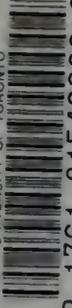


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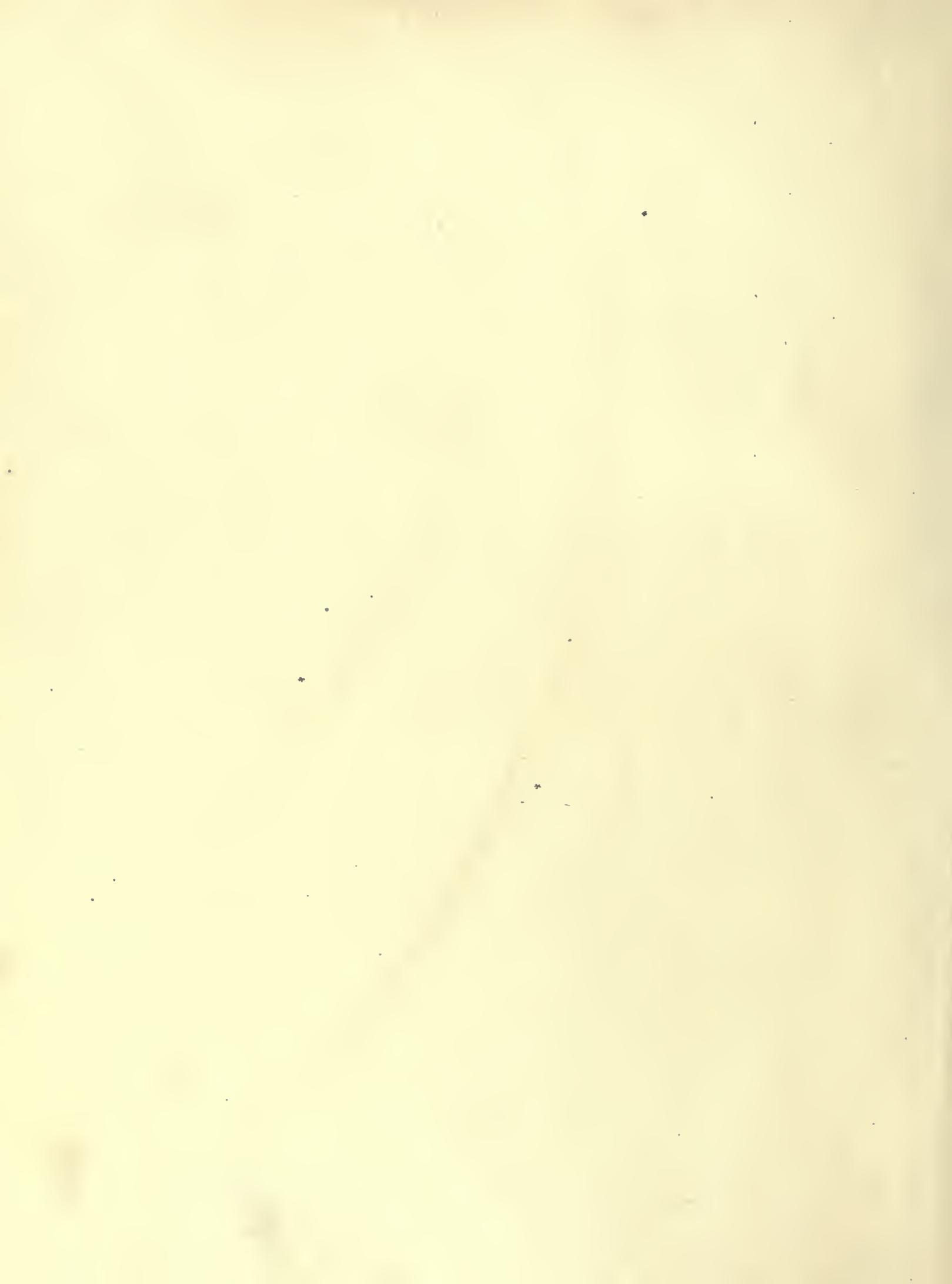
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A RECORD OF  
EUROPEAN ARMOUR  
AND ARMS

VOL. III



A RECORD OF  
EUROPEAN ARMOUR  
AND ARMS  
THROUGH SEVEN CENTURIES

BY  
SIR GUY FRANCIS LAKING, BT.  
C.B., M.V.O., F.S.A.  
LATE KEEPER OF THE KING'S ARMOURY

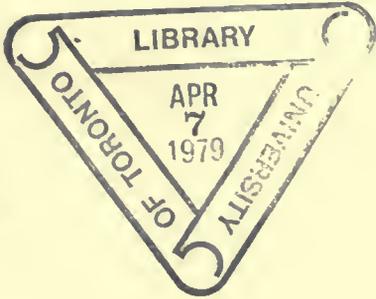
VOL. III



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CHISWICK PRESS: CHARLES WHITTINGHAM AND GRIGGS (PRINTERS), LTD.  
TOOKS COURT, CHANCERY LANE, LONDON

# CONTENTS OF VOLUME III

## CHAPTER XIX

### DAGGERS

	PAGE
Early brief allusions in this work to the dagger—Its popularity with the armour collector— The previous small interest in the study of its evolution and family groups—The fine examples in the Wallace Collection, and in public collections abroad—Private collections that possess representative series—From the middle of the XIVth to the middle of the XVIth century the six distinctive groups consisting of varieties of the quillon dagger, of the rondel dagger, of the so-called "kidney" dagger, of the so-called "ear pommel" dagger, of the dagger of the transitional XVth-XVIth century types, and of the so- called <i>cinquedea</i> —The quillon dagger of the XIVth century shown on the effigy of Sir Roger de Kerdeston of about 1335—Other representations of the type of dagger of this century—Extant examples—The basilard to be placed in the same category —Some existing examples—The possible evolution of the rondel dagger, the great popularity of that type of hilt—As shown on the brass of Sir Edward Cerne of 1393, and on other brasses and effigies of that century—Extant examples—The rondel dagger of the XVth century, and onwards to its close—Its contemporary representation, and extant examples—Variations in the medium of the hilts—The latest type of the rondel dagger, first half of the XVIth century—The "kidney" dagger, the origin of its name—An early dagger of the type shown on the brass of Sir William de Aldeburgh, about 1360—Others represented on effigy and brass—Some extant examples dating from the end of the XIVth century to the end of the XVth century—Variation in form and media—A family of English made "kidney" daggers that date as late as the second half of the XVIth century—The final evolution of this type of dagger hilt early in the XVIIth century—The borrowed Eastern form of the "ear pommel" dagger; the comparatively late date of the European adaptation of this form—Their introduction in the latter part of the XVth century—Some notable examples extant—Reputed historical dagger of the type: pictorial evidence of the continued use of the "ear pommel" dagger in the first half of the XVIth century—Various daggers of the transitional years of the XVth-XVIth centuries—The Holbein dagger— Other daggers difficult to class into families, but distinctive in type—Those of Italian, and those of German origin—The <i>cinquedea</i> —The <i>cinquedea</i> dagger-sword—The probable origin of the name—The popularity of these daggers in Northern Italy through- out the XVth century, and in the first quarter of the next—The sumptuousness of the weapon—The many forgeries that exist—The Veronese type of the middle of the XVth century: The Venetian type—Some famous enriched examples extant in the public collections of England and on the Continent . . . . .	1

# EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

## CHAPTER XX

### HAFTED WEAPONS IN GENERAL USE FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE XIV<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE XVII<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

The lance—Chaucer's description—An extant war lance of the early years of the XV<sup>th</sup> century—Contemporary mention of the proportions of the lance—Late XV<sup>th</sup> century lances—The coronel, the *boîte*, the bourdon, the Swedish-feather—The lance attributed to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk—The vamplate, the war-hammer, the pole-axe, and battle-axe—The great antiquity of these weapons—The similarity in combat of the use of all such weapons—Some war-hammers of distinction—The true pole-axe and hammer as a double-handed weapon, its use on foot as a knightly fighting weapon, and its popularity in those fights—Some pictorial illustrations of its practice—Arguments on the class of infantry weapons which go by the name of glaive, voulge, partisan, ranseur, spetum, bill, and guisarme—Illustrations and extant examples—What is termed the battle-axe—The Austrian *bardische*—The Lochaber axe and the Jedburgh axe—The halberd class of weapon—The probable derivation of its name, and its reputed age as a hafted infantry arm—The various types and extant examples—The knightly mace—Allusions to it—Extant examples of the XIV<sup>th</sup> and XV<sup>th</sup> centuries, and early years of the XVI<sup>th</sup> century—Weapons originally of peasant origin—Examples of comparatively late date—The war flail—The "holy water sprinkler," and the "morning star"—Some historical references—Secret hafted weapons

PAGE

81

## CHAPTER XXI

### THE CROSSBOW

Continuation from pages 4, 5, 65, 123, 124 in vol. i of our brief history of the long and crossbow—The crossbow of the XIV<sup>th</sup> century, with both horn and steel bow—The age and probable origin of the horn bow—Peter the Saracen, crossbow maker to King John, one of the makers of the so-called horn bow—A remarkable crossbow of the middle of the XV<sup>th</sup> century, with a description of its media—The description of the XV<sup>th</sup> century crossbow—The range of its bolts—The *arbalestes ribaudequins*—The windlass *à tour*—An historical example—The windlass *à cranequin*—An historical example—The windlass *piéd de chèvre*—An historical example—Other windlasses of possibly individual construction—The small grapple charging tackle—The crossbow called the "latch"—The pellet crossbow, *arbalète à jalet*—A sumptuous late example—The various types of bolts discharged from the crossbow—The long bow, the Englishman's *droit mesurer*—The Morris or short bow—An existing long bow of the early part of the XVI<sup>th</sup> century—The constant endeavour made by the King and his Council to encourage the use of the long bow

127

## CHAPTER XXII

### HORSE ARMOUR, THE BIT, SADDLE, AND SPUR FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE XIV<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY TO THE END OF THE XVII<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

The possible date of the first protective apparel for the horse—An unsubstantiated suggestion of its use in the XI<sup>th</sup> century—A quotation from Matthew Paris referring to an armed horse early in the XIII<sup>th</sup> century—The chanfron of *cuir bouilli*, mentioned in the

## CONTENTS OF VOLUME III

	PAGE
<p>list of the famous Windsor Tournament of 1278—Pictorial illustration of the complete chanfron of about 1350—Other illustrations and allusions to horse armour of the second half of the XIVth century—The Musée d'Artillerie chanfron, dating from the end of the XIVth century; the famous Warwick chanfron; the "Attila" chanfron in the Arsenal of Venice, its possible date—Pictorial evidence as to horse armour in the first half of the XVth century—The war saddle of the XVth century, and the early and historical example from the tomb of King Henry V in the Abbey Church of Westminster—Pictorial and sculptural evidence of the formation of the war-saddle in the XIIIth and XIVth centuries—Some fine extant bits of the latter part of the XIVth century—Others of later date—The spur from the end of the XIIIth century—Illustration of types of the prick order—The rowel spur—Some sumptuous extant examples of the XIVth and XVth centuries—XVth century saddles other than those used solely for purposes of war—Some highly finished examples in ivory, bone, and <i>gesso duro</i>—Plate armour for the horse in the first half of the XVth century—The few and very rare extant examples—After about A.D. 1460 our knowledge of the subject made more thorough by the existence of more specimens—Certain complete horse armours, now existing, but of slightly later date—The strange absence from Italian pictorial and sculptural art of representations of horse defence—Extant chanfrons as evidence of the style of horse defence in the third quarter of the XVth century—The wholly complete horse armour of the latter years of the century, both English and Continental—Horse armour in the Tower of London—Examples in the Imperial Armoury of Vienna—The deterioration in workmanship towards the second half of the XVIth century—Eccentricities of horse armour intended for the tilt yard—The beauty of horse apparel in the second quarter of the XVIth century, when accompanying <i>en suite</i> the suits made by great armourers of the epoch for great personages—Horse armour of the "Spanish" school—Note on the pair of spurs illustrated in Figs. 971 and 971A and on a sword bearing the arms of the House of Dreux . . . . .</p>	147

### CHAPTER XXIII

#### THE DAWN OF THE XVI<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY—THE TOWER OF LONDON ARMOURY

<p>The dawn of the XVIth century—Certain types of decorated armour—The rivalry of armourers that led to the excessive decoration upon armour as the century progressed, which decreased its protective quality and disguised its indifferent construction—The gradual transition from the so-called Gothic armour to the so-called Maximilian—Early XVIth century armour of foremost interest to the English collectors; extant examples in our national armoury, the Tower of London—An endeavour to establish their identity with royal ownership accredited to them—The Curators of the armouries at the Tower—The possible makers of certain of the Tower Henry VIII suits discussed—The suit formerly preserved in the Château de Bonnelle said to have been worn by Gourdon de Genouilhac, its great likeness in form to the double suit of Henry VIII—The armourers of the French school . . . . .</p>	209
---	-----

# EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

## CHAPTER XXIV

### THE MAXIMILIAN SCHOOL

PAGE

The first recognized group of XVIth century armour, all classed under the heading of the Maximilian school, irrespective of nationality—This group in itself divided into three schools, the plain, the fluted, and the grotesque—All contemporaneous and made during the period we might roughly estimate from about 1510 to 1545—Some characteristic examples of the plain Maximilian harnesses, Italian and German—The fluted Maximilian, some characteristic examples, both Italian and German—Examples of extreme rarity—Under the heading of the Grotesque Maximilian, puffed, slashed, and strangely visored helmets appear, suits of great rarity and of superb workmanship, but bizarre and curious—The grotesqueness in the fashioning of the suits followed the civil dress of the day, expressing in iron the prevailing modes; and the desire to sacrifice the elongated “gothic” lines of a previous generation to those that lend width and sturdiness to the figure—Some very famous puffed and slashed suits, Italian, German, and possibly French—A forged brass in St. Denis and an absurd tradition—Tradition and armour . . . 240

## CHAPTER XXV

### ARMOUR OF A TYPE NOW VAGUELY TERMED *LANDSKNECHT* AND XVIth CENTURY ARMOUR UNDER CLASSICAL INFLUENCE

A type of armour belonging to the second quarter of the XVIth century and later, now vaguely classed under the heading of *Landsknecht* for the want of a more comprehensive name—The greater part of the more ordinary mid-XVIth century armour comes within this category—Some fine examples principally of German make—XVIth century armour, the actual form and decoration of which is influenced by the feeling of the Renaissance—One of the most famous historical suits of the first half of the XVIth century belonging to this group—The master of this school, Bartolommeo Campi of Pesaro, though many armourers, notably of Italy, made classically fashioned suits—Some famous examples—The classical motifs retained throughout the XVIth and even during the XVIIth century, though the classical forms of the actual plates are more directly influenced by the fashion of the time as the century progresses—The Baron de Cosson on the work of Bartolommeo Campi—*L'Armure aux Lions* and the “Lion” suit in the Tower . . . . . 272

## CHAPTER XXVI

### ARMOUR TERMED “SPANISH”

Armour termed “Spanish,” a description of a particular type of war harness chiefly supplied to the Spanish Court, made chiefly in Germany—The finest armourers of Augsburg, Landshut, and Innsbrück all worked for Charles V, Philip II, and the grandees of Spain

## CONTENTS OF VOLUME III

	PAGE
—The armourers of Northern Italy also requisitioned, their finer appreciation of decorative motifs stimulating their German rivals—Descriptions of the most famous and historical suits of their so-called "Spanish" types . . . . .	302

### CHAPTER XXVII

#### THE SCHOOL OF LUCIO PICININO

The school of Lucio Picinino of Milan, the distinct phases of the style—In the latest phase the marked deterioration, both in workmanship and design, very apparent—Much decorated armour of this latter type, only of the school of Picinino, not even from his workshops, but from the hands of very indifferent imitators—Certain very fine suits, and portions of suits, belonging to the first phase of Lucio Picinino—Certain fine suits, though less grand in the conception of their ornamentation, that we class in the later manners of Picinino . . . . .	330
--	-----

### CHAPTER XXVIII

#### ARMOUR TERMED "FRENCH"

Armour termed "French," in the same category as that termed "Spanish," not directly the work of the country, but made for the court and nobility of France—A suit, though now not in France, we can establish as having been made for Henri II—The Henri II suit in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris; its unknown maker, but its likeness to the productions of Northern Italy—The unfinished so-called suit of Henri II in the Louvre, the chief of a group of works by a goldsmith-armourer whose work is familiar, but whose identity and even nationality have not been ascertained—The arguments of experts on the technique and style of the decoration as compared with existing drawings, and with other works of art—Certain suits or parts of suits which may be compared in style with the Louvre suit, though certainly not by the same hand . . . . .	342
---	-----



# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN VOLUME III

FIG.	PAGE
725. DAGGER SHOWN ON THE EFFIGY OF SIR ROGER DE KERDESTON, EARLY XIVTH CENTURY. Reepham Church, Norfolk. After Stothard . . . . .	3
726. FROM THE BRASS OF SIR MILES STAPLETON, ABOUT 1370. Ingham Church, Norfolk. After Stothard . . . . .	3
727. DAGGER, MIDDLE OF THE XIVTH CENTURY. Found in London. Guildhall Museum . . . . .	3
728. DAGGER, LATE XIVTH CENTURY. Found in London. Guildhall Museum . . . . .	3
729. DAGGER, NORTH GERMAN, LATE XIVTH CENTURY. Collection: Author . . . . .	4
730. FROM THE BRASS OF 1392 OF JOHN CRAY, ESQUIRE. Chinnor Church, Oxfordshire . . . . .	4
731. DAGGER, ENGLISH, ABOUT 1390. Found in the Thames at Westminster. Collection: Mr. W. J. Pavyer . . . . .	5
732. FROM THE BRASS OF RALPH DE KNEVYNGTON, 1370. Aveley Church, Essex. After Waller . . . . .	5
733. DAGGER, ENGLISH, ABOUT 1400. Found in the Thames at Mortlake. Collection: Mr. H. G. Keasby . . . . .	5
734. DAGGER, PROBABLY MIDDLE OF THE XIVTH CENTURY. Found at London Wall. Guildhall Museum . . . . .	6
735. DAGGER, PROBABLY MIDDLE OF THE XIVTH CENTURY. London Museum . . . . .	6
736. DAGGER, WITH BRONZE HILT, PROBABLY NORTH ITALIAN, EARLY XVTH CENTURY. Collection: Author . . . . .	6
737. QUILLONLESS BRONZE-HILTED DAGGER WITH THE CRESCENT-SHAPED POMMEL, PROBABLY VENETIAN, ABOUT 1400. Ex collection: Signor Resson . . . . .	7
738. BRONZE CRESCENT-SHAPED DAGGER POMMELS (ACTUAL SIZE), NORTH ITALIAN, ABOUT 1400. Collection: Author . . . . .	7
739. BRONZE-HILTED DAGGER, VENETIAN, ABOUT 1480. Metropolitan Museum of New York . . . . .	7
740. DAGGER, BRONZE AND EBONY HILT, VENETIAN, ABOUT 1480. Collection: Author . . . . .	7
741. FROM A PICTURE ATTRIBUTED TO GENTILE MASSI (DA FABRIANO), SHOWING A NORTHERN ITALIAN DAGGER OF ABOUT 1440-50 . . . . .	7
742. DAGGER, PROBABLY BURGUNDIAN, ABOUT 1470-80. Collection: Mr. Henry G. Keasby . . . . .	7

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

FIG.		PAGE
743.	FROM THE EFFIGY OF SIR HUGH CAVELEY, ABOUT 1390. Bunbury Church, Cheshire. After Stothard . . . . .	9
744.	FROM THE BRASS OF JOHN CORP, 1391. Stoke Fleming Church, Devonshire. After Waller . . . . .	9
745.	FROM THE BRASS OF A FRANKLIN, ABOUT 1370. Shottesbrooke Church, Berkshire . . . . .	9
746.	BASILARD KNIFE, PROBABLY XIII <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Found in the Thames. London Museum . . . . .	10
747.	BASILARD DAGGER, LATE XIV <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Found in Brook's Wharf, Upper Thames Street. Guildhall Museum . . . . .	10
748.	BASILARD DAGGER, GERMAN, EARLY XV <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Found near Frankfort-on-Main. Collection: Author . . . . .	10
749.	FROM THE EFFIGY OF JOHANN VON HOLZHAUSEN, ABOUT 1410. Kaiser Dom of Frankfort . . . . .	10
750.	BASILARD DAGGER, NORTH GERMAN, EARLY XV <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Collection: Author . . . . .	10
751.	BASILARD DAGGER, LATE XIV <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Found in London. Guildhall Museum . . . . .	10
752.	SLENDER BASILARD DAGGER, GERMAN, ABOUT 1420. Collection: Sir H. Farnham Burke, K.C.V.O. . . . .	11
753.	DAGGER OF BASILARD TYPE, NORTH ITALIAN, FIRST HALF OF THE XIV <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Victoria and Albert Museum . . . . .	12
754.	DAGGER OF BASILARD TYPE, FRENCH WORK, SECOND HALF OF THE XIV <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Hermitage, Petrograd . . . . .	12
755.	DAGGER OF BASILARD TYPE, PROBABLY VENETIAN, FIRST HALF OF THE XIV <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Collection: Dr. Bashford Dean, New York . . . . .	12
756.	DAGGER, ENGLISH, LATE XIV <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Found in London. British Museum . . . . .	14
757.	DAGGER, ENGLISH, LATE XIV <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Enriched with figures of saints in enamel. Found at Duston, near Northampton. Collection: Mr. Henry G. Keasby . . . . .	14
758a.	DAGGER, ENGLISH, LATE XIV <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY (SIDE VIEW). Found in London. Guildhall Museum . . . . .	14
758b.	THE SAME DAGGER, VIEWED FROM THE FRONT, SHOWING THE INSCRIPTION . . . . .	14
759.	DAGGER, ENGLISH, LATE XIV <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Found in the Thames, Westminster. London Museum . . . . .	15
760.	DAGGER, ENGLISH, LATE XIV <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Found in Kingsway, London. London Museum . . . . .	15

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN VOLUME III

FIG.		PAGE
761.	FROM THE BRASS OF SIR EDWARD CERNE, 1393. Draycot Cerne Church, Wiltshire . . . . .	16
762.	FROM THE BRASS OF JOHN CRESSY, ESQ., 1414. Dodford Church, Northamptonshire . . . . .	16
763.	FROM THE BRASS OF YSTASE DE SERON, ABOUT 1382. Chapel of Ease at Seron, near Forville . . . . .	16
764.	ENGRAVING BY H. SCHAUFFELIN FROM THE <i>THEUERDANK</i> , SHOWING THE RONDEL DAGGER . . . . .	17
765.	RONDEL DAGGER, EARLY XVTH CENTURY. Found in Old Swan Lane, 1867. Guildhall Museum . . . . .	17
766.	FROM THE BRASS OF THOMAS BEAUCHAMP, EARL OF WARWICK, 1401. St. Mary's Church, Warwick . . . . .	19
767.	RONDEL DAGGER, ENGLISH, ABOUT 1400. Found at Walthamstow. London Museum . . . . .	19
768.	FROM THE BRASS OF AN UNKNOWN KNIGHT, ABOUT 1405. Laughton Church, Lincolnshire . . . . .	19
769.	FROM THE BRASS OF SIR REGINALD DE COBHAM, 1403. Lingfield Church, Surrey . . . . .	19
770.	RONDEL DAGGER, ENGLISH, ABOUT 1430. Found in Upper Thames Street on the shore of the Thames. London Museum . . . . .	19
771.	FROM THE BRASS OF SIR WILLIAM VERNON, 1467. Tong Church, Shropshire . . . . .	20
772.	RONDEL DAGGER, FIRST HALF OF THE XVTH CENTURY. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 114) . . . . .	20
773.	RONDEL DAGGER, ENGLISH, ABOUT 1450-60. Found in the Thames, London. Collection: Mr. Henry G. Keasby . . . . .	20
774.	RONDEL DAGGER, PROBABLY ENGLISH, ABOUT 1440. Ex collection: Signor Resson . . . . .	21
775.	RONDEL DAGGER, ENGLISH, EARLY XVTH CENTURY. Found at Brook's Wharf, Upper Thames Street. Guildhall Museum . . . . .	21
776.	RONDEL DAGGER, ENGLISH, EARLY XVTH CENTURY. Found in the Clerkenwell Road in 1864. Guildhall Museum . . . . .	21
777.	FROM THE BRASS OF JOHN DAUNDELYON, GENT., 1445. Church of St. John the Baptist, Margate . . . . .	22
778.	RONDEL DAGGER, ENGLISH, ABOUT 1430. Found in the Thames, London. British Museum . . . . .	22
779.	RONDEL DAGGER, ENGLISH, ABOUT 1440. Found in Horseferry Road, Westminster. London Museum . . . . .	22

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

FIG.	PAGE
780a, b. RONDEL DAGGER, PROBABLY FRENCH, ABOUT 1450. Found in a peat fen in the north of France. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 110). (a) The hilt; (b) general proportions . . . . .	23
781. RONDEL DAGGER, PROBABLY ENGLISH, ABOUT 1450-60. Found in the Thames. Collection: Author . . . . .	23
782. RONDEL DAGGER, ENGLISH, ABOUT 1460-70. Found at Broken Wharf, Thames Street. London Museum . . . . .	25
783. RONDEL DAGGER, ENGLISH, ABOUT 1460-70. The scabbard, though of the right type, does not belong to the dagger. Found in the Horseferry Road, Westminster. London Museum . . . . .	25
784. RONDEL DAGGER AND ITS SHEATH, ITALIAN, PROBABLY BELUNESE, ABOUT 1470. It is said to have belonged to the Archduke Sigismund of Tyrol. Imperial Armoury, Vienna . . . . .	27
785. RONDEL DAGGER WITH ITS SHEATH, BURGUNDIAN, ABOUT 1480. National Bavarian Museum, Munich . . . . .	27
786. RONDEL DAGGER, BURGUNDIAN, ABOUT 1480. Ex collection: Signor Ressiman . . . . .	27
787. RONDEL DAGGER WITH ITS SHEATH, BURGUNDIAN, ABOUT 1490-1510. Ex collection: Bernal. Victoria and Albert Museum . . . . .	28
788. RONDEL DAGGER, BURGUNDIAN, ABOUT 1500. Collection: Mr. Henry G. Keasby . . . . .	28
789. RONDEL DAGGER AND SHEATH WITH RENAISSANCE DECORATION, OF UNCERTAIN AGE, BUT IN THE STYLE OF THE EARLY YEARS OF THE XVI <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Collection: M. Edmond Foulc, Paris . . . . .	29
790. FROM A PORTRAIT ATTRIBUTED TO COLIN DE NEUFCHÂTEL, SHOWING THE MID-XVI <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY CASE OF A RONDEL DAGGER. Collection: Mr. George Durlacher . . . . .	29
791. DAGGER OR DIRK, SCOTTISH, LATE XVII <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Ex collection: the late Sir Noël Paton. Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh . . . . .	31
792. FROM THE BRASS OF SIR WILLIAM DE ALDEBURGH, ABOUT 1360. Aldborough Church, Yorkshire . . . . .	31
793. FROM THE BRASS OF ROBERT PARYS, 1379. Hildersham Church, Cambridgeshire . . . . .	32
794. DAGGER, ON THE EFFIGY OF JOHN FITZ-ALAN, EARL OF ARUNDEL, ABOUT 1434. Church of Arundel . . . . .	32
795. DAGGER, FRENCH, ABOUT 1400-20. Ex collection: Baron de Cosson. Metropolitan Museum of New York . . . . .	32
796. DAGGER, FRENCH, ABOUT 1430-50. Metropolitan Museum, New York . . . . .	33

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN VOLUME III

FIG.		PAGE
797.	DAGGER, FRENCH, ABOUT 1430-50. Multi-sectioned blade. Metropolitan Museum, New York . . . . .	33
798.	DAGGER AND SHEATH, PROBABLY FLEMISH, ABOUT 1450-60. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 113) . . . . .	35
799.	DAGGER, ENGLISH, ABOUT 1470. Found in Horseferry Road, Westminster. London Museum . . . . .	35
800.	DAGGER, ENGLISH, ABOUT 1480. Found in the Thames, Westminster. Collection: Author . . . . .	35
801.	DAGGER, ENGLISH, ABOUT 1480. Found in London. Guildhall Museum . . . . .	36
802.	DAGGER, ENGLISH, ABOUT 1460. Collection: Author . . . . .	36
803.	DAGGER, ENGLISH, ABOUT 1440-50. British Museum . . . . .	36
804.	DAGGER, ABOUT 1470. Found in the Rhine. Collection: Mr. Henry G. Keasby . . . . .	37
805.	DAGGER AND SHEATH, FLEMISH, ABOUT 1460. Ex collections: M. Victor Gay and Baron de Cosson, now collection of Author . . . . .	37
806.	DAGGER, ABOUT 1460. Collection: Author . . . . .	37
807.	DAGGER, TRI-QUILLONED TYPE, FRENCH, ABOUT 1460. Collection: Mr. Henry G. Keasby . . . . .	39
808.	DAGGER, FLEMISH, ABOUT 1460. Ex collection: Sir Samuel Meyrick, now collection of Mr. Henry G. Keasby . . . . .	39
809.	DAGGER, FLEMISH, ABOUT 1460. Collection: Mr. Henry G. Keasby . . . . .	39
810.	DAGGER, FLEMISH, ABOUT 1460. Found in the Moselle. Collection: Mr. Henry G. Keasby . . . . .	39
811.	DAGGER, PROBABLY FLEMISH, ABOUT 1460. Collection: Mr. Henry G. Keasby . . . . .	41
812.	DAGGER, PROBABLY ENGLISH, ABOUT 1470. Found in London. Guildhall Museum . . . . .	41
813.	DAGGER, WITH AN ELABORATED IVORY HILT OF "KIDNEY" TYPE, NORTH ITALIAN, ABOUT 1490-1500. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 116) . . . . .	41
814.	DAGGER, WITH TWO VIEWS OF ITS LEATHER SHEATH. ENGLISH, ABOUT 1540. From the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, 16 February 1888. Collection: Dr. Figdor, Vienna . . . . .	42
815 <i>a</i> .	DAGGER, WITH ITS SHEATH. ENGLISH, ABOUT 1540. Collection: Author . . . . .	42
815 <i>b</i> .	THE SAME DAGGER, DIFFERENTLY VIEWED. Collection: Author . . . . .	42
816.	DAGGER, ENGLISH, ABOUT 1540. Collection: H.M. the King, Windsor Castle . . . . .	43

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

FIG.		PAGE
817.	DAGGER, ENGLISH, ABOUT 1540. From Woodbridge, Suffolk. Collection: Mr. Henry G. Keasby . . . . .	43
818.	DAGGER AND SHEATH, ENGLISH, ABOUT 1540. Found in the thatch of a cottage at Weldrake, Yorkshire, 1846. Collection: Mr. Henry G. Keasby . . . . .	43
819.	DAGGER, ENGLISH, ABOUT 1540-60. Salting Bequest to the Victoria and Albert Museum . . . . .	45
820.	ENGRAVING FROM THE <i>THEUERDANK</i> , by H. Schauffelin, showing the "kidney" dagger, worn in civil costume . . . . .	45
821.	DAGGER, GERMAN, 1541. Victoria and Albert Museum . . . . .	45
822.	DAGGERS. ( <i>a</i> ) Dagger, sheath, and knives, English, about 1620. Collection: Mr. S. Willson; ( <i>b</i> ) Dagger, English, about 1620. Found in a cottage at Gloucester. Collection: Mr. J. Seymour Lucas, R.A.; ( <i>c</i> ) Dagger and sheath, English, about 1620. Found in a cottage at Gloucester. Collection: Mr. J. Seymour Lucas, R.A.; ( <i>d</i> ) Dagger, with inscription on blade, dated 1626. Collection: Mr. J. Seymour Lucas, R.A.; ( <i>e</i> ) Dagger, sheath, and knife, English, dated 1628. Collection: Mr. H. G. Radford; ( <i>f</i> ) Dagger, English, about 1630-40. Collection: H.M. the King, Windsor Castle . . . . .	47
823.	BRONZE YATAGHAN HILT, ABOUT A.D. 400-600. From Ardabil, Persia. British Museum . . . . .	49
824.	DAGGER, SILVERED BRONZE HILT, PROBABLY ENGLISH, ABOUT 1480. Found in the Thames, Westminster. Collection: Author . . . . .	49
825.	DAGGER, IRON HILT, PROBABLY SPANISH, ABOUT 1500. Collection: Baron de Cosson . . . . .	49
826.	DAGGER, IRON HILT, ITALIAN (VENETIAN), ABOUT 1500. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 109) . . . . .	49
827.	DAGGER, PROBABLY SPANISH, ABOUT 1490. Collection: Viscount Astor . . . . .	50
828.	DAGGERS. ( <i>a, c</i> ) PROBABLY NORTH ITALIAN, ABOUT 1500; ( <i>b, d</i> ) HISPANO-MOORISH, ABOUT 1490. Ex collection: Signor Ressiman, now in the Bargello Museum, Florence . . . . .	51
829.	DAGGER, ITALIAN, ABOUT 1500, WITH SILVER NIELLO PLAQUES ON THE GRIP, GILT PLAQUETTES ON THE POMMEL. Ex collection: Lord Londesborough. Metropolitan Museum, New York . . . . .	52
830.	DAGGER, SPANISH, ABOUT 1500, WITH SILVER NIELLO PLAQUES ON THE GRIP. Collection: Prince Ladislaus Odesscalchi, Rome . . . . .	52
831.	DAGGER, GILT HILT, WITH SETTINGS OF TURQUOISE AND MOTHER-OF-PEARL. IN THE STYLE OF THE XVII <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Metropolitan Museum, New York . . . . .	54

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN VOLUME III

FIG.	PAGE
832. DAGGER, ITALIAN (VENETIAN), ABOUT 1500. Metropolitan Museum, New York . . . . .	54
833. DAGGER, ITALIAN (VENETIAN), ABOUT 1500. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 111) . . . . .	54
834 <i>a, b.</i> EAR DAGGERS, WITH CARVED IVORY GRIPS AND GOLD DAMASCENED MOUNTS, PROBABLY SPANISH, ABOUT 1490. Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan . . . . .	55
835. EAR DAGGER, REPUTED TO BE THE WEAPON WITH WHICH GALEAZZO SFORZA WAS MURDERED BY ANDREA LAMPUGNANO. Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan . . . . .	55
836. PORTRAIT OF EDWARD VI, SHOWING THE KING WEARING AN "EAR" POMMEL DAGGER. Collection: H.M. the King, Windsor Castle . . . . .	56
837. DAGGER AND SHEATH—"HOLBEIN" TYPE, GERMAN OR SWISS, ABOUT 1530. Imperial Armoury, Vienna . . . . .	57
838. DAGGER SHEATH FROM AN ORIGINAL WASH DRAWING BY HANS HOLBEIN, THE YOUNGER, 1497-1543. Bâle Museum . . . . .	57
838A. DRAWINGS OF DAGGER SHEATHS BY HANS HOLBEIN . . . . .	58
839. DAGGER AND SHEATH—"HOLBEIN" TYPE, GERMAN OR SWISS, ABOUT 1540. Musée du Louvre . . . . .	59
840. DAGGER AND SHEATH, GERMAN, LANDSKNECHT TYPE, ABOUT 1540. Collection: Mr. Henry G. Keasby . . . . .	60
841. DAGGER, GERMAN, LANDSKNECHT TYPE, ABOUT 1520. Collection: Mr. Henry G. Keasby . . . . .	60
842. DAGGER, GERMAN, LANDSKNECHT TYPE, BUT PROBABLY OF ENGLISH WORKMANSHIP, ABOUT 1520. Found at Brook's Wharf, Thames Street, 1866. Guildhall Museum . . . . .	60
843. ENGRAVING BY HEINRICH ALDEGREVER, FROM <i>DIE HOCHZEITSTÄNZER</i> , SHOWING THE "HOLBEIN" DAGGER AND THE SKIRT FROM WHICH THE FASHION OF THE <i>TONNLET</i> WAS DERIVED . . . . .	61
844. POMMEL, ITALIAN, ABOUT 1520. Collection: Signor Ressiman, Bargello Museum, Florence . . . . .	62
845. DAGGER HILT, NORTH ITALIAN, ABOUT 1520. Collection: H.M. the King, Windsor Castle . . . . .	63
846. DAGGER OF THE CINQUEDEA TYPE, NORTH ITALIAN, ABOUT 1520-40. Collection: H.M. the King, Windsor Castle . . . . .	64
847. DAGGER OF THE CINQUEDEA TYPE, BRONZE GILT HILT, NORTH ITALIAN, ABOUT 1520. Metropolitan Museum, New York . . . . .	64
848. THRUSTING DAGGER, KNOWN AS A <i>KATĀR</i> , PECULIAR TO INDIA . . . . .	66
849. DAGGER OF THE CINQUEDEA TYPE, ITALIAN, PROBABLY VERONESE, ABOUT 1440-50. Metropolitan Museum, New York . . . . .	67

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

FIG.		PAGE
850.	BLADE OF A CINQUEDEA, ETCHED AND GILDED IN THE MANNER OF ERCOLE DEI FIDELI, END OF THE XVTH CENTURY. Collection: the late Mr. Frederick Stibbert, Florence . . . . .	68
851.	CINQUEDEA, ITALIAN (VENETIAN), ABOUT 1480. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 98) . . . . .	69
852.	NINE CINQUEDEA SWORD DAGGERS OF LATE XVTH AND EARLY XVIth CENTURY DATE Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, Nos. 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 98, 99, 100, and 101 . . . . .	70
853.	CINQUEDEA, ITALIAN (VENETIAN), ABOUT 1500. Victoria and Albert Museum . . . . .	72
854.	CINQUEDEA WITH ITS ORIGINAL SCABBARD, NORTH ITALIAN, ABOUT 1490. Collection: H.M. the King, Windsor Castle . . . . .	72
855.	CINQUEDEA, POMMEL AND GRIP OVERLAID WITH SILVER DECORATED WITH NIELLO, NORTH ITALIAN, ABOUT 1490-1500. Ex collection: Lord Carmichael . . . . .	74
856.	CINQUEDEA, WITH MOTHER-OF-PEARL PLAQUES APPLIED TO THE GRIP, NORTH ITALIAN, ABOUT 1490-1500. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford . . . . .	75
857.	CINQUEDEA WITH ITS ORIGINAL SCABBARD, NORTH ITALIAN, ABOUT 1490-1500. Ex collection, Lord Londesborough . . . . .	75
858.	CINQUEDEA, NORTH ITALIAN, ABOUT 1490-1500. Tower of London . . . . .	75
859.	CINQUEDEA, NORTH ITALIAN, LATE XVTH CENTURY, WITH ETCHED BLADE. Musée du Louvre . . . . .	76
860.	CINQUEDEA. (a) With original scabbard, North Italian, about 1490-1500. J 776, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris; (b) With original scabbard, North Italian, about 1490-1500. J 774, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris; (c) With original scabbard, North Italian, about 1490-1500. J 775, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris . . . . .	77
861.	CINQUEDEA WITH ITS ORIGINAL SCABBARD, NORTH ITALIAN, ABOUT 1490-1500. Musée du Louvre . . . . .	78
862.	CINQUEDEA, ITALIAN, PROBABLY BOLOGNESE, ABOUT 1490-1500. Collection: Signor Resson, Bargello Museum, Florence . . . . .	78
863.	CINQUEDEA WITH ITS ORIGINAL SCABBARD, PROBABLY VENETIAN, ABOUT 1500. Collection: Prince Ladislaus Odescalchi, Rome . . . . .	78
863A.	CINQUEDEA, SAID TO HAVE BEEN PRESENTED BY CHARLES V TO FRANCIS I. Collection: Prince Collorodo of Prague . . . . .	79
864.	WAR LANCE, PROBABLY OF EARLY XVTH CENTURY. Collection: Sir Edward Barry, Bart. . . . .	82
865.	CORONEL HEADS OF A TILTING LANCE. (a) LATE XVTH CENTURY; (b) EARLY XVIth CENTURY. Imperial Armoury, Vienna . . . . .	82

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN VOLUME III

FIG.		PAGE
866.	CENTRAL PORTION OF THE LARGE BUT HOLLOW LANCE, KNOWN AS THAT OF CHARLES BRANDON, DUKE OF SUFFOLK. Tower of London, Class VII, No. 50 . . . . .	82
867.	VAMPLATE OF A TILTING LANCE, LATE XVTH CENTURY. Wallace Collection . . . . .	83
868.	FROM THE PICTURE OF MARS AND VENUS. Painted for Lorenzo the Magnificent by Alessandro Filipepi, known as Sandro Botticelli. National Gallery . . . . .	84
869.	CENTRAL PORTIONS OF TWO TILTING LANCES, LATE XVIITH CENTURY. Wallace Collection . . . . .	85
870.	SWEDISH FEATHER, XVIITH AND XVIIITH CENTURIES. Collection: the late Mr. Rutherford Stuyvesant, New York . . . . .	86
871.	WAR-HAMMER, PROBABLY FRENCH, FIRST HALF OF THE XVTH CENTURY. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 23) . . . . .	88
872.	WAR-HAMMER, PROBABLY FRENCH, FIRST HALF OF THE XVTH CENTURY. Metropolitan Museum, New York . . . . .	88
873.	WAR-HAMMER, PROBABLY FRENCH, FIRST HALF OF THE XVTH CENTURY. Ex collection: Duc de Dino. Metropolitan Museum, New York . . . . .	88
874.	WAR-HAMMER HEAD, ITALIAN, OR POSSIBLY SPANISH, LATE XVTH CENTURY. Collection: Mr. Felix Joubert . . . . .	88
875.	MACE HEAD, PROBABLY XIVTH CENTURY. London Museum . . . . .	90
876.	RELIEF FIGURE FROM THE SLEEPING GUARDS ARMED WITH A MACE, SECOND HALF OF THE XIIIITH CENTURY. From the Easter Sepulchre, Lincoln Cathedral . . . . .	90
877.	MACE HEAD OF IRON, POSSIBLY OF THE MIDDLE OF THE XIVTH CENTURY. Collection: M. Charles Boissonnas, Geneva . . . . .	91
878.	MACE WITH A HEAD OF IRON, LATE XIVTH CENTURY. National Bavarian Museum, Munich . . . . .	91
879.	MACE, PROBABLY FRENCH, ABOUT 1470. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 621) . . . . .	91
880.	MACE, FRENCH, ABOUT 1480. Collection: Baron de Cosson . . . . .	92
881.	MACE, FRENCH, ABOUT 1480. Collection: M. Charles Boissonnas, Geneva . . . . .	92
882.	MACE, PROBABLY BAVARIAN, ABOUT 1490. From the collection of Prince Mikhaïlovitch Galitzine. Now in the Hermitage, Petrograd . . . . .	92
883.	MACE, ORIGINALLY HAFTED WITH WOOD, LATE XVTH CENTURY. Collection: Author . . . . .	93
884.	MACE, FROM AN INCISED SLAB, LATE XIVTH CENTURY. Formerly in the Church of Culture-Sainte Cathérine, Paris. After Planché . . . . .	93
885.	MACE, ITALIAN, ABOUT 1520. Collection: Viscount Astor . . . . .	94

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

FIG.	PAGE
886. KNIGHTLY POLE-AXE AND HAMMER, FIRST HALF OF THE XV <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 23) . . . . .	96
887. KNIGHTLY POLE-AXE AND HAMMER, PROBABLY FRENCH, THIRD QUARTER OF THE XV <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 54) .	96
888. KNIGHTLY WAR-HAMMER, THIRD QUARTER OF THE XV <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. National Bavarian Museum, Munich . . . . .	96
889. KNIGHTLY POLE-AXE, THIRD QUARTER OF THE XV <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Ex collec- tion: Lord Londesborough. Collection: Mr. S. G. Fenton . . . . .	96
890. SIR JOHN ASTLEY'S FIGHT WITH PHILIP BOYLE AT SMITHFIELD IN 1441-2. Hastings MS. . . . .	97
891. THREE KNIGHTLY POLE-ARMS. (a) Pole-axe, probably French, about 1480. Metropolitan Museum, New York; (b) War-hammer, Italian, about 1500. Noël Paton Collection, Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh; (c) Pole-axe, about 1480. The head of this weapon was found at Newbury. Collection: Mr. Godfrey Williams . . . . .	98
892. DOUCE MS., BODLEIAN, NO. 271 . . . . .	99
893. FROM "THE HISTORY OF ST. URSULA." By Vittore Carpaccio, showing the heavy pole-hammer and the <i>hâche d'armes</i> carried by the knights and soldiers. Accademia, Venice . . . . .	100
894. "HOW A MAN SCHALL BE ARMYD AT HIS ESE WHEN HE SCHIAL FIGHTE ON FOOTE." Hastings MS. . . . .	100
895. FROM <i>THE PAGEANT OF RICHARD BEAUCHAMP, EARL OF WARWICK</i> . Richard Beauchamp fighting Pandolph Malatête <i>en champ clos</i> , armed with war- hammers, showing the protective rondels on the hafts . . . . .	101
896. FROM A WOODCUT, NO. 18, LIRER SWABIAN CHRONICLE, ABOUT 1484. Graf von dem Rotenfan fights for the honour of Queen Kathay . . . . .	102
896A. POLE-AXE, PROBABLY ENGLISH, EARLY XVI <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. K 84, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris . . . . .	103
897. POLE-AXE, PROBABLY BURGUNDIAN, ABOUT 1480. Ex collections: Meyrick and Noël Paton. Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh . . . . .	103
898. THE "LUZERN" HAMMER, SWISS, ABOUT 1560. Collection: Author . . . . .	103
899. GLAIVES. (a) Italian (Venetian), early XVII <sup>th</sup> century. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 740); (b) Probably made in Italy for François de Bourbon, Duc de Montmorency, 1539-1592. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 733) . . . . .	105
900. FROM THE SIDE OF A CARVED IVORY CASKET OF THE EARLY XIV <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY, SHOWING A WARRIOR ARMED WITH A SHIELD AND A HAFTED WEAPON, NOW TERMED THE VOULGE . . . . .	106

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN VOLUME III

FIG.	PAGE
901 <i>a</i> . HAFTED WEAPON THAT MIGHT BE TERMED THE VOULGE, LATE XVTH CENTURY. Ex collection: Baron de Cosson . . . . .	106
901 <i>b</i> . HAFTED WEAPON THAT MIGHT BE TERMED THE VOULGE, LATE XVTH CENTURY. Ex collection: Baron de Cosson, now Tower of London . . . . .	106
902. SPETUM, ABOUT 1480. Noël Paton Collection, Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh . . . . .	108
903. SPETUM, ITALIAN, ABOUT 1530. K 514, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris . . . . .	108
904. SPETUM, ITALIAN, ABOUT 1530. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 339) . . . . .	108
905. PARTIZAN, ITALIAN, ABOUT 1540. K 394, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris . . . . .	109
906. PARTIZAN, ABOUT 1480. National Bavarian Museum, Munich . . . . .	109
907. HAFTED WEAPONS, INCLUSIVE OF THE BILL, FROM THE PERISHED FRESCOES OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE XIII <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Formerly in the Painted Chamber, Westminster . . . . .	111
908. BILL HEAD, LATE XVTH CENTURY. National Bavarian Museum, Munich . . . . .	112
909. BILL HEAD, EARLY XVI <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Noël Paton Collection, Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh . . . . .	112
910. LARGE BILL, EARLY XVII <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY, ETCHED WITH THE ARMS OF LOUIS XIII OF FRANCE. K 197, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris . . . . .	112
911. SMALL BILL, EARLY XVI <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Tower of London . . . . .	113
912. BILL, ITALIAN, EARLY XVI <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Wallace Collection (Laking Cata- logue, No. 310) . . . . .	113
913. BILL, EARLY XVI <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Noël Paton Collection, Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh . . . . .	113
914. "BROWN" BILL, ENGLISH, LATE XVI <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Found at Sudbury, Suffolk. Collection: Aüthor . . . . .	114
915. MINIATURE BILL, PROBABLY OF ENGLISH WORKMANSHIP, EARLY XVI <sup>TH</sup> CEN- TURY. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 724) . . . . .	114
916. GUI SARME, LATE XVTH CENTURY. Tower of London . . . . .	116
917. GUI SARME, LATE XVTH CENTURY. Collection: Baron de Cosson . . . . .	116
918. FIGHTING AXE, LATE XIVTH CENTURY. Wallace Collection (Laking Cata- logue, No. 20) . . . . .	117
919. FIGHTING AXE, PROBABLY FROM NORTHERN EUROPE, LATE XIVTH CENTURY. Metropolitan Museum, New York . . . . .	117
920. AUSTRIAN BARDISCHE, FIRST HALF OF THE XVTH CENTURY, PROBABLY DECOR- ATED IN VENICE. Metropolitan Museum, New York . . . . .	117
921. LOCHABER AXE, SCOTTISH, EARLY XVII <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Noël Paton Collec- tion, Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh . . . . .	117

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

FIG.	PAGE
922. LOCHABER AXE, PROBABLY SCOTTISH, EARLY XVII <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. K 74, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris . . . . .	118
923. LOCHABER AXE, SCOTTISH, LATE XVII <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Tower of London . . . . .	118
924. BATTLE-AXE, OF THE TYPE OF THE JEDBURGH AXE, PROBABLY OF EARLY GERMAN XVI <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. K 69, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris . . . . .	118
925. HALBERD OF THE VOULGE TYPE, COMMONLY KNOWN AS THE "SEMPACH" HALBERD, EARLY YEARS OF THE XV <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Collection: M. Charles Boissonnas, Geneva . . . . .	120
926. HALBERDS. (a) German or Swiss, about 1440. Collection: M. Charles Boissonnas, Geneva; (b) German or Swiss, about 1450. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 341); (c) German, about 1460. Collection: M. Charles Boissonnas, Geneva; (d) German, about 1470. Ex collection: Baron de Cosson; (e) Swiss, about 1460. Collection: M. Charles Boissonnas, Geneva; (f) Probably German, about 1470. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 333) . . . . .	122
927. MILITARY FLAIL, PROBABLY LATE XVI <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Noël Paton Collection, Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh . . . . .	123
928. HOLY WATER SPRINKLER, SWISS, LATE XVI <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Collection: M. Charles Boissonnas, Geneva . . . . .	123
929. MORNING STAR, LATE XVI <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Found in the valley of Conches, Haut-Valais, in 1912. Collection: M. Charles Boissonnas, Geneva . . . . .	123
930. THE HEAD OF "KING HENRY YE 8 <sup>TH</sup> WALKING STAFF," EARLY XVI <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Tower of London . . . . .	125
931. SECRET RANSEUR, ITALIAN, MIDDLE OF THE XVI <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Tower of London . . . . .	125
932. "LES CHRONIQUES D'ANGLETERRE" (TEMP. EDWARD IV). Roy. MS. 14, E. iv, fol. 210, British Museum . . . . .	129
933. THE GREAT WALL CROSSBOW COMPARED IN SIZE TO THE ORDINARY CROSSBOW AND ARCHER'S PAVOIS. National Bavarian Museum, Munich . . . . .	131
934. DRAWING SHOWING THE WORKING OF THE WINDLASS <i>À TOUR</i> . . . . .	132
935. CROSSBOW WITH STIRRUP, PROBABLY ITALIAN, ABOUT 1490-1500, PRESENTED BY KING LOUIS XII OF FRANCE TO THE ARCHDUKE PHILIP OF AUSTRIA. Imperial Armoury, Vienna . . . . .	133
936. CROSSBOW, GERMAN, ABOUT 1460, WHICH BELONGED TO ULRICH V OF WÜRTEMBERG. Metropolitan Museum, New York . . . . .	134
937. CROSSBOWS. (a) German, dated 1575, showing the moulinet in position. From the Franz Thill Collection, Vienna; (b) German, about 1470-80, showing the twisted cord. From the Franz Thill Collection, Vienna . . . . .	135

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN VOLUME III

FIG.		PAGE
938.	CROSSBOW, PROBABLY NORTHERN FRENCH, ABOUT 1470. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 143) . . . . .	136
939.	CROSSBOW, SPANISH, ABOUT 1550, MADE BY JUAN DE ENSINAS FOR FERDINAND, KING OF THE ROMANS, YOUNGER BROTHER OF CHARLES V. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 1327) . . . . .	138
940.	CROSSBOW LEVERS. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, Nos. 1287 and 1291) . . . . .	139
941.	CROSSBOW WITH ATTACHED LEVER SHOWING METHODS OF DISCHARGE, FRENCH, ABOUT 1570. Tower of London . . . . .	140
942.	MINIATURE REPRODUCED FROM THE MS. OF GASTON PHOEBUS, SHOWING THE BENDING OF THE CROSSBOW BY MEANS OF THE GRAFFLE. National Library of France . . . . .	141
943.	THE DOUBLE CORDS AS USED ON THE <i>ARBALÈTE À JALET</i> . . . . .	142
944.	CROSSBOW PRODD, ITALIAN, LATE XVI <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY, SHOWING THE USE OF THE DOUBLE STRINGS. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 1018) . . . . .	142
* 945.	PISTOL <i>ARBALÈTE</i> , NUREMBERG MAKE, END OF THE XVI <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Collection: Author . . . . .	143
946.	BOLT HEADS OF VARIOUS TYPES, XV <sup>TH</sup> AND XVI <sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES. From various collections . . . . .	144
947.	BOW STAVE OF YEW. Recovered from the wreck of the "Mary Rose," sunk near Spithead in 1545. Tower of London . . . . .	145
948.	MAIL CAPARISONS AS DEPICTED ON A FRESCO FROM THE PAINTED CHAMBER, PALACE OF WESTMINSTER, EARLY XIII <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. . . . .	148
949.	MAIL CAPARISONS AS DEPICTED ON A FRESCO FROM THE PAINTED CHAMBER, PALACE OF WESTMINSTER, EARLY XIII <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. . . . .	149
950.	SEAL OF PATRICK DUNBAR, 10 <sup>TH</sup> EARL OF MARCH, 1292 . . . . .	149
951.	A PROBABLE CELTIC BRONZE CHANFRON, FOUND AT TORRS, KIRKCUDBRIGHTSHIRE. National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh . . . . .	149
952.	FROM A MINIATURE IN THE <i>HOFBIBLIOTHEK</i> , MUNICH, ABOUT 1350. After John Hewett . . . . .	149
953.	FROM A MINIATURE, SHOWING CHANFRON AND CRINET. Add. MSS. 15477, British Museum . . . . .	149
954.	CHANFRON, PROFILE VIEW, ABOUT 1370. G 578, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris . . . . .	150
955.	CHANFRON, FRONT VIEW, ABOUT 1370. G 578, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris . . . . .	150
956.	CARVED IVORY CHESSMAN, ABOUT 1370. Formerly in the collection of the Rev. J. Eagles . . . . .	150
957.	TWO VIEWS OF A CHANFRON, LATE XIV <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Warwick Castle Armoury. After Grose . . . . .	151

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

FIG.	PAGE
958. RELIEF, SHOWING HENRY V MOUNTED, HIS HORSE ARMED WITH A CHANFRON, ABOUT 1415. From the Henry V Chantry Chapel, Westminster Abbey .	152
959. FROM A MINIATURE. From <i>Hystoire de Roys de France après Philippe III, etc.</i> Royal MS., 20, C, vii, folio 136 . . . . .	152
960. CHANFRON, LATE XIVTH OR EARLY XVTH CENTURY. The Arsenal, Venice .	153
961. FROM A MINIATURE FROM A MS. OF THE POEMS OF CHRISTINE DE PISAN, ABOUT 1420. Harleian MSS., 4431, folio 114 . . . . .	154
962. STIRRUP (THE TREAD MISSING), ABOUT 1440. London Museum . . . . .	154
963 <i>a</i> . SADDLE HANGING OVER THE TOMB OF KING HENRY V IN HIS CHANTRY CHAPEL AT THE ABBEY CHURCH OF WESTMINSTER. Full profile view .	155
963 <i>b</i> . SADDLE HANGING OVER THE TOMB OF KING HENRY V. Three-quarter view right . . . . .	157
963 <i>c</i> . SADDLE HANGING OVER THE TOMB OF KING HENRY V. Three-quarter view left . . . . .	159
964. FROM THE TOMB OF BERNABO VISCONTI. Castle of Milan . . . . .	160
965. BIT, GILT BRONZE, AND ENRICHED WITH CHAMPLEVÉ ENAMEL, MIDDLE OF THE XIVTH CENTURY. Metropolitan Museum, New York . . . . .	161
966. SNAFFLE BIT, POSSIBLY LATE XIII <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Collection: Sir H. Farnham Burke, K.C.V.O. . . . .	162
967. BIT, GILDED IRON, SET WITH COLOURED STONES, SUPPOSED TO HAVE BELONGED TO LOUIS XI, BUT IN THE AUTHOR'S OPINION IT IS LATE XVI <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Museum of the town of Bourges . . . . .	162
968. PRYKE SPURS OF THE XIII <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY IN THE LONDON MUSEUM . . . . .	163
969. ONE OF TWO LEGS FROM A BRASS, EARLY XIII <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY, SHOWING THE MAIL <i>CHAUSSE</i> AND ROWEL SPUR. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, Nos. 12, 13) . . . . .	164
970. ROWEL SPURS. ( <i>a</i> ) Gilded bronze, late XIV <sup>th</sup> century, found in London. London Museum; ( <i>b</i> ) Gilded iron, late XIV <sup>th</sup> century, found in London. London Museum; ( <i>c</i> ) Bronze, early XV <sup>th</sup> century, found near Florence. Collection: Author . . . . .	165
971. GILDED BRONZE ROWEL SPUR, ENAMELLED WITH CHEQUERING OF BLACK AND WHITE, LATE XIV <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Collection: Author . . . . .	166
971 <i>a</i> . COMPANION SPUR TO THAT ILLUSTRATED IN FIG. 971. The Riggs Collection, Metropolitan Museum, New York . . . . .	166
972. PAIR OF GILDED BRONZE ROWEL SPURS, ENGRAVED WITH THE WORD "ESPERANCE" IN A FORM OF GARTER, LATE XIV <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Found in the moat of the Château du Bouchat, near St. Dourçain-sur-Sioule (Allier). Collection: Author . . . . .	167

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN VOLUME III

FIG.		PAGE
973.	BRONZE GILT ROWEL SPURS. (a) Italian, about 1380; (b) Italian, about 1370; (c) Italian, about 1370. Collection: the late Signor Ressman, Bargello Museum, Florence . . . . .	168
974.	BRONZE ROWEL SPUR, PROBABLY GERMAN, ABOUT 1440. Collection: the late Signor Ressman, Bargello Museum, Florence . . . . .	168
975.	CANTLE PLATE OF A SADDLE IN CARVED IVORY, NORTH ITALIAN, FIRST HALF OF THE XIII <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Musée du Louvre . . . . .	169
976.	CANTLE PLATE OF A SADDLE IN CARVED IVORY, PROBABLY ITALIAN, FIRST QUARTER OF THE XIV <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Musée du Louvre . . . . .	169
977.	BONE-COVERED SADDLE OF WENZEL I, KING OF THE ROMANS, ABOUT 1380. Imperial Armoury, Vienna . . . . .	170
978.	BONE-COVERED SADDLE, PROBABLY ITALIAN, LATE XIV <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Metropolitan Museum, New York . . . . .	170
979.	BONE-COVERED SADDLE, ITALIAN, EARLY XV <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Metropolitan Museum, New York . . . . .	171
980.	BONE-COVERED SADDLE, GERMAN, OR POSSIBLY ITALIAN, FIRST HALF OF THE XV <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Ex collection: Meyrick. Now in the Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 296) . . . . .	173
981.	BONE-COVERED SADDLE, GERMAN, FIRST HALF OF THE XV <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 298) . . . . .	173
982.	SADDLE COVERED WITH <i>GESSO DURO</i> . NORTH ITALIAN, MIDDLE OF THE XV <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 297) . . . . .	173
983.	BONE-COVERED SADDLE, GERMAN, EARLY XV <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Tower of London . . . . .	174
984.	BONE-COVERED SADDLE, ITALIAN, MIDDLE OF THE XV <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Ex collection: Herr Richard Zschille . . . . .	174
985.	BONE-COVERED SADDLE, ITALIAN, FIRST HALF OF THE XV <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Collection: Signor S. Bardini, Florence . . . . .	175
986.	CHANFRON AND CRINET. From Monsieur E. Fremiet's equestrian statue of the Duc d'Orleans . . . . .	176
987.	EQUESTRIAN ARMOUR, COMPOSITE AND OF FRENCH CHARACTER, ABOUT 1475. G 1, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris . . . . .	177
988.	EQUESTRIAN ARMOUR, COMPREHENSIVELY FRENCH, ABOUT 1475. Wallace Collection . . . . .	179
989.	VERROCCHIO'S EQUESTRIAN STATUE OF BARTOLOMMEO COLLEONI, VENICE, CAST BY LEOPARDI ABOUT 1476 . . . . .	180
990.	DONATELLO'S EQUESTRIAN STATUE OF GENERAL GATTAMELATA, PADUA . . . . .	181
991.	ST. GEORGE. FROM THE PAINTING BY VITTORE CARPACCIO IN THE SCUOLA OF SAN GIORGIO DEGLI SCHIAVONI, VENICE . . . . .	182

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

FIG.		PAGE
992.	FROM VITTORE CARPACCIO'S PICTURE OF "THE TEN THOUSAND MARTYRS." Accademia, Venice . . . . .	183
993.	EQUESTRIAN ARMOUR, COMPOSITE, BUT COMPREHENSIVELY ITALIAN, ABOUT 1460-70. Collection: the late Mr. Frederick Stibbert, Florence . . . . .	184
994.	CHANFRON, PROBABLY SPANISH, ABOUT 1480. FROM THE ARMOURY OF CHARLES V. F 110, Royal Armoury, Madrid . . . . .	185
995.	CHANFRON, LATE XVTH CENTURY, TRADITIONALLY SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN USED BY FRANCIS I AT THE BATTLE OF PAVIA. FROM THE ARMOURY OF CHARLES V. F 113, Royal Armoury, Madrid . . . . .	185
996.	CHANFRON IN THE FLAMBOVANT "GOTHIC" STYLE, FRENCH, ABOUT 1480. The Rotunda, Woolwich . . . . .	186
997.	CHANFRON, ABOUT 1480. Collection: Sir Edward Barry, Bart. . . . .	186
998.	CHANFRON, POSSIBLY ITALIAN, 1470. Collection: Mr. Alfred W. Cox, Glendoick, Perthshire . . . . .	187
999.	CHANFRON, POSSIBLY ENGLISH, ABOUT 1500. Collection: H.M. the King, Windsor Castle . . . . .	187
1000.	EQUESTRIAN ARMOUR MADE FOR RUPERT, COUNT PALATINE OF THE RHINE, AUGSBURG WORK, ABOUT 1502. Imperial Armoury, Vienna . . . . .	189
1001.	POITREL, FROM AN EQUESTRIAN SUIT, ABOUT 1500. Tower of London . . . . .	190
1002.	HORSE ARMOUR, POSSIBLY AN ITALIAN FOUNDATION WORKED UPON IN GER- MANY, ABOUT 1500-10, PRESENTED BY THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN ELECT TO KING HENRY VIII. Tower of London . . . . .	192
1003.	EQUESTRIAN ARMOUR, PROBABLY DECORATED IN ENGLAND ABOUT 1515 TO COMPLETE THE SEUSENHOFER SUIT SENT BY THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN I TO KING HENRY VIII. Tower of London . . . . .	193
1004.	THE <i>HARNISCHMEISTER</i> OF THE ARCHDUKE MAXIMILIAN OF AUSTRIA, 1480, SHOWING A COMPLETE EQUESTRIAN ARMOUR. From a picture in the Imperial Armoury, Vienna . . . . .	195
1005.	FROM HANS BURGKMAIER'S "TRUMPH OF MAXIMILIAN" . . . . .	196
1006.	CROUPIÈRE FOR A HORSE IN <i>CUIR BOUILLI</i> , ONE OF A LARGE NUMBER PURCHASED IN 1547 FOR THE SCOTTISH CAMPAIGN. Tower of Lon- don . . . . .	197
1007.	PADDED POITREL FOR JOUSTING, KNOWN AS THE <i>HOURT</i> OR <i>STECKKISSEN</i> , LATE XVTH CENTURY. Imperial Armoury, Vienna . . . . .	198
1008.	FROM HANS BURGKMAIER'S "TRIUMPH OF MAXIMILIAN," SHOWING THE PADDED <i>HOURT</i> IN POSITION . . . . .	199
1009.	A "BLIND" CHANFRON MADE IN 1530 FOR FERDINAND I. Imperial Armoury, Vienna . . . . .	199

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN VOLUME III

FIG.		PAGE
1010.	MODEL OF A GERMAN JOUSTING HARNESS OF ABOUT 1540 WITH THE HORSE ARMOUR, SHOWING THE HORSE AND THE PADDED <i>STECHKISSEN</i> IN POSITION. National Bavarian Museum, Munich . . . . .	200
1011.	SADDLE OF WOOD COVERED WITH HIDE AND PARTLY WITH CANVAS. Tower of London. From the collection of the Baron Peuker, Berlin . . . . .	201
1012.	EQUESTRIAN ARMOUR MADE FOR MAXIMILIAN I, THE EMPEROR, IN NÜREMBERG, ABOUT THE YEAR 1508. Imperial Armoury, Vienna . . . . .	202
1013.	EQUESTRIAN ARMOUR MADE BY SIGISMUND WOLF OF LANDSHUT IN 1554 FOR PHILIP II OF SPAIN. A 243 to 262, Royal Armoury, Madrid . . . . .	204
1014.	CHANFRONS. ( <i>a</i> ) From the armour of Henry, Prince of Wales, English, Greenwich School, early XVIIth century. Collection: H.M. the King, Windsor Castle; ( <i>b</i> ) Italian, first half of the XVIth century. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 137); ( <i>c</i> ) English, late XVIth century. From the armour of George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, 1558-1605. Tower of London; ( <i>d</i> ) German, under Italian influence, first half of the XVIth century. Tower of London; ( <i>e</i> ) French (remade), first half of the XVIth century, Metropolitan Museum, New York; ( <i>f</i> ) Probably English, early XVIIth century. Tower of London . . . . .	205
1014A.	SWORD, PROBABLY FRENCH AND OF ABOUT 1340, THE POMMEL BEARS THE ARMS OF THE HOUSE OF DREUX. Collection: Mr. S. J. Whawell . . . . .	207
1015.	THE HORSE ARMOURY OF THE TOWER OF LONDON IN 1809. After Rowlandson. From Ackermann's "Microcosm of London" . . . . .	215
1016.	SUIT OF ARMOUR PRESENTED TO HENRY VIII, MADE SOME TIME BETWEEN 1511 AND 1514 FOR THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN I OF GERMANY, THE WORK OF CONRAD SEUSENHOFER OF INNSBRUCK. Tower of London . . . . .	219
1017.	FROM A DRAWING DATED 1510 (SIGNED A. D). A SUIT OF ARMOUR MUCH LIKE THE HENRY VIII SEUSENHOFER SUIT IN THE TOWER. Gallery of Engravings, Berlin . . . . .	220
1017A.	TONNLETS. Riggs Collection, Metropolitan Museum, New York . . . . .	221
1018.	SUIT OF ARMOUR FOR FIGHTING ON FOOT, MADE FOR KING HENRY VIII, PROBABLY ENGLISH, FIRST QUARTER OF THE XVIth CENTURY. ( <i>a</i> ) Front view; ( <i>b</i> ) Back view. Tower of London . . . . .	223
1019.	INSIDE VIEW OF THE CULETTE OF THE SUIT ILLUSTRATED IN FIG. 1018, SHOWING THE WORKING OF THE SLOTTED ALMAINE RIVETS. Tower of London . . . . .	225
1020.	SUIT OF ARMOUR FOR FIGHTING ON FOOT, MADE FOR HENRY VIII, FIRST QUARTER OF THE XVIth CENTURY, POSSIBLY ENGLISH, PRODUCED UNDER ITALIAN INFLUENCE. Tower of London . . . . .	226

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

FIG.	PAGE
1021 <i>a, b</i> . SUIT OF ARMOUR FOR MAN AND HORSE, PROBABLY OF FRENCH MAKE, DATED 1537, BY TRADITION MADE FOR JACQUES GOURDON DE GENOUILHAC, GRAND MASTER OF ARTILLERY TO FRANCIS I, SHOWING ( <i>a</i> ) THE ARMOUR AS WORN WHEN MOUNTED, WITH SADDLE AND HORSE ARMOUR, AND ( <i>b</i> ) THE ARMOUR ON A DISMOUNTED FIGURE. Formerly in the possession of the Duchesse d'Uzès, now in the Riggs Collection, Metropolitan Museum, New York . . . . .	229
1022. LOCKING GAUNTLET OF THE GENOUILHAC SUIT, SHOWING THE DESIGN OF THE ETCHING . . . . .	231
1023. ONE PART OF THE GREAT SUIT OF ARMOUR MADE FOR HENRY VIII, PROBABLY OF FRENCH MAKE, ABOUT 1540. With the exception of the saddle steels, the horse armour is associated. Removed from the Tower of London to Windsor Castle in 1914 by command of H.M. the King . . . . .	232
1024. THE OTHER PART OF THE GREAT SUIT OF ARMOUR, ALSO ILLUSTRATED IN FIG. 1023, MADE FOR HENRY VIII. The <i>poitrel</i> and <i>croupière</i> are associated. Tower of London . . . . .	233
1025. A "FALLING" BUFFE, ETCHED. Tower of London . . . . .	234
1026. BRAYETTE, BELONGING TO THE SUIT ILLUSTRATED IN FIGS. 1023 AND 1024. Removed from Windsor Castle to the Tower of London in 1914 by command of H.M. the King . . . . .	234
1027. A LOCKING GAUNTLET, A BRIDLE MITTEN GAUNTLET, A PAIR OF CUISSÉS, TWO GRAND-GUARDS, A PAIR OF MITTEN GAUNTLETS, A REINFORCING ELBOW PLATE, AND THE CANTLE PLATES OF A SADDLE. Removed from Windsor Castle to the Tower of London in 1914 by command of H.M. the King . . . . .	235
1028. PLATES, PROBABLY FROM THE <i>CROUPIÈRE</i> OF THE HORSE ARMOUR, HENRY VIII SUIT. Removed from Windsor Castle to the Tower of London in 1914 by command of H.M. the King . . . . .	236
1028A. REINFORCING PLATE OF THE BREASTPLATE OF THE GENOUILHAC SUIT SHOWING THE DESIGNS OF THE ETCHING . . . . .	237
1029. THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN AT HIS ARMOURER'S. From the <i>Weiss Kunig</i> . . . . .	240
1029A. GOTHIC PAULDRONS ( <i>a, b</i> ). The Rotunda, Woolwich . . . . .	241
1030. SUIT OF ARMOUR, STATED TO HAVE BEEN MADE FOR COUNT ANDREAS VON SONNENBURG, ABOUT 1508, BY KOLOMAN KOLMAN OF AUGSBURG. Imperial Armoury, Vienna . . . . .	242
1031. SUIT OF ARMOUR, PROBABLY ITALIAN, BUT IN THE GERMAN FASHION, FIRST QUARTER OF THE XVI <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Wallace Collection ( <i>Laking Catalogue</i> , No. 316) . . . . .	242

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN VOLUME III

FIG.		PAGE
1031A.	BREASTPLATE, EARLY XVI <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY, BEARING THE MARKS OF ONE OF THE SEUSENHOFER FAMILY. Collection: Mr. S. J. Whawell . . . . .	243
1032.	SUIT OF ARMOUR, GERMAN (NÜREMBERG), FIRST QUARTER OF THE XVI <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Collection: the late Mr. Frederick Stibbert, Florence . . . . .	244
1033.	ST. GEORGE. From the picture of "St. George and the Dragon," by Paris Bordone . . . . .	245
1034.	SUIT OF ARMOUR, SAID TO HAVE BEEN MADE FOR COUNT EITEL FRIEDRICH VON ZOLLERN, ABOUT 1503, OF ITALIAN FASHION. Imperial Armoury, Vienna . . . . .	247
1034A.	CUISSE, KNEE-COP, JAMB, AND SOLLERET, FROM THE SO-CALLED BAYARD SUIT. The Rotunda, Woolwich . . . . .	247
1035.	PART OF A SUIT OF ARMOUR, PROBABLY MADE FOR CHARLES DE BOURBON, CONSTABLE OF FRANCE, ITALIAN (MILANESE), MISSAGLIA SCHOOL, FIRST QUARTER OF THE XVI <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Riggs Collection, Metropolitan New York . . . . .	248
1036.	SUIT OF ARMOUR, GERMAN (NÜREMBERG), FIRST QUARTER OF THE XVI <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Ex collections: Lord Stafford at Costessey Hall, Norfolk; Cosson; Stuyvesant Collection. Now on loan to the Metropolitan Museum, New York . . . . .	250
1036A.	BREASTPLATE. The Rotunda, Woolwich . . . . .	251
1037.	SUIT OF ARMOUR (COMPOSITE), GERMAN (NÜREMBERG), FIRST HALF OF THE XVI <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Ex Dino Collection, Metropolitan Museum, New York . . . . .	253
1038.	SUIT OF ARMOUR (COMPOSITE), GERMAN (NÜREMBERG), MIDDLE OF THE XVI <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Ex Meyrick Collection. Now Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 779) . . . . .	253
1039.	SUIT OF ARMOUR (SLIGHTLY COMPOSITE). (a) FRONT VIEW; (b) PROFILE VIEW. POSSIBLY THE WORK OF FRANZ SCROO OF BRUSSELS, FIRST QUARTER OF THE XVI <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Ex Dino Collection, Metropolitan Museum, New York . . . . .	255
1040.	SUIT OF ARMOUR, SAID TO HAVE BEEN MADE FOR WILHELM, FREIHERR VON ROGENDORF BY KOLOMAN KOLMAN OF AUGSBURG ABOUT 1520. Imperial Armoury, Vienna . . . . .	259
1041.	SLASHED ARMOUR, AS REPRESENTED IN JACOPO DA PONTORMO'S (CARRUCCI'S) PORTRAIT OF IPPOLITO DE' MEDICI IN THE PITTI PALACE, FLORENCE . . . . .	261
1042.	PORTIONS OF A SUIT OF ARMOUR, GERMAN, FIRST QUARTER OF THE XVI <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Ex Meyrick Collection. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 380) . . . . .	262
1043.	PORTIONS OF PART OF A SLASHED SUIT, GERMAN, FIRST QUARTER OF THE XVI <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. Tower of London. Purchased in 1841 . . . . .	263

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

FIG.		PAGE
1044.	RIGHT ARM-PIECE OF A SLASHED SUIT, GERMAN, FIRST QUARTER OF THE · XVI <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. It was apparently never finished. Collection: Lady Zouche, Parham . . . . .	263
1045.	SUIT OF ARMOUR FOR FIGHTING ON FOOT, ITALIAN (MILANESE), SCHOOL OF MISSAGLIA, DATED 1515. Probably made for Giuliano II or Lorenzo II de' Medici. G 179, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris . . . . .	264
1046.	ARMOUR MADE FOR FIGHTING ON FOOT, ITALIAN (MILANESE), SCHOOL OF NEGROLI, FIRST QUARTER OF THE XVI <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY. G 178, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris . . . . .	266
1047A.	EFFIGY OF THE CONSTABLE DE MONTMORENCI. Preserved in the Louvre, Paris . . . . .	267
1047B.	THE ARMOUR OF THE CONSTABLE DE MONTMORENCI IN WILTON HOUSE. Collection: The Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery . . . . .	267
1047C.	THE ARMOUR OF LOUIS DE BOURBON, DUC DE MONTPENSIER, IN WILTON HOUSE. Collection: The Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery . . . . .	267
1047D.	THE ARMOUR OF THE CONSTABLE DE MONTMORENCI, WITH THE HELMET WORN BY HIM AT DREUX. Musée d'Artillerie, Paris . . . . .	267
1047E.	PORTRAIT OF THE CONSTABLE DE MONTMORENCI. From Jakob Shrenck von Nozing's series published in 1601 . . . . .	271
1048.	SUIT OF ARMOUR, SAID TO HAVE BEEN MADE FOR FRANCIS I OF FRANCE, PROBABLY THE WORK OF ONE OF THE KOLMANS OF AUGSBURG, ABOUT 1530-35. G 117, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris . . . . .	274
1049.	SUIT OF ARMOUR, WITH THE MARK ON THE BREASTPLATE OF ONE OF THE KOLMANS OF AUGSBURG, ABOUT 1540. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 402) . . . . .	274
1050.	SUIT OF ARMOUR, MADE FOR LAZARUS SCHWENDI, FREIHERR VON HOHEN- LANDSBERG, PROBABLY PRODUCED AT AUGSBURG, BUT DECORATED BY PETER SPEIER OF ANNABERG ABOUT 1550-60. Imperial Armoury, Vienna . . . . .	275
1051.	CLASSICALLY FASHIONED SUIT OF ARMOUR, PRESENTED TO CHARLES V BY GUIDOBALDO II, DUKE OF URBINO, IN 1546. Made by Bartolommeo Campi of Pesaro in 1546. A 188, Royal Armoury, Madrid . . . . .	277
1052.	FROM A PICTURE ATTRIBUTED TO JACINTO GERONIMO DE ESPINOSA, IN WHICH ONE OF THE FIGURES IS DEPICTED WEARING THE SUIT ILLUSTRATED IN FIG. 1051. Collection: the late Sir Charles Robinson, C.B. . . . .	280
1053.	PAIR OF STIRRUPS MADE, IN THE OPINION OF THE AUTHOR, FOR THE SUIT ILLUSTRATED IN FIG. 1051. Salting Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum . . . . .	282

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN VOLUME III

FIG.		PAGE
1054.	BREASTPLATE FASHIONED ON CLASSICAL LINES, MADE BY BARTOLOMMEO CAMPI OF PESARO ABOUT 1540, PROBABLY FOR DUKE GUIDOBALDO II OF URBINO. From the ancient armoury of the Medici. Bargello Museum, Florence . . . . .	286
1055.	HALF SUIT OF ARMOUR, MADE FOR ANTONIO MARTINENGO III, ITALIAN (PROBABLY MILANESE), ABOUT 1560. C 11, Royal Armoury, Turin . . . . .	287
1056.	BREASTPLATE, ITALIAN (MILANESE), ABOUT 1540. Signed by Paolo Negroli. Ex collection: Magniac. Now in the Riggs Collection, Metropolitan Museum, New York . . . . .	290
1057.	BREASTPLATE, TACES, AND TASSETS, BY FILIPPO NEGROLI OF MILAN, ABOUT 1540. Musée du Louvre . . . . .	291
1058.	BACKPLATE AND GARDE-DE-REIN, BELONGING TO THE BREASTPLATE ILLUSTRATED IN FIG. 1057 . . . . .	292
1059.	HALF SUIT OF ARMOUR. Originally in the collection of the Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol. Attributed by the late Herr W. Boeheim as the work of Giovanni Battista Serabaglio of Milan. Middle of the XVIth century. Imperial Armoury, Vienna . . . . .	293
1060.	<i>L'ARMURE AUX LIONS</i> , ITALIAN (PROBABLY MILANESE), ABOUT 1560. G 50, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris . . . . .	296
1061.	SUIT OF ARMOUR FOR A YOUTH, PROBABLY OF FRENCH WORKMANSHIP UNDER ITALIAN INFLUENCE, LATE XVIth OR EARLY XVIIth CENTURY. Tower of London . . . . .	298
1062.	PART OF A SERIES OF SUITS (ALL ONE SET), MADE FOR THE EMPEROR CHARLES V BY KOLOMAN KOJMAN OF AUGSBURG IN THE SECOND QUARTER OF THE XVIth CENTURY. A 19, Royal Armoury, Madrid . . . . .	304
1063.	INTERCHANGEABLE ELBOW-COPS FROM THE SUIT (FIG. 1064). In an English private collection . . . . .	306
1064.	PART OF A SERIES OF SUITS (ALL ONE SET). MADE FOR THE EMPEROR CHARLES V BY THE BROTHERS NEGROLI OF MILAN AND DATED 1539. A 139, Royal Armoury, Madrid . . . . .	307
1065.	PART OF A SERIES OF SUITS (ALL ONE SET), GERMAN WORK, DATED 1544. It is known as the Mühlberg armour. Royal Armoury, Madrid . . . . .	308
1066.	TITIAN'S PORTRAIT OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V AT THE BATTLE OF MÜHLBERG. Charles V is portrayed wearing portions of the suit (Fig. 1065). In the Prado, Madrid . . . . .	309
1067.	RECONSTRUCTION FROM TITIAN'S PORTRAIT OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V SHOWING THE EMPEROR WEARING THE MÜHLBERG SUIT. A 164, Royal Armoury, Madrid . . . . .	309

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

FIG.		PAGE
1068.	SUIT OF ARMOUR WITH ITS INTERCHANGEABLE PARTS, PROBABLY THE WORK OF DESIDERIUS KOLMAN OF AUGSBURG, ABOUT 1550. Ex collections: Bernal, Londesborough, and Dino. Now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York . . . . .	310
1069.	PORTIONS OF A SUIT OF ARMOUR, GERMAN WORK, PROBABLY THAT OF KOLOMAN KOLMAN OF AUGSBURG, ABOUT 1540. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 428) . . . . .	314
1070.	COMPOSITE SUIT OF ARMOUR WHICH, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE BREAST-PLATE, BACKPLATE, GORGET, TACES, AND TASSETS, IS PART OF A GREAT HARNESS MADE FOR KING PHILIP OF SPAIN IN ABOUT 1554 BY WOLF OF LANDSHUT. Ex collection: Dino. Now Metropolitan Museum, New York . . . . .	316
1071.	ESCUTCHEON FROM THE CHANFRON OF THE PHILIP II (1554) HARNESS, SHOWING THE ARMS OF ENGLAND BORNE IN PRETENCE ON THE ARMS OF PHILIP II. A 261 and 262, Royal Armoury, Madrid . . . . .	317
1072.	SUIT OF ARMOUR, MADE FOR PHILIP, WHEN INFANTE, BY DESIDERIUS KOLMAN OF AUGSBURG, ASSISTED BY JORG SIGMAN, BETWEEN 1549 AND 1552. A 239-242, Royal Armoury, Madrid . . . . .	318
1073.	PORTRAIT OF PHILIP II, PAINTED BY ALONZO SANCHEZ COELLO ABOUT 1570. The King is seen wearing the armour shown in Fig. 1072, made for him as Infante between 1549 and 1552. Collection: Sir John Stirling Maxwell . . . . .	319
1074.	SADDLE BELONGING TO THE SUIT (FIG. 1072), SHOWING THE FRONT SADDLE STEEL. Royal Armoury, Madrid . . . . .	322
1075.	BACK SADDLE STEEL OF THE SAME SADDLE. A 242, Royal Armoury, Madrid . . . . .	322
1076.	CHANFRON BELONGING TO THE SUIT (FIG. 1072). Musée d'Artillerie, Paris, now in the Royal Armoury, Madrid . . . . .	324
1077.	PALETTES FROM THE SUIT (FIG. 1072). Musée d'Artillerie, Paris, now in the Royal Armoury, Madrid . . . . .	324
1078.	INTERCHANGEABLE ELBOW-COPS BELONGING TO THE SUIT (FIG. 1072) TO BE WORN OVER A CHAIN MAIL SHIRT. Musée d'Artillerie, Paris, now in the Royal Armoury, Madrid . . . . .	324
1079.	INTERCHANGEABLE GORGET, BELONGING TO THE SUIT (FIG. 1072), TO BE WORN WITH THE ELBOW-COPS (FIG. 1078) OVER A CHAIN MAIL SHIRT. Royal Armoury, Madrid . . . . .	325
1080.	SUIT OF ARMOUR, SAID TO HAVE BEEN MADE FOR KING SEBASTIAN OF PORTUGAL (1554-1578), THE WORK OF ANTON PEFFENHAUSER OF AUGSBURG. A 290, Royal Armoury Madrid . . . . .	326

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN VOLUME III

FIG.	PAGE
1081. SUIT OF ARMOUR, <i>À LA FAÇON D'ITALIE</i> , BUT PROBABLY THE WORK OF A WOLF OF LANDSHUT, ABOUT 1550. The Arsenal, Venice . . . . .	328
1082. A HALF SUIT OF ARMOUR, PROBABLY MADE FOR DON GONZALO DE CORDOBA, DUKE OF SESSA, ITALIAN, IN THE FIRST MANNER OF LUCIO PICININO OF MILAN, ABOUT 1560. Metropolitan Museum, New York . . . . .	331
1083. CHANFRON BELONGING TO THE SESSA SUIT (FIG. 1082), ITALIAN, IN THE FIRST MANNER OF LUCIO PICININO OF MILAN, ABOUT 1560. Riggs Collection, Metropolitan Museum, New York . . . . .	333
1084. SUIT OF ARMOUR, PROBABLY MADE FOR ALESSANDRO FARNESE, DUKE OF PARMA, ITALIAN, IN A LATER MANNER OF LUCIO PICININO OF MILAN, ABOUT 1570. Imperial Armoury, Vienna . . . . .	334
1085. HALF SUIT OF ARMOUR, STATED BY SIR SAMUEL MEYRICK TO HAVE BEEN MADE FOR ALFONSO II, DUKE OF FERRARA, ITALIAN, IN A LATER MANNER OF LUCIO PICININO OF MILAN, ABOUT 1570. The morion head-piece is associated, and does not belong to the remainder of the armour. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 483) . . . . .	336
1086. HALF SUIT OF ARMOUR (INCOMPLETE), ITALIAN, IN A LATER STYLE OF LUCIO PICININO OF MILAN, ABOUT 1580. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 473) . . . . .	338
1087. BREASTPLATE, ITALIAN, IN A LATER STYLE OF LUCIO PICININO OF MILAN, ABOUT 1570. Collection: Mr. D. M. Currie . . . . .	339
1088. HALF SUIT OF ARMOUR, PRESENTED BY THE DUKE OF TERRANOVA TO THE INFANTE, AFTERWARDS KING PHILIP III, ITALIAN, IN A LATER MANNER OF LUCIO PICININO, ABOUT 1590. B 4, Royal Armoury, Madrid . . . . .	340
1088A. SADDLE STEELS. The work of Antonio Picinino. Collection: the late Earl Kitchener of Khartoum, K.G. . . . .	341
1089. FROM THE SMALL EQUESTRIAN PORTRAIT OF HENRI II, ATTRIBUTED TO JEAN CLOUET. The suit the King is wearing is that shown in Fig. 1090. Formerly in the collection of the King of Holland, later in the Magniac Collection. Now in that of Madame Steinkoff . . . . .	343
1090. SUIT OF ARMOUR THAT BELONGED TO HENRI II OF FRANCE, OF UNKNOWN WORKMANSHIP, ABOUT 1550. From the collection of Colbert, minister to Louis XIV. Ex collections: M. Stein and M. Sigismund Bardac. Now in the collection of Viscount Astor of Hever . . . . .	345
1091. SUIT OF ARMOUR, MADE FOR HENRI II OF FRANCE BY AN UNIDENTIFIED ARMOURER, ABOUT 1550. G 118, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris . . . . .	347
1092. UNFINISHED SUIT OF ARMOUR, REPUTED TO HAVE BELONGED TO HENRI II OF FRANCE. It appears, however, to be of later date, and is to be	

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

FIG.		PAGE
	assigned to the Louvre school, of about 1560-70. Musée du Louvre . . . . .	347
1093.	SUIT OF ARMOUR, SAID TO HAVE BEEN MADE FOR CHARLES IX OF SWEDEN, THE LOUVRE SCHOOL, ABOUT 1570. Stockholm Museum . . . . .	351
1094.	THE RONDACHE, SADDLE STEELS, AND CHANFRON THAT GO WITH THE SUIT (FIG. 1093) SAID TO HAVE BEEN MADE FOR CHARLES IX OF SWEDEN. Stockholm Museum . . . . .	352
1095.	LEFT CUISSE AND KNEE-COP, FROM THE SO-CALLED HENRI II SUIT (FIG. 1092). This shows the comparatively unfinished state of the lower part of the suit. Musée du Louvre . . . . .	353
1096.	CHANFRON AND SADDLE STEELS (FINISHED), APPARENTLY PART OF THE SO-CALLED HENRI II SUIT (FIG. 1092) IN THE LOUVRE. Lyons Museum . . . . .	355
1097.	SADDLE STEELS, MADE UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF THE LOUVRE SCHOOL, ABOUT 1570, BUT MOST PROBABLY THE WORK OF HEINRICH KNOPF OF MÜNSTER. Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan . . . . .	356
1098.	BACKPLATE FROM THE FAMOUS SUIT OF DUKE JOHN-GEORGE OF SAXONY, BY HEINRICH KNOPF OF MÜNSTER. Dresden Gallery . . . . .	357

A RECORD OF  
EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS  
THROUGH SEVEN CENTURIES

CHAPTER XIX

DAGGERS



UP to this point we have made no special mention of the dagger, contenting ourselves with noticing it here and there, where an early appearance of the weapon in effigy or in missal seemed to call for comment. But now, in view of the fact that its evolution is a subject of great interest, and one, too, that has rarely received serious consideration, we propose to give it a separate chapter. Although writers upon armour and upon weapons have to a large extent neglected the dagger, it has always received considerable attention from collectors. To them it has much to commend it: it is of a handy and convenient size occupying little space, while the period of its manufacture is generally indicated clearly by its shape and by the details of its decoration. Unfortunately the collector has generally remained content with acquiring specimens and has seldom cared to proceed to a systematic investigation into the history of the weapon.

In the early days of the revival of interest in arms and armour, Sir Samuel Meyrick possessed what was then considered a representative series illustrating the fashions in daggers from 1400 to 1670. But, with a few exceptions, every Meyrick specimen that has come to light since the collection was dispersed has proved unsatisfactory under examination. In other words, few of the daggers are found to be in their original complete states. The pommel is either a restoration or one that has belonged to some other weapon; the guard has perhaps been altered to accentuate the unusual character of the form; or the hilt and blade are strangers. Lord Londesborough in his famous collection had just such another unsatisfactory series of daggers; although he possessed individual weapons of great rarity and beauty. The Tower of London has practically nothing to show, save one fine cinquedea; in the Victoria and Albert Museum are a few rare and fine examples. At Hertford House the Wallace Collection exhibits quite a remarkable series; if we con-

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

sider the period at which it was brought together. Turning to continental collections we may mention that the Arsenal, or *Zeughaus*, of Berlin, so recently augmented, contains a splendid series of daggers from the earlier mediaeval times onwards, which has been mainly acquired by the purchase of the collection formed by the late M. Victor Gay, author of the famous *Glossaire Archéologique*. The Musée d'Artillerie of Paris has very fine individual examples coming from Napoleon III's collection at Pierrefonds; while Dresden, Vienna, Turin, Brussels, and finally the Metropolitan Museum of New York; through the purchase of the Duc de Dino's and the gift of the Riggs' Collections, all possess examples of this interesting little arm in great variety. Among private collections of the first order we must include that of Mr. Henry G. Keasby and that of Mr. J. Reubell of Paris. Almost every known type may be found in Mr. Reubell's superb collection, for the most part in splendid condition, and cared for in such a way as to mark its owner as a true collector. Mr. Reubell has made a life study of this subject, and his collection stands as a monument to his perseverance. We may perhaps be allowed to express the hope that this perfect collection will remain intact; since more than half its value lies in its very completeness.

For daggers of the latter part of the XIVth and of the commencement of the XVth centuries type we have as usual to turn to the brasses and effigies, especially to the former, in order to discover what particular forms the knights of old were wont to use. Broadly speaking, six different types of hilt can be classified:

- |                                   |  |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| (1) The "Quillon" dagger          | (4) The so-called "Ear" pommel dagger            |
| (2) The "Rondel" dagger           | (5) The transitional XVth to XVIth century types |
| (3) The so-called "Kidney" dagger | (6) The so-called "Cinquedea."                   |

Practically the first three types were in concurrent use; for each can be found represented in monumental brasses from about 1360 to 1500. However, to simplify the subject, we will take each family of hilt separately.

### THE FIRST TYPE OF DAGGER—VARIETIES OF THE QUILLON ORDER

OF the "quillon" dagger little can be said; for its name describes its chief characteristic, which is its quillon guard. The general construction of this weapon varied but slightly through the centuries in which it was in use,

## DAGGERS OF THE QUILLON ORDER

except for the innumerable and diverse shapes taken by the quillon itself: apart from this the only variation of note is in the fashion of its decoration. One of the first instances of the quillon dagger represented in detail is that to be seen on the effigy of Sir Roger de Kerdeston in Reepham Church,

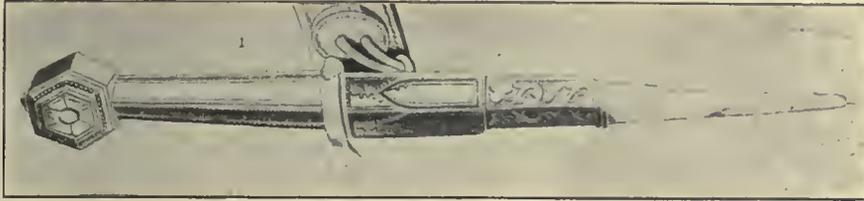


FIG. 725. DAGGER SHOWN ON THE EFFIGY OF SIR ROGER DE KERDESTON  
Early XIVth century. Reepham Church, Norfolk. After Stothard

Norfolk, about 1335 (Fig. 725). Here are shown a decorated hexagonal wheel pommel, a faceted grip, and straight quillons; but, as the latter are somewhat damaged, their original form is difficult to make out. Another variation of the late XIVth century dagger was to be seen depicted on the brass of Sir Miles Stapleton formerly in Ingham Church, Norfolk, a brass which



FIG. 727. DAGGER (POMMEL  
WANTING)  
Middle of XIVth century  
Found in London  
Guildhall Museum

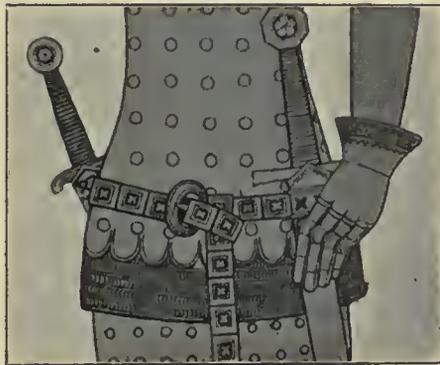


FIG. 726. FROM THE BRASS OF SIR  
MILES STAPLETON  
About 1370. Ingham Church,  
Norfolk  
After Stothard



FIG. 728. DAGGER  
Late XIVth century  
Found in London  
Guildhall Museum

has been dated at about 1370 (Fig. 726). The pommel is of simple wheel form, the grip appears to be bound with wire, and the quillons are straight, drooping at their extreme ends. There is in the Guildhall Museum (Fig. 727) a dagger that was found in London, minus its pommel, that might well belong to that period: the quillons and their ends droop towards the blade, which is

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

of flattened diamond-shaped section and wide at the hilt. Another dagger (Fig. 728) in the same museum, the short quillons of which, however, are straight, resembles the dagger on the Stapleton brass in its great length of grip.

