

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

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# Heraldic Studies

Edited by Torsten Hiltmann and Laurent Hablot

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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 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-



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 led 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 unmistakably, 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).

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-



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



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

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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**Laurent Hablot** (laurent.hablot@ephe.psl.eu) was born in 1972. After teaching in Poitiers, attached to the Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale, he is now director of studies in the 4th section of the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes – Paris Sciences et Lettres, holder of the Western Emblematic conference. Author of several works on the subject including a Manual of heraldry and medieval emblematic (Tours, 2019) and a hundred articles (academia.edu), he defended in 2001 a thesis devoted to the badges and the emblems of princes in Europe at the end of the Middle Ages, and, in 2015, his habilitation to direct research on the practice of sharing coats of arms in the Middle Ages. Today he is continuing his research on signs of identity, their uses and functions in medieval society, notably around questions of he-



raldic law and the analysis of different representation systems such as the crest, signs of military recognition, the signs of function and power. He is also the coordinator of the online databases ARMMA (Armorial monumental of the Middle Ages), SIGILLA (database of seals kept in France) and DEVISE and bearer of the E-SIGNA program, portal of the medieval emblematic.

**Julia E. Hartmann** (j\_hart20@uni-muenster.de) is a Master student of history at Münster University, Germany. She has successfully completed her Master's thesis on early modern diplomacy and Tudor history: »Ambassador against her will? Catherine of Aragon amidst the field of tension between England and the Spanish kingdoms«. Her other research focuses on the Japanese >coats of arms<, i.e. *mon* (紋). She has written a book review (in *The Coats of Arms*, 2019) and several articles (on *Heraldica nova*) on this subject, most prominently »The Japanese *Mon* and the European Coats of Arms – A Comparative Study«, published in the heraldic journal *Armas e Troféus*. Since 2020 she has dedicated her research to Japanese-Dutch relations in a heraldic context. She has also coordinated the editing of the Thorbecke Heraldic Studies Series, Volume 3, »Heraldry in Medieval and Early Modern State Rooms«, published by Torsten Hiltmann and Miguel Metelo de Seixas in 2020 and is currently preparing the forthcoming Heraldic Studies volume »Heraldry in the City. The Case of Italy in its European Context« (eds. Torsten Hiltmann and Laurent Hablot).

**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 20<sup>th</sup> 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

Gospels. During his studies in Bern, he worked as a student assistant for Prof. Urte Krass and for the ERC project *Global Horizons*, led by Prof. Beate Fricke. After internships at the Wallraf Richartz Museum in Cologne and the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz – Max-Planck-Institut, he now works as a student assistant for the SNF-Ambizione project *Healing Arts*, led by Dr. Theresa Holler at the University of Basel.

**Tamara Kobel** (tamara.kobel@unibe.ch) received her BA from the University of Zurich and completed an MA in Curatorial Studies at the University of Bern, where she also worked as tutor and student assistant in the Department of Early Modern Art. In addition to studying the art of medieval and early modern Northern Europe, she was also recently involved in curatorial work at the Kunstmuseum Bern, where she assisted on an exhibition of Bernese baroque and contributed to its accompanying catalogue (*Der Weg zum Glück – Die Berner Kebes-Tafel und die Bilderwelten des Barock*). Her master's thesis focuses on the oeuvre of the Bernese artist Wilhelm Stettler within the artistic and political landscape of seventeenth-century Europe. Within the project "Global Bones", led by Urte Krass and funded by the SNSF, she will pursue her PhD project investigating the transfer and translation processes of Christian relics in the Viceroyalty of New Spain and Peru in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

