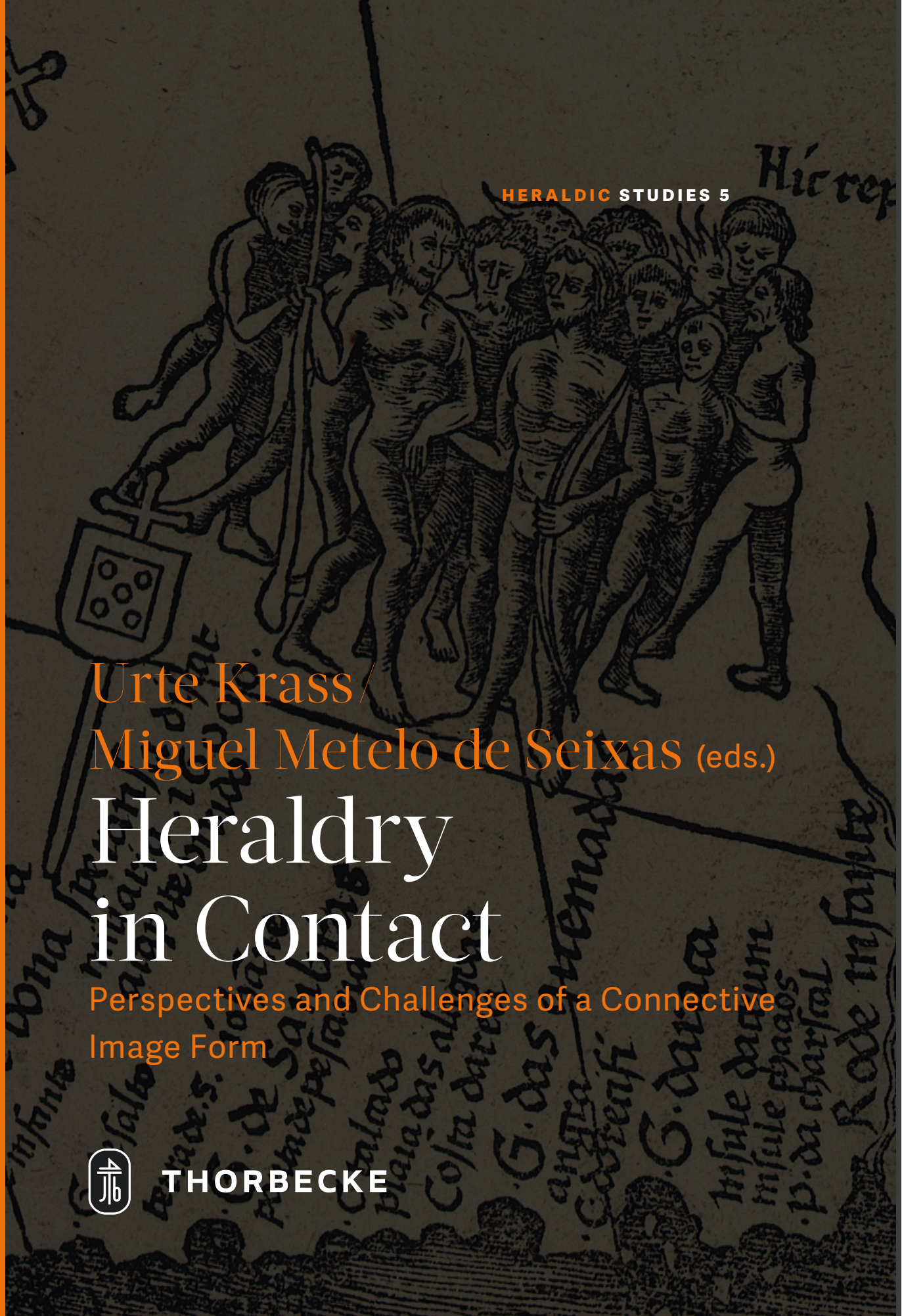
HERALDIC STUDIES 5



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Urte Krass/
Miguel Metelo de Seixas (eds.)

Heraldry in Contact

Perspectives and Challenges of a Connective Image Form

THORBECKE

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Heraldic Studies

Edited by Torsten Hiltmann and Laurent Hablot

Vol. 5

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Introduction: Connecting Heraldry

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Urte Krass and Miguel Metelo de Seixas

In 2012, the football club Real Madrid planned to build a theme park, the »Real Madrid Resort Island«. Not in Spain, but in Ras-al-Khaimah, in the United Arab Emirates. The investment of one billion dollars included a marina and yacht club to be shaped like the Real Madrid crest (fig. 1). This coat of arms consists of the club's initials, M, C, and F (Madrid Club de Fútbol) and of the royal crown, since in 1920, Alfonso XIII awarded the club the royal title »Real«. The heraldic royal crown of Spain is topped by a sphere surmounted by the cross. In the Islamic region, however, Christian symbolism seemed out of place. Very soon after the first negotiations with Arabian sponsors, the decision was taken that the crest of the football club should be altered

Fig. 1: Project visualization of the Real Madrid Island Resort, Al Marjan, Ras-al-Khaimah, UAE.

Fig. 2: Real Madrid crest with and without the Christian cross.

specially to fit its new regional context: The royal crown would lose its cross (fig. 2) – in order to »be sensitive towards parts of the Gulf that are quite sensitive to products that hold the cross« (Cromwell 2017). These are the words of MARKA, the most important advertising agency of the Persian Gulf. The altered version of the Real Madrid coat of arms is a recent example of transcultural negotiations affecting heraldic forms.

The outcome of these negotiations is, of course, the reverse of the imposition of European heraldry on non-Christian territories in the 15th and 16th centuries. The famous Waldseemüller map of 1507, for example, (fig. 3) shows a part of South Africa marked by the presence of a huge elephant and a tribe of naked men armed with bows and sticks. In this cartographic image, we also see the line of *padrões* running around the coasts of the African continent. *Padrões* are the stone pillars that the Portuguese explorers left in the 15th and 16th centuries on the African coastline to record their most important landfalls (see the contribution to this volume by Jessica Barker). Each one consists of a long column, the royal coat of arms, an inscription above that, and the Christian cross on top. These *padrões* were the first visualizations of the Portuguese claim of territory. They were pre-fabricated in Portugal from limestone. The inscription, however, was most probably carved into the object only by the time they were set in place. These columns were heavy cargo and not easy to erect. And they were hard to carry away – although not terribly hard to destroy or throw off the cliffs on which they stood, which was the fate that many of these land claim markers shared in the centuries following their erection. *Padrões* visualized the fusing of political and religious interests in the Portuguese campaigns of conquest. An interesting element in Waldseemüller's map is that one of these *padrões* has been

Fig. 3: Detail of Martin Waldseemüller's map, *Universalis cosmographia secundum Ptholomaei traditionem et Americi Vespucii aliorumque lustrationes*, Strasbourg 1507.

Fig. 4: Detail of Afro-Portuguese oliphant, Sierra Leone, c. 1500, Provincial Museum of Pontevedra.

Fig. 6: Ave Maria bowl with the Portuguese royal arms, porcelain, Ming Dynasty, Jiajing period, c. 1540, Lisbon, Museu Medeiros e Almeida.

Fig. 5: Ivory salt-cellar, Sierra Leone, c. 1490–1520, London, British Museum.

placed not only next to the naked African warriors, but its cross actually overlaps with the feet of two of these men. The makers of the map might have wanted to express through this detail that the Portuguese did not only lay claim on the land of Africa, but also on its inhabitants who would be converted to Christendom. The coat of arms including the cross is literally imposed on the local people.

Soon after the erection of the first *padrões* on the west coast of Africa, African artists began including Portuguese coats of arms into objects carved from ivory (fig. 4). One example is an oliphant from Sierra Leone that was probably made between 1494 and 1500 by order of King Manuel I of Portugal (see the contribution by Luís Urbano Afonso and Miguel Metelo de Seixas). Local artists, trained in ivory carving long before, now had to tackle a novel type of image. Perhaps a salt cellar from the British Museum (fig. 5) bears witness to the early phase of this object group, as here, the coat of arms is wrongly positioned upside down on the surface of the container (Levenson 2007, 68 and cat. A-6). The same error can be found in a series of early

porcelain objects containing European heraldic decoration (fig. 6): the cups made in Jiangxi around 1540, decorated with the armillary sphere (as badge of King João III) and the Portuguese royal arms upside down (Santos 2007: I, 138–143). This may be dismissed as a mistake, but unlike the two examples of heraldry in transcultural contact situations described above (the censorship of the European coat of arms in the UAE and the literal imposition of the European coat of arms on the local populations in Africa), the way in which the ivory carvers on the African west coast, as well as Chinese porcelain-makers, grapple with the coats of arms testifies to an early process of creative imitation – if not yet appropriation – of this European device. While the monumental heavy *padrões* were intended for permanent placement at their respective locations, the ivory oliphants and salt cellars as well as the porcelain bowls were destined for shipment to Europe. They were thus the first objects that brought back European heraldry as perceived through the eyes of African and Asian artists and craftsmen, integrated into new kinds of objects made from rare materials with hybrid stylistic characteristics novel in European collections and markets. These objects inverted the Western gaze; they provided a retro-reflection of European heraldry, and judging by the quantity of African ivory artifacts and Chinese porcelain that show European coats of arms, European consumers must have been fascinated by this new inversion of familiar imagery. After, initially, the Portuguese royal coat of arms had been brought to equatorial Africa in the 15th century through the *padrões*, soon coats of arms of individual representatives followed: Royal arms were displayed alongside those of the king's envoys, bishops, governors of provinces or forteresses, commanders of fleets or vessels, high-ranking officers, noblemen, etc., including sometimes simple merchants. A new phase was reached around 1500, when the Manikongo – the ruler of the Congo who had converted to Christendom – was awarded his own coat of arms by King Manuel I of Portugal (see the contribution by Pedro Sameiro).

People across time and regions have used heraldry to negotiate and visualise the terms of their contacts. Some individual studies have showcased how worthwile it is to follow the renderings of coats of arms on journeys to continents other than Europe in early modernity. Mónica Domínguez Torres, for one, has focused on indigenous heraldry in colonial Mexico and Peru. By analyzing several case studies, she concludes that these coats of arms were not simply visual manifestations of the process of acculturation undergone by native communities in the »New World«, but that indigenous coats of arms could function »as tools of political and cultural negotiation and, in some instances, even as arenas of contestation« (Domínguez Torres 2012, 98). In another article, Gerardo Gutiérrez has searched for the reasons why, in central Mexico, Nahua political systems adopoted royal Spanish heraldry. A close reading of a case study enabled him to compare and contrast indigenous narratives of allegiance and resistance to Spanish colonialism (Gutiérrez 2015). Mexico and Peru seem to be particularly interesting regions for this research question. Not only were indigenous iconographies and events related to the Spanish conquest incorporated as heraldic charges into the coats of arms of the conquistadores, but in these regions, even before the arrival of the Spanish, there did exist what one might call a pre-Columbian Mesoamerican »heraldry«: Indigenous political visual codes used a complex system of military insignia to honour victorious fighters and to mark institutionalised hierarchies, ethnic affiliation, and geographic origins (Gutiérrez 2015; Olivier 2008; Galarza 1987, 95): Here, thus, »the European coat of arms would have been a readily understandable device.« (Haskett 1996, 105).

In a display case in the Weltmuseum in Vienna we find an intriguing juxtaposition of two feather objects produced in Mexico (fig. 7). Both objects are dated to the years after the Spanish conquest (Feest 1996). One of them, an object classified as »insignia or fan«, shows a butterfly in its center. Feather fans like this were used in Aztec times as badges of rank or office, as symbols for messengers, ambassadors, and travelers. Next to it in the vitrine lies a Christian miter made from hummingbird feathers at more or less the same time. This object exhibits a shield bearing the Jerusalem cross and coats of arms in silk embroidery that were stitched on at a later time to personalize the miter for the bishop who wore it. The exhibition situation impressively demonstrates that in many cases European heraldic image culture entered contexts abroad in which similar sign systems and insignia that functioned – like heraldry – on the basis of a highly codified visual symbols were already in use (see also the contribution of Julia Hartmann on the Japanese Mon). As has been ascertained recently, the »Aztec« butterfly insignia was made after the arrival of the Spaniards, which means that there was a time when different emblematic sign systems were used side by side. The Meso-American contact zones are only one example of this phenomenon.

Fig. 7: Insignia or fan (exhibited next to Christian mitre), Mexico, 16th century, Vienna, Weltmuseum.

Thinking about European heraldry in African, Asian, and American regions is, to be sure, a Eurocentric endeavor as we follow European actors spreading a European pictorial phenomenon into regions where Europeans often forcibly inserted themselves. Despite its Eurocentricity, however, our overarching question serves as an attempt to learn more about the modalities of negotiation in contact zones. To what extent were local actors able to develop their own attitude towards invasive and invading colonisers and missionaries by adopting and transforming the European image form of the coat of arms?

These themes formed the basis of a conference held at the University of Bern at the end of January 2020. It was a small conference with only seven contributors from various countries (Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Mexico, Portugal, and Switzerland). And it was the beginning of the collaboration between the two editors of this book, who decided to take the topic seriously and explore it more thoroughly. The plan was not to produce a standard compendium

of conference proceedings, but to try out a different format: a larger collection of short case studies involving experts from many subfields that could give readers an idea of the diverse and fascinating ways in which heraldry can function as a visual contact tool. The editors fused their networks so that an international and interdisciplinary group of contributors were involved in the creation of this book. The present volume contains 26 contributions by scholars of many disciplines, including in its core a number of case studies written by genuine heraldists. The result is not an all-encompassing and authoritative final statement about the topic, but rather a multi-voiced conversation in which different areas of expertise flank and complement each other. It marks the beginning of an open-ended research endeavor. All contributions have been read and commented on by external peer reviewers who were selected according to their respective expertise and furthermore, the finalized volume has been peer-reviewed, to ensure the quality not only of the individual contributions but of the volume as a whole.

The book's interdisciplinary approach as well as the temporal breadth of the collected case studies ranging from the 14th to the 20th century entail a certain heterogeneity, which was mitigated by the overarching focus on »heraldry in contact« – although the variety of case studies and methodological approaches reflects the dynamism and diversity of the topic itself. We have assembled the contributions into six chapters, proposing descriptive categories within which the various phenomena can be grouped diachronically and transregionally in a meaningful way. Thus, we have created a sort of unity-in-variety that allows functionally related heraldic case studies to enter into dialogue with one other, even though they may be far apart in time and space.

The central argument, one shared by all of the authors, is that heraldic images are a type of image that is particularly relevant in contact situations. The presumed origin of heraldry itself has already been seen as a consequence of situations of contact. Regardless of whether these contacts were warlike confrontations between helmeted combatants or courtly tournaments that led to the development of coats of arms to identify the participants, the new sign form of the coat of arms arose in Europe in the 12th and 13th centuries as a result of encounters between men who wanted to recognise each other. Heraldry is thus per se unthinkable without situations in which people enter into contact with each other: it does not (and cannot) function in private isolation. The military origin of heraldry has, moreover, been contested by the most recent historiography of the topic (Hablot 2019). This thesis regards not so much the origins of heraldry in the West, whose warlike roots are clearly evident in its visual and written lexicon, but rather as regards its subsequent dissemination. This was as rapid as it was comprehensive, both in terms of geographical area and in the social scale it covered. The importance of relating the first expansion of the heraldic phenomenon to the sharp increase in inter-community communications that occurred during the 12th century in Europe, at the end of a long period in which local or regional autarky was the rule, as has already been pointed out (Menéndez Pidal 2014). In a society where individuals increasingly had to make themselves known to strangers, the use of legible visual identification codes provided an obvious solution, not least because of widespread illiteracy. The reasons behind the success of the heraldic code are, therefore, very close to those that explain, for the same period, the diffusion of two other identification systems: onomastics and sigillography (Bedos-Rezak 2019; Chassel and Gil 2011). In this sense, it is not adventurous to say that the »contact« factor lay at the very origin of the heraldic code, and in its resounding and, in many ways, unexpected success and longevity.

Besides battles and tournaments, there were, of course, many other contact situations in which coats of arms played central roles: Marriages, diplomatic interactions, trade relationships, performative public displays, visual communication with the beyond, and, of course, multifaceted colonial contact situations including trans-cultural and inter-religious negotiations of power as well as the brutal show of force in asymmetrical power relations. More often than not, these situations were accompanied by some kind of use of heraldry. And it is the multifaceted nature of this phenomenon that we want to explore in this volume.

Heraldry is a complicated science in its own right. Coats of arms are one of the most heavily encoded categories of images and also the image category that has been theorized in the most elaborate way. It may be that the elaborate heraldic conventions applied to heraldry in Europe were suspended when they left the continent, allowing that specific image form to enjoy greater freedom on other continents than in its place of origin. There are at least three characteristics that were conducive to the success or translatability of the image form heraldry in new territories (besides the fact that, as we have mentioned, in some places, heraldic signs encountered related pictorial phenomena in local cultures). The first favourable feature is that the most obvious quality of heraldry is the economy of its means: Heraldry is a semiotic system which is particularly successful in saying much with limited iconographical and visual means. Secondly, in spite of this shorthand visual appearance of coats of arms, their performance is extraordinary: One important characteristic is heraldry's ability to signify time and space. Coats of arms can define and visualize territorial claims, they work as markers of spatial expansion, and at the same time they are vectors into the past as they can mark, for instance, the temporal extension of a family's genealogy or an empire's history. The third crucial aspect of coats of arms is that they can be translated into every medium and onto every support surface. As Michel Pastoureau puts it: »On peut dire que l'armoirie est une image immatérielle« (Pastoureau 1993, 315). This immaterial image can even work without a support, as already the written description of a coat of arms, the blazon, is the actual coat of arms. Even the heraldic colours participate in this same kind of abstraction: a field azure will always be a field azure, regardless of the shade of colour, in the gradation of blues, that the artists give to its plastic expression. And perhaps this is one of the reasons why the heraldic colours ended up favouring, in so many languages (but not all) terms that are used exclusively for their designation, based on old French words like *gueules, sinople, sable*.

Heraldry can offer fruitful insights into cutting edge areas of research related to the anthropology of images, visual (culture) studies, and questions of performativity, materiality, and mediality. In this volume, we follow the coat of arms into situations and zones of contact. Our collected case studies not only analyse situations of transcultural contact but also interactions of individuals belonging to the same culture who then use the coat of arms to negotiate the modalities of their specific personal contacts. Thus, a table made in connection with a marriage can also be perceived as a contact zone (see the contribution by Sasha Rossman). The volume thus brings together contributions that focus on collisions or interactions of cultures within processes of transregional connectivity as well as those that look at individual cases not of trans-cultural but of »inter-personal« communication via coats of arms. The aim is, on the one hand, to reveal the complexity that speaks from each of these case studies and to point to the almost inexhaustible potential of heraldry as a contact tool throughout history, as well as, on the other hand, to try and come to terms with how this specific type of image actually worked

or was meant to work in each specific case. In order to be effective, a coat of arms is dependent on human actors. Because it is, in essence, an act of visual communication, with its senders, receivers, observers, hermeneuts – and also, frequently, with its detractors, alterers, or even destroyers. All the authors have taken a close look at these respective actors wherever sources or image analyses made this possible. As Hermione Giffard writes, it is the people behind things, images and ideas, that matter, because »cultures can be carried by inanimate things, images or ideas but are created and translated by people who make active choices [and] it is the interests of actors who drive translation that should be the focus of historians studying cultural interactions (Giffard 2016, 30).«

The idea of the present book was not to cover the phenomenon in all its aspects, but to show how these aspects can be diversified both in time, space, and materiality – or immateriality as the case may be. The starting point was the colonial and postcolonial reality, already at the heart of the Bern colloquium, and which forms the first chapter of the book. In the first article, Jessica Barker analyses a privileged instrument of symbolic appropriation of the overseas territories, as we have already mentioned: the *padrões* that the Portuguese carried on their ships and which they erected in strategic locations to take possession of land abroad. But Barker's analysis focuses not only on the initial act of placing the *padrões* and their meaning. It also addresses the question of the survival of these landmarks in the neo-colonial and post-colonial context of the contemporary era. This diachronic perspective is present throughout the chapter. The second text, by Antoine Robin, also focuses on visual instruments of appropriation of overseas space, but on the part of the French Crown, namely through the Gaspé cross. And the third text, by Carlos López-Fanjul de Argüelles, approaches the use of heraldry in the opposite sense, so to speak, by trying to understand how signs considered as belonging to the »enemy« were incorporated into Spanish heraldry. Raphaèle Preisinger then draws attention to the construction, in the Mexican colonial context, of emblems belonging to the criollo populations, which later came to play a crucial role in the symbols adopted by an emerging Mexican nation in the 19th century. Finally, the first chapter closes with two texts referring to the use of heraldry in the post-colonial period. Leonor Calvão Borges shows how a European palace, the castle of Miramare in Trieste, was decorated with mixed heraldry to represent Maximilian of Habsburg, Emperor of Mexico. The final article in the group, written by Miguel Metelo de Seixas, deals with a complex case of literary recreation of the heraldic universe: the book *Romance d'A Pedra do Reino*, through which the writer Ariano Suassuna, founder of the Armorial Movement in 1970, proposes to use heraldry as a primary instrument of (re)construction of a Brazilian national identity.

The second chapter comprises three case studies that deal with heraldry connected to situations of diplomacy and gift-giving. Pedro Sameiro focuses on one of the first cases of heraldic acculturation of African sovereigns: the case of the kings of the Congo, converted to Christianity and attracted to the Portuguese orbit in the transition between the 15th and 16th centuries. Jumping a few centuries and changing continents, but always within the orbit of the Portuguese Crown, Maria João Ferreira and Miguel Metelo de Seixas examine the presence of heraldic elements in the embassy sent by João V of Portugal to the Chinese emperor Yongzheng, and their subsequent deployment in the career of ambassador Alexandre Metelo de Sousa Meneses. Finally, Julia Hartmann studies the complex case of the use of heraldry in the context of diplomat-

ic relations between Japan and the Netherlands, in a diachronic perspective between the 17th and 19th centuries.

Intercultural contacts were, of course, not limited to the diplomatic sphere. They could also reveal themselves in circumstances related to marriages and unions. In this sense, Luís Urbano Afonso and Miguel Metelo de Seixas propose a new interpretation for the set of ivory oliphants produced on the west African coast by order of King Manuel I of Portugal, bearing his arms and badge, occasionally combined with those of the Catholic Kings Ferdinand and Isabella. In the second text of this chapter, Francesco Gusella explores the meaning of the heraldry present in a peculiar object: a cup commissioned by Constantine of Braganza, viceroy of India, in which the author analyzes the combination of erotic, exotic, and antique elements. The last paper, by Sasha Rossman, seeks to examine the heraldic marks inserted into a table at New Hardwick Hall as evidence of hierarchical relationships established through matrimony, exploring, as the author explains, the issue of marriage as a further zone of contact and contract.

The third chapter in the volume focuses on performative objects and transcultural actors. It begins with an article by Simon Rousselot about a 15th century Nasrid sword, on which heraldic emblems can be seen that result from a fusion between Christian/Western practices and their adaptation to the specific political, cultural, and religious reality of the Islamic society of the Iberian Peninsula. Next, Hugo Crespo examines a Chinese-made cup carved from a rhinoceros horn, decorated with the arms of the Portuguese nobleman Antão Vaz Freire. The author establishes a relationship between traditional Chinese Taoist iconography and Christian motifs, in relation to which heraldry plays the role of mediator. In the third contribution,Tamara Kobel deals with an object of a different kind: a tapestry, datable from the late 17th century, presenting it as the result of the cultural intersection between exiled French Huguenots and the civic authorities of the city of Bern. The text by Ricardo Roque takes us to a very distant place: the island of Timor, a Portuguese colony between Asia and Oceania. Roque also brings us to a more recent era, between the end of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century. His text contemplates the use of the Portuguese flag, both in its monarchic and republican versions (i.e., before and after 1910), as an instrument of colonial identity construction. For the same period, Julia Strobel analyses the use of heraldry in the context of Swiss society as an instrument for the formation of a national historical consciousness, in a process of visual pedagogy applied to schools.

The fifth chapter examines the subject of »Cross-Cultural Layerings and Fusions«, grouping together a number of diverse case studies. It begins with a reflection by Emir Filipović on the creation of heraldry attributed to the Ottoman Empire by Christian sources, in what heraldists call »imaginary heraldry«. The author investigates a diversity of sources – which also corresponds to a diversity of heraldry. He concludes by describing a curious phenomenon, which has nonetheless frequently occurred: as early as the 19th century, this imaginary heraldry was transformed into the heraldry actually used by the Ottoman Empire until its eclipse in the 20th century. The second text, by Nicolai Kölmel, applies the notion of »contact« to an armorial object, a brass ewer now belonging to a Hamburg museum. The author points to this object as a case of difficulty in using heraldry as a resource for identification (and dating); on the other hand, he shows how the ewer's heraldic marks reveal the object's complex trajectory between Early Modern Germany, Venice, and Syria. In the third text of this chapter, Alberto Saviello also deals with an object: a 16th century ivory casket from Sri Lanka. This casket is marked by a

hybrid heraldry, mixing Sinhalese and Portuguese elements, which the author explains through the use of this object in the context of the political relations established between Dharmapāla, king of Ceylon who converted to Christianity, and the Portuguese Crown. Also in the sphere of Portuguese influence in Asia, Barbara Karl provides a broad perspective on the presence of heraldic elements in Indian textile production, in particular highly-prized »*colchas*«. Finally, Urte Krass analyses a manuscript written in Goa in the mid-17th century by a Franciscan, which comprises numerous drawings of a heraldic nature. As the author shows, this heraldic presence opens new insights into the way in which coats of arms could serve as nodal points of intercultural negotiation in that particular 17th-century contact zone.

The final chapter takes us to the Heavens. Or rather, to the use of heraldry as an instrument of contact between the terrestrial world and the celestial sphere. The first text, by Laurent Hablot, attempts to provide a general framework for the phenomenon of heraldry as a visual instrument of mediation between mankind and God. Or, more precisely, between men and Salvation. In the second article, Gregor von Kerssenbrock von Krosigk reflects on the imaginary heraldry attributed to Saint Maurice on the basis of a painting in Namur. Next, Olga Karaskova-Hesry deals with the subject of rabbinical reaction to the use of heraldry, establishing a reflection on the way in which a religious culture apparently opposed to heraldry nonetheless deployed heraldic images in certain cases. Finally, José Antonio Guillén Berrendero looks at the case of heraldic iconography linked to the figures of the Count of Olivares, famous minister of King Philip IV of Spain, and his wife, relating their arms to the discourse on spiritual nobility.

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Colonial and Post-Colonial Identities

The Fifteenth-Century Heraldic Columns of Diogo Cão and their Colonial Legacies

Jessica Barker

A black and white photograph shows four men standing alongside a column on a rocky outcrop, one in clerical dress, one in military uniform, and two more wearing suits (fig. 1). The pitted stone column is surmounted by a metal shield with the coat of arms of the king of Portugal and a metal cross inscribed with the name »Dom João« and the date »1485«. This monument, known in Portuguese as a *padrão*, is a nineteenth-century replica of a fifteenth-century monument, shipped from the port of Belém in Lisbon in 1485 and erected on the Cabo Negro on the coast of modern-day Angola, only to be sent back from Angola to Lisbon in 1892. The original is still displayed in the ethnographic museum of the *Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa* with the remains or reconstructions of four other early *padrões*. The replica shown in this photograph was destroyed in 1975 by the independence movement in Angola, an episode of iconoclasm that is testament to the enduring association of this monument with colonial oppression.

Fig. 1: Photograph of four (unidentified) men in front of the replica of the Padrão do Cabo Negro, Angola, 1934.

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Fig. 2: Padrão de Santo Agostinho, erected 1482/83 in Angola, Museu Etnográfico – Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa.

Fig. 3: Cape Cross Padrão, erected 1485/86 in Namibia, Returned to Namibia in 2019, precise location unknown.

The *Padrão do Cabo Negro* was one of four heraldic columns erected along the coast of west Africa by the Portuguese navigator Diogo Cão (fl. 1480–86) during two voyages that he embarked upon under the aegis of King João II (r. 1481–95) with the aim of discovering a sea route to India. All were sited on prominent headlands close to the sea. Two were set in place during his first voyage of 1482–83: the *Padrão de São Jorge* [PdSJ], installed at the mouth of the Congo River on the border of modern-day DRC and Angola, and the *Padrão de Santo Agostinho* [PdSA] erected at Cape Santa Maria in modern-day Angola (13°26′ S). On his second voyage of 1485–86, Cão set up the *Padrão do Cabo Negro* [PdCN] on the Black Cape in modern-day Angola (15º 42’ S) and the *Padrão Kaap Kruis* [PKK] on Cape Cross in modern-day Namibia (21°50′ S).

The practice of placing a marker on the African coastline to indicate the farthest limit yet reached by Portuguese navigators was already well established by the time of these voyages. In his *Chronicle of the Discovery of Guinea* (1453), Gomes Eanes de Zurara vividly describes the erection of a »great cross of wood« in Ras Nouadhibou (then called Cabo Branco) by the navigator Diogo Afonso in 1445. Under João II these perishable wooden crosses were replaced with stone markers, carved in Portugal and loaded onto the ships before they set off on their voyage; their considerable bulk (each weighed just over a ton) lent stability to the ships. On the return journey to Lisbon the navigators would have needed to replace the weight of the *padrões* in order to balance the ship and the ›goods‹ shipped back to Lisbon during this period would almost certainly have included enslaved people.

Of the columns erected by Cão, only the PdSA and PKK have survived centuries of exposure to sea winds and human assaults in reasonable condition. Both conform to the same basic design: a tall column surmounted by a cuboid capital, carved on one face with a crowned escutcheon and the other three bearing an inscription (figs. 2–3). Originally, they would have been topped by a stone cross fixed to the capital with lead (now lost from the PdSA and a later replacement in the case of the PKK). The escutcheon on the PdSA represents the heraldic arms

used by the King of Portugal from the beginning of the reign of João I in 1385 until the simplifications ordered by João II in 1485. In contrast, the escutcheon on the PKK lacks the *bordure* of castles and simply displays the five *quinas* disposed in the shape of a cross, representing the royal arms of *Portugal-Antigo*. The heraldic connection to the King is underscored by the accompanying inscription, which follows the same formula on both *padrões*: first it gives the year that the voyage had embarked from Lisbon, dated both from the creation of the world and the birth of Christ, and then recounts how King João II had ordered Diogo Cão to »discover this land and erect this column« [*descobrir esta terra e colocar este padrão*].

Sited on prominent headlands close to the Atlantic Ocean, these monuments made a direct address to European navigators. The striking escutcheon, measuring just under half a meter in height, was a clearly recognizable sign for the Portuguese monarch, a means of identifying the enterprise of exploration with the person of the king. Since the reign of João I (r. 1385–1434), who led the conquest of Ceuta in 1415, heraldic insignia had taken on a particular importance in the presentation of the Portuguese royal image and its overseas exploits. The tomb chest of João I in the Dominican convent of Batalha juxtaposes heraldic insignia on the two short sides—a hawthorn bush, his heraldic badge, and the sign of the Order of the Garter, an English chivalric order of which he was elected the first foreign member in 1400—with a lengthy Latin inscription praising the King's military exploits abroad and describing in vivid detail how he »pressed the soles of his feet upon the ground of Africa« [*telluri Afrorum impressit vestigia*].

But for the indigenous peoples of west Africa these monuments would have carried a different significance. The PSJ and the PSA were erected within the Kingdom of Kongo. On his first voyage Cão made contact with Nzinga a Nkuwu, the sovereign of the Kongo (r. pre 1483–1509). Initially the Portuguese offered the King a mutually beneficial exchange, their ships providing a swifter and less labour-intensive means of ferrying resources between the north and south of the kingdom. This alliance led to the baptism of Nzinga a Nkuwu in 1493, taking the name of the Portuguese sovereign João I. His son and heir, Afonso I (r. 1509–42), devised a coat of arms for himself incorporating the five *quinas* of the ancient arms of Portugal, the same heraldic insignia that features on the *padrões*. Seen in this context, it is possible to imagine another reading of the *padrão*. The Cross is a symbol of the Kongo's new faith, the heraldic escutcheon shares important similarities with the coat of arms adopted by Afonso I, and the inscription bears the same name (João) as the first baptised King of Kongo. What had been intended as a sign of Portuguese dominion might also have taken on new significance within the visual rhetoric of the Kingdom of Kongo.

By the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the heraldic shield had become a more general historical symbol, evoking the social and political structures of a bygone era. These associations were used to legitimise a new phase of colonialism in west Africa by portraying the occupying forces as the successors to a long lineage of European presence in the region. In the Portuguese colony of Angola, the PdCN, PdSA, and what little remained of the PdSJ were removed in 1892 to be installed in the colonial museum of the *Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*. That society had been established seventeen years earlier in order to advocate for Portuguese colonial interests and organize expeditions to Africa. Replica *padrões* were set up in precisely the same spots where the originals had been removed, allowing the monuments to continue to assert their territorial claims by proxy.

Fig. 4: Cover of the 1929 publication *Angola: breve monografia histórica, geográfica e económica elaborada para a Exposição Portuguesa em Sevilha.*

Returned to Lisbon, these heraldic monuments took on an important role in the Portuguese colonial imaginary. *Padrões* featured prominently in colonial exhibitions, on postcards, stamps, and advertising images. The cover of a guide to Angola published by Portuguese colonists in Luanda for the 1929 Ibero-American exposition in Seville shows a stylised *padrão* projected onto a blue background with the white outlines of a schematic square escutcheon, showing the royal arms of Portugal impaling another shield charged with an elephant in the upper quadrant and what appears to be a zebra in the lower quadrant (fig. 4). This represents an early version of what would later become the official arms of the colony with the addition of *five bars wavy* in the lowest quadrant. Reading the escutcheon according to the language of heraldic convention, the impaled shield represents a marriage, with the arms of Portugal occupying the place of the ›husband‹ on the *dexter* and the native animals representing Angola occupying the place of the ›wife‹ on the *sinister*. Situated precisely at the point of intersection, the phallic *padrão* celebrates the union of these two unequal parties.

In the nineteenth century, the afterlife of the PKK followed much the same pattern as those of the other three monuments. As the ›scramble for Africa‹ carved up the landscape into colonial territories, this southernmost *padrão* became part of the newly-formed colony of German South West Africa (1884–1919). Having chanced upon the monument while conducting a marine survey in 1893, Gottlieb Becker, the German captain of the *Falke* cruiser, ordered the column to be removed and shipped to Kiel (the naval base of the German Reich), before being set up in the Institute and Museum of Oceanography in Berlin. Kaiser Wilhelm II (r. 1888–1918) ordered a replica *padrão* in granite to be set up on the original site, asserting German territorial claims by adding the double-headed imperial eagle on the column directly below the Portuguese royal escutcheon and a German-language inscription.

Here the story of the Namibian *padrão* parts ways with its Angolan cousins. Whereas the latter continued to be emblems of colonial power in Portugal and flashpoints for resistance in Angola, culminating in the destruction of the replica PdCN during the struggle for liberation in 1975, the Namibian *padrão* played a more ambiguous role during the twentieth century in the construction of new national identities. In the 1980s, South Africa, which had ruled the area now known as South West Africa since 1915, embraced the *padrões* as a means of connect-

Fig. 5: Commemorative stamps marking the five-hundred-year anniversary of the death of Diogo Cão, South West Africa, 1986.

ing the Apartheid regime with the ›white‹ history of medieval Europe. In 1986 a set of four stamps were released to commemorate the five-hundred-year anniversary of Cão's death, including an image of Cão's heraldic escutcheon (itself charged with two *padrões*) and a scene showing Portuguese navigators erecting the *padrão* at Cape Cross (fig. 5). At the same time a second replica was erected at Cape Cross, without the German imperial additions, accompanied by a plaque with the original Portuguese inscription and translations in German and Afrikaans, then official languages of Namibia with strong colonial associations.

Yet after an independent government was established in Namibia in 1990 it, too, embraced the *padrão* as a monument crucial to its national identity. In 2017 Namibia submitted a diplomatic note to Germany demanding the restitution of the stone cross (by then held by the *Deutsches Historisches Museum*), a request that was granted on 16 May 2019. Responding to the news, the Namibian ambassador to Germany described the importance of the *padrão* as a means of »reconstructing our own history.« Although the monument is currently in storage in Namibia, there are proposals to re-erect it on the Cape Cross peninsula, returning the original *padrão* to its original site after a hiatus of more than 130 years.

The lives and afterlives of the *padrões* of Diogo Cão reveal the enduring significance of heraldry as a means of proclaiming imperial power, both medieval and modern. At the same time, the divergent stories of the Angolan and Namibian *padrões* suggest the malleability of heraldic meaning, its susceptibility to appropriation by the same indigenous populations over which it was intended to proclaim dominion. Paradoxically, a monument bearing the escutcheon of a medieval King of Portugal now becomes a means for modern-day Namibia to reconcile with its colonial past.

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The Beheaded Enemy

A Long Walk Across Iberian Heraldry

Carlos López-Fanjul de Argüelles

The display of the human head as a heraldic charge was so uncommon in the medieval armorial bearings of the Iberian kingdoms that Ferrán Mexía (1974, libro III, cap. XIII), in his *Nobiliario vero* (1492), stated that all earthly entities can be used as charges excepting the human body, as man has been created by God to be the master of all things. Notwithstanding, heads were represented in a few coats of arms devised during the transit from the fifteenth to the sixteenth centuries. In Catalonia, those of May (Or, three blackamoors' heads) and Capmany (Or, a chevron gules and a blackamoor's head in base) were respectively recorded in the armorials by Steve Tamborino (1516) and Bernat Mestre (1544) (Riquer 1983, I: 284). In Castile, the *Blasón d'armas* (1496) of Garcí Alonso de Torres only mentioned those of Barba (a bearded man's head) and the five maidens of Miranda, couped below the breasts and each holding a scallop shell in their hands (Riquer 1986, 160–161).

Fig. 1: Arms of Diego Fernández de Miranda, early 16th century, Archeological Museum of Asturias, Oviedo and Huergo, House of Hevia, Santa Marina de los Cuquiellos, Siero, Asturias.

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To the ancient arms of Miranda (probably gules, five scallops or), those five maidens were incorporated by the end of the fifteenth century to suggest a fantastic relationship between this family and the king of Miranda, one of the characters in *La demanda del santo Grial*, a late translation into Spanish of a French version of the *Queste del Saint Graal* (López-Fanjul 2019). These new arms were designed for Diego Fernández de Miranda and carved in his tomb in the early years of the sixteenth century (Archeological Museum of Asturias) (fig. 1).

Finally, the Portuguese armorial *Livro do Armeiro-Mor* (1509) contains a picture of the arms bestowed in 1474 by king Afonso V to Fernão Gomes de Mina, renter of the trading monopoly in the Guinea Gulf and explorer of more than five hundred leagues of its coast (Argent, three blackamoors' heads wearing necklaces, nose rings and earrings or).

So far, I have concentrated on canting family arms (cap of Capmany = head, barba of Barba = beard), or those symbolic of Miranda or allusive of Gomes de Mina. Nonetheless, the heraldic use of the human head in the Iberian Peninsula usually had a completely different purpose, representing that of a decapitated enemy, imaginary or authentic, two options to be analysed in the following sections.

THE HEADS OF IMAGINARY ENEMIES

In the last quarter of the thirteenth century, it was deemed necessary to devise a territorial coat of arms for the Aragonese kingdom distinct from the dynastic one (Or, four pallets gules): the Alcoraz cross made up of Saint George's cross (Argent, a cross gules) cantoned by four blackamoors' heads. This design was intended to evoke the miraculous assistance of Saint George to the Aragonese troops commanded by Pedro I, defeating in Alcoraz the army of the Muslim king Al-Musta'in II of Saragossa in 1096. Those arms were first exhibited in the seal of Pedro III (1281) (fig. 2) and were continued by his successors to the throne. In 1525, the exploit was painted by Jerónimo Martínez in a panel of the Saint George's altarpiece preserved in the church of San Salvador (Teruel) (fig. 3).

