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RESTORING THE HERALDIC CORPUS OF HENDRIK VAN HEESSEL, KING OF ARMS OF THE RUWIJEREN

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The heraldic codex B89.420 is part of the collection of old prints and manuscripts of the Hendrik Conscience Heritage Library (EHC) in Antwerp. In addition to several segments with coats of arms, this codex contains a collection of statutes of knightly orders, chronicles, iconographic material, and a few other topics. It is written in Latin, German and Middle Dutch. The heraldic codex is constructed chronologically and compiled between 1433 and circa 1460. Research by professor Wim van Anrooij has clearly shown that Hendrik van Heessel is the compiler of this manuscript.¹ In this article I will refer to it as Heessel Compendium.²

Hendrik van Heessel, Austria Herald and King of Arms of the Ruwieren of the Holy Roman Empire, documented 1433–1470, served under Emperor Sigismund, King Albert II, King Frederick III, and Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy. He has enjoyed growing interest since 2006, partly stimulated by Van Anrooij. The attention of the various publications has not so much been focused on his heraldic oeuvre, but rather on his role as a diplomat in the service of Philip the Good.

In this article I will discuss the different drawing styles that can be distinguished in the Heessel Compendium, and their development. I will discuss why certain family coats of arms were drawn with more care, and attempt to determine what that means. The styles will also be compared with some known and less known heraldic manuscripts.

The Ruwieren

The function of King of Arms of the Ruwieren was a supra-regional one, above the functions of pursuivant and herald, and higher than the other kings of arms, who all bore a regional title. The title of King of Arms of the Ruwieren of the Holy Roman Empire was the highest heraldic honour that could be bestowed in the northwest of the Empire. As a geographical area the Ruwieren lies between the rivers Meuse and Rhine, with the Moselle as its southern border. It is the area where Ripuarian was spoken, and the word Ruwieren is derived from Ripuaria. In this region John III, Duke of Brabant, had more than hundred vassals, including the Counts of Jülich, Cleves, Mark, Meurs, Katzenelnbogen, Salm, Sayn, Solms and Virneburg. The Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire conferred this title of King of Arms of the Ruwieren on the recommendation of the Duke of Brabant as Margrave of the Empire.

Five Kings of Arms of the Ruwieren are known to us:

1. Jan van Steensel, documented 1362–1376, was King of Arms from 1362 onwards and died before or in 1384.³
2. Claes Heynenszn, Gelre Herald, later Beyerens Herald, documented 1371–1414, mentioned as King of Arms in 1405.
3. An unnamed herald, documented 1427–1431, mentioned as King of Arms, and on one occasion known as Louvain Herald.⁴
4. Hendrik van Heessel, Austria Herald, documented 1433–1470, King of Arms from 1440 to 1466.



Left, *Figure 1*: coats of arms of Van Heessel, Van Oudheusden, Van der Zijde wijn and Van Heeswijk. Antwerp, EHC, B89.420, Heessel Compendium fol. 53v; right, *Figure 2*: quartered arms of Van Heessel and Van der Zijde wijn, *ibid.* fol. 55r.

5. Hermann von Brüninghausen, Jülich Herald, documented 1461–1501, listed as King of Arms from 1471 to 1501.⁵

After 1501 there is no more mention of a King of Arms of the Ruwieren. The office of King of Arms of the Golden Fleece, created in 1430 by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, came to predominate at the Burgundian court.

The Emperor Sigismund granted his pursuivant Hendrik van Heessel a coat of arms on 17 July 1433 in Rome.⁶ The arms were not new, being differenced with a label.⁷ Before 9 December 1437, the date of death of Emperor Sigismund, Hendrik van Heessel was appointed King of Arms of the Ruwieren by the Emperor, on the recommendation of Philip the Good, Duke of Brabant. This appointment was confirmed a few years later, on 28 May 1440 in Neustadt, by Frederick III, King of the Romans. In this charter Hendrik is mentioned as Austria Herald for the first time.⁸

A closer look at the Heessel Compendium

On folio 53v there are four coats of arms (**Figure 1**). They comprise the arms of Hendrik van Heessel (*die von heessel*) beside those of his wife Van Waardenburg tot Oudheusden (*die von werdenberch czu althuesden*), while below are the arms of Van der Zijde wijn (*die von der zijde wijn syn brucker czu straed*) and Van Heeswijk (*dy von heeswick – freyen*).

If we look at the quartered arms Van Heessel – Van der Zijde wijn on folio 55r (**Figure 2**), we must conclude that the four arms on folio 53v form a pedigree (**Figure 3**). In a lecture for the Dutch Heraldry Society (NGH) and the Royal Netherlands Society for

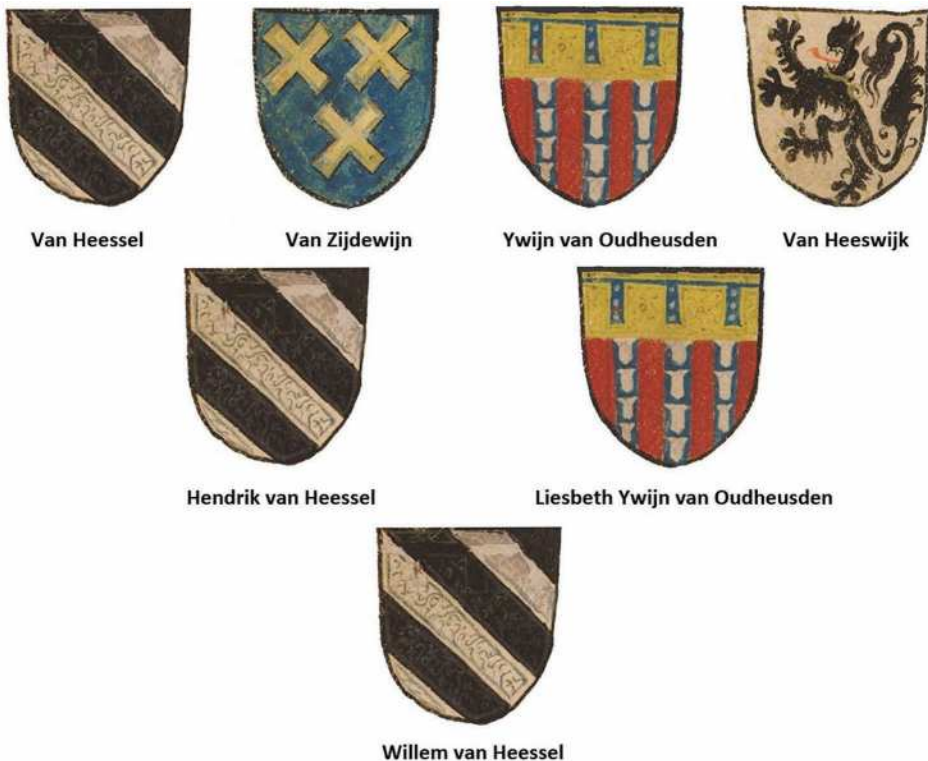


Figure 3: heraldic pedigree of Van Heessel.

