl family was a well-known and old European dynasty* founded

[27] Eszter Tarján, "A Camden- és a Walford-tekercs uralkodói címereinek néhány problémája" [The royal blazons of Walford's and Camden rolls of arms], in *Magister Historiae*, ed. Mónika Belucz et al. (Budapest: ELTE BTK Történelemtudományok Doktori Iskola, 2014), 183–6.
[28] Vid. Appendix.

by Borivoj I (872–889/894) in 872. On the other hand, Bohemia was an imperial state inside the Holy Roman Empire and its ruler was a prince-elector of the empire.[29] The Bohemian lands were not an independent territory when Edward I reigned and the rolls of arms were compiled. However, several Bohemian rulers were well known on account of the evolving political and legatary situation regarding the Babenberg heritage in the second half of the thirteenth century.

Correct descriptions of the Bohemian coat of arms are in both variants of Walford's Roll and the Lord Marshal's Roll, the latter being based on the French Wijnbergen Roll. Both the Lord Marshal's Roll and Wijnbergen Armorial describe it almost identically. The fact that the Segar Roll does not contain the blazon or depiction of the Czech lands' bearings makes the Bohemian case more interesting. I will follow the chronological order in my analysis as I did previously.

When the Walford's Roll was compiled around 1275, Přemysl Ottokar or Ottokar II (1253–1278) had been reigning as the king of Bohemia from 1253 onwards. He was the second son of Wenceslaus I and also the younger brother of Vladislaus. When Vladislaus died in 1247, Ottokar became the margrave of Moravia, duke of Austria, Styria and Carinthia, and ruled these lands until 1278.[30]

In the C version of Walford's Roll, the king of Bohemia's coat of arms is said to bear *in a silver field a black lion with a crown*, and in the Cd variant *in a silver field a black lion with a crown shouldering a cross*. The Cd version contains an extra element, the cross on the lion's shoulder, while an element is missing from the C variant.[31] The correct missing element is the *queue forchée,* the forked tail. The C and Cd variants are early modern copies and the original manuscript or the one which these variants are based on is missing, so incidental transmission errors are difficult to infer. Possible explanations for the variation are the following. The copyist knew that something was missing and added a standard or an often used element – a process that was demonstrated previously. But it is also possible that he had an old, poor quality depiction of the Bohemian coat of arms in which the tail was not clearly visible, so he added – again – a standard basic element. It is also interesting from a philological point of view that "shouldering" was a seldom-used term in the early English heraldic terminology.[32] In addition to these problematic elements, the colors are not correct since Bohemian kings never had

[29] Nóra Berend, Premyslaw Urbanczyk, Premyslaw Wiszewski, eds., *Central Europe in the High Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland c. 900–c.1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 408.
[30] Berend, Urbanczyk, and Wiszewski, eds., *Central Europe in the High Middle Ages,* 411.
[31] Vid. Appendix.
[32] Gerard J. Brault, *Early Blazon* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997.) 192.

a black lion; they bore a black eagle on their shield. The manuscripts do not mention the position of the charge, that is, whether the lion is *rampant* or *passant*.

Surviving seals and coins confirm that the lion symbol was used as a royal insignia. The middle and small bracteates of Ottokar II, ruler of the Bohemian lands until 1278, feature a lion.[33] This lion is the same as in the earliest depictions and also the same as that which the Wijnbergen Roll describes: a standing crowned lion with forked and crossed tails. Similarly, this lion pattern appears on the copper (groat) of Wenceslaus II (1278–1305), a standing, crowned lion with forked and crossed tails.[34] The great seal of Wenceslaus from 1297 also contains the lion motif.[35] This is especially interesting since the lion is part of a complex seal composition. On each side of the sitting imperial figure with the royal ensigns there are two shields. The one on the right side has an eagle. The one on the left has a lion with the double and forked tails. Importantly, these royal symbols whose shield features in a seal composition indicate that the lion and the eagle were both used as royal insignias.

