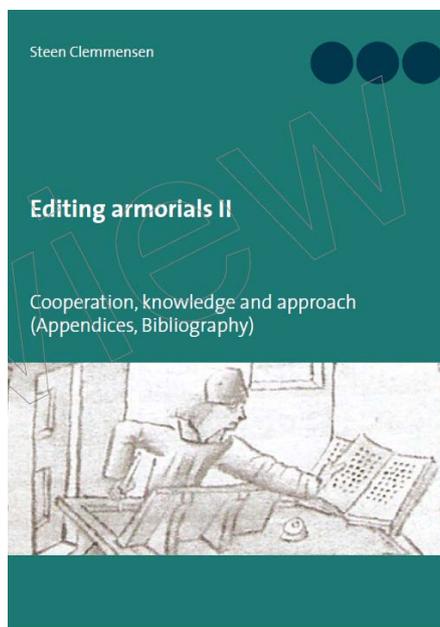
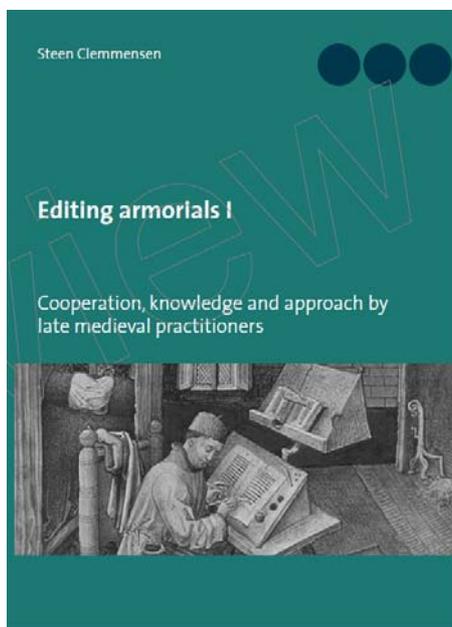


# Editing Armorial

## Cooperation, knowledge and approach by late medieval practitioners

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Books on Demand : København 2017

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## SUMMARY

The aim of the present work is threefold: to improve the awareness of the relations and dependencies between the armorials (a.k.a. rolls of arms) surviving from the late Middle Ages (c.1350-c.1500); to investigate how they were conceived, organized, for what purposes; and study changes in form and content over time and space. Though some data have been extracted from diplomatic, household and financial sources with regard to a few of the actual or proposed compilers of armorials, there appear to be almost no records related to armorials in the archives and libraries except the armorial manuscripts themselves. Accordingly, the emphasis has been placed on extracting as much internal information as possible from the armorials selected as study population and to focus on the relations between them rather than applying approaches, concepts, and methods commonly used in art, social or mentality history.<sup>1</sup>

This study has been divided into five main parts, of which the first (A) presents basic concepts; summarizes the present state of research and knowledge; and gives an overview of the aims set and the methods utilized. The second part (B) sets the background for the analysis: the armorials, the objects for the study, and develops the necessary methodology. In the third part (C), the armorials selected for the study are examined and determined to belong to or have relations to one or more of six groups of armorials. The fourth part (D) evaluates the two principal types of contents, real and attributed arms; the tendency to move from personalized to family records, and discusses the players: heralds, amateur armorists, illustrators, scribes, commissioners, collectors of information and possible users. In the fifth and last part (E), the results of the above analysis and the relations between the groups are combined to reveal global features and tendencies and possible differences between armorials originating from three major regions: France (incl. the Low Countries), Germany, and England. The regions south of the Alps-Pyrenées and east of the Oder-Erzgebirge have been omitted from the study.

### A. INTRODUCTION

#### Ch. 1 Heraldry, armory, and society – challenges of research

For most of the general public, and for years also for many writers too, *heraldry* was equated with coats of arms and achievements (with crest, mantling and supporters added) and their occurrence in and on buildings, on furniture, accessories and in books. But such use of the term is too simplistic and imprecise. Heraldry does include coats of arms and the associated paraphernalia, but in essence heraldry is concerned with the work of and the knowledge necessary for carrying out the professional duties of a herald – or to use a synonymous term: the profession of the office of arms. The non-armorial parts of the Office of Arms as well as other uses of coats of arms fall outside the limits of this study.

*Armory* is a better and more specific term for the part of heraldry concerned with coats of arms, and the term *armorist* should be used for a person working on things associated with coats of arms. The term *herald* covers both its general use for a member of the office of arms and the title and rank of herald, e.g. Richmond Herald. In this way a herald can be an armorist too, but an armorist can never be a herald.

The making and use of armorials has traditionally been associated with the profession of heralds. To see this as a universal and unique association is nonsense. It has been proved for decades that at least some armorials were commissioned from professional scribes and illustrators. This short-circuit is partly related to the influence of English writers and the longevity of the College of Arms in London. Many of the early writers, transcribers and editors of armorials had close connections to or worked for this institution.

The origins and development of the use of coats of arms fall outside the present study, but a perspective is needed. As proposed by Michel Pastoureau and modified by D'Arcy Boulton, the development may be partitioned into five periods: 1130 – *formative* – 1240 – *proto-classic* – 1340 – *high-classic* – 1530 – *late classic* – 1600 – *post-classic* – 1690, with the *formative* period subdivided and expanded into 1080 – *gestation* – 1120 – *appearance* –

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<sup>1</sup> The dates and periods given in this summary are approximate and overlapping (add: circa to most), not least due to the difficulties in dating the armorials with any precision. The end of the Middle Ages is variously defined as c.1500, the accession of Henry VII, Francis I and Charles V, or c.1530 depending on the features discussed or the references used.

1160 – *diffusion* – 1200 – *stabilisation* – 1240. The period of study is largely the *high-classic* compared with the *proto-classic*. Some problems in studying armorials are introduced together with a few comments on the people who have worked on them.

The 45 armorials that make up the population examined in this study as well as a few other of relevance were selected from an inventory of 397 armorials (183 in contemporary execution), some of which are known in more than 20 copies and in several variants.<sup>2</sup> The actual number of armorials known depends on the definition used for classifying a manuscript or part of one as an independent armorial or as a copy. As will be discussed there are more options than those two that are traditionally used: groups of armorials, armorials, partial, full and amended copies, clones and satellites -depending on their content: unique or having smaller and larger overlaps. There is a difference in survival between the three regions: France 114 (21) & Low Countries 42 (17), Germany & Switzerland & Austria 112 (91), and England 129 (54). In England and to some degree in France antiquarians and heralds promoted both survival and copying, while in Germany few people bothered with copying anything but a few old ones.

