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A RECORD OF
EUROPEAN ARMOUR
AND ARMS

VOL. IV

A RECORD OF
EUROPEAN ARMOUR
AND ARMS
THROUGH SEVEN CENTURIES

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

VOL. IV



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CONTENTS OF VOLUME IV

CHAPTER XXIX

ENGLISH ARMOUR OF WHAT WE NOW TERM THE GREENWICH SCHOOL— ARMOUR MADE FOR ENGLAND

	PAGE
A series of suits made for noted Englishmen in the latter part of the XVIth century are believed to be of English work, but the names of the armourers who produced them are unknown—The master-armourer Jacobe—The famous album of drawings, now preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum—The endeavour of certain experts to connect the work of Jacobe with that of the German armourer of Innsbrück, Jacob Topf—The absence of proof of this identification—The author's opinion that all these suits must be classed under the heading of the Greenwich school—The possible reason for the making of the Jacobe album—The complete list of the plates in the album, together with the suits or parts of suits that we are now able to identify—The suits or parts of suits reviewed and illustrated in detail, and as far as possible their histories given—Two suits in the Imperial Armoury of Vienna considered to be the work of Jacob Topf, their dissimilarity in make and decoration to all those we now class under the heading of the Greenwich school	1

CHAPTER XXX

THE LATEST XVITH CENTURY SUITS OF CONTINENTAL MAKE—DECADENT ARMOUR COMMONLY KNOWN AS "PISAN"

A short chapter on that decadent type of continental armour classed under the general heading of "Pisan," so called from the town in Northern Italy chiefly responsible for its large output—The smart but cheap "reach-me-down" armour used throughout the continent in the last quarter of the XVIth century—The make of this particular type of armour varying in quality according to the workshops where it was produced—The master of this particular school, Pompeo della Cesa—Certain suits and half suits that may come from his hand—The richness of the colour effect of the decoration—"Mops and Brooms" engraving—A suit in the Armoury at Malta	77
---	----

CHAPTER XXXI

CLOSE HELMETS OF THE XVITH CENTURY

The close helmet of the XVIth century, its various types, the descendant of the fighting helmet of the grand epoch of the XVth century; the XVIth century close helmet historically considered—The plain Maximilian, the fluted Maximilian, the grotesque

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

Maximilian, the *Landsknecht*, etc.—Many of these types of head-pieces have been described with the full suits referred to in previous chapters—Helmets of the Kolman and Wolf schools—Of the Milanese type—Of the Pompeo della Chiesa school—"Mops and Brooms" decoration—Head-pieces of the Greenwich school—Church helmets—Tilting helmets—The *Escuffa*—The "arming-bonnett" 87

CHAPTER XXXII

THE BURGONET OR OPEN CASQUE

The open helmet termed burgonet, and as to the origin of the name—The evolution of the latter XVth century open helmet into open casque or burgonet of the XVIth century—Apart from those simple helmets worn by the ordinary soldiery, the nationality of nearly every form is more readily recognized by its ornamentation than by its form—Of all types of XVIth century helmets, the burgonets present examples of the most luxuriant adornment—A review of some of the most famous burgonets extant taken under the heading of nationalities, and an endeavour to trace their possible makers—Those of Italian origin from about 1510 to 1600—Those of German origin—Those of English origin from about 1520 to 1600—Those of French origin from about 1540 to 1580 125

CHAPTER XXXIII

MORIONS AND CABASSETS

The open helmet of the XVIth century known as the morion—Its possible origin—Its popularity with all nationalities as an infantry head-piece; like the burgonet often the subject for the richest workmanship—Certain representative examples not grouped in their supposed nationalities, but classed in certain chronological order—The open helmet of the latter part of the XVIth century known as the cabasset—Some rich examples—Their decadence of make and meretricious decoration towards the close of the century, and in the first quarter of the XVIIth century—Leather morions and cabassets 193

CHAPTER XXXIV

ITALIAN, GERMAN, AND FRENCH PAGEANT SHIELDS

The pageant shield of the XVIth century, a medium for the expression of the art of the artist-armourer goldsmith of the time—Often the form of a royal gift—Must be considered rather as an artistic achievement of the armourer—Pageant shields of Italian origin—A few of the most famous extant by the Negrolì, Picinino, and other armourers—Pisan shields—Giorgio Ghisi—Geronimo Spacini—Wooden shields—The rivalry of Germany—Some famous extant German pageant shields—Shields by the Kolmans and Wolf of Landshut—A shield of the Greenwich school—"The Spanish General's Shield"—A group of French pageant shields by an armourer of recognized work but unknown name—A description of all shields by this artist-armourer—The "Cellini" shield at Windsor 218