The case of the Bohemian coat of arms in the Herald's Roll and in the Camden Roll is unusual.[36] In these cases, the first question is not the reason why the Bohemian coat of arms' blazon contains a *barges* (a barge, a galley) element, but which region the name *Bealme* stands for. First and foremost, Bohemia and the Bohemian kings never bore any royal insignia with a barge. For instance, two other early appearances of the Czech lion in a shield are almost contemporary. The first one is in the illuminated Latin manuscript of the Passional of Abbess Kunigunde from 1312/13–1321.[37] On the first page of the document there is a shield: a silver lion with a crown in a red field. The second early depiction of the Bohemian coat of arms is from the Codex Manesse, also known as *Große heidelberger Liederhandschrift* (c.1300–c.1340), in which Wenceslaus II's figure is flanked by two shields. The one on the right has a checky (gules and sable) eagle

[33] Zdeněk Petráň, Luboš Polanský, "Mince posledních Přemyslovců" [The coins of the last Přemysls], in *Přemyslovci Budování Českého Státu*, eds. Petr Sommer, Dušan Třestík, and Josef Žemlička (Prague: Archeologicky Ústav, Historicky Ústav, 2009), 216.

[34] Karel Maráz, "Vaclav III," in *Přemyslovci Budování Českého Státu*, eds. Petr Sommer, Dušan Třestík, Josef Žemlička (Prague: Archeologicky Ústav, Historicky Ústav, 2009), 343.

[35] Dana Dvořačková-Malá, "Vaclav II," in *Přemyslovci Budování Českého Státu*, eds. Petr Sommer, Dušan Třestík, Josef Žemlička (Prague: Archeologicky Ústav, Historicky Ústav, 2009), 331.

[36] Vid. Appendix.

[37] Narodní Knihorna Ceské Repulíky, Prague, XIV.A.17. 1v.

in azure, and the one on the other side displays the silver lion with forked tails in a red field with a crown.[38]

Several different theories and interpretations emerged to explain the Bohemian barges during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, this question was raised from as early as the seventeenth century. Bealme was interpreted as Bethlehem by the copyist, Richard Kimbey.[39] It is also a notable connection that he made a copy of the Camden Roll as well.[40] Denholm-Young too shared this interpretation in his *History and Heraldry*.[41]

Another interesting theory is by Felix Hauptmann who draws attention to a very similar item in the chronicle of Matthew Paris.[42] King Haakon VI of Norway (1217–1263) bore a similar coat of arms: *gules, three barges or, in the middle chief a croslett formy argent*.[43] The cross is a new element in the Norwegian coat of arms. Brault suggests that Haakon has the crosslet in his coat of arms to symbolize the fact that he took the cross around 1250.[44] As a possible explanation for the territory named Bealme and its coat of arms with galleys, Hauptmann suggests that the barge symbol is connected to the city arms of Bergen where Haakon IV was crowned.[45] It is important to stress that this shield with barges is not the coat of arms of Norway or the kings of Norway; it was attributed to Hákon Hákonarson by Matthew Paris. However, a connection can be detected to the seal of Haraldr Óláfsson, King of Man and the Isles. He had a seal with a ship in his coat of arms and he was the vassal of Haakon IV.[46]

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

---

[38] Universitätsbibliotheke Heidelberg, Cod. Pal. Germ. 848. Fol. 10r, accessed April 21, 2107, http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg848/0015?sid=03683688192d9895cc00597a92586996.

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

[40] Today this copy can be found in the British Library: MS. Harl. 6137, ff. 66b–72b.

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

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

[43] The correct coat of arms of Norway is a gold lion holding a silver axe in a red field.

[44] Brault, *Early Blazon*, 115.

[45] Hauptmann, "Die Wappen in der Historia Minor," 51.

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

As mentioned above, the Segar Roll does not contain a description of the coat of arms of Bohemia. This fact is notable because the Segar Roll is not based on any known textual traditions; its scribe did not use any of the known earlier compiled armorial rolls, but his work was based on his own knowledge. It is highly possible that the scribe of this roll worked at the royal chancellery, and hence he had the opportunity to see the presumable Hungarian seal. Therefore, the absence of the Bohemian coat of arms could mean nothing more than that the scribe of the Segar Roll did not have any sources on which his blazon could be based.

The Lord Marshal's Roll together with the Wijnbergen Roll describe a correct coat of arms. However, many coats of arms are missing from the Lord Marshal's Roll. It survived in an early modern copy, and its scribe mistook the blue color for silver. It is based on the French Wijnbergen Armorial; its source value is not as high as that of the others. Even so, for one reason it is still a remarkable document and this value stands out here. The French blazon gives a very detailed shield description. It mentions not only the forked tails but also that they cross each other in a saltier shape. The LM's blazon compared to the French roll's coat of arms is, again, a simplified description.