There are a number of problems in using armorials for study, not least for comparative analysis, some common to working with other medieval written sources, e.g. access to manuscripts, preservation and legibility. Dating is a key problem and one of several levels: manuscript / structure / content / individual entry / compilation / collation / modification.<sup>3</sup> The sheer number of research elements is another. For the present study the 45 armorials selected contain more than 64,000 coats of arms in more than 1,000 segments, and each needed some form of consultation. Digitalization and placing facsimiles on the Internet is a second to none improvement, as it allows constant and easy reference to manuscripts kept far apart, e.g. London, Paris, Munich and Warsaw. Research also builds upon the work of previous and contemporary scholars. For medieval armorials, this is both limited and varied in quality. Only 40% of the armorials listed in the inventory have been published either as simple transcriptions without any identification of the contents or as editions with identified entries and some degree of analysis. Full editions that describe and identify the contents with adequate references and critically analyse the physical structure, design and content in relation to the contemporary socio-political context are rare. 70% of such publications are on small armorials, which have simpler structures and are easier to analyze. Proto-classic armorials make up 42% of the ‘editions’, but nearly all armorials from this period have had some kind of descriptive treatment. Only 3 (5%) are large, while the proportion of large or very large is 31% among the high-classics. Large size makes it more likely that an armorial is made up of identifiable subsets (segments). 36 of the armorials in the study population are known either in full edition, facsimile and/or transcription (8 in multiple treatments).<sup>4</sup> Preliminary work and comments in editions and papers suggested that the armorials selected for the study could be partitioned into six groups. Some known or putative members of the already large BODENSEE group were excluded as they were not expected to provide further important aspects.

The aims and methods are broken down into three parts involving the manuscripts as such, grouping of armorials, and the people involved.

## **B. ANALYSING ARMORIALS** (chapters 2-6)

### **Ch. 2 Medieval armorials – form and use**

Collections of arms are classified according to the most dominant characteristic of their contents, never on their physical form. When an armorial has several major traits, commentators do not always agree on which is the dominant, so it may end up in different classes dependent on who is making the classification. The system used

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<sup>2</sup> The 397 exclude murals and other decorative elements. For a full list of types and numbers see Appendix 4. Armorials are commonly referred to by name, not shelf mark to overcome the problems of differentiating between the actual manuscript(s) used. Sigla are also widely used for simplicity.

<sup>3</sup> *Collation* is collection of arms by observation, *compilation* is selecting and ordering arms for making an armorial.

<sup>4</sup> incl. 16 by the present author, 5 by J-C. Blanchard, 5 by M. Popoff & M. Pastoureau, 3 by E. de Boos (†), and 3 by P. Adam-Even (†) & L. Jéquier (†). Jan Raneke (†), J.C. Loutsch (†), H.W. Arch and O. Gamber & al. have edited one each. W. van Anrooij, J.M. van den Eeckhout, P.A. Fox, W. Paravicini, and Anthony Wagner (†) have contributed valuable comments on the armorials used for the study.

here is a modification of the one proposed by Anthony Wagner in 1950. Most of the systems reviewed use the classes in it. Proponents of systems may have no use for certain classes for their own projects, so non-inclusion is not proof that an author disregarded a class. The inclusion of treatises and collections of arms from decorations (e.g. frescoes in a palace hall) are contested. The major classes are illustrational, occasional, general, institutional and ordinaries, of which the *general* is often subdivided into local (from a restricted area), general (unordered), and universal (incl. imaginary arms). The terms overlap and may be used differently depending on language and author. Most systems were developed for studying proto-classic armorials and do not take into account the segmental structure, which is deemed the dominant characteristic of nearly 25% of the armorials classified in the inventory.<sup>5</sup> 38% of these composite armorials are addressed in the present study. The comprehensive terminology developed by D'Arcy Boulton for holistic discussion of arms is discussed for potential use in comparative analyses of armorials.

The development and use of armorials over time from proto-classical to early modern times is given a cursory treatment followed by a preliminary presentation of relations between armorials covering copying modes, confounders, and the reliability of their contents. The latter varies from very reliable to nearly 30% wholly or partly mistaken.

### Ch. 3 Methods of analysis

Three distinct operations are involved in analyzing an armorial: (1) numbering, describing and identifying individual entries; (2) sorting the entries into sets (here: segments); and (3) examining possible relations to other armorials and contemporary events. Dating entries, segments and the manuscript must be done in parallel. How to proceed depends on the size of the armorial. The first two operations are taken for granted. They are routine tasks carried out by experience using seals, handbooks and other reference materials.

*Segments* (or sub-segments) are the basic blocks used for establishing evidence of commonality. Ideally we should get perfect concordance, i.e. item-by-item correspondence with explanation of individual differences and any breaks into sub-sets. *Alignment* of items from the paired segments can be performed manually, though comparing armorials using a database reduces time and effort. The putative source or the largest segment should be used as the base and entries listed as numbered. The degree and possibly the form of correspondence will be visible. Irregularities may be caused by differences in the layouts used for the paired armorials, shuffling or loss of leaves in either, and/or mixing with other sources. *Overlaying* the layout of one segment on its counterpart may reveal the direction of transfer, the mode of copying, the degree of influence from layouts on the differences found, and possibly whether an intermediate was used. *Details* in legends, variants of arms, and place in sequence need to be examined, especially if more than one source (donor) has been combined to compile the acceptor. *Global calculation* of common items is of little use except as a first approximation. Some common items will be incidental, while others may be repeats or derived from a different source than expected.

The best *markers* of commonality are unusual mistakes in both legend and arms, e.g. confections of two entries into one, or transposition of a legend from one item to the next. Unusual compositions, e.g. lion with human face and a Jew's pointed hat, are usable – with the proviso that it's canting nature could have inspired more than one compiler or artist. Internal references, e.g. "his brother", may reveal breaks in copying. Examples of confounders and pointers are included *Physical examination* should be performed as far as possible to determine the correspondence of leaves and quires with content.

### Ch. 4 Pictorial assessment

There are fundamental differences between evaluating a family's or a person's use of arms and comparing armorials. Minute details may be important for the former and many form of evidence from seals, furniture, buildings and written or painted sources need to be examined. For comparing armorials, only the arms in the sets are needed and many details are irrelevant. Evaluating drawing and painting styles belongs to specialist art historians and fall outside the present study except for a few features. Assessment of the individual coat of arms is needed before it is converted into a place-holding numerical item. The examiner needs to know whether the

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<sup>5</sup> 431 armorials, incl. 12 treatises and 62 decoratives, but excl. 50 armorials for which there is insufficient information for classification.

item is a reliable representation of the coat of arms of the family to which it has been assigned, and to which degree and why it may have been altered. The degree of association of name and arms needs to be assessed: *verified* with independent source (preferably seals), *not verified* (name known, and probable); and *not identified* (anonymous or indeterminable).

Some families may have only a single representation of their arms, but for the Châtillon the database contains 250 items with 62 different coats of arms. Some of these could be mistaken while others have genuine brisures. The variations in the number and colour of martlet (merlette) and mullets (molette) are easy to make in written blazon with roman numerals.

