

Heraldic Studies

Edited by Torsten Hiltmann and Laurent Hablot

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Elmar Hofman

Armorial in medieval manuscripts

Collections of coats of arms as means of
communication and historical sources in France and
the Holy Roman Empire (13th – early 16th centuries)



THORBECKE

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	7
Abbreviations.....	9
Note on transcriptions.....	10
1. Introduction.....	11
1.1. State of research.....	13
1.2. Research goals and methods.....	24
2. A new perspective on armorials in medieval manuscripts.....	33
2.1. Function.....	34
2.2. Form.....	40
2.3. Medium.....	45
2.4. Coherency.....	50
2.5. Conclusion to Chapter 2.....	63
2.6. Excursus. Consequences of the new perspective: the spectrum of armorials in medieval manuscripts.....	64
3. Privileging the manuscript.....	83
3.1. Armorials as unities of content and material.....	84
3.2. Codicological analysis for historical research questions.....	90
3.3. Conclusion to Chapter 3.....	103
4. Content.....	105
4.1. An overview of textual indicators.....	107
4.2. A political entity.....	110
4.3. A rank.....	113
4.4. A march of arms.....	120
4.5. A nation.....	127
4.6. Personal titles.....	129
4.7. An event.....	131
4.8. Numeral representations of political or cultural themes.....	134
4.9. Ancestors or other family relationships.....	141
4.10. Members of an institution.....	155
4.11. Collectivities.....	156
4.12. Rulers and leaders.....	157
4.13. An occupation.....	158
4.14. Fellowships.....	159

4.15. A letter of the alphabet	160
4.16. Heraldic education.....	161
4.17. Conclusion to Chapter 4	161
5. Social context.....	167
5.1. Merchants and civic officials.....	172
5.2. Herald's	179
5.3. High nobles	189
5.4. Clergymen and other people at religious institutions	194
5.5. Court officials	196
5.6. Envoys	197
5.7. Artists	198
5.8. Conclusion to Chapter 5.....	201
6. Visual presentation	203
6.1. Analyzing the visual presentations of armorials.....	204
6.2. Visual communication in armorials	211
6.3. Conclusion to Chapter 6.....	238
7. Purpose	241
7.1. Storage and transfer of knowledge	242
7.2. Commemoration	250
7.3. Expression of identities	258
7.4. Support of a claim.....	264
7.5. Conclusion to Chapter 7.....	275
8. Conclusion	277
8.1. Reassessments, new approaches and views	277
8.2. Understanding armorials as a heterogeneous, multivalent, socially broad, and versatile phenomenon	281
8.3. Opening up armorials as historical sources.....	289
8.4. Future research	291
Appendix.....	293
A note on dating armorials in medieval manuscripts.....	293
Source base.....	298
List of cited literature	345

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Abbreviations

AN	Archives Nationales
BL	British Library
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
KB	Koninklijke Bibliotheek
KBR	Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België / Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique
HAB	Herzog August Bibliothek
HCHL	Hendrik Conscience Heritage Library
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
SLUB	Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek
UB	Universitätsbibliothek

Note on transcriptions

The Middle French texts are transcribed according to the »Conseils pour l'édition des textes médiévaux« by the École nationale des chartes¹. For the Early New High German texts, the »Grundsätze für die Textbearbeitung im Fachbereich Historische Hilfswissenschaften« by the Archivschule Marburg have been used as a guideline². The Middle Dutch texts are transcribed in concordance with the *Gemengde methode* of the »Richtlijnen voor het uitgeven van historische bescheiden«³. For the quotations of transcriptions, the decisions and style of the scholar in question have been respected, unless stated otherwise.

1 École nationale des chartes, *Conseils pour l'édition des textes médiévaux*, vol. 1, Paris 2001.

2 The document containing the »Grundsätze für die Textbearbeitung im Fachbereich Historische Hilfswissenschaften« is accessible online: <https://www.archivschule.de/DE/ausbildung/transkriptionsrichtlinie/>, 26/04/2009, accessed 12/09/2019.

3 NEDERLANDS HISTORISCH GENOOTSCHAP and RIJKSCOMMISSIE VOOR VADERLANDSE GESCHIEDENIS, *Richtlijnen voor het uitgeven van historische bescheiden*, The Hague 1988.

Introduction

It is evening and the Lord of Fleckenstein is invited to Wolfgang Stromeir's urban mansion. His impressive residence is built of embossed stones and has its own chapel. On the keystones of the recently renovated vaults are the coats of arms of Stromeir's ancestors. Fleckenstein is led to the living room. Again, he sees his host's ancestral arms; they are painted on the wooden beams. While they are chatting and drinking, Stromeir has three voluminous manuscripts brought to his guest. One of these is a copy of Conrad Grünenberg's armorial, containing coats of arms of European high nobles, pagan rulers, and members of German tournament societies. Stromeir and Fleckenstein leaf through the book, searching for their own arms. Obviously, these are included. The page with Stromeir's arms is indicated by a bookmark and those of the Fleckensteins are in the *Freiherren* segment. They continue conversing about some of the other coats of arms and their bearers, before heading off to a party.

In actuality, this scene never happened. It is a paraphrase of a section in Werner Paravicini's seminal article »Gruppe und Person«⁴. This starts with a fictional description of the Lord of Fleckenstein arriving in a southern German town in 1480. Walking through the city, he sees coats of arms everywhere: the town's arms are on the tower and on the front of the taverns are the arms of the guests they are accommodating. While Fleckenstein is checking in, a messenger of the Saint Christoph hospice on the Arlberg solicits for alms and shows him a book with the names and arms of the previous donators. In the evening, the party is held in the town hall. The coats of arms of the king and prince-electors are on the façade and those of the Quaternions in the hall. Guests are consuming wine and wafers on which the arms of the members of the town council have been pressed. Paravicini's lively description goes on, but at this point, the purpose of his portrayal is clear: raising awareness regarding the ubiquitous nature of coats of arms in the later Middle Ages⁵. Although a fictional description, it is well-supported by references to literature and sources, and many of the details are based on actual artefacts and practices. However, with regard to the armorials in medieval manuscripts, Paravicini stated that

»wenn irgendwo, dann habe ich hier etwas geflunkert. (...) Wir wissen überaus wenig über den Gebrauch heraldischer Handschriften«⁶.

