

From Heroic Science to Visual Studies: Pathways of Heraldry among Concepts, Images, and Contexts

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The relationship between heraldry and academic research, especially in university context, has generally been neither easy nor straightforward. The reasons undoubtedly stem from various factors, but the core of the issue was summarized by Faustino Menéndez Pidal:¹

stated in general terms, [heraldry] has not always had a good reputation—partly for good reason, as much of what has been written under this name does not merit scientific consideration, and partly without justification, as the disregard attributed to the texts should not have been extended to the subject itself. However, the excessive focus on matters of little or no interest and the numerous misguided interpretations led some to believe that achieving better results in this field was impossible.²

It is, therefore, a matter of historians' prejudice toward heraldic studies or heraldists; and, as a reaction and compensation, the latter's splendid isolation from the academic world—with honorable exceptions on both sides.

Upon examining the reasons behind this mutual prejudice, it becomes evident that they largely stem from the way heraldic knowledge has been constructed until quite recently (if not to this day) by heraldists themselves. This image portrays heraldry as

an abstract and normative field of knowledge, based on its own lexicon and grammar, and oriented toward classificatory, identificatory, and symbolic purposes. Such an understanding is rooted in the vision developed by treatise writers from the late Middle Ages through the Early Modern Period. A vision that, in the 19th century, ultimately transitioned into the classification and use of heraldry as an auxiliary science of history, sometimes in close connection with other auxiliary sciences such as sigillography, palaeography, diplomatics, epigraphy, codicology and, of course, genealogy.

Since then, however, this understanding of heraldry as a mere 'auxiliary science' has been accordingly challenged, due to the heuristic and methodological limitations it entails³. The profound changes undergone by heraldry throughout the 19th century inevitably had radical consequences for the creation and publication of heraldic works. First and foremost, these changes reflected the transformation of the political, cultural, and social functions that heraldry had fulfilled until the end of the Ancien Régime. As a result of this transformation, there was a drastic decline in the production of heraldic treatises and armorials, a genre that had previously flourished, in a production that was as abundant as it was normative and repetitive.

From the mid-20th century onward, however, a profound epistemological renewal took place—condensed in and disseminated through the work of Michel Pastoureau—which led to heraldry being regarded as a branch of historiographical knowledge⁴. It should be noted, however, that this author did not emerge in isolation; he himself acknowledges some of his immediate predecessors or counterparts, such as Max Prinnet, Rémi Mathieu, Donald Lindsay Galbreath, Léon Jéquier, Hervé Pinoteau, Otfried Neubecker, Anthony Wagner, Michel Popoff, to name just a few of them. Nevertheless, it was

¹ Principal researcher at the Institute of Medieval Studies IEM – NOVA FCSH, funded by Portuguese national funds through the FCT – Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, I.P., under the program Estímulo ao Emprego Científico – project "Heraldry in Portuguese early Overseas expansion: acculturation and resistance", ref. 2023.09330.CEECIND, and the strategic project UIDB/00749/2020, DOI 10.54499/UIDB/00749/2020.

² Faustino Menéndez Pidal, *Los emblemas heráldicos. Una interpretación histórica* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1993), 13. Original quotation: "Así en general enuncia-da [la heráldica] no há tenido a veces buena fama, en parte com razão, porque mucho de lo escrito bajo este nombre no merece consideración científica, y en parte sin ella, porque no debió trasladarse al asunto la desestima imputada a los textos. Pero fue tanta la insistencia en aspectos de interés nulo o escaso y tantas las interpretaciones desatinadas, que algunos llegaron a juzgar imposible lograr mejores frutos en esa materia)".

³ Alessandro Savorelli, "L'araldica per la storia: una fonte ausiliaria?", in *Nel laboratorio della storia. Una guida alle fonti dell'età moderna*, ed. Maria Pia Paoli (Roma: Carocci Editore, 2013), 289-317.