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

Poland – The horse or the saddle?

The coat of arms of Poland is interesting in two aspects. First, because it is mentioned both in the Lord Marshal's Roll and in the Wijnbergen Roll, which is the source of the former armorial roll, but the copy is incorrect. The source value

of the Lord Marshal's Roll's is different due to the many errors, missing elements and the color changes, but this is the single serious philological misinterpretation of the French blazon regarding the East Central European royal coat of arms. The French roll describes the king of *Poulenne's* coat of arms as follows: *a silver horse in red field*. The term used by the compiler of the Wijnbergen Roll to describe the horse pattern is *cheval gai*.[47] This heraldic term's meaning is a *naked horse without any harnesses*. In contrast, the Lord Marshal's Roll describes it as follows: *a gold horse saddler in a red field*. The blazon of the above-described English roll of arms is completely the opposite of the Wijnbergen Roll's description. Also the correct colors of the Polish coat of arms in the Wijnbergen Roll are copied with mistakes. Red and the silver are the proper colors of the Polish royal arms.

This situation is an excellent example of the differences between the English and French heraldic terminology. The French heraldic language is more abundant than the English. However, the English took over French terms. We do not know anything certain about an original classical heraldic language but it existed during the twelfth century.[48] Contemporaneously with the appearance of the rolls of arms both in France and England around the middle of the thirteenth century, the language of the English law became more technical. Even if the language of law originally was French, it developed in its own idiomatic way like the language of heraldry.[49] Nevertheless, this mistake in the Lord Marshal's Roll demonstrates that not all of the French technical words were clear, and their meaning was not always interpreted properly.

The personal and the dynastical insignia of the Piasts was a white eagle that dated back to ancient times.[50] The first appearance of the eagle on a royal display is from 1295 on the seal of Przemysł II (1290–1296).[51] An eagle pattern with open wings with a head and a crown depicted in profile is visible on his seal. This depiction is the most frequently used eagle symbol in heraldry. Also, the Codex Manesse, detailing the appearance of Henry IV Probus (1288–1299), represents eagles on his shield, on the horse-blanket and also on his clothes.[52] Furthermore, on the seal of Ladislaus I of Poland (1261–1333) from 1320, an eagle appears

[47] Vid. Appendix.

[48] Brault, *Early Blazon*, 18.

[49] George E. Woodbine, "The Language of English Law," *Speculum 18 (*1943): 395–436.

[50] László Tapolcai, *Lengyelország történeti és mitikus kezdetei. A tér alakulása* [The early and mythical history of Poland. The conversion of the space] (Budapest: United U-rope, 2010), 41–54. see also: Oswald Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów* [The genealogy of the Piasts] (Krakow: Avalon, 2005)

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

[52] Codex Manesse: Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, Cod. Pal. Germ. 848, fol. 11v.

with a detailed depiction.[53] Also the standard eagle symbol appears on the seals of Casimir III the Great (1333–1370).[54]

The horse with or without a harness or saddle does not appear on the seals of the Polish kings, but the eagle frequently does. Without clear evidence, nothing can be safely demonstrable but the comparison with the Norwegian coat of arms in Walford's Roll (C) deserves attention. The situation could be similar because according to the C manuscript, the royal coat of arms of Norway is a gold horse in a red field. The surviving evidences prove that Magnus VI (1263–1280) had a seal with a horse pattern and several other kings also used similar seals, but the coat of arms and the royal insignia was the lion with an axe.[55] As the particular research related to the French royal blazons is not part of the present work, nothing can be determined here. However, the takeover of the French heraldic terminology sometimes caused misinterpretations in the English copies of armorial rolls.

Conclusions and prospects for future research

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

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

---

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

[54] Ibid., 5–7.

[55] Christian Brinchmann, *Norske konge-sigiller og andre fryste. Sigiller fra middelalderen* [Norwegian royal seals and other seals from the Middle Ages] (Kristiania: Det Mallingske, 1924), 5.

