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Autor: Kennedy, John J. Fitzpatrick

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The emergence of the arms of Connacht and Irish Arms in Medieval Continental Armorial

DR. JOHN J. FITZPATRICK KENNEDY (AIH)

The emergence of the arms of Connacht has been something of a puzzle for Irish armorists. For example, in 1949, the first Chief Herald of Ireland, Dr. E.A. MacLysaght, reported,

«Until recently it was frequently stated that the dimidiated eagle and arm and sword represented two powerful (but never definitely identified) Connacht families; this view, however, may be discounted and, having regard to the ascription of national coats to the other Provinces, the statement made about 1575 by Edward Fletcher, Athlone Pursuivant, that the arms of Ireland «are now azure three harps Or but in old time were party per pale or and gules in the first a dimidiated eagle displayed [sa.?] in the second a hand holding a dagger argent, hilted and pommelled or» immediately suggests that the modern Connacht arms are once again a variant of the arms of Ireland.»¹

Leaving aside Athlone Fletcher's blason of the arms of Ireland as «Azure three harps Or», which is a variant of the Harp arms of Ireland², the «old time» arms he notes are, with a change of tinctures, the arms of Connacht. MacLysaght notes that Fletcher thought of them as the arms of Ireland, not just of Connacht. While MacLysaght's evidence was modern Irish, these arms can be found in medieval sources in the Holy Roman Empire. There, they were indeed ascribed to

Ireland, or rather to the King of Ireland. I will argue that they were ascribed to an early Irish king of the Uí Briain (O'Brien) of Thomond lineage and will present evidence for this ascription. While other hypotheses linking these arms to the MacCárthaigh or the Uí Conchobhair lineages are still possible, based on available evidence they do not appear cogent to me. To begin we need to look at preheraldic events in Ireland.³



1. The arms of the Benedictine Abbey of Fort Augustus Abbey incorporating the ancient arms of the Schottenkloster of St. James, Regensburg.



2. Hypothetical reconstruction of the 1408 seal of Philip, the Irish abbot of St. James at Regensburg by the Author. N.B. This is NOT THE ORIGINAL SEAL but rather the author's imaginative rendering.

¹ E.A. MacLysaght, «Some Observations on the Arms of the Four Provinces», *THE JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND*, (hereafter *JRSAI*), LXXIX, 1949:61–62.

² J.J. Kennedy, «The Arms of Ireland: Medieval and Modern», in *THE COAT OF ARMS*, N.S. Vol. IX, No. 155, Autumn, 1991:91–109.

³ The earliest true heraldry occurs in feudal, latin Christendom in the early twelfth century. Heraldry came to Celtic Ireland with the Anglo-Normans. For one of the earliest examples c. 1175 see Rev. J. Graves, «The Seal of Strongbow», *JRSAI*, I, 1849:501–4.



3. Ulrich von Richenthal's 1463 illustration of the Schottenkloster arms of the Abbot of St. James at Regensburg, with the inscription, «Vom dem hochwirdigen Kung Wentzlas in ybernia och in schotten», which stresses that the Imperial component of these arms were known even in then far off Ireland at the edge of the European known world.



4. The arms ascribed to «der konig von irland» in the Miltenberg Armorial (c. 1486–1500). Note the crest device which picks up the theme of the arms and is a totally new creation.

Historical Background

The early medieval Irish *peregrini* who travelled to the Continent were called in the latin of the time *Scotti* (e.g. Joannes *Scottus* Eriugena, Sedulius *Scottus*, etc.)⁴. Their homeland was known as Scotia. This can be seen in the 7th century on the *Beatus Mappamundi*⁵ and in the writings of Adamnán who refers to the Irish Gaelic settlers of Argyll as the *Scotti Britaniae*⁶. In Dicuil's *De mensura orbis terrae* (c. 825)⁷, Ireland is called *Scotia*. As late as 1004, Brian Boromhe is called the *Imperator Scottorum*⁸ in The Book of Armagh. In Irish hagiographical writings, such as the *Vita Flannani* (c. 1163–7), under the impact of recent changes in geographic terminology, Ireland is called in a telling phrase, *Hibernia seu Scotia*⁹.

While this is well known to Irish antiquaries, the confusion between these early names for Ireland and the 13th century applications of the name *Scotia* to Scotland has persistently misled a number of scholars into attributing to Scotland what properly belongs to Ireland¹⁰. Recently, Georges Duby identified the founders of the Schottenklöster of south Germany with the Scottish Benedictines¹¹. But, he was misled by the title of these abbeys which were founded in the eleventh century when the term *Scotia* still referred to Ireland rather than Scotland. In heraldic circles, the English armorist S.M. Collins¹² appeared to know nothing of the Irish Benedictine foundations in south Central Europe nor their continuous cultural influence there in medieval times. Nor did he appear cognizant of the

⁴ F.J. Byrne, «Early Irish Society» in THE COURSE OF IRISH HISTORY, T.W. Moody and F.X. Martin (eds.), Cork, 1967:44.

⁵ J.G. Leithauser, MAPPAMUNDI, Berlin, 1958:67.

⁶ A.O. Anderson and M.O. Anderson (eds.), ADOMNAN'S LIFE OF ST. COLUMBA, Edinburgh, 1961:30.

⁷ C.O. Sauer, NORTHERN MISTS, San Francisco, 1968:158–186.

⁸ R.C. Newman, BRIAN BORU, KING OF IRELAND, London, 1983:128,131, quotes The Book of Armagh where Brian is styled «*Briain Imperatoris Scottorum*» in 1004.

⁹ D. O'Corrain, «Foreign Connections and Domestic Politics: Killaloe and the Uí Briain in Twelfth Century Hagiography», in IRELAND IN EARLY MEDIEVAL EUROPE: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes, D. Whitelock, R. McKitterick and D. Dumville (eds.), Cambridge, 1982:219.

¹⁰ D. Thompson (ed.) THE COMPANION TO GAELIC SCOTLAND, London, 1983:54–55; G.R. Crone, EARLY MAPS OF THE BRITISH ISLES A.D. 1000 – A.D. 1579, London, 1961: Maps 1 and 2.

early latin referents of *Scotia* or *Scotti*. Hence, when he discovered Irish arms in Continental armorials, he either believed (incorrectly) that they pertained to Scotland or (again incorrectly) that they were merely fanciful. Though why these should be the only two options remains puzzling. His significant misunderstanding has been far too influential in heraldic circles at least with respect to Irish arms.

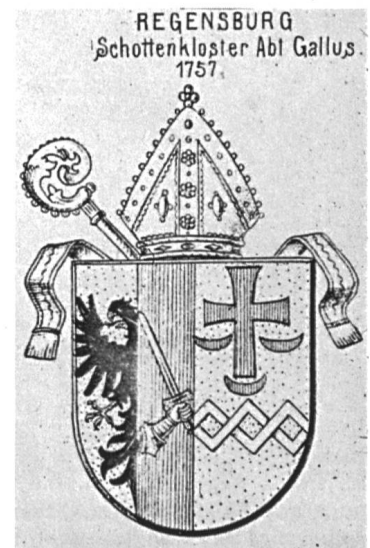
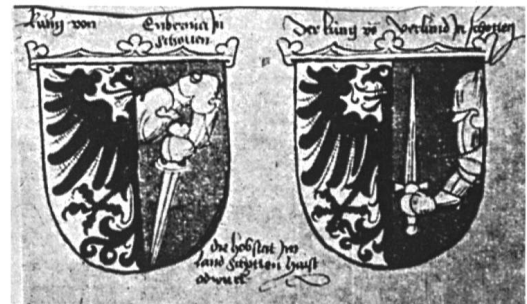
But, the Schottenklöster of southern Germany were a distinctly Irish foundation. Here, we need only give a general historical outline in order to clarify the heraldic evidence that follows¹³.

By 1076, the Irish *peregrini* in and around Regensburg were so numerous that the abbess of the Benedictine nuns at Obermünster presented them with the priory of Weih-Sankt-Peter, outside the walls of the city. Under the spiritual leadership of Marianus Scotus (gaelice Muiredach mac Robartach), these *peregrini* adopted the Benedictine rule and founded a community. By 1087, their new church, St. James the Great, was first mentioned and appears to be staffed mostly by Irishmen from Munster (the southern Irish Province). By 1089, so large had the community grown that with the aid of Bishop Otto of Regensburg a charter was received from Emperor Henry VII granting the Irish monks imperial privileges and protection of their temporalities. Papal privileges protecting the Irish Benedictine spiritualities from the interference of local bishops were soon granted.

¹¹ G. Duby, *THE AGE OF THE CATHEDRALS*, trans. E. Leveux and B. Thompson, Chicago, 1981: 127.