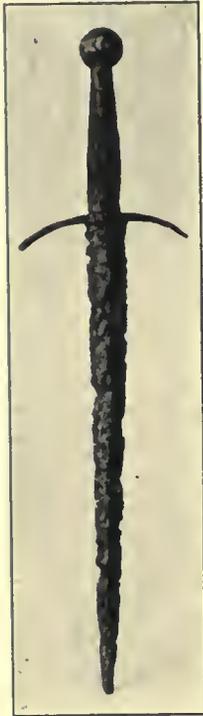


FIG. 729. DAGGER  
North German,  
late XIVth cen-  
tury. Collection:  
Author

Our next example (Fig. 729) is a quilloned dagger, found in northern Germany, that we date at about this period. Though it is in a poor state of preservation, it may be considered an interesting document; since it has the proportions of a miniature sword hilt, with the wheel pommel and slightly drooping quillons that are associated with the bastard sword of 1370 onwards. Next we give as an illustration of a quilloned dagger of the end of the XIVth century that represented on the brass of John Cray, Esquire, in Chinnor Church, Oxfordshire (Fig. 730). This dagger appears to be a little shorter; but the blade is widely proportioned, and the details of the sheath are admirably rendered. Our next illustration (Fig. 731) is that of a dagger that was found in the Thames at Westminster; it must date towards the closing years of the XIVth century. It is now in the collection of Mr. W. J. Pavyer. In Aveley Church, Essex, there is a brass, curiously Flemish in style, of Ralph de Knevyngton, of 1370 (Fig. 732), that shows a variation of the quilloned dagger. In this instance

there is no pommel; but the grip widens towards the top, where there is a loop by which it is attached to a chain, fastening it to one of the *mame- lières* of the surcoat. The shape of this

dagger is suggestive of the basilard, of which we shall shortly speak. A dagger recovered from the Thames at Mortlake shows some of the characteristics of that found on the Knevyngton brass (Fig. 733). The quillons are in this case straight, and are of bronze; as is the flat cap pommel that fits on the top of the grip, which extends in circumference towards the top. This dagger is now in the collection of Mr. Henry G. Keasby; its probable date is from 1400 to 1430. The

next two daggers illustrated, an example found at London Wall (Fig. 734), now in the Guildhall Museum, and an almost similar weapon in the London Museum (Fig. 735), are somewhat difficult to date even approximately; for

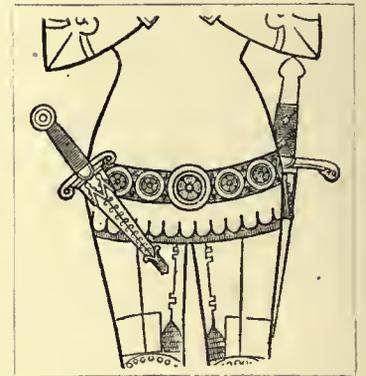


FIG. 730. FROM THE BRASS  
OF 1392 OF JOHN CRAY,  
ESQUIRE  
Chinnor Church, Oxfordshire

## DAGGERS OF THE QUILLON ORDER

though in the present writer's opinion they belong to the end of the XIVth century, the types of quillon and pommel are such as in northern Europe



FIG. 731. DAGGER  
English, about 1390,  
the grip a restoration  
Found in the Thames  
at Westminster  
Collection: Mr. W. J.  
Pavyer

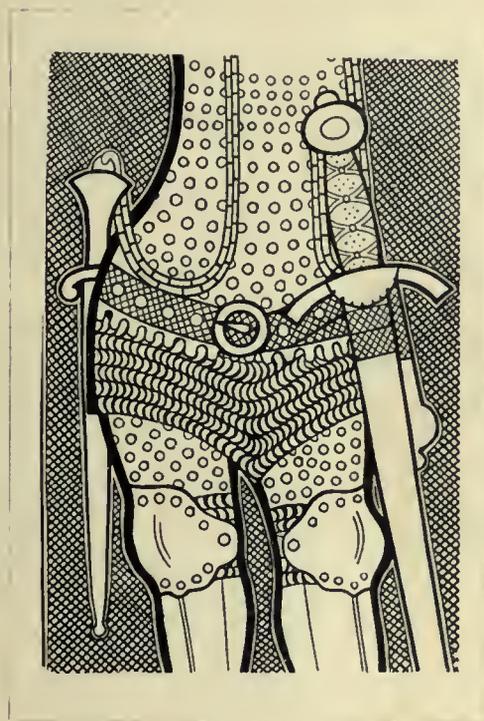


FIG. 732. FROM THE BRASS OF RALPH  
DE KNEVYNGTON, 1370  
Aveley Church, Essex  
After Waller

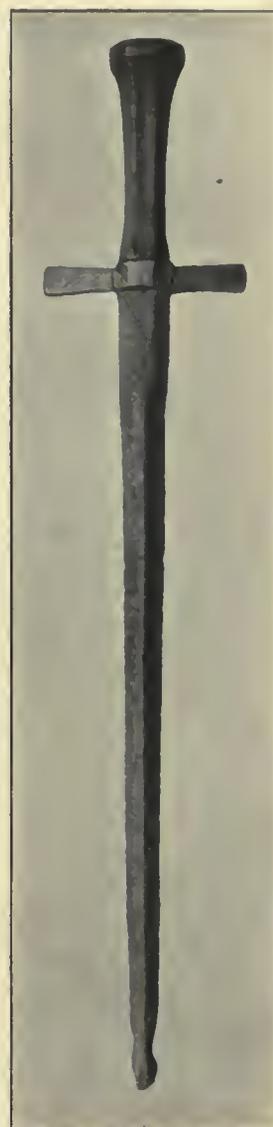


FIG. 733. DAGGER  
English, about 1400,  
the grip a restoration  
Found in the Thames  
at Mortlake  
Collection: Mr. Henry  
G. Keasby

are met with at a very early date. The hilts are of iron, the quillons drooping slightly and thickening towards the ends. The pommels take this same form,

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

only in a reversed order, curving upwards as seen in the case of those Hungarian swords which have the antennae pommels of the later bronze



FIG. 734. DAGGER  
Probably middle of  
XIVth century. Found  
at London Wall  
Guildhall Museum

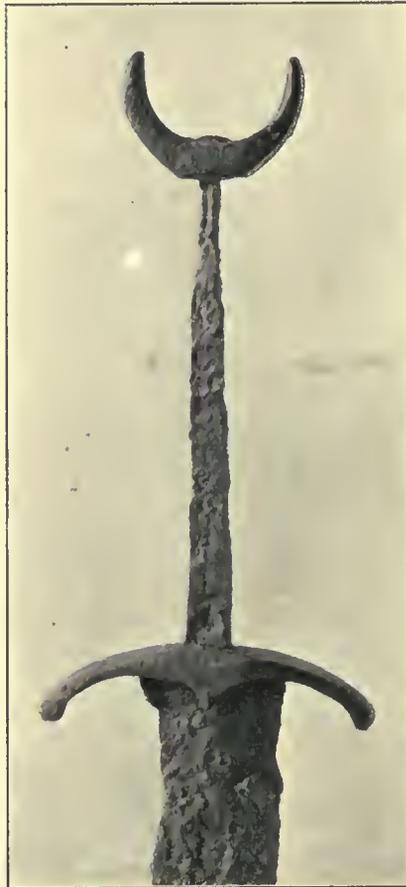


FIG. 736. DAGGER  
Bronze hilt. Probably North Italian,  
early XVth century  
Collection: Author

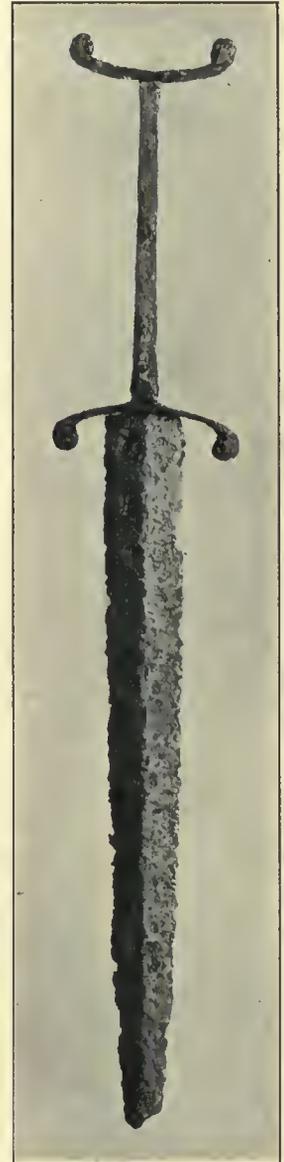


FIG. 735. DAGGER  
Probably middle of  
XIVth century  
London Museum

age. That the form remained in use until the opening years of the XVth century we know on the evidence furnished by a small bronze-hilted dagger of Italian origin that we can date at about 1420 (Fig. 736). In this instance



FIG. 737



FIG. 738



FIG. 740



FIG. 741

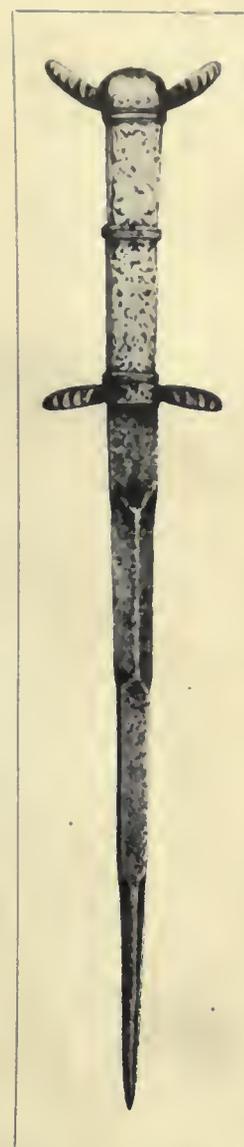


FIG. 739

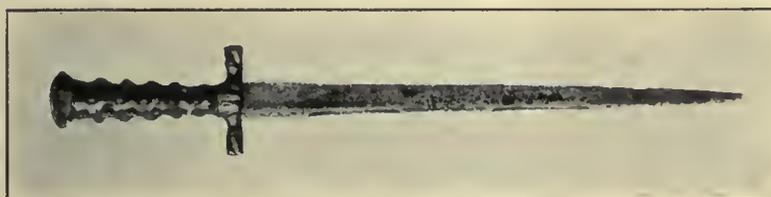


FIG. 742

- FIG. 737. QUILLONLESS BRONZE-HILTED DAGGER WITH THE CRESCENT-SHAPED POMMEL. Probably Venetian, about 1400. Ex collection: Signor Ressman
- FIG. 738. BRONZE CRESCENT-SHAPED DAGGER POMMELS (ACTUAL SIZE). North Italian, about 1400. Collection: Author
- FIG. 739. BRONZE-HILTED DAGGER. Venetian, about 1480. Metropolitan Museum of New York
- FIG. 740. DAGGER. Bronze and ebony hilt. Venetian, about 1480. Collection: Author
- FIG. 741. FROM A PICTURE ATTRIBUTED TO GENTILE MASSI (DA FABRIANO). Showing a Northern Italian dagger of about 1440-50
- FIG. 742. DAGGER. Probably Burgundian, about 1470-80. Collection: Mr. Henry G. Keasby

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

the pommel is almost crescent shaped. Another illustration (Fig. 737) shows this same shaped pommel even more pronounced, though it is on a quillonless hilt. This example was considered by the late Signor Ressiman, in whose collection it was, to be Venetian of the closing years of the XIVth century. We next represent (Fig. 738), full size, two bronze crescent-shaped dagger pommels, both found in Italy and of about the same period. Belonging to the close of the XVth century are two daggers that indirectly appear to have been evolved from the daggers which have duplicated pommel and quillon. One (Fig. 739) is a highly enriched Venetian example of 1480. The other (Fig. 740) is of the same nationality and of about the same period, though of a rather different type.

When it is considered that throughout the XVth century the dagger was the only weapon worn with the civil dress of the time, the sword not being worn with a gentleman's ordinary attire until the next century, the multitude of shapes which the quillon dagger assumed is not surprising. We shall therefore content ourselves by only illustrating two others that we can assign to the XVth century, without encroaching upon other types which will be discussed under other headings. The first illustration (Fig. 741), which is a detail taken from a picture attributed to Gentile Massi (da Fabriano), "The Adoration of the Magi," shows a dagger being worn alone with a civil costume of about 1440-50; while the second (Fig. 742) represents an excellent example of the more ordinary late XVth century quillon dagger, on the hilt of which may be traced the early influence of the Maximilian feeling as regards decoration.

Affiliated to the class of the quillon dagger is the type that figured not only as the weapon of a knight, but also as that of the merchant franklin or freeholder. It has been called the basilard. We must retrace our steps to follow its history. Included among the Sloane MSS. (2593) is a satirical song of the reign of Henry V which mentions the basilard:—

There is no man worth a leke  
Be he sturdy, be he meke  
But he bere a baselard.

Its blade was stiff, strongly tapering, with a section as a rule of flattened diamond form. Its hilt consisted in a grip of wood or some other hard substance, which, having its smallest circumference in the middle, splayed out towards either end in the manner characteristic of those early XVIth century Swiss daggers, the decoration of which is always associated with the name of Holbein. At the pommel end of the grip and at its junction with the blade

## DAGGERS OF THE BASILARD ORDER

two oblong pieces of iron or of bronze were added, the lower forming a true quillon. The knightly use of such a dagger can be seen on the effigy of Sir Hugh Caveley in Bunbury Church, Cheshire, 1390 (Fig. 743); and its use by the franklin in the late Mr. Waller's fine drawing of the brass



FIG. 744. FROM THE BRASS OF  
JOHN CORP  
1391. Stoke Fleming  
Church, Devonshire  
After Waller

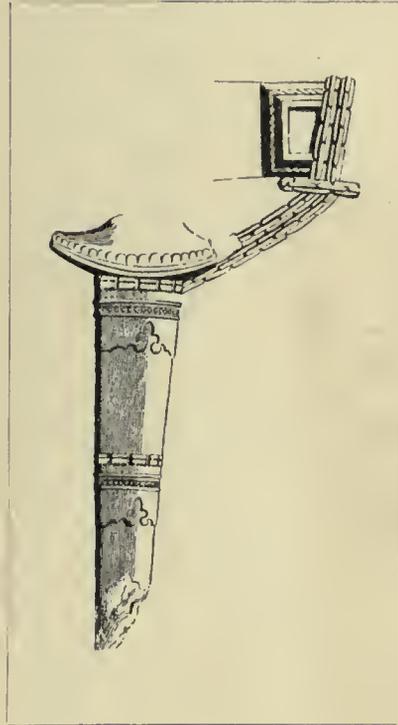


FIG. 743. FROM THE EFFIGY OF  
SIR HUGH CAVELEY  
About 1390. Bunbury Church,  
Cheshire  
After Stothard



FIG. 745. FROM THE BRASS  
OF A FRANKLIN  
About 1370. Shottes-  
brooke Church,  
Berkshire

of John Corp in Stoke Fleming Church, Devonshire, 1391 (Fig. 744). In the case of the latter brass the basilard is shown hanging under the arm from a baldric passing round the neck, a circumstance which led Mr. Waller to remark that the only other brass on which the basilard so worn can be



FIG. 746



FIG. 748



FIG. 749



FIG. 747



FIG. 751



FIG. 750

- FIG. 746. BASILARD KNIFE. Probably XIIIth century. Found in the Thames. London Museum  
 FIG. 747. BASILARD. Late XIVth century. Found in Brook's Wharf, Upper Thames Street. Guildhall Museum  
 FIG. 748. BASILARD. German, early XVth century. Found near Frankfort-on-Main. Collection: Author  
 FIG. 749. FROM THE EFFIGY OF JOHANN VON HOLZHAUSEN. About 1410. Kaiser Dom of Frankfort  
 FIG. 750. BASILARD. North German, early XVth century. Collection: Author  
 FIG. 751. BASILARD-DAGGER. Late XIVth century. Found in London. Guildhall Museum

## DAGGERS OF THE BASILARD ORDER

seen is in an example to be found in Ore Church near Hastings of about the year 1400. Another good illustration of such a dagger is shown on a brass of a franklin (and a priest) which is in Shottesbrooke Church, Berkshire, and may be dated about 1370 (Fig. 745).

Of the actual weapon we are able to give a few illustrations. The first is a dagger-knife coming under the basilard category which is now in the London Museum (Fig. 746). It was found in the Thames at Westminster. This example, which is essentially a plebeian weapon, might be assigned to a date even as early as the XIIIth century; indeed, it is the *lamella* of the Italians. The blade is back-edged. Of the same proportions as the last dagger mentioned, though of later date and more representative in form, is the basilard in the Guildhall Museum collection (Fig. 747), which was found in Brook's Wharf, Upper Thames Street. The blade in this case is double-edged, whilst the original grip of ivy root is in position. A finer form of the

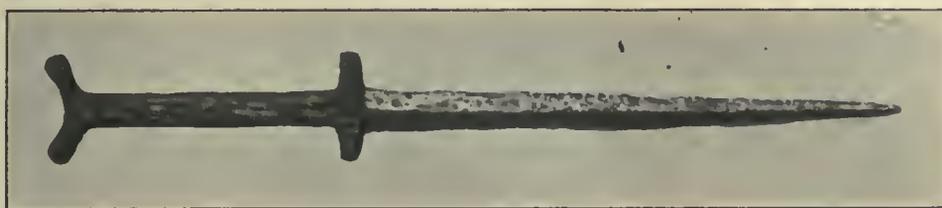


FIG. 752. SLENDER BASILARD

German, about 1420. Collection: Sir H. Farnham Burke, K.C.V.O.

basilard dagger is one in our own possession; for if a grip were added to it, a robust and knightly weapon would be the result. It was found near Frankfort-on-Main (Fig. 748), a circumstance which recalls the fine monumental slab in the Kaiser Dom of that city showing the relief effigy of Johann von Holzhausen (Fig. 749). On this slab Holzhausen is depicted wearing, girded on his right side, a basilard-dagger with a stiff tapering blade and with a grip of considerable length which closely resembles an actual dagger which is also in our possession. This dagger, which was found in northern Germany (Fig. 750), is an interesting example, despite the fact that the wooden grip is a modern addition; for the blade is of an unusual section and a fine example of workmanship. Almost a duplicate dagger to this is to be seen in the Guildhall Museum (Fig. 751); the latter specimen was found in London. Yet another basilard of very slender proportions, also excavated in Germany, and of the early years of the XVth century, is now in the collection of Sir H. Farnham Burke (Fig. 752). Three



FIG. 754. DAGGER OF  
BASILARD TYPE

French work, second  
half of XIVth  
century  
Hermitage,  
Petrograd



FIG. 753. DAGGER OF BASILARD  
TYPE

North Italian, first half of  
XIVth century  
Victoria and Albert  
Museum



FIG. 755. DAGGER OF  
BASILARD TYPE

(Blade modern). Prob-  
ably Venetian, first half  
of XIVth century. Col-  
lection: Dr. Bashford  
Dean, New York

## DAGGERS OF A COMPOSITE ORDER

enriched daggers that from their form come almost under the heading of the basilard type should here be mentioned; these by virtue of their decoration possibly belong to the first half of the XIVth century. The first (Fig. 753) is the important dagger and sheath in the Victoria and Albert Museum. It was purchased in 1866 for £140. The grip which forms the entire hilt is, like the scabbard, composed of ivory, probably walrus, carved in high relief with a grotesque ornamentation almost Romanesque in style. It has been accepted as North Italian, and possibly of as early a date as the first quarter of the XIVth century. The second dagger illustrated (Fig. 754) may be of somewhat later date, and France rather than Italy seems to be the country of its manufacture. The hilt is grotesquely formed of four figures placed back to back and feet to feet, the space between the bend of their knees being occupied by a bearded mask. The sheath is of metal inlaid with plaques of bone or ivory. To the dagger are still attached portions of the belt decorated with a metal chape. This weapon we are inclined to think dates within the third quarter of the XIVth century. It is now in the Hermitage, Petrograd. The third dagger (Fig. 755) is in the collection of Dr. Bashford Dean of New York. The hilt, which, like that of the other two daggers, is composed entirely of ivory, is carved in the highest relief to represent a dragon-like creature, almost oriental in style. On the pommel is the crouching figure of a mythical monster. There can be little doubt that this fine hilt is Venetian, and might well be assigned to the early years of the XIVth century. The blade, which is of flattened diamond-shaped section tapering to an acute point, is modern, and is copied from those of the two preceding daggers.

There are varieties of daggers extant that we are unable to class under any particular heading; but of these perhaps a few may be said to bear some kind of resemblance to one another. In the British Museum is a fragment of a dagger found in London, which has the pommel formed of an octagonal disk so pierced in the centre as to be actually an open ring. This was forged from the flattened tang of the blade to which was applied the substance of the grip. Down either side runs a decorated strip of brass or latten, while the junction with the blade is marked by a moulded band. The blade is back-edged (Fig. 756). The fragment of just such another dagger, but originally profusely decorated with polychromatic *champlevé* enamels, was recently found at Duston, near Northampton. It is worthy of the closest scrutiny, for it is assuredly English, and must have originally been a weapon of sumptuous richness. Its date is within the second half of the XIVth



FIG. 756. DAGGER  
English, late XIVth  
century  
Found in London  
British Museum

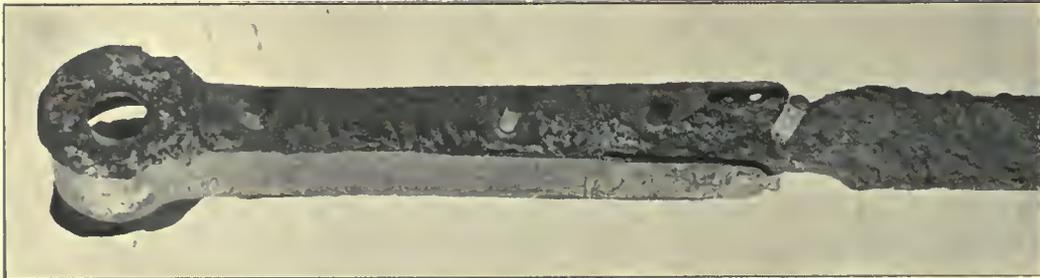


FIG. 757. DAGGER  
English, late XIVth century. It  
has been enriched with figures of  
saints in enamel. Found at Dus-  
ton, near Northampton. Collec-  
tion: Mr. Henry G. Keasby

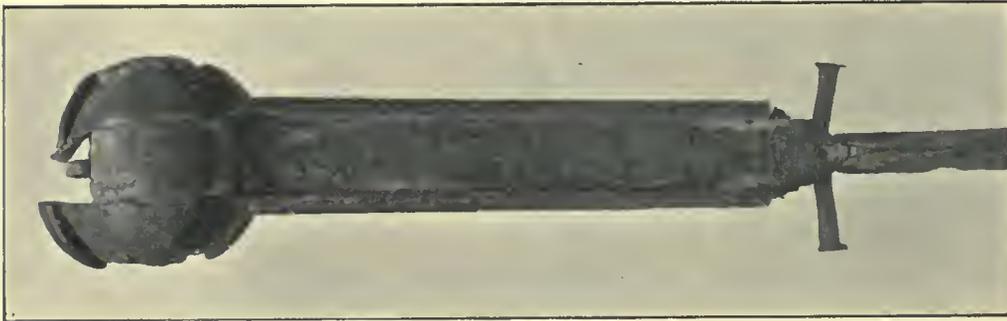


FIG. 758a. DAGGER  
English, late XIVth  
century  
Side view. Found in  
London  
Guildhall Museum



FIG. 758b. THE SAME DAGGER  
Viewed from the front,  
showing the in-  
scription

## DAGGERS OF A COMPOSITE ORDER



FIG. 759. DAGGER  
English, late  
XIVth century  
Found in the  
Thames, West-  
minster  
London Museum

century (Fig. 757). Mr. Henry G. Keasby was fortunate in procuring this rare dagger for his collection. The next dagger illustrated (Fig. 758, *a*, *b*), which was dug up in London, and is now in the Guildhall Museum, is practically a similar weapon, and, in our opinion, is the work of the same hand that produced the dagger just alluded to. Down the sides of the grip are gilt latten bands engraved with figures of saints, which, like those seen on the Duston dagger, have been enamelled. The Guildhall dagger is more complete, possessing the plaques of latten attached by two rivets to either face of the blade tang. These are enriched with strips of silver bearing the inscription AVE MARIA GRATIA PL.; the inscription, which appears to be stamped, is divided by the rosette heads of the rivets. The grip plaques are in one with the flattened hemispherical plates that cover the pommel, which is secured in position by a central rivet, the large washer of which on either side is a sixfoil rosette. The pommel plates are deeply channelled in a cruciform manner and inlaid with strips of silver stamped with inscriptions in a similar way to those seen on the grip plaques. Whatever form of guard the dagger originally possessed is now missing, though the long tubular rivet that held it in position is still extant. We suspect that it never possessed a quillon form of guard, but that the hilt finished at the juncture with the blade in some moulded form as seen on the later "ear" pommel daggers. The blade is long, slender, and back-edged, and when found



FIG. 760. DAGGER  
English, late XIVth  
century. Found in  
Kingsway, London  
London Museum

was bent in the centre almost to a right angle. It is to be regretted that the locality in London where this dagger was found is not recorded; for in the present writer's

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

opinion it is one of the most interesting daggers that has ever come under his notice. In the London Museum there is another of these ring pommelled daggers (Fig. 759). This specimen, which was found in the Thames at Westminster, has its blade somewhat curved. Another dagger slightly varying in form is also to be seen in the London Museum. In the case of this example (Fig. 760), which was found in Kingsway, it will be noted that the ring formation of the pommel has disappeared, the grip finishing above in an octagonal disk fixed cap-wise. The original wooden grip is still in position. The date of this dagger is, we should think, about 1400.

### THE SECOND TYPE OF DAGGER—VARIETIES OF THE RONDEL ORDER

THE construction of the last-named dagger affords us material assistance in tracing the evolution of the dagger which has the rondel type of guard—a form of dagger hilt that seems to have superseded all others in popularity in



FIG. 761. FROM THE BRASS OF SIR EDWARD CERNE  
1393. Draycot Cerne  
Church, Wiltshire.



FIG. 763. FROM THE BRASS OF YSTASE DE SERON  
About 1382. Chapel of Ease  
at Seron, near Forville

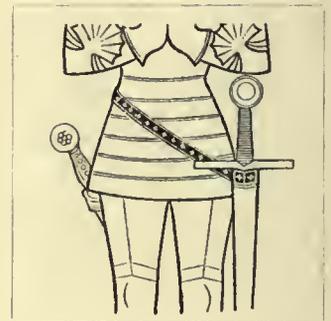


FIG. 762. FROM THE BRASS OF JOHN CRESSY, ESQ.  
1414. Dodford  
Church, Northamptonshire

the latter part of the XIVth century and continued in fashion until the middle of the XVIth century. This is evidenced from its constant representation on brasses and in engravings of knightly harnesses of which a late example is afforded by the Plate 102 by Hans Schaufelin in *Theuerdank* (Fig. 764). We will turn first to the earliest of these in order to supply the few missing links in the chain of evidence that help to show its evolution into the true rondel-hilted dagger as seen in the third quarter of the XVth century. The brass

## DAGGERS OF THE RONDEL ORDER

of Sir Edward Cerne, in Draycot Cerne Church, Wiltshire, of 1393 (Fig. 761), illustrates a dagger attached to the knightly belt with a well developed rondel guard fitting locket-wise over the top of the scabbard, but with a pommel of



FIG. 764

*Wie der Mannlich Held Theurdanck mit einem anderen Ritter  
einem Thurnier zu Fusz thät und Ihne überwand.* (From  
the *Theurdank*, woodcut No. 102, by H. Schauffelin,  
showing the rondel dagger)



FIG. 765. RONDEL DAGGER  
Early XVth century. Found  
in Old Swan Lane in 1867  
Guildhall Museum

cone-like formation. Again, the brass of John Cressy, Esquire, of about 1414, in Dodford Church, Northamptonshire (Fig. 762), shows the rondel type of guard; but the pommel on the dagger is of wheel formation such as was common on the sword hilts of the time, and is placed vertically upon the grip in the ordinary manner. Next, on the brass of Ystase de Seron

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

of 1382, in the Chapel of Ease at Seron, near Forville (Fig. 763), can be seen a rondel-hilted dagger; but in this instance both the pommel and guard appear cylindrical, the grip swelling slightly in the middle. The hilt is large for the length of the blade, and it closely resembles a small dagger in the Reubell Collection, Paris. The whole hilt of this example, which we may safely assign to the opening years of the XVth century, and which was found in London, is overlaid with light-coloured horn, engraved with trefoil ornaments. Further enrichment of the hilt has been effected by inlaying certain exposed portions of the horn surface with arrangements of small circles in silver. The pommel and guard disks are small and of like diameter, though deep for their circumference, being built up of a central plaque overlaid on either side with horn. The grip has its largest circumference in the middle. The blade is of flattened diamond-shaped section, and bears an armourer's mark inlaid in silver. Very like the Reubell dagger in the method of its enrichment is a rondel dagger which was found in Old Swan Lane in 1867. It is now in the Guildhall Museum (Fig. 765). The horn rondels are larger in circumference; but the grip, which is spirally twisted, is inlaid with bands of ornaments in silver, pearls, or studs. The blade in this case is back-edged. Turning once more to English brasses we see on that of Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, in St. Mary's Church, Warwick (Fig. 766) a rondel dagger with a flattened spheroidal pommel, the rondel guard fitting within the locket mount of the scabbard. This brass was supposed to have been completed in 1401, to which same period must be assigned a dagger of similar type found at Walthamstow, and now in the London Museum (Fig. 767). The brass of an unknown knight in Laughton Church, Lincolnshire, of the early years of the XVth century (Fig. 768), affords an illustration of another rondel dagger, this time with a disk pommel of octagonal section, surmounted by a loose ring. From the careful engraving of the dagger on the brass in question, it can be seen that the weapon fitted deep within the top of the scabbard, which widened sufficiently at the top to receive the rondel guard. A dagger, probably of the same construction, is to be seen on the brass of Sir Reginald de Cobham in Lingfield Church, Surrey (Fig. 769). This brass is dated 1403. In the London Museum is shown a dagger that was found near Upper Thames Street on the shore of the Thames (Fig. 770). It is a fine largely proportioned weapon in a good state of preservation. The rondel pommel and guard are of the same proportions. They are hollow but built up to the thickness of a quarter of an inch, each being of hexagonal formation. In the grip are four large ring

## DAGGERS OF THE RONDEL ORDER

rivets; the actual grip is missing, but the tang of the blade is wide—its edges



FIG. 767. RONDEL DAGGER  
English, about  
1400  
Found at Walthamstow  
London Museum

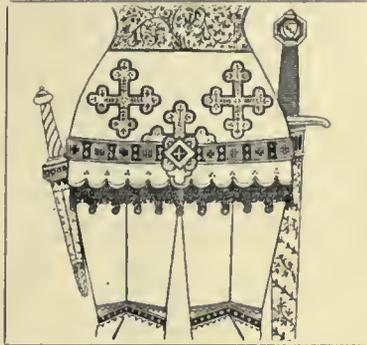


FIG. 766. FROM THE BRASS OF THOMAS  
BEAUCHAMP, EARL OF WARWICK, 1401  
St. Mary's Church, Warwick

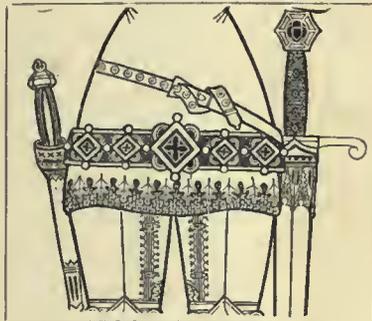


FIG. 768. FROM THE BRASS OF AN  
UNKNOWN KNIGHT  
About 1405. Laughton Church,  
Lincolnshire

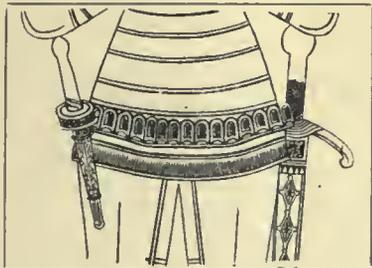


FIG. 769. FROM THE BRASS OF SIR  
REGINALD DE COBHAM, 1403  
Lingfield Church,  
Surrey



FIG. 770. RONDEL DAGGER  
English, about 1430. Found  
in Upper Thames Street on  
the shore of the Thames  
London Museum

being decorated and showing an appearance of past gilding. The blade is of triangular section. This dagger may certainly be accepted as being of English

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

provenance, and of the first quarter of the XVth century. The strange though not uncommon feature of large ring rivets attached to the grip of daggers of this period may be explained as due to the fact that these rivets,

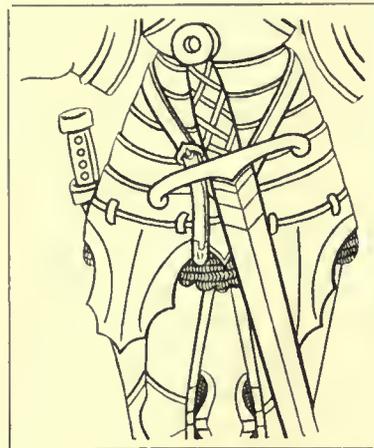


FIG. 771. FROM THE BRASS OF  
SIR WILLIAM VERNON  
About 1467. Tong Church,  
Shropshire

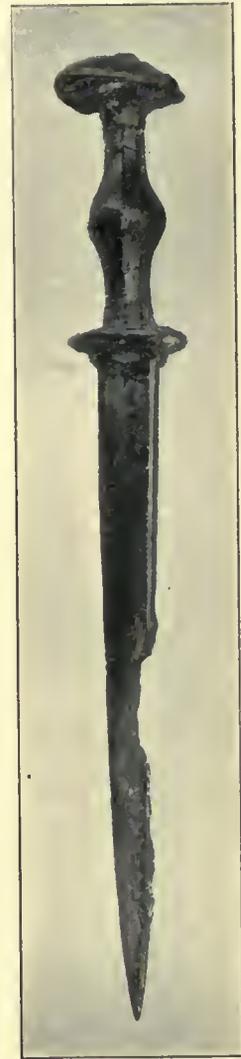


FIG. 772. RONDEL DAGGER  
First half of XVth century  
(it has been subjected to restoration)  
Wallace Collection (Laking  
Catalogue, No. 114)

FIG. 773. RONDEL DAGGER  
English, about 1450-60  
Found in the Thames, London  
Collection: Mr. Henry G. Keasby

while holding the plaques of the grip in position, were made hollow, not as a decoration, but for the purpose of freeing the palm of the hand from the moisture of perspiration. At a somewhat later date in the XVth century this feature may be noted in the case of the grip of the rondel dagger represented

## DAGGERS OF THE RONDEL ORDER

in the brass of Sir William Vernon in Tong Church, Shropshire (Fig. 771). The dagger on this brass bears a remarkable likeness to the example, No. 114, in the Wallace Collection (Fig. 772), which, though partially genuine,



FIG. 775. RONDEL DAGGER  
English, early XVth century  
Found at Brook's Wharf,  
Upper Thames Street  
Guildhall Museum



FIG. 774. RONDEL DAGGER  
English (?), about 1440  
Ex collection: Signor  
Ressman



FIG. 776. RONDEL DAGGER  
English, early XVth century  
Found in the Clerkenwell  
Road in 1864  
Guildhall Museum

and made in the first half of the XVth century, has had its enamelled enrichments added at some subsequent date. Still keeping within the period just mentioned we illustrate four rondel daggers (Figs. 773, 774, 775, and 776)

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

that show a variation in form from those we have previously described; the pommels are not flat but slightly hemispherical, and the grips swell in the



FIG. 778. RONDEL  
DAGGER

English, about  
1430  
Found in the  
Thames  
British Museum

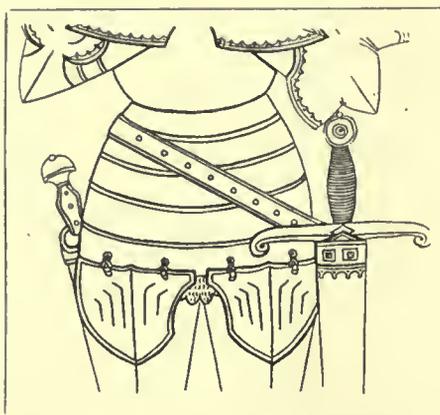


FIG. 777. FROM THE BRASS OF  
JOHN DAUNDELYON,  
GENT., 1445  
Church of St. John the Baptist,  
Margate



FIG. 779. RONDEL DAGGER  
English, about 1440. Found  
in the Horseferry Road,  
Westminster  
London Museum

centre. This type of rondel dagger is to be noted on the brass of John Daundelyon in the church of St. John the Baptist, Margate (Fig. 777), dated by the late Mr. Waller as being of the year 1445. Two very simply

## DAGGERS OF THE RONDEL ORDER

constructed rondel daggers, which in our opinion date before 1450, we next illustrate (Figs. 778 and 779). The former, a long and solidly fashioned weapon with a modern grip, is in the British Museum; while the latter, a small stiletto-like example with its grip and small rondels turned in ivory, was found some few years ago in the Horseferry Road, Westminster, and is now in the London Museum.



FIG. 780. RONDEL DAGGER

Probably French, about 1450. Discovered in a peat fen in the north of France  
Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 100)  
(a) The hilt; (b) general proportions



FIG. 781. RONDEL DAGGER

English (?), about 1450-60  
Found in the Thames  
Collection: Author

In tracing the evolution of the rondel dagger, we have endeavoured, however vaguely, to bridge over the first fifty years of the XVth century, and to show from the evidence of contemporary illustrations that it had arrived at its final robust proportions in about 1450. Its peculiarities of form distinguished it from other types of this period when it was in common use throughout civilized Europe. In mid-XVth century times the hilts

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

with few exceptions consisted in a circular guard or rondel, known by the name of "besague," set on the top of the blade (and resembling to a great extent the *tsuba* or guard on the Japanese sword) in a grip, and, placed upon that, in place of the pommel, a second rondel flat on the top and parallel to the rondel guard. The rondel which protected the arm pit, seen on suits of armour of XVth and early XVIth century dates, was also termed "besague." We have been unable to arrive at the derivation of the word. A most protective form of hilt, the rondel yet appears to have had its disadvantages; for the very size of the pommel disk, which in most cases was as large or even larger than the guard, must very seriously have hampered any movement of the wrist, more especially if the hand was armoured. This we can vouch for from practical experience; for we have used a dagger of this description in modern representations of XVth century fights. We are, therefore, inclined to imagine that this type of dagger was primarily used to kill a defeated opponent, and was not employed in any school of fight. In its latest form the rondel dagger is several times represented in the *Freydal* of Maximilian I.

One of the most representative rondel daggers of mid-XVth century date still extant is the example in the Wallace Collection, No. 110 (Fig. 780). Its hilt is composed of a circular flat pommel and guard of equal proportions, each formed of two slightly convex plaques joined round the edge. The grip has applied plaques of wood secured in the centre by a quatrefoil-shaped brass-headed rosette; whilst bands of the same metal are inlaid down either side of the wooden grip plaques. The blade is back-edged, triangular in section, the two principal facets slightly hollowed; at the hilt there is an armourer's mark inlaid in brass. This fine and complete weapon was dug up from a peat-fen in the north of France. A smaller weapon of the same type and period, but lacking its grip, is in the collection of the author (Fig. 781). This was found in the Thames at Westminster. The fact that it is precisely of the same construction as that of the one found in the north of France, shows the general use of this particular form of rondel dagger; others of exactly the same type have been found in London excavations, in various parts of Germany, and throughout France and Belgium.

Occasionally, instead of the rondels being hollow convex plates of metal, they are solid with chamfered edges, as in the case of a very fine and massive dagger in the Godfrey Williams' Collection. Another form of rondel is one which is built up in layers of metal and other materials such as horn, bone, ivory, or hard wood; but this type may be considered as belonging to a somewhat later period, dating possibly within the third quarter of the XVth cen-

## DAGGERS OF THE RONDEL ORDER

ture. A satisfactory though somewhat decayed example of the rondel dagger so constructed is to be seen in the London Museum (Fig. 782), having been



FIG. 782. RONDEL DAGGER

English, about 1460-70  
Found at Broken Wharf,  
Thames Street  
London Museum



FIG. 783. RONDEL DAGGER

English, about 1460-70. The scabbard, though  
of the right type, does not belong to the dagger  
Found in the Horseferry Road, Westminster  
London Museum

found at Broken Wharf, Thames Street. The guard and pommel here each consist of three plates of thin iron, between which was formerly a layer of

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

bone now much perished. The plates of the grip, only small fragments of which exist, were also composed of bone. Another smaller dagger we also select from the London Museum Collection (Fig. 783). The metal plates of the hilt of this specimen are octagonal, and not circular in form; but the wooden grip is a restoration. The *cuir bouilli* sheath shown with the dagger is of the right type; but it does not belong to it. The Broken Wharf dagger (Fig. 782), like others with which we are acquainted, has the top plate of the rondel flanged at the edge, concealing the lining of the wood. This, however, was not a universal practice; for the last dagger described, being of commoner make, shows simply octagonal plates of iron placed over the wood. That the rondel dagger was often made the subject of the finest enrichment is evidenced by the contemporary monuments in which it figures; but we are unacquainted with any existing enriched example that can date earlier than the third quarter of the XVth century.

The next group of rondel daggers can be more definitely dated. They figure in the Burgundian tapestries of the latter part of the XVth century, and in the *Freydal* of Maximilian already alluded to. From this evidence, and from that of their style and decoration, it may be inferred that they date generally within the last quarter of the XVth century. A very fine and complete example (Fig. 784), which is supposed to have belonged to the Archduke Sigismund of Tyrol, and to be Bellunese make of about 1470, is in the Imperial Armoury of Vienna. It is a sumptuous weapon with a faceted grip of rock crystal and a rondel guard of engraved silver-gilt. The flattened disk pommel has applied to it a hemispherical disk also of rock crystal. The blade is of great length, back-edged and reinforced at the point. It still retains its original tooled leathern scabbard with silver ring mounts of Gothic character—the chape mount is a XVIth century addition. In the National Bavarian Museum of Munich (Fig. 785) there is an even later example of the rondel dagger: its date is probably within the last quarter of the XVth century. The grip, which is of horn, is carved to represent the Burgundian knotted staff; it is mounted with engraved brass. The scabbard is of tooled leather; in it is fitted an auxiliary knife with a handle of rock crystal. A rondel dagger of exactly the same type and period was formerly in the Ressman Collection (Fig. 786). A very fine dagger, with its sheath, of the same class, which might belong to the early years of the XVIth century, is in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig. 787). This dagger was purchased by the Museum at the famous Bernal sale in 1855. In the collection of Mr. Henry G. Keasby is a very similar dagger of somewhat

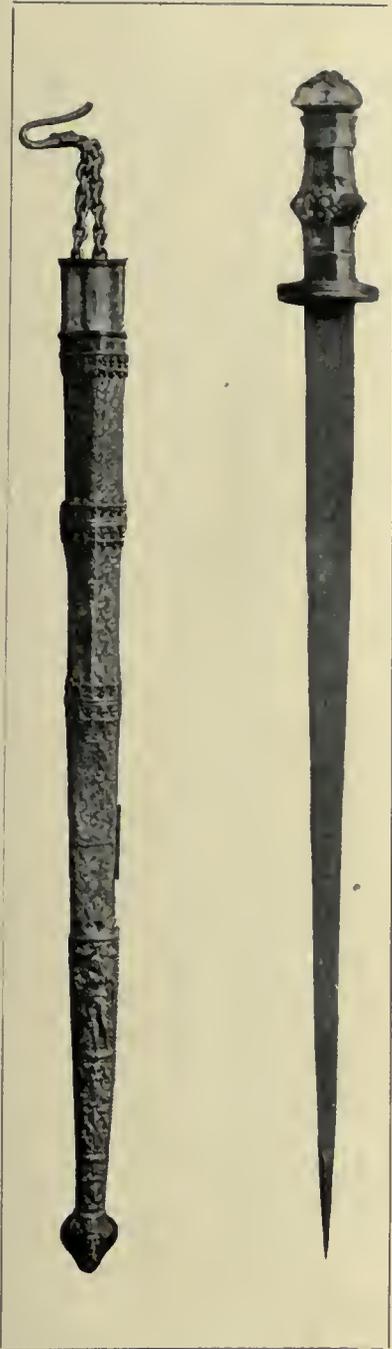


FIG. 784. RONDEL DAGGER  
AND ITS SHEATH

Italian, probably Bellunese, about  
1470. It is said to have be-  
longed to the Archduke  
Sigismund of Tyrol  
Imperial Armoury, Vienna



FIG. 785. RONDEL DAGGER  
WITH ITS SHEATH

Burgundian, about 1480  
National Bavarian  
Museum,  
Munich



FIG. 786. RONDEL  
DAGGER

Burgundian, about  
1480  
Ex collection:  
Signor Ress-  
man

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

simpler construction (Fig. 788). The *Zeughaus* of Berlin contains many fine and complete specimens; while a superb example is to be seen in the Musée



FIG. 787. RONDEL DAGGER WITH ITS SHEATH  
Burgundian, about 1490-1510  
Ex collection: Bernal  
Victoria and Albert Museum

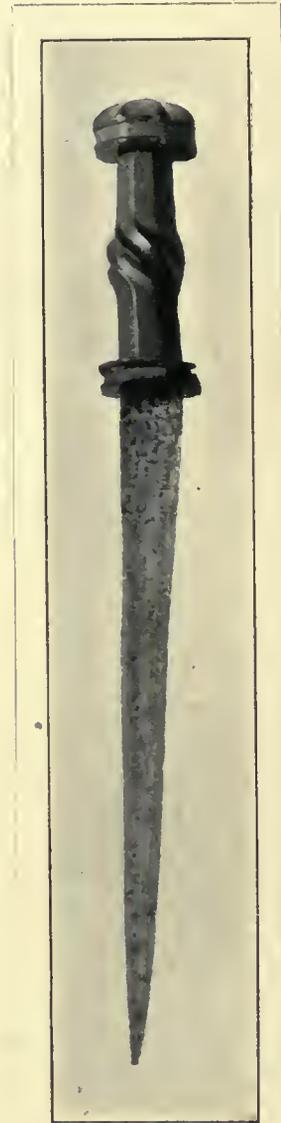


FIG. 788. RONDEL DAGGER  
Burgundian, about 1500  
Collection: Mr. Henry  
G. Keasby

d'Artillerie of Paris. In the Museum at Berne is a rondel dagger in so wonderful a state of preservation that it seems as though it had only just been made. The blades of these later rondel daggers are in nearly every case stiff

## DAGGERS OF THE RONDEL ORDER

and back-edged, as though they were intended in emergency to receive the blow of a sword in the manner of the *main gauche* blades of the XVIIth century. The smaller daggers *à rondelles* appear generally to have had blades of flattened diamond-shaped section; but towards the close of the century



FIG. 789. RONDEL DAGGER AND SHEATH WITH RENAISSANCE DECORATION

Of uncertain age, but in the style of the early years of the XVIth century  
Collection: the late M. Edmond Foulc, Paris



FIG. 790. FROM A PORTRAIT ATTRIBUTED TO COLIN DE NEUFCHÂTEL

Showing the mid-XVIth century case of the rondel dagger  
Collection: Mr. George Durlacher

it is not uncommon to find the section of the blades varying. Some were back-edged in combination with a double-edged point, and others are to be seen reinforced at the point, in the manner of the Indian *peshkabs*.

Before quitting the subject of the rondel dagger we must mention those of a hybrid nature, which, while retaining the "besague" form of guard, vary

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

in respect of the pommel. A good example illustrating this type is the remarkable dagger that was originally in the Forman Collection. It is of such special interest that we give a full description of it, only regretting the impossibility of obtaining a photograph of it. The grip is of bronze, ribbed and gilt, with the "besague" guard of triangular form chased and gilt. The blade, which is of peculiar strength, tapers suddenly, the lower section being quadrangular. The pommel is formed as a three-sided pyramid, each face being engraved with (I) a shield of arms, a bendy of six in base, a human face on a chief, a dragon on its back, above the words *DONEC. NVPSERO.*, (II) a shield bearing quarterly:—1, a castle triple-towered; 2, a wolf salient; 3, an eagle displayed; 4, three bars, (III) the figure of a man in the costume of the latter part of the XVth century, holding in his left hand a dagger, his right foot upon a globe, above him the motto *NON VELVT AGESILAO.* The arms represented on the first face of the pommel closely resemble those of the family of Orsini as given by Litta. This dagger, which Mr. Forman acquired in Florence in 1859, is doubtless Italian and of the third quarter of the XVth century.

It will readily be believed that when the spirit of Renaissance ornamentation began to make itself felt, the rondel dagger was no more immune from its influence than any other weapon of late XVth and early XVIth century date. In the late M. Edmond Foulc's Collection was a rondel dagger illustrative of such decoration (Fig. 789). We give it, however, merely as a type; for we regard its genuineness as being open to grave suspicion. A mid-XVIth century illustration of the rondel dagger appears in a portrait of a German nobleman and his son, attributed to Colin de Neufchâtel, in the collection of Mr. George Durlacher. Hanging to the belt of the father is represented a stout rondel dagger, with a flattened spheroidal pommel and a large circular rondel guard, slightly convex, the whole most elaborately decorated (Fig. 790).

### THE THIRD TYPE OF DAGGER—VARIETIES OF THE "KIDNEY" ORDER

THE dagger, known from the formation of the hilt as the *dague à rognons*, "kidney" dagger, or *dague à couillettes*, had its origin in northern Europe; but its evolution is somewhat difficult to determine. We are not acquainted with any actual specimen that can be assigned to a date prior to the early part of the XVth century. The early Scottish dirks, which more or less developed

## DAGGERS OF THE "KIDNEY" ORDER

double swellings above the blade socket (Fig. 791) were of this same type. This form is also represented on monumental slabs and effigies. The earliest we can record in England is perhaps that shown on the brass of Sir William de Aldeburgh, in Aldborough Church, Yorkshire (Fig. 792). But on the Continent it is to be seen at even an earlier date, first on the monumental slab



FIG. 791. DAGGER OR DIRK  
Scottish, late XVIIth century. Collection: the late Sir Noël Paton  
Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh

of Jean and Gérard, seigneurs de Heers (1332-98), now preserved in the Musée du Cinquantenaire, Brussels, and secondly, at Gothem, on the monumental slab of Gerardus de Gothem, who died in 1358. In the latter case a clearly defined "kidney" dagger is to be seen, the hilt of which is attached by a chain to the right *mamelière*. The next English "kidney" dagger, about 1379, is depicted on the brass of Robert Parys in Hildersham Church, Cambridgeshire

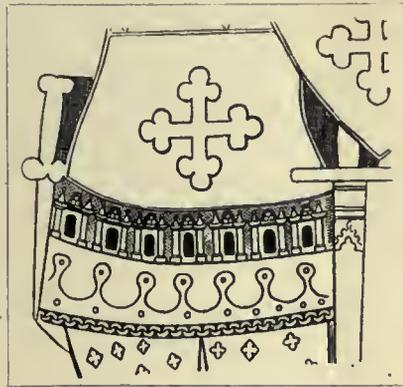


FIG. 792. FROM THE BRASS OF SIR WILLIAM DE ALDEBURGH  
About 1360. Aldborough Church, Yorkshire

(Fig. 793). Another good example is to be seen on another civilian brass of about 1380 at Kings Somborne, Hampshire, and it is to be noted that the kidney dagger, unlike the purely military rondel form, was worn with civilian dress (*cf.* also the illustration reproduced from the *Theuerdank*, Fig. 820). On the effigy in Canterbury Cathedral of Thomas, second Duke of Clarence, second son of King Henry IV, who was killed at Beaugé in 1421, a finely

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

developed "kidney" dagger is shown complete with its scabbard, though, strangely enough, the dagger is carved with the hilt hanging downwards; while a kidney dagger is sculptured on the effigy of John Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel, about 1434, in the church of Arundel (Fig. 794). The dagger in this



FIG. 794. DAGGER  
On the effigy of John  
Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel  
About 1434  
Church of Arundel



FIG. 793. FROM THE BRASS OF  
ROBERT PARYS, 1379  
Hildersham Church, Cambridge-  
shire



FIG. 795. DAGGER  
French, about 1400-20  
Ex collection: Baron de  
Cosson. Metropolitan  
Museum of New York

effigy is much mutilated. The most characteristic shapes appear, however, in the Flemish and Burgundian tapestries and sculptures of the mid-XVth century. Though actual daggers of this early period are justly considered rarities by collectors, a good many examples are to be seen in public and private collections.

## DAGGERS OF THE "KIDNEY" ORDER

The roughest types, which are of course more commonly met with, would appear to have been used by the poorer classes as a sort of combination of domestic knife and of offensive weapon. As originally made, they must



FIG. 796. DAGGER  
French, about 1430-50  
Metropolitan Museum of New  
York

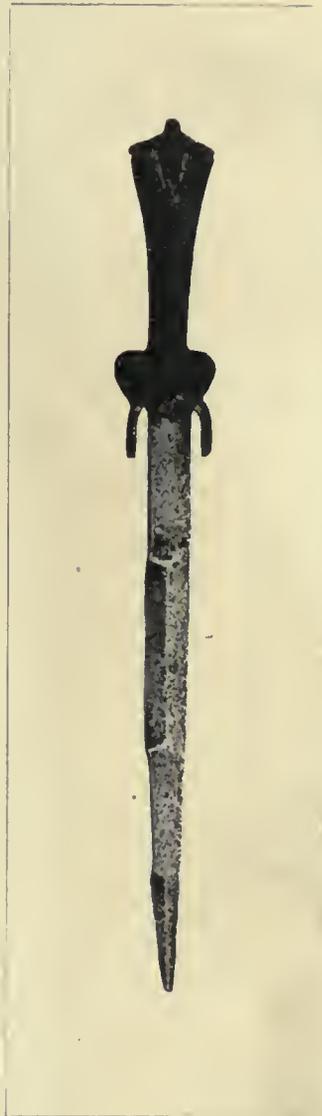


FIG. 797. DAGGER  
French, about 1430-50. Multi-  
sectioned blade. Metropolitan  
Museum of New York

have sold at quite a cheap price; for, beyond a blade usually back-edged and occasionally curved, their metal parts consist only in the simple plate that divides the grip from the blade, which can hardly be called a quillon,

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

and at the pommel edge in a simple cap upon which the blade tang is riveted. Of this ordinary class, the favourite medium for the hilt was ivy root, which is very durable, and from the very closeness of its grain less liable to split than most woods. Even to-day, when such daggers are discovered in water-courses, the wooden grip is often found in position, though necessarily much decayed.

The strange formation of the hilt of the "kidney" dagger has been the subject of considerable controversy. Circular in section at the pommel, it diminishes in size to the smallest circumference at the base of the grip, from which on either side issue two globular forms, more or less accentuated according to the fancy of the maker. These rest upon the metal plate, which is generally at the base of the hilt; though we have seen specimens of the "kidney" dagger which lack metal additions of any kind. As the dagger was worn immediately in front of the girdle, it has been suggested that the formation of the hilt has a phallic signification; indeed, it is sometimes referred to by contemporaries as the "ballock knife."

The illustrations we give of the "kidney" daggers we will roughly class together under their periods. Perhaps one of the earliest with which we are acquainted is an example in the Dino Collection, Metropolitan Museum of New York (Fig. 795). Here it will be noted that the kidney forms immediately above the small metal quillon are very developed. In the same collection are two other daggers of this type, both of which can be safely dated as coming within the first half of the XVth century. One (Fig. 796) has small flattened quillons drooping strongly over the blade; while the other (Fig. 797) is more elegantly modelled as regards the formation of the grip, the blade being multi-sectioned. The Tower of London can show no example of the "kidney" dagger; but the Wallace Collection possesses in No. 113 a good and complete dagger with scabbard. This must, however, be assigned to the closing years of the first half of the XVth century (Fig. 798). The London Museum exhibits a well made, if somewhat crude and incomplete, example, which is essentially of the English type. It was found in Horseferry Road, Westminster (Fig. 799). Of this type many specimens of varying proportions exist: they have been discovered from time to time by workmen engaged in digging the foundations of buildings, or they have been dredged up from the Thames. In our own collection is a large and strong example belonging to the third quarter of the XVth century, which was found in the Thames at Westminster (Fig. 800). This is almost duplicated by another, also found in London, and now in the Guildhall Museum (Fig. 801); while

## DAGGERS OF THE "KIDNEY" ORDER

a second, in our own collection, of smaller proportions, but of rather earlier date, was also found in London (Fig. 802). We illustrate a third which we acquired a few years ago (Fig. 806). In the British Museum there is

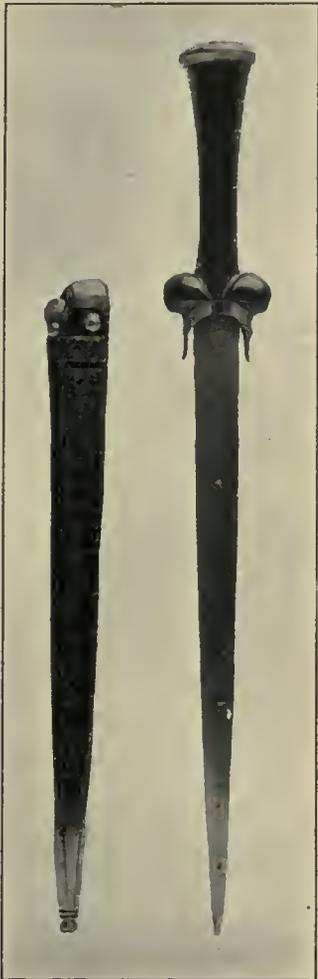


FIG. 798. DAGGER AND SHEATH  
Probably Flemish, about 1450-60  
Wallace Collection (Laking  
Catalogue, No. 113)



FIG. 800. DAGGER  
English, about 1480. Found in the Thames, Westminster  
Collection: Author



FIG. 799. DAGGER  
English, about 1470  
Found in Horseferry  
Road, Westminster  
London Museum

another of mid-XVth century date (Fig. 803); while in the collection of Mr. Henry G. Keasby there is a specimen of the Flemish type with silver enrichments which was recovered some years ago from the Rhine (Fig. 804).

In the Reubell Collection of daggers is a remarkable series of these

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

weapons, the strange form of grip being executed in various materials, ivy root, sycamore, horn, ebony, ivory, or metal alone; while in our own collec-



FIG. 802. DAGGER  
English, about 1460  
Collection: Author



FIG. 801. DAGGER  
English, about 1480. Found  
in London  
Guildhall Museum



FIG. 803. DAGGER  
English, about 1440-50  
British Museum

tion, acquired from the Cosson Collection, can be seen a splendid Flemish "kidney" dagger with Gothic mounts of silver, together with its leather sheath. This was obtained from the collection of the late M. Victor Gay,

## DAGGERS OF THE "KIDNEY" ORDER

who in turn purchased it in a small town on the French border (Fig. 805). We are unacquainted with any "kidney" dagger of the first half of the XVth



FIG. 804. DAGGER  
About 1470. Found in  
the Rhine  
Collection: Mr. Henry  
G. Keasby

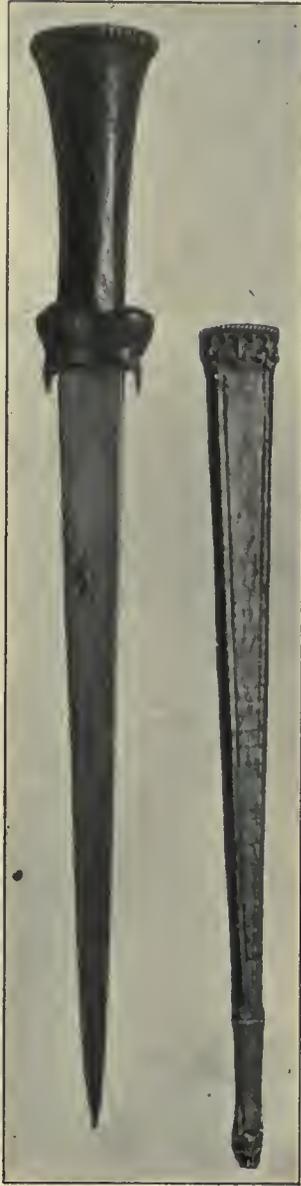


FIG. 805. DAGGER AND SHEATH  
Flemish, about 1460. Ex collections:  
M. Victor Gay and Baron de Cosson,  
now collection of Author



FIG. 806. DAGGER  
About 1460  
Collection: Author

century which possesses what we should regard as an elaboration of mounting; perhaps the richest example we know of is one to be seen in Mr. Godfrey

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

Williams' Collection at St. Donat's Castle. It has a hilt of bone or ivory, hollow and of a twisted form, showing in the grooves of the spirals, which are *à jour*, the tang of the blade encased in gilded copper. This specimen must date within the third quarter of the XVth century, and is, in all probability, Flemish, having been found, together with a sword now in the same collection, in the river Scheldt. A variation of the "kidney" dagger is also to be met with in Mr. Godfrey Williams' Collection, where a fine and complete specimen of the trilobed kind can be seen, which has also three small quillons. The Reubell Collection contains two similar daggers, and the Keasby Collection one, the blade of which has an inscription inlaid in gold (Fig. 807). All these specimens are smaller in their general proportions than the ordinary kidney type.

It is a fact worthy of comment that, despite the careful research and close observation which distinguish every page of his great work, Sir Samuel Meyrick never appears to have attempted any scientific classification by which armour or weapons could be grouped together under heads according to their types; in place of this arrangement he treated each piece individually. Thus he makes a general mention of daggers and illustrates a wooden-hilted one describing it as a Scottish dirk, and alludes quite briefly to a second—which is really a most interesting specimen—without any comment on the way in which the latter departs from the common type. The second Meyrick dagger is, as a matter of fact, a peculiar example, in which the characteristic (kidney) lobes do not form part of the grip, but are of metal and in one piece with the quillons. It is interesting to note that when it was in Sir Samuel Meyrick's Collection, the quillons and fine XVth century blade were then associated with the grip and pommel cap of an early XVIIIth century hunting sword, and that these incongruous additions, with its XVIIIth century decorations, were accepted by Meyrick without demur. This dagger is now in the collection of Mr. Henry G. Keasby; but since Meyrick's time these unsuitable restorations have been removed, and a grip and pommel cap of the period substituted (Fig. 808). It should be noted that the upper portion of the blade is thickly overlaid with brass. This has been engraved, and the remains of an inscription are apparent, which, however, is now too much obliterated by over-cleaning to be decipherable. By a curious coincidence, Mr. Keasby has in his collection a second dagger, which is almost the duplicate of the Meyrick specimen, though generally smaller in its proportions (Fig. 809). This variety of the lobed type is indeed very rare; we are only able to furnish illustrations of these two

## DAGGERS OF THE "KIDNEY" ORDER

specimens, and of two others from the same collection. .Of the two others, one, which was found in the Moselle (Fig. 810), is like those just described,



FIG. 807. DAGGER  
Tri-quilloned type  
French, about 1460  
Collection: Mr.  
Henry G. Keasby

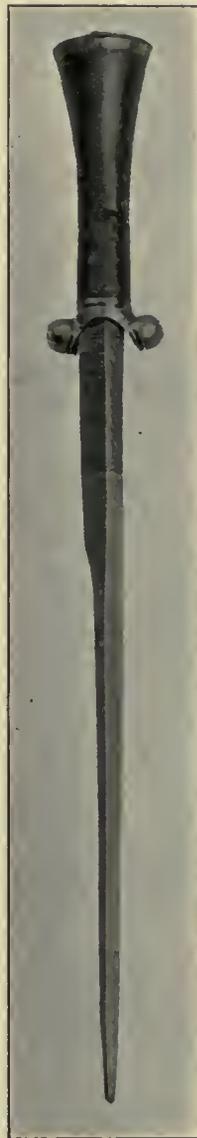


FIG. 808. DAGGER  
Flemish, about 1460  
Ex collection Sir  
Samuel Meyrick,  
now collection of  
Mr. Henry G. Keasby



FIG. 809. DAGGER  
Flemish, about 1460  
Collection: Mr. Henry  
G. Keasby



FIG. 810. DAGGER  
Flemish, about 1460  
Found in the  
Moselle  
Collection: Mr.  
Henry G. Keasby

but is incomplete; while the other (Fig. 811) is of a somewhat different type, the pommel being more cap-like and the quillon form more developed. They

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

all appear to be of a Flemish type and to date from the middle of the XVth century. An English version of this form of metal rondel pommel applied to a lobated dagger may be seen on a specimen which was found in the Thames, now preserved in the Museum of the Guildhall (Fig. 812). Though the grip is shrunken, it will be noted that the lobes are large and of wood resting on small quillons as is the case in most of those of English make. Its date is about 1480.

The "kidney" daggers we have so far illustrated have mostly been of mid-XVth century date; but as the latter part of the century progresses little alteration in their form can be noted. Eccentric examples are, however, occasionally to be seen, as, for instance, in the case of that ivory-hilted dagger in the Wallace Collection (Fig. 813), which is distinctly of the kidney type, but is elaborated by carvings of profile heads, foliage, etc. We take it that it is of North Italian origin, and of the closing years of the XVth century; for upon the blade, which is the original, is a partly obliterated inscription which, if completed, would read O MATER DEI MEMENTO MEI, an inscription that is found on a great number of North Italian weapons and pieces of armour of late XVth century date.

A direct descendant of the simple type of "kidney" dagger appears in the XVIth century. Mention of this particular form of dagger should perhaps have been reserved for the chapter dealing with the armaments of that century; but it bears such close relationship to the type just described that we prefer to deal with it in this particular connection, rather than to create a break in our story by postponing an account of it to a later chapter. The daggers we refer to have inherited the true form of the "kidney" dagger, while introducing a distinctive character of their own. This particular kind of "kidney" dagger is essentially an English production; indeed, we have met with no specimen on the continent, the provenance of which cannot be traced to England. A curious fact in connection with these XVIth century English "kidney" daggers is that so many of them appear to be made by the same hand, or at least to come from the same workshop; for they are strangely alike in construction and in decoration. The difference that they exhibit from their XVth century ancestors is that their grips are almost cylindrical and as a rule faceted, swelling to a mushroom-like shape at the pommel end to ensure a firmer hold. Their kidney formations, too, which rest on the short thick quillon under-plate, are very greatly reduced in size. The wood of which the hilt is almost invariably made is ebony; although we used to possess one dagger of this school—a complete dagger with

## DAGGERS OF THE "KIDNEY" ORDER

its sheath which had a hilt of snakewood. The finest specimen with which we are acquainted is now in the collection of Dr. Figdor of Vienna. Many years



FIG. 811. DAGGER  
Probably Flemish, about  
1460  
Collection: Mr. Henry G.  
Keasby



FIG. 812. DAGGER  
English (?), about 1470  
Found in London  
Guildhall Museum



FIG. 813. DAGGER  
With an elaborated ivory hilt of  
the kidney type  
North Italian, about 1490-1500  
Wallace Collection (Laking  
Catalogue, No. 116)

ago it was in the collection of the late Sir Charles Robinson, who indirectly purchased it at the Audley End sale, Saffron Walden (Fig. 814). The importance attached to this dagger, with its sheath and the interesting inscription on its blade, may be gathered from the fact that it is described

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

at length in the proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries for 16 February 1888. The description runs as follows:—

“The blade 10½ inches long, was probably an inch longer before the



FIG. 815*a*. DAGGER WITH ITS SHEATH

English, about 1540  
Collection: Author



FIG. 814. DAGGER WITH TWO VIEWS OF ITS LEATHER SHEATH

English, about 1540. From the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, 16 February 1888

Collection: Dr. Figdor, Vienna



FIG. 815*b*.

THE SAME DAGGER AS FIG. 815*a*

Differently viewed  
Collection: Author

point was broken off. In section it is quadrangular, the sides being concave and forming a strongly-marked rib on each side of the blade, which is seven-eighths of an inch in breadth at the junction with the haft, and half an inch thick through the ribs. Both sides of the blade are engraved and parcel-gilt. The ornamentation to within 2¼ inches of the hilt consists of a convention-

## DAGGERS OF THE "KIDNEY" ORDER

ally treated foliage between borders, and on one side is the inscription:—

GOD GYDE THE HAND

THAT I INSTAND



FIG. 816. DAGGER  
English, about 1540  
Collection: H.M.  
the King,  
Windsor Castle



FIG. 818. DAGGER AND SHEATH  
English, about 1540. Found in the  
thatch of a cottage at Weldrake,  
Yorkshire, 1846  
Collection: Mr. Henry G. Keasby



FIG. 817. DAGGER,  
English, about 1540  
From Woodbridge,  
Suffolk. Collection:  
Mr. Henry G. Keasby

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

lengthways on the blade. On each face is also seen a maker's mark, apparently inlaid and gilt, of a crowned M.

"On the motto side, below the inscription and mark, is a shield bearing three griffins' or wolves' heads erased.

"On the other face is a scroll with W W below it.

"The blade is set in parcel-gilt socket, which conforms to the shape of the lower part of the haft.

"The haft is of ebony  $4\frac{1}{4}$  inches long, and consists in an eight-sided grip, swelling out above into an eight-sided half knob, which is surmounted by a silver button with leaves.

"Below, the grip divides into two shoulders in the plane of the edges of the blade. These shoulders are also ornamented with silver buttons and leaves.

"The sheath is *cuir bouilli*, handsomely tooled, and has on its front another small sheath for the 'bodkyn.'

"There are two loops for suspension at the side, and a third on the back. The lower end of the sheath terminates in a kind of acorn."

The very recent re-discovery of just such another dagger and sheath as the specimen just described, a dagger assuredly made by the same workman (Fig. 815, *a, b*), came as one of those surprises that very occasionally compensate the collector for many fruitless searches. We have used the word re-discovery advisedly; for tied up with a bunch of eastern daggers this weapon, with its sheath, had been hanging in a city dealer's shop for nearly ten years. And there it still might have remained unnoticed and unconsidered had it not caught the eye of one skilled in the knowledge of such rarities, through whose generosity it passed into our own collection. It hardly varies from the last dagger described, save that the blade bears no inscription, that the silver studs are lost from the pommel and lobes above the quillons, and that part of the locket-end of the tooled leather scabbard has been broken. On the blade is the same armourer's mark, the letter "M" crowned.

The next best example known to the writer is in His Majesty's Collection at Windsor (Fig. 816); while two good specimens are in the Keasby Collection (Figs. 817 and 818). Of these the former came from Woodbridge, Suffolk; while the latter, which was found in 1846 in the thatch of a cottage in Weldrake, Yorkshire, was formerly in the Bateman Collection. With this latter dagger is associated a leather scabbard which is of the correct type, but which, as a matter of fact, was found while excavations were being made in Worship Street, London. Another dagger of the type, a small example to be seen in the Salting Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum,



FIG. 819. DAGGER  
English, about 1540-60  
Salting Bequest to the  
Victoria and Albert  
Museum

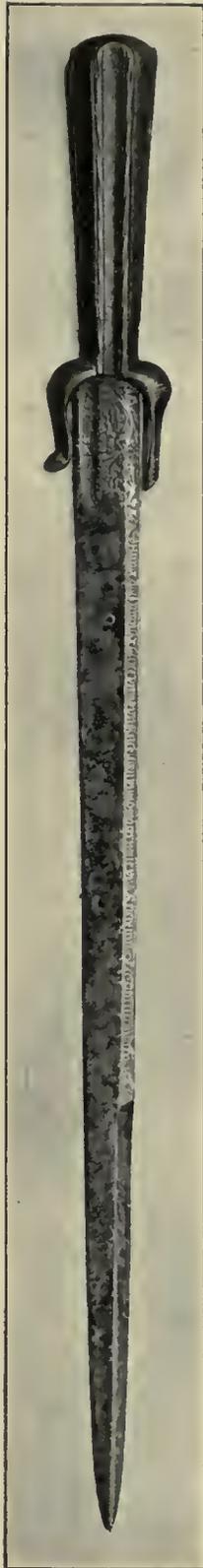


FIG. 821. DAGGER  
German, 1541  
Victoria and Albert  
Museum



FIG. 820  
*Wie die Königen den Botten abgefertiget den edlen  
Helden Theuerdanck allenthalben zusuchen*  
(From the *Theuerdank*, Woodcut No. 6,  
by H. Schaufelin, showing the  
"kidney" dagger)

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

has its grip fluted and its blade etched in chequered compartments (Fig. 819). There is also a dagger of exactly the same family in the Guildhall Museum, which was found at Brooks Wharf, Upper Thames Street. Two daggers of this type are recorded in the catalogue of the loan collection exhibited at the Ironmongers' Hall, London, in 1869. One is a finely enriched specimen, the grip inlaid with a chequer pattern of ebony and mother-of-pearl and the monogram w.r. on the ricasso of the blade. The other, a little more developed in the formation of its quillons and having a grip of yew tree, is especially interesting as having been found rolled up in some parchment deeds at the old Parliament House at Machynllaeth, county Montgomery, in which place Owen Glendower was solemnly inaugurated Prince of Wales in 1402. The present whereabouts of these two daggers we have been unable to discover.

In the Victoria and Albert Museum there is a rather curious variant of the kidney dagger (Fig. 821). Here the hilt is composed entirely of iron, and the lobes above the quillons have practically disappeared; though the quillons have lengthened and droop over the top of the blade. It will be noted that they differ from one another in their formation. The dagger, which was recently acquired for the Museum, bears the date 1541. The hilt has a central channel running down either side etched and gilt. Etching and gilding are also found on the ricasso of its back-edged blade on which, despite the fact that the dagger was dug up in England, the following German inscription in Gothic lettering is still easily decipherable. On the one side is:—

EIN LINDE ANTWORDT STILLET DENN ZORRNN. ABER EIN  
HARDT WORD RICHT GRIM ANN SALOMONN AM 15.

and on the other:

ES KUMDT ALLES VONN GOT GLUCK UNND UNGLUCK LEBEN  
UNND TOD ARMUT UND REICHTUM ECC. AM II ANNO DO. 1541.

The first quotation is from Proverbs xv, 1, and the second from Ecclesiasticus xi, 14.

It is interesting to note at how late a date the kidney dagger was in use. We have referred to the complete dagger and sheath, with a hilt of snake-wood, formerly in our collection, but since lost sight of (*ante* page 40). This dagger bore the extraordinarily late date of 1616 on the ricasso of its slender blade. This inscribed date, however, is not the latest at which such a dagger is known to have been in use; for the dagger said to have been carried by



FIG. 822. DAGGERS

- (a) Dagger, sheath, and knives. English, about 1620. Collection: Mr. S. Willson  
 (b) Dagger. English, about 1620. Found in a cottage at Gloucester. Collection: Mr. Seymour Lucas, R.A.  
 (c) Dagger and sheath. English, about 1620. Found in a cottage at Gloucester. Collection: Mr. Seymour Lucas, R.A.  
 (d) Dagger, the blade inscribed: HONOR THE KING LUIVE GOD, and dated 1626. Collection: Mr. Seymour Lucas, R.A.  
 (e) Dagger, sheath, and knife. English, dated 1628. Collection: Mr. H. G. Radford.  
 (f) Dagger. English, about 1630-40. Collection: H.M. the King, Windsor Castle.

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

the famous Colonel Blood, who attempted to steal the Crown Jewels from the Tower in 1670, was of the same pattern. Before finally leaving these English wooden-hilted daggers, we will mention a slightly different type, a good many examples of which are still extant. This is a dagger, in use during the XVIIth century, in the case of which the general formation of the wooden grip without a pommel remains the same, while the original kidney formations have been transferred from the base of the grip to the ends of the short quillons. These bastard dagger knives are usually back-edged and often serrated at the back and furnished with a reinforced point. As often as not, their original leather scabbards are found with them. We give an illustration of one from the collection of Mr. S. Willson (Fig. 822*a*). Here the grip is of ebony, whilst two spheroidal forms carved in the same medium are placed at the end of the quillons. This dagger knife has its original scabbard, into which are inserted auxiliary knives. Its period is within the first quarter of the XVIIth century. The next five illustrations show the disappearance of the lobes from the quillons. The first three (Figs. 822*b*, *c*, *d*), represent three daggers in the collection of Mr. Seymour Lucas, R.A., two of which were found in a cottage at Gloucester, while the third, which has a slightly curved blade, bears the inscription: HONOR THE KING LUIVE GOD, and is dated 1626. The next dagger and sheath (Fig. 822*e*), in the collection of Mr. H. G. Radford, bears the date 1628, while the last is from His Majesty's Collection at Windsor Castle (Fig. 822*f*). In the case of the four weapons last mentioned it will be noted that even the suggestion of the spheroidal formation on the quillons has quite disappeared—the only trace of family connection being in the shape of the grip. It is the present writer's belief that these daggers were in use as late as the time of Charles II, and that they were only made and used in England.

### THE FOURTH TYPE OF DAGGER—VARIETIES OF THE "EAR" POMMEL ORDER

WE now come to the fourth type of dagger, a dagger which is guardless save for a metal moulding inserted above the blade. It is known as the "ear" dagger, in France as the *daguer à oreilles*, in Italy as *alla Levantina*; the first two names being derived from the two characteristic flattened disks that issue from either side of the pommel cap at an obtuse angle to the line of the grip, and resemble ears. There is little doubt that the origin of this form of hilt is

## DAGGERS OF THE "EAR" POMMEL ORDER

derived from the East; for bronze sword daggers with exactly the same form of hilt dating from A.D. 400 to 600 have been obtained from Ardabil, Persia, on the south-west coast of the Caspian Sea (Fig. 823). A precursor of it can



FIG. 824.



FIG. 823. BRONZE YATAGHAN  
HILT  
Of about A.D. 400 to 600  
From Ardabil, Persia, on the  
south-west coast of the  
Caspian Sea  
British Museum



FIG. 825. DAGGER  
Iron hilt. Probably  
Spanish, about  
1500  
Collection: Baron  
de Cosson



FIG. 826.

FIG. 824. DAGGER. Silvered bronze hilt. English (?), about 1480. Found in the Thames, Westminster. Collection: Author

FIG. 826. DAGGER. Iron hilt. Italian (Venetian), about 1500. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 109)

also be found in swords of yataghan type, a peculiarity of the early iron age of Spain, which have been discovered chiefly at Almedinilla, in the south-eastern angle of the province of Cordova, near Priego. In the Turkish and Circassian

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

yataghans of the XVIIth, XVIIIth, and XIXth centuries the same form of hilt can be seen reproduced. In the inventory made in 1560 of certain possessions of Francis II of France, entitled *Inventaire des joyaux de la Couronne de France et du Cabinet du roi (Francois II) à Fontainebleau*, there occurs the entry:—No. 643, *Ung petit poignart à oreilles, façon d'Espagne, où le bout n'est point, estimé XII.*



FIG. 827. DAGGER  
Spanish (?), about 1490  
Collection: Viscount Astor

The metal plates of the pommel were as a rule overlaid on their outer side with the same medium as the grip, that is to say, with horn, ivory, or wood; though they are occasionally met with made entirely of metal. Of this latter make are those seen on the small dagger found in the Thames at Westminster and now housed in the London Museum (Fig. 824), on the dagger, probably of Spanish origin (Fig. 825), in the collection of the Baron de Cosson, which dagger bears on its blade the name of its maker: . I . ARFO., and on the dagger in the Wallace Collection (Fig. 826) which we believe to be of Venetian origin of about 1500.

We have come across no extant example of the true *dague à oreilles* that we dare assign to a date earlier than the middle of the XVth century.

Northern Italy, with its port of Venice, and Spain, appear to have been the districts in which these daggers were fashionable in the latter part of the XVth century, doubtless from the fact of the intercourse with the Orient of both these countries. Rare as are these graceful daggers, fine and splendidly-enriched examples exist in public and private collections. The finest we know of in England is that at Hever Castle in the Astor Collection. This specimen has a shield form engraved upon the ivory pommel disks; while the decoration upon the grip runs in diagonal bands. The gold damascening upon the exposed iron surface is minute in design, consisting of animals in conventional fashion and of inscriptions in compartments. The blade has unfortunately suffered from over-cleaning (Fig. 827). The Tower, the

## DAGGERS OF THE "EAR" POMMEL ORDER

British Museum, and the Victoria and Albert Museum possess no example of the "ear" dagger; and yet there must have been many in England, for such a dagger was the fashion among great nobles, as we may conclude from the



(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

FIG. 828. DAGGERS

(a, c) Probably North Italian, about 1500

(b, d) Hispano-Moorish, about 1490

All in the collection of the late Signor Ressman, now in the Bargello Museum, Florence

portrait of the youthful Edward VI, now in the Royal Collection at Windsor (Fig. 836).

We illustrate four superb weapons in the Ressman Collection bequest to



FIG. 829. DAGGER

Italian, about 1500. Silver niello plaques on the grip, gilt plaquettes in the pommel  
Ex Collection: Lord Londesborough  
Metropolitan Museum, New York



FIG. 830. DAGGER

Spanish, about 1500. Silver niello  
plaques on the grip  
Collection: Prince Ladislaus  
Odescalchi, Rome

## DAGGERS OF THE "EAR" POMMEL ORDER

the Bargello Museum, Florence; the beauty of their decoration speaks for itself. Unhappily the former provenances of these excellent specimens are not known; but each is not only undoubtedly authentic but in its way as fine an example in the matter of workmanship as any existing weapon of the type with which we are acquainted (Fig. 828, *a, b, c, d*).

There are admirable specimens in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, one of the most beautiful coming from the Londesborough and afterwards from the Zschille Collections (Fig. 829). This is perhaps one of the few daggers of this type recorded that has panels of silver decorated with niello work enriching the hilt. The pommel plaques are composed of applied medallions of gilt bronze with figure subjects in low relief. The exposed portions of the wide blade tang are etched and gilt. The blade is of flattened diamond-shaped section, with a ricasso likewise etched and gilt. A second dagger with silver niello enrichments, but more Spanish in character, is in the collection of Prince Ládislaus Odescalchi of Rome (Fig. 830). In the Reubell Collection is an unsurpassed series, one of which is sufficiently beautiful to merit individual mention. The ivory grip of this example is of the greatest elegance—attenuated and Gothic in feeling, the influence of the Renaissance being suggested by minutely-carved masks of lions' heads. In the Dino Collection there is an "ear" dagger with a gilded hilt which has inlaid panels of mother-of-pearl and a setting of small turquoises. This is a sumptuously beautiful weapon; but, alas! the authenticity of its hilt has been questioned. However, as it comes from the collection of the late Signor Ressiman, whose knowledge was very great, we must waive our own views as to its genuineness (Fig. 831). Of the more ordinary type of "ear" dagger, heavily proportioned but eminently serviceable, we illustrate two specimens very similar in construction; both have applied pommel and grip plaques of horn, and blades of flattened diamond-shaped section widening somewhat in breadth from their ricassos. One (Fig. 832) is in the Dino Collection, the other (Fig. 833), a good example but over-cleaned from the collector's standpoint, is No. 111 of the Wallace Collection. Finally, we terminate our list of the "ear" daggers with a brief description of an historical dagger, which, together with two other daggers of the same type, is now preserved in Room F, Case 111 of the Ambrosian Library, Milan. Two of these daggers (Fig. 834, *a, b*) are worked to the utmost perfection, the exposed metal parts of the hilt being minutely damascened with gold, introducing panels with designs of animals conventionally rendered, while the ivory plaques of the grip are carved with leafage and inscriptions in the

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

Hispano-Arabian manner. The third dagger (Fig. 835), the historical weapon, though less elaborate in its decoration, is noteworthy as having attached to



FIG. 832. DAGGER  
Italian (Venetian), about  
1500  
Metropolitan Museum,  
New York



FIG. 831. DAGGER  
Gilt hilt, with settings of turquoise  
and mother-of-pearl. The authenti-  
city of this dagger is a matter for  
consideration; it is enriched in the  
style of the early years of the  
XVIth century  
Metropolitan Museum, New York



FIG. 833. DAGGER  
Italian (Venetian),  
about 1500  
Wallace Collection  
(Laking Catalogue,  
No. 111)

it what we believe to be a genuine history: it is reputed to be the actual weapon with which Andrea Lampugnano murdered Galeazzo Sforza in the church of St. Stephen, Milan, on 26th December, 1476. When in the year

## DAGGERS OF THE "EAR" POMMEL ORDER

- 1670 the dagger was transferred from the Treasury of the church of St. Stephen to the Ambrosian Library by the Canon Flaminio Pasgualini,



FIG. 834 (a)

FIG. 834 (b)

FIG. 835

### EAR DAGGERS \*

Fig. 834 (a, b). Carved ivory grips, gold damascened mounts. Probably Spanish, about 1490  
Fig. 835. Reputed to be the weapon with which Galeazzo Sforza was murdered by Andrea  
Lampugnano in the Church of St. Stephen, Milan, 1476  
All three daggers are in the Ambrosian Library, Milan

he deposited with the library at the same time a document in which this information is set out.

It may be estimated that the period during which the so-called "ear" dagger continued to be in use extended from about 1460 to the middle of the XVIth century.



FIG. 836. PORTRAIT OF KING EDWARD VI

It shows the youthful king wearing a dagger of the "ear" pommel type

Collection: H.M. the King, Windsor Castle

## DAGGERS OF THE TRANSITIONAL ORDER

### THE FIFTH TYPE—VARIOUS DAGGERS OF TRANSITIONAL ORDER

IN the fifth division we class all those transitional types that connect the daggers of the XVth with those of the XVIth century; they embrace developments of the rondel and the quillon dagger, and other kinds, and are all to be placed in the same category as being produced more or less under



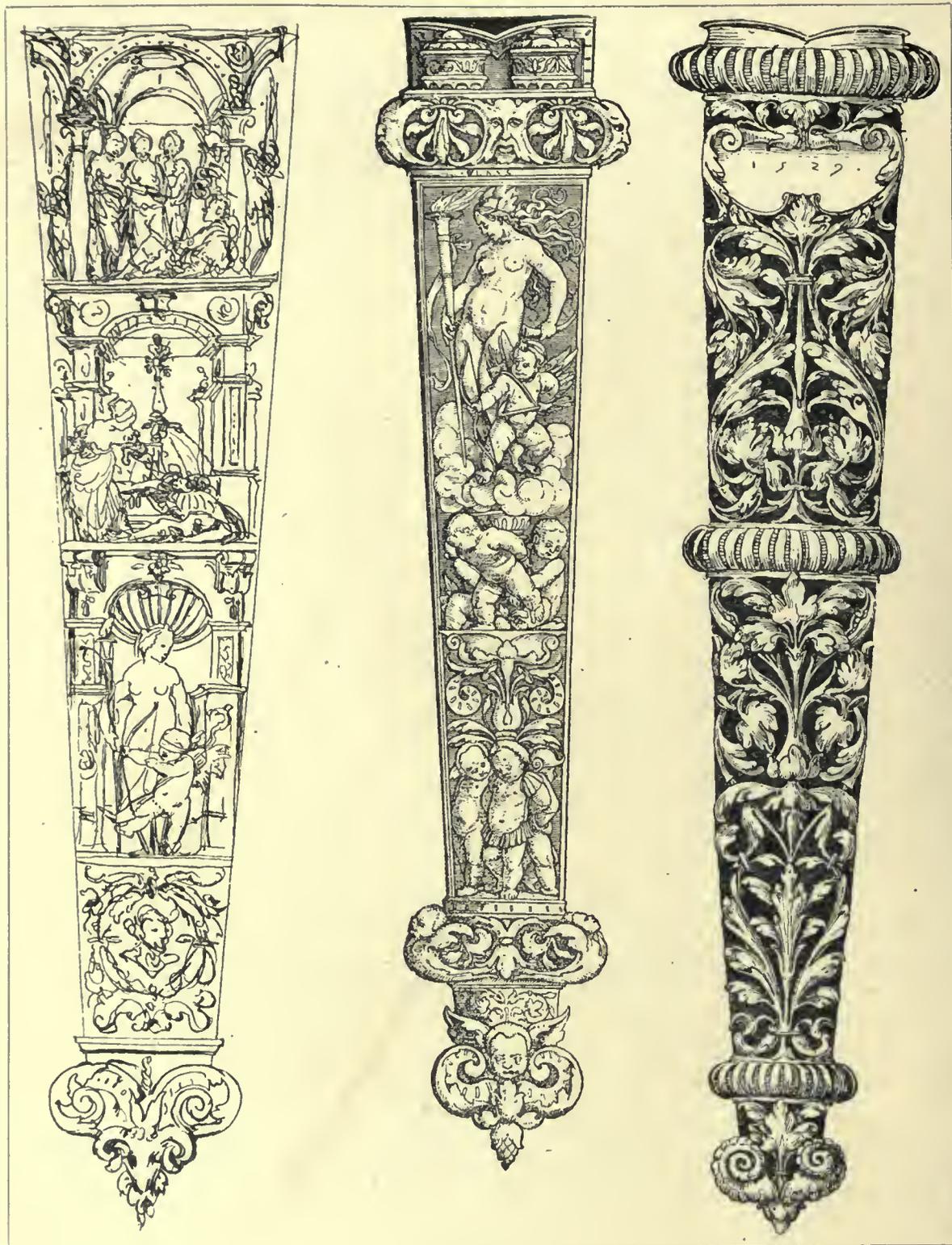
FIG. 837. DAGGER AND SHEATH—"HOLBEIN" TYPE  
German or Swiss, about 1530. Imperial Armoury, Vienna

the influence of Renaissance feeling, either Italian or German. In this list we rank those fine Swiss daggers with the gilt metal mounts, the decoration of which is ever associated with the names of Holbein and Burgkmaier. A dagger from the Imperial Armoury, Vienna (Fig. 837) is an excellent example of the type of weapon to which we refer, though somewhat richer



FIG. 838. DAGGER SHEATH FROM AN ORIGINAL WASH DRAWING BY  
HANS HOLBEIN, THE YOUNGER, 1497-1543  
Bâle Museum

in the hilt than those that are usually seen. The wooden scabbard is overlaid with bronze gilt, cast, chased, and pierced with Holbein's famous "Dance of Death." Into the top of the scabbard are inserted a knife and pricker. We give an illustration (Fig. 838) of a fine pen-and-wash drawing by Hans Holbein, the younger, preserved in the museum at Bâle; it depicts



[FIG. 838A  
DRAWINGS OF DAGGER SHEATHS  
By Hans Holbein

## DAGGERS OF THE TRANSITIONAL ORDER

exactly the same composition of figures in the "Dance of Death" as is seen on the Vienna dagger (Fig. 837). We also reproduce three other dagger sheaths (Fig. 838A) from three rare original drawings by the same artist, preserved in the same museum, each a monument to the greatness of the master's sense of design. The engraving from *Die Hochzeitstänzer*, by Heinrich Aldegrever, also well illustrates the elaborate and rich dagger of this form (Fig. 843). A specimen in the Musée du Louvre (Fig. 839) is a dagger of the same type: this has the usual hilt seen on these Swiss daggers, a hilt almost of basilard form. The figure subject depicted upon the scabbard is the story of William Tell. Next is a type of dagger of somewhat similar form, but altogether more clumsy. This is the commoner German Landsknecht version of the more elegant Swiss type. This class of dagger we could illustrate in large numbers; for it is represented in nearly all



FIG. 839. DAGGER AND SHEATH—"HOLBEIN" TYPE  
German or Swiss, about 1540. Musée du Louvre

public museums, especially on the Continent, and some excellent examples are to be seen in the Wallace Collection. They vary considerably in the quality of their workmanship. Often the material of their grip and pommel is wood inlaid with polished bone in the manner of the arquebus stocks. A specimen in the Keasby Collection (Fig. 840) is a good untouched example of German, probably Nuremberg, workmanship, and dates within the second quarter of the XVIth century. This same form of weapon, but quillonless, is our next example (Fig. 841), a carefully made dagger of the first quarter of the XVIth century, also probably of Nuremberg workmanship. This dagger is almost duplicated by a weapon that was found at Brook's Wharf, Thames Street, in 1866, and is now to be seen in the Guildhall Museum (Fig. 842). Except for the loss of its grip it is in a perfect state of preservation.

Having pursued the study of daggers into the XVIth century we could

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

mention a great many other types of the transitional order; we hope, however, that we have enumerated most of those that are more ordinarily

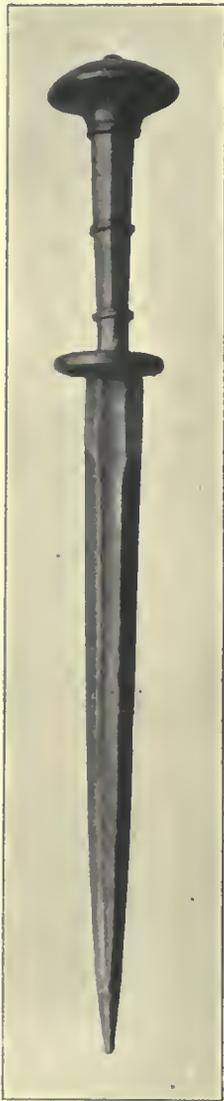


FIG. 841. DAGGER  
German, Landsknecht type,  
about 1520  
Collection: Mr. Henry  
G. Keasby



FIG. 840. DAGGER AND  
SHEATH  
German, Landsknecht  
type, about 1540  
Collection: Mr. Henry  
G. Keasby



FIG. 842. DAGGER  
German, Landsknecht type, but  
probably of English workmanship,  
about 1520. Found at Brook's  
Wharf, Thames Street, in 1866  
Guildhall Museum

to be seen. Almost every form of quilloned dagger was in use in the first half of the XVIth century—nationality and decoration alone determining

## DAGGERS OF THE TRANSITIONAL ORDER

their actual date. As in the case of all weapons of these times, the spirit of the Renaissance very soon made itself apparent in their enrichment. In Italy the influence of this spirit can be traced down from about 1440, manifesting itself finally in the gorgeous enrichments of the various cinque-dea-like daggers. In the case of the cinque-dea, the sixth and last class of dagger which we shall examine, we shall have to go back to the end of the first half of the XVth century in order to look at the earlier types. Here we propose to deal briefly with a few daggers of Italian origin which are more or less the XVIth century descendants of the XVth century cinque-dea. The four XVIth century dagger swords we illustrate have practically the blade proportions of the cinque-dea; but their hilts consist of the ordinary quillons, grip, and pommel.

Of hybrid cinque-dea, if we may use the expression, no example is more representative than that in the Windsor Armoury, No. 24 in the catalogue (Fig. 845), which, like other early daggers to be found there, was sent to Windsor Castle from Carlton House in the second quarter of the XIXth century. The hilt of this example, which is of North Italian workmanship of the first quarter of the XVIth century, is entirely of gilt bronze, and is fashioned of three separate parts, the pommel, the grip, and the quillons. The pommel is of wheel form, composed of two castings joined back to back, its outline cleverly fashioned as the intertwined bodies of two snakes linked together at neck and tail. In the centre of this grotesque framework, on each side of the pommel, is a circular sunk panel containing a quasi-oriental tracery design in silver filigree. The quillons

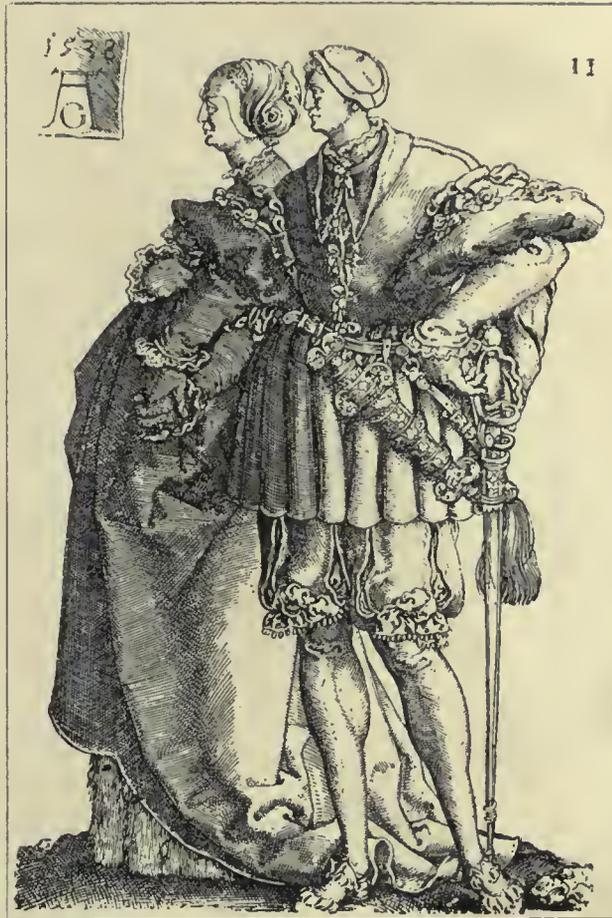


FIG. 843

Engraving by Heinrich Aldegrever, from *Die Hochzeitstänzer*, showing the "Holbein" dagger and the skirt from which the fashion of the *tonnet* was derived

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

are fashioned as serpents with heads turned in reverse directions, carrying out the spirit of the pommel design; they spring from an oblong central block, the lower edge of which projects in a fleur-de-lys form over the flat of the blade. In the two principal faces are sunk panels which, as in the case of the pommel, must have originally contained silver filigree work. The grip, which like the pommel is cast in two halves, is of flattened oval section and swells in the centre, having on either side pierced panels of interlaced corded ornaments, showing the velvet-covered wood foundation. The blade, which does not appear to have been made for the weapon, and which may have been the upper portion of a partisan blade shortened and fitted to this hilt, is considerably over-cleaned, and is stamped on one side only with a form of ornament. The hilt of this weapon is of very considerable interest; for had it not suffered



FIG. 844. POMMEL OF  
THE SAME FORM  
AS SHOWN IN  
FIG. 845

Collection: Signor Ressiman, Bargello Museum, Florence

in the past from a too vigorous cleaning and so lost the charm of colour and of patina that time alone can give, it would in the present writer's opinion far excel any offensive arm of the type belonging to our English collections. The fine series of early swords in the Wallace Collection at Hertford House can show us nothing of equal excellence as regards general design; only a master little inferior to Ghiberti could have depicted the sinuous bodies of the intertwined snakes that form the flat wheel-pommel and the quillon or cross-guard. No less accomplished an artist could so happily have achieved the design of combining an apparently free composition with a strictly conventional form of hilt.