⁴ Michel Pastoureau, *Traité d'Héraldique* (Paris: Bordas, 1979). This work was repeatedly reprinted in 1993, 1997, 2003 and 2008.

indeed Pastoureaux who succeeded in systematizing the renewal trends in heraldic studies and in elevating them within the academic sphere to an unprecedented level. He also endowed these studies with a scope, continuity, and set of ramifications hitherto unknown.

Right in the introduction of his treaty, Pastoureaux defined heraldry as a branch of historiography and set goals for the transformation of its scholars, stating that until the

Many of them have approached heraldry only through genealogical research or noble vanities. Others, fewer but more specious, have sought in coats of arms nothing more than mysterious symbols and the supposed traces of a 'sacred language.' Between the merchants of ancestry and the enthusiasts of hermeticism, few heraldists have endeavored to work as true historians. It is now high time for truly scientific heraldry to finally take its rightful place, between genealogical and noble heraldry on one side and esoteric and symbolic heraldry on the other."⁵

This position had to rest on an epistemological and methodological renewal, based on the formulation of issues such as, among others, the criticism of sources, the origin of coats of arms, their social diffusion, the trends and fashions in the choice of colors and figures, and the relationship they maintained with phenomena in individual and collective psychology, sensitivity, taste, morality, and culture. It was particularly necessary to understand coats of arms as a social code revealing the identity and personality of their users; and while the first of these aspects corresponded to traditional studies, the second opened new perspectives and connected not only to other aspects of historical knowledge but to a range of other fields of knowledge⁶. This broadening of the scope of heraldry to establish a comparison between coats of arms and other visual codes of representation, and to draw points of contact with other human and social sciences, was already evident, for example, in the exhibition "Emblèmes, Totems, Blasons," organized in 1963 at the Musée Guimet, in Paris⁷.

Thus, pathways were being outlined for a common understanding—or at least a comparative foundation—of various visual codes, through the use of

diverse scientific fields. Heraldry hence came into contact not only with other branches of historiography but also with different human and social sciences, with which it could develop relationships of exchange and mutual benefit⁸. This diversification proved essential to overcome the limited and limiting framework of heraldry understood as merely an instrument for identifying the bearers of coats of arms, and to elevate it to an interpretative and analytical level. The main emphasis lay in the idea that coats of arms are, first and foremost, signs; and as such, they presuppose the existence of a consciousness that imparts some kind of value to them.

In this relationship between sign and meaning resided the preferred object of the "nouvelle héraldique", which was consequently closely tied to the history of mentalities and social history. Coats of arms must be understood as "signs whose function is to position individuals within groups and these groups within the entirety of society"⁹. The epistemological renewal condensed in the *Traité d'Héraldique* was duly noted by Jean-Claude Schmitt, who dedicated a critical review to it in the journal *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*. In addition to highlighting the significance of the treatise for the redefinition of heraldry, the author predicted that Pastoureaux's work "would contribute to giving heraldry the place it deserves in current historiography"¹⁰.

In the second edition of his treatise, in 1993, Pastoureaux added a final chapter titled "Quinze ans de recherches héraldiques," in which he took stock of what, in his view, had changed since 1979. The author emphasized the significant penetration of heraldry in university circles and, more broadly, in scientific research, to the point that the following statement had become possible: "Heraldry is no longer, as it once was, a disapproved or despised discipline, but a recognized science." He also referred to the effective and fruitful relationships established with other fields of knowledge, particularly semiology, the history of culture, mentalities, ideologies, and symbolism, which allowed him to conclude: "Heraldry has managed to multiply its inquiries, enrich its documentation, transform its methods, and almost entirely renew its issues"¹¹.