4 Werner PARAVICINI, Gruppe und Person. Repräsentation durch Wappen im späteren Mittelalter, in: Otto Gerhard OEXLE and Andrea von HÜLSCHEN-ESCH (ed.), Die Repräsentation der Gruppen, Göttingen 1998, p. 327–389, p. 331–333.

5 Paravicini's description covers thirteen pages in total: Ibid., p. 327–339.

6 Ibid., p. 344.

When it came to the use of armorials in manuscripts, Paravicini had to resort to his imagination, because this is shrouded in mystery.

It's not only the practical use of armorials in medieval manuscripts that is unknown. Many fundamental questions have yet to be answered. These concern their content, contexts, visual presentations, and purposes. The modern scholar's relationship to these armorials is largely undetermined, too: How should they be interpreted and analyzed? How can they be used as historical sources? It's not even entirely clear what an armorial exactly is, or how the concept should be defined and delineated.

This is an enormous blind spot crying out for elucidation. Traditionally, heraldry has been regarded as an auxiliary science of history, and armorials in manuscripts as one of its main sources⁷. The remark on their value in Léon Jéquier's and Donald Galbreath's »Manuel du blason« (in the »Sources« chapter) is illustrative for the common attitude towards armorials in manuscripts:

»A côté des sceaux les armoriaux manuscrits du Moyen Age sont une source essentielle pour l'étude de l'héraldique car ils donnent les émaux«⁸.

Armorials are appreciated because they provide the tinctures⁹. From this point of view, these colorful sources support the formalistic study of heraldry, examining the designs and technical aspects of coats of arms. Or, for scholars approaching heraldry as an art, armorials are seen as prime examples for modern heraldic artists. The latter is the only use of armorials Václav Vok Filip mentioned in his »Einführung in die Heraldik«:

»Die Wappenrollen aus dem 13., 14. und 15. Jahrhundert sind für die Heraldiker von großer Bedeutung. Da sie in der Blütezeit der Wappenkunst entstanden sind, eignen sie sich sehr gut zu Studienzwecken für die heutigen Heraldiker und heraldischen Graphiker als Vorbilder für die moderne Heraldik«¹⁰.

The »State of research« section below will describe how, beginning recently, scholars have been slowly separating heraldry from the field of auxiliary sciences and subjecting coats of arms to social, political, and cultural-historical research questions. This has revealed the omnipresence and immense communicative capabilities of coats of arms. Paravicini was one of the first to

7 Books on auxiliary sciences of history usually contain a chapter on heraldry. See for instance: Ludwig BREWER, Heraldik, in: Diederich TONI and Joachim OEPEN (ed.), Historische Hilfswissenschaften. Stand und Perspektiven der Forschung, Cologne 2005, p. 61–88; Christian ROHR, Historische Hilfswissenschaften. Eine Einführung, Vienna 2015 (Uni-Taschenbücher, 3755), p. 247–253. In most introductions to heraldry, armorials are discussed in a chapter called »Sources of heraldry«, or one with a similar title. See for example: Donald Lindsay GALBREATH and Léon JÉQUIER, Manuel du blason, Lausanne 1977, p. 313; Ottfried NEUBECKER, Heraldik. Wappen. Ihr Ursprung, Sinn und Wert, Munich 1990, p. 26; Václav VOK FILIP, Einführung in die Heraldik, Stuttgart 2011 (Historische Grundwissenschaften in Einzeldarstellungen, 3), p. 58.

8 GALBREATH and JÉQUIER, Manuel du blason (as in n. 7), p. 313.

9 In everyday language, tincture simply refers to the colors of coats of arms. However, in heraldry, a distinction is made between two groups of tinctures: metals and colors (see note 1065). Although this study generally refrains from specialized heraldic language, the word tincture is used to avoid confusion with this sub-group of colors.

10 FILIP, Einführung in die Heraldik (as in n. 7), p. 59.

explore the range of what they could represent (people, families, offices, entities) and what they could be used for, summarized by Torsten Hiltmann as:

»As Paravicini's example indicates, coats of arms marked the borders between jurisdictions, defined the territory of a lord, conveyed authority, gave protection, claimed possession, displayed family tradition, stressed ancestry, signified piety and solicited remembrance. They could be used to achieve or grant recognition, re-establish forgotten links between families far apart and of different status, or even to justify heritage and succession claims, merely by their appearance and long traditional usage«¹¹.

The historical approaches to heraldry provide promising stimuli for the study of armorials in manuscripts, pulling them out of their isolation as mere sources for an auxiliary science. Inspired by these developments, this research departs from a different view on armorials in medieval manuscripts. These are not sheer enumerations of colorful pictures that can only be formally described and identified. Armorials are collections of powerful representations of people, families, offices, or entities. The basic assumption underlying this study is that by assembling specific coats of arms and arranging them in a certain manner, information and views could be expressed. Seen in this light, armorials can be considered potential means of communication. This turns them into a significant subject of research in their own right as well as rich historical sources for a variety of topics relating to the content that was represented through them and the purposes for which they were used. Starting from this point of view, this study will explore how armorials in medieval manuscripts from France and the Holy Roman Empire, including the Low Countries and Burgundian territories, can be studied as means of communications and historical sources, aiming to start paving the paths towards answering the plethora of questions, both unposed and unresolved, concerning their content, contexts, visual presentations, and purposes.

1.1. STATE OF RESEARCH

In his recent overview of the current state of research on heraldry, Hiltmann pointed out that most studies on coats of arms have been performed outside the sphere of academia¹². These re-

11 Torsten HILTMANN, Potentialities and Limitations of Medieval Armorials as Historical Source. The Representation of Hierarchy and Princely Rank in Late Medieval Collections of Arms in France and Germany, in: T. HUTHWELKER, J. PELTZER and M. WEMHÖNER (ed.), *Princely Rank in Late Medieval Europe. Trodden Paths and Promising Avenues*, Ostfildern 2011 (RANK, 1), p. 157–198, p. 158.