Fig. 2: Seal of Pedro III of Aragón, 1281.

Driven by the social convention ascribing the exclusive use of armorial bearings to the nobility, a considerable number of Asturian hidalgos' families adopted a fresh coat of arms to evidence their belonging to the privileged rank (López-Fanjul 2008, 75–100). This procedure, initiated in the second half of the fifteenth century, did not observe the customary heraldic design but resorted to the contemporary vogue of scenes, the plastic representations displayed upon the field of the shield showing naturalistic images of warlike or hunting events, purposedly conveying to the observer the social class of its owner. Later, those scenes were reinterpreted as testimonies of heroical feats carried out by the corresponding ancestors in the initial years of the Reconquista.

Fig. 3: Jeronimo Martínez, Warriors offering Saint George's shield and four blackamoors' heads to King Pedro I of Aragón as trophies gained in the battle of Alcoraz, detail of altarpiece from 1525, Church of San Salvador, Teruel.

The Saracen's head was used in scenic coats of arms to portray an imaginary Muslim enemy. For instance, the arms of Ribera were described by Tirso de Avilés (1956, 23–24) in *Armas y linajes de Asturias* (1590) as a castle with a lion on the top personifying the victor and a moor's head below. In other cases, heads were lately added to arms of orthodox design, as those of Alas and Lavandera-Huergo (Avilés 1956, 32 and 99). To the first, originally presenting a castle flanked by two canting wings (alas), moor's heads were incorporated alluding to the enemies killed in the defence of the fortress. To the second, initially showing a canting banner (bandera) together with a key and a fleur-de-lis derived from a posterior fusion of arms, three Turks' heads were adjunct to represent the slayed adversaries (fig. 1).

Contemporaries of the above coats of arms are those devised for the characters of the Libros de Caballerías, the Spanish chivalric romances which were in vogue along the sixteenth century all around Europe (López-Fanjul 2019). I will merely mention three examples of those arms bearing the decapitated head of the enemy, taken from outstanding novels: the shield given by Alchidiana to *Palmerín de Olivia* (2004, 187), presenting the head of her false accuser Amarán de Negrea cut off by the protagonist; that of the Irish King Abiés who decapitated the giant who destroyed his country (*Amadís de Gaula* 1991, I: 318); and the one held by the giant Cau-

boldán showing the severed heads of other three giants that he slaughtered (*Palmerín de Inglaterra* 1979, I: 117).

THE HEADS OF AUTHENTIC ENEMIES

Heraldic representations of enemies' heads started with the Iberian incursions in the Maghreb. For instance, Afonso V of Portugal awarded a coat of arms in 1475 to Gabriel Gonçalves de Freitas, a knight who beheaded a moor chieftain in Tangier on Saint Francis's day, showing a double-headed eagle grasping a Saracen's head in each claw and the Saint Francis cordon in orle (Braacamp 1908, 231). Similarly, Carlos V granted to the ensign García Fernández de la Plaza, who had decapitated the corsair Aruj Barbarroja and brought his head to Oran in 1518, arms parading his sword and banner together with Barbarroja's crowned head and five Turks' heads in orle (López de Gómara 1989, 148). In parallel, Gonzalo Gómez de Espinosa, an officer of the fleet that first circumnavigated the Globe, was also given arms by Carlos V in 1522, including

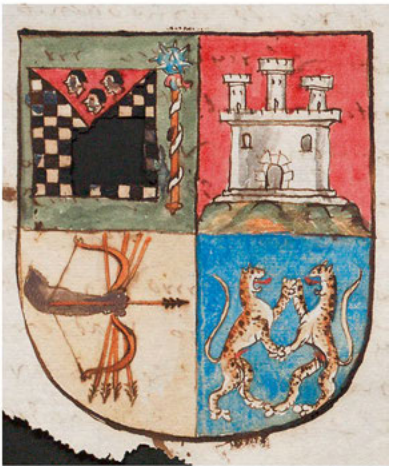

Fig. 4: Arms granted to Gonzalo Gómez de Espinosa, Juan de Burgos, Jácome de Castellón and Felipe Guacrapaucar, Archivo Ducal de Alba, vitrina 32-4; C238-2-4; C238-1-23; C238-1-45.

the head of the Muslim chief of Lanuca whom he had killed in the Moluccas Islands (Paz 1892, 184) (fig. 4).

Throughout the sixteenth century, arms were granted by the Castilian Crown to many conquistadores of America (López-Fanjul 2014) and to their indigenous auxiliaries (López-Fanjul 2015). The process of applying for such grants started with the submission of a sketch showing the solicitant's proposal; continued under the supervision of an Indias' Council official, who marked on that sketch those quarters that must be revised, omitted or replaced by new ones; and finished with the issue of a royal patent including a drawing of the arms bestowed and their description, both following the reviewer's instructions (López-Fanjul 2017). This operation implied the invention of many novel heraldic charges, in particular those showing enemy Indians' heads.

In 1525, a coat of arms was granted to Hernán Cortés, with a bordure charged with a chain attaching the heads of seven native chieftains vanquished and imprisoned by the grantee (Paz 1892, 26) (fig. 5). Indians' heads were also displayed in the arms of some of Cortés' companions, as those of Juan de Burgos (1527) including the image of the recipient on a white horse

Fig. 5: Arms granted to Hernán Cortés, 1525, Edward S. Harkness Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, marked proposals of arms submitted to the Indias Council by Alonso de Mata and Hernán Martín, 1531, Archivo General de Indias (MP-Escudos, 16; MP-Escudos, 17) and arms of Francisco Pizarro in the palace of the Marquis de la Conquista, 1578, Trujillo, Cáceres.

trampling on a slayed Indian and a bordure charged with the heads of the Indians »you slaughtered« (Paz 1892, 114). Similarly, the arms bestowed to Jácome de Castellón (1528) showed the fortress of Cumaná (Venezuela), four heads of rebel Indians executed in its proximity, and a yoke as a signal of the subjection of the region to the garrison tower (Paz 1892, 51) (fig. 4).

In the arms of the conquistadores, Indians' heads were only portrayed during the short period between 1525 and 1531. The cessation was prompted by the *Ordenanzas sobre el tratamiento de los indios* issued in 1528 (Konetzke 1953, I: 113–120), one of the royal regulations sanctioning the measures adopted for the conversion of the natives to Catholicism and intended to prevent their maltreatment by the Spanish settlers. Correspondingly, corrections were made in the heraldic design of several proposals submitted to the Indias' Council in 1531 (fig. 5). For instance, that of Alonso de Mata preserved the original quarterings, but the seven enchained Indians' heads charged in the bordure were marked for suppression and superseded by a simple chain (Montoto 1927, 244). Similarly, the second (including Indians' heads) and third quarters of that of Hernán Martín were also marked and both replaced by a bundle of arrows, as Martín was the blacksmith who forged arrowheads and the nails used in the building of the brigantines engaged in the conquest of Tenochtitlan (Montoto 1927, 241).

Blackamoors' or maidens' heads were used as charges for their aesthetic or canting interest. However, the heads of enemies, authentic or imaginary, Saracens or Indians, were restricted to infidels, resorting to Christian enemies' heads being inadmissible in spite of the frequent wars waged by the Peninsular kingdoms, either between themselves or against other European nations. Even in fiction, enemies' heads in heraldry were commonly restricted to those of monstrous giants. This may explain why the Indias' Council did not object to the Indians' heads, associated with the targe and mace of the grantee, shown in the arms conceded in 1564 to Felipe Guacrapaucar, cacique of Jauja (Peru) and son of one of the first baptised auxiliaries of Francisco Pizarro (Paz 1892, 272) (fig. 4). Although he shared ethnic descent with his victims, their heads pertained to adversaries professing a different faith.

Furthermore, Francisca Pizarro Yupanqui, daughter and heir of the conqueror of Peru and the Inca princess Inés Haylas Yupanqui, requested in 1578 a copy of the grants of arms awarded to his father. In conformity with the Council's instructions, the bordure bestowed in January 1537 was charged with seven enchained griffins symbolizing imprisoned caciques, but in December of the same year an augmentation was also conceded exceptionally showing the image of the last Inca ruler Atahualpa encircled by seven enchained Indians' heads (Paz, 1892: 40–49). Those charges were all carved in the facade of her palace in Trujillo (Cáceres), also completed in 1578 (Sanz Fernández 2007) (fig. 5). Although Francisca was born in Jauja, she resided in Spain since she was sixteen, where she married her uncle Hernando Pizarro, and obviously considered the Peruvian caciques as heathens, in spite of being of her mother's blood.

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The Cross of Gaspé: Between Territorial Appropriation and Colonial Emancipation

Antoine Robin

At the outset of the sixteenth century, decades after the rest of the major European powers, the kingdom of France began its exploration and conquest of the New World led by King Francis I. Francis' focus had previously been centered on the Italian Wars, fighting for the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan, which meant that the French took a late interest in the idea of crossing the ocean, shortly after Magellan's discovery of a new path to the desired continent of Cathay. In order to catch up, Francis I commissioned a first expedition, in 1524, directed by the Florentine Giovanni da Verrazano. This was followed by further failed and aborted voyages, while the Spanish and Portuguese fleets continued to expand their explorations of America and beyond. Late in the race but tenacious, Francis I ordered the navigator Jacques Cartier to embark for the New World, nearly ten years after Verrazano's first voyage, to find a new route to Asia in order to explore and exploit the riches of the new continent. Leaving France from the port of Saint-Malo on April 20th 1534, Cartier set sail with two ships, accompanied by a crew of 61 men, and navigated to the north American coast where they landed in July 1534, in the bay of Gaspé, now Québec.

Jacques Cartier's logbook relates how, on July 24th, he and his crew took possession of the land on the headland of the bay by erecting a thirty-foot-high cross bearing a sculpted escutcheon displaying three fleurs-de-lys (the arms of France) under the intersection of the beams. On top was a placard inscribed with the words: »*Vive le Roy de France*«. Once the cross was erected, the sailors knelt before it, hands joined, and started to pray, worshiping the cross and pointing upward to the heavens in an effort to convey meaning to the Mi'kmaq tribe who came to meet them upon their arrival. But the leader of the tribe reacted swiftly. Making a cross with his fingers and gesturing to the land around him, he appeared to express his disagreement over Cartier's symbolic claims. In response, the French navigator attempted to explain through gestures that the cross was only erected as a navigation tool (a kind of beacon). After some back

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Fig. 1: The emblazoned column set in Florida by Ribault in 1562, worshiped by the natives and presented to Laudonnière. Drawing, 1564, The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Print Collection, The New York Public Library.

and forth, Cartier managed to convince the leader and his people of the French's good intentions. Cartier's explanations were likely fallacious: the true nature of this combined sign – a cross and a coat of arms – displayed in front of a population totally unfamiliar with the codes of heraldry and European political and sacral imagery thus raises questions about the functions of this object. What were the true motives and to whom was this symbol supposed to speak? Was it intended for the Mi'kmaq tribe, even though they were unfamiliar to these images and their meaning? Was it aimed at the French themselves, as a genuine beacon, a testimony to their faith and a symbol of conquest? Or was it a way for the French to signal their presence and land claims to other colonial forces surveying the North American coast?

The logbook from Cartier's first voyage mentions other crosses as well, although it does not specify whether they were emblazoned. However, the account of his second voyage (1536) does record the erection of another emblazoned cross, bearing the royal shield and a new inscription celebrating the king. The erection of the Gaspé cross was clearly not an isolated event but rather would appear to have been part of a more systematic pattern of spatial marking. The conjunction of the arms, the inscription »*Vive le roy de France*« and the religious symbol of the cross manifests the dual nature of this particular ceremony of possession: in the name of an earthly and political power as well as in the name of a celestial one, legitimising and associating the conquest to an act of faith, in the name of not only the king, but also God.

Fig. 2: Jacques Cartier taking possession of the Bay of Gaspé, Canada, in 1534, L. Geisleh after Louis-Charles Bombled, 1900.

In Europe, heraldic iconography had already been used for centuries to display and express the power and the authority of kings in their respective realms and newly conquered territories. During the reign of Francis I, this visual strategy played an important role in his drive toward territorial unification. Indeed, Cartier's first exploration of the New World began in 1534, *i.e.* just after the last independent French duchies (Bourbon and Britain) were incorporated into the royal territory. At that moment, the spread of the King's heraldic emblems across space began to play an increased early role in creating a French spatial and visual rhetoric that highlighted the kingdom's unity under a dominant royal administration whose direct authority was made manifest by the plethora of heraldic signs. The expansion of the kingdom during the Italian wars and the exploration of the New World thus naturally followed the same logic of

symbolic appropriation. As Patricia Seed already stressed in her extensive study of ceremonies of possession in the New World, the French very often ritualized the appropriation of a new land and heraldic markers seemed to have played a key in these ceremonies. Other French explorers besides Cartier took, or appear to have taken, possession of new lands by planting royal banners or erecting crosses. Indeed, even if the account of Verrazano's voyage does not specifically mention these ritualized practices, the later 16th-century author René Goulaine de Laudonnière nonetheless recounts how the Florentine explorer would have planted the royal arms and insignias upon his arrival in America in 1524. Despite the absence of primary documents confirming it, this story is still representative of the French political imaginary pertaining to maritime conquest at the end of the 16th century, which drew upon past and present practices like Cartier's or Jean Ribault who erected a stone column engraved with the king's arms upon his arrival on the shores of Florida in 1562 (fig. 1). Later, the French also attempted to indicate possession of the Amazon by having the Tupis erect a cross and a standard bearing the royal arms.

Fig. 3: The present cross of Gaspé, Québec.

Moreover, similar practices had already been employed by other European colonial powers engaged in the discovery of the New World. The earliest evidence of overseas heraldic markings dates back to the Portuguese *padrões* – emblazoned stone pillars usually surmounted by a cross – on the West African coast, as early as 1484. The account of Cristopher Columbus' expedition also relates how, four decades prior to the French arrival in America, the Spaniards took possession of newly discovered land in the name of the royal power on 11th and 12th of October in 1492. Accounts describe the display of three banners, one »*vandera real*« and two »*vanderas de la Cruz Verde*«. Soon after, during the Portuguese conquest of Brazil, the same kind of practices were also documented in a letter sent by the explorer Pero Vaz de Caminha to King Manuel I of Portugal: immediately after arriving on the shores of Brazil, the Portuguese raised a cross, bearing the arms and motto of the king to take possession of the land. These practices all manifest a similar interest in using the combination of heraldic and Christian iconography as ritual elements crucial to the appropriation of new territory.

In the bay of Gaspé, the emblazoned cross, whose original location has often been theorised but cannot be confirmed, has long since disappeared. However, it remains both in memory and

modern manifestations. A new cross, erected in the city in 1934 to celebrate the fourth centenary of Cartier's arrival in America, now marks a site known as the »*Berceau du Canada*«. However, although history books (fig. 2), paintings and numerous French and Canadian reproductions of the cross have depicted it and still depict it as described in Cartier's logbook, this new monolithic cross made from grey granite (fig. 3), is now completely devoid of any decoration. Neither the coat of arms of France – only discreetly represented at the bottom of the commemorative plaque and mentioned in a quotation on the floor – nor the inscription honouring the king are visible on the cross itself. Today, freed from the symbols of the past, the new Gaspé Cross continues to celebrate the first arrival of Cartier in Québec, but this old symbol of colonization is now emancipated from the French influence and subtly illustrates Canada's liberation from its colonial past.

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The Virgin, the Eagle and the Cactus: (Re)Tracing the Origins of a *Criollo* Patriotic Symbol in Colonial Mexico

Raphaèle Preisinger

When Miguel Hidalgo was captured by the Spanish forces as a consequence of his uprising against Spanish rule that initiated the Mexican war of Independence, he declared that his men carried images of the Virgin of Guadalupe and of the ›eagle of Mexico‹ with them. These two symbols fused as the war progressed and came to represent the criollo nationalist sentiments ultimately leading to Mexico's independence from Spain in the first half of the nineteenth century. The visual association of the Virgin of Guadalupe and of the ›eagle of Mexico‹ is generally traced back to the earliest printed account of the apparition legend revolving around the Virgin of Guadalupe published by the writer and theologian Miguel Sánchez in 1648. Sánchez's text marks the beginning of a campaign supported by the creole population – comprising all Mexican-born Spaniards – to legitimize Guadalupe as the primary image of the Virgin in New Spain. In his *Imagen de la Virgen Maria, Madre de Dios de Guadalupe*, Sánchez reinterprets Nahuatl accounts of the miraculous impression of the Virgin's image on the cloak of the indigenous Marian visionary Juan Diego in the light of the Apocalypse of Saint John and of New Spain's pre-Columbian past.

Adopting an understanding of Holy Scripture informed by medieval typology, Sánchez construes the vision experienced by St. John on the Isle of Patmos in chapter 12 of the Apocalypse as an annunciation of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexico. Following St. Bernard of Clairvaux, the woman described in Revelations 12:1 as being »clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars«, had come to be interpreted as the Virgin herself. In the biblical account, she is given »two wings of a great eagle« (12:14) to flee from the dragon who threatens to harm her. This last detail spurred Sánchez's interpretation of the Virgin of Guadalupe's apparition in Mexico as the Virgin's descent with the wings of the Mexican eagle to the territory of the plumed serpent, Quetzalcóatl. Sánchez's exegesis cast the Virgin's appearance before Juan Diego in 1531 as the event that sealed the religious conversion

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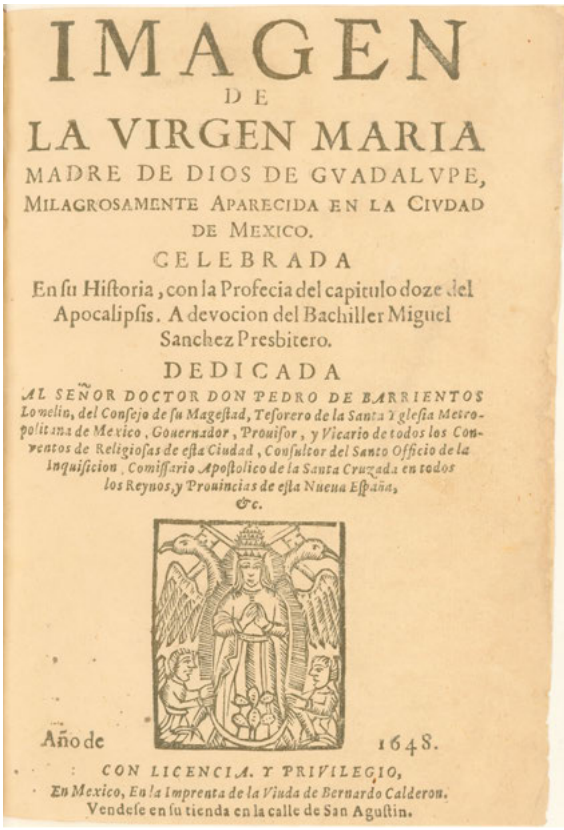
IMAGEN
DE
LA VIRGEN MARIA
MADRE DE DIOS DE GVADALVPE,
MILAGROSAMENTE APARECIDA EN LA CIVDAD
DE MEXICO.
CELEBRADA
En su Historia, con la Profecia del capitulo doze del
Apocalipsis. A devocion del Bachiller Miguel
Sanchez Presbitero.
DEDICADA
AL SEÑOR DOCTOR DON PEDRO DE BARRIENTOS
Lomelin, del Consejo de su Magestad, Tesorero de la Santa Yglesia Metro-
politana de Mexico, Governador, Prouisor, y Vicario de todos los Con-
ventos de Religiosas de esta Ciudad, Consultor del Santo Officio de la
Inquisicion, Comissario Apostolico de la Santa Cruzada en todos
los Reynos, y Prouincias de esta Nueua España,
&c.
Año de 1648.
CON LICENCIA. Y PRIVILEGIO,
En Mexico, En la Imprenta de la Viuda de Bernardo Calderon.
Vendese en su tienda en la calle de San Agustin.

Fig. 1: Title page of Miguel Sánchez, *Imagen de la Virgen Maria, Madre de Dios de Guadalupe*, Mexico City, 1648.

and foundation of Mexico in Christianity and conferred divine significance on the establishment of the Spanish colony. More importantly even, it allowed to interweave this narration with the myth recounting the foundation of the Aztec empire, symbolized by an eagle descending upon a nopal cactus, thus verifying Mary's miraculous apparitions in Mexico as an American phenomenon. This served to justify the conquest and to glorify Mexico, to summarily describe the aims of the creole >patriotic< program of the time – a sentiment best characterized as a strong feeling of adherence to one's hometown, or >patria<.

Sánchez's interweaving of the biblical account with Mexico's colonial and pre-Columbian past is widely acclaimed for its masterful synthesis of heterogeneous traditions; however, an array of visual representations paved the way for his textual merging of symbols. The Marian depiction on the title page of Sánchez's 1648 publication (fig. 1), which is generally considered a pictorial rendition of the conflation of symbols and myths observable in his text, is in fact among these precursors. It shows the Virgin standing on a crescent moon with a *nopal* cactus at her feet, flanked laterally by two kneeling angels and wearing a crown on top of which a papal tiara can be seen. Behind the Virgin, the double-headed Habsburg imperial eagle and the two crossed keys of St. Peter are depicted.

This essay will explore a central aspect of this curious iconography with an eye to how its symbols were interwoven in a complex and at times historically fraught manner. Scholars have misinterpreted the figure of Mary at the center of this composition as a reference to the image venerated in Tepeyac because of its material connection with Sánchez's eulogy of the Virgin of Guadalupe. The erroneous identification of this Marian figure as the Virgin of Guadalupe is based upon the fact that both the figure on the title page and the Marian icon are depictions of the Virgin of the Assumption as she was represented in New Spain at that time.

As Jaime Cuadriello points out, referring to the use of this emblem in the printing shop of Juan Ruiz in Mexico in 1648, the title page of Sánchez's text shows the emblem of the Cathedral of Mexico as it was used by the ecclesiastical chapter since the mid-seventeenth century – however in a rather crude version. In accordance with the archdiocese's dedication, the chapter emblem showed the Virgin of the Assumption hovering over or behind the nopal cactus at the center. This emblem is also documented in several prints held by the John Carter Brown Library in Providence. The earliest of these is a woodcut included in a pamphlet describing the

triumphal arc erected by the Cathedral of Mexico for the entrance of the new Viceroy Don Diego López Pacheco into the city of Mexico printed by Francisco Robledo in 1640 (fig. 2).

Perhaps Sánchez chose to adorn his text by consciously ›copying‹ this symbol because it had inspired his book? The heraldic device of the chapter of Mexico corresponds closely with the image shown on Sánchez's title page in terms of iconography (but certainly not stylistically) and persists nearly unaltered to this day. The most noticeable modification is the elimination of the eagle since sometime in the eighteenth century, roughly coinciding with the end of Habsburg rule over Spain in 1700. According to Jaime Cuadriello, this image expressed the notion that the Mexican church, represented by the Virgin risen to heaven, consolidated its presence in New Spain, aided by Habsburg rule and its obedience to the universal mission of the Catholic church. On the Sánchez title page, the Virgin is seen standing on the highly ambiguous symbol of the moon. This motif, which recurs often in New Spanish Assumption iconography, alludes to the place-name of the island on which Tenochtitlan was founded – ›Mexico‹.

Fig. 2: Coat of arms of the Cathedral of Mexico, woodcut from the anonymous *Zodiaco regio, templo político,* Mexico City, 1640.

The most conspicuous symbol reminiscent of Mexico's pre-Columbian past in the emblem on the Sánchez title page is the nopal cactus at the Virgin's feet, which points to the context in which the conflation of symbols under examination occurred. Even though the Mexican eagle is absent, it can be understood to be tacitly alluded to by the double-headed Habsburg eagle, whose wings frame the Virgin on both sides, as if to adorn her with them. The eagle was in fact the most problematic element in the process of re-introducing Mexico's foundational glyph under colonial rule. Ambitions to do so can be traced back to the sixteenth century and provide the broader historical framework within which to locate the imagery under discussion here.

Fig. 3: Coat of arms of the City of Mexico, conceded by Charles V. in 1523, Museo Nacional de Historia, Mexico City.

The Spaniards came to identify the foundational symbol of Aztec Tenochtitlan as its most powerful symbol ever since the sixteenth century. It refers to the city's foundational myth recounting the Méxica people's journey to Tenochtitlan upon departure from their mythic place of origin to the north, Aztlan. According to this myth, the patron deity of the Méxica, the warrior-God Huitzilopochtli, sent their tribal leaders a potent sign signaling them where to found their city by taking on the form of an eagle. This eagle flew to a perch on top of a nopal cactus growing on a rocky outcrop in the center of Lake Tetzcoco. The city subsequently founded upon the lake acquired the name ›Tenochtitlan‹, which roughly means ›next to the nopal cactus fruit of the rock‹ in Nahuatl.

México-Tenochtitlan, founded by the Aztecs in 1325 and conquered by the Spaniards in 1521, received a coat of arms in 1523. In a royal certificate signed in Valladolid in July of that year, Charles V gave the city a coat of arms which symbolized the conquest of the imperial capital. The history of this coat of arms, which was used throughout the colonial period and remains in use until today, attests to the strained relationship it entertained with the city's foundational glyph. It displays a blue escutcheon enframed by a golden band adorned with ten green pads of the prickly pear cactus. Three disrupted stone bridges lead to the golden castle at the center. Two lions are shown standing on the two side bridges while leaning on the castle with their front paws ›to signal the Christians' victory‹, as stated in the grant of arms (fig. 3).

This coat of arms was not strictly conformed to by the residents of Mexico, as its various versions attest. Perhaps because the coat of arms given to the city by the Habsburg emperor was devoid of many of the usual elements of heraldry, after just a few years, the nopal cactus was integrated into the central part of the coat of arms, the bridges were eliminated, and the Aztec eagle was introduced. This amended coat of arms was used by the municipality of Mexico and came to be understood as that of the entire colony of New Spain. It seems that the central motif of Charles V's coat of arms, referring to the military conquest of Tenochtitlan, was not of crucial importance to an urban society that preferred viewing itself as inhabiting a new Rome and imagining itself within the future of an imperial city predestined since pre-Hispanic times.

The Mexican eagle and the cactus came to be viewed by the criollos of Mexico as symbols of their city, both old and new, from the late sixteenth century on, even if not always without friction. Due to the suspicion the eagle aroused, in August of 1642, Viceroy Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza abolished the use of the amended coat of arms in an act of violent suppression

of Mexico's foundational glyph, and the original coat of arms was reinstalled. The eagle and cactus were erased from where they had been on display throughout the city. But no later than 1663, the amended coat of arms returned and the eagle resting upon the nopal cactus was publicly displayed once again, even in official contexts, in a multitude of variants.

Unlike the preceding century, where continuities with the Pre-Hispanic past prevailed, in the 17th century, iconographical allusions to this past often expressed the desire for political emancipation felt by the creole population. Beginning in the late sixteenth century, Christian cult images and local saints were shown in conjunction with Mexico's foundational glyph in an array of iconographical schemes (fig. 4). A visual link was thus established, which was similar to that forged between the personification of New Spain and the Aztec hieroglyph in images of different types, among which were representations based on the Roman medal tradition proclaiming the viceroyalties' inclusion in the Spanish Empire. This conflated iconography was to have tremendous influence on eighteenth century visual representations of the Virgin of Guadalupe.

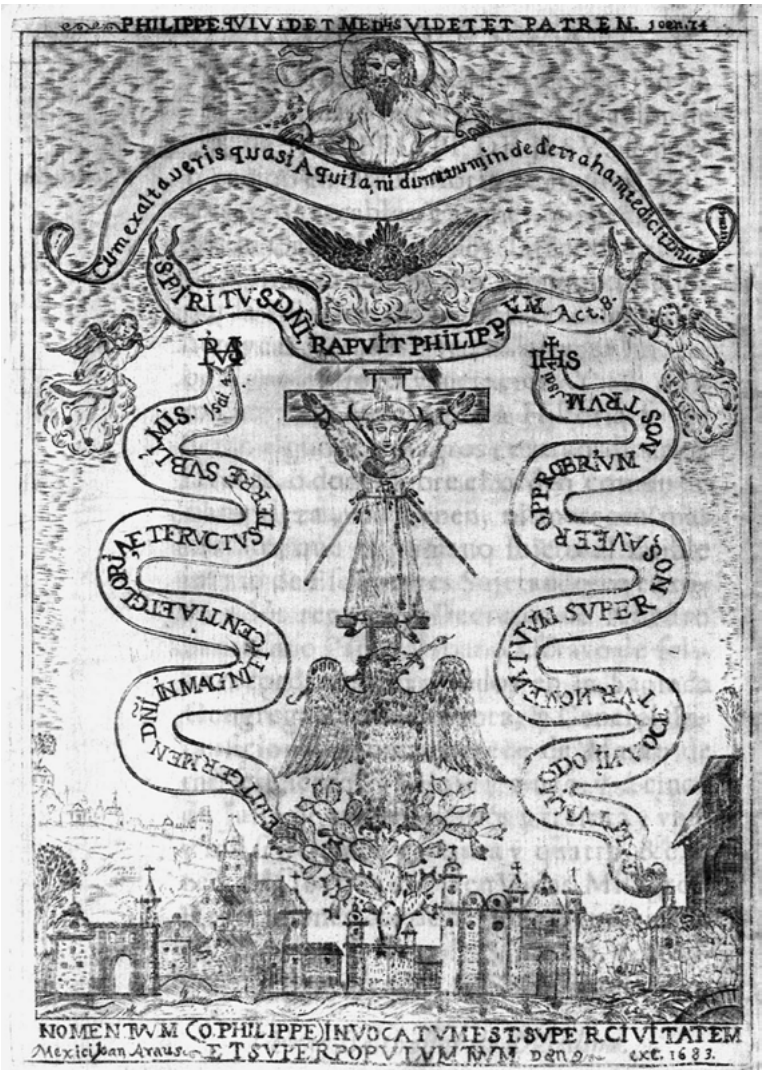

Fig. 4: Juan Araus, The Apotheosis of St. Felipe de Jesús, in Baltasar de Medina, *Vida, martirio, y beatificación del invicto protomártir del Japón San Felipe de Jesús*, Mexico City, 1683.

The insertion of the heraldic device of Mexico's metropolitan church, or rather an imitation thereof, on the title page of Sánchez' miracle account surely cannot have been coincidental. However, rather than illustrating Sanchez's text, this woodcut, just like the intricately woven exegesis applied by Sánchez to the woman in Revelations, itself evolved from a tradition in which symbols of pre-Columbian, colonial, and European origins had already merged. In fact, the woodcut participates in the colonial tradition of showing Christian devotional images in

conjunction with the Aztecs' foundational glyph, but avoids displaying the Mexican eagle. The desire to visually reintroduce the Aztec foundational glyph into New Spanish visual culture, which was at the core of this tradition, emerged in the years following the conquest. It revealed the aspiration to establish an American identity firmly rooted in the acceptance of the colony's pre-Hispanic past.

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The Old and New Continent in Contact at Miramare Castle in Trieste

Leonor Calvão Borges

Located on the Gulf of Trieste, bordered by the sea, the land on which the castle of Miramare (fig. 1) was built was purchased by Maximilian of Habsburg in 1856. Ferdinand Maximilian Joseph of Habsburg-Lorraine, Archduke of Austria, Hungary and Bohemia, was born on July 6th 1832 in Schönbrunn, near Vienna. Second son of the Archduke Francis Charles of the House of Habsburg-Lorraine (1802–1878) and Princess Sophie Friederike of Bavaria (1805–1872), his education followed that of his older brother, Franz Joseph, the future Austrian-Hungarian Emperor.

In 1857, he married Charlotte of Belgium, daughter of the King of the Belgians Leopold I of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha and Louise of France. Appointed by his brother as governor of the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia in the same year, the disagreement with his brother over the form of governance caused Maximilian to be eventually dismissed from this post in 1859, moving to Trieste, where his house was under construction.

The construction of the Castle of Miramare began in 1856, under design of Carl Junker, an Austrian architect, and being the object of a decorative program designed by Maximilian himself, later enhanced to symbolically link the old and new continents, after his appointment as Emperor of Mexico, in 1863, and materialised by Franz and Julius Hofman.

It was at Miramare that Maximilian received a Mexican

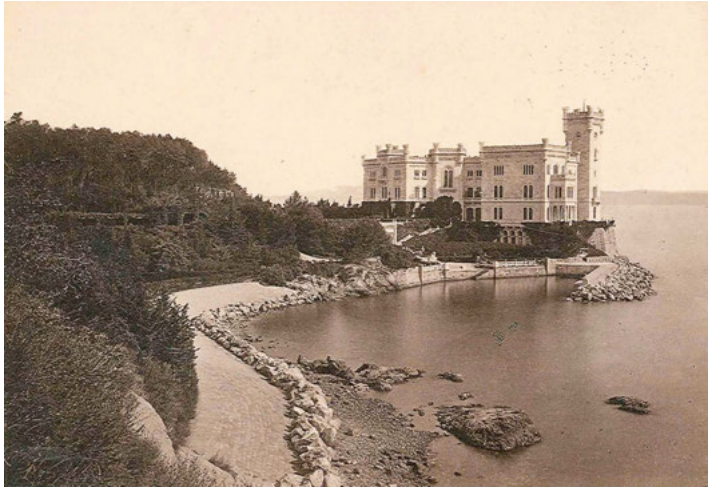

Fig. 1: The Miramare Castle on the Gulf of Trieste, c. 1880.

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Fig. 2: Cesare Dell'Acqua, Maximilian founding Miramare, ceiling painting in the Historic Room, Miramare Castle, Trieste.

delegation, led by José Maria Gutiérrez de Estrada, in October 3rd, 1863, proclaiming him Emperor of Mexico. This appointment resulted in an appropriation of ancient Mexican symbols as a way of legitimizing this second empire in the new world. To do so, Maximillian began by promoting an imperial ideology, visible in the creation of the Imperial Order of the Mexican Eagle, to be awarded to the defenders of the empire, adopting for this purpose the Anahuac's Mexican eagle, but also in the new coat of arms, where he identifies the empire with the indigenous past of Mexico.

The new coat of arms, decided by Maximilian's decree of November 10th, 1865 combined the symbols of three distinct epochs: the Aztec, national independence, and his own empire, omitting the Spanish epoch, as it can be seen:

An oval shield on a blue field, the Aztec eagle of Anahuac on a nopal, supported by a rock, tearing at a serpent; an imperial crown, with branches of oak and laurel. Two griffins, taken from the coat of arms of the Habsburg, served as supporters. The shield was placed over a sceptre and sword crossed, encircled by the collar of the Order of the Mexican Eagle, revealing the imperial motto *Equidad en la justicia*.

Thus, the focal point of the arms became readily identifiable as the Aztec eagle and the nopal, another symbol of Mexico.

In fact, in addition to the Aztec eagle, the figure of the eagle tearing a serpent was found on the flags of the insurgents who led the country to a republic, but it also evokes the legend that Mexico City was founded in the place where it was located due to a fulfilled prophecy, of an eagle eating a serpent.

As for the national flag, Maximillian kept the tricolour, adopted in 1823 by the Republic with the eagle and nopal with branches of laurel and oak, to which he added the imperial crown.

The new coins also had the effigy of Maximillian surrounded by the words Maximiliano Emperador and on the reverse Mexican Empire engraved on top of the new coat of arms.

Miramare will thus be the reflection of a European aristocrat who was raised to the head of the Mexican empire, as it can be seen in Cesare Dell'Acqua's paintings, portraying events of Maximilian's life and the history of Miramare. The ceiling paintings in the designated Historic Room, which represent Maximilian founding Miramare, demonstrate well this interconnection between the symbology of the two continents: it is clearly a declaration of intent (fig. 2).

Fig. 3: Pineapple pattern on draperies in the Miramare Castle.

In fact, there are personifications of Europe, America, and Africa in the right side of the ceiling, with America offering Maximilian a pineapple (king of fruits as it was called in Europe in the seventeenth century), while to the left Architecture, Sculpture and Painting appear and a small genius drawing the plan of the Castle. At the top of the painting there is an eagle with a snake, symbols of Mexico, also present in the Second Empire's coat of arms.

Fig. 4: Red draperies with the crowned imperial monogram MM (lower left corner) in the Miramare Castle.

Fig. 5: Bed headboard with the crowned Mexican Eagle in Maximilian's bedroom, Miramare Castle.

Fig. 6: Wooden staircase with pineapple in the Miramare Castle.

In a single painting, the two continents are thus present, topped by the best-known symbol of Mexico. The painting thus sets the tone for the decoration that extends through the draperies, paintings, and woodwork on the staircase, where the iconographic options taken by Maximilian in Mexico follow.

Thus, in addition to the rooms destined for the glorification of the Habsburg dynasty, or those where the then current European reigning families were identified, profusely decorated with coats of arms, Maximillian added Mexican symbolic elements throughout the residence, visible in quilts and tapestries.

If the imperial legitimacy in Mexico involved the appropriation of Mexican symbols, his European house would thus reflect this option, linking Maximilian to Mexico in a clear way. Therefore, the draperies appear with pineapples, present throughout the house, but also with the imperial monogram with two Ms, representing Maximilian and Mexico, topped by an imperial crown, the crowned Mexican eagle or Charlotte's monogram (figs. 3–5).

The pineapple is also represented in wood, on the staircase (fig. 6) and in stone, on the wall of the palace, and the Mexican eagle is represented in the park. All these symbols coexist with three rooms where the heraldic representation of the House of the Habsburgs and the ruling families in Europe evokes the European network of Maximilian and his wife Charlotte.

The coexistence of Mexican and European symbolism, present in the castle, thus represents the identification between the two worlds of which Maximilian was part, resulting in an ensemble that stands out for its uniqueness: it is his presence and life reflected there in a harmonious way.

Maximillian was executed in Mexico, in June 1867. Charlotte received the news of his death at Miramare.

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Jaguars, Maidens Issuant, Counter-Ermined: Heraldry in Contact in 20th Century Brazil

Miguel Metelo de Seixas

Among 20th century Brazilian novelists and playwrights, few have devoted as much attention to heraldry as Ariano Suassuna. The *Romance d'A Pedra do Reino* (*Romance of the Stone of the Realm*), the author's major work in this literary genre, is explicitly inscribed as the heir to medieval Portuguese and European novelism, filtered through the popular tradition of Northeast Brazil. As in medieval chivalry novels, the presence of heraldic allusions and descriptions is constant, serving as elements of characterization of the characters and anticipation or explanation of the plot.

The importance of heraldry reveals itself immediately in the novel, which begins with a *cavalhada* scene, i.e. one of those festive cavalcades in Northeast Brazil, generally opposing two groups, the blue and the red, associated respectively with Charlemagne's twelve peers and twelve Moorish princes, or with the Virgin and Christ (or sometimes the Devil). In *The Stone of the Realm*, the attention of the spectators of this cavalcade is drawn to a mysterious young man on a white horse, whose unknown identity is nevertheless indicated by his red mantle and by a standard, both of which bear the same coat-of-arms: a shield *impaled, or with three jaguars gules and counter-ermined;* having for crest a maiden issuant dressed in counter-ermined (fig. 1).

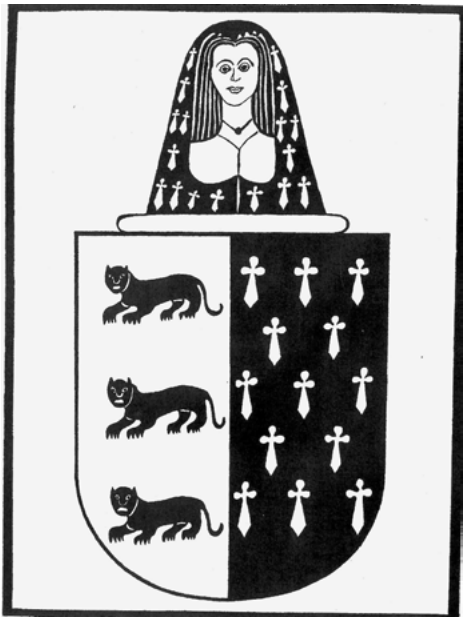

Fig. 1: Coat-of-arms of the young man on a white horse, in the *Romance d'A Pedra do Reino* by Ariano Suassuna, 1971.