¹² S.M. Collins, «Some English, Scottish, Welsh and Irish Arms in Medieval Continental Rolls», *THE ANTIQUARIES JOURNAL*, XXI, London, 1941: 203–208.

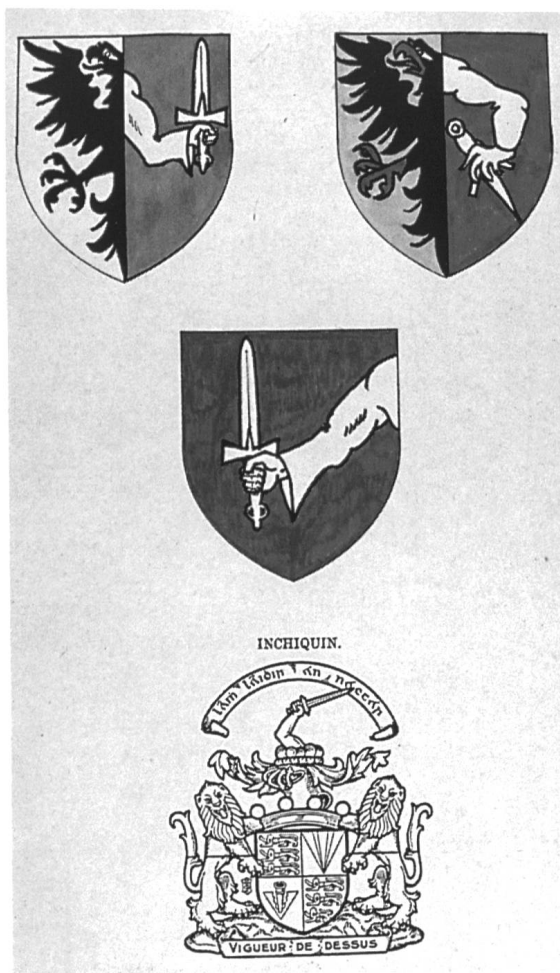
¹³ The history of the Schottenklöster Benedictine community has been admirably recorded by such notable scholars as: D.A. Binchy, «The Irish Benedictines in Medieval Germany», *STUDIES*, XVIII, Dublin, 1929; P.A. Breatnach, «The origins of the Irish Monastic Tradition at Ratisbon (Regensburg)», *CELTICA*, XIII, Dublin, 1980; Rev. P.J. Barry, «Irish Benedictines in Nuremberg», *STUDIES*, Dublin, 1926; Rev. A. Gwynn, «Some Notes on the History of the Irish and Scottish Benedictine Monasteries in Germany», *INNES REVIEW*, V. 5, No. 1, Glasgow, 1954; D.A. Binchy, «Die Regensburger Schottenlegende – *Libellus de Fundacione Ecclesie Consacratæ Petri*», *CELTICA*, XIV, Dublin, 1981; Rev. A. Gwynn, «Ireland and Wurzburg in the Middle Ages», *IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW*, 78, Dublin, 1952; M. Dilworth, *THE SCOTS IN FRANCONIA*, Edinburgh, 1974.



5. Illustrations of the similar coats of arms in Conrad von Grünenberg's *Wappenbuch* (1493) inscribed respectively, «Kunig von Enbernia zu Schotten» and «der König von yerland in schotten».



6. A facsimile drawing of similar arms but no inscription in the Armorial of Jörg Rugen (c. 1492), which appears with small variations similar to those found in other Germanic armorials, and appears based on the arms of the Abbey of St. James, Regensburg.



7. A contrast between the modern arms of the Irish Province of Connacht and the arms of the Schottenkloster of St. James at Regensburg. The arms often used in medieval times by the Uí Briain (The O'Briens) of Thomond, still documented in use on banners of the Lords Inchiquin in the 17th century. The armorial achievement of the present Baron Inchiquin, The O'Brien, Chief of the Name and Arms. Notice the Crest with the arm grasping the sword, a common early device used by many Dalcassian lineages related to the O'Briens.

As the number of recruits to the Schottenklöster continued to increase, new foundations began and a Celtic paruchia of monasteries came into being: St. James in Würzburg (1135), St. James in Erfurt (1136), St. Giles (or Aegidius) in Nuremberg (1140), St. James in Constance (1142), the Blessed Virgin Mary in Vienna (1158–61), St. Nicholas in Memmingen (1189) and priories at Kelheim, Oels (in Silesia), and Holy Cross (Eichstätt), as well as two priories in Ireland, one at Rosscarbery, co. Cork, and the other probably at Cashel¹⁴.

By the Lateran Council of 1215, this paruchia had received recognition as a spiritually distinct community on grounds of nationality, with the Abbot of St. James, Regensburg recognized as *Praeses* and Visitor General. This Irish Benedictine community produced a number of literary works such as the *Visio Tnugdali*, the *Vita Adelberti* and especially the *Schottenklösterlegende* that contained two works, *Vita Mariani* and the *Libellus de Fundacione Ecclesie Consacrati Petri*, which deal with the community's foundation and early history. The *Vita Mariani* was basically a sober, reliable account of the first spiritual director, while the *Libellus* was a more popular and rhetorical work. The *Libellus*, written c. 1250–1261 by an Irishman from Munster (the southern Province of Ireland), survives in seventeen copies. Its frequent translation into German probably reflects its popularity¹⁵.

The *Libellus* claims that in 1130, two monks from Regensburg were sent on a mission to Ireland by abbot Domnus. There, they were welcomed by the «king of Ireland», who is named as Conchobhar na Cathrach Uí Briain, nicknamed Slapar Salach (Dirty Shoes) (d.1142). The Uí Briain kings of Thomond were notable from the reign of Briain Boromhe (d.1014) for their foundation of new religious houses and support for reform of the Irish Church¹⁶. The *Libellus* claims that Conchobhar na Cathrach Uí Briain gave considerable alms, and encouraged men of his kingdom to join the Schottenklöster paruchia.

¹⁴ D. O'Riain-Raedel, «Irish Kings and Bishops in the memoria of the German Schottenklöster», in *IRLAND UND EUROPA/IRELAND AND EUROPE*, P. Ní Chathain and M. Richter (eds.), Stuttgart, 1984:384; P. Lindner, *GERMANIA MONASTICA: KLOSTERVERZEICHNIS DER DEUTSCHEN BENEDIKTINER UND CISTERZIENSER*, HERAUSGEGEBEN VOM STIFT ST. PETER, Salzburg, 1967 (Reprint of 1917 original); Rev. A. Gwynn, *Op. Cit.* (1954):10; W. Wattenbach, «Die Congregation der Schottenklöster in

In honour of his generosity and support, Conchobhar na Cathrach was described as «*fundator noster*» in the *Libellus*. Fr. Gwynn has clarified that it is shortly after this date that new foundations in Würzburg, Erfurt, Nuremberg, Constance and Vienna are noted¹⁷. Hence, Conchobhar, while not the founder of the Regensburg Schottenkloster (which had existed from 1076–1087), was nonetheless the founder of the expanded Schottenklöster community.

It is notable that other Uí Briain are often mentioned as «Kings of Ireland» in contemporary sources, e.g. The Annals of Ireland record Turlough Uí Briain, Conchobhar's brother and successor as «King of Ireland» as did Pope Gregory VII, who called him the «noble king of Ireland», as also did Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury. Turlough's son, Muirchertach, was also addressed as «*rex Hiberniae*» by Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury¹⁸. Despite these august titles, the Uí Briain were often, in fact, «kings with opposition», who rarely ruled all Ireland without dispute. Yet, the *Libellus*'s viewpoint does reflect the Munster orientation of its author and the views of leading contemporary Irish, English and Papal sources.

Later visits by Regensburg Schottenklöster monks to Ireland are recorded and alms were also obtained from the other leading royal dynasties in Munster, the MacCárthaigh. O'Riain-Raedel informs us that Domhnall Mor Uí Briain, King of Munster 1168–1194, and his wife's family, the Uí Cinneide, also granted alms to the monks of Cîteaux which points to the continuation of Dalcassian support for continental religious foundations¹⁹.

The author of the *Libellus* found it in his best interest to stress the role of the Irish king in the foundation of the Schottenklöster. This, in spite of the fact that, in Regensburg, the many contributions from local German gentry and nobles had made the St. James Abbey one of the richest in southern Germany. For, the paruchia could be seen as more indepen-

dent from local interference if a royal Irish founder had sent this mission to the Germans. The obvious popularity of the *Libellus* likely assured that its German readers would believe that Conchobar na Cathrach Uí Briain was the Irish King who had helped found and finance the expanded paruchia. Together with the *Reichsunmittelbarkeit* (privileges granted by the Holy Roman Emperor releasing the paruchia from local taxation and temporal control) and *privilegia maiora* (granted by the Popes and assuring the religious freedom from control by local bishops, effectively placing the paruchia under papal protection), such historic claims ensured the Irish monks a substantial degree of wealth and freedom from local interference.