CONTENTS OF VOLUME IV

CHAPTER XXXV

THE SWORD AND RAPIER OF THE XVITH CENTURY

	PAGE
The development of the sword and rapier during the XVI th century—The simple character of the hilt of the sword in the early years of the XVI th century—The developments in the science of sword-play necessitated a more complicated form of hand defence—The rapier in its earliest form and suggestions as to the derivation of its name—The “case of rapiers”—The first Italian swept-hilted rapiers; some notable examples—The foining sword of contemporary times—The two-handed sword of the XVI th century; some notable examples—The curved sword of the XVI th century, frequently mounted with beautiful decoration—The true “town” sword—Its finest type; some notable examples—The “swept” hilted sword-rapier of the third quarter of the XVI th century, often made with a companion left-hand dagger—Some superb examples—Other types of rapier and sword hilt of the second half of the XVI th century—The Italian type—The Spanish type—The French type—The German type—The English type—The “Spinola” sword—Sword presented to Henri IV—Clemens Horn—The “Heralds’ College sword”—The XVI th century basket-hilted swords—The <i>Schiavona</i> —The Flemish type of late XVI th century—The early XVII th century sword-rapier	260

CHAPTER XXXVI

HAFTED WEAPONS OF THE XVITH AND XVIITH CENTURIES

Hafted weapons in general use from the middle of the XVI th century and onwards—The warlike lance—Lance-heads of the XVI th century reminiscent of knightly days—The highly decorated pole-axes, hammers, and maces—Certain XVI th century maces of historical interest—Derived from oriental forms—The mace becomes the military bâton—A XVII th century form of the pole-axe—The combination hafted weapon—Pistol, combined with mace, axe, or hammer—Doubtless individual whims—The hafted weapons of the infantry, including the glaive, the vouge, the partisan, the ranseur, the spetum, the bill, and the guisarme, now parade arms—The processional glaive and partisan—The highly decorated partisan of the personal guards of sovereigns—The superb partisans of individuals—The boar-headed spear—The linstock—A newly invented weapon of the XVI th century—The pike—Carried at Waterloo—The javelin, now a ceremonial and a sporting weapon	330
---	-----

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN VOLUME IV

FIG.	PAGE
1099. FOUR BREASTPLATES, FROM AN ITALIAN DRAWING. Collection: Monsieur H. Carré	11
1100. GAUNTLETS, FROM THE ARMOUR OF THOMAS RATCLIFFE, EARL OF SUSSEX, K.G. Metropolitan Museum, New York	15
1101. "THE EARLE OF SUSSEX." Jacobe MS.	15
1102. ARMOUR OF ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER, K.G. (1534-88). Tower of London	18
1103. "THE EARLE OF LESSETER." Jacobe MS.	19
1104. THE EARL OF LEICESTER, FROM A PICTURE BY FEDERIGO ZUCCARO. Collection: The Duke of Sutherland	20
1105. PARTS OF THE ARMOUR OF LORD NORTH, LATE XVI TH CENTURY. Tower of London	21
1105A. BURGONET, THIRD QUARTER XVI TH CENTURY. Collection: The Earl of Pembroke	22
1106. "MY LORDE NOR ^{THE} ." Jacobe MS.	23
1107. ARMOUR OF WILLIAM SOMERSET, EARL OF WORCESTER (1526-89). Tower of London	25
1108. ADDITIONAL CLOSE HELMET TO THE SUIT (FIG. 1107). Tower of London	26
1109. PART OF THE SUIT (FIG. 1107). Tower of London	27
1110. PORTRAIT OF AN EARL OF WORCESTER, WEARING HIS GREENWICH SUIT. Collection: The Duke of Beaufort	28
1111. FROM AN ENGRAVING OF A VARIATION OF THE PORTRAIT (FIG. 1110)	29
1112. "THE EARLE OF WOSTER." Jacobe MS.	30
1113. ARMOUR OF SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON (1540-91). Windsor Castle	31
1114. EXTRA PIECES BELONGING TO THE ABOVE SUIT. Windsor Castle	33
1115. "SIR CHRISTOFER HATTONE" (FIRST SUIT). Jacobe MS.	35
1116. ARMOUR OF HENRY HERBERT, EARL OF PEMBROKE, K.G. (1534-1601). Collection: The Earl of Pembroke	36
1117. "THE EARLE OF PENBROUKE." Jacobe MS.	37
1118. VAMPLATE OF THE LANCE, FROM THE MISSING SECOND SUIT OF SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON. Tower of London	38
1119. ARMOUR OF SIR JOHN SMYTHE (1534?-1607). Tower of London	39
1120. ADDITIONAL PARTS OF THE ABOVE SUIT. Tower of London	40