As a result, and demonstration of such renewal, the bibliography of works produced in this field had skyrocketed to unprecedented levels¹². The very idea of an epistemological renewal of heraldry led

⁵ Pastoureaux, *Traité*, 12. Original quotation: "Bon nombre d'entre eux ne sont venus à l'héraldique que par le biais des recherches généalogiques ou des vanités nobiliaires. D'autres, moins nombreux mais plus spécieux, n'ont recherché dans les armoiries que de mystérieux symboles et les traces prétendues d'un «langage sacré». Entre les marchands d'ancêtres et les amateurs d'hermétisme, rares ont été les héraldistes qui ont essayé de faire œuvre d'historien. Il est aujourd'hui grand temps qu'entre l'héraldique généalogique et nobiliaire et l'héraldique ésotérique et symbolique, l'héraldique véritablement scientifique prenne enfin la place qui lui convient."

⁶ Pastoureaux, *Traité*, 15.

⁷ *Emblèmes, Totems, Blasons. Musée Guimet* (Paris: Ministère d'État/Affaires Culturelles, 1963). Particular attention should be given to the introduction by Pierre Francastel (pp. XI-XVI) and the texts by Rémi Mathieu (pp. 69-73), Paul Adam (pp. 74-75), Léon Jéquier (pp. 101-102), Jean-Claude Loutsch (pp. 105-106), Szabolcs de Vajay (pp. 109-111), A. Heymowski (pp. 115-116), and René Le Juge de Segrais (pp. 147-153).

⁸ Szabolcs de Vajay, "L'interdisciplinarité : le contexte interdisciplinaire de généalogie et d'héraldique en tant que sciences sociales", in *L'identità genealogica e araldica. Fonti, metodologia, interdisciplinarità, prospettive* (Roma: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali / Ufficio Centrale per i Beni Archivistici, 2000), vol. II, 821-826.

⁹ Pastoureaux, *Traité*, 289. Original quotation: "signes ayant pour fonction de situer les hommes dans des groupes et ces groupes dans l'ensemble de la société".

¹⁰ *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 38:1 (1983): 207-209.

¹¹ PASTOUREAU, Michel, *Traité d'Héraldique...*, p. 290. Original quotation: "l'héraldique n'est plus comme naguère une discipline réprouvée ou méprisée, mais une science reconnue. [...] l'héraldique a su multiplier ses enquêtes, enrichir sa documentation, transformer ses méthodes et renouveler presque entièrement ses problématiques".

¹² Michel Popoff, *Bibliographie Héraldique Internationale (et de quelques disciplines connexes)* (Paris: Le Léopard d'Or, 2003).

to the creation of a collaborative blog, aptly named *Heraldica Nova*¹³, as well as the founding of a book series titled *Heraldic Studies*, edited by Torsten Hiltmann and Laurent Hablot. This latter author published, in 2019, a manual on medieval heraldry and badges, in which he synthesized the major issues arising from this epistemic renewal while also presenting a series of concrete research case studies¹⁴.

However, even after overcoming the limitations of heraldry viewed as a normative knowledge, there remained a strong tendency to study coats of arms as if they had only, or primarily, an abstract nature, condensed in the respective shield. The heraldist's task, therefore, was, at best, to understand the genesis and meaning of the emblems in their constitution and variations, and to integrate them into their historical context. In this framework, the artistic manifestations of the emblems served mainly to exemplify, characterize, and date the coats of arms in their abstract existence. As Faustino Menéndez Pidal pointed out, such an understanding of the heraldic emblem as an entity of abstract nature is, in itself, a historical creation. It must be understood as a cultural construct designed for specific social and political affirmation purposes, embedded in the mental frameworks of the societies that generated, embraced, or perpetuated it¹⁵. But, before representing any type of abstraction, coats of arms have always fulfilled a primary function as visual emblems of identification and, consequently, functioned as a communicative phenomenon. Coats of arms have their issuers, their receivers, their forms, materials, locations, and their meanings, which are tendentially variable, overlapping, and interchangeable. That is their proper essence. And, as such, they must be studied.