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

The lion became the standard element of the Hungarian royal coat of arms, even if it was used only for two decades on the seals of Emeric and Andrew II in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century. The versions are various. Originally the Hungarian lions are in walking position, but sometimes the lions are noted as standing *(rampant)* and sometimes as walking *(passant)*. In one roll, the lions are noted as running lions (*courrant*). Based on this description, the compiler of this roll must have seen the seal of Emeric or Andrew. In addition, this leads to the assumption that the text of the roll is not part of any early heraldic textual tradition. Through the analysis of the Hungarian coat of arms, it also developed that the Dalmatian coat of arms came to be known in Western Europe and this is its first appearance.

It turned out that the Bohemian coat of arms – contrary to general assumptions – was not part of the early English heraldic tradition. The explanation could be its different legal status since Bohemia was not an independent kingdom, but part of the Holy Roman Empire. However, Poland did not exist as a sovereign state from the time Boleslaw III divided Poland into three parts in 1138 until 1320 when Wladyslaw I (1320–1333) re-united it as an independent kingdom.

The known world and the flow of information can be detected regarding changes of the relevant royal dynasties' coats of arms. One of the possible approaches is to examine the marital strategies of the given dynasties. Through a brief overview, we are able to answer the question of whether the marital strategies of international diplomatic relations are reflected in the appearance of the East Central European kingdoms' coats of arms. I believe by this kind of research, we are also able to place the known historical data into a new context and a new perspective of information flow can be examined on a heretofore unexplored level – the level of heraldry. The emphasis is on contemporary rulers but in several cases we have to examine former kings as well as queens whose coats of arms appear in the source material because in several cases some of the elements were used previously as royal insignia.

It stands out that the Hungarian royal dynasty was one of the important and well-known ruling families. They had notable links both in Eastern European kingdoms and Western European territories. In both regions they married into the

most eminent families.[56] Furthermore, Bohemian dynastic politics were open to the Holy Roman Empire and to the surrounding kingdoms. During the thirteenth century, the Bohemian kings mostly married German nobles from the most prominent families including the Brandenburgs, Hohenstaufens, Hochenbergs and Habsburgs. If a royal marriage was related to a royal house from outside the Holy Roman Empire, it was mostly a new connection with the Hungarian Kingdom.[57]

However, not only dynastic connections deserve consideration. Although it is the most illustrious level of diplomacy, other interesting examinations could help to answer questions. Obviously, each kingdom and empire had its own

[56] Emeric's mother was Agnes of Antioch, the first wife of Béla III. In the Hungarian tradition Agnes's name was Anna of Châtillon. It is important to note that the second wife of Béla III was Margaret of France, Queen of Hungary. The two marriages of Béla III reflect that he was a considerable monarch in Europe with extensive Western European relations. His son continued his heritage. Emeric's wife was Constance of Aragon (1198–1204) from the Barcelona House, the daughter of Alfonso II of Aragon (1164–1196) and Sancha of Castile (1174–1196). Later she became the Queen of Germany and Sicily (1215–1220) and a Holy Roman Empress (1220–1222). Their son Ladislaus III (1204–1205) succeeded Emeric but he died unexpectedly one year after his coronation. The crown fell to Andrew II, whose first wife was Gertrud of Merania (1205–1213) until her assassination. See Mór Wertner, *Az Árpádok családi története* [The family history of the Árpáds] (Nagybecskerek: Pleitz Fer. Pál Könyvnyomda, 1892), 366, Attila Bárány, József Laszlovszky and Zsuzsanna Papp, *Angol–magyar kapcsolatok a középkorban I–II* [English–Hungarian relations in the Middle Ages I–II] (Máriabesenyő: Attraktor, 2008, 2011), 201–3, Attila Zsoldos, *Az Árpádok és asszonyaik* [The Árpáds and their women] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, 2005), 189, György Szabados, "Aragóniai Konstancia magyar királyné" [Constance of Aragon, the Queen of Hungary] in *Királylányok messzi földről, Magyarország és Katalónia a középkorban*, ed. Ramon Sarobe, Csaba Tóth (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2009), 163, László Szende, "Szentföldtől Katalóniáig. II. András külpolitikája és dinasztikus kapcsolatai a korabeli Európában" [From the Holy Land to Catalonia. The foreign politics and the dynastic relations of Andrew II in contemporary Europe], in *Egy történelmi gyilkosság margójára, Merániai Gertrúd emlékezete, 1213–2013,* ed. Majorossy Judit (Szentendre: Ferenczy Múzeum, 2014), 29–42, Wertner, *Az Árpádok családi története,* 416.