8. Section of the Map of Europe, 1555, by Kaspar Vopel, showing Ireland with 2 shields nearby, one the familiar Azure, three crowns in pale Or arms for the medieval Irish Lordship in the Anglo-Irish heraldic tradition and the other the arms of the Abbey of St. James at Regensburg, also used in German speaking contexts to illustrate the arms of the King of Ireland.

Deutschland», ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR CHRISTLICHE ARCHAEOLOGIE UND KUNST, I, (1856).

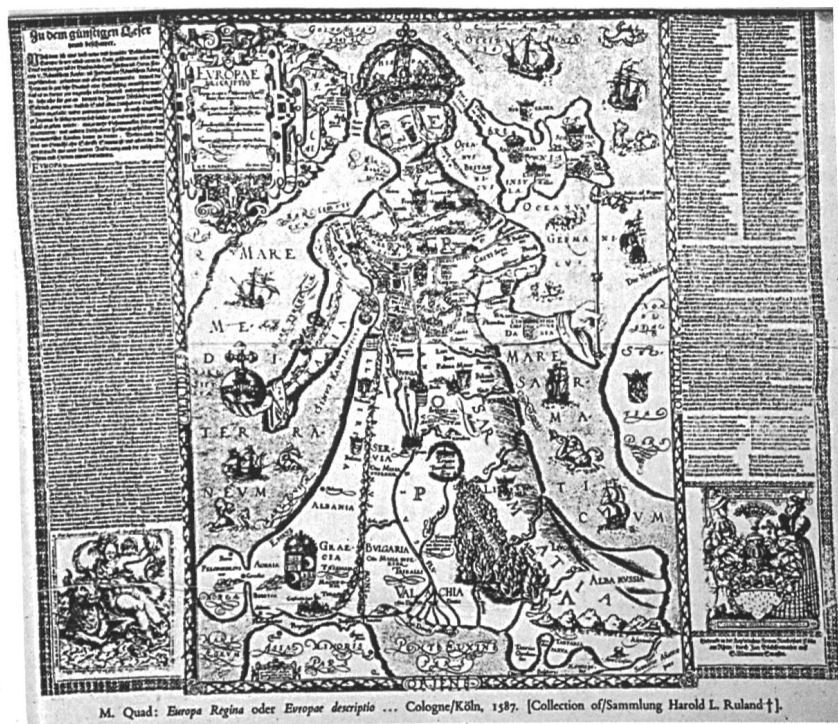
¹⁵ Binchy (1929):198–9; Breatnach (1980):63.

¹⁶ Watt, J., THE CHURCH IN MEDIEVAL IRELAND, Dublin, 1972:8–12; O'Corrain, D., «Dál Cais-Church and Dynasty», ÉRIU, XXIV, 1973:62–3.

¹⁷ Gwynn, (1954):10–11.

¹⁸ Lydon, J., THE LORDSHIP OF IRELAND IN THE MIDDLE AGES, Toronto, 1972: 16–17.

¹⁹ O'Riain-Raedel (1984):398.



9. The figurative map entitled, «Europa Regina», by Matthias Quadt von Kinkelbach (1587), Cologne. Ireland is not even geographically depicted on the map, but a small shield of the St. James Abbey, Regensburg, is used to represent Ireland in its proper geographical location, no doubt because of its association with the «King of Hibernia seu Scotia».

The Irish Benedictine congregation persisted until the fifteenth century. For the most part, the piety, religious zeal and community involvement of the Irish congregation were exemplary. But, by the late fifteenth century, the quality and number of recruits left much to be desired. The growing scarcity of recruits and the wealth available to their *paruchia* provoked the envy of the German Benedictines. Allegations of irregularities and immoral behaviour were made to the Council of Constance in 1418. As a result of the scarcity of Irish monks to argue their justifiable claims, St. Aegidius in Nuremberg was taken over by German monks from Reichenbach. In Vienna, the Abbey of the Virgin Mary was also lost to the Viennese Benedictines. A century later, Bishop Lorenz von Bibra gave the Schottenkloster of St. James in Würzburg to German Benedictines without referring the matter to the *Praeses* of the Irish *paruchia*. This was a clear violation of the *privilegia maiora*, but the scarcity of Irish monks and the absence of any Irish King, meant that no effective argument against this local interference could prevail²⁰.

The scarcity of recruits continued. By 1520, Regensburg itself and those Schottenklöster, already in German Benedictine hands, were claimed by a group of Scottish émigrés

led by John Thomson. The Scots claimed that the very title of the congregation clearly proved that the *paruchia* properly belonged to their nation, utterly forgetting the original medieval latin meaning of these names. No powerful Irish king (the O'Briens and other Gaelic dynasts had been superseded by the Anglo-Norman colonization of Ireland and the King of England now claimed the title of «Lord of Ireland») disputed this claim and the Scottish interest group won the day by default. By 1576, Würzburg and Erfurt were also in their hands. These monasteries remained in Scottish Benedictine hands until 1803, when the Napoleonic code secularized a large number of religious properties on the Continent. The last Scottish Benedictine of Regensburg, Dom Anselm Robertson, returned to England and sometime later joined the English Benedictines exiled from Lamspringe in Hanover in founding the new Benedictine Abbey of Fort Augustus Abbey in Scotland in 1878.²¹

²⁰ Barry, P.J. (1926): 593–7; Gwynn (1954): 15–16; Dilworth (1974): 18.

²¹ Dom W. Bayne, «The Arms of Fort Augustus Abbey», THE COAT OF ARMS, VI, no. 46, London, 1961:251–2.

Heraldic Evidence:

The expansion of the Irish Schottenklöster in south Germany paralleled the rise of heraldry. Generally, in latin christendom, clerics only began to use armorial bearings on their seals from the thirteenth century²². The Irish abbots of the Schottenklöster sealed with coats of arms from the fourteenth century on.

The official arms of the Abbot of St. James at Regensburg are claimed by some to have been granted as a special privilege by Emperor Henry VII (1303–1313), who, as was common, ceded a part of his imperial arms in the grant²³. But, Gustav Seyler, a celebrated German armorist, points out that the surviving copy of this grant of the arms of the Regensburg Schottenkloster was, on stylistic grounds, only datable to the late fourteenth century²⁴.

The 1408 seal of the Irish abbot of St. James at Regensburg, Philip, shows the abbot seated on a chair with lionheaded armrests beneath a gothic canopy. The abbot holds a book in his right hand and a crozier in his left. Beneath



10. The arms of other abbeys of the Schottenklöster *paruchia*: a) St. Aegidius in Nuremberg; b) St. James in Würzburg; c) The Schottenkloster abbey of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Vienna; d) The arms of Bishop Lorenz von Bibra who confiscated the Schottenkloster of St. James, Würzburg, for the German Benedictine Congregation in the early 16th century.

his seat at the bottom of the oval shaped seal is a shield that may be blazoned: Per pale, dexter, a dimidiated eagle displayed, sinister, issuant from the partition an arm embowed habited and brandishing a sword point to base. The inscription reads, «S. Philippi Abbis Moni. Sci Jacobi Scotorum»²⁵. These arms resemble the «old time» arms blazoned by Athlone Pursuivant Edward Fletcher above.

In 1463, recording events of the Council of Constance (1414–18) precisely when the German Benedictines were attempting to take possession of various Schottenklöster, these same arms are depicted in Ulrich von Richenthal's *Das Konzil zu Konstanz*. Richenthal, a native of Constance depicts the arms as: Per pale, or and gules, in the first an eagle dimidiated sable, armed and langued gules; in the second an arm embowed holding a sword point toward base, habited argent. The inscription next to it reads, «Vom dem hochwirdigen Kung Wentzlas in ybernia och in schotten», which might be rendered, «the puissant king Wenceslaus's arms in *Hibernia seu Scotia*»²⁶.

It would appear that Richenthal's interest was to stress that the imperial arms were known even in far off Ireland²⁷. Richenthal does not even mention the Schottenklöster then under review at the Council²⁸. Nor does he refer to the sinister part of the dimidiated shield as relating to the King of Ireland, though as we shall see, this meaning does emerge in later examples.

Conrad von Grünenberg's *Wappenbuch* (1483), also published in Constance, gives two versions of the arms of the Schottenkloster of St. James at Regensburg. The first reproduces Richenthal's blason except the arm is now in armour. The second has the vambraced arm issuant from the sinister flank of the shield

²² B.B. Heim, *HERALDRY IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH ITS ORIGIN CUSTOMS AND LAWS*, Gerrards Cross, 1978:23–5.