*Variants* may be grouped into three types according to severity: (I) different figures and inversion of colour between field and figure render the arms in a completely different way, which has serious consequences; (II) reversions/mirroring, wobbling/number variation, and fading are merely troublesome, while (III) minor additions or omissions (e.g. of crowns) and partial changes (e.g. form of tail) are insignificant when comparing armorials. This last type is very numerous and may be attributed to sloppiness, change of fashion or to the preferences of the painter or scribe. Possible reasons for the variations are discussed. The distribution and frequency of mistakes in parts of the *Grünenberg* have been analyzed and found to affect a third of the entries.

*Similarity* in writing (autograph) or painting style can be used for comparing, as can pre stamping with woodblocks. Autographs are found in *Gelre* and *Beijeren* manuscripts and in the *Rugen* armorial. A trained palaeographer could possibly find interesting similarities comparing the *Bergshammar* and its sources. Woodblocks were reused in the BODENSEE group, though attention to details is needed to escape misattribution. Analysis of painting style has been used for the *Grünenberg* clones and for a subset of the TOISON D'OR group.

## **Ch. 5 The English in the TOISON D'OR group**

The occurrence of this collection of English arms was a key element in the charting of the group. It was first noted during work with the magnificent facsimile in 1890 by Loredan Larchey and was for long regarded as unique and a collation of c.1435, the date assigned to the name-giving armorial. Only in 1975 did Jan Raneke indicate the relations to the near contemporary *Toison d'or* and *Lyncenich*. It took another quarter of a century before the present author clarified the relations within the group and demonstrated how it was collated in 1397, and compiled, copied and disseminated into a dozen clones from 1435 to 1670.

It is used as an example of how the entries in a segment may be analyzed. English arms are comparatively well-indexed in published dictionaries and ordinaries, and many families described in accessible printed works and calendared documents, which not only eases identification and dating of the individual entries, but also sheds light on their position in public life. Looking separately at the three social strata: royals, peers and gentry, it soon became evident that there were discrepancies that could only be solved by assuming collation across the conflict known as the 'Lancastrian revolution' or conflation of at least two sources from each side of 1397. Most of the entries refer to people who attended Parliament either as peers or shire knights. Any native observer could have made such a collation, but so could a foreigner with close connection to central figures at court. A contemporary chronicle indicates that a Burgundian pursuivant stayed for a year-long period with the king's cousins and took a heady interest in courtly life and personalities rather than politics. He did not approve of the deposition of Richard II and is proposed as the collator. He or a continuator made some revisions around 1420, and by 1435 this compilation had been turned over to artisans, who made at least two copies of it.

## **Ch. 6 Creating the *Codex Bergshammar***

This armorial is a small thick book (A5-size) of apparently uniform manufacture. During the whole period of painting (or at least taking notes), the compiler had access to and used at least five armorials either in the form of bound volumes or loose quires. Four are known: *Toison d'or*, *Lyncenich*, *Gelre* and a tournament 'report'.

The compiler's approach to making his armorial in mid-15C can be followed both in composing the segments and how these were selected and joined. Some segments, e.g. the English, were copied from a single source. It is notable that the compiler changed his mode of copying from page-by-page to long lines across the two-page display, possibly to present a better view of the notables across the top rather than as a column on the side. In

other segments, reading from one source was broken with inserts from several other sources. Brabant is an example where *Gelre* was used as the base, *Lynce nich* as the secondary source, and a collation of participants in a 1439 tournament as a tertiary one. The sources used for the segments are tabulated and discussed.

The organisation of the armorial follows the dominions of the major princes to some extent. Some but not all irregularities can be explained as transposition of quires. In other cases segments cross quires. The compiler was fond of heading a segment with a small pedigree of the ruling prince. He may have anticipated gathering further arms from certain territories as there are pages with only the princely arms in a corner. In other instances a pedigree (Juliers) was painted on the last page of the preceding quire, or added later on a vacant page (Isabelle de Bourbon). The present chapter reflects, corrects and expands the observations presented by Jan Raneke in his doctoral thesis.

## **C. ARMORIAL GROUPS** (chapters 7-12)

### **Ch. 7 Members of the TOISON D'OR group**

Besides the English, which are present in nearly all members, there is a substantial number of signature segments in this group of twelve armorials, which may be subdivided into four subgroups and some satellites. The selection varies between subgroups, and many can only be found in the 15C *Lynce nich-Bergshamm* subgroup (LYN-BHM). The *Toison d'or* manuscripts make one 15C subgroup (ETO) based on two similar and contemporary versions of the mounted mannequins. *Lutzembourg* and its copy *Clémery* (NLU) is a 16C cross between a clone and a satellite with relations to other groups. *Paix d'Arras*, *Heessel Compendium* and *Picquigny* (ARS) are put together as the two former include parts made by the workshop responsible for parts of the *Toison d'or* (APA: England; CHE: Austria, Bohemia), The latter is a late extended version of the England segment, which may also be regarded as a satellite. Only a few pages have been evaluated from the privately owned *Coligny* (COL: Bohemia by the same workshop, possibly others), but enough to show that this should be added to the APA-CHE subgroup. The *Chiffre* (CFR) and the *Rebecq* (ERQ, with mounted jousting) are p.t. placed as late 15C satellites, in part because they have not been compared in similar detail as those in the groups, in part because they contain material from outside the groups. They may be regarded as a subgroup that has survived together in the archive of the Order of the Golden Fleece. The *LeBlancq* (LBQ) is a genuine mid 16C satellite composed by parts from three of the groups discussed in this study.

The content and similarities of the common segments are tabulated and discussed in four groupings: the domains of the D.Burgundy, France, foreigners (German/Imperial, English, Scots, Spanish, Danes, Swedes, Poles), knights of the Order (in ETO as a cavalcade of mounted knights, mannequins), pedigrees – mainly in the subchapters on ETO and LYN-BHM. The *Toison d'or* is sub-grouped alone as it is probably the eldest member (together with APA-CHE), as the execution was interrupted a couple of times and because there are at least two contemporary copies of several fragments-cum-segments, notably of the mannequins. We do not know whether these 'pairs' were intended to form two manuscripts or whether it is incidental that until very recently segments were known in only two copies. The *Lynce nich* has a unique segment of family arms of officers and knights of the Teutonic Order, people that were supposed to be anonymous except as monastic warriors. This and other segments may also be present in the *Coligny*, but details are not available. The segment was incorporated into the NLU subgroup and a late *Urfé*-clone. Another LYN segment is a 'report' of the participants in a tournament held in Utrecht in 1441.

### **Ch. 8 Members of the URFÉ group**

The signature segments falls in two: those used by the *Urfé*, two subgroups (*Prinsault*; *Charolais & Sicile*) and the satellite *LeBlancq*, and those common to *Urfé* and the satellites in the RINECK group. The segments and the relations are tabulated and discussed. There are differences in the segments selected between the clones and satellites, and in the sequential way they were extracted from their *Urfé* sources.