It may be noted that the silver filigree oriels, which are almost oriental in their flamboyancy, and the prettily intertwined design of the grip betraying the same eastern influence, both recall in no uncertain fashion the Siculo-Arabian motives seen on Venetian lamps and incense burners of the last years of the XVth century.

In the Ressiman Collection in the Bargello Museum, Florence, is a pommel of identical form to the one found on the last-named weapon; but it is in a finer state of preservation, and also shows a slight variation in the design of the silver filigree work in the centre (Fig. 844). In Nos. 95, 96, and 97 of the Wallace Collection we find variations of the cinquedeas forms which differ only in the shape of their quillons and pommel; while again in the Royal Armoury of Windsor Castle yet another variety of the cinquedeas dagger is to be seen, No. 31 in the Catalogue (Fig. 846), similar in con-

## DAGGERS OF THE TRANSITIONAL ORDER

struction to the last daggers described, but simpler in its individual parts. The hilt of this particular dagger at Windsor is entirely russeted, the flat wheel-pommel and the grip form a single piece made in two halves brazed together down the sides. The quillons are of oblong section, widening towards the ends, and drooping slightly over the blade. The entire decoration of the hilt consists of a bold cross hatching that at a little distance gives a honey-combed effect. The blade is 13 inches long, and 3 inches wide at the hilt, tapering to the point; while nearly the whole surface is brilliantly blued and enriched with a form of gold ornamentation we have described in volume ii on p. 279 when alluding to the short sword (Fig. 657). On one side is the nude female figure emblematical of Fortune; while on the reverse side is the equestrian figure of Quintus Curtius leaping into the pit. Above are elaborate arabesques introducing octofoil-shaped panels, one enclosing a helmeted bust in profile, the other the bust of St. Winifred holding a chalice. Worked into the design of the scrollwork is the initial A, surmounted by a crown. "This dagger was given by the Khan of the Crimea to Mr. Colonne at St. Petersburg in September 1794, being part of the Armoury of the famous Ghengis Khan, transmitted to his descendants, who were Khans of the Crimea until the Empress Catherine made conquest of it." So runs the note in the old Carlton House Inventory on this particular dagger, which to modern and perhaps more observant eyes seems to possess certain qualities that make its imputed age and authenticity seem rather doubtful. The fact that the grip and pommel form a single piece composed of two halves brazed together would of itself arouse suspicion in any austere



FIG. 845. DAGGER HILT  
North Italian, about 1520  
Collection: H.M. the King, Windsor Castle

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

critic. Moreover, the "blueing" on the field of the blade is unpleasantly "Georgian" in the intensity of its colour, and has not that fine blue-black



FIG. 846. DAGGER OF THE CINQUEDEA  
TYPE

North Italian, about 1520-40  
Collection: H.M. the King, Windsor  
Castle

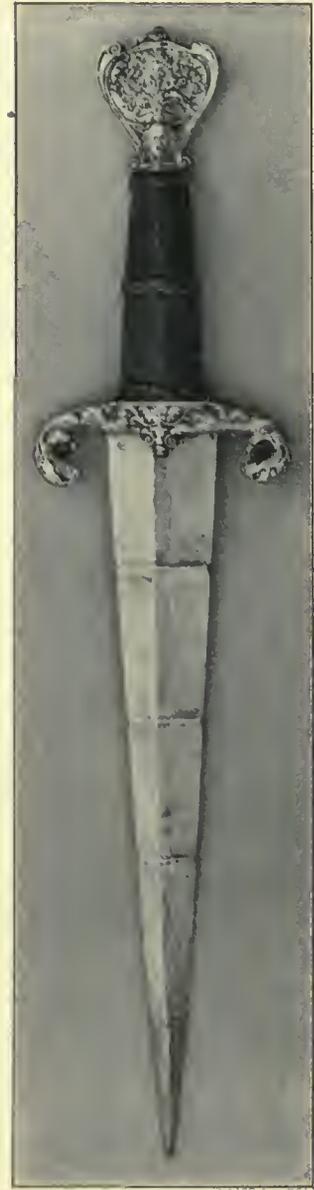


FIG. 847. DAGGER OF THE  
CINQUEDEA TYPE

Bronze gilt hilt. North Italian,  
about 1520  
Metropolitan Museum, New York

patina usually associated with true XVth and XVIth century work. Such doubts are difficult to explain away; but let it be remembered, on the other

## THE DAGGER TERMED CINQUEDEA

hand, that early in the XIXth century this dagger, like many other treasures in the Royal Collection, passed through the hands of the cleaner and restorer, who may have left upon this beautiful and presumably XVIth century weapon the mark of the time. That beautiful dagger, sword of the cinquedeas type in the Resson bequest to the Bargello Museum (Vol. ii, p. 277, Fig. 657), which seems to be a North Italian weapon of about the end of the XVth century, shows us to perfection the true blueing such as we consider is lacking on the last dagger illustrated. Here we have the original colour which has never been tampered with, the blue-black groundwork still retaining the original silky patina. The hilt is composed of a simple wheel-pommel, diagonally curved quillons, and a single ring guard. The last dagger of this class we illustrate is that fine example which also was originally in the Resson Collection, but is now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York (Fig. 847). The quillons and pommel are of gilded bronze, the latter flat and shield-shaped, the former drooping at the ends, where they terminate in monsters' heads. Very perfect Renaissance ornament is introduced into the field decoration both of the pommel and of the quillons. The blade is stoutly fashioned, tapering to an acute reinforced point. Its surface is curiously faceted.

We should weary our readers—if we have not already wearied them—were we to proceed to give an account of the other forms varying according to the country of their manufacture taken by the broad-bladed dagger swords of the early years of the XVIth century; but the forms we have mentioned will suffice to show that, though the decoration of these weapons is seldom duplicated, they vary but little in construction and general outline before they evolve into the true cinquedeas.

## THE SIXTH TYPE OF DAGGER—THE CINQUEDEA PROPER

THOUGH it comes perhaps rather under the category of the sword than under that of the dagger, we must find room in this chapter for some account of that most distinctive form of weapon known as the cinquedeas. The cinquedeas, broad-bladed and awkward to handle, was in the early days of the study of armour often wrongly termed the "Anelace." But its very name has reference to its form, the word cinquedeas or sanquedeas being derived from two Italian words, *cinque*—five, *dita*—fingers, and describing the blade of the weapon as having the breadth of five fingers; for it will be generally found that the blade of the cinquedeas is from three to four inches wide at the hilt.

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

The "anelace" mentioned by Chaucer, which has its prototype in the "parazonium," the basilard already mentioned, and the *épée-de-passot*, all belong to the same family of weapon. The cinquedeas are without doubt Venetian in origin; indeed, they are generally known as *Cinquedeas Veneziana*. They are frequently seen represented in North Italian pictures of the XVth century. The extreme difficulty experienced in handling these weapons makes an understanding of the rules governing the fight in which they were employed no easy matter; indeed, worn as they seem to have been at the back of the belt, in a parallel line with it, and placed, as in the case of the *main gauche* dagger of the XVIIth century, so as to be readily drawn with the left hand, the combat they suggest seems nothing more complicated than murder pure and simple. It may be that the broad-bladed dagger sword had its origin in the East; but since it dates back to the early years of the XVth century, and the only Eastern weapon with which we are now



FIG. 848. THRUSTING DAGGER

Known as a *katár*, peculiar to India from the early years of the XVIth century onwards

acquainted that resembles it in the formation of its blade—the Indian *Katár* (Fig. 848)—appears first in the latter part of the same century, this can scarcely have been its prototype.

Before we give a short list of those cinquedeas which are most worthy of notice, we may as well mention the interesting fact that in Italy, from the very beginning of the XIXth century, this class of weapon has for some reason or other received the assiduous and particular attention of the forger; though other varieties of swords and daggers of XVth century date have not wholly escaped such attempts at reproduction. As in England in the forties of the last century, early helmets and pointed sollerets were the speciality of the fabricator, so Italian forgers of arms and of armour turned their attention to the cinquedeas as a medium for the exploitation of their talent. Indeed, a Venetian, one San-Quirine, has since become famous for his ingenious combinations, for his knack of adapting a real blade to a false hilt, or vice versa, and for his skill in

## THE DAGGER TERMED CINQUEDEA

redecorating some simple old weapon, or in counterfeiting the whole dagger. The cinquedeas doubtless had its origin in the XIVth century; but we are unable to recall any actual example of the weapon which it would be safe to assign to an earlier date than about 1440-50. According to the Baron de Cosson that small cinquedeas formerly in the Resson Collection, now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York (Fig. 849), belongs to the second quarter of the XVth century. This primitive little weapon is possibly of Veronese make; for we note certain points in which it differs from the conventional Venetian cinquedeas of later date. The bronze arch-shaped pommel is small for the proportions of the grip; whilst the iron quillons are formed to the outline of a thin crescent moon inverted. The blade has a central ridge, and is in no way grooved.

The construction of the cinquedeas of the second half of the XVth century is nearly always the same, varying only in the proportion of the hilt to the blade. The latter is *langue de bœuf* shaped, its tang passing through the quillon, and afterwards widening almost to the extent of the plaques that constitute the grip. This latter has its greatest breadth in the centre, while at the pommel end the blade tang again widens to a semicircular form. On this fits the arch either of iron or bronze gilt that constitutes the pommel. The quillons are nearly always of flattened oblong section, drooping archways over the blade on which they fit. The grip as a rule is overlaid with plaques of ivory, wood, horn, or even mother-of-pearl. These plaques follow exactly the outline of the blade tang, and are usually secured to it by three or four hollow ring rivets, which in many cases are decorated with a tracery in flattened brass wire. Enrichments are added in the form of a strip of gilded metal or silver running down and concealing the edges of the blade tang. The whole hilt is remarkably flat, if



FIG. 849. DAGGER OF THE  
CINQUEDEA TYPE

Italian, probably Veronese,  
about 1440-50  
Metropolitan Museum,  
New York



FIG. 850. BLADE OF A CINQUEDEAS

Shown point upwards in order the better to display the design. Etched and gilded in the manner of Ercole dei Fideli. End of the XVth century  
Collection: the late Mr. Frederick Stibbert of Florence

## THE DAGGER TERMED CINQUEDEA

its massiveness be taken into consideration. It may be objected that the duplicating of illustrations of this particular weapon—which in itself is subject to such slight variation of form—is unnecessary; our excuse, however, must be that the surface of the cinquedeas often became the field for the richest and most varied decoration. Precious stones, gold filigree work, and plaques of niello were employed to decorate the hilts; whilst the blades could boast of etching equally rich with that seen on the knightly swords of the time. As in the case of the Italian sword blades, etching and gilding of figure subjects, inscriptions, and foliated scrollwork form usually the schemes of adornment; while the finer cinquedeas bear etching upon their blades, which reminds one irresistibly of the designs in the cabinet of engravings at Berlin attributed to Ercole dei Fideli.

M. Charles Buttin has written two clever and exhaustive brochures on cinquedeas in private collections in which he states that he has examined personally or by photograph as many as one hundred and twenty examples; but, as he confesses, it is only the few, the decoration on which is of the finest character, that can maintain any claim to have come from the actual hand of Fideli. In this latter class he includes as being pre-eminent (Fig. 850) the splendid blade of a cinquedeas, in the collection of the late Mr. Frederick Stibbert, bequeathed to the town of Florence some twelve years ago.

In the article on *Le Musée Stibbert à Florence* in the September number of *Les Arts* for 1910, by M. Charles Buttin, he discusses the distinctive features of the work of Fideli and gives his reasons for attributing this cinquedeas to that master, comparing the decoration on it to that on the only known specimen which bears the signature of Fideli. Monsieur Buttin, of course, refers to the researches of Monsieur Yriarte in his *Autour des Borgia* (pages 141-209), who writes of Ercole dei Fideli (a converted Jew, by name Salomone da Sesso, born about 1465): "Hercule, fascinated by the past, always represents his figures either nude or lightly draped, his goddesses, nymphs, and vestals have a curious anatomy, he exaggerates the length of the

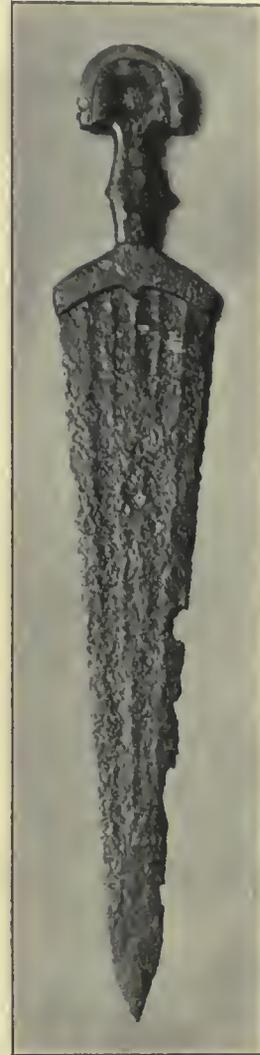


FIG. 851. CINQUEDEA  
Italian (Venetian),  
about 1480  
Wallace Collection (Lak-  
ing Catalogue, No. 98)

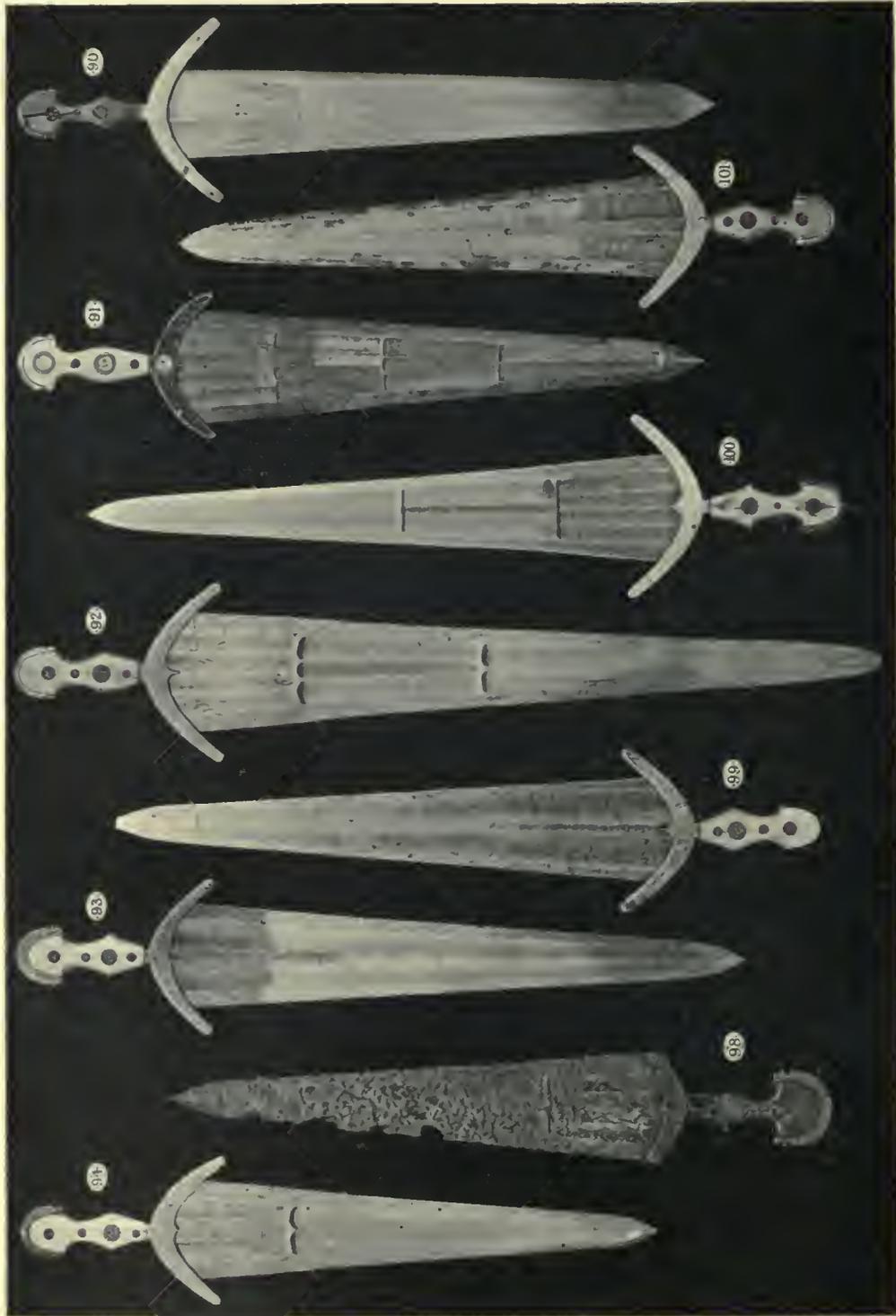


FIG. 852. NINE CINQUEDEA SWORD DAGGERS OF LATE XVTH AND EARLY XVITH CENTURY DATE

Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, Nos. 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 98, 99, 100, and 101)

## THE DAGGER TERMED CINQUEDEA

limbs . . . he makes us think of the *décadents* of Primaticcio, of Rosso, of Niccolo del Abbate." He describes in detail all the curious points of Fideli's art, and adds: "He must have known the great Venetian printers, and one is struck on comparing his work with the first page of the *Herodotus* of 1494, printed at Venice," and the author would remark here that collectors are prone, when dating a sword which bears an inscription, to neglect the evidence of the lettering of the inscriptions. We have already described the Borgia sword in volume ii on page 272, Fig. 648.

We will endeavour, though the date of the weapon is to a certain degree a matter of guesswork, to deal with the oldest of the cinquedeas with which we are acquainted—a fine late XVth century weapon in the Wallace Collection, No. 98 (Fig. 851), unfortunately in a very decayed condition. We yield to its pride of place because with its great massive arch-shaped pommel and thick quillons, the ends of which are unfortunately missing, it seems to us far grander and more impressive in its form than its rivals. The fine blade is  $17\frac{3}{4}$  inches long, having each face divided into nine facets enriched with a gold inlaid design introducing the mythological subject of Europa and the bull. In the Wallace Collection are eight other cinquedeas of the same type, Nos. 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 99, 100, and 101 (Fig. 852). Of these No. 91 is perhaps the most remarkable; for, although the weapon is not in its original condition, for it has had the grip added, as has been the fate of nearly all the other cinquedeas, the actual blade is really a superb specimen of its kind, being 19 inches long and  $4\frac{1}{8}$  inches wide at the hilt, its surface divided into fourteen facet panels on either side. At the hilt it is decorated with a composition representing the worship of the Golden Calf, etched and splendidly gilt; while panels of ornamentation in chequered form constitute nearly the whole of the remaining decoration. Of the same type as the Wallace cinquedeas is that admirable large example in the Victoria and Albert Museum obtained from the collection of the late Mr. W. H. Spiller. In the latter case the ivory grip plates appear to be the originals (Fig. 853).

There is a fine cinquedeas with its sheath in the Royal Collection, Windsor, No. 30 in the 1906 Catalogue (Fig. 854). This weapon, which bears as an armourer's mark the letter "P" impressed, was sent to Windsor Castle from Carlton House in the second quarter of the XIXth century. The pommel is of gilt bronze, fitting arch-like on the top of the grip. The quillons of polished iron are flat and oblong in section, and droop in a very pronounced manner over the blade, the tang of which widens and forms the foundation for the plaques of walrus ivory that are applied on either side of the grip.

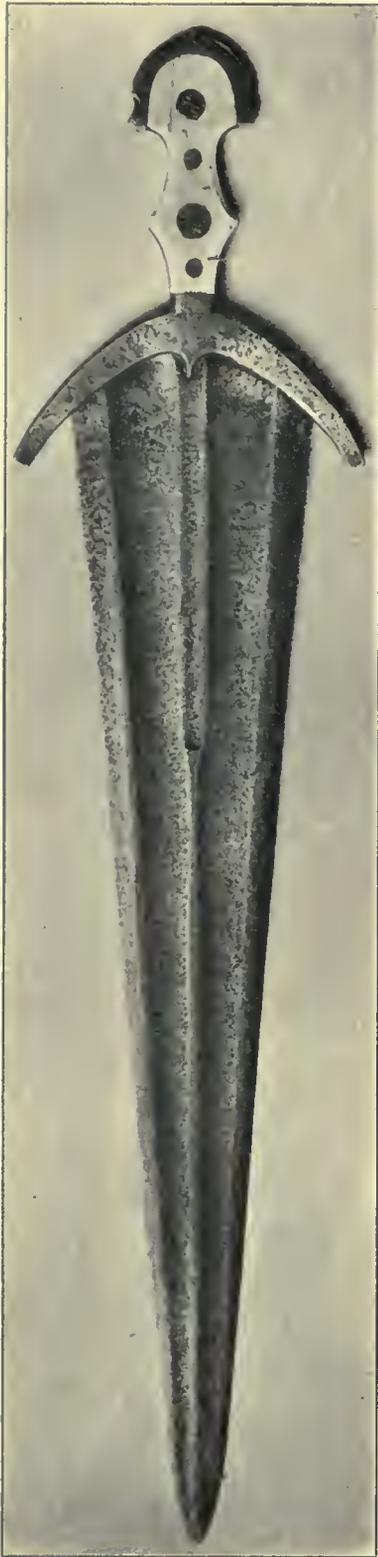


FIG. 853. CINQUEDEA  
Italian (Venetian), about 1500  
Victoria and Albert Museum



FIG. 854. CINQUEDEA WITH ITS ORIGINAL SCABBARD  
North Italian, about 1490  
Collection: H.M. the King, Windsor Castle

## THE DAGGER TERMED CINQUEDEA

Through these plaques are pierced three circular apertures, each filled with brass tracery of Moorish design. The blade, which is  $18\frac{3}{4}$  inches long, and  $3\frac{7}{8}$  inches wide at the hilt, has four hollows for  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches of its length, and three hollows for  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches of its length, and is doubly grooved for the remaining 10 inches. Etched upon the base of the blade on either side are compositions of figures chosen from classical mythology; while above these is a band of scrollwork introducing medallion portrait busts in the centre. The scabbard, which retains some of the crimson velvet lining, is of *cuir bouilli*, slightly embossed and tooled with a lace cinquecento ornamentation, into which is introduced a circular panel containing a shield charged with the arms of the Petrucci of Siena. On one face is a sheath made for holding a small knife. This weapon must have been one of great beauty when in its original condition; though it is now sadly over-cleaned. The quillons, now of brightened iron, show traces of original gilding; the pommel has upon it, cast in low relief, figures of young children, Verrocchio-like in their treatment, and down the sides of the grip runs the following inscription:

ESSE VIRTUTE LOCOS NVMQVAM POTEST NON.

The blade has obviously been re-gilded, probably early in the XIXth century. By good fortune the fine *cuir bouilli* sheath belonging to this cinquedeas was found early in 1901 in a chamber in the Round Tower, together with a number of XVIIIth century sword sheaths that had apparently not been touched since their removal to Windsor Castle from Carlton House.

Among other well-known examples of the cinquedeas in England we may mention one to be seen at Eastnor Castle, a good if somewhat over-cleaned specimen, still retaining its *cuir bouilli* sheath; another in the possession of the Duke of Norfolk at Arundel Castle, with a finely etched blade, good grip and pommel, but with quillons that have been redecorated; and a very splendid weapon, differing in the medium of its decoration, which was formerly in the collection of Lord Carmichael (Fig. 855). The grip of this last-named example is of wood, overlaid with plaques of silver decorated with niello work, representing on one side the bust of a Roman Emperor enclosed in circles, around which are children's heads and arabesques, with a label beneath lettered AD . IN . PE., apparently intended for "Hadrianus Imperator." On the reverse side the copper and the silver have been torn away, perhaps to remove the owner's arms. The grip is formed of a double cone, flattened, with eight facets; on those of the front and back, which are broader than the rest, are musical and other small instruments in niello work; on the lesser facets are arabesques in a like medium. The drooping

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

quillons and the arch-shaped pommel of gilded bronze are decorated with arabesques of foliage interspersed with shields in relief. The blade,  $20\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, has been finely etched and gilt; but as seen to-day it has suffered from being allowed to rust and then from too rigorous cleaning. This fine weapon



FIG. 855. CINQUEDEA

The pommel and grip overlaid with silver  
decorated with niello

North Italian, about 1490-1500

Ex collection: Lord Carmichael

which, by the way, is almost duplicated by one (H 7) in the Royal Armoury, Turin, was exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1901.

Several, though not very marked, variations in the form of the cinquedeia's grip are to be met with. The beautiful weapon in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, first mentioned in the 1685 catalogue of that museum, shows a slight difference in the shape of the tang plate of the blade, the difference being the presence of projections on either side of the base of the pommel (Fig. 856). In the case of this example the grip plaques are of mother-of-pearl bound with silver. The face of the pearl is deeply grooved at the edge, and on each face are circular apertures inlaid with tracery; while on the silver bands which conceal the edge of the blade tang are inscriptions. The quillons droop over the blade, and are of rectangular section, each face being inlaid with a tracery design in corded filigree wire of

gilded copper. Like the grip, they are bound with silver, which in one place is inscribed with what is apparently the name of the maker: ALEXAN COITEL BONON ME F. In the centre of the quillons, lying flat over the blade, is the head of a cherub in copper gilt. The blade is much rubbed; but sufficient of the etching remains to show that it has been one of great beauty.



FIG. 856. CINQUEDEA

With mother-of-pearl plaques applied to the grip. North Italian, about 1490-1500  
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford



FIG. 857. CINQUEDEA WITH ITS ORIGINAL SCABBARD

North Italian, about 1490-1500. Ex collection: Lord Londesborough



FIG. 858. CINQUEDEA

North Italian, about 1490-1500  
Tower of London. Class IX, No. 146

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS



FIG. 859. CINQUEDEA  
North Italian, late XVth  
century

The blade is etched with the arms of  
Giovanni Francesco of Gonzaga,  
Marquis of Mantua  
Musée du Louvre

At the dispersal of the Richard Zschille Collection at Christie's in 1897 a cinquedeas, formerly in the Londesborough Collection, was sold, that in the general outline of the grip has close affinity to the Ashmolean example (Fig. 857). The hilt is composed of two plaques of faceted ivory, the same medium partly covering the quillons; the actual tang of the blade is gilt at the sides, and the quillons end in octagonal silver tips. The blade, which is trebly grooved and partly fluted, is etched and gilt on the one side with a page drawing a sword, palm trees in the background, and scroll ornaments at the side. Running down the blade is the inscription, IRAM COMPRIME, rendered on a cross-hatched background. On the other face of the blade apparently the same page is seen brandishing a sword, and the inscription is concluded: INJVRIA LACESSITVS. This cinquedeas possesses its original scabbard of *cuir bouilli*, which has three loops for suspension, and on the inner side a raised sheath for holding a small knife. The etching upon the blade is certainly not the work of Fideli or of any member of his school; the subjects are clumsily drawn and are altogether heavier in treatment. There is in the Tower of London Collection a cinquedeas with a hilt of nearly similar formation (Fig. 858); but the blade is far grander in type, and might well be the work of Fideli. It very closely resembles a blade on a splendid cinquedeas in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris to which we shall later refer (Fig. 860b). The Tower and the Londesborough examples

## THE DAGGER TERMED CINQUEDEA

have both lost their arch-shaped pommels, like the cinquedea in the Louvre (Fig. 859), which, with a blade of different section, possesses the same shaped grip, etched with the arms of Giovanni Francesco of Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua.

To come to the Continent; the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris exhibits eight

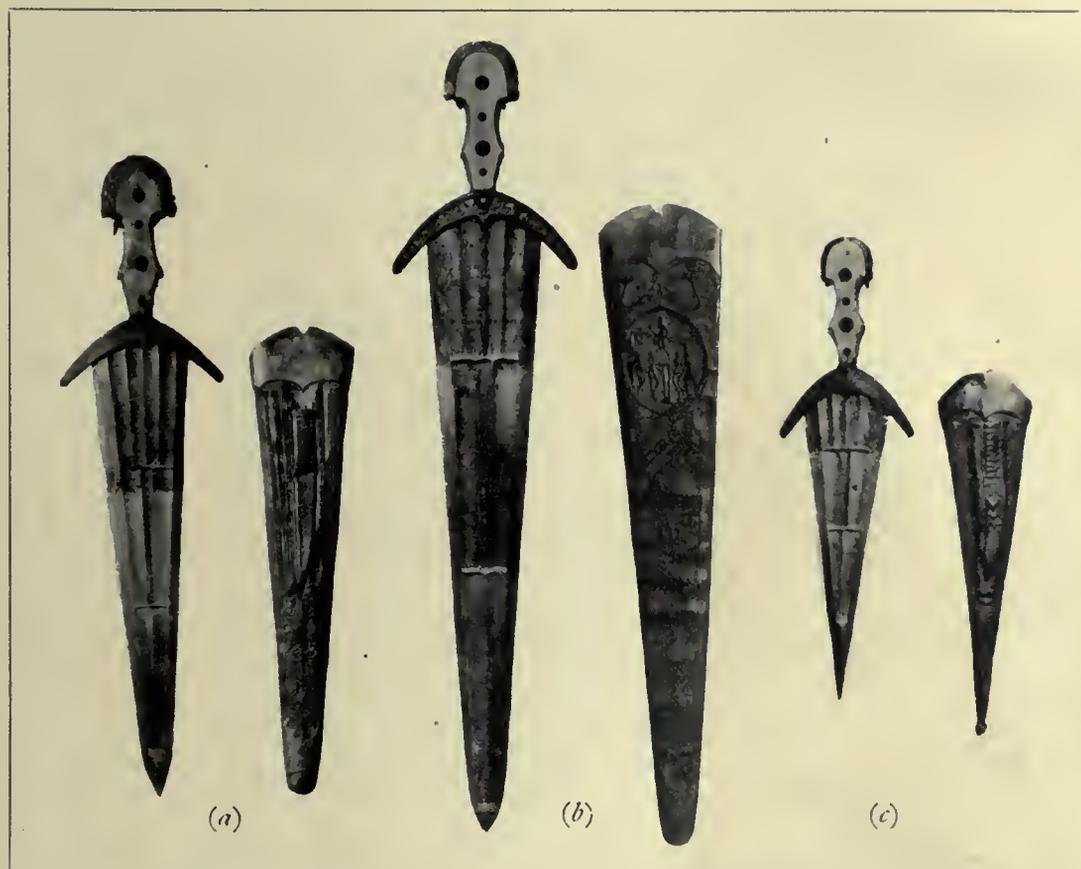


FIG. 860. CINQUEDEA

- (a) With its original scabbard. North Italian, about 1490-1500. J 776, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris  
 (b) Of great beauty of workmanship, with its original scabbard. North Italian, about 1490-1500.  
 J 774, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris  
 (c) With its original scabbard. North Italian, about 1490-1500. J 775, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

examples, of which we illustrate three (Fig. 860, *a*, *b*, and *c*). It also shows a most interesting *cuir bouilli* scabbard of a cinquedea, which bears the inscription, *OPVS HERCVLIS*, doubtless the signature of the Jew, Salomone da Sesso, whom we have also referred to under the name of Ercole dei Fideli (*ante*, p. 69). Of the Musée d'Artillerie cinquedea, J 774 (Fig. 860*b*) is undoubtedly the finest; for the proportions are large, the hilt is elaborately decorated, and the



FIG. 861. CINQUEVEIA WITH ITS ORIGINAL SCABBARD  
North Italian, about 1490-1500. Musée du Louvre

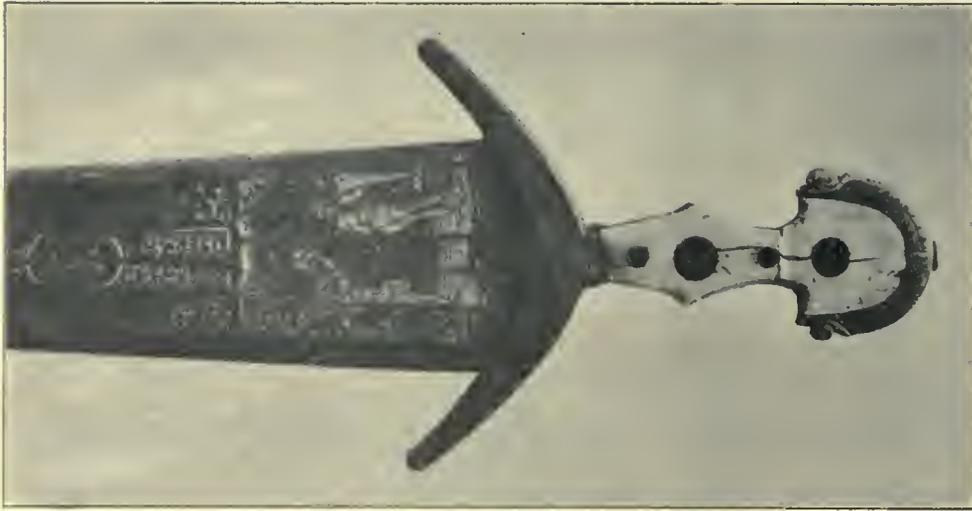


FIG. 862. CINQUEVEIA  
Reversed to show the design upon the blade  
Italian (Bolognese?), about 1490-1500  
Collection: Signor Ressonari,  
Bargello Museum, Florence

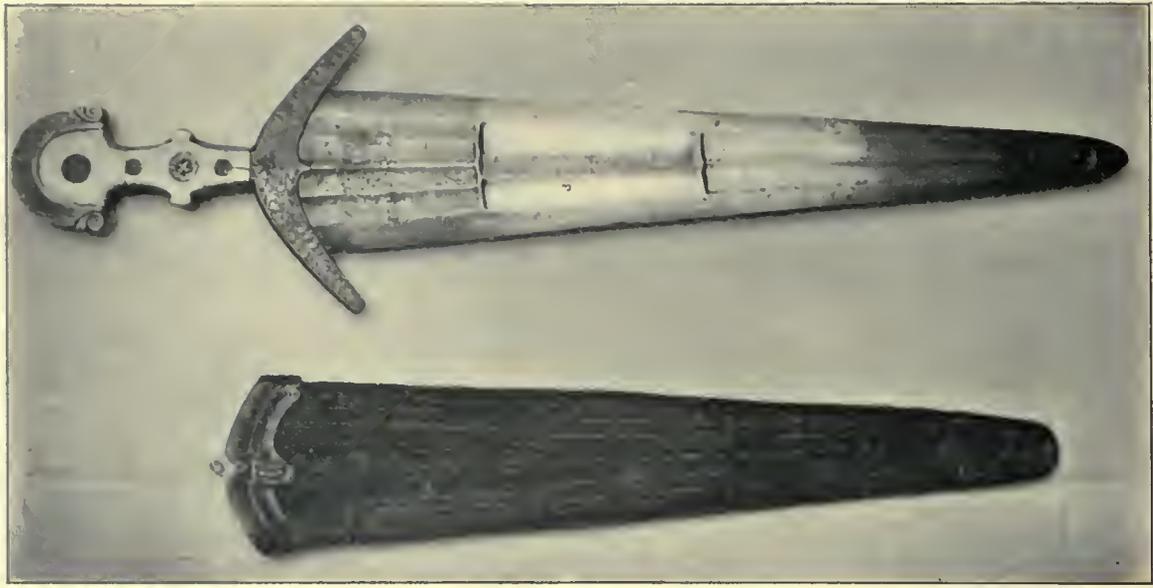


FIG. 863. CINQUEVEIA WITH ITS ORIGINAL SCABBARD  
Probably Venetian, about 1500  
Collection: Prince Ladislaus Odiscalchi, Rome

## THE DAGGER TERMED CINQUEDEA

leather scabbard tooled with greater delicacy than any with which the present writer is acquainted. Indeed, it is of almost equal excellence as regards workmanship with the famous Caesar Borgia scabbard in the Victoria and Albert Museum (see Vol. ii, p. 272, Fig. 649). The blade of this cinquedeas is admirably etched and gilt with mythological figures; though in a far better state of preservation, it much resembles the blade of the Tower of London example, as we have previously remarked. The cinquedeas, J 776 (Fig. 860*a*), is also a fine specimen complete with its scabbard, though perhaps a little heavily proportioned in its hilt. Down the side of the grip runs the inscription:—HEROES EFFICIT SOLA VIRTUS. In the same museum is a smaller form, J 775 (Fig. 860*c*), of the cinquedeas, but complete with its scabbard. All three examples date within the last years of the XVth century.

In the Louvre, beside the Gonzaga cinquedeas to which we have referred, there is an excellent example, complete with its scabbard (Fig. 861). This is a superb weapon, but from a hand unfamiliar to us. In the Resson bequest to the Bargello Museum, Florence, is a cinquedeas (Fig. 862) of the ordinary proportions as regards the shape of the hilt, but with a blade decorated in



FIG. 863A. CINQUEDEAS

Said to have been presented by the Emperor Charles V  
to Francis I

Collection: Prince Colloredo of Prague

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

that delightful medium of gold inlay applied to the surface which can also be seen on the blade of a cinquedeas-like sword dagger in the same collection (Vol. ii, p. 279, Fig. 657). It has been suggested, but we do not know on what authority, that this medium of gold decoration, in which much of the drawing of the subject is left to the imagination and only the higher lights are inlaid or rather plated with gold, was peculiar to Bologna. Prince Ladislaus Odescalchi of Rome possesses a fine cinquedeas, with its leathern scabbard complete, which we illustrate (Fig. 863). In the case of this specimen the quillons are etched much in the manner of the blade, but by an artist of indifferent skill. In the Museo Civico of Venice there is a noteworthy example with a hilt of silver magnificently chased. Nearly all the important continental armouries show specimens of the cinquedeas. They are to be seen in the armouries of Turin, of Vienna, of Berlin, and of the Porte de Hal, Brussels; while many fine and genuine examples are in the private collections on the continent.

The richest hilted cinquedeas in existence, decorated as it is with silver, partly gilt, and even with jewels, is that example which is said to have been a gift from the Emperor Charles V to Francis I in 1526, formerly in the collection of Prince Colloredo of Prague. The present writer has never had the opportunity of examining this weapon, and consequently is unable personally to vouch for its authenticity. But he gives an illustration of it produced from a mid-XIXth century publication (Fig. 863A). Two other cinquedeas with hilts of almost equal richness were formerly in the collection of Prince Charles of Prussia. These, too, the present writer has never seen, knowing them from photographs only.

By the double process of description and of pictures we have now given illustrations of the various types of cinquedeas, together with accounts of the varied decorations applied to them; indeed, it may even appear to the reader that we have unnecessarily duplicated our representations of these weapons. On careful scrutiny, however, it will be found that though all bear a strong family likeness to one another, each has some distinctive feature either in the hilt or blade. Of the variations of the cinquedeas type of dagger sword we have previously spoken under the heading of transitional daggers of the XVth-XVIth centuries (*ante*, pp. 62, *et seqq.*).

## CHAPTER XX

### HAFTED WEAPONS IN GENERAL USE FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE XIV<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE XV<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY



UNTIL now we have only dealt with the sword and dagger; but there also remain for consideration auxiliary weapons of almost equal importance if less knightly in their significance—the lance, the mace, the battle- and pole-axe, exclusive of the various kinds of hafted weapons for use on foot. It is to the lance that we must first turn our attention. We have already spoken of its possible construction in earlier times; let us now examine its features as they appear in the XIV<sup>th</sup> and XV<sup>th</sup> centuries. In its complete form during the XIV<sup>th</sup>, XV<sup>th</sup>, and XVI<sup>th</sup> centuries the lance or spear consisted of four distinct parts—the “shaft,” “truncheon,” or “staff”; the head or “socket”; the “vamplate,” and the “grate” or “graper”: all these terms we will explain by turns as we come to them. In the XIV<sup>th</sup> century the war lance was much the same as that which is used to-day in Oriental countries, though of considerably stouter construction. The “shaft” or “truncheon,” differing in this respect from that of the succeeding century, had no swell in front of the place where it was grasped, but maintained an even diameter of about two inches for its entire length. There was no grip, which we can accurately so describe, for the hand, but we find this spot termed by XIII<sup>th</sup> century writers, *arestil*, *arestuel*, or *arescuel*; Froissart in the following century calls it the *hanste*, although this term is also used as an equivalent to “truncheon” in its limited sense. In earlier times the shafts were made of ash; but towards the close of the XIV<sup>th</sup> century cypress wood seems to have been occasionally employed in their manufacture, for Chaucer says:

His spere was of fin cypres,  
That bodeth werre, and nothing pees,  
The hed ful sharpe y-grounde.

The head of the war lance or spear, termed in XIV<sup>th</sup> century English the “socket” from its resemblance to a plough-share, was generally leaf-shaped, though varieties of forms have come under our notice. As in the

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

case of other individual armaments for which there was a heavy demand, certain countries and towns were famous for the production of spear-heads, Toulouse being noted at an early date for their manufacture and export. Turkish heads also seem to have enjoyed a high reputation among the French knights of the XIIIth century.

With the advent of the XVth century we note from an examination of an actual lance which can be assigned to about this period, and



FIG. 864

FIG. 864. WAR LANCE. In all probability of early XVth century date  
Collection: Sir Edward Barry, Bart.

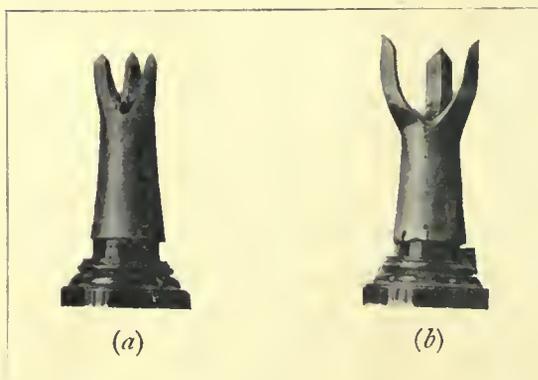


FIG. 865. CORONEL HEADS OF A TILTING LANCE  
(a) Late XVth century; (b) Early XVIth century  
Imperial Armoury, Vienna

which is now in the collection of Sir Edward Barry (Fig. 864), that though the diameter of the haft, for most of its length, is about two inches, it widens to form a truncated cone before the grip or *hanste* is reached, where it suddenly becomes slender again. This formation, although reversely placed, is repeated towards the butt end of the lance. In the case of the example illustrated it appears that much of the butt has worn away, while part of the other end is missing. The present length of this lance is eight feet, a length which, taking



FIG. 866. CENTRAL PORTION OF THE LARGE BUT HOLLOW LANCE

Known as that of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. It appears, however, to be of later date  
Tower of London, Class VII, No. 50

## HAFTED WEAPONS: THE LANCE

into account the fact that the lance is an actual battle weapon, must be regarded as short, ten to fourteen feet being the more ordinary measurement. In *Petit Jehan de Saintré*, a romance written in 1459 by Antoine de la Sale, we read (chap. xxxv): "*Le roy incontinent fist mesurer leurs lances, qui devoient estre de la poincte jusques à l'arrest de xiiij piés de long.*"

As early as 1252 (Matthew Paris, under that year) we have evidence that it was customary to blunt the war spear-head for the purposes of the joust; but accidents still occurring despite this precaution we find that before the close of the century some bright brain evolved what is best known to English students as the "coronel," "cornel," "crownal," or "crownackle," so called from its likeness, fancied or real, to a coronet. This head was fashioned of a robust socket furnished with three or more short arms which splayed out-

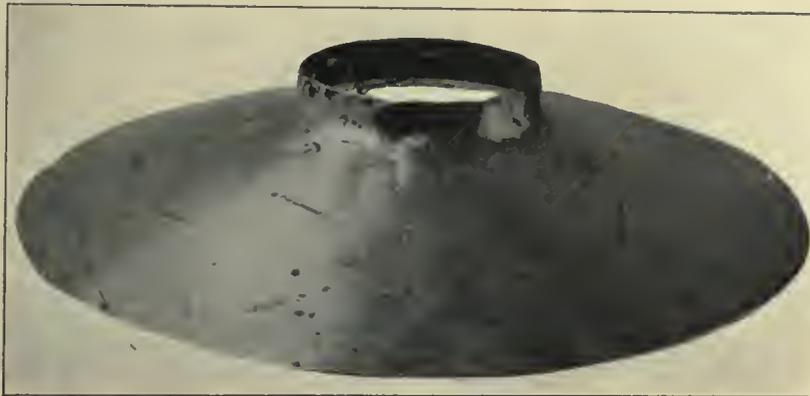


FIG. 867. VAMPLETE OF A TILTING LANCE  
Late XVth century. Wallace Collection

ward around its edges, an arrangement which offered the maximum of bite upon helm or shield, with the minimum of penetrative power. This head was termed in France *roche*, *rochet*, or *roquet*, and the lance so furnished, *lance enroche* or *lance courtoise*. Another variety of this head was known as *boëte*, in which the three arms sprang not from the socket direct but from a block (*boëte*). Inventories and records of the XVth and XVIth centuries supply us with the names of many different varieties of heads for the joust and the tourney; *mornes*, *mornettes*, *virales*, *diamants*, *fers de lances pur gect*, "socket-heads," "heads for the bar," "tourney heads," "heads for casting spears," and many more are to be met with. We illustrate two examples of the "coronel" now in the Imperial Armoury, Vienna, that can be assigned to the end of the XVth or commencement of the XVIth century (Fig. 865, *a*, *b*). In the second half of the XVth century the tilting

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

lance assumed enormous proportions, not as regards length, but in girth and in weight. In the Schloss Ambras, near Innsbrück, and in the Imperial Armoury, Vienna, are preserved a large number of jousting lances that are like small trees cut down and roughly trimmed: some have a diameter of five inches. It must, however, be borne in mind that these *planchons*, as they were termed in French, were used against such mighty tilting sets as are described in Vol. ii, pp. 124 to 127. So great indeed was their weight that in Germany, in the *gemein Teutsch gestech*, it was often found necessary for the mounted varlets, riding in advance of their knights, to bear the weight of the spear upon their left shoulders, only abandoning it the instant before the jousters came to the cope. One of Lucas Cranach's finest engravings



FIG. 868. FROM THE PICTURE OF MARS AND VENUS

Painted for Lorenzo the Magnificent by Alessandro Filipepi, known as Sandro Botticelli  
National Gallery

shows such a joust. There is in the Tower of London a great lance, fluted and painted, that bears the tradition as having been carried by Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk (Fig. 866). Paul Hentzner makes note of this in 1598, and mentions it in his "Itinerary," published in Nuremberg in 1612, "*Lancea Caroli Branden Suffolciae quae tres spithamos crassa erat*"; and in 1660 the Tower inventory mentions "Great lances, two said to be King Henry VIIIth's and one Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolke's." It is again mentioned in the 1683 inventory, in the 1688 inventory, and valued at £5, in the 1691 inventory, and in the 1693 inventory. At its greatest circumference, immediately in front of the grip, this so-called Brandon lance is obviously hollow, a circumstance that compels us to class it with the *bourdonnasse*, termed in English "bourdon," a type of tilting lance mentioned disparagingly by De Commynes. We are therefore inclined to think that it is not the

## HAFTEd WEAPONS: THE WAR HAMMER

actual one referred to by Hentzner, but one of later date, substituted in the early years of the XVIIth century, when the original was no longer to be found. In the XVIIth century the *bourdonnasses* figure constantly, and many instances of their use are illustrated in Pluvinel, chiefly in connection with tilting at the ring and quintain, in which exercises they were known as *lances de carrière*. Early in the XIVth century a circular plate of metal was added to the lance immediately above the *hanste*, which was known in England as the "vamplate," a corruption of *avant-plat*, and in France as *rondelle* or *ronde de la lance*. Vamplates occur in the inventory of the Castle of Wigmore, taken in 1322. In its earliest form in England and France, as we see it pictured upon the lids and sides of jewel caskets and upon mirror-cases of the first quarter of the XIVth century, the vamplate seems to have been flat or but slightly concave towards the hand, and about five inches in diameter. But in Germany, if the evidence of illuminated MSS. is to be trusted, somewhat larger vamplates, almost hemispherical in shape, were in use quite early in the century. Early in the XVth century we find a distinction drawn between vamplates for war and for the joust; miniatures of the period show us that the difference lay in the fact that while those intended for war retained the old flat form, those for the joust were considerably larger and were conical in shape. A fine example of the first order is in the Wallace Collection (Fig. 867). In Sandro Botticelli's panel of Mars and Venus, painted for Lorenzo the Magnificent, and now in the National Gallery (Fig. 868), a lance with flat war vamplate is shown borne by an infant satyr, whose head is hidden in the god's helmet, a superb *salade*. For the German *Scharfrennen* of the late XVth and early XVIth centuries we find a plate of peculiar construction and outline employed.



FIG. 869. CENTRAL PORTIONS OF  
TWO TILTING LANCES  
Late XVIth century date  
Wallace Collection

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS



FIG. 870. SWEDISH FEATHER  
XVIth and XVIIth centuries  
Collection: the late Mr. Rutherford  
Stuyvesant, New York

in the Wallace Collection (Fig. 869). These lances, however, appear to belong

We first meet with the "grate," or "graper" as it was termed in English, later called the "burr," in French the *grappe* or *agrappe*, a heavy ring of metal nailed to the shaft behind the *hanste*, towards the end of the first quarter of the XIVth century. It was at first essentially an adjunct to the joust, its object being to distribute throughout the jouster's body, through the medium of the "arrest" or "lance rest," the shock of an *atteint*, which had hitherto been borne by his hand and arm alone. Until towards the end of the XIVth century the "graper" seems to have retained its original form and limited use, but when the "arrest" became an integral part of the ordinary war harness we find its use developed. At about the same time the construction of the "arrest" itself was altered; the grip between the "arrest" and the "graper" ceased to be supplied by a felt pad, and the hollow of the "arrest" from now onwards was filled with lead or wood, while the "graper" itself was fashioned as a wide flange of metal with a series of sharp and heavy spikes in its rearward surface which bit deeply into this leaden or wooden filling. Among XVth century French writers we find the term "arrest" extended justifiably but somewhat confusingly to the "graper."

At all times the actually exposed wooden portions of the lance were painted either fancifully in the manner of the war lance now in Eastnor Castle, and formerly in the Meyrick Collection, or in spiral bands in which the colours of the wearer were introduced. There are interesting lances in the Tower of London, though nearly all are of late date, and others

## HAFTEd WEAPONS: THE WAR HAMMER

to the latter part of the XVIth century, and are essentially tournament and not fighting weapons. Of this form must have been the lances for light horsemen, distinguishable in the 1547 inventory of the armouries at Westminster under the heading of "Colin Cleves": "Itm Colin Cleves painted and guilte thone havinge a rounde plate at thande of silver and guilte graven w<sup>t</sup> sheff arrowes foure of them lackinge heddes . . . viij." In other words these are staves or lances brought from Cologne, the "rounde plate at thande" being the steel vamplate. There is a very unusual type of lance—a folding lance—in the collection of the late Mr. Rutherford Stuyvesant of New York (Fig. 870). This last-named specimen is not strictly speaking a lance but is a "Swedish feather," carried by cavalry during the thirty years' war. We called them in England "Pallisados."

\* \* \*

Even before we come to the XVth century the war-hammer, pole-axe, or battle-axe had become recognized as a hafted weapon fit for knightly use; we shall therefore select it as the next subject for our consideration. To grasp—roughly enough—its evolution we must retrace our steps very many generations. Its early significance as a weapon was far from knightly; for the rude levies of the XIth and XIIth centuries were the original wielders of the war-hammer. Like the "brigans" and "ribaux," who swelled the army for the sake of plunder, the poor levies of the nobility fought with the first weapons upon which they could lay hands, the tools of their husbandry, the hatchet, the scythe, the cattle-goad, and the pick. Of these the pick survived; for in skilled hands it proved a most formidable weapon. To economize space we shall group together the mallet, the battle-axe, and the war-hammer, because the method of their use was similar. So beyond supplying certain illustrations of the so-called battle-axe, we will confine ourselves in the discussion of these associated weapons to giving some account of the war-hammer and of the mace. Throughout the XIVth century, speaking generally, the haft of the war-hammer had the proportions of that of the mace, which, like the war-hammer, was manipulated with one hand. Many fine hammer-heads of the time are extant; but few, if any; and none of those which we have examined possess their original wooden hafts. In the Wallace Collection (Fig. 871) a war-hammer dating from the first half of the XVth century is most representative; for although it is of XVth century construction, it is of the type which is known to have existed throughout the previous century. Two fine hammer-heads were also in the Dino Collection, now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York (Figs. 872



FIG. 872. WAR-HAMMER  
 French (?), first half of the  
 XVth century  
 Ex collection: Duc de Dino  
 Metropolitan Museum,  
 New York



FIG. 871. WAR-HAMMER  
 Probably French; first half of the  
 XVth century  
 Wallace Collection (Laking Cata-  
 logue, No. 23)

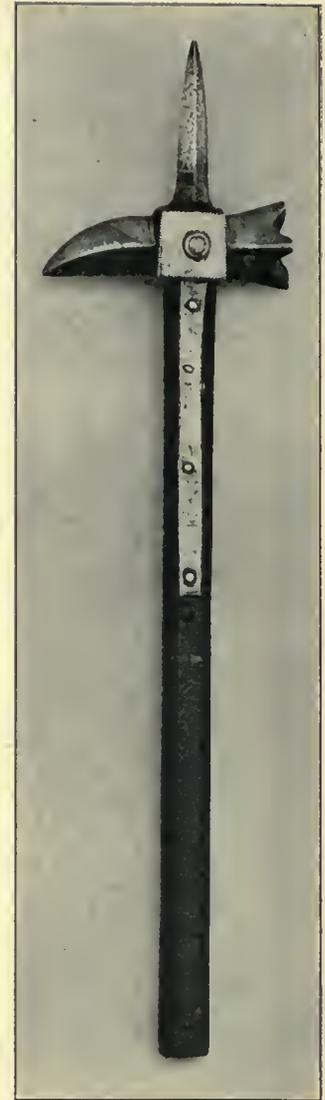


FIG. 873. WAR-HAMMER  
 French (?), first half of the  
 XVth century  
 Ex collection: Duc de Dino  
 Metropolitan Museum,  
 New York

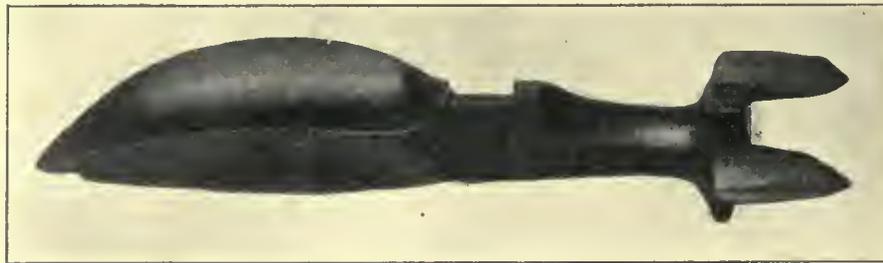


FIG. 874. WAR-HAMMER HEAD  
 Italian, or possibly Spanish, late XVth century. Collection: Mr. Felix Joubert

## HAFTED WEAPONS: THE MACE

and 873), the former purporting to have its original haft, the latter having its splendid massive head incrustated with brass. We also give an illustration of a superbly fashioned beak and hammer from a war-hammer which was some few years ago dug up in Spain (Fig. 874). This, however, appears to be of somewhat later date, and doubtless originally was hafted to the length of four to five feet; it is a weapon of Italian or possibly of Spanish make. There is, in the Museo Civico of Venice, another such hammer-head—a magnificent example, indeed one of the finest known to the present writer—a massively constructed and deadly implement.

It would appear from such pictorial evidence as is available that the short *martel de fer* was often one of the auxiliary weapons of the mounted knight. In Uccello's painting (Vol. i, Fig. 238), which hangs in the National Gallery, the knight in the right-hand corner of the picture may be seen armed with a war-hammer, and successfully parrying a blow dealt him by an adversary armed with a sword. Froissart speaks of the iron war-hammer in describing the tumults in Paris in 1382—and again in his account of the battle of Rosebeke.

\* \* \*

Throughout the XIIIth and XIVth centuries we find the mace represented either with the plain spheroidal head, or very simply flanged, which in the first place would be achieved by grooves cut in the globular head, parallel with the handle, so as to make the mace bite and tear, as well as crush, when a blow was given. We may take it, however, that in many cases the mace was doubtless little more than the baston to which we have already referred. The deepening of the grooves in the head of the mace was a step towards the flanged or laminated maces, the latter, to which Meyrick gave the name of the *quadrell*, being best known. The head of the earlier *quadrell* consisted as a rule of four flanges or laminae placed at obtuse angles to one another; while in its latest development the head of the mace was multi-lamed. It was a weapon not only used by knights but by all classes. King Edward III, in the first years of his reign to 1327, forbade these "mansels," or more correctly *masuels* (which was the French word of the period), to be carried by the citizens of London. Many examples of war maces of the XVth century have survived the passage of time and are to be seen in collections to-day; but we know of scarce half a dozen that we dare date earlier than the XVth century. In all forms, especially when the head had flanges of triangular shape, the mace was an admirable weapon for close combat, having a crushing, biting, and tearing action; the

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

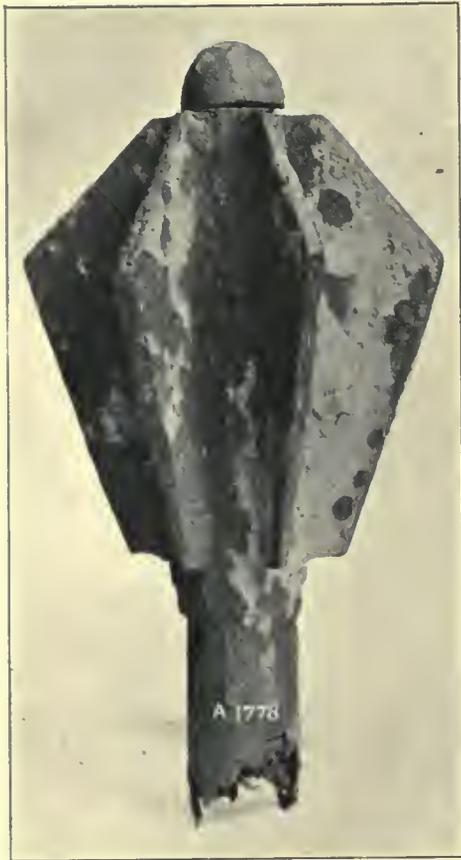


FIG. 875. MACE HEAD  
XIVth century (?). London Museum

ceptionally graceful in their outline and which balance perfectly in the hand. As the century advanced a compartment was fashioned for the hand, which was protected by a flattened disk at the pommel, and with a circular or faceted guard in the manner of the rondel dagger. There is a fine specimen of a mace in the Wallace Collection, No. 621 (Fig. 879), which is so constructed. Here it will be noted that the haft is hexagonal, its facets overlaid with strips of latten; the head is delicately fashioned, each flange shaped to an acute angle, small in proportion,

flanged head had also the advantage of lightness, so that the weapon could readily be recovered for a second blow after the first had been dealt. There is a mace head in the London Museum (Fig. 875) which might date from a period as early as the first quarter of the XIVth century; for almost its counterpart can be seen depicted as the weapon of one of the sleeping guards who are carved on what is known as the Easter Sepulchre in Lincoln Cathedral, a relief which is assigned to the latter half of the XIIIth century (Fig. 876). Another mace, in the collection of M. Charles Boissonnas of Geneva (Fig. 877), might safely be assigned to some period in the XIVth century; this latter is very like the example in the National Bavarian Museum of Munich (Fig. 878). With the advent of the XVth century certain maces are to be found which are ex-



FIG. 876. RELIEF FIGURE FROM THE SLEEPING GUARDS ARMED WITH A MACE  
Second half of the XIIIth century. From the Easter Sepulchre, Lincoln Cathedral

## HAFTEd WEAPONS: THE MACE

and pierced with trefoils. In the Baron de Cosson's Collection is a small and most knightly weapon of this class surmounted by a castellated crown, which its owner considers to be of French origin and to date from the third quarter of the XVth century. Here the haft is solid and hexagonal in

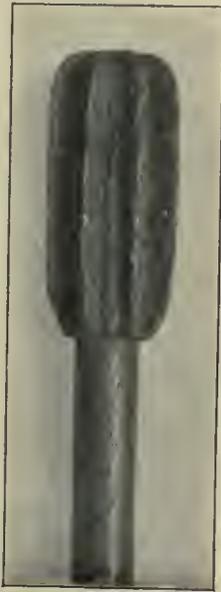


FIG. 877. MACE HEAD OF IRON

Possibly of the middle of the XIVth century  
Collection: M. Charles Boissonnas, Geneva

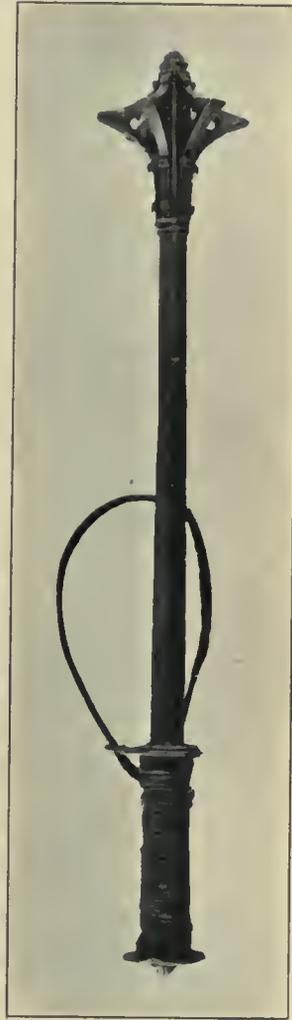
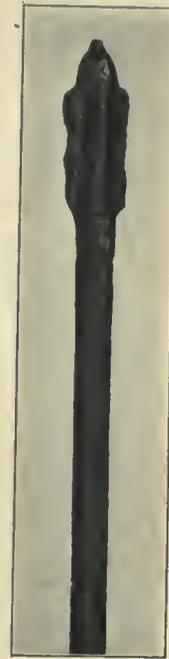


FIG. 879. MACE

French (?), about 1470. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 621)



\*FIG. 878. MACE WITH A HEAD OF IRON

Late XIVth century  
National Bavarian Museum of Munich

section; while the flanged head is large in size in comparison with the general proportions of the weapon (Fig. 880). Another fine mace of about the same period, also considered to be French, is in the collection of M. Charles Boissonnas of Geneva. The grip of this example is covered with *cuir bouilli* tooled with a floral design (Fig. 881). Often in the case of XVth century examples, as in that of the maces of the previous centuries, it

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

is only the head of the mace that is of metal, a short wooden haft forming the grip as seen in the extraordinarily enriched example which was formerly in the collection of Prince Mikhaïlovitch Galitzine, but is now in the Hermitage,

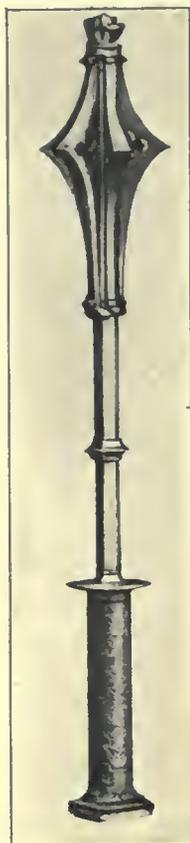


FIG. 880. MACE  
French, about 1480  
Collection: Baron de  
Cosson



FIG. 882. MACE

Probably Bavarian, about 1490. From the collection of Prince Mikhaïlovitch Galitzine  
Now in the Hermitage, Petrograd



FIG. 881. MACE  
French, about 1480  
Collection: M. Charles  
Boissonnas, Geneva

Petrograd (Fig. 882). It will be noted that applied Gothic ornaments of the most flamboyant type decorate both the head and the haft of this gorgeous mace, the latter having been made hollow in order to receive the remaining

## HAFTED WEAPONS: THE MACE

wooden portion of the grip. This example probably comes from Bavaria and belongs to the closing years of the XVth century; for the crocketed arches placed at given intervals, which occupy the hexagonal sides of the haft, are rendered in the late Gothic style of that country. The grip must have been of wood, fitting into the end of the haft as in the case of a spear haft. A tiny little mace in the author's collection, very simple in outline, and constructed on the same principle as the Hermitage mace furnishes our next illustration (Fig. 883).



FIG. 883. MACE  
Originally hafted with wood  
Late XVth century  
Collection: Author

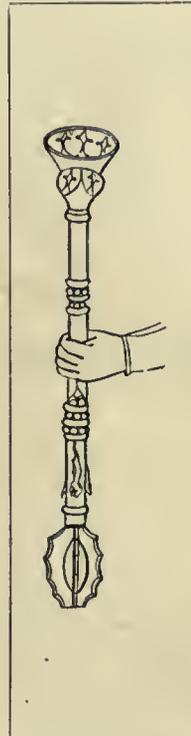


FIG. 884. MACE, FROM AN INCISED SLAB  
Late XIVth century. Formerly in the  
Church of Culture-Sainte Cathérine,  
Paris. After Planché

As we have stated, many undoubtedly genuine examples of the mace are to be seen; these, however, tell us very little, and little has been gathered from MSS. of the use of the mace in warfare. All we can do is to surmise the nationality of extant specimens, and to date them fairly approximately to their style. We are, however, inclined to think that, deadly weapon as the mace must have been when used in actual warfare, it fulfilled, by the end of the XVth century, no more important function than that performed by the commander's *bâton* in the XVIIIth century, being merely part of

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

the recognized insignia of military rank. The mace was the peculiar emblem carried by the King's Sergeants-at-arms both on the continent and in England. The Sergeants-at-arms, or -at-mace, were the peculiar body-guard of a King: as a mark of royal favour the privilege of having one or more Sergeants-at-mace was occasionally granted to mayors and others. The civic mace, according to a very concise statement by the late Mr. R. S. Ferguson, "is nothing but the military one turned upside down." We are able to illustrate this point by the representation of a mace which figures on an incised slab, which was formerly in the Church of Culture-Sainte Cathérine in Paris (Fig. 884). The evolution of this mace seems to have come about as follows: The flange-headed mace had no available space on which to place the royal arms. So the war mace was reversed and the flange head held downwards, which by degrees gradually dwindled, until

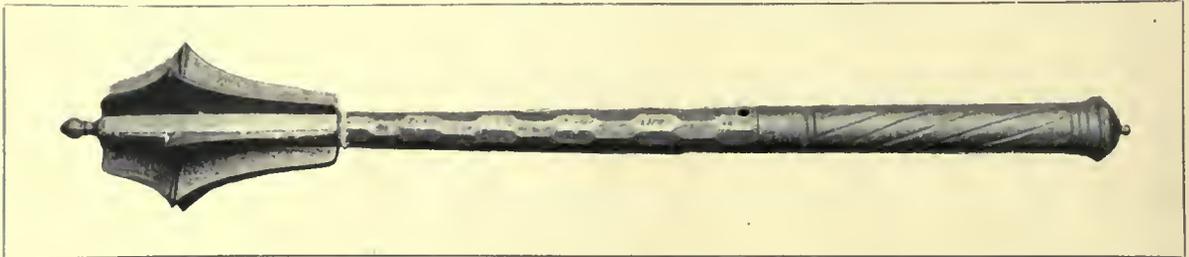


FIG. 885: MACE

Italian, about 1520. Collection: Viscount Astor

it survived alone in a meaningless scrollwork; while the pommel end of the mace by being flattened out formed a convenient disk on which to engrave a coat of arms. In this form we find the silver civic maces of to-day. In the jousts of peace fought early in the XVIth century a particular course was fought with heavy wooden maces, when a head-piece was worn such as we see depicted in our illustration (Vol. ii, p. 161, Figs. 501 and 502). M. Viollet-le-Duc in his *Dictionnaire* (Vol. ii, pl. liii) gives a drawing of a knight so armed for the tournament. In earlier times, even in the more serious tournaments *à outrance*, the mace was used; for in "The Knightes Tale" (l. 1700) of Chaucer, the proclamation of the herald ends:

goth forth and ley on faste

With loñge swerd and with masse fighteth your fille.

Also (l. 1753):

With mighty maces the bones thay to-breste.

With the advent of the XVIth century the mace becomes altogether more robust in proportions—its head bigger, and the haft thicker. Many and

## HAFTED WEAPONS: THE KNIGHTLY POLE-AXE OR -HAMMER

varied were the designs of the mace heads. Curiously cut mouldings and figures of monsters adorned the outline of the flanges of the head, or as they were called in the XVth century Italian inventories the *costa*; while the richest inlays of gold were employed to decorate the surface. In the chapter concerned with the enriched pole arms of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries we shall include certain maces of this class.

The next illustration we give—that of the beautiful mace in the collection of Viscount Astor, Hever Castle (Fig. 885)—may at first sight seem to be one which should be included among those which are described in the chapter to which we have just referred. We feel justified, however, in presenting it in this section of the work by reason of the fact that while the effect of the general scheme is undoubtedly due to the splendidly designed compositions of amorini and arabesques that occupy the whole surface, all finely damascened in gold, the armourer has so fashioned the weapon that the true severe simplicity of XVth century form is scrupulously retained. It is North Italian work and may be assigned to a date within the first quarter of the XVIth century.

\* \* \*

We will once more refer to the war-hammer, this time dealing with the form it took when it constituted the principal weapon of the unmounted knight. As such it developed into a pole arm fully five feet long, equipped at either end with a spike, "*fort pointue dessous et dessus*." The head consisted of either an axe-blade in conjunction with the beak, or of the beak in conjunction with a hammer-head. The latter combination was known as the mail-rond or maillet; while the powerful beak is recognizable under the heading of the *bec de faucon*, or the *bec de corbyn*. An equivalent but less knightly weapon of this class must have been the "Ravynbill" axe mentioned in the papers of the town of Kendal as late as 1575; though we are inclined to think that the haft of this weapon was considerably shorter. We illustrate two fine pole-axes in the Wallace Collection, Nos. 23 and 54 (Figs. 886 and 887). Our first picture shows us a head forged entirely from one piece of metal, a weapon that dates within the first half of the XVth century. Our second represents a pole-axe, the head of which is composed of two parts. The first of these consists in a triangular blade with straight cutting edge, from the opposite side of which issues a strong oblong hammer-head, the mail-rond, with four rows of dentated projections; the second part takes the form of a robust four-sided spike, the socket of which fits over the centre of the blade and hammer, and terminates in a short strap finished with a shell



FIG. 886. KNIGHTLY POLE-  
AXE AND HAMMER  
First half of the XVth cen-  
tury. Wallace Collection  
(Laking Catalogue, No. 23)



FIG. 887. KNIGHTLY POLE-  
AXE AND HAMMER  
French (?), third quarter of  
the XVth century. Wallace  
Collection (Laking Catalogue,  
No. 54)



FIG. 889. KNIGHTLY  
POLE-AXE  
Third quarter of the XVth  
century. Ex collection:  
Lord Londesborough  
Collection: Mr. S. G.  
Fenton

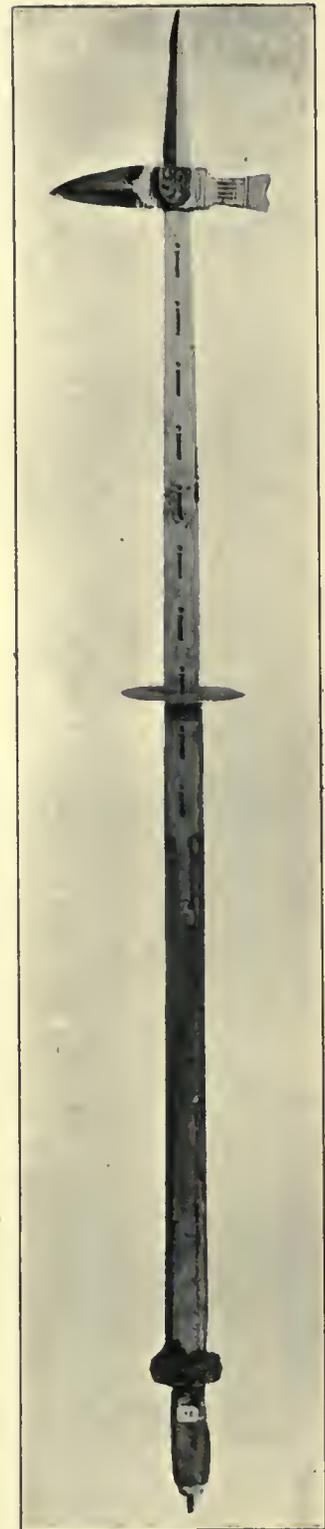


FIG. 888. KNIGHTLY WAR-  
HAMMER  
Third quarter of the  
XVth century. National  
Bavarian Museum,  
Munich

## HAFTED WEAPONS: THE KNIGHTLY POLE-AXE OR -HAMMER

ornament. The two pieces are secured together by a strong rivet with a pyramidal head at either side. This pole-axe head is decorated with trefoil piercings and horizontal bands of brass, inlaid flush to the surface; down the centre of the face of the hammer is a brass band, with the inscription in slight relief, DE BON (CŒUR). The wooden haft, strapped with iron, and the rondel



FIG. 890. SIR JOHN ASTLEY'S FIGHT WITH PHILIP BOYLE AT SMITHFIELD IN 1441-2  
Hastings MS.

that protects the hand, are restorations. We consider this example to be of French make, and as dating within the third quarter of the XVth century.

There is in the National Bavarian Museum of Munich a very fine pole-hammer possessing its original haft and rondel protection (Fig. 888). It will be noted that the head is of the simplest construction, composed of a small maillet hammer-head and strong beak. Another pole arm, this time more in the nature of the battle-axe, is in the collection of Mr. S. G. Fenton (Fig. 889). This very representative weapon has its large cutting blade and

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

massive hammer-head, together with the strengthening haft bands, forged from one piece of metal; but we are inclined to think that at some period the axe blade has been somewhat tampered with. It is with such an axe as this that, according to the Hastings MS., Sir John Astley was armed in his famous fight with Philip Boyle, Knight, of Aragon, that took place at Smithfield in January 1441-2, in the presence of Henry VI (Fig. 890).

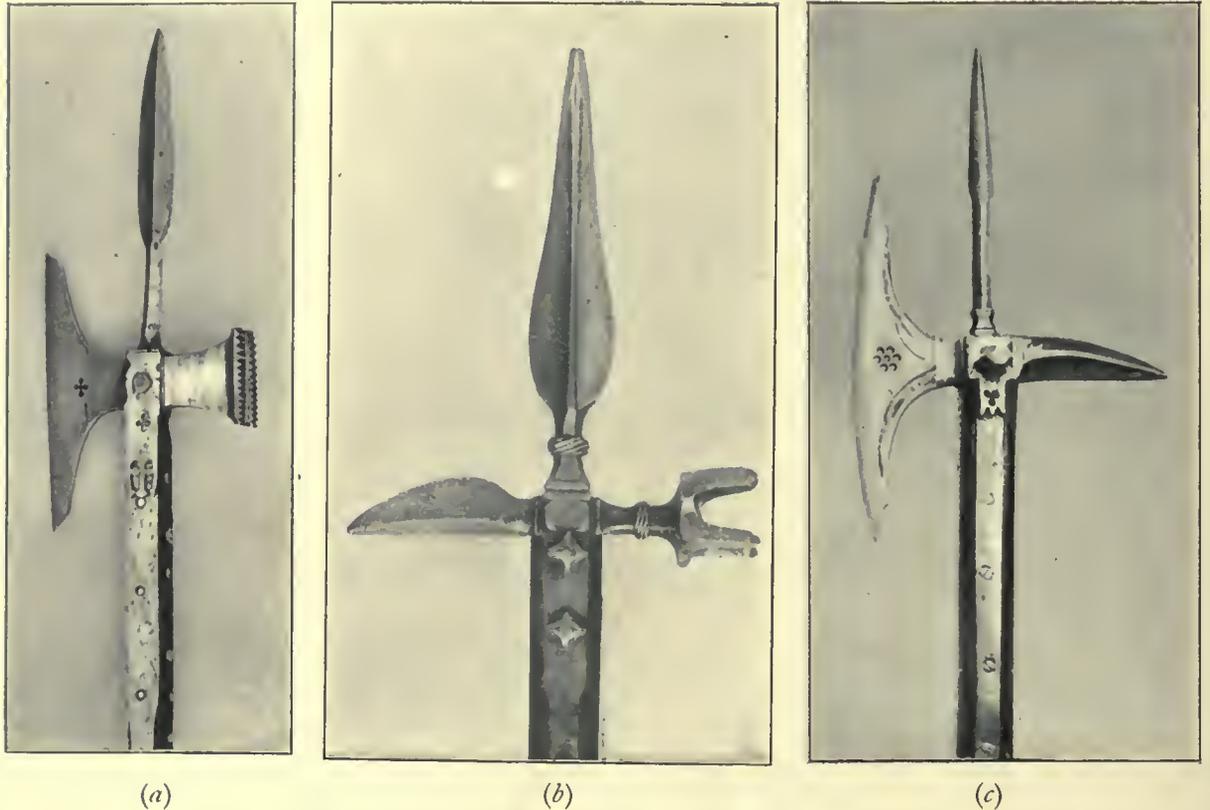


FIG. 891. THREE KNIGHTLY POLE-ARMS

- (a) Pole-axe, probably French, about 1480. Metropolitan Museum, New York  
(b) War-hammer, Italian, about 1500. Noël Paton Collection, Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh  
(c) Pole-axe, about 1480. The head of this weapon was found at Newbury. Collection: Mr. Godfrey Williams

We illustrate three other pole-axes of varying types, but all of the same family of weapons and of about the same period—the closing years of the XVth century (Fig. 891, *a*, *b*, *c*)—one of them (Fig. 891*c*) closely resembling the pole-axe represented in the Douce MS., Bodleian, No. 271 (Fig. 892). The pole-axe and hammer in the forms we have illustrated was essentially the weapon of the unmounted knight in certain forms of fight; but in actual warfare its use was more or less relegated to the man-at-arms. There is

## HAFTEd WEAPONS: THE KNIGHTLY POLE-AXE OR -HAMMER

evidence of this in Vittore Carpaccio's series, "The History of St. Ursula," in the Accademia, Venice, in one of the episodes of which the soldiery of Cologne can be seen armed with such weapons (Fig. 893). It is in accounts of those judicial combats which often terminated some personal quarrel that we find constant reference to the knightly use of this weapon. *En champ clos* and in those hand-to-hand fights under *le jugement de Dieu* the opposing combatants within the barrier were armed in a very complete manner, and fought on foot. The Hastings MS. gives an illustration of "How a man schall be armyd at his ese when he schal fighte on foote"—an illustration in

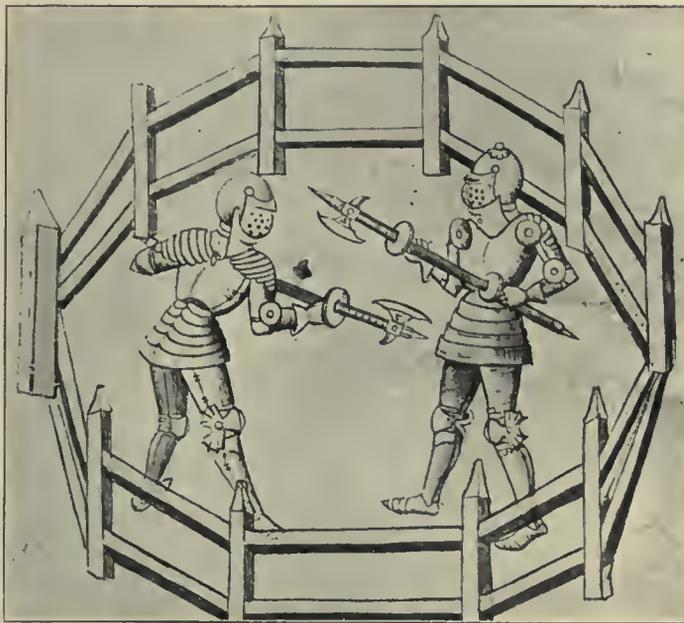


FIG. 892. DOUCE MS., BODLEIAN, NO. 271

which we are able to see the laborious process of preparing for these foot combats. The knight, whose legs are armed with plate up to his cuisses, is being equipped for the fight by his esquire, who is lacing on him a body under-garment which is in places reinforced with chain-mail. The final step will be to array him in the breastplate and brassards, which are placed on a trestle-table at his side, near which are his pole-axe and a kind of *Aalspeiss* (Fig. 894). We may take it that the actual fight with the pole-hammer or -axe was very similar to that with the quarter-staff.

In the illuminated manuscript executed in the third quarter of the XVth century, and known as the *Pageant of the Birth, Life, and Death of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, K.G.*, we see a drawing of

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS



FIG. 893. FROM "THE HISTORY OF ST. URSULA"

By Vittore Carpaccio. Showing the heavy pole-hammer and the *hâche d'armes* carried by the soldiers and knights  
Accademia, Venice

lifte shuldre, hadd been utterly slayne on the felde." In the drawing Sir Pandolph is shown receiving this wound. It will be noticed that the pole arms used have the protecting rondel. This defence to the hand does not, however, appear universal. In a woodcut, No. 18

Richard Beauchamp fighting Sir Pandolph Malatête, or Malêt, at Verona before Sir Galaot of Mantua; and here, according to the custom of the time, the artist commits the anachronism of representing armour worn at Verona in 1408 in the contemporary fashion of that worn at the period when the drawing was executed (Fig. 895). The combatants, equipped in complete armour, are armed with pole weapons very much more akin to the pole-hammer than to the axe as described in the manuscript: "then go to gedres with axes after with armyng swerdes, and last with sharpe daggers." This particular fight, however, was not carried further than the axe stage; for "if the lorde Galaot hadde nat the sonner cried peas! Sir Pandolf sore wounded on the



FIG. 894. "HOW A MAN SCHALL BE ARMYD AT HIS ESE WHEN HE SCHAL FIGHTE ON FOOTE"

Hastings MS.

## HAFTED WEAPONS: THE KNIGHTLY POLE-AXE OR -HAMMER

(fol. 35*b*), Lirer Swabian Chronicle, Ulm, edit. 1484 (Fig. 896), Graf von dem Rotenfan is shown *en champ clos* fighting an adversary for the honour of Queen Kathay. Both combatants are fully armed, their head-pieces being small salades, and both are using the pole-axe; but neither of the pole-axes is fitted with a rondel guard. Olivier de la Marche and

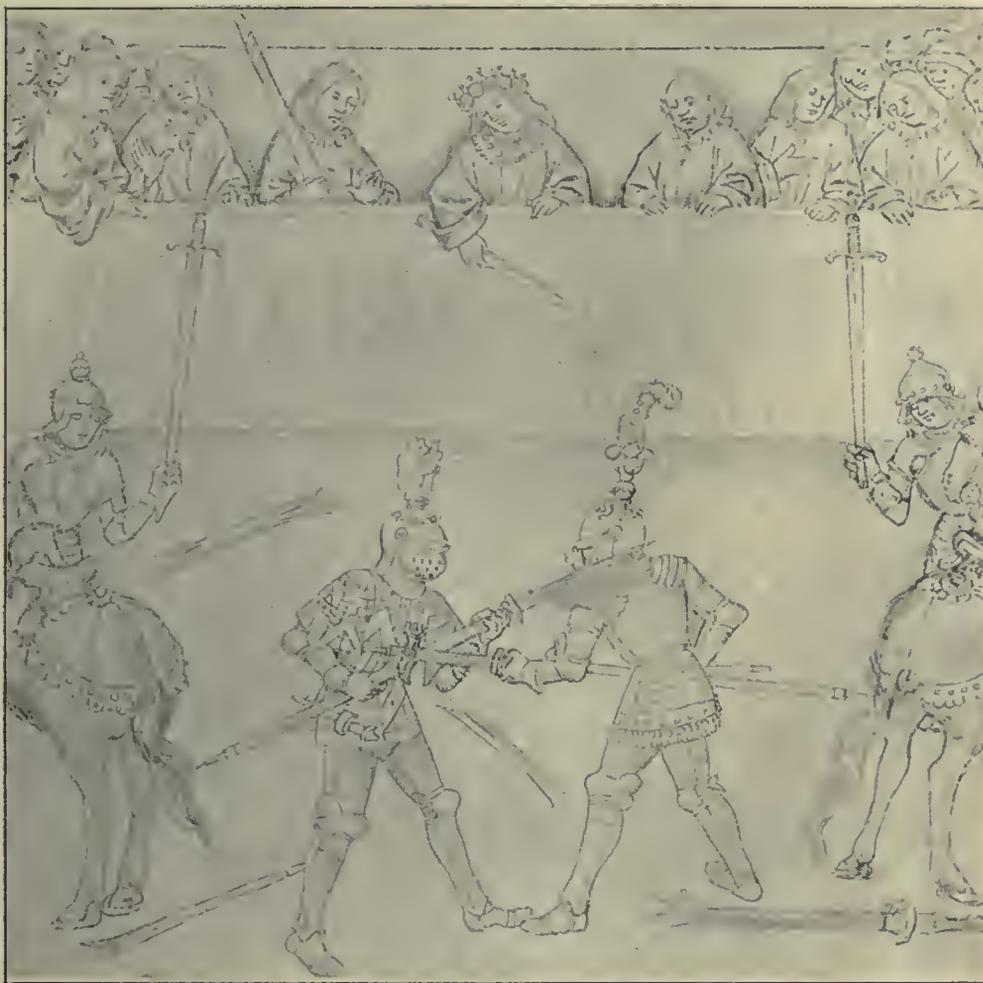


FIG. 895. FROM *THE PAGEANT OF RICHARD BEAUCHAMP, EARL OF WARWICK*  
Richard Beauchamp fighting Pandolph Malatête *en champ clos*, armed with  
war-hammer, showing the protective rondels on the hafts

George Chastelain, King of Arms of the Golden Fleece at the Court of Duke Philip of Burgundy, constantly refer to that redoubtable champion of his day, Jacques de Lalain, as fighting on foot, completely armed but generally visorless, and as using the battle-hammer and the *hâche d'armes*. So armed he fought the Scottish knight, James Douglas, brother of

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

William, Earl of Douglas, in Scotland, under the auspices of King James II of Scotland. While he was in Bruges, he fought and vanquished at the Court of Duke Philip a young English squire of the Court of Henry VI, of England, one Thomas Qué, who hastened from England to accept the challenges which Jacques de Lalain had issued in London, but which Henry VI refused to permit any of his Court to take up. The pole-axe remained in popular knightly use in such combats well into the early years of the XVIth century. King Henry VIII was skilled in its use—in all probability it was one of the weapons he employed when armed in the wonder-



FIG. 896. FROM A WOODCUT

No. 18, Lirer Swabian Chronicle, about 1484. Graf von dem Rotenfan fights for the honour of Queen Kathay. Note the pole-axes without protective rondels to the hafts

fully complete suit which is represented in the frontispiece to Vol. I. Hall narrates that "The King (in October 1510) not minded to see young gentlemen inexpert in martial feats, caused a place to be prepared within the park (at Greenwich) for the queen and ladies to stand and see the fight with battle-axes that should be done there where the king himself armed, fought with one Gyot, a gentleman of Almayne, a tall man and a good man of arms." Very few XVth century pole arms with any form of elaborate enrichment are to-day extant. Of those known to the present writer no more elaborate example can be seen than that in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris, K 84 (Fig. 896A), which in the past, for some unknown reason, was said to have been

## HAFTED WEAPONS: THE KNIGHTLY POLE-AXE OR -HAMMER

owned by King Henry IV of England. There is, however, the possibility that it might have originally belonged to the English crown; for it tallies very closely with the description of the only weapon resembling it which figures in the Greenwich inventory of 1542 (State Papers, Domestic,



FIG. 896A. POLE-AXE  
Probably English,  
early XVIth century  
K 84, Musée d'Artillerie,  
Paris



FIG. 897. POLE-AXE  
Probably Burgundian,  
about 1480  
Ex Meyrick and Noël  
Paton Collections  
Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh

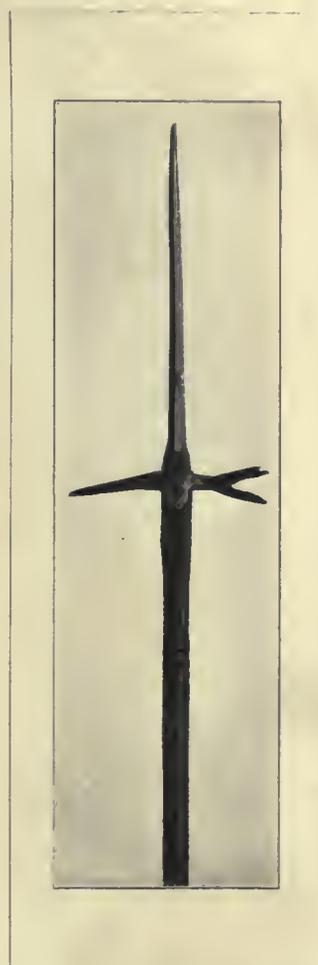


FIG. 898. THE "LUZERN"  
HAMMER  
Swiss, about 1560  
Collection: Author

Henry VIII, 1542, fol. 64). On the first page is the following entry: "Item Oone pollaxe the head ptely gilt and at the hammer end having iij picks within the same a Roose gilt the staff garnished with crymson velloet fringed with red silke." In the 1547 inventory of Greenwich this pole-axe again

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

appears; but in the subsequent inventories we fail to recognize it. In Viscount Astor's Collection at Hever Castle is another pole-axe very like the Paris example just mentioned, which was found in the north of France. A third—another type—a beautifully designed pole-arm, with both axe-blade and hammer-head, a most elaborate weapon, partly composed of latten, can be seen in the Royal Scottish Museum (Fig. 897). True Gothic mouldings, cusped arcading, and leaf tracery are all used with telling effect in the general composition from which the axe-blade and hammer-head spring. This specimen was formerly in the Meyrick Collection; but it does not figure in Skelton's engraved illustrations of that collection. Later it was in the collection of Sir Noël Paton. A fourth example of a latten mounted pole-arm, attributed to the bodyguard of King Henry VIII, a veritable pole-hammer, since it only possesses a beak and the mail-rond, used to be in the collection of the Hon. R. C. Neville. It is described and illustrated in the "Journal of the Archaeological Association," vol. iii, p. 128, where it is stated to have come from Debden Hall, Essex, the seat of Sir F. Vincent. We much regret that we have been unable to trace its present whereabouts.

In Germany and in Switzerland long-hafted hammers with spikes continued to be used throughout the XVIth and well into the XVIIth centuries. Such an arm, the "Luzern" hammer, was indeed noted as being the favourite weapon of the people of Lucerne (Fig. 898). It was altogether a lighter weapon, being as a rule of indifferent workmanship, and, like the halberd of the soldiery, must have been made in great numbers.

\* \* \*

Prominent among the defensive hafted weapons of the past intended for use on foot, is what is known as the halberd. Thousands of halberds of the commoner types are in existence; but this is not to be wondered at when it is considered that almost until the close of the XVIIIth century a hafted weapon of the halberd type was in use in almost every municipal guard. As in the case of every other class of armament the purposes for which they were employed and the style of their workmanship varied to a great extent according to the period in which they were used. First, we will subdivide this "halberd" class in accordance with present-day nomenclature. We then have—

- |                   |                 |
|-------------------|-----------------|
| (1) the glaive    | (4) the ranseur |
| (2) the voulge    | (5) the spetum  |
| (3) the partizan  | (6) the bill    |
| (7) the guisarme, |                 |

all belonging to one family; but we must bear in mind that the true halberd

## THE HAFTED WEAPONS OF THE INFANTRY

belongs to a class of its own. Thus the hafted weapon of which the sole office was to strike, with an extended blow, must be distinguished from those we have referred to under the heading of the pole-hammer and -axe.

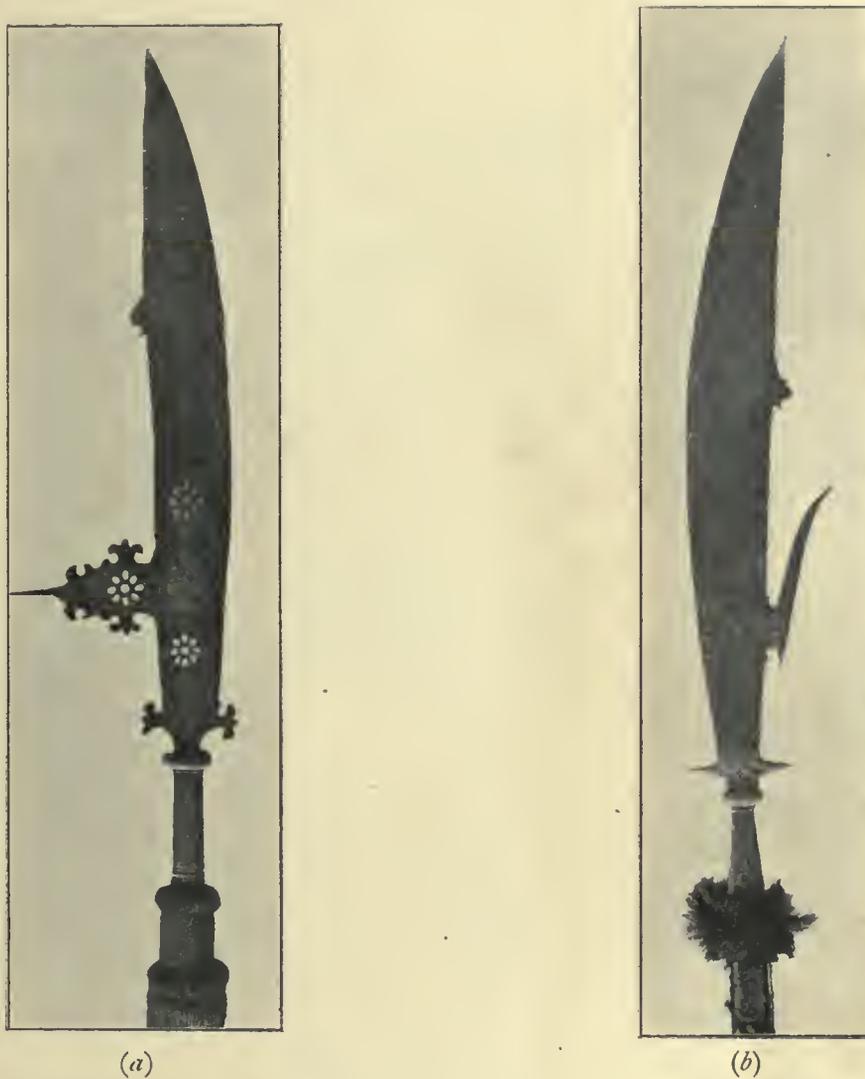


FIG. 899. GLAIVES

- (a) Italian (Venetian), early XVIIth century. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 740).  
(b) Made probably in Italy for François de Bourbon, Duc de Montmorency, 1539-1592.  
Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 733).