²³ Bayne (1961):251–2.

²⁴ G. Seyler's article «St. Jacob, Regensburg» in J. SIEBMACHER'S *GROSSES WAPPENBUCH*, Band 8, «Die Wappen der Bistümer und Klöster», Neustadt an der Aisch, 1976:74 and Tafel 86.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

²⁶ U. von Richenthal, *DAS KONZIL ZU KONSTANZ*, Faksimileausgabe, Kommentar und Texte bearbeitet von O. Feger, Starnberg, 1964: Plate 103.

²⁷ Wenceslaus was the somewhat dissolute brother of Sigismund, who had been emperor, but became King of the Romans.

²⁸ Richenthal does show a procession of Irish Benedictines.



11. The seals of various Irish abbots of the Viennese Schottenkloster abbey of the Blessed Virgin Mary: *a*) Round seal of Abbot Donald (1381) with eagle displayed, perhaps for Vienna; *b*) Oval seal of Abbot Donald (1382) with a human figure holding perhaps a staff; *c*) Oval seal of Abbot Heinrich (1398) showing a stag trippant, suggesting a connection with the MacCarthaigh family of Desmond; *d*) Counterseal of Abbot Thomas O'Crosscraic (1403–1418), a Thomond cleric in Vienna.

rather than from the partition and has the sword pointing upwards to the chief instead of towards the base. The inscription near the first reads, «*Kunig von Enbernia zu Schotten*» (King of Ireland of the Scotti), which emphasizes these are the arms of the King of Ireland. The second inscription reads, «*der Konig von yerland in schotten*» (King of Ireland in Scotia)²⁹. Lord Lyon King of Arms, Sir James Balfour Paul (1890–1926), when asked about these arms, was unable to explain them and claimed that they were not Scottish³⁰.

Another interesting example, which nearly repeats Richenthal's Schottenkloster shield is found in the unpublished heraldic book of the Austrian, Jörg Rugenn (c. 1492). There the Regensburg Schottenkloster's arms are found in a plate dedicated to the arms of the King of England and his dominions. No inscription reveals the author's intent, but basically the illustration shows the same shield as Richtenthal except that instead of a straight blade on the sword or dagger, we now find a scymitar's blade³¹.

Still another source for these arms is to be found in the Miltenberg Armorial, a German Roll thought to have originated between 1486 and 1500. On folio 27 verso, the arms are blazoned by the modern editor as,

«*der konig von irland: Parti, au I d'or à l'aigle de sable issant de la partition, au II de gueules au dextrochère d'argent, à l'épaulière et au gantelet d'or brandissant un cimenterre d'argent garni d'or, et issant de la partition. (Le casque est contourné, peut-être l'écu aussi) Casque couronné. C. Le dextrochère du II issant entre un vol de sable*».³²

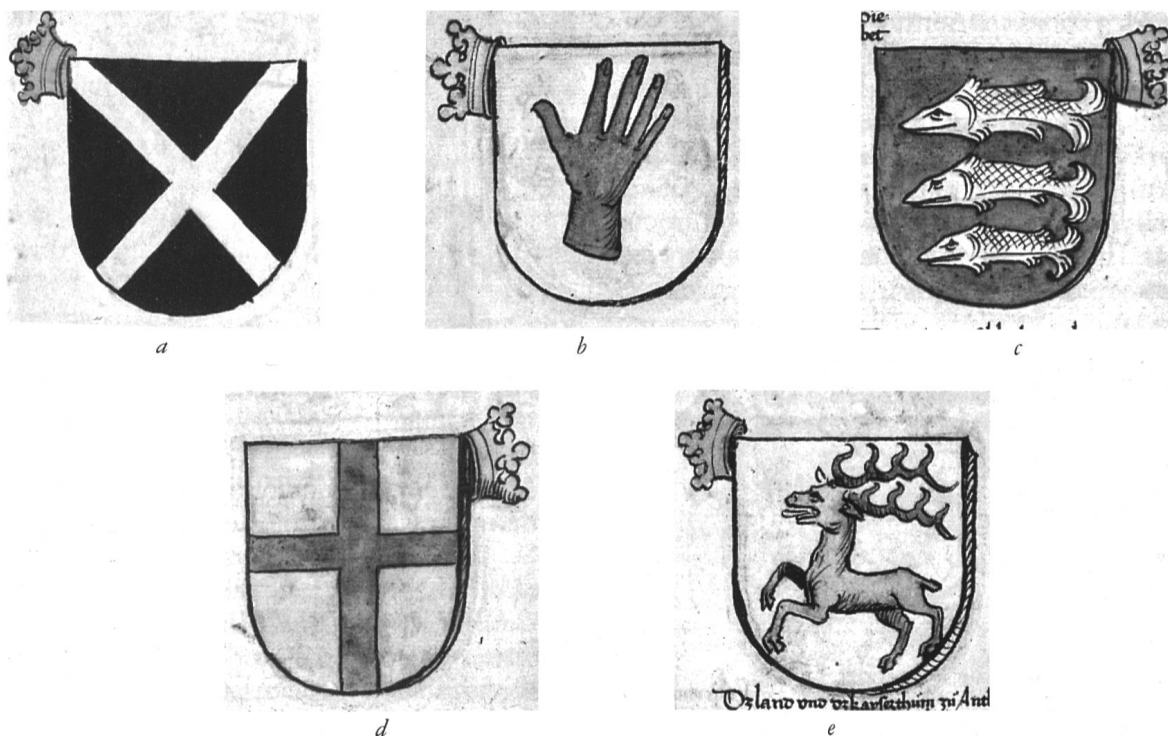
The variation of the sword to a scimitar might actually reflect an Irish custom and a Dalcassian origin, given the scimitar in the crest device of the Uí Cinneide and pilgrim's

²⁹ Colin Campbell, «The Royal Arms in the Grünenberg Roll», *THE SCOTTISH GENEALOGIST*, XIII, Nos. 3 & 4, Dec., 1966: 39–46.

³⁰ Letter «The Arms of Fort Augustus Abbey» of H.J. Storey in *THE COAT OF ARMS*, VI, No. 48, London, 1961:359.

³¹ Christian de Merindol, «Les Armes de France dans l'Armorial Jörg Rugenn (Innsbruck, Bibliothèque de l'Université, ms. 545)», *REVUE FRANÇAISE D'HÉRALDIQUE ET SIGILLOGRAPHIQUE*, no. 62/63, 1992:35–37.

³² J.C. Loutsch, «L'Armorial Miltenberg, un armorial de la fin du XV^e siècle», *Archives Héraldiques Suisses*, CII/1989/II:113–4.



12. The arms of Irish Earls (Grafen) from Ulrich von Richenthal's *Das Konzil zu Konstanz*: a) Graf von Kildare; b) Graf von Lagenie; c) Graf von Conacie; d) Graf von Ultingen; e) der Graff daschlach von olten-gensto. These arms may correctly be seen as those of a) the Earls of Kildare in incorrect tinctures, b) The O'Neill Mor of Tyrone, c) The O'Donnell of Tirconnell, d) The MacCarthy Mor of Desmond and e) The extinct de Burgho, Earls of Ulster.

descriptions of medieval Irish swords³³. The unknown amateur heraldic artist who composed the Miltenberg roll was probably familiar with these arms in the south German heraldic tradition.

These fifteenth century examples of the arms of the abbey of St. James of Regensburg when taken together with the popularity of the *Libellus* account of the foundation of the Schottenklöster *paruchia* reasonably point to the dimidiated arm grasping the sword as the attributed arms of the king of Ireland, Conchobhar na Cathrach Uí Briain, who is described in the *Libellus* as «*fundator noster*».

As can be seen from these examples, sometimes German armorists emphasized the imperial eagle component of the dimidiated arms of the Regensburger Schottenkloster to more or less say, «See, the Imperial arms are known even in Ireland at the ends of the known world». At other times they emphasized the component of the dimidiation with the arm and sword of the king of Ireland as if to say, «Even this mysterious King at the ends of the known world uses arms known to our heralds». In the grip of these heady fascinations, the respective authors cited above simply forgot to mention the commonplace fact

that the arms were real and were still used by the Irish Benedictine Abbot of the Regensburger Schottenkloster!

This arm and dagger device also bears a striking resemblance to the crest device of the O'Briens of Thomond, today represented by the Lords Inchiquin³⁴. Their crest is first recorded in Ulster's Office in the sixteenth century, but was very likely in use for some considerable time before that office was instituted in 1552³⁵. Indeed, this crest device,

³³ For the crests of various Dalcassian lineages see E. A. MacLysaght, *IRISH FAMILIES THEIR NAMES ORIGINS AND ARMS*, Dublin, 1957. For the scimitar used by the medieval Irish see J.P. Mahaffy, «Two Early Tours in Ireland», *HERMATHENA*, VOL. XVIII, 1905, Dublin, p. 17 quoting Count Perellos's voyage to St. Patrick's Purgatory in 1397, who writes, «the swords are like those of the Saracens...».