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

FIG.		PAGE
1121.	EXTRA PIECES BELONGING TO THE SUIT (FIG. 1119). Tower of London	41
1122.	"SER JOHN SMITHE." Jacobe MS.	43
1123.	HELMET FROM THE SECOND SUIT MADE FOR SIR H. LEE (1530-97). Tower of London	45
1124.	LOCKING GAUNTLET FROM THE SAME SUIT. Armourers' and Brasiers' Company	45
1125.	BURGONET HELMET FROM THE SAME SUIT. Lifrust-Kammer, Stockholm	46
1126.	BUFFE FOR THE CASQUE, FROM THE SAME SUIT. Lifrust-Kammer, Stockholm	46
1127.	CHANFRON FROM THE SAME SUIT. Lifrust-Kammer, Stockholm	47
1128.	LEG ARMOUR FROM THE SAME SUIT. Lifrust-Kammer, Stockholm	48
1129.	"SR HENRY LEE, MR OF THARMERIE" (SECOND SUIT). Jacobe MS.	49
1130.	EXTRA PIECES OF THE SUIT OF "SR HENRY LEE, MR OF THARMERIE"	50
1131.	PORTRAIT OF COUNT STEN BIELKA, LATE XVIIITH CENTURY, WEARING THE LOST SECOND SUIT MADE FOR SIR HENRY LEE. Nordeska Museum, Stockholm	51
1132.	ARMOUR OF GEORGE CLIFFORD, EARL OF CUMBERLAND, K.G. (1558-1605). Collection: Lord Hothfield	52
1133.	GAUNTLETS BELONGING TO THE ABOVE SUIT. Metropolitan Museum, New York	53
1134.	UNFINISHED MEZEIL, FROM THE SAME SUIT. Tower of London	53
1135.	ADDITIONAL PARTS FOR THE SAME SUIT. Collection: Lord Hothfield	54
1136.	ADDITIONAL PARTS FOR THE SAME SUIT. Collection: Lord Hothfield	55
1137.	"THE EARLE OF CUMBERLANDE." Jacobe MS.	56
1137A.	GEORGE CLIFFORD, EARL OF CUMBERLAND, FROM A MINIATURE. Collection: Mrs. Sotheby	56
1138.	PORTIONS OF A SUIT MADE FOR THE EARL OF CUMBERLAND. Tower of London	57
1139.	PORTRAIT OF THE EARL OF CUMBERLAND, WEARING THE STARRED ARMOUR, FROM A FAMILY GROUP AT APPLEBY CASTLE. Collection: Lord Hothfield	58
1139A.	THE EARL OF CUMBERLAND ON HORSEBACK AT PORTO RICO, 1598, WEARING THE SAME ARMOUR. Engraved by Thomas Cookson	58
1140.	MINIATURE PORTRAIT OF THE EARL OF CUMBERLAND IN THE COSTUME OF THE QUEEN'S CHAMPION, WEARING STARRED ARMOUR. Collection: The Duke of Buccleuch	59
1141.	ARMOUR OF SIR HENRY LEE (THIRD SUIT). Armourers' and Brasiers' Company	60

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN VOLUME IV

FIG.	PAGE
1142. BUFFE FROM THE BURGONET OF SIR H. LEE'S ARMOUR. Armourers' and Brasiers' Company	61
1143. "SIR HARRY LEA, MR OF THE ARMOUR" (THIRD SUIT). Jacobe MS.	62
1144. PORTRAIT OF SIR JAMES SCUDAMORE (DATED 1619)	63
1145. BURGONET AND BUFFE FROM THE ARMOUR OF LORD COMPTON. Metropolitan Museum, New York	64
1145A. THE LEFT ARM OF THE SAME SUIT BEFORE RESTORATION	64
1145B. THE SAME, AFTER RESTORATION BY M. DANIEL TACHAUX	64
1146. THE COMPTON SUIT AS RESTORED. (a) FRONT; (b) BACK	66
1147. PORTION OF THE LEFT ELBOW-COP BEFORE RESTORATION	68
1148. "MY LORDE CUMPTON." Jacobe MS.	69
1149. THE SIR J. SCUDAMORE SUIT. (a) FRONT; (b) BACK. Metropolitan Museum, New York	70
1150. "MR SKIDMUR." Jacobe MS.	71
1151. ARMOUR OF LORD BUCKHURST. Wallace Collection.	72
1152. MINIATURE PORTRAIT OF LORD BUCKHURST. Windsor Castle	73
1153. "MY LORDE BUCARTE." Jacobe MS.	73
1154. SUIT OF ARMOUR, SAID TO HAVE BEEN MADE FOR ARCHDUKE CARL VON STEIERMARK. Imperial Armoury, Vienna	75
1155. SUIT OF HALF ARMOUR BY POMPEO DELLA CHIESA, ABOUT 1590-1600. Metropolitan Museum, New York	78
1156. SUIT OF ARMOUR, NORTH ITALIAN, LATE XVI TH CENTURY. Collection: Stibbert, Florence	79
1157. PORTRAIT OF A KNIGHT OF MALTA, WITH ARMOUR IN THE PISAN STYLE	80
1158. PORTRAIT OF A NOBLEMAN, BY J. SUSTERMANS, WITH ARMOUR IN THE PISAN STYLE. Collection: Dr. Bashford Dean, New York	80
1159. MANNEQUIN IN HALF ARMOUR, OF PISAN TYPE. Collection: Stibbert, Florence	82
1160. PORTRAIT OF J. J. DE VERDELAIN, GRAND COMMANDER OF MALTA. Musée du Louvre	83
1161. SUIT OF ARMOUR MADE FOR THE GRAND COMMANDER, END OF THE XVI TH CENTURY. Armoury of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, Malta	84
1162. BUFFE BELONGING TO THE SUIT (FIG. 1161)	85
1163. HELMET, GERMAN, ABOUT 1515. Collection: Mr. S. J. Whawell	88
1164. HELMET, ITALIAN, ABOUT 1510. Collection: Author	88
1165. HELMET OF GREAT PROPORTIONS, GERMAN, EARLY XVI TH CENTURY. Collection: Author	89
1166. HELMET, GERMAN, ABOUT 1520. National Bavarian Museum, Munich	90
1167. HELMET, GERMAN, ABOUT 1520. National Germanic Museum, Nuremberg	90