Let us briefly deal first with the glaive. It has been argued that the glaive had its origin in Wales, and that it remained a national weapon until the end of the XVth century. Grose mentions a warrant (Harleian MS., No. 433), issued to Nicholas Spicer, dated the first year of Richard III's reign, 1483, for

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

enrolling of smiths for "the making of two hundred Welsh glaives"—twenty shillings and sixpence being the charge for thirty glaives with their staves, made at Abergavenny and Llanllowell. But we have to remember that in the XVth and XVIth centuries many types of hafted weapons were termed



FIG. 901*a*. HAFTED WEAPON  
THAT MIGHT BE THE VOULGE

Late XVth century  
Ex collection: Baron de  
Cosson



FIG. 900. FROM THE SIDE OF  
A CARVED IVORY CASKET

Early XIVth century  
Showing a warrior armed  
with a shield and a hafted  
weapon of a type we might  
now term the voulge



FIG. 901*b*. HAFTED WEAPON  
THAT MIGHT BE THE VOULGE

Late XVth century  
Ex collection: Baron de Cos-  
son, now Tower of London

glaives—indeed, under poetical licence the sword itself was thus described; so we can hardly accept the theory of the Welsh origin of the glaive. Chaucer, indeed, differentiates, even within poetical licence, for he writes:

And whet their tongue as sharp as sword or glaive,

thus indicating clearly that he made a distinction between the two types of

## THE HAFTED WEAPONS OF THE INFANTRY

weapon. However, whatever the original form of the glaive may have been, we give illustrations of two weapons that are nowadays known as "glaives" (Fig. 899, *a*, *b*). These are both to be seen in the Wallace Collection. They are of XVIth and even XVIIth century date, the present writer being unacquainted with any weapon of the so-called "glaive" type that can be assigned to the XVth century. The glaive, in its later form, we find alluded to as the *fauchard*, and constant references to *fauchard de parade* appear in late XVIth century French inventories, meaning decorated glaives.

As to the voulge, it certainly existed at a very early date as a particular shape of head set on a hafted weapon. What, however, its shape was we are at a loss to determine, and consequently refrain from pronouncing any definite opinion; though we illustrate a portion of an ivory casket of early XIVth century date which shows a warrior armed with a shield and with a hafted weapon that comes within the category of what is now called the voulge (Fig. 900). Père Daniel declares that the voulge "was a form of halberd, something like a boar spear, as long as a halberd and with a large pointed blade—but the blade of the voulge was to have a cutting edge and be broad in the middle." M. Demmin shows us illustrations of a cutting axe-like implement that fails to conform to Père Daniel's description of the weapon; while Meyrick illustrates a dwarfed and blunt-headed partizan head as his conception of what the voulge may have been. We ourselves must confess that we are at a loss to imagine any form of head set on a hafted weapon which will answer to Père Daniel's description of the voulge; but we illustrate two hafted weapons that, according to the Baron de Cosson, might possibly be classed as examples of the voulge (Fig. 901, *a*, *b*).

The partizan, the ranseur, the corseque, and the spetum we will elect to consider as one and the same weapon; indeed, they might be comprehensively classed as the pole-arm which the Italians knew as the *brandistocco*; for judging from Pietro Montis' accurate description of the weapons in a rare work, printed in Milan in 1509, we know that they all possessed a central double-edged cutting blade with lateral projections more or less developed. The ranseur, the spetum, and the roncone (rawcon) have the slender central spike, mostly of flattened diamond-shaped section, to which the two lateral blades that issue from it on either side appear to be purely auxiliary. It is popularly supposed that the particular formation of these lateral blades decides the provenance of the weapon. But in our opinion it is not the provenance but the period in which they were popular that can be determined by the formation of the

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

lateral blades. Thus the earlier type of this hafted weapon has lateral blades of smaller dimensions; while the general formation of the weapon's head is stouter in section (Fig. 902), as we see in the example dating from about 1480 which is chosen from the collection of the late Sir Noël Paton. Semi-barbaric weapons of this kind are found in the arsenals of Poland and

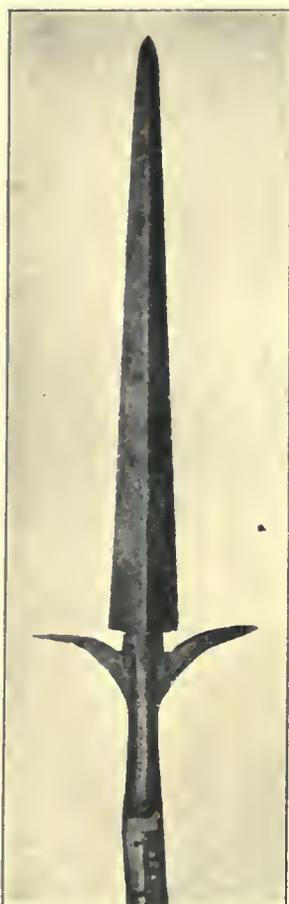


FIG. 902. SPETUM  
About 1480. Collection:  
the late Sir Noël Paton,  
Royal Scottish Museum,  
Edinburgh



FIG. 903. SPETUM  
Italian, about 1530  
K 514, Musée  
d'Artillerie,  
Paris

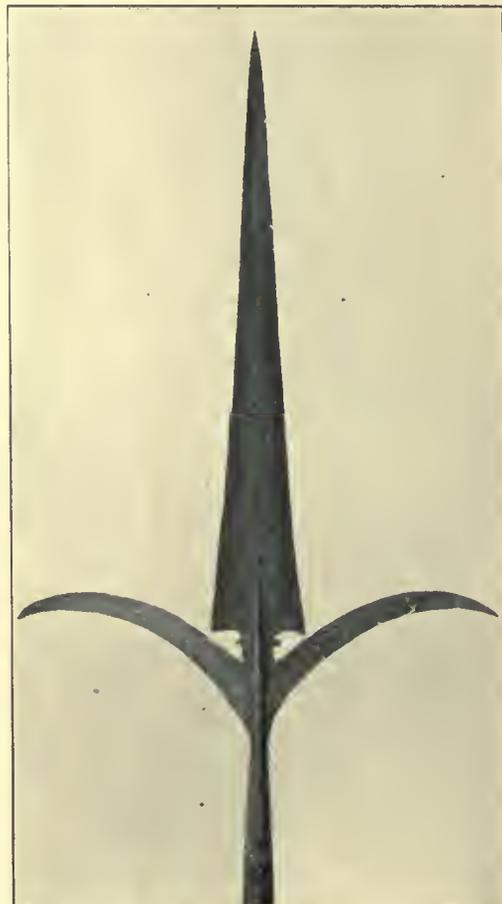


FIG. 904. SPETUM  
Italian, about 1530  
Wallace Collection  
(Laking Catalogue,  
No. 339)

Hungary; while a pole-arm very much of the same type could be met with in China within comparatively recent times. Of the XVIth century spetums, the final development of this kind of hafted weapon, we illustrate two, one in the Musée d'Artillerie, Paris, K 514 (Fig. 903)—Italian, first half of the XVIth century—and another (Fig. 904), in the Wallace Collection (No. 339),

## THE HAFTED WEAPONS OF THE INFANTRY

a weapon of about the same period and possibly of the same nationality. We cannot differentiate between the ranseur and the spetum.

About the partizan, many contradictory contemporary accounts exist;

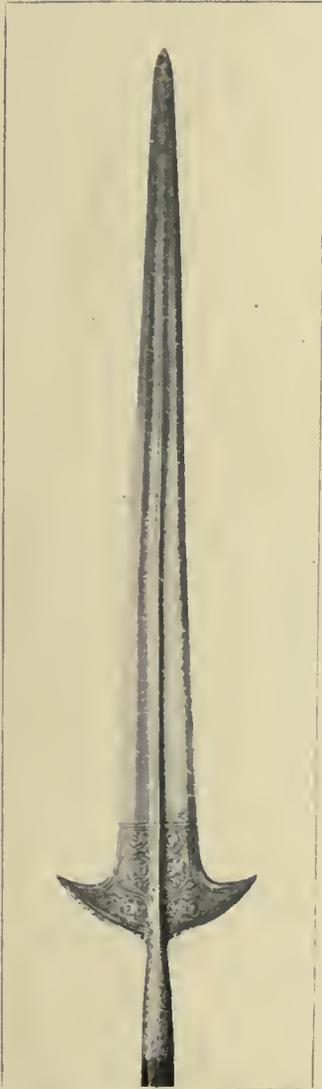


FIG. 905. PARTIZAN  
Italian, about 1540  
K 394, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris



FIG. 906. PARTIZAN  
About 1480  
National Bavarian Museum, Munich

for as in mediaeval times many different weapons were called glaives, so in the XVIth century most hafted weapons were styled partizans. Shakespeare makes Marcellus say to Horatio in "Hamlet," Act i, Scene 1: "Shall I strike at it with my partizan?" indicating that the partizan was a cutting weapon of

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

the nature of the glaive, instead of one adapted for stabbing and thrusting as it is now understood to be from the *Exercitiorum atque Artis Militaris Collectanea* by P. Montis (Milan, 1509). None of the hafted weapons was more graceful in its outline and few had finer workmanship put into their manufacture than the partizan. The central blade was as a rule long and swordlike, tapering from the haft socket to the point, and often provided with the central ridge as seen in fine XVth century sword blades of Italian origin. The lateral projections were short and in the finer weapons (Fig. 905) seem to have balanced satisfactorily the main blade. The example referred to is in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris (K 394) and appears a good illustration of this form of blade; but it is, however, a partizan of XVIth century date. Our second picture (Fig. 906) also represents a form of partizan, though of late XVth century date; in outline it closely resembles the hafted weapon we have styled the spetum. This partizan (?) is in the National Bavarian Museum, Munich. As early as the third quarter of the XVth century these blades formed a favourite field for etching and gilding, resembling in this respect the beautiful blades fitted to the *cinquedea* dagger-swords (see *ante*, pp. 67, *et seqq.*). In collections formed in the first half of the XIXth century *cinquedea* daggers with hilts of questionable age, but with fine and apparently genuine blades, are frequently met with; but these on careful scrutiny will be seen to be partizan blades cut down and adapted to a *cinquedea* hilt of more or less doubtful authenticity. As the XVIth century advanced partizans undoubtedly became the merest weapons of parade, as the reader will note if he glances at the splendidly decorated specimen illustrated in a later volume of this work under the heading of enriched hafted weapons of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries. Even in England to-day they are in use, being carried on all occasions of ceremony by the King's bodyguard of the Yeomen of the Guard.

The military fork, the scythe, the corseque (we understand it as a form of spetum), the fauchard, the spear, and javelin may all be included among those numerous and heterogeneous pole-arm weapons which, though continuously in use from mediaeval times down almost to the XVIIth century, are very difficult to classify with any right degree of discrimination. Examples of nearly every type exist in our national armoury at the Tower of London—indeed, that collection is especially rich in exhibits of the lesser known forms of hafted weapons; while some of the collections abroad are bewildering in the diversity of forms displayed.

Like the war-hammer, the bill was originally an agricultural implement.

## THE HAFTED WEAPONS OF THE INFANTRY

We will examine it, however, in the shape which it took in the XVth century and onwards. But before doing so we will give the remarkable pictorial evidence of the form which it assumed in the first half of the XIIIth century. This pictorial evidence is taken from the perished frescoes in the Painted Chamber of Westminster (see vol. i, Figs. 143, 144; vol. ii, Fig. 409). Our illustration (Fig. 907) shows a portion of the fresco with mounted knights in the foreground; but it is the group of hafted weapons in the background, appearing over the heads of the knights, that now concerns us. This comprises two battle-axes, a spear, a banner, and, almost in the centre, the blade of a bill, which is here shown in the form of such a bill-head as we are accustomed to associate with the XVth and XVIth centuries. Apart, then, from the most primitive form of bill, to which we have referred in an earlier chapter (see



FIG. 907. HAFTED WEAPONS, INCLUSIVE OF THE BILL

From the perished frescoes, first half of the XIIIth century. Formerly in the Painted Chamber, Westminster

vol. i, page 144), we may take it that the shape of the bill-head was practically the same in the latter part of the XIIIth century as extant examples show it to have been in the latter part of the XVth century. The bill-head must have been as deadly a weapon for cutting as for thrusting; for in its usual XVth or XVIth century form it possessed a long knife-shaped blade drawn out at one end into a strongly reinforced point, with a flattened haft socket on the other, immediately above which are two pointed lugs. In the middle of the back edge of the blade there is also a pointed projection issuing at a right angle; while as often as not the cutting edge of the blade terminates in a curved beak or projection sharpened on either edge, an addition to the principal blade which made the bill a very effective weapon for cutting and tearing, as is shown in the illustrations chosen from the National Bavarian Museum, Munich (Fig. 908), and from the Noël Paton

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

Collection, Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh (Fig. 909). It has been said that so ghastly was the nature of the wounds inflicted by the bill, that towards the middle of the XVth century an agitation for its abolition was set on foot, in which it was denounced as a "vile" implement only suitable for use "against an infidel." Some of the late XVth century weapons of the



FIG. 908. BILL HEAD  
Late XVth century  
National Bavarian  
Museum,  
Munich

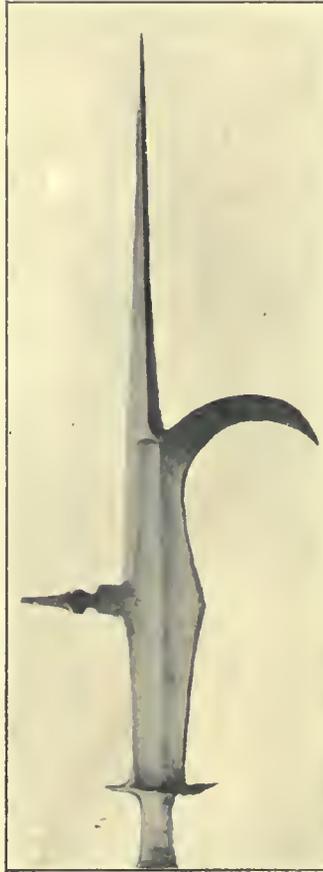


FIG. 909. BILL HEAD  
Early XVIth century  
Collection: the late Sir Noël  
Paton, Royal Scottish  
Museum, Edinburgh



FIG. 910. LARGE BILL  
Early XVIIth century  
Etched with the arms of  
Louis XIII of France.  
K 197, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

bill type seem to have compared not unfavourably with the finer sword blades as examples of workmanship; for they are occasionally found forged with equal skill and care, and they seem sometimes to have been richly etched and gilded. In the late Monsieur Edmond Foulc's fine collection there is just such a weapon, doubtless the arm of a member of the household guard

## THE HAFTED WEAPONS OF THE INFANTRY

of one of the princely houses of Northern Italy. Another splendid example of the same type, but of a later date, is to be seen (Fig. 910) in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris (K 197), etched with a design in which the arms of Louis XIII and the city of Lyons appear. There can be little doubt that in the first half of the XVIth century the bill was the most popular of the



FIG. 911. SMALL BILL  
Early XVIth  
century  
Tower of London,  
Class VII, No. 909



FIG. 912. BILL  
Italian, early XVIth  
century  
Wallace Collection  
(Laking Catalogue, No. 310)



FIG. 913. BILL  
Early XVIth century. Collec-  
tion: the late Sir Noël Paton,  
Royal Scottish Museum,  
Edinburgh

hafted weapons. In the 1547 inventory of the arms and armour at the Tower and elsewhere over 6,700 are recorded; among them figure the "blake billes," the "Almyne" or German bills, "fforest billes," and other types, and some few "billes ptely guilte, with longe staves of brassell," in other words bills of ceremony. Barbaro, the Venetian ambassador, in describing the weapon of the English billmen in 1551, says: "They have a short, thick

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

staff, with an iron like a peasant's hedging bill, but much thicker and heavier than what is used in the Venetian territories; with this they strike so heavily as to unhorse the cavalry, and it is made short because they like close



FIG. 914. "BROWN" BILL  
English, late XVIth century. Found  
at Sudbury, Suffolk  
Collection: Author

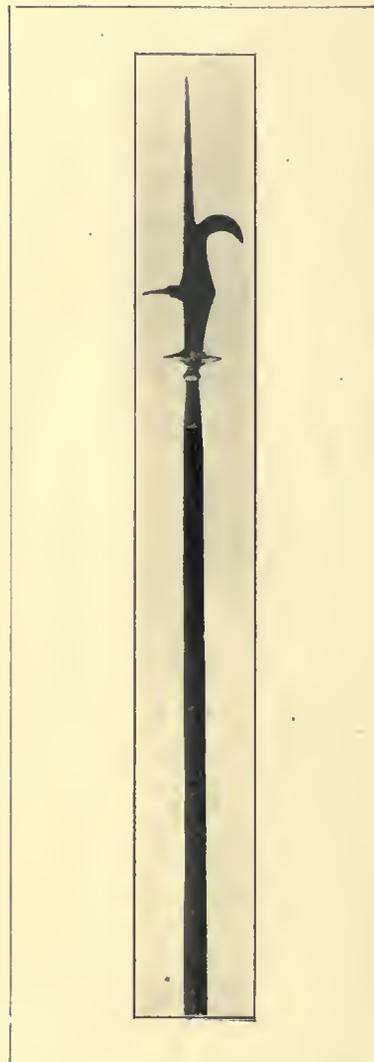


FIG. 915. MINIATURE BILL  
Probably of English workmanship. Early  
XVIth century. Wallace Collection  
(Laking Catalogue, No. 724)

quarters." Numbers of the more ordinary bill-heads exist, the Tower Armoury, the Wallace Collection, and the Noël Paton Collection showing a very fine series of nearly every class; we give illustrations of three that may be considered good representative types of the early years of the XVIth

## THE HAFTED WEAPONS OF THE INFANTRY

century (Figs. 911, 912, and 913). The "Brown" bill of England was in most general use late in the XVIth and early in the XVIIth century. Bills were the accepted weapons of the night watch: Dogberry in "Much Ado about Nothing" warns his men: "Have a care that your bills be not stolen." The ordinary bills, however, must have been poor in make and in quality of metal; indeed, so inferior were they that Sir Roger Williams in his "Brief Discourse of War" (1590) states that the bills of the trained bands "must be of good stuffe, not like our common browne bills, which are for the most part all yron, with little steele or none at all." The English brown bill, which is represented in our illustration (Fig. 914), was found in a garden at Sudbury, Suffolk, and probably dates back to the end of the XVIth century. Curiously enough, there is a variety of the bill family of hafted weapons in which the general measurements of the whole head are diminutive. These bills are possibly peculiar to England; for when they are found on the Continent their origin can generally be traced back to this country. We illustrate an example, No. 724 in the Wallace Collection (Fig. 915), which we consider dates within the first half of the XVIth century; the length of the entire head is only nine inches.

The primitive type of guisarme, to which we have already alluded, is merely a hafted weapon mentioned by certain of the early chroniclers (see vol. i, p. 143). Its form remains quite uncertain. Many collectors and students of arms often give the name of guisarme to the bill, but on slender authority. Olivier de la Marche, writing early in the XVth century, describes it as a hafted combination of a dagger and a battle-axe, and attributes to it a great antiquity. The actual type of weapon which in our opinion answers to the name of guisarme, gysarme or jasarme, as it was variously spelt, is of the nature of a slender incurved sword blade, from the back edge of which a sharp upturned hook issues. This elongated hook in some cases runs parallel with the back of the blade, or diverges from it at an angle. The Tower of London shows some fine examples of various types, one of which we illustrate (Fig. 916); another of more robust proportions (Fig. 917) comes from the collection of the Baron de Cosson. We may add that, just as the *Voulgières* of Charles VII of France were so called from the fact that their main weapon was the "voulge," so the soldiers armed with the guisarme were known as *Guisarmières*.

The Austrian *bardische*, or *bardèche*, the Scottish Lochaber axe, the Jedburgh axe, indeed, the battle-axe generally we will deal with briefly, resuming our short account of the axe comprehensively from vol. i, pages

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

8, 26, 27, 63, 64, which brought the history of these arms down to the late XIIIth century. They were essentially the hacking and crushing weapon, and terrible indeed must have been the wounds they inflicted when the blow got truly home. One has but to turn to the chroniclers of the time to appreciate this fact. The Irish received the axe, their principal weapon, as a legacy from the Vikings and Norsemen, and the way in which they used it is



FIG. 916. GUI SARME  
Late XVth century  
Tower of London, Class VII, No. 820

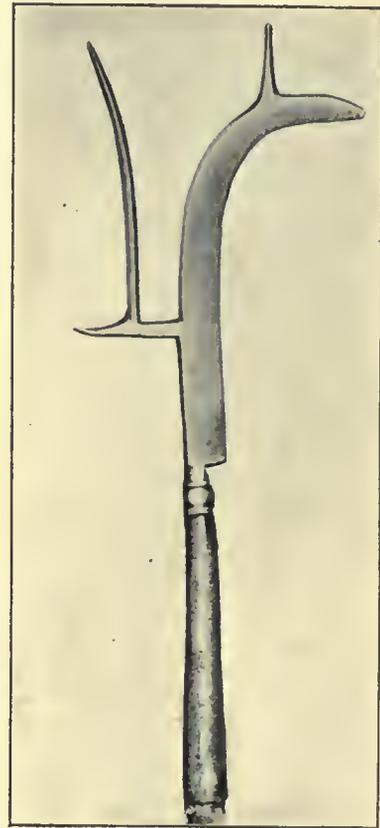


FIG. 917. GUI SARME  
Late XVth century  
Collection: Baron de Cosson

accurately described in *Giraldus Cambrensis*: "They make use of but one hand to the axe when they strike, and extend their thumb along the handle to guide the blow from which neither the crested helmet can defend the head, nor the iron folds of the armour the body: Whereas it has happened in our time that the whole thigh of a soldier, though cased in well-tempered armour, hath been lopped off by a single blow of the axe, the whole limb falling on one side of the horse, and the expiring body

## HAFTED WEAPONS: THE AXE OF THE SOLDIERS

on the other." We make this quotation merely to show how very serious a factor in warfare such a weapon as the heavy battle-axe must have been, especially when wielded by powerful men. Indeed, until the advent of the latter years of the XIVth century the effective force of the axe of all types depended far more on the warrior's physical strength than on any

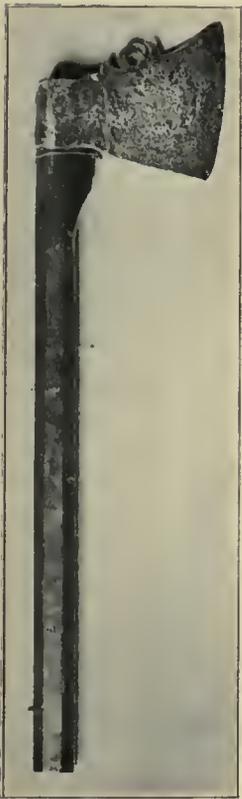


FIG. 918



FIG. 919



FIG. 920

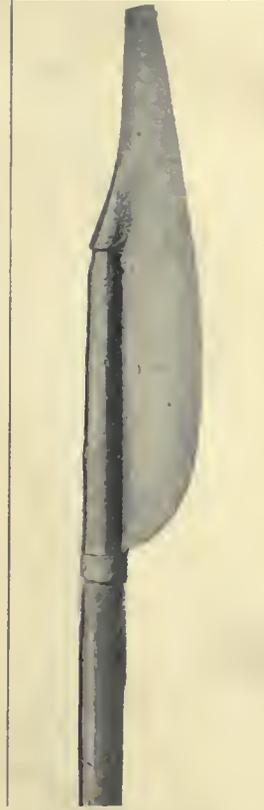


FIG. 921

- FIG. 918. FIGHTING AXE. Late XIVth century. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 20)  
FIG. 919. FIGHTING AXE. Northern (?) Europe. Late XIVth century. Metropolitan Museum, New York  
FIG. 920. AUSTRIAN BARDISCHE. First half of XVth century. This example, though of the usual form, appears to have been decorated in Venice. Metropolitan Museum, New York  
FIG. 921. LOCHABER AXE. Scottish, early XVIIth century. Collection: the late Sir Noël Paton, Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh

cunning he showed in the manipulation of the weapon. When a school of attack and defence was at last established its practice followed lines similar to those which had been adopted for the use of the pole-hammer and of the quarter-staff. In handling the axe King Henry VIII was well versed: Hall tells us that the King carried the axe on his 1513 campaign in

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

France. In the London Museum, Lancaster House, is a fine series of axe heads, dating from the XIIth to the XVIth century, illustrating various formations of the head and blade; unhafted, however, as they are, they are not in themselves sufficiently complete to be worth illustrating. The Wallace Collection (No. 20) gives a good example of the simple battle-axe of the closing years of the XIVth century (Fig. 918). It has the straight



FIG. 922

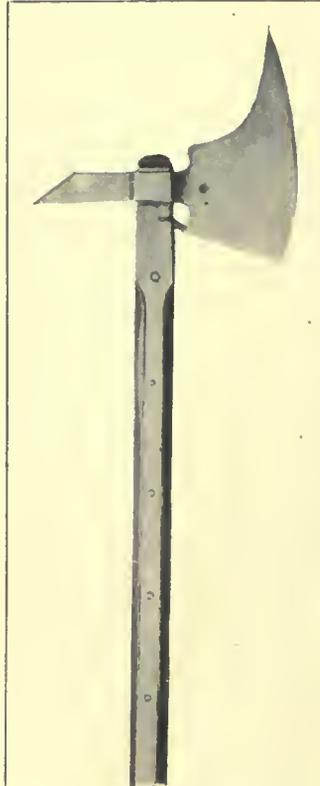


FIG. 924



FIG. 923

FIG. 922. LOCHABER AXE. Scottish (?), early XVIIth century. K 74, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

FIG. 923. LOCHABER AXE. Scottish, late XVIIth century. Tower of London

FIG. 924. BATTLE-AXE. Of the type of the Jedburgh axe. This example appears, however, to be of German early XVIth century make. K 69, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

cutting blade, rectangular at the base. The top edge forms an obtuse angle with the cutting edge; here are semicircular pierced projections. On one side, deeply impressed, is the sacred monogram I.H.S. in Gothic lettering; while on the other side is the commencement of the word MARIA. This example was found in France. Another small and curious axe (Fig. 919), certainly a weapon of early date, and possibly belonging to the end of the XIVth century, is now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York; its pro-

## HAFTED WEAPONS: THE AXE OF THE SOLDIERS

venance is probably northern Europe. It will be noted that the cutting edge takes a parallel line with the slight curve of the handle. Of the variations of the axe, the *bardische* or *bardéche* of Austria is perhaps the most important. It is a pole weapon with a large curved blade attached to one side of it, presenting a semicircular cutting edge, the lower end of which was usually fastened to the haft. We give an illustration of an axe of this kind which is now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. This *bardische*, which is of the North European type, is particularly interesting; for the blade is of shorter and wider proportions than is usual, and its ornamentation, a scale ornament engraved and plated with silver, appears to be of Venetian origin. The period of its manufacture might well be the first half of the XVth century (Fig. 920). The Lochaber axe, which in some respects resembles the head of the hafted weapon we class as the *voulge*, was a pole-arm constructed on the same principle as the last-named weapon; but such axes were always poor in make, and suggest the work of the local blacksmith rather than that of a skilled armourer. At least this is what we are bound to say of those specimens that we ourselves have had the opportunity of examining. They must, however, have existed in large quantities even early in the XVIIIth century; for in the trial of the Porteous rioters in 1736 we read that evidence was given by the serjeant of the city guard of Edinburgh to the effect that "the mob took possession of the guardroom and of all the arms therein, both firearms, axes, and Lochaber-axes and halberts." We illustrate an example from the Noël Paton Collection (Fig. 921), a very primitive weapon in make, though no doubt of comparatively late date. Its resemblance to the *voulge* is remarkable; but as it was found by Sir Noël Paton in a crofter's cottage near Aberdeen, it may fairly be accepted as a locally made axe of the so-called Lochaber type. Another which we represent, selected from the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris (K 74), and described in the official catalogue as Scottish, though of doubtful nationality (Fig. 922), is more like the *bardische*; but it is furnished with the characteristic hook on the reverse side of the blade which is found on the more complete Lochaber axes. From the Tower of London Collection we illustrate an example of crude and late workmanship, but very characteristic of the axe in question (Fig. 923). The Jedburgh axe, so termed from Jedburgh the capital of Roxburghshire, the principal of the border towns, has little distinctiveness in form; indeed, a "Jeddart staff" was the common name for any type of hafted axe in the north during the XVIth century. We give an illustration of a weapon from the Musée

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

d'Artillerie, K 69 (Fig. 924) that might be of the Jedburgh axe type. Meyrick regards the Jedburgh axe as a weapon similar to the axe carried to-day by the farriers of the Household Cavalry.

\* \* \*

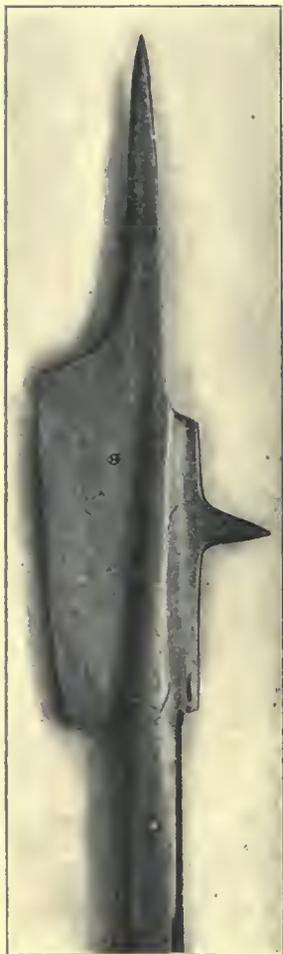


FIG. 925. HALBERD OF THE VOULGE TYPE

Commonly known as the "Sempach" halberd  
Early years of the XVth century  
Collection: M. Charles Boissonnas, Geneva

Under the heading of the "halberd" very many varieties of hafted weapons must, as we have said, be included, all showing the vagaries of fashion that either modified or exaggerated the form of the primitive type, a weapon consisting of a cutting axe-like blade on one side, a beak on the other, and a spike affixed to the head. As in the case of all hafted arms, the heads of which show signs of gradual evolution, we are a little uncertain from what original form the halberd sprung; but by going to the derivation of the word itself we can see what class of arm it must have been at the outset. Sir Samuel Meyrick suggested that the name "halberd" was derived from the Teutonic *Alle Bard* (cleave all); while M. Demmin put forward another theory, a derivation from the German *Halb-Barthe* (half battle-axe), or *Alte Barthe* (old battle-axe). We ourselves, however, must agree with Planché, who in his erudite "Cyclopaedia of Costume" says that he fails to find any authority for translating *bard* as "cleave"; we are inclined, indeed, to derive the word from the mid-High German *Halmbarde* (*halm*, handle or haft, and *barde*, an axe). But whatever derivation be accepted, all suggest that the halberd was originally a hacking weapon. Though one notes the popularity of the halberd in Northern Europe in fairly early times, and the responsibility of the Northerners for its introduction into Germany and Switzerland, one cannot claim for it any great antiquity. The early existing forms of halberd are those known as the Sempach types from their being employed in the battle of Sempach in 1393. Halberds of this type have a somewhat more complete form of head than the voulge, the haft not passing

through two detached sockets at one side, but continuing into the head of the weapon, which is hollowed to receive it; as in the case of an example we represent (Fig. 925), a voulge halberd which came from the Castle

## HAFTED WEAPONS: THE HALBERD

d'Utzigen belonging to the Daxelhofer family, Switzerland, and is now in the collection of M. Charles Boissonnas of Geneva. The halberd cannot have enjoyed in its earlier days any general prevalence; for as late as 1475, according to the journal of a curé of St. Michael of Angers, Louis XI of France ordered "*nouveaux ferrements de guerre*" called "*hallebarden*" to be made, an entry which proves them to have been a novelty, at least in France. The 1547 inventory of the arms and armour in the Tower of London and at Greenwich, mentions the halberd continually; but in one short list it gives two spellings of the word:

Halbardys . . . cccvj<sup>e</sup>.

White halberdes w<sup>t</sup> playne staves . . . cxxvj.

White halberdes garnyshed w<sup>t</sup> crymsen velvet . . . iiij<sup>xx</sup> xv.

The German and Swiss types of halberd of XVth century date are essentially businesslike, simple in their outline and free from decoration, save for occasional coarse inlays of brass. As a family they are distinctive and easily recognized. In the country of their origin they are eagerly sought for by the collector, with the result that countless forgeries are made, chiefly in the neighbourhood of Lucerne and in certain known "fake" factories in Germany.

From the close of the XVth century England, France, Italy, and Spain adopted the halberd for use alike in actual warfare and on occasions of ceremony and parade—and to this latter use they are still put even at the present day. Very broadly speaking the English halberd is somewhat lighter in construction than the foreign type. We give illustrations of six heads of different nationalities which show the variations of form which the halberd took during the latter part of the XVth and the commencement of the XVIth centuries (Fig. 926). There seems to have been no standard length of haft, or, as it was termed, "hampe"; those made for parade halberds appear to have been longer and were often decorated. The hampe of the fighting halberd is generally some five feet in length, the metal bands from the head occasionally continuing the whole length. We should add that the use of the halberd was entirely confined to the infantry of nearly all ranks. In 1515 Nicholas Lagudino, the Venetian ambassador, describes the appearance of King Henry VIII's guards as "all handsome men with halberds, never saw finer fellows"; but whether he used "halberd" in our modern sense of the term it is impossible to say. In a document of the year 1518 we remember an allusion to the payment of 48s. for halberds

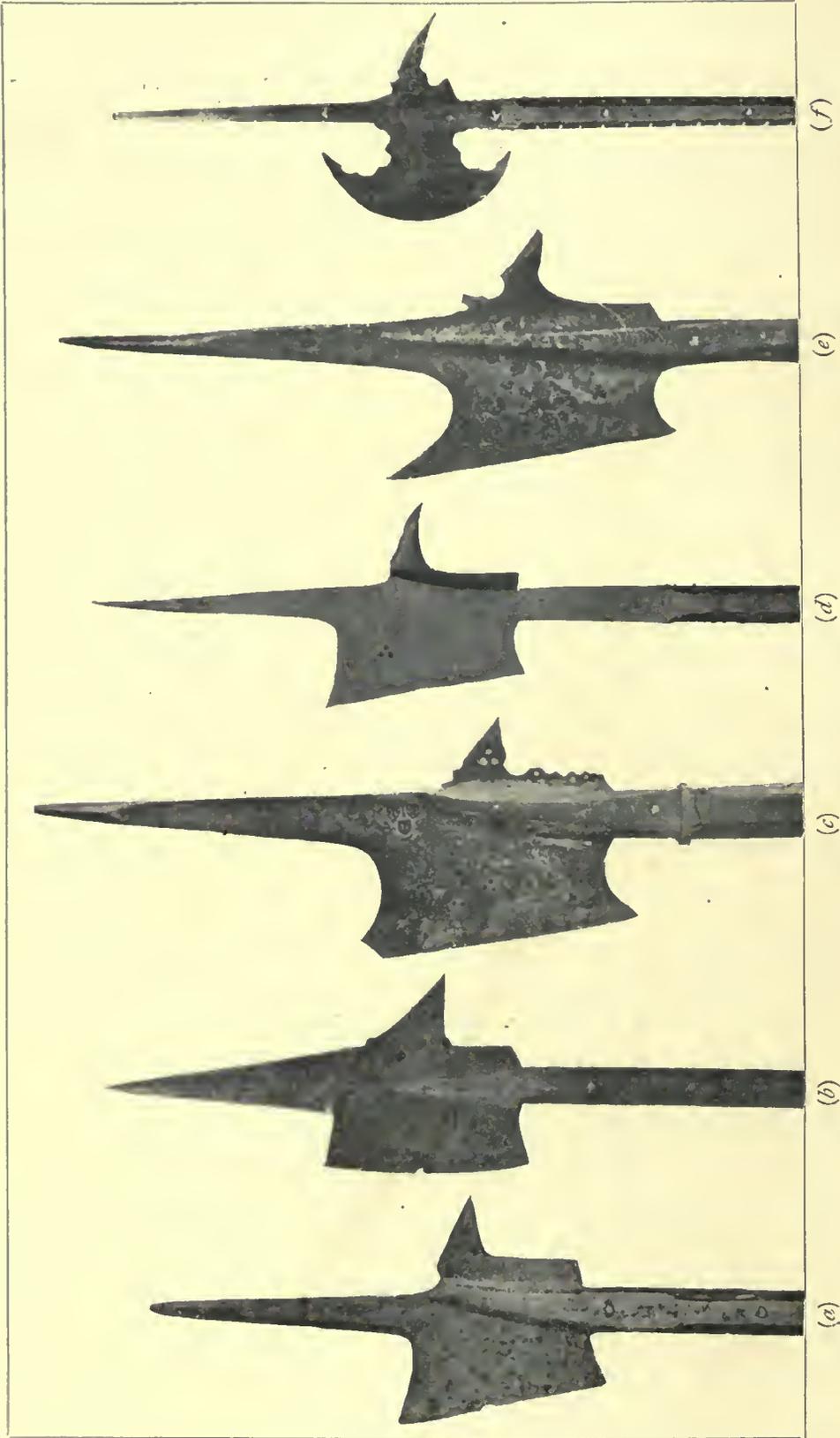


FIG. 926. HALBERDS

- (a) German or Swiss, about 1440. Collection: M. Charles Boissonnas, Geneva
- (b) German or Swiss, about 1450. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 341)
- (c) German, about 1460. Collection: M. Charles Boissonnas, Geneva
- (d) German, about 1470. Ex Collection: Baron de Cosson
- (e) Swiss, about 1460. Collection: M. Charles Boissonnas, Geneva
- (f) Probably German, about 1470. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 333)

## HAFTED WEAPONS, VARIOUS: OF PEASANT ORIGIN

for the guard; and of 4s. paid per "hawberd" in 1530. In the short chapter dealing with the enriched pole arms of the latter part of the XVIth and of the early years of the XVIIth centuries we shall note the variations of form that prevailed and the methods of decoration employed on the halberd heads of those times.

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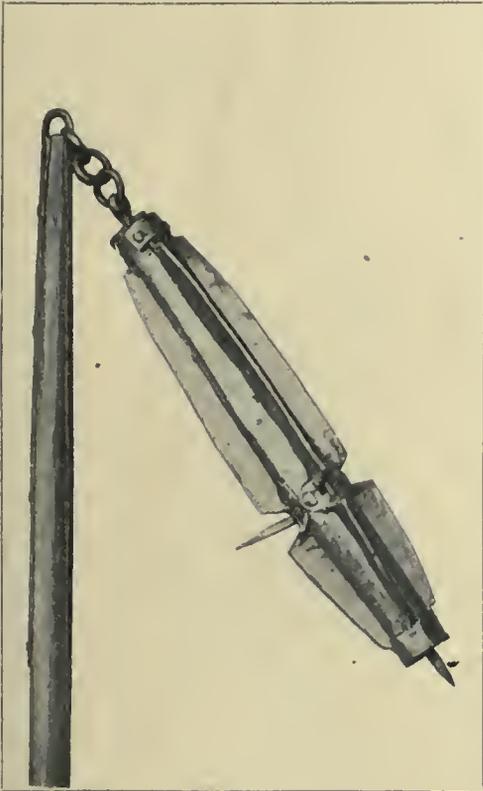


FIG. 927

FIG. 927. MILITARY FLAIL. Late XVIth(?) century. Collection: the late Sir Noël Paton, Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh



FIG. 928

FIG. 928. HOLY WATER SPRINKLER. Swiss, late XVIth century. Collection: M. Charles Boissonnas, Geneva

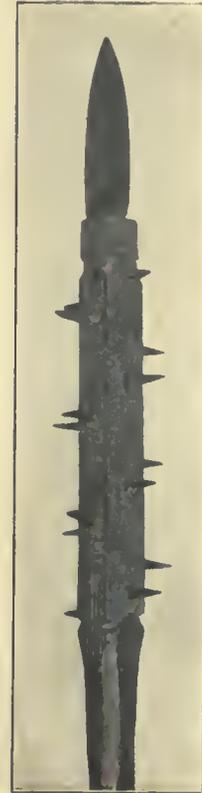


FIG. 929

FIG. 929. MORNING STAR. Late XVIth century. Found in the valley of Conches (Haut-Valais) in 1912. Collection: M. Charles Boissonnas, Geneva

The final group of hafted weapons to which we shall allude, includes peasant implements of offence such as the war flail (in old German the *Drischel*, in French the *Etrière*), the "holy water sprinkler," and the "morning star." All these varieties of hafted weapons certainly appear to be of peasant origin; but while as weapons they can claim very considerable antiquity, from the point of view of the serious student of armour they

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

must be considered of comparative unimportance. Many examples of these combination weapons have been preserved, none claiming, however, we believe, a very early date. The histories of most of them, could they but be traced back, would be found associated with the latter part of the XVIth or even with the next century; for we find them figuring very prominently in the Tyrolese peasant wars of the XVIIth century.

The military flail, of which many specimens are extant, was certainly a weapon in the XVth century; but its use would seem to have been chiefly relegated to naval encounters. We illustrate an example (Fig. 927) which is now in the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh. The "holy water sprinkler," *Schiessprügel*, and the "morning star" appear to be of Eastern origin; for precursors of the same kind of weapons are to be seen in the Eastern armoury of the Wallace Collection, Nos. 2328, 2331, and 2325. We illustrate both types from the collection of M. Charles Boissonnas of Geneva (Figs. 928 and 929). King Henry VIII had a force of 12,000 of his infantry armed with a weapon similar to the "holy water sprinkler." A contemporary account of the arming of this force appears in a letter written by Antonio Barasin in 1513 to the government of Venice (Venetian State Paper, No. 237); after alluding to halberdiers he goes on to say "and 12,000 (armed) with a weapon never seen until now, six feet in length, surmounted by a ball with six steel spikes." Again, in 1557, the Venetian ambassador, Michiel, describes these "greate hollywater sprinckelles," as they are called in the 1547 inventory of the Tower of London, as "certain long poles of the height of a man, thick and armed with certain iron spikes at the head, three inches in length, issuing from all parts; which are very perilous weapons, calculated to smash and break the hardest substances." The strange names given to these arms had their origin in the grim and rather savage peasant humour of the time. The holy water sprinkler was so styled from the way in which its spikes caused the blood to spurt out; while the morning star appears to have been a jest upon the German and Swiss *morgenstern*, the "Good morning" greeting to an adversary. Occasionally these types of mace are combination weapons; as, for instance, the example in the Tower of London, known since the 1676 inventory as "King Henry ye 8th walking staff," but figuring in the 1547 inventory only as a "Holly water sprindles w<sup>t</sup> thre gonnes on the Topp," without any allusion to its royal ownership. This staff comprises three gun barrels (Fig. 930), each to be fired by a match. Perhaps this was a weapon of the class noticed by Paul Hentzner in the Tower and described in his Itinerary as "Hastae ex quibus ejaculatur." Meyrick, again, had in his

## HAFTED WEAPONS, VARIOUS: OF PEASANT ORIGIN

collection a weapon containing a mace, a four-barrelled pistol, and a holy water sprinkler all combined in one—called by Skelton a demi holy water sprinkler. Other combination weapons, such, for instance, as what is now

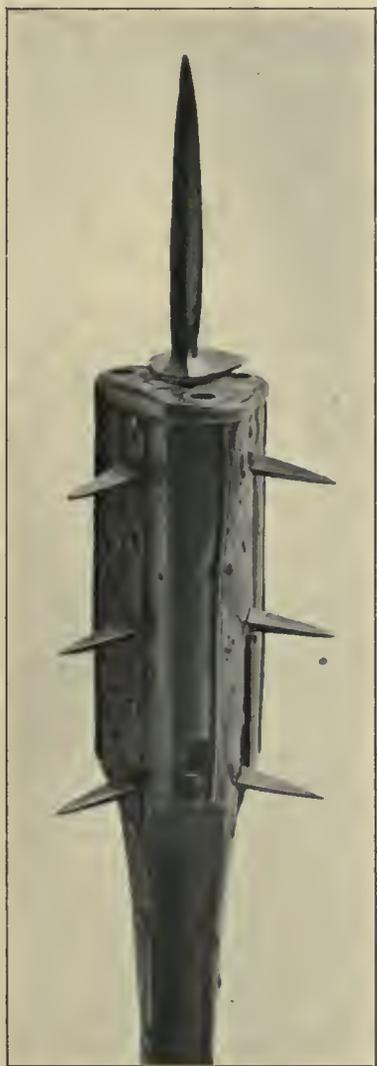


FIG. 930. THE HEAD OF "KING HENRY  
YE 8TH WALKING STAFF"  
Early XVIth century  
Tower of London

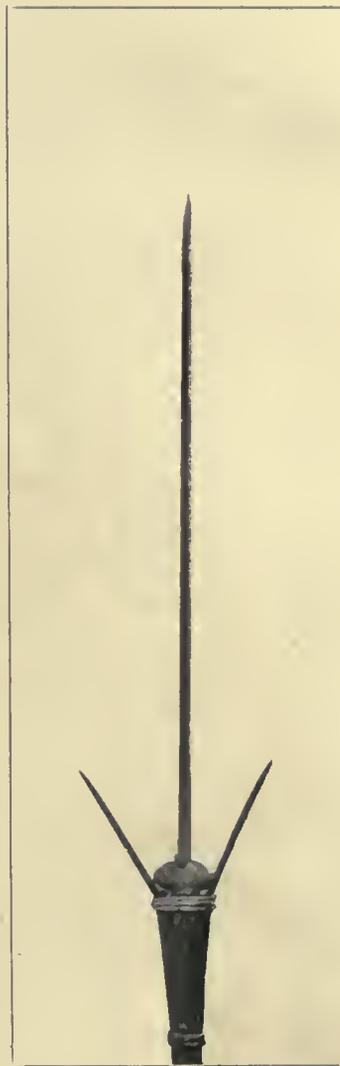


FIG. 931. SECRET RANSEUR  
Italian, middle of the  
XVIth century  
Tower of London

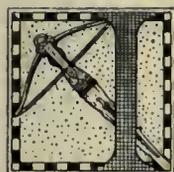
known as the "secret ranseur" or "swyn feather," made their appearance towards the end of the XVth century. It seems difficult, indeed, in view of the fact that so many of these particular weapons are extant, to imagine that they were only made to satisfy an individual whim. Meyrick speaks of

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

a specimen in his collection as the "concealed" ranseur. These were in all probability what are described at the end of the XVIth century and in the XVIIth century as "leading staffs," and as being carried by captains of foot. The "secret" or "concealed" ranseur consists in a hollow iron tube often covered with leather to lend it the appearance of a walking staff, at one end of which is a hinged cover concealing three secret blades, which can be jerked out, being then held in position by a catch. We have not seen a single weapon of this class that we should care to assign to the XVth century; but several examples bearing dates within the middle of the XVIth century have come under our notice, notably a well-preserved specimen in the Tower of London Collection (Fig. 931).

## CHAPTER XXI

### THE CROSSBOW



It would certainly be outside the pale of this work to deal at any length with the intricate history of the crossbow, but so closely allied to our subject are the bow and crossbow, actual armaments of our ancestors, that we are forced to add to that brief mention of them which we made on pages 4, 5, 65, 124, 125, in noting the form they assumed in the XIIIth century. The crossbow at the period at which we left it was a cumbrous affair, and, as far as is known, was bent by the simple process of the bowman lying on his back, pressing both feet against the bow, and so drawing the cord with both hands up to the notch, or what was known as the "barrel." Early, however, in the XIVth century mechanical appliances for bending the bow began to make their appearance.

We have previously stated that at the second Lateran Council of 1139, presided over by Gregorio Paparesci dei Guidoni (Pope Innocent II, 1130-1143), the use of the crossbow was prohibited amongst Christians as a weapon only fit for employment by or against infidels (vol. i, page 125). This decree was confirmed by Lotario de' Conti di Segni (Pope Innocent III, 1198-1216); but despite these prohibitions we find that in 1181 the Genoese were arming troops with the crossbow—the actual forefathers of the luckless Genoese crossbow men of Creçy fame.

Independently of the mercenary crossbow men—those of Genoa, Gascony, and Brabant—who were employed in the armies of France from the XIIIth century onwards, a great number of towns of the northern provinces of France had companies of crossbow men of their own. In 1230 a French parliamentary decree bestowed the title of Grand Master of the crossbow men on Thibaut de Montléard. The crossbow men were taken from the citizens of towns and formed into corporations. In 1351 King John II ("the good") issued an order in which he said: "The crossbow man possessing a good crossbow, strong in proportion to his strength, and a good baldrick,

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

and who is armed in plate possessing a steel cap, hausse col, sword, knife, a brigandine, and hauberk of mail, iron and leather arm guards, shall receive a daily pay of three *tournois sous*. And we ordain that all foot soldiers be formed into companies of twenty-five to thirty men with their *connestables* or commanders, and that each *connestable* shall receive double pay, and that the companies be passed in review before those who are appointed for the purpose, or shall be deputed to hold such review, and further that each *connestable* shall have a pennon with such arms or device as he may choose."

The dauphin Charles, in 1359, instituted, for the defence of the City of Paris, a body of crossbow men containing two hundred men. This corps chose annually four provosts from its number, each of whom commanded fifty men. Each crossbow man received in ordinary times "*deux vielx gros d'argent*" or their value per day, and twice that in war time. The confraternity, moreover, enjoyed numerous privileges. Their numbers increased greatly in a short time; for in 1375 the Dauphin, then Charles V, fixed the number of a confraternity at eight hundred men. Under Charles VI the privileges enjoyed by crossbow men, not only in Paris, but in Rouen, Compiègne, Tournay, Laon, etc., were still further increased. It is in the days of François I that we see the crossbow men disappearing from the armies of France. At the battle of Marignan there were still two hundred mounted crossbow men of the king's guard, who rendered signal service. In 1536 the author of *Discipline Militaire*, a work attributed to Guillaume de Bellay, says that in front of Turin there was only a single crossbow man in the French army; but that this man by himself killed and wounded more men than the best crossbow men of that fortified town were able to kill and to wound. This crossbow man was a skilful marksman; for at la Bicoque he killed Jean de Cordonne, a Spanish captain, who had for a moment raised the visor of his helmet to take breath.

Throughout the XIVth century, as far as one can judge, little material progress was made in the actual construction of the crossbow. We think it may be taken for granted that what was known as the "horn" bow attached to the stock of the crossbow was of earlier origin than the bow of steel. It is interesting to note that the supposed Oriental origin of the "horn" bow to the crossbow as used in mediaeval times is to a certain extent confirmed by the very close resemblance in construction which the comparatively modern Oriental bows of horn, whalebone, and sinew bear to those few XVth and XVIth century horn bows on European crossbows that we

## THE CROSSBOW

have had the opportunity of examining. Peter the Saracen, maker of crossbows to King John, fashioned his bows in the media of sinew, ram's horn, and whalebone, skilfully worked. William Conrad, bowyer to the Tower of London in 1302, supplied the Prince of Wales, who was then engaged in an expedition against Scotland, with "2lb. of wiseblase, 4lb. of glue, 4lb. of sinews of sea dogs, and other necessities of balistae



FIG. 932. "LES CHRONIQUES D'ANGLETERRE" (TEMP. EDWARD IV)

Roy. MS. 14, E. iv, fol. 210, British Museum

and bow," a record which seems to show that even in the XIVth century the horn bow was the prevalent weapon. In an illustration given by Planché in his "Cyclopaedia of Costume" from the Roy. MS. 14, E. iv, three archers can be seen winding and discharging their crossbows, all of whom are shown as possessing crossbows with bows of horn (Fig. 932).

The Baron de Cosson, in the erudite paper on the crossbow of Ulrich V, Count of Würtemberg, temp. 1460 (see Fig. 936), which he communicated to the Society of Antiquaries in 1893, gives a very full list of the more famous

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

bow and crossbow makers which must ever be the basis of all future research into the history of this interesting weapon. Before, however, we give illustrations of some of the important crossbows to be seen in public and private collections we will very briefly describe the general construction of the stock and bow. Every crossbow consists in a wooden stock or frame, commonly known as the tiller, terminating in a butt-end, which enables the bow to be shouldered, and provided with a longitudinal groove in which is laid the shaft or bolt. At the opposite extremity of the butt-end is fixed the bow. The string of the bow was stout and thick, and was usually made of gut or strong hemp fibre. When the bow is bent ready for discharge the string is held by a disk made of bone or hard wood known as the barrel, placed some half-way down the stock. This barrel is fitted with two notches, the one holding the string, the other corresponding to the release, which, having been displaced, the bow is discharged. Behind the barrel there is a spring, generally of whalebone, which presses lightly on the end of the shaft placed in the groove, thus allowing the crossbow to be tilted without the shaft dropping out of the groove.

The various names given to crossbows were not so much influenced by the shape of the bow and stock, which from the earliest times practically remained unaltered, nor by the method of releasing the string, as by the all-important factor of the appliance used actually to bend the bow of the war crossbow, which in the latter part of the XIVth and throughout the XVth centuries had become so enormously strong as to be quite incapable of manipulation without mechanical aid.

The propelling force of the steel and horn XVth century crossbow must have been great; for as the results of some interesting experiments made with a strong late XVth century steel crossbow obtained from Nuremberg, made under the direction of that eminent authority on implements of the chase, Mr. W. H. Baillie-Grohman, it was found that weights of 1,200 lb. had to be employed in order to pull the cord into position, whereas 60 lb., as all modern archers know, represent the pull of an ordinary long bow. Little wonder then that the great Maximilian could slay a stag at 200 yards, and that men could be killed at more than twice that distance. As some corroboration of the latter fact, a rather interesting story came to the notice of Mr. Baillie-Grohman, interesting, that is to say, if any belief can be attached to this legend of the ancient *Schloss Matzen*. The affair in question occurred in the middle of the XVth century, when two brothers, the knights Hans and Ulrich of Frundsberg, owned two neighbour-

## THE CROSSBOW

ing castles in Tyrol, both occupying rocky elevations of the ground, the distance from tower to tower being between 450 to 500 yards. One day, as the result of a fraternal feud, brother Ulrich took a shot with his crossbow from *Schloss* Lichtwehr at brother Hans, who was standing at the window of *Schloss* Matzen, his aim being so good, and his crossbow so strong, that notwithstanding the great distance, a fatal bull's-eye was scored.



FIG. 933. SHOWING THE GREAT WALL CROSSBOW, WITH AN ORDINARY CROSSBOW AND ARCHER'S PAVOIS BY WAY OF SIZE COMPARISON

National Bavarian Museum, Munich

Great engines of war, *arbalestes ribaudequins*, were made on the principle of the crossbow, and in the XVth century often formed part of the armament of the fortified castle. They were huge machines with occasionally eight feet span of bow, shooting missiles five or six feet long. There is in the National Bavarian Museum of Munich a great crossbow fitted with the so-called hornbow of the XVth century (Fig. 933), the dimensions of which

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

can be gauged by comparison with the ordinary but large crossbow in front of it.

Doubtless the most primitive of mechanical winders is that which takes the form of a cap of metal, or tackle block, made to fit over the butt of the stock. On either side of this cap is a wheel, while fastened at right angles to the top of it is a narrow cylindrical bar or roller, manipulated by long-shanked handles at either end. Fastened to this roller at the extremities

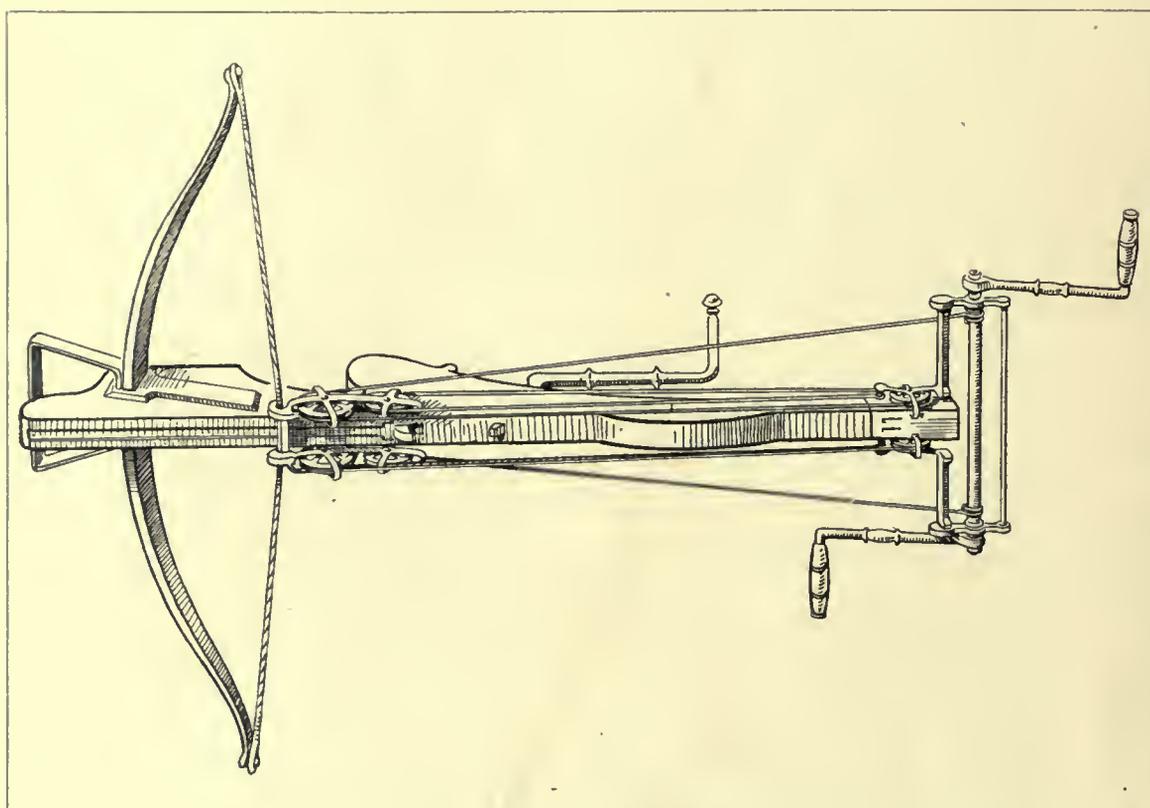


FIG. 934. DRAWING SHOWING THE WORKING OF THE WINDLASS *à TOUR*.

are single cords, which, after passing over wheels that are attached to the hook of metal made to grasp and draw back the string, return over the first pair of wheels referred to on the tackle block, after which they are once more drawn back and permanently secured to the metal grasp-hook. By this arrangement of duplicated wheels, a very powerful pull on the string of the crossbow is attained, on the principle of the modern differential pulley. To charge the crossbow the tackle block is placed over the butt of the stock or tiller, and the grasp-hook with the double wheels attached to the string. The handles working upon the roller are then wound

## THE CROSSBOW

until the string is drawn back sufficiently to catch in the notch of the barrel of the stock. The winder is then removed from the stock, and the crossbow, after the bolt has been placed in position; is ready to discharge. During the process of winding back the string the crossbow is rested on the ground, butt upwards, and steadied by the crossbow man placing his foot in the stirrup-like form seen immediately in front of the bow. This type of cord and wheel winder was known as *à tour*, some state from the fact that it was wound *à tour*—by turn—and others solely on account of the architectural forms of tracery and mouldings decorating the tackle block of the winder, which often resembled a battlemented tower.

We may mention that in certain crossbows of early XVIth century date a double set of wheels are attached to the grasp-hook of the tackle, so that the cords pass over yet another pair of wheels before they are finally secured. The only difference this extra set of wheels makes is that, when they are used, the end of the cord is fastened to the tackle block and not to the grasp-hook. The outline drawing (Fig. 934) may help to explain the apparently elaborate working of the windlass *à tour*.

It was the crossbow with the simple winder of this particular form that the Genoese archers used at the battle of Agincourt in 1415. An illustration of such a bow and winder, though in a comparatively later form, is to be seen accompanying that fine crossbow made for Louis XII of France, which is now in the Imperial Armoury, Vienna (Fig. 935). The

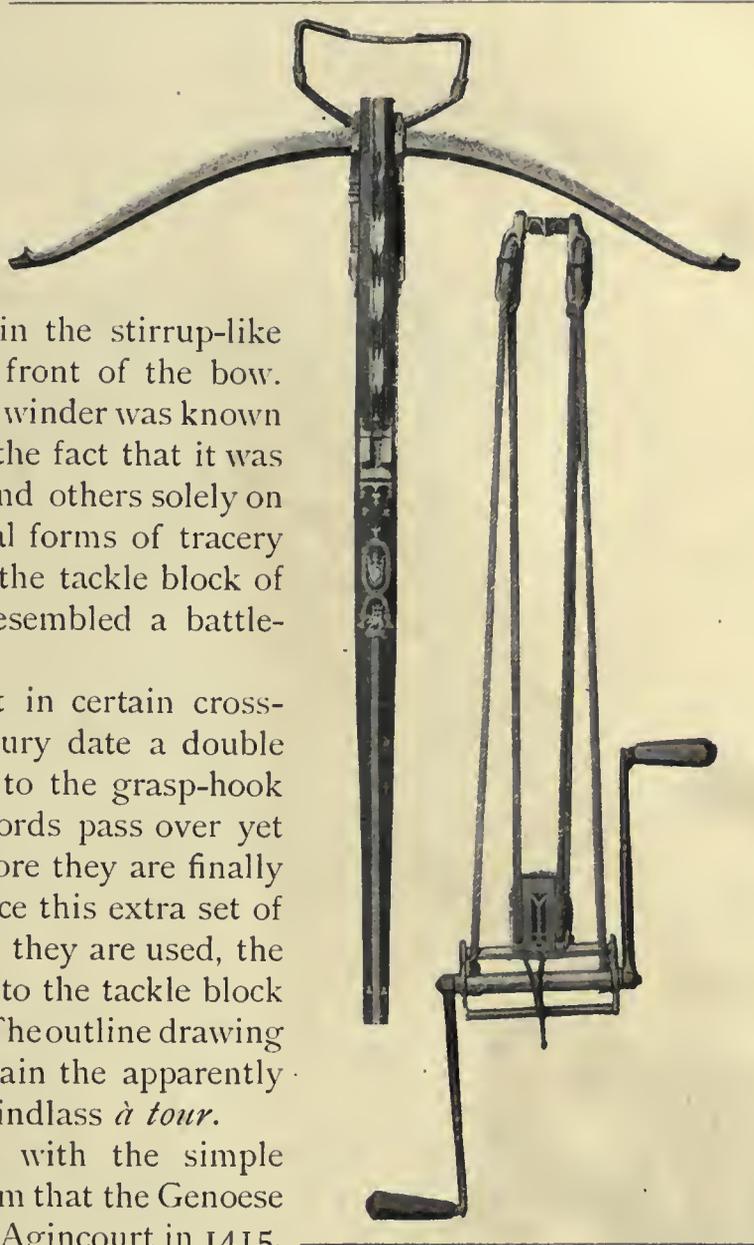


FIG. 935. CROSSBOW WITH STIRRUP  
Probably Italian workmanship, about  
1490-1500. Presented by King  
Louis XII of France to the Arch-  
duke Philip of Austria  
Imperial Armoury, Vienna

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

bow, as well as all the metal parts of the stock, are etched and gilt: the wooden stock is inlaid with polished stag's horn. Beneath the stock are painted the arms of France and Milan. Below, within a heart-shaped panel, are represented the armorial bearings of Ann of Brittany (1476-1514), and below these the emblem of the Order of the Porcupine (*porc-épic*, founded in 1391) in the later form it assumed under Louis XII (1462-1515). On the bow is an armourer's mark, probably of Italian origin.

Judged by these heraldic characters the crossbow should date within the closing years of the XVth century. It probably came as a present from



FIG. 936. CROSSBOW

German, about 1460. It belonged to Ulrich V of Würtemberg  
Metropolitan Museum of New York

King Louis XII to the young Archduke Philip of Austria, who visited the King at Blois in 1499. The windlass illustrated with it is the actual one made for and belonging to it, and even the strings are the originals; indeed it is one of the very few existing perfect examples of this unwieldy contrivance. We can refer to another royal gift of a crossbow, though made at an earlier time. When Louis de Bruges attended a special mission sent by Charles of Burgundy to Edward IV of England, King Edward presented him with "a Royall Crossbowe, the strynge of silk, the case covered with velvete of the King's colour, and his armes and badges thereupon." This gift was put to the test a few hours after it was received; for "before

## THE CROSSBOW

dynner they kyled no game, saving a doe." We may, indeed, safely assume that these presentation crossbows were used entirely for sporting purposes, and not for service in war.

Next comes the crossbow that was bent with a windlass known as the "moulinet," or as the "cranequin," "crennequin," or "cric," a contrivance which must have been the one used for bending the bow of the famous Ulrich V crossbow (Fig. 936). Half-way down the stock is inserted a strong iron staple or winder pin, from which the jack windlass derived its fulcrum to

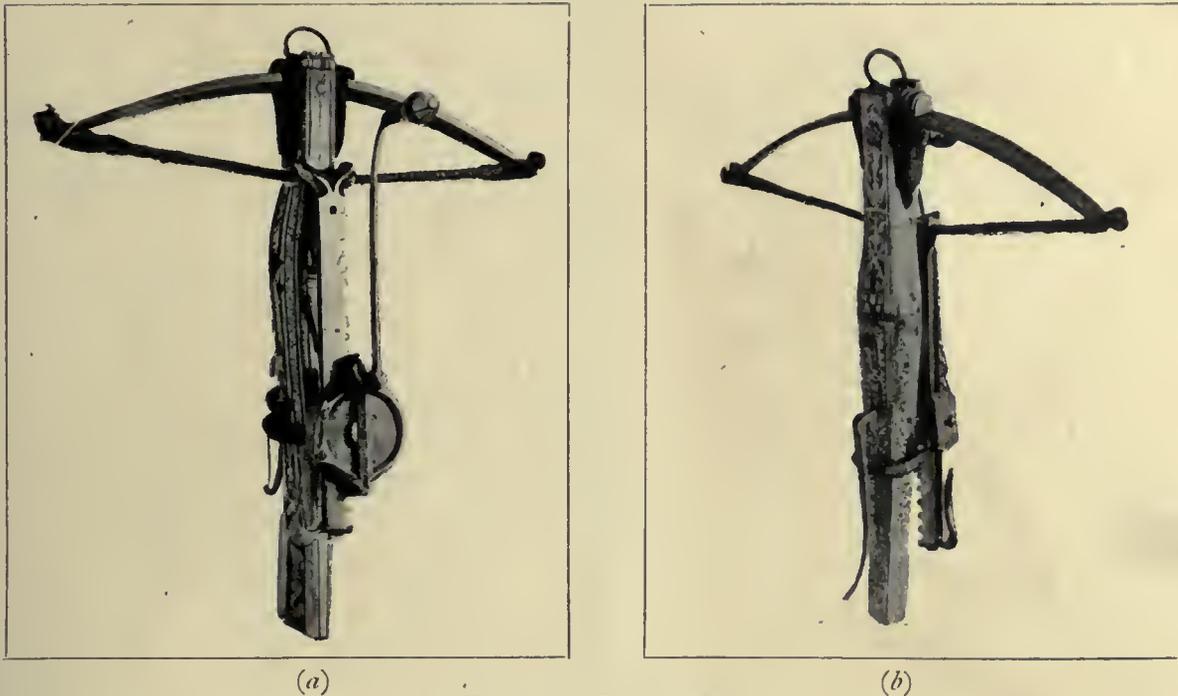


FIG. 937. CROSSBOWS

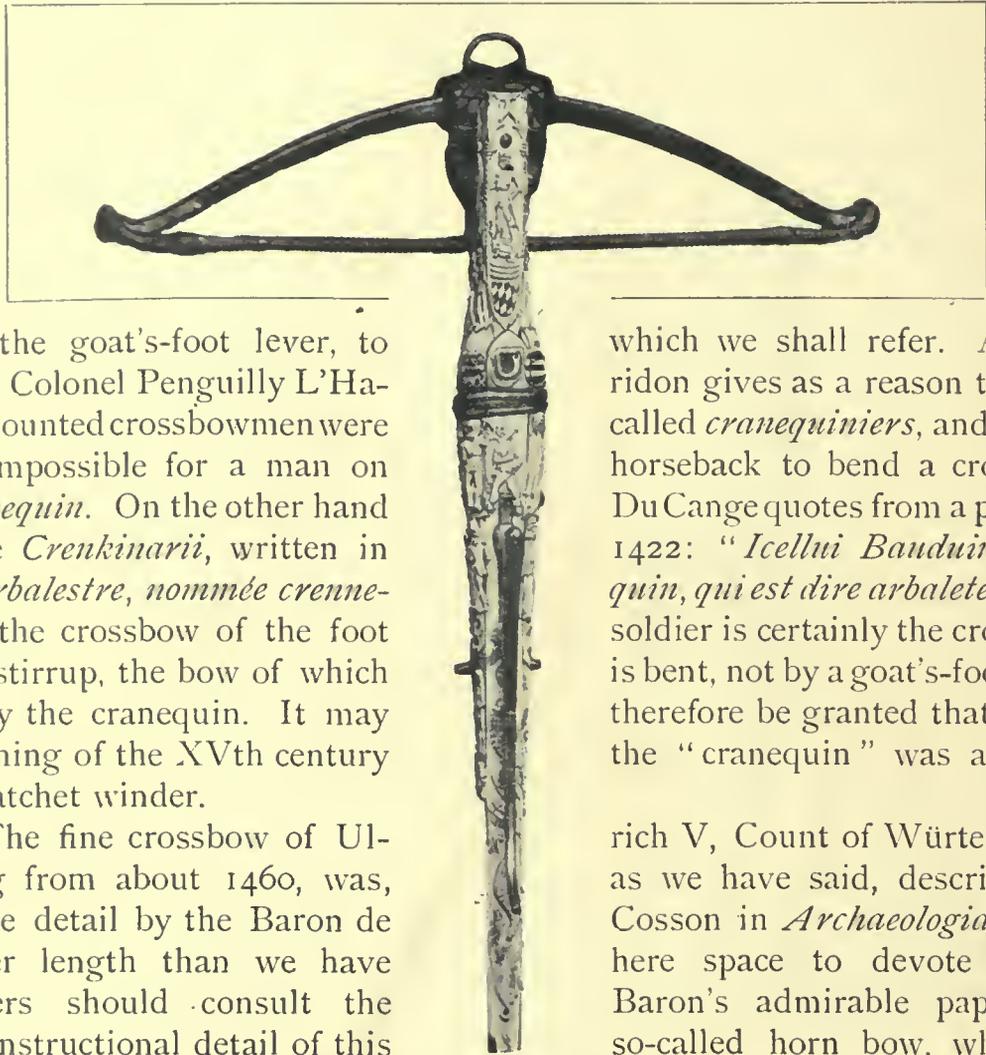
- (a) German work, dated 1575. Top view, showing the moulinet or cranequin winder in position, but slack on the string. From the Franz Thill Collection, Vienna.
- (b) German work, about 1570-80. Under view, showing the twisted cord. Note the moulinet windlass caught on the winder pin of the stock. From the Franz Thill Collection, Vienna

the lever; for by means of a strong twisted cord loop the jack was fitted at pleasure over the stock, slipping down as far as the winder pin. The actual windlass was on exactly the same wheel and ratchet principle seen in the modern lifting jack. We give illustrations of crossbows showing the moulinet or cranequin winder in position on the stock. The first shows a fine German example (Fig. 937*a*), dated on the moulinet ratchet 1575. In the case of this example the moulinet windlass is shown adjusted, but slack on the string. The second gives an under view of another such crossbow of the same

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

nationality and of about the same period (Fig. 937*b*). This view shows how the twisted cord loop of the windlass fitted over the butt of the stock, but was prevented from slipping too far forward by the presence of the winder pin.

Some authors are of the opinion that the "cranequin" is nothing else



than the goat's-foot lever, to others Colonel Pengully L'Hathat mounted crossbowmen were was impossible for a man on *à cranequin*. On the other hand in the *Crenkinarii*, written in *une arbalestre, nommée crenne*. Now the crossbow of the foot with stirrup, the bow of which but by the cranequin. It may beginning of the XVth century and ratchet winder.

The fine crossbow of Ulrich V, Count of Württemberg, as we have said, described in Cosson in *Archaeologia* at far here space to devote to it. Baron's admirable paper for so-called horn bow, which is

which we shall refer. Among ridon gives as a reason the fact called *cranequiniers*, and that it horseback to bend a crossbow DuCange quotes from a passage 1422: "*Icellui Bauduin prist quin, qui est dire arbalete à pié.*" soldier is certainly the crossbow is bent, not by a goat's-foot lever therefore be granted that at the the "cranequin" was a wheel

rich V, Count of Württemberg, as we have said, described in Cosson in *Archaeologia* at far here space to devote to it. Baron's admirable paper for so-called horn bow, which is

FIG. 938. CROSSBOW

Probably Northern French, about 1470. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 143)

now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Another crossbow of the same nationality as the Ulrich V example, and of about the same period, bent too by the same jack windlass, but richer in appearance, and having a bow of steel, is in the Wallace Collection, No. 143 (Fig. 938). So elaborate are

## THE CROSSBOW

the ornaments represented on it that they are worth recording. The stock is of wood, overlaid with plaques of polished stag's horn, carved in relief with the following subjects. On the left-hand side, starting at the bottom, is depicted (I) Eve tempting Adam. (II) The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian. (III) A composition of knights in the harness of about 1450-70, above which appears a frieze of shields of arms, seven in number, representing—(i) Bohemia, (ii) Austria, (iii) Hungary, or possibly the lordship of Mindelheim; (iv) ?, (v) ?, (vi) the shield of the family coat of Von Welwardt, (vii) an ancient armorial bearing of Hungary, said to have been granted by the Pope in the year 1000 to King Stephen I of that country. (IV) Two youths engaged in an encounter with two-handed swords. On the right-hand side, starting also at the bottom, can be seen (i) St. George and the Dragon, (ii) a composition of dancing figures, (iii) an allegorical group representing women led astray by Folly in spite of the efforts of Wisdom (above them is a frieze of shields of arms). (V) The Emperor Maxentius ordering the decapitation of St. Catherine. Beneath are (i) three monsters with interlaced necks and tails; (ii) a bagpiper, the shield of arms possibly of the Colonna family; (iii) St. George standing on the vanquished dragon.

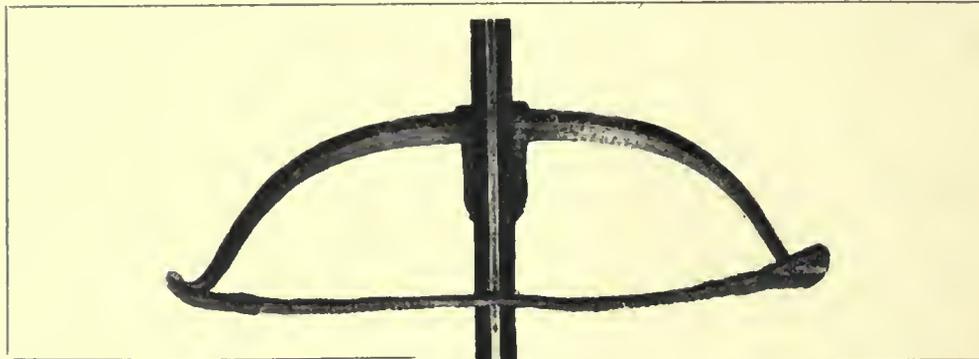
The barrel of this specimen is of stag's horn, and the mounts of the stock are partly gilt. On the bow, which is of great strength, cased in leather and painted parchment, the original twined string can be seen attached.

Towards the latter part of the XVth century another and more simple method of bending the bow was arrived at, through the invention of a lever called the goat's-foot, *pied de chèvre* (*Geisfuss*), occasionally termed "crow's-foot." This lever consists in three parts—the handle, the large fork, and the prongs attached to it—which are curved into a hooked form to fit over the trunnions of the crossbow stock. The small prongs moving round two pivots fixed to the prongs of the large fork catch the bow string. The two prongs of the large fork fit over the trunnions; the small fork receives the string, so that when the handle is drawn smartly backwards, it presses against the base of the large fork, draws the string, and brings it over the notch of the barrel. The goat's-foot lever is then removed and the bow is strung.

For specimens of the XVth century type of crossbow which were bent by the goat's-foot lever, students must go to the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris, or to the National Bavarian Museum of Munich, where admirable examples of the *arbalète à pied de chèvre* are to be seen; but it will serve our purpose better to depict an easily accessible specimen, though it is of

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

XVIth century date, especially as this specimen happens to possess a certain historical interest. The crossbow in question is No. 1327 of the Wallace



Collection (Fig. 939). We know 1558; for on the bow is an inscription which translated reads: "DON FERDINAND KING OF THE ROMANS," and repeats the name of the bow maker twice, "JUAN DE ENSINAS." This shows that the crossbow was made by the Spanish crossbow maker, Juan de Ensinas, for Ferdinand, King of the Romans, younger brother of Charles V, and was obviously made previously to 1558, the date at which Ferdinand became Emperor. The stock of this crossbow is of course adapted to the goat's-foot order; but unfortunately the lever belonging to the weapon is now lost. We, however, give illustrations of two such levers, which are also to be seen in the Wallace Collection (Nos. 1287 and 1291 (Fig. 940, *a*, *b*)).

There is in the Tower of London a peculiar and somewhat complicated crossbow, charged by a lever permanently attached to the stock. The mechanism of this is not a mere expression of individual whim; so it is worthy of record (Fig. 941, *a*, *b*). The bow

that it must be of earlier date than the present writer has seen is rarely met with, it is a true type of individual whim; so it is worthy of record (Fig. 941, *a*, *b*). The bow

London a peculiar and somewhat complicated crossbow, charged by a lever permanently attached to the stock. The mechanism of this is not a mere expression of individual whim; so it is worthy of record (Fig. 941, *a*, *b*). The bow

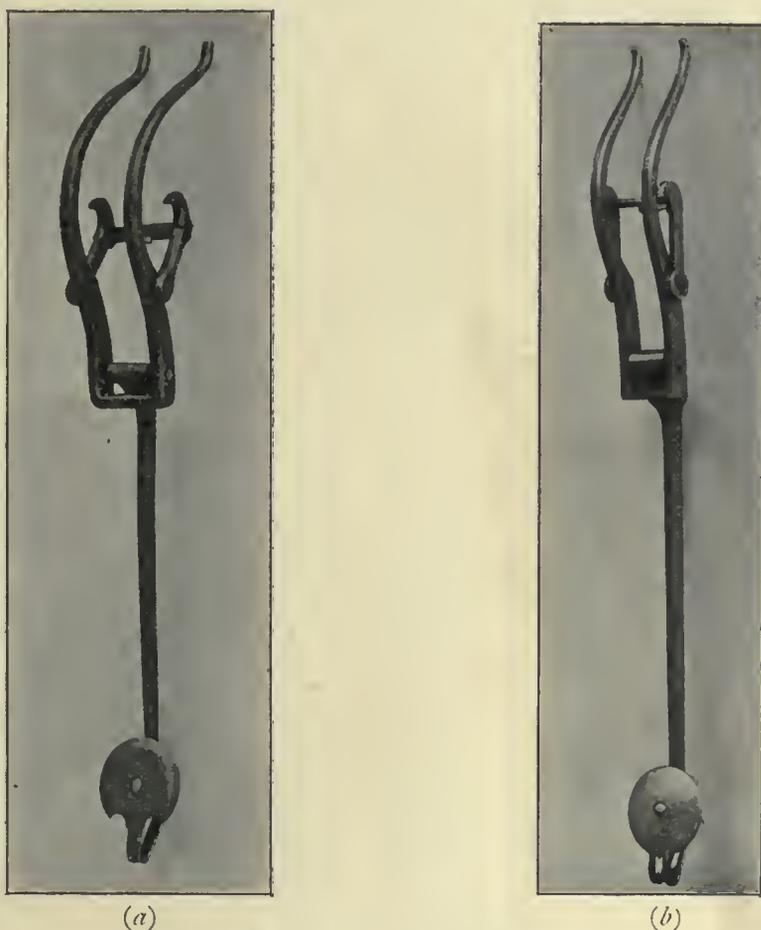
FIG. 939. CROSSBOW

Spanish, about 1550. Made by Juan de Ensinas for Ferdinand, King of the Romans, younger brother of Charles V. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 1327)

that lies beneath the lower end of the tiller (Fig. 941*a*), and afterwards returning it to the normal position; this draws back the string to the shooting place. The bow is then ready for discharge. This may be effected in two

## THE CROSSBOW

different ways. If the small button under the tiller be pressed, the barrel, which in this case is shaped as a lion, moves forward but still holding the string, and the bolt is discharged; if, however, the large trigger (sear) be pressed upward, the lion's forepaws are raised, and the string thus released acts on the bolt direct. It is difficult to see what is the object of having two different methods of releasing the string, unless it be that by the first



(a) (b)  
FIG. 940. CROSSBOW LEVERS  
Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, Nos. 1287 and 1291)

more rapid discharge may be attained, the string being always held by the lion and the bow being bent by a single motion; while by the second method, though greater force is exerted on the string, more time would be taken in readjusting the lion barrel in order to bend the bow. (Fig. 941*b*, the crossbow discharged.)

It is not difficult to realize that these complicated contrivances for winding the bow of the crossbow made shooting a very slow business. For

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

this reason a less powerful crossbow was in use among foot crossbow men, the bow of which was bent by a much simpler contrivance. This tackle consisted in a plain bifurcated hook, known as the "graffle," which was carried firmly fastened to the centre of the archer's belt. To bend his bow he slipped the string of the bow over this hook, and raising one foot placed it in the stirrup, which was attached immediately below the bow as seen on those crossbows which were bent by means of the winder *à tour*. The archer then forced the crossbow downwards by straightening the leg, accentuating the

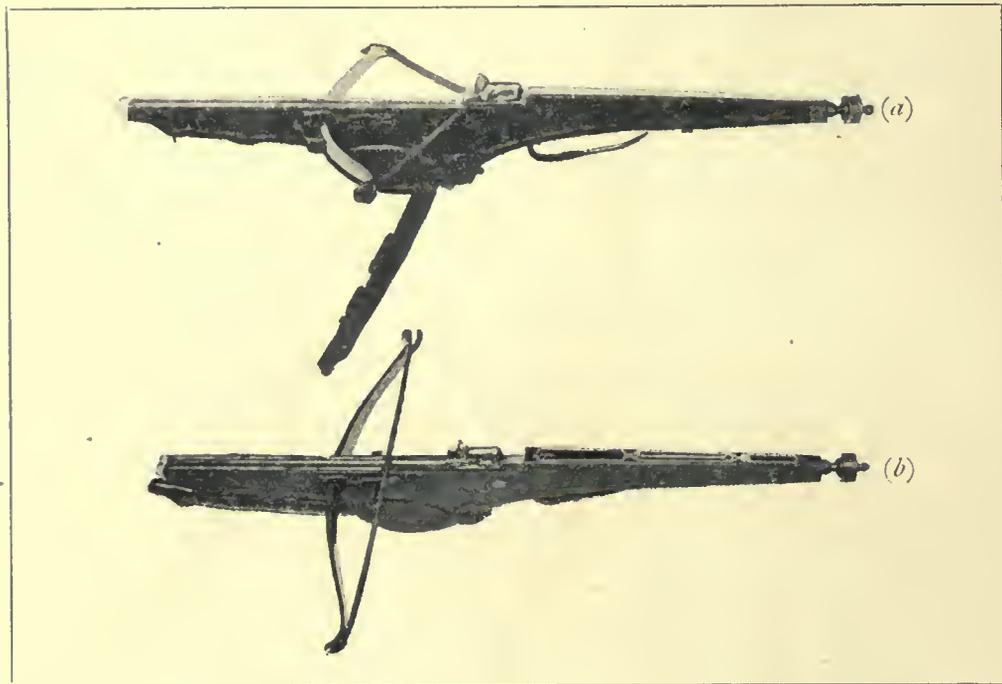


FIG. 941. CROSSBOW WITH ATTACHED LEVER SHOWING METHODS OF DISCHARGE

French, about 1570. Tower of London, Class XI, No. 21

movement by raising himself upright, until the graffle holding the string brought it into the notch on the barrel of the stock. A very excellent example of this method of bending the bow is shown in one of the illustrations made by a French XVth century miniaturist for the MS. of Gaston Phoebus in the National Library of France. In it we see an archer holding the bolt between his teeth, while he bends the bow in the manner we have indicated (Fig. 942).

Various names were given to the actual crossbow, more particularly in the XVIth century, the most common being the "arbalest": in England the popular term for it was "the latch." In an inventory taken in 1547 of the

## THE CROSSBOW

“ordynauce and munitions belonging to the fort of Archeclief beside the peere of Dover,” an inventory to which we have several times had occasion to refer, we note among other items: “Cross-bowes called latches, winlasses for them—130.” It has been suggested that the latch was an improvement on the arbalest, and that it was bent by a lever of much simpler form than



FIG. 942. FROM THE MS. OF GASTON PHOEBUS IN THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF FRANCE  
Bending the bow by means of the graffle

the windlass *à tour*. The derivation of the word “latch,” and the reason for the name being applied to the crossbow have yet, however, to be explained.

Although the next type of crossbow to which we are about to allude is not met with in the century with which we purport to be dealing, although, too, it is essentially a mid-XVIth century weapon of the chase, we think it as well to take this opportunity of alluding to what was termed the “prodd,”

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS



FIG. 943.

The double cords as used on the  
*arbalète à jalet*

or *arbalète à jalet*, a crossbow which fired not bolts, but pellets or stones. When reference is made in XVIth century records to the crossbow or latch with the double, or even treble, string, in all probability it is the *arbalète à jalet* that is meant. In the case of this weapon, as in that of a catapult, it was necessary that a small pouch should be used as a receptacle for the charge, whether stone or pellet; we can see from the illustration (Fig. 943) that the use of double cords was almost indispensable in order to hold in position the small pouch in question. Our illustration of the complete prodd or *arbalète à jalet* shows a weapon sumptuous in its Renaissance ornamentation, though, as we have confessed, far in advance of the period with which

we have been dealing. Inasmuch, however, as it is not our intention to refer again to any form of crossbow, we are content to let a representation of this beautiful prodd, though it is a most advanced form, figure as our

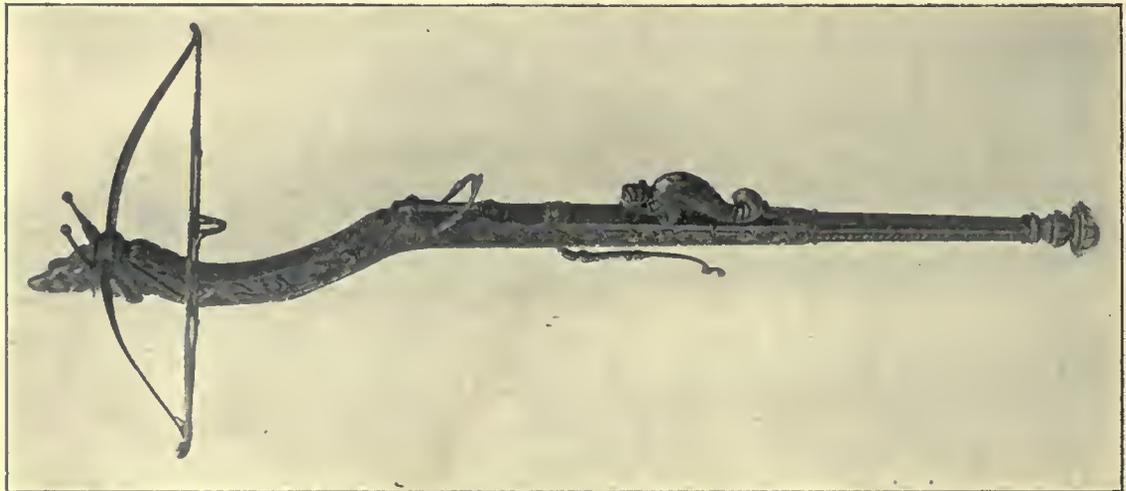


FIG. 944. CROSSBOW PRODD

Italian, late XVIth century. Showing the use of the double strings  
Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 1018)

pictorial example of the use of the double strings. The prodd in question is No. 1018 in the Wallace Collection (Fig. 944).

It must not be considered that we have described every type of cross-

## THE CROSSBOW

bow and windlass, their varieties being very numerous; but we have alluded to the four principal forms of winder, or as it was comprehensively called in France, the *coursel*. From these four, however, many other types evolved. Every size and strength of crossbow was made, down to the rarely found diminutive steel crossbow fashioned to shoot short stout bolts, a crossbow which, held pistol-wise, was discharged at arm's length. The example of this pistol *arbalète* we illustrate (Fig. 945) is of Nuremberg make of the end of the XVIth century. It will be seen that the lever for bending this small

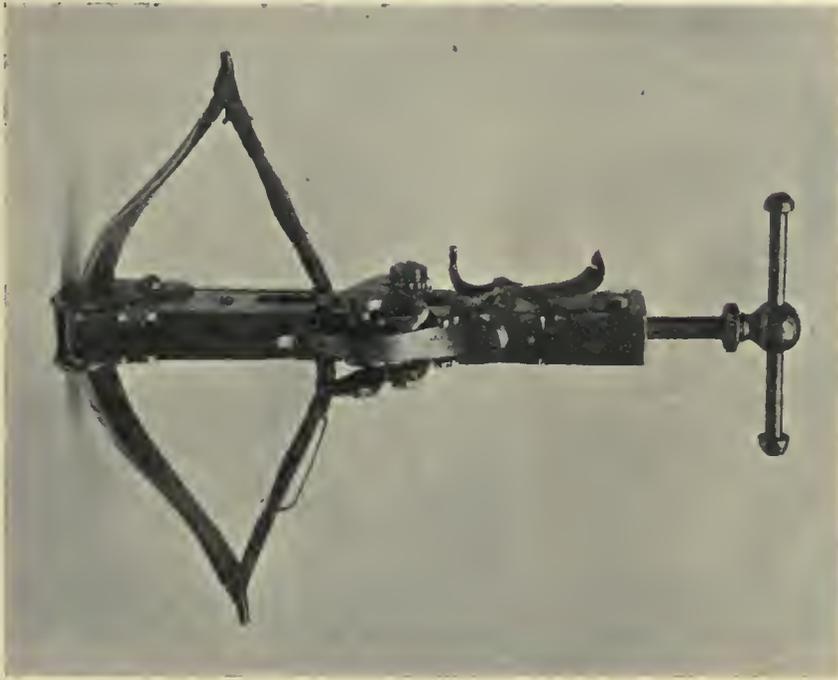


FIG. 945. PISTOL *ARBALÈTE*

Nuremberg make, end of the XVIth century

Collection: Author

but very powerful bow consists in a simple screw working down the centre of the tiller, attached to one end of which is the grip-hook, and to the other end a transverse handle issuing from the pommel. The screw on being wound, acting on the principle of the patent corkscrew, drew back the string to the "coche" of the lock. The grip-hook was then, by the process of unwinding, released from the string, the hooks slightly lifted, the bolt placed in position, and the pistol *arbalète* was ready for discharge.

Many rigid rules and regulations were made for the use of the crossbow,

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

and there were particular stipulations as to its employment for sporting purposes.

The bolts discharged from the crossbow were of various kinds. Those used in war were about a foot long, the head being a plainly forged point of iron, pyramidal and very slightly leaf-shaped. Those used in sport were known as "vires" or "viroux," their iron heads being of manifold shape. Employed against the smaller game certain bolts had a broad flat head, which killed by the shock of impact, and were termed "bougons," or, in France, *ciseaux*; some were barbed, and some had heads of crescent formation, a shape specially designed for severing the hamstrings of quarry. We illustrate the various types (Fig. 946).

The "empennes," or feathers for the bolts, were often made of leather,

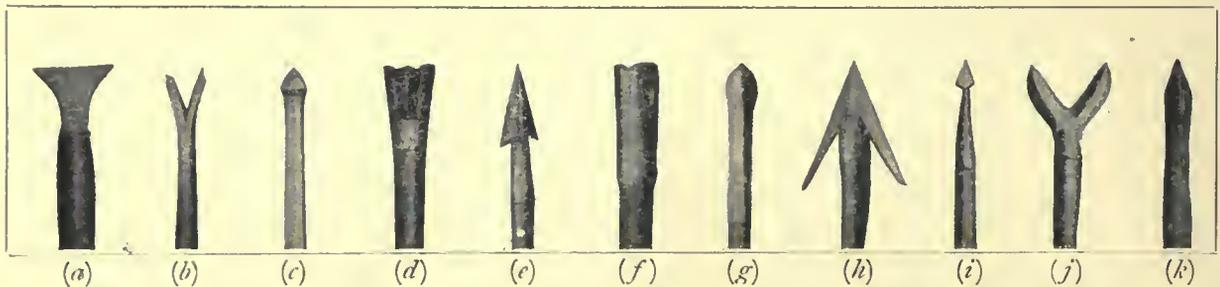


FIG. 946. BOLT HEADS OF VARIOUS TYPES, XVTH AND XVIth CENTURIES

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>(a) Chisel-shaped head, for hamstringing game. Late XVth century</p> <p>(b) Fork-shaped head, for the same purpose. XVth century</p> <p>(c) Rectangular headed, of great strength for war purposes. XVth century</p> <p>(d) Coronel headed, for stunning game. XVIth century</p> <p>(e) Bayonet-shaped barbed head, for war purposes. XVth century</p> | <p>(f) Whistling head. Its passage through the air causes it to whistle, causing the prey to turn its head towards the discharger. Early XVIth century</p> <p>(g) Ordinary bolt head, for war purposes. XVIth century</p> <p>(h) Heavy barbed head, for big game. Early XVIth century</p> <p>(i) Small bayonet-shaped barbed head, for small game. XVIth century</p> <p>(j) Heavy fork-shaped head, for hamstringing game. Early XVIth century</p> <p>(k) Common bolt head, for purposes of war. XVth century</p> |
|---|---|

All from various private collections

or even of the same wood as the bolt itself. If the feathers were placed spirally on the shaft, so as to give the bolt a twist in its flight, they were called "viretons."

\* \* \*

To what we have already said about the long bow in an earlier chapter we have little to add: when we examine its XVth century form we find it still of the same construction. The long bow was essentially the weapon of the English. Crécy, we know, was won by British bowmen. At the conclusion of

## THE LONG BOW

the chapter on the long bow in the famous Gaston Phoebus MS. of the end of the XIVth century, to which we have already referred, Count Gaston goes on to say that "of the arc [long bow], I do not know too much. He who wants to know all about it must go to England, for that is their 'right craft'" (*droit mesurer*).

Throughout the XVth century the Morris or Oriental short bow and the long bow, which takes from twenty to twenty-two fists to reach its proper length, were both used with considerable effect by mounted bowmen. They were nearly all made of yew; but ash, elm, and witch hazel were also employed in their manufacture. The strings were made of hemp, flax, and silk. At the end of the XIVth century the price of a painted bow was one shilling and sixpence, the unpainted bow costing one shilling. However, a century later, in fact, in the year 1482, the dearness of bows in England necessitated the passing of a statute to fix the price for a long bow of yew at no more than 3s. 4d. In the 1547 Inventory of the Tower, and of Westminster, we note the following items; in the Tower of London section, "bows of eugh . . . iij<sup>m</sup>lx" and "Lvvery arrowes . . . xiiij<sup>m</sup>l shiefe"; in the Westminster list, "Turquy bowes of Stele," also "Twoo Longe Bowes of Ewghe to shote stones."

To the collector who would acquire examples of crossbows with their elaborate winders, opportunities even now occur; for fine and technically interesting specimens sometimes come into the market, and rare as such specimens very naturally are, it is strange how relatively small a price they fetch. But the collector who is attracted by the long bow must perhaps rest content with the acquisition of "braces" or "bracca" of the archer—that protective plate for the inner side of the left arm which shielded it from the continual chafe of the bowstring. These interesting guards are occasionally met with, composed of ivory or bone. An example of an ivory one is illustrated in Skelton's "Meyrick" (Vol. i, Plate XXXIV, fig. 2). They are, however, more commonly made of *cuir bouilli*, of which latter medium is the archer's brace in the London Museum, found in Whitecross Street. It bears the inscription: "Well Shot." The Tower of London contains two

FIG. 947. BOW STAVE OF YEW. One of two recovered from the wreck of the "Mary Rose," sunk near Spithead in 1545. Tower of London, Class XI, No. 1



## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

bow staves of yew (Fig. 947). They were recovered in 1836 from the wreck of the "Mary Rose," which was sunk in action with the French near Spithead, July 18th, 1545. These two bows, despite their two hundred and ninety years' immersion in the sea, are still in good condition. Their dimensions are as follows: length 6 feet  $4\frac{3}{4}$  inches, circumference in the centre  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches. They taper to either end, where, however, there are no notches or horn hips to receive the strings. They are of fine grained wood, with knots or pins at intervals of five inches.