³⁴ BURKE'S *GENEALOGICAL AND HERALDIC HISTORY OF THE PEERAGE, BARONETAGE AND KNIGHTAGE*, ed P. Townend, London, 1970:1413.

³⁵ Before the 1552 establishment of the Ulster's Office, there are a number of indications that the O'Briens used heraldry, e.g.: T.J. Westropp, «St. Mary's Cathedral, Limerick», *JRSAI*, XIII, 1892:70 and illustration opposite and Sean Mac Rory Magrath's *CAITHREIM THOIRDELBHAIGH*, II, trans. and ed. by S.H. O'Grady, Dublin, 1929:13.

with minor variations, was found in the crests of other Irish Dalcassian septs related to the O'Briens (e.g. the O'Kennedys of Ormond, the MacLysaghts, etc.) and may well derive from the war cry, «Lámh Láidir án Uáchter» (Anglice: The Strong Arm Uppermost). Such rallying cries were probably known among the Irish Gaels before the coming of the Normans³⁶.



13. King Tyro von Schotten and his son Fridebrant, from the Manesse Codex c. 1300, illustrating the arms with the *Perigrini*, or wandering monk, with staff and begging bowl or book.

³⁶ D. Greene, «The Irish War Cry», *ÉRIU*, XXII, 1971:167–173. The Dalcassians were the tribal group of close relatives of the O'Briens of Thomond.

³⁷ See E.C.R. Armstrong, «A Note as to the Time when Heraldry was adopted by the Irish Chiefs», *JRSAI*, XLIII, 1914:66–72; J.G. Barry, «Guide to Records of the Genealogical Office, Dublin with a commentary on heraldry in Ireland and on the history of the office», *ANALEC-TA HIBERNICA*, 26, 1978, Dublin:3–43. Armstrong cites the seals of Aodh Reamhar Uí Neill (c.1325–65), John MacArt and Godfrey Dogherty (14th century) as armorial, but discounts the seal of Felimídh Uí Conchobhar, king of Connacht (1260) and a number of others without giving cogent reasons. Barry adds the late medieval carving of the arms of O'Cahan at Dungiven Abbey. Other Gaelic armorial seals have been discovered since Armstrong wrote, e.g. those of Rotheric O'Kennedy (1356) and Domnal Reagh

O'Riain-Raedel informs us that Irish pilgrims bearing the arms of the St. James Regensburg as a sign of their pilgrimage were recorded already in the early fifteenth century. If we assume that the attribution of these arms to the Uí Briain is correct, then someone knew that this device by the fourteenth century was used by the Uí Briain. Significantly, the earliest armorial seals of the Irish chiefs occur in the mid-fourteenth century³⁷. The *Caithreim Thoirdelbhaigh*, a Gaelic work, written in the 1360s, also refers in several places to emblazoned standards with cognisances and red banners.

The red background of the sinister dimidiation in the arms of the Regensburger abbey of St. James was then a commonplace among the Uí Briain in the fourteenth century³⁸. The *CATHREIM THOIRDELBHAIGH* regularly mentions such red banners³⁹. It is also consistent with the 17th century continuation of the use of a red flag charged with an arm embowed, the hand grasping a sword that was used by Murrough «of the Burnings» O'Brien, Lord President of Munster⁴⁰.

In German sources, there are other instances of the arms of St. James's Abbey in Regensburg being used to illustrate the arms of the king of Ireland. In 1555, Kaspar Vopel illustrated an heraldically decorated map of Europe, later printed by Bernard von den Patte in 1566. Next to Ireland, this map shows two shields. The first is the familiar three crowns in pale of the medieval lordship of Ireland. The second shows the same arms as were found on the 1408 seal of Philip, the Irish abbot of Regensburg and in Richenthal's *DAS KONZIL ZU KONSTANZ* (c. 1463), again emphasizing the arms of the king of Ireland⁴¹.

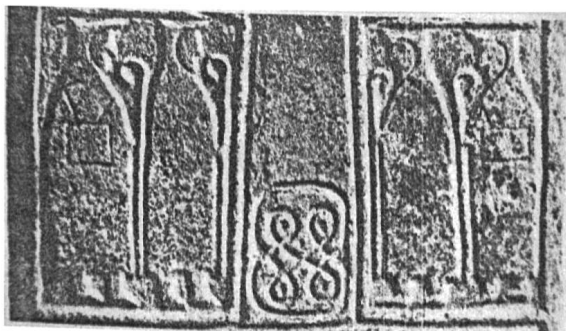
MacMurchadha (1465); Barry thinks feudalism and primogeniture were required for the use of heraldry. This is too feudal and too anglophile a view. It ignores data from Celtic lands, such as Scotland and Wales, where non-feudal, Celtic chiefs used heraldry and from other Irish literary and artificial sources. It also ignores such heraldic customs as those found in Poland and Slovakia.

³⁸ John mac Rory Magrath, *CAITHREIM THOIRDELBHAIGH*, II, trans. and ed. S.H. O'Grady, Dublin, 1929: 13, 16–17, 20, 23, 27, 39, 42, 62, and 99. See A. Nic Ghiollamhaith, «Dynastic Warfare and Historical Writing in North Munster, 1276–1350», *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 2, 1981:73–89.

³⁹ Magrath, II, *ibid.*, 17–18, 42.

⁴⁰ MacLysaght (1949):61–62.

⁴¹ H. Sigurdsson, *KORTASAGA ISLANDA*, Reykjavik, 1971:209.



14. A depiction of Irish monks carved on the stone in the Shetland Islands c. 8th century. In addition to bringing goats to the Shetlands, the Irish *perigrini* sought voluntary exile from their beloved homeland to do penance «pro amore Christi». Religious garb remained relatively constant in medieval times for centuries.

Once again, these arms are found on a curious map entitled *Europa Regina* created by Matthias Quadt von Kinkelbach, that was printed in 1587 in Cologne. The island of Ireland is virtually non-existent on this map of Europe, drawn to resemble the figure of a queen, but the arms the Athlone Fletcher called the «old time arms» of Ireland are depicted to represent the realm of the king of Ireland⁴². These two maps, incidentally confirm MacLysaght's view that these arms functioned as the arms of the entire kingdom. Their connexion with the Schottenklöster is completely sublimated in favour of the symbolism of the component parts representing the Holy Roman Emperor and the King of Ireland.

How did these arms attributed to the King of Ireland become those of the province of Connacht? One of the earliest known instances of the present arms of Connacht appears on the engraved map of Galway (1661) (TCD Ms. 1209, no 73)⁴³, where these arms are again shown, but with certain «hatching» lines, representing the heraldic tinctures. Using the hatching system of Petrasancta the tinctures that these lines and dots indicate would ordinarily be blazoned: Per pale Argent and Azure, on the dexter an dimidiated eagle displayed sable, on the sinister an arm embowed and habited the hand grasping a sword erect Argent. Petrasancta, a Jesuit, devised this set of lines and dots to represent the colours and tinctures of heraldry. Horizontal lines represented azure or blue, gold was represented by a pattern of dots and so on.

While Petrasancta devised his system of hatchings in 1638, and it was known abroad, there were many contemporary rivals⁴⁴. It

took some time before armorists saw that standardization was desirable and that Petrasancta's system was preferable to others. It, therefore, seems reasonable to suggest that these «hatchings» on the 1661 engraved map of Galway, which appears to be one of the first known instance of the arms of Connacht did not represent Petrasancta's system at all. Indeed, what tinctures, if any, they did represent remains to be seen. The present tinctures of the arms of Connacht are assumed to be based on the Petrasancta system, though in great likelihood the 1661 map of Galway does not represent that system of hatchings. If this series of assumptions has some plausibility, it entails the consequence that the arms now used for Connacht have a definite connexion



15. The arms attributed to the King of the Scots (Kunig von Schotten) in the Zurich Roll, c. 1335, again repeating the theme of the wandering perigrinus with staff and/or begging bowl or book. Notice the differences in the crest devices between the Zurich Roll and the Manesse Codex, showing the fluidity of its depiction, in contrast to the relative stability of the theme in the arms.

⁴² Matthias Quadt, *GEOGRAPHISCHES HANDBUCH*: Cologne 1600, with Intro. by W. Bonacker, reprint of the original edition, Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Amsterdam, 1976.