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

FIG.		PAGE
1168.	HELMET, GERMAN, ABOUT 1540. National Germanic Museum, Nuremberg	90
1169.	HELMET, GERMAN, ABOUT 1520. Rotunda Museum, Woolwich . . .	91
1170.	HELMET, GERMAN, ABOUT 1525. Burges bequest, British Museum . . .	92
1171.	HELMET, GERMAN, ABOUT 1530. National Bavarian Museum, Munich . . .	93
1172.	HELMET, GERMAN, ABOUT 1525. National Bavarian Museum, Munich . . .	93
1173.	HELMET, GERMAN, ABOUT 1530. Wallace Collection	93
1174.	HELMET, GERMAN, ABOUT 1530. Wallace Collection	93
1175.	HELMET, GERMAN, ABOUT 1515. (a) BACK; (b) FRONT. Metropolitan Museum, New York	94
1176.	HELMET, GERMAN, ABOUT 1530. (a) FRONT; (b) BACK. Metropolitan Museum, New York	94
1177.	HELMET, GERMAN, ABOUT 1540. National Germanic Museum, Nuremberg	95
1178.	HELMET, GERMAN, ABOUT 1520. Tower of London	96
1179.	GROTESQUE VISOR, ABOUT 1520. Burges bequest, British Museum . . .	97
1180.	HELMET (WILL SOMERS'), GERMAN, ABOUT 1515-20. Tower of London . .	98
1181.	HELMET, GERMAN, ABOUT 1515-20. Collection: Prince Ladislaus Odes- calchi, Rome	99
1182.	HELMET, GERMAN, ABOUT 1530. National Germanic Museum, Nuremberg	100
1183.	HELMET, GERMAN, ABOUT 1540 (WITH WINGS ADDED LATER). Tower of London	100
1184.	HELMET, GERMAN, ABOUT 1540. Wallace Collection	101
1185.	HELMET, GERMAN, MADE BY SEUSENHOFER FOR KING FERDINAND, ABOUT 1528. Imperial Armoury, Vienna	102
1186.	HELMET, GERMAN, ABOUT 1530. Wallace Collection	103
1187.	HELMET, GERMAN, BY L. KOLMAN. (a) FRONT WITH RAISED VISOR; (b) BACK. Collection: Mr. F. Joubert	104
1188.	HELMET, GERMAN, OF SPANISH TYPE, ABOUT 1540. Wallace Collection . .	106
1189.	HELMET, GERMAN, OF SPANISH TYPE, ABOUT 1550. Wallace Collection . .	107
1190.	HELMET, ABOUT 1550. Musée d'Artillerie	107
1191.	HELMET, GERMAN, 1550-60. Collection: Mr. S. J. Whawell	108
1192.	HELMET, GERMAN, 1550-60. Collection: Mr. S. J. Whawell	108
1193.	HELMET, GERMAN, ABOUT 1550. Wallace Collection	109
1194.	HELMET, GERMAN, ABOUT 1550-60. Musée d'Artillerie, Paris	109
1195.	HELMET, GERMAN, ABOUT 1570, MADE FOR THE EMPEROR FERDINAND I. Wallace Collection	110
1196.	HELMET, PROBABLY FRENCH, ABOUT 1550. Collection: Author	110
1197.	HELMET, ITALIAN, 1560-70. National Bavarian Museum, Munich	111
1198.	HELMET, ITALIAN, ABOUT 1560-70. Collection: Mr. S. J. Whawell	111