Stores of such untrimmed bow staves would be carried on warships; the Tower specimens perhaps came from the Baltic or from the East, from both of which parts King Henry VIII imported many thousands. This monarch was a fine shot with the long bow. Taylor's "Diary" mentions in 1513 that "the King, who was practising archery in a garden with the archers of his guard, cleft the mark in the middle, and surpassed them all, as he surpasses them in stature and personal graces." This was when the King was at Calais. With the crossbow, as with the long bow, Henry VIII was a skilful marksman. There is the record in 1532 of his killing two stags at Hunsdon with such a weapon.

In 1508 the King prohibited by statute the use of the crossbow, with a reservation in favour of the nobility. "No man," enacted the statute, "shall shoot with a crossbow without the King's licence, except he be a Lord, or have two hundred marks of land." This edict was formulated in order that the national weapon, the long bow, might not go out of fashion among the yeomen. As the XVIth century progresses we still find it held in the same high estimation; for in a military treatise of the time of Elizabeth it is recorded: "None other weapon can compare with this noble weapon." Even as late as 1627-8 English bowmen were in the pay of Richelieu at the siege of La Rochelle; while King Charles I twice granted special commissions under the great seal for enforcing the use of the long bow.

## CHAPTER XXII

### HORSE ARMOUR, THE BIT, SADDLE, AND SPUR FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE XIVTH CENTURY TO THE END OF THE XVIIITH CENTURY



WE gave an illustration of the war horse of the end of the XIIIth century in Vol. i, Figs. 141 and 142, where, though encumbered with trappings as we see it in an illumination from a manuscript, the horse is still represented as unarmoured. There exists, however, documentary evidence of a much earlier date than that attributed to the manuscript in question, which asserts that already the horse was furnished with protective harness. To revert to a time as far back even as the second half of the XIIth century, the chronicler Wace ventures to suggest that William Fitz-Osbert at Hastings rode a steed protected by armour:

Vint Willame li filz Osber  
Son cheval tot covert de fer.  
(*Roman de Rou*, line 12,627.)

But Hewitt gives it as his opinion, an opinion in which the present writer concurs, that it was Wace's necessity of finding a rhyme to "Osber," rather than any intention of describing a usage of the period, that prompted him to produce this iron horse at so early a date. Certainly it was not the practice to protect the horse by any sort of armour until the second half of the XIIIth century; even then the caparison, or, as we find it mentioned, the *couverture*, was of a gamboised or quilted nature and of chain mail. To refer once more to the extinct Painted Chamber of Westminster, we can give illustrations of knights whose chargers are fully equipped with mail, reaching almost to the fetlocks (Figs. 948 and 949); this would probably be of the large linked make similar to that example described and illustrated on page 174 of Vol. ii (Fig. 514). A horse so caparisoned in XIIIth century Italy would be known as *Cattaffratto*. In the early XIIIth century struggle between the Milanese and the Imperialists, we learn from Matthew Paris that Milan with its dependencies raised an army of six thousand men at arms, *Cum equis ferro coopertis*; while sixty-six years later we find an ordinance of

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

Philip the Fair stipulating that every holder of an estate of 500 livres rental should provide for the defence of the realm: *Un gentilhomme bien armé et monté à cheval de cinquante livres tournois et couvert de couvertures de fer, ou de couverture pourpointé.*

It would seem that about this period the defence known in later times as the chanfron, the plate protection for the horse's head, made its appearance; though it is to be noted that the duplication on the horse's head of the crest appearing on the helm was made at a much earlier date. The



FIG. 948. FROM THE PAINTED CHAMBER, PALACE OF WESTMINSTER  
Early XIIIth century

seal of Patrick Dunbar, tenth Earl of March, 1292, illustrated in Henry Laing's "Ancient Scottish Seals," page 54 (Fig. 950), affords a good example of a knight and steed decorated with the same crest. It is, however, in the list of provisions for the famous Windsor Tournament of 1278 that we find the earliest records of the *copita* or chanfron of *cuir bouilli* fashioned to the form of the horse's head:

"D Eodem [Miloñ le Cuireur.] xxxviij.  
copita coř de similitud' capiř equoz  
p'c peč ij, s."

It is remarkable that though contemporary accounts make mention of armaments for the horse, these are seldom depicted in the miniatures and sculptures of the time. The chanfron is so old an accoutrement as to have been in use among the ancient Greeks; and though an example of this kind is totally outside the scope of the present work, we cannot refrain from giving an illustration of a splendid, though very small, Celtic specimen in bronze found at Torrs, Kirkcudbrightshire, now in the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland (Fig. 951). The appearance of the leather chanfron of the early years of the XIVth century, possibly and probably, was not unlike one of the head defences used to-day in cavalry regiments for purposes of sabre practice. Just as the form of the horse's head is seen in one of these roughly suggested in tough leather and metal, so must the *copita* requisitioned for the Windsor Tournament of 1278, have

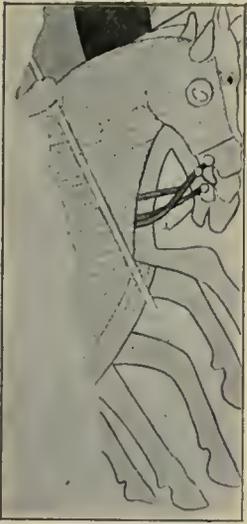


FIG. 949. FROM THE  
PAINTED CHAMBER,  
PALACE OF WEST-  
MINSTER  
Early XIIIth century



FIG. 950. SEAL OF PATRICK  
DUNBAR, 10TH EARL OF  
MARCH, 1292

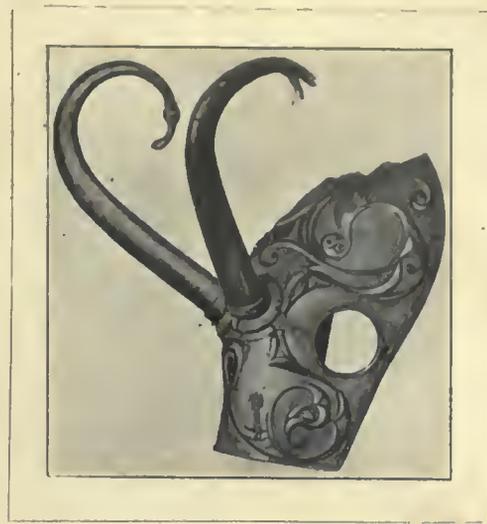


FIG. 951. CELTIC BRONZE  
CHIANFRON (?)  
Found at Torrs, Kirkcudbrightshire  
National Museum of Antiquities,  
Edinburgh

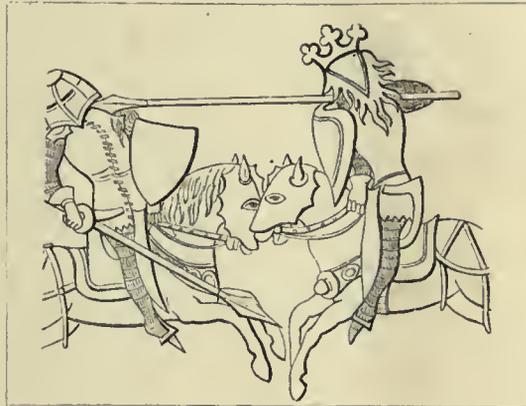


FIG. 952. FROM A MINIATURE IN THE *HOFBIBLIOTHEK*, MUNICH  
About 1350. After John Hewett



FIG. 953. FROM A MINIATURE  
Add. MSS. 15477, British Museum

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

appeared. We can record a chanfron of about 1350 from a miniature in the *Hofbibliothek*, Munich: there it is represented as large and complete with openings for the eyes and ears and with a cusped ridge down the forehead (Fig. 952). In a similar form it is shown, along with the other horse armour, in the miniature from the Add. MSS. 15477—a volume with illuminations of somewhat later date than the one last mentioned, but more interesting inasmuch as the illustrations are coloured, and afford indications that the chanfrons are of leather, painted brown with gilded edges and rivets. The neck chain armour is shown as grey—its natural steel colour. The charger

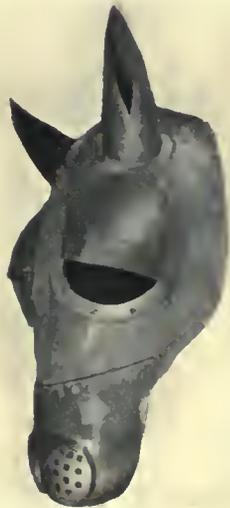


FIG. 954



FIG. 955

### CHANFRON

Front view and in profile. About 1370  
G 578, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris  
After Viollet-le-Duc



FIG. 956. CARVED IVORY  
CHESSMAN

About 1370. Formerly in the  
collection of the  
Rev. J. Eagles

of the more distant knight in the illumination wears the crinet as well as the chanfron (Fig. 953); while rectangular plates, also from their colour apparently of *cuir bouilli*, hang over the flanks and shoulders of the steeds, a circumstance which reminds us that as early as 1347 a leathern breast-piece for a horse is mentioned in a will—that of the Earl of Surrey (York Wills, p. 43):

*Jeo devys a Monsire Robert de Holande les quissers ove le picer de  
quir qui soumt pour mon destrer.*

There is in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris an interesting chanfron, G 578, which in the official catalogue is assigned to the end of the XIVth century. It is made of many layers of parchment which doubtless, when wet,

## HORSE ARMOUR

were imposed upon a block of wood fashioned to the form of a horse's head, so that on drying they stiffened to that form. The eye protections and the ear-guards are of iron plated with pewter; so, too, is the nasal-guard, which is pierced with two circular arrangements of holes for purposes of breathing. Down the centre runs a broad band of the same medium. This chanfron, which from its lack of decoration appears to be essentially one meant for hard fighting, came from the collection of Napoleon III at Pierrefonds (Figs. 954 and 955). As an example of the full armament of the horse in the third quarter of the XIVth century, we certainly can do no better than give an

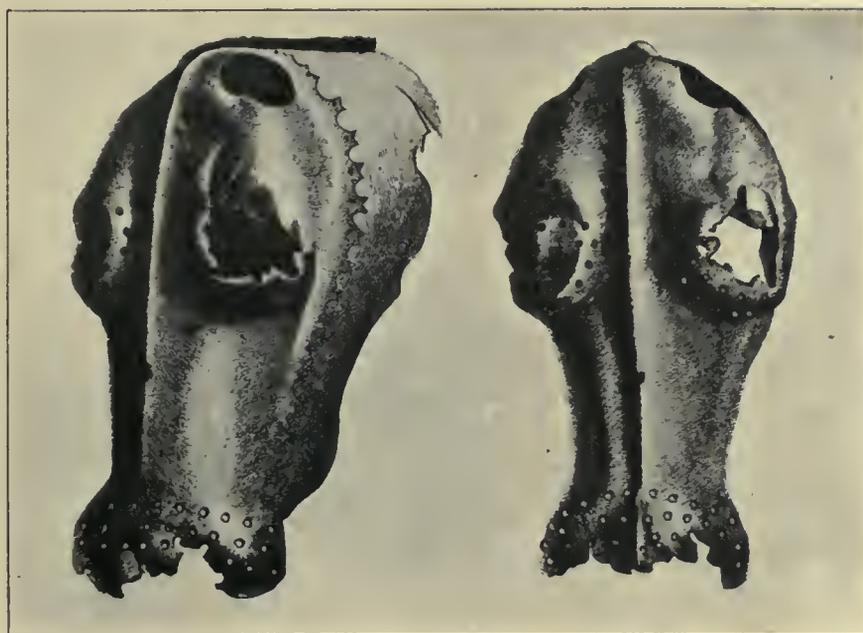


FIG. 957. TWO VIEWS OF A CHANFRON  
Late XIVth century. Warwick Castle Armoury. After Grose

illustration of that now famous little chessman, so many times illustrated, formerly in the collection of the Rev. J. Eagles (Fig. 956). Here may be noted the same pendulous plates hanging round the charger, which is clothed in mail to its fetlocks as in the Westminster painting. Doubtless the appendages were painted heraldically. Here, too, can be seen for the first time the really complete chanfron entirely enclosing the horse's head: the demarcation for the opening hinge is clearly shown under the line of the jaw bone, the ears are protected, and there are holes for the eyes and holes pierced above the nostrils for breathing. The date assigned to this ivory chess-piece is the third quarter of the XIVth century. Very like the chanfron

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

represented on this chessman is that most interesting specimen in the Warwick Castle Collection. Here certainly is one of the oldest iron chanfrons known; for it must assuredly date within the last years of the XIVth century. It is now not complete, having lost its ear-guards. In lieu of a single aperture on each side for sight, it has a small cluster of holes over each eye (Fig. 957). How the Warwick Castle Armoury became possessed of this unique piece of plate armour is not known. But it is certainly not one of the early XIXth century purchases; for it figures in Grose's "Ancient Armour," published in 1786, Plate XLII, as "an iron chamfron of uncommon construction said to have belonged to Guy, Earl of Warwick."



FIG. 958. KING HENRY V  
About 1415. From his Chantry  
Chapel in the Abbey Church  
of Westminster



FIG. 959. FROM A MINIATURE  
Royal MS., 20, C, vii, folio 136  
*Hystoire de Roys de France  
après Philippe III, etc.*

In the Abbey Church of Westminster, in the Chantry Chapel of King Henry V, which was planned by the King himself about 1415, among the many and elaborate statuettes and reliefs are to be seen two representations of King Henry. In both these the King is shown galloping full speed, his horse arrayed in a rich wrapper of the royal arms, but apparently unarmoured save for a full, large, and ample chanfron, in which it can be noted that not only are the parts of the chanfron covering the eyes and nose pierced with small holes, but that the truncated tubes which protect the ears are also pierced in a similar manner. We illustrate the north relief (Fig. 958).

In a miniature (Royal MS., 20, C, vii, folio 136—*Hystoire de Roys de*

## HORSE ARMOUR

*France après Philippe III*) (Fig. 959) we see the charger of a knight emerging from behind a tent. Caparisons of material descend to the horse's fetlocks, beneath which appears chain armour; around the upper portion of its neck are four complete crinet plates, while the chanfron is full—the eyes and ears being protected by metal, which, however, is pierced with clusters of holes for purposes of seeing and hearing. Down the centre of the chanfron is the same cusped ridge which we noted on those of earlier date (page 150). It is interesting to see the manner in which the eye protections are applied: we are able to give an illustration of an existing chanfron in which the construction will be found to be the same as in the case of that represented on the charger in the miniature. The chanfron in question is that rare piece of armour preserved in the Arsenal of Venice which used to go by the name of "the chanfron of Attila"! Above the eye openings in this example are applied deep hoods, limiting the vision of the horse to the ground—but not pierced with holes like those shown in the illuminations. The actual date of the Venice chanfron, which has been variously estimated to be from early XIVth to late XVth century, can be more or less determined by fixing the date of the manuscript in which this type of horse armament figures. This is accepted as being of the early years of the XVth century, to which date therefore it is fairly safe to assign the "Attila" chanfron. The whole surface of the chanfron, which is now black, has applied to it at regular intervals small five-rayed stars; while down the centre of the forehead runs an applied inverted keel-like form (Fig. 960). The remarkable feature of this chanfron is its excessive length. The attribution to Attila is of no great antiquity; for in the inventory of 1611 the only mention made of horse armour is that of "a black horse head-piece." In the 1773 inventory of the Arsenal there is reference to an iron helmet of Attila's; but there is no mention made of a head-piece for a horse. Gravembroch, however, reproduces a drawing of the chanfron, adding as description: *Visiera decantata del cavallo di Attila, sta nelle sale del Eccelso Cons<sup>o</sup>. di X.*



FIG. 960. CHANFRON  
Late XIVth or early XVth century  
The Arsenal, Venice

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

As the XVth century progresses the formation of the chanfron assumes a less cumbersome form, and its development, differing in this respect from that of man's armour, becomes somewhat less protective, inasmuch as it fails to inclose the head completely. In a MS. of the poems of Christine de Pisan, preserved among the Harleian MSS., 4431, folio 114, there is a delightful little miniature executed about 1420 for Isabel, Queen of France, which shows a knight arming (Fig. 961). Beside him is his steed. On it are vandyked flanchards, poitrel, and neck covering of chain mail. The chanfron is somewhat advanced in form, showing the cusped ridge down the front;



FIG. 961. MINIATURE

From the Harleian MSS., 4431, folio 114  
About 1420. The Poems of Christine  
de Pisan



FIG. 962. STIRRUP (THE  
TREAD MISSING)

About 1440  
London Museum

while the crinet is composed of three comparatively small plates. The saddle shows several points of interest; for here it is represented with the leg shields, which are seemingly of metal, being apparently riveted around the edge. The stirrups are triangular in form, and though indifferently drawn seem to be of the type of which we see an example in the London Museum (Fig. 962). They are stirrups, the chief feature of which is their diminution in circumference towards the front; an arrangement which would prevent the knight with his pointed solleret from "riding home" and so, in the event of his being thrown, would lessen the danger of his being dragged by the stirrup.



FIG. 963a. SADDLE HANGING OVER THE TOMB OF KING HENRY V IN HIS CHANTRY CHAPEL AT THE ABBEY CHURCH OF WESTMINSTER

Full profile view

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

As we have spoken of the war saddle, a subject which we have barely mentioned until we reached the period with which we are now dealing, we will take the opportunity of describing the saddle reputed to have belonged to Henry V, which hangs over the King's tomb in his Chantry Chapel in the Abbey Church of Westminster. It is perhaps the only existing saddle of war pattern of the first quarter of the XVth century of which the present writer has a record; though there is a saddle of early date in the Royal Armoury of Madrid, not unlike it in construction, which figures in the old catalogues as that of James, first King of Aragon, called the Conqueror, 1213-76! We are able to give an admirable illustration of the Henry V saddle, owing to the courtesy of Dean Robinson, who allowed it to be removed from the beam on which it rests to be photographed for this work (Fig. 963, *a, b, c*). Making no great show as an accoutrement, being indeed but a shadow of its former self, this saddle is in the present writer's opinion by far the most interesting of the three achievements hanging over the tomb of the monarch. Of the type of the helm a few are extant, and the shield has one or two solitary companions; but of such saddles of the first quarter of the XVth century there now exists, we believe, but this. It was used in the funeral procession of King Henry V. The illustrations of it which we give are so clear that they will render a better account of it, as it now appears, than could be furnished by any mere verbal description. It is most interesting to note the extraordinary likeness which it bears in construction to the method employed even to-day in making the most improved type of cavalry saddle. It will be seen that the two simple boards that rest upon the back of the horse leave a rather large free passage between them above the horse's back. These boards are connected together by the high burr plate in the front of the saddle and by the cantle-plate at the back, the ends of the latter extending inward so as to give support to the rider. The cantle and burr are connected with one another by the simple padded seat, raised fully five inches from the actual back of the horse, and so allowing ample space for the padded numnah. A feature of the saddle is that above the two hide strap ends to which the double girths were attached, much in the manner of a modern Mexican saddle, is hinged a large rectangular iron buckle, nicely faceted on its outer side, through which must have passed the stirrup leather. Upon the foundation boards of the saddle in front are fastened on either side two strong iron staples with pierced heads, and below them a heavy ring. At the cantle end of the saddle is one similar staple. The staples in front must have been for the attachment of the

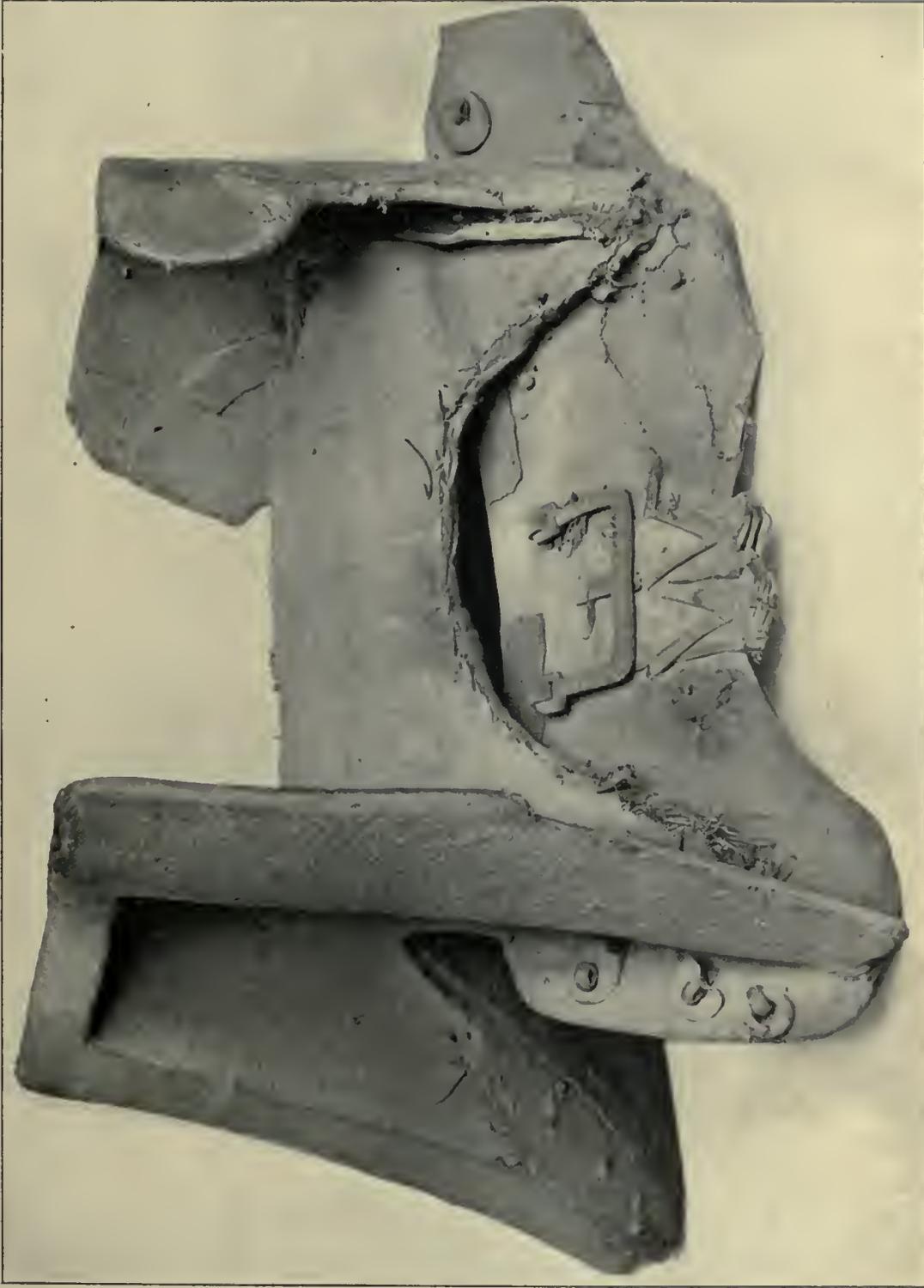


FIG. 963*b*. SADDLE HANGING OVER THE TOMB OF KING HENRY V IN HIS CHANTRY CHAPEL AT THE ABBEY CHURCH OF WESTMINSTER  
Three-quarter view right

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

poitrel housings of the horse, and that at the back for that of the croupière housing. The office of the iron ring in front we are at a loss to explain; it is placed too low on the saddle to be used as a ring on which to hang a mace or sword. As to the present appearance of this interesting relic, it is wholly of a monotonous drab colour, due to its centuries of exposure; there is not the slightest trace of colour or decoration of any description, with the result that its past splendour can only be left to the imagination. The wood of which it is constructed appears to be oak, but it is entirely covered with canvas that is carefully glued to every part of it. The padded seat, also of canvas, is stuffed with hay; this seems never to have been disturbed.

Since the present writer made these notes on the saddle, and on the other achievements hanging above the tomb of King Henry V, Sir St. John Hope has read at the Society of Antiquaries, and published in *Archaeologia*, his scholarly paper on "The Funeral, Monument and Chantry Chapel of King Henry the Fifth." Alas! His investigations dispose, we fear, of the probability—we will not say possibility—of the shield, saddle, but not perhaps the helm, ever having been actually used by the King himself. According to Sir St. John Hope, the earliest account of the Chantry Chapel, and allusion to the saddle, appear in *Monumenta Westmonasteriensia*, etc., by H. K[eepe], in 1682. Keepe refers to "stairs to ascend into the same, where the Saddle which this heroick Prince used in the wars in France, with his Shield and other warlike furniture, is to be seen." Sandford's "Genealogical History of the Kings of England," published in 1707, contains an engraving of a drawing by F. Barlow of the Chapel, which shows, upon a beam, a square shield with the King's arms, surmounted by the leopard's crest above the cap of state, but no helm or saddle. Dart reproduces F. Barlow's drawing made use of by Sandford, and describes the contents of the chapel as follows:

"There are in this Chapel the Trophies of this Warlike Prince, viz., his Helmet, plac'd on the Wall overlooking St. *Edward's* Shrine; his Shield, which is small, the Handfast broken away, and the Colours of it not to be distinguish'd; his Saddle of blue Velvet, poulder'd with Flowers-de-liz of Gold, the Velvet dusty, but substantial, and the Colour tolerably fresh; three large Rests for Spears, a large Caparison-Cloth tolerably fresh. . . ."

Thus we see that, in the XVIIIth century, there existed in the Chapel several things not there to-day, the three large rests for spears, the blue velvet cover for the saddle, powdered with fleur-de-lis, and the caparison-cloth. This latter we now know formed no part of King Henry's achieve-



FIG. 963c. SADDLE HANGING OVER THE TOMB OF KING HENRY V IN HIS CHANTRY CHAPEL AT THE ABBEY CHURCH OF WESTMINSTER

Three-quarter view left

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

ment; for Sir St. John Hope recognizes in the arms upon it, described by Dart, those of Stewart of Davington, and thinks that it was a coffin cloth used at the interment of Ludovic Stewart, second Duke of Lennox, who was buried in the Abbey Church of Westminster in 1623-4. However, by 1796, the saddle-cover and the caparison-cloth had disappeared; for Gough in his "Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain," published at that date, says: "The saddle, once of blue velvet powdered with fleur-de-lis, or, is now reduced



FIG. 964. FROM THE TOMB OF BERNABO  
VISCONTI

Now in the Castle of Milan

to bare wood, and the first covering of buckram on the seat. It is twenty-seven inches long, fifteen high before, and thirteen behind, the length of the buckle from whence hung the stirrups is four inches and a half, and the breadth two." The helm and its probable source we have described in vol. ii, pp. 99 *et seqq.*, and Figs. 449, *a, b*; the shield in the same volume, p. 230, Figs. 595, *a, b*, and 596.

Of saddles in the bill for the expenses of King Henry's funeral there is only one mention:

*Item de Willelmo Cauderwell IV  
selle bastarde cum hernesio precium  
pecie. xxvijs viijd.                      xxvijs viijd.*

So the saddle, now to be seen hanging above the tomb, must be either one of these bastard saddles, which became the perquisite of the Abbey after the funeral of King Henry, or the saddle used by the

Earl who rode, fully armed in "cote armor," before the standard in the procession, and whose entire accoutrements were delivered to the Sacrist. We can find no other allusion to saddles in the few contemporary accounts of the funeral. So, much as we should like to accept Keepe's romantic account of this relic—"The saddle which this heroick Prince used in the wars in France"—we fear we should be nearer the truth if we considered it as merely part of the contemporary furnishing of the great funeral pageant.

The reader is referred to the will of Robert, Lord Willoughby de

## THE BIT

Eresby, of 1395, in which there is a bequest of a saddle: "I will that the Master of the said Chantry, being the parish priest of Spillesby, shall have my best horse and best saddle for a mortuary." Thus there appears to have been a custom to give saddles as well as suits of armour and swords as mortuaries.

If we look at some of the royal seals, notably the second great seal of Henry III and the seal of Edward I, we see that the war saddle has altered but little; it is cantled high both back and front. Knights rode with the leg straight, necessitating the padding of the saddle seat to an exaggerated degree, as can be seen in the case of the Milan statue of Bernabo Visconti (Fig. 964).

Many evidences are extant of the sumptuous military horse furniture of the XIVth and XVth centuries. In the Musée de Cluny is a strong curb bit, with a bar of unusual length and square bosses on either side elaborately enamelled with heraldic bearings, which appears to date from the middle of the XIVth century. Two others of the same type, made of bronze gilt, are known to the present writer, one in the Royal Armoury of Turin (D 58 in the catalogue of that collection) bearing the arms of the Sicilian family of Bracciforti di Botero, the other, now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, furnished with an enamelled square-shaped boss (one is lost). The arms that appear upon this specimen (Fig. 965) have not been recognized.

The Riggs Collection, now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, contains a bit of the closing years of the XIVth century, which consists in a most complicated Moorish bar fashioned on the lines of what is known as the "Hanoverian porte" and rendered formidably powerful by the addition of a set of nine rollers. Made of gilded iron, with short,



FIG. 965. BIT

Gilt bronze, enriched with champlevé enamel. Middle of the XIVth century  
Metropolitan Museum, New York

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

wide bars and large plain bosses, it is a fine example of the applied art of the time. In Sir Farnham Burke's Collection is a simple snaffle bit, an undecorated example we admit, but so fine and simple in outline that we think it worth illustrating (Fig. 966). We should assign it to the latter part of the XIIIth century. Shown now in the museum of the town of Bourges, and

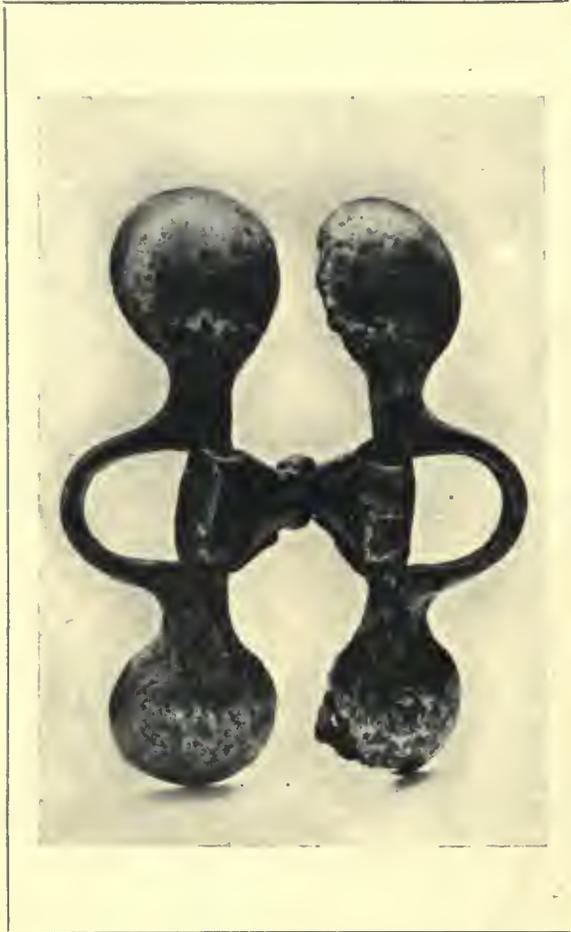


FIG. 966. BIT OF THE SNAFFLE  
ORDER

Possibly late XIIIth century  
Collection: Sir Farnham  
Burke, K.C.V.O.

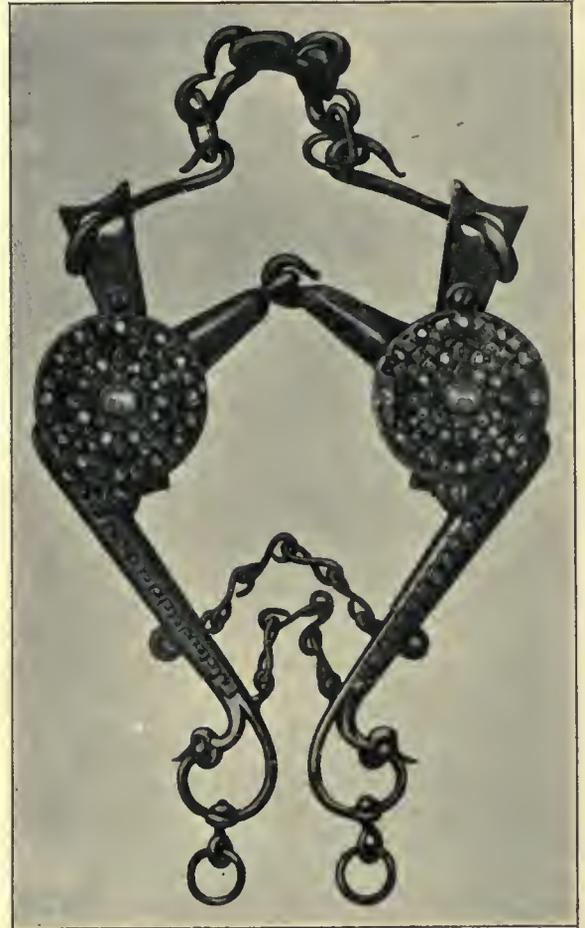


FIG. 967. BIT

Gilded iron, set with coloured stones, formerly  
supposed to have belonged to Louis XI. It is,  
however, in our opinion, of late XVIth century  
workmanship. Museum of the town of Bourges

formerly preserved in the Treasury of the Cathedral of that town, is a bit that has always been known as "the horse bit of Louis XI." We doubt, however, whether there is valid reason for accepting it as belonging to the end of the XVth century. Judging by its very formation, we should say that a date somewhere within the closing years of the XVIth century would

## THE BIT

appear to be the period of its fashion and manufacture. It is of iron and bronze gilded, the branches set with precious stones. The bosses on either side are circular and profusely studded with coloured stones surrounding a

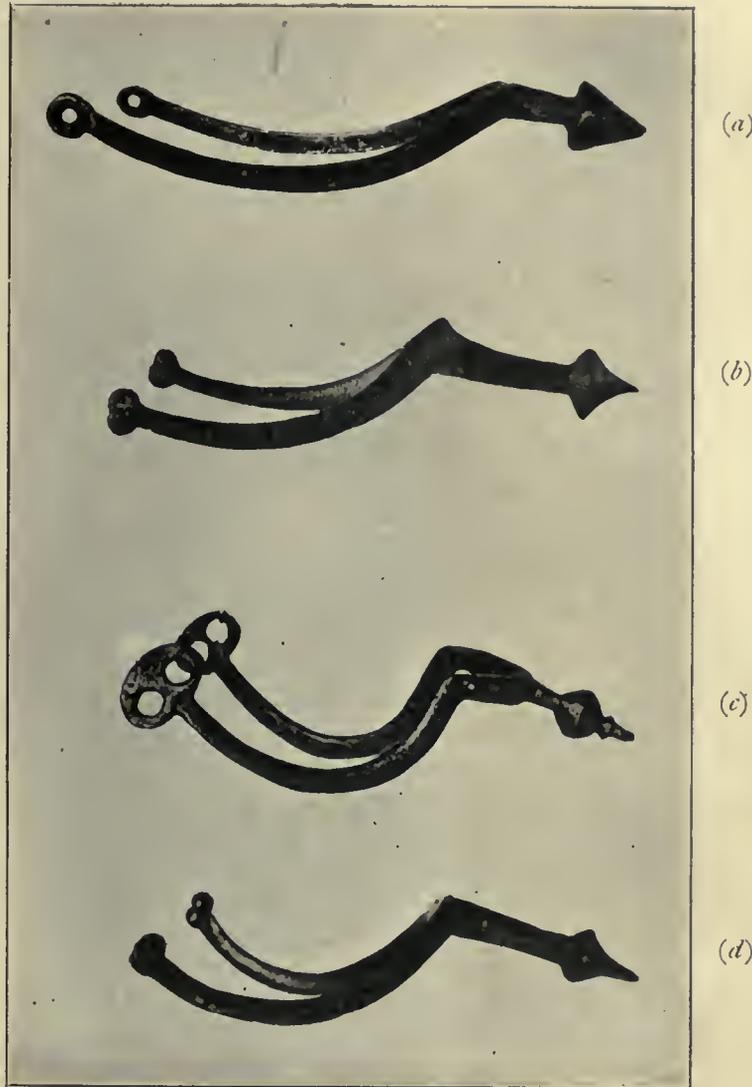


FIG. 968. PRYKE SPURS

- (a) Early XIIIth century. London Museum
- (b) XIIIth century; with gold enrichments. London Museum
- (c) Early XIIIth century; with curious bend in the heel-strap. London Museum
- (d) XIIIth century. London Museum

small antique cameo. The groundwork of this setting is enamelled black—a goldsmith's fashion more suggestive of the period of Louis XIII than of that of Louis XI. We, however, give an illustration of this bit as showing the

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

extreme luxury lavished upon horse furniture in certain times (Fig. 967). Many fine bits of the XVth century are to be seen in the Tower and in other public and private collections; some might be reckoned quite cruelly powerful if no account were taken of the massive war horses which they were employed to curb. The single snaffle bit was made use of, but more especially for the chase.

To the spur—that emblem of knighthood—we have but briefly alluded



FIG. 969. ONE OF TWO  
LEGS FROM A BRASS

Early XIIIth century  
Showing the mail *chausse*  
and the spur with rowel  
Wallace Collection  
(Laking Catalogue,  
Nos. 12 and 13)

in vol. i, pp. 29, 106, Figs. 37 and 128. Throughout the XIIIth century spurs appear in three forms, the simple goad, the ball and spike, and occasionally the rowel. Of the XIIIth century prick (pryke) or goad spur we furnish four illustrations showing the varying types. All of the specimens were found in London, and are now to be seen in the London Museum (Fig. 968). We mention the rowel spur of this century because, though it was certainly used, it is but rarely represented. The present writer can indeed supply no illustration of an existing specimen of this early date, but must content himself with giving a representation from a brass of the legs clad entirely in *chausses* of chain mail, which show the rowel spurs strapped to the heels. These portions of a brass, which are in the Wallace Collection, Nos. 12 and 13 (Fig. 969), date within the first half of the XIIIth century. Unfortunately there is no record of whence they came; even their nationality is unknown. There is, however, early evidence of the use of the rowel spur on the first great seal of Henry III (1216-1272), where, in order to bring up the rowel to the middle of the heel, the seal engraver has resorted to the singular expedient of raising the field into a sort of hillock, upon which he has represented the star-like rowel.

Rowel spurs of the XIVth century we can illustrate from examples in the London Museum, two of which are richly plated with gold (Fig. 970). As regards spurs of fine quality there are probably none superior to that late XIVth century pair which is now unfortunately divided, one being in the collection of the author, its fellow, which still retains the buckle of its instep straps, being preserved in the Riggs Collection, now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York. They are very robustly but finely formed of gilded

## SPURS

bronze, the neck and heel straps enriched with a chequered design in black and white champlevé enamel, to the heraldic significance of which we have referred to in a note on page 206. In that small elongation of the heel strap which appears immediately above the necks, a customary feature in the late

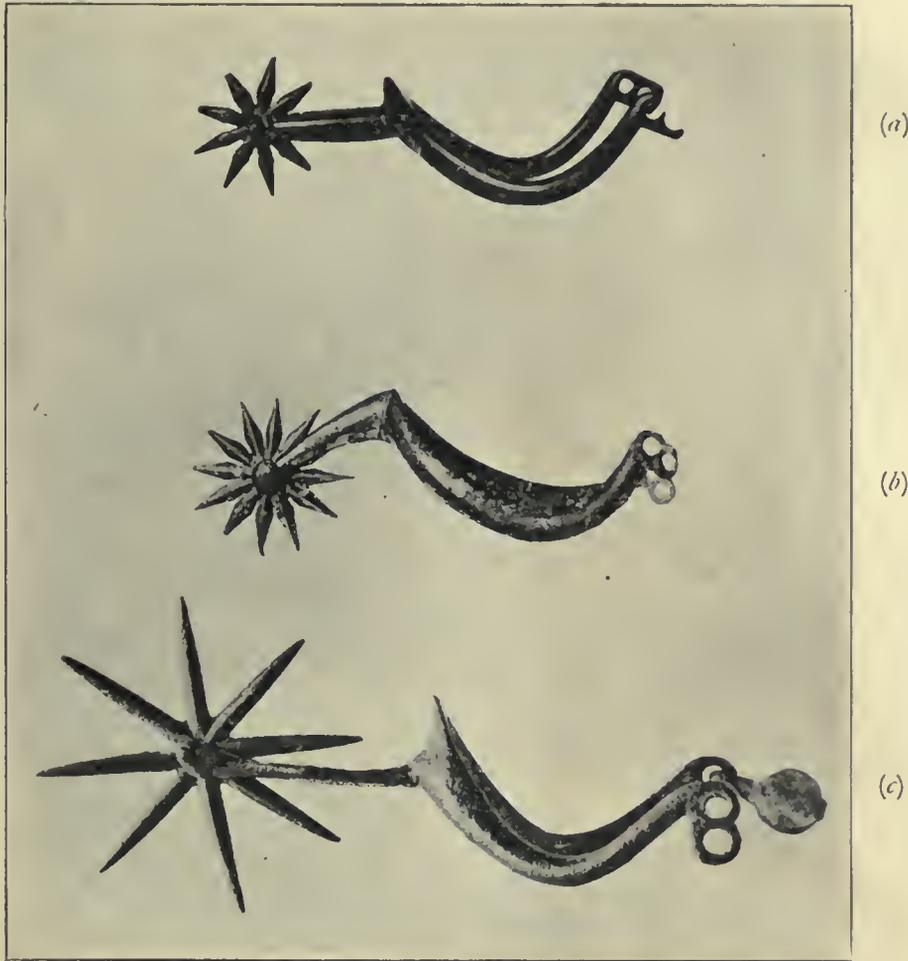


FIG. 970. ROWEL SPURS

- (a) Gilded bronze, late XIVth century. Found in London. London Museum
- (b) Gilded iron, late XIVth century. Found in London. London Museum
- (c) Bronze, early XVth century. Found near Florence. Collection: Author

XIVth century form of spurs, they have a trefoil architectural design delicately engraved. The pair—which are in splendid, almost pristine, condition—became parted in the middle of the XIXth century. One spur, after sundry peregrinations, became, for a few hundred francs, the property of Mr. Riggs, having been sold with one portion of a property at a country sale

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

near Paris. The other, after the lapse of some years, was put up to auction, together with the remaining portion of the same property, at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, and was purchased by M. Orville, a Parisian collector of the



FIG. 971. GILDED BRONZE ROWEL SPUR

Enamelled with chequering of black and white. Late XIVth century. Collection: Author

'sixties. Mr. Riggs made constant overtures to obtain the fellow to his spur; but considering the price asked for it to be too high, never acquired it; and M. Orville died with the spur still in his possession. The executors offered the

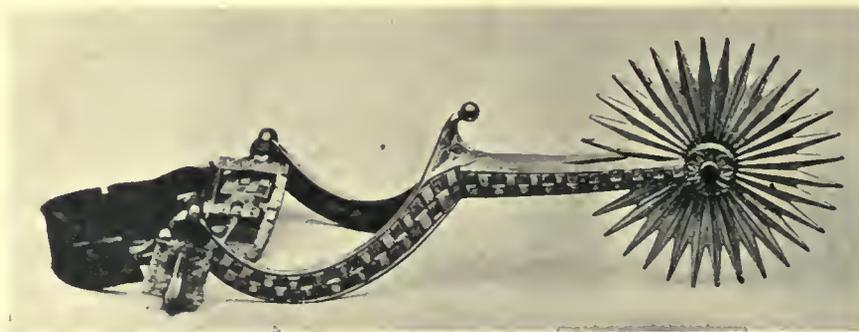


FIG. 971A.

The companion spur to that illustrated in Fig. 971  
The Riggs Collection, Metropolitan Museum, New York

spur to Mr. Riggs, knowing his desire to re-marry the pair; but he, hardly realizing *autres temps autres mœurs* as regards the monetary value of objects of art generally, still refused to make what he thought an unreasonable bid, with the result that the spurs are still parted, the author becoming the owner

## SPURS

of the Orville example, finally obtaining it for as many thousand francs as its fellow fetched hundreds (Fig. 971); while, as we have said, the Riggs spur is now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York (Fig. 971A). A pair of spurs remarkable for their splendid condition and for their complete-

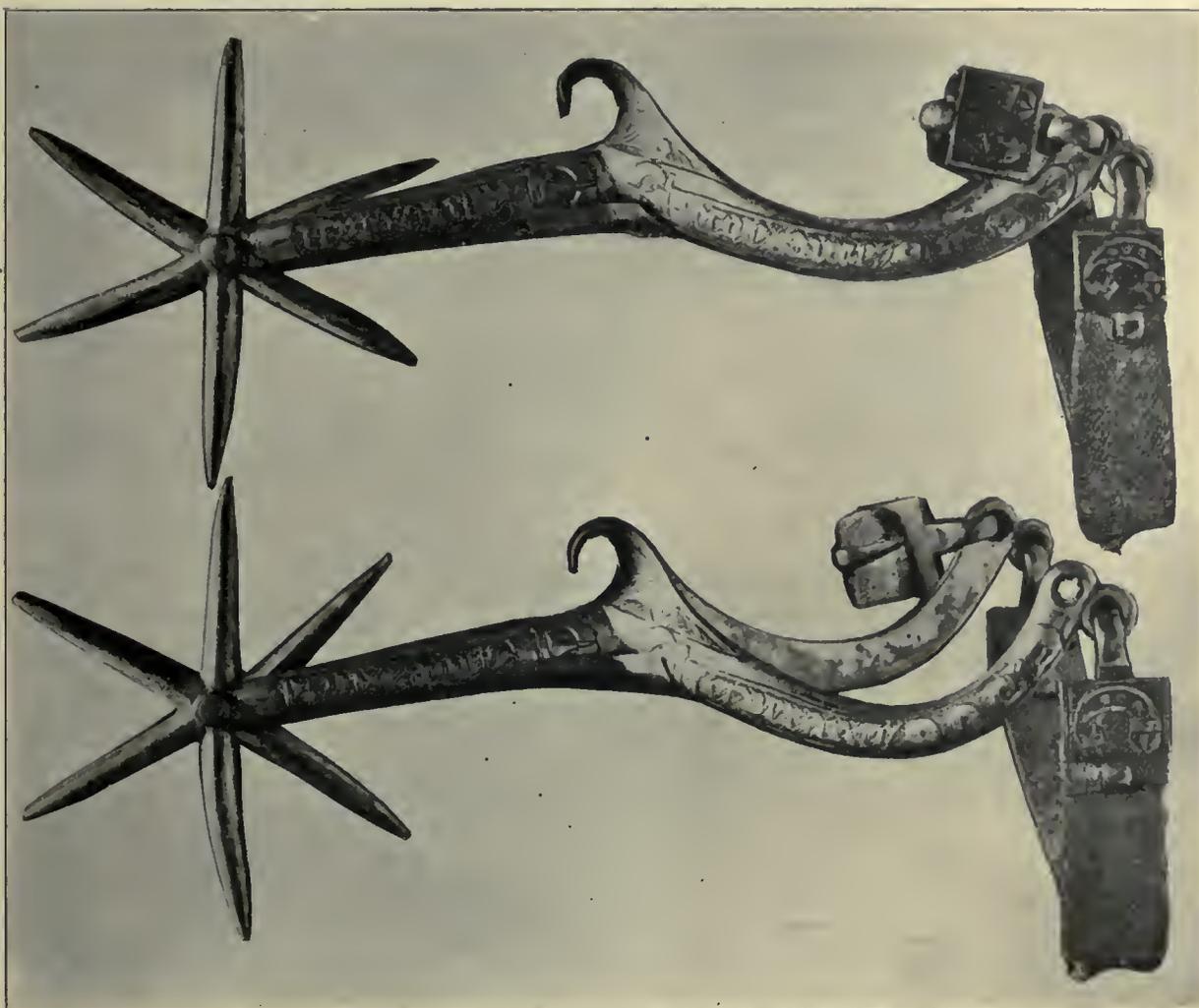
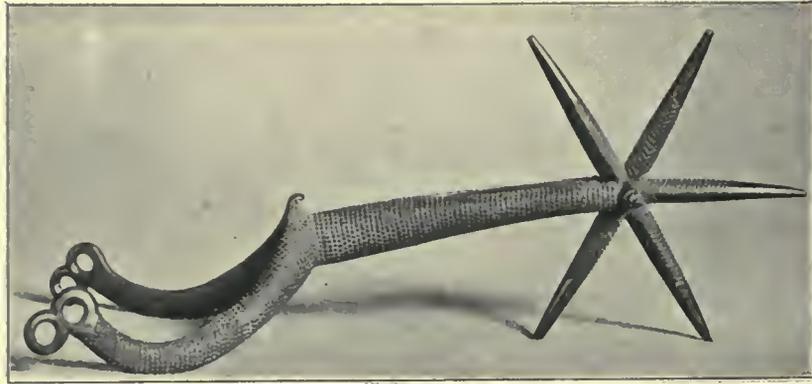


FIG. 972. PAIR OF GILDED BRONZE ROWEL SPURS

Engraved with the word *ESPERANCE* in a form of garter. Late XIVth century. Found in the moat of the Château du Bouchat near St. Dourçain-sur-Sioule (Allier)  
Collection: Author

ness, for they still retain their original cloth of gold straps, were some years ago discovered in the dry moat of the Château du Bouchat, near St. Dourçain-sur-Sioule (Allier). They are of bronze gilt and have engraved upon them a form of Garter inscribed with the word *ESPERANCE*, which



(a)



(b)



(c)

FIG. 973. BRONZE GILT ROWEL SPURS

(a) Italian, about 1380      (b) Italian, about 1370      (c) Italian, about 1370  
 Collection: the late Signor Resson, Bargello Museum, Florence

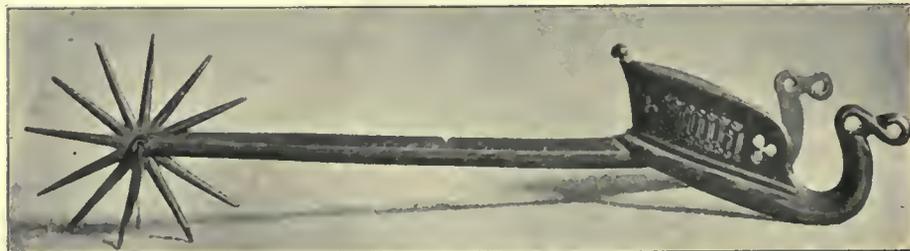


FIG. 974. BRONZE ROWEL SPUR

Probably German, about 1440. Collection: the late Signor Resson, Bargello Museum, Florence

## SPURS

though certainly familiar to us as part of the motto of the House of Percy, *ESPERANCE EN DIEU*, or *ESPERANCE MA CONFORTE*, was likewise used as the



FIG. 975. CANTLE PLATE OF A SADDLE IN CARVED IVORY  
North Italian, first half of the XIIIth century. Musée du Louvre

battle-cry of certain princes of the house of Bourbon. By their shape we should judge the spurs to belong to the last quarter of the XIVth



FIG. 976. CANTLE PLATE OF A SADDLE IN CARVED IVORY  
Probably Italian, first quarter of the XIVth century. Musée du Louvre

century. They are now in the collection of the author; but were previously in that of the Comte de St. Genys at the Château de St. Aubin, Saint Aubin-sur-Loire (Saône et Loire) (Fig. 972). Among the precious gifts

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

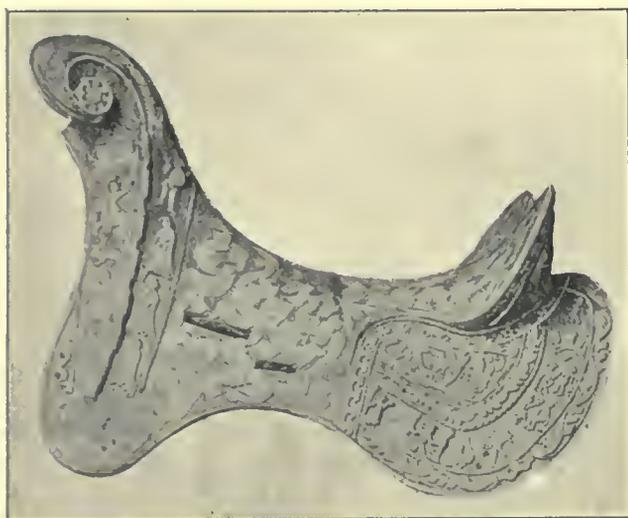


FIG. 977. BONE-COVERED SADDLE OF WENZEL I,  
KING OF THE ROMANS

About 1380. Imperial Armoury, Vienna

feel that their knightly use justifies us in enumerating certain beautifully designed examples which are to be seen in some of the more important armouries of Europe. We will deal with them as far as possible in chronological order—and quite briefly. First look at the ivory cantle plate in the Musée du Louvre (Fig. 975). It is North Italian in origin, and belongs to the first half of the XIIIth century; indeed, the carving in high relief of a mock combat of horsewomen is quite Romanesque in its style and workmanship. In the full glory of its original state and completeness this saddle, which the Louvre authorities purchased from the Spitzer Collection, must indeed have been an *objet de luxe*. In the Louvre, too, obtained from the same collection, are some other ivory plates from the cantle of a saddle, which, though of later date, are of even greater interest to us (Fig. 976), the subjects carved upon it representing knights tilting. These knights are habited in the armour of about 1320, which gives us approximately the date of the saddle. One of the knights bears a

made to the Bargello Museum of Florence by the late Signor Resson are some fine representative spurs, constructed of decorated and gilded bronze, three of which might be assigned to the latter years of the XIVth century (Fig. 973, *a, b, c*); while a fourth is a splendid spur of about 1440, of which the upper part of the heel strap is pierced with the word "MARIA" (Fig. 974).

Though saddles, apart from those made specifically for purposes of war, are somewhat outside the scope of our subject, we

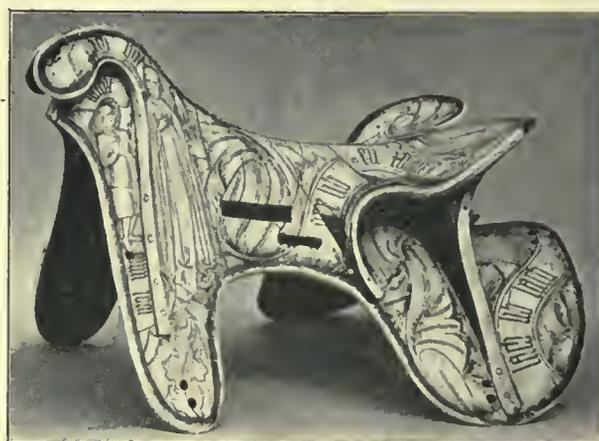


FIG. 978. BONE-COVERED SADDLE  
Probably Italian, late XIVth century  
Metropolitan Museum, New York

## THE SADDLE

shield with the arms of Aragón quartered with those of Sicily. A portion of the burr plate of this same saddle was formerly in the collection of M. Sigismund Bardac of Paris, and subsequently passed into that of the late Mr. Pierpont Morgan. Both of the fine ivory saddle plates, now in the Louvre, before passing into the Spitzer Collection were in the possession of the famous mid-XIXth century musician and antiquary, Strauss. We will next turn to that historical saddle preserved in the Imperial Armoury, Vienna, which dates from the third quarter of the XIVth century, the saddle of Wenzel I, King of the Romans (Fig. 977). Though the figure subjects represented upon it and the inscriptions are of the greatest interest, the ornament employed in its decoration is a little stunted and meagre if com-



FIG. 979. BONE-COVERED SADDLE

Italian, early XVth century. Metropolitan Museum, New York

pared with the beautiful Gothic leafage and figures which are depicted on the example now preserved in the Metropolitan Museum of New York. This New York saddle, which came from the collection of the Duc de Dino, is a splendid specimen of its particular art; indeed, so fine is it that though it bears an amatory dialogue in Old German characters engraved on the ribbands that intertwine the male and female figures, which are carved in low relief, and so would seem to have been made for the German market, we feel quite safe in maintaining that the north of Italy was its provenance. This saddle, which is of late XIVth century manufacture, came from the collection of Herr Miller Aichholtz of Vienna, who purchased it from a castle in Hungary (Fig. 978).

When one arrives at the XVth century one still finds the same type of saddle in use on ceremonial occasions. The most elaborate example

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

with which we are acquainted is in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, in the Dino Collection, an Italian saddle in which the elaboration of carving is almost over-exuberant (Fig. 979): In consideration of the fact that the letters M M are found worked into the decoration of the pommel and that the scenes carved upon it generally have been explained as representing episodes in the history of the houses of Palaeologus and Savoy, it was at one time thought that this saddle might have belonged to Jacques Paléologue, Marquis of Monferrat (1418-1445). Such clues, however, are very slight, and little more than mere guesswork. They are indeed about as slender and unconvincing as the supposition that the appearance of a fleur-de-lis in the border ornament of the fine pear-wood saddle in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris (G 546) entitles it to be accepted as a former possession of the royal house of France or of a Constable of that country. It is interesting to note, however, that both the Dino bone saddle and the pear-wood example in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris certainly appear to come from the hand of the same artist, and to date from the first half of the XVth century.

Next let us examine three saddles that are easily accessible, Nos. 296, 297, and 298 of the Wallace Collection, Gallery VII. Nos. 296 and 298 are of the same construction, both being of wood, overlaid with polished stag's horn (Figs. 980 and 981). In form the pommels are high and finish in a spiral curve, the seat in one case terminating at the back in two circular plates. Two oblong holes on either side of the seat serve as a passage for the girths. The polished stag's horn with which they are overlaid is carved in low relief and partly stained. No. 296, which was formerly in the Meyrick Collection, is the more interesting of the two. The German duologue engraved upon a scroll held by the two figures forming part of the decoration is perhaps worth translating, though the orthography is obsolete.

THE WOMAN:

I AM here, I know not how,  
I come from somewhere, I know not when.  
Well a day! thou art never forgotten.

MAN:

I go, I stop, the longer I stop  
The more infatuated I become.  
Thine for ever, in your own land.

WOMAN:

But if the war should end?

MAN:

I shall be thine for ever.



FIG. 981. BONE-COVERED  
SADDLE

German, first half of the XVth century  
Wallace Collection  
(Laking Catalogue, No. 298)

FIG. 982. SADDLE COVERED WITH  
*GESSO DURO*

North Italian, middle of  
the XVth century  
Wallace Collection  
(Laking Catalogue, No. 297)

FIG. 980. BONE-COVERED  
SADDLE

German, or possibly Italian, first half  
of the XVth century  
Wallace Collection, formerly in the Meyrick  
Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 296)

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

The second saddle, No. 298, has carved upon it the subject of St. George and the Dragon. Both are German and date within the first half of the XVth century.

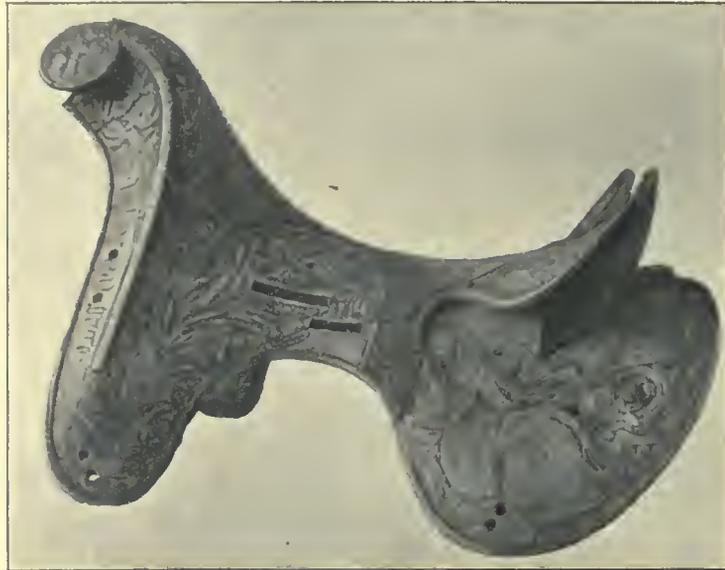


FIG. 983. BONE-COVERED SADDLE  
German, early XVth century. Tower of London,  
Class VI, No. 95



FIG. 984. BONE-COVERED SADDLE  
Italian, middle of the XVth century. Ex collection: Herr Richard Zschille

The saddle No. 297 (Fig. 982) is far more solid and heavy in construction than the two preceding saddles; indeed, it is of a rarer type. In the decoration

## THE SADDLE

the medium of *gesso duro* has been employed with good effect. It is now patinated to a colour of dark ivory; though possibly it may originally have been entirely gilded and painted, an extra ornamentation of which only the faintest traces now remain. This saddle, which is of about the same date as the two last mentioned, would appear to be North Italian. Of the pronounced German type is a saddle in the Tower of London (Fig. 983), which, though it has been subjected to restorations, still remains an admirable specimen. It bears the following inscription in German: "*Ich hoff des pesten (for besten) dir geling. Hilf Got wol auf Sand Jorgen nam*" ("I hope the best [fortune] may attend you. May God assist you in the name of St. George"). There was formerly an example in the collection of the late Herr Richard Zschille which was simpler in decoration; but it would be safer to assign this to a rather later date than that of those just mentioned, possibly to the middle of the XVth century (Fig. 984), a date to which we may also ascribe a saddle-tree in the collection of Signor Bardini of Florence (Fig. 985).

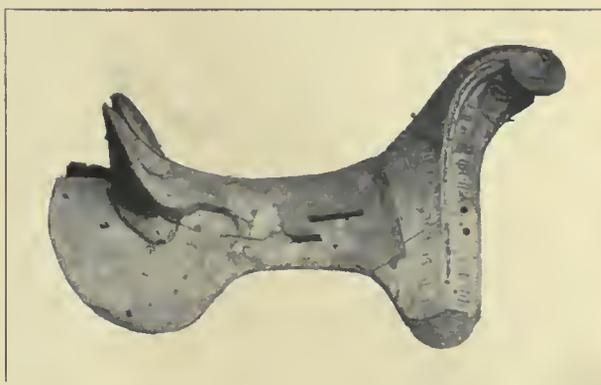


FIG. 985. BONE-COVERED SADDLE  
Italian, first half of the XVth century  
Collection: Signor S. Bardini, Florence

It is as well to add here that the whole group of XVth century bone-covered saddles have been condemned as forgeries and as fabrications of a type that never existed. If, however, the so-called authorities who return this summary verdict had any powers of observation, they would certainly hesitate to make so foolish and senseless a charge, more especially as the evolution of this particular type of saddle can be easily traced. A theory is an excellent thing; but unless it is controlled by a practical knowledge of the subject on which it bears, it is apt to be extremely misleading.

Because in many cases these XVth century bone-covered saddles have a lining of that curious, though for such a purpose extremely useful medium, birch bark, they have been condemned as having been fabricated by making use of the foundations of old Persian and Turkish saddles, to which modern European enrichments of carved ivory and bonework have been added. Such a criticism, however, fails to take into consideration the fact that in nearly all countries birch bark was appreciated for its quality of not adhering to the

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

perspiring hide of a horse or other animal, and also for its non-absorbent quality. It is also important to note that the polished and carved horn, bone, or ivory plaques with which these saddles are enriched are nearly all decorated in the same somewhat primitive but artistically satisfactory fashion—a style of ornamentation never departed from, though varying in fineness of work with the quality of the saddle. In conclusion we may say that we have seen these saddles in various states of completeness—from those in which little of the enrichment remains to examples that are in an almost perfect state of preservation—and that we accept most of them as genuine.



FIG. 986. CHANFRON AND CRINET  
From Monsieur E. Fremiet's famous  
equestrian statue of the  
Duc d'Orleans

In contemporary records these horn- or ivory-covered saddles are often described as made of whalebone. The explanation seems to be that the Normans first became familiar with ivory in the form of the tusk of the walrus or sea-horse, which in the loose nomenclature characteristic of the period they termed "whale." Consequently their descendants of the Middle Ages continued to call all polished bone or elephant ivory, whalebone. Chaucer, speaking of a knight, says: "His sadel was of rowel boon," meaning that it was made of ivory.

With the advance of the first half of the XVth century the armour of the war-horse, universally known as the "destrier," becomes more complete and complicated in its parts: we are unable, however, to illustrate a single genuine example of steel horse apparel that could be safely assigned to this period. In the chapter dealing with forgeries we give an illustration of a chanfron of the type that represents those in prevalent use during the first decade of that century. As contemporary paintings show, this particular armament of the horse, which used to be such a cumbersome head defence in the latter years of the XIVth century, is now reduced in size, and is generally shown as but a shell protecting the front of the skull. An admirable illustration of this chanfron is to be seen on the equestrian statue of the Duc d'Orleans by the late Monsieur E. Fremiet. We have no hesitation in giving his reconstructions as an authority; for that artist spared himself no trouble in research to obtain archaeological accuracy (Fig. 986). In Mr. Seymour Lucas's collection there was once a



FIG. 987. EQUESTRIAN ARMOUR

Composite, and of French character, about 1475. G 1, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

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177

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## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

small and delicately fashioned chanfron marked by a strongly accentuated central ridge, bearing an unknown armourer's mark, that might be accepted as belonging to the middle of the XVth century. We may describe it as furnishing the only link between the "Attila" chanfron and those fine protective head-pieces of the latter years of the XVth century which are to be seen in most important collections. As we have endeavoured to explain before, we are engaged in a constant struggle with the difficulty of adhering with absolute rigidity to our twofold system of classification—that according to form, and that according to provenance. We cannot say definitely that this or that type ceased to exist in this period, and that a particular form first appeared in one country rather than another; for all are intermingled in the most confusing fashion. We must therefore beg to be excused if in our suggestions as to the type prevailing at a particular period we seem to state our conclusions too generally.

From the middle of the XVth century the author ventures to be a little more definite about the war horse's defence. For the head there was, of course, the chanfron, for the neck the crinet, for the chest the poitrel, for the hind quarters the croupière, or, as it was sometimes called, the "bacul," for the flanks the flanchards. Thus armoured we can show a war horse of the third quarter of the XVth century, chosen from an example in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris, G 1 (Fig. 987). We cannot vouch for the authenticity of the entire harness; for, though the greater part of it came from the Arsenal of Strasburg, it is acknowledged that restorations have brought it to its present complete state; but the harness, it must be confessed, illustrates most admirably the stage in the development of horse armour which was reached about 1475. The chanfron, it will be noticed, protects, in this case, only the front of the horse's head; though possibly it originally possessed the hinged side plates, such as are seen in the Wallace example (Fig. 988). The crinet, too, containing as it does only five plates of steel attached to the neck covering of mail, must also be considered less protective. The poitrel is composed of a central plate immediately protecting the chest, together with two subsidiary plates hinged on either sidé, the outside one strapped at the top to the foundation of the saddle. The croupière, though fashioned of plates joined together, fits solidly on the quarters of the horse; the poitrel and croupière are connected by the flanchards which are strapped beneath the base of the saddle and over the girths. The curb rein is armoured. The saddle, now placed upon this harness, though a fine example of the war saddle, is of an early Maximilian type and is therefore not quite in accord with the re-



The chain mail was made  
of a Waterloo Breast plate  
I did best of London. Also  
for Guy Larkins.

FIG. 988. EQUESTRIAN ARMOUR

Comprehensively French, about 1475. The horse armour is entirely genuine, the armour for the rider has been restored. Wallace Collection

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

mainder of the armour. Possibly greater interest attaches to that fine example of horse armour, of almost the same period, the third quarter of the XVth century, which is to be seen in the Wallace Collection, No. 620 (Fig. 988); for, although lacking its flanchards and portions of its croupière, it is entirely



FIG. 989. VERROCCHIO'S EQUESTRIAN STATUE OF BARTOLOMMEO COLLEONI, VENICE  
Cast by Leopardi about 1476

genuine and almost free from restoration. We append a detailed account of the plates. The chanfron is large and unusually complete, having double-hinged cheek-pieces; a curved projecting plate above the nostrils is embossed and overlaid with brass or latten in the semblance of a grotesque face. The ear-guards are tubular and bordered with latten. In the centre

## HORSE ARMOUR

of the forehead is a corrugated rondel with a long conical-headed spike in the centre; attached to the chanfron is the crinet of twelve plates (two modern plates have been added). The poitrel is of five plates hinged together, and is embossed with two convex panels (glancing knobs) above the pectoral muscles. The lower border is scalloped. The croupière, formed of six plates riveted together, fits closely to the quarters of the horse, the border being scalloped to accord with the poitrel plates. As in the case of the Musée d'Artillerie horse armour the saddle on this figure is of later date—the early years of the XVIth century. It has a foundation of wood lined with birch bark, covered on the exterior with quilted black



FIG. 990. DONATELLO'S EQUESTRIAN STATUE OF GENERAL GATTAMELATA, PADUA

leather. To the cantle are attached three plates of steel together forming an inverted U-shape. The burr, which has also a plate of steel lying flush with the wood, has riveted, spirally-twisted supports, which hold the two semicircular plaques against which the gluteal muscles of the rider rested. The stirrups which are now with the saddle are not in keeping, being of still later date, about 1540; moreover, the bit has been adapted from one of XVIth century fashion. All the leather work and the caparisons of the horse are of modern manufacture. The leopard's skin edging to the horse armour, which was suggested by similar trimming seen in a late XVth century manuscript, has been added to lend completeness to the appearance of the suit. This horse armour was successively in the collections of Herr Pickert

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

of Nuremberg, M. Juste of Paris, and finally in that of the Comte de Nieuwerkerke, before it passed into the Wallace Collection. The decorations on both the Musée d'Artillerie set and the set just described, are very characteristic of that which is found on what is usually and rather loosely called "Gothic Armour." That is to say, it consists in fine radiating flutings and channellings, arranged in fan-shaped groups or meeting and



FIG. 991. ST. GEORGE

From the painting by Vittore Carpaccio in the Scuola of San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice

verging off at various angles. It was the fashion prevailing in France, to a lesser extent in Italy, in England, and in Germany during the latter part of the XVth century; indeed in the last-named country it remained in vogue for many years later. These two sets might then be either German or French; but we are inclined to consider them as belonging to the latter nationality.

It will be observed that, on the majority of famous equestrian statues

## HORSE ARMOUR

which are the work of XVth century Italian sculptors, the horses are represented as unarmoured. It cannot be sufficient reason for this omission that the sculptor preferred to present the horse in all its natural beauty, rather than to add accoutrements; for the same neglect of equestrian armaments appears in most of the paintings of the Italian primitives. Take, for instance, Andrea del Verrocchio's famous statue of Bartolommeo Colleoni at Venice, cast by Leopardi about 1476 (Fig. 989). The great general is shown completely armed; but his horse is entirely unarmoured and has only slight

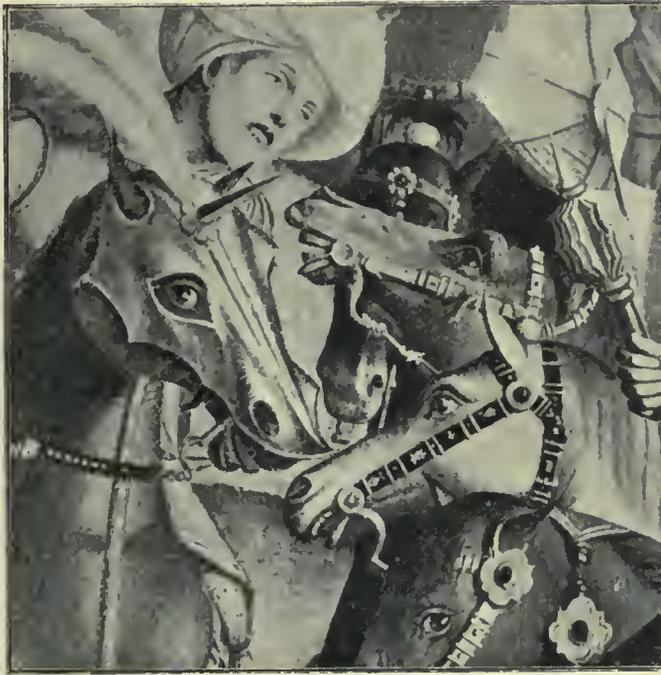


FIG. 992. FROM VITTORE CARPACCIO'S PICTURE OF "THE TEN THOUSAND MARTYRS"  
Accademia, Venice

poitrel and flanchard straps by way of adornment. These pendent strips of leather or fabric which decorated the horse trappings of the XVth and XVIth centuries were called, according to M. Victor Gay, *boutreaux*. The saddle is splendidly represented, appearing luxuriously comfortable for the rider who, through riding straight-legged, takes his natural height from the horse's back, and is not unduly raised as he would have been in the preceding century. The Donatello statue of General Gattamelata at Padua shows the same unarmoured horse (Fig. 990). Examine, too, Vittore Carpaccio's pictures in the Scuola of San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice, and you will note that in one representation of St. George the saint is shown completely

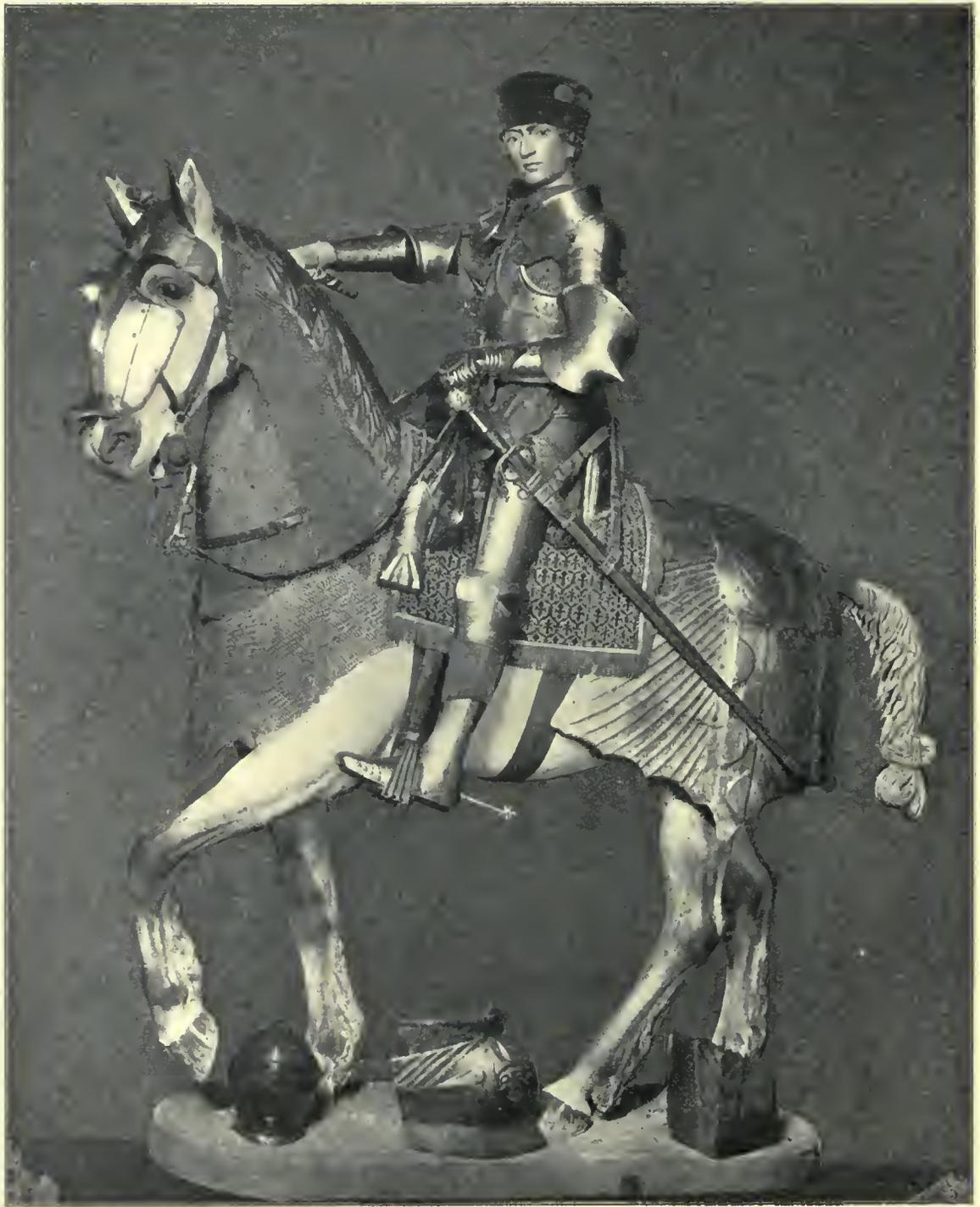


FIG. 993. EQUESTRIAN ARMOUR

Composite, but comprehensively Italian, about 1460-70  
Collection: the late Mr. Frederick Stibbert, Florence

## HORSE ARMOUR

armoured (Fig. 991); yet his horse is without protection though caparisoned with strap-like ornaments of what appears to be gilded leather. St. George rides straight-legged with the heel well down; he is in a most comfortable saddle, which a good deal resembles that on the Colleoni statue (Fig. 989). Again, none of the famous battle-pieces of Uccello (Vol. i, Fig. 238) shows the horses protected; nor in the works of that great pageant painter, Benozzo Gozzoli, does horse armour ever figure as a feature of the picture. The only recollection which the present writer has of the representation



FIG. 994. CHANFRON  
Probably Spanish, about 1480  
From the armoury of Charles V  
F 110, Royal Armoury,  
Madrid



FIG. 995. CHANFRON  
Late XVth century. It is the tradition that it was  
the chanfron of the horse ridden by Francis I  
at the battle of Pavia. From the armoury of  
Charles V. F 113, Royal Armoury, Madrid

of a chanfron of a simple type in an Italian painting of this date is that shown in Carpaccio's celebrated picture in the Accademia of Venice, "The Ten Thousand Martyrs" (Fig. 992).

In the Stibbert Armoury of Florence is to be seen an equestrian suit (Fig. 993), composite but effective in its general appearance, representing an armed Italian knight. The *croupière* of the horse is of plate—strangely German in style; though according to the statement of the late Mr. Stibbert it was discovered, together with the crinet and chanfron, in southern Italy.

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

The chanfron has a distinct resemblance to that shown in the Carpaccio picture referred to. Many varieties of individual parts of horse armour of the latter part of the XVth century are extant, chiefly those of chanfrons. We illustrate a few in order to show the different types. In the Royal Armoury of Madrid there is a strange chanfron that was in the collection of arms and armour belonging to the Emperor Charles V (F 110). It is



FIG. 996. CHANFRON

In the flamboyant "Gothic" style. French, about 1480. Museum of the Rotunda, Woolwich

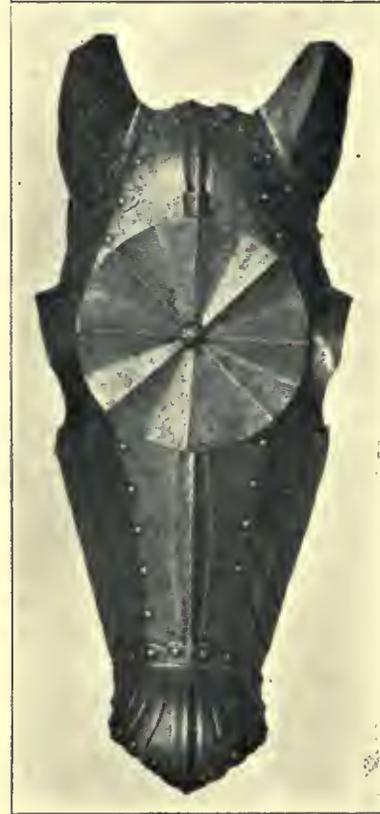


FIG. 997. CHANFRON

About 1480  
Collection: Sir Edward Barry,  
Bart.

small and almost grotesque in appearance, bordered with a series of spikes and with a rondel of large proportions in the centre. Its date may be assigned to the last quarter of the XVth century (Fig. 994), as may also that of a really beautiful and more complete chanfron (F 113, Fig. 995) which also came from the same collection, and figures in the famous *Inventario iluminado*. The central crest or rondel of this last-mentioned chanfron is now lost. In his fine catalogue of the Royal Madrid Armoury

## HORSE ARMOUR

Count de Valencia suggests that this is possibly the chanfron of the horse ridden by Francis I of France at the battle of Pavia. The nationality of these two chanfrons is uncertain; but we consider the former possibly Spanish. In the Museum of the Rotunda, Woolwich, placed upon the head of the horse that supports the armour known as the Bayard suit, is a chanfron



FIG. 998. CHANFRON  
Possibly Italian, 1470  
Collection: Mr. Alfred W. Cox,  
Glendoick, Perthshire



FIG. 999. CHANFRON  
Possibly English, about 1500  
Collection: H.M. the King,  
Windsor Castle

of great beauty of form and elegance of workmanship (Fig. 996). It is in the flamboyant Gothic manner, and is of its type as fine an example as any with which we are acquainted. It was doubtless part of the armour which is supposed to have been brought from Rhodes; but about this we can get no definite information, although the suit for the man with which it is associated is recorded as having been brought from the Château St. Germain.

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

We next illustrate that desirable chanfron which came from the collection of the Baron de Cosson, and is now in that of Sir Edward Barry. It is ribbed in the accepted Gothic manner, and has the plume holder attached immediately behind the large rondel that decorates the forehead (Fig. 997). In the collection of Mr. Alfred W. Cox of Glendoick, Perthshire, is a fine and large chanfron of unusual thickness and strength. The main portion of it is of one plate, very broadly grooved, with additional plates added to the sides towards the base, and with the nasal guard added also. The ear-plates are small, as is the rondel in front. From the collector's point of view it is a most desirable specimen; the metal, thanks to its never having suffered from injudicious over-cleaning, has a splendid surface. Yet such are the accidents of fate, that this most splendid example of late XVth century armour was for years in the London market before a purchaser could be found for it (Fig. 998). We could enumerate other such defences; but such mere repetition would become wearisome.

The war horse of the end of the XVth century presented a completely armoured appearance, no part of it being left unprotected; but though we have certain contemporary evidence of the continual use of the charger's full panoply in warfare we cannot help thinking that it was in large measure relegated to occasions of display. Now, too, influenced by the introduction of the solid Maximilian style, the graceful arrangement of channelling and the general flowing lines of the so-called "Gothic" make way for the fashion of parallel grooving and of straight blunt lines. There was, however, a short transitional period in which the chanfron retained some of the XVth century feeling in respect of form, despite the addition of the cabled borders of the Maximilian order. In the Tower, at Windsor Castle, and at Hampton Court, are many chanfrons of this intermediate style. They are generally poor in workmanship, and appear to have been turned out in large numbers for some particular occasion, almost suggesting that they were made from moulds or patterns termed "dobbles," upon which sheets of iron, afterwards hardened, were hammered; for though not all alike in point of detail, they seem all to have been founded on the same or perhaps two or three models. Approximately they date from the closing years of the XVth century to the first quarter of the next century. We illustrate an example which has been transferred to the Windsor Armoury from the Tower of London (Fig. 999). Note how roughly fashioned are the ear-guards and what factitious grandeur the exaggerated rondel on the forehead lends to this defence. As an example of horse armour to which an actual ownership

## HORSE ARMOUR

can be assigned we cannot do better than give an illustration of the fine harness in the Imperial Armoury, Vienna, made, as we now know, about 1502 for Rupert, that Count Palatine of the Rhine famous for his feud with Maximilian for the possession of Bavaria, a feud which ended in the conquest of Kufstein and in his own death in 1504 (Fig. 1000). The horse armour is presumably of Augsburg make, fashioned in bright steel and embellished with brilliant fire gilding. The chanfron is embossed with a salamander. The glancing knobs represent lions' heads. The saddle still

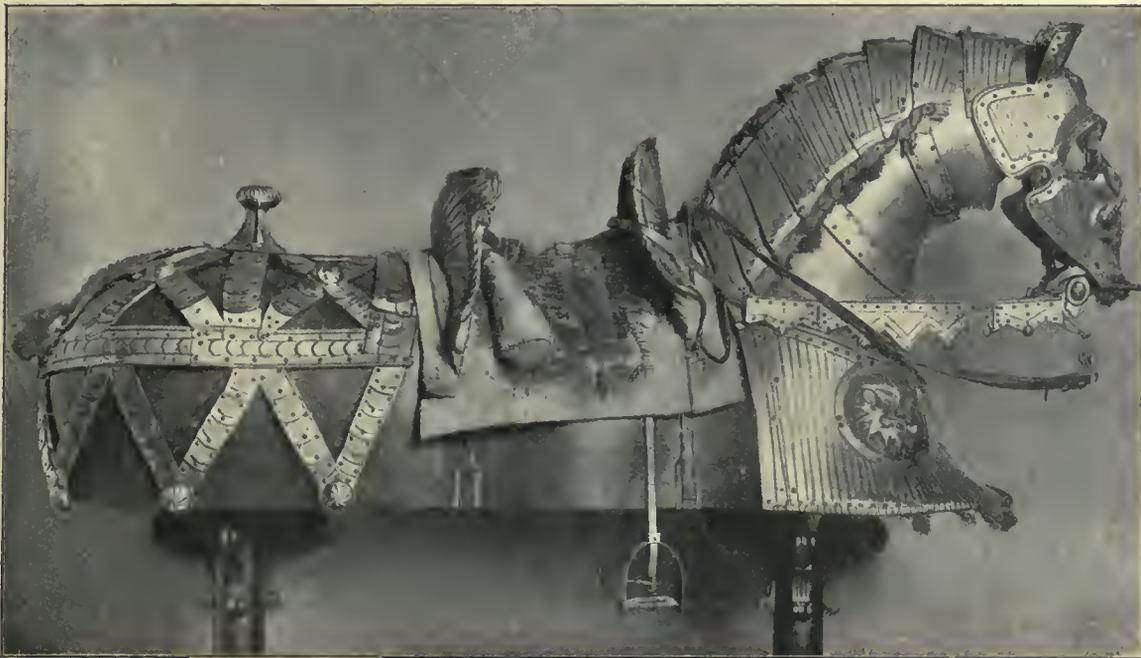


FIG. 1000. EQUESTRIAN ARMOUR MADE FOR RUPERT, COUNT PALATINE OF THE RHINE  
Augsburg work, about 1502. Imperial Armoury, Vienna

retains the original pads for the thighs. The croupière is formed by scaled armoured bands, placed crosswise and terminating below in bosses. This horse armour, which bears no armourer's mark, is ascribed in the old inventories quite erroneously to a Palatinate Rupert of 1352-1410, sometimes called King of the Romans, an error which was repeated in Schrenck von Nozing's volume of engravings entitled *Armamentarium heroicum*, a volume commenced in 1582 and published in 1601, to which we have already had occasion to refer. Apart from the historical horse armaments in the Tower of London, of which we are about to speak, there are three parts of others that may be assigned to the closing years of the XVth century

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

which are worthy of close scrutiny. The croupière, the poitrel, and the flanchard plate upon the horse on which is placed the second of the two large suits made for King Henry VIII (Fig. 854) are interesting as excellent examples of the transitional manner of the so-called Gothic-Maximilian style. They would appear to be of Milanese make, and are possibly of the Missaglia school; for they display that characteristic, somewhat wiry, etching and gilding of scrolls, etc., superimposed upon the fan-shaped groups of channelling, which at first sight lend to the armaments

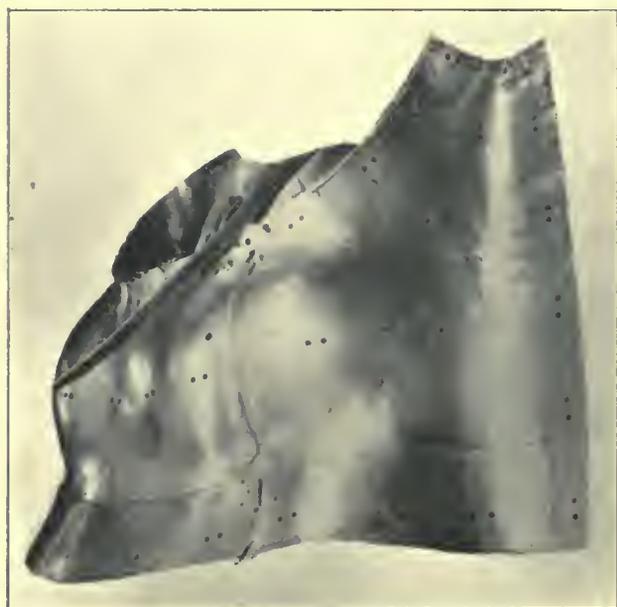


FIG. 1001. POITREL FROM AN EQUESTRIAN SUIT  
About 1500. Tower of London  
Class VI, No. 74

quite a XVth century feeling in respect of form. There is also in the Tower collection a flanchard from another such suit of horse armour. A fairly complete horse armament in the Tower is a poitrel and croupière now entirely plain, that might be assigned to the early years of the XVIth century. As it exists to-day it is free from decoration; but about its whole surface are even groups of twin holes that must have once served the purpose of attaching either by aiglettes or even by permanent rivets silver or bronze-gilt enrichments which have probably been removed for their intrinsic value. However, what remains of the armament is fine in workmanship and robustly proportioned (Fig. 1001). Another horse armour, historically most important, and in its way of unsurpassed grandeur of decoration, is one of the most treasured possessions of this same collection. It is mentioned in the State Papers of the year 1519 under "Revels" as follows:

"Item, a stele Barde silvered pcell gilte wt a payre of Raynes of the same werke wt a fringe of gold and black silke given by the Emp.<sup>ror</sup>"

The next record we have of it is in the famous 1547 inventory, a manuscript presented to the Society of Antiquaries of London by Gustavus

## HORSE ARMOUR

Brander, F.S.A., in 1775. In that inventory describing the armour then at Greenwich it figures as "In the first house":

"Itm Upon the Third horse a Harnesse given unto the Kings Maiestie by Themperor Maximilian w<sup>th</sup> a base of stele and golde-smythe worke silver and guilte with A border about the same silver and guilte of goldsmythes worke and A BARDE OF STELE W<sup>th</sup> A BURGONION CROSSE AND THE FUSYE AND A SADDLELL WITH A CRYMMYN AND A SHAFFRON TO THE SAME."

To-day we see it as the complete barding of the war horse, chanfron, rein-steels, burr and cantle plates, full poitrel, flanchards, and complete croupière; but the crinet that now goes with it is associated (Fig. 1002). On this apparel can be found for the first time in our records of plate armour true embossing of a pattern, that is to say, hammering from the back, used for direct surface enrichment. We have noted the employment of this method in the fluting and shaping of a piece; but as a medium for the rendering of floral and other ornaments, this is its first appearance. Upon the croupière appears a mark which has been much rubbed and has been deciphered as that used by Merate and brothers of Milan and Arbois, but of the authenticity of this attribution we remain unconvinced. Although this example of horse armour is splendidly effective in the boldness of its enrichment, we may with all reserve suggest that it is somewhat coarse in workmanship; though doubtless when newly made—its whole surface plated with silver and then possibly gilt, like the Seusenhofer suit (Fig. 1016)—it must have presented a gorgeous spectacle, especially when associated with the splendid housings that would have originally accompanied it. Although no such definite description of it is given in the 1547 inventory, this "Burgundian bard," as it was termed in the XVIIth century Tower inventory, was probably part of the gift made to King Henry VIII by the Emperor Elect Maximilian I, who, out of compliment to his first wife, the daughter of the Duke of Burgundy, had all parts of it decorated with the Burgundian badges, the cross raguly, the briquet or steel, and the firestone emitting flames, in fact, with all the emblems made use of by the Order of the Golden Fleece. On the armour also appears the pomegranate in fruit, the emblem of Catherine of Aragon, which may have led to the belief that the horse armour (Fig. 1002), together with the Seusenhofer suit, was presented to King Henry VIII in celebration of his marriage with Catherine of Aragon in 1509. According, however, to Viscount

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

Dillon, this belief is to be discredited as he states there exists evidence that the gift was made by "Themperor" to King Henry between 1511 and 1514.

In the case of this particular horse armour the chanfron is large, extending over the jaws of the horse, the eyes being protected by pierced bosses. The poitrel is composed of three large plates, and the glancing knobs, termed in French *bossoirs*, are marked in quite the conventional manner; while



FIG. 1002. HORSE ARMOUR

Possibly an Italian foundation worked upon in Germany, about 1500-10. Presented by the Emperor Maximilian Elect to King Henry VIII  
Tower of London

a small narrow triangular plate is riveted point upwards to the extreme base of the outside plates in order to correspond with the angled edge of the flanchard. The croupière is formed of nine plates riveted solidly together. As we have already said, the whole surface of this horse armour has been plated with silver over the rough tool engraving that accentuates the design; doubtless it was once gilt. Particular fertility of design is to be noted in the rein steels, and in the hinges of the various plates,



· FIG. 1003. EQUESTRIAN ARMOUR  
Probably decorated in England about 1515 to complete the Seusenhofer suit sent by the Emperor Maximilian I to King Henry VIII. Tower of London, Class II, No. 5

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

which assume the form of the briquet or fire steel. It figures in the 1917 catalogue of the Tower under Class VI, Nos. 6-12.

Let us consider the only other horse armour in the Tower of London which has a recorded historical interest, and which we can assign to a date within the first quarter of the XVIth century. We allude to the barding (Fig. 1003) on which is placed the famous suit made for King Henry VIII by Conrad Seusenhofer, to which we have just alluded. Although this full horse armour is engraved with scenes from the lives of St. George and of St. Barbara, like the suit placed upon it, and has the Garter motto, "Dieu et mon Droyt," several times repeated round the lower edge, and although its surface, like that of the suit, is plated with silver once gilt, this actual horse armour does not figure as part of the Emperor Maximilian's gift to the King. The work apparently of an armourer of rather earlier date, it is of Italian make; for the mark it bears, the letter M surmounted by a crescent, is distinctly Milanese in character. Mr. Foulkes considers it possible that the armourer who enriched this bard may have been Paul van Vreland, whose name occurs in Royal Bills of Payment from 1514 to 1519 (Record Office, Exchr. T. R. Misc. Books 215): "Bardes of Stele; item a stele Barde gilte wt a Trayle of Roses and pomegranates wt the story of saincte George and saincte Barbara wt a crynney [crinet] and a Shawfron [chanfron] like gilte of the same worke wroughte by Powle wt a fringe of gold and crymson silke." As the spelling of these early records is unreliable, we may take it that Paul and Powle are different spellings of the same name.

The 1547 inventory, as quoted on page 191, describes the Henry VIII suit associated with the "Burgundian bard" and not with the one under discussion. It is not until the inventory of 1611-1629 that an allusion occurs which might refer to this horse armour, namely, "one feilde armor of an olde fashion with a base of stele THE HORSES FURNITURE BEING A BARDE CRINITT AND A SHAFFRON BEING ALL SILVERED AND GUILTE." The more recent inventories do not allude to the horse armour, only mentioning the suit. It figures in the 1917 catalogue of the Tower under Class II, No. 5.

We should also notice in the Tower that connected with the two massive suits made towards the middle of the XVIth century for King Henry VIII, certain of the horse armour still exists in the shape of two complete saddles with their burr and cantle plates, and a small chanfron with its full crinet. To these must be added the remains of the same set which were formerly in the Armoury of Windsor Castle, but which by command of His Majesty King George V were transferred to the Tower in September 1914. These remains

## HORSE ARMOUR

are saddle steels from a third saddle, and an unusual, almost rectangular, plate in three parts which the present writer can only think is part of the croupière (see *post*, p. 238, and Fig. 1028).