**Nicolai Kölmel** (nicolai.koelmel@unibas.ch) is a Research Fellow at the University of Basel, Switzerland. He is currently involved in the edition of the complete works of Jacob Burckhardt (JBW) and is working on Burckhardt's lecture »*Culturgeschichte des Mittelalters*«. His research focuses on transcultural phenomena from the late Middle Ages to the 19th century, concentrating on material culture, the history of objects, and in particular the role of artefacts in the formation of pre-modern societies. He has published various articles, book chapters and catalogue entries on these topics. (e.g. »*Verdinglichte Weltmacht. Ein Prunkhelm Sultan Süleymans zwischen Istanbul, Wien und Venedig im 16. Jahrhundert*«, in: Edlmann-Singer, B. and Ehrich, S. (eds.): *Sprechende Objekte. Materielle Kultur und Stadt zwischen Antike und Früher Neuzeit*. Regensburg 2021. His book entitled »*Geteilte Vorstellungen. Venedig zwischen Levante, Lagune und >terra ferma< 1453–1600*« will be published in late 2023.

**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 15<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> 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 16<sup>th</sup>-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.

**Raphaële Preisinger** (raphaele.preisinger@khist.uzh.ch) is Assistant Professor and Principal Investigator of the research project *Global Economies of Salvation. Art and the Negotiation of Sanctity in the Early Modern Period* funded by the ERC and the SNSF at the University of Zurich. Her research centers on the global circulation of images and objects in the early modern period, as well as on image and piety in medieval Europe and beyond. Her first book is titled *>Lignum vitae<. Zum Verhältnis materieller Bilder und mentaler Bildpraxis im Mittelalter* (Wilhelm Fink: 2014). She is the editor of the volume *Medieval Art at the Intersection of Visuality and Material Culture. Studies in the >Semantics of Vision<* (Brepols: 2021). She is presently preparing a second book provisionally titled *The Destruction of the Idols and the Emergence of the Christian Cult Image in New Spain: (Re)Framing Sacred Objects in the Age of Early European Expansion*.

**Antoine Robin** (robin.antoine01@gmail.com) is a doctoral student at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes and a researcher at the Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art. As part of his thesis, he is currently conducting research on the political functions and artistic particularities of princely monumental heraldry in the Duchy of Bourbon between the 14<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries.

**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/](http://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](http://www.indico.ics.ulisboa.pt)).

**Simon Rousselot** (simon.rousselot@gmail.com) has a PhD in Medieval history from the École Pratique des Hautes Études (Paris). He successfully defended a thesis about Mamluk emblems entitled «Les emblèmes mamelouks (648/1250-923/1517). Étude d'un système emblématique proche-oriental médiéval» («Mamluk emblems (648/1250-923/1517). A study of a medieval

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.

**Pedro Sameiro** (a.pedrosameiro@gmail.com) was born in 1945, in Portugal. He graduated in Law from the Law Faculty of the Universidade Clássica de Lisboa. He worked as a legal adviser in banks and financial institutions. Having developed an interest in Genealogy and Heraldry, however, he published several works on the subject. He is a member and the honorary President of the Instituto Português de Heráldica, as well as, a member of Academia de Marinha, Académie Internationale d'Héraldique, Societa Italiana de Studi Araldici, correspondent member of Academia Matritense de Genealogia y Heraldica, to name a few. He was also former Vice-President of the Confédération Internationale de Généalogie et Héraldique.

**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 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> 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.

**Miguel Metelo de Seixas** (miguelmeteloseixas@fcsh.unl-pt) is a researcher at the Institute for Medieval Studies / NOVA-FCSH and teaches Portuguese Medieval History at the same University. His research focuses on the study of heraldry as an instrument of self-representation and political communication, from a diachronic point of view and privileging transdisciplinary perspectives. He has coordinated the project »In the Service of the Crown. The use of heraldry in royal political communication in Late Medieval Portugal« (2015–2018), and participated in many financed projects in Brazil, France, Germany, Portugal, and Spain. De Seixas has been visiting professor at the École Pratique des Hautes Études and at the universities Federal da Bahia, Poitiers, Firenze, Viterbo, and Roma III and has published nearly one hundred works (including books, edited books, book chapters, articles, catalogues, and reviews), including *Heráldica, Representação do Poder e Memória da Nação*, 2011; *Quinas e Castelos, Sinais de Por-*

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**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 Elefantentuhl 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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*Louis Urbano Afonso and Miguel Metelo de Seixas*

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Figure 2: The Catholic Kings' coat of arms, badges and motto »Tanto Monta«. Detail of Afro-Portuguese Oliphant. Sierra Leone, ivory, c. 1500 (Provincial Museum of Pontevedra, Pontevedra, inv. 13.289).