Hence, the epistemological renewal of heraldry necessarily involves heuristic questioning. The artistic manifestations of coats of arms are not merely tools to prove, date, or nuance the abstract arrangement of shields: they form, in themselves, the object of study of heraldry. From this also arises the indispensability of the epistemological renewal of heraldic knowledge, beyond its framework within the field of historiography and its respective critical methods, as a transversal discipline connected with a wide range of areas—some traditional (political, social, cultural history, art history, history of mentalities, literary studies), others more recent (anthropology, sociology, political science, semiotics, linguistics, design), and finally, others still in the process of discovery and seeking their own place, such as visual studies.

The profound renewal of heraldic studies that took place in the third quarter of the 20th century, however, did not have universal application nor did it immediately and entirely eliminate the recurring subordinative association of heraldry with genealogy and nobility. This conditioning ultimately had two

detrimental effects. The first was the continued predominance of family heraldry over all other types of heraldry. It is true that, from the second half of the 19th century, other types of arms — mainly civic, statal, and ecclesiastical — had started to be examined. But only in recent times has the scope of analysis of the heraldic phenomenon broadened, now encompassing areas previously considered mere curiosities unworthy of attention, such as imaginary coats of arms (whose study, initiated by Pastoureau, has been followed by various scholars¹⁶); or as spurious and negligible extensions, such as the coats of arms of associations or commercial institutions, whose interest has increasingly been revealed, primarily in the field of sports activities, with particular emphasis on football¹⁷.

As a result of this broadening, it became possible to overcome the bias that assigned a predominant role to family heraldry within the history of this visual code. When examining contemporary society, it becomes evident that heraldry remains present and continues to function as one of the prevailing visual systems of representation. However, in its most dynamic and innovative dimension, this code reveals a clear decline of family armory in comparison to other types of insignia (statal, civic, corporative, associative, military, commercial, imaginary, etc.). Even when analyzing heraldic uses in the 19th century or the Ancien Régime from a perspective not centered on family heraldry, surprising findings can emerge — ones that challenge or even dismantle the notion that family coats of arms were more numerous and significant than other forms of heraldry. In this regard, a dual effort is required to challenge underlying assumptions: first, to move beyond the image that the Ancien Régime sought to project of itself (which did not necessarily reflect reality), and second, to overcome the contemporary bias inherited from that very image—one that is still often accepted unquestioningly today.

The second adverse effect of the association between heraldry, genealogy, and nobiliary studies lies in the (albeit not exclusive) concentration of heraldic research on one historical period: the Middle Ages. The medieval period has been the focus of numerous studies concerning the origins of the phenomenon, its dissemination, and the development of heraldic knowledge. This is evident in the prominence given to it in *Traité d'Héraldique* by Pastoureau, as well as in the majority of proceedings from specialized international conferences¹⁸. Beyond the factors previously mentioned, the concentration of heraldic studies on the medieval period may also reflect the persistence

¹³ *Heraldica Nova. Medieval and Early Modern Heraldry from the Perspective of Cultural History*. <https://heraldica.hypotheses.org/9042>.

¹⁴ Laurent Hablot, *Manuel d'héraldique et emblématique médiévale* (Tours: Presses Universitaires François Rabelais, 2019).

¹⁵ Faustino Menéndez Pidal, *Los emblemas heráldicos. Novecientos años de historia* (Sevilla: Real Mastranza de Caballería, 2015); Eduardo Pardo de Guevara y Valdés, *Manual de heráldica española* (Madrid: Edimat Libros, 2000).

¹⁶ A theme that this author has developed over decades in numerous studies, consolidated in his book: Michel Pastoureau, *Armorial des chevaliers de la Table Ronde: études sur l'héraldique imaginaire à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Le Léopard d'Or, 2006).