Genealogy and Heraldry (KNGGW), held in the Maltese House in Utrecht on 9 October 2021, I discussed these new genealogical data.

Wim van Anrooij assumed that Hendrik van Heessel hailed from the village of Heesselt in the Duchy of Gelre.⁹ Since he was not entirely sure about Hendrik van Heessel's origin, he explicitly asked for further information in an article dated 2008.¹⁰ My research has shown that Hendrik van Heessel hailed from the market town (*vrijheid*) Waalwijk in the duchy of Brabant.¹¹ His wife Liesbeth hailed from Oudheusden in the County of Holland, from a family named Ywijn van Oudheusden.¹² She and her brothers are mentioned in a charter dated 1415 in which they dedicate a farm with yard (*hofstad*) in Oudheusden to a family member.¹³ Waalwijk and Oudheusden are only five miles apart. The Van der Zijdewijn and Van Heeswijk families belong to the lower nobility, and both come from the nearby Land van Heusden and Altena in the County of Holland. It must be noticed that the progenitor in this pedigree is not Hendrik van Heessel, but his son Willem, who bears a first name that frequently appears in the Van der Zijdewijn family.

The seal of Hendrik van Heessel

There is only one known seal of Hendrik van Heessel (**Figure 4b**). It is on a charter from the year 1440.¹⁴ The charter relates to a diplomatic mission of Hendrik, as Austria Herald and King of Arms of the Ruwieren, with his French colleague Henry de Riche,

HENDRIK VAN HEESSEL KING OF ARMS



Figure 4: left, 4a: Seal of Claes van Heessel, 1404. SALHA, 1090, Charters van de Waalwijkse Tafel van de Heilige Geest, No. 95A; centre, 4b: Seal of Hendrik van Heessel, 1440. Munich, Bavarian State Archives, Pfalz-Neuburg Urkunden, Landesteilungen und Einungen 593; right, 4c: seal of Claes van Heessel, 1413. SALHA, 1090, Charters van de Waalwijkse Tafel van de Heilige Geest, No. 48A.

Hungary Herald.¹⁵ The seal bears a shield, bendy of six with a label.¹⁶ There is also a label gules on the drawing of his personal arms in the Heessel Compendium, but this is hard to recognize.

Hendrik's seal corresponds to that of Claes van Heessel, documented 1404–1423, alderman (*schepen*) of Waalwijk. That seal shows three bends, and above an annulet between the first and second bend. His seals of 1404 and 1413 have a clearly legible inscription: /*S* CLA/ES VA/HEESSEL/ (Figures 4a and 4c).¹⁷ As to the tinctures of these arms, these appear in a segment of the Armorial Lyncenich arms which corresponds to the Tournament of Utrecht in 1441 (Figure 5). The participant here was Jan van Heessel called Back, documented 1429–1445, the son of Peter Robberts van Heessel.¹⁸ He owned a fortified house and farmhouse (*stenen kamer en hofstad*) and some land in Waalwijk. His coat of arms indicate a family connection with Hendrik van Heessel. It is also an indication of the social status of members of this family, as participation in these tournaments was restricted to the gentry and patricians.¹⁹

In a charter in the city archive of 's-Hertogenbosch a Hendrik, son of Claes van Heessel is mentioned.²⁰ This may prove the family ties between Hendrik van Heessel and Claes van Heessel, alderman of Waalwijk. I must emphasize possible, because I have no further supporting evidence. The arms of Hendrik van Heessel can be found in a few armorials, the earliest of which is the Ortenburg armorial of c. 1470.²¹ Hendrik appears for the last time in the accounts of the Burgundian court on 9 February 1464 when, together with the kings of arms of the Golden Fleece, Artois and Brabant, he was given a cloak and cap (*robe et chappron*).²² This was on the occasion of the funeral ceremony of Maria van Gelre, wife of King James II of Scotland, and since 1460 regent for her son James III.²³ She died at Roxburgh Castle, Edinburgh, on December 1, 1463.

On 1 September or 1 October 1466 Hendrik van Heessel left office as King of Arms of the Ruwierien at the Burgundian court with a pension, retiring to the County of Holland until his death on 17 April 1470.²⁴ He probably lived in Heusden or Oudheusden, close to his birthplace Waalwijk. His wife Liesbeth van Oudheusden is mentioned in the Death Book of the Brotherhood of Our Lady in Heusden.²⁵



Left, *Figure 5*: Jan van Heessel, participant at the tournament in Utrecht of 1440. Brussels, KBR, FH-DG, Ms II 6567, Armorial Lyncenich fol. 170r; right, *Figure 6*: arms of Ulrich II, Count of Celje with four ancestral arms. Antwerp, EHC, B89.420, Heessel Compendium fol. 57v–59r.

Stylistic and other connections

In the aforementioned Van Heessel pedigree, the artistry of the execution is noticeable, and highly reminiscent of a unique depiction of the complete coat of arms of Ulrich II of Celje, last Princely Count of Celje (**Figure 6**).²⁶ The arms presented are those of Celje in the context of his four ancestral arms: 1. Celje; 2. Krabaten = Croatia, Frankopan, Count of Veglia; 3. Schaunberg; 4. Da Carrara, lords of Padua and Verona. On the facing page is Sanneck (Žovnek), and on the subsequent pages Ortenburg and Sagor (Zagorje). Robert Kurelić, assistant professor at the University of Pula in Croatia, wrote an article about these drawings in 2018.²⁷ He concluded that these coats of arms are depicted separately to indicate the power and status of the family. A close personal connection with Hendrik van Heessel is suggested by the fact that the coats of arms of several older and more powerful families, such as those of Wittelsbach or the Habsburgs, are depicted in a notably more modest manner.

