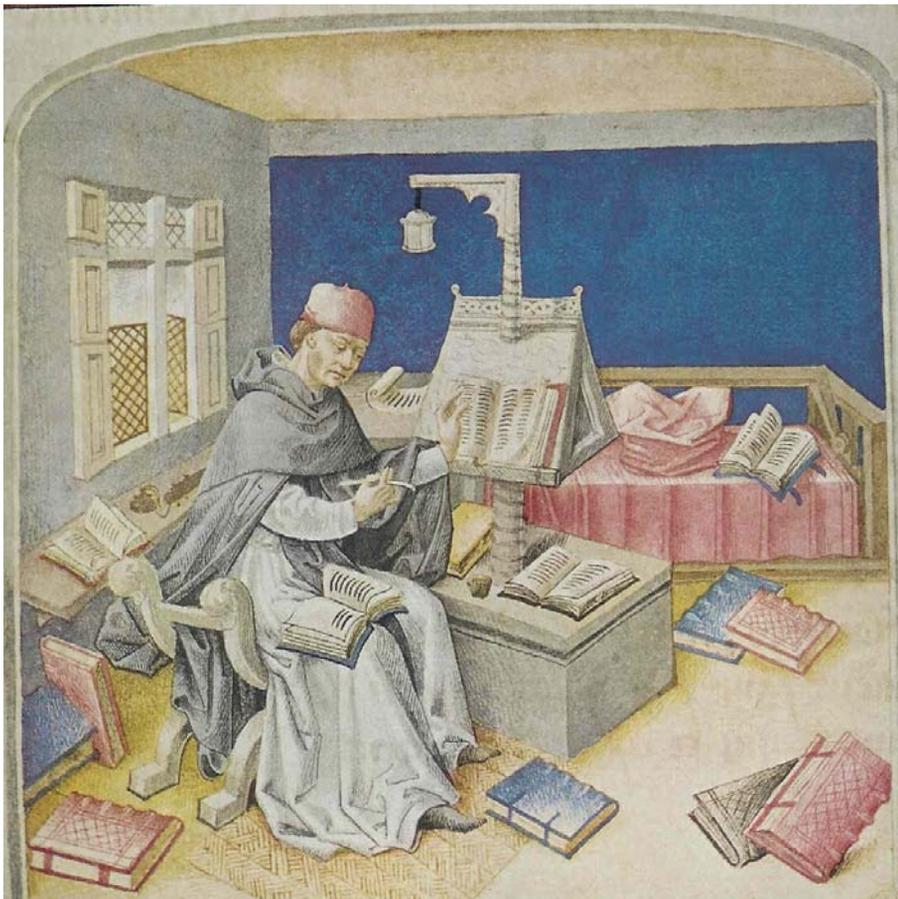


Editing armorials

I

Cooperation, knowledge and approach
by late medieval practitioners



Steen Clemmensen

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Foreword

The present work is the result of many years of studying medieval armorials (a.k.a. rolls of arms). It has been a pleasure not only enjoying the imagery present both in the description and in the artistic execution of the coats of arms and the often fanciful crests, but also to read and analyze them in relation to the political, military and cultural context in which they were compiled. Editing armorials conceived in different regions and at different times prompted speculations on how and by whom it was made, and the current explanations became unsatisfactory. It also showed a need for a survey of the relations between a substantial part of the sources referred to in modern papers and handbooks.

The observation that a number of papers and books discussed and referred to medieval armorials without really reflecting on the relations between the manuscripts used as evidence or arguments was another starting point. It is trivial that if a source is derived from another, using both as evidence may lead to circular conclusions of little value. Employing sources, that are essentially doubles, need not matter much for certain uses and may even assist in the identification of the arms and names present in the material, but in general terms independence of evidence is essential for corroboration in analysing relations or contexts. I hope the present work will help in clarifying the relations between sources of the armorial type.

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A. INTRODUCTION

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

The aim of the present work is threefold: to improve the awareness of the relations and dependencies between the armorials surviving from the late Middle Ages (c.1350-c.1500); to investigate how they were conceived, organized, and for what purposes; and to study changes in form or content over time and space. Though some data have been extracted from diplomatic, household and financial sources on 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.¹

This study has been divided into five main parts, of which the first (A, the present introduction) discusses some 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 and provides basic examples: principles and tools for analysis; pictorial assessment; analysis of a single segment; and surveying an armorial. In the third part (C) a select number of armorials are examined and determined to belong to 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 four regions: France, Southern Germany, The Low Countries (with elements from both), and England.

1.1 Heraldry and arms - armorists and heralds

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.² But such use of the term is too simplistic and

¹ For a different, but overlapping, approach to the study of medieval armorials as a historical phenomenon based on socio-cultural concepts, see the project description by Elmar Hofman at the 51st Historientag in Hamburg in September 2016. <https://heraldica.hypotheses.org/4901> .

² In the present work *arms* will include achievements or parts thereof, i.e. coats of arms with crest, mantling and/or supporters, and *armorials* any form of presentation base of a collection of arms, incl. loose leaves, books, rolls of paper, vellum or parchment as well as paintings on and/or carvings in wood, stone or other material. For this see the

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.

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.³ 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.

1.1.1 Heralds and heraldry

In general, people instinctively associate a collection of medieval arms and names with that period and most people seem to think that they were made by heralds. Both associations are a priori nonsense, because many of the written, painted or printed collections were actually made during the renaissance, in early modern times or even quite recently, and it is now well established that some of the ‘makers’ of such collections had nothing to do with the professional life of a herald, but were artisans employed by printer’s, painter’s and scribe’s shops making manuscripts commissioned by wealthy merchants or nobles – or private persons pursuing a hobby.⁴ On the other hand, we know of several persons who combined the profession of a herald with that of an armorist. The careers and writings of some of the better known herald-armorists are summarized in *Chapter 15.3*.

The short-circuit is understandable, when one considers the enormous influence that many generations of members of the College of Arms in England have had on the perception of armory and heraldry through their recording of arms, preservation of records and armorials, and writings on armory. But the situation and history of the College and of its sister institution in Scotland, the Court of the Lord Lyon, are unique. Both have had an unbroken active life for more than five centuries, and have had a statutory commitment to integrate armory with their record-keeping and ceremonial duties. But no other institution in Europe had a similar life. In France, whatever communal work on arms made by heralds soon degenerated into the financial domain. In the Holy

arguments put forward by Emmanuel de Boos in 1997 in Boos DH for including mural decorations in the term *armorials*.

³ The term *armorist* can be traced back to c.1580 and found in mid 19th century dictionaries, but was revived by Cecil Humphery-Smith for its current use. The term was most fittingly used as the title for the volume *Tribute to an Armorist* published in 2000 in honour of John Brooke-Little, Norroy king-of-arms. An extensive table of definitions relating to both heraldry and armory was circulated privately during 2010 by D.J.D. Boulton (Boulton CT). Further definitions relating to armorials will be discussed in *Ch. 2*.

⁴ Non-herald authors are well-established for several German armorials as noted in 2004 (Clemmensen A 169-173), and in several papers by Torsten Hiltmann from 2007. However, Hiltmann PL 174 note 53 is mistaken in his critique of this author (and Jan Raneke) for having a herald as author/compiler of the *Bergshammar* armorial, see *Ch.7* for the relations between the members of the *Toison d’or* group of armorials.

Roman Empire and the smaller realms, armory can only be described as a peripheral governmental activity, which soon ceased – as did any major employment of the heralds.⁵

The non-armorial activities of heralds lies outside the scope of the present work, but will be briefly discussed in *Chapter 15.1* and *15.2* as there are obvious overlaps between strict *armory* and the genealogical and ceremonial work carried out by heralds at tournaments, feasts, coronations, and burials. All heralds must have had some knowledge of armory and of the arms of the subjects of their sovereign, but considering the number employed in their heyday in mid and late 15th century, it is more likely that only a minority of heralds took an active interest in armory.

1.1.2 Family, achievements and coats of arms

The origins and development of the use of coats of arms have been discussed for years and will here only be mentioned for the perspective.⁶ Most scholars agree that armory found its present form around 1240. Over some 30 years Michel Pastoureau have argued that the development passed four phases: c.1080 gestation – c.1120 – appearance of first arms – c.1160 – diffusion over borders and social strata – c.1200 – stabilisation – c.1240. As a variant, D’Arcy Boulton advanced five periods for the development: c.1130/50 - formative - 1220/50 – proto-classic - 1340/60 – high classic - 1530 – late classic - 1600 – post-classic period until 1690.⁷ This places the armorials studied in the high classic period. By the end of this period painted armorial shields, jupons and horse trappers and crested helmets were being phased out in war and at tournaments and replaced by shiny plate armour and costly fabrics – as evidenced by contemporary miniatures and monuments. Though spectators would be able to observe coats of arms in use at Agincourt in 1415, few would have had that opportunity by the 1460’s. The personal use of arms would have changed in parallel. On the continent, and even in England and Scotland, few people would differentiate single arms with personal brisures. Instead, they would quarter their family arms with those of their heiress wives or foremothers or of acquired possessions, or simply keep their family arms unchanged. Such ‘family’ arms might themselves have been differenced by a younger son and now only used by a branch or sub-branch, or by cognatic (female line) descendants. The place to see coats of arms by the late 15th century would be on seals or as mural or furniture decorations or in rare cases

⁵ Anthony Wagner and other members or people associated with the College of Arms and with the Court of the Lord Lyon have written much on the history and work of the two institutions and on their involvement in armory. Apart from the very recent (2015) book by Nils Bock on German heralds, one will have to comb (mostly recent) biographies of heralds and odd papers on armorial grants, armorials, and the functions of heralds to form an opinion of how heralds lived, worked and were organized on the Continent. Hiltmann SH (2011) has some valuable information as have Schnerb HL (2006) and Stevenson HM (2009).

⁶ Most basic texts have a chapter or paragraph on the early history of arms, e.g. Neubecker H, Wagner ME, Pastoureau TH, and Galbreath LH. For some newer criticisms and aspects, see Fox KN, Fox CF, Clemmensen PB and Clemmensen AA.

⁷ Pastoureau TH 300-303 a.o. publications; Boulton CT 1:1. The present study period is close to the *high classic*.

on banners and standards. In practical terms, people would rarely be able to see the coats of arms on the owner, but only on his seal or at places where he stayed.⁸ As a consequence, copying older material would be much easier than collating arms at first hand.

This does not imply that coats of arms were not taken seriously by their owners or peers. Rather the opposite, for this was a time of visual culture, where people liked to show off, putting their arms on stained glass, walls and monuments in churches, on buildings, and on furniture – both at home and abroad.⁹ Arms were also used as practical name tags, when one was away from home. Some magnates may have stayed at inns or at their own hotels in the capitals or major towns, but for large gatherings people had to stay in private houses. Getting messages to them was much easier when the messenger could be told go to the house on which this coat of arms is displayed on a shield hung on the front of the house. The two prime illustrations of this practice are the tournament book of René d'Anjou and the Richental chronicle of the Council of Constance.¹⁰

Family will be used in relation to armory in both the narrow sense of a branch or sub-branch, and in the wider sense of people having a common forefather or -mother. For broader group relations, the term *clan* will be used.

Identifying of a coat of arms in an armorial and assigning it to a family, branch or person is in practice not a simple and straightforward operation. Blazons may be incomplete or hard to read, and images would generally be small and sometimes distorted by moisture or miscoloured by aging or by mistake. The actual figures can be hard to interpret if positions are changed by the layout of the image or by indistinct painting with a broad brush. Occasionally the observer does not know what the figure may illustrate. Before the modern (and the medieval) reader saw a coat of arms, more than one person out of four sets of people would usually have been involved in its transmission: 1) the grantor of the arms (and/or the person inventing it); 2) the head of the family, other family members, spouses, and their successors (family or not); 3) an armorial painter, seal engraver, stone cutter, a commissioner of a work, any person observing and reporting the blazon or image; 4) a person reinventing the image on the basis of second-hand or later information.

One problem with older renderings of coats of arms is often passed in silence, the not unimportant one of what arms did a person or family really use. The easy answer is that they used the one found on seals, noted on grants or in the armorials kept for centuries in the archives and libraries. The catch is that these images are often different, and though some differences are apparently easy to

⁸ Minor brisures may not be engraved or visible on seals, and may have been omitted when used for decorations.

⁹ Arms of nobles in visiting hosts were recorded as being painted as shields or even as full figures in the Königsberg Dom for participants in the Prussian crusades between 1350 and 1410, and in the church of the Dominicans in Buda during the disastrous Nicopolis campaign in Hungary. Paravicini PR 1:340, Ekdahl BP 33, Jekely AG 156-157.

¹⁰ Wacker KK and Clemmensen KCR for Richental, and BnF, fr.2695 (2692-2696) for René d'Anjou, both with copious illustrations on the web.

explain, others may well be over-interpretations and point to different users where only one is involved. The opposite may also occur. As in the case of recent re-evaluations of some seals, similar named individuals may be confused where the dating in the document is not indisputable.

This is one way of confusing the bond between family/person and coat of arms. Another, and often overlooked one, is the common inability of always copying faithfully. People do make mistakes when copying, e.g. shifting focus, taking the image from one line and the name from another, thus creating a new and non-existing family. Copyists also get tired when copying long series of data. Colours get transposed so the figure gets the colour of the field and vice versa. Names or legends accompanying a coat of arms were usually written as heard and often copied by a person who did not know the language and name-forms used in foreign countries – and even then handwriting was not always legible. So when attributing a family name to a coat of arms, the careful writer or reader should not accept the connection without independent verification, but also be aware that many of those ‘not verified’ items will represent actual families.

1.1.3 Armorists and the study of arms

Irrespective of their physical form, any collections of coats of arms were formerly known as rolls-of-arms or books-of-arms (*rôles d'armes*, *livre d'armes*, *Wappenbücher*, *Wappenrollen*), but *armorials* should be the preferred modern term.¹¹ With that terminology in place, the present study is not concerned with armory or armorials as such, but only with that part of the field of armory which is focusing on collections of achievements and coats of arms collated during the late Middle Ages.¹² For the present work it does not matter by whom or how a coat of arms or a crest was conceived, only how the image of it and the family connection were perpetuated together with similar items during the 150 years of the study period. During those years various persons (*collators*) observed and recorded names and arms, while they or others *compiled* armorials listing these observations and/or combining them with other sources of similar material, while at the present time modern *editors* transcribe and comment on surviving manuscripts, occasionally including facsimiles in their work. In between the Middle Ages and the present time various persons have copied or modified armorial manuscripts and combed archives and buildings for additional coats of arms either for commercial purposes as did Johan Siebmacher and his publisher colleagues, or they were people (*antiquarians*) with an interest in ancient armory as part of their professional lives as historians,

¹¹ Strictly speaking armorial seals, and arms found as decorations, could also make up collections, but for the present work they will be considered as reference materials, not study objects, except when collated and recorded by contemporaries or early modern armorists in similar form as armorials, e.g. the *Turm von Erstfelden* by Egidius Tsudi in St.Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 1085:251r-253r (ERF). Throughout the present study, armorials will be referred to by their unique sigla or common name rather than by manuscript designation. For a full listing complementary to that in the bibliography, see Clemmensen OM, available on www.armorial.dk.

¹² For the present study the late Middle Ages are roughly the period 1350-1500, ending with the reigns of Henry VII (r.1485-1509), Louis XII (r.1498-1515) and Maximilian I (r.1493-1519).

genealogists or heralds – or simply as a hobby or pastime of people with enough money to make themselves independent of work. The copies and notes made by such people provide the major part of the armorial manuscripts available today. Together with the contemporary manuscripts that have survived in governmental, manorial and monastic archives, antiquarians also helped their survival.

Medieval armorials may be found as separate manuscripts (contemporary or as later copies) or as parts of miscellanies, i.e. collections of various materials such as financial notes, chronicles, poems and/or letters, or they may be appended to treatises on arms, heraldry or chivalry. They may be blazoned (written descriptions), tricked (colours indicated by letters) or painted on paper or parchment, in the form of loose leaves, books or rolls of membranes stitched and/or glued together. As discussed in *chapter 2.1*, armorials may be placed in different categories according to one's preferred definitions. However, the reader should be aware of the important difference between medieval armorials and later registries of arms.¹³ The latter are based on coats of arms as they were intended (usually granted). Modern nobiliaries usually include arms of similar quality and detail, painstakingly reconstructed from the family tradition and from several sources. The former are, like most modern dictionaries and ordinaries of arms, based on whatever sources and/or observations were available.¹⁴

The first coats of arms were probably adopted during the first third of the 12th century and within decades spread out over France, the Low Countries and England.¹⁵ The oldest surviving collections of arms were probably collated some hundred years later.¹⁶ By that time coats of arms had been adopted by nobles as well as non-nobles and also by corporations and towns in most of Western Europe. In essence, an armorial is a non-verbal document or text which tells a story, if only that it is a collection of notable people. Its key features are neither words nor the artistic features of a painting or drawing, though such might be present. The 'story' is told by the entries or items, which usually have three parts: the shield with the coat-of-arms, the crest, and a legend or text giving the name of the person or family who used the coat of arms. There might be other describable features such as helmet type, form and colours of mantling, and wreath or crown, but the three above-mentioned are the important ones. Supporters and additional features are rare, if not unknown in medieval armorials. Non-verbal does not mean without words, as an item

¹³ Registries of arms are mainly found within the English College of Arms and the Scottish Court of the Lord Lyon and their spin-offs in Canada a.o. places.

¹⁴ Dictionaries (here: ordered by owner's name, e.g. *Burke's General Armory*, or essentially unordered, like the older *Siebmacher*) and ordinaries, ordered by dominant figure on the coat-of-arms or crest, e.g. *Papworth, Dictionary of British Arms*).

¹⁵ Pastoureau TH 303 carte IV displays maps of the dissipation of arms through France during the 12C, cp. *Ch. 1.1.2*. For a modification on the development of arms, see Clemmensen PB.

¹⁶ Opinions vary as to which armorial is the oldest. My own preferences, depending on the type, are the first part of the *Wijnberghen* (1267), the illustrations in the chronicles by Matthew Paris (1244), and some German romances of c.1190.

might well be blazoned, i.e. described by words. Blazon, painting and trick are interchangeable expressions of a coat-of-arms – if ably made or read.

There are multiple ways that armorists, not to mention art historians, have studied medieval (and much later) coats of arms. Identification of owner or user, dating of documents or buildings, artistic style and execution are just a few of the more common. Most recently, historians are beginning to use coats of arms as part of a palette of arguments when discussing mentality, politics and social relations.¹⁷ Such approaches are also used in the present study, but the novelty introduced is the emphasis on examining the editorial process and the actors involved in the making of selected armorials and evaluating the results in a mental-social-historical context.

1.2 State of knowledge

In armory (or heraldry) as in other research fields relevant knowledge may be divided into source materials (e.g. seals, decorative applications, armorials, diplomatic, household and financial records), reference materials (e.g. armorial dictionaries, ordinaries, surveys, catalogues of seal collections), and various levels of analysis of source materials in lectures, papers and books. The latter include introductory and advanced textbooks, which are available in most languages, and bibliographies and comments, which will guide the reader to the necessary information outside of the main topic: armorials. The early 1970's introduction by Ottfried Neubecker is available in several languages and is reasonably up to date on general topics and references. The 1979 introduction by Michel Pastoureau has been updated several times, but is only available in French.¹⁸

The specifics concerning armorials, including the selection of study objects will be discussed below and in more detail in *Chapter 2*.¹⁹ The lingo used by the practitioners of this field may sound slightly antiquated, but is used (with some variations) in most languages. Where needed for the discussion further terminology has been developed as summarized in *Appendices 3, 4* (incl. abbreviations). Territorial references are traditionally called *marches d'armes*, listed in *Appendix 2* as a slight modification of the descriptions by Jan Raneke, which are in most respects identical to those used by Michel Pastoureau and French scholars.

1.2.1 Survival and typology of armorials

Survival is *the* key word for any armorist working on medieval coats of arms, whether the items studied are seals or armorials. As an example 132 charters (mostly copies in cartularies) of Waleran count of Meulan (1104-1166) have survived, but less than a dozen examples of his two seals.²⁰ Likewise most of

¹⁷ See the recent conferences noted on the Heraldica Nova website: <https://heraldica.hypothese.org>, or in the conference section of *The Coat of Arms* during 2016.

¹⁸ Neubecker H; Pastoureau TH. There are both older and more recent publications worth mentioning, but here they will be restricted to just some surnames: Fox-Davies, Woodward & Burnett, Cruys, Mathieu, Galbreath & Jéquier.

¹⁹ See *fig. 1-ch.1.0n1*, selection of armorials for the study core.

²⁰ Crouch BT, p.xi and note 10; Clemmensen PB, note 10, 14.

the armorials known have survived in the form of copies. This inevitably raises questions on the reliability of their contents, due to possible mistakes in copying, inserts and modification.²¹

One may ask how many armorials have survived. The answer depends on how an armorial is defined. If we exclude treatises, spurious, and murals (except a few which have survived only as paper copies), overlook that some named armorials actually contain more than one manuscript, and place as independent armorials some manuscripts that could be classed as amended copies, the present calculation gives 419 medieval armorials (incl. a few with more than 20 copies and versions), of which 194 have versions of contemporary manufacture.²²

This study only examines armorials made north of the Pyrenées-Alpes line, which reduces the relevant armorials to a total of 397 (183 with contemporaries) roughly distributed by regions: Germany-Switzerland 112 (91), England-Scotland 129 (54), France 114 (21), and Low Countries 42 (17). The breakdown shows the difference in survival between the German-speaking area, which has almost only surviving contemporaries, and France with mostly copies. This again reflects the possibilities of survival. In England the combination of the College of Arms and 17th century antiquarians promoted both survival and copious copying, while very few antiquarians were active in the German-speaking area, and those that were concentrated their copying on very few templates. For France, the civil wars and the Revolution did cause the destruction of much archival material, but the efforts of a few antiquarians like du Cange, Gaignières and several monks secured the copying of many manuscripts. Most armorials are only known in a single copy, but there are 125 with multiple copies, incl. 25 with 1-5 copies, and 14 with more than 10 copies. The top score with 49 copies goes to the *Parliamentary* or *Great Roll* (N / PAR) of nearly all strenuous knights in England around 1310. The short *Chronik der 95 Herschafften* (HRZ) for Austria and Habsburg with 44 is a close second, while there are just 24 for the *Navarre* (NAV) from France. Most of the multiple-copy armorials are known in several variants, often with the items in different sequences and/or as excerpts or including additional materials.

²¹ One of the more hilarious 'modifications' is the change of Nicholas Criol into a Richard Dering, made by the copyist and herald Edward Dering in the *Dering Roll* (A:61). For other examples see Clemmensen A and Clemmensen TR.

²² For further listings and details on individual armorials and their manuscript copies, see the survey in Clemmensen OM, as listed on www.armorial.dk. A further breakdown into types can be found in *Ch.2.1* and *fig.4 – ch.2.1n1*. Another recent catalogue of armorials can be found in Popoff BH nos.1970-2395 (2003), updated May 2008 and available for download from <http://shfs-rfhs.fr> on the bibliography page. Three older catalogues with comments are still very useful: Wagner CEMRA (1950) and Wagner RAH (1967) for an exhaustive and well-described list of English medieval armorials; Berchem & al. (BGH, 1939, reprint 1972) for German armorials, and Saffroy BG 1:114-130, 130-143, 63, 95, 166, nos.2871-3101 armorials, 3104-3300 tournaments (1968, reprint 1988), largely based on materials compiled by Paul Adam-Even (e.g. no.2781, 1946) and now deposited at the *Institute de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes* (IRHT) in Paris.

As the subsequent discussion will show, many armorials are combinations of collations of different origins, and manuscripts may be made up of parts made by different persons – as evidenced by analysis of the layout, painting or handwriting style, the watermarks or materials used in the production of the manuscript. Most of the manuscripts have never been examined in detail or been critically evaluated. Many have only been recorded by librarians and archivists for registration or by scholars for superficial orientation or specific purposes. For these, there may be little more information than the shelf mark, a couple of names and possibly a nominal date.

Information on their detailed physical structure is often lacking. The reason for this is obvious. A complete physical description would require splitting the manuscript into its component parts, restoring damaged leaves and rebinding the manuscript. Restoration is a costly and time-consuming operation which few institutions can afford or have the resources to do on a scale commensurate with its holdings of manuscripts. However, the codicological data could often provide essential data for the evaluation of the structure of a manuscript and on the ordering on its contents. In a few cases, notably when the binding is loose, non-evasive methods can be applied to study the physical structure.

Dating, or even assigning a date, is not a straightforward operation. The term has at least two meanings. The more common use is to state (or rather guess) when the contents (or the major portion of them) were collated. The lesser use is determining when the manuscript (or parts hereof) were made, usually on the basis of watermarks or style of handwriting. The actual meaning of the date is rarely specified. In rare cases a date, usually only the year, can be found in an accompanying text or as part of a legend, written in the major hand, but such dates may only have been intended to draw attention to an event associated with an item – e.g. a coronation. The number of autographed manuscripts can almost be reduced to those by two compilers: Claes Heinenzoon Gelre and Bayern Herald, and Jörg Rugen *al.* Georg Rixner *al.* Ruxner. Most of the dates (or periods) assigned to armorials in publications are no more than nominal dates for the (global) collation of the items in an armorial. In a few instances, specific parts (here: segments) may be dated and the manuscript and compilation dated separately. The period or approximate date is usually arrived at by identifying a number of items with combinations of arms and name which points to individuals who could only have been active within the stated period. Opinions on the dating may change both by time and by scholar even for the more intensively studied armorials. For the *Gelre*, painted on parchment, which gives little information on the date of manufacture and may have been painted in a slightly outdated style, the periods claimed by ten examiners vary from 1332-1372 to 1395-1400 with the present author proposing that it was compiled from older sources (ab c.1360) and painted within a short period, probably during 1403-1405.²³

Armorials can be classified according to their contents, physical form, perceived use or background. Depending on which parameters are applied, an armorial

²³ The dating of the *Gelre* is discussed in *Ch.9.3.4*.

may go into different classes, and may have characteristics enabling it to belong to more than one class. The problems of and proposals for classification are discussed in *Chapter 2.1* and summarized in the associated tables in *Appendix 4*. The major, and generally recognized, classes are: illustrative, occasional, general, institutional, and ordinaries. Murals and similar decorative items may or may not be accepted as armorials.

Most of what is here described as armorials are from manuscripts with tables of arms as their dominant content. Some of these may on examination turn out to be a form of a genealogical table. The armorial manuscripts may also include other materials such as treatises on the office of arms, statutes related to orders of chivalry, notes related to formal occasions (e.g. coronations, weddings, or burials), to tournaments, arms placed on monuments, maps or included in geographical descriptions, or belonging as illustrations to treatises on blazonry. Collections of arms may also be included in some of the miscellanies (Sammelbände) owned by members of the nobility or bourgeoisie combining essays on chivalric ideals and behaviour, hunting, blazonry, travel, genealogy, history with romances. In his dissertation on herald's compendia Torsten Hiltmann discussed prioritizing the differences and similarities between various classes of writings concerned with heraldry (with armory as only a minor subclass) in its general form and also where and in which combinations they could be found. Depending on the aim of the investigation the same manuscript (or part thereof) could go into a different class.²⁴ As examples, armorials may provide lists of participants in as well as commentary on tournaments, maps can be decorated with arms, and treatises of blazonry will often contain tables of arms as well as single arms.²⁵ Most arms will be of actual people or families, but some will be arms attributed to imaginary realms or literary figures.²⁶

1.2.2 Editions and levels of analysis

About 40% of the 397 armorials are available in some kind of an edition, and there are probably usable facsimiles of another 10% available on the Internet. The proliferation of facsimiles has only appeared during the last decade, and nearly all editions of and papers on armorials are based on visiting the holding institution and/or obtaining photographs or copies of the b/w safety microfilms. Most of the editions are of smaller armorials, as it is obviously easier (and cheaper in time and money) to study a small rather than a large

²⁴ For major topics, see Hiltmann SH for herald's compendia and the office of arms (e.g. *Ch.16.3*); Boudreau HS for treatises on blazonry; Boulton KC for orders of chivalry; and Ranft AG and Kruse RA on tournament societies,

²⁵ There are three main French versions of treatises on tournament, of which the first, by René d'Anjou, titular king of Sicily written c.1450 (BnF, fr.2695), includes many arms attributed to fictitious families. The other treaties are those by Antoine de la Sale (BnF, fr.1997:1-40) written 1459, and one attributed to Jacques d'Armagnac D.Nemours (1437-77) using the Arthurian romances as a frame and often appended to armorials of the Knights of the Round Table (e.g. BnF, fr.1436-1438), see also Hiltmann SH 73.

²⁶ Imaginary arms are discussed in *Ch.13*.

manuscript, but size also correlates with the period of collation.²⁷ Almost 70% of the editions are of small armorials. Armorials collated before 1350 (older armorials) make up 42% of the editions, but nearly all older armorials with a nominal date have had some kind of edition or descriptive treatment. In general, smaller armorials have simpler structures and are easier to analyze.

It is possible to study an armorial and get answers to specific queries without having a full transcription of the items in it, but for critical studies both a transcription of the items (name legend, blazon, and additional features) together with their identification are usually needed. Access to a facsimile for repeated reference and to a codicological description is also useful, not only for the researcher, but also for the readers. Structure and dating tend to change as the details are examined. Full transcriptions were often made by researchers even though they only published an overview of an armorial or used features from it as arguments in a paper. For others it never became possible to raise the money needed for publication. Wagner CEMRA records the efforts and energy spent by people like Oliver Barron and Hugh Stanford London on transcribing armorials that were never published. Many of their drafts are now deposited with the Society of Antiquaries in London. Other researchers keep or kept their drafts in the drawer, though some, like Paul Adam-Even have deposited theirs with the Institute de Recherché et de Histoire des Texts in Paris. The present author is grateful to several fellow researchers, who allowed him to use their draft transcriptions.

Before the mid-1990's most editions were simple transcriptions with or without a short introduction describing the manuscript(s), assigning a date, and perhaps singling out a few items or features. The editors may have carried out further analyses, but never published them in connection with the transcriptions. When some did so, they were often constricted by space and/or cost to confine their documentation to an abbreviated publication and page number in a footnote. This form of documentation rarely exceeded published catalogues of seals or the occurrence in other armorials, published or otherwise known to the editor. Depending on the content and region, published nobiliaries and biographies may also be quoted.²⁸

There are a few more in-depth evaluations available from before 1990. One example is the analysis of the *Chiflet-Prinet* or *Ost-de-Flandre* (CPF) published by Max Prinet in 1934. This older armorial is one of the more simple to analyze. 'Simple' understood as having only 200 members of mostly well-known noble families from a single country (France) and being related to a campaign of 1297. Multi-national compilations are harder to evaluate for a single researcher, and efforts to induce researchers from the relevant countries to cooperate on a

²⁷ Determining the size of armorial is a subjective decision, here they are sized as: very small <100 items, small <500, medium <1000, large >1000, and very large >2500. For practical reasons armorials collated or compiled before c.1350 are termed *older armorials*, while those compiled c.1350-c.1500 are termed *late armorials*.

²⁸ The *Gelre* edition published by Paul Adam-Even, first in instalments in *Archive héraldique Suisse* during 1961-68, and revised and republished in 1971 is a typical example – and it provided the base for the most recent edition of 2012 (Popoff GEL) and for all discussions and papers in between.

single armorial have repeatedly failed. The quality of those ‘multi-nationals’ that have been made is much dependent on the personal relations of the editor, the reference materials available to him (or her), and time and effort his relations were able to spend in assisting him.²⁹ The CPF may also be used as an example of the problems involved in making a critical edition. There are four editions, a consolidation, three 15th century and two later manuscripts available – all as parts of collections.³⁰ The first edition was by Max Prinnet in 1934, the second by Paul Adam-Even in 1959, one, mainly for its linguistic qualities, by Gerard Brault in 1973, and a popular web-based one by Brian Timms c.2000. The three older editions (or transcriptions) all relied on a 1650 manuscript, had different compositions and sequences, and used different numbering. Prinnet and Brault are largely concordant, but missed the head of the reconstructed sequence, which now looks like a partial muster of an army headed by princes and the more important titled nobles followed by those of lower standing in family sets.

As our focus will be on the late armorials, the publications on older armorials need not concern us further.³¹ However, all the English armorials from the reign of Edward I, which were already nearly all published as simple transcription (or with some identifications and notes), were restudied with all available manuscripts by Gerard Brault and published as two volumes in 1997. One volume presents the transcription variants from the manuscripts together with a simple identification of the person by name.³² The 17 armorials were introduced by a limited analysis over 40 pages. Apart from his note that these armorials reflected military history, only four points need mentioning here: the first is that Brault attributes the collations and compilations to heralds, the second is that he notes that the *Herald's* or *FitzWilliam* (HE / FW) included items copied from a contemporary French armorial (TCO) listing participants at the tournament held in Compiègne in 1278, the third that some imaginary arms were incorporated into older armorials, and finally that he changed the dating for eight armorials.³³ The second volume listed the available biographical and armorial (heraldic in his terminology) information by families. In most entries position, possessions and family relations were included as were any occurrences in armorials. Seals were also listed. The references are extensive ranging from seals, biographies to calendared documents, which are copious and have been published in readily available series such as the Patent Rolls (CPR), Close Rolls (CCR) and Inquest reports (CIPM). One note of caution, a key reference is Charles Moor, *Knights of Edward I*, five volumes published by the Harleian Society 1929-32, which mainly consists of extracts from the calendared series by the Reverend Moor and attributed to named persons – circular conclusions when accompanied by direct citation from e.g. CPR. The

²⁹ The *Gelre*, *Bellenville* and *Bergshammur* editions all have lacunae due to the lack of knowledge of the foreign local nobility, their possessions, relations, genealogy – and the literature published locally.

³⁰ Details in Clemmensen OM on CPF and in Clemmensen CPF (2008).

³¹ Most publications on the older armorials are listed in the catalogues and bibliographies by Wagner, Saffroy, Berchem & al., Popoff and Clemmensen.

³² As explored in *Cb. 14* older armorials listed the items as persons, rarely as families. Brault RAE.

³³ Brault RAE 1:50 dates, 1:57-58 TCO, 1:59 imaginary arms, and 1:65-68 heralds.

assignments are mostly well-argued, but ought not to be accepted without critical re-assessment.

From about 1350 (nominal date!) there is a change in the size distribution among those armorials with some kind of edition. Among the approx. 60 older armorials 20% are medium-large (5% or 3 large), while among the approx. 120 late armorials this proportion increases to 40%, of which 31% are large or very large. Increased size makes it more likely that an armorial is made up of identifiable subsets (here: segments). There are multi-segment armorials among the older ones, but as illustrative and occasional armorials dominate in the older period, such segments can normally be identified as parties in tournaments, divisions of the host or groupings by rank. These types of segments are also found in the population of late armorials, but in addition there are segments characterized by territorial origin or containing only imaginary arms or lists of realms, towns, dioceses or monasteries. In a number of armorials such segments are defined in headers, e.g. “Ci sont les francois ...” or “Sensuivent les armes des brebancons”, or introduced by having the lead item, usually the territorial prince, drawn larger and having a crested helmet, where the ordinary members are tabulated in smaller size and/or without crests. In other armorials the researcher needs to do his own segmentation, especially when leaves have been shuffled over time. Examining identifiable segments or simply sequences of arms has led researchers to suggest that certain armorials may incorporate materials from older sources even though they uphold that they are mainly contemporary collations.³⁴ One of the early suggestions was made by Paul Adam-Even, who noted the similarity of Normans in the *Toison d'or* (ETO) and in the *Wijnberghen* (WIN), and suggested that the ETO compiler had used a source compiled 150 years earlier.³⁵ As demonstrated in the following chapters, analysing additional armorials by segments has revealed that many armorials are indeed related, and can be grouped in time and space according to their contents.

Only a few editors, notably Léon Jéquier, Jan Raneke, Jean-Christophe Blanchard, and the present writer, have spent effort analyzing the segmentation in armorials.³⁶ Most other leave such elements as headers in the main text of transcriptions and comments, though selected segments may get a word or two in the general introduction to the armorial. Apart from the editions by Raneke and Blanchard which are in essence doctoral dissertations with more extensive discussion, the typical introduction to the editions by Adam-Even, Popoff, de Boos a.o. would fill 6-18 printed pages and have paragraphs on the manuscript (paper/parchment, number of leaves and items, size, rarely on quire structure even if available), date, author, on earlier editions and on armorials and references used.³⁷ The styles of drawing and naming in legends, presence of imaginary arms or a listing of segments may be included. The Pastoureau-Popoff editions often have an essay on related matters appended.

³⁴ Basically, the method is the same as used for determining copies.

³⁵ Adam-Jéquier WIN (1951), WIN:11r-14v/39-494; ETO:64r-66r/410-510.

³⁶ Jéquier BG, Raneke BHM, Blanchard RYN.

³⁷ Popular reference works, e.g. Burke GA, Rietstap / Rolland, and Neue Siebmacher have many (unacknowledged) entries from medieval armorials, incl. some from non-existent families.

Together with notes in catalogues and papers³⁸ the editions mentioned provided a baseline of information and (often) the principal input of items to the database, from which it was possible to prepare a draft structure of each armorial, and to compare putative group members. The database approach also allowed skimming families for variants of arms in various armorials and identifying possible markers and group members. Though they have never before been discussed as such, the six groups of armorials came in logical consequence of editions and papers published before or during the research carried out for the present study. Already Paul Adam-Even († 1964) noted that there were multiple copies of the *Urfé* and that several of these ‘copies’ appeared to exhibit marked differences from the principal version.³⁹ This observation propagated by Michel Pastoureau and Michel Popoff among others became the genesis of the URFE group.⁴⁰

The idea of the TOISON D’OR group was derived directly from the incomplete comparisons by Jan Raneke in his *Bergshammar* edition. *Bellenville* and *Gelre* were once thought by Paul Adam-Even to be copies or versions by the same compiler. Léon Jéquier showed that this could hardly be the case with a thorough comparison of the overlaps between the two.⁴¹ This paper was unexplainably never mentioned in the newer editions of the two armorials. The ASHMOLE group grew from an observation by Anthony Wagner that many of the items in the early ordinaries were similar to items in the *Ashmolean Roll*.⁴² The RYNECK group was ably demonstrated by Jean-Christophe Blanchard, but both it and the relations to the *Navarre* and *Berry* became evident when these armorials were entered into the database.⁴³ Some of the similarities in what is now the BODENSEE group was commented on in the Berchem &al. catalogue from 1939 and in some of the editions published later, but the relations between the armorials or their source were never elucidated.⁴⁴

1.2.3 Compilers, reception and context

Until very recently, there was almost universal agreement that armorials were collated, compiled and executed by heralds. The list of scholars who believed this is long and distinguished: Anthony Wagner, Erich von Berchem, Léon

³⁸ Relevant papers are cited in the appropriate chapters. The most important collection is from the 1994 colloquia at IRHT in Paris (Holtz AM). The papers by Wim van Anrooij and Christiane van den Bergen-Pantens in the Lille 2005 colloquia are also important (Schnerb HL 709-728, 805-824), as is Paravicini ARK of 2007/08.

³⁹ No transcription or editions of the *Urfé* have ever been published. Most researchers use an unpublished transcript by Hugh Stanford London deposited in the IRHT in Paris. The b/w microfilm of BnF, fr.32753 on www.gallica.bnf.fr is too out of focus for most purposes.

⁴⁰ See *Ch. 8* for the URFE group.

⁴¹ Jéquier BG (1972). See *Ch. 9* for another evaluation as derived from a common source. The members of the TOISON D’OR group are discussed in *Ch.5-7*. See also Clemmensen RW (2000).

⁴² Wagner CEMRA 60. See *Ch. 12*.

⁴³ Blanchard RYN (2008), see also Clemmensen GR (2004/06). The Lotharingians in *Berry* were also commented on in Boos BER (1995).

⁴⁴ Berchem &al., BGH (1939, 1972); see *Ch. 11*.

Jéquier and Paul Adam-Even among the early and now deceased, Michel Popoff, Michel Pastoureau and Gerard Brault among the living.⁴⁵ Some went all the way and assigned individual armorials to named private heralds. The prime example is Noël Denholm-Young, who argued persuasively on the basis of the presence and placing of certain highly placed nobles in English 13th century armorials that a herald in the service of the senior family must have collated, compiled and executed the collection either on the order of his master or for his pleasure and probably also for the advancement of the herald-compiler.⁴⁶ Scepticism has only been voiced during the last decade – most vociferously by Torsten Hiltmann.⁴⁷

As Hiltmann pointed out there is little evidence that heralds were in general responsible for the making of armorials, and there is ample evidence that at least some armorials were made in commercial workshops on commission by amateur armorists or for sale. Some may also have been made by the amateur armorists themselves. On the side of the tradition, there are at least seven heralds, who have compiled and probably executed a similar number of armorials (out of the 400+ known!), and only a couple made by amateurs known.⁴⁸ For the rest there are only surmises, no hard facts, for the assignment of an armorial to a named or unnamed herald. The reasons behind this near-axiomatic opinion can probably be found in its simplicity combined with the fact that much of the early work on (English) armorials was done by members of the College of Arms or people with close connections to it. French scholars may have been influenced by the early established authorship of the *Gelre* and *Berry* and the fact that some prominent kings-of-arms joined together in 1407.⁴⁹ For Germans, one argument could be that it would be natural for heralds employed by tournament societies to record the arms of its members.

During the last decade there has been a revival in studies on heralds and on the Office of arms, but these has brought little new knowledge of the involvement of heralds in the making of armorials. Katie Stevenson edited an overview on heralds in Europe in 2009.⁵⁰ The papers presented at the 2005 conference in Lille provide a second condensed source of information and hypotheses.⁵¹ Gert Melville and Werner Paravicini were probably the more important inspirers of

⁴⁵ E.g. in Wagner CEMRA; BGH p.117-219; Jéquier BEL; Adam FM; Pastoureau ETO; Popoff GEL; Brault RAE.

⁴⁶ Denholm-Young HH, and Denholm-Young CF 89-120, a.o. papers. The armorials evaluated by him have only survived as copies.

⁴⁷ Hiltmann PL (2011) in his review of several armorials; Hiltmann AT (2017) on the authorship of ETO; Hiltmann TH (2012), Hiltmann SH (2011) on herald's compendia. See also Clemmensen GR 173 (2004/06) for a similar doubt.

⁴⁸ Claes Heinenzoon dit Gelre and Beyerens (GEL, BEJ), Gilles le Bouvier dit Berry (BER), Hans Burggraff (HBG), Anton Tirol (TIR), Hendrik Heessel (CHE), Hans Ingeram (ING), and a nameless Portuguese (ARK). On the amateur side: Conrad Grünenberg (GRU), Ulrich Richental (KCR, several copies), and Alexandre LeBlancq (LBQ). Here those probably by minstrels are omitted: Manesse-Heidelberg (MAN), Chauvency (TCH), and possibly Caelaverock (K).

⁴⁹ In the Church of Saint Antoine le Petit in Paris. Boos BER 18.

⁵⁰ Stevenson HM.

⁵¹ Schnerb HL.

this wave of studies on German and Burgundian heralds and works attributed to them, leading to the creation of the *Herandia* database on archival findings related to heralds working in the Benelux-North France area, and to several theses and papers.⁵² Incidentally and though he does not emphasize it, the work of Nils Bock shows that our knowledge of the conditions of heralds in the Holy Roman Empire before it was reformed on the Burgundian model by Maximilian I is almost non-existent. The work of Wim van Anrooij on Claes Heinenzoon and Hendrik van Heessel will be discussed later.⁵³

Our knowledge of how armorials were received or used is almost nil. The standard formula used for explaining the compiling and making of armorials during the Middle Age is that they were herald's vademecums, collections that would help them remember the arms of important people and possibly their possessions and family relations. This could be extended to princes or nobles having such manuscripts for similar uses, incl. pleasure of the artistic work or as remembrance of deeds done. As noted above, recent reappraisals have shown that this formula is an inadequate explanation. If armorials were listed as such in the inventories of the princely or noble libraries of the time, it has escaped this author and his informants.

We know a little more of the context in which they were made from their structure and content. The classification of armorials is largely based on this. A large number of both older and late armorials include or are simply lists of participants in tournaments or in military campaigns (muster-like collections), so recording events and the people taking part in them was one context for collating. Some simple comparisons with surviving musters and reparations for loss of horses, as done by e.g. Gerard Brault for the Edwardian armorials, have shown that though there are overlaps, these armorials in general do not give the retinues of princes or bannerets. For tournaments they will often give the ordering of parties or individual pairs of contestants – which is just the idea behind the recording of such an event.

The change during the late Middle Age towards larger composite armorials with segments defined by territory and usually sub-structured by rank suggests that either the compiler (herald?) or a commissioner wanted a registry of (his) vassals and less dependent nobles. The two earliest such compilations are probably the *Wijnberghen* listing a substantial part of French knights by 1280 by territory and the *Parliamentary* which does the same for English knights of c.1310 by county. The latter was not collated by the normal legal and tax administrative structure led by county sheriffs, and not likely to have been used for administrative purposes.⁵⁴ The study by Thorsten Huthwelker actually

⁵² Hiltmann SH (2011), Bock HR (2015). The Deutsche Historisches Institut in Paris was the place where much of the work was done on the *Herandia* database and several theses and papers by i.a. Torsten Hiltmann, Laurent Hablot, Frank Viltart, and Henri Simonneau.

⁵³ See *Ch. 15.3.1-2*.

⁵⁴ Clemmensen MV compared people in a part of the *Parliamentary Roll* with their properties and the local offices they held.

shows how hard it is to use armorials for assessing ranking among individuals.⁵⁵ Apart from these either obvious or tentative hypotheses, very little effort has until now been expended on why, how, by or for whom armorials were made.

1.3 Aim and methods

The overall hypothesis behind the title and the three aims stated at the beginning is that the compilers cooperated either voluntarily or by opportunity as copy cats. The present study is based on 44 armorials from four regions (England, France, Low Countries, and Germany). The study population includes 36 armorials with published editions, transcriptions and/or facsimiles and more than 1000 segments. The number of items evaluated is approx. 64,000, of which some 11,000 are not in the database.⁵⁶ Most of the armorials studied can be classified as composite, i.e. multi-segment, though other scholars use the terms as general or universal.⁵⁷ Eight of the armorials are known in multiple editions,⁵⁸ five were condensed into a single edition by J-C. Blanchard,⁵⁹ four and a transcription were made primarily by Michel Popoff,⁶⁰ three by Emmanuel de Boos,⁶¹ Paul Adam-Even and Léon Jéquier worked on three,⁶² and the present author on sixteen, incl. those with only transcription and identification by name.⁶³

About 250 late armorials were excluded from the study population. Of these about half were small in size and belong to either the illustrative, occasional, local or institutional type and deemed less likely to be related to the six major groups under investigation. If some of these are in fact sources of larger subsegments, it could be revealed during the evaluation of the study members. The armorials in the second half are all of the general type or its variants, or are of unknown type, and there are members of one of the groups. The BODENSEE has several identifiable members among the excluded. The three criteria used for exclusion are expected relevance, availability of information and degree of interest – all in respect to the efforts required for their incorporation.

To get into more detail, aims and methods may be broken down into three parts involving the manuscripts as such, grouping of armorials, and the people involved.

⁵⁵ Huthwelker RW, review by Torsten Hiltmann, 23.07.2014 on <https://heraldica.hypotheses.org/1133>.

⁵⁶ The database is the *armoiries.mdb* used for the *Ordinary of medieval armorials*, Clemmensen OM, available for download on www.armorial.dk or as extracts in pdf-files. The armorials in the study populations are listed in *App. 1*. The identification of certain items differs between the database and those published by other editors.

⁵⁷ See *Ch. 2.1* for the classification discussion.

⁵⁸ BEL, GEL, ETO, BER, UFF, ING, GRU, KCR.

⁵⁹ RYN, CSG, NAN, SAV, JHA in Blanchard RYN, with JHA also as separate publication.

⁶⁰ Popoff / Pastoureau BEL, GEL, ETO, STY, and LBQ as transcription only.

⁶¹ Boos BER, ING, TJ.

⁶² Adam / Jéquier BEL, GEL, WIN.

⁶³ Clemmensen APA, DWF, GRU, KCR, LYN, RUG, SGH, STU, UFF, and CLE, NLU, URF, NAV, BHM, S, WJ, with most others available through the database.

1.3.1 Manuscript content analysis

The first problem to be solved when studying an armorial manuscript is to understand its structure and contents.⁶⁴ Is it uniform in its physical parts or is it actually a collection? Has more than one set of scribe and painter worked on it? May the contents be broken into identifiable segments – and if yes, by which criteria? Do the segments belong to a single armorial – or are they wholly or partially a collection by a single compiler? Does the manuscript contain non-armorial parts, e.g. texts, miniatures, notes, or ex-libris –and are they related to the items or ‘merely’ relevant for the provenance? What materials and techniques were employed: writing (in which style?), drawing, painting (water-colour, gouache etc.), pre-stamping, ruling, and in which layout? Almost last, but not least in effort, all items have to be described in sufficient detail and identified as personal or family arms and, if possible, dated individually. The process is iterative. The shuffling of leaves, splitting, or size of segments may only appear after items have been identified as not belonging to the assigned segment. Only after such description may the problems of relating an armorial to a social or cultural context or to other armorials be addressed – though in practice the parts tend to be worked on in parallel.

The methods applied to analyse a manuscript and typical results are discussed in several chapters as set out below. The more specific methods for the individual manuscripts are recorded in part C, the six chapters on the groups of armorials. The general characteristics of the classes of armorials, their evolution in form and use, and whether to trust them will be explored in *Chapter 2*, and the special feature of using personal names or not in *Chapter 14*. The two basic types of content, arms actually used by persons, authorities or corporations, and those assigned to imaginary realms and figures from literature are discussed in *Chapter 13* together with their subtypes and origins. Analysis of painting and writing styles as art historical or palaeographical subjects lies outside the present study, but the features that are important for describing an item, and the ways common mistakes are made, are addressed in *Chapter 4*. An example of how the content of a segment can be related to socio-cultural context or a historical event is described in *Chapter 5*, using the English segment of the *Toison d’or* as an example.⁶⁵ Segmentation of an armorial using both content and style is the theme of *chapter 6*. The object is the *Bergshammar*, another member of the TOISON D’OR group, and the analysis is an extension and in a minor way a revision of the one performed by Jan Raneke forty years ago.⁶⁶

1.3.2 Comparing and grouping armorials

The emphasis in this study is on the editorial process and not simply on the ordering of segments and items or on whether a compiler incorporated odd bits

⁶⁴ The extent to which the enumerated operations and questions need to be addressed and documented in detail depends on the character of the investigation, but all are relevant to consider in order to avoid all too common mistakes.

⁶⁵ The English segment is a core element of the TOISON D’OR group (*Ch. 10*) and was first published in Clemmensen RW (2000/04) and RH (2006) as a correction and supplement to Pastoureau ETO.

⁶⁶ Raneke BHM 39-68 (1975). Key elements in the revision can be found in Clemmensen RW, RH, GR and LF.

obtained from colleagues or other sources. It implies that a compiler deliberately scoured older or contemporary manuscripts for material, and that he did it methodically. This should not be viewed as mere copying, though copying is the superficial and easily discernible part. Copies, in full or in part, are well-known and well-described, running into the twenties or forties for highly regarded or useable armorials like the *Parliamentary Roll*. In fact, there would hardly be any medieval armorials surviving if heralds and men with antiquarian interests had not copied existing armorials as often as they could afford the time and expense. The approaches discussed here are essentially the same choose-pick-and-mix as performed by modern editors of dictionaries and reference works. Of the latter, the editors of *Siebmacher*, *Burke's General Armory* and *Rietstap* relied much on ancient armorials, and some of the identifications made by armorists, including this one, are certainly circular arguments made unwittingly. The techniques used to decipher the ways a compiler transferred selected items from his chosen sources will be described, and will be used, if possible, to clarify his priorities and approach to making *his* own armorial.

The three basic methods or techniques used are, as explained in *Chapter 3*, alignment, overlay and search for markers.⁶⁷ In addition, pictorial assessment, as noted in *Chapter 4*, may be used in certain instances, while linguistic analyses do not appear to be of much use for late armorials.⁶⁸ Briefly explained, alignment is done by segment, when there are indications that two armorials have extensive overlaps of arms (preferably as sequences). It can be done manually, but is much easier (and speedier) if one works with a database and may use a computer to do much of the sorting. After the segmental analyses have been performed, it is possible to compare whole armorials for the way segments have been extracted and/or modified, though this will rarely reveal which armorial is the donor and which the acceptor.⁶⁹ For that, one must consider the layouts used for the compared segments in the respective armorials. Placing the contents of a segment from one armorial on top of the corresponding segment from the second as ordered in the layout of the second may disclose how the extraction was done. If the alignment does not show any likely identity, but there is still suspicion that two armorial either share a common source or are directly related, one may look for markers, preferably pairs that have the same mistakes in their name-arms combinations. The weakest, but still suggestive, form of markers are when almost unique name-arms combinations only occur in two armorials.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ The methodology is also demonstrated in *Ch.5-6* on members of the TOISON D'OR group.

⁶⁸ G.J. Brault and A.R. Wagner have derived much insight from analyses of the blazons in older armorials. However, the URFÉ group does have the potential for such analyses, though their relations can usually be established by alignment.

⁶⁹ Comparisons by armorials are given in *Appendix 5* for most of the armorials in the study population. Examples of the structural or overlay analyses are in *Appendix 6*.

⁷⁰ As an example of 'unique pairs' see the several participants in the 1439 Bruxelles tournament, which also appears among the Brabantians in LYN:1122-1301. Eeckhout TBX; Clemmensen LYN 15.

1.3.3 Makers, purposes and audience

The approach by the person in charge of the editing process is the core of the investigation, rather than the actual artwork of the scribes and painters. It is the way he selected, ordered and wanted the items presented that is the objective. From the internal evidence in the armorials and with hindsight and knowledge of seals, diplomas and other written evidence it is to some extent possible to evaluate how much a compiler knew (or cared) about the persons and / or families he selected for presentation. As will be shown large parts of the armorials discussed have been borrowed from other armorials and indications of any possible cooperation between editors, be it across borders or within a collegial confraternity, will be explored. The emphasis on the compiler does not imply that a person commissioning the armorial or acting as a modern head of department performed daily supervision of the selecting, drawing, painting and writing. Such work might well have been delegated wholly or in part to others, be they heralds themselves or artisans, who would then act as the actual compilers leaving the supervisor as a background ‘compiler-in-chief’. The working hypothesis is that in the majority of cases late medieval armorials were rarely the result of the compiler’s personal collation and artwork. In some instances the artwork is assumed to be in the autograph of a compiler-cum-herald, e.g. the famous Claes Heinenzoon dit Beieren alias Gelre. But as will be discussed below, even he probably borrowed whole segments from colleagues or older sources. In other cases, e.g. for the *Toison d’or* often associated with Jean le Fèvre seigneur de Saint-Rémy dit Toison d’or Roi-d’armes alias Charolais Héraut, the ‘compiler-in-chief’ may have determined the overall selection of areas of interest, of layout and of special artwork – and left the execution to his associates.⁷¹

It would be nice to know why people spend time and money on making armorials. The predominant hypothesis that heralds did it so that they had it as records of their observations to support their memory or to exchange information with colleagues will be shown to be in disagreement with the facts as based on the contents of the armorials, though there may be a kernel of truth in it. Where possible, prosopography and the rare archival bits of information will be used to infer a purpose.

There is practically no hard information available on who read, used, or bought and kept armorials in their libraries. We do know that heralds did keep books, and it is most likely that some of these were armorials.⁷² There are also indications that wealthy nobles, clergy and townsmen bought armorials, and that the interest increased during the latter part of the 15th century. These themes and possible regional differences in approach and use will be explored in the following chapters.

⁷¹ The association between the king-of-arms and the armorial has been suggested, but never proved, see *Cb.7.1.5*.

⁷² Some French kings-of-arms agreed in 1407 to keep their books in the Church of St. Antoine-le-Petit in Paris; the heralds in the College of Arms, and whatever predecessor this institution may have had obviously kept armorial manuscripts long before its first incorporation in 1484; a Danish herald left an armorial ‘such as heralds have’ behind, when he fled Copenhagen in 1523. Adam FM 4; Verwohlt DH 216:

B. ANALYSING ARMORIALS

2. Medieval armorials – form and use

People have been collecting descriptions of other people's coats of arms almost from their earliest use, and the evolution of armorials can be followed over time from the beginning as adornments of literary and religious manuscripts works, buildings and movables to large composite registers of personal arms and those of civic and ecclesiastic bodies. There is a concurrent change in emphasis from the individual knight to families and from simple coats of arms to achievements with crests, supporters and orders of chivalry.⁷³

There has been implicit agreement that the small (and a few medium) size armorials surviving from the 13th and 14th century are each the product of an individual collator from his own observations, later written or painted as fair copies or used as illustrations. Many have only survived as copied by succeeding generations of armorists and sometimes bound into volumes of collections. Some deliberate additions and changes by succeeding owners as well as involuntary omissions and faulty copying may have crept in, but the copies are generally regarded as truthful reproductions of the original compilation. This has most clearly been stated by Anthony Wagner:⁷⁴

"It is remarkable how from the earliest times Rolls of Arms have been continually copied and recopied. The respect felt for them as records is shown by the way in which copyist from the fourteenth century onwards often, instead of adapting the form of the shield and charges to the fashion of their own day, imitated minutely the antiquated style of their original."

When we enter the 15th century and later, it should be evident that most medium and large armorials are not field works, but irrespective of their artistic merit, prepared, edited and executed in quietude at a desk from notes and manuscripts owned by the compiler, as well as some borrowed from acquaintances. Of course, collations of the contemporary use of coats of arms were continuously made and exchanged, but such drafts do not appear to have survived as separate entities. In physical form, many researchers (i.a. Pastoureau, Bergen-Pantens, Clemmensen) have come to assume that collations, copies and notes may have 'lived' for years as loose leaf collections before being bound into volumes.⁷⁵

⁷³ Much of the content of this chapter was first presented in Clemmensen TR, a paper in Seixas EH 27-42 (2012). The change from focus on individuals to families will be developed in *Ch. 14*.

⁷⁴ Wagner HH 5. See example of a later modification/inset by an owner in the *Dering Roll* in CEMRA 15-16, plate ii-iii.

⁷⁵ Pastoureau ETO 2:36 (2001); Bergen-Pantens GD 809 (2006); Clemmensen PU 281 (2002).

2.1 Classification

Like other attempts at structuring a population, classification of armorials is based on assigning the individuals to groups and subgroups according to selected dominant features. Which feature to prioritize is a subjective choice. Of the five top-level types: linguistic, regional, emblematic, representational, and armigeral, only the latter have enjoyed widespread acceptance.⁷⁶ For a few armorials there is disagreement into which subtype it should go.

2.1.1 Scope and coverage of terms

Armory (or heraldry) is as much about colour as about figures, but the earliest evidence of the colours of coats of arms is almost synonymous with the advent of painted or blazoned armorials. Though the term *armorial* simply indicates a collection of arms and/or achievements, it will here be understood as manuscripts etc. where the contents were collated during the Middle Ages, and those of the Early Modern period which have a preponderance of medieval items. This term is independent of the emblematic (e.g. arms, crests, achievements) and the representational form (e.g. blazoned, tricked, painted) or the material base (e.g. book, roll, mural).⁷⁷ Later collections might have a similar form, but will usually be found as printed books serving as *dictionaries of arms*, or if in manuscript form as a *recording of grants*, *armorial register* or *album* (Stammbuch).

The earlier terminology of rolls-of-arms, rôles d'armes and Wappenrollen and the similar book-of-arms, livre d'armes and Wappenbücher should be discontinued except as part of the traditional name of individual armorials, e.g. *Walford's Roll* or *Donaueschinger Wappenbuch*, and is by many current armorists. Many heraldic societies have the arms of their members or of fellow countrymen enrolled and published in a registry named a roll of arms, e.g. *Skandinavisk Vapenrulla* and the *Niedersächsische Wappenrolle*.

Armorials, both in roll and book form or as decorations must have been widespread during the Middle Age, but most have probably disappeared since. However, the latest inventory lists 481 medieval and 35 early modern armorials of various types and origins, as well as their manuscripts sources or places in situ.⁷⁸ A few armorials, especially of the decorative type, have been added during the last few years, and a few more will probably be identified as scholars search the archives, examine murals in situ, and as institutions digitalize their inventories. Armorials vary much in size, from just a few to more than 4,000

⁷⁶ D'Arcy Boulton circulated an extensive discussion in 2009 on English and French terminology for use in heraldry and armory, Boulton CT. The various forms of classification was defined in §8.

⁷⁷ The choice of term depends on the language used by an author. *Armorial* should be preferred as a term neutral in regard to physical form for writing in English, French or other Latin languages. However, väbenbog and Wappenbuch come naturally to most Scandinavian and German writers.

⁷⁸ Clemmensen OM, *Ordinary of Medieval Armorials*. An extensive list of manuscripts of English armorials, not all mentioned there, can be found in Wagner CEMRA, 1950. The numbers and classifications used here are of the current 2017 version and not the 2006 inventory on CD-ROM. Dates are mostly those of collation as presently determined, but for some late armorials those of manufacture.

items, and in form, from minute shields adorning a capital letter in a manuscript to ornate achievements filling a whole page and grand decorations of state rooms in castles.

Only few armorials have survived in their 'original' manuscripts, i.e. written or painted in a contemporary hand, as it is usually impossible to determine whether a manuscript is *the* original or an early copy. Even when an autograph is known from other sources, e.g. for Claes Heinenzoon 'Gelre *al.* Beyeren Herald', the contents of the manuscript might be just his copy of the original.

The preponderance of late copies, often of 16th or 17th century manufacture, makes it hard to determine whether an item belongs to the original compilation or might be a later insert. This problem is minor for German armorials, which are mostly contemporary, but significant for English armorials, where members and staff of the College of Arms were very industrious in copying armorials. The problem is also marked for the French armorials copied by de Haucourt and to a lesser extent for the copies by Gaignières.

Armorials can be classified and grouped in various ways, most informatively by *armigeral type* (see below), but also by *representational* or by *emblematic type* and by language or region. The actual number within each group will vary with the criteria used, but an idea of the survival can be had from the following crude regionality: England 126, Scotland 3, France 114, Low Countries 42, Germany-Austria 104, Switzerland 8, Poland 1, Serbia 1, Italy 7 and Spain 13. The last two are certainly underrepresented as are the 62 classified as decorative, painted on walls, beams or movables. Of these 32 are from France, 19 Germany, and only 2 from England, 2 from Switzerland, 4 from Italy and 5 from Spain. About 20 were added during the last five years.

Regionality, as mentioned above, may be based either on the territorial affiliation of the majority of the items or the place of manufacture. Even without considering that several languages could be present and that most continental armorials include people of several nationalities, regionality and language provide little information of the contents of an armorial. But regionality is useful for subdividing the primary classes. Neither does the *emblematic type*, the presence or not of a coat of arms, crest, supporters or other adornments, provide much information, but it may be used for comparing trends over time and space between regions and classes. For assessing relations between armorials or their contents, it does not matter, how these were represented, blazoned, tricked, or painted. It is also largely irrelevant whether the arms were entered onto a roll or into a book or carved in stone. So except for special studies, the *representational* classification ought to join the *emblematic* in the bin of reserves.

The last aspect to be addressed is the dating of an armorial. Giving the *date* (as a specific or approximate year or period) of a late armorial as such has little meaning if its constituent segments are in fact collations of different dates. At best, it would be the date before which the youngest segment was collated – and this is what is used as the *nominal date*, though the nominal date may just be the date commonly assigned, when the armorial or manuscript was added to the

list. Giving the date of manufacture of a manuscript or its constituent part is useful, but is rarely made more precise than within a century. The most meaningful date is that of the collation of a particular segment (in the hope that it is of uniform origin!). This is usually taken as the dates of first (*terminus a quo*) and last (*terminus ad quem*) probable occurrence of particular arms-name combinations, always bearing in mind that copyists might have changed a name or title during copying or have modified certain arms.

2.1.2 Standard classes

Only the traditional *armiger* classification, based on what the arms (or armigers) represent, has stood the test of time.⁷⁹ For the moment, forget about any difference between factional and fictional arms. A recurring problem with armiger classification is that it is rarely straightforward. Many armorials have strong features which point to different classes.

The earliest attempt in creating a comprehensive scheme of armiger classification noted is that of Anthony Wagner from 1950.⁸⁰ Fortunately most armorists have followed his five major groupings (*illustrative, occasional, general, local, and ordinary*) with a few modifications in wording and definition.⁸¹ The features that Wagner wanted to emphasize for each subclass varied between form of expression or structure for the *illustrative* and the *ordinary*. The former was obviously the placing of the arms as decorations either in capitals, on margins or in miniatures. For the latter the way arms were ordered by principal and secondary figures and colours.⁸²

The three other classes were determined by their topical origin. An *occasional* armorial must be related to a tournament, battle, muster or similar, and placed in time and space (even if at the moment we cannot place it exactly). The only difference between a *general* and a *local* is the size of the territory covered by the compilation. For an English armorial, a local armorial would be confined to a single county, while a general would cover most counties, and preferably arms from additional countries. For continental armorials, the *locals* are more difficult to separate from the *general*. Both Wagner himself and subsequent writers have used additional classes as needed for a specific discussion. The *institutional* would, as the term implies, only have members, benefactors, or officers of an institution or a society. A variant or subclass (*family*) would have only members, friends, vassals, dependants and overlords of a family. A manuscript may include both treatises and armorial parts, or the arms may only be recorded as illustrations to the text.

Finally, one may or may not want to include arms painted or carved on monuments, on or in buildings or on movables. If they do, the class would be the *decorative*. Either class may show additional organisational features, e.g. ordering by rank, by territory, by jousting party or military division, or by

⁷⁹ The classes of the *armiger* classification and the number of armorials in each are listed in *fig. 4 – ch.2.1n1*.

⁸⁰ Wagner *CEMRA* xiv-xv.

⁸¹ See *fig.4 - ch. 2.1n2* Survey of classifications.

⁸² Medieval ordinaries are an English speciality; see *Ch.12*, only attempted on the continent at the very end of the period, if at all.

having arms of towns, monasteries or imaginary arms. Armorial in which imaginary arms are included may be placed in the *universal* subclass. Linguistic differences may complicate the understanding of any classification, e.g. Michel Pastoureau used *marginal* instead of *illustrative*. Most variations are due to confusion of the terms *general* and *universal* used for the major grouping and for *provincial* used for both *local* and *general*.⁸³ Though irritating, such mixing of terms is of minor importance for most purposes.

About half the armorials are of the *local-general* classes, which may as well be grouped together as *geographical* or *territorial* armorials, disregarding size of area covered. Or one may want to differentiate them according to other dominant features – as done in the classification used here. Compilations covering a single non-sovereign territory stay in the *local*. Compilations with no discernible structure or only a simple one by rank become *general*. Those *general*, which include imaginary arms, become *universal*. The armorials, which have a structure with clearly defined segments not only by rank but also by territorial origin and/or different types of arms, e.g. town, institutions, or imaginary, become *composite*.

2.1.3 Boulton's alternative

The approach of D'Arcy Boulton is worth retelling. He proposed to discriminate between three different types of classification:⁸⁴

- 3 *emblematic groups*: armal (primarily of coats of arms), crestary (primarily of crests alone), and cumular armorials (primarily of achievements).
- 9 *representational groups and subgroups*: (a) blazoned (always paginal); (b) monochromatic: (b.i) tricked, (b.ii) hatched (both paginal); (c) polychromatic: (c.i) painted on pages, (c.ii) painted on wooden panels or beams, (c.iii) painted on carved stone bosses &c, (c.iv) painted on plaster walls or ceilings, (c.v) as stained glass windows; (d) painted and blazoned on pages.
- 7 *armigeral groups and subgroups*: (a) illustrative; (b) occasional; (c) institutional; (d) geographical: (d.i) intrareginal, (d.ii) regnal-domanial, (d.iii) multireginal, (d.iv) universal (including the known world); (e) ordinary.

The latter set is obviously very similar to that in *fig.4–ch.2.1n1*. Both the wording and definitions of the three types are arguably very well suited to any discussion involving armorials, dictionaries of arms and armorial registers or any decorations involving arms. The beam decorations in the *Haus zum Loch* (HZL), now classified as a decorative armorial, would then be *armal*, *polychromatic on wooden beams* (c.ii), and *occasional* or *local*. The latter depending on whether the visit of the Kings of the Romans in 1305 or the geographical spread of arms is considered the dominant trait.

⁸³ Pastoureau TH 223-226. One may follow Huthwelker RW 71 in disregarding the distinction between *general* and *universal* and join the two subgroups, just making a note of whether fictional or imaginary arms are present.

⁸⁴ Boulton CT §8.

The above classification of HZL is just one example of the possible differences of opinion as to the dominant trait of an armorial. Though assignment of an armorial to a class is subjective, it appears that most scholars would eventually agree that a given armorial could go into the group proposed in the inventory, though some might prefer grouping on another trait.

Following D'Arcy Boulton the 62 armorials classified as *decorative* should be redistributed, which would demand some effort, but no new problems of classification. Also the present *geographical* (mainly 3b, 3d) subgroups would have to be revised, which would probably be of little use, and would greatly impair the analysis of relations between armorials, for which the subclass *composite* is of crucial importance. Problems of overlaps between *multi-regnal* (d.iii) and *universal* (d.iv) will also show up.

One aspect of *representational* classification is often overlooked, the *layout*. Most chromatic armorials are simply read as text is written: by page and by rows from left to right, but not all. A few must be read by column, as must a few blazoned. And more curiously, some are copied by long lines, i.e. read by rows extending across the double pages of an open book. For the English segment in the *Bergshammar* both per row and by long lines were used in copying from the *Toison d'or*.⁸⁵

2.2 Evolution in the use of armorials

During the formative period of heraldry, **before 1220/50**, the only records of arms surviving are those used for illustrating poems, novels and chronicles and a few decorated caskets. Some 10 works are noted: from England notably the chronicles of Matthew Paris, a monk of St. Albans (MP, 1244), but also the *Morte d'Arthur* (MAR, 1230), though the Arthurian cycle was used already by Geoffrey de Monmouth c.1135 and Chretien de Troyes c.1170; from France the *Roman du castelain de Concy & de la dame de Fayel* (COF, 1216); and from Germany the *Eneide* by Herman von Veldeke (HVE, 1174) and the *Clîpearius Teutonicorum*, in Latin (CTE, 1249).⁸⁶

There might be a single occasional armorial from this period: *Otto IV's Aachener Krönung von 1198* (OAK, 1198), which would make it the earliest 'real' armorial. But as this is one of the d'Haucourt copies, it is more likely to be a later construction based on a list of witnesses to the coronation of Otto IV as King of the Romans.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ See *Ch. 5, 6* for ETO and BHM, and *Ch. 3, 4* for methods of analysis.

⁸⁶ These 'illustrations' include descriptions in verses and texts as well as drawings and painted miniatures. For full references to manuscripts, published papers and editions of the armorials mentioned see the inventory in Clemmensen OM. All armorials are assigned a unique 3-letter sigla, though the English armorials are mostly referred to by the widely used sigla given in Wagner *CEMRA*. The principal work on German armorials is Berchem, Galbreath, Hupp and Mayer (BGH). Most armorials are also mentioned in Popoff BH.

⁸⁷ Philippe-Nicolas d'Aumale, dit marquis d'Haucourt, French protestant living in exile c.1650-60 in the Low Countries, used his time in Bruxelles to copy various fragments of armorials in blazon or paint. Several fragments were often joined together without

2.2.1 Older armorials

From the next, proto-classic, period, **1220/50-1340/60**, we have more than a hundred works of all classes, except the institutional, so it will be convenient to subdivide the period for the discussion of English and French armorials. Most of the German armorials belong to the ultimate part of the period and as the author's knowledge of Spanish and Italian armorials is limited, the last two will be largely omitted.

The first sub-period covers the reigns of Henry III of England (r.1216-1272) and Louis IX 'le Sacre' of France (r.1226-1270). Among the English we may note the painted *Dering* (A, 1275), a local armorial of knights owing castle guard at Dover, and the painted *Walford* (C, 1273), a rudimentary general armorial giving the arms of Christian realms, English knights and the crusader orders of the Templars and St. John. These were also noted by Matthew Paris. Among the French there are the *Bigot* (BIG, 1254) of a campaign on the northern borders, but only known from a copy in later blazon. There is also the painted *Wijnberghen* (WIN, 1267, c.1280), which can be placed as an early composite armorial. It is probably made up of two manuscripts, the first a registry of crown vassals from the Ile-de-France, the second a list of nobles by province, and as the last segment a list of Christian realms.

The second sub-period, mainly the reign of Edward I (r.1272-1307), but here extended to c.1320, is often called the golden age of English armorials. Gerard Brault has published all of the armorials of the reign, which include the *Caerlaverock* poem (K, 1300) and many other occasional and general armorials.⁸⁸ The *Herald's* or *FitzWilliam* (HE, FW, 1280) used the French *Tournoi de Compiègne* (TCO, 1278) as one of its sources.⁸⁹ One armorial, the blazoned *Parliamentary* or *Great Roll* (N, 1312), a registry of most of the English knighthood by counties, must have been commissioned around the time of Edward's death.

A smaller number of fine French armorials has survived from this period, including the occasionals *Tournoi de Chauvency* (TCH, 1285) with a number of miniatures supplementing the blazons of the poem, and the *Ost de Flandre* or *Chiflet-Prinet* (CPF, 1297) where the various copies are either blazoned or painted. The blazoned *Vermandois* (VER, 1285-1300) in its current copies is probably made up of a first part of 23 segments of mostly French marches d'armes, representing contemporary individuals (knights), not family arms. The second part has 8 segments of kings, dukes, viscounts and some Aragonese as well as a list of knights of the Order of Toison d'or, instituted 1430. This

noting a change of source, and probably making spurious armorials out of old listings of nobles, adding arms himself (DBF 1941, 4:602).

⁸⁸ Brault RAE. Most of these armorials have survived in several copies and in several representational forms, as listed e.g. in *fig. 5 – ch.2.2n1*.

⁸⁹ The use of parts of TCO for HE / FW:357-591 was indicated in Brault FS 28 (1993) and Brault RAE 2:255 (1997), but not mentioned in the main introduction to HE in Brault RAE 1:79-84. Clemmensen documented the relationship in 2004 at the request of Cecil Humphery-Smith; see the concordance of the *Herald's group* on www.armorial.dk. The relationship was not noted by Juliet Vale in 1982, Vale EC 23.

second part must be a later addition, and the inclusion of non-Christian kings cannot be a period trait.⁹⁰ The last example is the *Le Breton* or *Montjoie-Chandon* (LBR, 1292-1295) painted in the style of WIN. It has a core of 580 contemporary Franco-Wallons, probably including many later inserts. Surrounding this are 416 items in four segments from 15th and 16th century added by the later owners. As several other manuscripts it was damaged by recutting and rebinding.

From the last sub-period, 1320-1360, only a few French armorials have survived, mostly occasionals and decorative, while two innovations occurred in England. The first is represented by the *Dean Tract* (DTT, 1345), a short treatise on blazon; the second by *Cooke's Ordinary* (CKO, 1340), 646 coats of arms of individuals painted on a vellum roll being a reorganisation of the contents of several contemporary armorials by the dominant figure-of-arms. Most of the items (379) must have been extracted from the *Ashmolean Roll* (AS, 1334, 489 items), which is blazoned on a vellum roll and has a short treatise on heraldry on the dorse. Some of the figure-types in AS are omitted in the contemporary CKO manuscript, of which the end pages were very damaged by water.⁹¹

Another innovation is the Spanish *Libro de Conoscimiento* or *Book of Knowledge* (LIC, 1360), a description of the travels of a friar round the world, and one of the earliest collections of imaginary arms for heathen and fabulous kingdoms.

Four armorials from the German-speaking area deserve notice: the *Zürich* (ZUR, 1345), an armorial of German nobles, mostly from the Bodensee area, preceded by a segment of diocesan and monastic arms and a segment of European and heathen realms, making it universal; *Balduinum* (BAL, 1350) relating to the crowning of Emperor Heinrich VII in Rome 1313, but in part a registry of the vassals of the Abp.Trier; the murals in the *Burg zu Lauf* (BZL, 1353) have the arms of many German and Czech knights serving Emperor Karl IV; lastly, the *Codex Manesse* or *Grosse Heidelberger Liederhandschrift* (MAN, 1300) illustrates poems by German Minnesänger.

2.2.2 Late armorials

For the high classic period, **1340/60-1530**, as will be discussed in parts C and D, marked changes can be noted among the 300 surviving armorials. One constant is the continued collation of arms as the formalized tournament becomes a favourite sport among the upper classes. Firstly, there is a gradual change from focus on individuals to family identity as the armorials of the 'general' class tend to grow larger and be composed of distinct segments. Secondly, with the increase in size and shift of focus, extraction and copying from older sources overtake the contemporary collation as the major material for armorials. Thirdly, a number of institutions, societies and wealthy families generate their own armorials of their benefactors, members, vassals and possessions. Lastly, a twin tendency of commercialism surfaces where local or

⁹⁰ For the conclusion that this second part is a later addition, see the discussion on the *Urfé* in *Ch.8.1.8*.

⁹¹ The AS and CKO are the core for the discussion of the ASHMOLEAN group in *Ch. 12*.

national chronicles, often with a considerable number of coats of arms, find an increasing market among wealthier burgesses and landowners. Likewise, a wider demand for access to knowledge about arms and their users arose. The spread of knowledge was fuelled by the advance of printed, and thereby affordable, books from 1480 onwards. The tendencies obviously differ in magnitude from country to country, and manuscript armorials of all classes continued to be collated and manufactured.

It is only possible to mention a few of the several hundred titles, and these must be the better known and/or typical of the changes noted. For the temporal evolution three sub-periods should be considered, with a middle of c.1420-c.1470.

Among the English armorials, we might note the *Sherborne Missal* (SM, 1405) with illustrative arms probably taken from the *Segar Roll* (G, 1282) and supplemented by contemporary arms. The Brabantian chronicler Froissart writing on the early part of the Hundred Years' War included many arms of the English participants (FRO, 1370). There are several armorials of the general (or territorial) type with mainly English armigers, of which the *Willement* (S, 1395) is one which includes a list of founder members of the Order of the Garter. The 2,840 items in the *Domville* (DV, 1470) are mostly from extracts of a number of older armorials, as are the 2,070 in the *Peter le Neve* (PLN, 1499).

Writhe's Garter Book (WGA, 1488) is a record of members of the Order. The *Salisbury Roll* (SA, 1460) and the *Rous-Warwick* (RW, c.1480) both have illustrations of earls and their wives centred on the families who held those dignities and were made in copies reflecting the political changes between the Houses of York, Lancaster and Tudor. The *Great Coucher Book of Duchy of Lancaster* (LC, 1408) includes the arms of the major honours of the House.

With a few half-hearted attempts in France (*Orleans*, ORL, 1390) and the *Grand Livre d'armes* (GLA, 1475) both in BnF, ms.fr.5931, the ordinary remained an English speciality with the *Thomas Jenyns'* (TJ, 1410) building on the AS and CKO mentioned above, and the *William Jenyns'* (WJ, 1380) being a new composition.

From the French-speaking area, there is the chronicle of families *Miroir des nobles de Hasbaye, 1102-1398* (MNH, c.1400) and an armorial/treatise of blazon by Jacques de Hemricourt and the occasional *Paix d'Arras* (APA, 1435) as well as the composite *Armorial Équestre de la Toison d'or et de l'Europe* (ETO, c.1440), noted for the magnificent equestrian paintings and as centre of a group of armorials. Both APA and ETO have been proposed to have been made under the direction of Jean de St. Rémy roi d'armes dit Toison d'or.⁹² The relations between these and other major French composites, e.g. *Urfé* (URF, 1380), *Navarre* (NAV, 1375) and *Berry* (BER, 1458) will be discussed below. The chivalric mood of the period gave rise to several armorials of the knights of the

⁹² But see the discussion in *Ch.7.1.5* and in *15.3.5* on this alleged authorship.

Arthurian romances or Round Table (CTR, 1480).⁹³ From the Franco-imperial northern borders there are two very similar composite armorials: the *Bellenville* (BEL, 1364-1390) and the *Gelre* (GEL, 1370-1386). The former has about a dozen segments of participants in tournaments and/or in the Baltic Crusades, and both have several segments of German, Flemish and French chivalry.

The *Cour Amoureuse* (CAM, 1420) and the *Rois de l'épINETTE de Lille* (EPI, 1486) are two institutional armorials from the royal court and bourgeoisie respectively. The EPI appears to be a later construction based on name lists with some later arms inserted to please the influential families of the period. The *Dénombrement de la comté de Clermont en Beauvaisis* (NCB, 1376) and the *Visitations de Caux* (VCX, 1415) are local registers, the latter probably made by English heralds during the occupation of Normandy.

From Spain we have i.a. the institutional equestrian paintings in the *Libro de la Confradía de Santiago de Burgos* (CSB, from 1440 on), the general *Reino de Navarra* (RNA, 1475) and the *Tamburino* (TAM, 1516). The *Stemmario Trivulziano* (VIS, 1466) of 2,300 Milanese is but one of several Italian local armorials.

Nearly all the late German armorials have their origin in the southern parts. The developments in this German-speaking area comprising present Austria, Switzerland and southern Tyrol are in some ways more interesting than those west of the Rhine. Guilds like the Luzern bakers (LZB, 1408) made registers of their members and monasteries of their benefactors, e.g. *Arlberg* (ARL, from 1400 on) and the Franciscans in Landshut (NFL, from 1400 on) and other places. Chroniclers, most spectacularly Ulrich Richental (KCR, 1420/1460), added what came to be large armorials to their tales. In the case of Richental, the several manuscripts attest that they were modified to suit various groups of customers and were made in artisan workshops, probably by professional book illustrators and/or decorative painters. His chronicle of the church council in Constance 1414-18 and the associated composite armorial became so popular that it came in print already in 1483 and was reprinted twice during the next hundred years.⁹⁴

Both professional heralds, e.g. Hans Ingeram (ING, 1459), and amateur armorists, e.g. Konrad Grünenberg (GRU, 1483), edited armorials which included both the traditional survey of European kings and nobles, imaginary arms of heroes and non-catholic princes, and, as a novel feature, lists of members of the tournament societies. These societies composed mainly of non-titled nobles were founded both to celebrate the sport of tournament and to act as a counterweight to the increasing power of the local rulers.⁹⁵ Though some of the surviving armorials might be the work in part or in toto of the compiler, it is more likely that most were made in artisan workshops and drawing

⁹³ These Arthurian cycle armorials have been extensively investigated by Michel Pastoureau and have been copied in i.a. Italy in the 17th century. N.Orsini de Marzo: *Stemmario Orsini de Marzo dei Cavalieri della Tavola Rotunda*, Milano 2009.

⁹⁴ See the BODENSEE group in *Ch. 11.1*.

⁹⁵ Ranft AG, Kruse RD.

extensively on sources kept there. A professional painter, Vigil Raber, has left a series of large armorials (e.g. VRN, c.1450) in monastic and noble archives.

2.2.3 Early modern armorials

During the last two periods, the late classic **1530-1600** and the post-classic **1600-1660/90**, armorial manuscripts were still being manufactured and copies made of older sources, notably in England by people associated with the College of Arms and in Germany. But the much cheaper printed works became dominant as the interest changed to treatises on blazons, noble genealogies and dictionaries of arms. Among the latter, the edition of Johann Siebmacher (SIE, 1605) became so dominant that he gave his name to the modern multi-volume German standard dictionary of arms and armiger families. One may note that the medieval armorials are still major sources for such dictionaries, and that extracts from *Reichental* (KCR, 1420/60) account for all or a significant part of books like *Virgil Solis Wappenbüchlein* (VSW, 1555) and *Schrott's Wappenbuch* (QDS, 1576). It is also the origin of the amusing mistakes of diocesan arms in the Neue Siebmacher.⁹⁶

2.3 Relations between armorials

The most simple – and always the fall-back – option, when considering a possible relation between two armorials or two armorial manuscripts, is that they are independent. If so, they may cover the same time-space dimension, but were collated and prepared by different individuals. Nevertheless it is prudent to test whether parts or all of an armorial overlap with other armorials. If they do, in what way are they related?⁹⁷

2.3.1 Copying modes

Basically, there are four modes to choose from. In simple copying one simply reproduces one page (or any part of it) at a time as one reads it – one line at a time from top right to left base. During this process a few additions and excisions and probably several involuntary mistakes due to faulty reading, unfinished colouring and deterioration of the source may creep in. But in general it would be easy to compare the two, and their alignment should be near perfect. The standard example of the widespread use of simple copying is found among the English rolls as surveyed by Anthony Wagner. For details of the differences in arms and legends in the armorials from the reign of Edward I (reigned 1272-1307) see edition and the comments by Gerard Brault.⁹⁸ A variant of this, columnar copying, may occur when either the donor or the acceptor preferred to list his items by column rather than by row. The main effect is to change the relative positions in the sequence, and can be seen in

⁹⁶ Sieb Bi 8/1.5.1.A:t32-t36, which are similar to pages in *Schrott* (QDS) and BSB, cod.333:21r-31v.

⁹⁷ The discussion in this sub-chapter to some degree pre-empts the analyses presented in *Ch. 3-4, 7-12* on the armorial groups, but have been included here to show the continuity from earlier periods.

⁹⁸ Wagner CEMRA 161-176 (1950) tabulated first and last entries, while the individual entries gave short extracts, if appropriate. Brault RAE noted all variants in the notes to each entry in his favourite version. An overview of the number of copies, survival of contemporaries and variations of representation among this most popular subpopulation of armorials can be found in *fig. 5- ch.2.3n1*.

parts of the *Richental* (KCR), and the inadvertent faulty numbering of items from *William Jenyns* (WJ) in the *Dictionary of British Arms*, which obscures features used for structuring this ordinary.

For unknown reasons some late medieval compilers preferred to copy by long lines from across the open spread of a book, a quire or even a single sheet, so that the acceptor breaks the donor sequence into fragments the length of a row.⁹⁹ The last and most difficult mode to identify is when the accepting compiler just selects items from a donor and inserts them at will among other selections (pick & mix). The two prime examples are the *Bergshammar* from the *Gelre* and other members of the 'TOISON D'OR' group, the English ordinaries and those French attempts to structure segments or parts of segments by figures. There has never been a serious attempt to assess to which degree the Edwardian armorials may be related through pick & mix, though Gerard Brault does give some indications of it.

2.3.2 Collections

An armorial may not be *one* armorial – and two armorials may be just one armorial. An obvious version of a 'multi-armorial' is when a manuscript contains two or more fragments in different styles. Such an armorial may even have parts with overlapping contents. The *Beyeren* is an example of the loose use of terms. It is a collection of five distinct armorials into an autographed manuscript, of which we know of several copies, but these are often referred to as the *Beyeren* (BEJ) armorial. The opposite is exemplified by the so-called *Rouen Roll* (T, c.1410). Wagner lists five known copies with 46, 96, 107, 107 and 177 items, respectively. In version T/b, items no.110-147 are fully concordant with the 36 items in the *Gentry Roll* (GY), which follows directly after the *Rouen* in the two 107-item T/d and T/e versions. T:134-177 are mostly men from East Anglia. The *Gentry Roll* was dated c.1480 solely on a note in BL, Harl. 6137 (GY/b and T/e) giving the date as 'temp. Edward IV'. The most likely explanation is that both the original transcriber, James Greenstreet, and the otherwise savvy Anthony Wagner were duped by the note in GY/b and overlooked the similarity of T:110-147 and GY:1-36, and so created a much-later 'false armorial'.¹⁰⁰

2.3.3 Remakes

The use of an older or common source rather than taking a straight copy is more difficult to demonstrate. The use of this option appears to be underestimated for both the overlapping subtypes: remakes and selections.

The *Asbmolean Roll* (AS, 1344) is a major contributor to a series of ordinaries which to some extent can be said to be remakes of the source. The proposed patterns of inheritance and relations between the 13th century *Herald's* (HE, FW) armorial and the *Dering* (A), *Camden* (D), *Segar 1* (G), *Grimaldi* (P) armorials and the Dean Tract treatise on armory may be another. Three eminent scholars of English armory, Anthony Wagner, Cecil Humphery-Smith and Gerard

⁹⁹ The compilers of e.g. the *Paix d'Arras* (APA) and the *Bergshammar* (BHM).

¹⁰⁰ The *Rouen-Gentry* is edited in Clemmensen ROU. Other collections are Thomas Holme's Book (THB, CEMRA 92), and Faucket's Book (FCB).

Brault, each had their favourite and divergent proposal for the relation between source and clones, see *fig.7- ch. 2.3n2*.¹⁰¹ The *Tournoi de Compiègne* (TCO, 1278) which is an integral part of the *Herald's Roll* (HE / FW, 1280) was not incorporated into any of the proposed clones.

An armorial or a segment can be difficult to spot as a remake if items are omitted and names and titles are changed in order to make the copy appear contemporary. This was the case for the remaking of border territory of Artois in the *Berry* (BER, 1458). The compiler, Gilles de Bouvier dit l'héraut Berry and the principal French roi d'armes, used the segment in the *Navarre* (NAV, 1375), but omitted all items with brisures. Unfortunately he, or his associates, had difficulties in reading the older manuscript, so combined with the not unusual slips in transferring the legend above to the arms below a number of non-existing armigers were created.¹⁰²

The relations of two French groups of armorials are summarized in *fig.7 - ch. 2.3n3*. The members of the URFÉ group each has a large number of segments from the parent armorial, but these are not entered in sequence, but a few at a time, and they might be combined with segments from other armorials, e.g. the *LeBlancq* (LBQ, 1380 / 1560) reads by segments: URF 1, 21, 18, ..., 26, 25, 24, 23, 22, ..., BEL 38-43, URF 32, LYN 32, URF 3, LYN 36, 40, 53, 39, BEL 20, 14, 18, ..., though it is uncertain whether the segments were taken from LYN, BHM or ETO itself.¹⁰³

2.4.4 Selections

The selective extraction option is worth considering as a separate entity. It was used both as copying fragments and pick & mix for parts of the *Bergshammar* as will be discussed in detail in *Chapter 8*. The methods of analysis (alignment, overlay, style) are described in *Chapters 5-6*. The transformation of an armorial (or a set of notes) into an *ordinary*, such as the *Cooke's Ordinary* (CKO, c. 1340) from the *Ashmolean Roll* may be described both as a remake and as selective.

Ever since Paul Adam-Even, some 60 years ago, noted the similarity of the Normandy parts in the *Wijnberghen* (WIN, 1270) and *Toison d'or* (ETO, c.1440) armorials, armorists have recognised that a fragment of an armorial might reappear over a period of several hundred years. What is less acknowledged is how widespread this might be, or how analysis of the way segments, fragments and markers were selected may help in elucidating the provenience of armorials and how they were created. In the case of the *LeBlancq* (LBQ, painted 1560) we have supplementary evidence that this armorial is the product of exchanges between bibliophile armorists in Lille, and for the *Bergshammar* (BHM, c.1455) it is certain that four well-known armorials were once lying on the same worktable. Such information is important evidence, not only for the

¹⁰¹ The proposals can be found in Wagner CEMRA 7, 62 (1950), Wagner RAH 80-91, 96 (1967); Humphery-Smith FW 149-150 (1973); Brault DT 211-219 (1976), Brault FS 28 (1993), and Brault RAE 2:255 (1997). The incorporation of the French *Tournoi de Compiègne* (TCO) was proposed by Brault and documented by Clemmensen in 2004.

¹⁰² Clemmensen GR, see also *Ch. 10.2.2* in the RINECK group, and *Ch. 14.3*.

¹⁰³ See *Ch. 8.3* URFÉ group and *Ch. 7.5.1* in the TOISON D'OR group.

provenance of the armorials involved, but also for the history of the heralds and armorists and their work.

The German BODENSEE group is different in that there is no apparent parent armorial, but they have a number of common features.¹⁰⁴ The loosely defined members all appear to have been painted in the Bodensee area in Southern Germany. The common items include a considerable number of imaginary arms, many of which have the characteristics of marker items. It is too early to speculate on the origin of the corpus of imaginary arms, but the earliest occurrence appears to be in the *Richental* copies, composed c.1420 and made c.1465. The segments of tournament societies, which are present in many members of the group, appear to be contemporary selections and not copies from a parent source, but some also include marker items, which suggest that they may have been derived from lists of member names, while the arms were extracted from files available to the compiler. The traditional ranked lists of European realms and nobles also have several markers in common.

2.3.5 Trust and confounders

How far can we trust the contents if we look at just one armorial, not knowing its relations to other armorials? The answer obviously varies from armorial to armorial and depends on the knowledge and meticulousness of the collators and makers – and of the modern compiler or commentator. The former conditions are beyond our reach and the later always debatable. However, most coats of arms may be independently verified either from seals or from other armorials. In the case of the *Bellenville* armorial, 1628 of the 1740 arms (93.5%) can be claimed to be essentially correct or contain fully explained variations.¹⁰⁵ For most other armorials the proportion would be smaller, but often in the range of 80-90% identified items. The above percentage includes items which are deemed to be confounded. The artisan might get the blazon or name wrong in copying from notes, another armorial or observations, e.g. by transposing the name from the item above or by misreading the words or painted figure.¹⁰⁶

Identified, verified and being the actual arms of the family the item is claimed to be representing need not be the same thing. Contrary to the modern gospel that any use of a coat of arms should be unique, medieval people from different families did occasionally use the same arms even when they lived relatively close together, within the same county or province. For some this did not matter, but others became outraged and took the ‘misuser’ to court. The *Scrope-Grosvenor* case is probably the most celebrated example.¹⁰⁷ In more practical terms, when a legend is missing or illegible the modern editor may attribute an item to a wrong family - one that he knows better, or just happens to have references for. A second cause of misidentification is an editor’s overreliance on his judgement and ability to ‘guesstimate’ the link between arms and family. Possessions, connections and place in society are fair arguments for assigning

¹⁰⁴ See *Ch. 11* BODENSEE group.

¹⁰⁵ The calculation was made by Clemmensen from Jéquier BEL and Pastoureau & Popoff BEL.

¹⁰⁶ See *Ch. 4.1.1-2* for discussion on types and frequencies of confounders.

¹⁰⁷ Nicolas SG. The *Dictionary of British Arms* has many examples of identical arms from different families.

an item to a family with little hard documentation, but the guess may be wrong even though apparently all of their readers agree with the assignments. They do for the Adam-Jéquier edition of the *Wijnberghen* even though the documentation for many items is less than feeble. They do give many references to seals and other armorials, but one common reference is 'HF XXII' or 'HF XXIII', i.e. the *Historiens de la France* series, which only lists vassals of the period by name in various connections, e.g. as members of 'Post de Foix' - probably taken from a muster list of a military campaign. In essence, these identifications rely only on the similarity of names, trusting that "guill dasue'z" (WIN:474) really was Guillaume d'Avesnes from the Pays du Caux.¹⁰⁸

Some compilers and/or artisans might have been less proficient in creating armorials than is commonly assumed. The *Grünenberg* armorial is a beautiful piece of artwork, but hardly a reliable source of heraldry.¹⁰⁹ Of the 906 arms of southern Germans evaluated from segments 14-23, only 17 families are represented more than once (another 131 arms could not be verified). If we had only one instance of each of these arms, we could be wrong for nearly every third coat of arms, and seriously wrong every fifth time. But fortunately, the *Grünenberg* appears to be unique in this respect.

Identification or misidentification may depend on which manuscript or transcription is used for the evaluation - and the knowledge of the modern editor! The vellum scroll version of c.1340 of *Cooke's Ordinary* (CKO/a) is the only medieval version and almost certainly the source of the three 16th century copies. It was owned by Anthony Wagner, who allowed Thomas Tremlett to transcribe it to the cards used for the *Dictionary of British Arms* (DBA), The two early copies were tricked by Richard Scarlett, a herald-painter. One of these was used a few years later by Robert Glover Somerset Herald. Among the entries are two colour variants of *2 bars acc. bend and 3 roundels in chf* with the field and bend either *or & azure* (CKO:119) or *argent & sable*. (CKO:118, arms of Treckingham). These are combinations, which are easily changed into each other on an aged painted surface. According to the DBA both entries refer to the lord of Treckingham in Lincolnshire, a knightly or gentry family. The youngest copy (CKO/d) has no name for these entries. As Tremlett was a competent and conscientious armorist, CKO:119 ought to be either a miscoloured entry or a rare cadet. However, the *Thomas Jenyns* has the *Ar-Sa* as a Treckingham in TJ:517 (and in AS:438, not in WJ) and the *Or-Az* as a Wake in TJ:520 (in WJ:583, not in AS). Without the bend, the arms *Or 2 bars gules acc. 3 roundels gules* belong to the Lincolnshire baronial family Wake. So the Treckingham of CKO:118 with the name of the village probably similarized their arms with those of the local baron, while CKO:118 and WJ:583 were arms reused by cadet lines of the baronial Wake. Whether it was Tremlett or the CKO-compiler/copyist who transposed the name cannot be determined.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ See also the discussion of using names and titles for dating items in relation to the *Navarre, Ch. 10.1.3*.

¹⁰⁹ Clemmensen AD 176; details in *Ch. 4.1.2* and *fig.8-ch.4.1n2*.

¹¹⁰ CKO:118-119 in DBA, as 107-108 in Mitchell CKO from CKO/d (Oxford, Queen's College, ms.158). CKO/a-b-c were not available. Moor KE 5:49 (Treckingham); GEC 12.2:295, Moor KE 5:131-137 (Wake).

Lastly, one must always be aware of the possibility of later inserts. As an example: The printed edition of the *Richental* chronicle of the council of Constance 1414-1418 by Anton Sorg (1483), derived from the St.Georgen or Karlsruhe manuscript of c.1470, has on page 180r2 the impaled arms of Luxembourg and Woodville for Richard Woodville Earl Rivers (1405-1469) and his wife Jacquetta of Luxembourg, widow in 1435 of John Duke of Bedford. Richard was a renowned joustier and not least father-in-law of King Edward IV of England (r.1461-83), but too young to have attended the council, though his father might have.

Medieval armorials have always been important sources for later works, but unfortunately this implies that the mistakes in them are propagated and can be found in several of the standard handbooks like the Rietstap and New Siebmacher, sometimes through intermediates. The arms of Nicholas Bubwith Bishop of Bath & Wells (Bathoniensis) are in *Richental* (KCR:52, a.o.), but were transformed by Martin Schrott into a non-existing bishop of Bochamensis (different arms) and an equally non-existing bishop of Axiensis (arms of Bubwith) and reproduced in the New Siebmacher.¹¹¹

¹¹¹ *Neue Siebmacher*, Band 8 (part 1.5.2, Appendix), plate 32 no.3-4; *Martin Schrott's Wappenbuch*, Nürnberg, 1576.

3. Methods of analysis

Analyzing an armorial involves three distinct operations: (1) describing the individual arms and identifying their owners (persons, families or institutions) – a process that will be taken for granted in this connection, though identifications can be very difficult or impossible to do. The problems, terminology and methodology for this have been described in standard references in most languages.¹¹² (2) Sorting the entries into sets (here: segments) according to stated criteria, noting items with distinctive traits (e.g. datable, mistaken, variant), and (if possible) assess a date or period of collation for the segment. (3) Search for and describe relations to other armorials. In the following and after some general considerations, operations (2) and (3) will be examined as they concern individual entries or sets.¹¹³

What to do when comparing armorials depends partly on their size.¹¹⁴ Most of the armorials dated to before 1350 were fairly small, having their contents numbered in a few hundreds rather than in thousands. As such, it is fairly easy to get an overview of their contents and composition. By the late Middle Ages larger armorials became common, made up of many segments taken from different sources (or observations made at different times, if one prefers to leave that option open). With more than 3,000 items placed in 50 or more segments, each of which might be disordered, getting an overview takes some effort – and making sure of possible relations to other armorials becomes rather complicated. Most modern editors and commentators were usually content with listing references to items in other armorials, where arms and legends were more or less similar to the item in question.¹¹⁵

3.1 Commonality

The basic criterion of commonality is of course the presence of a large number of identical or nearly identical coats of arms and associate legends and crests. If a common source (or if one was a copy of the other) was used, we would expect a similar progression (i.e. rough ordering of items). Ideally we should have perfect concordance (i.e. item-by-item correspondence with explanation of differences, though breakup into subgroups would be allowed). In reality concordance will often degenerate to an inexactly described rhythm of subgroupings. At its best, the concordance may indicate the pattern of inheritance of a segment into several armorials.

Different page layouts and different (even inconstant) reading of rows or columns as well as omissions, inserts, changes in arms, faulty copying and misreading of legends must be expected to obscure and conceal the use of a

¹¹² E.g. Boos LI, Boos DB, Pastoureau TH, Rottier HW, Neubecker H, Woodward TH, Fox-Davies CG, and Szymanski HS.

¹¹³ The terminology for analyzing armorials is summarized in *fig.4-ch.3.0n1*. For a more general terminology for analyzing the codicological units in non-homogeneous manuscripts, see Gumbert CU. Gumbert's 'section' is similar to the present 'segment'.

¹¹⁴ In a rough breakdown, less than a hundred is a very small armorial, 100-500 a small, 500-1,500 a medium-sized, above 1,500 a large armorial.

¹¹⁵ Notable exceptions are Raneke BHM (1975), Jéquier BEL (1983), and Blanchard RYN (2008).

common source. Overestimation of commonality is a lurking danger. Items covering the major lands and titles of a sovereign or member of the higher nobility (dukes, counts and barons) are likely to be grouped together by any collator. On the other hand, two editors might have different opinions of the relative precedence of members of the higher nobility and rearrange the sequence accordingly, obscuring the source used. Real evidence must often be based on the untitled middle nobility (typically bannerets and knights) and gentry (squires and untitled lower nobility).

Datable items may also confuse analysis. Only a few items are usually available as evidence for dating a segment. A few changes in the legends or the arms of the sovereign or a magnate in order to present the incumbent holder would be enough to move the dating of the segment away from that of its collation. But inconsistencies in dating, presence of extinct lordships and selection of family members should be looked for.

If the item numbers from two armorials follow similar sequences, it is easy to determine that they belong to the same group. That was more or less how the *Urfe* group was discovered, and largely how Jan Raneke worked. However, if they do not appear to be concordant in this simple way, noise from gaps or additions cited may blank out actual relationships.

Other observations may help. An expert palaeographer might identify the same autograph in different manuscripts, thus establishing at least that one scribe was involved in the making of these manuscripts. Establishing that one painter or workshop was responsible for several armorials may also be demonstrated. Both features have been applied in a handful of cases.¹¹⁶ But first and last, a consistent and careful methodology is needed. A number of key elements are discussed below. The first decision to be made is the selection of reading frame, i.e. which armorial or segment ought to be the basis of the comparison. If known, the oldest should be chosen, if not the longest reading frame would be the first choice.

3.2 Individual entries

Two items (arms and legend) from related armorials may appear different, though they are in fact derived from the same collation. Two of the main reasons are that their place (numbering) in the sequences is different, or that legends and/or arms are at variance. On the other hand an item may be so unique that its appearance in two armorials would indicate a common origin.

3.2.1 Numbering items

A straightforward and consistent numbering of armorial items should be applied to any armorial or part thereof, but this is not always the case.¹¹⁷ The reasons for using different and variable principles of numbering are various.

¹¹⁶ The autographs of Gelre-Beyeren, Hendrik Heessel, Thomas Wriothsley, and Jörg Rugen *al.* Georg Rixner are the better known examples of a recurring scribe. The *Toison d'or-Paix d'Arras* painter/scribe is another example.

¹¹⁷ Publicized recommendations for editing armorials are few. The paper Boos EA (2011) has many that are worth heeding.

One could be that it was not necessary for the modern editor's purpose. A place on a simple page or folio number (a, b, or recto, verso) may suffice when only a presentation of blazons or painted arms (with or without identification) is intended. For comparisons, such place numbers on folio (67r4) or page (133n4) are next to unusable.¹¹⁸ The numbering will be discontinuous and may also have doublings (67r4 and 67bisr-4).

The place-number is also ambiguous. Does it state the place in the sequence or the place on the page (e.g. 1st item in 2nd row of 3 items per row)? Some modern editors number anything of interest, exlibris-like elements, written notes, badges, devises, later entries as well as the main series of coats of arms or achievements. Others sometime combine several arms into one numbered item. Each item (excluding exlibris, notes and similar features) in most tables of arms can, and ought to, be numbered as simply as a book is read, page-by-page, left-to-right.¹¹⁹ If the medieval compiler entered the items per column rather than the common method per row, the resulting rhythm should reveal itself.¹²⁰

Features like later inserts are easy to disregard while comparing two sets of arms. Single inserts may provide insights into a copyist's mind, but most late inserts come in series on pages left empty by the principal compiler or on blank pages added before or during binding. But when the numbering includes several types of entries, it usually becomes difficult to separate the relevant from the irrelevant – at least without a major additional effort.

Some tables of arms (or parts of) do require special treatment, which ought to be mentioned either in the main text, in situ or in both places. The two major types are displays of ancestry, e.g. in *Bergshammar* (BHM:47v/440a-d, Kleve) or *Rugen* (RUG segments 28-29), and displays of vassals or possessions, as in *Bergshammar* (BHM:122r, Douze Pairs), *Grünenberg* (GRU:51r, Württemberg), *St.Gallen* (SGH:48n, Burgundy), or *Rugen* (RUG segment 12, princes). Sometimes, such displays are easily identified, e.g. as miniature-like illustrations, sometimes they may be more or less hidden in a corner of the page. In such cases, the central person should be numbered first, ancestors in alternating agnatic-cognatic order (father, mother, paternal grandfather, etc.), vassals/possessions consistently either per row or per column.¹²¹

Where an armorial has been edited more than once, it is not unusual for each modern editor to apply his own numeration.¹²² Though this will lead to some degree of confusion for a reader with access to more than one edition or checking references to different editions, the reasons for doing it may be valid.

¹¹⁸ Manuscripts will often have more than one pagination or foliation of different ages, possibly incomplete due to fading or miscutting during binding or rebinding.

¹¹⁹ See *fig.4-ch.3.2n1* for the proposed numbering of various layouts. When using serial numbers specific for a segment, these must mirror the item numbers. If they do not, confusion will occur, as in *fig.7- ch.5.3n3* ETO-BHM English segment.

¹²⁰ See *fig.6-ch.3.2n2* for a 4x4 column/row change.

¹²¹ See *fig.4-ch.3.2n1* layouts, examples P and S. The 2-digit database numbering is retained here, e.g. RUG 01.

¹²² In general, it would be sensible to keep the numbering of the first edition, see the recommendation in Boos EA 4.

One may renumber simply to obliterate *bis*-numbers and unused numbers.¹²³ A new numeration may be necessary to make it reflect a different opinion of the base structure of the manuscript.¹²⁴ The *Zürich* armorial from 1345 has been edited at least five times using three more or less different numerations by Heinrich Runge (1860), Walther Merz & Friedrich Hegi (1930), and Steen Clemmensen (2009). The differences reflect not only the different numbers of items evaluated, but also the modern compiler's perception of how the two-row structure painted on both sides of the strips of parchment should be read.¹²⁵

3.2.2 Markers

Noting an unusual coat of arms or a certain combination of items may provide a hint of similarity between armorials. Markers like a very unusual coat of arms, e.g. a lion with a human head and a Jew's hat (ING:92, a.o.; Judas Maccabeus), or a lion sitting on a throne holding a sword (LBR:37; GRU:10, a.o.; Hector of Troy), are strong evidence of a relationship. It would be unlikely for two individuals to create such a figure for the same person, unless the story behind it gives a natural lead, e.g. with canting arms. Remarkable mistakes or otherwise unknown combinations of legend and arms are other forms of strong markers. Personal arms specific to one individual may be used as a weak or soft marker and as supporting evidence.

A high frequency of common coats of arms with similar legends, but out of sequence and supported with markers, is a good indication of two compilers of medieval armorials having used a common collation, rather than having copied one or more manuscripts.¹²⁶ As an example, the *Bergshammur* has only one segment of nobles from Brabant, while the *Lynceuch* has three segments. Two of these have no resemblance to the BHM segment, but LYN 43 (180 items) and BHM 05 (207 items) have 134 arms in common, incl. several marker items.¹²⁷ Though both have several of the same short fragments, there is no other evidence of concordance or pick-and-mix from adjacent pages. Among the markers are the arms of Philip van Glymes S.Grimbergen (d.1464) in LYN:1167 and BHM:238 with the Glymes argumentation to Boutersem and a border for personal difference. The three Glymes brothers, who lived after the death of the fourth brother, Henry, in 1442 have their arms in either or both armorials.

¹²³ *Bis*-numbers are present in nearly all modern editions as transcribers tend to overlook a few items during first pass reading. When the oversights are discovered on control readings, it will be too time-consuming to change the numbering of several thousand entries at 6-10 items per page - even with a word processor. Medieval copyists had similar problems and solved them by inserting the missed items at a later place.

¹²⁴ The edition of *Ingeram* by Charlotte Becher and Ortwin Gambler broke the numeration according to the perceived differences in manuscript style, while Emmanuel de Boos used a numeration as the armorial is presently bound.

¹²⁵ See the concordances on different bases in Clemmensen ZUR 109-123.

¹²⁶ In the absence of markers, the conclusion would tend to be a parallel collation, especially if the compilers and the people collated were contemporaries.

¹²⁷ The number of common arms might vary slightly depending on which variants are considered sufficiently similar, e.g. Anton von Glymes S.Walhain, who has a border engrailed in BHM:239 and a label in LYN:1167. BHM 05 also has an overlap of 89 with GEL 29-30.

3.2.3 Variant legends and arms

Detailed identification and documentation for all or most items is nice to have when comparing armorials, but is not necessary. In essence, an armorial is just a non-verbal document like a pack of cards. Kings, Queens and Jacks may be drawn differently, and spades and hearts may change colours, but everyone will instantly recognize the 52 cards (excluding Jokers) ready for a game of cards. The individual items of an armorial (blazoned or painted, with or without legends) can be regarded as cards, but the stack is much larger, and the possible variations of each item infinitely greater. As noted above, a placeholder, number or code may represent an armiger, but when comparing arms, one ought to be able to explain whatever differences there may be among concordant items.

Legends make up the lesser and most unreliable part of an item. If it is not missing, most legends would be written as spoken, or rather heard, often by an individual not fluent in the language or dialect. When copied many legends might be hardly legible, not least because the source was already old and/or in bad shape when copied. Spellings are often abominable and only recognizable, when the arms are already known. Different legends may be written above essentially identical arms even in simple copies of a segment or an armorial. The copyist may update the legend of a coat of arms, if the contemporary owner was raised or lowered in rank or changed his name, e.g. the de la Pole arms could have this legend as a member of the gentry or as a baron, but unaccompanied by a Christian name, earl of Suffolk or Buckingham would be written by the arms. Entirely new and phoney families can be created during copying from transposing a legend to the next coat, especially if either or both legend and arms are misread.¹²⁸ Changing perceptions of the owners' ranks or places in society might also induce the copyist to shuffle items around. It will often be difficult to distinguish between such shuffling and simply overlooking an item, discover the mistake and entering the forgotten item later.¹²⁹

Crests may change with time, branches or be rendered with different details, if at all present. Some may be added later from a different source, as did the Bergshamar compiler in several segments.¹³⁰ They are only of tertiary importance when comparing armorials.

Arms may vary between related segments in different armorials. As discussed in the next chapter, some variations (tincture of crowns, beaks, claws etc.) are of no practical importance. Other variations, like the absence or presence of crowns, tail forms, heads facing guardant or not, and differences in the number of secondary figures, may be important for discussions of the usage of arms by branches, but not for comparing segments. There are too many examples of non-adherence to such rules of armory among the members of the groups discussed. If readers disagree, please peruse the various manuscripts or the

¹²⁸ See examples from *Navarre* into *Berry* in *fig. 7-ch. 10. 2n4*.

¹²⁹ Palgrave PW 1:409*bis* has a discussion of the problems of names in his introduction to the *Parliamentary Roll*.

¹³⁰ See *Ch. 6.4*.

listings in Clemmensen OM. Evaluation of variants gets a little more complicated, when elements or brisures appear or disappear between manuscripts, or when single arms are replaced with quartered or quarters replaced in composite arms. Such differences in single arms or individual quarters can often be ascribed to sloppy copying. Replacement of quarters or exchanges of single arms would indicate an update made by the copyist or compiler. In a few cases transpositions may endure and create subgroups within a group. The images attributed in armorial may parallel those used by artists in other media. The best known example is the Three Magi or kings, who worshipped at the manger in Bethlehem on the Twelfth Night.¹³¹

3.3 Sequences

A composite armorial is at first sight one long sequence of entries, and this need to be cut up into proper segments and have non-relevant items removed before one can begin to align each segment with a putative correspondent segment in another armorial. If the alignment is successful, the next step would be to examine how the two segments may relate taking into account the differences in their layouts.

3.3.1 Segmentation

Large armorials are not uniform, but are made up of many segments defined by the rank or region of origin of its members, or by the category of items, e.g. civic or imaginary arms. The nature of the segments are sometimes indicated by headers like *cy sont les chevaliers de ..*, but are often not delineated and may have been cut into discontinuous pieces. Modern editions rarely give an overview of the segmentation, except those by Jan Raneke, Léon Jéquier, and the present author, and even these can be difficult to work with.¹³²

Except for 'clean' copies of an armorial, which are easy to spot once the researcher has got the idea (and has either an exceptional memory or a transcription at hand), segmenting the armorials is a necessary step before actually doing any comparing. Depending on the need and inclination, comparing can be done by item numbers or by serial numbers, specific to the segment. Using serial number makes it fairly easy to spot differences and irregularities.

Segmentation may also reveal how an armorial (or part thereof) was composed. The 176 Burgundians in the principal manuscript, BL, Add.11542:96r-100r, of the *Paix d'Arras*, was entered by long lines on to an already folded quire of three bifolia. The last page, 101v, was left unused. When this segment was painted, item 100r12 *josse de wulfsberghe* with the arms of Wulfsberghe (*an escutcheon of arms within an orle of escallops*) must have preceded item 99v13 *son frere*. When read page-by-page, 99v13 would be item 189 of APA/a, and 100r12 would be item 204.¹³³

¹³¹ See *fig. 8-ch.3.2n3* Attributions of arms to the Three Magi, and Clemmensen NW #21-23.

¹³² Popoff and Blanchard usually list the *marches d'armes* in the introductory texts without specifications.

¹³³ See *fig.6-ch.3.3n1* APA quire.

The putative structure of the older part of *le Breton* from the 13th century is suggested from the way the items were grouped by region on the pages. The compiler entered a segment on one side of a bifolio (sheet making 2 leaves or 4 pages when folded) and if need be continued on another bifolio, e.g. Vermandois (gp.21 and 17; bifolio 4cd, 6ab) and Normandy (gp.10; bifolio 14a, 2ab). In two other instances, the items were continued on the backside of the bifolio, e.g. Poitou-Bretagne (gp. 24 and 23; 9a-d) and Beauvaisis (gp.14 and 13; 3a-d).¹³⁴

3.3.2 Alignment

When analysing two or more armorials for similarities, the first thing to do – after the initial intuitive observations of patterns and markers – is to establish a table of concordance, segment by segment. Depending on the needs and aims of the investigation, one may use just a parallel listing or alignment by item numbers (or by serial numbers in the segment), or one may add details of legends and/or blazons. Using a database or a spreadsheet helps, but simple notes along a transcription of one of the armorials may do the thing.¹³⁵

An alignment or concordance table will show the relative rhythms of the armorials to be compared and also what gaps, inserts, transpositions and alterations there are in one armorial compared to the other. For the initial donor armorial or reading frame, one should use the longest and most ordered sequence available. That is, unless there is prior knowledge available on the respective periods of making the armorials. For simple relations a concordance table may be sufficient to establish the relations between two or more armorials or manuscripts. If not, one may use other techniques as supplements.

3.3.3 Layouts and overlays

The importance of the layouts used for the segments in painted armorials is often overlooked, though the relative layouts may provide key evidence for the relationship. The actual layout may be hidden and only revealed upon closer analysis of the perturbations. Items may have been entered by column rather than the usual per row. Titled nobility entered on a double-column page may be easy to spot, but for shields entered on a four-column page ruled in squares it would be less evident.¹³⁶ Even if a segment is only known as transcribed blazons, the rhythm may reveal the underlying layout. The original layout may have been destroyed by cutting the pages of a book or the sheets of a roll and pasting the fragments on new supports. This would generally be in a haphazard order very different from the original. But even in such cases the former order

¹³⁴ The full edition in Boos LBR (2004) has a codicological analysis by M-F. Damongeot. Several of the proposed segments have no or only a few legends. This tentative organisation of the major fragment was proposed in my review of it in 2005, Clemmensen LB 55, see *fig.6-ch.3.3n2*.

¹³⁵ E.g. Raneke BHM (notes along items), Clemmensen GR 167, 169 and *fig.7-ch.5.3n1* (alignment table for 7 armorials in the TOISON D'OR group). See *Ch.5.2.2* for an example of the procedure using the English in ETO-BHM-LYN.

¹³⁶ The *William Jenyns ordinary* (WJ) used a 4x4 column layout (*fig.6-ch.3.2.n2*), and some segments of *Richental* (vs.P) used a two-column layout, Clemmensen WJO 4, Clemmensen KCR 9, 11.

can be reconstructed and compared with possible related segments in other armorials.¹³⁷

Most of the work in comparative armory is done using transcriptions rather than the actual manuscripts. It has to, for the simple reason that if one wants to compare two manuscripts, one would usually have to be at two places at the same time. Old manuscripts are also fragile and often very valuable, so curators do not like them handled too often. If one is lucky, one may have a facsimile to supplement the blazoned and numbered items. Numbering every item by folio side and place on the page is too cumbersome, so continuous numbering is the rule. But with this kind of numbering one can easily lose sight of any form of structure (unless of course the armorial was made with a uniform layout, but they rarely are). One way out is to make a survey of the various segments, noting the folio and item numbers as well as the layout type.¹³⁸

Besides tabular layouts other pages might be filled with just a single achievement or a miniature-like figure dressed in his arms, or the compiler may have wanted to show certain relations, which would not be apparent using the standard layout, e.g. a display of ancestors or a display of a prince and his dominions or principal vassals.¹³⁹ Displays with paired principal figures in courtesy will often indicate husband and wife pairs, but this might be misleading. The compiler might just have used this form to save space.¹⁴⁰

We do not know how editors decided the way an armorial should be designed regarding size and layout, but we can note that for some armorials several places were left blank and many sheets or pages were unused too. In other cases nearly all places and pages were filled. Several armorials have leaves shuffled around in their present form. In some cases it may be reasonable to assume that pages were cut and some were misplaced during rebinding. That is certainly the case for a few armorials, but hardly for all. It is notable that for some armorials each segment appears to be intact, and only a few leaves outside the main segments may have been moved. This is certainly the case for the *Toison d'or* (E'TO).¹⁴¹ A likely explanation is that the stack of sheets making an armorial might have been kept as loose leaves for decades. On rebinding, some sheets might have had to be cut in order to make a decent binding, and sets of sheets might have been reorganised – perhaps by people who could not

¹³⁷ The *Uffenbach* armorial was cut into pieces and pasted on supporting sheets, 4 items per page. During this process the pieces were shuffled. Comparing the UFF with the parts of the *Miltenberg*, e.g. UFF:78-93 with MIL:1293-1319 reveals concordance in fragments of 4, see *Ch.11.3.2 BODENSEE* group.

¹³⁸ The more common forms of layouts are listed in *fig.4-ch.3.2.n1* Numbering items in various layouts.

¹³⁹ Displays of ancestors are usually as four quarters (*fig.4-ch.3.2.n1* no. P) with item 2 paternal arms, 3 maternal arms, 4 paternal grandmother, 5 maternal grandmother. Sovereign and 'vassals' are found as the Douze Pairs de France in *Bergshamm* (BHM:122r) and in *Jörg Rugen* (RUG:33r), *fig.4-ch.3.2.n1* no. R. In such cases the principal item should be given the lowest number on the page.

¹⁴⁰ See RUG:181r for an example of a non-marriage pair in courtesy, *fig.4-ch.3.2.n1* no.S.

¹⁴¹ See *Ch. 7.1 Toison d'or*.

understand, or did not take the time to examine the material before cutting and binding.

Depending on the artisan's or compiler's choice and supply of paper, vellum or parchment, the loose sheets might be held as single leaves, folded sheets or stacked quires – either already fully filled, or to be added to on occasion. At least in one case it appears that the compiler designed a quire to take all the items necessary to make a segment, leaving the last page empty.¹⁴²

Some copyists apparently read their templates by long lines, as first noticed by Jan Raneke in 1975.¹⁴³ But more unusual, a 'long lines' layout may have been used by intention as the older part of the *Le Breton* armorial (LBR) is, where the items were entered as regional groupings on one side of a bifolio, and if needed continued on another bifolio or on the backside. If read as numbered in Boos LBR, the subsegments would be inexplicably disconnected.¹⁴⁴

The most effective technique for comparing parts of manuscripts is to make an overlay of the segment to be compared on the putative donor segment.¹⁴⁵ Rule a piece of paper according to the layout of the donor like an open book with the verso and recto pages together (e.g. 94v – 95r). Impale the item (or serial) numbers from the acceptor on the places held by the corresponding arms of the donor. It does not matter if the layouts differ from each other. The relations, including possible gaps, inserts, and transpositions, will immediately become visible. If need be one may add notes of differences in blazon and/or legend to the overlay. Reversing the donor-acceptor relations will show in which direction the copying might have taken place, but this will rarely be needed. If the copy was made by simple page-by-page transfer, or if the copying was done by long lines or a mix of page-by-page and long lines, conclusions would usually come easy.¹⁴⁶

Certain kinds of arms might cause some apparent confusion, breaking an otherwise orderly concordance and overlay. Titled nobles, princes or possessions might be shuffled around if the acceptor-compiler preferred a different order, e.g. by precedence or importance, which might change in time. Real problems are encountered, when a sequence of numbers in the acceptor crosses the split between verso and recto on page-by-page overlays, or when there is a periodic rhythm of small fragments.¹⁴⁷ Both features suggest that there might be an intermediate source between the armorials in question. An

¹⁴² See the Burgundians with duke Philip 'le bon' at the congress in Arras 1435, APA:96v-101v, *fig.6-ch.3.3n1*.

¹⁴³ Raneke BHM 50 for the English segment, see also *Ch. 5.3* and *fig.7-ch.5.3.n3*. By *long lines* is reading across both pages of an open book.

¹⁴⁴ See *Ch.3.3.2*.

¹⁴⁵ See *fig.6-ch.3.3n3* superimposing the English in ETO on APA. The example is discussed in *Ch. 5*, and in Clemmensen GR 169, together with the unfinished attempt to compare three armorials in Raneke BHM 50. Further examples can be found in most of the cases studied.

¹⁴⁶ E.g. the English in ETO and BHM (Raneke BHM 50, Clemmensen RH and Clemmensen RW 83).

¹⁴⁷ E.g. *fig.7- ch.6.4n1-3* Artois a.o. segments in BHM 44-45, ETO 14 and LYN 69.

alternative explanation is that they were both copied from the same set of notes, rather than from an armorial segment. Properly conducted one might chart the descendance of a group of armorials as suggested for the English segment in the *Toison d'or* group.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁸ See *fig. 7-ch.5.3n2* stemma of the English armigers in the *Toison d'or* group.

4. Pictorial assessment

There are a couple of fundamental differences between evaluating a family's or a person's use of arms and comparing armorials. For the former even minute details could arguably be of vital importance and one would use many forms of evidence besides armorials, not least seals and decorations on and in buildings and on furniture and utensils. For comparing armorials, only the arms in the set matter, and many details are essentially irrelevant. Of course, it is nice to know whether a certain coat of arms and/or a certain title is specific for one person at one time. But it is only nice, not necessary. It helps dating a manuscript and may shed light on the knowledge of the collator or compiler, but the key question in comparing is whether two items are sufficiently similar to warrant a place in the concordance.

Evaluating and comparing drawing and painting styles is the province of specialist art historians and falls outside this investigation. Nonetheless, a few elements used in assessing and describing pictures and coats of arms need to be discussed, because evaluating the coats of arms individually is vital before they are converted into place holding numerical items.

4.1 Images

There is one question that is seldom asked: How reliable is the studied armorial? Or to rephrase it: Can we trust a single occurrence of a coat-of-arms? The answer will in any case be highly subjective and dependent on the armorial and whatever other material is available. For an estimate, we could take a look at four parts of the problem: What is the frequency of single occurrences of a coat of arms in an armorial; how many items have variant arms; how many variants could there be of a coat-of-arms; and which variations are important for what?

4.1.1 Details, important or not

Beginning with the third question: The possible number of (mistaken or confounded) variants of a single coat of arms is in practice impossible to estimate. Not only would the estimate depend on the size and selection of population, but also on whether a given coat of arms should be regarded as a variant form or as actually used by a branch or a person, and whether the colour of a minor brisure, e.g. a martlet, would be regarded as important. A single example may suffice. One of the most variably mentioned families in armorials is the French Châtillon-sur-Marne with 250 recorded items with 62 different blazons.¹⁴⁹ 47 of these items with 12 different blazons have 1-4 martlets (merlette in French) or mullets (molettes) in gules, azure or sable. Some of these are undoubtedly real differences, but others are not – but which is which? The possibilities of mistaken copying include misreading the blazon (but hardly the visual figure), substituting a different minor brisure (the family also used labels, lions and fleurs-de-lis), or using the wrong paint on a small figure.

¹⁴⁹ Data from Clemmensen OM (2017).

The possible variations can be divided into the following eight categories:¹⁵⁰

1. Different blazons, e.g. a *Ram issant* rather than *passant*.
2. Inversions (of colour) – *Sable a ram Argent* replacing *Argent a ram sable*.
3. Reversions, or having the mirror image, e.g. Or-Gules in a *per pale* coat-of-arms, or the quarters mirrored. Flipping, would be *Barry argent-azure* rather than *azure-argent*.
4. Wobbling, the exchange of *3 pales* for *paly*, and similarly for *barry*, *bendy* and *chevronny*.
5. Fading, as is common in old manuscripts, where it is sometimes difficult to differentiate between Or and Argent, and also between Vert, Azure and Sable.
6. Minor additions - adding crowns etc.
7. Minor omissions - removing crowns etc.
8. Partial changes - turning *tail double queued* into *simple tail* etc.; changing the colour of beaks, claws or horns; minor differences in position (rampant/statant/guardant); number of figures used for powdering a field.

The variants may be grouped into 3 types according to severity. Type I variations (1-2) are serious, as they render the arms in a completely different way. Type II variations (3-5) are somewhat troublesome, but can relatively easily be reconciled. Type III variations (6-8) are insignificant for comparing or using armorials. They are very numerous, and may be attributed to sloppiness, change of fashion or simply the preference of the artisan or armorist rendering the figure. The choice of blazoning a coat of arms as *per fess* or *with/on a chief* can be regarded as a special case of no.8 (partial change) or even no.4 (wobbling) due to local fashion. The Anglo-French preferred *chief* for most situations, while the Germans mainly cut the field across in equal parts.

Most of the type III variations (6-8) concern birds, beasts, fish and reptiles, which are normally crowned and armed according to a standard colouring scheme depending on the colours used for the field and the main figure: crowns Gules for body Or/Argent, Or for other colours; langued Gules, except Azure for body Gules; and armed Gules, except Or for body Gules or Azure. Artisans may vary this scheme, when the field has one of the colours of the crown etc. Most deviations from this standard scheme can be explained by the artisan using the same brush for colouring several secondary figures on a page. Crowns and posture were clearly significant elements in any coat of arms in the late Middle Ages and ought to be considered as an important change when evaluating a family's use of arms. However, looking across several armorials one can find *lion*, *lion crowned*, *lion guardant* and *lion guardant crowned* for the same family, e.g. End von Grimenstein in 11 armorials. Posture (*passant*, *statant*, *salient/rampant*) may vary according to the number of figures and their place in the shield or quarter. Whether to count such changes as serious or not depends on the setting. It may be unimportant to have one animal changing posture, but to have *3 lions passant all in pale* change into *3 lions rampant (2:1)* will only happen when a written blazon was seriously damaged before it was copied in text or drawn.

¹⁵⁰ See illustrations in *fig. 8-ch.4.1n1* for types of variation.

Of the three Type II variations (3-5) reversions and flipping may reflect the layout of the source, or how the arms were faced, when noted originally. If a coat of arms was first noted in a church, it would normally have faced the altar, i.e. the head of an animal would be turned sinister if the arms were hung on the north wall. Similarly arms correctly *Party per bend* would appear as *Per bend sinister*, and Quarters 1+3 would look like Q2+4. Some armorials have the shields facing the centre of the page, e.g. in parts of the *Rugen*, which gives the same result for the leftmost columns.¹⁵¹ Unfortunately, the artisans and compilers were rarely consistent, so some arms appear as they were borne, while others appear as mirror images. But quarters might also be reversed due to the importance placed on the 1st quarter, which might reflect the more important lordship or family – as seen by the artisan or reporter. It might even be the owner himself who has changed the order. Flipping is nearly always due to mistakes by an artisan, either in colouring or misreading his source. Wobbling might equally be due to changing fashions, e.g. *chevronny*, which was later replaced by *three chevrons*, or to misreading or misdrawing, e.g. *paly of 8* turned into *3 pales*. Fading is self-evident. Most copyists have experienced taking the wrong option when transcribing a manuscript – and as for fading many copies were made when the source was already old.

The occurrence of different blazons, as in the type I variants (1-2) is more problematic. This may be due to differentiation by branches and may be attributed to another branch or family, if the owner in question is not known to the commissioner, reporter or artisan. It could also be due to misreading a damaged blazon or painted shield, or simply forgetting to add a brisure or secondary figure. Some figures are hard to differentiate: fox, wolf or marten could be turned into lions, or a bear's head into a dog's or lion's head. The responsibility for inversions, and probably also colour changes such as Gules-Azure, can probably be attributed to the compiler, artisan or reporter. Everyone who has worked on transcribing or copying long lists of arms would know the embarrassment of finding this kind of mistakes when checking his copy with the source. Similar mistakes would also be possible for an observer at a tournament or other gathering.

4.1.2 Frequency of mistakes

For the first two questions, an analysis of the German nobility in the *Grüenberg* armorial provides an extreme example. Segments 14-23 have 1037 items with arms of peoples living in the area from Alsace in the west to Vienna in the east, and from Karlsruhe in the north to Bern in the south.¹⁵² There appear to be two different kinds of collations. The larger (segments 14-22) comprises seven

¹⁵¹ The same courtesy effect is present in the 1605 version of the *Siebmacher* with items printed in rows of five. The outer pairs are turned towards each other, with the centre columns facing the reader – easily recognized from the posture of the helmets. Many readers do not realize this, when taking the arms down in blazon or drawing – getting not the actual arms, but its mirror image, flipped or reversed.

¹⁵² *Grüenberg* segments 14-22 (members of tournament societies) and segment 23 (residual with mainly people from Southern Germany, but with a sprinkling of men from Mecklenburg and other places), data from Clemmensen GRU and Clemmensen OM.

individually named tournament societies, one segment with members of three named societies mixed together, and one segment with members of societies based in Bavaria. These could have been collated from membership lists. With only 5.7% of the names not identified, they probably were. The smaller (segment 23) appears to be a residual, gathering whatever names and arms available to the compiler. That 20% of a mixed compilation could not be verified is not unusual.

Temporarily disregarding the 131 items that could not be verified, 906 items were evaluated. Of these only 17 families were represented more than once.¹⁵³ When compared to what was assessed to be the 'real arms' of the family, 86 items had different blazons, 88 inversions, 49 reversions or flipping, 22 wobbling and 56 showed fading.¹⁵⁴ The result of the analysis is rather disappointing. If only one instance of each of these 906 arms was known, we would be wrong for nearly every third coat of arms, and seriously wrong every fifth time. Equally disappointing is the observation that the frequency of mistakes is similar for the well-defined group and the residual. But fortunately, the frequency of variation is much lower in any of the armorials examined, and for many items we can determine whether the image or blazon is appropriate and correct the evaluation accordingly. The *Grüenberg* armorial is a beautiful piece of artwork, but can hardly be called a reliable source of reference of the arms of the German nobility.

There are many combinations of arms and names (if present), for which we do not have a seal or any other reliable reference, or for which the modern editor simply does not know of the existence of any reference. In Clemmensen OM such arms are noted as *not verified*. Other editors prefer *not identified* both for items which have a name, but no reference, and those with neither. Neither term implies that the name-arms combination is not real, but simply that independent evidence of the connection was not found. Neither does it mean that no other instances of the arms are known. Among the 100 Germans in *Grüenberg* segment 23, there are 26 items which may be found in some of the other armorials examined. Among these 26 items there are 6 cases of variation. One, an Argent-Or exchange, may be due to the condition of the manuscripts, another is a simple flipping of colour in a Barry coat of arms. Three have variant blazons, e.g. Ochsenstein has different combinations of colours and design of the chief.¹⁵⁵ Names can be misleading too, e.g. *Vudberg* for Neidberg, a cadet of the Austrian Stubenberg. The Neidberg quarters are reversed and unfinished in a later French armorial.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³ See *fig. 8-ch.4.1n2* Frequency of variants in GRU 14-23, modified from Clemmensen AD 176.

¹⁵⁴ The 'real arms' would be the ones recorded most often among independent armorials in the database, on seals, and in ancient and modern references - unless there are weighty arguments against it.

¹⁵⁵ Ochsenstein in GRU:2155 and SGH:700 / 121n2.

¹⁵⁶ Neidberg, quartered arms, in GRU:2162, NLU:999 / 79v10 and CLE:1297 / 111v10. With Q2 (talbot/wolf rampant) only in ING:67 and SGH:168n1. Both examples ????

4.1.3 Drawing and painting techniques

The artwork used for painted armorials employed various materials and techniques and varied from hasty sketches to high quality miniature-like illustrations. In a few cases the complex process of applying gold leaf was used. This might indicate that the book was intended for display, but is of no further consequence for comparing armorials. Characteristic traits in the artwork may be used to establish relations between armorials, but should be used with caution.¹⁵⁷ To describe and identify a specific pictorial style for painted arms is difficult, not least due to the simplicity of most images. Few qualified art historians have tried their hand at it. Those who have tried it, have concentrated on the miniature-like images. Bernd Konrad has done some work on the BODENSEE group.¹⁵⁸ One or two art historians have linked the *Toison d'or* to artists or artisans working in Lille.¹⁵⁹ Without a good background in evaluating artistic works and attention to detail, one may draw the wrong conclusions. Figure forms, e.g. eagle and lion, were in part dependent on the technique used and in part followed the fashion determined by time and/or place of manufacture.