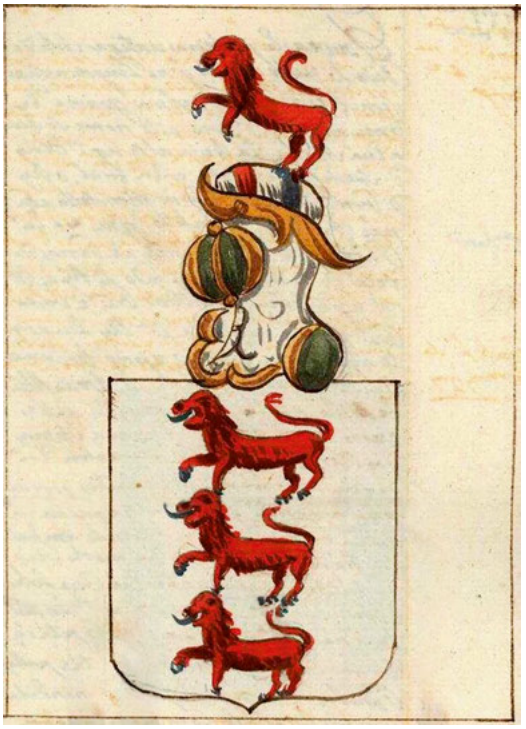

Fig. 2: Arms of the Garcia de Gondim family from the *Tesouro da nobreza de Portugal* by Frei Manuel de Santo António e Silva, c. 1783, Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo.

Fig. 3: Arms of the Barreto family from the *Livro da nobreza e da perfeção das armas dos reis cristãos e nobres linhagens dos reinos de senhorios de Portugal* by António Godinho, c. 1521–1541, Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo.

This first coat-of-arms sets the tone for the use of heraldry throughout the novel. It provides the reader with a series of clues that will allow him to discover the plot of the story, while at the same time identifying the character of the actors, or the role they play in the novel. But in this novel nothing is ever what it seems at first glance.

So, coats-of-arms, if they end up being identifiable, always have a hybrid character that allows them to play on several levels. The same applies to those of the young man on the white horse: the first field is inspired by the arms of the Garcia de Gondim family (fig. 2); the second by those of the Barreto family, whose crest is also used (fig. 3). This first identification allows us to understand that the young man places himself as the legitimate heir (thought to be dead) of the immense fortune of the Garcia-Barreto family, the most prestigious in the province of Paraíba. But, in both cases, the reprise is not complete: the Garcia de Gondim bear *argent three lions passant gules, armed and langued azure*; the Barreto bear *ermine plain*, having for crest a maiden issuant dressed in ermine. Where do these modifications to the original coat of arms come from?

For the first one, it is a question of replacing animals (lions) that Pedro Dinis Quaresma, the narrator of the story, classifies as »foreigners«, with truly Brazilian animals, the *onças* or jaguars. This substitution is in keeping with the very principle of the novel, which is to find in the past – and in all the plastic and sonic manifestations that it has bequeathed to the present – the

key to an in-depth understanding of contemporary society, which will in turn enable its projection towards a substantial future. For the second ones, the ermine transformed into a counter-ermine symbolizes the capacity for reversion that the narrator presents as typical of Brazilian society: a *parda* (brown) society, where the mixture of European, African and Indian blood ends up producing a general »miscegenation«. The Garcia-Barreto and the narrator himself may present themselves as heirs of Portuguese lineages whose origins date back to the Middle Ages, but they are no less aware of the African and Indian blood that runs in their veins. And they take from this triple heritage the consciousness of constituting a unique culture, replete with heraldic images that translate precisely the idea of a generalized fusion.

However, these heraldic images do not have the value of a simple mirror. They also have a double, more active and more performative function. On the one hand, they are the means used by the narrator and all the characters to transform the perception of their society: as Pedro Dinis affirms, »All this helped me, little by little, to understand better each time the history of the stone of the realm and to be proud of the royalty and chivalry of my ancestors. It also made my world, this world of the Sertão [semi-desert part of northeastern Brazil] raw, dirty and rocky, into an enchanted kingdom, similar to the one that my great-grandparents had established and that illustrious poet-academicians had burned forever in my blood. My life, greyish, naughty and petty, as a child of the Sertão reduced to poverty and dependency by the ruin of my father, was filled with the gallops, colours and flags of the cavalcades, the heroism and chivalry of the leaflets«. An oneiric dimension, therefore, but which nevertheless acts on reality.

Indeed, heraldic images are also the instrument used by the narrator to understand not only his origins, but also his deepest nature. It is through armed objects that the narrator builds his individual and collective self-awareness, and it is also through them that he seeks to act on the society around him. Heraldry, thus, in this context (and in Suassuna's romance) has a much broader value than that of scholarly knowledge: it serves to characterize the cultural, social, political and ideological spheres that the figures represent, either confronting each other or merging. Thus, the two other main characters, the narrator's masters of thought, are identified with opposing ideological currents that take the name of Brazilian native animals: while Samuel Wan d'Ernes identifies with white »Tapirism«, Clemente Hará de Ravasco Anvérsio with black »Oncism« (Jaguarism). But, in the end, only the narrator proves himself capable of overcoming the contrasting opposites and proposing his own identity valid for the whole of North-Eastern, and even Brazilian, society. For he alone can discover and explain to everyone the heraldic signs that surround them: it is not in vain that he presents himself as »king-of-arms of the Sertão«.

Heraldry therefore makes understanding possible; it makes it possible to live. Rooted in the past, it provides the indispensable elements for individual self-awareness while at the same time helping to project the individual into the future, whose cultural and social cohesion it ensures. For the narrator, it is the very essence of a cosmogony of its own: In this Catholicism of the Sertão, »God Himself was not that simple breath present in other religions: He appeared to me as the Holy Trinity of the Sertão, an ardent and glorious Sun, formed by five animals in one. It was the spotted Jaguar of the Divine, integrated by five beasts: the Red Jaguar, the Black Jaguar, the Brown Jaguar, the White Deer and the Golden Sparrowhawk, that is, the Father, the Leathered One, the Son, the Compassionate One and the Holy Spirit« (fig. 4).

Fig. 4: Spotted Jaguar of the Divine, integrated by five beasts, in the *Romance d'A Pedra do Reino* by Ariano Suassuna, 1971.

The *Stone of the Realm* has, therefore, two highlights. The first is verified when each of the three aforementioned main characters receives their coats of arms, which make it possible to situate their role in the developing story and simultaneously, by metaphorical projection, in the history of Brazil. The second takes place during an initiation ceremony that the narrator undertakes himself at the top of a mountain: the armorial objects hold a function that culminates in a kind of heraldic Eucharist.

This salvific function of heraldry, Ariano Suassuna did not limit himself to pointing it out in his novel. He wanted to constitute it as an artistic and cultural movement. With this in mind, in 1970 he founded the *Movimento Armorial*, which sought to create a scholarly art based on the popular culture of north-eastern Brazil. One of its originalities being the idea of fusion between the visual, acoustic, and performative arts through heraldry located halfway between the Middle Ages and the present but also, at the same time, understood as a means of saving this same past for the (re)construction of the Brazilian cultural identity. A contact tool, therefore, between past, present, and future, at the heart of the individual and collective self-awareness process.

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Diplomacy and Gift-Giving

The Coat of Arms of D. Afonso I, Catholic King of Congo and Lord of the Ambudos

Pedro Sameiro

The history of Portuguese global expansion is filled of examples of cultural interchanges, accompanying the implementation of cultural institutions. Heraldry is no exception. A particularly fascinating case of Portuguese heraldry associated with that country's overseas empire is provided by the coat of arms that D. Manuel I, King of Portugal, offered in 1512 to D. Afonso I, King of Congo, an African ruler who governed a vast territory along the Congo (Zaire) river. The legal and heraldic aspects of this diplomatic affair are in many ways quite remarkable.

Starting by the blason. Shield gules, five armed arms silver, the forearms per fess, hands carnation, holding silver swords with handles or, the point upwise; chief cousu azur a cross flory argent with four scallops or in the can-

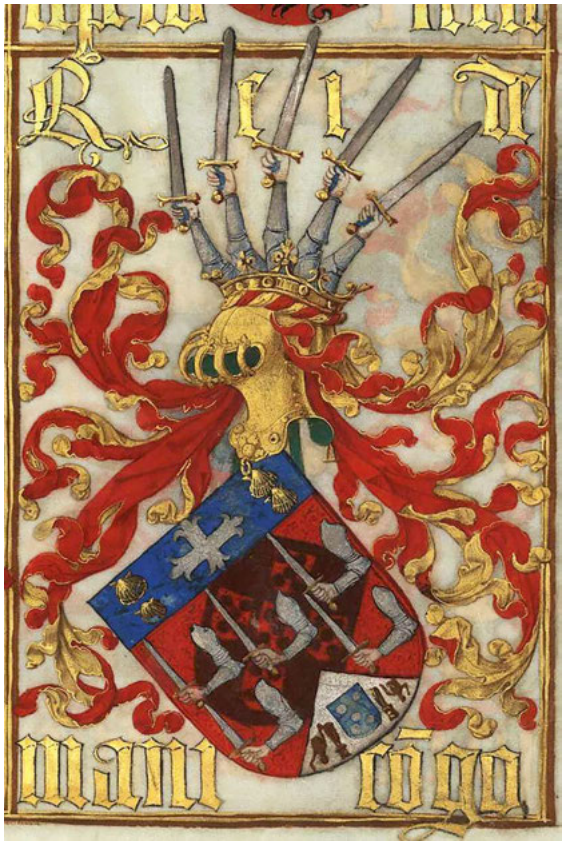

Fig. 1: Arms of D. Afonso I, King of Congo, *Livro da nobreza e da perfeção das armas dos reis cristãos e nobres linhagens dos reinos de senhorios de Portugal,* by António Godinho, c. 1521–1541, Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo.

tons; *pointe entée* silver with a scutcheon azur charged with five besants argent, between two stone idols proper, broken, with the pedestals palewise and the trunks and heads fallen to the point. Helmet or, lined vert, facing dexter. Wreath and mantling or and gules. Crown open, or. Crest the five armed arms, disposed fanwise (according to the official roll of arms, commanded by D. Manuel I, Godinho 1987, fl. VII).

One of the tasks assigned to the diplomatic envoy Simão da Silva when he was sent from Portugal to the Congolese court, was to propose a coat of arms to D. Afonso I, being this one of many procedures described the entitled »*Regimento*« (published by Felner 1933, 384; and Albuquerque 1989, 41–56), a fundamental text to understand the proposal legal aspects. The heraldic symbolism is detailed in Damião de Góis's chronicle. Both texts are essential to fully comprehend the significance of this heraldic proposal.

From the »*Regimento*«, in what heraldry is concerned, we learn the following:

»*Item. You will say to him [the King of Congo] that we consider, for his actions perpetual memory, and for his conversion beginning, and for the knowledge of our holly faith in his kingdoms and also for the miracle Our Lord has done to him in the battle he fought when his father died, it would be very convenient that we send him a chart of arms, that you are bringing to him for him to sign, and by that way, for the time being, to be acknowledge in that regions, and here as well, his actions, that deserve great honor and admiration among men; and that the arms we are sending him, all the Christian princes use to bear, according to the meaning each one assumes, in order through them to be identified and to be known from whom they come; and that he could accept them with the same good will as we are sending them; And we hope in Our Lord he will use them for many years and they remain for their heirs and that they never be apart from his succession line; those arms use the kings to assume for themselves, as it is said, and those ones bared their vassals are granted by them indoor to keep in their lineages in order to remember virtues and services of the person to whom they were granted and by this way the honor remains to all his successors, and they must use it for ever.*

Item, the coat of arms seal and as well the signet, you will tell them how we use them, and how with them are sealed our letters, that we sign, related to grants and privileges conceded to nobles (fidalgos) and people at our service and also other letters that are used in our Justices, and other containing orders that we send to our Kingdom places; and about this you will give him complete information.

Item you will say him, when you show him the flags that we are sending to him, how they are used in the wars and who must bear them; and how the person who bears them has the name of »alferez« [flag bearer], and how is the »alferez-mor« an important person and that he has at his service another one »alferez pequeno« that bears the flag in his behalf; and how the »Christos« flag goes in the front, and the flag with the coat of arms stays always where stays he king's person an as well the guidon; and about flags goes complete information for him to be informed«.

In the *Crónica d'El-Rei D. Manuel*, Damião de Góis transcribed the letter sent by D. Afonso, King of Congo and Lord of the Ambudos to D. Manuel I where he reports the difficulties he had gaining access to the king, who at the time was being overthrown (usurped) by one of his brothers (Goes 1910, 49–54). In 1507 D. Afonso was obliged to fight for his rights, supported only by 36 faithful companions, who disbanded a crowd of adversaries. In D. Afonso's words, when »*36 men inspired by God's grace and help, started to cry ›they escape, they escape‹ our adversaries ran in great confusion, and for them was witnessed that they saw in the sky a white Cross*

and the blessed Apostle Saint James with many others on horseback dressed with white dresses fitting and killing them and the destruction and killing were so Great, that it was motive of Great wonder«. Commenting the coat of arms delivered by Simão da Silva (who actually did not deliver the chart to D. Afonso, because he died from a fever on his way to the king's court), D. Afonso says: »*the Cross means the one which was seen in the sky as well as the Apostle Saint James and all the other saints that fought in our help*« and following he adds »*and also by the said Lord King were sent in order to accept it [the coat of arms] with the part of his own that he had there inserted, that the almighty God our Lord, by His Angel gave to the first King of Portugal fitting in a battle against many Moorish Kings enemies of our holly Faith that in this day he won and destroyed*«. It is also stated that D. Manuel sent to D. Afonso »*more twenty coats of arms for him to give to those in the group of his 36 companions in the battle*«.

From a legal point of view, D. Manuel positioned himself at the same level as D. Afonso. Thus, granting him a coat of arms would have meant treating him as a vassal. Instead, he proposed that he accept a specific coat of arms in order to be in a position equivalent to Christian kings and princes. D. Afonso, as the receiver of this coat of arms, goes further, considering that the arms symbolize a divine intervention, a miracle. In his own words: »*those arms sent by the Lord King of Portugal, we accept them from God our Lord, with great devotion and respect, as a very special favor, by the intermediation of the said Lord King of Portugal*« (Goes 1910, 53).

Saying this, D. Afonso not only assumes the coat of arms by his own sovereign right, but also puts himself at the same level as the Portuguese king, whose ancestor and founder of his dynasty, Dom Afonso Henriques, was believed at that time had received the Portuguese arms by divine grace (what was known as the miracle of Ourique).

We must stress that, on allowing the King of Congo to deploy an element of the Portuguese royal arms, the *escutcheon azur* with five bezants silver [a *quina*], D. Manuel was not granting the full use of the royal arms. Instead, it was a gesture that spoke to a shared spiritual bond and simultaneously highlighted the importance of the Portuguese in spreading the Catholicism in the Congo. D. Manuel tactfully showed respect for D. Afonso's sovereign power, an effect underscored by the fact that he also granted twenty further coats of arms that D. Afonso could bestow *as he pleased* to his companions and subjects.

The seal molds offered to D. Afonso are also not known, nor are their prints. Yet we may reasonably assume that they were similar to the ones used by D. Manuel, which featured the shield and royal crown surrounded by a scroll with the king's name and titles, as reproduced by D. António Caetano de Sousa in *História Genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa* (Sousa 2007, IV-O).

None of the flags delivered to Simão da Silva have been preserved. What happened to these heraldic symbols? We know that in 1850, D. Henrique II, King of Congo from 1842 to 1857, using the title of »Catholic King of Congo«, granted a coat of arms to Dr. João Xavier Viana de Resende, a Portuguese subject, saying in the charter that he gives him the special privilege of wearing the »Kingdom of Congo Coat of Arms« in the first partition of shield divided per pale (Norton and Sameiro 1979, 113). These arms were the same as those adopted by D. Afonso I, clear evidence they were still in use some centuries later. D. Henrique II decided that upon his death the symbols of sovereign power: the *caginga* (a cap of sovereignty), the staff, the chain and the seal should be entrusted to the great chamberlain in order to be delivered to his succes-

sor (Figueiredo 2020, 172). If the seal were transmitted from king to king, we assume that it was an unchanged seal and perhaps the one that originally belonged to D. Afonso I.

A description of the investiture of D. Pedro II (1622–1624), King of Congo, mentions a royal banner with the royal coat of arms being present at the ceremony, but we do not know if it was the same given to D. Afonso. We say investiture and not coronation because there was not a crown or an anointing; the insignia placed on the head was a high cap, shaped like a mitre, the *Mpu,* as stated in the report written by the canon André Cordeiro (Setas 2011, 39–45).

Heraldry did not disappear in the Kingdom of Congo after D. Afonso's death. The symbolism represented in concise images, using a reference code of European matrix, alluded to the Congo Catholic Kingdom consolidating miracle. The gules field represented a situation of war and conflict, the armed arms conveyed the divine and human fighters, and the chief azur to the sky where a silver cross was seen, surrounded by the scallop shells, attribute of Saint James Apostle, the celestial army leader. The arms joining a field gules with a chief azur run against a basic heraldic norm (the ban on superimposing colour on colour), but in our judgment this results from the desire to represent the blue sky with the cross vision and a bloody conflict by the red color over which the silver armed arms were displayed. We are not convinced that the Portuguese king of arms had the intention to create arms à *enquerre*. The *pointe entée* clearly means the Catholicism expansion, as the »*quinas*« were considered to represent the five Christ's plagues; in face of it the idols are falling in pieces, as the ancient god's statues felt down during the Christ escape to Egypt, according to the apocrypha Gospels lesson.

In the *Livro da Nobreza e Perfeiçam das Armas*, the King of Congo's golden helmet is turned three quarters to the right and not frontally, but this did not mean a denial of the sovereign prince dignity to the King of Congo, because all the other royal arms represented have the helmet turned to the right, except the arms of the Portuguese King.

The coat of arms proposal to D. Afonso reveals a very accurate procedure of diplomatic *savoir faire* and a proper way of implanting a heraldic tradition – that remained for centuries – in a region very far away from European borders and culture.

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Heraldic Splendor in Contact: Ambassador Alexandre Metelo's Chinese Embroidered Coat of Arms

Maria João Ferreira and Miguel Metelo de Seixas

The Portuguese Crown sent a considerable number of missions to China between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. The one in which Alexandre Metelo de Sousa Meneses (1687–1766) was involved (1725–1728), as the ambassador of King John V (1689–1750), is the best known today for its political and diplomatic scope (Saldanha and Russo 2005). Historians who have studied this mission acknowledge that its outcome was not a glowing success. Its aim, which was to safeguard the role of the Portuguese Crown by converting China to Christianity through royal patronage and the work of the Jesuits at the Imperial Court, was not achieved. The death of Emperor Kangxi (1654–1722) ended a period that had seen real openness to such endeavours; by contrast, the reign of his successor, Yongzheng (1678–1735), with whom Alexandre Metelo met, was marked by a much more pronounced inflexibility in relation to western powers. For Europe, this coincided with the »Chinese rites controversy«, which had the effect of curbing the momentum of the Jesuit mission in China.

Despite this inauspicious backdrop, Alexandre Metelo's spell as ambassador was seen at the time as a success, albeit from another angle. In a society in which the display of power had such political importance, the embassy that was dispatched in 1725 made its mark through the magnificence of the gifts sent by King John V to celebrate the ascension of Yongzheng to the imperial throne. Also, the impressive and impeccable adherence to imperial protocol with which the ambassador carried out his lofty mission was determinant. One of his most important features arose from the fact that Alexandre Metelo succeeded in being granted a level of treatment that had never been bestowed on any of his antecedents, whereby he was recognised not as a tributary envoy to China, but as a true ambassador. As a result, he enjoyed a proper escort, a splendid welcome wherever he and his retinue went, great respect, and notable success at the Imperial Court. For the journey from Macao to Beijing and back, Metelo was careful to commission flags with inscriptions in Chinese that made explicit his status as an ambassador officially re-

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ceived as such by the emperor (Russo 2007, 201–202). In view of this reception, Mariagrazia Russo has pinpointed Alexandre Metelo's ambassadorship as marking the first step towards the Chinese emperor's recognition of the political existence of a foreign country on an equal footing with China (Russo 2006, 158). This recognition was accompanied by a personal remark from the emperor, who commented to his court at the end of the audience: »Pleasant man, politician and courteous, very different from those who have come here before« (Russo 2007, 214).

For practical reasons, but also due to matters arising from his position, Alexandre Metelo made a series of commissions and purchases of goods during his stay in China that were necessary to the success of his mission with regard to the ceremonial protocol at the Chinese imperial court. It was probably during that same diplomatic sojourn that Alexandre Metelo began to collect various objects that would later adorn the rooms of his main residence in Lisbon. He managed to build up a substantial collection over the course of his long and accomplished life, thanks to the high-ranking positions he held and the income that he derived from them. It is hardly surprising, then, that when he died in 1766, the inventory of objects adorning the interior of his palace included a vast array of items: objects from India, China and Japan, such as paintings, porcelain, textiles, metalwork, paper items, and furniture.

Upon his return to Portugal, Metelo was named a member of the Overseas Council as a reward for the way in which he had discharged his duties as a diplomat. Metelo, further, was a member of the Overseas Council from 1729 until he died in 1766. Over the course of those 37 years, he served as secretary to the Council and, more sporadically, as its acting president. The ongoing exercise of those duties meant that throughout his life Metelo maintained a special relationship with the overseas territories, some of which he was familiar with from his time in China. Metelo's proven success in his overseas positions led him to undertake other governmental roles, which lead to various rewards and honours. Some of which were particularly prestigious, profitable, and indicative of the trust of the Kings João V and José I or his all-powerful minister, the Marquis of Pombal (1699–1782). Metelo was granted the roles of Judge-Conservator of the Gold and Silver Silk Factories, Deputy of the Board of the Bull of the Holy Crusade, member of His Majesty's Council, Fiscal Procurator of Royal Favours, Auditor for the Granting of Passports, and Secretary to the Infant D. Manuel, the brother of King John V. All in all, this is the profile of a magistrate whose career was intimately related to the central administration of the kingdom: a lawyer at the service of a centralised state that gradually, but unmistakeably, came to rely upon a specific cadre of lawmen who formed a kind of bureaucratic elite.

An inventory of his assets clearly reveals a tendency to imitate the patrimonial practices that had long been held by the upper aristocracy, with whom Metelo would have been in contact during the course of his work and at court. This can be observed either in relation to housing (palace in the city centre, farmhouse on the outskirts, rental houses) and its filling, or in relation to the acquisition of land for monocultures (vines, olive trees, cereals) in the province of Extremadura. It also demonstrates the degree of wealth that he accumulated during his career as one of the foremost officials of the Portuguese Royal Court, as can be seen from the palace he built in the capital of the kingdom, which he filled with splendid collections (fig. 1).

Throughout his life, Alexandre Metelo held several positions that brought him into close contact with the reality and the material and artistic culture of foreign regions, especially during his involvement with the Overseas Council. However, it is quite possible that some of his

Fig. 1: Alexandre Metelo's palace at Campo de Sant'Ana, Lisbon.

Asian objects came from his journey to China in his capacity as ambassador of King John V. Due to the length and complexity of his mission, which took place in several stages, not to mention the intricacies of Chinese ceremonial customs, the diplomat would have struggled to leave Lisbon equipped with everything that he might possibly need for the next three and a half years (Ferreira 2017). Over the course of his mission, Alexandre Metelo was obliged to invest in the places that served both as his abode and as the setting for some of his diplomatic endeavours. This was the case in Macao, where he first established residence and carefully prepared his route to Beijing (taking extensive advice from all who had knowledge of such matters, and in particular from the Jesuits, who were familiar with the rituals of the Chinese court). And it was also the case, later, in the different places that he visited along that same route, all the while observing customs and rituals with an acuity befitting his role as ambassador. As such, much care was taken in the preparation of these spaces, in particular those where he took up residence for longer periods, as in the case of the houses in which he resided in Macao.

He stayed there long enough to gain a better understanding of the mechanisms of protocol and to inform himself about the requisite *modus operandi* for obtaining the items that were considered necessary to project the image of dignity and ostentation that the embassy was expected to maintain at all times. These took the form of clothing, means of transport, items of furniture, and small gifts (*mimos*) such as those that were intended to be given as a gesture of goodwill to the representatives of the Chinese bureaucracy with whom he met, and which were acquired both *in loco* and in Portugal from where Metelo left armed with an array of items to be used with this purpose. The latter included mainly Russian and Moroccan leather cellarets with and without nail work, and silver caskets containing vials of tobacco, pastilles, perfume tablets, balms, oils, and ointments.

Metelo strove to succeed in the presentation of gifts to the emperor, which was the apogee of a long and complex diplomatic undertaking. While a gift for the emperor was important, the way in which it was presented before the imperial court was no less crucial, given that the presentation had to conform to all the formal requirements established in Chinese protocol. Metelo expanded the scale of the event, recruiting many extras, and increasing the necessary amount of equipment and the level of pomp. This was mainly conveyed through textile accoutrements such as the clothing and trimmings that adorned both the wagons transporting the goods and the people involved in the procession, including a guard of halberdiers, dressed in the Portuguese royal livery, blue and red cloth with silver braid (Russo 2007, 191). Several heraldic items were part of this apparatus, such as a set of silk flags and another one of badges for caps (Russo 2007, 53, 57).

Fig. 2: Alexandre Metelo's armorial embroidery at the Portuguese Supreme Court, Lisbon.

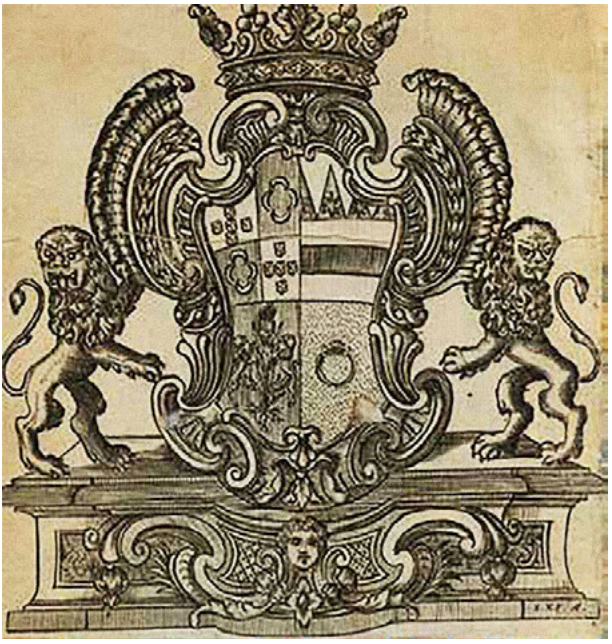

Fig. 3: Alexandre Metelo de Sousa e Meneses' ex-libris.

Although there does not seem to be any explicit mention made of it in Metelo's post-mortem inventory, it is worth noting a piece of Chinese-made armorial embroidery that was preserved and is held today at the Portuguese Supreme Court (fig. 2). Although it is not known when or how it was obtained, whether during or after Metelo's sojourn in China, its characteristics are consistent with the Chinese needlework that was produced for export to Portugal since the sixteenth century (Ferreira 2013). Clearly, this piece was made as the result of a commission for which a visual reference was provided, such as an engraving or an *ex-libris* showing Alexandre Metelo's coat of arms (fig. 3), which he applied to the books of his vast library (Campos 2013). The same image served as the basis, for example, to illustrate the dedication to Alexandre Metelo of an impor-

tant book on arithmetic calculation, a fundamental tool in consolidating Portuguese dominion over the vast interior of Brazilian territory through cartography (Garrido 1747).

From a heraldic point of view, the shield is divided quarterly with arms from the Metelo and Cardoso families in the upper part, referring to his paternal lineage, and Sousa and Meneses in the lower part, referring to his maternal lineage. Although almost all the needlework was embroidered with gilt and silver paper threads, care was taken to include some details in other colours, such as the thistle (green, purple-flowered) on Cardoso's arms, or the blue inescutcheons of the Portuguese *quinas* on Sousa's arms. But the most striking feature is undoubtedly the presence of a coronet, over the shield, corresponding to the dignity of marquis (topped by two gold spurs, the Metelo crest). This could appear to be a mistake, since Alexandre Metelo was not a marquis, which was a top-rated, quite rare title among the Portuguese nobility of the Ancien Régime. But an analysis of the heraldry of the other eighteenth century Portuguese diplomats shows that there was a system of protocol equivalence: the plenipotentiary envoys were ranked with the status of count and the ambassadors as marquis, and could therefore display their respective coronets on their coats of arms. The coronet was there to recall this prestigious equivalence – in Metelo's case, this was particularly meaningful since he was the first ambassador officially received by an emperor of China. Thus, Metelo's embroidery would have served as a heraldic contact object intended to ennoble the embassy on its way to Beijing as well as during the audience with the emperor. Back in Portugal, the same embroidery fulfilled a function *en abîme*: to recall that embassy, perpetuating a moment of contact considered to be privileged, and which was at the basis of the lengthy prosperous career of the one who, until the end of his days and notwithstanding the other high functions he held, was treated as *ambassador* Alexandre Metelo.

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Intercultural Contact between Japan and the Netherlands in a Heraldic Context

Julia E. Hartmann

The Japanese *mon* (i.e. »coats of arms«) emerged during the middle ages independently from the European coats of arms, however, the two sign systems show significant similarities in both function and usage. This is remarkable since they developed quite simultaneously without influencing each other. When the Portuguese and Dutch came to Japan in the 16th and 17th centuries, they kindled Japanese interest in these western cultures. Around 1800 a kind of hybrid *mon*, called *orandamon* (»Holland« *mon*, meaning »Dutch« *mon*), was created.

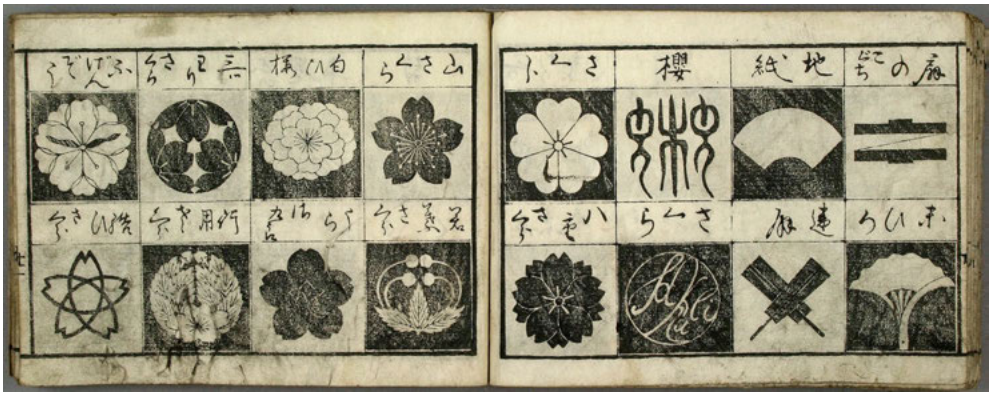

Fig. 1a: »ABC of mon« *(monchō irohawake)*, colored leaves from a crest, Sanjo Dori (Kyoto), Omiya Jisuke, 1832, p. 25, Waseda University Library, Tokyo.

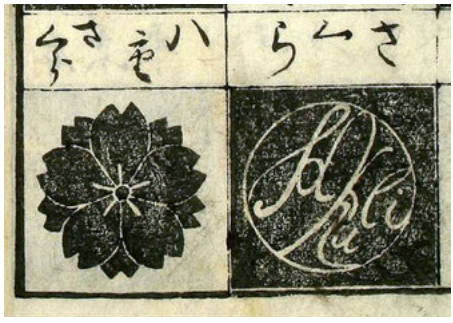

Fig. 1b: Detail from fig. 1a.
left: double-petalled Japanese cherry blossom (*yae-zakura;* 八重さくら)
right: *orandamon* displaying the western form of the Japanese blazon »sakula« (= *sakura;* さくら) in Latin script

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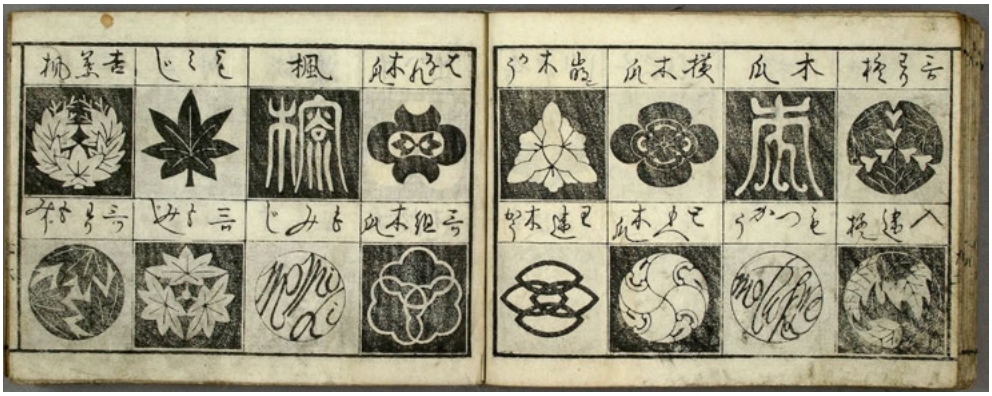
Figures 1a and b (see also 2a and b for a second example) illustrate the so-called *orandamon*. In contrast to the cherry blossom *mon* on the left (fig. 1b), the *mon* on the right is created out of the Japanese blazon, but written in Latin script, not in *hiragana* (one of the two Japanese syllabaries) or *kanji* (Chinese characters, as used in written Japanese). The letters are combined into syllables (sa-ku-la) like in Japanese (*sa-ku-ra*; さ・く・ら). Furthermore, the Latin script mostly touches the outer circle, forming the shape of the *mon*. The letters themselves are also connected to each other with the use of calligraphic writing. This way the ›westernised‹ *orandamon* remains true to the standard Japanese form and style of *mon*.



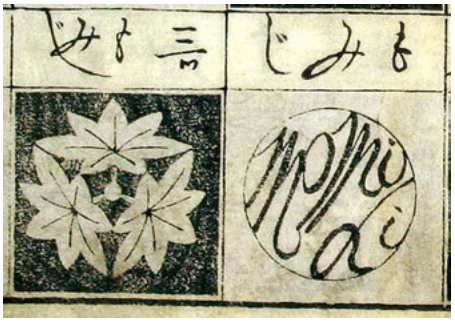


Fig. 2a: »ABC of mon« *(monchō irohawake)*, colored leaves from a crest, Sanjo Dori (Kyoto), Omiya Jisuke, 1832, p. 30, Waseda University Library, Tokyo.

Fig. 2b: Detail from fig. 2a.
left: three (Japanese) maple leaves (*mitsu momiji;* 三つもみじ)
right: *orandamon* displaying the western form of the Japanese blazon »momiji« (more likely »momisi«, »momizi« or »momidi«) in Latin script

Around 1800, in Japan Latin script and everything Dutch was in vogue, which was most probably the reason for creating such *orandamon*. Unfortunately, we do not know whether they were actually used as *mon* and if they were, by whom. However, they represent a Japanese interest in either creating a western form of *mon* or in creating a Japanese *mon* displaying western features, respectively. In addition, they demonstrate the Japanese fascination for experimenting with the Latin alphabet. Since the Japanese classified everything western as »Dutch«, they named these westernised *mon* »*oranda* (»Holland«) *mon*«. Although *orandamon* might not have functioned as an actual contact tool between Japanese and Dutch people, indirectly it is possible that they assumed a comparable function: the western script influenced and inspired the creation of Japanese ›coats of arms‹ to some extent by creating such intercultural hybrid forms of *mon*.

The reason why the Japanese were fascinated with Dutch culture dates back to the 17th century. In 1600, the first Dutch ship landed in Japan, around the time when Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616) unified the country. He was appointed shogun in 1603 and established his court in the city of Edo. The shogun (full title: *seii taishōgun*) was the ruler of Japan, appointed by the emperor. The Tokugawa shogunate preferred trade relations with the Dutch United East India Company (VOC: *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*), while breaking off any relations and refusing trade with all other European countries in the following years that had brought Christian missionaries to their country. The VOC secured an exclusive trade pass by Ieyasu in 1609 and opened their first trading post in Hirado. At the same time, the Tokugawa shogunate under Ieyasu aimed to extirpate Christianity from the island which first had been brought to Japan by Portuguese (and other) missionaries in the 16th century. He feared that Christianity might ultimately lead to a Portuguese and Spanish expansion in Japan. As a result, Christians were increasingly persecuted.

In the meantime, *daimyō* (i.e. Japanese feudal lord) Date Masamune (1567–1636), who was a patron of Christianity, sent one of his men, Hasekura Tsunenanga (1571–1622), to represent him as his envoy on a delegation to Mexico, Spain and Rome in 1613. Date was particularly interested in trading with Mexico. After traveling there in 1614, Hasekura had an audience with King Philipp III in Spain, where he was baptised and became a Catholic. He also met Pope Paul V in Rome in 1615, when he was ennobled and granted Roman citizenship (fig. 5).

Fig. 3: Claude Deruet: Portrait of Hasekura Tsunenaga on his mission in Rome with his coat of arms in the top left corner, 1615, oil on canvas, Galleria Borghese, Rome.

It is during this time that he must have received his coat of arms: The charges consist of his family's *mon*, i.e. a Buddhist swastika with two crossed arrows, on a white shield with a crown on top (see figs. 3–5). In comparison to the hybrid *mon* (*orandamon*) mentioned above, this coat of arms presents a rare case of a hybrid arms where the charge on the European shield consists of a Japanese *mon*.

While Hasekura was abroad, Christian priests were banished from Japan in 1614. This hardened relations with Spain and Hasekura's mission ultimately failed. He returned to Japan in 1620.

During the 1630s, the Tokugawa shogunate finally banned Christianity from Japan. In the rebellion of Shimabara (1637) – an uprising led by converted

peasants – the shogunate sought help from the Dutch. As a consequence of this rebellion, the Portuguese and all other foreign ships were permanently banished from Japan. By decree Japan was isolated from the outside world until the arrival of the US-Americans in 1853 and the re-opening of the country. Of all former European trading partners only the Dutch VOC was allowed to stay in Japan and resume commerce. They had to close their trading post in Hirado and move to an artificial island in Nagasaki called Dejima. Once a year, the tributary Dutch had to participate in the journey to the court in Edo and provide the shogun with information about Europe. With the help of the VOC ships, other Europeans were also able to travel to Japan, for example the German physician and explorer Engelbert Kaempfer (1690–1692), who wrote *The History of Japan*, published posthumously in 1727, or the German botanist and physician Philipp Franz Balthasar von Siebold (1823–1829 and 1859–1862). Officially, these Europeans were regarded as »Dutch«. Von Siebold ultimately exerted a major influence in sparking Japanese interest in western science.

Fig. 4: Portrait of Hasekura Tsunenaga (called Don Filippo Francesco Faxicvra) in Scipione Amati's *History of the Kingdom of Woxu*, Rome 1615.

There is another heraldic source portraying the connection between the Japanese and the Dutch in the form of a copper medal (fig. 6), which might have functioned as a heraldic contact tool between the two countries and which had its 160th anniversary in 2022. This medal from 1862 was minted in the Dutch State Mint in Utrecht to commemorate the previously mentioned Trade Pass of 1609 and the history of trade and friendship between Japan and the Netherlands. Furthermore, the medal was minted in celebration of the first Japanese delegation to the Netherlands in 1862. On this occasion, they also visited the State Mint in Utrecht.

After the arrival of the US-American fleet in 1853 and the subsequent opening of Japan, the Tokugawa shogunate entered into trade contracts with several European countries in 1858, promising to open several major Japanese harbours. This, however, triggered negative sentiments among the Japanese population against foreigners and the shogunate, causing violent ri-

Fig. 5: Title of Roman nobility and Roman citizenship bestowed upon Hasekura Tsunenaga, 20 November 1615, with his coat of arms in the top left corner (detail), Sendai City Museum.

ots to ensue. Consequently, the government (*bakufu*) decided to send a delegation to the European courts in order to amend these contracts in person.