It must be emphasized that van Heessel and Ulrich II of Celje both belonged to the court of Emperor Sigismund. In 1433 they were both present at the imperial coronation in Rome, and they are known to have met in 1447 and 1448. Van Heessel and his son Willem were at the court in Vienna as emissaries of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy, who at that time negotiated the elevation of Burgundy to a kingdom with Frederick III, King of the Romans, and later Emperor. Given the sensitivity of the matter, talks were conducted by proxy to enable both duke and king to protect their honour and to save face. King Frederick III was represented by the Royal Chancellor Caspar Schlick and by Count Ulrich II of Celje, councillor to the king, who had performed a series of confidential tasks for Frederick III since 1444. The self-written messages by Hendrik van Heessel and his son Willem show a good relationship with the Count of Celje during the talks.²⁸

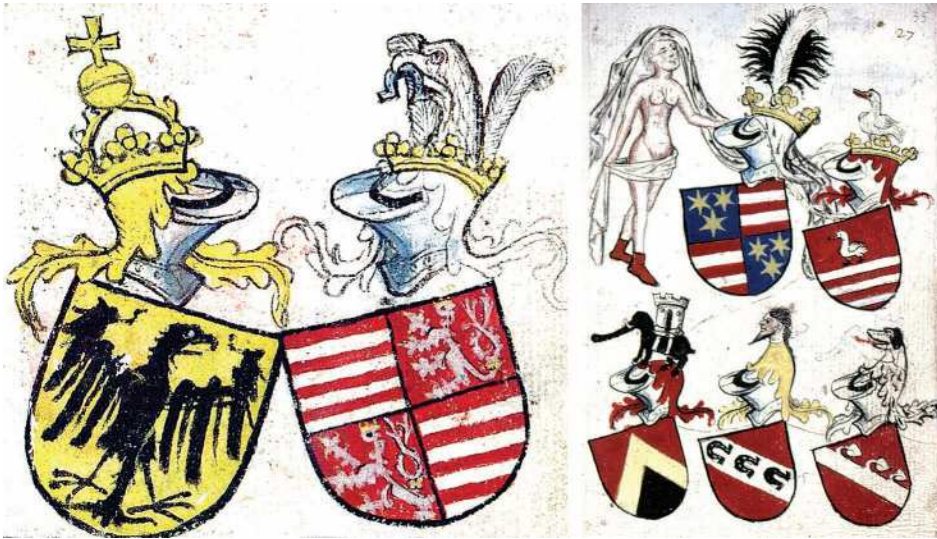


Figure 7: Left, 7a: the imperial arms (left) and those of Hungary-ancient. Antwerp, EHC, B89.420, Heessel Compendium fol. 57v; right, 7b: the retinue of Ulrich II, count of Celje. Brussels, KBR, FH-DG, Ms II 6616, fol. 35r.

Ulrich II Count of Celje and his retinue 1430

A drawing exists of the arms of Ulrich II, Count of Celje by an unknown hand (**Figure 7b**) which bears strong stylistic similarities to work in the Heessel Compendium (**Figure 7a**).²⁹ The former comes from a folder with a collection of miscellaneous genealogical and heraldic papers which I found twenty-five years ago at the Royal Library of Brussels (KBR).³⁰ It comprises two folios, with coats of arms on both sides. The rendition of the tilting helmets, the mantling, the shape of the shields aspects of the crowns are seemingly by the same hand. The goddess Fortuna supports the arms on Ulrich, just as on his seal dating from November 1429 (**Figure 8**).³¹

The other coats of arms from the Royal Library manuscript belong to nobility from the Duchy of Austria, the Habsburgs dominions of Styria, Austria, Carinthia, Carniola, Tyrol, and scattered areas in Swabia. Some of these were vassals of Celje. These fragments are probably from a complete series of arms. Sixteen of the arms also occur in a series of twenty-four arms, beginning with Count Ulrich of Celje, in the *L'Armorial dit de Nicolas de Lutzelbourg* (NLU).³² This armorial has been described by Jean-Christophe Blanchard and also by Steen Clemmensen.³³ The names of these nobles correspond with the retinue of the Count of Celje on his pilgrimage or 'knight's journey' to Spain.

To make this pilgrimage possible Ulrich borrowed 32,000 Hungarian gold coins from his father Herman II, and 5,000 gold coins from his aunt Barbara.³⁴ Ulrich arrived in Spain in 1430 with sixty escorting knights. On 21 March they visited King Alphonso of Aragon in Segorbe. In a Spanish description of this visit, Ulrich is named as Emperor Sigismund's nephew – and that is correct, because the Emperor was married to Barbara of Celje, his aunt. During their stay, fourteen knights were admitted to the chivalric Order of the Jar and the Griffin, the house order of Aragon.³⁵ In Hamusco, on 15 April,



Left, *Figure 8*: seal of Ulrich II on a charter of 1 November 1429. Archives of the Republic of Slovenia, CE II, No. 175; right: *Figure 9*: Order of the Jar. Antwerp, EHC, B89.420, Heessel Compendium, fol. 18v.

they were the guests of King John II of Castile, who provided the group with horses and mules, and gave pieces of brocade as gifts. Four knights were admitted to the chivalric Order ‘*Devisa del collar del escama*’, the Order of Scales, also called ‘Order of the Fish Scales’, the house order of Castile.³⁶

The journey continued to Santiago de Compostela, before departing for the sultanate of Granada.³⁷

It seems clear that Hendrik van Heessel made the two folios with their twenty coats of arms, in view of the similarity in drawing style. In 1433 he was pursuivant in the retinue of Emperor Sigismund. The question is: when did Hendrik enter the service of the emperor? It is quite possible that he travelled with Ulrich II, Count of Celje, in 1430. The group included participants from the Duchy of Austria in the Habsburg dominions, Hendrik van Heessel’s working area when he became Austria Herald. The journey, which was also a diplomatic mission, certainly required the presence of a herald. His knowledge of German, French and Latin would have served him and the group well during this pilgrimage. An indirect proof of his participation is the description of the regulations of the Aragonese Order of the Jar and the Griffin in the Heessel Compendium, including a very precise depiction of the decorations of this order (**Figure 9**).³⁸ For a herald to learn his craft it was essential that he should travel the world and get to know as many courts as possible, learning languages, and taking part in ceremonies and meetings.³⁹