The most popular technique for making tables of arms was to sketch the outline of the shield and main figures in pencil, apply colour (tempera or watercolour) to the field and paint the figures directly with a thin brush. If needed, features were retouched in pen and ink and secondary charges coloured with a brush. The colouring of crowns and secondary charges indicate that sometimes just one or two colours were used for retouching with a brush. If the tables of arms included crests, these as well as the helmets and mantling would be drawn by pen in much finer detail.¹⁶⁰ In some cases of exquisite artwork, e.g. by the painter Vigil Raber, drawings with intricate details and shading of figures were used.¹⁶¹ Pages with different quality of artwork may be present in a single manuscript, even for those by Vigil Raber.

There are examples of miniature-like illustrations from all the three regions covered here. Many illustrations have just one or two figures standing or sitting on horseback, dressed in robes or bearing shields with their coats of arms on a plain uncoloured background. Other illustrations are small miniatures by themselves with delicate figures and backgrounds drawn in pen and ink and coloured. The English *Military Roll* (MY) have the mounted knights in pairs jousting, the *Bruges' Garter Book* (BB) have single figures holding tables of Garter knights; the Franco-Burgundian *Toison d'or* (ETO) have the fabulous mounted princes and the *Revel* (REV) single figures in armorial dress and drawings of castles above tables of arms; the German *Richental* (KCR) and *Grünenberg* (GRU) manuscripts have a broad range of illustrations – to mention just a few.

¹⁵⁷ E.g. identifying the common artisan, who worked on *Toison d'or* and *Paix d'Arras*, see *fig. 8-ch.5.1n1-2*. The unusual helmets on GEL:55v provide a second example, *fig.8-ch.9.2n3*.

¹⁵⁸ Konrad BK, Konrad KK.

¹⁵⁹ See *Ch. 7.1 Toison d'or*, and the note in Pastoureau ETO 2:30.

¹⁶⁰ See examples in *fig. 8-ch.4.1n3*.

¹⁶¹ E.g. VRN:94n, 99n and 105n (pen drawings), facsimile in Arch VRN.

The miniatures may function as markers as do those on tables of arms, but for comparing armorials they provide not only a general similarity of motive, but also much more detail. The degree of similarity, and of course the relative periods of manufacture, may be evidence of relationship, even of the same artist or of the same workshop being involved. The illustrations in the five *Richental* manuscripts were discussed by Gisela Wacker and by Bernd Konrad.¹⁶² Jan Raneke noted the similarity of the Kleve miniatures in *Bergshammar* and *Lynce nich*, which appear to be by the same artisan. The *Grünenberg* inspired another artist a hundred years later to imitate a miniature.¹⁶³

4.1.4 Prestamping

The pages with tables of arms in many medieval armorials are ruled to frame the outline of the shields and sometimes also to reserve space for the legends. The shields are then outlined in pen and ink. Pages may be prepared with a full set of blank shields or just partially filled.¹⁶⁴ English and French armorials nearly always have the shields in an upright position, and without crests. Crests are mostly present in armorials from Germany and the Low Countries. Inclined shields give a better impression when combined with crested helmets and mantling, but are slightly more difficult to draw uniformly. Helmets and mantling are also time-consuming to draw by hand, so at least by the mid 15th century a novel way of easing the manufacture of armorials was developed: prestamping with carved woodblocks, and later with templates engraved in copper.

Woodblocks, engraved with the outlines of one or more shields, helmets and mantling, were used for stamping pages in order to present both a uniform display and pleasing variation. Most of the woodblocks encountered to date were probably made with one row of items only.¹⁶⁵ They were used either with two to five stampings per page or as a combination of different blocks.¹⁶⁶ Any person might have ordered a block or a set of blocks for his own use, but it is more likely that blocks would be used in a workshop producing manuscripts and employing artisans with different skills.

Shields alone could be stamped, but in such cases a closer look is recommended. Did the artisan really employ woodblocks or did he simply rule the page with outlines of shields? The artisan responsible for *Gelre* worked so uniformly that an unused page looked as stamped. Most of the blocks used in armorials from Southern Germany were cut with shields, helmets and mantling.

¹⁶² Wacker KK 65-114, Konrad KK.

¹⁶³ See *fig. 8-ch.4.1.n4*; Raneke BHM 40, LYN:220n, BHM:47v; Clemmensen GRU 19; Kurras IH 440.

¹⁶⁴ Examples of ruled pages and shields in outline can be seen on GEL:61rv and BEL:19v and 35v, the latter with unfinished arms – only red and black paint were applied.

¹⁶⁵ Woodblock stamping was mentioned in 1939 by Berchem & al., BGH 106-114. As far as is known, no woodblocks have survived. Only the imprints in weak ink or retouched are found.

¹⁶⁶ E.g. Clemmensen RUG, App.B, RUG:181v1-10/1663-1672.

Mantling and helmets might be changed after stamping.¹⁶⁷ When comparing woodblock imprints, one need to pay close attention to the relative positions, gaps between items and inclination of the shields.¹⁶⁸

The major users of woodblocks appear to belong to the southern German workshops that produced the armorials of the *Bodensee* group, but woodblocks may also have been used for pages in the *Gorrevod*. Several, but not all, of these woodblocks were reused more than once. The earliest commentary on the use of woodblocks was the 1939 essay "Zur Datierung einiger Wappenhandschriften" by Otto Hupp.¹⁶⁹ He correctly noted the similar uses of a series of woodblock in six armorials (*Ingeram*, ING; *St.Gallen*, SGH; *Berliner*, BLW; *Eichstätter*, EIC; *Wiener*, WNW; and the *Nürnberger Wappenblätter*, GMW). However, he was mistaken in believing that the observed differences in the mantling were due to different woodblocks. Such variations are more likely to be due to a post-stamping modification by redrawing the mantling, which gives four woodblocks rather than the seven proposed by Hupp. He was correct in assuming that the 3x2 layouts were made in two stampings, but wrong for proposing the 2x2 as whole page stampings.¹⁷⁰ Otto Hupp stopped before claiming these armorials as part of a group, but did forecast that the common use of similar or identical woodblocks would be extended to further armorials. That he did not comment on the other types of prestamps present in the armorials listed above is of minor importance.

At a later date Berthold von Waldstein-Wartenberg examined a number of armorials for their possible reuse of woodblocks in relation to the *Ingeram* or *Codex Cotta* armorial.¹⁷¹ His analysis showed that several variants of the 3x2 layout type ING-B woodblocks were due to different relining, not different woodblocks. However, some of his conclusions were wrong. The gaps and positions in STU-B and DWF-A do not correspond to those of ING-B, but SGH-A does.¹⁷² Waldstein's *Stuttgart* image in his table 3 is actually from *Donaueschingen* (DWF:22r2). This example emphasizes the need for careful attention to the relative positions, the gap between items and the degree of inclination of the shields.

Rounding off the established relationships, there are the 2x2 items in curtsy layout from woodblock STU-C, which is identical to SGH-B and BLW-C, but only somewhat similar to DWF-B; the 1+1 with a common crest of ING-K which is identical to SGH-E and BLW-E; and the 1+1 with 2 crests of ING-L, which is identical to SGH-C and BLW-D.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁷ E.g. Clemmensen SGH App.C, SGH:56n1-2/394-395.

¹⁶⁸ See *fig.8- ch. 4.1n5* Woodblock features, and *fig. 6 -ch.4.1n6* reuse.

¹⁶⁹ BGH 103-114.

¹⁷⁰ The 3x2 (ING-B, SGH-A) are shown in *fig. 8-ch.4.1n5*; the 2x2 (SGH-B) in BGH 107 and Clemmensen SGH, app.C.

¹⁷¹ Waldstein ING 4-9, Tafeln 2-4. For naming the woodblock types, see *fig.6-ch.4.1n6* Reuse.

¹⁷² See *fig. 8-ch.4.1n5*, STU:28n vs. ING:112n.

¹⁷³ See *fig. 6- ch.4.1n6* Reuse of woodblocks, with descriptions from DWF, STU, ING, SGH, BLW, and WNW.

4.2 Words

Coats of arms can be propagated as written blazons as well as painted or tricked images, so the two forms of presentation present some similar problems, but the blazons have some in addition. While the legends need separate handling, they too are visual features.

4.2.1 Writing hands

For a non-specialist, comparing handwriting is as hard as assessing brush hands, and it is not made easier when a scribe imitates another scribe's style.¹⁷⁴ Berthold von Waldstein-Wartenberg described the characteristics of seven scribes involved in the production of the two manuscripts bound as *Ingeram*.¹⁷⁵ For the uninitiated, the seven examples of handwriting may be reduced to three or four using different pens at different times. There is a reason for this disagreement. Most armorials have only short names, perhaps 10-20 letters apiece, which is very little to compare on. In the few cases where handwriting has been a key element in identifying an author, several pages of running text were available. That was the case for Claes Heinenzoon with *Gelre* and *Beyeren*, Hendrik Heessel, and Jörg Rugen *al.* Georg Rixner.¹⁷⁶

One may ponder over the handwriting in the early members of the TOISON D'OR group. Five or six hands may be present in the *Toison d'or*, of which two are much later.¹⁷⁷ Two are very common. Hand A on e.g. ETO:79r is a formal minuscule, identical to the hand in APA/a (APA:95v). Hand B, a gothic bastarda (ETO:71v), is also very common and very like the principal hand in the *Bergshammar*, though it is likely that there were at least 20 years between the two. Hand E occurs very rarely and is only seen as single names on the bottom of a page (e.g. ETO:40v), but has some likeness to the principal hand in *Lynce nich*. Lastly, hand F (ETO:64v2) may be a more formalized writing of hand B with a finer pen.

Handwriting used as evidence of origin or similarity should be accompanied by clear examples of the key features of the handwriting, not just an opinion.¹⁷⁸ Christiane van den Bergen-Pantens documented the relation between the main manuscript of the *Gorrevod* and a number of leaves bound into another manuscript in part on the similarity of the hands writing the legends, otherwise a typical 15th century cursive as used in ducal and urban chanceries near Brussels.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁴ The names of the Flemish bannerets at the end of *Gelre* (GEL:116r-118v) are in the same hand as those in *Bergshammar* (BHM:237r-238r), except that the GEL names have spaces for shields and BHM does not. Inclined rounded shields were sketched on GEL:117r. There are slight differences in the capital D, but the same person could have added this to both armorials.

¹⁷⁵ Waldstein ING 7-9, Taf.5 (p. 27).

¹⁷⁶ See *chapters* 5.3, 7.2, 9.3, and 11.5; Anrooij DG, Anrooij HH, and Graf GR.

¹⁷⁷ The principal hand is always 'A'.

¹⁷⁸ See the example in Waldstein ING 27, Tafel 5 with 8 different hands.

¹⁷⁹ Bergen-Pantens GD 813; *Gorrevod*, KBR ms.II.6563; Chateau Huldenberg, ms.Limburg-Stirum 148:227r-234v as in Helmont LS 9-30.

4.2.2 Blazons

Armorial known only or primarily in blazon only pose some special problems, especially if they are only known from much later copies. As for late painted copies, it is hard to identify later amendments. Among the more serious problems are the fact that parts of the blazon may be missing, that numbers usually in roman script (iiij, xlviiij) are misread and miscopied, and that the positioning of charges are garbled or missing. Such mistakes are generally graver than seen with painted armorials and may well be perpetuated and aggravated by generations of copyists and compilers trying to repair an unsatisfactory blazon. Mixing legends and blazons from different entries during copying could happen more frequently with blazoned than with painted arms.

Many of the blazons are themselves unsatisfactory as they use internal references, either 'telez' (same as the previous entry), or referring to another blazon by a family name, which may imply more than one coat of arms.¹⁸⁰ The 'telez' reference should only be a problem when the pertinent items were on different pages of the source and the pages have been shuffled - or the previous entry has a name reference or is a later amendment. In such cases the readers are left to decide for themselves which proposal may be the better.

¹⁸⁰ The frequency of internal references may be quite high, approx. 13% in the *Urfz*, see *Ch. 8.1*.

5. The English in the TOISON D'OR group

It is rarely possible to identify the collator or occasion of any part (or segment) of a composite armorial unless it concerns a tournament. The best one can generally accomplish is to give a time span for its collation and to surmise that this segment may have been based on the compiler's own observations or those of a contemporary colleague. For once, there may be such an opportunity with a compilation of English nobles and gentry – and thus the ability to follow its propagation over time and space.

5.1 The source

This collection of Englishmen was first noted and described in 1890 by Loredan Larchey in the marvellous chromotype facsimile of the *Toison d'or* armorial.¹⁸¹ For many years this was the basic version, and, until Jan Raneke in 1975 noted the likeness of segments in the *Bergshammar* and the *Lyncenich*, regarded as unique.¹⁸²

5.1.1 Date

The part of the manuscript discussed here begins with a miniature of the king of England mounted and wielding his sword on fo.78r, followed by dukes, earls, barons and gentry – altogether 167 shields on ff.78v-81v. The king is dressed in a tabard displaying France-ancient quartering England. His crest is the crowned leopard guardant standing on a cap of maintenance – and no crown! The horse trapper displays the same arms. France-ancient (*Azure semy of fleurs-de-lis or*) went out of use in France around 1380 and in England between 1402 and 1408, being replaced by just three fleurs-de-lis. Using the older form could be significant, but might as well be regarded as a whim on the part of the artist.

The items in ms.4790 come in a reasonably strict order of precedence in a 5x5 layout, and with one exception (ETO:833 “jeh darondel”) with title or family name only. There is just one duke (ETO:707 D.Gloucester, *France-modern qtg England within a border argent*), then 14 earls (ETO:716 Bardolf is misnamed), an insert of 10 barons, then 5 earls, a baron and an earl. The D.Gloucester could refer to two persons: the older was Thomas of Woodstock, youngest son of Edward III, imprisoned and murdered in 1397, the other Humphrey, d.1447, a younger brother of Henry V. There are two repeats: Neville / Westmoreland (created 1397, ETO:9, 27) and Oxford (ETO:15, 28), one unplaceable (ETO:736 “côte de anger”, arms of Atholl), and two already dormant titles

¹⁸¹ Paris, BA, ms.4790 (ETO, segment 15, ff.78r-81v), the major part painted c.1435, see *Ch.10* for details of the manuscripts and discussion of the TOISON D'OR group. The chromotype facsimile with comments is Larchey ETO (1890), reproduced in b/w in Pinches ETO (1971). The present standard edition is Pastoureau & Popoff ETO (2001), which unfortunately is insufficient for studying the English segment. A full listing of the English with references and discussion of the arguments is available in Clemmensen RH (2006). The relations between the armorials were presented at the congresses in Besancon 2000 (Clemmensen RW) and in Bruges 2004 (Clemmensen GR).

¹⁸² Raneke BHM 50. Stockholm, RA, Codex Bergshammar (BHM, segment 31); Bruxelles, KBR, ms. II.6567 (LYN, segment 07), as *Gymnich* (GY) in Raneke BHM.

(ETO:735 Pembroke (Hastings), extinct 1389; ETO:738 Northampton (Bohun), extinct 1372). The other comital titles were active or forfeited-and-restored around 1400. The Gloucester arms were used by Humphrey, but may have been adapted for Thomas by the artisan.¹⁸³ If Humphrey was the intended D.Gloucester and the collation near contemporary with the painting of the armorial, one would expect entries for John D.Bedford, regent of France for Henry VI, and John Beaufort D.Somerset. On the other hand for a collation of the late 1390'es Edmund D.York and John of Gaunt D.Lancaster, fourth and third sons of Edward III, who would have led the ranks, are missing. However, the blending of earls and barons indicates that this is not the archetype of the collation, and a copyist snipping off a couple of items at either end would not come as a surprise.

Two of the earls merit a comment. John Montagu, who succeeded his uncle as E.Salisbury in June 1397, and was the first to use the *Montagu qtg Montbermer* arms in this capacity (ETO:713). The title E.Derby was used, probably in courtesy, by Henry Bolingbroke, son of John of Gaunt and by 1399 king of England as Henry IV. The arms (ETO:712) were used by the first earl of royal blood, Edmund 'Crouchback', second son of Henry III, later created E.Leicester and Lancaster as well. Bolingbroke used *England qtg France* with a personalized label (S:29, XDD:10120) as a difference from of his paternal arms, but *Gules 3 lions passant guardant or and a bend azure* might have been regarded as for the county and attributed to him.

The barons, peers summoned in person to parliament, are rather unexciting. Most titles were active during the period in question. The name and/or arms *Or fretty gules qtg or lion gules* for “s(ieu)r de maorves” cannot be found in any standard handbook – so it will serve as a powerful marker for relations between armorials. The “sr de forneual” with the Neville arms (ETO:762) must be for Thomas Neville, who held the lordship in right of his wife 1383-1407. The two Scropes (ETO:68, 75) could be Richard of Bolton and Stephen of Masham – or one of the items could be for William, son of Richard Scrope of Bolton, a favourite of Richard II, who created him Lord of the Isle of Man in 1393 and in 1397 E.Wiltshire.¹⁸⁴ He was executed in 1399. There are two Percy coats of arms. One quartering Lucy for the E.Northumberland (ETO:718, Henry, d.1409, created 1377). The other with the lion vulned by a fleur-de-lis (ETO:758). The only time when there was more than one prominent Percy, was during the years before the rebellion of 1403, when there were three. They were the first earl, Henry; his eldest son Henry 'Hotspur', and his brother Thomas, the king's chamberlain, a Garter knight since 1375, and from October

¹⁸³ Thomas of Woodstock has the modification *France-ancien*, and Q4 *Bobun* in the *Willement Roll* (S:38). The arms of Humphrey must have been well-known among the Burgundian heralds, as he led an invasion of Holland in 1425 in support of his then wife Jacobaa Cs.Hainaut-Holland (Wittelsbach).

¹⁸⁴ The corresponding arms in ARS:71+82 have the names Richard and Stephen. The arms of Man is in ETO:809 qtg Lathom for John Stanley (d.1414), who received the title in 1406 (*fig.8-ch.5.1n1a*). This late placing would be appropriate for a member of the gentry. The Q1+4 may have been improved later when he became a Knight of the Garter and Steward of the Household in 1405. The original Q1+4 would have been the Stanley arms *Argent on a bend azure 3 stag's heads caboshed or*.

1397 to late 1399 E.Worcester. According to contemporary armorials, Thomas used the Percy arms differenced by a fleur-de-lis.¹⁸⁵

With some ninety entries, the gentry makes the largest contribution, but represents only a very small selection of the several thousand armigerous men in England.¹⁸⁶ To keep it short, this appears to be a collection of mid-level landed gentry, men of particular influence in their respective counties, who served as sheriffs, members of parliament and justices of the peace. Several also served as stewards of the lands of titled peers. With a sprinkling of courtiers, professional soldiers and younger sons of the peerage, these were men one might encounter at court or during sessions of parliament. A few items need attention. Hugh Stafford (ETO:805) was Lord Bourchier, in right of his wife, only between 1411-1420 when he died childless. John Fastolf (c.1380-1459, KG 1426; ETO:744), major-domo and lieutenant to the regent of France, had his glory moment in 1424.¹⁸⁷ ETO:810 “le sr de harinton” is very unusual with the only impalement in the segment.¹⁸⁸ Impalement usually indicates marriage, in this case John Harington (c.1383-1417) and Elizabeth Courtenay, daughter of the 3rd E.Devon. His mother, Isabel, was coheir of Sir Nigel Loring, KG.

The identifications reveal a number of contradictions, and no period will fit all items. But if we assume that the primary collation was made before 1400 and that selected items were improved or amended after the Anglo-Burgundian alliance of 1420, we may have a workable hypothesis. The items modified later should belong to men of stature in the politics of the renewed French wars.

The period up to 1400 is very interesting.¹⁸⁹ In 1377 a boy of 10, Richard II, succeeded his renowned, but by then enfeebled, grandfather, Edward III. By 1388, a group of nobles (the Lords Appellant) became so disaffected with the rule of Richard II, that they purged the court of the favourites of the young king. Over the following decade, Richard II gradually built up his power base and recruited a strong personal guard of Cheshire archers, which he used to intimidate the two parliaments summoned for January and September 1397. At the latter Richard revenged himself on the Appellants and elevated several of his supporters to dukedoms or earldoms. During this Counter-Appeal, the most prominent Appellants were either executed or banished, as was the king's cousin Henry Bolingbroke, newly created D.Hereford. When John of Gaunt D.Lancaster died in 1399, the king confiscated his lands, the richest inheritance at the time. Henry Bolingbroke was now left with few choices and returned

¹⁸⁵ S:80, WJ:98, also in DBA 1:155.

¹⁸⁶ Clemmensen RH 22-23 for details. Pastoureau & Popoff ETO 2:24 ascribe most of the arms to persons living 1420-30, using the *Rouen Roll* as in Greenstreet T. In Clemmensen ROU, it was demonstrated that this armorial cannot relate to the siege of Rouen in 1418, but dates from c.1410 and is probably related to the troubles in Wales.

¹⁸⁷ Clemmensen RH, no.38 John Fastolf of Caister; no.135 Fastolf of Playford..

¹⁸⁸ See Clemmensen RH 23-24, no.104, and *fig. 8-ch.5.1n1a* Harington qtg Loring (confounded), impaling Courteney (ETO:810). Harington qtg Loring is noted in DBA 1:335.

¹⁸⁹ The politics of the period are discussed in the works by Bennett, Given-Wilson, Goodman, Kirby, Palmer, Rodgers and Tuck listed in Clemmensen RH note 17, and in the bibliography.

from France to England, deposed Richard and usurped the crown. During this 'Lancastrian Revolution' and the insurrections that followed over the next few years, the dignities of the minor dukes were rescinded and all but two of the counter-appeal earls were attainted.

The segment contains an almost complete register by rank of the peerage of the period up to the autumn of 1397. It has one dignity (E.Salisbury), that went from one branch to another in the early summer of that year, and one (E.Suffolk) restored in the autumn, but placed where one would expect the baron, Michael de la Pole – outside the subsegment of titled peers. The only new creation of 1397 to survive (E.Westmoreland for Ralph Neville) has the arms present twice, both among the titled and non-titled peers. Finally there are two entries representing former glory, Bohun E.Northampton and Hastings E.Pembroke, the inheritance of the latter still being hotly contested in the courts. Most of the contradictions can be explained by the ups and downs of the families if noted in a collation finished during the summer of 1397 with revisions reflecting their fortunes up to the mid-1420'es.

5.1.2 Collator

A case can be made for the identity of the collator based on only three fragile clues. The first is the distinct northern Burgundian affinity of the manuscripts of the TOISON D'OR group. All, except two, appear to have been made in the area between Lille and Brussels. The second is the proposed period of collation, which corresponds to the marriage of Richard II and the child princess Isabel of France. She arrived in England with a French governess and retinue as part of the conditions for the truce between France and England negotiated in 1396. But her retinue was only 'French' in virtue of representing the royal government of France. It had been appointed by the faction controlling the French royal council during one of the bouts of madness of king Charles VI, just as the negotiators of the truce had been. The controlling magnate was the king's uncle, Philippe 'le hardi' D.Burgundy, who as count of Flanders had as much interest in the truce as his subjects the merchants of the Low Countries, due to the taxes the wool and cloth trade generated. Her governess and retinue were therefore people loyal to Philippe.

The third clue comes from literature. Both the French and the Burgundians got to know quite a lot about the persons and politics of the deposition of Richard II and accession of Henry IV through two chronicles, the *Traïson & Mort* and the *Metric Chronicle* of Jean Creton.¹⁹⁰ Well, actually only one, as the two merged into one (Creton's work), which much later became a key inspiration for Shakespeare to write his Lancastrian trilogy. Though it is by itself interesting reading to follow this process, we will only pick out one item and use that as the main prop for building a conjecture.

The outstanding feature of the *Traïson & Mort* is that it is really not about politics. The core story of the chronicle is the pageantry of the court and its members, especially about Richard's maternal relatives, the Holland earls of Kent and Huntingdon (ETO:709+710). J.J.N. Palmer argues that the author

¹⁹⁰ Palmer FC, Williams TM (*Traïson et Mort*), and Creton MC.

could be a herald-trainee who lived with the Hollands in early 1397 and stayed in England during the 'Lancastrian Revolution'. With a base both at the Queen's court and with two of the principal members of the King's, he would be in a perfect position to collate the coats of arms of English nobles and gentry. Jean Creton is an unlikely candidate. He was a courtier-diplomat and not a herald. And the obvious second, Jean Le Fevre S.Saint-Remy, the first Toison d'or king-of-Arms, is far too young. An intriguing third, Jean Courtois dit Sicile, is of the right age and a heraldic writer, but he probably never visited England.¹⁹¹

No definitive evidence has been found that the selection of gentry should refer to the affinity of the Hollands or to the regions in which they had property. Indeed, we miss quite a number of their principal servants and retainers. However, there is a preponderance of men from the North, near the lands of Thomas of Kent, and the South West, those of John of Huntingdon. In addition, a considerable number are retainers of the king's uncle, John of Gaunt, Steward of England, or have come from the North West recruiting grounds for Richard's archer guardsmen.¹⁹² Finally we have several of the East Coast gentry, who doubled as North Sea merchants with excellent connections to the London tradesmen.

Though the indications that the herald-trainee, who wrote the passionate *Traïson & Mort*, did compile the English segment, are feeble, it is a fair bet that whoever collated it was Burgundian and did it during the spring and early summer of 1397. The revision could have been made by the compiler or by any herald at the Burgundian court between c.1420 and 1435.

5.2 The presentation

5.2.1 One artisan – two copies

The artwork used for the tables of arms in BA ms.4790 is very characteristic and of high quality. The English segment has a 5x5 layout with the shields outlined in black ink - as do most of the armorial. The figures are painted directly with a brush and later contoured with a pen and black ink, if necessary. For tracing the rows of shields and making an initial sketch of figures, the artisan may have used a pencil or pen with weak ink that leaves a faint white imprint only rarely visible.¹⁹³

Similar artwork is used on some pages at the end of a miscellany of odd pieces mostly relating to the English occupation of Normandy in the first half of the 15th century or to the House of Orleans.¹⁹⁴ These notes are written on different types of paper and in several hands. The last thirteen leaves (fo. 94-106), each containing 16 coats of arms as 4x4, are painted on coarse paper with name

¹⁹¹ Entry on Jean Courtois dit Sicile, *Bibliographie nationale Belge*, 1914-20, 22:381-385.

¹⁹² E.Kent and E.Huntingdon possessions, CIM, 1399-1422; Given-Wilson RH, Palmer FC.

¹⁹³ Tracing for the shields can be seen in the two bottom rows on the only partly filled fo. 81r of BA ms.4790. There is a similar trace on the saltire of 81r1 Furnival (Neville).

¹⁹⁴ BL, Add. 11542 a miscellany, incl. APA/a. See *fig. 8-ch.5.1n1b* comparison of ETO:78r2-4+7-9 and APA:95r2-4+6-8. Very similar artwork is present in two segments of the *Heessel Compendium* (CHE), see *Ch.10.2.2*.

legends in a 15th century hand. The individual sheets, approximately 210 x 290 mm, are smaller than the folio volume. They are divided into five fragments, each slightly offset from the previous leaf.

This small armorial was largely unknown and never seriously studied, even though the similarity in style to BA ms.4790 was recognized by some armorists. In their edition of the *Toison d'or* Michel Pastoureau and Michel Popoff proposed that these pages had once belonged to that armorial.¹⁹⁵ Even a superficial examination would have shown that this could not be the case, as the English arms overlap in the two manuscripts. The middle three fragments list participants attending the peace conference held in Arras during the summer of 1435.¹⁹⁶ Two fragments, 64 items on 94r-95v and 104 items on 103r-106r, make a copy of the English segment of the *Toison d'or* (ETO-en). For ease of discussion the two fragments from *Paix d'Arras* will keep the designation APA-en here, though this should properly be reserved for the English delegation to the conference.

Comparing two armorials can be done in various ways. Usually the first step would be a full alignment: listing the items of the putative donor segment with legends and blazons in numerical order. The second step would be to add item numbers from the putative acceptor segment one by one, including a note on differences. One may use serial numbers in order to make comparisons easier.¹⁹⁷ If the two segments show a perceptible rhythm, one may make an overlay of the acceptor items on the donor items. In this case, items from *Toison d'or* on a table representing the pages in *Paix d'Arras*. Even from a cursory glance, it is evident that the two fragments were once together, and that ETO-en might have been copied from APA-en.¹⁹⁸

A closer look would make the reader a little uncomfortable. It might appear that ETO-en was copied by long lines (reading across double pages) from APA-en, but if so, this is not a straightforward copy. Some items from APA are missing in ETO, and some items from ETO are missing in APA. Such irregularities may be dismissed as inserts and items discarded by the copyist. The trio ETO:138-139-140 Ratcliffe, Clifton and Stawell cannot be found in APA-en, but they are listed as members of the English embassy to the peace conference held in Arras in 1435 in a variant of the *Paix d'Arras* armorial (APA/b, BnF, ms.8199:15r5-6, 15v1). Either compiler may have been responsible for the difference. There are also a number of irregular breaks in the ETO-sequence, which are hard to explain. Some, e.g. ETO:37 and ETO:50, could be 'forgotten' during the regular copying and inserted later. This explanation would be supported by the transpositions of individual items, e.g. ETO:21-17-20-19 or ETO:152-154-153-155-157. But the extent of irregularities

¹⁹⁵ Pastoureau ETO 2:35-36, though he notes the presence of delegates to the Arras conference.

¹⁹⁶ For this part of BL, Add. 11542:96r-102v and the copy in BnF, ms.fr.8199:12r-46v, see *Cb. 10.2* the *Paix d'Arras*.

¹⁹⁷ A full concordance of English arms by serial numbers in seven armorials of the *Toison d'or* group can be found on www.armorial.dk.

¹⁹⁸ The reverse, ETO on APA, would give a more fragmented overlay –without much rhythm. See *fig. 7-ch.5.2n2*.

would amount to sloppy copying, and the ETO-compiler and/or artisan does not appear to be sloppy. An alternative explanation would be, that both had a common source, one or more steps back. But the most important conclusion here is that one artisan painted two near identical segments in different layouts.

5.2.2 Propagation

The compilation proved to be durable. It was not only popular among the heralds at the court of Philippe 'le bon', but was preferentially selected by copyists over time and space. A few other compilations have survived, e.g. the one in the *Berry* armorial (BER 32), which may have been used in combination with ETO-en for English armigers in *Rineck*.

Most coats of arms encountered are family arms and may refer to several persons over time or just to the family as such. For pinpointing a potential source, most items are worthless. In a series of connected arms in an armorial, in this case English arms, the first thing to look for are possible markers, and, if there are either a few very strong or several lesser markers, make an alignment of the armorial in question and any putative source. For the present series of English arms it is possible to align all the members of the group.¹⁹⁹ Variations between the armorials can then be studied in order to identify subfamilies and/or paths of descendance. It is also necessary to take the probable periods of manufacture of the manuscripts into account, and whether it is likely that what is present, is actually one in a series of copies of copies. A 17th century copy from a 14th century compilation could have several generations of copies in between. The last step would be to make overlays between the manuscript segment at hand and the putative source(s). Overlays are time-consuming and rarely necessary, unless an exact lineage is sought. Alignment by itself can make alluring, but incomplete, associations.

At least 12 members or satellites of the English segment are known for the TOISON D'OR group. These were painted or written from c.1435 to c.1670. The proposed stemma presents three subgroups on the basis of the variations in the alignment.²⁰⁰ The better known, if not the principal, subgroup is based on the *Toison d'or*. The second subgroup is probably derived from the *Lyncenich*.²⁰¹ Its members have some arms (Verdon, Fauconberg a.o.) in addition to those in the *Toison d'or* (ETO-en). About 6 arms (Clavering, Lancaster, Kirby a.o.) are in the *Paix d'Arras*, but not in the *Toison d'or*. The *Lyncenich* added a 'preamble' of royal dukes, which may have been modified from the original collation [a] or added later, as there is a "duc de berfort" with arms that might refer to Henry Bolingbroke D.Hereford (cr. 1397, S:29, XDD:10120) or to John of Lancaster D.Bedford (d.1435, XRO:1213-1214). These minor differences and the corresponding rhythms among the descendance are indications of the putative archetype [b]. The third subgroup is territorially restricted to Lorraine. The putative archetype [c] connecting it to the original was probably from c.1440.²⁰²

¹⁹⁹ See *fig. 7-ch.5.2n3* for a partial alignment of 7 armorial segments. There is a full alignment on www.armorial.dk.

²⁰⁰ See *fig. 7-ch.5.2n4* Stemma for the English in TOISON D'OR.

²⁰¹ I.e. derived from the proposed segment or an almost identical version - source, parallel or derived copy.

²⁰² See *Ch.10.3-4* for the members of the third subgroup and the satellites.

A herald or a courtier from the court of Philippe 'le bon' or Charles 'le téméraire' or even one from the court of the duke-emperor Maximilian I may have brought it to Nancy.

The strongest markers in this segment are Maorves (ETO:739), Harington-Courtenay (ETO:810), Stanley-Man (ETO:809), Angus-Atholl (ETO:736) and Bocton/Dutton/Betton (ETO:800). Not all of these need be present. The lesser markers are Bardolf as a count (ETO:716), Beauchamp of Somerset (ETO:771), Stafford-Bourchier (ETO:805), Lisle / “yuel du roy” (ETO:862), Salkeld / “zelekobde” (ETO:870) and Depden (ETO:873) with/without lions in chief. A few others may be used as supporting evidence.

The strongest links are indicated by the full lines in *fig. 8-ch.5.2n4* for *Toison-d'or-Bergshammar*, *Lutzelbourg-Clémery*, and *ARS-QEB* (two armorials for which there are no generally accepted names). Already in 1975 Jan Raneke nearly established the way BHM-en was derived from ETO-en, recognizing that most of the segment must have been copied by long lines. Deadline pressure, unsatisfactory notes and lack of a facsimile at hand are the reasons. The resulting confusion is easy to explain – looking out of the rear window.²⁰³ Though the diagram is placed in the middle of his thesis, the actual work was almost as an afterthought performed close to deadline. His notes were less than perfect, the ETO-en being based on pages in Pinches ETO, not on item numbers. Not all of the arms in the three armorials were paired. In this way, he did not have an accurate alignment to work from. Though he correctly based the diagram on the layout of the presumed donor – or perhaps just on the page with most items, he entered the numbers of one of the acceptors, BHM, first. Not the real serial numbers, taken by page and row from BHM, but place-numbers by long lines as links to the donor layout from ETO. That was the second mistake. Unavoidable confusion must follow from inaccurate alignment combined with place-numeration based on a perceived concordance. Conclusion rarely precedes analysis. The top row on the ETO:79r-based template was given place numbers BH:6-10 rather than the serials BHM:9-13. The place numbers should have been the ETO serials 26-30. The result was that BHM (with an unclear numbering as BH) was laid upon an ETO-based template, and ETO (also with unclear numbering, EE) laid upon BHM, i.e. like cake layers ETO-BHM-ETO! The incomplete alignment resulted in the 5-item top row being numbered EE:6-9 with no corresponding item for BH:9 / BHM:12 / ETO:29 Hastings E.Pembroke. The confusion was not mitigated by the break in mode of copying made by the Bergshammar compiler (overlooked by Raneke) and the two doublets left by the Toison d'or compiler (ETO:9/27 Neville; ETO:15/28 Oxford). The BHM compiler probably had to break his work on BHM:8 and resumed it after having forgotten the mode he started on.²⁰⁴ This break provides the strongest evidence that the English in *Bergshammar* was copied directly from ms.4790.

²⁰³ Diagram on Raneke BHM 50 with ETO as donor and BHM and LYN as acceptors, as in *fig. 8-ch.5.2n5*, and personal correspondence with Jan Raneke. Raneke used the sigla EE, BH and GY.

²⁰⁴ The Bergshammar compiler may have resumed his work on the backside, and realizing his mistake after the first row, decided to continue the work on long lines.

Jean-Christophe Blanchard, who made a study of the *Lutzembourg* (NLU), noted that the *Clémery* was an exact copy of the NLU, except for those parts that related to the family of the commissioner of NLU.²⁰⁵ Both were painted in a studio in Lorraine in the mid 16th century. The English in NLU 06 fills 19r-26r on a 4x4 layout. The CLE version has been rearranged into three segments 10 (34r-37v), 12 (42r-43v) and 14 (45r-46r) on a 4x4 layout, interspersed with segments from Scotland.²⁰⁶ The rhythm of NLU and CLE is very like that of *Lyncenich* (3x4) from 1440-60, and all three have 6 additional items and a lead of English royalty, which could be c.1420 during the reign of Henry V and at the beginning of the Anglo-Burgundian entente. Neither has the trio Radcliffe, Clifton and Stawell. LYN has 10 items, which are not in NLU and CLE. All three may derive from a common precursor [b] of c.1420, and NLU and CLE from a copy brought to Lorraine. It is probable that NLU, CLE or perhaps [b] was one of the sources used in late 17th century for the *Ruelle's* English. This armorial is in blazon only, and its compiler combined extracts from several sources, primarily one of the TOISON D'OR group and one from the Lorrainian RINECK group (i.e. ultimately from the French *Berry*) as shown by other markers.²⁰⁷

The *Lyncenich* English are split into two segments, 07 (LYN:8rv) which had 6 items in the last rows cut off, and 32 (LYN:44v-51r). The rhythm of LYN is more like that of APA than ETO, but no attempt was made to construct a possible precursor. The *Lyncenich*-compiler added a display of the four ancestors of Henry VI on LYN:44v.

A further two armorials probably had segments derived from *Lyncenich* or a copy of it. One of the copies of the armorial *Sicile*, wrongly attributed to the herald-author Jean Courtois (d.c.1437), was painted and blazoned in mid-late 17th century by the French armorist-antiquarian Charles du Fresne du Cange.²⁰⁸ The other, the *LeBlancq* (98 items from England), was painted for a bibliophile from Lille, Alexandre le Blancq, S.Meurchin & B.Bailleul (c.1520-1575). This segment (LBQ 35) has items from the TOISON D'OR group as well as from the *Urfé*.

The blazoned manuscript ARS (BA, ms.5256:83v-93v), also written by du Cange, combined most of the armigers mentioned above with a long tail of arms from what appeared to be a much older English armorial. From the concordance, it could have been derived from a clone of *Lyncenich*. Du Cange later reworked parts of it into an alphabetic dictionary of arms (QEB, BnF,

²⁰⁵ CLE was transcribed and items identified during 2002-2005, see *Ch. 7.4*. Personal correspondence with J.-C. Blanchard in 2002 related to his presentation in 1998 of NLU on a now defunct website. Only in 2008 did I get the possibility of taking down the NLU on a visit to Nancy, viz. Clemmensen NLU.

²⁰⁶ See *fig. 6 - ch.5.2n6* for the blending of sheets and quires. The English royalty on NLU:19r and CLE:34r were not entered on the alignment of English armigers in the group.

²⁰⁷ See *Ch.10*, the *Rineck* group. One of the markers is Rothelin in BER:1679, RYN:1188, and RUE:3552.

²⁰⁸ BA, ms.4910, SIC/b. For du Cange, see *Ch.15.4.2*.

ms.fr.30009). However, closer scrutiny suggests that the ARS descended by a different path, that the actual collation was earlier than 1396/97, and that it had been reworked several times on both paths.²⁰⁹

If we care to wonder why heralds at the court of Philippe 'le bon' chose to copy a collation of arms from at least a generation back, the answer might be: because it was there, so it was not necessary to look further. Their intent was probably just to have a fairly large selection of armigers of all ranks, not to make a search for documentary accuracy. If they had wanted up-to-date information, it would have been readily available from the many comings and goings of both English and Burgundian heralds between 1420 and 1435. It is well established that Jean le Fevre de Saint-Rémy Toison d'or king of arms, head of the Burgundian heralds and the alleged compiler of the *Toison d'or*, had served with the English in 1415. He also corresponded with William Bruges, the first Garter king of arms.²¹⁰ The Lyncenich-compiler may well have been a contemporary colleague of Jean le Fevre. At least he knew of William Bruges.²¹¹

²⁰⁹ For the ARS, its provenance and its tail, see *Ch. 7.2.3*.

²¹⁰ Clemmensen RH 18, Koller TO 137-139, Wright HM 16. For the question of authorship see *Ch. 7, 15, and 17*.

²¹¹ The nameless arms in LYN:737 on 51v, *Cheeky of 9 ermine and ermines*, belonged to William Bruges, Garter 1415-1450 (Woodcock OG 192; DBA 2:252).

6. Creating the *Codex Bergshammar*

By one of fate's caprices four large and related composite armorials have survived in essentially the same condition as they were originally painted. Today they are kept as far apart as Paris, Bruxelles and Stockholm, but five and a half century ago they must have lain on the same table. Each of the four, *Gelre*, *Toison d'or*, *Gymnich* recte *Lyncenich* and *Bergshammar* are remarkable as study objects in their own right, but what will concern us here is probing deeper into the observation from 1975 by Jan Raneke that the first three provided a large part of the contents of the fourth.²¹²

6.1 Commonality

The *Bergshammar* is a thick small-size parchment manuscript with painted arms made in the Low Countries in the mid 15th century.²¹³ Only four authors (Frederik Wrangel, Gottfried Carlsson, Carl Scheffer and Adam Heymowski) have discussed parts of the armorial before the publication of Raneke BHM in 1975, though its possible relation to *Gelre* was noted as early as 1939 by Berchem & al. and in the early 1960'es by Paul Adam-Even, who also found similarities to the *Toison d'or*. Both Sven Achen and Nils Bartholdy commented on Raneke BHM in the 1970'es. Henrik Klackenbergh reviewed the Swedish segment in 2008. Quite recently, Nils Bartholdy reopened the debate on the dating.²¹⁴

6.1.1 From Raneke to today

As a rough summary of the findings of Raneke, he concluded that of the 3,388 items, 1,120 or 33.6% were taken from *Gelre*, 328 from *Toison d'or* with an additional 348 probably also from there (in all 19.7%), a mere 74 from *Lyncenich*, possibly a few from *Gorrevod* and the remaining 1,512 or 44.6% from unknown sources.²¹⁵ As mentioned above, the numbering of items varies with the criteria used, and Raneke became inconsistent when he encountered special structures such as the five-arms' displays of ancestors.²¹⁶ The sets could be numbered as

²¹² In 1939 Berchem & al. noted a number of similar entries in both *Bergshammar* and *Gelre* (BGH 12). In a letter to Jan Raneke Paul Adam-Even proposed that several segments were copied from lost parts of the *Toison d'or* (Raneke BHM 53), and his opinion of it as a copy of ETO and GEL is in the 1968 Saffroy bibliography, No.2915b.

Stockholm, RA, Codex Bergshammar (Raneke BHM); Paris, BA, ms. 4790, *le grand armorial équestre de la Toison d'or et de l'Europe* (Pastoureau ETO); *Lyncenich*, Bruxelles, KBR, ms. F.H.II.6567 (Clemmensen LYN); *Gelre*, Bruxelles, KBR, Ms.15652-15656 (Adam GEL, Popoff GEL).

The manuscript details and concordances are summarized in the survey of *Bergshammar* in *fig. 5 - ch.7.3n2* and in the surveys of the other armorials in the same appendix.

²¹³ From similarities in the binding between the armorial and manuscripts made in the Groenendael Monastery, Raneke BHM 37 argues that the *Bergshammar* was painted and bound in or near Bruxelles.

²¹⁴ Bartholdy BG, Clemmensen LF.

²¹⁵ Raneke BHM 63.

²¹⁶ See *Ch.6.1.2*, and layout forms in *fig.4-ch.3,2.n1*, principal person and four ancestors: father, mother, grandmothers.

one (e.g. BHM:440a-d) or singularly, but with the principal person numbered as either the first or the third item. Recalculating the contents there are 3,431 items altogether, if all shields, complete arms, separate legends and separate crests are counted. Excluding one clearly later addition (BHM:3063) and the separate crests on fo.60v-61r and another placed by BHM:2071 king of Scots, there are 3,397 items representing coats of arms as either achievements (i.e. shield, helmet, mantling and crest), shield alone or just legends above a blank shield or an empty space.

The method used by Raneke for calculating how many items two armorials have in common is misleading, and so are the numbers resulting from the calculation. Even with the aid of computerised alignment it is difficult to determine with certainty all common items. Such alignments were performed and more common items were indeed found, increasing the percentage of items common to *Bergshammar* and the three putative sources from his 54.6% to 74%. But even this percentage is slightly on the low side as not all suspected items were fully evaluated. A thorough detailed study of all items would be outside the scope of this investigation. The number of common items between any of the three and the *Bergshammar* is higher than the number assigned as source items, as several items of *Bergshammar* have counterparts in more than one armorial, and it is difficult to decide with certainty from which armorial the actual item was taken. There are also many items in the 'common' segments that have no obvious relation to any of the three major sources. As for *Gorrevod* there is little evidence that it was one of the sources.

It is more informative to look at the overall number of items from the three and the number of segments that is likely to have been used as sources for the *Bergshammar*. Assuming that the 439 items of segments 01-05, which do have a high overlap with *Lyncenich*, are copied from an unknown source with lists of the high nobility of the Holy Roman Empire, there are 2,958 items left, of which 2,506 or 85% (74% of the total) are likely to have been copied from either of the three source armorials. The remaining 452 or 13% of the total are from now unknown sources. If one wants to compare the present analysis with the individual numbers of Raneke, the present count of common items in the three armorials are 1035 from *Gelre*, 878 from *Toison d'or* and 1361 from *Lyncenich* or a source common to *Bergshammar* and *Lyncenich*. These numbers exclude common items which are not deemed as possible source items, but include some source items which may have been used more than once by the *Bergshammar* compiler.

For his analysis Raneke divided the items into 66 segments with a few additional subsegments using criteria of territorial origin, type of layout, and to a lesser degree the proposed source.²¹⁷ There are no segment headings in *Bergshammar*, but in many cases the arms of the ruler are enlarged. This feature is also present in *Gelre* and *Bellenville*. The Raneke segmentation has been retained with minor modifications.

²¹⁷ Raneke numbered the layouts A-J, see *fig.4-ch.3.2n1* for the more general system used here.

By 1975 it was commonly assumed that *Bergshammar* was compiled and painted during 1429-50 as the arms were observed or acquired during this period.²¹⁸ Twenty years is a reasonable estimate of a medieval man's working life. Raneke claimed that the period could be shortened to 1436-1450 (Raneke BHM 5, 58-62), which was accepted by prominent scholars such as Pastoureau and Popoff.²¹⁹ The estimate derived from the present analysis indicates that it was only worked on during one or more relatively short periods within the years 1449-1456.²²⁰

With 3,397 items from the 70 separate segments and subsegments used for this examination it is easy to lose the overview or difficult to keep track of the arguments when moving sequentially through the armorial. Instead the discussion will be split according to the way a segment is transformed from its source(s), starting with the displays of ancestors and the like. In summary, 31 segments were derived from the three major sources by simple copying, i.e. 16 from *Gelre*, 6 from *Toison d'or* and 9 from *Lyncenich*. In a further 10 segments fragments from *Gelre* were joined with fragments from either *Lyncenich* (in 8 cases) or *Toison d'or* (in two cases), also by simple copying. More complex ways of copying were used for 10 segments (English, French and German). For 5 segments no source has been identified with certainty. Two may belong to the compiler-herald's own territorial responsibility (if he had one!), three may have been reshuffled from any source. The last 6 segments are irrelevant, having only a single item. By contrast, Raneke estimated that 36 segments were probably derived from *Gelre*, 10 from *Toison d'or*, 3 mixed from *Gelre* and *Lyncenich*, while one came from *Lyncenich* alone and one mixed from all three. For 14 segments he could not find an appropriate source.

6.1.2 Ancestral displays.

Nine segments contain ancestral displays, of which five are on separate pages and four filling only part of a page. All appear to be correct displays of the four armorial ancestors of a prince or princess. Essentially they may all be reduced to a common layout: an enlarged central shield (no.1) with the paternal arms placed up dexter (2), maternal arms up sinister (3), paternal grandmother down dexter (4) and maternal grandmother down sinister (4). Seven segments (04, 06a, 16a, 20a, 36a, 38a, 62a) have counterparts in *Lyncenich*, but two (15a, 17) are unique to *Bergshammar*.²²¹ As persons confirmed by the arms of four ancestors (or great grandparental families) are one of the most powerful tools for dating, and is used for this purpose by Raneke, they merit individual treatment.

The first of the unique (BHM 15a, fo. 75v, nos. 958-962) is for Gerhard (VIII), d.1475, D.Juliers & C.Berg & Ravensberg, reigning from 1437 after resigning as Domherr in Köln. It introduces a segment where nobles from the two counties, Juliers and Berg, are mixed into one unit (see below, segment 15x). The date of accession, 1437, gives a first bid on a starting date, bearing in mind that this display could easily have been added later, and that for composite armorials

²¹⁸ Raneke BHM 4.

²¹⁹ Raneke BHM 5, 58-62; Pastoureau & Popoff ETO 2:18.

²²⁰ Clemmensen LF 367-368; *Ch.* 6.3 and 7.3.

²²¹ Survey of the displays in *Bergshammar* and *Lyncenich* in *fig.7-ch.6.1n2*.

each segment must be evaluated by itself and that single sheets and quires may have been shuffled during binding and segments split.

The second unique segment (BHM 17, fo.85v, nos. 1165-1170, positions renumbered) is peculiar. There are no legends at all on the page, but there are two central shields (85v1-2), both with the arms and crest of the House of Bourbon, *Azure three fleurs-de-lis or surmounted by a bend gules*, and around them the arms of Bourbon (85v3), Bourgogne (85v4, arms of Jean 'sans peur'), Berry (85v5) and Holland-Hainaut (85v6). Interestingly, the dexter shield, helmet and crest have been cancelled by overpainting with a red glazing dye. The four smaller arms may represent the four ancestors of Isabel de Bourbon (1436-1456), who in 1454 married Charles 'le téméraire' (1433-1477), heir to Burgundy &c as his second wife.²²² Raneke proposed that the display was for her father Charles and his wife Agnes of Burgundy, and what he wrongly blazoned *Gules three fleurs-de-lis or surmounted by a bend or* was a personal differentiation by Charles de Bourbon and that the display was in honour of his marriage to a Burgundian princess.²²³ His argument is obviously wrong as the whole item was overpainted with a different type of paint and not even repainted with a different coat of arms. The primary cause of misidentification must be incomplete notes - a view supported by the handwritten amendment on Raneke BHM 244. But what alternative is there for the desecrated dexter central shield? The simplest explanation is that the artisan got his plan confused. The display may have been envisaged as a full display of the 10 arms of a married couple, of which there are a number of examples in *Lyncenich*. He changed his mind and reduced it to the standard five by covering the dexter item intended for the husband with red paint. Both Bourbon and Valois-Bourgogne used the French royal crest of a tufted golden five-petal fleur-de-lis. Whatever the reasons, and further speculation would be futile, this is a display of the arms of Isabel de Bourbon. The arms of her husband, Charles 'le téméraire' are nowhere to be found in *Bergshammar*. By itself, though highly suggestive, this is not a definitive argument for dating as it might be a later entry on one of the many blank pages. If so why choose the backside of the second folio of a quire? Incidentally, the main source of the following Hesbaye segment is LYN 50, which is introduced by a display of the ancestors of Johan von Heinsberg Bp.Liège – omitted for *Bergshammar*.

The first of the seven displays claimed to have been borrowed from *Lyncenich* is that of the ancestors of Philippe 'le bon' (1396-1467) filling the whole of fo.26v. His shield with the grand quarters of his dominions (duchy of

²²² The parents of Isabel were Charles (I) D.Bourbon (d.1456) and Agnes (d.1465), sister of Philippe 'bon' and daughter of Jean 'sans peur' D.Burgundy & C.Flanders &c. Her grandfather, Jean D.Bourbon (d.1434) married Marie (d.1434), only daughter and heir of Jean de France D.Berry (1340-1416), who was son of Jean II 'bon' R.France and paternal uncle of Jean 'sans peur'. The fourth coat of arms is Bayern qtg (Hainaut qtg Holland) for the wife of Jean 'sans peur', Marguerite (1363-1423), daughter of Albrecht von Wittelsbach C.Holland & D.Bavaria (1336-1404). Raneke BHM 45.

²²³ The display on fo.85v has been renumbered to conform to the standard description in *fig.4-ch.3.2n1*, The two central arms (Raneke 1167-1168) have been moved to 85v1-2 or BHM:1165-1166 with the former 1165 (now 1167) leading the four smaller shields without shields.

Burgundy, county of Burgundy-Brabant, Limburg, and Flanders) is enclosed by the steel-and-flint collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece (the Toison d'or), which was instituted on January 10th 1430 on his marriage to Isabel of Portugal, giving the traditional starting point of 1429.²²⁴ It is not the display that was borrowed, but only the concept. On *Lyncenich* fo.69v the ancestors of Philippe 'le bon' are represented on banners surrounding a lady sitting within a walled garden and holding the shield and crested helmet. For whatever reason there is no collar of the Golden Fleece anywhere in *Lyncenich*.

However, the second display on fo.47v of the ancestors of Johan (1419-1481) D.Kleve & C.Mark in 1449, CTdO 1451, was probably made by the same artist that made the identical display on *Lyncenich* fo.109v of a white swan on an enclosed island between four banners and bearing the arms of Kleve-Mark under the bull-crested helmet of Kleve.²²⁵ Taken together with the next two items following: 441 / 48r1 Kleve for the duchy, 442 Kleve qtg Mark with an inescutcheon of Bourgogne (Jean 'sans peur') for his younger brother, Adolph 'damoiseau de Ravenstein' (1425-1492), who was educated at the court of Philippe 'le bon' and spent most of his life in Burgundian service.²²⁶ Raneke, with a bit of contradiction in his discussion, agreed that this display was for Johan. More recently Nils Bartholdy proposed that the display was for Johan (d.1481, r.1449) before his accession, and BHM:442 was for his father Adolph II, having an inescutcheon of his wife's Burgundy, but his arguments are not convincing.²²⁷

The last five displays (Arnold van Egmond D.Guelders,²²⁸ Sigismund C.Tirol,²²⁹ Filippo Maria Visconti D.Milan,²³⁰ Louis D.Savoy,²³¹ and Affonzo R.Portugal

²²⁴ The discrepancy is due to the various notations of assigning the months of January-March either to the current year as we do today – or to the preceding year, as in medieval practice.

²²⁵ The central shield on fo. 47v is 440 Kleve (*Gules an escarbuncle or ch. escutcheon argent*) impaling Mark (*Or a fess chequy argent-gules*) for Johan von Ravenstein (1419-1481) D.Kleve & C.Mark in 1449, CTdO 1451; the banners are 440a Kleve for his father Adolph (II, 1373-1448) C.Kleve 1394 & C.Mark 1398; 440b Bourgogne (Jean 'sans peur') for his mother Marie (d.1463), daughter of Jean 'sans peur'; 440c Juliers qtg Berg with an escutcheon of Ravensberg for his paternal grandmother Margrethe von Ravensberg (d.1425), daughter of Gerhard (VII) C.Berg (d.1360) and wife of Adolph von Mark-Altena (I, d.1394) C.Kleve 1368 & Mark 1392; 440d Bayern qtg Hainaut-Holland for Marguerite van Bayern (d.1423).

²²⁶ The identical arms of Adolph 'damoiseau de Ravenstein' (1425-1492) in BHM:442 are found as an exlibris on a book (Copenhagen, KB, ms. Thott 465 fo.1r). The refutation of Bartholdy can be found in Clemmensen LF.

²²⁷ Raneke BHM 41, 60, 204; Bartholdy BG (2008) and Clemmensen LF for the various arguments.

²²⁸ The display on fo.79v has been renumbered: 1044 Guelders impaling Juliers for Arnold II van Egmond (1410-1473), D.Guelders 1423; 1045 Egmond for his father Jean 'mit de bellen' S.Egmond (d.1451); 1046 Arkel for his mother Marie van Arkel (d.1415), heiress to Guelders; 1047 Leiningen for his paternal grandmother Jolantha von Leiningen; 1048 Juliers for his maternal grandmother Johanna von Juliers. The corresponding display is LYN:86r with a different layout and different arms for Arnold and Johanna von Juliers.

²³²), which are also found in *Lyncenich* have similar layouts and contents. The only difference being that from fo.94r on, the displays fill only part of the page in *Bergshammar*, but usually the whole page in *Lyncenich*. Apart from this they do not provide essential information for the problems of dating or compiling.

There are several additional displays in *Lyncenich*, including Ladislaus ‘posthumous’ R.Hungary (r.1440-1453), but the three most interesting for comparing the two armorials are those of Charles ‘le téméraire’ and his first wife Catherine de France,²³³ Rudolph von Diepholz Bp.Utrecht,²³⁴ and Johan

²²⁹ The display on fo.94r1-5 has been renumbered: 1302 Austria qtg Tirol for Sigismund von Hapsburg ‘der Münzreieche’ (1427-1496) Gf.Tirol 1439; 1303 Austria for his father Friedrich ‘mit dem leeren Tasche’ (1382-1415); 1304 Brunswick (Braunsweig) for his mother Anna von Braunsweig (d.1432); 1305 Visconti for his paternal grandmother Viridis Visconti (d.1386); 1306 Sachsen for his maternal grandmother, Anna von Sachsen (d.1440). The corresponding display is LYN:113r1-5 with similar layout, and both are followed on the same page by the arms of the three Tyrolean dioceses.

²³⁰ The display on 156r1-5 is followed by other items on the page. 2382 Deutsche König qtg Visconti for Filippo Maria Visconti (1391-1447) D.Milan 1412; 2383 idem for his father Gian Galeazzo (1351-1402); 2384 Visconti for his mother Catarina, daughter of Bernabo Visconti; 2384 Savoy for his paternal grandmother Bianca Maria di Savoy, wife of Galeazzo Visconti C.Pavia (1310-1378); 2385 Scala for his maternal grandmother Beatrice della Scala (d.1384), wife of Bernabo Visconti D.Milan. The corresponding display fills LYN:116v, but has the imperial eagle rather than the royal. The Visconti were imperial vicars.

²³¹ The slightly problematic display on 158r1-5 is followed by other items on the page. 2409 Savoy for Louis I (1413-1465) D.Savoy 1440; 2410 Savoy for his father Amadée VIII ‘le pacifique’ (d.1451), C.Savoy 1391, duke 1417, anti-pope Felix V 1439-1449; 2411 Bourgogne (Jean ‘sans peur’) for the mother of Louis, Marie (1386-1428), a daughter of Philippe ‘hardi’ and sister of Jean ‘sans peur’; 2412 *Gules a lion guardant or* is a problem, it ought to be Berry for his grandmother Bonne (1365-1434), wife of Amadée VII (d.1391), daughter of Jean de France D.Berry and Jeanne d’Armagnac (d.1387), but Bonne remarried with Bernard VII d’Armagnac, and the Armagnac arms at that time were Armagnac (*Argent a lion gules*) qtg Rodez (*Gules a lion guardant argent*), so the item might be Rodez for her – alternatively it might be Cyprus, mistakenly, for Anne de Lusignan-Chypre, wife of Louis, as on the stained glass window for her at the Couvent de Brou; 2413 Flanders for his maternal grandmother Marguerite de Flandre (d.1404), wife of Philippe ‘hardi’. The corresponding and identical display on LYN:124v fills the whole page.

²³² The slightly mistaken display on 228r1-5 is followed by other items on the page, including the brothers of Alonzo V. 3358 Portugal for Affonzo V (1432-1481) R.Portugal 1438; 3359 Portugal for his father Eduardo (1391-1438) R.Portugal 1437; 3360 Aragon for his mother Leonor di Aragon (1402-1445); 3361 Somerset (*France qtg England all within a border ermine*) for his paternal grandmother, Philippa of Lancaster (1360-1415, wife of Joao I (1345-1483) R.Portugal 1367 and eldest daughter of John of Gaunt D.Lancaster and sometime titular king of Castile, the arms of Lancaster has a label rather than the bordure used by Lancaster’s natural sons; 3362 Castile qtg Leon for his maternal grandmother, Leonor Urraca di Castille Cs.Albuquerque (1374-1435), though her father Sancho C.Albuquerque was only a bastard of Castile. The corresponding and identical display on LYN:52v fills the whole page.

²³³ On LYN:18v a kneeling angel holds two trees, the dexter with the crested helm and arms of Charles ‘le téméraire’ C.Charolais (1433-1477), heir to Bourgogne, and banners representing his four ancestors. The sinister has the impaled arms of Charles and of Catherine de France (1429-1446), daughter of Charles VII R.France, and banners

von Heinsberg Bp.Liège.²³⁵ The different wives of Charles 'le téméraire' selected for the two armorials indicate that *Bergshammar* is likely to be later than *Lyncenich*. This conclusion is supported by two bishops. Leading Utrecht, *Bergshammar* has the successor of Rudolph, David de Bourgogne (BHM:588, a bastard of duke Philippe), appointed in 1456. Heinsberg is only present as a German count.

6.2 Modes of copying

About half of *Bergshammar* is derived from the three identified sources by simple page-by-page copying while the remainder came by blending sources or by more complicated paths.²³⁶

6.2.1 Simple copying

A majority of the items were copied by the simple expedient of taking one segment at a time and copying it row by row and page by page, just as numerous armorials have been copied over time. The difference here is that it was not done for a whole armorial, but instead individual segments or groups of segments were selected and transformed into what superficially looks like a new and independent armorial.

Using the abbreviations for territories introduced by Jan Raneke,²³⁷ the parts transferred by simple copying are:

- From *Gelre*: 13 hen, 14, 21 col, 23 mnz, 30 fra, 32 sco, 42 hil, 46a mec, 46b rhe, 49 pal, 51 sax, 54 hoe, 55 dan, 56 cas, 57 ara, 58 sue,
- From *Lyncenich*: 10 lit, 19 hai, 20b tir, 24 ste, 27 bur, 28 lux, 34 pol, 36b mil, 37 lor, 39 nam,
- From *Toison d'or*: 11 aut, 12 fla, 26 zel, 29a pairs, 29b fra, 40 nor (from *Wijnberghen*).

Among the segments from *Gelre* there are two from Köln (GEL 03 and GEL 37), which the compiler has combined in alternating fragments as segment 21. He has also amended the lead item to incorporate the personal arms of the Archbishop-Elector Dietrich von Mörs (r.1414-1463). In another segment (30 France, from GEL 13) the compiler omitted 39 items, where the arms were already incorporated in the previous segment (29b France, from ETO 10) and for unknown reasons another 51 items. Among the excluded are two famous names, Bertrand de Guesclin (d.1380) and Oliver de Clisson (d.1407), both

representing her ancestors. The two children were engaged in 1439, but cannot have had much married life together.

²³⁴ On LYN:165v are displayed the crested arms of Diepholz and smaller shields for Waldeck, Oldenburg, Hessen and Delmenhorst/Oldenburg. Though unusual this display must be for either Konrad (VII) von Diepholz (d.1424) or his younger brother Rudolph (d.1455) Bp.Utrecht 1424.

²³⁵ On LYN:104r1-5 are displayed the arms of Heinsberg, Heinsberg, Gennep, a blank shield (for Juliers) and Boot van der Eeme. This might be for Johan (III) von Heinsberg (d.1443), but as it introduces a segment from Hesbaye, it is probably for his brother Johan (1365-1459) Bp.Liège 1419-1455, a noted adversary of Philippe 'le bon'.

²³⁶ Raneke BHM 39-57 has comments on content and source on a segment by segment basis, as have *fig.5-ch.7.3n2*.

²³⁷ See *fig.2-ch.1.0n2* as amended.

connétables de France, while the compiler kept four lesser known French marshals (Audregem d.1370, Sancerre d.1402, Clermont d.1356 and one of the Boucicaut d.1367, d.1421) and a French royal chancellor Miles de Dormans Bp.Beauvais (r.1374-1387). This French segment 30 appears more irregular as a consequence of the large number of excluded items. It would not have got its present structure unless the compiler had gone over the *Gelre* segment several times selecting items for copying.

Among the segments from *Lyncenich* only two pose problems. Most of the arms of the Tyroleans in segment 20b (from LYN 53) are also found in the Austrian segment 11 copied from *Toison d'or* (ETO 02). As was the case for 30 France above, there are also many gaps in the copies in BHM 20b. It is reasonable to suspect that the compiler recognized or knew that *Lyncenich* also drew on the *Toison d'or* for the Tyroleans. The shields of the Flanders segment 12 was copied from *Toison d'or* (ETO 13), but the compiler later added crests to several items – probably from *Gelre*.

The second 'simple' LYN-to-BHM transfer that is problematic is segment 34 Poland. The *Bergshammar* has Poland in two subsegments, of which BHM 34b (BHM:2183-2237, from 147v3 on) is a copy of LYN:53r-55r with two transpositions of fragments and one item omitted. BHM 34a has no counterpart in *Lyncenich*, but has many items in common with *Toison d'or* (ETO 17). However, the legends in BHM do not correspond very well with those in ETO. On the other hand the number of items on BHM:146v-147v2 is similar to two pages of LYN 34. The hypothesis that BHM 34a was copied from a now lost folio from *Lyncenich* is supported by the lead items in BHM:2159-2166, which are arms of the principal polish provinces and two bishops – neither of which are in *Lyncenich* as they ought to be. One of these, Archbishop Wojtech Jastrebiec of Gnesno, died in 1436. This date is commensurable to the suggestion by Adam Heymowski that this material was acquired during the Arras conference in 1435.²³⁸

Apart from one segment, most of the arms of *Bergshammar* appear to belong to people who lived during the hundred years of 1350 to 1450. The exception, segment 40 Normandy copied from *Toison d'or* (ETO 11), testifies to the longevity of some armorials. This segment is made up of people living 200 years before their arms were painted on the parchment of the *Bergshammar*. Names were only entered on the first page and the five Harcourt on that page can be found in the *Wijnberghen* armorial. Though Raneke speculated on an intermediary armorial as the source for this segment,²³⁹ there is no need to assume this. The modifications are minor and of types usually found also in clean copies of whole armorials. The more complex mode of copying from

²³⁸ Heymowski LYN 124 suggested that the Polish curial diplomat Nikolaj Lasocki provided the information, gathered over time by 3 Polish heralds. It is more likely that it was provided by a herald in his retinue. Of course, a Burgundian herald might have travelled to Prussia or Poland – but the Lasocki hypothesis is reasonable.

There is no indication in the (much later) pagination of *Lyncenich* that a leaf is missing between p.105/106, present fo.52/53.

²³⁹ Raneke BHM 52.

Wijnberghen to *Toison d'or* or any intermediary between these will be discussed in *Chapter 7*.

6.2.2 Blending sources

The method of combining two or more segments by alternating fragments and omitting doubles, mentioned above for the two Kölner segments of *Gelre*, was also used for creating a new segment out of items from two or more armorials by simple copying:

- From *Gelre* and *Lyncenich*: 6b cle, 7 mar, 8 wes, 9 utr, 16b gue, 22 tre, 38b sav, 66 ori,
- From *Gelre* and *Toison d'or*: 15x jul, 25b hol,

The new Juliers segment in *Bergshammar* was created by extracting the following fragments:²⁴⁰

15b	963-966 = 4	= GEL 33* (1127-1129 + 1275)
15c	967-990 = 24	= ETO 4 (188-211 = 22/29, no legends)
& GEL 33* (1130 + 1137)		
15d	991-995 = 5	= GEL 35* (1272-1277 = 5/26);
15e	996-999 = 4	= ETO 4* (212-215 = 4);
15f	1000-1024 = 25	= GEL 33* (1127-1168 = 22/42)
15g	1025-1043 = 19	= GEL 35* (1271-1296 = 18/26);

As the items from the *Toison d'or* had no crests and no legends, both were added from *Gelre*, if available. For reasons that escape us today, the compiler chose to replace ETO:193 Trostorp and ETO:195 Fischenich in subsegment 15c with Reifferscheidt and Merode which have very different arms. The last exchange is quite puzzling as ETO:200 is also Merode and ETO:201 is an anonymous variant of Merode.

6.2.3 Uncertain variants

For now, we may conclude that simple copying, be it of whole segments or by combining fragments, was the preferred method of the *Bergshammar* compiler. But it was not the only method used. As discussed in *Chapter 5*, the English segment (segm.31) was not copied in simple mode from the *Toison d'or*, but by long lines, i.e. across the double spread of pages of an open book or folded quire. Other modes of copying could be used, e.g. reading the donor by columns rather than by rows, but no instances of this have been found in the *Bergshammar*. Even complex correlations are possible. If the donor used a highly irregular or staggered layout for a segment, as is often the case in *Bellenville* or in *Wijnberghen*, the copyist may transfer the items in any order imaginable. For the highly stringent layouts of *Lyncenich* and *Toison d'or* such reordering is hardly imaginable, and the irregularities in the *Gelre* were straightened out by the compiler-copyist.

There are eight segments that have contents almost identical to that of the corresponding segments of the three sources, but in different order. For these one could argue that the copyist selected at random and reordered the items according to some principle of vassalage, territorial or familial affiliation. This

²⁴⁰ See *fig. 7-ch-6.2n1*, sources of BHM 15 Juliers.

might be the case where a herald can be assumed to have had a professional responsibility for the area in question, but hardly for so disparate territories as Champagne (segm. 43), Poland (segm. 34) and Swabia (segm. 52). Another possibility is that the copyist used a source common to his own project and one of his principal sources. This could be a full armorial, a fragment or notes in paint or blazon. Why a compiler-copyist should choose notes or yet another armorial source when the material was already available to him from one of the three primary sources is a question is hard to answer. It could be because the primary source was not yet in book form, but unbound and the relevant quires unavailable.

The eight segments, where the Bergshammar compiler must have preferred 'notes' to either *Lyncenich* or *Toison d'or*, are:

- Source in common with *Lyncenich*: 18 hes, 45 art;
- *Lyncenich* and unidentified source: 43 cha;
- Unidentified source and one in common with *Toison d'or*: 44 cor;
- *Gelre* and *Lyncenich* or a source in common with *Lyncenich*: 33 boh, 50 bav, 52 sou, 53 nur;

The Corbie segment 44 of 79 items illustrates the problem.²⁴¹ It has one long fragment of 10 items and several small fragments overlapping three pages of the *Toison d'or* (ETO 14), but the last 29 items must have come from an unknown source. There is a slight possibility that the segment was made up of fragments simply copied from *Toison d'or* and the unknown, and that some items have been wrongly attributed to the former or misidentified, but nearly all legends are similar in *Bergshammar* and *Toison d'or*.

One might argue that both segments 44 (Corbiois) and 45 (Artois) ought to be considered as one. As such they would have been made up of fragments taken from different sources. The contemporary placing of the seats of the families present in the two segments is outside the scope of this investigation, but looking at their probable territorial origins and some of their known principal manors, there is a substantial overlap of the territories covered.²⁴² In any case, the segment title 'Corbie' is no more than a modern attribution based on the leading item. The political geography of these borderlands is a little complicated. Many of the towns and castellanies changed affiliation over time, and the naming of these 'marches' vary with the armorial or history studied. Four castellanies were detached from Flanders c.1180 as a dowry and added to five others making 9 castellanies in Artois centred on the town of Arras. In 1435 the 'Somme towns' were temporarily added to the Burgundian territories. These were the territories around Amiens, Corbie, Peronne, Cambrai and St. Quentin. Within a couple of decades these were recovered by France.

At a first sight it appears that segment 45 Artois (3x3 layout) was copied by long lines from LYN 69, a 3x4 layout. But a closer examination reveals two

²⁴¹ See *fig. 7-ch.6.2n2* BHM 44 Corbie on ETO 14 Artois.

²⁴² See the map references given in Clemmensen OM for the items in BHM 44-45, and the limits given for the marches in either Raneke BHM or in Clemmensen OM.

unpleasant discrepancies.²⁴³ The many jumps in sequence, leaving small fragments of 3 corresponding items, are really minor nuisances. The second and worse discrepancy is that the jumps begin in the last column of the verso and recto pages of LYN:143r-149r. This makes it unlikely that the *Bergshammar* segment was taken directly from *Lyncenich*. An overlay of *Lyncenich* on *Bergshammar* is even more confusing, but the BHM-on-LYN might be rearranged to reveal the mode of copying. Adding an item to the 'LYN' base would push the jumps to the beginning of a row. A candidate is readily available. LYN:2234 has the Luxembourg arms for the count of St.Pol-en-Ternoise, which the family acquired c.1350. The corresponding item, BHM:2745, has the *garb* arms of Candavène, the family which ruled from c.1115 to 1205. A branch of the Châtillon family held the county in between. But we still need to dispose of the intervening fragments, before copying can be made on long lines.

The various related fragments follow each other in a marked rhythm: 2 à 3 items + 6 items + 2 à 3 items. This rhythm suggests that there might have been an intermediary or a common source 'BLX' with a layout of 3x3 beginning on a *verso* page and having page changes in the 6-item fragments. Rearranging the items with the St.Pol item doubled in BLX:3 + BLX:4 reveals that LYN 69, which begins on a *recto* page could have been (and probably was) copied from BLX by long lines. The first 12 items of the segment on LYN:143r (i.e. BLX:1-13, less BLX:3) were copied in the standard page-by-page mode, but on beginning on the *verso*, the Lyncenich compiler decided to enter the copied items by long lines on to the open spread of his quire (LYN:143v-144r) also reading the source BLX by long lines. The mood change is similar to that of the Bergshammar compiler with regard to the England segment, but this time, the latter simply imitated the donor layout and copied the BHM segment 45 in simple mode, page by page.²⁴⁴ The contemporary Luxembourg C.St.Pol (BLX:4) may have been omitted because he had entered service with the king of France.²⁴⁵

The three segments from southern Germany: 50 Bavaria, 52 Swabia and 53 Nuremberg, appear to have a first subsegment copied from *Gelre* (GEL 09, 10 and 11) and a smaller second subsegment taken from a clone (or source) of *Lyncenich* - possibly the same BLX as for Artois (BHM 45). Nearly all items in these subsegments 50b, 52b and 53b have corresponding entries in LYN 38, 56 and 64, but in somewhat different order. Of course, these items may have been extracted from *Lyncenich* as supplements. The most marked difference are that 8 of 21 non-*Gelre* items in BHM 50 have no counterparts in *Lyncenich*, and there are another 8 overlaps between *Gelre* and *Lyncenich* in BHM 50a. Segment 33 Bohemia-Moravia has the first dozen items from GEL 05. The rest was probably taken from a clone of LYN 39, as the legends on LYN:65r-66v are in a secondary hand.

²⁴³ See *fig.7-ch.6.2n3(b)* BHM 45 on LYN 69. This segment is the only one using a 3x3 layout.

²⁴⁴ See *fig. 7-ch.6.2n3(a)* BHM 45 and LYN 69 on fragment of 'BLX'.

²⁴⁵ Louis de Luxembourg, 1418-1475 (executed), comte de Saint-Pol 1433 & Ligny, connétable de France 1465.

6.3 The compiler and his approach

The name and circumstances of the man or the people responsible for the *Bergshammar* are unknown – as are most of the stages of its provenance.²⁴⁶ All commentators have agreed that the book was made in the Burgundian Low Countries in mid 15th century. The book itself is smallish but thick, 22 x 14 x 7 cm, approx. modern A5, well suited for carrying in a scrip or personal pack. Though it was painted on expensive parchment, one would expect a larger format, if the contents were intended for display. It still has its original parchment-covered wooden binding with remnants of brass locks.²⁴⁷ The items were painted using pen and tempera, and helmets, mantling and outline of shields were probably sketched in pencil before final drawing and colouring.²⁴⁸ Only the hands of one painter and one scribe can be identified, which may or may not have been one and the same. The compiler had material for 235 of the 243 leaves present, distributed between 23 quires. One leaf was cut out between fo.58/59, the first leaf of quire F, which contains the Austrian segment 11. This page may have held a (now lost miniature?) display of the arms of a Habsburger emperor of the HRR – the family that got the imperial crown in 1438.²⁴⁹ Before binding, quires of 4-7 sheets folded once were sewn together, making 16-28 pages per quire.

If at first the size gives indication of the intended use of the book (as portable reference), the quire structure provides a second supporting argument for this use as well as an indication of how the book was planned and executed.²⁵⁰ All quires, except quire F (Austria), include more than one segment, and nine segments straddle two quires. Only four of the 23 quires (quires A, N, R) have blank pages at the end, and one (quire X) has an additional four blank pages at the beginning. There are seven breaks in the contents based on the territories covered, which are coincidental with quires (nos. F, G, K, L, Q, R, S). In theory, each of these large fragments might have been shuffled before binding, but no reshuffling improves the lack of logical territorial coherence in the armorial. As an example, quire R includes segment 38 Savoy (in HRR, on Swiss border), 39 Namur (in HRR, in the Low Countries), 40-41 Normandy and Bretagne (in France), and 42 the diocese of Hildesheim (in HRR, in central Germany). The present structure is probably very similar to whatever was

²⁴⁶ According to Raneke BHM 27-33, it was owned in 1553 by F. Schweincz, and by Gabriel Glotzer in the 16th century. It was either taken in Flanders or Alsace c.1693 as war spoils by Carl Filip Sack or bought (in Paris ?) by his son, Johan Gabriel. In 1755 it was recorded in the library of the Sack manor of Bergshammar in Södermannland in Sweden. In 1933 the owners deposited it in Riksarkivet in Stockholm.

²⁴⁷ The material, page size, diagonal press marks on binding and the lock are similar to manuscripts originating in the Groenendael monastery a little south of Bruxelles (Raneke BHM 37). Parchment of this size was probably easy to obtain in most towns in the Low Countries, and the binding might have been done much later.

²⁴⁸ Raneke BHM 31.

²⁴⁹ The lost fo.58*bis* may also have been physically damaged, but hardly mispainted. Parchment is unique in that ink and fresh paint can be scraped off the surface, and the leaf can be used again.

²⁵⁰ See *fig. 5-ch.7.3n2*, Segments in *Bergshammar* for details of the quire and segment structure.

planned. Items, and additional quires, must have been entered sequentially as the sources became available. There are spaces that could be filled as new material became available, but hardly any pre-drawn outlines of shields to be filled. Likewise there are no free-flowing items in middle or bottom rows, as are common in both the *Gelre* and *Bellenville* armorials. Ancestral displays are inserted heading the relevant segments, but physically they are placed as there is space, at the beginning or middle of a quire, even at the end of the preceding quire. Irrespective of the number of items to a page, two types of representation of the items dominate. Erect shields without helmets and crests as seen in the *Toison d'or*, and inclined shields with crested helmets in imitation of the *Gelre*.²⁵¹ In one instance, a segment (11 Austria) was split by a spread (fo.60v-61r) on which the compiler entered crests extracted from the *Gelre* to supplement the coats of arms extracted from the *Toison d'or* and entered on erect shields. When inclined and helmeted shields were used, items extracted from sources not having crested helmets could be supplemented from *Gelre*. With the exception of Kleve-ancestors on fo.47v in the middle of quire D, there are no miniatures in the *Bergshammar*. The above indicates a work of reference compiled from available sources and made over a fairly short period and probably at one place, whether it was a studio or a workshop. As was inferred for the Lyncenich-compiler in the discussion on the 'BLX'-Artois fragment in *Chapter 6.2.3*, the *Bergshammar* compiler must have worked on the open spreads of pre-folded quires.

Given that the hand and brush are uniform throughout the armorial, and might well belong to one person only, the layouts used reflect a similar uniformity.²⁵² One might argue that the first four quires used different layouts, discarded when the compiler began using *Gelre* as a source. But *Gelre* has a 5x3 with crests layout and *Bergshammar* often has a 4x3 with crests, where *Gelre* was the source.²⁵³ The general impression is that the compiler, who probably also did the manual work, adapted his layouts to the sources, his chosen painting technique and the rather small page size available.

The painter, or as proposed the compiler-cum-artisan, was no mean artist. This is evident from the crests. He may or may not have painted the miniature display of the Kleve-swan on BHM:47v, which is a copy of the one on LYN:109v. He was also able to draw the many precisely placed rows of shield and elegant outlines of tilting helmets. Nevertheless, he chose to paint the arms in a rather crude way using brush directly – only retouching by pen, where it was absolutely necessary. In certain instances, he retouched some white or yellow painted elements with silver or gold paint. Rather late, on BHM:180r (BHM:2731), he found his green paint to be unsatisfactory and changed it.

²⁵¹ The helmets in the *Gelre* are of the great or barrel type, those in the *Bergshammar* are of the tilting type.

²⁵² The discussion of uniformity mainly involves the tabular entries in 3x2, 3x3, 3x4, 4x3 layouts. The layouts for the various displays were determined by their content.

²⁵³ The *Gelre* painter used parchment (or vellum) of the same size (22 x 14 cm) as the *Bergshammar* painter, but a different technique in drawing the figures by pen before colouring.

As many items in the sources proposed were anonymous, adding legends to the outlines of shields before painting would soon make keeping track of corresponding items difficult.²⁵⁴ It is more likely, especially for a compiler-cum-artisan, to paint the base colour of the shields, and after drying paint the figures. This was probably done one page (or spread) at a time. Only after this the legends were added. As for the language, the compiler was probably Flemish-speaking, but reproduced the legends as they were in the sources – i.e. as well as he could read them.²⁵⁵

Regarding the sources, we are in the rare position that the sources for most items in *Bergshammar* have survived in their original form. Not only that, but they must have been available to the compiler-artisan for the whole time used for making the *Bergshammar*. The curious break in segment 31 England between BHM:1911/1912 (fo.134r/v) changing from simple mode to long lines when copying from *Toison d'or* (ETO:714/732, ETO:78v8 / 79r1, E.Arundel / E.Suffolk) could only be done with the original or an exact copy. This change must have been caused by the compiler-artisan returning to his work after some delay, during which he forgot in which mode he had started copying - or simply changed his mind. For a second argument: The weaving of elements from *Gelre* and *Lyncenich* for segment 06 and others could hardly have been done unless both armorials were in view together. Lastly, the *Bergshammar* was probably made in one 'sitting' –perhaps with some breaks, but hardly over several years or in different places. For the final argument we have the *Toison d'or* used for BHM 40 Normandy, and both *Gelre* and *Lyncenich* for BHM 52 Swabia – all in the last third of the *Bergshammar*.

A note of caution: Unless very specific markers or place indicators were transferred we cannot be sure whether the donor was the armorial claimed here, a (near) copy or a common source. In the present case there can be little doubt that the *Gelre* used was actually ms.15652-56, *Toison d'or* ms. 4790, and *Lyncenich* ms.II.6567, because so many segments can be identified as donors. That the relations were precisely between these manuscripts is supported by the copying of series of segments, e.g. GEL 47-48-46, 40-41, 44-45, 10-11-14-15, and LYN 54-55-59-61-62, even though some of these are pairs of prince & nobles. Some of the concordances proposed need further evaluation (e.g. BHM 01-05, 18, 44). As noted above BHM 45 Artois was actually copied from a *Lyncenich* clone (source) in a different format (BLX). One might hypothesize that BHM 42 Hildesheim was added on blank pages from GEL 12, when GEL 11 Franconia was added as part of BHM 53. The segments with unidentified sources: BHM 35 Berry, 41 Bretagne, 47 Ponthieu and 48 Vermandois, all in 3x4 layouts, may have come from a single source. This layout was also used in BHM 11 Austria, 29b France, 31 England and 40 Normandy – all from the *Toison d'or* alone. It was also used for BHM 43 Champagne and 44 Corbie, which are not wholly identical to the *Lyncenich* and *Toison d'or* proposed as

²⁵⁴ No trace of pencil sketches or notations were found under the paint during the general examination of the manuscript.

²⁵⁵ Raneke BHM 36 gives several examples – but without comparing them with the probable sources. Irrespective of the language used in the source segment, the lead item was mostly written in Flemish.

sources. None of the territories in BHM 35, 41, 47 or 48 are in *Toison d'or* – but, and this is pure speculation, could come from notes or a source that was intended for it.

The Brabant segment 05a has 207 items (BHM:221-427) of which many belong to members of families who often held the office of échevin (municipal councillor-magistrate) in Bruxelles and a few other major towns. The preliminary alignment reveals that with the common variations of arms and names, 155 items of BHM overlap with either GEL 29 (77/102), LYN 43 (129/180) or LYN 78 (6/61), which leaves ample room for the compiler to add items from other sources. One of these can be identified by the presence of a marker. BHM:339 “jâ van der merê” has the arms of Couderborch, a mistake that can be traced to an armorial report of a tournament held in Bruxelles in 1439. In this the legends and arms belonging to two participants, Simon van der Couderborch and Jan van der Meer, were transposed in TBX:194-195.²⁵⁶ The overlap between BHM 05a and the TBX is 83, of which 46 are also in LYN 43. The numbers show that the individual BHM items could have more than one counterpart among the three proposed sources. With only a handful of two to four item fragments, the BHM items appear to have been extracted singly in a pick and mix mode. There are only 20 items from outside the proposed sources, mostly from well-known families. The compiler may have got these (and some of the items already covered) from still unknown sources. Or he may have had a fair knowledge of the Bruxelles échevinage, e.g. his addition of the younger Jan Zwaef (BHM:302). Even though there are a dozen anonymous entries, the compiler may have worked from some kind of a list with the names in a rough ranking. If so he still preferred the *Gelre* supplemented with the *Lyncenich* for extracting the arms in a chequerboard fashion. The TBX was probably used outside BHM:285-359, but within this part it provided 75% of the arms - or is at least the most likely source of them.

The parts of *Bergshammar* that were copied from other armorials cannot provide evidence of the date of manufacture, apart from the obvious fact that this armorial must be contemporary or later than its sources, i.e. not before 1440. Jan Raneke proposed that the *Bergshammar* was compiled over the years 1436-50 and Pastoureau & Popoff accepted this in their edition of the *Toison d'or*.²⁵⁷ However, Raneke did not note the significance of two items: BHM:1167 Isabel de Bourbon (1436-65), who in 1454 married Charles C.Charolais, later duke of Burgundy; and BHM:588 David de Bourgogne (d.1496), a natural son of duke Philippe 'le bon', who became bishop of Utrecht in 1456.²⁵⁸ With Dietrich von Mörs as archbishop-elect of Cologne (BHM:1336), it must have been finished before 1463 – as noted by Jan Raneke. So, keeping to the conclusion that it was painted within a relatively short period, say one year, this could be at any time between late 1456 and 1463, but probably early.

²⁵⁶ The transposition was noted in Eeckhout TBX 109, the edition of 2012 from Bruxelles, AMu, ms.3357, with a second copy in Ghent, RA, ms. Udekem 4498. TBX has the arms of 235 participants.

²⁵⁷ Raneke BHM 70 with arguments on p.58-62, Pastoureau ETO 2:18.

²⁵⁸ The ancestors of Isabel de Bourbon fill segment 17 on BHM:85v. The dexter shield was cancelled by overpainting with red. The arms of the Bp.Utrecht are Utrecht with an inescutcheon of Bourgogne (the arms of Philippe 'le bon').

The four surviving armorials provide us with information of the date of manufacture, and of the way the *Bergshammar* was compiled and executed, but can we find any indication of the compiler's profession and affinity? One of the four is in the autograph of Claes Heinenzoon 'Beyeren quondam Gelre armorum regis de Ru(y)ris', a professional herald, who died in 1414.²⁵⁹ After many years of serving, first a pretender, then the duke of Guelders (Gelre or Guelders), he came in 1403 into the service of the Wittelsbacher counts of Hainaut (Hennegau) & Holland & Zeeland. Gelre has been identified as the author of six surviving manuscripts, of which two are presently held by the Royal Library in Bruxelles (KBR), three in the Royal Library in Den Haag, and the last in Gotha in Germany.²⁶⁰ The stages in their provenance are generally not known. Considering what happened to armorial manuscripts during the 15th-17th century in England, it would be most likely that the *Gelre* was acquired by a colleague at the Wittelsbacher court, and it was probably passed on in a similar manner.²⁶¹ When these Wittelsbacher lands were annexed by Burgundy over the years 1425-1436, many of the heralds serving the counts would probably move to the Burgundian court.

The *Toison d'or* has traditionally been seen as the work of, or made under the direction of, Jean le Fevre S.St.Rémy Toison d'or King of Arms. The only, or at least the main, argument for this attribution is the presence of the carrousel of the knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece (Toison d'or) – a rather fickle foundation.²⁶² To this we can now add that the artisan or the workshop responsible for the tables of arms in the *Toison d'or* produced several armorial fragments, including a copy of the England segment.²⁶³ Admittedly, these fragments and the intact armorial may have been commissioned by different persons, possibly wealthy aficionados, but a high-ranking herald (or one or more with good connections) would be more likely to direct and pay for such artwork. The fragments in the *Heessel Compendium* (CHE) did end up with a herald. There were several bibliophile noblemen in the Burgundian court, who could well afford the cost, but we have no evidence of any of these commissioning or even owning an armorial.²⁶⁴

²⁵⁹ Claes Heinenzoon, c.1340/45-1414, Beyeren Herald *al.* Gelre Herald *al.* Ruyers King of Arms (Anrooij BG 164, 175). The two former were the titles of princely officers of arms, while the latter was an imperial office of arms.

²⁶⁰ Anrooij GC 343, list of manuscripts.

²⁶¹ The analogy is obviously to the College of Arms in London, incorporated in 1484, but their library does include some manuscripts made before that date, as well as copies taken from manuscripts of an earlier date (Campbell CA 1). The *Gelre* may of course have been bought c.1414 by a non-herald with an interest in armory. See also the discussion on heralds and their cooperation in *Ch. 15*.

²⁶² The attribution has been criticized in Hiltmann TH (2012) and Hiltmann AT (2017).

²⁶³ Clemmensen APA; BL, ms. Add.11542:94r-95v, 103r-106r, also segments in the CHE, fo.38v-45r, 55v-57r, 61v-63r, 73r-74r, 91v-95r.

²⁶⁴ The bibliophiles are discussed in Wijsman LB, for cost and further discussion, see *Ch. 15*.

Of the *Lyncenich*, we know very little of its early history.²⁶⁵ It was once owned by Jean de Luxembourg S.Lyncenich, who was made Hainaut king of arms in 1621, but he may have acquired it from any source. Like the other armorials discussed here, it is a composite work, drawing heavily on the same sources as the *Toison d'or*, but with certain interesting features. Besides the swan & arms display for Kleve on LYN:109v copied to BHM:47v (possibly by the same artist) there are several displays of ancestors and a series of marriage alliances in LYN 44. Most of the displays of ancestors in BHM can be related to the houses of Burgundy-Valois and Habsburg, but there are also displays for a Visconti and a Guelders. They may have been copied or at least inspired by *Lyncenich*.²⁶⁶ The BHM compiler added a display for Gerhard (VIII) of Juliers-Berg and the second marriage of Charles 'le téméraire', omitting his first marriage to Catherine de France. Though they were not included in the BHM, the marriages in LYN 44 indicated by impaled arms are interesting. They sketch the marriage alliances and descendance of the counts of Hainaut (also of interest to Heinrich Heessel Austria & Ruyers KoA) and of Guelders and Juliers up to 1430.

The information on marriages of people descended from the counts of Hainaut in LYN segment 44 would probably be of minor interest for even an enthusiastic amateur armorist of the 15th century, and if he needed it, a written note would be easier to get. But for a herald any knowledge of the genealogy and relations of princes might come in handy, especially together with the arms of the people and families involved. The most likely compiler of the *Lyncenich* would be a herald employed by Wittelsbacher court in Hainaut, who later transferred his allegiance to the duke of Burgundy.

If three armorials made for (or by) heralds were simultaneously available for reproduction during an extended period as well as a fairly recent armorial report of a tournament, the copyist would most likely be a herald too (or employed by one). As a by-product, the owners would most likely live and work closely together. Few people would lend expensive and hard to replace books for long periods even to friends or colleagues living far away.²⁶⁷ The anonymous Bergshammar compiler must have worked for the Burgundian court as a herald and did the work on his personal book of reference over a relatively short period, probably not more than a year, and shortly after 1457.²⁶⁸ He had Flemish as his mother tongue, may have lived in Bruxelles, and probably had a professional interest in the Rhenish principalities to the north-east of the Burgundian territories.

²⁶⁵ See *Ch. 7.3* for the discussion of LYN. The paper sheets used for the volume, as present, have several watermarks in use during 1435-55 on ff.2-175 and has one in use 1561-83 on ff.176-197. Clemmensen LYN.

²⁶⁶ See *fig. 7-ch.6.1n2*, displays of ancestors in *Lyncenich* and *Bergshammar*.

²⁶⁷ By the 16th century bibliophiles in Lille did lend their manuscript books to friends for the time needed to copy parts of them, viz. the *LeBlancq*, *Ch. 8.3*.

²⁶⁸ As noted above, BHM 01-05 may have been painted earlier and added when work was recommenced.

C. ARMORIAL GROUPS

7. The TOISON D'OR group of armorials

This group of armorials has a wide footprint west of the Rhine corresponding to the principalities ruled by Philippe 'le bon' D.Burgundy (d.1461), and like most of the groups of armorials, it is named for its best known and most impressive member: *le grand armorial équestre de la Toison d'or et de l'Europe* (ETO) a.k.a. *the armorial of the Order of the Golden Fleece*, and is defined by its members having a significant number of segments in common.²⁶⁹ A single studio or workshop appears to have been responsible for parts in some of the eldest members of the group.

The earliest representative of the group was probably the *Paix d'Arras* (APA) fragment with English arms in the British Library - at most a few years older than the *Toison d'or*.²⁷⁰ Only one source has been identified for the core segments in the group, the French *Wijnbergben*, which covers just a single segment (WIN-nor).²⁷¹ The compiler of one of the principal members, *Bergshammar* (BHM), worked much of the *Gelre* armorial into its segments, but the *Gelre* cannot be considered a source of the group as such. The older members of the group were probably compiled by heralds serving Philippe 'le bon', and it is likely that one or more of them collated some of the segments. One segment in the *Lyncenich* (LYN 78) lists participants in a tournament held only a few years before the painting of the armorial.²⁷² An Austrian herald, who lived some years at court and left a miscellany of armorial segments and other texts (*Heessel Compendium*, CHE), would be a likely source for the arms and names of the large number of Austrians.²⁷³

At present this group has 9 members in 4 subgroups and a few satellite members, which incorporate segments from other groups of armorials. Besides the name-giving armorial, noted for its mounted figures of the highest artistic craftsmanship, the principal clones are the *Lyncenich* (LYN) and the *Bergshammar*.²⁷⁴ The *Chiffre* (CFR) and the *Armorial Équestre de Gilles de Rebecq*

²⁶⁹ *Toison d'or* (ETO, c.1434-61), Paris, BA, ms.4790, paper, 290 x 210 mm; edition in 2001 by Michel Pastoureau and Michel Popoff (Pastoureau ETO), see the survey in *fig.5- ch.7.1n1* and the discussion below.

See *fig. 5 - ch.7.0n1* for a survey of the more important common segments, their sources and occurrences. The basic data, blazons of all items and selected concordances are available from Clemmensen OM and www.armorial.dk.

²⁷⁰ *Paix d'Arras*, APA/a *al.* QPA, London, BL, ms. Add. 11542:94r-106r (in parts); APA/b *al.* QPB, Paris, BnF, ms.fr. 8199:2r-91v (in parts); noted in Clemmensen APA. See *Ch. 7.2.1* for the relation between ETO and APA.

²⁷¹ WIN-nor, *armorial Wijnbergben* segment 03 *Normans*, WIN:319-494 (11r-14v); Adam WIN.

²⁷² *Lyncenich* (LYN, 1440-50), Bruxelles, KBR, ms. F.H.II.6567, Clemmensen LYN.

²⁷³ *Heessel Compendium* a.k.a. *Complaintes d'Heraults* (CHE, 1434-57), Antwerp, Staatsbibliothek, ms. B 89240 A, a miscellany by Hendrik van Heessel, see *Ch. 7.2.2*.

²⁷⁴; BHM (1449-56), Stockholm, RA, Codex Bergshammar, edited in Raneke BHM, 1975. The curious manuscript in Paris, BA, ms.5256:83v-93v (ARS), noted as JL in Pastoureau ETO, is discussed in *Ch. 7.2.3*.

(ERQ) both have a few elements which occur in the *Heessel Compendium*. These may all have segments painted by artisans, who also worked for the D.Burgundy.²⁷⁵ The *Lutzembourg* and the *Clémery* are nearly identical, painted in Lorraine in the same workshop and a crossover with the RINECK group of armorials for Lorraine.²⁷⁶ Another major satellite is the *LeBlancq*, which incorporates elements copied from this group as well as from the URFÉ-group and the *Bellenville*.²⁷⁷

7.1 The *Toison d'or* armorial

This manuscript has some of the most beautiful artwork in any medieval armorial. The elegance and variation in the drawings of the kings of Europe, the *Douze Pairs de France*, and the carrousel of the knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece (*Toison d'or*) is unsurpassed. The artwork used for the tables of coats of arms is quite good too, but was not made by an artist of the same class.²⁷⁸

As Michel Pastoureau has noted, it is likely that the manuscript was left unbound for years until at least 1461 – the time of the latest additions.²⁷⁹ The logical sequence of the manuscript was disturbed either during this time or at the latest during the cutting for rebinding into the present volume. Some parts may have been lost - or never intended for the same armorial manuscript.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁵ *Chiffré* (CFR, 15th century), Wien, AOTdO, ms.56; *Armorial Équestre de Gilles de Rebecq* (ERQ, 15th century core), Wien, AOTdO, ms.57.

²⁷⁶ See *Ch. 10*, RINECK group.

²⁷⁷ NLU (c.1540), *Nicolas de Lutzembourg*, Nancy, BM, ms.1727:14r-115v; CLE (c.1540), *Antoine de Clémery*, Paris, BnF, ms.fr.23076:2r-141v, see discussion of subgroup. LBQ (c.1560), *LeBlancq*, Paris, BnF, ms.fr.5232.

²⁷⁸ There are three partial copies of ETO: (1) the English in BL, Add.11452, between 94r and 106r (ETO/d or QPA, in APA), see *Ch.5.2.1*. (2) Paris, BnF, ms. Clairambault 1312:237-283, *Petit armorial de la Toison d'or* (ETO/b, 288 x 210 mm, paper), a 15C fragment with mounted figures in a slightly less elegant style similar to ETO/a. The 33 CTdO, 4 archbishops, 4 Preux and 6 Preuses are discussed in *Ch.7.1.4-5*. (3) Paris, BnF, ms. Estampes Pd 7, *Carrousel des chevaliers* .. (ETO/c), a 17C partial copy by Roger de Gaignières, which is not relevant. Pastoureau ETO 2:19, 36; Vaivre RV 12-14.

There are 3 printed editions available, the first two being obsolete: Larchey ETO (1890) with excellent chromotype facsimiles in colour, but few comments or references; Pinches ETO (1971), a b/w reprint of Larchey with (largely irrelevant) comments; and Pastoureau ETO (2001) with excellent modern photo facsimiles, identifications, and referenced comments. The English segment in Pastoureau ETO is below their standard and should be supplemented by Clemmensen RH.

²⁷⁹ Pastoureau ETO 2:36, 1461 is the year of promotion of the last set of knights of the Golden Fleece. The dating of the manuscript has varied slightly through time. Raneke estimated 1440-61 in 1975, while Pastoureau & Merindol proposed 1434-36 in 1986, modified in Pastoureau ETO to 1434-40 (in 2001, for the major part).

²⁸⁰ Earlier claims that leaves by *painter-A* present in other manuscripts must have been lost from the ETO are clearly wrong. This was demonstrated in Clemmensen APA where BL, Add.11542:94r-95v+103r-106r were shown to be a copy of ETO segment 15. The two pages found in BL, ms.Add.41133:175n+177n (a miscellany, CEMRA 96, Wagner HH 114) are larger than the ETO leaves, 260x380 mm, and are probably copies of French knights, not lost leaves. This volume contains material by Thomas Holme, Clarenceux KoA 1476-94 and Thomas Wriothsesley, Garter KoA 1505-34.

Several people must have worked on it during three periods between 1434 and 1461.²⁸¹ Page layout, watermarks and scribal hands confirm this.²⁸² The 5x5 tables of arms and most of the mounted figures were painted on just one type of paper sheets and most likely during 1434.²⁸³ The major event for the Burgundian court in the following year was the conference in Arras, where Philippe 'le bon' changed alliances. His heralds would be fully occupied attending embassies, carrying messages, and planning and organising the ceremonies, tournaments and festivities which supported this important occasion. The work appears to have been resumed in 1437 under the supervision of a less punctilious person and using a new supply of paper.²⁸⁴ Not much was done during this second period: only 7 pages of 4x4 tables of arms and a few mounted figures. The project may then have been abandoned. Compared to contemporary armorials the ETO is relatively small. Only some 1,000 arms compared to 1,800 in the *Berry* and around 3,000 in *Bergshammar* and in *Urfé*, all attempting universal coverage. The blank surplus paper sheets were left with the completed pages. Archived, but not wholly forgotten. The bundle was lent to colleagues, and in or shortly after 1461 a feeble attempt was made to resurrect the project. Two batches of paper were bought and a third illustrator was commissioned to draw pen outlines of mounted knights to keep the membership up to date. But literally only a rump got any paint before the project was definitively shelved.²⁸⁵

The artwork of all tables of arms appear to belong to just one artist or artisan, here referred to as *painter-A* (similar designation as the major scribal hand, who wrote in gothic lettering – who may or may not be one and the same person). The mounted figures were probably painted by a second and much more accomplished artist (*painter-B*). The 'maître de Wavrin' or the 'maître de Champion des Dames' have been proposed. Both worked in Lille, the major seat of the Burgundian court, during 1440-1480.²⁸⁶

The painter-A may have been a herald or he may have been a professional painter-illustrator employed in a workshop with close ties to the court. For the moment we may leave this as a matter of opinion. There is no written evidence available, and no indications in this or other manuscripts. One thing is certain:

Though segments may have been moved relatively to each other, the only disorganisation present is among the mounted figures. See also the discussion in *Ch. 7.1.5* on the making of the ETO. An unknown privately owned manuscript *Coligny* (COL) has the Bohemian segment in 4x4 by *painter-A*, and probably the Austrians and Poles too; Roch de Coligny, pers.com. 2014.

²⁸¹ As noted in 2002 in Clemmensen PU, a review of Pastoureau ETO.

²⁸² See *fig. 6 - ch.7.1n2*, Page structure in ETO. The pages with tables of arms were ruled and outlined in pencil before drawing and colouring, e.g. pages 18-19 / fo.5rv, 166 / fo.77r in Pastoureau ETO.

²⁸³ Watermark distribution; see *fig.6-ch.7.1n2* ETO pages.

²⁸⁴ Colin Campbell dated the Scotland segment to 1437, see 5.1.3. In Clemmensen PU (2002) the date of the second work was proposed as 1436 without having read the first part of the Campbell paper. The other 4x5 segment is Poland.

²⁸⁵ ETO:137v.

²⁸⁶ Pastoureau ETO 2:30 refers to the doctoral work of Pascale Charron (1996) and articles by J. Bacri (1937), J. Porcher (1957) and F. Avril & N. Raynaud (1993) for the analysis of the artwork.

He must have had a long and close relationship to the heralds at the court. The coats of arms that can reasonably be assumed to come from contemporary collations generally have few mistakes, which of course argue for a herald. On the other hand, he might as well have worked from blazoned or sketched drafts under supervision by a herald – like a modern herald-painter working for the College of Arms in England or the Lord Lyon in Scotland.

7.1.1 The Burgundian domain and dependencies

The duchy of Burgundy reverted to France on the extinction of the Capetian dukes with the death of Philippe 'de Rouvre' in 1361. It was given in 1363 as an appanage to Philippe 'hardi' (1342-1404), the youngest son of king Jean II 'le bon' (d.1364), who became the founder of the younger or Valois line of the dukes of Burgundy.²⁸⁷ Philippe was an accomplished politician, who played a central role in French internal politics, not least because of his marriage to the heiress Marguerite de Flandre (1350-1405), which from 1369 made him influential in the governance and from 1387 the de facto ruler not only of that rich country, but also of the county palatine of Burgundy (Freigrafschaft or Franche-Comté) and the counties of Artois and Rethel. He bought the county of Charolais from the C.Armagnac for 60.000 francs and managed to be guardian of Brabant and Limburg in 1390 and to have his younger son Antoine (1384-1415) elected and confirmed as duke of Brabant & Limburg.

Jean 'sans peur' (1371-1419), the eldest son of Philippe and Marguerite, had an unlucky start as a warrior-statesman leading the Franco-Burgundian contingent in the crusade to free the Balkans from the Turkish yoke which ended in defeat in the battle of Nicopolis in 1396, where he was captured and later ransomed. He was heavily involved in the power struggles at the French court and was eventually murdered by his opponents during an armistice parley on the bridge of Montereau east of Paris. This was a retribution for his own part in the murder in 1407 of Louis d'Orleans, the then leader of the opposing court fraction. Jean did not succeed in enlarging his domain, but in marrying Margaret von Wittelsbach (1374-1423), the middle sister of Wilhelm II (1365-1441), count of Holland & Hainaut and duke of Bavaria, he established a potential claim to these counties. When Wilhelm was deposed in 1417 leaving only an heiress, Jakobäa (1401-1436), this claim evolved into bloody war and much intrigue between the Burgundian dukes and the other claimants. These were Wilhelm's brother Jean or Johan Bp.Liège (o.s.p.1425), king Wenzel IV of Bohemia (d.1419) brother-in-law by the older sister, and the husbands of Jakobäa, with Albrecht (V) von Habsburg D.Austria, the son of the youngest sister, on the sideline.

The third duke, Philippe 'le bon' (1396-1467), wanting to revenge the murder of his father formed an alliance with the English in 1420, which made him take an at times active part in the fighting between the forces of king Henry VI of England & France and the disowned dauphin Charles, by 1430 crowned as king

²⁸⁷ Biographies of the dukes by Richard Vaughan: *Philippe the Bold. Formation of the Burgundian State*, London 1962; *John the Fearless. The Growth of Burgundian Power*, London 1966; *Philip the Good. The apogee of Burgundy*, London 1970. For the workings of the government, e.g. Bertrand Schnerb: *l'Etat bourguignon 1363-1477*, Paris 1999.

Charles VII of France. This lasted until the peace conference sponsored by the Church Council of Basle, which was held in Arras in the summer of 1435. In the years leading up to the conference the Burgundian focus changed from fighting the dauphin-king's forces into securing and enlarging the ducal domain and its dependencies.

Philippe 'le bon' managed to be elected regent and heir to Holland & Hainaut in 1425, which led to full suzerainty in 1434, when Jakobäa ceded her lands for a pension. By that time Philippe had already taken full control of Brabant, now pronouncing himself duke of Burgundy, Brabant, Limburg, Luxemburg (only by 1441), Lorraine and Guelders; count of Flanders, Artois, count palatine of Burgundy and Hainaut; marquis of the Holy Roman Empire, Holland, Zeeland, Namur and Zutphen, lord of Frisia, Utrecht, Salins and Malines (Mechelen).

Besides the knights of the Golden Fleece there are only four segments listing nobles from the principalities ruled by Philippe 'le bon': 06 Holland, 07 Zeeland (actually a part of the former), 13 Flanders and 14 Artois with 04 Juliers as an ally from 1423 and an opponent before that. The two Burgundies (county and duchy), Brabant, Guelders and some minor fiefs, are missing. Whether they were lost, not painted or never contemplated cannot be determined, though some of these principalities can be found in *Bergshammar* and/or in *Ljyncenich* – two near contemporaries.

The borders between Flanders, Artois and France were changed several times during the Middle Ages. Artois, the old roman pagus Atrebatensis, was for a long time ruled by the count of Flanders, but beginning with the transfer of four castellanies (Aire, Arras, Bapaume, St.Omer) around 1180 as dowry for Marguerite de Hainaut on her wedding to Philippe II August of France, further bits of territory were ceded to France. From 1226 to 1363 the 9 castellanies in the newly created comté were given as an appanage to a cadet line of the royal family. On the extinction of the House of Artois the county was 'returned' to Flanders. This was followed in 1369 by ceding a further 3 castellanies to the north-east (Lille, Douai, Orchies), which had been annexed by France in 1312.²⁸⁸ Further territories were added or subtracted for short periods, or simply regarded as administratively separate or as sub-territories. Coats of arms found as entries under Artois as a *marche d'armes* may belong to Flanders, Picardy, the Corbiois or the Boulonnais in other armorials. During much of the reign of Philippe 'le bon', Lille was his favourite place of residence. In this light, segments 13 Flanders and 14 Artois should be considered together.

The 101 Flemings following the mounted C.Flanders in ETO segment 13 make a highly personalized listing, with several members from the families noted. Most of the entries have Christian names. The first score of entries were all major barons; the remainder appear to be knights and lords of lesser status. With such detail and a comparatively well-researched prosopography, there ought to be little difficulty in dating this collation. Most indicators point to a date around 1420, when the young Philippe 'le bon' led several expeditions into

²⁸⁸ LxMA 1:1072-1073; Schnerb EB 61.

French territory in revenge of the murder of his father.²⁸⁹ However, the easiness in dating is only apparent. Some arms, which look specific for a certain person – and might be supported by a Christian name – could have been used by similar named persons over several generations, or be less specific due to minor changes in the blazon or drawing.²⁹⁰ Another problematic feature is the fact that all but 7 of the 66 legends on ETO:71r-72r are in the cursive hand-B, which is similar to the hand in the copy of the segment in *Bergshammar* (BHM 12). The major gothic ETO hand-A was used for page 72v and the 7 others.²⁹¹

BHM segment 12 (98 items) is the only copy identified, though many of the legends and arms are present in the Flanders segments in the other members of the group. Legends are present for only 25% of the items in BHM 12, and these are all family names. A small fraction, 14 items, was replaced with other arms and names, probably representing an update of the list. The BHM compiler improved the copy by adding 28 crests from the *Gelre* (GEL 31).

On closer examination, the Artois segment 14 ought to be split into two. The first subsegment is only one page (74r; 614-638), preceded by the C.Artois as a whole page mounted figure and followed by 3 blank pages. The first four items in the subsegment are arms representing four counties in Artois: St.Pol, Boulogne, Guines south of Calais (name only), and St.Omer. These four items are repeated in *Bergshammar*, but while BHM has the ancient arms of the Candavène counts of St.Pol (c.1115-1205), we find that the ETO has their successors of the House of Châtillon (1205-1350), long extinct and succeeded by a subline of the House of Luxembourg. The other items represent 18 lordly families titled s[eigneu]r and 3 knights titled mo[n]s[ie]u[r], of which 3 have the names only. This subsegment was probably based on an older collation and never finished.²⁹²

The second subsegment 14b (76r-77r; 639-705) is untitled (as all ETO segments are), but usually named from the lead item the count-abbot of Corbie, part of the ancient county of Vermandois and of Picardy. Most items are titled

²⁸⁹ Pastoureau ETO 180 points to a middle date of 1421 and J-M. v.d. Eeckhout proposed 1418-22. The so-called '1421 list' mentioned in various publications does not refer to the 1419-1421 campaigns, but is a list compiled in 1437 (Donche EL 32), one among several similar surveys. The '1421 list' is very like the *Confrairie des partisans de Philippe le Bon* in BnF, fr.5233 (PPB) and the 'list of chambellans, 1425' in CAM.

²⁹⁰ e.g. ETO:535 + 537 named Jean and Adrian de Gand dit de Vilain. Both have an escutcheon of Malstede, which refers to Maria van Malsteede, an heiress married to Jean (II), and was used by all the following generations. Pastoureau ETO 185 prefers Jean (IV, d.1418), father of Adrian S.St.Jansteen, d.1449 and Jean (V) S.Huyse & Pamele, d.1447, both active in 1420.

Adrian has a label in ETO:535, but not in NLU:1417, where Jean in NLU:1414 is reduced to a blank inescutcheon.

ESNF 7:83-84; XRA 4:119+120 (seals:1376, Jean (III); 1436+1443, Jean (V); 1444, Adrian).

²⁹¹ This was also noted in Raneke BHM 43 on BHM:68r. Several items in ETO 13 are untitled.

²⁹² The arms of Châtillon C.St.Pol are found in many armorials from c.1300, e.g. the English *Herald's* (FW), the French *Rôle d'armes de l'ost de Flandre* al. *Chiflet-Prinet* (CPF), but also in the *Navarre* (c.1370, NAV), and *Urfé* (c.1380, URF), see Clemmensen OM.

môsr (knight) and represent families living near the central Somme towns of Corbie and Amiens, de facto annexed by Burgundy by 1417 and ceded to Philippe 'le bon' in the 1435 treaty of Arras.²⁹³ The subsegment is difficult to date, but probably contemporary. It might be a companion to the Flanders segment, but by a different collator. The 40 item fragment BHM 44a (BHM:2664-2713) is concordant with ETO 14b (ETO:76r-77r), though with many gaps and inserts, again indicating an update or amendment by the acceptor. The items on BHM:178rv are a nearly continuous copy of ETO:76v.²⁹⁴

The two Dutch segments (06 Holland and 07 Zeeland, 100 items) ought to be treated as one. Neither has a preceding mounted figure. The single most telling item in the Zeeland listing is Frank van Borselen as C.Ostrevant.²⁹⁵ He used to be a dependable vassal and official of Philippe 'le bon', promoted to governing Holland in 1430. When Jakobäa van Beijeren Cs.Holland-Hainaut-Zeeland after three marriages and much adventure had to surrender her lands to Philippe, she was confined in house arrest in the care of Frank van Borselen. But they fell in love and (probably) married secretly in 1432. The affair or marriage was eventually disclosed, and Frank and Jakobäa were allowed to marry officially in early 1434, but Frank had to retire because he was now a potential claimant to Holland-Hainaut. As a solace, he was created C.Ostrevant and later admitted to the Order of the Golden Fleece. Both segments contain several siblings and cousins of the major families, like Arkel, Borselen, Egmond, Haamstede, Merwede, Wassenaer and Zuylen. There are many brisures on the arms and appear to be contemporary collations, though most items have only the family name. From a cursory look at the items with and without Christian names, it seems that those without were lords themselves, and did not need their family names – as there could only be one lord of the name at a time.

The two segments were copied into *Bergshammar* (as BHM:106r4-109r8, 121r1-113r3; 1502-1576, 1588-1613), where the BHM compiler added some items, partly from *Gelre*. GEL was probably also the source used for most of the 54 crests added in BHM. For 5 items (Amstel, Brigdam, Egmond-Ijsselstein, Montfort, Schengen), not present in GEL, he must have used another source or possibly his own observations. Three other members of the group (LYN, NLU, and CLE) may have used ETO or a clone as the source. For Holland all three would pick and mix the items with other sources. For Zeeland, NLU and its copy CLE are concordant with ETO and BHM. On the surface, LYN might have picked and mixed Zeeland too, or the compiler has used a slightly earlier collation. An alternative explanation of the differences and similarities between ETO and LYN in these and other segments could be that they did use the same collation (or notes), but excluded or modified different items. As an example:

²⁹³ Vaughan PG 355.

²⁹⁴ See *fig.7-ch.6.2n2* overlay of BHM 44 Corbie on ETO 14 Artois.

²⁹⁵ Frank van Borselen S.Sint-Martinsdijk & Zuylen, c1396-1470, Statthalter in Holland 1430-34. When he married Jakobäa van Beijeren Cs.Holland-Hainaut-Zeeland (d.1436), who was confined to his care, he had to resign from public life, but was created C.Ostrevant in 1434. He was created CTdO no. 43 in 1445. He sealed in 1430 with Borselen (*fess & label*) qtg Zuylen. ESNF 18:38 + 1.1:104; XRA 1:296n13; CHA:74 (+ ecu d'Ostrevant), ETO:300 a.o.

Philip van Borselen S.Kortgene (d.1431), governor of Holland in 1399 for the Wittelsbacher counts, is included in both GEL and LYN with a label for difference, but is not in ETO among his 7 cousins and nephews.²⁹⁶

7.1.2 The kingdom of France.

The four segments from the kingdom of France do not provide any information on the contemporary nobility and might as well have been left out. The last of them, segment 12, has only the solitary mounted figure of the duke of Brittany; the first, segment 09, acts as a short introduction with 13 items. Of the two major segments, 11 Normandy is a partial copy of a collation made one and a half centuries earlier, and segment 10 France has a curious mixture of peers, barons and odd nobles from Ile-de-France – the core of the French royal demesne. There are no arms from the rest of France.

The 13 mounted figures in segment 09 represent the king of France and the Twelve Peers of France (*le Douze Pairs*). Each peer is recognizable by his carrying a banner, which is nice as two titles (Flanders on 52v and 70v, Normandy on 52r and 64r) are doubled. By himself a peer is a highly placed immediate vassal of the king, but in this case the twelve is a pseudo-carolingian ceremonial invention. It was probably inspired by the poems of the twelve close companions of Charlemagne.²⁹⁷ King Charles VII of France decreed that for the anointment of his son Philippe 'Auguste' on 1.11.1179, the future king should be assisted by 12 highly ranked nobles, 6 peers spiritual and 6 lay peers, 3 of each ranked as dukes, 3 as counts. Each should bear an item used for the ceremony, e.g. the ampoule, sword, spurs, banner etc.²⁹⁸ The peerage may have been real in the 12C, and the ceremony carried out as described, but probably with stand-ins for Normandy and Guienne (a.k.a. Aquitaine), which were held by king Henry II of England. The spiritual peers came from dioceses not far from the coronation church in Reims and the capital of Paris, but the lay ones were the principal vassals of which four (Champagne, Toulouse, Normandy, part of Guienne) soon reverted to the French crown and were used as royal domains or appanages for the crown prince. BHM, LYN and CHE all incorporated this segment.

The 'main' French segment 10 begins with a page of dukes of the blood royal and major barons with famous names like Montmorency, Dammartin, Albret, Vendôme and La Marche.²⁹⁹ The dates suggested from the items are a bit contradictory, and point to two periods: before Agincourt in 1415 and contemporary (c.1435). The D. Burgundy is of course Philippe 'le bon' with the

²⁹⁶ Philip van Borselen S.Kortgene, d.1431, Statthouder in Holland 1399, brother of Jacob S.Brigdam (d.1413), LYN:2614, GEL:1027, ESNF 18:38. For the various Borselen brisures, see Clemmensen OM.

²⁹⁷ e.g. the 12C *Roman de le douze pairs ou le chevalerie de Ogier de Danemark* by Robert de Paris. The number 12 refers to the number of Jesu disciples.

²⁹⁸ The duke-archbishop of Reims, D-Bp.Langres, D-Bp.Laon, C-Bp.Beauvais, C-Bp.Noyon, C-Bp.Chalons; D.Burgundy, D.Guienne, D.Normandy, C.Flanders, C.Champagne, C.Toulouse.

There are identical sets in BER 04 (23v7-24v6; 75-86); RYN 13 (19r; 442-456); GOR 96 (9v; 134-165).

²⁹⁹ ETO:54r (343-367). ETO:353 C.Nevers, 354 C.Etampes.

arms he used from c.1430, but Jean de France D.Berry died in 1416 and the title reversed to the crown. Jean I 'le sage', the first D.Alençon died at Agincourt in 1415 and his son was only born in 1409, at bit young, but active by 1430 as a companion of Jeanne d'Arc. The C.Etampes is interesting. The arms attributed to the C.Etampes, Burgundy (Valois) qtg Artois, belong to Jean de Bourgogne, a cousin of Philippe 'le bon' and younger brother of Philippe C.Nevers, the previous item and a title created in 1404. The county, south-west of Paris, was disputed after the death of Jean de France D.Berry, who had it as an appanage. Both the king and duke Philippe claimed it, and both appointed a C.Etampes. Jean de Bourgogne became C.Etampes in 1434 as a vassal of Burgundy.

Christian names are present in about half of the legends, but these are of limited value as many families used the same names for generations, the eldest son bearing the name of his father (or grandfather) and the second of his uncle etc. Among the indicators of an earlier period is Jean de Beaumont-sur-Oise S.Armeville, who died in 1415.³⁰⁰ Another item from the same period is ETO:384 "lamial", i.e. l'amiral, for Renaud de Trie, o.s.p.1406, maître des arbalétriers & amiral de France 1394-97, S.Mouchy & Serifontaine. He may have been known by the title even after he left office. Pierre de Villaines dit le Beque de Villaines, d.1406, was a 'très vaillant chevalier' according to Froissart. The canton of Castile-Leon was an argumentation granted c.1370 by Henry Trastamare king of Castile.³⁰¹ As a last argument for a basic collation of an earlier date, we may note that many of the name-arms combinations can be found in the *Cour Amoureuse* (CAM), an armorial listing the members of the similarly named society at the court of King Charles VI of France during a 40-yr period. This 'court of love' was promoted by duke Philippe 'le hardi' (d.1404), so the names and arms would be available for any Burgundian herald in the Low Countries. The segment was probably based on notes gathered at the end of the 14th century and given minor adjustments in 1434/35.

The Normandy segment 11 is one of the more curious elements in this armorial. This is a partial copy or extract of a very old collation. Already in 1951 Paul Adam-Even and Leon Jéquier noted the similarity between this segment and the corresponding segment of the *Wijnberghen* armorial, now in den Haag in Holland. The WIN has two parts: an older inventory of nobles from the Ile - de-France, and a slightly younger 'inventory' of French nobles, dated 1284-1288. The Normans belong to the latter and were painted 25 to the page in alternating rows of 4 and 3 with legends placed between the shields in the row above. The extraction of items from WIN was a somewhat curious picking of a hundred items from among 246.³⁰² Why the ETO compiler chose a 150 year old manuscript for a fill-in, has not been answered by any of the many armorists who have commented on it. But he is unlikely to have been the only one to have used this manuscript. The *Nicolas de Lutzelbourg* (NLU and its copy

³⁰⁰ CAM:365, seals of 1407/1410 XRO:1120-1121 reportedly less the escarbuncle in ETO, BHM, CAM a.o. armorials.

³⁰¹ ETO:386, CAM:148, GEL:440 a.o.;

³⁰² See *fig.7- cb.7.1n3* WIN 12r-ETO:65v. ETO:64v-65v from WIN:319-400, ETO:66r from WIN:401-564.

CLE), a 16th century member of this group has extracts from WIN:335-415 in pairs and triples.³⁰³ But in addition to those items, which might have been copied or extracted from ETO or the copy of it in BHM, there is a small fragment (NLU:1531-1534) which corresponds to WIN:375-379. This indicates that there may be more than one copyist, that used the *Wijnberghen* manuscript as a source, and that the older members of the group may have been created in parallel rather than in series. The Normans in NLU and CLE are split into two segments, one of 29 items concordant with extracts from either WIN or an ETO-clone, and a second of 22 items with an overlap of 9 (perhaps a couple more as doubles), but with some additions from the late 14th century.³⁰⁴

7.1.3 Foreigners

Besides the many mounted figures of European kings, German electors and a great grandfather of Philippe 'le bon' widely dispersed in the armorial, there are five segments with tables of arms of foreigners. Segments of Austrians, English and Scots would be natural for any large armorial of a general nature, and one for Jülich or Juliers could be just one of many for minor German principalities. The one that stands out is the Polish segment (of up to 79 items), which is present in several members of the group, because a comparable segment is not found in any of the other armorials examined for these cases.

Segment 15 England was taken from a collation of 1397, probably by a Burgundian herald (or pursuivant) living at the court of Richard II (r.1377-1399), as discussed above.³⁰⁵

Scotland (segment 19), the country to the north of England, was for centuries in a more or less permanent state of war with England, and as such often a valuable ally of France, and at times one of the two countries provided armed help for the other – official or clandestine. The latter was the case in 1418, when the truce between England and Scotland would have been broken by the Scots giving assistance to the French. At first John Stewart of Darnley only provided the dauphin (later Charles VII) with a personal bodyguard of Scottish archers.³⁰⁶ But already the next year this small force was expanded into a virtual army corps of nearly 7,000 men, led by prominent magnates such as John E.Buchan (a son of the D.Albany, regent of Scotland), and the two Archibalds, the E.Douglas and his eldest son, the E.Wigtown.

The 58 arms of Scots were painted using a 4x5 layout by the same scribe and painter as the rest of the armorial.³⁰⁷ The first item, excluding the mounted

³⁰³ For NLU and CLE, see *Ch. 7.4*.

³⁰⁴ NLU segments 23 and 52. Jean S.Blainville (d.1390), maréchal de France 1368 (NLU:573). The Melun acquired Tancarville by marriage c.1350, and had it elevated to a county in 1352.

³⁰⁵ See *Ch.5* The English in the *Toison d'or*.

³⁰⁶ John Stewart of Darnley *al.* Jean Stuart d'Aubigny in BER:230.

³⁰⁷ The items in segment 19 Scotland were thoroughly discussed by Colin Campbell in *Coat of Arms*, 1971, vol.12, nos.86-88, pp. 58-68, 115-123, 170-175. He dated the segment to 1437. The 4x5 layout is also used for segment 17 Poland, see below. Several

image of the king of Scotland,³⁰⁸ is for Archibald Douglas E.Douglas and named as D.Touraine with an argumentation of France in the 1st quarter. E.Douglas was created a French duke on April 14th 1424, but was killed shortly after at Verneuil on August 17th. The next 19 items present the regent himself followed by 18 counts (earls), a viscount, the marshal and the constable. A look at the display of pages 130v and 131r will show that this description breaks the numerical order.³⁰⁹ The Toison d'or compiler clearly intended to display the high nobility in an order of precedence – with Archibald of Douglas-Touraine singled out for special honour. So he arranged the earls on long lines across two pages.

With the display of so many earls, this cannot be an armorial of Scots in French service. Two items suggest a later date: James Douglas, the younger brother of Archibald (Douglas & Touraine) was created E.Avondale 1437, succeeded as E.Douglas 1440 and is named as “le conte de auendal” in the segment. The second item is of lesser importance. Alexander MacDonald, d.1449, Lord of the Isles 1423 and styled E.Ross by 1436, supports the later date, but his father Donald (d.1423) was married to Margaret Leslie Cs.Ross, and might have used the title *jure uxoris*. No item appears to date from after 1440.

A few items do not fit the period 1420-1437 when Scottish soldiers fought in France (or Scots at home). These may have been added from earlier material. The chevron of the earls of Carrick of the Galloway line has never been documented, but is suggested from the *Gelre* and certain later armorials. A cadet line of Carrick sealed in 1285 with *chevron, crusily*.³¹⁰ The better known 13th century earls were Robert (VI) Bruce (d.1304), a pretender to the crown of Scotland, and his son Robert (VII), who succeeded in 1292, later king Robert I. The older Robert (VI) used the Bruce arms, *saltire & chief*, differenced.

Irrespective of the five Christian names and some of the quartered arms, it seems that the segment was intended more as a registry of family arms than personal arms, and the first 20 arms as the territorial arms of counties rather than any incumbent earls. Menteith and Fife were both titles of the regent Robert Stewart D.Albany (d.1420) and of his son and successor as regent, Murdoch (d.1425). It may have been put together by a Burgundian herald from information gathered locally from Scots in the retinue of French ambassadors

mottees and dating from 16C were added in a modern hand, suggesting that the armorial was made available to a Scottish herald or armorist at a later date (p.61).

The items in the ETO, GEL and *Berry* (BER) were examined in McAndrew SH.

³⁰⁸ The image of the king of Scotland is an imitation of a later date; see the helmet and other details, possibly painted during the 16th century (Pastoureau GT 38 note 3) or the 17th century (Campbell, op.cit.).

³⁰⁹ See *fig.7-ch.7.1n6*, Scots in ETO and NLU.

³¹⁰ GEL:691, BHM:2083, NLU:273, BER:230. The 42 items in *Gelre* and its copy in *Bergshammar* have some overlap among the comital arms, but few among the untitled nobility.

Gilbert, son of Roland de Carrick, sealed 1285, XBM:15924. Roland was the younger brother of Neil (d.1256), the last E.Carrick of the Galloway line. Marjorie, his heiress brought the title to Robert Bruce (d.1304), father of King Robert I, McAndrew SH 52-55.

and among papers at hand, even including the *Gebre*, which may well have been owned by one of the Burgundian heralds. As an alternative, a herald may have accompanied the French ambassador, who was entertained by the senior Scottish cleric, Henry Wardlaw Bp.St.Andrews in 1435. In any case, he got the title wrong. St.Andrews only became an archdiocese in 1472.³¹¹

The 176 items in segment 02 Austria is the largest set of foreigners. We may split it into four subsegments, of which the first has the 20-odd hereditary possessions (Erbländer) of the Habsburg family. If the segment is a contemporary collation (c.1435), the emperor would be Sigismund of the house of Luxembourg (r.1410/33-1439), and these titles, arms and possessions would belong to Albrecht (V) von Habsburg, the head of one of the most influential families of the empire, who with his 1422 marriage to Elisabeth, the daughter and heir of Sigismund, would be well placed to succeed him as king of Bohemia, Hungary and the HRR – which he did over the years 1437-38.

This first subsegment makes a fixed set, found in different order in both French and German armorials. A few items, e.g. Habsburg and later Kiburg, represent titles only, because the possessions were sold off. Some of the Erbländer were actually held by different branches of the Habsburg family and would only be reunited in 1496.

The next 105 items subsegment gives the arms, but very few Christian names, of Austrian nobles. They belong to families who held land in Upper and Lower Austria (ober/unter den Enns), Styria (Steiermark), Carinthia (Kärnten) and Carniolia (Krain). A few pairings of arms belonging to men with heiress-wives might be incidental and due to transpositions during copying from the source.³¹² There are only a few clues for the dating: Moravia (Mähren) was given to Albrecht (V) in 1423, the son-in-law of emperor, then king of the Romans, Sigismund. Among the quartered arms we find Vintler qtg Oberthor from 1393 and Walsee qtg Tybein from 1399. On the other hand, there is Eberhard von Kapellen, the last of his line, dead by 1410.³¹³ But the reader must not expect a medieval herald or chronicler to be quite up to date on deaths and marriages, especially not on minor nobility and older men retired from court or active service.

The third subsegment gives 75 coats of arms of Tyrolean nobility. This is probably a collation of the same date as the main Austrian subsegment. The Tyrolean subsegment is doubled in BHM! With various modifications the Austria segment can be found in six different manuscripts. As noted already by

³¹¹ Henry Wardlaw, d.1440, Bp.St.Andrews 1403, ETO:993/131v2. A sceptical reader may substitute any official with an interest in armory for the herald - especially if he or she has a good argument for doing so.

³¹² E.g. Christoph Fuchs von Fuchsberg added the arms of his wife Barbara von Passeir c.1418 (ETO:143-144).

³¹³ Mähren 1423, LxMA 6:109. Johan (II) C.Schauenburg married Anna von Pettau in 1416 and had the Pettau arms as an argumentation in 1438 (ETO:27+38). Meissau became extinct in 1439 (ETO:39). Vintler, ETO:181, Walsee, ETO:31. Kapellen, extinct c.1410, ETO:133.

Rancke in 1975, the BHM segment is a clean copy of the entry in ETO. The relations between these two and the other four are more complex.

Michel Pastoureau noted in the 2001 edition that the source might be an Austrian herald, and that Jean le Fevre St. Rémy the Toison d'or king-of-arms might himself have copied it or received it as a gift when he and the Austria herald met at the 1434 wedding in Chambery of Louis de Savoie C.Genève and Anne de Lusignan-Cypre.³¹⁴ Revealing the origin of the segment is not that simple. An overlay of *Toison d'or* and *Paix d'Arras* (QPB *al.* APA/b, BnF, fr.8199) on the *Heessel Compendium* (CHE) reveal the complexity.³¹⁵ A simple listing of the concordance between the armorials shows that *LeBlancq* is a simple copy of CHE – with some omissions. Though the order of the Erbländer might differ, nearly all are kept together at the beginning of the segment in each armorial. Only Schelkingen in ETO and Magdeburg-Hardegg (not Habsburgian) in all armorials may have been misplaced.

The overlay indicates that the Austrian segment in CHE is not itself the immediate source of the other armorials, but it may still be very close to the basic collation. There may have been an intermediate between CHE and ETO. The overlay shows marked rhythms for both ETO and QPB. Both appear to have been read from a near clone of CHE by long lines, i.e. across both pages in a book. QPB has a marked 2-item shift comparable to its own layout, with some single items which themselves make a short subseries, e.g. QPB:31-34. The odd singles in ETO (compared to CHE) may just be transposition mistakes during copying. It was not possible to construct a layout that would serve as a common precursor of these Austrian segments.

There are differences in the contents of the segments. CHE has 5 items not in ETO, and ETO has 6 items not in CHE. The near contemporary LYN has 20 items not in ETO and CHE, and there are several gaps compared to the ETO and CHE segments. The Austrians in LYN are distributed among four segments, one of which (LYN 40) has no relation to the ETO / CHE collation, so the LYN compiler must have used at least one other source. The 17th century QPB was painted in Bruxelles by the 'marquis d'Haucourt', and the CHE may have been the source – if notes were used as an intermediate.³¹⁶ The 16th century LBQ was probably made for Alexandre le Blancq, a bibliophile with an interest in coats of arms.³¹⁷ This armorial was made up from copies of

³¹⁴ The *Austria* herald could be Hendrik Heessel *Österreich* KoA, identified as the author of the *Compendium* (CHE) manuscript by Wim van Anrooij in 2004 / 2006 (Anrooij HH), see also *Ch. 15.3.2*.

³¹⁵ See *fig. 7-ch.7-1n4*, partial overlay of ETO and QPB (APA/b) on CHE Austrians. The full concordance may be downloaded from www.armorial.dk.

³¹⁶ Philippe-Nicolas d'Aumale, dit marquis d'Haucourt, a French protestant living in exile c.1650-60 in the Low Countries, used his time in Bruxelles to copy various fragments of armorials. Several fragments were often joined together without noting a change of source, e.g. CHA, APA/QPB, and he was probably making spurious armorials out of old listings of nobles, adding arms himself, e.g. OAK (coronation of Otto IV in Aachen in 1198).

