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A RECORD OF
EUROPEAN ARMOUR
AND ARMS
VOL. II



*North Italian Salade
In the collection of the Author
(See page 71)*

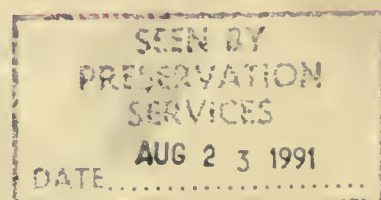
A RECORD OF
EUROPEAN ARMOUR
AND ARMS
THROUGH SEVEN CENTURIES

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

VOL. II



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PREFACE

SIR GUY LAKING died on the 22nd of November 1919, a few days after his publishers had been able to send him the first volume of his *European Armour and Arms*. The other four volumes were in type.

Not long before he died he expressed a wish that I should do what was necessary to complete the publication of his book. He left a considerable number of notes and illustrations which he had intended to introduce into his text. I have endeavoured to carry out those intentions.

Like Sir Guy I have, when in difficulty, turned to Mr. S. J. Whawell, who has generously given me the benefit of his great knowledge.

The Baron de Cosson has spared himself neither time nor trouble in courteously replying to the many inquiries that I have addressed him.

In writing his book Sir Guy Laking did not think it necessary to give precise references to the authorities from which he quoted; moreover, his authorities were often opinions of experts expressed to him *viva voce*. If I have succeeded in verifying most of the references to books, it has been mainly due to the help of Mr. Charles Beard, who possesses a wide and accurate acquaintance with the literature of Arms and Armour.

The author's old friends, Sir Edward Barry, Bart., Sir Henry Farnham Burke, K.C.V.O., Garter King of Arms, Mr. W. H. Fenton, J.P., Mr. J. Seymour Lucas, R.A., Mr. F. A. Harman Oates, F.S.A., and Mr. H. Plowman, F.S.A. have all helped me, and I thank them most sincerely.

FRANCIS HENRY CRIPPS-DAY.

38 YORK TERRACE, N.W.1
June 1920.

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A RECORD OF
EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS
THROUGH SEVEN CENTURIES
CHAPTER X

THE SALADE HEAD-PIECE FROM THE XIVTH TO THE XVTH CENTURIES



FOLLOWING the period in which the bascinet was the principal head-piece came that in which the salade, or sallet, held a similar position and was not only the favourite helmet for use in battle for nearly a century, but was also often employed in the joust. The salade period was, naturally, overlapped by that of the later forms of bascinets. There were also other types of helmets, such as the armet and the *chapel-de-fer*, which enjoyed their season of popularity at various times during the same period; but, save the armet, the salade is the only helmet of the time to which can be attached any very great importance, and accordingly we shall devote a chapter to considering it, in order that we may follow its development and examine its varieties without confusing our story by introducing into it the study of other types.

One of the first mentions of the salade in England appears in a poem known as "Chaucer's Dreme," although Chaucer is not generally accepted as its author, critics holding that it was written in the early part of the XVth century.

Ne horse, ne male, trusse, ne baggage,
Salad ne speare, gardbrace, nepage.

But even accepting this poem as belonging to the early years of the XVth century, the allusion is, for an English record, a very early mention of this form of head-piece, though to what type of helmet the "salad" in the poem refers we are rather at a loss to divine. That it was an open helmet its name tells us, the derivation being from *celata* (Italian) or *schale* (German = shell). We fully appreciate the fact that Italy was very greatly in advance of England in the matter of her body armour; so it may possibly be the case that one of the first forms of this helmet may be seen in those beautiful head-pieces of North Italian origin which were so closely copied

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from Greek and Etruscan bronze helmets of antiquity and which figured almost throughout the XVth century as the chief head-piece of the Italian knight. The development of the bascinet helmet into such a *salade* would have been a very easy step: it necessitated but the introduction of a stronger form of keel to the crest of the skull-piece, the depressing of its pointed apex, and finally the giving of a slight outward curl to its lower edge. From the earliest mention of the *salade* in England in the opening years of the XVth century one has to wait till about the years 1470-80 before it is first seen represented on any English effigy, when an example appears, of what we shall very broadly term the French or tailed type, on an effigy of a member of the Neville family in Brancepeth Church, Durham (Fig. 330). On the continent, however, a variety of forms of the Greek hoplite type are to be noted in Avanzi's frescoes in the chapel of St. George at Padua,

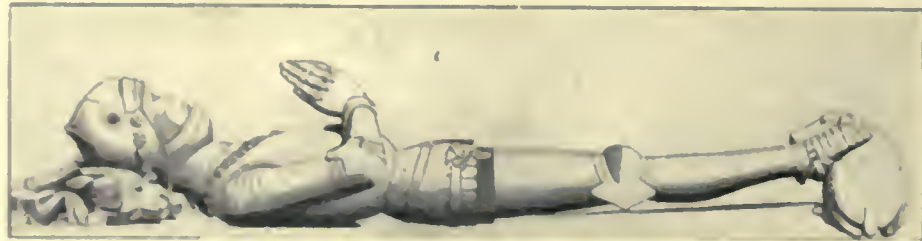


FIG. 330. FROM AN EFFIGY OF THE NEVILLE FAMILY
Possibly Ralph, second Earl of Westmorland, about 1470-80. Brancepeth Church, Durham
(After Stothard)

painted as early as 1385; while there are existing Italian *salades* which may safely be assigned to the middle of the XVth century, and of these we are able to present many illustrations.

Contemporary with the early Italian *salades* were those German forms which were half war hats and half *salades*. These were far less graceful in their outline than the Italian type of the same period; but existing specimens are nowadays much rarer. The German *Schallern* was an open helmet with a slight ridge and apex to the skull-piece and a brim that projected uniformly all round. It was large enough to cover the whole face, and the deep brim had a slit cut in it for the ocularium. We are unacquainted with any perfect specimen now existing in our English collections; although a portion of such a *salade* is in the collection of Sir Edward Barry at Ockwells Manor. There was formerly an example in the Londesborough collection, which is engraved in Fairholt's *Miscellanea Graphica*. In the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris there is an admirable example, H 46 (Fig. 331), together with a painted *picière*,

THE SALADE HEAD-PIECE

or horse breast-plate, representing two knights clad in armament which might well be assigned to the early years of the XVth century, jousting and wearing exactly this type of head-piece (Fig. 332). In the arsenal of Fürstenwalde on the Spree there is a representative German *Schallern* shown misleadingly upon a half suit of fluted armour of early XVIth century date (Fig. 333). It is safe to conclude that the Italian *Celata* and the German *Schallern* were the only contemporary head-pieces of the *salade* type worn when the *bascinet* was the almost universal helmet. The third and certainly the best known form of *salade* is that which is drawn out at the back



FIG. 331. SALADE OF THE GERMAN *SCHALLERN* TYPE, ABOUT 1440

H 46, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

to a tail, a form which, broadly speaking, may be described as the French type; although in the second half of the XVth century it was the popular head-piece of nearly all civilized Europe with perhaps the exception of Italy, which remained constant to the *Celata*-form. This French type consists in



FIG. 332. PAINTED *PICIÈRE* PROBABLY BURGUNDIAN

Ex coll. J. M. Soyter. G 533, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

a finely moulded skull-piece prolonged over the neck very much after the manner of a mariner's sou'wester. This tail-piece was occasionally composed of two or more laminated plates. In some cases a hinged visor was added in front; but often the ocularium was formed by a slit, or a double slit, in the skull-piece itself, as seen in the German *Schallern*. Although all *salades* are head-pieces of the greatest rarity, excellent examples of nearly all types can be inspected in our National collections. Perhaps the Wallace Collection shows us the greatest variety; for inclusive of those found on the suits numbered respectively 340 and 620, there are sixteen examples, all varying in form.

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We will, in the first place, describe those of the Italian order to be found in the Wallace Collection and elsewhere. Although we are aware that the Italian *Celata* was in use throughout the first half of the XVth century, we dare not assign any of the examples we illustrate to a date earlier than about 1450. In the Wallace Collection, No. 75 in the catalogue is perhaps one of the earliest with which we are acquainted (Fig. 334). It is of the so-called Hoplite type, having a finely moulded skull-piece with an acute keel-like section. The face-opening is shaped as the letter T, but the ocularia are eye-shaped and have round their border a reinforcing band, square in section, which was added to prevent a hostile weapon from glancing into them. The edge of the lower border is turned outwards, and is of triangular section. Around the middle of the skull is a row of flush-headed rivets for the attachment of the



FIG. 333. GERMAN *SCHALLERN*
German, about 1460. Arsenal of Fürstenwalde on the Spree

lining. An armourer's mark, probably that of Antonio da Missaglia, repeated three times, is on the right-hand side of the skull-piece at the back. This salade came from the collection of Sir Samuel Meyrick, to whom it was presented by M. Vendramini. It is illustrated in Skelton's "Engraved Illustrations of Antient Arms and Armour," vol. ii, Plate LXXIV. Next in point of interest is No. 39, which is also of the Hoplite form (Fig. 335). It even more closely resembles the Etruscan helmet and must have been suggested by the model of Theoplion. The skull is high and finely moulded, entirely forged from one piece, the ocularia taking the form of two oval apertures divided by a nasal guard; around the skull is a row of fourteen rosette-headed rivets for the attachment of the leather strap, still in position, to which could be sewn the lining. This helmet, which was formerly in the collection of the Comte de Nieuwerkerke, is North Italian, and might be dated within the third quarter

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of the XVth century. An Italian salade almost similar to No. 75 is No. 86 (Fig. 336), also of the classic type, having a finely moulded skull-piece with a keel of acute section, perforated with a hole for the attachment of the crest. The face-opening, formed as the letter T, is unlike the two just described, being quite rectangular; around the margin has been riveted a reinforcing band



FIG. 334. SALADE
North Italian, about 1450-70
No. 75, Wallace Collection

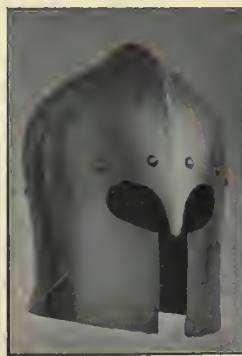


FIG. 335. SALADE
North Italian, about 1470
No. 39, Wallace Collection

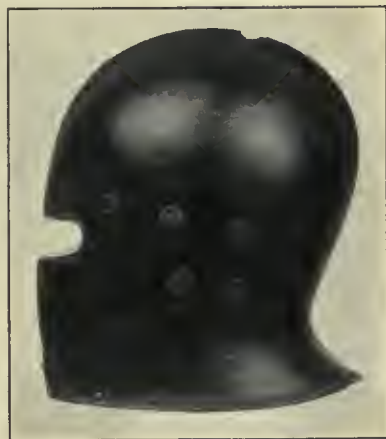


FIG. 336. SALADE
North Italian, about 1470. No. 86, Wallace Collection

(now missing) as in the case of No. 75. The armourer's mark upon this helmet, which appears twice at the back of the skull, is one akin to that used by the Missaglia of Milan. The surface of this salade is now painted. The other two salades of the Italian order in the Wallace Collection are Nos. 30 and 53. The former, crudely fashioned and of indifferent workmanship, was doubtless the helmet of an archer. The latter (Fig. 337), also an archer's

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head-piece, though of sounder construction, has the peculiarity of having its right cheek-piece hinged, in all probability to enable the wearer more readily to bend the head on one side when taking aim. These two salades belong to the third quarter of the XVth century.

This is a fitting opportunity to refer to a "find" of North Italian salades which took place a few years ago. They must all have come from the arsenal of some Italian castle, in the region of Padua; but, though we have made the most assiduous inquiries, we have up to the present been unable to ascertain positively the name of the place where they were discovered, a circum-



FIG. 337. SALADE PROBABLY WORN BY AN ARCHER Italian, about 1470. No. 53, Wallace Collection

stance due, doubtless, to the secrecy in which the dealers who first came upon them determined to involve the whole affair. From this group the first example was sold in Florence (Fig. 338, *a* and *b*). It is perhaps as grand a specimen as any known. Of great depth, its ocularia and face-opening are of T-shape form. At the back of the skull-piece is a Milanese mark of about 1470, three times repeated; while on the right-hand corner of the cheek-piece is a counter-mark, resembling the fore-part of the Lion of St. Mark seen full face. This salade is now in the collection of the Baron de Cosson. The next of the salades to appear in the market (Fig. 339) is in the same condition and is marked in precisely the same manner as the first example. It is a little shorter from the

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top of the skull-piece to the lower edge. This head-piece was purchased in Munich; but we have been able to trace it to the same Italian source. It is now in our own collection. A few months later five other salades were offered for sale through various channels, all of which we discovered came likewise from Italy. Three we illustrate (Figs. 340, 341, 342). Two (Figs. 340 and 341) are in our own collection, while the third (Fig. 342) is now in a collection at Munich. They all bear the same Milanese armourer's mark, and most of them the small counter-mark, the Lion of St. Mark. The other two salades of this same "find," both excellent examples, though of somewhat



(a)



(b)

FIG. 338. SALADE

North Italian, bearing a Milanese mark, also one that appears to be of Venetian origin
About 1470. Collection: Baron de Cosson

(a) Profile view

(b) Front view

smaller proportions, are in the collection of Mr. S. J. Whawell. All the head-pieces we have examined from this "find" are in the same satisfactory state of preservation, which makes us think that they had been kept together under the same atmospheric conditions. After this discovery the collector need not despair, the more so that in the summer of 1919 we acquired for our collection a North Italian salade of about 1470 of equal beauty and in equally fine condition. It is $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height and is illustrated in the frontispiece to this volume. It was found in a private house in England and has never before been described.

The Tower armoury contains a very fine example of an Italian salade with a strong reinforcing band around its T-shaped face-opening. The skull-

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piece of this *salade*, which was purchased by the Tower of London authorities at the Bernal Sale at Christie's in 1855, is most gracefully moulded to a keel-like form, and, like most of the other examples to which we have alluded, is



FIG. 339. SALADE

North Italian, bearing Milanese and Venetian marks. About 1470
Collection: Author



FIG. 340. SALADE

North Italian, bearing a Milanese mark
About 1470. Collection: Author



FIG. 341. SALADE

North Italian, bearing a Milanese mark
About 1470. Blued and trimmed with
gilt bronze. Collection: Author

deeply stamped at the back with a Milanese armourer's mark twice repeated, placed above which is a third though different Italian mark (Fig. 343).

In the same armoury is an almost similar *salade*, but of less graceful contour. It bears a different armourer's mark, though of Milanese origin, thrice repeated. Five other *salades* of the Italian order are also to be seen

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in the Tower collection, one of which, a late XVth century example, is covered with crimson velvet and studded with gilded head rivets and applied ornaments. It was purchased at the Peuker Sale.

In the Museum of Artillery at the Rotunda, Woolwich, is an Italian *salade* that is classed in the official catalogue of that Institution under the heading of Rhodes Armour, though what is meant to be inferred from this is difficult to determine. The suggestion seems to be that the example came from the Isle of Rhodes; but when imported and under what circumstances we have been at a loss to discover. This *salade* (Fig. 344) is of fine form, but somewhat small when compared with those we have been describing. The

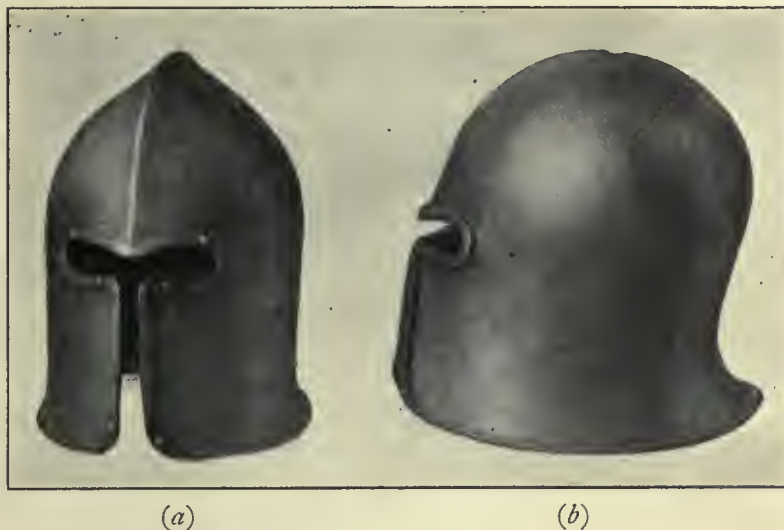


FIG. 342. SALADE

North Italian, bearing a Milanese mark. About 1470. In a private collection, Munich
(a) Front view; (b) Profile view

skull-piece is trimmed with a gilt bronze decorated border attached round the edge with bronze-headed rivets, while the plume holder, also in the same medium, which is fixed to the helmet in front, is engraved with a vase and flowers. It is well worth taking special notice of the illustration of this *salade*; for its exact type figures throughout the XVth century and even earlier in Italian pictorial and sculptural art. For example, at the end of the XIVth century, it is a head-piece of the knights painted on the Avanzi frescoes already referred to; while in the middle of the XVth century it is carved on the triumphal arch of Alphonso of Aragon, erected at the Castel Nuovo at Naples in 1470 (Figs. 345 and 346). In the splendidly modelled reliefs on this arch, the details of the Italian mid-XVth century armour are

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most accurately rendered; while it is remarkable to note that every head-piece depicted is a *salade* of the Italian type with the exception of that depicted on the central figure (Fig. 345), who wears a helmet resembling the *chapel-de-fer* worn with a strong *buffe*. In one of the illustrations showing these reliefs (Fig. 346) the *salade* which the knight immediately on the left of the central figure is represented as wearing has a peculiar interest, as it shows an outer covering to the helmet in the form of a lion's scalp, such as can be noted covering an actually extant *salade* (Fig. 355). The representation of a *salade* very like the Rotunda example is to be seen in a picture by Martino di Battista in the Imperial Picture Gallery, Vienna, where a



FIG. 343. SALADE

North Italian, bearing a Milanese armourer's mark. About 1470. Tower of London

young Venetian nobleman is portrayed holding just such a *salade*, and resting it partly on a balcony in front of him (Fig. 347). In this picture the skull-piece of the *salade* is encircled with a gilt metal wreath of oak foliage. To find mid-XVth century Italian *salades* decorated with applied gilded bronze ornaments is not uncommon; although in nearly every case the ornamentation was added at a later date, perhaps in the XVIth or even in the XVIIth century, when these really business-like head defences were sometimes enriched by these additions for use in pageants.

The late Mr. Morgan Williams, in his fine armoury at St. Donat's Castle, had a *salade* (Fig. 348) covered with gilt bronzework and velvet additions of the early years of the XVIIth century. He had these additions removed and then found himself the possessor of a fine *salade* of mid-

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XVth century date, bearing the armourer's mark of the famous Antonio da Missaglia (Fig. 348). Though excessively rare, XVth century salades with elaborate contemporary trimming of gilt bronze are known to be still extant. A splendid example (Fig. 349), with the decoration added in bold and simple good taste, is from our own collection. In the collection of Mr. S. J. Whawell is a head-piece which the Baron de Cosson declares



FIG. 344. SALADE

North Italian, about 1480. Museum of the Rotunda, Woolwich

to be one of the finest Italian salades in existence. It has the great depth of $12\frac{1}{4}$ inches. It retains a splendid blue-black surface and also, with the exception of a small part, its original trimmings of decorated gilt bronze around the edge. Only recently, on the back of the skull-piece, beneath a small deposit of rust, was found a Milanese armourer's mark. This fine salade Mr. Whawell obtained from Florence, where it was well known as one of the principal treasures of the collection of Signor S. Bardini (Fig. 350). Two other salades of the *Celata* order, but very richly decorated with velvet

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and applied bronze-gilt work, we illustrate. The finer of the two (Fig. 351), which was formerly in the Gatterburg Morosini Collection, Venice, has adornments which might be as early as the XVth century. The second (Fig. 352), now in the collection of Prince Ladislaus Odescalchi of Rome, is equally rich in appearance; but we consider that its bronze-gilt adornments must have been added for pageant purposes early in the XVIIth century. At Parham, in the late Lord Zouche's heterogeneous collection, are two good Italian salades, the more solid of which we should judge to be of Venetian make, dating from about 1470. The other is especially elaborate, being



FIG. 345. FROM THE TRIUMPHAL ARCH OF ALPHONSO OF ARAGON
Erected at the Castel Nuovo, Naples, in 1470

covered with crimson velvet upon which is applied a design in bronze gilt pierced *à jour* with a true arabesque scroll. The ornamentation is contemporary with the helmet itself, though curiously Moorish in character. This head-piece we should judge from its enrichments belongs to the closing years of the XVth century. The mention of this helmet brings to our mind the superb example in the Royal Armoury of Madrid, made by a member of the Negroli family towards the close of the XVth century (No. D 12, 1898 catalogue) (Fig. 353). The whole surface of this beautiful salade, the general outline of which closely follows those of the helmets of which we have been speaking, is overlaid with plaques of silver nielloed and incised with ornamentation of pronounced Hispano-Arabian origin.

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This oriental enrichment may have been the means of strengthening the belief that the *salade* was made for and worn by Boabdil, the last Moorish King of Granada; for this is its tradition recorded in the 1849 catalogue of the Madrid Armoury. That may or may not be true, but the fact remains however that this *salade* was in the armoury of the Emperor Charles V.

Though *salades* of the Italian form are of considerable rarity, many are to be seen in the armouries of the Continent—in Vienna, Berlin, Dresden, Munich, and Nuremberg. From the last-named collection we illustrate three (Fig. 354 *a, b, c*). The Poldi-Pezzoli Collection at Milan, and the *Museo*



FIG. 346. FROM THE TRIUMPHAL ARCH OF ALPHONSO OF ARAGON
Erected at the Castel Nuovo, Naples, in 1470

Civico and the Arsenal at Venice, contain examples. The Royal Armoury of Turin also possesses many specimens; indeed, it would be safe to say that most of the National Museums abroad possess *salades* of the Italian type. As to examples appearing in painting, almost every *cassone* of the end of the XVth century has a panel depicting them as head-pieces of the Italian knights.

There are but two other *salades* of the Italian *Celata* type to which we shall refer: they both represent somewhat different head-pieces from those we have already described and illustrated. One of the two helmets was formerly in the collection of Mr. A. C. Lafontaine, who purchased it in a shop near the Cattle Market, Oxford, on the advice of

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Mr. Seymour Lucas, R.A. The purchaser was told that it came originally from a mansion in the neighbourhood (Fig. 355). It is a curious salade, inclining to what we have termed the French or tailed variety. Fitting over the helmet itself is an outer covering of gilded copper, skilfully modelled and well chased to represent the scalp of a lion—the eyes of which are rendered in vitreous enamel. It has been suggested that this



FIG. 347. PORTRAIT OF A VENETIAN NOBLEMAN

Attributed to Martino di Battista da Udine *known as* Pellegrino da San Daniele.
Painted about 1490. Imperial Picture Gallery, Vienna

outer covering is work of the XVIIth century; but we have no hesitation in pronouncing it to be contemporary with the helmet. From its very close resemblance to that lion mask salade sculptured in the relief on the Alphonso of Aragon arch at Naples to which we have referred, we should think that the Lafontaine salade is of Italian origin; but, as the helmet is somewhat crudely fashioned, there is the possibility that it may be an English-made head-piece founded on an Italian model. The plausibility of this latter theory is somewhat strengthened by the circumstance that tradition

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has it that this helmet was originally part of the original armoury of the house from which it was obtained.

The salade of Italian form that we shall mention last is a very beautiful helmet in the possession of Viscount Astor, at Hever Castle, Kent (Fig. 356).



FIG. 348. SALADE

North Italian, bearing a Milanese mark
About 1470. Collection: Mr. Godfrey Williams



FIG. 349. SALADE

North Italian. About 1470
Collection: Author



FIG. 350. SALADE

North Italian, bearing a Milanese mark. About 1470. The surface blued, with bronze gilt enrichments. Collection: Mr. S. J. Whawell

Owing to the semi-oriental feature of its decoration Viscount Astor's helmet, like the salade in the Royal Armoury, Madrid, has been associated with the name of Boabdil. Be that as it may, this salade remains one of the most remarkable helmets of its type extant. The proportions of the head-piece are not large and the face-opening is wide. Above the ears

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are applied semi-cylindrical plates to render hearing less difficult. Following the lower edge of the helmet is a series of very large hemispherically headed rivets which, though they serve no other purpose than that of connecting the skull-piece with the leather thong to which the lining was attached, seem to lend to the helmet an appearance of strength. These exaggerated rivets are constantly found upon head-pieces of about this time—the third quarter of the XVth century. They are to be seen on the little *salade* worn by that curious XVth century figure known as Jack o'



FIG. 351. SALADE

North Italian, probably Venetian. About 1490, with enrichments added in the XVIth century
Formerly in the Collection Gatterburg Morosini, Venice

Southwold in Southwold Church, Essex (Fig. 357). The figure holds a halberd in the right hand and a falchion in the left, which latter used to strike a bell at the hours, when the figure was part of the church clock. But, apart from the rivets, a general likeness to the *salade* in Viscount Astor's collection can be noticed in the *salade* worn by the Jack o' Southwold. The same large rivets are also to be seen on a war hat in Mr. Frank B. Macomber's collection in Boston, U.S.A., and in a later form upon the fine war hat in the Wallace Collection.

It is not so much in its form as in its decoration that the Hever Castle helmet is remarkable. A silent reminder of past pomp and grandeur,

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it is almost the only existing example of anything of its kind. The whole surface of the salade has been roughened by even cross-hatching, and on to this surface a thin sheeting of gold has been hammered, then burnished, and afterwards tooled with a series of dual lines conforming to the general decoration of the helmet. To enrich this head-piece further, over the face of the skull-piece apertures have been cut in groups, pear-shaped and round, into which have been inserted beautiful little arabesque designs executed in gold cloisons filled with translucent enamel. These are retained in position at the back by a lining of thin iron which covers the entire inner surface of the salade. The colouring of the enamel is vivid and beautiful. Many



FIG. 352. SALADE

North Italian. About 1490, with enrichments added in the XVIIth century
Collection: Prince Ladislaus Odescalchi, Rome

theories exist as to the origin of this helmet. Moorish Spain and Venice seem to make the best claim to its production; in our opinion, it should be credited to the latter place.

It is by comparison of the enamel panels on this helmet with the only two other examples of like enamel applied to military equipment, with which we are acquainted in England, that we arrive at this conclusion. These enamels of the same technique and brilliancy are to be seen on the famous Forman stirrups (Fig. 358), now in the collection of Lady Ludlow, and on portions of a bridle in the British Museum (Fig. 359).

After most careful consideration, and comparison, these stirrups and the plaques from the bridle have both been pronounced to be of Venetian origin and workmanship of the latter part of the XVth century. So, on the

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ground of their kinship to these enamels we feel justified in attributing those found on Viscount Astor's helmet to the art and workmanship of late XVth century Venice, rather than to Moorish Spain; though the enrichment on the head-piece bears a general resemblance to the decoration found upon the Hispano-Moorish swords of the time of the Spanish Conquest, yet we must bear in mind the Moorish influence on Venetian art at this period. Viscount Astor's salade is one of those recent discoveries that from time to time surprise and delight the collecting world. It was practically unknown up



FIG. 353. SALADE OF THE VENETIAN ORDER

Late XVth century. From the armoury of Charles V. D 12, Royal Armoury, Madrid

to about fifteen years ago, when it was purchased from a small private collection in the Château de Pérignen, Finhan, France, and afterwards sold to Viscount Astor at a figure far in excess of any price ever paid for an individual piece of plate armour.

The next family or group of salade head-pieces which we shall consider are those of the tailed order which we have very vaguely termed "French," to distinguish them from the types already dealt with. We call the class "French" merely because the form appears to have originated in France; but as a matter of fact almost immediately on its introduction the French salade found universal favour, especially in Germany, where the finest examples are

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still to be seen. The Italians, however, remained constant to a slightly modified *Celata* type. It was a comparatively easy task to deal with the Italian *Celata* and the German *Schalern*, as there was little variation in their forms; but in discussing the "French" type greater difficulties are encountered, many varying shapes being met with, all of which must be placed under the same general head. We will sub-divide this class into three divisions: those provided with movable visors and with or without laminated tail-pieces: those fashioned from a single piece: and lastly and latest in date



FIG. 354

- (a) Salade, North Italian, about 1470. (It would appear that the face opening in this helmet has been altered, probably in contemporary times)
(b) Salade, Italian, about 1480. (c) Salade, North Italian, about 1470
All in the National Germanic Museum, Nuremberg.

those in which the elaboration of the parts almost converts the salade into a close helmet of the armet type. To simplify our subject, and to deal with each of these varieties entirely separately, and at the same time to keep up anything like a chronological order in our description of existing pieces, is quite impossible; inasmuch as the types overlapped one another, and were to a great extent contemporary. For instance, a simple salade forged from one piece may date late in the XVth century; while a visored example may be found of an earlier period, and *vice versa*.

We shall first mention the visored tailed salade, because we are able to



FIG. 355. SALADE OF NORTH ITALIAN TYPE

About 1470, but possibly of English workmanship. A casing of copper gilt fits over the iron salade. Formerly in the collections of Mr. A. C. Lafontaine and Herr Böhler and now in the National Bavarian Museum, Munich

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record a very early example that we can place within the first half of the XVth century. It is, however, to America that we have now to turn for this representative specimen. It is in the collection of Dr. Bashford Dean of New



FIG. 356. SALADE, PROBABLY VENETIAN

About 1480-90. Of iron, plated with gold, and enriched with cloisonné enamel
Collection: Viscount Astor, Hever Castle

York, who obtained it from the Baron Vedal de Levy. It was originally discovered at Meuse, France (Fig. 360). In form the skull-piece rises to a high pointed and ridged crown. The tail-piece is short, and hinged immediately below the position in which one is accustomed to look for the visor rivets; while the visor itself, if it may be so named, is attached to the front of the

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skull-piece in the manner of a reinforcing plate. It may be added that this *salade* is studded with pewter-capped rivets. From the place of its discovery we may look upon it as being of French origin, a typical example of the head-piece then becoming popular in France. A second *salade* of very much the same family of head-piece, small in proportions, but in this instance furnished with a movable visor, is in Sir Edward Barry's collection at Ockwells Manor (Fig. 361). This little head-piece was likewise found in France. Its peculiarity



FIG. 357. JACK O' SOUTHWOLD
Southwold Church, Essex



FIG. 358. STIRRUP, ONE OF A PAIR
Venetian, about 1490. Collection: Lady Ludlow

is the shallowness of the lower part of its visor below the ocularium. Indeed, its general proportions very much resemble those of the *salade* head-piece represented on that beautiful painted stone head in the Musée Historique d'Orléans, which by some authorities is considered to be a fragment of the monument erected in the XVth century to the Maid of Orleans, Jeanne d'Arc (Fig. 362). René de Belleval, in his *Costume Militaire*, quotes from a French MS. of about 1446 who describes such a head-piece worn with the armour of the time in language that leads one to suppose that the *salade* was coming into

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general use: "*La tierce armeure*" (*de teste*) "*et la plus comune et la meilleure à mon semblant est l'armeure de teste qui se appelle sallades.*" Although we have accepted the Bashford Dean salade as being of French origin, we must admit that its proportions very closely resemble those of the head-piece on the Neville effigy to which we have already referred. On the brass, too, of Sir Robert Staunton in Castle Donnington Church, Leicestershire, the visored salade may be seen most clearly represented (Fig. 363). The date of this brass is about 1455, which illustrates clearly how very difficult it is, even when some marked national characteristic is present, to assign with



FIG. 359. PORTIONS OF A BRIDLE
Venetian, about 1480. British Museum

certainty a helmet, or, in fact, any piece of armour to any given country, on the mere ground of a general similarity of form.

At a date closely following that of these head-pieces come the strange high-crowned salades that are peculiar to England, and which are the virtual prototypes of the English armet. The famous Warwick pageant, designed about 1475, shows salades of the tailed order in the drawing depicting the battle of Shrewsbury. These salades have high-crowned skull-pieces, with a reinforcing piece at the front, and also the movable visor (Fig. 364). For a representation of an extant example of salade of this type we can do no better than illustrate that now hanging in the St. Mary's Hall of Coventry, known as the helmet of "Peeping Tom," a helmet which probably owes its preservation to the fact of its having been formerly used each year in the Lady Godiva procession (Fig. 365 *a* and *b*). It is a fine English-made salade of the third

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quarter of the XVth century. The skull-piece is forged entirely from one piece, with a strongly accentuated ridge running up the centre and terminating in an acute point, in the manner of the basinet helmet. To the apex has been



FIG. 360. SALADE
French type, about 1440
Collection: Dr. Bashford Dean, New York



FIG. 361. SALADE
French, about 1450
Collection: Sir Edward Barry, Bart.

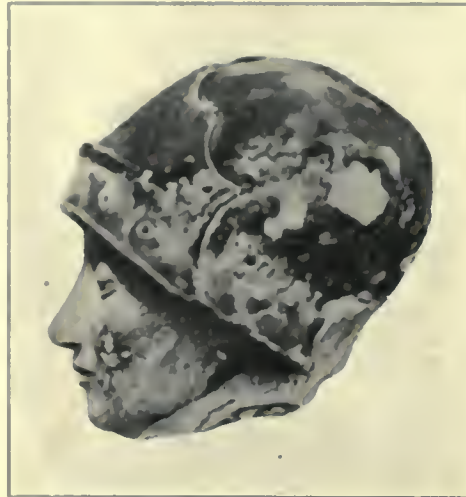


FIG. 362. COLOURED STONE HEAD
Believed to represent that of Joan of Arc, from her monument at Orleans, erected in the XVth century. It will be noted that the back portion of the head-piece is broken off
Musée Historique, Orleans

roughly riveted a tubular plume-holder, which, if not contemporary, is a very old addition. The tail-piece is not long, nor the visor deep; but both are very strongly made. A reinforcing plate with an angled upper edge is riveted above

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the ocularium, which is unusually wide, and is formed by the space between the lower edge of the skull-piece and the top of the visor, in precisely the same manner as one sees in the case of the armets of the same period. Around the centre of the skull-piece is a series of hemispherically headed rivets which held the leather strap for the attachment of the lining. The small rivets upon which the visor is pivoted are the original ones. The surface of this fine salade, which has never had anything done to it, is now a russet-brown with a bronze-like patina.

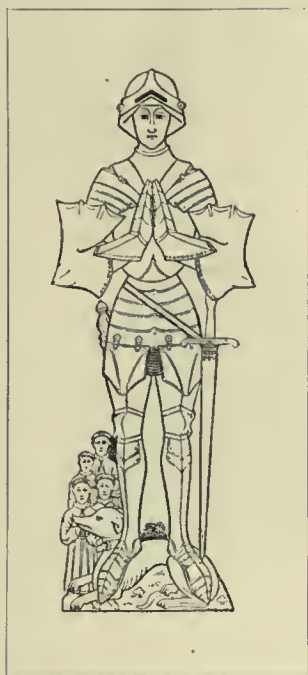


FIG. 363. FROM THE BRASS OF SIR ROBERT STAUNTON
Castle Donnington Church, Leicestershire. About 1455



FIG. 364. FROM THE WARWICK PAGEANT
Drawn about 1475. This portion of the drawing represents the battle of Shrewsbury, 1403

Next in the matter of date comes a group of salades, examples of which are shown in the British Museum, in the Tower and elsewhere, entirely forged from one piece. The ocularium in these is formed by a slit in the rim of the salade, which rim is broad enough to cover half the face. The ocularia served no useful purpose when the salade was worn tilted back on the head, as was customary when the wearer was not engaged in actual combat; but when it was drawn down so as to protect the face, the ocularia came into their correct position. Of these one-piece salades, we will first illustrate the example in the Wallace Collection, No. 31 (Fig. 366), not from

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the point of view of its quality of make, which indeed is somewhat mediocre, but because it is easily accessible for study. The skull has a slight ridge formed to an acute angle. The ocularium is $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the lower edge of the helmet. The row of rivets which runs round the centre of the skull served for the attachment of a strap, to which the lining could be sewn. We are inclined to consider this *salade*, which was one of those formerly in the collection of the Comte de Nieuwerkerke, as of German manufacture and as dating probably within the last years of the first half of the XVth century. Next we will refer to the *salade* in the bequest made by the late Mr. W. Burges to the British Museum, which is also German, and of



(a)



(b)

FIG. 365. SALADE

French fashion, but probably of English workmanship, about 1460-70
St. Mary's Hall, Coventry

(a) Profile view

(b) Front view

about the same period. Its workmanship, like that of the Wallace specimen, is not of the best; but its general outline is more vigorous, and its greater depth lends it an appearance of solidity (Fig. 367). In the collection of the Baron de Cosson is a *salade* much like the British Museum example, but it is of far finer workmanship, though a little later in date. It was purchased from the Soeter Collection, Augsburg. It appears to be of German make; though it is now associated with a bevor which is apparently of North Italian workmanship (Fig. 368). The Artillery Museum in the Rotunda at Woolwich shows a more unusual *salade*, remarkable for its great depth and for the very slight projection of its tail (Fig. 369). If it be compared with the three *salades* just described, which are of the less uncommon "tailed" order

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of the second half of the XVth century, its peculiarities will be the more clearly seen. A series of rivets, flush on the outside, held a strap just above



FIG. 366. SALADE

French fashion, but probably of German workmanship, about 1450-60
No. 31, Wallace Collection



FIG. 367. SALADE

French fashion, but of German workmanship, about 1460-70
Collection: the late Mr. W. Burges, British Museum



FIG. 368. SALADE

French fashion, but of German workmanship, about 1470-80; the bevor North Italian, about 1480
It bears the Missaglia and Negroli marks. From the armoury of Philip the Fair and Charles V; salade and bevor in the collection of the Baron de Cosson

the level of the slit for the eyes, to which the wadded cap or lining was sewn. The bottom edge is rolled outwards over a wire; but the rolled edge does not, as is usually the case, project beyond the level of the outer surface of

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the *salade*. When the Baron de Cosson described this *salade* in "Ancient Helmets and Mail" (1881), he stated that he considered it of earlier date than the preceding type of *salade*. In shape it approaches more nearly the *chapel-de-fer* with a slit in it, which may have suggested the origin of this "tailed" or French type. The possible date of this *salade* is from about 1440. Like much of the XVth century armour in the Rotunda, it is stated to have come from the Isle of Rhodes.

From the same source, the Museum of Artillery also acquired two other *salades*; one of unique form (Fig. 370), which has the rivets for the lining and chin straps nearly flush with the outside. There is no ridge. Some



FIG. 369. SALADE
In the Rotunda, Woolwich



FIG. 370. SALADE
Of about 1460-1500
In the Rotunda, Woolwich

experts have attributed a Flemish origin to it, but there is no representation of it on any monument to support this view. The other (Fig. 372) is a fine example, part of the tail has received a blow and is turned up, and the rivets are to be specially noticed.

Examples of these *salades* are constantly to be met with represented on the sculpture of the period. One can be seen on that fine carved wood statuette in the late Baron Ferdinand Rothschild bequest to the British Museum which Sir Hercules Read describes as German, but which in our opinion might easily be Northern French (Fig. 371).

A rather different type of *salade*, but one possibly as early as any of the tailed order that we have described, is a fine little helmet in the Wallace Collection (Fig. 373). This is a splendid specimen, retaining its original russet-

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coloured surface and studded with hemispherical headed rivets of a large size. It will be noticed that across the skull-piece, immediately above the forehead, is applied a plate, the upper edge of which is scalloped. This may have been done to reinforce the helmet, or possibly to lend it the appearance of having a pivoted visor. There is in the Tower Armoury another such *salade*; but it is a less satisfactory specimen, having suffered from rough handling and over-cleaning. A *salade* of almost similar form, and, we imagine, the work of the same armorer, forms part of the original armoury of the arsenal of



FIG. 371. CARVED WOOD
STATUETTE OF ST. MICHAEL
French, about 1460. Collec-
tion: the late Baron Ferdi-
nand Rothschild, British
Museum



FIG. 372. SALADE
In the Rotunda, Woolwich

Venice (Fig. 374). In our opinion it was this form of *salade* that found favour with the unmounted knight, the head-piece being light, of good protective quality at the back, and of small proportions. It could be worn alike with the standard of mail and bevor, or even when the face was unprotected, a fashion that was much in vogue for combats on foot. The French gallant and great champion of his day, Jacques de Lalain, greatly favoured the little *salade*, and did much to make it popular, especially for combats on foot in the *champ clos*. In the early days of his fighting the *bascinet* helmet was his head-piece; but he fought "*sans visière et à visage*

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découvert." In other words he removed the visor from his bascinet. In his famous fight with the Scottish knight, James Douglas, his face was exposed, while the Scot, "*combattoit en bassinnet la visière fermée.*" In



FIG. 373. SALADE

French fashion, but possibly of North Italian make, about 1480. No. 76, Wallace Collection



FIG. 374. SALADE

French fashion, but possibly of North Italian make, about 1480. The Arsenal, Venice

almost his next fight we read of Jacques de Lalain encountering the same Douglas, but wearing "*une petite sallade de guerre toute ronde et avoit le visage et le col tout découvert.*" It is Olivier de la Marche who in

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wonderfully vivid word pictures gives descriptions of the fights of the illustrious Lalain. In all his later combats de Lalain is to be found wearing a salade in combination with the collar or standard of mail, but rarely the bevor.



FIG. 375. SALADE

French type, but of German make, about 1470-80. Possibly used by mounted archers
No. 77, Wallace Collection

In Chastelain's *Chronique du Bon Chevalier Messire Jacques de Lalain*, he adds this description of his salade, "*un chapeau de fer d'ancienne façon, qu'on avoit approprié pour ce faire.*" In fact, it was an old *chapel-de-fer* cut

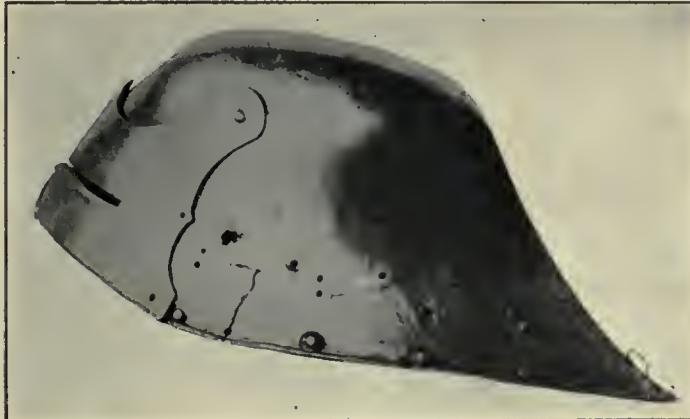


FIG. 376. SALADE

French type, but of German make, about 1470-80. Museo Civico, Venice

and altered to suit the taste of this knight, who disregarded the conventions of armament. All degrees of fighting men wore the salade during the last three-quarters of the XVth century—the noble, the knight, the soldier, and the archer. The Baron de Cosson gives it as his opinion that the

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elongated, though somewhat poorly constructed class of *salade* with movable visor that is to be found in many of the museums of Europe, was used by the archer.

There is an excellent specimen, representative of this type of *salade*, in the Wallace Collection (Fig. 375). It has the lifting visor. The skull-piece is without a comb, but becomes ridged at the tail, the lower edge being strongly curved so that the helmet could be thrown well back on the head when not in use. The hinged visor, coming to a flattened point at the top, is pierced with a narrow slit which forms the ocularium, below which it slightly projects. Around the border is a series of twin holes by which the lining is secured. This example came from the collection of the Comte de Nieuwerkerke, having previously been in the possession of M. Louis



FIG. 377. SALADE FOR AN ARCHER
English, about 1480.
Collection: Mr. Henry G. Keasby

Carrand. The Baron de Cosson, describing an exactly similar *salade* in his own possession, remarks: "The small holes, in pairs, were for the purpose of sewing in a lining which covered the inside of the visor. . . . It is curious that this arrangement, which must have made the head-piece more comfortable, was not adopted in the heavier *salades* of knights; but it was perhaps thought more necessary in a light head-piece like this, which would be driven against the face by a heavy blow and was probably worn without a bevor." M. Viollet-le-Duc gives an engraving of two archers from a manuscript of

the *Passages d'outre Mer*, who are wearing this form of *salade*, and the front view shows no bevors being worn with them. These *salades* are also peculiar in the flattish tops of their crowns, which have no ridge whatever; they are remarkable, too, for their great length from front to back. M. Viollet-le-Duc describes and engraves the Wallace example. The knight in Dürer's engraving, "The Knight, Death and the Devil," and the brothers Stephen and Lucas Baumgärtner in the portraits of them painted by this master on the wings of the Baumgärtner altar-piece in the old Pinakothek at Munich, all wear *salades* of this type. There are two similar *salades* in the Tower; one, painted on the outside, from the castle of Ort, in Bavaria, the other purchased at the sale of the arms and armour of the Baron de Cosson in 1893.

Another *salade*, almost of the same type, though somewhat shorter,

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used to be in the collection of M. Gayeski, in Mgowo, Poland, a collection dispersed some twenty-five years ago.

The suit made by Antonio da Missaglia and said to have been worn by Robert of San Severino of Naples in 1487, which is preserved in the Imperial Armoury, Vienna (see vol. i, Fig. 216), has associated with it a similar German make of salade head-piece, which has its surface painted with a chequered design. Two other salades of this kind may be mentioned, one in the Musée d'Artillerie (H 41, 1890 Catalogue), the other at Venice in the Museo Civico (Fig. 376).

An English variety of what we should imagine was an archer's salade is in the collection of Mr. Henry G. Keasby. This little head-piece, little better than a skull-cap with a slight tail to it, is interesting as having been found in London on the site of the Fortune Theatre in



FIG. 379. SALADE
German, about 1480. National
Bavarian Museum, Munich

II



FIG. 378. SALADE
German, Augsburg make, about 1490
Collection: Prince Ladislaus Odescalchi,
Rome

Golden Lane. Although it is impossible to date it with any degree of precision, we should imagine it to belong to the closing years of the XVth century (Fig. 377).

When we come to deal with the heavy knightly salade of the "tailed" variety with the lifting visor, head-pieces hardly ever worn without the bevor, we are obliged to turn to the continent for complete examples, since there are no specimens of this type in English collections. The prolific Wallace Collection shows us no such salade, neither does the Tower, nor any private collection with which we are acquainted. The skull-piece of these heavy salades may be drawn out into the tail itself, as in the case of that very splendid

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FIG. 380. SALADE
German, about 1480. National Germanic Museum,
Nuremberg

Fig. 244); while the National Bavarian Museum of Munich contains a particularly representative example, which we illustrate (Fig. 379). It is a superb specimen, elaborate and complete in construction, and belonging to the last quarter of the XVth century. Unfortunately in the illustration the laminated plates on the tail-piece are not clearly defined. In the National Germanic Museum of Nuremberg there is a fine salade with a tail-piece of five laminated plates and a large ample visor; it bears the Nuremberg guild mark (Fig. 380). A salade of much the same type is to be seen in the Rotunda at Woolwich (Fig. 380a).

The last and most complete variety of the salade helmet reverts in the formation of its skull-piece to that of the Italian *Celata* type, amplified with a very protective visor and often with reinforced forehead plates, such as are seen on the armet or close helmet of the time. However, unlike the Italian *Celata*, the salade in its final form, though possibly originating in Italy, was not used exclusively by Italians,

helmet formerly in the collection of Herr Franz Thill of Vienna, and now in that of Prince Ladislaus Odescalchi, a specimen that leaves nothing to be desired either as regards form or condition (Fig. 378). Rarer still are those salades of which the laminated tail-plates give a certain play to the extended neck covering. The Imperial Armoury of Vienna exhibits such salades upon the suits of Sigismund "The Wealthy" of the Tyrol, in a complete form (see vol. i,



FIG. 380a. SALADE
The Rotunda Museum, Woolwich

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but was copied by other nations, notably by the Germans.

There is an example of this purely Italian form of the latest shape assumed by the *salade* in the bequest of M. Louis Carrand to the Bargello Museum, Florence; indeed, of its kind, it is as fine a specimen to illustrate as any with which we are acquainted (Fig. 381). Here is the *salade* indeed in its most elaborate form; for besides possessing the hinged tail-piece, the reinforced skull-piece, and the full bellows visor, may be noted an added chin-piece which is attached to secondary underlying cheek plates. This chin-piece opens down the front in the



FIG. 381. SALALE

North Italian, about 1500

Collection: Monsieur L. Carrand. Now in the Bargello Museum, Florence

manner of those seen upon the close helmets or armets of the XVth century. This is a perfect protective head-piece, and one worthy of the closest study; for apart from the interest it possesses from being the most elaborately constructed example known, its condition leaves nothing to be desired. It has not suffered at all from rust, and is remarkably thick and heavy; while the surface bears a patina of a fine dark blue-black colour.



FIG. 382. SALADE

North Italian, about 1500. Armoury of the Knights of St. John, Malta (No. 439, 1902 Catalogue)

Next we will illustrate a national treasure, a really fine and complete specimen (Fig. 382) of an Italian *salade* in the armoury of the Knights of St. John at the Palace, Malta (No. 439, 1902 Catalogue). Here the skull-piece has a finely moulded crown-piece finishing in cabling of the Maximilian order, the front portion strengthened by a reinforcing plate. The back of the skull is out-curved to form a neck guard, the whole of the edging being turned under to make it blunted and less marked, as one finds to be the rule in nearly all armour of the XVth century. The visor is of

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the bellows form, with a few longitudinal slits for breathing purposes. The surface is now blue-black in colour—perhaps as originally produced. It is also delicately etched with ornamental designs of acanthus leaves, upon which are traces of gilding. This fine and rare *salade*, certainly one of the greatest treasures of the armoury at Malta, was, until the re-arrangements made there by the present writer, set upon one of the three-quarter suits of XVIIth century armour which once lined the walls of the gallery. The head-piece, together with the suit, had received from time to time coats of paint, entirely obscuring the delicate etching, which only appeared on the



FIG. 383. SALADE

North Italian, about 1500. It bears an armourer's mark of the Missaglia family
No. G 8, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris



FIG. 384. SALADE

North Italian, about 1500, etched and gilt.
From a suit numbered G 9, Musée
d'Artillerie, Paris

former after it had been subjected to several baths of potash and hot water. We consider that this *salade* dates within the last quarter of the XVth century. Milan was probably the place of its manufacture; for, although it is unmarked, it closely resembles certain head-pieces of the Missaglia school, as, for instance, the *salade* in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris, which appears upon a suit numbered G 8. This helmet we know to be actually the work of a Missaglia, as it bears the mark of that family several times repeated (Fig. 383). It has a reinforcing plate riveted to the skull-piece. Two other *salades* of the same nature are also to be seen in the Musée d'Artillerie (Figs. 384 and 385). Both, however, show certain differ-

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ences, one (Fig. 385) having the visor attached on the hinge principle of the XVth century bascinets or armets.

Of the latest and most complete form of salade, Nos. 79, 80, 82, and 87 are the examples to be seen in the Wallace Collection; but as three of these are of German origin we shall refer to them later. In the Windsor armoury is a head-piece somewhat made up, but it has a genuine visor of bellows form. It is to be seen on a suit (No. 56 in the 1902 Catalogue) partly of modern manufacture, which was sent from the Tower of London to Windsor Castle in 1901 merely for the purpose of filling an empty bracket on the grand staircase of the Castle. In the Tower collection this



FIG. 385. SALADE

North Italian, about 1500. It will be noted that the visor could be removed on the hinge-and-pin principle of the XVth century armet and earlier bascinet
H 45, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

latest form of salade is not represented. Of the Wallace examples No. 80 (Fig. 386) is the finest and most complete. The skull-piece is of finely moulded keel form, reinforced in the front. A hinged tail-piece completes the back, the lower border of which is turned upwards. The visor may be compared to the bellows type with four ridges, and is of the Maximilian order, pierced with thirty-four circular holes for ventilation. The ocularium is formed by the space between the edge of the skull-piece and the top of the visor. The probable date of this complete salade, which appears to be North Italian in origin, is about 1480 to 1500. It came from the collection of the Comte de Nieuwerkerke. There are other good Italian examples, which might be illustrated, in the collection of Prince Ladislaus

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Odescalchi, at Rome, in the Royal Armoury of Turin, and in the Poldi-Pezzoli Collection, Milan; while in the collection of Signor S. Bardini of



FIG. 386. SALADE

North Italian, about 1500
No. 80, Wallace Collection

Florence and in the Wallace Collection (No. 62) are shown specimens of this type of salade etched and gilded in the Missaglia manner, which have lost their visors. The Wallace salade (Fig. 387), a finely decorated specimen, has a slightly ridged skull-piece with a single tail-plate, the lower edge of which is finished by being turned inwards on a wire. A plate, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide, runs across the forehead. For beauty of outline and of decoration, however, no extant Italian salade of the Missaglia school can bear comparison with that splendid example which, formerly the property of the Grand Duke Michael Paulowitch, passed, at his death in 1866, into the Tsarskoe Selo of

Petrograd (Fig. 388). The skull-piece is somewhat high with a strongly defined but slightly flattened comb. Secured by rivets at the sides are three laminated tail-plates which, like the very beautifully modelled plate that reinforces the forehead, are furnished with rosette-headed washers. This latter plate is gracefully fluted into grooves radiating from the centre to the upper edge, which is shaped in bat's-wing fashion. The foliage design with which the whole of the plate is finely etched introduces on its dexter side a shield with thirteen points, and on the sinister side the armorial bearings of the Bentivoglio family; while above them are smaller shields etched respectively with an eagle, surmounted by a ribbon inscribed



FIG. 387. SALADE

North Italian, about 1500. School of Missaglia
No. 62, Wallace Collection

SVS . MIHI (nunc mihi) and a bull with a lily between its horns. There is a tradition that this fine head-piece was made for Ercole Bentivoglio of Bologna (1459-1507), a tradition which probably has some foundation, for the eagle

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and the bull, seen in the auxiliary shields, figure in the arms of Barbara Torelli, to whom Ercole Bentivoglio was married, while the helmet seems to answer well enough to Ercole's period. There is one puzzling motif for which we cannot satisfactorily account, the word *NESPOLA* (signifying the fruit medlar), repeated four times in the grooves of the forehead-piece. It has been suggested that *NESPOLA* might be a battle cry, abbreviated from *dare nespole*—to give a beating; but if that were the case the spelling should certainly be *NESPOLE* and not *NESPOLA*. At the back of the skull-piece is an



FIG. 388. SALADE

Milanese, second half of the XVth century, said to have been made for Ercole Bentivoglio (b. 1459, d. 1507). Collection: Tsarskoe Selo, Petrograd

armourer's mark (much rubbed), which we must confess resembles but little that employed by the Missaglia family, to whom we should have otherwise unhesitatingly ascribed this most beautiful head-piece. The mark is most probably of Milanese origin, but unlike any of which we have a record.

Contemporary illustrations of salades of this type are numerous; and among the best-known pictures in which an example figures is the fine painting of a youthful warrior by Francesco Torbido in the Uffizi, Florence, formerly described as the portrait of the General Gattamelata (see vol. i, page 194, Fig. 230). In this picture a head-piece of grand proportions

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is represented; the surface is blue-black, with delicately fashioned enrichments of bronze, gilt, or possibly silver-gilt. There is ample record to show the high pitch to which the decoration of salades was carried. The Negroli *Celata* in the Royal Armoury, Madrid, which we described among those of the Italian form (Fig. 353), has applied silver plates to increase its splendour. Another salade of the "tailed" or French type in the same collection is adorned in a precisely similar manner (Fig. 389). This, like the other salade at Madrid, is also the work of a Negroli, the only other instance, we believe, of



FIG. 389. SALADE

French type, but the work of a Negroli of Milan, about 1500. From the armoury of Charles V D 13, Royal Armoury, Madrid

that family of armourers producing a head-piece on these lines. Like its companion *Celata* it was in the Armoury of Charles V, and bears the same tradition attaching to it of having been originally made for Boabdil (No. D 13, 1892 Catalogue). It will be noted in the illustration that in addition to the tail-piece being a separate plate and riveted to the skull, the decorated borders are likewise applied. The engraving upon the surface is exquisite, and the ornamentation is beautifully balanced; but it is possibly a little more Hispano-Moorish in design than the decoration of the other salade in the same collection.

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We have remarked on an earlier page that this very completely visored salade with the *Celata* form of skull-piece was made in countries other than Italy. The Wallace Collection contains three of German origin, one of which we will illustrate; while on certain of the magnificent suits in the Imperial Armoury of Vienna may be seen such head-pieces, the work of noted German armourers. Of the Wallace helmets of this type No. 82 (Fig. 390) is the most typically German. The skull-piece is flattened, and has a low comb of rectangular section, with a hollow groove running down the centre. On either side are four radiating rows of fluting. The tail-piece is composed of three plates. The hinged visor, which is attached by conical-headed rivets, contains oblong apertures forming the ocularia, below which are pierced and embossed ridges and two series of holes for ventilation. This salade was purchased by the Comte de Nieuwerkerke from the citadel of Seragavow. The other two salades of this type in the Wallace Collection are Nos. 79 and 87, both more or less of the same form and of the same nationality of origin.

Putting aside the Coventry example (Fig. 365 *a* and *b*) and the small archer's salade (Fig. 377), the type of salade head-piece which was worn in England in the latter part of the XVth century, and which may be looked upon as of English make, appears to be a head-piece which is a mixture of the Italian and "tailed" types, inclining perhaps rather to the former. One can only judge what the English made salades may have been like by referring to those very few specimens to be seen in English churches, where they are in some cases placed above tombs dating nearly two generations later than the make of the salades. True, two of the examples we illustrate (Figs. 391 and 392) have had mesails and chin-pieces added in the XVIth century; but none the less the skull-pieces are XVth century work, and as such must have represented the ordinary type of English made salade common in this country toward the close of that century. These head-pieces were then going rapidly out of fashion; so that probably they were bought up as out-of-date helmets by the funeral furnishers of the time to be adapted as one sees them for heraldic purposes, much after the manner they treated the Italian armet at a later period. The first example (Fig. 391) appears to be the earliest of the three. It is in Harefield Church, Middlesex. The skull-



FIG. 390. SALADE
North Italian type, but of German make, about 1500
No. 82, Wallace Collection

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piece, which is pointed at the top after the manner of the English made armets illustrated on pages 93-4 (Figs. 445 and 446), extends to a tail-piece of some length, and might date within the third quarter of the XVth century. The workmanship is sound, but not fine—portions of a visor and a mesail and a chin-piece of the period of Elizabeth have been added to it. The next salade that seems to be of English make is in East Shefford Church, Lambourne, Berks. The skull-piece of this example (Fig. 392), to which was added a mesail for funerary purposes in the XVIth century, is not pointed, and is possibly of about 1480, and therefore of somewhat later date than the



FIG. 391. SALADE

The skull-piece probably English, about 1460-70. Harefield Church, Middlesex

Harefield example. The third salade (Fig. 393), which might also be of English make, though it is very Italian in form, is to be seen in Hexham Abbey; in the guide books it is described as having been worn by Sir John Fenwick, who was killed at Marston Moor in 1644. Since, however, the salade dates from the fourth quarter of the XVth century, the story is most improbable, but it is possible that it is a relic of the battle of Hexham, fought in 1464.

Richness of adornment of arms and of armour seems always to reach its culminating points in the ornature of the helmet and the sword hilt. We mentioned a record of the richness of the decoration of the bascinet helmet (vol. i, pages 230-2). The evidence of contemporary annals furnish proof of

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even more profuse luxury in the case of the salade. In the privy purse expenses of King Henry VII (Bentley's *Excerpta Historica*) are these entries: "Delivered by the Kinges commandement for diverse peces of cloth of gold, and for certain and many precyouse stones and riche perlis bought of Lambardes for the garnyshing of salades, shapues [meaning *chapeaux* or *chapeles-de-fer*] and helemytes agenst the King's noble voyage, £3800"; and later: "To John Vandelf for garnyshing of a salett, £38. 1. 4." At the same time we find among the privy purse expenses of Elizabeth of York, Queen to Henry VII, the account of a payment for a gift intended for her husband, who was then planning an expedition against Scotland. It is as follows: "To the Quene's grace for garnishing a sallett, £10." In the year 1455 Charlotte of Savoy,



FIG. 392. SALADE

The skull-piece probably English, about 1480. East Shefford Church, Lambourne, Berks



FIG. 393. SALADE

Probably English, though of pronounced Italian form, late XVth century Hexham Abbey

Queen of France, is recorded to have defrayed the expenses of the equipment of three men at arms, and amongst the items of the account was "1 marc 7 ozs. and 7½ gros silver," employed for making the ornaments of three salades. Everything, however, in the nature of the luxurious adornment of a head-piece is surpassed by the decoration of the salade worn by Louis XI on his state entry into Paris, which is stated by Duclercq to have been worth 100,000 crowns of gold on account of the jewels with which it was enriched. The Duke of Burgundy in 1443, according to Olivier de la Marche, appears to have possessed a salade valued at the time at almost as high a figure. It is a matter for wonder that even any parts of the highly enriched head-pieces of the XVth century have survived; for not only did the fashion and the use of the salade cease in the XVIth century, but the old shapes

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were remodelled and despoiled of their ornaments. Three and a half centuries of vandalism and of lack of archaeological interest have so effectively banished into obscurity any specimen that escaped contemporary destruction that to bring to light to-day an unknown XVth century head-piece is a discovery much rarer than the re-discovery of some work from the brush of one of the old masters.

Whether a crest was ever worn on the *salade* in the field is somewhat a matter of speculation. Nearly every specimen of *salade* that we have examined has in the ridge of its skull-piece a slot-like hole, to which some form of crest or ornament could have been attached; but it is now impossible to say if the crest was actually worn in battle or only for

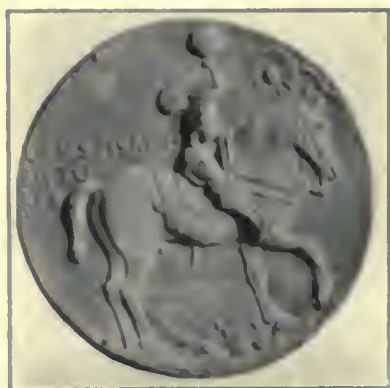


FIG. 394. THE OBVERSE OF
PISANO'S MEDAL OF LODO-
VICO DI GONZAGA
Showing the crested *salade*

purposes of pageantry. In the Uccello battle-piece (vol. i, Fig. 238) in the National Gallery, very fanciful shapes can be seen attached in the form of cresting to the armets, but not on the *salades*, though several are seen in use. In this picture the crests on the armets do not appear to have any armorial significance; for their shapes are unusual. They may, however, have served to identify the wearer. We are, however, bound to admit that in the portrayal of the battle subjects so often seen on the front panels of the Italian *cassoni* of the latter half of the XVth century many of the warriors wear the *Celata* crested, much in the same manner as the armets are crested in the Uccello battle-piece. On the obverse of Pisano's medal of Lodovico III di Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua (Fig. 394), an equestrian knight in full armour is represented wearing a *salade* of North Italian form, upon which is a trimming of feathers surmounted by a great spherical object that might be taken for a crest. In the Louvre is a drawing by the same artist, evidently a sketch for the more famous medal of Alphonso V of Aragon, King of Naples, in which, behind the profile view of the Duke, is a well-drawn Italian *salade*, showing its straps for attachment, and surmounted by a crest in the form of a bat (Fig. 395). It is, however, chiefly in German armorial painting that we see the mantling and cresting of the *salade* carried to excess and to a degree that in actual usage would be impossible. As an instance we reproduce from an illustration a *salade* bearing the enormous crest of Duke Ludwig of Bavaria, showing the lambrequin

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hanging beneath the crest (Fig. 396). This can be, however, only an heraldic device. Occasionally in illuminations a knight is represented in a crested salade; but this may be an artistic licence, the display of heraldry being an easy way of explaining his personality. On purely utilitarian grounds we are inclined to dispute the idea of the salade having received any actual creasing in warfare. At its best the salade was certainly a top heavy head-piece; so that the addition of a ponderous crest, even if only fashioned of *papier mâché*, would have made it almost impossible to wear. On the great seals of the later Plantagenet kings the sovereigns are represented as wearing crested salades as headgear. This again must have been an artistic licence.



FIG. 395. FROM A DRAWING BY PISANO CALLED PISANELLO FOR THE FAMOUS MEDAL OF ALPHONSO V OF ARAGON
Louvre, Paris



FIG. 396. THE CREST OF DUKE LUDWIG OF BAVARIA

In England, except on the tilting helm, the representation of a crest is rarely seen; though a mid-XVth century English writer, whose name is unknown, alludes on two occasions to "salads" with crests.

A description of the salade would be incomplete without mention of the bevor—bavier, or baviere—a defence that was latterly almost always worn in company with it. Many are the derivations suggested for this word. Grose says that bevor is derived from *beveur*, drinker, or the Italian *bevere*, to drink, forgetting the fact that its original spelling was *bavier*, *bavière* (French) and *baviera* (Italian). His derivation therefore is not convincing, and we prefer to derive it from the French *baver*, to slobber. Shakespeare's use of the word rather suggests that he is alluding to a movable attachment to the helmet. Speaking of it in *Henry IV*, Pt. II, act iv, sc. 1,

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he says: "Their beavers *down*; their eyes of fire sparkling through sights of steel"; in Hamlet, act i, sc. 2, he says: "He wore his beaver *up*"; in Henry IV, Pt. 1, act iv, sc. 1, he says: "I saw young Harry with his beaver *on*." And finally in Richard III, act v, sc. 3, he says: "What, is my beaver *easier* than it was?"

To-day we are accustomed to apply the word (bevor) to that movable portion of the close helmet which actually covers the face and into the top of which the visor of the helmet fits. It is, however, with the bevor considered



FIG. 397. PORTRAIT OF ALBERTO ARINGHERI
From the fresco by Pinturicchio. About 1470. Duomo of Siena

as a separate defence that we are now concerned. It has erroneously been called the *mentonnière*; but there is no record of that term having been used so early as the XVth century. There is little doubt that Planché is in error when he opposes M. Viollet-le-Duc's opinion, and states that the piece which we are here calling the bevor is really the "*hausse-col*"; for we continually find the "*hausse-col*" described as being made of mail: "*Haussecol de maille, houscot de mailles*" (Chastelain); "*le chamail du haussecol*" (Olivier de la Marche). The *hausse-col* was certainly the standard or gorget of mail (see page 184). It is almost safe to affirm that in the first quarter of the

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XVth century the association of the bevor with the salade was practically unknown. It would have been useless in conjunction with the early German *Schalern*, and almost as impracticable with the salade of the Italian *Celata* order. It was not until the "tailed" or French type of salade had obtained an established reputation as a head-piece that attention was paid to the necessity of finding some form of protection for the lower part of the face. It would appear that the high standard of chain mail fashioned as a collar standing rigidly up round the neck, though popular throughout the XVth century, was not considered of sufficient protective power; with the result that plates of metal were added to a plate gorget to give full



FIG. 398. SHORT BEVOR

About 1470-80. Collection: Mr. S. J. Whawell



FIG. 398A. TALL BEVOR

Collection: Mr. W. H. Riggs, Metropolitan Museum, New York. Ex collection: Baron de Cosson

protection to the lower half of the face. In this way was the bevor evolved. The bevor of closely linked chain mail that can be seen in the *Zeughaus* of Berlin may perhaps be a transitional type (see page 183, Fig. 522). It is rarely that these defences figure on effigies or on contemporary carving; for in actual wear, covering as they do the lower part of the face, they would preclude any attempt at portraiture. Pictorial art, however, furnishes an admirable representation of a bevor. In a fresco in the chapel of S. Giovanni in the Duomo of Siena, painted in the first or second year of the XVIth century, Alberto Aringhieri is depicted fully armed in the fashion of about 1470 (Fig. 397). He is represented kneeling in prayer. His salade, very like the one of French origin we have illustrated on page 30 (Fig. 373) and his gauntlets are on the ground in front of him; whilst his bevor is in position round his chin. In this instance the lowest gorget plate of the bevor has a border of chain mail with a vandyked edge. In some of

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the later and more elaborated bevors there was an aperture in the lower part of the gorget plate, which fitted over a staple in the top of the breastplate, through which a pin was passed holding the bevor rigidly in position, so that the face which it protected could move with ease within it. In other cases it was merely attached by a strap around the neck. In some instances the neck straps were made of mail. The height of the plates varied according to the depth of the rim of the *salade*. We illustrate a simple bevor of the small or ordinary type from a German example in Mr. S. J. Whawell's collection (Fig. 398). In the gorget plate are double holes for attaching it to



FIG. 399. FROM HANS BURGKMAIR'S "TRIUMPH OF MAXIMILIAN" (PL. LI)
"The course of the ingenious breast-plate"
Showing jousters with tilting *salades*

the breastplate; while at the back are the remains of the strap by which it was fastened round the neck. This specimen dates from the last quarter of the XVth century. The high bevor which covered the face up to the eyes must also have done duty with a *chapel-de-fer* type of helmet; for again quoting Chastelain we note ". . . avoit un harnas de tête qui n'étoit ni bassinet ni *salade*, mais étoit fait à la semblance et manière d'un *capel de fer* . . . et avoit une haute *bavière*, tellement que de son *visière* il n'apparôit que les yeux." The Baron de Cosson's collection used to contain a tall bevor of this kind (Fig. 398A). The more usual *courte bavière* spoken of by Olivier de la Marche when he says "*salade à visière, et courte bavière*," is like those

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found associated with the ordinary salade as seen in the Wallace Collection, at the Tower, and elsewhere, for they are not of exceptional rarity. The bevor, in association with an open helmet, must have been an unsatisfactory face defence; it was easily knocked out of place, it must have bruised or even lacerated the face when forced against it, and in a fierce *mêlée* must often have become detached. It will be noticed that in the accompanying illustration (Fig. 398) the upper portion of this bevor is formed of two plates, the top one being hinged at the sides, so that it could be pushed down over the lower one. The wearer could thus speak clearly without removing the bevor. A spring catch kept it in its place when it was raised.