Figure 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, ivory with later additions in metal (Museum of the Instituto Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid, inv. 4.873).

Figure 4: Portuguese royal coat of arms with a plain label of three points. Powder flask adapted from an earlier Afro-Portuguese Oliphant. Sierra Leone, c. 1500, ivory with later additions in metal (Museum of the Instituto Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid, inv. 4.873).

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

*Francesco Gusella*

Figure 1: The Cup of Constantino de Braganza, 1560s, Portuguese India (cup) and Flanders (mounting), rhino horn with low-relief carvings, silver mounting with enamel medallions, inv. no. AM10350 1870, National Museum of Capodimonte, Naples, Italy, under concession of Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali e per il Turismo – Museo e Real Bosco di Capodimonte (© Luciano Pedicini).

Figure 2: Neptune and Doris side, scheme of the iconographic details. Graphic elaboration by Fabio Baldo, architecture and design (fabio.bld@gmail.com).

Figure 3: Venus side, scheme of the iconographic details. Graphic elaboration by Fabio Baldo, architecture and design (fabio.bld@gmail.com).

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

**Sasha Rossman**

Figure 1: Detail of the Eglantine Table, 1567, oak tree, High Great Chamber at Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire (© National Trust Images/John Hammond).

Figure 2: Detail of the Eglantine Table, 1567, oak tree, High Great Chamber at Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire (© National Trust Images/John Hammond).

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

Figure 4: Detail of the Eglantine Table, 1567, oak tree, High Great Chamber at Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire (© National Trust Images/John Hammond).

Figure 5: Detail of the Eglantine Table, 1567, oak tree, High Great Chamber at Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire (© National Trust Images/John Hammond).

## PERFORMATIVE OBJECTS AND TRANSCULTURAL ACTORS

### Nasrid Emblems on a *jinet*a Sword of the Fifteenth Century

*Simon Rousselot*

Figure 1: *Jineta* sword, 15<sup>th</sup> century, steel, leather, enamel, vermeil, 95 cm (Paris, BnF, département Monnaies, médailles et antiques, Luynes.959).

Figure 2: The other side of the *jinet*a sword, 15<sup>th</sup> century, steel, leather, enamel, vermeil, 95 cm (Paris, BnF, département Monnaies, médailles et antiques, Luynes.959).

Figure 3: Handle of the *jinet*a sword, 15<sup>th</sup> century, steel, leather, enamel, vermeil, 95 cm (Paris, BnF, département Monnaies, médailles et antiques, Luynes.959).

Figure 4: The other side of the *jinet*a sword's handle, 15<sup>th</sup> century, steel, leather, enamel, vermeil, 95 cm (Paris, BnF, département Monnaies, médailles et antiques, Luynes.959).

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

*Hugo Miguel Crespo*

Figure 1: Cup made from carved rhinoceros horn, South China, c. 1600–1619, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. KK 3742 (© KHM-Museumsverband).

Figure 2: The other side of the rhinoceros horn cup, South China, c. 1600–1619, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. KK 3742 (© KHM-Museumsverband).

Figure 3: Seal from a Letter by Antão Vaz Freire to King Philip II of Portugal (Philipp III of Spain), 10<sup>th</sup> February 1616. Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisboa, Conselho Ultramarino, Índia, cx.6, doc. 32A (photo: Hugo Miguel Crespo).

Figure 4: Top view of the rhinoceros horn cup, South China, c. 1600–1619, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. KK 3742 (© KHM-Museumsverband).

Figure 5: Hieronymus Cock after Andrea del Sarto, *The Baptism of Christ*, 1553; engraving on paper, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. RP-P-OB-3071 (Courtesy of the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam).