The delegation (called »Takenouchi mission«) left Japan on 23 January 1862 on a British warship. The group consisted of about forty people in total: several important members of the *bakufu*, physicians, an engineer, translators, and several other people. After visiting France and England, they arrived in the Netherlands (Rotterdam) on 14 June 1862 and were welcomed by King William III on 1 July, after touring the Netherlands. In contrast to their successful visits to France and England, the delegation was not satisfied with the negotiations with the Dutch government, who tried to prolong their decisions and were barely willing to make concessions concerning adjustments of the contract from 1858. This led to a cooling of their relations. In July, the Japanese delegation left for Germany (Cologne and Berlin) and in August they proceeded to Russia. On their way back to Japan they again visited Germany and France, then Spain and finally Portugal.

Fig. 6: Copper medal from 1862, minted in the Dutch State Mint in Utrecht, Haarlem, Teylers Museum.

obverse: 1609/1862 / NIPPON-TAI-KOEN-NO SEI-SI HOLANDA NI KITAROE
(This transcription is adapted to the Dutch language. In the most widely used romanisation nowadays it would read as follows: *Nippon taikun no seishi Holanda (= Oranda) ni kitaru* (日本大君の星使／正使 Holanda に来たる).
= »The official envoy of the Japanese shogun visited Holland«, i.e. the Netherlands (lit.: »came to Holland«).

reverse: 両國親睦益篤 (*Ryōkoku no shinboku, masumasu atsukare.*)
= »May the friendship between the two countries grow deeper and deeper«
ONDER DE REGERING VAN WILLEM III KONING DER NEDERLANDEN G.H.V.L. [Groothertog van Luxemburg] = »under the reign of William III King of the Netherlands, Grand Duke of Luxembourg«.

The copper medal mentioned above (fig. 6) was engraved by David van der Kellen Junior (1804–1879) and minted at the Dutch State Mint ('s Rijks Munt) in Utrecht. In total, 838 medals were produced: one of gold, six of silver and the rest made of copper. The gold medal and one silver medal were given to the Tokugawa shogunate, another three silver medals and some copper medals were given to the envoys. The rest of the copper medals was sold to collectors. The copper medal (see fig. 6) displays both the coat of arms of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the Tokugawa (shogunate) *mon* >three hollyhock leaves inside a circle< (*mitsuba aoi*) with the flag >circle of the sun< (*hi no maru*) above it, ever so slightly overreaching the coat of arms. The white flag with the red circle (»sun disc«) was introduced in 1854 (right after the »opening« of Japan by the US-Americans in 1853) and was used by Japanese ships for identification purposes, distinguishing them from foreign ships. However, it did not become the national and trade flag before 1870. For the symmetry of the medal and the visual equality of both signs (Japanese and Dutch), it seems to have been important to put something on top of the *mon*, since the coat of arms of the Netherlands consists of a shield with a crown on top. This combination is not customary to *mon*. Symmetry may not have been the only reason to add the flag; perhaps people already associated Japan with the red sun disc and this way they were able

Fig. 7: Members of the Japanese delegation in Utrecht, 30 June 1862.

to distinguish it from the Tokugawa family *mon* – or it was added to identify this ›exotic‹ sign as the Japanese ›coat of arms‹ to the contemporary observer, respectively. Interestingly, the medal does not display either one of the imperial *mon*, i.e. the chrysanthemum (the official *mon*) or the paulownia (auxiliary/secondary *mon*, mainly used for informal purposes or bestowals). This Japanese delegation made their voyage during the last years of the Tokugawa shogunate, whose power was gradually declining. Their rule ended in 1868, after which the power of the emperor was reinstated through the so-called Meiji restoration.

In conclusion, the medal shows that the *mon* of the Tokugawa reign was (still) accepted as a symbol of power and sovereignty equal to the coat of arms of the Kingdom of the Netherlands by placing both signs side by side. The slightly overreaching *mon* might possibly be explained by the superiority of the Japanese shogunate to whom the Dutch had had to pay tribute and annual reverence with their court journey to Edo for more than two hundred years. The copper medal displays the long history of trade relations between the two countries and thus serves as an important heraldic contact tool that commemorates their intercultural connection. Even though the delegation to the Netherlands was not as successful as the Japanese had hoped, they were able to send a group of Japanese students to the Netherlands in 1863 in order to study medicine, naval technologies, social sciences, etc. and thus further their intercultural contact. The importance of the Japanese-Dutch relations has recently been commemorated once more, and again a similar object has been used: In 2009, a five euro coin and a ten euro coin were minted to celebrate the 400 years of trade and friendship between the two countries; these, however, do not display any heraldry (for the coins see: https://www.coin-database.com/coins/5-euro-400-years-netherlands-japan-netherlands.html and https://www.coin-database.com/coins/10-euro-400-years-trade-relations-with-japan-netherlands-2009.html, accessed 30 June 2020).

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Marriage and Union

A Group of Four African Oliphants Proclaiming an Iberian Royal Union

Luís Urbano Afonso and Miguel Metelo de Seixas

During the first half of the 16th century, West African ivory carvers produced spoons, saltcellars, and oliphants for Portuguese patrons. Presenting a mixture of European and African elements, in terms of structure and iconography, these ivories are usually identified as »Afro-Portuguese« (Fagg 1959) or »Luso-African« (Mark 2007). The most important production centre for these ivories was in the northwest coast of present-day Sierra Leone, either in the Great Scarcies River estuary (Kolenté River) or in the Sierra Leone River estuary, a region inhabited by Sapi peoples, hence their identification as Sapi-Portuguese ivories (Curnow 1983; Bassani and Fagg 1988). The iconography and heraldry carved in these ivories suggest that they were mainly produced during the first quarter of the 16th century (Afonso 2018).

Four of these oliphants present the coat of arms of the Catholic Monarchs, Queen Isabella I of Castile and King Ferdinand II of Aragon, together with the coat of arms of the Portuguese King Manuel I, suggesting a commission to celebrate an event relating the two crowns. These ivories were carved by the same anonymous Sapi sculptor, who received the moniker of »Master of the Arms of Castile and Aragon« (Bassani and Fagg, 1988). These oliphants are currently kept in different locations around the world, namely in Pontevedra (Provincial Museum of Pontevedra, inv. 13.289) (fig. 1), Canberra (National Gallery of Australia, inv. NGA 79.2148.A-B) and Washington (National Museum of African Art, inv. 2005-6-9). Another one was cut at an unknown date and converted into two smaller powder horns: one is now in Madrid (Instituto Valencia de Don Juan, inv. 4873) and the other in Lugano (Carlo Monzino collection).

These four oliphants were clearly intended for European usage, which we can tell from their apical mouthpieces and suspension lugs along its concave side. They were originally structured in seven cylindrical sections, from the mouthpiece to the bell, starting with a ferocious animal biting the conical mouthpiece, a section with a dog in high relief, three sections with European hunting scenes, one section with the inscription *Ave Marya* and another one with a rich heraldic representation displaying the Portuguese and the Spanish coat of arms complemented with the inscription *Tanto Monta* (fig. 2). In what concerns the heraldry, they are alike except for two characteristics: the oliphant kept in Canberra has the Portuguese coat of arms with the escutch-

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Fig. 1: Afro-Portuguese Oliphant, Sierra Leone, c. 1500, Provincial Museum of Pontevedra.

Fig. 2: The Catholic Kings' coat of arms, badges and motto »Tanto Monta«. Detail from fig. 1.

eons in saltire, instead of cross; and the Portuguese coat of arms carved in the Washington and Madrid pieces was adapted to convey a specific heraldic meaning that we will address later.

The hunting scenes carved in these oliphants were based on the small marginal engravings included in a printed book of hours entitled *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis*, a small incunabulum *in octavo* published in Paris for the first time in September 1498 at the workshop of Philippe Pigouchet under the commission of Simon Vostre. It is likely that these engravings reached West Africa through the Portuguese translation and edition of this incunabulum, published in Paris in February of 1500 in the typog-

raphy of Narcisse Brun, under the commission of King Manuel I (Afonso 2018). Therefore, this edition in Portuguese probably constitutes the *terminus a quo* for dating most Sapi-Portuguese ivories, namely the oliphants, which always employ hunting scenes taken from this printed book of hours.

The heraldic dimension of these oliphants is, it seems to us, determinant in understanding their meaning and use. First, the heraldic motifs occupy a prominent place on those objects, precisely located on the widest terminal, near the exit for the horn's sound. In the late medieval period, the relationship between heraldry and sound was intense and full of symbolism: in their writings, heralds presented themselves as faithful messengers, using various resources, both visual and sonorous, including voice and the sound of trumpets or horns, musical instruments proper to the office of arms (Hiltmann 2016). This means that the heraldic charge of the oliphants cannot be considered a merely decorative item, devoid of meaning, nor a simple mark of possession. On the contrary, it provides the key to what such objects should disseminate. In other words, to the oliphants' *raison d'être*.

This also explains the meticulous care taken in heraldic design, which probably followed newly minted coins or engravings included in printed books such as the above-mentioned incunabulum of 1500 (Portuguese version). The coats of arms of the Catholic Monarchs appear as they were used after the taking of Granada in 1492, including the eagle of St John the Evangelist holding up the shield with both claws, and the combined badges of the yoke and the arrow-beam, with the motto *Tanto Monta*. The latter was widely deployed for the purpose of asserting the legitimacy of these sovereigns and their dynastic union (Domínguez Casas 2007; Menéndez Pidal 2011, 321). The coat of arms of King Manuel I of Portugal is also accompanied by his badge, the armillary sphere, as well as the cross of the military order of Christ, of which he was governor, a triad also used extensively to legitimise his uncertain succession and his political project (Alves 1985; Silva 1997; Seixas 2021).

Thus, the emblematic of the Catholic Monarchs was associated at the time with exegetical readings that stressed their predestination, the religious sense of their regal mission, and the project to unite the Hispanic monarchies (Menéndez Pidal 2005, 99–138). The armillary sphere was also linked to all these symbolic aspects, which it complemented in the sense of the universality of Christian evangelisation provided by the union of the Iberian Crowns. This connection gained currency in the period when Manuel and his first wife Isabella (daughter of the Catholic Monarchs) were recognised as the universal heirs to all these kingdoms and were received and acclaimed as such on the journey that they made through Spain in 1498, first as heirs to the Castilian throne in Toledo, then as heirs to the Aragonese throne in Zaragoza (Costa 2005, 88–94). In August 1498, Queen Isabella gave birth to a male child named Miguel, who was by birth Prince of Portugal, of Asturias (heir to Castile-Leon) and of Girona (heir to Aragon), reinforcing the legitimacy of the desired dynastic union. The Queen, however, did not survive the birth. Between August 1498 and July 1500 (the date of the prince's death), King Manuel and his son Miguel remained putative successors to the Castilian-Aragonese crowns. That same year, Manuel remarried Infanta Maria, sister of his previous wife. Although Maria was not the heiress of her parents (she had an older sister, Joana), such a marriage reinforced the strategy of rapprochement between the Portuguese and Spanish dynasties. Both Manuel I and Isabella the Catholic knew from experience how volatile the line of succession of prove; both had to travel a winding and sometimes violent road before ascending the throne (Carrasco

Fig. 3: The coat of arms and badges of the Catholic queen and king Isabel and Ferdinand combined with King Manuel I's badge. Powder flask adapted from an earlier Afro-Portuguese Oliphant, Sierra Leone, c. 1500 with later additions in metal, Museum of the Instituto Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid.

Manchado 2006). The particularly turbulent political context in the kingdom of Castile after the death of Isabella I in 1504 contributed to keeping hopes of a Portuguese succession alive, with King Manuel even attempting to take over the regency of Castile (Costa 2005, 115–123; 180–191). The Spanish-Portuguese heraldic combination therefore maintained its relevance even after 1500, especially following the birth in June 1502 of the first male child of Manuel I and Maria, the future João III, who was anointed as the heir to the Portuguese throne in 1503.

This symbolic link between Castilian-Aragonese and Portuguese sovereigns is expressed, in the Institute Valencia de Don Juan's oliphant, by means of an element that has been previously overlooked: the rope that is used both to wrap the bundle of arrows and to form the circles that make up the armillary sphere (fig. 3). Ferdinand of Aragon used the Gordian knot as a badge, which evidently had a prophetic meaning, duly transferred to the joint representation with his wife's heraldry; Manuel I also deployed the same symbolism of the knot, which was shared with his closest relative, Duke Jaime of Braganza (Seixas 2018). On the oliphants, it should be noted that the rope is part of the emblems of the three Iberian sover-

Fig. 4: Portuguese royal coat of arms with a plain label of three points. Detail from fig. 3.

eigns (since it is also figured in Ferdinand's yoke), possibly further expressing the union which had been so sought after throughout the second half of the 15th century and which the political and dynastic situation finally seemed to favour from 1498 onwards.

We find another heraldic confirmation of this interpretation in the Madrid and the Washington oliphants: the Portuguese royal arms are cadenced with a plain label of three points (fig. 4), which in Portugal was, since the advent of the Avis dynasty, exclusive to the heir to the Crown (Seixas and Galvão-Telles 2014). As heir to the Iberian monarchies, Prince Miguel da Paz also bore such a label, placed above a shield quarterly of Spanish-Portuguese royal arms (Menéndez Pidal 2011, 336). Hence also the peculiar figuration of the crown on top of this shield, which does not correspond to the model of the open royal crown then used by the Portuguese and Castilian-Aragonese sovereigns: is it perhaps a model crown for the heir to these Crowns?

The sharing of prestigious objects between Late Medieval sovereigns and members of their courts was common practice. It strengthened the visual and symbolic ties that united the courtiers around the king. Such objects, like the spaces in which the court lived, were thus strongly emblematized: by sharing the figures and colours of his coat of arms and of his badge, the sovereign created a visual unity that reinforced the notion of service to the king as the fundamental principle of the monarchy and of its nobility (Hablot 2015). In the case of the Sapi-Portuguese oliphants, the prestige came not only from the skill of their technical production, but also from the fact that they were exotic objects, pointing to the overseas expansion that had reached an unprecedented point under the aegis of the King of Portugal. He assumed himself, in the peculiar dynastic and political circumstances after 1498, to be the universal heir of the Iberian monarchies, together with his wives Isabella and Maria, and their sons Miguel and João. The oliphants were therefore made to be shared with all those who could serve as supporters and disseminators of the project of royal union, which would facilitate the global spread of the Christian faith, as had been assured by papal decision through the bull *Inter Caetera* issued by Alexander VI in 1493 and by bilateral Portuguese-Spanish agreement since the signing of the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494. This was a project that the oliphants, with their heraldic interlacing, were intended to proclaim.

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Erotic, Exotic, Antique: The Cup of Constantino de Braganza and its Coat of Arms

Francesco Gusella

The present essay addresses the coat of arms carved on the so-called *Cup of Constantino de Braganza* (fig. 1), now at the National Museum of Capodimonte in Naples, with special regard to the erotic, exotic, and antiquarian elements that characterize the work. The object consists of a rhinoceros horn cup decorated with low-relief carvings that is mounted into a gilded silverwork with enamel medallions culminating in the shape of a sea-monster's head. Scholars have suggested that the object was likely commissioned in the early 1560s by Constantino de Braganza, Viceroy of Portuguese India (1558–1561), as a gift for the wedding of his niece Maria of Portugal with Alessandro Farnese in 1565.

Fig. 1: The Cup of Constantino de Braganza, 1560s, Portuguese India (cup) and Europe (mounting), rhino horn with low-relief carvings, silver mounting with enamel medallions, National Museum of Capodimonte, Naples.

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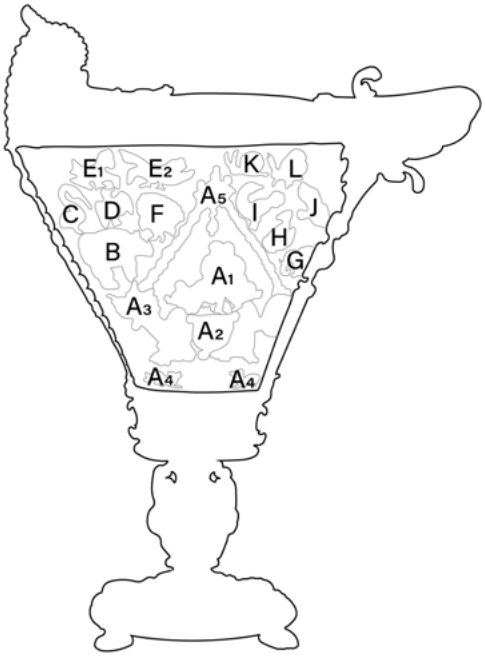

Fig 2: Neptune and Doris side, scheme of the iconographic details.

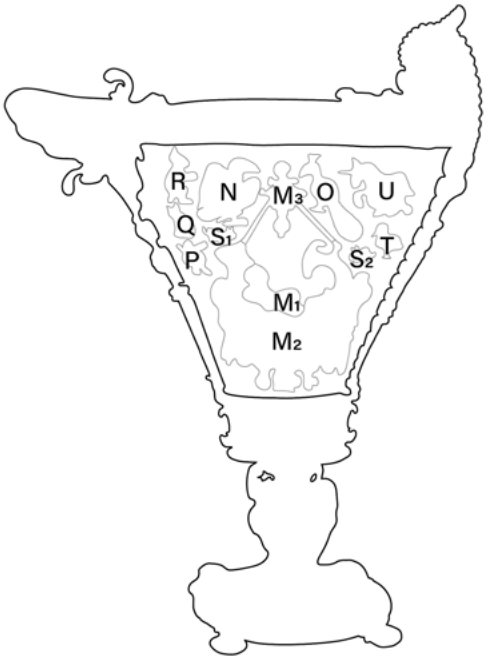

Fig 3: Venus side, scheme of the iconographic details.

Rhinoceros vessels were traditionally carved in the Jiangsu province of Eastern China during the Ming period and later embellished with precious mounts in Portuguese India or Europe. Jan Chapman and Hugo Miguel Crespo have suggested a Chinese origin for the work given its affinity with contemporary jade and shell carvings made for the European market. However, the distinct carving style of the Capodimonte's cup differs from other Ming specimens that reached Europe. According to Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, this stylistic difference indicates the mediation of an Indian carver familiar with Chinese items, or a Chinese workshop based in Goa or Cochin. Two comparable vessels (Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, K/161B; Kunsthistorisches Museum, KK 3742) display South Asian iconographic features that reinforce the hypothesis of an Indian origin for the cup in Naples. The cup was then shipped to Europe, most likely to Lisbon, where the mounting was cast. The casting of a lizard on the back of the item recalls contemporary metalwork from Southern Germany, thus suggesting the influence of such productions on the goldsmith responsible for the mounting.

Carved into the center of one side, we find an elaborate coat of arms (fig. 2, A2). The escutcheon is divided into four fields that alternate between two sets of five spheres (or shields) in diagonal disposition and two patterns of horizontal bands. A drawing created in the occasion of the wedding of Maria of Portugal, also records a combined form of the Farnese-Avis coat of arms (Bertini 1997, 72). The left half is occupied by six lilies of the House of Farnese and two patterns of vertical bands standing for the Habsburg. The right half contains the Avis component of the blazon: one set of five shields in vertical cross disposition with five diagonally arranged bezants in each shield. This composition differs from the example in our cup where the diagonal dis-

position of the spheres/shields is more closely related to the Braganza coat of arms. Jordan Gschwend (2000, 54) has proposed the identification of the blazon as a combined form of the Braganza-Farnese coat of arms based on the probable role of Constantino in the commission of the cup and his kinship ties to the bride. The shield leans against a dragon (A3) standing on a pedestal supported by two dogs (A4). The dragon, which is modelled after Chinese examples, might be associated with the wyvern, one of the emblems of the House of Braganza, although it was only officially incorporated into their heraldic shield in the 17th century.

The hypothesis about the combined form of two blazons, and its nuptial purpose, is also suggested by the presence of a naked couple (A1) above the heraldic shield. The couple's pose recalls that of *Neptune and Doris* from the popular engraved series *Loves of the Gods* (1527) by Gian Giacomo Caraglio (Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-35.621); the difference here is that the figures on the cup are facing forward instead of kissing. The sensual embrace of the male figure and the slung leg of the goddess exemplify erotic conventions of the high Renaissance (Bayer 2008, 205–209). Doris, daughter of Oceanus and Tethys, and mother to the Nereids, was associated with chastity, abundance, and fertility; attributes that made this model particularly appropriate for a wedding gift. The uncertain identification of the couple does not exclude the possibility of other mythological subjects including Jordan Gschwend's suggestion about Neptune and Amphitrite.

The erotic lore of the heraldic set is stressed by a jewel-like decoration featuring a pearl hanging over the couple (A5). The chain and the pearl stand as allegories of profane love and procreation; the precious tie bonding the newlyweds. The opposite side of the cup displays the same kind of composition with a naked female figure (fig. 3, M1) reclining on a boat (M2) in the shape of a sea-creature pendant and a mermaid emerging from behind. The jewel motif resembles a crystal rock whistle in the shape of a *makara* from Portuguese Sri Lanka (Rijksmuseum, AK-RBK-17524). Historical records attest to the collection of jewels assembled by Constantino de Braganza during his stay in India (Bertini 1997, 33), thus indicating a possible pattern of iconographic transmission.

The motif is flanked by an eagle (N) and a peacock (O), a likely reference to Jupiter and Juno. These two birds may symbolize Maria's family heritage as guardians watching over the bride here depicted as Venus. An allegorical portrait of John III and Catherine of Austria in the shape of these mythological subjects had already appeared in earlier Portuguese royal commissions as evidenced by the *Earth under the protection of Jupiter and Juno* tapestry (1520–1530 c.) by Georg Wezeler. The identification of Venus as a symbol of Maria's imperial lineage is supported by the *Os Lusíadas* (1572) by Luís Vaz de Camões, who was under the protection of Constantino during his stay in Goa. In the epic poem, Venus is the protective patron of the Portuguese endeavor in Asia. This imperial declination of Venus reverberates in the marine nature of the embracing couple and the upper part of the mounting, both of which probably refer to the maritime dimension of the Portuguese empire. Here, the association of mythological figures with historical characters reiterates the cyclical narrative in which the Graeco-Roman tradition revives itself in the Portuguese colonial experience. The interpretation of these elements as royal attributes reminds us of the performative function of rhinoceros horn vessels. European elites used to display exotic objects such as these to perform their status during court ceremonies, and this was probably the case of the Capodimonte's cup during the celebration of the Infanta's wedding in 1565.

Both jewel motifs are surrounded by animals. A rhinoceros, a swan, two flying hawks attacking a sparrow, and a peacock appear on the left side of the coat of arms (fig. 2: B, C, E1, E2, D, F). On the right side we find an elephant, a seated fox, an ostrich, a crocodile, a snail, and a butterfly (G, H, I, J, K, L). On the opposite side of the cup, the eagle is accompanied by a turtle, a cat, a rampant bear/baboon, and a rabbit (fig. 3: P, Q, R, S1). The peacock is shown in composition with a second rabbit, a duck, and a running unicorn (S2, T, U). Some animals are modelled after Chinese sources (H, K, L, P). Like the dragon mentioned above, these animals also carry auspicious meanings of fertility and regality. Other motifs are inspired by European models (e. g., the rhinoceros made after the famous engraving by Dürer). The meaning of these animals is ambiguous as they do not exactly overlap with allegorical compositions of this period, including zodiacal representations, depictions of the four continents, or attributes of mythological figures. This mismatch might indicate that zoomorphic motifs were not designed to correspond with specific references, but rather intended to convey an overall sense of exotic wealth and the exuberance of natural life that dovetails with the auspicious purposes of the nuptial gift.

Zoomorphic motifs are likely also connected to the talismanic function of this kind of objects. Following the medieval tradition, and their mistaken identification as unicorn horns, rhinoceros' horns were believed to deflect poison and purify liquids. Rhinoceros horn vessels were often collected alongside *bezoar* stones, organic gallstones that European elites used as a remedy for diseases, epilepsy, and depression. Similar beliefs and practices circulated in Ming China where such libation cups were originally used in the ritual drinking of wine, a ceremony that was believed to prolong life. Interestingly, similar zoomorphic sets decorate comparable objects with an amuletic and curative function from Portuguese India (Fricke 2018). See, for instance, the coconut shell cup decorated with animal emblems in the Kunsthistorisches Museum of Vienna (KK_913), and the gold containers of medicinal stones made by the Jesuit mission of Goa (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004.244a–d). Far from being mere ornamental features, animal motifs were probably connected to the alleged power of these objects, and their materials, to prolong life. This is also reflected by the jewel-like decoration that frames the coat of arms since dragons and sea creatures were traditionally depicted in contemporary European pendants as images of protective power.

In conclusion, the debate about the classification of the coat of arms remains open to further identifications and interpretation. However, the iconographic program of the cup illustrates the way in which the heraldic element was integrated into (and interacted with) a diverse array of visual and material sources circulating within the Portuguese colonial network. In line with Subrahmanyam's theses (2012), this iconographic plurality can be understood as indicating the intellectual commensurability of courtly cultures. The canons of heraldry, emblem literature, and mannerist decoration contributed to create allegorical *contact zones* where different practices, beliefs, and artistic traditions converged. The overlapping of familiar symbols and exotic sources, ancient myths, as well as historical characters, real and fantastic creatures, suggests the role of artists and courtly elites in articulating a new iconographic idiom aimed at the celebration of wealth and regality.

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Power Play at New Hardwick Hall: On Marriage and Heraldic Joints in an Early Modern English Table (c. 1568)

Sasha Rossman

Most contributions to this volume address the notion of »contact zone« as a site of often asymmetrical cross-cultural interchange. (Pratt 1991) This essay aims to expand the notion of »contact« in relation to coats of arms by considering the issue of marriage as a further zone of contact and contract. The European coat of arms emerged in the Middle Ages as a means of identifying armored knights on the battlefield, but armorials quickly became useful in marking social status, particularly in relation to the ownership of property. Since property was passed down through inheritance, the coat of arms operated as an essential tool in delineating dynastic claims: a recognizable coat of arms could visually stabilize status, particularly in societies like early modern England where a high degree of social mobility came to characterize post-medieval society. (Davis 1985) Yet the furthering of a family line necessitated merging a husband's coat of arms with that of his wife's family, meaning that semantic continuity also needed to accommodate change.

Marriage brought not only man and wife together physically, but also symbolically through the visual interweaving of their armorial signs. Coats of arms, moreover, could also be affixed to material objects, which meant that they could broker contact in a more physical sense than just looking. Material objects displaying armorials could beckon and gather multiple people to them. Such was the case with a specifically English type of object that seems to have enjoyed some *cachet* in the late sixteenth century: the marriage table (fig. 1). Here, I explore one of these tables as a means of investigating how coats of arms could serve as a vehicle for articulating identity and dynasty, while also cultivating specific forms of sociability. The so-called Eglantine table, belonged to Bess of Hardwick—the second-richest woman in England in the late 16th century after Queen Elizabeth— and stands today in the High Great Chamber of the home she built for herself in Derbyshire. (Lovell 2005; Chan 2020) Thanks to a series of advantageous marriages (four altogether) and a keen nose for business, Bess built a legacy of capital for herself

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Fig. 1: Detail of the Eglantine Table, 1567, oak tree, High Great Chamber at Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire.

and for her children. And she, not her husband(s), stood at the center of her domain. Her table, as we will see, served as a means for subtly upending the patriarchal guidelines that prescribed how armorial design functioned. The Eglantine table, which includes elements of coats of arms as well as music and gaming imagery, indicates how even the strictly regulated visual grammar of the coat of arms could be played with, manipulated, and turned to personal advantage like certain early modern English marriages.

The Eglantine table is a large and heavy object, measuring just over one meter wide and three meters long. This kind of »long table« was known as a *dormant* because it was the only table that stayed (slept-*dormir*) in one constant place in a traditional English upper-class home. (Wolsey and Luff 1968) Long tables like these stood on a raised dais at one end of the conventional Great Hall. Historically, the lord and his family ate at their long table in the company of the entire estate as well as any guests. The table symbolized the lord's hospitality and his ability to provide for everyone working in his household and on his land. (Heal 1990) The Eglantine table, however, is a somewhat unusual long table in that it was not made for eating. Instead, it was intended to be looked at. Its top is an example of skilled sixteenth-century inlay work (marquetry) made from walnut and various expensive fruit trees by continental craftsmen working in London (with access to the latest catalogues of Flemish ornament patterns). (Jewitt 1882–1883; Wells-Cole 1997) The Eglantine appears to have been commissioned to commemorate Bess' wedding to her fourth husband George Talbot, the 6th Earl of Shrewsbury (and one of England's wealthiest noblemen) in 1567. The occasion was actually a triple wedding, since at the same time, Bess' daughter Mary wed Shrewsbury's middle son, and Bess' eldest son Henry married Shrewsbury's youngest daughter. For Bess, this marriage flagged the zenith of her social ascent: she was born in Derbyshire into the lower gentry and ended up a countess thanks to Shrewsbury. Her children who married alongside her were the offspring of her second marriage to William Cavendish, one of Henry VIII's »new men« who made a fortune working in government. Cavendish was in many ways Bess' dearest relationship and though she remarried subsequently two times, her marriage to Shrewsbury and her Eglantine table signal her ambition to secure the legacy of the children she and Sir William had together (fig. 2).

Fig. 2: Detail of the Eglantine Table, 1567, oak tree, High Great Chamber at Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire.

In keeping with the theme of social ascent, Bess' long table was not housed in the Great Hall where the lower household dined, but stood on the third floor of her home in the High Great Chamber, which was a space designed for entertaining illustrious guests. The dormant exited the world of traditional hospitality and emerged in the space of genteel gatherings of social peers. (Heal 1990) The table's ornamentation speaks to this shift in social function. Its intricate surface is divided into three bands running lengthwise. The top band features thirteen musical instruments as well as pieces of sheet music with the opening lyrics of Thomas Tallis' *Lamentation*. (Roberts 1995; Chan 2020) These *trompe l'oeil* musical elements invite multiple viewers to come together in a harmonious »consort« (as such music was then known), a musical metaphor for social (and marital) felicity among class equals. The table's lower band is devoted to images of various illusionistic games like cards, as well as functional inlaid game boards like chess and backgammon. Both playing music and games share a theme of social unity, aptly suited to the medium of wooden joinery and mosaic work which holds together the diverse bits and pieces of the table. Game playing also implies the possibility of making the right move and coming out a winner (or not).

The center band and heart of the table is devoted to playing with the coats of arms belonging to Bess, her new husband Shrewsbury, and her deceased husband Cavendish. Whereas a marriage table like the Brome table (1569) in Glasgow features the initials of the wedding partners framed around a cartouche containing the wedding date, the Eglantine's deployment of family imagery is much more playful and oblique (fig. 3). In the table's center, we find a cartouche bearing the elliptical words »The redolent smile/of Aeglentyne/We Stagges Exavet/To the

Fig. 3: Brome table, 1569, Glasgow, Burrell Collection.

Devyne«, that is, we stags exalt the redolent smell of the Eglantine (sweet briar) rose to the divine. The stags in this case are »charges« (heraldic symbols) from the Cavendish coat of arms, while the rose is a charge from Bess' own heraldic coat. These elements appear here in verbal form, but then frolic across the rest of the band in various visual guises, where they intersect playfully with further charges of the Shrewsbury, Cavendish, and Hardwick coats of arms. A stag wanders through strapwork, for example, that sprawls outward from the central cartouche into a mise-en-abîme of frames. To the left of the poetic couplet, these frames coalesce around a medallion with a stag (Cavendish) at its center, next to yet another unframed stag whose neck is engorged by figurative Hardwick roses. This creature brandishes a coat of arms featuring the Shrewsbury »lion rampant« alongside armorial Hardwick roses together with a Talbot hound. On the other side of the central cartouche, the stag is replaced with a snake that supports a shield containing a heraldic rendering of a stag's head (Cavendish) and the Talbot rampant lion again. A range of semantic vocabularies interweave here from text to figurative image to heraldic symbol, popping in and out of frames in a manner that renders them by turns entrapped and free in their movements across the table's surface. At the very edge of the table's »dexter« side, we discover a female fox (fig. 4). We know she is female because on the »sinister« (left) side she has a counterpart whose exposed genitals betray his sex (and his ribald nature). (Roberts 1995)

The left and right sides of the central band thus balance each other out, in keeping with the concept of what matrimony meant at that time in England when the »companionate marriage« enjoyed new popularity. (Stone 1977; Honig 1990) Here a Shrewsbury hound, there a Cavendish stag. The familial elements weave into one another, like the Flemish strapwork ornamentation that serves as a trellis around which the armorial devices can grow. In his *Briefe & pleasant discourse of duties of marriage*, published the same year as the Hardwick-Shrewsbury marriage, Edmund Tilney compared a successful marriage to a growing flower (the »Flower of Friendshippe«), suggesting that conjugal love (and in this case family wealth) would grow most bountifully in a marriage if it were grounded upon mutual, equal inclination, something the balanced heraldic foliage of the Eglantine table appears to articulate. Yet, one cannot help but notice that the Shrewsbury side is somewhat outweighed in this constellation by Hardwick and Cavendish imagery. This prompts us to examine how heraldry traditionally operated when marriages were made and spouses were conjoined by a normative symbolic language.

Fig. 4: Detail of the Eglantine Table, 1567, oak tree, High Great Chamber at Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire.

After a marriage, the two separate coats of arms of man and wife needed to be »marshalled« onto one field, or shield. (Renton 1887; Boutell 1914) There were several ways of doing this. Charges could be »aggrouped« by »combination«, meaning that several shields could simply be placed next to one another without graphic intervention. This usually was done on seals, where shields were disposed alongside each other within a circle. Another solution was to take one shield and bisect it (»dimidiation«). The husband's arms were placed at »dexter« and the wife's at »sinister«, with both cut in the middle. This, however, could lead to a confusing visual merging of symbols, so that by the end of the fourteenth century a strategy termed »impalement« was generally deployed instead. It is important to note that the bearer of heraldry was gendered: a man's coat of arms was depicted on a shield whereas a woman's was placed on a lozenge. When they married, the two arms were impaled on one (male) shield, meaning they occupied distinct halves of the shield without merging visually. If the woman were an heiress, the husband would »impale« her coat of arms as a shield in the center of his shield (known as an »escutcheon of pretense«). If they had children, the shield would be quartered so that the heiress' children were able to perpetuate her paternal coat of arms once she died. If she were widowed, she would revert to using a lozenge, but continue to use the impaled motif of both her and her husband's arms. Upon remarrying, however, a widow would jettison her former husband's arms, whereas the widower of an heiress, for instance, would keep the arms of both of his wives in equal portions (»palewise«) to each side of his own arms on his shield. Each social permutation necessitated visual solutions for heraldry, which followed gendered social conventions.

On the Eglantine table, we find two impaled coats of arms: at left (on the »dexter« side), we see the stag and hound supporting a shield impaled with the Talbot lion and Hardwick roses. On the other side, we find the reverse (a shield with the lion at sinister and the Cavendish stag at dexter), a re- positioning which speaks to the gendered positions of the Cavendish/Talbot children getting married. Yet, in spite of this balance, what is exceedingly clear is that Bess

Fig. 5: Detail of the Eglantine Table, 1567, oak tree, High Great Chamber at Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire.

has in no way jettisoned her symbolic links to her dead husband in favor of her new husband. The heraldry of her first and third husbands is nowhere to be found on the table at all. And the couplet at the Eglantine's center speaks explicitly to the exaltation of the social ascent of Bess' family with her second husband rather than to her union with the Talbots. The latter's arms are nominally »balanced«, yet the prevalence of stags and Hardwick eglantine roses alongside Talbot arms reflects not so much upon the triple marriage as the presence of three equal partners at the table: a wife who is also a widow, and her current as well as her former husband. The table connects the three parties, bridging a temporal gap in a material fashion: the dead husband's presence is infused with temporal longevity through his continued apparition in the family mosaic – as well as the children that will hopefully spring from the marriage of his daughter and son to Shrewsbury's heirs.

Bess has brokered herself a position in the very center of this table-tableau, the redolent fragrance of her sweet briar rose mingling with her husbands past and present, as well as the dynasty she aimed to stabilize through her fourth marriage (and table). In English marriage portraits, as in English heraldry, men occupied the right side of an image. Women were on the left, or »sinister« side, due to their status as the lesser, if equally important partner in a marriage. On Bess' table, however, we have noted that it is a female fox who guards the table's »dexter« side while a male can be found at »sinister«.

The playful nature of the table's social games and musical harmonies spills over into the play with heraldic symbols. Yet play can also be serious: a playful table can orchestrate new forms of social relations, as when dining tables become game boards and musical scripts for gatherings of elites. On the Eglantine table, the heraldic elements also appear to have emancipated themselves playfully from the strictures of their conventional frames as Bess used them to express her personal ambitions independently from her new husband, while still referring to traditional

matrimonial structures. The frolicking visual signs on her table wind around grotesque straps full of magical beasts that morph from one form, or frame, or marriage into another. In this playful guise, the liberated charges subtly upend patriarchal visual strictures and open themselves up to invention and new social permutations. Bess dealt herself a winning hand in this play for power and prestige: the Cavendish line ultimately eclipsed the Talbots in wealth and titles, remaining one of the most influential and moneyed aristocratic families in England today (fig. 5).

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Performative Objects and Transcultural Actors

Nasrid Emblems on a *jineta* Sword of the Fifteenth Century

Simon Rousselot

In the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque nationale de France one can find a *jineta* style sword dating from the fifteenth century. The sword was fabricated under the Nasrid sultanate, which ruled over Granada between 635/1238 and 897/1492 (figs. 1–4). This *jineta* sword is an excellent example of how emblematic visual languages circulated between East and West during this era. This transpired large part through personal and diplomatic relations, but also thanks to the extended period of contact between Islam and Christianity on the Iberian Peninsula.

Measuring ninety-five centimetres long, the sword's handle and its scabbard display several emblems used by the Nasrid sovereigns. The cloisonné enamels and the silver thread embroidery highlight a motto (in these cloisonné enamels, the motto is summarized in a few letters so stylized that it is difficult to read it correctly) and a band shield charged with the same motto. On each side of the hilt, one finds a further shield, and on the pommel, there is one round field. Two mottos adorn the handle and on the scabbard, there are five shields on each side as well as one enamelled motto and two large woven mottos (Huynh 2011, p. 66). The object is, thus, loaded with emblematic meaning and its opulence is reminiscent of a ceremonial weapon (Dodds 1992, 284–286).

The first emblem, the motto, is a sentence which is perhaps the most frequently represented emblem in Nasrid sources. It reads ولا غالب إلا الله (*wa-lā ghālib ilā-llāh*), »and there is no conqueror but God«. There are three possible origins that would explain the use of this sentence as an emblem. The first is more or less mythical. This motto would have appeared on the Almohad banners brandished during the victory against the Christians at Alarcos in Rajab 591/July 1195, the last great victory of a Muslim ruler in al-Andalus (Pavón 1970, 187; Puerta Vílchez 2015, 103), and would then have been adopted by Muḥammad I (635/1238–671/1273). The second possible origin of the emblem, which is more likely than the first, has been identified by Rachel Arié, who explains how Muḥammad I himself wrote the motto of the Nasrids as *ʿalāma*. This *ʿalāma* was a paragraph that concluded with a pious formula, which ended with a letter whose use had been generalized by the Almohads in the twelfth century. Arié notes, however, that this formula was later abandoned as *ʿalāma* by the Nasrids, probably

Fig. 1: *Jineta* sword, 15th century, steel, leather, enamel, vermeil, 95 cm, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Fig. 2: The other side of the *jineta* sword, 15th century, steel, leather, enamel, vermeil, 95 cm, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

because its use and meaning were no longer the same once it transformed into an emblem (Arié 1990, 212). The third possible origin would derive from the *laqab* (the honorary title integrated into the name) of Muḥammad I, *al-Ghālib bi-llāh* (»the one who overcomes thanks to God«). Due to the lack of archaeological evidence, none of these hypotheses can be confirmed, nor can they be dismissed. Nevertheless, they point to Muḥammad I, the founder of the Nasrid dynasty, as the first user of the motto. A squared dirham, conserved at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, bearing the sentence and dated from his reign confirms this (cf. Lavoix 1891, 327; unfortunately, it cannot be dated more precisely).