⁴³ M.J. Blake, *BLAKE FAMILY RECORDS*, II, London, 1904:234; G.A. Hayes-McCoy, *IRISH FLAGS FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES*, Dublin, 1979:21 note 23 gives 1647 as the earliest example of the arms of Connacht, citing Sir John T. Gilbert, *Facsimiles of the National Mss. of Ireland*, IV, part 2, plate 59, but what applies to the 1661 map of Galway applies yet more strongly to the 1647 example cited.

⁴⁴ A.C. Fox-Davies, *A COMPLETE GUIDE TO HERALDRY*, New York, 1978, 75–76. One system that used horizontal lines for Gules was that of Juan de Caramul published in Brussels in 1636.

with the early Uí Briain kings of Thomond and Ireland of the 11th century. Paradoxically, they have nothing to do with the leading dynasts of Connacht⁴⁵.

Other Schottenklöster Arms

Other abbeys of the Schottenklöster *paruchia* also used arms distinct from those of the Regensburg abbey. For example, Mauritius (1405–1418), the last Irish abbot of St. Aegidius in Nuremberg used an official seal on which there was a shield with a triple mount in base on which a hind is springing with an arrow embedded in its shoulder. These arms probably refer to the Aegidius legend (i.e. the virginal saint's martyrdom) and continued to be used by subsequent German and Scottish Benedictine abbots⁴⁶.

In Vienna, the abbey of the Blessed Virgin Mary only adopted official arms in 1464, some fifty odd years after the last Irish Benedictines lost the monastery to their Germanic confreres. Yet, despite a lack of official arms, what are preserved are several seals of Irish abbots' with arms from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Abbot Donald (1380–1392) used both a round (1381) and an oval seal (1382). Both are armorial and both depict the distinguished founder of the faculty of Theology and Rector of the University of Vienna. On the round seal, the shield shows an eagle displayed, likely for Vienna. However, the oval seal has a shield with a human figure holding possibly a staff (*a perigrinus?*), which we shall meet again somewhat later in another context⁴⁷.

Abbot Heinrich II (1392–1399), despite his germanic forename, was an Irish abbot,



16. Ulrich von Richenthal's 1463 depiction of the arms «Von dem hochwirdigen fursten kung in hibernia das ist zu schotten», where the wandering *perigrinus* has become a black beggar standing with his bowl, perhaps suggesting the changed circumstances of Irish émigrés in the 15th century.

who also used both a round and an oval seal. The round seal bears no arms, but the oval shows a shield charged solely with a stag trippant. These arms dating from 1398, bear a striking resemblance to the arms of the MacCárthaigh Mór⁴⁸, which incidentally also appear in von Richenthal's *Das Konzil zu Konstanz*⁴⁹. It appears abbot Heinrich may have been a member of this south Munster royal Sept.

The last Irish abbot in Vienna, Tomas Ó Crosscraic (1403–1418), used an oval seal now damaged which probably contained his personal arms. His surviving counterseal shows a shield charged with the full faced head of a lion or cat-a-mountain⁵⁰.

St. James Abbey in Würzburg also had official arms that may be blasoned as, «Azure, two pilgrims» staves crossed in saltire surmounted by an escallop all or. These arms were used by the Scottish Benedictines from the sixteenth through the eighteenth century, but may well have been used by the Irish as well⁵¹.

⁴⁵ Blake, II (1905), illustrates the seal of Christopher Bodkin, Archbishop of Tuam from 1543. This shows a shield with an arm issuant from the flank the hand holding a «bodkin» (dagger) to cant on the Archbishop's surname. It is notable that the O'Conchobhair Donn did use an arm embowed in armour grasping a sword, but its blade was entwined with a serpent.

⁴⁶ Siebmacher, GROSSES WAPPENBUCH, Band 8, «Die Wappen der Bistümer und Klöster», Neustadt an der Aisch, 1976:3, Tafel 4; Other Schottenklöster seals may still survive that Seyler missed.

⁴⁷ A. Zelenka and W. Sauer, O.S.B., DIE WAPPEN DER WIENER SCHOTTENÄBTE, Wien, 1971:8–9.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p. 10.

⁴⁹ Richenthal gives the arms of the MacCárthaigh in 1463. They are also given in the Uffenbach Roll (late 14th century) and in the Miltenberg armorial (late fifteenth

century). Richenthal mistakenly identifies the arms of the Uí Neill (Argent, a dexter hand Gules) as «der Graff von Lagenie» and the MacCarthaigh as «der Graff von Ultingen» whereas the MacCarthys were from Munster not Ulster. He has the wrong tinctures for the earls of Kildare («Sable, a saltire argent» instead of «Argent, a saltire Gules»), and he inscribes the arms of the extinct earls of Ulster «der Graff daschlach von olten-gensto». He also gives Gules, 3 fishes fesswise in pale Argent for «der Graf von Conacie». In Ireland, this blason may just refer to the arms still used by the O'Donnells of Tyrconnell (who had significant influence in north Connacht in late medieval times) in one of their sealed letters to the King of Spain in the 16th century recently identified by the Deputy Chief Herald of Ireland.

⁵⁰ Zelenka and Sauer (1971):9–10.

⁵¹ Siebmacher (1976):92, Tafel 103.

Despite the uses of official arms by the other abbeys of the Schottenklöster, the arms of St. James in Regensburg were given prominence in order to attract recruits from Ireland to Germany. O'Riain-Raedel cites a necrology of the celebrated visitors to the Schottenklöster in medieval times as follows:

*Pie Memoriae Donatus Wagarri et Donaldus Glas Wagarri, duces qui fuerunt ex hibernia scotorum armata manu et media aquila in insignata gerentes*⁵².

O'Riain-Raedel identifies these two «duces qui fuerunt ex hibernia» as members of the MacCárthaigh Riabhach lineage. In her view, the term «Wagarri» is a corruption of the surname MacCárthaigh. She identifies these two gentlemen as two brothers of these forenames who appear in the early fifteenth century genealogy of the MacCárthaigh Riabhach solely because these forenames appear in the MacCárthaigh Riabhach genealogy. Further, she infers that the arms they bore were their personal arms and later became associated with the Schottenklöster community.

O'Riain-Raedel's claims appear to me mistaken for several reasons. First, because the surname MacCárthaigh would have been too well known to the predominantly Munster monks of the Schottenklöster abbeys to be thus corrupted. Secondly, «Wagarri» seems much more clearly the latin «Vagari» (i.e.

wanderers, pilgrims). Next, the forenames Donatus and Donaldus Glas also appear in the genealogy of the Uí Briain Arradh, a branch of the O'Briens driven into north Tipperary and descendants of Domnall Connachta, son of Domnall Mor Uí Briain at roughly the same time frame. Why prefer one over the other based solely on forenames? O'Riain-Raedel's inference that these two pilgrims were brothers is not explicitly stated in the necrology, but rather is her own conjecture based on the extant Gaelic genealogies. Lastly, the passage cited refers to the two travellers coming out of Ireland bearing the arms of the hand and eagle. This may be more plausibly interpreted as that they came under this ensign to the Schottenklöster as pilgrims under the protection of both the Emperor and the King of Ireland. If so, these were not their personal arms, but the arms of the Schottenklöster under whose protection they travelled. Again, no recorded MacCárthaigh arms used an arm grasping a sword either in their arms or in their crests.

Irish Heraldry in continental armorials

Historical sources reveal an enduring connection between Gaelic Ireland and south Germany and Switzerland from the eleventh through the sixteenth centuries. S.M. Collins's view that it would be unsafe to place any great confidence in Grüenberg or for that matter in any continental armorer over an Irish coat⁵³ seems overstated in view of the foregoing evidence. For, Collins's treatment of Irish arms in Continental armorials ignores the Schottenklöster influence. Collins was surprised by the number of Irish arms in Continental armorials. His scepticism regarding Grüenberg's illustrations of the arms of the king of Ireland completely fails to account for the appearance of similar arms in Richenthal some three decades earlier or their appearance on the 1408 seal of the Irish Abbot Philip of Regensburg's St. James Abbey some ninety years earlier still.

Another area where Collins's views seem uninformed is in his interpretation of the arms



17. Conrad von Grüenberg's 1493 elaboration on the theme of Richenthal, now shows the black beggar either kneeling or running with the bowl. Again note the fluidity and imaginative changes in the crest device.

⁵² O'Riain-Raedel (1984):397-8; for the genealogy of the MacCárthaigh Riabhach see S. Pender (ed.), «The 'Clery Book of Genealogies», ANALECTS HIBERNICA, 18, Dublin, 1951.

⁵³ Collins (1941):203.

depicting the wandering monk with a staff and a begging bowl (or sometimes a book), that appears earliest in the Manesse Codex (c. 1300). This depiction of the monk bears an uncanny resemblance to rock carvings of Irish monks from the Shetlands dated to the ninth century⁵⁴. The monk of the Manesse Codex is dressed in a black habit, with a pointed cowl or hood. The inscription in the Manesse Codex reads, «*Küng Tyro von Schotten und sin sun Fridelbrant*», legendary characters. The crested helm shows two eagle's legs grasping between their talons a man's head wreathed round the temples with flowers.