The *Urfé* is known in at least two variants and one or two 15C copies. The remaining 14 copies are later and mostly parts of collections. It has never been edited, nor has any transcription been published until the one placed on the web in support of this study. The 44 segments regarded here as being parts of the *Urfé-proper* are entered in the order: Ile-de-France, England-Scotland, Central-Western France, North-East, Northern France, the Empire and Spain in the principal copy, dated c.1420 and commissioned by a French official. The dates for

the individual segments vary from 1350 to 1390, much older than the oldest manuscript. The tail consists mainly of imaginary arms also found added to the 13C compilation (*Vermandois*) and late 15C manuscript (*Fauquet*). One of the late 17C manuscripts (BnF fr.23077) is more like a collection with treaties and elements from the TOISON D'OR group.

The *Prinsault* subgroup of one manuscript of 1510 and two later copies, one in a collection, is really a copy of the French segments from the *Urfé* with two treatises added as well as a small English segment probably extracted from the *Urfé* with a few items added from the *Toison d'or*. The assignment as a separate subgroup is only warranted by the popularity of the treatises, which are known from some 60 manuscripts and 16 printings. The treatises are not discussed here.

The *LeBlancq* is a single manuscript subgroup painted 1560 for Alexandre le Blancq, a bibliophile in Lille, and compiled using first an *Urfé* clone (possibly the *Prinsault*) and then the *Bellenville*. Four segments from a *Toison d'or* clone (probably the *Lyncenich*) were inserted. Another five segments were blended each using two of the three sources. The *Bellenville* was almost certainly borrowed from Antoine de Beaulaincourt Artois king of arms. The Spanish segments are from an unidentified source, probably near contemporary as Lille was then part of the Spanish Low Countries.

The last subgroup has one manuscript of the *Charolais*, misnamed by the mid 17C copyist Nicolas d'Aumale d'Haucourt, who lived for a time in Bruxelles. He is generally unreliable and blended sources without indicating transitions. There are five or seven manuscripts from 16C and 17C of the *Sicile* in three versions. The core of both is the French from an *Urfé* clone, but the *Sicile* compiler may have used a *Toison d'or* clone for England and the knights of the Golden Fleece. The *Charolais* has a smaller selection of French, but included both its Spanish and imaginary arms. The tail includes extracts from *Richental* and three lists of names taken from the *Cour Amoureuse* – a manuscript which was probably still in Bruxelles in the archives of the order, but is now in Vienna.

### **Ch. 9 *Bellenville* and *Gelre***

Both armorials have been edited twice (1971/83 by Adam & Jéquier; 2004/12 by Popoff & Pastoureau, P&P) and the relations between them were examined once (1972 by Jéquier). The description, identification, segmentation and dating of the individual entries are very good in all editions, though the earlier ones have fewer comments and references – as was common for the time and for the space allowed. There is general agreement that there is a considerable overlap among the entries, but also differences in style and content. Many segments have been dated and indicate collations made over a long period, at least thirty years. At least some of the segments must have been based on material copied from older sources. Both have indications of being unfinished. The overall dates for painting the two manuscripts vary over the interval 1360/80-1400 in the literature.

In the opinion of the present writer, the overall assessment needed to be revised. The physical structures were never examined and compared with the content. Three different theories were proposed as to who were responsible for the compilation, though all four agreed that material for the two manuscripts were collected by heralds during their travels in Europe, and that they personally painted the arms for their own use (as *vademecums*). Whether they thought that segments were added continuously is less clear, but it appears to be implied. Paul Adam-Even first proposed that *Bellenville* was an early draft of *Gelre* by the herald Claes Heinenzoon. After the death of Paul Adam-Even and after a detailed evaluation, Léon Jéquier concluded that the *Bellenville* compiler must have been a different person working in parallel, but slightly earlier. P&P stated, without any argument, that the two were made by different teams, at different places and times, not knowing each other.

The alternative proposed here is that attribution to personal observation is unsupported, that two different persons compiled the armorials from a core of the same sources, but also employing material not available or used by the other. Most of this material was probably obtained during both men's service as heralds to the D.Guelders, but compiled using different approaches, e.g. one using personal names, the other settling for family names. Both were executed over a relatively short period with the help of professional artisans and left unfinished. The *Bellenville* possibly because the commissioner or intended recipient died in 1406, the *Gelre* for

uncertain reasons, left together with other manuscript fragments (the textual parts in fo.1-25) and co-bound after the death of Claes Heinenzoon. The painting of the *Gelre* was probably begun c.1402. Both dates are dependent on the interpretation of miniatures in the manuscripts.

The segments and their dates and relations are tabulated, discussed and if needed reassessed. Parts of the *Gelre*, painted by or for a herald, were later used by the Bergshammar-compiler, the *Bellenville* was probably later owned by a herald and used together with armorials from the same group as the *Bergshammar* for the *LeBlancq*. The core segments have elements that suggest that they were compiled by a herald in the service of the D.Guelders, but active at least a generation before Claes Heinenzoon. These armorials may all have been passed down through a line of heralds before going into professional circulation and ending up in different public libraries.

#### **Ch. 10 The RINECK group from Lorraine and their relations**

The relations of the group, *Navarre* and *Berry*, are more like clan than family, and in some ways more interesting than the group itself. Though the former is one of the most copied French armorials and is often mentioned in papers, the only, and inadequate, published transcription dates from 1860. A few segments have been edited. Most of the contents were collated during 1350-70 and present people active in the Franco-Breton Wars. There appear to be 21 copies in 3 variants. Most copies are in blazon only, though one of the two 15C copies has been transformed into painted shields. The segmentation is tabulated and discussed in this study, and a transcription with preliminary identification published in support. It has eleven French segments and one English segment, all with personalized entries noted as bannerets or knight bachelors. In addition there are two segments of European realms and mostly princes from Brabant and the Empire. It has no direct relation to *Rineck*.

The second related armorial, *Berry*, was never completed. It was edited by Emmanuel de Boos in 1995 with a short introduction and very little commenting. Though he noted that there were many items in common with *Navarre* and *Rineck*, he never investigated the relationships. It was undoubtedly conceived as a presentation copy with a donation miniature and 29 other miniatures (mannequins) of princes mounted or sitting on their dais. Like the miniatures some of the leaves with tables of arms were executed on parchment, but most are on paper and probably executed either as drawn in the sources or as inspired by the miniatures. The segmentation has been tabulated and discussed when needed in relation to its physical structure as well as possible. In geographical terms most of France is covered, it has an introduction with a genealogy of the kings of France, royal officers and peers. There are segments of Scots and of English. A few items suggest that Gilles de Bouvier Berry Herald had some knowledge of the compilation of English which went into the *Toison d'or*. A few imaginary arms, Germans and Spaniards are included as well as a comparatively large segment of 66 Italians. There are six later copies from 16C and 17C, none of which could be a source for the *Rineck*. Neither is it likely that the compiler of the *Rineck* had knowledge of the *Berry*.

Apart from the construction history, there are two interesting features in the *Berry*. Seven of the French segments were extracted from the blazoned *Navarre*. They were picked as the herald read through it. Only the principal family arms were copied, entries with brisures omitted or removed. The mode of extraction is evident from a few mistakes made. Martlets (small birds) were confused with mullets (stars) and legends were transposed creating noble families that never existed. For a chief herald the elderly Gilles le Bouvier knew or cared little about presenting the nobility serving his king.