³¹⁷ For Alexandre le Blancq and the composition of the LBQ, see *Ch.8.3*.

various known sources (e.g. URF, BEL and SIC) and may have used the CHE itself.³¹⁸

The 66 items in ETO 17 Poland has the same 4x5 layout as Scotland, which suggests that it is a slightly later addition – after the peace negotiations in Arras in the summer of 1435. Two thirds of the items have legends, and many of the arms and names can be identified as people living and holding significant positions around 1435. This led Adam Heymowski in 1994 to suggest that Nicholas Lasocki, a Polish and Curial diplomat was the source of the information.³¹⁹ The proposal is hardly credible. Why should a high-ranking cleric-diplomat, who was a key member of the negotiating team, use time to provide a local herald with information on the arms of his native nobles? But the hypothesis would be tenable with a slight modification. Lasocki had a high standing with the new king of Poland, Wladislav III Jagiello (r.1434-1444), and as leader of the Polish delegation would probably have had a herald in his entourage to help with messages and ceremonial. This presumed herald could be the source of the Polish arms in this group of armorials. The earlier proposal by Heymowski, that three collations spaced by 15 years each is the basis, is unnecessarily complex, and implicitly assumed that the Burgundian heralds worked from collections of foreign material or that the foreign 'correspondent' kept several surveys of native nobles with him on his travels. That a Polish herald either brought a notebook or provided the information by memory is a much simpler hypothesis.³²⁰

From the large number of common items, 85% in the case of ETO and BHM, there are at least four versions of the Poles in the segment: ETO, BHM, LYN, and NLU-CLE.³²¹ Compared to the later BHM, there are too many gaps and a dozen extra items in ETO for this to be the source. On the other hand there are several similarities between LYN and BHM. There is a perfect concordance between the items on LYN:54v-55r and much of BHM:149rv. Only the first 7 items on BHM:149r come in different order – as does the items on BHM:147v-148v. But except for LYN:762 Slonce, the overlap is complete and the items are grouped as fragments. The major difference between LYN and BHM is that the first 24 items of BHM is missing in LYN – including the arms of the king, a couple of bishops and some territorial arms. Segments defined as territorial usually begin with the arms of its ruler or principal noble, and when we

³¹⁸ For BHM 33 Bohemia-Moravia, see *Ch.7.2.2*, CHE 07, 09.

³¹⁹ Heymowski CP 142. Mikolaj of Lasocki, Polish and curial diplomat, attended the Councils of Constance 1414-18 and Basel 1431-49 and was a member of the mediating embassy from the Basel Council to the conference at Arras 1435, provost of Krakow, Bishop of Wroclaw / Wloclawek 1449-1450. He presented one of the three introductory speeches to the conference. His arms (hrb Dolega) has a bordure in APA:249. The Dolega arms in ETO:917 are without border.

³²⁰ Heymowski LYN 124 (1985) proposed that 3 heralds collated the material c.1400, 1415-30, 1434-44. Three collations by the same or several persons would give the same result. The medieval memory for arms could be impressive. For the Scrope-Grosvenor case of 1385-90 one witness, a knight, referred to arms he had memorized as a child and other arms he had seen on campaign as far back as 1348 (H.S. London).

³²¹ The concordance and a selection of legends are on www.armorial.dk. LYN and BHM were also compared in Heymowski LYN.

consider that 24 items correspond to two pages, the simple explanation could be that a leaf (*52-bis*) is missing in LYN. Assuming this is the case, we may consider the legends in the five manuscripts. Many of the items in all the armorials in the group are without any legend, and the BHM compiler could in this case as in others help himself with legends from *Gelre* – which has a collation two generations older. A close look reveals a pattern. Most of the (non-*Gelre*) names in BHM correspond with those in LYN, and as is the case in other segments, the BHM compiler frequently drops the Christian name. Many of the legends in ETO are different from those found in BHM, but one may find them in NLU and its copy, the CLE. The composition of the NLU is rather complex, with most legends corresponding to ETO, some to BHM or LYN, with a few not found elsewhere. Two of the NLU-BHM pairs fix the date of the NLU collection, and confirm the relationship. The archbishop of Gnesno, Wojciech (Adalbert) Jastrebic, who died in 1436, and his successor in the diocese of Krakow, Zbigniew Olesnicki, are both in BHM and NLU – and probably would have been on the missing LYN:52r-*bis*.³²²

The BHM compiler may have copied his Polish segment from LYN, but the incongruities suggest that he may rather have used the same draft as the LYN compiler – and at the same time had the *Gelre* besides him. A century later we find the NLU compiler using a 'composite' of the older versions as his source. It is unlikely that the two earlier armorials came near Lorraine. The obvious inference is that the information provided by the putative Polish herald was taken down by more than one Burgundian herald at the time. As the Polish hrbs were clan emblems, more than one personal name may have been mentioned in connection with a coat of arms – or if taken down at different times, a different name may have been mentioned the second time.

The last foreigners in ETO are segment 04 Juliers and a series of mounted figures. The latter include the Holy Roman Emperor, the seven electors, Misnia (Meissen), Luxembourg and one for Juliers-Guelders (dissolved 1423) and one for Juliers-Berg with the arms of Adolph von Ravensberg (d.1437), who acquired Juliers in 1423. The 29 items in ETO are also in BHM, LYN, NLU and CLE – but with variations.

Neither ETO nor LYN had legends added, and the five last items in ETO were snipped off in LYN. The LYN compiler added 10 more and exchanged one for a similar coat of arms. So he might have copied and amended ETO or used the same or a very similar source. The BHM compiler was more elaborate. He decided to combine the nobles of the counties of Berg and Jülich. For this he copied alternately series from GEL and ETO and added a display of the ancestors of count Adolph.³²³ There are a few legends in the BHM segment that do not come from GEL. But the BHM compiler might easily have added

³²² Wojciech (Adalbert) Jastrebic, d.1436, elevated to Gnesno from Krakow in 1423 (hrb Jastrebic, BHM:2161, NLU:433); Zbigniew Olesnicki, d.1455, Bp.Krakow 1423, cardinal 1440 (hrb Debno, BHM:2162, NLU:434). List of the bishops of Krakow on Wikipedia and noted in Szymanski HS 108-111. 139; Heymowski CB.

³²³ See *fig.7-ch.6.2n1*, the composition of BHM segment 15 from ETO 04 and GEL 33 & 36. Raneke BHM 44, 232-237 had no real understanding of the type of mixing the GEL and ETO.

them himself, as Adolph of Juliers-Berg was a close ally, and heralds must have travelled frequently to the German principalities on the lower Rhine.

On the surface, NLU and CLE are straightforward copies of ETO. But NLU has legends for nearly all items. Some of these legends have a curious spelling, probably because they were read from a much older manuscript. Like for the Poles above, it seems likely that this collection descended from a source of close to 1435 in three parallel lines to ETO and BHM, to LYN, and to NLU and CLE.

7.1.4 The knights of the Golden Fleece (CTdO)

The most impressive element in the *Grand armorial de la Toison d'or* is undoubtedly the nearly hundred paintings of mounted princes and knights. Thirty-four of these wear the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece (Toison d'or), instituted during the winter 1429/30. The statutes of the order says that it should be composed of the head of the order, the duke of Burgundy, and 24 excellent knights; and that the order should have certain officers (chancellor, treasurer, secretary and a king of arms). Every knight must wear a golden collar of stone and firesteels (briquets) with a pendant of the Golden Fleece as recovered by Jason, the Greek hero. The order should hold yearly chapters to nominate replacements for those who died (or were expelled) during the previous year.

The ETO has 34 mounted knights painted in colour by painter-B – all from the nominations of 1430-1433. There are another 18 named knights drawn in a different style, but unpainted and without indications of their arms, all from later nominations, including those of the 10th chapter in 1461. Several commentators have noted the apparent disorder with mounted figures and segments placed irregularly – and all, even Michel Pastoureau as late as 1983 – never really attempted to make sense out of the series of knights of the order.³²⁴ Together with Christian de Mérindol, he rectified this a few years later.³²⁵ They examined the 34 early knights in all three manuscripts and noted the way the horses were turned, towards sinister or dexter – in both cases towards the spine. Though their tabulations may look a bit confusing, and the two later drawings are slightly disorganized, the overall impression is clear. The cavalcade imitates two columns converging towards each other.

The execution is not perfect, 3 knights are missing and there are irregularities at the farther end in both directions. But neither omissions nor irregularities can refer to deaths or expulsions from the order. Allowing for this slight confusion, which may simply be because the artist misread his notes, it is possible to pair the columns as they reach each other on fo.149rv. They merge into a parallel procession in the order of nomination with the senior knight to the dexter. The ranking is broken at no.19, but the reader may choose to disregard this. The disposition has been likened to the carrousel reported to have taken place in

³²⁴ Pastoureau GT. Vaire RV 16 (1978) listed the knights in order of nomination, but noted only that the sequences did not match.

³²⁵ Pastoureau CT 32-33 (1986), retold in Merindol GA 58-59 (1996). See also the version in *fig.6-ch.7.1n5*, cavalcade of the knights.

Bruges in 1430, or it may simply be that knights ought to be mounted, caparisoned and armed for battle. A better interpretation could be that, as each image requires a full page, the converging columns were necessary to represent the way the knights were seated at chapter in order of nomination.³²⁶ All knights nominated before the conference at Arras in 1435 are included, dead or alive – that is, except those unfortunates struck from the list.

The figures for the 18 later nominations exhibit the same fronting sinister if ahead of the main cavalcade and dexter if behind. In principle they simply join the columns converging, but their sequences are more irregular. As noted above we have two separate workups: one with knights nominated by the turn of 1433/34 and one which could not have been added before 1461. The 1986/1996 proposition of Pastoureau and Merindol of the set as a representation of the situation at the Fifth Chapter in Lille on 30.11.1436 is unsupported by facts.

7.1.5 Making the *Toison d'Or* armorial

Most of the commentators on the *Toison d'or* have agreed that it is an unfinished composite armorial made by or under the supervision of one or more heralds.³²⁷ If they discuss it at all, most also believe that much was lost and take the disorder and odd sheets found in various manuscripts as evidence. Some point to the *Bergshammar* and other armorials, and note that they contain many segments from all over Europe, which the *Toison d'or* does not include. With the artistic quality of the items in the tabular listings, not to mention the mounted mannequins, it would be inconceivable that such a work was left unfinished. It may have been - or the story could be more complicated. The conclusion will have to wait to the final chapter, but some discussion of its compilation (or in plain words authorship) and genesis is needed here.

The authorship has traditionally been attributed to Jean le Fevre seigneur de Saint-Rémy (1398-1468), by 1430 holding the workname Toison d'or and the offices of senior king-of-arms and chief herald of the chivalric Order of the Golden Fleece, instituted on the marriage of duke Philippe 'le bon' and Isabelle of Portugal in 1430. Both the attribution and the word authorship have flimsy footings as pointed out at the end of the preceding chapter.³²⁸ The attribution is apparently based on nothing more than the presence of the carousel of the knights of the Golden Fleece (CTdO) in segments 20-21. Torsten Hiltmann is right in pointing out that there is no hard evidence at all of how and by whom this armorial was compiled and executed, but he may have underestimated the involvement of heralds in the genesis of the group and by interpolation also in this member armorial. The key elements in the discussion are the multiple

³²⁶ Cockshaw TO 210 has the seating plans for the first three chapters, which also include the newborn baby Charles (no.35). Merindol (op.cit.) in Pastoureau CT 38, has a number of hypothetical observations relating the late Clairambault and Gaignières copies as time-frames of the various chapters, which the reader may choose to disregard.

³²⁷ Most authors used the term 'universal' or 'general' in this meaning, see *Ch.* 2.

³²⁸ The critique is most vehemently pursued in Hiltmann TH (2012) and Hiltmann AT (2017). For Toison d'or KoA, see *Ch.* 15.3.5.

copies of segments, their physical provenance, their layouts, and the ownership of some sources and copies by heralds.

Given the hypothesis that Jean le Fevre or another herald was involved, to what degree and in which form could it be? He is known to have held an important place at the court, having performed diplomatic missions and attended the meetings of the Order. He corresponded with William Bruges (Garter KoA 1415-50), his opposite number in England (and English France), whom he may have met already as a young pursuivant when Jean served on the English side at the battle of Agincourt in 1415. He was also the author of a chronicle, memoirs and treatises, and may have had artistic talents, but in the mid-1430'es he would hardly have had the time for sitting down with pen and brush compiling and painting this armorial manuscript.³²⁹ However, he may, in modern parlance, have acted as managing compiler, even as supervisor, and could be the person commissioning the manuscript from a workshop or directing a junior herald to make the selection of items and do the artwork.

What are the alternatives? It was hardly an amateur armorist, who himself did the several copies of several segments, each in a different layout. Any workshop could do so if several commissioners were willing to pay, and if they had access to templates with the necessary arms and names. A workshop would also make the copy in a different layout, if they got a different template, had to work on different paper size or by different instruction, e.g. from different commissioners, heralds or not. And so would other copyists working by themselves, e.g. the Lyncenich and Bergshammar compilers. Simple probability argues for a circulation of manuscripts (whole or partial) within a limited circle. Herald serving at the same court over several years are more probable than a group of bibliophiles for exchanging fragments rather than whole books.

Any discussion of the genesis of the ETO/a or Arsenal manuscript as it is today must include the several similar-sized segment-fragments made in the same studio as well as the two sets of mounted knights. Though one of the Bohemia-Moravia segments in CHE or COL could have been intended for the ETO, both could not! Neither could the Austrians, English or Poles. To propose that the mounted Preux and Preuses in the Clairambault manuscript (ETO/b) were intended for the ETO/a requires an explanation of why the commissioner should suddenly change from painter-B1 to B2, while the ETO/b used B2 for a copy of ETO/a elements.³³⁰ A more intriguing hypothesis would be that a second commissioner saw ETO/a (or a couple of fragments) and decided to buy a similar one, but with a twist. The second commissioner wanted miniatures of the two sets of Worthies, and he wanted them with the arms they had in the *Chevalier Errant* novel and as they could be seen from c.1420 in the great hall at Castello della Manta (Saluzzo, Monferrato-

³²⁹ *Chronique de .. Saint-Rémy* (1881, Ed. Morand). Most of his works appear to have been written in the 1460'es; see Koller TO 137-139.

³³⁰ Irrespective of whether one or two studios or workshops (A for tables, B for mounties) were involved, there are some fine details in the drawing that indicate parallel pairs of artists/artisans: the helmet of Philippe 'le bon' and the horses for the bishops and Preux-Preuses in ETO/b (by painter B2), and the bearded face for ETO:325 (painter A1) and CHE:174 (painter A2), see *fig.8-ch.7.2n2*.

Piémont in Italy).³³¹ Several variant hypotheses are possible: the 'two commissioners' could be bibliophiles enlisting the help of heralds; 'they' could be a single herald preparing gifts for his own advancements; or herald(s) commissioning a book intended to impress courtiers and ladies asking for information about other nobles. The placing of arms displayed on double-page spreads (by long lines) would support the latter version.³³² With quarto/A4 size it would be a virtual medieval coffee-table book, not a portable show-off.

Though the above discussion may indicate authorship and purpose, it does not explain how the segments/fragments ended up in so many volumes. The largest number are in the Arsenal (ETO/a) manuscript, but the rest is spread among three volumes that are collections bound at a much later date (ETO/b, Clairambault 1312; CHE, *Heessel Compendium*; APA/a, Add.11542), and a fourth (COL, no description), which may also be a late-bound collection.³³³ Did something go wrong, so that the two putative book projects had to be abandoned? Is the ETO/a simply the remaining trunk of a project abandoned, resurrected and finally abandoned, but kept together as a collection of quires by one of the interested parties, while the quires of the other project were given off? All the recipients and their successors appear to have stayed in the region (Brabant-Picardy) for a couple of centuries.

Though still in the hypothetical sphere, it is possible to infer something of a planned structure of ETO/a. The selection of contents for the segments, the presence of single mounted figures and blank sheets in the surviving manuscript are, on the surface, confusing. Why copy from a selection made 150 years ago for Normans, when the ETO compiler used up to date arms for Poles? One might think that even during a state of war, it would be possible to get a collation of a later date. After all, only less than a generation ago, the Burgundian court was closely involved in French affairs – the de facto ruler of Paris for some years was Jean 'sans peur', father of the reigning duke. The answer is probably convenience. Some care was taken to get Flanders, a core county of 'Greater Burgundy' right, as well as the newly acquired Holland-Zeeland. The Artois and the 'Somme towns' were de facto occupied, but not subject until after the Arras treaty of 1435 – and most of it could be contemporary - or modernized as was the smallish French segment.

If the armorial was intended to be for a 'Greater Burgundy', a candidate for full sovereignty as a member of the Holy Roman Empire,³³⁴ French arms would not really matter. Neither would English, Austrian or Polish arms. They would only be the appendix '*et de l'Europe*'. Fairly recent information on Austria and Poland was available – and was used. Not all medieval editors were scrupulous

³³¹ Thomas de Saluzzo: *Chevalier Errant*, Paris, BnF, ms.fr.12559: 125r+125v [CES].

³³² The Scots in ETO:130r-132r have the spread display. The Austrians (Habsburg Erbländer) in the first fragment on CHE:38v-45r can be read as such, and is joined with parallel displays of lay and spiritual peers of France on CHE:36v-38r. The knights of the Golden Fleece are displayed en cavalcade. Many segments in ETO (and other armorials) begin on a verso page presenting the prince and his retinue or vassals.

³³³ The analysis is hampered in that no details of the quire structure of the ETO/a, ETO/b, CHE or COL is available. The APA/a is now bound as loose bifolios.

³³⁴ Schnerb EB 412-417.

as to listing the current nobility. The senior French herald *Berry* reused older material for the northern province of Artois.³³⁵ England in the ETO was probably collated by a member of the court (of either the current or a previous duke).³³⁶

The disorder is only apparent, and on closer look this opinion is mainly based on the placing of the German princes and the way the segments are grouped. But these features are due to the binder, not the compiler – and internally all segments are intact. Even the French segment appears to be as complete as intended, though one may have wanted the addition of a few more French. The 'lonely riders' are just 'lonely' – headings that never got their segments.

The terms 'unfinished' and 'lost', which have been applied to the manuscript and its contents, should be replaced with 'discontinued'. If it had been completed, it would probably have had a composition like the *Bergshammar* or the *Lynce nich*. But it was planned to have a much higher artistic quality. No doubt, it was conceived on a grand scale with the Order and possibly the ducal family at its centre. The originator may even have intended that ancestral and/or elaborate displays like those in BHM, LYN or the *Cour Amoureuse* (CAM) should complement the mannequins. But for reasons unknown, the work was stopped, restarted, stopped again for decades, furtively restarted and finally abandoned. Only then did someone have the loose sheets bound into a book – and managed to damage several pages.

It is probable that the first intermission was caused by the upheaval at the court, when it moved from Bruxelles to the congress at Arras in 1435. By this time most of the mannequins were ready as were some 800 items for the tables. At some time after the end of the congress, two more sets of tables were made by the same artisan(s). The work may have continued on some of the mannequins, possibly the German princes, but especially on Rene d'Anjou D.Lorraine, who had been a prisoner-hostage since his defeat and capture in the battle of Bulgnéville in 1431. He took the titles of king of Sicily, Hungary and Jerusalem in 1435 – and after prolonged negotiations was released on December 11th 1436.³³⁷ The arms are those used 1435-53.

7.2 The *Paix d'Arras*, the *Heessel compendium* and the ARS.

The TOISON D'OR group of armorials includes three small armorials of different types, fragment-copies included in manuscripts of miscellanea. The first of these are known as the *armorial de la Paix d'Arras* (APA), which has survived in two different copies.³³⁸ Their relation to the group is based on two parameters, of which the first is the employment of the same scribe-painter for APA/a and the *Toison d'or* (ETO). The second parameter is the presence of copies of segments from the group in both manuscripts. The *Add.11542* has a

³³⁵ See *Ch. 10.2.2*, armorial *Berry*.

³³⁶ See *Ch. 5.1.2*.

³³⁷ Merindol GA 58, Merindol A 166, Pastoureau CTO 30. The claim that the armorial should have been ready for the 5th Chapter in Lille 30.11.1436 is untenable.

³³⁸ The two manuscripts: BL, Add.11542 (APA/a, QPA, c.1435) and BnF, ms.fr.8199 (APA/b, QPB, c.1650) was edited in 2006, combining the participants in the conference into one series; Clemmensen APA.

variant of the English segment,³³⁹ and *ms.fr.8199* has a combined Austrian-bohemian segment in addition to the participants in the conference.³⁴⁰ The copyist responsible for *ms.fr.8199* was d'Haucourt, who also added to it fragments of one or two 13th century armorials, known as *armorial d'Hozier-Cénalis* (HCN).³⁴¹ The subsegments of these three component armorials are interspersed without designating headers.

The second armorial or collection of armorial fragments, the *Heessel Compendium* (CHE), is named for its autograph author, but also known as *Complainte des héraults d'armes* from the title of the first treatise. The manuscript belongs to a rarely noticed form of medieval collections: the herald's compendium.³⁴² Such collections of miscellaneous texts and arms have been named variously: Heroldskompendien, Sammelschripte, miscellanea and vademecums. The key elements are texts covering ceremonials and the history and privileges of heralds. Notes of blazon, devises, tables of arms and genealogies of princes may also be included. The texts were probably intended for the owner's personal use, but could be used for copying and distributing too. It is likely that the present compendia are later co-bindings of distinct possessions intended for different uses, e.g. armorial fragments for exchanges and ceremonials as guidelines when employed.

The third armorial designated ARS for 'armorial temp. Richard II' or *Picquigny*, is a 17th century clone made up of a variant of the English segment in ETO, a fragment of an English ordinary, and a fragment of a English armorial.

7.2.1 The conference at Arras

The *Paix d'Arras* or Peace of Arras (APA) armorial is of the occasional type. It may have been intended as a registry of the delegates and their retinues at the peace conference of 1435. This meeting of the warring parties was convened by the pope and the council which was at the time sitting in Basel discussing matters of the Church in an attempt to end the Anglo-French wars, which had lasted for nearly a hundred years. Before the mediators and the three parties (French, the English and their Burgundian allies) met in the town of Arras close to the Franco-Burgundian border in July 1435, much secret diplomacy had taken place. The intention (and the outcome) was to separate the allies and facilitate the return of the duke of Burgundy to the side of Charles VII, the French claimant to the crown of France. At the time the guardians of the English claimant, Henry VI, effectively controlled most of western and

³³⁹ APA-en, see *Ch. 5* for concordance. *Add.11542* is a miscellany of pieces relating mainly to Normandy and parts of France while in the hands of the English, many relating to the duke of Orleans (Cat.Additions, vol. 6, 1839, p.2).

³⁴⁰ APA/b = QPB, see *fig.5-cb.7.0m1* and Clemmensen APA 7.

³⁴¹ Philippe-Nicolas d'Aumale dit marquis d'Haucourt, a French Huguenot, in exile c.1650-60 and after the cancellation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685; DBF 4:602 (1941).

³⁴² Hiltmann SH is a rewrite of his doctoral thesis on the compendia with extensive listing and analysis.

northern France. The conference lasted from early July to early September 1435 and numerous heralds were present.³⁴³

The fragments making up the APA was known to researchers, but never recognized as an armorial in its own right.³⁴⁴ Anthony Wagner noted the similarity of the painted arms in *Toison d'or*, a couple of sheets in BL, Add.43155, and in APA/a (Add.11542), but disregarded the English segment, possibly because it was of non-British origin.³⁴⁵ As late as 2001 Michel Pastoureau, who may not have examined it, speculated that the APA/a was a lost part of the *Toison d'or*.³⁴⁶ As there are both differences (no English ambassadors in APA/a) and overlap of participants between the contemporary APA/a fragments and the 17th century fragments of APA/b, several copies may have been made at the time. Three of the four segments of participants are small, while the Burgundians comprise the majority of the contents. They were members of the ducal court and of the local nobility, who joined the ducal cavalcade as it travelled from Bruxelles on 28/6 through Courtrai, Grammont and Lille, arriving in Arras on 21/7. There are slight differences in the numbers between APA/a : APA/b. For the Mediators 12:12, French 16:17, English 0:15 and Burgundians 204:354 - making 401 different persons when combined.³⁴⁷ The Mediators included 2 cardinals, some bishops, and senior members of their staff. The French were led by a former chancellor, the archbishop of Reims, two members of the House of Bourbon, royal cadets, and the senior military officer, the connétable de Richemont. The English were led by the bishop of Winchester, a royal uncle, three bishops, two earls, and some staff - including a trio present in only some versions of the English segment of the *Toison d'or*.

The mode of combining the two manuscripts in the 2006 edition was to use the contemporary APA/a as a template, assuming that the ultimate source of APA/b was similarly made up of folded bifolios.³⁴⁸ Items from APA/b were then fitted as read by long lines, with a 'missing' page fused to APA/a:96r. This gave a reasonable concordance with a presumed bifolio and folio structure. By this method APA/a:100r12 Josse de Wulfsberghe preceded his brother (son frere) on 99v13, whereas they would have been items 204 and 189 on the simple page-by-page reading.

7.2.2 The Heessel compendium

This manuscript is a collection of texts and tables of arms in the autograph of the herald Hendrik van Heessel, who had the professional titles of Austria king

³⁴³ For the conference and its outcome see Dickinson CA, Vaughan PG 98-107, Barker C 223-238, and Schnerb EB 184-187. For heralds attending, see Contamine TO. For the edition, see Clemmensen APA.

³⁴⁴ APA/b, ms.fr.8199 was mentioned in Popoff BH no.2209 as having been edited as *l'armorial de la Paix d'Arras* in a Master thesis by Jérôme Launé (c.1998, not consulted).

³⁴⁵ CEMRA 96.

³⁴⁶ Pastoureau ETO 2:35.

³⁴⁷ For details see Clemmensen APA 14-59, App. B+C.

³⁴⁸ Clemmensen APA 8, and App.A, Bifolios of the Burgundian segment, see *fig.6-ch.3.3n1*.

of arms (Österreich) and Ruyers king of arms.³⁴⁹ Born in the Dutch-German principality of Geldern or Guelders on the eastern border of 'Greater Burgundy', he served the Habsburger emperors during the latter half of his life, but he also spent a long period at the court of Philippe 'le bon', who proposed him as 'king of the Ruyers'.

The present book, a herald's compendium, was probably kept unbound in his own time as a set of notes for his personal reference and perhaps for exchanges with colleagues. Wim van Anrooij determined the textual parts to be in his autograph. Heessel must have copied or written these short treatises on matters from the titles of duke Philippe to remedies for gastric troubles. They have the appearance of being fair copies, not hasty drafts. The tables of arms are drawn in different styles, but were not painted by Hendrik van Heessel himself. The legends appear to be in the same hand as the scribe for the main text. Like most other medieval armorial manuscripts there are some later additions both in legends and in drawings. The armorial contents can be divided into 18 segments, of which 6 can be found in members of the TOISON D'OR group of armorials. Five segments, or in this context fragments with tables of arms, begin on verso pages and were painted by the same artisan (ETO painter-A2).³⁵⁰ One of the corresponding recto pages belongs to the preceding fragment, another contains the last page of a treatise in Latin. One is still blank, while one was later used for his personal arms. The last of the preceding rectos has the tail of the names in a list on the previous pages. It is likely that the ETO group fragments were obtained during his stay at the Burgundian court during 1434-1437.

The first fragment of arms or segment has the pseudo-Carolingian 12 peers of France (Douze Pairs); the second set are Austrians split into three CHE-segments and discussed in *Chapter 7.1.3*. The last set has Bohemians in two segments. As formerly employed by emperor Sigismund, who was also king of Bohemia, Hendrik van Heessel could be the source of the segment of Bohemians and Moravians in three other members and a satellite of the group.³⁵¹ The present order of the compendium gives precedence to the margrave of Moravia and the 16 members of the subsegments over the king of Bohemia and his 26 followers. Some of the pages in the CHE are only partially filled. As the *Lynceich* segment has the Bohemians leading, it is likely that the pages of CHE were transposed during binding. Curiously the *LeBlancq* has the same order as CHE. Both the LYN and LBQ are fully concordant with CHE. The 17th century copy in *Paix d'Arras* (QPB or APA/b) has the concordance broken up into pairs, singles and short fragments - probably due to it being copied from an intermediate. However, the *Bergshammar* has nearly all items in

³⁴⁹ Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek (Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience), ms. B 89420 (CHE). Overview of its contents in Anrooij HH and in *fig.5- ch.7.2n1*. The authorship was established in Anrooij HH, see also *Ch.15.3.2*. The title *Complainte des héraults d'armes* was used for the selection of illustrations in Volborth AH 84-86 and came from the title of the text on CHE:2r-4v 'complainte sur la déclin de la chevalerie', written in German.

³⁵⁰ See *fig.8-ch.7.2n2* for a comparison of the artwork in ETO and CHE. The quire structure is not available.

³⁵¹ The segments are CHE 07 + 09, LYN 39, BHM 33, APA/b 23 (QPB), and LBQ 40-41, see also *fig.5- ch.7.2n1*, segments in CHE. The concordance is in *fig.7- ch.7.2n4*.

different order. Like several other segments of the BHM, the leading items were taken from the *Gelre*, and the rest could well have been picked from either CHE or LYN. There is no apparent logic in the order chosen by the Bergshammur compiler. By comparison the larger Austrian segment has the ETO and BHM fully concordant while LYN and APA/b could be derived from a CHE clone (or source) with many similar small fragments like it is in ETO and BHM.³⁵²

7.2.3 Extended Englishmen

Among the many interests of Charles du Cange was armory. He transcribed several armorials, including one (BA, ms.5256:83v-93v) with a core of the English arms from the TOISON D'OR group blazoned and designated by the sigla ARS.³⁵³ The title reads "ms de nobilité anglais vers 1420, titres de la terre de Piquigny, appartient à D.Chaunes". The dating is plainly wrong, as the lead segment of 10 items includes Henry IV (r.1399-1413), his sons and relatives. Among the latter are his half-brother Thomas Beaufort, created E.Dorset in 1411 (ARS:9) and the brothers Edward (succeeded as D.York in 1402) and Richard, who only became E.Cambridge in 1414. The next segment (ARS:11-137) contains most of the Englishmen extracted from the ETO segment. The rest of the overlap (138/168 in ETO-en) are in the third segment (ARS:138-190) mixed with items not in ETO. The large tail is made up of part of an ordinary (ARS:191-299) and a fragment of an English general armorial (ARS:300-447). There are few, if any, redundancies among the items in ARS.

The ARS manuscript fragment has several interesting features. Contrary to the other known versions of the English in the TOISON D'OR group, most of the gentry items have Christian names, and in segments 02-04 have the prefix 'm' for knight (monsieur). The peers are designated as 'le sr' for lord (seigneur). The concordance indicates that the nearest version is the *Lyncenich*. The last part of segment 02 (ARS:95-137, similar to LYN and ETO) may have been extracted to form part of a preliminary ordinary (as are segments 03 and 04). The variants of *quarterly* arms in ARS:102-115 correspond to items placed in ETO:107-112, 131-137, 162-163 with a tail of Spencer and Acton from outside the ETO group. Some 30 items have Christian names that differ from those proposed for the men in ETO.³⁵⁴

It is impossible to know whether the attempt to turn the material into an ordinary was done by du Cange or whether it was in his 'Picquigny' source. Du Cange also used this material for an alphabetical dictionary.³⁵⁵ The town of Picquigny with the remnants of a major castle lies on the river Somme 13 km NW of Amiens in Picardy. The source manuscript must have been borrowed

³⁵² See *Ch. 7.1.3* and data on www.armorial.dk.

³⁵³ BA, ms.5256, is volume 9 part 1 of the manuscript works of Charles du Cange (1610-1688), which has a version of the *Navarre* as 73r-82v. ARS was used with the sigla JL as a reference for the edition of *Toison d'or* (ETO) by Pastoureau & Popoff from material collected by 2001 by Jérôme Launé for a doctoral thesis (not consulted), Pastoureau ETO 2:79. For the English in ETO, see *Ch. 5.3*. For du Cange, see *Ch. 15.5.2*.

³⁵⁴ The names are only in Clemmensen RH, not in Pastoureau ETO.

³⁵⁵ BnF, ms.fr.33009:1r-91r (QEB, 1010 items).

from the library of Honoré d'Albert (1581-1649), maréchal de France in 1619 and created D.Chaulnes in 1621 on his marriage in 1620 to the heiress Charlotte Eugénie d'Ailly Cs.Chaulnes & Vd.Amiens & Bs.Picquigny.

Many of the items that are not in ETO correspond to entries with similar legends and arms in the *Willement*, dated 1392-1397. Other items correspond to items in *William Jenyns' Ordinary* and collections temp. Henry IV.³⁵⁶ A few items, e.g. the baron Thomas Lathom (ARS:202) of a family extinct 1382 and inherited by John Stanley, indicate an early collation, but the general impression is that the named persons would have been active in the 1390'es.³⁵⁷ It is most unlikely that the blazoned ARS was derived directly from any of the group members discussed here.³⁵⁸ The addition of two other English fragments suggests either an English source or 'copies' brought back from a visit to England by an armorer - and in this case possibly the same pursuivant suggested for the English in the TOISON D'OR group.

7.3 The *Lyncenich* and the *Bergshammar* subgroup

Both armorials are near contemporaries with the *Toison d'or* itself and share the unusual feature of displaying the arms of sets of ancestors in a miniature-like setting. The *Lyncenich* is slightly older than the *Bergshammar*.

7.3.1 The *Lyncenich* and *Bergshammar* manuscripts

The manuscript and organisation of the *Bergshammar* armorial was described above.³⁵⁹ The features relevant for this discussion are that it resembles a small fat pocket book (approx. A5 format, 243 ff.), is preserved in its original binding, that the arms were probably painted c.1460 on parchment, that its 3,387 items were divided by Jan Raneke into 66 segments (with additional sub-segmentation), and that several segments were made up of items extracted and blended from the *Gelre* (GEL), *Lyncenich*, and/or the *Toison d'or*.³⁶⁰

The *Lyncenich*, formerly and erroneously known as the *Gymnich*,³⁶¹ is also approx. A5, but a little thinner with only 2,827 items in 81 segments on 197 paper leaves from folded sheets. The close relationship between the older members of this group of armorials suggests that the unknown compiler of the *Lyncenich* was a herald employed by the Burgundian court. Except for those parts derived from the group, its sources are unknown, but it was a direct source for the

³⁵⁶ Clemmensen WIL; Clemmensen WJO. The arms for the WJO were probably collated c.1380. Several similar items are in College of Arms, ms. M10 (as WB in DBA), and in Fenwick's Roll (c.1413, as FK in DBA).

³⁵⁷ E.g. Roger Drewry, fl.1391-1416 (ARS:180); two of the name Marmaduke Constable, d.1377, d.1404 (ARS:121).

³⁵⁸ The typical periodicity of the overlaps is three.

³⁵⁹ See *Ch.6* Creating the Codex *Bergshammar*, and the survey of the armorial in *fig.5-ch.7.3n2*. The contents indicate people active during 1449-56.

³⁶⁰ In general close clones may have been used, rather than the named manuscripts, e.g. here for the *Lyncenich*.

³⁶¹ E.g. in Raneke BHM (1975), on information from Paul Adam-Even, who misread "ex libris Jois a Luxemborge de Lyncenich armorum reguli titulo comitatis hannonic 1629" of fo.1v. The survey is in *fig.5-ch.7.3n1*. There is a preliminary description in Bergen HM 32-33 #18.

Bergshammar and probably an indirect source for the *Lutzembourg* and others. From the active periods of the people mentioned, it may have been painted a decade earlier than the *Bergshammar*.³⁶² The eight watermarks found indicate manufacture around 1450.³⁶³ The contents are much reshuffled, as evidenced by notes inserted in an old hand on several of the blank pages preceding segments as well as the splitting of territories to segments far apart. Some pages may be lost, others were only partially completed.

One of the special features of this armorial is the many displays of ancestors of the princes leading segments, several with semi-miniatures figures holding the arms. Another is the list of marriages which determined the succession in Hainaut-Holland, Guelders, Juliers and Berg. A third is a rare list of family arms of officers and knight-brothers of the Teutonic Order.

7.3.2 Displays of ancestors

The fascination with ancestors in an armorial is common in noble houses all over Europe, but to include genealogy in an armorial is a typical Germanic trait, which is rarely seen in the English or French speaking parts during the Middle Ages.³⁶⁴ These displays all have five coats of arms: the primary subject (no.1 P), his (occasionally her) father (no.2 F), mother (no.3 M) and two grandmothers (no.4 FM, 5 MM). The *Lyncenich* has 21 sets, if we include the list of marriages in segment 44 and exclude the Electors in segment 20. The *Bergshammar* has nine - with seven in common.³⁶⁵ The subjects are mostly royals and princes from the region. Except for Henry V of England, who died in 1422, they were all active after 1440. Surprisingly, the King of France is absent. The two compilers chose to present the heir to Burgundy, Charles 'le téméraire', with different wives - probably reflecting different times of compilation, if not of manufacture. In *Lyncenich*, it is his first wife Catherine de France (d.1446), while in *Bergshammar* it is his second wife Isabelle de Bourbon, whom he married in 1454. The angel holding the arms on LYN:18v may indicate that Catherine was dead at the time, and that Charles had not yet remarried, i.e. probably painted between 1446 and 1454.

Though the displays are similar in concept, they differ in execution - except for a single set. The *Lyncenich* compiler enjoyed having miniature-type illustrations holding or accompanying the displays - to a total of ten. The *Bergshammar*

³⁶² Determining the actual and/or relative periods of manufacture of the two armorials would require an extensive art technical evaluation. The displays on BHM:47v and LYN:109v/220n and the helmets and mantling could have been painted in the same workshop.

³⁶³ The condition of the manuscript and the time available did not allow the present author or Martin Wittek of the KBR to perform a formal codicological analysis of the *Lyncenich*, but he suggested that the paper used for the original part (fos.2-175) was made 1435-55, with the types documented from 1434-1456. The later sheets (fos.176-197) were probably made 1561-85 by the Lebé papermakers in Troyes. Wittek pers.com. 2005.

³⁶⁴ The *Rous-Warwick* and *Salisbury* armorials (RW, SA) with semi-miniatures of the earls of Salisbury and of Warwick with their wives are exceptions. Both LYN and BHM have a Germanic tone.

³⁶⁵ See *fig.7-ch.6.1n2* for a complete list of sets.

included only a single miniature, not only an elegant one, but an exact copy of the corresponding set in the *Lyncenich*. The swan rising from a fenced mound has the arms of Kleve-Mark on its chest and the crowned bull's head crest hanging above. Two banners (Kleve and Burgundy) are inclined behind the swan and two (Juliers-Berg, Bavaria-Holland) placed in the foreground.³⁶⁶ These represent the four ancestral families of Johan (II, d.1481), who succeeded as D.Kleve & C.Mark in 1448 - a key item for dating both armorials.

Females are rare in armorials and so are representations of marriages. The *Lyncenich* has 43 items in sets of impaled arms for the marriages that determined the successions in Hainaut-Holland, Berg, Guelders and Juliers (LYN 44). Beginning on fo. 83r there is Edward III of England married to Philippa of Hainaut (Avesnes) and Emperor Ludwig IV, a Wittelsbacher duke of Bavaria married to Margaret, a sister of Philippa. On the next pages (83v-84r, spread displays!) comes the third sister Joanna, wife of Willem D.Juliers followed by the Wittelsbacher counts of Hainaut-Holland, descendants of Ludwig IV. The next spread (84v-85r) has the marriage of the rulers of Juliers-Guelders and Juliers-Berg. The last spread (85v-86r) records the inheritance of Fuedler and Juliers together with the marriage of Philippe 'le bon' and Isabella of Portugal. The final items (LYN:1343-1344) are for Willem Arnold van Egmond (1410-1473) D.Guelders & C.Zutphen and his wife Catherine of Kleve (Mark). They were married in 1427 and Isabella in 1430 - dating the segment.³⁶⁷

7.3.3 Common sources

Both compilers constructed their segments by extracting items from their sources in several ways. The most simple is the straight copying from one manuscript to another though recognition may be complicated by changes in legends, addition or deletion of brisures and transposition of items. As demonstrated for the *Bergshammar* in *Chapter 6*, its herald-compiler used this form for copying the English and Austrians in segments from the *Toison d'or*, and he also used this simple method for copying several segments from the *Lyncenich*.³⁶⁸ The *Lyncenich* compiler did not use direct copying from any of the putative sources known. Discerning exactly how the *Lyncenich* is related to its possible sources within the group would require a much closer scrutiny and elaborate reconstruction than is possible in this study. Extracting fragments from several sources and combining them is probably more common than the few examples of blending items from *Gelre* and other sources into the *Bergshammar*.

Even with a high frequency of common coats of arms and similar legends supported with several markers, it is difficult to discern whether compilers were using the same collation from different clones, different collations, or extracting

³⁶⁶ See *fig.8-ch.4.1n4(b)* BHM:47v, LYN:109v/220n.

³⁶⁷ The arms (Guelders impaling Juliers, in curtesy) of Willem Arnoldin LYN:1343-1344 are inappropriate. He only inherited Guelders, while Juliers went to the Ravensbergs. However, he used them in pretence on his seal of 1446, XRA 1:523).

³⁶⁸ E.g. from LYN 34 pol, 42 bur, 48 lux, 52 cle, 55-63 various, 71 hai, 74 nam.

and mixing items from one or more manuscripts.³⁶⁹ As an example, the *Bergshammar* (BHM 05, 207 items) and the *Lyncenich* (LYN 43, 180 items) have 134 arms from Brabant in common and also many Christian names, brisures and several marker items in the form of unique name-arms combinations.³⁷⁰ Though both segments have several of the same two-item fragments, there is no evidence of concordance or pick-and-mix from adjacent pages. Among the markers are the arms of Philip van Glymes S.Grimbergen (d.1464) in LYN:1167 and BHM:238 with the Glymes argumentation to Boutersem and a border for personal difference, confirmed by his seal.³⁷¹ The three Glymes brothers, who were still living after the death in 1442 of the fourth brother, Henry, have their arms in either or both armorials. A closer examination of the names and the alignment of the three armorials reveals that the *Gelre* (GEL 29, 102 items) was probably the primary source of both shields of arms and crests (none in LYN), and that the *Bergshammar* picked and mixed items from GEL with extracts from LYN (or a clone) and at least one additional source to make a segment that suited himself.

It takes a lot of local knowledge to dissect a segment into putative collations. For the Poles, Adam Heymowski has identified many of the items, and proposed that they came from three collations, each performed by a herald: one of c.1400, a second of 1415-30, both from the reign of Vladislas II Jagiello (r.1385-1434), and the third from his successor Vladislas III (r.1434-44). Considering that some of the names in *Bergshammar* were taken from the *Gelre* and that many items are unnamed with arms of clans rather than personal and family arms, most of the identifications can only be tentative. None carries a datable title of office, and the active lifespan of most of the proposed persons cover the last two of the proposed periods. As such the proposal needs further substantiation.³⁷²

The *Lyncenich* has lost other parts than the leaf with Poles (before fo.53). The only Portuguese in it are the ancestors of King Alonzo V in LYN 33 on fo.52v, which correspond to BHM 62a. The *Bergshammar* display continues on the same and the following page with 16 achievements. But, according to the note on fo.52r, there were once 61 Portuguese arms in the *Lyncenich*. Together with the 24 items on the leaf presumed missing before fo.53 in LYN 34 Poland, the lost Portuguese may have filled a now lost quire.³⁷³

³⁶⁹ Only by a careful study of markers would it be possible to distinguish between one or more collations taken within a few years from a population as the majority of arms and names would be identical.

³⁷⁰ The number of common arms may vary slightly depending on which variants are considered sufficiently similar, e.g. Anton von Glymes S.Walhain, who apparently has a border engrailed in BHM:239 and a label in LYN:1167.

³⁷¹ XRA 1:496, Philip van Glymes S.Grimbergen 1456, arms of Boutersem argued with a chief of Aywieres or Bertout and a canton of Brabant for Glymes and a border for personal difference. ESNF 7:103+105.

³⁷² BHM 34 (79 items) is a simple copy of LYN 34 (56 items, 24 lost before fo.53). Clemmensen LYN; Heymowski LYN 124, Heymowski CB, and Heymowski CP.

³⁷³ The 61 portuguese mentioned on LYN:52r could be a mistake by the indexer counting the 5 arms on the ancestral display on 52v in LYN 33 together with the 56 Poles in the following segment 34.

7.3.4 Unique segments

Only four French segments in *Bergshammar* with a total of 322 items are derived entirely from sources outside the triad *Gelre* - *Toison d'or* - *Lyncenich*.³⁷⁴ The Ponthieu and Vermandois nobles from the north of France and the 'Berry', who come not only from this duchy, but from most of France south of the Loire, appear to have been collated before 1400, or at least before the battle of Agincourt in 1415. The Bretons may either be an updated collation of the same time or a near contemporary one from c.1440 - depending on how the members of the ducal family are evaluated. The overlap between the eleven French segments is limited, which suggests that the compiler did try to exclude names and arms already entered.

Like the *Bergshammar*, the *Lyncenich* also uses presently unknown sources, but to a larger extent, which reflects the different selection of sources and the slightly older date of the latter as well as their difference in focus. The *Lyncenich* compiler was not interested in France as such. Of his two French segments, only the first includes a morsel of items from the group and is entered with the same layout as the preceding segment of German counts.³⁷⁵ The second French segment has many repeats, suggesting a direct copying of a much older source without any interest in the contents.³⁷⁶ Obviously there ought to be a better set of French than from the first source, but that did not concern him. The Artois segment 69 was selected because it was a recent acquisition by the Duke of Burgundy following the reorientation of politics after the Arras conference of 1435. The most likely time of collation of this segment is 1430-41, i.e. shortly after the conference.

The concept of a core of segments, which are present in more than one member of the group, could be misleading. It is useful for surveying armorials for similarities, but less useful for establishing the descendance of information. It is likely that the collection of materials used for the *Toison d'or* and related armorials was larger than the segment now present in the ms.4790 volume, but to what extent is merely a matter of personal preference. In fact, it would be reasonable to view all segments that are not in the *Toison d'or* or the *Heessel Compendium* as unique for the *Lyncenich*. The absence of any evidence for the *Lyncenich* compiler or the *Toison d'or* compiler having used the *Gelre* and the extensive use of it by the *Bergshammar* compiler suggests that it may only have reached the Burgundian court after the *Lyncenich* was finished.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁴ BHM 35 Berry, 41 Brittany, 47 Ponthieu, 48 Vermandois. For fragments from other sources, see *Ch.* 6.2.2-3.

³⁷⁵ LYN 29 (69 items) and 68 (100 items).

³⁷⁶ LYN 68 is probably a collation of c.1380. The 4x4 layout is mostly used for Germans and together with the preceding curious mix of Flemings and Hainauters, they probably filled a quire of four leaves.

³⁷⁷ The *Bergshammar* compiler preferred *Gelre*-based information for *Lyncenich*-based in e.g. BHM 46 Mecklenburg, 12 Flanders, 06 Cologne, and 49 Poland, though LYN 03, 66, 45 and 19 were of similar or larger size.

The most interesting of the unique segments in the *Lyncenich* is segment 65, led by the arms of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order.³⁷⁸ The following 42 coats of arms are probably the only extant medieval list of the personal arms of knights of the Order. Except for the Grand Master himself, whose arms can be found on the walls of halls and churches affiliated with the Order, armorial anonymity was assumed upon entering.³⁷⁹ How the Bergshammar compiler or his informant obtained the list is shrouded in darkness, but it must have been by personal contact and a high degree of mutual regard. The second item, the coat of arms of the Grand Master Paul Rossdorf (r.1422-1441), sets the time, and though several items are nameless and the arms of the Marshal of the Order are unknown, there are the arms of the Grosskomthur Erasmus von Fischborn with the narrowest occupancy of office (15.01.1429-10.10.1430).³⁸⁰ The grand officers of the Order are listed by rank.

Of the remaining segments, which have not been mentioned above, most are fairly small (4-20 items), often mention only German nobles by name, not arms, and have a 4x4 layout. A few use the more common 3x4 layout. The 68 items of LYN 45 led by Dietrich von Mörs Abp.Cologne 1414-63 is probably a list of his vassals, but it was already grouped with the next four segments before the end of the century.³⁸¹ This odd grouping contains not only an additional set of items from the three archbishop-electors, but also 40 items from Luxembourg (a popular source), seven French items placed as 'segment leaders', and blank pages - one later used for an exlibris.³⁸²

One of the last segments (LYN 78, 167v-170r, nos. 2718-2768) has the most unusual layout. Only two rows per page, each led by a banner or pennon, sometimes associated with a crested helmet. The flag is followed by three or four shields of arms and crested helmets of the followers of the bannerets and principal knights leading the team. The men came from either the diocese of Utrecht or the duchy of Brabant and are participants in a tournament held in the autumn of 1441 in the town of Utrecht in Holland.³⁸³

³⁷⁸ The list was copied in 1540 into the *Lutzelbourg*, its copy the *Clémery*, and in 17C into a miscellany noted as an *Urfz*-clone, BnF fr.23077:32rv, see *fig. 5-ch-8.4n3*. CLE is fr.23076. Jan Raneke only identified the arms of Paul von Rossdorf and proposed the date. Werner Paravicini noted the date and argued for a closer examination, as the arms of the knights had never been surveyed. Paravicini PR 1:68n184.

³⁷⁹ Ekdahl BP fig.6, Arnold HM 100, Paravicini PR 1:305 gives examples of the arms of Grand Master von Jungingen. BLW:45r, SGH:47n, RUG:241r-242v, and BSB, cod.icon.309:55v have a list of the arms of all the Grand Masters to 1470.

³⁸⁰ Voigt NC 7.

³⁸¹ The note on fo.87r says 134 arms, i.e. segments 45-49. The hand is possibly that Gilles de Rebecq Hainaut king of arms, fl.1490. The notes placed ahead of some of the segments may number the items on a quire rather than in the segment following.

³⁸² Segment 48 Luxembourg was copied by *Bergshammar* and *Lutzelbourg*.

³⁸³ Clemmensen LYN 17-18, possibly an addition to the armorial.

7.4 The *Lutzembourg* and the *Clémery* subgroup

These two armorials are really post-period clones, painted around 1540 in the same workshop in Lorraine.³⁸⁴ The *Nicolas de Lutzembourg* (NLU) is an expensive presentation manuscript painted on parchment with the use of gold leaf. In addition to the many segments with the coats of arms or achievements of noble families organized on a territorial basis, it has four segments with ancestral arms (or noble quarters) of the family of the name-giving commissioner of the armorial. The *Antoine de Clémery* (CLE) is a much cheaper manuscript painted on paper and probably a copy painted soon after, omitting the Lutzembourg, Raigecourt and Haraucourt ancestors.

Apart from the commissioner-related family arms, the two armorials contain the same material, concordant segment by segment.³⁸⁵ The *Lutzembourg* is divided into 55 segments and the *Clémery* into 53 segments, one of which contain a few arms not present in *Lutzembourg*. The segments come in different order in the two armorials, partly due to structural reorganisation, partly accidental on binding. Comments on the *Lutzembourg* apply with equal weight to the *Clémery*, which will not be discussed separately – except for the comment on mixing segments given below.

Most segments begin at the top of a page, but for segments CLE 40&41 and NLU 35&36 it is evident that neither the Lutzembourg-artisan, nor the Clémery-copyist understood the contents, but performed a mechanical copying process adding Swabians to Poles without a stop. The situation is similar for the Normans and Hainauters of segments NLU 52&53 and CLE 23&24. The differences in the sequence of segments between the two armorials, and the splitting of marches d'armes or contingents into several segments could have been caused by shuffling of quires or leaves on binding.

7.4.1 The *Antoine de Clémery*

The manuscript, BnF, ms.fr.23076, of which the *Clémery* fills ff. 2r-141v, is painted rather crudely on paper, 290 x 210 mm (quarto), with legends in one hand and pencil comments in another hand. Some items have crests added. The book once belonged to the French collector and armorist Francois-Rogier de Gaignières (1642-1715), and had number 849 in his collection. It is bound with three other manuscripts painted in different styles (QCA, 142r-146r, Lorrainian, same paper; QCB, 146v-187v, Europeans, different paper; QCC, 188r-199v, Europeans, possibly with QCB).

It was not possible to examine the quire structure of the *Clémery*, but the mixed order of the several segments of English and Scots appears to be caused by inattentive preparation for binding. Apparently the copying was made on folded bifolios giving four successive pages. Numbering the six bifolios A-F

³⁸⁴ Determined by Jean-Christophe Blanchard as part of his doctoral thesis at the University of Nancy. Mentioned in personal communications in 2003 and in the web description from ARTEM, Atelier de Recherche sur le Texte Médiéval, 1998.

³⁸⁵ See *fig.5-ch.7.4n1* for segments in NLU and CLE, and the blazons and concordance in Clemmensen LC on www.armorial.dk.

and the sequences 1e-8e for the English and 1s-4s for the scots relative to NLU, the relation between the CLE folios 34-46 would be:³⁸⁶

34rv-A-1e, 35rv-B-3e, 36rv-B-4e, 37rv-A-2e, 38rv-single-blank;
39rv-C-3s, 40r-C-4s;
41v-D-1s, 42rv-E-5e, 43rv-E-6e, 44rv-D-2s;
45rv-F-7e, 46rv-F-8e;

Note that the Scots begin at 41v and end at 40r with blank pages preceding and following and that bifolios A and D envelops bifolios B and E making two 8-page quires. A short segment of 17 items (CLE 20, 55rv, Hainauters) is not present in *Lutzembourg*.

7.4.2 The Nicolas de Lutzembourg

The manuscript, Nancy, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 1727, has 117 leaves of parchment, 275 x 190 mm, with 1667 items on fo.14r-115v, pages ruled for dimensions, and the binding is as old as the armorial. It was painted on parchment; used gold and silver paint for certain arms, and devotes several pages with 84 items to the arms of people related to the Lutzembourg, Haraucourt and Raigecourt families. Though the content is mostly late medieval, the compilation and the artwork belong to a later period, the early modern or renaissance, probably 1540 as proposed by Jean-Christophe Blanchard, with some additions entered about 20 years later. It was acquired as late as 1980, and is of good quality with tightly bound leaves.³⁸⁷

Several segments (656 items) are derived from the TOISON D'OR group of armorials. The English segment is copied in its entirety, but for the other 12 segments only fragments or extracts are used and mixed with arms culled from non-identified sources. The second major related group of armorials is concerned mainly with the arms of nobles and patricians from Lorraine– the locality of the commissioner of the *Lutzembourg*. Five segments of nobles from Lorraine and Bar (NLU 24-28) are concordant with the contemporary armorial *Jean de Haraucourt* (JHA) and most of the 249 arms (outside the family) can be found in armorials of the RINECK group.³⁸⁸ Segment 54 is a copy of the knights of the Teutonic Order taken from *Lynwenich*.

³⁸⁶ See *fig.6-ch.5.2n6*, Scots and English in CLE.

³⁸⁷ The Bibliothèque Municipale placed a facsimile of the NLU on their website in 2013: <http://bmn-renaissance.nancy.fr/items/show/1240>, but the reader will have to turn all the pages from the beginning to the item needed, and the images are unnumbered. Several legends are later additions in a different hand. These items were left unnamed in CLE. Jean-Christophe Blanchard published a description of it on the now defunct website of the Université de Nancy and ARTEM (Atelier de Recherche sur les Textes Médiévaux) in 1998, see the introduction to the blazons on www.armorial.dk.

³⁸⁸ The Lorraine or RINECK group of armorials is discussed in *Ch.10*. Two armorials have been published, the short *Haraucourt* in Blanchard JHA, and the larger *André de Rineck* in Blanchard RYN. The group includes the *Ruelle* (RUE), the *Savelli* (SAV), and the QCB appended to *Clémery* in BnF, ms.fr.23076:146v-187v.

For the remaining 678 items in the *Lutzelbourg*, there is at present little information on their sources, but they are probably German or imperial. The segments fall roughly in four groups: Austro-Germans (including Hungarians), Iberian, French and Burgundian (i.e. Brabant, Holland, Hainaut). There are eight Hungarians, of which the three identified were present at the Church Council in Constance 1415-18, but the selection does not fit any of the known members of the BODENSEE group.³⁸⁹ The Germans may in part have been extracted from a version of the *Richental* and combined with material from other sources, e.g. the *Lyncenich* or a clone of it. Several names have forms that are only found in these two armorials, e.g. von Waldeck for Hase von Hasenburg *al.* Hase von Waldeck *al.* Zajic von Waldeck.³⁹⁰ Several of the followers of C.Cilly (father-in-law of Emperor Sigismund) in segment 34 are also known to have been in Constance.

The mostly anonymous Iberians could be of the same period or later. Some arms belong to Henry 'Navigator' D.Vizen in Portugal and to the Aragonese Avalos family, which had a member holding the office of Constable of Castile at the time. The family moved to Italy (kingdom of Naples) where they became prominent, holding the island of Ischia.³⁹¹ The 'Burgundians' may include elements extracted from the TOISON D'OR group, but notably segment 46, noted in the armorial as the knighthood of Franche Comté, is actually a list of participants in a tournament held on February 20th 1430 in Arras.³⁹² Noted jousters like Simon de Lalaing and Jean, dit Poton, de Saintralles (1390-1461), created maréchal de France in 1454, took part.

7.5 Satellites related to the *Toison d'or* group

Besides the armorials discussed above, for which the core segments of the group dominate the known sources, there are two subgroups that have some of the core segments as their secondary source. The first is the *LeBlancq*, a late clone from the URFÉ-group discussed in this context. The second subgroup consists of two almost never studied armorials hidden in the archives of the Order of the Goldene Vlies (Toison d'or, Golden Fleece) in Vienna. Though the RINECK-group has many segments in common with the Lutzelbourg-subgroup, there is only a feeble relationship concerning the English (and perhaps the Douze Pairs) between these armorials and the core elements of the TOISON D'OR group.³⁹³

7.5.1 The *LeBlancq*

The overlap between the *LeBlancq* and a clone from the TOISON D'OR group can be reduced to five and a half segment.³⁹⁴ The most likely source is the

³⁸⁹ E.g. Clemmensen ARK for Pera / Perenyi, Sinrich von Vag and Marothi. For the BODENSEE group, see *Ch.11*.

³⁹⁰ Among the armorials surveyed: NLU:997 & KCR:830 Hase von Waldeck; NLU:555 & KCR:942 *Archyn* von Seinsheim; NLU:1052 & LYN:1713 *Jacob* Tr.v.Waldburg; NLU:864 & LYN:1725 *Marquard* von Königsegg.

³⁹¹ NLU:350 Henry 'navigator' (d.1460); NLU:338 Avalos; wikipedia (Ignacio and Costanza Avalos a.o.).

³⁹² NLU: 1354-1371 / 100rv; Monstrelet 2:81.

³⁹³ For the RINECK-group see *Ch.10.3-4*.

³⁹⁴ See *Ch.8.3* LBQ and mixing.

Lyncenich. The *Heessel Compendium* is less probable as it does not have any English.

The 'half' segment LBQ 55 Mecklenburg has only the ducal arms, while the three other arms correspond to the three last Bohemian nobles in CHE 09 and LYN 39.³⁹⁵ Similarly the Austro-Bohemians in LBQ 38-41 are present in both CHE 03, 07 and 09, as well as in LYN 08, 36, 38 and 39. The English in LBQ 35 are blended from URF 02 and LYN 32 or one of their clones, with URF:129-233 providing the major part of LBQ:2951-2975 + 3005-3046 and LYN 32 providing LBQ:2976-3004.

7.5.2 The *Chiffre* and the *Rebecq Équestre*

The two manuscripts in Vienna differ in form and quality.³⁹⁶ The *Chiffre* (CFR) appears to be a draft workbook with many of the elements of *Lyncenich*, e.g. ancestors of the Duke of Burgundy, Emperor Friedrich III, a count of Tirol, and Count Cilly, the father-in-law of Emperor Sigismund. Most of the items belong to Brabant and Flanders. The Austrian segment and several individual items are readily identified as belonging to the TOISON D'OR group core, and a closer examination will probably conclude that many of the other segments have items in common with the core. Among the more curious items are a list of the formal titles used by Philippe 'le bon'; a Montagu as Lord of the Isle of Man (held 1334-93), rather than their successor Stanley of Lathom in the *Toison d'or*, and the arms of Leonhard von Laiming as bishop of Passau - as in the *Heessel Compendium*. Most of the men (or families) appear to have been active in mid 15th century.

The *Rebecq Équestre* (ERQ) is more like a normal armorial of fair artistic quality and correctness. It is named for Gilles de Rebecq, Fusil herald to Charles 'le téméraire' and Hainaut king of arms to his Habsburgian successors. The notes in this and other manuscripts are probably in his hand, but the armorial may well have been compiled decades earlier. The tilting helmets are slightly more pointed, but the pageant or grilled helmets, legends and mantling are similar to much of the *Bergshammar* and the *Lyncenich*. The contents cover Guelders and the 'Greater duchy', i.e. Flanders, Brabant and Holland as well as Burgundy. More unusual for a member of the TOISON D'OR group is the presence of both the Nine Worthies and their female opposites (Preux and Preuses) as well as the arms of Bertrand de Guesclin as a tenth Worthy.³⁹⁷

The *Rebecq Équestre* takes its name from the 83 mounted figures paired as jousting on 42 folio leaves charging each other across facing pages. Many of the pairs recall the crusades. The Holy Roman Emperor charges Saladin and Brittany jousts with Pomerania. A further segment has another 18 mounted figures, but at two per page. Neither is in the style of the *Toison d'or*.

³⁹⁵ Riesenburger, Neuhaus and Lippe in LBQ:3675-3677, CHE:63r6-8 / 229-231, LYN:66r1-3 / 990-992.

³⁹⁶ See *fig. 5-cb.7.5n1* surveys of CFR and ERQ.

³⁹⁷ Bertrand de Guesclin is present among the Worthies in *LeBreton*, a 15C *Urfe* manuscript and in the RINECK-group.

8. The members of the URFÉ group

The *Armorial d'Urfé* is not only one of the more important sources for the arms of the late medieval French nobility, but is also the mother of a series of clones which includes the armorials *dit de Sicile* (SIC), *dit de Charolais* (CHA), the *LeBlancq* (LBQ), the armorial appended to the treatise on arms known as the *Prinsault* (PRT), and to a lesser degree the Lorrainian armorials derived from the *Rinecke* (RYN).³⁹⁸

8.1 The *Urfé*

The armorial is only known in blazoned form and from manuscripts that are obviously later copies. This implies that it is hard to identify any later amendments. Many of the blazons are themselves unsatisfactory as they use internal references, either 'telez' (same as the previous entry) for 169 items, or, a name that may imply more than one coat of arms, for 209 items.³⁹⁹

The 2,855 items in the principal manuscript of the armorial have been partitioned into 54 segments largely under the headers given in the text,⁴⁰⁰ and may be ranged into four groups: the French (including men from the Low Countries) and the foreigners (Britons, Germans, Poles and Spaniards) making up what might be termed the *URF-proper*, a tournament of 1377, and a compilation of imaginary arms attributed to heroes of the popular romances of Alexander, Charlemagne, Arthur of Camelot, the Crusades and finally the Nine Worthies. With a few exceptions the clones only reuse the segments of the *URF-proper*. Items were sometimes extracted in varying order. Certain items of *URF* may not be present in the corresponding segments of the clones, but can be found in other segments.

The conventional view of the *Urfé* as a compilation of c.1380 continued towards 1425 tacitly implies that one person or even a group of persons during that time made surveys of nobles and their arms, exchanged lists of arms with people of similar interests, and, not least, added names and notes to the listings already gathered.⁴⁰¹ The person(s) was/were presumably herald(s). An alternative view is that the armorial was prepared at a desk from available sources with entries collated at different dates. The inaugural date of c.1380 is suggested by the use of *three fleurs-de-lis* in the arms of the king of France

³⁹⁸ *fig.5-ch.8.0n1* gives a survey of the common segments in this group. The *Urfé* armorial and some of its versions are evaluated in *Ch. 8.1.9*.

For reasons discussed in the text, details concerning *URF* and *PRT* refer to the primary manuscripts only.

³⁹⁹ See *Ch. 4.2.2* for a discussion of the problems of blazoned arms.

⁴⁰⁰ *fig.5-ch.8.1n1* gives a survey of the 54 segments and the 15 known manuscripts. The preliminary identification of items in Clemmensen OM is based on the transcription of H. Stanford London from the primary 15th century manuscript, BnF, ms.fr.32753.

Except for two segments, 02 England and 46 Tournoi de St.Omer 1377 (Clemmensen UE, 2007; Clemmensen TSO, 2008), none of the *URFÉ*-group armorials has been edited. Most of the entries (families) have only been researched superficially, and to the extent noted in the records of Clemmensen OM.

⁴⁰¹ 1380-1425 as in Popoff AP is the most accepted period. Alternatives are 1425 (Raneke BHM), 1440 (H.S. London) and 1423-1440 by d'Hozier.

(URF:1), as these replaced the *semy of fleurs-de-lis* early in the regency of Charles VI (r.1380-1422).⁴⁰²

The URF is family-oriented, but must cover many of the persons mentioned in the near contemporary, but individual-oriented, French armorial *Navarre* (NAV), or in the *Bellenville* (BEL) and *Gelre* (GEL) made in the Low Countries. The period 1380-1425 suggests that many of the families and individuals entered would have been notable at court or in military campaigns in the relatively quiet middle part of the Hundred Years after France became resurgent and had recovered most of the territory lost at the Treaty of Brétigny in 1360, and kept England on the defensive from 1369 until the end of the twenty-two year truce of 1396 and the campaigns of Henry V, which culminated in the battle of Agincourt in 1415.

8.1.1 Ile-de-France

The armorial begins with 127 items from the royal domain of Ile-de-France led by the king of France and 3 counts or counties. All items are lords named by title only and all have single coats of arms. The only exceptions are “messire ferri pattes” (URF:47), which could be interpreted as an 'upgrade' to the more famous namesake Ferry Paste S.Challeranges (d.1247) maréchal de France 1237 rather than a Louis (NAV:718) or Jean (o.s.p.1374), and the S.Thiais with impaled arms (URF:104). The use of 3 *fleurs-de-lis* could be a 'modernisation' during copying. Of the three counties, Dammartin-en-Goële changed hands several times, but the incumbent count used the 'county' arms, known from 1185. Dreux became extinct in 1345, but were royal cadets, and the county was a legal entity or fief around 1400.⁴⁰³ Melun was not a county, but a vicomté, though several members held comital rank with different titles.

In practice it is almost impossible to determine when a lordship and the arms used with the name became defunct as a named entity due to the extinction of the owning family, the owner getting a better fief, or when the arms of early owners were adopted by later ones. In the absence of Christian names or composite or peculiar arms it is nearly impossible to date the segment. Only two indicators have been found. The first is that the Meslay vidame de Chartres (URF:13) became extinct in 1374 and was succeeded by the Montoir-Vendôme. The second indicator is the curious set of five members of the Trie family (URF:5-9) in combination with the fact that the comté de Dammartin-en-Goële (dep Oise, ar Meaux, c-l-c) was held by the senior member of the Trié from 1262 to c.1400, when the heiress married Charles Bureau de la Rivière.⁴⁰⁴ In simplified terms, three versions of the Trie arms were used. The basic *Or bend azure* for the senior branch, the bend charged with 3 escallops for the Mouchy and Serifontaine branches and the bend of Dammartin for the Mareuil

⁴⁰² The *semy of fleurs-de-lis* can be found in URF:2687 in the conventional list of kingdoms in segment 47.

⁴⁰³ Simon de Thouars C.Dreux (o.s.p.1365), Charles d'Albret was created C.Dreux in 1407.

⁴⁰⁴ Charles de la Rivière C.Dammartin, CAM:109, Rivière qtg Dammartin

branch.⁴⁰⁵ The three latter branches had members living c.1400. The senior branch became extinct no later than 1375. The basic arms differenced with a mullet were recorded for Mathieu de Trie S.Vaumain (o.s.p.1344), who was appointed *maréchal de France* in 1320 during the lifetime of his father Renaud (II), another *maréchal*.⁴⁰⁶ These arms may have been unrecorded for a member of the family living c.1400, but unlikely giving the fairly well documented genealogy and use of arms of the Trie family.

At present 19% of the items could not be verified, but the majority appear to come from Ile-de-France and to have been entered simultaneously, though without much thought of precedence. Few, if any, of the names were prominent as commanders during the Anglo-French wars. From the feeble indicators noted above, the collation may have been done some time before 1375.

8.1.2 Northern territories

For a French armorial, the definition of segments 22-34 as northern French is rather unconventional as they include German and Flemish speaking parts as well. However, by 1435 all of these territories were ruled either by the king of France or by a French prince of the blood, the Valois duke of Burgundy.

Depending on the armorial investigated, some of the territories included here may be presented separately or bundled together, e.g. the Ponthieu, Corbiois and Beauvaisis (segments 23-25), which may be noted as Picardian or may have had other smaller territories (or *marches d'armes*) such as the Amienois detached. The northerners may conveniently be discussed in subgroups.

The first subgroup has only one segment, Normandy (segment 22, 152 items). The lead items are three coats of arms for the duchy: the boar's heads attributed to one of the companions of Charlemagne,⁴⁰⁷ the lions derived from the Angevin king-dukes and still used today, and the arms of the Valois branch of the royal family, which succeeded to the crown in 1328 and used Normandy as a title and appanage for the eldest son. Only Jean II used these arms as duke before his accession in 1350. The next four items represent important families, who had reached comital rank during the 14th century: Brienne (Eu, 1294-1350), Artois (Eu, 1350-1472), Harcourt (cr. 1338) and Tancarville (cr. 1352). Except for some 10 items, the remaining arms in the segment all belong to families known to have lived in the duchy. Seats or possessions have been found for about half of the entries. As a survey of the nobility of the duchy the segment is hardly exhaustive. It names only 140 of the 490 families recorded in the present database.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁵ . See Clemmensen HT for the variant arms used by the Trie family. Charles de Trie, the last C.Dammartin & S.Trie died after 1368, possibly in 1375. Arms of the S.Trie in URF:5, Dammartin in URF:2.

⁴⁰⁶ XDD:219 (Mahieu, marF, 1323), ORL:64 'marechal ..'.

⁴⁰⁷ The 3 boar's heads are only found in the clones and satellites of the URFÉ group, from URF:1219 duchy, URF:2778 Richard of Normandy, see Clemmensen OM.

⁴⁰⁸ Clemmensen OM, 2014, records coded with 'nor', all with members entered in armorials.

At the present level of investigation, there are very few pieces of evidence for dating. Among the entries, only 11 Christian names or initials can be found, and most of these are for names recurring in the families. There are a couple of dateable entries, such as Robert (VII) Bertrand S.Briquebec, who was created *maréchal de France* in 1325 and died in 1348 (URF:1229), or better Jean de Mauquenchy dit Mouton S.Blainville, appointed *maréchal de France* in 1368. He died in 1390 as the last of his line (URF:1331). Neither entries name them as marshals. The title C.Eu is entered for two families: Brieenne and Artois. Jean de Brieenne (II, d.1302) C.Eu & Guines, who took part in the 1297 campaign and was killed at Courtrai in the 1302 campaign, and Raoul de Brieenne (II, d.1350), *connétable de France* 1344, who forfeited it and was executed for treason, are two notable members of the first holders. The famous soldier Bertrand de Guesclin (d.1380), who was appointed *connétable de France* and created D.Longueville (in Normandy) for his services, is not present here.⁴⁰⁹ But he was a Breton, and as the king could not grant land and titles in Brittany, he was given the honours in the province he restored to the king. Taken together with both counts of Eu, it appears that the compiler included only the families that held lands for a long period in the duchy. As far as can be ascertained the families mentioned here would have members active during 1350-1390.

The second subgroup, corresponding to the modern regions Nord and Picardie includes Picardy (segments 23-26, 238 items) and Artois (segment 27, 134 items). During most of this period a substantial, but fluctuating, part of Artois belonged to or was claimed by the count of Flanders, from 1387 in the person of the duke of Burgundy. Most of Flanders (segment 28, 132 items) was legally a fief of the crown of France, but in fact sovereign and leaning towards England because of the valuable trade in wool and cloth.

The only indication for dating the four Picardian segments is the double presence of Adam de Boubiers in the Ponthieu segment attending the tournament outside Calais in 1377.⁴¹⁰ The general structure of the four segments is similar. Each begins with the titled nobles (if present) and the most important families. Christian names are rarely present, though many of the arms appear to be differentiated. A few of those present can also be found in the *Navarre*, e.g. Herivard Dargnies (URF:1413, NAV:1036). Except for the Vermandois (segment 26), most entries have been verified and assessed to cover local families. The perception of administrative geography of a medieval compiler of arms needs not correspond to the specifics laid down for the 'pays' by modern legislation, though the limits and designations of the old roman *pagi* were usually continued over centuries by counties, castellanies and baillies. An example: modern Vermandois is defined as the *arrondissement* Saint-Quentin or the north-western part of the *departement* Aisne. In the present segment (and in some other armorials), it appears to extend over half of Aisne and into part of the *departement* Ardennes, which should rather be regarded as parts of Champagne.

⁴⁰⁹ Bertrand de Guesclin is in the corresponding Norman segment of *LeBlancq*, LBQ:1323.

⁴¹⁰ URF:1439, 2677.

All four segments have headers naming the contents, but neither Corbie nor Beauvais has the arms of their nominal heads the count-abbot and the count-bishop. Ponthieu has only the name of its count, but this is probably only a transmission failure as the arms were well-known and used by many towns as well as the lords of Picquigny in the item following. For the C.Vermandois the compiler chose not the famous checky pattern celebrated as one of oldest coats of arms recorded.⁴¹¹ Instead he settled for *Or lion gules*, only documented in a seal of Alienor Cs.Vermandois dated 1211, i.e. after her divorce from her 4th husband Mathieu C.Beaumont-sur-Oise. The lion could be his arms rather than her parental arms.⁴¹² The lion in *or-gules* has been attributed to both the count and to the sénéchal, but only in armorials derived from the *Urfé*. In *gules-or*, it is the arms of the Fonsomme, who in 1283 bore the title sénéchal of Ponthieu.⁴¹³

The Artois segment 27 includes families from the four castellanies (Lille, Cassel, Bailleul and Bergues), which by some authors and compilers were regarded as belonging to Flanders. There is some overlap with the Ponthieu segment 23. Titled nobles are blended with the more important families in the beginning.⁴¹⁴ The counts of Artois and Guines are leading by tradition, while the counts of St.Pol-de-Ternoise and Boulogne come 5-8 places further down. Boulogne has only the Auvergne gonfanon introduced in 1260, but not the roundels of the earliest comital family. Two fiefs have double entries for successive holders. For St.Pol the Luxemburger precedes the Châtillons from whom they succeeded after 1350. For the lords of Rollancourt the Châtillons succeeded the older family with the Mailly-like arms c.1335. Several items appear to have been confounded either by misreading or concatenating more than one entry. Other items are referred to as families (e.g. “celui de marcoing”) even though the arms are differentiated.⁴¹⁵

Hugues de Bazoches (Châtillon) S.Dampierre & Rollancourt, who was appointed master of the crossbowmen in 1375, is the only reasonably dateable person, but mostly because his name and arms appear in *Navarre* and *Gelre*. He was active at least from 1364. Two of the three named items can also be found in the *Navarre*. The third named person, Enguerrand de Ploich, was probably living in 1368.⁴¹⁶

The Flanders segment 28 has a geographical overlap with Artois for the four castellanies, but not in families. The main problem with the segment is that

⁴¹¹ Wagner ME; Bouly EH 63; P. Brière, RFSH, 1972, 41:n; Rabbow, Kleeblatt, 2011, 1:78-85; Bedingfeld H 15; Clemmensen PB 98, critique of the *checky* in Clemmensen AA 68-73.

⁴¹² XDD:1053, counterseal 1211 for Alienor Cs.Vermandois. The arms of Beaumont-sur-Oise were *Argent lion gules*.

⁴¹³ URF:1494 count, URF:1519 senechal. Fonsomme, URF:1594.

⁴¹⁴ URF:1609-1621 leading segment 27.

⁴¹⁵ URF:1674 Marcoing.

⁴¹⁶ URF:1619 “le sire de rolaincourt”, NAV:644 “le seigneur de dampierre”, GEL:352 “grv van dampier”. URF:1665 and NAV:1122 Pepin de Wierre, URF:1706 Denis de Morbecq has the arms confounded, but the proper arms in NAV:1214. Enguerrand de Ploich was probably named as a witness in 1368, Carpentier HG 3:508.

several legends are almost incomprehensible, but nearly all arms can be named, verified and placed in localities. The dating relies on just two items: Henri de Flandre C.Lodi (o.s.p.m. 1366), and Robert Tincke dit le Maréchal (fl.1368-1374).⁴¹⁷

The third subgroup, segments 29-34 for the Low Countries or BeNeLux, belonged to the German Empire (HRR), though the languages spoken were mixed with the southern parts' predominantly Walloon-French. Brabant and Hesbaye (segments 31-32, 182 items) were independent up to the early 15th century when Burgundy de facto took over. Hainaut and Holland (segments 29-30 and 33, 319 items) were in personal union 1299-1433. The Ruyers marche d'armes mentioned in the header with the arms of Holland (URF:2285) is usually considered to cover the area between the Schelde and the Rhine but inclusive of the German counties of Guelders, Cleve and Juliers on the east bank.⁴¹⁸ The small Luxembourg segment (no.34, 7 items) only have members from two family groups designated as bannerets and named only by titles. Of these, the lordship of Pittingen or Petange (URF:2381, arms of Ouren) went from this family to Criechingen before 1410.

The two Hainaut segments (29 bannerets, 30 non-bannerets) have a slightly retrospective air with all the four coats of arms used by the counts up to 1433, and including the arms of the S.Rumigny and other families or branches, which were extinct in the senior line and/or had sold their seats and titles to the count. All families that can be localised and have their origin or seats in medieval Hainaut or at least in the borderlands. The datable elements include entries from at least 3 periods. Among the items from the youngest period are Hugues de Melun S.Antoing (d.1410), Guy de Châtillon S.Beaumont (d.1396), and possibly Jean de Condé dit Morialme (1346-1396).⁴¹⁹ The intermediate period centres on Jean d'Avesnes S.Beaumont (o.s.p.l.1356), a brother of count Willem (III, d.1337), who served in England in 1327 together with several nobles from Hainaut, incl. Fastre de Roelx and a S.Beaurie. During the same period the Antoing S.Belonne, the S.Naast, and the Châtillon S.Lenze became extinct and/or sold the principal lands to the count.⁴²⁰ Items of an older date

⁴¹⁷ URF:1744 "messire h de flandres", also BEL:571 and GEL:413; NAV:1175 has "m robert de flandres". URF:1873 "messire r le mareschal", also BEL:614.

The Flanders segment 28 is actually an expanded partial copy of the *armorial Dupuy* as determined in Eeckhout DPY and dated c.1300, see *Ch. 8.2.3* for details. URF:1744 is not Henry (II, d.1366), but his father Henry (I, d.1333).

⁴¹⁸ The area covered varies and overlaps: Ruyers as the ancient Lotharingia *al. Basse-Lorraine* between Schelde/Escaut-Rhine, and Poyers between Meuse-Rhine, also as Germanic versus French parts. Hiltmann SH 52-53; Jequier GG 4n19-20; Anrooij GC 341; Anrooij SR 67-76; Popoff GEL 12.

⁴¹⁹ URF:1881 Melun qtg Antoing, Hugues (d.1410), son of Jean de Melun (d.1359) and Isabelle d'Antoing; URF:1904 Châtillon qtg Hainaut-Holland, Guy (d.1396), son of Louis C.Blois (d.1346) and Jeanne d'Hainaut (Avesnes) as in his seal of 1367, XDD:1449; URF:1905 "sire de bailleul" could be Jean de Condé dit de Morialmé, 1349-1391, o.s.p., S.Morialmé & Bailleuil.

⁴²⁰ URF:1903 Belonne (Antoing) extinct c.1320; URF:1911 Jean d'Avesnes S.Beaumont; URF:1914-1916 Roelx sold to C.Hainaut c.1350, Fastre de Roelx mentioned 1310 and 1327 by Froissart; URF:1917 S.Naast, sold 1339, mentioned 1310 in *Tournement de Mons*; URF:1918 Lenze (Châtillon) existed only c.1300-1329.

include the ancestral arms of Avesnes, the S.Rumigny and some of the above, which may have been extracted from an armorial of c.1310.⁴²¹

There are no apparent indicators for dating segment 31 with Brabantian bannerets. A few entries may represent persons who fought on 22.08.1371 in the battle of Basweiler, 20 km NE of Aachen, and were taken prisoners there. They were ransomed during the following years. The battle was the inglorious outcome of a punishing expedition carried out by Wenceslas de Luxembourg D.Brabant (j.u.) on the duke of Guelders.⁴²² Several of the bannerets from Namur and Hesbaye (segment 32) may as well have taken part in the battle of Basweiler, but the only indicators for dating are the C.Namur and his brothers, which leaves a broad period: 1350-1385.⁴²³

The very mixed segment 33 is titled for the count of Holland and his bannerets together with others from the Ruyers marche d'armes on the east bank of the Middle Rhine, notably the principalities of Guelders, Juliers, and Berg. The contents reflect this with the titled entries spread down the columns together with their vassals. Many of the items seem to have their lands in Hesbaye. The only suggestion for dating is an item that may be for Guillaume dit l'Ardenois de Spontin, who together with other members of his family were taken prisoner at Basweiler 1371.⁴²⁴

8.1.3 Central France

This subchapter includes nobles from the territories from Brittany inland to Bourges and almost down to the Gironde covering the southern fringe of Normandy and Ile-de-France with the ancient provinces of Maine, Anjou, Touraine, Berry-Limousin, and Poitou. The semi-independent Brittany was fought over during 1341-1379 in a war of succession between the Montforts, supported by the English, and the Blois (Châtillon), supported by the French. Both were branches of the House of Dreux, who succeeded to the duchy shortly after 1200. The other provinces became controlled by the king of France at the same time and were often used as appanages for princes of the blood, viz. the dukes of Anjou and of Berry. Jean de France (1340-1416), C.Poitiers 1356, D.Berry 1360, C.Boulogne & Auvergne 1389 held vast tracts of land in the non-Breton territories.

The short Touraine segment 06 has only minor nobles and no obvious indications for dating, while the next (segment 07 Berry) is led by the arms of the duke and three counts. Both the C.Ventadour in departement Correze

⁴²¹ URF:1887 S.Rumigny, senior line extinct 1270; URF:1912 Avesnes, ancestors of the C.Hainaut, senior line extinct 1244.

⁴²² URF:2131 "le borgne de jauche" could be for Gerard, XRA 2:153; and URF:2147 with Septfontaines qtg Cranendonck (Hornes) for Jean S.Septfontaines & Cranendonck, XRA 1:411t40n4.

⁴²³ URF:2184-2186, also in GEL:411-412 and NAV:1172-1173, Willem 1324-1391, Robert 1325-1391, Louis 1325-1386.

⁴²⁴ URF:2374 "lardenois de spunetin" . His seal, XRA 3:449, was differenced by a canton ch. mullet. He was ransomed for 1125 moutons d'or. His namesake Guillaume de Spontin, possibly URF:2222, who sealed with undifferenced arms, XRA 3:449, was ransomed at a higher price, 2724 moutons d'or.

erected in 1350 and the C.Sancerre in departement Cher belong in the territories covered by this subchapter. Sancerre was a cadet of the C.Champagne who separated around 1152. The C.Forez in departement Loire ought to be in the next subchapter together with segments 14-15 as it is on the fringe of Auvergne and was acquired by the D.Bourbon in 1417. The few nobles listed would probably all have been regarded as bannerets.

Poitou, with the bannerets enumerated in segment 08, was briefly ceded to England in the treaty of Brétigny of 1360, but recovered by 1374. Several Poitevins took service with the English during this period, including Guichard d'Angle (fl.1350-1380), Mauburin de Linières and Geoffrey d'Argenton.⁴²⁵ Two other persons draw the date in opposite directions. Guy de Baucay died c.1355, though his namesake living in 1380 may have used similar arms. Gadifer la Salle (fl.1373-1414) appears to have been too young to have been active during 1355. He was famous in his time as a crusader in Prussia and co-conqueror of the Canary Islands in 1402-1406.⁴²⁶ A date c.1375 appears the most likely, even as in this case Guichard d'Angle was still included even with his high place in English service. The small appendix of 7 items in segment 11 includes Maurice de Mauvinet, who reached the peak of his career in the last decade of the 14th century.⁴²⁷

Though the order of importance is less apparent here, one of the 17 bannerets from Maine (segment 09) may provide an indication of the time of collation. The only titled entry, the C.Vendôme, is placed as number six, which may be due to the title being in abeyance for a time. The last count of the House of Montoire, Bouchard (VII), died without heirs in 1371. Only by 1374 was the title granted to his son-in-law Jean de Bourbon C.laMarche (1344-1393) in right of his wife Catherine, sister and heir of the late Bouchard C.Vendôme.⁴²⁸

Brittany is well represented with 69 bannerets and 118 other nobles, mostly noted as families (celui de ..), but compared to the 87 lords (sire de ..) and 437 esquires, who reportedly ratified the second treaty of Guérande in 1381, the two segments 10 and 12 represent only a fraction of the men of whom the duke must take note. The overlap between the *Urfe* and the signatories is very small.⁴²⁹ As for some of the other segments there may be a small number of retrospectives too among the bannerets, which perhaps are better described as

⁴²⁵ URF:568 Guichard d'Angle, o.s.p.m.1380, French sénéchal in Saintonge 1350, joined England 1363, KG 1372, E.Huntingdon 1377; URF:578-579 Mauburin de Linières and Geoffroi d'Argenton served with Thomas Percy in La Rochelle c.1371.

⁴²⁶ URF:564 Guy de Baucay, Nussard T 47; URF:582 Gadifer la Salle, Bozzolo CAM 1:137.

⁴²⁷ URF:692 Maurice de Mauvinet, poitevin, d.<1400, tournament in Bordeaux 1389, royal chamberlain 1392, bailli de Chartres 1396, mentioned by Froissart. A relative, Guillaume, fl.1372, held the same positions in 1392.

⁴²⁸ URF:596 "le conte de vandome", ESNF 3.1:74 Bourbon, 3.4:728 Montoire.

⁴²⁹ The 2nd treaty of Guérande of april 1381 acknowledged Jean de Montfort as D.Brittany. The treaty and many seals are in the ANdF. Francois-Rogier de Gaignières (1642-1715) made a list of the signatories and added blazons to 206 entries (BnF, ms.fr. 22361). The blazoned items are published as an occasional armorial (actually spurious) in Pastoureau GUE and Pastoureau HB. The overlap is 46/206.

barons or the more important lords. The line which held the barony of Avaugour in the Côtes d'Armoricaire became extinct in 1334. The heiress Jeanne (d.1327) had married Guy de Bretagne C.Penthièvre (d.1331) and their daughter and heir Jeanne de Penthièvre (d.1384) married Charles de Blois (Châtillon). As Charles was both C.Penthièvre and B.Avaugour in right of his wife and ruled Brittany as the French supported pretender 1341-64, a place one third down the list cannot be for him. The eldest son of Charles and Jeanne, Jean C.Penthièvre (d.1404), who married Marguerite de Clisson c.1388, was prisoner in England for most of the time. Notably, the list does not mention any C.Penthièvre.⁴³⁰ The bannerets (or barons) include several Tourangians and Angevins at the end of the list as well as some 10 names, which have not been verified. Among the Tourangians are Jean (I) le Meingre dit Boucicaut (d.1368), who was an active campaigner in the Breton wars and was appointed *maréchal de France* in 1356 after the French defeat at Poitiers.⁴³¹

Among the non-bannerets, there are a handful of identifiable persons with long active careers, which for some were over around 1380. Guion de Rochefort was probably the one mentioned in a Breton embassy of 1391.⁴³² The lordship Machecoul presents some problems. Both the sire de Machecoul and an identifiable member of the family, Jean de Machecoul, are on the list.⁴³³ The 'original' lords, who held Retz & Machecoul from c.1040 to 1260, became extinct, and of the coheirs the elder daughter married a Thouars and the younger a Chabot. Aimery de Thouars S.Machecoul (j.u.) died without heirs. Jean (I) D.Brittany gave the fief to his brother Oliver de Dreux S.Braine-Machecoul (d.1279), who sealed with the chevrons in 1276. At some time between 1299 and 1338 the Chabot B.Retz or Rais acquired the lordship Machecoul, and the incumbent during 1344-1399 was Girard (V) de Chabot B.Retz & Machecoul. He would probably have been known by his family arms *Or 3 fish hauriant (2:1) gules*, rather than by the *Or cross sable* of Retz or the *chevrons* of Machecoul for his two major fiefs.⁴³⁴

Half the Angevin bannerets in segment 13 appear as families, not lords, and several have their base in the neighbouring provinces. The collation was probably made before 1370, though most of the identifiable individuals may have been active until 1385.⁴³⁵ The entry for Jean de Vendôme appears to be contradictory, as the person who ought to bear the Vendôme arms with the

⁴³⁰ URF:627 "sire de Avaugour", ESNF 3:79.

⁴³¹ URF:676 "monseigneur Boucicaut".

⁴³² URF:692 Jean Kerlouet, much noted 1370-74; URF:712 Acaris d'Iffer, noted 1340-81; URF:715 Gui dit Brimor de Laval (Montmorency), d.1383, noted 1355. URF:707 Guion de Rochefort.

⁴³³ URF:614 "sire de machico", *Gules 3 chevrons argent*; URF:722 "jehan de matico", differenced with a sword, for Jean de Machecoul S.Villevigne, 1318-1403, younger brother of Louis S.Garnache, o.s.p.m.1360.

⁴³⁴ Girard (V) de Chabot, ESNF 10:77; Machecoul (Dreux), ESNF 3:67; Potier NA 2:123. Retz / Rais & Machecoul went to Laval (Montmorency) after 1406. URF:620 "le sire de roys" *al.* Retz.

⁴³⁵ URF:818 Guillaume Trousseau, d.c.1369, S.Véretz; URF:803-805 S.Craon, Pierre and Guillaume de Craon, fl.1385; URF:691, 815 S.Crissé (d.1380) and his brother Jean Turpin, fl.1380; URF:844 Jean (III) Bueil, d.c.1390.

lion vulned by a fleur-de-lis would hardly have been active until the 15th century.⁴³⁶ However, the compiler may have used these arms rather than those of a namesake, who differenced Vendôme with a small escutcheon in chief, both arms are in the *Navarre*.⁴³⁷ The available seals are of no help as they are described as undifferenced.

Some 70 of the 300 items in this subchapter are arms or variants with two or more occurrences. Seven families have their senior member repeated in the same segment and eleven families have members in different segments. The remaining 'doubles' can be attributed to different and mostly identifiable family members, who were active at the same time. Many of the lords and cadets had important lands in more than one of the provinces included, and would have turned up in a survey. But there is no indication that any of the segments belong to a survey. In the case of the Bretons, many important landowners were not included.

8.1.4 Eastern territories

The east as described in this selection of segments provides a route from the southern central highlands of Auvergne (segment 14) in the départements Cantal and Puy-de-Dôme slightly to the north through Bourbon (dep Aller, segment 15), turning southeast into the parts formally belonging to the Holy Roman Empire. The first element Vienne (dep Isère, segment 16) was bequeathed to France in 1349 after which it became the principal title and appanage of the crown prince. Turning northeast through Savoy (segment 17), which then included the south-western part of Switzerland, it then goes northwest through Burgundy (segment 18), both the duchy and the county palatine. The final stops lie to the north: the French-speaking duchy of Bar (segment 19) and the surrounding duchy of Lorraine (segment 20). Avoiding the German-speaking Alsace, the French 'east' here includes Champagne (segment 21). Most of the segments are small with 20-40 items each, only Burgundy and Champagne have items in the size of 100. Half of the segments only record the bannerets.

Most entries are only named by titles, and it would require much research to establish whether the owners were using the coats of arms present during the presumed time of collation - or which person did. It is more likely that many of the titled items were retrospective rather than representing lords living at the time, e.g. Trainel, the premier barony of Champagne, was long extinct in the name-bearing family and held c.1380 by a Jean de Mornay.⁴³⁸ The typical structure of a segment bears this out. At the beginning comes the dukes and counts, if any, and then the more important barons followed by other lords (seigneurs). Most of the names of gentry, which are hard to verify, come in the

⁴³⁶ URF:807 Jean (II) de Vendôme (Montoire), fl.1434, Vd.Chartres >1407 & S.Lessay, royal councillor, son of Robert S.laChartre & Lessay (d.1401) and Jeanne de Chartres Vds.Chartres (d.1407). He married Catherine de Thouars Dm.Pouzauges in 1441 and had 2 children. Identical arms were borne by his ancestor Geoffroi S.laChartre (fl.1268-1292) in CPF:97, and his grandfather Amaury (d.1350) in NAV:767.

⁴³⁷ Jean de Vendôme (Montoire) S.Feillet (d.>1400) differenced with an inescutcheon of Avagour in NAV:765 and had it undifferenced in XDC:9305.

⁴³⁸ URF:1130 Trainel, URF:1211 Jean de Mornay S.Trainel, d.1390; Anselme 6:279-297.

later half of the segment. Very few items have Christian names. These are mostly added at the very end, like an appendix of noteworthy contemporaries. The Vienne segment has several items with name only, and Auvergne some out-of-the-region people like the C.Salm and the Lützelstein *al.* Petit-Pierre from Alsace-Lorraine.

There are no obvious indications of the time of collation for Auvergne, Vienne and Lorraine. The few datable items in the other segments point more towards pre-1370 than pre-1385, but at least Savoy and Burgundy must have been revised c.1420. Another indication of revision is that some items may have been inserted later. In the Savoy segment Thomas Granson properly refers to the Sire de Granson, but that item is three places ahead of him.⁴³⁹

8.1.5 Southern France

Though the two southern segments are named for Gascony (segment 04) and Languedoc (segment 05), they appear to represent a fluid continuation of each other with people living in the former territories of Aquitaine and Toulouse to the west of the modern region of Languedoc. Most of the south-western departments (Charente-Maritime, Gironde, Landes and Pyrénées-Atlantique) had been administered by the English since 1152 and the last vestiges held on to 1454. In 1360 the English Aquitaine was greatly expanded eastwards to include the southern Limousin, Agenais, Périgord and Rouergue or the modern departments Corrèze, Dordogne, Lot and Aveyron. By 1380 the French reconquest had driven the English back into the westernmost part of the coastal departments, so that the families noted in the segments were then French subjects.

The first half of segment 04 are notable families, mostly from Gascony, like the Albret, Grailly, Preissac, Durfort and Astarac, but introduced by a coat of arms titled the Prince of Wales, presumably for Edward 'the Black Prince' D.Aquitaine (d.1376). However, the arms are those of Thomas D.Gloucester (d.1397), a younger son of Edward III, who never had much to do with the duchy. Most of the items in the second half are not identified at present, but include the infamous routier captain Arnaud de Cervole called the Archpriest (d.1367), and possibly Bertucat d'Albret (d.1382), another routier captain.⁴⁴⁰ A more curious entry is for Aimery de Bourg, a name mentioned in the Gascon Rolls for 1323-1327.⁴⁴¹

The so-called Languedoc segment 05 opens with the arms of the C.Foix, the dominant noble of the Pyrénées with possessions in Foix (département Ariège) and Béarn-Bigorre (département Pyrénées-Atlantique), partly separated by territory dominated by the Armagnacs, a traditional enemy. The next in line are the counts of Armagnac, Comminges, Pardiac and Périgord - all but the last one are Gascons. The middle part has mostly men from the Toulouse marche d'armes, and the last third has a sprinkling of Gascons and men from Foix

⁴³⁹ URF:932 S.Granson, URF:935 Thomas Granson (*Paly & bend ch. 3 lions*); URF:934 "le sire vuarencon" (*Vair bend gules*).

⁴⁴⁰ URF:456 Bertucat d'Albret; URF:458 Arnaud de Cervole.

⁴⁴¹ URF:437.

among the Tolosiens. The line of the C.Comminges became extinct in 1376, which is the only indication of a date for this segment.⁴⁴²

8.1.6 Foreigners

With the Benelux effectively integrated in the French part of the armorial, the foreign part consists of a large segment of English, practically no Scots, nearly 90 from the Iberian Peninsula and some 70 Germans, mostly counts, and a few Poles and Bohemians. There are no entries from Hungary, Italy, and the contribution from Scandinavia is non-existent too.

With 269 items in URF:128-396, the English segment 02 is by far the largest element in the *Urfé*.⁴⁴³ Though the spelling is markedly 'by ear' and not always identifiable, it is likely that most of it was copied from a contemporary English armorial. Some items may have been added to complete the listing of well known titles and persons. There is a considerable overlap of 136 items, but no concordance, between the *Urfé* and two near contemporary English armorials: the *Willement Roll* (S / WIL, c.1395) and *William Jenyns' Ordinary* (WJ, c.1380, incl. older material). Viewed from the *Urfé* there is almost complete overlap in coats of arms in the first half of URF:128-296, with only singles or pairs with problematic readings of blazons or identification being unpaired. Many of the Christian names are different, but that could be due to different times of collation.

There are a number of datable items, e.g. Diggory Seys, Alan Buxhull, and Robert de la Mare. The Ufford E.Suffolk and Say B.Say both became extinct in 1382. Several peers were created at the time: Thomas E.Buckingham in 1378, John Holland E.Huntingdon in 1381, and John Mowbray became Earl Marshal in 1379.⁴⁴⁴ This point to a collation made during 1381, a period of comparative lull in the fighting, but with considerable diplomatic activity in which heralds took part. It would not have been difficult for a French herald to write down the blazons on dictation from an English colleague - or from one interested amateur to another.

The very short Scottish segment 03 has 40% 'name only' items and appears to have been copied from a fragment of an armorial collated before 1300, but updated around 1350. The battle cry of the king refers to the short reign of John Balliol *al.* Bailleul (r.1292-1296), who had Flemish ancestors. The confounded arms of Randolph E.Moray appear to be akin to the form used before 1300. On the other hand, the Douglas arms have the argumentation of the 'Bruce's heart' awarded c.1330, and William Ramsay was the royal standard-bearer, when King David II was captured at Neville's Cross in 1346.⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴² URF:477.

⁴⁴³ This segment of English was analyzed and published in 2007 in Clemmensen UE.

⁴⁴⁴ URF:392 Diggory Seys, o.s.p.m. 1390; URF:313 Alan Buxhull, o.s.p.m.1381; URF:307 Robert de la Mare, d.1382. URF:137 Ufford E.Suffolk; URF:170 Say B.Say. URF:132 Thomas of Woodstock E.Buckingham; URF:140 John Holland E.Huntingdon; URF:134 John Mowbray Earl Marshal.

⁴⁴⁵ URF:386 "le roy d escoche"; URF:399 "le conte de moret"; URF:400 "le conte du glas"; URF:411 "sire de ramesay"

Neither of the three very short segments 35 Brandenburg, 36 Franconia, and 37 Bohemia can be dated, nor can the larger segment 38 of mainly dukes and counts from the Holy Roman Empire. This segment has the electors (less Bohemia) at the beginning. The last short segment 39 is named for Poland, but without any of the typical Polish arms. The lead item, which probably gave the segment its name, is Bernhard von Zedlitz, who moved from Saxony to Silesia and Poland before settling in England.⁴⁴⁶ Two items with incomprehensible blazons cannot be identified, and the remaining five came from Alsace, Lorraine and Switzerland.

Though the indications are not precise, all of the four Iberian segments: 40 Aragon, 41 Castile, 42 Navarre, and 43 Portugal, appear to have been collated around 1380. Juan Fernando di Heredia was Grand-master of the Order of St. John of Rhodes during 1377-1396, Roger-Bernard de Foix V. Castelbon, a routier captain who served several masters, commanded the Navarrese army in 1377-79, and the members of the Aragonese royal family were active at that time.⁴⁴⁷ For the Castilians there are the C. Medinaceli and two members of the royal family.⁴⁴⁸ The Navarrese have Juan Ramirez de Arellano, a courtier, soldier and diplomat who commanded the Navarrese troops in Normandy in 1377. An unusual item is Charles C. Beaumont, the very young nephew of Charles II d'Evreux King of Navarre. He is mentioned as 'son of Louis'.⁴⁴⁹

The three items for Portugal make a perplexing set.⁴⁵⁰ On the death of Fernando I of Portugal in 1383 four pretenders claimed the throne. His daughter Beatrice (born 1373) or rather her mother was rejected by the Portuguese nobles. His legitimized half-brothers João and Diniz were in Castilian service and served as puppets for the king of Castile, who had occupied much of the country. The fourth was João 'o falso' (1358-1433) master of Aviz, regent in 1383, who proclaimed himself king in 1385. The first two items in the Portugal segment 43 could be for the 'Castilian' pretender João and his brother Diniz and collated by one of the many Frenchmen at the Castilian court during 1383-85, when Castile tried to conquer Portugal. If so, all four segments could come from the same source, probably a herald with the French auxiliary army in Spain. However, Lourenco Fogaca, the chancellor, only served the legitimate king or regent, which rules out the pretender João as 'king'. At the end of the Castilian-Portuguese war of 1381-88, Don Diniz was for a time reconciled with his younger half-brother and took part in an embassy to England in 1387-88, from where he fled to the continent and was imprisoned by the D. Burgundy and ransomed in 1390. Don Diniz later tried

⁴⁴⁶ URF:2452 Bernhard von Zedlitz, fl.1362, d.1383, knight of the chamber to the young Richard II in 1378.

⁴⁴⁷ URF:2478 Heredia; URF:2473 Castelbon; URF:2462, 2463, 2466, 2467, 2470 Aragonese royals.

⁴⁴⁸ URF:2510 Bernard de Béarn, bastard of Foix, C. Medinaceli c.1370; URF:2504-2505 Alfonso C. Norona, Fadrique D. Benevent.

⁴⁴⁹ URF:2540 Ramirez. URF:2538 Charles (1372-1432), C. Beaumont-le-Rogier, son of Louis (1341-1372) and Giovanne di Sicile (Anjou).

⁴⁵⁰ URF:2545 "les armes du roy ."; URF:2546 Infante Don Diniz; URF:2547 "le chancelier du roy", i.e. Lourenco Fogaca (d.c.1430), chancellor 1379-1399, on embassies to England in 1381 and 1386. Sumption HY 3:568, João Portugal, pers.com.

unsuccessfully to assert his claim and is buried in Guadalupe in Spain as a king of Portugal. The three items may only be the rump of a larger set,⁴⁵¹ but with the chancellor active during the peace negotiations and Don Diniz again prominent, a collation of c.1388 is the more likely one.

8.1.7 Imaginary arms

The final part of the armorial is made up of eight segments with coats of arms attributed to persons or realms mentioned in the romantic or chevaleresque literature or in the more fabulous parts of chronicles and travel novels. Compared to the (mostly) later German collections of imaginary arms their numbers are fewer and more specific.

The fabulous realms were split between segment 47 of 32 mostly real realms from Europe and segment 48 with realms named as Saracen, i.e. under Moslem rulers in Asia and Africa. The names and arms appear to be restricted to French armorials.⁴⁵² The origin of most names is at present unknown as little research has been done. A few names were taken from fairly well-known commercial or learned places and given canting blazons but the spellings became corrupted in the process. Coimbra in Portugal, which had a university by 1309, is one example. The spelling was transformed into Guynone, Guenie, or Connimbre and the arms canting on the hare (conil, lièvre, lapin).⁴⁵³ The town is mentioned in a chanson de geste.⁴⁵⁴

The 54 items in segments 49 and 52 represent a selection of persons mentioned in the Arthurian romances, which were very popular during the 14th-15th centuries, but which were written from the 12th century on.⁴⁵⁵ Segment 49 enumerates both kings known from the series of topical armorials and kings that are harder to identify, e.g. Pelles of the Dangerous Castle and Sistor of the Red Mountain.⁴⁵⁶ The latter segment 52 names some of the major heroes (e.g. Arthur, Lancelot, Gauvain and Perceval), and a few might be identified from their arms. Unfortunately, most of the items in segment 52 are anonymous, and the arms in both segments are different from those of the topical armorial manuscripts, and often unfinished.

Segments 50 and 51 each give a set of 12 companions of a legendary ruler - modelled on or inspiring the *Douze Pairs de France* found in several armorials.⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵¹ The 3 items are in CHA segment 13 together with 10 other nobles and members of the royal family.

⁴⁵² There is an overlap between the imaginary arms in the *Urfé* and those in *Vermandois*, *Rineck*, and *Charolais*.

⁴⁵³ Brault RAE 2:114; Roche AI 337 #114, 386 #187, Guione also as a Saracen king. The arms are 1-3 hares or rabbits running.

⁴⁵⁴ Moisan RN 1.2:1118.

⁴⁵⁵ Brault EB 29-54.

⁴⁵⁶ Pastoureau TR lists the armorial manuscripts of the *Chevaliers de la Table Ronde* (CTR) series and the knights mentioned.

⁴⁵⁷ The *Douze Pairs* are also said to represent the companions of Charlemagne. Examples of their representation with 'real' coats of arms can be found in the TOISON D'OR group of armorials (ETO, BHM), *Berry*, *Rineck*, *Gorrevod*, and *LeBreton*. See also *Ch. 13.3.1*.

The first of the segments naturally has the companions of Charlemagne, the founder of France, if not of Christian Europe as they knew it. The second, more surprisingly, has an English king as centrepiece. Richard I 'Lionheart' (r.1189-1199) also ruled much of France as D.Normandy & Aquitaine and was making war on his nominal overlord Philippe II 'Auguste' when he was killed by a crossbow bolt while besieging a fortress. The reason for his inclusion is more likely to be his reputation as the principal leader of the multinational Third Crusade 1189-1192. His set of companions is similarly multinational, but also non-historical. They are mostly French and German counts picked as well-known names. Only his illegitimate half-brother William 'Longespee' (d.1226) is English.

The Alexandrian romances are represented by 14 coats of arms and an additional 7 names in segment 53, including the adversary King Porus of India. The last instalment, segment 54, has the most common set of illustrious moral heroes, the Nine Worthies.⁴⁵⁸ The compiler (or more probably his continuator) added a further two names to the set. The first is Bertrand de Guesclin (d.1380), the connétable, who led the reconquest of France after the humiliating Peace of Brétigny in 1360. This addition is unsurprising given his status in French lore and his burial beside the kings of France in the cathedral of St.Denis outside Paris.⁴⁵⁹ The second addition and last item in the principal manuscript is more surprising: a relatively insignificant Norman noble Simon Morhier (1390-1449).⁴⁶⁰

8.1.8 Additional elements

The three last segments in the armorial were probably added later. The first, segment 44, has only four items purporting to come from Ireland. The lead item attributed to the king of Ireland can also be found as a late addition to both the *Vermandois* and the *LeBlancq*. The stag exiting a gate in a crenelated wall was definitely not used by any of the Irish 'kings', but may well be the emblem of an Irish Benedictine monastery. The other three items can be recognized as arms of various earls, more or less confounded.⁴⁶¹

The next segment 45 has 100 items, many of which have not yet been identified. Besides French names, there are names from present Belgium and possibly a single Englishman. The lead item could possibly be Arnaud (III, d.1382) de Comminges dit l'Espagne, but at present this is the only dateable item.⁴⁶² Many items can be placed geographically from Poitou and Guienne in the south to Bretagne in the west and Namur in the north-east - but without any discernible order. The segment is headed: "ci après sensuyvent les armes

⁴⁵⁸ See *Ch. 13.4.1*.

⁴⁵⁹ Bertrand de Guesclin is a 'worthy' in the RINECK and URFÉ groups, *LeBreton* and the Austro-Burgundian *Rebecq* (ERQ).

⁴⁶⁰ BnF, ms.fr. 32753, p.160, URF:2855. Two short texts, one on tournaments follows on p.160-162, the last pages.

⁴⁶¹ Apart from the king of England, Ireland was ruled by local chiefs styled kings with an elected 'chief king' as the head. Similar arms with ram or bull exiting are known from the German Benedictine abbeys of Sachsenhausen and Ochsenhausen. The arms can be found in VER:875, LBR:32, and CHA:565.

⁴⁶² URF:2552, Arnaud dit d'Espagne sealed with these arms c.1350, XPG:336.

d'aucuns seigneurs et ne scet on de quelles marches ilz sont". It is most likely that the compiler just put those names and arms here, which he could not or would not try to insert into the main segments. The segment has many items in common with the *Rôle d'armes de l'ost de Flandre* (CPF), a campaign made in June 1297. It may have been copied from one or more occasional collations from the end of the 13th century.

Segment 46 is the only information surviving from a series of tournaments held outside Calais in 1377 and hosted by the English garrison (the *dedens* team) and the French besiegers (the *debors* team).⁴⁶³ The participants are noted in 14 pairs, though the hosts were two men short so Thomas Trivet and Jean de Gruyères had to go two rounds each. About half of the 'English' were actually foreign mercenaries, mostly from Hainaut. The French appear to have been in the service of the D.Burgundy and mostly recruited locally. Several participants, e.g. Thomas Trivet, John Welles, and John Dabrichecourt were renowned jousters. Geoffrey (II) de Charny was the son of another famous joustier and author of several works of jousting and chivalry.

8.1.9 *Urfé* evaluated

The present study of the *Urfé* is limited in scope. The main purpose is to describe the structure of the armorial and identify salient features which can be used to determine the relationships between the members of the group. Where possible, obviously dateable items are noted as indicators of when a segment could have been collated. The number of indicators is disappointing. With less than a hundred quartered or impaled arms and very few Christian names in the legends there is at present little to base the dating on.

The few dateable items converge on the last quarter of the 14th century, but the individual segments vary from being collated c.1300 to after c.1390. The short Scottish segment 03 is obviously a modification of an older fragment. Several segments have what appear to be short appendages with a slightly different style of expressing titles and Christian names. The spelling of names also indicates that more than one generation of copying has passed. The often mentioned nominal date of 1380 for compiling the present 'version' is not supported by facts. On the other hand, neither do they support a compilation of c.1420, the probable date for manufacturing the eldest manuscript. The primary compilation from several sources (armorials, fragments and/or notes) was probably done in the late 1380^{'ies}, when the large English segment 02 of c.1381 was added. As suggested above in the review of the segments, the 'primary' refers at most to the first 45 segments (core, proper or ur-*Urfé*), excluding the tournament (TSO, URF 46) and the imaginary arms. This putative compilation was modified in the clones derived from it. Some items were added, others modified by copyists.

The 'primary' compiler is unknown and certainly not the herald Lefebvre dit Walhain suggested by the bibliographer Gaston Saffroy from the notes left by

⁴⁶³ The segment was published in 2008 as Clemmensen TSO, www.armorial.dk. It is also known as the *Tournoi d'Ardes* (TAD). There is a copy of it in BnF, ms. Dupuy 259 (not examined).

Paul Adam-Even. This Lefebvre lived much later - he is the copyist named in a 1502 manuscript.⁴⁶⁴

A review of the 15 identified manuscripts, which include the *Urfé* or a substantial part of it, may help unravel the composition and illuminate the creative process. Earlier commentators have found that there are two variant versions (A and B). All except one or two are late copies (one of 1502, one 16th century, seven 17th century, one later, three undated). Only the principal 15th century manuscript (URF/a, version A) was examined in detail and mostly in the transcription of Hugh Stanford London.⁴⁶⁵ Nearly all manuscripts could be classified as miscellanies having treatises on arms and heraldry and/or other armorials bound with them.⁴⁶⁶ Copies of the *Navarre* are the most common co-bound elements, but there are also copies of the *Vermandois* and the *Dupuy* in the copy-manuscripts. The *Dupuy*, listing 287 Flemings, is named for one of the manuscripts containing it (BnF, ms. Dupuy 259), which also includes the only other recorded copy of the *Tournoi de Saint Omer* (a.k.a. URF segment 46 or *Tournoi d'Ardres*). The collation of DPY can be dated to c.1300, and has been shown to be the source for the main part of segment 28 Flanders.⁴⁶⁷ Most of the Franco-Burgundian segments (URF 01-33) can be found in all the copies and clones, but the foreigners are only found in the dubious *Charolais*, though the *Rineck* and the *LeBlancq* have the Aragonians (URF 40). The two segments with real and imaginary kings (URF 47-48) can be found in the *Vermandois* and the *Faucket*. It may well be an invention of the early 15th century. The *Rineck* has nearly all the imaginary arms.⁴⁶⁸

None of the other five manuscripts said to belong to version A has yet been examined, so the conclusions should for the time being be reserved for the principal manuscript only. Three of the five version B manuscripts were examined cursorily. Neither of these included any of the last eleven segments (URF 44-54) with imaginary arms and tournaments. The sequence of segments varies in the examined manuscripts (and also for the clones, as discussed below). This suggests that the *Urfé* proper should be restricted to segments 01-43 (including foreigners), 01-33 (ur-*Urfé*) or even 01-27 (French only), all of which are fairly strictly organized in version A as recorded above. This ur-URF was hardly collated as a survey of French nobles at any one time, but likely

⁴⁶⁴ KBR, ms. Goethals 672 (1502, URF/c) noted in Pichart CB vol.2 no.672. Saffroy BF vol.1 no.2909.

⁴⁶⁵ BnF, ms.fr. 32753, the H.S. London transcription is very precise and large parts have been checked with the manuscript by either Clemmensen and/or Popoff. Thirteen manuscripts are noted in the Saffroy bibliography, one (URF/o) is reputedly a 15C copy in private ownership with no details published. Some of the clone manuscripts may be reclassified as copies of *Urfé*. See *fig. 5 - ch.8.1n1* survey of the *Urfé*.

The variants have never been defined, which is common among studies and editions of armorials.

⁴⁶⁶ The treatises have been discussed in Hiltmann SH.

⁴⁶⁷ Eeckhout DPY (2012) with a concordance of 123 of the 126 items in DPY:1-84 and 246-287, see *Ch. 8.2.3*.

⁴⁶⁸ At least present in the principal manuscript of *Vermandois*. For the inclusion of most of the imaginary arms (URF segments 47-53) into the Lorrainian *Rineck*, see *Ch. 10.3.5*. The *Faucket* (FCB:48r-52v2) of c.1500 has 38 Moslem arms as in URF 48 or VER 25.

compiled into something approaching its present form by 1390. From the variants derived, it must at least by 1420 (date assigned to URF/a) have been available in several versions. Whether the owners were heralds, workshops or private people with an interest in armory are still to be determined.

The URF/a manuscript is not only the single near contemporary one for which details are available. It may also be possible to determine its owner and its time of manufacture. This all-blazon armorial is written in a neat minuscule used for books in the early 15th century. As such, it was probably written by a professional scribe - either one with some knowledge of armory or a herald. The last entry (URF:2855) is placed a couple of blank lines below the Nine Worthies and has the name, position and arms of Simon de Morhier (1390-1449).⁴⁶⁹ Though he is best known as prévôt de Paris during 1422-1436 and as a commander and member of the English council in France, his career began as maitre d'hôtel de la reine Isabelle - the position mentioned in the manuscript. He would be the likely commissioner of the principal surviving manuscript and must have requested this copy with certain specifications before assuming the provostship. His well-known Burgundian and English sympathies would explain the inclusion of the segments for the Low Countries with the French and the prominent place of the English. The same legend is present in SIC:137 (17th century manuscripts). A close scrutiny of the differences between copies and clones focusing on the possible additions and routes of descendance seems warranted.

8.2 *Prinsault* and added treatises

This armorial, which takes its name from a treatise in 12 chapters on the blazon of arms attributed to Clément Prinsault (fl.1444-1476), a secretary of Jean d'Armagnac Bishop of Castres in Central France, is known in 3 manuscripts.⁴⁷⁰ The treatise was intended for the education of nobles, not for a scholarly exchange of views between heralds and theorists on armory. As such it became very popular with 60 surviving manuscripts and 14 printed editions during the 16th century. The armorial was not needed to the same extent. In essence, the *armorial Prinsault* should be considered to be an expanded version of the *Urfé*.⁴⁷¹

The primary manuscript (BnF, ms.n.acq.fr.1075, *dit de Clément Prinsault*, PRT/a, painted c.1510) covers only the French marches d'armes and England. Neither the foreigners nor the later added segments of the *Urfé* (nos.34-54) were

⁴⁶⁹ Simon de Morhier. Mirot HR 1:22; Anselme; Dupont GR 4:314; wikipedia. The arms are also used for the 'worthy' Judas Maccabeus in URF:2850 and in the *Chevalier Errant*.

⁴⁷⁰ See the survey in *fig. 5 - ch.8.2n1*. BnF, n.acq.fr.1075, was named *Prinsault* and dated c.1470 in the Saffroy bibliography #2926, actually citing Paul Adam-Even. With the same name for both the main treatise and the armorial, literature references can be misleading. Manuscript PRT/a is an early 16th century copy. One copy, BnF, ms.fr.18651, formerly also referred to as PRT/b, is actually the *Coislin-Séguier* (CSG) mentioned in *Ch.10.4.1*. Manuscripts c-d have not been examined. The treatise is commented on in Boudreau HS and in Hiltmann SH. The chapters are listed on wikipedia.

⁴⁷¹ The concordance between the *Prinsault* and the *Urfé* is published on www.armorial.dk.

included. About 74% of the *Prinsault* items can also be found in the *Urfé*. Most of the additions are concentrated in segments 40, 41 and 44 Artois-Flanders. Two scribal hands were involved in the *Prinsault*. Hand A did most of the work having 4 items per page, while hand B had 6 items per page in his inserts and was responsible for the segments at the end of the manuscript. Most of the *Prinsault* segments are larger than the comparable *Urfé* segments, and are split into two parts, one of bannerets and one of non-bannerets, i.e. knights, squires and a few non-military figures. The segments by hand A have a first part which is concordant with *Urfé* followed by a tail of presently unidentified origin. In between there are some items omitted from the concordance, but which appear to have been inserted as a kind of repair after reviewing the copying done so far. The *Prinsault*-compiler omitted the Hesbaye segment URF 32 from *Urfé*, but added segment PRT 41 Boulogne with 99 items, which has inserts of 8 Burgundians from *Urfé*. The *Prinsault* begins with its own listing of 12 marches d'armes.⁴⁷² The sequence of the segments has been altered compared to the *Urfé*, listing subgroups in reversed order, e.g. PRT 26-37 for URF 26-22.

8.2.1 Essentially similar segments

The lead segment of Ile-de-France is in most ways typical for the concordant segments in *Urfé* and *Prinsault*. There are 127 items in URF, but 137 in PRT, though the last 16 are blank shields without legends. These would have been excluded by some editors, but are kept numbered for the simple reason of correspondence between commentators. The actual overlap is 113 items, of which 13 have minor differences. The 'extras' number 8 items, which could be either additions or exchanges. There is an 8 item gap between PRT:100/102 corresponding to URF:87-94 and two pages in *Prinsault*.⁴⁷³ As the 8 items on fo.50rv are in the secondary hand B and the items on the gap border are variations of a chief (e.g. doubling of Villiers l'Isle-Adam, *maunch and chief*), we may have evidence of a break in the workday with loss of continuity in copying and a later attempt to repair this omission.⁴⁷⁴

One of the French segments, 05 Burgundy, appears to have a moderate overlap with the *Urfé*, with only 57 of the 87 items in URF 18. The main reason is that 2 pages worth corresponding to URF:998-1005 and possibly another later page are missing, as are many of the last items, though some can be found in the Boulogne segment (PRT 41), which has no corresponding part in the *Urfé*, but was collated before 1415.⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷² The '12' is a recurring number in armory. Most marches lies north of the Loire, with Champagne as the most eastern part. Berry is the only one from central France with Guienne covering the south-west. PRT:4 with a cross patonce must be Languedoc mimicking the cross of Toulouse.

⁴⁷³ It was not possible to examine the quire structure of ms.n.acq.fr.1075 to determine loss or adding of a single leaf.

⁴⁷⁴ Villiers l'Isle-Adam is on URF:83, PRT:50r3/96 (no collar) and PRT:50v4/101 (with collar of the Order of Toison d'or). Jean de Villiers S.de Lisle-Adam, d.1437, maréchal de France 1418, was a founding member from 1430.

⁴⁷⁵ PRT:1894 Mathieu dit Sarrazin d'Ailly, killed 1415 at Agincourt, Pattou AA 7.

8.2.2 By another hand

The concordance in three segments by hand B (nos.35 Brabant, 38 Hainaut, and 42 Holland-Ruyers) is less marked. The items appear to have been extracted in 2-4 readings and blended with inserts from unidentified sources. Most of the items, 73-84%, could come from the *Urfé*.

8.2.3 Evidence of older sources

There is a larger selection of Flemings in segments 43-44 than in the corresponding segment 28 of *Urfé*, but an almost complete concordance, except for two gaps of 6-7, and a couple of single item gaps totalling 19 of the 132 items in the *Urfé*. There are very few transpositions, but 24 inserts and a tail of 50 items in the *Prinsault*. Five items stand out among the inserts. With one common item, they make four members of the comital house, one banneret and a lord's son.⁴⁷⁶ The family members are two sons and two brothers of Robert III de Dampierre (d.1322) C.Flanders 1305, probably his brothers Henri (I) C.Lodi (d.1333) and Guillaume (I) C.Termonde (d.1311), and his sons Louis C.Nevers (o.v.p.1322) and Robert (d.1331).⁴⁷⁷ The banneret is Jean de Mortagne S.Landas (c.1280->1348), and the last is a Sohier de Courtrains, probably the one who sealed in 1319. The count could be either Robert (III, d.1322) or his grandson Louis (I), killed 1346 at Crécy. The arms of the above members of the comital family have been reported in other sources with the present arms, but also with variant arms. Constellations with different branches are good arguments for dating a collation. The close concordance and the notable members of the comital family make it almost certain that the core list of Flemings were collated between 1305 and 1310.

The differences noted above between the two primary manuscripts of the *Urfé* (BnF, fr.32753) and *Prinsault* (BnF, n.acq.fr.1075) indicate that their Flemish segments came from slightly different copies of the ur-*Urfé*, which in turn came from the *Dupuy* with a loss of its central part.

8.3 LeBlancq and mixing

With several of its sources identified, the armorial *LeBlancq* is as much a satellite as a clone of the *Urfé*. This manuscript is unique in that its creation can be reconstructed. It has 3,907 items, each painted in very high quality, accompanied with written blazons and often with an added cri de guerre.⁴⁷⁸ It

⁴⁷⁶ PRT:1956-1959, 1983, and 1995. The common items are URF:1744, DPY:2, PRT:1956 "henri de flandre2. Data from ESNF 2:8, Eeckhout FM, Eeckhout DPY, Pattou LM, www.

⁴⁷⁷ From the legends, PRT:1956 could be Henri (II, d.1366) in the lifetime of his father Henri (I, d.1333) C.Lodi in PRT:1958 "le conte de lodes" with Flanders having a label roundely, though Henri (I) sealed with a bend over all. Jean-Marie v.d. Eeckhout suggested recently (pers.com. 11.2014 and contrary to Eeckhout DPY 34, 61) that the label roundely corresponded to DPY:95 "le conte deloir" for Louis C.Nevers (d.1322), eldest son of Robert III C.Flanders (d.1322). The concordance of PRT and DPY support this. PRT:1956, DPY:2, URF:1744 would then be for Henri (I), thus avoiding a conflict with PRT:1959 Guillaume (II, o.s.p.1320) S.Termonde.

⁴⁷⁸ BnF, ms.fr.5232, www.gallica.bnf.fr. There is a survey of it in *fig. 5-ch.8.3n1*. The physical structure of the manuscript has not been determined. The LBQ/b, Courtrai,

may be divided into 62 segments, most of which has a full page achievement as introduction. The *Urfé* (or one of its clones) is the major source and provides most of the contents of 28 segments or nearly 60% of the armorial. The *Bellenville* is the dominant source for another 20% in up to 20 segments.⁴⁷⁹ The third source is harder to identify. It influences only 5 segments with 9% of the items, and must be a member of the TOISON D'OR group, probably the *Lyncenich*.⁴⁸⁰

The *LeBlancq* is one of the few armorials for which we know the commissioner and his circumstances. It is possible to suggest a rough outline of the conception and execution of the armorial, though the artisan is still unknown. The watermarks point to Lille 1549-60 and the full-page painted exlibris with the arms of four ancestors identify an owner, which in this case may confidently be named as commissioner. Alexandre Le Blancq seigneur de Meurchin (fl.1520-1575) was a successful businessman, who served three times as mayor of Lille.⁴⁸¹ He was also a well-known bibliophile, who owned a number of armorials and exchanged works with other bibliophiles.

One of these bibliophiles was Antoine de Beaulaincourt seigneur de Bellenville, who as governor of Lille must have had much to do with the mayor of the town. De Beaulaincourt also served as king of arms to the Order of the Golden Fleece during 1549-1560, which may explain why he owned the fine painted manuscript of the *Bellenville*.⁴⁸² Borrowing this and having or getting a usable copy of the *Urfé* would provide a solid basis for an armorial of the royalty, princes and nobility of contemporary Europe - or at least a somewhat near contemporary!

The concept put forward by Alexandre Le Blancq was demanding. He not only wanted painted arms in good quality, but also the technical description of them in the form of a functional blazon, and he wanted an armorial which would cover all of Europe. He got almost all of his specifications, though England could have had a better representation and Italy and Poland were left out - or lost.⁴⁸³ In order to achieve this, he had to get an accomplished artist with a thorough knowledge of blazon, or perhaps two, a scribe to write out the blazons, and a painter to fill in the shield in its designated square.⁴⁸⁴ He also had

Bibl.Municipale, ms.350:199v-227r, only has segment 24 Flanders. It is also known as *Wapenboek van Vlandern*.

⁴⁷⁹ For the *Bellenville*, see *Ch. 9* and *fig. 5-ch.9.1n1*.

⁴⁸⁰ For the TOISON D'OR group see *Ch. 7*. The *Toison d'or* itself does not have the Bohemians and Moravians in LBQ 40-41, which are in both *Bergshammar* and *Lyncenich*.

⁴⁸¹ The introduction in Popoff LBQ gives the bibliographical data for Alexandre Le Blancq. Several of his books have survived. The *LeBlancq* is no. 11 in his library inventory. BnF, ms.fr.5233, a miscellany containing tables of arms was also owned by Alexandre Le Blancq.

⁴⁸² See *Ch. 9.1.0* Bellenville.

⁴⁸³ There is a good segment of Poland, and better selections of England and Holland-Zeeland in the TOISON D'OR group. For Italy, only *Berry* has a good selection of arms. Hungary would also have been difficult to get.

⁴⁸⁴ Each page in BnF, ms.fr.5232, is lined in 6 sets of 4 lines ending in a square field for the field.

to plan how the various marches d'armes should follow each other. The present segmentation is fairly structured. It is ordered by regions, though the placing of the Austro-Spanish Low Countries, in which he lived, is placed in the middle. It begins, as is normal for the Franco-Burgundian armorials, with Ile-de-France, and then takes the eastern regions (Champagne-Savoy), jumps to the south-west (Guienne), moves slightly north-west (Brittany-Anjou), then to the centre (Berry-Auvergne), goes up to the northern borderlands (Picardy-Artois) with a Normandy insert, on to the Meuse-Rhine (Brabant-Holland-Juliers). After England comes a number of German principalities and it finishes with seven Spanish marches d'armes. This could well be the intended structure.

Alexandre Le Blancq also had to get material for this. His basic need was for a good source of French arms, and the *Urfé* was an obvious choice and was the one used for the first half of his project. But the *Urfé* is not a good source for the Rhine-Meuse region, so he was fortunate enough to be able to borrow the *Bellenville* from its then owner. This second source also appeared to provide a sufficient number of German arms, but having a Habsburger sovereign, it would be very politic to begin the second half of the book with not only the titled imperial nobility, but with Austrian nobles. One of the *Toison d'or* clones could provide the necessary input, and luckily one must have been owned by a member of the Lille bibliophile circle.⁴⁸⁵ This third source was used together with the *Urfé* as an insert between segments derived from the *Bellenville*.

8.3.1 The *Urfé* base

The first half of the *LeBlancq* clearly has a version of the *Urfé* as its main source. Several LBQ segments also have a tail from one or more unidentified sources. Examining LBQ 01-03 in some detail, it is evident that neither the primary manuscript of *Urfé* (BnF, fr.32753), nor the *Prinsault* (BnF, n.acq.fr.1075) could be the source, but the order of segments and the concordances are closer to the PRT than to the URF.⁴⁸⁶

Except for the tail of LBQ:126-144, the first segment (LBQ 01, Ile-de-France) is almost as close to URF as to PRT. There are a few 'independent' inserts (e.g. LBQ:40, 53), but both LBQ and PRT have the same unusual variants at corresponding places.⁴⁸⁷ As a side view into the mode of work of the LBQ-compiler, it looks as if he reviewed and compared his entries, when he had finished a segment and added items omitted during the primary copying.⁴⁸⁸ In these few cases, only the URF has the corresponding items.

LBQ 02 Champagne also has a tail, which includes a dozen repeats from segment 01, and some items peculiar to only LBQ and PRT. More interestingly, one of these LBQ-PRT-uniques is a Châtillon S.Rozoy, a branch which became extinct c.1355 into Craon.⁴⁸⁹ Another is Jacques de Châtillon S.Dampierre,

⁴⁸⁵ There is no evidence of ownership in these proposed source manuscripts, except for the de Grez and Oels in *Lyncenich*.

⁴⁸⁶ The concordance of LBQ and its proposed sources is available on www.armorial.dk.

⁴⁸⁷ E.g. LBQ:34 Repenti, 63 Villebeon, 112 Marigny.

⁴⁸⁸ E.g. LBQ:119 from URF:87, probably Jacques le Brun dit Brunel (d.1415).

⁴⁸⁹ Châtillon S.Rozoy, LBQ:159, PRT:160, Pattou MC 35.

killed at Agincourt in 1415. His arms are also in the *armorial de la Cour Amoureuse*, of which Alexandre Le Blancq owned a copy, which also included the imaginary parts of the *Urfé*.⁴⁹⁰ However, there is also at least one LBQ-URF-unique, a Châtillon S.Villesavoye with 3 *martlets* in LBQ, but 4 in URF, probably just a miswriting in the primary URF-copy (iij / iiij).⁴⁹¹

LBQ 03 Burgundy is slightly different from segments 01-02 in structure. It has no tail, but many gaps in both URF and PRT, but except for two, they are covered by the other potential source. One fragment of LBQ 03 is concordant with 8 items from PRT 41 Boulogne, but this PRT fragment was in turn derived from the URF 18 Burgundy segment, as evidenced by LBQ and PRT having the same variants, which are not in URF. Segment 23 Boulogne comes from PRT 41.

The remaining *Urfé*-derived segments present a similar picture.⁴⁹² Most concordances are closer to the principal manuscript of PRT than to that of URF. Some segments have tails added. Among the notable features are the arms of Saint Maurice as the first item in LBQ 06 Anjou, a saint of particular interest to the Angevin nobility, and only found as an LBQ-URF unique. Of the Gascony segment LBQ 09, most of the items overlap URF, but the corresponding PRT 13 segment has only 8 of 41 items in common with URF and 11 with LBQ. For LBQ 16 Auvergne the gaps left by PRT 25 are covered by URF 14.

Like in the *Urfé* and the *Prinsault*, the large Flanders segment 24 of 357 items is derived from the first and third parts of the *Dupuy*, but these sources provide at most only half of the segment. The difference, which is present as a tail, one large and many smaller inserts, come from an unknown source, which provided several repeats and most of the few quartered arms. This or these sources would probably be of a more recent date as indicated by the arms of Jean van Heule S.Vertbois (d.1480).⁴⁹³

The English and Scottish segments 35-36 were made by alternately copying fragments from an *Urfé* and a *Toison d'or* clone. The selection is different from that of the *Prinsault* and the non-*Urfé* entries have a fair overlap with both the *Lynceich* and the *Bergshammar*, but the concordance appears to be too irregular for either of these to be the actual source. A manuscript with a sequence like that of the *Paix d'Arras* would fit better.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹⁰ BnF, ms.fr.5233, segments of imaginary arms corresponding to URF 49-50, 52-54.

⁴⁹¹ Châtillon S.Villesavoye, LBQ:168, URF:1134, see Clemmensen AC for the variations in the Châtillon arms.

⁴⁹² The *Urfé*-derived segments are LBQ 01-26, 35-36, 62.

⁴⁹³ LBQ:2065 Jean van Heule (Botelin) S.Vertbois (dep Nord), Eeckhout FM 1:426; Eeckhout ETO; Eeckhout CNK.

Other items can be found in KBR, ms.1249 (QFP), or in KBR, ms.IV.1276 (GNF), *Nobilité de Flandre* by Corneille Gaillard (d.1563), a herald who lived in Bruges.

⁴⁹⁴ The APA/a, BL, Add.ms.11542:84r-106r, see Clemmensen APA.

8.3.2 *Bellenville* extension

The 22 segments derived from the *Bellenville* come in a mixed preamble (LBQ 25, 27) and two parts of German principalities (LBQ 28-33 Juliers-Guelders a.o.; LBQ 43-55 lands of the spiritual electors and mainly northern Germans) with LBQ 42 Sweden added. These segments are similar to BEL segments 6, 9, 14-21, 27-32 and 37-43.

The Brabant segment 25 begins with a long series from the URF/PRT source, and then introduces the second major source which from the close concordance must be the actual *Bellenville* manuscript. The tail appears to be mainly later additions, incl. several with name only.⁴⁹⁵ The Holland segment 27 is in principle an abbreviated BEL 37 segment, but it begins with a short list of towns and well-known noble families. The first two of these were famous contemporaries as leaders of the smouldering revolt against the Spanish rule in the Low Countries before they were executed in 1568, Philip C.Hoorn and Lamoraal C.Egmond.⁴⁹⁶

The several German segments 28-33, and 43-54 were copied from corresponding segments in the *Bellenville* either in toto or in series with some gaps in between. The Sweden segment 42 was also copied from the *Bellenville*. In copying segment 55 Mecklenburg, the compiler got confused and added 3 items from a member of the TOISON D'OR group, already entered into segment 41.⁴⁹⁷ There is a single contemporary addition, Philip LGf.Hessen (d.1567), which was added as LBQ:3479.

8.3.3 Additional sources

There are no identified sources for the German counts in LBQ 37 or the Spaniards in LBQ 56-61.⁴⁹⁸ Apart from a group of inserts among the first 20 items, the Austrians, Tyroleans, Moravians and Bohemians in LBQ 38-41 are fully concordant with the corresponding parts of the *Heessel Compendium*.⁴⁹⁹ These four segments can be found in several clones of the TOISON D'OR group

⁴⁹⁵ LBQ:2272, 2273 Heinrich (I, d.1444) van Wittem S.Beersel and his older brother Johan (III, d.1443) S.Overissche, Erbmarschall von Limburg.