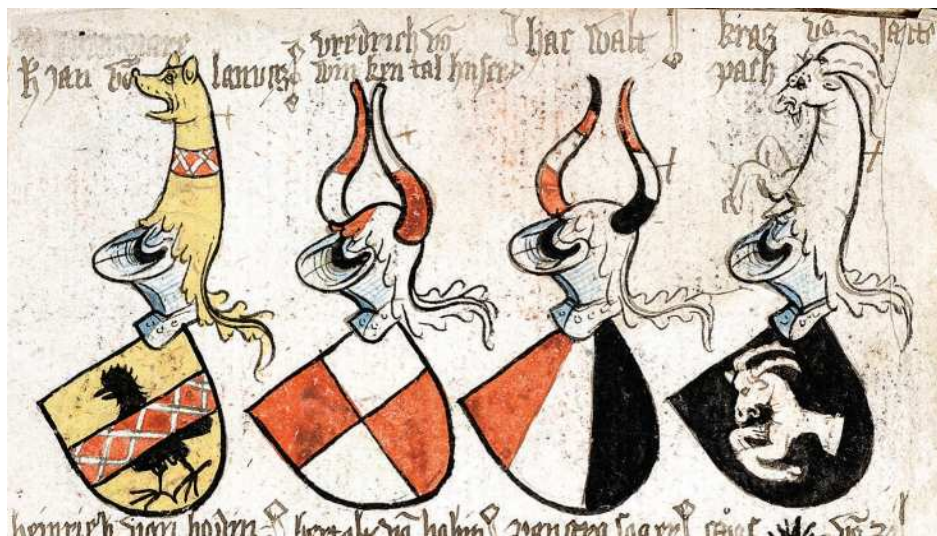


Figure 10: the Armorial series Neuenahr. Brussels, KBR, FH-DG, Ms II 6617 fol. 147v

The armorial series Neuenahr

In the same folder at the Royal Brussels Library there is another folio which has coats of arms on both sides.⁴⁰ In yet another folder, called Anticque, there is a similar folio.⁴¹ Both folios are drawn in the same style and have a similar handwriting, analogous with the fragment on folio 71v of the Heessel Compendium. The tilting helmets and form of the shields is the same, as are the crowns. Only the mantling is slightly different. Each folio features twelve coats of arms in three rows of four (**Figure 10**). A total of 48 coats of arms are depicted. It is unusual that in the handwriting both the Dutch preposition ‘van’ and the German ‘von’ is used. Dutch first names such as Joris, Jan, Coenraet and Claes are used alongside such German first names as Ulrich, Claus and Heinrich. This clearly indicates that it was written by a person who was familiar with both the Dutch (Middle Dutch) and the German language.

This armorial series can be dated between 1430–1435. Whether these two folios were part of a larger armorial, or constitute a complete set, remains unclear. We could be dealing with participants of another jousting tournament, perhaps the tournament which took place in Basel in 1434, during the Council of Basel, and in the presence of Emperor Sigismund, Hendrik van Heessel’s employer.⁴² Alternatively, a tournament on the Charles Bridge, Prague, in late August 1436, when Emperor Sigismund held his entry in the Bohemian capital, is possible.

The same folder includes the pedigree chart of a count of Heinsberg (**Figure 11a**), with his four ancestral arms: Heinsberg, Gennep, Blanckenheim and Loon.⁴³ On the shield are two helmets, complete with crest and mantling. The left tilting helmet is depicted in the drawing style associated with Hendrik van Heessel. The image with the barred helmet is new and forms the key to yet another armorial series.

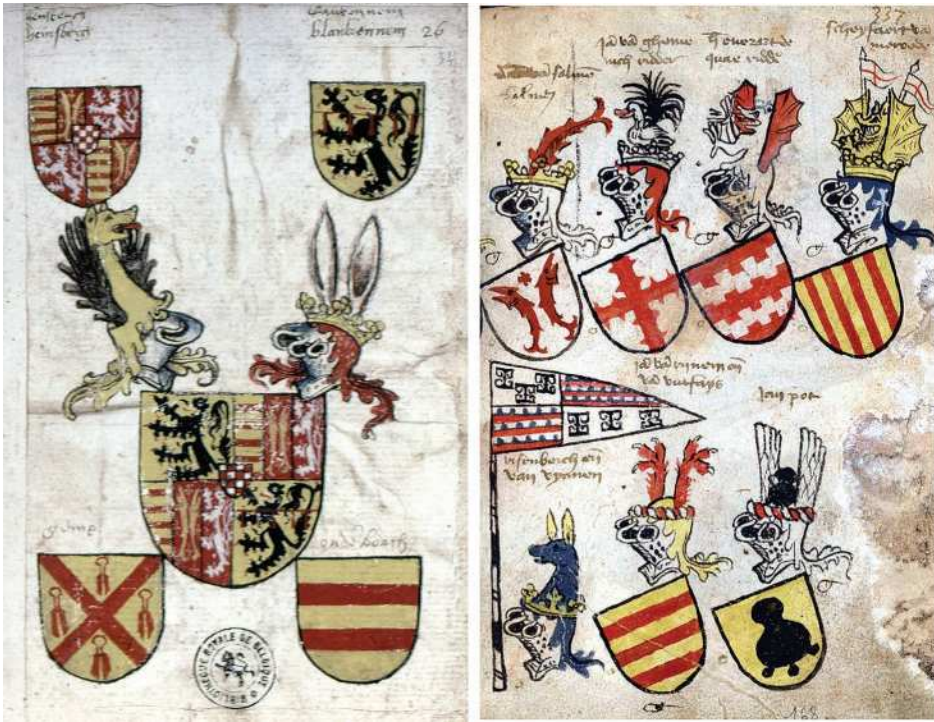


Figure 11: left, 11a: Heinsberg pedigree. Brussels, KBR, FH-DG, Ms II 6616 fol. 34r; right, 11b: the Utrecht Tournament. Brussels, KBR, FH-DG, Ms II 6567, Armorial Lyncenich fol. 168r.

The Tournament of Sinzig, February 18, 1397

The coats of arms of this series were found in two different folders at the Royal Brussels Library.⁴⁴ At the top of one folio is written in Middle Dutch “*Dit is die tornoy tot Zinsich in den jare van 1397 de sondaechs voir cathedra petry.*” This is the tournament of Sinzig, held on Sunday 18 February 1397 and organized by William, Duke of Guelders who from 1393 had also been Duke of Jülich. The city of Sinzig is situated on the Rhine in the extreme southern corner of his combined Duchy of Gelre and Jülich. From the archival sources of the Duchy of Gelre, it can be concluded that Claes Heynenszn, Gelre Herald, was present at this tournament. He left for Sinzig on 5 February in the retinue of Duke William.⁴⁵ The herald is the putative creator of a lost original heraldic record of the tournament, which Hendrik van Heessel copied as the successor of Claes Heynenszn.⁴⁶ There are eighty-five participants, depicted only with barred helmets, mantling and crests (Figure 12). The barred helmet was used in the *buhurt*, a form of mounted close combat. The participants came from the region of the Ruwieren as far as Nassau an der Lahn near Koblenz, and Friedberg near Frankfurt.