During his travels to Lorraine, he must have acquired some lists of arms of local nobles. The same compilations that later went into the *Rineck* and its clones. These he used as straight copies. But he may also have acquired other non-local segment-like fragments. The Italians, Spaniards and Savoyards also appear in the *Rineck*. More than half of the *Berry* came from unidentified sources, but they appear to have been older compilations updated for this reuse.

The *Rineck* and its clones *Coislin-Séguier*, *Nancy*, and *Savelli* were treated extensively in the thesis and later publication by Jean-Christophe Blanchard, and the tabulation and discussion of segments are mostly included in order to round off the chapter. One may also note the *Ruelle*, which must be a satellite both of the *Rineck* and the *Lutzembourg*. The outstanding element in this group is the focus on the family of the commissioner, later owners and local patricians, both for the town and the surrounding countryside. For the many imaginary arms and for

other French and foreigners the *Urfé* and probably the same source(s) as in *Berry* were used. The small *Haraucourt* shows elements that make it a satellite of both the *Rineck* and the *Lutzelbourg*.

### Ch. 11 Members of the BODENSEE group

This group is different from the other five groups discussed in the present study.<sup>6</sup> The members are not kept together by a number of core segments. Instead, the defining elements are the common occurrence of three characteristic series of imaginary arms: fictitious realms, ternionen and quaternionen. The members may be assigned to subgroups, but these would overlap and some subgroup members would have features that argue against inclusion. Two additional features which are common among the thirty-odd members are segments organized by tournament societies (TG), or by rank: i.e. dukes, counts, barons (Freiherren) and lords (Herren). These features can be combined with the lower nobility (comparable to the English gentry) placed according to their membership in the societies. Lords and minor barons are common in the societies. Most of the items in the member armorials are of achievements (shields and crested helmets) with their outlines prestamped by woodblocks. Usually, several different woodblocks were used and the faint imprints refreshed in ink with variations in the type of mantling. The resulting variation in layouts and presentation made the pages pleasant to look at. A third feature which binds some members together is the reuse of some woodblocks.

The eldest member, and probably the one that inspired compilers, commissioners and artisans to imitate, was the *Richental*, a chronicle of the Council (concilium) of Constance 1414-18 written by one of its citizens, Ulrich Richental, who was employed in a semi-official capacity by the guardians of the Council, i.e. Sigismund (king of the Romans), selected higher nobility, town and papal officials. The chronicle was illustrated with miniatures and the coats of arms of the principal personalities. Many chronicles have similar elements, but what makes the *Richental* unique are two features: (1) it has an armorial appended; and (2) both the textual and armorial parts have been edited so that defined customer groups are targeted. The chronicle as such has little historical value, but became very popular. It was probably first published in the mid-1420's, republished in manuscript form in 1460-70, but then printed in 1483 and reprinted 1536 and 1575, which implies that the printed version could have served as a template for half the group. Manuscript versions were probably available to several of the compilers of other members, as most were painted in the region.

The *Richental* chronicle-cum-armorial glorifies the town of Constance and its role during the concilium. It emphasizes that the whole world, Christian or heathen, came to witness the reunification of the (Roman-Catholic) Church. As all people of substance bore a coat of arms, so should the visitors from afar. If they did not have one or for reasons untold it did not appear, both omissions could easily be rectified by assigning them a place in the armorial. Richental probably drew on existing iconography for many of the ternions, incl. the Magi and the Nine Worthies. The quaternionen were a more recent invention which used real family arms, but most of the arms assigned to fictitious realms must have been invented by Richental and the people who became involved in making the armorial (his 'team'). It has not been possible to trace the imagery to sources earlier than the *Richental*, though some armorials have been dated to earlier periods. As discussed in the text and tables, these dates are debatable. Ulrich Richental mentions that heralds helped him collect and interpret arms during the Council, but they played no part in the compilation or painting of the manuscripts. The help of heralds did not save him from making a mess of his notes, so that most of the clergy attending either got their arms wrong or had imaginary arms attributed. They still have in modern references like the *Neue Siebmacher*. The conventional manuscript pedigree was modified according to the armorial.

The best-known member or clone is the *Grünenberg*, published in several editions and available in facsimile. It was also very popular in former times. Nearly a dozen copies have been identified or proposed during the last few years. The artists responsible for the miniatures in the three earliest versions have been identified, and it is probable that the tables of arms or at least the full-page items were painted in their studios. The merchant Konrad Grünenberg was interested in history and armory and probably took an active part in the compilation of the armorial. The structure and content are tabulated and discussed.

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<sup>6</sup> The Bodensee in Southern Germany stretches across the borders of the Federal Republic, Switzerland and Austria. The principal town is Constance.

The most striking feature of the *Grünenberg* is the strict organisation of it – like a tour of the world and through the ideal hierarchy of society. The Nine Worthies and other ternionen exemplify noble qualities. Society is the Empire (the Church is kindly ignored) represented from times (almost) immemorial by the kings and emperors of Rome and by the quaternionen. The latter is ‘the People’ (nobles, gentry, patricians, and not really townspeople and peasants) as opposed to the select group of the highest nobility, the electors (Kurfürsten). The subject nobles follow by rank. Kings should be subject to the Emperor, but above dukes, counts, barons and lords. Konrad Grünenberg had a fascination of tournaments and was a member of the town-based (patrician) Zur Katze society. But only the societies restricted to noble membership are listed in the last third of the armorial (here: plain nobles or ‘gentry’). At the very end comes an extract of minstrels from the *Manesse* (Heidelberger and Weingartner Liederhandschrifte). The execution of the three eldest manuscripts is of very high quality, but unfortunately this cannot be said of the contents. Compared to evidence from other sources, one third of the entries among the ‘gentry’ is to some extent deficient and one out of five clearly mistaken.

Tournaments were popular, but there are few data on the membership of the societies. Armorial such as *Grünenberg*, *Ingeram* (attributed to a herald) and *Donaueschingen* provide much of what is assumed to be known about their membership. The markers found in and the differences among the armorials suggest that the TG segments were compiled from membership lists with reference to templates of arms held by certain workshops.

The *Uffenbach* is controversial. It has been dated as early as c.1390 or 1433, but is probably of comparable age to the *Richental* copies or possibly later. It was painted on one side only and later cut and pasted on to single leaves at four items per page, which were then shuffled so that the present order is largely meaningless. The distribution is 60% Germans, 24% foreigners, and 16% imaginary arms (Magi, Worthies, realms, no quaternionen), and there are markers and four-figure fragments in common with *Hans Burggraff* (1447) and *Miltenberg* (c.1490). Some of the semi-miniatures relate to stories which are also referenced on contemporary maps.