The use of the motto lent rhetorical continuity to the Nasrid political project to such an extent that the Grenadine monarchy was nicknamed *al-dawla l-ghālibiyya* (»the victorious state«, cf. Martínez Enamorado 2006, 536). It can therefore be understood as a charismatic means of dynastic legitimation for the Nasrid rulers. The repetition of the affirmation of the superior character of God marks the essence of their claim to power: The dynasty identifies with the will of God and represents him in society (Martínez Enamorado 2006, 536).

Fig. 3: Handle of the *jineta* sword, 15th century, steel, leather, enamel, vermeil, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Fig. 4: The other side of the *jineta* sword's handle, 15th century, steel, leather, enamel, vermeil, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

An intriguing element of this *jineta* sword is, however, not only the Islamic emblem, but the form of the heraldic shield. It raises questions about its possible medieval use in a non-European and non-Christian context. The adoption of the shield dates back to the second reign of sultan Muḥammad V (763/1362–793/1391, cf. Pavón 1972, 231) and can be more precisely linked to the latter's friendship with the King of Castile Pedro I. It resembles the charge of the Order of the Band, an order of chivalry created by King Alfonso XI of Castile in 1330 (Boulton 2000, 52) that was dear to his son. A strong bond of friendship connected Pedro I and Muḥammad V, which materialized itself through military assistance, hospitality in cases of exile, or even the exchange of craftsmen (Dodds 1979, 190). Knights of the Order of the Band, for instance, aided Muḥammad V to ascend to his throne in 763/1362 (Pavón 1970, 186–187). In return, the Nasrid ruler helped Pedro militarily in the conflict between him and his half-brother Enrique of Trastámara. Six hundred Muslim cavalrymen were then admitted to the Order after fighting for the King of Castile in Teruel in 1363 (Echevarria 2008, 213). It is possible that it was on this occasion or shortly thereafter that Muḥammad V was also made a member of the Order.

If Alfonso had originally created this order as a true order of chivalry, i.e. one that linked individuals with a shared set of values and duties, his son Pedro transformed it into a kind of

honorary order. In this honorific context, the band would serve as a distinction awarded by the king to certain people of noble birth. For a modern reader, the integration of a Muslim ruler into an order of knighthood might seem incongruous, but D'Arcy Boulton reminds us that from its outset, the Order of the Band was conceived of as being secular; above all, it was linked directly to the crown (to distinguish it from the religious orders on which it was modelled, cf. Boulton 2000, 71). This explains why the fight against the infidels was not part of the set of rules that a knight of the order had to follow (unlike moral rules such as piety or honesty). Nevertheless, the knight had to swear loyalty and service to the king. This last point raises the question of the vassalage of the member of the Order of the Band to the king. If the knight were to declare himself a vassal of the ruler of Castile this would mean that Muḥammad V would have been Pedro's vassal. He would thereby have followed in the footsteps of Muḥammad I who is said to have recognised king Fernando III as his suzerain when he was besieged in Jaén by the Castilians in 1245/46 (Arié 1990, 61–62). The anonymous *Crónica del Rey Don Alfonso el Onceno* written in 1344 is clear about the link between the Order of the Band and vassalage to the king of Castile: »And this rule was always kept in the Order of the Band in the courts of the Kings of Castile, that a man who was not a vassal of the King or of his son and heir apparent did not wear the Band« (quoted from Boulton 2000, 57). This would make the Nasrid sultanate a vassal of the kingdom of Castile.

The form of the shield may have been deployed indiscriminately, with or without the Nasrid motto. Yet it is interesting to note a potential confrontation between the orientation of these two elements. In heraldry, the top left corner is the most valued space in terms of heraldic syntax. It is the most prestigious part of a coat of arms. Conversely the motto begins at the bottom right, because that is the point of departure in Arabic script. However, this did not appear to pose an issue for the Nasrids who fabricated the sword.

If there were concerns about potential power reversals, these were perhaps made for the deliberate over-emblematising of this *jineta* sword, which is saturated with emblems to the point to which it appears as a performative artefact broadcasting a message that can scarcely be misinterpreted, or overlooked: It loudly and clearly proclaims the power and the wealth of its sponsors, the rulers of Granada. A lack of sources means that it is unfortunately impossible to identify the bearer of this sword and the possible use he made of it.

In the fifteenth century, the Nasrid sultanate was a small, isolated territory without mighty allies (the Nasrids enjoyed the protection of the Marinids of Fes until their coalition suffered defeat at the battle of Tarifa in 1340). It faced two great kingdoms – Castile and Aragon – who had sworn to complete the reconquest of the peninsula and whose power was strengthening over the years (Makariou and Martinez-Gros 2018, 73). Given this precarious political situation, the Nasrid motto and shield can be understood as bold statements, a way to ward off fate or to bear witness to their deep belief in the will of God as surpassing and overcoming all. The chroniclers of the fourteenth century, foremost among them the vizier and great poet of the Alhambra Ibn al-Khaṭīb, were certainly fully aware of the perils which threatened the sultans of Granada (Arié 1990, 229). Whether carved on the walls of their monuments or on the hilt of this *jineta* sword, Nasrid art and craftmanship were therefore a tool for shaping a public image. It was an artistic statement of grandeur in a land that feared the eventuality of being conquered.

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Taoist Self-Transformation and Christian Redemption: A Chinese Heraldic Rhinoceros Cup for Antão Vaz Freire

Hugo Miguel Crespo

This early seventeenth-century rhinoceros horn cup (figs. 1–2) from the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (inv. KK 3742) is carved, both inside and out with complex imagery of local South Chinese origin, with Daoist characteristics combined with European iconographic and heraldic elements. The full-tip cup, of dark brown rhinoceros horn, probably carved from a posterior horn of a Sumatran rhinoceros (*Dicerorhinus sumatrensis*), was dyed and polished, revealing a warm cinnamon colour. Despite some damage by rodents, and it being somewhat less refined than other contemporary carved rhinoceros horn cups, its small size (16.2 cm in height) and the minute character of much of its unique imagery are a testimony to the ingenuity of South Chinese craftsmen working for a new European clientele in the final decades of the Ming dynasty. The iconographic reading of this vessel follows an upward direction, from the tip of the horn to the rim (and the pond scene on the interior bowl). This is further highlighted by the ascending nature of the stepped rocky formations depicted, which form the mineral background to the rich animal and plant imagery. The tip, or bottom-most section is carved with scrolling fungus, the sacred Chinese mushroom of immortality (*Ganoderma lucidum*), known as *língzhī* 灵芝, from which the first stepped rocky formations seem to emerge. Over the scrolling fungus rises a Chinese white pine (*Pinus armandii*), which represents long life and endurance, beneath which lies a reclining *qílín* 麒麟, with its head turned backwards. A mythological creature usually depicted with a scaled deer's body with hooves, a dragon's head with two horns, and a bear's bushy tail, the *qílín* is symbolic of benevolence, virtue, longevity, happiness and wisdom.

Above this scene, occupying pride of place in the overall decoration of the main side of the cup, there is a Portuguese coat of arms. The escutcheon features a bend swallowed by two dragon or serpent heads (used by the Freire family), accompanied by a tower dextered by a crescent

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in chief, and a dagger in base, within a bordure charged with five triple arrows. Over the shield there is a poorly depicted helm surmounted by a crest (possibly three plumes) and flanked by a mantling. Based on a surviving seal (fig. 3) from a letter by Antão Vaz Freire (c. 1560–c. 1630) to King Philip II of Portugal (Philip III of Spain), dated 10th February 1616, it has been possible to identify the heraldry on this cup with that of this royal officer who served as the first financial superintendent or *vedor da fazenda* of Ceylon (present-day Sri Lanka) between 1608 and 1617.

At the top of the coat of arms, over the rocks, there is a tree which has been erroneously identified as the Canary Islands dragon tree (*Dracaena draco*), native to the Canary Islands, Cape Verde, Madeira, and western Morocco. This misidentification, and the idea that this species was abundant in South India along the coast of the Gulf of Mannar, was at the basis for the attribution of this object to Cochin (Silva 2000). The shrub depicted is the sweet olive (*Osmanthus fragrans*), native to Asia, indigenous to southern China and known as *guìhuā* 桂花. A symbol of nobility (homophone with *guì* 貴, ›high-ranking‹ or ›noble‹), it is associated with the moon (depicted on the coat of arms). According to legend, the moon possessed a magical tree from which the elixir of life was extracted.

The identification of the tree as the osmanthus (also depicted on the interior bowl of the cup) is strengthened by the presence of two hares at the side of the tree, which are also symbols of longevity and intimately associated with the moon. The jade rabbit (or *yùtù* 玉兔) was the companion of the Moon Goddess and was entrusted with making the elixir of immortality under the osmanthus tree. Flanking the sweet olive tree on our cup is a tiger (*lǎohǔ* 老虎) on the left,

Fig. 1: Cup made from carved rhinoceros horn, South China, c. 1600–1619, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

Fig. 2: The other side of the rhinoceros horn cup, South China, c. 1600–1619, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

and a guardian lion (*shī* 狮) on the right. While the first represents military prowess and protection (homophone with *hù* 護, >to protect<), the second is homophone with >teacher< or >master< (*shī* 師), which, coupled with other elements in the cup points to an elderly high-ranking patron and client for whom this object was made, probably Antão Vaz Freire who died in his late sixties. On the left of this composition emerges a tall, sinuous cypress tree which may be identified with the >China-fir<, the *Cunninghamia lanceolata* which, like the pine trees depicted elsewhere in the cup, represents longevity. On the opposite side, we see a Portuguese huntsman on horseback. Alongside his hunting dog, he takes aim at a deer with his bow and arrow. Above, there is an Asian elephant with its long legs and small ears (*Elephas maximus*), representing strength, protection, wisdom, and good luck. And opposite, we see an ox (*Bos taurus*), a symbol of diligence, strength, honesty, and wealth.

The most striking iconographic elements of this cup are deployed in the interior decoration of its bowl (fig. 4), which depicts a pond scene. Extending the rocky formations seen on the exterior, the imagery on the bowl highlights the transformative, multi-layered, and stepped nature of the overall symbolic meaning of this cup. Conceived as a drinking vessel, the side from which the cup is raised features a large fish (which unlike most of the imagery is carved in high relief) emerging from the side over the rim. Similar to a dragon that rises in the air, this carp, probably the silver carp (*Hypophthalmichthys molitrix*), native to China and eastern Siberia, overcomes obstacles and the strong river currents. The rocky landscape along the interior rim features sweet osmanthus and Chinese pine trees, bamboo (a symbol of endurance, humility, and integrity), plantain plants (symbolic of an introspective, melancholic atmosphere), rice plants and flying birds (the Oriental magpie or *Pica serica*, symbol of happiness). There are two opposing >narrative< scenes on the rim: one depicts a serpent (*yīn*) facing a tiger (*yáng*) with a squatting monkey in the centre; and the other a large pig-like creature (*yīn*) facing another tiger with a monkey in the centre threatening the pig with his stick. The monkey may be identified as Sun Wukong (孫悟空), the mythical and Taoist-trained Monkey King, recipient of the 72 Earthly Transformations and bearer of a magical staff. He is best known as one of the main characters of the sixteenth-century Chinese novel *Journey to the West* based on earlier folk tales. The pig is probably Zhu Bajie (豬八戒), also a major character in the same novel, always jealous of Wukong, who was reborn after his exile on Earth as a

Fig. 3: Seal from a letter by Antão Vaz Freire to King Philip II of Portugal, 10th February 1616, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisboa.

man-eating pig-monster. Both scenes represent the balance between darkness and light as perceived in Taoist metaphysics. The interior of the bowl features precisely arranged aquatic animals, namely four fish, three shrimps (*xiā* 蝦) and three large crabs (*xiè* 蟹). These, which may be identified with the Chinese mitten crab (*Eriocheir sinensis*), native to South China, symbolise >harmony< (*xié* 諧) and >longevity< or >many years with harmony<. They share their symbolic meaning with the finely depicted freshwater shrimp (homophonous with *xiá* 遐, >advanced age<), clearly highlighting the elderly nature of the patron who commissioned this cup. The shrimps depicted may be identified with the Chinese white shrimp (*Penaeus chinensis*). The four fish (scaled-covered carp, or *lǐ* 鯉) symbolise surplus and wealth (*lì* 利).

Also carved in high-relief, and opposite the carp, there is a squatting naked male figure. Covering his genitals with his left arm resting on the rock at the edge of the pond, he reaches to the water with a bowl with his outstretched right arm. This figure, with its curly hair, naked body and daring pose, stands out from the rest of the imagery deployed on this and other contemporary Chinese carved libation cups and, alongside the coat of arms, it is surely European in origin and meaning. Mention should be made of contemporaneous drawings and prints representing St. John the Baptist in the Wilderness, either naked or slightly covered depicted in a somewhat similar pose. One such image is an etching by Jacopo Palma il Giovane († 1628), an example of which belongs to the British Museum, London (inv. X,2.24). Nonetheless, in a 1553 engraving of *The Baptism of Christ* by Hieronymus Cock (fig. 5) after a design by Andrea del Sarto (from a mural in the Chiostro dello Scalzo, Florence), there is a figure of a naked boy waiting to be baptised by St. John which is strikingly similar to the one on this cup. It is conceivable that Antão Vaz Freire provided the carver not only with his personal coat of arms but also a design possibly inspired by this or a similar print, conveying the Christian belief of redemption through water, a message which is perfectly in keeping not only with the function of this vessel, but also with the Christian values of its patron.

Fig. 4: Top view of the rhinoceros horn cup, South China, c. 1600–1619, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

We know little of Freire's personal life apart from some conflicts with Jerónimo de Azevedo (c. 1560–1625), who served as viceroy of the Portuguese State of India (*Estádo da India*) between 1612 and 1617, and who had been governor (*capitão-geral*) of Portuguese-ruled Ceylon from 1594 to 1612. Freire served as *vedor* until 1617, having returned to Goa later that year after completing his mission, that of surveying the lands now under

Fig. 5: Hieronymus Cock after Andrea del Sarto, *The Baptism of Christ*, 1553, engraving on paper, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Portuguese control and recording them in detail with the assessment of their value in four large volumes or *tombos*. Having apparently never returned to Ceylon, Freire served as the financial overseer (*provedor-mor*) of the Exchequer of Goa (*Contos de Goa*), the highest administrative position of the *Estádo*. He returned to Portugal in 1619. We know from a petition dated 26th July 1620 that Freire was claiming the outstanding payments of his wages as *vedor*, and that on 13 March 1626 these had not yet been processed. This same year, King Philip II chose him for a committee entrusted with solving some administrative and financial problems regarding Ceylon, from which Freire excused himself. As late as November 1639 Amaro Rodrigues, who served as *vedor* in Ceylon after Freire from 1633 to 1636, reflects on his predecessor's shortcomings, writing that he failed to do some vital work because >maybe he eagerly wanted to leave that island<.

We do not know the date of his death, nor how he was able to commission this cup in South China, if directly or, more likely, through agents and middlemen. His high social standing and revenue certainly enabled him to acquire such a prestigious luxury item, beyond the reach of many in late Renaissance Europe (Crespo 2018). Also unknown are the ways by which this object came to the Vienna Kunstkammer, where no early imperial inventories seem to record it.

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A Fleeting Heraldic Collaboration: The Huguenot Tapestry in Bern

Tamara Kobel

The Bernisches Historisches Museum possesses a work of tapestry which is remarkable in numerous ways (figs. 1–2). The object is notable not only for its unusual shape, but also because of the context of its production. The so-called Huguenot Tapestry (1685–1688) was commissioned in 1685 by the council of the city-state Bern and woven by four French Huguenots who had fled from the town of Aubusson in today's Creuse region. The combination of the Bernese iconographic program and French protestant craft places the object squarely within the framework of cultural contact, offering an example of how different traditions of imagery and material culture could conjoin around heraldic symbols.

The textile consists of five parts, three longer and two shorter elements that are stitched into a large cross-shape (fig. 3). This format can be explained by the fact that it was initially intended to lie on the table of the chamber for the small council in the Bern town hall: the middle part would have covered the tabletop and the adjacent flaps would have hung over the table's sides. The weaving's allegorical program consists of »the virtues and prosperity of the Republic of Bern« (Gamboni 1991, 371). The city's heraldic animal dominates the central panel: a Bernese bear, ready for battle in a chain-mail tunic brandishing a Swiss dagger. A halberd and two-handled sword lay in reach on his knees and under his paws. A bandoleer with swiss crosses and a sash in the Bernese colors of red and black cross one another on the bear's chest. In his paws, he holds the symbols of victory and independence: a scepter, palm leaves, pileus and hero's crown of laurel leaves. A mace, sword, lion's pelt, and a feathered helmet stand for fortitude, while keys, a pomegranate, and coffers represent good governance and a democratic constitution. Flowers, fruits, and leaves fill the pictorial surface between these symbols.

These elements of allegorical still life continue onto the four draped sides. On one of the broad side panels, we find two Bernese shields topped by coronets, fasces, and an axe. We also see a scepter with an eye, a mirror, and a snake as signs for vigilance, along with sword and scales

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Figs. 1–2: Pierre Mercier, Louis Mercier, Pierre Dixier and unknown, front and centre piece of the Hugenot tapestry, 1685–1688, Bern, Bernisches Historisches Museum.

Fig. 3: Top view of the Huguenot tapestry, 1685–1688, Bern, Bernisches Historisches Museum.

of justice. The heraldic emblems of the two current mayors (*Schultheissen*) Johann Anton Kilchberger and Sigmund von Erlach are placed in the lower corners. The edges of the other three sides display the armorials of the twenty-six other members of the small council. On one side, the symbols of a set square, a compass, plumb line, arrow, and bridle are assembled; on the other side, there is an image of an iron rod cooling under a stream of water. These encourage the councilmen to act with moderation and temperance. The cloth's backside takes up the themes of trade and the arts, over which the city and its governors preside. For trade, we find the attributes of Mercury (the caduceus and winged helmet) as well as handshake, book, and scroll. For the arts, there is a feather pen, a lyre, and a set of panpipes (Gamboni 1991, 370–372). Yet the image of Bern as a protector of the arts was an ideal, that was not reflected in the reality of the precarious situation of the city's artists during the seventeenth century. The Reformation meant that the church was no longer commissioning important works and, as a Republic, the city's artists also did not benefit from courtly commissions like artisans in other European principalities. The rather modest patrician commissions in Bern hardly offered artists the opportunity to develop and display their craft (Capitani 1991, 126; Göttler 2021, 165; Oberli 2021, 35).

The iconographic program of allegories and heraldry was apt for its intended location – the council chamber in the city hall – but the medium was less typical for Bern. Tapestries were not entirely unknown in the city and some are still preserved in the Bernisches Historisches Museum. Among them are examples from the 15th and 16th centuries with representative functions in both sacred and profane settings. A four-part series donated by the canon of Bern's minster Heinrich Wölfli tells of the life and death of the titular saint Vincent of Sargossa (Inv. No. H/56 – H/59). It was commissioned in 1515 and produced in Brussels. Another example, whose production origin is unknown, depicts the coats of arms of Hans Rudolf Nägeli and Elisabeth Summer and represents the alliance of the two Bernese families (Inv. No. H/18954) (Stettler 1959, Annette Kniep, email to author, April 5, 2022).

In addition to these commissioned works, other tapestries found their way to Bern as looted objects. After the united Swiss *Eidgenossen* had vanquished the troops of Charles the Bold at Grandson in 1476, they divided the Burgundian booty and the Bernese received the Thousand Flower Tapestry (Inv. No. H/14), as well as two other parts of a tapestry featuring Burgundian heraldry (Inv. No. H/15a and H/15b). These were initially stored in Bern's minster, where they were used as choir curtains for a while, until they were moved to storage at the city hall during the Reformation. In 1537, more tapestries arrived in the city that were taken from the treasury of Lausanne after the Bernese had conquered the Vaud.

The looted treasures were inventoried at the beginning of the seventeenth century, although they were not displayed. People apparently did see them, however, like the early eighteenth-century travel writer Johann Georg Keyseller who reported that one could marvel at Charles' tapestries (Rapp Buri and Sucky-Schürer 2002).

The Bernese thus possessed several valuable examples of tapestry work, but the medium's production centers lay elsewhere, for instance in France. The Calvinist city of Aubusson was in fact one of the leading centers of tapestry production alongside Paris (Fluri 1928, 2; Heinz 1995, 159). The religious strife that gripped France in the 1680s, culminating in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, however, did not leave Aubasson untouched. Many Huguenots fled France for protestant regions abroad. Among these exiles were the four *tapissiers* who arrived in Bern in October of that year: Pierre Mercier, Louis Mercier, Pierre Dixier, and a fourth

Fig. 4: Joseph Werner, Carton for the centre piece of the Huguenot tapestry, 1686, Bern, Bernisches Historisches Museum.

whose name is now unknown. The city council was informed that the four men were staying in Bern, and that they understood the art of tapestry, and would be willing to work in order to support themselves. They were also willing to train people in their craft. Shortly thereafter, they were given a place to work in the city's orphanage, in the former monastery, which now served both as a refugee shelter and a prison for Anabaptists (Fluri 1915, 98–99). There they were supposed to produce a sample to be fashioned according to a design by the Bernese artist Joseph Werner. Three of Werner's original cartoons are now also in the collection of the Bernisches Historisches Museum (fig. 4). The protocols accompanying the production of this piece of *haute lice* textile work make it clear that the old banneret (*Alt Venner*) Karl von Büren had long entertained plans to introduce the craft to the city (Fluri 1915, 91–92; Fluri 1928, 2–3). These would, however, come to naught.

Already on the first of March, 1686, von Büren began to wonder why the work was taking so long. The council decided that it would not be appropriate to renege on the commission. By the following January others became impatient, too, since the tapestry was still not finished, and they began to investigate the Huguenots' (lack of) progress. At this point, only three of the exiled weavers were still working in the orphanage. Besides the dwindling of workers, other factors may have led to the slow progress of the work. The tapestry is rather fine in its execution as one counts seven warp threads and about 30 to 40 wool or silk weft threads per centimeter. Moreover, the working conditions in the converted monastery amidst the other refugees must have been anything but conducive. Add to this the rather poor pay of 5 *Batzen* a day, which was the allowance awarded to all refugee Huguenots, whether they worked or not (Fluri 1915, 88; 100). But the work also granted them a certain security to stay. With the inevitable completion, they were threatened with the possibility of having to move on.

The council's impatience makes their ignorance of tapestry production clear, since they obviously did not understand how long it takes to weave. Their restlessness also, ultimately, led to the city's failure to establish itself as a location of tapestry production. When the textile was finished in the summer of 1688, only two of the initial four weavers were still working on it. In September of the same year, they were finally paid after a three-month delay. In the meanwhile, the attitude of the city council members towards the exiles had shifted. On September 4, 1688, Pierre' Mercier's application for citizenship was refused, likely because of the city's high rate of

poverty at that time (Fluri 1915, 100–104; Fluri 1928, 6). The Huguenot tapestry thus remains the only one of its kind in Bern: a high-quality product of ultimately unsuccessful intercultural cooperation.

The entire process of the commission, from the order by the treasurer (*Seckelmeister*) Hans Rudolf von Sinner and the councilman Hans Bernhard von Muralt to deal with the affair, to the delivery of necessary materials, to the daily payments is preserved in the city's archives. But curiously when the object appeared in the 1897 inventory of the Bernisches Historisches Museum, it was labeled as being »stitched and gifted by two French women (Huguenots)«. It is unknown how, or why, this mistake was made. Yet one can imagine how much more meaningful the object would have appeared if it had indeed been a gift, rather than a commissioned piece. Gifting such an expensive and elaborate object to the city, decorated with allegories of its Republican independence and devotion to the arts, would have represented a deep level of immeasurable thanks. In 1985, Simone Saxer assigned yet a further meaning to the object in the exhibition catalogue *Le Refuge Huguenot en Suisse – Die Hugenotten in der Schweiz*. She wrote that the Bernese bear on the cloth was sporting a sash in the French colors as a sign of alliance (Saxer 1985, 168). Aside from the fact that the bear is actually wearing the colors of Bern (red and black) and not France (red and blue), the inference is misplaced for an iconographic program that is exclusively Bernese.

The Huguenot tapestry is the result of a very specific moment of cultural intersection. The exiled French protestants were welcome in numerous Swiss cities thanks to their technical expertise. Swiss municipalities could hope to build upon their skills and found new local industries like weaving (Veyrassat 1985, 162). In Bern, we can observe the confluence of artistic knowledge and political-economic interests take form in an object that was intended to unite the two: a high-quality example of weaving as well as a representation of the individual city council members and the city itself, as described in the object's heraldic program. We can only guess at what it meant for the four weavers of Aubusson to make this object for a city that would only temporarily welcome them.

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The Magic of the Flag: A Colonial Story (East Timor, 1894)

Ricardo Roque

»I know that I should not be too prolix in my report, but I need to justify what I have said, and allow me Your Excellency to narrate a fact that proves exuberantly what I have written; it was the following.

Not long ago, Dr. Gomes da Silva, head of the province Health Services, was in this colony and found himself at one of the south coast districts when the military commander put a native *maioral* [Timorese noble] under arrest for disobedience; in the garrison were only Dr. Gomes da Silva, the officer, one soldier, and the prisoner; a great number of natives put the garrison under siege with the purpose of rescuing the prisoner. But when they set eyes on our flag, they sent an emissary requesting us to lower the flag, because otherwise they could not attack the fort; it is obvious that the flag was not lowered, and it is certain that the attack did not occur. Nothing is more true than this; nothing is more demonstrative.«

In 1894 the governor of Timor, José Celestino da Silva (Silva 1901), reported to his superior, the Governor of Macao, on the extremely difficult conditions of governing in the remote district under his charge. The manuscript of this report, held today in the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino in Lisbon, contains the narrative cited above – a literary image, if you like, of the colonial significance of a formerly potent national symbol: the Portuguese monarchic flag. Throughout the nineteenth century, with the escalation of modern nationalism – especially after the establishment of a Constitutional Monarchy in Portugal in 1820–22 – the flag bearing the royal arms of the King of Portugal came to be seen as a materialization of an abstract national community rather than simply a dynastic sign and insignia of the king's authority. The situation reported in Timor reflected this modern attachment to the monarchic flag as a token of nationhood. In this report, the hostility of the so-called Timorese *reinos* (kingdoms) lay at the core of the governor's concerns. The balance of forces between the small colonial community and the many indigenous kingdoms seemed rather disadvantageous.

Wars between local kingdoms as well as wars between the kingdoms and the colonial government occurred on a nearly annual basis. Under such constraints, the governor remarked: »It is hard to understand how the natives still have some sort of respect for us, because they know

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we have no force to compel them and that we cannot do anything against some [Timorese] without the help of others [other Timorese].« However, the governor also had a clear understanding of how the Portuguese presence in Timor was actually maintained. In his opinion, the Portuguese in Timor *did* have a ›force‹ on their side, of which they should take advantage. This force was ›respect‹, and it was drawn into existence through a material object: the Portuguese national flag. To persuade the Governor of Macao of his vision of how empire could potentially be maintained in Timor, the governor added a true story, which revealed how the flag *really* was capable of bringing on ›admirable‹ changes in the unequal balance of forces between the colonizers and the Timorese kingdoms. It is this story – an evocative colonial narrative of ›heraldry in contact‹ – that I intend to briefly explore here (see Roque 2023). In examining this story, I emphasize both the pragmatic and performative aspects of the reciprocal Portuguese and Timorese connections with the flag. Governor Celestino da Silva's 1894 account highlights the relational effects of flags, challenging one to rethink flags in the colonial contact zone as transcultural actors that could mediate difference, power, and distancing effects.

A STORY OF NATIONAL FLAGS AS COLONIAL ACTORS

I return to the analysis of da Silva's account. In Timor, the governor suggested, national flags were mighty things, capable of an extraordinary feat: they could transform colonial collectives from weak to strong by inducing the indigenous people to keep their distance and show respect. This story had a moral lesson. If left in the hands of people alone, the empire in Timor could die. However, if humans mobilized the agency of a particular material object, the empire would prosper. In late nineteenth-century Europe, as scholars of nationalism have noted, flags were critical national symbols for the invention of national communities. However, it was not as a symbol that the Portuguese flag was evoked in the governor's narrative. The flag, he asserted, had agency. In this parable of colonial rule, the flag behaves as an actor (»*any thing* that modifies a state of affairs by making a difference is an actor«), or a »mediator« to use sociologist Bruno Latour's notion (Latour 2005, 71). This was, therefore, a story of agency in which the national flag created difference by producing certain relationships of distance and ›respect‹ through which power relations could be tipped in favor of the colonizers. The hoisted flag kept the Timorese warriors at bay by the sheer force of the gestures of distance and avoidance that it generated. The warriors retreated. Consequently, Portuguese weakness had been transformed into strength. Once ›respected‹, the flag shifted the course of events: it inverted relations of force; transformed a vulnerable garrison into an unconquerable fortress, and turned threatening hordes of warriors into »docile natives«. The story, however, was one that turned upon the mutual reactions of those who stood on both sides of the garrison's wall, or, allegorically, across the colonial divide. The story pointed to associations forming across the European-Indigenous boundary as much as it did to a separation between the Portuguese and the Timorese. The providential flag that helped the miserable garrison was not simply a ›Portuguese‹ possession; it was an object with which the Timorese warriors appeared to establish an important special relationship as well. As such, the flag only made a convenient colonial difference whilst being simultaneously part of two worlds that cut across the colonial divide. The governor's story

therefore suggests that such a reciprocal significance alone could render the flag an ›admirable‹ producer of new colonial assemblages.

Governor Celestino da Silva was not alone in recounting stories of national flags as vital actors in empire building. His tale was in line with a pervasive nineteenth-century imaginary of Portuguese domination in Timor as grounded upon intangible sources and forces of power and, specifically, on the existence of a so-called Timorese »religion« or »cult« centered on the Portuguese flag. Later, in the 1930s and especially after World War II, similar stories were interpreted as signs of Timorese patriotism in Portuguese literature and propaganda under the ›Estado Novo‹ regime. In these accounts, Timorese attachment to flags was generally read as evidence of the goodness and exceptionality of Portuguese colonization, as single-handedly capable of awakening Portuguese patriotism in the hearts of the so-called primitive *indígenas*. Even after the demise of Portuguese rule in Timor in the 1970s, this colonial-nationalistic fantasy continued to reverberate in Portuguese understandings of Timorese possession of flags as markers of *lusophone* affective identity and community (Thomaz 1994, 652).

NATIONAL FLAGS AS INDIGENOUS POSSESSIONS

However, such colonial nationalistic readings offer only a partial and obviously biased depiction of Timorese cultural idioms of flags, as being endowed with *lulik* potency (i.e. an association with powerful forces, as detailed further below). In East Timor, Portuguese flags figured prominently in colonial relationships. Flags were among a number of Portuguese objects endowed with authority and power that had been put into indigenous circulation since the early years of colonial contact in the seventeenth century. Between the 1700s and the 1910s, flags were customarily handed over to Timorese authorities – just like they were handed over to other vassal African and Asian rulers since the 1500s – as tokens of power in the course of vassalage treaties celebrated between the Portuguese and the Timorese. Portuguese flags were offered as gifts to locals in exchange for their political allegiance and their obedience to the Crown of Portugal. They also figured prominently on occasions of colonial warfare and in the exercise of Portuguese command. Portuguese flags became widely known among Timorese communities by the Tetum term *bandera* (after the original Portuguese term *bandeira*, long since absorbed into indigenous usage through the filter of Tetum language). Moreover, over the centuries many types of Portuguese flags had been also incorporated into Timorese origin myths and cosmologies (see Traube 1986), whilst also being classified as *lulik*. Thus reconceptualised, flags turned into an independent active material of autochthonous Timorese social, political, and ritual life. The Tetum term *luli* or *lulik* was widely used in East Timor with reference to objects, and conveyed a double meaning of ›prohibition‹ and ›sacredness‹. As anthropologist Elizabeth Traube has observed, *lulik* was, above all, a ›relation of distance‹ »created out of gestures of avoidance« and »attitudes« of varying degrees of respect: »An object that is called *luli* possesses no inherent quality or intrinsic force. […] In all its contexts, *luli* signifies a *relation of distance*, a boundary between things, created out of gestures of avoidance. This structural relation subsumes a set of disparate attitudes which range from mild respect to awe« (Traube 1986, 143). A *lulik* mode of relating to flags, therefore, might have defined the indigenous mode of relating to the national flag in the colonial story of 1894.

In fact, during the colonial period, national flags had apparently turned into *lulik* possessions of several Timorese lineages or clans, becoming powerful and sacred heirlooms passed down from the group's forefathers. They had become, thus, objects around which ancestry and status could be arranged. Various colonial accounts emphasise the presence of flags as *lulik* objects in the *uma lulik* (sacred house) where the ancestral heirlooms of each lineage and kingdom were safeguarded. These flags were especially prized for their antiquity and potency, as a special inheritance from the ancestors. In particular, many flags were enshrined in the *uma luliks* of the royal or noble lineages whose members, at some point in the past, had established a vassal-ruler affiliation with the Portuguese government. According to vassalage treaties, the traditional indigenous political rulers were acknowledged by the Portuguese as legitimate authorities and granted kingly status. This contract implied an exchange of gifts. The Timorese ruler swore obedience to the government while presenting the governor with buffaloes, horses, and other valuables. In exchange, the governor reciprocated with the royal title, a military rank, a certificate attesting to the titles, and, principally, the tokens of office – the sceptre and the national flag. It is thus likely that, over time, Portuguese flags contributed to the Timorese dynamic of status distinction and authority-building by means of the accumulation and display of *lulik* objects. Instead of marking mere sentimental communion and subordination to the colonizer, the circulation of flags multiplied the indigenous desire for independent power and distinction.

Fig 1: »Queen of Cová and her second-lieutenant ›flag-carrier‹ [*porta-bandeira*]«. Portuguese postcard in circulation in the early twentieth century.

It is revealing, for instance, that the holders of the office of king presented themselves in public occasions in the company of their own flags, as their own possessions and as distinctive tokens of power, status, and office inherited from the ancestors (fig. 1).

Portuguese colonial authority in Timor was consolidated over the late nineteenth century through a series of brutal military campaigns led by the same Governor Celestino da Silva, the hard-line army colonel whose story about flags and power provided the material for my analysis in this chapter. Several years after Silva left office, in 1912–13, the Timorese kingdom of Manufahi and its allies led the largest and most devastating anti-Portuguese uprising in East Timor. Portuguese armies quelled this rebellion with great violence and much difficulty. The Manufahi rebellion followed the replacement of the blue-white monarchic flag with the green-red Republican flag of Portugal in 1911. Some Portuguese observers tried to explain the insurgency by

arguing that Timorese dissatisfaction with the Republican change of the flag colours was one of the reasons behind the revolt. Whether this actually prompted Timorese hostility is difficult to ascertain in hindsight. Yet these explanations are revelatory in terms of the Portuguese conception of the flag as an indigenized agent endowed with unique capacities to shift colonial power relations, including becoming the cause of an indigenous revolt.

Through the nationalistic lens, Governor Celestino da Silva and many other Portuguese colonizers in Timor would feel mesmerized by the ways Timorese had appropriated and indigenized Portuguese flags over the centuries. The Timorese had turned the outsiders' flags into potent tokens of their own notions of autochthonous power and status. The Portuguese saw in this indigenous significance a straightforward mirror of their own nationalist sentiment – a mirror image that they thought could resolve colonial vulnerabilities and sustain Portuguese imperial domination. However, the performative effects of flags were in many cases circumstantial. Flags were not simply, and certainly not always miraculously, effective in engendering differentials of colonial power and distance, as Celestino da Silva claimed in his story of 1894. Despite the aspirations of many Portuguese and even Timorese participants, flags could fail to become fabulous actors. Timorese kings and nobles who were on the warpath against the government, for example, would often act disrespectfully towards flags hoisted in Portuguese fortresses. This kind of anti-Portuguese flag iconoclasm perhaps presumed a shared belief in the higher potency of flags, as if the action of destroying flags aimed to cause devastating effects upon the enemy. In any case, the relations of distance and protection that left such an impression on the governor in 1894 were not always there to support Portuguese colonizers. Once they melted away amidst the turbulence of countless other indigenous interests and concepts, Portuguese national flags could quickly shift from being fabulous mediators to failed intermediaries. Instead of acting as mighty agents, they could account for nothing.

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Inventing Tradition: Coats of Arms in Swiss Schools in the Early 20th Century

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On October 9th, 1930, an unknown Swiss teacher wrote a letter to the *Kaffee Handelsgesellschaft AG* (Coffee Hag Company). In the letter, he complained about agitated pupils not able to work correctly in school. In his opinion, coffee was to blame. Desperately, he pleaded for the company to send him educational material: »*A presentation of caffeine and its harmful effects on the nerves would be very useful to me.*« (Hag c. 1930, 31). However, the company presumably sent the teacher not only dry educational material but also editions of their heraldic books of Switzerland. In this article, I examine how these heraldic books functioned in school lessons and how the image of a traditional Switzerland was invented via this pictorial content.

Founded in 1906 in Bremen, Germany, the Coffee Hag Company advertised their decaffeinated coffee regularly in journals like the *Schweizerische Lehrerzeitung* (Swiss Teacher's Newspaper). The firm published various heraldic collector's albums with local coat of arms between 1910 and 1955 in 19 volumes. In the eighth volume of the third edition, the unknown teacher's letter was published right after an account in French about the harmful side effects of caffeine. While officially announcing the increased interest in these booklets of teachers in a 1930s leaflet called *Die Wappen der Schweiz*, the company said it is due to the colourful depictions which make the school lessons much more vivid. It downplayed the active role the company played in advertising these albums to teachers and schools, organising school competitions, donating the prizes for the winners, and publishing school schedules for the children. In a letter from 1933, the company made a suggestion to the teacher O. Kern to organise a competition in which the students were to repaint and enlarge these coats of arms in the Heraldry Collector's Book or write an essay on coffee with a particular emphasis on the decaffeinated coffee from the Hag company. The firm would sponsor the prices. According to subsequent letters, the teacher held not only one competition, but at least two.

The relationship between the product and Heraldry was arbitrary. By publishing these Collector's Books, the company actively promoted decaffeinated coffee to teachers and students through Heraldry, a seemingly improbable vehicle for advertising coffee. Since 1919, Heraldry and coats of arms had been recommended in teaching materials for handicraft lessons, as the

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Schweizer Programme für den Unterricht in Knabenhandarbeiten. Heft 1: Papparbeiten reveals. The company used an established, visual iconography that was part of the school curriculum to promote their own product. The Coffee Hag AG was not the only company to do so. Various other firms and foundations published school materials and started school projects in Switzerland. From today's perspective it is remarkable how many of these companies and foundations used already established iconographies to promote their own products and names. Pro Juventute, a foundation aiming to support children and teenagers, published postage stamps that school children sold, rewarding them with small images of Swiss Cantonal coats of arms if they collected more than CHF 50.-. The children collected donations and strengthened the different brands through schools. The Bernese school museum has many Coffee Hag collector's books in its collection from various donors, putting the question to one's mind why teachers collected them. Furthermore, if and how they used these books in school lessons.

Before I will answer these questions, I would like to explain how these booklets worked. In volume 8, a folklore scene on the frontispiece introduced the collector to the coat of arms he or she would find in the book. This was followed by a brief introduction to an historic object, in this case a heraldic glass panel dating to the Early Modern period from the Canton of Solothurn analyzed for the volume by the art history professor Dr. Ganz who was the head of the Swiss Heraldic Society at the time. At this point, work of the collector began. On the left, he or she found the names of various Swiss cities and municipalities in German and French, including information about politics and population, as well as a short description of the local coat of arms. On the right, there was a space to glue the coat of arms, under the city's name. The collector actually had to collage several small paper pieces of paper together in order to assemble the coat of arms by hand, piece by piece on each page. At the end of the small album, the Coffee Hag Company published information about their products. A man with Swiss heritage spoke about his work on the coffee plantation in the Colony Helvetia in Brazil. In the interview, he mentioned a visit to Switzerland and the national shooting match. The Coffee Hag Company linked the coffee plantation in Brazil with Swiss folklore, making it appear as a Swiss product that crossed geographical borders but nonetheless maintained a singular Swiss character.