Before quitting this portion of our subject we cannot omit an allusion



FIG. 1004. THE *HARNISCHMEISTER* OF THE ARCHDUKE MAXIMILIAN OF AUSTRIA, 1480  
Showing a complete equestrian armour. From a picture in  
the Imperial Armoury, Vienna

to the famous illustration of the complication of plates to which horse armour of the XVth century is supposed to have eventually arrived. In the Imperial Armoury of Vienna is a picture showing the personal armourer, the *Harnischmeister*, of the Archduke Maximilian of Austria (Fig. 1004), clad in magnificent harness. It is, however, to the armour of his horse that we

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

direct special attention; for beyond the plates of which we have already made mention, small laminated plates are seen beneath the poitrel, croupière, and flanchards. To these are attached actual leg-pieces of plate covering all four legs of the horse right down to his hoof, fashioned on the same principle as were the arm-pieces seen on an ordinary suit made for man. Such armaments for the legs of the horse were, we are informed by Mr. ffoulkes, individually termed *estival*. In this particular picture the hinges on the outside of the plates, and the turning pins on the interior are clearly shown; while the inside bend of the knee seems to be protected by some flexible material, such as chain mail or quilted armament. Around the poitrel and flanchards are at intervals suspended bells. This extremely full equipment for the horse is engraved as the frontispiece to Von Leber's *Wiens Kaiserliches Zeughaus*. We doubt very much whether such completeness in horse armament ever really existed. As depicted in the Vienna portrait, it seems but a form of conceit on the part of the *Harnischmeister*, who merely wished to show the proficiency of his craft, by portraying his horse entirely clothed in steel. The completeness



FIG. 1005. FROM HANS BURGKMAIER'S "TRIUMPH OF MAXIMILIAN"

of this horse defence is certainly almost absolute; the only apertures occur on either side of the horse, where in the flanchards an opening about the length and breadth of the rider's foot is provided in order to allow for the use of the spur. The present writer believes that this is the sole pictorial evidence of complete armour for horse's legs; though he remembers of course that in Burgkmaier's "Triumph of Maximilian" the chargers of two of the knights, the foremost of which we illustrate, can be seen armed in a strange form of poitrel, which is prolonged by four lames fastened round the upper part of the horse's legs like taces in a man's suit (Fig. 1005), and ending in a small curtain of mail. Our conclusion is that if such horse armour

## HORSE ARMOUR FOR THE TOURNAMENT

actually existed, it must have been executed by the armourer, either as a proof of his own superior craftsmanship, or to gratify some vain-glorious whim of his employer. In the portrait that forms the companion picture to that of the *Harnischmeister*, it can be noted that the Archduke's own horse is not so completely armoured, and so hampered. We must, however, confess that in the Porte de Hal of Brussels we have come across certain strangely shaped lames of plate armour, which from not resembling any individual defensive body armament that can be distinguished, may be, as described in the older inventories, "armour for the horse's legs"; but we are bound also to admit that the shape of the plates makes it difficult to say what part of the horse they were originally made to protect. They do not seem applicable to either hind or fore legs.

Of the continued use of leather late in the XVth century as part of the horse's equipment, there is ample evidence—the horse armed "covered with bardes of courbuly." From the writer Paolo Giovio we learn that it was the fashion of the Italians to caparison their horses with leather. The horses of French lancers who accompanied Charles VIII into Rome in 1494 are recorded to have been so protected.

These leathern horse armaments must, in many cases, have been very beautiful, from the effect of tooling, of gilding, and even of applied embroidery; but none remain. In the Tower of London is preserved a croupière of *cuir bouilli*, the sole survivor of the many purchased in 1547 for the campaign in Scotland. It is a severely utilitarian piece of defence and now incomplete, all the lower plates being missing (Fig. 1006). It figures in the 1917 catalogue of the Tower under Class VI, No. 87. The armoury of Mr. Godfrey Williams of St. Donat's Castle, also possesses an example of leathern horse armour of about the same period.

When we look at the accoutrements provided for the horse in the various forms of jousts and tourneys that took place throughout the XVth century, we feel that it is quite impossible to discuss in detail armaments of so extra-

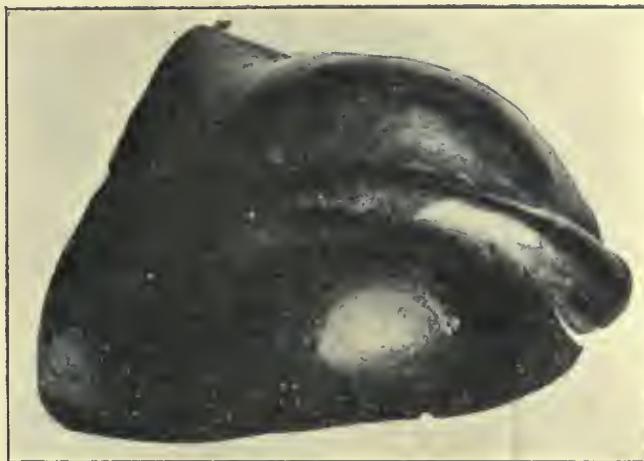


FIG. 1006. CROUPIÈRE FOR A HORSE IN *CUIR BOUILLI*  
One of a large number purchased in 1547 for the Scottish campaign. Tower of London, Class VI, No. 87

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

ordinarily complicated a character. We shall content ourselves with giving a few illustrations of horse armour, the sole office of which was for use in these martial pastimes. Those who feel any curiosity about the question of tournament armour should consult the famous *Traicté de la Forme et Devis d'un Tournoy* of René d'Anjou, a MS. remarkable for its exhaustive series of illustrations. His minute details of the weapons, defences, and etiquette of the tournament are quite astonishing, and should certainly be consulted by



FIG. 1007. PADDED POITREL FOR JOUSTING  
Known as the *hourt* or *Stechkissen*. Late XVth century  
Imperial Armoury, Vienna

those who wish to increase their knowledge of the subject. The edition recommended is that of M. Champollion. It has also been reprinted in Mr. Cripps-Day's *The Tournament*. In the René miniatures we see certain of the horse defences strengthened with paddings of straw in the form of stuffed, crescent-shaped bags hung round the chest, over which were drawn the trappings, "*Ce hourt est fait de paille longue entre toilles fort porpoinetées de cordes de fouet, et dedans ledit hort y a ung sac plain de paille, en façon d'ung croissant. . . . On couvre le dit hort d'une couverture armoyée . . .*"

## HORSE ARMOUR FOR THE TOURNAMENT

We are able to give an illustration (Fig. 1007) of an existing *hourt*, or *Stechkissen*, to give it its German name, which is now preserved in the Imperial Armoury of Vienna. It is of considerably later date, being of the end of the XVth century, than those described by René d'Anjou; but it will be noted that it is precisely the same defence. We also give an illustration of one of the knights in tilting apparel from Burgkmaier's



FIG. 1008. FROM HANS BURGKMAIER'S "TRIUMPH OF MAXIMILIAN"  
Showing the padded *hourt* in position



FIG. 1009. A "BLIND" CHANFRON  
Made in 1530 for King Ferdinand I  
Imperial Armoury, Vienna

"Triumph of Maximilian," which shows this padded defence in use, and also represents a caparison for the joust in which the horse is entirely blindfolded, neither the chanfron nor the housing for the head containing any apertures for vision (Fig. 1008). This kind of horse harness is also mentioned in the Roi René's manuscript. It will be seen that in the Burgkmaier illustration the chanfron, of whatever medium it was, is placed beneath the head housing, with a large circular rondel attached to the outside. A good many blind chanfrons exist, which from the excellence



FIG. 1010. MODEL OF A GERMAN JOUSTING HARNESS OF ABOUT 1540 WITH THE HORSE ARMOUR

Showing the horse and the padded *Stechkissen* in position  
National Bavarian Museum of Munich

## HORSE ARMOUR FOR THE TOURNAMENT

of their workmanship must have been worn outside the trappings. At Vienna are a "blind" chanfron of about 1500 made for Philip I of Castile, and an altogether grander chanfron made in 1530 for a tilting set, formerly belonging to King Ferdinand I (Fig. 1009). Other examples may be seen in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris, and at Dresden. The collection of the late Herr Max Kuppelmayr, dispersed at Munich in 1895, contained a beautiful contemporary model of a jousting harness of about 1540 on its original doll dummy and toy horse. Perhaps the actual armour is a little clumsily made; but the housing of the horse is beautifully rendered, and

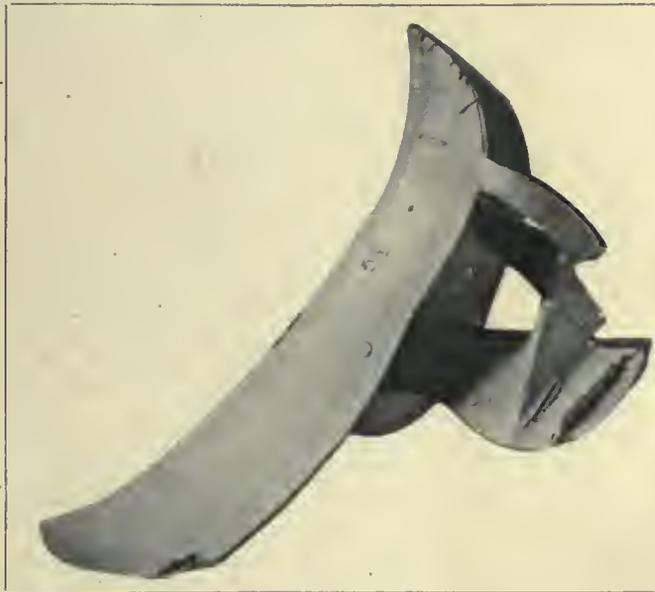


FIG. 1011. SADDLE OF WOOD COVERED WITH HIDE AND PARTLY WITH CANVAS

Tower of London, Class VI, No. 94

From the collection of the Baron Peuker, Berlin

admirably illustrates the padded *Stechkissen* in use and the horse running its course totally blinded (Fig. 1010). Readers of the *Weiss Kunig* may remember the illustration in which the young Maximilian is being taught the sport of the tournament with just such a model showing the *Stechkissen* (edition of 1775, Fig. 15, p. 58).

As to tournament saddles, they are to be seen in very many varieties, some making but little difference to the form of the war saddle of the time. But others, such as the most interesting example in the Tower of London, purchased in 1858 from the collection of the Baron Peuker, Berlin, show an exaggeration of form and of defence, which though entirely satisfactory if a successful course has been run, would be little short of a death-trap were

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

the horse to stumble or the rider to be struck by the lance. The saddle we illustrate (Fig. 1011) is formed of wood covered with hide, and partially with canvas; on the canvas is a coat of *gesso* upon which there has been painting; the front measures, in its greatest length, 3 ft. 11 in.; the lower portion, lying over the horse's shoulders, formed a shield for the legs of the knight; there is a distance of 10 inches from the saddle-tree itself to the seat of the rider, who, when fixed for the encounter, would be carried forward rather in a standing than a sitting posture. Despite the fact that the rider has his

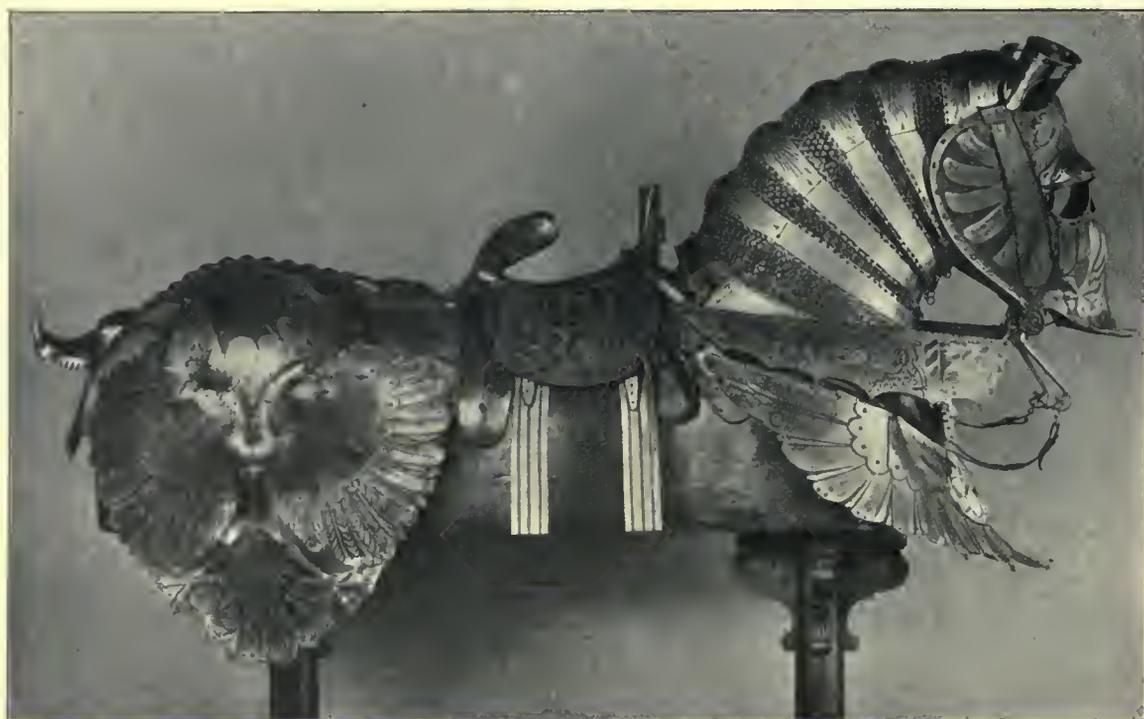


FIG. 1012. EQUESTRIAN ARMOUR MADE FOR MAXIMILIAN I, THE EMPEROR,  
PROBABLY IN NUREMBERG ABOUT THE YEAR 1508  
Imperial Armoury, Vienna

legs protected by the enormous wooden and parchment coated burr plates, the arrangement of sitting down in the saddle with the strong bar crossing the thighs quite prevents him from falling clear, and would probably ensure him a broken back. On the burr plates of such a saddle as this, the *stechkissen* would fit quite satisfactorily. We can record four other saddles exactly of this type, namely, one in the arsenal of Schaffhausen, one in the museum of Ratisbon, a third in the Renné Collection at Constance, and a fourth in the National Germanic Museum of Nuremberg.

Throughout the XVIth century armaments for the horse continued to be

## HORSE ARMOUR FOR THE TOURNAMENT

used; though, like those provided for man, they became less elaborate and complete as the century progressed. Any remarkable instance of mid-XVIth century horse apparel we have mentioned, together with the suit for which it was made, in the chapter dealing with XVIth century suits. Generally speaking, it may be taken for granted that when we have finished our description of horse armour as it is seen in the opening years of the XVIth century, we have described its complete evolution. Any further description of it beyond this date, when it arrived at its most definite form, does not show any more effective defence. The marvellously complete equestrian harnesses made for the great Maximilian, for the Emperor Charles V, and even for Philip II, superb works of art as they are, only show surface enrichment added to those various plates of defence, the development of which we have described. The great armourers of the XVIth century associated their finest complete suits for man with horse armour made *en suite*, with the result that nearly all the famous historical suits which are extant have at least part of their equestrian apparel intact. The beautiful individual equestrian suits of the first quarter of the XVIth century, from the point of view of design, are superb examples of the armourer's craft; for they display an original scheme of decoration applied to what experience had shown were the plates best suited to the defence of the horse. Let us take, for instance, that set of horse armour made for the Emperor Maximilian I about the year 1508 by some unknown armourer of great skill, doubtless one of the armourers of Augsburg or Nuremberg (Fig. 1012). Upon the complete chanfron is embossed the Imperial Roman eagle and the arms of Austria and Burgundy. On the steel snaffle rein are the arms of Istria, Wendisch Mark, Steier Mark, Pfirdt, Austria, Kärnten, Tyrol, Portenau, Elsass, Burgau, and Kyburg. The poitrel takes the form of an angel with outstretched wings. The crinet is remarkably protective: six bands of steel, connected one with the other by chain mail of large links, completely enclose the neck. The plates are etched with the cross of St. Andrew. The flanchards are wanting. The croupière is of late XVth century form; but it is most splendidly enriched, with large applied plates on either side, in the shape of the Imperial eagle. The tail of the horse issues through the *Schwanzriempfanzer*, which is in the form of a monster's head. The whole surface of this horse armour is gilded, brilliantly blued and etched, and even to-day is in pristine condition. Again, see the absolute completeness of such a horse apparel as that made in 1554 by Sigismund Wolf of Landshut for Philip II, A 243 to 262, in the Royal

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

Armoury of Madrid (Fig. 1013). Its protectiveness does not really excel that of the armament of the preceding generation; the principle of its construction is the same, only more elaborated. In the application of its decoration there is exhibited the individual style of the armourer, just in the same way as the hand of a particular painter can be seen in some great picture. This is



FIG. 1013. EQUESTRIAN ARMOUR MADE BY SIGISMUND WOLF OF LANDSHUT IN 1554 FOR PHILIP II OF SPAIN

A 243 to 262, Royal Armoury, Madrid

noticeable in the case of the horse armour of the XVIth century, when produced by artist-armourers of renown; but, as the XVIth century progressed the deterioration in workmanship becomes very apparent. So that at its close, horse armour when used was of "stock" patterns, often enriched, but in just such a meretricious fashion as was the ordinary body armour of the time.

Many fine individual chanfrons of XVIth century date are extant. Of

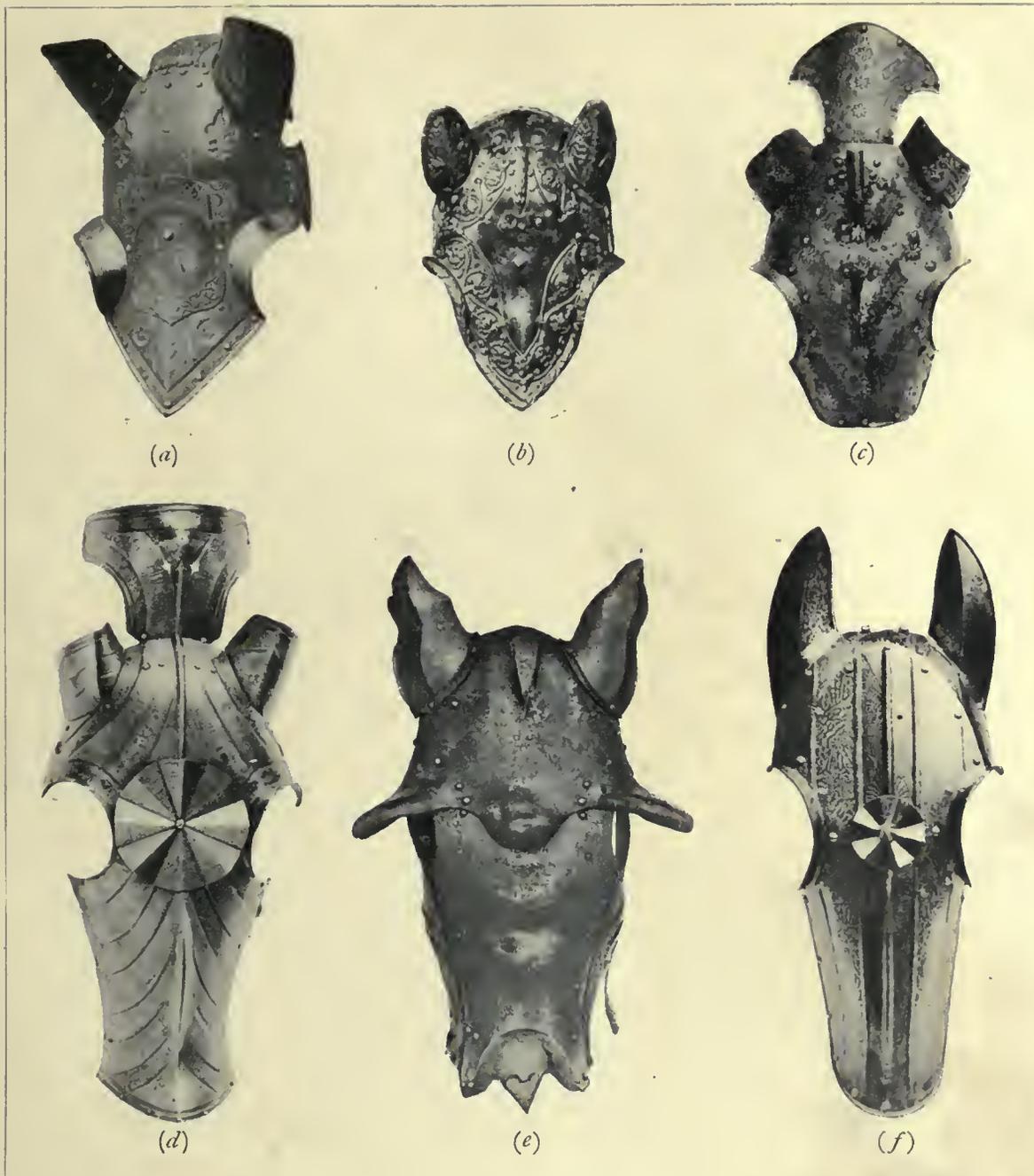


FIG. 1014. CHANFRONS

- (a) From the armour of Henry, Prince of Wales. English, Greenwich School. Early XVIIth century. Collection: H.M. the King, Windsor Castle. No. 713, Laking's "Armoury of Windsor Castle," 1904.
- (b) Italian, first half of the XVIth century. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 137)
- (c) English, late XVIth century. From the armour of George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland, 1558-1605. Tower of London, Class VI, No. 52
- (d) German, under Italian influence, first half of the XVIth century. Tower of London, Class VI, No. 55
- (e) French (remade), first half of the XVIth century (it bears a Milanese mark now assigned to a considerably earlier date). Metropolitan Museum of New York
- (f) Probably English, early XVIIth century. Tower of London, Class VI, No. 49

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

these we illustrate examples, some to be seen in our national collections, and one in America (Fig. 1014). It must be borne in mind, however, that nearly all horse armaments come down to us lacking their caparisons—merely exhibiting their durable parts of metal, either plain or enriched, as a reminder of their past magnificence. To get any real idea of their original splendour the reader must imagine them with their rich velvet linings, their sumptuousness of gilded buckles, enriched straps, trimmings of dual-coloured chain mail, and profusion of plumes.

The differences of form, richness of medium, and fertility of design found in such portions of the horse apparel as the bit and the stirrup, we have no space here to dwell upon; a volume in itself could be written on the subject. In Figs. 358 and 1053 we have mentioned two famous pairs of stirrups—not as stirrups, but as examples of workmanship to establish some special point as to nationality or style.

[*Note by the Editor on the pair of spurs illustrated in Figs. 971 and 971A.*]

VIOLLET-LE-DUC, when noticing the specimen now in the Riggs Collection at New York (Fig. 971A), observed that the whole surface of the spur and its *membrets* and buckle was chequered in gold and blue-white (*blanc bleuâtre*) enamel, which he read as the heraldic bearings of the princely house of Dreux (vol. v, p. 408), entirely ignoring the crimson *bordure* which this house in both its branches always bore. An examination of the enamel remaining on the spur in the author's collection shows us that the charge is intended to be chequy *or* and *argent*, white enamel being substituted for silver foil, doubtless because of the latter's tendency to tarnish, and one of the *membrets* bears chequy *or* and *sable*. This combination of metal and metal in the close association of a chequy field appears unusual to Western European heralds, but, though rare, it is by no means unknown in Eastern Europe; it is really no more unheraldic than parting or otherwise ordering a coat in two tinctures, a very constant mediaeval practice. This very unusualness considerably aids us in suggesting if not the name, at least the house to which the original owner of these spurs belonged, for the only family known to have borne such a coat of chequy *or* and *argent* was that of Wczele or Wcsezele of Poland, a family which sprang originally from Lebno (E. von Zernicki-Szeliga, *Der Polnische Adel*, 1900, sub "*Wczele*"). Wczele is now the family name of the Gurowskis, who became prominent in the XVIIth century, and were in the person of Raphael Gurowski created Prussian Counts Gurowski by Frederick William II in 1787. They were apparently a German family, coming originally from Bergen or Gurowa, and were established in Greater Poland in 1393 (E. von Zernicki-Szeliga, sub "*Gurowski*").

Though from early times the coat of Wczele was chequy of *or* and *argent* (F. Piekosinski, *Heraldyka Polska*, 1899, p. 172), it was at various periods considerably modified both in colour and arrangement. On a seal of 1382 it appears as a chessboard of six-

## NOTE BY THE EDITOR

teen squares placed lozenge-wise upon the shield, an arrangement which appears again in the great roll of 1461, where the coat is given as *azure*, a chessboard of 36 squares,



FIG. 1014A. SWORD

Probably French and of about 1340, the pommel bears the arms  
of the House of Dreux

Collection: Mr. S. J. Whawell

*argent* and *gules*, placed lozenge-wise. Fig. 42 of this same roll gives another variant of the coat, erroneously placed under the name of "Scelt" (F. Piekosinski, *Heraldyka Polska*, 1899, pp. 373, 374), chequy of three rows of six *argent* and *azure*. Boniecki (*Herbarz Polski*, vol. vii, sub "Gurowscy") gives the arms of Wczele as chequy of

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

*or* and *argent*; Gurowscy as *argent* and *azure* with an escutcheon. Malecki (*Studia Heraldyczne*, 1890, vol. i, p. 141, No. 156) gives the same coat of gold and silver for Wezele. Other post-mediaeval variants of the coat are given in Count Uruski's *Notices sur les Familles illustres et titrées de la Pologne*, Paris, 1862, p. 72, as chequy of *or* and *azure* and *or* and *sable*, in which latter connection the reader is reminded of the fact that one of the *membrets* of the spur under consideration is gilt, and enamelled black in place of white.

It may be urged that these spurs are too elaborate for a simple Polish knight, but we must bear in mind that during the XIVth and early XVth centuries Marienburg in Eastern Prussia, the headquarters of the Teutonic Order, was the artistic centre of North-eastern Europe, and there would be nothing surprising in the presence of a Polish noble in the ranks of that illustrious Order, armed and equipped with a richness befitting his rank and the cause in which he served. Henry of Bolingbroke, afterwards Henry IV, served in this Order, after his exile from England. There is a mention in the accounts of the expenses of the Order for the years 1402-1404, of a Bertolt von Wezeleyn in Sattler's *Handelsrechnungen des Deutschen Ordens*, Leipzig, 1887.

There is in the collection of Mr. S. J. Whawell a sword which the author had intended to illustrate and describe in this book. The sword (Fig. 1014A) is one of extraordinary beauty and romantic feeling. The hilt is of gilt copper, chased with conventional scrolls and Gothic lettering on a matted ground. On one face of the guard the inscription runs: PUNGE PER MIVM (?), and on the other face MEDIO REGE. On the upper band of the grip is the lettering COLLIGE: on the lower band, SVM: VE: REGE. On one side of the circular pommel is a shield of arms in champlevé enamel, chequy *or* and *azure*, and the ground upon which the shield is borne in the pommel is *gules*; on the other side is a hollow to receive a relic. The blade is 33½ inches long and double edged. It is inscribed and bears an armourer's mark, a shield surmounted by a crown. The hilt appears to be of French origin, and dates from about 1340.

The heraldic bearing on the pommel would therefore point to this sword having belonged to a great knight of the House of Dreux, probably John de Dreux, a family especially interesting to Englishmen, through the marriage of Aylmer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, with Beatrice, granddaughter of Robert de Dreux. We are unable to offer any explanation of the mottoes.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Editor is indebted to Mr. Charles Beard for the information contained in this note, who has also referred him to: K. Niesiecki, *Korona Polska*, 1728-43; J. S. Dunin Borkowski, *Rocznik Szlachty Polskiej*, 1881; W. W. Wieladek, *Heraldyka szlachty Polskiej*, 1794-96; *Adels-Matrikel: Polen*; Adolf Krosnowski-Tabasz, *Almanach historique*, 1846; Hans Maercker, *Ges. des Schevetzer Kreises*, 1880-88; Feodor von Zychlinski, *Zlota Ksiega Szlachty Polskiej*, 1879.

## CHAPTER XXIII

THE DAWN OF THE XVIIth CENTURY. THE TOWER OF LONDON ARMOURY



THE XVIIth century brings with it all that sumptuous decoration which many writers on the subject of armour affect to deplore; alleging that with the advent of embossing, damascening, surface plating, and general face ornament, the true art of the armourer disappeared. To a certain extent this view of the effect of Renaissance ornamentation on plate surface is correct, because beauty of outline was to a great extent lost sight of. But it is a view that can by no means be accepted as involving any sweeping indictment of XVIIth century armour as a type.

When the utility of the defence is in no way interfered with and the ornamentation is strictly auxiliary and in keeping with the medium on which it is applied, nothing can justify a general condemnation of the armourer's craft of the XVIIth century. The works of the Negroli, of Campi, of Mondrone, the Picinini of Italy, and of Seusenhofer, the Kolmans, and the Wolfs of Germany, have never been surpassed in any age. That the refined and useful simplicity of the XVth century has for ever disappeared may be matter for regret; but it must be remembered that in its place forms of surface enrichment of the highest possible merit are introduced. As the century progressed it must be admitted that an over-abundance of decoration set in which must always be the result of a too keen and indiscriminating competition between artist craftsmen. Indeed, we merely state a fact when we say that the desire of the armourer's patrons to vie with one another in the sumptuousness and magnificence of their armour contributed more to its deterioration in the XVIIth century than the effectiveness attained in the use of gunpowder and firearms. By the second quarter of the century, however, experience taught the soldier that a war harness offered but slight resistance to an arquebus ball; with the result that in the armour manufactured richness of effect was aimed at rather than genuine protective quality. But, since armoured apparel of some kind was necessary to almost every rank, the headguards and bodyguards were still

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

substantial; a very distinct deterioration, however, became apparent in the protective quality of the limb defences. In many cases the thinner the material of the plates the more subject was it to surface enrichment; since etching, gilding, and even embossing were admirably calculated to conceal indifferent constructional workmanship and even faultiness of material. But let us not go too fast; for certainly almost up to the close of the first half of the century there is no reason to suggest a deterioration in the craft of the armourer. Many writers on and enthusiasts in the study of armour and of arms profess a very slight appreciation of the robust and somewhat bizarre decorations of the Maximilian order, forgetting that the vagaries of taste in dress were to blame for these innovations, for the armourer was called upon to try to imitate in stubborn iron the fashions that were in paramount vogue in civil costume. The excessive puffing of the limb-coverings, the cutting and cross cutting of the surfaces, the exaggerated forms, and the general grotesque treatment of the human form must all be assigned to the *vogue Maximilienne*. Such a harness may not have the elegance of form associated with an Italian or French suit of the previous half century; but its craftsmanship is as good if not better, its construction is as sound, while its decoration is as ingenious, though to some minds it may seem unsuitable. So much in defence of the art of the XVIth century armourer; a defence which may well appear somewhat supererogatory in view of the fact that the works of such famous Italian armourers as the brothers Negroli, the great Campi, Mondrone, and the Picinini, and of such German masters as the Kolman family, Seusenhofer, Peffenhauser, and the Wolfs all come within the period. These artists were perfect in their way: they satisfied the demand for enriched plate surface by producing work which was at once beautiful and individual in style. Our defence is prompted by the attack made on XVIth century armour by nearly every writer who deals with the subject. In our opinion this attack seems hardly fair; for although a splendid Gothic harness of the XVth century very rightly deserves the highest praise by reason of its beauty of line and soundness of construction, it must be borne in mind that the embossing and enriching of plate surfaces, which are characteristic features of XVIth century armour, were unknown and therefore unpractised in the greater part of the previous century. Those mediums of decoration were not in use, and if we have to regret the loss of contour which is occasionally noticeable in the later armaments, we have some compensation in the superb designs carried out on enriched harnesses.

Gorgeous enrichment is to be found, too, even in cases in which the

## THE DAWN OF THE XVI<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

graceful and slight outline of an earlier generation is maintained. In that splendid harness made by Seusenhofer for King Henry VIII, to which we shall refer later, all those characteristically graceful forms of an Italian late XV<sup>th</sup> century harness are present, the XVI<sup>th</sup> century influence appearing only in the surface etching. What a magnificent display this suit must have made in its original state! Who at that time, looking at this splendid example of the armourer's craft, so graceful in outline, so extremely workmanlike, so glittering in the freshness of its silver-gilt plating, its trimmings of gilded brass, would have deplored the advent of the XVI<sup>th</sup> century? Even to-day, after the passage of over three hundred years, and alas! after much rough handling, the suit still makes a dignified and impressive appeal. Its noble proportions continue to challenge admiration; its silver plating, now with little trace of its former gilding, still survives on certain less exposed portions of the surface; and, though their gilding has disappeared, the brass trimmings of the interlocked monograms of Katherine and Henry remain to border its tonlets. Part of its glory has indeed faded; but the essential features which to our mind distinguish this fine field harness are preserved as thoroughly as in the case of the most complete suit of the XV<sup>th</sup> century.

A horse armament with its surface etched in a fashion similar to that of the Seusenhofer suit, and which was also originally silver plated, can be seen in the Tower Armoury (Fig. 1002). It is this harness, we think, that presents one of the first instances of embossing or hammering from the back being employed so as to give surface decoration in relief. The design is boldly executed, the main theme of the embossed ornamentation being the Burgundian cross raguly, pomegranates, and the flint and steel of the Toison d'Or. The bold engraving upon the surface adds detail to the embossing, and the pomegranate design is duplicated round the border. The absence of roping and the general features of the harness suggest its date as being very early in the XVI<sup>th</sup> century, possibly within the first five years.

In our anxiety to deal at once with the decorated armour of the XVI<sup>th</sup> century, we have somewhat got ahead of our subject, and have omitted to mention that transitional type of harness which combined the elegance of the Gothic form with the robustness of the Maximilian order. Here the characteristic plain edging of the principal plates can be seen gradually developing into what is termed the "cabled" or "roped" pattern which represents the form of an actual twisted rope, and giving a finish to the edge of a plate. This roping remained in general fashion until the use of armour was abandoned at the end of the XVII<sup>th</sup> century. The full-stomached

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

globose breastplate is seen rapidly replacing the elegantly attenuated outline of that of the previous century. The placate, or plastron, except in very occasional instances, has indeed almost entirely disappeared, and becomes a short waist plate, laminated beneath the lower edge of the breastplate itself. The attractive so-called "Gothic" channelling of verging flutes, often meeting at obtuse or acute angles, gives way to the channelled armour so universally popular in the time of Maximilian. The cuff of the gauntlet again shortens, while the toe plates of the sollerets no longer assume the general outline of the human foot, but spread to widely exaggerated ends, known as "bear paws." Finally the armet *à rondelle* and the open *salade* are almost universally superseded by the close helmet, opening on a hinge down the side of the cheek-pieces, and by the open casque or burgonet with its protective buffe. The transitional suits of the dawning years of the XVIth century are pleasing, because they are essentially workmanlike, well proportioned, and, as a rule, of the best craftsmanship.

\* \* \*

Before attempting a classification of those suits of the XVIth century which have distinctive character, we shall pause in order to examine some of the harnesses in the Tower of London, so easily accessible to the amateur. The most important armour in the Tower belongs to the earlier part of the XVIth century, and the reader is referred to Mr. C. ffoulkes' "The Armouries of the Tower of London" for the catalogue of those harnesses of which we shall give but a brief account. If the visitor to the Tower wonders at the smallness of the collection as compared with those of Continental nations, Mr. ffoulkes' History of the Tower Armoury will tell him that the marvel is that there is so much to be seen, for the collection has been pillaged for pageants, neglected for long periods, and placed under the charge of ignorant and careless officials, and has only in modern times received care and understanding. The first important royal English armoury of which there is accurate record was brought together at the Palace of Greenwich. The exact date of its formation is not known; but it may be put as early in the reign of King Henry VIII, and perhaps at the time when that monarch established the new armouries there, that is to say in 1514. It appears that an armoury was attached to the palace and built in the year 1517. For twenty-five years, however, it must have only partially fulfilled its purpose. In an inventory of Greenwich Palace, taken in 1543, arms only are mentioned; but four years after that date, in an inventory of the property

## THE TOWER OF LONDON ARMOURY

of King Henry VIII, taken immediately after his death, a collection of arms and armour is carefully described. The volume recording the armour and arms in the Palaces of Westminster and Greenwich, as also those at the Tower, is now preserved in the library of the Society of Antiquaries of London; the remainder of the inventory, which deals with the "household" stuffs in the lesser palaces of King Henry VIII, is in the Harleian Collection of MSS. 1419 A and B. It is in this 1547 inventory that the first records of the more important suits now preserved in the Tower of London are to be found. Despite the fact that Greenwich Palace contained the larger armoury, the Tower of London seems to have been the show-place to which distinguished foreigners were taken. There are numerous records of the visits of ambassadors to the great storehouse and fortress. In 1515, for instance, Pasqualigo, the Venetian, writes that he had seen the Tower, where, besides the lions and leopards, he was shown the King's bronze artillery mounted on 400 carriages, and bows and arrows and pikes for 40,000 infantry. Again, in 1535 Chapuis writes to Charles V: "The French Ambassador showed no pleasure at any attention that was shown him, even at the Tower of London and the Ordnance." Yet again, Soranzo, the Venetian, reports in 1554: "His Majesty has a great quantity of very fine artillery . . . especially at the Tower of London, where the ammunition of every sort is preserved."

The amalgamation of the Royal Armoury of Greenwich with that of the Tower of London seems to have been effected between 1640 and 1644. There are records of partial removals in the intervening years, the latest being dated 1644. But prior to that date, in addition to artillery and weapons, particular suits of armour must have been exchanged; for in 1598 Paul Hentzner mentions seeing certain suits at the Tower of London which in the 1547 inventory are recorded as being at Greenwich Palace. Much of the older armour in the Tower of London was, by command of Queen Elizabeth, remodelled in 1562, when the order was given for "9 curates of olde Almaine rivets, 785 pairs of splynts, 482 sallets, 60 olde hedpec's, and 60 olde curats of dimilances" to be altered and transposed into plates for making 1500 jacks for use of the Navy. In 1635 Charles I issued a commission to Mountjoy, Earl of Newport—which, however, was never carried out—to select armour for 10,000 men from the Tower, and to sell the remainder to persons in the country who had none. The civil wars contributed largely to the abstraction of armour and arms from the Tower Armoury, both sides drawing from it on several occasions. The following account of a visit to the Tower paid in 1672 by Mons. Jorevin de Rochefort, an account interesting as showing the

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

state not only of the Tower but of antiquarian knowledge in those days, was published the same year in Paris, and is printed in Grove's "Antiquarian Repertory," iv, 569.

"The great Arsenal consists of several great halls, and magazines filled with arms of all sorts sufficient to equip an army of a hundred thousand men. Our conductor showed us a great hall, hung with casques and cuirasses for arming both infantry and cavalry; among others were some which had been worn by different Kings of England during their wars; they were all gilded and engraved in the utmost perfection. We saw the armour of William the Conqueror, with his great sword; and the armour of his Jester, to whose casque was fixed horns; he had, it is said, a handsome wife. . . . Moreover, they showed us a cuirass made with cloves, another of mother-of-pearl; these two were locked up in a separate closet. We passed into another hall, and there was nothing but muskets, pistols, musketoons, bandeliers, swords, pikes, and halberds, arranged in a very handsome order, so as to represent figures of many sorts. We saw William the Conqueror's musket, which is of such length and thickness that it is as much as a man can do to carry it on his shoulders. We descended from this room into another place where there are the magazines of cannons, bullets, powder and match, and other machines of war, each in its particular place. But after all, this is nothing when compared to that of Venice. It is true that I saw in a cabinet in the King's Palace, many arms, which, for their beauty and exquisite workmanship, surpassed the rarest in the Arsenal of Venice. This was by the permission of Monsieur de la Mare, the King's Armourer."

In the XVIIIth century the Tower of London was considered to be the most important of London's show-places. After the Restoration the armaments were refurbished up, Grinling Gibbons himself being entrusted with the task of giving an appropriate setting to the then much depleted armoury; even to-day Gibbons's handiwork is manifest in two of the wooden horses on which certain of the figures are placed. Sir Samuel Meyrick states that the figures of Charles I and his horse and of Charles II and his horse were actually carved by Grinling Gibbons in 1686; which, however, were mysteriously changed into the likeness of James II. One king's face and horse were carved by William Morgan in 1688; in the same year John Nort and Thomas Quillans were each responsible for one, while Marmaduke Townson carved two. Again, in the year 1690, John Nort carved five other faces, while the face of William III was carved by a certain Alcock in 1702. Mistakes as absurd as those of which

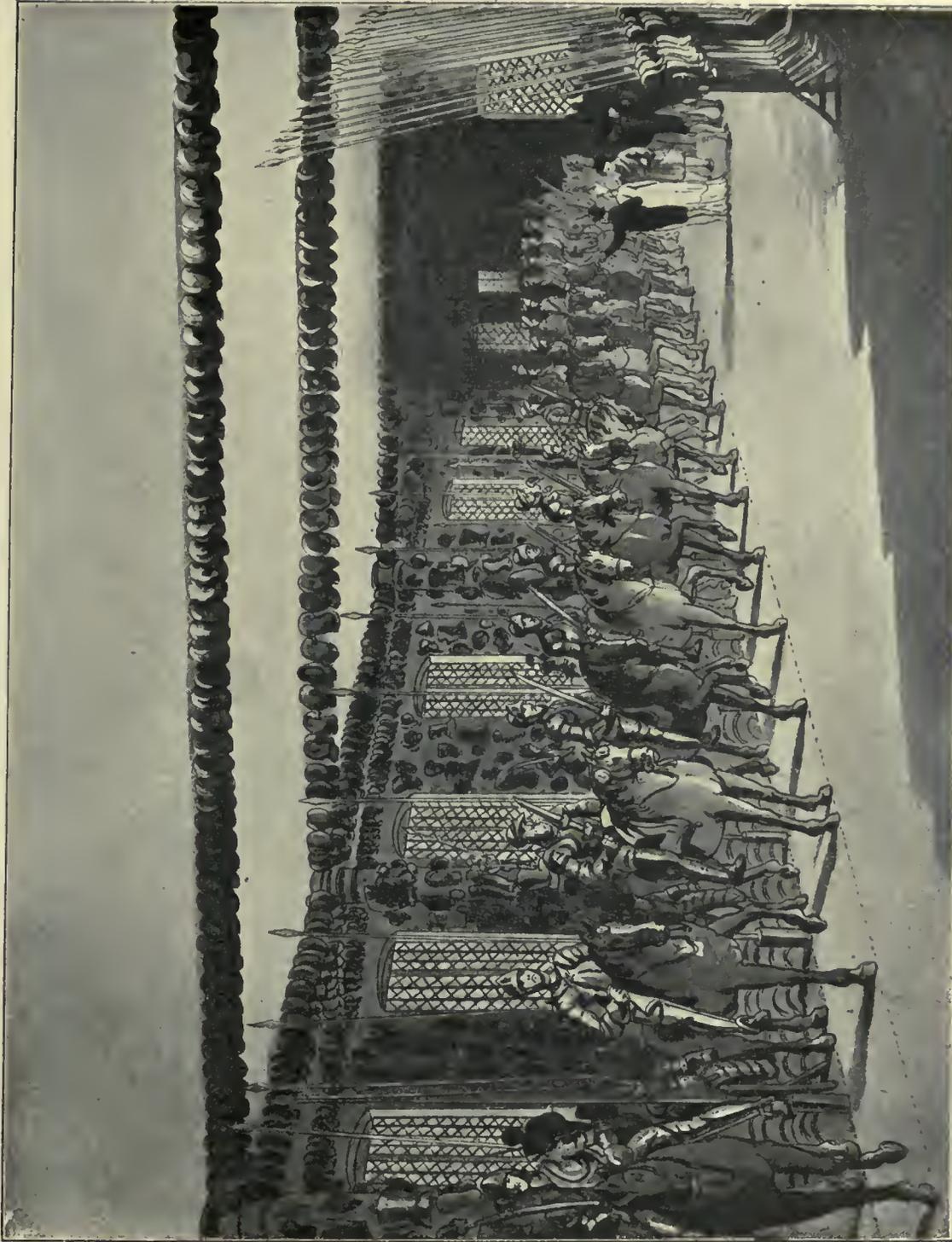


FIG. 1015. THE HORSE ARMOURY OF THE TOWER OF LONDON IN 1809  
After Rowlandson. From Ackermann's "Microcosm of London"

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

Mons. Jorevin de Rochefort was guilty in the XVIIth century were made late in the XVIIIth and early XIXth centuries in the descriptions of the armour and weapons. A coloured aquatint after Rowlandson, published in 1809, appearing in Ackermann's "Microcosm of London," shows a view of the so-called horse or royal armoury of the Tower with a row of mounted figures (Fig. 1015). According to the letterpress of Ackermann these were the "effigies of the Kings of England, clad in armour and on horseback, inclusively from William the Conqueror to his late Majesty George II."

In the year 1825 Dr. Samuel Rush Meyrick received the royal commands to rearrange the horse and Spanish armouries, as they were then called; but instead of that learned antiquary being given a free hand, he was hampered by the instructions of the War Office. He was allowed to arrange the armour upon the principal equestrian figures in a certain chronological order, and to do away with the gross absurdity of exhibiting a suit of the reign of Elizabeth as one that belonged to William the Conqueror; but he was not permitted to destroy entirely the "line of kings," or when he did, was ordered to assign the mounted figure to some great personage. Dr. Meyrick was knighted for his gratuitous services: he did his work conscientiously, exploding nearly all the XVIIIth century absurdities of attribution. After the lapse of a quarter of a century Mr. J. R. Planché, well known in his triple capacity as herald, authority on costume, and writer of extravaganzas, started a crusade against the War Office authorities for permitting the gross irregularities that disgraced the management of the Tower armouries. It was at this period, from the end of the 'thirties to the 'sixties of the XIXth century, that purchases were made by the authorities in charge. These, for the most part, were puerile forgeries, nearly all the work of one Grimshaw, a clever artificer, who supplied with each of his products an account of its so-called discovery. The building which then contained the armoury was simply an annexe, through the roofs and skylights of which, as Mr. Planché records, the rain penetrated, forming pools of water in the gangways, and dripping upon the armour and weapons. Although Mr. Planché started his agitation for the improvement of the Tower Armoury in 1855, it was not until 1869 that he was allowed to do something, and he did all that was possible, in view of the narrow-minded official control of the time. In 1885 the annexe was demolished, and the armoury reinstated in the White Tower. Little attempt was made at a scientific arrangement; indeed, it may be said that, if possible, the care of it relaxed. Only twenty years ago a figure in a suit of Eastern chain mail, and mounted, was described as that of a

## THE TOWER OF LONDON ARMOURY

Norman Crusader; there were other anachronisms almost as glaring. The late Mr. Barber, who had charge of the Armouries for many years, was conscientious, but unobserving. The armour, under his care, was vigorously scoured at given intervals by the troops of the garrison, by no means to its advantage. The appointment, however, of Viscount Dillon as Curator of the Armouries in 1895 saved them from continuing to be what they were at one time—the laughing-stock of the continental *cognoscenti*. On Viscount Dillon's retirement in 1913 Mr. Charles ffoulkes, F.S.A., was chosen as Curator. Mr. ffoulkes has done admirable work in the Tower Armouries, and no appreciation can do justice to the value of the splendid catalogue of our national collection for which he is responsible.

\* \* \*

Having thus very briefly outlined the past history of the armour at the Tower, we will deal individually and in chronological order with certain historical XVIth century suits preserved there. No suits are likely to have greater interest for the armour lover, and especially the Englishman, than those war harnesses, for they may all be accepted as having truly belonged to the royal and noble personages to whom they are now accredited. Of the suits in question, one—already referred to—is known for certain to have been the personal property of King Henry VIII, and it is probable that four others also belonged to him. The one known to have been his is that mounted harness, made to measure for King Henry, somewhere between the years 1511 and 1514 by Conrad Seusenhofer of Innsbrück (Fig. 1016). Until 1895 it was supposed that it was presented to King Henry VIII by the Emperor Maximilian on the occasion of the English monarch's marriage with Katherine of Aragon in 1509. But inasmuch as Viscount Dillon has yet to lay before the Society of Antiquaries his promised notes on the making and despatch to England of this particular suit, the reader must be content with such information as we ourselves can glean as to its history. In the 1547 inventory, to which we have already referred (*ante*, page 191), this suit is described under the following item in "Grenewich. In the Custodye of Sr Thomas Pastone knight," etc.

"In the first House. Itm Upon the Third horse a Harnesse given unto the kings Maiestie by Themperor Maximilian w<sup>th</sup> a base of stele and goldesmythe worke Silver and guilte with A border abowt the same silver and guilte of Goldesmythes worke and A barde of stele w<sup>th</sup> a Burgonion Crosse and a fusye and a Saddell with A crymmyn and A shaffron to the same" (see Fig. 1002).

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

The 1561 inventory gives no details of ornament and says: "Armoure sent to Kinge Henrie the eight by themperor Maximilian one."

The 1611 inventory describes a suit at Greenwich, "in the greene gallery," as: "One feilde Armo<sup>r</sup> of an olde fashion with a base of steele the horses furniture being a barbe crinitt and shaffron all being silvered and guilte." It will be noted that its attribution to King Henry VIII is omitted.

The 1629 inventory records the same entry.

The 1660 inventory furnishes evidence of its removal to the Tower of London and for the first time it figures as "Masking armour compleat reported to be made for King Henry the vij"—thus being put back a reign.

In the 1676 inventory is the same entry.

In the 1683 and 1688 inventories is the same entry, "masking" being spelt "masqueing."

In the 1688 inventory the suit is valued at £100.

In the inventory of 1691 and finally in that of 1693 appear the same entry and valuation.

In the archives of Innsbrück (*Missiven*, fol. 20) there is the entry that seven armours were ordered and that two cuirasses were already made by Conrad Seusenhofer for the King of England, one gilded and one silvered. The latter in all probability formed part of the harness we refer to; for in 1511 this harness was put in hand as a present from Maximilian to Henry VIII. On 19 May 1511 Sir Robert Wingfield writes to King Henry from Innsbrück saying: "Jerningham hath set all your harness . . . also all that harness which the Emperor doth (send to your) grace." This would certainly appear to be the suit in question. In all the inventories from 1660 down to 1827 this historical suit is attributed to the ownership of King Henry VII. The only explanation of this statement must lie in the fact that in the inventories of 1547 and of 1561 a suit is described which has since disappeared—a suit belonging to Henry VII, but resembling the Henry VIII suit. In the former inventory the suit figures as follows: "Westm<sup>r</sup>.—In the chardge of Hans Hunter armerer.

"First. A complete harnesse with a longe bast allow<sup>n</sup> engraven and pcell guilte with Rooses and Pomegranetts which was King Henry vii<sup>th</sup> his harnesse.

"Itm a shaffron to the said harnesse."

It is again alluded to in the 1561 inventory: "Armour guilte your Majestiés [Queen Elizabeth's] Grandfathers King Henry the Seventh." After this date the suit appears to be no longer in the royal collection, or if it is



FIG. 1016. SUIT OF ARMOUR PRESENTED TO HENRY VIII

Made some time between 1511 and 1514 for the Emperor Maximilian I of Germany. The work of Conrad Seusenhofer of Innsbrück. Tower of London, Class II, No. 5

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

it is quite unrecognizable in the subsequent inventories of 1611, 1629, 1660, 1676, 1683, 1691, and 1693. Since the description of this Henry VII suit in the 1547 inventory accords with the description of the Seusenhofer suit, and since the Seusenhofer suit is newly christened in the 1660 inventory as "masking armour compleat reported to be made for King Henry the vij," the King Henry VIII suit continued to be described as the armour of King Henry VII until 1827, when Sir Samuel Meyrick recognized it as being the King Henry VIII suit clearly defined in the 1547 inventory.



FIG. 1017. FROM A DRAWING DATED 1510 (SIGNED A. D.)

A suit of armour much like the Henry VIII Seusenhofer suit in the Tower.  
Gallery of Engravings, Berlin

There is a drawing in the Gallery of Engravings, Berlin (Fig. 1017), perhaps by Albrecht Dürer, dated 1510, of a complete suit of horse armour stated to have been made by order of Maximilian, though apparently not for himself, which very closely resembles the Tower suit. In the drawing three views of the suit are given, while in the top right-hand corner there are three studies of interchangeable helmets. Can these be pictures, more or less faithful, of the Henry VIII Seusenhofer suit in the Tower? Mr. J. R. Planché, in his brochure on "British Costume," published in 1849, after alluding to this

## THE TOWER OF LONDON ARMOURY

Henry VIII suit in the Tower, states that it is precisely similar in shape to a suit preserved in the little Belvidere palace at Vienna which belonged to Maximilian himself. The present writer, however, is at a loss to know to what suit Mr. Planché can have referred, as he is unacquainted with any suit now at Vienna that resembles it either in decoration or in form.

Looking at the suit as one sees it to-day, one can only marvel that it has survived the ruthless treatment of the centuries that have passed since its production. Fortunately a drastic restoration of it suggested in 1841 by the late Mr. John Hewitt never took place.

It was his intention "to restore the suit by regilding"; he remarks in his catalogue: "that so desirable a work has so long been delayed is only to be regretted."

Fashioned for a youth of twenty and made by a German armourer, this harness is yet by reason of its very elegant proportions a suit decidedly and strangely Italian in construction. Look at the armet head-piece (Vol. ii, Fig. 447), the shape of the breastplate, and form of the elbow cops, and it takes but a very small stretch of the imagination to describe them as a late production of one of the *Missaglia*; yet this is perhaps the only suit now extant that bears the mark which we now know was employed by Conrad Seusenhofer. Nothing in this harness is exaggerated in form, save possibly the bases, tonnlets, or



FIG. 1017A. TONNLETS

Riggs Collection, Metropolitan Museum  
New York

skirt, which, after all, were but a conventional rendering in metal of the civil skirt of the time. This curiosity in the way of plate armour is, however, no rarity. In Mr. W. H. Riggs' Collection, given to the Metropolitan Museum of New York, are a pair of tonnlets (Fig. 1017A) of almost precisely similar construction, slashed and etched, and curiously enough there is a tradition attaching to them that they were originally obtained from the Tower of London early in the XIXth century. Mr. Riggs acquired them from Prince Soltikoff, who purchased them at a sale of old iron at the Tower, having been informed by Sir Walter Scott, when he met him at a friend's house at dinner, that there was to be a sale at the Tower of old

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

iron, which really consisted of old armour. In more complete form they can be seen on the suits in the Imperial Armoury of Vienna, notably on that beautiful little harness, made in all probability for Charles V when a boy of six, though formerly ascribed in the catalogue of the Vienna Armoury to the ownership of Philip I, King of Castille.

There has been some discussion as to the use for which this gift suit of Henry VIII was originally constructed; for it is mentioned in several of the older Tower inventories as "masking" or "masqueing" armour. We are of opinion that this word simply means that the suit was used in pageants, and we do not think that Sir S. R. Meyrick was correct in thinking that the word was a contraction of "damasked" or "damascened." We are strongly of opinion that this Seusenhofer suit was made for use only in actual warfare. The absence of the lance rest on the heavily made breastplate almost prohibits the use of the suit in the lists; while the construction and weight of the armour are quite adequate for purposes of hard fighting.

The remains of its surface enrichment, after centuries of neglect and after subsequent vigorous over-cleaning, now consists in a well-drawn though simple and direct design, executed with a broad engraving tool, illustrating the martyrdom of St. George and St. Barbara, groups of the Tudor Rose, the pomegranate, and the portcullis, badges of King Henry VIII, while bundles of arrows, the badge assumed by Ferdinand, the father of Katherine of Aragon, after his conquest of Granada, also appear. A detailed description of the decoration generally was given by Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick in *Archaeologia XXII*. Originally the whole surface of the suit was thickly plated with silver, a considerable amount of which, in the less exposed portions of the suit, still exists. This again may have been gilded; for gilding on a foundation of silver is more brilliant than when applied directly upon the steel surface. Bordering the skirt bases is applied an ornament in latten—no doubt also formerly gilt but now polished to a brightened surface—which introduces the duplicated monogram H. K. This applied border had doubtless between it and its steel foundation a layer of velvet, or even of cloth of gold, as in the case of the little suit made for Charles V, already mentioned, in which traces of the textile enrichment are still extant. What a thing of beauty it must originally have been with its brilliantly silvered or gilded surface and its applied gilded ornaments! However, little is missing to-day of the foundation of the suit save the gauntlets. This famous harness tells its historical story to-day in a few broken records; but for the armour enthusiast it has the additional interest of being a suit which can claim a recorded



(a)



(b)

FIG. 1018. SUIT OF ARMOUR FOR FIGHTING ON FOOT, MADE FOR KING HENRY VIII  
English (?), first quarter of the XVIth century. Tower of London, Class II, No. 6

(a) Front view

(b) Back view

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

provenance and a more or less definite date of production, a date which serves to provide the writer on armour with one or two careful starting-points. Viscount Dillon, in his description of the suit, states that the armour for the man alone weighs 64 lb. 13 oz., and that the accompanying armour for the horse weighs 69 lb. 3 oz.

We have alluded to the horse armour made to match it (*ante*, page 194).

Next, in striking evidence of King Henry's athletic figure at the age of about twenty-five, may be seen that splendid fighting suit in the Tower of London, Class II, No. 6, intended for use on foot alone (Fig. 1018). It is a suit of war armour in the truest sense of the word. Every idea of ease in wear and all possibility of quick movement have been sacrificed to its ingenious protective quality. Once arrayed in this harness the wearer could neither sit nor ride, nor could he raise his elbows more than a little above the waist line as here shown in the illustration. The suit weighs 94 lb., and no less than 235 separate parts go to make it. Though doubtless it is recorded, we are unable definitely to identify this suit either in the 1547 or in the 1561 inventory; but there is recorded at Greenwich a suit that might be it, viz.: "Armour complete for the Body of your Mat<sup>s</sup> late father King Henry the Eighth." In the 1611 inventory there is mentioned at Greenwich in Mr. Pickering's "woorkehouse": "One Footemans armo<sup>r</sup> compleate made for King Henry the Eight." This seems to describe the suit. In the 1629 inventory of Greenwich of the contents of the workhouse is the same entry: "One footemans arm<sup>r</sup> Compleate made for King Henry Eighte." In the 1660 inventory of the "closet within the armoury at the Tower" it is again recorded with an additional identification: "Armour of King Henry the 8<sup>th</sup> cap-a-pe, being rough from the hammer." In the 1676 inventory it figures as: "Armour Capape rough from y<sup>e</sup> hammer said to be King Henry y<sup>e</sup> 8<sup>th</sup>. 1 suite." In the 1683 inventory it is entered as: "Compleate black armour rough from the hammer said to have been made for King Henry the Eighth." In the 1688 inventory and valuation it appears as: "Armour for K. H. 8<sup>th</sup> rough from the Hammer . . . £40." This same description and valuation figures in the inventories of 1691 and 1693. The statement that it was left rough from the hammer is hardly correct; but its present brightened surface certainly has not that finish generally associated with fine harnesses of this time. Viscount Dillon, who was responsible for the remounting and re-strapping of this suit, states that it has evidently been originally "glaised" or freed from all hammer marks, but that its present somewhat uneven surface is due to the ill-advised over-cleaning of the past.

## THE TOWER OF LONDON ARMOURY

The Henry VIII suit, the gift of Maximilian, is known to be the work of Seusenhofer; but in the case of the other Tower suits which presumably belonged to this same monarch, there is no direct evidence to identify the armourer who produced them. The fighting suit we have just described shows, however, traces of German influence, adapted to a fashion that might almost be considered English. It is a harness made essentially for fights on foot in the lists, the weapons used in conjunction with it being the

two-handed sword, the estoc, the pole and battle-axe, and the pike. Many of its constructional features are interesting, foremost, its absolute protective quality; for save the palms of the hands every portion of the body is covered with plate. The inside bend of the knee and arms, the gluteal muscles and privy parts, and even the exposed parts of the armpit have lames of steel for their defence, each lame working on the other by means of the slotted almaine rivets, such as are well shown on the inside view of the culet (Fig. 1019). It should be noted that the toe-caps are grooved and that the elbow-cops have fluted fans at the sides. An interesting feature is that neither the gauntlets nor the sollerets could be wrenched off; for the former fit beneath the inturned lower edges of the vambraces and the latter fit over the ridged lower extremities of the jambs. The last method is also employed for attaching the lower edge of the helmet to the gorget plate. The helmet is illustrated separately in Fig. 498.

With the exception of a lame from the gorget and one thumb-piece nothing is now missing from this harness, which is entirely void of decoration. It is probable that it was originally a blue-black colour: indeed, as we have said, it is described as "black" in the 1683 inventory, but that may be on account of the black paint with which most of the armour at the Tower was coated, presumably to preserve it, previous to the reign of William and Mary.



FIG. 1019. INSIDE VIEW OF THE CULETTE OF THE SUIT (FIG. 1018)

Showing the working of the slotted almaine rivets. Tower of London, Class II, No. 6



FIG. 1020. SUIT OF ARMOUR FOR FIGHTING ON FOOT, MADE FOR KING HENRY VIII  
First quarter of the XVIth century. Possibly English, produced under Italian influence  
Tower of London, Class II, No. 7

## THE TOWER OF LONDON ARMOURY

We ascribe the next Tower suit, Class II, No. 7 (Fig. 1020), to the ownership of King Henry VIII simply by reason of its proportions and period; for it is not assigned to that monarch in any of the inventories of that time. It must be later in date than the one we have just dealt with; for it is actually the King's harness it shows him grown stouter. In the 1547 inventory it is described as being "In the bigger of the litle Houses" at "Greenwich."

"Itm one Tunlett pcell guilte wt a Basenett complete Lackinge one gauntlett." In the inventory of 1561 we fail to identify it, unless the entry "Footmans Harnesse guilt . . . one" refers to it. In the 1611 inventory we find it again in "the greene gallery Greenwich": "One olde fashioned armo<sup>r</sup> called a Trundlett parcell guilte and graven."

In the 1629 inventory of "the greene gallery Greenwich," we again come across it—but on a mounted figure; though how a suit with such a skirt was placed upon a horse we are at a loss to comprehend: "And upon one other horse one old-fashioned armo<sup>r</sup> called a Trundlett parcell guilte and graven." In the subsequent inventories of 1660, 1676, 1688, 1691, and 1693 we fail to recognize it unless it is the "Foote armour of Henry viij<sup>th</sup>, richly guilt consisting of backe, brest, and placket, Taces, gorget, a burgonet with a buffe or chin peece . . . one" mentioned in the 1660 inventory of the Tower. But as that entry clearly assigns a burgonet with a buffe as the head-piece to the foot armour, and omits to mention the arm defences, we are very doubtful whether it is the one we are looking for. It will therefore be seen that in the only two passages in the inventories in which we are able to identify it, there is no mention of the armour as having belonged to King Henry VIII.

We are again quite in the dark as to who made the actual body armour, for it is without an armourer's mark; but it strangely resembles in its workmanship, more especially as regards the etched ornament, the horse armour shown in Fig. 1024. The slightly globose breastplate and its deep skirt or tonnet of nine lames is ridged in the Maximilian fashion, and the etching on the alternate flutes of the breastplate and on the tonnet is so arranged as to show a chequer pattern. The pauldrons are ample, and in their fashioning show a very distinct Italian influence. The complete arms are of somewhat small proportions and are quite in accordance with the period, laminated plates protecting the inner bend of the arm. The gauntlets, which are unfortunately missing, have been replaced by two massive mitten gauntlets, out of scale with the rest of the harness. The suit has now no leg defences, the skirt

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

falling to the knees; but undoubtedly it must have originally possessed them, for there is evidence that such tonnet suits, in all completeness, existed; witness those to be seen in the Imperial Armoury of Vienna. The large bascinet head-piece on this suit, though supplied to it doubtless at the time at which it was put together, is from the hand of one of the Missaglia of Milan, probably the work of Antonio; but we have to admit that the mark of this family of armourers that appears at the back of the bascinet is almost obliterated. On referring to Vol. i, Figs. 212 and 213, the reader will note similar head-pieces by foreign armourers added to otherwise homogeneous suits. We have described this particular helm or great bascinet on page 159 of Vol. ii (Fig. 497); but we omitted to mention there that the collar of the Order of the Garter boldly etched around the gorget plate is the chief decoration of this very fine head-piece. We have claimed, but on no contemporary evidence, that this suit once belonged to King Henry VIII; it is so like in proportions to the harness we have just described, and so significant is the circumstance of the garter chain being etched around the gorget of the helmet, that it may fairly be accepted, we think, as having once been worn by him.

It is very apparent that this type of skirted harness was only used for fighting on foot in the lists, the combatants being armed either with pikes, pole arms, two-handed or foining swords. The construction of the skirt would make it quite impossible for its wearer to sit a horse, as it is only flexible in a vertical direction, and so is unlike the bases on the first of the Henry VIII suits described, which, extending in a solid plate from the waist downwards, have at the front and at the back shaped plates which could be removed so as to enable the wearer to bestride a horse. According to Viscount Dillon these skirted suits were called "tonnelets" and "tonnes," though in later inventories they are described as "trundlets."

The remaining two suits, or rather one very complete suit on two figures (Class II, Nos. 8 and 9), which were in the Tower Armoury until 1914 and ascribed to the ownership of King Henry VIII, are of the most generous proportions, and if ever worn by him, which is more than likely, must have been made for use in his latter years. They cannot be definitely identified in the 1547 or later inventories; but when we arrive at the 1660 inventory, two white and gilt suits which were then in the Tower are stated to have been the respective properties of King Henry VIII and of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. There is the likelihood that this particular suit, in its two parts, formed those two harnesses referred to. The inventories after 1660

## THE TOWER OF LONDON ARMOURY

continue to record these Henry VIII and Brandon suits; but it is now quite impossible to say whether they refer to this double Henry VIII suit we are



*a*



*b*

FIG. 1021. SUIT OF ARMOUR FOR MAN AND HORSE

Probably of French make, dated 1537. Probably made for Jacques Gourdon de Genouilhac, Grand Master of Artillery to Francis I

(*a*) The armour on a mounted figure, with the saddle and horse armour

(*b*) The armour on a dismounted figure

Formerly in the possession of the Duchesse d'Uzès. Now in the Riggs Collection, Metropolitan Museum, New York

now considering. Both these Henry VIII suits, as we will continue to call them, are from the same unknown hand; indeed, the exact resemblance to

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

one another, since they vary but slightly in the arrangement of their border ornament, has led the author to consider them to be one complete suit, with interchangeable parts.

Now as to the nationality of this double suit and the armourer who produced them. Here we are in the region of conjecture, for we have no record of them save in the 1660 inventory, which may or may not refer to them. They do not appear to be the work of the Almaine or German armourers in the employ of the King; for the fashion of the various plates and the method of their etched and gilt enrichment inclines to be Italian. Yet they are not wholly in accordance with Italian harnesses. Can they be French? And may they not have been presented to Henry VIII by Francis I? For if, as is attested by the *Comptes des Bâtimens*, the French monarch ordered fighting harnesses made by the French armourers René de Champdamour, Larnes Senet, and Loys Merveilles, to be sent as gifts to the Duc de Guise, to Cardinal de Lorraine, and to the Constable of France, may he not have ordered one as a similar token of friendship to be sent to the King of England?

The author hazards this surmise after the personal examination of a very famous suit which he had the opportunity of examining, though, unfortunately, not very thoroughly, a suit until recently in the Château de Bonnelle, and the property of the Duchesse d'Uzès, and now in the Riggs Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of New York (Fig. 1021). Now the tradition attaching to this suit, which is dated in the ornamentation in four places, 1527, is that it belonged to Sieur Jacques Gourdon de Genouilhac or "Galiot," born 1466, died 1546, a distinguished warrior at the court of Louis XII and Francis I, in whose latter reign he held the office of Grand Master of Artillery. Dr. Bashford Dean has given his reasons for corroborating this tradition (*Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of New York*, vol. xiv, No. 10), but states that at present no documentary evidence is forthcoming to prove it.

What is certain is that the Genouilhac suit must have been made by the same armourer who produced the great double suit in the Tower of London with which we are dealing. Allowing for the differences in decoration due to the personal preferences of the wearers, they correspond plate for plate in construction. The Tower suits are cleaned and polished down to a plane far below the original surface level; although, considering the harassing times through which they have passed, they are fairly sound—thanks to their original thick and heavy make. But the Genouilhac suit is even to-day in almost its pristine

## THE TOWER OF LONDON ARMOURY

glory, a wealth of thick gold plating and etching of which we illustrate parts (Figs. 1022 and 1028A). Indeed, we have no hesitation in pronouncing it to be one of the grandest suits of armour extant. There is surely no improbability in the idea of a French Grand Master of Artillery having a suit made by French armourers who, though now unknown, produced work which conforms neither to German nor to Italian fashion. And if it is reasonable to consider the Genouilhac suit as the product of France, then the double great suit in the Tower must be held to come from the same source.

The workmanship of this great double suit is of the most perfect finish throughout, and the decoration simple and satisfying in its balance of orna-

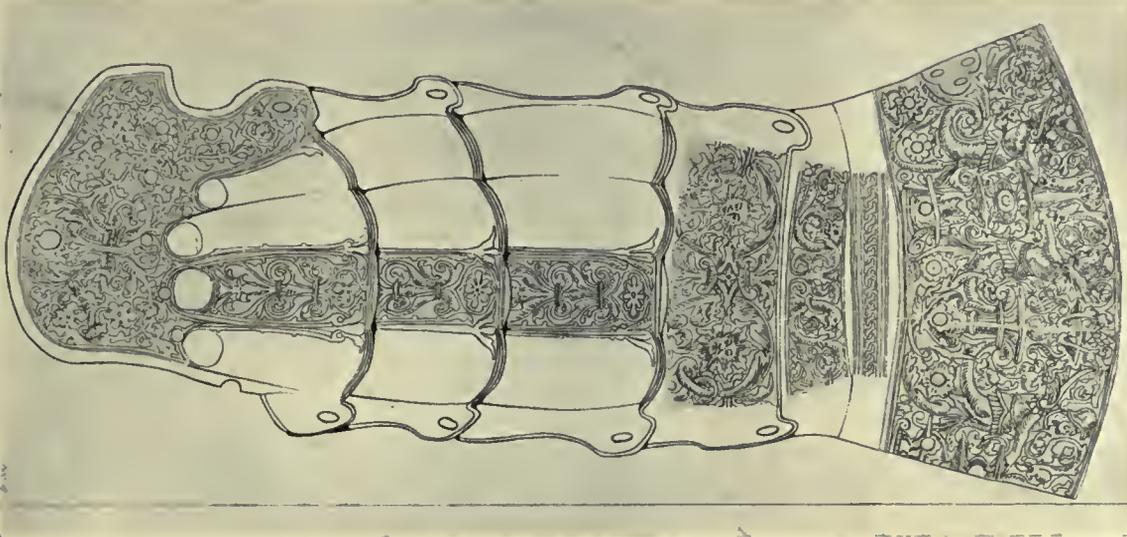


FIG. 1022. LOCKING GAUNTLET OF THE GENOUILHAC SUIT

Showing the design of the etching

ment. Each plate is finely formed and very characteristic of the fashion of the period, about 1530-40. The iron used is hard, close, and black in texture. All the borders, slightly recessed, are thinly etched with conventional duplicated scrollwork, gilt, which, in places, introduces the pomegranate and rose. The rivets connecting plate to plate are steel-headed and the border-rivets securing the lining have hemispherical heads cased in latten. We shall refer again to the suit at the end of the chapter (*post*, page 239).

Our first illustration (Fig. 1023) shows part of the Henry VIII double suit mounted, which the author remembers being labelled as having belonged to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, a tradition we have already mentioned. Upon this armour is a simply-fashioned close helmet with a low but very finely moulded skull-piece; the visor is interchangeable with others,

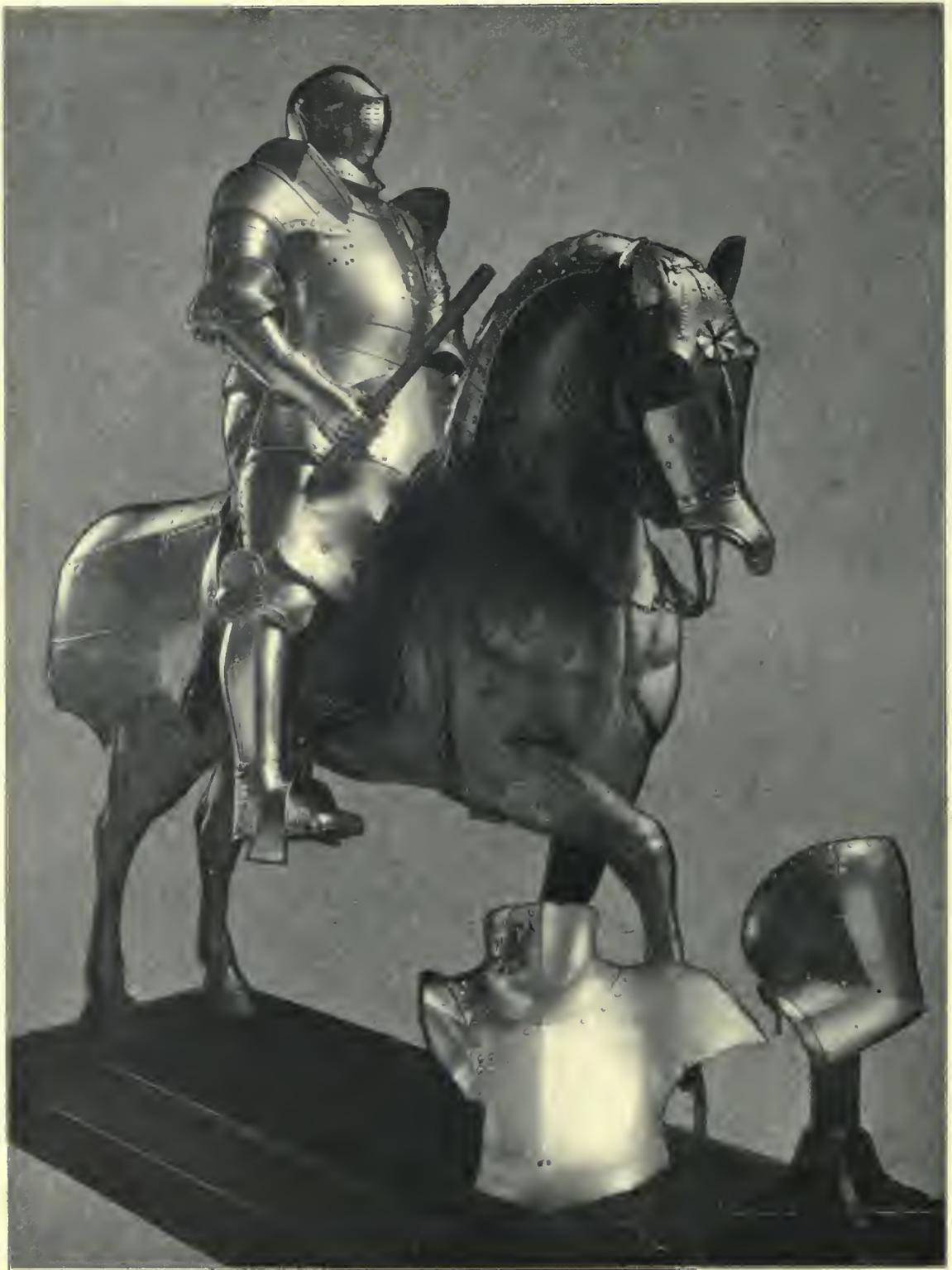


FIG. 1023. ONE PART OF THE GREAT SUIT OF ARMOUR MADE FOR KING HENRY VIII  
Probably of French make, about 1540. With the exception of the saddle steels, the horse armour is  
associated. Removed from the Tower of London to Windsor Castle in 1914 by  
command of His Majesty the King

## THE TOWER OF LONDON ARMOURY

and there is a full and high gorget. The arms are complete, furnished with ample pauldrons which have upright neck-guards. There is a large tilting



FIG. 1024. THE OTHER PART OF THE GREAT SUIT OF ARMOUR MADE FOR KING HENRY VIII  
Probably of French make, about 1540. The poitrel and croupière of the horse armour are  
associated. Tower of London, Class II, No. 8

gauntlet on the left hand. The breastplate, which is slightly globose and of huge girth, is fitted with holes for the attachment of the tilting lance-rest, and with a staple in front to fasten the grand guard. To the breastplate are attached the taces and tassets. There is the backplate, with the *garde-de-*

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

*rein*; also fine large cuisses, knee-cops, jambs, and large sollerets laminated at the ankle; the bear's paw formation of the toe-cap is not exaggerated. The saddle steels, together with the stirrups both belong to it. The rest of the horse armour is associated, as is the right-hand gauntlet. In September 1914 this portion of the great Henry VIII suit was dismantled and sent to the armoury of Windsor Castle in part exchange for armour sent from Windsor as to the Tower of London. Our frontispiece in Vol. i shows it dismantled and as now to be seen in the Windsor Castle Armoury. Upon the other horse in the Tower of London, Class II, No. 8 (Fig. 1024), there is an almost similar group of armour, though there are differences in the formation of certain of the plates



FIG. 1025. A "FALLING" BUFFE,  
ETCHED WITH ORNAMENTS  
Tower of London, Class II, No. 8 R

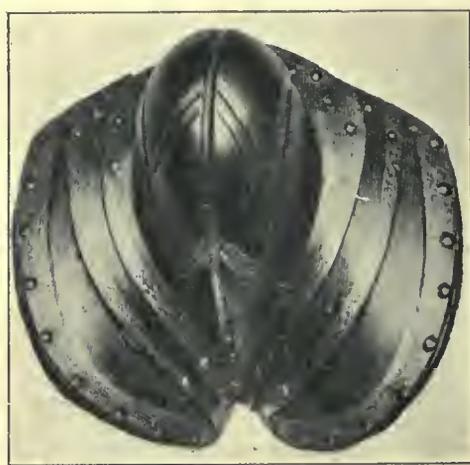


FIG. 1026. BRAYETTE  
From the Henry VIII suit (Figs. 1023 and 1024).  
Removed from Windsor Castle to the Tower  
of London in 1914 by command of His  
Majesty the King

—mainly in the case of the pauldrons, which are a little more ample in proportions, though the right upright shoulder guard is now missing. The interior bend of the arm-pieces is in this suit protected by laminated plates; the cuisses of the leg defences are formed of small and insignificant plates; there are no sollerets, but simple toe-caps of metal; the rest of the foot defence must have been of chain mail; there is a large tilting gauntlet for the left hand. The saddle steels, stirrups, somewhat small chanfron, and crinet of ten plates, belong to this suit; the other horse armour is associated. The extra reinforcing and interchangeable plates, now in the Tower of London, belonging to these two harnesses are: a grand-guard, a plate for reinforcing the left arm, a pair of arms finishing at the turners immediately above the rerebraces, a set of taces



FIG. 1027

- No. 106. A locking gauntlet. (Class II, 8 G.)
- No. 103. A bridle mitten gauntlet. (Class II, 8 H.)
- Nos. 96 and 100. Pair of cuisses. (Class II, 8 K.)
- No. 107. The cantle plates of a saddle.
- Nos. 114 and 114A. Two grand-guards. (Class II, B and C.)
- Nos. 92 and 94. Pair of mitten gauntlets. (Class II, 8 F.)
- No. 102. Reinforcing elbow plate. (Class II, 8 D.)

The individual numbers are from the official Windsor Castle Armoury Catalogue of 1904. The numbers in brackets are those assigned to the pieces in the Tower, whither they were removed from Windsor by command of His Majesty the King in 1914.

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

and tassets, a culette for the gluteal muscles for use on foot alone, and a pair of jambs now on a fluted suit. The additional pieces for the helmet are as follows: a chin-piece, an umbril, two buffes, one from which all the etching has been obliterated by polishing, the other (Fig. 1025) the whole surface of which has been etched in the shallow manner significant of the armourer with scrolls in the manner of the cantle steels of one of the saddles, two mezails, one of which was removed from a XVIIth century suit in St. James's Palace in 1908 and sent back to the Tower by command of King Edward VII.



FIG. 1028. PLATES

From the croupière of the horse armour (?), Henry VIII suit. Removed from Windsor Castle to the Tower of London in 1914 by command of His Majesty the King (No. 109, Catalogue of Windsor Armoury, 1904) Class VI, No. 17

There were formerly to be seen in the Armoury of Windsor fourteen separate plates, reinforcing and otherwise, which all belonged originally to this great suit. We think it will now ever remain a mystery why certain parts of certain suits in the Tower were until recently to be found at Windsor Castle, and *vice versa*. All the extra tilting pieces belonging to what we call the Henry VIII suit were returned to the Tower of London in September 1914 by command of His Majesty King George V in exchange for other armour.

Of the odd pieces of this large Tower suit, now preserved in the Tower, the brayette (Class II, 8 J) deservedly ranks foremost in interest (Fig. 1026), No. 664 in the 1904 Windsor Catalogue. It was found in 1901, concealed beneath a basket of old rubbish in the unused room, No. 656, in the Round Tower, where many important fragments had been thrown as useless lumber during a certain reorganization of the Windsor Armoury in 1847. There is every reason to believe that it is the actual brayette mentioned for the first time in the 1676 inventory of the Tower of London as follows: "King Henry y<sup>e</sup> 8<sup>th</sup>s Codpeece parcell Gilt"; mentioned again in the 1683 inventory: "Codpeece of King Henry the Eighth's parcell gilt"; and again in the 1688 inventory and valuation: "K: H: 8<sup>th</sup> Codp̄cē parcell Gilt," though no value is placed against this particular armament. The same record appears in the inventories of 1691 and 1693. This codpiece or brayette is certainly one of the most complete examples of this particular defence in existence; for not only does it possess

## THE TOWER OF LONDON ARMOURY

the two extra laminated plates on either side of its main plate, but it still retains its original tow packing, covered with coarse linen and crimson velvet. Its exterior surface is russeted to a rich brown colour, and upon the principal plate it is grooved in flutings connected by double chevron bands. These are etched with floral foliage, fully gilt, while the borderings of the various plates are decorated in a like manner, but the bands are wider. The outside plates are



FIG. 1028A. REINFORCING PLATE OF THE BREASTPLATE OF THE GENOUILIAC SUIT  
Showing the designs of the etching

finished by the edge being turned under to a flattened cable; the outline is followed by a row of large hemispherically-headed rivets that retain the lining in position. This largely developed form of brayette was worn when the harness was used for contests on foot in the *champ clos*. Next in importance is the gauntlet, No. 106 in the 1904 Windsor Catalogue, now Class II, 8 G, in the Tower (Fig. 1027), known as "locking" on account of the fact that the top lame of finger-mittens could be fastened by a hook and staple to the inner cuff-plate, making it impossible to loosen a mace or other weapon from the

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

grip. In 1554 the use of a "locking" gauntlet in a tournament was first prohibited as giving an unfair advantage.

Next there is the bridle gauntlet for the left hand, No. 103 in the 1904 Windsor Catalogue, now Class II, 8 H, in the Tower (Fig. 1027), which, besides being remarkable for its fine proportions, presents a feature that is extremely rare—that of the presence of a rondel attached to a stem and riveted above the metacarpal plates, as in the case of the Genouilhac gauntlet. This particular gauntlet is also similar to that now placed on Fig. 1024. What can have been the duty of a rondel upon the gauntlet? Yet it is a feature that appears in Italian XVth century pictures.

In the picture by Uccello in the National Gallery (see Vol. i, Fig. 238), we see certain of the knights with such a rondel upon the gauntlet. In the XVth century armet head-pieces (see Vol. ii, Fig. 438), a rondel is nearly always found at the back of the skull-piece. Its use there cannot be explained, unless it protected the closed joints of the side plates of the helmet; but its presence upon the solid plate of the gauntlet has yet to be explained. Next in interest in this series of pieces from this Henry VIII larger suit are the three small plates, No. 109 in the 1904 Windsor Catalogue, Class VI, No. 17, in the Tower (Fig. 1028), from the croupière of the horse armour; at least we imagine they are such, but Mr. S. J. Whawell is inclined to consider them to be a reinforcing piece for the left leg, guarding the thigh, and attached to the tasset by a rivet in the centre of the top plate. They are similar to those of the Genouilhac suit, and described by Dr. Bashford Dean as a defence worn within the breastplate. Next are the splendid pair of cuisses, or thigh pieces, Nos. 96 and 100 in the 1904 Windsor Catalogue (Fig. 1027). Apart from their large and fine proportions, which render them good examples of this particular defence, they present no special feature in construction. They almost duplicate those set on one portion of the double suit (Fig. 1023). The less important odd pieces of this suit formerly at Windsor include (*a*) the two grand-guards, Nos. 114 and 114A in the 1904 Windsor Catalogue (Fig. 1027), exactly alike in all details, conventional in form, but presenting, as does the Tower example, illustrated detached from the suit in Fig. 1023, the grill on the right-hand side of the face-guard, (*b*) a pair of mitten gauntlets, Nos. 92 and 94 in the 1904 Windsor Catalogue (Fig. 1027), (*c*) the large tilting guard used for reinforcing the left arm, No. 102 in the 1904 Windsor Catalogue (Fig. 1027), (*d*) two plates from the right-hand saddle burr, No. 105 in the 1904 Windsor Catalogue, (*e*) three plates from the cantle of the saddle, No. 107 in the 1904 Windsor Catalogue

## THE TOWER OF LONDON ARMOURY

(Fig. 1027), and (*f*) two plates from the left-hand saddle burr, No. 108 in the 1904 Windsor Catalogue.

Before closing this chapter we will quote Dr. Bashford Dean's account of the composition of the Genouilhac suit, for the reader will wish to know more about the details of this armour, and to compare them with what we think is the work of the same armourer in the possession of the nation. "The entire suit is without the blemish of a modern piece in any essential part. . . . Not merely is the suit . . . complete, but with it a series of extra pieces, a locking gauntlet (Fig. 1022), a reinforcing plate for the plastron (Fig. 1028A) with a large lance rest, a supplemental plate for the abdomen, and a rare defence worn within the breastplate,<sup>1</sup> of which I have seen but a single other specimen (see Fig. 1028). For a harness of this kind it has a greater number of these *pièces de renfort* than any other armour described. And, sad to tell, it has lost still other pieces; for studying the pegs or the pinions which were arranged for supporting supplemental pieces, we can see clearly that at one time it has had a heavy face defence, an extra armplate, and a shoulder guard. Then, too, it has with it the high-plated saddle, the long neck defence for the horse, and a beautiful horse-helmet . . . original straps are in many cases preserved, their rivets neatly tinned to protect them from the perspiration of the wearer; but, rarest of all, the surface of the armour is in excellent state—at certain points the gilding is practically as fresh as when it left the hands of its maker . . . the armour is dated; the number 1527 occurring in the ornamentation no less than three times."

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 238.



FIG. 1029. THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN AT HIS ARMOURER'S  
*Wie der junng Weysz Kunig, gar künstlichen was, in der Platnercy,  
 und Harnischmaistercy*  
 Taken from the *Weiss Kunig*

## CHAPTER XXIV THE MAXIMILIAN SCHOOL

### SUITS WITH THE UNCHANNELLED SURFACE



TURNING from those suits preserved in the Tower—which, on account of their historical interest, we have refrained from describing under this particular heading to which they really belong—we will endeavour now to follow more closely the general evolution of the styles that so quickly made their successive appearances throughout the XVIth century. There is but one way in which we can simplify our explanation of the intricate and quick evolution of XVIth century arms and armour, and that is by simply dividing them into the three or four styles, and by dealing with each on as broad lines as possible. We have now, however, another difficult factor to reckon with, a factor which more than ever complicates our subject—that of the fashion of the civil dress of the

## THE MAXIMILIAN SCHOOL

period. During the last half of the XVth century, certainly as regards the decoration of plate armour, except that which had come under the influence of the early Renaissance, military harness was little affected by the civil dress of the time. But in the XVIth century matters were different. Fashion in costume is for many reasons always subject to change. In the first half of the XVIth century it is found exercising a decided influence on the armourer's craft, all the more so by reason of the fact that the primary use of armour, that of self-defence, became increasingly a secondary consideration, as the perfecting of offensive weapons developed.

We shall divide the fashions broadly according to their distinct styles, asking the reader to remember all the time that one fashion overlapped

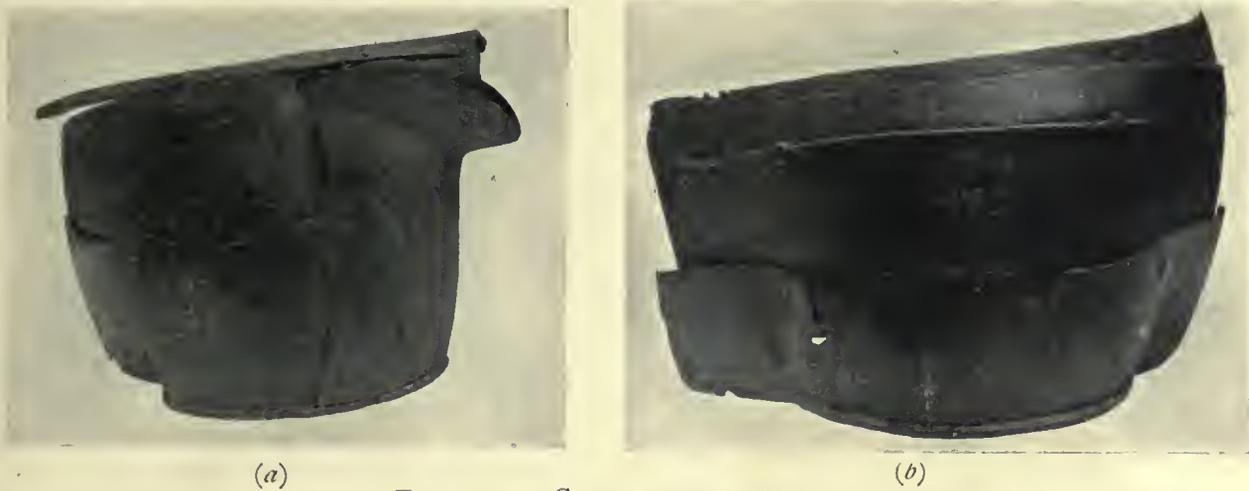


FIG. 1029A. GOTHIC PAULDRONS  
The Rotunda, Woolwich

another, the borrowed continental styles being superimposed one on the other in the most perplexing manner. We will start by taking the complete suits under the headings of their fashions of decoration, as in the case of modes in clothes, rather than under those illustrating various types of defence. We shall have to speak of the Maximilian style, of the grotesque Maximilian, of the simple Landsknecht (not applying to Germany alone), of armour under classical influence, of the Milan fashions and enrichments, and finally of that miscellaneous mixture of styles so difficult to put into any category which was characteristic of the third quarter of the XVIth century.

The fashion of armour made in parallel, or almost parallel, fluting would appear to have come from Milan, whence it was taken to Germany by the Emperor Maximilian—hence the name given to this fluted armour. At what

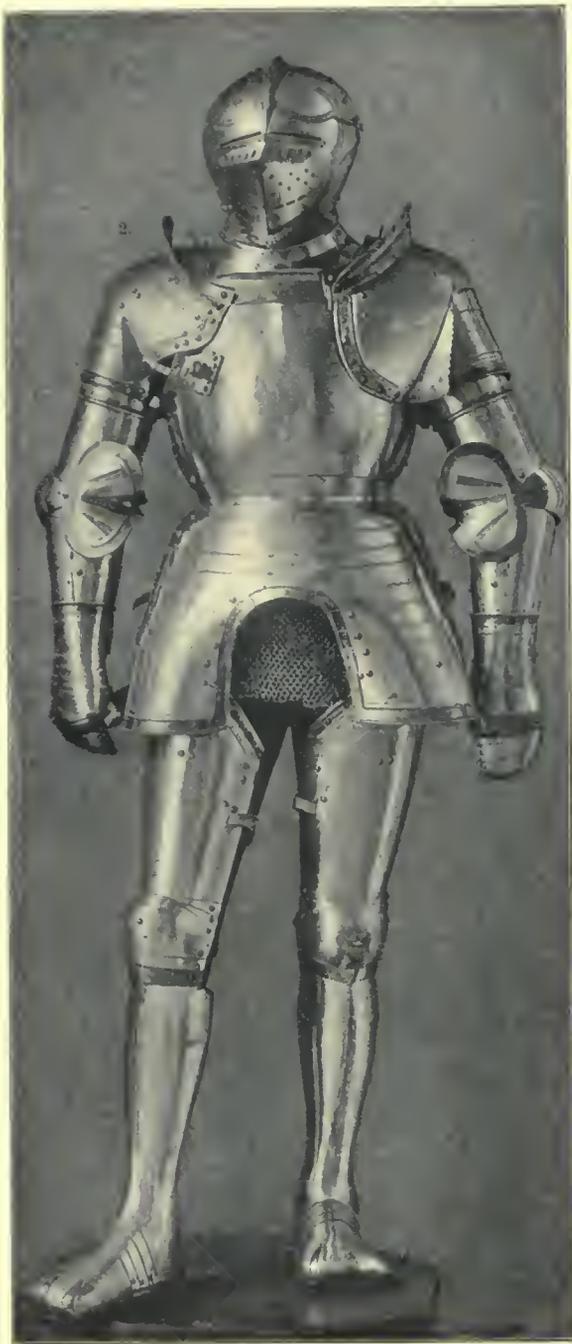


FIG. 1030. SUIT OF ARMOUR

Stated to have been made for Count Andreas von Sonnenburg about 1508 by Koloman Kolman of Augsburg. Imperial Armoury, Vienna

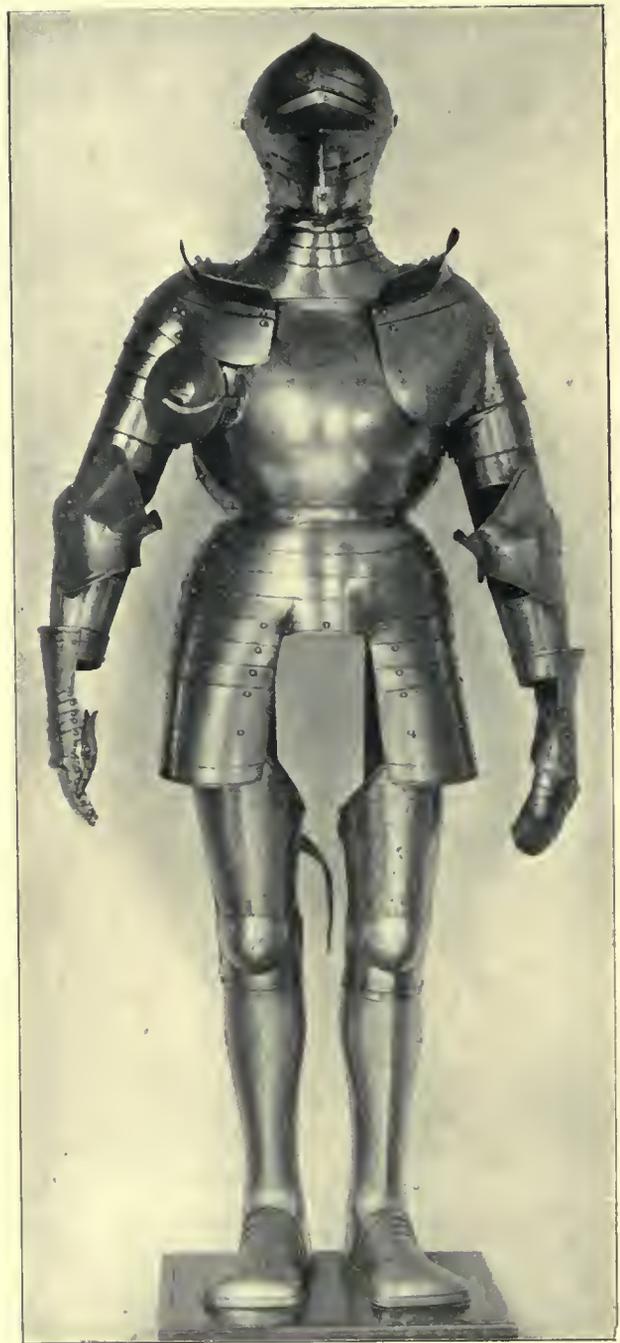


FIG. 1031. SUIT OF ARMOUR (SLIGHTLY COMPOSITE)

Probably Italian, but in the German fashion. First quarter of the XVIth century. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 316)

## THE MAXIMILIAN SCHOOL

date was the so-called Maximilian style invented? A drawing which we have already reproduced (Fig. 1017), dated 1510, and preserved in the Kupferstich-Kabinett, appears to be a sketch of an armour made for the Emperor Maximilian, which shows that at that date it possessed all the essential features of Maximilian armour, although it still retained gauntlets with pointed cuffs. But in a portrait of the Emperor, engraved by Hans Burgkmaier and dated 1518, the Maximilian armour appears grooved and perfected as one sees it so frequently in the museums of Europe. No document of the end of the XVth century is known in which the Maximilian type of armour is described. It is, therefore, probable that after a short transitional period this style of armour was introduced about 1510. It is distinguished by a very convex breastplate, mitten gauntlets generally rectangular in form, sollerets with broad toe-caps, and pauldrons so different from the old Gothic type (Figs. 1029A, *a*, *b*). From that date onwards it finally replaced the so-called Gothic harnesses of the latter part of the XVth century. Thus, we have the plain suit, the fluted suit, and the grotesque suit—the latter either plain or fluted—all coming under the heading of the Maximilian order.