⁴⁹⁶ LBQ:2499-2500, Philip de Montmorency, d.1568, C.Hoorn by adoption, CTdO 1555, admiral of Flanders (ESNF 14:122, 18:62); Lamoraal van Egmond, d.1568, C.Egmond & P.Gavre, CTdO 1549, Statthalter in Flanders & Artois 1559 (ESNF 18:32). The protestant leaders in France and the Low Countries were related by marriage by their close kind, e.g. Horn, Egmond, Montmorency, Coligny, Nassau-Orange, Condé and Bourbon.

⁴⁹⁷ LBQ:3416-3418, 3675-3677 = LYN:990-992 = CHE:229-231 Riesenburger, Neuhaus, Lippe.

⁴⁹⁸ Many of the German counts can be found in *Lynce nich* and various other sources that may have been available, but not as a segment. The Aragonians in LBQ 62 were copied from *Urfé* and *Bellenville*, see *Ch. 8.3.1*.

⁴⁹⁹ Anrooij HH, incl. a survey of the contents of this miscellany of collections of arms, ordinances of orders of chivalry, treatises on the office of arms and even remedies for certain illnesses. For Hendrik Heessel (d.1470) Österreich & Ruyers king-of-arms, see *Ch. 15.3.2*.

The inserts appear to be individuals set in the middle of a list of Habsburgian hereditary lands.

of armorials, but the *Toison d'or* itself has neither the Bohemians nor the Moravians.⁵⁰⁰

The selection of Spanish arms (segments 56-62) is unique among the armorials examined. Spain is usually noted as the two kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, but here the former is split into six provinces: Castile in centre, Leon-Asturias and Galicia in the north-west, and Toledo, Cordoba and Seville to the south. Michel Popoff considered Spain to be a collation of 1420-50, i.e. from the personal reign of Juan II (r.1406-1454). A few readily identifiable items support this.⁵⁰¹ At least two items suggest a later date for collation or amendment as also his son Enrique IV (r.1454-64) is mentioned.⁵⁰²

8.4 *Charolais, Sicile* and satellites

The two armorials *Charolais* and *Sicile*, both named for famous heralds, are essentially clones of the *Urfé* with a few extra segments blended in. Though their names imply that they were compiled c.1430, the manuscripts date from the middle of the 17th century.⁵⁰³ Most of the identified satellites of the *Urfé* belong to the RINECK group of armorials made in Lorraine during the 15th-16th centuries, but there are probably a few yet to be identified among the manuscripts in the libraries and archives in northern France and the Low Countries.⁵⁰⁴

8.4.1 *Sicile*

This armorial, known in several 17th century copies, is attributed to one of the more famous herald-theorists, Jean Courtois Sicile king of arms in the preamble:

Receuil des armes des roys, pairs / et seigneurs de France (et) avec
roys et / seigneurs de plusieurs pays fait par Sicille / herault
mareschal d'armes de Hainault / dem(urant) en la bonne ville de
Mons pris en / partie dans le recueil de Vermandois / herault du
noble roy Charles de France / fait en l'an .mi iij c. vingt cinq.

It is also said to be finished in 1425 and be based on the works of another herald, Vermandois, who presumably was in the service of Charles VII.⁵⁰⁵ Neither of these claims has any foundation in fact.

⁵⁰⁰ E.g. the *Lyncenich* and the *Bergshammar*. A privately owned 15th century armorial (*Coligny*, COL) has a Bohemia segment which is fully concordant with the *Heessel* (CHE).

⁵⁰¹ LBQ:3679 possibly Enrique C.Cintra, fl.1385, of an illegitimate cadet line of the Manuel branch of the House of Castile. Enrique was tutor to Juan II and member of the governing council during his minority; ESNF 3:126, LxMA 7:211-212. LBQ:3721 Don Hernando de Lorca, treasurer to Juan II.

⁵⁰² LBQ:3723 Bertrand de la Cueva, created C.Ledesma 1462 & D.Albuquerque 1462 by Enriques IV (r.1454-64. LBQ:3685 Hurtado de Mendoza created D.Infantado 1475.

⁵⁰³ The principal manuscripts are BnF, ms.fr.4366 (SIC/a, c.1640), and BA, ms.4150 (CHA/a, 1658). The surveys of the two armorials are in *fig. 5-ch.8.4n1 and n2*.

⁵⁰⁴ For the RINECK group, see *Ch. 10*. Eeckhout FM mentions a couple of potential satellites from c.1600.

⁵⁰⁵ For Jean Courtois, see *Ch. 15.3.4*.

The attribution of the armorial *Vermandois* (VER) to a herald of this name was by Charles du Cange in 1654 in a circular comment to the above preamble.⁵⁰⁶ There is no pertinent concordance between the *Sicile* and the *Vermandois*, though many family names and arms can be found in both armorials. In 1425 Charles VII would have been known as the dauphin in exile in Bourges rather than as king, though the titling could well be a later amendment. In any case the ur-*Sicile* was never finished in 1425. Nearly all of its contents are related to the ur-*Urfé*, though heavily modified, with many peculiar terms used in the blazons and with several mistakes, e.g. cocks replacing escallops (coquilles) for the abbreviation *coqs*, unfinished blazons, or more charges per shield – indicating a bad source copy and a copyist with little knowledge of armory and nobility.

All manuscripts have two additions to the *Urfé*-derived segments. A list of knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece (Toison d'or) ending in 1451, and a verse epitaph for the four dukes of Burgundy from Philippe 'hardi' to Charles 'le téméraire', who was killed in battle in 1477. Both the two additions and the Douze Pairs de France placed at the beginning of the armorial may have been added later to an intermediate copy. The arms of Simon Morhier, the putative commissioner of the URF/a manuscript, is inserted as “messire simon morhier, grand maistre d hostel du royaume de france, crie Morhier” in SIC:137.⁵⁰⁷

The overlaps between *Sicile* and the older members of the group contain many sequences that are variable or even irregular compared to the source - more like pick and mix in several readings. For some segments, it is nearly impossible to document the source, e.g. for segment 23 the duchy of Burgundy, though the next segment 24 for the county palatine of Burgundy (Franche-Comté) is demonstrably closer to *Urfé* segment 18 than to *LeBlancq* or *Prinsault*.⁵⁰⁸ Most of the segments could have come from any of the three possible source variants, but a few appear to be closer to *LeBlancq* than to the other two. One or two may be closer to URF/a. The England segment 29 was primarily derived from a source close to the *LeBlancq* segment 35 (which has several items taken from the TOISON D'OR group) with odd transpositions and repeats, e.g. the dukes of Gloucester and Bedford, brothers of Henry V placed in the middle, while the arms of the Clare E.Gloucester were retained among the leading items.

8.4.2 Charolais

Paul Adam-Even, the French nestor on armorials, dubbed this manuscript the *Petit armorial du Consile de Constance* as he noted that several items from it had a striking likeness to items painted in the German chronicle-cum-armorial of the church council held in Constance during 1414-1418.⁵⁰⁹ On closer examination

⁵⁰⁶ *Armorial Vermandois*, mostly French nobles active c.1300, mss.fr.2249 (VER/a) and 9477 (VER/d, copied 1654 by du Cange).

⁵⁰⁷ Simon Morhier, d.1449, URF:2855, see *Ch* 8.1.9. He is also in the very short *Châtelain d'Arras* (CAR:147), BnF, ms.fr.23078.

⁵⁰⁸ URF 18, LBQ 03, and PRT 05 (and part of PRT 41) keep the nobles of the duchy and the county together.

⁵⁰⁹ Paris, BA, ms.4150, *Charolais* (CHA), survey in *fig. 5-ch.8.4n2*. For the Richental chronicle, KCR, see *Ch*. 11.1.

this similarity accounts for less than 10% of the contents, so the present name refers to the herald named in the preamble on fo.1r and painted above it:

CHAROLOIS, marechal d'armes du Bon Duc Philippes de Bourgogne & de Braban, Limbour, Luxembourg, Lotrich, & Gueldre, &c. Comte de Flandre, Artois, Palatin de Bourgogne & de Henault, Marquis du St Empire, de Hollande, Zelande, Namur, Zutphen, Sgr de Frise, d'Atrect, de Solins, & Malines à qui Dieu fache paix & de présent le maintiène en Santé et prosperité. // Ce livre traite des armoiries des grands du monde assemblés de mains pais par le comandement de monseigneur le duc l'an 1425 mis en double sur l'original - 1658 - Dans la noble ville de Bruxelles.

The name and the date of 1425 were further interpreted to imply that this compilation of arms was made by Jean le Fèvre de Saint-Rémy, the later Toison d'or king of arms.⁵¹⁰ Though one or more of the sources used may have relations to this person and the date, the present manuscript does not. It is written in the autograph of the French Huguenot émigré Philippe-Nicolas d'Aumale dit d'Haucourt, and like his other works pieced together from various sources, usually without any spacing or note of provenance.⁵¹¹ Besides the not uncommon near contemporary inserts, a herald Brabant and the year 1580 are mentioned several times in the manuscript. During his stay in Bruxelles, he must have had access to a fine library, possibly one used by the heralds serving the Order of the Golden Fleece and the court of the Spanish viceroy.

Though he mixed his sources, the composition is reasonably strict. Beginning with a 10% part of Burgundian nobles (supporting the attribution in the preamble), it continues with some 30% taken from an *Urfé* clone, fairly close to URF/a, with nobles from northern France. The foreigners (from Spain and Poland only) are led by series of arms as used by successive royal houses, e.g. Arpad, Anjou, Luxembourg, and Hunyadi for Hungary - for another 20-25%. The next 20% are arms attributed to kings and heroes mentioned in the romances, mostly from the Carolingian cycles and in part copied from *Urfé*.

Segment 21 from the Council of Constance may have been extracted from a manuscript fragment rather than from one of the printed versions.⁵¹² The last 10% are also known as Pierre de Bouffan's list of chamberlains and officers of the King of France and of Jean 'sans peur' D.Burgundy (d.1417). Actually, it is a reordered version of parts of the *armorial de la Cour Amoureuse*, an institution founded by Charles VI of France (r.1380-1422).⁵¹³

⁵¹⁰ For Toison d'or king-of-arms, see *Ch. 15.3.5*.

⁵¹¹ For d'Aumale dit Marquis d'Haucourt and his exile in Bruxelles, see *Ch. 15.5.2*.

⁵¹² Only KCR:167-296 are covered among CHA:1029-1098.

⁵¹³ *Cour amoureuse* (CAM), see Bozzolo CAM. The primary manuscript is presently held in the Archives of the Order of the Golden Fleece (Goldene Vlies, AOTdO) in Vienna, in the Hof, Haus und Staatsarchiv division of the Austrian national Archives, as ms.51. The AOTdO manuscripts were moved from Bruxelles when Austria had to leave the Netherlands during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars of 1792-1815.

8.4.3 Satellites of *Urfé*

Nearly all the identified satellites belong to the RINECK group of armorials from Lorraine.⁵¹⁴ The major and name-giving armorial is the *Rineck*, which was closely followed by the compilers of the *Coislin-Séquier* and *Nancy*. Their main interest was the imaginary arms in the *Urfé* segments 47-53 with the heroes from the romances and the real or fabulous realms. These were not copied by the *Savelli* compiler, but all took down extracts of some foreigners (English, Spaniards, Bohemians; URF segments 37-41) as well as some from Guienne and Champagne (URF 04-05, 21).

The *armorial lorrain de la Ruelle* is mostly based on a *Lutzelbourg* type of clone of the TOISON D'OR group, but has the Picardian segments (23 Vermandois, 24 Corbie, 25 Ponthieu) from the URFÉ group (URF 23, 24, 26).⁵¹⁵

⁵¹⁴ For *Rineck* (RYN) see *Ch. 10.3*, and for the clones *Coislin-Séquier* (CSG), *Nancy* (NAN), and *Savelli* (SAV), see *Ch. 10.4*.

⁵¹⁵ *Ruelle* (RUE), Paris, BnF, ms.fr.5941, 17th century, www.gallica.bnf.fr.

9. *Bellenville* and *Gelre*

The opinions on the relationship between the two armorials *Bellenville* and *Gelre* are much divided.⁵¹⁶ They span the whole divide from being compiled and executed by two different 'teams' at different times and places without any knowledge of each other to the *Bellenville* being a preliminary and more primitive version of the *Gelre* by the same compiler.⁵¹⁷ Both have been dated to varying periods during the last third of the 14th century,⁵¹⁸ and both have been utilized as sources for later armorials: the *LeBlancq* (c.1560) incorporated several segments from the *Bellenville*, and the *Bergshammar* (c.1460) much of the *Gelre*.⁵¹⁹ Before discussing the evidence on their relations to each other, it is appropriate to examine the manuscripts separately.

9.1 *Bellenville*, of surveys and occasions

With two modern editions by teams of specialists, each with multi-page introductions, it is hard to add new information on the provenance of the manuscript, the artistic execution or the structure and contents.⁵²⁰ The compiler and artisans remain anonymous, but it is likely that during the late 16th century it was owned by a member of the bibliophile circle in Lille, Antoine de Beaulaincourt S.Bellenville (d.1559) or his friend Jacques le Boucq, a painter and genealogist of the Order of the Golden Fleece.⁵²¹ It was probably acquired by the Bibliothèque Royale from the estate of the Parisian bibliophile Alexander Petau (d.1672), as it has one of the lower acquisition numbers.

⁵¹⁶ BnF, ms.fr.5230 (BEL, 1740 items); KBR, ms.15652-56 (GEL, 1825 items), both on parchment; surveys in *fig.5 - ch.9.1n1* (BEL) and *9.2n1* (GEL). Both have been published in full editions with facsimiles: Jequier BEL (1983); Pastoureau BEL (2004); Adam GEL (1961-68; revised by Léon Jéquier 1971, no facsimile); Bergen GEL (1992, reprint of Adam GEL 1971 with b/w facsimile), Popoff GEL (2012, with coloured facsimile drawings from Bouton 1881-1905, GEL:1-1126).

⁵¹⁷ For the former opinion, see Michel Pastoureau in his introduction (Popoff GEL 21-22); for the latter opinion, see D.L. Galbreath in the comments in *Archives Héraldiques Suisse*, 1946:78, and Paul Adam-Even in Adam GEL 11.

⁵¹⁸ For BEL: 1355-1360 + 1400 additions (Werner Paravicini 1989), 1364-1386 (Jan Raneke 1975), 1386-1390 (Léon Jéquier 1983, Franco-German segments), 1370-1375 (Michel Pastoureau 1976), 1360/70-1390/1400 (Pastoureau 2004), c.1370 (Anrooij AH 120). For GEL: 1334-1372 (Victor Bouton, d.1901), 1369-1396 (D.L.Galbreath, d.1949; Paul Adam-Even, d.1961), 1368-1405 (Léon Jéquier 1971; Michel Popoff 2012). See also the dates noted for the segments in the surveys in *Appendix 5*.

⁵¹⁹ See *Ch. 8.3.2* for the *LeBlancq*, and *Ch. 6* for *Bergshammar*, and the respective surveys in *Appendix 5*.

⁵²⁰ Most of the non-obvious factual information here was extracted from the introduction in Pastoureau BEL 1-19.

⁵²¹ The circle included Alexandre Le Blancq (d.1575), the commissioner of *LeBlancq*, see *Ch. 8.3*. Antoine de Beaulaincourt usually had his arms, *Azure 2 lions addorsed or*, painted as an exlibris in his books. The library of Jacques le Boucq is now in the Bibliothèque municipale de Valenciennes.

Though the manuscript has been published in both print and on the web, its physical structure has never been described in detail.⁵²² This could lead and has led to some misconceptions. If evaluated alone from its contents, it appears most likely that some segments may have been shuffled considerably before the present binding. This is highly unlikely, if one considers what is now known about its physical structure. The manuscript consists of nine quires and two of the segments bridge quires.⁵²³ Except for two irregularities, the first four quires are made up of two to four folded sheets, and the last five quires of five folded sheets each. The first irregularity concerns quire 4 of one folded sheet and two half-sheets. The second concerns quire 7 which has a blank half-sheet (fo.51) inserted between two segments, and another half-sheet (fo.47, with arms) inserted into the Guelders segment 40. A quire of five sheets of parchment is very bulky and would tend to flip open whenever it is not weighed down or stringed. Carrying five such quires unbound would have been cumbersome.

As for the contents, there are few items from France (7%). The majority of the families (43%) were living in the Low Countries or in the adjoining German-speaking principalities often noted as the Ruyers (or Ruwieren) *marche d'armes*. The next part by size consists of 11 segments identified by Léon Jéquier as small occasional armorials, noted here as BEO 1-11, for a total of 23%.⁵²⁴ Of the 19% Germans, one half comes from territories relatively close to the Low Countries, with which much trading took place, i.e. Cologne, Trier, Mainz, and Westphalia (Münster, segment 30). Apart from Aragon, all other foreign territories are only represented with a few items, often only with the arms of the ruling prince.

Two layouts were used throughout the manuscript. The main one with 4x6 tables of arms (vertical shields, no crests), and a minor one of 3 rows of 4 items with inclined shields and crested helmets used only for the ultimate segments 50, 53-57 on ff. 62v-72v.⁵²⁵ Each item is carefully entered with high-quality coloured pen drawings on pre-drawn outlines of shields placed within pre-ruled squares. The legends (in Flemish) are neatly written in a reddish ink, now faded, but often retouched or copied in a more persistent black colour. The writing style is a neat cursive, possibly in two forms, hand A being slightly larger and upright than hand B. When needed, room was made to have the lead item (the ruling prince or leader) entered in a larger format, taking up 4-8 ordinary places in a 4x6 table. The last page in 4x3 has the shields and short

⁵²² Its size, dimensions and number of leaves are long known and published, but the quire structure was not known before being examined non-invasively in 2015 and described in Clemmensen KP, see also *fig.5-ch.9.1n1*.

⁵²³ Segment 37 Holland-Hainaut, 40r-43r, 741-885 on quires 6 (fo.33-42) and 7 (fo.43-52); segment 43 Kleve, 52r-54r, 1192-1285 on quires 7 and 8 (fo.53-62); fo.51rv is a blank half-sheet insert.

⁵²⁴ Described as *rôles occasionals* in Jéquier BEL for segments 45-47, 49-51, 53-57. The segmentation and percentages were calculated slightly different in Pastoureau BEL 4-9, but with an essentially identical conclusion. The segmentation proposed by Jéquier was adhered to in Pastoureau BEL and in Clemmensen OM, though it needs revision.

⁵²⁵ *Fig.8-ch.9.1n2* layout in BEL; fo.62r, Segment 51 (BEO 4, 63v) and 52 Hildesheim (64r) use the 4x6 layout. The 7 items of segment 53 (BEO 5, 64v-65r, crested helmets) are drawn larger than the usual 4x3 items and are facing each other across the pages.

mantling outlined and the pot helmets painted grey, but only item 2 has the name written and the arms sketched with abbreviations for colour. Several pages have individual items left uncoloured, while other pages have only a few items with a touch of colour. Most segments have the items entered continuously from top left towards bottom right. It is not unusual to find arms placed after a number of blank shields or even blank spaces.⁵²⁶ Taken together the physical evidence suggests that the manuscript was designed and executed as a presentation volume rather than as a notebook or a herald's vademecum, but the manuscript was never finished.⁵²⁷

Like its counterpart on fo. 63r, the human figure at the bottom of fo. 70r at the end of segment 56 is an odd feature. Both are bareheaded, dressed in flowing tabards bearing the arms, and holding in their right hand a spear or lance ready for throwing. The 63r figure bears the arms of Guelders and holds a scroll with the text "suadeo vos juste agree" (I counsel you to act right). The 70r figure bears *Azure 3 crowns or* and on the left he is holding by a chain the arms of Vlatten, a cadet of Merode. Irrespective of the war-like postures, the figures have usually been interpreted as heralds. Both may represent the compiler of this armorial.⁵²⁸ If the compiler-herald-master allusion is accepted, this figure may point to a date of manufacture and the reason for it being unfinished. Johan von Vlatten (d.1406) was the last of the senior subline of Vlatten (Merode). Though his two illegitimate sons were legitimized by the emperor in the same year as their father died, they did not inherit.⁵²⁹ Both Werner (d.1370), the father of Johan, and several of Johan's uncles served as canons in Cologne before marrying. Their seat may have been a fief of the archbishop-elect of Cologne, but had also close relations to the duke of Juliers.⁵³⁰ Werner von Vlatten was appointed chamberlain to the archbishop. The crowns may have been intended as a reference to the town of Cologne, but not from a person in

⁵²⁶ Fo. 46r have legends only above blank shields (name only items). The top row of 56v has inclined crested shields, possibly an addition.

⁵²⁷ Pastoureau BEL 5 argues that irrespective of the artistic quality, the small size (approx. A5) and unfinished form place the *Bellenville* as a herald's aide-memoire produced over several decades rather than a commissioned work. Indeed, like the *Gelre* and *Bergshammur* it does have a smaller size than the armorials usually considered as presentation pieces: *Toison d'or*, *Berry*, *LeBlancq* and *Grünenberg* - all approx. A4, twice the size.

⁵²⁸ If so, the compiler would have served the duke of Guelders as a herald before he transferred to the lord of Vlatten. The lance and the scroll may refer to the herald's role as associate judges and masters of ceremonies at jousts and tournaments.

The attribution of the 'three crowns' arms is disputed. The obvious choice is that they are the arms of Sweden, and that the figure on 70r is a Swedish herald, but this does not fit the contents. Jean-Bernard de Vaivre proposed, and Pastoureau BEL 5 mentions, that the three crowns could represent an independent herald wearing the arms of King Arthur, but there is little substantiation for this. The crowns feature in the chief the arms of the cathedral city of Cologne, representing the Three Magi (Heilige Drei Könige), its guardian saints. The Cologne crowns are always *per fess*, never displayed as 2:1.

⁵²⁹ ESNF 18:87.

⁵³⁰ Vlatten is today a suburb of Heimbach in the Eifel (Kr. Düren, N-W). The feudal structure of south-western Westphalia is very complex and details hard to verify. The succeeding subline became Erbschencken of Juliers in 1430.

service of it nor to the elector, but possibly to where he came from. If the commissioner died without heirs willing to pay for a manuscript, it was usually left unfinished and sold as it was.⁵³¹

Without any pretensions to make an artistic analysis, it is more than likely that several illustrators have worked on the manuscript.⁵³² It is not so much that the helmets are varied in detail and fronting, as the difference in expressiveness in the figures on the shields and crests. They range from the bland and boring to very neat, even delightful, pen drawings. Some of the neatness disappeared when colour was applied covering the details. One of the striking features of the manuscript is the uneven degree of finishing. Several segments have most items in various stages of incompleteness, others just one or a few items unfinished. A little more than half the pages were fully completed in colour.⁵³³ The degree of finishing varies. For the first two quires (segments 01-13, fo.1r-14v) only the Swedes on fo.10r were completed in toto. Curiously, there are no fleurs-de-lis on blue fields in this first part, though there are 10 variants of the arms of France on fo.1r alone. The next three quires (quire 3-5, segments 14-30, fo.16r-32v) have about half the segments completed as have the next three folios from quire 6 (segments 31-34).⁵³⁴ The rest (segments 35-57, fo.36r-42v on quire 6, and 43-70v on quires 7-9) is nearly complete, only the pages 58v and 64v are largely unfinished.⁵³⁵ Segment 31 Mecklenburg on 33v and 32 Stettin on 34r should probably be regarded as one display over a spread of pages. The lead page (33r) of the quire was left empty. A later owner added some arms on its bottom row.

The method and sequence of manufacture need special analysis, which falls outside the scope of this evaluation, but it is possible to suggest a few elements.⁵³⁶ If one looks at fo.2v-3r, it appears that the first step after drawing the figures and probably tricking the intended darker parts with letters was to paint those elements blazoned *Or* with a thin yellowish solution, then a thick black and ditto blue were applied. The red paint for *Gules* was used as the last - it is generally the missing colour.⁵³⁷ The green (*Vert* or *Sinople*) may have been made by blending a little blue into the yellowish solution. Sometimes a shield was left as an uncoloured pen drawing. In one unexplainable example, the *Azure 3 eagles argent* of Leiningen / Linange was left unpainted, though placed between Nassau and Sponheim - with either blue field or blue checks.⁵³⁸ At the end of the same Mainz segment Erfartshausen and die duken van scierbeke was

⁵³¹ E.g. BnF, ms.Mazarine 406, Missal of Louis de Guienne (d.1415). In: *Les arts sous Charles VI. Paris 1400*. Catalogue Exposition in Louvre 2004, p.144 no.70.

⁵³² See also the discussion in Pastoureau BEL 14-16.

⁵³³ The number of unfinished items is slightly higher than 186 – the number of items emended in Clemmensen OM and in Jequier BEL.

⁵³⁴ Segments 19, 22-23, 25, 28-29, 31-34 have many items unfinished.

⁵³⁵ Segment 48 Lüneburg (2), and 53, possibly copied from stained glass windows.

⁵³⁶ See also the discussion of titles, writing and painting in Pastoureau BEL 12-13, and 14-16, on the several scribes and painters involved.

⁵³⁷ There are of course exceptions to this 'normal' sequence, e.g. fo.14r, where only the red human figure in the Visconti arms and crest got any paint.

⁵³⁸ BEL:208 on 16v3.

tricked 'b' for blauw / blue / azure and 'k' for keel / red / gules, but in addition dotted with red paint.⁵³⁹

9.1.1 Ruyers and the Low Countries

The first four segments in this part of the armorial are the French- or Flemish-speaking 22 Liège, 35 Flanders, 36 Brabant and 37 Hainaut-Holland, followed by the mainly German-speaking 39 Juliers, 40 Guelders, 41 and 44 Berg, 42 Mark and 43 Kleve with 38 Utrecht as a bridge between Holland and Guelders with many nobles being vassals of both and having family members serving several of the surrounding princes.

The Liège segment 22 on the fo.22v-23r spread straddles two quires with the arms in three fragments separated by first blank shields, then an empty space for three rows. If the blank shields had been filled, the result would have been a neat display of the prince-bishop on the left flanked by his principal vassals (if they were so!) above three paired rows. The arms are of families from the northern part of the diocese and the segment is dated by the incumbent prince-bishop Arnold van Hoorn, r.1378-1389. The items from the three Low Countries segments (35-37) are painted regularly with only occasional unfinished arms, except for fo.42v in the Hainaut-Holland segment where 16 out of 24 are blank shields. The lead item of Flanders has the *lion assis* representing the ruward or protector transformed into a helmeted griffin.⁵⁴⁰ Dates were proposed for the three segments by Léon Jéquier, but they varied over time from c.1360 to just before 1390.⁵⁴¹ Actually, a cursory review of the evidence given in the editions reveals very few bits of solid evidence for dating. Most of the persons proposed had active lives which spanned much of the period. Henri de Flandre C.Lodi & S.Ninove (o.s.p.1366) is a rare exception because he was the last of his line, and, as far as is known, the only one with the name-arms combination.⁵⁴² But some items may have been updated after collation, e.g. a member of the Gavre-Hérimez branch may have had the title changed from Lens to Liedekerke, depending on which title was the more important either from the view of the bearer or the observer.⁵⁴³

Utrecht is dated by Floris van Wevelinghoven, bishop 1379-1393. Of the families in the segment nearly all had possessions within the temporal territory of the bishop. The four German segments are hard to date, but were probably collated or possibly revised during this period. The last of the 'Ruyers' segments (no.44), which has many unverified coats of arms, appears to be an appendix of 24 nobles from the county of Berg led by 13 variations of *Or chief azure*,

⁵³⁹ BEL:231 Erfartshausen, 233 (Schierbeck, not identified). The Dagstuhl in between is *Or saltire sable*.

⁵⁴⁰ XDF:368, 1339, 'Reuward de Flandrie - per communem patriam ordianti', also found on coins issued by Louis de Mâle.

⁵⁴¹ See *fig.5-ch.9.1n1* Survey of *Bellemille*. Flanders 1355-61/68, Brabant 1355-1362/87, Hainaut-Holland <1360 / <1380. Jéquier BEL 21-23 for his review of segments.

⁵⁴² BEL:571 "h henric van vlanderem".

⁵⁴³ BEL:586. Arnold (II) de Gavre, d.1414, S.Liedekerke & Rasseghem & Lens & Harchies, was son of Arnold (I) de Gavre-Hérimez S.Lens fl.1333-88 and Johanna van Rasseghem (d.1405), heir to her maternal Liedekerke. In the document with the seal XDF:922 (1362) Arnold (I) is named as S.Lens & Rasseghem & Liedekerke.

probably of families and branches mostly living between Cologne and Solingen. The remaining families lived on the Düsseldorf-Wuppertal axis.⁵⁴⁴

9.1.2 Crusades and other occasions

Léon Jéquier categorized 11 of the 13 segments at the end of the present volume (ff. 55-72) as *occasional armorials* and proposed that five segments (BEO 1, 2, 3, 6, 9) listed participants in the Northern Crusades against the heathen Poles and Lithuanians.⁵⁴⁵ These campaigns were mostly fought in winter under the leadership of the Teutonic Order. The 'crusades' continued after the Poles and Lithuanians converted to catholic Christendom in 1386. Many westerners, from Scotland to Austria, took part in these campaigns. In between forays and after finishing a campaign the visiting nobles and their hosts feasted and held tournaments. Visitors who had distinguished themselves were honoured at high table (Ehrentisch), and several had their arms displayed on walls in churches or in the hall of the headquarters in Marienburg.⁵⁴⁶ Four segments were associated with jousts or tournaments (BEO 4, 7, 8, 10), while the evidence did not allow Léon Jéquier to associate the last two (BEO 5, 11) with any activity.

There are four codicological curiosities in the last part of the armorial with a mix of 'crusades' and 'marches' (segments 47-53), and they are probably linked. The first irregularity is the change of layout from 4x6 tables of shields only (except for lead items) to 4x3 tables of achievements with crested helmets and inclined shields from fo.62v (BEO 5, 7-11). The change involves both the putative 'crusade' and tournament segments, but it may simply have been caused by the sources having a more uniform supply of crests. The second irregularity concerns the two leaves where the front and back sides have different layouts (62rv and 63rv) and belong to different segments (BEO 3/7, and 7/4, crusades or tournaments) and to different quires. The third irregularity refers to the 'insert' of two segments of the 'marche d'armes' type (48 Lüneburg, 58v; 52 Hildesheim, 64r), both minor principalities among the *occasionals*. The fourth irregularity (BEO 5, 64v-65r) with a single row of achievements of seven Brabantian knights placed in courtesy across the pages has been explained as a copy taken from stained glass or off a wall decoration.⁵⁴⁷ This is a possibility, but the persons involved hardly warrant such honour (and expense). Following Léon Jéquier, the seven men appear to be sons, who have yet to obtain their main inheritance. Another possibility for BEO 5 is that it is a fragment with

⁵⁴⁴ Segment 44 (formerly 'Rhineland') on fo.54v (54r blank). In Pastoureau BEL part of a 60-item 'diverse' unit.

⁵⁴⁵ The *rôles occasionals* are discussed in Pastoureau BEL 9-12, Jéquier BG, and Jéquier BEL 24-28.

⁵⁴⁶ The 'crusades' or Preussenreisen and their relation to parts of the *Bellenville* are described and discussed in the two volumes of Paravicini PR (1989, 1995), and in shorter form in Paravicini HQ (1987). Robert of Namur a.o. on BEL:63r have counterparts in Königsberg Dom, Ekdahl BP 33. The nationality of men noted in *Bellenville* was tabulated in Paravicini PR 1:189, tab.26a.

⁵⁴⁷ Pastoureau BEL 12. The last item BEL:1573 proposed as Jean de Bouchout, bastard brother of Daniel S.Humbeck in BEL:1571. The lead item, BEL: 1567 could be Philip (II) van Wassenaer S.Polanen & Kapellen (d.1401), who succeeded his father Philip (I) in 1375. The father differenced with a mullet, no seal was found for Philip (II).

jousting parties. The simplest explanation for the four irregularities is that the compiler drew the arms for the 'crusades' (47/BEO 6, 49/BEO 3, 50/BEO 7, 51/BEO 4, 53/BEO 5) consecutively so that 50/BEO 7 presented a spread of jousting and 53/BEO 5 another spread - disregarding the need to divide the jousting over two quires, and following the layouts in the sources. This left 58v and 64r blank. A little later the compiler needed or wanted to add some vassals of the House of Sachsen (see BEL 19), who had their properties in Lüneburg (BEL 48), and the vassals of the Bp.Hildesheim (BEL 52) – and the two blank pages filled this need.

Though several of the men listed in segment 45 (BEO 1) are known to have participated in the 'Prussian crusades', the overall impression of the mix of 60% scots and 40% Englishmen and a single one from the continent is that these 48 men would never have been in Prussia together and would hardly have been recorded on a separate 'guest list' or extracted from one.⁵⁴⁸ With a slight modification of the conclusions of Pastoureau & Popoff, this segment was probably extracted from an armorial (whole, fragment or notes) of Scottish nobles and some notes of English nobles. Unfortunately these were mixed and never joined their respective marches d'armes in segments 05 and 11. The Bellenville-compiler would neither be the first nor the last to confuse English and Scottish nobles. Most of the items would fit a period around 1360, incl. the routier captain and condottiere John Hawkwood, who left France for Italy at that time.⁵⁴⁹ Among the additions active at a later date were Michael de la Pole (later E.Suffolk) and Conrad Kraigh, an imperial official escorting Anne of Bohemia to London in 1382 on her marriage to Richard II.⁵⁵⁰

As there are no written indications on the background or content of the segments, there are only two structural forms of evidence for a segment to refer to a 'crusade': 1) its multinational composition with men known to have been in Prussia, and 2) the presence of banners known to have been used during the campaigns designating divisions in the Teutonic host. Only three segments have banners. Both the St.George and the Virgin Mary banners are present in segment 49 (BEO 3) dated to 1372 by Léon Jéquier. The banner of St.George is held as the first item on fo.60v by Johan Bannritz von Müllenark, who was in Prussia during the winters of 1377/78 and 1395/96, an influential noble from the lower Rhine.⁵⁵¹ The banner of Virgin Mary is held by a bastard son of the

⁵⁴⁸ Pastoureau BEL 12 is mistaken in assigning 40 items to Scotland and 8 to England.

⁵⁴⁹ BEL:1331 John Hawkwood, d.1394, buried in Florence. He was also a jousting, present at Smithfield in 1358.

⁵⁵⁰ BEL: 1354 Michael de la Pole, c.1330-1389, created E.Suffolk 1385, impeached 1386, a protégé of the young Richard II is not likely to have been prominent in 1360. BEL:366, 1343, 1706 Conrad (II) Kraiga von Kraigh, hereditary marshal of Carinthia, may have been in England before. He was on the Ehrentisch 1377 in Prussia.

⁵⁵¹ BEL:1446 Johan Bannritz von Müllenark, mentioned in Paravicini PR 2:146. The reference probably covers father (fl.1358) and son. A sister Catherine was married in 1408, XRA 2:534, Fahne KJ 1:288. Bannritz means banneret, an office or rank, not part of the family name. Probably a ministeriales family noted 1290, influential in both Juliers and Cologne. The main Müllenark branch was a cadet of Dietz and of C.Saffenberg, separated early 13C and often named for Tomburg. They used different

D.Brabant as the leading item of the last three rows on fo.61v.⁵⁵² Similarly, on the middle of the next page, 62r, one finds an achievement of shield, crested helmet and armorial pennon, which suggests that this segment of 76 items ought to be considered being in three parts: 49a 'Müllenark' with 48 items, BEL:1446-1493; 49b 'Wavre' with 19 items, BEL:1494-1512; and 49c 'Cruiningen' with 9 items, BEL:1513-1521.⁵⁵³ The composition of the first subsegment, which would have fought under the St.George banner, is multinational, primarily Germans from the Lower Rhine area, but with 2 Swedes, 7 Silesians, 3 Bohemians, and notably 10 Poles. Polish names were not uncommon in Silesia and Saxony, and some Silesians served the king of Poland. The second subsegment, which fought under the Virgin Mary banner, was led by a bastard of Brabant, held only men from that region.⁵⁵⁴ The last subsegment, without notation of service in Prussia, has a member of the Cruiningen, a mid-level family from Zeeland, singled out with crested helmet and armorial pennon. Apart from 2 Frenchmen, all would probably speak Flemish or Dutch. All datable items in segment 49 (BEO 3) are compatible with a time around 1372 as proposed by Léon Jéquier, but there are no indications for precisely that year. A similar situation is present for the 12 items in segment 47 (BEO 6) led by a Pforsch von Thurnau with the St.George-banner.

Segment 55 (BEO 9), dated c.1380 by Jéquier, is the second with a St.George banner held by Johan Kammerer von Worms.⁵⁵⁵ Of the 36 items, 7 are Polish, 2 Silesians (probably in polish service), and 8 from southern and eastern Germany. The majority are from the Lower Rhine area, like BEO 3. Though some of the men entered into the two segments may have fought together in the same campaign and division, these segments cannot be surveys of particular companies because the poles are interspersed with the western crusaders. The third St.George banner is held by a member of the Pforsch von Turnau or Förtsch family from Franconia in the short segment 47 (BEO 6). Most of the men came from Franconia, but there are double entries for a Kammerer von Worms, a Förtsch, and a Buchenau. Neither have Christian names, and there are no indications for dating in the segment, though Léon Jéquier dated it to the period 1360-1370.

arms. The lordship of Müllenark nr Juliers / Jülich, Düren and Cologne went by marriage of Walram of Juliers in 1230. ESNF 7:139.

⁵⁵² BEL:1494, Jean de Meeuwe, fl.1354-1372, S.Wavre, bastard son of Jean I D.Brabant. Paravicini PR 2:151;

⁵⁵³ The sub segmentation was noted in Paravicini HQ 113 and Jéquier BEL 26, but not elaborated on.

⁵⁵⁴ A couple of the families originated in Holland, but had branches settled in present south-east Belgium, which was then known in overlapping terms as Hesbaye, (the temporal parts of) the diocese of Liège, the county of Namur, and parts of the duchy of Brabant.

⁵⁵⁵ Several Johans were active c.1380, incl. Johan (d.1385) as proposed by Jéquier and Pastoureau & Popoff, his uncle Johan sr (d.1374), cousin Johan jr (d.1378), a slightly more distant cousin Johan gt von Hohenstein and von Dalberg (d.1415). ESNF 11:54-55.

The structure of the 60 items in segment 46 (BEO 2), which Léon Jéquier dated to 1340-45, is curious. The first 3 items on fo.56r were identified as Robert de Namur S.Beaufort-sur-Meuse (1320-1392), a younger son of the C.Namur, followed by an Eller from Nassau (or Berg) and a count of Hoya from Lower Saxony, all with crested helmets and inclined shields. The remaining items, led by the Cobham-FitzWarin pair of Englishmen (dead by 1361), begin on the middle of the page at position 16 of the 4x6 layout, all with shields erect and without crests. The items represent pairs or triplets of noble families from all over the 'Ruyers' marche. Members of one fourth of the families can be documented as having been in Prussia 1340-45.⁵⁵⁶

It is difficult to differentiate between lists of crusaders going to Prussia and men taking part in tournaments. People went on crusade, but once arrived, they would feast and joust as well. Sometimes the weather (and/or the economy or political situation) did not allow for a campaign, so what they could make their honour on would be prizes for jousting. BEO 8 (segment 54) is a list of Brabantians with one item designated as an Englishman. As noted by Werner Paravicini, the blank banner is the only evidence for a journey to Prussia.⁵⁵⁷ One could add that neither of the men listed would be expected to act as a banneret with such a following. Léon Jéquier suggested, and Werner Paravicini supported, that the twin Baden and Namur parts of BEO 4 (segment 51) represent seven pairs of joustiers – probably in Prussia. BEO 10 (segment 56) probably also derived from activities in Prussia as the composition includes Poles, Swabians, Austrians and some Westphalians.

Werner Paravicini discussed BEO 7 (segment 50) thoroughly.⁵⁵⁸ Apart from the figure of a man (herald) dressed in a tabard with the arms of Guelders holding a scroll, which may or may not be included in the segment, this appears to have been collated in Prussia.⁵⁵⁹ The lead item of Herman van Haafte, of an illegitimate branch of the Châtillon-Blois, is the standard-bearer of a Wassenaer S.Leck. The Wassenaer are prominent in BEO 3, 5, 7 and 8. The list includes at least three members of the Teutonic Order: the Fleming van Straten and two Lithuanian brothers Surwille.⁵⁶⁰ Of the last two occasionals, Léon Jéquier had no opinion on BEO 11 (segment 57) and proposed BEO 5 (segment 53) to be copied from a stained glass window. The unevenly paired 4+3 items on fo.64v-65r are larger than usual. The lead item is a Wassenaer-Leck; the others are minor Brabantian nobles. Werner Paravicini included all but BEO 1 as having been collated in Prussia.⁵⁶¹

9.1.3 German territories

The 19 segments with German nobles are spread all over the armorial - including a few items that are not German! Most items are in the two sets (segments 14-21 and 27-32), both of which include men from the north as well as from the south. The 92 items from the territories of the three spiritual

⁵⁵⁶ Paravicini HQ 113.

⁵⁵⁷ Paravicini HQ 115.

⁵⁵⁸ Paravicini HQ 117-118, 122.

⁵⁵⁹ BEL:1545, 62v, last item on bottom corner, see *Ch. 9.1.0*.

⁵⁶⁰ BEL:1526 Straten, 1532, 1534 Surwille.

⁵⁶¹ Table of comparison in Paravicini HQ 125, question marks on BEO 2 and 8.

electors and the neighbouring Palatinate are somewhat less than could be expected from a region that has many interactions with the principalities in the 'Ruyers' region. There is no solid evidence behind the periods centring on 1370 tentatively proposed by Léon Jéquier for their collation, but the proposal appears sensible, and the painted arms must in any case have been based on notes, which may or may not have been gathered by the compiler.⁵⁶² There are a few irregularities, e.g. Swabians like Fürstenberg, Klingenberg and Weinsberg coming north of the Main-Mosel line, and the extinct Wittgenstein having a place of their own.⁵⁶³

Nine segments cover the northern and eastern parts of Germany, but not in an orderly fashion.⁵⁶⁴ The arms of the families living along the Baltic coast are unfinished with many items uncoloured or partially coloured, e.g. on fo.35v only the red paint was applied to some arms, but not to the leading arms of the count of Holstein, and black appears to have been made with pen and ink to the otherwise neatly drawn figures.⁵⁶⁵ The items in the central part, present Lower Saxony, was probably collated after 1368/70 when Lüneburg reverted to Saxony. Except for the prince, only a couple of the 35 items in segments 19 and 48 come from Saxony, the rest are from Westphalia and Lower Saxony (present Land Niedersachsen).⁵⁶⁶ The Hildesheim segment 52 dated by bishop Gerhard v.d. Berge (r.1365-98) come from the same region. Segment 19 is fully coloured, but both segments 48 and 52 on fo.58v and 64r are almost uncoloured.⁵⁶⁷ There are no Saxons, but the M.Misnia has just 13 followers in segment 27. To the west are 65 Westphalians led by Potho von Potenstein Bp.Münster 1379-81 in segment 30, and 19 Hessians in segment 29 – of which four are Swiss (!). Segment 20 with 9 items led by the Swabian duke of Teck includes the arms of Hildesheim and five from Thuringia. The four men following Brandenburg in segment 21 are either Saxons or Swabians. Finally, the single 'Sayn' of segment 26 on fo.29r, is actually the Gascon C.Armagnac.⁵⁶⁸

⁵⁶² Segments 15-18, Jéquier BEL 19-20. Segment 18 Palatine may refer to Bavaria too as many of the families came from either Bavaria or Franconia. The argument put forward by Léon Jéquier that absence of the personal arms of a bishop indicates a period of vacancy, is not valid. The compiler may just have wanted to present the arms of the diocese, not the incumbent, or have omitted them, e.g. as when the Bergshammur compiler copied *Gelre*.

⁵⁶³ BEL:215 Fürstenberg, 267 Klingenberg, 270 Weinsberg. The legend *wedekenstein* is found in GEL, the satellites BHM and LBQ, and also in the *Lynwenich* (LYN:422) - but not in BEL:1403. Siegfried (d.1359) as the last of the line.

⁵⁶⁴ Segments 19, 27, 29-32, 34, 48 and 52.

⁵⁶⁵ Segments 31 Mecklenburg, 32 Mecklenburg-Wenden-Pomerania-Stettin, 34 Holstein. Some items are tricked with letters indicating the colour to be applied.

⁵⁶⁶ BEL:298 is Saxony, followed by Brunswick and Saxony qtg Lüneburg (also in BEL:1430) for Albrecht (III), d.1385, in Sachsen-Wittenberg 1350 & D.Lüneburg 1370, inherited from his mother, ESNF 1.2:196 - not dead in 1428 as noted in Jéquier BEL 20 nor 1422 for Albrecht, and neither one of the sons of Rudolf (I, d.1356) as noted in Pastoureau BEL 106-107.

⁵⁶⁷ See the discussion at the end of *Cb. 9.1.2*.

⁵⁶⁸ BEL:389 no legend, identified as Sayn, but with *Rodez qtg Armagnac*. Segments 20, 21, 26, 27, 29, 30 are all fully painted.

The pages 15v and 16r were designed for 2 sets of seven shields each, but only an unfinished item on 15v (Saluces from Piemonte) and five arms of the lower set on 16r were entered. These five are the *Argent a fess of lozenges gules* of Swabia (segment 14) including the arms of the Swiss Neuchâtel (Fenis), which may be for Imier de Strassberg, who died c.1364 in Austrian service as the last of his line after selling his possessions on Lake Bienna. The 22 items in segment 28 (fo.30rv) led by the Hohenzollern BGf.Nürnberg are as could be expected mostly nobles living in Franconia or having set up branches in the town itself. Some families originated in Hesse. The only three items on page 30v are in the bottom row and unfinished.

Though most of the inhabitants had their own Slav language, Bohemia was ruled by German princes from 1310 to 1457, and though only one of the six noble families in segment 12 originated in present Germany, the kingdom belonged to the German cultural sphere. Of the 24 Austrians in segment 24, the first four items are related to the Habsburger dukes and their hereditary lands. The next item is C.Cilly, a family which reached its apogee with Herman (II, 1365-1435), by 1405 father-in-law to Sigismund von Luxembourg king of Hungary. Though the county lay within the borders of the Habsburgian province of Carniolia (Krain, present Slovenia), the family was more involved in Hungarian than in Austrian or imperial politics.⁵⁶⁹

9.1.4 Other foreigners

Only three of the 15 segments of other foreigners have more than a dozen items. Most have only the arms of the ruling prince and possibly one or more arms of no relevance to that principality. France, the (presently) first segment, was of little interest to the compiler. Most items refer by title only to lordships from the kingdom, which makes them of little use for dating. However, one may, as Léon Jéquier did for the period 1364-1368, argue that a proposed group of persons, in this case the royal family including in-laws, specify the date of collation. Though some of his arguments have little validity, his conclusion was not far off.⁵⁷⁰ Two identifiable items, the marshals d'Audreghem and Sancerre, support a date of c.1370.⁵⁷¹ But this compilation includes a few contradictory items. The P.Morea with Villehardouin qtg Hainaut belong to c.1295, and the county of Eu was confiscated from the Brienne family in 1350.⁵⁷² Several of the

⁵⁶⁹ Cilly is present Celje in Slovenia. Krain al. Carniolia was acquired by the Habsburg dukes in 1335. The arms are not present in *Bellenville*. The rise in the Cilly influence was much due to Herman (I, d.1385).

⁵⁷⁰ E.g. arguing that a titled appanage (Normandy, Guienne) was without an identified holder at the proposed date indicated that it had reverted to the king. The first counterargument would be that there is no difference in the form of legends in the armorial between appanages held by a prince and those held by the king. The second, more specific, counterargument is that both appanage-fiefs were at the proposed date held by the English.

⁵⁷¹ BEL:51 Arnoul d'Audreghem, d.1371, maréchal de France 1351, but a Fleming. BEL:44 Sancerre (without the label) would probably be for Louis de Sancerre, d.1402, maréchal de France 1369, connétable 1397 - as in GEL:338.

⁵⁷² BEL:43 Isabelle de Villehardouin Ps.Achaie & Morée d.c.1311, married Florent d'Hainaut S.Braine & Hall d.1297.

lordships were held in addition to their main fiefs by e.g. the C.Flanders.⁵⁷³ This was never a survey of French nobility, but could be a fill-in copied from blazoned notes to give the impression that the armorial covered the most important French princes and vassals.⁵⁷⁴

Three more semi-sovereign principalities (or segments) are in the French sphere of influence. The most important would be Brittany (BEL 23), but only the lead item is relevant. Two items are irrelevant and almost indistinct. The last item, in the bottom row, is from Normandy.⁵⁷⁵ Anglure, the other item in the Lorraine segment 33, had its seats in western Champagne, not in Lorraine.⁵⁷⁶ The eight items from segment 25 Savoy are not only relevant, but has two members of the ruling house to date it c.1400.⁵⁷⁷

The Iberian Peninsula has only the arms of Castile-Leon and Navarre to supplement the 43 items of segment 06 Aragon collated during the reign of Pedro IV (d.1387). Two of his sons are named and the younger son became C.Luna (j.u.) in 1372.⁵⁷⁸ Northern Italy is present with segment 13 having four princes: Visconti, Monferrato, Scala, Saluzzo - and a minor German: C.Landau. Naples is with Anjou - of former glory, Cyprus with its Lusignans of French descent, and Hungary with an unfinished Anjou for Louis 'le Grand' (d.1382).

Sweden in segment 09 is introduced by a subset of five variations of the royal arms designating Albrecht of Mecklenburg (r.1363-89) as king. Most of the variants are the Folkunga arms, still in use today, and, ironically, followed by an oddity - the arms of Tyrgils Knutson, a Swedish marshal executed for treason in 1306. Possibly because his arms *Per bend sn gules-azure a lion or* are superficially similar to the Folkunga *On azure bendy sn argent a lion or*. The segment is unusual in that nearly all are Swedes identified by their Christian names, except for Königsmark, a naturalized German. The informant must have known the men listed very well. Unfortunately, three of the arms were lost before being entered into the armorial.

Similarly, the person providing the compiler with blazons from Denmark (segment 03) must also have been well-informed on the politics in the far-off Scandinavia. The unfinished arms of Denmark may refer to King Valdemar IV (r.1340-75) or his grandson Oluf II (d.1387) during the regency of his mother Margrethe I (r.1376/87-1397/1412). The period is stipulated by the arms of Henning Podebusk (d.1388), right-hand man of King Valdemar from 1350 and sénéchal (drost). The national flag, Dannebrog - the oldest still in use - is

BEL:31 Raoul de Brienne, 1323-1359, C.Eu before 1350, when the county was confiscated and given to Jean d'Artois.

⁵⁷³ BEL:17-18 Rethel and Nevers.

⁵⁷⁴ Some of the drawings appear to be from misread or unfinished blazons, e.g. BEL:28 Luxembourg C.St.Pol, BEL:92, 99 *sine nomen*.

⁵⁷⁵ Segment 23 Brittany, BEL:354 Foix (unfinished), 355 ui, 354 Bouttemont, misspelled bouikaut as it is in GEL:368, 475.

⁵⁷⁶ Anglure, dep Marne, ar Epernay, c-l-c. Simon d'Anglure S.Etoges (d.1485) served Rene d'Anjou, when he was D.Lorraine, but that was much later.

⁵⁷⁷ BEL:382 Amadée P.Morea, d.1402; 388 the bastard Humbert, b.1377.

⁵⁷⁸ BEL:122 Juan D.Gerona 1351, R.Aragon 1387; BEL:123 Pedro C.Luna 1372.

depicted on a shield. Ironically the two remaining items did not support the crown. Henneke Limbek, with lands in Schleswig, was one of the leaders in a major insurrection of the Jutlanders in 1372, but was later reconciled and became a member of the royal council. The duchy of Schleswig was from 1218 an appanage fief held by the later King Abel and his descendants until their extinction in 1375. It was then inherited by the C.Holsten until their extinction in 1459, when it reverted to the crown. Neither party was friendly towards the crown. King Eric VII (r.1397/1412-1439) unsuccessfully claimed and fought for it, but had to give in, even though his relative Emperor Sigismund had awarded him the duchy as an imperial fief.⁵⁷⁹

The five unfinished items in segment 05 England are contradictory. The king (BEL:115) could be either Edward III (d.1377) or his grandson Richard II (deposed 1399). The next item was proposed to be John of Gaunt D.Lancaster (d.1399, succeeded 1361), the richest man in the realm and a brother of Edward III. However, the basis for the identification is fickle. It rests on the 3 times 'h' (for hermine) placed on the central pendant on the label placed above the 3 lions passant guardant of England. John of Gaunt did use a label ermine, but on France quartering England (a brisure of the royal arms). By 1340 all descendants of Edward II used the quartered arms, not England alone. *England with label argent* (Brotherton) was used by the Earl Marshal and with border by half-brothers of Richard II and a cousin of Edward III.

If one would accept John of Gaunt, the possible period could be anytime between 1361 and 1399, with Thomas Trivet (BEL:120, alone on 6v bottom) pointing to 1385, time for a campaign against the scots where he served as an admiral with Gaunt in actual command. The real problem is the two famous jousters Reginald Cobham of Sterborough (d.1361) and William FitzWarin (d.1361), who appear as pairs trice in the *Bellemeville*.⁵⁸⁰ On the other hand, accepting a slightly mistaken rendering of an unnamed England with a label, the item would fit c.1360 and with several of the English in the Anglo-Scottish segment 45 (BEO 1) as commanders in the Anglo-French war up to the Peace of Brétigny in 1360. The arms of Scotland on fo.11r are only a pen sketch, which is followed on the backside by a lonely Pole.⁵⁸¹

9.2 *Gelre*, the famous autograph

The *armorial Gelre* with its beautifully drawn crests and coats of arms is commonly regarded as the arch-typical aide-mémoire carried by heralds.⁵⁸² It is

⁵⁷⁹ BEL:4v / 110-114, see Dahlerup DG for details. The arms of Schleswig are in pretence in the banner used by the Danish delegation to the Council of Constance (ARK:100), Clemmensen ARK.

⁵⁸⁰ BEL:118/119, 1345/1346, 1361/1362, also as GEL:578/579.

⁵⁸¹ BEL:188 Bartosz von Wezenburg, d.1393, palatine of Poznan 1383. The family came from Lusatia and settled in Poland c.1350. The arms are also in GEL:510 in a segment of Poles and Hungarians.

⁵⁸² Latest but not alone, Michel Pastoureau in Popoff GEL 22 (2012), and Wim van Anrooij in Anrooij GM 298 (1991). See also the survey on *Gelre*, KBR, ms.15652-56, in *fig. 5-ch.9.2n1*. The five manuscript numbers do not refer to volumes but to parts with 15652-55 covering segments 54, 54, 56-57, 58 and 15656 the tables of arms. The major part is made up of 49 segments of tabulated arms, here gathered into 3 subchapters:

almost unique in that we know the original compiler-cum-scribe and probably also the artist responsible for this work. The person is Claes Heinenzoon, who lived c.1340/45-1414, and worked as a herald for the Duke of Guelders for nearly 30 years before changing into the service of the Wittelsbacher C.Hainaut-Holland-Zeeland for the last decade of his life. He used the worknames or titles 'Gelre' and 'Beieren', but for an unspecified period also the imperial function or office as Ruyers King of arms. Besides this work, his autograph can be found in four other manuscripts.⁵⁸³

The manuscript as it is today has a mixed content of short chronicles of the genealogy of princes illustrated by coats of arms, laudatory poems, lists of men challenging their prince or who have died in battle, as well as the tables of arms filling the majority of pages. As an aide-mémoire it is assumed to have been compiled over the thirty years when Gelre served his duke.⁵⁸⁴ It is well-documented that he travelled much during this time, so several commentators assumed that the entries in the armorial would be first-hand evidence or at least second-hand obtained from the colleagues he met on his travels. By inference, most entries would have been drawn in batches over the years whenever he had a chance to sit down with pen and brush. There are no indications of tricking the colours by initials, so we must assume that the drawing and painting was done simultaneously, whether from blazoned notes or from borrowed or acquired painted sources. To the untrained eye, it appears that most legends could be in hand A, the autograph of Gelre present in the textual part. Two further hands (B and C) have been identified in the poems, as discussed below.

The manuscript consists of 124 sheets of parchment in the rather small format of 220 x 140 mm (approx. A5). The physical structure does not appear to have interested editors or commentators, though the quire structure has been known for a long time.⁵⁸⁵ Comparing the five textual segments, the fifty armorial segments, and the four amendments with the quire structure suggests that the present order is similar to the original intentions, but also that the quires were left unbound for most of the period of entering arms. The intended physical structure appears to have been using ternios (quires of 3 folded sheets), but over time some sheets were cut and one half removed, while other half-sheets

Ruyers & Low Countries with 895 items in segments 2-4, 29-38, 45-49; Germany 297 items in 1, 5-12, 25, 27, 40-44; and Foreigners 477 items in segments 13-24, 26-27, 39. Another 145 items or arms illustrated the texts or were added later. Numbering and segmentation follow Adam GEL. Some irregularities may have gone unnoticed in the survey.

⁵⁸³ For the Gelre Herald, see *Cb. 15.3.1*.

⁵⁸⁴ Some of the periods proposed are 1369-95 (BGH 12), 1370-95 (Adam GEL 7, 1971), 1370-86 (Jéquier BG 299, 1972), 1369-95 (Sven Tito Achen, 1971), c.1390 (Jéquier LP 30, 1992, compiled from own notes taken 1370-90), 1390-97 (Paravicini HQ 119), c.1395 (Anrooij AH 120, 2014, unfinished), 1395-1408 (Jéquier LH 30-31, 1992, only GEL 58, louanges /eulogies). These periods are exclusive of the copying of older text from 1334-1345, and later additions.

⁵⁸⁵ A list of 124 pages in 22 quires is given in Bergen GEL 278 (1992), presumably made by Belaerts de Blokland or by Frédéric Lyna, the author of the 1936 catalogue entry. This has been modified to 28 quires and visualized in *fig.6-ch.9.2n2*. The importance of the quire structure was recognized by Anrooij GM 298 (1991), who noted the structure of quire 8 with insert of fo.76-77.

were added to some ternios. The last two original ternios (present quires 24-28) were not used by Gelre. The textual part of 4 ternios (quires 1-7, ff.1-25) may have been intended as a manuscript by itself – apart from the armorial.⁵⁸⁶ Eight of the armorial segments span two quires or ternios, leaving four ternios beginning with a segment (five including the lead quire). All of the textual segments span quires, leaving the four last leaves blank in Gelre's time. The copies in the *Bergshammar* made during 1450-1460 respect the present structure, including segments spanning quires.

Many of the armorial segments appear to be incomplete and many have only the lead item, a prince ruling a territory drawn larger than the majority of achievements (shield, helmet, mantling and crest). Outlines of shields were placed in pre-lined rectangles 5 x 3. The arms were drawn and painted, helmets with very short mantling and, if present, finely designed crests were added. It is not unusual to find items placed at the bottom or in the middle of a page of outlined shields. Some individual items and one or more segments appear to have been added at a later date. These have usually been identified by the type of helmet used.⁵⁸⁷ For the main tabular part, segments 1-49, more than one painter have worked throughout the manuscript.⁵⁸⁸ This can be traced by studying the figures on the shields, but primarily the crests, e.g. lion, human heads and dragon's heads. They also liked to play in the way they presented the helmets. Both the enlarged lead items and the smaller tabled items have barrel (pointed or rounded tops) or even pot helmets (flat tops), but the helmets for the tabled items may be drawn almost like primitive tilting helmets (notable by their lip-like eye-slits) and positioned either facing or in profile, usually several variants on the same page. The presumed additions have proper tilting helmets of the type used in armorials from mid-to-late 15th century, e.g. *Bergshammar*.⁵⁸⁹ A few have grilled or pageant helmets.

The unfinished character of many segments with items placed at odd places on the page, and crests dotted irregularly on some tables of arms, support the notion of a manuscript being gradually filled with arms and crests as information became available. On the other hand, it is hard to imagine why one would begin a segment (no.34, Guelders, 102 items) on the last page of a ternio (88v), especially when listing the vassals of his current or recent employer. Spanning quires are more likely to occur when items are entered continuously, and a need for more space arises. This suggests that the compiler did not work on it during his travels, but in one streak and may have had a commercial use in mind, though the presence of blank pages, empty shields and later additions complicate the last interpretation. The present state of the manuscripts could be the result of an accidental inclusion during binding by joining blocks of quires kept together, but which were never intended to be so. The first six quires (and

⁵⁸⁶ As proposed in Anrooij SR 78-85, 112-113 (1990); Anrooij AH 126 (2014); over time 1393, 1395-1404, 1408-14.

⁵⁸⁷ See examples of helmets on *fig.8-ch.9.2n3*, and the placing of legends on *fig.8-ch.9.2n4*.

⁵⁸⁸ Popoff GEL 18 mentions a master painter and two assistants, which seems reasonable. The pen drawing on fo. 26r and possibly the herald on 122r are presumed to have been made by Herman Maelwael, so the Maelwael brothers' studio may have been involved. Popoff GEL, Anrooij GM 298. For the two miniatures, see *Ch. 9.2.6*.

⁵⁸⁹ The tilting helmets in the *Bergshammar* are different with longer 'lips'.

a loose leaf) with the texts make one logical block or even a codicological unit, the tables of arms make the second block, and quires 24-28 a residual of blank pages, later additions, a list of ancestors which is probably later (Marie de Bourgogne, married 1404), and a single leaf with a coloured drawing of a herald (122r).

9.2.1 The texts

The presence of an identifiable handwriting is no proof that the writer is also the author or originator of the text. Of the six textual segments (nos. 54-58, 60), Claes Heinenzoon has been identified as the writer of the first three shorter texts and the first page of the fourth making up the entire first quire.⁵⁹⁰ For the remainder of the fourth text (segment 57, the Holland chronicle) he contracted with a scribe (hand B), who also worked on another of his manuscripts.⁵⁹¹ This scribe also wrote all but one of the eulogist poems in segment 58 before handing over to an unidentified scribe (hand C) for the last poem. This long poem begins with the last 10 lines on the back page (18v) of the single leaf quire 5 and continues for the first half of the ternio quire 6. The second half and the single leaf quire 7 were probably left blank by the compiler (and partially filled with GEL 59, a later addition). These five textual segments fit perfectly together and must have been written in succession leaving space for the armorial illustrations, probably within a short period. The arms illustrating the texts were probably painted by the same hand as the main part of the armorial. Only the repeat arms on fo. 18v (GEL:1751*bis*, Adam de Mopetingen, d.1384/85) appear to be in a different style.

The contents of the five texts have been transcribed and translated and commented on by Léon Jéquier, Wim van Anrooij and Michel Popoff.⁵⁹² Nearly all of the texts relate to people who lived at least a generation earlier.⁵⁹³ The first text (segment 54, dated 1334 at the top of the page) presents the short verse *défis* or challenges duke Jean (III) of Brabant in 1334 impersonated as a boar by 17 nobles ranging from the archbishop-elect of Cologne over the princes of the borderlands to a few major barons, and the replies by the dukes of Bar and Brabant. Similarly, the next text in segment 55 is dated and the contents determined by those killed at the battle of Stavoren in 1345, when count Willem IV of Hainaut-Holland died trying to subjugate the Frisians. The third text, segment 56, is a short genealogical chronicle showing the descendance of the dukes of Brabant from Hector of Troy through the Merovingian, Carolingian and Capetian dynasties, ending with the same duke Jean III as mentioned in the *défis*.⁵⁹⁴ These three texts are all in the hand of Claes Heinenzoon.

⁵⁹⁰ The numbering of the items, and consequently the numbering of the segments, follows Adam GEL as did Popoff GEL, so the first 25 leaves covers items 1708-1814 and segments 54-58, see *fig.5-ch.9.2n1* (survey) and *fig.6-ch.9.2n2* (quire structure).

⁵⁹¹ KBR, ms.17914, another Holland chronicle.

⁵⁹² Jéquier GG, Anrooij DG a.o., Popoff GEL.

⁵⁹³ Some of the proposed persons in the eulogies vary between Adam GEL, Popoff GEL and Anrooij DG. A few of those that appear contemporary can be replaced by men active before 1335.

⁵⁹⁴ Léon Jéquier and Wim van Anrooij discussed the dating and evolution of the two chronicles in segments 56-57 in Jéquier GG 6-7. Both were written 1395-1400, derived

For the fourth text, segment 57, also a genealogical chronicle illustrated with coats of arms, a scribe (hand B) was employed.⁵⁹⁵ This early version of the 'Holland' chronicle begins with the Carolingians and ends with the Wittelsbacher acquiring the twin counties of Hainaut-Holland. More precisely it ends with Wilhelm V 'the insane' (d.1389), who was effectively put in regency in 1358 by his brother Albrecht.

The fifth text, segment 58, has hand B writing 11 of the 12 eulogic poems (louanges, Ehrenreden) of knights known for their prowess in tournament and battle. They are more difficult to date as some entries can be ascribed to more than one person and as they must have been compiled after the death of the last person mentioned. Only three items appear to be unique by their names: Johan (II) C.Sponheim-Kreuznach (o.s.p.l.1340), Renaud (I) C.Fauquemont (d.1333), and Gerhard (III) 'the bald' C.Holsten (d.1340). The latter was the only member of the House of Holstein (Schaumburg) with a European standing – before he was assassinated during his occupation of Western Denmark.⁵⁹⁶ Four names appear also among the *défis* of 1334: Sponheim, Hainaut-Holland, Fauquemont and Juliers. Fortunately, there are the descriptions of their feats, campaigns, battles, crusades, and the princes they served. Even the year of death may be found. This allowed Jéquier and Anrooij to name the individuals with a high level of certainty.⁵⁹⁷

The 12 poems were probably composed or reworked by Claes Heinenzoon over some time, but the present texts could be fair copies of earlier compositions written at a later date.⁵⁹⁸ The type of content varies progressively. The first five poems mention the many places where the hero fought, which greatly supports the identification. The next five have very few details, but merely describe the hero in chevaleresque terms. For the last two, substantial details re-emerge, suggesting that Adam de Mopertingen (d.1384/85) was a special relation and that Wilhelm (II, d.1393) D.Juliers 1361 was the ultimate object of this series of eulogies, and providing a date *post quem* for finishing the texts.⁵⁹⁹ This last eulogy was written by an otherwise unidentified scribe, hand C.

from early 14th century precursors, and further developed in the two chronicle manuscripts 131G37 (BHC/a) and 17914 (BHC/b).

⁵⁹⁵ The hand B scribe was also employed at some time around 1409 in writing part of version *b* of the Holland (and Brabant) chronicle in KBR, ms.17914.

⁵⁹⁶ GEL:1745 Sponheim, 1748 Holsten, 1749 Fauquemont / Valkenburg.

⁵⁹⁷ GEL:1742 Rutger Raitz, d.1369, Popoff GEL 74, 76; from the work of Jéquier and Anrooij in Jéquier LP.

⁵⁹⁸ The title 'Gelre' is mentioned in four poems (fo.14r, 15r, 17v, 21r) and 'Henen' possibly on fo.16r. A copy fragment of the poems (only the end of no.3 (GEL:1743, Elnaer) and beginning of no.11 (GEL:1751 Mopertingen) is present in Gotha, LB, ms.membr.II.219, an autograph of Claes Heinenzoon.

⁵⁹⁹ Noting a reference to a deceased D.Berg (Wilhelm, died 24.05.1408, created duke in 1380), Wim van Anrooij proposed that Claes Heinenzoon added the last eulogy as late as 1408 while in the service of Hainaut-Holland. He is correct in noting that the helmets accompanying Mopertingen (tilting-like) and Juliers (grilled pageant) are different from those used for the other 10 eulogies. The Juliers helmet is rather like the

The arms entered with the various text fragments are in general the standard versions found on seals and in other armorials. For the few women, arms are impaled as conventions bid. The only imaginary arms are those attributed to Hector of Troy, the claimed ancestor of the dukes of Brabant, and this was well known from the romances and may also be found in the *Berry*.⁶⁰⁰ The assignment of the Auvergne *gonfanon* to Sainte Ida of Basse-Lorraine, wife of Eustace (II, d.1097) C.Boulogne and mother of Godefroid de Bouillon is a semi-imaginary attribution. The *gonfanon* replaced or supplemented the *three roundels* of Boulogne as comital arms after 1260.⁶⁰¹ There are a few additional curiosities, e.g. why do the two entries for the count Sponheim-Kreuznach have a label, a variant unique for the textual part of *Gelre*?⁶⁰² One explanation for this could be that Claes Heinenzoon needed a label of 5 points in the poem to spell his Christian name: JOHAN.⁶⁰³ The last text (segment 60) is a simple listing of Flemish bannerets and nobles, copied in imitation – or by the same hand? – on fo.234r-235r in the *Bergshammar* c.1460.

9.2.2 Ruyers and the Low Countries

With 54% of the tabulated arms⁶⁰⁴ and his command of Dutch and German (but not French), most of the attention of Claes Heinenzoon was directed at the territories traditionally ascribed to be the superior *marche d'armes* of the Ruyers king of arms. This corresponded roughly to the ancient duchy of Lower Lorraine (Lotharingia) covering the principalities between the Schelde/Escaut and the Rhine, including a small patch on the east bank between the rivers Sieg and Lippe opposite the towns of Bonn and Xanten. Though the structure of the armorial is less than strict, the north-west of the empire, of which the Ruyers *marche* make up a substantial part, falls in three parts. The last part, segments 45-49, appears to be a supplement to the main part of segments 29-38.

Of the principalities of the three archbishop-electors, only Cologne (and perhaps Trier) can be placed within the Ruyers *marche*.⁶⁰⁵ But many of the vassals and other nobles serving all three spiritual electors had substantial properties in various parts of this area, whether in Brabant, Juliers, Guelders or

Hainaut-Holland helmet in ms. 131G37:22v reproduced in Anrooij HB 8, finished in 1405.

⁶⁰⁰ BER:1833, probably derived from the *Roman de Troie* by Benoît de Sainte-Maure, as indirectly mentioned with the reference to the works of Christine v.d. Bergen-Pantens by Michel Popoff for GEL:1756. Jequier GG 6 explains that the Brabant chronicle was inspired by the *Roman de Troie*.

⁶⁰¹ GEL:1778.

⁶⁰² GEL:1720 (segm. 54, *défis*), GEL:1745 (segm. 58, *louanges*).

⁶⁰³ GEL:1745, 14v: "viif lettren siin dair up verhaven; / als men die leest, die luden: Johan / Spanem, Spanem, roep men dan."

⁶⁰⁴ The calculation is based on segments 2-4, 29-38, 45-49, and include Mainz, Trier, Flanders, and parts of Westphalia, not strictly in the Ruyers *marche*, but adjoining and politically and geographically apart from the Germans discussed in *Ch.* 9.2.3.

⁶⁰⁵ The structure was probably intended to mirror the opening miniature of the emperor and electors on fo.26r, having the electors and their vassals in segments 02-08.

other principalities.⁶⁰⁶ The actual possessions of the three electors were relatively small and spread out among those of the other princes noted in this subchapter. There are very few items among the 142 in segments 02-04 that can be dated independently, but both they and other items, which can be suggested to match, point to 1380-1390 as the period where most would have attained notable positions in active service.⁶⁰⁷ Léon Jéquier dated the Cologne segment to 1369-70 mainly on the basis that the seat was vacant, and the arms did not indicate the incumbent.⁶⁰⁸ The argument hardly holds as all three items have only the archdiocesan arms - without any personal affiliation. The seats of both Mainz and Trier were occupied throughout any possible period of collation of these segments. The arms of the Three Magi, revered in Cologne and placed right after the diocesan arms, are those commonly met in German iconography, but are one of the earliest manifestations.⁶⁰⁹

At a later point in the making of the armorial, the compiler supplemented the Cologne affinity with a further 22 names, probably from a different source - and with the intention of adding more.⁶¹⁰ He complied this time with the fashion of indicating the incumbent, Friedrich von Saarwerden (Abp. 1370-1414), with an inescutcheon. The few persons that can be dated, as well as the four with Christian names of the nine persons repeated from segment 03, appear to have been active during 1380-90, the same period as in the primary listing of the Cologne affinity.⁶¹¹

The two other archdioceses (02 Mainz and 04 Trier) appear to list people who were active during the same period or perhaps slightly earlier.⁶¹² Besides serving one or more of the archbishop-electors, some of the major nobles, such as Johan Kammerer von Worms gt von Dalberg, participated in crusades in Prussia in leading positions.⁶¹³

⁶⁰⁶ The spread of seats of origin of the families is most easily followed in the table of *Gelre* in the database version of Clemmensen OM, but may also be done in both Popoff GEL and Adam GEL. Some families held honorary offices with one elector, though their major lordships were situated in a different principality and closer to another elector.

⁶⁰⁷ GEL:43 Eberhard von Mark (d.1387), guardian (Vogt) of Hesbaye, but in Mainzer service; GEL:112 Johan von Wildenberg (d.1388, ultimus); GEL:130 Salentin von Homburg (d.1386).

⁶⁰⁸ Jéquier BG. Many seals and entries in armorials show a bishop either quartering the arms of the diocese with his personal or family arms, or using the latter on an inescutcheon.

⁶⁰⁹ GEL:56-58 Gaspard, Melchior, Balthazar. Clemmensen NW, nos 21-21.

⁶¹⁰ Segment 37, fo.93v-95r, end of quire 19, GEL:1309-1340 (32); fo.94v, 94r positions 10-15 and 95r pos.2, 7, 9, 11 as blank shields.

⁶¹¹ GEL:68/1333 Jan van Meersch, 70/1331 Jan van Palast, 74/1330 Rutger Raitz, 93/1321 Hunolt von Plettenberg.

⁶¹² Adam GEL and Popoff GEL proposed different persons for several items, among the more likely and long lived, were GEL:26 Johan von Cronenburg dÄ (d.c.1411, fl.1358), GEL:28 Otto Knebel (d.1404), GEL:33 Simon Grans von Heppenheft (fl.1364-1400); and GEL:112 Johan von Wildenberg (d.1388, ultimus), GEL:130 Salentin von Homburg (d.1386).

⁶¹³ GEL:32, BEL:1598 Johan Kammerer von Worms gt von Dalberg, fl.1366-1415, in Prussia during 1379/81. Paravicini PR 2:142.

As the 'hereditary sovereign of the Ruyers marche d'armes and heir to Lotharingia', segment 29 Brabant leads the main selection from the extended Low Countries.⁶¹⁴ The 102 items were probably collated during the same 1380-90 period.⁶¹⁵ Several of the names were mentioned by Butkens in connection with the quarrel of Wenceslas of Luxembourg (d.1383) D.Brabant 1355 (j.u.) and Louis 'de Mâle' C.Flanders.⁶¹⁶ One item, GEL:809, refers to the lordship of Malines (Mechelen) outside Antwerp held by the C.Flanders since 1333. There may be a couple of apparent contradictions. At least one can be resolved by assuming that a younger brother adopted the arms of another family, from which he inherited a lordship.⁶¹⁷ Flanders, segment 31 (87 items), is introduced with six of the territories held by Louis 'de Mâle' and inherited in 1384 by his daughter Marguerite and her husband Philippe 'hardi' de Valois D.Burgundy. Most items were probably collated during the same period, possibly before 1385, though some men probably had their peak earlier.⁶¹⁸

Hainaut-Holland and Zeeland, segment 32 (117 items), future employer of Claes Heinenzoon and a well-visited place in part because the duchess of Guelders was a daughter of the Wittelsbacher count, is well represented, though more people would have been included in a proper survey.⁶¹⁹ The people fit the period.⁶²⁰ The item following the count's arms are those of the C.Blois, probably Gui (II, d.1397), brother and successor of Jean (II, d.1381), who as pretender to Guelders in 1372-74 is assumed to have been the first employer of the herald. The list contains a few 'oddities', e.g. the ancient chevronny arms of

⁶¹⁴ Segment 30 Limburg is a later addition in 3 parts. The Bergshammars compiler used both segments 29 and 30 as sources for BHM 05.

⁶¹⁵ GEL:818 Jean de Septfontaines al. Zevenborn, fl.1370-1395, S.Cranendonck, son of Thomas de Septfontaines and Irmgard de Hornes Dm.Cranendonck; GEL:828 Gerard v.d. Heyden, fl.1358-79, S.Bautersem & drossart de Brabant (j.u.), married Berthe de Fauquemont Dm.Bautersem (o.s.p.), arms of Heyden, GEL:831 Gaucher v.d.Brugge (Aa) and Marie de Berlaer Dm.Héverlé (& hereditary chamberlain of Brabant) had two sons. Henri v.d. Brugge (o.s.p.>1391) S.Héverlé & Oplinter inherited Jean v.d. Brugge (o.s.p.1381, fl.1371) S.Héverlé.

⁶¹⁶ Butkens TB 1:473.

⁶¹⁷ GEL:829 Gerhard van Boutersem (d.1405) S.Merksem adopted arms of Merxem (Westmael / Wesemale). His older brother was Hendrik (o.s.p.m.1418) S.Bergen-op-Zoom in GEL:822. Their mother Maria van Westmael was granddaughter and heir to Bergen-op-Zoom and Merxem after her grandfather Gerhard (o.s.p.m.s.1347/49). ESNF 7:101-102.

⁶¹⁸ GEL:959 Sohier van Gent, d.1384, marshal of Flanders 1362.

⁶¹⁹ In the *Kuunre in Frisia* (KUF) armorial, listing participants in the 1396 campaign led by Willem C.Ostrevant (later Willem VI C.Hainaut-Holland) there are c.300 entries from comparable territories. The *Kuunre* is part of the *armorial Beijeren* (BEJ) manuscript in the autograph of Claes Heinenzoon.

⁶²⁰ GEL:1014 Hugues Melun, son of Jean (d.1359) and Isabelle d'Antoing (Melun qtg Antoing); GEL:1019 Sweder d'Abcoude (Zuylen), d.1400, S.Gaesbeck, son of the heiress; the Borselen set (GEL:1024, 1026, 1027) when Philip is replaced by Floris (d.1393/94), son of Raes S.Ellenwouddijk (d.1390) – all of the Brigdam branch.

Hainaut are inserted on fo.83v and the Voorne BGf.Zeeland, which reverted to the overlord in 1372, is present.⁶²¹

The four segments, 33 Juliers, 34 Guelders, 35 Berg and 36 Kleve, can be considered together. The persons and families fit the period too, which means that Juliers and Guelders was in personal union since Wilhelm (II, d.1393) C.Juliers secured Guelders in 1371/74 for his young son Wilhelm (III, 1363-1402). Berg was ruled by Wilhelm (IV, d.1408), also of the Heimberg-Juliers family, who was created duke in 1380.⁶²² One of the key pieces of evidence is the presence of Gottfried S.Heinsberg, who in 1357 married Philippa, sister of Wilhelm (II) C.Juliers and Gerhard (VI, d.1360) C.Berg in the Juliers segment.⁶²³ The Heinsberg were mostly active in Hesbaye, present eastern Belgium. The second item in the Guelders segment, 2die jôcker va de berge”, was not related to any line of the counts of Berg, but descended from the counts of Zutphen. The lords of s'Heerenberg held the rank of bannerets and were probably an illegitimate line as the sister of the founding ancestor brought Zutphen to the C.Guelders.⁶²⁴ With many Christian names the Juliers, Guelders (mainly from Obergeldern-Zutphen) and Berg segments appear to be surveys and roughly in order of precedence.

Kleve was in union with the more distant county of Mark (segment 48), but positioned between the two parts of Guelders in present Germany on the left bank of the Rhine and in the present Low Countries (Obergeldern) to the north and right bank of the river. Only 12 items are included, but indirectly a couple of items provide evidence of the collation. The order of Fools (Fous, Gecken) was instituted in 1381, and nearly all the founding members can be found in the armorial.⁶²⁵

A dozen items, segment 38, came from the lands of the prince-bishop of Liège - by the arms, Arnold van Hoorn (r.1378-1389). After a long insert (segments 39-44) there are five segments of miscellaneous additions of contemporaries in what must be the end of the primary part of the armorial. The first of these, segment 45, may be split in 3 subsegments for Guelders, Kleve and Berg and a single item on fo.102v.⁶²⁶ Four of the five subsegments in segment 46 are to a

⁶²¹ GEL:1039 S.Voorne BGf.Zeeland, also present in *Toison d'or, Belleville* a.o. armorials. The item may have been intended for a member of the Heenvleet or Kattendijk branches.

⁶²² Köbler HL 59, ESNF 18:29. GEL:1271 D.Berg has Juliers qtg Berg with inescutcheon of Ravensberg.

⁶²³ GEL:1128 Gottfried (II) S.Heinsberg, d.1395, pretender to C.Loos & Chiny, married Philippa of Juliers (d.1390). Gerhard (VI, d.1360) was father of Wilhelm (d.1408) C&D.Berg.

⁶²⁴ GEL:1170. Stokvis MH 3B ch.10 t9.

⁶²⁵ The 36 founding members were listed in Popoff GEL 395-396 next to GEL:1302 Arnold Snoek, and 10 members indicated as present in *Gelre*. Most of the members are noted with Guelders or Kleve, only 6 names cannot be found in the armorial, though another 4 names represent multiple members of the Bylandt and Mörs families.

⁶²⁶ GEL:1471/102v Jean van Arkel-Schoenowen dit de Leyenberg fl.1388, d.1422, of the Heukelom branch of the House of Arkel, or possibly his father and namesake.

lesser degree determined by their geographic origin.⁶²⁷ Subsegment 46b has a different composition. The first subset and the last item (Albret), either came from Italy (Montaldo, Orsini, Anjou) or served in southern France during the Anglo-French wars (Wales, d'Espagne, Comminges).⁶²⁸ The second subset (with overlap of Anjou titular emperor of Constantinople) came from the eastern frontier with the ottoman Turks.⁶²⁹ Some items may represent actual persons, while others, e.g. the Roche D.Athens extinct 1308, are more like imaginary arms illustrating romantic tales. The arms attributed to the emperors of Constantinople and Bulgaria and the despot of Trebizond are based on the *cross and crosslets* arms of the Latin emperors of the early 13th century - long gone, and not the contemporary Byzantine *cross and firesteels*. The Latin variants may also be found in VER:874 and URF:2683, both probable early 15th century additions to older compilations.⁶³⁰

Of the last three segments in the primary part of the armorial, segment 47 led by the bishop of Utrecht with an unfinished inescutcheon for personal arms, has his vassals, though many would also be vassals of either or both of the counts of Holland and Guelders. Segment 48 is led by the C.Mark on fo.108v and Heinrich von Oefte, praised in the first of the laudatory poems, on fo.109r.⁶³¹ Most of the men had their seats in the county of Mark, but those in the end part probably lived in Kleve. Segment 49, the last, is often designated by the lead item, the bishop of Münster, but contain men from those parts of Westphalia (or beyond the right bank of the Rhine) not covered by Berg and Mark, including the bishops of Osnabrück and Paderborn.

9.2.3 German territories

Like in the *Bellenville*, the German segments are spread throughout the armorial in two groups (segments 5-12, 40-44) and three single segments (1, 25, 27) irrespective of their regional relationship, though the first group could be seen together with segments 2-4 as listings of vassals of the seven electors with extensions of the most important princes.⁶³² The first segment, on the back of the drawing of the emperor and electors, but on the same bifolio as parts of the Trier and Bohemia segments, has a curious selection of major princes like Misnia, Lorraine, Moravia and Baden, and rather irrelevant nobles like Daun and Landau, a cadet of Württemberg.

⁶²⁷ All of segments 45-49 fit with the period 1380-90 or slightly earlier, e.g. Lambert d'Opeye, d.1376, S.Oupeye & Chaumont, maréchal de Liège 1368 in GEL:1475, and Jean (IV) de Loos, 1323-1374, ultimus, S.Agimont in GEL:1475*bis*. Subsegment 46c has many blank shields.

⁶²⁸ Antonio Montaldo, doge of Genoa 1383-84 and 1392-93 (GEL:1479). Owain ap Thomas, d.1378 (GEL:1477), Charles de la Cerda dit d'Espagne, d.1354, connétable de France 1350 (GEL:1481).

⁶²⁹ GEL:1486, Jean Alexis (III) Comnena, fl.1349-1390, despot of Trapezunt. GEL:1487, Jean Stratimir, crowned tzar of Bulgaria in 1365 in Bodun (Viddin). Bulgaria, and most of the Balkans, was dominated by the Turks and annexed in the years after the defeat of the Franco-Hungarian army at Nicopolis in 1396.

⁶³⁰ See *Ch. 8.1.7* imaginary arms in *Urfé*.

⁶³¹ GEL:10v /1741 Heinrich sr, d.1376, or his son Heinrich jr., d.>1392.

⁶³² GEL:236 Württemberg follows the ancient arms of Swabia in segment 10. Segments 2-4 are discussed in *Ch. 9.1.1* Ruyers and Low Countries.

All 15 nobles from the Palatine (segment 6) have tilting helmets, which would suggest that they were later additions - if not for the legends in hand A, presumably Claes Heinenzoon. The same conclusion would be suggested for the last page in the Bavaria segment 9 (fo.40r, modern legends), if two items on fo.39rv did not have helmets of similar type inserted among the common pot helmets.⁶³³ So it is more probable that these crests were added by a different artisan, possibly at a later time. The two tilting helmets on the Mengerreut items on fo.44v are of a different type, and these two items are clearly of a much later date, and not relevant to the armorial.

In content, the first group is unexciting. The nobles generally come from the territories held by the princes leading the segments. For segment 7 Saxony, it includes some Brunswickers and Lüneburgers, suggesting that the collation was made after Albrecht (III, d.1385) in Sachsen-Wittenberg 1350 inherited Lüneburg in 1370 through his mother.⁶³⁴ Segment 11 Nuremberg actually represents Franconia with both the Burggrave and the prince-bishop of Würzburg in the lead. This segment includes several men from outside the immediate region, e.g. from Saxony or Hesse.

The 12 Bohemians in segment 5 were amended with one more king and five items in segment 25, but these were divided between fo.68v and the bottom row of 69r - otherwise filled with blank outlines of shields. Segment 27 has the Habsburg dukes of Austria with five arms of their hereditary possessions, followed by C.Cilly and a list of easy to identify nobles.⁶³⁵ The collation could be c.1380 when Heinrich Gessler von Grüningen (d.1408) was chamberlain (Kammermeister 1372), before he became Landvogt in Aargau & Thurgau and Hofmeister in 1386. This is supported by Konrad (II) Kraiga von Kraigh, who was in England 1357/61, in Prussia 1357/58 and on the Ehrentisch 1377 in Prussia.⁶³⁶

The second group has two segments from central Germany (40 Hesse, 43 Nassau), each with nobles of the region.⁶³⁷ The Nassau segment can be dated to within a decade, 1386-97.⁶³⁸ The other three segments in the group (41 Holstein, 42 Stettin / Pomerania, 44 Mecklenburg) may well have been collated

⁶³³ GEL:210 Cammerau, 223 Cammer. Most of segments 6 and 9 are on the same two bifolios, fo.35v having only GEL:159 “han cop” for Cop or Houtdorp, a cadet of Müllenark or d'Irnich, entered on the middle of a page with outlined shields. The same artisan is responsible for both the arms and crests on fo.40r.

⁶³⁴ GEL:162-163, fo.36r3-4.

⁶³⁵ Curiously GEL:756 Cilly and 759 Saneck separates two quarters which are usually combined. By 1335 Cilly (then in Krain / Carniolia, present Celje in Slovenia) had acquired Saneck in the San valley to its west.

⁶³⁶ GEL:762 Kraigh, 763 Gessler.

⁶³⁷ Two had their origin and seats in Swabia, GEL:1386 Feldkirch (Montfort), 1388 Brandis.

⁶³⁸ GEL:1411 Adolph von Nassau-Dillenburg, 1362-1420, C.Dietz (j.u., c.1386-1397), ESNF 1.1:69 (Nassau), 29:41 (Dietz).

at the same time as Sweden (segment 20), though Léon Jéquier dated them a couple of years apart.⁶³⁹

9.2.4 Foreigners

Six segments have only a single coat of arms for the ruling prince, but there are from 9 to 192 items in the segments from five regions: Scandinavia, Britain, France, Spain and Eastern Europe.⁶⁴⁰ Beside the single royal arms of Norway, Scandinavia is represented by segment 15 Denmark with the present national flag (Dannebrog) attached to the royal crest, the arms of the long-serving royal steward Henning Podebusk (d.1388) and three other nobles spread over two pages. In addition there are three items with squashed grilled helmets, possibly overpainted on tilting helmets, which are later additions from after 1441 – possibly painted by the Bergshammar compiler.⁶⁴¹ Sweden (segment 20) is led by the composite arms of the king Albrecht of Mecklenburg (r.1363-1389), and probably recorded while Albrecht was in Mecklenburg in 1381, settling his affairs in the duchy, which he inherited from his father in 1379. Unusually, the men are all noted by their Christian names, except Tyrgils Knutsson, marshal of Sweden, executed 1306 for treason – obviously a curiosity told to the collator.

With 79 items, segment 16 England is relatively large. As expected the first 15 items lists two royal dukes and a dozen earls, but more earls, including 2 scots, can be found further down as well as the arms attributed to the second highest office, Constable of England. There are at least two sets of contradictory items. Edward Prince of Wales died in 1377, Lionel of Antwerp, created Duke of Clarence in 1362 died in 1368, and the title was not used again until 1411. The Clare E.Gloucester became extinct in 1314, but John Holand, c.1350-1400, was only created E.Huntingdon in 1388. There are two bishops palatine of Durham: Anthony Bek (d.1311), a combative associate of Edward I, and John Fordham, appointed 1382 and translated to Ely in 1388. This segment was probably based on a copy of an armorial temp. Edward I, and updated c.1388 with names of men who fought in the Anglo-French wars. Many Rhinelanders served the king of England as mercenaries.⁶⁴²

Scotland (segment 19) also has some contradictory traits and several items with Christian names. The first irregularity is the arms of Bruce on the mantling of the royal arms. The line became extinct with David II in 1371, and the throne passed to his nephew Robert Stewart (d.1390) as Robert II. Two Stewarts bearing variants of the royal arms follow the king. Alexander, 4th son of Robert II, created E.Ross (j.u.) in 1382/85 and the eldest son John created E.Carrick in 1368. He succeeded as Robert III in 1390.⁶⁴³ Léon Jéquier dated the segment to

⁶³⁹ At a tournament in Wismar on the Baltic coast in 1381, see *Ch. 9.3.2 BEL-GEL* compared. Jéquier BEL 38 (1983) for his dates.

⁶⁴⁰ Single items in 17 Castile (1 late addition), 21 Navarre, 22 Norway, 23 Portugal, 26a Cyprus and 26b Armenia.

⁶⁴¹ GEL:550 Murach, 551 Parsberg, 553 Rosenkrantz. Clemmensen LF for dating and relation to *Bergshammar*.

⁶⁴² GEL:557 P.o.W., 558 Clarence, 560 Huntingdon, 588 Fordham, 592 Gloucester, 604 Bek, 617 Constable of England.

⁶⁴³ GEL:679 R.Scots (Bruce on mantling), 680 Stewart E.Ross, 681 E.Carrick. The ancient chevron arms of the earls of Carrick are in GEL:691.

1382-85 with the king as David II (dead for a decade!). From the dating of individuals this is both reasonable and contradictory. Michel Popoff agreed that the king must be David II, the last of the Bruce kings. But take a closer look at the individual items, and especially at the three earls of Ross: Alexander Stewart, second husband of Eufemia, daughter and heir of William E. Ross (d.1371), and Walter Leslie (d.1382), first husband of Eufemia. They married 1365/66. As suggested by Bruce McAndrew the trio indicates a period of 1366-72, i.e. before Leslie succeeded *jure uxoris*, with an update of c.1385 when Robert II (Stewart) or even 1390/1400 when Robert III reigned. When the segment is re-evaluated for this period only a Sinclair E. Orkney and an Erskine lord give problems. David Stewart (Strathearn) and John Dunbar (Moray) were created earls in 1371, so it was probably collated close to the beginning of the Stewart era, when there was a need to emphasize that the new dynasty continued the Bruce legacy and Scottish independence.⁶⁴⁴

With 192 items, the French segment 13 is by far the largest in the armorial, but it covers all the marches d'armes and principalities subject to the crown. The only exceptions are the 27 items from Brittany in segment 28 and the nobles from Aquitaine (*al.* Gascony or Guienne), who were vassals of the king of England as D. Aquitaine - or until 1376 of Edward the 'Black Prince' as P. Aquitaine.⁶⁴⁵ Léon Jéquier dates the segment to 1380-84 on the basis of the arms of the Dauphin being unquartered (indicating no heir holding this title) and the positions of the three uncles of Charles VI (r.1380-1422). The argument is fairly weak. The missing quarter could be a whim of the compiler. However, his secondary argument, the D. Anjou quartering Anjou with the Cross of Jerusalem, is better, as Louis d'Anjou (d.1384) was adopted in 1380 by Jeanne Q. Naples and became titular king of Jerusalem.

Viewed superficially, the segment appears to be structured by rank: dukes, counts, high officers of the realm, and nobles. On a closer look, several titles were either unoccupied at the time or not really a part of France, e.g. Gascony (held by England), Geneva (part of the Empire, held 1392-94 by Pope Clemens VII as count, and before that by his brothers), Bar (part of the Empire), members of the house of Namur and a bastard of Flanders, who was dead long before the proposed period of collation.⁶⁴⁶ The C. Langres is actually one of the six spiritual peers of France, the Count-Bishop of Langres.⁶⁴⁷ Many items can be identified as renowned military leaders during the Anglo-French wars, and many nobles are mentioned by their Christian names, which should make a narrower dating feasible. However, the dates obtained this way do not fit.

⁶⁴⁴ McAndrew SH 185-186. GEL 683 Stewart E. Strathearn, 688 Dunbar E. Moray (arms of Randolph E. Moray), 698 William E. Ross, 699 Walter Leslie (as lord, not earl).

⁶⁴⁵ GEL:315 D. Gascony, Popoff GEL 199 mentions this title on the legend of his seal of 1355, XBM:5551.

⁶⁴⁶ GEL:315 Gascony, 328 Geneva, 395 Bar, 410-412, 413 Henri d'Flandre C. Lodi, o.s.p.1366.

⁶⁴⁷ GEL:342, the other five lead by the Abp. Reims and the six lay peers in the set are missing, though the personalized arms of Jean de Dormans, d.1373, Bp. Beauvais 1360, cardinal 1368, chancellor of France 1357-1371, is in GEL:487.

Several were dead before 1380, when Charles VI succeeded.⁶⁴⁸ So the core of the segment was probably collated earlier, either during the reign of Jean II (r.1350-64) or his son Charles V (r.1364-80), and amended and modified at a later date - or perhaps several times before 1384.

Segment 28 Brittany, all Bretons, is probably contemporary with the French compilation, while 39 Savoy is somewhat later. At the present level of identification, each has only one or two independently datable items.⁶⁴⁹

The Aragon segment 18 is dated 1387-88 by Léon Jéquier, shortly after the death of the long reigning Pedro IV (r.1336-1387), which in this case may have been obtained by a herald attending the coronation of his son and successor Juan I (r.1387-95) or an embassy to the newly crowned king. The primary evidence for dating is the two sons (and successors) of Pedro IV. There is no D.Gerona, which implies that the king is Juan I, and the two leading arms after the royal possessions are Luna and Aragon with a label for the younger son Martin.⁶⁵⁰ The list of Aragonese nobles supports the dating.⁶⁵¹

The lead item of segment 14 Hungary-Poland is Louis d'Anjou dit 'le grand' (d.1382), king of Hungary 1342 and of Dalmatia & Poland 1370. The items nearly all represent Poles and Silesians active in the decade after 1370, e.g. Bernhard von Zedlitz (fl.1362, d.1383), who moved from Saxony to Silesia and Poland, but is noted in English service as a king's knight of the Chamber in 1378.⁶⁵²

The seven items on two pages for Sicily (segment 24) is actually a mix of arms connected to Italy. On fo.67v are two members of the House of Anjou-Sicily, two Roman nobles and a P.Orange from the Rhône delta. The de Baux P.Orange were absorbed into Chalon in 1393 used both the *bugle horn* of Orange and the *sun* of Baux. They had a branch, del Balzo, in Italy, with a cognatic branch Orsini del Balzo (P.Taranto, C.Lecche).⁶⁵³ The next page, fo.66r, has the House of Aragon-Sicily and the Papal city of Rome with the SPQR-emblem.

⁶⁴⁸ GEL:335 Bertrand Guesclin, connétable, d.1380; 337 Arnould d'Audreghem, maréchal, d.1371; 341 Jean de Clermont dit Maréchal de Clermont, d.1356; 353 Baudouin d'Annequin, maître d'arbaletiers, d.1364; 425 Jean de Grailly, Captal de Buch, d.1376.

⁶⁴⁹ GEL:782 Raoul (VIII) de Monfort, d.1394, S.Montfort-sur-Meu, son of Raoul (VII, d.<1364) and Isabeau de Lohéac, Montfort qtg Lohéac & La-Roche-Bernard; GEL:1356 Humbert C.Romont & S.Montagny, 1377-1443, natural son of Amadée VII C.Savoy; GEL:1361 Domenico de Alamagna, knight-brother of the Order of St.John, was the Order's admiral of galleys 1392-98.

⁶⁵⁰ GEL:637-641, 62v, Juan I, d.1395, D.Gerona 1351, king 1385, royal achievement, 4 banners of Aragon ancient, Sardinia, Mallorca and Corsica; GEL:642-643 Luna and Aragon with label for Martin, d.1410, C.Exérica & Luna 1372 & D.Montblanc 1388, king 1395.

⁶⁵¹ See Popoff GEL 265-272 for detailed comments on individuals.

⁶⁵² GEL:526 Zedlitz (in England, Given-Wilson RH 283).

⁶⁵³ GEL:738 Orange, 739 Orsini.

9.2.5 Late additions

Six segments and several individual items appear to have been added after the main execution. Four segments were added at the end of the present manuscript; one, for Limburg, on a folded sheet inserted after Brabant; and one, segment 59, on two pages left blank at the end of the textual part. This latter should be divided into two parts, one executed before 1427 with the arms of the brothers Jean (IV, d.1427) D.Brabant and Philippe C.St.Pol; and the second with the arms granted in 1431 by Charles VII to Niccolo d'Este M.Ferrara.

The folded sheet (fo.76-77) inserted into quire 17 with segment 30 Limburg has in fact 3 subsegments, each painted by a different hand, but probably linked.⁶⁵⁴ The style of helmets, lettering and size of shields are different. The first two painters were better at drawing lions and crests than the third. The first subsegment may have been made before 1414.⁶⁵⁵ The second subsegment with Cortenbach, two Halmale and two minor descendants of Bertout was probably made 1440-50. The third subsegment may be near contemporary and recall relatives of Robert de Beaufort-sur-Meuse S.Spontin (d.1467). The attractive hypothesis put forward by Wim van Anrooij that this segment of Brabantian and Bavarian nobles was painted by (for) a Brabantian herald on the marriage in 1418 of Jacobäa von Wittelsbach Cs.Hainaut-Holland to Jean (IV, d.1427) de Bourgogne-Valois D.Brabant does not fit the data.⁶⁵⁶ The only Bavarian was Mengersreuth from Franconia, who later married into the Brabantian Rotselaer. This item probably refers to Friedrich and Dietrich, who served Philippe 'le bon' on many embassies during 1434-1451.⁶⁵⁷

The first addition, segment 50, at the end of the main tabular part is a selection of patricians from Bruxelles and other Brabantian towns. The anonymous, but identifiable, arms are hard to date. One coat of arms appears to belong to Gilles S.Tour-devant-Virton (fl.1369-1404), a natural son of Wenceslas (I) de Luxembourg (1337-1383.o.s.p.l.) C/D.Luxembourg 1353/1354 & D.Brabant j.u.⁶⁵⁸ The helmets are of a semi-tilting type also found in a version of the Holland chronicle and the human-head crests are drawn finer than usual.⁶⁵⁹ These items were added to the last page (111v) of quire 23, where Claes Heinenzoon had already placed the arms of the grand master of the Teutonic Order. Wim van Anrooij speculated that this could be an occasional roll commemorating part of the party following Johan (III) van Polanen on crusade in Prussia in the winter 1380-81.⁶⁶⁰ The hypothesis needs substantiation. It is unusual for an occasional roll, or even a fragment, to miss the arms of the purported leader, and it is also unusual to include almost only town patricians. Most crusading barons brought several of their vassals. It may well be that

⁶⁵⁴ Six or seven items may have been extracted from GEL 30a and 30b into BHM 05.

⁶⁵⁵ GEL:908 Herman von Welchenhausen, d.1414.

⁶⁵⁶ Anrooij GM 297 (1991).

⁶⁵⁷ Spitzbarth AA 250, 379. The Mengersreuth brothers were also added with tilting helmets to fo.44v (GEL:293-294).

⁶⁵⁸ GEL:1665.

⁶⁵⁹ Haag, KB, ms. 131 G 37, dated c.1405, helmets according to Anrooij GM 297.

⁶⁶⁰ Anrooij GM 297. Johan (III) van Polanen, d.1393, was an important vassal of both Hainaut-Holland and Brabant.

Claes Heinenzoon himself decided to add some Brabantian patricians to his collection - or perhaps the manuscript had already changed ownership?

The three remaining segments may or may not have belonged to the original manuscript. They are spread out on 6 folded sheets with partly blank pages on 4 quires. In between is the single leaf of fo.122 with the painting of Gelre Herald on the recto and the arms of Foix on the other - possibly a cut out from the main tabular part. The first of these segments (51) shows the 8 quarters of Marie de Bourgogne (d.1463), who in 1404 married Adolph von Kleve. Quarters are unusual, but not unknown in armorials from the Low Countries at the time. They can be found both in the *Bergshammar* and the slightly earlier *Lynce nich*. The second (52) has some arms used in the composite arms of the D.Pomerania. The execution is said to be 16th century. The third (53) has the arms of the Valois dukes of Brabant (extinct 1430, but continued in the family) leading, but appear to include mainly people in the service of Philippe 'le bon'. Many of these had their land in northern France rather than in Brabant, e.g. the brothers Hector, Guillaume and Charles de Flavy. The execution could well be c.1430.

Some of the tilting helmets and their crests may have been added later to arms entered by the primary compiler. Other arms or achievements, e.g. Narvaez on fo.61r, are more likely to have been added by later owners.⁶⁶¹ One item, GEL:1324 “h' godevaert <von broyart>” on fo.94r4, is an obvious falsification - when you know what to look for! Dominique Delgrange cunningly found that the surname and crest of the Flemish Broyart was added to a coat of arms from the Cologne segment. This was probably done to increase the honour of his wife Marie Broyart by Jean Launay, who was later executed in 1687 for forgery, lèse majesté etc.⁶⁶²

9.2.6 The miniatures

If dating the contents can be said to be relatively easy, assessing the date of manufacture of a parchment manuscript is rather difficult. Apart from the painting and writing style, which may be deliberately archaic, there is little to base it on. If the manuscript contains miniatures, additional features may come available. For the *Gelre* there are two miniatures: the emperor and seven electors on fo. 26r, and a herald in a tabard bearing the arms of the duke of Guelders on fo. 122r.⁶⁶³ The latter is universally accepted to represent the compiler Claes Heinenzoon. He is dressed for travel in shirtsleeves, hooded cap, leggings and spurred footwear. The tabard or cape is wind-blown. Around the middle he wears a cubed metal belt with a poignard. In his hands he holds the ends of a broken chain. The facial features are unrecognizable. Without too much imagination, this image can be interpreted as depicting the Gelre Herald having just left the service of the D.Guelders. This must be in 1402 when Wilhelm I died, and possibly before Claes Heinenzoon is noted as Beijeren Herald at the

⁶⁶¹ GEL:636 Narvaez, the second of two arms for Castile.

⁶⁶² See the story in Popoff GEL 401-402. Broyart is noted by Rietstap, e.g. Rolland 1:332n7.

⁶⁶³ See *fig.8-ch.9.2n5*, miniatures on 26r, 122r.

court of Holland in The Hague in 1403.⁶⁶⁴ A note of caution: folio 122 is a separate half-sheet and may never have been intended to be part of the armorial.

The second miniature, a washed pen drawing on 26r, depicts a long-bearded figure sitting on a carved chair holding a sword in his right hand and a sceptered orb in his left. He wears a closed imperial crown. To his right stand three bishops wearing mitres and holding crosiers in their left hands and showing their gloved and ringed right hands in benediction or better taking an oath. The four must be the emperor and the three spiritual electors. To the left of the imperial figure stand a king and two short-bearded figures in long robes. In front of the leftmost man is placed a little chubby figure in shirtsleeves, round cap and with a poignard hanging from a cubed metal belt. All four have their right hands in oath-taking position. The king and the middle lay person are holding long tapered rods, probably riding crops, while the end of the rod held by the chubby figure is missing as both sides of the miniature were cut to fit the book.⁶⁶⁵ The execution is of unusually high quality with almost photographic facial features and has been attributed to Herman Maelwael, who worked for the D.Guelders until 1396/97.⁶⁶⁶

The traditional interpretation is that this is simply the legalistic display of the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and the seven electors: the archbishops of Cologne, Mainz and Trier, the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburg and the count palatine of the Rhine as seen in many medieval manuscripts. Art historians have dated it to 1393-95 from the style of the clothing.⁶⁶⁷ It is also one of the arguments of Wim van Anrooij for dating the beginning of the armorial to 1395. What is special for the miniature is its place. Not only is it the opening and frontispiece of the armorial followed by the non-electoral princes on 26v, but it was drawn on the bottom half of the sheet fo.26/33. It could be a later addition on a left over blank page if the compiler had intended to begin with a verso-recto spread. In that case, the 26v should have the electors leading the tables of arms. So the more likely interpretation is that Claes Heinenzoon got Herman Maelwael to draw a frontispiece before having the arms added consecutively to the ternio quires.

However, the portrait-like quality of the faces prompts an alternative interpretation, that they actually are portraits of the then emperor and his electors.⁶⁶⁸ If so, there would not be seven electors as the 'emperor' was one of

⁶⁶⁴ Wilhelm I died 1402, arrival 1403; Anrooij GM 296, Anrooij DG 249.

⁶⁶⁵ All pages appear to have been cut on binding. Several legends are touching the edges and/or covered in the fold of the spine.

⁶⁶⁶ The Maelwael brothers were related to the Limbourg brothers and both workshops are credited with some of the most beautiful illuminated books of the period. Both families also served the French and Burgundian courts. Anrooij GM 299, Anrooij AH 124, Anrooij SR 91-93, Popoff GEL 19.

⁶⁶⁷ Schmidt KK (1981), from dress and text, see Anrooij HB, Anrooij SR 91, and 112-113 for conception of the texts over the years 1393-1414.

⁶⁶⁸ For the sake of simplicity 'emperor' is used in this paragraph for both the elected king of the Romans and the Emperor crowned and anointed by the pope in Rome. Neither Wenceslas nor Ruprecht were crowned emperor.

them from Karl IV (d.1346) to Sigismund (d.1437). Images with less than seven electors are unusual but not unheard of.⁶⁶⁹ One of the electors is the king of Bohemia - and the only non-emperor king in the relevant period was Wenceslas of Luxembourg (1361-1419, DtKg 1376/78-1400) after he was deposed as 'emperor' in 1400. None of the other electors were satisfied with him, but they could not agree on his successor. They met in Frankfurt on May 22nd and Friedrich of Brunswick-Lüneburg (c.1357-1400) got the votes of the other three lay electors over the opposition of the three spiritual electors. This vote was not sufficient and anyhow Friedrich was murdered two weeks later. The three spiritual electors met with Ruprecht the Count Palatine in Rhens-am-Rhein on August 21st and elected the latter as king of the Romans. Neither Wenceslas nor the electors of Saxony or Brandenburg were present. So the fo.26r miniature cannot represent any real meeting. At best, an artist may have taken down the faces during the May meeting and recomposed the setting.

The obvious candidate for the chubby figure is Claes Heinenzoon himself, not only from the likeness in dress and stature, but for political reasons as well. Ruprecht reigned 1400-1410 with the eastern and southern princes neutral or in opposition and only with the support of the Rhenish electors and princes, presumably including Guelders, Brabant and Hainaut-Holland – employers and benefactors of the herald. In such a situation it would probably please the 'imperial' party to see an image of an election carried out amicably. If the armorial was made in gratitude of being created Ruyers king of arms (a big 'if') or to earn some money in between employment, 1402 or a few years thereafter would fit well. This was also a period in which Gelre Herald, now Beieren Herald, wrote some of his literary works. The parallel endeavours could also explain why the armorial was never finished.⁶⁷⁰

9.3 Dependence or independence

Since the late 1940's, eminent armorists have been intrigued by the possible relation between the *Gelre* and the *Bellenville*. Both are large composite armorials, painted on parchment or vellum in a similar style. It is evident that neither can be a copy of the other. At a first glance the two armorials appear to have a common core of 36 segments that cover comparable geographical areas – and are painted in similar style, though the *Gelre* makes more use of crests and forenames. This has led a couple of early commentators to propose that *Bellenville* may have been a preliminary and more primitive edition.⁶⁷¹ Given the paucity of extant medieval armorials, two compilations of a selection of arms by one herald would be a welcome rarity.

⁶⁶⁹ There are only five in the *Lyncenich* fo.17v miniature, LYN:284-289, less Bohemia (Friedrich III, king of the Romans, Ks.HRR 1452) and Cologne (the elderly Dietrich von Mörs, r.1414-63). There are six electors in a 1400 version of the *Golden Bulle* (ÖNB, cod.338:15v) and in c.1350 version of the *Sachsenspiegel* (Dresden, Sächsische LB, M 32:45r); Schmidt KK no.46, 47.

⁶⁷⁰ The interpretation was proposed at AIH colloquia in St.Jean-du-Gard in 2015 and published in Clemmensen DS. I thank Wim van Anrooij for drawing my attention to the contested election of 1400.

⁶⁷¹ D.L. Galbreath in *Archives Héraldiques Suisse*, 1946, p.78; Adam GEL 11.

The armorial part of GEL, as examined in this chapter, has 1,660 items in 49 segments while BEL has 1,740 items in 57 segments with an apparent overlap of more than 1,300 similar coats of arms. The number of common items relevant for evaluating any form of concordance or relation is much smaller. Léon Jéquier estimated it to 947, Popoff and Pastoureau to 932, and in the present study only 834 items are regarded as 'concordant'.⁶⁷² The actual number varies with the criteria applied, as do the number of segments involved. In 1972 Léon Jéquier dated 10 segments with a marked overlap and was able to date a further 4 segments from each of *Bellenville* and *Gelre*. By the publication of his edition of the *Bellenville* in 1983, he could date and list 23 overlapping segments (i.e. territories).⁶⁷³ For the present study 25 segments are compared: 11 in the core overlap, and 14 off the Rhine.

Estimating the period of collation of the various segments, as well as the way and time the actual manuscripts were made, is important for an evaluation of their relationship, and as noted above such estimates have progressed over time. The present converging opinion is that both armorials were painted by professionals (not the same) over a short period from notes. Both were probably held as loose quires for at least the lifetime of the compilers.⁶⁷⁴ Whether the notes were personal collations obtained over a lifetime of travelling, borrowed from colleagues, extracted from older armorials, or all of these blended together, is almost impossible to determine - and the essence of the differences of opinion.

The common author hypothesis was questioned in 1972 and finally dismantled in 1983, when Léon Jéquier published his critical edition of the *Bellenville*.⁶⁷⁵ Because he could now document the identity of the majority of the coats of arms with references to seals, other armorials, archival collections and genealogical works, he was able to estimate the period of collation of most segments and propose individuals as persons reported by a travelling herald. On the basis of this analysis he proceeded to construct the patterns of travelling and collecting names and arms during the lifetimes of both compilers and proposed 'creation diagrams' for the armorials. Though the *Bellenville* compiler is anonymous and much is known of Claes Heinenzoon, one notes a certain parallelism between the two, but also differences.

The compilers used different editorial approaches. Where *Gelre* gives the full name and adds the crests to the shields, if possible, the *Bellenville* only gives the naked coat of arms and uses forenames sparingly, Léon Jéquier emphasised the difference in the dating of comparable segments, the low number of common arms in a segment, lack of strict concordance, as well as the placing of (BEL) arms in a different (GEL) segment and vice versa. He was obviously aware of the different forenames used in some comparable items, but seldom used this argument in his analysis. His reasonable conclusion was that it is unlikely that

⁶⁷² Popoff GEL 21. The concordance BEL-GEL and GEL-BEL are published on www.armorial.dk.

⁶⁷³ Jéquier BG 299, Jéquier BEL 38, table 3.

⁶⁷⁴ Jéquier LP 31, Anrooij GC 341, Popoff GEL 22, Clemmensen GE 330.

⁶⁷⁵ Jéquier BG (1972).

one person would work [continuously over a very long period] on two collections using different sources, and that the *Bellenville* herald must be a different person working slightly earlier.⁶⁷⁶ In his foreword to the Popoff edition of *Gelre* in 2012, Michel Pastoureau states, without much discussion, that the two armorials were made by different teams, at different places and times, not knowing of each other.⁶⁷⁷ The conclusions were questioned by Clemmensen, suggesting that BEL and GEL had used identical sources, and that the attribution to personal observation was unsupported, and that the two could possibly have been made at the same place.⁶⁷⁸

Though there is little doubt that the main conclusions of Léon Jéquier, that BEL and GEL were prepared by different persons and that different sources were used (at least for many segments, and in addition to some identical ones) will stand the test of time, it is worthwhile to consider the key assumptions, arguments and possible alternatives. The main assumption underlying the 1983 conclusion that BEL and GEL are sets of different collations by different persons is that they are both life-time endeavours and not compilations prepared within a rather narrow time frame. It is nearly impossible to test this difference. We do not have any surviving drafts and neither are there surviving armorials, which may have been used as sources. The only arguments we have are the internal evidence in the segments – and for the *Gelre*, the other works by Claes Heinenzoon involving coats of arms. Style, especially of the shape of helmets and mantling, has been examined by Adam-Even, Jéquier and Popoff and adds little to the solution of this problem.⁶⁷⁹

When examining the evidence for independent or parallel collation or desk-bound compiling from common sources, one should discard all segments with only a few items and scrutinize carefully those segments with disparate numbers of items for the presence of common subsegments and assess the following:

- Presence of a substantial number of similar coats of arms, legends and crests – remembering that surveying any territory twice within a few years would yield many common items;
- Presence of markers, i.e. transpositions, peculiar naming or combinations of names and arms;
- Similar progression of items, possibly full concordance, but with at least a distinct rhythm;
- Overlapping periods of collation.

The numerical differences between Jéquier BEL and the alignment of BEL and GEL carried out for the present work are of no consequence for the

⁶⁷⁶ Jéquier BEL 16, 37. No indication of his affiliation was given.

⁶⁷⁷ Popoff GEL 21-22, with BEL slightly earlier than GEL. Anrooij AH 120 (2014) estimates BEL as 25 years older than GEL.

⁶⁷⁸ Clemmensen GE 331, review of Popoff GEL.

⁶⁷⁹ Popoff GEL 18 estimates that 3 painters were involved in the making of the *Gelre*, but there is agreement that BEL and GEL were painted by different people using different details in the drawing of figures. As noted above, tilting helmets indicate later additions or modifications in *Gelre*.

conclusions and are mainly due to different standards for pairing and for assigning a coat of arms to a family.

The general impressions from the comparisons discussed below and from the published editions of the two armorials are as follows. Most of the attributions to persons were made from occasional occurrences of seals and spotty information from (usually competent) informants. Only a few items can be used as independent evidence for dating any segment. Most of datable items in both armorials fit persons active 1380-90, though many of the persons named or inferred would have been past their prime. This would be of little importance to an observer, as the persons or heads of families or branches would still have held their lordships and positions at court.⁶⁸⁰ But as discussed below, there are a substantial number of items pointing to persons active before 1370. The borders of the territories ruled by the princes along the Lower Rhine are hard to determine today, as several of their possessions were spread out like small spots in the territory of other princes.⁶⁸¹ Not only did many of the nobles of the region hold lands as fiefs of more than one prince, members of a family would often serve more than one prince during his lifetime. As such both the contemporary observer and the modern commentator or editor may easily misplace the geography if not the temporary allegiance of a person or family. This also explains why many family names and arms occur in differently named segments. Many Christian names recurred for generations, and as lineages are generally missing, a fit of name and seal could be misleading, covering the mention of a son, grandson, cousin or nephew. As for overlaps of names and arms, this is only to be expected if a survey was made of an area within a few years. Replacing a Christian name would also be natural, if one was using older material, but was aware that a succession had taken place.

Most of the paired segments have at least one set of peculiar misnaming and/or transposition, which acts as markers for relationship, in this case for the compilers using a common source. The spelling of names suggests not only that names were taken down by ear, but also that many were copied from a hard to read source. Though there is neither strict concordance nor any perceptible rhythm, pairs or triplets of common items can be found together with other common items not far into a sequence. Such 'fragments' between inserts of unpaired items constitute the typical view of any alignment of overlaps between the armorials, and are most easily seen when viewed from the BEL-side. Sometimes, one may find that inserts could have been taken from fragments of other segments.

The conclusion offered here is that both armorials were compiled from material gathered during the compilers' earlier (or present) service – probably with the D.Guelders – and executed with the (paid) help of professional artisans. The sources were probably notes rather than fair copies of armorials, with some

⁶⁸⁰ One example is the composition of the Order of Fools (Geckengesellschaft) instituted by the C.Kleve in 1381. Several members died within a few years after its founding. See the list in Popoff GEL 395.

⁶⁸¹ As examples, see Putzger HS map 156-157, Klucke J map 28 (Juliers), or almost any atlas of medieval Europe.

source notes used by both compilers, other material only used or available to one of them. The crucial piece of evidence is the presence of markers which are hard to explain except as from a common source. The 'nearness' of items in the fragments can at most be considered supporting evidence. The differences between pairs of arms are minor, and of types to be expected when a third person executes a copy, and pertains to 11.5% of the pairs. The head counts are different in the paired segments with 55-84% common items in the smallest of the pair. Comparing the two armorials does not lead to any date or place for the making of the armorials, but emphasizes the different approach chosen by the two near contemporary compilers. The anonymous Bellenville compiler usually settled for noting family names only, while Claes Heinenzoon took pride in naming individuals, as he did in his laudatory texts.

9.3.1 The core overlap

For both armorials the core region is along the Lower Rhine with 13 pairs of segments.⁶⁸² Both armorials have images of heralds dressed in the arms of Guelders, which suggests that both compilers may have been in the service of this duke with possessions on both sides of the present Dutch-German border. The head counts for Guelders in both armorials are among the highest, 137 items in BEL 40 and 102 in GEL 34 with 90 in common. Comparing the paired segments reveals the common pattern noted above: Identifiable and proposed persons fit the period 1380-90, no strict concordance or perceptible rhythm, but pairs or triplets of common items. Some inserts could have been taken from fragments of other segments.⁶⁸³ Most of the families had their main possessions in the present Dutch provinces of Obergeldern and Zutphen, but several families would be vassals of or have members in the service of other princes. There are only 2 Christian names in BEL, both are also in GEL. The Guelders segment pair has one set of probable misnaming and repeats. The otherwise little known Issums are confused with Vossem.⁶⁸⁴ The Guelders segments, and the men and families from this principality entered in other segments, may have been collated during 1380-90, but most of the persons inferred in the editions would have been active during the two previous decades.

The pattern is similar for the paired segments from the right bank of the Rhine: BEL 41, GEL 35 Berg; BEL 42, GEL 48 Mark; and BEL 30, GEL 49 Münster-Westphalia. Berg has Jan van Esrode transposed from GEL:1286 into BEL:1177, which has the arms of Nesselrode paired with GEL:1285. There are no markers in the Berg and Münster-Westphalia segments, but GEL:1613-BEL:444 are datable, and both the bishops of Osnabrück and Paderborn, minor neighbouring dioceses, follow close by. The BEL item has the personal

⁶⁸² Corresponding to the segments discussed in *Ch. 9.1.1* and *9.2.1*, the present Low Countries, Belgium, North Rhine-Westphalia, and parts of the neighbouring Länder. None from Luxembourg. See the surveys of *Gelre* and *Bellemille* for summaries and specifics of common items, *fig. 5- ch.9.1.1* and *9.2.1* and *fig.9-ch.9.3n2* for the map of Rhineland.

⁶⁸³ BEL segment 40 has 6 inserts taken from GEL 45 Lower Rhine, GEL:1445-1451 – a bundle of families from several principalities in N-W.

⁶⁸⁴ GEL:1242-1243 and BEL:1078-1079, inversion of colours on arms and crest. The 'Vossem' family could not be verified, see Clemmensen OM.

arms of Potho von Potenstein Bp.Münster 1379-81 on an inescutcheon. GEL:1613 has only a white inescutcheon.

With Guelders on the left bank is Kleve (GEL 46, BEL 43) to the north and Juliers (GEL 33, BEL 39) to the south. With 94 items, Kleve was of major interest to the Bellenville compiler, but not to Claes Heinenzoon with only 12 items, all also in BEL. GEL:1299 has Deric van Eyll, fl.1369-1381, hereditary chamberlain to C.Kleve and founding member of the Order of Fools 1381 as third, while BEL:1198 has Herman, fl.1374-1393, with a label as sixth. Herman van Eyll is in GEL:1184 in the Guelders segment without the label. Another 38 BEL-Kleve items can be found in other GEL-segments from left bank Cologne to right-bank Westphalia. It is debatable whether to pair GEL:62 Johan von Stein, fl.1355 (did he die in 1429?), bailiff of Nassau and from Burg Stein on the Lahn in Nassau, mentioned in the Cologne-segment, with either his brother Friedrich (d.1389) in BEL:1243 or Junker Ulrich in BEL:1281, both in the Kleve-segment. Among the 42 GEL-items in the Juliers segment are 11 with the same and 6 with different Christian names. Except for the brothers Werner von Merode S.Vlatten in GEL:1166 and Wilhelm in BEL:945 there is too little information about the families to be of any use. The pairing of Gerit van Hallen gt Mittenbart in GEL:1139-1140 and BEL:938, 994 (both in the Juliers segment) with and without a difference of a mullet may be regarded as a marker.

Guelders had to contend with other local powers, the bishop of Utrecht (GEL 47, BEL 38) to the north and west of Obergeldern and Brabant (GEL 29, BEL 36) to the south and west. Further away were Flanders (GEL 31, BEL 35) and Hainaut-Holland-Zeeland (GEL 32, BEL 37). The large Hainaut-Holland segment has several weak markers in the form of name changes, which may be interpreted as the compilers having had a fair knowledge of the families and possessions involved. For GEL:1034 & BEL:826 the name difference for the Teylingen arms can be resolved as Jan van Langerak (Utengoye), fl.1330-78 adopted his mothers Teylingen lion c.1350. Notably the full name was recorded by Claes Heinenzoon. The pair Dalem (BEL:875) and Jan van Rijswijk (GEL:1096, also in BEL:1537) represent only one person: Jan van Arkel dit van Rijswijk, fl.1396-1402, S.Dalem, son of Roelof (II, d.1361), a sub cadet of Noordeloos (Arkel) noted in GSP:26 and KUF:86 as Jan van Dalem by Claes Heinenzoon with identical arms.⁶⁸⁵ GEL:1090 & BEL:851 is resolved for Akersloot dit Molenaar. The second item in both segments is Jean de Châtillon C.Blois, sometime pretender to Guelders, and most of the leading items are of the same selection and order.

One of the marker sets for the use of a common source in the Flanders segment is the Schiervelt arms in GEL:974 “livit vaenken” & BEL:626 and the Vaenkin arms in GEL:978 “bev'en <beveren>” & BEL:625. Claes Heinenzoon obviously transposed the Vaenkin legend and confused it with the well-known arms of the BGf.Dixmude. GEL:997-998 has another transposition of Landas (not in BEL) to Liedekerke. Several pairs with different names can be

⁶⁸⁵ The *Siege of Gasparde* (GSP) and *Kuunre in Frise* (KUF) are two armorials in the autograph collection, which is often called the *Beijeren* armorial.

interpreted as the Bellenville compiler using the family name rather than the name of a lordship.⁶⁸⁶

Of the immediate neighbours, the Utrecht segment is datable by the personal arms of Floris von Wevelingen, bishop 1379-93.⁶⁸⁷ Most of the arms in *Gelre* can be found in the larger *Bellenville* segment.⁶⁸⁸ The large Brabant segments have some 15% non-natives, including 5-6 from Juliers and Guelders. Both segments have a few instances of different names, which resolve as family name/lordship, branches of family living close together, or the same person.⁶⁸⁹

There are more items from the dominions of the three archbishop electors in *Gelre* than in *Bellenville*, mostly in the form of tails to the overlaps.⁶⁹⁰ The main strength of the weakish markers is their similarity of form (pairing, misspelling). The legend in BEL:1265 “h hildeg’ van der stetten” was probably a transposed combination of the legends to BEL:1262-1263, which have their (mostly anonymous) counterparts in GEL:87-89. The duo GEL:111-112 Weinsberg-Wildenberg can be paired to BEL:270-271 and 1397-1398, and the Schönburg arms in GEL:110 has the transposed legend from GEL:110, but is paired with BEL:268. The third example is Lösenich and Esch-sur-Salm in GEL:121-122, BEL:727-728, 1391-1392. All examples have pairings across segments.⁶⁹¹

9.3.2 Off the Rhine

The 11 other segments with evidence of using the same sources may conveniently be broken into three parts by geography: (1) France (GEL 13, BEL 01), Savoy (GEL 39, BEL 25), Aragon (GEL 18, BEL 06); (2) Denmark (GEL 15, BEL 03), Sweden (GEL 20, BEL 09), Mecklenburg (GEL 44, BEL 31); (3) Hildesheim (GEL 12, BEL 52), Hesse (GEL 40, BEL 29), Swabia (GEL 10, BEL 14), Austria (GEL 27, BEL 24), and Bohemia (GEL 05, BEL 12).

The French segment in *Gelre* has several repeats, the *Bellenville* very few. Most of the overlapping items have similar legends. Several of the men proposed for the items died 1360-70.⁶⁹² Some of the items in *Gelre* are similar to items in other segments of *Bellenville* - mostly in the BEO part. There is only one notable marker: the set of Bouttemont arms (*3 roundels*) in GEL:368, 475 and BEL:356, 1724. All have the name spelled as bouicaut and should not be confused with

⁶⁸⁶ GEL:939 & BEL:580, GEL:982 & BEL:586, GEL:983 & BEL:601, GEL:996 & BEL:622.

⁶⁸⁷ BEL:886, arms on inescutcheon, blank in GEL:1560.

⁶⁸⁸ In addition there is overlap of GEL:1444-1446 (Lower Rhine) with BEL:925-927 in Utrecht.

⁶⁸⁹ GEL:850 & BEL:697 Wesele and Deurne, both dit van Sompken; GEL:890 & GEL:726 Aa (Randerode).

⁶⁹⁰ Cologne GEL 02, BEL 16; Mainz GEL 03, BEL 15; Trier GEL 04, BEL 17.

⁶⁹¹ BEL:727-728 in 36 Brabant segment, which includes many Germans as noted above. BEL:1262-1265 in 43 Kleve, BEL:1391-1398 in 46 (BEO 2) a crusade to Prussia.

⁶⁹² GEL:365-366 & BEL:1694, 1696 Granson, la Salle; GEL:377 & BEL:1727 (BEO 11) Pierre Vozerier, notable on crusade in 1357/58 in Prussia; GEL:413 & BEL:571 Henri (II) de Flanders C.Lodi.

the French marshal Jean le Meingre dit Boucicaut (*double-headed eagle*).⁶⁹³ The 8 items of Savoy in BEL are a minor regrouping of GEL:1353-1360. The Aragon segments have a rhythmic overlap with a small tail in *Bellenville* and a header of royal possessions in *Gelre*. Both have the same Christian names. A misreading or omission of name for Louis de Cervellón gives a set of legends moved along GEL:671-673, though they are correct for the corresponding BEL:147, 149, 154.⁶⁹⁴

The Danes are similar, excepting four later additions to *Gelre*, possibly added by the Bergshammars compiler,⁶⁹⁵ and the unusual inclusion of Schleswig in *Bellenville*.⁶⁹⁶ Both have the present national flag, the Dannebrog, supplementing the royal arms. Of the Swedes with king Albrecht (of Mecklenburg), 12 are identical. There are 5 extras in *Bellenville*, and an additional 3 variants of the Folkunga arms of Sweden. The arms are generally assumed to have been noted at a tournament outside Wismar in 1381 during a visit of Albrecht to his duchy of Mecklenburg.⁶⁹⁷ A separate segment of Mecklenburgers, which is almost concordant, follows. Of 3 items deemed as not paired, one is among the Swedes, and two in the mixed segment of Mecklenburgers and Pomeranians following in *Bellenville*.⁶⁹⁸ To the North-West there is the county of Holsten also with a small near concordant segment.

Of the five remaining Germanic segments, the 12 items in Hildesheim in *Gelre* is paired as two half segments from *Bellenville*.⁶⁹⁹ Comparing Hessen in the two armorials shows inserts in *Gelre* and additions at the top of *Bellenville*, mostly southerners (Swiss, Swabians, and Franconians).⁷⁰⁰ At least 27 of the 31 'Swabians' in *Gelre* appear to come from three partial extracts from the same or at least very similar sources as used for the few Swabians and men from Nuremberg (Franconians and Bavarians) in one of the 'occasional' segments in

⁶⁹³ The Bouttemont arms are known independently from seal (XDC:1427) and an armorial (NAV:305, Normandy). GEL:368 with repeat in GEL:475 in the French segment. BEL:356 in Brittany segment. BEL:1724 is part of BEO 11 (BEL 57), one of the tournament or crusade segments, where 18 of 49 arms are also in various GEL segments. The family probably held Château Bouttemont nr Ouilley-le-Vicomte, 5 km N of Lisieux (c-1-a, dep Calvados).

⁶⁹⁴ GEL:671 has a modern addition of 'Cervellón', 672 possibly an imitation of 'Louis', while BEL:147 has only Louis, omitting the surname.

⁶⁹⁵ See *Cb. 9.2.4* and Clemmensen LF.

⁶⁹⁶ Schleswig was an appanage fief held to the descendants of Duke (later King) Abel from 1218 to their extinction in 1375, when it was inherited by the C.Holsten until 1459. It was unsuccessfully claimed, though awarded by Emperor Sigismund, by King EricVII, r.1397/1412-1439.

⁶⁹⁷ GEL:725 & BEL:171 both have the curious presence of the Swedish marshal Tyrgils Knutsson, executed in 1306. The family became extinct c.1350.

⁶⁹⁸ GEL:1433 & BEL:183 Königsmark; GEL:1435 & BEL:532 Babbe; GEL:1439 & BEL:533 Pramule. Reventlow, GEL:1440 & BEL:562, is in Holsten.

⁶⁹⁹ GEL 12a & BEL 52 (5/8) Hildesheim; GEL:12b & BEL 48 (7/16) Lüneburg, to the north of Hildesheim.

⁷⁰⁰ GEL 40 (24 items) & BEL 29 (19 items), overlap 13 items.

Bellenville.⁷⁰¹ The unpaired items in the Austria segment in *Bellenville* make a tail of anonymous items. There is only a single unpaired Bohemian in this armorial.

9.3.3 Independent collations

Excluding the textual parts and later additions to *Gelre*, there are 105 segments ranging from a single item to 192 items to compare. Of these, half or 52 are easily paired – as discussed above. Of the second half, 16 have only 1-4 items, which would usually be too few to be relevant as evidence of commonality. There are many common items in 19 segments, but attempting to pair names and arms was of no avail. Pairing pointed unsystematically from one segment in the first armorial to different segments in the other. The incongruent segments probably came from different and independently used sources. Seven segments have a number of compatible items, but the evidence is too weak to determine any type of relationship. However, they may have been compiled by pick-and-mix from common sources.

Finally, there are 11 unpaired segments, of which parts correspond either with segment GEL 10 Swabia (discussed above) or with other unpaired segments. Viewed from the *Bellenville* side, the subsegment GEL 10b could have been extracted in a few fragments from BEL 56 (BEO 10), usually regarded as a crusade in Prussia because of the presence of a mix of Germans and 4 Polish names (which may as well have been Silesians or Saxons). This *Bellenville* segment ends with the arms of Johan von Vlatten (Merode) and chained to his arms a figure of a herald wearing a tabard of *Azure 3 crowns or*. The extract comprises nearly all of the Swabians in the segment.

The crusades and tournaments part of *Bellenville* are also involved in two other presumed uses of common sources. Segment GEL 14 Hungary is led by Louis d'Anjou dit 'le grand' (1326-1382), who succeeded to Hungary in 1342 and was elected King of Dalmatia and Poland in 1370. Half of the segment was extracted from two crusades segments BEO 3 (BEL 49) and BEO 9 (BEL 55), again comprising nearly all Poles, Silesians and a few Saxons present.⁷⁰² The Anglo-Scots segment BEO 1 (BEL 45) is presently assumed to be a compilation of Scottish and English participants at a tournament.⁷⁰³ Nearly a dozen items appear also in the GEL 16 England segment, but more than half (15/26) of the Scots are in GEL 19 Scotland. The overlap concerns the first part of BEO 1 and two pairs at the end.⁷⁰⁴

The last indication of the use of common (rather than really independent) sources comes from an apparent mixing of people from Saxony and Lüneburg into two *Bellenville* segments, BEL 19 (Sax-Lün) and BEL 48 (Lün). This could only be from the short period 1370-88, when Lüneburg was held by a branch of

⁷⁰¹ GEL 10a & BEL 14 (4/5); GEL 10b & BEL 56 / BEO 10 (15/58); GEL 10c & BEL 28 (8/22).

⁷⁰² GEL:544 transposed the Buzevoi name to Kociesca arms from the BEL:1630 & GEL:543 source.

⁷⁰³ See *Ch. 9.1.2*.

⁷⁰⁴ Transposing Lindsay as in GEL:703 to BEL:319 with Stewart-arms like those in GEL:702.

the Saxony-Wittenberg branch, a nephew of the elector-duke of Saxony.⁷⁰⁵ The items overlapping the major segment BEL 19 can be found in GEL 07 Saxony, while the items in the later inserted BEL 48 are in GEL 12b appended to the items from BEL 52 Hildesheim.