A leaflet lying in this album announced the change from printing the metallic colours silver and gold to white and yellow, according to the new rules of the Swiss Heraldic Society. Moreover, the leaflet gives us today an impression of how these albums worked. For each package of coffee, one got a voucher. With 20 vouchers, one could order one of these albums, including all the coat of arms. In the early days of these Heraldry Collector's Books, each package of coffee had two coats of arms with it, which the collector had to trade with other people for the missing coats of arms. It is uncertain when the company changed this strategy, but in the 1930s, the collector could get all of the coats of arms and the book upon sending in twenty vouchers.

Die Wappen der Schweiz (Swiss Collector's Heraldry Books) were by no means the only ones published by the company – from Denmark to Yugoslavia, the Coffee Hag Company designed these kinds of albums in collaboration with local heraldic specialists. Yet the Swiss edition was the first to be issued and the last to end in the 1950s, while the other ones were discontinued in the 1930s. An increasing interest in Swiss cultural heritage led to the *Heimatbewegung,* a movement to preserve and sometimes invent Swiss cultural heritage and craftsmanship at the start of the 20th century. Local groups and national committees created coat of arms, traditional clothing and festivities celebrating Swiss culture. Craft skills related to traditional Swiss hand-

icrafts were taught in schools. First, the movement aimed to preserve Swiss arts and crafts in opposition to increasing industrialisation. This subsequently transformed into a means of forging group identity, which became an intellectual defence, *geistige Landesverteidigung*, during World War II and the Cold War. The interest in these heraldry collector's albums can be linked directly to the development of this cultural movement. It may be part of the massive success in Switzerland, giving students an appropriate motive to paint, embroider, and craft in different materials.

Fig. 1: H. Baumann, *Die Wappen der Schweiz*, copied from a Coffee Hag Heraldry Book, date unknown, School Museum Amriswil.

Fig. 2: O. Kern, *Die Wappen der Schweiz*, cut in thirds, Coffee Hag Heraldry Book, volume 2, date unknown, School Museum Amriswil.

In 1928, the teacher M. Eberle described how he changed the curriculum of the boys' school lessons during bad weather. He emphasised all of the valuable things a teacher could do for the school: Repairing books, framing the best-painted images, or organising collections and other works related to arts and crafts. He mentions the Collector's Heraldry Books in passing when writing about the activities connected to conserving works produced during drawing lessons and framing the most beautiful drawings of coat of arms. In another volume of the same newspaper, he praises the Collector's Books series as providing ideal patterns for drawings: Easy tasks for bad painters and, for the more skilled, a material full of life and artistic value. In a leaflet, published in the 1930ies, the Coffee Hag Company gathered various teachers' descriptions on how they deployed these heraldic collections in their classes in an attempt to inspire other teachers: By maximising (?) these small im-

ages, the students could train their artistic eye and use gold- and silver paint. The teacher could use it in geography or history classes as well as in drawing, painting, and crafting classes. H. Baumann, who later became a teacher, must have been a massive fan of these Collector's Books. He carefully painted these Collector's Books on a notebook; he probably even cut the notebook to the same size. He wrote the names of the different Municipalities in calligraphy and added the coat of arms from Coffee Hag on the next page. The notebook is incomplete; some of the coats of arms are missing.

The teacher O. Kern cut the heraldry book, using the coat of arms probably to use as a pattern for his students in painting classes. By advertising its coffee in journals specifically aimed at teachers, the Coffee Hag Company seems to have perceived them as key intermediaries between their customers and the company.

Even though the Coffee Hag Company worked with specialists like the art history professor Dr Ganz, the published coat of arms actually did not follow official heraldic rules and municipal designs. In 1939, when the Swiss national exhibition took place, all the municipalities were asked by the state to exhibit a flag with their coat of arms during the event. Embarrassingly, many locations did not have an official coat of arms, so they either did not send a flag or created new one. The teacher of Unterramsern (SO), M. Brunner, designed a Coat of arms for the national exhibition of 1939, for instance, and his female students stitched together this new flag during their sewing classes. Other municipalities had not only one, but three or four heraldic flags, because different clubs tended to use a different flags or crests when representing the same village or city at different festivities. In 1941, for the 650-year celebration of the Swiss Confederacy, the Solothurn State Archives began to resolve this problem in their canton by asking the municipalities to create their coats of arms according to heraldic rules, sometimes suggesting that new creations be based on archive materials, seals, and other written documents. The state archivists specifically mentioned to the canton's council that they had time to devote to this big project since the people's interest in their Jewish resp. Aryan heritage declined in 1940.

If no coat of arms existed, the archivist took it upon himself to create one according to the municipality's history. In the publication following this project, *Solothurn: Wappen der Bezirke und Gemeinden des Kantons Solothurn*, he described his motives. Since the municipalities were the smallest, basic civil units and the social group in which citizens directly formed their identity, this project went far beyond constructing a visual representation of a bygone past. Instead, each municipality representing a tiny kernel of the *Vaterland*. It could provide the basis for a process of group identity formation based on an administrative unit, something abetted by displaying symbols like coats of arms on highly visible places like school buildings, folklore festivities, and official letterhead.

Municipalities with no coat of arms could decide if they wanted to go with a speaking coat of arms or depict specific geographical landmarks, a historical event, or attributes of Saints. Municipalities that already had a coat of arms needed to prove its validity, for example, by mentioning whether it had been published in the Heraldry Collector's Books of the Hag Company. The Municipality of Beuningen (SO) was one of the lucky ones whose coat of arms had been published in the Heraldry book before 1941: Crossed rudders in brown and spikes in blue downwards on a silver ground. The state archivist discovered a source from 1819 in the archive, mentioning crossed rudders and spikes in red. While the municipal council preferred the brown rudders (and decided ultimately to use brown instead of red) the archivist intervened, insisting

on the red rudders, especially since brown was not a colour used in heraldry.

While analysing the letters sent to the Municipalities and their response, the vital role of teachers becomes apparent. As some of the best-educated people in smaller villages, teachers were often asked for support and ideas. Not only did they often design the coats of arms for the 1939 exhibition, they also intervened on behalf of the archivist or proposed opposing suggestions. The adjunct of the state archive from the Canton of Solothurn, Dr K. Glutz, asked his friend, the teacher A. Guldimann, to vouch for the proposed coat of arms by giving a lecture to the mayor of Steinhof. In this personal letter, he even admitted asking the mayor of Steinhof to postpone the deciding meeting so that Guldimann could attend and convince the council of the proposal. The adjunct revealed that Guldimann also provided him with sketches and proposals for other coat of arms in a different letter. The process of acknowledging all the coats of arms officially was by no means harmonious, as the example of Breitenbach (SO) demonstrates.

Fig. 3: Left: E. Baumann, Letter to the Municipality Council 1924 regarding the Coat of arms of Breitenbach, Staatsarchiv Solothurn.
Right: Coffee Hag Heraldry Collector`s Book, Coat of arms of Breitenbach, volume 12 D, after 1930, Kaffee Haag AG Feldmeilen Zürich, p.7.

Fig. 4: B. Hurni, Coat of arms of Wangen b. Olten, January 1941.

While the state archivist suggested using bones on the municipality's coat of arms, the painter and teacher E. Baumann, who also worked for the Heraldry Collectors Book of the Coffee Hag Company, had a different idea: A silver river on red, by the name of the municipality. The municipality decided to partly adopt Baumann's suggestions, adding a green cattail on gold on the heraldic right side. Other municipalities from Solothurn disregarded the proposals of the archivist and a different coat of arms accepted without his knowledge.

Without the knowledge of the adjunct K. Glutz, the Municipality Wangen b. Olten decided to design their own coat of arms: Separated by a river in blue on silver, Saint Gallus stand on

the heraldic left hand and a bear stands on the right. K. Glutz was incensed. He wrote angrily to the mayor that they not only used eight different colours in their depiction of St. Gallus and the bear but that these depictions were by far too complicated to decipher when having a folklore festivity. Furthermore, it could lead to confusion with the cantons of Bern and St. Gallen. He asked that the »artist« – he used the quotation marks in his letter – be made to visit the state archive so that the two of them could resolve the problem. In the end, he begrudgingly accepted the proposed, changing the colours to follow heraldic rules. In time for the 650-year celebration, every municipality of Solothurn possessed a coat of arms, apart from one: Büsserac. There, the Municipal Council did not accept the heraldic rules of depicting a mountain and the ruin of a former castle. When this big undertaking came to an end, an official report to the Canton's governing council recorded the results as well as the disagreement. The art history professor, Dr Ganz, who also worked for the Coffee Hag Company, wrote an expert opinion that legitimated all coat of arms from the municipalities of Solothurn. In 1941, Konrad Glutz von Blotzheim published all the coat of arms, apart from Büsserach's.

While the teachers used to be very vocal in streamlining the municipalities' coats of arms, they also became intermediaries between the state archive, municipal government, and students. They framed their group identity based on an administrative unit and reinforced it by drawing the coat of arms in school lessons and competitions, ironically using the Collector's Books, published by a German company, as templates. In some cases, teachers disrupted the state archivist's work. Using the Heraldry Collector's Books, they animated their students to work with these, handing out the prizes from the Coffee Hag Company, including information about their product. By using Heraldry as a medium, the Coffee Hag AG used an already established iconography, linked it to its product and thus offered teachers school materials.

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Cross-Cultural Layerings and Fusions

Imagining the Arms of the Ottoman Empire in Early Modern Europe

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From their humble beginnings as a community of shepherds who sustained themselves by raiding weakly defended Byzantine possessions in Northwest Anatolia during the first half of the fourteenth century, in less than a hundred years the Ottoman Turks managed to establish a formidable state of substantial size and regional importance in Southeast Europe. Even before the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, but especially afterwards, the educated circles of the Catholic West remained fascinated by this quick rise and development, the technological and military advances, but most of all by the religion and customs of the Ottoman Turks. They produced innumerable literary accounts which were supposed to interpret the origins of this rapidly growing political organism and explain the reasons behind its success. In doing that, they relied on different kinds of sources, documents and books, but mostly on oral reports, rumours or gossip, and sometimes even on their own imagination, all of which were supposed to bring the topic closer to their intended readership. In this sense, the late medieval and early modern Western authors continued to include depictions of Ottoman heraldry in their own armorials, maps and literary works despite the fact that the Ottoman Empire did not possess a coat of arms or indeed any heraldic traditions such as those that existed in Western Europe at the time. These portrayals of Ottoman arms can also be considered as a good example of intercultural negotiation, because they display a developing maturity in the Western understanding of Ottoman symbolism as time progressed, as contacts between the two sides intensified, and as these authors became better acquainted with genuine and authentic Ottoman emblems – the crescent moon, the star, the *tughra*, the *turban*, the *zulfiqar* sword, etc.

It should, therefore, not come as a surprise that the very first representations of Ottoman heraldry in the West actually depicted the Ottoman sultan's arms as a composite and elaborate heraldic ensemble made up of different escutcheons, usually arranged in a symmetrical fashion, each symbolizing a country or a ruler that had in previous times succumbed to Ottoman authority. One of the most important and influential images in that regard is an illustration which appears in Konrad Grünenberg's *Wappenbuch*, a richly illuminated armorial codex that was composed in Constance in Southern Germany, sometime around 1480, and presented as a gift

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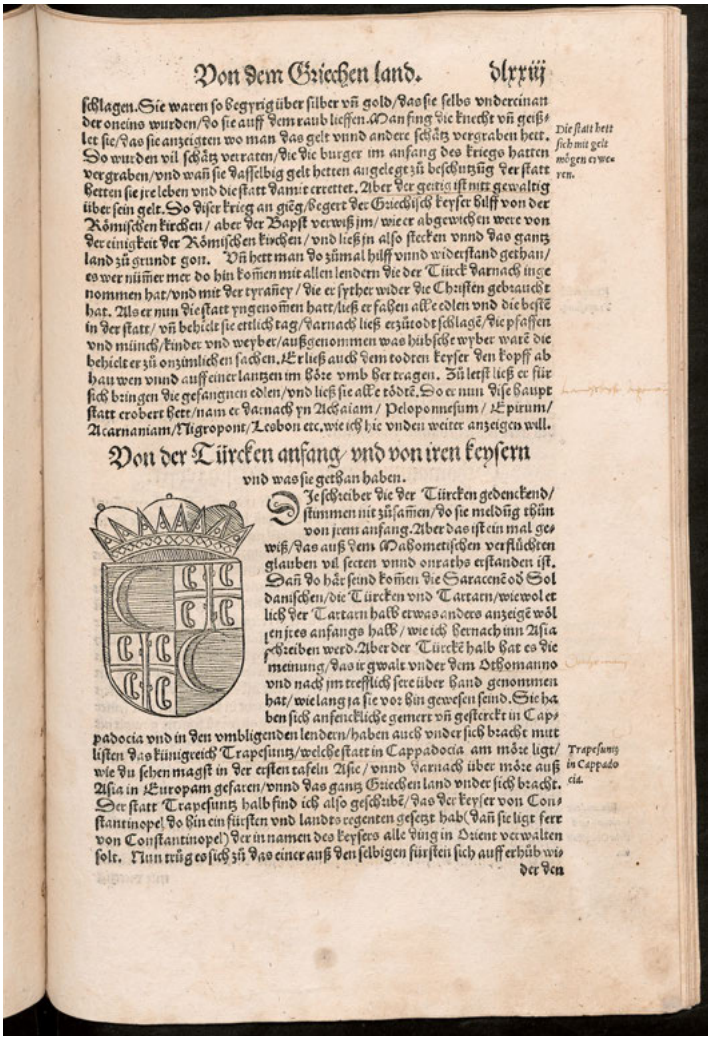
Fig. 1: Konrad Grünenberg, *Das Wappenbuch Conrads von Grünenberg, Ritters und Bürgers zu Constanz*, c. 1480, p. 72, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München.

to Emperor Frederick III. (fig. 1) This drawing does not rely completely on the imagined, invented or fictional heraldry of the Ottoman Empire, but rather leans quite heavily on the actual coats of arms of Balkan states that could be found in other fifteenth-century German armorials. It consists of six shields, four larger and two smaller ones, representing various iterations of the coats of arms belonging to the Latin Emperors of Constantinople, the Eastern Roman Empire, Greece and Serbia, and is much more reminiscent of the contemporary European ideas about Byzantine heraldic traditions, rather than something that even remotely resembled authentic imagery from the Ottoman symbolic repertoire.

Despite not being grounded in any kind of reality, Grünenberg's interpretation, or even permutation of Byzantine signs as Ottoman heraldry remained quite influential because of the popularity of his work which continued to be copied and read well into the sixteenth century. Therefore, it should not come as completely unexpected that a similar, albeit somewhat different concept of Ottoman armorial designs can be encountered on the 1534 map-like anthropomorphic personification of the European continent as *Europa Regina* by Johannes Putsch or in Sebastian Münster's much more famous *Cosmographia*, published in Basel a decade later. In these prominent and important works which appeared in numerous later editions, the authors constructed their own notion of the Ottoman arms in a comparable style (fig. 2). They present a crowned and quartered escutcheon with a rounded base and square top, in which the first and third quarter are charged with the crescent moon, an obvious symbol of Islam and the Ottoman Empire, while the second and third quarters contain a recognizable Byzantine heraldic device in the form of the tetragrammatic cross that was some-

times used by the emperors of Constantinople during the Palaiologan period (1261–1453). The amalgamation of these symbols shows that both Putsch and Münster were at least partially inspired by Grünenberg's work and that European authors of the time sought different ways to visually depict how the Ottoman Turks had managed to completely absorb the Byzantine Empire, not only in geopolitical terms but even in heraldic ones as well. Furthermore, this reasoning was fully in line with the prevailing idea that the Ottoman Empire was a rightful and legitimate successor to the Byzantine one, inheriting, among other things, its insignia too.



Von dem Griechen land. dlxxiij

schlagen. Sie waren so begyrig über silber vñ gold/das sie selbs vndereinan-
der oneins wurden/do sie auff dem raub liessen. Man fing die knecht vñ geiß-
let sie/das sie anzeigten wo man das gelt vnnd andere schätz vergraben hett. Die statt hett sich mit gelt mögen erwe-
So wurden vil schätz verraten/die die burger im anfang des kriegs hatten ren.
vergraben/vnd wañ sie dasselbig gelt hetten angelegt zů beschützung der statt
Betten sie jr leben vnd die statt dannocht errettet. Aber der getrig ist mit gewaltig
über sein gelt. So diser krieg an gieng/begert der Griechisch keyser hilff von der
Römischen kirchen/ aber der Bapst verwiß im/wie er abgewichen were von
der einigkeit der Römischen kirchen/vnd ließ jn also stecken vnnd das gantz
land zů grundt gon. Vñ hett man do zůmal hilff vnnd widerstand gethan/
es wer nüemer mer do hin komen mit allen lendern die der Türck darnach inge-
nommen hat/vnd mit der tyranney/die er syther wider die Christen gebraucht
hat. Als er nun die statt yngenomen hatt/ließ er fahen alle edlen vnd die beste
in der statt/vñ behielt sie etlich tag/darnach ließ er zů tod schlagē/die pfaffen
vnd münch/kinder vnd weyber/außgenommen was hübsche wyber warē die
behielt er zů onzüchtigen sachen. Er ließ auch dem todten keyser den kopff ab
hauwen vnnd auff einer lantzen im böse vmb her tragen. Zů letst ließ er für
sich bringen die gefangnen edlen/vnd ließ sie alle tödten. So er nun dise haupt
statt erobert hett/nam er darnach yn Achaiam/ Peloponnesum/ Epirum/
Acarnaniam/Nigropont/Lesbon etc. wie ich hie vnden weiter anzeigen will.

Von der Türcken anfang vnd von iren keysern vnd was sie gethan haben.

Die schreiben die der Türcken gedenckend/ stimmen nit zůsamen/do sie meldung thůn von jrem anfang. Aber das ist ein mal gewiß/das auß dem Mahometischen verfluchten glauben vil secten vnnd ontraths erstanden ist. Dann do här sind komen die Saracenē od Soldanischen/die Türcken vnd Tartarn/wiewol er ließ der Tartarn halb etwas anders anzeigē wöllen jres anfangs halb/wie ich darnach im Asia schreiben werd. Aber der Türckē halb hat es die meinung/das ir gwalt vnder dem Othomanno vnd nach jm trefflich sere über hand genommen hat/wie lang ja sie vor hin gewesen seind. Sie haben sich ansenckliche gemert vñ gesterckt in Cappadocia vnd in den vmbligenden lendern/haben auch vnder sich bracht mit listen das königreich Trapesuntz/welche statt in Cappadocia am möre ligt/ wie du sehen magst in der ersten tafeln Asie/ vnnd darnach über möre auß Asia in Europam gefaren/vnnd das gantz Griechen land vnder sich bracht. Der statt Trapesuntz halb sind ich also geschrybē/das der keyser von Constantinopel do hin ein fürsten vnd landts regenten gesetzt hab/dann sie ligt ferr von Constantinopel/der in namen des keysers alle ding in Orient verwalten solt. Nun trůg es sich zů das einer auß den selbigen fürsten sich auff erhůb wi-
der den

Trapesuntz in Cappadocia.

Fig. 2: Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographia. Beschreibung aller Lender durch Sebastianum Münsterum*, Basel 1544, p. 573.

Nevertheless, when it became apparent that the Ottomans did not have an established and clearly defined coat of arms, certain authors from the West found it necessary to explain this peculiar circumstance to their readers. A year after the publication of Münster's *Cosmographia*, in 1545, Luigi Bassano, a native of Zadar in Venetian Dalmatia, published his own work on the *Customs and particular habits of the Turks*. In it he treated a number of important topics, such as the everyday life of the Ottomans, their laws and punishments, religious institutions, mosques, public baths, etc. Judging from his writings, it is evident that his is a very detailed first-hand witness account. He clearly had visited the Ottoman Empire, was well acquainted with the traditions of the Turks, and in any case much better informed about them than Grünenberg, Putsch or Münster ever could have been. In chapter 48 of his book, Bassano claimed that the »Turks are not noble, and they do not have coats of arms or other particular signs, except for their lord, who bears a moon. Many say that he obtained it after he had conquered Bosnia (because the moon with one star was already the sign of the King of Bosnia)«. This clarification has proven to be only partially true. By that time the crescent moon was already an identifiable Ottoman symbol, but it certainly did not origi-

Fig. 2a: Detail from fig. 2.

nate from the Bosnian kings who had an entirely different heraldic device on their coats of arms, featuring either a solitary crown or, in earlier times, a bend and three fleurs-de-lys on each side of it.

Most authors were, however, not satisfied with this explanation nor with the fact that the Ottoman Empire did not have any coats of arms. As the Ottomans continued to play an important role in European politics during the seventeenth century and as contemporaries found out more about them, a critical change occurred in the way in which the arms of the Ottoman Empire were represented in contemporary literary or graphic works. In fact, European authors began to be inspired by genuine emblems and motifs which they then used for fabricating their own interpretation of the Ottoman arms. In 1701 Paul Ritter Vitezović, a historian, linguist, poet and diplomat from the town of Senj in Croatia who lived in Vienna at the time, published his roll of Illyrian arms under the title *Stemmatografia sive Armorum Illiricorum delineatio, descriptio et restitutio*. As this edition was extremely popular, it quickly sold out and another one was published in Zagreb the following year. The work represented a heraldic compendium containing 56 authentic or fictitious coats of arms, personally drawn by the author, which were arranged in alphabetical order and accompanied by a short poem. In this illustrated album Vitezović rendered the arms of »Turcia« as a shield with a hand holding the hilt of a two-bladed sword. To one side of the sword is a six-pointed star, and on the other a crescent moon (fig. 3). At first glance, this depiction might seem odd and unusual, but it was actually based on Vitezović's comprehensive knowledge of Ottoman symbolism. Namely, in Islamic tradition and iconography this legendary double-pointed scimitar is known under the name *zulfiqar* and represents an ancient emblem which is linked to the prophet Muhammad and his cousin, son-in-law and companion Ali. The *zulfiqar* frequently appeared on Ottoman military flags in the sixteenth and seventeenth century as it was one of the principal symbols of the famed and feared Janissary corps, the elite infantry units of the sultan's household (fig. 4).

Some forty years after its original publication, Vitezović's *Stemmatografia* was somewhat revised, translated into the Church Slavonic language and published again in Vienna as *Стематографија. Изображеније оружиј илирическихъ* by the monk Hristofor Žefarović, who was also a painter, engraver, writer, poet, a notable proponent of early pan-Slavism as well as one of the leading Orthodox Christian baroque artists of his time. The book was actually envisaged and commissioned by the Serbian patriarch Arsenije IV Jovanović, who also financed its production, while the copper engravings were cut by the renowned Viennese artist Thomas Mössmer. Žefarović's *Стематографија* was not original in any sense; other than its specific Orthodox baroque artistic expression, it completely imitated Vitezović's work, both in conception and execution, so his depiction of the arms of »Турціѧ« was merely a carbon copy of the one initially published in 1701 (fig. 5). But unlike Vitezović's Latin edition, Žefarović's work was

Fig. 3: Equite Paulo Ritter, *Stemmatographia, sive armorum Illyricorum delineatio, descriptio, et restitutio,* Viennae, 1701.

written in the vernacular language which meant that it reached a broader readership and exerted a far greater influence on the development of heraldry in Southeast Europe, also having a profound impact on the national awakening of Serbs in the Habsburg Monarchy.

This tireless insistence of Western heraldists who were determined at all costs to imagine, depict and include the arms of the Ottoman Empire in their works, eventually resulted with the Ottomans accepting to comply with European armorial traditions during the second half of the nineteenth century. Namely, after substantial internal reforms, designed to bring the Empire more in line with other great powers of the time – Britain, France, Austria and Russia – as well as with the intensification and strengthening of diplomatic contacts between the Sublime Porte and the courts of other European rulers, the Ottomans felt a need to emulate certain Western customs, including heraldry. The initiative did not come from the

Fig. 4: Ottoman Janissary military flag showing a double-pointed *zulfiqar* sword, captured in 1687 near Osijek in Croatia, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Rüstkammer.

Fig. 5: Hristofor Žefarović, *Стематографија. Изображеније оружиј илирических,* Vienna, 1741, p. 39.

Ottomans themselves though, but from a familiar foreign source. In an effort to establish closer relations between the two countries, in 1856 Queen Victoria of England conferred the insignia of the English Order of the Garter upon the Ottoman Sultan Abdülmecid. She then entrusted a famous officer of arms, Sir Charles George Young, to travel to Istanbul and invest the sultan with the insignia of the Order. After his return to England, utilising the usual Ottoman symbols, such as the *turban*, the crescent moon, and the *tughra*, he created an emblem for the sultan so that it could be placed in St. George's Chapel in Windsor Castle, among the arms of other Garter Knights. Several decades later, Sultan Abdulhamid II added certain military, religious and judicial elements to this initial design which was finally approved and adopted in 1882. The new coat of arms was a complex, intricate and flamboyant heraldic achievement, designed in the ornate Ottoman baroque style. Brimming with symbolism, it was supposed to convey an image of a formidable, powerful and great state. And even though it did not completely follow the typical norms of European heraldry, in its essence it was still a coat of arms, real and not at all imagined.

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Cultural Mobility on the Bottom. An Ewer and its Coats of Arms Between Early Modern Germany, Venice, and Syria

Nicolai Kölmel

Coats of arms are intricately linked with the social identity of their bearer. Originating in the medieval period in the noble military class, their symbolic language was meant to provide information about family lineage, feudal alliances, and the extent of their bearers' dominion, thus identifying them beyond any doubt. Because of the close connection between coats of arms and social identity, engraving armorials on an object served as an especially impressive way of taking it into possession. Particularly on objects characterized by a high degree of cultural mobility, coats of arms can also provide important evidence of cultural contacts, connections, and commonalities. They also raise, as this chapter will demonstrate, important questions about the significance these contacts might have had for the object's owners.

Despite their original function as identity markers, today it is unfortunately no longer always possible to clearly identify the bearer of a coat of arms. In the later Middle Ages, coats of arms became increasingly popular among the gentry and the urban elites. Due to their vastly increasing number and their sometimes very localized use, many coats of arms lost their meaning over time. A brass ewer that today is part of the collection of the *Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe* (MK&G) in Hamburg is an excellent example for that loss (fig. 1). Although it was important for its former owner to have their coat of arms carved into its bottom (even twice!), their identity can unfortunately no longer be determined with certainty (fig. 2). Still, the very fact that this object bears a coat of arms raises some important questions about the significance of heraldry in the context of early modern cultural contact.

The brass ewer was acquired by the museum in 1905 from the art dealer Bourgeois in Cologne, but the records of its purchase unfortunately do not reveal much about its provenance and context of origin. Stylistic characteristics – its pear-shaped body, its slightly flared neck, the

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long stand, and the flattened base – suggest that it was most likely produced by a German or Netherlandish workshop in the late 15th or early 16th centuries. Yet the ewer's decoration, with its geometrical and repeating arabesques, and the technique of inlay metalwork with traces of silver and black filling, is clearly of Mamluk origin. The two coats of arms are carved into the bottom of the base. The museum's record describes them as parted per pale, first per fess a pinecone [probably] counterchanged and second per fess an eagle [probably] counterchanged. Because of their location on the vessel's underside, they are only visible if the ewer is lifted and turned.

In order to understand how a late medieval German ewer came into contact with Mamluk metal work, it is first necessary to turn to Venice. Around 1500, Venice had long-established trading connections with both the transalpine countries to her north and the Mediterranean countries in the Middle East. For instance, the Fondaco dei Tedeschi – the residence and trading house for German merchants in Venice – was founded in the 13th century and similar institutions existed for Venetian merchants,

Fig. 1: Ewer, late 15th century, brass, engraved and damascened with silver, H: 28.8 cm, Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe.

Fig. 2: Detail from figure 1: bottom of the ewer.

for example, in Alexandria or Damascus. These trading connections are reflected in various artefacts. A particularly intriguing one is the so-called Molino Ewer in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (fig. 3) (Auld 2004, 294). With a basic shape originating in southern Germany and ornaments that were clearly produced by a Mamluk workshop, this ewer bears remarkably similar cross-cultural elements as the one in the MK&G. In contrast, however, here the identifiable coat of arms of the Venetian Molino family is incorporated into the decoration. A small round medallion on the lid shows their heraldic emblem – the triple rimmed mill wheel. Whereas it cannot be ruled out entirely that objects like these were produced and decorated in Venice by German and Syrian craftsmen, it is far more likely that they were imported from Germany, shipped to Syria to be decorated there and then returned to Venice. Differences in technique, style, and quality between the coat of arms and the rest of the decoration – as well as blank es-

Fig. 3: Ewer, late 15th century, brass, engraved and inlaid with silver and black lacquer, H: 34 cm, London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

Fig. 4: Candlestick, 14th or 15th century, brass, engraved and inlaid with silver and gold and black lacquer, London, British Museum.

cutcheons on similar metal works – demonstrate that the heraldic symbols themselves were not made by the Syrian craftsmen but were added later (fig. 4).

In recent years scholars interested in global aspects of economic history and material culture have been intrigued by objects like these. The incorporation of a Venetian coat of arms into a Mamluk decoration of a German ewer provides not only proof of intricate late medieval economic networks, but also indicates a depth in cross-cultural understanding and communication between Venice and its Levantine neighbors. As a reflection of these contacts, objects like the Molino Ewer have been used to establish an image of the Mediterranean defined by smooth economic ties and a shared taste rather than by military conflicts or religious differences (Mack 2002; Contadini 2013).

At first glance, the ewer in the MK&G dovetails with this image of Mediterranean exchange. The coats of arms on the bottom underline its Venetian background. The arms' principal shape and its layout with single common figures on counterchanging tinctures are typical for Venice. The eagle on the left per fess on counterchanging tinctures might even be the arms of the Venetian patrician Valier family, although we cannot be certain. On closer inspection, however, the ewer and its coats of arms actually also point to some of the difficulties in understanding late medieval transcultural contacts. Given the close exchange between the Venetian patrons and the Syrian craftsmen, why was the coat of arms carved into the bottom and not visibly incorporated in the decoration of the vessel's body as it was done for example in the case of Molino Ewer? And why was it carved into the bottom twice? What might this say about appropriating artefacts of multicultural origin?

To address these questions, we must take a closer look at the coats of arms on the ewer's bottom. Both coats of arms are situated nearly opposite one another, the larger one on the side of the handle, the smaller on the side of the spout. Both escutcheons share the same principal shape and design with a twice engrailed top line and three flourishing scrawls. Both are parted per pale with a single figure on counterchanging tinctures on each side. On closer inspection, however, there are some remarkable differences. While, for example, in the larger one, it is the second and third quarters that are hatched, the hatching in the smaller one appears in the first and fourth quarter. The smaller one is also carved with far more accuracy. Here, a bordure is used to frame only the hatched quarters, while in the larger it frames both sides entirely. The most remarkable discrepancy, though, is the use of different heraldic figures. Due to its uniform diamond pattern, the figure on the right side of the larger coat of arms might be identified as a pinecone. In contrast, the corresponding figure on the smaller one looks more like an acorn. Since the changing hatching pattern between its upper and its lower part runs at a slight diagonal to the changing tinctures, the change in the hatching pattern is unlikely to be explained by heraldic colors but seems rather to be motivated by the figure's design.

These minor differences in the execution of the coats of arms have a huge effect when it comes to the heraldic significance. The alteration in the design of bordure and tincture, to say nothing of the different heraldic figures, leads to confusion about the owner's identity. If we look at the two coats of arms, it seems probable that a first one was executed incorrectly by someone unfamiliar with the heraldic details and that an accurate version was subsequently added. It is unlikely that such a mistake would have been tolerated if the coat of arms on the bottom of the ewer had fulfilled a representative function. If the coat of arms had been designed to be on display for guests in the process of pouring drinks for example, an incorrect version

would most certainly have been eradicated. It is even possible that we can still identify traces of another emblem slightly to the left of the larger coat of arms, which has been sanded down. The scratches across the larger coat of arms might thus have had the function of marking its invalidity. Since the scratches all run nearly parallel to the center of the base, they might also simply be a sign of use.

On the other hand, there is also evidence suggesting that, despite its insignificant location on the ewer's bottom, the coats of arms might have originally been executed in a far more precious way. The carvings of both arms reveal traces of a silvery filling, which could point to former inlays in silver or enamel. Such a more luxurious decoration would then indicate a more representative function. But since the same material seems also to appear in some of the larger scratches, it is safe to assume for the time being that these are remains of some kind of filling material.

Taking all this into account, it is most likely that the coats of arms had the primary function of marking ownership – not so different in fact to the inventory numbers placed by the MK&G alongside them. Even though such physical markers of ownership are not addressed to a broader audience, they should not only be regarded as a necessity to distinctly identify an object in an inventory. They are also a sign of power. They demonstrate the owner's right to alter and modify an object physically and inscribe him- or herself into the object's history. It is thus no coincidence that today the Molino Ewer is known under the name of its former owners. Carving a coat of arms into the surface creates a strong, stable, and persistent link between an object and the social identity of its owner. It is either a means of appropriating and acculturating an object, or – if the object served, for instance, as a diplomatic gift – a form of permanent remembrance of the donor.

While a Venetian coat of arms incorporated in the Mamluk decoration of a German ewer tells us a lot about late Medieval and early Modern economic ties and cultural contacts, it is far less eloquent when it comes to the question what these objects meant for their contemporary owners. What kind of history was appropriated by engraving a coat of arms onto the ewer's surface? It is tempting to believe that in the eyes of their contemporary owners, objects like the ewer thus engendered mental images of far-reaching Venetian trading networks. But that is not certain. With a pervasive idea of a homogenous European Christian culture in mind, we tend to consider the Syrian decoration as exotic and therefore as more significant than for example the ewer's German shape. But for a Venetian patrician around 1500 both might have been just equally strange or equally familiar. We cannot even be sure that it embodied any notion of the ewer's origin at all. Maybe it was simply considered as a product of Venetian greatness, maybe even precisely because of its many influences from an indefinable afar.

As it is today, objects like the ewer were embedded in various layers of notions and ideas. These are (and were) by no means determined solely by economic conditions. Trade, production and origin of the ewer might have been one factor among many, or perhaps, not a factor at all; comparable to the significance that the production of a T-shirt in Bangladesh has today for a fashion-conscious consumer. Although we cannot apply contemporary (i.e., today's) preconceptions about the meaning of objects to the past, the striking aspects of the position of the coat of arms on the ewer's base encourage us to question overly simplistic assumptions about the meaning cross-cultural objects might have had for their early modern consumers. The coat of arms thus helps us to place objects like the ewer within a broader framework that is not only

determined by material ot economic aspects. It demonstrates that these artefacts interacted with various practices, images and ideas; which, in turn, were created and shaped by these artefacts – even by placing a coat of arms inconspiciusly on the bottom.

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Hybrid Identity. A Sinhalese-Portuguese Coat of Arms on a Sixteenth-Century Ivory Casket from Sri Lanka

Alberto Saviello

The front of a richly decorated ivory casket, probably made around 1580 in Colombo on Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and now kept in the Museum für Asiatische Kunst in Berlin, displays two coats of arms and two guardian figures flanking a central lock (fig. 1). The impaled coats of arms bearing a rampant lion and a two handled vase with flowering plants are mirrored on both sides of the lock. The inescutcheons, which are raised into the upper field of both shields show five small shields arranged in a cross, each formed by five dots. The design of the inescutcheons is rather crude but unmistakably based on the *quinas*, the five blue shields with five silver plates from the coat of arms of the Avis and the later shield of Portugal. The figures of the lion and the vase derive, however, from local tradition. The lion refers to the mythical origin of the Sinhalese kings and formally recalls the royal flag of Parākramabāhu VI of Kōṭṭe (1415–1467). The vase probably is connected to the motif of the auspicious vase (*pūrṇa ghaṭa*), which is widespread throughout Asia. Melanie Ann Schwabe and Amin Jaffer suggested that it was the coat of arms of Dharmapāla, the last king of Kōṭṭe. In any case, the lion was also part of the seal of Dharmapāla's grandfather and immediate predecessor on the throne of Kōṭṭe, Bhuvanekabāhu VII.

Several artifacts of the late fifteenth and sixteenth century made by non-European artists bear the coat of arms of the Portuguese royal family. These objects, including, for example, West African ivory carvings and Chinese porcelain, were sometimes commodities, sometimes commissioned works for the Portuguese nobility, and, in the case of the ivory box, a diplomatic gift. The coat of arms aimed to appeal to the tastes of Portuguese buyers and addressees. From their point of view, the heraldic sign on these foreign objects, which were recognizable as non-European by their design and material, may have expressed the vastness and the claim to power of the growing maritime empire. After all, Portuguese ships had carried the royal coat of arms to the world, for example on coins, as well as in the form of the *padrões*, stone pillars crowned by a cross that Portuguese captains erected on the coasts they reached and claimed for Portugal

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Fig. 1: Ivory casket, Kōṭṭe, Sri Lanka, c. 1580, carved ivory and fire-gilded brass, 13,2 x 25,5 x 11,3 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst.

(fig. 2). Thus, the reimport of the Portugese coat of arms on precious objects confirmed the successes overseas.

The shields on the casket, however, differ from the heraldic representations on other objects of non-European provenance. One major difference is the combination of Portuguese with local Sinhalese charges. The way in which the various figures and charges were combined to form a new coat of arms follows a pattern that had been used in European heraldry since the mid-fifteenth century. In French, English, and German heraldry the inescutcheon, a smaller shield that is placed within the main shield of a coat of arms, traditionally bears the most distinguished coat of arms, i.e. the actual ancestral coat of arms, or, in the case of a coat of arms granted as an honor, the donor's coat of arms or parts of it. Such a use of the inescutcheon is rare and of less categorical meaning in the Iberian tradition, although it is not unknown. A similarly centrally placed escutcheon showing the *quinas* of the House of Avis was also granted as an improvement to Vasco da Gama's coat of arms, the first Portuguese explorer of the sea route to India and second Viceroy of India.

The design of the arms on the casket's front fits into the interpretation of its former function proposed by scholars. Zoltán Biedermann has shown that part of the sixteenth-century Sinhalese caskets preserved today were used as diplomatic gifts. For the Berlin casket, this thesis was already formulated by Schwabe and Jaffer. They assumed that the casket originated in connection with Dharmapāla's bequest of the Kōṭṭe kingship to the House of Avis in 1580. The inclusion of the *quinas* in the central shield may indicate such a shift in power and subordination to the Portuguese, as do the rather small depictions of the Sinhalese ruler on his state elephant on the casket's back (fig. 3). It is obvious that the European-dressed soldiers not only protect the ruler but dominate the whole scene.

The different caskets attributed to the kingdom of Kōṭṭe illustrate the change in the relationship between Portugal and the steadily declining Sinhalese dynasty. Comparing the group of caskets from the earliest, made in 1541 in connection with a diplomatic mission from Kōṭṭe to the court in Lisbon, up to the probably last one, now in Berlin, one perceives a decline in artistic quality and in the rich decoration with precious stones, which was ultimately completely abandoned, as well as an increase in the use of European and Christian imagery. Accordingly, almost all of the figural scenes of the Berlin casket refer to European models. Ten of them originate from the books of hours printed by the Parisian printer family Kerver, which also provided models for two previous ivory caskets from Kōṭṭe. These books probably arrived at the court with the return of the Sinhalese envoy from Lisbon in 1542 or with the first Franciscan missionaries in 1543.