Lastly, we must mention those salade forms of head-pieces that owe their existence to the practice of the tourney, specimens of which are to be found in some of the public collections of this country. They are true tailed salades in form, but not fashioned for purposes of war, and are nearly all late in date, certain types advancing well into the XVIth century. These jousting salades are for the most part heavier than those used in war, and are flatter in front below the ocularium; so that they could be worn with



FIG. 400. JOUSTING SALADE

German, about 1500-10. Tower of London
Class IV, No. 17

the lower edge fitting inside the tilting bevor or, in later times, the *mentonnière*. The tilting bevor, was often fashioned of wood and leather and was in most cases rigidly screwed to the breastplate, its upper edge reaching to the ocularium in the helmet. As it is easier to suggest an idea of this jousting harness by means of an illustration than by any explanation in words, we give a picture chosen from the famous "Triumph of Maximilian," by Hans Burgkmair, Plate LI (Fig. 399). The engraving shows five of a series of jousting salades, the knight on the left wearing a bevor of plate outside the lower edge of his salade, while the knight next to him has one of wood similarly adjusted. To facilitate the fitting of the salade inside the bevor, it will be noticed that the cabled edge running round the rim of the

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helmet is omitted in front. In the Tower armoury is a *salade* which most clearly shows this characteristic (Fig. 400). It is an example of the early years of the XVIth century, and has the square-shaped tail-piece instead of the pointed. This is a not uncommon feature; indeed, we are able to give illustrations of three with tail-pieces so formed. The Tower *salade* is quite in the Maximilian style, with channels arranged in groups of three, and with crudely engraved ornaments. The engraving is not etched, but cut with a tool, and cabling forms the crest of the skull-piece. It will be noticed that the channelling and ornamentation cease over the ocularium, leaving a plain polished surface, on which it was customary to apply two plates formed like wings or shells which together took a semicircular shape. These curious



FIG. 401. REPRODUCTION OF A GERMAN JOUSTING SALADE
In the style of about 1500, showing the detachable wings above the ocularium
H.M. the King, Windsor Castle

plates appear on all the tilting *salades* represented in the "Triumph of Maximilian." They were not applied for defensive purposes, but were targets, to dislodge which required a particularly neat stroke of the lance, a feat which scored heavily in the tournament. M. Viollet-le-Duc shows them admirably in his *Dictionnaire du Mobilier Français*, vol. ii, p. 405. The lower edge of these plates fitted on to a projecting bolt at either end of the ocularium, and they were retained in position from above by a forked steel spring, the hole for the screw of which exists on the comb of the Tower *salade* illustrated. The Windsor armoury can show us another such *salade* (Catalogue 1902, No. 110) upon a suit that was obtained from the Tower of London: this head-piece is not genuine, but it gives a good idea of what we wish to explain (Fig. 401).

THE SALADE HEAD-PIECE

Our next illustration (Fig. 402) is from a drawing, made by the present writer, of the superb tilting *salade* formerly in the possession of Sir Noël Paton, whose collection was some time ago purchased in its entirety by the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh. This helmet is indeed a splendid example, and of an earlier type than any tilting *salade* with which we are acquainted, its date being about 1470-1490. It has all the characteristics of the helmet at Windsor Castle just alluded to, except that its tail-piece is pointed, and that there is a reinforcing piece secured beneath the ocularium.



FIG. 402. JOUSTING SALADE

Probably German, about 1470-90. Collection: Sir Noël Paton. From a drawing by the author

On examination it will be noticed that this extra plate covers a welded line, which rather suggests that the *salade* was originally made for use in war, and that the lower part beneath the ocularium was added, the welded place being strengthened by an extra plate, when the helmet was adapted for the joust. The condition of the helmet, which retains its original blackened surface, is admirable: indeed it has suffered in no way from the effects of time or of accident, and the original padded lining is still in its place. No less than twenty-six aiglette holes—an astonishing number—appear about the skull-piece, each hole being fitted with a decorated pewter rim. There are ten on each side, and a group of six at the back, three being on each side of the

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medial line of the helmet. It is somewhat difficult to determine the use to which so many holes were put; but, perhaps, like those figuring in Dürer's famous drawings of tilting helms (see page 138), the aiglettes were threaded through them in profusion to keep the lining of the *salade* from flapping about the wearer's head. The lining is composed of four segments of wadded canvas drawn together in the centre by the aiglettes, allowing for ventilation in the centre. The whole was sewn to a leather strap, the rivets for the attachment of which appear on the outside of the skull-piece just above the aiglette holes. Sir Noël Paton put it on record that when he first remembered the helmet the loop of leather used for suspending it from the saddle was preserved intact; but now part only remains. Sir Noël Paton purchased this *salade* from Mr. W. B. Johnstone, R.S.A., who in turn had obtained it from Mr. David O. Hill, R.S.A.



FIG. 403. JOUSTING SALADE
German, about 1470-90
No. 73, Wallace Collection

In describing the example in the Wallace Collection, No. 73 (Fig. 403), an example which is considered by some authorities to be of even earlier date than the Noël Paton specimen, we may seem to be reversing the proper order of things; but though in general outline the Wallace helmet appears to be a fighting *salade* of about 1460, we are forced to assign it to a later date owing to the flattened keel form of its crest. The skull-piece, which is forged entirely from one piece, is of fine strength and of even thickness. The tail is five inches in length, and the ocularium is formed by a flanged opening three inches from the bottom of the helmet, the lower edge protruding half an inch beyond the upper. There is a row of nine rivets, which passes round the centre of the skull for the attachment of a leather strap (parts of which remain), to which was sewn the lining. In the front of the *salade*, at the extreme bottom, is a small roller, against which must have rested a long tilting bevor of the same pattern as those worn with the tilting *salades* just described. The purpose of this roller was to assist the wooden bevor, when struck in the proper place by the adversary's lance, in sliding upwards and detaching itself—a stroke which scored well in the tournament. To detach the long bevor by a single blow, it was necessary to strike it at a marked point, which, as often as not, was a painted heart; the shock so directed released a spring attached to the breastplate, and the bevor was thrown forward and upward. M. Viollet-le-Duc gives

THE SALADE HEAD-PIECE

an excellent explanatory drawing of this elaborate mechanism, and illustrates a bevor of metal worn beneath the exterior wooden defence (Fig. 404). There were many variations of these mechanical jousting contrivances which are most accurately illustrated in Burgkmair's "Triumph."

In the Musée d'Artillerie (Nos. H 50 and 51) are two very beautiful salades of the Maximilian square-tailed order (Figs. 405 and 406). The former, which is finely fluted, has the applied roping round its lower edge, which in the usual manner ceases in front, though the design of the cable is brought out in flat chasing. Six aiglette holes are on either side of the skull-piece.



FIG. 404. FROM A DRAWING BY VIOLLET-LE-DUC

Riveted to the comb is the fork-like attachment that held the additional forehead plates of which we have already spoken. The second salade (Fig. 406), from which, by the way, the additional forehead plates are also missing, is of exactly the same construction, but far more elaborate in its enrichment. Its ornamentation may be said to represent a slashed and cut cloth cap drawn over a coif of mail. This effect is obtained by grooves, which represent the slashing, and by embossing the cuts, both grooves and cuts being accurately etched in imitation of chain mail showing through the interstices of some textile material. About the centre of this fine helmet is deeply etched a band of scroll ornaments. Other museums on the

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continent show many varieties of these tilting salades, notably the Imperial Armoury of Vienna and the Armoury of Dresden.



FIG. 405. JOUSTING SALADE
German, about 1505-15. H 50, Musée d'Artillerie



FIG. 406. JOUSTING SALADE
German, about 1510-15. H 51, Musée
d'Artillerie

pewter rims; through these were drawn the aiglettes for the attachment of the padded lining cap. In the front is a large screw, to which the *mentonnière* is secured by a nut. The *mentonnière* has a spring trap-door on the dexter

We would place the absolute disappearance of the salade as late as 1580. In its final form it differs but little from the common open casque of the time; but it is, as one would expect, much heavier and more solid in construction, since its use, like that of its immediate predecessors, was limited entirely to the tourney field. Salades of this type are invariably German, and as a rule Saxon; they are known as "Saxon jousting helmets." The Wallace Collection possesses a perfect example (No. 1308), which has attached to it its original bevor, which in this form may now be termed the *mentonnière* (Fig. 407). The skull-piece has a high roped crown in the manner of all late XVIth century helmets; the only suggestion of the salade form is seen in its pointed tail-piece at the back. The visor is strong and fits into the lower part of the helmet, which protrudes to receive it. The main edges are roped and have slightly recessed bands round their border, a row of steel-headed rivets follow the outline. At the back of the skull-piece on either side are two groups of twin holes, four of which are fitted with

THE SALADE HEAD-PIECE

side for breathing purposes, and in the lower part, which covers the chest, are six large circular holes to fit the staples on the top of the breast-plate. This interesting helmet comes from the collection of the Comte de Nieuwerkerke. A fine series of these Saxon helms can be seen at Dresden upon suits fitted with their extra tournament plates. A complete suit with such a helmet is shown in the Musée d'Artillerie, Paris, as also are two separate helmets. An illustration of one of these, H 53, which we give, clearly shows how the hinged visor, by fitting within the front part of the *salade*, could be raised without unfixing the head-piece from the *mentonnière*. The screw for holding the *mentonnière* is still in position (Fig. 408). The helmet, H 52, in the Musée d'Artillerie is a splendidly enriched example of the Saxon *salade*, and was formerly in the collection of Napoleon III. The whole surface is closely etched with an arrangement of strap work painted in polychrome.



FIG. 407. JOUSTING SALADE OF THE LATEST TYPE
German, about 1580. No. 1308,
Wallace Collection

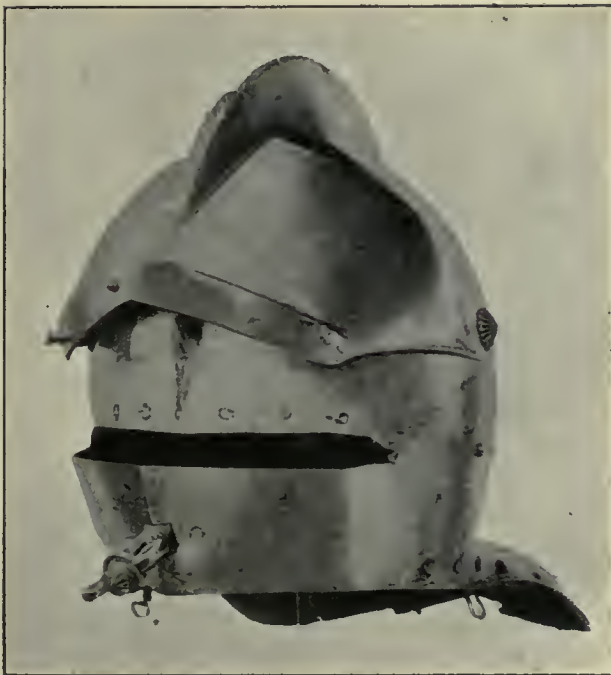


FIG. 408. JOUSTING SALADE OF THE LATEST TYPE
German, about 1580. H 53, Musée d'Artillerie

The suit to which this *salade* belongs was made for Nicholas von Radzivil, Duke of Olyka, about 1575. Part of it is now in the Imperial Armoury, Vienna, and was previously in the collection of Prince Charles of Prussia. The chanfron belonging to this suit is now in the collection of M. Bachereau of Paris. Another good Saxon *salade* was sold at Baron de Cosson's sale in 1893. This helmet was originally in the Brocas Collection, which was dispersed in 1834, and later appeared in that of Mr. J. W. Bailey.

We should have liked to have described many other incomplete specimens of *salades* which are to be found scattered in private collec-

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tions and museums, but this chapter is perhaps already too long and we must be content to illustrate five most interesting examples of visors which are preserved in the Rotunda Museum at Woolwich (Fig. 408A).



FIG. 408A. VISORS

- (A) Visor of an Italian salade, about 1470
- (B) Visor of an Italian salade, about 1470
- (C) Visor of an Italian salade, about 1470
- (D) Visor of a salade, German type, about 1470-80
- (E) Visor of a salade, German type, about 1460-70

All in the Museum of the Rotunda, Woolwich

We believe that the salade will ever be the favourite head-piece of the armour enthusiast, for it was in use during the period in which the art of the armourer was at its zenith both as regards utility and refinement of decoration.

CHAPTER XI

THE HEAD-PIECE CALLED THE *CHAPEL-DE-FER*, WAR HAT, OR CHAPAWE,
DOWN TO THE EARLY YEARS OF THE XVITH CENTURY



ROISSART speaks of this head-piece as "*un chapel de Montauban, fin, cler et net, tout d'acier, qui resplendissait au soleil,*" an account which is lyrical, but not very enlightening. Whether, indeed, the *chapel de Montauban* was a distinctive form of war hat, or whether war hats made at Montauban and thereby famous for excellence of workmanship, the great chronicler fails to make clear. The period when the *chapel-de-fer* prevailed was probably longer than that of any



FIG. 409. FROM THE PAINTED CHAMBER, PALACE OF WESTMINSTER
Showing the *chapel-de-fer*. Early XIIIth century

other helmet; its simplicity of form, together with its general protective qualities, must have made it universally popular. Mentioned in statutes as early as the end of the XIIth century, its form survived in the pikeman's helmet of the middle of the XVIIth century, and so stretched over an epoch covering close on five hundred years, during the whole of which time such alterations of its general form as can be traced are surprisingly slight. As its name implies, the *chapel-de-fer*, *chapeau-de-fer*, or, as it was termed in England, the chapawe, means nothing more than a hat of iron.

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It may be argued that we should have mentioned the *chapel-de-fer* in the previous chapters which deal with the head-pieces of the earlier centuries; but since we are unable to give illustrations of any actual *chapel* that can be assigned to a date earlier than the XVth century, we have thought it best to defer such brief description as we can give of this type of head-piece to the present stage of this work. We are inclined to think that



FIG. 410. FROM THE "PENTATEUCHUS," ETC.
Third quarter of the XIIIth century
Add. MSS. 11639, British
Museum



FIG. 411. FROM A STONE STATUETTE
Middle of XIIIth century. Chapel of
St. Maurice, Cathedral of Constance.
From Hefner-Alteneck, *Waffen*

the *chapel-de-fer* was more ordinarily the head defence of the rank and file; though undoubtedly the noble and the knight are portrayed wearing such a form of helmet. Before we refer to actual head-pieces of this class which we are able to illustrate, we will give a few instances of chapawes of earlier date, as they appear in missal and sculpture. A good example of a chapawe of early XIIIth century date is depicted on the mural paintings which were formerly in the old Palace of Westminster (see vol. i, Figs. 143 and 144, also Fig 409 and vol. iii, Fig. 907). Here the head-piece represented is of

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basin form, reinforced with bands, as in the case of the conical helmet of the XIIth century, and surmounted by a spherical knob. A wider brimmed variety of chapawe is shown in an illumination (vol. i, Fig. 141), which illustrates a French battle scene of about 1280. The hat can be seen on the figure placed immediately behind the knight whose helm has been so successfully cleft in twain. A drawing dating from the last quarter of the XIIIth century (Fig. 410) can be seen in the British Museum (Add. MSS., No. 11639) which depicts a more elaborate type of war hat on which a comb, doubtless applied, is shown, much in the manner of the pikeman's helmet of the XVIIth



FIG. 412. FROM AN EQUESTRIAN FIGURE ON THE
TOMB OF AYMER DE VALENCE

About 1330. Abbey Church of Westminster



FIG. 413. ALMERIC, LORD ST. AMAND

About 1350. Hastings brass,
Elsing Church, Norfolk

century. Again the sleeping warriors, clad in complete chain mail with coifs of the same medium, who are represented in the mid-XIIIth century stone carving in the chapel of St. Maurice in the Cathedral of Constance, will all be noticed to be wearing, as an additional head-piece, a *chapel-de-fer*, which, with its low sloping brim and reinforced comb, is almost XVth century in style (Fig. 411). Yet another form of chapawe, deep and almost morion-like, and strengthened by a band which passes down the skull-piece, appears on one of the equestrian figures which form part of the Aymer de Valence monument in the Abbey Church of Westminster, a monument which dates from about 1330. [We may mention, by the way, that the front portion

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of the brim of this chapawe has been unfortunately broken off, and that round the neck of the knight, outside the mail coif, is what appears to be a quilted defence (Fig. 412.)] The splendid but mutilated brass of Sir Hugh



FIG. 414. FROM THE ADDRESS FROM THE TOWN OF PRATO IN TUSCANY TO ROBERT OF ANJOU
About 1335-40. Royal MSS., E ix, fol. 21, British Museum

Hastings in Elsing Church, Norfolk, which dates from about the middle of the XIVth century, presents a rather different kind of chapawe; for Almeric, Lord St. Amand, who figures on this brass along with other notabilities, and whose neck is clad in a plate gorget of large circumference,

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attached to which is a camail of chain (Fig. 413), is shown in an elaborated chapawe, worn over what appears to be a small, close-fitting bascinet.



FIG. 415. *CHAPEL-DE-FER*

Probably Swiss, about 1440-90. Collection: Viscount Astor, Hever Castle;
Ex collection: Herr J. von Hefner-Alteneck

Another example of the chapawe worn as an auxiliary helmet is shown on a sepulchral slab in Ashington Church, Sussex, which dates from about



FIG. 416. *CHAPEL-DE-FER*

Probably Swiss, about 1450-90. Found in the lake of Morat in Switzerland. Ex Chabrières-Arlès and Ressman collections, now Metropolitan Museum of New York



FIG. 416A. *CHAPEL-DE-FER*

Probably Burgundian, about 1460. Collection:
Mr. W. H. Riggs, Metropolitan Museum,
New York

1350. Here again the head-piece is seen worn over a small bascinet. Among the Royal MSS. in the British Museum there is a splendidly illuminated

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address (E ix, fol. 21) in Latin verse to Robert of Anjou from the town of Prato, in Tuscany, executed about 1335-1340, in which is depicted a knight (Fig. 414) fully armed in the reinforced chain mail of the time. He is armed



FIG. 417. *CHAPEL-DE-FER*

Probably Burgundian, about 1450-90. Ex collection: Signor Resson, now Metropolitan Museum of New York

with a sword and dagger, remarkable in their detail. On his head is represented the *chapel-de-fer*, with an almost conical skull-piece and sloping brim worn over the coif of mail.

M. Viollet-le-Duc in his erudite work, the *Dictionnaire du Mobilier*



FIG. 418. *CHAPEL-DE-FER*

Spanish type, about 1460-90. Collection: Sir Edward Barry, Bart.



FIG. 418A. *CHAPEL-DE-FER*

About 1460-90. The Rotunda Museum, Woolwich

Français, reconstructs various interesting types of the *chapel-de-fer* from contemporary illuminations.

With the advent of the XVth century we can expect to find actual head-pieces that tally with the pictorial descriptions of the chapawe. Of these

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no existing specimen is worthy of closer scrutiny than the fine helmet (Fig. 415) now in the collection of Viscount Astor at Hever Castle, and formerly in that of



FIG. 419. *CHAPEL-DE-FER*

Said to be the work of Hans Grünewalt of Nuremberg, belonging to the suit made for Sigismund, Archduke of the Tyrol (1427-1496)
Imperial Armoury, Vienna

Herr Hefner-Alteneck (*Trachten*, vol. ii, Plate LXXXIII). The form of this head-piece is remarkable. The circular skull-piece is pinched



FIG. 420. *CHAPEL-DE-FER*

Bavarian (Innsbrück make), about 1495. Collection: Mr. W. G. Keasby

together at the top, while the brim slopes gently downward, much after the manner of the hats of civilians as represented in pictures of the early Dutch schools. The iron from which this particular chapawe is made is of the

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hardest possible quality, dark and lustrous in colour. Hefner-Alteneck was probably correct in considering this helmet, which came from a castle on the Rhine and bears a fleur-de-lys as an armourer's mark, to be of Swiss workmanship, dating from about 1440-90. M. Demmin, in his *Guide des Amateurs d'Armes* (page 283, No. 83), states that there is a duplicate of this *chapel* in the Museum of Copenhagen. Next to be examined is a strangely simple iron hat, also Swiss in workmanship and of very characteristic form. It is fairly light and of very large proportions, and must have been heavily padded inside. The holes for the rivets which secured this padding are still visible. The exterior surface was originally plated with tin to prevent its rusting. It is now in the Metropolitan Museum of New

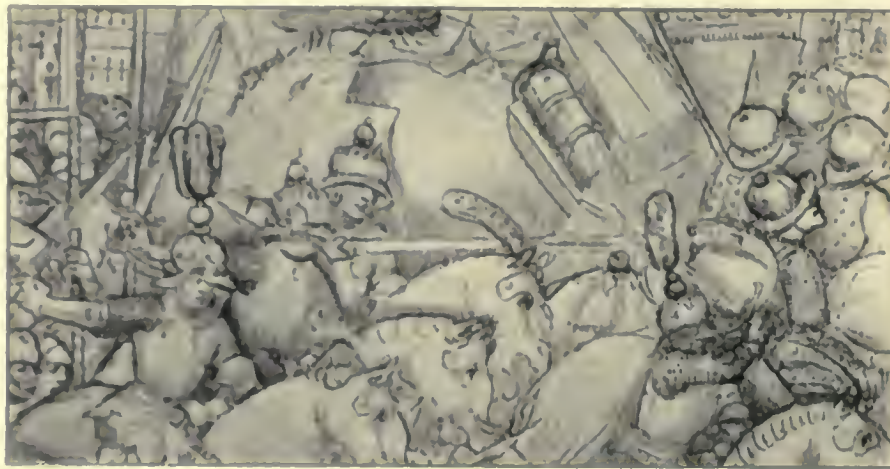


FIG. 421. FROM THE PAGEANT OF RICHARD BEAUCHAMP, EARL OF WARWICK
Showing the knightly *chapel-de-fer* in use. English, about 1475

York (Fig. 416) where there is another very graceful specimen with a falling waved brim and dating from the middle of the XVth century (Fig. 416A). In the same museum is a singularly graceful head-piece of the same order but of a different type. The brim of this example is not of uniform breadth and has a curious curved line; it is wider over the ears, where it is compressed in to afford them greater protection. The skull-piece is gracefully decorated with simple broad, spiral channels. This helmet was considered by Signor Resson, in whose collection it once was, to be Burgundian and to belong to the middle of the XVth century (Fig. 417). A good many chapawes, more or less of this type and of this date, are in existence, and are for the most part the head-pieces of the soldiery. One special type comes exclusively from Spain, a specimen of which we illustrate (Fig. 418), now in the collection of

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Sir Edward Barry. Another good example may be seen in the Rotunda, Woolwich (Fig. 418A).

When the chapawe was used as the head-piece of a knightly harness it was generally interchangeable with some other form of head-gear; as a proof



FIG. 422. PORTRAIT OF PHILIP THE FAIR IN 1505

From the wing of a triptych. Netherlands School, early XVIth century
Brussels Gallery

of this assertion we may instance the small head-piece which goes *en suite* with the superb harness, said to be the work of Hans Gr̃newalt of Nuremberg, which was made for Sigismund the Wealthy, Archduke of the Tyrol (1427-1496), and is now in the Imperial Armoury, Vienna (see vol. i, Fig. 244). On the harness is a fine and complete salade; but associated with

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it is also a simple basin-like *chapel-de-fer* of magnificent workmanship with sumptuous brass enrichments (Fig. 419).

A similar *chapel* was formerly in the collection of Herr Max Kuppel-mayer of Munich, and is now in that of Mr. Keasby. Although fluted in the same way it is without the brass enrichments. It is apparently of Innsbrück make and belongs to the last quarter of the XVth century (Fig. 420). In the manuscript of the pageant of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, to which we have alluded, and which is now considered to have been executed in the third quarter of the XVth century, the war hat or chapawe often figures as the head-piece of the knight. In the illustration of the siege of Calais (Fig. 421) five of the knights have this form of helmet; but the helmets are represented as crested, much as the Italian armets are seen in the famous Uccello battle-pieces (see vol. i, page 193, Fig. 228, and page 199, Fig. 238). We might almost say that the *calote* or steel coif worn under the cavalry hat of the latter part of the XVIIth century is a descendant of the chapawe; and the modern steel helmet first worn by the French, and then adopted for general use among the allies, can prefer an even stronger claim to that distinction. But since the application of this term to any open form of helmet after the first half of the XVIth century ceases from the point of view of the armour enthusiast to describe the type of head-piece to which we have been alluding, we will take leave of the chapawe, which, strictly speaking, assumed its final form in the closing years of the XVth century, by giving an illustration of the portrait of Philip the Fair, father of Charles V (d. 1506), which figures in the Brussels Gallery (Fig. 422), and by quoting Grafton, who describes King Henry VIII in 1514 as wearing "on his hedde a chapeau Montaubin with a rich coronal, the fold of the chapeau was lined with crimson satten."

THE "BARBUTE" HELMET

When we speak of the barbute we are employing a term that, as applied to a head-piece, has certainly a very indefinite denotation. We are accustomed to classing *salade* head-pieces of the Venetian order under the heading of barbutes; but we have slight authority for putting them in this category, save a knowledge of the fact that the term has been handed down parrot-wise from collector to collector as descriptive of such a head defence. In

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the opinion of the Baron de Cosson, and we can certainly go to no higher court of appeal, the barbute or barbuda was a bascinet type of helmet furnished with a chin-piece of plate; for the word barbuda must originally have meant something *bearded*. In this interpretation of barbute, the beard portion of the helmet would signify a plate protecting the beard, and not, as M. Viollet-le-Duc suggests, an open-faced helmet showing the beard; so that what in France would be known as a *bascinet à bavière*, would in Italy come under the heading of the *barbuda*, or in the French language, *barbute*. It requires no imagination to conjecture that, while originally the term barbute was applied to the beard-plate only, it finally came to stand for the entire head-piece, of which the beard-plate was but a part.

Olivier de la Marche uses the term for a defence of the same nature as the bevor. He states that Claude de Sainte Hélène, armed for a fight, appeared "*sa teste armée de salade et de barbute*"; while Chastelain, describing the appearance of the knight on the same occasion, speaks of him as having a "*salade en tête ayant bavière*"; so that the word *barbute* and *bavière* would appear to be synonymous. In an early XVIth century mention of the barbute, it figures as a portion of the helmet itself; for Hall, giving an account of a mishap to King Henry VIII at a tournament, says in his history of that monarch: "For a surety the duke strake the King on the brow right under the defēce of ye hedpece on the very coyffe scull or bassenetpece whereunto the *barbet* for power and defence is charneled." Here Hall, in his use of the word *barbet*, certainly seems to refer to a reinforcing plate applied to the skull-piece of a helmet, as seen on most armets (see *post*, Fig. 430). To enable the reader to get some idea of the different interpretations which the two great authorities we have mentioned give of the same term, we furnish an illustration of a very splendid Venetian helmet in the Wallace Collection (Fig. 423) which illustrates adequately enough the type of head-piece to which M. Viollet-le-Duc applies the term barbute; while another illustration, that of a bascinet helmet (see vol. i, Fig. 283), will sufficiently depict what the Baron de Cosson means by the same expression. The present writer would have preferred to include his account of the bascinet *barbute*, referred to by M. Viollet-le-Duc, in those chapters which deal with the history of the bascinet head-piece, since in his opinion the Wallace example is a representative helmet of that class. It differs indeed from certain bascinets represented (see vol. i, Figs. 278 and 279) only in the prolongation of its lower front cheek-pieces and in the outward sweep of its lower back edge. It was, however, almost a matter of necessity to

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reserve this helmet for inclusion in the present chapter in order to contrast M. Viollet-le-Duc's conception of a barbute with that of the Baron de Cosson. The Wallace bascinet *barbute* is a finely made helmet, heavy, thick, and very true in outline. The skull-piece is constructed on the lines of a bascinet of about 1390 with a pointed apex; though, as we have said, the base of the



FIG. 423. BASCINET

Described by Viollet-le-Duc as the type of helmet called the barbute Italian, about 1390-1400. No. 15, Wallace Collection

helmet splays outwards. Following the line of the border, except on the prominent cheek projections, is a close row of small holes for the attachment of the lining, and inside these, some 2½ inches apart, a row of staples through which a cord was passed for the fastening of the camail; these cease over the forehead, in the extreme centre of which are two small staples with upright projections placed one above the other. It is probable that they were for

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fixing a movable nasal-guard when raised. The same arrangement appears on the fine little XIVth century bascinet (see vol. i, Fig. 261) to be seen in the late Mr. W. Burges's bequest to the British Museum. M. Viollet-le-Duc gives an excellent drawing of the *barbute* reconstructed with a nasal-guard and camail added (Fig. 424), perhaps of the Wallace example. It will be noted that by an arrangement of the staples, which run up on either side at an obtuse angle from the lower edge of the skull-piece to the forehead line, the very prominent cheek-pieces would be covered by the camail, which,



FIG. 424. THE SAME HELMET

Reconstructed by M. Viollet-le-Duc, with the nasal-guard and camail in position
From the *Dictionnaire raisonné du Mobilier Français*

however, owing to the angle at which the cheek-pieces are set, was kept from pressing upon the chin. This head-piece in the Wallace Collection used to be in the collection of the Comte de Nieuwerkerke and was previously in that of the Count of Thun, at Val di Non. It is safe to assume that it is Italian and belongs to the middle of the XIVth century.

As to what actually was the form of this widely used head-piece, uncertainty will always exist; for, as we have already explained, contemporary accounts are extremely contradictory. M. Viollet-le-Duc's theory that the barbute was closely allied to the French open-faced *salade* is certainly difficult to accept; for we have mention of a *barbuta* in a will which dates as far back

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as 1349. Now as there is no record of a *salade* of the so-called Venetian type at so early a date, it is probable that *barbutam* in this will must refer to some other head-piece more akin to the *bascinet*. We ought to add that, according to Ducange, the term *barbuta* was used in the Italy of the XIVth century to indicate a man-at-arms, or a body of men-at-arms, much in the same way as in France the word "lances" had reference to a unit in battle, a company of lancers. Cereta, for instance, in his Veronese Chronicle, states that Bernabo Visconti, lord of Milan, attacked Verona in 1354 with "800 *barbuta*."



FIG. 424A. STATUETTE OF A KNIGHT (41 CM. IN HEIGHT) REPRESENTING ST. GEORGE

Carved in wood and originally painted. It is one of the figures on a wing of an altar-piece of the second half of the XIVth century by Jacob de Baers

Now in the museum at Dijon. From Herr J. von Hefner-Alteneck's "*Waffen*"

See page 157

CHAPTER XII

THE ARMET HEAD-PIECE FROM THE EARLY YEARS OF THE XVTH CENTURY TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE NEXT CENTURY



It is remarkable that, although Meyrick illustrates two helmets of the armet class in his famous work, this particular and very special head-piece was not described in public or private collections as a distinctive type, or as a link in the evolution of the helmet, until the Baron de Cosson made its importance clear about forty years ago. It is safe to say that up to as late as the seventies of the XIXth century, the XVth century character of this head-piece was entirely unappreciated; while its individual features were confused with the mass of types of closed head-piece which were vaguely classed as of XVIth century origin. We well remember seeing in the Tower of London a fine, though incomplete, late XVth century armet placed on a three-quarter suit of mid-XVIIth century armour, and japanned brown to match the suit. This was as late as 1890, proving that the armet was not even then recognized as a XVth century head-piece in our National Armoury.

As is the case with nearly all names which are employed to-day to particularize the parts of a suit of armour, there is considerable doubt as to the type of head-piece to which the term armet was originally applied. This may be accounted for by the very loose nomenclature of the XVth and XVIth centuries, and also by the fact that the line of tradition that doubtless attached the word armet to the class of helmet to which it really belonged was broken during the latter part of the XVIIth and wholly through the XVIIIth century. The fighting man of the earlier part of the XVIIth century may possibly have possessed, from tradition, a truer understanding of what the armet head-piece really was than we possess to-day; but after that period the original and true interpretation of the armet head-piece was lost, from the fact that this type of helmet had fallen into disuse for so long a period. We have, therefore, nothing to guide us but loosely expressed contemporary records.

The derivation of the word armet is also obscure, and the Baron de Cosson himself does not appear to have come to any definite conclusion on

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the point. It has usually been spoken of as a variation of the word *heaumet*, the diminutive of *heaume*, just as *helmet* is the diminutive of *helm*; but the two former names are clearly given to two distinctive helmets in *Le Challenge de Phillippe de Bouton* (1467), the combatants being expected to fight "*portant armet ou heaulmet ou choys et plaisir dunch'un de nous.*" Littré has found a passage in a writer of the XIVth century from which he deduces the conclusion that *armet* was not derived at all from *heaumet*. He quotes Girard de Ross, who says: "*Li ars [l'air] resplendit touz les splendissours des armes, des armez, des aubers, des lances, des jusarmes.*"



FIG. 425. MEDAL OF SIGISMUNDO PANDOLFO DI MALATESTA
Executed about 1445 by Vittore Pisano

and observes that it is strange that this earliest form of the word should not show any traces of the transformation from *heaumet*, but appears to be derived from *arme*. As the Baron de Cosson remarks: "The passage in no way indicates what kind of head-pieces were described as *armes* in the XIVth century, and the word may have no connection with the *armet* of the XVth; besides which the orthography of that period is not a very safe guide to the derivation of a word."

One of the first mentions of the *armet* is made in 1443 by Olivier de la Marche in his description of a passage of arms between two mounted knights, the less fortunate knight, Bernard de Béarn, receiving a blow

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"sur le bord du clou qui tient la visière de l'armet." For early pictorial or sculptural evidence, other than that afforded by the celebrated Uccello battle-piece in the National Gallery, we rely largely on the evidence of Vittore Pisano's medal, executed about 1445, of Sigismondo Pandolfo di Malatesta, Lord of Rimini, which shows an armet with the rondel, so characteristic of this helmet (Fig. 425). Two years later Pisano again depicts the same type of head-piece upon a man at arms on the reverse of a medal which represents Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan (Fig. 426); while on the reverse of a medal of Domenico Malatesta, called Novello, he represents a knight



FIG. 426. REVERSE OF A MEDAL OF FILIPPO MARIA VISCONTI, DUKE OF MILAN
Executed about 1447 by Vittore Pisano

kneeling before a crucifix and wearing as head-piece an armet with a clearly defined rondel at its back (Fig. 427).

A few years elapse, and in 1450 we read of Jacques d'Avanchies wearing in his famous fights with Jacques de Lalain "*un armet en tête*," but that he "*ne voyait pas bien en son armet*." He also fought "*en salade et gorgerin de forte maille*," while de Lalain wore "*le bassinnet*."

The armet was a distinct advance on any helmet that had previously been in use, the most protective of which had been either a head defence with a visor and separate chin-piece, or a helm that was put over and covered the whole head. The armet, while forming a better protection than the

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former, was lighter and more convenient than either; at the same time it had the very distinct advantage over every other type of early helmet of having in its more advanced form its weight borne by the gorget instead of resting on the head.

Speaking in the broadest sense, the armet may be classed under two headings, the so-called Italian and the later English variety. The difference between the two consisted in the manner of opening the head-piece; for the general shape and the visor protection of the face were practically identical. The Italian or continental armet almost invariably had complete cheek-plates



FIG. 427. REVERSE OF A MEDAL OF DOMENICO MALATESTA, CALLED NOVELLO
Executed about 1450 by Vittore Pisano

opening outwards on a hinge attached to the skull-piece immediately below the visor pivot. The cheek-plates joined in front of the chin, and the visor fitted over them when lowered. The skull-piece was continued down the back of the neck by a piece only a few inches wide, which was partially overlapped by the cheek-pieces. From this narrow piece projected a short stem on which a disk or rondel, sometimes termed the volet, was fixed. Concerning the use to which this rondel, which is characteristic of the armet and is never omitted from the early type, may have been put, there has been some difference of opinion; but there can be little doubt that it was added as a protection to the opening of the helmet at the back. The skull-piece of the English armet was modelled more to the shape of the head, extending so as

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to cover the back of the neck and the ears; while a movable chin-piece was attached by the same pivots as controlled the visor. This type had a distinct advantage over the continental and earlier type, since it avoided the weak spot at the juncture of the cheek-plates with the narrow neck-piece at the back, and did away with the necessity of the rondel, which is seldom found in an English made armet. The movable chin-piece was fixed firmly by a hook or spring-bolt at the side.

From the continental type we should perhaps exclude the armets of German make. These were all of a late type, and had many individual features of their own.

The *buffe*, or *grande bavière*, was so often associated with the armet, that it might almost be taken for an integral part of the helmet proper. In the Uccello picture in the National Gallery no head-piece is seen without this additional protection. It was a reinforcing plate, fashioned much on the lines of the bevor of the *salade*; but worn on the armet it fitted over the chin and the lower part of the visor, effectually preventing the latter piece, which was unfastened in the early armets, from being forced up by a lance or sword thrust. These buffes were in almost every case attached by a strap or double straps passing round the neck of the helmet and buckling beneath the rondel at the back. A very good mid-XVth century illustration of the buffe attached by the strap is to be noted on the sculptured stone architrave in the Ducal Palace at Urbino, known as "the door of war"; where, carved in the motif of the ornamentation, there is a bas-relief profile view of an armet. The pin and rivet attachment of the mesail, the rondel, and the buffe attached by a stout strap are all admirably rendered (Fig. 428). Such buffes are also most clearly visible, sculptured on the splendid bas-reliefs that decorate the tomb erected between 1494 and 1497 to the memory of Gian Galeazzo Visconti in the right transept of the Certosa di Pavia, near Milan, casts of which may be seen in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

The increasing use of the armet was not uniform throughout civilized Europe. The countries of central Europe generally never appeared quite to



FIG. 428. BAS-RELIEF

From the architrave of the famous "door of war" in the Ducal Palace, Urbino. Middle of XVth century

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appreciate it, and, as we stated in a previous chapter, they retained the *salade* with stubborn conservatism; indeed, until after the early years of the XVIth century, head-pieces of any other description are seldom found on suits of German make. England, in her slowness to adopt any new fashion in armour defence, was also behindhand in taking to the *armet*; but with this difference, that when the qualities of the *armet* as a head defence were proved to excel those of the *bascinet* and *salade*, she practically discarded all others. This was not, however, until the closing years of the XVth or commencement of the XVIth century. It is certainly safe to say that no country to-day can show such an array of closed helmets of the *armet* type as England; they are not in her armouries, public and private, but distributed among the country churches, where they are to be seen hanging above the tombs of various knightly families.

Passing to the individual helmets of the *armet* type that are extant, we find, as in the case of other armaments, that the continental collections retain most of the earliest examples. It is impossible to name a particular date and say "the earliest type appeared then;" for with one exception known to the present writer, the *armet* certainly fails to figure in missal or sculpture until well into the second quarter of the XVth century. The only pictorial evidence of an *armet* head-piece of earlier date appears in the famous fresco at Rome, attributed to Masolino, which, as most authorities now recognize, was painted some time between 1420 and 1425 (see vol. i, Fig. 200). This testimony corroborates the opinion of the Baron de Cosson, whom we look on as the greatest authority on the *armet* head-piece, that they were doubtless in use as early as 1410-20. Quite recently the Baron's theory has been borne out from the examination of the Italian armour from Chalcis, now in the Ethnological Museum at Athens. This armour was discovered in the year 1840 (according to Buchon who was present on the occasion) during some alterations which were being made to the Military Hospital in the castle of Chalcis in Euboea, thirteen miles from Thebes. All the pieces had been bricked up in a casement (*un réduit*) and were only brought to light by the falling down of a party wall. Hefner, in his *Trachten des christlichen Mittelalters* (vol. i, p. 83), gives indifferent illustrations of certain of the helmets and states that they were found in a cistern.

The collection consists of *bascinets*, *salades*, *armets*, some body armour and *jambes*, *cuisses*, and *arm-pieces*; in all probability they were not walled up intentionally before the evacuation of the castle; for they would hardly have been worth the trouble of preserving. But it seems more likely that

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they were thrown aside as needing repairs or as being past repairing. For Hefner's statement that they were found in a cistern, there is no authority. Buchon, too, only mentions their having been found and gives no details beyond those we have mentioned. On its discovery the armour was first removed to Athens and placed in the museum of the Acropolis; but at a later date it was removed to the Ethnological Museum, where it was, until quite recently, labelled *Casques Normands, Croisades du XII^e Siècle*. Buchon in his notes dealing with the Chalcis collection in *La Grèce et la Morée* (page 134) connects this group of helmets and other armour with the battle of Lake Copais, where in 1311 the chivalry of the Morea was defeated by the Catalan Grand Company. This, from the nature of the armaments discovered, is, on the face of it, impossible. It is probable, however, as the castle of Chalcis was



FIG. 429. ARMET FROM CHALCIS

First half of XVth century. Now in the Ethnographical Museum, Athens
(a) Profile view; (b) Back view

captured by the Turks from the Venetians in 1470, that this hoard was part of the armour of the captured Venetians, and that owing to its fragmentary nature it was thrown aside as useless by the Turks. It has been rather vaguely stated that the group dates from the middle of the XIVth century, until the defeat of the Venetians in 1470; but we have no hesitation in saying that no single piece can be assigned to a date earlier than the closing years of the XIVth century, not even the bascinet helmets, all of which are of a very late type, even if crude in workmanship.

But we are more particularly interested in the three armets of this group, for, associated as they are with the bascinets and early salades found at Chalcis, they confirm the Baron de Cosson's theory of the mid-XVth century existence of this particular class of head-piece. Two of the armets are illus-

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trated in *Archaeologia* (vol. lxii, Plate LIII), the complete one (Fig. 429, *a, b*) being very similar in the skull- and cheek-pieces to an example at the Museum of Artillery in the Rotunda, Woolwich (Fig. 431), and to the fine and complete armet in the Baron's own collection (Fig. 430). The great likeness in these three armets is in the extreme depth of the cheek-plates, in the keel-like cross section of the skull-piece, and in the simple formation of the upper



FIG. 430. ARMET

Italian, about 1440. Collection: Baron de Cosson

outline of the reinforcing forehead plate. This last mentioned point we draw attention to, as it will be noticed, on reference to the illustration of the more advanced armets of the XVth century (see Fig. 437), that this plate has a tendency to become elaborate in its outline and that the single curve is at a later date usually duplicated. The face opening in all the three armets under discussion is also strengthened by a strip of iron of square section riveted round the edge of the skull- and cheek-pieces; while at the back of the neck of the Chalcis armet projects a square pin, which held the rondel.

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On the three armets found at Chalcis, as on the de Cosson and Rotunda head-pieces, there are brass or iron staples at intervals round the lower edge. These were for the attachment of the camail in a similar manner to that adopted in the case of the XIVth century bascinet. This was almost a necessity; for in the early armets, before the protective neck-plates of metal were added, the helmet offered a very vulnerable spot in the region of the neck.

The de Cosson armet, which we have alluded to as having the same characteristics as the Chalcis armets, is the most complete and earliest of its kind known to the present writer (Fig. 430). It was purchased by the Baron thirty-five years ago of Messrs. Willson, the well-known London dealers, to whose gallery it was brought by an Italian dealer in works of art. We mention this fact because we tried, but unsuccessfully, to trace its history previous to its purchase by Messrs. Willson. So, although it was painted in exactly the same manner as the helmets seen hanging in English churches, the circumstance of its having been purchased from an Italian dealer inclines us to think that it was brought from Italy to England for sale. Its fashion and workmanship we unhesitatingly pronounce to be Italian. From the resemblance of its staples to those found on the bascinet head-piece of late XIVth century date, and from its form and workmanship, it must be, as we have already said, one of the earliest armets of its type known. The same pin and hinge arrangement which is found on the bascinet secures the visor to the helmet. The ocularium is not cut in the visor; but like those of somewhat later date is formed by the space between the upper edge of the visor and the lower edge of the reinforcing plate on the forehead. The lower part of the armet consists of two cheek-pieces, hinged to the crown just under the pivots of the visor, which overlap in front and were strapped together below the chin. At the back the small skull-piece is continued by a narrow piece down the back of the neck, and this is overlapped by the cheek-pieces, leaving, however, the central portion of the tail-piece uncovered; from the base of this projects a short stem, to which was originally attached the rondel. The tail of the skull-piece does not quite reach the lower edge of the armet, but is continued by a small piece fixed to it with rivets working in slots, so that when the head was thrown back, the small plate could slide slightly upwards. The staples for the camail are fifteen in number and are of brass. Between the staples are rivets for the lining, which must have covered the whole inside of the helmet, and which was sewn in over the forehead through holes to be seen behind the reinforcing piece. The

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armet is small but heavy, weighing 9 lb. 6 oz. At its summit is a hole by which was attached the crest. It bears a most interesting armourer's mark, the letter L in a circle, and below a name in full, LIONARDO.

The armet at the Rotunda, Woolwich (Fig. 431), possesses exactly



FIG. 431. ARMET

Italian, about 1440. Museum of the Rotunda, Woolwich

the same marked characteristics as the others with which we have associated it. Indeed, this armet is so similar to the one just described that only its differences need be noted. It has not, and appears never to have had, any reinforcing piece over the front of the skull-piece; neither is there any trace of the stem to hold the rondel at the back, which from the very high quali-

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ties of workmanship employed in this head-piece is rather noteworthy. The arrangement for securing the lining is precisely the same as is to be found on the de Cosson helmet. The armourer's mark upon it is a hand with the first and second fingers extended, and the thumb and remaining fingers closed. The visor is lost; but the rivets and staple fastening by which it was attached are in position. This fine head-piece is scheduled, like other armour in the Rotunda, as coming from the Isle of Rhodes.

In our endeavour to form an opinion as to which of these interesting armets was the earliest, we must look critically at the slight variations in



(a)



(b)

FIG. 432. ARMET

Italian, first half of XVth century. The cheek-pieces are restorations
Collection: Sir Farnham Burke, K.C.V.O.

(a) Profile view

(b) Front view

their construction, and try to determine what was most likely to have been evolved from the type of helmet that was in vogue in the years immediately preceding. It can be taken for granted that the chief variations in these very early armets are traceable to the formation of the visor, to the method of producing the ocularia, and to the reinforcing piece on the fore part of the skull. Authorities have generally taken it for granted that the short, thick visor which fell low enough to form a space to look through between its upper edge and the lower edge of the skull-piece, was the earliest form, owing to its very simplicity. But we are inclined to believe that we have not looked far enough ahead, and that we must take into consideration the reinforcing piece on the forehead, which is nearly always present on these earliest

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armets. Let us ask, "Why is it there?" It was never found on the bascinet, the immediate forerunner of the armet." But what we do find on the bascinet is a complete visor with ocularia and its upper part extending over the forehead as a reinforcement. We suggest, therefore, that in the natural order of things the first visor on the armet was a complete one, such as was used on the bascinet in a modified form, and that the next step was the dividing of the visor into two at the ocularia, converting the upper part into a fixed reinforcing plate on the forehead, and creating a simple ocularium above the visor as described. This suggestion seems reasonable; for such



FIG. 433. ARMET

Italian, first half of XVth century, shown with the visor closed and original heavy wrapper in position
Collection: Baron de Cosson



FIG. 434. THE SAME ARMET
With the visor raised and buffe removed

an arrangement would certainly have produced a visor more easily raised or closed; visors being of heavy construction in those days.

There are two armets possessing the large visor which we think support our view.

The first armet of this type possessing such a visor is now in the collection of Sir Farnham Burke (Fig. 432) a helmet which the Baron de Cosson assigns to the second quarter of the XVth century, thus giving considerable support to our theory, if his opinion be correct. The skull-piece of the armet appears somewhat crudely fashioned in spite of its being of Italian workmanship. Of its nationality we are sure, since it bears an armourer's mark akin to that used by the Missaglia family of Milan; though it hung for centuries in a church in England from which it was obtained by its late owner. This

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helmet has been subjected to clumsy alterations and poorly executed repairs that greatly mar its present appearance. The second armet with large visor supplies better evidence, and has been the means of inclining the Baron de Cosson to a belief in our theory as to the earliest form of armet visor. This is an extremely interesting helmet quite recently brought to light in Italy; it fortunately fell into the Baron's hands, in whose collection it is now to be seen. The armet must be of a very early date, indeed of as early a date as that of the Farnham Burke example; for its visor possesses all the characteristics of the heavily constructed ample visors to which we have just referred (Figs. 433 and 434) and is of the complete kind, solidly fashioned, and furnished with ocularia slits. This helmet, which is perfect in all its details, even to its original detached reinforcing buffe, was found to be sadly battered and knocked about when it came into the possession of its present owner, who has, however, most skilfully remedied the damage incurred by the ill-usage of the past.

To leave theorizing on this subject of what may have been the form of the earliest armet visors, we will mention here two extraordinary and early armets forming part of the Graf G. Trapp collection in the Schloss Churburg, which have visors unique of their kind. We have never had the good fortune to see these armets or even to obtain a photograph of them; but the following is their description given to us by one who has handled them. The section of their combs and the formation of their skull-pieces present no great variation from those of most helmets of the armet type; but they are undoubtedly of very early date, probably coming within the first quarter of the XVth century. It is, however, the form of their face defence that makes this pair of armets so remarkable. It is contrived by having the lower edge of the visor and the upper edge of the cheek-plates cut out in regular castellations, the two edges being so arranged that the rectangular projections on the one fit into the corresponding indentations on the other; so that when the visor is closed there are no apertures to look through other than those cracks between the edges of the plates.

We should also like to mention amongst curious armets that have



FIG. 435. ARMET
Possibly Polish, late XVth
century
Collection: Sir Farnham
Burke, K.C.V.O.

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come to our notice two which were obtained from Mlowa [?], in Russian Poland. They were ugly and poorly made; but they unmistakably belonged to a type that was markedly racial. They are the only two of their type with which we are acquainted; and it is just possible that they were the work of some provincial Polish armourer who had as his model a head-piece he only half understood (Fig. 435).

In reviewing the more ordinary and advanced type of armet, let us first examine three head-pieces that are easily accessible, namely, the three armets in the Wallace Collection, Nos. 85, 84, and 81. No. 85 appears to be the earliest (Fig. 436). The skull-piece has the keel form ridge with the slightly



FIG. 436. ARMET
Italian, second half of XVth century
No. 85, Wallace Collection



FIG. 437. ARMET
Italian, second half of XVth century
No. 84, Wallace Collection

flattened top; the forehead is strongly reinforced by an extra plate, out of the upper part of which are cut two semi-circles. The cheek-pieces are full, slightly overlap at the chin, and finish below in an inturned edge of triangular section to lend additional strength. The visor is of one plate, bluntly pointed, and is without any kind of apertures for ventilation. The ocularium is formed by the space between the top of the visor and the lower edge of the reinforcing plate of the skull-piece. The back of the skull-piece bears an armourer's mark, three times repeated, which is of Milanese origin. The protective rondel on the tail-piece is missing, but the hole for its stem is to be seen. An interesting feature of this head-piece is the applied strip of iron, three-quarters of an inch wide, attached by three rosette-headed rivets which originally covered a leather strap, to

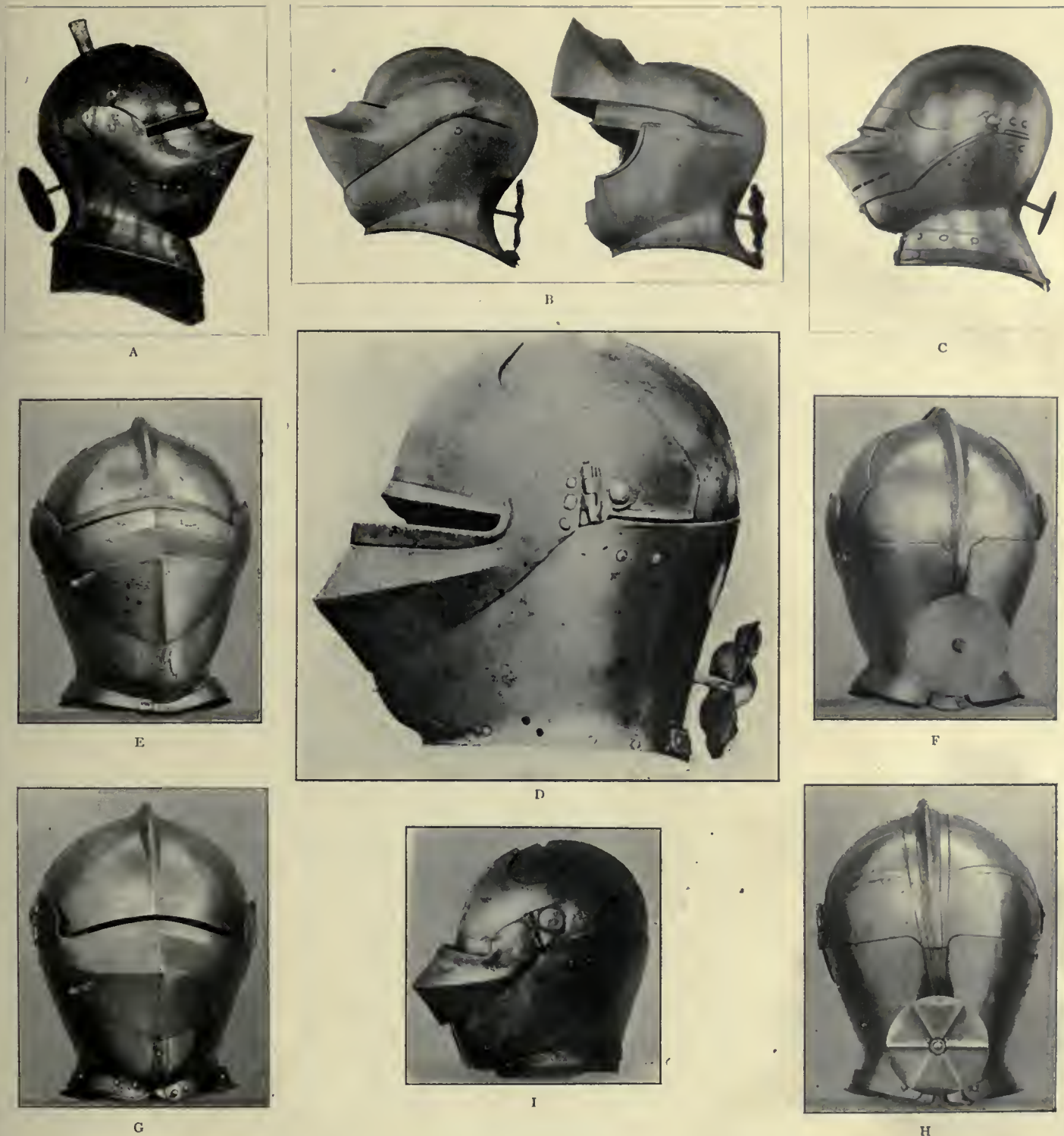


FIG. 438

- A. Armet, Italian, about 1500. It has been subjected to certain alterations. Now collection, Baron de Cosson.
- B. Armet, Spanish, about 1470-80. Ex Don José Argaiz collection, Madrid. Now collection, Baron de Cosson. Viewed with visor closed and open.
- C. Armet, Italian, about 1500, showing the original leather strap for the attachment of the camail. From the Castello Paccietto, Padua. Now collection, Baron de Cosson.
- D. Armet, Italian, about 1470. It bears the Missaglia mark. From the Bécoulet Collection. Now collection, Baron de Cosson.
- E and F. Armet, Italian, about 1480. Ressman and Dino Collections. Now Metropolitan Museum of New York. Viewed back and front.
- G and H. Armet, Italian, about 1490. Ressman, Cosson, and Dino Collections. Now Metropolitan Museum of New York. Viewed back and front.
- I. Armet, Italian, about 1470. Formerly in the armoury of the Doge's Palace. Now in the Museo Civico, Venice.

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which the camail was attached, a method that superseded fastening the camail directly to the exposed staples. This head-piece is of the third quarter of the XVth century.

It is interesting to compare No. 84 Wallace Collection (Fig. 437) with the example just described. It shows a slightly advanced type, though it is only a few years later in date. It will be noticed that the cheek-pieces are more ample, and more closely modelled to the shape of the side of the face and of the neck; they also extend to a greater length, splaying out towards



FIG. 439. ARMET

Italian, about 1470. Collection: Baron de Cosson

their base in a gorget-like manner; at the back they slightly overlap and are attached to one another by a turning pin. The strip of iron that covered the leather strap to which the camail was attached is missing; though the holes for the rivets that fixed it can be seen. It will be observed in the case of both these armets that the hinge and pin arrangement for attaching the visor, which, as we saw on the bascinet, made possible a rapid removal or re-fixing of this defence, is now placed in a position of safety beneath the extremities of the visor. Space to permit of this arrangement is obtained by the visor being slightly embossed at the extremities so as to allow space for the concealed hinge between the visor and skull-piece of the helmet.

THE ARMET HEAD-PIECE

We will not weary our readers with a full description of the other Italian armets we illustrate; but so rare is a complete head-piece of this type, that we have been at some considerable trouble to collect a group of sufficient number to show the varieties of form of these head-pieces. The examples illustrated (Fig. 438) are of north Italian make and fashion and date from about 1470 to 1510.

Three other armets of the Italian type we reproduce on a larger scale. The first (Fig. 439) shows the chain camail fastened beneath the lower edge of



FIG. 440. ARMET

Italian, or possibly Spanish, about 1480. Collection: Mr. Frank B. Macomber, Boston, now in the Cleveland Museum

the helmet. The second (Fig. 440) is an armet which is considered by some to be of Spanish origin, but which, in the present writer's opinion, is also north Italian, dating from about 1480. As in the case of other armets referred to (Figs. 436 and 437), around the base of the skull-piece of this helmet there is riveted a thin strip of metal beneath which was the leather strap to which the camail was sewn. The third armet (Fig. 441) is a very fine north Italian example in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris (No. H 56). Here can still be seen the true Italian armet, but in its latest form. The low comb of the skull-piece is already cabled, and a suggestion of similar ornamentation appears on the visor. The borders of the principal plates, and other parts of

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the armet, are carefully etched and gilded in the Milanese manner which is usually associated with the decorated Missaglia plate armour of the early years of the XVIth century, the period to which this armet belongs.

The group of armets which we next illustrate (Fig. 442) are all of Italian workmanship; but they are of great interest to us, all having come from English churches, where they must have been preserved almost from the time of their manufacture. Each has hung over the tomb of some notable personage of late XVth or early XVIth century times. We know quite a score of other Italian close helmets to be seen in English churches; but we have not



FIG. 441. ARMET

Italian, Milanese, about 1500. H 56, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

thought it worth while to illustrate them or to refer to them individually. Two explanations can be given of the presence in our English churches of so many late XVth century Italian helmets of the armet type. Either these Italian close head-pieces actually had a popular vogue among the fighting gentlemen of the times of the Wars of the Roses, who, like the famous Earl of Warwick, preferred Italian made harnesses; or those who furnished the heraldic achievements in the XVIth century made large purchases abroad of these head-pieces, then fast becoming obsolete, which, with judicious decoration, they were able to use, in conjunction with the carved wood funeral crests, for the obsequies of deceased knights. Although



A



B



C



D



E

FIG. 442. FOUR ITALIAN ARMETS

Third quarter of XVth century, but which have been in England almost from the time of their manufacture—all from English churches

- A. Armet, about 1480, with a wooden crest (a Talbot), said to have belonged to Sir William Drury. Hawstead Church, Suffolk. B. The same, full face view. C. Armet, the skull-piece Italian, about 1490. A mesail has been adapted to it in England. Found some years ago in a church in Norfolk. D. Armet, the skull-piece Italian, about 1480, with a XVIth century wooden crest, and a buffe of the same period added. Hanging on the tomb of Sir George Brooke, K.G., Cobham Church, Kent. E. Armet, incomplete, Italian, about 1480. Aldenham Church.

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it is far less romantic, we are inclined to accept the latter theory. We have on several occasions seen a fine late XVth century armet hanging above the tomb of some worthy of late XVth or early XVIIth century date, when it has been perfectly evident from the discrepancy of date alone that the head-piece could not have been worn by the knight over whose tomb it is hung, and that the helmet must have been supplied out of "stock" by the funeral furnisher.

Of the purely Spanish type of the armet head-piece, apart from those which it has been suggested *might* be Spanish, we can give no better illustration than the third armet in the Wallace Collection, No. 81 (Fig. 443). We



FIG. 443. ARMET

Spanish, about 1500. The surface is blued. No. 81, Wallace Collection

look upon it as belonging to the first quarter of the XVIth century. Its entire surface is blued, and though its workmanship is on the whole poor and rough, a good deal of spirit is shown in its general form. The skull-piece has a low roped crown, the greater part of the forehead being reinforced. The cheek-pieces are very ample, and curl out at their edges, where there are small holes through which the lining was secured. It seems improbable that this armet ever had an attached camail. It has the full ordinary visor, extending to the forehead, with the ocularia pierced in it, and with holes in the lower part of it for ventilation. A characteristic Spanish feature may be noted in the fluting of the visor immediately below the snout. This we also find on a visor of a Spanish armet formerly in our own possession, but now in a private continental collection (Fig. 444).

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There is an armourer's mark of some importance on the back of the skull of the Wallace Spanish armet; but it has been so rubbed down in the past by overcleaning of the helmet as to be almost obliterated.

In what we are about to describe as the English variety of the armet, we note an Italian influence in construction, but an Italian influence subservient to a curious insular simplicity. The splendidly protective Italian armet of about 1460-70 was indubitably the forbear of the English armet of the first quarter of the XVIth century. But it must be borne in mind that a long period had now elapsed before the group of closed helmets we illustrate (Fig. 445) were in general use in England. The result was that the beauty of contour which marked the Italian model had disappeared, to be replaced by an originality in the shaping of the skull-piece and of the visor not wholly displeasing to armour enthusiasts, who find in them the same attraction that



FIG. 444. ARMET

Spanish, about 1500. It has at some time been subject to alterations
Ex Murrietta Collection

they discover in the ordinary furniture and decoration of the English home of the period, which was then being subjected to a but dimly appreciated Renaissance influence. Let us now look at the English armet and note how the form and construction vary from those of the Italian model. The most important differences are in the formation of the protective plates for the cheek and chin, and in the manner in which the helmet is opened, so as to place it upon the head. Seldom, in the present writer's opinion, do we find on English made armets the large whole cheek-pieces opening outwards on a separate hinge below the visor pivots; but the chin and cheek defences are of one whole piece like those seen on nearly all XVIth century close helmets. Such chin-pieces were hinged on the visor pivot itself, with the result that the helmet, when being adjusted on the head, had to be opened at the sides. It can readily be understood that, with this arrangement for opening, the use of the short chain camail so characteristic of the Italian armet became

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impracticable, as it would have necessitated the division of the camail at the side, with the consequent loss of its protective quality. The camail is therefore nearly always replaced on English made armets by gorget plates such as are seen on helmets of a later period. A good illustration of these is to be noted on the Bury St. Edmunds armet (Fig. 445, A, B). It is difficult to explain the characteristic contour of the back of the skull-piece to which we have referred; but taken generally it will be found that the top of the skull-piece is somewhat flattened, and that from a point about half-way down the back a concave outline is apparent. An examination of the illustrations of the armet which can be seen in Eye Church, Suffolk (Fig. 446), a very characteristic English example, will help the armour student to appreciate this particular form of skull-piece. Another feature of the English made armet consists in the circumstance that while the fore part of the skull-piece is reinforced with a plate of the same form, as can be seen on those of Italian origin, the ocularium is rarely formed by the space between this plate and the top of the visor. In nearly all cases English made armets, when they possess their original visors, have sight-slits in the visor itself, as in the case of the earliest Italian forms (see pages 81, 82, Figs. 432 and 433) or as seen on the Spanish armets (Figs. 443 and 444). Of the armourers who produced these ordinary early XVth century fighting head-pieces, or indeed of any English made armour of these times, we are wholly ignorant. The armets are as a rule unmarked; and if by chance an armourer's mark is found it is sure to be one of which no record exists. We think that many of the original visors of the English armets shown in our illustrations, from English churches, must have been altered or adapted when they were used for funerary purposes. We have noted those which, in our opinion, are preserved in their original condition.

In the case of two other helmets (Figs. 445, I, J) we see a somewhat different form of English armet, an armet in which the general proportions of the head-piece appear to be evolved from the later bascinet helmets of the middle of the XVth century. They are the only two English armets of this type with which we are acquainted, and their general construction leaves little doubt that they were made by the same armourer. Both skull-pieces are drawn out to an apex at the top, while the chin-pieces and the tails of the skull-pieces, which are complete, splay outwards in the manner of gorgets; but this formation of the lower part of the helmet is not brought about by the addition of gorget plates, as seen in most English made armets, but by the formation of the lower edge of the helmet, which is drawn or flanged out of the back of the skull-piece and from the chin-plate itself. The second



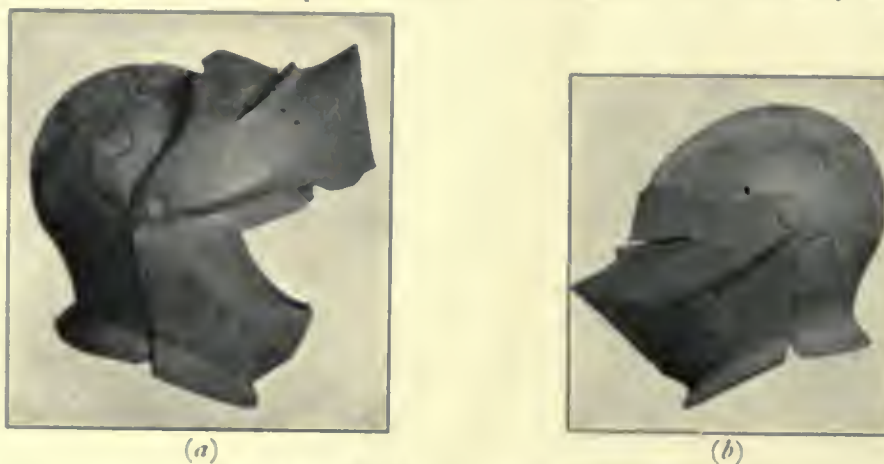
FIG. 445. THE ENGLISH ARMET

A and B. Profile and three-quarter view of a complete armet of about 1510, in the parish church of St. Mary, Bury St. Edmunds.
 C. Armet, altered for funerary purposes, about 1515. The skull-piece may be Italian of about 1480. In the parish church of St. Mary, Bury St. Edmunds. D. Armet, about 1520, the gorget plates are not the original. Tower of London. E. Armet, about 1525, the gorget plates wanting. Collection: Sir Edward Barry, Bart. F. Armet, probably of the Capel family, about 1520. From old Rayne Church, Essex (see page 155). It has the wrapper round the bevor. Collection: Mr. Henry G. Keasby.
 G. Armet, English, about 1520. The skull-piece might possibly be Italian. H. Armet, altered late in the XVIth century for funerary purposes. Hanging above the Hastings tomb in Stoke Poges Church. I. Skull-piece of an armet of a different type, about 1500. Formerly belonging to the Dering family, Surrenden, Kent. Collection: Sir Edward Barry, Bart. J. Armet apparently by the same armourer as the skull-piece I. This head-piece is complete and untouched. In St. Peter's Church, Stourton, Wilts.