Remarkably, three of the ten folios are double, meaning they are drawn twice. Presumably this was a copy for a second manuscript.



Figure 12: the Tournement of Sinzig. Brussels, KBR, FH-DG, Ms II 6616 fol. 37v.

The Armorial Lyncenich

Formerly known as the Armorial Gymnich, this armorial shows both the tilted helmet and the barred helmet in the styles already discussed.⁴⁷ A characteristic mix of Middle Dutch, German and French names and words, and the use of prepositions identify the maker as Hendrik van Heessel. The coats of arms of the nobles of the Habsburg dominions and the Kingdom of Bohemia are found here (Figure 13) as in the Heessel Compendium, and sometimes in the same order. A detailed study of this armorial has been made by Steen Clemmensen.⁴⁸ One segment of the Armorial Lyncenich shows the participants of the tournament of Utrecht, held in 8 to 12 September 1414 (Figure 11b).⁴⁹ This tournament was organised by Jacob van Gaesbeek and held at the Neude, at that time an unpaved square in the city of Utrecht. Participants from the Duchy of Brabant, the Duchy of Jülich and the Bishopric of Utrecht took part, as well as two Spanish nobles, one of them the famous knight Pedro Vasquez de Saavedra, chamberlain to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy in 1443.

More than a year after his confirmation as King of Arms of the Ruwieren by King Frederick III we meet Hendrik van Heessel for the first time at the Burgundian court in Brussels.⁵⁰ On 28 August 1441 he was ordered on a secret diplomatic mission to Jakob I, Archbishop and Elector of Trier and Imperial Chancellor to King Frederick III. It is tempting to identify him with a record in the Utrecht Yearbooks that the “*Coninck van den Erauden der wapen van Brabant*” was present on behalf of the Bishop of Utrecht and the city of Utrecht.⁵¹ Since the wording King of Heralds of Arms “van” Brabant is used, this can be interpreted in two ways. Is Brabant the name of the office, or an indication of the officer’s place of origin? From 1440 to 1471 Jean de la Haye was King of Arms of Brabant.⁵² He was one of the four kings of arms at the Burgundian court; but the bishopric of Utrecht, as well as the participants, fell under the heraldic jurisdiction



Figure 13: the arms of Hungary-ancient and of Austria and Bohemia. Brussels, KBR, FH-DG, Ms II 6567, Armorial Lyncenich fol. 56r.

of Hendrik van Heessel in his capacity as King of Arms of the Ruwieren, and he lived in Brussels, the residence of the Duke of Brabant.

Steen Clemmensen noted that this particular style of barred helmets can also be seen in the later additions in the Danish segment of the Armorial Gelre.⁵³ Indeed similar additions can be found in other parts of this armorial.⁵⁴ It is known to have been in the possession of a herald from Brabant, as documented in the Burgundian archival records in Brussels.⁵⁵ This could refer to Hendrik van Heessel, who perhaps added the arms with barred helmets.

The winners of the jousts of The White Bear in Bruges, 1380–1458

The coats of arms in the Armorial Lyncenich bear a stunning resemblance in form and style to the arms series of the winners of the jousts of the tournament group *The White Bear in Bruges*.⁵⁶ I found these folios in two different folders at the Royal Library of Brussels.⁵⁷ The four folios contain 133 coats of arms comprising 68 large and 65 small arms (Figures 14 and 15a). The series begins in 1380 and ends with the tournament of 1458. Hendrik van Heessel, as a member of the household of Philip the Good, is known to have been present at the tournament of 2 May 1457, when the Duke of Burgundy was present with his entire court. Hendrik may also have been present at the tournament on 17 April 1458, when Philip the Good and his son Charles, Count of Charolais, presented the prizes.⁵⁸



Figure 14: comparison of the arms in the *Armorial Lyncenich* (above) and *The jousts of the White Bear* (below).

The Bergshammar Armorial⁵⁹

Jan Raneke, in his dissertation *Bergshammarvapenboken: en medeltidsheraldisk studie* of 1975, had already noticed the similarity between the Bergshammar and Lyncenich armorial,⁶⁰ and again the similarities in drawing style with the Heessel Compendium are obvious. This can be clearly seen on folio 2r (**Figure 15b**). It is remarkable that most of the coats of arms in the Bergshammar Armorial are drawn in a more careless manner. The handwriting is in Middle Dutch, German and French, the languages used by Hendrik van Heessel. It has been noticed by several heraldic researchers that the Bergshammar Armorial corresponds in content to the Armorial Gelre and Toison d'Or. Hendrik van Heessel was in the possession of the Armorial Gelre, as is stated earlier, so he could copy it freely. But what is Hendrik van Heessel's relation to the Armorial Toison d'Or (ETO)?

The Heessel Compendium and the Armorial Toison d'Or

Jean Le Fèvre de Saint-Remy was King of Arms of the Golden Fleece from its foundation until his death in 1468. He was a colleague of Hendrik van Heessel. In 1445 there were four kings of arms in the Burgundian Household: Toison d'Or, Brabant, Artois and Ruwieren.⁶¹ In 1458 the office of the kings of arms was extended with Flanders and Hainaut.⁶² Only Hendrik van Heessel and Jean Le Fèvre de Saint-Remy had a fulltime job, meaning they got paid for a whole year, and they both had a servant and two horses. The other kings of arms were only paid for half a year. In the Armorial Toison d'Or we see strong similarities with various coats of arms from the Heessel Compendium (**Figure 16**), suggesting that Le Fèvre and van Heessel worked together on the former.