The herald Jörg Rugen *alias* Georg Ruxner left a manuscript, of which the segments may or may not have been intended as parts of the armorial *Rugen*. The pages may have been shuffled so that the original segments were split into several parts. Besides the usual ternions, quaternions, nobles by rank or territory there are segments of towns, dioceses, grand masters of the Teutonic Order, and pedigree displays. Some notable fragments are also present in *St.Gallen*, *Grünenberg*, *Ingeram* and the *Berliner Wappenbuch*. As in the *Richental*, fictional arms are attributed to dioceses, but the most usual elements are a couple of hundred arms invented for ‘Greek’ nobles. Rugen/Ruxner also included an armorial genealogy of the dukes of Bavaria reaching back to the Amazons with carefully choreographed coats of arms. He is known to have written and painted genealogies for other princely houses as well as a widely cited ‘history’ of tournaments.

### **Ch. 12 Members of the ASHMOLE group**

This last group of armorials is again different from the previous five and is set against four other armorials – all entries are of course English! The key feature binding the group together is the rearrangement of the *Ashmolean Roll* and extracts from various other sources into an ordinary. Coats of arms listed by their principal and secondary figures of arms and by colours are easier to use for checking arms than dictionaries listing arms by family name or the more common listings by rank and/or territory. Whether the ordinary was developed as a practical tool for heralds or not is discussed as is the way figures and colours are given priority in the medieval ordinaries.

If the primary source of an ordinary (or any armorial) has survived and contributed a substantial number of arms to the acceptor or recipient, it is fairly easy to identify. It is much more difficult to find the minor sources even if markers can be identified. Without concordant sequences it is impossible to determine whether a particular item belongs to this or that source. Neither can one expect that all of a source armorial was utilized. Items are extracted as the copyist-compiler scans his sources and/or notes and enters them into either a draft or final manuscript. This is time-consuming work even with the help of computers. The ways an ordinary can and was structured is discussed.

In the case of *Cooke’s Ordinary*, 57% of its contents are similar to 76% of the *Ashmolean* and there is very similar wording in both. *Cooke* has 91% of the items in the 16% shorter, but contemporary *Cotgrave’s Ordinary* (with 62%

*Ashmolean*). They were probably both derived from an earlier, now lost ordinary. The common items were collated c.1340. The *Cooke* may have been painted close to that time, but the extant copies of the two others were made much later. The third member of the group *Thomas Jenyns* is a much younger two-part manuscript. The principal copy was once owned by a queen of England and another copy by a king of England. The ordinary part corresponds to about half of the *Cooke/Cotgrave*. The rest was added from other sources, which is also indicated by the number of doubles present. The *Parliamentary Roll* (c.1312), the *Charles* (c.1285), and the *County Roll* (c.1380) are among the putative sources for *Thomas Jenyns*. Personal brisures are comparatively rare.

The *William Jenyns' Ordinary* differs from the ASHMOLE group in layout, structure, content, and in the presence of brisures. Various theories of its conception and fate are discussed. It appears that the core is a c.1360 collation (end of the reign of Edward III) with emphasis on getting the arms of as many members of the families as possible. This or these collations were then supplemented with arms taken from notes (collated c.1380/95) or culled from older armorials. According to this the present manuscript could be the third generation of re-copying. As a more conventional alternative, it could have been the end product of years of travelling by the herald of a northern magnate.

The *Willement* is a c.1520 copy of a c.1390 compilation, shortly before the final crisis and fall of Richard II. There is an attempt to group items according to the principal figure, but it remains a general armorial ordered by rank: royals, titled nobles, other peers and gentry. There are many family members with personal brisures, kept together if not relatives of a peer. Half of the gentry were returned as members of Parliament (shire knights).

The *Peter le Neve* was probably compiled and painted 1480/1500 – possibly as an emended copy of a collection. The large first part was probably collated during the reign of Henry IV (r.1399-1413), but in other parts there are items that refer to people active as far apart as 1314 and 1480. The earliest could be dormant titles, but there are people active 1360-80 as well as arms of livery companies and spiritual organisations. It has some markers in common with both *William Jenyns* and the *Domville*.

The *Domville* itself is privately owned and has not been consulted as such, but a large part of it was extracted for the *Dictionary of British Arms* (DBA), compiled, edited and published from 1940-2014. It was probably compiled c.1470 and painted c.1500 and was owned by the same family for 400 years. Except for lists of saints, Saxon kings and English earls, all 3,000-odd entries are of family arms mostly without forenames. There are many doubles. From the superficial survey of the items in the DBA it appears that the *Domville* was compiled using extracts from armorials as old as from the reign of Edward I (e.g. *Stirling*), Richard II (e.g. *County*), contemporary (e.g. *Creswick*), and later armorials (e.g. *Red Book* and *Portington* – probably their sources!). It also has items in common with the *Picquigny* (ARS), a clone of the TOISON D'OR group.

## **D. TRENDS AND PRACTITIONERS** (chapters 13-16)

### **Ch. 13 Reality and imagination**

Most of the entries in armorials depict real arms. Many represented men (and women) belonging to families noted by their contemporaries, or individuals noted in their own right. Less often arms of towns, guilds, dioceses and abbeys would be recorded. Besides this factual world was (and is) another world – that of fiction, populated by fantastic creatures and heroes possessing physical and mental powers above ordinary humans. Some were described in romances and bestiaries, others in classical literature or the Bible. The heroes and scoundrels of fiction are rarely met in proto-classical armorials, but surface in late medieval armorials supplemented by realms of fantasy. The presence of imaginary arms can be explained in two ways: (1) every person of note ought to bear arms; and (2) with increasing wealth, literacy and leisure time people liked to recognize and personify characters in literature. The move is more one of idolation than demonisation, and is followed by one of symbolizing political aims by fictionalizing factual arms. The cross-field of reality and imagination may be portioned into territorial/personal and factional/fictional with an overlapping centre exemplified by the 'old man in the mountain', a synonym for the territory held by the Assassin sect of Ishmaelite Moslems and their activities.

There are few answers or indeed questions as to the *why*, *what*, *how*, *by whom* and *from where* imaginary arms were selected, especially on fictitious realms. There is a short exploratory paper on imaginary arms and a thorough study of the Knights of the Round Table by Michel Pastoureau. A thesis by Nicolas Roche on French romances

which is valuable in giving references to some French armorials. Paul Adam-Even and Gustav Seyler have some findings from 12C literature, while Christiane van den Bergen-Pantens made a valuable study of Trojans passing from classical literature into armorials and genealogies. Gerard Brault explored the Arthurian romances as sources for both real and imaginary arms in armorials.

There are several studies on the Nine Worthies (preux and preuses). The Magi are more or less self-explanatory, but there are no in-depth studies on the remaining Ternionen, which in any case is a German tradition. There is great variation in the arms selected for any Ternion, but part of the variation is due to mis-copying.

The Quaternionen are also a German tradition, the origins of which may be traced to numerology combined with Carolingian lore and the territorial structure of the Empire – and as a counterweight to the Electors and their honorary offices. The number of fours, and the names and arms selected vary a little between sources and representations – as tabulated and discussed.