9.3.4 Dating problems

For armorials that are either using the same sources or where one is a (partial) copy of the other, the dates or period independently proposed for the collation of the items in each pair of segments ought to be overlapping, preferably identical. This is the case for 16 pairs of segments in the *Bellenville-Gelre* set. Only one or neither of eight other pairs is dateable, and for two pairs (Flanders and Hainaut-Holland) the dates proposed are the mid-sixties for the *Gelre* and mid-eighties for the *Bellenville*.

The main reason for being unable to date segment pairs is the lack of specificity when Christian names are omitted and only family names and arms are given. But even when Christian names are written, most modern editors either do not have the local knowledge to identify the specific person in question, or the name is recurrent in the family, or the person's active lifetime spans too large a period to be meaningful. Take pairs from the Austrian segment as examples.⁷⁰⁶ Conrad von Zirn is the only item having a christian name in *Bellenville*, but neither of the competent modern editors has discovered any details of his life or service.⁷⁰⁷ Conrad is also a recurring name in the Kraigh family, and though one Conrad (fl.1357-77) is mentioned several times in Prussia and in Austria, another namesake could be the actual one.⁷⁰⁸ The title of Kammermeister (in *Gelre* only) probably identifies Heinrich Gessler (d.1408), who was appointed to this office in 1372, though his major prominence came after 1385, when he became Hofmeister and Landvogt of Aargau – an office held in 1375 by his father, possibly as virtually heritable.⁷⁰⁹ A case could be made for both Austria segments to have been collated c.1375, though Heinrich Gessler was noted (or better included) by Claes Heinenzoon with his earlier and minor title, and by the Bellenville-compiler later with the more prominent title, either not aware of his Austrian affiliation or simply not interested.

Comparing the periods proposed by Léon Jéquier, one would consider the French segments as coming from different collations.⁷¹⁰ As noted above both

⁷⁰⁵ Köbler HL 396; ESNF 1.2:196. BEL:298, 300, 1430. Albrecht (III), o.s.p.m.1385, Hz.Sachsen-Wittenberg, and of Lüneburg 1370, son of Otto (d.1350) and Elizabeth von Braunschweig-Lüneburg (d.1384). The House of Lüneburg became extinct in 1369, and Albrecht was enfeoffed with Lüneburg by Emperor Karl IV, but the family had to give it up after the War of the Lüneburg Succession in 1388.

⁷⁰⁶ There is a 90% overlap in BEL 24 with GEL 27 Austria, and a probable misnaming of Ruxdorf / Ruesdorf to Scheck von Waldeck in GEL:769, BEL:373.

⁷⁰⁷ GEL:767, BEL:367 Conrad von Zirn *al.* Zirnau.

⁷⁰⁸ GEL:762, BEL:366, also in BEL:1343 (BEO 1) and BEL:1706 (BEO 11).

⁷⁰⁹ GEL:763, not in BEL-Austria, but in BEL:1614 'hofmeister' in BEO 9, which overlaps the Hungaro-Poles of GEL 14.

⁷¹⁰ Jéquier BG 297 (1972) has 1380-84 and Jéquier BEL 17 (1983) the slightly later 1386-90 for the French segment in *Gelre* with agreement on the corresponding segment

segments begin with a very similar set of items in roughly comparable sequences and have a few common markers. Many of the names can be related to the Anglo-French campaigns leading to the battle of Poitiers in 1356 and the peace treaty of Brétigny in 1360, after which campaigning on French soil ceased for a decade. The incompatibility lies with *Gelre* according to Léon Jéquier, determined by the difference of the arms of Anjou and the absence of the arms of France from Dauphiné, indicating a vacancy for the heir to France as was the case during the early years of the reign of Charles VI (b.1368, r.1380-1422). However, both arguments are weak. Firstly, the title of Dauphin de France was also vacant in 1364-68 during the early reign of his father Charles V (b.1337, r.1364-80), the period of *Bellenville*.⁷¹¹ Secondly, both arms of Anjou are confounded, and the Jerusalem-Anjou in *Gelre* could well be an 'update' when the armorial was painted.⁷¹²

The most important argument for dating the *Gelre* segment to c.1370 is probably the arms of *Beauvais qtg Dormans* present only in *Gelre*.⁷¹³ Paul Adam-Even (as revised by Léon Jéquier) proposed Miles Dormans Bp.Beauvais and by 1374 chancellor of France. But they forgot the even more imposing figure of his uncle Jean (d.11.1373), not only Bp.Beauvais in 1360, but a cardinal in 1368, and chancellor from 1357 to 1371 appointed by the later Charles V, when he was regent during the imprisonment of his father in England, and confirmed by Jean II, when he returned. In between the chancellor was Guillaume S.Dormans (d.06.1373), father of Miles and brother of Jean, so there is ample opportunity to get confused – which happened to Michel Popoff, who mixed up Jean and Miles.

For Léon Jéquier the determining arguments for dating the collation of the Flemish nobles are the four banners accompanying the arms of the count, Louis (II) dit de Mâle (r.1356-1384) in *Gelre* and the person of Henri C.Lodi, present among the Flemish in *Bellenville* and among the French in *Gelre*.⁷¹⁴ The counties of Burgundy, Artois, Nevers and Rethel, represented by the banners, were in his opinion only inherited by Louis de Mâle from his mother Marguerite de France in 1382, and she inherited them in 1361 from Philippe 'de Rouvre' D&C.Burgundy. His argument is partially correct, but he got the paths of inheritance confused.⁷¹⁵ Rethel came into possession in 1305 and Nevers in 1322 with the great grandmother and grandmother of Louis de Mâle. Only Burgundy and Artois were inherited by the dowager countess - and they were probably administered by her son and heir, the 30-year old Count Louis. In any case, if the *Gelre* was painted close to 1400, Flanders and the counties would be ruled by Philippe 'hardi' D.Burgundy &c, so the addition could well be a later improvement on the original and (probably) amended collation. If this

in *Bellenville* to 1364-68, see *fig.7-ch.9.3n1*. Paul Adam-Even proposed 1369-75 for *Gelre*, in essence not different from *Bellenville*.

⁷¹¹ GEL:309, BEL:2 Dauphin.

⁷¹² GEL:310, BEL:4 Anjou; see also Tarent (Anjou) in GEL:1478 and BEL:35.

⁷¹³ GEL:487 die bisscop va' bevays. Adam GEL 43 / Bergen GEL 313, Popoff GEL 234.

⁷¹⁴ Literally, only Nevers is mentioned in Jéquier BG 298, but their paths of inheritance run together. GEL:923-927 (banners). GEL:413, BEL:571 Henri de Flandre C.Lodi & S.Ninove, o.s.p.1366, ESNF 2:8; XDF:164 (1339, Henri S.Ninove).

⁷¹⁵ See ESNF 2:8 Flanders, 2:12 France, 2:60 Burgundy.

argument is accepted there would be no contradiction in the dating of the two segments. As for Henri de Flandre C.Lodi, it would be of little consequence for a compiler to move him from a list of French vassals to one of Flemish. After all, he was a sub vassal of the king of France through the C.Flanders and must have served in the French armies during the Anglo-French wars. Very few of the datable items will reveal unique persons, but those surveyed would probably be noted during 1361-1380.⁷¹⁶

With an overlap of more than 80% and the few Christian names in the paired items from Hainaut-Holland of *Bellenville* identical, it is surprising that Léon Jéquier should end up with placing the collations 20 years apart, *Bellenville* c.1360 and *Gelre* before 1380.⁷¹⁷ Without making any claim to having made an exhaustive investigation of the two segments, it is easy to verify that 9 of the 12 members of the extensive Wassenaer clan with the 3 crescents arms in *Gelre* are also present in *Bellenville*. One of these, the S.Asperen, only acquired the lordship in 1366. This possible *terminus post quem* is supported by Alard d'Antoing becoming S.Briffoeuil in 1367.⁷¹⁸ As *ante quo* Jan van Polanen (Wassenaer) S.Leck died in 1379 and his brother Philip S.Kapelle in 1375.⁷¹⁹ Though many of the identifiable and possible persons had long active lives, some beginning in 1348, others ending in 1410, the core of the collation was probably made during the relatively short period of 1370-75. It is obvious that both compilers added and omitted names and arms to and from the core – a few may even have been inserted shortly before the armorials were painted.

For this and the other segments, it is impossible to determine whether either of the compilers did the surveying, or whether they copied and improved on an already existing compilation. For those who want a name of a herald as the main collator, Jan van Steensel (d.1368) Ruyers king of arms c.1362, is fair proposal. He may also be proposed for some of the armorials in the *Beijeren* collection – but so far without corroboration.⁷²⁰ Whether the *Gelre* was painted from 1395 on or from 1402 depends on the interpretation of the fo.26r miniature, not on the contents. The *Bellenville* could be near contemporary or even a decade older than the *Gelre*, but hardly almost a generation, which is what a period of 25 years implies.

9.3.5 Satellites

While the common sources used by the two armorials are unknown, we know of at least two compilers who have utilized either the *Bellenville* or the *Gelre*. Together with a copy or clone of the *Uryfē*, the former was the main source of the *LeBlancq* armorial, which was painted in the mid 16th century in the town of

⁷¹⁶ BEL:591, GEL:959 Sohier de Gent, d.1384, appointed marshal of Flanders 1362, is a rare unique dating.

⁷¹⁷ *fig.7 - ch.9.3.n1* GEL-BEL compared, Jéquier began in 1972 with < 1380 for both.

⁷¹⁸ GEL:1052, BEL:766 Asperen; GEL:1060, BEL:758 Briffoeuil. ESNF 28:153A, 13:16-18.

⁷¹⁹ GEL:1021, BEL:763 Leck; GEL:1098, BEL:868 Kapelle. ESNF 28:152, Leemans BP 117.

⁷²⁰ K. Padberg Evenboer, pers.com. 11.2014, 02.2015; Beelaerts van Blokland: 'Gelre' p.53-55; Verbij-Schillings 1995.

Lille.⁷²¹ The *Bellenville* provided information on the nobles from the Lower Rhine area and most of Germany, while the *Urfé* was the main source for French nobles and preferred as the source for Flemings and Brabantians. In a single instance the LeBlancq compiler probably mixed items from both into his Aragon segment, if this was not an incidental overlap from its (still unknown) Spanish source. The fourth LBQ source was an armorial from the *Toison d'or* group providing information on Austrians and Bohemians.

As told above, the Bergshammam compiler used major parts of the *Gelre* mixed with items from the *Toison d'or* and the *Lyncenich*, working in the mid 15th century.⁷²² The Guelders segment in the *Lyncenich* provides a twinkle of the complex ways armorial information descended. The original collation was probably done 1380-90, when both Claes Heinenzoon and the Bellenville compiler served the Duke of Guelders, but they soon parted company. The former took service with the Wittelsbacher Counts of Hainaut-Holland and his manuscripts ended up with the Burgundian court either in Bruxelles or in Lille. The Bellenville compiler may have continued working for princes and barons on the left bank of Rhine, and his sole armorial came to a bibliophile in Lille a century later, c.1550. One Rhenish bibliophile, Philip von Kleve S.Ravenstein (1459-1528), who descended from the Valois-Burgundy dynasty and played a politico-military role in both Habsburg and French service, left a large library to the Emperor when he died and was interred in Bruxelles – but it was soon dispersed.⁷²³ One may note that a part of the Guelders segment of *Lyncenich* is more like the *Bellenville* than the *Gelre* sequences.⁷²⁴

⁷²¹ See *Ch 81.3.2* and *fig.5 - ch.8.3n1* LBQ survey. Sweden was also included in the LBQ from BEL.

⁷²² See *Ch. 6*, *Ch. 7.3*, and *fig. 5 - ch.7.3n2* BHM survey.

⁷²³ Volumes with his arms are found in several national libraries, incl. the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

⁷²⁴ LYN segment 63, BEL 40 (overlap and similar fragments), and GEL 34 (overlap, but no similar fragments..

10. The RINECK group from Lorraine and their relations

The group of armorials discussed in this chapter is a relatively late set, having as a basis a compilation made in the last quarter of the 15th century. But it contains subsegments of one or two generations older, and at least one of the putative sources (*de l'hérait Berry*) for the group drew on materials a century older, modified from the armorial *dit de l'hérait Navarre*. As the chapter title indicates, the armorials in the RINECK group were made within a small region, probably in the same town of Metz. The focus of the members of the group was local too. For some, e.g. the *Rineck*, the commissioner's family and relations were paramount.

Together with the *Gelre* the two 'source' armorials were mentioned by Anthony Wagner in 1956 as arranged on a regional plan because a king of arms (the proposed compilers) had a "duty to have knowledge of the arms of persons within his sphere of activity". In fact, the six of the eight (French) regional divisions (chapters) noted by Wagner are titled 'Royautés d'armes' and the last two 'duchés d'armes' – provinces 'governed' by an officer of arms. The analogy with the 20th century organization in England was no accident.⁷²⁵

10.1 Navarre, a tribute to the nobility

The armorial *Navarre* (NAV) is one of the most copied French armorials with 21 known copies.⁷²⁶ Several of the copies have only an extract of the armorial, and some have it as part of a miscellany of different texts or appended to a treatise on blazon or the office of arms. Any contemporary manuscript of the present compilation is long lost, and most copies are of a much later date, mostly 16th to 18th century. There is no published critical edition of the armorial, only a couple of annotated segments by Martine Fabre and Michel Popoff.⁷²⁷ The 1859 edition by Louis Douët d'Arcq was merely a transcription with mistakes and omissions. The best available transcription is the one used here, provided by Emmanuel de Boos.⁷²⁸

The periods proposed for the collation of arms cover half a century from 1350 to 1400. The earliest proposal by Louis Douët d'Arcq placed it as late as 1396-1397, but most modern proposals converge towards the decade of the 1370'es. The presently agreed period places the collation as slightly earlier than that of the ur-*Urfé*.

⁷²⁵ Wagner HH54; Boos BER 18; BER:14v.

⁷²⁶ See *fig.5-ch.10.1n1*, survey of *Navarre*, and the transcription modified from de Boos with identifications by Clemmensen on www.armorial.dk.

⁷²⁷ Martine Fabre and Michel Popoff published segments 04 (Bretons), 06 and 07 (Picardy) in the *Cahiers d'Héraldique*, 1983, 4:11-84 - a high quality partial edition of the armorial.

⁷²⁸ The same set of manuscripts and numeration were used by Douët d'Arcq, Popoff, Fabre, and de Boos: BnF, ms.fr.14356, supplemented with fr.32487 and n.acq.fr.1105.

The *Navarre* is a composite armorial with 1546 items in 14 segments, subdivided by rank.⁷²⁹ All arms are given in blazon only and there is no mention of crests.⁷³⁰ The legends usually give the Christian names for non-titled armigers (bachelor knights). With 93% French (1,439 items), it has a heavy focus on the provinces north of the Loire. There are only 163 items from the south-western parts: from Berry and Poitou to Gascony along the coast. The largest segment is Normandy comprising 32% (461 items) of the French armigers in the armorial. The second largest group is the northerners with 256 items from the present regions Nord and Picardy, making 24%, if we add the 88 from Flanders and Hainaut, which were formally subjects of the king of France. The organisation is fairly well structured moving from the core area of Ile-de-France (01), west to Normandy (02), east to Champagne (03), back west to the coast, then upstream along the Loire from Brittany (04) to Touraine (05). The compilation then jumps back north to Picardy (06-07), Artois (08) and Walloon Low Countries (09). The royal arms of most European kingdoms (10) were inserted before moving south-west to Poitou-Gascony (11) and inland to Berry-Limousin (12). The only non-French continental arms are the small selection of 27 arms (13) from the north-eastern border with the empire, mainly from Brabant. The English provides 64 items (14) – a nation which had been at continuous war with the French for forty years.

10.1.1 South of the Somme along the Seine and Rhône

The contents of the *Navarre* can conveniently be divided into four 'regions' for discussion. The first of these covers three segments: Ile-de-France (01), Normandy (02) and a swathe through Champagne, Burgundy and Provence (03). The titled nobles of Ile-de-France or simply France includes the royal family at the time of collation, which places it roughly between 1365, the creation of Philippe 'hardi' as the first Valois duke of Burgundy, and the extinction of the older Orleans-Valois dynasty in 1375. The first 14 items fit perfectly the reign of Charles V (1364-1380) with his eldest son, three brothers, an uncle, some members of the Bourbon-Capet family and the last Artois count of Eu.

The Ile-de-France segment (01) has many family clusters with 3-5 members, many being cadets of bannerets with well-known names and arms. Several of these families can also be found in the *Wijnberghen* armorial, but most of these have different combinations of Christian names. The 134 non-royal items make is a decent, but not exhaustive, survey of the fighting nobility of the core province of the realm.⁷³¹ Some of the comital arms were hardly in use at the time, e.g. Montfort-l'Amaury (extinct in the 13th century) and Meulan (in the

⁷²⁹ The segmentation is as indicated by headers in the manuscripts. It may be refined for a critical edition. Most segments are subdivided into bannerets and knight bachelors, some with titled nobles leading.

⁷³⁰ A few manuscripts have the blazons transformed into painted shields, e.g. BnF, ms.fr.24920 (NAV/g, version B).

⁷³¹ The first segment of the *Wijnberghen* has 262 items. The notation of bannerets and knights bachelors gives it a military flavour.

12th century), though the arms of the latter were continued by a cadet.⁷³² Only a few family clusters have been examined, and these support a collation from the reign of Charles V, probably the early part.⁷³³

The Normandy segment (02) is by far the largest with 461 items or 30% of the total, representing 300 families.⁷³⁴ It also has the lowest proportion of bannerets – only 11%. The region had two parts. Upper Normandy north of the Seine and Lower Normandy to the south stretching along the coast to Brittany and including the Cotentin peninsula. In the mid 14th century Charles II 'le mauvais' king of Navarre and count of Evreux held a third of Normandy, mostly in Lower Normandy: the Cotentin in the west and the eastern parts along the Seine. Charles II held only the small county of Longueville in Upper Normandy and in Ile-de-France the county of Étampes south of Paris.⁷³⁵ His overlord was the duke of Normandy, at the time the dauphin, later Charles V (r.1364-1380), who in 1355 together with his father Jean II 'le bon', exercised his prerogatives and arrested Charles II and a number of Norman nobles in Rouen. The C.Harcourt and several of his adherents were immediately executed.⁷³⁶

Judging from the subset of families whose origin can reasonably be established, 48% of the families lived in the territory held by Charles II with another 31% living in other parts of Normandy. Only 20% came from Upper Normandy, which covers approx. 30% of the region, mainly departement Seine-Maritime.⁷³⁷ Of the four other armorials with large segments of Normans, the older *Wijnberghen* had 176 items in 63 families with few from Cotentin. The near contemporary *ur-Urfé* had 152 items in 106 families approximately equally distributed. The 171 items in 112 families in the later *Berry* were also equally distributed. The 17th century *Ruelle* has the second largest complement of 244, but many of the arms appear to be post-medieval, and the armorial was not examined in detail.

Five family clusters were evaluated and most of the items with these arms could be verified.⁷³⁸ As far as the not always satisfactory genealogies available contained dates, they indicated that many of the persons could have been active well into the 1380'es, even to the turn of the century. But most would probably have been in their prime around 1360, when many took part in the Anglo-French war and the Breton civil war. The 8 items of the 3 branches of

⁷³² The colours of the Meulan (Beaumont) checky are traditionally given as the *Or-azure* of Vermandois, with the cognatic cadet Courcelles using *Or-gules*. An alternative interpretation was discussed in Clemmensen PB and Clemmensen AA.

⁷³³ Melun, Garencières, Beaumont-en-Gâtinais and Trie.

⁷³⁴ 300 families at the time of writing. All items have not been thoroughly examined, not counting major branches. Only 2 of 51 bannerets could not be verified, Sernon and Louvigny, NAV:169, 190.

⁷³⁵ Mirot GH, map XV.

⁷³⁶ Fierville MT 38.

⁷³⁷ 124 families.

⁷³⁸ Harcourt, Paynel, Tournebu, Estouteville and Villiers du Hommet, NAV:1147-150, 153, 155-156, 162-163, 166-167, 186-187, 198-204, 207-220, 236-241, 489, 495-496. Gauvain de Tollevast, d.c.1360, NAV:255.

Tournebu may serve as an example. The genealogy is from 1867 and based on intensive studies of the cartularies that survived the revolution, many of which are summarized.⁷³⁹ There are hardly any dates of births or deaths and very few of transactions. Most have to be inferred from the people involved. The same Christian names were used by most branches and over several generations, some names might have been confused, and others like Taupin may have been cognomens not likely to appear in documents. Only one item is unique, that of Girard (o.s.p.1398), second son of Robert and Jeanne d'Auvilliers, the most influential member of the branch identified by his name and the inescutcheon of his mother's arms.⁷⁴⁰ The other items are personalized by selecting his putative contemporaries, knowing that the Marboeuf branch had the arms billey, and assuming that the Auvilliers all had a mullet in chief sinister. This leaves only one item for the senior branch, which may have had two or possibly three active members during the period. To make ends meet, the lord of Marboeuf is proposed to have had a younger brother Pierre, not mentioned in documents, and that Taupin was a cognomen for one of the other two active members of the Auvilliers branch. The eldest, Jean, was a clergyman.

The next segment (03) covers a large area including Champagne and Bourgogne – as in its header. But it does not only cover this confluent territory, but also men from Savoy and Provence and has at least 14 Italians among its 126 items, of which 28% are titled nobility (dukes, princes and counts) and 55% other bannerets. The lead item has the arms of the Capetian dukes of Burgundy, extinct with the boy Philippe 'de Rouvres' (1346-1361). There is no mention of the arms of his successor Philippe de Valois 'le Hardi' (d.1404), who was created duke in 1363 and in 1369 married Marguerite of Flanders gaining the county palatinate of Burgundy (Franche-Comté) and other lands making him the single most influential member of the royal family after 1380.

The make-up of the segment shows clearly that this segment is a box of residuals of little interest to the collator as coming from a *marche d'armes*. It does have a number of family clusters, including Châtillon, Bourbon-la Marche, Vienne and Rougemont, but the provisional dating to c.1360-70 is based on Visconti, Anglure and Baux. The latter, which originated in southern Provence where it held the principality of Orange, was very influential in 14th century southern Italy holding the marshalate. It does provide an end terminus of 1372, but not much else.⁷⁴¹ The Visconti of Milan provides a starting terminus of 1360, when Gian Galeazzo was created C.Vertu, a French title. His father Galeazzo and uncle Bernabo are also present.⁷⁴² The two branches of Anglure, which served both in France and Italy, support a collation earlier than 1368.⁷⁴³ The last cluster examined is the Capetian cadets of Anjou, which for a time held southern Italy and Sicily. They held the title of prince of Taranto until 1373, and Charles of the Duras sub-branch became king of Naples in 1381, a

⁷³⁹ Fierville MT, 1867, a monograph on the holders of the barony of Tournebu listing the fiefs of the barony.

⁷⁴⁰ Girard, NAV:236; Jean, NAV:238; Pierre, NAV:240; Taupin, NAV:241. Two of the Auvilliers have inescutcheons which are difficult to explain.

⁷⁴¹ Baux, P.Orange, D.Andria, ESNF 3.4:745-758; NAV:598, 607-608, 637, 689-691.

⁷⁴² Visconti, NAV:630-632.

⁷⁴³ St.Chéron al. Anglure, ESNF 13:10-15.

title which he does not carry in the armorial.⁷⁴⁴ A few Germans, Kleve and Saarbrücken are also mentioned.

10.1.2 The west on the Loire

The second 'region' covers Brittany and Maine (04) and continues upstream through Anjou and Touraine (05).⁷⁴⁵ According to Martine Fabre, the Brittany segment was compiled c.1370 and the lead item should represent Jean (IV) de Montfort (c.1340-1399), the pretender to the duchy supported by the English during the civil war of 1341-1364, who in 1364 was finally recognized as duke by the French in the treaties of Auray and Guérande.⁷⁴⁶ However, the lead item might just have been intended as such, representing not a prince, grudgingly acknowledged, but the 'nationality' of men allied to France – and regarded as sub-vassals to the king of France.

The Brittany segment lists men from the great families of the duchy and men known for their participation in the civil war, and also the supports for the claimant Charles de Blois in the French companies led by Bertrand de Guesclin (1320-1380), appointed connétable de France in 1370 (NAV:737). The Maine element is fairly small and the major part of it originates from the border area. The listing was split into two parts: NAV:723-770 for the members of the greater families and the captains (not named as bannerets here); NAV:771-868 for the knight bachelors. NAV:722 Guy de Bretagne C.Penthièvre (d.1331) was probably included as the father of Jeanne de Bretagne, the wife of the claimant Charles de Blois. Guy was a brother of Duke Jean III, who died childless in 1341. About one third of the first subsegment and nearly the entire second subsegment are entered with Christian names. The former is apparently in a rough order of precedence with the viscount of Rohan and Beaumont and the families of Laval (Montmorency), Avaugour, Rochefort, Clisson and Retz leading. All identifiable entries were found to be living before 1364, including several branches which became extinct in the male line at the battle of Auray in 1364. Most of the names listed were partisans of the vanquished claimant Charles de Blois. Several of the men named in the segment also took part in the *mêlée* of the 30 champions held during the siege of Ploërmel in 1351, in which more than 15 died of their wounds.⁷⁴⁷

The segment must have been compiled by a person well versed in local armory and with a good knowledge of the nobility, probably a herald. The brisures noted for the 14 entries of the Montmorency in the armorial appear to be correct with the 6 items of the senior branch and sub-branches placed in segment 01 France and the 8 of the Laval branches in 04, even those with possessions in Burgundy or Picardy. Identifying members of this large family and their arms can be very difficult.⁷⁴⁸ The placing of Bertrand de Guesclin, his brother and uncle (NAV:737-737), appears to be too high in the listing,

⁷⁴⁴ NAV:599 Philippe (II) P.Taranto; NAV:636 Charles de Duras.

⁷⁴⁵ NAV:721-915 in segments 04-05.

⁷⁴⁶ Fabre NP 12, 17. The analysis supports a collation shortly after the cessation of hostilities in 1364.

⁷⁴⁷ Potier TBE, *Combat de trente bretons et trente anglais, or Combat du chêne de mi-voie*.

⁷⁴⁸ See Regnier HM and the problems of the Laval cadets, e.g. NAV:772-777 in Fabre NB and Clemmensen OM.

considering the relatively modest lordships of the family – unless for the routier leadership of Bertrand. The titles of Bertrand were for services to the kings of Castile and of France.⁷⁴⁹

The 47 items in the Anjou-Touraine segment (05) have not been edited, but the set of three members of the Craon family (NAV:869-871) leading the segment indicates a collation of before 1370.⁷⁵⁰ The first maréchal Boucicaut died in 1367, two years after his similarly named son was born (NAV:889). The place as last of the bannerets may indicate a posthumous entry. There are some 30 entries in the subsegment of knight bachelors.

10.1.3 North of the Somme

The items in the segments of Picardy (06, 07) and Artois (08) have all been evaluated.⁷⁵¹ The lead item (NAV:916) represents not a person, but the county of Soissons. The county was held *jure uxoris* by Avesnes and Châtillon cadets between 1306 (last Nesle count) and 1367, when Enguerrand (VII) de Coucy S.Coucy & E.Bedford was created C.Soissons. His arms are the next item, NAV:917.

Titles are only useful for dating if the coats of arms are of the marker type or the title has just been created or become extinct. Most titles were usually borne by several people, who would often have the same Christian name. Once a reasonable date has been proposed, one may reassess the items and fit an appropriate person to the title – but this is consequence, not evidence. For dating one would prefer Christian names or cognomens of junior members of the families, especially if there are particular clusters, which only occur at a certain time. Identifiable seals and a good genealogy would usually be required for this type of dating. The Vermandois segment (06) is potentially very good for this as there are 91 items representing 54 families, many with clusters of 2-5 items, and in all 57 Christian names or cognomens. The first cluster has five members of the Clermont-Nesle family (NAV:920-924), of which the Nesle name was used by one line from early 14th century and represented by two unnamed lords. These two are of little use for dating the segment. The three Clermont all have a label as brisure, two with sub-brisures which may not be visible or present in smallish seals. Michel Popoff, who in 1983 edited the segment, placed the collation before 1360 and assigned names to the cluster.⁷⁵² The Clermont sub-cluster is unique for the 14th century, though there is more than one candidate for some of the places. Jean (NAV:923) could be either uncle or nephew and Robert (NAV:924) either of two brothers. The seals do not help with the identification. The Nesle should probably moved one

⁷⁴⁹ Bertrand de Guesclin (c.1320-1380), S.Broons & Roche-Tesson, D.Molina (1367), C.Longueville (1364), connétable de France (1370) and of Castile. The Spanish titles were for his leading the French mercenaries aiding Henri de Trastamara in his successful rebellion against the Pedro 'the cruel', who was supported by the English; Sumpston HH 2:567, Chenaye DN 10:40-62; Fabre NB 20-21.

⁷⁵⁰ Amaury (IV) the last Craon S.Craon died in May 1373, NAV:869, ESNF 3.4:720.

⁷⁵¹ Identifications of nearly all items in segments 06-08 can be found in either Popoff NP or Boos BER. Additional comments were added in the database of Clemmensen OM.

⁷⁵² Popoff NP 58. Not all assignments of persons fit a period of c.1350/60.

generation up, from Jean (II) S.Offemont (d.1388) and his son to the marshal Guy (II, d.1362) and Jean (II). Similarly the Clermont could be the three brothers Raoul (d.1354), the marshal Jean de Chantilly (d.1356) and Jean de Beaumont (d.1358).⁷⁵³ The Hangest cluster (NAV:928-930) supports a date of c.1350 as do most other dateable items.

The lead item of the Ponthieu segment (07) does not represent a person but the county as such. The arms are old, used at least from 1212. The county was held by the English from 1361 to 1369, when it was reclaimed by the king of France. The next items are for the county of Aumale originally a cadet branch of Ponthieu, and three members of the Picquigny, cognatic cadets of Ponthieu since c.1210. The fourth Picquigny item, Robert (o.s.p.1366), S.Milly & Fossemanent, marshal of Navarre, who has the unique argumentation of Navarre granted by Charles II d'Evreux R.Navarre in NAV:1020 is probably also the one in NAV:1005.⁷⁵⁴ The rest of the segment supports a date of c.1350.⁷⁵⁵

The Artois segment (08) has not been edited, but the few clusters examined support a date of c.1350-60, similar to the Picardian segments. Nearly all in the bannerets subsegment have only the titles, but Godefroid de Boulogne (NAV:1081) must have been active c.1350-1384 as would the Arras brothers (NAV:1130-1131). At present, the key argument for dating would be that the county of St.Pol-de-Ternoise (NAV:1075) went from Châtillon to Luxembourg in 1360.⁷⁵⁶

That there are two series of similar arms in the two Picardian segments of the *Navarre* and in the Artesian segment of *Berry* was added as note, but not further investigated, by Michel Popoff in 1983.⁷⁵⁷ In fact, Gilles le Bouvier dit Berry used all of the *Navarre* segments 06-08 as the source for his own Artois segment (BER 08), as discussed in more detail in *Chapter 10.2.2*.

The Flanders and Hainaut segment (09) is harder to date. The first dozen entries of the 88 item strong segment provide four unique clusters. The Enghien cluster covers 1345-1381 for the 3 sons of Wautier (III) S.Engnien (1302-1345), who in 1321 married Isabeau de Brienne Cs.Brienne & Lecce, and a grandson. ⁷⁵⁸ Flanders went to Burgundy in 1384 and one (Henri) of the cluster died in 1366, another (Robert) has not been documented, and the last, an unnamed bastard bearing arms like those known from the several bastards of Louis de Mâle might just be squeezed in. Hainaut went with Holland from the Avesnes family by marriage to the Wittelsbacher emperor Ludwig 'the Bavarian' (d.1345). His son Wilhelm (III/V), 1330-1389, was recognized as

⁷⁵³ Popoff NP 57-58. ESNF 3.4:655-656 has some different titles for the lordships.

⁷⁵⁴ ESNF 13:144 for the brothers Jean, Robert and Ferry de Picquigny.

⁷⁵⁵ The two Quéret, NAV:1044, 1045, died in 1346 and fairly soon after; Popoff NP 71.

⁷⁵⁶ ESNF 7:18; Mahaut de Châtillon (d.1372) heir to St.Pol after Guy (IV, d.1360) had married Guy de Luxembourg C.Ligny (d.1371) in 1354.

⁷⁵⁷ Popoff NP 5353 note 6a. The concordance is recorded in *fig.7- cb.10n3*, NAV-art to BER.

⁷⁵⁸ ESNF 7:79; NAV:1166-1169.

C.Holland in 1351 and C.Hainaut 1356, but soon became insane and by 1358 his brother Albrecht (1336-1404) assumed the regency. The arms used here are Holland quartering Hainaut. In the Wittelsbacher period, these arms were quartered with Bavaria. The only other member from Hainaut is Jean d'Avesnes S.Beaumont (o.s.p.m.1356).⁷⁵⁹ This indicates a date before 1355 like previous segments in the region. Three items of the Namur cluster fit perfectly the brothers Guillaume (1324-1391), Louis and Robert, but their father Jean C.Namur died in 1330 and is too early to be the fourth. The inescutcheon of Savoy in NAV:1174 places this item as for Guillaume S.Bethune (1355-1418), the son of Guillaume C.Namur (d.1391) and his second wife Catherine of Savoy.⁷⁶⁰ The son of a minor prince would hardly be recorded before he took active part in war, i.e. c.1375.

The segment has a curious entry in NAV:1186 Gauthier de Mauny. The arms and family are well-known and Jean and Thierry were the preferred names of this family from near Valenciennes. During the Anglo-French wars Flanders was often allied with England, and a fourth son of the family joined too. He was better known as the successful captain in the Breton civil war, Walter Manny (1310-1372), who married a member of the royal family, Margaret, daughter of Thomas of Brotherton E.Norfolk. Walter was summoned to Parliament in 1347 as an English baron and nominated knight of the Garter in 1359.⁷⁶¹ Unless contradictory evidence is found during further scrutiny of the segment, Guillaume S.Bethune of NAV:1174 may have been added during copying (or compilation) at a later date.

10.1.4 South of the Loire

The nobility of the coast south of the Loire were formally vassals of the king of France, though the king of England held Gascony and much of the territory south of the Garonne as duke of Aquitaine or Guienne. For most of the Anglo-French wars these sub-vassals of the French crown served on the English side, though some did appeal to the Parliament of Paris, if it suited them in the local struggles for supremacy among the Gascon nobles and independence from the duke's officials. Two of the major Gascon houses were Albret and Grailly. In Poitou, north of the Garonne, the major families were Lusignan and Thouars. Segment 10 covers Poitou and Gascony, while the following segment 11 have the nobles from Berry and other inland regions. The lead items in the Berry segment are counts of Foix, Armagnac and Comminges, all from the Pyrenean foothills in the borderlands of Gascony. The two segments have not been studied in detail, and many arms and family names have not been verified at the time of writing.

The period of collation of segment 10 (Poitou-Gascony) is suggested by the clusters of Albret and Grailly. Though both families have members that could stretch the period to the turn of the century, only Guitard d'Albret V.Tartas (d.1361) and Pierre de Grailly (1285-1356) S.Grailly & Captal de Buch (j.u.),

⁷⁵⁹ ESNF 1.1:104 (Wittelsbach) + 2:8 (Avesnes). Jean S.Beaumont has Hainaut with a label argent in NAV:1170 and Holland qtg Hainaut with a label argent in URF:1191.

⁷⁶⁰ ESNF 3:53.

⁷⁶¹ GEC 8:571; ODNB 37:445-448.

KG 1348, fit the clusters.⁷⁶² The Thouars cluster is more problematic as the Christian names do not fit. Assuming a bit of confusion between two Jeans S.Chèze, and Aimery and Miles of the Thouars-Pouzauges branch, the weight of evidence points to shortly before 1355. The Pouzauges brisure of a sword is characteristic and two items have differences bearing maternal arms.⁷⁶³

The preliminary dating of segment 11 relies mostly on the Chauvigny cluster, which places it before 1355.⁷⁶⁴ This tentative date is supported by the two members of the Lévis de Mirepoix family from before 1369, if one allows for a misreading of Renault for Roger Bernard.⁷⁶⁵ The very unusual brisure with a panther may have been used by Aimery (I) de Rochechouart S.Mortemart (d.1353) or his son Aimery (II, d.1397). Some of the titles in the lead would have transferred to other families by this time, e.g. Brosse (NAV:1402) to Jean de Chauvigny (NAV:1406, d.1358) or his son Jean V.Brosse (o.v.p.1356), after the death of his mother Jeanne de Brosse in 1348. The 'C.Sansure' with the Roger-de-Beaufort arms (NAV:1396) could not be identified.

10.1.5 Foreigners

The first of the two non-French segments (13) holds only 27 items, half of which are from Brabant. Five items are assigned to families on the basis of the arms alone. At the present level of evaluation none of these names can be related to the families. The other half has some German princes, e.g. Austria, Bavaria, Geldern and Holsten, and a couple of German nobles, e.g. Leuchtenberg and Rodemack. One item, Franck van Hallen (NAV:1449) is also in GEL:852. He fought with Walter Manny *al.* Mauny on the English side in Brittany and was created a knight of the Garter in 1359.⁷⁶⁶

The second segment of England (14) of 64 items (72% bannerets) is notable for the omission of the claims to the crown of France by Edward III (r.1327-1377). All members of the royal family used France quartering England (with differences) at the time when the *Navarre* was compiled. None has the quartering here, which assigns the wrong arms to these men.⁷⁶⁷ The anomaly is general for this segment as there are no quarterings at all, even though several earls used them, and they must have been well known among French heralds and interested armorists. Another anomaly is the designation of a king, his sons and the peers as mere bannerets.

All, except one, of the sons of Edward III are listed. Lionel of Antwerp D.Clarence, who died in 1368, is omitted. Edmund of Langley has the title of E.Cambridge, bestowed in 1362, and the youngest son, Thomas of Woodstock (1355-1397) is untitled. He was only created D.Gloucester on the accession of Richard II in 1377, by which time there would not be a Prince of Wales. So from the initial subgroup the likely period of collation would be 1368-1376, but

⁷⁶² ESNF 3.1:147-152, NAV:1274-1279.

⁷⁶³ ESNF 3.4:810-812; NAV:1269, 1282-1284, 1361. V.Thouars used *Or semy of fleurs-de-lis azure & canton gules.*

⁷⁶⁴ NAV:1406-1408; ESNF13:70-72.

⁷⁶⁵ NAV:1415-1416; ESNF 14:85.

⁷⁶⁶ Ashmole OG 710.

⁷⁶⁷ NAV:1455-1459.

the next item moves it back a couple of years. Humphrey (X) de Bohun, o.s.p.m.1372, E.Hereford &c, was the last of the line. His daughters and heirs were later married to Henry (son of John of Gaunt), Thomas of Woodstock and Hugh Courtenay E.Devon. However, the list of earls includes the arms of Clare E.Gloucester which became extinct in 1314, when the last earl was killed by the Scots at Bannockburn. It also includes the E.Warenne extinct by 1347 with arms appropriated by FitzAlan of Arundel. So the list of earls is more likely to represent the titles than actual persons.

Looking at the remaining bannerets, we do not find the barons summoned in person to Parliament, but military captains like John Chandos, James Audley, Robert Knolles, a cluster of Beauchamps and another of Holand. In the latter, Thomas Holand (d.1360) comes second, though he was married to Joan 'the fair maid of Kent', heiress of Edmund E.Kent and granddaughter of Edward I. Shortly before he died he was styled E.Kent, and their son Thomas (II), born 1351, inherited the title.⁷⁶⁸ There are more than a dozen KG's, incl. Bartholomew Burghersh senior, who died in 1355, Otes Holand, KG 1348, died in 1360, as did John Beauchamp, KG 1348.⁷⁶⁹ The 'bachelors' are likely to have been minor captains or men-at-arms known to have had prominent positions, e.g. Richard de la Vache.⁷⁷⁰

The arms and names of the bannerets and knight bachelors listed were probably taken down years earlier, perhaps after the battle of Poitiers in 1356 and the treaty of Brétigny in 1360. The members of the royal family and a selection of well-known earls could have been added at a later date, possibly after 1370.

10.1.6 Navarre evaluated

With 1518 items in 14 segments the *Navarre* is a large armorial but fairly easy to survey. Even though it has not been examined in detail and not all the personalized items have been identified, it is possible to draw attention to some important features and similarities or dissimilarities to other armorials.

It was undoubtedly available to contemporaries and possibly popular. The earliest surviving copies were made three generations after the original compilation. Though it is the French armorial with most surviving copies, only two have been dated to the 15th century, half are presently undated and the rest were copied from the mid 16th to 18th centuries. Some copies are appended to treatises on heraldry, which in itself is evidence of its availability. It was used as a source for the *Berry*, which was probably intended as a presentation manuscript.⁷⁷¹ A full critical edition comparing all available copies would be welcome.

⁷⁶⁸ The Holands, NAV:1491-1493, GEC 6:528-533+633 + 7:151-163.

⁷⁶⁹ John Beauchamp, NAV:1473; Bartholomew Burghersh sr, NAV:1486; Ashmole OG.

⁷⁷⁰ NAV:1503 Richard de la Vache, king's knight of the chamber, KG 1356.

⁷⁷¹ The details of reduction of NAV as a source of Picardian nobles is discussed in *Ch. 10.2* on the *Berry*. Another fragment NAV:459-474 was used for BER:1470-1480 with similar reduction.

Most copies are in blazon only, which implies that the original compilation was too. Taking into account that the survivors are likely to have been recopied several times, the blazon appears to be clear, without unnecessary frills, and in uniform style. It makes some use of 'the same' (*semblablement*) and named coats of arms, which leaves some details in doubt. Was the reference meant to include major differences (e.g. a bend or a border) or just the basic arms? Some names are nearly incomprehensible and could only be understood if the arms were known from other sources. It is generally well ordered by territories and rank. Sometimes members of different families were placed next to each other, if their arms had similar main charges. But there was no attempt to organize it as anything like an ordinary. The focus is on the individual and his military rank as banneret (or captain of men-at-arms) or as an individual knight bachelor. This structure places the compilation as a fair-copy written out from notes and/or older material.⁷⁷²

A couple of features, notably the provisional dating, geography and the proportion of bannerets to knights bachelors, reflects the interests of the compiler(s) and can be used to group the segments into putative sources. The overall assessment and the listings of the French and English royal families support the 1368-75 period of collation proposed by Max Prinnet in 1915 to which most commentators agree in principle.⁷⁷³ The 1396-97 period proposed by Douët d'Arcq is obviously too late. This latter period may be appropriate for the compilation of the 'original' manuscript, but not for collating its contents.

Beginning in reverse, the English segment has 72% bannerets (incl. royals and earls) of which most were active in the Anglo-French war up to the peace treaty of Brétigny in 1360. At the time of compilation this collation would have been capped by the contemporary royalty. Three other segments cover a large territory besides the descriptors and have a high percentage of bannerets: Champagne (83%), Poitou (69%) and Berry (78%). The contents of the last two may well have been collated at the same time as the English segment. Some were demonstrably active during the late phase of the war, but they are not records of men present at the battles of Crécy (1346) or Poitiers (1356). The Champagne segment appears to have been collated a decade later, not least because the Italians in it have titles and names from the 1360-1372 period. If these were left out as a separate source from a traveller to Naples and Lombardy, the French in it may have been taken down during the 1350'es like the English and southern French.

The above leaves four sets from north-western France as the focus of interest. The royal domain of Ile-de-France is a natural centre for a French armorial. But with only 135 items and 24% bannerets (excl. 14 royals) it is not particularly notable. Brittany and Anjou with 196 items and 43% bannerets together appear to have mainly participants from the later part of the Breton civil war. Most of those identified appear to be adherents of the loser Charles de Blois. This may indicate collation by a francophone sympathizer, but he would also be a Breton

⁷⁷² See overview of Navarre in *fig.5-ch.10.1n1*.

⁷⁷³ Michel Pastoureau 1368-80, Robert Nussard 1350-75, Martine Fabre c.1370, Michel Popoff c.1360.

with a good knowledge of the local nobility. However, the collation is not exhaustive, the overlap with the *Guérande*, men known to have sealed the second treaty in 1381, is small.⁷⁷⁴ The third set covers Picardy, Artois and probably also Flanders. The four segments 05-09 are of almost equal size (75-91 items) with 39-45% bannerets.⁷⁷⁵ They too were probably collated during the 1350'es. The fourth and last segment is undoubtedly the key to the armorial. The Normandy segment is the largest (461 items), three times larger than the next in order, and having only 11% bannerets. It may have been collated a decade later than the rest. Nearly 80% came from Lower Normandy, where the king of Navarre held almost half the territory.

The compilation and the collation of the Normans could well have been made by a herald of Charles II 'le mauvais' of Navarre, though the reference to the herald 'Navarre' is not present in all copies. He is and will probably always be anonymous, but Martin Carbonnel, who served as Navarre in 1368-70, is a possibility. For the major parts, the compiler must have relied on material half a generation older, of which the Bretons were collated by a sympathizer of the king of France. Charles II may have employed such a man, but his own favourite was himself, usually in intrigue against the king of France, in semi-covert alliance with the English, culminating in his arrest and near execution in Rouen in May 1354. The compiler may have travelled to Italy and kept the notes of his observations there as well as the notes behind the other segments, only to finalize them in a manuscript much copied over centuries.

10.2 *Berry*, by the king's chief herald

After having served the bibliophile collector of appanages Jean de France D.Berry (d.1416), Gilles de Bouvier (c.1385-c.1456) entered the household of the dauphin Charles (later Charles VII, r.1422-1461), being created Berry king of arms in 1420. Gilles followed the dauphin into his internal exile in Bourges, when Charles was disinherited in 1422.⁷⁷⁶ His last promotion was to Montjoie in 1451. As a herald, he appears to have undertaken most of the activities performed by his profession. He has been mentioned as messenger and participating in diplomatic missions, e.g. to the negotiations in Saumur in 1425 between the dauphin and the duke of Brittany, at the multilateral conference in Arras in 1435, to Rome in 1448, and to Lorraine in 1439, 1444 and 1450. He was also present during several of the military campaigns of the reign. In his later years he worked as a historian, completing a narrative of the reconquest of Normandy in 1449, an annotated geography, an unfinished chronicle of the reign and a likewise unfinished armorial – later named after him.⁷⁷⁷

⁷⁷⁴ Pastoureau HB, Pastoureau GUE, Fabre NAV, BnF fr.22361:11n-30n; treaty in ANF and many seals in XDD.

⁷⁷⁵ The small county of Ponthieu had 27% bannerets among 75 items for 44 families.

⁷⁷⁶ See *Ch. 15.3.6* Gilles de Bouvier.

⁷⁷⁷ E.T. Hamy: *Le livre de la description des pays*, Paris 1908 (from BnF, ms.fr.5878); H.Courtault & L.Céllier: *Les chroniques du roi Charles VII par Gilles le Bouvier*, Paris 1979.

Belloy AB (2015) has an interesting discussion on the *Berry*, its constituent parts and the imaginary arms in it, as well as a transcription of the Berlin copy, ms. 77A10 from 1520, which is paired with a copy of the *Chevaliers de la Table Ronde* (CTR).

10.2.1 Structure

According to its modern editor Emmanuel de Boos, the armorial *Berry* was begun after 1454 and left unfinished on the death of the compiler c.1456.⁷⁷⁸ The 205 sheets of mixed parchment and paper from three different manufacturers were probably left unbound, but the later binding must have left most of it in its original order.⁷⁷⁹ Some pages are blank, while others are prepared for use. The leading miniature (13v) shows the compiler presenting the book to the king. The parchment was used for the 29 finished miniatures and for what appears to be the leading pages of several segments.⁷⁸⁰ Some of these parchment pages were used for arms on banners, while others have items with name only or have been left only partially finished.⁷⁸¹

It may have been the intention of Gilles de Bouvier to present the finished armorial to the king, but in the introduction on fo.14r he leaves it to his heirs or to the monks of St.Antoine le Petit in Paris, the guardians of the 'office' of the French royal heralds.⁷⁸² If Gilles found that it became too expensive to finish it on parchment, he may have changed his mind on its intended fate and finished (as much as he could) on the much cheaper paper. The miniatures depicting French princes and used as headers for segments must have been commissioned by Gilles le Bouvier. The artist or artisan painted a series of nice pictures of men on horseback or on dais in traditional style, but without the vigour of the cavaliers in the *Toison d'or*. The three bifolios with the Nine Worthies at the end are coloured woodcuts added later. The legends identifying the princes are in a much later owner's hand, probably the genealogist du Bouchet (fl.1651). The quality of the tables of arms, 3x4 per page, and the banners, which precede some segments, is mediocre. The unfinished items on some pages and the roughly prepared pages at the end may be taken as evidence that Gilles le Bouvier himself was the painter, working from notes and whatever available sources. Some items were clearly added by later owners, and some may be overpainted. Gilles introduced his own canting coat of arms *Or 3 bull's faces gules* on fo.28v (BER:189).

Gilles le Bouvier described the intended structure with 13 chapters in the introduction on fo.14v. The French would be in the first 8 chapters, each a *marche d'armes* defined by provinces and/or borders, *royautés d'armes* except

⁷⁷⁸ The standard dating is 1454-1457 proposed by Auguste Vallet de Virville in 1866 from watermarks and notables, supported by Max Prinnet in 1932. The connétable Arthur de Richemont became D.Brittany 1457 and died 1458 (BER:1+5), and Poton de Saintralles was appointed *maréchal* in 1454 (BER:8). The modern edition of Paris, BnF, ms.fr. 4985 is Boos BER (1995) using Virville BER and the partial treatments in Prinnet AB, Storer-Clouston AB and Marot LB. A facsimile of ms.fr.4985 is available on the BnF Gallica website.

⁷⁷⁹ See the survey of the *Berry* in *fig.5-ch.10.2n1* for details of the manuscript, its partial copies and the segmentation. The BnF Gallica summary lists the parchment and blank pages.

⁷⁸⁰ The miniatures may have been painted in the workshop of Jean Fouquet. Avril JF 249-251.

⁷⁸¹ Segment 19 Brittany is wholly on parchment. One or more sheets were used in segments 06, 07, 14, 18, 19, 24, 25, 26, 29 and 32.

⁷⁸² See *Ch 15.4.2*.

for the duchés d'armes of Anjou and Normandy in chapters 4 and 5. Chapter 1 would be the Ile-de-France, 2 Berry, 3 all of the four royautés Ponthieu, Artois, Corbiois and Vermandois, 6 Champagne &c, 7 Guienne and finally 8 for Brittany. Germany, Spain, Scotland (an ally), Italy and the enemy England each had their chapters. The present discussion utilises a division into 34 segments as the manuscript has today, because many of the original chapters were unfinished, split and/or transposed before or on binding.⁷⁸³

The armorial has an introductory chapter of a 20-page written genealogy of the kings of France from Louis VIII (r.1223-1226) to Charles VII. This is followed by an armorial listing of the chancellor of France, constable and marshals, some European towns, the 12 Peers of France, and the 4 Barons. The kings include the arms of Prester John and a couple of curious variations, and at the end (fo.191r) are the tartar Khan, the sultan and the Great Turk. The main part of the armorial has the arms on painted shields (and a few banners).

10.2.2 Artois and Picardy

Viewed from the point of comparing armorials, the northern region of France is the most interesting, because it is one of only two parts where there is any indication of the sources used. The *Berry* has two segments with members living in the north. The minor selection of only 24 items on fo. 85rv, very faded and mostly with names only, makes up segment 12. The names were more or less randomly selected from all over the region, and may be left as unfinished and of little interest by itself. It may even have been abandoned when the compiler found a more interesting source to work on.

The main segment 08 with 102 items on ff. 37v-43r has many items in common with three segments (06-08) of the *Navarre*, which is in blazon only. This was not a random coincidence.⁷⁸⁴ Gilles le Bouvier must have had ready access to one of the several manuscripts of this armorial, compiled nearly a century before. He, rather ingeniously, decided to cut the effort and just copy those items of general interest for a survey of families. Whereas the Navarre-compiler split the items between three segments: Vermandois & Beauvais (NAV 06), Artois & Corbie (NAV 08) and the county of Ponthieu (NAV 07), Gilles le Bouvier kept the reduced copy as one segment. Most modern authors equate Artois with the region named for its two departments, Nord and Pas-de-Calais. The three departments to the south, Somme, Aisne and Oise constitute the modern Picardy region. Medieval Vermandois was roughly the eastern half of departement Somme and the northern half of departement Aisne. The southern half of Aisne and most of Oise were French royal domains. Beauvaisis was the north-west corner of Oise. Corbiois (with Amienois) was the part of departement Somme between Vermandois and Ponthieu, providing most of the 'Somme towns' ceded in 1435 to the duke of Burgundy. In his c.1375 compilation, the Navarre-compiler divided the northern nobility between Vermandois to the south & east and 'greater Artois' to the north & west, but

⁷⁸³ See the survey in *fig. 5-ch.10.2n1*.

⁷⁸⁴ See the discussion of the change from listing individuals to listing families in *Ch. 14.3*, and the examples in *fig.7-ch.10.2n3*.

placed Ponthieu (on the coast south of Artois) separately because they were still under formal English administration.⁷⁸⁵

Alignment of the northern French from both armorials immediately visualizes the near perfect concordance between the two sequences.⁷⁸⁶ The method employed was to remove any brisures and only keep the basic arms and the family name, possibly in an updated form. The arms of the Hangest family can be used as an example. There are 4 entries in Navarre, of which NAV:929 “aubert de Hangest” with *cross ch. 5 escallops* was chosen for transfer to BER:270 “ceulx de genli” as these arms were used by the younger line of the lords of Genlis (dep Aisne). The neighbouring entries for the senior line of the lords of Hangest (dep Somme) with the cross undifferenced (NAV:928), NAV:928*bis* with *cross and eaglet in chf dx*, and NAV:930 with *cross ch. 5 escallops & label over all* were just discarded.⁷⁸⁷ This was a simple and economic way of getting the collection done, but it had its drawbacks. One was lack of actuality, but this would be of no consequence, if was intended as a piece of historical documentation, and not a survey or registry of current noble families. Not all of the reduction from 256 entries in the *Navarre* to 102 in the *Berry* was due to the transformation of individuals into families. Most of it was due to a wholesale elimination of entries between NAV:960-1009 and NAV:1087-1146. The main seats or major possessions of most of the families can be placed on the map – and they all lie within the area covered by the three *Navarre* segments, but many lie outside the 1435 limits of Artois and the Somme towns, mostly in departement Aisne. Looking at the territorial affiliation of the eliminated families, there does not appear to be any reason for the gaps, so perhaps the copy from which Gilles le Bouvier worked was deficient, or he might have wanted to keep the segment short.

Working from a source in blazon only is difficult. One may easily skip part of a line, and reading old handwriting, especially if the text is not in the formal hand of a professional scribe, can be very difficult. Misreading the names and blazons in the *Navarre* did cause a number of mistakes, which makes a part of the concordance less evident.⁷⁸⁸ However, copying mistakes are quite common and has nothing to do with the removal of cadets from a listing.

⁷⁸⁵ For the territorial designations see *App. 2*, Popoff AP, Ranke BHM 88-98, Clemmensen OM and French wikipedia.

The border between Artois and Flanders varied with time. The duke of Burgundy held Flanders and Artois from 1384. In 1435 the 'Somme towns' (incl. Amiens and Corbie) were ceded to Artois, but in practice contested by France. Ponthieu was English 1278-1380, when it became a French royal appanage for Jean D.Touraine, 4th son of Charles IV (Jequier BEL 51).

⁷⁸⁶ The concordances of the northern French from NAV and BER are tabled in *fig. 7 - ch.14.3n1*.

⁷⁸⁷ Some of the *bis*-items in NAV are omitted in *fig. 7 - ch.10.2n1*, incl. NAV:928-*bis*.

⁷⁸⁸ Two non-existing families (BER:298 Cormont, 299 Silienes or Filiévres-II) were created mainly from changing molette to merlette and croisettes to croissant, thereby degrading the principal charge to a secondary position, see *fig.7-ch.14.3n1(c)*, and *Ch. 14.3*.

10.2.3 Other French marches

In an armorial compiled by a chief herald at a time when the realm had reasserted its sovereignty over all parts, one would expect him to utilize his connections and the resources of the crown – and to place the political and military officers as well as the marches of the king's immediate domains in prominent positions and with good coverage. The plan supports this, but the execution does not.

The 35 items of segment 03b include not only most of the important nobles of France, mentioned by title only, but 4-5 extinct lines (Harcourt, Bourbon-la-Marche, Châtillon-Blais, Montfort-l'Amaury and Dreux), a couple of their sons and brothers, two items for sons of a Lusignan king of Cyprus, which must be at least two generations back, and one item which may have been a confounded and misplaced blazon of a S.Beaumont of the Coucy-Vervins branch derived from NAV:919. Except for the arms of the dukes of Anjou and Burgundy, the arms and differences appear to be correct. There are two possible explanations for the modifications. Either the compiler removed all non-French attributions like Brabant, Limburg or Hungary, or he did not care for accuracy when representing two vassals (René d'Anjou and Philippe 'le bon') with less than close relations to the French court. René d'Anjou is present twice – as D.Anjou and as D.Bar. His younger brother Charles dit de Maine has the same arms of Anjou-Bar-Lorraine, though he would hardly be in line of inheritance.⁷⁸⁹

The first marche d'armes or kingdom of arms is the Ile-de-France, the key dominion of the kings of France. In size (131 items, all families) it is comparable to the segments in the older *Navarre*, *Urfé*, *Vermandois* and *Wijnberghen*. Two of the later armorials have larger segments, e.g. *Sicile* (206 items) and *Ruelle* (532 items). As expected with coverage of the same territory there is a considerable number of common arms, but also differences. Among the 178 items in the *Berry* and the four older armorials beginning with the letters A or B, there are 13 families in *Berry* alone, 8 in *Berry* and at least one other armorial (URF or NAV, none in WIN or VER), 62 in one of the four alone, and 17 families in at least two of the four. None of the four qualify as a source of this segment of *Berry*. In the only instance where a Christian name is present, there is Louis Bonel in BER:204 and Jean Bonel in NAV:132.

For his own province of office, Berry, Touraine and Limousin (segment 07, fo.32v-36v), Gilles le Bouvier lists only 45 entries, of which 11 are by name only. There is little overlap with other armorials. Two items were singled out as worthy of being entered as miniatures on parchment: the late duke of Berry (Jean de France, o.s.p.m.1416) as nominal head of the marche d'armes, and Jean (V) Bueil C.Sancerre (1405-1478) known as 'le fleau d'anglais' and appointed amiral de France in 1450 (BER:223). A further 8 entries were noted as bannerets (fo.34v-35r), a rare occurrence only found for Normandy (64r), Champagne (101r), and Bretagne (128v) with 6 items each. Two pages (33v-34r) were used for listing some crests and devises. Three unfinished pages with room for a maximum of 36 items is not much for a province which must have provided many mounted knights for the king's campaigns. The high percentage

⁷⁸⁹ NAV:42-43, 47-48.

of 'name only' items probably reflects the mode of work of Gilles le Bouvier rather than lack of knowledge. Nearly all of the items had coats-of-arms added in a later partial copy by the genealogist Samuel Guichenon (1605-1664) known as *armorial Guichenon* or *armorial Lascaris* (BER/b) or can be shown to be double entries of families placed in other segments.⁷⁹⁰ The neighbouring region of Bourbon (segment 09) has 119 items in two fragments of 5 and 4 consecutive pages, each followed by a sheet with only a few items on them. One of the sheets (50rv) is of parchment and the preceding sheet appears to have been cut out. Very few of the families can be found in Urfé, *Navarre* or *Rineck*, and most names and arms can be verified. Some families had their primary base in Berry

The east-to-central parts of France are sparingly represented. The large region of Champagne has only 30 entries in segment 14, of which 6 have names only and are hard to identify. Others have their base in the borderlands towards Hainaut, Ile-de-France and Burgundy. There is an appendix of 5 items in segment 23. A quarter of the 67 items on 7 pages assigned to segment 13 Burgundy are 'name only' items and the last 3 items are on separate pages. Three of the five consecutive pages are only partially filled. Most of the families can be placed in either the county or the duchy of Burgundy, but a fifth had their base either in Alsace-Lorraine, Bourbon, Savoy or Ile-de-France. Though the number is small, the collation may well be contemporary and largely for men known at court. The 'name only' item BER:699 "mess antoine de la marche" was probably for the cousin of the contemporary chronicler Oliver de la Marche, who came from Bresse on the border of Burgundy and Mâcon.

The north-west is well represented. Bretagne in segment 19 has 80 items, mostly verifiable and all on parchment, which suggests that this was among the first to have been executed. The segment appears to be near contemporary with well-known names such as Duke Pierre (d.1457), his brother and successor Richemont, the marshal Retz *al.* Gilles de Rais (o.s.p.m.1440), and other famous names. Most of the Breton arms can be found in the *Navarre*, but there are no indications of concordance. The neighbours to the east, Anjou, Maine and Touraine, in segment 11 have 91 items of which 17 are 'name only'. The first table page (81r) has 3 arms and 9 'name only'. Nearly all can be verified. The segment borders on Berry-Limousin to its south-east. The last and largest of these regions is Normandy with 75 and 96 items in two segments (10 and 28). Most of the former and nearly all of the latter have parallels in *Navarre* (461 items) and *Urfé* (152 items), but with little evidence of concordance. However there are some 10 pairs doubling names and arms between the segments, which indicate that these must come from two collations rather than from reshuffling the pages. The legend in the first item (BER:487/58v) referring to Charles, son of king Charles V (d.1380) is a later addition. Nevertheless, one or both of the sources may have been either old or English, though in the latter case all new Anglo-Norman except possibly the odd Tiptoft entry in BER:1402 have been wetted out.⁷⁹¹ Normandy had been under English rule for more than a

⁷⁹⁰ The identification of 'name only' items was made by Emmanuel de Boos. There is no discussion on the geographical bases of the various families in his edition.

⁷⁹¹ The Tiptoft or Tibetot came from Normandy, but had both English and French branches, which used identical arms. John Tiptoft was created E.Worcester in 1449 in

generation since the battle of Agincourt 1417 and was only finally brought back with the expulsion of the English after their defeat at Formigny in 1450. Gilles le Bouvier was deeply involved in the reconstruction of French Normandy and may easily have obtained a list of arms during his missions.

The south of France has been given five segments, of which the first for Guienne

(segment 16) consists of only two miniatures, and may be taken not as a segment, but an introduction to the following territorial lists.⁷⁹² The coastal part had only recently and after the battle of Castillon in 1453 come under French control. The inland part had for centuries been French, but the southwest from Savoy to Provence (segments 20 and 22; 73 and 43 items) was formally part of the HRR and only under loose French domination. Families from Dauphiné, French for a century, were placed ahead of the other south-westerners, mostly Savoyards, but without any members of the ducal family.⁷⁹³ A score of the items (BER:1165-1185) are in almost the same order as RYN:909-930 and have the same first names. The collations were probably near contemporary.

To the north of Aquitaine/Guienne we find 48 items for Poitevins in segment 17, mostly names and arms found in several armorials. There are no 'name only' items in this segment. The last segment (no.18, 102 items, fo.116r-121r) titled Languedoc in the top left corner of fo.116r appears to have more names from Gascony than for Languedoc. There are a dozen 'name only' items, most of which have names that should have been easy to combine with the appropriate coats of arms, e.g. Mirepoix and Florenzac. Even one of the two leaves of parchment (fo.118) in the segment has 7 out of 24 items without arms.⁷⁹⁴ The names include the famous commanders Saintralles (maréchal de France 1454) and Vignolles dit La Hire (d.1443).

10.2.4 Armigers from Lorraine

Assessing inhabitants of borderlands over time is always a challenge. What is today the eastern part of France was during the Middle Ages part of the Holy Roman Empire, though most spoke a French dialect. The mostly German-speaking Alsace in the extreme north-eastern corner bordering the Rhine was of no interest to a French royal herald, but those territories were ruled or under the influence of a French prince. So Lorraine, Savoy and the county palatine of Burgundy (Franche-Comté) ought to be included. The latter was by tradition

recognition of his service in Normandy. The arms in BER:1402 are a cross engrailed whereas the Tiptoft arms are a saltire engrailed as in URF:1354 and English armorials.

⁷⁹² The territory now covered by the region Aquitaine, the southern part of region Poitou-Charentes and depts Gers and Tarn-et-Garonne was at various times held by the king of England as duke of Aquitaine, but also known by partially overlapping designations like Guienne/Guyenne and Gascony as well as by individual localities. Guienne was also a title used by the eldest (surviving) son of the king of France.

⁷⁹³ For the extent of Savoy at the time see Leguay 2:300. Segment 20b has the header 'sauoie' in the right margin above the 3rd row on fo.139r. The lead item in segment 22 is BER:1153 Humbert C.Romont & S.Montagny, fl.1379, d.1443, bâtard de Savoie, natural son of Amadée VII, and is named 1415 in ARK:210 with the emblems of the Order of the Dragon and the order of the Collier; ESNF 2:192, XDD:11670.

⁷⁹⁴ The other leaf is fo.119 with a miniature of the count of Foix.

and most easily joined with the duchy of Burgundy as belonging to the French marches, while Savoy, which included parts of modern Switzerland, went to the foreigners.

The modern region of Lorraine, which at the time was fragmented into three dioceses (Metz, Toul and Verdun) and some lordships dependent on the two duchies of Lorraine and Bar, has two segments in the *Berry*: segments 15 Bar and 31 Lorraine. The entries in both segments have parallels in a number of later armorials made in the region. Given that Gilles le Bouvier lived in west-central France and that the armorial was made shortly before he died and probably never left that region, it is most likely that the similarity was due to the use of a common source. The details of the source and descendance will be discussed in the next subchapter.⁷⁹⁵

The placing of the two segments is of some interest. The first (segment 15 of Bar and Pont-à-Musson) has 46 items placed just after a segment with family arms from the neighbouring Champagne and Burgundy and before segments from the west coast of France. So the Bar segment was definitely placed among the French. Lorraine (segment 31 with 70 items, from Lorraine and Metz) on the contrary was placed among the foreigners, tucked away between Italians and the English. The reason for the difference may have been due to a French prince, René d'Anjou (1409-1480), who inherited the duchy in 1430. René also got the duchy of Lorraine by marriage, but by the mid 15th century, his son Jean (d.1470) would have come of age and have succeeded to both Bar and Lorraine. Because his inheritance to Lorraine came by a non-French blood-line, this *marche d'armes* would stay foreign, while Bar would go into France as an Anjou inheritance.

Gilles le Bouvier probably obtained the list of arms during one of his missions to the region on behalf of the king of France.⁷⁹⁶ In 1450, he went twice to Metz to mediate in the disagreements between the burghers and duke René of Lorraine regarding the conditions after the war of 1444-45. The accord was celebrated with a mass led by the bishop of Metz Conrad II von Bayer und Boppard (r.1415-59), who has his personal arms appended to the Metz part of the Lorraine segment (BER:1446, s.n.). His first missions were in 1439-1440 during the war of succession between René d'Anjou and the pretender Antoine de Vaudemont.

10.2.5 Foreigners

Most of western Christianity is represented in the armorial. Besides the regular list of kings following the most important European towns, there are seven sets of foreign 'marches' at the end of the armorial. The segment of kings (03a) has 22 entries which allows for all countries and a few attributions (Ireland, Trinacia or Hohenstaufian Sicily, Frisia, and Grenada). Except for Norway and Sweden, which have been compressed into one, all arms are essentially correct.

⁷⁹⁵ See *Ch. 10.3.3* on the Lorrainian armigers in the *Rineck*, and *Ch. 10.4* for those in the clones.

⁷⁹⁶ Marot GB 282-283.

The semi-French foreigners comprise Hainaut (segment 24, 45 items) as part of 'Greater Burgundy', Lorraine and 43 items from Savoy (segment 22). The Holy Roman Empire has 60 items in two parts, where segment 21 has a leaf with prominent German nobles, the names of some dukes and a parchment verso page with 3 arms, probably of Bohemians. The second segment (25) has only princely dukes and counts from Brabant to Swabia. The legends of segment 21 and some of the names in segment 25 are garbled, and the selection appears to have come from a nearly illegible source. But it may have been hard to come by a good selection of German arms in Paris. All of the *Urfé*, *Navarre* and *Vermandois* have next to none and they are of bad quality. Spain is represented by two pages, one of parchment, with a total of 10 arms of nobles from Aragon, Castile and Navarre, half of which can be found in *Rineck*, *Urfé* and the much later *Charolais*. The 66 Italians from segment 30 is of very fine quality. Most of the first half of these is also in the *Rineck*, but in different order.

The last pair of foreigners is the numerous allied Scots with 126 items in segments 27 and 29, and all of 183 enemies from England in segment 32. The Scots were probably taken from two or more collations of the Scottish mercenaries, who served in the French armies during the later part of the Hundred Years' War. The arms are surprisingly correct, while many legends are nearly incomprehensible. The legends naming the English are quite good and the arms are generally correct. Many of the names were well-known as campaigners in France over the years. Others, like the earls of Warenne and Hereford, were famous some generations back, but with reputations that must have been well-known among the French heralds. The list could have been compiled at any time during the last half-century and added to over the years. Many names would come naturally to any collection of English nobles – and can be found in armorials such as the English *Willement* or the Burgundian *Toison d'or*. The compilation does not appear to have any known parallel, but the markers present pose two problems. One is exemplified by the unique quarterings in BER:1736 “mess guillaume hocton”, which can be found in the *Toison d'or* group and in its satellite RUE:3762.⁷⁹⁷ The other is the parallel occurrence of the unidentified quarterings for “le sr de rotelein” in BER:1679 and RYN:1188. A similar parallelism is the mislabelling of the FitzWarin arms as “le sr de cornoalle” in BER:1665, RYN:1182 and RUE:3548.

10.2.6 Imaginary arms

The few imaginary arms in the *Berry* are divided between two standard sets: the Twelve Pairs of France (supplemented with four barons), which were supposedly companions of Charlemagne, and the Nine Worthies, supplemented with Prester John (BER:18) and a few heathen princes.⁷⁹⁸ The list of Christian kings had a single Moslem added. The king of Granada, which at the time held the south of Spain, is BER:36, but not with the usual canting apples, but with 3 moor's heads, a charge usually used for Turks, e.g. in

⁷⁹⁷ William Bocton, bailiff & captain of Mantes & Lisieux 1430-1437, used a somewhat different, but ambiguously described, seal in XRO:1623 and XRO:2290, arms in ETO:800 a.o.

⁷⁹⁸ For the 12 pairs and 4 barons, segments 04-05, BER:75-90, placed among the princes, the barons as bannerets, see *Ch. 13.4*. The 9 worthies, segment 34, BER:1833-1841, see *Ch. 13.3*.

RYN:80. The other three heathens were tucked in at the end with Mongol or Tartar khan, the ottoman Turk and the Mamluk sultan from Cairo. The set may well have been copied from a source seen in Metz. The Mamluk sultan was named for (Lesser) Babylonia or Bab-al-yun, the town founded by Cambyses in 525 BC. The coat of arms (fess, chalice and bread) is not only peculiar, but also present in RYN:60, suggesting that Gilles le Bouvier got more than just the Lorrainian arms out of his missions to the east. It may have been part of a Swabian tradition as a variant is present in the *St.Gallen-Haggenberg* (SGH:142). The *cloth hanging across a rod* for the tartar khan in BER:191r1 is also found anonymous on the heathen warrior jousting the king of France on ERQ:17v – by a Burgundian herald.⁷⁹⁹

10.2.7 Berry evaluated

As is the case in the analysis of most armorials, it was not possible to combine the analysis of content with a codicological analysis giving the exact composition and placing of the quires. But there is information on the use of parchment, blank pages, and photographs of the ends of the book. The general impression is that the book is now bound with the 206 leaves in 18 mostly thick quires, some with inserted sub-quires.⁸⁰⁰ Most armorials and manuscript books have quires of 3-4 folded sheets (bifolios) making 6-8 leaves (folios) or 12-16 pages. The present book is more irregular and appears to have thicker quires with combinations of paper and parchment sheets. Combining information on the content with a putative set of quires can shed light on problems from the structure of the armorial and whether the present order is likely to be the one conceived for the book.

The physical placing of the segments 27-32 (Scots, English, Italian, Norman and Lorrainian) on three quire sets (R-T, ff.152-191) sheds light on the packing and addition of parchment and paper leaves, if not on any shuffling of leaves – and as a consequence of segments. In the middle is quire S, a mix of paper and parchment leaves, which can be rationalized into folded sheets (*a-d*). Folios 167-170 (*b*) are two blank folded parchment sheets stuck into quire S just behind the lead *a*-leaf (166rv, Scots). Another blank folded parchment sheet (172/175, *d*) is placed in between two paper sheets (173/174, 171/176, *e*, Italians) making a second sub-quire. The closing parchment leaf (177, *a*) is blank. The result is that segment 30 Italians now appears to consist of three ‘sub-segments’. The second segment of Scots (29) on the parchment fo.166rv is probably from a different source than the first (27) painted on five paper leaves (ff.157-161) in quire set R. The tightness of the binding did not allow for splitting quire sets R and T into subsets, but by content there are five subsets in R: Brabant (25b; 152r, parchment), Spain (26; 153v, parchment; 154v, paper), blank leaves/sheet (155-156, paper), Scots (27; 157-161, paper) and Normans (28; 162-165, paper). Quire set T has four sub-sets: two blank parchment leaves (178-179), Lorraine-Metz (31; 180-182, paper, probably half-sheets glued together), first part of an England segment (32a; 183-188, paper), second part of England (32b; 189r-190r, parchment), a row of three imaginary arms (33; 191r, parchment). Each

⁷⁹⁹ ERQ, *armorial équestre de Gilles de Rebecque*, Vienna, AOTdO, ms.57, is a satellite of the TOISON D'OR group, probably painted c.1460.

⁸⁰⁰ See *fig. 6 - ch.10.2n2*, quires and leaves in *Berry*.

sub-set is most likely a quire, whether a single half-sheet (33), three folded sheets (32a) or half-sheets glued together (31). The overall structure is probably as planned, and it may have been Gilles le Bouvier himself who stacked blank sheets between his half-finished quires.

One of the two major sources identified was a copy of the *Navarre*. This armorial (or the NAV 02, 04, 06-08, and 11 parts) was used with reduction of items for Artois (segment 08) and possibly consulted for Normandy (segments 10 and 28), Brittany (segment 19), Anjou (segment 11) and the South (segments 17-18), involving at most 595 items (34%). The other Navarre segments, including entries from Ile-de-France, Champagne, Flanders, and England were not used. The other major source identified was one or more manuscripts seen while Gilles le Bouvier was in Lorraine, possibly as late as 1450, a few years before the work started. The Lorraine-Bar items (segments 15 and 31, 116 items) were directly copied from the (unknown) source, while some compilations of Spaniards, Italians and Savoyards, which later went into the *Rineck* (RYN segments 09-10, 28, and 41-42; 119 items), may have been consulted.⁸⁰¹ Even with the royal officers, princes and towns, which he may have known by heart, this only adds up to 52% and leaves half the contents to come from sources unaccounted for. Most, if not all, of the remaining segments appear to be 'updated' versions of older collations, even those of the princes.⁸⁰² As noted for the English and the imaginary arms in *Berry*, some of the sources named here as Lorrainian may have been derived from works by Burgundian heralds.

The artistic value is low, even for the miniatures. The crude drawings used for the tables of arms point to Gilles le Bouvier himself having done the painting. The outmoded and variable styles for drawing lions and eagles probably reflects the style used in the sources.⁸⁰³ As several styles of lion are placed together on one page, the modus of operation would be pick-and-mix from several sources present. One may argue that the rough paper images suggest that they were drafts for a professional illustrator, but in this case why use parchment too?

The overall impression of the armorial *Berry* is that it is a work by an old man, who had intended to make a grand collection of the arms of the nobility of the world to be achieved by selective copying from some recently collected manuscripts, but was unable to afford, execute and complete the venture.

10.3 *Rineck*, for the town governor

The manuscript, which has the *Rineck* (RYN) armorial or *Liber armorum familiarum in Europa occidentali* on folios 1r-153r, has three other parts, two small treatises on heraldry and arms and one on the history of Luxembourg.⁸⁰⁴ The

⁸⁰¹ The Lorraine-Bar entries in *Rineck* are RYN segments 01, 11, 16, 44, 48.

⁸⁰² The two sons of the king of Cyprus in BER:72-73 cannot be later than the sons of Jacques I (d.1398), ESNF 3:566.

⁸⁰³ See *fig.8-ch.10.2n4*, figure styles.

⁸⁰⁴ ÖNB, ms.3336 (RYN). Much of this subchapter is based on the introduction, transcriptions and references to the armorials CSG, NAN and SAV in Blanchard RYN. See the survey of the corresponding segments in other armorials in *fig. 5 - ch.10.3n1*. Some items have names only, while a few have crests added in the margin.

armorial has neatly painted shields with legends in a French bastarda and additions in later cursive, which was also used for one of the treatises and the history. The first treatise was written in a second French bastarda. The manuscript is dated 1473 on fo. 1r, and Jean-Christophe Blanchard has identified the first two owners: André de Rineck (1444-1527), a patrician and sometime governor of the town of Metz (dep Moselle) in Lorraine, whose arms are on the frontispiece (1^{av}), and Nicolas (IV) de Heu (1494-1547), who probably handed it over to the imperial library. It was mentioned in an inventory of 1576. The tables of arms in a regular 4x4 layout were probably executed by the Strasburgian artisan Jost Haller, who worked in Metz at the time.

The present compilation is probably of the written date, 1473, but the various segments were collated over a long period, at least from 1380 to 1470. The *Rineck* has three major components: people related to the owners, people from the town of Metz, and items copied from older armorials (or sources or fragments), notably the *Berry* and *Urfé*.⁸⁰⁵ It was itself the main source of several near contemporary armorials, which may be regarded as clones (see *Chapter 10.4*). The present segmentation has grouped a number of pages with one or a few items only into 'miscellaneous marches'. These items may have been intended as lead items of the appropriate *marche d'armes*.⁸⁰⁶ They include both French and German princes as well as the odd kingdom.

10.3.1 Rineck and Heu families

The arms (a bull-like ram) of the commissioner of the manuscript, André de Rineck or Rineck, are on the back of the frontispiece (1^{ar}), which carries the crucifix and scourges of the Saviour together with an explanatory text. It is accompanied by a Catherine wheel and a Greek cross in remembrance of a pilgrimage to Cyprus and Jerusalem. These are the arms of the Franconians Vogt von Rieneck, ancient ministeriales of the counts von Rieneck from Rieneck a/d Sinn (Kr. Gmünd, UFr.). Both families were living at the time. The four paternal ancestors of André were placed in the bottom row of fo.116r in the middle of a segment of nobles from Franconia.⁸⁰⁷ The arms of the ancestors of his mother and wife are presently in the back of the armorial in two segments of four placed between arms of people from Metz, while one segment for relatives and relations of Nicolas Heu with 45 items were placed after men from the Metz region, Basle and Strasbourg.⁸⁰⁸

The family members of André de Rineck were certainly placed with the intent of showing their region of origin as well as the ancestry of his wife and himself. The next owner emulated him to a larger extent giving all 16 quarters for his mother – proof of the honourable ancestry of an imperial official. For the

⁸⁰⁵ For *Berry* (BER) see *Ch. 10.2*, and for *Urfé* (URF) see *Ch. 8.1*.

⁸⁰⁶ Of the 1502 entries in Blanchard RYN, he divides on p.16 the 1217 items in a uniform corpus into 81 marches, whereas the present survey has all 1502 in only 52 marches.

⁸⁰⁷ Fo.116r-119r are presently segments 31-33, items 965-1064.

⁸⁰⁸ The Rineck relations are RYN:1300-1303 and 1316-1319 among the men of Metz in RYN:1292-1429 on fo.142r-146v, and the last segment 52 (RYN:1458-1502). The Rineck relations were omitted by the copyists of CSG and NAN.

copyists these clearly marked personal items were of no interest and were omitted.⁸⁰⁹

10.3.2 Metz

Besides the relatives of the two owners, all of the last part of the armorial from fo.142r to 153r concerns families from the region of Metz, the town and the arrondissement Metz-Campagne. Some items have names only, possibly indicating that these names may only be for lordships or villages, and not for contemporary families. The source was probably a registry of arms of the town's patricians and neighbouring nobility like the one found in BSB, Cod.Icon. 283:451n-461n (AMM).⁸¹⁰ The first 130 items, excl. family, were painted for André de Rineck. The two pages, 147r and 149r, each with two names from Strasbourg and Basle may also have been commissioned by André, but the remainder were made for Nicolas de Heu.

The available documentation does not allow a precise date for the collation, but it could be some 50 ears older than the compilation, e.g. RYN:1382 Jean Noiron (d.1420) with a quarter of his maternal arms, or it may have come from documents with names and arms added over the years.

10.3.3 Lorraine

The four departements in the present region of Lorraine correspond to the 17th century duchy, but the medieval duchy of Lorraine was much smaller. The region was partitioned into the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, the marquisate of Pont-à-Musson (all ruled by the younger Anjou dynasty), and the three dioceses Metz, Toul and Verdun, plus a few minor lordships. The dioceses, especially Metz, held several major lordships, e.g. Moyenvic, Lorquin and Baccarat.⁸¹¹ To the north it bordered the duchy of Luxembourg. The language was French, except for the people living in the north-east along the river Sarre.

The *Rineck* has three segments designated to Lorraine, Bar and Pont-à-Musson (nos. 07, 11, 16) with 06 Luxembourg, 12 Liège (5 name-only items) and 15 with 5 entries led by arms of Anjou. The former three segments appear to be derived from the *Berry*, or rather from the same source. The arms for the marquis de Pont-à-Musson, *Azure crusily Or* (BER:776, RYN:405), can only be found in *Berry* and armorials from Lorraine, probably derived from *Rineck*. These arms must be an unfinished version of the arms of Bar, which used the 2 *barbels addorsed* from as early as 1180.

The collation of the arms could have been made earlier than the making of the *Rineck* armorial. As noted above, the compiler of *Berry*, the herald Gilles le Bouvier probably obtained the 'Lorraine' arms during one of his missions to

⁸⁰⁹ See *Ch. 10.4*, the concordances indicate copying from ÖNB, ms.3336 (RYN), and not from its sources or a clone.

⁸¹⁰ The AMM has many similar items, but in different sequence. This is part of a 4-volume set of books from c.1660 with altogether 25.663 arms, presently BSB, cod.icon.281-284.

⁸¹¹ Parisse HL, maps 2, 23.

Metz and Lorraine during 1439-1450.⁸¹² One of the entries in the 'Anjou' segment 15 is for Pierre (II) de Brézé (1412-1465), a soldier who was knighted by Charles d'Anjou C.Maine in 1434, had close relations to the family, and was later appointed sénéchal of Maine, Poitou and Normandy.⁸¹³ The few datable elements also support an earlier collation: Simon d'Anglure S.Etoges (d.1485), councillor of René d'Anjou 1430-1440 (BER:814, RYN:598); and Louis de Florainville, bailli de Bar 1445-63 (BER:817, RYN:600). Pierre (II) de Bar S.Pierrefort (1343-1380) does not fit this period, but could have been added as RYN:408 from URF:1050, where he has the same arms.⁸¹⁴

The 'Lorraine' segments in *Rineck* have the same structure and their relationship to the corresponding segments in *Berry* is similar.⁸¹⁵ There is an overall concordance in unbroken sequence, but with inserts not found in *Berry*. All the *Rineck* segments end with a tails of 'name only' items. The number of inserts increases towards the end of the segments. The *Berry* segments 15 and 31 were split in halves to make *Rineck* segments 07, 11 and 16, and only the first half of 31 was used (31a with 48 of 70 items). The full 'Lorraine' overlap of *Rineck* (148 items) with *Berry* (116 items) has 106 items in common, because most of BER 31b was incorporated into one of the 'Metz' segments (no.44).

Considering that Gilles le Bouvier probably spent his last years in Paris, or perhaps in Bourges, and that he stipulated the armorial to be placed in the rooms of the French heralds in St.Antoine-le-Petit in Paris, it is less likely that this part of the *Rineck* was derived directly from the *Berry*. It is more likely that a close copy of the common source was kept in the town archives in Metz, easily accessible for the town governor. From the contents and the fact that the same selection was used by other armorials painted in Lorraine, the collation may have been made by a herald of René d'Anjou, who in 1431 had newly inherited the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, and who some years later returned to his capital Nancy after having been held captive by the duke of Burgundy.⁸¹⁶ But this is pure speculation.

10.3.4 Other Francophone

The *Rineck* has a large segment, no. 14, with 109 entries with the arms of important French families from royal dukes, down the ranks through the count of Flanders and the extinct count of Toulouse to important lords like the Joinville and the Grandpre. The collations could have been done at almost any time. The presence of Richemont in RYN:489, connétable de France 1425, who

⁸¹² *Ch. 15.3.6.* Blanchard JHA 86 proposed that the Lorraine armorials *and possibly the Berry* were derived from a common source dating back to 1430-1450, the reign of René 'bon' d'Anjou.

⁸¹³ Wikipedia, DBF 2:261-263 (Brézé, RYN:570);

⁸¹⁴ Blanchard RYN 97 discussed the brisures used by the Pierrefort branch, but did not specify whether there was a bordure for Pierre (II). The arms are not in BER.

⁸¹⁵ Blanchard RYN 20 is wrong in supposing the Lorraine segment had the same origin as in the *Urfe*. There is no overlap between URF 20 and RYN 07, only the headers are similar.

⁸¹⁶ The *Lutzelbourg* (NLU), *Clémery* (CLE), and *Haraucourt* (JHA) armorials, all from the 16th century, have the Lorraine items and were made in Nancy, see *Ch. 7.4.*

died in 1458 as D.Brittany, has little weight, as the name was famous. The segment has the common tail of 'name only' items and is present in the clones.

Two of the three French segments (RYN 18-19) were copied from a clone of the *Urfé* (URF segments 04-05 for Guienne or Aquitaine, and 21 for Champagne). Both have most of the items concordant with some transpositions and inserts. The third segment (RYN 29, 21 items, 98rv) for Franche-Comté is a little complicated. A few of the items match fragments in the *Urfé*, but with families from the Champenois and Bourbonnais and a single Savoyard (Grailly), who at the time were better known in Guienne, it could be something added as a supplement.

The Savoyards are presently split among three segments, of which the items in segments RYN 22-23 are continuously numbered from 1(S) to 105 (S). The split was caused by the appearance of the Visconti arms in RYN:817 as fo.73r1, added to an item for du Saix.⁸¹⁷ Most items belong to relatively unknown families, are not dateable and could well have been collated by a Savoyard herald. The third segment, no.28 (24 items, 94r-96r) is headed by the sun arms of the Baux (RYN:909, BER:1183), of which the principal branch were princes of Orange in Provence until 1418. The segment is concordant with a part of the *Berry* segment 22 (BER:1165-1185) with an unspecified tail. Some of the items, e.g. Villeneuve S.Tourrette-des-Vence (RYN:925), modern Tourette-sur-Loup (dep Alps Maritimes) can be placed in Provence. This fragment could well have been obtained together with the Lorrainian coats of arms, as René 'le bon roi' d'Anjou was also C.Provence.

10.3.5 Imaginary arms

The imaginary arms in *Rineck* fall into three sets: the Three Magi and the Nine Worthies, which probably came from a German source, a list of fabulous kingdoms and a literary set, both derived from the *Urfé*. One may also add the Douze Pairs de France in segment 13 to the imaginary arms. This is a common 15th century element, which often heads a list of French coats of arms.

The Three Magi were closely bound to the story of the birth of Jesus Christ in Bethlehem and as such well known in the iconography of all Christian countries, but they were especially revered in Cologne. As the champions of knightly virtues the Nine Worthies also enjoyed widespread representation from tapestries to armorials. In France nine preuses (amazons, jewesses, pagan ladies) supplemented the Neuf Preux, while in Germany additional triads were added to make the group of Ternionen.⁸¹⁸ The same three images were attributed to all of the magi by the various compilers and artists, but the *Rineck* selection uses the iconography also present in the *Gelre* and other Burgundian armorials. Some of the images for the worthies are unique for the *Rineck*, e.g. Judas, Arthur, Caesar and Hector, while others, e.g. Alexander, resemble those derived from the *Richental* chronicle.⁸¹⁹ A few may well be derived from that by

⁸¹⁷ Blanchard RYN 147, nos. 817 [54(S)] and 817 bis.

⁸¹⁸ See *Ch. 13.4.1* and Clemmensen NW for discussion and details of the Ternionen.

⁸¹⁹ Manuscript copies of the *Richental* were available when the *Rineck* was compiled. The printed version was published later, in 1483.

transposition of legends, e.g. the sun for Joshua and the stag's faces for Caesar – not unlike the bull's heads used for Joshua by Konrad Grünenberg and Hans Burgmair. The addition of the connétable Bertrand de Guesclin (RYN:18, d.1380) became fashionable early in the 15th century.⁸²⁰

The list of fabulous kingdoms, which follows the Christian ones, was simply copied from a version of segment 48 in the *Urfé*.⁸²¹ Similarly, the literary heroes of the knightly romances from Alexander the Great, Arthur Pendragon and the Knights of the Round Table to Charlemagne and Richard 'Lionheart' and sultan Saladin, were copied from segments 49-53 of the *Urfé*. The differences in the naming of heroes and in the rendering of arms are only to be expected, when copying from a clone in blazon only. These segments may not have been an integral part of the original late 14th century compilation of the *Urfé*.⁸²² A notable addition is RYN:1081 for the sons of Aymon, heroes of the *chanson de geste* 'Renaud de Montauban'.⁸²³

10.3.6 Foreigners

Three segments, 41 Aragon-Sicily, 42 Portugal-Castile, and 43 Navarre, display the arms of 76 nobles from the Iberian Peninsula. These were all copied from segments 39-41 in the *Urfé*. The 29 Italians in segments 09 and 10 were extracted from 66 names in *Berry* segment 30 (BER:1511-1576), incl. a dozen with names only.⁸²⁴ Most of these come from the duchy of Milan or the Papal States.

The English segment (no. 39) is a little problematic. The members of the royal family appear to be the brothers of Henry V (r.1413-1422), of which Thomas D.Clarence died in 1421. The selection includes the arms of the D.Lancaster and those of the Prince of Wales, neither of which were unknown for men acquainted with the campaigns of the Anglo-French wars. Variants of this selection can be found in *Toison d'or* clones, e.g. *Bergshammar*, *Lyncenich* and *Lutzembourg*. It is a smallish selection of only 35 items compared to the 170-odd in the TOISON D'OR group. The arms of the earls of Derby and Kent are also similar to those of the group. However, the segment includes one marker item from the *Berry*, "le sr de rotelein" (BER:1679, RYN:1188), and nearly all items are also present in the *Berry*. One marker, Guillaume Roucel (RYN:1184), is unique for the armorials from Lorraine. The most likely explanation is that the Rineck compiler used a fragment similar to the one used for the *Berry* in conjunction with a *Toison d'or* clone, like those used for the *Lutzembourg* and the *Clémery*.

The last group of foreigners consists of five from Baden-Württemberg (RYN 25), another fifteen from the Palatine (RYN 27) and a larger group of 96

⁸²⁰ Present in in LBR:46, URF:2854, ERQ:19, see Clemmensen NW 20 (2nd Ed, 2017).

⁸²¹ See *fig.5 - ch.8.1n1* survey of *Urfé*. The Metz patriariate was interested in the Arthurian cycle, as mentioned in Blanchard RYN 25-26.

⁸²² See the discussion of a possible later appendix in *Urfé* with segments 45-54 in *Ch. 8.1.7*.

⁸²³ Brault RAE 2:162; Gauvard DM 1202.

⁸²⁴ That is, as always, not from the *fr.4985* manuscript, but from the source common to BER and RYN.

names, primarily from Franconia (RYN 31, 33). Except for a few, all names in the two former are of well-known families, who probably had dealings with the merchants of Metz. The latter group comes from an unknown German collation, and has names which are common in the examined armorials.

10.4 One for me too

The armorial commissioned by André de Rineck must have been shown to other notables, because it was copied twice within a few decades, and probably by the same artisan for members of the same patrician family group from Metz. When André de Rineck died in 1527, the RYN was inherited by Nicolas Heu, but other parts of the inheritance went to Nicolas and Philippe de Raigecourt.⁸²⁵ This family is also mentioned in the *Lutzembourg* armorial, where a series of ancestors is mentioned on NLU:2v and 38v and in NLU segment 13. The larger of the two near contemporary clones is the *Coislin-Séguier* (CSG, >1495).⁸²⁶ It has never been edited as such, but is cited extensively by Jean-Christophe Blanchard and is available in facsimile with a few notes. Like the *Rineck*, it has a couple of short treatises on blazon appended. These are known from other sources. The shorter copy *Nancy* (NAN, c.1480) is not available to the public, except at the holding institution.⁸²⁷

10.4.1 The contemporary clones

The *Coislin-Séguier* and the *Nancy* both have the common segments from the group in the same sequence as in the *Rineck*, except for the CSG which has a series numbered CSG:1500-1603 (RYN segments 22b and 23 Savoy) inserted between CSG:757/759. This series is not present in the NAN. Neither CSG nor NAN has the Franconians in RYN segments 31-33, nor the members of the Rineck and Heu families. NAN has also omitted (or lost) the Bar segment 16 and some of the Savoyards mentioned above as well as a fair number of single page items from RYN.

There are a few gaps and transpositions in both CSG and NAN compared to RYN, but this is to be expected in any copying of an armorial. Both armorials have some of the 'name only' items inserted in the main sequence rather than left at the end of a segment. The younger CSG have more 'name only' items than NAN, but the insertions are at the same places in the sequence, which could be taken as evidence that both CSG and NAN were copied from the source of RYN rather than from the RYN itself.⁸²⁸ In a few instances, both CSG and NAN have the same omissions. RYN:278 “montegni” with 3 double coloured annulets is missing in both, and in CSG:281 replaced by a lion crowned, corresponding to the unknown item in NAN:258. They also tend to have the same extracts, e.g. CSG:839-846 and NAN:722-729 among the

⁸²⁵ Blanchard RYN 15.

⁸²⁶ BnF, ms.fr.18651 (CSG), facsimile on www.gallica.bnf.fr, c. 1600 items, of which 1289 items are referenced in Blanchard RYN. Painted after 1495, when Württemberg was erected a duchy, as evidenced by RYN:874 'Sr de ..', CSG:762 'Duc de ..', NAN:645 'Sr de ..' (Blanchard RYN 22). It was also referred to as PRT/b, as it include a version of the treatise on blazon by Clément Prinsault.

⁸²⁷ Nancy, Bibl.Municipale, ms.980 (NAN), at least 1100 items, of which 1027 were referenced in Blanchard RYN.

⁸²⁸ E.g. RYN:172 “le duc de westfol” as CSG:122 and NAN:111.

Franconians in RYN:964-981. The actual layout used for the NAN was not described in Blanchard RYN, but the CSG has many pages with the outlines of shields ruled in ink in a 4x4 layout – evidence of a more ambitious project, which in the end was abandoned. The CSG may have parallel sequences, but is not a page by page copy. The pictorial styles are similar in CSG and RYN, though the shields are more pointed in CSG. Curiously all three armorials have the complicated Lantfriede seal of 1346-47, which was based on the arms of Adhémar de Montel Bp.Metz 1327-61 and of the regent of Lorraine, Marie de Blois.⁸²⁹

The evidence for the dating of both armorial manuscripts is relatively flimsy, but, if accepted, rules out that NAN could have been copied from CSG. But for the parallel omissions and extracts, both manuscripts could have been copied from the RYN. If the relative dating is not accepted, the NAN would likely have been copied from the CSG. The arguments support the proposal by Jean-Christophe Blanchard that all three armorials were compiled in parallel,⁸³⁰ and it is possible that this source was a composite armorial (now lost) and not a bundle of fragments. It is possible that the source armorial was made for Jean d'Anjou D.Lorraine (d.1470) before 1453 as proposed by Blanchard and based on the names of Anglure, Brézé and Florainville in RYN:569-570, 598, 600 and 400 and 403.⁸³¹ If so, how did it come from the ducal library in Nancy into the hands of a group of patricians in the independently minded town of Metz? It does not seem necessary to include an intermediate version similar to the NAN.

10.4.2 The later clones

Much of the material in this group can be found in a couple of later armorials, e.g. the medium-sized 17th century armorial *Savelli* (SAV), which has most of the segments in the *Rineck*, except those for the men of Metz, the Germans and the imaginary arms from the *Urfj.*⁸³² In addition, the *Savelli* has some elements taken from another unknown source. From the general concordance (SAV:1-250 a mix of Italians among 735-811, 251-732, a mix of Iberians among 733-864), this armorial must have been copied from the *Rineck* rather than from the *Coislin-Séguier*. The three have an important marker from RYN:554 *Argent a crampon in bend gules between 2 mullets sable*, which is a confounded coat of arms entered by a later and coarser hand in RYN on an original legend “conte de merle”. The legend was probably intended for the Norman C.Meulan, but is also found with the main hand in CSG:505 and SAV:386. The items SAV:166-171, 207 and 679 have no corresponding items in the CSG. The concordance is less strict than observed with the CSG and the NAN, and there are many inserts, not reported here.

The much larger *armorial lorrain de la Ruelle* (RUE)⁸³³ does have some markers in common with the *Rineck* and large overlaps among the Lorrainian arms

⁸²⁹ RYN:142r/1293, CSG:1075 and NAN:956, reproduced in Blanchard RYN.

⁸³⁰ Blanchard RYN 22.

⁸³¹ Blanchard RYN 22.

⁸³² Paris, ANdF, ms.609 no.2 (SAV), with 805 of at least 951 items referenced in Blanchard RYN.

⁸³³ BnF, ms.fr.5941 (RUE, 17th century), has 3663 items, 297 ff, small format, blazon only, facsimile on www.gallica.bnf.fr ..

(RUE:1-189), and may be considered as part of the group.⁸³⁴ The relationship is probably indirect through the *Lutzembourg* (NLU), which was probably also the source of eight other segments from Greater Burgundy and the British Isles. The exact relations are difficult to ascertain as some parts of RUE have been extensively modified in sequence and content, e.g. RUE segment 18 Normandy (RUE:112r-124v) transformed into an ordinary. At least some of the French segments in the RUE appear to have been derived from a *Prinsault* (PRT) clone of the URFÉ-group.

The *Lutzembourg* (NLU), but not its copy *Clémery* (CLE), has three sets of ancestral arms for the Raigecourt, Lutzembourg and Haraucourt families in segments 13, 01 and 14.⁸³⁵ The one for the Haraucourt is also present in the short *Haraucourt* (JHA) armorial.⁸³⁶ Most of the Lorrainian arms in *Rineck*, which comprise a number of families originating from Luxembourg, can be found in NLU, CLE and JHA. The items in the three late armorials are fully concordant, but only partially so with the *Rineck* due to additions and transpositions, e.g. most of items RYN:198-218 and RYN:349-361 from RYN segments 06 and 08 are concordant with NLU:762-781 and NLU:741-760 of NLU segment 26 – and similarly in JHA segment 03 and CLE segment 03.

The *Haraucourt* is almost certainly copied as an extract of the *Lutzembourg* using the same ruling of the pages into 4x4 squares and drawing the shield, helmet and mantling like pre-stamped outlines. The Lorrainian arms may well have been extracted from the *Rineck* or one of its clones.

⁸³⁴ E.g. RUE:3552 Rothelin (EN) also in RYN:1188 and BER:1679; RUE:3713 Roucel (EN) in RYN:1184.

⁸³⁵ See *Ch. 7.4* for NLU and CLE, as part of the TOISON D'OR group.

⁸³⁶ See Blanchard JHA for an edition of the manuscript of c.1550, which is kept at the Musée Lorrain in Nancy.

11. Members of the BODENSEE group

The notion that many southern German armorials are connected is not quite new, but until now no-one has investigated how and why they had certain series of arms in common. Most of the authors who mentioned a relationship just picked a well-known printed armorial for reference when commenting on the subject at hand – usually the *Ingeram* (in facsimile print by 1986) or the *Grünenberg* (in facsimile print 1875). One of the first to imply a series of armorials was Andreas Ranft, who in a note to his main text listed 10 armorials as candidates for investigation in relation to an impression that a group of armorials, including *Ingeram* and *Burggraff* (HBG), might come from a single workshop.⁸³⁷ However, he missed the crucial relations to *Richental* and *Grünenberg*. At present, the number of armorials included in this group stands at 31. They were made by several workshops or armorists over more than a hundred years.⁸³⁸

None of the members can be regarded as copies of another, though copies were made of certain members of the group. The defining elements are the common occurrence of three characteristic series of imaginary arms: fictitious realms, ternionen and the quaternionen.⁸³⁹ In addition some armorials have the German nobility organised by tournament societies. Noble families habitually joined the same society over generations. Most armorials also have segments of nobles graded by rank, i.e. dukes, counts, barons (Freiherren) and lords (Herren). There is a number of subgroups of armorials, some defined by the woodblocks used and reused, and others by the presence of common variants of arms. It is also possible to group some members by themes.

The group which was for a time named for the *Miltenberg* should be designated for the place of first conception and early production in the towns around the Bodensee in the present border area between Germany, Switzerland and Austria. No evidence has been found for the presence of the key elements before the presumed date of the writing of the chronicle of the concilium at Constance in the late 1420'es by Ulrich Richental. It is most likely that he drew on existing concepts and iconography for parts of the armorial appended to his chronicle, e.g. the ternionen and quaternionen, but most of the 100+ arms assigned to oriental princes and figures from literature were probably created by him and/or his associates. This relationship has eluded Andreas Ranft and other commentators – even if they did mention the *Richental*.

11.1 *Richental*, a chronicle with an armorial appended

The key member of this group of armorials is the chronicle-cum-armorial (KCR) listing people attending the Church Council (Konzilium) held in the

⁸³⁷ Ranft WN 120-121 note 20-21 (2000). The *Hans Burggraff* (HBG) was examined for an unpublished Master thesis of 1994 by Ralf Kaufmann at the University of Kiel (not consulted). Christof Rolker has recently taken up several aspects and surveyed both the *Richental* and the *Grünenberg* manuscripts. Rolker WG (2014), Rolker RW (2015), and blogposts on www.heraldica.hypotheses.org.

⁸³⁸ See *fig.5-ch.11.0n1* Survey of the BODENSEE group of armorials.

⁸³⁹ See *Ch. 3* for the series of imaginary arms.

town of Constance on the Bodensee. It is now named after the probable author of the Urtext, Ulrich Richental (c.1360-1437), himself an eyewitness, a low-grade official of the town council and a well-connected citizen of the town. Though the chronicle has had other names, all scholars agree that the notes on which it is based, and probably also the coats-of-arms, were collected by him. However, Richental was dead by the time the surviving manuscripts were written, and many of these are likely to have been revised by Gebhard Dacher (1421-1471), also a citizen of the town. For various reasons, the chronicle became popular and was among the early works to come into print. The 1483 incunable contains the first ever printing of an armorial.⁸⁴⁰

The work of Ulrich Richental has been examined several times during the nearly 600 years since it was first edited. Though dismissed as a primary historical source already in the 17th century by Herman Hardt (1660-1746), it has drawn the interest of linguists, art, medieval and ecclesiastical historians as well as armorists. Fifteen manuscripts and three early printings of the chronicle itself have survived to the present time, and it is known that more are lost.⁸⁴¹ The relations between the various manuscripts of the chronicle have been studied with both textual and iconographical analysis and the resulting pedigree has remained essentially unchanged since 1894 as have the designations of surviving and putative manuscripts (small letters for putative and capitals or names for survivors).⁸⁴²

Though the heraldic content, or a major part of it, had been reproduced in facsimile and duly noted by the commentators, neither have utilized it for analysis. Only Eduard Zimmermann, whose main interest was Southern German ecclesiastical heraldry, has attempted to put some sense into the confusing segments of bishops and abbots. This is a pity, as the armorial evidence suggests changes in the perceived relations and simplification of the pedigree.⁸⁴³

As the contents of the armorial part of the *Richental* have recently been edited and analyzed using the present concepts and are readily available, a short overview of the 20 segments will suffice. Each manuscript has the segments in different order.⁸⁴⁴ The segments cover six different areas. The first area, the *narrative*, i.e. the chronicle with miniatures and solitary coats of arms inserted into the text, constitutes segment 01. The second area, the *clergy*, comprises

⁸⁴⁰ See the survey of the five manuscripts and three printed versions of the *Richental armorial* (KCR) and their contents in *fig.5-ch.11.1n1* and the edition in Clemmensen KCR. The numbering of the items follow the printed version D (Sorg 1483), which is very close to ms.G (St.Georgen).

⁸⁴¹ For all full lists of manuscripts, see the textual and iconographic analysis in Wacker KK, vol.1, App.II. Two of the non-armorial manuscripts are illustrated. Several aspects and manuscripts have been discussed in blogposts by Christof Rolker and Tina Raddatz in 2015 on *Heraldica Nova*, <http://heraldica.hypotheses.org> .

⁸⁴² Kautsch DH 464; Mathiessen KK 107; Wacker KK 1:18. Except for Gisela Wacker, the consensus is that the printed versions are derived from ms.G (St.Georgen) as proposed by i.a. Eric von Berchem &al. (BGH 35) and Mathiessen KK 103.

⁸⁴³ See *fig.7-ch.11.1n2* Pedigree of the *Richental* manuscripts.

⁸⁴⁴ See *fig.5-ch.11.0n1* part (b, c). Clemmensen KCR (2011, www.armorial.dk).

segments 02 *popes*, 03 *cardinals*, 04 *members of the conclave*, 05 *bishops*, 06 *abbots*, 07 *canons*, 08 *religious orders*, and 09 *universities*. The third area, the *nobility*, follows the traditional order of rank used in medieval armorials, segment 10 *kings*, 11 *electors*, 12 *dukes*, 13 *princely counts*, 14 *counts*, 15 *barons*, 16 *gentry/untitled nobles*, and the unusual 17 *ladies*. The remaining three areas are: segment 18 *ternionen*, 19 *imaginary realms*, and 20 *towns*.

11.1.1 Four popes, a king, a town and posterity

The most pivotal incident leading to the creation of the BODENSEE armorials was without doubt the Church Council held in Konstanz 1414-1418. This was one of several conferences held by ecclesiastical dignitaries in the late Middle Ages. As the name implies they were primarily concerned with spiritual matters and the governing of the Western Church. But they were also heavily influenced by the secular politics of the time. The schism leading to several popes each claiming the obedience of princes, clergy and populace was in part forced upon the Church by the rivalry of the secular powers, and to end it would require the accept of the outcome by them.

From the beginning of Christendom, the popes had lived in Rome as the superior bishop of the city. But after Bertrand de Got Abp.Bordeaux and a supporter of French expansionist policies was elected as Pope Clement V (r.1305-14), he moved the papal court to Avignon in 1309. It stayed there until 1377, when Pope Gregory XI (Beaufort-Roger, r.1370-78) returned to Rome. The subsequent election of Urban VI (Prignano, r.1378-89) became confused and threatened by the Roman mob. A group of mainly French cardinals fled the town and subsequently elected Robert C.Genève as Clement VII (r.1378-98). The demands for money by the two competing papal courts, the ingenuity in getting it and the rampant corruption strengthened the movements to reform the Church. For the spiritual authorities some of these movements equalled heresy, e.g. Jan Huss in Bohemia and John Wycliffe in England. The lay powers took sides in the strife, and attempts to end the schism only produced a third pope in Pisa (later to Rome), made the Avignon pope flee to Peniscola in Catalonia, and the Roman pope move to Rimini on the Adriatic.

By 1410 the Pisan obedience of John XXIII (Cossa, r.1410-15, d.1419) was supported by Mainz, Florence, and the Teutonic Order; the Avignese obedience of Benedict XIII (Luna, r.1394-1417/23) by France, Aragon, Castile, Scotland, Naples, Cyprus and Burgundy; and the Roman obedience of Gregory XII (Correr, r.1406-15, d.1417) by most German and northern Italian (Venice, Rimini) princes, Hungary, England, Denmark-Sweden-Norway and Poland. But then, the recently elected King of the Romans, Sigismund, King of Hungary, switched sides to Pisa, and so did England.

Sigismund persuaded John XXIII to call a Church Council and Gregory XII to abide to it. In part by the advice of a local noble and imperial advisor Eberhard C.Nellenburg, the town of Constance was selected as the venue. The town was wealthy and conveniently placed on the intersection of routes to Italy, Germany, France and Hungary.

Sigismund von Luxemburg (1368-1437), who was the second son of Emperor Karl IV (r.1346-78) married Mary (1370-95), eldest daughter and heir of Louis 'le grand' d'Anjou King of Hungary & Poland (d.1382). The youngsters Sigismund and Mary soon lost Poland to her younger sister Hedwig and her husband Jogaila of Lithuania (1354-1434, Vladislas II of Poland after his conversion in 1385), but managed to hold on to Hungary. For a crucial time Sigismund managed to hold the Electorate of Brandenburg, which allowed him (after some confusion and intrigue) to be elected King of the Romans in 1410, but only to be crowned at Aachen in 1414, shortly before the opening of the Council.

Ending heresy was one of the agendas, and Jan Huss accepted the safe conduct of Sigismund to come to Constance, but the dominant clergy had him arrested, judged and burned at the stake – spurring decades of religious wars. Most rulers send embassies to the Council in order to keep their influence, and also to speak for their own causes, e.g. England against France, France and Denmark against unruly subjects and neighbours, the Teutonic Order against Poland and Lithuania. After years of debating and a diplomatic Tour-d'Europe by Sigismund from July 1415 to January 1417, the Council finally forced the three popes to resign, and elected Martin V (Colonna, r.1417-31) as a replacement.⁸⁴⁵ Sigismund was eventually crowned as emperor in Rome in 1435, but his influence waned, and the family of his son-in-law, the Habsburgs, succeeded to the Holy Roman Empire.

Though the Council did produce some major decisions, the strife between reformers, authorities and heretics continued and further Councils could not end it.⁸⁴⁶ But though the *Richental* chronicle does not shed light on the religious or political debates, it must have been taken as evidence of the need for reform and for the possibility of deposing popes, cardinals and bishops. In this way an audience was created for versions of the chronicle to multiply, to be read by successive generations, and to come into print. And that included the appended armorial, which by the 1480'es became available to all Germans – at least those with some money to spare.

11.1.2 The author

The birth date of Ulrich Richental is unknown, but he was probably born around 1360 and he died in 1437. Ulrich was son of the Stadtschreiber (town scribe, an official) Johannes Richental, who held the office 1356-1389, and great grandson of an imperial notary of the local Curia, Johannes von Sünchingen.⁸⁴⁷ They were probably commoners, but related to the patrician family Schneewis. Around 1380 the young Ulrich must have applied for a position (a canonry) in one of the minor Chorherrenstifte, St.Johann, but soon abandoned any such

⁸⁴⁵ John XXIII was arrested, but released and like Gregory XXII died a cardinal. Benedict XIII did not formally resign, but was effectively ignored.

⁸⁴⁶ See e.g. Mathiessen KK, and Hardt KK for the political activities and results, and Wacker KK for the proliferation of the chronicle. KonzilKat (2014), exhibition catalogue with miscellaneous papers.

⁸⁴⁷ Allg. Dt. Biographie 1889, 18:443, www; Wacker KK 1:11-14 (1356/60-1437); Deutsche Historische Museum in Berlin (1365-1437); Mathiessen KK 1:76-87; KonzilKat 258-260 (T.M. Buch).

living. By 1410 he was married to Anne Eglin (d. 1445), held citizenship and owned a house in town and some property in the vicinity. He probably settled as a trader, private scribe and attorney with fair relations to both the town authorities and regional nobles notably count Eberhard von Nellenburg.

During the concilium, Ulrich obtained the *de facto* position of a minor official. He was probably the first to know that Constance was chosen as the venue, when Nellenburg wrote to him from Lodi in December 1413 and asked him to prepare for a major influx of people. He had much work to do in the gathering of provisions and in collecting notes on prices, arrivals and departures. As the other property owners he had visitors staying, by his own words the Abp. Gnesno and Andrzej Laskary Goclawski (d. 1426, one of the spokesmen, Bp-Elect of Poznan). Through both his work and his lodgers, he could keep good relations with many of the visitors, their heralds and servants, and even obtained some copies of official correspondence and minutes. Noting the visitors' arms was one way of recording their stay, as coats-of-arms were put up outside their lodgings. Throughout Ulrich took notes and kept copies of lists and papers in his private archive.

The town thrived on being a conference centre, but afterwards business faded, and the commercial affairs of Ulrich declined. So at one point in the 1420'es he started collecting his notes into a rough draft of a town chronicle.⁸⁴⁸ Town chronicles were popular in Germany at this time, and they were saleable. As he was never privy to what happened during the sessions, he focused on glorifying his home town, the pageantry of the great occasion, the commercial life (price fluctuations and provisioning) and not least on the men who took part. But his chronicle apparently did not sell well in his lifetime, and he died relatively impoverished.⁸⁴⁹

11.1.3 The illustrated chronicle

As the author was cut off from the deliberations of the delegates and princes, he concentrated on the public events. Besides the formal processions, church services, feasts and tournaments, he presented views of the daily life in the town. Though the text could and did stand alone, making an illustrated version should make it more saleable – and profitable.⁸⁵⁰ With the possibility of mentioning so many notables, easy identification became a must – and coats of arms were fairly easily recognized at the time. As can be seen not only among the miniatures in the chronicle, but also in the famous treatise on tournaments by René d'Anjou, coats of arms were used as nameplates outside the houses

⁸⁴⁸ See *Ch. 16.1.1* for Ulrich Richental as an armorist and commissioner of books.

⁸⁴⁹ The Winterthur manuscript, ms. Perin Aa 1, is probably the only surviving written by Ulrich Richental. ADB 1889; Wacker KK 1:11-14, Anhang II, p.xvii; Mathiessen KK 1:76-87.

⁸⁵⁰ Though there is consensus that the earliest versions of the majority of the miniatures were commissioned by Ulrich Richental himself, the earliest surviving manuscripts were made with the relatively short period of 10 years and long after his death. As the drawing styles are very similar, there is a possibility that a later editor commissioned the illustrations.

where delegates (or jousters) were boarded.⁸⁵¹ In this way messengers could find the people wanted.

Arms were not only used for identifying people portrayed in miniatures, but also inserted singly into the text, when both local and foreign dignitaries were mentioned. Of the 121 known miniatures only 48 have arms identifying people portrayed.⁸⁵² In toto, 191 coats of arms are present in the chronicle or narrative parts of the manuscripts, but reduced to 111 in the printed Sorg version.

Ulrich Richental endeavoured to please his audiences with names and titles, and with a little boasting of his own good connections. He also laboured hard to get his registrations right as they would obviously have to be presented to the authorities, not only the town councillors, but also to the imperial guardians of the peace. Unfortunately, at some point in time, these notes became disordered and the link between the blazons of arms and their owners got lost. As a result, the illustrations got misleading legends – which endure to this day.⁸⁵³ Not all of the prelates used arms, partly because they were commoners, and did not choose to adopt personal arms on their elevation. Some used their family arms, others the arms of their diocese, sometimes quartered with their family or personal arms. Though diocesan arms were common in England and much of Germany, they were rare in France.

Authors and copyists have added to the confusion by misreading. One hilarious example is the housemark type of arms attributed by Johan Siebmacher to the diocese of Kammin on the Baltic coast. A mistake repeated only a few years ago.⁸⁵⁴ In fact, the 'inverted-F' housemark adorning a shield on the wall during the celebration of an orthodox mass refers to the bishop of Kynonia, and is probably the clan hr̄b Prus-I used by Gregory Camblakas Abp.Kiev.

11.1.4 The world came to Constance

The influx of delegates, embassies, princes, nobles and their retinues must have doubled the number of people in the town. Besides the practical problems of boarding and feeding such an increase in population, there was also the need to keep the peace between the contentious parties and individuals present. The event was held under dual papal and imperial protection, and each appointed a guardian of the peace. John XXIII chose his condottiere Bartolo Orsini C.Nola, and Sigismund the Count Palatine of the Rhine. For practical peacekeeping the

⁸⁵¹ BnF, ms.fr.2694:60v-61r *Traité de tournoi de René d'Anjou*.

⁸⁵² The miniatures with arms are listed in Clemmensen KCR, App. E, and the persons identified in segment 01. All miniatures in Wacker KK 1:342-353. The number of illustrations varies among the manuscripts.

⁸⁵³ The New Siebmacher, vol. 8 (1.5.1.A) *Bistumer und Kloster*, has a list of diocesan arms in tables 32-36 copied from either WB Schrott or BSB, cod.icon.333:21r-31v (c.1583), but ultimately derived from *Richental*. Many of these are confounded personal arms of participants.

⁸⁵⁴ SIE:12n10 Kammin (housemark); KCR:363 actual arms of Kammin, *Argent cross gules*; KCR:84, 326 a.o. Greek mass (housemark); http://en-wikipedia.org/wiki/Bishopric_of_Cammin (housemark); Q3 Kammin (housemark) in the arms of the Berliner archbishop cardinal Woelki (Gotthard Klein, in *Der Herold*, Heft 1-2/2013 p.470-472).

guardians used the armed retinue of Sigismund and selected major princes, and they employed local people, including Ulrich Richental, to keep track of the comings and goings as well as where visitors were quartered. Such observations were circulated in official lists (Teilnehmerlisten) not only within Constance, but also forwarded to the visitors' masters, e.g. the German Free Towns.⁸⁵⁵

Some of these lists were used by Ulrich Richental as the basic framework for some of his versions. For other versions, he structured the clergy according to a traditional listing of the Church provinces – probably the *Liber Cancellariae Apostolicae* edited by Dietrich von Nieheim, whom Richental met in Constance.⁸⁵⁶ In principle, these two types of corroborating information should make it easier to identify both the participants and visitors and the items in the chronicle-cum-armorial. To some extent there is overlap and support for identification, but neither source is complete and the titles and names often almost incomprehensible. A small armorial compiled by a Portuguese herald present has a complementary selection of nobles present.⁸⁵⁷

In numbers the high attendance of the clergy appears to be reflected in the *Richental*. There are about 230 bishops and cardinals mentioned in *Richental*, while other sources enumerate a total of 215, i.e. 29 cardinals, 3 patriarchs, 33 archbishops, and 150 bishops attending.⁸⁵⁸ The arms and attendance of the cardinals and the delegates appointed to the Conclave by the Five Nations are relatively easy to verify, but the listing of archbishops and bishops and the attribution of arms is a terrible mess.⁸⁵⁹ Of the verifiable title-arms combinations most are German, while for others identifiable arms, e.g. arms of monasteries or personal arms, are placed with the wrong persons.⁸⁶⁰ The presence of local canons, abbots and senior officers of the monastic orders are as expected, except that commanders of chapters of the Teutonic Order outside Prussia are identified by their personal arms.

⁸⁵⁵ Dacher L is one available edited version. Other lists are mentioned in Mathiessen KK 167, and Wacker KK 39).

⁸⁵⁶ Dietrich von Nieheim, 1340-1418, compiled his work c.1380. Erler DN; Mathiessen KK 158-167.

⁸⁵⁷ The *Livro de Arautos*, a miscellany of treatises and an armorial. Nascimento LA (1977); Paravicini ARK (2007/2008); Clemmensen ARK (2011).

⁸⁵⁸ Catholic Encyclopaedia, www. Justinger's Berner Chronik calculated 108 bishops, 33 auxiliary and 113 abbots.

⁸⁵⁹ Of the 176 items in ms.A only 54 are essentially correct, incl. 4 Italians, 3 English, the rest Germans and Poles. Another 57 dioceses are probably identified, but some of these may not have attended either in person or by proctors.

⁸⁶⁰ Some items are named for later incumbents, e.g. KCR:283 Joannes Bp.Pamiers.

Eubel HC and Gams SE were used for identification and compared with Dacher L (from Hardt KK 5.2:10-50; 1696/1700; notes in Lenfant KK, 1727). The four binders of attendance compiled by Joseph Riegel and possibly held by the University of Freiburg were not available.

Earlier attempts on identification by von Berchem (1923), Zimmermann (1937, 1939), and Laszloczky (1974) were utilized.

Later copyists have added to the confusion by substituting the diocese for the person, e.g. for KCR:348 Robert Hallum Bp.Salisbury, d.1417.

The armorial probably includes the oldest known listing of arms of universities. Most arms include a book added to the arms of the sovereign. Unfortunately, only the arms of the University of Oxford can be verified. Though the arms attributed to the University of Paris are exhibited outside the main building of the University of Queensland (Australia), they are neither used by the Sorbonne nor by other Parisian institutions. This and the remaining items may well have been constructed for the occasion.

Considering all manuscripts, the clergy comprises 27% of the items, 11% can be found in the Narrative, and 18% as kings, popes, towns and various imaginary arms. The main selection, 45%, covers nobles present. These are listed by rank, and nearly all titled nobles can be identified. The proportion of non-verified name-arms combinations are (not unexpectedly) higher among non-titled nobles, especially foreigners. Electors precede dukes, princely counts, ordinary counts, barons, untitled nobles – and some ladies married to prominent attendees, and prominent among the pageantry. Most of the titled nobles are German, but with a substantial proportion of Italians – higher among the dukes than among the ordinary counts. Within the segments there is no indication of precedence between similarly titled nobles. The lower ranks have only a sprinkling of non-Germans.⁸⁶¹ Much of the untitled nobility appears to have been added as fragments kept together by their territorial affiliation.

Segment 10, listing the Christian kings, is slightly annoying. Most of the 37 items have the right arms, perhaps with some minor variation, but many names do not fit. It appears that neither Ulrich Richental nor the copyists knew who ruled in Europe. He just took the recourse to name them Johan, Wenceslas or any other common German name. A process repeated for some nobles too. Half a dozen countries were given unusual, if not imaginary, arms. Scotland got a beggar monk, Ireland the arms of the Schottenkloster – abbeys in Southern Germany founded by Irish monks.⁸⁶²

As the surviving versions were written and painted some forty years after the original compilations and probably after having been recopied several times, one can identify items for people who did not attend the Council. One set has Giovanna II of Naples (r.1414-1435) with the arms of René d'Anjou (1409-1480) – her titular successor, and Christoffer III 'of Bavaria' King of Denmark (r.1440-48), a Wittelsbacher nephew of his predecessor.⁸⁶³ Another curious item is the impaled arms of Richard Woodville (1405-69) created E.Rivers in 1466 and his wife Jacquetta of Luxembourg (1416-1472), widow of John D.Bedford (d.1435) one-time Regent of France.⁸⁶⁴

⁸⁶¹ Germans, include Swiss, Austrians, Bohemians, and Hungarians - as parts of the Empire.

⁸⁶² KCR:172 “kung wentzlas in ybernia och in schotten”; KCR:185 Scotland. Other problematic arms are KCR:171 Bosnia, 176 Mallorca, 187 Galicia.

⁸⁶³ KCR:208-209.

⁸⁶⁴ KCR:639, vs.D:180r, vs.G:139v unnamed. Richard Woodville was father-in-law of King Edward IV of England (r.1461-83).

Several towns send embassies or observers to Constance. Many of these were registered in the *Teilnehmerlisten* and their arms and/or names were entered into the *Richental*. There were not only the internationally well-known trading centres like Venice, Genoa, Florence, Cologne, Bruges, but also Free Towns (*Reichstädten*) and towns in the vicinity of Constance. Some were given the arms of the similarly named diocese or the ruling family.⁸⁶⁵

The pressure exerted by the Ottoman invasion of the Balkans and their victory in 1396 at Nicopolis made many orthodox princes consider some kind of unification with the Catholic Church. Both the Emperor of Constantinople and several patriarchs sent embassies, which were duly noted in Constance. For Ulrich Richental, this provided both an opportunity and a problem. It would enhance the standing of the town (and of his chronicle), if he could show that kings and princes from all over the world came to the Council of Constance. On the other hand, neither orthodox nor heathen princes used coats of arms. If he wanted arms for the realms of Outremer, he had to invent them. As discussed elsewhere, names could be extracted from the chivalric and travel literature known by the better educated citizens and nobles.⁸⁶⁶ A few items were used by actual realms and arms repeated or inserted in this segment, but more than a hundred arms had to be invented.

On this boundary between fact and fiction, the ranking potentate would be the Christian Priest-Emperor John of India supported by a prince who kept out Gog and Magog together with the neighbouring amazons. Then there are the biblical towns of Babylon, Bethlehem and Nineveh, followed by principalities in Greece and on the Balkans. More references to places in Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Europe are bundled in different order in the manuscripts, but with long concordant fragments. Two of the manuscripts garnished this part with the Three Magi and the Nine Worthies, but following two different traditions of iconography.⁸⁶⁷ Outside the armorial, the Aulendorf (ms.A, p.473) copy has a display of names arranged like the T-O *Mappa Mundi* division into Europe, Asia and Africa.⁸⁶⁸

11.1.5 Please the customer

Both the chronicle and the armorial parts of *Richental* come in markedly different versions. Gisela Wacker placed 16 manuscripts and a series of printings in a tree according to their different traits.⁸⁶⁹ She elaborated on the various styles of presentation (first or third person), use of language (Latin or German vernacular), layout (single or double column) and elements included or omitted. Her conclusion was that Ulrich Richental and his posthumous publishers, not least Gebhard Dacher, modified form and content according to the type of customer targeted.⁸⁷⁰

⁸⁶⁵ E.g. Trier, Passau, Milan, Padua.

⁸⁶⁶ See *Ch. 13.1-3*, Reality and imagination.

⁸⁶⁷ KCR ms.G and the printed vs.D are different from ms.P for most items.

⁸⁶⁸ Christof Rolker (2017), www.heraldica.hypotheses.org/4518.

⁸⁶⁹ Wacker KK 1:18-45, extending the work of Mathiessen KK and Kautsch DH; *fig.7-ch.11.1n2* manuscript pedigrees.

⁸⁷⁰ Gebhard Dacher, responsible for several of the manuscripts and other documents relating to the Council, worked as a writer for the customs (Toll) in the *Warenhaus* in

Combining her analysis with an assessment of the armorial, one can recognize that the earliest putative version (x, source of mss. A and P) focused on the clergy in both tone of reform and in the sequence of the segments of arms. Here the clergy is kept together, but with the arms of those destined for the conclave inserted into the narrative.⁸⁷¹ However, in concordance, ms. A is closer to mss. G, K and W than to ms. P, which had more items related to the nobility. The later versions became more critical of the Church, expressing anti-papal, conciliar, ecumenical and pro-hussite tones. Only one of the two other putative versions (r and s) proposed as principal break-points by Gisela Wacker is relevant for the assessment of the armorial versions. The Konstanzer and the Wiener manuscripts are generally identical, but different from the St.Georgen (ms.G) and the printed series (vs.D). The mss. K & W omit ternions, towns and the secondary spiritual parts (orders, abbots, universities) and the local canons, which were essential for any sale to the local nobles and burghers.

As the contemporary public found the text and illustrations interesting and was willing to pay for them, they were kept ‘in print’ for 150 years. Similarly, much of the heraldry was considered enjoyable and was reused in several armorials of Southern German origin – and are to be found with all mistakes and confusion in modern reprints, and sadly, as in the case of both the old and the newer Siebmacher, without the real source of the coats of arms being given.

Though printing by the late 15th century had taken over as the medium to propagate information, being it on religion, history or mundane areas such as medicine or crafts, copies of manuscripts were still being commissioned from artisan workshops during most of the 16th century for general chronicles, prayer books and family chronicles of noble houses, e.g. for Zimmern (1565), Zollern (1570) and Truchsess von Waldburg (1530), or for wealthy burghers, e.g. Georg Han from Überlingen (1590). Most of these were illustrated, some with coloured pen drawings, others with woodcuts by Burkmaier and Dürer. Besides miniatures showing ancestors, possessions and deeds performed, they often included coats of arms in large numbers, not least imaginary arms of mythological and antique persons, in the case of Georg Han clearly copied from Virgil Solis’ *Wappenbüchlein* (VSW), rated as typical of the period by Lotte Kurras,⁸⁷² but in reality drawing on the *Richental* chronicle more than a century back.

11.2 *Grünenberg*, a journey in imagination

Among the many clones or derivatives of the *Richental*, one stands out as exceptionally well-ordered in conception and almost unique in the amount of high quality miniatures added to the nicely executed tables of arms. The *Grünenberg* was also a very popular clone, which itself was copied several

Constance. His workshop output on the Council may have been driven by private passion as well as demand by customers. Bernd Konrad, pers.com. 2014; Clemmensen KCR 38.

⁸⁷¹ See *fig. 5-ch.11.1n1(c)*, sequence of segments, mss. A & P (Aulendorf and Prague).

⁸⁷² Kurras IH 428-429, 440.

times.⁸⁷³ The earliest copies may have been commissioned by Konrad Grünenberg himself, but most were painted long after his death c.1494.⁸⁷⁴ For the present discussion, let it suffice to mention that he was born into the patriciate of the merchant town of Constance, was wealthy, travelled considerably, and established a form of relation to the imperial court, which bestowed him a knighthood. One of his travels took him to Paris, where he exchanged information with a member of the Flavy family, owner of the *LeBreton* armorial.⁸⁷⁵

He was obviously interested in history and armory, as evidenced by his three surviving writings. The earliest was probably the *Österreichisches Chronik* from 1480, a modified version of the *95 Herschafften* (HRZ), a semi-imaginary genealogical chronicle of the rulers of Austria with 84 coats of arms. The period of manufacture of the present armorial is difficult to establish with precision. The internal date in the text of the earliest version says that it was finished on April 9th 1483, but there are indications that the finishing was done after his return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem during April-December 1486, which was the subject of his last book.⁸⁷⁶

Konrad Grünenberg was both self-conscious and aware of the family's status. Both the *Pilgerfahrt* and the *Wappenbuch* were adorned with the family arms and six and four emblems of knightly orders respectively.⁸⁷⁷ The arms were canting and derived from those of an extinct local baronial (Freiherren) family with a minor change of colours. He was also willing to pay for the work of first class artists. The lead artist on the GStA or paper manuscript was Friedrich Walther, a notable painter working Constance in the 1480'es. Another notable painter, Rudolf Stahel (1448-1528), assisted on the GStA manuscript (GRU/a), and was the lead artist for the de luxe BSB or parchment copy (GRU/b). Stahel's son-in-law Andreas Haider worked on the Zürich copy (GRU/c), commissioned by Wilhelm Werner von Zimmern, a local nobleman. The GRU/b or BSB came into the possession of the dukes of Bavaria at the beginning of the 16th century, but the exact date has not been established, and neither has the name of its commissioner. The later copies may have been commissioned from either of

⁸⁷³ See the survey in *fig. 5-ch.11.2n1* with a list of seven manuscript versions and a further three possible. The earliest facsimile (with several transposed items) was Stillfried GRU (1875), recently reprinted with an edition in Popoff GRU (2011). The two primary manuscripts were edited in Clemmensen GRU (2009), which should be read in conjunction with the colour facsimile on the BSB website. Some of the manuscripts, the facsimiles and editions were reviewed in Rolker WG (2014).

⁸⁷⁴ The details of the life of Konrad Grünenberg are in need of a re-examination, not least to discriminate between his namesake father, Baumeister and mayor of Constance in 1470. Rolker WG 199 noted the unreliability of the information given in the older and present literature and reported in Clemmensen GRU 4. This is further discussed in Rolker HO (2015).

⁸⁷⁵ Clemmensen GRU 13, Boos LBR 16-21, 226, 229.

⁸⁷⁶ Date 1.04.1483 on GRU/a:1v (GStA or paper version), Clemmensen GRU 12, see pp.11-14 for the discussion of date. The *Pilgerfahrt* was also made in several illustrated versions, see Goldfriederich GP.

⁸⁷⁷ Goldfriederich GP 137.

the early copies or they may have been the personal work of artistically gifted antiquarians.⁸⁷⁸

Though the actual work was done by professional artisans, the planning and compilation were probably done by Konrad Grünenberg himself. Though the lead artist, Friedrich Walther, must have been familiar with the painting of arms from his other work, it is unlikely that anybody but the commissioner himself would have the knowledge and overview of the elements to plan this near perfect structure. To what extent he submerged himself in the details will be discussed below.⁸⁷⁹ As the GStA or GRU/a manuscript is highly disordered and the contents are essentially identical, the BSB or GRU/b is proposed to reflect the intentions and original order of the *Grünenberg*.⁸⁸⁰

11.2.1 A well-ordered society

The very strict composition imposed on the *Grünenberg* can be explained as reflecting an ideal society in four chapters.⁸⁸¹ The first chapter exemplifies the noble qualities required in a sovereign. The second chapter underlines the age-old supremacy of the Holy Roman Empire (HRR) dating back to the founding of Rome, and argues that the empire is broadly founded on all classes and institutions. The third chapter places the world in layers below the emperor. The top layer includes all kings, whether they are Christians or not.⁸⁸² The message is that, though men may title themselves emperor, king or sultan, they ought to be regarded as dependent on the emperor of the HRR.

The next two levels enumerate about a hundred dukes (Herzogen) of all nationalities – or rather ducal titles, and a dozen marquises (Margraves). Level four (segment 11) has some three hundred counts, also of all nationalities and irrespective of whether they were semi-sovereign or just sub-vassals. The baronial level five (segment 12) has just over a hundred items, nearly all from within the HRR. For the lowest level (segment 1), most of the two hundred and fifty lords and knights are entered in small regional groupings, though several individuals from outside the HRR are interspersed among these.

For the fourth chapter at least two interpretations are possible.⁸⁸³ The simplest is that the people in segment 13 were regarded as lords of power and influence of near baronial rank. This would demand a place for the ordinary nobleman, whether knighted or not. At the time peasants and non-patrician town-dwellers

⁸⁷⁸ The artists have been identified by Bernd Konrad; Konrad BK and pers.com. The GRU/a (GStA) manuscript was probably available to people in Constance until mid-19th century, and the GRU/b to people well connected to the dukes of Bavaria.

⁸⁷⁹ Though the 'I'-form is prevalent in the introduction to GRU/a, the autograph of Konrad Grünenberg has not been established.

⁸⁸⁰ This was also the case for the edition in Clemmensen GRU. For concordance see App.C and D, and the page list in App. B of the edition. The major differences are the absence of the Helmschau and the society banners in GRU/a.

⁸⁸¹ See *fig.5-ch.11.2n1* Segmentation and the discussion in Clemmensen GRU 11-20, 28-31.

⁸⁸² For details, see *Ch. 11.2.3 A tour of the world*. The segment 06 also includes the principal vassals of some of these sovereigns.