An Armorial of the Low Countries

In the folder Anticque there is an armorial with 460 coats of arms matching the coats of arms on fol. 109v and 110r (**Figure 17a**) in the Heessel Compendium.⁶³ Jean-Marie van

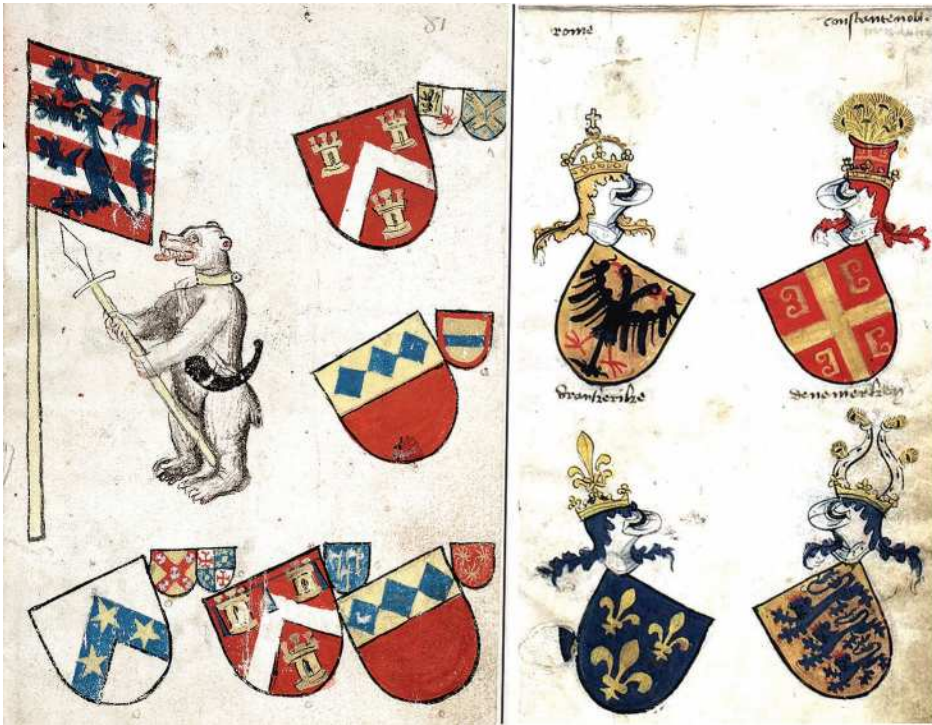


Figure 15: Left, 15a: *The Jousts of the White Bear*. Brussels, KBR, FH-DG, Ms II 6616 fol. 40v; right, 15b: the *Armorial Bergshammar*. Stockholm, Riksarkivet, SE/RA/720085/Z, *Bergshammars vapenbok*, fol. 2r.

den Eeckhout has studied this armorial (**Figure 17c**), and described 57 coats of arms from nobles of the County of Flanders.⁶⁴ The handwriting and language correspond to that of the *Armorial Lyncenich*. This armorial can be dated between 1452 and 1456.⁶⁵ There is a striking change of style in this armorial which matches the arms of knights of the Golden Fleece in the *Heessel Compendium*. This change was most probably inspired by the way that artists depicted arms on stall plates.

Ninth Chapter of the Golden Fleece in The Hague 1456

On 2 May 1451 Hendrik van Heessel was present at the eighth chapter of the Golden Fleece in Mons. It appears that he was also present at the ninth chapter in The Hague on 2 May 1456.⁶⁶ On fol. 115v to 145r of the *Heessel Compendium* twenty-eight coats of arms of the knights of the Golden Fleece of the ninth chapter of 1456 were drawn (**Figure 17b**).



Figure 16: comparison of the arms in the Heessel Compendium (paired left) and the Armorial Toison d'Or (paired right).

Conclusion

The results of this research show that Hendrik van Heessel is not only the compiler of the Heessel Compendium, but also of a number of hitherto unrecognised heraldic manuscripts, and two well-known armorials. This has been demonstrated by comparing the style of drawing, initially taking the Heessel Compendium as the starting point. It is clear that Hendrik van Heessel, as king of arms of the Ruwieren, had taken over the archives of his predecessors. Only in this way was he able to reproduce the Sinzig tournament of 1397, and to copy the majority of the Armorial Gelre into the Armorial Bergshammarr. The abrupt change in style, seen in his drawings of the arms of the knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece and in the folder Anticque, has surely been influenced by the artistic way in which arms were depicted at that time. It has also been shown that fellow heralds collaborated by copying material from each other. It is hoped that this study will stimulate further research into Hendrik van Heessel as King of Arms of the Ruwieren. He certainly was one of the most important heralds of the Low Countries during the Middle Ages, both as a compiler of armorials and as a high emissary of some of the most powerful monarchs of his time. Much remains to be explored. In particular, the results will have to be tested by codicological examination of all the material.

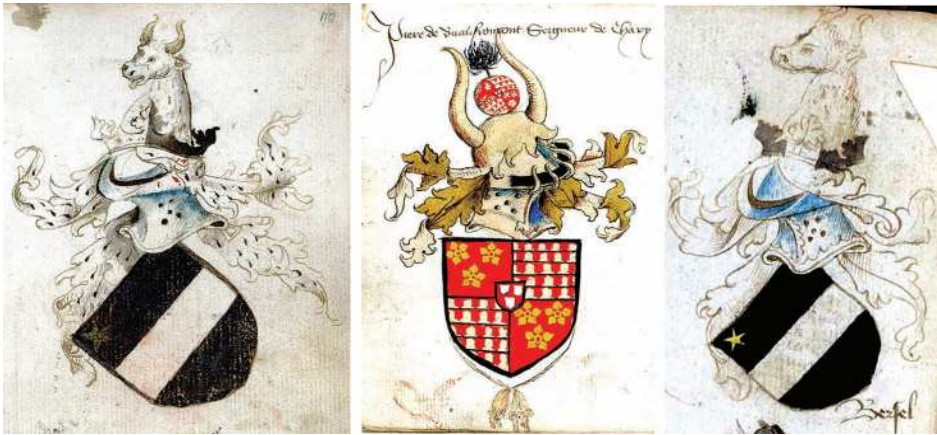


Figure 17: left, 17a: the Heessel Compendium. Antwerp, EHC, B89.420, fol. 110r; centre, 17b: arms of Pierre de Bauffremont, Comte de Charny, present at the Toisson d'Or in 1456 from the Heessel Compendium, Antwerp, EHC, B89.420, fol. 125v; right, 17c: arms from the Armorial of the Low Countries. Brussels, KBR, FH-DG, Anticque fol. 113v.

¹ W. van Anrooij, 'Hendrik Van Heessel, héraut à la cour impériale et à la cour de Bourgogne', in *Revue du Nord* 88 (2006), pp. 709–726.

² The name Heessel Compendium is also used by Steen Clemmensen: S. Clemmensen, *Editing Armorial: Cooperation, knowledge and approach by late medieval practitioners*, 2 vols (Copenhagen, 2017).

³ City archives of 's-Hertogenbosch (SAH), BPR, R. 1177, fol. 165. In November 1384, Lucas van den Kelre dedicated to Mechteldis, daughter of the late Jan van Steensel, an annuity of nine pounds *paijement* from his corn-tithe and other possessions. Lucas van den Kelre was married to Beatrix, daughter of Jan van Steensel.