12 Torsten HILTMANN, Zwischen Grundwissenschaft, Kulturgeschichte und digitalen Methoden. Zum aktuellen Stand der Heraldik, in: *Archiv für Diplomatik* 65 (2019), Chap. 3.1 Traditionelle Vertreter der Heraldik. This article was still in press at the time of writing.

searchers are often not historians, but heraldist, i.e. specialists of coats of arms¹³. Roughly stated, their studies are usually traditional in outlook and formalistic in approach, mostly focusing on individual arms, families, or heraldic presentations in isolation. Source criticism, contexts, purpose, and use generally receive limited attention. These works have subsequently shaped the view on the field. Over the last decades, new historical approaches to heraldry applied by historians, art historians, and literary scholars have slowly but surely been changing the perception of coats of arms. Armorial in medieval manuscripts, however, have been minimally affected by this development. The point of departure of this study and its goals and methods flow from the lacunae left by the traditional research on armorials in medieval manuscripts and the promising perspectives offered by new approaches in the study of heraldry.

1.1.1. Heraldic editions

Armorials in medieval manuscripts are a subject that has predominantly been the concern of heraldists. Their studies generally come in the form of heraldic editions, the majority of which are French. From the mid-twentieth century onwards, there has been a continuous stream of publications by (in chronological order, though overlapping) Paul Adam-Even, Léon Jéquier, Michel Popoff, and Emmanuel de Boos¹⁴. Many of these were issued in the »Schweizer Archiv für Heraldik« journal or by the Léopard d'Or publishing house in their »Documents d'héraldique médiévale« series. Most of the older editions consist of little more than lists of names and blazonings of the coats of arms in the armorial. The introductions are usually short and unspecific, although in some cases extensive effort was put in dating individual segments, such as in Jéquier's edition of the »Bellenville« armorial, as is demonstrated in the note on dating armorials in medieval manuscripts in the Appendix¹⁵. Such basic editions were dominant until the turn of the century and beyond. For instance, Michel Popoff's 1998 study on the »Armorial du dénombrement de la comté de Clermont en Beauvaisis« features an introduction of less than one-and-a-half page and the edition comprises lists in the following manner:

- »2. Adam Daridel, d'argent à la quintefeuille de sable à l'orle de huit merlettes du même
3. Pierre de Fransieres, d'argent à la bande de sable, à la bordure de gueules
4. Godefroy de Fransieres, d'argent à la bande de sable, au lambel de gueules«¹⁶.

13 Some scholars prefer the term *armourist* for this purpose, arguing that heraldry refers to everything involving the office of the herald. *Armory*, in this view, only concerns the study of coats of arms. Steen CLEMMENSEN, *Editing Armorial. Cooperation, Knowledge and Approach by Late Medieval Practitioners*, vol. 1, Copenhagen 2017, p. 16. This distinction has the benefit of separating two fields that were not necessarily connected, but also has the enormous disadvantage that it does not correspond to the common understanding of the term heraldry. Undeniably, most people associate heraldry with the study of coats of arms and it is also used as such in the majority of the literature. Therefore, the word »heraldry« (and its derivations, »heraldic« and »heraldist«) will also be applied in this sense in this study.

14 For an alternative historiographical overview on heraldic editions: *Ibid.*, p. 24–28.

15 Léon JÉQUIER, *L'armorial Bellenville*, Paris 1983 (*Cahiers d'héraldique*, 5), p. 16–28. See Appendix.

16 Michel POPOFF, *Armorial du dénombrement de la comté de Clermont en Beauvaisis: 1373–1376*, Paris 1998, p. 5.

And so on. In his 2006 edition of Hans Ingeram's armorial, Emmanuel de Boos laid down »quelques règles indispensables« (some indispensable rules) every heraldic edition should meet¹⁷. The first rule is that each coat of arms should be blazoned, numbered, and the legends (names written above the arms) should be transcribed. Further, each edition should contain a heraldic table, which is an index of the tinctures and charges of the coats of arms in the armorial. Extensive identifications with biographical details were considered optional by De Boos. These guidelines only concern the design of the coats of arms (tinctures and charges) and to a lesser degree their bearers. This illustrates the focus of these heraldic editions.

The last decades have seen a positive development, as several more elaborate French heraldic editions have been published, most of which have been collaborations between heraldists and other scholars. For example, many of Michel Popoff's recent editions feature introductions by Michel Pastoureau, who instigated the cultural-historical approach to coats of arms (see below)¹⁸. De Boos' 2004 edition of the »Breton« armorial is preceded by a couple of contributions of specialists dealing with specific content of the armorial, the manuscript's material aspects, and one of its early modern possessors¹⁹. Jean-Christophe Blanchard's edition of Andre of Rineck's armorial is an exception in the sense that it was conducted by a historian, which is clearly demonstrated by the fact that he analyzed this source by placing it in its cultural, political, and social context²⁰.

Germany does not feature such an extensive tradition of heraldic editions. Some do exist, but these are usually incidental outlets of an individual scholar's fascination with the subject. An early study is Walter Merz's and Friedrich Hegi's 1930 edition of the »Zürcher Wappenrolle«, which is introduced by an elaborate discussion on the dating and content²¹. The coats of arms are not blazoned but are accompanied by detailed descriptions of the families or titles they represent. Furthermore, a couple of editions by historians exist. Paravicini's and Drös' editions of respectively the »Uffenbach« and »Gallus Öhem« armorials are rather brief but do contain codicological analyses and thorough source criticism²². Robert Büchner's recent study on the Munich manuscript with the names, alms, and coats of arms of donators to the Saint Christoph hospice on the Arlberg is elaborate and delivers more insights into this source by situating it in its historical context²³.

17 Emmanuel de BOOS, *L'armorial de Hans Ingeram*, Paris 2006 (*Documents d'héraldique médiévale*, 15), p. 20–22.

18 Examples of these heraldic editions are: Michel PASTOUREAU and Michel POPOFF, *L'univers du blason. L'armorial de la Toison d'Or*, Paris 2001; Michel PASTOUREAU and Michel POPOFF, *L'armorial Bellenville. Volume d'introduction, d'étude et d'édition*, Lathuille 2004; Michel PASTOUREAU and Michel POPOFF, *Armorial Grünenberg. Édition critique de l'armorial de Conrad Grünenberg (1483)*, Milan 2011; Michel POPOFF and Michel PASTOUREAU, *Armorial de Gelre (Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Ms 15652–15656)*, Paris 2012.