⁸⁸³ See the discussion in *Ch. 11.2.4, Politics and the noble sport*.

were not 'real people', and the clergy did not interest Konrad Grünenberg. This opus was purely secular. The second interpretation is that he identified himself with this group of German nobles, which was pressed between the semi-sovereign dukes, marquises and counts and the peasants working their estates.⁸⁸⁴ To resist such pressures, the lower nobles organized themselves into tournament societies.⁸⁸⁵

The intended strictness of organisation foundered on the lack of detailed information on ranking and precedence of the families listed in the four chapters – and on the availability of arms of additional, mainly regional, families. These locals and the names and arms of renowned minstrels (Minnesänger) were added at the end as a fifth chapter.

A well-ordered society should recognize status and position – and how better than as founders or with membership of a knightly order. Consequently most of the achievements of the sovereigns are adorned with collars and emblems of the orders of which they were the heads. Even sovereigns of fabulous lands needed to be heads of a knightly order! Konrad Grünenberg must have put considerable work into getting to know the details of the emblems and also of badges, though he sometimes mixed up the two different types of emblems.⁸⁸⁶

11.2.2 Idolation and ranking

The first two chapters are concerned with ideals rather than facts, and Konrad Grünenberg built not only on the knowledge of the ideals of chivalry and of romances prevalent among the educated nobles and burghers, but also on fashionable themes that people could see or hear of as decorations in or on houses and churches or even in manuscripts or printed books. Besides being described in literary texts, ideals and virtues were personified with more or less well-known names.

Paramount among the names was the Nine Worthies: three Christians, three Jews and three Heathens, who were all perfect warriors of high moral stature, who brought glory to their countries.⁸⁸⁷ They also embodied virtues like courtesy, loyalty, prowess, hardiness, largesse and frankness. Among the other ternions found in contemporary armorial, only the three eldest arms (the Jews: Ananias, Sabubay, Benayahu) were incorporated as such on a shield hung on the Tower of David.⁸⁸⁸ The symbolism of good and bad was underlined by

⁸⁸⁴ The people in the '4th chapter' group did include families listed in segment 13. The towns made up another pressure group on the lower nobility.

⁸⁸⁵ See Kruse R and Ranft A for the background, organisation and workings of the tournament societies. Rolker HO 208 comments on the 12 TG's in the Vier Länder tournaments and the quaternionen as related to the emperor rather than to their regional overlords.

⁸⁸⁶ Clemmensen GRU 28-31 has a survey of the occurrences of emblems of knightly orders. See Boulton KC for further information on the orders.

⁸⁸⁷ For the Worthies and Ternions, see *Cb. 13.4.1*, Clemmensen GRU 17, Clemmensen NW, and Wyss NH.

⁸⁸⁸ The Tower of David (GRU/a:2r, GRU/b:3n) was either copied in simplified form into the *St.Gallen* (SGH:15n, c.1488), omitting the two additional pairs, or from a now

adding banners of David and Solomon and two pairs of arms of 'bad guys'. The roman emperors Octavian/Augustus and Tiberius were 'good' as founding emperors of Rome (and thereby the HRR), but 'bad' as they were seen as conquerors of Jerusalem and responsible for the torment and death of Christ. Nabucco and Membrot may have been a rudimentary triad symbolizing evil, if the Membrot of the Alexandrian cycle was confused with Evil-Merodach.⁸⁸⁹

Segment 04 traces the origin of the HRR through the emperors of Rome back to Romulus and the ancient kings of Rome. The arms of the roman emperors are rather trivial,⁸⁹⁰ but for the kings of Rome, the compiler and/or the painter showed an unusual inventiveness. These arms are all modelled on actual works of art, which Konrad Grünenberg (or possibly Friedrich Walther) had seen on their travels.⁸⁹¹

The last segment (05) of the second chapter pays tribute to the Habsburgian emperor Friedrich III, elected by the seven electors, but of an empire built on the People – expressed as the Four of each Estate or the Quaternionen der Reichsverfassung.⁸⁹² The *Grünenberg* has 22 sets of four per page, one set (Schenken⁸⁹³) on two and three pages respectively, and a single unusual set (Stallmeistern⁸⁹⁴) of only two items. With 94 coats of arms this is the second largest attribution of names and arms to quaternionen. Most of the attributions are conventional, though the keys of St.Peter replaced the SPQR of Rome, and the municipal arms of Bamberg replaced the diocesan arms.

In the third chapter, the important European nobles are listed according to their rank with attempts to include regionality into the precedence.⁸⁹⁵ The dukes are split into two almost equal parts by a display of the possessions of the C.Württemberg.⁸⁹⁶ The place and timing are curious. This is the only representation of the arms of Eberhard (V) 'im Bart' C.Württemberg (r.1449-1496) in the armorial. The rightful place should be among the counts in segment 11, but Eberhard was not only the major semi-sovereign prince in the neighbourhood of Constance, he was also a very active and influential person. Among his accomplishments were the formal 1482 reunion of the Stuttgarter and Uracher parts of Württemberg, split in 1442 among two heirs, and the

lost mural decoration in one of the monasteries or churches in the Bodensee area. Most of the items in segment 03 are only for decoration.

"Thy neck is like the Tower of David built with turrets, whereon there hang a thousand shields, all the armor of the mighty men." (Song of Songs, 4:4). The Burj Daud near the Jaffa Gate in Jerusalem.

⁸⁸⁹ GRU:16 Membrot, Clemmensen NW #103 Evil-Merodach, #101 Nabucco.

⁸⁹⁰ The arms of the Roman emperors are variations of the eagle-theme placed around a 'SPQR' shield, but below two versions of the 'AEIOV' device of Emperor Friedrich III. GRU:63-74, 5n, 3r.

⁸⁹¹ GRU:53-59, identified as artworks in Nickel KR.

⁸⁹² For Quaternionen, see *Ch. 13.6*, Clemmensen Q, Schubert Q.

⁸⁹³ GRU:144-147, 25n-26n, 12rv, 13r.

⁸⁹⁴ GRU:160-161, 30n, 15r.

⁸⁹⁵ The European nobles are discussed from another angle in Clemmensen GRU 21-24.

⁸⁹⁶ Segments 07 (50 items) and 09 (45 items) by segment 08 with 21 shields placed on a belt surrounding a central achievement.

founding of the University of Tübingen.⁸⁹⁷ His crowning achievement was his elevation to duke in 1492. Years of positioning and negotiation must have preceded the ceremony, and Konrad Grünenberg must have been aware of it, foreseen the outcome, omitted Württemberg among the counts, and kept a special page ready for insertion among the dukes.⁸⁹⁸

Attempts were made to rank the dukes. In the first part are the Dauphin de France, the Elector-dukes and the German dukes,⁸⁹⁹ the French princes of the Blood with a selection of the titles of the D.Burgundy (from 1477 absorbed by Maximilian, son of emperor Friedrich III, and himself elected king of the Romans in 1486), Berg, Geldern, and several dukes extracted from *Richental* representing Poland, Lithuania, the Balkans, and Northern Germany.⁹⁰⁰ The second part of dukes was culled from various sources and many are either imaginary or confounded. Some of the sources could not be identified, e.g. the short series GRU:494-499 of confounded French arms. Others appear in older armorials,⁹⁰¹ but most were extracted from the *Richental* or more likely from loose leaves or notes available to the workshop.⁹⁰² A frail attempt was made to maintain order. Arms were entered as they related to Pomerania, Silesia, Hungary, France (doubling some entries in the first part), and various German principalities – ending with the Balkans. A number of contemporary arms were inserted among the less trustworthy ones, and out of order.

Neither could order be maintained among the 309 counts in segment 11. One may partition the items into five groupings: GRU:543-567 mostly French; 568-648 Germans; 649-672 some Hungarians; 673-792 Italians, Spaniards and French blended together; and 793-851 mostly Germans. Many of the arms cannot be verified, some were obviously culled from the *Richental*, and many must come from notes, which were also used for both earlier and later armorials.⁹⁰³ The actual knowledge of the ownership of the arms entered must have been limited. Several subsets were put together from a similarity of naming (sometimes by misreading) as in the case of a Chalon-Evreux subset.⁹⁰⁴

⁸⁹⁷ LxMA 9:375-377. Eberhard was the Uracher count, but from c.1460 the dominant figure also in the Stuttgarter part.

⁸⁹⁸ GRU/a:51r C.Württemberg and possessions, 51v blank. Copied into GRU/b:101n without surrounding blank pages. Most of the arms are present in *St.Gallen* (SGH, painted c.1488), and *Rugen* (RUG, c.1500). The curious chest & orb arms in GRU:470 were modified in RUG:840 and repeated exactly in the large (350 x 300 cm) woodcut print of the Triumphal Arch of Maximilian I designed by Jörg Kölderer, Johann Stabius, and Albrecht Dürer.

⁸⁹⁹ The Austrian archdukes got a full page (GRU:417, 88n, 45r) with all their quarters and crests, a parallel to the C.Württemberg page.

⁹⁰⁰ There is a wonderful misreading of the arms of Schleswig-Holsten in GRU:450-451, with a lobster replacing the nettleleaf as in KCR:624.

⁹⁰¹ GRU:528-529 Wartsgo and Huffgo are in DWF:521-522, probably painted c.1460.

⁹⁰² The items in *Richental* (KCR) appear on just a few pages, and are generally kept in a similar way in the GRU. Among the repeats are Juliers qtg Guelders of c.1420 in GRU:488 from KCR:612, doubling GRU:448 Guelders.

⁹⁰³ GRU:643, 645 also in SGH:458-459, painted c.1488.

⁹⁰⁴ GRU:565 Evreux arms with legend “..hartkunt” as in UFF:49 (possibly for Harcourt); GRU:566 arms and legend of Chalon; GRU:567 legend of Chalon and arms of Navarre qtg Evreux.

The users of the notes did not always agree on the specifics of the items, e.g. the origin of the owner.⁹⁰⁵ Odd people occur, sometimes with legends misspelled into the unidentifiable, e.g. the series “heppe graefen, maige graeffen, laczelgraeff”, which are probably for C.Lippe, diocese and town of Magdeburg and Wilhelm von Heessel, son of the imperial herald Hendrik.⁹⁰⁶ Other items were probably based on notes taken by Konrad Grünenberg, e.g. the mention of a C.Ruck as founder of the Abbey of Blaubeuren. A castle of the name lies close by and was held by ministeriales of the C.Tübingen. The Minnesänger Heinrich von Rugg *al.* Ruck has different arms in segment 24.⁹⁰⁷

Nearly all of the 124 barons (Freiherren) in segment 12 are readily identified, and most come from Swabia and Switzerland and are entered in regional subsets. The structure behind the 252 lords and knights (Herren) in segment 13 is more like that of the counts in segment 11. Entries of different nationalities are blended together, though there are some regional subsets: GRU:990-1005 Austrians; 1055-1072 Bohemians and Moravians; 1091-1112 more of these together with Hungarians (several from *Riebental*); 1182-1204 Aragonians (many not identified); and finally an English series also found in the *Ingeram* and in the *Berliner WB*.⁹⁰⁸ Among the more unusual entries are a Hastings E.Pembroke, the fabulous Swan Knight (beloved of C.Kleve and many other families as a glorious ancestor), and the arms of Flavy, owner of *LeBreton*.⁹⁰⁹

11.2.3 A tour of the world

The kings and realms enumerated in segment 06 at the beginning of the third chapter follow a rather strict design rule, which when implemented takes the reader on a virtual tour of the world.⁹¹⁰ The segment may be viewed as several subsegments, of which the first (06a) lists the Christian realms in Europe.⁹¹¹ In addition to the actual arms used by the heads of state, Konrad Grünenberg added whatever arms he could find and attribute to these kings. Saint James of Compostella was added to Galicia, the Schottenkloster (founded by Irish monks in Germany and Austria) became Scotland, and Portugal got an open gate (Pforte).⁹¹²

⁹⁰⁵ The unidentified C.Langenmaten came from Spain in GRU:753, but from Champagne in UFF:47.

⁹⁰⁶ GRU:658-660; for Lasselgraf as Wilhelm von Heessel, son of Hendrik van Heessel Austria & Ruyers king-of-arms, see *Ch. 13.3.3*, note 124-125.

⁹⁰⁷ GRU:822 as C.Ruck. Heinrich von Rugg /Ruck lived in Burg Ruck on the Ruckberg outside Blaubeuren (Kr. Ulm, B-W), in GRU:2284, MAN:44/122r, WLH:11/45n with *Or/Gu pale Vr*. Walther MAN 88; HHStD 6:77-79;

⁹⁰⁸ GRU:1216-1297, 232n, 125v Earl Marshal, Warenne, 'Nottingham', 'Shepton Masey', Lancelot (!); ING:226-240, 68n; BLW:77-80, 12v. Mowbray and Warenne are also flanking England on GRU:208-209, 42n, 21r is same form as on ING:68n and in BLW:12v.

⁹⁰⁹ GRU:1046 Pembroke, GRU:1053 Swan Knight, GRU:1022 Flavy.

⁹¹⁰ Discussed in more detail in Clemmensen GRU 17-20. See also *fig.9-ch.11.2n2* GRU compared with Marco Polo.

⁹¹¹ GRU:182-239, 36n-50n, 18r-25r, as segment 06a, the christian realms.

⁹¹² GRU:202 St.James, 212 Portugal, 217-218 Schottenkloster.

While the realms of Europe were added rather casually, the main subsegments underwent serious editing in order to emulate the popular traveller's reminiscences or novels.⁹¹³ Konrad Grünenberg and his team were able to extract many names and arms from *Richental*, either singly or in short series.⁹¹⁴ But his aspirations went further than Ulrich Richental, who just wanted to show that those who counted in the world came to Constance. Konrad wanted his reader(s) to see the world. In order to do so, the team had to invent arms to fit the story and the names of persons and places they created out of the sources. Some of these were named in the armorial, e.g. Marco Polo, John Mandeville, and Jacob de Voragine, while others, e.g. Johan Schiltberger, are more than likely to have been used.⁹¹⁵

The journey begins piously in India, where the apostle Thomas was buried and where the fabulous Christian priest-king John ruled – according to Marco Polo and John Mandeville.⁹¹⁶ The major rulers are honoured with a miniature and a listing of their subjected kingdoms and capitals.⁹¹⁷ The names (and sometimes arms) of magi, saints, heroes and villains are added where they can be fitted in. In this subsegment there is the biblical Job from Uz, by some placed in Susiana in modern Iran not far from Persepolis. Not really in India, but then who among the contemporaries would know for sure!⁹¹⁸

The travels of Marco Polo (and most other authors) followed the clock and the merchants' route along the Silk Road to China, sailing back across the Indian Ocean to Persia or Mesopotamia and from there by caravan to the Mediterranean. As Konrad Grünenberg selected Prester John as the link in precedence between the Holy Roman Emperor and the heathens, his 'journey' would need to jump from place to place. The vast space of Asia to the north of India was ruled by the Mongol khans and their successors. At times, their power covered large swathes of Europe too.⁹¹⁹

⁹¹³ Traveller's novels were much copied from the beginning of the 13th century and came early into print, e.g. Schiltberger in 1475 and Marco Polo in 1481. Several stories were often co-bound into a single volume, e.g. Marco Polo, Mandeville, Schiltberger and Ulrich of Friaul. Telfer JS vii-xi, Ridder JM 339.

⁹¹⁴ Some of the series were: GRU:338-340 / KCR:265-267; GRU:363-368 / KCR:271-276; GRU:317-321 / KCR:243-246.

⁹¹⁵ See *Ch. 13.2.2* for arms and sources of fabulous realms. Johan Schiltberger (b.1381) was a servant captured at Nicopolis in 1396, who served Turkish and Mongol rulers until he escaped in 1427. GRU:36r, 40r, 61n, 79n Marco Polo; GRU:32r, 38v, 40rv, 53n, 66n, 79n-80n John Mandeville; GRU:41r, 81n Jacobo di Voragine's *Legenda aurora*.

⁹¹⁶ Segment 06b India and Ethiopia; GRU:241-265, 52n-55n, 31v-33r. With time medieval authors moved Prester John from India to Ethiopia.

⁹¹⁷ The principal arms of the ruler (on verso) and his 'portrait' (on recto) are usually facing each other. Some of the subjected principalities are normally listed next to the miniature. As many of the imaginary arms can only be tentatively attributed to topographical entities, the subsegment limits could arguably vary by a page or so. The number and limits of subsegments vary from those given in Clemmensen GRU.

⁹¹⁸ GRU:265 Schnetz/Uz/Job.

⁹¹⁹ Segment 06c China, Turkistan, Russia, Bulgaria, Syria and Persia; GRU:266-337, 56n-65n, 33v-38r.

Though forced into the background by the recent Muslim conquest of Constantinople, the crusading spirit was still living as an ideal (and in practice by the ongoing reconquest of Granada in Southern Spain). So it was natural for Konrad Grünenberg to continue the journey to the Holy Land held for centuries by the Saracen sultans – well known from romances.⁹²⁰ But for the contemporaries, the dominant Muslim power was the ottoman Turks, who by the end of the 15th century dominated most of the Balkans and threatened Hungary and the HRR. This subsegment takes the reader around Asia Minor, the Troy of Homer's Hector, the former glory of Byzantium and Trapezunt as well as Bulgaria and Greece.⁹²¹ Konrad Grünenberg remembered to include the two Byzantine ambassadors to Constance in 1414, which were of Greek extraction.⁹²² The overlap of certain names in Eastern Europe and the Near and Middle East was unavoidable. Because of the difference in time the territories were dominated by Saracens, Mongols and Turks, but the emphasis was kept in the subsegments on India, Asia, Middle East and the Near East (Turkey). The last part emulates the journey home of Marco Polo, as he sailed from China past Java, encountered both the dog-headed people of Mattembrion and the Amazons, before he reached the better known parts of Persia, Greece and Turkey.⁹²³

Konrad Grünenberg and his team of artisans displayed an impressive amount of creativity and versatility in the design of arms. Of the 225 coats of arms, real and imaginary, only 88 or 39% could have been culled from *Richental*. A further 26 or 11% occur in older armorials, and were probably available to the workshop.⁹²⁴

11.2.4 Beautiful, but unreliable

Not all entries in the *Grünenberg* are what they pretend. Konrad states: "Hie der her clade von wadri der fürnem / uñ strenge ritter der sich zu paris in der koinglichn / krönung äinliss tag nach ainander mit wem / dz begert zuo ros geschlayn fort wutter den selbener / auch bej achten jre schwert genomen und an / der gleichen tatten vil volbracht dar / ain wunder ze schriben waer, dz hat conrad grüemberg ritter geseet" with the arms *Argent chief indented gules & label or*.⁹²⁵ On the face of it, he has seen Claude de Vaudrey, a younger son of a prominent family from Franche-Comté with possessions in the Beauvaisis, jousting in Paris during the coronation of the king of France. Though the coronations took place in Reims, festivities may have been held in Paris. There are two relevant coronations: in 1461 of Louis XI (1423-83) and in 1484 of

⁹²⁰ Segment 06d Egypt, Babylonia, Palestine, Arabia, Mesopotamia; GRU:338-367, 66n-69n, 38v, 27r-28r.

Kennedy IC proposed that GRU:363-367, derived from *Richental*, were Irish arms, see also *Cb. 13.2.2*.

⁹²¹ Segment 06e Turkey, Bulgaria, Greece, Bosnia; GRU:368-393, 70n-75n, 28v-30v, 26r.

⁹²² GRU:386 Tropea al. Tropaia in prefecture Arcadia in western Peloponnesus, from KCR:220-221.

⁹²³ Segment 06f Mangi, Java, Athens, Persia; GRU:394-411, 76n-84n, 26v, 39r-43r.

⁹²⁴ One distribution, but not necessarily the dependence, is: UFF 9, MIL 4, STU 7, ING 2, DWF 4. Some arms occur in more than one armorial.

⁹²⁵ GRU:1146/219n6 (no.1097 in Popoff GRU).

Charles VIII (1470-98). Though neither Konrad nor Claude is known to have been present, their attendance remains a possibility – except that the Vaudrey genealogy does not have a Claude in it until c.1600. They did have prominent jousters, courtiers, captain and administrators, e.g. the brothers Philibert (d.1453) and Pierre (d.1453). Philibert had a daughter-in-law Claude de Montot, married to his son Artus (d.1501), who in 1481 was a royal chamberlain, councillor and governor of Auxerre. Konrad may have met them in Paris and confused the names and the story.⁹²⁶

The arms assigned are also problematic. Together with segment 12 (the 124 Freiherrn), the last two chapters have provided the modern armorist with more than a thousand coats of arms of German nobles, and the *Grünenberg* is frequently cited as corroboration for identification of a coat of arms or as its source in popular as well as scholarly publications. Such statements can be questioned.

Except for the last segment 24 (Minstrels), the sources claimed for the ten segments in the two chapters are of three types. The first type (segments 14-21) is presumably based on lists of members of named tournament societies (TG's, Turnier Gesellschaften) and the reader may reasonably succumb to feeling that the names and arms are based on personal observation.⁹²⁷ Christof Rolker has suggested that the last part of segment 14 (pages 248-253) are the names and arms of deceased members of the Fisch & Falke society.⁹²⁸ The second type (segment 22) should have nearly the same weight of evidence. The only element detracting would be that the names and arms are not related to specific societies, but only identified by region (Bavaria). Even then, there were probably just three societies in Lower Bavaria and another three societies in Upper Bavaria compared to the ten named in the previous segments, so the items in segment 22 could have come from actual observations.⁹²⁹ Half of the items belong to the third type of information (segment 23), names and arms from all over present Germany, Austria and Switzerland, though Swabia (including most Swiss) and Bavaria are the main suppliers. This segment must have been added as a supplement. Though the well-ordered design ought to be upheld, some five hundred coats of arms should not be wasted, just because they were not known to belong to a society. Surprisingly, the very few doubles can be traced to branches living in different regions. The near perfect segregation of items into groups argues for the competence and diligence of the compiler(s), but it also suggests that the selection and distribution may have been determined on the availability of member lists rather than notes of personal observation. But how trustworthy are the names and arms combinations so nicely drawn and painted?

⁹²⁶ ESNF 15:191-194 Vaudrey genealogy. Philibert S.Montbozon was chamberlain, councillor, governor of Auxerre and maître d'artillerie to the D.Burgundy by 1442. Both Philibert and Pierre took part in the 1439 tournament in Bruxelles; TBX:70-71; LYN:1081-1082.

⁹²⁷ The institution of tournament societies and the prevalence of them in armorials are discussed in *Ch. 11.3.1*.

⁹²⁸ Rolker HO 204n45.

⁹²⁹ As noted on the map *fig.9-ch.11.2n3* as in Kruse R and in Ranft AG 33. Some of the persons named participated in tournaments in 1481.

There is only one way to assess this, and the method is highly subjective.⁹³⁰ One has first to assign the 'true' or 'proper' coat of arms to a family or person, then to decide whether the item in question varies from the 'true' and to what degree. This involves finding out whether the family was still living, when a good recording of the arms was made, to what extent sources agree, and to what degree to trust them. The next step is to exclude those items that cannot be verified by independent means. It does not help verification to know that several occurrences derive from a single source. Among the 100 items noted as *not verified* in segment 23, there are 26 items which may be found in some of the armorials examined, including 6 cases of variation.

There are five major types of variations from the 'true' coat of arms.⁹³¹ The first two types are serious with (1) having different main figures, and (2) having changes of colour between the field and the figures of arms (inversions). Both of these would normally represent different families – or at best a development of arms over time and space – which in fact gives the same end result for what presents itself as a collection of contemporary arms. The less serious types have (3) the colours of geometrical figures mirroring the proper order (reversions or flipping); (4) changes in the number of partitions (wobbling); and (5) fading of colours. The latter three variants are easily reconciled with the 'true', if the reader does not put too much emphasis on matters of detail. An item may well have faced towards the altar, if taken down in a church; or have faced the middle of a table without the copyist noting it. In hasty drawing one may easily enter six rather than five partitions. Not mentioned above is the misalignment of legend and arms during copying.⁹³² Such mistakes are difficult to spot and reason enough to exclude items that cannot be verified. Doubles too ought to be excluded.⁹³³

What remains in the two chapters of the *Grüenberg* are 906 arms, including 517 from segments 14-22 and 389 from segment 23 – all Germans. As they have different origins they are evaluated separately. The result can be given as fair numbers, percentages (%), or as a reliability index (1-%). Among the members of the tournament societies 20% (102) are serious variants and 17% (92) of the less serious type. This result does not argue for diligent observation. At 19% (72) the 'supplements' in segment 23 has a similar rate of serious variants, but with only 9% (37) of the lesser types end up with an overall rate of 28% against 37% for the TG-members, or a reliability index between 0.63 and 0.8, depending on the weight put on the lesser variants.

⁹³⁰ The problems of assessing the validity of a coat of arms was first discussed at the Maastricht congress in 2010, Clemmensen AD 176, then further explained in the Heraldica Nova blogpost of 3.12.2014, *Evaluating armorials (IV) -Grüenberg, the unfortunate armorerist*, www.heraldica.hypotheses.org .

⁹³¹ See *fig.8-ch.4.1n1* Types of variation, explained in *Ch. 4.1* Details, important or not; in part repeated here for ease of discussion. The frequencies of mistakes are summarized in *fig.8-ch.4.1n2*.

⁹³² See examples in French armorials in *Ch. 14.3, 10.2*, and *fig.7-ch.10.2n3* Navarre-Berry Artois segments.

⁹³³ There are only 17 doubles, but 131 excluded as *not verified*.

If we only knew the arms from the *Grünenberg*, we would be wrong for nearly every third coat of arms, and seriously wrong for every fifth! Rationalizing this finding, one explanation could be that the compilation was by name from lists, possibly with notes on the arms, which the artisan then painted from images available in notes and sketches or in books borrowed or owned by Konrad Grünenberg. Though the artisan must have been familiar with the painting of arms, they were not armorists, and probably knew little of the families and arms involved. Finally, once a coat of arms was painted, there was no opportunity for revising it. In summary, without quality control, Konrad Grünenberg and the commissioners of the copies unfortunately received a splendidly painted mess of family arms.

14.3 Variations on a theme

It is the similarity of the arms attributed to fabulous kings and realms that binds the members of the BODENSEE group of armorials together. This is the main evidence that the artisans responsible for the armorials must have had access either to the same ur-source, to (copies of) older manuscripts in the group, or more likely to notes and sketches of the imaginary arms. After 1483, the images could have been copied from the printed *Reichental*. Another argument is that most of the codicological evidence suggests that the parent manuscripts were made in the Bodensee region.

Several members also added ternions and quaternions to their segments. Though the same note-based manufacture is the most likely way for these armorials to have been made, there is the possibility that the compilers used literary sources instead and improved the arms selected. Most ternions do have different arms in subsets of armorials.⁹³⁴ Several sets of ternions and quaternions have actual family arms attributed, and any compiler could exchange the obvious choice for his own preference, e.g. Brabant-Limburg for the Cross of Jerusalem of Geoffrey de Bouillon. The arms of the magi could be found in several churches, and were in any case exchanged at will between the three magi. However, simultaneous invention of arms like those of Abisay and Nabucco would be highly unlikely.

Besides the common use of imaginary arms there are other features that are present in several members of the group. Using tournament societies as an ordering principle is one feature, taking the use of similar technology to include reuse of cut woodblocks is another. Some compilers tried to enhance the value or saleability by including popular themes such as presenting the (fabulous) long lineages of princes. The key element in these features is that they concern the arms of German families with the proviso that there is very little evidence that the German arms were copied from one member to another. In practice, the only evidence available for demonstrating relations between the 'German' segments of the members is whatever markers one may identify. Curious arms or crests are by themselves of little value. It is tempting to see the 'cobbler at work' crest of Rüss von Büchparten, a non-verified family, as an imaginative

⁹³⁴ Clemmensen NW; *Ch.* 13.4.1, 13.5.

invention of a compiler, adopted with delight by a copyist.⁹³⁵ In fact, the crest ought to be taken as evidence that this is a real family using those arms and crest. The well-documented branches Bubenheim, Specht v.B., and Craft v.B., all use a 'dice player' crest, which has different details in most sources.⁹³⁶

11.3.1 Politics and the noble sport

At least six armorials have parts of their German nobles organized by their membership of tournament societies (TG's).⁹³⁷ None of the three armorials from the 16th century have been critically examined, and the little that is known about them suggests that the TG-elements were copied from the *Grüenberg* or possibly from different sources.⁹³⁸ Before reviewing the differences and similarities of the three older manuscripts, a few comments are needed on the place of tournaments in contemporary minds and of the politics that led to the organisation of the societies.⁹³⁹

From the 12th to early 17th century tournaments were the principal sport where noblemen (and in time others) could prove their courage and ability, not to mention other aspects of chivalry, at the associated feasts. In form, tournaments developed from mass brawls and paired jousts into various forms of highly choreographed affairs on foot or on horseback. As in other ways, patricians in towns emulated the nobility, not only taking part, but also organizing tournaments themselves and forming associations for such purposes, e.g. the 'Zur Katze' in Constance and l'Épinette in Lille. Tournaments were held for almost any occasion. A princely wedding, a conference between princes, or a royal visit would do. A siege, during which the knights got bored, was another typical occasion. More or less regular tournament circuits are known. The earliest were established in several of the principal market towns in England and France, later in the border areas between France and the HRR to circumvent the bans on jousting. In the late 15th century Germany, knights met in major towns, and reports were made of such tournaments in chronicles and town archives.

With the popularity of the sport, it is no wonder that the formalities, variant modes of fighting, gear, and the history of tournaments interested people – princes, nobles or patricians. Jousts were already described in 12th century poems, but from the late 15th century, we have treatises and books by princes of the blood (René d'Anjou), knights (Ludwig von Eyb), and heralds (Georg Ruxner/Rixner/Rugen). The latter two extended the history of the sport from

⁹³⁵ DWF:696 (c.1460), GRU:1658 (c.1483/86) Rüss von Büchparten, *Argent chevron sable*.

⁹³⁶ Zobel MR t53-t54; Gruber MW 25; Sieb 20/6.7:17+t23; ING:717, GRU:1655, MIL:717, RUG:1494, and STY:474.

⁹³⁷ *Ingeram* (c.1460, ING), *Donaueschingen* (c.1460, DWF), *Grüenberg* (c.1485, GRU), *Franks* (c.1540, FRA), *Konrad Schnitt* (c.1540, SCH), *Cod.Icon.392d* (c.1570, QDJ).

⁹³⁸ The likeness of the TG's in *Franks* was noted as similar to GRU. The SCH has the components: Turniergesellschaften (Fürspang, 24v; Kron, 23r); Esel, Wind, Wolf, Steinbock, Bracken & Kranz, Fisch & Falke, Bär, Einhorn, Leitbracken), list of tournaments 958-1487, ternionen, quaternionen, men killed at Sempach 1386.

⁹³⁹ The general comments are largely built on Barber T, Stamm TE, Ranft AG, Kruse RA and Ranft WN. The societies are listed and categorized in Ranft AG and summarized on the map Ranft AG 33, reproduced as *fig.9-ch.11.2n3*.

contemporary accounts into lists of tournaments going several centuries back. Such 'histories', giving the place, date, outcome and participants, were commercially viable into the early 16th century, where we in the *Kraichgauer Turnierbuch* still have seven copies of an offshoot of the Ruxner inventions, all made during 1615-16.⁹⁴⁰ Lists of participants in tournaments must also have circulated. Some listings of society members are named as such in various armorials, some have not yet been found out, and some were probably mixed with other sources and will never be recognized as derived from participants in a tournament. But they should be read with a bit of scepticism.⁹⁴¹

There is little novelty in that people organize themselves into societies, whether as commercial guilds or sports societies. Special for many of the German tournament societies were the political aspects. The old lower nobility or knightly families (like the gentry in England) felt the pressure on their lands and status from their overlords, the semi-sovereign dukes and princely counts, and from the towns, not least the richer and socially aspiring patricians. Banding together for mutual support in case of harassment, they could to some extent avert encroachments on their privileges. In a different way they might also stop newcomers into their social level from dominating it. So many societies restricted the membership to a set number and only accepted new entries on the death of another member. As for the membership, following generations tended to join the society of their fathers, though some families had members in several societies, and a few even had personal membership and paid fees to more than one society. Though a society may have been in opposition to the regional overlord, several did have titled nobles among their members and were founded by a princely noble.

The societies divided themselves into four regions (Vier Lande or Turnierlandschaften). Rheinstrom (along the Middle Rhine, Hesse, Rheinland-Pfalz, Nordrhein-Westfalen), Schwaben (Swabia, Baden-Württemberg, parts of western Bavaria), Franken (Franconia, i.e. Bavaria, north of the Danube), and Bayern (Bavaria, south of the Danube).⁹⁴² Only a dozen of the 92 societies listed in Kruse RA were inventoried in the three armorials studied, and by numbers two societies dominate. The largest is the Swabian Leitbracken (talbot) with 293 items in *Ingeram*, 198 in the contemporary *Donaueschingen*, but only 46 in the later *Grünenberg*, even when combined with the Kranz (chaplet) society. The second is the Franconian Fürspang (buckle) society with 127 in *Ingeram*, 107 in *Donaueschingen*, and 125 combined with Einhorn (unicorn) and Bär (bear)

⁹⁴⁰ Klaus Graf, notes of 20.04.2014 on Archivalia, [www.archiv.today.net/stories/..](http://www.archiv.today.net/stories/) ; Kurras KTB (facsimile).

⁹⁴¹ Rolker TO 26 (2014) suggests that not only were date and place invented, but many names falsified in order to glorify such families. Dominique Delgrange, pers.com., has revealed falsehoods in the *Epinette* tournament books.

⁹⁴² Kruse RA 6-8 lists the dates and territorial affiliations of the TG's, which are also indicated on the map in Ranft AG 33. Apart from the lands of identified members most listings are in the armorials and the much reprinted books by Ruxner (*al.* Rixner *al.* Rugen, printed 1530, 1566, a.o.) and its clones.

<http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adellsgesellschaft> has listings and comments based on Ranft AG and Kruse RA.

in *Grünenberg*.⁹⁴³ The listings in the armorials and in other works are usually introduced with the emblem of the society, usually on a banner held by a lady (rarely by a man).⁹⁴⁴ The largest collection of members of the societies and probably the oldest fills 70% of the *Ingeram*.⁹⁴⁵

Very few contemporary diplomas document membership of a society. One that does is the Bundbrief, which lists the founding members of the Falke and the Fisch societies at their merger in 1484 in Constance.⁹⁴⁶ From then on the merged society used their emblems in courtesy (and sometimes chained together).⁹⁴⁷ Though the *Grünenberg* shows the two emblems on separate banners,⁹⁴⁸ this event may have led him to begin his chapter on tournament societies with this society. Like the other armorials, he has the segments showing TG's from Swabia leading, followed by those from the Rhine with the Franconians as a mixed insert and ending with the Bavarians, also as a mix.

Some 130 families and their arms have been noted as members of the Fisch & Falke society, but many families had more than one member at any time, or were represented by more than one branch, so the actual number of people is larger.⁹⁴⁹ Assessing the veracity of the membership notations by Konrad *Grünenberg* and Georg *Rüxner* must be approached with some apprehension. *Rüxner* has more families than the reference Bundbrief, and *Grünenberg* nearly

⁹⁴³ By size ING has 774 items (members, TG-emblems) in 10 TG's, DWF 353 in 4 TG's, GRU has 562 in 11 TG's, and 66 members among counts and barons, but other segments or subsegments may represent TG's, presently not recognized as such. Notably there are no TG's named in *Rügen*, though its compiler wrote a treatise on tournaments.

⁹⁴⁴ Twelve banners are nicely unfolded on a podium in GRU/b, BSB, cgm.145:235n.

⁹⁴⁵ The *Ingeram* (ING) / *Codex Cotta* / *Die Wappenbücher Herzog Albrechts VI von Österreich*, Wien, Kunsthistorische Museum, *Inv.Nr. A 2302*, probably made c.1460 has been edited and commented in Becher ING (1986, facsimile) and Waldstein ING (1990, commentary). It may consist of two or more manuscript fragments in different styles and by several painters and scribes, and described as belonging to either the pursuivant Hans Ingeram or the 'Exempla-meister'.

The structure chosen by Becher and Gamber for the presentation is logical as to the content, but unlike the sequence in the manuscript, so both Boos ING and Clemmensen OM has renumbered the item to correspond with the manuscript, see *fig.5-ch.11.3n1* Survey of the *Ingeram*.

There are two copies or clones of it, ÖNB, *ms.9337* (16C), and BSB, *Cod.Icon.390* (c.1570), also known as *Glockengießers WB*, *WB Stephan Brechtel* or *WB des Reichs*.

⁹⁴⁶ Merger of #47 Falke and #64 Fisch into #83 Fisch & Falke in 1484 (Kruse RA 424, Rolker TO 29); Bundbrief (Kruse RA 427). The two societies had worked together at least from before 1446 as shown on the tombstone of Wildhans von Neuneck (d.1446), Kruse RA 424.

⁹⁴⁷ BSB, *Cod.Icon. 392d:189r* (QDJ).

⁹⁴⁸ BSB, *Cgm.145:241n*; *GStA*, *Hs.21:133v*.

⁹⁴⁹ 130 identifiable families in Kruse RA 427-431 #83 culled from the Bundbrief (58 families with known arms, as assigned in Clemmensen OM), *Rüxner's* (c.1500 / 1530 / 1566, 67 families) and *Raidenbüchers Turnierbücher* (c.1510), together with the listing of approx. 100 families in GRU. This society is not mentioned in ING or DWF.

The spellings in Kruse RA may differ from those in Clemmensen OM, but though the attribution to families involved are personal choices between alternative families, they should be correct in all but very few instances.

twice as many. Similarly, men may have signed the Bundbrief, but not taken part in the tournaments of 1479-1487 listed in *Rüxner* or those presumed to have provided information to the *Grünenberg*.⁹⁵⁰ Men of different branches may have belonged to different societies, a factor that has not been investigated – and which does not apply to the *Grünenberg*. Multiple memberships are known for several persons. So a family may have held membership in a society, though it was not a signatory. Even with such caveats, the patterns ought to provide at least an indication of their veracity as sources. Comparing the 29 Christian names from the 1481 tournaments in Heidelberg with the Bundbrief yields only 12 names in common, but there were several signatories from the other families with different Christian names – and a number of signatories with the same name.

A different type of spot-check on whether families were members of more than one society, had more than one member listed in a society, or whose membership was only noted once in the surviving documents may be performed from the multiple segments ascribed to the Swabian Leitbracken (talbot) society in *Donaueschingen*.⁹⁵¹ Among the 174 identifiable names, only 25 items from 10 families occur more than once, and except for one family always in the same segment. 54 names (31%) occur only in *Donaueschingen*. Of the 293 Leitbracken members in *Ingeram* only 100 names (34%) occur in *Donaueschingen*, though the two armorials are nearly contemporary. Kruse RA lists nearly all the names in ING-Leitbracken names. Another 6 DWF-Leitbracken names are placed in the Franconian ING-Fürspang and 4 names among the ING-Rheinstrom members. Nearly all names in DWF segment 21 and 9 items (total of 38) from the other segments have double memberships in the other major Swabian society Fisch & Falke as noted by Kruse RA and in the *Grünenberg*. It appears that the compilers or their informants did know in which societies the nobles had membership. Perhaps they used member lists for their compilations, matching them with notes of the family arms.

11.3.2 The enigma of *Uffenbach*

In form, the armorial named *Uffenbach* after one of its owners stands out as unusual.⁹⁵² The arms were painted on one side of the sheets only, and there are no crests at all in it. During one of the restorations the sheets were glued together, and the contents were shuffled so much around so as to make the present order meaningless. Both editors have tried to make some sort of order out of it, but it is impossible to reconstruct the *Uffenbach* in detail.⁹⁵³

⁹⁵⁰ Most of the names in *Rüxner* belong to the tournaments in Würzburg 1479 (no Christian names) and Heidelberg 1481 tournaments. For 1484 there were 15 names for Stuttgart and 3 for Ingolstadt. For 1487 there were 1 name for Regensburg and 6 for Worms.

⁹⁵¹ The Leitbracken segments 09, 17, 21, 23, and 27 are listed in App. D in Clemmensen DWF, and compared with those in *Ingeram*, *Grünenberg*, TG #63 Leitbracken and #83 Fisch & Falke in Kruse RA. The names in the latter came mainly from the Bundbrief and *Rüxner Turnierbuch*.

⁹⁵² Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, *Cod. 90v in scrinio* (UFF), described in Brandis CH 148-151 and in BGH #14. Facsimile with comments and index published 1990, Paravicini UFF; followed by an edition in 2012, Clemmensen UFF.

⁹⁵³ See *fig.5-ch.11.3n2* survey of UFF.

The commentators do not agree on a date for the compilation or execution, and few have supported their proposals with serious arguments.⁹⁵⁴ The watermarks do not provide final evidence, though they suggest that it was made in Strasbourg between 1390 and 1440, probably late in the period. Most of the dateable items fit best with people active between 1350 and 1395, but this is hardly a primary collation, and was probably made in a workshop for a non-professional customer. The date is important in as much as it would determine the time of assignment of (imaginary) arms to heathen kings, and whether Ulrich Richental 'invented' these or 'just' had them copied. If the *Uffenbach* was executed c.1390, as some have proposed, the arms of the heathen kings would have been common lore for at least a generation, while if it was only executed after 1440, the *Uffenbach* would only be one of the clones of the *Richental*, albeit a very early one taken from the original series commissioned by Ulrich Richental himself.

In content, the *Uffenbach* has 60% Germans, 16% imaginary arms, 24% foreigners from six nations. There is a sufficient number of marker items even among the Germans to link it with the BODENSEE group. Though it does not have any sets of quaternions, nor ternions, it does have the Three Magi, King Arthur and Alexander the Great.⁹⁵⁵ Most, but not all, of the imaginary arms are common to the BODENSEE group, and could have been derived from the *Richental*. Among these are the pseudo-Irish arms of Langonia, Conixen and Ulster, as well as a miniature with men having heron's beaks replacing their mouths and noses.⁹⁵⁶ One of the arms attributed to Prester John in both *Uffenbach* and *Richental* is *Per fess azure and argent over all a cross gules couped*. Here it is placed twice (UFF:52r, 54r) not only next to a small miniature representing India (the realm of Prester John), but also close to a miniature of the 'Vinster Berg' (51r), on which several men with Jew's hats are hiding. Jew's hats and Jews occur occasionally in arms and in armorials, but not as references to Jewish popular culture at the time. Rebecca Voss recently drew attention to the legend of the Red Jews that lived far away behind the river Sambatjon, which was only passable on the Sabbath, when no Jews could travel.⁹⁵⁷ On the Mappa Mundi of Andres Walsperger, executed in Constance in 1448, their land is placed in the Caspian Mountains.

⁹⁵⁴ End 14C (*Uffenbach* 1730, BGH, Neubecker); 1390-1440 (Hoffmann); 1400-1425 (Brandis); 1440 (Horstmann); Overlapping periods 1363-1446, 1354-1386, ending with 1390-1410 (Paravicini UFF 17-27); 1440/60 (Clemmensen).

⁹⁵⁵ The absence of quaternions and ternions argues for an earlier date, though several other compilers of BODENSEE-members also chose not to include these two groups of arms. The arms of Alexander are the rare *Three bells*, one of the several similar arms in the *Hans Burggraff* (HBG, c.1450), which has not been fully transcribed, but which has a similar pattern of concordance as the *Miltenberg*.

⁹⁵⁶ See *Cb. 13.2*, 'Snebelissen Land'. Clemmensen UFF 7; Sieb A 1, 141; crest of Kehergt Truchsess von Henneberg.

⁹⁵⁷ Rebekka Voss: von Muskeljuden und Rotschöpfen. Forschungsprojekt zu den 'Roten Juden' in der jüdischen Populärkultur. *Forschung Frankfurt*, no.3, 2011, p.37.

Jean-Claude Loutsch was a bit too optimistic, when he stated that the *Uffenbach* was fully concordant with the *Miltenberg* from MIL:1110 on.⁹⁵⁸ In fact, the concordance extends to 54% excluding some common arms not in sequence. The typical fragmentary concordance is made up of sets of four items (i.e. an UFF page), but sometimes there are only two concordant items on an UFF page.⁹⁵⁹ The apparent longer series found in comparing the two armorials are incidental, as the UFF pages were glued together. In UFF, recto and verso pages may in the original order have been placed far from each other. In reality, the restorers placed the arms they could recognize together, which explains the apparent longer series. There has probably been a loss of sheets over time.

The *Miltenberg*, which undoubtedly has the best concordance to the *Uffenbach*, is a relatively late clone of the Bodensee group.⁹⁶⁰ The printed edition does not give an overview of the structure, and the present survey can only be regarded as tentative. It begins with ternionen, quaternionen, and realms with some Saxons inserted. Apart from a few French and a large group of mixed items (segment 19, concordant with UFF), the items are German and noted by rank, though there are several segments of each rank. There is also a segment of towns and one of dioceses, in part derived from *Richental*. The most unusual segment is one of nine monastic orders, of which the first six are numbered.

11.3.3 A popular series

Whether the *Uffenbach* or (more likely) the *Richental* were the ultimate source of the imaginary arms, this lore of heathen arms became so popular in a short time that we know at least a score of different armorials executed within a generation. It was not possible to examine all the armorials belonging to the group, neither to transcribe nor edit them within the framework of this study. But it is not really necessary. Spot-checks on markers are sufficient for inclusion, as was the case for the *Hans Burggraff* (HBG, c.1450), which could be shown to be very close to either or both the *Uffenbach* and the *Miltenberg* – at each end of a time-span.

Besides the imaginary arms discussed above and in *Chapter 13*, the presence of markers among the non-imaginary arms should tell us whether, to what extent, and in what form of relationship any two armorials belong to the group. It should be possible to relate many of the armorials to each other and to specific copies of the *Richental*. Alas, it was not possible to document such details within this study or to list separately the several non-imaginary markers. A single example must suffice. A mystical *Lasselgraf* occurs in several armorials (and in my editions!), which with the help of some archival studies by Klaas Padberg Evenboer has now been resolved.⁹⁶¹ It is not in the *Richental*, so it must have been added at a later date, probably after 1450. The name appears to be a

⁹⁵⁸ Loutsch MIL 96 (1989).

⁹⁵⁹ Clemmensen UFF, Appendix 2. The Italians in UFF:11-18 matches MIL:1138-1145.

⁹⁶⁰ *Armorial Miltenberg* (MIL), c.1500, privately owned, once the property of the editor Jean-Claude Loutsch (1932-2002), see *fig.5-ch.11.3n3* survey of MIL.

⁹⁶¹ The arms *Bendy sable-argent*, “lasselgraf” are noted in BLW:811, GRU:660, RUG:993, STY:463, and Cod.Icon.312:12r2 (QDM); as “herschler” in RUG:2117; as Heessel in CHE:167 and QDB:322, and Jan with a mullet in chf in LYN:2768, probably a nephew. Thanks to Klaus Padberg Evenboer, pers.com. 2014.

misspelling of Heessel, the name of a well known herald, but not he himself.⁹⁶² The added '..graf' suggests that it could be the son Willem, who in a charter of 1451/53 (uncertain date) from Marienburg/Marlborck (the headquarters of the Teutonic Order) writes as captain (Hauptman) of the castle and as count (Graf) of Emden.

Besides the more, rather than less, imaginary arms of bishops and dioceses derived from *Richental*,⁹⁶³ several armorials included tables of arms of actual German dioceses or incumbent bishops. Like the tables of arms of (mostly) free towns (Reichsstädte), these arms are usually correct.

The popularity did not stop at the contents. Even physical aids such as the woodblocks used for prestamping the outlines of the shields, helmets and mantling could be reused. This was the case for several armorials made during 1450-70 as discussed above.⁹⁶⁴

11.3.4 Fashionable genealogy

A few makers of members of the BODENSEE group added more than imaginary arms, members of tournament societies and nobles listed by rank to their manuscripts. Jörg Rugen (*al.* Georg Ruxner / Rixner) not only expanded the imaginary arms in his armorial with up to 250 'Greek' dukes and nobles, but more importantly included several displays of the ancestors of two of his benefactors, and a chronicle of the dukes of Bavaria illustrated not only with the arms used by members of the Wittelsbach family, but he invented arms for the fabulous forefathers (and mothers) needed for the line to reach back to the age of the amazons.⁹⁶⁵ The method he applied was to invent a coat of arms for an initial person in one of the early dynasties, a canting one for a notable person in the line, or take a 'real' coat of arms used by one of the families claimed to be part of the lineage, and then reuse these as quarters in combined arms for later members of the dynasty. At present the Bavarian Chronicle is part of the *Rugen* manuscript, but this may not have been the original intent. He is known to have made manuscript books for various customers, and the watermarks on the paper used for the chronicle is different from those found in the armorial part of RUG.⁹⁶⁶

The highly inventive genealogy, taking the lineage back to the distant past only known from romances and the classical Greek and Roman writers and illustrating it with coats of arms, was very popular in the 15th-16th centuries. Coats of arms were easily recognizable even for people not too proficient in

⁹⁶² Hendrik van Heessel, Austria & Ruyers king-of-arms, see *Ch. 15.3.2* and *Ch. 7.2.2*. See also the arms of Heessel in Clemmensen OM, and the note on the herald in there

⁹⁶³ The *Richental* is the primary source for the *Wappenbüchlein* printed by Virgil Solis in Nuremberg in 1555. It has five segments of cardinals and clergy present at the Council of Constance.

⁹⁶⁴ See *Ch. 4.3*, prestamping; *fig. 8-ch.4.2n1*; *fig. 6-ch.4.3n2*.

⁹⁶⁵ Innsbruck, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek für Tirol, ms. 545 (RUG, c.1500); autograph of Jörg Rugen *al.* Georg Rixner / Ruxner; the Bavarian chronicle Clemmensen RUG 32-37; see also *fig. 5-ch.11.3n4* survey of RUG.

⁹⁶⁶ Wasserzeichen, Metadata for AT4000-545 (RUG) on www.manuscripta.at, fo.273, 279, 308, 314 (chronicle); 73, 225, 238, 260, 263 (armorial).

reading or in languages. It also gave rulers an opportunity to emphasize their possessions and/or their illustrious relations. The genealogies may have been more elaborate in the German speaking regions due to the many semi-sovereign princes, but even English and French nobles are known to have promoted fanciful descendance, e.g. to the fabulous Swan Knight, also claimed by the counts of Kleve.⁹⁶⁷ Jörg Rugen also made illustrated genealogies for the rulers of Brandenburg, Saxony, and probably also for Habsburg and another for Bavaria.⁹⁶⁸ A beautiful late example, not by Jörg Rugen, was made for the dukes of Mecklenburg.⁹⁶⁹

⁹⁶⁷ Wagner SK, genealogies in BER and GEL.

⁹⁶⁸ That for Brandenburg is probably lost; the one for Saxony is known as a later copy, digitized on <http://tudigit.ulb-tu-darmstadt.de/show/Hs-203/0011> (frontpage); ÖNB, ms.2936:84r-163v (WNB, autograph with drawing of Rugen as persevant) has a genealogy of Austrian rulers; ÖNB, ms.8769:125r-128v (WNW) has an insert with some ancestors of dukes of Bavaria, which are different from those in RUG. On BSB, Cod.Icon. 309:64r (MUN) is a coat of arms similar to the one in RUG:390r/3545 Eckhardt Gf.Scheyern gt 'Bundschuh'.

⁹⁶⁹ Röpke MF, made in 1526.

12. Members of the ASHMOLE group.

While most of the armorials discussed in the preceding chapters were originals in the sense that they were executed during the Late Middle Ages, most of the English armorials of the period can only be found as later copies or even copies of copies. As to types, they also differ from the composite ones found on the Continent. They are almost all insular in content, devoid of crests, and most continue the two types dominant in the earlier periods, occasionals and lightly structured general armorials. In one important aspect, the English developed a useful novelty, the ordinary, which allows for (relatively) easy identification of an unknown coat of arms by ordering them by the principal figure-of-arms.⁹⁷⁰

The combination of the political changes in England (and changes in the composition of nobility and gentry) due to the civil wars from the deposition of Richard II to the accession of the Tudors and the long-lived institution of the College of Arms and its precursor relationships among the royal heralds may have influenced the development of armorials even before the introduction of official records of arms and visitations during the reign of Henry VIII.

Besides discussing the salient features of the ordinaries, which surfaced at the same time, early 1340'es, as the young Edward III established control of his realm, this chapter will touch upon a few armorials, which exhibit elements connected with the composite type, while leaving the two conventional types untouched.⁹⁷¹

12.1 Ordinaries and sources

Whether the ordinary was developed as a practical tool by professionals (read: heralds) as proposed by Anthony Wagner is less certain.⁹⁷² Like a professional officer of arms, any amateur armorist with the appropriate knowledge, time and money available would be able to transform his sources into an ordinary. That many members of the gentry had extensive knowledge of arms is evident from the proceedings of 1386 in the Scrope-Grosvenor case, where Robert Laton described how he took down the blazons dictated by his 70-year old father, as he told what coats of arms the elder Laton had observed in participating in numerous campaigns and tournaments.⁹⁷³

With computers available, it is easy to create an ordinary in blazon, and not impossible to do the same with arms as images. That would only require some coding and an appropriate database system to manage the information, and with advanced digitizing and free-text reading coding could be omitted. The *Dictionary of British Arms* and the *Ordinary of medieval armorials* underlying this study are just two examples of modern computer-based ordinaries.

⁹⁷⁰ Alphabetical dictionaries belong to later periods.

⁹⁷¹ For surveys of the English armorials of the period and their possible editions, see Wagner CEMRA, Wagner RAH (supplement); and Clemmensen OM.

⁹⁷² CEMRA xv.

⁹⁷³ CEMRA xvi, Nicolas SG 1:111, 2:300.

In not so former times, the *Papworth* transformation of the alphabetical *Burke's General Armory*, and the compilation of *Burke* itself, must have required many drafts before the sources were transformed into ordered tables of arms according to figures and colours. Though the Laton experience demonstrated that at least some medieval armorists could keep very many blazons in their head, and probably had the faculties to sort them before committing the descriptions to paper, it is most likely that also here several drafts and several readings of several sources were needed for the completion of even a smallish ordinary with some 600 arms like the *Cooke's Ordinary*. And to repeat a key argument: time and paper (not to mention parchment) were expensive. On balance, one must also admit that searching for an unknown coat of arms is much faster and surer in an ordinary than going through several armorials, be they blazoned or painted.

One of the identified sources of the earliest ordinaries is the armorial named as the *Ashmolean Roll* by Sydney Greenstreet after the collection of which it is a member. As the outstanding common feature, the name was extended to cover the group of ordinaries and armorials that used it as their principal source.

12.1.1 *Ashmolean Roll*

This is a traditional English general armorial recording people by their full name or title. We know of three copies, all copied 100 or 250 years after the original collation was made in the winter of 1334/35.⁹⁷⁴ The three main commentators, Wagner, Denholm-Young and Barstow, have slightly different descriptions of the structure and numbering. The one used here divides it into four segments.⁹⁷⁵ The first segment lists 22 Christian realms (with appropriate arms), the second has 10 earls (every possible for 1334, probably by precedence), the third has 77 barons (including a couple of their sons and a few that were unlikely to have been summoned in person to Parliament at the time). The fourth and largest is an unstructured recording of 377 members of the gentry, mostly knights. This collation is not similar to either of the two surviving contemporary armorials (*Second Dunstable*, SD; *Carlisle*, CA), nor to the slightly later *Powell Roll* (PO), though as expected there is a considerable overlap of names and arms.⁹⁷⁶

Denholm-Young claimed that it "undoubtedly has its roots in Yorkshire, with a few coats from Westmoreland, Nottinghamshire, and Lincolnshire" – and some

⁹⁷⁴ *Ashmolean Roll*, CEMRA 57: AS/a, Oxford, Bodley, Ashmole 15A (c.1400, reused roll of vellum, 486 blazoned arms); AS/b, London, College of Arms, Vincent 164:119b-134v (c.1575, tricked); AS/c, Oxford, Queen's College, ms.158:403n-433n (c.1580, tricked). Dates are as in CEMRA and Denholm-Young CF 89.

⁹⁷⁵ From Clemmensen OM based on the transcription of AS/c by Robert W. Mitchell (1982).

⁹⁷⁶ With very few exceptions, the collation appears to be contemporary. Some items were added during the 16th century (numbers > 488). Denholm-Young CF 99n2 mentions 2 knights among the barons and 9 barons among the gentry, reflecting their 15th century status. Only a couple of items may refer to the arms of deceased notables, e.g. the Poitevin favourite of Edward II, Piers Gaveston (executed 1312), is mentioned as a gentleman in AS:426, and not by his rank as E.Cornwall. AS:361 'monsr de la ryuere' refers to Richard Woodville (1405-69) only created B.Rivers in 1448.

from the rest of the country.⁹⁷⁷ Unfortunately for the story linking the above armorials to the North and a possible creation of a Carlisle Herald, the claim falls foul of closer scrutiny.⁹⁷⁸ Among the barons only 22% come from the North, and Lincolnshire outnumbers the larger Yorkshire by nine to seven. In itself, this may just have been caused by the Crown favouring southern families by summoning them in person to Parliament. The North stands a little better among the gentry, but only fills a third of the segment. The Yorkshire contingent of 68 names (18%) may constitute a larger part than in most other armorials, but to claim it provides the 'roots' of the collation is a hyperbole. The 'few' from Lincolnshire number more than half of those from Yorkshire (38 items, 10%), and though most counties have only from a few to half a dozen names, Norfolk provided 19 and far-off Devon 21, that is 5% each. That said, Denholm-Young is right in suggesting that the collation warrants further study in relation to the affinity of the baronage and of the young king Edward III.

Apart from the suggestion by Anthony Wagner and Denholm-Young that the *Ashmolean* could be a source of the early ordinaries, in part from the similarity of the blazoning,⁹⁷⁹ there is another reason for reviewing it here. The compiler made a feeble attempt to note similar arms next to each other (like in a pre-ordinary). Usually only two-four items with some similar arms spread across the armorial. All nine of the single eagles were kept together.

12.1.2 *Cooke and Cotgrave*

By its nature as a secondary work, an ordinary is almost impossible to date, unless one has additional information on the manuscript in question. What can be done is to some extent to assign a date of collation to the primary sources used. Nonetheless, Noël Denholm-Young argued that the shorter, *Cotgrave* (556 items in blazon), of the two very similar ordinaries was the older. It appears that the main argument was simply, that it was shorter. In his survey of armorials, Anthony Wagner placed the 16% longer, *Cooke's* (648 painted items, some as banners, most as shields), as the oldest.⁹⁸⁰

Both ordinaries are structured into segments by the principal figure-of-arms (charges), though the selection of what is the principal figure may differ from a modern definition like the ones used for the *Dictionary of British Arms*. Where *Cooke* has 39 segments, *Cotgrave* manages with 25.⁹⁸¹ Apart from certain figures-

⁹⁷⁷ Denholm-Young CF 99.

⁹⁷⁸ Analysis from data in Clemmensen OM. 8% are unplaced families.

⁹⁷⁹ Wagner CEMRA 60, 74; Denholm-Young CF 98. Referred to by Barstow AS 76n2, in his discussion of the importance of the blazons found in the *Ashmolean Roll*.

⁹⁸⁰ Denholm-Young CF 98-99. *Cooke's Ordinary* (CKO), CEMRA 58, 4 copies, incl. the vellum roll once owned by A.R. Wagner (and dated c.1340 by him on contents and 14C main hand); Oxford, Queen's College, ms.158:305n-348n; and two other 16C tricked copies.

Cotgrave's Ordinary (CG), CEMRA 60, a copy in blazon (219 also in trick in margin) written in 1562, owned by the College of Arms. Transcription published in Nicolas RR. From the DBA only 90% of CG could be recovered.

⁹⁸¹ The number of segments varies with the definitions used, and arguments can be made for either splitting or joining the ones used in Clemmensen OM.

of-arms, splitting of some figure-types, and some transpositions of segments, both have the segments by main charges in the same order:⁹⁸²

For *Cotgrave*: 01 cross, 02 lion rampant, 03 eagle, 04 chevron, 05 fretty, 06 per fess & bars, 07 saltire, 08 per bend & bends, 11 quarterly, 13 annulets, 15 lion passant, 16 rose, 17 lozenges (no checky). For *Cooke*: 01 cross, 02 lion rampant, 03 eagle, 06 chevron, 07 per bend & bends, 08 fretty, 09-10 per fess & bars, 11 saltire, 14 lozenges & checky, 16 lion passant, 17 quarterly, 18 rose, 21 annulets. The last 49 items in segment 39 (CKO:598-646) are not ordered by main charge.⁹⁸³

Once again, the result one gets from comparing two armorials depends on how it is done. Using a gross overlap method (as must have been done to some degree by Denholm-Young, Wagner and Fox), there is a gross 496 items overlap between *Cotgrave* and *Cooke*, with *Cooke* having more than 91% of the items in the smaller *Cotgrave*. Both the proportion of items from the *Ashmolean*, the wording of the blazons in *Cotgrave*, and the use of forenames indicate that both used the *Ashmolean* for most of the arms, but *Cotgrave* appears to have missed 38 items of the items from the *Ashmolean* in *Cooke*.⁹⁸⁴ There are also more differences from the *Ashmolean* regarding the spelling of names and variants in the coats of arms in *Cotgrave* than in *Cooke*. Both have several names emended to reflect the prominence (and sometimes titles) of later family members – rarely in parallel.

On the other hand, if one compares the two segment by segment, the number of items per segment rarely differs by more than one or two. In part due to losses at the start of *Cooke*, *Cotgrave* has a dozen more crosses,⁹⁸⁵ while *Cooke* has an additional 15 items with fess or barry charges,⁹⁸⁶ and some four-five items each among the chevrons,⁹⁸⁷ maunches,⁹⁸⁸ and quarterly arms.⁹⁸⁹ The large CKO 10 and CG 06b (fess & barry) segments are in general concordance, but with some inserts and transpositions. The unmatched items here are always close to the breakpoints. The four checky items in CKO 14a are not present in

⁹⁸² *Fig.5-ch.12.1n1* Segments in CKO and CG. The full concordance is available on www.armorial.dk.

⁹⁸³ *Fig.5-ch.12.1n2* Segments in TJ, and comparison with CKO, CG and WJ. The definition of figures of arms in certain segments is not always identical.

⁹⁸⁴ Items culled from AS make up 57% of CKO, and 62% of CG. However, CG has 12 items from AS, which are not in CKO.

⁹⁸⁵ CG:1-7, 9, 15, 30, 35; CG:16-17, 14, 18 transposed; CG:1 = AS:91; CG:15 = AS:335 (mons de..) = TJ:918 (ric de ..).

⁹⁸⁶ CKO 34 has 12 items, of which CG:540-541 are the only similar items; CG 06c with 11 'fess of lozenges' is concordant with the tail of CKO 10, less CG:307; the main part of CKO 10 has 7 items, not in CG 06b, and CG 06b 3 items not in CKO 10, though CKO:356 'darden' has a place close to where CG:270 'john damercre' would be with identical arms.

⁹⁸⁷ CKO 06 / CG 04 have paired subfragments in mixed order in common; no counterparts for CKO:142, 145, 147, 161-163; CG:155 a Scot, 161 confounded Clare, not in CKO.

⁹⁸⁸ For CKO 05 /CG 19, two pairs of 'maunches' missing after CG:510 and CG:511.

⁹⁸⁹ CKO 17 / CG 11 have paired subfragments in mixed order in common; no counterparts for CKO:464, 467, 475-477.

CG, and the overlap of CG with CKO 12 roundels, and CKO 13 canton, is very small. The main difference of 92 items in gross numbers appears to be caused by the miscellaneous arms appended at the end of *Cooke* (segment 39 with 49 items, of which there are some among CG:548-554).

From the concordance of the two, and the descriptions given, Paul Fox is probably correct in proposing that both used a now lost common source (ur-*Cooke*), and that both Denholm-Young and Wagner are off-side.⁹⁹⁰

12.1.3 Thomas Jenyns' Book

Queen Margaret or Marguerite d'Anjou (1430-1482), the consort of King Henry VI since 1445, once owned a very large and beautiful ordinary, which was also based on the *Ashmolean-Cooke-Cotgrave* series.⁹⁹¹ Besides the ordinary (pp.1-101, TJ:2-1261), the manuscript has a tail of 400 coats of arms in the form of an unstructured armorial. A little more half of this ordinary could have been derived from the *Cooke/Cotgrave*; the rest was added from other sources. Several names and arms are doubled both within the ordinary and between the ordinary and the armorial.

The contents may be divided into 32 segments according to the main charge involved, in a sequence essentially similar to the *Cooke/Cotgrave*, but a bit more specified. Like in the two older armorials, Christian names were retained, but sometimes altered, probably to reflect either living or more notable members of those families. Neither of the two principal commentators, Emmanuel de Boos and Paul A. Fox, made more than a half-hearted attempt to identify the persons who owned the arms entered into this manuscript. That is understandable, considering that they potentially cover several generations from c.1330 (*Ashmolean*) to c.1450 (painting of the royal arms), and that many families reused the same Christian name either from generation to generation or in every second generation.⁹⁹²

⁹⁹⁰ Fox TJ 97 believes there was a common progenitor for CKO and CG.

⁹⁹¹ *Thomas Jenyns' Book* (TJ), CEMRA 73-78, 3 main variants, twelve 16th century copies in addition to the contemporary main manuscript: BL, Add.40851 (TJ/a), which has painted shields in 3 rows of 4, and above each row blazons in French, sometimes with more than one name, giving 12-15 items per page. Emmanuel de Boos has published a transcription with preliminary identifications, armorial index, and comments in Boos TJ (2004). The analysis of it in Fox TJ is based on a different numeration, heavily influenced by TJ/c, Society of Antiquaries, ms.351. A modern pagination usually takes precedence over the foliation. Anthony Wagner has placed the copies according to two very similar variant series, the primary from the main manuscript, the secondary (TJ/f-m) named for a lost vellum book given by Thomas Jenyns, a gentleman in the household of the E.Huntingdon, to Robert Glover Somerset Herald (fl.1578). The arms of Queen Margaret are on fo.5r in TJ/a. TJ/n (CA, M.14:212-268) was copied from a manuscript owned 1480 by Richard III as D.Gloucester and Constable of England.

⁹⁹² Paul A. Fox kindly provided a copy of his notes to TJ. For several entries, he noted the reign(s), in which a name was documented, which shows the complexity of analyzing an armorial based on multiple sources covering multiple generations. In Fox WJ 64, he suggests that the present TJ manuscript is the end product of several stages of revision, incl. one before 1394 by an amateur armorer John Trevor Bp.St.Asaph, who is also named as author of the *Tractatus de armis* treatise. Fox TJ notes the relation to CKO and CG, but not to AS.

With this understanding of the sources used, it becomes almost meaningless to date the compilation as such. In any case it will have to be a wide interval. Dating the manuscript or the last modification may be possible. Anthony Wagner selected c.1410 as appropriate, while Paul A. Fox argued that some identifiable names pointed to a revision of contents c.1398, and it being painted several years later.⁹⁹³ From an analysis of the artwork and writing, S.M. Collins suggested that it was made by the same artisan that painted the *Grimaldi Roll* (P/a), i.e. early 15th century.⁹⁹⁴ It appears from the three estimates that Queen Margaret bought or was given the manuscript and had her arms inserted.⁹⁹⁵ The next owner may have been John Norton of Norton Conyers (Yorks.), who could have acquired it either when the queen first went into exile in 1461 or in 1471/75, when she was imprisoned and later ransomed into exile in France.⁹⁹⁶

12.1.4 Additional sources

In a transformation from an unordered to an ordered structure the only forms of evidence of a connection between two armorials are a high proportion of similar arms (preferably with similar legends too) and a number of similar markers. With 76% of the *Ashmolean* making up 57% of *Cooke's Ordinary*, and very similar wordings of the blazons in all three, there can be little doubt that the former is the major source of the early ordinaries. But that still leaves 43% of the contents unaccounted for. Even if the 36 unpaired items in CKO segment 39 could be disregarded, the compiler would have had to find 240 coats of arms to supplement his main source. As there are only a few samples of prosopographical information available, but no full critical editions of the ordinaries and the main sources, we are left to speculate who were the people mentioned and from where the information came. Two obvious candidate groups would be any contemporary compilation, or one of the many armorials which must then have been available from the reign of Edward I and from the early years of Edward II.⁹⁹⁷ Armorials with their main contents collated at a later time may have used elements from common sources.

⁹⁹³ CEMRA 73; Fox TJ 101; John Bussy, lynched 1399 (TJ:535); Thomas of Woodstock, d.1397, D.Gloucester 1386, not present. TJ:1576 Thomas Stanley (1405-59) succeeded as B.Lathom 1437 mentioned as a knight; TJ:1581 Andrew Ogard *al.* Anders Pedersen Gyldenstjerne (d.1454), a Dane serving as a captain in France and naturalized in 1433.

⁹⁹⁴ CEMRA 62, 74. The *Grimaldi* (P) is a general armorial with a collation of c.1350, but the only surviving manuscript, a vellum roll, is probably an early 15C copy.

⁹⁹⁵ Paul A. Fox has an interesting discussion of a possible ownership by the Stanley and the time of transfer to the queen, and also on its purpose, though some of his observations could have a simpler interpretation; Fox TJ 100-102.

⁹⁹⁶ CEMRA 74, Fox TJ 102 preferred 1461 and her flight to Scotland after the defeat at Towton in Yorkshire.

⁹⁹⁷ Transcriptions of the contents of the armorials from the reign of Edward I are available in Brault RAE together with much prosopographical information. Several of these appear to be independent collations made at the same time from the same population or of the same men acting at different places (during the Anglo-Scottish wars) within a short time span. The *Parliamentary Roll* (N, c.1312, 1113 items with little information of this type) should be considered together with these armorials.

At present, all commentators agree that the entries in both the *Ashmolean* and the *Cooke-Cotgrave* (apart from a few oddities and later additions into copies) represent near contemporaries, men active up to the middle of the 14th century. Some may have been added from the compilers' own observations as preserved in notes or even with the owners' Christian names in his memory, but given the use of a major source, much of the rest could well come from other armorials. According to CEMRA, ten armorials from c.1320/1350 have survived, of which half were available for comparison with a total of 800 partially overlapping items.⁹⁹⁸ That leaves one small and four very small armorials for consideration.⁹⁹⁹ All five have considerable overlap with *Cooke*, which comes as no surprise, as they are more or less contemporary, but only *Powell* contributes a substantial number of unique pairs.¹⁰⁰⁰ As the medium size *Parliamentary Roll* only supplied 11 unique pairs, there was little need to compare CKO with the other armorials from the reign of Edward I. With 172 items in *Cooke* unaccounted for, the second major source must either be one or more lost armorials or simply be the compiler's notes or memory – probably covering several of the pairs found in the armorials examined.

Less than half of the ordinary part of *Thomas Jenyns* is derived from CKO-CG as we know them, but it has a further 54 paired with items in the *Ashmolean* and showing a similar pattern of Christian names.¹⁰⁰¹ Of these pairs, 18 belong to TJ segment 01 *lion*, and 15 to TJ 10 *cross*, which suggests that the TJ/a was derived from a larger and different version of *Cooke-Cotgrave*.

The presence of the personal arms of Andrew Harclay suggests that the widely copied *Parliamentary Roll* could be one of the sources consulted.¹⁰⁰² Of the 482 pairs found, 164 cannot be found in *Cooke-Cotgrave* (AS-CKO-CG), but of these several have had their Christian names modified. The best evidence that the *Parliamentary Roll* was used as supplementary source is the overlap with 130 of the 167 bannerets in it. 41 of these are not in AS-CKO-CG. Typically, a third to half of each segment from the *Parliamentary* is present in *Thomas Jenyns*, though many also overlap with the contemporary armorials. Of the 36 arms from Sussex and Surrey in segment N 05, 80% are in TJ, but not in AS-CKO-CG.

The TJ-compiler probably consulted other armorials of the reign of Edward I, e.g. TJ:77. Thomas Turberville has the field billety, otherwise only known from

⁹⁹⁸ Not available were *3rd Calais* (CL, c.1348, 24 items), *Carlisle* (CA, 1334, 277 items), *Cooke's Book* (CK, c.1320, 89 items), *Harleian* (HA, 1314, 191 items), *Povey* (PV, c.1320, 82 items).

⁹⁹⁹ *Powell* (PO, c.1350, 672 items), *Boroughbridge* (O, 1322, 214 items), *Grimaldi* (P, c.1350, 167 items), *Styward* (R, 1327/77, 124 items), *Second Dunstable* (SD, 1334, 135 items) were compared.

¹⁰⁰⁰ The number of unique pairs with CKO is: PO 65, O 15, P 7, R 15, SD 4.

¹⁰⁰¹ There are 64 items from TJ in AS, but not in CKO; and 10 in TJ, AS, and CG, but not in CKO. The 19 pairs with N do not have a similar pattern of christian names.

¹⁰⁰² Andrew Harclay, d.1323, defended Carlisle against the Scots in 1315, defeated the insurgents at Boroughbridge in 1322 and was created E.Carlisle in 1322, but attainted and executed the following year. His arms, differenced by a martlet, is known from a manuscript illustration as well as from TJ:875, N:1012, M:61, and L:46. Prestwick TE; GEC 3:31.

the *Charles Roll*.¹⁰⁰³ Another set of markers are TJ:30, F:33, E:75 for Gryffudd ap Gwenwynwyn (d.1286) Lord of Powys, while the later de la Pole and Cherlton lords of Powys are in TJ:28, AS:81, and CKO:30 with identical arms.

The *County Roll*, known from a mid 17th century copy, but believed to have been compiled c.1380, is another putative source.¹⁰⁰⁴ The E.Chester arms may come from it, e.g. Bondeville in TJ:10-11 and CY:8-9. St. Oswald, a Saxon king of Northumbria, is only known from TJ:13 and WJ:23, a near contemporary compilation with additional overlapping items.¹⁰⁰⁵

12.2 Reorganisation of content

When one ordinary is twice the size of the other, there has to be differences between the sources used, but are there also differences in the order of entries and segments? As stated above, 76-89% of the *Ashmolean Roll* is incorporated into the three older ordinaries, making it the principal source, and presumably dominant for the ordering of items within segments.¹⁰⁰⁶ In the following, the overall ordering into segments (groups of figures-of-arms), the relative positions of certain combinations of figures within segments, transpositions of items within segments, any doubling of entries within or between segments, and whether it is possible to determine the mode of culling items from the sources, will be discussed.

The modern ordinaries, from *Papworth* to *Dictionary of British Arms* and recent editions of armorials, all use a combination of grouping by type of figure-of-arms and straightforward alphabetical ordering.¹⁰⁰⁷ With computer assistance (database, spreadsheet, even with only a word processor) it is fairly easy to transform and combine information from several sources into ordered sequences – and not too time-consuming as new items can easily be inserted without rewriting the total. Even when compilers had to use type-writers, cheap paper, scissors and glue, the operation could be performed within reasonable time. When the only tools available were pen and ink, expensive paper or even more expensive parchment or vellum, the creation of an ordinary by several rewrites of additions and inserts would be a major operation. As can be noted

¹⁰⁰³ *Argent billey gules a lion gules* for TJ:77 'monsr thomas turberville' and F:196 'thomas .'; E:549 has 'john sapy'. The arms with a plain field is widely known, and with the lion crowned for Hugh in TJ:59 and CKO:62.

¹⁰⁰⁴ CEMRA 68, *County Roll* (CY), London, Society of Antiquaries, Ms.664/iv:1r-22r, 700 items, probably c.1380.

¹⁰⁰⁵ *William Jenyns' Ordinary* (WJ), see *Ch. 12.3.1*. St.Oswald, Fryde BC 5.

¹⁰⁰⁶ 55 items from AS are not in CKO, 84 not in CG, and 72 not in TJ.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Modern ordinaries range from a few hundred over a couple of thousand to a hundred thousand entries. Medieval ordinaries had from 500 to 1600 entries. The *Marche d'armes* series published in the 1980'es in Paris by Éditions du Léopard d'or, DBA, *Papworth*, and editions published by Michel Popoff, Emmanuel de Boos, Jean-Marie van den Eeckhout, and Gerard J. Brault all have a primary alphabetical structure with groups for e.g. beasts and subgroups for combinations of subcharges. Faustino M. Pidal and Steen Clemmensen use a number of primary groups, e.g. 'per fess / barry', beasts, and cross, with subsequent alphabetical listings within groups and subgroups. There are additional differences due to the different languages used and whether the colour of field or of the figure-of-arms is the principal ordering principle within subgroups.

from the general lack of structural details in most medieval armorials, few compilers attempted more than superficial ordering by gross rank.

12.2.1 Overall structure

The three main medieval compilers all selected a few dozen groupings by figures-of-arms as the guiding editorial principle, and placed them in prioritized order.¹⁰⁰⁸ The lion and eagle, powerful animal kings of the earth and sky, were obvious selections for leading segments. The English obviously preferred the lion to the eagle and put it ahead – in numbers there were at least 5 times more lions than eagles, and the lions had to be rampant. Though the Plantagenet kings used the lions passant (guardant), this figure-of-arms was relegated to a position in the middle. The opinion of the precedence of the cross, symbol of the Faith, was divided. The CKO and CG compilers placed it ahead of the lion (or more likely so did the precursor-compiler), while the TJ-compiler must have seen it as just another charge to be placed one third down after the other geometrical charges (termed ordinaries in older literature). With some variations in the composition of the segments, the lion and eagle were followed by segments of geometrical charges. For no obvious reason, the maunch was accorded a place near the top in CKO. Smaller and often multiple charges like crescents, roses & foils and roundels were placed after the partitions. Only a few charges from tools, plants, and animals were incorporated, and the numbers of those that were are few (usually two-four per charge). Nearly all of the non-incorporated items in the *Ashmolean* belong to segments present in the two ordinaries. So the compilers of ordinaries did not stop before they reached certain figure-charges; they just could not manage to extract all items with a given type of charge.

The overall structure in the *Cotgrave* is better than in the *Cooke*, which suggests that the CG was to some extent 'optimized' from the structure of an earlier copy of the original compilation.¹⁰⁰⁹ The *Thomas Jenyns* in general follows the CG structure, but joined the *lions rampant and passant* and the *barry*-type segments.¹⁰¹⁰ All three compiler-copyists did place an odd entry in a segment, and added miscellaneous items at the end, possibly items they liked to include, but not worth a complete rewriting.

12.2.2 Placing within segments

Most of the larger segments begin at a new page,¹⁰¹¹ and for the vellum roll of *Cooke*, it appears that if a main charge left room at the end of a seven-item row,

¹⁰⁰⁸ See *figs.5-ch.12.1n1* (CKO, CG) and *5-ch.12.1n2* (TJ). Those responsible for CKO, CG, and TJ, as there are some differences between CKO and CG. The presumed compiler of the common precursor of CKO and CG must have used a similar mode of ordering the entries. The major differences in the later *William Jenyns' Ordinary* (WJ) are discussed in *Ch. 12.3.1*.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Moving certain segments down the ladder (e.g. CKO 05 *maunch* to CG 19) and joining the *per fess partitions* (*chief*, CKO 09, 30 into CG 06a).

¹⁰¹⁰ TJ 05 (TJ:405-649 = 245) *barry*-types incorporated 134 items from CKO 04, 10, 20, 22 and 34 and the very similar CG 09, 06b, 12, and 14.

¹⁰¹¹ This is the case for TJ and CKO/d (Oxford, Queen's College, ms.158). No pagination was available for CG through Nicolas RR.

the resulting space was filled with arms having a similar looking charge.¹⁰¹² For *Thomas Jenyns* there are six cases of multiple segments on a page.¹⁰¹³ The first on TJ:65n has the end of segment TJ 08 with *fretty and chief* continued by the beginning of *chief modified (engrailed, indented)* of TJ 09.¹⁰¹⁴ In the second and third case, the appended segment simply fills a void, and in the last two cases the ultimate five segments are very small. In the third case on TJ:87n, it appears that some shields from TJ 17 (*maunch*) were later added at the end of the 34 items TJ 16 (*lozenges*).¹⁰¹⁵ The addendum has a mix from both segments, and two names, Hastings and Conyers, are cadets of the lead items on TJ:88n.

Judging from the relations between the *Asbmolean* and the ordinaries, sources were not utilized to their full extent. Of the 114 arms from the *Asbmolean*, which are not in *Cooke*, nearly all belong to segments present.¹⁰¹⁶ The AS-arms in TJ were probably copied from a version of the *Cooke-Cotgrave*, as they are present in fragments interspersed with items from other sources, but are mostly concordant with both, though either also has separate contributions. Some of the separates and the apparent discordant items and legends (Christian names and titles) may be due to the TJ-compiler having updated the items to reflect contemporary owners and status. Each segment usually begins with the arms of major nobles (on banners in the vellum roll version of *Cooke*) and continues with minor barons and knights without any special ranking. Some effort was applied to keep items with either similar variants of the main charge or similar colouring together. Variants belonging to the same family were often entered serially. As nearly all segments have similar substructures, a single example must suffice.

The main *barry*-type segment 10 in *Cooke* has 93 items roughly placed in five subsegments. The first subsegment (CKO:304-333) begins with mostly plain arms going from *barry over three bars* to *two bars* (5, 6, and 4 horizontal partition lines), ending with these charged, between other charges, or having parts *ermine* or *vair*.¹⁰¹⁷ The next subsegment (CKO:334-370) has the *fess* charged or between charges. The two plain *fesses* are placed ahead of similarly coloured fields. The third subsegment (CKO:371-378) has the *fess between 2 chevrons* made famous by the FitzWalther family. The fourth subsegment (CKO:379-386) is an addendum

¹⁰¹² Only two photographs of eight rows each of the privately owned vellum roll of *Cooke* (CKO/a) are available. Wagner HA plate V, which shows CKO:519-574 from the end of *vair*, with *fess dancetty*, chaplets, bougets, cups, fish, billety, mullets, gironny, orle of martlets, helmets, escutcheon, escallops and roses. CEMRA 58 plate V, CKO:435-490, with lions passant, quarterly and foils.

¹⁰¹³ TJ 08/09, 13/14, 16/17, 18/19, 26/27/28, 29/30/31. There are only 12 shields per page (3x4) in TJ, but often more than one name mentioned with the blazon.

¹⁰¹⁴ *Fretty and chief* is shared by both segments with TJ:795-798, 802 in TJ 08, and TJ:808, 843, 846 and 858 in TJ 09. The variant *fretty and chief ch. 3 roundels* are on TJ:777, 799, 801; and two *fretty and label*, TJ:855-856 are placed next to the end of segment TJ 09 - possibly as addenda. None of these are in the *Asbmolean*.

¹⁰¹⁵ TJ:1083, 1086-1089 has one or more *maunches*; TJ:1084-1085 have *Lozengy*.

¹⁰¹⁶ Unused from AS are 23 crosses (some probably lost in CKO/a), 23 lions rampant, 22 fess & barry, 7 bendy, 7 saltires, 6 lions passant, 4 eagles, and 22 other arms.

¹⁰¹⁷ Arms with figures-of-arms charged, figures-of-arms between other charges, and arms with borders are usually entered together without any noticeable order except as noted in the text.

of *fess* charged or between charges – with the almost plain *Ermine a fess gules* at the end, indicating that furs were regarded as charges, not tinctures. The following subsegment (CKO:387-396) holds items with a row of three or five lozenges conjoined as a *fess of lozenges*, not to be confused with the *lozengy* in segment CKO 14, which is regarded as a variant of *checky*.¹⁰¹⁸

As noted above, the *Thomas Jenyns* amalgamated five *barry*-type CKO-segments and additional sources into a single segment TJ 05 of 245 items. This may also be divided into five subsegments of slightly different composition, each starting on a fresh page. The TJ compiler kept the *fess of lozenges* at the end of the *barry*-types in an enlarged segment TJ 06.¹⁰¹⁹ The first subsegment (TJ:406-429) corresponds to CKO 22 with additional *fess dancetty* items. The second subsegment (CKO:430-503) similarly begins with 'fess charged or between charges' copied in sequence from CKO 10 until TJ:489.¹⁰²⁰ The *fess between 2 chevrons* (TJ:467-472) kept their relative placing during copying. In the third subsegment (TJ:504-584) the *two bars* precede *three bars*, and ends with Multon before *bars vair* mixed with miscellaneous arms, probably appended, including another Multon, two Fauconberg, a Poynings cadet, and a Hungerford – a family of later prominence.¹⁰²¹ The fourth subsegment (TJ:585-613) actually begins at TJ:590 atop of page 48 with Stavely, several barons Grey and the Baron Poynings. It has the *barry* followed by *barruly*, both charged and with an orle of martlets, and an insert of CKO segment 04 as TJ:514-520 *2 bars acc. 3 roundels in chief*. The last subsegment (TJ:614-649) with *barry nebuly (undy)* and *vairy* has items from CKO segment 20 interspersed with additional items. Again TJ:638-639 *Vair/Ermine fess gules* confirms that furs were regarded as charges, not tinctures.

Nearly all of the larger segments have inserts with arms markedly different from the main charge defining it. In other places, it appears that the compilers could not make up their minds as to which segment an item did belong, e.g. TJ 13 has mostly *six annulets (2:2:2)* and either six or three *chapelets, roses, or buckles*, which have at least similar outlines. But it also has *fess between 3 roundels* and *fess charged 3 annulets* both of which should belong to TJ 10.

Whether they have identical coats of arms or not, doubling of items makes it difficult to align the correct pairs in order to determine a possible source. The *Ashmolean* has both a Richard Amory and a Monsire Amory, while the three

¹⁰¹⁸ See an example of the concordance in *fig.7-ch.12.2n1*.

¹⁰¹⁹ *Two bars of lozenges* were placed as a variant of *lozengy* in TJ 16 together with *three lozenges 2:1*.

¹⁰²⁰ There are a few transpositions from CKO/CG in this and other TJ segments.

¹⁰²¹ The earliest was Walter Hungerford, fl.1357, merchant of Salisbury, his son Thomas Hungerford, d.1397, was knighted and elected Speaker of Parliament. He married well to Joan Heytesbury and served as chief steward of the southern lands of the duchy of Lancaster. Walter, 1378-1449, son of Thomas, created Baron Hungerford & Heytesbury 1426, was high in Lancastrian service too, a king's knight in 1399, KG 1421, Speaker 1414, Admiral 1416.

ordinaries only have one Amory each.¹⁰²² Among the 1260 items and 31 segments in the *Thomas Jenyns' Ordinary* there is considerable doubling of family arms both within and between segments.¹⁰²³ As an example, in the largest segment 05 with 245 arms figuring fess, barry and vair, there are 30 items with doubles in different segments, including 22 with the paired one having the same Christian name. Within segment 05 only 8 of the 24 doubles have the same Christian name. Unfortunately names are of little use to discriminate between putative sources. Double entries with the same or different full name, title and arms could come from one and the same source, from different collations taken in the same period, or even from collations taken at different periods. Christian names were reused over generations and also between cousins, and titles (as well as names) could be updated or downgraded to reflect the political fortunes of the family.

12.2.3 Culling items

If the compilers of the ordinaries used the simplest way of culling items from sources, it ought to be traceable with the culled items being in sequence within the larger segments.¹⁰²⁴ In this way the compiler would select a figure-of-arms and work through the first source from beginning to end, noting the blazon and legend (or draw or paint the arms directly onto manuscript pages), then repeat the process with the next source while omitting arms already extracted.¹⁰²⁵ If the compiler transferred the culled items to notes before reorganizing the crop gathered from one or more sources, any sequence would be blurred or unrecognizable. If he worked from notes only, nothing but markers (and with less weight the proportion of similar items) would indicate the source(s) used.

The major source of *Thomas Jenyns' Ordinary* is a now lost version of the *Cooke-Cotgrave*. Aligning the concordant items shows that neither of the extant copies alone provides a satisfactory fit, but both provide a few unique concordant fragments depending on the segment analyzed. This means that any numbers relating to concordance can only be approximate.¹⁰²⁶

¹⁰²² Richard Amory in AS:287 and TJ:614 (Gu-Ar), but also in L:66 from 1308. Monsire Amory in AS:125, CKO:510 and CG:125 (Ar-Gu) - and N:326 from c.1312. Amory is *Barry nebuly / wavy argent-gules / gules-argent*.

¹⁰²³ Certain arms, e.g. *Fess ch. 2 fleurs-de-lis betw 4 fleurs-de-lis* for Deville are placed in both segment 05 (*barry*) and 26 (*fleurs-de-lis*), the former has a Robert (TJ:446), while the latter has both a Robert and a Roger (TJ:1234, 1235), i.e. both same and different Christian name between segments and different Christian name within segment 26. Both were probably derived from the *Ashmolean* (AS:166 'robert', AS:298 'r'), and may refer to one and the same person.

¹⁰²⁴ In modern pre-computer times the alternative would be to enter the arms and legends on index cards. Anthony Wagner chose this method for the *Dictionary of British Arms* using pairs of index cards, one for ordering the blazons, one for alphabetizing the names. Cumbersome – but convenient for a multi-actor task.

¹⁰²⁵ This process is similar to the one used by the Bergshammar compiler in merging items from the *Gebre* and the *Toison d'or*, see *Ch. 6.3*.

¹⁰²⁶ The ordinary part of TJ has 531 items concordant with CKO and/or CG, but 729 items from other sources – according to present knowledge.

Except for segment TJ 01 (lions) all of the items in the ordinary appear to have been culled in sequence. First a subsegment derived from *Cooke-Cotgrave*, and then a subsegment derived from one or more other sources. The process may be repeated once or twice for a segment (i.e. a key figure-of-arms).¹⁰²⁷ The few items from other sources found in the CKO-CG-derived subsegments may or may not have come from the lost source-version. Sporadic investigation of such items did not render conclusive answers, and neither did the odd concordances with items from the *Ashmolean* not present in either *Cooke* or *Cotgrave*.¹⁰²⁸

None of the examined armorials appears to be a putative secondary source of *Thomas Jenyns*, though segment 10 (cross) does have many items from or similar to items in an armorial from the reign of Richard II (ARS) or one very similar, which (together with items from *William Jenyns* a.o.) suggests that many of the additional items may represent contemporary people.¹⁰²⁹ Other items may have been culled from older material, e.g. temp. Edward I.

In the *Thomas Jenyns*, the CKO 02 and CG 02 'lion rampant' segment were thoroughly reorganized, i.e. the sequences are different from each other. For the other segments, a simple concordance is the norm, and notably, there is no tendency for the items extracted from the *Ashmolean* to have been entered directly from it. If anything, there is a feeble tendency to keep similar colour patterns together within a segment. The resulting structure is not stringent, e.g. the same coat-of-arms may occur in different places, e.g. CKO:39 Stapleton of Yorkshire and CKO:49 Walkfare of Norfolk, both with *Argent a lion rampant sable*. The former follows a lion crowned or queue fourchy, the latter follows arms having the field semy of crosslets or fleurs-de-lis.¹⁰³⁰ Within the larger segments there are only very coarse subdivisions, typically between the number of partition lines (e.g. fess, two bars, three bars, barry) or major variant of figures, e.g. fess of lozenges, fess between chevrons, or cross engrailed/patonce/recercely. Whether the figures-of-arms are alone, charged or between subcharges does not induce any sub-segmentation.

The CKO-CG items, which are not derived from the *Ashmolean*, are present as inserts, not as distinct tails. It has not been possible to identify any of the armorials examined as possible secondary sources, but many names and arms appear in *Powell* (PO), *Second Dunstable* (SD), or *Boroughbridge* (O).¹⁰³¹ As such, these items appear to represent near contemporaries – and also have large

¹⁰²⁷ TJ 01 (lions) appears to have been thoroughly reorganized with only 70/215 items from CKO-CG inserted as singles or small fragments into a structure derived from (a) different source(s), which ha(s/ve) a number of foreign royal and noble arms as well as several imaginary arms attributed to saintly kings and non-armiger earls.

¹⁰²⁸ TJ:216 imperial eagle, 220 Berdene, 228 Sarnesfield for '02 eagles'; TJ:256 Littlebury, 259 Sapy (AS:431), 268 (AS:266) Birmingham for '03 bendy'.

Gaveston is not in CKO nor in CG, but in AS:426 *Vert 6 eagles or*, and TJ:239 (and 1271) *Azure 3 eagles argent*.

¹⁰²⁹ BA, ms.5256:83v-93v (ARS) a copy by du Cange, and a member of the TOISON D'OR group, English segment only.

¹⁰³⁰ Neither CKO:39 nor CKO:49 were derived from AS.

¹⁰³¹ The *Boroughbridge* (O) armorial is misnamed and reflects a tournament in Newcastle 1319. Wells-Furby BR (2013); edited in Clemmensen NT (2016).

overlaps with the *Ashmolean Roll*. On the other hand, there are also overlaps in name-arms combinations with the later *Willement* (S) and *William Jenyns' Ordinary* (WJ).

In summary, it appears that the earliest ordinary (the lost ur-*Cooke*) was compiled using extracts from one primary source armorial (AS) transferred to notes and supplemented with the arms of near contemporaries. Later copyists or adaptors (at least of CKO, CG and TJ) found that this was a sound basis from which to work.

12.3 Later armorials and ordinaries

The ASHMOLE Group comprises only a few of the surviving late medieval armorials. By number, the general, occasional and institutional armorials dominate as any cursory look at Wagner CEMRA will show. Only a few have been studied, and even fewer to any level of detail. For most, we have only the short notes and comments provided by Anthony Wagner. His attempts at dating and ordering the almost exhaustive survey are invaluable, but should not be taken as precise. Even though there are few transcriptions available, it is possible with the help of the newly finished *Dictionary of British Arms* to identify a couple of notable collections of arms, which in various ways were either or both dependent and different from the group discussed above.

12.3.1 William Jenyns' Ordinary

As Paul A. Fox noted in his paper on it, there are several features which sets this ordinary apart from those of the ASHMOLE Group.¹⁰³² The more important are the layout and structure, the basic collation of names and arms with its unique sets of family differences, and the indications of its conception, development and later fate.¹⁰³³

The physical layout is the first that meets the eye. The coats-of-arms are painted neatly, if not of high artistic quality, as shields or banners on vellum in four rows of four per page, each placed in a rectangle with a neatly written legend above (too often nearly illisible).¹⁰³⁴ It is easy to discern three parts: the first page list members of the family of Thomas Holland, who owned the manuscript in 1562; the next six pages (1v-4r) is a prelude with arms attributed to saints, members of the English royal family, realms of Europe and a couple of military orders. The remaining pages contain the ordinary, which lacks any

¹⁰³² *William Jenyns' Ordinary* (WJ/a; London, College of Arms), two later copies: London, Society of Antiquaries, ms.664/9/26, a Hatton-Dugdale facsimile (WJ/b, 20/page), and a careless copy in Caius College, Cambridge; discussed in Fox WJ (2009); preliminary edition Clemmensen WJP (2009) on www.armorial.dk; the identification of items was a joint venture.

¹⁰³³ It was not possible to evaluate the physical structure of the College of Arms manuscript (WJ/a), except for the later additions and overpainting as described in Fox WJ. For resolving some of the questions posed and in part answered in Fox WJ, an analysis of the quire structure is needed. Leaves were cut on rebinding. Additions on damaged places were probably made by William Jenyns, Lancaster Herald 1516-27; his arms and crest are WJ:806-807 on 26r and WJ:1298 on 42r.

¹⁰³⁴ WJ/a:2rv has only 3x3. Pagination is almost illisible. The page with the Holland family arms is numbered 1r.

mention of crosses, quarterly or gironny partitions, or lozenges. As the volume shows signs of water damage, the leaves containing these segments may have been lost.¹⁰³⁵ Most segments begin on a fresh page, but for five segments there are one or two rows with items from the preceding segment, indicating that the present order is very close to the one intended. Like the members of the ASHMOLE Group, this ordinary also has lions and eagles at the top, and the other key charges in a somewhat haphazard sequence. The fess-bars-barry items are split into three segments (08, 16, 19) and include a few items without the principal feature. The last segment (bend-bends-bendy) is clearly unfinished and must have lost a part to water damage.

Most armorials (including ordinaries) are to be read by rows, but from reading the legends on the first few pages it is evident that this manuscript was designed to be read by column. Or was it? As noted by Paul Fox, some family groupings may as well or better be read conventionally by row. Perhaps the compiler (and/or any later copyist) was not that consistent or concerned. He may not have bothered, but may have adapted the number of arms in his notes to the space available and presented the selection on the surface available.¹⁰³⁶ One of the compiler's major ordering principles was to keep items with the same field colour together, then the colour of the principal charge, and then brisures. The unusual number of brisures included is discussed in Fox CM.

Anthony Wagner dated the compilation to c.1380, which was an obvious choice given the presence of Thomas of Woodstock as E.Buckingham and Guichard d'Angle as E.Huntingdon, both created at the coronation of Richard II in 1377.¹⁰³⁷ He added that the execution was also of this date. Both claims were premature, as a closer examination shows.

Many of the items in *William Jenyns* are not recorded in any of the armorials examined and/or may only have later entries tabulated in the *Dictionary of British Arms*. For the majority, there are considerable overlaps with many of the armorials from the reigns of the three Edwards. There are also a few items, which are datable to the reign of Richard II. This is hardly a surprise, as the primary collations were probably made during one or more of these reigns. For the reign of Edward I, the apparent overlap may just be a reflection of the recurrence of names and arms over generations. Looking for markers proved disappointing. If anything, at most it indicated that the compiler may have used older material for some of his notes.¹⁰³⁸

This appears to be an original collation of the personal arms of named individuals, often recorded as close members of a family, such as sons in

¹⁰³⁵ The preliminary edition of WJ is divided into 30 segments, with the prelude being segments 01-03.

¹⁰³⁶ See the Beauchamp items on fo.19r as illustrated in Fox CM with four banners at the top, subcharges in column, and three additional families placed in the bottom row, when there were no items with that particular subcharge available. The Percies, among WJ:93-107, are also spread on a surface, rather than by row or column.

¹⁰³⁷ WJ:58, 96; Guichard d'Angle died 1380.

¹⁰³⁸ E.g. Piers Gaveston, executed 1312 (WJ:421); B.Tattershall (WJ:1145) and Verdon (WJ:725 extinct before 1320).

sequence, brothers and uncles. Most of the identifiable sets of persons were active around 1360, though some (e.g. the Percies) are named with titles obtained in or after 1377 and have members born after 1360.¹⁰³⁹ Filling the pages according to the resulting variations in layout must have necessitated considerable editing of the underlying notes. But it must have been even more demanding in interest, effort and opportunity to be able to record not only nearly 1600 names and arms, but also their familial relations. Even with access to written and/or painted documents to be used as preliminary draft notes, the compiler must have attended court and meetings (possibly tournaments and musterings) of the nobles and gentry.¹⁰⁴⁰ The basic collation has a distinctive northern flavour with half of the identifiable landowners holding in 11 northern counties, and the other half in 28 counties south of the Trent.¹⁰⁴¹ Especially for the southern families, the compiler (like the modern editor) had problems assigning names and arms to branches and to similar named families. For the Lucy, only two of the three major and probably unrelated families were recorded. The Lucy in Somerset and Wiltshire are not known from other sources. The major Lucy omitted were landed in Kent and Northamptonshire. For the *lions passant* of Strange, gules-argent and argent-gules were sometimes confused, and names are not always easy to align with the presumed family tree.¹⁰⁴²

The prelude may or may not have been part of the original compilation, and at least the first leaf was only painted on one side.¹⁰⁴³ Segment 02 presents a series of English saints, first the beatified kings, then nobles beatified or simply commonly regarded as saintly.¹⁰⁴⁴ The main part of the prelude, segment 03, has interwoven the sovereigns of Europe with standard arms and members of the royal family.¹⁰⁴⁵

The presentation of the royal family is curious. On fo.2v the members have England alone, while on fo.3r they have France quartering England as used after 1340, which in itself is of little importance, especially as the persons on 2v appear to be brothers and cousins of Edward III. Henry D.Lancaster (and/or

¹⁰³⁹ Henry Percy, created the first E.Northumberland in 1377 (WJ:93), is not mentioned by that title, but members of his family have legends with brother, uncle or son of an earl. Some 20 items mentioned in Fox WJ 60. Mary Neville, the mother of the eldest son Henry 'Hotspur,' married in 1358.

¹⁰⁴⁰ One should not overdo the genealogical effort, most of it was done for only a few major families, for the rest most are notes of father and son, with Christian names for the other family members. Fox WJ 55 proposes a herald in service with Henry of Grosmont D.Lancaster (d.1361) as the primary compiler, but see the discussion in *Cb.* 17.

¹⁰⁴¹ Fox WJ 60.

¹⁰⁴² Clemmensen WJP 5-7.

¹⁰⁴³ The status of the prelude cannot be resolved without knowledge of the quire structure. Fo.1r was only painted with arms of the family of an owner in 1562, kings are on 2r, 3v and 4r, the royal family on 2v-3r, but the ordinary begins at 4v.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Fox WJ 57 notes the relationships between several of the saints and the dukes of Lancaster and their relations by marriage.

¹⁰⁴⁵ The exception is Portugal, *Azure 3 mastless ships argent* (WJ:74) - unusual arms, but also recorded in the Beaumont's Church of St.Mary's (Barton-on-Humber, Lincs.), and in the French *Ryneck* (RYN:1258) and armorials derived from it.

his father) are present with two coats-of-arms in WJ:45 D.Lancaster and WJ:49 E.Derby. On 3r are the sons of Edward III, and his grandchild and successor Richard (1367-1399) with the legend “richard son of the prince earl of chester & angouleme” (WJ:56). The item is important for the dating of the manuscript. It must have been written before the death of Edward III on 20.06.1377, when Richard succeeded. If the titles refer to Richard, the legend was written after 20.06.1376 – the date of death of his father the Black Prince. More likely those are the titles intended for and used by Edward Prince of Wales.

The choice of including arms attributed to Robert 'Courthouse' (1051-1134; WJ:47) is perplexing.¹⁰⁴⁶ Robert was the eldest son of William 'the Conqueror', but both the father and the nobility preferred his younger brother William II 'Rufus' to succeed in 1087. When William II was killed in 1100, the youngest brother defeated and imprisoned Robert, succeeding as Henry I (1068-1135). Henry's daughter Maud became ancestress of the reigning House of Plantagenet.

It is also noteworthy, that the arms of E.Derby (WJ:60), presumably for Henry Bolingbroke (later Henry IV), was overpainted by the arms of Mortimer – for some the rightful heir of the childless Richard II. By itself perhaps a triviality, but it may be construed as a vital element in the dating of the manuscript and of its provenance. One hypothesis would relate the overpainting to Bolingbroke's exile 1397-99 and the owner to a member of the inner circle of Richard II, who wanted the Roger Mortimer E.March (1374-98) to have a place in the royal family as descendant from Edward I. Incidentally, Roger was brother-in-law to Henry 'Hotspur' Percy, son of the E.Northumberland and Margaret Neville, scion of the two most powerful families in the North.

In essence, Paul A. Fox is probably right in his evaluation of the evidence, though certain elements may be slightly and unnecessarily overinterpreted.¹⁰⁴⁷ In his view, the present manuscript (WJ/a) is a reworked copy of a now lost compilation made shortly before the death of Henry D.Lancaster (d.1361) by his personal herald. Like his title and possessions, it was inherited by the son-in-law John of Gaunt, third son of Edward III. Around 1380, the new duke had a copy with some changes made for one of the Percies, his sometime allies.¹⁰⁴⁸

¹⁰⁴⁶ Robert was buried in Gloucester Cathedral. The mortuary chest with the arms of Edward 'Confessor' and the Nine Worthies may have been added to the effigy carved in oak c.1250 at the time, though one would expect it to date from the later part of the reign of Richard II, who quartered his arms with the Confessor and had several dukes do likewise.

¹⁰⁴⁷ In Fox WJ (different numbering!) attention is drawn to the high number of people with affinity to the ducal houses of Lancaster, including some 10% holding lands of the duke. Most of the persons named were by themselves men of prominence, who should be named by their own right in any armorial. Secondly, John of Gaunt held approx. 10% of all lands in England, so it is only to be expected that a similar percentage of tenants would appear in a survey.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Fox WJ 60-63 is, for good reason, a bit unsure on the dates and number of manuscript generations. He proposes a page (3r, family of John of Gaunt) added 1376/77, the presentation to Percies 1379-81, a key person Edmund Mortimer born 1376, Hotspur may have had a copy of the presentation manuscript, in which he c.1402

The present manuscript (WJ/a) was owned by Henry 'Hotspur', eldest son of the D.Northumberland, who brought it with him to the battlefield of Shrewsbury, where he died in 1403, and where it was later recovered damaged by water.¹⁰⁴⁹

Leaving the exciting storytelling aside, there is a lack of evidence for some points and some confusing elements. The image of a Lancaster Herald spending decades collecting notes on arms and families, and then reworking them into an ordinary, complies with the tradition promulgated by Anthony Wagner, Noël Denholm-Young and others. It fits the facts as stated above, but is purely hypothetical without a shred of evidence, and any gentleman with sufficient interest may have worked in the same way. Whether he was Lancaster Herald or a gentleman, he must have done the basic compilation and organizing c.1360, would be living in the North and be in the affinity of the House of Lancaster. Likewise there is no evidence of the compilation being a gift to a Percy from John of Gaunt, but the Derby-Mortimer change is suggestive of ownership by a Percy or one of their close confederates.

As noted above, the main confusion comes from certain key dates: Lionel D.Clarence dead 1368, Richard of Bordeaux succeeding his father in 1376, his grandfather in 1377, William Courtenay Bp.London 1375-81, creating earls in 1377, E.March dead by 1381, his youngest son born 1376 bearing arms with a personal difference, and William Heron (c.1360-1404, lord Say by 1393) also bearing arms with a personal difference (at 17!).¹⁰⁵⁰ Perhaps the simplest explanation is that WJ/a was the third generation, executed as late as c.1395 with the column/surface/row layout, keeping the previous compilation with only minor changes to legends and arms of selected individuals known to the commissioner or the artisan, including the families of the earls created in 1377. The second generation would have been executed 1376 incorporating a bishop of a comital family and even a newborn child of a highly placed earl and his wife of the royal family.

12.3.2 Willement's Roll

This small to medium-sized armorial manuscript is actually a scroll, a form of document rarely seen outside England by the 15th century.¹⁰⁵¹ Though it was

changed the Derby arms to Mortimer - a variant of the date of overpainting! By then the E.March was a child, his son's cousin Edmund (1391-1425), not the brother-in-law Roger (d.1398).

¹⁰⁴⁹ There is no indication of rain during the battle of Shrewsbury; on the contrary archers were very effective, which they would not be with wet bowstrings. Chroniclers have described how bowstrings were kept dry in the rain during later battles. However, the wagon with the manuscript could have been stuck in one of the many rivelets in the area.

¹⁰⁵⁰ WJ:54 Lionel, 56 Richard, 769 Wm Courtenay Bp.London, 1010 Edmund Mortimer, 1401 Wm Heron. The position of the Percies follows the compiler's choice of having earls or leading barons at the head of each segment.

¹⁰⁵¹ London, BL, ms. Egerton 3713, *Willement's Roll* (S, WIL), 605 painted shields on dorse of parchment scroll of 12 membranes (9 from 10 Henry IV), approx. 30 x 900 cm; printed blazons in Willement WIL (1834), printed shields in Harrison WIL (c.1848), preliminary edition in Clemmensen WRP (2009). Noted as lost in CEMRA 71,

among the earliest printed armorials (in blazon and incomplete with several mistakes, later with painted shields) and used by Burke and Papworth, except for the short introduction to the 1834 printing, none have attempted to analyze it during the two hundred years that it was readily available. Though the execution is old, the *Willement* is not an original work. It is one of several manuscripts copied in the workshop of Thomas Wriothesley (Garter 1505-34), and appears to be a fair copy of its source, free of additions and changes. The first transcriber, Thomas Willement, proposed that the collation was made during 1392-97, late in the reign of Richard II, in which Anthony Wagner concurred. The period of collation may be shortened to 1392-93 for finalizing and ordering the compilation.¹⁰⁵²

At first sight, it appears to be a standard English-type general armorial, but it has features that makes it a fine comparison for the *William Jenyns*. Where the ordinary provides a good source of the arms used by people active in the last half of the reign of Edward III, the *Willement* is more like a snapshot of the late reign of Richard II, before his tumultuous fall from power. It can be partitioned into five segments, of which the first is a record of the founding members of the Order of the Garter.¹⁰⁵³ Segment 02 lists the royal dukes and the earls, followed by 37 barons in segment 03.¹⁰⁵⁴ The leading baron is Thomas Despencer (1373-1400), a favourite of Richard II, who succeeded at the tender age of two, and was created E.Gloucester in 1397. His wife, Constance, was daughter of Richard's uncle Edmund of Langley D.York, which may have been another reason for his prominence. Segment 04 contains the names and arms of 79 members of baronial and lordly families, while the majority of 77% come from the gentry in segment 05.

The *Willement* appears to be a primary collation, where items common to other armorials are incidental due to the prominence of families or to collators gathering arms and names of people active in the same period. Later armorials may have used it as a source. While segments 02-04 have the traditional structure of listing people by rank and stature and are exhaustive, the gentry segment 05 expresses a difference from the standard general armorial in both form and content. It has the form of a semi-ordinary. Not fully organized like the ASHMOLE Group, but similar arms are placed together, typically 2-6 items at a time. Nearly all *lions rampant* are in S:160-177, and *lions passant* in S:350-364. *Bend between martlets*, *bend dancetty*, *bends & canton* and *water bougets* are kept together. The fifty-odd *chevrons* are less concentrated, dispersed in sets of 3-4 throughout the segment. Like the *William Jenyns*, there are many brisures among

but with reference to two modern manuscript copies; bought by BM, now BL, in 1954, summarily described in Wagner RAH 270.

¹⁰⁵² William E.Salisbury [37] d.3.06.1396, lost Man in 1393; Robert 9E.Oxford, d.1392 [41], Aubrey de Vere [106] succeeded 1393; John 6B.Roos of Helmsley d.1394 [47], succeeded by William [127];

¹⁰⁵³ Segment 01 (S:1-24) filling membrane 1 in 2 columns may have been added by Wriothesley. The two top rows are damaged, so that the arms of Edward III and Henry D.Lancaster are missing, and the Prince of Wales modified to the royal arms only (S:1).

¹⁰⁵⁴ There are another 13 barons, men summoned in person to Parliament, in segment 04 among S:82-110.

the families with several members, though some brisures, e.g. for the Courtenay, may have been lost during copying.

Of the 448 men not less than 204 were returned from the counties as knights of the shire (MP's). In itself this proportion might not come as a surprise. After all, shire knights were usually elected from the most influential members of the county gentry, men known to their peers as reliable and with political acumen, demonstrated in the courts and commissions that made up the local administration. Usually, they were also knights of substantial wealth. Some were retainers or officials of nobles acting as proxies, while others only sought election once or twice in order to further local suits at Parliamentary level or to do business in London, but many were returned repeatedly. So it is to be expected that the more prominent gentry would find its way into any general armorial. But the proportion in the semi-ordinary subpart is far higher than in any English armorial analyzed. There is no regional grouping of items, but the collator appears to have had a preference for the North, East Midlands and East Anglia, or perhaps just a better knowledge of its men and estates.

The collation must have been extensively edited with relatives kept together. Curiously, one stranger is often placed between father and son, or between two cousins. For unknown reasons, the many Scopes are placed far apart, but that may be because they are included in the relatives of barons, which appear to be handled less rigorously. Only one repetition was found: S:582-587 from S:383-385 and 392-394.¹⁰⁵⁵

12.3.3 *Peter le Neve*

The manuscript named as *Peter le Neve's Book* (PLN) after one of its owners was painted shortly before 1500.¹⁰⁵⁶ Anthony Wagner dated the compilation as well as the making of the manuscript to c.1480-1500. He also noted that it had two sets of layouts: the first, a 3x3 set of arms on either rectangular banners or (mostly) shields; the second, 2x2 with crest to each. From this and the contents, he proposed a loose structure in eight parts and 2 divisions, each headed by a series of banners.

In his short description of this armorial, Anthony Wagner expected that this manuscript would have a large proportion of arms not found elsewhere, and he noted three important elements: firstly, the first 870 elements are largely concordant with Part I of *Writhe's Book* (WB); secondly, that the execution (and major 3x3 layout) was probably done by the same painter, and thirdly, that John Wrythe, Garter king-of-arms 1478-1504, had made several notes in the PLN-

¹⁰⁵⁵ A few other, e.g. S:295, 300 Thomas Rokeby, may refer to different persons.

¹⁰⁵⁶ *Peter le Neve's Book* (PLN); CEMRA 109; BL, ms.Harl.6163; PLN was published in Foster TT 123-318 (arms identified by folio and place); painted on paper, 135 ff, 2088 arms (2070 according to CEMRA). The manuscript has 142 ff in all, with the remaining pages filled with shields and figures illustrating the terms of blazon. The numeration by Clemmensen from the more trustworthy printed edition may differ from that of Alfred E. Bradshaw in the *Dictionary of British Arms* by 1-11. A full edition of this armorial is outside the scope of this project, so only items selected from Foster TT were examined as evidence for dating and structure.

manuscript.¹⁰⁵⁷ If not for certain contradictions and anomalies, his observations would satisfy most needs.

Anthony Wagner estimated that the bulk of the items in *Writhe's Book, Part I*, belonged to the reign of Henry IV (r.1399-1413), which is clearly not consistent with the implicit stated compilation of *Peter le Neve's Book* of c.1480-1500. The involvement of John Wrythe is not in itself problematic, but raises the question of who made the collations and how and when this was done. His term of office as Garter was a period of major changes, but of course he may not have overseen the making of the PLN during his first years in office. His son and successor, Thomas (d.1534), was employed as a pursuivant by 1489, and John was certainly in royal employment from early in the reign of Edward IV (r.1461-1483). He continued as Garter under Richard II (r.1483-84), and after the short civil war, also in the service of the first Tudor king, Henry VII (r.1484-1509). A compilation of 1480-1500 ought to reflect the changes that took place during and after the shift of dynasties.

Apart from the already stated (but not verified) claim that the first half of the PLN is concordant with the WB, at least three armorials have a number of markers in common with the PLN, but in all of the compared armorials common items occur singly.

Among those in the *William Jenyns' Ordinary* (WJ)¹⁰⁵⁸ are “briggerak“ for Bourdeilles d'Achiac in PLN:44 / WJ:997; Prester John in PLN:1 / WJ:62; and the Abbey of St. Albans in PLN:9 / WJ:25. The *Domville Roll* (DV)¹⁰⁵⁹ has Godwin E.Kent in PLN:183 / DV:1784, and St.Dénis in PLN:5 / DV:1765 shared with CRK:1390.¹⁰⁶⁰ The Poitevin Guichard d'Angle (o.s.p.m.1380), a notable captain of the Anglo-French Wars, known from several French armorials, who was the French sénéchal in Saintonge in 1350, but changed allegiance and was nominated as Knight of the Garter 1372 and created E.Huntingdon 1377, is present in PLN:1196 / WJ:96 / CRK:468 – probably from the same set of notes in the possession of the Wrythe-Wriothesley family.

The structure of the PLN armorial is not well-ordered. On the surface, there are two divisions by layout, each headed by nobles and lords with their arms on banners followed by knight and gentry. But on several pages can be found inserts of single arms or sets of arms, which are not related to their actual positions, e.g. spiritual institutions on fo.23v-24r (PLN:418, 427), arms of commercial organisations like the Vintners' or Goldsmiths' companies (56r, PLN:987; 11r, PLN:1962), or a list of ancient English kings (66r, PLN:1167

¹⁰⁵⁷ *Writhe's Book* (WB); CEMRA 108-109; London, College of Arms, M.10:71r-190r, probably executed c.1480; not examined. Part I, ff.71-123, WB:1-870 has 748 painted, 76 tricked and 26 incomplete arms. Thomas Wriothesley, Garter king-of-arms 1505-34, and son of John Wrythe, probably inserted the (now modified) family name and arms on WB:121r.

¹⁰⁵⁸ For WJ, see *Ch. 12.3.1*. Some common items may also occur in armorials not listed here.

¹⁰⁵⁹ For DV, see *Ch. 12.3.4*.

¹⁰⁶⁰ *Creswick's Book* (CRK); CEMRA 101 & Wagner RAH 276, BL, Add.62541, formerly Clumber ms.205; a manuscript from the studio of Thomas Wriothesley; not examined.

Cadwallader) and knights of the Round Table (PLN:57r/1005-1013). There are also the odd commoners, e.g. Henry Butler of London, a skinner (PLN:57v8/1021), possibly from an early grant. Several nobles pop up at odd places, e.g. a M.Dorset (118v, PLN:1984)¹⁰⁶¹ and E.Northumberland (126v, PLN:2046)¹⁰⁶².

The first set of banners begins with saints and kings (and a sprinkling of earls). The nobles begin with the garbs of Chester (2r7, PLN:34), the Bohun E.Hereford and the Lancaster E.Derby and continues with several arms and badges of dormant titles (e.g. PLN:134 Clare E.Gloucester extinct 1314), not always correctly identified.¹⁰⁶³ As expected for the proposed period, the Woodville siblings are prominent. As a result of the marriage of Elizabeth Woodville and Edward IV in 1464, her father and brothers were much honoured and well married, if not liked by their peers. The father Richard 1E.Rivers and his son John were executed after the defeat of Edward IV at Edgecote Moor in 1469. The eldest son, Anthony 2E.Rivers (executed 1483) in PLN:89, while two of his brothers and two of his sisters with their husbands are on PLN:7r/154-158. Curiously the John who was executed in 1469 was included as PLN:158. The sister Anne (1439-1489) is in PLN:155-156 with both her husbands. She married William Bouchier V.Bouchier (d.1480) in 1469, and shortly after his death remarried George Grey of Ruthin (1454-1505), 2E.Kent in 1490.¹⁰⁶⁴ The Woodville selection indicates that the Wagner suggestion of beginning the compilation of this part of the armorial post 1480 is correct. Another item, PLN:10v7/187 Richard Beauchamp Bp.Salisbury (d.1481), suggests that it was begun in late 1480.

The second set of banners is headed by Jasper Tudor D.Bedford, the uncle of Henry VII, and Thomas Grey M.Dorset (72v, PLN:1278, 1279), as half-brother of the queen, Elizabeth Plantagenet, the brother-in-law of Henry VII, and followed by E.Oxford and six knights. The next page is headed by George Grey of Ruthin 2E.Kent 1490 (husband of Anne Woodville as in PLN:156), also followed by two barons and six knights. The remaining pages are all filled with shields for nobles, gentry, commoners, institutions or organisations. On PLN:109/1935-1936 are the arms of a Habsburger King of Spain quartering Castile-Leon with Aragon and Austria. These arms could not be before 1504

¹⁰⁶¹ Thomas Grey, 1451-1501, son of John Grey Lord Ferrers of Groby and Elisabeth Woodville (later consort of Edward IV), created M.Dorset 1475, attainted 1483/84, fled to France, restored 1485; GEC 4:418. The item in PLN:1984 is a double of PLN:1279.

¹⁰⁶² Henry Algernon Percy, d.1527, 5E.Nhumberland 1489. Arms of Percy qtg Lucy, Poynings, Percy-ancient, FitzPayne and inescutcheon of Bryan; Fox-Davies CG 545.

¹⁰⁶³ PLN:2v1/36, *Per pale indented argent-gules*, is not Hinckley, but one of the arms of Simon Montfort E.Leicester (d.1264), see Clemmensen MA. PLN:3r7/52 “armes of Essex” *Gules 2 bends, the upper or, the lower argent*, the arms of office of the Lord High Constable of England, attributed to Miles of Gloucester (d.1144), but not held by an E.Essex.

¹⁰⁶⁴ PLN:9r ends with 3 of the Woodville quarters; PLN:160 names the *Gules eagle or* as Preaux, a French family, who used these arms, but the origin of the Woodville quarter is the English Goddard.

when Philip 'der Schöne' succeeded to Castile.¹⁰⁶⁵ From fo.118 (PLN:1984) the style changes to 4 crested arms, reminiscent of a registry.

The *Peter le Neve* manuscript merits a closer scrutiny of content and physical structure in order to divulge whose arms were recorded and whether the later parts were an early registry of arms. Presently it appears to have been executed by the same herald-painter (or herald?) active from c.1480 to perhaps c.1520 with arms added as they were found in notes or other sources available to the compiler-painter.

12.3.4 Domville Roll

The provenience of the privately owned *Domville Roll* (DV), which was painted c.1500 on vellum, is unique.¹⁰⁶⁶ It was probably in the hands of the same family for more than 400 years from the day it was made. As its present ownership is unknown, only the comments made by Anthony Wagner and the partial transcriptions in the *Dictionary of British Arms* are available for analysis.¹⁰⁶⁷

This manuscript is probably typical of the late development of armorials outside the budding registries of the College of Arms re-established by the Tudor monarchs.¹⁰⁶⁸ Except for the segments of saints, Saxon kings and English earls on fo.45 (DV:1761-1800), all entries are for English families, mostly without Christian names. Anthony Wagner thought that the contents were compiled c.1470, i.e. a generation before the manuscript was painted.

A superficial survey of what is in the DBA suggests that some of the entries may ultimately have come from armorials of the reign of Edward I, e.g. *Stirling* (E), or from early in the reign of Richard II (c.1380/85), e.g. *County*, CY. With almost 3000 arms, it comes as no surprise that there are many common items (incl. doubles) with several of the larger English armorials – but in general these have only single arms or small sequences in common. Of these, the

¹⁰⁶⁵ Philippe 'der Schöne' von Habsburg, 1478-1506, king of Castile 1504 (j.u.). His mother-in-law, Isabelle of Castile died 1504, and her husband Fernando of Aragon in 1516. Charles V (1500-1558), the later emperor succeeded to both kingdoms (now Spain) in 1516.

¹⁰⁶⁶ CEMRA 105, Wagner RAH 275-276, 2840 painted arms on 71 leaves, 5x4 per page, present ownership unknown. Exlibris of Edward Domville (1684) on fly-leaf, and arms as DV:70v/2799. The Domville held Limme in Cheshire and the line descended through Halsred (in 1718) to Poole (in 1782). The manuscript was acquired in 1946 by Sidney C. Cockerell, who also owned a partial copy made c.1575 by Richard Scarlett (*Colour-on-colour Roll*, CC, Ms.Vincent 164:222r-237v, 513 items in trick), acquired in 1958 by the College of Arms.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Only about a third of the *Domville Roll* is present in the four volumes of the DBA. These items were entered into Clemmensen OM, in part as dummy records without blazon, but with references to DBA.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Wagner RAH 276 remarks that H.S. London noted the similarity of several sequences in Society of Antiquaries, ms.476, *Wriothesley's Saint George Roll* (WSG, not examined). This manuscript was written, tricked and painted partly by and partly for Thomas Wriothesley, Garter King-of-Arms 1506-1534. Besides founding the registries, Wriothesley had several armorials copied or newly compiled, and may have influenced the making of the DV.

contemporary *Creswick Roll* (CRK) often has Christian names added, while the *Peter le Neve* (PLN) often has corresponding arms quartered.¹⁰⁶⁹

Even with only one third of the armorial available for study in a second hand version, it is possible to identify one major and two minor sources. There are at least seven large sequences in the *Domville* that have a parallel in the *Portington Roll* (PT).¹⁰⁷⁰ The overlaps are not straightforward. Not only are there a few of the common transpositions, but there are also a few inserts of contemporaries, e.g. Nicholas Haywood, chief protonotary of the King's Bench during the early reign of Henry VIII,¹⁰⁷¹ and modifications like the unnamed DV:449 quartered with Colville in PT:690.

Only one common sequence has been identified from the smaller *Red Book Roll* (RB) with 26 items in DV against 27 in RB, but there could be other common entries.¹⁰⁷² The last set of overlaps is surprisingly with a French manuscript (ARS).¹⁰⁷³ This unnamed manuscript 'chapter' has been described as "an armorial from the reign of Richard II" and is noted as "de nobilité anglais vers 1420, titres de la terre de Picquigny, appartient à duc d'Chaunes" – indicating a leftover from the English occupation of Picardy. In fact, it is a complex composite. The first nine items cover the royal family of Henry IV (r.1399-1413), the next 180 make a copy of the English in the *Toison d'or* (ETO) with some inserts among the last 50 items. The third part (ARS:191-299) is a fragment of an ordinary,¹⁰⁷⁴ and, finally, the fourth part (ARS:300-447) is a fragment of a general roll, which provided the overlap. The four parts were probably copied from different manuscripts.

As both the *Red Book* and the *Portington* were made about a century after the *Domville*, they probably had not one, but more sources (now lost) in common. It is purely speculative, but as items from the ARS do have counterparts in other armorials from his studio or in ones with notes from his predecessor John Wrythe (Garter 1478-1504), the prolific Garter Wriothesley may have owned a copy of the 'fourth-part' of ARS and have been involved in the making of the *Domville*.

¹⁰⁶⁹ The *Creswick Roll* (CRK) was made in Wriothesley's studio, Wagner RAH 276.

¹⁰⁷⁰ The *Portington Roll* (PT), CEMRA 100, has 982 items copied c.1595, probably from a compilation of c.1450, but including arms from Yorkshire as in *Parliamentary Roll* (N) from c.1312. The sequences are: PT:18-78, 292-306, 482-496, 593-603, 645-792, 851-895, 974-977 for DV:2300-2360, 1963-1972, 2467-2480, 727-737, 407-478, 760-799, 608-611. Comparisons between the entries in Clemmensen OM. A few may also be in the *Antiquaries' Roll* (AN), SA. Ms.136 Pt.1; 352 painted arms, CEMRA 62, c.1350.

¹⁰⁷¹ DV:444 Haywood, DBA 4:345, PLN:1424.

¹⁰⁷² *Red Book Roll* (RB), CEMRA 86, 548 items compiled c.1450 in a manuscript copied c.1580. The sequences are: RB:294-321 and DV:1572-1598.

¹⁰⁷³ Paris, Bibl.Arsenal, ms.5256:83v-93v (ARS, *Picquigny*), 447 items, a satellite of the TOISON D'OR group; the manuscript, part of the oeuvres de Charles du Fresne du Cange (1610-1688), was used by Jérôme Launé for a master's thesis in 2001, which was mentioned as a reference (JL) in Pastoureau ETO 2:79 (2001). The sequences are: ARS:369-418, 422-447; DV:2234-2273, 2202-2231.

BnF, ms.fr.33009, contains an alphabetical dictionary based on ARS.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Unlike *Cooke's Ordinary* (CKO) or *William Jenyns' Ordinary* (WJ)..

D. TRENDS AND PRACTITIONERS

13. Reality and imagination

For some classes or armorials, e.g. treatises, illustrative, institutional and family related armorials, the textual content can be the dominant feature. But the various kinds of texts and the relationship between text and arms are not of primary concern for this investigation.¹⁰⁷⁵ For the main classes, e.g. territorial, occasional, ordinaries and decorative armorials, the key elements are the coats of arms. Most of these will represent real people and real institutions. Men (and women), who lived, managed their wealth, took part in politics or military activities, married and died. People belonging to families that were noted by their contemporaries, or individuals noted in their own right. Similarly, but less often, the arms of towns, guilds, dioceses and abbeys, would be recorded.

Besides this factual world there was (and is) another world – that of fiction, populated by fantastic creatures and heroes possessing physical and mental powers above ordinary humans. These were described and pictured in romances and bestiaries from at least the mid 12th century, others were mentioned in classical literature or the Bible.¹⁰⁷⁶ Some beasts, e.g. the griffin, which were used in ancient cultures as decorations and/or symbols of power and wisdom, became integrated into armory. The heroes and scoundrels of fiction are rarely met in armorials compiled before 1350, but they surface in late medieval armorials supplemented by realms of fantasy, some populated by creatures with dog's heads. 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 the literature they read or had read to them. Along this main movement of idolation and demonisation, a need to symbolize political aims led to fictionalizing factual arms.

13.1 Fountains of fantasy

Only scratches in the surface have been made in the problems concerning the inclusion of imaginary arms into medieval armorials and mural decorations, and there are few answers or indeed questions as to the *why, what, how, by whom* and *from where* imaginary arms were selected. The only general introduction to the subject appears to be a short exploratory paper by Michel Pastoureau and a thesis by Nicolas Roche.¹⁰⁷⁷ The latter does have some analysis of the relations between the literary sources and the attributions in the armorials, but its primary value appears to be descriptive, giving references for individual entries - mostly from French armorials. Paul Adam-Even went the opposite way, concentrating on the armory in 12th century literature, but still leaving pointers for source-armorial studies to later generations. Christiane van den Bergen-

¹⁰⁷⁵ The late medieval treatises on chivalry, heraldry and armory were ably surveyed in Boudreau HS(2006) and Hiltmann SH (2012).

¹⁰⁷⁶ See the list of poetic works in the German language in Seyler: *Geschichte der Heraldik*, p.1-2 (Sieb A).

¹⁰⁷⁷ Pastoureau HI(1978); Roche AI (1997) with focus on Arthurian and other French romances.

Pantens made a valuable study on the Trojans passing from classical to medieval literature and on into the armorials and into the genealogical fantasies. The most intensive examination to date of the sources of a distinct type of imaginary arms is probably Michel Pastoureau's study of the Knights of the Round Table and the relations between a number of armorials and the Arthurian romances.¹⁰⁷⁸ These four were all focused on the imprint of fictional literature on armory.

Besides the romances, it is apparent that the compilers also wanted to include symbols or personifications of social values or structures - often in threes or fours. The Nine Worthies and the Douze Pairs de France bridge the two.

For the third area, fictitious or imaginary realms, there are few studies apart from the listing by Nicolas Roche mentioned above, the survey on 30 armorials by the late John A. Goodall († 2005), and the comments on certain German armorials by Clemmensen.¹⁰⁷⁹ The Goodall listing of the kings by name only was a necessary beginning, but did little to show and less to explain how and why in the bewildering multitude of arms, a certain coat is assigned repeatedly to one or two rulers or territories. It is much easier to understand how 10 different coats may be stated as the arms of a fabulous king when needed to dress up a role model or dress down a perceived enemy.

The lack of inquisitiveness is curiously highlighted in the edition of the *Miltenberg* by the late Jean-Claude Loutsch († 2002). He actually managed to correlate a number of imaginary items in the *Miltenberg* with similar ones in a few other German armorials, to propose reasonable identifications of a large part and to note the importance of the medieval travel novels – but only in his references, and he did not give even the slightest indication of these relations in his introduction and no discussion at all.

It is too early to attempt to answer fully the questions posed in the first paragraph, but there is a need to structure such investigations by collecting the appropriate material, ascertain which are simple copies of others, identify persistent and variable paradigms, and group the items as to whether they refer to real or imaginary persons or territories. In this context a persistent paradigm is the use of a particular coat for a particular name by several authors irrespective of variations in colouring, details and orthography – and to exclude simple copying.

Imaginary arms may be split into four groups defined by whether they have a factual or fictional basis or represent persons (families) or territories.¹⁰⁸⁰ The borders between groups are blurred and overlapping, and one may put personalized symbols of a territory or an organisation in a fifth group, e.g. the 'Assassins' sect who had their stronghold in the Lebanese mountains. Is the Julius Caesar among the Nine Worthies really the Roman consul murdered by

¹⁰⁷⁸ Pastoureau TR (1983, 2006); Bergen-Pantens TG (1990); Adam UH (1963); Brault EB (1972, 1997); Brault LU (1998).

¹⁰⁷⁹ Goodall CA (1990); Roche AI (1997); Clemmensen KCR, Clemmensen GRU, a.o.

¹⁰⁸⁰ See *fig. 8-13.1n1* Types of imaginary arms.

Brutus and the conspirators, or are the arms only a manifestation of a romantic literary figure? In a similar vein, are the axe or boat images found in illustrations of Nordic kings meant to represent actual arms as used by anointed kings of those countries? Probably not, it is much more likely that they were chosen to convey and underline the impression of plundering Vikings, known in the common lore to originate from those cold, barbaric countries. The pertinent question is really: Why did the compilers and artisans responsible for their inclusion in armorials like the *William le Neve* from around 1300 add the axe arms of Denmark and the boat of Norway to the imperial eagle and the chain of Navarre? Similarly, why did Ulrich Richental pretend that ambassadors from the Nestorian priest-king John of the far-away Indies attended the Council of Constance in 1418? It cannot be because he did not know that they were absent. He roamed that city in order to collect arms of nearly 200 clerics attending.¹⁰⁸¹ Surely he would know that the pages filled with the arms of exotic realms were just fiction! It is more likely that he would like to glorify the event, to create an impression that the whole Christendom was united – and not least to make it a good story? For good stories will be repeated and live on. A part of the answer to the *why* must be that fabulous arms catch attention, stimulate imagination and concretize images well known from stories, ballads and lore. And that could be one reason for the persistent tradition of including imaginary arms into armorials.

Most armorials and most of their contents are simple registries of actual families and, in older ones, persons, mainly shorter compilations, but later during the late 14th century growing into large volumes and being copied and edited from whatever sources available.¹⁰⁸² In this process the few imaginary arms inserted among the real coats of arms grew into segments of their own. During later extraction or copying, the origin of a few, like the ‘four sons of Aymon’, bearing *lions* in CHA:955-959 and *eagle & chief ch. lion passant* in FW:586-589, might be forgotten and thought to be for real people, not literary figures.¹⁰⁸³ Tradition might be viewed in another light, not only as keeping imaginary arms in an armorial and to conserve a particular selection of names of persons and realms, but also to keep to a particular expression of their arms. The English saint-kings, Edmund and Edward the Confessor, provide very stable paradigms. They are always represented by one coat of arms each: *Azure 3 crowns* or for Edmund, and *Azure cross flory or between 4 or 5 martlets* or for Edward. The ‘Ternionen’ or ‘Three best’ likewise appear to be very persistent paradigms, but that might be misleading. Apart from the ‘Nine Worthies’, they are predominantly known only from a small selection of German armorials.¹⁰⁸⁴

Though the inspiration for many imaginary arms eludes us, we can identify the two main types of sources. The first are the reports and memories of the early travellers, and enslaved prisoners.¹⁰⁸⁵ These were a principal source of many of

¹⁰⁸¹ Feger KCR.; Clemmensen KCR; Wacker KK.

¹⁰⁸² Clemmensen GR.

¹⁰⁸³ Brault RAE 2:167.