Suits of the robust Maximilian type which have an unchannelled surface are practically contemporary with fluted Maximilian suits. To Vienna we turn first for an excellent illustration of an unchannelled harness, an example which from our knowledge about its original owner, the Count Andreas von Sonnenburg, we can place within the first fifteen years of the XVIth century (Fig. 1030). Here is a suit of superb workmanship, with recessed radiating bands on the elbow-cops and on the broad toe-caps. These are etched and gilded, as are the bands that surround the edge of the plates generally. This suit may be safely considered to be the work of Koloman



FIG. 1031A. BREASTPLATE

Early XVIth century bearing the marks  
of one of the Seusenhofer family  
Collection: Mr. S. J. Whawell

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

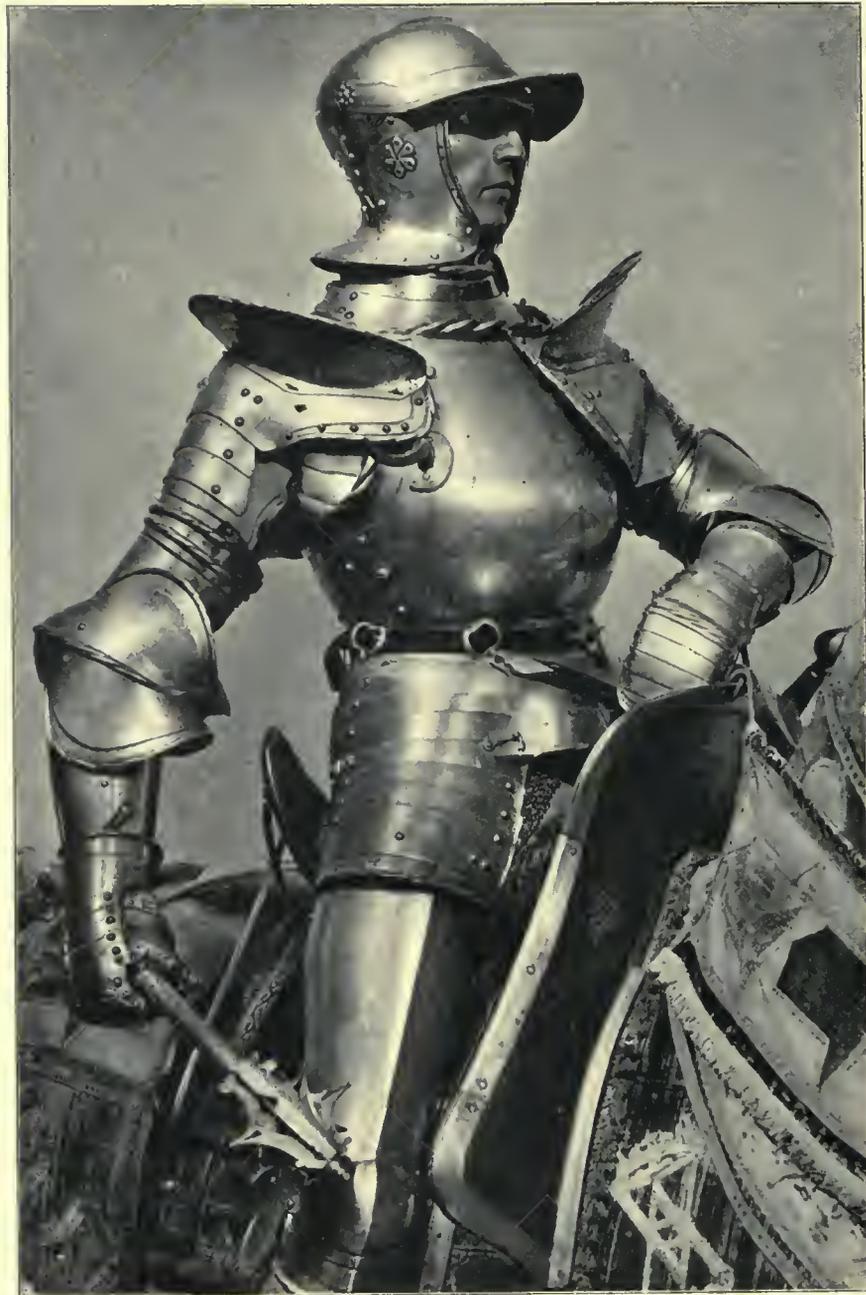


FIG. 1032. SUIT OF ARMOUR (SLIGHTLY COMPOSITE)  
German (Nuremberg), first quarter of the XVIth century  
Collection: the late Mr. Frederick Stibbert, Florence

Kolman of Augsburg; as it bears the mark of the Kolman family and that of the town of Augsburg. The most striking point of this harness is its splendid completeness and usefulness. The change from the graceful armour

## THE MAXIMILIAN SCHOOL

of the previous century to the warlike bluntness of the plain Maximilian style is very striking, but in the early work the old Gothic grace of outline is still strongly marked as is seen in a breastplate in the collection of Mr. S. J. Whawell (Fig. 1031A). As we have previously remarked, the fluctua-



[Photograph Anderson, Rome

FIG. 1033. ST. GEORGE

From the picture of "St. George and the Dragon," by Paris Bordone

tion in the civil costume of the time was mainly responsible for the change. The puffing and slashing of the sleeves of the doublets and of the trunks, together with a universal tendency in the opening years of the XVIth century towards sacrificing the lines of height for those of breadth, necessitated the invention of differently proportioned plates. A fine harness that may safely

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

be regarded as of Italian provenance owing to certain technicalities of its workmanship, No. 316 of the Wallace Collection (Fig. 1031), shows in marked degree this fashion of breadth as opposed to height. This suit, now slightly restored, we shall examine in detail, since it is easily accessible to the reader. Sir Richard Wallace obtained it with the collection of the Count de Nieuwerkerke, previous to which its principal plates were in the possession of Monsieur E. Juste of Paris. The borders of the whole suit are of triangular section. The head-piece is a close helmet of the armet type, the chin-piece opening down the centre, with a pointed visor and mezail in one plate; to the back of the helmet is attached the rondel. The rest of the suit is composed of gorget, globose breastplate with laminated gussets, taces of four plates, and tassets of four plates; while upon the breastplate is etched a crowned W, and a ribbon beneath containing the initials D. I. D. M. E. Under this is the inscription: IHESVS. NAZARENVS. REX. IVDEORV. To the backplate is attached a *garde-de-rein* of three plates, the shoulders being protected by pauldrons to which are attached upright shoulder guards, rere- and vambraces, large and shapely elbow-cops, and mitten gauntlets. The leg armour comprises cuisses, knee-cops, jambs, and square-toed sollerets.

The difficulty of distinguishing the nationality of a harness, a difficulty upon which we have laid stress more than once, is again exemplified when we come to examine the well-mounted suit of much the same character preserved in the Stibbert Collection, Florence (Fig. 1032). It differs but little, in form from the last Italian suit described; yet in several places it bears a Nuremberg armourer's mark. Again, look at the beautiful figure of St. George in the picture of "St. George and the Dragon" by Paris Bordone (Fig. 1033), and you see a German suit figuring in a strictly Italian picture. Thus it is throughout the XVIth century. Unless the name of the armourer who produced a harness is known, it is often a matter of mere guesswork to attempt to credit a suit to a particular country, even if it possesses some characteristic features, such features being liable to contemporary imitation in other countries.

### MAXIMILIAN SCHOOL—SUITS WITH CHANNELLED SURFACES

WE will now take the channelled armour of the so-called Maximilian form. It was, as we have said, during the reign of the Emperor Maximilian I that in Germany this type of armour took the place of the Gothic armour still

## THE MAXIMILIAN SCHOOL

worn in the beginning of his reign. It was probably at Milan, during the first few years of the XVIth century, that parallel grooving was introduced, the channelling which took the place of the very varied *ner-vures* of the Gothic armour. Such armour is sometimes called Milanese. But in the armour of Milan the bottom of the grooving is always flat; whereas in the German type the bottom is nearly always concave. We give an illustration of this Italian type of fluting almost in an exaggerated form, as shown in that wonderfully complete harness preserved in the Imperial



FIG. 1034A. CUISSE, KNEE-COP, JAMB, AND SOLLERET  
From the so-called Bayard suit  
The Rotunda, Woolwich

Armoury of Vienna (Fig. 1034), a harness made very early in the XVIth century for Count Eitel Friedrich von Zollern, but which, according to the late Herr Boeheim, is not Italian, but probably by Israhel van Meckenen, reputed to have worked at Nuremberg. Boeheim made this statement solely from the style of its ornamentation. Here the broad flattened grooving is almost too exaggerated to be pleasing in effect. The construction of the suit, however, presents several points of interest, among others the



FIG. 1034. SUIT OF ARMOUR  
Said to have been made for Count Eitel Friedrich von Zollern about 1503. It is of Italian fashion, but, according to the late Herr W. Boeheim, possibly the work of Israhel van Meckenem of Nuremberg.  
Imperial Armoury, Vienna

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

fine proportions of the elbow-cops which, though well enveloping the elbows, are fashioned on the shell principle, and do not entirely encircle the arm. Attached to the very large tace plates, and fully overlapping them, are large and full tuilles, so shaped as to meet in front, though the arch-shaped opening is wide enough to enable the wearer comfortably to bestride a saddle.



FIG. 1035. PART OF A SUIT OF ARMOUR

Probably made for Charles de Bourbon, Constable of France. Italian (Milanese), Missaglia School, first quarter of the XVIth century  
Riggs Collection, Metropolitan Museum, New York

The cuisses, jambs, and sollerets are to be compared, though much inferior, to the beautiful corresponding pieces on the so-called Bayard suit in the Rotunda, Woolwich (Fig. 1034A). The surface of the Von Zollern suit is brightened; but the recesses are blued and have an etched design of foliage, etc., assisted by beautiful gold plating.

For our next illustration (Fig. 1035) we turn to the Riggs Collection,

## THE MAXIMILIAN SCHOOL

formerly in Paris, where in a beautiful half suit can be seen all the characteristics of the Milanese fluted armour of the finest order, as opposed to that of German make. It is probable that this armour is the work of a Missaglia or Negroli; for a suit of armour of very similar workmanship and engraving, No. G 8 in the Musée d'Artillerie bears the Missaglia mark on several of its plates. From the early part of the XIXth century until 1868 the Riggs suit was in the collection of Ambrogio Uboldo, Nobile di Villareggio, at Milan; but there is good reason for believing that originally it was made for Charles de Bourbon, Constable of France and victor at Marignano. In the Imperial Armoury at Vienna are shown a helmet and shield identical in every respect in design and decoration with this half suit, and which have every appearance of having belonged to it. They are those which since 1570, the time at which the Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol formed the Ambras Collection, have been attributed to the Constable de Bourbon. The breastplate of the Riggs suit was taken to Vienna to be compared with them. Charles de Bourbon was named Governor of the Duchy of Milan after the victory of Marignano in 1515, and spent much of his time there. It is therefore quite possible that, when Ferdinand was collecting armour and arms worn by distinguished princes and captains of every court in Europe, he obtained the helmet and shield from Milan, and that the suit was thus left without a helmet, a circumstance which would otherwise appear strange in the case of so remarkable a harness. As seen to-day it is really only part of a suit of armour, consisting of the gorget, the globose breastplate with its taces, the backplate with its *garde-de-rein*, and the two arms complete from the shoulder to wrist. These pieces are examples of the finest work of the Milanese armourers of the first years of the XVIth century, the design and decoration being remarkable for richness and purity of taste. The surface consists in portions entirely covered with etching and gilding, the remainder being fluted with alternate bands of bright steel and bands etched and fully gilt, separated by ridges in low relief. On the upper part of the breast is a broad gilt band, on which are figured in the Lombard style of the XVth century the Virgin and Child, with an architectural background, and on either side St. Paul and St. George, each in glory. Below, in two lines, is the following inscription in large capital letters: CRISTVS RES [*sic*] VENIT IN PACE ET DEVS HOMO FACTVS ES[T]. The backplate has IESVS AVTEM TRANSIENS PER MEDIVM ILLORVM IBAT., with a large triangular space below, covered with etching and gilding, and flutings on either side of it. On the front of the gorget, on a similar

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS



FIG. 1036. SUIT OF ARMOUR

German (Nuremberg), first quarter of the XVIth century.  
Ex collections: Lord Stafford at Costessey Hall, Norfolk, Baron de Cosson, and the late Mr. Rutherford Stuyvesant. Now on loan to the Metropolitan Museum of New York

triangular space, etched and gilt, is a representation of the Holy Trinity on a nimbus. The decoration on the back of the gorget and the arms is similar to that of the other pieces. Before this half suit came into the Riggs Collection it was in that of the Baron de Cosson.

When we consider the German type of this channelled Maximilian armour we can find no more complete or illustrative example than that very fine suit which came originally from the armoury of Lord Stafford at Costessey Hall, and which was sold at Christie's in May 1885 (Fig. 1036). It was purchased by the Baron de Cosson, afterwards passing into the collection of the late Mr. Rutherford Stuyvesant. It is now on loan at the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Of Nuremberg make, it bears on several of its pieces the mark of its armourer, the letters L B surmounted by a demi-lion. It is one of the finest fluted German suits to be seen, complete in every respect, and, what is rare in suits of this time, it is absolutely free from restoration of any kind. It also presents several features of peculiar interest, such as the semi-Gothic breastplate formed of two pieces, decorated with graceful openwork tracery after the fashion of armour

## THE MAXIMILIAN SCHOOL

of the XVth century, and the splinted defence for the inside of the arms, which shows that the suit was intended for combat on foot as well as for use on horseback. When used on foot the large heart-shaped wings of the coudes could be removed, as there are smaller wings beneath them. The upright neck-guards upon the pauldrons are uncommonly large, and the helmet, which opens down the chin and is rimmed on to the gorget, is of the finest form. The only alteration made in this harness since the day it was made appears to be the substitution of taces and tassets from some other contemporary suit; for what reason this was done it is impossible to say. We detect this alteration from the fluting of their surface, which varies a little from that of the remainder of the suit.

Another Nuremberg harness, now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, is that formerly in the Dino Collection (Fig. 1037). Although composite to a certain extent, it possesses fine plates. The concavity is very pronounced in the grooving of the breastplate; the visor of the helmet is of the form called "bellows"; the modelling of the breastplate is typically German; the gauntlets are mittens and the sollerets are broad and square at the toes; whilst the whole shape of the armour is a good example of the change which took place in German civil costume in the early years of the XVIth century. The shoulder guards of this suit differ from those of the Costessey harness:

for in place of the full pauldrons simple espaliers are to be observed more like those on the second Italian suit illustrated. This suit is undoubtedly German, and was probably made in Nuremberg within the first half of the XVIth century.

In our own country these fluted Maximilian harnesses are to be seen in the private collections of Lord Somers at Eastnor Castle, of Lord Hastings at Melton Constable, of the Earl of Warwick at Warwick Castle, of the Earl of Harrington at Elvaston Castle, and of Viscount Astor at Hever Castle. The attention of the collector is particularly directed to a breastplate in the Rotunda at Woolwich. This piece is an early example, the fluting and roping is superbly bold, and the suit to which it belonged must



FIG. 1036A. BREASTPLATE  
The Rotunda, Woolwich

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

have been unparalleled in its simplicity and boldness (Fig. 1036A). The Tower of London has also a goodly array of fluted armour, but not a homogeneous suit. In the Wallace Collection, Nos. 353, 359, and 779 are of this same order. Of the Wallace examples we will describe the last, as it shows fluted armour quite in its latest form. This suit, No. 779 (Fig. 1038), was originally brought from Vienna by the French General Amielle, who was afterwards killed at the battle of Waterloo. Later it passed into the collection of Sir Samuel Meyrick, and is illustrated in Skelton's "Engraved Illustrations," vol. i, Plate XXII. Sir Samuel states that "Tradition assigns this suit to Ferdinand, King of the Romans." There can be little foundation for this assertion; as many suits of this exact type exist in the more important armouries of Europe. Indeed, in the same collection, No. 353, is a half suit closely resembling it. Like nearly all "full" suits of this style it has been restored to its present complete state. It will also be noticed that although most of the parts are genuine they are from different sets, the fluting upon the surface being of various dimensions. We illustrate it, however, as showing perhaps the latest type of channelled German armour. Its general date might possibly be as late as about 1550. It consists of a close helmet (which certainly does not belong even to the fashion of the rest of the suit), a gorget of four plates, a breast- and backplate, the former with a strong ridge down the centre, roped turnover and roped laminated gussets. It is reinforced at the bottom with a placate after the manner of the Gothic suits of the XVth century, and as in the case of the Costessey suit (Fig. 1036). The top of the placate is delicately pierced and etched with the double-headed Austrian eagle; the head of the rivet attaching the placate to the breastplate is shaped as a heart; in the centre of the breastplate, inserted in the top edge, is a staple of square section, to which would be attached a reinforcing buffe or *mentonnière*; and to the left of this staple is stamped the guild mark of the city of Nuremberg. The taces are of three plates; attached to them are the tassets, of four plates; attached to the backplate is the *garde-de-rein* of two plates; the pauldrons are of six lames, the right one hollowed to give greater freedom to the sword arm; and there are complete arms with mitten gauntlets. The cuisses are unusual, for they have ten laminated plates entirely protecting the back part of the leg and inside bend of the knee; but the genuineness of these plates is open to suspicion. The remainder of the leg armour consists of knee-cops, jambs, and sollerets, the last widening to "bear's paw" toe-caps.

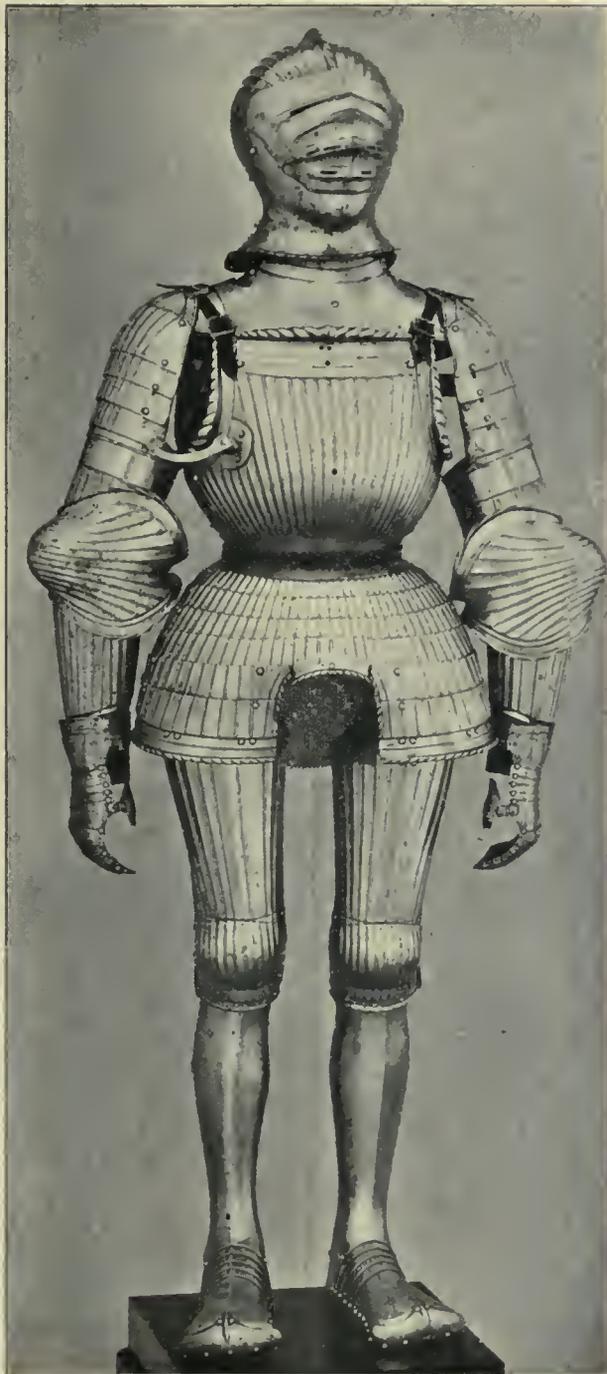


FIG. 1037. SUIT OF ARMOUR (COMPOSITE)  
 German (Nuremberg), first half of the XVIth cen-  
 tury. Ex Dino Collection, Metropolitan  
 Museum, New York



FIG. 1038. SUIT OF ARMOUR (COMPOSITE)  
 German (Nuremberg), middle of the XVIth  
 century. Ex Meyrick Collection. Now  
 Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 779)

## MAXIMILIAN SCHOOL—SUITS WITH PUFFED AND GROTESQUE DECORATION

WHEN we come to consider that type of early XVIth century harness, both German and Italian, which under the style of grotesque Maximilian armour represents an attempt to imitate in the stubborn medium of iron the puffing and slashing of the civil costume of the day, we labour under the difficulty of having at the same time to appreciate a real excellence of workmanship and to deplore the introduction of those unnatural forms of decoration which in the opinion of the author are not appropriate to plate armour. We regard the grotesque forms so often adopted by the armourers of the first half of the XVIth century as only reflecting, especially in Germany, the curiously bizarre taste of the age. Just as a Japanese warrior of olden times, equipped in a suit which we should to-day condemn as eccentric and ludicrous, must have presented to his contemporaries an appearance of quite normal aspect, an appearance challenging respect rather than laughter, so what are to us the grotesque appearance of a visor of a helmet and the strange form of a suit of armour quite failed, we take it, to detract from the serious aspect of the warrior. The military caste demanded and received immense respect and the public looked upon this type of armour as the splendid garb of the knight, equipped in the fashion of the time.

It will perhaps not be out of place here to record an amusing story bearing upon the exaggerated slashing of a costume, a fashion that so manifestly influenced the decoration of this particular type of plate armour. The story is told by William Camden in his "Remains." A shoemaker of Norwich, named John Drakes, who, in the time of Henry VIII, coming to a tailor's, and finding some fine French tawny cloth lying there, which had been sent to be made into a gown for Sir Philip Calthrop, took a fancy to the colour, and ordered the tailor to buy as much of the same stuff for him, as would make him a "gown" of it, precisely of the same fashion as the knight's, whatever that might be. Sir Philip, arriving some time afterwards to be measured, saw the additional cloth, and enquired who it belonged to. "It is John Drake's," replied the tailor, "who will have it made of the self-same fashion as yours is made of." "Well," said the knight, "in good time be it; I will have mine as



(a)



(b)

FIG. 1039. SUIT OF ARMOUR (SLIGHTLY COMPOSITE)

Possibly the work of Franz Scroo of Brussels. First quarter of the XVIth century.  
Ex Dino Collection, Metropolitan Museum, New York

(a) Front view

(b) Profile view

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

full of cuts as thy sheers can make it"; and both garments were finished according to the order. The shoemaker, on receiving his gown slashed almost to shreds, began to swear at the tailor, but received for answer: "I have done nothing but what you bad me; for as Sir Philip Calthrop's gowne is, even so have I made yours." "By my latchet!" growled the shoemaker, "I will never wear gentleman's fashion again."

That splendid suit, formerly attributed to the ownership of Albrecht Achilles, Duke of Brandenburg, in the Imperial Armoury of Vienna, made under the influence of Seusenhofer, is a very sufficient instance of this ultra grotesqueness. On it can be seen a helmet which in general appearance suggests the head of some harpy of mythology. The workmanship of the whole suit is of the finest, and so cleverly has the element of the grotesque been rendered, that it has increased the protective quality, particularly of the head-piece.

The few words in which we have sought to champion in advance the wonderful protective quality and superb workmanship of these puffed, slashed, and grotesquely-proportioned harnesses, find ample justification when we come to examine the first suit of the type illustrated. The author does not attempt to deny that in point of form these types are not the expression of great artistic sense.

The harness in question is the very rare suit of armour which used to be in the Carrand, the Spitzer, and the Dino Collections, and is now to be seen in the Metropolitan Museum of New York (Fig. 1039). Although it has been brought to its present complete aspect by restorations, the restorations are straightforward and legitimate. Helmets with human faces are rare, armour with tonnlets is rarer still, and armour with puffs and slashes rarest of all; but the combination in the same suit of a face, a tonnlet, and puffs makes this a practically unique example of XVIth century grotesque armour. The whimsical, grotesque, almost barbaric aspect of this remarkable harness renders it the strangest of its kind we have come across. The steel is worked in such a manner as to imitate, as nearly as possible, the civil costume of the reign of the Emperor Maximilian I. The rere- and vambraces, and the cuisses too, reproduce the puffs and slashes of the sleeves and trunk hose, and the tonnlet or skirt is pleated to resemble some textile material; while some of the pieces, for instance the crown of the helmet, the mitten gauntlets, and the wings of the elbow- and knee-cops, are fluted after the fashion of Maximilian armour. The slashes, some of the grooves, and other parts of the armour, are etched and gilt, or simply etched, the etching here and there reproducing the pattern of brocade. The heels of the sollerets are extremely

## THE MAXIMILIAN SCHOOL

salient; but it is, above all, the visor of the helmet, simulating a human face even to the teeth, and strangely accentuating such features as a hooked nose and curled moustaches which gives to this suit, as a whole, that fantastic character which must have made so irresistible an appeal to the imagination of the time.

As we have said, armour with puffs and slashes is rare, and was probably only worn by great personages on parade and at Gala Tournaments. This suit shows on the sides of the visor the insignia of the house of Burgundy, which emblem at this period had reverted to the house of Austria. Could it have belonged to Maximilian I or to Philippe le Beau? The latter seems unlikely, as Philippe died in 1506 at the age of twenty-eight, and the armour appears to us to belong to a later date. We also feel that the insignia is insufficiently prominent to have belonged to the head of the house of Burgundy. If it had been Philippe's it would have been engraved with the collar of the Golden Fleece, as in the case of a harness at Vienna to which we shall next refer, and which Boeheim suggested might be the work of Franz Scroo of Brussels. The accounts of the armourer Franz Scroo, preserved at Brussels in the royal archives, prove that Maximilian was in the habit of giving armour to the nobles of his Court, and the insignia so inconspicuously represented on the helmet would merely indicate that the owner wearing it belonged to the household of the Emperor or that the armour was the gift of that monarch.

The close helmet is of fine outline and admirably forged. It has a serrated crest and is ornamented with twisted *recessements* which are alternately etched and fully gilded with designs of vases and foliage on a hatched ground. They are represented with a graining reminiscent of the brocades of the period. The vigorously embossed mezail of the helmet represents the face of a man with moustaches and an aquiline nose; the billy-goat beard is indicated on the chin-piece; the half-open mouth shows a grated slit representing teeth. The breastplate is of accentuated globose form; the full pauldrons are furnished with upright neck-guards. Several of the pieces, such as a portion of the pauldrons, the wings of the elbow-cops, and the posterior part of the tonnlet, could be removed according to the use to which the armour was to be put. The sollerets have large square toes. The etching betrays a strong Italian influence, if indeed it is not the work of an Italian engraver, which is quite possible, for beside the design of vases and foliage we have alluded to as decorating the grooves and slashes, that which especially decides the origin of the etching is a little fringe of mail, imitated by the engraver on the last plate of each knee-cop. The fashion of wearing this

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

little fringe of real mail was very common in Northern Italy during the XVth century and in the beginning of the XVIth. It can be seen in numerous Italian paintings and on monuments of the period, and it is not met with in other countries.

In many respects this harness resembles one now in the Imperial Armoury of Vienna, which was until the early years of the XIXth century preserved in the Castle of Ambras, where the authorities assigned it to the ownership of Philippe le Beau. This suit is made to fit a boy of fourteen or fifteen years of age. Now, as Philippe was fifteen years of age in 1493, and as the suit appears to have been made between 1510 and 1515, it is more probable that it belonged to Charles V, who was born in 1500 and therefore was in 1515 of the age corresponding to the size of the harness. The shape of the pleated tonnlet is the same, the braces and cuisses are decorated with the same puffs and slashes, and the cuirass belongs doubtless to the same epoch and must have been made in the same workshop. It has no armourer's mark save on the breastplate; but the late Herr Wendelin Boeheim believed that it was made in Brussels by Franz Scroo, to whom we have already alluded.

Referring to another suit in the Imperial Armoury of Vienna, we are inclined to regard the one made for Wilhelm von Rogendorf towards the close of the first quarter of the XVIth century as possibly a more shapely war apparel than those just mentioned (Fig. 1040). It has a normally fashioned globose breast- and backplate of the Maximilian order, with taces and close fitting tassets. But the pauldrons are unusual; for these, with the arm defences, are of the most abnormal type, faithfully representing in steel the gigantic puffed and slashed sleeves of the time. The construction of the pauldrons, if we may so term these shoulder defences, is similar to that of those seen in a modified form on the small harness of Charles V in the same collection, to which we have just referred, and similar, too, to those on a suit dated 1515 and with an element of truth attributed to Giuliano de' Medici, which is in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris (Fig. 1045). The pauldrons of the Rogendorf suit are composed of seven double lames entirely encircling the shoulders, extending from the gussets of the breastplate to a distance well down the arm, corresponding to the turners on an ordinary arm-piece. These lames are very large in circumference, all being turned under, finishing in an overlap, as though to represent the great puffed sleeves of the day. These and four other great plates constitute the remainder of the arm defence graduating in size to the last almost cylindrical wrist plate. These plates

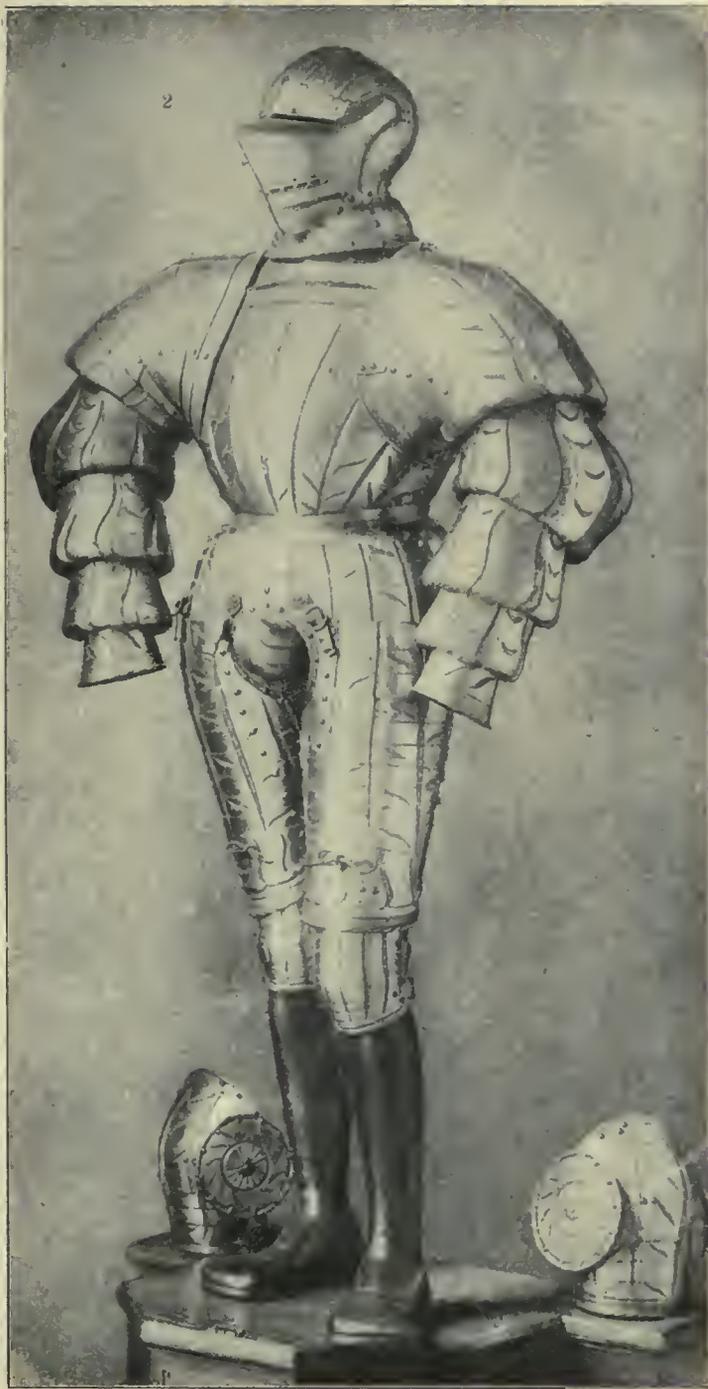


FIG. 1040. SUIT OF ARMOUR

Said to have been made for Wilhelm, Freiherr von Rogendorf by Koloman Kolman of Augsburg about 1520. Imperial Armoury, Vienna

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

are most skilfully embossed to represent material, and like the decoration of the whole suit, are etched and gilt with slightly recessed ornaments simulating slashing and puffing. The suit is completed with a gorget, with a close helmet with visor and mezail, and below with a brayette; the knee-cops are many lamed. Interchangeable and belonging to this suit is a pair of pauldrons of the more usual type, attached to which are circular palettes. To these must have originally been fitted the ordinary arm defences; since these pauldrons cannot be adapted to the lower parts of the existing arm-pieces. This suit has been considered the work of Koloman Kolman of Augsburg, its date being about 1520.

Since we desire to reproduce in every possible case a contemporary picture in which the type of armour we are describing figures, we give an illustration of Pontormo's splendid portrait of Ippolito de' Medici in the Pitti Palace, Florence (Fig. 1041). Here that great nobleman is seen arrayed in a half suit of ribbed and slashed armour, the surface blackened and decorated with gilded enrichments. The actual ornamentation of the armour is very similar to that of the suit just described. We note, however, an unusual construction in the top espalier plates, which would indicate from their extreme simplicity that, when the harness was worn in its entirety, they made way for pauldrons of more protective quality.

Next we turn to the Wallace Collection to look at a three-quarter suit of armour, lacking its original helmet, which, after the Rogendorf suit at Vienna, more closely resembles the puffed and slashed costume of the day than any other with which we are acquainted; for the arm defences are of that large girth which was far more civil than military in style. The suit is No. 380 (Fig. 1042). The opinion expressed by Sir Samuel Meyrick, when this harness was in his possession, namely, that the fashion of cutting and slashing the costume was meant to represent cuts and slashes received in battle, is in this case fully borne out. The whole surface of the suit is divided into horizontal bands of embossed ridges alternating with plain etched surfaces. These embossed bands are again indented with a series of slashed ornaments; these have been etched and gilt. The parts of the suit which belong together are as follows: the breastplate of globose form with laminated roped gussets, the backplate to match, to which is attached the culet, the taces of five plates, the tassets of five plates closely fitting the legs and coming well round the thigh, the espaliers of seven plates, the rere- and vambraces, the elbow-cops, and the seventeen laminated plates that protect the inside bend of the arm. Although it lacks an armourer's



*[Photograph Alinari]*

FIG. 1041. SLASHED ARMOUR

As represented in Jacopo da Pontormo's (Carrucci's) portrait of Ippolito de' Medici, in the Pitti Palace, Florence

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS



FIG. 1042. PORTIONS OF A SUIT OF ARMOUR  
German, first quarter of the XVIth century. Ex  
Meyrick Collection. Wallace Collection (Laking  
Catalogue, No. 380)

mark of any description, we have no hesitation in stating that this suit is of German make and must date within the first quarter of the XVIth century. It is of sound workmanship, but the decoration is wanting in design, the etching being poor in quality and produced by what we may call a heavy hand. Moreover, the duplicated bands of embossing are monotonous, the result being that the first impression received on looking at it is of an inappropriate form of enrichment without the redeeming feature of individual delicacy of execution. When it was in the collection of Sir Samuel Meyrick it was illustrated in Skelton's "Engraved Illustrations," vol. i, Plate XIX. The helmet now placed with the suit is illustrated in Fig. 1186 (Vol. iv). In the Tower of London are the gorget, both arms complete, a pair of tassets, a plate of the taces, and two wrist-plates of such another harness, embossed with bands of slashed ornaments. The circumference of the arm-piece is smaller and the elbow-cops larger—features more in accordance with the ordinary armour of the time (Fig. 1043).

In the armoury of Lady Zouche at Parham is an arm-piece from a suit of small proportions. It has embossed, puffed, and

## THE MAXIMILIAN SCHOOL

slashed ornaments; but it is free from any surface etching, a circumstance which seems to suggest that it was never finished (Fig. 1044).

Still pursuing the subject of puffed and slashed armour, we will now turn to two suits which, though employing such forms of enrichment for their surface decoration, illustrate a different type of armour. Both these suits are in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris, G 179 and G 178. We reverse their order, as G 179 appears to be the older of the two harnesses. G 179 (Fig. 1045) is a splendid suit made for fighting on foot in the lists, and is the work of one of the Missaglia or of the Negroli of Milan. The date 1515 appears



FIG. 1043. PORTIONS OF THE PART OF A SLASHED SUIT

German, first quarter of the XVIth century. Tower of London, Class II, No. 10. (Purchased in 1841)

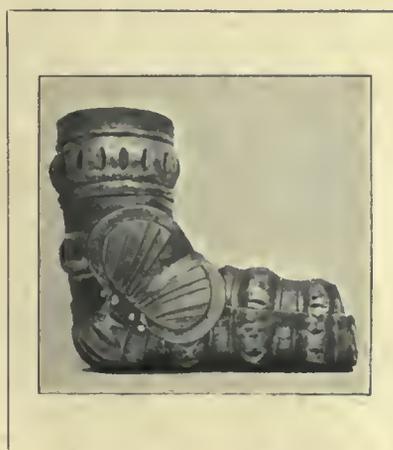


FIG. 1044. RIGHT ARM-PIECE OF A SLASHED SUIT

German, first quarter of the XVIth century. It was apparently never finished. Collection: Lady Zouche, Parham

etched on the palm of the gauntlet. Besides this, several times repeated, are the mottoes, *Semper* and *Suave*, the diamond ring, and the Austrian plumes. The device of Lorenzo I de' Medici, who died in 1492, was *Semper*; that of his son Giovanni, Pope Leo X, *Suave*. Lorenzo had also adopted the diamond ring surrounded by three plumes, reminiscent in their colours of the three theological virtues. Therefore we may consider that the armour was either made for a de' Medici, a descendant of Lorenzo I, with the intention of honouring the Pope, or was ordered by the Pope himself. In 1515 only two Medici were living who could have worn this armour, Giuliano II, son of Lorenzo I, who married in that same year an aunt of Francis I, and was then thirty-seven years old, and Lorenzo II, son of Piero, eldest son of Lorenzo I, who was

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS



FIG. 1045. SUIT OF ARMOUR FOR FIGHTING  
ON FOOT

Italian (Milanese), School of Missaglia, dated  
1515. Made probably for Giuliano II  
or Lorenzo II de' Medici  
G 179, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

Gonfaloniere of the Republic in 1513, and was invested by his uncle, Leo X, with the Duchy of Urbino in 1516, when he was twenty-four years of age. We may therefore consider that the suit was made for either one or the other of these two Medici. Looking at this suit, and the next to be described, the reader cannot fail to appreciate the great likeness both in constructional lines and form which they bear to the second of the suits in the Tower of London credited to the ownership of Henry VIII (*ante*, page 224, Fig. 1018). In the case of this suit (Fig. 1045) the edge of the gauntlet cuffs fits beneath the edge of the vambrace in the same manner, and similar, too, is the juncture of the jamb and solleret. The tonnet about the loins and gluteal muscles is equally protective; but it fastens down the front by means of hooks and catches. Certain differences, however, there are between this harness and that in the Tower. In the case of the Medici suit the encircling pauldrons are complete, and the head-piece is smaller and rather of the armet type. The helmet is, however, unusually protective; since the six upright apertures on either side of the mezzail could be closed with a sliding shutter. The helmet is attached to the gorget by its hollow-roped base fitting the top rim of the plate. The decoration of this fine suit beyond its upright bands of slashed ornaments consists in broad dividing channels etched with a form of damask design of pure North Italian origin.

## THE MAXIMILIAN SCHOOL

These have been fully gilt; but now, owing to age, they are cleaned quite bright, the only traces of gilding remaining being on the brayette.

The second suit in the Musée d'Artillerie, G 178 (Fig. 1046), again represents a near counterpart to the Tower of London suit; indeed, save in the cases of the gauntlets, jambs, and sollerets, it appears in proportions the same, except that its surface is enriched with a tubular form of slashed ornamentation, etched and formerly gilt. This harness is probably the work of one of the Negroli of Milan; for appearing on either cuisse plate are etched the letters N. I., surmounted by a crown and compass, a monogram which has been accepted as one of the marks employed by the Negroli. The fashion of such armour for foot combats inclines us to assign it to some date towards the close of the first quarter of the XVIth century.

Just as in old times suits at the Tower of London were described as having been worn by famous monarchs and heroes of the past, so, too, in Paris was this armour formerly credited to the ownership of no less a heroine than Jeanne d'Arc, for on searching the early records of the Musée d'Artillerie we found that this suit, for some unknown reason, was said to have been worn by *La Pucelle*. The suggestion that this early XVIth century suit could have been in existence at the time Jeanne d'Arc lived is of course absurd.

The reader may say that this fabulous attribution has no direct bearing on our present attempt to portray pictorially the evolution of the armour of the XVIth century. But this particular attribution happens to illustrate in the most marked manner a point on which we should like to insist, and that is the general ignorance existing until recent years on the subject of armour and arms, in contrast with the really scholarly work being done to-day by those who love our subject. It also affords us an excuse to insert an account of an incident that happened in connection with this suit—an account which will help to alleviate the monotony of this very long and technical chapter.

In December 1909 Mr. Charles ffoulkes contributed to the "Burlington Magazine" an interesting article on the armour of Jeanne d'Arc, in which he conclusively contradicted certain most absurd stories as to a representation of her armour supposed to have been found on an incised slab in the cathedral of St. Denis. The suit engraved upon this slab is none other than the one we have been describing and illustrating (Fig. 1046) as a foot tourney harness of about 1525. With Mr. ffoulkes' permission, and that of the editor of the "Burlington Magazine," we quote from the article in question: "About the year 1901 M. Charles Roessler<sup>1</sup> discovered in the crypt of St. Denis an

<sup>1</sup> "Jeanne d'Arc, Heroine and Healer," by Charles Roessler, Paris, Picard et Fils, 1909.

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS



FIG. 1046. ARMOUR MADE FOR FIGHTING  
ON FOOT  
Italian (Milanese), School of Negroli, first  
quarter of the XVIth century.  
G 178, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

incised slab, which bears an inscription: . . . *Ce que estait le harnais de Jehanne par elle baille en hommage a monseigneur Saint-Denis.* On 7 September 1429 Jeanne was wounded in an engagement near Paris, and shortly after she offered arms and armour at the altar of St. Denis. Her acknowledgment of this is given in the record of her private examination on March 17th, 1431. She was asked what arms she offered to St. Denis, and replied, 'A whole complete suit of white armour as for a man of arms and a sword won before Paris.' . . .

"The armour which she offered at St. Denis was taken by the English when they pillaged the church shortly after, and was sent to the King of England. Of its subsequent history we know nothing."<sup>1</sup>

"He [Monsieur Roessler] does not seem to have referred to the *Mono-graphie de l'église royale de Saint-Denis*, written by Guilhermy in 1848. On page 177 the author writes as follows: '*La restaurateur de Saint Denis s'est arrogé le droit d'ériger des monuments nouveaux dans l'église royale, sans songer qu'elle donnait par là un démenti à l'histoire. . . . Nous ne saurions comment qualifier, en restant dans les bornes de la politesse, le soi-disant trophée de Jeanne la Pucelle. Sur une grande dalle . . . on a fait graver en creux le dessin d'une armure conservée au Musée d'artillerie de Paris, qui avait été désignée par les ignorants comme*

<sup>1</sup> It is said to have been sent to Windsor Castle—(G. F. L.).



FIG. 1047A. EFFIGY OF THE CONSTABLE DE MONTMORENCI  
Preserved in the Louvre, Paris



FIG. 1047B. THE ARMOUR OF  
THE CONSTABLE DE MONT-  
MORENCI IN WILTON  
HOUSE

Collection: The Earl  
of Pembroke and  
Montgomery



FIG. 1047C. THE ARMOUR OF  
LOUIS DE BOURBON, DUC DE  
MONTPENSIER IN WILTON  
HOUSE

Collection: The Earl  
of Pembroke and  
Montgomery



FIG. 1047D. THE ARMOUR OF  
THE CONSTABLE DE MONT-  
MORENCI, WITH THE HEL-  
MET WORN BY HIM AT  
DREUX

Musée d'Artillerie,  
Paris

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

*ayant servi à Jeanne d'Arc.*' The author further states that the inscription was composed by a member of the Institute of France. . . . As a matter of fact, as Guilhermy states, the slab was copied from a suit of armour now in the Musée d'Artillerie (G 178) (Fig. 1046)."

Thus is history made even in our own times, and were it not for such observant critics as Mr. ffoulkes, the ridiculous mistake of crediting the suit to the ownership of Jeanne d'Arc might still be accepted by the uninitiated.

Let us look at the suit itself. The head-piece is what might even be termed the great bascinet helm, with a large bellows visor allowing ample space within for respiration, a most needful provision, for foot exercise in such a harness must have been "winding" in the extreme. The ample pauldrons are of eleven lames *à la façon d'Italie*; to them are attached small upright shoulder guards. The taces and culette encircling the loins and gluteal muscles are of very protective character; but, as in the case of the other suit described in the Musée d'Artillerie, and as in that of the Tower suit, it entirely prohibits any really free movement. We make the possible objection that the jambs, sollerets, and even the gauntlets now on this suit were not those originally made for it, but were substituted for the original at a later date.

[It is convenient here to refer to another tradition attaching to two historic suits. The nation is and was justly proud of the possession of two complete harnesses which for 370 years have belonged to Earls of Pembroke. One of the suits bore the tradition that it had been worn by Anne de Montmorenci (1493-1567) when he was wounded and taken prisoner at the battle of St. Quentin on the 10th of August 1557, and when the English contingent of the allied army was commanded by William Herbert, the first Earl of Pembroke. The other suit bore the tradition that it had been worn by Louis de Bourbon, Duc de Montpensier (1513-82), who was also taken prisoner in the same battle. Both suits passed to the first Earl of Pembroke as "loot" according to the custom of the time. In 1917 the present Earl decided to part with these possessions, and they were catalogued for sale by auction to be held on the 10th of July 1917. In the July number of the "Burlington Magazine" an article appeared raising the question whether these two suits could have been worn by the two French nobles in 1557. Lord Pembroke answered the criticism in the "Times" of the 10th of July. The opinion of the Baron de Cosson on the matter is printed in "The Wilton Suits—a Controversy," published by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, in 1918. We print his letter to Lord Pembroke:

## THE MAXIMILIAN SCHOOL

DEAR LORD PEMBROKE,

Your letter in "The Times" of July 10th has been brought to my notice and, as you do me the honour to cite opinions which I have expressed on the subject, I wish to tell you that I entirely hold the attribution of your two very grand suits of armour to Anne de Montmorenci and Louis de Bourbon to be correct. I may add that I have also read Mr. Charles ffoulkes's article in *The Burlington Magazine*. I do not think that the comparison which he makes between the old false attributions of suits in the Tower and the attributions of your suits is quite a fair one. The Tower suits came there from Greenwich and other places, and the false attributions were of fairly late date. Your suits have never moved from Wilton, and the tradition concerning them has, I understand, been constant in your family; nor does it appear that there was ever a large number of suits at Wilton which might have led to confusion of attributions. You can tell me if I am right in that surmise. I do not know when these suits were first mentioned, and it would be of the greatest importance if some documentary evidence could be found in your archives establishing the antiquity of the tradition. However that may be, I think that a very strong point is that they are certainly not English. A glance at the first Earl's suit is sufficient to show the difference between the Montmorency and de Bourbon suits and those made at Greenwich in the days of your ancestor. These are portrayed in the Album in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and many of them yet exist in a more or less complete state. To my mind the fashion of the Constable's and Louis de Bourbon's suit is *French*. Not much is yet known of French armour, but a certain amount of it, no doubt still exists, and I believe I could point to a certain number of pieces in the Musée d'Artillerie in Paris which were made in France. I think that I established long ago in my work on the Dino Collection, published in Paris in 1901, that a certain series of richly decorated shields and other pieces of armour, many of which were formerly ascribed to Benvenuto Cellini, were French work, and I see in the July issue of *The Burlington Magazine* (page 26) that Sir Guy Laking entirely adopts my view. From the reign of Louis XII downwards French art was largely inspired by that of Italy, and many Italian artists were called to France; but, inspired as it was by Italy, the art of those times acquired a peculiar flavour when executed by French hands, a flavour which can be easily recognized by comparison and study of existing specimens. We find the same thing in Germany and the Low Countries, each race adding something of its own, whilst drawing its models from Italy. Now my impression strongly is, that your two suits show something French in their forms. They may have been executed in Italy, for it can be shown that Milan made suits of Spanish fashion for Spain, German fashion for Germany, French fashion for France. Or they may have been made in France, and the decoration carried out by Italian craftsmen working there. I could not form an opinion on that point without a close examination. That a very important school of armourers working for the French kings and their great nobles existed at Tours and Paris in the 16th century will be abundantly proved when I can publish the "Dictionary of Armourers and Weapon Makers," which I am preparing. To come to the practical point in relation to your two suits, led up to by this long digression, it appears to me difficult to explain the presence at Wilton for

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

centuries of two suits of rich armour, apparently *French*, in company with the undoubted suit of the first Earl, unless they were those of his two illustrious prisoners. I will admit that certain features found in these two suits might be met with in suits worn ten or twelve years later than 1557, but there is not the slightest approach in the breastplate of either of them to the *peascod* form which came into vogue at the beginning of the last quarter of the 16th century, nor do they show the marked medial line characteristic of breastplates of about 1570, but have still the rather rounded, burly form in fashion in the reign of Henri II. Indeed, the shape of the breastplates seems to me to point conclusively to their production during that reign, and Mr. ffoulkes is constrained to admit that the Constable's breastplate appears of earlier date than that suggested by the rest of the suit. Now, as that armour is certainly not made up, but all of a piece, he here rather contradicts himself. Mr. ffoulkes lays stress on the volutes on the shoulder pieces of that suit. In the collection at Vienna is a half suit of armour which bears a very close resemblance to that of the Constable. It is that of the Venetian Admiral Agostino Barbarigo, and is engraved in Böheim's Album of the Vienna collection, Part I, plate xxxi, Wien, 1894. It came from Ambras, so the attribution is fairly certain. We find here the same helmet with its bevor, the same splinted breastplate and the same *very marked volutes* on the shoulder-pieces and elbow guards. Now Böheim, although I sometimes differ with him on his attributions of certain pieces to certain artists, had a very profound knowledge of the styles of armour at different epochs, and he attributes this suit to about 1560, which is very close to the date of the battle of St. Quentin. Mr. ffoulkes also seems to think that the Montmorenci suit is not rich enough to have been worn by the Constable. I will only observe that the suit of armour of this same Anne of Montmorenci, preserved in the Musée d'Artillerie, Paris (Fig. 1047D), which came from the celebrated Ambras Collection formed by the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol in the 16th century, and the attribution of which is practically certain, is plainer still, being a workmanlike black suit of fighting armour, decorated only with very few depressed gilt bands. The helmet in which he received his death wound, a helmet much of the type of yours, and having nothing to do with the suit just mentioned, which has a close one, is simply decorated with etching. Princes and Commanders did not fight in rich pageant armour, and the suit worn by the Emperor Charles V at the battle of Mühlberg in 1547, still preserved at Madrid, is a robust fighting harness, but slightly decorated, and totally different in character from the splendid pageant suits made for the Emperor in Italy. Consequently that objection of Mr. ffoulkes breaks down.

In conclusion, I see no real reason to doubt the attributions given to your two suits of armour, which I remember seeing many years ago at the Tudor Exhibition, and which I described in the "Magazine of Art" for July, 1890, as well as in "The Antiquary."

Yours very sincerely,  
C. A. DE COSSON.

77, VIA Ghibellina,  
Florence,  
17th July, 1917.

## THE MAXIMILIAN SCHOOL

The two suits are illustrated in Figs. 1047B and 1047C. Fig. 1047D is an illustration of the armour of the Constable de Montmorenci, preserved in the Musée d'Artillerie, and Fig. 1047A shows his effigy preserved in the Louvre.

Fig. 1047E is a reproduction of the portrait of the Constable de Montmorenci from the series of engravings of XVIth century princes and captains published in 1601 by Jakob Shrenck von Nozing.

Those who are interested in the controversy will find the armours described in great detail, and all the arguments in favour of and against the tradition printed in the brochure to which we have referred.—EDITOR.]



FIG. 1047E. PORTRAIT OF THE CONSTABLE DE MONTMORENCI  
From Jakob Shrenck von Nozing's series published in 1601

## CHAPTER XXV

### ARMOUR OF A TYPE NOW VAGUELY TERMED *LANDSKNECHT* AND XVITH CENTURY ARMOUR UNDER CLASSICAL INFLUENCE



T this point we find ourselves in an attitude of mental hesitation; for, having now arrived at a period towards the close of the first half of the XVIth century, we are in some doubt as to whether we should follow our natural desire to march straight ahead in order to carry on our sequence of suits directly influenced by the later Maximilian feeling, or whether we should go back to the early years of the XVIth century, so as to deal with those harnesses in which the classicism of the Italian Renaissance made itself felt so strongly both as regards decoration and even form. We have decided to proceed to the next class of defence immediately evolved from the Maximilian style, viz., "Landsknecht" armour. We agree that the true Landsknecht soldier fought on foot, but when we refer to this armour the reader will see that it is a type suitable for both mounted and foot soldier. The term may seem to some an unsuitable one, but to the author, who has lived, as it were, entangled in armour jargon, and to all collectors, it connotes a definite class of harness. This armour was in use in almost all civilized countries, and was less influenced by the civil fashion in dress of the time than the direct Maximilian; though that which we see to-day is, as a rule, the product of Germany. We wish to imply by the term a class of armour which is of almost stock pattern but which occasionally is distinguished by the work of the most skilled of armourers. If we describe three suits of the class it will suffice; for these will take us well into the second half of the XVIth century, and we shall have no occasion to return to the type again.

Among the possessions of the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris is a fine suit of armour of this not uncommon type, but of the high class to which we have alluded (G 117) (Fig. 1048). It is a work wrought under the direct influence of Kolman of Augsburg, and belongs certainly to the so-called Landsknecht group. In this instance the suit is of fairly well established

## LANDSKNECHT TYPE OF ARMOUR

historical importance, being known as the armour of Francis I. The official catalogue of the Musée d'Artillerie states that it was ordered by the Archduke Ferdinand from Jörg Seusenhofer for the King of France, when the two countries were at peace, *i.e.*, probably between 1529 and 1536. It was made in Germany, but, in the author's opinion, by one of the Kolmans of Augsburg. It must be supposed that immediately after its completion a fresh rupture arose between France and Germany, with the result that the suit never reached its destination, but remained in the Ambras Collection, whence it was brought back by the French after the wars of the first Empire in 1806. It was then placed in the Musée des Souverains, but subsequently, in 1872, was removed to the Musée d'Artillerie.

The suit is of large and fine proportions, made essentially for field wear, its right pauldron hollowed for the couching of the lance, the left very full *à la façon d'Italie*: both have the upright shoulder guards. It is now impossible to say how its traditional ascription to the ownership of Francis I originated, whether it was from embossing resembling fleurs-de-lis and gilt ornaments appearing on the surface of the suit at intervals, or whether from some documentary evidence now lost. That we shall never know. In any case the evidence derived from the form of ornamentation is not very conclusive; for the embossing, instead of representing the true and simple fleur-de-lis of France, seems rather to depict the fleur-de-lis *épanouie* of Florence. Until some one makes further investigations into its origin we can but simply regard the suit as what it is—a very beautiful and finely made suit of the ordinary fashion of about 1525-35 and of the Kolman type. In the Wallace Collection, No. 402 (Fig. 1049), is a suit of armour much like it, though of somewhat inferior workmanship, which, according to tradition, was also called the armour of Francis I, doubtless from its resemblance to the suit in the Musée d'Artillerie just mentioned. The Wallace suit bears upon the breastplate the mark employed by the Kolman family, a circumstance which goes to strengthen our belief in the suggestion that the Paris suit came from their workshops. Another most interesting feature of agreement between the two suits is the extraordinary length of the jambs, which are elongated immediately below the knee-cops into almost deformed proportions. There is a difference in the shape of the breastplate, the Musée d'Artillerie suit possessing a tapul down the front, while that in the Wallace Collection is globose; but, generally speaking, there is a great likeness between the two suits. The Wallace suit has embossed decoration resembling fleurs-de-lis on the tuilles and on the toe-caps

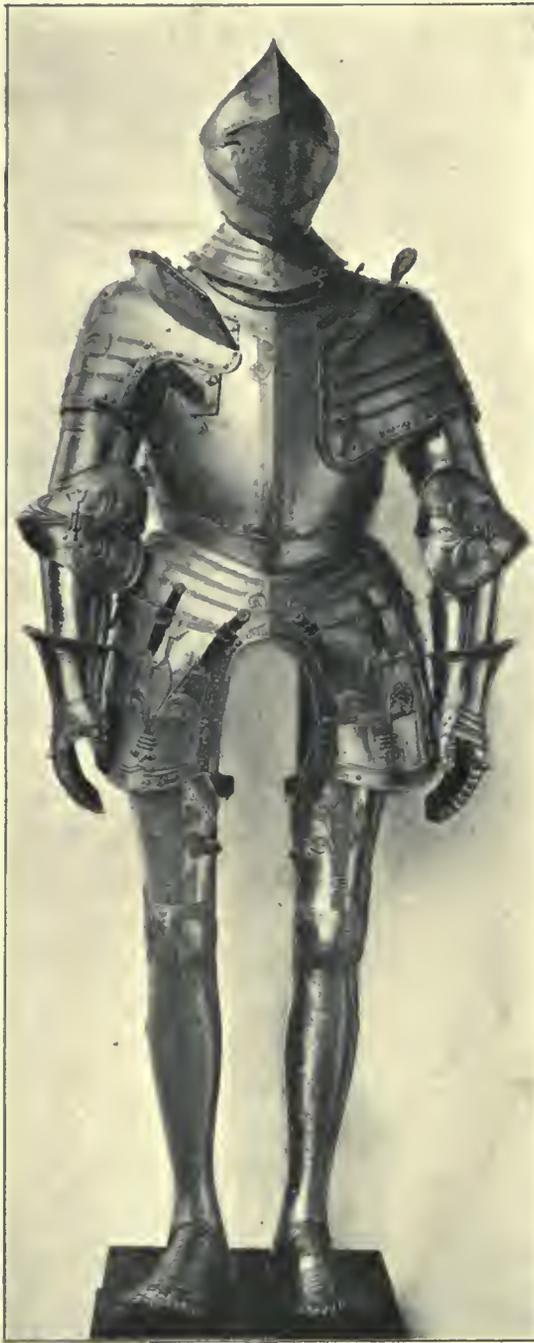


FIG. 1048. SUIT OF ARMOUR

Said to have been made for King Francis I of France. Probably the work of one of the Kolmans of Augsburg about 1530-35. G 117, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris



FIG. 1049. SUIT OF ARMOUR

On the breastplate is the mark of one of the Kolmans of Augsburg about 1540. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 402)

## LANDSKNECHT TYPE OF ARMOUR

of the sollerets. The upright shoulder guards attachable to the pauldrons are lost, although the staples for their attachment remain.

The suit we now choose for illustration shows the next step in the evolution of what we have termed the Landsknecht armour. This somewhat later form more than ever constitutes a representative example of this very large family of harness, armour which great nobles wore as complete suits, and which the common soldiers would take as a model for their individual plates. It must have existed in very large quantities; indeed, in the more ordinary make, it is practically the only type of genuine mid-XVIth century armour to be found in the market. Often, as in the case of the harness we are about to describe, these suits are of very fine workmanship, but they present no individual features.

Although it is a harness of no very great historical importance and cannot be considered an astonishing production of the armourer's art, the panoply made for Lazarus Schwendi, Freiherr Hohenlandsberg, which is now preserved in the Imperial Armoury of Vienna, is an excellent example of the armour in question (Fig. 1050). The Schwendi suit appears to be the product of Augsburg; though the etched bands with which the surface is enriched certainly show the influence of Peter Speier of Annaberg. The designs of terminal figures, trophies,



FIG. 1050. SUIT OF ARMOUR

Made for Lazarus Schwendi, Freiherr von Hohenlandsberg. Probably produced at Augsburg, but decorated by Peter Speier of Annaberg about 1550-60. Imperial Armoury, Vienna

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

and strapwork are drawn with the firmest of touches, the groundwork being filled in with a black pigment. The suit is fully protective, but of the simplest construction, with duplicated pauldrons, and the usual mid-XVIth century arm defences with fingered gauntlets. The breastplate has the slight tapul in the fashion of about 1550-60; there are traces of two plates and close fitting laminated tassets overlapping the short cuisses; the jambs are incomplete, and we are inclined to think were originally finished with sollerets of plate now missing. Fitted by a strong staple to the top of the breastplate is a large buffe such as would be used in conjunction with a much more robustly fashioned burgonet helmet than that now found on the suit; and although the casque which is now part of the harness actually belongs to it, it must have been interchangeable with one of heavier construction—now lost.

Lazarus Schwendi, soldier and diplomat, was born about 1522 and died in 1583. He is depicted wearing this same harness in the picture now hanging in Room VII, No. 102, in the Castle of Ambras. In this portrait the harness is shown as painted entirely black, doubtless for purposes of war. It was not until 1884 that this black paint was removed from the suit; although the tracing of the etching was always discernible. Thanks to this coating of pigment the surface of the suit is in perfect preservation.

### XVI<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY ARMOUR, THE ACTUAL FORM OF WHICH IS UNDER DIRECT CLASSICAL INFLUENCE

BARELY had the first quarter of the XVIth century passed before the spirit of the Renaissance affected the taste of the great nobles, especially those of the Latin races. We have already dwelt upon its influence on offensive arms in the latter part of the XVth century (see vol ii, pp. 270 *et seq.*) and shall deal later in this work with its effect on the essentially pageant armour of shields and helmets. We shall now consider to what extent body armour generally came under its sway. One of the suits we are about to describe is perhaps the only one of its kind that exists to-day in its entirety. This harness was not used in combat but for purely parade purposes—at reviews of troops or on occasions of processional entries into cities—it was made for Charles V and is now in the Royal Armoury of Madrid, A 188 (Fig. 1051). There is record of another worn by Philip II as Prince of Asturias in the Tournament at Valladolid (1544), which, however, to-day no longer exists. The suit in Madrid is perhaps one of the most famous of enriched

## XVI<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY ARMOUR UNDER CLASSICAL INFLUENCE

military panoplies known. It was made by the celebrated Bartolommeo Campi, and, according to well-founded tradition, was presented to the Emperor Charles V by Guidobaldo II, Duke of Urbino, in 1546. In his fine Catalogue of the Armoury, its learned Curator, the late Count de Valencia, expresses his unqualified belief in the authenticity of this tradition; and so clearly does he set forth his argument that we refer to it at length. He goes on to say that in his opinion this beautiful work of art belonged to the Emperor, though he has not found it so recorded in any authoritative document nor in any drawing in that *Inventario* from which he so often quotes. Very naturally he has no faith in the theory of the old catalogue that it was presented to the conqueror by the magistrates of Monza in 1529, for the very simple reason that it was made sixteen years later, as he shows by the date it bears. But he holds that various circumstances, well worthy of consideration, lend credence to the tradition, never disproved, that the armour now under consideration belonged to Charles V and was presented to him by Duke Guidobaldo II. In addition to the evidence obtainable from the inscriptions on two of the plates of the suit, *i.e.*, that Campi made it in Pesaro, the biography of Bartolommeo Campi gives us the further information that this goldsmith, afterwards the Duke of Alva's right-hand man, in the capacity of military



FIG. 1051. CLASSICALLY FASHIONED SUIT OF ARMOUR

Presented to the Emperor Charles V by Guidobaldo II, Duke of Urbino, in 1546. Made and signed by Bartolommeo Campi of Pesaro in 1546. A 188, Royal Armoury, Madrid

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

engineer, was at one time in the service of Guidobaldo II, Duke of Urbino. The latter prince took as his second wife Vittoria, sister of Ottavio Farnese, son-in-law of Charles V, exactly one year after that in which this armour was constructed; and, allowance being made for the anxiety of the princes of the small States of Italy to secure the protection of the Empire, it seems more than likely that the Prince of Urbino showed his gratitude to the conqueror for the new alliance by offering for his acceptance this rich armour. The hypothesis put forward by the Count de Valencia assumes the character of certainty when he is able to add that the monogram of Guidobaldo appears on the backplate in gilded embossed letters, surmounted by a crown, identical with those to be found on various pieces of artillery belonging to the Duke. The crowning proof is afforded by the fact that the measurements of the armour coincide with those of the other panoplies of the period which belonged to the Emperor Charles V. We have, therefore, if not full proof, at least a fair presumption that Guidobaldo II commissioned Campi to make this armour and presented it to Charles V.<sup>1</sup> Before we describe this most beautiful suit of armour and its curious technical detail, let us see what the famous Signor A. Angelucci in his work, *Documenti inediti per la storia delle armi da fuoco italiane*, Turin, 1869, says of the wonderful armourer who produced it. Signor Angelucci's notes were amplified by the late Count de Valencia, who was allowed to make further researches into the history of this armourer-soldier among the historical archives of the Duke of Alva. The double research has resulted in bringing to light the following facts:

Bartolommeo Campi, who was born in Pesaro at the beginning of the XVIth century, followed in his youth the trade of a goldsmith or engraver of metals, and made weapons and armour of great richness, which merited the eulogies bestowed upon them by the notorious literary blackmailer, Pietro Aretino, in letters sent from Venice to Bartolommeo Egnazio (1545), about the time Campi was employed upon this armour for Charles V. In 1547 he had charge of the festivities celebrated in Pesaro on the occasion of the wedding of Guidobaldo II and Vittoria Farnese, and two years later he finished the admirable work of art in gold and silver which the Municipality of Pesaro presented to the new-born son of that Prince. From 1554 to 1560 he served successively the Republic of Siena, the Republic of Venice, and the French monarch, Henri II, as military engineer. He assisted at the siege of Calais.

<sup>1</sup> In the *Inventario* of the Royal Armoury for 1594, we find mentioned among the arms of the Emperor: "Another set of armour in the ancient style, after the trophies made with stroke of the black hammer."

## XVI<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY ARMOUR UNDER CLASSICAL INFLUENCE

In 1560, backed by Cardinal Granvella, he endeavoured, but without success, to enter the Spanish army. He then returned to France and took the part of the Catholics against the Huguenots. In 1568 he succeeded in serving in Flanders under the command of the Duke of Alva. This celebrated commander gave him a commission, which may be seen in the archives of the house of Alva, appointing him chief engineer of the works of fortification and besieging of fortresses, at a monthly salary of 500 ordinary and 50 extraordinary escudos. In addition to this salary, his son, Escipion, was given 25 escudos per month for pocket money. The Duke of Alva held Campi in such high esteem that, in a letter to the Emperor dated the 3rd June 1569, he said: "I tell your Majesty that in Captain B. Campi you have a good thing, because by profession he is a soldier, and he is also possessed of art, although it has not the same foundation as that of Pachote (Cristobal Pacheco), and he is the best man that I have worked with since I had anything to do with men—I do not mean engineers only, but men of any class. He is very homely and very merry at his work" (*translation*). Campi died from the result of a head-wound from an arquebus ball at the siege of Haarlem on the 7th of March 1573.

Now as regards the suit itself. At the first glance one might suppose that one was looking at the harness on some life-sized statue of classical times, so closely has the fashion of the antique armour been copied. The breastplate, which is moulded on the lines of the male torso, is a better defence than the bronze *θώραξ στῆδιος* of antiquity, as far as we can judge from those that have been preserved, from the fact that it is composed of three parts, a device which gives it a certain flexibility. It would appear that even Campi must have been well satisfied with his work on this suit; for in a prominent place on the breastplate he has not only recorded his name in full, but also the effort he made to comply with the mandate of his master by executing the work in two months, an effort which in an ordinary way would have required a year to complete. To that effect he expresses himself in the following inscription: BARTHOLOMEVS . CAMPI . AVRIFEX . TOTIVS . OPERIS . ARTIFEX . QVOD . ANNO . INTEGRO . INDIGEBAT . PRINCIPIS . SVI . NVTVI . OBTEMPERANS . GEMINATO . MENSE . PERFECIT. On the backplate appears nothing but the initials B C. F. (*Bartolommeo Campi Fecit*).

Around the base of the breast- and backplate, hinged in front and stapled behind, are a series of cockle-shell pendants from which are suspended four rectangular plates; almost in slavish imitation of the antique. With the possible exception of the casque, the gorget is the only part of the

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

suit in which Campi has had recourse to the customary shaped plates of the XVIth century. The espaliers are composed of large hollow plates to which are applied masks, dependent from the mouths of which are a series of rectangular plates, similar to those seen round the skirt. Both the edging of the espaliers, and the foundation of the skirt are of fine riveted mail with



FIG. 1052. FROM A PICTURE ATTRIBUTED TO JACINTO GERONIMO DE ESPINOSA  
Representing the Biblical subject of "Jael and Sisera." Sisera, it will be noted, wears the suit of  
armour, Fig. 1051. Ex collection: the late Sir Charles Robinson, C.B.

delicately vandyked borders. The casque head-piece presents a profile like that of some fine Greek helmet, almost of pure classic form, with hinged ear-pieces. To complete the harness Campi, following very carefully the classical mode, has limited the protection of the legs to buskin boots, fashioned of open steelwork in the style of the *cothurnus*, which, according to Virgil, was a species of boot which came half-way up the shin, and was fastened with laces in front. As to the decoration of this harness, nothing

## XVITH CENTURY ARMOUR UNDER CLASSICAL INFLUENCE

could be more splendid than its colour effect. Like some of the finest work of the Negroli, the actual surface of the steel is of a bronze-black colour, showing that slight indication of the hammer mark that renders it such a satisfactory field upon which to apply ornamentation. The main theme of the decoration is carried out in fine scrollwork and in applied ornaments in gilded bronze, such as masks, rays of Jupiter, *bucrania*, unicorns, and other analogous figures. Beside this, the purest gold and silver damascening enriches many of the principal plates, introducing a profusion of vine-like tendrils and other incrustations of gold and silver. Applied round the skull-piece of the casque is a triumphal crown of oak leaves in gilt bronze.

We cannot now determine what under-garments the Emperor would have worn when he was caparisoned in this armour. As now set up in the Madrid Armoury, the skilfully modelled figure is clad in slashed sleeves and trunk hose. In an early XVIIth century picture formerly in the collection of the late Sir Charles Robinson (Fig. 1052), which used to be attributed to Velasquez, but is more probably the work of Jacinto Geronimo de Espinosa—a picture representing the Biblical subject of “Jael and Sisera”—Sisera, who is lying prone on the ground, with the nail driven through his temples, can be seen wearing armour which is a careful copy of the Campi suit we are discussing. In this case, simple red trunk hose cover the exposed portions of the legs, and a long-sleeved hauberk of chain mail appears beneath the body armour. Possibly this was the original complete costume worn with the Campi suit; for when the picture was painted, the suit was hardly ninety years old, and the costume worn with it may have been in the Royal Armoury, where the study for it must have been made.

Before finishing our description of this suit, we must record the comparatively recent discovery of the stirrups that appear to have formed part of the original panoply. In 1896, at the sale of the Earl of Warwick's Collection, great was the astonishment when a pair of stirrups realized the sum of £1,491. The stirrups were purchased at the sale by the late Mr. Charles Davis, who almost immediately ceded them to the late Mr. George Salting (Fig. 1053). The author was responsible for the long description of them given in the sale catalogue, and also for their attribution to the hand of Caradosso, who it was known had occasionally turned from his usual medium of gold, silver, and bronze, and the like, to work in the more stubborn material of iron, and had also on occasions produced weapons and armour, though such works of his, if in existence to-day, pass unrecognized. Upon the Warwick stirrups, as described in the sale catalogue, are the initials that fitted most conveniently

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

with the name of Ambrosio Foppa, called Caradosso, A.C. -F. It also appeared that the armourer's work was more akin to that of the goldsmith, appliquéés of silver and bronze gilt being plentifully used in the general decoration. At the sale the extreme simplicity of their outline and the ultra-classical form of their enrichment caused these stirrups to be universally admired; though, save for the fact that they had been in Warwick Castle for some time, their past history and original ownership were unknown.

At the private view of the Exhibition of the *Toison d'Or* held at Bruges



FIG. 1053. PAIR OF STIRRUPS

Apparently made for the suit, Fig. 1051. Salting Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum

on 28 June 1907, the present writer had the privilege of seeing for the first time a few of the fine suits of armour lent from the world-famed Royal Armoury of Madrid by His Majesty, the King of Spain. He examined each suit very carefully, and the magnificent harness of Roman fashion under discussion attracted his particular attention. Its splendid proportions, its correctness of classical form, and, moreover, its elaborate decoration of gold, silver, and gilt bronze, kept the author spellbound while he closely scrutinized every detail and every plate. Though he had never seen the suit itself before, the ornamentation seemed strangely familiar. A mental review of all suits or separate armaments he had seen failed, however, to recall to his

## XVI<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY ARMOUR UNDER CLASSICAL INFLUENCE

memory any arms or armour distinguished by these details of ornamentation. On the following day, after the ceremony of the opening of the exhibition had been performed, the author again carefully examined this particular harness, still haunted the while by the memory of having noted a like ornamentation elsewhere. Suddenly the explanation of his familiarity with the method of enrichment became apparent: the damascening of the suit exactly corresponded with that of the Warwick stirrups, repeating the design of the vine leaves and curiously arranged foliage. Then came a difficulty. As before stated, the stirrups are signed in large Roman characters A.C. -F., whilst on the backplate of the suit in question, above the shoulder blades, in exactly similar characters, there are the initials B.C. -F. We can only get over the difficulty and establish our claim that the Warwick stirrups were made by the armourer Campi in the year 1546 *en suite* and for use with this classically fashioned armour of Charles V by regarding the substitution in the monogram of A.C. -F. for B.C. -F. as a proof that Campi, besides the name Bartolommeo, had some other Christian name beginning with the initial A. This we frankly confess is a very weak explanation of the difference in the signatures; but since detail for detail the decoration of the stirrups corresponds with that of the suit, it would seem hardly likely that they can be the work of any other hand than Campi's. It would be interesting to know when this pair of stirrups passed into the possession of the Warwick family, and when they were originally separated from the harness to which they apparently belong. The separation may have taken place in 1839, when many small pieces of armour, a few suits, and very many swords, rapiers, and daggers were stolen from the Royal Spanish storehouse by an unscrupulous custodian, and shipped to England for sale. To this incident the present writer has referred in other chapters dealing with the armour from the Madrid Armoury; but it is not out of place here to record the circumstances of the theft. The armour and arms were stolen in 1838 from Madrid, and in January of the year following they were sent by a firm of Spanish lawyers to London to be sold by auction. The sale was held by Messrs. Christie on 23 and 24 January 1839, and the property was described in the sale catalogue as "a very important assemblage of ancient armour and arms recently received from Spain." But so little did the public then appreciate the art of the armourer that the two days' sale of over 270 items only realized the absurdly small sum of £983. Yet in that sale were some of the choicest examples of armour of the first half of the XVI<sup>th</sup> century, more especially of the Kolman and Wolf of Landshut schools. Recent investigations have led to the discovery that the

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

“very important assemblage of ancient armour and arms” was composed of nothing less than many of the extra pieces and *pièces d'échange* of the famous suits of the Emperor Charles V and of Philip II. It is certainly no exaggeration to say that at the present rate of prices this two days' sale of armour and arms would certainly have realized not less than from £80,000 to £100,000. The baldness of the accounts given in the sale catalogue renders an attempt to recognize many of the objects therein described an almost hopeless task; for all that, it remains true that many of the historical pieces that shed lustre on some now famous private or public collection can be traced to this sale. Some of the pieces have even found their way back to the actual armoury from which they were stolen. Looking through the 1839 sale catalogue we find that many pairs of stirrups are recorded; but it is quite impossible now to say if any of them could have been those afterwards sold at the auction of the Warwick Collection, no description of them being given. The Warwick stirrups are now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, to which institution they were bequeathed along with the remainder of the Salting Collection. The theft of the armour and weapons from Madrid took place many years of course before the Armoury was first arranged for public exhibition by Don Martinez de Romero.

Until quite recent years the signed Bartolommeo Campi suit was believed to be the only existing example of this goldsmith-armourer's work; but now, thanks to researches made in 1914 by the Baron de Cosson, there is little doubt that other armour from his hand has come to light. When we come to that section of this work which deals with the burgonet or open helmet of the XVIth century we shall discuss three pieces of Campi's which have recently been discovered—a helmet in the Museum of Tsarskoje-Selo, Petrograd (Fig. 1220), a breastplate and a single pauldron belonging to it in the Bargello Museum, Florence (Figs. 1221 and 1222), and a companion pauldron in the Riggs Collection, Metropolitan Museum of New York (Fig. 1223). But, as the panoply of which these are pieces is wholly grotesque, and is marked by no classicism in its design, we will make no allusion to it here. However, a companion breastplate to this same group in the Bargello arrests our attention, for it is the counterpart, or even the model, from which the “antique” Madrid harness is taken.

The Baron de Cosson, writing in *L'Arte* of Signor Adolfo Venturi,<sup>1</sup> reports on divers pieces of armour from the ancient armoury of the Medici

<sup>1</sup> C. A. de Cosson, *Notizie su diversi pezzi d'armatura provenienti dall' antica armeria Medicea esistenti nel Museo Nazionale di Firenze.* (*L'Arte* di Adolfo Venturi. Fasc. v, vi, Roma, 1914.)

## XVI<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY ARMOUR UNDER CLASSICAL INFLUENCE

as follows: we give a translation of the passage by the Baron de Cosson, as it explains the history of the second classically designed breastplate which he unhesitatingly believes to be the work of Bartolomeo Campi.

“Of the very rich armoury of Lorenzo the Magnificent only the memory remains, preserved in the inventory compiled at his death in 1492. It is probable that the armoury was dispersed when Piero de Medici fled from Florence at the approach of Charles VIII of France in 1494, and the houses of the Medici were pillaged by the populace. It contained arms and suits of armour of great value, adorned with gold and silver. Among others, we may mention the armour of Piero il Gottoso, gilt throughout, the jousting cuirass of Lorenzo, covered with violet<sup>1</sup> velvet, that of Giuliano, covered with white velvet, both with their waist-pieces, lance-rests, and shoulder-pieces,<sup>2</sup> the armour of Giuliano di Lorenzo, entirely gilt, and numerous other weapons and highly enriched pieces of armour, including *un cimiero di un elmetto, d'una dama in mano d'oro una vesta indosso ricamato di perle*. But unfortunately, of all these pieces not one can now be traced. Later, the Grand Duke Francesco I placed in several rooms of the Uffizi Gallery weapons and suits of armour belonging to his family, forming a collection which, in 1631, was augmented by the rich arms inherited from the Dukes of Urbino. In the XVII<sup>th</sup> century, however, at a time when only classical antiquities were in fashion, the Grand Duke Pietro Leopoldo, in order to make room for numerous ancient sculptures with which he had enriched his own collection, had a great quantity of pieces which belonged to the armoury of the Medici put up for sale. The English painter, Zoffany, then in Florence, was able before the auction to purchase for 450 lire seventy-four pieces, which, doubtless, later found their way into the famous Meyrick Collection, and some of them from that source passed into the Wallace Collection in London. A very few pieces, esteemed to be

<sup>1</sup> The Italian word is *Alessandrino*, a violet colour obtained from the *oricella*, a rock lichen imported from the East, which, when treated with urine, gave a dye much esteemed in Florence, and called *alessandrino* or *pavonazzo*. A Florentine merchant named Bernardo or Nardo brought this plant from the Levant in the XIII<sup>th</sup> century, and from it his descendants derived great wealth and fame, together with the family name of Oricellai, and later Rucellai. The family still exists, and the Rucellai palace, gardens, and loggia are famous in Florence. A *Trattato della Seta* of 1453 describes how white silk may be dyed *alessandrino* with *oricello*. (Note by the Baron de Cosson.)

<sup>2</sup> These cuirasses are described as having “*la vite, resta e spaletta*,” here translated as “waist-pieces, lance-rests, and shoulder-pieces.” *Vite* is properly a “screw,” but here the word is more probably used for *vita*, a waist. With respect to the velvet covering the Baron de Cosson calls the attention of the author to a cuirass covered with cloth of gold at Madrid, and he refers to two Italian XV<sup>th</sup> century breastplates covered with velvet in the collection of one of his friends.



FIG. 1054. BREASTPLATE FASHIONED ON CLASSICAL LINES

Made by Bartolommeo Campi of Pesaro about 1540 probably for Duke Guidobaldo II of Urbino.  
From the ancient armoury of the Medici. Bargello Museum, Florence

## XVI<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY ARMOUR UNDER CLASSICAL INFLUENCE

of great importance, were preserved in Florence, and now form part of the collection in the National Museum at the Bargello. Gold and silver to the value of ten thousand lire were ruthlessly extracted from the damascening and incrustations of the remaining arms and armour and sent to the Mint, while those pieces, deprived of the precious metals which had adorned them, were sent to the hammer in the Hall of the Two Hundred in the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence, and sold for a few pence a pound as old iron! The pieces which remain from the Armoury of the Medici are consequently few—we may say very few—and of these I wish to illustrate some of the most important, supplying the few details which I have been able to gather from the researches I have carried out.”

The first of these new discoveries in the Bargello to which Baron de Cosson alludes is the breastplate with its accompanying pauldron, the diverting history of which we shall discuss in the next volume (Figs. 1221 and 1222). It is, however, the third item that here concerns us, the classically fashioned breastplate which he goes on to describe as follows:

“Breastplate of a cuirass imitated from the antique, embossed and engraved in relief at the throat with an imitation of chain mail. On the forefront is a head of Medusa, and at the base are two gilded griffins. This breastplate so closely resembles that of a suit of armour in the Roman style (Fig. 1051) which belonged to Charles V (now at Madrid) that I consider it confidently to be the work of Bartolommeo Campi and to have belonged, in all probability, to Guidobaldo II of Urbino.



FIG. 1055. HALF SUIT OF ARMOUR  
Made for Antonio Martinengo III. Italian,  
Milanese (?), about 1560. C 11, Royal  
Armoury, Turin

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

Indeed, on the suit of armour signed by Campi there are to be seen the same imitation mail, the head of Medusa, and the volutes. Like the breastplate of Madrid, that at the Bargello terminated at its lower edge in a series of small hanging scales, which now have disappeared, but the hinges of which yet remain. I should consider this breastplate slightly earlier than the one given to the Emperor, and that it may have suggested to the Duke the idea of ordering the complete suit of armour later presented to Charles V."

The Baron de Cosson was good enough to supply the present writer with an excellent photograph of the breastplate (Fig. 1054) which, on comparison with that on the suit Fig. 1051, shows the great likeness between the two plates, and the very excellent reason the Baron has for stating "confidently" his belief that it comes from the hand of Campi.

Perhaps, after these—the Madrid Campi suits and the breastplate by the same armourer in the Bargello, Florence—the most classically conceived harness extant is that now in the Royal Armoury of Turin, C 11, made for Antonio Martinengo III (Fig. 1055). In the catalogue of the ducal armoury of 1604 (*Arch. Gonzaga*, x, 1, No. 9, BA 3884) it figures as *Una armatura bianca da cavallo all'antica ch'era a Cauriana ed una mazza d'ottone lavorata artificiosamente in mano*. It was a tradition in the Martinengo family that this harness was made for and belonged to Antonio I; but as Antonio Martinengo I lived in the middle of the XVth century, and the period of this classic harness is well that of the XVIth century, the third Antonio must have been confused with the first. In other words, the armour of Antonio III was, in the old inventory, described as being that of his great-grandfather, quite irrespective of the fact that it is quite a hundred years later in style. It is a half suit, with a somewhat long-waisted breastplate having a slight central ridge with tassets of five plates attached, riveted to the taces. The head-piece is an open casque with a high comb and hinged ear-pieces. The classical appearance of the harness is due to the form of the shoulder-plates or espaliers; for they are quite in the Roman fashion, beautifully modelled of single plates, from the lower edge of which hangs a double row of rectangular scales as seen on the Charles V. suit by Campi (Fig. 1051). The classical feeling is also shown in the very unusual method of enrichment which is employed in the surface decoration. It may be described as being broadly fluted, the recessed parts of the surface being etched and gilded, and the raised surfaces entirely etched with a clever representation of interlinked chain mail. This is the theme of ornament of the entire suit, the only other decoration being on the edge of the comb of the casque, which is embossed with a design

## XVI<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY ARMOUR UNDER CLASSICAL INFLUENCE

suggestive of duplicated tulip flowers. There is to be seen in the Palace of Martinengo della Fabbrica a statue erected to the memory of Antonio Martinengo I by Count Silvio Martinengo. On the statue is represented the armour under discussion—a circumstance which goes to prove how very real was the former belief in its having belonged to Antonio I, a family belief indeed that nothing could have upset except the irrefutable evidence of the real period of the harness. It is many years since we have had an opportunity of examining the harness at Turin; but it was then our impression that it was of Milanese make, though from the hand of an armourer unfamiliar to us, and that part of the gilding had been subject to restoration. In the official catalogue of the Royal Turin Armoury it is described as the work of one “of the best Brescian armourers.” But this attribution probably rests on no more valid foundation than the idea that, inasmuch as the Martinengo family held estates at Pavona and Gabiano in the district of Brescia, such armour as they required would be commissioned from a Brescian armourer.

Of such gorgeous sets of pageant armour as the suits we have just described, in making which, from a desire to pander to the wearer's love of display, the armourer has been tempted almost to disregard the traditional lines of body defence, no other examples have been preserved in their entirety even in the foremost armouries of Europe. Certainly we have, for instance, the *Armure aux Lions* (see Fig. 1060) in the Musée d'Artillerie, the breastplate, backplate, and helmet made for Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol (see Fig. 1059), the half armour of Vespasian Gonzaga, Herzog von Sabbioneta, which is also to be seen in the Imperial Armoury of Vienna, and in the same collection the half suit attributed to the Admiral Agostino Barbarigo; but all these suits, though under classical influence, show a much stronger leaning towards the shapes and fashions of ordinary XVI<sup>th</sup> century armour. There are, however, certain separate breastplates, etc., apart from these sets, which must originally have formed part of complete harnesses, closely rivalling in grandeur the Campi suit. Of these ultra enriched parts of harnesses, we can illustrate no better example than that embossed breastplate from the famous Magniac Collection, which is now in the Riggs Collection (Fig. 1056). Considered as a specimen of artistic metal-working this piece of armour certainly ranks amongst the foremost decorative productions of the Italian *Cinquecento*. It is, moreover, signed in a very conspicuous manner by the artist Paolo Negrolì, one of the two famous brothers of Milan. The signature is etched on a ribbon scroll in the lower part of the breastplate as follows: S.O.

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

PAVLVS · DE · NEGROLIS · ME · FECIT. The breastplate is of large size and very massive, of an oval shape and very convex in the lower part, a fashion which was much affected during the second quarter of the XVIth century and



FIG. 1056. BREASTPLATE

Italian (Milanese), about 1540. Signed by Paolo Negrolis  
Ex collection: Magniac. Now Riggs Collection, Metropolitan Museum, New York

which may be considered to have been founded on the shape of the bronze cuirasses of antiquity. It is entirely covered with bold arabesque scrollwork of the most admirable design, in unusually high relief. The principal motifs are, in the lower part, two terminal sirens with grotesque masks in profile,

## XVI<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY ARMOUR UNDER CLASSICAL INFLUENCE

which are placed one on each side regardant, their lower extremities terminating in a scroll or stalk, the involutions of which, richly ornamented with



FIG. 1057. BREASTPLATE, TACES, AND TASSETS

Undoubtedly the work of Filippo Negroli of Milan about 1540. Musée du Louvre

acanthus leaves, tendrils, rosettes, etc., rise to the summit of the plate. In the upper part these two scrolls are coupled together in the centre by a female sphinx, with outstretched wings boldly displayed. The scroll foliage is

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

elaborated by birds perched on the branches. Round the margin, at the summit, where the gorget meets the breastplate, is a broad band ornamented with a cabling. The roped laminated gussets and the space immediately below the roped turnover at the top of the breastplate is deeply but somewhat more coarsely etched with a frieze of tritons and sea-nymphs on a



FIG. 1058. BACKPLATE AND GARDE-DE-REIN

Belonging to the breastplate, Fig. 1057

smaller scale than the remainder of the decoration. The breastplate is now polished to a brightened surface; but in its original state it was doubtless gilded, russeted, or blued, similar ornamentation being visible on the Henri II suit (see Fig. 1090). Nothing is known of its provenance prior to its coming into the possession of Hollingsworth Magniac. Needless to say, however, a history was invented for it, the story being that it was the breastplate of the

## XVI<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY ARMOUR UNDER CLASSICAL INFLUENCE

celebrated Elector Maurice of Saxony, and was worn by him at the fatal Battle of Sievershausen (1553), the perforation on the right-hand side of the plate being supposed to have been caused by the musket ball that killed him. A more recent and wholly unfounded theory has also been mooted, that it was originally worn by King Henry VIII of England, an attribution based solely on the supposed likeness of the floral rosettes appearing in its decoration to the rose of the Tudors.

To proceed with our enumeration of these detached pieces of armour there are, in the Museum of the Louvre, the breastplate (Fig. 1057) with its taces, short tassets, and the backplate (Fig. 1058) with a *garde-de-rein* of one plate, belonging to just such another parade set as that of which the Magniac breastplate formed part. It comes without doubt from the hand of a Negroli, this time of Philip. Their surface is cleaned to an unpleasant leaden colour; but originally it was blue-black. This we know from a comparison of them with the actual parade helmet of the harness, now in the collection of Mr. S. J. Whawell, which still retains its fine original colour (Fig. 1233). In the migratory collection of M. Bachereau of Paris are other



FIG. 1059. HALF SUIT OF ARMOUR

Originally in the collection of the Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol. Stated by the late Herr Wendelin Boeheim to be the work of Giovanni Battista Serabaglio of Milan (a supposed Milanese armorer about whom the author is sceptical).

Middle of the XVIth century. Imperial Armoury, Vienna

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

plates from parade armour of excessive richness strongly under the classical influence. As might be expected, in the case of most suits produced in the second half of the XVIth century, the motifs of enrichment are more or less influenced by the classicism of the Renaissance; but the ornamentation, unlike that of the few we have just referred to, is on a foundation plate which varies, of course, with the changing fashion of the time, but is devoid of any classical feeling as to form and outline.

While we are on the subject of this classically influenced armour we will describe an example to which we have already referred, that half armour now in the Imperial Armoury of Vienna, which was formerly in the Ambras Collection and was known as the "Milanese Harness" (Fig. 1059). This must certainly be included in our history, and so must the parade shield which accompanies it, which we shall mention later; for they are the work of an armourer whose name is recorded by the late Herr Boheim, but the author, after the recent investigations of the Baron de Cosson, doubts very much if such a person ever existed. The suit once belonged to the Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol, and in the inventory of his collection made in 1596 it is described as a Milanese harness which the Archduke bought from a merchant of the name of Serebei, a person whom Boheim endeavours to identify with Giovanni Battista Serabaglio, a member of the famous Busti family of Milan. This mid-XVIth century achievement of Milan, while conforming to the Italian fashion of the day, is yet conceived somewhat on the lines of old Roman suits of antiquity. According to the old inventory Serebei delivered the harness to the Archduke in the year 1560 for twenty-four hundred Kronen. The breast- and backplates fit accurately together, extending from the top plate of the gorget in fourteen lames or splints to the base of the taces. These lames, since they work upon slotted rivets, ensure a very free movement of the body. The tassets are of six plates and follow the lines of the taces. The shoulder defences take the form of very small pauldrons, finishing immediately below the turners of the rerebraces in a band of scalloped ornament quite classical in appearance. As to decoration, the torso of this very beautiful half suit is divided into three diverging bands starting from the wholly decorated gorget plate to the lowest plate of the tassets. The embossed work is splendid in quality, and on the cuirass plates is in sufficiently low relief to enable the plates to slide freely one over the other. Forms of strapwork, trophies of arms, and motifs and figures chosen from pagan mythology constitute the theme of the ornamentation, which is rendered in a manner reminiscent of the mid period of the work

## XVI<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY ARMOUR UNDER CLASSICAL INFLUENCE

of Lucio Picinino. The borders of the various lames and the details of the embossed work are most skilfully damascened with the purest of Italian foliated designs in gold. The helmet upon the suit is a burgonet, of classical form, surmounted by the figure of a monster. This burgonet must not be confused with that described and illustrated in Vol. iv, Fig. 1224. As in the case of the Campi suit at Madrid, full sleeves of mail may have protected the arms, though the fingered gauntlets are still in existence. Possibly this half armour formed part of a whole suit which was subsequently broken up; this, however, is certainly not the inference to be derived from the record in the 1596 inventory. We may add that the suit retains much of its original lining of velvet and gold embroidery. No mark used by Battista Serabaglio is recorded or known, and were it not for the inventory of 1596 in which the name of Serebei is associated with this harness, armour students would be in complete ignorance as to the supposed productions of this Milanese armourer-artist. We are unable to attribute to him any other known suit or part of a suit. The late Herr Boeheim was responsible for the form of the name, Serabaglio.

There is probably no suit of armour that has been more frequently described and illustrated than that in the Musée d'Artillerie known as the *Armure aux Lions*. It was preserved in the Arsenal of Chantilly during the XVIII<sup>th</sup> century, and was moved to the Musée d'Artillerie in the early years of the XIX<sup>th</sup> century. It now figures there under the heading of G 50 (Fig. 1060). Although it is not now credited to the ownership of any king of France, this remarkable harness was until comparatively recently on no authority whatsoever associated with the names first of Francis I and then of Henry II. Certainly the top of the breastplate is embossed with the collar and order of St. Michael; but that was not the sole prerogative of the royal house of France (see the suit of the Earl of Leicester, Fig. 1102), nor, in our opinion, is the suit French in fashion or make. It is, however, a very beautiful parade harness, and from the character of its bizarre decoration we place it in the category of the suits which, both as regards form and enrichment, have been influenced by the classical feeling. It is without an armourer's mark of any kind, and although the embossing on it seems to have been done by an artist with whose style we are familiar, we are unable to ascribe the harness itself to any armourer with whose work and name we are acquainted. We certainly regard it as a production of Northern Italy, possibly Milan, and of the middle of the XVI<sup>th</sup> century. The recessed borders ornamented with embossed acanthus foliage are reminiscent, both in craftsmanship and design, of the



FIG. 1060. *L'ARMURE AUX LIONS*

Italian (probably Milanese), about 1560. G 50, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

## XVI<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY ARMOUR UNDER CLASSICAL INFLUENCE

works of Picinino, and the bold masks of lions would not be outside such provenance; but the gold *azzimina* damascening which enriches the non-embossed portions of the suit in parallel bands, fails to suggest that armourer's method of gold application. We must therefore for the present content ourselves with the expression of the opinion that the *Armure aux Lions* is of North Italian provenance, that it was made for some highly-placed personage entitled to wear the order of St. Michael, and that it cannot be assigned to any known maker. The open casque of the suit has the fore part of the skull-piece boldly embossed with the mask of a lion, the form of the ears, mane, etc., being suggested in an extension of the embossing down the back. Both pauldrons are also embossed with the masks of lions from whose mouths appear the plates of which the last are riveted to the turners of the rerebraces. The coudes and the cuffs of the gauntlets are also embossed with lions' masks. It is, doubtless, the elongated breastplate with its laminated plates at the base, together with the sweep of the taces and tassets, and the open, classically-fashioned helmet that lend to the harness its general Romanesque appearance as regards main outline. Like all fine decorated armour of North Italian origin which has not suffered from unskilful cleaning, this suit possesses that fine tone, at once sombre and rich, which distinguishes the repoussé work of the Milanese craftsman.