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN VOLUME IV

FIG.		PAGE
1199.	HELMET, PROBABLY FRENCH, ABOUT 1570-80. Musée d'Artillerie, Paris .	112
1200.	HELMET, PROBABLY GERMAN, 1590. Collection: Stibbert, Florence .	113
1201.	HELMETS IN SWINBROOK CHURCH, OXON. (a) ITALIAN FORM, PROBABLY ENGLISH MAKE, 1580-90; (b) ENGLISH, ABOUT 1560-70	115
1202.	HELMET, PROBABLY ENGLISH, ABOUT 1580-90. Stanton Harcourt Church	116
1203.	HELMET, MADE FOR TILTING, GERMAN, ABOUT 1570. Collection: Baron de Cosson	117
1204.	HELMET, FOR FIELD OR TILT WEAR, GERMAN, ABOUT 1560. Collection: Prince Ladislaus Odescalchi, Rome	118
1205.	HELMET, MADE SOLELY FOR TILTING, GERMAN, ABOUT 1560. Wallace Collection	119
1206.	TOURNAMENT HELMETS MADE FOR CHARLES V. Royal Armoury, Madrid .	120
1207.	<i>ESCUFFA</i> (REINFORCING PIECE). Collection: Mr. F. Joubert	121
1208.	TILTING HELMET, GERMAN, ABOUT 1545-60. (a) WITH <i>ESCUFFA</i> ; (b) WITHOUT. Collection: Mr. S. J. Whawell	122
1209.	HELMET, ITALIAN, ABOUT 1570-80 (INSIDE VIEW). Mess of the R.A.M.C., Millbank	123
1210.	FROM MICHAEL ANGELO'S TOMB OF LORENZO DE' MEDICI	126
1211.	BACK VIEW OF THE HEAD OF CELLINI'S PERSEUS. Florence	126
1212.	CASQUE SALADE, LATE ITALIAN, XVTH CENTURY. Royal Armoury, Madrid	127
1213.	BURGONET, NORTH ITALIAN, EARLY XVIth CENTURY. British Museum .	128
1214.	CURIOSLY DECORATED SUIT, WITH BURGONET, NORTH ITALIAN, ABOUT 1510-20	129
1215.	SALADE BURGONET, NORTH ITALIAN, ABOUT 1510. Musée d'Artillerie .	130
1216.	BURGONET, NORTH ITALIAN, ABOUT 1520. Wallace Collection	130
1217.	FROM A DRAWING BY LEONARDO DA VINCI	131
1218.	BURGONET, BY CAREMOLO DI MONDRONE, 1533	132
1219.	REPRODUCTION OF THE ORIGINAL DRAWING OF THE ABOVE	133
1220.	BURGONET MADE BY BART. CAMPI FOR GUIDOBALDO, DUKE OF URBINO .	135
1221.	BREASTPLATE MADE AT THE SAME TIME AS THE ABOVE. Bargello, Florence.	136
1222.	LEFT PAULDRON, PART OF THE SAME SUIT	137
1223.	RIGHT PAULDRON, NOW ASSOCIATED WITH A PICININO SUIT. Metropolitan Museum, New York	137
1224.	BURGONET, ITALIAN, 1560-70. Imperial Armoury, Vienna	140
1225.	BURGONET, PROBABLY NORTH ITALIAN, ABOUT 1540	141
1226.	BURGONET, BY THE BROTHERS NEGROLI, 1545	143
1227.	BURGONET, BY THE BROTHERS NEGROLI	143
1228.	BURGONET, FROM THE SCHOOL OF THE NEGROLI	143
1229.	PART OF A FULL BURGONET, BY ONE OF THE NEGROLI	144

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

FIG.	PAGE
1230. BURGONET, BY ONE OF THE NEGROLI, ABOUT 1530-40	144
1230A. BURGONET, BY THE BROTHERS NEGROLI, PRESENTED TO CHARLES V IN 1534	144
1231A. BUFFE. (a) BUFFE AND GORGET PLATES BY THE BROTHERS NEGROLI; (b) LOWER PLATE OF THE BUFFE, SHOWING THE DATE; (c) THE SAME WITH THE SIGNATURE	146
1231B. RIGHT CUISSARD, FROM A SUIT IN THE MUSÉE D'ARTILLERIE, SHOWING THE MARK OF THE NEGROLI	147
1232. (a) BURGONET, BY PHILIP NEGROLI, 1543; (b) THE SAME, FULL FACE	149
1233. BURGONET, BY PHILIP NEGROLI, ABOUT 1540	151
1234. BURGONET, NORTH ITALIAN, ABOUT 1550	152
1235. BURGONET, NORTH ITALIAN, ABOUT 1550. Wallace Collection	153
1236. BURGONET OF THE MOROSINI FAMILY. (a) PROFILE VIEW. Collection: Mr. J. Widener, Philadelphia	156
1236. (b) THE SAME; FRONT VIEW WITH VISOR RAISED; (c) THREE-QUARTER VIEW WITH VISOR LOWERED	157
1237. BURGONET, BY LUCIO PICININO, MADE BY ORDER OF CHARLES V. Imperial Armoury, Vienna	158
1238. SKULL-PIECE OF A BURGONET, BY L. PICININO. Metropolitan Museum, New York	158
1239. BURGONET, BY L. PICININO, ABOUT 1560	160
1240. BURGONET, BY L. PICININO, ABOUT 1560. Collection: Mr. D. M. Currie	161
1241. TRIPLE COMBED BURGONET, OF THE GUARD OF COSIMO DE' MEDICI, ABOUT 1570. Collection: Mr. D. M. Currie	162
1242. TRIPLE COMBED BURGONET, SOMEWHAT LATER THAN THE LAST	163
1243. BURGONET OF THE GUARD OF POPE JULIUS III, ABOUT 1550. Metropolitan Museum, New York	164
1244. BURGONET, ITALIAN, ABOUT 1580	164
1245. BURGONET, SHOWING THE EVOLUTION IN THE CABASSET-MORION, ABOUT 1580-1600	164
1246. LANDSKNECHT SOLDIERS WEARING THE GERMAN BURGONET, FROM AN ENGRAVING BY HANS SEBALD BEHAM (1500-50)	166
1247. BURGONET, PROBABLY BY L. KOLMAN OF AUGSBURG, ABOUT 1530. Wallace Collection	167
1248. TRIPLE COMBED BURGONET, NUREMBERG, ABOUT 1540	168
1249. TRIPLE COMBED BURGONET, NUREMBERG, ABOUT 1540	168
1250. TRIPLE COMBED BURGONET, PROBABLY NORTH ITALIAN, BUT OF GERMAN FASHION, ABOUT 1540-50. Collection: Stibbert, Florence	168
1251. BURGONET, GERMAN, DATED 1546. Collection: Max Kuppelmayer	169