¹⁰⁸⁴ See *Ch. 13.4.1* Ternionen,

¹⁰⁸⁵ See summary in Clemmensen KCR 28. The most used memoirs were those of the Venetian Marco Polo (1254-1324), which was widely copied and read all over Europe, Tzanaki MM, Ridder JM 339. Among the better discussions and editions are Yule MP,

the names of the fabulous kings and realms to be discussed in *Chapter 3.2.2*. Map making may have had an influence as well, as maps became more generally available. The travel narratives probably influenced the more distant parts of the maps, and possibly the use of arms and banners on them.¹⁰⁸⁶ In a few cases like the *Book of knowledge* the travel report functioned as an illustrative armorial.¹⁰⁸⁷ Travels became a popular entertainment during the late Middle Ages as witnessed by the many surviving copies – often with several narratives bound together. The apotheosis was the *Travels of John Mandeville*, nominally by Sir John Mandeville, an Englishman, born at St.Albans, who left England on Michaelmas Day, 29.09.1322. It was hardly a travel report, but more likely a novel based on several sources.¹⁰⁸⁸ The authorship has been ascribed to Jean de Bourgogne alias Jean à la Barbe alias Joannes Barbatus, a physician from Liège (d.1372), who on his deathbed told this to a local notary, Jean d’Outremeuse. The name might be modelled on an actual Sir John Mandeville, who was implicated in the death of the Earl of Cornwall 1312, or it may have been derived from the French romance *Roman de Mandevie*. The main sources of Mandeville were the compendium of Jean le Long, a monk of St.Omer, who in 1351 translated into French and edited a number of genuine itineraries, incl. those of William of Boldenslee (Holy Land, 1336), Odoric of Pordenone, a Franciscan (description of the East, 1330), and Haiton’s *Fleurs de Histoires d’Orient* (<1308); the memoirs of Albert of Aix (1125, crusade and a description of Palestine); the *Speculum historiale* and the *Speculum naturale* (encyclopaedia, c.1250) by Vincent of Beauvais, which themselves were based on Isidore of Seville and of Solinus; the Voyage of Johannes de Plano Carpini (1245-47, a Franciscan, to Karakorum); the Journal of Friar William de Rubruquis (1253-55); and the Journal of Friar Odoric (from Hakluyt’s “Navigation, voyages & discoveries”). Marco Polo, Mandeville and some historians are mentioned as sources in some armorials. In *Grünenberg* fo.36 (GRU:347), the compiler refers to Marco Polo in relation to the pygmies, and on fo.40r both Polo and Mandeville are mentioned as sources for the dog-headed people of Mattembrion. The amazons, who lived on an island off Chaldea or southern Iraq, on the authority of the cited Jacobus von Viatico, used different arms (GRU:402-403, MIL:307 and RUG:121). The historian Moro Orbinì is the origin of the *2 ragged staffs in saltire tipped with king's heads* for Bosnia according to the *Charolais* (CHA:596).¹⁰⁸⁹

Gabriel MP, Olschki MP and Penzer MP. Johan Schildtberger (b.1381) was captured in the battle of Nicopolis 1396 and held as a slave for more than 25 years, Telfer JS.

¹⁰⁸⁶ See Brincken NC for the state of art and development of mapping from the ancient Ptolemeiac maps over the mappa mundi of the catalans (c.1375) to the printed maps in Herman Schedels *Weltchronik* of 1493.

¹⁰⁸⁷ *Libro de Conoscimiento* .., Markham LIC, Lacarra LIC.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Some 250 manuscripts of *Mandeville* have survived as well as 4 printings by Richard Pynson and Wynkyn de Worde during the reign of Henry VII (r.1485-1507). Written in *doulz franceys* and translated into Latin, English, high and low German, Danish, Czech, Italian, Spanish and Irish, it is known in England in 5 versions as well as 1 French and 4 Latin versions, Seymour JM, Ridder JM.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Mauro Orbinì Rauseo, fl.1550-1614, Benedictine Ab.Melitense, historian from Dubrovnik, influential in slav history, *'The Realm of the Slavs'*, Pesaro 1601, reprint Zagreb 1999. Similar arms can be found in several German armorials, e.g. KCR:238, GRU:380. BEL:1235 has the arms for an unverified Moerianen from Kleve, which may

The second major type of sources was the popular poems, romances and novels featuring heroes and lauding the virtues of the chivalric culture.¹⁰⁹⁰ The three major series, to which most of the identifiable persons belong, are the Alexandrian, Carolingian and Arthurian cycles written and elaborated by various poets and authors.¹⁰⁹¹ A minor series was based on classical literature, the poems on the siege of Troy in the Iliad by Homer, which merged with stories by Roman authors. The Greeks and Trojans were popular. Several princely houses claimed descent from the heroes of this fictitious campaign.¹⁰⁹² For the Trojan cycle, we can follow the development from the 4th and 6th centuries to Benoît de Sainte-Maure (c.1160), Christiane de Pisan (c.1460), treatises on heraldry, armorials like *Le Breton*, *Gelre* and *Gorrevod*, and the characters presented in the wall decorations with series of famous men¹⁰⁹³

For many imaginary arms, the source of the arms still needs to be identified. A few may originate from odd poems, e.g. the *Kranichmenschenrumpf* (bust of man with a crane's beak) in *Grüenberg* (GRU:254 Dallach) and also used as crest by Keher gt Truchsess von Henneberg and on the miniature in *Uffenbach* fo.54v.¹⁰⁹⁴

The identification of other items may be debatable. A small group of coats of arms (e.g. KCR:271-275; GRU:363-367) found in several German armorials was proposed by J.J.F. Kennedy as arms of Irish chieftains or sub-kings from his reading of *Richental* and *Grüenberg*. Kennedy interpreted the name *conixen* as Connaught, a county in Western Ireland, off which ships from the Hanse as well as Flemish and English fishermen went for herring. Moseley, in his edition of the travels of Marco Polo, proposed Coroazim in Galilee. Similarly, the *band* in the arms of Langonia became the 'bloody hand of Ulster' of the O'Neills Mór and not the isle of Lango or Cos in the Dodecanese, once ruled by Hippocrates, while the *stag* in Ultingen/McCarthy Mór became Munster. The 'oriental' names may have been inspired by either the tales of Marco Polo or the related travels of John Mandeville. Following Kennedy, the 'Irish' names may have been suggested by either a successor of abbot Heinrich (r.1392-1399) of the Schottenkloster in Wien or its daughter house in Konstanz. The proposal is supported by the modified English lions for Ireland/Hibernia and the genuine arms of Butler and the FitzGerald earls of Kildare and Desmond. A set of inverted arms of Scotland is appended at the end.¹⁰⁹⁵

(or may not) be Moor's land misplaced. 'Morlant' is the legend in GOR:399 and PGR:397 (London, CA, ms. B23:67v14).

¹⁰⁹⁰ For the Nine Worthies or Neuf Preux see *Ch. 13.4.1* Ternionen.

¹⁰⁹¹ The Alexandrian and Carolingian cycle is discussed in *Ch. 13.2.1* Heroes and Companions. The Arthurian cycle with the knights of the Round Table and the quest for the Holy Grail in *Ch. 13.2.2*. Brault EB 18, 31, 37-54 has several examples.

¹⁰⁹² Bergen-Pantens TG 96 (1990); Adam UH (1963); LxMA 7:981-986 medieval novels.

¹⁰⁹³ Bergen-Pantens TG 97; Bergen-Pantens GD 815 (GOR:86r-90v); Gebhard NC 213.

¹⁰⁹⁴ From '*Das Lied von Herzog Ernst*' verses 2848-2859 (ed. Karl Bartsch, 1869), Sieb A 1, 141.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Kennedy IC (1996). Langonia (*band*) is in KCR:271, GRU:365, DWF:19, HBG:100, MIL:1426, RUG:120, UFF:261. The name has also been interpreted as the Isle of

Abbot Heinrich or one of his fellow monks may have provided further advice. Among the several arms for Hibernia (Ireland or Scotland) are *Or per pale eagle issuant sable and gules a mailed arm holding sword natural*, attributed for the ancient people, the Scots, who seized Caledonia (modern Scotland) from the Picts. In reality, these are the arms used by the Schottenkloster zu St.Jacob in Regensburg and its sister institution in Erfurt. Both belonged to a group of Benedictine monasteries, primarily with monks of Irish-Scottish descent, founded by Marianus in 1070 in Regensburg in the patronate of Emperor Heinrich IV in 1087, and supported with money from Ireland in 1112 for the first St.Jacob Monastery. The arms are on a seal from 1409. The Schottenkloster in Konstanz was founded in 1142.¹⁰⁹⁶

The result of one of the more curious inspirations can be seen on fo.2v in the Berlin manuscript of the *Grünenberg*.¹⁰⁹⁷ Grouped around a triple-headed and haloed eagle are seven arms attributed to ancient kings of Rome from Romulus onwards. The unconventional arms were undoubtedly inspired by artworks seen by Konrad Grünenberg on his travels. The sources were elegantly explained by Helmut Nickel of the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Religion was rarely a source of inspiration. A couple of pages in an 18th century manuscript are probably a copy of a medieval calendar of the name days of selected saints.¹⁰⁹⁸ Jesus and the Trinity are mentioned in a few armorials as are St.George, St.James, St.Eustace, St.Maurice, some beatified kings and founders of religious orders. Most entries appear to relate more to royal houses, genealogies or virtues rather than having any direct religious connection.

13.2 Rank and nationality

Medieval people had a keen sense of social position and for the middle and upper classes also some idea of geography - if not from experience then from tales. So it would be natural also to structure armorials by these two criteria.

13.2.1 Social strata

The numerically dominant type of arms in territorial (or geographical) armorials is those of the nobility (in the continental sense, Adel or noblesse). Irrespective of whether nobles were represented as persons or families they were usually listed in blocs by rank. Such blocs might be segments in their own right, as in many German armorials, e.g. *Riechental*, *Grünenberg*, and *Miltenberg*, or be parts of segments, e.g. *Gelre*, *Bellenville* and *Berry*. Some armorials, e.g. *Lyncewich* and

Lango or Cos, once ruled by Hippocrates (Mosely JM 53). Roche AI 429 #237 had no proposal. Clemmensen OM has the 'oriental' interpretation from Moseley JM 53, 93. O'Connarchy was proposed by Rietstap / Rolland 4:303.

¹⁰⁹⁶ The eagle and sword-arm are found in GRU:217, six other German armorials and CHA:1035. Typical legends are 'king Wencelas in Ireland' and 'Enbernia in Schotten'. Zimmermann BK 128-130; LxMA 7:1543. The Schottenklosterorganization still exists, e.g. in Vienna.

¹⁰⁹⁷ On p.4 in the München manuscript, GRU:52-59. Clemmensen GRU 18, Nickel KR (1989). See *fig. 8 - ch. 13.1n2* Kings of Rome.

¹⁰⁹⁸ *Calendrier illustré des Armoiries des Saints*, Paris, BnF, ms.fr.18648:72r-77v; Boos CDS.

Bergshammar have both types. The major blocs of ranks were dukes (Herzogen), counts (earls, Grafen), barons (Freiherren) and untitled nobles (gentry), with marquises (margraves), Landgraves, viscounts and Burggraven (castellans) sometimes kept separate, but often included among the counts. The titled ranks of England and France are fairly straightforward to evaluate and place in a hierarchy, as only the head of a branch would bear the title. Dukes, hardly with any exception, precede marquises, counts and barons. In rare cases, e.g. the count of Flanders, a count may outrank most dukes in his sovereign capacity. Ranking titled nobles in the German empire can be quite confusing. Not only did all males in a ducal or comital branch bear the titles, but the same rank might place two individuals in very different circumstances. A duke might be a powerful semi-sovereign, or a person with hardly more than a few manors and a title reflecting a short moment of glory, like that of the duke of Urslingen, carried over from their title to Spoleto c.1200.¹⁰⁹⁹ Some counts, e.g. Flanders and Juliers, were imperial princes, while others had only the wealth and status of a baron. Landgraves were imperial princes and often outranked or equalled dukes, e.g. the Landgrave von Thuringia. Burggraven varied similarly, a few (Burggraff von Nürnberg) were imperial princes, while others were just castellans, possibly hereditary administrators of fiefs, or had simply incorporated a former title into their name. Regardless of their place in the hierarchy, dukes were placed with dukes, and counts with counts. The more influential are usually at the top of the bloc.¹¹⁰⁰

Commoners rarely figure in English or French armorials, while town patricians took their place alongside the Herren and untitled nobility in German armorials. The difference may be less than it appears. By the late Middle Ages successful merchants would acquire landed property and take up the ways of a gentleman. The track led both ways. Many German (mainly untitled) nobles would take citizenship in a major town and join the patriciate. Some would be enobled or knighted, even join the rank of the imperial princes, but when they began to appear in the armorials, it would usually be as members of a tournament society, not as commoners, mayors or merchants.

Clerics are also rare both in their spiritual capacity and as royal officers, e.g. chancellors or treasurers. Most entries of clerics are in their other capacity as vassals, e.g. a prince-bishop holding an imperial fief in vassalage as well as being subject to the pope. As such they may head a list of their sub-vassals. The armorial appended to the *Richental* chronicle is a special case. This collection is less a territorial than an occasional or an illustrative armorial. Its function, or rather the functions of substantial parts, are to present the arms of participants named in the main text. So when the participants were clerics, the arms of (or attributed to) clerics were included. In general, holders of offices, lay or spiritual, were almost never mentioned as such.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Sieb 23/6.2:16+t8, Clemmensen OM: Urslingen.

¹¹⁰⁰ Torsten Huthwelker recently attempted to analyse the changes of precedence within blocs of English dukes and earls over time. He included an outlook towards the situation in the German empire. Huthwelker RW (2013).

Institutions like guilds, dioceses, abbeys and towns are rare outside the institutional class of armorials.¹¹⁰¹ Segments listing towns, dioceses and abbeys begin to appear in German armorials at the same time as imaginary arms.¹¹⁰² They are also present in two late French clones.¹¹⁰³ A few imperial towns and princely bishops and abbots may occur in segments of nobles. Segments of dioceses, abbeys and towns may well have been inspired by the *Richental* chronicle-cum-armorial.

The second principle of organisation is regionality or nationality.¹¹⁰⁴ This is a difficult concept to apply to the Middle Ages, but workable when not too stringently defined by language, region and adherence to a prince. Borderlands, as always, compound the difficulties. The main headings in nationality are the Holy Roman Empire (HRR) and the West-European kingdoms: France (with provinces and grand fiefs), England (with counties), Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Castile-Leon, Aragon and Portugal. To the east we can add Poland, Hungary and the grand-principality of Lithuania. Beyond this there is near heathen darkness – in armory terms. Except for the Holy Roman Empire these realms functioned largely as nations. At times a few might be in personal union, but more often they were at war. The Empire was more like a box of multiple nationalities and sub-regions. Southern Italy (Naples or Sicily) was formally independent. The Papal States were often warring with the northern Italian city-states, which would as often be at war between themselves. Bohemia, with a German speaking upper class and Czech speaking lower classes, was a kingdom in its own right, but not more powerful than a princely duchy or one of the other electorates. Larger Germany was carved up between semi-independent principalities and dioceses from Holstein, Pomerania and Brandenburg in the north to Bavaria and Austria in the south. The Swiss federation was fast moving out of the imperial shadow. Four border areas were pressed from both sides. The Low Countries, except Flanders, belonged to the empire, but was traversed by the Franco-German linguistic frontier, having most of it ruled by a French dynasty from the 1370'ies or being dioceses ruled by mostly German-speaking bishops. In the east the Low Countries merged with the German principalities along the lower Rhine. To the south Alsace-Lorraine and Savoy were influenced by the surge eastwards of the Capetian and Valois kings and only vaguely supported by the emperor and the German princes. On the Balkans along the Adriatic lay a numbers of principalities, sometimes named as kingdoms with shifting allegiances – independent, pro-Hungarian and in time mostly pro-Ottoman. In the northeast lay Silesia, pro-polish but also influenced by Bohemia, Saxony, and Brandenburg. The above sketch probably reflects the contemporary view of nationality and gives the framework to be expected in the organisation of a multi-segment armorial.

¹¹⁰¹ Towns and dioceses can be regarded as institutions with chartered privileges and appointed or elected leadership.

¹¹⁰² *Richental* (KCR), *Miltenberg* (MIL), *St.Gallen-Haggenberg* (SGH), *Stuttgart* (STU), and *Rugen* (RUG).

¹¹⁰³ *LeBlancq* (LBQ), *Sicile* (SIC).

¹¹⁰⁴ For continental armorials, English armorials rarely have non-natives among the untitled.

13.2.2 Realms in fact and fiction

Fictitious realms are the most numerous kind of imaginary arms, often blended into listings of the 20-odd real kingdoms of Europe and Outremer. They find their way into armorials from all regions, but those from Southern Germany have the most. A survey of 56 armorials with 1400 items shows that English and French armorials typically have less than 15 fictitious realms. The exception is the *Wijnberghen* from c.1280 with 36 in a segment of 56 items. Several German armorials have more than a hundred items of this type.¹¹⁰⁵ The proportion of fictional to real arms varies between the segments. At one end, the 23 items in the *Ashmolean Roll* from 1334 are all essentially correct and include the then existing Christian realms, incl. Byzantium, Jerusalem, Rome and Armenia. The near contemporary *Cooke's Book* of 1320 has a segment of 12 items which include 2 saint-kings, 6 real kingdoms, 3 islands (Man, Orkney and Corsica) and 3 fictional realms of Outremer (Egypt, Syria and Tarsus). As a third example, the *Camden Roll* of 1280 has 8 fictitious out of 24 items, including the Duke of Venice with the *castle* also found in the *Herald's* and the *Grimaldi Rolls*, Denmark and Norway with *axes* and *boats*, Cyprus with *Azure 3 escutcheons or*, and Armenia with a *crowned cross*, and the fictional realm of Griffonia.

The fabulous king-priest of India Prester John is usually placed among the lead items of the realms. The story of this Christian potentate in far-off Asia is central to hundreds of surviving manuscripts ranging from the 12th to the 16th century, and must have been very well known to most educated people.¹¹⁰⁶ We find him in chronicles, propaganda and not least in travellers' narratives from 13th century monks to Marco Polo and John Mandeville, though his realm moved over time from India to Ethiopia, as seen on Portulan maps of the 14th century.¹¹⁰⁷ At least 44 occurrences in 12 variants in colour and figures in 29 armorials are known. As the Prester John is a Christian archetype it comes as no surprise that his arms are commonly based on the cross, either a simple cross (FW:1; LIC:80), a crucifix (G:1, SM:10; TRK:1, DRK:1, GRU:293) or crucifix between symbols of penitence (EGT:1, BER:18, LBR:30; URF:2702, CHA:844) – but these are only found in Anglo-French armorials. That is, except for the single occurrence of a crucifix in the GRU:241 and *Per fess azure-argent and cross formy gules / purple overall*, which we find in KCR:195 and seven other German armorials mostly with the name of India in the legend. In some German armorials, he has *lion bearing a cross formy* (MIL:150, KCR:325, RUG:25, 477, 478). The last, and easily understandable, version, *a king's head*, is found in the *Gorrevod* and in the *Jörg Rugen* (GOR:1018, RUG:168 + 197). The realm of Prester John is ill-defined. Depending on the source, it is placed somewhere to the south of China and include parts or all of the Three Indies, which themselves cover the coast from the Persian Gulf to the South China Sea. In later sources he was moved to Ethiopia – after emissaries from the Negus or emperor of Ethiopia reached the Portuguese court. In a few instances Prester John is directly mentioned in a legend above a shield, in others it is implicitly understood that India is part of his realm. 27 occurrences of 15 different arms of the Indies might look impressive, but they can be traced back to only two

¹¹⁰⁵ See *fig. 5-ch. 13.2n1* Survey of imaginary arms in armorials.

¹¹⁰⁶ Zarncke PJ (1879, 1883).

¹¹⁰⁷ Yule MP, Moseley JM.

armorial sources, the German BODENSEE group and the French URFÉ group. Four major sets of arms stand out: *per fess a cross formy overall* for the Empire of India (UFF:386 + 394, MIL:152 + 1086, KCR:323, RUG:162; GRU:295), *a pair of scales* for the Nearer India (UFF:439, MIL:134, RUG:157, CHA:857), *a cup* for Middle India (MIL:137, GRU:296, RUG:158; GRU:311; CHA:856), and *3 birds* in varying positions for Farther India (CHA:858, RUG:160; CHA:1091; GRU:297; GRU:299; MIL:140). It may not be a coincidence that both the French *Charolais* and the German armorials have arms with *falcons rising, cup* and *scales*. The crowned shield of *per fess a cross overall* was recently attributed to the Knights Templar, but it must be a misreading from *Richental* or the *Grünenberg* (KCR:130r1, GRU:295/31v3).¹¹⁰⁸

Some attributions are not really to fictitious realms, but arms attributed to a realm, but never used by any authority. Cyprus is an example. It was generally known by the arms of the ruling Lusignan dynasty *Barry argent-azure ch. lion gules* impaling or quartering the arms of Jerusalem. Among the armorials surveyed here we find 5 fictional arms, all single occurrences: the artisan of the *Sherborne Missal* took his *moor's head* from *Segar's Roll* (G:23, SM:28), the *Charolais* preferred a lion (CHA:925) and the *Walford* and the *Thornton Kings* had variations of a cross (C:16, TRK:14). The arms of Denmark are among the oldest recorded arms, possibly going back to around 1160, but the eldest surviving seal is of King Cnut VI from 1194. The proper lion (leopard) arms are, with variations, found 32 times in the survey, but 5 entries have *3 axes*, one a *bull* (C:18) and one a *horse* (GRU:187). The axe-arms are probably related as they are from the *Herald's*, *William le Neve*, *Camden*, *Segar* and *Sherborne Missal* (FW:17, WNR:6, D:16, G:14, SM:20). The king of Egypt in *Cooke's Book* might really be for Denmark. The axe-bearing lion referring to the saint-king Olav of Norway is similarly well-known with 50 occurrences in the survey supplementing 10 fictional items for Norway, of which half are boat-arms found in *Herald's*, *Camden*, *Matthew Paris*, *Grimaldi* and in the Brabantian *Gorrevod* (FW:18, D:12, MPC:73, P:27, MPH:100, TRK:18, GOR:389).

One will find imaginary as well as confounded versions of the arms of several medieval realms and sovereignties, but most compilers knew the arms of the 20 to 30 most important realms and principalities of Europe. But the farther away the lesser is known, and this is why the Nordic countries at one end and Near Eastern countries at the other are the major providers for such arms. Armenia or rather the several Armenias are pertinent cases. The arms of the principal kingdom of Armenia, ruled by the Hetumids and later by the Lusignans are *Or lion gules*, only found in 12 entries in 7 armorials, but there are another 38 other lion-based entries and 19 non-lion entries. Admittedly these 59 entries of 38 arms cover more than one realm and there are lots of repeats and variants in several armorials. The *Charolais* alone has 17 entries for an Armenia. This is probably evidence of the lack of actual knowledge and the multitude of sources used. Besides the now common overlaps in the BODENSEE group, we find a crowned cross in the *Bergshammar* and 3 English armorials *Herald's*, *Grimaldi* and *Camden* (BHM:23, FW:15, P:17; D:15). A *lion holding a cross* is present in *Wijnberghe* and *Gelre* and from there came into *Bergshammar* (WIN:1301;

¹¹⁰⁸ Boo OT 12.

GEL:750, BHM:3382). In *Charolais*, *Miltenberg* and *Rugen* the cross is placed above the back of a lion passant (CHA:940, MIL:110, RUG:81) or vulned onto the shoulder of the lion, as in the *Charolais*, *Rugen* and *Uffenbach* (CHA:546+935+936, RUG:97, UFF:384). The *lion pierced by a sword* is present in *Charolais*, *Richental*, *Rugen*, *Uffenbach* and *Donaueschingen* (CHA:1084; KCR:432; RUG:60, UFF:383, DWF:20).

Most people would probably agree that Griffonia must be a purely fictional kingdom and that a griffin is the obvious choice for an armorial device. At a first look, it appears that medieval armorists agreed to the tune of 13 coats of arms in as many armorials from England, France and Germany and most as *Or on azure*. It is fictional, but only to a certain degree. It was used by Byzantine chronicler and by Villehardouin, a chronicler of the crusades, as a name for the Greeks.¹¹⁰⁹ The *griffin* arms can be found in some papers and editions attributed to Frisia on the Dutch-German coast. This attribution should be dismissed as a transcription error or error of interpretation. Transcription is a major issue when we try to rationalize the entries from various sources, not least for imaginary arms. Normalizing names may sound easy when we think of well-known families, but it is not the case in practice. Griffonia ought to be easy to interpret. It is not. Just look at the proposals as Griffith (SP:18), Grissen (GRU:259), Frisonie (WIN:1281) and Griffalde (CHA:1019). Dividing the blame equally between medieval and later copyists and modern editors, the confusion only increases as we move on to less obvious realms.¹¹¹⁰

Another problem which complicates the assessment of imaginary arms is that we may not really know what we are studying. Ireland or Hibernia ought to be fairly easy to place – even with the inappropriate canting arms of *a stag issuing from a castle on a field*, possibly for *Hirsch-land* (Boos LBR 137, LBR:32, VER:875, URF:2711, CHA:565). But what are we to do with the information that Ireland is a part of Scotland – as claimed by *Grüenberg* and others (GRU:22r, KCR:428, CHA:1035)? Depending on the identification proposed, items could be assigned as personal/familial or territorial arms, e.g. for the Irish chieftains *al. Greek islands and Near Eastern lands* in the sub-series KCR:271-275 and GRU:363-367) discussed in *Chapter 3.1*.

It will be too much to go through all the fictional realms, so here are a few examples for a finish.¹¹¹¹ The kingdom of Barbaria has 8 entries with 4 different arms in 5 armorials, and not surprisingly 3 different arms in just one armorial, the *Rugen*. More interesting are the parallels between armorials: a *fish's head* (RUG:83, UFF:390, MIL:128), an *eagle ch. with a fess* (RUG:54, MIL:114), and a *triquetra* (RUG:86, CHA:1086). That there are overlaps between the 3 German armorials is not surprising as the hypothesis is that they belong to a single group. The overlap between a German armorial of c.1500 and a French one, presumably from 1425, ought to be investigated.

¹¹⁰⁹ Brault CM 221 a.o, also used in the *Dean Tract* of 1340/80 (DTT), see Clemmensen OM.

¹¹¹⁰ Here and in the database behind Clemmensen OM, arms and entries have been grouped together under one principal heading according the judgement of this author, and this may not correspond with the view of other authors.

¹¹¹¹ Most imaginary arms are indexed in Clemmensen OM.

There are 18 different arms for Babylonia, which in medieval times often meant Egypt or Cairo for Bab-al-yun, founded by Cambyses 525 BC. Three of these are worth looking at. The *king's head* present in *Zürich*, *Grünenberg* and *Uffenbach* (ZUR:20, UFF:399; GRU:390) and the variants of an *elephant issuing from a crown* in some members of the BODENSEE group (MIL:153; GRU:391; RUG:70+501). Finally we have the *Argent roundel sable ch. lion passant gules* of the *Urfé* and *Lord Mayor's roll* (URF:2712, LM:29) and as king of Alexandria in the Spanish *Book of knowledge* (LIC:50).

13.3 Literature goes armorial

The Arthurian cycle or group of chansons de geste (songs of deeds) was probably the most popular form of secular literature during the Middle Ages, but besides the two other main cycles, the Carolingian and the Trojan, other chansons, poems and classical literature itself inspired armorists to design arms for their heroes (and their audience too?). Though the set Douze Pairs de France was clearly modelled on the twelve companions of Charlemagne, they may also be seen as four sets of Ternionen: three each of lay dukes, lay counts, spiritual dukes, and spiritual counts.

13.3.1 Heroes and companions

The named kings and emperors of Rome and similarly named kings of Britain or France were entered into armorials in the same ways as heroes were, and not like kings of realms. Their presence is relatively rare, and they were often used as introductions.¹¹¹² A few odd heroes can be found in various armorials, but most belong to cycles and are arraigned more as companions than individuals. Some 'heroes' can be hard to identify. A Nithart is present in *Grünenberg* and in *Uffenbach*. The item was probably meant for Nithart, an early German (or Frankish) historian, grandson of Charlemagne, who wrote a chronicle in Latin (*Historiarum libri quatuor*) of the wars between his cousins, the sons of Ludwig I 'der Fromme', under the title. He was killed in these wars, probably in 844. Another interpretation would have him as Nithart von Riuwental al. Neidhardt von Reuental, a model Minnesänger, who lived 1190-1240.¹¹¹³

A French chanson de geste, which belonged to the fringe of the Carolingian cycle, made an imprint in England as well as in France - using different arms. Aymon de Dordone *al.* de Dordogne *al.* Aymon de Montauban S.d'Esdain had four sons, Renaud, Allard, Richard and Guichard, who were knighted by Charlemagne. Renaud later killed Bertoulet, a nephew of Charlemagne.¹¹¹⁴

¹¹¹² E.g. in the English *William Jenyns' Book* (WJ):1, a.o.), *County Roll* (CY:1), and the French *Charolais* (CHA:1,512, a.o.). The *Kings of Britain* (KB: 47-191 british kings) has a longer listing in addition to the Nine Worthies, the Magi and some English lords (CEMRA 95). The romans are in the *Grünenberg*.

¹¹¹³ Walther MAN #92. The Nitharts in GRU:2291 and UFF:190 have different arms.

¹¹¹⁴ The sons of Aymon have variants of different arms in FW:586-589 and CHA:955-959. Brault RAE 2:167; Johan CC 62, KBR ms.9067:103v. The FitzAimons and three unidentified items (FW:590-592) are the rear items of the French arms in the *FitzWilliam's Roll*. In *Charolais* they are part of the Carolingian heroes, and distinguished with unusual brisures, i.e. powdering with billets, hearts, crosslets, trefoils or

The Carolingian circle was popular at the Burgundian court. A life of Charlemagne and his companions composed c.1468 by David Aubert from chronicles and chansons de geste and illustrated by Jean le Tavernier was commissioned by Jean (V) de Crequi S.Canaples, but taken over by Philippe 'bon' D.Burgundy - again with variant arms.¹¹¹⁵ The Song of Roland was another popular story of the companions of Charlemagne (Emperor Charles 'the great', r.768-814), especially of his twelve peers (Roland, Ogier le Danois, Oliver de Geneve, a.o.). So was the *Enfances Ogier* by Adenet le Roi, a Brabantian poet-minstrel who was for 30 years at the courts of Henri III D.Brabant and Guy de Dampierre C.Flanders and who often weaved arms into his tales.¹¹¹⁶ Though the stories from the Carolingian circle were read all over Europe,¹¹¹⁷ they got only a narrow entry into a few French armorials, all based on the *Urfé*. Charlemagne himself and his 12 peers were added to the mostly fictional tail of the *Urfé* and extracted from there into the *Rineck* and its derivatives.¹¹¹⁸ The expanded version in the *Charolais* was probably based on the *Song of Roland* and added both the sons of Aymon, more heroes (e.g. Guillaume d'Orange, Widukind D.Saxony, and Griffon de Mayence), and very unusually two ladies (Dame Bradamante and Marphise), though only by name, not arms.¹¹¹⁹

Heroes were so popular among the nobles in France, that some adopted arms attributed to Arthurian or Carolingian heroes, or amended their arms with quarters representing heroes. The arms *Or a lion gules within a border engrailed sable*, which were attributed to the Carolingian hero Roland, was adopted before 1297 by Jean de Gavre S.Lens.¹¹²⁰ Rene Pot S.Rochepot & Roche-Nollay (1362-1432), a founder knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece (Toison d'or) adopted arms of the Arthurian knight Palamédes (or a Trojan hero). It was first used on his seal of 1410, but it was still in use by his grandson Philippe, grand sénéchal de Bourgogne (d.1494), and can be found on his magnificent tomb placed in Citeaux c.1480, but has now been moved to the Louvre Museum.¹¹²¹ Assignment of arms can work the opposite way. The famous sultan Saladin, who effectively destroyed the kingdom of Jerusalem, was given the *Papelonny orgules* of the Champenois family of d'Anglure. The name in armorials varies between sultan of Damaria (Damascus) and Roy Saladin. The tale told in the

lanceheads. A third attribution to these heroes are the arms of Châtillon in *Rineck* (RYN:1081).

¹¹¹⁵ Johan CC 7. The arms added by Jean Tavernier were generally different from those in the armorials.

¹¹¹⁶ Sayers SR 61, stanza 18. On Adenet le Roi, see Henry AR (complete works, 1951-71); BraultAR (2006) a.o., Jochim RS 31-32 (2015).

¹¹¹⁷ Dahlerup DL 2:239-247.

¹¹¹⁸ URF:2775-2787, segment 50; RYN:1132-1144 are identical; see *Ch. 8.1* for Urfé and *10.3-4* for Rineck a.o. Roland was also entered into FW:61. Carolingian heroes were also illustration in the early romances, Adam UH 25.

¹¹¹⁹ CHA:943-997 (55 items), segment 18. The next segment, CHA:998-1020 add 23 infidel enemies of Charlemagne.

¹¹²⁰ Histoire de la maison de Gavre, *l'Art d'enlumineure*, 2002, No.3. There were several changes of arms in the Gavre family, see Clemmensen OM.

¹¹²¹ Vaivre RP; ETO:1043 (Rene), GOR:841 (Philippe).

family was that a d'Anglure ancestor vanquished Saladin outside the gates of Damascus and adopted his arms.¹¹²²

Even an English opponent of Saladin, King Richard 'Lionheart' got a small place in the *Urfé* together with another 12 companions. It is not known who combined a duke of Limburg, the counts of Flanders and Kleve, and a Dammartin count of Boulogne with a Montfort l'Amaury, a des Barres d'Oisery and a Geoffrey de Lusignan. Apparently the only other Englishman is William Longespee E.Salisbury, a natural half-brother of Richard.¹¹²³

The 12 peers of France (les Douze Pairs), which appeared in the early 14th century, were modelled on the Carolingian companions, but changed into six lay peers, three dukes and three counts (Burgundy, Aquitaine, Normandy; Flanders, Champagne, and Toulouse), three spiritual dukes, and three spiritual counts (Abp.Reims, Bp.Langres, Laon; Beauvais, Noyon and Chalons). It is notable that the spiritual peers came from the northern parts, royal lands from 1284 when Philippe IV 'le Bel' married Jeanne, the heiress to Champagne.¹¹²⁴ The set probably got its present form at the end of the 12th century in verse novels like the *Chanson d'Antioche*, *Chanson des Saxons*, and the *Chanson de Douze Pairs de France*.¹¹²⁵ It was adopted as part of the ceremonial of salving and crowning of the French kings no later than for Philippe V in 1316. The Urfé compiler also employed the Alexandrian cycle, but added the foes Darius of Persia and Porus of India to what may be another dozen companions.¹¹²⁶

The Trojan cycle came into the armorials in different ways and forms. The earliest entries were as illustrations in the poems of Benoit de Sainte Maure written 1154-1160 and dedicated to Eleanor of Aquitaine, queen of England and former queen of France (to 1152).¹¹²⁷ The principal Trojan hero Hector was given either *two lions*, probably combatant, or *Or a lion gules (vermeil)*. The full selection included both Trojans and Greeks like Achilles and Menelaus of Sparta. The first of the 13th century parts of the *LeBreton* had a large selection of the sons of Priam the king of Troy, where the armorial figures can be read as variations on the theme in Sainte Maure.¹¹²⁸ Hector surfaces again with lion arms in *Gelre* as ancestor of the dukes of Brabant and with arms in *Gorrevod*.¹¹²⁹ A small selection of Greeks (Ulysses, Agamemnon and Achilles) and Aeneas,

¹¹²² VER:881, URF:2713, RYN:57 a.o., CHA:798+830. Roche AI 396#51 has Aumaria for Almeria in Spain as mentioned in *Alexandre, Erec et Percival*.

¹¹²³ URF:2788-2800, segment 51, and also in RYN:1145-1157 a.o.

¹¹²⁴ The Douze Pairs are found in armorials of the TOISON D'OR group (*Ch.* 7), and in the *Berry*, *LeBlancq*, *Sicile*, *Rineck* a.o. (*Ch.* 10), and the *Gorrevod*. They are used as frontispiece in Robert Gaugin: *De origine et gestis francorum compendium*, Paris 1507.

¹¹²⁵ Wikipedia gives links to the editions held by the BnF written by Richard le Pèlerin in the 12C and Jean Bodel (fl.1165-1210) as well as a list of peers acting as members of the set.

¹¹²⁶ URF:2825-2845, segment 53; also in RYN:1097-1110.

¹¹²⁷ Adam UH 18, 22-24.

¹¹²⁸ LBR:1n-5n = 1B-43B, Boos LBR 130-132.

¹¹²⁹ GEL:1756, Popoff GEL 39; GOR:151n-160n, Bergen-Pantens GD 815, Bergen-Pantens TG 97.

the ancestor of the kings of Rome, can be found in *Charolais*.¹¹³⁰ Arms of classical heroes can be found as illustrations in the romances written or translated into several languages, but as series in armorials only in French armorials – and only in those belonging to two groups of armorials.¹¹³¹

13.3.2 Knights of the Round Table

The stories of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table have a unique place of their own among the imaginary arms. It was practically the only fantasy world that was actually lived out among the knightly class at tournaments and spectacles. The core story goes back to Celtic bards of the 6th century, but the Arthurian cycle known to the late medieval audience was mainly the successive works of four men, though several others elaborated on it in poetic romances. The four were: 1) Geoffrey Monmouth with his *History of the kings of Britain* written c.1135; 2) Master Wace, who translated his version with the Round Table and an ethos of chivalry into French and in 1155 dedicated a copy to Eleanor of Aquitaine, queen of England and former queen of France; 3) their contemporary Walter Map, who is accredited to have extended the story to include the quest for the Holy Grail and the affair of Lancelot and Guinevere; 4) and then Chrétien de Troyes, who in 1170-90 presented his version with Camelot and Parsifal (Sir Percival) to the count of Flanders.¹¹³² Chrétien belonged to the court of the countess of Champagne, a daughter of Eleanor of Aquitaine.¹¹³³ The interest in the Arthurian cycle reached a height in the mid 13th century where in England the king, Edward I, himself took part in tournaments disguised as king Arthur. A special form of jousting called Round Tables were held all over Europe, the first recorded in Sicily in 1223, one in Saffron Walden in 1252 noted by Matthew Paris, one in France in 1278 with queen Guinevere asking for help, and in Winchester in 1285, from which the table itself has survived.¹¹³⁴ The Arthurian tournament craze went on for another 200 years. Edward III demonstrated against his mother and her lover as Sir Lionel at Dunstable in 1334, and René Pot (d.1432) played Palamédes in 1389.¹¹³⁵

Arms were probably assigned to the knights from the time of the first Round Tables. Eleanor of Castile, queen of Edward I, was presented c.1280 with an Arthurian romance describing 21 coats of arms borne by knights at Bamborough.¹¹³⁶ Some like the *Argent 3 bends gules* for Lancelot became persistent paradigms, but as the membership increased, new arms were created as need arose. Many manuscripts with romances were beautifully illustrated

¹¹³⁰ CHA:1021-1028.

¹¹³¹ At least those examined to date. See *Ch. 8.1.7, 8.4.2 Urfé-Charolais* and *Ch. 10.2.6, 10.5.3 Berry-Rineck*.

¹¹³² Fox KA 231-232; Barber KA 175-179.

¹¹³³ Eleanor (1120-1204), heiress of Aquitaine, married firstly Louis VII of France in 1137, was divorced 1152, and married Henry II C.Anjou, just as he had been recognized as heir to an England torn by civil war for nearly 20 years. Marie (b.1145), the daughter of Louis VII and Eleanor, married Henri I 'the Liberal' C.Champagne (d.1181).

¹¹³⁴ Fox KA 238-239, Crouch T 116-119. Fox KA 239 the Winchester table.

¹¹³⁵ Fox KA 240-241.

¹¹³⁶ Brault EB 38-39, Fox KA 237.

with mounted knights fighting in the *mêlée* with armorial shields and crested helmets.¹¹³⁷ Michel Pastoureau examined a series of 13 manuscripts dating from 1450-1520, most of which had at least 150 entries. In the majority of these manuscripts the knights bore the same coats of arms with usually only one other variant present in 2-3 of the manuscripts.¹¹³⁸ The tradition expressed in this collection may serve as a baseline or reference to the arms of the Knights of the Round Table as imagined in the 15th century. They make up a virtual set of copies of a single armorial (CTR).

Contrary to this multitude, only a few single occurrences and one set of 54 coats-of-arms have been found in the composite armorials reviewed. These are in segments 49 and 52 of the *Urfé* of c.1380. From there they were copied c.1473 into segments 34 and 36 of the *Rineck* and RYN 36 again copied into the *Armorial général dit Coislin-Séquier* (CSG) and into the *Nancy* (NAN). Most of the knights with entries in both the *Urfé* and the virtual *armorial des Chevaliers de la Table Ronde* (CTR) have different coats of arms, but the *Urfé* has many similar to those found in 13th century manuscripts. In addition, segment URF 49 has names and arms attributed to Galahad and the thirty kings described in the *Roman du Hem* by Sarrasin.¹¹³⁹

13.4 Symbols of social order

That allegory must be a crucial part of propaganda, and that propaganda was necessary to make people behave as the leaders of the dominant class wished, was well understood during the Middle Ages even though most of the population had little or no political power. Allegory became a part of tributes of minstrels, of chronicles and of the praises of the lore of chivalry and of courtly life - and from there into armory, often as triads. In Germany, there was a divergence between the princely houses and the lower nobility and the burghers which fertilized the soil for an alternative to the traditional power structure image: pope, emperor, church and electors (and maybe an imperial Diet!). It was probably the reason why the Quaternionen pillars of the State came into being shortly after 1400.

13.4.1 Ternionen & Worthies

The number *three* is a magical number and was first used in this sense in triplicate in the French poem *Voeux du paon* or *Vows of the peacock* from 1312 by

¹¹³⁷ E.g. BL, Add.12228:150v-151v, 182v-183ras in Barber T 4, 167.

¹¹³⁸ Brault EB 37-52 has a fine introduction to Arthurian heraldry, but Pastoureau TR is probably the best. This was first published in 1983 and reissued in 2006 with an expanded introduction, but with the same listing and blazons of the arms, crests and devises of 178 knights of the Round Table from at least 13 manuscripts presently held in France, Italy, Germany and the USA (Pastoureau TR 89-168, 2006; 35-106, 1983), most of which have more than 150 entries. The full list of knights runs to 240 in Pastoureau TR 189-194 (2006) and to 273 in the 2006 bibliophile edition of Pastoureau CT. Both Brault and Pastoureau have references to a number of romances and manuscripts. Further armorials and illustrated romances of the Round Table are known in both France and England (Clemmensen OM, armorial CTR).

¹¹³⁹ Vale EC 33-36, 103n131-135. Individual entries in Pastoureau TR and Clemmensen OM.

Jean de Longuyon.¹¹⁴⁰ His joining of nine men famous in the contemporary romances, historical literature or in the Bible became very popular and spread across Europe, with their coats of arms becoming part of the iconography.

Longuyon selected nine champions (*Nine Worthies/Neuf Preux/Neun Helden*) to represent the triads: Hector, Alexander, and Caesar for the pagans; David, Joshua, and Judas Maccabeus for the Jews; and Charlemagne, Arthur of Britain, and Godfrey of Bouillon for the Christians. Each of the worthies had the qualities of the perfect warrior: they were conquering heroes and rulers, who brought glory to their nations, attracted valiant followers and were known for their prowess in arms. They also embodied virtues held valuable by the upper classes of the time: courtesy, loyalty, prowess, hardiness, largesse, frankness, and above all: service to the country and the church.

Some time later, probably around the beginning of the 15th century, the triads expanded in two directions. The all-male worthies got female counterparts: ancient roman heroines or amazons, biblical heroines from the Old Testament, and female saints. This direction can be followed in both France and Germany, though not in the BODENSEE armorials, with extension of the virtues to self-sacrifice, religious devotion, and chastity. Apart from the inclusion of the *Three Magi*, the second direction appears to be purely German. Several other triads were added (to a total of 12), such as anointed kings (France, Denmark, and Hungary), obedient men (St. Olav of Norway, St. Cnut of Denmark, St. Eric of Sweden), noble lines and gentle princes (Dauphin de France, Ladislaus of Bohemia, Otto of Brunswick; Magnus of Sweden, Leopold of Austria, Herman of Thuringia), foreign princes (Sultan of Baghdad, Grand Turk, Prester John), patient men (Job, Ahasverus, St. Eustace/Stephen) and more surprisingly the embodiment of vices in the persons of Nero, Evil-Merodach and Nabucco, the three impatient men.¹¹⁴¹ The historical persons are given their proper arms with little variation, but there are usually two or three variants for the literary ones.

The three threesomes making up the Nine Worthies are the 3 best Christians: First, Arthur, Charlemagne and Geoffrey of Bouillon. For Arthur there are seven variants of either triple crowns or a cross. Though Charlemagne has six variants, his arms are stable, all being derived from the fleurs-de-lis of France and the German eagle. The Cross of Jerusalem is at the core of the arms of Geoffrey of Bouillon, but often placed with France or Lotharingia (Brabant). As second, the 3 best heathens: Hector, Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar. That Caesar has an immutable imperial eagle is no wonder, but Alexander can have a king in his majesty or join Hector with a variation of one or more lions. The last three, the Jews: David, Joshua and Judas Maccabeus shown with the likewise immutable David's harp, but birds or fantastic animals like a dragon for

¹¹⁴⁰ A fuller discussion of the lives and virtues of the individual Ternionen as well as the iconography can be found in Clemmensen NW (lists the variant arms and their provenances). For the Nine Worthies see Wyss NH. The iconography can be found in poems, miniatures, stone figures, paintings in churches and on tapestries.

¹¹⁴¹ The *St.Gallen-Haggenberg* has 12 sets of ternionen (SGH:96-143) with the 'anointed kings': France, Denmark and Hungary (nos.61-63), and the 'easterners': Prester John, sultan of Babylon and Grand Turk (nos.121-123), in addition to the list in Clemmensen NW.

the two last named. The three magi, Melchior, Gaspar and Balthazar, are also widely included. The arms attributed to them vary with the source, but are limited to *semy of stars*, *a crescent*, or *a man holding a banner*. The best explanation for the relatively simple crossovers is probably that they are a result of confused copying. We may conclude that when the story behind the personification provides a telling image, the paradigm will be persistent, but if not the manifestation will be drawn from a narrow set of images, or be improved upon by a particular author.

The female counterparts to the Worthies (preuses in French) are mentioned in literature and used for decoration in France, England and Germany. In armorials they are rare.¹¹⁴² Those in the French tradition are all amazons and appear to be derived from de miniatures in the novel *Chevalier errant* by Tommaso de Saluzzo (1356-1416). His son had had them painted in the hall of Castello della Manta in Piémont c.1420. In England, some preuses were replaced with Queen Boadicea, a national symbol of resistance (against the Romans), and in Germany with biblical figures (jewesses from the Old Testament) or classical literature (e.g. the romaness Lucretica).

From early 15th century it became popular in France to add a 10th preux or preuse: Bertrand de Guesclin (d.1380) and Jeanne d'Arc (burnt at the stake in 1431 as a heretic), both symbols of resistance.¹¹⁴³

The remaining Ternionen are mostly restricted to the BODENSEE group,¹¹⁴⁴ and they appear to be persistent paradigms. As an example: the three earliest arms: Abisay with *a fess ch. Hebrew letters*, Sabubay with *bend ch. Hebrew letters*, and Ananias with *pale ch. bell acc. Hebrew letters*. The apparent consistency might be due to copying or their authors using the same pictorial source or tradition. If either is the case, we ought to look at the larger correlation between their constituent segments rather than at individual arms.

13.4.2 Quaternionen

Strictly speaking the arms attributed to the quaternionen are not imaginary. They are the arms and names of factual families given to sets of items symbolising the foundations of the Germano-Roman Empire. The Quaternionen der Reichsverfassung, also known as Viergruppen von Reichsständen, the Vier Säulen von das Reich, Four Pillars of the Empire or Four of each Estate, is a uniquely German phenomenon.¹¹⁴⁵ The earliest evidence of this mythology is the statues on the front of the Frankfurter Römer or Rathaus, added in 1414, and this was probably related to a visit by Sigismund of the house of Luxembourg (r.1411-1437), recently elected king of the Romans. One of the earliest listings is the one in the *Richental* manuscripts

¹¹⁴² Printed as Burgkmair woodcuts. *Petit armorial des preuses* (PAP); *Équestre de Rebeque* (ERQ); Boos PA (2013) for an analysis of the French selection. *Chevalier errant* (CES); murals in Manta (MPP), see Clemmensen NW for a list.

¹¹⁴³ Bertrand de Guesclin was added to a copy of the *Urfé* c.1420, see *Ch. 8.1.9*.

¹¹⁴⁴ Abisay is painted in the hall of Burg Runkelstein in Tyrol (Waldstein ING 100).

¹¹⁴⁵ See Clemmensen Q for a survey of the iconography and Schubert Q for the background for the quaternionen.

(KCR), presumably noted 1415, edited c.1420-1430, and the surviving manuscripts made from 1460 on.

A short description of the territory and the powers ruling Germany during the Middle Ages might be useful in this place. Though modified to suit the present survey, it ought to be reasonably accurate, and for the territorial borders and rulers the reader may consult appropriate standard works or the precisions given in Clemmensen OM.

At the end of the Middle Ages, the Reich, the Empire or Heilige Römische Reich des Deutschen Nations, HRR for short, comprised present Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Czechia, Italy and the parts of France and the Low Countries east and north of the Rhône-Meuse-Schelde line. In practice the emperor and the imperial Diet had no jurisdiction over the Swiss and southern Italians. Within the HRR there was a multitude of mostly sovereign principalities, and the emperor had to rely on his own lands, income and allies in order to carry out his policies. For some purposes he could call on the imperial Diet for decisions and the forces necessary to carry them out. He could, and did, from time to time elevate certain rulers in rank, mostly from comital to ducal rank.

The head of the HRR was usually referred to as emperor, though in fact this title was only appropriate after the pope had crowned him in Rome. He was formally elected king of the Romans or Deutsch-König by a majority of the seven Electors or Kurfürsten, usually at Aachen, the ancient capital of Charlemagne. This was codified in the Golden Bull proclaimed by the Luxemburger emperor Karl IV in 1356. Sigismund was elected in 1411, but only crowned emperor in 1433; Friedrich III elected 1440, crowned 1452; and Maximilian elected 1486 (in the reign of his father), crowned 1508. The electors were the three archbishops of Köln (Cologne), Mainz (Mayence) and Trier (Trêves), all from the Middle Rhine region, the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, both from eastern parts, the Margrave (marquis) of Brandenburg in the north and the Pfalzgraf am Rhein (elector palatine), a member of the Wittelsbacher family, who also ruled parts of Bayern (Bavaria).

Referring back to Carolingian times, there were several honorary imperial offices, usually in two degrees: Erz- (arch-), and Erb- (hereditary, i.e. deputy). They were modelled on the standard functions of an early medieval court: e.g. chancellor (Kanzler), marshal, cupbearer (Mundschenck), steward (Truchsess) &c. It may appear confusing, but many principalities, incl. abbeys, had similar honorary offices, and the office-holding family might have been given the office at various times by various dynasties, e.g. Hohenstauffer, or an office might be inherited through marriage.

The principal territories, which with modifications have survived to this day, were Sachsen (Saxony, present Niedersachsen and northern Rheinland-Westphalen), Brandenburg-Pommern on the north-eastern borders, Thüringen south of this (Thuringia, present Sachsen and Thüringen), Franken in centre (Franconia, split between several of the present Länder), Bayern (Bavaria) to the south-east, Schwaben (Swabia, present Baden-Württemberg, part of Bayern,

and the northern parts of Switzerland), Elsass-Lothringen (Alsace-Lorraine), then predominantly German politically, though like the Low Countries split in languages). The Rhineland was split in Upper (Swabian), Middle (approx. Rheinland-Pfalz) and Lower (Belgium, Luxembourg and parts of Nordrhein-Westfalen). The French parts, incl. Savoy, Provence and the Low Countries, were heavily influenced by the Burgundian dukes during 1360-1477, and later contested by France itself. The Italian parts were traditionally and politically interesting to the emperor as pressure points on the Church playing also on the mini-states of the area, especially Milan.

This territorial structure together with Carolingian romantic lore were the basis on which the Quaternionen-mythos was built in order to support the dignity and influence of the emperor, urgently needed by Sigismund, who was hard pressed by internal as well as external enemies and competitors, and who sought to increase his influence, e.g. by supervising church councils (e.g. in Constance 1414-1418).

The Quaternionen were first mentioned in literature in a poem *Spruch von römisches Reich* dated 1422, with 10 groups of 4, but their number increased rapidly.¹¹⁴⁶ Numerology played a large part in its development, viz. the 4 prophets, 4 evangelists, 4 arms of the cross &c. The tradition may have been founded during 1350-1364 by the father of Sigismund, Emperor Karl IV (r.1346-1378), but expanded and was promoted as supports of the emperor as guardian of the Church and the estates, rather than being dependent on the electors and the Diet.¹¹⁴⁷ The tradition was maintained and appreciated by his Habsburger successors: Albrecht II (r.1438-1439), Friedrich III (r.1440-1493) and Maximilian I (r.1493-1519).

The names and details of arms given to the various members vary between sources - noted where known in the discussions of the individual items.¹¹⁴⁸ In time they would be found in literature (e.g. *Hemmerlin*, c.1445; *Peter von Andlau*, 1460; *Johannes Agricola*, 1534), as murals (Innsbruck 1495; Überlingen Rathaus), in woodcuts (*Burkmeier*, 1510), and on drinking glasses (examples in the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum; in Trier, 1650). For examples of the southern German armorials, which include quaternionen: *Ingeram* (64), *Miltenberg* (72), *Rugen* (96) and *St.Gallen-Haggenberg* (112 items).¹¹⁴⁹ The fiction was also extended below the level of the empire. We have the Vier Landesrittter von Elsass, who in 934 went with Kaiser Heinrich against the Huns: Andlau, Fleckenstein, Rathsamhausen and Landsberg, apart from Andlau also members of TG. Wolf.¹¹⁵⁰

13.5 Transmission of fiction

The rather sad summary of this chapter is that we know very little about how or by whom the fictitious arms of the realms of the little known continents of

¹¹⁴⁶Discussions and references can be found in Werminghoff Q, Schubert Q, and Clemmensen Q as well as articles on Wikipedia and other websites.

¹¹⁴⁷ Schubert Q 27.

¹¹⁴⁸ In Clemmensen Q and in the entries in Clemmensen OM.

¹¹⁴⁹ For an overview of most of the pictorial sources, see *fig.7- ch.13.4n1*.

¹¹⁵⁰ Kindler OB 2:450.

Africa and Asia were designed. On the positive side, we know much about why, and we know that in southern Germany the interest was kept alive and the material was reused for a couple of centuries. There is still much to be done to identify the territories and to rationalize legends and arms. Not least, narratives with arms might be dull as in the *Book of knowledge*, but arms without narratives can be intriguing and colourful as in the BODENSEE group.

We can identify a number of key sources or let us say traditions of including fictional arms as individual items or as separate segments into armorials, and though they are mostly regional, parts of them do cross the borders and leave imprints in foreign territories. We must not forget that though the major part is probably the fruits of the imagination of the actual compiler, he may also include odd scraps picked up from a chronicle, travel novel or even a map. This might be the case for the *roundel ch. lion* for Cappadocia or the principal Egyptian cities of Alexandria and Cairo, which might be an invention by an Iberian mapmaker, adopted by the Franciscan friar who authored the *Book of knowledge* as well as the compiler-copyists of the *Urfé*, *Richental* and *Lord Mayor's roll*.

Presently it appears that there are three groups based on the *Wijnberghen*, *Richental* and the *Urfé*. The first group has only what looks like a fairly straightforward partial copy in the *Lord Mayor's Roll*, but on closer examination is a rather erratic extraction of entries – if indeed the items are taken from anything like the surviving version.¹¹⁵¹ An interesting item is the roundel with a sketch of a face for the Roi de Bugie in WIN:1291, which is a plain roundel in LM:13, but which in other armorials is a tortoise (URF:2723, VER:891, CHA:808).

The fictional entries of *Urfé* include the last segments (nos. 47-54), but are hardly a part of the *Urfé* proper, and were not copied into the later clones like the *Prinsault*, *Sicile* and the *LeBlancq*.¹¹⁵² One segment from the *Vermandois* is identical to the kings in *Urfé*, and most of these arms are also to be found in the *Charolais*, the only French armorial with an extreme number of fictional arms. But there are major problems with all three armorials. The copyist of the *Charolais*, Philippe-Nicholas d'Aumale dit marquis d'Haucourt, was working in Brussels in 1658 and had an unhealthy way of blending his sources, so the *Charolais* has little but the prologue in common with the Jean le Fevre dit héraut Charolais and roi d'armes Toison d'or referred to in its header. The oldest surviving manuscripts of the *Urfé* and the *Vermandois* are late (c.1420 URF, c.1460 VER), and both appear to have had a tail of miscellaneous segments added later.¹¹⁵³ Apart from the *Urfé*, *Cour Amoureuse* and *Richental*, the actual French, Flemish or German sources of the fictional arms in the *Charolais* have yet to be unravelled, but here we probably have an original compilation of items from different sources roughly put together according to their legends, and with many repeats and unfinished items and placeholders of name only.

¹¹⁵¹ Clemmensen IA, app. B; *fig. 7-ch.13.2n2* LM compared with WIN.

¹¹⁵² See *Ch. 8.1.9* evaluation of *Urfé*.

¹¹⁵³ Boos VER.

The situation is much better with the BODENSEE group.¹¹⁵⁴ Here the armorials have extensive, but incomplete overlaps with many markers in several segments. The commonality of the Quaternionen may be of little use, but the correlation between the Ternionen or ‘Three best’ is very good, e.g. Sabubay in GRU:15, MIL:2, ING:176 and RUG:175. What is important to understand when talking about the BODENSEE group is that it is not a grouping of clones, each with copies of many segments, as in the URFÉ or the TOISON D’OR. It is a grouping based partly on covering the same ground, e.g. quaternionen, ternionen, tournament societies, electors, and fabulous kingdoms. For some segments direct copying was used, for others items appear to have been selected and mixed from unidentified sources. The tricky part is to determine the actual sources and routes of descendance. The collation dates or dates of production of the primary manuscripts may give us some help. Two possible sources, *Uffenbach* or *Richental Chronicle*, provide largely different segments to the group, but it has been impossible to determine which is the older. The fact that some armorials include crests while others do not complicates the analysis. Neither *Richental* nor *Uffenbach* can be the sole sources of *Grüenberg*, *Miltenberg* and *Rugen*. These have twice as many fabulous kings, and in addition, which are the original sources? The amateur-armorist Ulrich Richental, the unknown Uffenbacher-compiler, or somebody else?

If we had not already got the idea, then the *Grüenberg* provides several clues. In GRU:347 on fo.36r Marco Polo and the pygmies are mentioned, and on fo.39r the fictitious traveller John Mandeville is mentioned. Moving on to fo.41r we find the realm of the amazons on an island off Chaldea or southern Iraq on the authority of Jacobus von Viatico, but with four different arms in GRU:402-403, MIL:307 and RUG:121. The Council of Constance and *Richental* makes its appearance on fo.43r with the two dukes of Troppi, ambassadors from the Byzantine emperor Manuel Paleologos. And looking carefully at the sequences in the various armorials they do look like a virtual round-the-world trip for armorists, not always by the same route but with recognizable stop-over in Persia, India, China, the vast steppes of Russia and around the Mediterranean.

From this evidence we may conclude that the main textual sources of the King’s (realm’s) segments are the medieval travellers’ recollections or in the *Mandeville* case a traveller’s novel. In a way their use mimics the use of the romances for the heroes of the Round Table, the Trojans and the Fellowship of Charlemagne. Our main problems with the travel books as a source for coats of arms are that no manuscript has even the slightest usable heraldry and that only a few of the legends are easily recognized in Mandeville and Polo. This does not mean that heraldry was absent from travellers’ novels. The *Book of knowledge*, written by a Spanish Franciscan friar around 1350, is profoundly illustrated with arms, but few if any of the fabulous arms in it are to be found in either German, French or English armorials.¹¹⁵⁵

¹¹⁵⁴ See *Ch. 11* for the members and the key parameters defining the BODENSEE group of armorials.

¹¹⁵⁵ Though Lacarra LIC claims the opposite.

14. From personal to family orientation

The presence of brisures and Christian names in medieval armorials changed with time. To a certain extent this was coincidental with an expansion of scope and volume in both the collations and the manuscripts. Before going into detail, we should note that naming practice was also dependent on who was named. If the collation was only of contemporary heads of families or branches with their own lordships or named for their manors, a Christian name was superfluous. Everyone that mattered would know that there could be only one baron So-and-So or Herr Haupt von Dieses. The arms recorded would be undifferenced (for the senior line) or with differences that would in practice become permanent for junior lines.¹¹⁵⁶

If (and when) a collation was extended from lords to knights and on to gentry or squires, including younger sons, brothers and cousins of peers, Christian names or place in the family were usually added, e.g. “frere de”.

14.1 Illustrations and occasionals

From the *formative period* of heraldry, before 1220/50, the only coloured records of arms surviving are those used for illustrating poems, novels and chronicles, a few decorated caskets, shields, statues and mural decorations.¹¹⁵⁷ Except for the latter set, these arms are by nature personal as are the names of literary figures. For the chronicles, only men of renown were mentioned, and with or without Christian names they could only be for individual persons.¹¹⁵⁸ The arms on the caskets a.o. might be for associates or for major families, in both cases both the commissioners and the artists would probably equate the two, even though they are unnamed at their places.¹¹⁵⁹ Illustrative use of arms continues through the ages until today.

From the next, *proto-classic*, period, 1220/50-1340/60, we have more than a hundred armorials of all classes.¹¹⁶⁰ With the more general adoption of arms a need arose among magnates as well as for the crown to be able to recognize (or have recognized) the insignia of their subjects – and possibly those of the

¹¹⁵⁶ The naming practice was common throughout Western Europe at the time, and can be found on many seals. Detailed differencing of arms was and is rare east and north of the Rhine. Many families did not use brisures for either branches or siblings even in territories like England, northern France and the southern Low Countries where differencing is generally regarded as the norm. Some brisures may also have been lost during copying of armorials or been too small to be visible on seals.

¹¹⁵⁷ For the periods see *Ch. 1.1.2* and *2.2*.

¹¹⁵⁸ The chronicles and poetic works are mentioned in *Ch.2.2.0*, the OAK (1198) is probably not an occasional armorial, but a spurious one, based on a contemporary list of names. Matthew Paris is edited by T.D. Tremlett in Wagner RAH.

¹¹⁵⁹ Among the caskets, the Quedlingburger (1209) was discussed in Clemmensen QWK, the casket of Louix IX 'le sacre' (r.1226-70) by Hervé Pinoteau in *Cahiers d'Heraldique* no.4, 1983, the Valence (1305/12) in Alexander AC 358 (V&A Museum, London, www), and the Montmirail (1242) by Alain C. Dionet in *RFHS* 1995, 65:89-107.

¹¹⁶⁰ Armorials as recorded in Clemmensen OM, 87 with nominal date <1360, excl. 27 murals.

principal subjects of their adversaries. Though some gentlemen may have had the interest and capability of memory to note many arms and names, most of the actual recording of arms would probably be undertaken by professionals, in this case the budding group of officers of arms or heralds.¹¹⁶¹ Not only princes, but magnates and even manorial barons are known to have employed heralds during this period.¹¹⁶²

There are two types of early records of arms, which are not always easy to differentiate: 1) the occasionals, which noted persons present at a specific event, a tournament, battle or gathering; and 2) surveys, which listed armigers in general or by territory.¹¹⁶³ The latter lists were often longer than the former and would not always differentiate between man and family. Such surveys are usually classified as general armorials or a subgroup of these. Many armorials have only survived as copies of copies, while others show evidence of having two or more manuscripts bound together. Legends are often corrupted or illegible in late copies and may have been amended, shortened or changed by the copyists for various reasons. If such is the case, it becomes difficult to decide the way the items were collected.

Recordings of people attending memorable events were among the earliest listings of armigers to be taken down. The contested coronation of the Welfer Otto IV mentioned above (OAK, 1198) would be the earliest of such events – if the recording was genuine! More common were tournaments, especially those which took place in the borderlands between France and the Low Countries, e.g. *Cambrai* (TCA, 1269), *Compiègne* (TCO, 1278), and *Chauvency* (TCH, 1285). The region was very popular among nobles from a wide area as the king of France had outlawed jousting and fighting for fun.

War parties were also popular, e.g. the army of Charles C.Anjou for the campaign of 1254 in Hainaut against Jean d'Avesnes C.Hainaut (*Bigot*, BIG). Better still the victorious side in a battle, e.g. *Falkirk* (H, 1298), claimed by Anthony Wagner to be the earliest surviving English occasional.¹¹⁶⁴ Noël Denholm-Young would disagree. He proposed the *Collins Roll* (Q, 1295) as a record of the Parliament held in Berwick on August 28th 1296 and made for Henry Percy.¹¹⁶⁵ Variations in classification, dating and attribution are common where armorials are discussed and prone to change with each new commentator or editor. Denholm-Young proposed the *Falkirk* to have been

¹¹⁶¹ Medieval capability to remember coats of arms was substantial. During the hearing of the case *Scrope vs. Grosvenor* in 1386, Robert Laton gave witness citing arms he had encountered in 1348 during the siege of Calais; Pastoureau HO 104-105, London AHS 1951, Nicolas SG 1:111, 2:300. The several collations taken from nearly the same population within a short time span argues for professionals rather than amateurs. For examples of collations and compilations, see Brault RAE.

For the development of the office of arms, see *Ch. 15*.

¹¹⁶² Denholm-Young HH; Wagner HH; David Crouch in Coss HP 17-38.

¹¹⁶³ In this period: 23 occasional, 35 local-general-composite surveys.

¹¹⁶⁴ Wagner CEMRA 27-29. The earlier *Dering* (A, 1275) might be a record of men owing duty at Dover Castle, see Denholm-Young HH 65, Brault RAE 1:143-171 and Brault FS for *Dering*.

¹¹⁶⁵ Denholm-Young HH 96, Wagner CEMRA 24 has *Collins* (Q) as a general roll.

collated by Walter March KoA, also for the Northumbrian magnate Henry Percy. In fact, both armorials were lost centuries ago, and the copies made around 1600. The source-copy of the *Falkirk* (Thevet's version, of uncertain age, type and manufacture) was 'taken out' of the French royal treasury in Paris and brought to England only in 1576 with the oldest extant copy made in c.1585 by Robert Glover Somerset Herald. Another version (Wrest Park, the source and form also unknown) of the *Falkirk* was copied by Glover at the same time. The two versions have essentially the same items, but in varying order. Four of the Thevets and two of the Wrest Parks are known. Nearly all evidence for the attributions of compilation, manufacture and dedication are very circumstantial and hypothetical for armorials, especially occasionals.

Most occasional armorials have Christian names for non-magnates, but a few have all or most items anonymous. This is the case of the mural paintings displaying 87 arms and crests on a tower at Erstfelden (canton Uri, Switzerland) with arms and crests, attributed to a meeting of the imperial diet at Spire/Speyer in 1309 in the reign of emperor Heinrich VII (r.1308-1313). These arms have only survived as coloured recordings (ERF).

The majority of the early occasionals are French, nearly all referring to tournaments. The English, which begin a little later, are mostly related to the campaigns of Edward I in Scotland. The *Erstfelden* (ERF, 1309) is the earliest German occasional mural, soon to be followed by one in the old castle of Rivoli near Turin, destroyed some time after 1600 (RIV, 1310). The first painted German occasional had to wait until c.1350, the *Balduinum* or (BAL), recording Heinrich VII's journey to Rome 1308-1313 for his coronation as emperor – actually another military campaign.

Most of the occasionals from the late Middle Ages (or *high classic* as defined here) originated in either France or the Low Countries. Some reported tournaments, others like two of the occasionals incorporated in the *Beijeren* collection (BEJ, 1405) by Claes Heinenzoon referred to military campaigns.¹¹⁶⁶ Peace treaties could also be celebrated in armorials, e.g. the treaty of Guérande between the king of France and the duke of Bretagne (GUE, 1381), or the multi-sided conference in Arras (APA, 1435). Both list the co-signatories and participants with Christian names, but only if needed for recognition.

Occasional collations continued to be made until late in the 15th century, e.g. a fight for fun in the Low Countries: *Pas du Perron-Fée* (PPF, 1462); the muster roll for Edward IV's campaign in France in 1475 known as *Barnard's Badges* (BN, 1475). Many were probably incorporated in the later composite armorials and some travelled quite a distance. The *Herald's* or *FitzWilliam* (HE, FW, 1280)

¹¹⁶⁶ The principal version of *Beijeren* (BEJ) is a collection of five armorials in the autograph of Claes Heinenzoon, the herald-author-compiler of *Gebre* and other manuscripts. The two campaign occasionals are *Rôle de la campagne de Kuivre en Frise* (KUF, 1396) and *Rôle d'armes du siège de Gorinchen* (SGN, 1402). Two are for the tournaments in Compiègne (TCO, 1278) and Mons (TMO, 1310). The fifth is the *Meilleurs Trois* (AMT, 1356), a presentation of the three best of each name. BEJ is a clear example of an autograph, which is in fact a set of copies.

used the French *Tournoi de Compiègne* (TCO, 1278) as one of its sources.¹¹⁶⁷ The 28 items of the *Tournoi de Saint Omer* in 1377 is appended as segment 46 of the *Urfé*.¹¹⁶⁸ In a way, the main part of the collection of arms in the important armorial appended to the chronicle of the concilium held in Constance in 1414-18 written by Ulrich Richental (KCR) was an occasional collation, which in various disguises was perpetuated for centuries.¹¹⁶⁹

14.2 Surveys and the world

Surveys, listing armigers in general or by territory or rank, appeared at the same time as the occasional collations, and probably for the same reason: a need to know not just the names and properties of men of substance, but also their arms, so one would recognize them.

Before the mid 1330'es we may count some 15 surveys or general armorials of English armigers, but only 4 of French and one from the Low Countries.¹¹⁷⁰ This high survival rate is probably mostly due to the continuity of the English College of Arms and fascination with the reign of the first Edward.¹¹⁷¹ Most of these Edwardian general armorials are only concerned with armigers active in England, including some foreigners serving with the armies of Edward I. The major exception is the *Herald's* (HE / FW, 1280), which (as noted above) incorporates the participants in a tournament held in Compiègne in France. Some more common 'foreign' inserts are kings, both factual European Christian ones and those imagined to rule Moslem or fabulous realms. The prime example being the many imaginary kings among LM:1-29 in the *Lord Mayor's Roll*, which are similar to items in *Wijnberghen* (WIN:1257-1312).¹¹⁷²

The number of items in the English general armorials varies from about 200 to 1100. Among the larger are *Collins* (Q, 1295; 720 items) and *Herald's* (HE/FW, 1280; 892 items). Without exception the armorials have the ordinary gentlemen entered with their Christian names. The largest, the blazoned *Parliamentary* or *Great Roll* (N, 1113 items), is a registry of most of the English knighthood by counties. It must have been commissioned around the time of Edward's death in 1307, but finished about 1312. The structure is characteristic with county-based segments. The lead segment consists of earls and bannerets, which typically had manors in several counties. Records of the gentry by county (and of the properties of magnates) were standard for fiscal purposes and were provided by the local sheriffs. In principle these locally elected members of the gentry would know much about their fellow gentlemen within their briefs. But

¹¹⁶⁷ See *Ch. 2.3* and *fig.7-ch.2.3n2*.

¹¹⁶⁸ Clemmensen TSO.

¹¹⁶⁹ See *Ch. 11* the BODENSEE group.

¹¹⁷⁰ The 'general' armorials may be divided into 4 subtypes according to their contents, see *Ch. 2.1.2, fig.4-ch. 2.1n1*. The more important distinctions are the *composite* with several discrete segments and the *universal* with additional imaginary arms.

¹¹⁷¹ The standard publication of the Edwardian armorials is Brault RAE. Several of these are closely related as discussed in Brault FS, Brault HC and Brault DT, in Humphery-Smith FW 149-150 and in Wagner CEMRA 7, 62, Wagner RAH 90-91, 96.

¹¹⁷² For LM (1296) and WIN (1267, 1280) see Brault FS, and for the imaginary arms *Ch. 13.2.2*, and the survey of real and imaginary realms in Goodall EGT 84-87, there are very few imaginary arms in English armorials before 1330.

a close examination of the items and comparison with records of properties and offices held indicate that sheriffs and fiscal officers of the Treasury had nothing to do with the preparation for the collation of the *Parliamentary Roll*. Though there are no records of the process, this must have been left for another group of professionals, most likely royal heralds supported by the sheriffs and heralds of the local magnates – much like the visitations carried out by members of the College of Arms in Tudor times.¹¹⁷³

The earliest French general armorial is the *Wijnberghen* (WIN, 1267, 1280; 1312 items), which is actually two armorials of slightly different ages and in different styles. The shields of the first 256 items of crown vassals from Ile-de-France are larger, in a 4x4 layout, dated c.1267 during the reign of Louis IX 'le sacre'. This might be an occasional armorial, based on a head count of attendees to a convention before the departure of the 9th crusade. The second and larger part has smaller shields in a staggered 4:3:4:3:4:3:4 layout and is dated to 1270-1285, the reign of Philippe III 'le hardi'. Many of the items have no legends, which give them an appearance of being unfinished. Both have a preponderance of Christian names among the legends. The contents, with two exceptions, are from the northern parts of France. The first exception is the inclusion of 168 foreigners, mostly Germans from the north-eastern borderlands of Luxembourg and Westphalia, which may be viewed as an extension of the preceding and then imperial region of Lorraine. Hainaut and Brabant (segments 13 and 14) were also formally imperial, but very much in the French sphere of influence. The last segment is a collection of 56 arms largely attributed to rulers of fabulous realms. Many of these can be found in the English *Lord Mayor's Roll* (LM, 1296). The transfer was hardly made by an enthusiastic amateur armorist, so we can use this as evidence that WIN was the work of a couple of French royal heralds, and also of a very fast transfer between France and England.

The next in time, the blazoned *Vermandois* (VER, 1285-1300) has a first part of 23 segments and 856 items of mainly French knights by *marche d'armes*, representing contemporary individuals, not family arms.¹¹⁷⁴ The second part has 8 segments of kings, dukes, viscounts and some Aragonese as well as a list of knights of the Order of Toison d'or, instituted 1430. At least some of the segments in the second part must be a later addition, so the inclusion of non-Christian kings need not be a period trait. Altogether there are 60 imaginary arms in VER and WIN, but they have only *Tarsus Argent a bare salient gules* in common (WIN:1293, LM:12, VER:894.¹¹⁷⁵ Another two sets, *3 hares running* for Coimbra and *3 chessrooks* for Morocco, but in different colours, must be

¹¹⁷³ The making of the Gloucestershire segment (N:875-929) has been discussed in Clemmensen MV.342-343.

¹¹⁷⁴ Boos VER 28-30 has the armorial in four parts: no.1 for segments 1-23; no.2 for 24-28 kings, dukes and counts; no.3 for 29 Ordre de la Toison d'or; no.4 for 30-31 Aragon. The headers of segments 1-23 are listed in Boos VER 10 note 2 with their item contents. The imaginary arms of the Saracen kings are in VER 25, nos. 880-913, 34 items, 88r3-90v3. The only medieval copy, BnF, fr.2249, was written 1470/80.

¹¹⁷⁵ Tarsus has this figure and various colour combinations in several English and French armorials. The name has been attributed variously to Thrace in Greece; Farce al. Sfax, in Tunisia (Boos VER); and Tarsus in Cilicia, Asia Minor, taken 1359 by the Mamluks (Roche AI 538 #416).

discounted as canting on the name. All but one of the imaginary arms of VER can be found in the *Urfz* (URF segment 48, 33 items) and other members of that group.

The last of the French generals to be discussed is the painted *Le Breton* or *Montjoie-Chandon* (LBR, 1292-1295), which has a core of 580 contemporary Franco-Wallons (LBR:136-715), probably with many later inserts and in the style of WIN. Surrounding this are 416 items in 4 segments from 15th and 16th century added by the later owners. In the 13th century part, there are no imaginary arms and most of the legends for the gentry-like group have Christian names.¹¹⁷⁶

From the last sub-period of the *proto-classic*, 1320-1360/70, here extended by a decade, most of the surviving French and German armorials are occasional and decorative.¹¹⁷⁷ However, in England two innovations in the survey of armigers occurred. The first is represented by the *Dean Tract* (DTT, 1345), a short treatise on blazon – of no concern here.¹¹⁷⁸ The second was the ordering of the collated arms by figures-of-arms into an *ordinary* rather than the haphazard sequences by rank or when they popped up or possibly by county. The first was *Cooke's Ordinary* (CKO, 1340), which in its present form has 646 coats-of-arms of individuals painted on a vellum roll. This form of organisation or editing armorials was not emulated on the continent for more than a century.¹¹⁷⁹ It is worth noting that the Cooke compiler was never a collator himself. He worked solely at his desk extracting bits from written or painted materials, probably notes and/or manuscripts borrowed from colleagues. From a comparison of legends and the variations of arms, most of the items (379) must have been extracted from the *Ashmolean Roll* (AS, 1334, 489 items), which is blazoned on a vellum roll and has a short treatise on heraldry on the dorse. Besides the *Ashmolean*, the two major surviving surveys, both with Christian names for gentlemen, are the *Antiquaries'* (AN, c.1350; 352 items) and the larger *Powell* (PO, c.1350; 672 items), both covering the same population of armigers.

Another innovation is the Spanish *Libro de Conoscimiento* or *Book of Knowledge* (LIC, 1360), a description of the travels of a friar round the world, and one of the earliest collections of imaginary arms for heathen and fabulous kingdoms. The 'travel-by-heraldry' trend did neither take hold on the British Isles nor on the continent – at least not until mid 15th century. The trend was probably related to the increasing use of maps by the seafaring Portuguese and Spaniards

¹¹⁷⁶ Boos LBR 27-31 has a thorough codicological analysis by Marie-Francoise Damongeot, on the basis of which Clemmensen LB 55 noted that the items were entered in geographical groups on one side of a bifolio and, if needed, continued on a further bifolio, see *fig.6-ch.3.3n2*, LBR fragment structure.

¹¹⁷⁷ There about 20 unclassified and undated armorials, of which one or two may belong to this period.

¹¹⁷⁸ For the treatises on heraldry, arms and ceremonials, see Hiltmann SH and Boudreau HS.

¹¹⁷⁹ As discussed in detail in *Ch. 12.1.2*.

and to the popularity of travel novels and descriptions like John Mandeville and Marco Polo.¹¹⁸⁰

Four armorials from the German-speaking area deserve notice: the *Zürich* (ZUR, 1345), a survey of German nobles from the Bodensee area, preceded by a segment of diocesan and monastic arms and a segment of European and heathen realms, making it universal. *Balduinum* (BAL, 1350), regarded as an occasional relating to the crowning of Emperor Heinrich VII in Rome 1313, was in part a registry of the vassals of the Abp. Trier by name.¹¹⁸¹ The murals in the *Burg zu Lauf* (BZL, 1353) have the arms of many German and Czech knights serving Emperor Charles IV, but records people only by their rank, not by Christian name.¹¹⁸²

From the above we may tentatively conclude that by the beginning of the last quarter of the 14th century there was a well established trend to move from a focal collection of armigers to more general surveys and to broaden these with arms of foreign princes and a few imaginary arms taken from romances and stories. Less common, but perceptible, was incorporation of parts of other armorials into what appears to be a 'primary' collation.

For the early *high-classic* period, up to c.1420, a new trend emerges. The surveys or general armorials become larger, often 1,500-3,000 items, structured by territorial segments (and by rank too), incorporating one or more segments of foreigners and/or imaginary arms attributed to fabulous realms or the heroes of romances – becoming truly composite armorials.¹¹⁸³ That is if we believe that the three major pairs are representative. These are the *Bellenville-Gelre* pair from the Low Countries,¹¹⁸⁴ The French *Navarre* and *Urfé*,¹¹⁸⁵ and the English *William Jenyns* and *Willement*.¹¹⁸⁶ In addition there are a few smaller general armorials from England and France, and a single one from Germany.¹¹⁸⁷

All of these armorials have Christian names for much of the gentry. The two English armorials (WJ, S/WIL) have the usual insular character of having only its own nationals. The *William Jenyns* is a true ordinary and the *Willement* has much of that character too. The four large continental armorials all have many

¹¹⁸⁰ See *Ch. 13* imaginary arms and Tzanaki MM. A number of maps (Portulan maps) with towns and countries indicated by armorial flags have survived from late 14th century.

¹¹⁸¹ Heyen BAL 139-148.

¹¹⁸² Zelenka BZL; Kraft BZL.

¹¹⁸³ As usual, the analysis is complicated by the fact that many of these armorials are early modern or later copies incorporating additions as well as material from several sources, e.g. *LeBlancq* (LBQ), *ARS*, *Ruelle* (RUE), *Charolais* (CHA), and *Sicile* (SIC).

¹¹⁸⁴ BEL and GEL are discussed in *Ch. 9*.

¹¹⁸⁵ See URF and the group based on it in *Ch. 8*, and NAV in *Ch. 10* in relation to armorials from Lorraine.

¹¹⁸⁶ WJ and S/WIL will not be discussed in detail here, see Fox WJ, Clemmensen WJP, and Clemmensen WRP.

¹¹⁸⁷ Just for reference: CY, FK, QEB, T; CAR, QFB; HUL; ERS. The two composite armorials (ARK, KCR) from the concilium in Constance 1414-18, are partly occasional, and the surviving versions of KCR were only painted after 1460.

distinctive segments (14 in NAV, 50+ in GEL, BEL, URF) presenting armigers from territories of most European countries. Among the segments at the end of the *Bellenville* are 11 occasionals listing either participants at tournaments or crusaders who fought (and jousted) in Prussia. Many of these arms can be found with similar legends (often Christian names) in various segments of *Gebre*. Only the *Urfé* includes imaginary arms. These were placed as the last 10 segments and must be later additions.

14.3 Family ascendance and irrelevance of personal arms

The character of the general armorials or surveys of armigers changed irreversibly during the last hundred years of the *high-classic* period, from about 1420 to the early 16th century. The changes were threefold. The most momentous and enduring was the last, the advent of printed tables of arms, which allowed more people to possess collections of arms. The use of woodcuts or copperplate-engravings (handcoloured or not) for visualizing coats of arms followed fast in the heels of the introduction of movable type printing by Johan Gutenberg in Mainz c.1450 and in England by William Caxton in 1473. The earliest book-size armorial was the appendix to the *Ulrich von Richental Conciliumbuch* printed in Augsburg in 1483 by Anton Sorg.¹¹⁸⁸ The text itself was also illustrated by the coats of arms of the principal players. Though its popularity with three printings over a hundred years was hardly due to the armorial contents, it did spin off a number of printed extracts and originated some mistaken attributions of arms, which live on in today's major reference works.¹¹⁸⁹

Manuscript armorials continued to be made, both as personal copies of older materials, like the many copies from the 16th -17th centuries in the possession of the College of Arms and libraries across Europe, and for prestige display with beautiful artwork.¹¹⁹⁰ Collecting the personal arms of contemporary members of the gentry or lower nobility would be of little interest to the wider selection of the public, who might want to own a collection of arms. Arms and crests of better known families and princes of their own region and of other regions and of foreign countries, perhaps spiced with civic arms, would probably be more appealing. This was a trend that was already established in southern Germany and some other centres of book production a generation or two before printing took over from pen and brush. There must have been a sliding transition from manuscripts made to order by workshops with professional artisans to the printed books of the renaissance.¹¹⁹¹

¹¹⁸⁸ About a score of manuscripts of the *Richental* chronicle with the textual part only have survived as well as five illustrated manuscripts, all written and painted during 1460-1475. The Sorg printing was probably based on the Karlsruhe/St.Georgen manuscript or a very close copy of this version G. See *Ch. 11.1*.

¹¹⁸⁹ The two major spin-offs are *Wappenbüchlein. durch Virgilius Solis* from 1555 and *Wappenbuch des hohen geistlichen und weltlichen Stands* by Martin Scrott from 1576. The major misattributions can be found among the dioceses in *Nene Siebmacher*, Band 8 / 1.5.1:t32-t36.

¹¹⁹⁰ A beautiful specimen is the drawing of Joshua in the *Überlingen* armorial from c.1590 copied from the Grünenberg (GRU:43v), see Kurras IH 440, exhibit G14, *fig.8-ch.4.1n4*.

¹¹⁹¹ See the workshops on the Bodensee, *Ch. 16* on bookmaking.

One of the steps of such semi-commercial production was to extract or copy arms from whatever collections and notes were at hand. This was merely a continuation of the trend mentioned above from c.1330 on with the advent of large composite armorials. There is a fundamental difference between the copying of armorials or parts thereof by officers of arms for professional use and the commercialisation for the general public.¹¹⁹² The hard part is to identify possible indicators of the two ways of making armorials.

If we, for the moment, keep to the large composite armorials of 1,000+ items, all have family arms in the majority of segments. In this context, *family arms* are partly defined as items with legends without Christian names and coats of arms without minor brisures.¹¹⁹³ They will include arms of one-generation branches and may include composite arms with quarters specific to a single armiger. The presence of legends with Christian names in armorials from this period would indicate that the source was either an occasional collation or taken from a monument or a casual encounter.

Selections of family arms could of course be collected as such, but many were probably modified from older material. This will give rise to three kinds of drawbacks. The modifying copyist may include extinct families (probably of minor consequence for any user), or worse he may accidentally omit a flowering and important latecomer. But the latter can easily be corrected by inserting the newcomer's name and arms – if the copyist knew anything of the arms of the rank or region in current focus! The last kind of drawback is that a coat of arms may be attributed to a name or title no longer used. But in any case, copying the often barely legible handwritten legends would in any case give rise to many mistakes. Even the original legends came in often curious spellings as they were written as spoken, and sometimes by people unfamiliar with the language. An example of how a modifying copyist worked can be found in the Artois segment from the *armorial dit de Berry*, attributed to Gilles le Bouvier Berry Herald (c.1385-1455), one of the principal officers of arms and a chronicler of the reign of Charles VII.¹¹⁹⁴

When viewed from the *Berry* from c.1460, it is a little difficult to see that the 101 painted coats of arms in the Artois segment were extracted from three segments with a total of 257 blazoned items in the *Navarre* from c.1380. Emmanuel de Boos noted the relationship in his edition, but did not pursue

¹¹⁹² One of the driving forces for Ulrich Richental to write his chronicle and make different versions according to his perceived customer segments was his need to earn money; he could no longer get from his other activities. Some of the versions were adapted, written and painted in the workshop owned by Gebhard Dacher; see Wacker KCR, Clemmensen KCR and *Cb. 11.1.5*.

¹¹⁹³ Differencing was rare south and east of the Loire-Rhine line, and many armigerous families did not use it even in England, northern France or Walloon.

¹¹⁹⁴ BER segment 08 Artois, items 267-367 (101); NAV segments 06 Vermandois, 07 Ponthieu, 08 Artois, items 916-1162 (247). The mode of transfer was presented in 2004 in Bruges, Clemmensen GR 167. See also *Cb. 10.2.2* for the administrative division and *fig.7 - ch.10.2n3* which gives the full concordance for the *Navarre* segments and *Berry*.

it.¹¹⁹⁵ If acquainted with both, one can feel a correspondence with the *Berry* having items similar to the *Navarre* interspersed with added arms.¹¹⁹⁶ It does not help that the segment titles are different. Where the *Berry* has it as Artois *al.* Picardy, the Navarre split the items between three differently named sub-regions: Vermandois & Beauvais (NAV 06) and Artois & Corbie (NAV 08) and the county Ponthieu (NAV 07).

If the two armorials are compared according to the presumed date of collation or manufacture, one can immediately see that there is a near perfect concordance, when the differentiated arms of cadets and a couple of noble families are removed.¹¹⁹⁷ This was a simple and economic way of getting the collection done, but it had its drawbacks. The new list would be one with a lack of actuality, and unless the new entries were verified by personal knowledge, non-existing families could be created due to misreading names and blazons in the source. This did happen in the *Navarre-to-Berry* transformation, where Gilles le Bouvier must have been disturbed while copying a fragment. The first type of 'miscreation' was reducing or truncating the blazon as when *m louys de ducivert* in NAV:1016 lost a fleur-de-lis (.iiij.) to become *le sr de rinzy* in BER:300 (.ij.). NAV:1018 *le sire de beauval* lost the *dance in chf* leaving BER:301 *le sr de breteval* with only *Gules fess argent*. Misreading the text in NAV:1015 and 1017 made mullets into martlets (in French: molette/merlette) and the field crusily to the half-moon main charge of 3 crescents. The trouble with spelling did not stop there, but it changed Caumont and Filièvres into Cormont and Silienes.¹¹⁹⁸ Two 'families' nobody will ever be able to trace. Copying mistakes are quite common when copying from blazon to coloured drawing or to other blazon, but the consequences are more often creation of non-existing branches or similar named families with funny arms, e.g. crested cocks rather than escallops (coq/coquille).

Removal of cadets from the survey may have been used by other compilers in England and France, but both in England and on the Continent pick-and-mix was probably more used. For the printed armorials wholesale extraction and reorganising on territorial principles became common, e.g. the *Alte Siebmacher* and its parallels. The Domville and Bradfer-Lawrence compiler followed the new trend, but the PLN compiler and many other English compilers preferred the coat of authenticity provided by keeping the Christian names present in the sources.¹¹⁹⁹ Neither these nor Berry Herald can have known much about many of the persons and families listed in their work.

¹¹⁹⁵ Boos BER 49-50. BER 08 takes its name from the miniature of the C.Artois heading it, but the name used in the segment preamble is Picardy. NAV has some headers, but the segment titles come from the titled nobles leading the list and by extension of segment names from other armorials covering the same families and their main properties.

¹¹⁹⁶ See *fig.7-ch.14.3n1(a)* example of BER-to-NAV comparison.

¹¹⁹⁷ See *fig.7-ch.14.3n1(b)* NAV-to-BER concordance.

¹¹⁹⁸ BER:298 Cormont, 299 Silienes or Filièvres-II, changing molette to merlette degraded the principal charge to a secondary position, see *fig. 7-ch.14.3n1(c)*, and *Ch. 10.2.2*.

¹¹⁹⁹ See CEMRA 88-126 surveys of late medieval armorials with examples of naming entries.

15. Heralds, antiquarians and institutions

Scarcity of sources and lack of specifics as to the men involved are laments recurring in most papers on heralds, their life and activities.¹²⁰⁰ And until recently, not much was known of how the profession of the office of arms functioned outside of the long established English College of Arms, except for a few notable individuals, like Gelre Herald.¹²⁰¹ Simply extrapolating from the tradition perpetuated by high-ranking members of one peculiar national institution might be – and is – misleading. As shown by scholars writing during the last few decades there was more variation in the relations between heralds and their masters and between the heralds themselves than could be described by transferring the hierarchy and activities of the College of Arms to the continent.¹²⁰²

There are two common misconceptions of heralds and armorials. One is that supervising and collecting arms and entering arms into armorials was a principal duty of heralds. The second, that heralds were responsible for most of the medieval armorials as we know them. Both notions have been proved wrong by recent scholarship.¹²⁰³

15.1 The office of arms

The status and functions of the office of arms developed from the first mention of a herald, who did not know much about arms, to a zenith in the middle of the 15th century.¹²⁰⁴ For a long time heralds were numbered among the travelling people who went from place to place, court, town or marketplace,

¹²⁰⁰ These remarks can be found in the leading passages in almost every of the 10 chapters in Stevenson HM.

¹²⁰¹ The standard references to the activities of men performing the office of arms were – and still are – Wagner HH, Wagner HE, Berchem in BGH 117-219, Adam FM, Pastoureau TH 59-63 and Contamine OA. For Gelre Herald the book by W.A. Beelaerts van Blokland (1933) is commonly cited. The College of Arms was incorporated in 1484 by a charter of King Richard III of England. Though the charter was revoked shortly after, it was reissued within years, and the College has functioned for centuries as a corporate body and still does. The institution of the Court of the Lord Lyon in Scotland, known from the 13th century, developed differently (Burnett SH 57-61) and with less impact on the image of the office of arms. Wagner CEMRA 136-156 has biographical notes on mostly English owners, copyists and editors of armorials.

¹²⁰² Several pertinent papers from the last decade on the performance of the office of arms were published in the report from the conference in Lille in 2005 published in *Revue du Nord*, 2006, vol.88 (Schnerb HL) and in *The Herald in Late Medieval Europe* edited by Katie Stevenson (Stevenson HM, 2009). Among the more important authors on the subject are Adrian Ailes, Wim van Anrooij, Claire Boudreau, Peter Coss, Laurent Hablot, Torsten Hiltmann, and Gert Melville, see the bibliography. Ernst Verwohlt reviewed the sparse data on Danish heralds in 1960 and 1972. The very recent thesis and book by Nils Bock (Bock HR) should replace Berchem as the principal reference on German heralds.

¹²⁰³ Hiltmann PL, SH and AT; Bock HR; Clemmensen TR; several papers in Stevenson HM and Schnerb HL. Already Wagner CEMRA xvi stated that 'the authorship of the great majority of these rolls is unknown'.

¹²⁰⁴ Incompetent herald, who did not recognize the arms of Lancelot (Wagner HH 47 citing Chrétien de Troyes: *Le chevalier de la charette*, 1164/74).

according to where business was to be had. At first they could probably perform several of the vocations of crier, minstrel, musician, juggler and storyteller before being known for one special kind of knowledge, that of being able to describe the coats-of-arms and explain about their owners.¹²⁰⁵ This was a particularly useful capability during tournaments, and from commenting on participants, their role developed into taking part in the organisation of such events and other festivities.¹²⁰⁶ Their employment opportunities also improved as they were taken into temporary or permanent service by princes, lords and even by towns. By the late 14th century the professionalisation developed into what we may call a universal (i.e. western European style) office of arms with traditions, privileges, and norms of knowledge, hierarchy and vocational training. A description of the office of arms as an institution in France by Anjou King-of-arms was received by his English colleagues c.1403/08 in response to seven questions asked.¹²⁰⁷

15.1.1 Heralds

Beginning with the humblest, the professionals of the office of arms (known collectively as heralds) developed into three grades: pursuivants, who are thought to be probationers in training; heralds, who were fully trained professionals, capable of performing most duties, and kings of arms, the top of the profession and most capable of the essential duties.¹²⁰⁸ In contrast with modern times, there were no herald-painters, registrars, librarians nor secretaries. The number of heralds appears to have increased dramatically during the late 14th and mid 15th century.¹²⁰⁹ At the court of the dukes of

¹²⁰⁵ Expenses for heralds were often grouped with those of minstrels and trumpeters as 'travelling people', e.g. as late as 1418 in Burgundy, Schnerb RB 530, 539 note 63, 540 note 81; also in Holland-Hainaut in 1392, Sieb A 26, 28.

¹²⁰⁶ For the development of tournaments and the various roles performed here by heralds, see e.g. Barber T 34, 43, 77-100, 126-133, 152 (assisting ladies, awarding prizes, serving challenges, organizing), and Bock HR 31-114.

¹²⁰⁷ Oxford, Bodley, ms. Rawlinson C.399:76r-80v (copy 1420/50); Wagner HH 41.

¹²⁰⁸ The 3-grade hierarchy appears to be universally accepted, often with pursuivants doing seven-year training before being advanced to the next higher rank of herald (Spitzbarth HB 566, citing the chronicler Oliver de la Marche). A few references mention marshals of arms between heralds and kings of arms. Almost as universal is the notion that a king of arms had a territorial responsibility, a *marche d'armes*, and also a supervisory role for heralds and pursuivants associated with such marches. Some heralds may as well have had territorial responsibilities. The two notions are clearly modelled on life in the English College of Arms through centuries, and evidence of various kinds is present in other regions. But the sheer number of heralds (in the general sense) and the present scarcity of documentation on how heralds were trained, organised and employed suggest that these notions need reassessment. Perhaps a reference to a middle-aged pursuivant really was to a full professional, and not just an imprecise use of term, e.g. the Burgundian pursuivant Germeles, active 1435-1446, veteran of 45 embassies to foreign princes (Spitzbarth HB 565).

¹²⁰⁹ Even mid-level princes like the D.Brittany had many heralds, see Stevenson HM 73-75, 82. During the reign of Richard II (r.1377-1399) 19 names or titles of royal and private heralds are known, many of which came into royal service after the death of their previous masters, e.g. Chandos (c.1366), Hereford (1369), Northampton (1373) and March (1381). They may have kept their former titles in addition to those given in royal service.

Burgundy the heralds increased from two kings of arms and a few heralds and pursuivants at the turn of the century to the hundred names known from the reign 1419-1467 of Philippe 'le bon'.¹²¹⁰ The concomitant increase in the number of territories can only explain this in part. The increase was visible to all at the major gatherings. For the church council in Constance during 1414-1418, some 45-65 heralds were present, and for the 1435 peace conference in Arras the names of 126 heralds are known.¹²¹¹ Heraldry was employed not only by princes, but also by magnates and towns. Such 'private' heralds could provide trained manpower whenever a prince might need it, and especially the town heralds may only have been employed part-time. Philippe 'le bon' certainly utilized this pool. Apart from the 10-20 heralds in permanent employ, there were some 40 part-timers, mostly private heralds from the Burgundian territories, but also foreign heralds delivering messages from their masters, but then staying for up to a couple of years, as it is known for Hendrik Heessel, a Dutchman in Austrian service.¹²¹² The chequerboard structure of the ducal domains may have made this large complement of heralds unique, but the king of France also employed about a dozen heralds of all grades.

Remuneration of heralds was partly keep and clothing as for other employees at the court of a lord, and partly gifts when performing their traditional roles at feasts and tournaments.¹²¹³ Some may also have earned money from presenting written works or from outside commercial activities.¹²¹⁴ Wages were probably given for employment as messengers in addition to expenses.¹²¹⁵ Clothing was commonly given by masters to their employees and by lords to members of their court, usually at Christmas – but for heralds additional emblems of their profession and status were needed. In part, this came from the tradition of being assistant umpires at tournaments, who must be recognized as non-combatants allowed on to the field and tribunes, and partly from their acquired status and immunity as being 'neutral' observers and messengers, who should travel in peace between antagonists, while at the same time 'personalising' their masters. On official duty a herald in the service of a prince or lord would wear a tabard or surcoat with the arms of his employer. Other heralds might just sew small placards with the arms of their former employers or courts they had visited on to their dress. Heraldry employed by tournament societies could wear

¹²¹⁰ 5 kings of arms, 50 heralds and c.40 pursuivants, Spitzbarth HB 559.

¹²¹¹ For Constance, see Riegel KK 74, Clemmensen KCR 31. For Arras there were 29 French heralds, 49 with the D.Burgundy (7 KoA, 3 maréchaux d'armes, 12 heralds, 27 pursuivants) and only 4 English heralds (1 KoA, 1 herald, 2 pursuivants), but this was a small delegation. There were also heralds of the D.Brittany a.o. princes and towns. Paravicini HA 475, Contamine TO 593-595, Clemmensen APA, Dickinson CA, Spitzbarth HB 565.

¹²¹² Hiltmann SH 21, Anrooij HH.

¹²¹³ E.g. at New Year, All Saints, Christmas, Easter, Passover, baptism, weddings and funerals, Schnerb RB 540.

¹²¹⁴ Roger Machado, d.1510, Richmond & Clarenceux KoA, had a trading business in London and Southampton, ODNB 35:455-466.

¹²¹⁵ Several notes in Schnerb RB and Spitzbarth HB, pay according to rank at 25% of the rate for a gent d'armes in Burgundy.

the society emblem on a chain.¹²¹⁶ Rods, usually white, were used as emblems of office, and for kings of arms a crown might be worn.¹²¹⁷ Wearing a chain or collar of office appears to be exceptional at the time. The collar of the Toison d'or KoA made up of small gold rectangles each with the arms of a member in enamel appears to be unique.¹²¹⁸

15.1.2 Functions

By the end of the 14th century the functions pertaining to the medieval office of arms had become finalized. From the sheer number of heralds employed by the great princes and sovereigns, it appears unlikely that every herald performed all of these functions. Most were probably restricted to the core ones only. The sources are sparse, so the weighting of the various elements become very much a personal choice. It appears that the functions as messengers and organisers of ceremonies were the most time-consuming. Preparing for and officiating in ceremonies required knowledge of arms as well as of rank and status and the code of chivalry. The role of messenger included not only carrying a message from place to place and presenting it to the receiver, but sometimes also to cry it at marketplaces or in halls.

All commentators agree that knowledge of armory and of the status of armigers was a key requirement for all heralds. What is less certain is to which degree and for what area a particular herald needed such knowledge. When reading the standard texts on heralds, one may sense an implicit, but unsubstantiated, notion that learning about arms and armigers was part of the vocational training of any pursuivant, and that this required travelling abroad in order to learn of armigers by their own eyes, e.g. at tournaments and at courts. Another implicit, but also unsubstantiated, notion is that heralds were required to know the armigers in the *marche d'armes* to which they were attached. This last notion is clearly derived from the Tudor visitations directed by the provincial kings of arms in England, but apart from a few remarks that certain French kings of arms were given responsibility for a province, there is no evidence for any such requirement for medieval heralds as a profession.¹²¹⁹ Herald's may have helped supervising the painting of banners, shields and armorial decorations during feasts and ceremonies as well as before travels or military campaigns, but we do not know to what extent. They may not have been needed for this. Any lord's secretary would have known his master's arms well enough to instruct a painter.

What is known is that heralds did use their knowledge of arms not only to impress the audience at tournaments, but occasionally to help identify casualties and prisoners after battle. They may also have been able to identify enemy banners, if not shields, *jupons* and horse trappers in the battle line. In this they were not alone. As Paul Adam Even made clear in his examples, heralds sent

¹²¹⁶ Neubecker H 18-25 reproduces several tabards and paintings of medieval heralds in uniform.

¹²¹⁷ The D.Burgundy gave 50 francs to Philippe de Croix for buying a crown on his promotion to Flanders KoA in 1419, Schnerb RB 550.

¹²¹⁸ The collar of the Toison d'or KoA is exhibited in the Schatzkammer Museum in the Hofburg in Vienna.

¹²¹⁹ The responsibilities of the Ruyers or Ruwieren KoA are unknown as are those of other KoA, heralds and pursuivants.

out to identify killed and wounded on the battlefield were usually accompanied by knights and priests.¹²²⁰ As for being able to observe the enemy's battle order most military commanders would be experienced enough to know the banners of their principal counterparts.

Policing and granting arms were not part of the functions. Disputes on arms were heard in the Court of the Constable & Marshal in England and in similar institutions in other countries.¹²²¹ In Scotland the Lord Lyon may have had some kind of jurisdiction, and in Germany the Pfalzgraves heard cases involving differences on arms.¹²²² Jean le Fevre de St. Rémy, Toison d'or KoA noted in his chronicle that he was called upon to decide whether the uncle David or the nephew Florimond de Brimieu had the right to bear the arms without difference.¹²²³ Grants of arms were usually written and issued by chancelleries. The illustrations of the arms were made by professional illustrators, either employed by the officials or by the grantee.¹²²⁴ At the fairly late date of 1487 the king commissioned Bourbon Herald as *maréchal d'armes* with a brief to catalogue all noble arms and to rectify incorrect arms, an operation that was never performed.¹²²⁵ For England one of the duties conferred on William Bruges, the long serving Garter KoA (1415-50), was to survey and record the use of arms – but not any power of granting or policing. The first warrant for a visitation was signed in 1530.¹²²⁶ Apart from what may be inferred from armorials like the *Parliamentary Roll* (N/PAR), the most likely (and only) record is the so-called *Visitation of Caux*, probably made by English heralds during the occupation of Normandy 1422-54.¹²²⁷

Diplomacy was another important sphere in which a herald took part. They did it in four degrees: at the lowest to introduce a foreign ambassador to their master at court, a step higher escorting foreigners from the border to the court as part of the guarantee of free travel, or to carry safe-conducts to a counterpart. The highest step would normally be to assist in embassies to foreign courts. As such they could formally proclaim the message sent and guide the ambassadors through the formalities. They might even act as interpreters. Heralds were literate and most were probably versed in several languages.¹²²⁸ A few became ambassadors in their own right.¹²²⁹ A herald-ambassador was hardly empowered to negotiate; this was normally reserved for

¹²²⁰ Adam FM, incl. p.13-14 on battlefield surveys,

¹²²¹ Hiltmann SH 463 notes treatises on the judicial powers of the French *connétable* and *maréchal*.

¹²²² The case of Waldau and Waldthurn was finally resolved, when the plaintiffs became aware that they were branches of the same family, Clemmensen GRU #1749.

¹²²³ At the chapter of the OTdO in 1435, Pastoureau ETO 2:37.

¹²²⁴ Bartholdy AV 15; Zolda GW.

¹²²⁵ Hiltmann PL 187, Mathieu SH 64, BnF, n.acq.fr. 7243:146r.

¹²²⁶ Wikipedia, heraldic visitations, last retrieved 26.02.2017.

¹²²⁷ Fécamp VCX.

¹²²⁸ Roger Machado (d.1510) was of Portuguese extraction and spoke English, French, Spanish, Portuguese and probably knew Italian and Latin as well; ODNB 35:455-466.

¹²²⁹ Berry Herald was accredited in 1425 by Charles VII; Spitzbarth HB 567.

the highest nobles and clergy, some of which specialised in diplomacy.¹²³⁰ His job was more to recite his brief and take back a reply – as part of drawn-out negotiations and before positions became close enough to warrant a real embassy. Herald-ambassadors might also be used for explaining positions, when they were well known to the counterpart.¹²³¹ The diplomatic assistants need not be senior heralds, even pursuivants were frequently used.¹²³² They might not be members of the princely household nor of the same nationality. Philippe 'le bon' frequently used heralds in the service of his courtiers or even visiting heralds for missions to other courts.¹²³³ Diplomatic missions could be a speciality. Anne-Brigitte Spitzbarth analysed the employment of 28 Burgundian heralds, of which a majority of 19 did less than 5 missions abroad and only 4 more than 20 missions.¹²³⁴

15.1.3 Writings

Literary prowess may also have been a rarity. We do know of heralds who produced almost everything from eulogies to chronicles and geographical descriptions, but compared to the number of heralds known only a few literary products have survived. The eulogies of Gelre Herald and Peter Suchenwirt have been printed. Jacques de Ruelle dit Talant, a pursuivant, was the author of a panegyric battle poem *Liège* from battle of Othée 1408, not printed. Gilles le Bouvier, Berry Herald, and Jean le Fevre de St. Rémy, Toison d'or KoA, both wrote chronicles of their time, but most chronicles were written by non-heralds.¹²³⁵ Some heralds wrote reports or impressions from their travels, festivities or political meetings.¹²³⁶ Contrary to what may be expected, heralds

¹²³⁰ French ambassadors negotiating with England and Burgundy during the Hundred Years War and ambassadors at the Councils of Constance and Basle were bishops, counts and dukes, often former chancellors and royal councillors. The same pattern can be observed with embassies from England.

¹²³¹ Jean le Fevre de St. Remy Toison d'or KoA 1430-1468 spent 120 days in England explaining the Burgundian position after the Arras conference of 1435. He made more than 60 diplomatic journeys ranging from Italy to Denmark and from England to Germany, several as assistant to Jean de Croy and Simon de Lalaing, confidant councillors of duke Philippe 'le bon'; Spitzbarth HB 571, 574

¹²³² Egidius Gobet, d.1492, pursuivant Fusil 1457, promoted to 'Toison d'or' 1468, went repeatedly to England, Spitzbarth HB 572. The Burgundian pursuivant Germoles, active 1435-1446, was noted for 80 missions, incl. 24 diplomatic, i.e. 15 carrying letters or treaties, 3 asking for safe-conducts, 4 as assistant to ambassadors and 2 secret missions; Spitzbarth HB 565.

¹²³³ E.g. Gruuthuse, Renty, Bien Amé and Diligence, baronial heralds serving Lodewijk van Aa S.Gruuthuse, Antoine de Croy S.Renty, Jean dit Hennequin, bâtard de Luxembourg-St.Pol Sr d'Hautbourdin, and Philibert de Vaudrey; Spitzbarth HB 560-561.

¹²³⁴ Spitzbarth HB 562. The names are listed in Contamine TO 592-594 from a French and a Burgundian source.

¹²³⁵ See *Ch. 15.3* for Gelre and Berry. For Peter Suchenwirt see Elder PS. Jacques de Ruelle dit Talant is mentioned in Schnerb RB 534+542, the manuscript is Vatican, BAV, Reg.Lat. 1923..

¹²³⁶ Jörg Rugen on imperial diets; Roger Machado on his travels, CA, Arundel 51:69r-88v; anon, marriage of D.Burgundy and Margaret of York 1468, of D.York 1477, BL, Add.6613:92r-100v, Ashmolean 856:94-104.

rarely theorized on armory.¹²³⁷ They did, however, keep notes on ceremonials in the form of herald's miscellanies (Heroldskompendien). Such notes were not only practical having as a reference for the organisation of events, but also as a record of gifts due by custom and as evidence of their own participation. Some 90 miscellanies are known from the 15th to 17th centuries, mostly Franco-Burgundian, but some English too. The English are more uniform in content and mode of expression, reflecting the unitary organisation of royal heralds from 1415/1484 on.¹²³⁸ Notes on the genealogy of princes and lords and of their properties and marriage alliances were also nice to have for ceremonies, and they could be converted into money, if a prince (or a town councillor) would pay for having it in writing, possibly illustrated with arms.¹²³⁹

15.2 Cooperation and incorporation

Whether or how heralds cooperated has been little studied for the late Middle Ages, except for the dates of formal incorporation of a few bodies of heralds and noting that heralds met at tournaments, festivities and other occasions. Even notes of when and who they met are scarce, discounting the concilium in Constance in 1414-18 and the conference in Arras 1435. But commentators agree at least on one point, that when heralds met, they exchanged information on the coats of arms they had each collected. The conclusion makes sense, how else could the large composite armorials be compiled. A single individual could hardly cover the nobility of nearly all of Europe in detail by himself, even if heralds travelled through several foreign countries during their proposed apprenticeship and some were employed on embassies later.¹²⁴⁰ But the evidence for even this form of cooperation is feeble and mostly by inference.¹²⁴¹

A related, but rarely asked, question is how did the many heralds spend their day? Before we can answer the question, we have to differentiate between at least four forms of service. Some heralds may still have belonged to the

¹²³⁷ See Boudreau HS and Hiltmann SH for treatises and compendia on heraldry. Most treatises were written by legalists or monks, e.g. Nicolas Upton and Bartolo de Saxoferrato (Stevenson HM 12-13). Le Fevre de St.Rémy and Sicily Herald did leave treatises on armory; Roland OI (Sicily), Adam FM.

¹²³⁸ A survey of the contents of 25 manuscript compendia can be found in Hiltmann SH 437-465, many were probably made for noblemen rather than for heralds. The compendia beginning with *Complainte des hérauts* (CHE) by Hendrik van Heessel Österreich KoA is a rare example of a miscellany/compendium including an armorial and the only one noted from a Germanic speaking area, see *Ch. 15.3.2*, Hiltmann SH 51. Jean Faucket's *Commonplace Book on Heraldry* (FCB) also has arms added.

¹²³⁹ Gelre Herald made a record of the ancestry of Marie de Bourgogne (Jéquier MB), and Jörg Rugen included displays of ancestors and a chronicle of the dukes of Bavaria in his armorial. He also sold chronicles to town councils; Clemmensen RUG 10, 32. A number of English genealogical works and historiographies are known or assumed to have been written by heralds, e.g. the *Salisbury Roll* (SA), a history of the Neville family, *English Historical Review*, 1983, 83:611 note 1.

¹²⁴⁰ For the apprenticeship, see *Ch. 15.1.1*.

¹²⁴¹ Mentioned in e.g. Jéquier BEL. The simultaneous occurrence of Austrian arms painted in the Burgundian Low Countries in a compendium owned by an imperial herald (CHE) and by the same workshop for a Burgundian armorial (ETO) is one of the better arguments, see *Ch. 7.2.2*.

travelling people, taking employment wherever they had an opportunity, possibly being part-timers assisting tournament societies.¹²⁴² Heralds employed by towns probably worked alone and possibly only part-time. The private heralds employed by minor princes and lords have been little studied, but may have had other duties in the household of their masters. Some of the town and private heralds may have had double employment. Several were noted as spending time at the Burgundian court and being used as messengers by Philippe 'le bon'. Sharing the wages with towns and lords would be an obvious solution for always cash-strapped courts. The last, and from the point of cooperation most interesting, group is the heralds employed by the sovereigns and major princes, i.e. by the emperor, the kings of France and England and the duke of Burgundy.¹²⁴³

15.2.1 France

The first formal incorporation of a group of heralds were the French *Office of the Kings of Arms and Heralds* created in January 1407 by Charles d'Albret, the then Constable of France, with a staff of four kings of arms and two heralds (Montjoie-St-Denis, Champagne, Anjou, Guesclin KoA; Jerusalem, Orleans heralds) and rooms for their library and meetings in the church of St.Antoine-le-Petit in the quartier St.Paul-en-Marais, a former Augustinian hospice.¹²⁴⁴ Its existence was a bit on and off because of first the competition and civil war between the Orleanists/Armagnacs and Burgundians, and then the war with the English, when the court of the dauphin moved to Bourges. From evidence in herald's compendia, the college was reformed 1408, 1417 and 1435.¹²⁴⁵ The heralds continued to have connection to St.Antoine-le-Petit as evidenced by a note in the armorial *Berry* of Gilles le Bouvier 'Berry' (d.1456). Even French born heralds, who were in semi-foreign service, could be buried there.¹²⁴⁶

From the supplications of 1408-1435 it is reasonable to assume that the action of the constable establishing the connection between the heralds and the church of St.Antoine-le-Petit was also the result of a supplication. The six heralds (and probably a couple more) served at the court, but probably lived in town. They must have cooperated to some degree and for some years, since they felt a need to have a common library and a common meeting place – if not working place. They also had a need to influence who was to be admitted to the

¹²⁴² German heralds like Hans Ingeram and Jörg Rugen/Georg Rixner may have worked as 'independents' for parts of their life; see *Ch. 11.3* (Ingeram) and *15.3.3* (Rugen).

¹²⁴³ The conditions around the Mediterranean and in Poland-Lithuania are outside the scope of this investigation. Too little information is available for Scotland and the Nordic countries. The heralds of the kingdom of Navarre were reviewed by Maria Narbona Cárceles and Mikel Ramos Aguirre in Schnerb HL 631-650, 729-754.

¹²⁴⁴ Adam FM 4; Paravicini HA 478; Hiltmann SH 18-19. The Church was dismantled in 1804. It was situated in the 3rd arrondissement of Paris between Rue François Miron 82 and Rue de Roi-de-Sicile 13.

¹²⁴⁵ Hiltmann SH 18, 445, 447.

¹²⁴⁶ Hiltmann SH 19 (Berry), Boos BER 18 (fo.13v). Pierre 'Navarre' KoA 1395-1412, of a family from Bar, serving Charles III R.Navarre, was buried in the church in 1415; Maria Narbona Cárceles, in: Schnerb HL 637-638.

office of arms – and to claim, if not share the income (wages and largesse) due to the royal heralds.

15.2.2 England

The most enduring incorporation of members of the office of arms was actually short-lived. The College of Arms was formally incorporated in 1484 by a charter of Richard III (of the York branch of the Plantagenets), and the royal heralds, who were members, were given a grand house, Cold Harbour, on the bank of the Thames, to keep their records and as a place to work. Sadly, the next year saw a change of dynasty and Henry VII (first king of the Tudor family) revoked this as well as many other charters given by his predecessor. It was not until 1555 that his granddaughter Queen Mary gave the heralds a new charter and the present site, then Derby Place, for work and records.¹²⁴⁷

Even without a place of their own, the English royal heralds (from then on known as members of the College of Arms) managed to function in unison with privileges and functions accrued from the end of the 14th century. Books were private property, but were usually sold to other members, and were frequently lent out for copying or reference.¹²⁴⁸ It probably helped that offices tended to go to relatives, often sons or sons-in-law. But long before that, they had established cooperation and a hierarchy more formalized than on the Continent.

The earliest indication was probably that by 1380 the heralds got an official status in the English Court of Chivalry *al.* the Court of the Constable and Marshall, and became regarded as a department of the Royal Household supervised by the Lord High Constable of England and the Earl Marshal.¹²⁴⁹ The Court of Chivalry dealt with military offences and matters of honour, including the use of coats of arms, which fitted fine with the growing interests and ambitions of the heralds. The next major step was the interest in matters heraldic taken by Henry V as part of his preparations for the renewal of the war with France in 1415. He created the position of Garter king of arms as herald of this royal order of chivalry, and as senior herald with supervision of the other heralds. The heralds also acquired the right to police the use of arms. Armigers north of the river Trent by Norroy king of arms, those to the south by Clarenceux king of arms. All supported by a number of pursuivants and heralds.¹²⁵⁰ The third step was the adoption of a common seal, agreed during the campaign in France during a chapter held in Rouen.¹²⁵¹ Though (at least some of) the heralds had their houses or rooms outside the buildings of

¹²⁴⁷ Wagner HA 52. From 1469 Richard III, then D.Gloucester and Constable of England, supervised the heralds and had plans for reform of their organization. The formal incorporation may have been necessary to acquire property. Wagner HE 68, CEMRA xvii, Armstrong OA.

¹²⁴⁸ Viz. the many copies of armorials and texts still in possession of the College of Arms, some dating back to mid 15th century.

¹²⁴⁹ Wagner HE 68, Keen JC; wikipedia, College of Arms, last retrieved 26.02.2017.

¹²⁵⁰ Norroy is first mentioned c.1276, and Clarenceux c.1334; Woodcock OG, App.B.

¹²⁵¹ Armstrong OA 26.

the court, there must have been a working cooperation between the heralds in order to plan for policing arms and having a need for a common seal.¹²⁵²

15.2.3 Burgundy

The heralds serving the dukes of Burgundy were never formally incorporated into a college while the duchy had a de facto sovereign status under the Valois dukes. The first incorporation of heralds in the Low Countries only happened in 1496, granted by the then 18 year old Habsburger duke Philippe 'le bel' (d.1506).¹²⁵³

'Greater Burgundy', as the possessions of the Valois dukes could be named, grew by marriage, persuasion and outright conquests from the enfeoffment of Philippe 'le hardi', the youngest son of the king of France Jean II 'le bon', in 1364 with the reverted duchy of Burgundy. By 1435 it had reached its maximum covering all of the Low Countries, Artois and the two Burgundies (with some additional patches and a few holes).¹²⁵⁴ The heralds came with titles from many of these principalities which were held together in personal union. The ducal treasury and chancery were the principal 'unionized' offices with administrative centres in Dijon for the Burgundies and (mostly) in Lille for the Low Countries. Some of the heralds may have had territorial responsibilities, e.g. Flanders and Artois, the only kings of arms known before the acquisition of Brabant in 1430 and Holland-Hainaut some years later. The Artois king of arms was in some documents titled 'rex heraldorum comitates Artesie'.¹²⁵⁵ The Brabant king of arms must have continued his service with his new master and was present at Arras in 1435.¹²⁵⁶ With the institution of the Order of the Golden Fleece (Toison d'or) in 1430, Jean le Fèvre de St. Rémy was created Toison d'or KoA and chief herald of the duke.

Some 10 to 20 heralds were probably directly employed at one time by Philippe 'le bon' in the 1430'es, but the accounts indicate that 40-50 heralds per year were given missions by the duke. Some of these were paid and employed by towns and others were private (seigniorial) heralds of the duke's officials who were either staying at the court or had left them there. How the missions were parcelled out between heralds, who had been long in the duke's service, those who had come recently, and the private heralds associated with court, has not been resolved. Most likely some of the heralds and pursuivants did most of their work travelling between the court and home region, while a select group did the longer missions. Anne-Brigitte Spitzbarth examined the missions abroad carried out by some 28 heralds.¹²⁵⁷ 19 did less than five missions, another 3 did

¹²⁵² William Bruges 'Garter' entertained the King of the Romans Sigismund at his house in Hampstead in 1415, Wagner HA 9.

¹²⁵³ Adam FM 2, the incorporation lasted until the Habsburgers were driven out of the Low Countries in 1795 (Spanish to 1715, then Austrian), but was temporarily discontinued 1618-48 during the Thirty Years War.

¹²⁵⁴ Cockshaw TO 23.

¹²⁵⁵ Stevenson HM 101-102+126; Schnerb RB 531-534, 545-548; Spitzbarth HB 559; Hiltmann SH 17 a.o.

¹²⁵⁶ Stevenson HM 101+126; Spitzbarth HB 559; Hiltmann SH 27+40. Contamine TO 593-596 (heralds present in Arras 1435).

¹²⁵⁷ Spitzbarth HB 562.

less than 10, only 2 did 11-20, and 4 did 20-30 missions. Among the latter was Georges de Poucques Flandre KoA, Charolais Herald (a title also held at a different time by Jean Le Fevre de St. Rémy, later Toison d'or KoA), and the poursuivant Chateaubelin – three men of different rank in the office of arms being used for (nearly) similar missions. The more prestigious job of assisting important embassies or travelling as ambassador was apparently reserved for the few kings of arms close to the court, like Toison d'or and Flandre. It is probable that the selection for travel and these 50-70 people was managed directly by the duke's household officers - but the details still need to be sorted out.

Even though there is no documentary evidence for any formal cooperation among the ducal heralds, there are two arguments indicating that at least some of the permanent heralds did so. The first is the state of the Office of Arms in England and France as described above. There must have been many contacts between the English and Burgundian heralds during the alliance of 1420-35,¹²⁵⁸ as there must have been between the French and Burgundian heralds while the dukes sought to dominate or at least influence and guard their interests at the court in Paris before 1419 – even though the Orleanists (later the Armagnacs) were dominant in 1407.¹²⁵⁹ The second argument or circumstantial evidence concerns the transfer of contents among the members of the TOISON D'OR group of armorials as well as the simultaneous presence of four armorials in the hands of a single compiler around 1460.¹²⁶⁰ This would hardly happen unless the compilers or owners worked together, and were heralds – unless one prefers the presence of at least three very close wealthy amateur armorists at the Burgundian court, one of which had bought or inherited the *Gelre* which was made by the herald Claes Heinenzoon.¹²⁶¹

15.2.4 Holy Roman Empire

Very little is known about the organisation of heralds at the imperial court under the Luxemburger and early Habsburger. We do know that at least one king of arms (Ruyers/Ruwieren) had a territorial responsibility, but of what kind is uncertain. The office appears to have been largely ceremonial and most holders nominated, if not appointed, by the duke of Brabant, and only confirmed by the emperor.¹²⁶² Only one of the incumbents, Hendrik van Heessel, appears to have had a primary employment with the imperial court - as Austria Herald (Österreich). The title of Herald of the Empire (Reichsherold) or king of arms of the HRR appears to be both ceremonial and temporary. It

¹²⁵⁸ The arms of William Bruges Garter KoA, but not his name, are in *Lyncenich* as LYN:737 on fo.51v. They are identical to his arms in DBA 2:252 and Foster TB 45.

¹²⁵⁹ The struggle between the Orleanist-Armagnac and the Burgundian parties during the feebleness of the personal government of Charles VI is described in Nordberg MM, Schnerb EB and Schnerb AB.

¹²⁶⁰ As discussed in *Ch. 7.3.4*. The armorials are the *Toison d'or*, *Lyncenich*, *Gelre*, and *Bergshamar*.

¹²⁶¹ The *LeBlancq* was largely copied c.1560 from three older armorials, see *Ch. 8.3*.

¹²⁶² Anrooij RK, Stevenson HM 111-132, Heinig TH 371-372. The title was held by Jan van Steensel, Claes Heinenzoon 'Gelre', Hendrik van Heessel 'Österreich', and Hermann von Brüninghausen 'Jülich' & 'Romreich' and some unnamed heralds in the 15th century.

was often used with the workname Romreich. Its main function was probably to be responsible for the ceremonials during the imperial Diets or parliaments. The Reichsherold would be the senior herald at the court of the emperor.

The lists of German heralds provide little help.¹²⁶³ There is next to nothing on the herald employed at the court of the Luxemburger Karl IV (r.1346-78), Wenzel IV (r.1378-1400), Sigismund (r.1411-1437), and little on the Habsburgers Friedrich III (r.1440-1493) and Maximilian I (r.1493-1519), except for Hendrik Heessel.¹²⁶⁴ Friedrich III had little interest in tournaments and apparently employed heralds mostly as messengers, though Hendrik Heessel recorded both charters of orders of chivalry and treatises on ceremonials and the origin of the office of arms in his miscellany or compendium.¹²⁶⁵ If need be Friedrich III would employ foreign heralds on missions too, and all emperors probably recruited their heralds from those of the princes of the empire.

The very recent and valuable study by Nils Bock on the heralds in the HRR actually provides little information on heralds in the empire during the Middle Ages.¹²⁶⁶ Bock provides a thorough study of the general features of the Office of Arms and the work of heralds as well as an exposé of accounts books from several German towns and from the Teutonic Order,¹²⁶⁷ but most of his comments on heralds refer to the situation after Maximilian I restructured the imperial heralds on the Burgundian model. As duke in the right of his wife from 1477, Maximilian did have an intimate acquaintance with the experienced Burgundian heralds both as participants in the planning of tournaments (a favourite pastime of his!), ceremonials at the chapter of the Order of the Toison d'or (of which he became the head), feasts, and in their other duties. Though Maximilian was acclaimed king of the Romans in 1486, it would only be after his actual succession in 1493 that the reforms would be implemented – at the very end of the Middle Ages, if not at the beginning of the Renaissance.

Though the knowledge of heralds in the period (1350-1493/1500) is spotty, we do have some indications of the conditions of the three main types: the imperial heralds, which may be regarded as mainly members of the courts of the Luxemburger (Bohemian-Hungarian) and Habsburger (Austrian) emperors and appear underused compared to their western colleagues; the private or seigniorial heralds,¹²⁶⁸ which may have had similar conditions as their western colleagues, but possibly looser conditions of service and overlapping with the third type – if Georg Ruxner/Jörg Rugen had a typical career.¹²⁶⁹ Though we

¹²⁶³ E.g. Berchem &al., BGH 222, of the 70 names noted between 1372 and 1520 most belong to princes or to tournament societies. Heinig TH 370-375 has mostly occasional information on individuals serving during the reign of Friedrich III.

¹²⁶⁴ Biography in Anrooij HH.

¹²⁶⁵ Contents listed in the annex to Anrooij HH for the miscellany in Antwerp, BMu, ms.89420, incl. tables of arms making up the armorial parts of the *Heessel Compendium* (CHE).

¹²⁶⁶ Bock HR.

¹²⁶⁷ Bock HR 129-152.

¹²⁶⁸ There is little research and little knowledge on their actual employment and conditions.

¹²⁶⁹ See *Ch. 15.3.3* on Ruxner / Rugen.

have very little information on him, Hans Ingeram would be an exponent of the third type, heralds whose main employment were with the tournament societies. As the name implies the members of these societies met one or more times in a major town to joust and confer. The societies usually had a board and chairman (king of the society), and besides the fun, the members would support each other against external pressure from both their princely overlords and the towns.¹²⁷⁰ But there is little information on the conditions of their employment of heralds.

15.3 A few careers as heralds

There is little prosopography available on heralds, except for the members of the English College of Arms authored mostly by their successors.¹²⁷¹ The lives of the few summarized here were probably not typical of all, but exemplify most of the elements involved in carrying out the office of arms. The two main types of sources for the careers reviewed are the princely accounts, where they may be named by full name or (mostly) by workname, and the manuscripts written by them, which have survived.

15.3.1 Claes Heinenzoon *al.* Gelre & Beieren

Claes Heinenzoon, c.1340/45-1414, named himself 'Beyeren quondam Gelre armorum regis de Ru(y)ris' in 1405.¹²⁷² His first employment was with Jan van Blois S.Schoonhoven (near Gouda), a vassal of Albrecht D.Bavaria & C.Hainaut-Holland-Zeeland (d.1404) and during 1370-1374 a pretender to Guelders (Geldern).¹²⁷³ After this, he took employment from 1380 to 1402 with Wilhelm (I) D.Guelders as the herald 'Gelre'. From 1403 until his death he was in the service of the counts of Hainaut-Holland as 'Beyeren'. The date of his appointment as 'Ruyers' king of arms is uncertain. He may have been appointed by Wenceslas of Luxembourg, king of the Romans (r.1378-1400), on the recommendation of Jeanne Ds.Brabant (r.1355-1406).¹²⁷⁴ If the fine pen drawing on GEL:26r by an accomplished miniature illustrator of the emperor and the electors can be taken as a lead, the appointment could be as late as his transfer to the C.Hainaut-Holland and made by Ruprecht of Pfalz (r.1400-1410).¹²⁷⁵ One of his travels was with the Wittelsbacher Wilhelm C.Ostrevant

¹²⁷⁰ Kruse RA, Ranft AG.

¹²⁷¹ Anthony R. Wagner 'Garter' KoA authored one collection of biographies and Adrian Ailes, not a herald, the most recent entries in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. The several recent papers on named heralds tend to be on post-medieval people, e.g. on Emond de Boullay, Pierre Choque, Jean de Tournay and Caspar Sturm.

¹²⁷² Anrooij RK 117-123 (2009), see also Beelaerts van Blokland; Anrooij DG (1985); Anrooij BG 164-165, 175 (1986); Anrooij HB (1988), Anrooij GC 343 (1992) and Verbij-Schillings BG (2006).

¹²⁷³ Claes was noted as a messenger for Jean de Blois in 1371-73 and 1375; Anrooij RK 117.

¹²⁷⁴ Jeanne de Brabant (1322-1406) was daughter of Jean III (d.1355) and widow of Willem IV de Avesnes C.Hainaut-Holland (d.1345 at Stavoren) and of Wenceslas D.Luxembourg (d.1383), a cousin of Wenceslas king of the Romans, who was a former son-in-law to Albrecht of Bavaria C.Hainaut-Holland (d.1404). There is a list of those killed at Stavoren appended to *Gelre*, GEL:1727-1740.

¹²⁷⁵ See *fig.8-ch.9.2n5* for the miniature on GEL:26r.

(C.Hainaut-Holland in 1404) on crusade to Prussia in 1386 at a time when Claes served the D.Guelders.

Six manuscripts in the autograph of Claes Heinenzoon have survived. Best known is the armorial *Gelre*, which is actually a miscellany with a major component of coats of arms.¹²⁷⁶ The main part, a composite armorial, was compiled 1395/1402. Some years later 12 eulogic poems (Ehrenreden), a poem on Jean III D.Brabant (r.1312-1355), and two short chronicles were added, all illustrated with coats of arms.¹²⁷⁷ He also compiled in 1405 an armorial collection with copies of five armorials, known as the *Beijeren* armorial.¹²⁷⁸ In addition to a miscellany of drafts,¹²⁷⁹ he did two versions of a chronicle of the counts of Holland (and Brabant) written during 1402-1409, including genealogies of the rulers of Brabant from the times of Troy and Charlemagne, and another manuscript of two eulogies from before 1402 – in all some 400 folios during four years.¹²⁸⁰ Like Berry Herald and Toison d'or KoA, the surviving parts of his production appear to belong to a little more than the last decade of his life.

15.3.2 Hendrik van Heessel *al.* Österreich

Hendrik Reinhard van Heessel, d.1470, *al.* Heinrich Rich van Heeselgen, born in Lower Betuwe on the Waal between Varik and Opijnen in the (Dutch part of the) duchy of Geldern.¹²⁸¹ He married Elizabeth von Oudenhausen (Cock-Wardenburg) and they had two sons Willem and Adriaan, where adult c.1445. He held the lordships Weert and Edincweerd south of Brummen.

The earliest evidence of him is that he served as pursuivant at the coronation of Sigismund as emperor in Rome on 17.06.1433. He was probably the Austria (Österreich) herald noted as present at the court of D.Burgundy 15.03.1434-6.02.1437, presumably in the service of Albrecht (V) D.Austria (as Albrecht II king of the Romans 1438, d.1439) or his cousin Friedrich (V) of Styria (later emperor Friedrich III, r.1440-1493), and present on 12.02.1434 at the wedding in Chambery of Louis de Savoie C.Genève and Anne de Lusignan-Chypre. During his stay Philippe 'le bon' (as duke of Brabant) nominated him as king of arms of the Ruyers marche d'armes between Meuse and Rhine. The 'Ruyers' title was an imperial office, probably mostly titular, and must have been confirmed by both Sigismund and Albrecht II. Heessel was noted as Austria

¹²⁷⁶ Bruxelles, KBR, ms.15652-15656, see *Ch. 9.3* for the armorial *Gelre* and problem of determining the period of conception.

¹²⁷⁷ The literary parts of *Gelre* were analyzed in Anrooij SR. There is a portrait or miniature of the author wearing a tabard-like coat with the arms of Geldern on GEL:122r.

¹²⁷⁸ The *Beijeren* collection, finished 1405, was recently acquired by the Royal Library in Den Haag as ms. 79 K 12. A facsimile is on www.kb.nl. The five armorials are *Tournoi de Compiègne* (TCO, 1238), *Tournoi de Mons* (TMO, 1310), *Kuunre en Frise* (KUF, 1396), *Siège de Gorinchem* (SGN, 1402), and *Meilleurs Trois* (AMT).

¹²⁷⁹ The *Kladboek*, Den Haag, KB, ms.71H39 (>1404).

¹²⁸⁰ Hollandse Kroniek, (a, 1405) Den Haag, KB, ms.131 G 37, (b, 1409) KBR, ms.17914. Gotha, Landesbibliothek, Membr. II.219 (<1402). Verbij-Schillings BG reviewed the historical writings and their sources.

¹²⁸¹ Anrooij HH (2006), Anrooij RK 123-126 (2009).

herald to the king of the Romans in 1439. The appointment as 'Ruyers' was confirmed in writing by emperor Friedrich III in 1440. At the same time Hendrik van Heessel was confirmed as Austria king of arms. He took an active part in the negotiations between the emperor and Philippe 'le bon' in 1445-46.¹²⁸² At an unknown date he may have used the title Hungary (Ungarland) on a joint mission to Bavaria with the French herald Henri de Riche.¹²⁸³ There is no information available on his involvement in the ceremonies at the imperial court, but from his writings they must have been considerable.