¹⁷ Alessandro Savorelli, *Tutti i colori del calcio. Storia e araldica di una magnifica ossessione* (Firenze: Le Lettere, 2008); Miguel Metelo de Seixas, *Emblemas em Campo. Heráldica dos clubes de futebol em Portugal* (Lisboa: Federação Portuguesa de Futebol / Editora Cultura, 2024). The idea of studying commercial or industrial heraldry seems to have been introduced by C. Wilfrid Scott-Giles, "Industrial heraldry", in *The Romance of Heraldry* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1929), 210-213.

¹⁸ Popoff, *Bibliographie Héraldique*, 24-52.

of a preferential relationship established by the Romantic historiographical school in the 19th century—one that has yet to be effectively challenged. In fact, the enduring dominance of this focus may stem from the very role that the Romantic school played in fostering interest in heraldic studies from a historiographical perspective (rather than a purely technical or mythical one). As a result, it ultimately shaped the trajectory of these investigations long after the influence of that historiographical tradition had waned. The Early Modern Times or the Ancien Régime, by comparison, emerge as relatively less studied periods, both in terms of the number of publications and the diversity of perspectives they encompass. In both periods, however, heraldic studies have remained largely focused on family heraldry—a reality that, as seen, contemporary knowledge tended to portray as predominant, even though this preeminence was more of a mental construct than an actual historical fact.

As the Contemporary Era corresponds to a period in which lineage-based structures have diminished in significance within modern societies, there has been a decline in family insignia, through which these structures once asserted themselves symbolically and exerted influence¹⁹. Consequently, an incongruity has emerged between the predominant approach in heraldic studies—one centered on family arms—and the typology and function of heraldry in contemporary society, where sectors traditionally overlooked or disregarded have become increasingly dominant. This discrepancy has led to a relative scarcity of research on contemporary heraldry, despite the fact that it remains a widely used and dynamic code, distinct from its role in the Ancien Régime²⁰.

Indeed, contemporary heraldry has demonstrated a remarkable capacity for adaptation to industrial society and mass consumer culture. In fact, it is easy to discern that the widespread use of commercial, associative, statal, corporative, and even imaginary heraldry—reproduced on objects by the thousands or millions—makes our society one of the most heraldic of all time, albeit in forms vastly different from those of the medieval or early modern periods. Heraldic studies have struggled to adapt to this latest transformation and to align their analytical frameworks with the ways in which the heraldic code has evolved in contemporary societies. Its importance, however, has gradually been highlighted, even, for example, as a potential form of intangible cultural heritage, within the framework established by UNESCO for recognition and statutory protection²¹.

It is therefore possible to state that the scientific landscape has changed radically over the last 25 years. In this sense, it's worth pointing out a few fields of research that have been opened and explored. The intention here is not to deal exhaustively

with these fields of research, which would obviously be impossible in a text of this size and framework, but just to show a few examples.

The first issue concerns the creation and dissemination of heraldic culture. A primary issue concerns the creation and dissemination of heraldic culture. Claire Boudreau is to credit for defending a thesis on this subject, which was later transformed, with substantial modifications, into a book²², and then Torsten Hiltmann investigated the means of transmission for that knowledge in the late Middle Ages²³. For Early Modern Times, some authors have studied the deep connections that heraldry has woven with literature and with social status²⁴.

This integration of heraldry into its cultural context led to a reassessment of the traditional role attributed to heralds in the construction of this type of knowledge, as well as in its practices²⁵. Likewise, are of great importance works that empathize the relevance of heraldry's social and political function, in close relation with the elaboration of the king's image and understanding the transmission of heritage in modern nobility. It has been revealed essential, in this sense, to introduce the heraldic phenomenon in the construction process of modern monarchies, connecting thus the study of heraldry to the historiography of court society²⁶. Equally important has been the endeavour to associate the study of heraldry with the digital humanities, a project led above all by Torsten Hiltmann, whose ramifications and research possibilities seem open to fruitful results, providing

²² Claire Boudreau, *L'Héritage symbolique des héralts d'armes. Dictionnaire encyclopédique de l'enseignement du blason ancien (XIV^e – XVI^e siècles)* (Paris: Le Léopard d'Or, 2006).