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of these two helmets (Fig. 445 j) is still in St. Peter's Church, Stourton; but the first (Fig. 445 i), which lacks its visor, is now in the collection of Sir Edward Barry of Ockwells Manor. The painted surface of this last-mentioned helmet makes us confident that it must originally have hung in some English church.

Finally, we will turn to the German make of the armet head-piece. These helmets appear to have been characterized by no particular originality of form, the great German armourers of the early years of the XVIth century contenting themselves with copying the best model of the head-piece procurable, namely, the north Italian type of the closing years of the XVth century. As we have said, the armet head-piece found little favour in Germany, and though



(a)

(b)

FIG. 446. A TYPICAL ENGLISH ARMET

About 1520-30. Eye Church, Suffolk

(a) Profile view, the visor raised; (b) Profile view, the visor closed

we are able to give illustrations of two which are the work of perhaps the most famous of all the German armourers, we know that both were made to be sent to other countries, the first to England, the second to Spain.

The armet (Fig. 447) made by Conrad Seusenhofer of Innsbrück, which goes with the suit (Fig. 1016) given by the Emperor Maximilian to King Henry VIII, is a proof of the German armourer's custom of producing a faithful copy of the absolutely Milanese form of armet. Had the head-piece lacked its Germanic enrichment and the armourer's mark adopted by Seusenhofer, we should without hesitation have pronounced it to be Italian both in form and workmanship, which latter is of the finest, even excelling that of any Milanese armet with which we are acquainted. The large wrapper or *buffe* which reinforces the chin-piece is attached by a simple strap. Of its surface enrichment we have spoken when we described the suit

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to which it belongs. The second German made armet is the work of Koloman Kolman of Augsburg and originally formed part of a suit made for the Emperor Charles V in 1521, a suit now missing from the Royal



FIG. 447. ARMET WITH ITS ADDITIONAL BUFFE

Made by Conrad Seusenhofer of Innsbrück and presented; together with the suit to which it belongs, by the Emperor Maximilian I to King Henry VIII some time between 1511 and 1514. Tower of London. Class II, No. 5

Armoury, Madrid. The armet is numbered A 75 to A 83 in the official catalogue (Fig. 448). Again the model is strictly Italian, though generally a little later in style than that of the Seusenhofer armet. It is, however, one of the most complete forms of this type of head-piece extant, possessing no fewer than eight additional reinforcements for various purposes. A feature to be

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noted on the reinforcing piece over the forehead (Fig. 448A) is that in place of the semicircular forms which the back outline of this plate usually follows, the edge on either side adapts itself to the forms of an imperial eagle, of the columns of Hercules, of a link of the order of the Golden Fleece, all of which are emblematic of its royal wearer, an ornamentation which is further elaborated by etching and gilding in the form of the pomegranate, and by the inscription of the motto, PLUS OULTRE.

In the same way that the *salade*—especially that of German origin—was occasionally surmounted with an elaborate crest, so was the *armet* decorated in its turn. For proof one has only to consult once more the Uccello picture in the National Gallery, in which the crests are very much in evidence. We hardly think that they could have had any heraldic significance. They do not seem to be characterized by the heraldic spirit, but the decoration is rather barbaric in character. Combinations of balls and spikes, and curiously fashioned bats' wings or fans, arranged in all manner of ways, and topped with red or green plumes or single feathers of silver and gold, appear on the *armets* of the most prominent knights. It is, however, worth noticing that certain knights in the background on the left of the picture are represented wearing *armets* which are not crested.

Plumes, lambrequins, and crests would seem to have run riot upon the head-pieces of the Italian warriors of the XVth century. On the occasion of the historic fight between Jean de Boniface and the famous Jacques de Lalain, Georges Chastelain states that the former entered the lists accompanied by his mounted squire, Giovanni Bentivoglio, who had for head-piece "*un armet, où au pardessus avoit un plumas où y avoit un croissant d'or, et aux débouts plumes de paon et au milieu une houppe de plumes de paon blanche et par-dessus tout, un couvrechef de plaisance.*" On another occasion Olivier de la Marche relates how this same Boniface had upon his *armet* as crest: "*le bras d'une dame tenant un gand volet.*"

The splendid Italian medals of the Cinquecento give us further proof of the eccentric cresting of the *salade* and *armet*. Upon the *armet* represented in the medal of Grati, Count of Bologna, the work of Sperandio, there is nothing more or less than a small flagstaff, to which is attached a tiny flag shown fluttering in the wind. Precious materials, gold, silver, and jewels, often formed part of the enrichment of the *armet*. The *armet* carried before Louis XI, on his state entry into Paris in 1461, was "*couronné et tymbre de fleur de lys d'or bien riche*"; while in the miniature painted by Jean Marot (No. 5091 Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) which represents Louis XII leaving



FIG. 448. ARMET

Belonging to a suit made in 1521 by Koloman Kolman, called Helmschmied, of Augsburg, for the Emperor Charles V. With the exception of the armet the suit is now missing

- A. Complete armet.
- B. Reinforcement for the skull-piece known as the *Escuffa*.
- C. Reinforcing plate for the front of the skull-piece.
- D. Differently formed reinforcing plate also for the front of the skull-piece.
- E. Complete fighting visor.
- F. Reinforcing mesail with single open aperture on the dexter side.
- G. A similar reinforcing mesail.
- H. Tournament mentonnière, with screw holes for attaching it to the breastplate.
- I. Wrapper or additional chin-piece with gorget plates attached.

A 75 to A 83 in the Royal Armoury, Madrid

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Alexandra in 1507 to chastise the city of Genoa, the King wears an armet with the rondel, and elaborated with a panache and plume of feathers. At a later date Brantôme states that the armet of Francis I, at Marignano, was "*orné d'une rose d'escarboucle.*"

The armet, both of English and of Italian origin, when it is found as a knight's achievement over his tomb, is often surmounted by a crest; we illustrate the one now hanging over the tomb of Sir George Brooke, K.G., in Cobham Church, Kent (Fig. 442 b). These crests are all, however, made for funerary purposes only, and are of carved and painted wood, which, from their very weight, would have rendered their use on the helmet impossible in fighting or even for ceremonial use. Other such funerary crests are to be seen on the armet of the Hastings family in Stoke Poges Church (Fig. 445 n), and on the armet said to have belonged to Sir William Drury in Hawstead Church, Suffolk (Fig. 442 a and b).

In our account of the armet we have not alluded to the damaged condition of many Italian specimens, due to the cutting away of part of the anterior portion of the skull-piece and the upper part of the cheek-piece or pieces. This was due to the later use of these armets for the *Giuoco del Ponte*—the opening produced by the cutting away being covered by a large roughly made barred visor. Where these damaged armets have passed into the hands of armour collectors they have often been restored. It is not without interest to collectors to know that they may still have the good fortune to recognize in an old Pisa helmet the remains of an Italian armet.

CHAPTER XIII

THE HELM OF THE XVTH CENTURY



UP to the first years of the XVth century the helm continued to be the principal head defence of the knight both on the battle-field and in the joust; but from this point onwards it lost popularity in its double capacity, and was discarded as a war defence. It was found that the visored bascinet, armet, and salade possessed many more qualities fitting them for use in warfare, chief amongst them being the fact that they were less cumbersome and equally protective. The helm being now retained for the joust only, the weight was not of so much consequence, and the opportunity was therefore taken of adding generally to the thickness of the plates, especially in that part of the head-piece most likely to receive the lance shock. Doubtless the most interesting tilting helm in England, characteristic of the early years of the XVth century, is that credited to the ownership of King Henry V, which hangs, with his saddle and shield, upon a beam over his tomb in the Confessor's Chapel of the Abbey Church of Westminster (Fig. 449, *a*, *b*). We have to admit, however, that this is no battle-helm; it was constructed especially for jousting and not for field wear, and could not have been worn by the King on the field of Agincourt, as tradition would have us believe. That it was worn by him at all has of late years been denied, but solely on account of an error made by Rymer in his printed record of it contained in the entry of the Issue Roll of the funeral expenses of the King in 1422. The Rymer printed record reads translated: "Also to the same Thomas [Daunt] for making of a crest and helm for the King 33^s 4^d." We have, however, to thank Sir St. John Hope, who contributed an article to *Archaeologia* (vol. lxxv) on the subject, for discovering an error in Rymer that puts a different complexion on the record. Sir St. John Hope with his usual care turned to the original Latin account only to find that the word printed by Rymer as *factura* is plainly *pictura*. "*Item eidem Thome [Daunt] pro pictura unius creste et unius helme pro Rege xxxiijs iiijd.*" Thus it is a question of the painting and not of the making of a helm; and, as Sir St. John Hope says, "since no other helm is mentioned in the



FIG. 449a. HELM

First quarter of XVth century. Hanging above the tomb of King Henry V in the Abbey Church of Westminster. Profile view



FIG. 449*b*. HELM

First quarter of XVth century. Hanging above the tomb of King Henry V in the Abbey Church of Westminster. Front view

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bill, this is really an old one after all, and if an old one why not King Henry's?"

By the courtesy of Dr. Robinson, when Dean of Westminster, we were allowed to remove this helm and the other interesting achievements from their beam and to have them carefully photographed. On looking closely at the illustration of this helm (Fig. 449, *a*, *b*), and comparing it with the Pembridge helm (vol. i, Fig. 324), it will be seen that there are many points of difference. As a piece of craftsmanship the Westminster Abbey helm is vastly superior. It is made of five pieces instead of three, and is of very much greater weight. At the lower edge of the ocularia, the metal is a full quarter of an inch in thickness; while the plate at the back is comparatively thin and light. The heads of all the rivets are flush on the outside, so as to leave no projection against which the point of a lance could catch. The skull-piece of the helm is moulded much on the lines of those of the "great bascinet," and may be roughly called egg-shaped. At the summit, a plate, nearly flat, is fastened from the inside. A band of brass, engraved and once gilded, runs round the base of the helm, an addition made probably to render it more ornamental at the funeral pageant of the sovereign; but as there is in this band a series of twin holes for the attachment of a lining, there is a possibility that this brass enrichment is part of the original head-piece. In the extreme front of the lower edge of the helm is a clumsy and poorly fashioned ring for attaching the head-piece to the breastplate; but so thin and light is it, that we imagine that this poor substitute must have replaced the original ring at some early date. At the back of the helm is a staple more substantial in make and shaped to hold the strap that secured the helm to the backplate. It is interesting to observe that the metal strip that retained the staple, though now broken, once extended some distance up the back of the helm, widening towards its top, where it finished in a "cut card" ornament. This is obvious from the fact that the part of the helm once covered by the ornamental metal strip is considerably less corroded than the rest of the surface. The rivet holes, too, and certain of the rivets themselves that originally retained this strip in position are still apparent. Immediately above the mark left by the metal strip is riveted a down-turned hook. It has been supposed that this hook was for hanging the helm at the saddle bow; but the shape of the hook, its sharp point, and its position on the helm all point to its having been added for the purpose of hanging the helm to the wall over the tomb.

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There are two fine helms in Cobham Church, Kent, associated respectively with the name of Sir Nicholas Hawberk, who died in 1407, and with that of Sir Reginald Braybrook, who died in 1405. Unlike most helmets found in churches, both these head-pieces probably belonged to the knights to whose ownership they are attributed; for the dates of their deaths correspond with the fashions of the helms, and the helms resemble those engraved



FIG. 450. HELM

First quarter of XVth century. Hanging above the tomb of Sir Nicholas Hawberk, Cobham Church, Kent

on their brasses. To many persons this general aspersion on the attribution of church helmets may, at first sight, appear to be uncalled for; but it must be remembered that helmets are frequently found placed over monuments with which they have no rightful association whatsoever. The explanation of these fallacious attributions seems fairly obvious. Abstracted from the churches for various reasons during the troublous times of the Civil Wars, or removed for their better protection when the fabric of the building was undergoing repair, these head-pieces have been put

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back by persons who were either ignorant or regardless of their original positions. The result has been that the subsequent sites of these helmets have been more or less indiscriminately chosen. Indeed it will generally be found that these church helmets are later than the monuments over which they are hung. Occasionally, however, monument and helm are contemporary, in which case it is always possible they may then belong one to the other. The Nicholas Hawberk helm is almost identical with that of Henry V just described. It is made of five pieces, the only noticeable difference being that it has not the brass band added at its base. Here, too, the plates at



FIG. 451. HELM

First quarter of XVth century. Hanging above the tomb of Sir Reginald Braybrook, Cobham Church, Kent

the bottom edge are rolled outwards. Just above this rolled edge, round the front and the right rear of the helmet, is a series of twin holes for sewing in the lining, which are not, however, continued round the left rear. There is, too, as in the case of the Henry V head-piece, a poorly fashioned ring riveted to the front of the helmet, which must also be condemned. About the skull-piece of the crown are various holes intended for the aiglettes by which the orle and lambrequin, or more possibly the lining cap, was secured. Upon the summit of the helm, in the flat plate inserted at the top, are riveted four staples. To these were attached the crest (Fig. 450). The next of the only three genuine helmets of this period which we are able to describe is the second head-piece in Cobham Church, Kent, known as the Bray-

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brook helm. It is practically the same in form and construction as that just described, save that its original height was much less. Since it was first made it has been lengthened, possibly for funerary purposes; as on the lengthening rim there are no staples by which it could be attached to the breastplate, neither are there holes by which any lining could be secured. In the top of the helm is a round hole for fixing a crest (Fig. 451). Having mentioned these three tilting helms, we dispose of the class of helms that belong to the first quarter of the XVth century; for we are unacquainted with any others, English or foreign, that we dare ascribe to so early a date. True, Graf von Trapp is said to have an early XVth century helm in his wonderful collection in Schloss Churburg; but we have never had an opportunity of seeing the original, and only know of its existence from an old and faded photograph. There is likewise a helm purporting to be of this date in the *Zeughaus* of Berlin; but we have not handled it and remain therefore unconvinced of its authenticity.

As the century advances but slight alteration can be discerned in the general form of the tilting helm, or in fact in tilting armour generally, harness made for the specific purpose of the joust being much less variable in its fashion than that made for use in war. The latter almost invariably followed the civil dress of the day; while the former retained most of the conventional defences of earlier generations. Before we proceed to classify into distinct groups certain types of helms of the latter part of the XVth century, we will briefly mention an individual helm known to us, which from its Italian origin may possibly have a rightful claim to a somewhat earlier date. It is the helm, doubtless of Italian form and workmanship, which is now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, and which was purchased by the authorities there with the remainder of the Duc de Dino's Collection. From its enormous weight, we consider that it was worn in defence against the lance *à rochet*. It is forged in three pieces held together by large rivets. The skull-piece is not unlike those of later date, having a pronounced crest at the back part only, which is forged at the side with two flaps that in turn are riveted over the visor plate of the helm. The visor plate has at its base a strong hasp, pierced with three square holes, in which were fastened the staples of the breastplate. The edge of the ocularium is strengthened on the inside with a second plate of metal, thus attaining a thickness of three-fifths of an inch. At the nape of the neck is attached a buckle for fastening the helm to the backplate. On the front of the head-piece on the left are numerous traces of lance

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dents. This helm bears an Italian mark which appears to be composed of the letters P A, surmounted by a crown. At some period this rare piece of defensive armour seems to have been used as a target, as several musket balls were found in it, as well as traces of lead on its surface (Fig. 452, *a, b, c*).

We will now consider a series of tilting helms, apparently all of the same style and English in form. We can enumerate five, all constructed on the same plan, and possibly by the same maker, and all dating from the third quarter of the XVth century. In all these English made helms which are unmarked, but we think the work of the same armourer, we notice a slight resemblance in their construction and outline to a fine helm in the Porte de Hal, Brussels (Fig. 453). This helm, according to the late Herr Wendelin Boenheim, bears a mark which he attributed to Jacques Voys, an armourer of Brussels who worked for Philip the Fair. We only say that we see a resemblance between this helm and the English made helms, and do not suggest that head-pieces so insular in style could have possibly come from the hand of Jacques Voys, or even from abroad. It is possible, however, that a tournament head-piece from the hand of Voys might have constituted the original model for this particular group of English made helms. The first of them, which was exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries, is in the collection of Captain H. Lindsay, who received it from a friend, with a history wonderful and inaccurate, in which its use as an instrument of torture and the story of the Spanish Armada figured. The second is in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, a helm hanging by the site of the tomb of King Henry VI, though for no valid reason. The third, which is in the Pyx Chapel of the Abbey Church of Westminster, is a helm discovered in 1869 in the triforium of the Abbey, where it had probably remained since the days when, as Hall and other chroniclers put it, so many "solemn justs" were held in the vicinity of Westminster. The fourth, the helm of Sir John Fogge, is in Ashford Church, Kent. The fifth is included in Mr. W. H. Riggs's bequest to the Metropolitan Museum of New York. In describing one we describe all of the same family; for they vary very slightly. So we cannot do better than quote Viscount Dillon's admirable account of the Lindsay helm: "Like other helms of this class," says the Viscount, "it was originally composed of three pieces; a flattish crown with a slight ridge extending from the apex to the front; and with its hinder margin riveted to the back piece by some eleven rivets. In front, on either side, it was riveted to the front portion by three rivets—now lost. These rivets passed through the top piece, and the two turned over side portions of the



(a)



(b)



(c)

FIG. 452. HELM

Italian, third quarter of XVth century. Metropolitan Museum of New York
(a) Profile view; (b) Front view; (c) Back view

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front piece. The back piece was riveted at either side to the corresponding parts of the front by four rivets on each side. These have also been lost. The front portion is at the top, turned over and inwards, forming a ledge about one inch broad. On the right side, and thus far away from any lance stroke, is a squarish aperture, three inches by four, and probably at one time closed by a door with a spring catch. Where the upper ledge was turned down inside the helm, a piece of metal has been fixed on the interior, thus preventing any sharp edge remaining opposite the wearer's face. This piece of metal is about three inches deep and then conforms to the general lines of the front." Viscount Dillon proceeds to point out the very common error committed by modern heraldic artists of showing openings for air on the sinister side of helms. "No real tilting helms would have these, as, in an encounter of left arm to left arm, no such encouragement for a lance point to bite the surface would ever have been given." A hole, probably for hanging-up purposes, has been made in the apex of the helm, and three pairs of holes, one pair on each side and one pair behind the apex, are original, and were for points or laces to keep in position the quilted cap worn inside the helm. On the back piece, near its upper margin, are two pairs of holes which we may suppose served the purpose of fastening the helm to the wearer's backplate by means of rings and rods. This plan, which is seen in some German helms, would probably be quite as effective, if not more so, than the hasp or locket attached to the lower part of the helm at the back. The lower part of the back portion of the helm has been much corroded and broken, but was probably at no time very thick. At the neck there are sixteen holes for the connection by rivets of the leather strap to which a lining might be attached. At the lower part of the front piece, where the metal splays out for the shoulder, are three holes, two on the sinister and two on the dexter side. To these holes we may suppose were fixed the forelocks by which the helm was braced to the breastplate. This splay extends about two inches, and in later times a thinner plate, about two and a half inches deep, and with a wired margin, has been added, probably for the purpose of suspending the helm in the church.

It is not easy to say how, but it appears probable that some shock, occasioned either by the helm having received a tremendous blow on its top, or by its having fallen on its top with great violence, has thrown the various plates out of position; likewise, certain of the rivets are missing, especially those that connect the top piece with the front portion. The unusual heaviness of this helm (it weighs 25 lb. 13 oz.) is due to the great

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thickness of the top piece, which is as much as one-third of an inch (Fig. 454). As we have said, so accurate and detailed is Viscount Dillon's description of the Lindsay helm, that it would be superfluous to describe the three others with which we are acquainted, and which are of the same family; it will suffice to note their differences. Of the other three of this



FIG. 453. HELM

Late XVth century. It bears an armourer's mark attributed to Jacques Voys, armourer to Philip the Fair. Collection: Porte de Hal, Brussels

group the one most like the Lindsay helm is that now hanging on a staple by the site of the tomb of Henry VI in St. George's Chapel, Windsor (Fig. 455). The backplate is a little more *bombé* in form, and the edges of the front plate are scalloped in their outline. For funerary purposes it will be noticed that the front and back of the helm have been cut away at the base, and that to the latter a deep pointed gorget-like plate has been fastened. A spike has also been added to the top, and there are the remains

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of heraldic bars that have been riveted at intervals over the ocularium. As in the case of the Lindsay helm, the door closing the rectangular opening on the dexter side of the front plate is missing. Those readers who are attracted by the romance of the armour collector will be interested to learn that this helm and the one described on page 141 (Fig. 481) were said to have been discovered in London by Mr. Pratt, the well-known dealer in armour and arms of the first half of the XIXth century, to whom we shall have occasion to refer in a later volume of this work. The helms were



FIG. 454. HELM

English, about 1475-90. Collection: Captain H. Lindsay

purchased at the personal expense of the Prince Consort, who was informed that they were the helms which originally belonged to the respective tombs of Kings Henry VI and Edward IV. It was Mr. Pratt's tale that they had been missing from St. George's Chapel since the tombs in question were demolished by the Parliamentarians. After the purchase of the two head-pieces they were hung on staples near the spot where these kings were buried. No possible credence, however, can be attached to the attribution of their former Royal ownership, or to Mr. Pratt's supposed history of the helms; for, on the face of it, they do not correspond in date to the reigns of the

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monarchs in question. They are, however, genuine helmets of the greatest rarity, and most interesting possessions, though sadly mutilated. They have certainly been adapted at some early date for hanging over tombs. But over what tombs, and in what church, we shall never know.

The next of this family of English helmets to be considered is that now preserved in the Pyx Chapel of the Abbey Church of Westminster (Fig.



FIG. 455. HELM

English, about 1475-90. Erroneously supposed to have belonged to King Henry VI
St. George's Chapel, Windsor

456, *a, b*). For many years it was deposited on loan in the Rotunda, Woolwich. There it remained until comparatively recent times, when it was once more returned to Westminster. It has been fully described in the *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xxv, p. 224; so in this narrative it will suffice to mention the points in which it differs from the other two helmets of the class we have been dealing with. On comparing the general outline and the construction of the head-piece, it will be noticed that in the case of the Westminster helm

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the plate that forms the crown is shorter at the back, necessitating the extension of the backplate of the skull-piece, thus giving it a more pleasing



FIG. 456a. HELM

English, about 1475-90. Found in the triforium of the Abbey Church of Westminster
Now in the Pyx Chapel, Westminster. Profile view

contour. The hinge in front, the staples at the side, and the ring at the back by which the helm was attached to the backplate, are all in position. It will be

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seen that the aperture in the dexter side of this helm takes the form of three circular holes, two placed one above the other, the third a little to the left, in



FIG. 456*b*. HELM

English, about 1475-90. Found in the triforium of the Abbey Church of Westminster
Now in the Pyx Chapel, Westminster. Front view

the centre. Apparently there were never any means of closing them; for there are no rivets or holes for the rivets, by which a cover or door of any kind could be attached. The fourth of these helmets is, in our opinion,

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the most complete and interesting, even if a little inclined to be clumsy in workmanship. This is the helm hanging over the tomb of Sir John Fogge in Ashford Church, Kent (Fig. 457). The construction is precisely the same as that of the other three; but not one of the edges of the plates is scalloped. It will also be observed that a band some three inches wide is firmly riveted to the lower edge, splaying out to fit over the breastplate. Despite the great thickness of this helm, a reinforcing plate, attached by staples and pins, covers



FIG. 457. HELM

English, about 1475-90. Hanging over the tomb of Sir John Fogge, sometime Treasurer to the Household of King Edward IV, Ashford Church, Kent

the sinister side of the front. This is hardly noticeable in the illustration, the short return of the reinforcement around the front of the helm being alone visible. The weight of this helm is 23 lb. 15 oz. The fifth (Fig. 458), the New York example, certainly of the same school, is rough in make and now sadly overcleaned on the wheel; it shows that curious flanged protection to the dexter opening on its front plate which is so pronounced in the Broadwater head-piece (see page 148, Fig. 487).

These helms link together the less known types, which we date between 1470-1490, with those on the continent of a slightly later date, the portrayal



FIG. 457A. HELM
German, or possibly English, about 1490-1500. Rotunda, Museum of Artillery, Woolwich

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of which was the delight of Dürer. Fine and massive, however, as are these particular English helms, their profile outline cannot compare with those of continental origin. We can show two only of the latter class in England, one on a tilting suit in the Wallace Collection; the other in the Rotunda, Woolwich. Inasmuch as the Rotunda example, though having all the elegance of a German made helm, has been considered by some authorities as possibly of English workmanship, we will examine and describe it first.



FIG. 458. HELM

English, about 1470-90. Collection:
Mr. W. H. Riggs, Metropolitan
Museum, New York



FIG. 459. HELM

German, or possibly English, about 1450-1500.
Collection: Signor Resson, Bargello,
Florence

This helm (Fig. 457A), known as the Brocas helm, from having been purchased at the Brocas sale in 1834, has been proclaimed by the Baron de Cosson to be "perhaps the grandest jousting helm in existence." As in the case of other helms we have described, it is composed of three pieces of different thicknesses, varying according to their placement upon the head-piece, fixed together by iron rivets with salient heads a good half inch in diameter. In this case the heads are mostly covered by thin plates of brass soldered on, which led the author of the excellent account of the helm



(a)



(b)



(c)

FIG. 460. HELM

German, or possibly English, about 1520. Hanging over the tomb of Sir John Dawtrey,
St. Mary's Church, Petworth, Sussex

(a) Profile view; (b) Front view; (c) Back view

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given in the *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xxi, p. 60, to say: "The rivets are curiously composed of three metals, iron, white metal, and brass." But it will be found that most armour of this epoch that is riveted with what appear to be brass rivets is actually riveted with iron, over the heads of which a thin covering of brass is soldered. The front plate of the helm, under the opening that forms the ocularium, has been rolled back for about one inch to give it additional strength; while the upper plate is reinforced just above the opening by a strong piece riveted inside it. There are four pairs of twin aiglette holes in the crown for holding up the lining, which, at its lower edge, was secured by rivets which appear round the neck. Two inches below the most salient point at the back of the helm is a hole with a screw thread which probably served to secure the crest. There are eight holes punched just behind the line of rivets on each side of the helm. These, which are most roughly executed, were probably made for ventilation after the helm was finished. The arrangement for fixing the helm to the breast- and back-plates by means of large pierced hinges is very complete, showing a distinct advance on the other tilting helms described.

Before we deal with the essentially German helm of the Wallace Collection we will allude to a splendid head-piece that has much in common with the Brocas helm. Formerly in the Meyrick Collection, it is now in the Bargello at Florence, having been bequeathed to that museum with other portions of his collection by the late Signor Resson (Fig. 459). When the Meyrick Collection was sold, about 1875, certain of the finest pieces were disposed of privately, among others being the helm in question. It was purchased by the famous antiquary, M. Louis Carrand, in whose collection it remained many years. Signor Resson coveted this superb helm, but could not give the price asked. Eventually, however, he became possessed of it by exchanging for it the English made tilting helm (see page 140, Fig. 480) now to be seen in the Carrand Collection, Florence, and certain other objects. There is no record of how and when Sir Samuel Meyrick purchased it. In our opinion, it is possibly English made; though from the grandeur of its contour it must undoubtedly be German in conception. It differs a little from the Brocas helm, being somewhat higher in the crown, and having down either side a series of circular and oblong apertures for the purposes of hearing and for attaching the straps that held the inside cap in position. It has lost the hinge in front, the means of its attachment to the breastplate; but the seven rivet holes by which it was secured are to be seen.

The present writer thinks that the helm from Petworth Church, Sussex

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(Fig. 460, *a, b, c*) should rank as one of these so-called Anglo-German helmets, German in conception but English in make. It now hangs over the tomb of Sir John Dawtrey on the north wall of the chapel of St. Thomas à Beckett, known as the Northumberland chapel. As Sir John Dawtrey died in 1527, about the period when the helm was made, there is the possibility that it is now hanging in its proper position above the tomb to which it belongs. This helm closely resembles in contour the Brocas-Woolwich example; but it is less fine in its lines and construction, not so ample in its proportions, and lacking in general aspect that grandeur which makes the Woolwich helm so remarkable. It has rather the inclination towards the form assumed by that family of somewhat cylindrical English helmets which are mentioned on pages 106-114; but it is more shapely, the almost S-shaped swing of the line from the base of the recessed backplate to the front apex of the visor being particularly effective. The fastenings in front and back are missing, and nearly all the rivets that secured the plates together are also wanting, the parts being only held together by three or four unclinched nails. On this evidence it has been suggested that the helm was never finished, and that it was bought for funerary purposes only. But the present writer feels that so far from the helm being unfinished, it is one which had been discarded; for on the evidence of the numerous holes in the gorget of the helm it is apparent that its original mode of attachment to the breastplate has been several times altered, and that finally its lower edge has been cut away to adapt it for funerary purposes. It has been painted brown—there are traces of decoration upon it in some lighter colour. The weight of this helm is $21\frac{1}{4}$ lb. The excellent photographs of the helm which we present have been taken by kind permission of the Earl of Leconfield and through the courtesy of the vicar of St. Mary's Church, Petworth, the Rev. Thomas Penrose.

We will now turn to that characteristic helm of German make in the Wallace Collection, the first we describe of the real German series (Fig. 461). It is on the suit of tilting armour, No. 327. We had better give a detailed account both of the helm and of the body armour; for in describing this suit and its parts, the only genuine harness of its kind in a British collection, and allowing for certain variations, we are delineating the general construction of almost every German harness made for use in the German joust. The Wallace helm weighs 20 lb., the whole suit, inclusive of the helm, 96 lb.

The surface of the helm and of the palettes of the body armour is in many cases deeply grooved and indented, owing to lance thrusts, which seem almost as if they had been dealt with the pointed lance *à outrance*, and

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not with the coronel or rebated lance-head customarily used in the jousts of peace. The suit bears the Augsburg guild mark and the letter S with an indistinct bar, baton, or axe running through it. This same mark, together



FIG. 461. HELM, WITH ITS ACCOMPANYING HARNESS
German, about 1500-1510. No. 327, Wallace Collection

with the Augsburg guild mark, is to be seen on two of the fine tilting harnesses of the same nature at Vienna. Augsburg was famous at the end of the XVth century for the production of these ponderous harnesses. In the fine series of such armour exhibited in the National Germanic Museum of Nuremberg is a suit, a counterpart of the Wallace harness, made also at

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Augsburg, and very possibly by the same armourer. At Nuremberg is to be seen another suit very similar, but furnished with the tilting *salade* head-piece. This latter suit is dated 1498.

Appended are the details of the Wallace helm and suit:

The helm is composed of three plates of varying thicknesses, which plates we will call 1, 2, and 3.

Plate 1. The top of the skull-piece. Down the centre of this runs the comb. It is of convex section, and on either side of it there is fluting, which radiates from a point some $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the base of Plate 2. The average thickness of Plate 1 is $\frac{3}{16}$ of an inch. In the centre of the comb is a screw with a faceted, hemispherical head; which served for the attachment of the crest. Further forward in the comb are twin holes, which are repeated at 4 inches from either side of the comb. These were for the passage of the *aiglettes*, which secured the quilted lining cap in position.

Plate 2. The back of the skull-piece. Fastened beneath Plate 1, it extends a distance of $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches below the level of the shoulders; the lower edge is cut to four slightly curved facets. At the extreme base is a hinge, detachable in the centre by a staple, the lower plate of which is pierced with a circular hole, through which passes a screw attaching the helm to the backplate. Above this, a little to the left, is a buckle, with which the strap that retained the small wooden tilting shield in position is connected. On either side of Plate 2 is a group of eight perpendicular apertures, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches long. Above and below there is a second group of four circular holes, the edges of which are fitted with latten eyelets, through which passed the leathern thongs that again secured the quilted lining cap. An annular design is engraved on either side of the back of the skull. The average thickness of Plate 2 is about $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch.

Plate 3. The front of the helm. It fastens over both Plates 1 and 2. In this, perhaps, is manifest the most skilful piece of forging in a head-piece which, as a whole, is a *tour-de-force* of the armourer's craft. The upper edge is turned inwards, reinforcing the most vulnerable part of the tilting helm, namely, the part beneath the opening of the *ocularium*. The lower edge of the plate comes down to a distance corresponding to that at the back of the skull-piece; but with this difference that it widens to $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches at its lower part, along the border of which are three groups of twin holes $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch in diameter. Through these pass the three screws that secure the front of the helm to the breastplate. The *ocularium* is formed by the aperture between Plates 1 and 3, the greatest actual width being $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches; but owing to the

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position of the helm on the shoulders, when a course was to be run, an opening of not more than half an inch would present itself to the adversary's lance. The average thickness of Plate 3 is from $\frac{5}{16}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch.

The three plates of the helm are fastened together by hemispherically-headed rivets of iron, on which are soldered latten caps half an inch in diameter.

The breastplate of this harness is of slightly globose form, the gussets



FIG. 462. HELM
German, about 1500. National Germanic
Museum, Nuremberg



FIG. 463. HELM
German, about 1500. H 14, Musée
d'Artillerie, Paris

flanged to a triangular section. The right-hand side is forged to a rectangular form, and has at its extreme corner a lance rest attached by a strong screw and two guiding staples. The lance rest itself is forged from one piece, and is in the form of a bracket, at the end of which is a semicircular arm, which is supported in turn by a bar of moulded pilaster form. At right angles to this, and passing beneath the right arm, is the queue, under the end of which rested the butt end of the lance. It is $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches wide, $\frac{7}{16}$ of an inch thick, and 21 inches long, grooved for $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches, no doubt with the object of reducing its weight. This queue is attached to the breastplate by two

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large screws. At the sides, as at the top of the breastplate, are hinged iron straps, pierced with circular holes, which fitted over staples in the backplate, and which, when united, were secured by rosette-headed nuts. On the left hand of the breastplate are two circular holes, $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch in diameter, and $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch apart; through these pass the plaited braids of flax, which in their turn pass through the small wooden tilting shield (*Stechtartsche*), assisting to hold it in position. The breastplate varies in thickness from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{8}$ of an



FIG. 464. HELM

German, about 1500. Collection: Prince Ernest of Windisch-Graetz

inch. Attached to the bottom of the breastplate by a single screw is the placate, the top edge of which is chamfered and finishes in a flattened point. To this are riveted the taces, of four plates. Attached to these are the tassets or tuilles, each of one plate, turned under on the inside to a strong flange of triangular section. Down the centre is embossed a ridge, engraved with a rope pattern. The buckles are secured by brass rosette-headed rivets.

The backplate is composed of three parts. Plate 1 is a foundation wedge-shaped plate, widening towards the top, along the edge of which is a

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line of small holes for the attachment of a leather lining, which remains at the side, where it is pierced with holes for the lacing. To the top of this plate is secured, by five flush-headed rivets, Plate 2, an inverted V-shaped plate $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide. It is shaped to a flat ridge across the apex, the edges of



FIG. 465. HELM, WITH ITS ACCOMPANYING HARNESS
Made for the Emperor Maximilian I. Imperial Armoury, Vienna

which are flanged outwards, forming a slot, into which fits the third plate, which is also of V form. Plate 3 is held in position by two screws, which pass through Plates 2 and 3, fitting into any two of a series of eight holes that are in Plate 2. By this ingenious arrangement the angle at which the tilting helm was worn is governed by the length of the backplate. At the

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base of the backplate is the buttock defence (*garde-de-rein*), of five plates, fluted in a radiating manner, and attached by a single screw to Plate 1 of the backplate.

The shoulder plates—the pauldrons—are of five plates, decorated with



FIG. 466. HELM, WITH ITS ACCOMPANYING HARNESS

German, about 1515. National Germanic Museum, Nuremberg

radiating fluting, and attached by two rivets to two diamond sectioned projections, around which it is supposed were formerly wound the tails of the lambrequin. Attached to two pin holes, and suspended from the top of the pauldrons, are the two large circular plates protecting the arm-pits, which are called the palettes. Each is $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, the right hollowed slightly at its

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edge to allow a freer use of the lance. The arm guards consist of the plates protecting the fore-arm (rerebraces) and the elbow guards (coudes), each of five plates. On the left arm the gauntlet is of the pouldermitton type. The bend of the arm is protected by an extra piece, finely fluted, which is attached to the vambrace by three screws. This plate is stamped at the border with the guild mark of the City of Augsburg. The extra piece on the right arm differs somewhat in shape from that on the left; but it is also stamped with the guild mark of the City of Augsburg. Attached to the flaxen braids already mentioned is the wooden shoulder shield (*Stechtartsche*). It is of oak, shaped somewhat to the form of a steel grandguard, and is covered with leather, parchment, and gesso, tooled and painted with a coat of arms. Its dimensions are 14 inches wide by 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep.

Judging from the general fashion of this tilting harness, we may date it as coming within the last quarter of the XVth century. As we see it to-day it has been subjected to certain small restorations.

Having examined the Wallace tilting helm and suit in detail, we will content ourselves with mentioning where the three other fine German helms and four German tilting suits illustrated may be seen; though we may add that all have been chosen for their representative character. The first helm (Fig. 462) is in the National Germanic Museum of Nuremberg, the second (Fig. 463) in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris, and the third (Fig. 464) in the collection of Prince Ernest of Windisch-Graetz. This last splendid helm, though undoubtedly German, bears as armourer's mark the letters R. N., which is curiously Italian in character. Of the tilting sets, that made for the Emperor Maximilian I, which is in the Imperial Armoury, Vienna, is the finest (Fig. 465). The second (Fig. 466) is in the National Germanic Museum of Nuremberg. The third and fourth (Figs. 467 and 468), both splendid German harnesses, are in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris. If space permitted, the national armouries of Dresden, and of Munich, and of the Porte de Hal in Brussels, would afford us additional illustrations of similar German tournament helms and harnesses. It must, however, be borne in mind that though so full a list of the great German helms can be made out, to say nothing of their complementary accoutrement, such harnesses are, as a matter of fact, of the greatest rarity. Proof of this may be found in the fact that within the last thirty years only two such equipments have found their way into the market, and even those two cannot be regarded as homogeneous. In other words, they were composite, made up of various pieces from different suits, although harmonizing admirably as

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put together. One of the two tournament sets in question is one now in the collection of Viscount Astor at Hever Castle, and the other in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. The Astor helm and tilting pieces were purchased some few years ago from a well-known Paris dealer, and may be looked upon as fairly satisfactory. The set in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (Fig. 469), was purchased with the Duc de Dino's armoury, and



FIG. 467. HELM, WITH ITS ACCOMPANYING
HARNES

German, about 1515. No. G 163, Musée
d'Artillerie, Paris



FIG. 468. HELM, WITH ITS ACCOMPANYING
HARNES

German, about 1515. No. G 164, Musée
d'Artillerie, Paris

was made up in the following manner by the late Signor Ressman, in whose collection it formerly was. The breastplate came from M. Bachereau, of Paris, and is genuine; as are the arms and large tilting palettes which came from the collection of the Baron de Cosson. The back part of the helm is old; but Signor Ressman had the front constructed to complete it, and also made several smaller additions to the suit. The appearance of the whole married together is admirable; but owing to different degrees of

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rust oxidization the surfaces of the varying parts had to be placed upon the burnishing wheel in order to make them harmonize in general effect. Indi-

vidual helms of the German and even of the Italian types are occasionally met with in private collections; but, though many may be interesting, the authenticity of the majority is open to suspicion.

Our next group of the great tilting helms comprises those of Italian and of Spanish make. Let the Italian examples be considered first. Looking at the illustrations the reader will at once notice a peculiarity in the almost cylindrical form of the helm and in the flatness of the skull-piece, features which are more characteristic of the group of English helms than of the essentially German group just described. As typically Italian and as early of its kind as any known to us is the helm in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris, H 11 (Fig. 470). Its date can safely be assigned to the third quarter of the XVth century. In the official catalogue of the Musée d'Artillerie it is described as German; but there can be no doubt of its Italian origin. It is remarkably shallow, and only a careful study of that scholarly passage, in his *Dictionnaire du Mobilier Français* (vol. ii, page 391), in which M. Viollet-le-Duc explains how this helm was set



FIG. 469. HELM, WITH ITS ACCOMPANYING
HARNESSES

Comprehensively German, about 1515. Metropolitan Museum of New York

upon the head, renders it possible to understand how it served as a defensive head-piece (Fig. 471).

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From this solitary Italian helm in Paris we will turn to those two splendid helms which, together with their tilting armour, are to be seen in the Arsenal at Venice. It is not unlikely that they were originally part of the armoury of the Doges' Palace, most of the armour and weapons now in the Arsenal having been formerly there; but Signor Mario Mocenigo, in his excellent work on the Venice Arsenal,

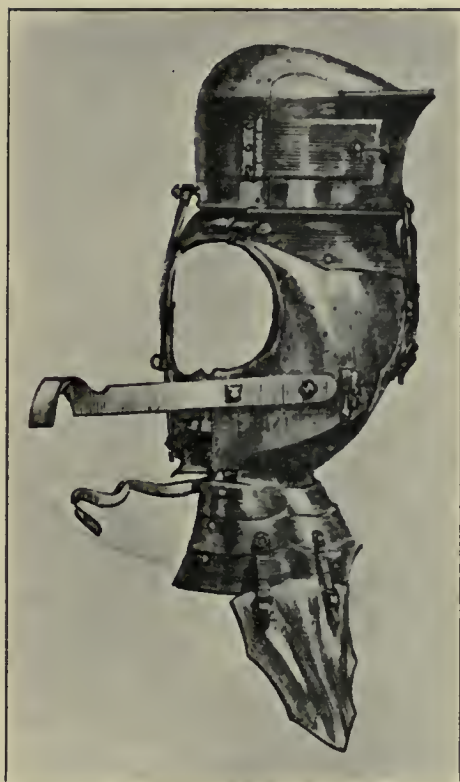


FIG. 471. M. VIOLLET-LE-DUC'S DRAWING

Showing how the helm (Fig. 470) was worn

states that he has found no former reference to these two wonderful sets, unless the simple entry of

"Ancient Helmets, 3," in the inventory of 1548, is a note referring to these two helms and to the celebrated bascinet (see vol. i, Fig. 299). Gravembroch gives a rough drawing of the helm numbered C 5 in the Arsenal (Fig. 472), the more important of the two sets, stating that it is "a very heavy and large-sized iron helmet found among the wonders of the Venetian Arsenal." So much for what we know of its history. As to its original owner, we can only quote from Signor Mocenigo. He states that at the back of the skull-piece "there are engraved three interlaced rings, obviously the emblem of the Sforza family, and between them can be read the initials A. M., which leads one to surmise that this armour had



FIG. 470. HELM Italian, third quarter of the XVth century. H 11, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

belonged to Cardinal Ascanio Maria Sforza, the "Grand Elector"¹ of Pope Alexander VI (Borgia) at the end of the XVth century—a man more apt for war and intrigue than for the exercise of his priestly office."

¹ The term "Grand Elector" alludes to the fact that at the Conclave of 1492 the election of Cardinal Borgia as Pope (Alexander VI) was secured by the transfer to him (for a monetary consideration) of Cardinal Ascanio Maria Sforza's votes and those of his party.

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The tilting set catalogued in the Venice Arsenal as C 5 comprises a helm, great placate, breastplate, and backplate. The skull-piece of the helm is slightly *bombé*. The visor is in one single piece of nearly half-cylindrical shape, varying in thickness according to the strength required in any particular section. It is fixed with large bolts placed on either side beneath the skull-piece of the helm, and fitted also to the back part of the head-piece, which is simply grooved in chevrons. On the dexter side it has a square opening. As in the case of all tilting helms of this class, the ocularium occupies the space between the front lower edge of the skull-piece and the top of the visor. The helm is attached to the breastplate by two lateral hinges, and by a central hinged strap of iron of oblong rectangular form in which are four holes for receiving as many staples as are attached to the breastplate. These staples, when fitted through the holes made to receive them in the hinged strap on the helm, are rigidly secured by a single metal bolt passing through the group. The great placate has in the front three large movable bolts by which it is attached to the breastplate. The front and backplates are connected at the sides with a hinge and movable bolts, and on the shoulders with two broad strips of steel like a hinge, which contain various perforations to enable their position to be regulated.

On the back are six buckles to which were fastened the leather straps which supported the espaliers which are missing. In the centre eight large apertures are arranged vertically in pairs. All round the rims there are a number of small perforations, intended for the attachment of leather lacings and linings. The great placate carries the lance-rest, which is of the most massive description; now hollow, it was originally filled with some shock-resisting material.

The second Italian tilting set in the Venice Arsenal is numbered C 6. It is much the same in shape and in its parts as that just described, save that it is rather smaller in its dimensions. As distinguished from the preceding suit, this one has the great placate attached to the breastplate merely by means of the four pins near the lance-rest. At the back of the skull-piece of the helm are etched three interlaced rings on a gilded ground with ornaments and initials A. M., as in the case of the preceding armour. This seems to show that it belonged to the same owner. An armourer's mark of distinctly Milanese character also appears on the harness, a mark not unlike that used by the Missaglia family, though the stamped initials are not the same.

The splendid armoury of Vienna supplies us with an example of just such another helm and tilting set (Fig. 473); but in this case the helm, in



FIG. 472. HELM, WITH ITS APPAREL

Italian, late XVth century. Supposed to have been made for Ascanio Maria Sforza
Arsenal, Venice

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actual formation, is more like the Italian head-piece described on page 107 (Fig. 452), and is probably of corresponding date. The late Herr Wendelin Boenheim states that this tournament harness bears the mark of Antonio Missaglia of Milan. It figures in the 1583 inventory of Castle Ambras, and is there erroneously described as having belonged to the Duke of Milan. There is now little doubt that it belonged to Gasparo Fracasso of Milan, the ambassador of Ludovico Moro to the Court of Maximilian I. Before



FIG. 473. HELM, WITH ITS APPAREL.

Italian, third quarter of the XVth century. Said to have belonged to Gasparo Fracasso of Milan
Imperial Armoury, Vienna

the death of Gasparo Fracasso there is a record in contemporary accounts of its having been purchased by Maximilian in 1502 for the sum of seventy-two gulden, to be placed with his collection of armour in Castle Ambras. The date of the make of the helm on this set might be as early as 1465.

We will now consider a type of helm of Spanish origin, and worn with the Spanish tilting harness; in Spain there was a special joust peculiar to that country. Padilla, in his chronicle, says that the Catholic kings, in order to

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celebrate at Toledo (1502) the confirmation of Princess Joanna and of Prince Philip the Fair as heirs to the crown of Castile, among other public rejoicings, arranged with Don Garcia of Toledo, son of the Duke of Alba, to hold a royal tournament in Zocodover, and this "seemed very good to the Prince and the foreign gentlemen who were with him" (Collection of *Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España*, vol. viii, page 87). Some years later, the young king, Charles I, afterwards the Emperor Charles V, held at Valladolid (1518), according to his Flemish chronicler, Laurent Vital, two kinds of tournaments, one of them being "that which they call royal, where great shields and blunt lances are employed" (Gachard, *Chroniques Belges*, vol. ii, page 189). Both quotations go to show that this form of joust was distinctly Spanish, that the Flemish witnessed it for the first time, and that they afterwards practised it in Brussels, along with the reed-spear games and other diversions of Spanish origin, in honour of Philip II when he was heir-apparent (Calvete de Estrella, *Viaje de Felipe II*). It is because of their connection with this particular form of Spanish jousting that we select two helms from the Madrid Armoury, one with its harness attached, which represent yet another different shape of jousting helm. In the Count de Valencia's catalogue the numbers of these two helms are A 16 and 17. Owing to a sketch which appears in the *Inventario de Carlos V*, and to statements made in the *Relacion de Valladolid*, the armour described as A 16 (Fig. 474) was formerly believed to have actually belonged to the Emperor Charles V. The armourer's marks indicate that it was made in Valencia, about the time that the young husband of Princess Joanna was seeking exercise in jousting, as his chronicler says, "à la mode d'Espagne." However, the reference to it in the *Relacion de Valladolid* is "Armour engraved and gilded as for Royalty," which we may take it really means for royal tournaments. So we have no direct evidence that it was ever the personal property of the Emperor Charles V. The helm on this jousting harness, to judge by the dimensions and general outline of the visor, might easily be Italian; but before coming to a definite opinion we must note that it bears an armourer's mark—a fleur-de-lis—very similar to that seen on a *Chapeau de Montauban*, described on page 64 (Fig. 415). The breastplate of the body harness is composed of two thick plates of steel, which are placed one over the other, each being tinned to prevent rust, while the exterior was covered with gold brocade. The lower plate serves to protect the whole front down to the waist, the upper plate reinforcing the chest only, as far as the horizontal line of gilded nails. The

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one is joined to the other by a rotatory hinge placed in the centre of a large circular rose of gilded and engraved metal. The breastplate is completed by a third plate, which covers the shoulder-blades in place of the back piece, and protects the shoulders from the friction of the helmet. The body armour is covered throughout with the same brocade over strong canvas, and reaches to the waist, where it is drawn in and fastened with cords and stay-like



FIG. 474. HELM, WITH ITS APPAREL.
Spanish, early XVIIth century. A 16, Royal Armoury, Madrid

fastenings. This jousting breastplate is clearly Spanish. Apart from the Moorish character of the engraving and open metal work which constitute the ornamentation of the large rose in the centre, it bears on the inner side of the plates a mark which undoubtedly shows that it was made in Valencia. This is the tetragon with the bars of Aragon, which Don Jaime gave as a coat of arms to the city conquered by him. The lance rest, though massive, is hollow, a fashion peculiar to Spain and Italy. It was originally filled with cork, in order to deaden the shock of assault received from the vamplate of

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the lance. To the large iron ring fixed on the breastplate, just below the lower left edge of the helm, an object not unlike an iron door-knocker is fastened, with a nut at the end. This unscrews, in order to fasten on the wooden shield, known in Germany as the *Stechtartsche*. This shield is missing from the harness. A ball of leather, stuffed with tow, as can be seen in the illustration, was placed between the *Stechtartsche* and the breastplate, which, performing the office of a fender to a ship, deadened the shock of impact. The breastplate terminates in front in a skirt of three thin plates or taces and two leather straps; these last, judging by the position in which they are sketched in the *Inventario*, must have crossed below the buttocks of the rider, thus serving to secure the breastplate. Over the left hip is a single and delicately-moulded tace in two pieces, decorated at the edges with a punched design, after the Spanish fashion of the time. The arm defences are suspended, by means of leather aiglettes, from the leather jacket, which generally was of buffalo hide, worn under the mail hauberk. Each is composed of three pieces only; but they are of different shapes. The right is smooth, and has a strong rerebrace flanged curiously outwards at the top; the left, which is jointed at the shoulder, has the fan-shaped elbow cop wing, after the manner of a war harness of the time. The gauntlets and vambraces, although of the same period as the rest of the armour, do not form part of the set.



FIG. 475. HELM
Spanish, early XVIth century.
No. 17, Royal Armoury, Madrid

The second tilting harness in the Madrid Armoury (No. A 17), which figures with that just described in the *Inventario de Carlos V*, so much resembles its companion suit, that it is unnecessary to describe it. But an account of the helm, which more closely resembles those of English origin which we have described, might perhaps prove interesting. It is bulkier than that seen on the last suit; it has also no rim to rest on the shoulders of the wearer. On the dexter side of the visor is a rectangular opening closed by a door larger than those we have alluded to in other helms; this door occupies, in fact, the entire side of the helm (Fig. 475).

Before quitting the subject of the great tilting helm of the transitional

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years of the XVth-XVIth centuries, we will pause to consider the manner in which it was worn, and the elaboration of detail necessary in order to adjust it carefully upon the head of the wearer. If the reader will imagine a muscular man in a set of tilting armour weighing often over 100 lb., on a heavy charger, carrying also the great additional weight of the saddle, chanfron and thickly padded caparisons, meeting a similarly armoured combatant, shock to shock, even at a slow gallop, he can form some idea of the violence of the encounter, and of the precautions that must have been taken to reduce the dangers. The literature dealing with the etiquette of the tournament in the closing years of the XVth century is voluminous, and admirable illustrations of the joust and ceremonial are extant from the pen of Hans Burgkmair in the *Freydal*, and also in the drawings of the Swabian artist Hans Baldung, sometimes called Baldung Grein or Grün. But the actual adjustment of the armaments is somewhat lightly passed over, as is also the description of the great precautions taken to catch an unhorsed knight before he reached the ground. This office, which required great agility and presence of mind, was performed by the *Grieswartel*, and it was upon them that the combatant depended for his escape from serious injury. It was a most dangerous moment for the knight, and the greatest attention was paid to the construction of the lining and padding of the helm, in order to protect at least the most important part of the human body, the head, from contact with the ground. As can be seen, the shape of the tilting helmet was adapted to this purpose. It was so large that neither the neck nor any part of the head touched it on the inside. On the head itself was worn a cap made of thick cloth lined with ordinary linen, and stuffed with tow. This, when put on, was again secured to the helmet with leather laces and straps, in fact, with the aiglettes. Of these padded caps, only some half-dozen original specimens are in existence, which as far as we know are all in the Imperial Collection, Vienna, whither they were brought from Castle Ambras. A description of one of the padded caps given by the late Herr Wendelin Boheim is accurate and most interesting. Although the caps varied a little at different times and places, they were yet in the main similar. Herr Boheim states that this head-pad consisted of a close-fitting, thick cloth cap, covering the head and the neck as far as the breast-bone, with a small opening for the eyes and nose. To the upper and lower edges of this opening were attached narrow leathern straps, the ends of which, of equal length, were left hanging free. On four, or sometimes only on three, parts of the crown, and on the sides, leathern straps were sewn, also

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in such a manner that the ends hung free. Just above the temples on both sides were placed small cushions filled with cow-hair (Fig. 476). Before the heavy helm was put on and fastened, the quilted cap had first to be adjusted and carefully bound and buckled. Every precaution was taken to ensure that no uncomfortable folds were formed, that the cap was not moved out of the right position, and particularly that the small cushions referred to above exactly covered the temples. Then, the straps and leather lacing which were left hanging free from the padded cap, were, when the helm was finally placed on the head, laced through the various apertures in the head-piece, and fastened on the outside so that the head was exactly in the centre of the helm and lashed there by the even pull of the straps and thongs in every direction; much in the same manner as a delicate piece of glass or porcelain is secured in a wooden case by experienced packers for transit. The helm was then fixed on to the body armour at the front and back by means of easily movable screws and an arrangement of staples, the details of which we have referred to, and which are to be seen on all complete helms and tilting sets. From this it will easily be realized on how many small and complicated details depended the equipment of a tilter, and how indispensable were the services of a skilled armourer and dresser. It must also be borne in mind that there was no less difficulty in properly adjusting the horse equipment. To explain in words the elaboration of the final fastening of the inside cap to the helm and of the latter to the breastplate is a difficult matter; but we call to our assistance the splendid drawing made by Albrecht Dürer in 1514, now in the royal collection, Berlin, the most valuable pictorial evidence available (Fig. 477).

Before describing the final form of the tilting or fighting helm, after which its development into the armet or ordinary close helmet seems but a step, we will take note of a family of helms which of late years has been recognized as being of English workmanship and fashion, and which are illustrated in the famous tournament roll in the College of Arms, London. This roll is "A Description of the Solemn Justs held at Westminster the



FIG. 476. QUILTED TOURNA-
MENT CAP

Early XVIth century. Im-
perial Armoury, Vienna

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13th day of February in the first year of King Henry ye VIII in honor of his queen Katherin upon the Birth of their eldest son Prince Henry A.D. 1510." These helms are of very simple construction; indeed, they show no advance from the point of protection upon the English helms of nearly half a century earlier. They certainly belong to the first quarter of the XVIth century; and so reference to them now places them in their correct chronological order. We can record four examples of such English helms at present known to us:—

A helm in Haseley Church, Oxfordshire.

A helm in the Wallace Collection.



FIG. 477. TWO DRAWINGS AFTER ALBRECHT DÜRER

Showing the elaborate attachment of the interior quilted cap by means of straps and aiglettes fastened on the exterior

A helm in the Bargello, Florence, and

A helm hanging by the site of the tomb of King Edward IV in St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

To Mr. Alfred Billson must be given the credit of the discovery of the helm in Haseley Church, Oxfordshire, where it hangs over the tomb of Sir William Barentyn, who was High Sheriff of that county in the reign of King Henry VIII. In the present writer's opinion this is one of the cases in which the head-piece may well have belonged to the owner of the tomb over which it is now suspended. The Barentyn helm (Fig. 478) consists of four plates, the front piece, the back piece, the domed crown piece, and a broad band encircling the lower part. It has been fully described by Mr. Billson in the

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Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries (16 January 1896). He accounts for the broad band which runs round the base of the head-piece in the following manner: "As regards the metal encircling band, I think there is reason to suppose it was an addition specially supplied to suit the convenience of the wearer. In a MS. describing the armour worn in the middle of the XVth century, which is quoted by René de Belleval in his *Costume Militaire*, it is laid down that the summit of a jousting helm shall be rounded and a space the breadth of three fingers left between the top of the wearer's head and the dome. Evidently, when Sir William tried on his new head-piece he found, either that this condition had not been complied with or else that the



FIG. 478. HELM

English, early XVIth century. Now hanging over the tomb of Sir William Barentyn
Haseley Church, Oxfordshire

position of the ocularium did not suit the line of sight; for the band was (presumably) added, and had the effect of lifting up the lower edge a good inch and a half on either shoulder."

The Wallace helm, No. 78 (Fig. 479), differs a little in construction from the Barentyn example, being formed of two plates only. The skull-piece and back part are formed of one piece, and the front part of another plate, the two being riveted together down the sides, and flanged over at the top on either side for a distance of six inches, where the fastening is made with four more rivets. The ocularium is formed by the gap between the two plates. Mr. Billson's suggestion as to the origin of the band round the lower edge of the Barentyn helm is greatly strengthened by a comparison of the

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sizes of these two head-pieces, the Wallace helm being $14\frac{1}{8}$ inches high, and the Barentyn helm $12\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, as it was originally made previous to the addition of the band of $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

The helm in the Bargello (Fig. 480) was bequeathed to that museum by M. Louis Carrand with the remainder of his collection. It is certainly the finest and most complete of this particular family of helm. It came originally from Castle Hedingham, Essex, and is supposed to have belonged to John de Vere, 13th Earl of Oxford. He fought at Bosworth Field in 1485, against Lambert Simnel in 1488, and against Lord Audley and the Cornish-



FIG. 479. HELM
English, early XVIth century
No. 78, Wallace Collection



FIG. 480. HELM
English, early XVIth century
Bargello Museum, Florence

men in 1497. He was Great Chamberlain of England on the accession of Henry VIII in 1509, and died in 1513. Hedingham Castle was the seat of the de Vere family, and was granted by William the Conqueror to Aubrey de Vere. The helm was at one time in the collection of the Rev. Brooke Bicknell, an ardent armour lover and enthusiast, and was purchased from him by Mr. Evelyn Wright, of Wardour Street, who disposed of it to Signor Resson, who in his turn gave it later to M. Carrand in part exchange for the famous Meyrick helm (see page 116, Fig. 459). The Carrand helm must originally have hung above a tomb, having at one time been painted with scrolls, etc., by the undertaker, which fact has served to protect parts of the surface of the metal; so that to-day it presents the appearance

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of having the surface decorated with scroll-work in brightened steel on a russeted ground. This is the result of the paint added by the XVIth century undertaker, which has protected that part of the surface that it covered against the effect of the atmosphere, while the exposed parts of the surface have rusted. We cannot be certain about the place from which it originally came, but there is every reason to believe in the traditional attribution of ownership.



FIG. 481. HELM

English, early XVIth century. Erroneously supposed to have belonged to Edward IV
St. George's Chapel, Windsor

The helm hanging by the site of the tomb of Edward IV in St. George's Chapel, Windsor (Fig. 481), owing to past ill-usage and to its transformation into a helmet for funerary purposes, is in a very dilapidated condition. Most of the rivets at the sides are gone, the lower edge is cut away and jagged, a spike to hold a crest has been inserted in the crown; and worst of all, the lower edge of the ocularium, with its skilfully reinforced thickening, has been roughly broken away in order to give greater space to the

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sight opening, across which at intervals have been roughly riveted iron hoops in the hope of lending to the helm the appearance of an heraldic barred helmet. Doubtless it was in the latter years of the XVIth century that the alterations were made—ruthless treatment to apply to so fine a specimen of English tilting helm. On pages 109 and 110 we told the story of its purchase, together with that of the other helm (Fig. 455) in St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

All the four helms of this group are good and simple in workmanship,



(a)

(b)

FIG. 482. DRAWINGS OF TWO HELMS BY THE AUTHOR

In the fashion of the end of the XVth or commencement of the XVIth century

(a) Helm of English fashion and make

(b) Helm of German fashion, but possibly of English make

and we have little doubt that they are from the hands of the same armourer, whosoever he was; but they are all without an armourer's mark of any description. We are reluctantly forced to admit that their general outline is poor in comparison with the contour of the German helm of a decade earlier. Their tops are flat and evenly proportioned; but the outward curving of their back plates corresponds too closely with that of their front plates, lending to them a chimney-pot appearance. They all have the same character, and are recognizable at once as belonging to the same family; but they are not grand or suggestive of the great art of the armourer of those

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times. The period of their manufacture was probably between the years 1510 and 1530.

To illustrate what we mean when we speak of their weakness of contour, we will give an outline drawing of one of this group of English made helmets and place beside it an outline drawing of a fine German helm (Fig. 482, *a*, *b*). Through each drawing we mark a central vertical line, which very clearly shows in the English-made helm the want of bulk in the back part of the skull-piece and the tameness in the outward swing of the front visor plate, as compared with the vigorous contour of the German head-piece, which, it is



FIG. 483. HELM

Probably Burgundian, late XVth century. Found in the neighbourhood of Bourg-en-Bresse
Metropolitan Museum of New York

(*a*) Front view; (*b*) Profile view; (*c*) Back view

obvious, would rest upon the shoulders with dignity, and which from its soundness and feeling for construction creates a sense of satisfaction and balance. This feeling, to those who are accustomed to make a careful study of head-pieces, is curiously lacking in all the helmets of this particular English group.

Having given illustrations of the various forms of the rigid tilting helm without movable visor, used when the opposing weapon was the lance alone, we shall now endeavour to link together the various classes of helmets which formed a defence against all manner of weapons, including the lance, sword, and mace, and which, as in the case of the helmets of XIVth century date, did double duty, being used in war as well as in joust. We may consider the first helm of this kind that we take as contemporary (about 1460-80) with the

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last of the complete bascinets mentioned on pages 260 *et seq.*, vol. i. Indeed, we are confronted with no small difficulty in differentiating between the last of the great bascinets we have described and the first of the general service helmets: so alike are they as head defences. We select the helm now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, and formerly in the collection of the



FIG. 484. HELM-BASCINET
About 1460-80. Musée Lorin, Bourg-en-Bresse

is fixed by hinges and pivots. The fully protective chin-piece riveted to the skull-piece covers the base of the visor; but it is so attached as to be immovable. It is probable that this helm, at the period at which it was worn, was subjected to some alteration. The pivots show that originally the visor could be raised; but the alteration has obviously been made by the same armorer who made the helmet itself, his mark

Duc de Dino (Fig. 483, *a, b, c*), because it illustrates a hybrid combination of the fighting bascinet and of the tilting helm, and also because it is the first of its class to show the movable visor. The helm in question was found in the neighbourhood of Bourg-en-Bresse, which in the XVth century was within the Burgundian domain; so it is possibly of French origin. It is of unusual shape, and was used by mounted knights in contests of both lance and sword; but unlike certain other helmets of this same family, it was not used for foot contests, head-pieces for that purpose having numerous small openings for breathing purposes. Foot contests required violent exertion, and it was therefore necessary that respiration should be as free as possible. This helm has only one opening—that for the sight, which is strongly protected by the projection of the lower edge. The skull-piece resembles in form the large bascinets already described, and is of one piece, having the part which forms the protection for the back of the neck riveted to it. The visor, which is extremely solid,

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being found on the visor as well as on the skull-piece. Strong buckles were used to attach the helm to the breast- and backplates. It is interesting to note that in the Musée Lorin of Bourg-en-Bresse there is another helm bascinet of the same family, bearing the mark of the same armourer, a large Gothic **C**, a circumstance which strengthens our belief in the French or Burgundian origin of the Duc de Dino head-piece. This helm-bascinet (Fig. 484), though evidently the work of the same armourer, was apparently made for a purpose different from that to which its com-



FIG. 485. HELM-BASCINET

About 1470. Salle de Garde, Muséum of Dijon

panion helm was put, and would, from its construction, rather suggest that it was meant to be used by an unmounted knight; for the visor is very salient, and in no way embarrasses the wearer's breathing. Yet another helm-bascinet of the same family, meant seemingly for a knight's unmounted use, and possibly the work of the same armourer, is to be seen in the Salle de Garde in the Museum of Dijon (Fig. 485). This has been a helm of great solidity; but some of its parts are missing. It is much corroded from having been buried in the ground. Careful and judicious restoration has, however, given it a new lease of life.

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Placing the date of the three last mentioned helms at some time between 1460 and 1480, we are obliged to jump a quarter of a century before we can produce our next example, the fine helm in Cobham Church, Kent, a head-piece which more closely resembles the first helms of the last group described than any with which we are acquainted. It is quite possible that this helm,



FIG. 486. HELM ACCREDITED TO SIR THOMAS BROKE, WHO DIED IN 1522
Cobham Church, Kent

which is known as the helm of Sir Thomas Broke, 7th Lord Cobham, who died in 1522, is perhaps like the "heulmet" mentioned by Olivier de la Marche, and in "Le Challenge de Phillipe de Bouton" (see p. 72); for it has the character of both the jousting helm and of the armet. The slit for the sight is here cut out of the body of the visor; and above the slit is a reinforcing piece, which, overlapping the lower edge of it, may have been put on to narrow the opening. The lower edge of the slit is turned inwards

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to give strength. The pin and hinge device for this visor is similar to that in use on visored bascinets and on Italian armets. It is quite possible that different visors could be used with a helm of this kind, according as it might be required for tilting, for foot combat, or for fighting in the tourney. A short additional bevor is fastened below the visor to protect the lower edge of it from an upward blow; but this has now been riveted on so tightly that the visor can no longer be raised. The lower part of the helm furnishes evidence that the mode of fixing it to the cuirass has been changed; for a horizontal slot in the front, through which a staple originally passed, is now partly covered by one of the rough hinged pieces of iron which are fixed with clumsy rivets to the front of the helm, and which served to secure it to the breastplate. The chin-piece is connected with the skull-piece somewhat below the point where the visor is hinged (Fig. 486).