[57] When Ottakar I (1197–1230) became king of Bohemia in 1198, he was already married to Adelheid of Meissen (1198–1199). Her parents were Otto II (1156–1190) the Margrave of Meissen and Hedvig of Brandenburg (1140–1203) who descended from the House of Ascania. After Adelheid's short queenship, Ottakar married Constance of Hungary (1199–1230), whose father was King Béla III of Hungary and her mother was Agnes of Antioch (1154–1184). Wenceslaus married Kunigunde of Hochenstaufen (1230–1248). Her father was Philip of Swabia, Prince of the House of Hochenstauf and also elected king of Germany (1198–1208). Kunigunde's mother was Queen Irene Angelina (1193–1208) of Sicily. See Petr Sommer, Dušan Třestík and Josef Žemlička, eds., *Přemyslovci Budování Českého Státu* (Prague: Archeologicky Ústav, Historicky Ústav, 2009), 575.

extensive diplomatic relations with different aspects.[58] One of these aspects was the network of the clerical leaders. The quality and the speed of the flow of information could be examined through these clerical connections. Frequently they were the contacts between kingdoms, and clerical delegates often were present at diplomatic occasions. For instance, an interesting chapter of English-Hungarian diplomatic history is the pilgrimage of the Hungarian prelates in 1220 during the reign of Andrew II.

Certainly, Archbishop John of Esztergom, and Bishop Desiderius of Csanád were present at the translation of the earthly remains of Saint Thomas Becket.[59] Furthermore, presumably Archbishop Robert of Veszprém attended as well. The presence of Desiderius is the result of the most recent research, based on a charter issued by Pope Honorius III in 1220 where he refers Desiderius' pilgrimage at the translation, published by László Solymosi.[60] Thomas Becket also had a lively cult in Hungary, especially in the Bishopric of Csanád. In the diocese of Csanád, the Cistercian monastery of Egres was founded by Béla III for the monks from Pontigny. Therefore, between Egres and the French monastery, relations were quite active.[61] Since Thomas Becket spent two years in the Cistercian Pontigny, the relationship between the two monasteries widened in the late twelfth century. During this period, the cult of the martyr spread in other parts of Hungary. For instance, around 1185 they started to build a provostry dedicated to Thomas Becket in Esztergom. This is not a unique case since during this period we know about sixteen settlements whose names include the term "Saint Thomas" (Szenttamás).[62] Unfortunately, it is not clear if all of the settlements undoubtedly were named after the martyr or the apostle.

---

[58] Ferenc Makk, *The Árpáds and the Comneni, Political Relations Between Hungary and the Byzantium in the 12th Century* (Budapest: Akadémia Kiadó, 1989), 107–15, Attila Bárány, József Laszlovszky and Zsuzsanna Papp, *Angol–magyar kapcsolatok a középkorban I–II* [English–Hungarian relations in the Middle Ages I–II] (Máriabesenyő: Attraktor, 2008, 2011), Sándor Fest, *Skóciai Szent Margittól a walesi bárdokig* [From Saint Margaret of Scotland to the Bards of Wales] (Budapest: Universitas Könyvkiadó, 2000).

[59] László Solymosi, "Magyar főpapok angliai zarándoklata 1220-ban" [The pilgrimage of the Hungarian prelates in England in 1220], *Történeti Szemle* 55 (2013): 527–40.

[60] Solymosi, *Magyar főpapok,* 539. "Cenadiensis episcopi nobis innotuit, quod cum ipse in reditu peregrinationes sue a translatione corporis Beati Thome martyris Cantuariensis per Papiensem transierit civitatem..."

[61] Solymosi, *Magyar főpapok,* 537.

[62] György Győrffy, "Becket Tamás és Magyarország" [Thomas Becket and Hungary], *Filológiai Közlöny* 16 (1970): 157.

The above described relationship is only one of the possible connections, but it demonstrates clearly how many aspects and layers could have a prelatic relation and a pilgrimage. The presence of the Hungarian prelates at the translation of Thomas Becket demonstrates active diplomatic relationship around the early thirteenth century between the Hungarian Kingdom and England. *Nota bene* at this time, the royal seal with lions was used by Andrew II.