One bound manuscript in the autograph of Hendrik van Heessel has survived. It is a miscellany of armorial segments, genealogy, statutes of chivalric orders, and treatises on the nature of nobility and of the office of arms.¹²⁸⁴ The various parts were probably compiled, acquired and written during the period 1433-1456.

15.3.3 Jörg Rugen al. Georg Rixner

Jörg Rugen al. Georg Rixner or Rixner, c. 1460-c. 1526. The surname Rixner is to be preferred, though Rugen is used here due to the title of the armorial *Jörg Rugen* (RUG).¹²⁸⁵ He was a professional herald, who served various masters and was given the worknames Jörg Jerusalem, Jörg Brandenburg, and Georgio Elsas.¹²⁸⁶ The several names used have been documented in various manuscripts in his autograph, except for Elsass (Alsace), which was suggested from the list of heralds at the Reichstag in Worms 1495, where Eberhard im Bart was raised from count to duke of Württemberg.¹²⁸⁷ The earliest mention of a Georg Elsass was as a pursuivant in 1486 in the service of Emperor Friedrich III, a time and function supporting the proposed time of his birth. 1526 is the last documented reference to him. He had a slightly older brother-in-law Hans Eisen living in the county of Henneberg in Thuringia.

He is known to have borne arms. Not only are they in the introduction to his armorial, but also on a 1504 woodcut by the Augsburg artist Hans Burgkmair the Elder and in other manuscripts.¹²⁸⁸ This shows him as an elderly bearded man holding a herald's staff in his right hand and supporting a shield of his personal arms with his left hand. He is wearing a herald's tabard in the blue-

¹²⁸² Vaughan PG 288.

¹²⁸³ Anrooij HH 711.

¹²⁸⁴ *Complainte des Hérauts al. Heessel Compendium* (CHE), see *Ch. 7.2*. Anrooij HH and the annex gives a page by page survey of the contents. Facsimile on http://anet.ua.ac.be/desktop/sba/static/ebooks/EHC_B89420.pdf.

¹²⁸⁵ See *Ch. 11.3.4*. The *Rugen* armorial is surveyed in *fig.5-ch.11.3n4* and edited in Clemmensen RUG.

¹²⁸⁶ The information on Jörg Rugen al. Georg Rixner is based on information found (in German) on the internet until 5.12.2012, incl. papers by Klaus Graf and Lotte Kurras. The information in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 1890, 30:62 is obsolete. The *wikipedia* entry for Georg Rixner was much reduced between 22.02.2009 and 2012. The *Archivalia* web blogs by Klaus Graf on <http://archiv.twoday.net/stories/4993981>, 5059380, 5068636, 6476722, 11475805, 75221839 were also used, see Clemmensen RUG. Jörg Rugen is mentioned by name on RUG:1r and 265r.

¹²⁸⁷ Graf EB, Graf GR and blogs.

¹²⁸⁸ Clemmensen RUG App.E; BGH p.167 (1504), 165 (1520), www; e.g. München, Germanische National Museum, *hs.3994a* (1526).

white lozengy of Bavaria overlaid by a cross of Jerusalem. The 'portrait' of c.1495 in Wien, ÖNB, ms.2936:Pt.2:11v of a youngish herald in Bavarian tabard wearing a leaf chaplet and holding a herald's rod was probably idealized. This illustration has his name 'Jörg rugen perssofanndt' and his devise "es war und wirt".

Jörg Rugen *al.* Georg Ruxner is known as the author of several treatises on tournaments. The best known is *Anfang, Ursprung und Herkommen des Thurnies inn Teutscher Nation ...*, which was published in four printings between 1530 and 1535 in Simmern, with woodcuts by 'HH', probably the Wittelsbacher count palatine (Pfalzgraf) Johann (II) von Pfalz-Simmern *al.* Herzog Hans von Hunsrück.¹²⁸⁹ This book purports to give the history of tournaments in Germany from the first one in Magdeburg in 938. Most of the book is pure fantasy to which are added names and arms of contemporary families. Various spin-offs or 'drafts' were presented to towns and princes, e.g. the tournament of 1198 to the town of Nürnberg, for which he received a gratuity from the town council. But he had (kindly!) included the names of several patrician families. A shorter tournament chronicle dated 1494/1499 is known in at least two versions, of which one was dedicated to Johan Morsheim, a member of the Heidelberg court of the count palatine elector.

Besides the genealogical-armorial chronicle of the dukes of Bavaria in RUG segment 42, Rugen also wrote other genealogical works. One for the Zollern electors of Brandenburg, another for the margraves of Saxony, and a third work for the dukes of Mecklenburg.

The following outline is suggested, mainly drawing on the findings of Klaus Graf. He might have been born in the county of Henneberg in Thuringia, possibly being educated in Erfurt, one of the region's major centres of learning. If born c.1460, he may have entered imperial service as a junior herald or apprentice, who by 1485 held the title or workname Elsass (Alsace) from one of the hereditary lands of the Habsburger emperor Friedrich III (r.1440-1493). He appears to have used the name Elsass at least until October 1495, when Maximilian I (king of the Romans from 1486, emperor 1508, d.1519) gave him a recommendation, when he intended to visit Jerusalem. Shortly before, at the imperial Diet (Reichstag) in Worms 1495, he wrote a list of 10-13 sets of quaternions for Eberhardt im Bart von Württemberg, who was promoted from count to duke during the session. At the same time, he must have used just the simple 'Jörg Rugen, persevant' as author of letters and treatises.

By 1499 he was in some service at the Heidelberg court of the elector palatine Philip von Wittelsbach. He continued his relations with the Wittelsbacher dukes, possibly living at the court of Georg of Bavaria-Landshut before 1503,

¹²⁸⁹ *Anfang, Ursprung ...* was published by Hieronimus Rodler in Simmern, a printing shop owned by Johan (II). Several facsimile editions are available, incl. one by Karl R. Pawlas, Burgpreppach 1964, another by Verlag E.&U. Brockhaus, Solingen 1997, and on www.delibri.de (Landesbibliothekszenrum Rheinland-Pfalz). For other works see papers by Klaus Graff, Lotte Kurras, Heide Stamm and on www. The 1494/1499 chronicle is appended in Stamm TE and a full ms version is in NYPL, Spencer 176:214r-236v.

having a portrait made in 1504 (indicating the workname Jerusalem), being noted as a Bavarian herald and Bavarian honorary squire (Ehrenknecht) with the workname Jerusalem at the Reichstag in Worms 1509, being at the wedding of the next elector palatine (Ludwig V, r.1508-1544) in 1511, keeping the titles in a work of 1515, finally coming to Neumarkt in Oberpfalz by 1526 after being in Nuremberg in 1525 (using the title as an imperial herald or Reichsherold, even king-of-arms, Jerusalem). There are no certain references to him after 1526.

In between he must have joined the Hohenzollern electors of Brandenburg, using the workname Brandenburg in 1505 (in a report of the Reichstag in Cologne), in a work of 1515 and being imprisoned in Berlin in 1519. Also in 1519 he attended the election in Frankfurt of Charles V (king of Spain 1516, emperor 1530, resigned 1556, d.1558) as king of the Romans, and made a report of it for the wife of the elector of Saxony. During 1520 he wrote other works concerning Saxony.

He used the name Rugen at least during 1494-1505, and not Rixner until 1515 (usually as Rixner or Rükner genannt Jerusalem). He may well have served as a herald to more than one master at a time, while simultaneously writing for other highly placed customers. His late contemporary and colleague Caspar Sturm Reichsherold Germania al. Teutsschl served both the emperor and the archbishop-elect of Mayence cardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg at the same time.¹²⁹⁰ Jörg Rugen was probably in Habsburger service until 1495, then transferring to Wittelsbacher service, probably first with the elector palatine in Heidelberg, moving on to Landshut in Bavaria until some time (c.1505) after the death of duke Georg (in 1503), when he transferred to the Hohenzollern elector of Brandenburg, moving back to Heidelberg a few years later, and again going to Berlin between 1512-1519, possibly staying in Saxony before finally settling in Neumarkt in Oberpfalz with Friedrich 'der Weisse', a brother of the elector palatine. In spite of his presumed wanderings he must have kept in touch with his (former) Habsburgian masters being allowed to officiate as a senior herald at major imperial occasions, like the Reichstagen, and holding the titles of Jerusalem and Reichsherold, presumably as an honorary king-of-arms.

15.3.4 Jean Courtois *al.* Sicile

Jean Courtois, died c.1436 in Mons (province Hainaut, Belgium). He was probably born close to Enghien 25 km NNE of Mons.¹²⁹¹ He entered the service of Pierre de Luxembourg (1390-1433) C.Brienne & St.Pol & Conversano & S.Enghien as his herald Enghien.¹²⁹² He followed his master to Italy, where Pierre de Luxembourg claimed property. While in Italy, Jean Courtois is said to have come into the service first of Louis (II) D.Anjou, titular king of Jerusalem by adoption, as Jerusalem herald, then of Alphonse V king of

¹²⁹⁰ Kurras GR 343.

¹²⁹¹ DBF 22:381-385 (Ernest Matthieu, 1914-20). Name with figure wearing tabard of Sicile (Aragon) and supporting shield of Enghien in BnF, ms.fr.387:4r, Neubecker H 19. The year of death of Jean Courtois is noted as 1458 by Verbij-Schillings BG 706.

¹²⁹² Jean de Luxembourg, 1370-1397, S.Beauvoir, married Marguerite de Brienne Cs.Brienne & Conversano (d.1393). Their eldest son Pierre, 1390-1433, C.St.Pol 1415/1430, married Marguerite de Balzo in 1405, ESNF 1.2:231.

Aragon & Sicily as Sicile herald.¹²⁹³ During this service, he made several missions to France, England and Italy.

His life is difficult to reconstruct as the dates do not appear to add up. Louis (II) d'Anjou arrived in Italy at the age of 12 and had probably returned to France by 1399, aged only 22. Pierre de Luxembourg married an Italian in 1405 at the age of 15. At that time Alfonzo V was only 9 years old! No later than 1410 Jean Courtois must have settled in Mons in Hainaut, obtained citizenship and married Jeanne Maillotte (d.1452). They had two sons Hanin and Haynette. Haynette was married in 1430 in Mons, and Pierre de Luxembourg and the town of Enghien sent representatives. This indicates that Jean Courtois kept close contact to Pierre de Luxembourg on his return to Hainaut, and possibly throughout his stay in foreign parts. Pierre de Luxembourg may have been instrumental in securing the post of marshal of arms of Hainaut for Jean Courtois from the Wittelsbacher C.Hainaut-Holland. The period in which he served is not known, and it may have been another 'Hainaut', who went to Arras in 1435 in the service of Philippe 'le bon'.

The authorship of the two treatises attributed to Sicile Herald is also disputed.¹²⁹⁴ The first, on the arms of kings and nobles, is dated 1425 and in part claimed to be derived from a Vermandois KoA in the service of a king Charles of France.¹²⁹⁵ The second, presumed later, treatise is in four parts, of which parts 1-3 with a comment on the *Arbre des Batailles* by Honoré Bonet were published in 1867 as *Parties inédites .. de Sicile*, and the better known part 4 *Blason de couleurs en armes* several times between 1495 and 1860. This was also

¹²⁹³ The politics of Southern Italy were rather confused. The kingdom of Naples or Peninsular Sicily (and titular of Jerusalem & Hungary) was ruled by branches of the House of Anjou from 1282. The childless queen Jeanne I (d.1382) adopted her distant relative Louis (I) D.Anjou (d.1384) in 1380, but the kingdom was seized by the husband of her sister Maria, Charles III d'Anjou-Durazzo (d.1386). His son Ladislaus (1377-1414) succeeded him, but was driven out by Louis (II) D.Anjou (1377-1417) during 1389-1399. The childless Jeanne II (d.1435), sister and successor of Ladislaus, adopted first Alfonso of Trastamare (1394-1458, later Alfonso V, king of Aragon & Sicily 1416 & Naples 1428), then in 1433 Louis (III) D.Anjou (d.1434). The latter's brother René D.Anjou (d.1480) made an unsuccessful attempt to invade Naples.

The kingdom of Sicily (the island, *al. Trinacia*) was ruled by different branches of the House of Aragon. From 1377-1402 by Marie of Aragon-Barcelona, then by her husband Martin of Aragon-Barcelona (II, d.1409), a son of Martin I king of Aragon (d.1410). Their nephew Fernando of Trastamare (d.1416) was elected king of Aragon & Sicily in 1412, and succeeded by his son Alfonso V.

House of Anjou, Merindol A 166-167; House of Aragon (Barcelona and Trastamare), ESNF 2:66, 72-73;

¹²⁹⁴ Hiltmann PL 175n54, Hiltmann SH 349-356.

¹²⁹⁵ *Recueil des armes des roys .. fait par Sicille, herault, mareschal d'armes de Hainault .. pris en partie dans le recueil de Vermandois, herault du noble roy Charles de France, fait en l'an 1425*, presently BnF, ms.fr. 387, formerly Bibl. Imperiale, ms.Colbert 9385, printed 1495 and 1503.

translated into Italian in 1565.¹²⁹⁶ The *armorial dit de Sicile* (SIC) is misnamed and not by Jean Courtois.¹²⁹⁷

15.3.5 Jean le Fèvre de St.Rémy *al.* Charolais & Toison d'or

Jean le Fèvre, seigneur de Saint-Rémy-la-Campagne, de la Vacquerie, d'Avesnes et de Moriennes, c.1396-1468, was born in Abbéville (dep Somme, in Ponthieu, now part of Picardy) and died in Bruges.¹²⁹⁸ Jean married Marguerite de Pierre-court Dm.St.Rémy, who brought him the lordship from which he was named. They had several children and at least by 1437 lived in a house in Abbéville. His career, as we know it, began as an unnamed 19 year old pursuing English service helping to identify the casualties after the battle of Agincourt in 1415. The reason behind his choice of master could be an old family connection as Ponthieu had been ruled by the king of England until 1380, when it became an appanage of Jean D.Touraine – or just that he had been picked up as the English army passed Abbeville. Some time later, Jean le Fèvre came into Burgundian service and advanced to Charolais herald. He became highly regarded and in 1430 appointed Toison d'or king of arms, chief herald of the duke of Burgundy and of the newly founded chivalric order of the Golden Fleece (Toison d'or). From this time Jean le Fèvre was often used for diplomatic missions, of which he undertook at least 60, often assisting the councillors Jean de Croy and Jacques de Lalaing. He was sent to England to explain the peace between the duke and the king of France made at Arras in 1435, and stayed there for four months. His travels took him to Scotland, Spain, Germany, Portugal and Italy. He assisted the embassy to Rome in presenting obedience to Pope Nicholas V (Parentucilli) in 1451, and was the receiver of the banners surrendered by the town of Gand (Gent) after their rebellion of 1452-53. Besides managing the ceremonials of the chapters of the Order and probably also of much ceremonials at court, he served as the duke's representative at the pas d'armes of the 'Fontaine des pleurs' at Chalons-sur-Saône in 1450.

Jean le Fèvre became a prolific writer in his later years. His works included an unfinished chronicle of his times from 1407-1460, memos on the Order of the Golden Fleece, a biography of Jacques de Lalaing and a treatise of heraldry dated 1463.¹²⁹⁹ The *Grand armorial équestre de la Toison d'or et de de l'Europe* (ETO) is traditionally attributed to have been made under his direction.¹³⁰⁰

¹²⁹⁶ DBF 22:384-385. Roland OI (Pt.1-3), a primary source of Adam FM. Cocheris BC (Pt.4).

¹²⁹⁷ See *Ch. 8.4.1*; Hiltmann PL 175 also refutes the claim by J-B de Vaivre that Jean Courtois was the compiler of the *Urffé*.

¹²⁹⁸ Koller TO 137-139; Biogr.Natl.Belge 11:666-673 (1890-91, Paul Bergmans).

¹²⁹⁹ Jean Le Fèvre is pictured writing the Lalaing biography wearing his tabard with the arms of Burgundy in BnF, ms.fr. 16830:1r, once owned by Jean de Melun S.Antoing. The treatise is in BnF, ms.fr.1968.

¹³⁰⁰ For ETO, see *Ch. 7.1*.

15.3.6 Gilles le Bouvier *al.* Berry

Gilles le Bouvier was probably born 1386 into the lesser nobility in Bourges (dep Cher, in eastern part of Berry) and died c.1456.¹³⁰¹ He entered the service of Jean D.Berry (d.1416), uncle of Charles VI, and after the death of the duke transferred as Berry Herald to the service of Charles de France, who had newly succeeded as dauphin on the death of his two elder brothers. After the Burgundians seized power in Paris in May 1418, the dauphin retreated to Bourges and proclaimed himself regent in December 1418. Charles de France was disinherited in May 1420 by the treaty of Troyes, but continued as leader of the anti-Anglo-Burgundian party. Gilles came with him and was rewarded by being created Berry king of arms in December 1420. He carried out several missions as messenger during the war in France from 1421 to 1440 and again in 1449-1450. Berry was probably one of the organisers of the ceremonies at the salving of Charles VII (r.1422-1461) in Reims and at his entry into Paris in 1437. He participated in the negotiations between France and Bretagne in 1425. He made a journey to the Orient through Cyprus, Rhodes, Constantinople and Armenia. In 1448, he was a member in the delegation presenting the French obedience to Pope Nicholas V (Parentucilli) in Rome. Berry was sent to Philippe 'le bon' in 1450 inviting him to a Gallian (i.e. French) synod in Chartres.

His known historical works are a chronicle of the reign of Charles VII (up to 1455),¹³⁰² a history of the reign and fall of Richard II of England, probably written c.1440 from English sources, and a narrative of the reconquest of Normandy in 1449-1450. He also wrote an annotated geography, where he stated himself as "Berry, roi d'armes, premier herault du roy de France".¹³⁰³

The arms of Gilles le Bouvier dit Berry is no.189 in the armorial *Berry* compiled by him.¹³⁰⁴ On page 13v he presents his work to Charles VII wearing a tabard of France. The armorial was probably compiled during the last years of his life and unfinished when he died. The Lorraine segment in the armorial was influenced by his three missions to Metz and the duchy in 1439, 1444 and 1450.¹³⁰⁵

15.3.7 Jean la Chapelle *al.* Faucon & Savoie

Jean de la Chapelle, noted in 1424 by name as Faucon poursuivant and in 1431 as Savoie herald. He was last mentioned in 1444.¹³⁰⁶ His family probably came from the hamlet La Chapelle near Ambronay in Bugey (cne St.Martin-du-Mont,

¹³⁰¹ DBF 6:153-154 (Roman d'Amat, 1951), incl. a list of his works; Boos BER 5-7, 40 (arms). The Berry KoA, who proclaimed Henry VI king of France in 1422, was a different person.

¹³⁰² *Les chroniques du feu roy Charles septiesme de ce nom*, published as by Pasquier Bonhomme in 1476, Alain Chartier in 1528, reprinted 1618, revised 1653 and 1662 by Denys Godefroy. Modern edition in Courteault CC (1979).

¹³⁰³ BnF, ms.fr. 5878, published by E.T. Hamy: *Le livre de la description des pays*, Paris 1908; Labarge MT 7.

¹³⁰⁴ Boos BER 40, see *Ch. 10.2*.

¹³⁰⁵ Marot GB 283.

¹³⁰⁶ Paviot JC. The workname 'Faucon' is mentioned 1415 in the comptes de voyages of the counts and dukes of Savoy.

can Bourg-en-Bresse, dep Ain) – a French, not a Savoyard territory. There are some indications that he lived in Ambronay between missions. He is likely to have spoken at least French and Italian.

He was sent as a messenger to the duke of Brittany in 1424, and as assistant to the envoy to the duke of Burgundy in Flanders the next year. On his return, he was sent for the first time to Cyprus, where several Savoyards supported the king against Moslem attacks. During the next few years he made several trips to France, visiting the French, English and the Burgundians and attending the salving of Charles VII in Reims in 1429. During the next 15 years, he made at least two trips to Cyprus, two to France and three to southern Italy in connection with marriage negotiations, in addition to several trips related to efforts to avoid war between Savoy and Bourbon.¹³⁰⁷

15.3.8 William Bruges *al.* Garter

William Bruges, c.1376-1450, was son of Richard Bruges Lancaster and later Norroy king of arms. He was succeeded by his son-in-law John Smert (d.1478).¹³⁰⁸ The first record of him is his appointment as Chester herald in 1398 by Richard II. After the deposition of Richard II he continued in the service of the new Lancastrian king, attached to the Prince of Wales (later Henry V), but also used for missions during 1407-1410 by Henry IV (r.1399-1413). The next step in his career was appointment as Guienne or Aquitaine king of arms, probably in 1413 for the coronation of Henry V (r.1413-1422). He also officiated at the coronation of queen Catherine of France in 1421.

As an element in his preparations for war with France during 1415-17, Henry V revived the Order of the Garter, clamped down on inappropriate use of arms, and had other changes relevant to the office of arms made. William Bruges took part in the Agincourt campaign and was made the chief herald of the Order of the Garter in 1417. He became fairly wealthy and influential, living in a large house in Kentish Town north of London where he entertained Sigismund, king of the Romans, on his stay in London in 1415. In c.1420 he petitioned the king for certain rights and privileges for heralds, which probably in 1421 led to the first chapter (or official meeting) of the English heralds. He was also involved in the revision of the statutes of the Order, and had an illustrated registry of all knights of the Order made c.1430. There are two illustrations of William Bruges wearing a tabard of the royal arms and a crown of office.¹³⁰⁹ William Bruges visited parts of France, Burgundy, Flanders, Hainaut-Holland, Scotland, Spain, Portugal and Italy both as sole envoy and assisting embassies.

¹³⁰⁷ The sources available do not mention any activities in relation to tournaments, writings or coats-of-arms.

¹³⁰⁸ ODNB 8:348-349 (Adrian Ailes, 2004). William Bruges was noted as Guienne & Garter KoA in 1415. The Guienne and Aquitaine titles were interchangeable.

¹³⁰⁹ Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Ashmole 764:1r, with crown of 6 fleurs-de-lis; BL, ms. Stowe 594:5v *Bruges' Garter Book* (BB) with crown of 6 triple roses charged with several shields.

15.3.9 John Wrythe *al.* Garter

John Wrythe, c.1445-1504, exemplified a typical successful career as an officer of arms in England.¹³¹⁰ He began as Antelope pursuivant, then Rouge Croix pursuivant, promoted to Falcon herald in 1473 and in 1477 to Norroy king of arms with jurisdiction north of the river Trent, quickly followed to eminence as Garter in 1478, all under the Yorkist king Edward IV. He officiated at the coronation of Richard III and headed the College of Arms at its incorporation in 1484. He had to resign on the fall of the Yorkist monarchy, but was reinstated in 1485 by the new king, Henry VII (Tudor). He was succeeded by his son Thomas Wriothesley (Garter 1504-34).

John Wrythe made many missions abroad. He is known to have owned several armorial books, incl. *Bruges' Garter Book* (BB) and other books related to the order, all painted before his time.¹³¹¹

15.4 Antiquarians and later copyists

Like most other medieval artefacts many collections of arms and many armorial decorations have been lost over time.¹³¹² This is a truism supported by not only comparing multi-copy armorials as demonstrated by Anthony Wagner in CEMRA, but also by comparing armorials related to each other as in part C of this volume. We owe most of our knowledge of the colour of medieval coats of arms to two related parties: people interested in matters ancient, especially armory, a.k.a. antiquarians, whether they were affluent people with time to spare or professionals, who could find a use for such manuscripts. Many of the latter were associated with the office of arms and its successor institutions. Evidently, the 500-year continuous existence of the College of Arms in London made a big difference in the ways and numbers armorials have survived, but fairly similar modes of perpetuation can be demonstrated in both French- and German-speaking regions.

Basically, 'original' manuscripts were collected by these antiquarians and survived being incorporated in their collections and passed on to like-minded men and eventually into the major libraries. Manuscripts were also lent by their owner to his friends and associates, who copied them or had them copied.¹³¹³ This is the principal reason for the higher number of armorials as copies and of copies of armorials in England compared to the Continent. As an example we know the names of the people who made 50 out of 69 copies of 10 armorials

¹³¹⁰ Franklin EH 352; www; Stevenson HM 34.

¹³¹¹ Wagner CEMRA 156.

¹³¹² Wijsman LB 17-19, 26 refers to the findings of Uwe Neddermeyer and Eltjo Buringh and his own assessments that only about 7% of late medieval manuscripts have survived, though for costly illuminated manuscripts up to 20% may have done so. Compared to the 1.1 mio manuscripts estimated to have been produced during the 15th century in the HRR and the 75,000 survivors, the number of armorial manuscripts are less than a drop.

¹³¹³ Some manuscripts and fragments were of course copied by contemporaries, as noted for members of the TOISON D'OR group and for the *Richental* and the *Grünenberg*. Some multi-version armorials have their origin in such contemporary copies.

from the reign of Edward III.¹³¹⁴ 80% of these were tricked or painted after 1580. A few armorials were very popular, e.g. the *Parliamentary Roll* (N, in blazon), of which 49 copies have survived both blazoned and tricked. Some continental armorials are also known in later copies, but less frequent than English. Five armorials are known in more than 20 copies in part or in toto. Three are English, the large *Parliamentary* and *Thomas Jenyns* (TJ), the *Caerlaverock* (K) poem; one French, the large *Navarre* (NAV); and one German, the *Chronik der 95 Herschafften* al. *Wappenbuch der österreichischen Herzöge* (HRZ) of the origin of the Austrian rulers. Of eleven known in more than 9 copies, seven are relatively small English armorials: Three are French: the two large *Urfé* (URF) and *Vermandois* (VER), and a series with arms of the Knights of the Round Table, popular as illustrations to the Arthurian romances. The eleventh is the *Beijeren* collection by Claes Heinenzoon 'quondam Gelre'.

15.3.1 England

We owe the survival of many English armorials as copies only to the interest in former times expressed in the late 16th and early 17th centuries by a group of antiquarians, who knew each other and often worked together. Some were wealthy amateur scholars while others were heralds or painters associated with the College of Arms. A few were both amateurs and professionals at different times. Among the members of this very loose group were Christopher Hatton, Elias Ashmole, William Dugdale, Thomas Shirley, William Sedgwick, William Burton, Simon Archer, Simonds d'Ewes and Edward Dering.¹³¹⁵

Not all antiquarians were unselfish caretakers of the past. Edward Dering is 'renowned' for changing entries in manuscripts of his collections to improve the evidence of his ancestry.¹³¹⁶ Much of the preservation of armorials was due to the trio Christopher Hatton (1605-1670), Elias Ashmole (1617-1692) and William Dugdale (1605-1686). Their roles varied. Hatton was the interested and active financier, Ashmole primarily a collector, and Dugdale the manager of the preservation work made necessary by a looming civil war.

The two friends Ashmole and Dugdale merit a short commentary. Elias Ashmole, who was an avid collector interested in astrology, alchemy and history, and a founder member of the Royal Society, became rich by good marriages and being involved in the collection of excises under Charles I and Charles II. During the Cromwellian rule he retired to his estates. On the restoration in 1660 of Charles II, besides getting lucrative offices, he was appointed Windsor herald, recognised as an expert on rules of protocol, became involved in the short-lived revival of the visitations of the counties and also in the revival of the Order of the Garter, publishing a history of the Order in 1672.

¹³¹⁴ *Fig.7-ch.15.4n1*, survival of armorials. Data from Clemmensen OM culled from CEMRA and Brault RAE.

¹³¹⁵ Four, Hatton, Dugdale, Dering and Shirley, made an agreement "Antiquitas rediviva" on May 1st 1638 to preserve antiquities, not only armorials; Loyd XHS xxii.

¹³¹⁶ E.g. in A:61 and in *Fennick*, Wagner CEMRA 15, 82.

Though William Dugdale held a manor, he belonged to the lesser gentry, but working on Warwickshire history he came to know most of the other antiquarians, especially his later patron Christopher Hatton. By 1638 they had secured him a post at the College of Arms, first as an extraordinary pursuivant, then a permanent post as Rouge Croix pursuivant advancing to Chester herald in 1644. Like other royalists, he returned to his estates after 1649. After the restoration of 1660 Dugdale was appointed Norroy king of arms and in 1677 Garter. Together with Hatton, Dugdale was active in making several surveys of monuments in English churches from 1641 until the beginning of the civil war. Hatton and Dugdale also commissioned the able artist, William Sedgwick, to paint the high-quality series of copies of armorials, now held in the Society of Antiquaries in London.

In a way, Thomas Wriothesley (d.1534), Wallingford Pursuivant in 1489 and Garter KoA in 1505, was not only a medieval herald but also among the first antiquarians. He organized an extensive collection and copying of manuscripts and tried to institute visitations, which were intended to gather not only information on arms but also on pedigrees.¹³¹⁷

15.3.2 France

There were also amateur-antiquarians on the continent. Philippe-Nicolas d'Aumale dit le marquis d'Haucourt, son of a chamberlain to the prince of Condé and like him a Huguenot, spent some time in Bruxelles in the 1650'es during the Fronde-rebellion. He fled to Holland on the revocation of the Edit of Nantes in 1685.¹³¹⁸ During his stay in Bruxelles, he copied several armorial manuscripts – unfortunately blending several sources into one without noting the jumps made, e.g. the *Charolais* (CHA) and a collection volume including a version of the *Paix d'Arras* (APA/a) and part of the *Toison d'or* (ETO). He probably also made spurious armorials out of old listings of nobles, adding the arms himself, e.g. the *Coronation of Otto IV in Aachen* (OAK).

Among the more professional antiquarians were du Cange, Gaignières and Clairambault. Charles du Fresne du Cange (1610-1688) was treasurer of France, but was interested in language and history. As such, he copied several armorials and wrote a Latin dictionary and several histories.¹³¹⁹ Francois-Rogier de Gaignières (1642-1715) was an antiquarian and historian, collector, and governor of Joinville. He employed Barthélemy Remy as palaeographer and Louis Bourdan as an artist to copy several manuscripts. Among his large collection of medieval manuscripts and copies was at least one spurious armorial (*Guérande*) created on the basis of a list of signatories to the peace between the D.Brittany and the King of France. He sold his collections to

¹³¹⁷ Wikipedia, last retrieved 20.04.2017. The Wrythe-Wriothesley family had many members in the College of Arms and was influential. A nephew Thomas (1505-1550) became chancellor and created E.Southampton. For other members and people associated with the College of Arms involved in the preservation of armorials, see CEMRA 136-156.

¹³¹⁸ DBF 4:602 (1941).

¹³¹⁹ BA, ms. 5256 (ARS, NAV) + 5257 fo.370; BA, ms.4910 (SIC/b, c.1640); BnF fr.9477 (VER, 1654); *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae latinitatis*, in quo, etc., 3 volumes in-folio (Paris, 1678). DBF 11:1135; BUAM 6:541-543.

Louis XIV, and it is now in the BnF.¹³²⁰ The third and youngest was Pierre de Clairambault (1651-1740), collector of seals and manuscripts and a full-time professional. As *Généalogiste des ordres du roi* 1698 he organized the collections of Gaignières and d'Hozier and cooperated with Père Anselme. His nephew sold his collections to the king in 1755, from where they came into the BnF and the AnF.¹³²¹ Among others, one may name Louis de Sainte-Marthe (1618-1690), a royal historiographer and Charles-René d'Hozier (1640-1732) juge d'armes and royal genealogist.¹³²²

From the Spanish/Austrian Low Countries there is Alexandre Le Blancq (c.1520-1575), a mayor of Lille and a bibliophile, who commissioned the *LeBlancq* from manuscripts owned by fellow bibliophiles.¹³²³ A number of heralds serving the emperor or the king of Spain in the Low Countries were also involved in preserving manuscripts. The arms of de Grez are in the *Lyncenich* and Antoine de Beaulaincourt S.Bellenville (1499-1559) Artois KoA owned armorials and had others made. They were instrumental in preserving a number in the archives of the Order of the Golden Fleece and in local archives.¹³²⁴

15.3.3 Germany

As noted in the introduction, there is a difference in the survival pattern of armorials between German and the Anglo-French regions. Most of the survivors are single originals, though a handful are known in more than two copies. One of these is the *Kraichgauer Turnierbuch*, which was probably copied c.1615 in the same workshop.¹³²⁵ Two others are the *Richental*, made commercially 1460-75, and *Grünenberg* with three copies made by related painters 1485-1516, and another seven painted 1550-1604 – some obviously painted by amateurs, but others probably by professional artisans.¹³²⁶ Most copies appear to be derived from the BSB, cgm.145 manuscript owned from early 16th century by the dukes of Bavaria. How it could be copied by an amateur still remains to be explained.

The 19th century editors of the *Neue Siebmacher* used armorial manuscripts whenever they could get their hands on them, but also prints and notes by earlier antiquarians, notably the *Bayrischer Stammen Buch* (2 vols, 1585-98. vol.3

¹³²⁰ DBF 15:62-63. BnF, fr.22361 (GUE).

¹³²¹ DBF 8:1338-1339; wikipedia. Clairambault collected seals, published by Demay as XDC (first volume), second volume only as manuscript in the AnF.

¹³²² BUAM 37:289-294. DBF 17:1373-1374.

¹³²³ Popoff LBQ, *Histoire & Généalogie*, 1989, 21:24-25; *Ch.8.3*.

¹³²⁴ Richard de Grez (d.1752) Hainaut KoA and his sons Jacques 'Brabant' and Marc 'Namur' owned GOR, LYN and QLS (falsified arms). Many of their books came into the Fonds Houwaert in 1932. Bergen-Pantens GD 808;

¹³²⁵ Kurras KTB; Klaus Graf, 20.04.2014 on Archivalia, [www.archiv.today.net/stories/...](http://www.archiv.today.net/stories/)

¹³²⁶ For GRU, see Rolker (blogposts and publications) and Clemmensen OM for a survey of copies.

finished in 1830) by Wiegeland Hundt zu Lauterbach (1514-88), a professor of jurisprudence and Hofratspräsident in Ingolstadt in Bavaria.¹³²⁷

¹³²⁷ Hundt used several armorials, but rarely referenced them in a way understandable to the modern reader. NDB 10:64-66 (1974).

16. Commissioners and bookmaking

The most common statement in the literature on the making of armorials is that they were compiled by heralds for their own use, except for some illustrative ones. A few commentators may acknowledge that presentation copies could be made.¹³²⁸ The argumentation is almost universally based on studies of English and French armorials only. Few have studied the German armorials, except perhaps for a look at the standard survey by Berchem, Galbreath and Hupp, and even these subscribed to the 'home-made by heralds' perception.¹³²⁹ The recent study of the *Richental* chronicle-cum-armorial by Gisela Wacker, the editions of the *Raber Neustifter Wappenbuch*, of the *St.Gallen-Haggenberg* and the armorials and books by Konrad Grünenberg has shown that these and probably other armorials made in Southern Germany were commissioned from commercial illustrators.¹³³⁰

Apart from a few exploratory studies of the few artists proposed to have been involved in the *Toison d'or*, the *Gelre* or the *Grünenberg*, none have attempted to examine the material basis for the book industry and its impact on the making of armorials.¹³³¹ Of the putative commissioners (amateur armorists, bibliophiles and people intent on emphasizing their line) only a few name-givers have been reviewed.

16.1 Amateur armorists

Coats of arms are very efficient visual means to import the grandeur of one's lineage. It also has the advantage that it does not need to be true. The audience will not have the knowledge or the means to verify what they see – and in any case they rarely spend much time in the presence of the images. So arms are placed on stained glass in churches, on tombstones and as grand placards in palaces and churches.¹³³² Three types of amateur armorists will be discussed here: one who needed coats of arms for marketing a book; another who apparently loved to collect and look at arms; and a third group, who needed more arms to put their pedigree into perspective.

16.1.1 Ulrich Richental

The earliest commissioner of an armorial of which we have evidence is Ulrich Richental (1360-1437).¹³³³ Socially he lived on the fringe of the patriciate and came from a family with a tradition of literacy and interest in political affairs. His functions as a *de facto* official during the Council of 1414-18 provided him

¹³²⁸ Besides Torsten Hiltmann (see *Ch. 15* a.o.), Boos TJ 8 and Fox TJ 102 are notable.

¹³²⁹ Kurt Meyer, 1939, BGH vi.

¹³³⁰ Wacker KK, Arch VRN, Clemmensen SGH, Clemmensen GRU.

¹³³¹ Michel Pastoureau reviewed the possible artists and workshops in Pastoureau ETO 2:26, 30; Wim van Anrooij the Maelwaels and *Gelre*; Bernd Konrad the artists involved in the three eldest *Grünenberg* copies.

¹³³² From the 15th century arms representing the deceased's pedigree became common in the Germanic speaking regions. As examples of fake pedigrees see the Flavy in *LeBreton* (Boos LBR 121, p.65), or the magnificent carved epitaph with two full-size sculptures and arms of 32 ancestors of the gentleman Thomas Juell in Galten Church in Jutland (Clemmensen GK).

¹³³³ For his life and social position, see *Ch.11.1.2*.

with extensive notes on the participants, their social position, and where they were boarded. It also brought him into contact with the many heralds present. He has stated that he sought their help to get their arms right.¹³³⁴

Life was good as long as the Council lasted, but afterwards his business slowed. With his vocation as a scribe and probably flair and family background as a recorder, he gathered his notes and began writing a chronicle of the greatest event in the town's history. Town chronicles were popular and saleable. As he did not have real access to participants or to records of the proceedings, he could only focus on the well-known general aspects, on festivities and daily life. He must have had a mercantile instinct, because he not only created versions palatable to different customer groups, but also knew that illuminated manuscripts were higher regarded than plain – and fetched higher prices.¹³³⁵

As only one of the original series of manuscripts has survived, and we do not know his autograph, we cannot know whether Ulrich himself wrote the text, or whether he commissioned both the writing and the artwork to professionals.¹³³⁶ The illustrations in the surviving manuscripts are so close that they can only have been derived from the same muster miniatures – and the latter can hardly have been commissioned by anybody but Ulrich himself, a generation earlier.

Two of the illustrated manuscripts were made in the workshop of Gebhard Dacher (1421-71), who worked in the warehouse customs, but who had a major interest in the history of the Council. Besides copying (and re-editing) the Richental manuscripts, he also wrote his own version of the chronicle and included a list of participants, which may have been based on notes by Ulrich or on town records.¹³³⁷

If Ulrich Richental commissioned the miniatures, he would in all probability also be responsible for selecting the arms and turning the list of attendees into an armorial. That arms were added to illustrations was not unusual in contemporary chronicles, but why he decided to add an armorial has not been sufficiently explained. The presence of a local patrician tournament society 'Zum Katze' may be part of the explanation. Another element could be that arms were an efficient means to convey that magnates lay and spiritual from all over the world chose to come to this town and to be part in its glory. We still need research on the role played by armory in the mentality of the better off people. Many houses of the 14th and 15th century had internal decorations of arms on roof beams or walls.

That a 60-year old man's sudden interest in armory was driven by its ability to boost sales is an insufficient explanation for the inclusion of the armorial. The

¹³³⁴ He did not succeed too well in getting foreigners right, as shown in the edition; Clemmensen KCR 18.

¹³³⁵ For the versions see Wacker KK, vol. 1 Anhang II and Clemmensen KCR 10-12, 38.

¹³³⁶ The *Wintertbur* manuscript (neither illustrations, nor arms) has been dated to c.1430. The five illustrated manuscripts were probably made in three different workshops during 1465-75; Wacker KK, Anhang II.

¹³³⁷ Vienna, ÖNB, ms. Vindob. 5070, the list is reproduced in Hardt KK 5.2:10-50.

compiler must have had both a long-standing interest in armory and inquisitiveness to record arms and to keep them for nearly two decades before using them. Comparing the names and arms in the armorial reveals both stunningly correct pairings and curious mispairings, e.g. a Mecklenburg P.Wenden, a servant of the Italian P.Montferrat, and Anhalt with several different arms!¹³³⁸ Ulrich must have kept his blazoned or sketched arms from his copy of the lists of comings and goings separate. He may also have had access to a painted armorial while compiling his own.

While a keen amateur interest in armory can do much to explain his decision to include an armorial into his chronicle, it does not really explain the presence of the more than 100 imaginary arms.¹³³⁹ Many are heathen potentates, a few (e.g. Lithuania) actual arms and others are attributed to literary figures like amazons and magi. Arms of the Three Magi may have been common at the time, but the *Richental* has the oldest recorded presence of these arms. Even if the *Uffenbach* does go back to c.1420, and Ulrich had access to something like it, he would still need to have been familiar with several of the romances and the traveller's novels in order to create or utilize such arms.¹³⁴⁰ Whoever first created these arms must have had not only a keen sense of armory, but also wide literary knowledge and visual imagination. Dacher does not fit that description, and the names in the chronicle ought to fit better with his list, if he was the compiler-creator.

16.1.2 Konrad Grünenberg

The second type of amateur armorer exemplified by Konrad Grünenberg (d.1494) is more like the early modern antiquarian or today's enthusiast who collects arms largely for their own sake, writes and publishes books on arms as well as on other matters – but not to sustain himself economically. He belonged to the merchant class, served Emperor Friedrich III from before 1465, held several offices in the town administration, incl. that of Baumeister (councillor responsible for municipal buildings), changed from guild membership to that of the patrician tournament society Zum Katze, and was created knight in 1486.¹³⁴¹ Konrad was obviously interested in tournaments, their organisation and membership, but never took part himself.

Konrad Grünenberg must have commissioned the oldest (paper/GStA/Berlin) version himself, and possibly the next (parchment/BSB/München) too.¹³⁴²

¹³³⁸ See the series KCR:676-686 for these and other examples, and *Ch. 11.1.3* and *13.2.2* for further details on imaginary arms.

¹³³⁹ KCR segment 19, mostly in KCR:194-304, some more in ms.P and Ms.G.

¹³⁴⁰ For the *Uffenbach*, see *Ch. 11.3.2*. The Magi were well-known armigers by 1465, *fig.8-ch.3.2n3*.

¹³⁴¹ The Wikipedia biography is almost worthless, see the comments by Christof Rolker in his various publications and on the Heraldica Nova blog, latest in 2017 on www.heraldica.hypotheses.org/4702. The Zum Katze society is not mentioned in the *Grünenberg*.

¹³⁴² For the versions and structure see *Ch. 11.2.0* and *11.2.1, fig.5-ch.11.2n1*, the editions Clemmensen GRU and Pastoureau GRU (a reprint of the 1875 facsimile with extensive and interesting comments, not a manuscript edition), and the review in Rolker WG. For the societies, see Rolker TO.

Though the dating and early ownership of the two are uncertain, both appear to have been painted in his lifetime. The full page miniatures and achievements in both are of very high quality and in the opinion of at least one art historian there is little difference in quality between the tables of arms and the miniatures.¹³⁴³ He was probably responsible for the strict organisation of the contents of the armorial. Depending on one's mood, it can be seen as the duality of empire (Kaisertum) and knighthood (Rittertum) or as a description of an ideal world order determined by knightly values, led by the emperor supported by people's representatives (here as quaternionen, not in the modern sense), with the higher nobility ranked by degrees and the organized knighthood as foundation. As glazing rather than digression, a tour of the world included the Christian as well as the heathen realms - subject to the emperor. The Church as such is totally absent.

He must have been both literate and well-read, but from where did he get the arms to fill his projected armorial? Some he probably collected by himself from churches, a few were perhaps gathered during travels, but the majority must have been extracted from armorials acquired or borrowed. By the last two decades of the 15th century there would be a number to choose from. As these were all painted in the neighbourhood, one or more of the workshops might have kept drafts of the arms of the local and not so local nobility. Already the *Ingeram*, dated 1459, organized the knighthood by tournament societies. Lists of members were probably not hard to get for an interested imperial servant, and from such a list and a catalogue of arms it would be easy to construct a society armorial. For the imaginary and exotic arms, at least on copy *Richental* was available in town, and it was probably possible to get and use the newly printed Sorg version. It need not be difficult to create the imaginary arms needed with inspiration from those in the *Richental*.

16.1.3 Petite noblesse

To say that the third type were amateur armorists that "needed more arms to put their pedigrees into perspective" in the sense that they themselves collected coats of arms would be misleading. They were more likely to commission an armorial and request the workshop to put the arms of their relatives into it in the form of pedigree displays. As noted in *Chapter 11* pedigree displays were not uncommon in the last quarter of the 15th century in Germany. The only well-documented examples of such pedigree-focused commissioners come from the lower nobility and town patriciate in the Lorraine region, which was then part of the Holy Roman Empire and like the neighbouring Alsace influenced by German culture and having a number of bishops of German origin.

Thanks to Jean-Christophe Blanchard, who has surveyed and analysed the armorials discussed here, and edited some of them, we know a lot about their contents, relations and the people behind them.¹³⁴⁴ What we do not know is

¹³⁴³ The principal artists are well-known painters living in Constance as discussed by Bernd Konrad.

¹³⁴⁴ Armorials discussed in *Cb. 7, 8 and 10*. Blanchard JHA, Blanchard RYN, Clemmensen LC.

how there came to be a demand for armorials within this localized social group.¹³⁴⁵

The more important armorials were commissioned and passed on in two family groups centred on the towns of Metz and Verdun, both seats of bishops and in the imperial focus. As discussed above, they were heavily dependent on three earlier armorial groups or traditions: URFÉ, TOISON D'OR, and a local which was also utilized by the *Berry*.¹³⁴⁶ The artisans or workshops suggested as makers, if not compilers, fall into two groups: the 15th century workshop of the painter Jost Haller in Metz, and some 16th century heralds-cum-painters.¹³⁴⁷ The combination and the long period as source(s) for copies together with the extensive concordance between the armorials suggest that local heralds may have been involved in the compilation, but probably not in the execution – at least not in their function as heralds. If they held the templates for the segments, they could supplement their income by either making them available or doing the painting themselves. René II D.Lorraine (r.1473-1508) appointed a painter, Bertrand Maillet, poursuivant in 1477. The alternative suggestion that the sources were owned c.1470 by a local bibliophile/armorist or deposited in the municipal archive of Metz is challenged by their use in or near Verdun.

The earliest family-related group begins with André de Rineck (1444-1527), who commissioned the *Rineck* and had it dated 1473 on fo.1v.¹³⁴⁸ Besides that, the major part derived from an *Urfé*-clone and a local source,¹³⁴⁹ which constituted a conventional composite armorial. He requested segments of notables from the environs of Metz (RYN 44, 46, 48) and pedigrees for himself and his wife (RYN 45, 47). The five segments are fused. On his death the armorial (all in hand A) passed on to his godson Nicolas (IV) de Heu (1494-1547), who had some inserts (RYN 22-23, 31, 33; 32 for Rineck) and the arms of the relatives of his wife and himself added (RYN 52) together with three treatises. The later clones *Nancy*, *Coislin-Séguier* and *Savelli* were copied from the *Rineck* as judged by the concordance.¹³⁵⁰

The second family-related group comes later, but the armorials appear to be independent of the first, except for using some of the same sources. The first armorial (NLU) was commissioned as a *de luxe* parchment and gold manuscript by Nicolas de Lutzelbourg S.Fléville (c.1485-1547) around 1540. He was less shy than André de Rineck and put his quarters on fo.1v. From the structure it is

¹³⁴⁵ We know 8 related armorials from 15C-17C, but not the exact relations: NLU, CLE, JHA, RYN, CSG, NAN, SAV, and RUE. QCA, QCB, QCC are armorials from Lorraine co-bound with CLE.

¹³⁴⁶ Contrary to the suggestion in Blanchard RYN 20, there is no overlap between RYN-lor and URF-lor.

¹³⁴⁷ Blanchard RYN 16-17 (Haller); Blanchard JHA 86 notes that the D.Lorraine appointed several painters as heralds.

¹³⁴⁸ Blanchard RYN 8.

¹³⁴⁹ Local in the sense that the components have no counterparts other than described here (e.g. *Berry*). Blanchard RYN 33-34 notes some similarities between the Germans in RYN and GRU and GMW, armorials in the BODENSEE group. This relationship remains to be verified.

¹³⁵⁰ See also the discussion in Blanchard RYN 19-23, 33.

doubtful whether Nicolas did more than request an 'armorial of Europe' headed by his quarters. The compiler and/or artisan probably structured it and selected the content from what was available. 17 of the 55 segments had inputs from a clone of the TOISON D'OR group. Four segments used material present in the *Rineck* (RYN 06-08, 11, 16, local arms), while the remaining majority has not been sufficiently researched to suggest their sources. From Nicolas it passed on to his son-in-law Jean de Haraucourt (1525-69), who had his pedigree added (NLU 25, 59v) on an empty page. Jean's granddaughter married Bernard de Raigecourt, who acquired it in 1621, but passed it on to his son-in-law Anne-Francois de Beauvau in 1647. At some time Jean de Haraucourt had a small local armorial (JHA) made of his quarters (NLU 25) and those parts for Lorraine-Bar which were also in the *Rineck* (NLU 24, 26-28).¹³⁵¹ It is likely that the compiler-artisan had another customer ready for an armorial, but not willing to pay as much as Nicolas de Lutzelbourg. He got the *Clémery*, which is an exact copy of the *Lutzelbourg* apart from the family-related materials. The two alternative interpretations are (1) that a friend saw the NLU and had it copied by the same workshop; or (2) the artisan took the opportunity to make a copy in a slightly different style using cheaper materials. The present volume of the *Clémery* is co-bound with three short armorials in different styles (QCA, QCB, QCC), of which QCA uses paper with the same watermark.¹³⁵²

16.2 Commissioners and workshops

With the exception of the printed Sorg edition the *Richental* from 1483, late medieval armorials belong to the age of manuscripts, though incunabula existed at their side from mid to late 15th century. If armorials were not as tradition will have it a do-it-yourself job, who did it and who paid for it? Some aspects related to professional and amateur armorists have been covered, but let us take a look at the material basis of the manuscript and book business of the period.

16.2.1 The book users

Four elements increased the interest in books during the late Middle Ages.¹³⁵³ Literacy became more common, the invention of reading glasses prolonged the effective time span before the eyesight became too weak to read, and not least the increase in wealth and social profile among the upper layers of both the nobility and the bourgeoisie led to increased buying. The fourth was cheaper books as paper increasingly replaced the much more expensive parchment and print took over a substantial part of the market.¹³⁵⁴ The period saw the establishment of several largish libraries, not only by bibliophile princes like Jean de Berry and Philippe 'le bon', but also of men from the middling nobility like Nassau, Croy, Gruuthuyse, Lannoy, Manderscheid, Zimmern and Montfort, and of wealthy burghers like Jacques de Coeur in Bourges, and the

¹³⁵¹ Edited in Blanchard JHA.

¹³⁵² Clemmensen LC 4.

¹³⁵³ Book production in the HRR was estimated to increase 100-fold from 20,000 b.p.a. in c.1370, over 200,000 in c.1460 to 2,000,000 by 1500 - with printed books taking a major share in the last interval; Wijsman LB 125.

¹³⁵⁴ Wijsman LB 100-104 showed that the production of incunabula in the Low Countries had its ups and downs, but the important aspect is that the time and money spent page for page sold was much less than the investment in machinery.

Muntprat, Schatz und Schilter families in Constance.¹³⁵⁵ These commissioners of new books and buyers of second-hand ones supplemented the more traditional users like the clergy, university professors and students as well as people who liked to have a prayer book or something to teach reading and writing by. However, there was a difference in their procurement. The higher nobility bought a larger part of the illuminated books, while the lower nobility, burghers and professionals went more for the un-illustrated plain texts. The clergy stood in between, buying plain books to read and large illuminated for presentation, e.g. antiphonals and liturgical books. There is sufficient evidence that most, if not all, heralds were literate and probably able to write longer pieces themselves, and that some had sufficient artistic talent to paint arms and possibly also miniatures. Whether artistic talent was part of the qualifications needed for employment as a herald is more doubtful. In any case they were users of books, and many owned books.

Manuscript books, especially the illustrated and decorated ones, were expensive. After the death of the great collector Jean D.Berry in 1416 the 140 volumes in his library were valued at more than 10.000 £t or on average 74 £t 10 s with the most expensive valued at 400 £t. The daily wage at the time for good craftsmen and royal notaries ranged from 4-6 sous per day.¹³⁵⁶ Hanno Wijsman has a similar estimate with 15 £s for a de luxe manuscript (266 day's wages) compared to 8s (7 day's wages) for a second-hand plain text.¹³⁵⁷

To cater for these customers, book making centres developed in many towns, not only in major places like the university town of Paris, but also in Bruges, Ghent, Lille, Valenciennes, Tournai, Bruxelles, Mons and Audenaarde in Artois and the southern Low Countries. For southern Germany, which at the time in practice also included Alsace-Lorraine, there were centres in Strasbourg, Haguenau and Constance on the Bodensee and room for workshops in places like Metz.

16.2.2 Types of books

The types of books bought varied according to the needs and wealth of the customers. The major types were books of hours (for private contemplation), bibles, liturgical, chronicles, romances and didactic.¹³⁵⁸ Many books were bound as miscellanies, blending extracts of romances and chronicles with other matters. What was produced and in which proportions is impossible to determine accurately. The potential for survival could be very low for some types of pamphlets and books, e.g. unbound extracts, much used books without

¹³⁵⁵ Konrad BK 130, 143; Bousmanne MF 81-84; Wijsman LB 219-499, notably by members of the Burgundian court.

¹³⁵⁶ Bozzolo LM 28. Book value changed over time. Second-hand illuminated books could be had for 25% of the initial price paid; Wijsman LB 384, Bozzolo LM 107-109.

¹³⁵⁷ Wijsman LB 384. Pound sterling - tournois exchange rate at 1:5.

¹³⁵⁸ Wijsman LB divided books into 10 genres with armorials, mostly institutional and non-existing, included in the legal-administrative group. For the manuscript books produced in the Low Countries, Wijsman LB 83 (table 3.2) showed that 55% of the illuminated ones were devotional (e.g. books of hours) and only 10% hagiographic with 8% didactic, 4% biblical and 3% literary. Most of the latter genres were plain text books easy to print.

illustrations and those made on paper. A survey estimated that some 40,000 manuscripts had survived in England from the 15th century and a little beyond on each side. Of these, approx. 1,000 were fully illuminated books and a further 2,000 had border decorations only. A sample of 845 illuminated books ranged by type gave 102 books of hours and 104 chronicles, genealogies and histories, but only 10 with some form of heraldic content, excluding armorials.¹³⁵⁹ The percentage of devotional books is much lower (12% to 55%) than the survey by Wijsman of the production in the Low Countries.

No mention of armorials or treatises on heraldry was noted in the reviews of inventories and testaments encountered.¹³⁶⁰ Not all books known to have been owned by a collector were mentioned in their testaments or inventories. So though this does not rule out that 15th century collectors did own some kind of heraldic works, such ownership must have been rare.¹³⁶¹ On the other hand coats of arms could be part of the border decorations, included in miniatures or placed in the capitals at the beginning of a paragraph testifying ownership or identifying persons portrayed. Tables of arms might be added to a chronicle. The best known example is the mid 13th century chronicle by the monk Matthew Paris, but its 15th century counterpart is a Brut chronicle with 11 folios with the arms of contemporary English armigers with legends and blazons in the hand of the principal scribe of the book.¹³⁶²

16.2.3 Organisation of book making

The magnificent illuminated manuscripts are the most studied for the process of manufacture, and even archival studies of people involved in the book-making business focus on such manuscripts.¹³⁶³ The organisation appears to be similar all over Europe, though it may differ in nomenclature and detail. The commissioner who desired to have a manuscript with certain content approached a stationer (in England) or a libraire (in France), agreed content, quality and format and a price before placing his order. It would not be unusual for a stationer to solicit work from known collectors, or to try to sell second-hand volumes or books made for stock.¹³⁶⁴

¹³⁵⁹ The heraldic materials must have been mostly treatises, but included the *Rous Roll* (RW), a family chronicle or a illustrative armorial; Kathleen L. Scott, in: Griffiths BP 31, 33, 60n57. Wijsman LB 17-19, 26 refers to survival percentages of 7% for plain text and 20% for de luxe manuscripts in Germany and the Low Countries.

¹³⁶⁰ The inventory drawn up of the 878 books in the library of Philippe 'le bon' in 1469 and the contents of the ducal library over time were discussed in Wijsman LB 145-255. Lesser libraries, like that of Simon Savary (1418-1480) with 41 books had mostly romances and religious books, incl. 3 books of hours. Even that of Pierre d'Hauteville (Cayeux) dit le manier, a prince d'amour (CAM:28) in the Cour d'Amour of Charles VI, did not mention an armorial; Vanwijnsberghe OA 53-56; Griffiths BR 164.

¹³⁶¹ Apparently there are only the ex libris arms of Margaret d'Anjou in *Thomas Jenyns*, and the report of another copy owned by Richard III in CEMRA 77 besides Rous' works.

¹³⁶² Harvard University, Houghton Library, Richardson 35, folio size, mixed paper and vellum; C.M. Meale in Griffiths BP 216 + 233n86

¹³⁶³ Rouse MM has a very good description of the book business in Paris.

¹³⁶⁴ In 1437 a Flemish libraire ordered 200 copies of a small book of psalms, 200 'Distich Cato', and 400 prayer books; Griffiths BP 6.

The stationer, who was a master craftsman, member of a guild and often licensed, would usually parcel out the work to specialists and supply them with the necessary materials.¹³⁶⁵ Depending on his own craft and available time, he would do parts of the work himself. The specialists were usually paid by units of work, per sheet, per quire or per miniature. All work was basically copying, though miniatures could be freshly commissioned artwork. In such cases the author or the stationer would write instructions with a faint lead plummet.¹³⁶⁶ Each specialist would often get a quire (3-4 folded sheets or 12-16 pages were common) or more to do. When this job was finished, he would return both template and copy quires, receive payment for the work and be given further quires to do. The copy quires would then be passed on to the next specialist: from scribe to border decorator to miniature illuminator. When finished all quires would be handed to the book binder for finishing. This *pecia* system allowed for a relatively fast production flow with an unbound template. Copying could also be made from a bound book, but writing and painting in a bound book was rarely done - it was too inconvenient for both the scribe and the illustrator.¹³⁶⁷ Books might contain more than one text, and even texts of different kinds. It comes as no surprise that travel novels could be combined, e.g. Marco Polo, Mandeville and John of Pordenone.

As indicated above, manuscript book production was very much a cooperative affair where craftsmen of different training worked in succession on a project. For three places (Paris, Tournai and London) where the business has been investigated, a master craftsman could be a stationer/libraire or work only as an artisan. If he had his own workshop, it would usually be a small one with only a couple of apprentices and/or journeymen.¹³⁶⁸ Even a stationer/libraire could at times take other places in the sequence as temporary employees of other stationers – if their order books were lean. More than one scribe or illuminator might also work on a volume – either to speed up the process, or to finish a piece of work left unfinished by the death of the commissioner, lack of money or other reasons.¹³⁶⁹ As an example of a double combination manuscript there is one made for Jacques de Luxembourg S.Fiennes (c.1426-1487) in 1465 with *l'Instruction d'une jeune prince* by Guillebert Lannoy (1386-1462) and the *Vaine plaisance* by René d'Anjou (d.1480) with miniature illustrations by Simon Marmion (c.1425-1489) and Loyset Liédet (c.1420-1479). Both artists were much used by Philippe 'le bon' and members of his court. They probably

¹³⁶⁵ Regulations for guilds could be different, one town allowing illuminators, painters and scribes in the same guild, others demanding separate guilds, Vanwijnsberghe OA 103-105.

¹³⁶⁶ Croenen PW 11. Sometimes illustrations were added years later. Initials and owner's arms could be changed. Jean de Pestevien was paid 72s in 1441 to change the arms and a miniature in a book Philippe 'le bon' had acquired from the library of the D.Gloucester; Wijsman LB 231.

¹³⁶⁷ For the production of manuscript books and prices, see Rouse MM 15 a.o.; Bozzolo LM 28-57; Griffiths BP 4; Croenen PW 2-18, Wijsman LB 379-386.

¹³⁶⁸ The wives of stationers/libraires would often take part in the business as scribes or illuminators, and manage the workshop after the death of their husbands; Rouse MM 235-239; Vanwijnsberghe OA 298.

¹³⁶⁹ Rouse MM 235-239; Vanwijnsberghe OA 298; Avril MP 98, 101-103

worked in Hesdin or Valenciennes, while the court was mostly in Lille or Bruxelles.¹³⁷⁰

The best independent artisans did not need to live close to their patrons, but it helped. They could find employment with a princely collector for a time, and frequently moved between towns, but men like the Limbourg Brothers, Barthélemy d'Eyck and other masters of the famous illuminated manuscripts would hardly need to bother about making armorials to order. For such work, one should rather look among the ones which had excess capability and lived close to courts or people with the necessary knowledge.

Regarding the potential for the commercial book business being involved in the making of the armorials selected for this investigation, places near the Burgundian and French courts as well as towns in southern Germany would be of interest. London has been mentioned above, and for other parts of England they will be noted later, if of interest. There were bookmaking workshops in several northern French towns as well as in the southern parts of the Low Countries, e.g. in Lille, Hesdin, Tournai, Mons, Valenciennes and Bruxelles, all within easy reach of the Burgundian court and with the possibility of having heralds resident during or after their service at court. There was a substantial book business in Bourges when the French court was there from c.1418-1460, while the trade in Paris suffered much. Many artisans fled Paris during the troubles of 1415-35, some north, others south to Bourges, and finally some went with the English as they abandoned the town. The rebound was slow during the years 1440-1460.¹³⁷¹

The situation in southern Germany may have been slightly different. Firstly, we know that armorials were made commercially by 1460, and probably already c.1430 for Ulrich Richental.¹³⁷² Secondly, many books were copied in Constance during the concilium of 1414-18, though most would probably be liturgical and legal treatises for the clergy present, manuscripts without illustrations.¹³⁷³ The book production increased during the years 1440-1470 with the change from parchment to paper.¹³⁷⁴ As a third argument, workshops may have been larger and more versatile around the Bodensee than in France and England, viz. the Dacher workshop did both the writing and illustrations for the St.Georgen and Prague versions of the *Richental* (KCR-G and P), as did the Murer workshop for the Konstanzer version (KCR-K).¹³⁷⁵ Dacher probably

¹³⁷⁰ Oxford, FitzWilliam Museum, ms.165, Binski CI 262. Wijnsman LB 222 for the residences during Christmas and Easter.

¹³⁷¹ Avril MP 11-12, 35; Koukly Fianou in: Croenen PW 31, Rouse MM 304.

¹³⁷² E.g. the *Richental* versions, Wacker KK 1:18, Clemmensen KCR 9. The canon Gallus Öhem (1445-1522) had a version (OHM/a, Freiburg i/B, UB, Hs.15, one of 13 known versions) of his chronicle of the Reichenau Abbey illustrated with 501 coats of arms and 4 miniatures by a professional painter; Konrad BK 324, Drös OHM 27.

¹³⁷³ Konrad BK 109.

¹³⁷⁴ Konrad BK 125-126.

¹³⁷⁵ Wacker KK vol.1, Anhang II, Clemmensen KCR 9-11; Konrad BK 132 (KCR-K). KCR-A was made in Überlingen across the Bodensee.

employed about 10 people.¹³⁷⁶ On the other hand, illustrations may have been made by painters hired for a particular job only.

16.2.4 Artisans named and nameless

Most of the artisans involved in medieval manuscript production are unknown.¹³⁷⁷ Some scribes placed their names in manuscripts as did a few illuminators, but that is almost everything we know about them. Most illuminators are known only from the peculiarities of their style, which identify them as the master-illuminators of a certain book.¹³⁷⁸ A few, e.g. Barthélemy d'Eyck and Bernard Testard, are known as having been employed on site by princely authors and/or collectors like René d'Anjou. The social structure and status of these artisans has been examined for towns like Paris, London and Tournai, and more names of stationers/libraires and artisans have been added to our knowledge. In a few cases these men (and women) have been proposed as the makers of certain books.¹³⁷⁹

For making coats of arms scribes would be less interesting than painters and illuminators. There was a difference between the two in the French-speaking areas. Painters worked mostly with oil on canvas and walls while illuminators worked mostly with watercolour and tempera and only on book illustrations and decoration. Painters were also allowed to work on books. In Tournai there were 3 times as many painters as illuminators.¹³⁸⁰ During the last half of the 15th century it may have been hard to find work for all at all times. Though a similar specialisation probably occurred in southern Germany too, there does not appear to be discrimination between the two types of artisans – or perhaps we only know of painters, not the problems of illuminators.

Except for one, no major francophone artist has been mentioned as being involved with the making of armorials. Only the "master of the *Champion des Dames*", who possibly worked in Lille around 1435, has been proposed as responsible for the equestrian figures in the *Toison d'or*. For a non-specialist, his work does appear to have some similar traits, but no definite similarity.¹³⁸¹

For southern Germany, especially in the region around the Bodensee, we know of several painters who also doubled as illuminators and worked on armorials. The painter Rudolf Stahel (c.1448-1528) worked several times for the author-

¹³⁷⁶ Konrad BK 128, but see the statistics in Wijsman LB 81-102 for production in the Low Countries.

¹³⁷⁷ Though many illuminators were great artists, the term artisan is preferred to stress their status as employed rather than independents supported by patrons. A few worked as members of the ducal court.

¹³⁷⁸ Avril MP 11-22, 98.

¹³⁷⁹ Rouse MM 235-245, 261-296; Croenen PW 29-43; Vanwijnsberghe OA 268-318; Avril MP 101.

¹³⁸⁰ Painter: illuminator = 15:5 and 57:20 for 1413-50 and 1450-1500; 1/3 as masters; Vanwijnsberghe OA 123, 148. At the same time (1455) there were 6 scribes, 5 illuminators and 3 binders working among the 33 stalls on Pont Notre-Dame in Paris with some more in the Quartier Latin; Rouse MM 304.

¹³⁸¹ The "master of the *Champion des Dames*" was mentioned in Pastoureau ETO 2:30 citing an unpublished master thesis by Pierre Charron (1996, not available for consultation), Avril MP 98-103 and Porcher EF 75, 88.

commissioner Konrad Grünenberg on both armorials and chronicles.¹³⁸² Besides painting altar pieces and other mainly religious paintings in his workshop, he had a side business as a mercer and was several times elected to the town council of Constance. He must have had a fair business as he had assets worth 740 Pfund Heller in 1490. More than Werner Röser with 200, who did one of the Pilgerfahrt volumes for Konrad Grünenberg, but less than Konrad Grünenberg himself with 13,450, Gebhard Dacher with 2,700 (in 1462) and also less than mayor and book binder Conrat Muntprat with 12,500.¹³⁸³ Two artists of an earlier generation, Hans Stürmli and Balthasar Sünder, lived very close to Ulrich Richental in Constance and may have made the initial sketches for his chronicle.¹³⁸⁴ If they did so, they may not have been involved in painting the coats of arms in these manuscripts. On the other hand it is likely that Hans Haggenberg painted the arms in the *St.Gallen* (SGH) armorial. One painter, who actually did coats-of-arms of high artistic quality on a grand scale, was Vigil Raber (c1490-1552), a painter and playwright-director of religious plays, who lived 1510-22 in Bozen and from 1524 in Sterzing in Tyrol, where he was born. He painted arms both as murals on the Stertzinger Stadtturm and in their account books, but more importantly compiled and illustrated at least four armorials, of which the largest contained more than 7,000 arms.¹³⁸⁵ Vigil Raber may have painted some entries in the armorial books of the St.Christophorus-Bruderschaft im Arlberg. Hans Schilling (c.1430-1490) worked for Diebold Lauber's workshop in Haguenau in Alsace as scribe and illustrator on a copy of the *Weltchronik* of Rudolf von Ems before succeeding as town scribe (Unterschreiber) in Luzern in Switzerland. He died in the service of the king of Hungary.¹³⁸⁶ Another painter, Peter zu Enns (fl.1408), left his arms in one of the books. Similar arms with the name Mahler can be found in a number of armorials.¹³⁸⁷ The herald Jörg Rugen *al.* Georg Rixner probably did most of the illustrations of his books himself.

For England practically the only name we have is that of Gilbert Prince, who painted armorial banners and panels for Richard II.¹³⁸⁸ Armorial painters were needed at most courts and in towns at the time for similar work, even with the warrior-monks of the Teutonic Order, who had given up their own arms on joining. The arms of visiting crusaders and of Grand Masters adorned their castles and churches. Arms were also needed to indicate occupation by visiting

¹³⁸² Rudolf Stahel worked on both the Berlin (GStAPK, Hs.21) and München (BSB, Cgm.145) versions of the armorial *Grünenberg*, and on the Wien, HHStA, Böhm 1 manuscript of the *Chronik der 95 Herrschafften*; Konrad BK 311, 324; Konrad 1989, cited on wikipedia.

¹³⁸³ Konrad BK 133-134.

¹³⁸⁴ Konrad BK 120, 133.

¹³⁸⁵ His *Neustifter* (VRN) belongs to the BODENSEE Group, see *Ch. 11.3.3*. Weimar, Anna Amalia bibliothek, Fol 220, *Rabersche Wappenbuch*, has 7524 items; Arch VRN 4, 11-30; Norbert H. Ott in: *Neue Deutsche Bibliographie*, 2003, 21:70-71 (www); wikipedia.

¹³⁸⁶ NDB, 2005, 22:771 (N.H. Ott, www).

¹³⁸⁷ Peter Maler zu Enns (fl.1408), present in Hupp ARL 53 (ARL-StAW:67), arms & crest in: ING:454/878 and SGH:518; Waldstein ING 6, 99.

¹³⁸⁸ Alexander AC 131.

nobles during councils and tournaments as shown in the tournament book of René d'Anjou and in the *Richental* chronicle.¹³⁸⁹

16.3 Cost of manufacture

There are at least two good reasons why the questions of cost, resources and effort rarely if ever needed to have been raised in connection with armorials, and at least one reason to raise them. Firstly, there is a lack of hard data about their manufacture. Secondly, armorials are more varied in execution and typology than most other classes of western manuscripts. Cost and effort are important parameters when deciding whether to undertake a project, and cost at least is of crucial importance when one commissions others to do it. A second requirement is the ability to get people qualified to do it. Even an approximate and rudimentary answer may help to elucidate to what degree armorials, especially those discussed here, were personal and professional vademecums, or products for commercial use, and by whom they may have been made.

Financial records from procuring armorials would have been welcome, but they were only available for a single early modern armorial recording the arms of the masters of a guild.¹³⁹⁰ This will be used for comparing the assessment given below. Several scholars have worked on aspects of the manufacture, writing and illustration of medieval manuscripts and on the organizational and economic aspects concerning their production.¹³⁹¹ Little of what they have written can be directly applied to the manufacture of armorials, but selected data and observations have been used as input, not least those extracted from the work of Carla Bozzolo and Ezio Ornato. The second type of input was gathered from talking with heraldic artists, who kindly offered an insight into the time and material requirements of painting arms of similar type. The three aspects, which will be given a rather cursory treatment, are: availability of qualified manpower, cost of materials and productivity.

16.3.1 Manpower

Bookmaking, which in the late Middle Ages meant putting text, illustrations and decorations by hand on manuscripts of parchment, vellum or paper, was an important trade regulated by guilds, and carried out by artisan workshops. The details may vary from town to town as did the degree of involvement of different guilds and the number of people involved. Most of this activity took place in the towns where princes kept court or which had universities, cathedrals, religious institutions or wealthy burghers.¹³⁹² The number of people involved was substantial, even in a relatively minor centre like Tournai, 77

¹³⁸⁹ Paris, BnF, ms.fr.2695:39v-40r (René d'Anjou); *Richental* illustration #21, Clemmensen KCR 293.

¹³⁹⁰ Egger GB (2001), arms of the chairmen of a guild (Vorstände der Gartnernzunft zu Basel) from 1542 to now, manuscript commissioned in 1686. The cost of a written manuscript of c.1495 is reproduced in Hiltmann SH 119.

¹³⁹¹ See *Cb. 16.2* on commissioners and workshops for the organisation of the book trade and the content of libraries. Among those consulted for the present chapter were: Avril MP, Bozzolo LM, Croenen PW, Griffiths BP, Konrad BK, Moser BB, Rouse MM, and Vanwijnsberghe OA.

¹³⁹² During the present period commercial bookmaking dwarfed that of monasteries.

masters or owners of workshops (57 painters, 20 illuminators) were recorded during the last half of the 15th century, employing another 77 apprentices (65 and 11 respectively). Journeymen were not registered, but the estimate is that only a third of apprentices were made masters.¹³⁹³ Though scribes might be specialized, they could usually obtain all sorts of work, from charters to bibles, but guild rules might prohibit illuminators for working on canvas or fresco. The work of painters was usually less restricted. Some painters would at least have a rudimentary knowledge of armory, being used to paint shields, banners and other forms of armorial decorations. If one considered commissioning either a painted or a written armorial, trained manpower would be available. The only need of the artisan would be to get the arms for templates (blazoned or painted), either through the workshop or from the commissioner.

16.3.2 Materials

Apart from manpower, what was needed for manuscript production was writing materials (quills, brushes and ink of little cost), sheets to put it on, paints to use, and finally binding materials (wooden boards, parchment, leather, metal works for fittings). If gold was needed, both cost and work time soared, as gold needed careful preparation of the base upon which it was to be applied.

We assume that, like quills and ink, the cost of paint and brushes would be included in the contract, usually as price per quire or per illustration. The price of parchment, vellum or paper was noted separately. At the time paper would be readily available from the several paper mills, which supplied stores in most large towns. Paper was much cheaper than the animal products (mainly vellum from sheep in England, parchment from calves on the continent) costing 1-2 pence (deniers, d) a sheet, while parchment would easily fetch 15 d.¹³⁹⁴ Sheet size is rarely mentioned, but was probably bifolio making 4 standard pages when folded once. A simple binding could be had for 3s 4d.¹³⁹⁵ But many books as well as armorials may have stayed unbound for years as loose quires to be read or used as sources for copying. For comparison a third of the cost paid in 1686 for the high quality painting of 150 achievements in the Gartnernzunft armorial was for parchment, fittings and binding. When fittings are subtracted, nearly one fourth was spent on materials (15%) and binding (8%) with another 12% on calligraphy and 52% on basic painting.¹³⁹⁶

16.3.3 Productivity

The available information on cost per unit for writing or drawing and painting are somewhat confusing, and would in any case depend on the quality expected. Complex high quality calligraphy for antiphonals would cost very much per

¹³⁹³ Vanwijnsberghe OA 123, 142.

¹³⁹⁴ Bozzolo LM 31. Hiltmann SH 119 mentions that Jacques d'Esch S.Bazencourt c.1495 paid 12 d for 15 paper sheets and 10d per sheet for writing the manuscript part in Metz, Bm, inc.595, and 3s 8d for the binding. In French money, £t, livre tournois; exchange rate to sterling: 6 £t: 1 £st; Contamine A 218 - exchange rates varies with time and author!

¹³⁹⁵ Griffith BP 100.

¹³⁹⁶ Egger GB 120; fittings 17£h 8s 4d, parchment 13£h 2s 6d, binding 6£h 15s, calligraphy 11 £h 5s, painting 46 £h 11s 6 d, total 106£h 7s 8d, German money, Pfund Heller.

line, less so per page, as there would be few lines per page. More simple writing would be less expensive, perhaps 9-12d per sheet or 8-22d per 100 lines.¹³⁹⁷ Two of the blazoned armorials have approx. 30 lines per page.¹³⁹⁸

For scribes, it appears from Carla Bozzolo that up to 3 sheets could be written per workday, while Richard Rouse estimated that writing a very large antiphonal took two thirds of the cost, or 20d per page.¹³⁹⁹ In the case of painted armorials, most writing would probably be done by the illustrator and included in the cost estimate of the contract, or else by the commissioner - as judged by some unfinished manuscripts.

The cost of painting arms depend on the detail and size of the image as well as the artistic quality expected. In trivial terms, to do a full page achievement with helmet, crest, mantling, orders and motto in charter or even higher artistic quality could take several days.¹⁴⁰⁰ For less demanding work like small achievements, a page of some 12-16 items per day would be feasible.¹⁴⁰¹ The work itself would probably be carried out in steps. For a high quality armorial, the artisan would typically draw on both sides of the sheet before applying one colour to all figures and fields of the shields on the first page, then a second colour, etc. When dry, he would do the second page. The writing of legends may have been done before or after painting, depending on the whims of the artisan or the demand of the commissioner. The evidence on when legends were written is contradictory. There are blank shields with legends as well as shields without legends. Some armorials were made by an alternative method. The artisan (if he was so) simply painted a series of fields, and he used a quill or fine brush to paint the figures without any pre-drawing. The difference between the two approaches may be used as arguments for whether an armorial was intended for the maker himself or for another person.

Estimating the probable cost of commissioning either a blazoned or a painted armorial of typical size and quality (160/220 pages in *Urfé / Vermandois*; 350 pages in *Lyncenich*) is really impossible, but making the guesstimate anyway, one would say that 6 pages or 3 sheets blazon per day would get the artisan 30-40 pence per day.¹⁴⁰² A painter would command at least the same for standard work. If so a 200-page blazoned armorial could be had for 1,300d or 5 £t 8s (paper included), a little less than the 7£t 7s for an average book in a noble library. At a similar rate, a 350-page painted armorial could cost 51 £t 15s on paper or 56 £t 10s on parchment.¹⁴⁰³ Even at a less expensive rate and of smaller volume a painted armorial would make a formidable gift or a hard sell.

¹³⁹⁷ Bozzolo LM 46. Sheet size is not specified, and some data may refer to pages, or be recalculated from quires.

¹³⁹⁸ URF, BnF fr. 32753; VER, BnF fr. 2249.

¹³⁹⁹ R.H. Rouse in: Croenen PW 60.

¹⁴⁰⁰ For examples see GRU, Berlin, GStA, ms. VIII.HA.II.ms.21, fo.26r Trapezunt; or BSB, cgm.145;

¹⁴⁰¹ Estimates given by heraldic artists for tabular work of a quality like *LeBlancq*, *Toison d'or*, *Bellenville*.

¹⁴⁰² Not too unrealistic, a scriptus regis earned 4s or 48d per day; Rouse MM 261, 267.

¹⁴⁰³ 56 £t 10s is approx. 9 £st 8s at a time when a knightly income could be 20 £st. The *Lyncenich* has 350 pages with 2,827 arms in various formats, mostly 4x3 or 4x4, but

some displays would probably have taken as much time to do as a 4x4 table of arms. The cost of a *de luxe* illuminated manuscript was approx. 75 £t; Wijsman LB 384, Bozzolo LM 28, *Ch.16.2.1*.

E. FINDINGS

17. Cooperation, copying, and commercialization

As discussed above, a substantial number of late medieval armorials can be divided into six groups based on their interrelationships, and all appear to be desk work rather than field notes.¹⁴⁰⁴ The armorials that make up the groups are all composite with many well-defined segments, sometimes fifty or more. Three key features determine the groups: concordant segments, common markers, and common iconography of imaginary arms. Evaluation of their internal structures, physical characteristics and relationships suggests that many 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. Possible criteria for determining the degree of involvement of amateurs and professionals, the intended purpose (personal use or disposal to others), and how the common content of the armorials in the groups descended over time and space will be discussed in this concluding chapter, as will the differences between the three major regional traditions.

17.1 Regional developments

On the general plane, the most important step in the development of the collection and presentation of arms between the proto-classical (1250-1340) and high-classical (1340-1530) periods is the change from a localized focus in occasional and small-medium-sized general armorials with mostly 'own nationals' to 'pan-European' large composite armorials.¹⁴⁰⁵ This trend can, with reservation, be followed in all three 'super'-regions. The parallel second trend or element of keeping older armorials alive and in use can only be documented in the Franco-Burgundian and the English regions. As a third, one could note that the increased inclusion of imaginary arms developed differently in the 'super'-regions. The possible fourth trend, adding treatises on armory and heraldry to armorials, appears to be a French speciality. Such treatises are well-known from England too, but they have survived separately from the armorials. Treatises fall outside the present study and are extensively and competently covered by Torsten Hiltmann. Apart from the features discussed here, people from all regions still added arms to chronicles and other books as owner's marks or illustrations and compiled occasional and institutional armorials.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Several of the findings discussed in this chapter were presented at colloquies in Poitiers in 2014 and in St. Jean du Gard in 2015 and reported in the proceedings; Clemmensen CV, Clemmensen KP. In a tentative way, the development, grouping, incorporation of older material, and the dichotomy of heralds and commissioners were touched on in Clemmensen MV (1998).

¹⁴⁰⁵ The medium-sized proto-classical armorials are general in this sense whether they can be sub-divided into universal or composite. One of the largest, the *Vermandois*, has a core of 856 French items from c.1300 and a tail of 322 items added during the 15C. See the surveys in Clemmensen OM. For the overlap of late medieval armorials with the high-classical period proposed by Boulton, see *Ch. 1.1.2*.

17.1.1 France and the Low Countries

The Franco-Burgundian ‘super’-region provided the territorial basis for most of the armorials and groups discussed above. In political terms there were at least three sub-regions: France itself; Burgundy, which in time integrated French-, Flemish- and German-speaking territories under a Francophone upper class; and a late-comer Lorraine split between French influences and formal German (imperial or clerical) overlordship. In manuscript terms all the composite armorials discussed here exhibit the same general features, though the extent of incorporating miniatures, imaginary arms and treatises varies. Strictly speaking, the *Gelre* and the *Bellenville* should be categorized as pre-Burgundian and the RINECK group as post-Burgundian, but in practice as well as in the scholarly tradition, they can be regarded as ‘French’ armorials. Besides the armorials mentioned below another half a dozen general or composite armorials are known, but are lacking in details or being clearly outside the groups.¹⁴⁰⁶ There is also a whole series of armorials dedicated to the Knights of the Round Table – the ultimate armorial companion to romantic literature.¹⁴⁰⁷

At least three traditions of (blazoned) composite armorials thrived in 15th century Paris. The *Navarre* with c.1400 French arms compiled 1350/80 has an additional 64 English arms from the contemporary period of Anglo-French wars and a few arms from the Empire and foreign realms. There appears to have been at least three versions at the same time, though only variant A has been described in detail. Parts of the *Navarre* were used as a template for the *Berry* by the herald Gilles le Bouvier. At least one medieval copy was co-bound with a treatise.¹⁴⁰⁸ A fourth variant (D) is known from the 16th century, but may have separated before. Fourteen of the later copies are of the variant B type, one of variant A and two not placed. The numbers suggest, but do not prove that people outside the circle of heralds owned a copy of the *Navarre*.

The core of the *Vermandois* was compiled even earlier, c.1300. The blazons of French and Walloon nobles were revised in Picardian c.1390, and at a later date a tail was added. The only medieval copy of 1435/70 has a double segment of imaginary arms (Saracens a.o.) like the ones in the *Urfé* together with a treatise on tournaments, a list of Aragonese nobles and one of knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece. As the medieval copy of the *Urfé* was owned by a non-herald, it is likely that this copy of the *Vermandois* was commissioned from a workshop (or even a herald!), which was also supplying versions of the *Urfé*. As an alternative hypothesis, the (unknown) commissioner, whose taste included tournaments, names of towns and Burgundian high nobility (which was not held in favour by Charles VII or his son Louis XI), could have borrowed this part from a friend and passed it on to the artisan-scribe.¹⁴⁰⁹

¹⁴⁰⁶ The *Huldenberg* is an example of a small general armorial (108 items) which is more like a local one with some electors added. L. Fourez & P. Dubuisson: *Armorial de Huldenberg*, Louvain 1994. The *Pursuivant* or *Grands du Monde* (BA, ms.4800) includes Knights of the Round Table (CTR) as well as unnamed figure representations.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Reviewed in detail in Pastoureau CTR.

¹⁴⁰⁸ The *Navarre* is described in *Ch. 10.1*. All the main armorials discussed have a survey in Appendix 5.

¹⁴⁰⁹ The *Vermandois* is published in Boos VER. A complementary survey is available on www.armorial.dk.

The greatest impact came from the *Urfé*, name-giver to the group. The core parts of French, Burgundian and English nobles were compiled over the same period, c.1350/1390, as the *Navarre*, but without noticeable similarity. The Scots may be included in the core, though it appears to come from a source of c.1300. Though there is only one medieval copy extant, the copying pattern indicates that this core existed in several versions during the 15th century. This copy was commissioned by a Parisian courtier c.1420.¹⁴¹⁰ Besides the core, which was utilized by the other group members, there are three addenda in the *Urfé*. The first is a 1377 tournament (URF 46), the second some foreign segments, of which the Spaniards and Bohemians were used for the *Charolais* and in the RINECK group. The third addendum is the imaginary arms, of which URF 47-48 (Saracens) are also found in the *Vermandois*. Nearly all of the added segments are in the *Rineck*. As for the *Navarre*, the pattern of content and copying suggests ownership outside the circle of heralds.

The *LeBlancq*, compiled and executed c.1560, cannot in itself be taken as evidence for medieval practice, but when compared with the mode of compiling the *Bergshammar*, it shows that the tradition of blending sources continued, that the editing process became more conscious placing neighbouring territorial segments next to each other, and finally that by this time clones of the 'Parisian' *Urfé* had drifted north into what was now an imperial province. Unfortunately, it was not feasible to delve into possible pedigree relations between the *LeBlancq* and the copies of *Sicile* and *Charolais* copied in the Low Countries.

From its make-up the *Berry* ought to be unique in its medieval tradition as described in *Chapter 10.2*. Not in the sense that it is an independent collation – it certainly is not. The compiler copied and modified several sources, and it is doubtful if more than a few inserts came from personal observation. No, unique in the sense that it did not give rise to clones until copied by early modern antiquarians. However, two or three of the six extant copies are from 1520/35, almost medieval, which warrants a closer examination of each copy and of the *Rineck* in order to evaluate whether all of their common content is due to Berry Herald picking up input in Lorraine, or whether some of it could be due to a clone of *Berry* going to Lorraine. The Burgundy Herald, who had a copy c.1535 (BnF, fr.5240), could not have supplied input to the *Rineck*, but may have had business in Lorraine.

The RINECK group is perhaps more early modern than medieval. The name-giver is both unfinished (RYN 17, 20-21, 24, 26), dominated by family elements and co-bound with treatises. The artwork in it is good, but not overwhelmingly so, except for the very nicely drawn crests added intermittently. The tables of arms were apparently extracted from local sources, including an *Urfé*-clone. No herald was involved in its conception – at least not in any official capacity. Though the *Lutzellbourg-Clémery* subgroup belongs to the TOISON D'OR group by

¹⁴¹⁰ See the discussion on BnF, fr.32753, URF/a, with the name of Simon Morhier at the end in *Ch. 8.1.9*. He is also mentioned in the 17C *Sicile* (SIC:137), which suggests that at least one version of SIC comes from the same pedigree as URF/a.

content, in other aspects they are early modern offspring of the Lorrainian tradition.

The BEL-GEL group, as we may call the two related armorials, predates the Burgundian armorials of the TOISON D'OR group. Both appear to draw heavily on the same sources, which were probably collated during a decade c.1370 and not by Francophone observers. The times of their execution are contested, but both were probably the work of heralds in the service of the D.Guelders and done shortly after 1400, possibly after the compilers had stopped serving this prince. Their descent and relations suggest that both were being passed on through a chain of heralds serving first the Valois then the Habsburg rulers of the Low Countries rather than a string of armorist-bibliophiles.

Armorials do not appear to have aroused interest among the rulers and courtiers at the Burgundian court until after the accession of Philippe 'le bon' and his founding the Order of the Golden Fleece at the time of his third marriage, and his superficial reconciliation with France a few years later. The founding of the Order may well have stimulated a wider interest in armory. Though the focus of commentators has generally been on the imposing individual armorials that have survived from his reign, it is really more interesting to consider the period armorials as evidence of contemporary fashion. Their compilers, mostly if not exclusively heralds, adopted the mode of compiling from available sources developed generations before both in Paris and in the principalities in the Low Countries (viz. BEL-GEL).¹⁴¹¹ As in Paris (i.e. French courtly circles) armorials (or better individual parts/segments) were produced in multiple copies, some of which were either recompiled (e.g. as TOISON D'OR clones) or rejoined as miscellanies (viz. *Heessel Compendium* and *Paix d'Arras*).¹⁴¹² Though one may argue that there are no more armorials than could have been absorbed by the ducal heralds, and that the *Compendium* just proves that heralds did exchange information, the involvement of professional artisans points to a different target group: courtiers.

The small size (A5) of the *Lyncenich* and *Bergshammar* taken together with the rough to fair tabular artwork reminds one of vademecum style books. On the other hand there is exquisite rendering of helmets, crests and eagle's heads in both, not to mention a few very professional miniatures in both. For the *Toison d'or-Paix d'Arras Compendium* subgroup the artistic level of both tables and miniatures almost excludes the segments as amateur paintings. The time required to make them implies a high cost not likely to have been dished out by the average herald.¹⁴¹³ The fact that three key armorials were used to make a fourth argues for conception and execution within a narrow circle.¹⁴¹⁴ One explanation may dissolve the contrary arguments. Collecting books and watching and performing in tournaments were fashionable at court; and

¹⁴¹¹ For heralds as principal compilers, see *Ch.17.3* below.

¹⁴¹² The principal copy of *Paix d'Arras* (APA/a) is strictly speaking only a fragment of some loose leaves, while the younger copy (APA/b) is part of a baroque (17C) copybook.

¹⁴¹³ For the *gages* at court see the publications of Werner Paravicini and his co-workers on the Burgundian court.

¹⁴¹⁴ See *Ch. 6.1.1*, ETO, LYN and GEL for BHM.

armorial overalls (jupons, tabards), shields and crested helmets may still have been used for jousting if not in battle. If so, people (mostly men!) may have invested in having their own reference book of arms. The *Tournament Book of René d'Anjou* is put forward as an additional argument. Participants are unlikely to be the primary customers. They would probably demand a more specific compilation – and may have gotten them as occasionals! The spectators (female as well as male) would be interested too, and for them looking at pictures would be convenient. Taking an awakening interest, the next step to explain lineages and relationships would not require much effort. Ordering and carrying a small book of arms could be a sustainable investment in incurring favours from courtiers and their ladies.

At least some of the heralds spent a lot of time at court and could have made a little money out of helping commissioners compile and design armorials – as well as getting their own vademecums. The Burgundian armorials are like visual aids, while the blazoned 'Parisians' are more like descriptive references. The difference may be more one of cost and tradition than of context. The formal cursive used for the latter, especially BnF, fr.5930 (NAV/c, variant C), suggests involvement of a professional scribe.

17.1.2 The Empire

It is nearly impossible to talk of development of armorials in the German-speaking territories in the same sense as for France and England. But development there was, though it almost exploded as late as c.1450 at the end of the high-classical period. Before c.1350 what armorials have survived are a handful of illustrative and occasional, and from mid-14th century there is the magnificent *Zürich* scroll, which is more a local armorial concerned with Germans than a universal one. Like most German armorials, it was painted in the Bodensee area, not in Switzerland. The tradition of making institutional armorials began in the 14th century and continued into early modern times – but these are obviously outside the scope of this study and any chance of grouping. The coarse and unfinished *Ersten* of 1380 should probably be regarded as pre-Burgundian rather than German, if the attribution as compiled by a herald in the service of the Bp.Liège is correct. The *Povey's German Roll* from 1400/75 has more Czechs than Germans, but has a similar basic structure to the Franco-Burgundian ones.¹⁴¹⁵ The core collation of Bohemians is probably c.1405, but the date and origin of the manuscript is disputed. It may be a copy made in the Bodensee area and influenced by this major group.

Practically all German medieval composite armorials have been assigned to one group on a single criterion: They all have imaginary arms that were first seen in the chronicles of the Council of Constance compiled by Ulrich Richental and executed by professional artisans. As such there are bound to be major differences between them, and some readers may decide that this criterion is too weak to warrant inclusion into one single group. However, it is the only global criterion that can be applied. There are a number of additional features which connect some of the members: presence of markers and reuse of

¹⁴¹⁵ London, CA, ms. B23, see Campbell CA 217-218 for the official description and Clemmensen OM for an alternative.

woodblocks for prestamping the outline of shields, helmets and mantling. Lining and/or pre-drawing is a general feature in all regions, but woodblocks are almost unique to Germany. Another common element is that the BODENSEE armorials were all made for commercial use.¹⁴¹⁶

One obvious way of sub-grouping would be to place all those that listed the lower nobility by their membership in tournament societies (TG's). At least seven do.¹⁴¹⁷ But they would not make a clean subgroup. *Ingeram* does have structural links to *St.Gallen-Haggenberg*, but it also has content links to *Uffenbach*, which does not have TG's at all, and is close to *Miltenberg*, another non-TG armorial. The herald Hans Ingeram, actually ranked only as a pursuivant, has his arms and a badge of a TG in the armorial named for him. The traditional view has been that it was his vademecum. That is hardly the case. Whether or not it is co-bound of two manuscripts or painted in different styles (more likely), it was probably made for a member of the Esel (donkey) TG – The society Ingeram is stated to have served. Three other heralds are noted as compilers of armorials: Jörg Rugen, Anton Tirol, and Hans Burggraff. Neither of these is known to have served a TG, but they did compile armorials. So did a multi-active professional painter, Vigil Raber. If these manuscripts were not intended for commercial use – for what else were they painted? Jörg Rugen certainly sold whatever he could! We know at least that the merchant Konrad Grünenberg commissioned an armorial from some of the best painters in Constance. Why should he be alone in it? The *Richental* must have sold reasonably well, and the *Grünenberg* was popular too, being copied several times.

The tradition of making painted armorials went on into early modern times, and it probably supplanted rather than melted into the antiquarian's way of propagating armorials such as it was done in France and England. It is outside the scope of this study to investigate the extent to which these late clones were made by professionals, but two elements are worth considering, though they point in different directions. Some of the late copies of *Grünenberg* have a lot of blank pages and odd comments and additions, indicating personal copying by amateurs. Several of the TG-containing armorials do have the same markers in TG-segments, but have different selections of arms and names. They may well have been executed by workshops according to membership lists provided by commissioners from templates of arms kept by or available to the workshop masters.

17.1.3 England

The English continued to be insular in their outlook as well as in the way armorials were compiled. The armorials here classified as 'composite' are more like 'general' or 'universal' with foreign kings, native titled nobility, peers, and gentry parcelled out into segments. Segments based on foreigners are extremely

¹⁴¹⁶ As specified in *Ch. 17.3.3* commercial use includes gifts and barter.

¹⁴¹⁷ GRU, ING, QDJ/392d are mentioned by Ranft and Kruse. DWF, FRA, SGH and SCH all have TG's named or inferred.

rare. On reflection this is surprising.¹⁴¹⁸ Throughout the ‘high-classic’ period there were close, if not always cordial, relations across the Channel. Most noble and gentry families must have had members serving in the wars, and many were involved in the trade with the Low Countries and the Hanse. Participation in the Baltic Crusades left no trace in English armorials, though Henry IV as a junior member of the royal family and several others are known to have campaigned in Prussia. Even the irritating Scots, who habitually raided the Northern Marches or provided the French enemy with mercenaries, hardly appear.

The English may have been insular, but a few were practical. Large collections of arms are unwieldy even when subdivided by territories. Nobles as well as gentry often held property in more than one province (or county if in England). That is one reason why people appear in different counties in financial records and in the *Parliamentary Roll*. Usefulness was improved when a selection of armorials was transformed into an ordinary, listing coats of arms according to the principal figure or certain combinations of figures and colours.¹⁴¹⁹ It did not matter much to the ‘transformers’ and their ‘continuator’ that the collection was out of date. In fact, this criticism applies mainly to the *Thomas Jenyns* (TJ) and later copyists, who appear to be more interested in having a register of families than of contemporaries. The *Cooke’s Ordinary* (CKO) and its main source the *Ashmolean* (AS) are close contemporaries. The secondary sources, which have been picked and mixed, are harder to pinpoint, but most of the items in CKO appear to be near contemporaries. The compiler of the *William Jenyns* (WJ) appears to have made his own collation for most of the entries. It took the French a couple of centuries to get the idea, and the Germans never got it.¹⁴²⁰

During the early part of the study period shortish general armorials replaced the occasionals which dominated the proto-classical period. The armorials contemporary with the Franco-Burgundians grew larger and like their continental sisters tended to be compiled from whatever sources were available. Unfortunately many of the more interesting of these late ‘generals’ are in private ownership and difficult, if not impossible, to access.

17.2 Modes of work

The survey of the overall development of armorials has revealed a tendency among compilers across Europe to know little about the families and their traditions of bearing the arms they extracted from whatever sources were available to them. This subchapter attempts to chart their approaches to compilation and to what extent they relied on out-dated information, i.e. the

¹⁴¹⁸ Communication of arms across the Channel could be very fast. The ‘report’ of the Compiègne tournament (TCO, 1280) was incorporated into an English armorial (HE/FW) within a year; *fig.7-ch.2.3n2*.

¹⁴¹⁹ The concept of ordinaries and the relation AS-CKO-CG-TJ are well-known and described in Wagner CEMRA, but the analysis and documentation in *Cb. 12.2.3* are novel contributions.

¹⁴²⁰ The large database made privately for the Herald Society in Berlin by D. von Recum appears to be first attempt ever for a German to make an ordinary. They are not even present in editions.

balance between observation and reuse. Similarly, the extent and ways of cooperation will be discussed, though most of the cooperation was involuntary as compilers extracted items from available collations as well as older compilations. It is not possible to reveal the cerebral processes behind the invention of the many imaginary arms that became common knowledge, but the summary will try to chart their descent. The use of miniatures and how and by whom they and the tables of arms were made will also be touched upon.

17.2.1 Observation

Copying and extraction have been the two buzzwords in the preceding chapters, but collation by observation did take place throughout the high-classical period. Most collations were probably done by ‘nationals’ (be they heralds or armorists), but foreigners staying at a place may also have done their own collations.¹⁴²¹ The compiler of the English in the TOISON D’OR group was proposed to be Burgundian, and probably a herald. If so, he exhibited a fair knowledge of the people whose arms he collated. He may have been both inquisitive and well-placed above average, if the hypothesis that he was resident with the king’s cousins, the Holland earls, holds. Exchanges must also have been common. The segments (actually physical fragments) of Austrians and Bohemians in the *Heessel Compendium* are not just a possible example of a transfer source, but of a transfer made into a fair copy and taken back home. If Hendrik Heessel collated them himself and in his capacity of either an imperial (in the service of Sigismund) or ducal (Habsburger D.Austria) herald, he would still be a foreigner noting the arms of not-so-foreign nobles. If not, he saved virtual capital to barter with. At least some of the segments (or parts thereof) in the composite armorials must be based on contemporary observation, e.g. the entourages of Philippe ‘le bon’ and of the embassies in the *Paix d’Arras*.

The Swedes and Mecklenburgers that were observed in Wismar during 1385-86 and came through the collator and/or BEL 09, GEL 20 to BHM 58 would be a typical example of both voluntary and involuntary cooperation. They are also examples of the importance of tournament reports for the make-up of both general and composite armorials during both the proto-classical and the high-classical periods. These occasional armorials should not be confused with the more or less spurious tournament records noted in the books by Georg Rixner/Rugen and Ludwig von Eyb.¹⁴²² Such reports must have circulated widely and often have been recopied – mostly in the Franco-Burgundian borderlands, but also in England.¹⁴²³ The many copies of the *Beijeren* collection (by the herald Claes Heinenzoon) of two old armorials (TCO, TMO) and two (probable) muster lists (KUF, SGN) is one example. Bruxelles, KBR, Ms. Goethals 100, of c.1580 with four report-armorials at least a century apart (TCO, TCA, OPL, EPI) is another. Some report-armorials circulated by themselves, but a few were incorporated *in toto* as segments in composite

¹⁴²¹ No drafts of collation have been identified. The closest is the *Kladboek* used by Gelre Herald in preparation of his chronicles and poetical works. Anrooij DG 251; The Hague, KB, ms. 71 H 39, fo.15v.

¹⁴²² Stamm TE.

¹⁴²³ Clemmensen NT and CEMRA for report-armorials in England.

armorials, e.g. St. Omer 1377 as URF 46, Arras 1430 as NLU46, and Utrecht 1441 as LYN 78.

Inclusion of a whole occasional/report can be easy to spot, if the physical make-up (numbering, pairing or layout) reveals it, or the modern editor-commentator has special knowledge of the tournament in question. Identifying and documenting a tournament-report or a muster-armorial as a source is nearly impossible. If lucky, one will note markers, e.g. two items from Bruxelles 1439 (TBX:194-195) were conflated into BHM:339. With a gross overlap of some 100 items, this tournament occasional is a good candidate as one of the sources for Brabant in *Bergshammar* and *Lyncenich* (among LYN:1122-1301). It could also provide items for other segments, such as the name-arms combination for Abele in TBX:54 / LYN:2750. The crux is that one can never be sure whether the item in question came from the TBX, from Utrecht 1441, from Bruxelles 1452 (TBC) or from an independent contemporary collation. The name-arms combination would be the same. Getting the whole set of sources for an ordinary presents identical problems. Identifying a source responsible for more than 50% may be relatively easy, but which of the other putative sources that provided the remaining bland items is really impossible to document.

17.2.2 Reuse

The physical evidence of reuse was discussed in *Chapter 4* as was the inference that keeping the woodblocks at hand for the making of five armorials over at least ten years must have involved a workshop.¹⁴²⁴ Its master may of course have limited his help to stamping paper sheets for five compiler-painters, but considering that each armorial has stampings from several blocks, it is more likely that the workshop did a substantial part of the execution.

Most artists prefer to use their own style(s), but that may not be the case for artisans and amateurs. The former may be limited in their choice by the commissioner or if a journeyman by the master. The latter may not have sufficient pluck or experience to draw or paint in his own style. The two styles used for the mannequins in the *Toison d'or* copies suggest that different artists worked on them, but they probably came from the same workshop. This is supported by the similar styles used for the tables of arms in ETO, CHE and APA. On the other hand, an amateur or an artisan may adopt the style used in his source. The varied lions and eagles in the *Berry* are suggestive of this as are the tables of ternionen and quaternionen in several of the BODENSEE armorials, which are in a style so different from the ones used for the real coats of arms that one may think that the manuscript must be of two co-bound fragments. One of the better arguments for 'imitation of style' is the display of England supported by Warenne and Mowbray, each painted on targes and capped with a feather. In each of the four armorials the legend on the Warenne

¹⁴²⁴ The armorials ING, WNW, SGH, STU and BLW have used the same set of woodblocks 1460-70; *fig. 5-ch.11.0n1, 6-ch.4.1n6, 8-ch.4.1n5*. If the dating of STU (1446) is correct, the span increases to more than two decades.

arms is “nottifelt erle”, a non-existing title totally without relevance.¹⁴²⁵ The commissioner Konrad Grünenberg and the heralds Hans Ingeram and Jörg Rugen drew on this same source half a century apart.

That several copies existed of several armorials at the same time is not a weighty argument against the hypothesis that heralds made their own copies. Some probably did, viz. the differences in style and artistic quality between contemporary group members. But if they did so, they must have cooperated by exchanging books, quires and/or notes – and have had sufficient trust in each other to lend key possessions to colleagues. If copies were made by commissioner-workshop pairs, either party must have been able to borrow or buy the templates. The situation with armorials is very much like the other products of the book business. Multiple copies or just the probability that a text (verbal or not) could have existed in more than one unique manuscript suggest that the truly commercial side was involved – and that there were customers willing to pay.¹⁴²⁶ As has been noted in *Chapters 7-12* multiple contemporary copies must have existed for key manuscripts in all groups except BEL-GEL, and for those two, both compilers did use some of the same sources. Claes Heinenzoon certainly had customers.¹⁴²⁷ Why else write more than one copy of a chronicle? He had to earn his money and could hardly afford to show off with another variant just for the fun of it. Variations in content, e.g. as in the *Richental* series, or dedication (as in *Berry*) also indicate a commercial aspect, albeit of a different form.

No particular knowledge of families' use of arms is required for copying, merely that the templates (words or images) are legible (which they were not always!). For collating arms and ordering them as one wishes requires only crude knowledge of the technical lingo (i.e. of terms used for blazoning) and/or an ability to make half-decent sketches. Many people would have such knowledge. Only consider the Scrope-Grosvenor case or take a look at the illustrations in contemporary chronicles for substantiation. For further evidence, remember that Ulrich Richental thanked heralds for helping him with the arms of the visitors to Constance. He would not need help, if he did not take down their arms himself, and would not have been able to do it, if did not know at least the rudiments of the lingo. Transforming blazoned notes into images must have been trivial for many of the painters and probably also for illustrators, who on occasion painted shields and banners.¹⁴²⁸

¹⁴²⁵ The Warenne items are ING:231, BLW:106, GRU:1218, and RUG:3056, painted from c.1460 to c.1505. Targe-formed shields are very rare in late medieval armorials.

¹⁴²⁶ 'Truly' commercial as opposed to gifts and barter, e.g. if Hendrik Heessel did pay an artisan for his copies of Austrians and Bohemians as opposed to a colleague presenting him with the results of three or four weeks' labouring with brush and colour.

¹⁴²⁷ The degree to which heralds and artisans were involved will be returned to in *Cb.* 17.3.2.

¹⁴²⁸ The illustrator who painted the 21 arms of Philippe 'le bon', the book's donor and six courtiers in the *Remissorium Philippi* must have had templates or notes to work from - not just his memory. The Hague, National Archives, reproduced in *Heraldisk Tidsskrift*, 1990, 62:64.

As regards contents there can be few doubts that practically all the period compilers of composite armorials used material that was not only collated, but also compiled generations before their own time. The most extreme example is the Normandy segment, which went from 1284/88 in *Wijnberghen* to the TOISON D'OR group c.1435. The Burgundians (be they heralds, nobles or artisans) may have recognized some of the arms and family names, but they would not have known the men or their brisures, which were entered into the new manuscripts. The imaginary arms in the BODENSEE group will be discussed below, but there are enough markers (mistakes are better than unique arms) to verify that persons who were dead for generations, and minor families who were similarly extinct, were included in the later members. The transformation of the Franconian Otto Marschalk genannt Greiff (fl.1444), hereditary marshal of the C.Henneberg into the Bavarian family Otmarschalk recorded by Rietstap in 1884/87 is just an example.¹⁴²⁹ He was probably known to Hans Ingeram, who worked for a tournament society in the province, and possibly to the Berliner compiler, but hardly to Haggenberg c.1490. Jörg Rugen could well have known the family and changed the legend accordingly or added the arms from another source.

The compilers varied the way they reused their sources. We cannot know their reasons for doing so, but a hypothesis is that it may have depended on how important they thought the selection/segment would be to the customers (or alternatively: how useful for themselves in their work as heralds). It may also have been dependent on whether they had or wanted to include contemporary arms and/or names. The most used method was the simple copying, possibly varied from the normal page-by-page to long lines, if the contents got a better presentation in this way. Like the Bergshammars compiler, some blended extracts from several sources into their own selection and may even have restructured the resulting segment and updated key person-arms combinations. Pick-and-mix from sources and notes must also have been common. Compilers may also have included single, but ancient and unrelated, items into a copied segment, perhaps because they heard a story that gave the armiger an elevated place, e.g. the Swedish marshal Tyrgils Knutsson. They may also have wanted to fill a place in a list, e.g. wanted to have Perche (on the Normandy frontier) in a list of counts.¹⁴³⁰

17.2.3 Invention

Apart from a wider view of the world, a sharper disposition of the content and the introduction of the ordinary in England as discussed above, the principal novelties introduced in the high-classical period are pedigree presentations and an expanded focus on creating arms for literary and moral figures.¹⁴³¹

¹⁴²⁹ Sieb 22/6.1.2:131, t82 (Otto, fl.1444, seal); ING:480, BLW:705, SGH:1227 "ott marschalck"; Rietstap / Rolland 4:325; RUG:2558 "marschalck zo stoüffe".

¹⁴³⁰ GEL:725 - BHM:3346 Tyrgils Knutsson (executed 1306); BIG:272 - BER:639 C.Perche.

¹⁴³¹ Apart from the composite armorials, various forms of institutional armorials came into use, and armorials were wholly or almost so dedicated to imaginary arms, e.g. the Knight of the Round Table (reviewed in Pastoureau TR) and the *Kings of Britain* (KB; London, CA, Vincent 170:29r-57v) with worthies, magi and realms introducing 145 native kings.

Genealogy and pedigrees have their own place in both factual and fictional literature, usually as independent publications or as part of chronicles. When they surface in armorials, it is either as four-ancestor displays of a prince and introducing a segment of nobles in members of the TOISON D'OR group (*Bergshammar*, *Lyncenich*), to enhance certain persons (benefactors?), to glorify the family of the commissioner, or as more or less fanciful genealogies (*Rugen*, *Berry*).¹⁴³² In parallel with the pedigrees, one will note that rulers outside the uniform realms of France, England and Scotland have their arms surrounded by those of their possessions and/or major vassals.¹⁴³³ Lists of rulers, e.g. grand masters of the Teutonic Order or counts of Hainaut-Holland were also introduced.¹⁴³⁴

The most interesting innovation is the surge in imaginary arms and the use they are put to. Many compilers continued to omit imaginary arms, but when included they numbered 5-20 in most proto-classical armorials.¹⁴³⁵ That remained practically unchanged in England, while the tails later appended to *Urfe* and *Vermandois* increased the number to c. 45 and the much later copy *Charolais* has more than 100.¹⁴³⁶ The latter is probably atypical and influenced by the German armorials, which could contain more than 200 imaginary arms. While the French were mostly interested in the literary figures and happily added a few realms from fantasy, the Germans developed the unique quaternionen and expanded the ternionen from the more general worthies to a palette of moral examples.¹⁴³⁷ They took an interest in literature and continued figures mentioned in early German poetry, but the great expansion was to move from a few allegories in romances and travel novels to creating a virtual world map of realms noted by their coats of arms.

While the choice of named figures was constant and in many cases must have gone back to before 1350, there came a large variation in the artist's choice of images. Among the worthies, which can be found in armorials from all three regions, there are six to fifteen different images per name. They may to some extent be grouped in traditions, but when one tries to put an armorial into a

¹⁴³² The 'benefactor' hypothesis is likely for the displays in *Rugen*, and could include Marie de Bourgogne - Adolph von Kleve in GEL 51, apparently a slightly later addition by the compiler. The Valois-Burgundy, Habsburg, Luxembourg and Cilly displays are more likely to highlight rulers. The displays in the RINECK group are mostly family-related.

¹⁴³³ See *Grünenberg* and *Rugen* for single page displays, and the TOISON D'OR group for tailing lists, e.g. the Habsburger Erbländer.

¹⁴³⁴ HM/OT in *St.Gallen*, *Berliner*, and *Rugen*. Counts in *Heessel Compendium*. LYN 44 Rhenish marriages.

¹⁴³⁵ England and France, there are practically no German proto-classical armorials of the universal type. The *Wijnbergben* is unique in having 36 imaginary arms in appended but contemporary tail WIN 16 on fo.35r-36r. Imaginary arms in England in the high-classical have never been studied. See the survey in *fig. 5-ch.13.2n1*.

¹⁴³⁶ *Faucket's Book* (FCB:45r-52v, c.1500) by a Burgundian herald merges the URF-VER tail with German-type imaginary arms.

¹⁴³⁷ The French armorial-literary subgroups are mainly: Arthurian, Romano-Homeric and the Carolingian, which expands into crusade-related lists of Saracens and other pagans.

tradition, one of the worthies pops up with arms from another tradition.¹⁴³⁸ Overlap between members of a set (e.g. Magi, best Christians etc.) could well be caused by misreading or having the individuals in the source unnamed. The other ternionen are present in fewer armorials, nearly all German, so there are usually only two or three different images for them. For the quaternionen compilers made a choice of selecting four from up to seven different names, but when the name was selected for a quaternion there was only one image – the arms of the real family or town selected.¹⁴³⁹

Konrad Grünenberg and/or his team were unique in taking artwork as inspiration for arms attributed to literary figures. Among the French there was one dominant tradition for literary arms followed in both the URFÉ and the RINECK groups, and only one for the armorials dedicated to the Knights of the Round Table.¹⁴⁴⁰ For unknown reasons, Jörg Rugen played with inventing a couple of hundred ‘Greek’ arms without any established link to literature.

A number of fictitious realms were chosen to supplement the lists of Christian realms already during the proto-classical phase, and those realms continued more or less into the next phase. The images varied as must be expected from independent compilers.¹⁴⁴¹ For the fictitious realms dominating the BODENSEE armorials, it is almost certain that this tradition goes back to the wish of Ulrich Richental to ‘document’ that the whole world came to Constance; and that the core of the images must have been developed by him or his team of artists and artisans from an existing tradition.¹⁴⁴² Later commissioners and compilers, e.g. Konrad Grünenberg and Jörg Rugen, reorganized and expanded the list of mostly pagan realms. For Grünenberg they became ordered as a journey through the world.

17.2.4 Illustration

For armorials the term illustration has two meanings. The more trivial is drawing and painting the tables of arms. Most of the armorials discussed in this study are figurative, painted in such a variable quality that depending on the armorial inspected both professional artists and persons with mediocre skills could have made them. The exceptions are the (Parisian) French armorials. They are mostly in blazon only (*Vermandois*, *Urfé*, *Navarre* and many others). The *Berry* (mediocre quality) and *LeBreton* (mixed origin and quality) are

¹⁴³⁸ See Clemmensen NW for details. Some armorials have more than one variant for a ternion. French authors and compilers added Bertrand de Guesclin and Jeanne d’Arc for their contributions in the wars against the English.

¹⁴³⁹ Both compilers of armorials, literary authors, sculptors and painters used ternionen and quaternionen for their work; see Clemmensen Q for a survey of their choices of names.

¹⁴⁴⁰ The high number of imaginary arms in the *Charolais* (from 1658) is due to it having several variants for the same attribution. Aumale-Haucourt has clearly combined extracts from several sources, incl. those influenced by the German traditions.

¹⁴⁴¹ Attribution of a legend-arms combination to a fictitious realm is sometimes tentative, as spelling may indicate different options or (not only for anonymous arms) similarity to imagery already attributed makes it ‘natural’ to choose that option.

¹⁴⁴² The beaked people (*Kranichmenschen*) are known from older literature.

exceptions.¹⁴⁴³ Blazoned armorials went out of fashion in England by mid 14th century, though the occasional mistakes in numbers of figures on a coat of arms suggests that blazoned intermediates were used in the compilation process. As noted before, some workshops turned out multiple copies.

The second meaning refers to the 25-odd armorials having some kind of illustrative miniatures. That is 5% of the surviving originals, but probably 9% of those preserved from the late Middle Ages.¹⁴⁴⁴ The type of miniatures and their quality varies through the groups selected for this study. There are none in the ASHMOLE group, which comes as no surprise considering the functionality. The ones known from England are in essence illustrative, except for the mounted figures in the *Military Roll*, which has been compared to those in the *Toison d'or*.¹⁴⁴⁵ There is a marked difference in quality between the miniatures in *Berry* and in the *Toison d'or*, but the functionality of the princes depicted in both is the same. The miniatures in the *Lyncewich* are also used as 'headers', but their number is smaller. There is a variation in the amount of effort used for the four best miniatures, which are very similar in concept and quality to the *Cour Amoureuse*, and another three that could have been made by the same studio. The remaining three are merely sketches.¹⁴⁴⁶

Though German armorials occasionally have miniatures showing the emperor on his throne surrounded by the arms of his possessions, and in selected cases may have arms placed on belts or garters like pseudo-miniatures, the most impressive use of illustrations are those used in the *Richental* and *Grünenberg* series. The former is a chronicle with an appended armorial where the miniatures are used as illustration in the same way as for other chronicles. In the judgement of purists there would not be any miniatures in the *Richental Wappenbuch*, but only in the *Richental Chronik*. Pure or not, it must have been the *Richental* that inspired Konrad Grünenberg to spend money on miniatures by first class artists in his compilation. Two of the artists who worked on the Berlin or paper version have been identified. Their workmanship has been noted for both the miniature vignettes of exotic people and rulers and some single page achievements, and they or their assistants probably painted the tables of arms as well – the standard of drawing is above average.

The images in *Bellenville* and *Gelre* are enigmatic. Three single figures depict heralds, but no one has really been able to interpret their meaning or function. The exquisite washed drawing which heads the tables of arms in the *Gelre* has here been proposed as determining the commencement of this armorial. Again, as a purist, the manuscript should be seen as a miscellany co-bound with an

¹⁴⁴³ The fine quality *Cour Amoureuse* (CAM/a, AOTdO ms.51) was probably painted in the Low Countries, possibly by the workshop that did the ETO and LYN miniatures.

¹⁴⁴⁴ There are examples from all regions: England (*Bruges Garter Book*, *Military Roll*, *Rous-Warwick Roll*), France (*Toison d'or*, *Berry*, *Revel*), Germany (*Manesse*, *Richental*, *Grünenberg*), and Spain (*Conoscimiento*, *Armeiro-Mor*).

¹⁴⁴⁵ The *Rebecque* (ERQ) is practically unknown to today's armorists, and it has not been compared with the 'knight'-type armorials. In composition the paired jousting are basically similar to the *Military Roll* and to the CTdO part of *Toison d'or*.

¹⁴⁴⁶ LYN:18v, 43v, 69v and 109v/BHM:47v all have a garden-like foundation as found in CAM.

armorial. Whatever the interpretation and whether it was drawn by Herman Maelwael or not this drawing is the product of a first class artist.

17.3 Practitioners and audience

The medieval manuscripts and the later copies are almost the only material evidence there is on how, where and why armorials were compiled and executed. In plain words they do not tell much on the societal ways and values to which they made their small contribution. The role they played and the influences that formed them can only be inferred from more general studies of medieval mentality, culture and the material society combined with interpretations of their content and of the people involved. The following can only be a tentative sketch of the societal influences on the practitioners and their audience.

17.3.1 Class, visuality and consciousness

Medieval society was undoubtedly a visual one in many ways. Two of the more impressive were the many biblical figures and their attributes on and in churches and the hangings and paintings in the homes of the more well-to-do. Arms had their place among such visual reminders too. A few examples must suffice here. Arms of benefactors adorned many churches, in some places as friezes of members of tournament societies.¹⁴⁴⁷ Vivacious sceneries decorated the walls of houses and castles high and low. Armigerous Worthies decorate the hall of Castello di Manta inspired of the owner's novel the *Chevalier Errant*, as do arms of courtiers or members of the entourage of King Eric VII of Denmark in his house in Copenhagen, and there are many examples of painted roof beams.¹⁴⁴⁸ The merchant brothers Vintler acquired Burg Runkelstein in Tyrol in 1388 and immediately had the walls decorated with scenes showing them jousting on the side of their overlord, the Habsburgian duke. They also had arms of the Worthies and of realms and nobles painted.¹⁴⁴⁹ Treatises and chronicles supply us with images of shields hanging outside inns and private houses to signify that armigerous travellers rested here while partaking in councils or jousts. Notes of arms would be needed for the decorators to finish such work.

Books became prestigious as well as practical purchases. The fashion may have been introduced by royal bibliophiles like the Valois kings and dukes, but the *Richental* experience tells us that both burghers and nobles lay and spiritual were also potential customers to books with arms. Ownership has not been documented, except for a cleric and two English royals. The abbot of St. Gallen and Queen Margaret (daughter of René d'Anjou) put their exlibris on armorials.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Hatchments (Totenschilde) of TG Obere Esel in the society chapel; W. Paravicini: 'Gruppe und Person', in Oexle RG 327-389, here p.336, additional examples of arms in lay and spiritual buildings compared with armorials. See also Arye van Steensel: 'Noble Identity and Culture. Recent Historiography on the Nobility in the Medieval Low Countries III'. *History Compass*, 2014, 12/3:287-299 [Steensel NI] for further discussion and references.

¹⁴⁴⁸ S.T. Achen, *Heraldisk Tidsskrift*, 1966, 14:191-200; Haus zum Loch in Merz ZUR and Clemmensen ZUR.

¹⁴⁴⁹ F.H. Hye, *Heraldisk Tidsskrift*, 2004, 89:386; *Karjunker 1x1 Der Burgenkunde*, 2014 p.64. The Vintlers were enobled in 1393.

Richard III was just a high functionary with a duty to supervise the use of arms (as Lord High Constable) when his name as owner was entered into one. Many people had substantial knowledge of arms and were able to share it. The evidence in the Scrope-Grosvenor case is the standard reference, but one may note that Jörg Rugen thanked two nobles for their help in his introduction.

At least some people were very conscious of their use of arms and what it might imply. Cases on the right to bear certain arms are known from all three regions. René Pot (d.1432), a highly placed courtier and knight of the Golden Fleece, quartered his family arms with those of an Arthurian knight on his tomb and on his seal.¹⁴⁵⁰ Others used arms and reference to mythical persons to enhance their pedigree – also visually.¹⁴⁵¹ Jörg Rugen was not the only one to take a lineage back to amazons and Trojan heroes using visual aids.

17.3.2 Heralds, artisans and armorists

It has been very popular to ascribe armorials to named heralds, usually without much argument – as noted several times by Torsten Hiltmann. These modern editors or commentators have rarely considered other professionals or even amateurs as possible compilers, though a few like Noël Denholm-Young propose that some armorials may have been executed for noblemen. Some of the unvoiced arguments have very recently been stated by Paul Fox, e.g. that “a simple list of blazons is unlikely to have been of very much interest to anyone apart from a professional herald, who having made the list could then go away and memorize it at leisure”.¹⁴⁵² A first counter-argument would point to Simon Morhier as commissioner of a copy of the blazoned *Urfz*. A second would plead that any person (read: armorist) may have memorized the objects of his interests. The elderly father of Robert Laton certainly did so until he felt the need for having an armorial! Christiane van den Bergen-Pantens has argued that the *Gorrevod*, which has several traits in common with the *Heessel Compendium*, was collected rather than compiled by a person who was both an accomplished artist and a competent armorist with good knowledge of his contemporaries. Her choice of words: “travail de professionnel” in the ducal or urban administrative service in Bruxelles leaves his actual training open, but she appears sceptical of him being a herald.¹⁴⁵³ Paul Fox suggested that a non-

¹⁴⁵⁰ The tomb with its mourning pall bearers are now on display in the Louvre. J-B Vaivre: Les armoires de Regnier Pot et de Palamede, *Cab.Her.* 2:179-212, 1975; seals of 1410, 1411, 1429.

¹⁴⁵¹ Saint Pol Herald wrote a genealogy on the Baux family c.1434 relating them to the Magi; Germain Butaud: ‘Genealogie et histoire des rois mages. Les origines legendaires des Baux’. *Cahiers Fanjeaux*, 2008, 43:107-154. The *Gorrevod* included Trojan heroes in the pedigree of the dukes of Brabant; Bergen-Pantens GD 815.

¹⁴⁵² Paul A. Fox: ‘Rolls of arms’, p.2 of a chapter of a book edited by Nigel Ramsay, going into press at the time of writing [Fox RA]. He also suggests that armorials with many mistakes may have been compiled and executed for (local) barons by artists without much knowledge of armory - a variant of arguments put forward in the present study.

¹⁴⁵³ The *Gorrevod*, KBR. Ms. II-6563, is a composite manuscript including a chronicle, treatise, pedigrees and 1500 arms in segments of varied structure, some are clones of older compilations, some contemporary collations. Its general structure is published in Bergen-Pantens GD, but the only available transcription (via de Boos in Clemmensen

herald, John Trevor Bp.St.Asaph, as an armorist “interested in the antiquities of heraldry” was involved in the making of *Thomas Jenyns*.¹⁴⁵⁴

The actual writing or painting armorials have with variations been proposed to have been executed over decades by the heralds themselves as they travelled throughout Europe, met people and exchanged lists of arms.¹⁴⁵⁵ Not stated as such, but according to this hypothesis, the tables of arms were likely painted whenever they had time to sit down at a table. There are three arguments against this, all debatable. Firstly for *Gelre*, the drawing on fo.26r suggests commencement after 1400, which infers that the content was up to a generation old at the time.¹⁴⁵⁶ Secondly, that the compiler appears to have been happy to modify older material, viz. the textual segments, and use the same sources as the Bellenville-compiler. Thirdly, three segments appear to involve more than one quire or span insert, which they would hardly do if painted on the move. The evaluation must be subjective, but is it really likely that a herald would travel for 30 years with up to 28 quires, many with loose halvesheets? Of course, he may have left them back home, but for a fourth argument, the uniformity counts against the multi-decade execution.

The selected opinions referred to above suggest both dissolution of the traditional do-it-yourself-herald explanation and a rear-guard action to defend its key elements. Though the present study acknowledges that heralds did compile and execute armorials, its findings indicate that they rarely did it for their own use. Instead, the main conclusion is that three types of actors (armorists, artisans and heralds) were involved in a number of activities that would eventually lead to the production of both large composite armorials and smaller more specific ones – nearly always with a commercial intent.¹⁴⁵⁷ The armorists played the central role, whether they were interested amateurs, officers of arms, or other professionals interested in the profits from making armorials. The parts played and the interactions are briefly recounted below.

For heralds, or rather the relatively few of them taking an active interest in armory, there appear to be three main forms of endeavour besides the occasional, but demanding one of painting. The first is collating arms by their own observation. Many heralds would have ample opportunity both at gatherings at court, tournaments and travel. They would also be better positioned to exchange the findings than amateurs. Amateurs may have been as keen as heralds in collating arms, but there was hardly a milieu for sharing such

OM) is incomplete. Any relations to the BEL-GEL group ought to be investigated, and we must hope that this very ambitious edition will reach publication.

¹⁴⁵⁴ Fox WJ 64.

¹⁴⁵⁵ The BEL-GEL explanation put forward by Léon Jéquier and imitated by several modern editors. Others, e.g. Pastoureau & Popoff and in earlier publications the present author, have amended this to a senior herald directing (mostly from other heralds) the compiling and blending of sources old and contemporary.

¹⁴⁵⁶ Wim van Anrooij prefers 1395-1400, which does change the argument.

¹⁴⁵⁷ The present study focuses on six groups of composite armorials, but have found that topical collations, e.g. of tournaments, were both made as such and utilized by compilers. The making of illustrated chronicles and institutional armorials is well-documented.

a hobby during the Middle Ages! The second is related to the first, preservation of knowledge. Amateur collectors generally value their acquisitions and attempt to increase their number. They may have exchanged manuscripts, as medieval bibliophiles did. But is it likely, that armoriophiles (!) would collect and pass on armorials and fragments according to the pattern indicated by e.g. the *Wijnberghe – Gelre – Toison d’or – Lutzelbourg*, not to mention the sources used for the BEL-GEL and in the *Vermandois, Urfé* and *Navarre-Berry* combination? Some heralds probably collected armorial manuscripts and passed them on. It was hardly a behaviour invented by Tudor heralds. If workshop masters sensed an opportunity, they would have collected and preserved some records themselves and/or kept good relations to customers who were able to re-lend books. The third form would be to edit armorials from existing sources according to the wishes or tastes of customers or at least helping in the process.¹⁴⁵⁸ Making a presentation version for own use as suggested for the *Bergshammar* is a variant of this theme. Herald's can be expected to have a good knowledge of the arms of contemporaries living, working or visiting the domains of their masters, but not necessarily of arms in ancient documents from unfamiliar territories. They, amateurs and artisans would have similar problems in deciphering hardly legible names.

Some heralds probably owned armorials like Hans Jylland did. The *Gelre* is evidence of this, even though it is likely that both the present volume and the *Heessel Compendium* are co-bound bequests. The status of *Faucket’s Commonplace Book* from c.1500 is uncertain. It has fair artwork and includes treatises like the *Heessel*, segments of arms derived from *Urfé*, *Richental*, and the 13th century *Chiflet-Prinet* (CPF), and has an Austrian ex-libris of c.1600. Arguably it was prepared by a herald for a man high in the Habsburg administration of the Low Countries. *Ingeram*, *Rugen*, *Thomas Jenyns*, *Cooke*, *Berry* and *Toison d’or* are proposed as having similar origins. Like the compendia analyzed by Torsten Hiltmann, armorials were in general not intended for a herald’s own use, but to be savoured or even used for education by non-professionals be they noble or commoners. While most of the compendia were probably written by non-heralds, officers of arms were probably responsible for most of the collating and preservation of coats of arms.

For the *Urfé*, *Vermandois* and *Navarre* copies postulated to be in circulation, it is difficult to decide whether it is more probable that heralds kept a side-business in selling them or whether one or more workshops did. Probably the former, but for *Richental*, *Grünenberg*, and the armorials by Vigil Raber, professional artisans did the work as requested by commissioners. It has not been possible to determine the extent to which the commissioners directed the work. Ulrich Richental may have done most of the compiling himself, while Konrad Grünenberg probably left more to his artists, who after all had a *Richental* clone or copy as template. Judging from the way it is composed, the *Raber Neustifter* could be the artisan’s own compilation.

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

¹⁴⁵⁸ Edit in the sense of selecting segments rather than compiling arms into segments.

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.

17.3.3 Criteria – if any

The present study has two major aims: (a) to chart the composition of a number of groups of armorials; and (b) to establish whether or to what extent heralds or a combination of commissioners and artisans made and used armorials during the late Middle Ages. The reader will have noticed that ‘likely’, ‘relatively’ and ‘probable’ are words recurring all too frequently for comfort. They reflect the inherent difficulty in determining causes and relations from what are in essence dumb sequences of images. In these last paragraphs, I will try to clarify the criteria, which may be used to answer the questions behind the two aims.

Setting criteria for including a candidate manuscript into a group is the easy part. One just has to determine whether the candidate corresponds wholly or in part to the group template. This requires splitting the candidate into component parts, determine if and to what extent there are common marker items and similar sequences, and explore possible relations for any non-conforming parts. Aligning the two sets is the first step. To do it in detail and with overlays is not always required. For close copies or clones, intuition may suffice.

Determining use and maker is more difficult, and the criteria overlap. As noted several times *commercial* is a keyword. The concept used here is the extended interpretation used legally. It is not narrowly defined as selling an object or a service for a profit of money, but includes performing a service or presenting an object, whether for profit of promotion or continuation in service, as an item for bartering or even as a gift of gratitude. Size, quality and textual evidence are obvious candidate criteria for *commerciality* versus *vademecum* (or personal use by its maker). 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. These can also fuse together like the author of a text who, after composing it, has a professional scribe writing a single fair copy for private pleasure only. Bartering may be considered a natural part of keeping a vademecum usable, unless there are indications of the item being expressly made for bartering.¹⁴⁵⁹

Textual evidence is of importance. One would hardly add a dedication (text or image), if not for commercial use, though dedication could be in part fashion, not evidence that the receiver mentioned (usually a prince) really did get or was

¹⁴⁵⁹ The *Toison d'or* type arms in *Heessel* are candidates.

the intended customer for that particular manuscript.¹⁴⁶⁰ *Small size* has been advanced as an argument against commercial use. An A5 size pocket book would intuitively not do for coffee-table impression, but it could be effective for a person circulating at court to be able to supplement answers with images. *Mediocre artwork* argues for private use, but may have been acceptable for the perambulation just mentioned. High quality painting and writing would be expected for commercial use, but heralds may be expected to write in decent quality almost as a professional scribe who also used the common bastarda. Amateurs can be gifted in drawing and painting, though this was hardly a common requirement for heralds. Miniatures would indicate commercial intentions, but a single one as found in *Bergshammar* or in *Gelre* fo.26r could be an occasional gift placed where it could be enjoyed.

Uniformity in execution, especially having only one person involved, does not decide anything, but suggests that the period of manufacture was short. A master could do the writing and/or painting himself or parcel it out. At the other end, a herald may have included fragments bartered or have asked associates to identify or add arms he did not know. *Composition* could be used as a criterion. Mixing segments of arms with treatises and chronicles may indicate requests from commissioners or if made by different hands simple co-binding – unless one finds evidence that the set is indeed a self-made compendium by a herald or similar professional (jurist or administrator). A non-professional owner would have bought it commercially from the compiler-artisan (or herald). Obtaining the use of several woodblocks is easier for a workshop than for a single individual, and the cost may seem unnecessary for private use. On the other hand, 17th century German copyists used prestamped paper for their work. Most of these were probably amateurs and from the results of their efforts not antiquarians.

For armorials, 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.

* * *

¹⁴⁶⁰ There are examples of books (Froissart, *Grandes Croniques de France*) with dedication about which it is known that this receiver never had it. Godfried Croenen, pers.com. 2016.

Editing armorials - corrections

Volume 1

- p.22 note 21: for 'Clemmensen A' read 'Clemmensen AG'.
- p.51 note 114: for '..500-1,500 .. above 1,500' read '..500-1,000 .. above 1,000'.
- p.53 note 119: for '*fig.7-ch.5.3n3*' read '*fig.7-ch.5.2n5*'.
- p.55 note 128: for '*fig.7-ch.10.2n4*' read '*fig.7-ch.10.2n3*'.
- p.57 note 135: for '*fig.7-ch.5.3n1*' read '*fig.7-ch.5.2n3*'.
- p.59 note 143, 147: for '*fig.7-ch.5.3n3 / ch.6.4n1-3*' read '*fig.7-ch.5.2n5 / ch.6.2n1-3*'.
- p.60 note 148: for '*fig.7-ch.5.3n2*' read '*fig.7-ch.5.2n4*'.
- p.64 note 156: read '.. Both examples with varying tinctures.'.
- p.78 note 203: for '*fig.8-..*' read '*fig.7-..*'.
- p.100 note 280: for 'ms.Add.41133' read 'ms. Add.45133';
- p.101 line 11: for '4x4 tables' read '4x5 tables'.
- p.166 note 545: add 'Paravicini BE (2005)'.
- p.179 note 609: for 'nos.21-21' read 'nos.21-23'.
- p.194 note 683: for 'taken from' read 'present in'.
- p.209 not 757: read 'Popoff NP 53 note 6a .. *fig.7-ch.10.2n3* ..'.
- p.233 note 839: for 'Ch.3' read 'Ch.13, p.302-306'.
- p.249 note 915: for 'aurora' read 'aurea'.
- p.260 note 964: read 'See *Ch. 4.1.4* prestamping; *fig.8-ch.4.1n5*; *fig.6-ch.4.1n6*'.
- p.297 par. 3 end: for '*Chapter 3.1*' read '*Chapter 13.1*, p.291'.
- p.312 par. 3 line 12: for '*Lord Mayor's Roll*' read '*Lord Marshall's Roll*'. p.313 par. 2: idem.
- p.326, Ch.15.2.1 par.1 line 10 & note 1245: for '"reformed 1408, 1417 and 1435"' read 'reformed 1408 and 1435';
- pp.341-343: for '15.3.1-3' read '15.4.1-3';
- p.377 note 1456: read '".. does not change the argument.".

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