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN VOLUME IV

FIG.		PAGE
1252.	BURGONET, GERMAN, ABOUT 1560, WITH ETCHED BANDS. Collection: the late Herr Hefner-Alteneck	170
1253.	BURGONET, GERMAN, ABOUT 1580. National Germanic Museum, Nuremberg	171
1254.	BURGONET, GERMAN, 1607. National Germanic Museum, Nuremberg .	171
1255.	BURGONET, POSSIBLY BY JACOB TOPF OF INNSBRÜCK. Musée d'Artillerie .	172
1256.	BURGONET, GERMAN, ABOUT 1570. Imperial Armoury, Vienna . . .	173
1257.	BURGONET, PROBABLY GERMAN, UNDER ITALIAN INFLUENCE, ABOUT 1570. Wallace Collection	174
1258.	BURGONET, GERMAN, BY WOLF OF LANDSHUT. Collection: Mr. F. Joubert	176
1259.	BURGONET AND BUFFE, GREENWICH SCHOOL, LATE XVI TH CENTURY. Tower of London	178
1260.	BURGONET AND BUFFE, GREENWICH SCHOOL. Tower of London	178
1261.	BURGONET AND BUFFE, GREENWICH SCHOOL. Tower of London	178
1262.	BURGONET, WITH COPPER GILT ENRICHMENTS, ABOUT 1600-10. Tower of London	180
1263.	BURGONET, ABOUT 1545. Royal Armoury, Madrid	182
1264.	BURGONET, PROBABLY GIVEN BY CATHERINE DE' MEDICI TO FERDINAND I. Metropolitan Museum, New York	183
1265.	BUFFE, BELONGING TO THE ABOVE. Collection: Mr. W. Newall	188
1266.	BURGONET, PROBABLY FRENCH, ABOUT 1570-80. Musée d'Artillerie . . .	190
1267.	PARADE BURGONET, MADE FOR LOUIS XIV. Metropolitan Museum, New York	191
1268.	MORION, SPANISH, ABOUT 1500-10. Royal Armoury, Madrid	194
1269.	MORION, ITALIAN, 1530-50. Collection: Mr. F. Harman Oates, F.S.A. . .	194
1270.	HAT OF FIGURED BLACK VELVET, LATE XVI TH CENTURY. London Museum	195
1271.	HAT OF SLASHED LEATHER, LATE XVI TH OR EARLY XVII TH CENTURIES. London Museum	195
1272.	CABASSET-MORION, PROBABLY VENETIAN, ABOUT 1553. Wallace Collection	196
1273.	SHIELD TO WHICH THE ABOVE BELONGS. Museo Civico, Bologna	197
1274.	MORION, THE WORK OF L. PICININO, ABOUT 1550-60. British Museum . .	199
1275.	MORION, NORTH ITALIAN, ABOUT 1560-70. Wallace Collection	200
1276.	MORION, PROBABLY GERMAN, ABOUT 1570-80. Wallace Collection	201
1277.	MORION, PISAN SCHOOL, ABOUT 1570-80. Collection: Author	203
1278.	MORION, NORTH ITALIAN, ABOUT 1570-80. Wallace Collection	203
1279.	MORION, NORTH ITALIAN, ABOUT 1570-80. Collection: the late Mr. R. Stuyvesant	204
1280.	MORION, NORTH ITALIAN, ABOUT 1580-90. Musée d'Artillerie	205
1281.	MORION, SOUTH GERMAN, ABOUT 1600. Musée d'Artillerie	205