Another potential way to extend this research is to examine the royal coats of arms of other regions of Europe: southern territories, including Portugal, Aragon, Navarre, Leon and Sicily, and northern ones, including Denmark, Norway and the Isle of Man, the coats of arms of France and the Holy Roman Empire, and ultimately the Northern African fictitious royal armorial bearings. Also, the contemporary network system can be seen as a complex future research topic, the first step of which is the examination of dynastic relations.

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

APPENDIX

Sources

The Walford's Roll

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

C: Basic manuscript. London, British Museum, MS. Harl. 6589, fols. 12r–12v. 17th century
Cd: Dublin, Trinity College, MS. E. 1–17, fols. 9r–10v. 16th century

In CEMRA Wagner describes the Charles' version[63] (C)[64] and from the other textual tradition, the Leland variant (Cl).[65] Cd is not listed in this work but can be found in *Aspilogia II*. Wagner proposes the date 1275 which was also accepted by London who dealt with the dating problems of the English rolls of arms[66].

The Herald's Roll

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

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

Wagner's CEMRA contains the descriptions of all copies. He distinguishes the text variants as follows: Herald's Version (HEb), the Fitzwilliam Version (HEa, HEc, HEd, HEe) – which is the most complex, the critical edition of the HE roll is based on the Fitzwilliam version – Bedford's Version (HEf, HEg, Heh, HEi) and the Everard Green's version (HEi). HEk and HEl are independent copies.[67] Most of the surviving copies and originals are seriously damaged.

---

[63] Weston S. Walford, "A Roll of Arms of the Thirteenth Century," *Archeologica* 39 (1864): 373–88.
[64] Anthony Richard Wagner, *Aspilogia I. Catalogue of English Medieval Rolls of Arms* (Oxford: C. Batey, 1950). 8. Hereafter: CEMRA.
[65] CEMRA, 9, Anthony Richard Wagner, *Aspilogia II: Rolls of Arms Henry III*, Harleian Society 114 (Oxford: Society of Antiquaries of London, 1957)
[66] Stanford H. London, "Some Medieval Treaties on English Heraldry," *Antiquaries Journal* 33 (1953): 169–83.
[67] CEMRA, 9–14.

The Camden Roll

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

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

All manuscripts are described in Wagner's CEMRA.[68] Wagner's and Brault's research suggest that the Camden Roll is very likely based on the HEa Roll. The copyist of the Camden Roll added 49 new items, and these are placed at the end of the volume.[69]

The roll can probably be dated to 1280 because Patric de Chawurth (149. record in the source) succeeded his brother in 1279 and Barth[olomew] de Sulee (No. 160.) died in 1280. [70]

The Segar Roll

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

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

All the copies are described by Wagner in CEMRA.[71] As Brault points out, the surviving manuscripts are closely related, there are a number of small differences and they also have some mistakes in common.[72]

Wagner proposed that the date of the roll is 1282, because Thomas de Berkely succeeded his brother in 1281 (G 175) and both Giles de Argentine (G 141) and William de Audley (G 131) died in 1282.[73] However, the fact that William de Ros bore a blue label until his father's death in 1285, and the presence of Mortimer (G 153) who was knighted in 1285, both prove that the roll comes from 1285.[74]

---

[68] CEMRA, 16–18.
[69] Gerald J. Brault, ed., *Aspilogia III: Rolls of Arms of Edward I. (1272–1307),* vol. 1 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997). 172. Hereafter: RoA.
[70] CEMRA, 17.
[71] CEMRA, 18–19.
[72] RoA, 307.
[73] CEMRA, 24.
[74] RoA, 308.

The Lord Marshal's Roll

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

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

A single version is described by Wagner in CEMRA.[75] The manuscript has many mistakes and missing blazons, and the compiler of the original version or the early modern copyist often mistook the blue color for silver. [76]

Wagner first suggests that roll is from the reign of Edward I.[77] However, he later states that the correct date is 1310, three years after Edward's death.[78] Humphery-Smith also accepts the latter dating.[79] But because the Lord Marshal's Roll has many individuals in common with the Collin's Roll (Q)[80], it is reasonable to conclude that it was compiled close in time. In addition, several people died in the year 1295 and they are not listed in Q, which suggests that the date of the roll is in fact 1295 rather than 1307 or 1310.