There was sold in the collection of Lord Londesborough in 1888 a helm (Lot 440) that was said to have come from Aylesbury Church. The present writer has never seen the head-piece, so is not in a position to give an opinion on its authenticity; but judging from an illustration (Fig. 486A) of it, it would appear to be a similarly constructed helm to the last described, with apertures for seeing and breathing in its massive visor. It is now in the collection given by Mr. W. H. Riggs to the Metropolitan Museum of New York.

Next on the list for consideration is that fine fighting helm in Broadwater Church, Worthing (Fig. 487, *a, b*) known as the De la Warr helm. It may be a head-piece of a rather later type, but it certainly belongs to the same family as the helm just described. This helm was carefully described by the late Mr. W. Burges in the "Archaeological Journal" (vol. xxxvi, p. 78). In the outline of its skull-piece a very distinct improvement can be noted as regards the modelling of the back, and also in the additions for the



FIG. 486A. HELM

Said to have come from Aylesbury Church. Late XVth century. Collection: Mr. W. H. Riggs; Metropolitan Museum, New York

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strengthening of the face defence. Planned on the lines of the closed helmets of the XVth century, it shows broad fluted decoration on its skull-piece. Almost the entire front of the skull is protected by a reinforcing piece, which in an attenuated elongation descends down its comb to the level of the visor pivot. Over this again is a full visor, having the slit ocularium. This visor from its most salient point descends at an angle to the chin-piece, and has, as in the case of the two previously mentioned helmets, an additional plate.

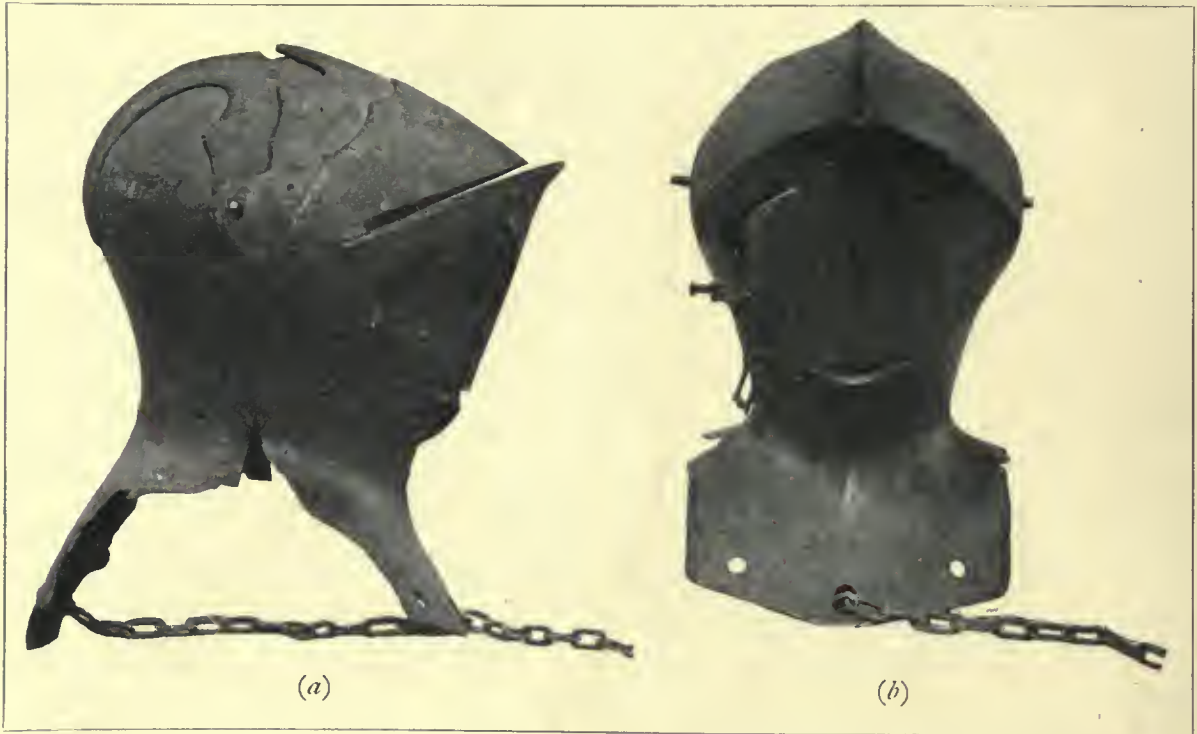


FIG. 487. HELM

Late XVth century. Placed over the De la Warr tomb, Broadwater Church, Worthing
(a) Profile view; (b) Front view

strengthening it immediately above the sight aperture. The top of this plate, like the top of the large visor, has an escalloped edge. On the visor's dexter side is a triangular opening, which possibly was always coverless; for the side is very strongly flanged outwards to prevent a lance blow delivered from the front slipping into the aperture. Below this opening is the latch and bolt fastening attached to keep the visor closed. The chin-piece of the helm descends to cover the upper part of the breastplate, to which it must have been attached by simple screws, a device similarly carried out at the back. To it is now attached a length of chain, certainly of early make, added

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apparently for the purpose of securing the helm to the tomb. It proved, however, to be of little use; for the helm was stolen some seventy years ago, but taken no farther than the town of Washington, at the foot of the Chanctonbury ring, Sussex, to be subsequently recovered much in the same manner as the two helms now in St. George's Chapel, Windsor (see page 110 and Figs. 455, 481). It is surmised, and probably correctly, that this helm belonged to the De la Warr family.

Next in order of evolution, is the helm from the tomb of Sir John Gostwick in Willington Church, Bedfordshire (Fig. 488): The large bevor and visor are in one piece with the ocularia slits in it. It will be noticed that the profile view of the visor shows it almost in its final form; and from this time onwards no further alteration can be observed, except in certain head-pieces which were for some special use. On the dexter side of the visor is a large square opening with a protective flange. The frontal reinforcing piece is continued down the back of the helm, and has three apertures into which fitted the staples that must have been attached to the backplate. The front of the helm descends into a deep gorget plate, a separate plate permanently fixed by eight large rivets. Its upper edge is scalloped, much in the manner adopted by the armourer of the series of helms shown on pages 110-113 (Figs. 454, 455, and 456, *a*, *b*). On the sinister lower edge is riveted a strong hinge, which must have fitted a corresponding hinge on the same side of the breastplate over which it was worn. Tradition affirms that this helm was worn at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520. On the helm is now a wooden funeral crest of later date. This head-piece



FIG. 488. HELM

Said to be that of Sir John Gostwick,
with the funeral crest in position.
Willington Church,
Bedfordshire

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was exhibited at a meeting of the Archaeological Institute in November, 1880.

Other helmets of the Gostwick type, that is to say, half helm, half bascinet, with an advance into the close helmet form, are to be seen in



FIG. 489. HELM OF A MEMBER OF THE NEVILL FAMILY
Birling Church, Kent

various churches in England; take, for instance, that very fine and complete helm in Birling Church, Kent (Fig. 489), which may have belonged to either Sir George Nevill, who was summoned to Parliament in 1482, subsequently commanded the English army at Calais, and died in 1492, or to his second son, Sir Edward Nevill, who tilted at Abbeville and at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Sir George Nevill lived in Birling and Sir Edward

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Nevill hard by. Mr. Cripps-Day can claim the honour of having re-discovered this helm, and the reader is referred to his note upon this piece in his book on "The Tournament" (page 105). The helm is very difficult to date accurately; it is, however, distinctly English, and might be of any period between 1480 and 1530. The skull-piece is beautifully modelled, and though there is a separate plate welded on at its base, the whole of its great visor,

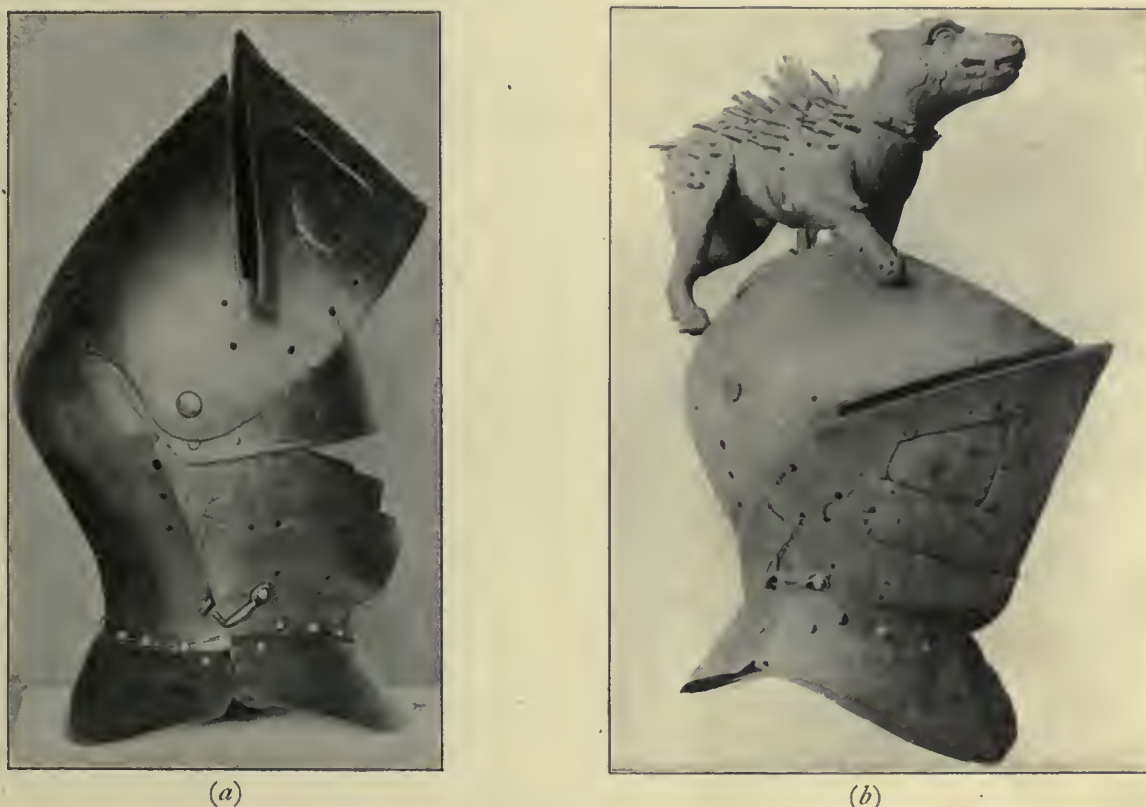


FIG. 490. ARMET HELM KNOWN AS THAT OF SIR HARRY SYDNEY

English, early XVIth century. Collection: Lord de Lisle and Dudley, Penshurst Place, Kent
(a) Showing the visor raised. As now shown the mesail is wrongly riveted below the plate that reinforces the skull-piece
(b) The same head-piece, the mesail closed, and the funeral crest in position

in which is the slit for the ocularium, is in one piece, and was originally detachable on the hinge and pin principle. On the dexter side is a large rectangular opening with a heavy tongue flange, such as can be noted on the Gostwick and other English helmets. Now attached to it is a carved wooden crest of the Nevill family, which is of later date. A somewhat similar head-piece is in the possession of Lord de Lisle and Dudley at Penshurst Place, Kent, called the helm of Sir Harry Sydney. Here it will be seen

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that the lower bevor and chin-piece are in two parts, after the manner of the later armets. The opening in the dexter side of the bevor has been riveted up, an alteration made doubtless when the helm was used for funerary purposes, and when the wooden crest of the family, a porcupine, was added.



FIG. 491. HELM

Said to be that of the third Duke of Norfolk
Framlingham Church, Suffolk

It may be looked upon as an English armet-helm of the early years of the XVIth century (Fig. 490, *a, b*).

A helm of a similar class to that of the last three described, said to have been worn at Flodden Field in 1513, used to hang over the tomb of the third Duke of Norfolk in Framlingham Church, Suffolk. To the present writer it appears that the skull-piece is of somewhat earlier date, and might even have been altered from one of the great bascinets of the third quarter of the XVth century; for the top of its delicately moulded crest terminates in a slightly pointed apex. Otherwise it is much the same as the Gostwick helm; though its visor and bevor appear to have been cut about when it was used for funerary purposes. Indeed, so difficult is it to imagine its original form as it now appears with the strange existing visor, even with other visors from helms of the same type before us, that we came to the conclusion after careful examination that the

visor was made up out of parts of two head-pieces, which have been somewhat clumsily riveted together (Fig. 491). For many years this helm, surmounted by its wooden crest, was hung over the Norfolk tomb on the south wall of Framlingham Church, as is recorded by the guide books; but no opportunity for examining it closely had arisen until 1908, when, owing to the dilapidated condition of that part of the church, it was removed by the

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vicar to his house for safe keeping. Little store was set upon it, and it was not until an offer of £500 was made for it to the present Duke, that its historical importance and intrinsic value were appreciated. The Duke, very properly, would not consent to its being sold; but he very generously gave the sum of one hundred guineas to the fund being raised for the



FIG. 491A. HELM

English, late XVth century: hanging above the Darell tomb, Little Chart Church, Kent

The funerary crest is of the latter part of the XVth century

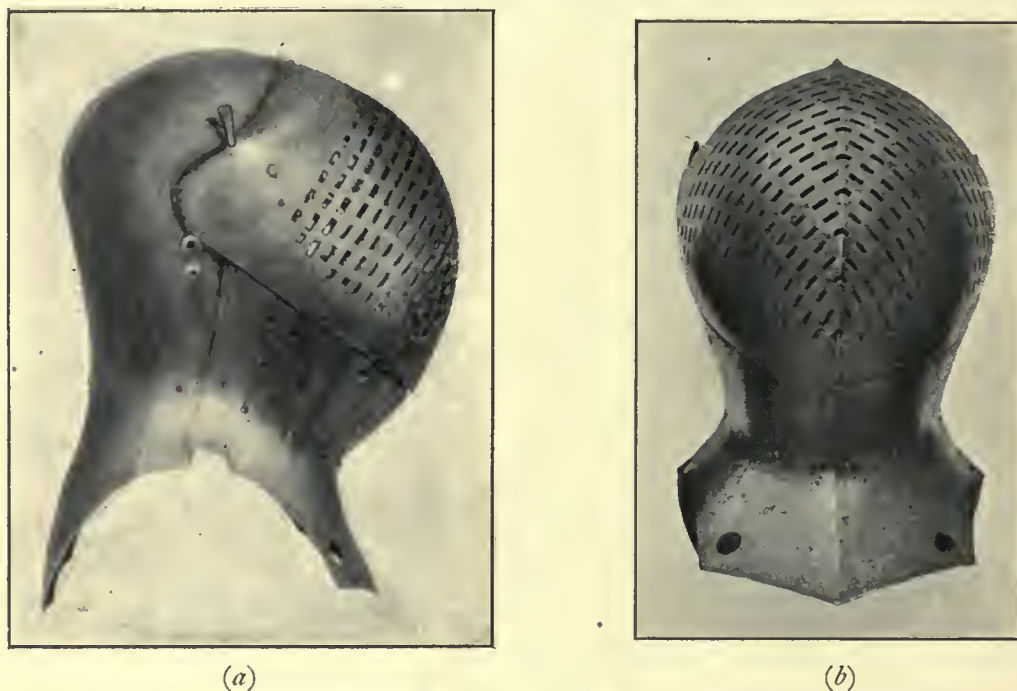
(a) Profile view. (b) Back view, showing its bascinet-like skull-piece

restoration of the church, the purpose for which the money was to have been used had the helm been sold.

The third Duke of Norfolk, by his testament, proved the 18th day of November 1554, directed that his body should be buried where his executors should think most convenient, and thereupon they buried him in the south side of Framlingham chancel on 2nd October 1554. Henry Machyn, a citizen of London, records in his diary that he was present at the funeral, and says

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that there was "as goodly a hearse (? effigy) of wax as he had seen in those days, with a dozen banner-rods of his progenitors, twelve dozen pennoncelles, twelve dozen scutcheons with standard, three coats of arms, a banner of damask and three banners of images, and many mourners, and a *great dole* followed by a banquet." It may be imagined that this Norfolk helm was borne in the funeral cortège so graphically described by this observing citizen. Green, in his guide book to Framlingham, states that a helm was carried by the Windsor Herald at the funeral of the father of the third Duke.



(a)

FIG. 492. HELM

(b)

Said to be that of Sir Giles Capel, of Rayne Hall, Essex. Metropolitan Museum of New York
(a) Profile view; (b) Front view

Possibly a comparison with the helm in Little Chart Church, Kent (Fig. 491A) may help us to picture the original appearance of the Framlingham helm. The Chart or Darell helm has the same form of skull-piece modelled on the lines of the great bascinet. It has a powerful reinforcing plate covering the forehead of the skull-piece, upon which is superimposed a second plate immediately above the ocularia. The plate of the actual face defence is precisely similar to those seen on the English made tilting helms (Figs. 454, 455, 456, and 457) and is riveted to the first reinforcing plate of the forehead. On the dexter side is an upright rectangular opening with the anterior edge flanged outwards to parry the lance. This helm appears to have been subjected

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to several alterations, but taken generally it gives a good idea of the original construction of the Framlingham helm.

We shall finally mention in this chapter what we term bascinet-helms, that series of head-pieces the use of which was restricted to the knight fighting on foot *en champ clos*. On examining the illustrations, it will become evident how eminently their construction served their purpose. We will first take what is known as the Capel helm, now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York (Fig. 492, *a, b*). Very spacious, it allowed perfect freedom to the head of the combatant. The large visor is pierced with more than two hundred and fifty small apertures, which assisted the respiration of the wearer and allowed him to see clearly. This egg-shaped helm, free from any projections or indentations, offered but a smooth surface to the point of an antagonist's sword or pole arm. The base of the head-piece and the visor are extremely thick, and the remainder of the helm comparatively light. The hinges and pivots were placed beneath the visor, sheltered from blows; when the visor was lowered it was fixed by a spring button, which is now lacking, though its position can still be seen. At the sides of the head-piece are holes edged with brass, through which passed the aiglettes which held in position the cap, alluded to on pages 136 and 137; the helmet was firmly fixed to the breast- and backplates by means of holes which are found near the base. This helm came from the collection of the Baron de Cosson, and later was in that of Signor Resson; it was engraved and described in "Ancient Helmets and Examples of Mail" by de Cosson and Burges (London, 1881), in "The Capels of Rayne Hall," by de Cosson (London, 1883), and also in the "Archaeological Journal." In 1840 the old church of Rayne, Essex, was demolished, and this helm, which up to that time had rested over the monument erected in the church to Sir Giles Capel, was, together with another helmet and some old iron work, sold to the builder of the new church, in whose yard these specimens lay for many years, until a lady of the neighbourhood, Madame Courtauld Arendrup, attracted by them, purchased them, and so saved them from possible destruction. Madame Arendrup presented the helm to the Baron de Cosson to be added to his collection of arms and armour. The other helmet that came with this helm was of Elizabethan type, of interest solely on account of its association with the Capel family. The same church of Rayne used to contain two other helmets in the belfry tower, which, however, were sold before the old church was pulled down. One is now in the Saffron Walden Museum, and the other is the armet now in the collection of Mr. W. G. Keasby (Fig. 445F). All

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four of the helmets from Rayne Church doubtless belonged to various Capels who lived at Rayne Hall, and were patrons of the living. None, however,



FIG. 493. HELM
From Costessey Hall. Metropolitan Museum of New York

has the importance of the splendid helm of Sir Giles Capel, a knight, who at the commencement of the XVIth century was the lord of the manor of Rayne, and one of the most celebrated champions in all jousts of the reign of Henry VIII. Born about 1485, he died in the year 1556, after a life full of adventure in war and tournament.

There is yet another helm of this same class, which can claim English provenance, a fine head-piece which is also in the Metropolitan Museum of New York. Like the Capel helm, it used to be in the collection of Signor Resson; but it originally came from Lord Stafford's armoury at Costessey Hall, which was dispersed by public sale in 1885. It could be used either in contests with blunted lances or in combats on foot, judged by the number and size of the apertures in the visor, and by the fact that the number of these breathing holes is the same on both sides. We should imagine that the latter use was the one to which it was most probably put. The form of the visor is that called *à soufflet*, which, from this time, the early years of the XVIth century, replaced the hemispherical convex visor fitted to helmets used in the lists. The paintings in the manuscript *Cérémonies des gages de Bataille*, published by Crapelet in 1830, show combatants with armet-helm head-pieces to which both types of visor are adapted. This helmet (Fig. 493), except the visor, is similar in style to that of Sir Giles Capel. The visor is pierced with two long horizontal apertures for the purpose of sight, and shorter ones for the purpose of breathing; throughout it is strong and heavy and has concealed hinges as in the case of the preceding example.

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FIG. 494. HELM
Now hanging over the tomb of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset
Winborne Minster

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Not unlike the Costessey helm, and of about the same date, furnished also with a similar *soufflet* visor, is the splendid head-piece still to be seen in Wimborne Minster (Fig. 494). It has hung for many years over the tomb of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, who died in 1444, and is figured at the end of the description of the tomb in Blore's "Monumental Remains," 1826. Blore says of it: "An original helmet, so nearly of the date of the monument, is placed above it, that we can scarcely doubt its connection with our subject." The date of the Duke's death is, however, certainly too early for the helm, and its present position in the Minster cannot be its original one. In 1881, when it was exhibited at the Royal Archaeological Institute, both Mr. Wentworth Huyshe and the Baron de Cosson described it in great detail, extracts from which description we give. Mr. Huyshe stated at the time that he had received a letter from the Vicar of Wimborne, the Rev. E. Fiennes Trotman, to the effect that the helm had "no connection with the tomb over which it hangs, and that the old sexton told him that in his boyhood the helm had become unattached, and was lying about the church, and was subsequently suspended over the tomb." The perforated and fluted visor of this helm is movable, and can be detached from the hinges, to which it is fixed by means of a pin on either side, as in the case of the Capel and other helms of the same nature to which we have referred. These pins in the Wimborne helm, it will be seen, finish above in small rings, and a small hole appears near the edge of the visor on a line with its topmost rib. The well-known statuette of St. George in wood on the retable now in the Dijon Museum (Fig. 424A) helps to explain the use of this hole and the ring at the head of the pin; for a small chain is there seen to connect the pin with the visor, so that when the latter was removed the pin remained attached to it and could not get lost. The spring catch, by which the visor, when lowered, was secured to the chin-piece, is still in position and in a fine state of preservation. Few helmets of this early date are provided with so elaborate an arrangement for keeping the visor closed; but as an additional precaution against the possibility of the visor being forced up by a thrust from below, there is a small plate fixed to the chin-piece, behind which the edge of the visor falls when it is lowered. When the helm was exhibited at the rooms of the Royal Archaeological Institute, the total absence of any traces of a means of fixing it to the breastplate led to the supposition being entertained that the lower part of it had been cut away. In many helms of this kind, however, two large holes are found near the lower edge through which passed staples fixed to the breastplate. The Astley MS. describes a similar helm as being "pȳnid

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up on two greet staplis before the breste, with a dowbill bokill behynde up on the bak." The Broadwater and Capel helms (Figs. 487 and 492) must have been fixed in this way. If the Wimborne helm has actually lost some part of its lower edge, it is now quite impossible to say whether it was secured in front by staples or by a buckle; and if the present bottom edge is the original one, the means of fixing it on the breastplate becomes a greater mystery still. The weight of the helm is $14\frac{1}{2}$ lb.

Like the Wimborne helm, but provided with a grander type of visor, is the one in the Imperial Armoury of Vienna. It will be noticed that the



FIG. 495. HELM

Early years of XVIth century. Imperial
Armoury, Vienna



FIG. 496. HELM

Early years of XVIth century. G 3,
Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

most salient point of the visor of this helm is higher than those of helms previously described; indeed, its form is altogether more elegant, and has the robust proportions of the fine closed helmets of the second quarter of the XVIth century. The large visor is fluted vertically. These flutings are crossed at right angles in the centre of the visor by three rows of apertures for purposes of seeing; while between each row of fluting, above and below, other rectangular apertures are ranged in a radiating manner. The visor pivots are concealed (Fig. 495). On a helm in the Musée d'Artillerie, G 3, (Fig. 496), the visor is, if possible, even more ample, and the sight and breathing apertures on a larger scale, lending to it almost the appearance of open basket work, and making it more akin to the class of helm

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which was used only for protection against the blunted sword and mace. Two fine examples of the salient-visored tournament helm, which we have very good reason for believing were the personal property of King Henry VIII, are to be seen in the Tower of London. One (Fig. 497) is on the tonlet suit (Fig. 1020) partially decorated with etched bands, and shaped very like the Vienna example. It bears an armourer's mark akin to that used by Missaglia of Milan. It will be observed that the sight and ventilation apertures of this helm are differently arranged, and that



FIG. 497. HELM

The work of one of the Missaglia of Milan
Made for King Henry VIII
Tower of London, Class II, No. 7



FIG. 498. ARMET HELM

Probably English, early XVIth century
Made for King Henry VIII
Tower of London, Class II, No. 6

when originally made they proved to be too large, as at a later date they were filled in by the addition of plates riveted beneath them; these plates were drilled with circular holes that were large enough to serve their purpose for sight and breathing, and at the same time to be proof against a sword or lance. The other helm we speak of (Fig. 498) is on the suit made for King Henry VIII for fighting on foot (see Fig. 1018). It is fine in form, complete as a defence, and small in proportions.

Our list of large helmets will conclude with the mention of two XVIth century helmets which exemplify the final form taken by these head-pieces.

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They, too, are in the Tower of London Collection. The earlier and finer specimen (Fig. 499) can safely be assigned to the end of the first quarter of the XVIth century. Its workmanship is excellent and its form good. It will be noticed that the entire front portion of the skull-piece is reinforced by a heavy additional plate, as in the case of XVth century armets. Although the visor, unlike that of the ordinary tilting helm, cannot be lifted, it can be detached by means of the pin and rivet fastening, as in the case of the Nevill helm (see page 150, Fig. 489). There is a separate gorget plate, which is of ample proportions. At the base, in the centre, are the four holes by which it was attached to the breastplate. The history of this particular helm is unknown, save that it came in 1848 from the Duke of Buckingham's collection at Stowe; but, judged by the condition of its surface, which is deeply



FIG. 499. HELM

Early XVIth century. From Stowe;
Tower of London, Class IV, No. 1

associated with the incrustations found upon helmets that have been exposed in churches, we imagine that it must at one time have been set up over a tomb.

The other helm (Fig. 500) is also from an unknown source, though it appears in the inventories for the years 1660, 1676, and 1688. In the 1611 inventory it is perhaps the one noted as being at Greenwich "In Mr. Pickering's workhouse," "one greate Head-peece remaying of old." In the 1660 inventory it figures as "Great Hearce of John of Gaunt's—one." In 1676 it figures with the same fabulous attribution: "Hearse or Large Headpece of John of Gauntes." In the valuation and inventory of 1688 it is described and valued "Hearse or Long Headpece of John a Gaunts...£10." The skull-piece is sound in construction and good in form; but its large bevor

pitted with rust
in a fashion always



FIG. 500. HELM

Middle of XVIth century
Tower of London,
Class IV, No. 2

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and visor are stunted in shape, and the workmanship is ragged and careless. The breathing holes are unevenly placed and crudely fashioned. The chin-piece somewhat redeems the helm; but the large hemispherically-headed brass rivets are probably not original. On the extending gorget plate on either side are large circular holes, through which passed the staples that attached the helm to the breastplate.

A rare form of tournament helmet or helm can be seen in those head-pieces which can only have served as the defence against some blunt in-



FIG. 501. HELM

For tournament use against the mace or wooden sword. Probably German (Saxon), early XVIth century
Formerly in the collection of Herr J. M Soyter, Augsburg



FIG. 502. HELM

For tournament use against the mace or wooden sword. German, early XVIth century
Imperial Armoury, Vienna

strument such as the mace or even the wooden sword. In the present writer's opinion these particular tournament helmets come almost within the category of padded fencing apparel, and have not sufficient dignity to be classed as armour in the true sense of the word; but as real examples are very rare, and as countless forgeries exist, more especially in foreign collections, it is our intention to illustrate two genuine examples. The first (Fig. 501) is believed to be still in a private collection, and, being of iron, is more legitimately a helm than the other example. At a first glance, the helmet of the diver suggests itself, the skull-piece being spheroidal and the very salient visor

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being composed of iron bars, such as are generally associated with those many helmets of various dates which, in the XVIIth century, were filled with makeshift bar visors for use in the famous games on the bridge at Pisa, *Giucoco del ponte di Pisa*. The helm pictured is of sound, if somewhat coarse, workmanship, its great visor lifting on a hinge above the forehead, as in the case of the early bascinets. The skull-piece extends well down the back and over the gorget to a corresponding depth. In these back and front parts are large circular holes for the attachment of the helm to the breast- and back-plate. In the case of this example the face defence is kept closed by a chain passing round the neck of the skull-piece. We have never had an opportunity of making a personal examination of this helm, but we have the Baron de Cosson's assurance as to its genuineness. Having compared it with a similar helm in the Imperial Armoury of Vienna which is said to have come from Saxony, we claim for it the same nationality; but we hardly accept it as belonging to the period assigned to the Vienna example by the late Herr Boenheim, that is, to the middle of the XVth century, preferring to place it in the first quarter of the XVIth century. M. Viollet-le-Duc, on page 354, vol. ii, of his famous *Dictionnaire du Mobilier Français*, gives an illustration of a knight, armed for a tournament with a fluted wooden sword and wooden mace, who wears a helmet of somewhat similar construction. The Vienna helm (Fig. 502) of this type is not entirely of iron; but is built up of leather upon an iron framework. This example affords no better protection for the face than can be given by a cross-hatched iron grill; while at its top is a large tubular socket for the crest. The whole head-piece is indeed suggestive of a very complete singlestick helmet of modern times; but from the excellence of its workmanship, its charm of colour, and its curiously heraldic appearance, it is, generally speaking, attractive. In the *Schloss* Museum of Sigmaringen, in the fine collection of arms formed by one of the former Princes of Hohenzollern, are two very fine late XVth century leather tournament helmets of this same type, but with wirework over the opening for the face, helmets quite similar to large fencing masks. We have been unable to obtain photographs of them.

THE CREST UPON THE HELM

The helmet of the XIth century, which was pointed at the top, interrupted for a while the ancient custom of cresting the head-piece with wings or feathers, horns or masks of beasts. But as soon as the knight's shield

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and coat and trapper took the new tints of armoury the crest came back to a helm, the round or flat top of which was ready to receive it.

Richard Cœur-de-Lion, the first of our kings to bear on his red shield the three golden leopards, is seen on his last seal wearing a crested helm (see vol. i, Fig. 145, *a*, *b*). It is an antiquity among crests, this of King Richard. The helm, as it would seem, has a ridged comb rounded to a half-circle, the edge set off with pen-feathers, the side bossed or painted with one of the leopards of the king's arms. Yet the new fashion came slowly into England, and XIIIth century seals and pictures have few crests to show us. The knight is not yet sure that the crest is a part of his armorial devices, to be inherited with his shield. The armourer will make a winged wyvern to sit on the helm of the Earl of Winchester; but he will make another of the same brood for another earl. Of all those great lords who seal in 1301 the English magnates' letter to the Pope, only five give us examples of crested helms, and two of these are the Earl of Lancaster and Henry his brother, each with the wyvern. But John St. John of Halnaker put a leopard on his helm between two palm branches; Ralph of Monthermer is crested with the eagle of his arms, a like crest nodding between his horse's ears. These are true crests for the heralds' books, which can take no account of those fan or scallop-shell crests which might be made by the dozen before a tournament.

King Edward III's costly play of Round Tables and knightly feasts soon gave a crest to the helm of every spendthrift knight who had the fancy of the time for splendid toys. With cord or boiled leather, or moulded and varnished parchment, with paint and gold leaf, the maker of crests set about fashioning any strange device that might be to the taste of the warrior and the jouster. The seal-engraver, then come to the height of his beautiful art, took kindly to the new crests. He set the crest upon the great helm, below which hung the shield of arms, flanked by the grotesque reptiles and the like, which soon became counted, as supporters, a part of that armoury which enriched all things from the lord's gate-tower to his bed and his thumb-ring. To this day there are ancient English houses which have no tradition of their use of any crest; even as, in the XVth century, there were men who, though gentlemen born of free blood, had no care to take any device for a shield. Yet crests were in plenty. Archbishops and bishops are seen sealing with seals that have crested helms, the crests of which sometimes lift themselves from the cleft of the mitre. A priest might not wear a helm. Nor might a woman. There are mediaeval seals with helm and crest for woman and for priest. But we may count this bad heraldry. At the end of

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the XIVth century, when the knight and his lady seal a deed, we look to see the one sealing with his crested helm above his own shield and the other with a shield alone, a shield of her husband's arms impaling those of her father's house.

A multitude of gay crests must have shone in the sunlight on helms of war and helms of tournament-yard. Time and change cast that multitude upon the rubbish-heap. A little remains, jetsam cast up into our own times. Of XIVth century crests the writer can speak but of that wonderful thing on the Black Prince's helm (see vol. i, Fig. 322c), and of that on the helm



FIG. 503. HELM CREST
Italian, Florentine, first half of XVth
century
Collection: Signor S. Bardini, Florence



FIG. 504. HELM CREST
Said to be that of King Martin I of
Aragon (1395-1410)
D 11, Royal Armoury, Madrid

of the Pranck family (see vol. i, Fig. 328). He has handled no others of that age; although others must surely lie in some dusty corners of Europe.

As a part of the warrior's gear the crest did not live out the middle ages. We find it hard to believe that men ever fought under these towering fantasies; yet there is good evidence. It was in time of war that English knights brought the fashion of crests into Scotland. "Crakys of War"—which are cannon and "tymmeris for helmys"—were seen for the first time in Scotland on one day: "twa noweltyis" they were, says the Scottish poet. Also when the English knights went campaigning into Spain, the Spaniard saw and wondered at the heads of beasts and soldans, and all the

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other strange shapes that sat on the helms put out, for pride, before the English tents. The Spaniards followed the English fashion: the *Crónica* of Don Alvaro de Lima tells us how the knights in the fight at Olmedo in 1445 were crested warriors: "nor was the number small of those who bore trophies of wild beasts and plumes of divers colours." But we may well doubt if any English knight of the York and Lancaster factions fought under his crest. By that age the crest and the flowing helm-mantle that tossed its tassels in the lists were gear for tournament and joust; the XVIth century, an age of change, would not even joust under crests; they were no more in the mode. Of XVIth century crests we have only those belonging to the undertaker's heraldry, which are still to be seen on rusty helms hung high up on church walls, the helms that were carried in the pageant of the funeral. It is notable that not one of these funerary crests is of great bulk or fantastic shape. They belong to the timid heraldry of their time.

King René in his *Livre des Tournois* would have every knight show his crested helm at an appointed place before the day of the tournament. Of these XVth century crests two are known to the present writer; one is in the collection of Signor Bardini of Florence and is remarkable for its size and curious quality (Fig. 503). There can be no doubt of its authenticity. It is built upon canvas in layers of gesso and of leather in the form of the head and swan-like neck of an open-mouthed reptile monster, the scaly hide modelled and painted by the hands of an artist. Set on the helm it would rise to seventeen inches out of its torse or wreath, which is modelled, cable-fashion, in twists of black, yellow, and red. Signor Bardini can only say of it that it was the crest of a Florentine House. In consideration of its character and of its Italian origin we should give it a date in the second quarter of the XVth century.

The second of these crests is that in the Royal Armoury at Madrid, D 11 (Fig. 504). Although not of such quality as the Florentine example it has a pedigree of great historical interest. This is the crest which was borne on the helm of King Martin I of Aragon (1409-10), and was carried as his ensign at the Feast of the Standard held at Palma in Majorca early in the XVth century. Again, we have a monster's head and arched neck, here rendered more dragon-like by reason of the wings springing from either side of the base. Such a device is said to have been worn by the princes of the royal house of Aragon from the reign of Don Pedro IV (1343-69) to that of Don Fernando II (1412-16). It is constructed in two parts, the crest itself being of

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parchment moulded hollow and coloured, the wings gilded. The base splays outward to fit the top of a helm. That disastrous fire which broke out in the Royal Armoury in 1884 burned away the painted ornament of this crest; but, thanks to careful drawings which remain, we know that the lower part was enriched with blazons of a shield in which a quadrangular escutcheon bore the arms of Aragon and the castle of L'Almudayna in Majorca. The late Conde de Valencia de Don Juan heard the story of the crest from Don José Maria Quadrado, curator of the archives of Majorca. When it became known that this rare antiquity belonging to the Balearic domain of the Crown of Spain was still extant, a royal decree of 1831 gave instructions that the Majorca corporation should hand over this and other historical objects to the Crown



FIG. 505. HELMET AND CREST
Reputed to have been worn by Georg
Castriota (1406-1466)
Imperial Armoury, Vienna

Bailiff. Since that year it has been in the Royal Armoury of Spain, so rich in historical pieces. Finally we must mention the gilt metal crest now upon a late bascinet-like head-piece in the Imperial Armoury of Vienna (Fig. 505). This is reputed to be that worn by Georg Castriota, famous as Skanderbeg (1406-66). We have always believed that in this case crest and helmet have been brought together in a later age, and that the finely modelled crest must have been made for a conical bascinet head-piece of the earlier XVth century like that in the Bargello, Florence (vol. i, Fig. 297); for it is not

of the fashion of those worn on the great jousting-helm.

With this ends the short list of those mediaeval helm-crests which the present writer has seen and examined. Yet many more must surely wait for the collector in those parts which lie out of the common track. Perhaps, in the armouries of Hungarian and Bohemian castles, crests will yet be found by the antiquary, when circumstances shall allow him again to take up his search for the gear of old wars in such places.

The present writer has to make his grateful acknowledgements to his friend, Mr. Oswald Barron, for the simple and yet concise manner in which he has assisted him in dealing with the heraldic significance of the crest. Mr. Barron's rare knowledge of the subject and admirable style are manifest in this concluding part of the chapter.

CHAPTER XIV

CHAIN MAIL AND INTERLINED TEXTILE DEFENCES



WE have from time to time discussed chain mail and similar flexible armaments as we found them represented in pictorial and sculptural art from the days of the Norman Conquest until the middle of the XIVth century. Doubtless, apart from the early Norse *byrnie* found at Vimosa and Thorsberg, to which we have referred on page 6, vol. i, examples of chain mail may still be in existence belonging to the XIIth, XIIIth, and even XIth centuries, if but fragmentary, and we may have even seen them; but from the utter impossibility of recognizing the period to which they belong, it is useless to mention them individually. With perhaps one exception known to us, we believe, too, that hardly a hauberk of mail is extant that has a pedigree reliable and substantial enough to take it back even to the XVth century. The shape of a piece of plate armour supplies the clue which enables us to assign to it, with fair degree of accuracy, a definite period. But in the case of chain mail defences of XIIIth and XIVth century date, this kind of evidence cannot be brought to bear; for it must be borne in mind that as chain mail was in universal demand throughout mediaeval times, a hauberk was of value, and was therefore constantly being repaired and altered in shape according to the requirements of the time, so the original "cut" of the shirt may have been subsequently altered on more than one occasion. We are therefore forced to depend rather upon the make and form of the rings of which the hauberk is composed when we attempt to assign an approximate date to a hauberk of chain mail.

Let us deal first with the only example of early chain mail with which we are acquainted that has a history, and that *might*, though we do not believe it, be as old as is supposed—the shirt preserved in the Treasury of the Cathedral of Prague. The so-called Saint Wenceslaus shirt of mail is first mentioned in the inventory of the Treasury of Prague Cathedral, taken in the year 1354, where it figures as "*lorica sancti Wenceslaus.*" Exactly the same entry is made in the ensuing inventories of 1365, 1368, 1371, and 1387. We may therefore conclude that a hauberk bearing this

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name was preserved there in the second half of the XIVth century; and we are further justified in thinking that this hauberk, in part at least—for it has been subjected to restorations—is the actual one mentioned in these inventories and still to be seen in the Cathedral Treasury of Prague. But



FIG. 506. HAUBERK OF CHAIN MAIL.

Known as the shirt of Saint Wenceslaus. Its date is uncertain, but part of it at least might be as early as the XIIIth century
Treasury of the Cathedral of Prague

inasmuch as Wenceslaus, Patron Saint of Bohemia, was Duke of Bohemia about 928-936, it requires a very considerable amount of faith to accept as fact all that tradition attaches to this hauberk; for, like all relics of distant mediaeval times, its history is extremely obscure. But we will

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proceed to form an opinion by an actual examination of the hauberk. It is a shirt reaching to the knee, with long, wide sleeves, open at the neck both back and front. The rings are of circular iron wire, small in circum-

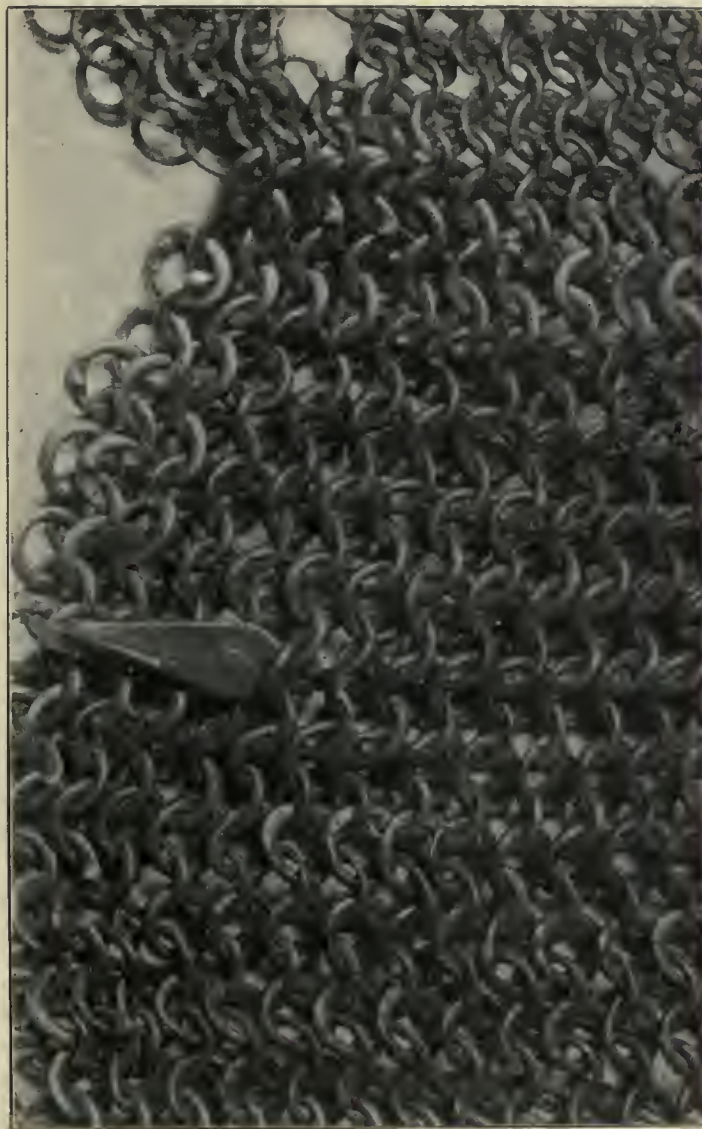


FIG. 507. PORTION OF THE "SAINT WENCESLAUS" SHIRT OF MAIL
Actual size of the links

ference and riveted. Portions of the left sleeve are badly torn. Now if we were guided by its shape, we might assign it to some date within the first half of the XIIIth century; but, as we have said, it is on the formation of its rings that we prefer to rely for settling the date. Frankly it is difficult

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to associate the form of ring employed in the manufacture of this hauberk with the very early date to which it is ascribed; more especially as hauberks somewhat shorter in length but with similar sleeves and a similar mesh of ring are constantly found among the XVth century armament of the warriors of the near East. We give an illustration of the hauberk as it now appears (Fig. 506), and a portion of the mesh of the mail taken actual size (Fig. 507). As we have often said, we are always unwilling to throw doubt upon traditions that have been cherished for many centuries; but we feel bound to assert that any ascription of this present shirt of mail to the first half of



FIG. 508. TIPPET OF CHAIN MAIL

Probably added late in the XVth or early in the XVIth century to the "Saint Wenceslaus" hauberk. Treasury of the Cathedral of Prague

the Xth century appears to us to be absolutely indefensible. There is the possibility, that as was often the case, this Saint Wenceslaus shirt may be a substitute hauberk of later date, put in place of the original which was once known to have been preserved in the treasury; a substitution made probably as early as the reign of Ottokar or that of his son Wenceslaus I, King of Bohemia, in the first half of the XIIIth century, a period in which the fashion of hauberk which this particular specimen follows was popular, and in which the belief in the survival of relics of past heroes was devoutly cherished. Whatever may be the history of this interesting mail shirt, it certainly claims the right from the mention in the 1354 inventory to

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be examined as perhaps one of the oldest mediaeval examples of which there is actual record. We may add that the sword and helmet attributed to Saint Wenceslaus are also to be seen in the Prague Treasury (vol. i, Figs. 55, 170). There is a chance that the helmet may possibly be as old as the date to which it is ascribed; indeed, it is interesting to note that it bears Northern Runic ornamentation, a circumstance which might give rise to yet another speculation as to the provenance of the Wenceslaus achievements. The blade of the sword may be of early date; but the hilt and scabbard have been adapted to it in the latter part of the XIVth century. A tippet of chain mail has been placed upon the hauberk; this appears from its make to be Austrian or Polish, and was no doubt added in the early years of the XVIth century (Fig. 508).

Early mention of chain mail other than that we have alluded to in the opening chapters of this work is constantly met with. In the admirable article contributed by Mr. Francis Kelly to the "Burlington Magazine" for March 1905, which deals with the inventory of Raoul de Nesle, Constable of France, and contains the description of a knight's wardrobe in the first years of the XIVth century, several entries of chain mail appear. The original inventory is now preserved with the archives of the town of Lille. In the list of the Constable's apparel are the following mentions of chain mail:

THE OLD FRENCH	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
Item, i hauberiau et i camail	Item, an haubergeon and a camail.
Item, vii hauberions que corsés	Item, vii haubergeons and corsés.
Item, xlii pieche de causes	Item, xlii chausses.
Item, pour viii que hauberions, que haubers et iii camaus	Item, to viii haubergeons and haubers and iii camails.
Item, haubers a tournoier	Item, a tourney hauberk (or haubers).
Item, pluseurs menues pieches de hauberjons	Item, several small fragments of haubergeons.

Occasionally confusing allusions to chain mail haubers are found: in Chaucer's "Rhyme of Sir Thopas," for instance, the knight has a "hauberk full fyn . . . of plate." This can only be explained by the doubtless loose nomenclature of the time, which allows iron chain mail to be spoken of as if made "of plate." As in the case of most individual armaments, certain towns were famous for their production of chain mail; of these, Chambly (Oise) in France, and Milan in Lombardy, stand out pre-eminently. Thus, in the inventory of Louis le Hutin we find reference to the names of these places:

Haultes gorgières doubles de *chambli*
Un haubert entière de *lombardie*.

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Perhaps before we mention those complete hauberks and other portions of chain mail that we can assign to the end of the XIVth century, we should say a few words as to the construction of the apparently complicated mesh of which they are composed. As in the case of many manufactured articles the make of which seems difficult to understand, the process of chain mail "weaving" once grasped is seen to be extremely simple. The actual medium of the chain mail was iron wire, of varying thickness according to the need, either

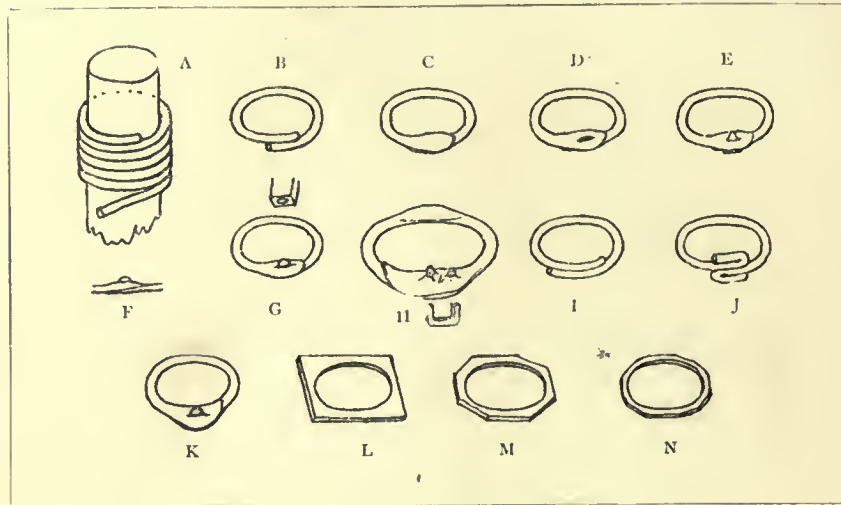


FIG. 509. THE MANUFACTURE OF CHAIN MAIL

According to the theory of the late Mr. A. Burges, A.R.A., from "Ancient Helmets and Examples of Mail," reprinted from the "Archaeological Journal"

- A. The foundation or rod on which the wire is wound, with wire in position
- B. The wire in rings, the ends overlapping
- C. The ends of the rings flattened by hammering
- D. The flattened ends of the rings pierced by a punch
- E. The triangular rivet in position
- F, G. The joint finished off between two punches, an upper and lower
- H. A ring of mail double riveted by a clamp
- I, J, K. Method of making a ring when it was desired to thicken the rivet juncture and so stiffen the mesh
- L, M, N. Method of making an unjoined ring, the centre punched out, the outside trimmed off

drawn out mechanically, a process discovered, it is maintained, in the early years of the XIVth century, or formed of thin strips of metal rounded by means of the hammer. This thread of iron of the requisite thickness had then to be made into rings. This was accomplished by obtaining a cylindrical bar of metal, a little smaller in diameter than that of the ring. Round this was carefully wound the wire, each twist being afterwards cut with a chisel; for the iron was worked cold. The cut ends were then flattened with a hammer or strong pincers until they overlapped; and

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were finally riveted together, either by the mechanical process of a small rivet being inserted with strong pliers, or by an ordinary rivet and riveting hammer (Fig. 509). Both these tools figure in use in a late XVth century drawing of a chain mail maker that can be seen in the Town Library of Nuremberg (Fig. 510). As to the form of the rivet used in connecting the links, it has been suggested that its shape establishes the nationality of the mail; for instance, rivets of triangular section are said to appear on European mail, and circular upon that of Eastern origin; but experts are not agreed upon the point. But in all cases, it was the endeavour to make the inner side of the mail present as smooth a surface as possible, and to take away any asperity from the apex of the rivet. The linking of the rings together was entirely a matter of practice, and might be likened to the tatting of a fishing net; but it will generally be found that a series of four rings are fitted through a centre one. A very great many variations in the arrangement of the rings prevailed, according to the required thickness of the mail. This is but the roughest description of chain mail making; there were many ways of forming the rings: some were stamped out, whilst others had their ends not riveted, but forced or butted together as in the case of the heavy fragment shown in our illustration (Fig. 514).

Of the examples of chain mail on our list the next in point of age are those two coifs of mail which are to be found respectively in the Musée d'Artillerie and in the collection of Mr. Henry G. Keasby.

The Musée d'Artillerie example, H 5, is said to have been found in a tomb at Epernay (Côte d'or), and that in the Keasby Collection (Fig. 511) has a similar provenance; both are of the same shape, roughly speaking that of a short cylinder with dependent ear flaps. Although apparently they are genuine riveted mail caps, the date that has been assigned to them—the XIIIth-XIVth century—has been a subject of considerable controversy. We should add that there is a very similar coif with rings of the same proportions in the Porte de Hal, Brussels, which is assigned to the XIIIth century (Fig. 512). For our next information we may now turn to the examination of certain fragments of XIIIth-XIVth century mail that have come under



FIG. 510. CHAIN MAIL MAKER

From the Mendel and Landauer *Zwölfbrüderstiftung* MS. in the Town Library, Nuremberg

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our own observation. The now almost famous piece of very large ringed mail with double rivets, which used to be in the Meyrick Collection and was subsequently in those of the late Mr. W. Burges and of the Baron de Cosson, is now in our own possession. Mr. Burges gave the following description of it : The history of this piece of mail, as told by Sir Samuel Meyrick, is to be found in vol. i, p. 141, of the "Journal of the Archaeological Association." One of Sir Samuel's tenants procured this and another piece, the latter much broken, from the son of a ropemaker, who has used them for the purpose of rubbing down the projections in his work. The account given was that the entire piece, before it was cut into two portions,



FIG. 511. CHAIN MAIL CAP

Attributed to the XIII-XIVth(?) century. Said to have been found in a tomb at Epernay (Côte d'or)
Collection: Mr. Henry G. Keasby



FIG. 512. CHAIN MAIL CAP

Attributed to the XIII-XIVth(?) century. Porte de Hal,
Brussels

came from a church in Gloucestershire. Sir Samuel Meyrick assigned it to the early part of the XIVth century (Fig. 513). The iron wire from which it is made is circular in section, and the points of junction of the rings are flattened out very greatly. At the opposite side of the rings are also traces of the hammer; but these are not by any means so perceptible as those at the points of junction. The rivet has been formed in the shape of a mason's cramp, viz., with two sides turning up (see Fig. 509 H). Next we illustrate (Fig. 514) a fragment of chain mail with large heavy rings half an inch across in the interior diameter. These are not flat but circular in section, and are not riveted but simply butted together. This most massive piece of chain mail was found some thirty years ago in the foundations of an old house at Nottingham. It is very old, belonging probably to the XIVth century; but

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its very great weight makes it seem almost impossible that it ever formed part of a hauberk, and we would suggest as a possible theory that it must originally have belonged to some horse apparel. This piece of chain mail is now in the collection of the present writer. The Musée d'Artillerie, G 426, exhibits a *genouillère* of plate around the edging of which is attached chain mail. We must confess that we have never handled or critically examined it; but since it is the only extant example known to the present writer of reinforced

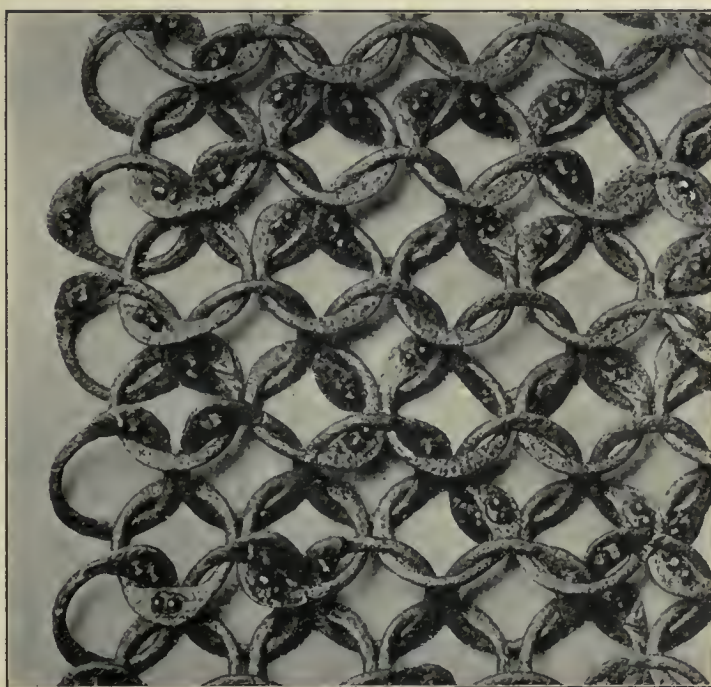


FIG. 513. PIECE OF CHAIN MAIL WITH CLAMP RIVETS

Supposed to have come from a church in Gloucestershire. Assigned to the early part of the XIVth century

Ex Meyrick, Burges, de Cosson Collections. (Actual size of rings)

chain mail of supposed European provenance in the fashion of the early part of the XIVth-century, we are inclined to be sceptical, and to consider it Asiatic and of later date. It was presented to the Musée d'Artillerie by M. Jouste, the famous antiquary. Another fragment of large linked chain mail is worthy of illustration (Fig. 515). It appears to be of late XIVth century date, and was found in the cellar of a house pulled down during the Aldwych improvements. It is now in the London Museum.

In the remarkable collection of Mr. W. Riggs of Paris, recently presented by him to the Metropolitan Museum of New York, is the camail

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from a bascinet helmet made of alternate rows of riveted and solid rings. The representation of such a camail attached to a bascinet can be seen on the famous Dijon statuette of Saint George (Fig. 424A); and even the fastening of the edge of the camail to the jupon by means of the groups of laces, is clearly



FIG. 514. PIECE OF CHAIN MAIL

XIVth (?) century. Found in the foundation of an old house at Nottingham
Collection: Author. (Actual size of rings)

shown. These laces, according to Victor Gay, were known in France later by the name of *clavel*. The Riggs camail is an example of chain mail of the third quarter of the XIVth century, without reproach and in its original form. Mr. Riggs purchased it at the sale of the Baron de Cosson Collection in 1893.

Certainly foremost among these shirts of mail that have been preserved complete and unaltered is that splendid late XIVth century hauberk,

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formerly in the Meyrick and Noël Paton Collections, and now in the Royal Scottish Museum (Fig. 516). It is certainly the finest with which we are acquainted. Its condition leaves nothing to be desired, its manufacture is of the highest order, and its shape of exceptional grace. To assign it to a particular nationality is difficult, and we must leave its origin to conjecture; though the late Mr. Burges held that this is one of the few coats of mail which has any decided history. The history, however, that Sir Samuel Meyrick gives of it

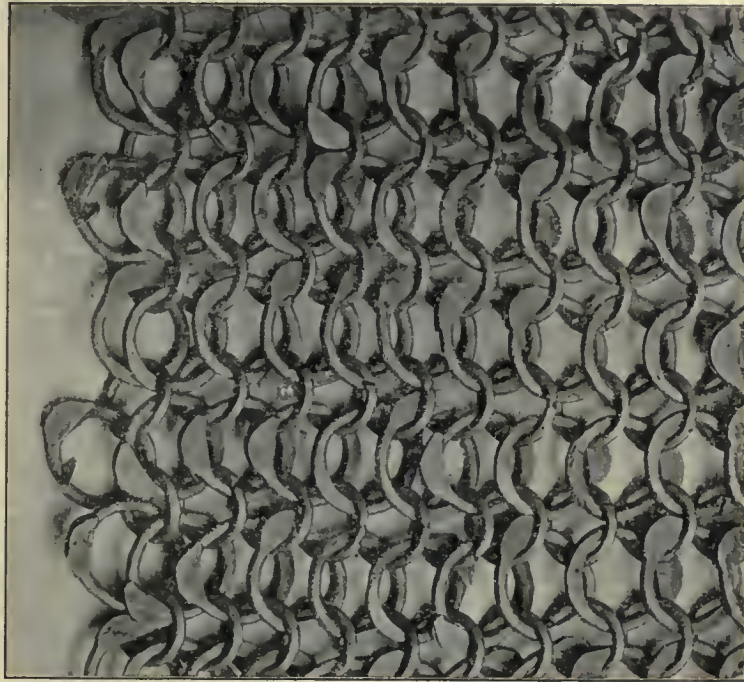


FIG. 515. PIECE OF CHAIN MAIL

With curiously widened ends to the ends of the rings; these are not riveted but overlap XIVth (?) century. From the foundation of a house pulled down during the Aldwych improvements. London Museum. (Actual size of rings)

in his "Critical Inquiry" takes it back but a comparatively few generations. Sir Samuel stated that "it had been purchased by a Jew from an ancient family at Sinigaglia, near Bologna, in whose possession it had been beyond their records." He also goes on to relate that "the Jew bought it by the ounce and paid for it forty guineas." The hauberk is of the simplest construction, with no slits and no reinforcements. There are, however, two gussets in the lower part in order to make it widen satisfactorily over the hips. The sleeves are ten inches long from the armpits. The size of the rings, which appear to have been made originally of wire of circular section,

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but which now through constant wear are somewhat flattened, average a full half inch in their interior diameter. It will be noticed that the lower edge of the shirt is vandyked, and that the links for a little distance up are composed of brass riveted with iron, a fashion which is also followed in the formation of the edge of the sleeves. This custom of vandyking the lower edge of the hauberk dates, as is well known, from the third quarter of the XIVth century to the first quarter of the next, which fact enables



FIG. 516. CHAIN MAIL HAUBERK

Late XIVth century. Ex Meyrick and Noël Paton Collections
Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh

us to assign this particular shirt to about that period. The equestrian statue of Bernabo Visconti, erected in 1354, now preserved in the castle of Milan, is habited in just such a hauberk (see Fig. 964); such a shirt also figures in the brass of Sir Thomas Burton, 1382. In the early years of the XVth century hauberks of this kind with the vandyked edge are represented on brasses, of which that of Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, is a good example, and on the effigy of Sir Edmund de Thorpe, in Ashwelthorpe Church, Norfolk (Fig. 517) which may be dated about 1418.

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A mail shirt of nearly equal importance to the Sinigaglia example is now in the collection of the late Mr. Rutherford Stuyvesant, U.S.A. This hauberk, which was obtained from the collection of the Baron de Cosson, and which dates from about 1400 (Fig. 518), presents a vandyked border at the base of the shirt similar to that just described, but has no edging of brass. The sleeves reach to the wrists. In many respects this shirt closely resembles a fine early XVth century hauberk in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris, G 211 (Fig. 519), except that the latter is without the standing collar. Another very heavy mail shirt of about this period is in our own collection (Fig. 520). It weighs over 33 lb., and is indeed as heavy as any we know of. The texture of the mail links at the sides beneath the arms is of a stronger nature than that of the remainder of the shirt, suggesting that a *plastron* of plate was utilized in protecting the more vulnerable regions above the chest and abdomen, where in this case the mail is weakest. The rings of the stronger part average half an inch in diameter (Fig. 521). From the very corroded condition of the surface of the links it appears that this hauberk must have been buried in the ground for a long period, a circumstance which lends some weight to the tradition that it was found while excavations were being carried out on the site of an old house in the Whitechapel Road.

We can mention many hauberks to which we can assign a date within the early years of the XVth century:—for instance, an example in the United Service Museum, Whitehall; part of a hauberk which, together with an armorial badge of the O'Neills, now in the collection of Mr. Starkie Gardiner, was found in Phoenix Park, Dublin; the fine mail shirt in the Wallace Collection, No. 335 in the catalogue; and a variety of hauberks with and without sleeves that are to be seen in the Tower of London Armoury. In the Museum of Artillery, Woolwich, is a sleeveless coat of mail edged with brass rings which the late Mr. Burges considered might date as early as the latter part of the XIVth century.

The present writer must confess that he always looks with suspicion on extant examples of mail leggings or *chausses* when they are supposed to be of very early date; for on careful examination they have generally the

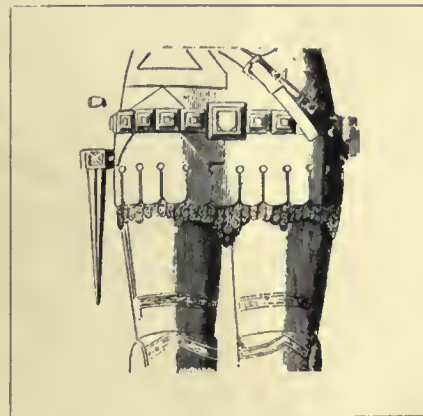


FIG. 517. FROM THE EFFIGY OF SIR EDMUND DE THORPE
About 1418. Ashwelthorpe Church, Norfolk. After Stothard

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appearance of having been fabricated to meet the mid-XIXth century demand for early armaments, either from mail sleeves or from portions of hauberks. Specimens of such alteration of mail can be seen in the Wallace Collection, under No. 336. These specimens purport to be mail *chausses* complete with sollerets. Made of riveted chain, but with links of various



FIG. 518. CHAIN MAIL HAUBERK

Late XIVth century. Collection: the late Mr. Rutherford Stuyvesant, U.S.A.

sizes, they resemble in general appearance the form which it might be imagined the *chausses* of the XIIIth century assumed; but the actual chain mail of which they are composed, though of European origin, does not appear to be of an older type than that of the XVIth century. Most, indeed, of the so-called *chausses* that are found in museums can make no serious claim to authenticity in their present form, unless of course they happen to be of Eastern origin.

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As may be supposed, chain mail was employed for many purposes throughout the XIVth and XVth centuries:—in the armament of the horse, in the secret linings of civil costume, and in the guarding of those parts of the human body which cannot be effectively protected by plate armour. In many cases the chain mail required fitting to that part of the body which it was to protect. This was done by means of the insertion of gussets, etc.



FIG. 519. CHAIN MAIL HAUBERK

Early XVth century. G 211, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

One of the most interesting examples of fitted chain mail is to be seen in the *Zeughaus* of Berlin. It is a complete bevor to be worn beneath a *salade* or *chapel* and is so reinforced in places as to render it almost stiff (Fig. 522). In the many collections which we have visited we have never seen a finer example of modelled chain mail, although a chain mail *brayette* in New York is perhaps to be compared to it (Fig. 522A). A usual defence in chain mail towards the second half of the XVth century was the *haussecol gorget* of mail or *haussecol standard* as it was termed. It is frequently seen portrayed

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on the brasses and effigies of that period. Often the standard of chain mail, which was worn like a small tippet with a reinforced stiff collar around the neck, was edged with brass links riveted with iron. The fullness in the mail that extends over the shoulder is obtained by gusseting, the lower edge of the mail being made into four escallops like one half of a hexagon with concave sides. The ends of the collar were either strapped together at the back or fastened by a hinge with a movable pin. We illustrate three examples:—the first (Fig. 523), a remarkably fine standard in the Artillery Museum, Rotunda, Woolwich, where the actual collar of reinforced



FIG. 520. CHAIN MAIL HAUBERK
Early XVth century. Collection: Author

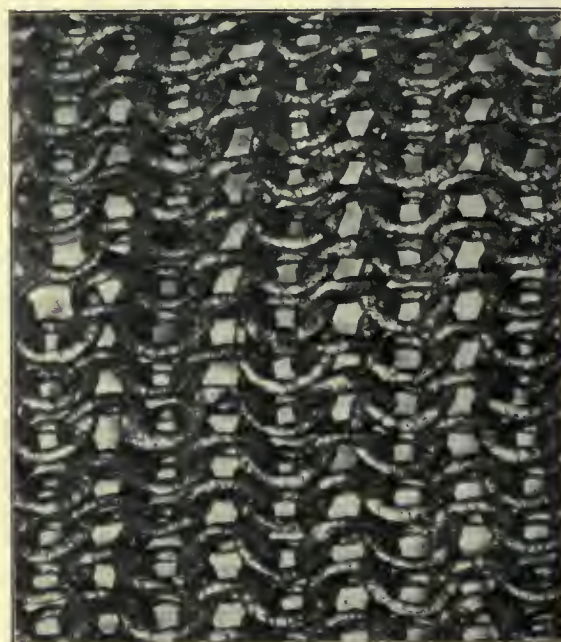


FIG. 521. ACTUAL SIZE OF THE RINGS
OF THE HAUBERK (FIG. 520)

mail is of unusual depth; the second (Fig. 524), formerly in the Roach Smith Collection, now in the British Museum, and originally found near Thames side; the third (Fig. 525), a specimen in the collection of Mr. W. H. Fenton, found in Worship Street, and of rather later date than the two others mentioned.