Segmentation by rank is one of the two principles used for listing arms of actual families, and these are almost always noble in the continental sense. Commoners, clergy and institutions are rarely included. The other principle is regionality, whether on the level of realms, principalities, counties (in England) or smaller localities (e.g. Corbiois). The variant, nationality, is a more difficult concept to work with, especially for the borderlands where language, adherence to local princes and power politics may influence segmentation.

Fictitious realms are the most numerous kind of imaginary arms and are usually blended in with the arms of 20-odd real realms of Western Europe and Outremer. 56 armorials and 1400 items have been surveyed and the proportion of fictional to real arms has been assessed. As expected it varies with time and region. Examples of occurrence and variation of arms are discussed as are the few sources identified, notably Marco Polo and Mandeville. The transmission of imaginary arms from source to (parent) armorial and on to clones has only been lightly charted, but three traditions appear: *Wijnbergen*, *Richental*, and *Urfé*. Neither can be the sole origin of the arms and names in the tradition, but their compilers may have been key players in the selection of examples and the composition of the arms.

#### **Ch. 14 From personal to family orientation**

The presence of brisures and Christian names changed with time and was to some extent coincidental with the expansion of scope and volume. From the *formative* period most of the armorials are illustrative with little need of differentiating arms. During the *proto-classical* period we find two types of records, which are not always easy to differentiate. (1) Occasionals, which noted individuals at an event, and we would expect to get Christian names and brisures if present. The naming tradition was (and is still today in England) that heads of families and branches known by their titles or lordship do not need a Christian name for such records as there would only be one of that title or name at any time. (2) Surveys, which listed armigers in general or by territory, and which could include other family members or gentry, for which specification would be needed. Smaller or local surveys may look very like an occasional. A number of examples from this period are discussed as is the presence of Christian names and brisures in them and the problems occurring from misreading and mistakes during re-copying over time as well as having a substantial amount of anonymous items. The main trend during this period was a move from focal collection to more general surveys and to broaden these with foreign princes and imaginary arms, but also a tendency to incorporate parts of other sources into what appears to be a 'primary' collation.

The changes during the *high-classical* period were threefold: (1) the most enduring was the advent of moveable type printing coupled with woodcuts and copperplate engravings during the last third of the period beginning with the *Richental* in 1483. (2) Manuscript armorials were made serially for sale; and (3) they became larger and more ordered. Collecting the personal arms of contemporary members of the lower nobility and of odd family members of the higher nobility would be of little interest to the wider selection of the public, who might want their own collection of arms. Arms and crests of princes and better known families spiced with civic arms and foreign princes would be more saleable – and they need not be contemporary. What was interesting was the family, not the individual, so brisures and Christian names were not needed. Copying and extracting arms from whatever material was available would be the economical way of creating saleable products.

One mode of operation exemplified and discussed is the extraction and reduction used by Berry Herald, while other compilers chose a pick-and-mix operation. Typical mistakes and the possibility of creating non-existing families are mentioned. Forenames and brisures were still preserved in some of the ‘recomposed’ armorials, either from lack of attention in keeping a steady style or to preserve a feeling of authenticity as in the *Peter le Neve*.

### **Ch. 15 Heraldry, antiquarians and institutions**

One of the discussion points in recent heraldic literature is the role of heralds in the making and use of armorials. The stance taken here is that there are two misconceptions of their role: (1) that supervising and collecting arms and compiling and owning armorials were principal duties of heralds; and (2) that heralds were responsible for most of the medieval armorials as we know them. In order to support this stance the pertinent features relevant to assessing armorials are briefly reviewed for the Office of Arms, a selection of nine medieval heralds, and a few of the antiquarians that were responsible for the preservation and propagation of many of the surviving armorials. Among the names are the Hatton & Dugdale group and Thomas Wriothesley ‘Garter’ in England; Aumale d’Haucourt, du Cange, Gaignières, and Clairambault in France; Alexandre Le Blancq in the Spanish Low Countries; and lastly the largely anonymous Germans.

One argument is the sheer number of heralds active at any time during the 15C, their pattern of work and remuneration. Their knowledge of arms, writings and functions in diplomacy and at ceremonies are discussed as is the (feeble) evidence of how they (some) cooperated. Of the nine heralds selected, three are Dutch-German (Claes Heinenzoon ‘Gelre-Beijeren’; Hendrik van Heessel ‘Austria’; Jörg Rugen al. Georg Ruxner); four are French (Jean Courtois ‘Sicile’; Jean le Fevre ‘Toison d’or’; Gilles le Bouvier ‘Berry’; Jean la Chapelle ‘Faucon-Savoie’); and two are English (William Bruges ‘Garter’; John Wrythe ‘Garter’). All, except Faucon, are well known and influential heralds known or attributed as compilers of armorials and authors of chronicles and/or poetry. They were probably also atypical of the majority of late medieval heralds.

### **Ch. 16 Commissioners and bookmaking**

If heralds, as professionals in the lore of arms, did not make all armorials for their own use, then by whom, why and how were they made? One obvious answer is for, and possibly by, amateur armorists for their own pleasure and possibly for aggrandisement. If they did not write or paint the arms themselves, they would need the help of professionals – artisans rather than artists. The latter have always tended to be more expensive. Artisans were readily available in the book industry, which flourished in all the regions where armorials were made. Amateur armorists as well as the professionals (heralds) might do their own painting as well as the compiling – and some probably did. As is discussed, commissioning armorials from workshops should be more common, and master artisans are also known to have made their own armorials.

Three types of amateurs are discussed: Ulrich Richental, who needed arms for marketing a book; Konrad Grünenberg, who apparently loved to collect and look at arms; and André de Rineck, who needed more arms to put his pedigree into perspective. All three must have commissioned the manuscripts in local workshops. Gebhard Dacher and Vigil Raber were professionals that had their own workshops – with or without employees.

The book industry expanded tremendously during the 15C producing more than 200,000 manuscript books in the Empire at the end of the century. Workshops abounded in many places – there were 77 painters and illustrators in Tournai at its height. Booksellers could order popular titles by the hundreds. Princes and major lords established large libraries with a wide variety of books, mostly finely illuminated presentation volumes. Literary and more practical titles were also bought by people with lower incomes. Unfortunately, armorials do not appear in any of the available inventories. A few exlibris and notes in copies testify to ownership by an abbot, a duke (later king) and a queen. A typical production process is sketched with work distributed between scribes, illustrators and binders. Productivity and cost of materials are assessed. The price for a typical book in a noble household has been estimated at 7 £t 7 s, slightly more expensive than a blazoned armorial like the *Urfé*, but much less than a *Lyncenich* type painted one at 51 £t 15s or 10% more on parchment. Even if the estimated productivity is doubled, painted armorials would still be very expensive for most people and represent several months of intensive work as do-it-yourself.