⁴ G. Croenen, 'Review of W. van Anrooij Spiegel van Ridderschap', in *Millennium* 7 (1993), pp. 52–55; C. van Lom (ed.), *Beschrijvinge der stad Lier in Brabant* (The Hague, 1740), pp. 268–269; W. van Anrooij, 'King of Arms of the Ruwieren', in *The Herald in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. K. Stevenson (Woodbridge, 209) p. 123; H. Simonneau, 'Le roi d'armes dans les Pays-Bas bourguignons d'après une ordonnance de 1497', in *Les 'autres' rois*, ed. T. Hiltmann (Munnich, 2010), p. 46, note. 15.

⁵ H. von Seggern, 'Hermann von Brüninghausen, Wappenkönig der Ruwieren', in S. Selzer, U.C. Ewert (ed.), *Menschenbilder – Menschenbildner. Individuum und Gruppe im Blick des Historikers* (Berlin, 2002), pp. 109–117.

⁶ W. Altmann (ed.), *Regesta Imperii XI, Die Urkunden Kaiser Sigmunds (1410–1437)* (Innsbruck, 1897–1900), vol. 2, no. 9495.

⁷ Heessel Compendium, folio 53v. It should be noted that there is written proof of this grant of a coat of arms for Hendrik van Heessel (*Herssel*) in the Austrian State Archives, but no depiction of the arms. Ref. code: AT-OeStA/AVA Adel RAA 182.44.

⁸ J. Chmel, *Regesta Friderici*, no. 63.[online]

⁹ Van Anrooij, 'Hendrik Van Heessel, héraut à la cour', pp. 709 and 714.

¹⁰ W. van Anrooij, 'Het Wapenboek Gelre, een boek van Europese allure', in *Mededelingen Historische Kring West-Betuwe* 36 (2008), pp. 67–72.

¹¹ Waalwijk received town privileges in 1303.

¹² Van Anrooij, 'Hendrik Van Heessel, héraut à la cour', p. 714. The Ywijn van Oudheusden family shares the same coat of arms with the noble Van Waardenburg family, but with a label. This could indicate that they are a younger branch, but this is not proven. The genealogy of the family can be traced back to 1323.

¹³ Streekarchief Langstraat, Heusden, Altena (SALHA), Archief van de heerlijkheid (lordship) Oudheusden, Elshout en Hulten, 0155, charter no. 332.

¹⁴ Bavarian State Archives, Pfalz-Neuburg Urkunden, Landesteilungen und Einungen 593. This charter is a confirmation that Duke Ludwig the Elder of Bavaria-Ingolstadt is acting in accordance with the royal commandment of peace.

HENDRIK VAN HEESSEL KING OF ARMS

- ¹⁵ Henry de Riche, Hungary Herald, is probably the creator of L'Armorial dit de l'héault Hongrie (HUN), Paris BnF fr. 5242, dated around 1460.
- ¹⁶ The seal is described as "6 mal links geschrägt mit Turnierkragen belegt", in the book by K. Primbs, 'Wanderung durch die Siegel des deutschen und namentlich bayerischen Adels aus der Sammlung von Metallabgüssen im algermeinem Reichsarchiv', in *Archivalische Zeitschrift*, Neue Folge, vol. 3 (Munich, 1892), pp. 205 and 221.
- ¹⁷ SALHA, 1090 Burgerlijke en gemengde instellingen van weldadigheid, Waalwijk, Charters van de Waalwijkse Tafel van de Heilige Geest, nos. 95A (1404) and 48A (1413).
- ¹⁸ Royal Library of Brussels (KBR), Fonds Houwaert-De Grez (FH-DG), Ms II 6567, Armorial Lyncenich, fol. 170r, no. 2768.
- ¹⁹ The Van Heessel family is documented in Waalwijk from 1311. Members of this family were alderman and sheriff (*schout*).
- ²⁰ SAH, BPR, R. 1245, fol. 144.
- ²¹ Ortenburger Wappenbuch (ORT), BSB Cod.icon 308, fol. 137, *die herschell*; BSB Cod.icon 312, fol. 12r, *h(err) v(on) hessel*; BnF Fr. 24049, Armorial Allemand (QDB), fol. 64v, no. 322, *sr. de heessel* [M. Popoff in AHS 2006-II, pp. 175 and 186]; BnF Allemand 304, fol. 413r, *von hessel*.
- ²² Database Burgundian Heraldry, Fiche 2140.
- ²³ W. van Anrooij, 'Bayern, Herolde und Literatur im spätmittelalterlichen Reich', *650 Jahre Herzogtum Niederbayern-Straubing-Holland*, ed. A. Huber, J. Prammer (Straubing, 2005), p. 261.
- ²⁴ A.G. Jongkees, *Het koninkrijk Friesland in de vijftiende eeuw* (Groningen, 1946), p. 27, endnote 12.
- ²⁵ National Archives of the Netherlands, Manuscripts Third Section, 3.22.01.01, inv.nr. 1315. A. van der Tuijn, *Doodboek van de Onze-Lieve-Vrouwe-Broederschap te Heusden*, second part, women, folio 2.
- ²⁶ Heessel Compendium, folio 57v to 59r.
- ²⁷ R. Kurelić, 'Ulrich II of Celje's Coat-of-Arms in Hendrik van Heessel's Armorial – a Unique Depiction of a complete Coat-of-Arms in the Historiography of the Counts of Celje', in *Zgodovinski casopis (Historical Review)* (Ljubljana, 2018), vol. 72, nos. 1–2, pp. 104–124.
- ²⁸ E. Birck, 'Actenstücke Herzog Philipp's von Burgund Gesandtschaft an den Hof des römischen Königs Friedrich IV. in den Jahren 1448 und 1448 betreffend', in *Der Österreichischer Geschichtsforscher*, ed. J. Chmel (Vienna, 1838), vol. 1, pp. 231–273.
- ²⁹ Heessel Compendium, fol. 71r.
- ³⁰ KBR, FH-DG, Ms II 6616, fol. 35r.
- ³¹ K. Žvanut, *Pečati Grofov Celjskih – Seals of the Counts of Celje* (Ljubljana, 2001), pp. 109–110; Charter of 1 November 1429 in the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia (ARS), CE II, No. 175. Special thanks for providing an image of this seal to Katja Mahnič PhD of the University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Department of Art History.
- ³² L'Armorial dit de Nicolas de Lutzelbourg, Bibliothèque Municipale de Nancy, Ms. 1727, fol. 14r115v.
- ³³ S. Clemmensen, *An Introduction to and blazons of Armorial dit de Nicolas de Lutzelbourg* (Farum, 2013).
- ³⁴ I. Voje, 'Romanje Ulrika II. Celsjskega v Kompostelo k sv. Jakobu', in *Zgodovinski casopis (Historical Review)* (Ljubljana, 1984), vol. 38, no. 3, pp. 225–230.
- ³⁵ Archivo de la Corona de Aragon, Barcelona, ACA, Real Cancillería, Registros, 2757, fol. 115r116r; K. Häbler, *Das Wallfahrtsbuch des Hermanns Kunig von Vach und die Pilgerreisen der Deutschen nach Santiago de Compostela* (Strassburg, 1899), pp. 43–45.
- ³⁶ F. Pérez de Guzman, *Crónica del señor rey don Juan, segundo de este nombre en Castilla y en Leon* (Valencia, 1779), p. 298.
- ³⁷ R. Salicru I Lluch, 'Caballeros cristianos en el Occidente europeo islámico', in *Geschichte und Kultur der Iberischen Welt*, (Münster, 2004), vol. 1, pp. 227–228 and 283.
- ³⁸ 1414
- ³⁹ R. Kälin, Review of *Die Herolde Im römisch-deutschen Reich* by Nils Bock, in *Archivum Heraldikum* (2016) p. 286.
- ⁴⁰ KBR, FH-DG, Ms II 6616, fol. 21.
- ⁴¹ KBR, FH-DG, Anticque, Ms II 6617, fol. 147.
- ⁴² From 11 October 1433 to 11 May 1434 the Emperor Sigismund attended the Council of Basel (1431–1448). In January 1434 he held an Imperial Diet. He was present at banquets, dances and tournaments. These tournaments (*Gestech*) were held on Shrove Tuesday (*Faßnacht*). Hendrik van Heessel will certainly have been present. Christian Wurstisen, *Bassler Chronick* (Basel, 1580), pp. 270–411, here p. 329.
- ⁴³ KBR, FH-DG, Ms II 6616, fol. 34r.
- ⁴⁴ KBR, FH-DG, Ms II 6616, fol. 20r, 20v, 23r, 37r, 37v, 38r, 38v and 47r; Ms II 6617, fol. 133r and 133v.
- ⁴⁵ Gelders Archief, HA 228 fol. 1r; G. Nijsten, *In the Shadow of Burgundy: The Court of Guelders in the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 186.
- ⁴⁶ W. van Anrooij, *Spiegel van Ridderschap* (Amsterdam, 1990) p. 244, note 110.
- ⁴⁷ KBR, FH-DG, Ms II 6567, Armorial Lyncenich.