### A Fleeting Heraldic Collaboration: The Huguenot Tapestry in Bern

*Tamara Kobel*

Figure 1 and 2: Pierre Mercier, Louis Mercier, Pierre Dixier and unknown, front and centre piece of the Huguenot tapestry, 1685–1688, silk and wool, 85 x 233 cm (centre piece), 80 x 85 cm (narrow sides), 80 x 233 cm (long sides), Bern, Bernisches Historisches Museum, Inv. Nr. 444 (photo: Stefan Rebsamen).

Figure 3: Pierre Mercier, Louis Mercier, Pierre Dixier and unknown, Top view of the Huguenot tapestry, 1685–1688, silk and wool, 85 x 233 cm (centre piece), 80 x 85 cm (narrow sides), 80 x 233 cm (long sides), Bern, Bernisches Historisches Museum, Inv. Nr. 444 (© Bernisches Historisches Museum).

Figure 4: Joseph Werner, Cartoon for the centre piece of the Huguenot tapestry, 1686, oil on paper, 87 x 240 cm, Bern, Bernisches Historisches Museum, Inv. Nr. 1957 (photo: Yvonne Hurni).

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

*Ricardo Roque*

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

## Inventing Tradition: Coats of Arms in Swiss Schools in the Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century

*Julia Strobel*

Figure 1: H. Baumann, *Die Wappen der Schweiz*, copied from a Coffee Hag Heraldry Book, date unknown, School Museum Amriswil (photo: Julia Strobel).

Figure 2: O. Kern, *Die Wappen der Schweiz*, cut in thirds, Coffee Hag Heraldry Book, volume 2, date unknown, School Museum Amriswil (photo: Julia Strobel).

Figure 3: Left: E. Baumann, Letter to the Municipality Council 1924 regarding the Coat of arms of Breitenbach, Staatsarchiv Solothurn (photo: Julia Strobel).

Right: Coffee Hag Heraldry Collector's Book, Coat of arms of Breitenbach, volume 12 D, after 1930, Kaffee Haag AG Feldmeilen Zürich, p.7.

Figure 4: B. Hurni, Coat of arms of Wangen b. Olten, January 1941 (photo: Julia Strobel).

## CROSS-CULTURAL LAYERINGS AND FUSIONS

### Imagining the Arms of the Ottoman Empire in Early Modern Europe

*Emir O. Filipović*

Figure 1: Fig. 1: Konrad Grünenberg, *Das Wappenbuch Conrads von Grünenberg, Ritters und Bürgers zu Constanz*, c. 1480, p. 72 (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München, Hss Cgm 145).

Figure 2: Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographia. Beschreibung aller Lender durch Sebastianum Münsterum*, Basel, 1544, p. 573 (ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, Rar 5716, <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-8833> / Public Domain Mark).

Figure 3: Equite Paulo Ritter, *Stemmatographia, sive armorum Illyricorum delineatio, descriptio, et restitutio*, Viennae, 1701 (NSK-ID 000873238, p. 53).

Figure 4: Ottoman Janissary military flag showing a double-pointed *zulfıqar*sword, captured in 1687 near Osijek in Croatia, Staatliche Kunstsammlung Dresden, Rüstkammer, D 0006 (photo: Elke Estel/Hans-Peter Kult).

Figure 5: Hristofor Žefarović, *Стематографија. Изображеније оружји илирических*, Vienna, 1741, p. 39.

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

*Nicolai Kölmel*

Figure 1: Ewer, late 15<sup>th</sup> century, brass, engraved and damascened with silver. H: 28.8 cm (Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Inv. No. 1910.343).

Figure 2: Bottom of the ewer, late 15<sup>th</sup> century, brass, engraved and damascened with silver. H: 28.8 cm (Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Inv. No. 1910.343).