With the 1541–1542 embassy to Lisbon, Bhuvanekabāhu VII wanted to win the Portuguese as an ally to ensure the succession to the throne of his grandson Dharmapāla. This was important because at this time, the kingdoms of Ceylon and especially the king brothers Bhuvanekabāhu VII of Kōṭṭe and Māyādunnē of Sītāvaka were fighting for supremacy on the island. Resorting to foreign support (generally from Southern India,) had a long tradition in intra-Sinhalese conflicts and because of their galleys and guns the Portuguese

Fig. 2: Plaster copy after a limestone padrão raised by Diogo Cão in 1482 at the Cape of Santa María in Angola, 169 cm, copy: 1930s, Koninklijk Museum voor Midden-Afrika, Tervuren.

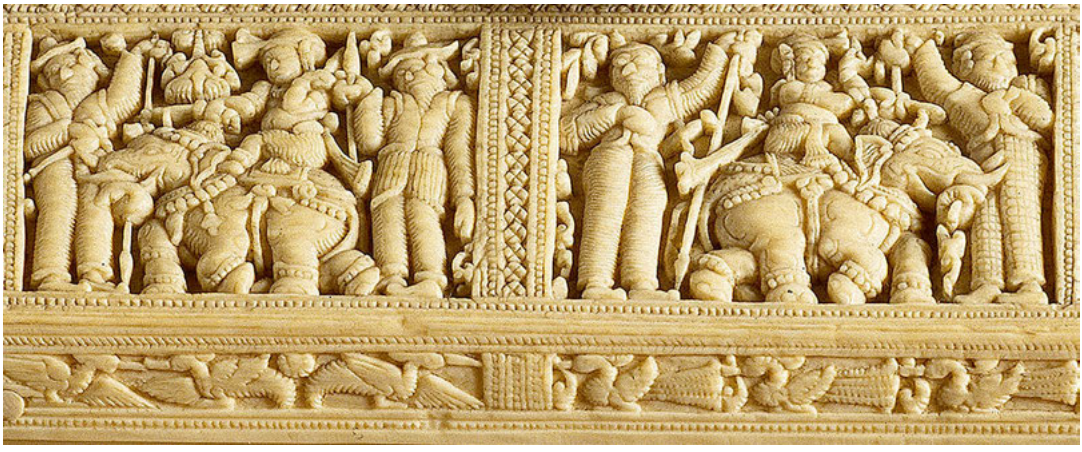

Fig. 3: Back lid of the ivory casket with a representation of a Sinhalese ruler riding on his state elephant (maṅgala-hatthī), Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst.

Fig. 4: Figure of a soldier from *Hore beate Marie virginis ad usum fratrum*, Paris: Kerver 1542, Staatsbibliothek Berlin.

were a sought-after ally. Bhuvanekabāhu VII in particular sought Portuguese backing, but steadfastly refused to comply with their demand that he converts to Christianity. The kings of Sri Lanka have traditionally been defenders and promoters of Buddhism. This changed with Dharmapāla, who came to the throne as a child after the assassination of Bhuvanekabāhu VII in 1554 and converted to Christianity soon afterwards. In honor of the King of Portugal, he took the name Dom João at his baptism. The written sources and the scenes shown on the ivory caskets present Dharmapāla as a convinced Christian. However, his conversion and alliance with the Portuguese were accompanied by a steady decline of his kingdom, leaving him powerless and impoverished towards the end of his life.

That Dharmapāla adopted a coat of arms that followed European heraldic criteria in fusing traditional Sinhalese symbols and Portuguese charges is not an isolated case, but perhaps a precedent. Biedermann has shown Dharmapāla's example was adopted by a prince from Kandy – another Sinhalese kingdom –, who after the assassination of his father in 1591 had been living at Dharmapāla's court in the new capital Colombo. The man, known to us only by his Christian name Dom João, soon had to leave Ceylon altogether and give up his rights to the throne of Kandy. However, living in Lisbon Dom João was able to claim a sumptuous annual pension and a noble rank from the reigning King of Portugal and Spain, Philip II. The coat of arms of this Sinhalese-Portuguese nobleman was included in his funerary chapel at a Franciscan convent founded by Dom João himself in Telheiras, a former suburb of Lisbon, and is now kept at the Museu Arqueológico do Carmo in the same city. It shows a midday sun over a hill with a Christian cross and a Sinhalese lion. The shield's bordure is charged with the castles from the coat of arms of Portugal. Thus, Dom João also fused his Sinhalese origins with his new Christian Portuguese identity in his coat of arms.

Dharmapāla's coat of arms appears less European than the escutcheon of the exiled prince who lived in Lisbon. This is not only due to the stylistic differences and the unusual internal structure forming a kind of drawbar division, but is also because the fields of the shield are mirrored on both sides. The Sinhalese lion thus appears once on the right and once on the left. Such twists were also possible in European heraldry. But usually they take place for reasons of politeness (*courtoisie*): i.e. when different coats of arms were depicted next to each other the figures could be inverted so that they do not turn away from each other. Since the casket shows two identical coats of arms, courtesy cannot have been the reason. The artist probably followed purely aesthetic principles at the expense of clarity, since it is now unclear which of the two shield divisions is correct.

The alliance of different dynasties and the fusion of the corresponding cultural traditions that can be read from the coat of arms is emblematic for the casket's decoration as a whole. A good example for such a fusion are the guardian figures flanking the coats of arms. They are a blend of the artistic traditions that met at the court of Kōṭṭe and the later capital Colombo, respectively. They merge a Roman-looking soldier dressed in an Antique uniform holding with a staff torch from the Books of Hours (fig. 4) with the shape of the nāga-rājas (»kings of snakes«), who flank the entrances of Buddhist temples on Sri Lanka on the so-called guardian stones. Like the nāga-rājas, the guardians of the box do not carry torches on their staffs but auspicious vessels with plants.

Both the guardian figures as well as the shields on the casket are, thus, ultimately neither Sinhalese nor European. They visualize the attempt to merge two different traditions and to create a new cultural identity. The normative and representative, however, relatively flexible system of heraldry offered an interesting field of artistic and diplomatic experimentation for this purpose.

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Indian Textiles and Portuguese Heraldry

Barbara Karl

The arts and crafts commissioned by the Portuguese in Asia during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries frequently featured heraldry. We find heraldic signs painted on Chinese porcelain, carved into wood and stone, as well as embroidered onto and woven into Chinese and Indian textiles. Some of the earliest surviving Indian textiles are now housed in Portuguese museums. They were commissioned by Portuguese living and working in India as traders, administrators, soldiers, or ecclesiastics. Gujarat and Bengal had been important production centers of textiles for the Asian and African markets for centuries before the Portuguese opened up the Cape Route around Africa. Some of the finest embroideries created for export to Europe were made in these regions by local craftsmen on commission from Portuguese traders. A somewhat standardized handicraft production of embroidered colchas, handkerchiefs, curtains, and pieces of clothing existed alongside individually commissioned pieces, which were often decorated with the coat of arms of the future Portuguese owner.

The earliest surviving Indian textile with a Portuguese provenance is located today in the Museo del Ejército in Madrid; it is a sumptuous tent in appliqué technique probably made in Gujarat and displaying the coat of arms of Martim Afonso de Sousa, governor of Portuguese India between 1542 and 1545, who had fought in Gujarat already prior to this. The tent was either commissioned by him or was gifted to him by Sultan Bahadur Shah to persuade the Portuguese to help join in his struggle against the Mughals. It later came into the possession of the Spanish kings and is now known as the tent of the Emperor Charles V (Ramirez 2007, 11–36). Gifts like this opulent tent demonstrated the political and economic potential of Indian textiles both as trade goods and diplomatic presents.

Though farther away than Goa, and thus more difficult to acquire, Bengali colchas (large, embroidered hangings) produced between the late sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century often incorporated elements of European heraldry. The most frequent heraldic element is comprised of a shield crowned by a feather-crested helmet. In all cases known to the author (approximately forty pieces), colchas featuring these shields also present an image of the biblical King Solomon on his throne. This heraldic form is prominently placed in the center of the textiles and constitutes the most important iconographic element of the most complex iconographic programme developed in the context of the arts of the Portuguese expansion in Asia.

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Fig. 1: Colcha, India, Bengal, 1625–1675, cotton and silk, 328 x 281 cm, Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga.

The biblical King in the blazon conceptually paralleled the ideal rule of the Portuguese-Habsburg seaborne empire in Asia. The King provides the name for the entire group of these colchas (Karl 2016, 82–83).

In addition to Solomon, a model ruler for European Renaissance princes, another emblematic element with heraldic value in the Portuguese context is of particular importance in the iconography of Bengali Solomon colchas: the pelican. In Portugal, the pelican was closely linked to D. João II King of Portugal (1455–1495), predecessor of D. Manuel I, whose personal symbol was the pelican, connoted by his motto: »por tua lei e por tua grei« (meaning: I, the king, sacrifice myself for your law and people – like Christ). Alongside the coat of arms and the cross of the Order of Christ (after the reign of D. Manuel I) – the specifically Portuguese version of the Templar Order – the pelican became associated with the Avis dynasty. In the context of Bengali colchas this is seen most clearly in a colcha whose current whereabouts are unknown, but which was published by Reynaldo dos Santos. This cloth features the pelican and the armillary sphere, so often used by D. Manuel I. These elements flank the Portuguese coat of arms (Santos 1970, 204–209; Karl 2016, 223–227). Secular and sacred, Avis rule and missionary zeal met in the symbol of the self-sacrificing pelican. It combined two aims of the Portuguese expansion that complemented each other and lent a certain ambivalence to the symbol on the colcha, referring to both the conquest of territory and souls of those living in the (for the Portuguese) newly discovered territories. While Solomon stood for an ideal Portuguese Habsburg rule over Asia, the pelican stressed the messianic myth of the Portuguese expansion due to its mythological dynastic associations and its qualities as a Eucharistic symbol.

Many Portuguese living in Goa, Bassaim, Diu, or Ceylon who required displays of ostentation and prestige made special commissions of local embroideries which included their coat of arms. If a commission of such an object were made in Lisbon, it would have taken at least four to five years to be delivered from Bengal. One such example is a set of two colchas of an ecclesiastical dignitary from the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, one with impressive measurements of 308 x 273 cm, the other surviving only as a fragment (figs. 1–2). They are dated to the second third of the seventeenth century. The center of both colchas features a coat of arms of an unidentified cleric, probably a bishop or a cardinal, which may also explain their complex and unique iconographic programs. The presence of the coat of arms of the ecclesiastical dignitary indicates that they were used as hangings in an official context, perhaps in a reception room.

It has not yet been possible to identify the coat of arms. According to Miguel Metelo de Seixas, composite Portuguese family heraldry from the early modern period such as the coat of arms of the ecclesiastic dignitary are difficult to research. The present coat of arms consists of a lion next to a tree at the upper left with four stripes crossed by a fifth (this is the unidentifiable part) below it. By patiently going through other sources of the period, such as ex-libris, silverware or seals, one could hope to identify the former commissioner of the textiles (Compare: Matos 1934; Zuquete, ed. 1989). Portuguese merchants brought early modern European prints to India, where they were received with much admiration. As Ebba Koch and others have shown, they exerted a great impact on the development of Mughal court painting. The Portuguese also provided European prints to local embroiderers in Bengal, who adapted these designs to colchas. One has to keep in mind that Bengali craftsmen were likely neither familiar with the Greek mythological and Biblical contents they stitched, nor with the letters and symbols with which they decorated some of the colchas. Errors in transmission occurred from time

Fig. 2: Fragment of colcha, India, 16th–17th century, cotton and silk, 184 x 135 cm, Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga.

to time, words were not spelled correctly, attributes misplaced, and coats of arms misunderstood and rendered in idiosyncratic ways that changed their meaning. An illegible coat of arms rendered the colchas useless in terms of satisfying the goals of the original commissioner back in Europe. This would explain the well-preserved state of the object under discussion here (Karl 2016, 228–240).

The iconographic program of the two colchas is surprisingly complex. While battle scenes of antique Empires dominate the intact textile, scenes from the Old Testament adorn the fragment. Some details are depicted on both colchas. Through the battles and the integration of inscriptions, the first colcha refers to a sequence of ancient empires, either rising or declining: Persia, Hannibal's empire, and Greece. The rising stars were the short-lived empires of Alexander, Israel, and Rome.

The Portuguese conquests were viewed at the time as a continuation of the tradition of the ancient empires. From the Lusitanian point of view, they even surpassed their predecessors by establishing a supposedly new, more enduring empire that included all of the known continents. Sixteenth century Portuguese historiography by Gaspar Correia and João de Barros, to name just two chroniclers, and Luís de Camões' great epic represent examples of this interpretation and in fact molded it (Rebelo 2007, 358–389). The Portuguese considered themselves to be the new conquerors of the world and harbingers of peace in the form of a new Catholic Golden Age in Asia.

The program also recalls the concept of Sebastianismo, which posited the notion of the Fifth Empire and whose most important seventeenth-century proponent was the Jesuit Padre António Vieira (1608–1697). Spanish rule over Portugal after the (assumed) death of King D. Sebastião in 1578 and D. Henrique in 1580 precipitated the idea: The people desired Sebastião's return and the liberation from the »Spanish yoke«. He, so it was thought, would create a new, Fifth Empire that would follow in the footsteps of the great empires of Antiquity (Azevedo 1918; Cardoso 2001). The colcha's program reflects this concept without explicitly expressing it by referring to different moments in Vieira's text. The latter enjoyed popularity both before and after Portuguese independence in 1640 and was included in modified form in numerous ecclesiastical colchas to express the glory of Portugal. By creating parallels between contemporary Portuguese battles and ancient wars, the Portuguese deeds were elevated to a mythical sphere, a notion that the cloth's erudite owner must have understood.

On the second fragmentary colcha, all of the scenes depicted are drawn from the Old Testament and illustrate some key events in the history of the Jewish people. Since three-quarters of the images are missing, it is difficult to come to conclusions, yet certain content-related currents can nonetheless be discerned. The idea of the unlimited power of God is evident through his direct intervention as judge in the selected scenes. One principal theme is God's just punishment and implicit threats. Another topic is love and compassion. The scene of Melchisedek meeting Abraham and sharing bread (Genesis 14, 18–20) could be placed typologically in the Portuguese missionary context of spreading faith by delivering the Eucharist. Given that the colcha was part of an ensemble of two pieces, it is quite certain that its overall message of the two objects was linked to tone another. While the program of that colcha refers to the conquest of territory and the establishment of a profane empire, the second implies the conquest and preservation of souls and the establishment of a spiritual empire in Portuguese Asia. Both were, in fact, interwoven since the increasing Portuguese dominance in Ceylon could be justified as

divine protection, in part related to the more or less successful Portuguese missionary activities. If the fragmentary colcha is interpreted as representing an analogy between the Portuguese and the biblical Israelites then the Old Testament scene of the Israelites carrying back the grapes of Canaan, their Promised Land, (Numeri 4; Mose 13) shown in the border together with the other scenes is crucial. In this context, the scene refers to the Portuguese »discovering« India, their Promised Land, as the Israelites' successors. It also obliquely compares the turbulent history of the divinely elected Jewish people to that of the supposedly equally divinely elected Portuguese, who incidentally shared the fate of foreign rule at least between 1580 and 1640, when Portugal was ruled by Spain. In this interpretation, the selection of images represents a combination of biblical threats of divine punishment and promises to the Portuguese moving to and living in their Promised Land, India. Simultaneously it places them under divine protection and demands their obedience to God. Thus, the colchas not only communicate with one another but also with the Portuguese viewers who find figures of warning and identification in this disguised version of an idealized and divinely protected Portuguese overseas empire. The iconographic programme likely represents a nostalgic glimpse of the successful period of early sixteenth- century Portuguese empire building in Asia and expresses the collective longing – saudade – of certain seventeenth-century Portuguese for the return of this supposed Golden Age independent from Spain.

Depending on how and where they were exhibited, colchas like those presented above could be powerful instruments of communication. While the biblical stories on the artefacts refer to an ideal historic model, the presence of the coat-of-arms of its unknown ecclesiastic owner ties it into the Portuguese present, thus stressing the typological interpretation of the pieces. Hung in a reception room of the Portuguese dignitary whose heraldry is depicted on it or draped from a window of his palace during a procession or joyous entry, the two colchas quite obviously aimed to communicate the military and missionary successes of the Portuguese in Asia. It also reveals the ecclesiastic owner as being nostalgic for a supposedly glorious past.

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The Portuguese Coat of Arms as a Site of Mediation in a Manuscript from Goa (c. 1659)

Urte Krass

A manuscript that was written in Goa around 1659 by a Franciscan (or Capuchin) named António de São Thiago opens new insight into the way in which coats of arms could serve as nodal points of intercultural negotiation in this specific 17th-century contact zone. The manuscript exists in two differing versions, one is kept in the Houghton Library in Harvard, the other one in Lisbon, in the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo.

The subject of the text and the corresponding images is God's power within Portuguese history, specifically the connection of the state-building Vision of Ourique (in 1139) to the Portuguese Restoration of 1640: the uprising of a group of nobles in Lisbon that led to the end of the Iberian Union and to the installment of John IV. as the new Portuguese king after 60 years of Spanish rule. The author's main goal is to argue that the Portuguese are the direct successors of the chosen people of Israel. He cites many sources, especially prophecies from the Old Testament, to show that the Portuguese as new Apostles and missionaries in his time are about to complete the universal conversion of the world's population to Christendom.

The Harvard manuscript consists of 199 folios including 22 ink drawings. Of the author we know that he was from Lisbon and lived from 1594 to 1660. He went to Goa as a soldier but then joined the Franciscan order there, holding for a period of time the office of the Franciscan Procurator of the Province of the Mother of God in India. He travelled extensively to places in Asia (Chaul and Malakka) but also to Lisbon, Madrid, Rome, and some places in France. But his main base was always Goa. The pictorial inventions in both manuscripts derive from the same hand and are highly original. Although the artist obviously took European printed images as models for many of his drawings, there are many peculiarities that reveal his autonomy in conceptualizing the visualizations of the highly complex contents of the manuscript. Stylistic and also iconographical idiosyncrasies lead to the conclusion that the painter must have been from India, probably somebody acquainted with local artistic practices who had converted to

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Fig. 1: Folio 48 from António de São Thiago *Vizão feita por Xpo a el rey Dom Affonso Henriques no Campo de Ourique*, 1659, Harvard University, Houghton Library.

Christendom. Ângela Barreto Xavier concludes that the manuscript is proof of the »vibrant cultural life of seventeenth-century Goa at the crossroads of Euro-Asiatic political culture« (Xavier 2016).

Of the 22 ink drawings in the Harvard-kept manuscript, 15 include some kind of heraldry. And of these, five not only comprise coats of arms as details – but are actual large-scale renderings of coats of arms. One of these is not immediately recognizable as such (fig. 1): it is an attempt of a literal formulation of the Portuguese coat of arms as it had – according to legend – been described to the first Portuguese king by Christ himself in the so-called Vision of Ourique of 1139.

A simple wooden cross with a long vertical bar stands upright in the middle of the image. Of the letters on the titulus, only the upper half is visible as the head of Christ with a broad halo is hovering in front of it. Christ is wearing the crown of thorns, his eyes are downcast and his beard ends in two points like the beard of the miraculous Mandylion image. Under Christ's face the inscription on the horizontal crossbar reads »Petra autem erat Christus« – »the stone was Christ«. This refers to Nebuchadnezzar's dream vision (Daniel 2, 31–35), where a large stone crushes into the colossal statue made from four different materials that represent four successive world empires. The destruction of this statue precedes the dawn of the Fifth – and last – empire before the end of the world. In Portuguese providentialist reasoning, this Fifth Empire was heralded by the new Portuguese king: John IV. of Braganza.

In the drawing, we can see that the long cross with Christ's head is placed within a complicated symbol system. The entire vertical cross bar is framed by an oval chain consisting of 30 silver coins and seven circular open eyes: Two eyes are placed above, one on each side of the cross stem, four more eyes appear to the sides of the oval, and the seventh eye is placed below, directly at the foot of the cross. Within this oval of coins and eyes and flanking the cross stem symmetrically, the hands and feet of Christ appear emerging from small clouds, each body part exhibiting the bleeding stigmata. Next to the left hand the inscription DEUS can be read, the right hand is flanked by the word FILHO – son. In the center, the artist has placed a heart-shaped field containing the bleeding side-wound and the inscription »Cor meum vigilat / super lapidem unum septem oculi sunt Domini – My heart keeps watch – on one stone there are seven eyes of God«. Behind the heart, a scroll unfurls bearing the inscription »Oculus Misericordiae / oculos benignitatis«. Below, on the stem of the cross, we read: »Deus spirito santo / Oculus Benignos Pone« and »Pedra do Reino de Portugal«.

The cross and chain are entwined by fig leaves emerging from behind the wings of the dragon above the titulus. This dragon is an integral element of the Portuguese coat of arms – as are the coins and the stigmata, represented metaphorically as *bezants* and escutcheons in the coat of arms. The entire picture field is framed by squares with interlaced ornaments of which each one includes five circles within their structure – echoing the five silver coins and their »orthodox« presentation as the *bezants* in the Portuguese coat of arms. In this drawing, the frame thus functions as a comment and explication of the rather abstract heraldic representation it surrounds.

As we can see, there are several topics touched upon and fused in this drawing. The most apparent one is the mystical origin of the Portuguese coat of arms: the Vision of Ourique in 1139. Christ himself had allegedly appeared in the sky and told Afonso Henriques to become the first king of Portugal and to adopt a coat of arms that should comprise Judas's 30 silver coins

Fig. 2: Folio 8 from António Soares de Albergaria *Tropheos Lusitanos*, Lisbon: Jorge Rodriguez 1632.

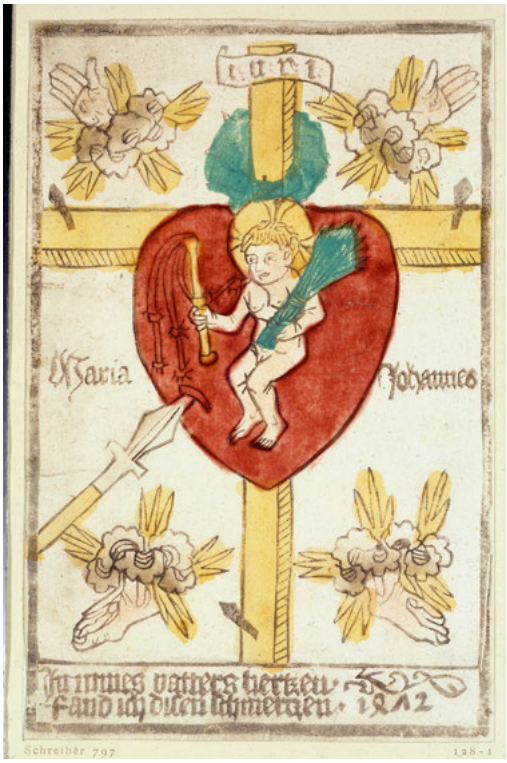

Fig. 3: Anonymous (south Germany), Woodcut showing the stigmata of Christ with the Christ child in the center, 1472, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett.

and the five stigmata of Christ. The dragon that was added later by King John I (d. 1433) is the only element of this drawing that can be found also in more orthodox representations, like the one from the Tropheos Lusitanos, a collection of heraldry published in 1632, a copy of which very probably was within reach of the author/artist duo in Goa (fig. 2). Comparing these two versions we realize that what appears like fig leaf tendrils in the Indian drawing emerging from behind the wings of the dragon is meant to resemble the proper crest of the rule-consistent heraldic example. Helmet and crown are absent in the Goan image – or more accurately observed: the Goan artist has replaced them with the head of Christ crowned with the crown of thorns. Also missing is the proper escutcheon, its seven castles as well as the five *quinas* with each five *besantes* or *dinheiros*. But again, these elements are not really absent, but the Indian artist has, in a way, rendered them »verbatim«: Instead of five shields with each five coins (meant to invoke the stigmata and the silverlings) the artist has drawn the actual five bleeding stigmata and the actual 30 pieces of silver, and he has placed the stigmata in the same arrangement of a *quincunx* as in the »correct« representations of the coat of arms. The hands and feet that appear from small clouds are most probably inspired by devotional woodcuts as they were produced for example in South Germany (fig. 3). Some of these also show the cross with nails positioned exactly as in our Goan drawing and the wounded heart in the center of the image. There are other woodcuts that bring together the iconography of the feet and hands and side

Fig. 4: Woodcut showing Mary and Child with St. Dominic, a pope and other saints surrounded by a rosary including the five wounds, 1472, London, British Museum.

wound of Christ with a representation of the rosary (fig. 4).

In our drawing, the 30 silver coins and the »eye pearls« can be read as such a Christian prayer chain. Rosaries were very common among the Christians in India. Travelers to Goa in the 16th and 17th century often remarked that they would always recognize Christians by the rosaries they carried with them. Often, these rosaries had a cross pendant which perhaps has been monumentalized in our drawing taking over the center of the image. The artist inserts the seven eyes into the rosary where one would normally find larger pearls to signal the faithful where they are required to say a Pater Noster (the other pearls are Ave Maria pearls).

The quotation in the very center of the image is an abbreviation of Zechariah 3,9: »For behold the stone that I have laid before Joshua; on one stone shall be seven eyes: behold, I will engrave the engraving thereof, said the Lord of hosts, and I will remove the iniquity of the land on one.« This is a reference to the foundation of the temple, to the chief corner stone laid in the presence of Joshua. António de São Thiago links this quotation also to the idea that Christ was the foundation stone of the Portuguese empire. The eyes in the drawing, apart from visualizing the vision of Zechariah, might bring still another aspect into the image. In Hindu worshipping practice, the concept of darśan is important: the exchange of gazes between the faithful and the deity's image. The all-seeing Hindu deities can be recognized by the fact that they would never wink, they would never close their eyes, because the wellbeing of the world depends on their eyes being open. In Hindu image practice, the last act of the consecration of a deity's image consists of its eyes being opened with a golden needle or with a brush. It is this solemn opening of the eyes that actually completes the image. Interestingly, while in the drawing Christ's eyes are downcast and refuse the exchange of glances with the beholder, the seven eyes of the rosary are wide open and stare out at the reader-beholder in front of the manuscript.

Ângela Barreto Xavier has emphasized the many levels of cultural contact in Goa: Diplomates, merchants, and soldiers were intermediaries, but also Christian theologians and non-Christian scholars had regular contact and intellectual exchange. Franciscans like António de São Thiago participated in such debates. Images like the drawing here discussed are evidence of the permeability between image cultures in the Goan contact zone. The fixation on coats of arms evident in this treatise might be explained by the idea that this image format was especially appropriate to serve as a »site of mediation« – meaning a »site of collection and accumulation, of transformation and translation, of ambiguity and representation« (Burghartz, Burkart, and Göttler 2016). The drawn coat of arms functions as a medium to connect people, objects, images, and ideas. The Goan draughtsman lived in the midst of a global traffic of images and objects that circulated across different cultures and media. He took his models from a wide choice of examples: very recent engravings from Europe and very old German woodcuts; he had browsed through Portuguese treatises of coats of arms and through illustrated histories of Portugal and the Restoration, was acquainted with ornamental frames of Moghul miniatures and he possibly knew about the importance of an image's gaze in Hindu image practice. What came out of this broad and diverse visual knowledge was, however, not a mere synthesis of different processes of transfer: It was a process of transformation.

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Connecting Earth and Heaven

On Earth as in Heaven: The Coat of Arms, Emblem of Men, Language of Angels, and Sign of God

Laurent Hablot

When analysing the representations of medieval elites in the afterlife, and more particularly the iconographic theme of devotional scenes, one cannot help but be impressed by the importance of coats of arms. Indeed, from the second half of the 14th century onwards, stained glass windows, books of hours, or wall paintings very often depict the patron or donor, alone, in couple or accompanied by his or her parents, kneeling before a major protagonist from the divine world, the Throne of Grace (God, the Holy Spirit, and the crucified Son), the Virgin Mary or a patron saint, adorned with the attributes of his state and associated with his variously figured heraldic emblems, floating in the sky, on his coat of arms, on those of his sons or on the dresses of his wife and daughters, often flanked by angels bearing his shield and/or banner, standard or pennant of arms.

The first level of reading of such images would be to see in them the display of signs of identity intended to enable readers to recognise, through these emblems, the person or persons depicted in these scenes of devotion and prestige and thus to maintain their memory. But it is precisely the very nature of those images that invites us to go further in their analysis and to try to understand the function assigned to the emblems in this precise context with uncertain spatio-temporal contours: not yet exactly in Heaven but already not really on earth. (e. g. Yet these images are designed to provoke further analysis. Their uncertain spatio-temporal setting (not yet in Heaven, but not really on earth, conjoined with …) As it is often the case, however, the interpretation of these representations of the coat of arms in the afterlife depends more on the searcher's intuition, on the lessons of several cases studied and contexts specified, than on direct, narrative, or normative sources that would clearly explain to us the meaning given to this representation of Paradise. Historians, and medievalists in particular, are well aware that this epistemological gap should not hinder critical analysis and the desire to explain images, rituals

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Fig. 1: Claude de Villeblanche presented by Saint Claude and Jacques de la Motte presented by Saint Jacques, Mistress Window of the church of Montcontour, c. 1538.

or practices that can be illuminated by bundles of concordant information that provide us with the keys to understanding and interpretation.

In this case, to sign Heaven and the role of the coat of arms as a medium of contact between men and God stems from several concepts inherent to this very particular type of sign as well as to the iconographic discourse of memory and salvation.

THE COAT OF ARMS: ANOTHER SELF

In order to understand the meaning of these scenes, it is important to know that, for the medieval man, the coat of arms represented another self. By its very semiotic nature (Hablot 2013), it was consubstantial with the person it represented and materialized in signs. It offered another facet of the identity of its bearer, which it helped to materialise and distinguish as much, but in a distinct register, as his face, name, land, functions, lineage, etc. (Hablot 2016). The main – and almost only – medieval theorist of the functions of the coat of arms, the Bolognese jurist Bartolo da Sassoferrato, insisted in his *De Insigniis et armis* (c. 1350), on the specific nature of the heraldic image and its capacity to represent *in absentia*. In particular, he pointed to the inversion of laterality – in heraldry the left side of coat of arms is called the *dexter*, considering it

to be the right side of the bearer of the shield in front of him, who is virtually present »behind« the image – and compared this usage, which was also applied to the monument-church, to the scripture, described as the vehicle of the Verb, by means of which God addresses mankind and »behind« which He is present.

Sassoferrato also emphasized the capacity of the heraldic sign to make its bearer present in a monumental representation or a figurative scene. This work provides an exceptional explanation of the practices and functions of the heraldic sign – a *unicum* that deserves to be underlined – which is only partially taken up by the few continuators of this Italian jurist. Nevertheless, the ontological conception of the heraldic sign highlighted here is verified by the multiple uses and rituals attached to these signs in practice. As such, where the coat of arms appears, the one it designates is present, at least by abstraction or consubstantiation, at best by transubstantiation. The principles of construction of this special image, an object with an »embodied laterality«, the shaping of coats of arms that are topped with a crown or a helmet, dressed in mantles, adorned with necklaces, elaborate this idea of the coat of arms as an *alter corpus* (Hablot 2017). Ritual heraldic practices apply this principle by multiplying the examples of affixing signs in contact with the sacred (Hablot 2011), cases of miraculous actions performed by coats of arms, ceremonies of veneration of emblems or, in the negative, outrages committed in absentia to those signs (Hablot 2009).

Fig. 2: Isabella Stuart and her two daughters Margaret and Mary presented by St. Francis, St. Peter Martyr and St. Mary Magdalene, in devotion before the Virgin of Sorrows in: Laurent d'Orléans, *Livre des vices et des vertus ou Somme le Roi*, 1464, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

COATS OF ARMS, A GIFT FROM GOD

These signs are not human in essence but divine. They materialise the power delegated to the mighty, especially the power to command and judge. Granted by God, his angels, or the saints, they are the mirror of earthly acts and will be the natural instrument of judgement and recognition in Heaven. The many medieval heraldic legends – those mythical tales progressively de-

Fig. 3: Coat of arms as gift from God, the Sire of Aspremont receiving his arms from a heavenly hand, detail from Psalter, end of 13th century, Oxford, Bodleian Library.

veloped to explain the origin and meaning of the heraldic signs worn by the powerful – very clearly emphasize the celestial essence of coats of arms. The prototypical case of this discourse is provided by the rich history of the lilies of France (Digulleville 2014; Pastoureau 1991; Pastoureau 1998; Pinoteau 2003). This coat of arms is, by its very nature, a divine concession insofar as the fleur-de-lis is already considered, even before the appearance of the first coats of arms, as the material symbol of the delegation of divine power, an attribute of angels, of the Virgin and of kings. The azure and gold colours of the arms of the king of France were, from the outset interpreted as the colours of Heaven as much as those of the Virgin, and the legend of the fleurs-de-lis, modelling the legendary episode of the assumption of the sign – the battle of Tolbiac – on that of the Chrism given by God to Constantine at the battle of the Milvian Bridge, firmly established the idea that these emblems of power were unquestionably divine grants.

In the course of the fourteenth century, similar discourses valued almost all sovereign coats of arms and even those of more modest lineages, making these emblems concessions by God, the Virgin or the great military saints (Hablot 2017a and 2012b). These discourses, sometimes developed in(?) texts, are above all supported by images from the end of the thirteenth century (fig. 3) and announce the armorial devotional scenes which proliferate in the late Middle Ages. In the continuity of these divine grants of sovereign arms, the discourse elaborated by the princes around the practice of granting armorial bearings maintains the idea that, as recipients of celestial heraldic grants, they can, in turn, grant these signs ›by divine right‹, thus creating a kind of chain of transmission in which the armorial bearings serve as a relay between Heaven and Earth.

COATS OF ARMS AS AN INSTRUMENT OF JUSTICE

Although heraldry quickly became an emblematic system shared far beyond the scope of the military aristocracy, these signs, and their main support (a shield) remained symbolically attached to knightly identity and feudal power. Although they were rarely used on the battlefield, coats of arms were used extensively in the exercise of seigniorial power – places, coins, measures, seals – where they served to designate and qualify the authority, its rights, and duties and to commit its faith. Justice is precisely one of the lordly functions of which it is, along with the

profession of arms, one of the main attributes. Its just exercise is part of the set of moral duties to which the knight and the lord commit themselves, collaborators in the salvation promised to believers. It is therefore no coincidence that the staging of seigniorial justice very often combines the sacred space with the display of the coat of arms. The decoration of courtrooms, numerous courthouses inscribed in parish churches and abundantly emblazoned with arms, and the display of pillories are proof of this. It is by virtue of the power delegated by Heaven, under the gaze of Christ and following his example, ensured by his feudal right and the strength of his arms, that the lord judges and punishes. It is therefore not surprising that the same emblem that symbolises his judicial action should in turn be subject to divine judgment.

THE COAT OF ARMS IN CONTACT WITH THE SACRED

Among the spaces in which heraldic signs are displayed, sacred spaces occupy an essential place. Here again, one could limit oneself to interpreting this signing of churches, tombs, books, or liturgical dishes as a simple marking intended to indicate ownership and to identify the generous donor. This explanation is practical and undoubtedly partly correct, but it limits the scope of the deployment of coats of arms in the sacred space and ignores medieval mentalities (Hablot 2011). Because of its ontological qualities, the coat of arms is an essential relay of the presence *ad sanctos* and, associated with the mysteries of the celebration via a keystone placed above the altar, a stained-glass bellows with a coat of arms at the back of the choir, a heraldic chalice in the hands of the celebrant, serves as an intermediary between man and God, between the present and eternity. This is precisely its function in funerary decoration where, affixed to a tomb, it participates in the representation of the body in glory of the recumbent and is already part of the decoration of the celestial world.

ON EARTH AS IN HEAVEN

All these principles can be found in the devotional scenes that bring together coats of arms, their bearers and the inhabitants of Heaven, and which are increasingly common in the iconography of the late Middle Ages and early modern period. These representations of the living contemplating the celestial world, sketches of beatif-

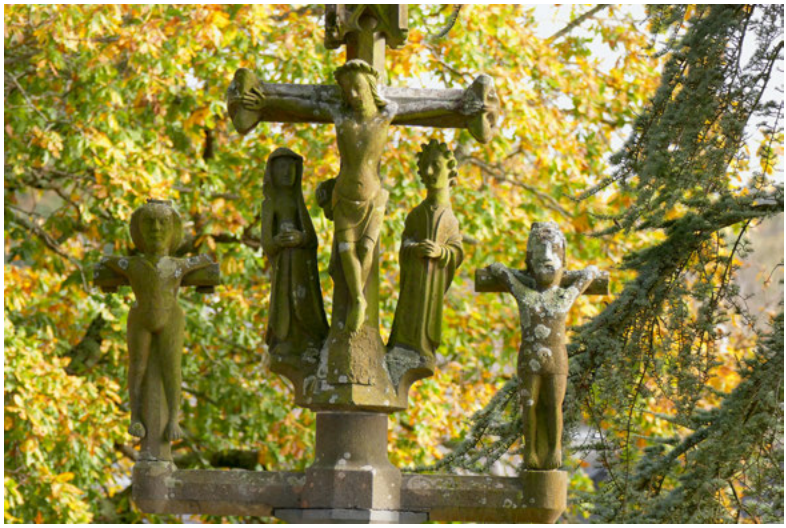

Fig. 4: The arms of Quelennec-Poulmic touched by the feet of Christ on the cross, c. 1450, Kersanton, Calvary of the Church Notre-Dame de Rumengol (Finistère).

ic visions, are no longer, in reality, on the earth of the living but in the celestial and paradisiacal Beyond where, at the end of the Judgement, the bodies of glory of the resurrected will contemplate for ever the glory of God and his saints. The coat of arms is the medium that brings together two distinct worlds, earth and Heaven, and has a specific function: to give an account of the powers delegated. The coat of arms, received more or less directly from Heaven, an instrument for the exercise of power, trust and right, is the catalyst for earthly action, the most complete image of oneself, sifted by divine mercy.

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Black and White: Heraldry in a Depiction of St. Maurice in Namur

Gregor von Kerssenbrock-Krosigk

Housed today in the Musée Provincial des Arts Anciens in Namur, Belgium, the reliquary shrine of St. Maurice is a rare surviving example of pre-Eyckian panel painting (figs. 1–2) (Stroo et al. 2009). It consists of a long rectangular box with a gabled roof. Only the front and right sides are decorated with figures which are set against a gilded background punched with vegetal designs. The back of the shrine is undecorated, and its left side shows an unidentified coat of arms set against a plain white background. Due to a difference in both artistic quality and chemical composition of the pigments, it seems likely that it was added at a later date (Stroo et al. 2009, 370). The clear emphasis of the front and right sides suggests that the shrine was not meant to be moved or shown in processions (van Schoute und Verougstraete 1995, 375).

Fig. 1: Reliquary Shrine of Saint Maurice, c. 1400, oil paint and gilding on oak, 32.5 x 67.5 x 21.5 cm, Namur, Musée provincial des Arts anciens du Namurois.

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Fig. 2: Right narrow side of Reliquary Shrine of Saint Maurice, c. 1400, oil paint and gilding on oak, 32.5 x 67.5 x 21.5 cm, Namur, Musée provincial des Arts anciens du Namurois.

Nothing is known of its creator, but it can be dated dendrochronologically to about 1400. According to an annual report from the year of its donation to the museum, the shrine came from the nearby Floreffe Abbey, although it may well have had another home before (Stroo et al. 2009, 361).

According to his vita in the *Legenda Aurea*, St. Maurice was a Roman officer in charge of a Legion levied from the Thebaid, in what is today the border between Egypt and Sudan (Jacobus de Voragine 2017, 363f). Following the legend, he and his army were baptized Christians and had been sent to fight the Gauls by Diocletian's co-emperor Maximian. Forced by Maximian to pray to the pagan gods, they refused, leading to their execution around the year 286. Devotion to St. Maurice can be traced throughout Europe in the Later Middle Ages. His martyrdom, purportedly together with thousands of his comrades, made him an ideal image of a Christian warrior. And yet, his cult remained mostly tied to the high aristocracy and did not reach the popularity of other military saints like St. Martin or St. George (Devisse 2010, 148; Suckale-Redlefsen 1987, 138). During the Late Middle Ages, St. Maurice began to be depicted as a Black man. This helped identify him in the iconographically quite homogenous group of military saints by tying both into the etymology of his name, the Latin *maurus* originally referring to people from Mauretania but later used synonymously for people with dark or black skin colour, and his supposed Theban origins. Particularly stunning and central to most scholarship on the subject is his sculptural depiction in Magdeburg around the middle of the 13th century. However, the iconography of a Black St. Maurice rarely spread beyond certain regions in Germany and the Baltic. Elsewhere, notably including Cologne, Trier and Aachen, St. Maurice continued to be shown as a white man.