As plate armour became the vogue in the early part of the XVth century, chain mail more than ever became an auxiliary defence of the fighter; though in countries more distant from the centre of civilization it long remained the principal one. In Hungary, Poland, Russia, and in semi-civilized states, for example, it was the sole armament till well into the XVIIth century. The

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Irish were content with the protection of the mail hauberk alone until the closing years of the XVth century. Indeed, in the reign of Elizabeth, we find Spenser stating that the Irish chieftain still wore a shirt of mail over a leathern-quilted jack which was long enough "to cover his trouse on horse-backe," a fashion associated in English costume with the early years of the XIIIth century. Even in the principal countries of Europe complete suits of mail were in use until the early years of the XVIth century. But they were only employed as a subsidiary defence to plate, though some of the finest mail from the point of actual technical manufacture dates from these times. Two beautiful shirts of fine riveted links, certainly of European origin, are



FIG. 522. BEVOR OF RIVETED CHAIN MAIL
Middle of the XVth century
To be worn with a salade-like head-piece
Zeughaus, Berlin

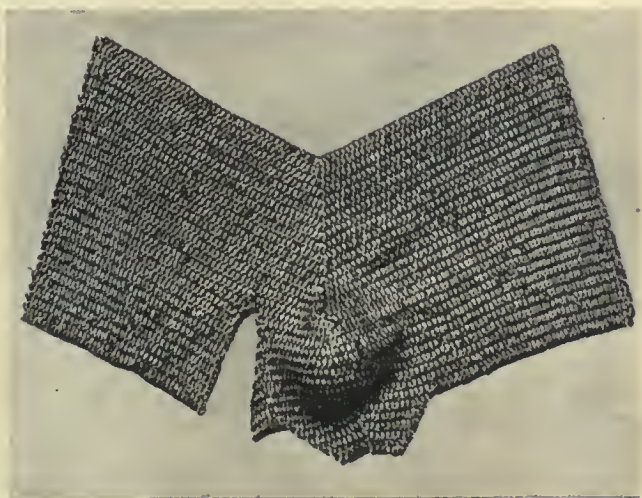


FIG. 522A. RIVETED CHAIN MAIL BRAYETTE
Late XVth century
Collection: Mr. W. H. Riggs, Metropolitan
Museum, New York

to be seen in the Oriental Armoury of the Wallace Collection, Nos. 1509 and 1858, finding their place in that section of the armoury merely because they were obtained with the Eastern armour. We illustrate a shirt of chain mail in our own collection that might well date within the first quarter of the XVIth century (Fig. 526). We also give a picture of an early XVIth century mail-gusset, showing the actual size of its mesh. This depicts an interesting feature, as the section of the wire of which the rings are composed is seen to be practically triangular, with rivets that are pyramidal (Fig. 527).

With the advance of the XVIth century, whole shirts of mail worn beneath plate armour were mostly discarded, only the vulnerable parts of the body

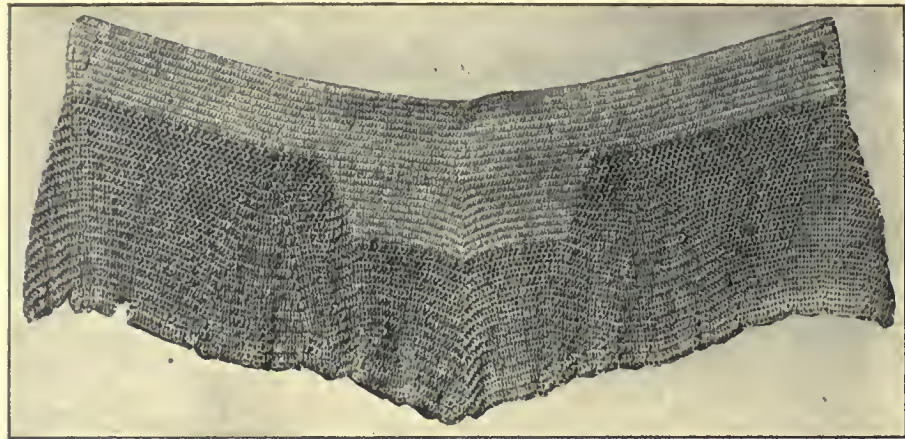


FIG. 523. STANDARD OF RIVETED MAIL
Second half XVth century: Artillery Museum, Rotunda, Woolwich

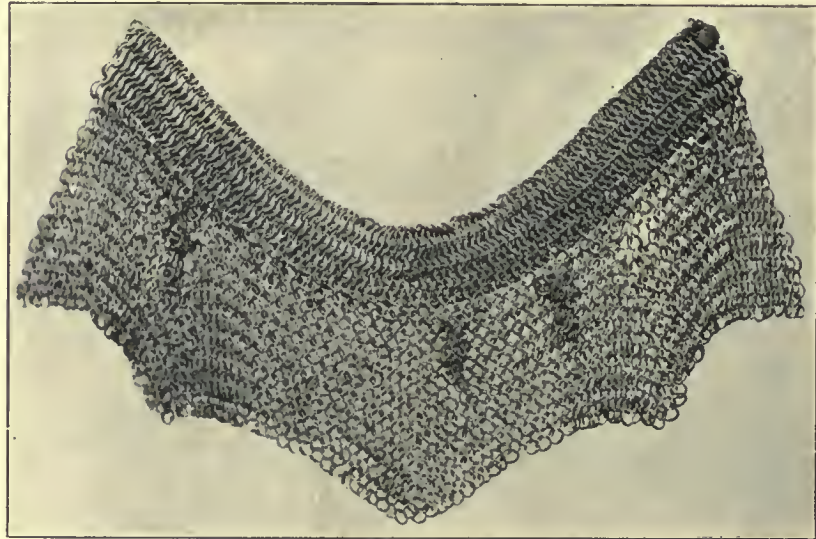


FIG. 524. STANDARD OF RIVETED MAIL
Second half XVth century. Found in the Thames at Thames side
Roach Smith Collection. British Museum



FIG. 525. STANDARD OF RIVETED MAIL
Second half XVth century. Found near Worship Street. Collection: Mr. W. H. Fenton



FIG. 526. RIVETED CHAIN MAIL HAUBERK
Early XVIth century. Collection: Author

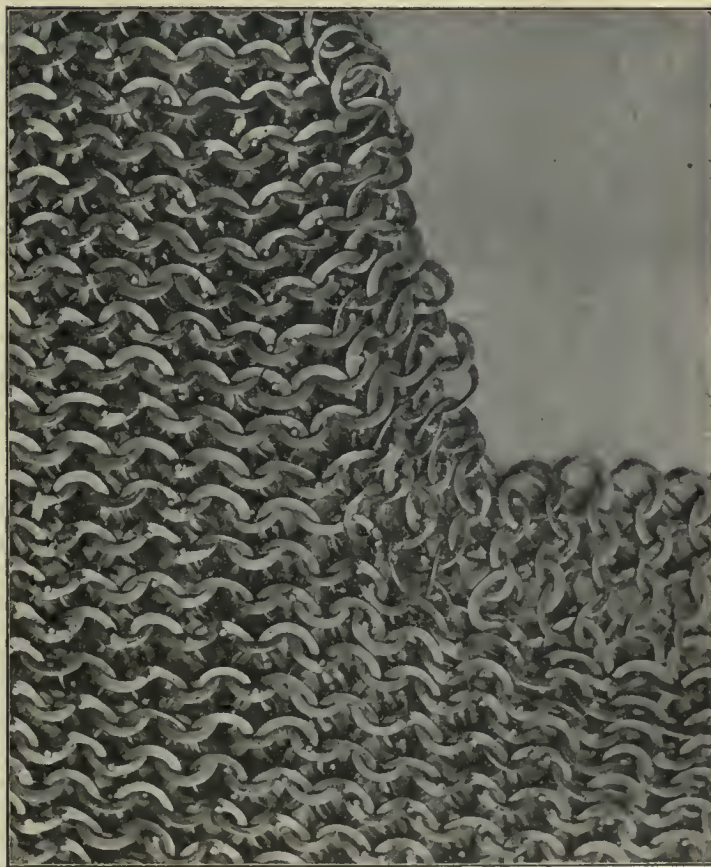


FIG. 527. PART OF A RIVETED MAIL GUSSET
Early XVIth century. Collection: Author. (Actual size of rings)

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which were insufficiently guarded by the covering of plate being protected by chain mail. The armpits, the buttocks, and the cods alone depended upon chain mail for their defence, the chain mail bag for the last-named being known as the *faulde*. The portions of chain mail which protected all these parts



FIG. 528. PORTRAIT OF A NOBLEMAN

By Giovanni Moroni. Showing chain mail gussets attached by aiglettes to a leathern doublet. National Gallery

were sewn or laced upon a foundation of leather. No better illustration of this can be given than their representation in the famous picture by Giovanni Moroni in the National Gallery, where an Italian nobleman stands ready to be armed. He is habited in a leather coat with gussets of mail laced beneath the armpits; while about him on the ground are pieces of his armour of plate (Fig. 528). It would appear that the mail

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defence for the buttocks and privy parts was stepped into like bathing drawers, the undulations of the body being most carefully studied in the formation of the mail. A most interesting armament in the nature of a long tippet of chain mail reaching well over the shoulders is to be seen



FIG. 529. LANDSKNECHT
CAPTAIN

Wearing the tippet of chain mail
By the engraver HD. 1545



FIG. 530. TIPPET OF RIVETED CHAIN MAIL OF
"BISHOP'S MANTLE" TYPE

Early XVIth century
In the collection of the Author

in a defence much employed in central Europe—the true tippet of mail. This had, as a rule, the reinforced collar and edging of brass rings as seen on the haussecol of the previous century. These tippets seem to have been rather peculiar to Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia, though many came from Venice, where they were termed "Bishop's Mantles." They mostly date from the last years of the XVth century well into the first half of the next.

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They are shown in Burgkmair's "Triumph of Maximilian"; they also frequently figure on the armament of the *landsknecht* class depicted in the Swiss stained glass of the first half of the XVIth century. A very excellent illustration of the tippet of mail in use, together with a three-quarter suit of armour, is given in the woodcut of a *landsknecht* captain after the engraver H.D. 1545 (Fig. 529). We illustrate two actual examples. One (Fig. 530) is in our own collection, a cape of the "Bishop's Mantle" type, so

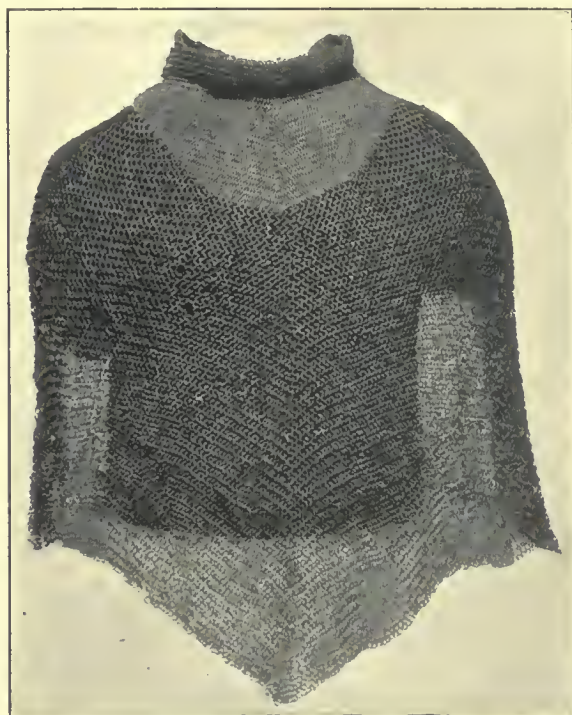


FIG. 531. TIPPET OF RIVETED CHAIN MAIL
Probably central Europe, early
XVIth century
Collection: Mr. Felix Joubert



FIG. 532. DUELLING GAUNTLET
Guanti di presa, with a lining of riveted chain
mail. Italian, middle of XVIIth century
Collection: Mr. W. H. Fenton, now in the
collection of Dr. Bashford Dean

possibly Venetian; the other (Fig. 531), in the collection of Mr. Felix Joubert, is somewhat ampler and composed of rather larger links, a circumstance which suggests that it is of Austrian fashion, and dates within the first half of the XVIth century. Probably the latest instance of chain mail being used in European military armament was its employment as a lining to the *guanti di presa* of the duellist. These were either ordinary left-hand gauntlets lined with mail (Figs. 584, 585), or a leather glove, the palm of which was composed of chain mail; the purpose they served being to enable the combatant to

CHAIN MAIL AND INTERLINED TEXTILE DEFENCES

close with his adversary and to grasp the blade of his rapier or sword without risk of being hurt. Sometimes a pair of gauntlets are met with, of which only the left-hand gauntlet is lined with mail. Leather gloves with mail lining were in use until the third quarter of the XVIIth century. We illustrate an example from the collection of Mr. W. H. Fenton (Fig. 532).

JAZARINES, BRIGANDINES, AND JACKS

WHEN we come to consider the flexible defensive apparel of our knightly ancestors other than the true shirt of linked mail we are confronted by *un embarras de richesse*; for from the early times at which we commenced our chronicle such armaments existed in countless varieties. The quilted hacketon, the gambeson, and all those semi-secret defences that were part of the knight's military dress throughout the XIIIth and XIVth centuries come under this heading. Some eminent writers have made a considerable difference between what is now known as the jazarine, the brigandine, and the jack. Yet there seems no real necessity for making these subdivisions; for all these defences, into which plates of metal are introduced, come under the general heading of flexible garments and only vary in name according to the arrangement of the inserted metal parts. One is accustomed to consider the terms jazarine and brigandine as more particularly belonging to the XIVth, XVth, and XVIth centuries garment; while the jack seems associated with the commoner flexible apparel of late XVth and early XVIIth century date. This, however, is only a mental analysis of the terms used, a contention which we can make good by reference to the armaments of old Japan, for in no other country, probably, were such varied forms of quilted defences known; and yet, though these had many and elaborate subdivisions, they were all classed under the generic name of *Kozane*.

Meyrick speaks of the word "jazerant" as being derived from the Italian *ghiazzzerino*, a clinker-built ship; while Ducange suggests that *ghiazzzerino* was an early Italian word meaning a coat of chain mail. The word is probably of Saracenic origin. Both to a certain extent agree that in the case of jazerant armour the plates of metal were exposed; witness as an example Martin and George Klausenburg's beautiful figure of St. George (Fig. 533). The appearance of the actual armour would, however, resemble that of the XVIth century half suit to be seen in the next illustration. There is record of defensive armour of the jazerant kind as early as 1316 in the oft-

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quoted inventory of the armaments of Louis X, *le Hutin*, King of France; for among the various apparel appears:—

Item, uns pans et uns bras de jazeran d'acier.

Item, un jazeran d'acier.

Item, une couverture de jazeran de fer (horse armour).

Item, 3 paires de couvertures gamboisées des armes le roy et unes indes jazeguenée.



FIG. 533. FROM THE FIGURE OF
ST. GEORGE AT PRAGUE
Showing body armour that could be
classed as jazerant
Hradschin Palace, Prague



FIG. 534. JAZERANT HALF ARMOUR
Made for Francesco Maria I della Rovere, Duke
of Urbino. The work of the brothers Negroli
of Milan, about 1530
Imperial Armoury, Vienna

The last item shows the use of the word as an adjective; for, though we have the three pairs of horse housings, quilted in the manner of the gambeson, the word *jazeguenée* indicates they were made after the fashion of the jazerant.

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We are able at this point to illustrate a very beautiful armament strictly jazerant in its make, which, now preserved in the Imperial Armoury, Vienna, was made originally for Francesco Maria I della Rovere, Duke of Urbino. As this famous general died in 1538 we may consider that this fine jazerant was completed towards the close of the first quarter of the XVIth



FIG. 535. FROM A PICTURE BY DIRK BOUTS

Third quarter of XVth century. Showing a brigandine of cloth of gold and an armet head-piece in the foreground
Collection: The late Mr. Charles T. D. Crews

century; although the helmet placed with it is dated 1532. Both the jazerant coat and helmet are the work of the brothers Negroli of Milan. It will be noted that the body armour is quite classical in its form, as are also the espaliers with their small pendent straps of mail and plate. The condition of this splendid harness leaves nothing to be desired. Its colour is now a russet brown (Fig. 534).

What is now understood as the brigandine in Sir Samuel Meyrick's



FIG. 536. BRIGANDINE

Italian, about 1500. Collection: Mr. W. H. Riggs, Metropolitan Museum of New York

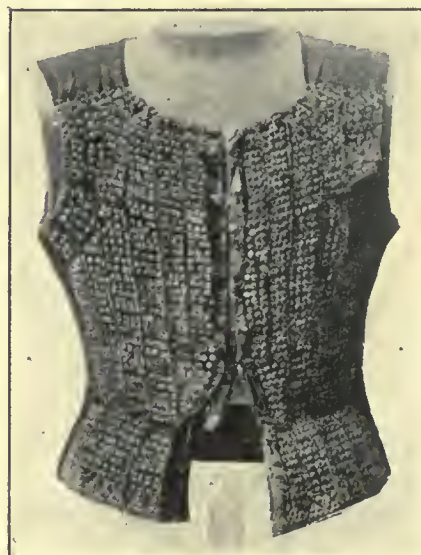


FIG. 537. BRIGANDINE

Early XVIth century
G 204, Musée d'Artillerie,
Paris

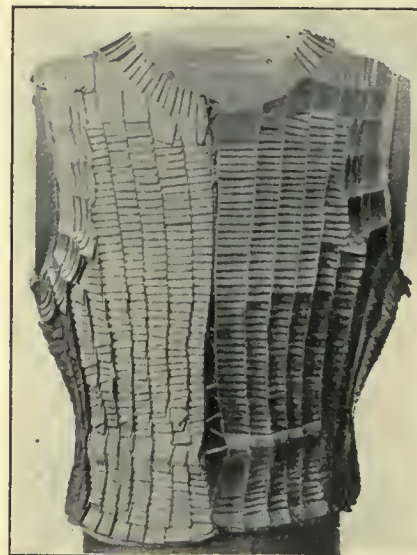


FIG. 538. BRIGANDINE

Turned inside out, showing its metal lining
Early XVIth century
G 205, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

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interpretation of the word, we imagine to be a protective garment in which the metal plates are concealed beneath some textile—these plates taking either the form of rectangular overlapping lames or even of scales. In 1352, according to the description given in Douët-d'Arcq's *Comptes de l'Argent-erie des rois de France*, two suits of armour made for the Dauphin were



FIG. 539. BRIGANDINE WITH THE LANCE REST
Late XVth century
Imperial Armoury, Vienna



FIG. 540. BRIGANDINE
Italian, early XVIth century
Imperial Armoury, Vienna

fashioned in what we should term the brigandine manner. The silversmith, Etienne de la Fontaine, describes them as being covered respectively with blue and green velvet richly embroidered, and mentions the fact that while the corselets alone required six thousand silver rivets for the attachment of the metal plates, the rere- and vambraces, the cuisses, the jambs, and the sollerets

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made use of five thousand five hundred, irrespective of bosses and buckles. Half the nails or rivets had heads of bright silver in the shape of crescents, in other cases the rivets were round and gilt, doubtless in some allusion to the sun and moon.

Though so different in type from the knightly plate armour that had by this time made its almost complete appearance, these two suits of brigandine so carefully described by Etienne de la Fontaine must have been of the

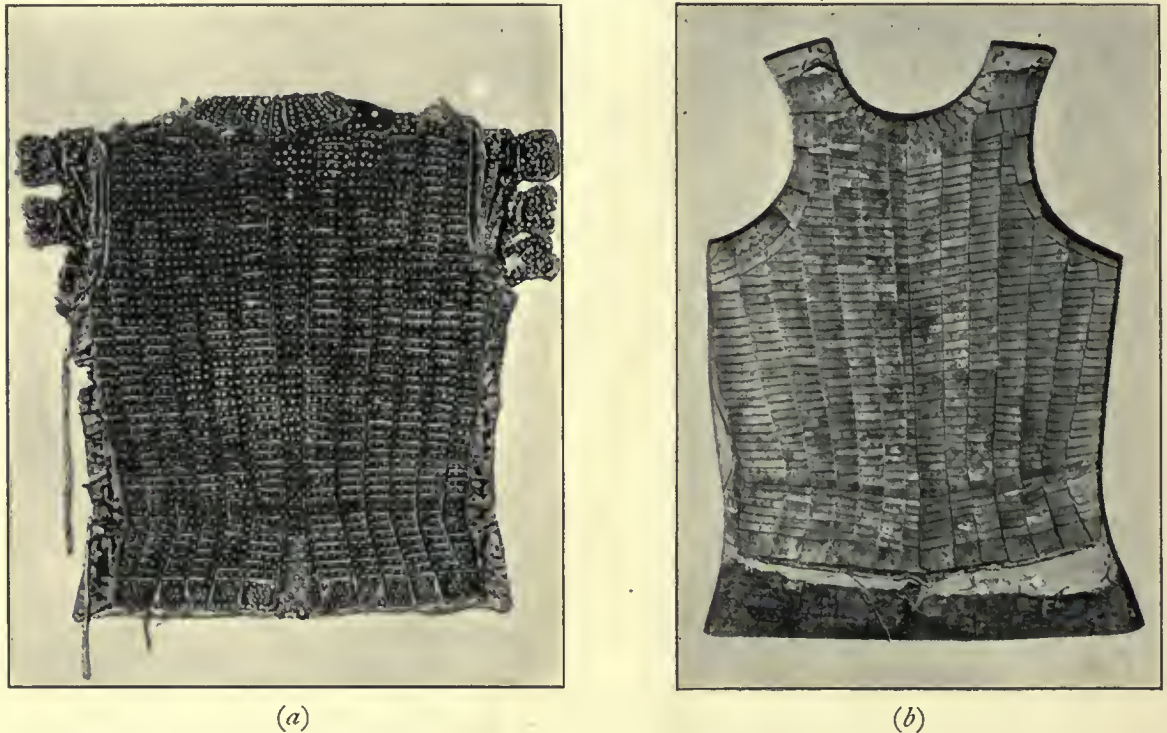


FIG. 541. TWO BRIGANDINES

Early XVIth century. Porte de Hal, Brussels

(a) An example covered with crimson velvet and studded with gilt nails

(b) An interior view of another, showing the plate lining

greatest beauty. They doubtless fitted perfectly, and their workmanship is beyond reproach.

In the collection of the late Mr. Charles T. D. Crews there used to be a painting by Dirk Bouts (Fig. 535), the shutter or wing of an altar-piece, which represents Gideon and the Fleece. It was executed, we may suppose, about 1470. Gideon is wearing plate brassards over which hang the very ample sleeves of a chain mail shirt. Over this again is a magnificent brigandine of cloth of gold, studded with gilt rivets. Though this coat of defence fails

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to show to advantage in our illustration, the care and detail of its representation in the picture itself are astonishing.

It is not until we reach the latter part of the XVth century that we can illustrate an actual example of the brigandine. In the Riggs Collection, New York, there is a fine and intact suit of brigandine armour in splendid condition, complete with its curious tasset plates fashioned in the classic manner (Fig. 536). The date assigned to it by its late owner was the middle of the XVth century; but it is doubtless somewhat later. In the Musée

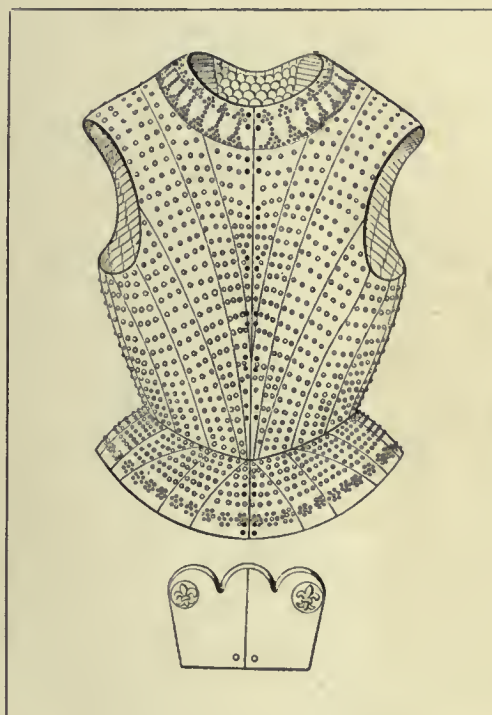


FIG. 542. BRIGANDINE

Possibly French, third quarter of the XVth century
In the Castle, Darmstadt. After Hewitt

d'Artillerie of Paris are three complete brigandine jackets ascribed to the latter years of the XVth century, and portions of a good many others numbered from G 204 to G 210, of which perhaps G 204 is the finest specimen (Fig. 537). We give an illustration of a second brigandine, also in the Musée d'Artillerie, G 205 (Fig. 538), turned inside out to show the elaborate arrangement of iron plates which constitute its protective quality. In the Imperial Armoury of Vienna can be noted another form of brigandine, in which two larger rectangular plates replace the small metal lining plates over the chest (Fig. 539); on the right plate is attached a lance

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rest. This brigandine, which might easily date within the third quarter of the XVth century, opens down the front; it has a covering of coloured textile. A somewhat similar defence, and of about the same period, is to be seen in the Castle of Milan; though it more closely resembles the textile covered breastplate referred to on page 159 of vol. i. Again, in the Vienna armoury is shown a very fine brigandine of crimson velvet studded with gilt rivets, which in its classic simplicity of outline reminds one of the example



FIG. 543. FROM A PICTURE BY NUNO GONSALVEZ
Showing the velvet covered brigandine in use, late XVth century
National Museum, Lisbon

illustrated in Fig. 536. This brigandine is probably Italian and of the early years of the XVIth century (Fig. 540). There are also to be seen brigandines of the same type in the arsenal of Venice, in the Porte de Hal, Brussels (Fig. 541, *a, b*), and in the museums of Berlin, Munich, Sigmaringen, and Darmstadt. The brigandine jacket in the last-named museum is remarkable, as it might possibly date within the second quarter of the XVth century. This *Panzerjacke*, as it is there called, has a covering of red velvet over its steel scales, which are attached with gilt-headed rivets, forming a design

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of radiating lines on the exterior. The scales are angular at the sides of the garment and rounded at the back and breast, and each iron plate has been tinned to preserve it from rust. From the fact that many of its scales have impressed upon them a fleur-de-lis this jacket has been considered to be of French origin (Fig. 542). We next give an illustration (Fig. 543) of a portion of a XVth century Portuguese picture attributed to Nuno Gonsalvez, Court painter to Alfonso of Portugal (1438-1481), and shown in the National Museum, Lisbon, which depicts two kneeling figures of armed noblemen,

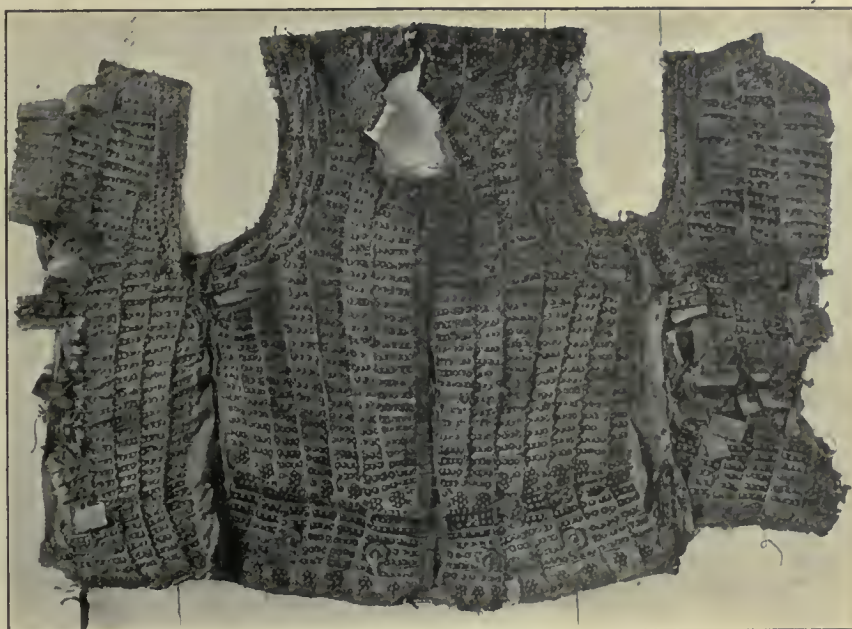


FIG. 544. BRIGANDINE

Early XVIth century. This is one of the brigandines mentioned in the 1547 inventory Tower of London. Class III, No. 47

each wearing velvet-covered and studded brigandines of the same form as that of the Darmstadt example. In our Tower collection are the remains of several brigandines of which there are records in the 1547 inventory. The example we illustrate can be assigned to the early years of the XVIth century (Fig. 544). In the Brander MS. inventory of the armour and arms at Westminster, at the Tower, and at Greenwich, to which we have previously referred, there are constant allusions to the "Briggendines," some complete, having sleeves covered with crimson, some with sleeves covered with cloth of gold, and some with sleeves covered with blue satin. Items, too, in the same inventory described as "White lynnene clothe called millen

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cottes," are the brigandines which Meyrick has called millers' coats. But this is a case of careless transcription, for "millen cottes" mean Milanese coats. They would be for foot soldiers, and the account of the "Remaine of the Quenes Maties armure," etc., in 1564, mentions at Westminster "15 Millen cotes called Brigendens." In the late Mr. W. Burges's bequest to the British Museum can be seen a nearly complete brigandine that might be as early as the closing years of the XVth century (Fig. 545). In the case of this last-named harness, the plates of iron, which are roughly rectangular, are fixed to the external covering of velvet and canvas by



FIG. 545. BRIGANDINE
Possibly late XVth century
Burges Bequest, British Museum

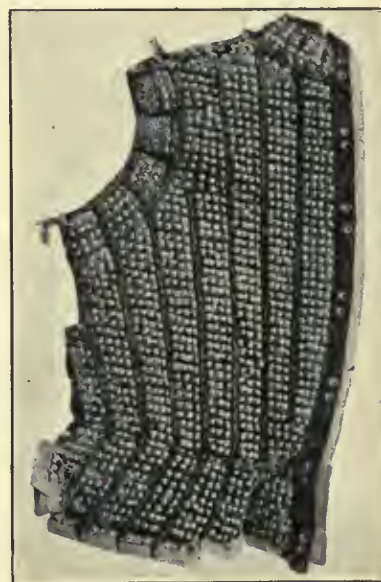


FIG. 546. PORTION OF A BRIGANDINE
Early XVIth century
Burges Bequest, British Museum

means of a multitude of rivets with tinned heads; the plates themselves have also been tinned to preserve them from rusting—a precaution taken also with a view to preventing the iron from moulding the material upon which it is sewn. The plates are placed downwards about the body, but upwards to the waist. Although the plates of iron in this and other brigandines appear to be thin, it should be remembered that, thanks to the method of attaching the plates to one another, there were always two thicknesses of iron to serve as a protection, and over certain vulnerable parts of the body three. This brigandine, which was originally in the collection of Sir Samuel Meyrick, was laced down the front; no less than 5,500 rivet nails are employed in securing its plates. There is another example, though

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incomplete, in the Burges Collection (Fig. 546), which shows a richer effect, gained from the gilded heads of the rivets and the crimson velvet ground. Here, however, the rivet heads are arranged in vertical groups of four, very much in the manner of that fine crimson and gilt riveted brigandine that was formerly in the collection of the late Herr Richard Zschille (Fig. 547). The last two examples we have described and illustrated belong to the first half of the XVIth century. It is on record that in somewhat earlier times there existed in the civil dress of the day the counterpart or counterfeit of the

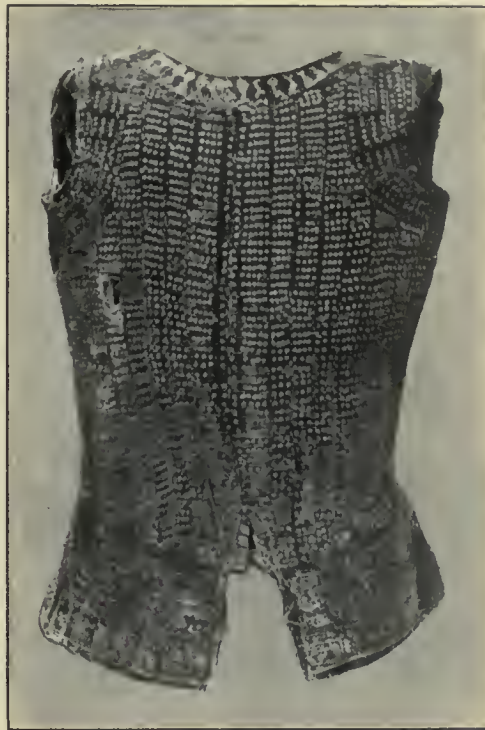


FIG. 547. BRIGANDINE

Italian, early XVIth century. Ex Collection: Herr Richard Zschille

brigandine, that is, a studded garment without the additional lining plates of metal; for, according to Philippe de Commines, "Les ducs de Berry et de Bretagne chevaucheroient sur petites hacquenées, à aise, armez de petites brigandines fort legieres. Pour le plus encôres disoient aulcuns qu'il n'y avoit que petitz cloux dorez par dessus le satin, pour moins leur peser."

One of the latest forms of brigandine armour may be seen in the Riggs Collection, New York, in which there is a complete half suit made entirely of this defence. The general lines suggest a plate armament of about 1560. The formation of the trunk armour is slightly peascod in shape, and the tassets

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are large and splaying towards their bases; while the arm defences, although fashioned in sleeve-like form, have coudes of plate, which are covered with material resembling that of the brigandine. The taces are attached by aiglettes (Fig. 548).

Among the various other types of later quilted defence we must mention the "Jack of Defence," the poor man's substitute for armour. In the Middle Ages every one could not afford to wear the hauberk of chain mail, jazarine, or brigandine, to say nothing of plate armour; so the poor



FIG. 548. BRIGANDINE WITH COMPLETE ARM DEFENCES AND TASSETS
Late XVIth century. Collection: W. H. Riggs
Metropolitan Museum, New York

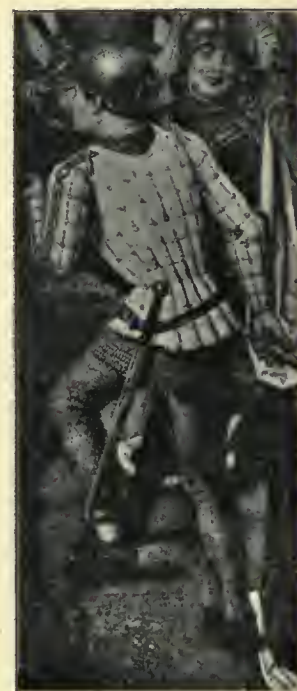


FIG. 549. JACK OF QUILTED LINEN
From the famous St. Ursula Châsse
by Hans Memlinc, painted in 1489
Hospital of St. John, Bruges

man or the common soldier had to content himself with an alternative defence of linen or leather stuffed with folds of linen, sometimes as many as thirty, a deer's skin included. In the earlier times it was occasionally covered with velvet, as we see in a will of 1391 (*Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. i, pp. 149-50):

Item do et lego Petro Mawley, filio meo, . . . unum jak defencionis opertum nigro velveto.

Besides baser materials for stuffing, we find that silk was sometimes used for this purpose, for we read in the chronicle of Bertrand du Guesclin:

"Il fut bien armez de ce qu'il luy failli,
S'ot une jacque moult fort, de bonne soie empli."

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Among the effects of Sir John Fastolf (temp. Henry VI) were "vj jakkes stuffyd with horne" and "j jakke of blakke lynen clothe stuffyd with mayle."

We may accept the word "jack" as meaning in the latter part of the XVIth century any defensive garment made with folds of materials, with occasional introduction of metal plates. We see it in a late XVth century form, worn over a shirt of mail by one of the soldiers depicted in Hans Memlinc's famous "St. Ursula Châsse," painted in 1489 and preserved in the hospital of St. John at Bruges (Fig. 549). Here it is shown as if made of some thickly



FIG. 550. JACK OF COARSE WORKED LINEN
Second half of XVIth century
Porte de Hal, Brussels



FIG. 551. JACK
Middle of XVIth century. Ex Meyrick Collection
Burgess Bequest, British Museum

quilted material, with long sleeves, the surface broken into angular formation, each angle apparently studded with a rivet; whilst for better protection to the shoulders and running down the exterior of the arms is applied a length of fairly heavy iron chain. The first jack we illustrate (Fig. 550) is preserved in the Porte de Hal, Brussels, and is quite free from metal reinforcements, being made of coarse linen but of several thicknesses. It laces down the sides and extends over the groin. The whole surface is evenly pierced with multitudinous holes, each worked round with the button-hole stitch, a process which not only secures a general thickening of the material but also provides for the ventilation of the garment. This jack dates from the middle of the XVIth century. The second example, which

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is now in the British Museum but which was formerly in the Meyrick and Burges Collections (Fig. 551), suggests in its general shape a doublet of the period of Elizabeth laced down the front, with an upright collar and tasset-like flaps below. It is made of a series of irregular octagonal pieces of thin iron, or rather of square pieces with their angles cut off, and a hole in the centre of each. These are arranged so that every part presents three thicknesses, and are worked on the tile system, the parts overlapping upwards, the only portions kept quite clear and of one thickness being those immediately round the centre holes. These plates of iron, which are very roughly made, and were most probably covered with pitch to prevent them from rusting, are placed between two folds of coarse canvas, and are sewn down by means of string, which passes through the centre holes, forming a pattern of rough hexagons, with lines radiating from the centres. The rudimentary sleeves are simply quilted; while the edge of the garment is formed of an applied piece of canvas-covered rope. This jack is represented in Skelton's Illustrations of the Meyrick Collection, plate XXXIV, and is there described as being sky blue in colour. Of this colour there is now no trace.

CHAPTER XV

THE GAUNTLET



HEN fighting was almost entirely hand-to-hand, the thorough protection of the hand was necessarily of paramount importance. Armour for the head and body was, after all, but a second line of defence against the attack which penetrated the guard of the weapon. Any damage to the hand which controlled all offensive movements, as well as all parries, would place a combatant at the mercy of his antagonist. But the armourer had not only to give his attention



FIG. 552. FROM THE BRASS OF SIR ROBERT DE SEPTVANS

Early XIVth century
Chartham Church, Kent. After Waller



FIG. 553. FROM THE EFFIGY OF WILLIAM LONGESPÉE, EARL OF SALISBURY

About 1227. Cathedral church of Salisbury
After Stothard

to the protective qualities of the covering which enclosed a part so vulnerable and so likely to receive a wound, he had also to consider how he should least interfere with the use of so complicated a piece of mechanism as the human hand. It was on account of these very important considerations that one finds the gauntlet always more complicated in the details of its construction than the rest of the protective harness.

To deal fully with the subject of gauntlets we must go back once more

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to the period of full chain armour, almost to the latter part of the XIIth century, and from that point follow their development down to the end of the XVth century; after which time, until the final disuse of the gauntlet in the XVIIth century, they practically remained unaltered in their construction. At

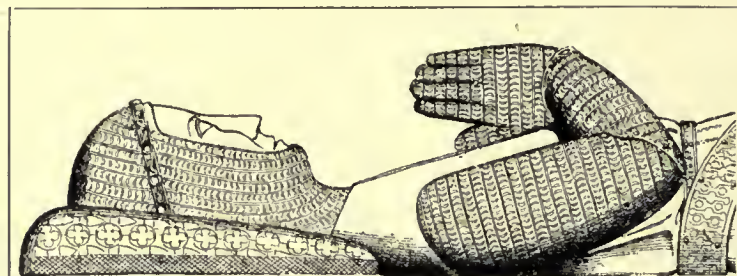


FIG. 554. FROM THE EFFIGY OF WILLIAM DE VALENCE
About 1298. Abbey church of Westminster. After Stothard

first we have only the missal and effigy to assist us in illustrating the different fashions and changes; and it is not until we reach the closing years of the XIVth century that we are able to give illustrations of actual extant examples. In the Bayeux needlework it will be noticed that in every case the sleeve of the hauberk terminated at the elbow, the fore-arms being



FIG. 555. FROM AN EFFIGY OF A KNIGHT
Early XIVth century. In the church
of Schutz, Alsace

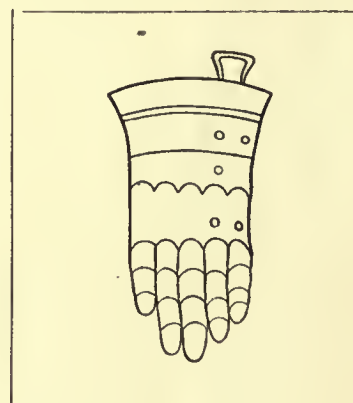


FIG. 556. FROM A SCULPTURAL SLAB
Early XIVth century
Schönthal Church, Germany

covered by the under garment. The hands are always exposed and have no defence except where they are protected by the quillons of the sword. As the XIIth century progresses the sleeves of the hauberk grow longer until, towards its end, they were extended to form a covering for the hand. This covering, which may be considered the first form of hand defence,

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included the whole hand and fingers in a single pouch, with a separate compartment for the thumb, to facilitate the grasping of a weapon. An excellent example of this early form of gauntlet is represented on the seal of Richard Cœur de Lion. It is apparent from monuments and miniatures of the period that the hand could be withdrawn from the mitten and thrust through an aperture in the wrist, allowing the mitten to hang loose, as shown in the brass of Sir Robert de Septvans in Chartham Church, Kent (Fig. 552). The effigy of William Longespée, Earl of Salisbury, in Salisbury Cathedral, who

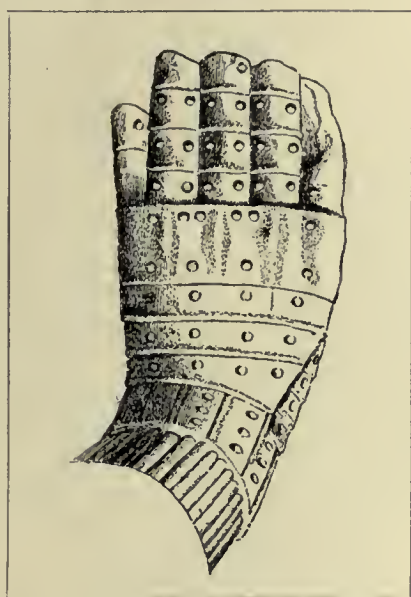


FIG. 557. FROM AN UNKNOWN EFFIGY

About 1335. Ash Church, Kent
After Stothard



FIG. 558. FROM THE BRASS OF SIR JOIN DE SAINT QUINTAN

About 1397. Brandesburton Church,
Yorkshire. After Hewitt

died in 1226, affords another illustration of the sleeve gauntlet drawn over the hand (Fig. 553), where it is fastened by a thong or strap round the wrist in precisely the same manner as was formerly adopted by the Japanese in their armour of nearly every period. Towards the end of the XIIIth century this mitten mail defence gradually developed separate fingers, like the modern glove. Of this style we can take a good illustration from the splendid effigy in Westminster Abbey of William de Valence (Fig. 554), who died in 1296. We consider that it was about this time that the mail gauntlet, as a separate armament not attached to the hauberk sleeve, appeared. In the church of Schutz, in the Province of Alsace, there is a monument to

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a knight, which we may assume dates from the first years of the XIVth century. Behind him hangs his sword and detached gauntlets, which are of chain mail and fingered. Although its conventional treatment of mail is not very convincing, this sculpture furnishes a most interesting record



(a)

(b)

FIG. 559. THE RIGHT-HAND GAUNTLET OF THE PAIR

Hanging with other achievements of Edward, Prince of Wales, above his tomb in the Cathedral church of Canterbury

(a) Back view; (b) Front view

from the fact that the back of one gauntlet and the palm, which appears to be made of leather, of the other are shown, while the strap about the wrist is very clearly defined (Fig. 555).

Early in the XIVth century the gauntlet can be seen developing slightly ahead of the body armour; complete gauntlets of scale, and even of

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plate, are to be found. On a slab in Schönthal Church (Germany), behind the figure of Albrecht von Hohenlohe, who died in 1319, is represented a cuffed and figured gauntlet of quite an advanced type (Fig. 556); while as almost the counterpart of this type in England, we may mention the gauntlets seen on an unknown effigy in the chancel of Ash Church, Kent, an effigy which dates from about 1335 (Fig. 557). In the middle of the XIVth century an almost stereotyped form of gauntlet is found in use, which, generally speaking, may be said to have remained in fashion for close upon a century. The special constructional feature of this gauntlet, in which the cuff and metacarpal guard bell out abruptly from the wrist, giving them the appearance of an hour-glass, is that a single broad plate of metal almost envelops the hand from the wrist to the knuckles, which it covers and protects. It is



FIG. 560. THE GAUNTLETS

As shown on the effigy of the
Black Prince
Cathedral church of
Canterbury



FIG. 561. ONE OF THE LIONS

The "gads" formerly on the knuckles
of the existing gauntlets
Cathedral church of
Canterbury

curved round the sides of the hand, but leaves part of the palm exposed. Underneath the plate was worn a leather glove, to the fingers and thumb of which small overlapping scales were attached to complete the defence of the hand. An example of this type may be seen on the brass of Sir John de Saint Quintan in Brandesburton Church, Yorkshire, which may be dated at about 1397 (Fig. 558). The famous gauntlets of Edward, Prince of Wales, known as the Black Prince, hanging with his other achievements over his tomb in the cathedral church of Canterbury, afford an excellent illustration of this kind of hand defence (Fig. 559, *a*, *b*). They are fashioned of gilded latten. Their form is rather exaggerated, and their protective qualities small, from which circumstances we have already argued that they were not originally part of a war harness, but were supplied

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for funerary purposes. The leather gloves still exist within them; and they show the characteristic feature of the first metal gauntlets in having the scales fixed to the fingers of the leather glove beneath and not to the broad metacarpal plate, as was the case at a later date. In the effigy (Fig. 560) the gauntlets of the Black Prince appear to be of the very simplest construction and free from ornamentation; but upon the existing gauntlets hanging



FIG. 562. FRAGMENT OF A GAUNTLET
Formerly covered with material and studded with metal disks. About 1370
Tower of London. Class III, No. 773

above the tomb small figures of lions have been riveted on to the knuckles (Fig. 561) in place of the embossed or applied spikes called gads, or gadlings, which are usually found. The leather gloves have certain decoration embroidered in silk.

We take it that like other body defences of this period the gauntlet was often covered with velvet or some material studded with metal rivets, a fashionable and protective combination applied to the actual metal founda-

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tion, in accordance with the jazarine armaments of the time. Such gauntlets often appear in contemporary illumination and sculpture. We are fortunate in being able to give illustrations of fragments of two actual gauntlets of this type; while we know of a third right-hand gauntlet of this make which is in the collection of Graf Hans Wilczek at Schloss Kreuzenstein near Vienna. The first fragment (Fig. 562) is a portion of a gauntlet in the Tower of London collection, the provenance of which is unfortunately unknown; while the other (Fig. 563) is part of a similar gauntlet of the same



FIG. 563. PORTION OF A GAUNTLET

Formerly covered with textile material and studded with metal disks. About 1370. Presented to the British Museum by the late Herr Richard Zschille



FIG. 564. FROM THE BRASS OF AN UNKNOWN KNIGHT

About 1410. South Kelsey Church, Lincolnshire

period, about 1370, which was given to the British Museum by the late Herr Richard Zschille.

The hour-glass type of gauntlet continued in fashion until the early years of the XVth century. On a brass in South Kelsey Church, Lincolnshire, dating from about 1410, it appears in a very elongated form (Fig. 564). From the point of view of defence the great defect in these gauntlets, which had the finger plates attached only to the leather fingers of the glove inside, is, of course, that the point of a weapon could enter the gauntlet between the scales on the fingers and the edge of the main metal

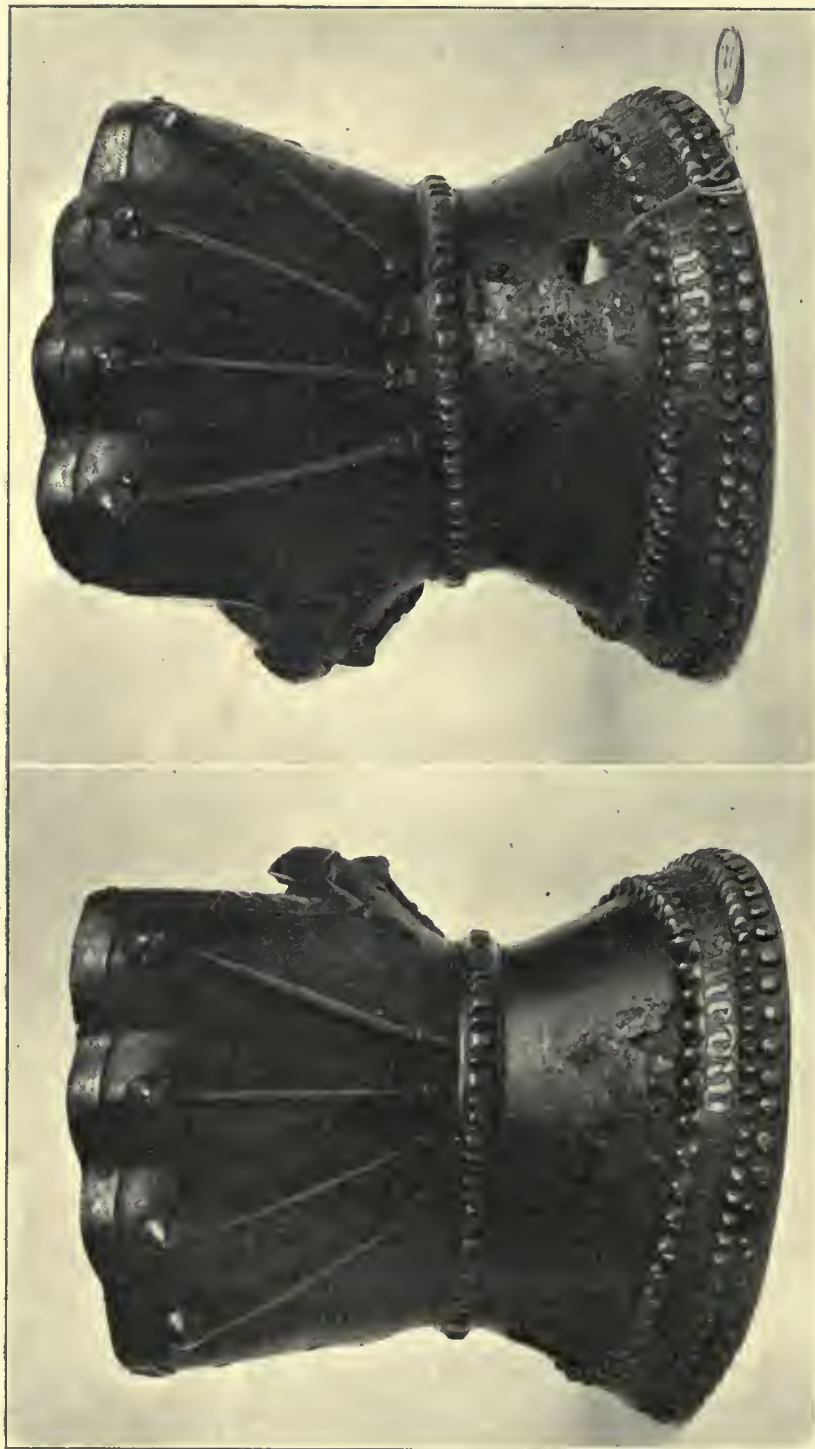


FIG. 565. PAIR OF GAUNTLETS WITH ENRICHMENTS OF BRASS

Probably North Italian, about 1370-80

Signor Ressiman bequest to the Bargello, Florence

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plate. We regard certain fine gauntlets of this type that are extant as dating from the end of the XIVth or from the opening years of the XVth century. Among these may be reckoned the superb gauntlets which are now in the Museum of the Bargello, Florence (Fig. 565), and which form part of the bequest of Signor Resson who obtained them in Florence from the famous Toscanelli Collection. These are the most wonderful pair of gauntlets of this period in existence; for the richness of their latten trimming appears to surpass in elaboration even that of some of the finest gauntlets sculptured on effigies. Though they are of the same fashion and make as those shown in



FIG. 566. PAIR OF GAUNTLETS WITH ENRICHMENTS OF BRASS
About 1380-1400. Nos. 6 and 7, Wallace Collection

the Wallace Collection next to be described, they are more complete. We think they are of Italian origin for they bear an armourer's mark, a monogram, which seems to be that of a North Italian craftsman. At the same time they are more elaborate; for in between the grooves of the big metacarpal plates are applied strips of latten with acorn-like finials. The cuff-borders are also more solid and the engraved inscriptions in Latin upon them are executed in a superior manner. These are interesting, being but a slight variation of the text *Jesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat* (Luke iv, 30), a motto which occurs on various English coins from 1343 to the end of the XVIth century.

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Next in importance to the Resson gauntlets is the pair formerly in the Nieuwerkerke, and now in the Wallace Collection, Nos. 6 and 7 (Fig. 566). M. Viollet-le-Duc gives an illustration of them in his *Dictionnaire du Mobilier Français*; but by an easy stretch of imagination he reproduces them with the missing finger plates, which they must once have possessed, attached to the metacarpal plate, and not to the lining glove as we personally imagine they were (Fig. 567). It will be observed that, supplied with the finger plates

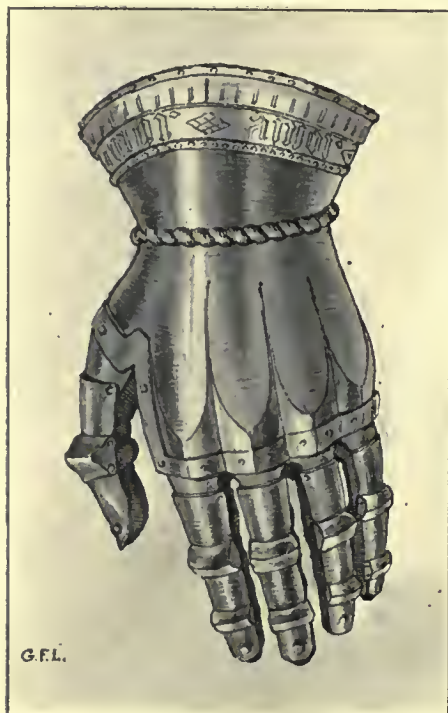


FIG. 567. THE LEFT GAUNTLET OF THE PAIR (FIG. 566)

With the finger plate as restored in imagination by Viollet-le-Duc

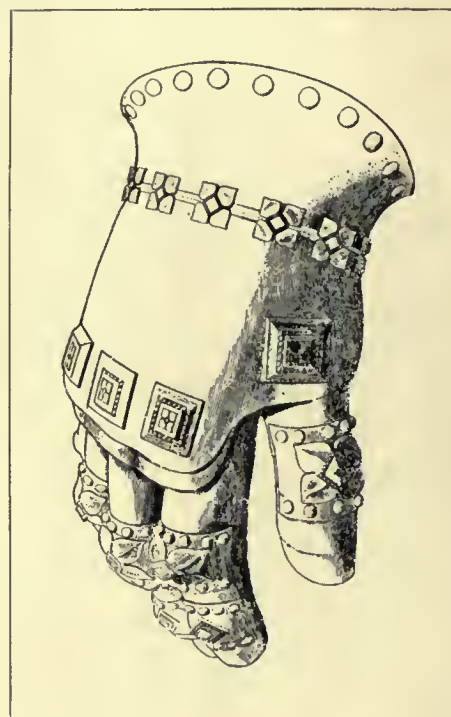


FIG. 568. ON THE EFFIGY OF SIR THOMAS CAWNE

About 1380. Ightham Church, Kent
After Stothard

they resemble the gauntlets seen on the effigy of Sir Thomas Cawne in Ightham Church, Kent (Fig. 568). Inasmuch as this effigy has with some certainty been dated at about 1380, it is possible that the Wallace gauntlets may also be as early. They are fashioned with short bell-shaped cuffs with three radiating flutings between the knuckle joints, which are continued down the back of the hands. They are formed of one piece, with the exception of the under part of the wrist protection, at which point a small plate, one and a half inch wide, has been added, probably for the purpose of their enlargement at some later date. A band of brass or latten, one and a quarter inch wide, is

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applied round the upper edge of the cuffs. This is embossed with a fluted and dotted moulding, in the middle of which is the word AMOR, twice repeated, on a groundwork engraved with a matted ornamentation. A ragged staff with a ribbon wound round it is also introduced into the decoration. On the cuff of the left gauntlet, where the circumference of the wrist is smallest, is fastened a cable pattern ornament also of latten—this is missing on the right gauntlet—and round the finger edges of the gauntlets are bands of latten a quarter of an inch wide, engraved with an interlaced design and riveted on.



FIG. 569. RIGHT GAUNTLET

About 1380. Found among the ruins of the Castle of Tannenberg. Collection: Dr. Bashford-Dean, New York

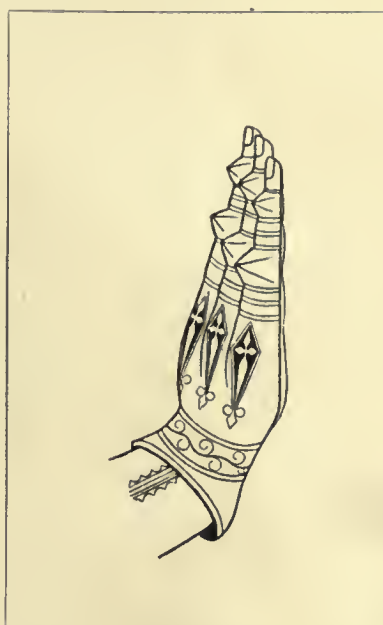


FIG. 570. FROM THE BRASS OF SIR GEORGE FELBRIGGE

About 1400. St. Mary's, Playford, Suffolk

We venture to say that the Wallace gauntlets are, with the exception of the Black Prince's, the only true examples of their kind in England. There is, in the Tower Armoury, a gauntlet purporting to be a specimen dating from the end of the XIVth century; but it is a forgery. Going farther afield we may state that Dr. Bashford Dean, of New York, possesses a gauntlet somewhat of this type, found among the ruins of the Castle of Tannenberg, which came from the Hefner-Alteneck Collection (Fig. 569). In the collection of the late Mr. Frederick Stibbert of Florence, is another real example, while the Resson Collection in the Bargello, Florence, besides possessing the magnificent pair we have described, can show a left-hand

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example, simply constructed, but of a representative type of about 1420. In that wonderful and mysterious collection of Graf G. Trapp in Schloss Churburg, near Innsbrück, is a pair of hour-glass gauntlets, edged with a latten band, engraved, and bearing an inscription in Gothic letters, which are actually shown in company with the original bascinet helmet of the suit for which they were made. Unfortunately we have been unable to obtain a photograph of these last-named specimens.

There was a type of gauntlet that appeared late in the XIVth century



FIG. 571. FROM THE BRASS OF
RICHARD DIXTON, ESQ.
About 1430. Cirencester Church,
Gloucestershire

which may be considered the forerunner of the fingered gauntlet of the latter part of the XVth century. Not a single specimen of this kind is extant; but in the fine brass of Sir George Felbrigge, which dates from about 1400, an illustration of a good example of the type (Fig. 570) can be seen. The cuff is very short and bell-like in form, although this feature is not exaggerated. The fingers, the plates of which are curved round to afford the hand a better protection and are not merely flat scales attached to the leather glove, are here riveted to the top of the main plate in the fashion of all later gauntlets. On both finger joints are gads, which are beautifully faceted and brought to a point. The last plate of each finger is engraved to represent a finger-nail, a practice that at this period seems to have been not uncommon and is frequently represented.

Although, as in the case of most armour of this period, the actual metal field of the gauntlets was not worked upon, nevertheless a fine scheme of decoration was often carried out by means of applied plates of enamel and settings of jewels. Such enrichments are very clearly shown in the hand-coloured engravings of the effigies of this period represented in the early editions of Stothard's "Monumental Effigies." He has pictured the colours of the enamel and of the jewels, etc., which he was able to do from the traces of decoration which he found when he was engaged in examining the effigies late in the XVIIIth century.

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We will now discuss a more highly developed type of gauntlet, although not of the fingered order, a gauntlet such as we see on the brass of Richard Dixton in Cirencester Church, Gloucestershire, which may be dated at about 1430 (Fig. 571), and on the effigy of John Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel, who died in 1434. The short bell-shaped cuff, characteristic of the earlier types, is now drawn out to a greater length and is pointed, its bell-like formation being at the same time far less exaggerated. Instead of each finger being separately protected, a single plate is now hinged to the main, or metacarpal, plate, broad enough to cover all the fingers; and to this again is attached in a similar manner another plate, which formed an effective protection to the ends of the fingers even when the hand was bent in grasp-

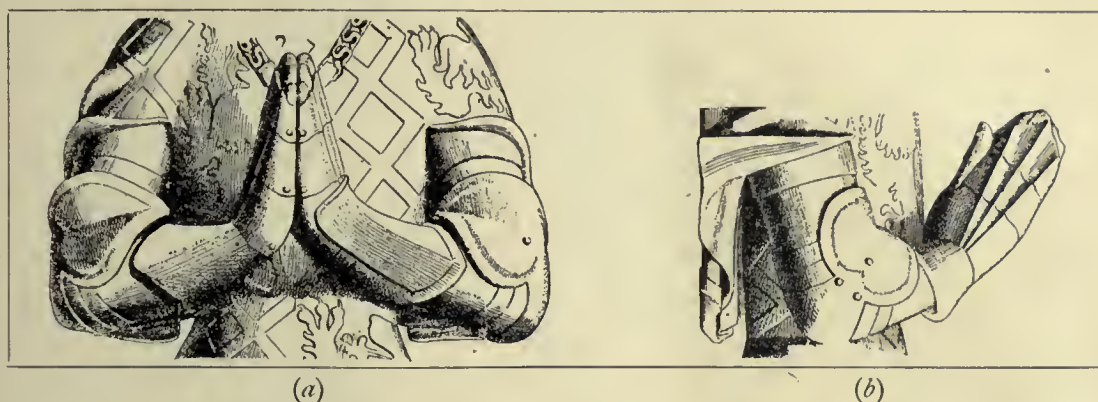


FIG. 572. FROM THE EFFIGY OF JOHN FITZ-ALAN, EARL OF ARUNDEL, WHO DIED IN 1434
Arundel Church. After Stothard
(a) Front view; (b) Profile view, showing the fluting over the metacarpal plate

ing a weapon. The gauntlet has now become of so advanced a type that during the progress of the XVth and succeeding centuries, indeed until its final disuse, its general construction remained unaltered. Actual gauntlets of the kind just described are in existence, but to none of these would it be safe to assign a date earlier than the middle of the XVth century.

The superb suit in the Royal Armoury, Vienna, made by Tommaso da Missaglia between 1450 and 1460 for Frederick Count Palatine of the Rhine (vol. i, Fig. 212), is furnished with these simple mitten gauntlets which, though eminently protective, are severely plain if compared with the gracefully fluted and elegantly finished hand defences of the latter years of the century. Sir Edward Barry can show a pair of gauntlets of this type, small in proportion though probably of rather later date (Fig. 573).

The next type of gauntlet, a type no further advanced as regards pro-

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tective power, is the long and shapely metal glove seen on those flamboyant Gothic harnesses which were in almost universal wear in civilized Europe, excepting perhaps in Italy and Spain, towards the end of the XVth century. Three fine gauntlets of this type are to be seen in the Wallace Collection (Nos. 27, 28, and 29, Figs. 574, 575, and 576); while a pair of this kind is on the suit No. 340. This pair is especially interesting, as upon the cuff is an armourer's mark that might possibly be that of Adrian Treytz of Mühlen, near Innsbrück, and so would date the gauntlets as having been made between 1480 and 1500 (Fig. 577). On examining a gauntlet of this type it will be noticed that the cuff has grown longer—indeed, in some cases



FIG. 573. RIGHT GAUNTLET (ONE OF A PAIR)
Italian, Milanese, about 1460
Collection: Sir Edward Barry, Bart.



FIG. 574. LEFT GAUNTLET
Possibly French, about 1470
No. 27, Wallace Collection

it extends almost to the coude plates—and ends in a point; it only widens sufficiently to fit over the vambrace. The flat formation of these gauntlets is also remarkable, as is also the fact of their being in many cases without the under-plate of the cuff, in substitution of which they are strapped to the vambrace in the oriental fashion. The metacarpal plates are carefully modelled, occasionally delicately designed with tracery at the edge, and often enriched with latten (Fig. 575). This type of hand defence sometimes terminated in plates of the mitten type, as in the case of the specimen just described and like an example in the author's collection (Fig. 578); but more often the fashion of separate or of twin fingers was adopted, in which case gad-like plates protected the finger joints. These pointed gads are shown in a

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fragment of a German gauntlet of about 1470 which is in the author's collection (Fig. 579). The gauntlets which form part of the equestrian suit (No. 620, Fig. 580) in the Wallace Collection, though of comparatively modern workmanship, afford a good illustration of what the fingered variety of this type was like. The composite Gothic suits exhibited in the Tower of London show certain gauntlets of this form that may be considered partly old, but they have been subjected to modern restoration. The gauntlets of



FIG. 575. RIGHT GAUNTLET
Probably German,
about 1470
No. 28, Wallace Collection



FIG. 576. RIGHT GAUNTLET
French, or made by Italian armourers in
the French fashion, about 1480
No. 29, Wallace Collection

the so-called "Gothic" suits in Windsor Castle are similar examples and open to the same criticism.

To illustrate the extent to which decoration by tracery of Gothic character was carried on certain specimens of late XVth century date we would point to the wonderful gauntlets which are preserved in the Royal Armoury, Madrid, E 88 and 89 (Fig. 581), and which used to be in the armoury of the Emperor Charles V. From their early date and from the fact that they are described in the *Relacion de Valladolid* as what we might translate "old stuff," it is probable that they were never worn by Charles V; most likely they were part of a fine suit, now lost, that may have belonged to his father, Philip I,

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or even to his grandfather, Maximilian I. They are of German workmanship, and the present writer thinks that they may possibly have been the work of Hans Grünewalt of Nuremberg; for they bear close resemblance, though they are more elaborate, to the gauntlets on the suit attributed to him and made for Sigismund of Tyrol, which is in the Imperial Armoury, Vienna (vol. i, Fig. 244). The Count de Valencia in describing them in his famous Madrid catalogue, suggests they may be the work of Lorenz Kolman of Augsburg.



FIG. 577. PAIR OF GAUNTLETS

German, about 1460-80

Probably the work of Adrian Treytz of Mühlen

No. 340, Wallace Collection

Doubtless he had some good reason for this attribution; but to us, though we have had no opportunity of examining them, they appear much more likely to have been the work of Hans Grünewalt. Each gauntlet is composed of twenty-seven separate plates; beyond the tracery to which we have referred they are decorated with radiating fluting, and also with bands etched by means of acid.