18. The same theme treated in Jörg Rugenn's unpublished Armorial, c. 1492, in a larger overall display of the arms of the realms King of England.

This reference, is probably to the King of the Scotti (i.e. in German *Schotten* as in *Schottenklöster*) or the Irish. It is possible that Tyro may also be an attempt at the Gaelic Turlough, but it is probably more accurately viewed as a legendary rather than an historical name. However, this may be, the theme of the wandering begging monk is repeated in the Zurich Roll (c. 1335), where again he appears on a shield argent holding a walking stick and a begging bowl. The crested helmet repeats the device of the shield and the entire achievement has the inscription «*Kunig von Schotten*»⁵⁵. Predictably, Collins, not knowing of the latin «Scotti» and its Germanic translation «*Schotten*», attributes these arms to the King of Scotland rather than to a king of the Irish. Uncharitably, Collins claims these arms depict, «a wheedling beggar with collecting bowl and cudgel» rather than seeing a christian pilgrim voluntarily exiling himself in poverty for the love of Christ⁵⁶. This wandering monk/beggar theme is not unknown in south German heraldry (e.g. the Swiss family Bettler von Herdern of Thurgau, the Baronial family of Münchhausen of Lower Saxony and even the family of Johan Gensfleisch, who is

better known historically as Johannes Gutenberg all have arms related to this theme)⁵⁷ or the Münch von Münchenstein (Basel) or St. Fridolin of Säckingen (south Germany, near Basel). Not all Irish wanderers were clergy, some may well have founded families in German speaking lands. Given the number of Irish monasteries named in honour of St. James Major, patron of pilgrims, it may be tempting to see this saint as an archetype of the Irish wandering *peregrini*.

Yet, the theme is found again in the arms of the Swiss canton of Glarus. On a shield Gules, a wandering monk, St. Fridolin (in earlier scholarship thought to be Irish, but more recently described as of «unknown origin») carries a staff or crozier and in his other hand a bag containing a book.

These arms derive from a non-heraldic seal of 1352 attached to a document showing Glarus's participation in the Eidgenossenschaft. By 1388, this design is found on a banner still preserved at Näfels⁵⁸. These became the arms of Glarus canton by 1392⁵⁹.

Kurt Martin, commenting on the Manesse Codex and other south German gothic artworks, clarifies that both the Manesse Codex and the Zurich Roll were probably created by Zurich artists. In the early fourteenth century, however, Zurich was part within the bishopric of Constance. The artistic influence of Constance at this time, is believed to have pervaded the Zurich workshops⁶⁰. The fact that the theme of the wandering, begging monk attributed to the King of the *Scotti* is commonplace at that time and in this area, is not perhaps therefore surprising. For, we find that

⁵⁴ DIE GROSSE HEIDELBERGER «MANESSISCHE» LIEDERHANDSCHRIFT, herausgegeben von Ulrich Müller mit einem Geleitwort von Wilfried Werner, Göttingen, 1971. For a comparison see the stonecarving of Celtic Irish monks from the Shetland islands (8th century) in the illustrations.

⁵⁵ Collins (1941): 207 and Plate XL.

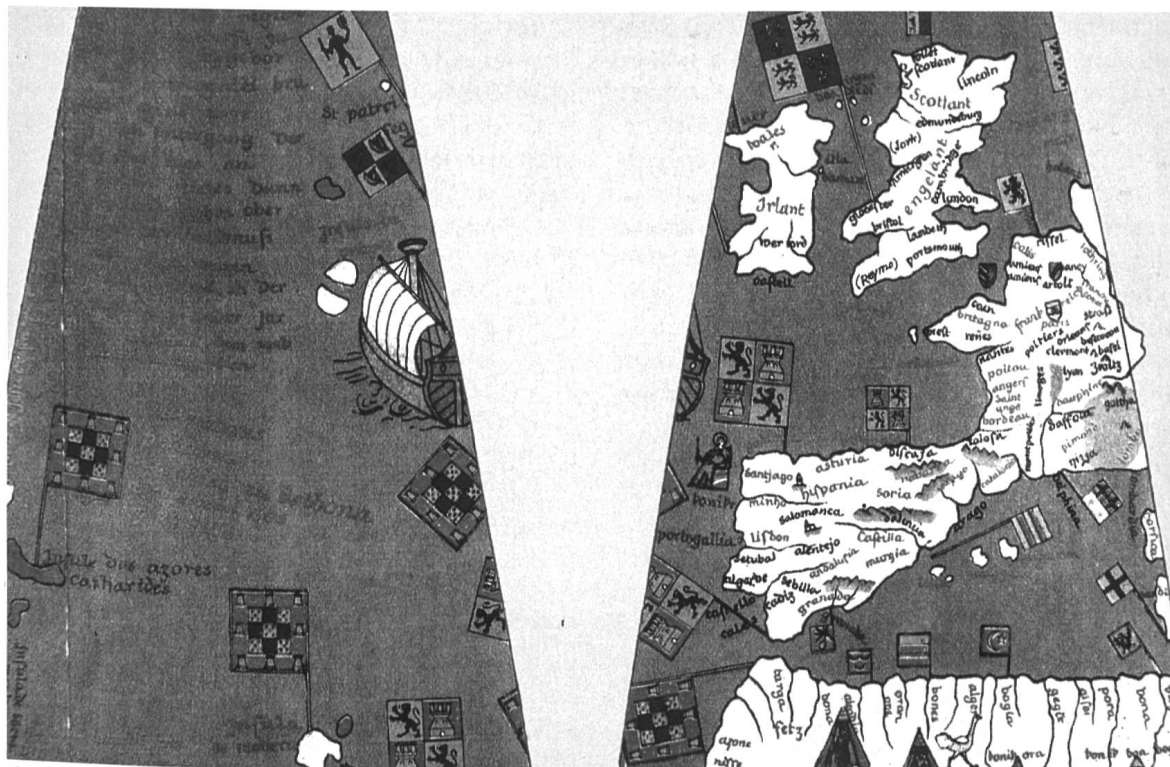
⁵⁶ *ibid.*:207; see also Christian de Méridol, *op cit.* pp.35–37, where again a beggar with a bowl appears on Fol. 27 for *Küng von yrland*.

⁵⁷ The arms of Bettler von Herdern are found in the Zurich Roll (1330). Those of Münchhausen originated in the late 12th century. Gutenberg's arms are known from 15th century versions.

⁵⁸ L. Mühlemann, WAPPEN UND FAHNEN DER SCHWEIZ, Luzern, 1977:66–7.

⁵⁹ *ibid.*:68–9.

⁶⁰ K. Martin, MINNESÄNGER VIERUNDZWANZIG FARBIGE WIEDERGABEN AUS DER MANNESSISCHEN LIEDERHANDSCHRIFT, 2. Band, Baden-Baden, 1964: 5–8, 17–19.



19. The flags on the Globe of Martin Behaim, the Nuremberg merchant, in Portugal and the Azores, c. 1492 with two banners attached to Ireland: a) showing the arms of France quarterly with the harp arms of Ireland (one of the early depictions of the harp as the principal charge on the arms for Ireland), and b) showing a banner charged with a human figure with what might be a walking stick and possibly a torch. The staff of this banner is grounded in a location near St. Patrick's Purgatory, a famous medieval Irish place of pilgrimage.

abbot Donatus of the Schottenkloster of St. James in Constance sealed in 1326 with an oval seal depicting a wandering monk with a crook in his left hand inside his inscription, «S. Donati Abbatis Schoto...»⁶¹. It is also useful to recall that even in Vienna, as we have seen earlier, abbot Donald of the Schottenkloster of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the founder of the faculty of Theology and a Rector of the University of Vienna, also sealed in his oval seal with a shield that depicted a human figure walking and holding a staff or stick-like object⁶².

In 1463, von Richenthal continues with the theme but depicts the figure not as a *peregrinus* or monk, but as a beggar, perhaps reflecting the new reality of Irish émigrés. In «Das Konzil zu Konstanz», we find the shield, Argent, a beggar stantant Sable, holding in his dexter hand a begging bowl gules. The inscription that von Richenthal gives reads, «Von dem hochwirdigen fürsten künig in hibernia das ist zu schotten»⁶³. In 1483, von Grüenberg picks up Richenthal's theme, but now has the naked beggar Sable either genuflecting or perhaps running on a shield Argent. On a helmet with mantling and a crest coronet a male fig-

ure sable is stantant holding in either hand a sword. Again this is ascribed to «Der Künig von Schotten»⁶⁴. Again, we find a similar instance in the unpublished heraldic book of Jörg Ruggen (1492) against a background Or, this time with an inscription, «der Künig von Yerland in Schotten».