## E. FINDINGS

### Ch. 17 Cooperation, copying and commercialisation

Forty-one armorials from the late Middle Ages (c.1350-c.1500) have been reviewed and assigned to six groups and the relationships and overlaps between armorials as well as between the groups have been described in Part C (ch.7-12). All of the armorials studied (as well as those touched on more peripherally) appear to be the result of desk-work rather than field notes. They all have composite structures with many well-defined segments, sometimes fifty or more. Each group has a common core, present in varying extent in its members and clones. Nearly all members have additional elements, some of which may derive from other groups. Inclusion into a group is determined segment by segment according to three criteria: concordant segments, common markers, and common iconography of imaginary arms.

Dating a composite armorial or the manuscript containing it is difficult and often impossible to do with any precision. There are only few contemporary manuscripts available, and some can be shown to be copies themselves. The *Beijeren* collection is a prime example. Parchment provides no physical indicators; watermarks are helpful, but rarely give definite proof. Neither does style of painting or writing. Examples of imitating the source are known. Finally there is a need to discriminate between the date/period of painting or writing the manuscript, compiling the contents and collating the arms in it. In most cases the three 'dates' will differ – and for composite armorials there should be separate dating of each segment.

Some of the segments can be traced to armorials compiled more than a hundred years earlier (e.g. the *Wijnberghen*). One, the *Vermandois* (not a member of any of the groups, but subsequently related), was reissued nearly two hundred years later with a tail from the URFÉ group. Most members of the groups contain material at least a generation or two older than the date/period of their compilation (passive cooperation). The *Bergshammar* was executed using three identified armorials for the major part of its content. The actual manuscripts have survived and were all available throughout the period of painting. Two (*Toison d'or*, *Lyncenich*) were nearly contemporary and one (*Gelre*) was more than a generation older and was itself dependent on even older material. They are likely to have been borrowed (active cooperation). The combination of preservation over a long time (centuries rather than decades) as well as over space (Paris, Bruxelles, and Guelders) suggests that heralds rather than amateur collectors were involved. Herald's must have followed the Valois princes north from Paris or accompanied them on the many visits of the dukes to the French court. At least one herald (*Gelre* al. *Beijeren*) is known to have moved from Guelders to Holland-Hainaut, a double county swallowed up by the duke of Burgundy a generation later. Courtiers and functionaries could have moved in a similar pattern, but where heralds were likely to have been cooperating over generations, a converging of amateur armorists, noble or not, in a similar pattern and time-frame appears less likely.

Evaluation of their internal structures, physical characteristics and relationships suggests that many composite armorials were products of the commercial book business rather than intended for the maker's personal use. Some of the armorials discussed were commissioned by amateur armorists from artisan workshops, while the production of other manuscripts probably involved heralds. This does not mean that they were involved in all phases or steps of the production. One of the central suggestions, not to say conclusions, is that late medieval composite armorials were intended for commercial use as in the extended legal definition including gifts, barter and promotional activities.

There is a general similarity and a few marked differences in the development of armorials from the proto-classical period (1250-1340) and the high-classical period (1340-1530). With some reservation for the insular outlook in England, there was a change from a localized focus in small-to-medium-sized occasional and general armorials with mostly 'own nationals' to large 'pan-European' composite ones. At the same time older armorials were kept in use, except in Germany, where there was almost no tradition for making general armorials before mid-15C. Inclusion of imaginary arms, symbolizing virtues or referring to literary figures, increased. Compilers in England developed a more useful and systematic approach to the recording of arms in the form of ordinaries using both contemporary and outdated sources. The approach was appreciated by the ruling class (a queen and a duke-cum-king). The production of composite armorials in Germany appears to have been concentrated in the southern parts and to have a two-fold origin. One is the popularity of the *Chronicle of the Council of Constance* with its appended armorial, the other an interest in armory among people (commoners as well as nobles) associated

with tournament societies. The variation among armorials can be related to differences in social structures between the three regions.

One major conclusion is that the composite armorials studied were compiled and executed over a short time span and at the desk, not as recordings made during travel or duties at court. This does not imply that collations of arms were not made. They were, at tournaments and musters. Probably also as surveys, though it has not been possible to document the latter. One important difference is that the collations, except for a few examples, have not survived, and we know little of their form. They were certainly used as one of the sources for the surviving composites. However, most composites were compiled from existing material: older armorials, fragments as well as collations, some decades or generations older.

Illustrations apart from the coats of arms can be found in armorials from France and Germany, but not in England. That is, there are some mannequins in *Writbe's Garter Book* that are similar in presence, if not in function, to the paintings of heralds in *Bellenville* and *Gelre*, and the mounted jousting in the *Military Roll* are presented in much the same way as the cavalcade of knight in the *Toison d'or*. In French and German armorials mannequins are used as segment headers and for pedigrees. Genealogy never became part of English armorials in the high-classical period.

Class and culture are influences that were not really part of the study, so it should be sufficient to note that visual elements, including arms, were prominent in and on churches, houses and palaces; and that there were customer groups willing to pay for armorials, viz. *Richental* in Germany, *Thomas Jenyns* in England, and *Urfé* in France.

Many people, commoners as well as nobles, must have had considerable knowledge of arms, not only of those of their neighbours and acquaintances, but also of people known by repute. The evidence of Robert Laton in the Scrope-Grosvenor case alone documents this, but people like Ulrich Richental and Konrad Grünenberg could not have designed the armorials named for them, if they did not have a personal interest in armory as such. Heraldry has traditionally been named as both the principal makers and users of armorials, an opinion recently challenged as lacking evidence. The present evaluation places itself in the middle. It suggests that (only some) heralds (in general) were responsible for the preservation and reuse of a substantial part of arms collected. They were probably also responsible for a substantial part of contemporary collations, though a few amateurs probably also both collated arms and exchanged information, e.g. Konrad Grünenberg and a member of the Flavy family. However, the users (better: customers) of the armorials that have survived as 'originals' or as copies were probably non-professionals, commoners as well as nobles, either through buying or as being shown images of arms when enquiring about people seen or talked of.

The vendors, be they heralds, commissioners or artisans, served the cultural tastes of their customers or benefactors – they had to, or no sale! Though they were never as popular as chronicles or romantic literature, armorials did have a customer base in Germany from the late Middle Ages until well into the Early Modern Times. Interest diminished over time in England and France until it was only served by a small circle of antiquarians. Getting a coat of arms was still popular, but not collecting them.

While it is easy to set criteria for including a manuscript or part hereof in a group of armorials, determining use and maker is more difficult, and the criteria overlap. Size, quality, presence of miniatures and textual evidence are obvious candidate criteria for *commerciality* versus *vademecum* (or personal use by its maker). Uniformity, the number of persons (scribes and painters) working on a manuscript, uniformity in execution, the use (common or not) of woodblocks or other techniques, and the composition of armorial, textual and illustrative elements may be added to the criteria. Unfortunately, there is not an absolute and correct answer to the questions of use and maker. At the end of the day it is the reader's own balancing of the evidence that determines the outcome.

Additional documentation is available on [www.armorial.dk](http://www.armorial.dk)