19 Emmanuel de BOOS, *L'armorial Le Breton*, Paris 2004.

20 Jean-Christophe BLANCHARD, *L'armorial d'André de Rineck* (Vienne, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 3336), Paris 2008 (*Documents d'héraldique médiévale*, 12). This armorial will be discussed in more detail on page 117.

21 Walther MERZ and Friedrich HEGI, *Die Wappenrolle von Zürich mit den Wappen aus dem Hause zum Loch*, Zürich and Leipzig 1930.

22 Werner PARAVICINI, *Das Uffenbachsche Wappenbuch*. Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. 90b in scrin. Farbmikrofiche-Edition, Munich 1990; Harald DRÖS, *Das Wappenbuch des Gallus Öhem, neu hg. nach der Handschrift 15 der Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg*, Sigmaringen 1994 (*Reichenauer Texte und Bilder*, 5).

23 Robert BÜCHNER, *Das Münchner Boten- und Wappenbuch vom Arlberg*, Frankfurt a. M. 2016.

With respect to English heraldic editions, Gerard Brault has published two volumes with lists of blazonings and identifications of the coats of arms in the armorials in manuscripts made during the reign of Edward I (1272–1307)²⁴. The majority of the heraldic editions of armorials in manuscripts on the continent in the English language are by the Danish scholar Steen Clemmensen. Clemmensen has been the most prolific editor of the twenty-first century, producing over two dozen heraldic editions, which he publishes online²⁵. These are related to his extensive database (see below), which is evident by the large number of codes and abbreviations they contain for the descriptions of the coats of arms and their relationships to other armorials. The latter aspect is particularly valuable, but it does take some time to familiarize oneself with Clemmensen's methods and presentation. His identifications usually feature brief biographical details, and the editions are preceded by introductions, often with a codicological analysis and some general information on the content of the different segments of the armorial.

The previous paragraphs indicated that most twenty-first-century heraldic editions have developed from those of the previous century. This may possibly have been spurred on by the slowly increasing interest in these sources by historians, most notably by Michel Pastoureau. That being said, this development is still in its infancy. The newer heraldic editions only cover a small portion of the large number of armorials in medieval manuscripts. Material, and to lesser degree visual analyses, appear more frequently than they used to, but are still not a standard feature in all publications. Furthermore, even if the newer editions are an improvement compared to the older ones, they still should be approached with caution, especially if they are being employed for historical research questions. Many editions are rather uncritical when it comes to the production and material contexts of the armorials. This especially holds true for the question as to who made them, an issue that will be touched on in Chapter 6²⁶. All too often, an armorial has been attributed to a herald without supporting evidence. Further, the material analyses in heraldic editions, if present, have not always resulted in the awareness that each armorial is a unique material historical source. This can have confusing consequences pertaining to the use of early modern copies, as will be demonstrated in Chapter 3²⁷. Furthermore, it is not unusual to find that the sections on the historical contexts are lacking when it comes to accuracy. For instance, in his review of two recent editions of Conrad Grünenberg's armorial, Christof Rolker pointed out that both Clemmensen and Pastoureau/Popoff incorrectly stated that this Conrad Grünenberg was a mayor of Constance²⁸.

Such shortcomings might be the result of the situation that, although heraldic editions have become more elaborate over the last fifteen years, their primary focus has not changed: blazoning and identifying the coats of arms. De Boos' »règles indispensables« still reflect the essence of each heraldic edition. To this pure heraldic approach, the coats of arms are central. For the purposes of describing and identifying them, critically analyzing all the aspects of the manu-

24 Gerard BRAULT, *Rolls of Arms, Edward I (1272–1307)*, vols. 1–2, Woodbridge 1997.

25 The website's url is: www.armorial.dk.

26 See page 168.

27 See Chapter 3.1.

28 Conrad's father with the same name had been a mayor, but the Conrad who made this armorial never held this office. Christof ROLKER, *Das Wappenbuch des Conrad Grünenberg*. Acta et agenda, in: *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 162 (2014), p. 191–207, p. 199, 201.

script and understanding the source in its direct material and historical environment is of secondary importance. In this respect, positive developments have emerged, and for certain aspects of the research on armorials the heraldic editions are unquestionably invaluable. Yet they still primarily shed light on one side of these sources. The general understanding and approach of armorials in medieval manuscripts is still largely defined by the limited framework set by non-academic heraldists and their formalistic studies and editions. This is the reason that, despite the considerable number of studies on armorials, the above-mentioned lacunae and unresolved questions still exist.

1.1.2. Catalogs, databases, and overviews

Most studies on armorials in medieval manuscripts are heraldic editions and thus concern individual cases. There are a couple of catalogs, databases, and overviews that deal with the phenomenon as a whole. Crucial for English armorials is Anthony Richard Wagner's »A catalogue of English mediaeval rolls of arms«, published in 1950²⁹. Although beyond the geographical scope of this research, his work and especially his classification of medieval armorials has influenced many studies on the European continent and Wagner continues to be widely cited until this day³⁰. There is a French catalog by Gaston Saffroy, with very brief entries that can only be used as guideposts for the listed manuscripts³¹. For German armorials, the seminal overview dates from 1939: »Die Wappenbücher des deutschen Mittelalters« by Egon von Berchem, Donald Galbreath, and Otto Hupp (hereafter referred to as Berchem's overview)³². This work with references to the manuscripts with armorials, occasional descriptions of their content and images still is the main catalog for medieval German armorials in that language.

These catalogs are ancient and outdated. For the most up to date and extensive overview, one has to turn to Clemmensen's »Ordinary of medieval armorials«, which comes in the form of a Microsoft Access database³³. It is based on the previously mentioned catalogs, regional and specialized studies, and Clemmensen's own consultations of manuscripts. The major advantages are its comprehensiveness, containing hundreds of armorials, and the fact that it is regularly updated and freely accessible online. It is, however, lacking in user-friendliness, with terse descriptions full of abbreviations and codes. Yet as a catalog it is vital for this field of research and every scholar studying armorials in medieval manuscripts benefits from Clemmensen's efforts.