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

FIG.		PAGE
1282.	MORION, OF THE GUARD OF THE ELECTORS OF SAXONY, ABOUT 1580. Musée d'Artillerie	206
1283.	MORION, AS ABOVE, SHOWING LION'S MASK WASHERS TO RIVETS. Collection: Author	206
1283A.	DAGGER OF THE GUARD OF THE ELECTORS OF SAXONY, ABOUT 1585. Collection: Mr. S. J. Whawell	207
1283B.	HALBERD CARRIED BY THE SAME GUARD. Royal Historical Museum, Dresden	207
1284.	MORION, PROBABLY FRENCH, ABOUT 1580. Musée d'Artillerie	208
1285.	MORION, OF GOLD AND ENAMEL, MADE FOR CHARLES IX OF FRANCE. Louvre	209
1286.	MORION-CABASSET, ITALIAN, ABOUT 1580. Collection: Mr. W. J. Pavver	210
1287.	MORION-CABASSET, NORTH ITALIAN, ABOUT 1570. Wallace Collection	211
1288.	CABASSET, NORTH ITALIAN, ABOUT 1590. United Service Institute, London	212
1289.	MORION-CABASSET, NORTH ITALIAN, ABOUT 1590. Musée d'Artillerie	213
1290.	CABASSET, NORTH ITALIAN, ABOUT 1590-1600. Musée d'Artillerie	213
1291.	CABASSET, ITALIAN, ABOUT 1600-10. Wallace Collection	214
1292.	CABASSET, OF THE GUARD OF THE ELECTORS OF SAXONY, ABOUT 1610-20. Musée d'Artillerie	214
1293.	MORION, OF LEATHER, EMBOSSED, ITALIAN, ABOUT 1590. Musée d'Artillerie	215
1294.	CABASSET, OF LEATHER, ITALIAN, ABOUT 1580. National Bavarian Museum	216
1295.	MORION, OF GILDED COPPER, GERMAN, ABOUT 1610	217
1296.	SHIELD, MADE FOR CHARLES V. Royal Armoury, Madrid	219
1297.	SHIELD, MADE FOR CHARLES V. Royal Armoury, Madrid	221
1298.	SHIELD, BY L. PICININO. Imperial Armoury, Vienna	222
1299.	SHIELD, BY L. PICININO. Wallace Collection	224
1300.	SHIELD, BY L. PICININO, ABOUT 1570. Royal Armoury, Madrid	227
1301.	SHIELD, MADE FOR CHARLES V, ABOUT 1540. Royal Armoury, Madrid	228
1302.	SHIELD, BY GIORGIO GHISI, 1554. British Museum	231
1303.	SHIELD, ABOUT 1560. Imperial Armoury, Vienna	232
1304.	SHIELD, ETCHED IN THE PISAN MANNER, ABOUT 1580. Wallace Collection	233
1305.	SHIELD, AS ABOVE. Collection: Mr. S. J. Whawell	233
1306.	SHIELD, BY GERONIMO SPACINI OF MILAN, ABOUT 1590-1600. Wallace Collection	234
1307.	SHIELD, GIVEN TO CHARLES V BY FERDINANDO GONZAGA, ABOUT 1530. Royal Armoury, Madrid	236
1308.	SHIELD, AS ABOVE. Royal Armoury, Madrid	236
1309.	SHIELD, ITALIAN, OF PAINTED WOOD, ABOUT 1540-60. Collection: Mr. G. Durlacher	237

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN VOLUME IV

FIG.		PAGE
1310.	WOODEN SHIELD COVERED WITH LEATHER, ITALIAN, ABOUT 1560. Metropolitan Museum, New York	238
1311.	SHIELD, GERMAN, BY D. KOLMAN, 1552. Royal Armoury, Madrid	240
1312.	SHIELD, GERMAN, BY M. FRAWENBRYN, 1543. Royal Armoury, Madrid	241
1313.	SHIELD (<i>TABLACHINA</i>), GERMAN, BY M. FRAWENBRYN. Royal Armoury, Madrid	241
1314.	SHIELD, GERMAN, MIDDLE XVI TH CENTURY. THE WORK OF SIGISMUND WOLF OF LANDSHUT	243
1315.	SHIELD, GREENWICH SCHOOL. Metropolitan Museum, New York	244
1316.	SHIELD, "THE SPANISH GENERAL'S," 1579. Tower of London	245
1317.	THE "CELLINI" SHIELD. Windsor Armoury	247
1318.	SHIELD, LOUVRE SCHOOL, ABOUT 1570. Wallace Collection	249
1319.	SHIELD, LOUVRE SCHOOL, ABOUT 1590. Wallace Collection	250
1320.	SHIELD, FRENCH SCHOOL, ABOUT 1570	251
1321.	SHIELD, MADE FOR CHARLES IX OF FRANCE. Louvre, Paris	253
1322.	SHIELD, FRENCH SCHOOL, ABOUT 1570. Louvre, Paris	255
1323.	SHIELD. Royal Armoury, Turin	256
1324.	SHIELD, FRENCH, BY AN UNKNOWN ARTIST, ABOUT 1580. Imperial Armoury, Vienna	258
1325.	SWORD, ITALIAN OR SPANISH, FIRST QUARTER XVI TH CENTURY. Musée d'Artillerie	261
1326.	SWORD, ITALIAN OR SPANISH, FIRST HALF XVI TH CENTURY. Musée d'Artillerie	261
1327.	SHOWING THE CORRECT GRASP OF A SWORD OR RAPIER (TWO POSITIONS)	262
1328.	RAPIER, ITALIAN, THIRD QUARTER XVI TH CENTURY. Victoria and Albert Museum	263
1329.	THRUSTING SWORD (<i>ESTOC</i>), PROBABLY FRENCH, MIDDLE XVI TH CENTURY. Musée d'Artillerie	265
1330.	SWORD, PROBABLY NORTH ITALIAN, MIDDLE XVI TH CENTURY. Musée d'Artillerie	266
1331.	SWORD, NORTH ITALIAN, MIDDLE XVI TH CENTURY. Wallace Collection	267
1332.	SWORD, NORTH ITALIAN, THIRD QUARTER XVI TH CENTURY. Collection: Mr. E. Kennedy	268
1333.	THE EMPEROR-ELECT MAXIMILIAN LEARNING THE USE OF THE DOUBLE-HANDED SWORD. From a woodcut by H. Burgkmair	269
1334.	TWO-HANDED SWORD FOR PRACTISING SWORD PLAY, GERMAN, FIRST HALF XVI TH CENTURY. Ex Londesborough Collection	270