It is in this context that the shrine in Namur gains significance and allows us to make some observations on heraldry. On the long front side, we see the seated emperor Maximian with an adviser giving the order for the execution, while a third man raises his sword to behead the blond and youthful saint (fig. 1). Next, the executioner carries the limp and headless body to-

wards a hole that has been dug out by another figure with a shovel. Moving around the corner to the right side of the shrine, we find a much larger depiction of the saint standing with lance and shield, looking to his right (fig. 2). While he is depicted as a white man, his shield and armour feature the head of a black man with curly black hair. It is unlikely that there was a significant presence of black Africans near Namur in the early 1400s, although by this time there was a notable presence in Italy and Spain, due mostly to the slave trade (Kaplan 2010, 25–7; Martin 1993, 44). The shrine in Namur is an exceptional example of this iconography around 1400.

In medieval thought, black skin colour did not have positive connotations (Devisse und Mollat 2010, 98f; Martin 1993, 19f). Scholars have analysed depictions of black figures and their medieval association with otherness, sin, and demons (Mellinkoff 1993; Strickland 2003). One foundational aspect of these negative connotations was linked to the western reception of Galen's theory of juices. This strain of thought intimately connected the inner life of a human, both anatomical and psychological, to the outer appearance or *complexion* (Groebner 2003). In turn, this meant that the appearance could be used to judge various inner character traits. During the Late Middle Ages, this idea of reading *complexio* became ever more engrained in the rhetoric surrounding skin colour and the stigmatization of various ethnic minorities in Europe (Groebner 2003, 11ff). Although it was not explicitly connected to a developed theory of racial difference, black skin was nonetheless associated with an inner imbalance of the bodily humours, inner vices, and maleficence (Groebner 2003, 5f). Depicting or describing a saint with dark skin colour was, therefore, clearly problematic. Jacobus de Voragine interprets St. Maurice's Blackness purely metaphorically and many other authors neglect it completely (Jacobus de Voragine 2017, 363; Suckale-Redlefsen 1987, 136f; van Maerlant 1879, 183). Even though the late medieval understanding of complexion was not centred on the opposition of black and white – these were just two in a long list of visual features that could be interpreted in both positive and negative ways – visually this dichoto-

Fig. 3: Maubeuge painter (attr.), Saint Dagobert's soul saved by the Saints Denis, Martin of Tours and Maurice of Agaune, fol. 68r, in: *Life of Eustace and other Saints, and a Collection of Moral Treatises*, Paris, 1st half of the 14th century, parchment, 235 x 175 mm, London, British Library.

my was well established. In his influential treatise »On Insignia and Coats of Arms«, Bartolo de Sassoferrato comments on this by saying that the colour white (albus) is the noblest colour because of its proximity to light (*lux*) and black (*niger*) the basest because of its proximity to darkness (*tenebris*) (Saxoferrato 1995, 118(lat), 153(eng)). While Bartolo does not relate this to skin colour, a 14th-century Parisian manuscript that includes the life of St. Dagobert illustrates this connection quite well. Two miniatures depict Dagobert tormented by demons and later rescued by three saints (fig. 3). Beside their animalistic features, the demons' dark skin is set in evident contrast to the whiteness of the saints, one of whom is Maurice. Evidently, skin colour was used as one visual tool to help medieval viewers differentiate between good and evil. A black St. Maurice would have disrupted this schema and blurred the otherwise clear line between demon and saint. This may be the reason that the shrine in Namur shows Maurice as a white man, even if it does not do this to differentiate him from his executioners.

Fig. 4: Claes Heinenzoon, so-called *Gelre Armorial*, fol. 62r, 1370–1395, parchment, 24 x 14 cm, Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België.

The decision to depict the black head on the arms of the saint, however, leads to an intriguing visual moment: As the headless Maurice slumps over, the black heads painted on the sleeves and back of his clothes remain, juxtaposing the bodyless heads with the headless body. It seems as if within the semantics of heraldry Maurice's blackness could be shown without a problem, thus externalizing the part of his identity that medieval viewers might not have otherwise readily accepted. In this way, Maurice can »wear« his blackness, disassociated from his inner character. His glowing, haloed whiteness on the other hand, was probably read as an expression of his inner shining soul. And while it seems the artist took care to always show several black heads displayed in profile on his armour, Maurice's face is shown in a three-quarter portrait, as if it could turn at any moment to look at the viewer.

Black heads on shields or crests were not an uncommon feature in heraldry of the time. Armorials from the late 14th century document their use in coats of arms all

across Europe (fig. 4) (Devisse und Mollat 2010, 37). Curiously, in manuscripts produced just half a century earlier, we find coats of arms displaying black heads as attributes of the Saracens, apparently to show them as evildoers (Cruse 2006, 55f; Mellinkoff 1993, 230). However, beyond these manuscripts, coats of arms were remarkably free in their use of the imagery of otherness that conventionally signified danger and evil. Late medieval armorials show a whole range of figures considered as foreign, or even monstrous, populating shields or placed on top of them as crests. Moreover, within the margins of late medieval manuscripts, heraldry had already coexisted in the same space with the grotesque and monstrous figures that have attracted much more attention from art historians. The mutual integration of coats of arms – potent signifiers of the self, be it an individual or a group – into the margins, and of marginal iconography into coats of arms has barely been studied. In the present case, the black head most likely refers to the etymology of Maurice (see above). The shrine is surprisingly unique, if not unprecedented, in depicting him with this heraldry. In most cases, St. Maurice bore more generic heraldic devices such as a cross that did not reference his own identity, rather integrating him into the heraldic lineage of elites, kingdoms and emperors (Hablot 2012; Näf 2017, 157).

In the scene of the headless Maurice, two systems of identification are pitted against each other. On the one hand we have the face, evidently key to being identifiable, yet in this case arguably generic. Were it not for the black head on his armour, the figure could represent any number of military saints. On the other hand, visual signs of identification, which include, but are not limited to heraldry, had become a fundamental aspect of social life during the Late Middle Ages (Bedos-Rezak 2011; Groebner 2004, esp. 32f). In the visual moment in which St. Maurice appears headless, the black heads on his body continue to identify and represent him visually. Their seriality is a fundamental aspect of their power. Signs could be copied and disseminated widely in urban spaces or legal contexts (and more), thus representing a person far beyond their own bodily reach. Meanwhile, the halo around where the real head once was simulates a kind of spiritual intactness that the dead body no longer possesses. In the earthly visual sphere Maurice's body is fragmented and detached from its identifying feature, a loss that the black heads can make up for by identifying him via the language of signs.

Here we must also consider the context. The unique choice of identifying Maurice via a »sign« such as the black head may be explained when we remember the function of the shrine. Believers will have understood the relics inside as the bodily remnants of the saint, a true presence capable of miraculous actions (Näf 2017, 93ff). The powers of the venerated corporeal material depended on their authenticity. Through its size alone, the Namur shrine claims to contain a significant portion of Maurice's body, even if it is unlikely that it ever actually did (today the shrine is empty). Relics of Maurice and other Theban soldiers were venerated throughout Europe. There is, then, an analogy between the way in which the black heads identify the beheaded body of the saint and the images on the shrine identify the remains formerly inside. This, I suggest, can be extended to the way the heads function within a system of identification that was indispensable to the kind of agency and mobility late medieval viewers associated with the relics themselves. By identifying the saint via a heraldic sign, they not only assuaged doubt about the relic's true identity, but also projected the specific visual and conceptual powers of heraldry onto these remains: the capability to extend active representational force beyond a single body's reach.

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A Hidden Deer and a Crowned Lion: Rabbinical Reaction to the Usage of Heraldry among Jews in the 16th Century

Olga Karaskova-Hesry

Heraldry, not so long ago considered by many to be a moribund branch of learning, is now generally held in appropriate esteem. However, some aspects of heraldic tradition remain neglected. Among these underestimated phenomena, Jewish heraldry is arguably the most promising subject of study; it is still a sort of *terra incognita* in spite of certain publications and it deserves a thorough investigation from various points of view.

Notably, the attitudes towards coats-of-arms in the Jewish milieu remain largely a mystery, since our sources are quite scant and medieval Jews left behind no heraldic treatise(s). Were coats-of-arms regarded simply as useful devices, mere tokens of identification or marks of possession? Or, on the contrary, did Jews adopt from their Christian neighbours, along with the heraldic practice itself, the core tenet that arms were a sort of personification of their bearer, his alter ego, a symbol of his dignity and honour, fully representing and sometimes even replacing him in social manifestations? Even if I agree that practical needs were probably the primary motivation behind the use of arms, and even if the desire for emulation of the nobility could also have been of some importance for well-to-do commoners (both Christians and Jews), I am also nonetheless persuaded that the phenomenon was much more complex. Issues of self-esteem and self-assertion must have played a crucial role not only in the adoption of heraldry by Jews from their Christian neighbours, but also in its »adaptation« to their own proper needs and purposes.

Two »heraldic stories« of the 16th century that both took place within the Venetian zone of influence – in Padua and in Candia (Crete) – are of particular interest to us, as they clearly demonstrate the attitude of Jews towards their arms.

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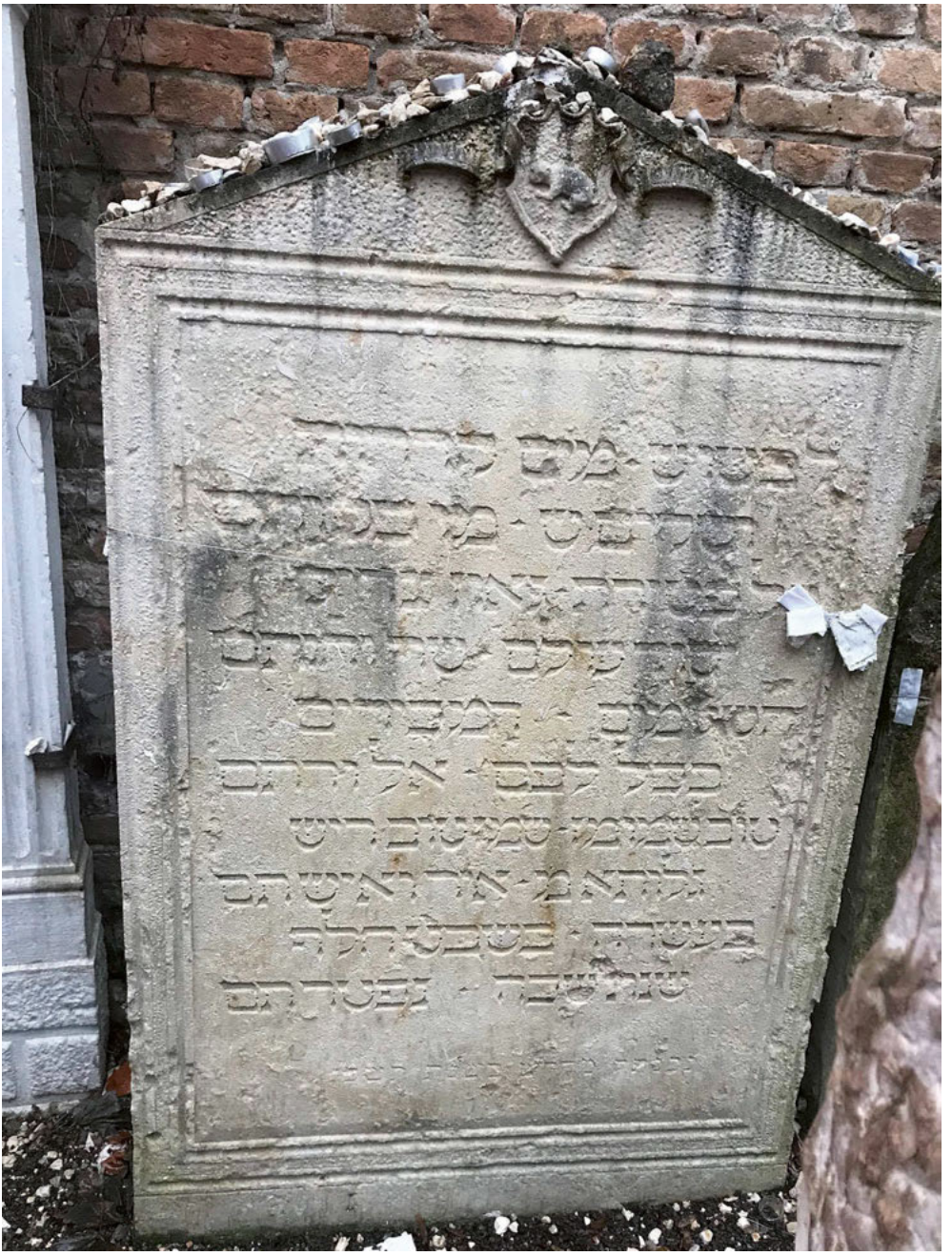

Fig. 1: Meir Katzenellenbogen tombstone, 1565, Padua, San Leonardo Jewish cemetery.

The first story was recounted by Rabbi Meir Katzenellenbogen, the Maharam of Padua (1473–1565), who wrote:

> And now let me tell you what happened here in Padua in the time of the Elder, ›Light of the Diaspora‹, our Rabbi Judah Minz … There lived in the town a wealthy and powerful man, named Herz Wertheim, who was well known in town, and who was always at odds with our renowned Rabbi, Judah Minz and his son, my father-in-law, Rabbi Abraham Minz. He [Wertheim] commissioned a beautiful *parokhet*, adorned with pearls and embroidered with the figure of a deer which was his *arme* [coat-of-arms], and the image protruded because of the pearls, and which he intended to hang in the synagogue during the festivals. The Elder [Rabbi Minz] protested against this, but he [Wertheim], because of his great wealth and power, was not afraid to have a fight with the Rabbi. Being so wealthy, he found rabbis who assisted him by finding proof from the Talmud to allow him to go ahead and hang the curtain in the synagogue. The Elder left the synagogue in anger, and much infighting was caused by this. And in my time, the heirs of the afore mentioned Herz wanted to place the curtain in the synagogue but did not want to do it without my permission, and I ordered them to cover this figure with paper, and they agreed. Blessed are they and blessed is their judgement.

Apparently, Rabbi Minz's firm opposition and subsequently the Maharam's was based on an evident halachic interpretation: Since the embroidery was made with pearls and thus protruded, it was obviously considered an offense against the Second Commandment.

In the »classical« description by Maimonides of the difference between a sunken image and a protruding image, the use of the latter, while in principle forbidden, was nevertheless permitted for decorative purposes, with the addition that »images of cattle and all other living beings, with the exception of man, and forms of trees, grasses, and similar things can be formed, even if the image is in relief.« Rabbi Minz thus chose to be extremely strict in this case, though opinions varied on this question within the rabbinic milieu, as evident in the Maharam's own account; but he could have based his decision on the argument – often also given by other rabbis – that it was strictly forbidden to pray in front of any images, as they either divert the faithful from their prayers and thoughts of God, or create a false impression among gentiles that Jews worship idols – the latter point being especially pertinent in this case, with the curtain in question destined for *aron-ha-kodesh*, in which direction Jews would bow down in prayer.

Shalom Sabar, who cited this story in his article on Leone da Modena and visual art, justly noted that its importance lies in providing an account of both new developing trends within the cultural and artistic world of Italian Jewry during the Renaissance, and the difficulties therein encountered by Ashkenazi Jews, who had always been more conservative and literal in their interpretations than their Sephardic or Italian brethren. However, I disagree with his assumption that it was Wertheim's wish to adopt the gentiles' custom of bearing a coat-of-arms that was opposed by the rabbis; for beyond the halachic reasons already given, the rabbis could also have seen this as a negative influence of the period's Christian society. Firstly, there is no indication in the text that rabbis opposed the coat-of-arms itself; apparently, they objected only to its placement, given the form in which it was made, within the synagogue. Secondly, it would have been strange, at the very least, for such a severe persecutor of gentiles' customs to have been

buried under a gravestone adorned with the family's armorial shield. Indeed, the Maharam's tomb, with his canting arms depicting a cat (*Katzenellenbogen* means »cat's elbow«), can still be seen in the San Leonardo Jewish cemetery in Padua. So apparently the point of controversy was not heraldry itself, but rather the admissibility of images in places of prayer, where Rabbi Minz and subsequently the Maharam chose to be as strict as possible.

In fact, Wertheim's story was told by the Maharam in relation to another case apropos of which his advice – as well as that of other known rabbinical authorities of the time, notably Rabbi Joseph Caro and Rabbi David ibn Abi Zimra (Radbaz) – had been demanded by Rabbi Eliah Capsali of Crete (1483–1555). The controversy that arose within the Jewish community of Candia is recounted in *Responsa Radbaz*:

Fig. 2: Replica of the Familiy Crest of the Shaltiels of Crete from the 16th Century, Heraklion Archaeological Museum.

> There was an incident in Candia involving Reuben who plastered the synagogue, whitewashed it, and repaired it beautifully. He wanted to write his name and those of his ancestors on the highest point of the ark and to bask in reflected glory. Not only this, but he was extremely haughty, and wanted to place his family coat-of-arms, called *arma* in the vernacular, which was in the form of a lion with a crown upon his head, above the ark. Not only this, but he wanted to make it an actual golem in relief, and he took a piece of marble and commissioned artists to make him an idol in the form of a gilt lion >with the crown of royalty on its head.< He was prepared to place it on the upper part of the ark, at its highest point opposite the worshippers. He also had carved on a piece of marble, >so-and-so, son of so-and so, the great scholar.< The congregation, when they heard of this evil matter, mourned and attempted with all their might and force to prevent Reuben from [carrying out] this sinful deed. Since this Reuben was close to the king, he paid no attention. They were compelled to spend a large sum of money and prevented him with the backing of government officials … They asked us if this matter is permissible or forbidden.

All of the rabbis were unanimous in their decision that this matter was indeed forbidden. The Maharam, recounting the story of Wertheim's *parokhet*, urged his Cretan brethren »not to allow such a profanation«. Joseph Caro reported his concern about having such an image fall in the direction to which the holy congregation would bow in prayer, not to mention his anger at the arrogance of someone seeking to boast and praise himself before the Lord. Yet he did not say anything specific concerning the coat-of-arms itself. The only rabbi who commented on it was the Radbaz, who wrote a diffuse response abounding in the usual arguments against protruding images in general and a crowned lion in particular; but what is especially remarkable is that he also added some words on heraldry – or at least on figurative heraldic images:

> It is a practice of those who worship signs and constellations that they draw the zodiac sign they worship in all their places of habitation and dwellings, in their houses of prayer, in their places of assembly, on their doorways, and on their flags ... If so, all Jews who draw such images on the entrance to their homes, on their arms, or in any place in their country, violate the commandment ›you shall [not] follow their laws‹ since they show themselves to be under the rule of the ... [gentile god]."

It is however curious that the response of the Radbaz – who had left his native Spain at the age of thirteen, to never again reside in Europe, the »heraldic zone« – perfectly conformed not only to the letter of Jewish law – which, as we have seen, could have been interpreted in quite different ways – but also to common practices within the land of Egypt, where he was living at the time: his attitude towards images, even stricter than those of the other rabbis, was most likely influenced by the Moslem milieu in which he lived.

In any case, the problem with the carved lion obviously did not lie in any heraldic sphere, but rather in a more »material« one: the protruding image was considered inappropriate when placed above the ark, and the arrogance of the donor too great. Clive Cheesman, in his article identifying the coat-of-arms in question with the armorial relief of Don Shealtiel Hen (now in the Heraklion Archaeological Museum), is certainly correct in concluding that: »in trying to have his beautiful heraldic carving and its now lost genealogical counterpart set up inside the synagogue above the ark, he [Don Shealtiel Hen] was going one step, or possibly two steps, too far.«

The »heraldic« issues recounted in both stories appear to have been primarily a matter of context, having nothing to do with the (presumed) opposition of conservative rabbis to the heraldic practice then starting to spread widely among the Jews. It seems that these stories rather reveal attempts to define and preserve some other limits within a changing world, namely attempts to regulate the emerging problem of the admissibility of images within places of worship. This problem had already surfaced from time to time throughout the long Jewish history of Europe but would become increasingly topical in Renaissance Italy. Furthermore, one cannot underestimate the importance of such stories for the study of Jewish heraldry, as they provide us with valuable material on the role and function of arms as seen through Jewish eyes; they also demonstrate that such arms went far beyond mere signs of ownership or a vain desire to imitate the nobility. This desire to install a coat-of-arms in such a highly visible location, in the very centre of the community's gatherings, testifies not only to the donor's ambitions, but also

to the fact that the Jewish conception of heraldry was not much different from the European one: arms were regarded as a symbolic alter ego, a sign of pride and self-esteem.

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Heraldry and the Discourse on Spiritual Nobility

The Trinity Adored by Saints Justa and Rufina, Philip IV, the Queen, and the Count and Countess of Olivares (1627)

José Antonio Guillén Berrendero

Political images circulated continuously during the Modern Age and although much remains to be studied – from the perspective of authorship and cultural, political, and eschatological contexts – they enjoyed a broad audience and were clearly understood in their day. These images were very often enhanced by the presence of heraldry and the armorial bearings of kings, noblemen, or ecclesiastical officials. Similarly, religious images were a fitting instrument for symbolically ›conquering‹ the political itineraries of the incipient Modern Age. The image analysed here illustrates the powerful connection between the armorial bearings of a nobleman (the coat of arms of the Count of Olivares), the image of martyred saints Justa and Rufina, the Trinity, and the royal arms of Philip IV. The symbiosis between political and religious imagery in this heraldic print is closely related to forms of Catholic iconography that were deployed as a defence against Protestant iconoclasm. They should be linked to the economy of images and the shaping of a specific intertwined imagery of Catholicism and power. Two iconographic and political phenomena, nobility and religion, were much discussed during the Modern Age, and coats of arms, prints, and iconic imagery related to these topics circulated recurrently throughout all the realms of the Spanish monarchy, inside and outside of Europe.

In prints of Olivares, his coat of arms is often adorned with various allegorical elements which refer to the characteristic virtues of the nobility and to the centrality of his power as *valido*. Minerva, Hercules, Fame, Glory, and the virtues of Justice, Fortitude, and Prudence commonly appear alongside the cauldrons, serpents, and ermines as iconographic representations of the longevity of his lineage. Olivarist heraldry did not attempt to conceal political ambitions, but rather amplified them.

Francisco de Herrera's etching *The Trinity adored by Saints Justa and Rufina, Philip IV and the Queen, and the Count and Countess Olivares* (1627) shows Olivares praying beside the young King, with Olivares's wife similarly depicted at prayer beside the Queen (fig. 1). The favourite's coat of arms likewise appears twice, on each side of the etching above the heads of the pairs of figures. The depiction of the celestial court stresses the old idea of Providentialism of which Olivares was so fond. The royal arms above the Trinity are flanked by the pair of Olivares'

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Fig. 1: Francisco de Herrera, *The Trinity adored by Saints Justa and Rufina, Philip IV and the Queen, and the Count and Countess of Olivares*, 1627, engraving and etching, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

heraldic symbols, in which the coronet is topped by a dragon. Writing in 1622, Alonso López de Haro described the coat of arms of the house of the Count of Olivares as follows:

>[...] el escudo de sus armas que son dos calderas jaqueladas de oro y sangre en campo azul y en los ángulos del escudo, diez armiños negros en campo de plata; orla de castillos y leones de los colores reales como aquí van estampadas, que son castillos de oro, campo roxo, leones púrpuras, campo de plata< (López de Haro 1622, 169).

>[...] the shield of his arms which are two chequy cauldrons of gold and blood-red on a blue field and, at the edges of the shield, ten black ermines on a silver field; bordure of castles and lions in the royal colours as pictured here, which are castles of gold on a red field, purple lions on a silver field<.

The shield is emblazoned with the cross of the knightly order of Alcántara, which was bestowed on Olivares in 1625, as well as the cross of the Trinitarians, whose convent was dedicated to Saints Justa and Rufina. Currently, it is stated that the Cross is not the one of Alcántara but of that of the Guzmán family or Santo Domingo de Guzmán (Olmos 2021, 16). The two heavenly angels carry cartouches that bear the mottoes *Oliva fructífera in domo Dei* (the angel above the *valido*) which, as we will later see, is repeated, and *Insertus in bonam olivam* (above the *valido*'s wife) (Romans 11, 24).

A number of elements deserve consideration. Firstly, we are dealing with a double family portrait: of the royal couple (Philip IV and the queen) as well as of Olivares and his wife, Inés de Zúñiga y Velasco. This print is a portrait of both political and religious entities and it is no coincidence that it was a gift to the *valido* from the Trinitarians of Andalusia. As Víctor Mínguez has pointed out, the composition has a hierarchic and pyramidal structure (Mínguez 2010, 90), with the Trinity in the centre. Such a compositional scheme is by no means novel in itself. However, the repetition of the Count of Olivares' heraldic elements and the presence of the respective angels gazing at the Guzmán arms warrant special attention.

One of the most significant known works – although it was never printed – written on the Guzmán family is the *Epitome de las historias de la Gran Casa de Guzmán*, penned by Juan Alonso Martínez Calderón in 1638 as a tribute to Don Gaspar de Guzmán. The text, richly adorned with armorial bearings and engravings of the *valido*'s forebears, traces the family genealogy back to the count-duke's first ancestor, though when blazoning his arms it states that:

›Don Gaspar de Guzman, Conde-duque de Olivares, 20 nieto del rey Gurban [...] vsa las mismas armas de su padre y abuelo añadiendo una orla y por timbre un rótulo Philipe 4º munificencia y la condesa y duquesa [...]‹ (Martínez Calderón n.d).

›Don Gaspar de Guzman, Count-Duke of Olivares, 20th-generation descendent of King Gurban [...] uses the same arms as his father and grandfather, adding a bordure and as a crest a motto Philip IV munificence and the countess and duchess [...]‹.

The coat of arms is thus embellished with the classical *munificence*. The political governance of the Spanish monarchy during Olivares's term as *valido* used discursive devices of this type which were conducive to a particular understanding of power. The image of the count-duke's coat of arms uses and adapts heraldic art to create a specific political space: Olivares is presented as the dual product of his noble status and the king's generosity. The sovereign's largesse and liberality also extend to the *valido*, in a novel form of heraldic representation which grants armorial bearings the full force of an apparatus (Agamben 2009). If we accept that any cultural artefact is a mechanism (Martos 2014, 122), during the Modern Age heraldry shaped a phenomenon which proved to be an essential underpinning of the social system, as it combined earlier cultural systems with seventeenth-century visual needs. This, applied to the *validos*, no doubt entailed a form of conveying the multidimensionality of these figures in the political, symbolic, and material spheres, as it made it possible to single out their political *devices* within the various spheres of power and their representation. In addition, the heraldry of royal favourites had a more than evident component of self-awareness.

The term *representation* as defined by Roger Chartier (1989) takes on a new meaning in connection with the use of armorial bearings and all the paraphernalia of contributory elements in the image analysed here. For the European monarchic states of the Modern Age, heraldry was a fundamental and by no means accessory resource. The positioning of Olivares's coat of arms alongside the king's was designed to underline the central role the *valido* played on the political scene where faith, politics, and loyalty were linked in a relationship of mutual protection.

In the epitaphs which the dramatist Francisco de Rojas composed for Enrique de Guzmán (the *valido*'s father) and dedicated to Olivares as patron and protector of the Order of Trinitarians of Andalusia, the conceptual repertoire is fairly evident. These tributes were paid on 3 November 1624 and published in Seville that year. The Trinitarian's dedication to the *valido*

refers to ›[…] la más frondosa Oliva que veneraron Andaluzes‹ (›the leafiest Olive revered by Andalusians‹) (fig. 2).

The use of olive branches and their association with the family tradition of the count-duke was recurrent. The Guzmán family as an integral part of political life in Andalusia and its heraldic expression is referred to in hundreds of pictorial and literary documents, creating a conceptual hierarchy which conveys the idea of the *valido*'s singularity. In the famous *Triumph of Philip IV* tapestry in Juan Bautista Maino's painting of *The Recapture of Bahía de Todos los Santos* (1634–35), we find a symbolic composition that borrows the central element of the iconography of Don Gaspar de Guzmán: the olive branch. In the case of the tapestry, the olive branch ›encloses‹ the unsheathed sword establishing a continuous link between the glories of the *valido* and the monarchy, and the excellence of the Guzmán bloodline. The print analysed here displays two angels bearing cartouches on which we read the two well-known biblical passages referring to the ›good olive‹: *Oliva fructifera in domo Dei* (Psalm 51) and *Insertus in bonam olivam* (Romans 11). The link between text and image has always posed difficulties when interpreting heraldry as a language. In the print of the Trinity, the *valido*, still a count, is presented as a benefactor of the martyred saints and represents the significant involvement of the house of Olivares-Guzmán in political life in Andalusia. This symbiotic relationship can be traced in some of the texts in Francisco de Rojas's abovementioned work:

Fig. 2: Francisco de Rojas, *Epitafios a los excelsos túmulos que la inclita familia de Redemptores de la orden de la Santísima Trinidad erigió en las exequias del S. D. Enrique de Guzmán Conde de Olivares,* Sevilla 1624.

Entre tantas divisas, y blasones/La Cruz roja, y azul, está excelen te/Cercada de Castillo, y Leones,/ del escudo en lugar más eminente:/Será terror de bárbaras naciones/Desta progenie, el claro descenciente,/Y su insitnia por tierras, y por mars,/ Dirá quien es la casa de Oivares/

Comparo yo nuestra familia, al Arca, [...]/ Si bien la gloria en pena tan esquiva,/Fue Paloma, con la verde Oliva. (Rojas 1624, f. 6r.v).

Among so many badges and coats of arms/The red and blue cross excels/Surrounded by castles and lions/ in the most prominent place on the shield:/He shall be the terror of barbaric nations/Illustrious descendent/of this lineage/And his insignia on land and on sea/shall tell of who the house of Olivares is/I compare our family to the Ark,[...] Though the glory, so elusive in hardship,/was the dove, with the green olive branch.

Similarly, the shield with the chequy cauldrons and the saltier ermines represented ›Las dos Olivas los Valientes soles/De V. Excelencia Sacros ascendiente‹ (›The two olives the valiant suns/sacred ancestor of Your Excellency‹) (Rojas 1624, f. 15r.). The origin of the styling of the Guzmán family as the ›Light of Spain‹ was unclear. There was a debate regarding the family's foundational myths between some authors who claimed it descended from Guademaro, a king of the Goths, and those who argued it originated from Saint Dominic de Guzmán (Pedro Jerónimo Aponte, XVII and Luis Salazar y Castro, 1751).

One of the most illustrious chroniclers of Spain, Ambrosio de Morales wrote: »Y aunque no lo hubiera tenido sino solo su padre del glorioso padre santo Domingo, fundador de la orden de los frayles predicadores, que se llamaba don Félix de Guzmán, fuera un muy esclarecido testimonio. Y de allí parece que se continuó con tanto como vemos el bendito nombre del Santo mártir en este tan incluso linaje«(Morales 1574, 334).

Olivares as the descendent of a saint and protector of the Trinitarians is shown protected by two martyred saints and an example of stoicism as a form of resistance against the tragedy – another of the characteristics that were attributed to Olivares, the very image of Seneca.

We may conclude that in this composition the *valido*'s coat of arms was, by definition, an abstraction of the image of a body, a set of characteristics which, thanks to the attributions of the *scientia* of heraldry, attains communicational perfection. The coat of arms, taken in its conceptual and symbolic sense, is an exclusive preserve of the chosen and does not merely express their courtly and political vicissitudes. These coats of arms speak to us in genealogical-political terms and make up a sort of ›dynastic face‹ (Expression used by Chastellain and quoted by Belting 2007, 150) which, in the case of both men, can be interpreted in its unquestionable political sense. These arguments can furthermore be applied to the various tributes that were paid to them during their political tenure and can even take on a religious dimension, as in works by preachers belonging to Olivares's circle, such as *El Daniel cortesano en Babilonia* (Madrid, 1644) and *El Josué esclarecido caudillo, vencedor de reyes y gentes* (Madrid, 1653) by Father José Laínez.

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Olga Karaskova-Hesry is a medievalist and an art historian based in Paris. She has a PhD from the Université de Lille, her thesis subject being "Marie de Bourgogne et le Grand Héritage : l'iconographie princière face aux défis d'un pouvoir en transition (1477–1530)". Her current research focuses on heraldic practices amongst Italy's Jews, from the Middle Ages to the modern era, and aims to re-examine the role of historical memory, religious beliefs and cultural transfers in redefining a minority's identity within European society.

Barbara Karl (karl.barbara@gmail.com) is an art historian and museum curator. She is head of research and deputy director of Ballenberg the Swiss open-air museum. She has carried out research projects at MAK-Museum für angewandte Kunst/Vienna, the Warburg Institute in London, Bard Graduate Center in New York, the Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa and the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Vienna. The topics of her studies have focused on the collecting history of the Austrian Habsburgs and the Medici in Florence. She portrayed the collections in the context of intercultural exchange during an age of proto globalisation – the early modern period. At the same time, she looked specifically at some types of artefacts as cultural mediators of forms, styles and techniques that were produced in the context of the Iberian expansion in South Asia for the European market. Focussing on the Early Modern Period up to the early 20th century, she has published 2 books and numerous articles on Indian textiles for the European market, merchants as agents of cultural transfer, the influence of India on European material culture, collecting of Islamicate Art in Medici Florence and Habsburg Vienna and Ottoman textiles.

Since 2022, **Gregor von Kerssenbrock-Krosigk** (gregor.krosigk@gmail.com) has been studying art history and philosophy at the University of Basel. He completed his bachelor degree at the University of Bern with a thesis on the dedication miniatures of the so-called Egmond

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Urte Krass (urte.krass@unibe.ch) is Professor of Early Modern Art History at the University of Bern, Switzerland. Her research focuses on political iconography, the material culture of Christian sainthood, as well as on early modern transcultural negotiation processes via artifacts and images. Krass is the author of »Nah zum Leichnam. Bilder neuer Heiliger im Quattrocento« (Berlin/Munich 2012), »The Portuguese Restoration of 1640 and Its Global Visualization« (Amsterdam 2023), and editor of »Visualizing Portuguese Power. The Political Use of Images in Portugal and Its Overseas Empire (16th to 18th Century)« (Zurich/Berlin 2017). She is currently conducting several collaborative projects, one of which is an interdisciplinary co-edited book that focuses on Baroque Ritual and Theatricality in Cochin. Her SNF funded project »Global Bones« investigates Christian relics and their entangled histories of transfer and translation within the globalization processes of the 15th to 17th centuries.

Carlos López-Fanjul de Argüelles (clfanjul@ucm.es) is doctor *ingeniero agrónomo* from the Universidad Politécnica de Madrid, doctor of philosophy, and doctor of science from the University of Edinburgh, and Emeritus Professor of Genetics at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid. His heraldic research focuses on the origins and evolution of heraldry in Asturias (*Aguilas, lises y palmerines*, Oviedo, 2008), and on 16th-century Spanish heraldry, particularly on the arms granted by the Crown to the conquistadors, native chieftains, and newly founded towns in America; the armorial coats displayed by the characters of the Spanish romances of chivalry (*Libros de Caballerías*), and the fictional shields paraded by the participants in tournaments.

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Ricardo Roque, historian and social anthropologist, is Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of Social Sciences of the University of Lisbon (ICS-ULisboa) and Honorary Associate in the Department of History of the University of Sydney. He has published widely on the history of race, science, and colonial empires, and on the theory and ethnography of colonial archives and museum collections. He is the author of *Antropologia e Império* (2001) and *Headhunting and Colonialism* (2010). Recent co-edited books include *Luso-tropicalism and Its Discontents* (2019), *Crossing Histories and Ethnographies* (2019) and *States of Imitation* (2020). At ICS-ULisboa he currently coordinates the research group *Empires, Colonialism, and Postcolonial Societies* (www.gi-imperios.org/blog/) and was the chief investigator of the FCT-funded project entitled *Indigenous Colonial Archives: Micro-histories and Comparisons*(www.indico.ics.ulisboa.pt).

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oriental sign system«). His research focuses on the sign systems of the Islamic world, especially the sign known as the *rank*, which was used by of the Mamluk sultans and emirs. He is an associated member and the treasurer of the Académie internationale d'héraldique.

Sasha Rossman (sasha.rossman@gmail.com) is currently a post-doctoral researcher at the University of Bern's Institute for Art History and also teaches art history at the University of Bielefeld. His work focuses on material culture, particularly furniture. He completed his PhD at the University of California, Berkeley with a thesis that he is currently preparing for publication entitled, »On the Table: Episodes in the Political Life of an Early Modern Object«. His current research focuses on the roles of doubles and copies in museums, both in historical perspective and in relation to current debates over restitution and repatriation.

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Alberto Saviello (alberto.saviello@unibe.ch; saviello.alberto@gmail.com) is postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Institute for Art History at the University of Bern and a lecturer at the Goethe University Frankfurt in the Department of Religious Studies. His research is dedicated to the role of visual media and artefacts in cultural and religious negotiation processes. Following his dissertation »Bildliche Darstellungen des Propheten Mohammed im west-europäischen Buchdruck bis ins 19. Jahrhundert« (Berlin/München/Boston 2015), his research has focused on the missionary art and its adaptations in South Asia in the 16th and 17th centuries. From 2018 to 2021 he curated the first special exhibition »Terrible Beauty. Elephant – Human – Ivory« at the Humboldt Forum in Berlin. Other areas of work include the dissemination of Christian relics during early modern Christian expansion and the collections and exhibitions of non-Christian artefacts created by Christian missionary orders in Europe.

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tugal, 2019; *Heraldry in Medieval and Early Modern State-Rooms – towards a tipology of heraldic programmes in spaces of self-representation*, 2021; and *State-Rooms of Royal and Princely Palaces (14th–16th centuries): Spaces, Images, Rituals*, 2022. He was president of the Portuguese Heraldry Institute and director of the heraldic journal *Armas e Troféus* from 2010 to 2021.

Julia Strobel (julia.strobel@unibe.ch) studied art history and World Arts & Music at the University of Bern. During her studies, she focused on the circulation of objects in the early modern period. For her article *Der Elefantenstuhl aus den Knochen Süleymans – Lücken innerhalb des Provenienznarrativs*, she won the annual VKKS Förderpreis award in 2019. In her master thesis, she examined how the Inuit transformed certain pocket watches carried to the Arctic by members of the third Franklin expedition in the mid-19th century. In conjunction with this research, she created the blog A Matter of Time, in which she published some parts of her research. Her interest lies currently in 19th century Switzerland and colonial objects in Swiss school collections. She is currently a PhD student at the Institute of Art History at the University of Bern.

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Nicolai Kölmel

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Alberto Saviello

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Barbara Karl

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Urte Krass

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CONNECTING EARTH AND HEAVEN

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HERALDIC STUDIES 5

Urte Krass /
Miguel Metelo de Seixas (eds.)
Heraldry in Contact
Perspectives and
Challenges of a
Connective Image Form

In this volume, we follow the coat of arms into situations and zones of contact. Since inception, communication has been in the very nature of the heraldic phenomenon. Hence its remarkable ability to adapt to the circumstances that, from the 15th century onwards, brought populations from all over the world into contact. Our overarching question serves as an attempt to learn more about the modalities of negotiation in contact zones. To what extent were local actors able to develop their own attitude towards invasive and invading colonizers and missionaries by adopting and transforming the European image form of the coat of arms? This departure point leads even further: to think of heraldic emblems as a visual instrument capable of establishing communication not only between different cultures, but also between different eras, and even between the human and divine spheres. The book's interdisciplinarity, the temporal breadth of the collected case studies, and the variety of methodological approaches reflect the dynamism and diversity of the topic itself.

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