We have now traced the evolution of hand armour from the end of the XIIth century, when a covering for the hand was first found to be necessary, and when the sleeve of the hauberk was lengthened to meet this necessity,

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up to the end of the XVth century, when the gauntlet, developing far more rapidly than the rest of the body armour, reached the zenith of its usefulness and beauty of form. From this time onwards its general construction remained unaltered, and we may leave it at this point, though we propose to give as a final illustration two mitten gauntlets of the early years of the XVIth century. One (Fig. 582) is a very protective short-cuffed gauntlet



FIG. 578. RIGHT
GAUNTLET

German, about 1490
From a castle in the
Bavarian Tyrol
Collection: Author



FIG. 579. PORTION OF A RIGHT
GAUNTLET

Showing in profile, the pointed
gads upon the knuckle plate
German, about 1470
Collection: Author



FIG. 580. RIGHT FINGERED
GAUNTLET

A modern production, but
of an interesting type, in the
French fashion of about 1470
No. 620, Wallace Collection

of five separate plates now in the collection of Sir Edward Barry. An undecorated but thoroughly protective hand defence, it would appear to be of North Italian origin of about 1500. The second (Fig. 583), which like a previously mentioned specimen (Fig. 578) came from a castle in the Bavarian Tyrol, is the typical broadly-proportioned mitten gauntlet with short cuffs and of German make and of the fluted Maximilian style. Many kinds and individual styles of gauntlets were made for purposes of the tournament and of the

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tilt-yard—we may mention and shall describe later the “forbidden” gauntlet and the large tilting gauntlets (“manefers”); while other vagaries of form and varieties of fingered gauntlets will be seen on the full suits of XVIth century date which we illustrate. But, as we have said, from the third quarter of the XVth century until the final disuse of the metal gauntlet in the third quarter of the XVIIth century, no further protective qualities were evolved; and

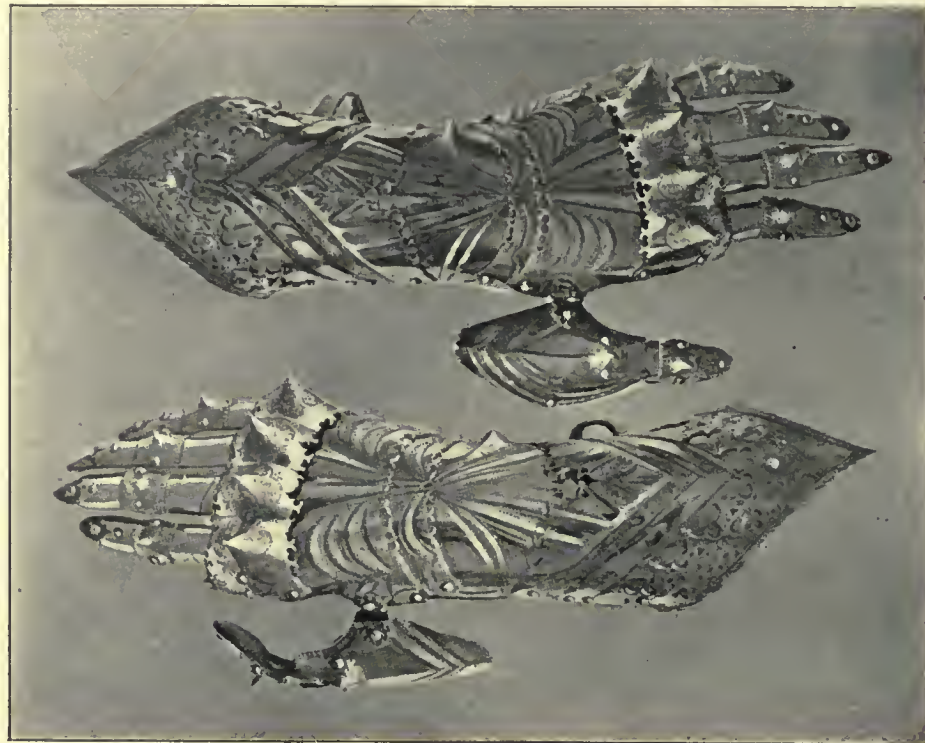


FIG. 581. PAIR OF GAUNTLETS FROM THE ARMOURY OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V

In all probability they were part of a suit that belonged either to his father Philip I, or to his grandfather Maximilian I. German, about 1490
Possibly the work of Hans Grünewalt of Nuremberg
E 88 and 89, Royal Armoury, Madrid

henceforward it was surface decoration alone that influenced the style and shape of this particular defence.

We must add to this chapter a brief reference to a particular form of left-hand gauntlet, for without alluding to the type our list would be incomplete, it not being our intention to refer again in detail to the defence of the hand.

The gauntlet in question is the duelling gauntlet. It was usually made for the left hand only, and as a rule protected the fore-arm up to the elbow; pairs of such gauntlets are, however, met with, only the left hand one being

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lined with mail. The greater number of examples extant belong to the early part of the XVIIth century.

If we examine one of these gauntlets in question, three points in their construction are noticeable; one is the cylindrical form of the cuff, and its smallness in circumference; the second is the manner in which the scales that protect the fingers and thumb are arranged so that they lap over one another the reverse way to that seen on ordinary gauntlets, that is from the nails towards the back of the hand, and the third is the mail lining to the left-hand gauntlet.



FIG. 582. LEFT GAUNTLET
Italian, probably Milanese, about 1500
Collection: Sir Edward Barry,
Bart.



FIG. 583. RIGHT GAUNTLET
German, about 1510. From a
castle in the Bavarian Tyrol
Collection: Author

The explanation of these three peculiarities is, firstly, that the cylindrical cuff of the gauntlet was not made to fit over a vambrace of plate, but over a textile sleeve, secondly, that the unusual placing of the scales would cause the thrust of a sword or rapier point to glance up and off them, and thirdly, the mail lining protected the hand as used to parry the adversary's sword. From these peculiarities we may judge that the use of this particular form of gauntlet was relegated to the duel, and this type of gauntlet was almost exclusively Italian, as it was in Italy that the duel with the rapier and dagger was chiefly fought.

The intricate sword and rapier hilt of the latter part of the XVIth

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and early years of the XVIIth century was a sufficient guard for the right hand; but the left hand grasping the dagger, the guard of which at that period had not developed more than the ordinary quillons, was much exposed, and therefore required a special duelling gauntlet. Such gauntlets were termed *guanti di presa* by Italian writers of the XVIth century; for not only did they protect the left hand when holding a dagger, they also served to parry a thrust, or to seize an adversary's blade, being often lined with chain mail, like an example we have already pictured (Fig. 532).



FIG. 584. DUELLING GAUNTLET
Early XVIIth century
Collection: Author



FIG. 585. DUELLING GAUNTLET
Late XVIth century
Collection: Author

We illustrate two gauntlets of this type. The first (Fig. 584), an example with a short cuff and close arrangement of scales on the fingers, is a specimen belonging to the early years of the XVIIth century. The second (Fig. 585), a gauntlet in which the cuff is much longer, and is enriched with embossing and gilding, dates from the closing years of the XVIth century. This latter duelling gauntlet was formerly in the collection of Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick. It is figured in Skelton's Engraved Illustrations of that collection (Plate LXXIX, Fig. 2).

CHAPTER XVI

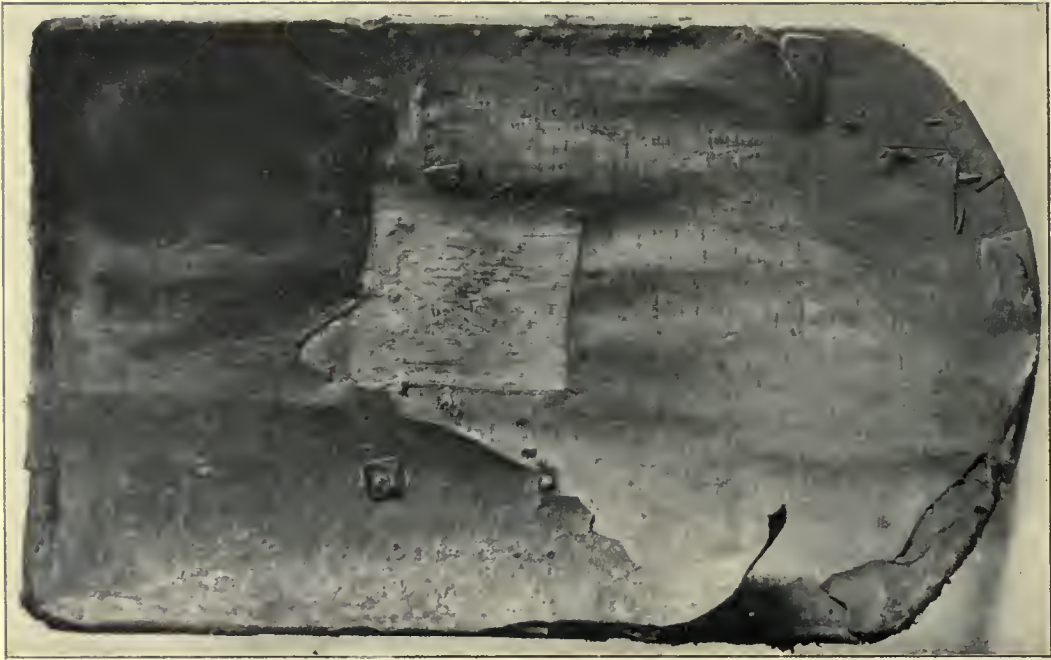
THE TRUE SHIELD OF THE XVTH CENTURY



IN the earlier chapters of this work (chaps. ii and iii, vol. i) we discussed at some length the shield of the knight, and described in some detail the fine example which hangs over the tomb of Edward the Black Prince in the Cathedral church of Canterbury (vol. i, Fig. 188). We now propose to resume our account and to trace the history of this important defence from the end of the XIVth century onwards. Up to the period we have covered, the spade or "heater"-shaped shield, to employ the name given it by English antiquaries, had, after its development from the Norman kite, remained in favour for nigh upon two hundred years; but with the advent of the XVth century old forms were improved upon and new ones invented. In the Abbey Church of Westminster the visitor is shown the shield of Edward III, together with the sword of state (Fig. 707). But the question presents itself, is the shield of that monarch's time? Or is it a shield of a type one is accustomed to associate with the last quarter of the XVth century? We understand indeed that little is known about either the sword or shield in question beyond the fact that they have been in the Abbey Church many hundreds of years. We give illustrations of the back and front views of the shield (Fig. 586, *a*, *b*). This relic is now in a dilapidated condition, a circumstance which, though lending it an air of great antiquity, rather hinders us in our endeavour to investigate its supposed provenance; indeed, to-day there remains of it but an almost bare rectangular wooden foundation slightly convex with a semicircular base. It is composed of five lengths of some close-grained tough white wood, joined at the back by three thin iron bands; while at some early date three plates of thin iron have been clamped around its much-broken base. Around the whole of the exterior border of the shield at $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch from the edge is a deep, incised groove; while a patch of metal and strips of canvas have been plastered over the face of the shield by way of restoration. Travellers, and we should imagine many Westminster boys, have been careless enough to record their names upon the face of this poor



(a)



(b)

FIG. 586. SHIELD OF EDWARD III (SO CALLED) AT WESTMINSTER ABBEY

(a) Front view; (b) Back view

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old relic; the Englishman always seems to want to carve his name somewhere. Originally the entire face of the shield was covered with stout canvas, and over that was the outside covering of thick leather. This was secured round the border by a series of hemispherically headed nails, the leather being impressed with a simple line on either side of them. A portion of this



FIG. 587. ITALIAN SHIELD, PAINTED WOOD

Collection: Signor S. Bardini,
Florence

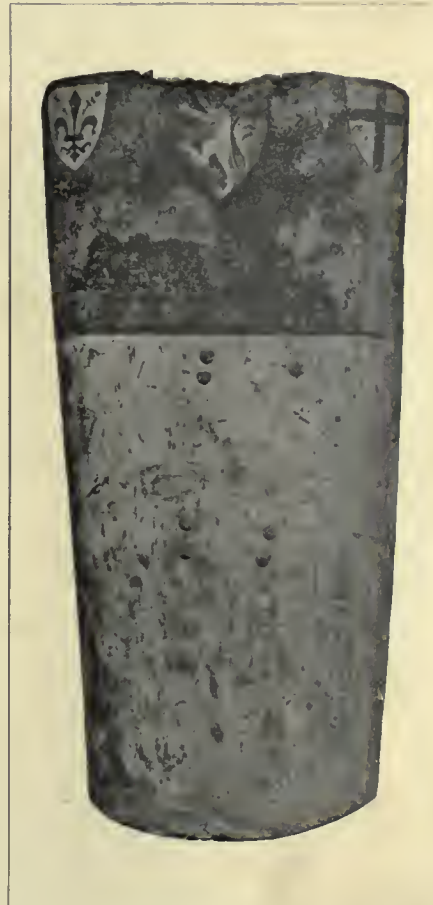


FIG. 588. ITALIAN SHIELD, PAINTED WOOD

Early XVth century. Collection:
Signor S. Bardini, Florence

leather and canvas remains on the top right-hand corner, and for some little distance around the border. On the present surface of this leather is now no suggestion of colour. On the front face of the shield, about half way up, and on the left-hand side, are two hemispherically headed rivets, one above the other, which originally secured in position on the inside the left arm sling. Although the rivets themselves that held the right arm sling in

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position are missing, the two holes through which they passed may be noted on the right-hand side of the shield; but these are placed nearer to the top edge, so that when the arm was passed through the left arm sling and the

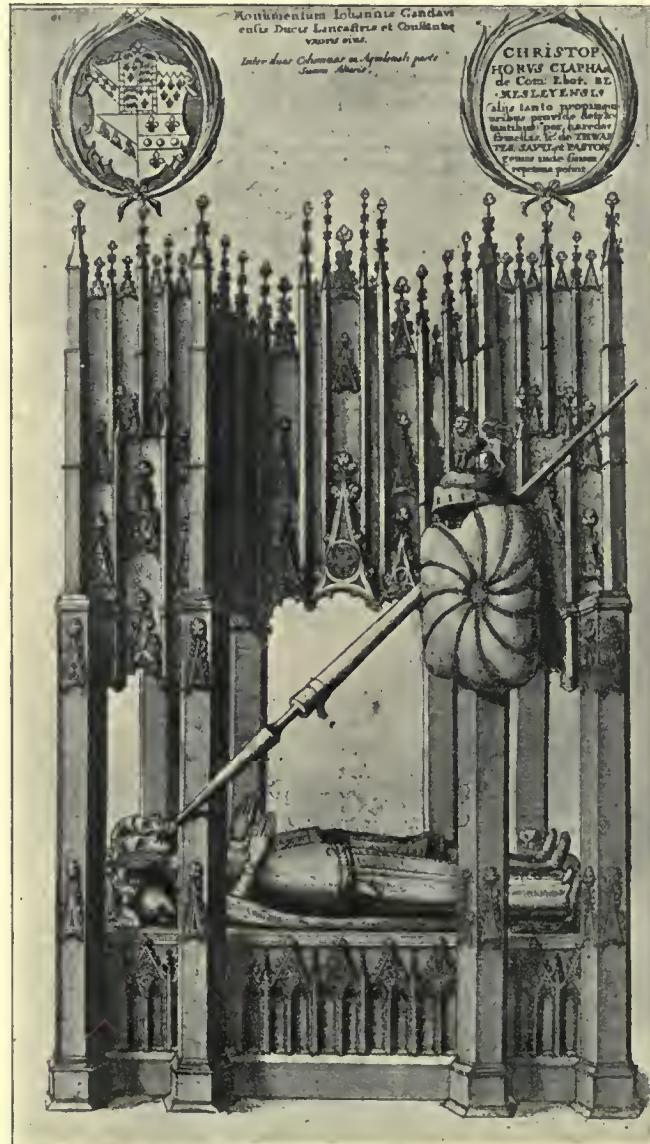


FIG. 589. TOMB OF JOHN OF GAUNT
 Formerly in St. Paul's Cathedral. From an engraving after Hollar published in
 Sir William Dugdale's "History of St. Paul's" (1716)

hand grasped the right, the shield of necessity assumed an obtuse position to the line of the shoulders. The interior of the shield shows us nearly all the canvas lining and almost half the original leather covering still in existence. About the centre we can follow a series of nail holes by which was attached

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the quilted pad against which the arm rested. So much for the description of the shield, or at least of what remains of it. Now as to its probable date. There is very little evidence to go by: unless indeed we accept it as a pageant shield of some type concerning which we are almost in the dark. Let us compare it, then, with a finely painted pageant shield in the collection of Signor S. Bardini of Florence (Fig. 587), a beautiful heraldic achievement of much the same proportions (36 inches high by 31 inches wide). Around this shield runs the inscription: COME CONSORTO DALLE MIE RADICI I PORTO EL CAPO DI NOI BONAMICI. Now we are able definitely to date this example as belonging to the end of the XIVth century; for painted upon it are the arms of the Buonamici surmounted by a mantled helm bearing a crest which takes the form of the three-quarter figure of Bienheureux Buonamici, the head of the family, who died about 1405. Surely this shield and the so-called shield of Edward III have something in common? Perhaps the Bardini shield is a little more rectangular at the base; but otherwise it is exactly the same type of armament. Again, compare the Edward III shield with a second shield in the same Bardini Collection (Fig. 588); it will be seen that the latter, though simpler in decoration, certainly belongs to the same period, showing the rivets for the arm-straps put on at the same angle as in the case of the Edward III shield. So by comparison with two similar shields, the age of one of which we can fairly accurately give, it seems just possible to assign the Westminster shield to its traditional date. But it can be assigned to this date only if it is regarded as having been made purely for pageant purposes.

We will now consider another form which we find depicted in heraldry and in sculpture of the early years of the XVth century, that is, the shield of smaller dimensions, roughly rectangular, but strongly concave from the top to the base, which contains on the right-hand side, either at the top or just below it, an opening known in France as "*la bouche de la lance.*" The lost shield of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, formerly suspended over his tomb in Old St. Paul's, was of this type. There are three old engravings of it. That in Sandford's "*Genealogical History*" by R. Gaywood, dated 1664, shows the shield intact with its outer covering. This the author is



FIG. 590. SHIELD OF
JOHN OF GAUNT
From Bolton's "*Elements
of Armouries,*" 1610

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inclined to think is an imaginative reconstruction by the engraver, who merely added this covering to Hollar's print used by Sir W. Dugdale in his "History of St. Paul's" (1716) in which drawing the shield is shown entirely stripped of its outer covering (Fig. 589). It is, however, Bolton's illustration in his "Elements of Armouries" (1610) which appears to be the most trustworthy representation of the shield (Fig. 590). As far as we can judge, the construction of the shield differed a little from that of the later specimens of the same type with which we are acquainted. Bolton goes on to say: "It is very convex towards the bearer, whether by warping through age, or



FIG. 591. SHIELD OF WOOD COVERED
WITH GESSO
Florentine, XVth century
Collection: Signor S. Bardini



FIG. 592. SHIELD OF WOOD COVERED
WITH GESSO
Florentine, XVth century
Collection: Signor S. Bardini

as made of purpose. It hath in dimensions more than three quarters of a yeard of length, and fulle a yeard in breadth; next to the body is a canvas glew'd to a boord, upon that thin board are broad thin axicles, slices, or plates of horne, nailed fast, and againe over them twenty and sixe thicke peeces of the like, all meeting, or centring about a round plate of the same, in the navell of the shield, and over all is a leather closed fast to them with glew, or other holding stufte, upon which his Armouries were painted, but now they, with the leather it self, have very lately and very lewdly bin utterly spoiled." The shield is roughly rectangular with rounded corners, and on its top right-hand corner it has the *bouche de la lance* strongly pronounced.

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Bolton illustrates it so as to show its outside parchment in position and curled back from the right side as with age, but representing clearly on the left side the heraldic quarterings of John of Gaunt. Bolton's book was published in 1610; so up to that date we can be sure that it was still in a very fair state of preservation. Sandford's complete view of the John of Gaunt tomb published in 1707, which reproduces an illustration engraved in 1664, shows the shield completed, as we have said, in imagination, the lance and the cap of maintenance hanging beside it; while Hollar in Sir William Dugdale's work shows nothing but the curious sectioned foundation of the shield. So this outside covering must have been lost but shortly after the appearance of Bolton's woodcut.

Of this family of shield, though a later form of the type, are two fine examples from the collection already mentioned of Signor S. Bardini, which we now illustrate (Figs. 591 and 592). They are of wood covered with parchment and gesso—each about 25 inches high by 20 inches wide—and are splendidly enriched with heraldic devices in the highest relief. Though they appear to be Florentine of the middle of the XVth century, they represent sufficiently well the group to which the John of Gaunt shield must have belonged. In the same collection is another shield which though somewhat differently curved and having a pointed apex, also shows the suggestion of "*la bouche de la lance.*" This also is Italian, of somewhat earlier date, coming possibly within the first half of the century (Fig. 593). It is of soft wood made slightly convex to the body and covered with gesso; while on its face has been painted a spirited heraldic eagle. Very clearly visible are the iron rosette-headed rivets that retained the arm loops in position. These are set across the shield so that when carried it was almost at right angles to the wearer. In the bequest of the late Mr. W. Burges to the British Museum is a shield made of the same medium, though more solidly fashioned than those we have just dealt with (Fig. 594). Here the development of the



FIG. 593. SHIELD OF PAINTED WOOD
Early XVth century. Collection:
Signor S. Bardini

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FIG. 594. SHIELD OF WOOD COVERED WITH GESSO, PAINTED IN POLYCHROME
Between 1470-1490. Burges bequest, British Museum

central ridge and the elongation of the form make the shield resemble the kite-shaped specimens familiar in nearly all Italian Renaissance ornament. In its section it is longitudinally concave to the body; while at its top-right-hand corner we still note the *bouche de la lance*. The painting upon the surface of the shield we can safely assign to the school of Cologne of the last quarter of the XVth century. It is a fine work of art, depicting a knight kneeling before his lady and the figure of Death creeping stealthily behind. On a scroll in the background is the French inscription: "VOVS OV LA MORT." The knight is in full armour, a bastard sword hanging at his side; while at his feet are his armet and pole-axe. The composition is painted in polychrome on a gilded ground.

We revert again to the heater-shaped shield in reviewing that historical document—the shield hanging above the tomb of Henry V in the Confessor's Chapel of the Abbey church of Westminster (Fig. 595, *a, b*). With the helm (Fig. 449, *a, b*) and the saddle (Fig. 963, *a, b, c*) it hangs, dust covered, high on a beam above the monarch's tomb. Of proportions almost exactly similar to those of the shield of Edward the Black Prince, this achievement still occupies the position in which it was originally placed



(a)



(b)

FIG. 595. SHIELD, FIRST QUARTER OF THE XVTH CENTURY
Hanging above the tomb of Henry V in the Abbey church of Westminster
(a) Front view; (b) Inside view

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after the funeral of the King in 1422. By the courtesy of the late Dean of Westminster the present writer was permitted to have the helm, shield, and saddle removed for the purpose of being illustrated for this work. It is no more likely that the shield actually belonged to King Henry V than that the saddle was his; it must be regarded as part of the arming for a man with one "cote armor" (*tota armatura pro j homine cum j cote Armur*) that was delivered to the sacrist of the abbey—all the more so, since as in the case of the helm, there is the record of the payment of 20s. to Thomas Daunt "for beating of a shield of the King's arms":

*Item eidem Thome pro vapulacione unius
scuti de armis Regis.* xxs.



FIG. 596.

An actual size reproduction of
the silk damask with which the
"Henry V" shield is lined

is, however, in a far better state of preservation, and tells us a more vivid story of its past splendour. Here, again, immediately on the wooden foundation are three layers of coarse linen, over which is placed a padding of hair felt; over that again are two layers of strong linen, covered with silk, once a rich blue colour, which is figured with a very small pattern of delicate ivy leaf woven into the silk itself (Fig. 596). The whole of this brocade is powdered with fleur-de-lis, hand-embroidered in yellow silk. The arm pad is of crimson velvet, on which are worked in yellow silk the arms of Navarre, viz.:—Gules, a cross saltire and double orle of chains linked together Or—a charge which somewhat resembles an escarboucle. As we have said, there is now no trace of colour on the face of the shield; but in Dart's "History of Westminster Abbey," published in 1725, the illustration

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represents it as if painted with the arms of France and England. The arms of Navarre embroidered inside would seem to represent those of Henry IV's queen, those, that is to say, of his second wife, Joan of Navarre, who quartered France with Navarre, and Joan was step-mother to Henry V. Though in the illustration the double rivets by which the arm loops were originally



FIG. 597. SHIELD OF WOOD COVERED WITH PAINTED GESSO

German, late XVth century. Imperial Armoury, Vienna



FIG. 598. SHIELD OF WOOD COVERED WITH PAINTED GESSO

German, late XVth century. Imperial Armoury, Vienna

attached are rather difficult to distinguish, on actually handling the shield they are quite apparent. It is interesting to note that they are applied at a very slight obtuse angle to the top line of the shield, proving that when in use the shield was not carried in a position quite parallel with the body. The measurements of this shield are $24\frac{1}{2}$ inches high by 19 inches broad. When illustrated in 1796 by Gough in his "Sepulchral Monuments

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in Great Britain," one of its interior armloops was then shown in position. Gough describes it as follows: "The shield which is small, and has lost one of its handfasts." Other shields of the XVth century that have resisted the ravages of time show so many varieties of shape that they cannot be classed together. Returning, however, once more to the rectangular shapes we will give illustrations (Figs. 597 and 598) of two shields, now in the



FIG. 599. IRON SHIELD WITH ETCHED DECORATION, AFTER ALBRECHT DÜRER

Late XVth century
Imperial Armoury, Vienna



FIG. 600. SHIELD OF WOOD COVERED WITH GESSO, 1458-1490

I 7, Musée d'Artillerie,
Paris

Imperial Armoury, Vienna, which show a distinct evolution in form from those rectangular shields which we have already described. In the official guide to the collection they are catalogued as having belonged to the Hungarian Guard of the great Maximilian and as dating towards the close of the XVth century. In the late XVIth century they were at the Schloss Ambras, and in an inventory of that date they are quoted as being of Turkish fashion; but in the present writer's opinion they appear to have been evolved from a form

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in which the *bouche de la lance* is the principal feature. Both are of the usual medium of wood covered with parchment, gesso, etc. The more important of the two has painted in the centre the figure of a girl seated with scroll behind her, inscribed ·i·w·i·m· . . . r·t·n· (*Ich wart im garten*) (Fig. 597). The second shield has a close arrangement of oak and other foliage occupying the whole surface and rendered in slight relief (Fig. 598).



FIG. 601. SHIELD OF PAINTED
WOOD

German, late XVth century
No. 338, Wallace Collection



FIG. 602. FROM AN ILLUMINATED MS.

English, early XIVth century
A fabulous monster-man armed with a sword
and kite-shaped shield. Collection: Author

In both shields the rivets that hold the arm straps in position are put at an obtuse angle to the top of the shield.

A shield of the same form but beautifully forged of bright steel is also in the Imperial Armoury at Vienna (Fig. 599). The surface is enriched with German etching of fine style, introducing among other subjects the heads of children representing the winds, and a figure of death which is

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strongly reminiscent of Plate IV in Albrecht Dürer's famous "Apocalypse" of 1498. In the official catalogue this shield is also described as one belonging to the Hungarian Guard of Maximilian I. Mention of the so-called Hungarian



FIG. 603. SHIELD OF WOOD WITH GESSO
DECORATION

North Italian, early XVth century
Collection: Signor S. Bardini



FIG. 604. SHIELD OF WOOD WITH GESSO
DECORATION IN HIGH RELIEF

Italian, middle of XVth century
Victoria and Albert Museum

shields of the latter part of the XVth century reminds us of that fine example in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris, I 7 (Fig. 600), known as the shield of Mathias Corvin, King of Hungary—1458-1490. Here the shape is quite rectangular with the exception of the rounded corners; but there is a strongly developed convex central ridge, a ridge as pronounced as that seen upon

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archers' pavises. This shield, which is in the medium of wood, parchment, gesso, etc., we should imagine to have been the defence of a body guard, rather than a personal armament of the King; for we recollect having seen two other



FIG. 605. SHIELD OF WOOD OVERLAID
WITH HIDE AND GESSO

Italian, 1450-1475
In a private collection, Venice



FIG. 606. ARCHER'S SHIELD—WOOD, COVERED
WITH CANVAS AND GESSO

Middle of XVth century
Tower of London. Class V, No. 1

shields of the same design, both of which are unquestionably genuine. On the face of the so-called Corvin shield are traced the arms of Hungary, of Bohemia, of Dalmatia, and of Moravia, and finally of those of the

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house of Mathias Corvin. Around the border is the inscription in Gothic characters:

ALMA DEI GENITRIX MARIA, INTERPELLA PRO REGE MATHIA

This particular shield before passing into the collection of the Musée d'Artillerie was in the famous Durand Collection, and subsequently in that of the Duc d'Istre. Yet another development of the wooden shield of the XVth century may be seen in the Wallace Collection, No. 338 (Fig. 601).



FIG. 607. CROSSBOWMEN WITH PAVOIS AT THE SIEGE OF ROUEN
1450-1475. From the Pageant of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick

Here the shield is more elongated in form; but the developed central ridge is very pronounced. On its face is painted a castle in black on a buff ground. Large numbers of this exact type of shield exist in the arsenals of Germany; so it would appear that they must generally have been a company armament.

Let us now look at that form of shield which we have previously mentioned as playing so large a part in Italian Renaissance decoration, the shield that marks the return to the old Norman kite shape. Throughout the XIVth and XVth centuries this type of shield was in universal use,

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but perhaps more especially so in Italy. Its construction and its medium were the same as those of the Norman shield, the method of its carriage was similar, and it is only in the character of its decoration that a change has taken place. But before mentioning any actual shields we give the illustration of the large kite-shape form in use, as portrayed in an English illumination of the early part of the XIVth century (Fig. 602). The monster-man figuring in the initial letter from the illumination holds his shield, it will be noted, at an obtuse angle to his body, which it completely covers, leaving only the upper part of his head exposed. Though not a few fine examples of this XVth century Italian type are in existence, we



FIG. 608. FORTITUDE



FIG. 609. AN UNKNOWN VIRTUE

From the frescoes formerly in the Painted Chamber,
Westminster Palace. After Crocker

will illustrate but three, all varieties of the type. Our first illustration shows a shield in the collection of Signor S. Bardini of Florence (Fig. 603), inscribed with the motto LIBERTAS on a bend upon a scroll pattern ground, which was stated to be the motto of the republic of the town of Luoques [*sic*], according to an XVIIIth century inventory of the collection out of which it was purchased by Signor Bardini. This shield may be regarded as belonging to the first quarter of the XVth century. The arms of Lucca in Italy are a bend charged with the word "Libertas"; it is therefore obvious that "Luoques" is an old galicized form of "Lucca." Our second illustration (Fig. 604) represents a very fine shield in the Victoria and Albert Museum, modelled in high relief, gilt and painted with the arms of the Villani family of Florence; while our third (Fig. 605) depicts that

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splendid pageant shield which was formerly one of the chief treasures of the Edward Cheney Collection of Badger Hall, but is now in a private collection in Venice. This last mentioned shield is composed of wood heavy in construction overlaid with hide and gesso; the decoration is in the strongest relief. Here one sees the wooden shield of the knight in the final form which such a shield assumed in the closing years of the XVth century. It is kite-shaped, forty-six inches high, curved almost to exaggeration, and concave



FIG. 610. EFFIGY IN GREAT MALVERN
PRIORY CHURCH
Middle of XIIIth century
After Stothard



FIG. 611. FROM AN ILLUMINATED MS.
Early XIVth century
A monster-man armed with sword and small
buckler. Collection: Author

to the body. On the exterior, modelled in the manner which is associated with Antonio Pollaiuolo, is the figure of Milo of Crotona rending the oak. The figure is gilt upon a black ground, on one side of which are painted the arms of the Montauo family. The border has a double cabled pattern edge, between the cables of which runs the following inscription:—

OB INVALIDO SAPIENTIS EST POST VICTORIAM QUIESCERE NIHIL
NIHIL TAM FIRMVM CVI NON PERICVLVM.

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Yet another type of wood and parchment shield which the late XIVth and the XVth century can claim as their own is the one which was employed exclusively by the archer, to whom the shield, pavois, or pavis was almost as important as the bow or arbalest. Large numbers are in existence; but now they rarely come into the market. We illustrate a very fine example in the Tower Armoury; others can be seen in the Wallace Collection, in the private collection of Sir Edward Barry, in that of the late Lord Zouche, and in that of Mr. Godfrey Williams. Although they vary in size, these archers' shields are generally constructed in the same way. Roughly rectangular they show from the back a flattened concave indentation running from the top and widening towards the base. Across this at intervals



FIG. 612. FROM A WOODCUT IN *REVELATIONES CELESTES SANCTAE BRIGITTAE*, 1492

Showing town foot soldiers with their leader

iron bands, or even bands of toughened hide, were usually stretched. The manner of using the pavis was as follows. A strong stake was driven into the ground and the pavis placed over it, the stake running up between the groove and its cross bands. Behind such a target the archer could crouch and effectively shelter himself. Some of these pavises are of large proportions, over five feet high and proportionately wide; whilst others are small and can only have served the purpose of the knight's ordinary shield. The Tower pavis (Fig. 606), a representative example, was purchased by the authorities at the famous Bernal Sale of 1855. It is of soft wood covered in layers of canvas and gesso. The front surface is painted with the figure of St. George and the Dragon, the armour represented upon the saint dating the shield at about 1440-60. His salade helmet and breast shield are most

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clearly defined; the latter is charged with three signets. The border is foliated. The nationality of this pavis would appear to be Northern French. There is in the Pageant of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, commonly called the Warwick MS., an authority to which we have already referred, an excellent drawing representing the siege of Rouen, in the left-hand corner of which the crossbowmen can be seen firing from behind their pavises (Fig. 607). This drawing, which dates towards the close of the XVth century, gives an excellent idea of the actual use of the archer's shield we have just described. Here then we complete a comprehensive but by no means exhaustive examination of such shields as have any true significance



FIG. 613. HORN BUCKLER
OR BOCE
I 5, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

in the science of heraldry. With the introduction of metal as the medium of construction, the shield, save in the case of plain bucklers of various diameters, finally ceases to be used as a defensive armament. Splendid undoubtedly are the metal shields of the XVIth century, with their glory of embossing and damascening, and their association with the names of great artists; but they have lost their utilitarian purpose, and we can only put them in the category of pageant armour.

In dealing with the auxiliary defence furnished by the shields in use during the XVth century, it must be borne in mind that the circular shield, *rondache*, *rondel*, *boce*, or buckler was still in constant use, and had indeed continued to be used from the Saxon times in which we have first taken note of them. This kind of shield was to be seen twice represented in the perished frescoes of the Painted Chamber, once the glory of old Westminster Palace, frescoes which date from the first half of the XIIIth century. We give illustrations of two of the Virtues that figured in the frescoes taken from Crocker's famous drawings; the one (Fig. 608) christened "Fortitude" has her circular buckler charged with a cross crosslet and four lions on a field *vert*, the other (Fig. 609), an unknown Virtue, holds a buckler emblazoned with a cross *gules* on a field *or*. Of almost the same period is a round buckler to be seen on the effigy of an unknown knight in Great Malvern Church, Worcestershire (Fig. 610). In the small form of "boce" these shields figure continuously in the pictures and illuminations of the XIVth and XVth centuries: for instance, the half human monster taken from

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the initial letter of an English manuscript of early XIVth century date (Fig. 611) is represented as armed with boce and sword. The size of the boce varied according to the whim of the owner. Chaucer describes the Wife of Bath wearing a hat "As brood as is a bokeler or a targe." In a woodcut (Fig. 612) from *Revelationes celestes sanctae Brigittae* of 1492 the town foot soldiers can be seen with their leader, whose weapon is the bastard sword, and whose auxiliary defence is a bokeler or boce. We are, however, unable to

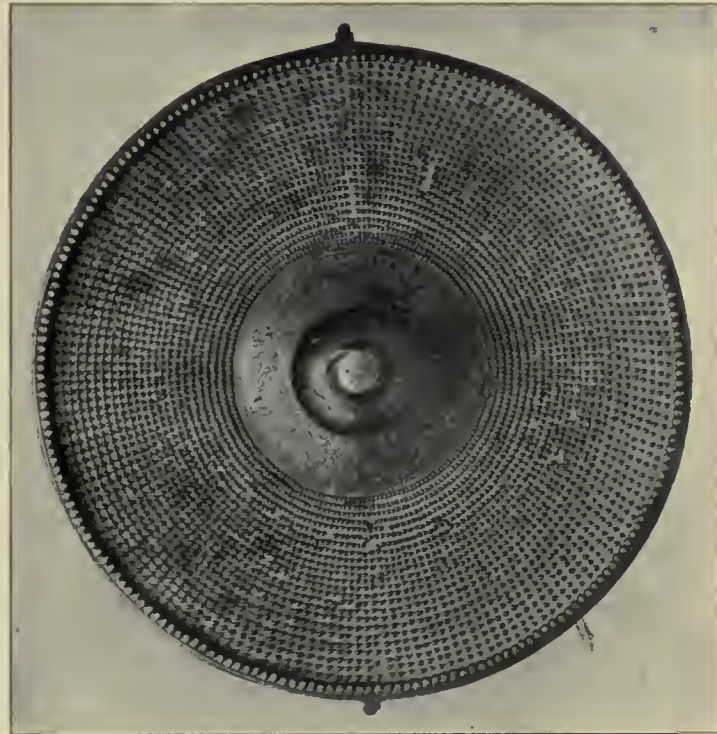


FIG. 614. BUCKLER OF WOOD AND IRON

Early XVIth century.

I 6, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

ascribe any existing example with which we are acquainted to an earlier date than the second half of the XVth century. The earliest we know of is the specimen numbered I 5 in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris (Fig. 613). The medium of its manufacture is antelope horn bound with hoops of iron. In the centre is an escutcheon once enamelled in proper colours, but now much perished. The grip at the back is of wood.

The buckler was essentially the defence of the unmounted knight and even of the man-at-arms. Early in the XIIIth century the "Eskirmye

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de Bokyer" was taught in England. In hand to hand conflicts the buckler was always popular; indeed it may safely be said that in the XVIIth century of all types of shields it alone survived. We know of no earlier work on defence than the "Hans Talhoffer" manuscript, an illustrated volume now in the library of the castle of Gotha, dating from 1467, where, in the combats depicted, the sword and even the mace are to be seen used in combination with the buckler. In these fights the defences used are apparently precisely the same as their successors of mid-XVIIth century times. In the Musée



FIG. 615. BUCKLER OF WOOD AND IRON
English, early XVIth century
Tower of London, Class V, No. 21

d'Artillerie of Paris (Fig. 614) is a small buckler, I 6, of very considerable interest, not only as being of early date, but from the fact of its having some historical association with England. According to the Catalogue of the Musée d'Artillerie, "it was probably the personal property of the Earl of Richmond who in 1485 became King Henry VII." We, however, prefer to consider it part of the equipment of some personal guard of King Henry VIII. It has etched around its central boss the arms of England and France quartered, also a crowned rose, a portcullis, and a pomegranate. It is an effective defence as a buckler, with its interior grip of wood fitted directly across its back. The surface of the buckler

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other than its central metal boss is covered with twenty-four concentric rows of spherically headed nails. We are unable to find any record which shows how the French National Collection became possessed of it. It is of fine workmanship, and like a buckler of very similar construction, but of larger proportions, in the Tower of London (Fig. 615) may be considered to date from the first quarter of the XVIth century. Another such buckler made its appearance a few years ago in some country sale, and was catalogued as "Soudanese"; but it was, as the illustration shows (Fig. 616), a fine English example of exactly the same type as the two just

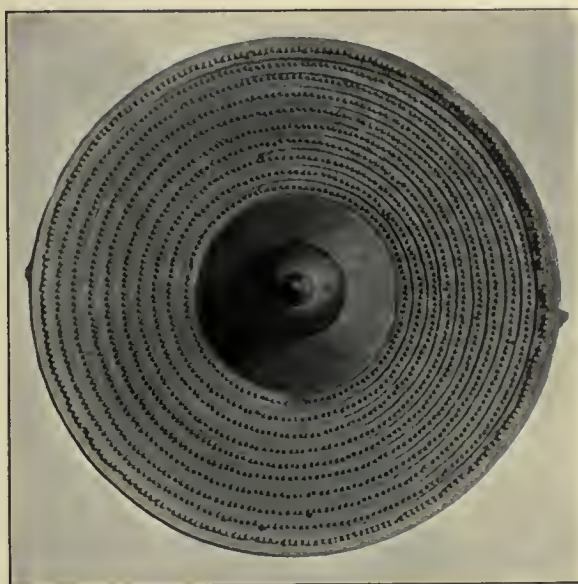


FIG. 616. BUCKLER OF WOOD AND IRON
English, early XVIth century

described. In the processions of knights and soldiers in the "Triumph of Maximilian" (one of Burgkmair's woodcuts) are depicted foot fighters of the early part of the XVth century armed with swords and bucklers, the latter of very two types, some rectangular and of painted wood (Fig. 617) and others small and circular, apparently made of metal and of the boce order (Fig. 618). Of the small rectangular shield of this date, not of German but of Italian origin, we illustrate an example (Fig. 619); we also picture a specimen of the small round boce, taken from the collection of the Duc de Dino, now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York (Fig. 620).

Having already wandered from the century within which we proposed to restrict ourselves we feel that little excuse is necessary for our making mention

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at this point of that series of bucklers that were formerly to be seen in large numbers in the Tower Collection. According to the inventory of the "Guarderobe of the Towre" taken in 1547, after the death of King Henry VIII (Harleian MSS. 1419), originally eighty existed in the "Towre." To-day these are represented by less than twenty. The Windsor Armoury is fortunate in now possessing six of these bucklers, with "gonnes" in their centre. This kind of shield may be described as a round convex buckler made in sections, with a pistol barrel projecting from the centre, and a breech-loading arrangement in the interior. Above the barrel is a small grating through



FIG. 617. FOOT FIGHTER WITH SWORD AND RECTANGULAR SHIELD



FIG. 618. FOOT FIGHTER WITH SWORD AND BOCE

From Burgkmair's "Triumph of Maximilian," plates 37 and 38, showing the trained fencers of Hans Hollywaks, the chief fencing master to the Court of Maximilian

which the bearer might watch his opponent. The pistol was discharged with a match, in a holder fixed inside the buckler, and worked with the right hand. The breech-loading is ingenious; an iron cover comes down over and retains in position the chamber, the diameter of which corresponds to that of a modern 12-bore cartridge. From a notice of another of these bucklers in the "Guarderobe of the Towre," it appears that they were originally fringed with green silk and lined with green velvet. The one illustrated from the Windsor Collection is as complete as any of those now extant (Fig. 621). Another example, from the original Tower series, is a specimen which is shown in the Great Hall at Hampton Court. There is yet another in the Hall at Edinburgh

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Castle (Fig. 622); whither, no doubt, along with other arms and armour, it was brought in comparatively recent times for purposes of decoration. A few of these bucklers have found their way into private collections. An example is also to be seen in the Armoury of Malta; though it is a little different in construction, it is of the same circular convex form; but it is composed of a central nimbus with a border of twelve plates. Each plate is fashioned to the segment of a circle, and has in its centre an embossed ridge, all the plates being laid down upon a foundation of oak, the joints of the plates being concealed by applied framing of brass. In the centre is a hole



FIG. 619. RECTANGULAR BUCKLER

Italian, early XVth century
Collection: Author



FIG. 620. BOCE OF WOOD AND IRON

First half of XVth century. Dino Collection,
Metropolitan Museum of New York

through which formerly passed the barrel of the pistol (Fig. 623); the grated aperture for taking aim has been at some time filled in. Now as this particularly awkward combination was, it is supposed, the personal invention of King Henry VIII, of which he was according to tradition very proud, the present writer suggests that this buckler at Malta with many others now lost, was sent, together with much other artillery, in redemption of a promise made by the King in 1526, to L'Isle d'Adam, then Grand Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. L'Isle d'Adam visited England after his sojourn in Spain and France, to which countries he had travelled in order to submit to their respective monarchs his project

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for the recapture from the Turks of the Island of Rhodes, and to seek their assistance either in replenishing the exhausted treasury of the Order, or in providing artillery and troops. In support of this expedition against

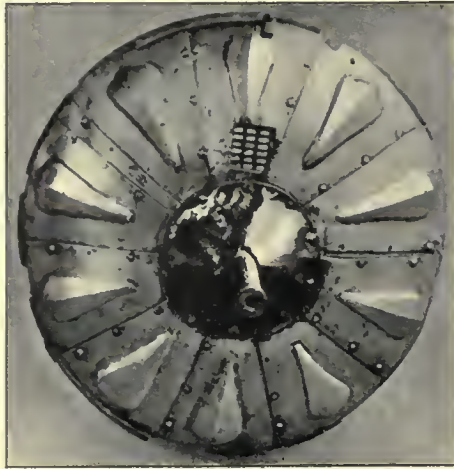


FIG. 621. BUCKLER OF IRON WITH
CENTRAL PISTOL

English, early XVIth century
Windsor Castle

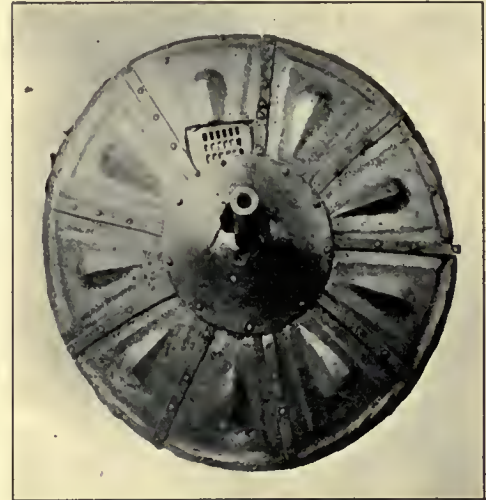


FIG. 622. BUCKLER OF IRON WITH
PISTOL

English, early XVIth century
Edinburgh Castle

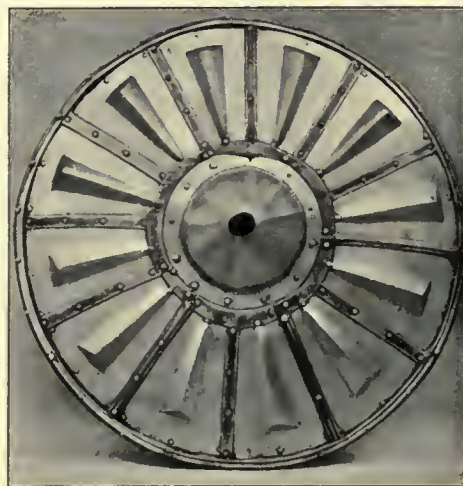


FIG. 623. BUCKLER OF IRON WHICH HAS HAD A CENTRAL PISTOL
English, early XVIth century. Armoury of the Knights of Malta, Valetta

the Turks, King Henry VIII promised to provide 20,000 crowns. Five years elapsed, during which time the King failed to keep his promise; but, in the end, instead of sending the money he despatched a gift of artillery to the value named. In this present of artillery it is probable

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that besides the larger pieces of ordnance, smaller arms, such as, for instance, the target "gonnes" under discussion, were included. This is, we venture to think, the only possible explanation of the presence of one of these shields in the Malta Armoury.

There is in the Wallace Collection a small steel buckler dating from the early years of the XVIth century that we think is of a type interesting enough to illustrate, No. 50 (Fig. 624). It shows a border round the edge about one inch wide, flanged outwards and sufficiently raised to catch the point of an adversary's sword. In the centre is a deep boss, in the interior of which was the fist grip. Of the common type of ordinary small bucklers is the example in Lord Kenyon's Collection—a quaint little armament of

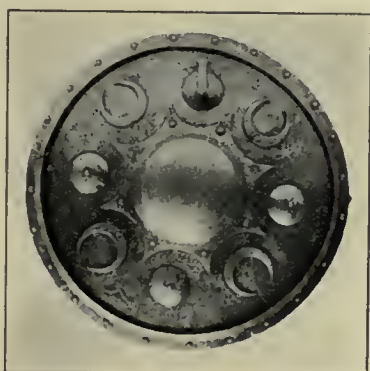


FIG. 624. BUCKLER OF IRON

Middle of XVIth century
No. 50, Wallace Collection



FIG. 625. SMALL BUCKLER OF EMBOSSED IRON

English, late XVIth century
Collection: Lord Kenyon

rough workmanship, embossed round the border with the inscription:— WISDOM, FAITH AND PROWESS SUPPORT KINGDOMS. In the centre are the rose, fleur-de-lis, harp, and portcullis of the city of Westminster. This buckler is probably of London workmanship, and dates towards the close of the XVIth century (Fig. 625).

Belonging to the tournament equipment of a knight is a whole series of small wooden shoulder shields of various forms which have in some instances a considerable likeness to the legitimate fighting shields of the *bouche de la lance* type, and in the past have not been recognized as belonging to a tilting equipment. The famous Meyrick shield, now in the Wallace Collection, No. 324 (Fig. 626), is very representative of the form in question. It is strongly convex in form and made of wood, covered with canvas, parchment, and gesso. Three ridges run down the centre.

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The exterior surface is black, with an interlaced flowering design in gold. In the centre is a ribbon, upon which is an inscription, in Gothic characters, nearly obliterated and wholly illegible except the word EWIG. On the interior are an iron hook and two eyelets. Mr. Planché, in his Cyclopaedia of Costume, describes it as an ordinary fighting shield. But it assuredly



FIG. 626. TILTING SHIELD OF WOOD, HIDE, AND GESSO
German, early XVIth century. No. 324, Wallace Collection

belongs to a tilting harness; for in Burgkmair's "Triumph of Maximilian" certain of the knights are seen bearing a similar *mentonnière* shield. We will refrain from giving further illustrations of such shields; for they are all of the same order and show but little variety. Moreover, we have alluded to and illustrated them on page 48 (Fig. 399), where they are shown in conjunction with the tournament *salade* head-piece with which they were worn.

CHAPTER XVII

THE SWORD OF THE XVTH CENTURY



IN the first half of the century but little change is discernible in the evolution of the sword; the simple wheel pommel and straight or curved quillon guard remained the predominating features. Certainly more variations are noticeable in the shape of the pommel; the elongated flattened pear-shaped pommel appeared, with other forms, all maintaining their popularity in turn according to fashion.

The sword most generally in favour in the XVth century was of that simple hilted type which had its origin most probably in Germany early in the XIVth century, and which, introduced into England about thirty years later, continued in use concurrently with other swords of various sizes up to the second quarter of the XVIth century, when nearly all simply constructed hilts gave way to that of the more elaborate type associated with the rapier. The particular sword to which we allude was in the later part of the XVth century known as the "bastard" or "hand-and-a-half" sword; and these names are used nowadays to specify the type. It was a weapon with a blade from 36 to 50 inches in length, equally serviceable for cutting or thrusting, its combined usefulness being made possible by the extra length of the grip. This was oval in section, swelling considerably at a point two-thirds of the way up from the quillons and then tapering suddenly to the pommel. Its name, "hand-and-a-half," explains the peculiar make of the grip. It was a sword sufficiently light to be used with one hand, but in a swinging downward cut the extra length of grip enabled the left hand to be brought into play to add force to the blow. Vulson de la Colombière and Joseph Swetnan speak of the "bastard" sword in the latter part of the XVIth and at the commencement of the XVIIth century. The former alludes to it, when describing the weapons used in a particular duel, "*Deux espées bastardes, pouvant servir à une main et à deux, les gardes d'icelles faites à une croissette seulement, et pas d'asne ouvert*"; while the latter refers to the bastard sword as a "sword, the which sword is something shorter than a long sword (two-

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hand), and yet longer than a short sword." Of almost the same family and use are the *Spadona*, *Espadon*, and *Montante*.

Throughout the XVth century there is found in use at the same time, though it must be said not in such common use, the true single-handed sword. In gripping the weapon the first finger was generally placed over the quillon, thus securing the hilt more firmly in the hand. Such a grip likewise assisted to direct the edge of the sword in delivering a cut. Even in the XIVth century the practice of such a hand-grip can be noted in the picture of the "Coronation of the Virgin," by Andrea di Cione, called Orcagna, now in the

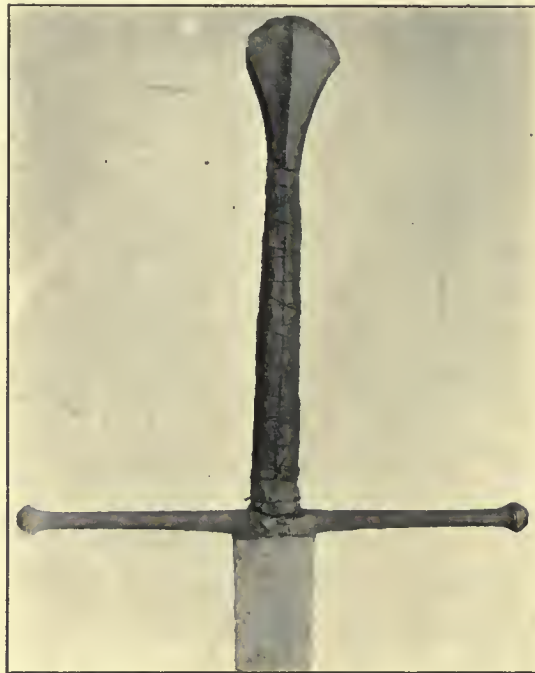


FIG. 627. SWORD (BASTARD TYPE), ABOUT 1430

Found in the Thames in the Zion reach. Collection: Mr. Henry G. Keasby

National Gallery, a picture probably painted about the middle of the XIVth century as the altar-piece for S. Pietro Maggiore, Florence. In this picture St. Paul is represented as holding his sword with his forefinger over the quillon; while the same hand-grip is seen in a fresco at the Campo Santo at Pisa, painted between 1380 and 1390, which represents scenes from the life of St. Ephesus; again the same grip is to be noted in the great naval battle-piece by Luca Spinelli, which is shown in the Palazzo Pubblico at Bologna, and belongs to the same epoch. In the picture by Paolo de Dono, known as Uccello, in the National Gallery, which was probably painted about 1446, the knight who is delivering a cut at his adversary.

THE SWORD OF THE XVTH CENTURY

has his forefinger on the quillon; while another, who is thrusting, holds his sword in the usual manner (vol. i, Fig. 238). In all these examples the sword is a plain cross-hilted one; but in a small painting by Bernardino di Biagio, better known as Pinturicchio, in the same collection, dating from the close of the XVth century, St. Catherine has a sword with a small semi-circular guard, and her forefinger is passed through it. In this practice, and in this guard, the first step is being taken towards the evolution of the complicated rapier hilts of the XVIth century.

As a good and early example of the bastard sword we may mention the fine weapon now in the collection of Mr. Henry G. Keasby, which was found in the Thames at a spot known as Old England, in the Zion reach of the river. The pommel of this sword is fish-tailed in shape, the quillons



FIG. 628. EFFIGY OF WILLIAM PHILIPP, LORD BERDOLF
Showing exactly the same type of sword as represented in Fig. 627
Dennington Church, Suffolk. After Stothard

are long and straight, the blade slender, stiff, and tapering. Except that it is somewhat larger, this weapon is the counterpart of that seen on an effigy in Dennington Church, Suffolk, which has now been assigned, and probably correctly, to William Philipp, Lord Berdolf. We may fix the date of this effigy at about 1430; so we can safely place the period of the Keasby sword within the first quarter of the XVth century (Figs. 627 and 628). A similar type of hilt—attached, however, to a much more powerful sword—can be seen in the Wallace Collection, No. 42 (Fig. 629). The pommel of this sword is roughly fig-shaped, the quillons are straight and swell to lobes at the ends, while the blade is 46 inches long and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide at the hilt. So robust are the proportions of this fine sword, which is certainly Italian, and dates from the middle of the XVth century, that we are bound to consider it as a weapon solely for double-handed use. In

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the collection of Mr. W. H. Redfern there is a remarkably fine bastard sword of English origin, found in the bed of the river Cam, an example we should date within the first quarter of the XVth century (Fig. 630). The pommel is noteworthy for the decoration of ingenious faceting which does not in the least affect the simplicity of its outline. The quillons are of rectangular section and incline downwards at their ends. The tang of the



FIG. 629. SWORD (BASTARD TYPE)

First half of XVth century
No. 42, Wallace Collection

blade is of considerable width and of great strength. It is deeply impressed with a bladesmith's mark; while the blade, which is 34 inches long, and is in perfect condition, even to its cutting edge, is inlaid with the mark of a sword in gold. To the collector the weapon has peculiar charm of colour, now possessing a black bronze-like patina, doubtless from its long immersion in the peat soil of the river Cam. There is in the Tower of London an early XVth century bastard sword (Fig. 631) that was found in the river Thames. It belongs to the same family of sword as the last described; but though graceful from the possession of long, straight, rectangular sectioned quillons and a faceted pear-shaped pommel, it is altogether a poorer make of weapon. A sword, remarkable both by reason of its graceful lines and of its splendid balance, is to be seen in Mr. Godfrey Williams' Collection at St. Donat's Castle, Wales. In the sale of the Bernal Collection in 1855 it figured as Lot 2305 in the catalogue and fetched six guineas. It then passed into the Londesborough Collection, at the sale of which, in 1888, it appeared as Lot 39 and was disposed of for £141 15s. At both sales an English origin was ascribed to this sword, an ascription no doubt due to the Tudor rose-like orna-

ment that is etched some little distance up the blade. That its workmanship is, however, Italian there is little room for doubt; the quillons, straight and widening to rounded ends, are characteristically Italian, as also is its kite-shaped pommel. The theory of its Italian provenance is further strengthened by the etching of trophies and scroll-work, once gilt in the manner of northern Italy, that appears on the upper part of the blade. The presence of the rose-like ornament on the blade has no particular significance, as this was a

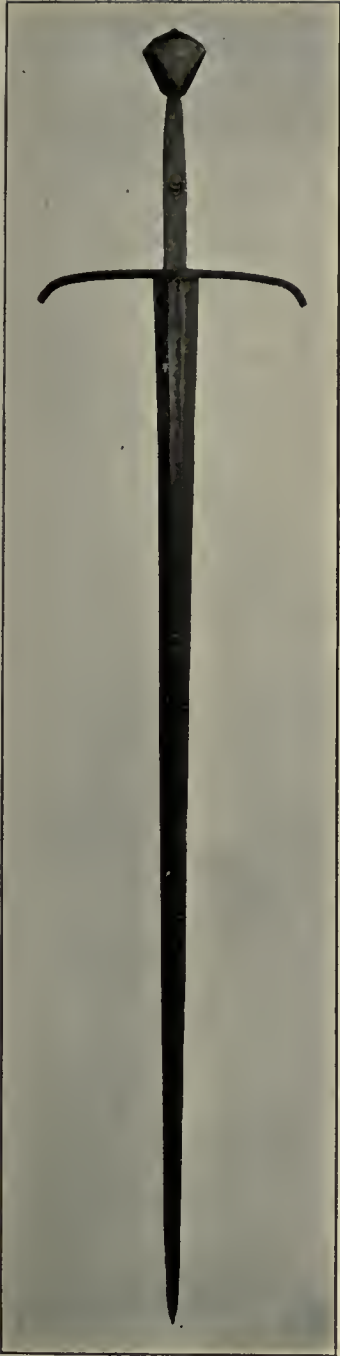


FIG. 630. SWORD (BASTARD TYPE)
First quarter of XVth century
Found in the river Cam
Collection: Mr. W. H. Redfern



FIG. 631. SWORD (BASTARD TYPE)
First quarter of XVth century. Found
in the Thames, London
Tower of London, Class IX, No. 16

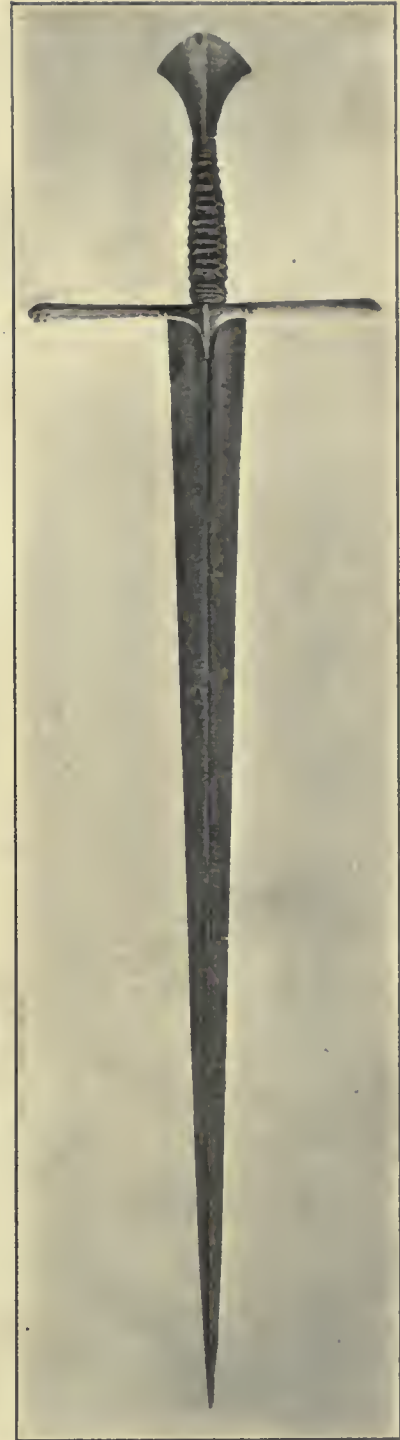


FIG. 632. SWORD (BASTARD TYPE)
Italian, second half of XVth
century
Collection: Mr. Godfrey Williams

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universally employed decoration in the latter part of the XVth century. It is interesting to note that the pommel on the sword was made hollow and brazed down the side. The grip is a comparatively modern addition. The sword (Fig. 632) can be assigned to about 1450-70, and, like the two swords just described, is of large proportions.

A large, and varying family of swords of the "bastard" proportions owes its origin to Germany; though, curiously enough, certain of the accepted German forms found great favour in Italy. The first of this type



FIG. 633. SWORD (BASTARD TYPE)

German, end of the first half of XVth century. Collection: Mr. Henry G. Keasby

that we illustrate is of the simplest form—the pommel octagonal, the quillons straight and of square-shaped section, the blade wide at the hilt, but tapering to a point, eminently suitable for thrusting and so forcing an opening between the joints of a plate suit. The probable date of this weapon, which came from the collection of the late Herr Max Kuppelmayer (Fig. 633), and is now in that of Mr. Henry G. Keasby, is about 1440 to 1460. In the same collection is a splendid thrusting weapon with an exceptionally long grip, fig-shaped pommel, and simple quillons, the ends of which curve downwards. The blade has a deep ricasso. This is probably an

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Italian weapon, but designed on German lines, and dates from about the third quarter of the XVth century (Fig. 634). A sword not unlike it, but assuredly German and of smaller proportions, is in the collection of the



FIG. 634. SLENDER SWORD (BASTARD TYPE)

Probably Italian, but produced under German influence. Middle of XVth century
Collection: Mr. Henry G. Keasby

Baron de Cosson. This weapon we are also bound to place at a fairly late date in the XVth century (Fig. 635); while a similar sword, in the Wallace Collection (No. 33, Gallery VII) is so late as to exhibit Maximilian influences (Fig. 636). The numerals 1415 are engraved upon the ricasso of

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the blade of this sword, but unfortunately they cannot be seen in the illustration. These figures bear, however, no reference to the year 1415, but merely prove that the hilt was rebladed early in the XVIIth century by the Austrian bladesmith Steyen. It was his common practice to engrave either this group of figures or "1414" or even "1515" in combination with the running wolf mark upon blades of his make in order that his work might not be mistaken for that of the city of Passau, which had already adopted the running wolf mark as its



FIG. 635. SWORD (BASTARD TYPE)
German, late XVth century
Collection: Baron de Cosson

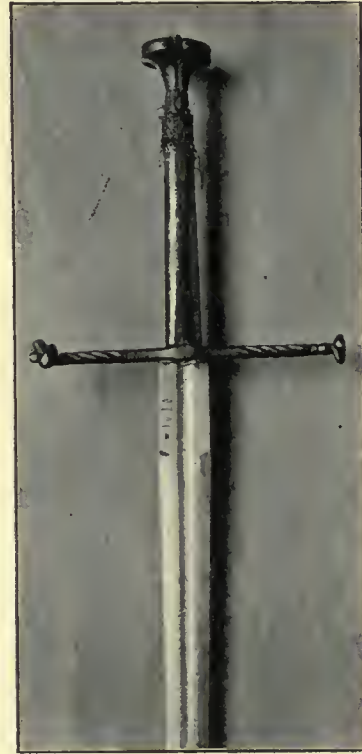


FIG. 636. SWORD (BASTARD TYPE)
German, late XVth or early XVIth century
No. 33, Wallace Collection

stamp. In the National Bavarian Museum of Munich are some remarkable bastard swords, very Gothic in their general sentiment, but mostly of late XVth century date. We illustrate six of them. The first (Fig. 637A) shows the flattened pear-shaped pommel and plain drooping quillons. Unscrupulous foreign dealers have palmed off on armour collectors hundreds of copies of this type; and this particular sword is probably the original which served as the model of the forgeries. The moulded grip is of *cuir bouilli*, extending over the centre of the quillons, almost in an inverted cup form, and fitting over the top of the scabbard; a grip formation popular in the latter part of the



A



C



B



E



D



F

FIG. 637. SWORDS (BASTARD TYPE)

German, late XVth century. National Bavarian Museum, Munich

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XVth century as more fully protecting the blade from corrosion when sheathed. This same idea is carried out on the second of the swords (Fig. 637B); here, it must be pointed out that the whole hilt, that is to say, quillons and grip, are of gilded brass, inset in the latter case with plaques of horn. The third sword (Fig. 637C) is a superb fighting weapon with an exceptionally long and delicately moulded grip, and very slender quillons; its original sheath is preserved and is of *cuir bouilli*. This beautiful sword might be dated as early as about 1460, weapons of this kind being certainly in use at that time; but a sword of identical formation is seen in Dürer's famous plate, "The Knight, Death and the Devil," which is dated 1513, a circumstance that affords us an excellent illustration of the difficulty of assigning a specific date to an individual sword of a given type. There is a sword very similar to this in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris (J 24). The fourth sword (Fig. 637D) has a finely moulded grip similar to that seen on the first of these series of weapons, but with a wheel pommel of rock crystal. The quillons are unusual in character, and their flimsiness suggests that they have been added in the latter part of the XVIth century, possibly for processional purposes. The pictorial representation of pommels of rock crystal may be seen in a picture painted in 1467 by Dirk Bouts now in the old Pinakothek of Munich. The fifth sword (Fig. 637E) has a hilt simply constructed, the spiral twist of the gadroon-shaped pommel being continued in the twist of the grip; the quillons droop slightly and are decorated on the exterior side only.

On the next sword (Fig. 637F) the exaggerated spiral fluting of the pommel is even more conspicuously continued in the formation of the grip, which in its lower half is pierced *à jour*, showing the encased tang of the blade. The hold obtained on such a grip must have been very secure. From the type of the blade, which is of triangular section, it may be assumed that the sword was for foining, that is, for thrusting and guarding alone. The "estoc," as this type of sword was called, was of much the same proportions as the bastard sword. The blade in nearly all cases is triangular in section, and tapers to a fine point. There is mention of the use of the estoc as early as 1268 in a judgment of the Parliament of Paris: "*Sufficienter inventum est quod dictus Boso dictum Ademarum percussit cum Ense a estoc in dextro latero propria manu, et de ipso ictu cecidit dictus Ademarum.*" It was chiefly employed in the XVth and XVIth centuries for single combats on foot in the *Champ Clos*, which were often combats "to be decided by the judgment of God," the stiff penetrating blade being intended to force apart the plates of the special armour in which such foot combats were

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nearly always fought. A hafted weapon formed on nearly the same formidable principle as the estoc is the *ahlspiess*. This was an Austrian arm, chiefly for yeoman use. But the practice of it must also have been familiar to the nobles; since the Emperor Maximilian in the "*Freydal*" is seen employing it. Although we could mention and illustrate many more XVth century swords which retain the simple Gothic influence, we have perhaps enumerated a sufficient number for our purpose.