Clemmensen also published a surveying article and book. In »Medieval armorials: Types, relationships, and confounders«, there is a section providing a concise chronological overview

29 Anthony Richard WAGNER, *A Catalogue of English Mediaeval Rolls of Arms*, London 1950.

30 On these classifications, see page 34 and 106.

31 Gaston SAFFROY, *Bibliographie généalogique, héraldique et nobiliaire de la France*, vol. 1, Paris 1968, p. 114 and onwards.

32 Egon Frhr von BERCHEM, Donald Lindsay GALBREATH and Otto HUPP, *Die Wappenbücher des deutschen Mittelalters*, in: IDEM (ed.), *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Heraldik*, Berlin 1939, p. 1–114.

33 Accessible at www.armorial.dk.

of armorials in medieval manuscripts³⁴. This is clear but very brief, not offering much more than an enumeration of titles. Therefore, it remains rather abstract and provides little information about the content, presentations, and contexts of these sources. Recently, Clemmensen published his book »Editing armorials: Cooperation, knowledge and approach by late medieval practitioners«³⁵. This work can be considered a culmination of his articles, editions, and database. It is a study on the production and compilation of medieval armorials. A significant part consists of a comparison of armorials in this regard, resulting in the creation of different groups with a certain degree of coherency, such as the »Toison d'Or« group and the »Bodensee« group. His observations and analyses provide valuable insights into this topic. Clemmensen's editions and database are essentially traditional in outlook, revolving around blazoning and identification, but he has been keeping track of some of the new historical approaches and developments in the research on coats of arms and armorials (see below), which is demonstrated in this work. For instance, Clemmensen is quite nuanced with respect to the question as to who made armorials (although the emphasis is still on heralds) and his attention for the production process illuminates an important aspect of armorials for soundly using them as historical sources. »Editing armorials« is an example of the benefits of interdisciplinary collaboration between heraldists and historians, who, although they have different methods and goals, should use each other's strengths to push forward the research on armorials in medieval manuscripts.

1.1.3. New historical approaches

1.1.3.1. Coats of arms

With his book »Traité d'héraldique«, published in 1979, Michel Pastoureau laid the groundwork for a new cultural-historical approach to heraldry. He dubbed this »new heraldry«, and in his introduction he explained the key difference with traditional heraldry:

»Codes sociaux, les armoiries ont effet pour objet la communication entre les hommes. Elles révèlent deux aspects de ceux qui en font usage: l'identité et la personnalité. C'est à la première que s'est attachée l'héraldique traditionnelle, c'est vers la seconde que se tourne aujourd'hui l'héraldique nouvelle«³⁶.

Traditional heraldry, Pastoureau argued, mainly dealt with identifications, blazonings, and the technical aspects of coats of arms. His new approach revolved, as he phrased it, around the personal dimensions of communication by means of coats of arms. From this perspective, coats

34 Steen CLEMMENSEN, *Medieval Armorials. Types, Relations and Confounders*, in: Miguel METELO DE SEIXAS and Maria de LURDES ROSA (ed.), *Estudos Heráldica Medieval*, Lisbon 2012, p. 27–42.

35 Steen CLEMMENSEN, *Editing Armorials. Cooperation, Knowledge and Approach by Late Medieval Practitioners*, vols. 1–2, Copenhagen 2017.

36 Michel PASTOUREAU, *Traité d'héraldique*, Paris 2003, p. 15.

of arms are more than bare signs linked to a bearer. People made, used, and interpreted them, attributing meaning to them, to both the signifier and signified³⁷. Pastoureau, therefore, regarded coats of arms as particularly interesting sources for the history of mentalities.

In Germany, Werner Paravicini has been a pioneer in the historical approach to coats of arms, exploring in his above-mentioned influential article the wide range of what coats of arms could represent and how they were used³⁸. He also used coats of arms as historical sources, for instance in his research on *Preußenreisen*³⁹. Since Pastoureau and Paravicini, several historians, art historians, and literary scholars have occasionally dealt with coats of arms, but the last decade witnessed the rise of a new generation of scholars applying cultural, social, and political historical approaches to heraldry⁴⁰. The two main driving forces behind this development are Laurent Hablot and Torsten Hiltmann, whose academic output marks a clear shift away from the traditional preoccupation with the design, identifications, and technical aspects of coats of arms⁴¹. The international and interdisciplinary scope of their research, conferences, and proj-

37 Ibid.

38 His most influential article is the one mentioned above: PARAVICINI, *Gruppe und Person* (as in n. 4).

39 Werner PARAVICINI, *Heraldische Quellen zur Geschichte der Preußenreisen im 14. Jahrhundert*, in: Zenon Hubert NOWAK (ed.), *Werkstatt des Historikers der mittelalterlichen Ritterorden*, Torún 1987, p. 111–134; Werner PARAVICINI, *Verlorene Denkmäler europäischer Ritterschaft. Die heraldischen Malereien des 14. Jahrhunderts im Dom zu Königsberg*, in: E. BÖCKLER (ed.), *Kunst und Geschichte im Ostseeraum*, Kiel 1990, p. 67–168.

40 In the German language area, Georg Scheibelreiter has been a propagator of Pastoureau's perspectives. For Scheibelreiter's main contributions on the subject, see his collection of articles: Georg SCHEIBELREITER, *Wappenbild und Verwandtschaftsgeflecht. Kultur- und mentalitätsgeschichtliche Forschungen zu Heraldik und Genealogie*, Cologne 2009 (*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, Ergänzungsband, 53). He also published a richly illustrated book on medieval coats of arms as well as an introduction to heraldry: Georg SCHEIBELREITER, *Wappen im Mittelalter*, Darmstadt 2013; Georg SCHEIBELREITER, *Heraldik*, Munich 2006 (*Oldenbourg Historische Hilfswissenschaften*, 1). Further, examples of historians, art historians, and literary scholars dealing with coats of arms before the current decade: Lutz FENSKE, *Adel und Rittertum im Spiegel früher heraldischer Formen und deren Entwicklung*, in: Josef FLECKENSTEIN (ed.), *Das ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter*, Göttingen 1986, p. 75–160; Wim van ANROOIJ, *Spiegel van ridderschap. Heraut Gelre en zijn ereredes*, Amsterdam 1990 (*Nederlandse literatuur en cultuur in de middeleeuwen*, 1); Peter R. COSS and Maurice Hugh KEEN, *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, Woodbridge 2002; Haiko WANDHOFF, *Der Schild als Bild-Schirm: die Anfänge der Heraldik und die Visualisierung der Literatur im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, in: Peter WIESINGER (ed.), *Akten des X. Internationalen Germanistenkongresses*, vol. 5, Bern 2002, p. 81–88; Birgit STUDDT, *Symbole fürstlicher Politik. Stammtafeln, Wappenreihen und Ahnengalerien in Text und Bild*, in: Rudolf SUNTRUP, Jan R. VEENSTRA and Anne BOLLMANN (ed.), *The Mediation of Symbol in Late Medieval and Early Modern Times*, Frankfurt a.M. 2005, p. 221–256. For an overview of the recent developments: HILTMANN, *Zwischen Grundwissenschaft* (as in n. 12), Chap. 3.2 *Neue Entwicklung jenseits der traditionellen Heraldik*.