An analogue to this half-suit may be seen in the Tower of London, in a small-proportioned cap-à-pie harness of fine workmanship, but of a later date (Fig. 1061). Mr. Charles ffoulkes considers, with some plausibility, that it may be identified with a gift sent by the Ambassador of Savoy to Anne of Denmark, Queen of James I; for in *State Papers, Domestic, Jac. I, lxxiv, 22*, there is an entry from which we learn that the Ambassador of Savoy sent to the Queen a casket of crystal supported on 8 lions of silver, and to the Prince a suit of Milanese armour after the model of those made for Charles V and Francis I. He also sent a lynx, lioness, and a tiger.

The suit was doubtless intended for Prince Henry; but as that Prince died in 1612 at eighteen years of age it was passed on to Prince Charles, afterwards Charles I.

We cannot, however, definitely accept this Tower suit as the one referred to; but certainly all the gifts sent by the ambassador to the Queen bear a leonine character! As the Tower suit certainly resembles the *Armure aux Lions* in the Musée d'Artillerie, which was at one time credited to the ownership of Francis I (see Fig. 1060), and the Campi suit at Madrid (see Fig. 1051) which was made for the Emperor Charles V, and

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS



FIG. 1061. SUIT OF ARMOUR FOR A YOUTH  
Probably of French workmanship under Italian  
influence, late XVIth or early XVIIth century.  
Tower of London, Class II, No. 89

has also lions' masks upon it, Mr. ffoulkes' ingenious theory has some force. It is, however, a very remarkable thing that, despite the fact that it is so unlike any other suit with which we are acquainted in the Tower Collection, we can find no definite description of it in any of the inventories, unless the following item in the 1660 inventory has reference to it: "Upon a horse statue of wood, one compleat tilt armor cap-a-pe, richly guilt, part engraven, part damasked, made for Prince Henry, with two gauntlets and one guilt grand-guard, the horse furniture being one shaffroone of the same sort, one old leather saddle and bitt."

In the 1676 inventory is the same entry, which reappears in the inventory and valuation of 1688, where the value of the suit is placed at £208. We cannot help thinking, however, that vague and undescriptive as are the old inventories, some allusion, however slight, would have been made to its remarkable decoration if this entry really had reference to the lion suit; so that although we give the quotation from the 1660 inventory as we find it, we have little or no belief that it has reference to the lion suit. To the idea of it being a suit made for Prince Henry the objection can be raised that it is too large if compared with any of those which there is reason to believe were his property; moreover there is no grand-guard, unless the reinforcing breastplate could

be construed as being that plate. To the fact that the suit now possesses

## XVI<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY ARMOUR UNDER CLASSICAL INFLUENCE

no chanfron *en suite* we attach little importance; as that could very well have been lost or stolen. The only circumstance that might make it possible, we will not say probable, that this is the suit referred to in the inventory, is that it is described as being "richly gilt," while parts of the suit described as "part engraven" might mean embossed; "part damasked" it certainly is. Although we are thereby taking it out of its chronological order, we propose at this point to illustrate this Tower suit (Fig. 1061); for by comparison with the *Armure aux Lions* from which we think its enrichment must have been copied, it serves as an excellent demonstration of the decadence of the armourer's craft towards the close of the XVI<sup>th</sup> century—even when there was a fine model at hand to imitate. It is curiously contradictory in the evidence of the period of its make. The close helmet, the pauldrons, the arms, the gauntlets, and the leg defences might be accepted generally as belonging to the last quarter of the XVI<sup>th</sup> century; but the breastplate, with its reinforcing plate and the heavy detachable gorget made *en suite* seem to be of the fashion of the first quarter of the XVII<sup>th</sup> century. The theory might very fairly be put forward that the breastplate has been altered in fashion and that the presence of certain laminated splints at the base which now are missing—there is but one left—would cause it to assume a form more closely resembling that of the breastplate of the *Armure aux Lions*. But against this theory must be placed the fact that the reinforcing breastplate that goes with the suit fits perfectly the present proportions of the breastplate, splaying out with an additional plate to cover the spread of the tace plates. It would appear, therefore, that this was the original shape of the breastplate, and if that is so, the date of the suit is within the early years of the XVII<sup>th</sup> century. In the decoration may be noted another puzzling contradiction in respect of period and style. The really spirited embossing and its accompanying gilding and *azzimina* damascening might be accepted as Italian work of late XVI<sup>th</sup> century date; but, were we only shown one of the bands of gold enrichment upon the additional gorget, or even on the suit itself, we should unhesitatingly pronounce it to be French work of the early years of the XVII<sup>th</sup> century produced under Dutch influence. The author has the following alternative suggestion to make. As early as 1607 Henry, Prince of Wales, the elder son of King James I, received from Louis the Dauphin, son of Henry IV of France, a gift which comprised "a suit of armour well gilt and enamelled, together with pistols and a sword of the same kind and armour for a horse." Although the description is not very definite, we fancy that this Tower suit may perhaps be the one to which allusion is made. We admit

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

that it is rather large for a Prince only thirteen years old; but we see a likeness in the gold damascened work to that upon the sword now in the Musée d'Artillerie, and to that on a dagger in the Wallace Collection, both of which were made for Henri IV in Paris, and presented to him by the citizens of his capital on the occasion of his wedding to Marie de Médicis in 1599.

Might this and not the one sent by the Ambassador of Savoy be the suit in question made in Paris and sent to Henry, Prince of Wales? And if it was made in Paris, was it founded on the model of the *Armure aux Lions*, which, though collected from the gallery of the Sedan, may have been in the French capital early in the XVIIth century? This would to a certain extent explain its anomalies in shape and decoration. We put this second proposition forward merely with a view of helping to explain the existence of the one example of embossed armour in the Tower of London. It might be argued that the small suit in the Windsor Armoury, No. 574 in the catalogue of 1904, could as readily answer the description of "a suit of armour well gilt and enamelled"; but we distinctly recognize a certain French influence in the make of the Tower suit which is not to be discerned in that of the little suit at Windsor, which is essentially Italian. Whatever its history is, the "lion" suit at the Tower of London speaks for itself as a finely artistic production, influenced by a classical feeling as to form and decoration, though of a somewhat decadent type.

Sir Samuel Meyrick, in his "Antient Armour" (1842, vol. iii, page 112), states that when he was called up to rearrange the Tower Armoury this suit was described as that of Charles II. All the Tower guide-books of the second half of the XVIIIth century say that this—the so-called Charles II—suit was used for the Westminster Hall challenging ceremony at the Coronation of George I or George II. But the suit issued for that purpose is described in the Armoury Issue Book as being "white and gold"; these records are, however, very loosely worded. Certainly Meyrick saw it only forty years after the last guide-book was written, and none of the other suits seem to have been changed. Hewitt (1841) gives the Greenwich "Smith" suit (Vol. iv, Fig. 1119) as the champion's suit worn at the coronation ceremony of George II; but there is no evidence whatever to support this claim. The pictures of the coronation banquet all show plain early XVIIth century armour; but these are evidently done from imagination, being repeated in each succeeding coronation record.

In the first half of the XVIIIth century the "lion" suit at the Tower

## XVI<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY ARMOUR UNDER CLASSICAL INFLUENCE

was called the armour of the Black Prince, which title for some mysterious reason in the "line of Kings" was afterwards given to the Worcester suit (Vol. iv, Fig. 1107). Subsequently, until 1895, the "lion" suit of Meyrick's time did duty as the armour of King Edward VI.

## CHAPTER XXVI

### ARMOUR TERMED "SPANISH"



WE have now completed our enumeration of the more important examples of the school of classically fashioned and decorated armour that are extant. This has taken us rapidly through the XVIth century into the opening years of the next, with the result that we must perforce once more retrace our steps and concern ourselves with that very large class of plate armour which is known as "Spanish," and which is so called not because it was made in Spain, or was made by Spaniards, but because it was chiefly supplied to the Spanish Court under Charles V and Philip II, and so became commonly known as *à la façon d'Espagne*. German workmen were the artificers, Augsburg, Landshut, and Innsbrück being the chief towns from which these fine productions emanated; though, as we shall have to relate, the great armourers of Italy were likewise pressed into the service of these notable monarchs. Indeed, beyond reproach as is much of the armour produced in all countries early in the XVIth century, it is the opinion of the author that the fine proportions and wonderful fashion of the harnesses, which were made in the second and third quarters of the century, and which were commissioned to a great extent, though not exclusively, by the Court of Spain, well bear comparison with all others. The records show that the Kolmans of Augsburg and the Wolfs of Landshut were in the almost continuous employ of Charles V, Philip II, and the grandees of Spain; the Wolfs from their status being perhaps the more favoured armourers of this period; and though individual suits have been removed from Spain, and are to be seen to-day in some of the more important public and private collections of other countries, it is still to the old Imperial Armouries of Madrid and Vienna that armour enthusiasts must turn if they wish to see these so-called Spanish suits in their almost original state and completeness. It is indeed difficult for us to

## ARMOUR TERMED "SPANISH"

make our choice of the most representative example of this great school. But after the most careful consideration we give pride of place to the great series of pieces, sufficient to arm nearly four figures, which are known in the Madrid Armoury as the "K.D." harness, made by Koloman Kolman of Augsburg. These plates are numbered A 19 to A 36 in the Armoury, and are certainly the finest specimens of the Kolman type. In the catalogue of 1849 this suit, or rather series of suits, was attributed to the original ownership of the illustrious Don John of Austria, whose death took place in the year 1578; but, if the armour is compared with other armour of the third quarter of the XVIth century, it will be readily seen that this assumption can have no foundation. The researches of the late Count de Valencia have now established the fact that this particular series of pieces for tournament and for war was originally the property of the Emperor Charles V when he was Prince of Spain and sovereign Duke of Burgundy (1550-58). The initials "K.D.," a species of monogram of unusual size, which appear recessed, etched, and gilt on the left upright shoulder guard, gave the clue. As the Count de Valencia said, it will readily be seen that it was taken from the Charles's title in Latin, that of KAROLUS DUX (*Burgundiae*), the highest sovereignty which, at that time, the heir apparent had inherited; for if the reader will examine the equestrian portrait engraved on the great seal, which the young Prince adopted on his coming of age as Count of Flanders, he will find it surrounded by the following legend: S̄ . CAROLI . DEI . GR̄A . HISPANIARV̄ . PRICIPIS . ARCHID̄ . AVST̄ . DUCIS . BVRḠ . COMIT̄ . FLAD̄ . ZC̄ . However, above and beyond all other proofs is one fact which leaves no room for doubt that this series of suits belonged to Charles V, and that is the fact that we find them sketched in the famous *Inventario Iluminado* of Charles V, and recapitulated in the *Relación de Valladolid*. We imagine that this was the most important and the most comprehensive panoply which Charles possessed in his early years (this last supposition is confirmed by the seal before mentioned, which bears the date 1515), and so was possibly the first complete harness which Koloman Kolman made for him. Kolman's mark and the guild mark of the city of Augsburg, the pine-apple, are stamped on a few of the pieces.

The portion of the panoply which we propose to illustrate is that which figures under the heading A 19 (Fig. 1062). It comprises the complete armour for the field, armour which is at once simple and most beautiful in shape. The head-piece is a fine close helmet of the armet type, with which are associated various adjustable and interchangeable plates: the coronet and the crest

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

are restorations. The graceful, globose pally seen in those of around the neck is the Golden Fleece. front with great ex-single deep tace plate, by buckle and strap of three plates; the posed of elongated jambs, and broad-arm defences differ. The right has the hollowed in front to ing of the lance, the by a rondel; the left large and full paul-shoulder guard, upon monogram K.D. to luded. The mitten separate compart-present no peculiar-thing may be said of braces. This accounts the principal suit of complete panoply; it takes four figures to able parts. The illus-this set is sufficient to tions and protective other parts, we may figure, A 26, and a play a number of the nament plates; while 28, is the remainder



breastplate is of that form which is princi- the Kolman make; engraved the collar of The backplate fits the attitude; there is a to which are attached the tuille-like tassets leg defences are com- cuisses, knee-cops, toed sollerets. The one from the other. espalier pauldron allow for the couch- cavity being protected is composed of a dron with the upright which appears the which we have al- gauntlets, which have ments for the fingers, ity; and the same the rere- and vam- for the chief plates on this wonderfully but, as we have said, hold its interchange- tration (Fig. 1062) of prove its fine propor- powers. As to the add that an equestrian third figure, A 27, dis- extra joust and tour- on a fourth figure, A of the harness, includ-

FIG. 1062. PART OF A SERIES OF SUITS (ALL ONE SET)

Made for the Emperor Charles V by Koloman Kolman of Augsburg in the second quarter of the XVIth century. It is known as the "K.D." armour. This particular set is numbered A 19, Royal Armoury, Madrid

## ARMOUR TERMED "SPANISH"

ing the chanfron and steels of the saddle. The surface of all the armour of which the panoply is composed is white, or brightened steel, with slightly recessed, etched, and gilded ornaments. Round the borders of the whole runs a band of diamantine protuberances. It is only on the *pièces de renfort* that these borders do not appear; for in the first place they are fashioned of too thick a plate to emboss or to dentate, and again, any protuberance might furnish a hold for the adversary's lance. It has been suggested, and on good grounds, that the actual etched ornaments on this wonderful harness are from the hand of Daniel Hopfer of Augsburg. This attribution is the result of a comparison of the details of the design on the suit with the similar ornamentation which is found on designs by Daniel Hopfer which can be consulted in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris.

In the superb harness made for the Emperor Charles V by the brothers Negroli of Milan, in 1539, a harness distinguished by a splendid simplicity and a magnificent grandeur, we can see how great an incentive to excellence of workmanship was induced by the keen spirit of emulation which prevailed among the jealous German armourers of the day. It is the present writer's opinion that of all the wonderful Charles V and Philip II harnesses, one suit alone, showing the combined craftsmanship of Koloman Kolman and George Sigman which we will deal with later, approaches the standard of excellence of this Negroli suit. When one comes to consider that this very advanced form of harness was made in 1539, the great art of the Negroli is unquestionable, and yet this harness, as it is seen to-day, must bear but a poor semblance to its magnificence in its original condition. True, its beautiful form is the same, and its ornamentation shows the exquisite skill of the embosser; but these features are no longer heightened by the colour scheme which the suit originally possessed. It is probably the most important work of the Negroli which is known, a veritable triumph for that great school of artificers, who, from the Missaglia of Ello of the XVth century to the Negroli of the century following, maintained for Milan her world-famed supremacy in the armourer's art. Though the interchangeable parts which are extant are still more than sufficient to clothe two figures, many of the pieces which belong to the suit, which is known as "The armour of the great masks," and figures in the *Inventario Iluminado* of Charles V, have long since disappeared. Originally there were thirty-eight parts; to-day only twenty-four of the more important remain. The *Inventario* devotes three pages to a summary of all the pieces, which are drawn and coloured. This shows that the ground colour of the steel when originally finished was not

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

burnished bright, but of a lustrous black finish, serving as a background for the bands and contours of gold and silver damascened work, which, crossing the principal plates in a horizontal direction, still constitute their most delicate ornamentation. It can also be seen from the *Inventario* that the embossed masks, etc., which are now burnished brilliantly bright, appear to have been originally gilt. In a private collection in England are two of the lesser auxiliary elbow-cops of this harness (Fig. 1063); they were bought at the 1839 sale to which we have referred. So it may be taken for granted that they were taken from the Royal Spanish Armoury about that time; as were also probably at least two of the pieces now missing from the suit itself. The elbow-cops, like the suit, have now a brightened surface; but the damascen-

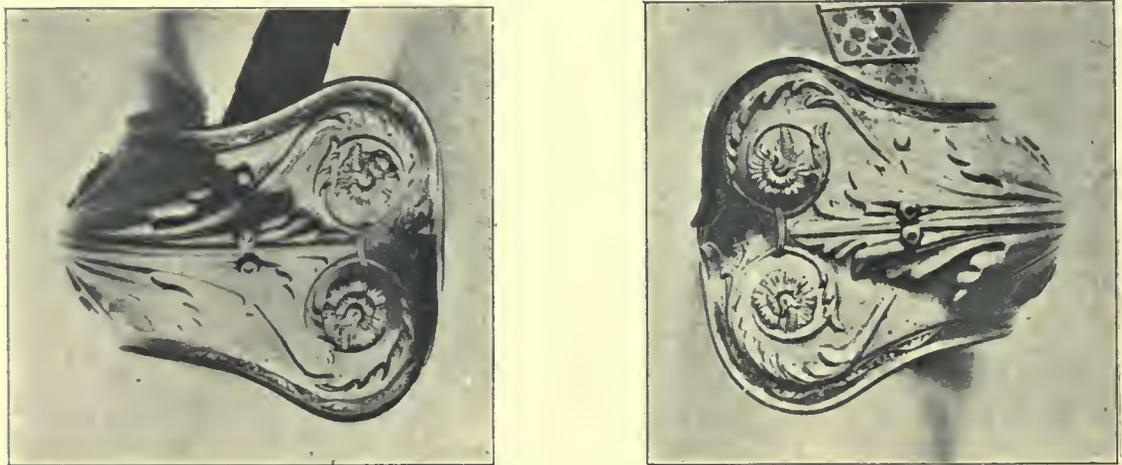


FIG. 1063. INTERCHANGEABLE ELBOW-COPS FROM THE SUIT (FIG. 1064)  
In an English private collection

ing, an unusual ornamentation to apply to the Negroli plate, is in pristine condition round the borders.

As we have said, two figures and a panoply display the suit as it exists to-day in Madrid (A 139 to A 146). Of these, we illustrate A 139 (Fig. 1064). It comprises a breast- and backplate with wide laminated gussets, and a splinted under plate and single tace, to which are attached the tassets of seven plates, which for convenience could, when the wearer was mounted, be shortened at the second lame. In the top centre of the breastplate there must originally have been an oval applied plaque containing the figure of the Virgin, as we find on nearly all suits worn by the Emperor after the year 1531; but this has been replaced by one of metal crudely worked. A similar act of vandalism on the backplate may be noted, the plaque missing from which

## ARMOUR TERMED "SPANISH"

must, as we find from the evidence afforded by its presence on other suits, have contained the figure of St. Barbara. The principal pauldron plates, the elbow- and knee-cops; are the only field for the embossing save the beautiful open casque, which repeats the mask ornament, and is clearly inscribed with the name of the makers, Philip, and his brother or brothers, sons of the famous Jacopo Filippo, the inscription running: PHILIPPVS . JACOBI ET FRATR . NEGROLI FACIEBANT MDXXXIX. A buffe protects the face. The arm defences comprise vambraces and shell rerebraces; the gauntlets are lost. On this figure are laminated cuisses, knee-cops, and demi-jambs. On the other figure, besides parts for use in the field, are reinforcing plates and certain portions of the horse armour.

Of the suits made for the Emperor Charles V at a subsequent period in his life none is so famous as that known as the "Mühlberg" armour in the Royal Armoury of Madrid, A 164 to A 187 (Fig. 1065). This great suit was considered by the late Count de Valencia to be one of the last ever worn by the Emperor in his famous campaign against the Elector of Saxony. Four complete figures are covered with the interchangeable parts of this extraordinarily complete suit, to say nothing of many individual pieces. The variation in its measurements show that the Emperor, who, at the close of his career, was the victim of frequent attacks of gout, must have cast aside his more elegantly proportioned suits, and have replaced



FIG. 1064. PART OF A SERIES OF SUITS  
(ALL ONE SET)

Made for the Emperor Charles V by the brothers Negroli of Milan and dated 1539.

This particular set is numbered A 139,  
Royal Armoury, Madrid

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS



FIG. 1065. PART OF A SERIES OF SUITS  
(ALL ONE SET)

German work, dated 1544. It is known as the Mühlberg armour. Royal Armoury, Madrid

this portrait, that by its aid the late Count de Valencia was able, with little

them with the suit we are now about to discuss. Though this remarkable suit is still of very symmetrical shape, its whole construction shows a greater robustness in its width; the enclosing plates for the limbs are likewise large in circumference. Its date—1544—appears in two small circles, engraved and placed back to back on the right arm guard. The decoration upon nearly all the plates, none of which bears an armourer's mark, consists in narrow slightly recessed bands, etched and gilt, each band having a flanking ornament made up of a series of petal-shaped panels, issuing at right angles from the main band. The ground colour of the harness is white or brightened steel. All the breastplates of this very full suit display the image of the Virgin, and on the backplate that of St. Barbara. This suit, which shows all the characteristics of the work of either Kolman of Augsburg or of Wolf of Landshut, is most closely identified with the Emperor; for famous artists and sculptors have left to posterity portraits and statues of the Emperor in which he is seen wearing it. Of these none is more famous than Titian's splendid portrait painted at Augsburg in 1548, which shows the Emperor on horseback at the battle of Mühlberg, 1547 (Fig. 1066), a circumstance that has given to the suit its name. So accurate are the details given in



FIG. 1066. TITIAN'S PORTRAIT OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V AT THE BATTLE OF MÜHLBERG

Charles V is portrayed wearing portions of the suit (Fig. 1065). In the Prado, Madrid

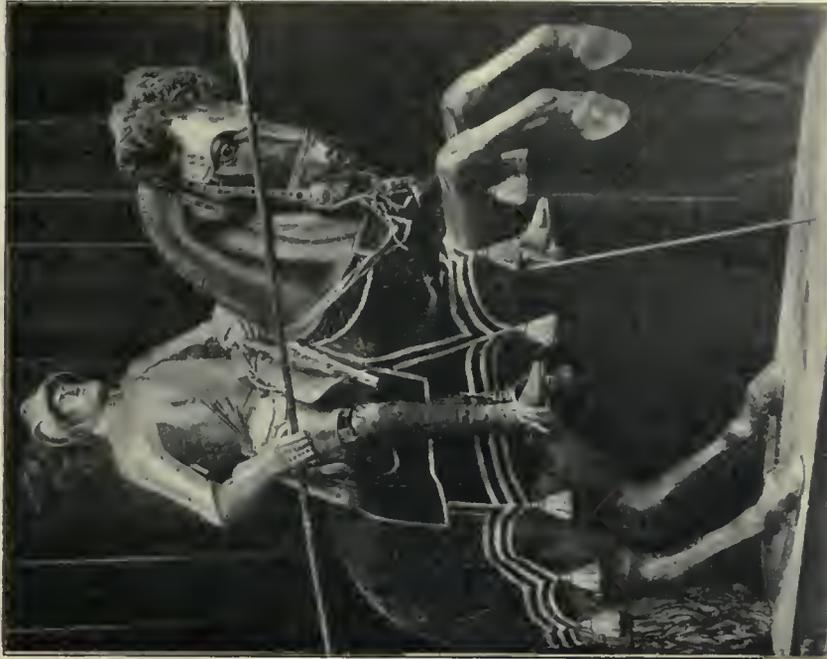


FIG. 1067. RECONSTRUCTION FROM TITIAN'S PORTRAIT OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V, SHOWING THE 'EMPEROR WEARING THE MÜHLBERG SUIT

Showing the actual suit. This particular set is No. A 164, Royal Armoury, Madrid



FIG. 1068. SUIT OF ARMOUR WITH ITS INTERCHANGEABLE PARTS

Probably the work of Desiderius Kolman of Augsburg, about 1550. Ex collections: Bernal, Londesborough, and Dino. Now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York

## ARMOUR TERMED "SPANISH"

difficulty, to reconstruct a mounted figure, its counterpart representation, A 164 in the Madrid Armoury (Fig. 1067). A witness who was present at the battle, the Comendador Alcántara, Don Luis de Ávila y Zuñiga, the favourite "gentleman" of the monarch, confirms with his pen the veracity of that superb picture in the following terms: (*Translation*) "The Emperor rode on a dark chestnut Spanish horse, which had been presented to him by Signor de Ri, Chevalier of the Golden Fleece and his first equerry; he wore a caparison of crimson velvet, with trimmings of gold and some armour, white and gilded, and over it nothing else save the very wide band of crimson taffeta striped with gold, and a *morrion tudesco*, with a short lance, almost a javelin, in his hands." This white and gilded armour was confined to a breast- and backplate, large and strong tassets, gorget, and espalier pauldrons prolonged to the elbow. Beneath were sleeves of chain mail, and finally strong gauntlets with finger plates joined together two by two to protect the hands. These pieces, in combination with the triple-combed helmet, the javelin, and the wheel-lock pistol, which is fastened to the front saddle steel, constituted a war apparel known in Spain at the time as *de herreruelos*, an apparel which was first worn in this campaign, according to the account given by Nuñez de Alba in his *Diálogos del Soldado*.

Space scarcely permits us to give details of that multitude of extant pieces that renders the Mühlberg harness one of the most complete suits known; for, as we have said, they require more than four figures for their full display. But we have alluded especially to the Mühlberg armour because it is a splendid type of German make *à la façon d'Espagne*, and because, thanks to the existence of Titian's portrait, we are able to give, as we always wish to give, an illustration of a contemporary painting which shows the type of armour in use, and which is, in this case, a representation of the actual suit described.

The Metropolitan Museum of New York is fortunate in possessing, through their purchase of the Duc de Dino's Collection, two suits of this German armour of Spanish fashion, the more complete of the two coming from the famous Bernal and Londesborough Collections. Though naturally they are not as complete as some of the magnificent series at Madrid and Vienna, we illustrate these suits as being less universally known, and as being interesting as examples of the fine armour which passed by some manner or other, during the subsequent troublesome times, from Spain, to which country they rightfully belong, into the hands of private owners. We will first speak of the more important of these two German-Spanish harnesses

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

(Fig. 1068). It is probable that this suit found its way to England at the same time as many other pieces preserved in the great European collections, and was without doubt armour stolen from the Royal Spanish Armoury during the Carlist War. We have alluded many times to the great number of individual pieces of armour which came from Madrid and were sold by auction at Christie's in 1839; but this suit of armour we are about to describe does not figure in the catalogue. An examination of the various suits of armour of the same type in Madrid and Vienna enables us to fix the date of this harness almost exactly. In the form of all its parts, as well as in its workmanship and ornamentation, it shows the greatest resemblance to a half suit made in Germany in 1549 for Philip II when Infante. This particular Madrid suit came without doubt from the workshops of Desiderius Kolman of Augsburg, and is the one in which Titian represented the Prince in 1549 or 1550 in the portrait which is to be seen in the Museum of the Prado, Madrid. It is also the identical suit worn by Philip II in the posthumous equestrian portrait of him—also in the Prado—painted by Rubens thirty years after Philip's death. The suit is also represented on a medallion by Jacopo da Trezza, dated 1555; while about a century later Velasquez made use of the same armour to clothe Don Antonio Alonso de Pimentel, Count de Benevente, when he painted his portrait which is also in the Museum of the Prado. It was therefore towards the end of the reign of Charles V that the suit now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York was made, and probably by Desiderius Kolman of Augsburg. It is engraved in the sale catalogue of Bernal (1855), and by Fairholt in the *Miscellanea Graphica*, which was published in London at Lord Londesborough's expense in 1857. The ornamentation of the armour consists of bands and edgings, etched and gilt, the principal features of the design being accentuated by light embossed work. In order not to afford any hold to the lance, this embossing, which is identical in style with that found on the K.D. armour of the Emperor Charles V (Fig. 1062), is absent from the reinforcing pieces for the joust which are too thick to receive it; but it is to be seen on the lighter pieces of the war cuirass.

The *manteau d'armes* for jousting is decorated with a latticed etching which imitates an iron lattice. In each lozenge formed by the lattice is a leopard's head, langued, engraved and gilt. This same head, which was probably the blazon of the owner of the armour, is found on the lower part of the jousting chin-piece, on the upper part of the jousting breastplate, on the elbow-cop and the tilting gauntlet, on the escutcheon of the demi-chanfron,

## ARMOUR TERMED "SPANISH"

and on the two plates of the saddle steel. But on the three last-named pieces it is embossed instead of being simply etched.

This suit is composed of two close helmets, an open helmet, and a breastplate for the field provided with its lance-rest, and its taces and tassets of four lames. There is also a breastplate for the joust with its taces and tuille-like tassets in a single piece, the left one being longer than the right. On to this breastplate are screwed the tilting chin-piece and the *manteau d'armes*. The arm-guards consist in espaliers, rere- and vambraces, and gauntlets. The right-hand espalier is provided with a rondelle, and the elbow-cop of the left side has a powerful strengthening piece for the joust. The right gauntlet has the fingers separate; the left being a large tilting mitten of heavy proportions, and protecting the bridle hand and fore-arm. The cuisses are composed of seven lames; the jambs terminate at the ankle. The sollerets are of mail and have steel toe-caps. The following reinforcing plates belong to the suit, strengthening it for use in the field: a crest for the top of the helmet, Spanish in shape, and called an *escofia* or *sobre-calva* (Fig. 1207), a spare chin-piece for the left side and part of the right side of the visor, a strengthening piece for the left pauldron furnished with a little neck-guard, and a piece for strengthening the elbow-cop on the same side. This suit is accompanied by its demi-chanfron and by two plates for the saddle-bow of the fighting or joust saddle. We should here record that after the sale of this suit from the Londesborough Collection, and previous to it passing into that of the Duc de Dino, the ornamentation of all the parts was subject to re-gilding, a process of restoration which is much to be regretted. Represented in our illustration of this suit is a circular shield which, though it is the work of the same school of armourers, is not actually in accord with the rest of the harness.

Before we allude to the second suit of armour of this same school in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, we will here make mention of a very beautiful half suit, accessible to all English collectors, to be seen in the Wallace Collection, No. 428 (Fig. 1069). In the descriptive catalogue which he made for that collection the author described this armament as being probably the work of Wolf of Landshut. He now admits his error and unhesitatingly attributes the harness to the workshops of the Kolman family; but he assigns its workmanship and style to the direct influence of Koloman, rather than of Desiderius, Kolman. As now seen, it terminates at the waist, and all that is preserved is without restoration of any kind. Its elegant outline, the excellence of its workmanship, and the



FIG. 1069. PORTIONS OF A SUIT OF ARMOUR  
German work, probably that of Koloman Kolman of Augsburg, about 1540  
Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 428)

## ARMOUR TERMED "SPANISH"

restrained method of its decoration, render it, in our opinion, one of the most precious possessions of the Wallace Collection. Sir Richard Wallace obtained it with that portion of the Count de Nieuwerkerke Collection which he purchased *en bloc*. Before it formed part of the Nieuwerkerke Collection it was in the possession of Monsieur E. Juste, a pedigree that takes it back almost to the end of the first half of the XIXth century. If its previous history could be traced it is more than likely that it would turn out to be one of the harnesses already alluded to which were abstracted from the Royal Spanish Collection early in the XIXth century. Perhaps, when the remainder of the suit comes to light in Madrid or elsewhere, and some record is discovered of the original ownership of this remainder, we shall get some clue which will enable us to trace the history of this beautiful half harness.

To proceed to an account of the suit. The edges of the various plates are recessed to a fine scale pattern; a band of the same work follows the contour of the border; inside this band is an embossed scalloped edging. The plain surfaces on the coudes and taces are either embossed or recessed with trefoil panels. The whole of the borders and panels are etched and gilt with scrollwork, cornucopiae, etc. The form of the armour presents no peculiarities; though in the construction of the elbow defences an arrangement can be seen whereby the point of an adversary's weapon is prevented from becoming fixed beneath the elbow-cops. This is effected by the elongation to a flanged form of the under plate of the vambrace, which is thus made to cover the lower lame and part of the cop itself. We have illustrated the close helmet on this suit in Fig. 1188.

We will now return to the armoury of the Metropolitan Museum of New York, and examine the second German-Spanish suit to which we have referred on page 313 (Fig. 1070). The provenance of this suit we are able to trace to the sale held at Christie's in 1839, and so know that previous to that date it was in the Royal Armoury of Madrid. In the Christie sale it was lot 264 in the catalogue, when it fetched £95 11s.; after some years it found its way into the celebrated Fountaine Collection of Narford Hall, Norfolk, subsequently passing into that of the Duc de Dino, and so to the Metropolitan Museum of New York. According to the pieces worn, this suit could be used for the joust, as a demi-armour for light horse, or for fighting on foot; it also comprises a series of saddles, chanfrons, and lance-rondelles. The various parts of this suit which are still preserved in Madrid would suffice to arm five figures: they are numbered A 243 to A 262 in the official catalogue. The late Count de Valencia believed that this armour, which is

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS



FIG. 1070. COMPOSITE SUIT OF ARMOUR

Which, with the exception of the breastplate, backplate, gorget, taces, and tassets, is part of a great harness made for King Philip of Spain in about 1554 by Wolf of Landshut. Ex collection: Dino  
Now Metropolitan Museum, New York

one of the most comprehensive panoplies which the Royal Spanish Armoury possesses, was made for Philip, then Infante, on the occasion of his marriage with Queen Mary of England, in 1554; for the escutcheons of the chanfron show the arms of Philip II, with a shield of pretence with the English Royal Arms (Fig. 1071). The nine pieces of this armour which are now shown in the Metropolitan Museum of New York are: a finely proportioned open helmet, the complete arm defences consisting of the espaliers, the rere- and vambraces, the elbow-cops, the left gauntlet with separate fingers, the tilting mitten for the bridle hand, the full armour for the legs, comprising cuisses in two parts which could be worn either long or short, and the jambs and sollerets. A tenth piece, the brayette, was given by the Duc de Dino to the late Signor Ressiman, and is now in the Bargello Museum at Florence. All these pieces are decorated with etched bands, having an undulating design of very finished workmanship gilded on a ground filled in with black pigment. In the Madrid Armoury are still two sample steel plates on which this design has been etched with two combinations of gold and black (A 261 and 262). These plates are believed to have been sent by the armourer as specimens to Philip, in order that he might select the ornamentation which pleased him best. The gorget, the backplate, the breastplate with its lance-rest, and its taces and tassets belong to a different suit of

## ARMOUR TERMED "SPANISH"

armour of about the same period. These pieces, too, are decorated with etched and gilt bands, but with bands of a different pattern; the borders again, instead of having the cabled edge, are dentated. The cross of Calatrava or of Alcantara is engraved on the left side of the breastplate. The forms of these two crosses is alike, but that of Calatrava is red, whereas that of Alcantara is green. Judging from the pattern of the etching the Count de Valencia believed that these pieces which complete the suit belonged to the Oñate family; for examples of harness made for this family can still be seen in the Madrid Armoury. Since we know that the suit made for Philip II, now at Madrid, is the work of Wolf of Landshut, the close imitator of Kolman, we may fairly assume that the remainder of the harness in the Metropolitan Museum comes from the same hand.

A very full suit of the same Philip II pattern, which has two forms of



FIG. 1071. ESCUTCHEON FROM THE CHANFRON OF THE PHILIP II (1554) HARNESS

Showing the arms of England borne in pretence on the arms of Philip II

A 261 and 262, Royal Armoury, Madrid

breastplate, is in the Imperial Collection, Vienna. It must formerly have been part of the Madrid harness. The late curator of the Vienna Armoury, Herr Wendelin Boeheim, was mistaken in describing the suit as the work of William Worms the younger; for the Count de Valencia of Madrid has produced very ample proof that the Madrid suit came direct from the hand of Wolf of Landshut. Although we have already figured a suit which we know to be the work of Koloman Kolman, the K.D. suit made for the Emperor Charles V (Fig. 1062), we have no hesitation in giving another example of the work of that family of armourers, this time a famous harness made by Desiderius, Koloman's son. We refer to the suit of parade armour constructed for King Philip II when he was heir apparent, Nos. A 239-239 bis, A 240-240 bis, and A 242, now in the Royal Armoury of Madrid (Fig. 1072). The descriptive inventories of the Madrid Armoury made in the XVIth century are brief and garbled, so that without the sketches of the armour to which they refer—sketches such as are to be found in the *Inventario*

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS



FIG. 1072. SUIT OF ARMOUR

Made for Philip, when Infante, by Desiderius Kolman of Augsburg, assisted by Jörg Sigman, between 1549 and 1552. A 239-242, Royal Armoury, Madrid

on account of 3,000 the which he

*Illuminado* of Charles V—it is next to impossible to connect that which exists to-day with the written description alone. Even the late Count de Valencia, whose knowledge of the possessions of the Madrid Armoury was most remarkable, had some hesitation about crediting this suit to the ownership of King Philip II until he discovered, in Sir William Stirling Maxwell's great work on "Don John of Austria," the woodcut of a portrait of that Prince painted by Alonzo Sanchez Coello, and owned by Sir William, in which Philip can be seen wearing this very same armour. The woodcut fails to represent the armour accurately; but a photograph of the actual picture enables one to see immediately that Philip is painted wearing this same Kolman parade suit. Though some difficulty was experienced at first in recognizing the identity of the original owner of this superb suit, the evidence of identification of the armourer has always been overwhelming. Not only are the name of Desiderius Kolman and the date 1550 engraved in full on the open casque and on the buckler, which we shall describe in vol. v, but various MS. records made by Philip at Augsburg in 1550, where he was then stopping, are preserved in the archives of Simancas relating to the suit. We select the following extract from the accounts of the wardrobe of Don Philippe of Austria, Prince of Spain: "To Kolman . . . 2,000 crowns of gold, has to receive on account of certain  
318

## ARMOUR TERMED "SPANISH"

arms which he made in my service. Augusta 22nd October 1550." The date 1550 agrees with the inscription on the helmet. The balance of 1,000 crowns was doubtless only paid to Kolman after the delivery of the entire set: the shield belonging to this harness is dated 1552.



FIG. 1073. PORTRAIT OF PHILIP II

Painted by Alonzo Sanchez Coello about 1570. The King is seen wearing the armour shown in Fig. 1072, made for him as Infante between 1549 and 1552  
Collection: Sir John Stirling Maxwell

On undertaking this important example of embossing and of gold inlaying, Kolman used his knowledge of the armourer's art to essay a form of ornamentation entirely different from that which one expects to see on armour coming from his hand. Despising apparently such enrichments as one is in the habit of associating with his known war and tilting

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

harnesses, which required only superficial ornamentation in the nature of etching and gilding, and very slight embossing on the parts least exposed to the shock of the opposing lance, he attempted in this suit to excel also in the construction of armour *de luxe*, and even to improve on the work of his rivals, the brothers Negroli of Milan. But, in spite of this spirit of emulation, Kolman seems to have felt that he lacked the necessary combination of talents to produce, entirely by himself, a work of such sumptuousness; the fact that he permitted another armourer-goldsmith to place his signature by the side of his own on the principal piece of this suit is indeed proof conclusive that the finished suit is a collaboration, and a collaboration done with one whom Kolman fully recognized as his equal as an artist. The collaborator was a German goldsmith, by name Jörg Sigman. Desiderius Kolman must have appreciated in the work of this goldsmith a talent which he thought would enable him to rival the Negroli in the ornamentation of this armour of parade. Accordingly he accepted Sigman's collaboration and agreed in return to help the goldsmith to obtain his indentures as a master craftsman in Augsburg, which he had failed hitherto to acquire from the municipality; for save by special permission of the Burgomaster and of the Senate no one was allowed to hold the position of master craftsman, or to have a public shop, unless he were a citizen or had been resident in the city for four years. Kolman then, with his influence at the Imperial Court, was able to help Sigman to make good his claim and to bear witness that he had spent four years in assisting him to decorate the armour made for the young Prince, Don Philip. In this way Jörg Sigman obtained the permission for which he craved, that of being allowed to pursue his art as a master craftsman. It was the keeper of the archives of the city of Augsburg, Herr Adolf Buff, who first discovered these details about Jörg Sigman and imparted them to the Count de Valencia. Nearly two years were spent in making this suit of armour, notwithstanding the comparatively small number of parts of which it is composed, Sigman being responsible solely for the delicate ornamentation of relief work, and for the engraved and gold inlaying which make the suit one of the finest extant examples of XVIth century decorated harnesses.

This magnificent parade harness, as we see it to-day in Madrid, consists of a suit of simple armour with a few interchangeable parts and a saddle with its steels. Parts of the suit had long been missing; for prior to the issue of the catalogue of 1849 by Martinez del Romero, the gauntlets, the chanfron for the horse, two additional elbow-cops of the arm guards, and the two

## ARMOUR TERMED "SPANISH"

circular palettes had disappeared from the Armoury. The last five pieces, until early in 1914, were to be seen in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris, before which they figured in the respective collections of Lepage, of Nolvos, of Debruge-Duménil, and of Soltikoff, from the last named of whom Napoleon III acquired them in 1861 for his Armoury at Pierrefonds. By a decree dated 11 January 1914, the French Government had the generosity to restore these pieces to the Royal Armoury of Madrid, in order that they might be placed with the suit to which they belong.

The decoration on this Kolman-Sigman suit consists of wide vertical bands embossed in low relief with all those classical motifs which the goldsmith of the Italian Renaissance delighted to borrow. The German rendering of the ornament is hardly apparent, and even were it so, it would be compensated for by the very high quality of the workmanship. These wide bands are bordered with beautiful acanthus foliage incrustated with gold, which is contained within a narrow border edged with a duplicated trefoil ornament. The entire groundwork of the suit is of a fine blue-black colour. Gilding and silver plating sparingly enrich the embossed bands. The whole suit, indeed, is a monument of admirable taste and worthy even of the Negrolis, to rival whose masterpieces was, as we have said, the main stimulus to its production. It may, of course, have been Desiderius Kolman's taste alone that was responsible for the dignified simplicity of its outline and for the restraint of its enrichment; but we fancy that in the details of its embossed bands we see the hand of someone accustomed to work upon a surface smaller than that of a suit of armour. It is known that King Philip II himself provided drawings for his armour; so possibly the general scheme of Italian Renaissance ornamentation seen on this particular suit is the result of a collaboration between Philip and the painter Diego de Arroyo, whose cleverness in interpreting the ideas of the Italian Renaissance, and infusing into them a slight Hispano-Moorish tincture, is known to have delighted Philip. Diego de Arroyo accompanied the prince to Augsburg, and it is on record that he assisted in designing armour and saddles for him.

Looking at the suit we cannot help feeling that the open casque fails to harmonize with the comparative simplicity of the remainder of the harness. Except in the case of the crest, which bears a laurel wreath, the whole surface is occupied with small figures, strapwork, birds and festoons, grouped and interlaced in perplexing richness. On either side of the skull-piece are two medallions surrounded by laurel and containing combats between warriors. All the work is embossed and chased with great delicacy, and notwithstanding

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

our criticism, is admirably rendered. Any suggestion, however, that the casque is not *en suite* with the rest of the harness is at once negated by a



FIG. 1074. SADDLE BELONGING TO THE SUIT (FIG. 1072)  
Showing the front saddle steel  
Royal Armoury, Madrid

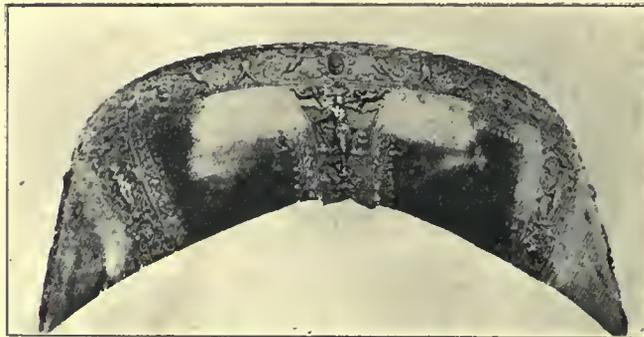


FIG. 1075. BACK SADDLE STEEL OF THE SAME SADDLE  
A 242, Royal Armoury, Madrid

reference to the inscription immediately above the umbril which reads: DESIDERIO . COLMAN . IN . AVGVSO [*sic*] 1550. Above, there is a cartouche enclosing a monogram, and at the sides the initials I.S. The monogram and

## ARMOUR TERMED "SPANISH"

the initials I.S. together constitute the mark employed by Jörg Sigman; it can be seen in various works from his hand, and especially on that table of punch-marks of silversmiths which is in the Museum of Augsburg and which Herr Buff discovered.<sup>1</sup> Not content with inscribing his monogram and initials by the side of those of Kolman on the front of the helmet, Sigman repeated his initials I.S., and also the date 1549, below the base of the plume-holder (now lost), no doubt in order to make it clear that he had spent more than three years on the work; for as we have said the entire panoply was not completed until 1552, a circumstance that obtained for him his coveted indentures as silversmith. The breastplate is of laminated plates from the neck to the waist; on it is displayed the order of the Golden Fleece. The backplate is of similar construction; the arm-defences are simple, with espaliers, rere-, vambraces, and elbow-cops. There are taces of two lames, to which are attached the tassets, which are detachable at the fourth and seventh lame, and so could be worn at any length. The jambs only protect the outside of the leg; upon the knee-cops are embossed masks of satyrs similar to those seen on the elbow-cops. There is a brayette. On the saddle steels, which are preserved in the Madrid Armoury, at the sides of the central bands are to be seen marks of Desiderius Kolman and the guild mark of Augsburg (Figs. 1074 and 1075).

The beautiful chanfron, of which we have already spoken, is decorated in the same taste as the rest of the suit, and bears on an escutcheon the arms used by King Philip II when he was Hereditary Prince (Fig. 1076). The two palettes (Fig. 1077), formerly in the Musée d'Artillerie, are now on the suit as set up in the Royal Armoury, Madrid. The extra elbow-cops (Fig. 1078), as we can judge from the eyelet holes in them for the passage of the aiglettes, were intended to be used in conjunction with an additional gorget (Fig. 1079), still at Madrid, when only a long-sleeved shirt of mail was worn without other plate armour for the body. At Madrid is also to be seen a narrow pair of plates made for the same harness that could be attached to leggings of mail or even leather, and so could enable the other plate armour for the legs to be dispensed with. That very eminent writer, M. Charles Buttin, has described the whole of this wonderful harness to the minutest detail in *La Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne*, 1914, the careful perusal of which we strongly recommend.

Allied to the suit just described by the proportions of its parts and its general effect is that harness which, according to the Count de Valencia,

<sup>1</sup> *Urkundliche Nachrichten über den Augsburger Goldschmied Jörg Sigman. 1548-1601.* By Adolf Buff.



FIG. 1077



FIG. 1077



FIG. 1076



FIG. 1078



FIG. 1078

FIG. 1076. Chanfron belonging to the suit (Fig. 1072)

FIG. 1077. Palettes from the suit (Fig. 1072)

FIG. 1078. Interchangeable elbow-cops belonging to the suit (Fig. 1072) to be worn over a chain mail shirt

All these pieces were formerly in the Musée d'Artillerie, Paris, but are now in the Royal Armoury, Madrid

## ARMOUR TERMED "SPANISH"

belonged to King Sebastian of Portugal, who was killed at the battle of Alcazarquivir in Africa in the year 1578 (A 290 in the Royal Armoury, Madrid). We give an illustration of it as another example of the skill of the Augsburg armourer (Fig. 1080). It comes from the hand of Anton Peffenhauser, an armourer who, by his second marriage, became a connection of the famous Koloman Kolman. The late Herr Boeheim considered that the suit in question was presented to King Sebastian of Portugal by Philip II of Spain. For this statement the Count de Valencia could find no authority. In the 1849 catalogue of the Madrid Armoury the absurd statement is made that this suit was presented to King Philip II by King Manuel of Portugal; as a matter of fact the latter monarch died in 1521, six years before the birth of the former. No records exist as to the origin of this most im-



FIG. 1079. INTERCHANGEABLE GORGET, BELONGING TO THE SUIT (FIG. 1072)

To be worn with the elbow-cops (Fig. 1078) over a chain mail shirt  
Royal Armoury, Madrid

portant suit in the numerous inventories of the royal weapons and armour which are to be found in the archives of Simancas; neither was the late Count de Valencia able to discover at what period it was placed in the Royal Armoury of Madrid. For purposes of identification he, therefore, found it necessary to rely on the data supplied by the various emblems that enrich the armour. An examination of these details enabled him to deduce, without much difficulty, that the suit was made for a Portuguese prince of Hispano-Austrian pedigree.

Some of the rivet plates are stamped with the armillary sphere which, having its origin in Portugal, came to be the arms of Brazil; others bear the cross of Avis, and the rest the complete escutcheon of the Lusitanian kingdom. It is also to be noticed that Peffenhauser has repeatedly introduced the Austrian eagle with two heads, the lion, and the pomegranate, all of them emblems of the reigning house of Spain. These authoritative indications

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS



FIG. 1080. SUIT OF ARMOUR

Said to have been made for King Sebastian of Portugal (1554-1578), the work of Anton Peffenhauser of Augsburg. A 290, Royal Armoury, Madrid

point to the fact that the suit must have belonged to one of two Portuguese princes of Austrian origin in the maternal line, who lived in the second half of the XVIth century, either to Prince John, who died at the age of seventeen without having occupied the throne, or to his brother, the King Sebastian, who, as we have stated, was killed, at the age of twenty-four, in the year 1578. It is impossible that Prince John at the age of seventeen could have worn a harness of such adult proportions, and as the armour is of advanced XVIth century form, it more closely corresponds with the epoch of King Sebastian, who was, according to a reference in a contemporary Spanish report, (*Translation*) "of good proportions, a little taller than the king [Philip II] as well as more robust and stout, very white-skinned with slight beard, and fair like Don Juan."<sup>1</sup> These historical facts agree so well with the peculiarities of this armour as to justify, to a very large extent, the presumption that it belonged to King Sebastian, whose mother, the Princess Juana, must have removed it to Spain after the catastrophe of Alcazarquivir.

For a harness of its period, the end of the third quarter of the XVIth century, it is remarkably shapely and very restrained in taste as regards colour; inasmuch as, though richly embossed

<sup>1</sup> Morel Fatio, *L'Espagne au XVI et XVII siècle*, page 141: "Reception which the King, our lord gave to the King of Portugal at Guadalupe on the 10th of December, 1576." (*Translation.*)

## ARMOUR TERMED "SPANISH"

with bands of ornament, it has a wholly blue-black surface free from gilding, the latter alone appearing on the rivet heads and on its accompanying buckler. It is certainly a monument to the craftsmanship of Peffenhauser, and a suit which we certainly may say almost places his productions on an equality with those of the foremost Italian armourers of this somewhat decadent period of the craft. True, like Picinino in his later productions, Peffenhauser panders to the taste of the day in over-elaborating the ornament; his modelling of the figures, too, is weak and nerveless; but, on the other hand, his general composition is more virile, and his embossing is in bolder relief than even Kolman's. Herr Hefner-Alteneck takes, however, a little from Peffenhauser's credit by suggesting that he was doubtless assisted in the decoration of this particular suit by the inventive genius of Hans Mielich, the artist of Munich. There are no details in the construction of the suit particularly worthy of note; in general shape it is reminiscent of one of slightly earlier date, save that the pauldrons are full after the fashion of the suits of the last quarter of the XVIth century. On the upper edge of the breast- and backplates are stamped a tripod and the guild mark of Augsburg, emblems which Herr Boeheim identifies as the marks of Anton Peffenhauser.

We will terminate our very general survey of these suits, the shape and fashion of which were almost entirely influenced by the productions made for the Spanish Court by the Negrolì, the Kolman, and the Wolf families, with the description of a suit of armour, most probably the work of Wolf of Landshut, a suit decorated in that armourer's usual fashion, but showing strangely in its general form the late XVth century Italian influence. We refer to the suit of armour mounted on a horse that now stands in the middle of the principal gallery of the Arsenal of Venice (Fig. 1081). For nearly two hundred years this suit was believed to have belonged to Erasmo da Narni, surnamed Gattamelata, the famous XVth century general in the service of the Venetian Republic; but it is hardly necessary to remark that a suit which at its earliest is a production of about 1540, could not have belonged to a general who died in 1443. It would be interesting to know when and why this suit was originally placed in the Arsenal of Venice, and to whom it originally belonged. No clue to its ownership can be gleaned from the harness itself; for beyond a lion's mask flanked by hounds' heads upon the saddle steel and knee-cops it is free from any emblematic ornamentation.

As far back as the 1611 inventory of the Arsenal the armour is attributed to Gattamelata in the following entry:

(*Translation*) "The armour of Gattamella, white and gold, with its arm-



FIG. 1081. SUIT OF ARMOUR

*A la façon d'Italie*, but probably the work of a Wolf of Landshut, about 1550  
The Arsenal, Venice

## ARMOUR TERMED "SPANISH"

pieces, gauntlets, intricate leg-pieces, and its lance helmet. Its iron shield, shoulder-piece *da barriera*, another *celada da barriera*, a half-visor, the shaft of the lance, his sword without scabbard and his iron mace. The saddle of purple damask Cordovà leather and the charger with all its furnishings and the plume of feathers on the head of the horse, and another plume of feathers on the helm of the head of Gattamella." And to follow on: "On the stair the wooden horse in imitation bronze, upon which there is the armour of Gattamella." In the inventory of 1773 the suit is alluded to as follows: "Horse of wood, with iron armour, iron mace in hand, stirrup of brass, in memory of the late Gattamella, who fought under Braccio di Montone in Italian wars in 1435; created a General of the Venetian soldiers, he made notable conquests for the Republic, who caused to be erected in his honour an equestrian statue close to the Church of S. Antonio, at Padua." In another record of 1799 there is a further brief reference: "Horse of wood with its furnishings, and above, the armour of Gattamella with the iron-tipped mace in hand." Apart from the ocular evidence as to the true age of the suit, it is as well here to note that in the inventory of the Arsenal for the year 1548 there is no mention of the armour of Gattamelata or of a suit corresponding with it; so we may safely ascribe the period of the acquisition of the suit and of its attribution to the said general to the first half of the XVIth century.

Although in the modern official catalogue the suit is described as being of Brescian make, we have little hesitation in stating that it is of German manufacture, and probably the work of one of the Wolfs of Landshut; but as we have never had the opportunity of taking it apart or of making a minute examination of it, we are unable to state whether or not it bears an armourer's mark. Its decoration belongs to the school which is so closely associated with Augsburg and Landshut, distinguished, that is to say, by slightly raised or recessed bands etched with duplicated gilt ornaments. The suit appears almost intact, with the steels of the saddle; the sollerets are associated with it, and are of earlier date; the pauldrons are remarkable for their great size and for the manner in which they wrap over the breastplate in front, almost meeting, and show a similar formation at the back, a feature quite in the accepted Italian XVth century style (Vol. i, Fig. 217). They have permanently attached to them large upright shoulder guards, below which are four deep lames. The whole construction of these large shoulder defences appears most cumbersome; but, as we have said, it is in strict accordance with that of XVth century suits made *à la façon d'Italie*.

## CHAPTER XXVII

### THE SCHOOL OF LUCIO PICININO



OF that ever-popular school of decorated armour produced under the influence of Lucio Picinino of Milan, one work alone, a shield, bears the actual impress of his signature; but his method of workmanship and his decorative motifs enable us to recognize his work in other quarters and to trace in it almost three distinctive styles. The earliest is the finest and, as may be supposed, the grandest, and to this period belong most of his individual shields and parade helmets that have historical importance, together with a single suit; while to the later styles we are able to assign quite a number of suits and parts of suits. Dealing broadly, as we must with the classification of suits of the XVIth century, we will content ourselves by illustrating the single suit which is in the earliest manner of Picinino, and three which are in the later manners. Of the first period is the suit fashioned for Don Gonzalo Fernandez de Cordoba, Duke of Sessa and Baena, Governor of the State of Milan in 1560, and grandson of the great captain of the same name, which is now with the Duc de Dino Collection in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (Fig. 1082).

This harness, which now terminates at the waist, came from the collection of the Duke of Osuna, part of which originally constituted the armoury of the Duke of Infantado. In the inventory of the armoury of Don Rodrigo de Mendoza Sandoval y Rojas de la Vega y Luna, Marquis of Zenete and Duke of Infantado, made at Guadalajara in 1643, it is described in the following terms: (*Translation*) "A suit with embossed bands and engraved *de tauchie dorée*, lined with gold-coloured velvet with gold braid, which is said to have belonged to the Duc de Sessa, and which has the Golden Fleece on the front of the breastplate, with backplate, gorget, arm pieces, elbow-pieces, gauntlets, tassets, cuisses, and greaves, the helmet having a buffe as reinforcing piece and a chanfron."<sup>1</sup> Although this armour, which is of the finest workmanship and splendidly preserved,

<sup>1</sup> *Documentos Inéditos para la historia de España*, vol. lxxiv, Madrid, 1882.



FIG. 1082. A HALF SUIT OF ARMOUR

Probably made for Don Gonzalo de Cordoba, Duke of Sessa. Italian, in the first manner of Lucio Picinino of Milan, about 1560. Metropolitan Museum, New York

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

appears to be a parade harness, we find, on careful examination, that it was also intended for use in the field. The weight of the helmet is very considerable, its crest being especially thick. There is a screw hole on the right side of the mezail which served to receive the screw which fixed the chin-piece or reinforcing buffe mentioned in the inventory, a reinforcement used only in combat. The right shoulder-piece is hollowed out for the lance, although a lance-rest has never been actually attached to this breastplate. This is explained by the fact that the lance-rest was usually placed in position on the breastplate according to the taste of the wearer, and would prove that, although, as we have said, the suit was made equally for fighting purposes, it has only been used for parade purposes. As a particular mark which points to the personage for whom it was made, we may notice that, although it is of medium size, the gauntlets are of very large dimensions, the fingers of the gauntlets being of an extraordinary length. The reinforcing buffe and the leg armour mentioned in the 1643 inventory have disappeared; but what is left of the suit is a marvellous specimen of the art of this particular Milanese armourer of the commencement of the second half of the XVIth century. The close helmet, with the visor and mezail and large gorget plates, is typical of the latter half of the XVIth century, but grand in proportions. Upon the gorget itself, which is partly hidden by the gorget plates of the helmet, can be seen a Medusa mask, and below it the order of the Golden Fleece, suspended by a small chain with the two letters C.M. represented as though attached by a cord to the Fleece. Herr Wendelin Bocheim read the first letter inscribed on the plate as G., not C., and accordingly believed there was reason to attribute this piece to Gasparo Mola, an embosser working in Rome during the first half of the XVIIth century. But the first letter is undoubtedly a C, and the very prominent position occupied by these two letters together, with the fact that they are so closely connected with the Golden Fleece, would rather prove that they are not the signature of the armourer, but that of the personage for whom the armour was made. The letter C is the first in the paternal name of the Duke of Sessa, Cordoba. As for the letter M, we do not know the name of the Duke's mother; but as in Spain both paternal and maternal names are used, if that name began with an M the explanation of the cipher would be found. One might also interpret the initial to mean Captain General of Milan; but this reading seems too venturesome. The collar of the Golden Fleece is embossed on the front of the breastplate, each link of the collar being enriched with gold damascening. This embossing of the collar is continued on the backplate. Above the

## THE SCHOOL OF LUCIO PICININO

collar is an oval cartouche, on which is engraved the motto: AVT . MORS . AVT . VICTORIA . LETA, together with the figure of a woman standing and holding a skull in her right hand. On the upper portion of the backpiece is the figure of a giant grasping the collar of the Golden Fleece with his hands. The principal design of the ornamentation consists in embossed bands alternating with plain bands blued, in the midst of which are continuous etched ribbons fully gilt. The embossing takes the form of a profusion of mythological



FIG. 1083. CHANFRON BELONGING TO THE SESSA SUIT (FIG. 1082)

Italian, in the first manner of Lucio Picinino of Milan, about 1560. Riggs Collection, Metropolitan Museum, New York

personages, warriors, terms, fancy figures, cupids, trophies, flowers, fruits, birds, and musical instruments, the style and drawing of which are admirable. We remarked that in the inventory prepared at Guadalajara in 1643 the complete suit, inclusive of the leg defences, the strengthening buffe and chanfron, are mentioned as being then in existence. When, however, the Sessa suit was sold at Paris with the Spitzer Collection in 1893 the leg defences, the strengthening buffe, and the chanfron were no longer with it. Where the former pieces now are is unfortunately still unknown; but we may say

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS



FIG. 1084. SUIT OF ARMOUR  
Probably made for Alessandro Farnese, Duke  
of Parma. Italian, in a later manner of  
Lucio Picinino of Milan, about 1570.  
Imperial Armoury, Vienna

that we recognized the chanfron in the Riggs Collection, now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York; though now it is sadly overcleaned. Mr. Riggs obtained this piece from the Magniac Collection when it was dispersed at Christie's in 1892 (No. 1045 in the sale catalogue of that collection) (Fig. 1083). As the Magniac Collection was brought together in the first half of the XIXth century, it is probable that the chanfron got separated from the suit to which it belongs at the time when the people of Madrid searched the city for arms with which to repel the French invasion of 1808; for a good deal of looting was indulged in on this occasion, a circumstance which may account for the disappearance of the other parts of the suit which are still missing.

Probably the best known achievement of Lucio Picinino is the suit preserved in the Imperial Armoury of Vienna (Fig. 1084). It is a much later work than the Sessa suit, but a wonderful and elaborate production; it shows, however, that slight deterioration in the method of enrichment that marks it out as belonging to a later decade. It may certainly be classed as the finest known work in Picinino's second manner.

Morigia, in his work *Nobiltà di Milano*, 1595, remarks that his contemporary Lucio Picinino has, "in his ornamentation of iron in relief with figures, animals, and grotesque masks, etc., and likewise in his damascene work, produced masterpieces which are among the most choice and precious." He adds

## THE SCHOOL OF LUCIO PICININO

“that Picinino had also produced a matchlessly beautiful suit (*armatura*) for His Grace Alessandro Farnese, Duke of Parma, and for other Princes.” When we come to consider the style of the suit at Vienna we recognize the harness at once as an undoubted work of Lucio’s; when, too, we bear in mind the high prices which such defensive armour commanded at the period, we can hardly suppose that the Prince owned several such rich parade suits. We have therefore no hesitation in deciding that this is the suit referred to by Morigia, the suit made for Alessandro Farnese,<sup>1</sup> Duke of Parma, which, through the mediation of Count Hannibal von Hohenembs was presented by the Duke in 1579 to Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol, who placed it among his collection of the arms of celebrated personages in Castle Ambras.

The breastplate of this suit is of that customary peascod type, which was in fashion about 1570-80; while the pauldrons, the arm defences and fingered gauntlets, the tace plates, and the short spreading tassets of seven plates are all of the usual pattern of the period. The cuisses are laminated in three parts; while the knee-cops are small and of a decadent style. The jambs terminate at the ankles; there is an additional defence for the left pauldron; the helmet is a closed one, with a visor and mezail, and deep gorget plates. Attached to the comb in the same medium of damascened iron is the figure of a winged harpy, a clumsy and not altogether happy addition to the helmet. The whole surface is russeted and decorated in the following manner. On the breastplate are six sunken lateral radiating panels, the groundwork of which is blued; across the hollowed surface at intervals are embossed swags of fruit and flowers, and, alternating with these, hangings of drapery. In the middle raised band of the five that separate the sunken panels the ornamentation culminates in the extreme centre in an arched canopy supported by two satyrs placed back to back; in this niche is a full-faced figure, 3 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches high, representing David holding a sling, and the falchion of Goliath. On the top of the canopy are seated two naked figures of captives bound back to back, and on them rests a strapwork cartouche containing the head of Medusa; on either side of this mask are seated partially draped female figures emblematic of Fame and Victory. On the four remaining bands are the emblematical figures of the Theological and Cardinal Virtues introduced in similar strapwork borders, and between these are panels with crouching

<sup>1</sup> Alessandro Farnese, who was born in 1544, distinguished himself at the battle of Lepanto, and was one of the most famous generals of the day. From the year 1578, until his death in 1592, he governed the Netherlands.



FIG. 1085. HALF SUIT OF ARMOUR

Stated by Sir Samuel Meyrick to have been made for Alfonso II, Duke of Ferrara. Italian in a later manner of Lucio Piccinino of Milan, about 1570. The morion head-piece is associated, and does not belong to the remainder of the armour.

Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 483)

## THE SCHOOL OF LUCIO PICININO

figures of satyrs. The whole of the groundwork of the strap-bordering to the raised vertical bands is enriched with the most ornate gold *azzimina* damascening, on which at intervals are placed small rosette incrustations of silver. The same theme of ornament is carried out on the backplate; but the figures in the niches and panels are differently disposed. The decoration of the gorget and of the taces and tasses is similar to that of the breast- and backplate. On the top of each pauldron is a large grotesque mask executed in embossed work; there is also a smaller mask and festoon of drapery on the wide plate covering the shoulder blade and the gussets of the breastplate. Otherwise the ground decoration is similar to that which has been already described. The ornamentation of the rere- and vambraces differs in no way from that of the rest of the suit; but those parts of the coudes which cover the humerus are embossed to a mask form, as are the plates of the knee-cops. The entire design of decoration shown on this harness is worked out by an embossing from the back to surfaces of different levels, chased, and, as already stated, enriched with fine gold and silver *azzimina* damascening, plating, and over-layering. The suit is in a very perfect state of preservation, even retaining its leather lining, covered with blue velvet, embroidered with gold thread. Fine as it is, it must be remembered, however, that with certain variations in the placement of the ornaments, it was the stock pattern, if the word may be used, of the suits made in Lucio Picinino's latest manner.

There is in the Wallace Collection a superb though incomplete half suit of armour, No. 483 (Fig. 1085), which is even richer than the suit described by the addition of an entire field, even to the lower planes of the surface, of gold and silver *azzimina*. Its scheme of ornamentation is precisely like that of the former suit; although certain alterations in the figure subjects and in the position of some of the ornamentation may be noticed. It was formerly in the collection of Sir Samuel Meyrick, who gives the following description of it:

"This is, without doubt, one of the most splendid suits in Europe, if, indeed, it be not entitled to pre-eminence. It belonged to the renowned Alfonso II, Duke of Ferrara, Modena, Reggio and Chartres, Prince of Carpi, Count of Rovigo, Lord of Commachio, Garfagnana, etc., the patron of Literature and the Arts, and whom the pen of Tasso immortalized in the dedication to him of the *Gerusalemme Liberata*. He was born on the 19th of January 1533, succeeded to the dukedom in 1558, died 27th of October 1597." All this is very interesting! But Sir Samuel gives no reason

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

for the attribution, nor have we, despite very careful research, been able to ascertain from what source he obtained the information.

There are also to be seen in the Wallace Collection, No. 473 (Fig. 1086), portions of another half suit of armour of almost the same model, and doubtless from the workshops of Picinino. This, like the last suit, was in the collection of Sir Samuel Meyrick, who describes it, but on what authority we are at a loss to know, as a half suit of armour, "which belonged to an



FIG. 1086. HALF SUIT OF ARMOUR (INCOMPLETE)

Italian, in a later style of Lucio Picinino of Milan, about 1580  
Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 473)

officer of the guard of Cosimo de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, the tone of colour being a light black." Ninety years of cleaning have brought it to its present unpleasant leaden colour, and have produced the semi-brightened surface it now presents. Despite the most minute examination, it shows not the slightest traces of gold enrichment of any kind; so we may consider that if it left the workshops of Lucio Picinino, it did so as a suit of a quality inferior to that of those we have just described.

A breastplate, which is the work of Lucio, and is as fine as that to be seen on the first of the Wallace half suits, is in the collection of Mr. D. M.

## THE SCHOOL OF LUCIO PICININO

Currie of London (Fig. 1087). Like those just described, it is of peascod shape, embossed and gilt, with encrusted silver and gold decoration, with inlays of silver, and with gilt backgrounds behind the figures. At the top is a Medusa's head with wings, and on each side are winged figures of Victory blowing trumpets and bearing palm branches. Beneath this are two figures



FIG. 1087. BREASTPLATE

Italian, in a later style of Lucio Picinino of Milan, about 1570

Collection: Mr. D. M. Currie

of captive youths, and below these again, in the centre, is a niche with a figure of Mars standing on a tablet supported by two satyrs, who rest on a ram's head surmounting a cartouche containing a small statue of Apollo. Bands with garlands, strapwork and masks separate the next vertical bands of figures, comprising winged children bearing a banner, Mercury, a satyr full-face, and Diana. On the corresponding band are Jupiter and Saturn.

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

There are shorter bands on either side of similar character. The whole design is connected with strapwork, which, like the backgrounds, except those to the figures, is covered with minute arabesques in gold *azzimina*. The Currie breastplate was purchased at the Bernal Sale of 1855, No. 2420 in the



FIG. 1088. HALF SUIT OF ARMOUR

Presented by the Duke of Terranova to the Infante, afterwards King Philip III. Italian, in a later manner of Lucio Picinino, about 1590.  
B 4, Royal Armoury, Madrid

catalogue, by Lord Londesborough, and when it was in his collection it was engraved and described in Fairholt's "Miscellanea Graphica," Plate 39. As we have traced certain pieces of armour from the Bernal Collection to the Christie Sale of 1839, we may surmise that this particular breastplate was also abstracted from the Madrid Armoury, more especially as there is a tradition that it was once the property of King Philip III. In support of this tradition we would point out that in the Royal Armoury of Madrid there is a small suit (B 4) exactly of the model we have been describing, and with an identical breastplate, which, according to the late Count de Valencia's catalogue, on the authority of the inventory of 1652, was ordered from Lucio Picinino, and presented by the Duke of Terranova, Governor of Milan, to the Infante, after-

wards Philip III (1578-1621). It is a splendidly complete half suit (Fig. 1088), and though it lacks gauntlets, it possesses both a close helmet and a cabasset head-piece. It is decorated entirely on the same principle as the suits we have described. The wonderful Armoury of Madrid shows us two other suits, which are the work of Lucio Picinino, one a full mounted suit

## THE SCHOOL OF LUCIO PICININO

with its saddle steels, chanfron, etc., and the other a harness complete to the waist (A 291 and B 1). Alas, fine and ultra elaborate as they are, excellent examples, too, of metal embossing, they illustrate only too well the decadent work which this admirable Milanese armourer turned out when he was forced to pander to the florid taste of the closing years of the XVIth century.

We are glad to be able, through the kindness of Mr. Lionel Harris, to give an illustration of the saddle steels by Antonio Picinino which were in the collection of the late Earl Kitchener (Fig. 1088A). They had been presented to him by the late Mr. Alfred Rothschild.



FIG. 1088A. SADDLE STEELS

The work of Antonio Picinino. Collection: the late Earl Kitchener of Khartoum, K.G.

## CHAPTER XXVIII

### ARMOUR TERMED "FRENCH"



NOW that we come to deal with decorated armour intended for use in France, we shall again, as in the case of armour made for use in Spain, have to speak of the works of armourers all of whom were not of the nationality of the country where the armour was made, and whose works are of all styles; but, since the suits we illustrate under this heading have all more or less a reliable French royal provenance, we must accept them as typical French harnesses of the time, or rather such as were supplied to great French personages. We have already alluded to the suit in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris, always known as that of Francis I, as the work of an Augsburg armourer (Fig. 1048), and have discussed the question of its attribution to that monarch. In the case of this suit, as in those of certain other suits in the same Museum attributed to French royal personages, we could wish that the attribution was based on convincing documentary evidence, such as is cited in the catalogue of the Royal Madrid Armoury, instead of on the mere unconfirmed statements of the guide-book, excellent as is Colonel L. Roberts's catalogue of that institution. There appear to be even more missing links in the chain of the older inventories and annals of that comparatively recent collection than in those of our National Armoury, the Tower of London; and it is unlikely too that many of the treasures of the Royal Armoury of the House of France can have survived the shock of the great Revolution. It is now, however, outside France that we look for the first suit of undoubted Royal French provenance, a suit of armour at the present time in the collection of Viscount Astor at Hever Castle, Kent. That this suit belonged to Henri II of France is proved conclusively by a small miniature portrait of the King, still in existence, attributed to Jean Clouet, a picture once in the collection of the King of Holland, afterwards in the Magniac Collection, No. 87 in the catalogue (Fig. 1089), in which Henri II is represented arrayed in this identical suit of armour, the only difference being that the armour is shown as black with the embossed parts brightened with silver plating. According to Brantôme, Henri II always wore black and

## ARMOUR TERMED " FRENCH "



FIG. 1089. FROM THE SMALL EQUESTRIAN PORTRAIT OF HENRI II  
Attributed to Jean Clouet. The suit the King is wearing is that shown in Fig. 1090.  
Formerly in the collection of the King of Holland, later in the Magniac Collection.  
Now in that of Madame Steinkoff

white "*à cause de la belle veuve, qu'il servait*" (Diane de Poitiers). The suit, as seen to-day, has a russeted surface, and the embossed ornamentation is gilded—an enrichment possibly added in the XVIIth century, when this

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

suit, like the Dino casque described and illustrated in Fig. 1264, Vol. iv, was taken by Louis XIV from the Royal Collection of France and presented to the King's Minister, Comte Colbert. The suit looks Italian in ornamentation; but it is not entirely Italian in construction. We are inclined to think that it was made in France, but that it was perhaps embossed by some Italian artist, who, like so many of his compatriot armourers, had settled in that country. It bears a remarkable likeness to certain pieces of embossed armour, now in a private collection in Paris, which though they are of slightly later date, we know for certain have true French provenance. In the case of this suit, however, we fail to see even the style of the Louvre-Fontainebleau school to which the so-called Henri II suit in the Louvre, of which we shall speak later, most certainly belongs. We would suggest that, with perhaps the exception of the very fine close helmet it possesses, the Astor suit is of somewhat clumsy form (Fig. 1090). The breast- and backplate have been inspired by some Negrolì model. The long and full tassets attached to the very shapeless knee-cops, each composed of six deep lames, encircle the legs; while the pauldrons, with which are associated demi-rerebraces, are somewhat flat. The most attractive feature of the suit is the size and boldness of the elbow-cops. Although, then, this is a suit of armour of the first historical importance, as an example of high-class armour it proves on critical examination to be but poor work as compared with a harness of the same type and period which we can recognize as purely Milanese. An inspection of the detail of the ornamentation also reveals the fact that in the rendering of the masks and of the tendril scrolls, which in a somewhat wearisome duplicated manner occupy nearly the whole surface of the suit, there is that tameness and lumpiness of treatment which we have had occasion to notice as the chief defect of the famous Morosini casque (see Vol. iv, Fig. 1236, *a, b, c*). In Asselinau's *Les Armes et Armures, Meubles et autres objets du Moyen âge et de la Renaissance*, a work undated, but published some years before the Soltikoff Collection was sold in 1861, the helmet of the Astor suit, together with the Dino casque (see Vol. iv, Fig. 1264), are both illustrated and described as *appartenant à M. le Cte. Colbert*. A long period elapsed before the suit became the property of the Paris dealer, M. Stein, at whose establishment the present writer saw it. M. Stein disposed of it to M. Sigismund Bardac, the amateur, who exhibited it in the Paris Exhibition of 1900, where it was much admired. It was then that the author had the opportunity of making a thorough examination of it, but failed, however, to discover any individuality by which it could be



FIG. 1090. SUIT OF ARMOUR THAT BELONGED TO HENRI II OF FRANCE  
Of unknown workmanship, about 1550. From the collection of Colbert, minister to  
Louis XIV. Ex collections: M. Stein and M. Sigismund Bardac. Now in  
the collection of Viscount Astor of Hever

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

assigned with certainty to any particular school. After leaving the Bardac Collection the suit passed through the hands of two dealers, and eventually found its present home in Hever Castle.

We have remarked that Henri II wore as his colours black and white, and such appears to have been the original colour scheme of the suit just described. But in the next harness we shall look at we shall see these colours still existent, in their metal equivalents of black iron and of silver, in almost pristine freshness (G 118, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris) (Fig. 1091). Of the harnesses that have been ascribed to the ownership of this monarch, this suit and one other<sup>1</sup> bear those emblems ever associated with him and *la belle veuve*, his beloved Diane de Poitiers. The monogram of Henri and Diane interlaced, her symbol as huntress, the triple intertwined crescents, her quivers and arrows, are all plentifully replicated on the narrow blackened bands, which, alternating with the wider bands of delicate interlaced tendril ornaments, constitute the decoration of the whole of the exposed surface. But if we are asked who was the armourer who produced this most tasteful suit and what was his nationality we should be at a loss for an answer, for the harness is without an armourer's mark of any kind. In general form it is not unlike the Astor Henri II armour, particularly in the flatness of the pauldrons, in the formation of the elbow-cops, and in the manner in which the long laminated tassets, finishing in robust though clumsily fashioned knee-cops, cover the thighs of the wearer. We may be looking at the work of some famous French or even Parisian armourer of the Court of Henri II. There is nothing, however, that affords the vaguest clue as to the maker; nor does the particular decoration employed serve to convey any suggestion. We note, however, a North Italian influence in one part of the ornamentation, and that is in the designs of the tendrils upon the broader bands, which might almost be from the hands of Lucio Picinino at his best period: so similar to his is the method of incrustation employed. We may therefore surmise that the embellishment of the harness, if not actually the work of an Italian artist working in France, comes from the hand of some one who had studied in Milan, and was acquainted with the best damascened work of the Picinino school. The helmet is a close one with the falling mezail as face defence, above which is the deep umbril, the upper portion of which is embossed with a laurel wreath gilt. The breastplate is in the fashion of about 1545-50, and a freer movement has been lent to it by the addition of four laminated plates at the base. There are two tace plates and the tassets have twelve lames, finishing, as we

<sup>1</sup> A suit in the Armoury of the Wartburg (A. Diener-Schönberg, *Die Waffen der Wartburg*, Berlin, 1912, p. 36).

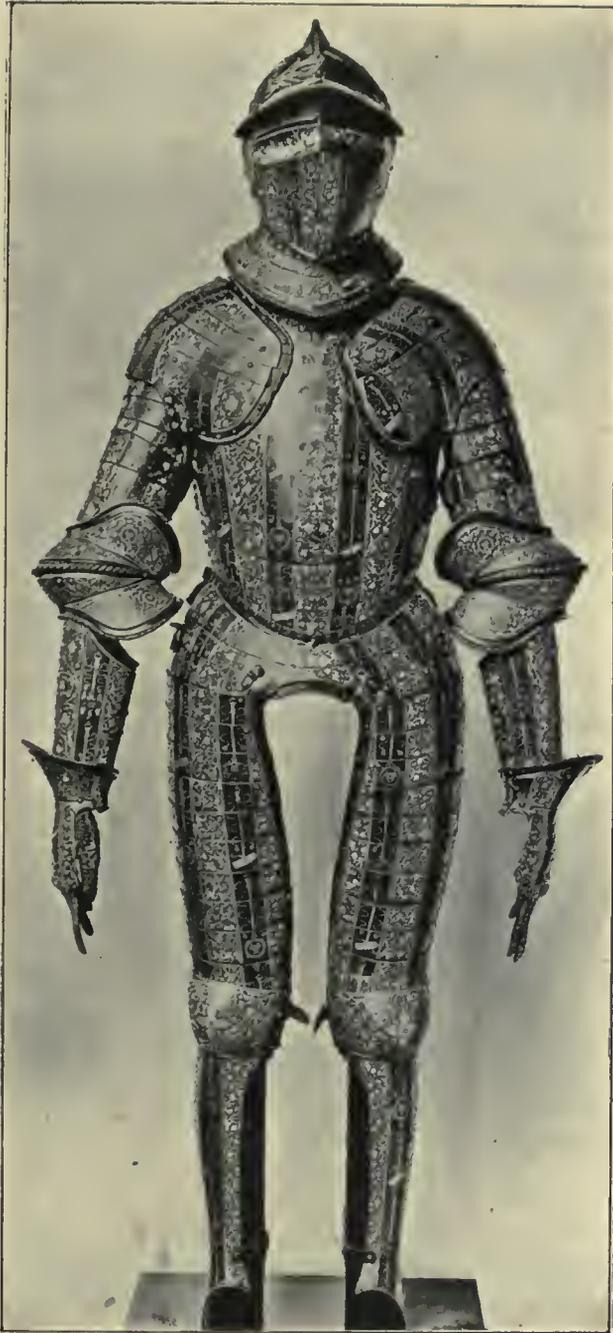


FIG. 1091. SUIT OF ARMOUR  
Made for Henri II of France by an unidentified  
armourer, about 1550. G 118,  
Musée d'Artillerie,  
Paris



*Photograph A. G.*

FIG. 1092. UNFINISHED SUIT OF ARMOUR  
Reputed to have belonged to Henri II of  
France. It appears, however, to be of later  
date, and is to be assigned to the  
Louvre school, of about 1560-70.  
Musée du Louvre

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

have said, in large shapeless knee-cops; the demi-jambs terminate at the ankle and have never possessed sollerets. The gauntlets are short in the cuffs but long in the metacarpal plates; indeed, the actual shape of the suit does not remind us of any Italian harness that we can recall. This suit was originally in the Bibliothèque Royale, from where it was removed to the Musée des Souverains, and in 1872 it was finally deposited in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris; but we can find no record whether it was previously in the *Ancien collection du Louvre*, or derived from some private source early in the XIXth century. The facts that it is a harness made for the field, that it is enriched to please the purely personal taste of the wearer, and that no other additional pieces either for the tilt or for the armament of the horse are known to exist render this armour almost unique among the most famous of recorded suits.

One of the most graceful suits of mid-XVIth century armour extant, certainly as regards its wealth of refined surface ornament, is that unfinished harness in the Louvre known as the armour of Henri II (Fig. 1092). We shall allude to it again when we examine in some detail other examples of this same craftsmanship, giving it as our opinion that it was produced by some unknown French armourer who worked directly under the influence of the French art of the third quarter of the XVIth century. But as we keep a fairly open mind on the subject we give the views of that eminent writer and armour connoisseur M. Maurice Maindron, who, in his description of the suit in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1891, states at some length his theories as to its school of decoration and its probable maker and provenance. He describes it as a masterpiece of the art of a goldsmith working in iron. He admits that he uses the term "goldsmith" advisedly; for in his opinion the panoply of Henri II was certainly constructed by goldsmiths. He goes on to state that the most illustrious armourers of Lombardy and Bavaria never produced anything to equal it either in fineness, or perfection of workmanship; but he allows that the Negroli, the most illustrious of their craft, produced suits finer in style and of nobler proportions. The armourers of Munich, Nuremberg, Augsburg, Innsbruck, too, he admits, made harnesses and suits for man and horse, of the most skilful design and of the most conscientious workmanship. But [he adds] none of these masters, in the plenitude of their talent and of their glory, ever succeeded in producing such fine surface embossing or armour chiselling such as can be seen upon this suit. Whatever reproaches may be made against this royal panoply from a technical and constructional point of view, the conception and execution of its decoration must, he holds, be reckoned quite astounding.

## ARMOUR TERMED " FRENCH "

Beaten out of thin steel, this armour is indeed the work of a super-artist, a production which must have flattered equally the pride of those who made it and of the wearer. Except for the finger plates, which are missing on both gauntlets, it is absolutely complete and in an admirable state of preservation. M. Maindron is in accord with the Baron de Cosson and the present writer in thinking that it has never been finished, and makes the suggestion that its soft tone is that of steel that has never been burnished. He thinks that it is hardly likely that the suit has lost its original polish through repeated cleaning; since the delicacy of its decoration is nowhere impaired. The strength of certain engraving lines would indicate perhaps that it was never finished and never received the gilding of the original design. M. Maindron, like ourselves, reluctantly comes to the conclusion that its general characteristics make the association with the reign of Henri II quite improbable. The subjects which adorn the breastplate illustrate the history and the death of Pompey; the rest of the parts are covered with the usual ornamentation, masks, trophies, allegorical figures, which are arranged with the elaboration and sumptuousness characterizing the work of this great and unknown armourer.

Like all connoisseurs who have examined this wonderful decorative achievement, M. Maindron has to answer certain questions. To what school, to what workmen, to what workshop, to what period must this superb suit be ascribed? That it can have belonged to Henri II we regard as impossible, despite the fact that the marked protuberance of the pauldron might recall in its fashion the rather crook-backed figure of the son of Francis I. The total absence of crescents, of intertwined initials, or other emblems that are found on other harnesses and weapons of Henri II are all against such an attribution; though, on the other hand, it is possible to argue that this panoply was made for Henri at a time when he was yet only Dauphin, and so could not afford to advertise his devotion to the beautiful Diana of Poitiers. Might it have belonged to some other Prince? Any statement to that effect would be rash. It is known that Charles IX, at his entry into Paris in 1571, wore a white suit of armour richly chiselled. But there is no evidence to connect this white suit with the Louvre harness. So, until research throws further enlightenment on the point, we shall continue to respect but not to accept the tradition which ascribes this panoply to Henri II's ownership. It has long been considered as an Italian production. At one time it was the fashion to refer back to Italy all the fine decorated arms of the renaissance and of the XVIth century; just as later there was a tendency

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

to attribute to the greater part of the masterpieces of armour of this period a German origin.

M. Maindron goes on further to state that on examining the drawing of the figures, the arrangement of the compositions, and the disposal of the forms, he recognizes the method of a French artist, imbued with the traditions of Etienne de Laune. A resemblance can certainly be noted to Etienne's method in the rendering of the figure subjects upon the suit. A real charm of contour, a wonderful perspicuity of design, a general disposition towards a soft gracefulness, a tranquillity of gesture maintained even in the strongest situations, a striving for simplicity in the apparel and draperies, a desire to shake off the traditions of decoration taken from antique armament—these are the leading characteristics of the general theme of enrichment carried out on this suit. Yet, in the restraint of their outlines and in the almost timid tranquillity of their draperies, the figures in the history of Pompey seem almost to recall the methods of Frans de Vriendt, a Flemish artist of the third quarter of the XVIth century.

Modern critics have not hesitated to attribute the drawings and the composition of the Henri II suit to French artists, and M. Maindron does not quarrel with such an attribution. But as regards their execution he holds views a little at variance with those of the Baron de Cosson, and these appear so sound that we think they merit quotation. His opinion, which he admits is supported by no documentary evidence, is that German goldsmiths were responsible for this work. He cannot, of course, point exactly to the studio in which it was produced; but he is inclined to believe that it was executed at Petit-Nesle by those masters and journeymen goldsmiths who had been trained in the first place by Benvenuto Cellini. The finish of the workmanship and the minuteness of the detail remind him of those painstaking goldsmiths of Augsburg and of Nuremberg, men capable of intense concentration and spirit, and possessed of untiring patience, who could undertake works of immense length and bring them to completion by servile copying of models, extraordinary workmen certainly, but workmen who lacked that genuine creative energy which produces masterpieces irrespective of the difficulties presented by the particular medium in which they are working. These workmen were not super-craftsmen who, whatever they worked upon, moulded it to something absolutely original and like the work of no one else. But still in the production of one of these armours, each armourer, whatever his nationality, may in a sense be said to have contributed his particular qualities of imagination or of craftsmanship. But as M. Maindron says, we lack

## ARMOUR TERMED "FRENCH"

the points of comparison which would enable us to come to a definite conclusion as to the origin of this Henri II armour. It is, however, to be remarked that in all the traditions which have gathered round it not one has ever attributed it to Benvenuto Cellini. That in itself, were there no others, would be a reason for including it among the most precious assets of the great French art of the XVIth century.

The only complete suit of armour which in form reminds us of the Louvre suit is that said to have been made for Charles IX of Sweden, which is preserved in the Stockholm Museum (Figs. 1093 and 1094); this Swedish harness is similar in form, and although completed with its gold and silver inlaying, was assuredly decorated by the same hand. The opinion expressed by Monsieur E. Plon in his work on Benvenuto Cellini that the Charles IX of Sweden suit was executed by Germans certainly lends support to M. Maindron's theory that German workmen were responsible for the execution of the Louvre suit. The likeness of the workmanship is very noticeable. The armourer or armourers of both these suits have carefully copied the sketches which then circulated in the studios and which might as readily be ascribed to Etienne de Laune as to Michael Angelo or to Giulio Romano. M. Plon asserts that models of Etienne de Laune have often inspired the German armourers and goes on to say that he has seen suits of German design executed by



FIG. 1093. SUIT OF ARMOUR

Said to have been made for Charles IX of Sweden. The Louvre school, about 1570. Stockholm Museum



FIG. 1094. THE RONDACHE, SADDLE STEELS, AND CHANFRON THAT GO WITH THE SUIT (FIG. 1093) SAID TO HAVE BEEN MADE FOR CHARLES IX OF SWEDEN

We suggest, however, that the chanfron is by some other hand, and does not, like the remainder of the pieces, belong to the Louvre school. Stockholm Museum

## ARMOUR TERMED "FRENCH"

the armourers of Munich which are closely allied in point of decoration to the so-called Swedish Charles IX harness. M. Plon doubtless refers to the suits at Dresden, said to have been made respectively for the Elector John-George I of Saxony (1611-1656) and for the Elector Christian II of Saxony (1591-1611), which on fairly conclusive evidence are said to have been made by Heinrich Knopf at Münster, to whom we shall shortly refer.

Despite, however, the delightful and scholarly argument of M. Maindron, which we have taken the liberty of quoting, we ourselves go no further than to admit that the Louvre suit was made in France; we cannot make up our minds as to the nationality of the armourers who worked on it. Our own argument in favour of its French provenance, strengthened as it is by the fact that it is unfinished, is based on the conviction of the Baron de Cosson that all the series of French armour of this period to which we shall allude, came from an armoury established at the Louvre under Francis I or Henri II. Now, a suit of armour ordered in Italy or Germany would only have been delivered when finished; but it is easy to understand that a suit made at the Louvre and not completed at the time of Henri's tragic death (if it could possibly be as early as that) would

III



FIG. 1095. LEFT CUISSÉ AND KNEE-COP.

From the so-called Henri II suit (Fig. 1092). This shows the comparatively unfinished state of the lower part of the suit. Musée du Louvre

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

remain in its unfinished state, more especially as Henri's ailing and weak-minded successor was too young when he came to the throne to be interested in it. The suit appears to have been put together comparatively recently, iron wire having been used instead of rivets. What is still more conclusive of its unfinished state is the fact that the ornamentation of the sollerets is only sketched by the craftsman and has not been chased; on the cuisses, too, the chasing appears to be unfinished (Fig. 1095). The whole suit is of the steely tone peculiar to pieces still in the hands of the chaser, and destined later on to be gilded or blued.

The suit, as seen to-day, was, like the gold helmet and shield of Charles IX in the same Museum, originally in the Musée des Souverains, which once formed part of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. In 1872 this Museum ceded to the Musée d'Artillerie thirty-seven suits, pieces of armour and various arms attributed to the ownership of the kings of France or to that of the dauphins of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries. Barbet de Jouy in his notice of the Musée des Souverains, published in Paris 1856, speaks of it when it was there as having once been in the Louvre; so we see that it was sent back to its old resting place together with the gold helmet and shield of Charles IX, the only two pieces of plate armour of the Musée des Souverains which were not handed over to the Musée d'Artillerie. It was after the Napoleonic Wars that the Musée des Souverains was formed; so whether the Henri II suit came from the Sedan gallery, from some private collection, or from abroad, before being originally placed in the Louvre, we are unable to say. There is the possibility, however, that it formed part of the French National Collection of armour housed very early in the XIXth century in the Rue de l'Université.

Before quitting the subject of the Louvre suit, we should like now to describe certain fine pieces of horse armour which in our opinion were made for and belong to it—although they are in a finished condition. They are now in the Museum of Lyons; but they were obtained originally from the fine cabinet of antiquities which M. de Migieu formed in the XVIIIth century at Dijon. There is nearly the complete armour for the horse, armour which in decoration and perfection of technique absolutely corresponds with the Louvre suit. We illustrate the chanfron, the crinet, and the pommel steel of the saddle (Fig. 1096). It will be noted that the base of the chanfron has been cut away, a circumstance which renders it a little difficult to determine the original form of the plate. But it must be added that there is a general likeness in the shape of the saddle steels to those with the



FIG. 1096. CHANFRON AND SADDLE STEELS (FINISHED)

Apparently part of the so-called Henri II suit (Fig. 1092) in the Louvre. Lyons Museum

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

Stockholm suit which, as we have said, in our opinion comes from the hand of the armourer who made the Louvre suit. This resemblance then, taken in conjunction with the fact that the decorations of this armour and of the Louvre suit are almost identical, points fairly to the conclusion that this particular horse harness was intended to accompany the suit now in the Louvre.



FIG. 1097. SADDLE STEELS

Made under the influence of the Louvre school, about 1570, but most probably the work of Heinrich Knopf of Münster. Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan

While we are speaking of saddle steels and horse armour of this superlatively enriched nature, we would suggest that the superb set of saddle steels (Fig. 1097) now preserved in the library of the Ambrosiana at Milan, which, as far as we are able to find out, were formerly in the famous collection of Manfredo Settala, a collection brought together in the first quarter of the XVIIth century and then housed at the Via Pantano, Milan, were produced under the influence of what we may term the Louvre school of design, though

## ARMOUR TERMED "FRENCH"

we have little hesitation in stating that we believe them to be the work of the goldsmith armourer, Heinrich Knopf of Münster. Knopf was maker of the world-famous suits of Christian II of Saxony, and the armour of the Duke John-George I of Saxony, which are to be seen in the Dresden Gallery and to which we have referred on page 353. Of this latter suit we illustrate the backplate (Fig. 1098), showing the curiously rendered strapwork, the edges of which are represented almost three-quarter view, giving to this particular ornament a sense of depth usually lacking in its representation as a decorative motif,

especially on plate armour. Exactly the same strapwork motifs are to be seen on the Ambrosiana saddle steels. They have also in common a feature very characteristic of the work of Heinrich Knopf: we allude to the raised surfaces of the strap patterns deeply etched with a minuter form of scrollwork, such as we are accustomed to see on Saxon made armour of the early years of the XVIIth century. We are aware that Heinrich Knopf was much influenced in his work by the compositions of Frans de Vriendt, whose name, as we have already said, M. Maindron has suggested as a possible designer of the ornament upon the Louvre Henri II suit. The Ambrosiana saddle steels are matchless examples of horse equipment, unique for the absolute freshness of their condition. The surfaces are blue-black with the greater part of the raised ornamentation plated with gold. The gold which we are accustomed to see, the gold which enriches even the most sumptuous plate armour, is always a little perished even when it is in fine condition; but the gold on these steels is thick gold plating as fresh upon the blued field of the armour as though it had only just been applied. Indeed, the four pieces have the appearance of having been made yesterday. It is owing to the dry climate and to the tooled leather case, which was made to contain the steels, and is still exhibited beside them, that we are able to obtain so excellent an



FIG. 1098. BACKPLATE.

From the famous suit of Duke John-George I of Saxony, by Heinrich Knopf of Münster Dresden Gallery

## EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

idea of what must have been the appearance of such armour *de luxe* in its pristine magnificence of gold and blue.

With the description of these beautiful saddle steels we complete our list of the more important suits of armour which belong to the third quarter of the XVIth century.

The history of XVIth century plate armour as recorded by the suits we have illustrated must have been confusing in the extreme to the reader; we have jumped backwards and forwards from period to period according to the schools and nationalities which are referred to. And although we hope we have made our history clear to any one accustomed to deal with the subject, the beginner, we must admit, will find it extremely difficult to trace the zigzag course of the rise to the zenith of artistic achievement, and the fall to the nadir of decadence as the century declines. We have lavished admiration on all the suits, on each in its particular class; but the works of the great Negroli, in the author's opinion, are the greatest of all in the history of decorated armour.

END OF VOLUME III



LONDON: CHARLES WHITTINGHAM AND GRIGGS (PRINTERS), LTD.  
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