* * *

We are now compelled to retrace our steps; for the true single-handed sword is worthy of attention, and there are many examples which we must specify as being thoroughly representative. The first that we shall mention belongs to the early part of the XVth century, and is now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, having been formerly in the Dino and Carrand Collections (Fig. 638). It has been suggested, and on good authority, that the sword, as we now see it, is composite in its parts, and that M. Carrand was responsible for its present complete state; but as this theory contradicts Baron de Cosson's description of it in the famous Duc de Dino Catalogue, we must on the weight of such an authority accept the sword as wholly authentic. The hilt is of copper gilt and cruciform, with a wheel pommel of XIVth century formation, drooping quillons, and tapering grip. These are all engraved with conventional Gothic foliage. In the pommel are silver medallions engraved and enamelled with coats of arms which the late M. Carrand construed as being those of Sire de Gaucourt, a brilliant courtier attached to the household of King Charles VII of France. The blade is long and tapering, almost too long to balance the comparative lightness of the hilt. The point is reinforced; while near the hilt is inlaid in brass an armourer's mark, a cross within a circle. It is stated that this sword was discovered in Normandy in the year 1838. Thoroughly representative of the period, both in respect of form and of decoration, is the weapon which was perhaps the principal treasure of Sir Noël Paton's Collection and which is now in the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh (Fig. 639). "The Sword of Battle Abbey," as it is called, was made for the abbey in Sussex, which was endowed by William the Conqueror with exclusive rights. The existing sword was made during the abbacy of Thomas de Lodelowe, abbot from 1417 to 1434. Sir John Gage, K.G., received this sword into his keeping when he was acting as one of King Henry VIII's commissioners for accepting the surrender of religious houses. It remained in the possession of his family at Firle Place in the same county, until it was presented to



FIG. 638. SINGLE-HANDED
SWORD
First half of XVth century
Metropolitan Museum,
New York



FIG. 640. SWORD
First quarter of XVth century.
Found in the Chapter House,
Abbey church of Westminster,
now in the Pyx Chapel

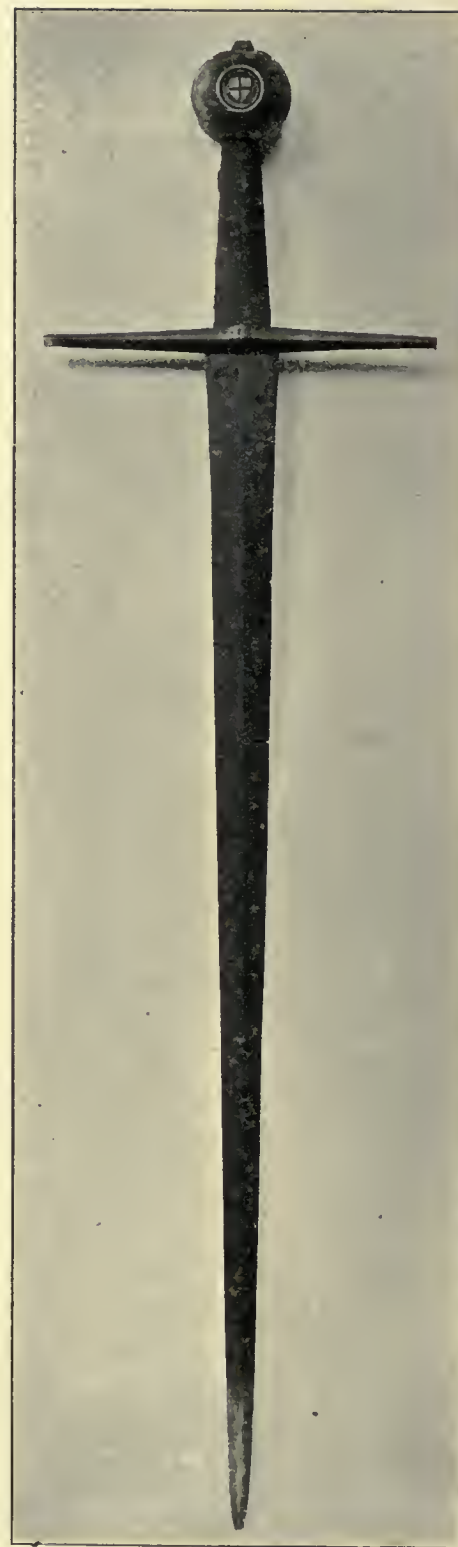


FIG. 639. THE "BATTLE ABBEY"
SWORD
First quarter of XVth century
Royal Scottish Museum,
Edinburgh

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Sir Samuel Meyrick in 1834 by Henry Hall, 4th Viscount Gage. Apart from its historical association, the attraction of the sword lies in its extreme simplicity and severe beauty. The quillons are straight and taper somewhat to either end; the pommel is of the pronounced wheel type, of great depth and of vigorous section. The medium of the pommel and quillons is iron overlaid with sheet silver, once gilt. This method of decorating the hilt was in common practice in the XIVth and XVth centuries; it can be seen in the civil swords of certain corporations, notably in the so-called "King John sword" of King's Lynn (Fig. 706). The thick silver sheeting was applied to the iron core by means of solder. It was an effective and rich adornment; for it could be easily engraved, gilded, and enamelled, as will be seen on looking at the Battle Abbey sword. The engraving upon the quillons of this sword consists in a scheme of Gothic leafage. This is simplified on the pommel, which has on either side of it, in its recessed panels, the shield and arms of Battle Abbey, viz., a cross; in the first and fourth quarters, a coronet of strawberry leaves; in the second and third, a sword the point in chief; the whole coat being placed between the initials "t. L." (Thomas de Lodelowe). These arms were possibly enamelled in proper colours; but no traces of heraldic colours are now discernible. Sir Samuel Meyrick, writing of this sword at the time it was in his collection, described it most accurately as "A war sword used as one of State"; for it is eminently a fighting weapon as distinct from a regular sword of State. It will be noticed that the blade in section is of flattened diamond shape, and that when new it must have tapered to an acute point in the fashion of the generality of blades of the first years of the XVth century. But from constant cleaning and, what is more unusual, from constant sharpening, the outline of the blade some few inches below the hilt is lost in a curved irregular edge that terminates in a rounded thrusting point. As the section and original outline of the blade have now practically disappeared owing to the severe treatment they have received in the past, and as their disappearance lends to the blade the look of one with almost parallel edges, as seen in the case of swords of the XIth and XIIth centuries, suggestions have been made that the blade itself is of considerably earlier date and that the hilt was adapted to it in the XVth century. But on examination it can be proved from certain technicalities that this is not the case, and that the blade was actually made for the hilt to which it is fitted. It appears evident, therefore, from the details we have given that this sword was manufactured *in toto* in the XVth century, and that it is not the actual

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weapon which, according to tradition, William the Conqueror presented to the favoured Abbey. In the chronicles of the Monastery of Battle Abbey which record, under the date 1087-1095, the presentation to the Monastery by William II after his coronation (in accordance with the wish of his father) of his Royal Pall and Feretory or *Feretrum*, no mention is made of his sword. It is, however, more than probable that with the *pallium regale* a sword was included. If such a sword once existed, its later history is unknown. It is said to have been taken in the middle of the XVIIIth century, along with the *pallium* and the original document known as the Roll of



FIG. 641. SWORD
Middle of XVth century. Royal
Armoury, Madrid

Battle Abbey, to Cowdray House, Midhurst, by Lord Montagu, a descendant of Sir Anthony Browne, into whose hands these precious relics fell at the dissolution of the monasteries. In the year 1793 a disastrous fire occurred which destroyed Cowdray House, and presumably the Roll, the *pallium*, and the sword.

This then may be the history of the original sword presented to Battle Abbey; but it now becomes necessary to account for the sword which is shown in the Scottish collection, and which may be supposed to be the second sword possessed by the Abbey. The truth as to its origin can only be surmised. Possibly the precious sword of William I was considered almost in the light of a "Tenure Sword." The abbots, whose sole use for it in that capacity was on ceremonial occasions, may have considered the

original weapon from hard wear and the passage of many centuries to have become a mere relic, hardly in keeping with the pomp and circumstance of the early years of the XVth century, and may have had a new sword made to take its place. There is no reason why they should have considered it necessary to copy the original weapon in their possession. Battle Abbey was luckily not afflicted with an archaeologist who could commit such a blunder. Doubtless, therefore, an order for a fine new sword for pageant purposes was dispatched to some renowned swordsmith of the time, which he executed by sending an enriched fighting sword such as he

THE SWORD OF THE XVTH CENTURY

was accustomed to make: following his true instinct of the artist he decorated the pommel with the coat of arms and the initials of the abbot. Despite the poor condition of the blade and the late addition of a very unsuitable velvet-covered grip, this is certainly the finest sword of its kind we are acquainted with, not only in Great Britain, but even in foreign collections.

An interesting sword (Fig. 640), which can be safely assigned to the first quarter of the XVth century, is now to be seen in the Pyx Chapel, in the Abbey church of Westminster. It was found when alterations were being made in the chapter-house in 1840. The blade is broad and tapering, the quillons flat and drooping slightly downwards; while the pommel is heavily proportioned and of wheel form. From the place of its discovery it is not unreasonable to attribute it to English manufacture; but just such another hilt, though of finer workmanship, is in the Royal Armoury, Madrid. The blade of the Madrid example, which is of different type, having the central ridge, is also finely etched with inscriptions. The hilt also retains part of the original grip (Fig. 641).

A type of sword somewhat different, but still exhibiting great simplicity in form, is to be seen in the Wallace Collection, No. 36 (Fig. 642). The pommel and quillons are of gilded bronze, the former being of fish-tail form. The section of the base of the pommel is continued in the formation of the grip. The blade is 35 inches long, being of flattened diamond shaped section and tapering acutely towards the point. M. Viollet-le-Duc illustrates this sword in his *Dictionnaire Raisonné du Mobilier Français*, but assigns to it a rather too early date. It doubtless belongs to the middle of the XVth century and is probably Italian. Among the beautiful swords left to the Musée de Cluny by M. Édouard de Beaumont, is one which is almost the companion to the Wallace sword in its general form; but it must be con-

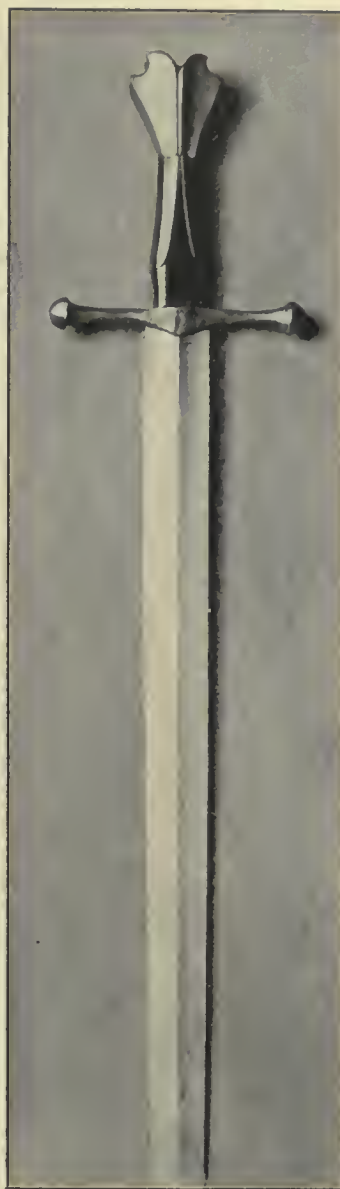


FIG. 642. SWORD
Middle of XVth century
No. 36, Wallace Collection

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sidered the finer weapon of the two. On the blade are engraved the arms of the Visconti family (Fig. 643).

A very fine sword, complete too (Fig. 644), inasmuch as it possesses its original scabbard, is in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris (T 26). It is known



FIG. 643. SWORD

Middle of XVth century. Collection: M. Édouard de Beaumont, Musée Cluny, Paris .

as the sword of the Constables of France and belongs to the second half of the XVth century. It has the conventional flat wheel pommel and straight quillons drooping at their extreme ends. In the centre of the pommel there was formerly a coat of arms, but this is now missing. The blade is wide at the hilt and tapers to the point. The hilt, a portion of the blade near

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the hilt, and a circular panel half way down the blade is *semé de lis*; but these emblems are so placed that only when the blade is carried point upwards are they in their correct position, an arrangement which shows the sword to be one of ceremony. The proportions of the sword are, however, those of a fine single-handed fighting weapon, a circumstance which furnishes the reason for its being described here and not among those grouped together under the heading of swords of ceremony. The scabbard is of leather upon which are applied fleurs-de-lis; it has a ferrule and deep locket mount which are also decorated with fleurs-de-lis and supplied with six rings at the sides, for the purpose of attaching it to the belt. The method of wearing the sword throughout the XVth century was naturally influenced by the fashion of the costume with which it was worn. Vagaries and eccentricities in the nature of belts and hangers are seen in association with civil costume; but when it was a question of arming a knight clad in full steel, the simplest methods of slinging on the sword were employed. M. Viollet-le-Duc, in his *Dictionnaire*, vol. v, pp. 189-207, gives, under *Baudrier*, some admirable drawings and details of sword belts and hangers.

* * *

Before we turn to those swords in the outline and decoration of which the Renaissance of classical art and taste began to make itself felt, we will allude briefly to the curved and falchion bladed swords of the XVth century which are extant, and which find a rightful place in this chapter. There can be but little doubt that it was the intercourse with the Orient which led to the



FIG. 644. SWORD AND SCABBARD
Second half of XVth century. Known as
the sword of the Constables of France
T 26, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

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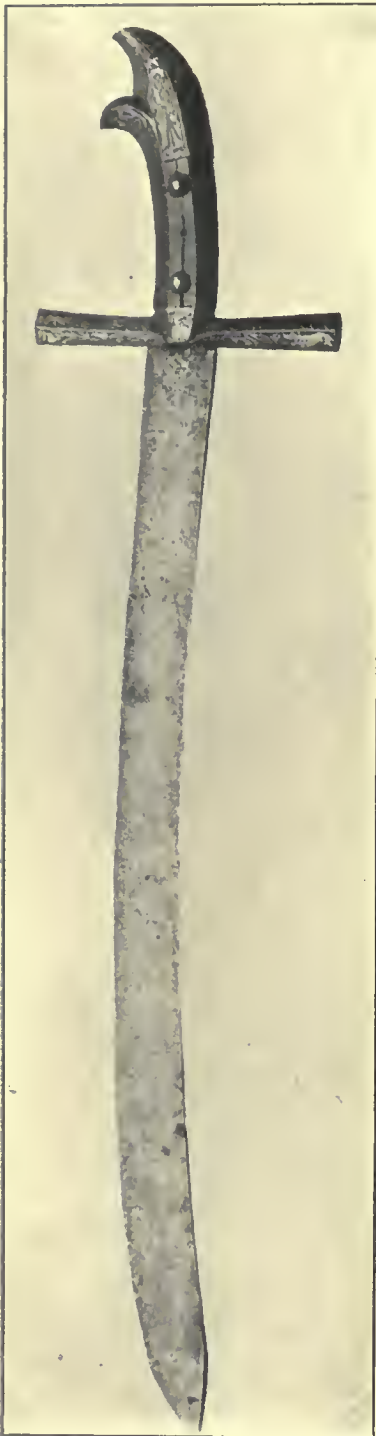


FIG. 645. CURVED SWORD
Northern French, first quarter
of XVth century
Collection: Mr. Felix Joubert

swordsmith forging a curved blade after the fashion of the scimitar. We have already alluded to the curved sword known as that of Charlemagne in the Vienna Treasury (vol. i, Fig. 116), and to the only other three of early date that are known to us (vol. i, Figs. 157, 158, and 160), but swords of this type are constantly found appearing in the missals, illuminations, and paintings of the XVth century. It is, however, instructive to note that in these pictures the curved sword appears generally to be girded on personages who are in some way associated with the East or who belong to an unknown country. The Magi in adoration as often as not wear the curved sword. In "Christ, the Light of the World," the famous Hans Memlinc picture of the Munich Gallery, the curved sword is many times represented in the various small groups of figures, but especially noticeable as being worn by the Magi and their attendants. We can, however, obtain ample evidence as to the character of these swords from extant examples, without being under the necessity of having to derive it solely from the testimony of pictures. Of an actual falchion or scimitar which may be legitimately assigned to the early years of the XVth century we give an illustration. This scimitar is in the collection of Mr. Felix Joubert (Fig. 645), and was discovered some years ago in a house in Lorraine, at no great distance from Domremy; a circumstance which gave birth to the tale that it was the original sword of Joan of Arc—a statement without foundation and without reason other than that it is of her period and of French origin. The metal parts of the hilt are of gilded bronze, and viewed roughly are in the style of a Persian *abbasi* scimitar; with the exception that the pistol-shaped grip and pommel, nearly always seen on the scimitar, are here replaced by a grip with a curved bifurcated pommel. The

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quillons are straight and of diamond-shaped section, and the grip of chestnut wood is secured to the blade tang by hemispherically headed rivets. The whole of the surface of the pommel and quillons is finely engraved with the figure of the Virgin and Child, and with arrangements of leafage and twisted riband panels, upon which Biblical inscriptions appear. The blade is now short,



FIG. 646. CURVED SWORD WITH
FALCHION BLADE

Italian, latter part of XVth century
Collection: M. Édmond Foulc,
Paris

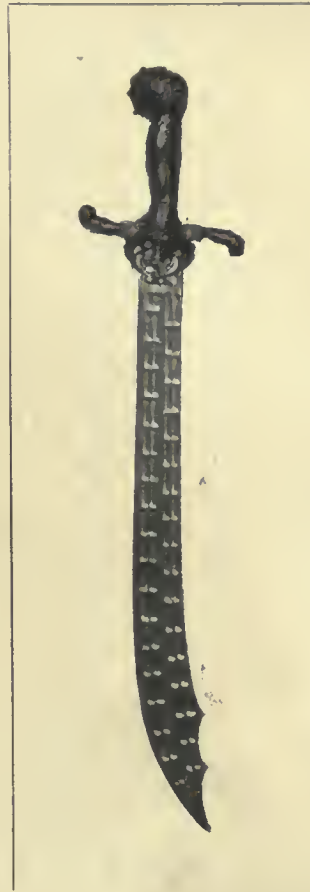


FIG. 646A. CURVED SWORD WITH
FALCHION BLADE

Milanese, first third of the
XVIth century
Collection: Mr. S. J. Whawell

doubtless part of it has been ground off; but it is back-edged, widening somewhat towards the point, and has a section that suggests a direct copy of some of the early Persian scimitar blades. No finer falchion sword of the latter part of the XVth century can be seen than the superb weapon shown in the collection of the late M. Édmond Foulc in Paris. It was in both the Bernal Sale (No. 2309) in 1855, when it sold for £15 10s., and in the

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Londesborough Sale (1888), when £315 was paid for it, though for some unknown reason in the catalogues of both collections it is called "an executioner's sword." The steel grip is indented for the grasp of the fingers; while the knuckle-guard, single quillon, and *pas-d'âne* may roughly be said to resemble a snake or monster. The whole hilt is engraved with guilloche patterns and gilt. The blade is back-edged and scimitar-shaped, splendidly etched and gilt for part of its distance with arrangements of scroll-work, introducing the following inscription in Lombardic characters: IHS. AVTEM TRANSIENS PER MEDIUM ILLORUM IBAT. It bears three fleurs-de-lis as an armourer's mark, and is probably North Italian of the last quarter of the XVth century (Fig. 646).

The last and rather late curved sword with falchion blade we illustrate (Fig. 646A) is of Milanese workmanship of the first third of the XVIth century. The pommel and grip are in one piece and the ends of the quillons are fashioned with gargoyle heads. The shell of the guard is chased and pierced, the entire hilt being richly damascened. The blade is decorated with intersected recessments. This piece was formerly in the collection of the Count of Valencia and is now in that of Mr. S. J. Whawell.

* * *

With the advent of the second half of the XVth century comes the earliest influence of the classical Renaissance, which makes itself apparent at first rather in weapons than in armour. The beautiful simplicity of the Gothic form has hardly as yet been affected; but evidence is already forthcoming, particularly in Italy, of the growing appreciation of classical ornament as applied to weapons. Classical decorations, and even the actual shapes are being borrowed from Greek and Roman originals. Germany and northern Europe generally resisted the introduction of this new fashion effectively for another half-century; but by then, with perhaps the exception of the German, all styles were thoroughly permeated by its influence.

The great artist-sculptors of Italy turned their attention to the designing of sword hilts, among whom we may cite Andrea del Verrocchio, Donatello, Polidoro Caldara, and, in the next generation, Leonardo da Vinci; while in other countries such masters as Hans Holbein, Pierre Woeiriot, and in the next generation Antoine de Jacquart, are all to be found responding to the demand for enriched weapons.

Although we leap over a few years by so doing, we will turn to the hilt of a cruciform-hilted sword, now adapted to classical decoration, as the first example of the utter banishment of all previous principles of decoration.

THE SWORD OF THE XVTH CENTURY

We refer to the beautiful weapon of the Turin Armoury known as the "Donatello" sword (Fig. 647). The hilt of the sword in question is copper gilt, and has a grip of horn. The hollow circular pommel is formed to the outline of two dolphins, their tails joining at the top; astride their backs sit amorini, who support between them a gorgon's head. The quillons are straight and of oblong section, issuing from an oblong central block, which is cast and chased in low relief with allegorical figures and cupids. The ends of the quillons have caryatid figures in low relief. The blade, which is flat and broad, gradually tapering to a point, is engraved with a composition of scrollwork, introducing a winged figure of victory; the general treatment of this decorative theme leads the author to think that it is possible the blade was added to the hilt at some later date. Marcel Reymond, in *La Sculpture Florentine*, describes the Turin sword and states that it is signed in full with the artist's name, OPVS DONATELLI FLO (rentini), and from the character of the decoration must have been made at a late period in his lifetime. Now the Turin sword is signed, but upon the lower ferrule of the grip. Of late years, however, the genuineness of this particular part of the hilt has been openly debated, and it is now generally agreed that the signature of Donatello is a forgery. The quillons and pommel, however, remain a triumph of Renaissance design, and furnish an admirable illustration of some great Italian master's power and skill in utilizing the then new art of the Renaissance on the most conservative form of sword hilt extant. In the Wallace Collection (No. 34) is an admirable reproduction of the Donatello sword; it has, however, an old blade from some other sword associated with it.



FIG. 647. THE SO-CALLED "DONATELLO" SWORD
Italian, late XVth century. Royal
Armoury, Turin, G 79 bis

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Less original in its outline, with a simple wheel pommel and strongly drooping quillons, but exquisite in the delicacy of its enrichment, is the famous sword of Caesar Borgia, Duke of Romagna and Valentinois, which is



FIG. 648. THE FAMOUS SWORD OF
CAESAR BORGIA

Italian, late XVth century. Collec-
tion: Prince Teano, Duke of Sermoneta



FIG. 649. LEATHER SCABBARD MADE FOR
THE CAESAR BORGIA SWORD

Obverse and reverse of the upper part
Victoria and Albert Museum

now preserved in the family of Prince Teano, Duke of Sermoneta (Fig. 648); its superb scabbard of *cuir bouilli* is separated from it and is in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig. 649). The enrichment of the hilt is carried out

THE SWORD OF THE XVTH CENTURY

in the most delicate cloisonné enamel, in translucent colours, on a gilded copper foundation. Though magnificent in its richness, its pure and simple outline is maintained. The design of the filigree enamel work is what may be termed Venetian Gothic; but the Renaissance influence is strongly in evidence. The blade is superb, being etched and gilded in the finest possible manner with a pure Renaissance ornamentation which we should have ascribed to Hercule de Fideli, even if the signature, *Opus Herc*, had not been present. The inscriptions upon the blade, beyond the name of the engraver, consist in the monogram of Caesar Borgia, and four abbreviations: CES. BORG. CAR. VALEN., meaning, Caesar Borgia, Cardinal Valentin; associ-



FIG. 651. SWORD

Italian, late XVth century
Collection: M. Édouard de Beaumont, Musée Cluny



FIG. 650. THE PUCCI SWORD

North Italian, late XVth century. Now in an English collection



FIG. 652. SWORD

Italian, late XVth century
Collection: Baron de Cosson

early 16th

R.O.M.A.

ated are also the following Latin phrases and quotations: JACTA EST ALEA; CUM NOMINE CESARIS, AMEN; FIDES PREVALET ARMIS; and BENE MERENT. M. Édouard de Beaumont, in his *Fleur des Belles Epées*, speaking of this sword, gives an interesting transcription of a letter, dated Naples, 2 Oct. 1773, written by the Abbé Galiani, in whose possession the sword then was, to a Madame d'Épinay. It goes on to say:

"I possess a most curious piece, the sword of César Borgia, Duke of Valentinois, son of the Pope Alexander VI, who had it made specially with emblems referring to his future greatness and his ambition. It is not necessary to tell you how I obtained possession of it; it is enough to say

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that I wanted to make a lucrative present to the pope, and intended to accompany it with a learned discussion, explaining the emblems. I took the pen and started to write: 'César Borgia was born.' . . . I stopped there, as not



FIG. 653. SWORD
Italian, late XVth century
Collection: Mr. Felix Joubert

for the life of me could I find out in my library or in those of my friends when that fellow was born."

"Galiani" (says M. de Beaumont) "left the sword to a friend, a cleric, Monseigneur Honoré Gaëtani, with a clause in the will stipulating that he should pay to his heirs 100 ounces of gold in compensation. If he refused the legacy or made any difficulty about paying the money, the Empress Catherine of Russia was substituted as legatee." As we have said, the scabbard of this most precious sword is now preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, having been wisely purchased by the authorities as far back as 1869. It is certainly one of the finest examples of *cuir bouilli* known, and was at one time said to have come from the hand of Antonio del Pollaiuolo. On the front is a group of figures in relief, gathered together under the arch of a temple to offer sacrifice to Venus, whose statue is raised on a pedestal. The grouping of the figures, and their admirable modelling in so homely a material, fully justify the unknown artist in inscribing on his work the motto

MATERIAM SUPERABIT OPVS—"labour will triumph over material." The back shows decoration of tongues of flame and a monogram of the name Caesar, the devices of Caesar Borgia. It is, however, most interesting to note that the scabbard was apparently never finished, its extremity having only the

THE SWORD OF THE XVTH CENTURY

design suggested upon it by a few deft lines; whereas at the top the subjects are elaborately embossed and worked to the highest degree of perfection. From the Caesar Borgia sword we turn to one which is assuredly the work of the same hand, somewhat less rich in its decoration but none the less beautiful, we mean the Pucci sword (Fig. 650). Here the quillons have a similar formation, but are a little less depressed; the pommel is similar both in size and in shape. The grip is now of the same type, and the blade is of precisely similar make, although unhappily some few inches of its original length have been ground away. The slight difference that exists between the two swords extends indeed no farther than the matter of their enrichment. The pommel of the Pucci sword is bronze gilt, cast with a Renaissance arrangement of formal leafage that, were it found upon a piece of oak furniture in England, would be known as Holbeinesque in style. The grip is of wood now overlaid with plates of silver; while the quillons are of simple iron, gilt. The blade is superb, finer indeed than that of the Caesar Borgia sword; it is graven and gilt in the same manner, with compositions of figures and with a coat of arms, which curiously enough is not that of the Pucci family, and which up to the present has not been identified. This sword, which has now passed into an English collection, was in the possession of the Pucci family until late in the XIXth century. The last time it was used at a public ceremony was on the occasion of a festival procession organized to celebrate the opening of the new façade of the Duomo of Florence in 1888. It then suffered from some rather rough handling, from which it required time and careful attention to recover. Next we will mention three beautiful late XVth century Italian weapons, respectively in the Beaumont Collection, Musée de Cluny (Fig. 651), in the collection of the Baron de Cosson (Fig. 652), and in the collection of Mr. Felix Joubert (Fig. 653), which, if they are not actually the work of the same swordsmith are, at any rate, of the same family of swords. Of the cruciform-hilted Italian swords of the Renaissance type there are very many varieties in shape; but after those just described none possibly are more beautiful than that particular group of which the example in the Louvre is a very representative specimen (Fig. 654). Here the formation of the quillons and of the grip is



FIG. 654. SWORD
North Italian, late XVth
century
Musée de Louvre

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practically the same as those seen upon the family of hilts just alluded to; though in this case the former are of rectangular section. For embellishment these hilts depend entirely on the graceful composition of interlaced scrollwork of the acanthus design; and, with few exceptions, they are fashioned of cast bronze, boldly chased and gilt. The blades made for these swords are very wide at the hilt, tapering to a point; while in the region of the hilt they afforded scope for the richest etching and



FIG. 655. SWORD

North Italian, late XVth century
Collection: M. Édouard de
Beaumont, Musée
de Cluny



FIG. 656. SWORD

North Italian workmanship, but made for
Germany. Late XVth century
Collection: M. Édouard de Beaumont,
Musée de Cluny

gilding. Another sword with a hilt similar to that of the Louvre weapon, but with differences in the details, is in the Beaumont Collection, Musée de Cluny (Fig. 655); whilst another is in the collection of Miss Alice de Rothschild at Waddesdon Manor. In the case of this last-mentioned sword, the grip has been replaced by one of a later date.

The most noticeable variations in these beautiful Italian swords are generally in the formation of their pommels. These are nearly always of gilded bronze and are of appropriate sizes to balance the weight of the blades;

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while the quillons—necessary guards to the hand—are, in a few cases, fashioned of tougher material, iron gilded or overlaid with silver. A very graceful sword with riband pattern quillons diagonally curved at the ends is in the Beaumont Collection, Musée de Cluny (Fig. 656). With the exception of the wire-bound grip, which is a modern addition, it is a weapon of great



FIG. 657. SWORD OF SMALL PROPORTIONS

Italian workmanship, late XVth century. Collection: Resson, Bargello Museum, Florence



FIG. 658. SWORD WITH A HILT OF BRONZE

Attributed to Andrea Briosco. Early XVth century. Musée de Louvre

beauty. Here the pommel is of bronze; while the quillons are of iron, though thickly gilded. Though we regard it as essentially an Italian made weapon, it appears from the arms and emblems etched upon its blade to have been made for one of the Governors of Nuremberg at the very end of the XVth or at the commencement of the XVIth century. On the blade are the arms of



FIG. 659. SIX ITALIAN BRONZE SWORD POMMELS
Late XVth and early XVIth centuries. British Museum

THE SWORD OF THE XVTH CENTURY

Kress of Kressestein, an ancient patrician family of that town. This sword was brought from Germany in 1861 by M. Tross, *ainé*. With it came other arms from the castle of Kressenstein. Two other existing swords known to the present writer are much like it. One is in the Imperial Armoury of Vienna; the other, formerly in the Basilewski Collection, is now in the Hermitage, Petrograd. This latter was formerly in the Meyrick Collection, and is described in Skelton's famous catalogue of that collection (vol. ii, fig. 6). These same riband pattern quillons, though in a more exaggerated form, are found on a beautiful little sword in the Resson Collection in the Bargello Museum, Florence (Fig. 657), the chief attraction of the weapon being the superb quality of the blade enrichment. The field of the blade is darkly blued, and the decoration here takes the form of an elongated cartouche containing a figure subject executed in gold *azziminia* damascening; while the modelling of the figures is cleverly rendered by exaggerating the high lights and leaving the darkened side of the subject somewhat to the imagination. This little sword belongs to the last years of the XVth century.

The tendency of the flamboyant Renaissance to grotesque forms, which to modern taste appear perhaps rather unsuitable for the enrichment of arms and armour, made itself very apparent at the close of the XVth century. There is in the Louvre a curved sword of large proportions, the bronze hilt of which is a striking instance of this feeling (Fig. 658). It has been accepted as being based on a design by Andrea Briosco, known as Riccio, the famous Florentine sculptor of the latter part of the XVth century. Bearded masks in profile constitute the contour of its pommel and the ends to the recurved quillons; while designs of satyrs, masks, trophies of arms, and fruit enrich the scabbard mounts. The true proportions of the hilt are, however, now somewhat obscured by the unsuitable modern grip attached to it. A pommel from just such another sword is in the Salting Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum. If space permitted, we could describe and illustrate quite a large number of fine Italian weapons showing the divers themes employed by the great artists of the early Renaissance in their efforts to elaborate sword hilts. Suffice it to say that the splendid armouries of Vienna, Madrid, Turin, Dresden, and Paris possess fine examples; while in the collections of Mr. W. Riggs, of Mr. Reubell, and of the late M. Édmond Foulc of Paris, of Prince Ladislaus Odescalchi of Rome, and of Major Dreger of Berlin, there are individual swords of this period that will repay the closest scrutiny. The vagaries of form which the Italian bronze sword pommels of these times assumed can be seen in the accompanying illustration (Fig. 659)

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of six examples chosen from the British Museum. The influence of the East upon the weapons of Italy and Spain in the latter half of the XVth century was very marked. Spain, through its long partial occupation by the

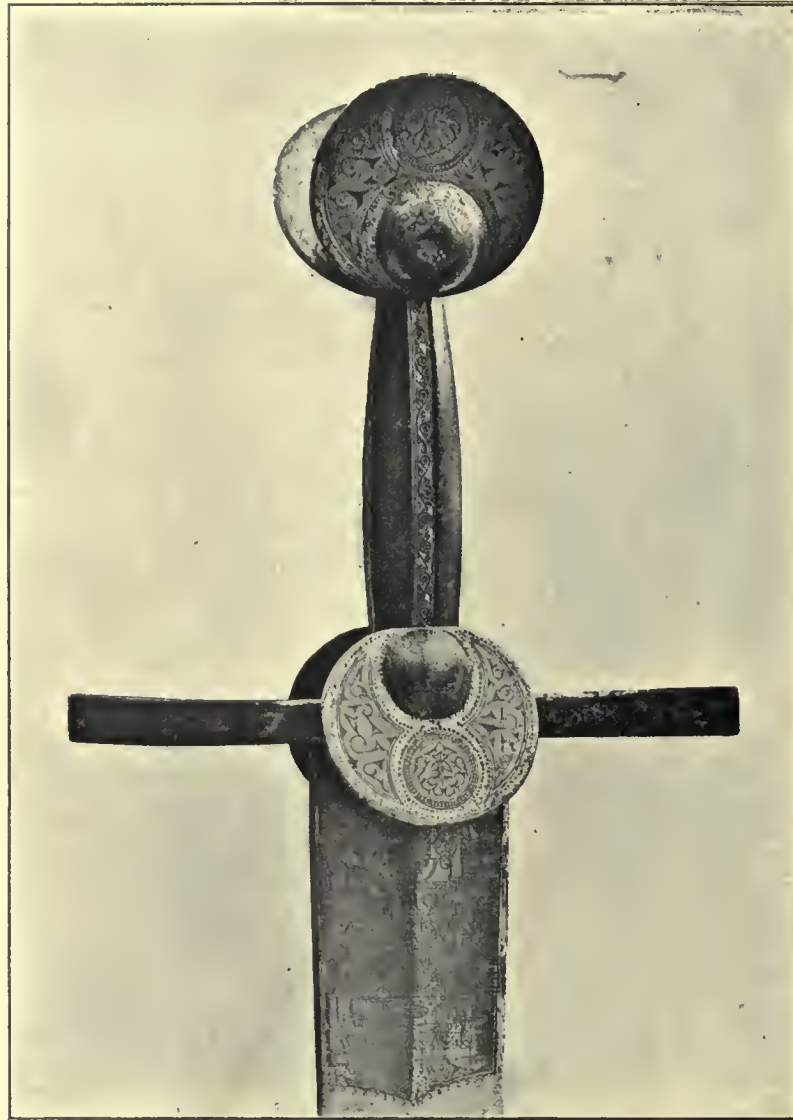


FIG. 660. SWORD

Venetian, late XVth century. Showing a Near Eastern influence in its shape
Collection: Signor Resson, Bargello Museum, Florence

Moors, originated a form of sword almost entirely its own, of which we will speak later. Italy, through its trading port of Venice, accepted readily the innovation of Eastern forms and decoration. Possibly they appealed as the introduction of a new fashion generally does when it is to be applied to

THE SWORD OF THE XVTH CENTURY

personal adornment. The application of semi-oriental decoration to the hilt of a sword is very apparent in the case of that most beautiful sword which is the gem of the Resson Collection in the Bargello Museum, Florence (Fig. 660). Not only is its enrichment semi-Arabic, but the actual formation of its pommel and its unusual grip protection are wholly oriental; indeed, it is the only sword hilt of this particular shape known to us, a shape which appears to be founded on the lines of those fine "ear pommel" daggers (Figs. 824 to 836) that were so readily received into use throughout Southern Europe towards the closing years of the XVth century. So high an authority as Baron de Cosson has declared that in his opinion this Resson sword is the finest weapon from the points of usefulness, perfect balance, and appropriate and restrained decoration that he has ever examined and handled. The pommel consists in two discs set on the top of the grip at an angle, a formation which, though reversed, constitutes the guard drooping over the quillons. The latter are rectangular in section, and slightly curved in a diagonal direction. The blade is of the very finest type—broad, with a central groove, tapering to the point, etched and gilt at the hilt with a beautiful design essentially North Italian in character. The entire surface of the hilt is plated with silver and partly gilt, engraved with a form of ornamentation which, if met with upon some household vessel, would unhesitatingly be accepted as Hispano-Arabian, or even truly Moorish in origin. The vicissitudes in the former history of this most splendid sword are worth recording. It was discovered by a French infantry officer after the Lombardy campaign of 1859 and brought back by him to Versailles where his regiment was quartered. It remained in his possession until his death in 1867. His effects having been sold by auction, the sword was purchased by an art dealer for the sum of one hundred francs. It was almost immediately resold to M. Louis Carrand for the sum of ten thousand francs. Then partly by payment in money, and partly by exchange, it passed into the collection of Signor Resson. It is now, as we have said, in the Bargello Museum of Florence, to which Signor Resson bequeathed it with the remainder of his collection.

helle...
101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000

We give an illustration of another sword of Venetian origin (Fig. 674), which depends upon a similar quasi-oriental theme for its enrichment, but which possesses counter guards. It is dealt with later, on page 297.

* * *

That distinctive type of Hispano-Moorish sword, in which both decoration and shape are essentially Eastern, appeared in its earliest form



FIG. 661. SWORD OF BOABDIL, THE LAST
MOORISH KING OF GRANADA
Collection: Dowager Marquise de Viana, Madrid
Photograph by Laurent y Cia, Madrid



FIG. 662. SWORD
Hispano-Moorish, late XVth century
Presented to the Bibliothèque Nationale
of Paris by the Duc de Luynes

THE SWORD OF THE XVTH CENTURY

towards the close of the middle of the XVth century, and was known in contemporary Spain as *Espada á la gineta*. Such swords are to-day of excessive rarity, and not more than nine complete examples are known. Of those that survive, certainly the finest in existence is that captured in 1483 from Boabdil, the last Moorish King of Granada, after his fall at Lucena. It was taken by an ancestor of the Marquis of Villaseca, who took Boabdil prisoner. In accordance with the code of chivalry of the time, the arms of the conquered king went to the conqueror, and in this case have been kept as heirlooms in the family ever since. The sword which, together with the dagger and velvet robe of the Moorish King, now belong by inheritance to the Dowager Marquise de Viana of Madrid, is a real triumph of exuberant decoration—gold, silver, and translucent enamels all playing their part in its enrichment (Fig. 661). We should not err perhaps if we suggested that the elaborateness of its ornamentation renders it less attractive than some of the simpler specimens of the same type. As a weapon it must assuredly have been of uncomfortable balance; for the grip and pommel appear diminutive in comparison with the width of the blade and with the heaviness of the quillons, which latter droop directly over the blade, their extreme ends curving upwards again and terminating in monster heads. On some of the swords of this type quillons are met with which in their primitive form were fashioned as elephant heads with trunks, but which by degrees, thanks to the fancy of the swordsmith, afterwards took a form in which only the bare suggestion of the elephant shape is discernible. The method of enamelling the sheath and hilt of this famous sword shows a combined process of *cloisonne* and *champlevé* work; the gold groundwork is minutely applied with formal foliage and geometrical designs in filigree.

The sword of Villaseca, for so it is known, is 39 inches long—this includes 12 inches for the hilt. It has been suggested that the blade is not contemporary with the hilt and has been added early in the XVIIth century; for it is of Toledo make, and bears as bladesmith's mark the letter S, a *poinçon* very similar to that used by Alonso Sahagun the elder. We, however, are of the opinion that it may be the original blade; for the other sword, of the same kind, which still exists at Granada, has likewise a blade marked T, denoting the city of Toledo. This coincidence appears to suggest that blades made in that city were preferred by Spaniards; in any case both swords exactly fit their sheaths, which are undoubtedly original.

To resume, the hilt of the Villaseca sword is of solid gold, enamelled in

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blue, white, and red. The decoration runs along the pommel and quillons. The grip is fashioned of ivory carved with great minuteness. Two octagons



FIG. 664. SWORD
Hispano-Moorish, late XVth century. Metropolitan Museum of New York



FIG. 663. SWORD
Hispano-Moorish, late XVth century
Royal Armoury, Madrid



FIG. 665. SWORD
Hispano-Moorish style, but now recognized to be a forgery
Royal Armoury, Madrid

are on each side, with an inscription in semi-Cufic letters, which may be translated, "(May you) obtain your object" on one side; and on the other: "in saving his life."

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Four shields surround the upper parts of the grip, which contain the following inscription in rather illegible characters:

“In the name of God, power belongs to Him; there is no other divinity but He; happiness proceeds from God alone.”

In the lower part, in similar shields, is inscribed:

“Miracles belong to God, for certainly the ignorant do not know God at first, for it is their habit to err.”

On the pommel is the following inscription:

“Say He alone is God, Eternal God, who was neither created nor was engendered.”

Under the pommel, on green enamel, appear the following:

“The only God, Eternal, not . . .”

On the other side:

“Was neither created, nor engendered, and has no equal.”

On a band which appears under the grip, in enamel, is the following:

“God is clement and merciful” on one side, and, on the other side: “God is gifted with the best memory.”

The learned archaeologist and orientalist, Don Pascual de Gayángos, is of opinion that this sword was worn hanging round the neck between the shoulder blades. To the leather girdle, which is still in existence, was probably attached a small bag, *tahali*.

For the admirable description of the hilt of this superb sword, together with the translation of the inscriptions, the present writer is indebted to Señor Juan F. Riaño's work, “The Industrial Arts in Spain,” published for the Committee of Council on Education.

The next most important of this Hispano-Moorish group of swords is that now exhibited in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, to which institution it was presented in 1862 by the Duc de Luynes (Fig. 662). The Duc de Luynes purchased it from a shoemaker in Granada. It bears the motto of



FIG. 666. SWORD, BACK-EDGED
Spanish, early XVth century
Collection: Mr. Felix Joubert

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the Moorish kings of that town, "There is no conqueror but God," so that it is probably a royal weapon. In the Royal Armoury of Madrid is a sword of the same type, but simpler in its enrichment (Fig. 663), which, formerly attributed to Don Juan of Austria, seems actually to have belonged to Cardinal Don Fernando, brother of Philip IV, King of Spain; for at his death it was sent from Milan to Madrid with other armour and weapons that were his property. The mounting of the hilt bears a variation of the text quoted above, "There is no other divinity but God"; the blade, however, is engraved with the arms of John, Duke of Brabant and Limburg, who died in 1427. It is quite possible that the blade may be the original blade made for the hilt, its section and form being quite in keeping with it; but if that is so, the engraved and gilt arms must have been added commemoratively at Brabant late in the XVth century. Another of these swords is now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, having been acquired as part of the Dino Collection (Fig. 664). It used to belong to the Marquis de las Dos Aguas of Valencia, in Spain, and attached to it was the tradition that originally it was the property of Aben-Achmet, the last of the Abencérrages, a family or faction which is said to have held a prominent position in the Moorish kingdom of Granada during the XVth century, and which gave its name to the celebrated hall in the Palace of the Alhambra, this hall being the actual scene of the massacre of the last of the race by their feudal rivals the Zegrís. The decoration of the sword is admirable, the whole scheme, though subdued in colour, being rich in effect. There is a sword of the same type in the collection of the Marquis de Pallavicino in Granada; another belonged until recently to Baron de Sangarren; another, which is now in Germany, used to be in the collection of M. Sanchez Toscano, to whom it is supposed to have descended as a heritage from Ferdinand the Catholic. The Archaeological Museum of Madrid owns an example which formerly belonged to the Moor, Aliatar, Alcade of Loja, and which used to be preserved in the church of that town. A similar sword was formerly exhibited in the Museum, Cassel, but now only its mounts are to be seen in the National Bavarian Museum of Munich. There is yet another sword of the same type in the Madrid Armoury, but showing the primitive elephant-head quillons (Fig. 665). This at one time was attributed to Boabdil; but it has been pronounced to be a forgery, made probably in the first half of the XIXth century to replace the genuine sword which it must be supposed was stolen from the royal collection. An unusual little back-edged sword, which we illustrate (Fig. 666), is interesting; inasmuch as it

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shows the ordinary Northern European wheel pommel of the early years of the XIVth century in combination with the strongly drooping quillons of the Hispano-Moorish type. This sword was dug up near Granada. It is now in the collection of Mr. Felix Joubert

* * *

In the third quarter of the XVth century the plain cruciform hilted sword, which has retained its position persistently throughout the centuries we have traversed, commences to acquire counter guards, which, simple at first, become, with the advance of the XVIth century and the development in the science of sword play, more and more



FIG. 668. SWORD

Probably German, second half of XVth century. Showing a double-grooved back-edged blade. Collection: Author

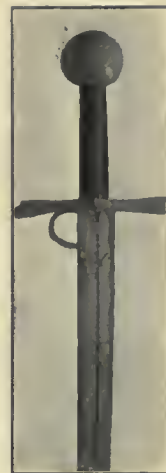


FIG. 667. SWORD

First half of XVth century. With single finger-ring beneath the quillons. Collection: Baronde Cosson

complicated as necessity required. In the earlier part of this chapter we have alluded to the introduction of the single ring through which the forefinger passed which directed the blow or thrust, merely mentioning the date of its first appearance in a picture; but at this stage we think it well to give illustrations of a few actual swords on which the first counter guards figure. The formation of the hilt of the first sword of the kind we illustrate (Fig. 667) would indicate the first half of the XVth century as its date. The pommel, which is hollow, made of four pieces brazed together, is of wheel form, very thin and slightly convex; the quillons are short and straight, widening slightly towards the ends, but showing the introduction of the semicircular guard for the forefinger—in fact the very first counter guard. The type of blade in the hilt, to which it undoubtedly belongs, is also noteworthy; for it has the ricasso, a most unusual feature at this epoch. Now as



FIG. 669. SWORD

Late XVth century. With single finger-ring beneath the quillons
Collection: H.M. the King,
Windsor Castle



FIG. 670. SWORD

Late XVth century. With the single
finger-ring below the guard
Collection: M. Édmond Foulc, Paris



Fig. 670A. SWORD

Early XVIth century
Collection: Mr. W. H. Riggs, Metropolitan
Museum, New York

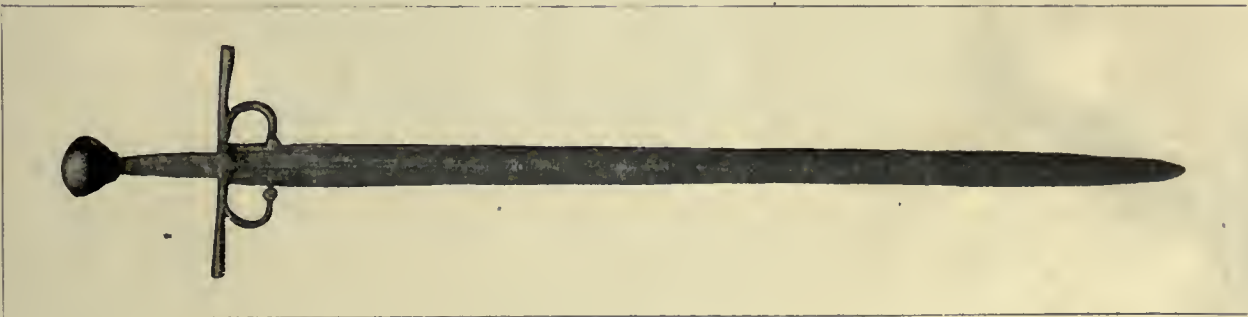


FIG. 671. SWORD

Italian, late XVth century. Showing the development of the primitive *pas-d'âne*
Collection: Mr. Godfrey Williams, St. Donat's Castle

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this sword is dated in Turkish numerals on the blade A.H. 836, which corresponds to A.D. 1432, it is, judged by the Arabic inscription recorded on it, apparently part of the spoil which the Egyptian Sultan El-Melik El-Ashraf (Barsábay) won in Cyprus *c.* 1424. The period of the actual manufacture of the blade must, of course, be reckoned somewhat earlier than the inscribed Turkish date, a circumstance which makes us assign it to the first quarter of



FIG. 672. THE SO-CALLED BATTLE SWORD OF FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC
Royal Armoury, Madrid

the XVth century; whereas if the blade had been found without the inscription and the hilt, we should have been compelled to ascribe it to some date within the XVIth century. This sword then is a highly important piece of evidence showing that this type of blade, grooved and furnished with a ricasso, has a much earlier origin than is commonly attributed to it. The fact that such a blade has been found upon some XVth century weapon has often given rise to doubts as to the genuineness of the whole sword; and the same atmosphere of suspicion is created when the blade (not



(a)

(b)

FIG. 673. SWORD

Spanish, late XVth century

(a) General proportions; (b) Details of the hilt

Collection: Signor Osma, Madrid

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of the falchion order) is back-edged, as in the case of the light little sword (Fig. 668) we illustrate.

There are only five other swords of early date known to us which show this ring as the sole protection for the forefinger:—the first from the Armoury of Constantinople, the second in the Royal Armoury, Turin, the third, of later date, in the Royal Armoury, Windsor (No. 28), the fourth in the collection of the late M. Édmond Foule of Paris, and the fifth in the Riggs collection in the Metropolitan Museum of New York. The hilt of the Windsor

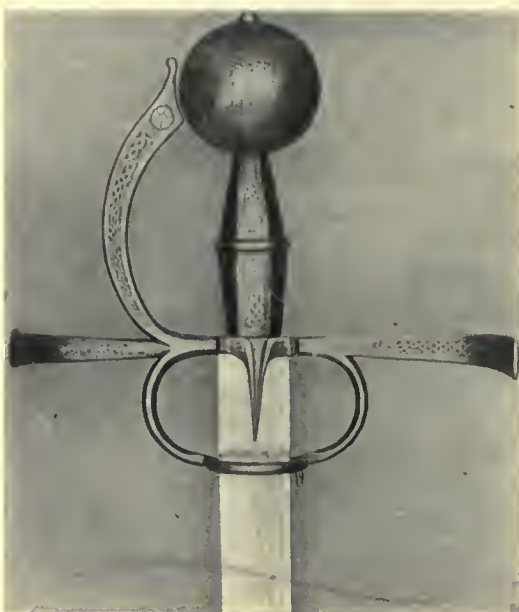


FIG. 674. SWORD

Italian (Venetian), closing years of the XVth or commencement of the XVIth century

Collection: Mr. W. H. Riggs, Metropolitan Museum, New York

sword is probably Spanish and of the second half of the XVth century; the blade, or possibly the etching and gilding upon it, is the work of the XVIth or XVIIth century (Fig. 669). The hilt is entirely of gilt iron. The pommel is fashioned as a short, flattened cylinder, as also is the central portion of the quillons, which are straight, widening slightly towards the ends, and of oblong section; to one quillon is attached a semicircular guard for the forefinger, or single *pas-d'âne*. The XVIth century grip is of plain wood, but was formerly bound with copper wire; the plaited silver wire and "Turk's" heads, still remain at either end of it. The blade, 35 inches long and $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches wide at the hilt, is back-edged in its entire length and

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etched and gilt at the hilt with the arms of Lopez de Zuniga, and the inscription, MARCHIO * RODERICVS . DE BIVAR (the Cid Campeador) on a field etched with small spiral scrolls. There is an unsupported tradition, noted in the Carlton House Inventory, that this sword belonged to Don Diego Ynigo Lopez de Zuniga, the famous warrior and leader against the Moors in the early part of the XIIIth century. Lopez de Zuniga fought in the service of his uncle Don Sancho, King of Navarre, at the battle of the Navas de Tolosa. It was he who broke the iron chains behind which Miramamolín (1194-1234) had entrenched himself, in memory of which feat his shield of arms was augmented by the addition of eight links of a chain, which links are to the present day borne in the arms of the lords of the house of Bexar. It may seem strange that this sword, though bearing the arms of Lopez de Zuniga, should have the name of the Cid Campeador engraved upon it; but sword blades bearing allegorically, so to say, the names of historical personages and heroes of romance are not uncommon. In England in the early part of the XVIIth century the name of Edward the Black Prince was one for the bladesmith to conjure with, and blades inscribed EDWARDVS PRINS: ANGLIÆ are occasionally seen in collections. They of course have no connection whatever with the prince of that name; but are forgeries made in the first part of the XVIIth century to meet the fashionable demand for historical blades. Several blades inscribed ROBERTVS BRVRSCHIVS SCOTORVM REX. are also known in collections; but they again are of XVIIth century make, and like the "Black Prince" blades are pure fabrications. At Hertford House, in the European Armoury of the Wallace Collection, a scimitar (No. 1266) is inlaid in brass with the inscription EDWARDVS: PRINS: ANGLIVE. But far more ambitious is the engraved inscription RODERICVS DE BIVAR upon the blade of the Windsor Castle sword; for the legendary hero of the Spaniards fills the same place in Spanish history that King Arthur occupies in our own,—with this exception, that many facts in the history of the Cid Campeador are fully established. The year of his birth is variously stated, but was probably about A.D. 1040. He died in 1099.

The sword (Fig. 670) mentioned as being in the collection of M. Édmond Foule is a very splendid but late form of the type of hilt seen on the Windsor Armoury sword, with quillons and single ring below the guard. It is of French origin and has inset in the pommel a medallion portrait of Louis XII, the blade, like that of the Windsor sword, being back-edged though trebly grooved. The Riggs' sword (Fig. 670A) is simpler in construction but a fine weapon of about 1500-1510.

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The next development that can be noticed in the evolution of counter guards is the placing of the half hoop at the base of either quillon so as to form what is known in the XVIth century as the *pas-d'âne*, a development to which we have already alluded. It is commonly supposed that the term *pas-d'âne* originated in the resemblance which these two semicircular guards beneath the quillon bear to the footprints made by a donkey's hoof. Littré, however, considers that the name was given to these two bars because they bear a likeness to an instrument known as a *pas-d'âne*, which was inserted into the mouth of a horse to keep it open for examination. In their very early form we see these guards on the little Italian sword in Mr. Godfrey Williams' collection at St. Donat's Castle (Fig. 671). This sword, which we place within the last quarter of the XVth century, has the straight quillon with its simplest double *pas-d'âne*. This form of sword hilt is constantly seen in Italian late XVth century paintings: for instance, many of the soldiers portrayed in Vittore Carpaccio's famous series of paintings, the Life of St. Ursula, now in the Accademia of Venice, are represented wearing such swords. The very beautiful weapon (Fig. 672) in the armoury of Madrid (G 13), known as the battle sword of Ferdinand the Catholic, and reckoned an admirable example of the closing years of the XVth century, shows another combination of the drooping quillon and *pas-d'âne*; here the hilt is of gilded and engraved iron, decorated with ornamentation much in the manner of that of the superb Venetian sword illustrated in Fig. 660. Another sword, with a hilt of the same formation, though apparently a few years earlier in date, is to be seen in the collection of Signor Osma. It was formerly in the collection of Conde de Valencia (Fig. 673). Around both faces of the pommels are these octosyllabic verses in Lombardic letters: PAZ COMIGO NUNCA VEO Y SIEMPRE GUERA [*sic*] DESEO ("Peace with me I never see, and my desire is always war").

Towards the close of the XVth century the knuckle guard makes its first appearance as an additional guard, without which the hilt of no sword of subsequent date seems quite complete. In the fine portraits of the Giorgione and Titian schools, the "town" swords of the nobles represented are nearly always furnished with the knuckle guard; indeed, having now acquired pommel, knuckle guard, quillons, *pas-d'âne*, and counter guards, which naturally varied in degree according to the special use the sword was intended for, this particular kind of sword hilt was never altered in general construction after 1490. Among some of the earliest hilts showing the

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knuckle guard are the Venetian swords that formerly existed by the hundred in the arsenal of Venice. We illustrate one (Fig. 674), which is included in Mr. W. H. Riggs' gift to the Metropolitan Museum, New York, a very beautiful weapon, enriched in the most splendid Hispano-Arabic manner. It will be noticed that it still retains the wheel-shaped pommel, though in a very debased form; it is hollow and flat. The blade of this weapon is back-edged.

* * *



FIG. 675. SWORD

Italian, of what might be termed the "Landsknecht" type
Late XVth century. No. 123, Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue)

In our account of the earliest form of knuckle guard we have given first place to the Italian swords, because these were the weapons on which they were first found; but within a quarter of a century of their introduction, knuckle guards established themselves in favour throughout civilized Europe. Distinctive in style as were the Italian swords, so were those of the Germans



FIG. 676. JUDITH WITH THE HEAD OF HOLOFERNES .

From a picture by Palma il Giovane. Showing the Italian type of
"Landsknecht" sword

Photograph by Anderson. Accademia, Venice

THE SWORD OF THE XVTH CENTURY

and Swiss, the sword armament of the Landsknecht soldiery being particularly individual. In the construction of certain types of sword hilts, Gothic influence, especially in Germany, stubbornly resisted the innovations of the Renaissance, with the result that well down into the first half of the



FIG. 677. SWORD

Italian, of what might be termed the "Landsknecht" type
Last years of the XVth century
Baron Ferdinand Rothschild bequest, British Museum

XVIth century Gothic forms and decorative schemes are continually met with, thereby lending to some comparatively advanced XVIth century weapons the appearance of an earlier type and generation. It is interesting to note that, just as the graceful and flowing lines of XVth century civil costume abruptly disappeared to make way for the florid and robust taste of

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the Maximilian times, so to a certain extent the elegance in line of the swords worn with such costumes disappeared, making way for a series of weapons in which the ratio of breadth to length was greatly increased. There are numerous swords, some short, some long, which from their general similarity of construction must all be classed together; though admittedly it is somewhat difficult to perceive the general likeness at first. In the Wallace Collection, take the swords Nos. 123 and 128. Despite the



FIG. 678. LANDSKNECHT
SWORD

Of a type known as *Hauswehr* or *Kurzwehr*. German or Swiss, early XVIth century

No. 128, Wallace Collection
(Laking Catalogue)

fact that they are of two different provenances—Italian and German—they both come under the general heading of the Landsknecht type. No. 123 is a beautiful weapon, graceful and well conceived, which, though of Italian workmanship, is essentially of German fashion (Fig. 675). With such a weapon is armed the knight in Dürer's famous plate, *Der Spaziergang*, published about 1495. We give a portion of the famous picture by Palma Jacopo (il Giovane) in the Accademia of Venice, which shows the same type of sword in the hands of Judith (Fig. 676), thus affording another illustration of the great difficulty there is in assigning a nationality to a weapon from form alone. Again, a very beautiful example of the Italian version of the Landsknecht sword is in Baron Ferdinand Rothschild's bequest to the British Museum (Fig. 677). This is a sword of similar proportions and form; though the metal gilt pommel ends in a rectangular cup. The main ornamentation of the hilt is found on the flattened octangular silver grip, each facet of which is decorated with nielloed designs, introducing figures of Tarquin and Lucretia, Hero and Leander. The blade has been associated with the hilt at some later date. Upon it are a Solingen mark and the arms of Amsterdam. This weapon may be dated at about 1490-1500. No. 128 in the Wallace Collection (Fig. 678) shows the cap-like pommel and stumpiness that characterize certain other forms of Landsknecht sword. This short form of sword, which is German, or conceivably Swiss, was familiarly called the *Hauswehr* or *Kurzwehr*. We regret that we can supply but two illustrations from English collections of the finer class of Landsknecht sword, such as figures on Swiss painted glass, on carved

THE SWORD OF THE XVTH CENTURY

wood figures, and in the German and Swiss sculpture generally of the last years of the XVIth century. The examples we illustrate are from the collections of Mr. Whawell (Fig. 679) and the London Museum (Fig. 679A). Mr. Whawell's is of the German-Swiss type—a very complete specimen with its sheath, eviscerating knives, etc., of about 1510; that in the London Museum was found nearly forty years ago when excavations were being made on the Thames Embankment. It was brought to the office of the architect, the late Francis H. Fowler, by one William Gooding who was clerk of the works. At Mr. Fowler's death it became the property of Mr. Edward Street by whom it was presented to the trustees of the London Museum in April 1919. A paper on this weapon appears in the "Archaeological Journal," vol. xxxiii, page 92. It is a fine representative weapon bearing on the continuation of its elongated pommel a latten shield charged with the arms of Austria. Considering its long burial in the London clay, it is in an admirable state of preservation. In the *Zeughaus* of Berlin and also in the Zurich arsenal is a splendid series of this same fashion of sword; indeed most of the arsenals of Germany possess fine examples. They are also to be met with in the private collections of that country. We illustrate a fine and very characteristic sword of this type which can be seen in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris. It shows the large and exaggerated S-shaped quillons, the grip swelling towards the pommel, and the broad parallel edged blade with the square blunt end (Fig. 680a). In some instances a knuckle guard is added to the quillon defence.

If it be urged that we should give further details of the almost countless variations that the swords of the Landsknecht class assumed, we can only plead that such insistence on minor details would probably weary the reader. So we will content ourselves with describing and illustrating

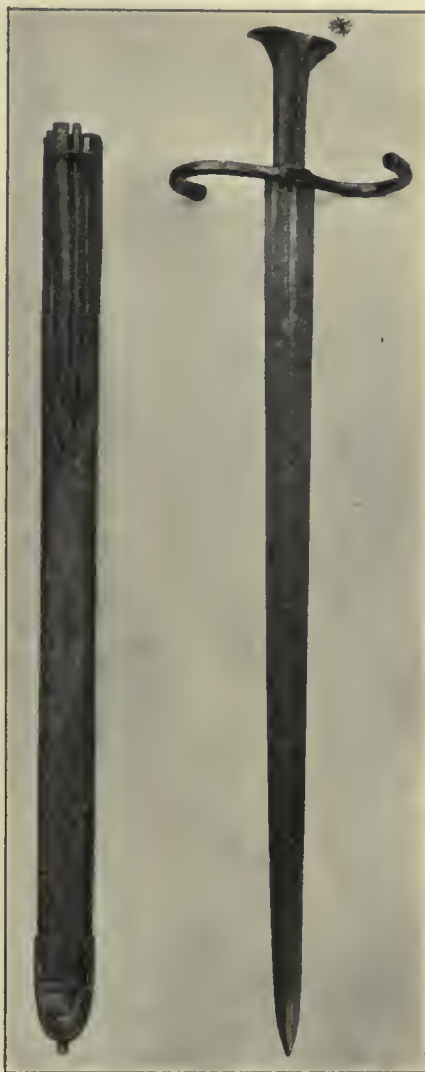


FIG. 679. LANDSKNECHT SWORD
Early XVIth century
Collection: Mr. S. J. Whawell



FIG. 679A. LANDSKNECHT SWORD

Early XVIth century

Found in London

London Museum

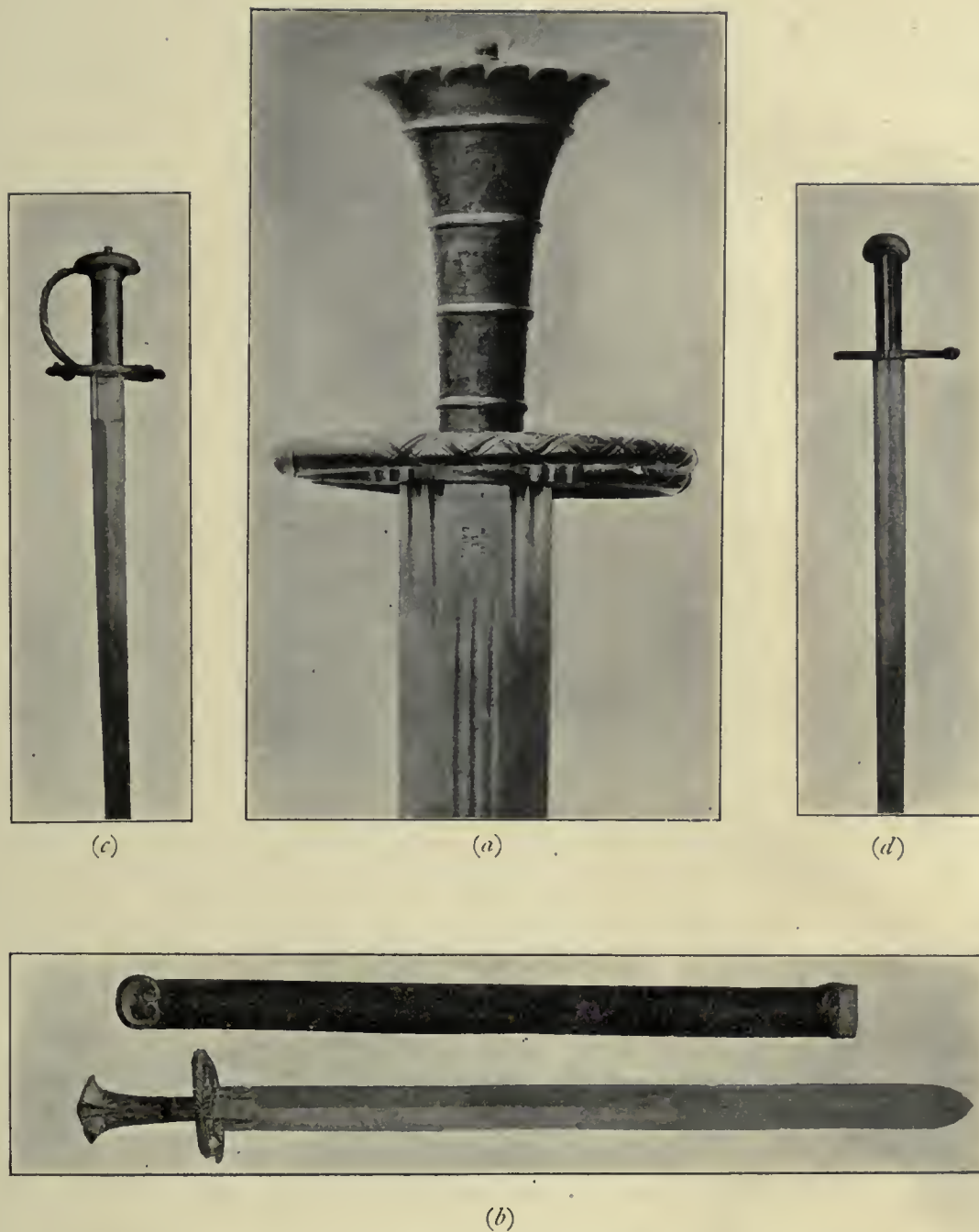


FIG. 680. LANDSKNECHT SWORDS

- (a) German, about 1510. Musée d'Artillerie, Paris
- (b) Of the famous commander, Ulrich von Schellenburg, about 1510. Imperial Armoury, Vienna
- (c) With knuckle guard. German, about 1530. Collection: Baron de Cosson
- (d) Swiss type, about 1500. Collection: Baron de Cosson

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three representative forms. The first, which dates from about 1510, we take from the Imperial Armoury, Vienna, a very complete example with its scabbard, an historical sword indeed, for it belonged to the famous commander, Ulrich von Schellenburg (Fig. 680*b*). The two other swords come from the De Cosson Collection. One (Fig. 680*c*) is of the later German type with the knuckle guard, and dates from about 1530, the other (Fig. 680*d*) is an example of Swiss-Landsknecht type of about 1500. With the exception of the two Italian examples the Landsknecht swords we have chosen for illustration are all of the early years of the XVIth century; but their forms are those of an earlier generation, and that is our excuse for depicting them in a chapter devoted to the swords of the XVth century.