41 Laurent Hablot is coordinator of the »ArmmA« project, which maintains an inventory of heraldic decors on sculptures, buildings, wall paintings, and so on, initially focusing on the Poitou-Charentes region. <http://base-armma.edel.univ-poitiers.fr>. Torsten Hiltmann heads the »Die Performanz der Wappen« research project (see below) at the University of Münster and created the collaborative blog »Heraldica Nova«, stimulating the study of coats of arms from a cultural-historical perspective. <https://heraldica.hypotheses.org/>. Together, Hiltmann and Hablot established the »Heraldic Studies« series, published by Thorbecke, and edited a volume on heraldic artists and painters: Torsten HILTMANN and Laurent HABLLOT (ed.), *Heraldic Artists and Painters in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times*, Ostfildern 2018 (*Heraldic Studies*, 1). Their publications on heraldry include, but are not limited to: Torsten HILTMANN, *Arms and Art in the Middle Ages. Approaching the Social and Cultural Impact of Heraldry by Its Artisans and Artists*, in: Torsten HILTMANN and Laurent HABLLOT (ed.), *Heraldic Artists and Painters in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times*, Ostfildern 2018 (*Heraldic Studies*, 1), p. 11–23; Torsten HILTMANN, *Legenden im Zweifel. Die Frage nach der Herkunft der Wappen und das Ende der mittelalterlichen Heraldik im 17. Jahrhundert*, in: Thomas KÜHTREIBER and Gabriela SCHICHTA (ed.), *Kontinuitäten, Umbrüche, Zäsuren. Die Konstruktion von Epochen in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit in interdisziplinärer Sichtung*, Heidelberg 2016 (*Interdisziplinäre Beiträge zu Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, 6), p. 301–330; Torsten HILTMANN, *The Emer-*

ects foster the dissemination of this new approach to heraldry, stimulating research that reveals the variety of contexts in which coats of arms were used, the different purposes for which they were employed, and the diverse ways they could be perceived. They operate in a growing circle of scholars studying coats of arms from a similar perspective, including Christoph Weber, Christof Rolker, Steven Thiry, Andreas Zajic, and Martin Roland⁴².

At this juncture, Torsten Hiltmann's research project »Performanz der Wappen« should be highlighted⁴³. Starting in 2013 at the University of Münster, this project aims to produce a new history of coats arms that developed from simple identity markers to complex signifiers in the late Middle Ages. Applying cultural-historical approaches to a traditional field of auxiliary sciences in an innovate way, Hiltmann explicitly does not seek to provide a description of the formal development of coats of arms, but rather focuses on their performance, »that is, on the capacities and effects of heraldic arms as signs and symbols within medieval society«⁴⁴. Central to this research are topics as the use and perceptions of coats of arms. Emphasizing their visual nature, Hiltmann embeds coats of arms in interdisciplinary discussions of semiotics and visual culture. This study on armorials in medieval manuscripts is part of the »Performanz der Wappen« project. Consequently, it shares its point of departure, and the aims and employed methods should be understood in this framework.

1.1.3.2. Armorials in medieval manuscripts

These new historical approaches to study coats of arms have also touched research on armorials in medieval manuscripts, but only softly and with limited impact. In the last quarter of the twentieth century, armorials were incidentally thematized or used as historical sources. In 1974, Bernard Vaivre exposed the tip of the iceberg of the challenges of studying medieval armorials by pointing out that most makers are unknown and that most armorials are handed down to us

gence of the Word »Heraldry« in the 17th Century and the Roots of a Misconception, in: *Coat of Arms* 11 (2015), p. 107–116; Laurent HABLLOT, *Heraldic Imagery, Definition, and Principles*, in: Colum P. HOURIHANE (ed.), *Routledge Companion to Medieval Iconography*, London 2017, p. 386–398; Laurent HABLLOT, *Le bris des armes. L'iconoclasme héraldique dans la société médiévale*, in: Pascale CHARRON, Marc GIL and Ambre VILAIN (ed.), *La pensée du regard. Études d'histoire de l'art du Moyen Âge offertes à Christian Heck*, Turnhout 2016, p. 181–191; Laurent HABLLOT, *Les armoiries, un marqueur du rang dans les sociétés médiévales?*, in: Jörg PELTZER (ed.), *Rank and Order*, Ostfildern 2015 (RANK, 4), p. 245–270; Laurent HABLLOT, *Aux origines de la dextre héraldique. Ecu armorié et latéralisation au Moyen Âge*, in: *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 56 (2013), p. 281–294; Laurent HABLLOT, *Entre pratique militaire et symbolique du pouvoir, l'écu armorié au XIIe siècle*, in: Maria de LURDES ROSA and Miguel METELO DE SEIXAS (ed.), *Estudos de Heráldica Medieval*, Lisbon 2012, p. 143–165.

42 Christoph Friedrich WEBER, *Zeichen der Ordnung und des Aufzugs. Heraldische Symbolik in italienischen Stadtkommunen des Mittelalters*, Cologne 2011; Steven THIRY, *Matter(s) of States. Heraldic Display and Discourse in the Early Modern Monarchy (c. 1480–1650)*, Ostfildern 2018 (*Heraldic Studies*, 2); Martin ROLAND and Andreas ZAJIC, *Illuminierte Urkunden des Mittelalters in Mitteleuropa*, in: *Archiv für Diplomatik* 59 (2013), p. 241–432. For Christof Rolker's relevant publications, see note 70.