Figure 3: Ewer, late 15<sup>th</sup> century, brass, engraved and inlaid with silver and black lacquer, H: 34 cm, Inv. No. M.32-1946 (© Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

Figure 4: Candlestick, 14<sup>th</sup> or 15<sup>th</sup> century, brass, engraved and inlaid with silver and gold and black lacquer, British Museum, Inv. No. 1878.1230.720 (© The Trustees of the British Museum).

## Hybrid Identity. A Sinhalese-Portuguese Coat of Arms on a 16<sup>th</sup> Century Ivory Casket from Sri Lanka

*Alberto Saviello*

Figure 1: Ivory casket, Kōtṭe, 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, I 9928).

Figure 2: Plaster copy after a limestone *padrão* raised by Diogo Cão in 1482 at the Cape of Santa Maria in Angola, 169 cm, copy: 1930s (Koninklijk Museum voor Midden-Afrika, Tervuren, Accession number H0.1932.752.1, © Marie-Lan Nguyen / Wikimedia Commons).

Figure 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, I 9928).

Figure 4: Figure of a soldier from *Hore beate Marie virginis ad usum fratrum*, Paris: Kerver 1542 (Staatsbibliothek Berlin, Dv 7620).

## Indian Textiles and Portuguese Heraldry

*Barbara Karl*

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

Figure 2: Fragment of colcha, India, 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> century, cotton and silk, 184 x 135 cm, Lisbon (© Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga).

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

*Urte Krass*

Figure 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, Ms Port 4666 (© 2018 President and Fellows of Harvard College).

Figure 2: Folio 8 from António Soares de Albergaria *Tropheos Lusitanos*, Lisbon: Jorge Rodriguez 1632 (© Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal).

Figure 3: Anonymous (south Germany), Woodcut showing the stigmata of Christ with the Christ child in the center, 1472, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. nr. 128-1 (© bpk / Kupferstichkabinett, SMB / Jörg P. Anders).

Figure 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, 1895.0122.11 (© The Trustees of the British Museum).

## 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*

Figure 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.

Figure 2: Isabella Stuart and her two daughters Margaret and Mary presented by St. Francis, St. Peter the Martyr and St. Mary Magdalene, in devotion before the Virgin of Sorrows in: Laurent d'Orléans, *Livre des vices et des vertus ou La Somme le Roi*, 1464 (Paris, Bnf, Ms. Fr. 958, fol.).

Figure 3: Coat of arms as gift from God, the Sire of Aspremont receiving his arms from a heavenly hand, detail from Psalter, end of 13<sup>th</sup> century (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 118, fol. 49v).

Figure 4: The arms of Quelenec-Poulmic touched by the feet of Christ on the cross, c. 1450, kersanton, Calvary of the Church Notre-Dame de Rumengol (Finistère) (photo: Lavieb-aile, www.lavieb-aile.com).

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

#### *Gregor von Kessenbrock von Krosigk*

Figure 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, inv. Nr. 150 (© KIK-IRPA, Brussels).

Figure 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, inv. Nr. 150 (© KIK-IRPA, Brussels).

Figure 3: Maubeuge painter (attr.), Saint Dagoberts sould 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, 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, parchment, 235 x 175 mm, London, British Library, Egerton 745.

Figure 4: Claes Heinenzoon, so-called *Gelre Armorial*, fol. 62r, 1370–1395, parchment, 24 x 14 cm, Brussels (Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, hs. 15652–56).

### A Hidden Deer and a Crowned Lion: Rabbinical Reaction to the Usage of Heraldry Among Jews in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century

#### *Olga Karaskova-Hesry*

Figure 1: Meir Katzenellenbogen tombstone, 1565, Padua, San Leonardo Jewish cemetery (photo: Olga Karaskova Hesry).

Figure 2: Replica of the Familiy Crest of the Shaltiels of Crete from the 16<sup>th</sup> Century (Heraklion Archaeological Museum, <https://www.etz-hayyim-hania.org/the-synagogue/the-inscriptions-at-etz-hayyim/>).

**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***

Figure 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, Invent/14547).

Figure 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 (Biblioteca Nacional de España, fol. 3r).