THE SCOTTISH SWORD

OUR list of swords distinctive of XVth century fashion would be incomplete if we did not briefly allude to the *Claidhmhichean mhora*, the true Scottish *Claidheamh-mor* or "two-handit" sword. The claymore, to most persons, suggests the basket hilted weapon associated with the full highland costume of the XVIIth century; but to call such a type of sword the claymore arises entirely from ignorance or from a desire to retain a traditional name. The word *Claidheamh-mor*, from which claymore is derived, comes from a Gaelic double word meaning "great sword," in fact, a two-handed sword. Consequently, this sword has no connection whatever with the basket hilted weapon, the so-called claymore of to-day, which, if it must have a Scottish name, might well be called the *claybeg*. As a matter of fact, the modern claymore is but a descendant of the sword carried in Venice late in the XVIth century by the *schiaconi*, or hired soldiery, a sword which was known as the *schiacona*. This sword had a splendidly contrived hilt fully guarding the hand, and it could be grasped in the manner adopted in the case of all swords of the latter part of the XVIth century. It was much appreciated as a suitable hilt for the sword used in the sword play that early in the XVIIth century was becoming universally popular; with the result that the type was very soon found in use in England. Making its way up north from England—where late in the XVIIth century

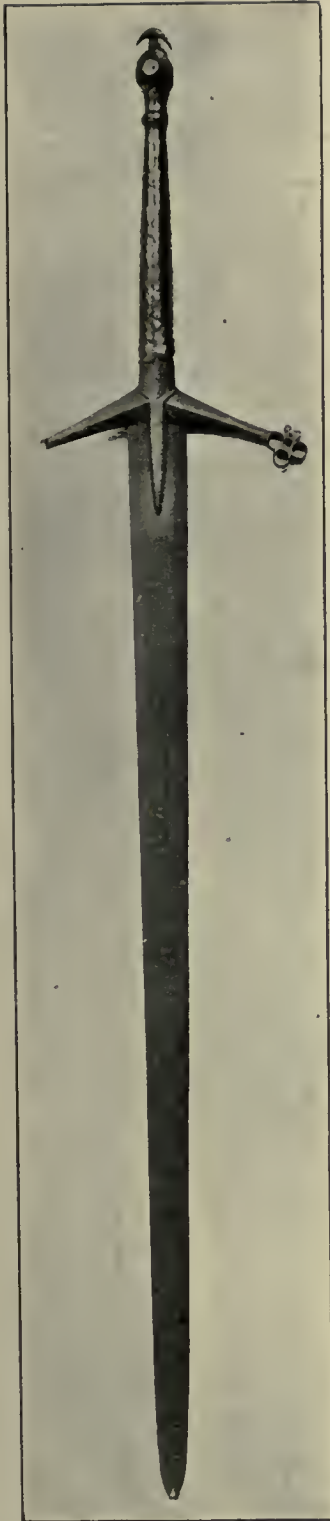


FIG. 681. CLAUDHEAMH-MOR
 Scottish, early XVIth century
 Ex collection Sir Noël Paton,
 Royal Scottish Museum
 Edinburgh

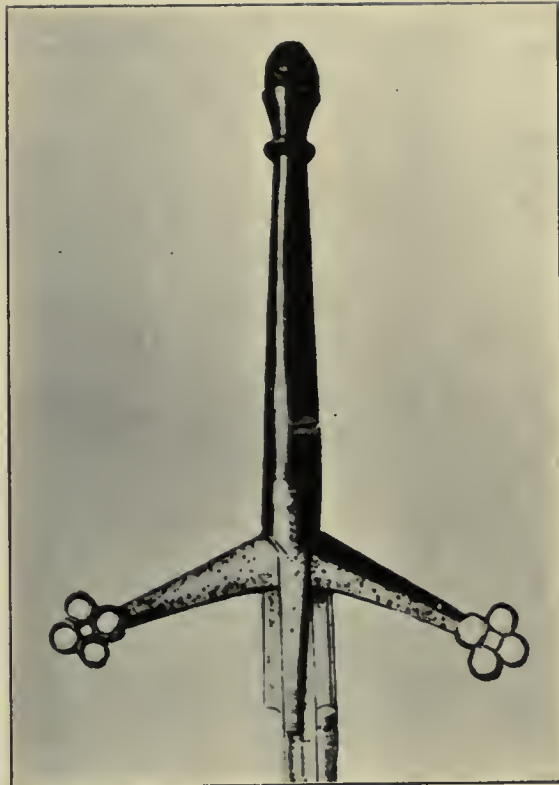


FIG. 682. CLAUDHEAMH-MOR
 Scottish, early XVIth century. Formerly in
 the possession of the Marquis of
 Breadalbane
 Collection: the late Mr. Rutherford Stuyvesant,
 New York



FIG. 683. CLAUDHEAMH-MOR
 Scottish, early XVIth
 century
 British Museum

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it had become practically the regulation cavalry hilt—it found ready favour with the Scots; and from about that period it has remained ever associated with the equipment of the Highlander. Indeed, as every one knows, it is to-day the military regulation sword-hilt of nearly all Scottish regiments. Only those, however, who seek to-day to collect arms of Scottish origin can appreciate the extreme rarity of the true *Claidheamh-mor*, or Scottish



FIG. 684. CLAUDHEAMH-MOR

Early XVIth century
In a private collection,
Perth



FIG. 685. CLAUDHEAMH-MOR

Early XVIth century. The grip modern,
the scabbard XVIIth century. In
a private collection, Scotland

two-hander. We have no hesitation in describing the Scottish two-handed sword of Sir Noël Paton's collection, now to be seen in the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, as the finest with which we are acquainted (Fig 681). It is a grand weapon; indeed, had not one of the quillons been broken, it might well be considered the most perfect specimen of all the *Claidheamh-mor* weapons extant. This sword is numbered 343 in the Private Catalogue of Armour and Weapons of Sir Noël Paton, printed in Edinburgh, 1879.

THE SCOTTISH SWORD

The McLean of Coll "Bruce" sword has lost its pommel; the Cluny Castle sword its grip and part of its blade; the Drummond Castle sword has a new grip; the sword of the Clan Menzies is not of Scottish but of German make; as is also the Clackmannan Tower "Bruce" sword. In fact, nearly all such "great swords" as have achieved fame on account of their historical associations must be looked upon with grave suspicion; for many are not what they seem, while others, judged by their actual age, could not possibly have



FIG. 686. QUILLONS OF A SWORD OF THE CLAIÐHEAMH-MOR TYPE
Smaller proportions, and of the XVth century. Found near the Bank of England
The blade and pommel are associated. Collection: Author

belonged to the heroes to whose ownership they are attributed. The *Claidheamh-mor* belonging to the Countess Dowager of Seafieid is a splendid early XVIth century weapon; as is also that in the collection of Dr. Francis Caird. A very fine specimen used to be in the possession of the Marquis of Breadalbane; but it is now in the Rutherford Stuyvesant Collection of New York (Fig. 682). A good example, though incomplete, is shown in the Godfrey Williams Collection at St. Donat's Castle; while another specimen is on view in the mediaeval department of the British Museum (Fig. 683). We have also

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obtained an illustration of a fine example which is in a private collection near Perth (Fig. 684), and that of another satisfactory specimen which, however,



FIG. 687. SCOTTISH SWORD, THE PROTOTYPE OF THE CLAIHEAMH-MOR

Middle of the XIVth century. National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh
From Drummond's "Ancient Scottish Weapons"

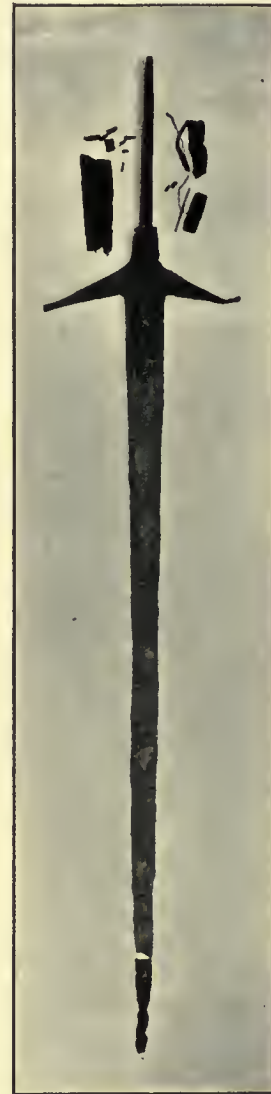


FIG. 688. PORTION OF A CLAIHEAMH-MOR OF SMALLER PROPORTIONS

Mid-XVth century type
Found in the Isle of Skye

possesses a scabbard that must have been made for it early in the XVIIth century (Fig 685). The appearance of this last *Claidheamh-mor* is only marred by its ill-constructed grip. Not one of these, however, attains the robust pro-

THE SCOTTISH SWORD

portions of the Noël Paton sword; for not only are the quillons of the latter fashioned on a large and fine scale, but they retain that central drooping tongue which lies closely over the upper portion of the blade groove. This feature is usually missing in extant specimens of the *Claidheamh-mor*; although those we have illustrated are complete. Upon the blade of the Noël Paton sword is an armourer's mark, a heart with two small longitudinal bars at its base. The grip, which is of pine wood covered with



FIG. 689. CLAI DHEAMH-MOR

Latest type, about 1610. Collection: H.M. the King, Windsor Castle

leather, shows immediately below the pommel that cup-like cavity into which the pommel should sink. In this case the pommel has sunk too far; for it has been driven down on to the top of the grip, splitting it, thus revealing above a portion of the blade-tang, between its upper edge and the riveted finial that should fit arch-like upon the pommel. The original pommel of every genuine *Claidheamh-mor* with which we are acquainted is, like that of the Paton example, of the flattened wheel form; but its proportions always appear too small for the sword to which it is attached. These

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pommels are, however, always very deep in section, indeed, often of the depth of their height. In some cases, they may be seen hollow and composed of two pieces brazed together; but in the case of the Noël Paton sword the pommel is solid. This sword, with the exception of its damaged quillon, is in an excellent state of preservation, never having been subjected to any violent overcleaning. It is engraved in the "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland" of Dr. Daniel Wilson, who, on p. 682, speaks of it with enthusiasm. Sir Noël Paton obtained it from W. B. Johnstone, Esq., R.S.A.



FIG. 690. CLAIÐHEAMH-MOR

Latest type, about 1610. Collection: H.M. the King, Windsor Castle

To trace the evolution of the Scottish *Claidheamh-mor* from the general type of sword prevalent in Northern Europe late in the XIIIth and early in the XIVth century, does not present much difficulty. Early in the XVth century, and possibly before the word *Claidheamh-mor* came into use, it was undoubtedly a single-handed sword of no great length. Indeed, we are able to illustrate a Scottish sword of that date, which curiously enough was found in London near the Bank of England (Fig. 686). Here can be seen the quillon sloping away at an obtuse angle from the grip; while the

THE SCOTTISH SWORD

grip socket and the projecting point over the blade are seen approximating in a rudimentary fashion to those found on the larger swords of the later part of the XVth century. The pommel now seen on the sword does not belong to it; but in all probability the original was of the same general formation, that is to say, was of elongated pear-shaped form. Probably, however, it was multilobed, like that on the sword represented on the famous monumental slab at Keil Knapdale, a type of sword which in its turn was evolved from



FIG. 691. FOUR-QUILLONED CLAIDHEAMH-MOR
Early XVIth century. At Hawthornden, Midlothian. From
Drummond's "Ancient Scottish Weapons"

the mid-XIVth century Scottish form, an example of which can be seen in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh (Fig. 687). This again is a descendant of the true Viking sword. We illustrate portions of an early Scottish sword of the *Claidheamh-mor* type found in the Isle of Skye (Fig. 688). The true Scottish *Claidheamh-mor* was in vogue in the last quarter of the XVth century; but very often it appeared late in the XVIth or early in the XVIIth century provided with secondary guards which were introduced on either side of the quillons in the form of upturned convex cups, as

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seen upon two Scottish swords preserved in the Royal collection at Windsor Castle (Figs. 689 and 690). But in the case of *Claidheamh-mors*, as in that of all swords, however closely we may attempt to group them, there are particular differences in the elaboration of the details which show how personal whims and fancies have obviously been allowed to come into play. Thus the four-quilloned *Claidheamh-mor*, now preserved at Hawthornden, Midlothian, may be mentioned as a useful enough reminder of the eccentricities of some owner or swordsmith of the past. The period of this weapon we should judge to be early XVIth century; but the pommel appears to have been associated with it at a considerably later date (Fig. 691).

CHAPTER XVIII

SWORDS OF CEREMONY IN ENGLAND



BEFORE the author proceeds to give some account of such English pre-XVIth century Swords of Ceremony as are extant, he would like to express his deep feeling of obligation to Sir W. H. St. John Hope, to whose erudite work "The Corporation Plate and Insignia of Office of the Cities and Corporate Towns of England and Wales," he is indebted for the descriptions of many of these swords, and, in several cases, for a knowledge of their very existence. With but few of the ceremonial weapons, of which Sir St. John Hope, from his great archaeological knowledge, has furnished so ample a record, is the present writer personally acquainted. The more readily and gratefully then does he make the fullest acknowledgement to Sir St. John Hope for the latter's great kindness in giving him permission to quote so extensively from the pages of what seems likely to be almost the last word on the subject. The actual illustrations of the swords have been, in most cases, generously furnished by those gentlemen who are responsible for their present custody.

It must be remembered that the sword as a symbol of authority found its place in most ceremonies at a very remote period; in England, indeed, it has occupied such a position ever since the coronation of Æthelred in 978. Such a sword in the earlier times was doubtless a weapon made for fighting, like the Battle Abbey sword (see Fig. 639); but as time went on special swords made expressly for the purpose of ceremony superseded the fighting weapons. So it is that many of our cities and corporate towns possess such swords among the insignia of their official possessions.

Originally in England the mayor's right of having a sword and sword-bearer was very grudgingly conferred, and during the XIVth century only seven mayors received it. In three of these cases, those of Lincoln, York, and Chester, the sword is known to have been a gift of the king himself.

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Newcastle's mayor obtained the right of being preceded by his sword-bearer by special charter in 1391; but as regards the dates on which the mayors of London, of Coventry, and of Bristol acquired this privilege we are left completely in the dark. It may reasonably be assumed that the mayor of London, the capital of the country, was the first civic magistrate to have a sword carried before him; but at what date and in what circumstances he was awarded this distinction records or even tradition fail to tell. Indeed, the earliest evidence extant of the Corporation of London possessing a sword-bearer comes indirectly through the records of a certain mayor of Coventry, who, in 1384, having committed some misdemeanour was condemned to have the sword borne behind him, recovering however the full privilege four years later on the occasion of the visit of King Richard II to the town. It is in this grant of renewal of the honour that we find the first allusion to London's sword-bearer: ET DE NOVO CONCESSIT EIS QUOD MAJOR VILLÆ POSSIT HABERE HOMINEM PORTANTEM GLADIUM CUM ORNĀTU AUTEO CORAM EO *ad modum Londoniensium*.

In the case of Bristol we find that the mayor of that city still has a state sword of the XIVth century, engraved with the arms of Edward III. We may safely surmise therefore that the privilege of having it borne before the head of the Corporation was granted at the same time as the city received the important charter of 1373; though it is to be noted that the charter itself makes no mention of such a privilege.

Richard II is said to have given swords to Lincoln in 1386, to York in 1388, and to Chester in 1394. The oldest of the swords now at Lincoln is probably the one presented by King Richard in 1386. The mayor of York chose the first mayoral sword-bearer in 1388-9, and by charter dated 1396 the king confirmed to the mayor and his successors the honour of having borne before them "*gladium suum eis per nos datum*."

The XVth century saw this privilege largely extended. In 1403-4 Norwich received a sword-bearer charter, Kingston-on-Hull was granted a similar charter in 1440, and Gloucester received hers in 1483. Exeter is also alleged to have been given a sword by Edward IV in 1469, and another by Henry VII in 1497. We know also that in the XVth century the mayors of two others towns, Lynn and Hereford, had the privilege of being preceded by a sword-bearer; but we have no information as to the particular grant or charter by which they enjoyed it.

Three grants only of this kind were conferred in the XVIth century; the first was by charter of confirmation granted to Chester by Henry VII in 1506,

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following upon the gift of a sword by him; the second, a charter granted by Henry VIII in 1546 empowering the mayor of Carmarthen to appoint a sword-bearer to carry a sword before him; the third, a charter of Elizabeth dated 1573, allowing a like privilege to the mayor of Thetford.

During the XVIIth century the mayors of eight more towns received the sword-bearer privilege, viz.: Canterbury (1608), Worcester (1622), Kendal (1635-6), Carlisle (1637), Shrewsbury (1638), Wigan (1662), Yarmouth (1684), and Liverpool (1695).

Salisbury's mayor was granted a sword by Oliver Cromwell in 1656; while about the same period Appleby, Hertford, and Lichfield were each given a sword by a non-official person.

The actual number of swords of state now existing in England and Wales amounts to forty-six, omitting the two swords in the Isle of Man. These swords are distributed amongst thirty-one cities and towns. London and Bristol share with each other the unique distinction of possessing four swords, Lincoln can boast of three; while York, Kingston-on-Hull, Newcastle, Exeter, Hereford, Gloucester, and Worcester each have two. The other towns have to be content with possessing but one apiece.

Inasmuch as swords of state are for ceremony and not for use, they partake more of the nature of property swords than of real weapons. Their hilts are elaborately wrought with silver and are gilt; their scabbards are covered with velvet and adorned with chapes and locketts, which are mostly silver-gilt.

To this custom of the corporation sword being a mere pageant sword, there are, however, notable exceptions. Bristol and Lincoln, for instance, possess superb examples of actual XIVth century weapons; and one of the swords at York is also

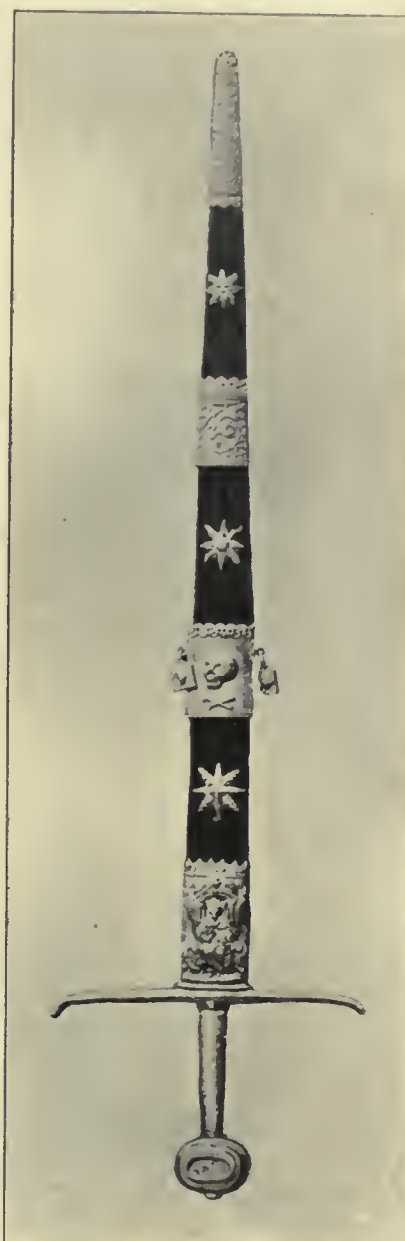


FIG. 692. "MOURNING" SWORD
OF THE CITY OF BRISTOL

Probably dating from 1373
(The quillons have been at some
time put on upside down)

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a true fighting sword. We might even suppose that the sword given by Richard II to the mayor of York in 1388, now missing, was also an actual weapon.

The Bristol and Lincoln specimens are the only XIVth century swords now surviving; but of state swords dating from the XVth century nearly a



FIG. 693. THE OLDEST OF THE SWORDS OF THE CITY OF LINCOLN
Probably dating from 1386

dozen examples are extant. They adhere in their main lines to those of fighting swords of the period; save that the pommels and guards are more or less elaborately wrought, overlaid with silver and sometimes gilt. Good XVth century swords are preserved at Bristol (two), York, Newcastle, Kingston-on-Hull, Chester, and Coventry.

Only four or five XVIth century state swords survive. The finest of



FIG. 694. SCABBARD OF THE OLDEST OF THE SWORDS OF THE CITY OF LINCOLN

This scabbard was made late in the XVIIth century

Collection: the late Mr. Robert Hillingford



FIG. 695. "LENT" SWORD OF THE CITY OF BRISTOL

Early XVth century. With later enrichments to the scabbard

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these is the splendid "Pearl" sword of the city of London. Other good examples are the London "Old Bailey" sword, the Lynn sword, and Sir Martin Bowes's sword at York.

We need pay no particular attention to the five early XVIIth century state swords to be seen respectively at Canterbury, Gloucester, Carlisle (2), and Kingston-on-Hull; though it is but fair to allow that the Canterbury and Gloucester swords are excellent examples of their kind. Of state swords of the second half of this century there are a dozen examples, of which no fewer than nine all follow the same pattern, that of the London "Sunday" sword. They vary in date from 1669, in which year the Shrewsbury one was bought, to 1684, the date of the Yarmouth sword. The Norwich sword is an example of the same style, but has received a new guard.

The later swords call for no special remark.

The oldest sword of ceremony in England is the earliest of the four swords at Bristol known as the "Mourning" sword; there is very good reason for supposing that it was the actual sword given to, or obtained by, that city on the occasion of the granting of Edward III's charter of 1373 (Fig. 692). Its hilt is plated with silver and gilded. It has the depressed wheel-shaped pommel with a sunk panel surrounded by raised roping on either side. One of these bears the device of the city, the ship and water-gate; the other presents two shields side by side, the dexter bearing the Cross of St. George on a diapered field, the sinister showing the arms of England. These sunk panels were originally enamelled. The broad edge of the pommel is chased with foliage. The quillons are straight, drooping at their extreme ends; but after having been repaired they have been put on upside down. The central portion is also a restoration of later date. The grip wrapped with wire is comparatively modern. The blade is double edged and impressed with an armourer's mark.

The next processional sword in date is the earliest of the three at Lincoln (Fig. 693). It is said to have been given on the occasion of the visit of Richard II to the city in 1386, at which time he conferred upon the mayor the privilege of having a sword carried before him on all civic occasions and processions. The pommel and quillons are overlaid with silver, with remains of gilding on the latter. The pommel, the edge of which is engraved with roses and fleurs-de-lis, is of wheel formation, with a secondary small raised disk on each side, encircled by a hollow groove. The groove is enriched with rays similar to those engraved on the monumental effigy of Richard II; while on the small disk are the royal arms between two ostrich feathers. The



FIG. 696. THE OLDER SWORD OF
THE CITY OF YORK

A fighting weapon of the first years
of the XVth century



FIG. 697. THE ONLY SWORD NOW
AT COVENTRY

First half of the XVth
century

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quillons droop slightly at their extreme ends. The grip is apparently old, though like the blade it is of later date, possibly XVth century; the latter bears the running wolf and imperial orb mark. The sword, as now shown at Lincoln, has a modern scabbard of crimson velvet embroidered with roses, fleurs-de-lis, and other designs, mounted with a silver-gilt chape and locket, the latter inscribed: THOMAS KENT, MAYOR, 1685. We add this description of the present modern scabbard of the Lincoln sword despite the fact that it belongs to a period later than we are dealing with; since we are able to record the interesting circumstance, that the scabbard from which it was copied is still in existence, and used to be in the collection of the late Mr. Robert Hillingford (Fig. 694). Its chape mount is lost, but the locket mount is in position engraved on one side, as on the copy, with the name THOMAS KENT, MAYOR, and on the other the date ANNO DOMINI 1685. Although from the design of this chape it might appear to be almost of Elizabethan times, with the inscription added later, there is a maker's mark upon it, the letters G. S. within a shield, which, being a well-known, though unidentified mark, of late XVIIth century date, precludes any possibility of the scabbard being earlier than the latter part of that century. When and why this scabbard was taken from Lincoln and a copy substituted, it would be interesting to learn.

Among the processional swords of the early years of the XVth century is the third, or "Lent," sword of Bristol, so called from its being borne before the judges at the Lent assizes (Fig. 695). The hilt is gilded. The pommel is of flattened wheel shape and has on one side in a circle the arms of England, and on the other the shield of St. George, both of which emblems were originally enamelled. The pommel is further ornamented with scrollwork in which there is at each end of the oval a Lombardic "T" enclosing the letter "M" and surmounted by a crown of three fleurons. The date 1583 and the inscription: THIS × SWORDE × WE × DID × REPAIER × THOMAS × ALD-WORTH × BEINGE × MAYOR have been subsequently engraved round the edge of the pommel. Thomas Aldworth was Mayor 1582-3. The quillons are straight and droop at the extreme ends; they are decorated with engraved leafage.

Next of the processional swords to be considered is the sword at York. It is the older of the two remaining processional swords of the city, a wonderful example of the early XVth century swordsmith's art (Fig. 696).

Exceptional interest attaches to this sword, for it is the one which was hung up, according to custom, over the stall of the Emperor Sigismund, father-in-law to King Richard II, in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, on the

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occasion of his being created a Knight of the Garter by King Henry V in May 1416. On Sigismund's death in 1437 it became the perquisite of the Dean and Canons of St. George's Chapel, Windsor. According to a



FIG. 698. HILT OF A SWORD OF COVENTRY

In all probability the one taken from the city by Edward IV in 1471

The grip and blade restorations

Collection: Author

contemporary record in the archives of the city of York it was given by the Dean of Windsor to one of the canons, "master Henry Hanslap," who, being also a Canon of Howden, Rector of Middleton near Pickering, Yorks, and

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a native of York itself, presented it to that city on 5th May 1439, to be carried before every successive mayor. The hilt is of gilded latten with a faceted pear-shaped pommel, and long, straight quillons tapering towards the ends where they droop downwards. The grip is covered with crimson velvet, and is encircled just above the guard by a silver-gilt ring. The blade, which is double-edged with an accentuated taper, bears as an armourer's mark a Lombardic "I." Its upper half is blued, and etched with the royal arms on one side and those of the city of York on the other. The blade also bears the following inscription on one face: SIGISMVNDI . IMPERAT . DAT . MC . EB' . 1439 .; and on the other: ORNAT . HENRI . MAY MAIOR . 1586. This latter inscription is no doubt a reference to the gilding and blueing on the upper part of the blade. The scabbard of the sword is covered with crimson velvet and decorated on the front face with six silver-gilt dragons.

Various items occur in the MS. annals of Coventry concerning a certain sword of state belonging to that city to which we have already referred on page 312. In 1471 Edward IV came to Coventry, and on account of the adherence of the citizens to the Lancastrian cause a mayor again fell into disgrace, but in this case the King actually took away the sword, and it was not until a payment of 500 marks had been made that the right to have a sword of state carried before the mayor was restored to this town. It is not, however, stated whether the King returned the original sword.

The present sword of state at Coventry is certainly not that about which Richard II, in 1384, gave the command that it should be carried behind and not in front of the mayor; for the weapon must be considered as dating from the first half of the XVth century. It must, then, be a sword made to replace the first state sword granted to the town. The pommel, grip, and quillons of the hilt of the weapon now at Coventry are silver-gilt. The pommel is pear-shaped and somewhat flattened; on either side are circular disks, which are, however, comparatively modern. The quillons are straight and engraved with leafwork (Fig. 697). The grip is a tube of flattened hexagonal section with medial and end bands. On one side are engraved in Gothic lettering the words CIVITAS | COVENTRE, and a decoration of foliage and the arms of the town—an elephant and castle; on the other side, DOMINE SALVŪ FAC REGEM (O Lord, save the King) and leafwork, with figures of the Virgin and Child and a saint. The edges also once bore an inscription—now illegible. The blade apparently belongs to the hilt but is much rubbed. The scabbard with its enrichment dates from the time of the Restoration.

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A most interesting sword hilt that has only recently come to light, a hilt of robust proportions, that may yet reveal its history, is worthy of examination; for from the heraldic evidence which it furnishes it must at one time have been the hilt of one of the civic swords of Coventry (Fig. 698). The medium is latten, formerly gilt, decorated with delicately engraved York roses alternating with King Edward IV's badge of the sun in splendour. The quillons are straight, the extreme ends curling downwards, as in the case of the second Hereford sword (see p. 327, Fig. 704). The pommel, which is also of very similar form to that of the second Hereford sword, is roughly heart-shaped in outline. It has inset on either side engraved silver plaques that have at one time been enamelled respectively with the arms of Coventry and those of England. These, as in the case of the Chester sword, are so placed that only when the sword is held point upwards are they seen in the correct position. Its proportions are certainly those of the fighting sword of the time; but the rather soft hilt medium of gilded latten lends additional weight to the theory of its having been made for purposes of ceremony.

In an inventory of the insignia of office at Coventry made in 1704, there is mention of three swords and four scabbards—but the city now possesses only one sword and scabbard, to which we have referred. We may therefore consider that this newly discovered hilt is from one of the two swords that disappeared from Coventry after

FIG. 699. THE "PEARL" SWORD OF THE CITY OF BRISTOL

Given to the city by Sir John de Wells in 1431. It was formerly thought to have been given by a John Willis, Lord Mayor of London in 1506, but no such person held mayoral office in London at that date.



FIG. 699

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1704; although neither the sword to which this hilt belonged nor the one now at Coventry could have been the sword which in 1384 Richard II ordered to be carried behind the mayor of the town, both being of XVth.

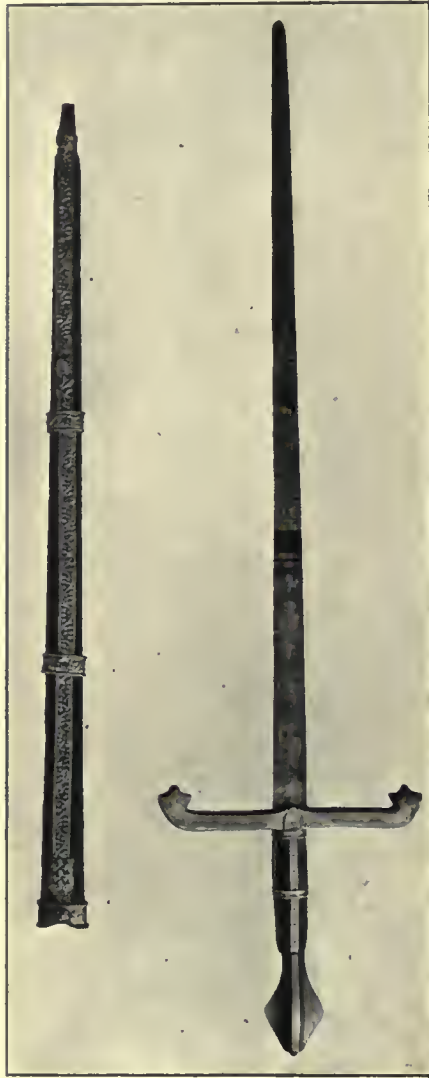


FIG. 700. SWORD OF KINGSTON-
ON-HULL

Into which are incorporated portions
of the sword made in 1440

century date, and not of the period of that monarch. We are of opinion that the sword now at Coventry is of about 1430, and that the hilt in the writer's collection may have been made in 1471 for a sword replacing the one which Edward IV took away; but it may be that this hilt belongs to a sword made about 1481 to replace the 1430 sword stolen during the riots in that year, which was not recovered for some months later.

Once again we return to Bristol to find the next most ancient ceremonial sword (Fig. 699). This is the city's second processional sword, known as the "Pearl" sword, because the sheath is supposed to have originally been richly studded with pearls. No traces of pearls are now visible; but there are portions of silver embroidery on the crimson velvet with which the sheath is covered. This sword was given to the city of Bristol by Sir John de Wells, grocer, Mayor of London in 1431. The blade is apparently the original made for the hilt. The pommel is of flattened pear-shaped form, the quillons straight, plain, and six-sided. At each end of the grip is a shield of arms, that next the quillons bearing those of England, impaling the cross and martlets ascribed to Edward the Confessor, the other showing those of the city of Bristol. Below the former shield and continued above the latter is the inscription:

JON WELLIS OF LONDON GROC' & MEYR
TO BRISTOW GAVE THIS SWERD FEIR

On the other side of the grip is engraved:

W CLEVE

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Across the pommel on each side is a scroll inscribed:

MERCY. AND. GRACE.

What connection W. Cleve—whose name appears upon the grip—had with Bristol, cannot be ascertained: his name cannot be traced in the list of mayors or sheriffs of Bristol.

The existing sword of state belonging to Kingston-on-Hull still retains some interesting portions of the sword made in 1440 (Fig. 700). The hilt is



FIG. 701. SECOND SWORD OF THE CITY OF LINCOLN
Middle of the XVth century

composite, though correct in form. The pommel is of silver-gilt and lozenge-shaped with a central ridge. It is plain, however, and of questionable date. The quillons, which are also of silver-gilt, are certainly original and are rectangular in section, drooping at the ends and spread out lozenge-wise. They are decorated throughout with engraved leafage, and have in the centre, on one side, the arms of England, and on the other side, the arms of the town of Hull. The grip is covered with blue velvet, over which are longitudinal and transverse reeded bands of silver-gilt. The sheath is

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covered with red velvet, with engraved silver mounts. These ornaments are of XVth century date, and probably formed part of the decorations of the sword as originally made in 1440. The blade now in the hilt is of early XIXth century date and unfortunately quite out of keeping with it. Local tradition and history alike assert that this interesting sword was given



FIG. 702. EARLIER OF THE TWO SWORDS AT NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE
Middle of the XVth century

to the town by Henry VIII on the occasion of his visit in 1541; but the evidence afforded by the corporation records, and that derived from an examination of the sword itself, show that it was originally made to order in 1440. In the chamberlain's account for 1450-1 is this entry: "*Solut Johanni Steton pro Nova vagina ad gladium majoris . . . xx.s.*"

The second sword of Lincoln is another fine XVth century weapon (Fig. 701), complete with its original blade—the whole apparently of English



(a)

(b)

FIG. 703. THE "MOURNING" SWORD OF THE CITY OF GLOUCESTER
It is possible that the pommel is from the sword provided in accordance with
Richard III's charter. The additions to it are of various dates
(a) Unsheathed; (b) sheathed

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workmanship. The pommel is pear-shaped and faceted; the quillons, which are enriched with a gilded scroll pattern, are curved, with rounded and drooping terminations.

The earlier of the two swords at Newcastle-on-Tyne is a fine example of a state sword of the middle of the XVth century (Fig. 702). The hilt is that of the original sword, and is of steel plated with silver-gilt. The pommel is of great length (5 inches), of lozenge form, with a deep central groove. Both sides are chased with spirited leafwork and the groove with a slight running scroll. The central portion of the quillon has three deep grooves, being not unlike that of the Chester sword. The arms of the quillons are long and flat, and curved slightly downwards with a sharp curl at the ends; they are chased with a running leaf pattern on either side of the central ridge. It has been suggested that the quillons are of XVIth century date. The blade is apparently one of the XVIth century.

Of the two swords found at Gloucester, the older, now known as the "Mourning" sword (Fig. 703 *a, b*), is possibly that provided in accordance with Richard III's Charter. The quillons, however, appear to be of late XVIth century date; but as the whole hilt is now painted black, it is somewhat difficult to determine that point. We have not seen this sword; but, judged by the illustration, the pommel, either side of which is embossed with a rose, may possibly be the original. The blade, which is of Solingen or Passau manufacture with the running wolf-mark, is probably of late XVIth century date. The scabbard is covered with black velvet, which is embroidered with black silk.

Hereford's second sword, known as the "Steel" sword, and formerly used on occasions of mourning, can be accepted as dating from the latter part of the XVth century (Fig. 704). It is called the "Steel" sword from an idea that the hilt and pommel are of that metal; they are actually, however, of bronze or latten, with traces of the original gilding. The pommel is heart-shaped, with the arms of England on one side, and on the other a shield of the old city arms of Hereford. Both these shields have the spandrels filled with a rose and foliage, and were originally enamelled; slight traces of the colouring still remain. The quillons are flat and curved, with drooping ends. On one side is engraved:—

MAIOR CIVITATIS HEREFORDIE

The grip as well as the blade is Elizabethan. The entire hilt was until recently painted black.

The Chester sword (Fig. 705) is said, on the authority of the Cowper



FIG. 704. SECOND ("THE STEEL") SWORD
OF HEREFORD
Third quarter of the XVth century



FIG. 705. SWORD OF THE CITY OF
CHESTER
Last years of the XVth century

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MSS., to have been presented to the city by Richard II in 1394; but a sword is not mentioned in the Charter which Richard II granted to the city, and certainly the present state sword is not of so early a date. It is recorded, however, that one Hugh Dutton was sword-bearer in 1494, and that the city sword was carried before King Henry VII on his visit to Chester in that same year; so it is possible that the present sword may be that particular weapon, for in formation it corresponds to swords of that



FIG. 706. SWORD OF KING'S LYNN
Early years of the XVIth century

date. It has a lozenge-shaped pommel of silver-gilt, and very largely proportioned drooping quillons in the same medium. Each end of the quillon has on one side a lion's head, and on the other a garb. The grip is of fish skin mounted with longitudinal metal bands. The blade is double-edged, and bears traces of shields of arms engraved diagonally upon it about 12 inches from the hilt; but these are now almost obliterated from repeated cleaning.

With a description of the state sword of King's Lynn (Fig. 706) we bring to a close our history of the late XIVth, the XVth, and the early XVIth

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century processional swords that are to be found in the provincial towns of England. The King's Lynn sword is called the "King John" sword; for a tradition, as can be seen recorded on the quillons, states that the King took this sword from his own side and presented it to the town of Lynn. But, even if the inscription which it bears was not obviously fallacious, the most casual glance at the weapon settles the question of its date—the early years of the XVIth century. This sword, the hilt of which is overlaid with gilded silver, has a pear-shaped pommel wrought in panels chased with foliage. The quillons are straight throughout and are rectangular in section. On one side is inscribed: *ENSIS . HIC . DONVM . FVIT . REGIS . JOHANNIS . A . SVO . IPSIVS . LATERE . DATVM*; and on the other: *VIVAT . REX . HENRICVS . OCTAVVS . ANNO . REGNI . SVO . 20*. The grip is bound with silver wire. The blade, which is probably of Solingen manufacture, has for armourer's marks a crosier and the imperial orb.

In the Abbey Church of Westminster "the sword of Edward III" is shown; it is a monstrous construction of the crudest workmanship (Fig. 707). As he gazes at it, the visitor wonders what sort of men his ancestors could have been to have wielded such a weapon. But this great sword is, after all, nothing more than a sword of state. When it was first made it was possibly imposing enough in its gold paint, velvet, and other decorations; but now it is a poor rusty thing, the make of which is very indifferent. This sword rests in the Confessor's Chapel, together with the interesting shield mentioned (Fig. 586, *a, b*). The proportions of this weapon are as follows. The blade is 5 feet 4 inches long, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide at the hilt. The wooden grip is 1 foot 11 inches long, the quillons are 2 feet and $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch long. The hilt is of the simplest cruciform kind, with long straight quillons of square-shaped section and a large pommel of the faceted wheel form; the blade is grooved, and without a mark or inscription of any kind. The original wooden foundation

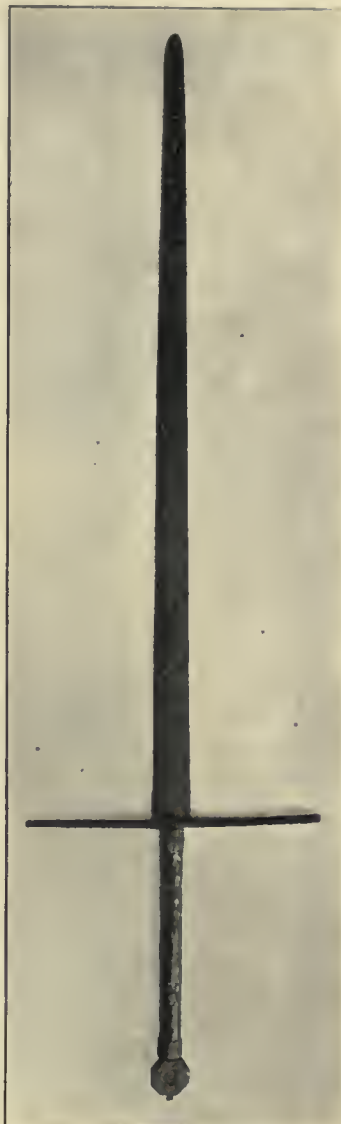


FIG. 707. GREAT SWORD
Second half of the XIVth
century
Called that of King Ed-
ward III
Abbey Church of Westminster

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

of the grip remains, shod at either end with ferrules of iron. This sword has been in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of St. Peter's for many centuries; so perhaps its attribution to the latter half of the XIVth century may be accepted.

In the vestry of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, hangs just such another great sword (Fig. 708), not quite so great in proportion, but just as crude

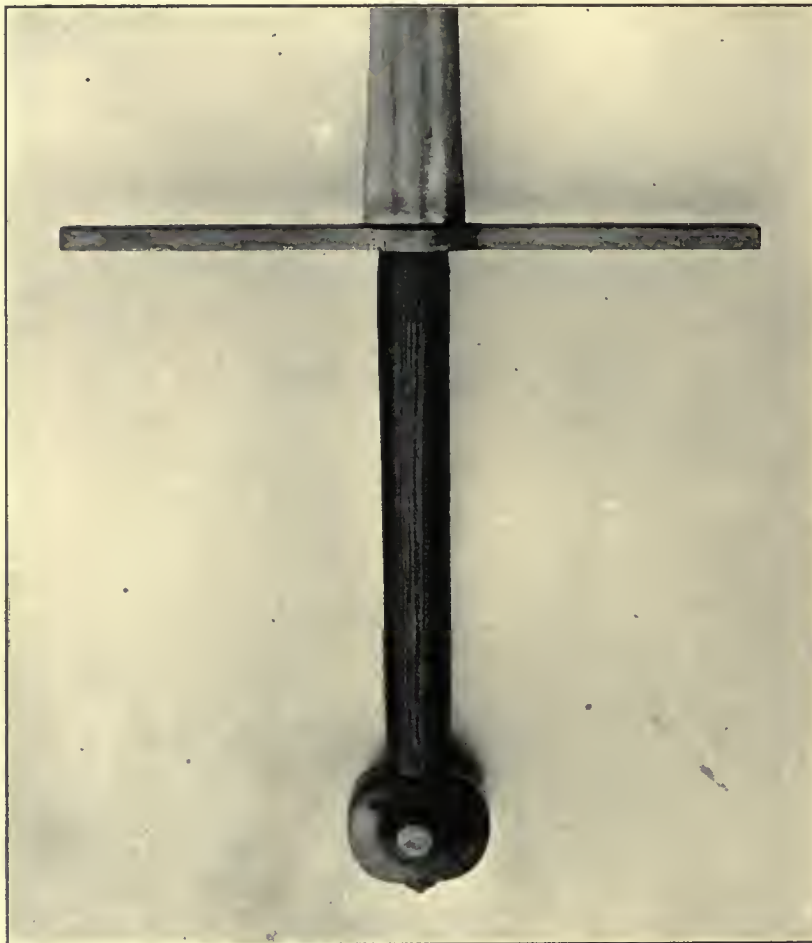


FIG. 708. GREAT SWORD

Second half of XIVth century. Called that of King Edward III. St. George's Chapel, Windsor in make. Its whole length is 6 feet $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches, the blade being $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet 4 inches long and the quillons 16 inches wide. This sword is doubtless that which was suspended over King Edward III's stall in the first chapel of the Order of the Garter, and offered at the high altar on his death in 1377. In the precentor's account for 1387-8 the sword is alluded to:

Item in reparacione gladij Edwardi Fundatoris Collegij xvija.

“ For the repair of the sword of Edward the founder of the College. 17*d.*

SWORDS OF CEREMONY IN ENGLAND

Over two hundred and twenty years elapse, and in 1615 the sword is again mentioned in a treasurer's account: "To Noke, for making cleane the Twoe hande Sworde whiche hangith by K: Edward the 3: picture." Of late years this sword has been subjected to another rigorous but this time ill-advised



FIG. 709. SWORD OF STATE OF THE EARLDOM OF CHESTER (1471-1483)
British Museum

cleaning, which has removed the only feature that could have recommended it from an aesthetic point of view—its patina of age. A grip covered with leather has also been added. The association of the sword with the reign of King Edward III can safely be accepted, as its provenance is well attested and its construction answers to the period. It will be noticed that

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

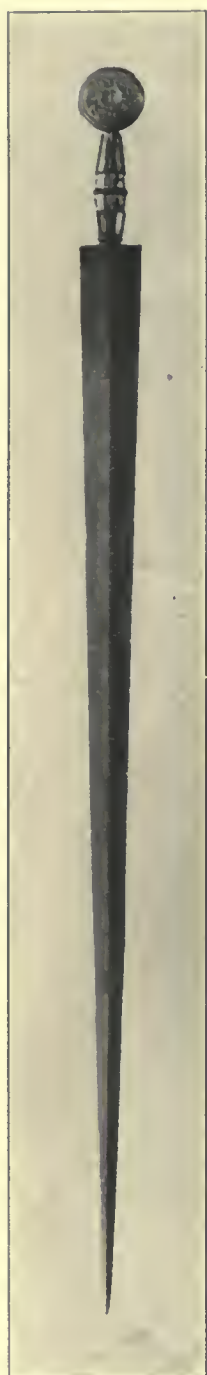


FIG. 710. THE
SECOND CHESTER
SWORD

Late XVth century
British Museum

the pommel is of the flattened wheel form, with the deep centres characteristic of those seen on swords of the latter part of the XIVth century. The blade, which is doubly grooved, bears, as an armourer's mark, a dagger.

For an account of a second and superb sword, which, as we have already stated, formerly hung in St. George's, Windsor, we refer the reader to the description of the city of York's earlier processional sword (Fig. 696) which we have already given.

At the coronation ceremony of the kings and queens of England the sword was ever an important part of the Regalia. Since the coronation of Richard I in 1189 three swords, in addition to the sword of State, have been borne at this great function, and from that time certain nobles have had the privilege of bearing them. The swords are as follows:—Curtana, so called because it was "shortened" by the blunting of its point, hence a sword of Mercy, sheathed; the sword of Justice of the Spirituality, which is obtusely pointed; the sword of Justice of the Temporality, which is sharp at the point; and finally the sword of State. Of these the last alone is actually made use of; being that with which the sovereign is girded after the anointing.

The first of these swords, the Curtana, was formerly borne by the representative of the earldom of Chester, until that earldom was merged in the Crown on the accession of Edward I. In the British Museum are two swords of the earldom of Chester, the finer of the two being a large two-handed sword with a cruciform hilt of copper, once gilt (Fig. 709). In the centre of the grip, executed in *champlevé* enamel and in their proper colours, are the arms of Edward, Prince of Wales, and Earl of Chester (1471-1483). It will be noticed that the achievements are in the correct position when the sword is carried as in a procession, point upwards. In the centre of the octagonal wheel pommel is the Cross of St. George. The British Museum obtained this sword with the original Sir Hans Sloane Collection; but from what source Sir Hans Sloane obtained it there exists no record. It has been accurately

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described in *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. v. The second Chester sword which the British Museum shows is a smaller and possibly a fighting weapon, with an imperfect though very fine hilt of Italian workmanship of the end of the XVth century (Fig. 710). The quillons are missing. It has been suggested that the blade, which is of flattened diamond-shaped section, stiff and tapering to the sharp point, is from the sword of the first Norman Earl of Chester, Hugh d'Avranches (surnamed Lupus) or from that of Hugh Kevelioc, his great-great-nephew, as cut upon it with a graving tool is the inscription: HUGO COMES CESTRIAE. But in the possibility of its belonging to so early a date we cannot believe; for the blade is not of the shape or section of blades of those early times. It is, moreover, quite in accord with the shape of the present hilt. It has a curious evenly rusted surface, a feature which, were its authenticity not assured beyond all ground of suspicion, might justify its being regarded with a certain amount of scepticism. When the quillons of the hilt were lost we are unable to say; but they are described as wanting in an allusion made to the sword in Lyson's *Magna Britannia* (vol. ii, part ii, p. 461) published in 1810. Two years earlier, however, Dr. Gower had made a drawing of the sword for a history of Cheshire; and in this drawing the sword is represented with a cross-guard. But this guard is very crudely rendered; so possibly the drawing of the quillons is but an imaginative reconstruction.

FOREIGN SWORDS OF CEREMONY

SOME of the most superbly decorated swords on the Continent are swords of ceremony. In the armoury of Vienna there are two, once the property of the great Maximilian, both shaped on the lines of fighting swords of the time, but so large that their only use could have been that of ceremony. Possibly the finer of the two (Fig. 711) is that constructed on the general proportions of a German war sword of the latter part of the XVth century. It is splendid in its general lines, and is in admirable condition. The second Vienna sword has many points of interest, possessing as it does the original scabbard and portion of the belt (Fig. 712); it is also of earlier date, and was in all probability the property of the Archduke Sigismund of Tyrol. The construction of this sword is unusual. The diamond-shaped pommel and ends to the quillons are of copper gilt and hollow upon a core of iron; the grip is of horn, with which latter material a portion of the quillons is covered. On one side

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

of the pommel is an enamelled silver shield with the quartered arms of four Nuremberg patrician families, the Spallten, the Welser, the Stromer, and the Amon, and on the other the Agnus Dei as in the case of the arms of the family Brixen. It has been suggested that these plaques are a later addition. Drooping over the blade are mounted rondels much in the fashion of those seen on the fine Venetian sword illustrated in Fig. 660. The blade is formidable, of great width and of flattened diamond section, closely grooved



FIG. 711. ONE OF THE SWORDS OF
STATE OF THE EMPEROR
MAXIMILIAN I
Imperial Armoury, Vienna

at the hilt, where its cutting edges are nearly parallel, and where it is etched and gilt with the Germanic eagle. The silver enrichments of the grip and scabbard still retain a strong Gothic influence.

In the Treasury of the Cathedral of Cologne is a very magnificent State sword, the ceremonial weapon of the electors of Cologne (Fig. 713), which has a silver overlaid hilt and scabbard decorated with the finest German Gothic foliage and with figures in crocketed niches, and which is further embellished with certain enamelled enrichments in the late Rhenish manner.

The sword, which is to be found along with the other Insignia of the Order of St. George in the *Schatzkammer* of the Alte Residenz of Munich, is perhaps the finest enriched ceremonial weapon of the XVth century extant; for not only is its workmanship superb, but it shows the Gothic feeling of the XVth century wholly uninfluenced by that of the Renaissance (Fig. 714, *a, b*). It has up to the present time always been used at the ceremonies connected with the holding of a Chapter of the Order. It is said to have been presented to Duke Christoph of Bavaria by Beatrix, wife of King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary. We should date the weapon at some period between 1476 and 1493. Duke Christoph was the son of Duke Albert, who died in 1460. He was noted for his unusual strength and agility, and for his prowess in tournaments. He went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and died in 1493 on the way home.



FIG. 712. SWORD OF STATE
Once the property of the Archduke
Sigismund of Tyrol
Imperial Armoury, Vienna



FIG. 713. CEREMONIAL SWORD OF THE
ELECTORS OF COLOGNE
Late XVth century
In the Treasury of Cologne Cathedral



FIG. 714*a*. HILT OF THE CEREMONIAL SWORD OF DUKE CHRISTOPH OF BAVARIA
Made at some period between 1476 and 1493
Preserved in the Royal Palace, Munich

FOREIGN SWORDS OF CEREMONY

The hilt and scabbard of this sword are of silver. The upper part of the hilt bears on the pommel the Bavarian and Palatinate arms in blue enamel, also a golden lion on a black enamelled ground. On the lower part of the grip, which is incrustated with rubies, are figures of men and women set in small niches. In the centre of the quillons are the arms of Bavaria and of the Order of St. George. The decorations applied to the quillons, like those on the scabbard, are made of embossed and chiselled silver. The motifs consist of a spray of convolvulus, and of a design of grapes and foliage, playing among the tendrils of which are interspersed monkeys and birds. The ferrule of the scabbard is shaped like a dragon's head, the eyes of which are set with rubies.

The *Schatzkammer* of Munich has another sword of the XVth century which is said to have belonged to the Bishop of Würzburg. The pommel is of red jasper, the grip and sheath being covered with velvet over which is silverwork of admirable design. The quillons, which are of silver-gilt, end in dogs' heads. We regret that we have been unable to obtain a photograph of this fine weapon.

Like this ceremonial weapon, but less elaborate, is the sword preserved in the castle at Stuttgart (Fig. 715). It was presented in 1495 to Eberhard of Würtemberg on the occasion of his being created a duke by the Emperor Maximilian I. The gift of the sword was accompanied by the following advice: "Use it only for Justice, for the protection of the widows and the orphans, for the punishment of wrong." The hilt and scabbard are plated with silver-gilt, the latter enriched with a German Gothic tracery design introducing a shield with the arms of Teck, a proof that Eberhard of Würtemberg received the sword with the gift of the Dukedom, as before that date different arms were assigned to him. The Teck arms also appear in the wheel pommel. The proportions of the hilt are those of the bastard sword; the blade, which is the original, though now much worn, bears the running wolf mark.

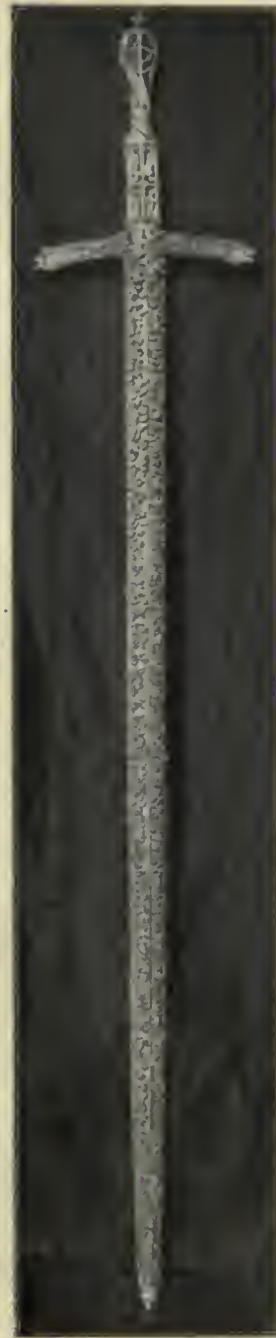


FIG. 714b.
CEREMONIAL SWORD
(IN ITS SCABBARD) OF
DUKE CHRISTOPH OF
BAVARIA

Preserved in the Royal
Palace, Munich

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

In the Imperial Treasury of Vienna are two superb swords of state, the earlier and more remarkable having the grip and scabbard composed of a bisected narwhal horn, which in the XVth century was supposed to be that



FIG. 715. CEREMONIAL SWORD
Presented by Maximilian I in
1495 to Eberhard von Württem-
berg on the occasion of his
being created Duke
Now in the castle of Stuttgart

of the unicorn, and as such held in great veneration as a talisman (Fig. 716). The shape of this sword follows more or less the tapering and gently spiral twist of the horn, and the swordsmith has adapted the silver-gilt and jewelled mounts upon it with wonderful skill; the weapon in general proportions is not far removed from those of the German foining swords of the second half of the XVth century. This remarkable weapon bears the tradition, which may be accepted, that it was originally in the armoury of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy:

The second sword (Fig. 717), in the Imperial Treasury of Vienna, is in the more recognized late XVth century fashion, and is a veritable *chef-d'œuvre* of the swordsmith's art. The foundation of the grip and pommel may be said to have the appearance of a series of mouldings cleverly built up; while around the pommel are shield-shaped facets upon which are represented the arms of the Electors. The blade is most elaborately etched, gilt, and blued, the quillons are spirally twisted and pierced *à jour*; while the surface of the iron hilt is plated with gold, brilliantly blued and russeted to a curious red-brown colour according to the requirements of the design. The whole weapon is in an astonishingly perfect state of preservation, almost mint state in the brilliancy of its colour. It bears the monogram of the Emperor Maximilian I, emblems of the order of the Golden Fleece and of the order of St. Andrew. On the underside of the quillons,

and only to be seen when the sword is unmounted, is the monogram of its maker, "MAISTER M. S. von H." It is a sword of investiture and forms part of the Austrian Archducal Insignia.

FOREIGN SWORDS OF CEREMONY

Three other XVth century swords to be seen in Germany are well worthy of individual mention, the most notable of these being that known as the *Kurbrandenburgische* sword (Fig. 718). This was given to Albrecht Achilles, Duke of Brandenburg, in 1460 by Pope Pius II. From the contemporary account of the sword preserved in the Vatican it is known to have been made by the Florentine goldsmith Simone di Giovanni. For two centuries prior to 1810 this sword was preserved in the *Zeughaus* of Berlin, passing thence to the *Kunstkammer*. In 1857 it was removed to be placed among the crown regalia of Prussia. It has been subjected to much alteration during the XVIth century.

The next sword of importance is what is known as the Hessian sword (Fig. 719). It was given by Pope Innocent VIII to the Landgraf, William I of Hesse, on Christmas day, 1491, on the occasion of his return from the Holy Land. Account books in the Vatican show that it was made either by Hieronymus de Sutri or by Jacopo Magnolino; both of these silversmiths worked for Pope Innocent VIII from 1487 to 1492. The sword is to be seen to day in the Royal Museum at Cassel.

The next ceremonial sword of importance (Fig. 720) is known as the "Pomeranian" sword, and was originally given to the Duke Bogislaw X of



FIG. 716. CEREMONIAL SWORD

Reputed to have belonged to Charles the Bold,
Duke of Burgundy
Imperial Treasury, Vienna

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

Pomerania by Pope Alexander VI (Borgia) on Christmas day, 1497. As proved



FIG. 717. CEREMONIAL SWORD

Late XVth or early XVIth century. From the Austrian Archducal Insignia
Imperial Treasury, Vienna

by the papal accounts in the Vatican it was originally made entirely by the
goldsmith Angelino di Domenico de Sutri. But of his work only the scabbard

FOREIGN SWORDS OF CEREMONY

now remains; for the hilt and blade were re-made in Germany in the second half of the XVIth century. On the receipt of the gift, Duke Bogislaw deposited it in the church of St. Otto in his Pomeranian home; but at a later date moved it to the treasury of his castle. When this particular line of the Bogislaw family became extinct in 1638, the contents of the treasury were inherited by the Duchess Anna, widow of the Duke Ernest von Croy-Havre, and were sent to Stolp. After her death her son, Ernest Bogislaw von Croy, inherited this sword, and on his death in 1684 he left it by will to the Grand Elector of Prussia, who placed it in the *Zeughaus* of Berlin, where it remained until 1810, after which date it found its present home in the Hohenzollern Museum of the castle of Monbijou.

When we enter upon the XVIth century we can mark a culminating point of all that is elaborate in the nature of design and of richness of material, as applied to sword mounting, by illustrating (Fig. 721) that most wonderful sword and sheath, of ceremony and pageant, preserved in the Royal Historical Museum of Dresden, presented to the Duke Maurice of Saxony by the Emperor Charles V at Augsburg on 24 February 1548 to mark the occasion of his being made Elector. Both the whole of the hilt and the scabbard are silver-gilt, embossed and surface-chased with emblematical figures, trophies of weapons and swages of fruit and flowers in the finest German renaissance taste. Little doubt now exists as to the identity of the artist-craftsman who produced this masterpiece of the silversmith's art. It has been recognized from the method of its workmanship, and from the maker's mark it bears, as being the production of the famous goldsmith Lorenz Trunck of Nuremberg (born about 1500, died 1574). The blade in the hilt is probably of Solingen make, and is deeply etched and gilt with



FIG. 718. THE *KURBRANDENBURGISCHE* SWORD

Italian workmanship of about 1460. Since subjected to alterations
Crown Regalia of Prussia



FIG. 719. THE HESSIAN SWORD
 Italian workmanship, made
 about 1490
 Royal Museum,
 Cassel

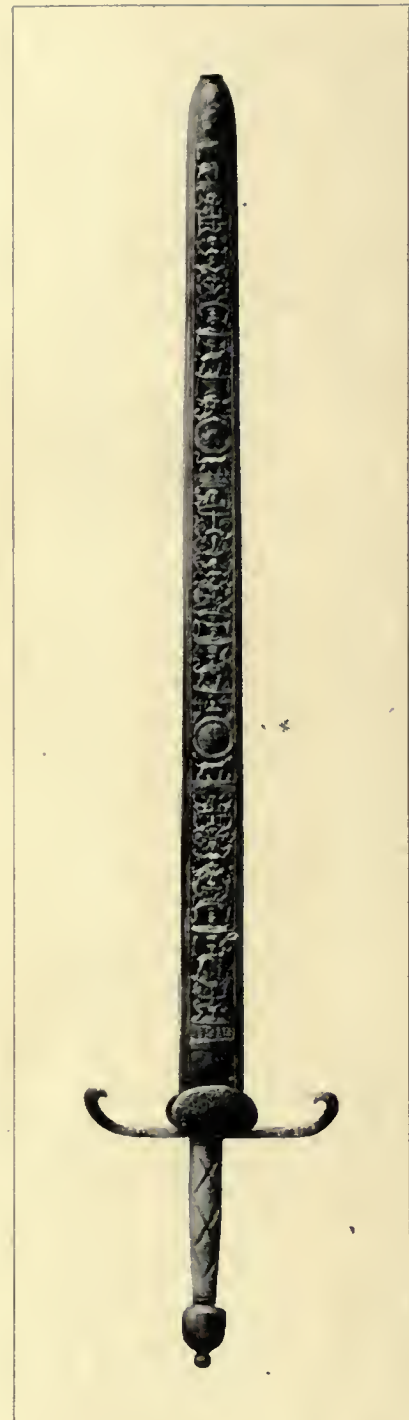


FIG. 720. THE POMERANIAN SWORD
 The scabbard, of Italian workmanship, made
 about 1490, the hilt XVIth century
 Hohenzollern Museum in the
 castle of Monbijou

FOREIGN SWORDS OF CEREMONY

a composition of scrollwork; an inscription records the occasion and date of its gift to the Kurfürst by Charles V. To the scabbard of this most ornate sword is attached its original belt with elaborate buckles, eyelets, etc.

We journeyed to the ancient Hungarian capital—Pressburg—in order



FIG. 721. PARADE SWORD

The work of Lorenz Trunck of Nuremberg. Presented by the Emperor Charles V to Duke Maurice of Saxony in 1548
Royal Historical Museum, Dresden

to examine the enamelled gold-hilted sword presented to the cathedral of that town by Maximilian I, and said still to be in existence; but, unfortunately, we failed in our endeavour to see this weapon. Some mystery seems to surround this sword; for the ecclesiastical authorities obstinately refused to give us any information as to its whereabouts.

The sword of Ferdinand V and of Isabella, preserved in the Royal

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

Armoury of Madrid, No. G 1 (Fig. 722), is one of ceremony. The pommel and quillons are of gilt iron, the ends of the latter being splayed and cusped and inscribed *TANTO MONTA TANTO MONTA MEMENTO MEI O MATER DEI MEI*; while the pommel is pierced with four circular holes that lend it a cruciform appearance. It retains its scabbard of wood which is covered with velvet embroidered with the Spanish shield of arms as changed after the taking of Granada, and with the devices of the two sovereigns, that of Ferdinand, the yoke, that of



FIG. 722. THE CEREMONIAL SWORD
OF FERDINAND V AND ISABELLA
G 1 Royal Armoury, Madrid

Isabella, the sheaf of arrows. This sword is of genuine historical interest; for we find in the *Relación notarial de Valladolid* a description of it which agrees with the illustration of the sword shown in the illuminated inventory of Charles V,—“A wide sword, old, for making knights, with flat pommel with holes and gilded cross.” It is the royal sword which, during the rule of the house of Austria, in accordance with the etiquette of the houses of Castille and of Burgundy, was, in the absence of the Count of Oropesa, “whose privilege it was [to bear it] in Castille and the Count of Sástago’s in Aragon,” carried bare by the chief Equerry of the King on occasions of solemn entries into cities and of Princes taking the oath.

We could describe several other fine swords of ceremony that have both beauty and interest, if our list were not already too long. Such swords are to be seen in the Royal Armoury of Madrid, in the Arsenal of Venice, in the *Museo Civico* of the same city, in the Bargello Museum of Florence, in the Royal Armoury of Turin, as well as in various armouries and certain municipal buildings of France, Belgium, Russia, Germany, and Austria.

We will end our list of swords of ceremony by referring to the splendid processional weapon that was presented by Pope Julius II to King James IV of Scotland in 1507 (Fig. 723), together with a consecrated hat of maintenance, relics formerly kept at Dunnottar Castle but now preserved among the Regalia of Scotland in Edinburgh Castle; and by the mere mention of that

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elaborate though clumsily constructed sword in the Ashmolean Museum, which, though traditionally stated to have been given by Pope Leo X to King Henry VIII, is, however, obviously of considerably later date, the hilt being probably made in the latter years of the XVIth century. The blade of this sword is of still later date (Fig. 724). It is not known when this alleged Papal gift came into the possession of the University.

The hilt of the ceremonial sword included in the Scottish Regalia is of silver-gilt, elaborately wrought; while the pommel, which is somewhat flattened, is decorated on each side with circular garlands of embossed leafwork, within which were originally fixed enamelled plates, now lost. The grip is of baluster form, ornamented with acorns and oak leaves, the badge of Pope Julius II; the quillons consist of two dolphins facing towards the centre and terminating in acorns and oak leaves. Placed between the dolphins, which, it may be noted, have been re-made by a Scottish silversmith, are two leaves, now broken at the ends, which overlap the mouth of the scabbard. The blade, which now measures 3 feet 3 inches in length, has at some time been broken and re-ground. It is double-edged, with a central groove, and has etched on one side the figure of St. Peter, and on the other the figure of St. Paul; while both sides bear the inscription *JVLIVS II PONT MAX N* thinly etched and gilded. The scabbard is of wood, covered with crimson velvet, and ornamented with silver-gilt embossed work; on the



FIG. 723. CEREMONIAL SWORD

Italian workmanship since subjected to alterations
Presented to King James IV by Pope Julius II
in 1507. Royal Scottish Regalia

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chape is an oblong panel with the arms of Pope Julius II, surmounted by the crossed keys and tiara. Between this and the ferrule mount the scabbard is overlaid on both sides with silver-gilt work, wrought with grotesques, acorns, oak leaves, and foliage, and divided into three lengths by two circular medallions. The centres of these were at one time filled with blue enamelled plates, on which have been scratched the name of Pope Julius II; but one of them has been renewed in silver-gilt by a Scottish goldsmith,

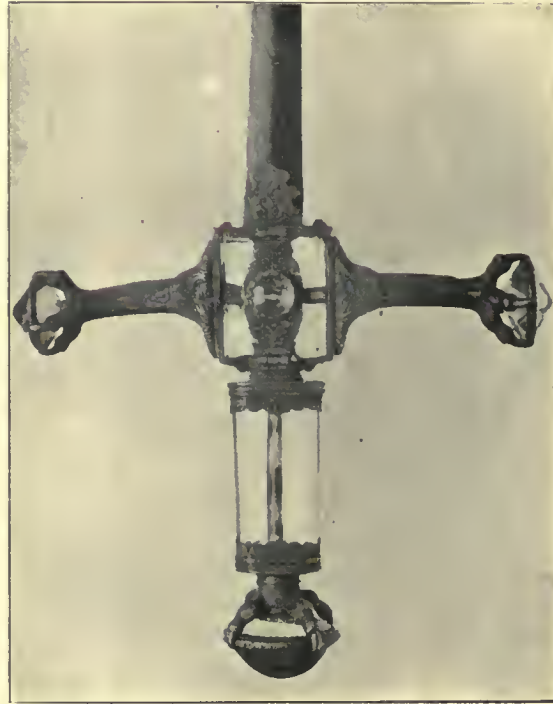


FIG. 724. CEREMONIAL SWORD

By tradition the gift to King Henry VIII by Pope Leo X.
It is, however, of later date. Ashmolean
Museum, Oxford

and the other is so much chipped that all traces of the lettering have been obliterated. The ornamental metal work is in parts now much broken away, and only the central divisions of each side are complete. The dolphins and leafage that form the quillons appear to have been added to the hilt, in place of the original, about 1516, and are the labour of an Edinburgh silversmith, one Matthew Auchinlek. The additional embossed silverwork that appears on the scabbard was made in 1536 by another Edinburgh silversmith, Adam Leis.

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Accompanying the sword there was originally a belt, ornamented in a style similar to that of the scabbard, which does not seem to have been delivered up with the rest of the Regalia after the transference from Dunnottar. This belt was in the possession of Dr. G. Livingston of Ogilvie, a descendant of the Ogilvies of Barras.

END OF VOLUME II



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