43 For a description of this research project, see: Torsten HILTMANN, *Research Project. Coats of arms in practice. The history of heraldic communication in late medieval culture and society (12th to 15th centuries)*, in: *Heraldica Nova. Medieval and Early Modern Heraldry from the Perspective of Cultural History*, <https://heraldica.hypotheses.org/149>, 28/09/2014, accessed 01/10/2018.

44 Ibid.

in the guise of early modern copies⁴⁵. In 1993, Antheun Janse used segments in the »Beyeren« armorial, which displays participants of military expeditions, in his research on the Frisian wars of the counts of Holland around 1400⁴⁶. If armorials were used as an historical source by English scholars, this also predominantly concerned military matters⁴⁷.

Historical approaches were first actively offered to the field of armorials in medieval manuscripts in the 1997 conference volume »Les armoriaux médiévaux«, edited by Pastoureau, Louis Holtz, and H el ene Loyau⁴⁸. In his introduction, under the header »nouvelles orientations«, Pastoureau proposed some promising paths for future research⁴⁹. First, he advocated an intermedial approach. Armorials should not only be studied in manuscripts, but also in other media, such as wall paintings. He also argued that more attention should be paid to the production and reception of the armorials, with the awareness that each instance is unique and has its own dynamics. Further, he stated that

»ces recueils et ensemble d'armoiries sont beaucoup plus que de simples listes ou compilations. Ce sont de v eritables ordines, qui nous donnent une image de tel ou tel pan de la soci et e   l' poque o  ils ont  t  mis en forme«⁵⁰.

This aligns with Pastoureau's above-mentioned view on coats of arms: armorials are not simply lists of arms but provide an image of the society in which they were made. This perspective allows using armorials in manuscripts as sources for social, political, and cultural-historical research.

These outlines are inspiring and constructive, indicating ways to discover unexplored aspects of armorials in medieval manuscripts, but, regrettably, they have only sporadically been taken up. There are a couple of contributors to the »Armoriaux m di evaux« volume that implemented some of Pastoureau's ideas, responding to his call to examine armorials on different media⁵¹. Yet the book also contains articles that were still traditional in outlook, either discuss-

45 Jean-Bernard de VAIVRE, Orientations pour l' tude et l'utilisation des armoriaux du moyen  ge, in: Cahiers d'h raldique 1 (1974), p. i-xxxiv.

46 Antheun JANSE, Grenzen aan de macht. De Friese oorlog van de graven van Holland omstreeks 1400, The Hague 1993 (Hollandse historische reeks, 19), p. 243-297.

47 Adrian AILES, Research into Medieval English Rolls of Arms. Past, Present and Future, in: T. HUTHWELKER, J. PELTZER and M. WEMH NER (ed.), Princely Rank in Late Medieval Europe. Trodden Paths and Promising Avenues, Ostfildern 2011 (RANK, 1), p. 139-156, p. 146-150.

48 Louis HOLTZ, Michel PASTOUREAU and H el ene LOYAU (eds.), Les armoriaux m di evaux. Actes du colloque international »Les armoriaux m di evaux« (Paris, 21-23 mars 1994), Paris 1997 (Cahiers du L opard d'Or, 8).

49 Michel PASTOUREAU, Pr sentation, in: Louis HOLTZ, H el ene LOYAU and Michel PASTOUREAU (ed.), Les armoriaux m di evaux. Actes du colloque international »Les armoriaux m di evaux« (Paris, 21-23 mars 1994), Paris 1997 (Cahiers du L opard d'Or, 8), p. 11-19, p. 17-19.

50 Ibid., p. 18.

51 For example: Detlev KRAACK, Les armoriaux sur les murs. Inscriptions et graffiti h raldiques des voyageurs nobles du XIVe au XVIe si cle. L'exemple du «vieux r fectoire» du monast re de Sainte-Catherine au Mont Sin i, in: Louis HOLTZ, H el ene LOYAU and Michel PASTOUREAU (ed.), Les armoriaux m di evaux. Actes du colloque international »Les armoriaux m di evaux« (Paris, 21-23 mars 1994), Paris 1997 (Cahiers du L opard d'Or, 8), p. 339-360; Faustino MEN NDEZ PIDAL DE NAVASCU S, Armoriaux et d cor brod  au milieu du XIIIe si cle, in: Louis HOLTZ, H el ene LOYAU and Michel PASTOUREAU (ed.), Les armoriaux m di evaux. Actes du colloque international »Les armoriaux m di evaux« (Paris, 21-23 mars 1994), Paris 1997 (Cahiers du L opard d'Or, 8), p. 259-272.

ing the appearance of one group of nobles from a certain region in different armorials or providing elaborate descriptions of one armorial, with identifications, speculations on the production context, and attempts to date its compilation through the coats of arms⁵².

One of the first editions of an armorial in which historical approaches were applied is Blanchard's above-mentioned »L'armorial de André de Rineck«, published in 2008⁵³. In his introduction to the edition, Blanchard discussed among other things the purpose of the armorial, claiming that André of Rineck had it made to express the independence of Metz and its ability of govern itself and to put the urban elites of this city, of which he himself was a member, on the same footing as the European nobility⁵⁴. Another valuable, slightly earlier, historical contribution to this field was Andreas Ranft's article on the relationships between armorials (*Wappenbücher*), tournament books, and housebooks⁵⁵. He crossed the boundaries between (alleged) book genres, which stimulates applying an illuminating wider scope⁵⁶.

In the 2010s, armorials in medieval manuscripts slowly began appearing on the radar of more historians and were increasingly subjected to historical research questions. Hiltmann dedicated a paper to the question as to what extent medieval armorials are useful sources for studying princely rank in the Middle Ages⁵⁷. He was skeptical, stressing that many armorials are copies and that in most cases we know little to nothing about the production contexts and the intentions of the makers. He argued that armorials should not be regarded as reflections of society, but as (often not contemporary) presentations of society, representing the view of the maker rather than an actual situation. When it comes to studying actual princely rank, armorials are thus of limited value, but, Hiltmann added, this does not render them useless. They can be interesting sources for research concerning the perceptions of social rank and the society they present⁵⁸.