²³ Torsten Hiltmann, *Spätmittelalterliche Heroldskompendien. Referenzen adeliger Wissenskultur in Zeiten gesellschaftlichen Wandels (Frankreich und Burgund, 15. Jahrhundert)* (München: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2011).

²⁴ Yvan Loskoutoff, *L'armorial de Calliope. L'oeuvre du Père Le Moyne S. J. (1602-1671): littérature, héraldique, spiritualité* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 2000); Pierre Couhault (coord.), *L'héraldique en Europe et en France au XVII^e siècle. Savoirs, pratiques, usages*, special issue of *XVII^e siècle* 291 (2021), especially the introductory text by the coordinator of this volume, "Introduction. Le Grand Siècle de l'héraldique", pp. 5-32; José Antonio Guillén Berrendero, *La Edad de la Nobleza* (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 2012).

²⁵ Pierre Couhault, *L'étoffe des héralts. L'office d'armes dans l'Europe des Habsbourg à la Renaissance*, (Paris: Garnier, 2020); Katie Stevenson, *The herald in late medieval Europe* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009); Nigel Ramsay (ed.), *Heralds and Heraldry in Shakespeare's England* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2014).

²⁶ Laurent Hablot, "Le roi fontaine de justice héraldique", in *Le roi fontaine de justice. Pouvoir justicier et pouvoir royal au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance*, dir. Silvere Menegaldo and Bernard Ribémont (Orléans: Klincksieck, 2012), 223-240; Luisa Gentile, *Riti ed emblemi. Processi di rappresentazione del potere principesco in area subalpina (XIII-XVI secc.)* (Torino: Silvio Zamorani Editore, 2008); Matteo Ferrari, *La «politica in figure». Temi, funzioni, attori della comunicazione visiva nei Comuni lombardi (XII-XIV secolo)* (Roma: Viella, 2022); Steven Thiry and Luc Duerloo (eds.), *Heraldic hierarchies. Identity, Status and State Intervention in early Modern Heraldry* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2021); Laurent Hablot, *Affinités héraldiques. Concessions, augmentations et partages d'armoiries en Europe au Moyen Âge* (Paris: DEA / École Pratique des Hautes Études, 2015); Peter Coss and Maurice Keen (eds.), *Heraldry, Peageantry and Social Display in Medieval England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002).

¹⁹ Miguel Metelo de Seixas, "A heráldica em Portugal no século XIX: sob o signo da renovação", *Análise Social* 202 (2012), 56-91.

²⁰ Miguel Metelo de Seixas, *Heráldica, representação do poder e memória da nação: o armorial autárquico de Inácio de Vilhena Barbosa* (Lisboa: Universidade Lusíada Editora, 2011).

²¹ Nicolas Vernot (dir.), *L'héraldique vivante au pays de Marianne. Des institutions au service d'un patrimoine culturel immatériel* (Paris: Société française d'héraldique et de sigillographie, 2024).

researchers with previously unsuspected means of networking²⁷.

It became possible, therefore, to apply to heraldry the analytic framework created for visual studies, i.e., focusing on production, circulation, and reception of these images in modern society, from a transdisciplinary framework underpinned in two main epistemological focuses: the theory of perception and aesthetics, and the social uses of visual materials. The connection between these approaches, which used to be isolated, can lead to the comprehension of Heraldry as a system of visual codes, as stated by Hans Belting, who insists on the perception of Heraldry as an abstract portrait idealized by social categories²⁸. Consequently, the analysis of heraldic performances earns from being made taking into account not only the intrinsic connection between those heraldic images and the models and artistic works, but also their relationship with spatial appropriation purposes, particularly in its public dimension²⁹.