This fertile theme, however, is also found in 1492 on the fantastic globe of Martin Behaim, the Nuremberg merchant who spent much of his active merchantile career in Portugal and the Azores. On Behaim's Globe, Ireland has two banners attached. Both are intriguing. The lower banner quarters France's three fleurs-de-lys in 1st and 4th with Or, a harp Gules for Ireland, one of the earlier representations of these arms⁶⁵. But, the uppermost

⁶¹ F. Quartel, H. Decker-Hauff, et al., *GERMANIA BENEDICTINA*, Band V: Baden-Württemberg, Augsburg, 1975:363.

⁶² Zelenka und Bauer (1971):8–9.

⁶³ Richenthal 1463 (1964):Plate 103.

⁶⁴ Campbell (1966):42 and Plate I; Storey (1961):359.

⁶⁵ T.J. Westropp, «The Arms of Ireland», *JRSAI*, XLIII, 1912:172. See also my «The Arms of Ireland: Medieval and Modern», op cit., for further commentary on origin of the Harp arms of Ireland.

banner, shows Or, a human figure Sable holding in the dexter hand a stick-like object and in the sinister what just might be a begging bowl⁶⁶. Ravenstein, Behaim's biographer, reports that Sir Arthur Vicars, then Ulster King of Arms, had no knowledge of these arms or their connexion with Ireland⁶⁷. This response is not surprising when one considers that certain Cambrenian views of the Gaelic Irish among Anglo-Irish and English gentlemen have yet to disappear and additionally these arms were known primarily within a German-speaking context.

These arms of the King of the *Scotti* appeared in German speaking south Central Europe and there reflect the enduring memory of early Irish wandering monks. In the case of the Schottenklöster congregation of the medieval period, the cultural influences persisted for a longer time, leaving a most remarkable heraldic record. This record raises important

questions, «Given the bounty of Irish heraldic themes on the Continent, when did the Gaelic Irish chiefs adopt heraldry?» I have taken up this question again in a recent paper⁶⁸. It also raises the question, «Can we still accept that all the Irish arms in Continental armorials are merely fantastic, imaginary or attributed?

⁶⁶ E.G. Ravenstein, MARTIN BEHAIM HIS LIFE AND HIS GLOBE, London, 1908: Illustrated Plates of Behaim's Globe.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, p. 43.

⁶⁸ see John J. Fitzpatrick Kennedy, «When did the Irish Chiefs Adopt Heraldry?», in GENEALOGICA & HERALDICA, Proceedings of the 22nd International Congress of Genealogical and Heraldic Sciences, Ottawa, August, 1996, pp. 363–372.

Adresse de l'auteur: Prof. Dr. John J. Fitzpatrick Kennedy
100 Raglan Avenue #219
Toronto, Ont. M6C 2L3
Canada

Zusammenfassung

Das Erscheinen des Wappens von Connacht und von Irland in mittelalterlichen kontinentalen Wappenbüchern, so lautet der Titel einer Betrachtung über das Entstehen und über die Wiedergabe irischer Wappen. John F. Kennedy weist darauf hin, dass der Ausdruck *Scotia* oder *Hibernia* sich auf Irland bezieht, erst ab dem 13. Jahrhundert gilt er nur für Schottland. Die Schottenklöster sind demnach Gründungen irischer Mönche, so z.B. in Regensburg, Würzburg, Erfurt, Nürnberg, Konstanz, Memmingen, Wien usw. Die O'Brien (Uí Briain) förderten die Bildung solcher Klöster, und in einigen Quellen wird die Familie als Könige von Irland bezeichnet, um den Förderern mehr Gewicht, mehr Glanz zu verleihen.

Mit der Gründung von Schottenklöstern entwickelte sich dazu auch das Interesse an irischer Heraldik. Kennedy beschreibt zuerst einige Abtssiegel, so ein Siegel von Philipp, irischer Abt von St. Jakob zu Regensburg (1408): spitzovale Form mit der Umschrift: *S. Philippi. Abbis. Moni. Sci. Jacobi. Scotorum ratispon.* Es stellt den Abt dar, sitzend auf einem Löwensessel unter Baldachin, in der rechten Hand ein Buch, in der linken das Pedum, zu dessen Füßen der Schild: hochgeteilt, rechts ein halber Adler, links ein Arm

mit nach unten gezücktem Schwert. In Ulrich von Richenthals Chronik *Das Konzil zu Konstanz* wird das Wappen ebenfalls erwähnt mit dem Hinweis: *Von dem hochwirdigen Kung Wentzlas in ybernia och in schotten.* Der halbe Adler am Spalt also als kaiserliches Zeichen? In Conrad von Grünenbergs Wappenbuch (1483) finden wir zwei Wappenversionen des Schottenklosters St. Jakob: 1. wie von Richenthal wiedergegeben, 2. andere Darstellung des Schwertes. Unter dem ersten: *Kunig von Enbernia zu Schotten*, unter dem zweiten der *König von yerland in schotten*. In Miltenbergs Wappenrolle taucht das Wappen ebenfalls auf. Über die Devise besteht ein Zusammenhang mit dem Wappen der O'Brien. Kennedy geht der Frage nach, wie das Wappen der O'Brien zum Emblem der Provinz Connacht wurde.

Kennedy untersucht sodann das Werden des Wappens des Hl. Fridolin: im Manesse Codex heisst es dazu: *Küng Tyro von Schotten und sin sun Fridebrant.* In der Zürcher Wappenrolle der Hl. Fridolin mit dem Hinweis *Kunig von Schotten*. Der Autor schliesst seine Betrachtungen mit der Bemerkung, dass sämtliche Irland zugewiesene Wappen, lange Zeit als Phantasieprodukte, als apokryph bezeichnet, doch der Wirklichkeit entsprechen.

Résumé

L'apparition des armoiries de Connacht et d'Irlande dans les rôles d'armes continentaux du Moyen Âge, tel est le titre des considérations de John F. Kennedy sur la création et la reproduction de blasons irlandais. L'auteur signale que l'expression *Scotia* ou *Hibernia* se réfère à l'Irlande et qu'elle ne renvoie à la seule Ecosse qu'à partir du XIII^e siècle. C'est ainsi que les «monastères écossais» sont des fondations de moines irlandais; ainsi de Ratisbonne, Wurtzbourg, Erfurt, Nuremberg, Constance, Memmingen, Vienne, etc. Les O'Brien (Uí Briain) encouragèrent l'institution de tels monastères et, dans certaines sources, la famille est désignée comme «royale irlandaise», pour conférer plus de poids et d'éclat aux promoteurs de ces institutions.

L'intérêt pour l'héraldique irlandaise prit aussi son essor avec la fondation des «monastères écossais». Kennedy décrit d'abord quelques sceaux abbatiaux, tels celui de Philipp, abbé irlandais de Saint-Jacques de Ratisbonne (1408): en forme de navette avec l'inscription *S. Philippi. Abbas. Moni. Sci. Jacobi. Scotorum ratispon.* Il représente l'abbé assis sur un siège à lion et à dais, un livre dans la main droite et la crosse dans la gauche, avec à ses pieds un écu portant *parti, à un dextrochère te-*

nant une épée tournée vers la pointe et à une demi-aigle. Ces armes figurent également dans la chronique d'Ulrich de Richental (*Das Konzil zu Konstanz*), avec la légende: *Von dem hochwirdigen Kung Wentzlas in ybernia och in schotten.* La demi-aigle à sénestre est-elle une marque impériale? Dans l'armorial de Conrad de Grünenberg (1483), nous trouvons deux variantes des armes du monastère écossais de Saint-Jacques de Ratisbonne: 1. Comme chez Richental. 2. Avec une autre représentation de l'épée. Sous 1.: *Kunig von Enbernia zu Schotten.* Sous 2.: *Konig von yerland in schotten.* Ces armes figurent aussi dans l'armorial de Miltenberg: au-dessus de la devise se trouve une relation avec les armoiries des O'Brien. L'auteur s'attache à la question de savoir comment les armes O'Brien sont devenues l'emblème de la province de Connacht.

Kennedy examine ensuite le destin des armes de saint Fridolin. Dans le Codex de Manesse on trouve à ce sujet la mention: *Küng Tyro von Schotten und sin sun Fridebrant*; dans le rôle d'armes de Zurich l'indication *Kunig von Schotten* accompagne saint Fridolin. L'auteur conclut que toutes les armes attribuées à l'Irlande, longtemps qualifiées de fantaisistes, d'apocryphes, correspondent bien à la réalité.