Thorsten Huthwelker published a book on the same subject in 2013, investigating rank in English and German armorials in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries⁵⁹. The German armorials from this period proved to be largely unsuited for this⁶⁰. In the English armorials made under the rule of Edward I (1272–1307), Huthwelker examined the relative positions of the

52 For example: Adam HEYMOWSKI, La chevalerie du royaume de Pologne dans les armoriaux occidentaux des XIVe et XVe siècles, in: Louis HOLTZ, Hélène LOYAU and Michel PASTOUREAU (ed.), Les armoriaux médiévaux. Actes du colloque international «Les armoriaux médiévaux» (Paris, 21–23 mars 1994), Paris 1997 (Cahiers du Léopard d'Or, 8), p. 137–170; Franz-Heinz HYE, Ein Österreichisches Wappenbuch von circa 1460, in: Louis HOLTZ, Hélène LOYAU and Michel PASTOUREAU (ed.), Les Armoriaux Médiévaux. Actes du Colloque International «Les Armoriaux Médiévaux» (Paris, 21–23 Mars 1994), Paris 1997 (Cahiers du Léopard d'Or, 8), p. 209–215.

53 BLANCHARD, L'armorial d'André de Rineck (as in n. 20).

54 This interpretation will be discussed in detail on p. 118.

55 Andreas RANFT, Adlige Wappen-, Turnier-, Haus- und Familienbücher. Zur Notationspraxis von Wappen und Namenslisten, in: Heinz-Dieter HEIMANN (ed.), Adelige Welt und familiäre Beziehung. Aspekte der »privaten Welt« des Adels in böhmischen, polnischen und deutschen Beispielen vom 14. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert, Potsdam 2000, p. 115–139.

56 I say alleged book genres, because in Chapter 2.2 it will be argued that for this study it is not beneficial to regard *Wappenbücher* as book genres.

57 HILTMANN, Potentialities and Limitations (as in n. 11).

58 Ibid., p. 196–197.

59 Thorsten HUTHWELKER, Die Darstellung des Rangs in Wappen und Wappenrollen des späten Mittelalters, Ostfildern 2013 (RANK, 3).

60 Ibid., p. 148–163.

individuals in the segments of the earls⁶¹. He argued that these positions reflected their rank as perceived by the maker or commissioner⁶². Although Huthwelker's questions are motivating, there are some obscurities in this research. Two of these will be pointed out, because they underscore the necessity of the skeptical and material approaches applied throughout the present study, which are not seldom lacking in research on armorials⁶³. First, Huthwelker explained the change in the relative positions of the earls by actual contemporary political, social, or economic events and situations, such as acquisitions of new possessions or young earls that supposedly still had to prove themselves⁶⁴. However, if the makers and production contexts are unknown (which Huthwelker acknowledged was the case for most armorials⁶⁵) it is difficult to prove a direct link between such a variety of actual rank criteria and the perception of rank by an unknown maker of the armorial in question. By using this method of explanation, Huthwelker was in fact unclear with respect to whether or not the armorials should be considered perceptions or reflections of reality. Secondly, the fact that Huthwelker only used heraldic editions is problematic⁶⁶. Heraldic editions are obviously vital for the identifications of the coats of arms, but they cannot be considered reflections of the original manuscripts. First, they reduce the visual presentation of the coats of arms to a textual list. Potentially vital visual communication is therefore lost in this translation⁶⁷. Secondly, these heraldic editions might obscure the fact that the majority of the armorials made under the rule of Edward I only survived as early modern copies⁶⁸. This greatly reduces their value as sources for medieval rank, as one cannot tell how these relate to their medieval originals⁶⁹. This potentially has significant consequences for the analysis of the relative positions of people of a certain rank in an armorial, which underlines that heraldic editions should be approached critically when employing them for historical research questions.

In the mid-2010s, Christof Rolker published several articles dealing with the armorial by Conrad Grünenberg and those accompanying Ulrich Richental's »Chronik des Konzils zu Konstanz«⁷⁰.

61 Ibid., p. 127–147.

62 Ibid., p. 162.

63 For a more elaborate critical review of Huthwelker's book, see: Elmar HOFMAN, Thorsten Huthwelker: Die Darstellung des Rangs in Wappen und Wappenrollen des späten Mittelalters, in: *Heraldica Nova. Medieval and Early Modern Heraldry from the Perspective of Cultural History*, 28/09/2014, <https://heraldica.hypotheses.org/1349>, accessed 02/02/2018; Torsten HILTMANN, Rezension zu: Huthwelker, Thorsten: Die Darstellung des Rangs in Wappen und Wappenrollen des späten Mittelalters. Ostfildern 2013, in: *H-Soz-Kult*, 23/07/2014, www.hsozkult.de/publicationreview/id/rezbuecher-21425, accessed 02/02/2018.

64 HUTHWELKER, Die Darstellung des Rangs (as in n. 59), p. 136–146.

65 Ibid., p. 92–97.

66 Ibid., p. 75–76.

67 On the significance of visual communication in armorials in medieval manuscripts, see Chapter 6.

68 Gerard BRAULT, *L'âge d'or des armoriaux anglais. Les rôles d'armes du règne d'Édouard Ier d'Angleterre: 1272–1307*, in: Louis HOLTZ, Hélène LOYAU and Michel PASTOUREAU (ed.), *Les armoriaux médiévaux. Actes du colloque international «Les armoriaux médiévaux»* (Paris, 21–23 mars 1994), Paris 1997 (*Cahiers du Léopard d'Or*, 8), p. 39–52, p. 41.

69 On the problematic relationships between early modern copies and medieval manuscripts, see Chapter 3.1.

70 Christof ROLKER, Die Richental-Chronik als Wappenbuch, in: *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 71 (2015), p. 57–103; Christof ROLKER, Turnier-Ordnung. Das Wappenbuch des Konrad Grünenberg, in: *Mittelalter. Zeitschrift des Schweizerischen Burgervereins* 19 (2014), p. 26–33; Christof ROLKER, Heraldische Orgien und sozialer Aufstieg. Oder: Wo ist eigentlich »oben« in der spätmittelalterlichen Stadt?, in: *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 42