As a result, the relationship between heraldry and its own creators or artists proves to be far more complex than one might initially assume—far removed from the preconceived notions formed through the reading of treatises and normative provisions³⁰. The topic of the relationship between heraldry and art has, in fact, undergone significant renewal and has already been the subject of numerous syntheses³¹. From these syntheses emerges, above all, the consciousness that heraldry can play a significant role in a comprehensive and in-depth understanding of works of art and that, conversely, these works are fundamental to the understanding of the heraldic phenomenon. Stated in this manner, this conclusion may seem self-evident. However, the fact remains that few art historians and few heraldists have been guided by this principle.

But heraldic studies have also opened a comparative dimension with other codes of visual representation. Firstly, with badges, which constituted a visual system parallel to heraldry, capable of bridging some communication gaps of coats of arms in late medieval and early modern societies³². Secondly, more broadly, with visual systems that originated in other non-European or non-Christian cultures, with which heraldry has maintained relations of acculturation or fusion³³. These comparative studies allow heraldry to be positioned as a tool for intercultural communication, not only in the positive sense of dialogue and fusion, but also in terms of resistance and, ultimately, iconoclasm, particularly in colonial and post-colonial contexts.

Notwithstanding the set of heuristic and epistemological changes that heraldry has undergone, there remained a certain imbalance in the research, both in terms of periods and regions, as well as the topics covered. This is not necessarily a negative thing, as it also means that heraldry remains a particularly dynamic area, fertile in discoveries and at the intersection of various other fields of knowledge. As this special issue of *Eikón/Imago* clearly attests.

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- ²⁷ <https://digitalheraldry.org/>
- ²⁸ Hans Belting, *Pour une anthropologie des images* (Paris: Gallimard, 2004), 153-182.
- ²⁹ Nicolas Bock, "Fideles Regis. Héraldique et comportement public à la fin du Moyen Âge", in *À l'ombre du pouvoir. Les entourages princiers au Moyen Âge*, ed. Jean-Louis Kupper and Alain Marchandisse (Liège: Presses Universitaires de Liège, 2003), 203-234; Mario Damen and Marcus Meer, "Heraldry and Territory: coats of arms and construction of authority in space", in *Constructing and Representing Territory in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Mario Damen and Kim Overlaet (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press 2021), 244-276; Marcus Meer, *Heraldry in Urban Society. Visual culture and communication in late medieval England and Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2024).
- ³⁰ Torsten Hiltmann and Laurent Hablot (eds.), *Heraldic Artists and Painters in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2018).
- ³¹ For example, the following may be cited: Alessandro Savorelli, *Piero della Francesca e l'ultima crociata. Araldica, storia e arte tra gotico e Rinascimento* (Firenze: Le Lettere, 1999), 5-30; Michel Pastoureau, *L'art héraldique au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Seuil, 2009); Christian de Mérimond, *Images du royaume de France. Décors monumentaux peints et armoiries, art et histoire* (Pont-Saint-Esprit: Conseil général du Gard, 2013); Torsten Hiltmann and Miguel Metelo de Seixas (ed.), *Heraldry in Medieval and Early Modern State-Rooms. Towards a typology of heraldic programmes in spaces of self-representation*. (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2020); Thierry Crépin-Leblond, Laurent Hablot and Anne Ritz-Guibert (eds.), *Le Blason des temps nouveaux - signes, emblèmes et couleurs dans la France de la Renaissance* (Paris: Musée national de la Renaissance / In fine éditions d'art, 2022).
- ³² Laurent Hablot, *La devise, mise en signe du prince, mise en scène du pouvoir : les devises et l'emblématique des princes en France et en Europe à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Poitiers: Université de Poitiers, 2001); Laurent Hablot, Miguel Metelo de Seixas and Matteo Ferrari (eds.), *Devises, lettres, chiffres et couleurs : un code emblématique, 1350-1550* (Lisboa: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2022).
- ³³ Urte Krass and Miguel Metelo de Seixas (eds.), *Heraldry in Contact. Perspectives and Challenges of a Connective Image Form* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2023).

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