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- ⁴⁸ S. Clemmensen, *The Lyncenich armorial* (Farum, 2016).
- ⁴⁹ KBR, FH-DG, Ms II 6567, Armorial Lyncenich, fol. 167v170r.
- ⁵⁰ Mandement donné le 28 août 1441: A Henry, roy d'armes des Roiez, que mon dit seigneur a ordonné lui estre bailliee et delivree comptant pour aller pour son ordonnance dez la ville de Brouxelles a Treves et aillieurs pour certaines choses secretes touchans mon dit seigneur et dont il ne veult aultre declaracion estre faite XX I (Database Burgundian Heraldry, Fiche 1236).
- ⁵¹ K. Burman, *Utrechtsche Jaarboeken van de Vijftiende Eeuw* (Utrecht, 1751), vol. 2, p. 6.
- ⁵² H. Simonneau, *Grandeur et décadence d'une institution aulique. Les hérauts d'armes dans les Pays-Bas bourguignons entre 1467 et 1519*, Annexes, Thesis, University of Lille (Lille, 2010), p. 12.
- ⁵³ S. Clemmensen, *The Lyncenich armorial*, p. 18. Danish segment in the Armorial Gelre on fol. 55v56r, Nos. 550, 551, 553.
- ⁵⁴ Armorial Gelre, fol.27r, No. 16; 28r, No. 54. There are even more samples with closed helmets 'à la Heessel' in the Armorial Gelre. It is clear that several people have worked on this armorial.
- ⁵⁵ Croenen, 'Review Spiegel van Ridderschap', pp. 52–55.
- ⁵⁶ K. Padberg Evenboer, 'De winnaars van de steekspelen van de Witte Beer, 1380–1458. Kopie van het verloren tableau in de Poortersloge?', in: *Miscellanea Heraldica I*, ed. M. Van de Cruys (Wijnegem, 2020), pp. 259–317.
- ⁵⁷ KBR, FH-DG, Ms II 6616, folio 36r, 36v, 39r, 39v, 40r and 40v; Ms II 6565, folio 3r and 3v. The contents of the three folders is described in: C. van den Bergen-Pantens, *L'héraldique dans les manuscrits antérieur à 1600* (Brussels, 1985), pp. 25, 26, 37, 38, 42 and 43.
- ⁵⁸ C. Custis, *Jaer-Boecken der stadt Brugge*, vol. 1 (Ghent, 1735), pp. 422–423.
- ⁵⁹ Stockholm, The National Archives (Riksarkivet), Bergshammars vapenbok, SE/RA/720085/Z.
- ⁶⁰ J. Raneke, *Bergshammarsvapenboken: en medeltidsheraldisk studie* (Lund, 1975), p. 40.
- ⁶¹ H. Kruse and W. Paravicini, *Die Hofordnungen der Herzöge von Burgund, Vol. I, Herzog Philipp der Gute 1407–1467* (Ostfildern, 2005), pp. 253–254.
- ⁶² Kruse and Paravicini, *Die Hofordnungen*, vol. I, pp. 416–417.
- ⁶³ KBR, FH-DG, Ms II 6617, fol. 106r179v.
- ⁶⁴ J.-M. Van den Eeckhout, *Wapenboek van het middeleeuwse Vlaanderen*, 2 vols (Sint-Niklaas, 2009).
- ⁶⁵ Van Anrooij, 'Hendrik Van Heessel, héraut à la cour', p. 726 (Annex).
- ⁶⁶ W. van Anrooij, '1456. Het negende kapittel', in K. Buijijck, N. de Goederen, M. Haak et. al.(edd.), *Hofboek. Verleden van het Binnenhof* (2021), pp. 56–63; Van Anrooij, 'Bayern, Herolde und Literatur', p. 260.