The Wijnbergen Roll

The Wijnbergen Roll or the Armorial Wijnbergen is a medieval French roll of arms. It has two separate parts; in the first part the vassals of Louis IX of France (1226–1270) are collected. This section was compiled around 1265 and contains 256 records. The second part is the collection of the vassals of Philip III of France (1270–1285), it was compiled around 1280 and contains 1056 records. The Wijnbergen Roll was published by Paul Adam-Evan between 1951–52.[81]

---

[75] CEMRA, 38.

[76] RoA*,* 323.

[77] CEMRA, 38.

[78] CEMRA, 260, 264.

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

[80] RoA*,* 324.

[81] Paul Adam-Even and Léon Jéquier, "Un armorial français du milieu du XIIIe siècle: L'armorial Wijnbergen," *Archives Héraldiques Suisses* (1951): 49–62, 101–110, (1952): 28–36, 103–111.

The Variants of the Royal Coats of Arms[82]

The Hungarian Royal Coats of Arms					
Walford's Roll C version	12. Hungary	Le Roy de Hungrey	d'or estenzelé a trois leon passans d'azure	gold, three blue lions in "passant" position	
Walford's Roll Cd version	11. Hungary	Le Roy de Hungrie	de or estenzelé de gules a treys lions passanz coronés	gold, three red lions in position "passant"	
Herald's Roll	14. Hungary	Le Roy de Hungrie	gules, a lion rampant or, collared azure	red, a lion in position "rampant" armed with blue	
Camden Roll	94. Hungary	Rey de Hungrie	gules a lion rampant or	red, a lion in position "rampant"	
Segar Roll	22. Hungary	Rey de Hungrie	azure, three greyhounds courant argent	blue, three silver greyhounds in position "running"	
Wijnbergen Roll	1267. Hungary	le Roy de Hongrie	Fasce d'argent et de sable á l'escarbouncle fleuronnée d'or brochant	barry silver and black with a gold carbunkle	
	1305. Hungary	le Roi de Hōgrie	Fascé (8) d'argent et de gueules	barry silver and red	

[82] The fifth column is the translation of the blazons using the modern terminology. I kept the admitted vocabulary of the attitudes (positions) of the charges. The colors and other details are translated.

The Bohemian Royal Coats of Arms					
Walford's Roll C version	10. Bohemia	Le Roy de Boeme	d'argent un lion sable coronné	silver, a black lion with crown	
Walford's Roll Cd version	10. Bohemia	Le Roy de Bowheme	d'argent ung lion sable corone or a une cross or sur l'esspaule	silver, a black lion with crown and a gold cross on the shoulder	
Herald's Roll	18. Bohemia	Le Roy de Bealme	azure three barges or	blue, three gold bagres	
Camden Roll	12. Bohemia	Rey de Bealme	azure, three barges argent	blue, three silver barges	
Lord Marshal's Roll	19. Bohemia	Le Rey de Behaigne	gules, a lion rampant with a forked tail crossed in saltier argent	red, a silver lion in position "rampant" with a forked tail crossed in saltier	
Wijnbergen Roll	1266. Bohemia	le Roy de Boeme	De gueules au lion d'argent á la queue fourcheé, passeé en sautoir et nouée, couronné d'or	red, a silver lion in position "rampant" with a forked tail crossed in saltire and a gold crown	

Versions of the Slavonian Royal Coats of Arms					
Lord Marshal's Roll	3. Slavonia	Le Roy de Esclevoni	azure, three human heads argent crowned or	blue, three silver human heads with gold crown	
Wijnbergen Roll	1270. Slavonia	le Roi dezclauonie	D'azur semé de croisettes d'or á 3 tétes de reines au naturel couronnées brochant	blue, three queen heads natural depiction with gold crown	

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

Versions of Other Central and Eastern European Royal Coats of Arms					
Lord Marshal's Roll	15. Bulgaria	Le Rey de Bulgaria	sable, a lion rampant quardent argent crown or	black, a silver lion in position "rampant" with gold crown	
Lord Marshal's Roll	26. Serbia	Le Rey de Servie	gules, a cross argent	red, a silver cross	