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

FIG.		PAGE
1335.	TWO-HANDED SWORD, ITALIAN, FIRST HALF XVI TH CENTURY. Wallace Collection	271
1336.	TWO-HANDED SWORD AS ABOVE. Collection: Mr. F. Joubert	271
1337.	TWO-HANDED SWORD, HILT PROBABLY ENGLISH, ABOUT 1540. Penshurst	272
1338.	TWO-HANDED SWORD, PROBABLY ENGLISH. Collection: Mr. J. Seymour Lucas, R.A.	273
1339.	TWO-HANDED SWORD, GERMAN, MIDDLE XVI TH CENTURY. Musée d'Artillerie	274
1340.	TWO-HANDED SWORD, HILT GERMAN, MID-XVI TH CENTURY. Musée d'Artillerie	274
1341.	TWO-HANDED SWORD, ORDINARY SWISS TYPE, LATE XVI TH OR EARLY XVII TH CENTURY. Metropolitan Museum, New York	275
1342.	THE PRACTICE OF THE <i>DÜSACK</i> , FROM A COPPER-PLATE BY YOST AMMAN	275
1343.	SABRE AND SCABBARD, NORTH ITALIAN, THIRD QUARTER XVI TH CENTURY. Imperial Armoury, Vienna	276
1344.	SABRE, NORTH ITALIAN, THIRD QUARTER XVI TH CENTURY. Musée d'Artillerie	278
1345.	SABRE, PROBABLY GERMAN, THIRD QUARTER XVI TH CENTURY. Wallace Collection	278
1346.	SABRE, GERMAN, MIDDLE XVI TH CENTURY. (a) UPPER PART; (b) LOWER PART. Bargello	280
1347.	SWORD-RAPIER OF DUKE FERDINAND OF TYROL. Imperial Armoury, Vienna	282
1348.	SWORD-RAPIER, NORTH ITALIAN, MID-XVI TH CENTURY. British Museum	283
1349.	RAPIER WITH "SWEPT" HILT, ITALIAN, THIRD QUARTER XVI TH CENTURY. Musée d'Artillerie	284
1350.	RAPIER WITH "SWEPT" HILT AND DAGGER, PROBABLY FRENCH, THIRD QUARTER XVI TH CENTURY. Musée d'Artillerie	285
1351.	RAPIER WITH "SWEPT" HILT, FRENCH, LATE XVI TH CENTURY. Metropolitan Museum, New York	286
1352.	"SWEPT" HILTED RAPIER. Royal Historical Museum, Dresden	287
1353.	SWORD HILT, <i>ÉPÉE DE RELIGION</i> . Bibliothèque Nationale	289
1354.	DAGGER <i>EN SUITE</i> WITH THE ABOVE. Musée du Louvre	290
1355.	DESIGNS BY HANS MIELICH FOR SWORD, DAGGER, ETC. Collection: the late Herr Hefner-Alteneck	291
1356.	RAPIER HILT, ITALIAN, THIRD QUARTER XVI TH CENTURY. Imperial Armoury, Vienna	292
1357.	RAPIER HILT, GOLD PLATED AND JEWELLED, PROBABLY GERMAN, THIRD QUARTER XVI TH CENTURY. Royal Armoury, Dresden	293

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN VOLUME IV

FIG.		PAGE
1358.	CHAIN-PATTERN RAPIER HILT, THIRD QUARTER XVI TH CENTURY. Collection: Mr. D. M. Currie	294
1359.	CHAIN-PATTERN RAPIER HILT BY SAVIGNY OF TOURS (1578-95). Collection: Baron de Cosson	295
1360.	CHAIN-PATTERN RAPIER HILT. Musée d'Artillerie	296
1361.	CHISELLED STEEL HILT (REPUTED JOHN HAMPDEN'S), THIRD QUARTER XVI TH CENTURY. Windsor Castle	297
1362.	CHISELLED STEEL HILT, LATE XVI TH CENTURY. Collection: Major M. Dreger	299
1363.	SWORD, SPANISH, MIDDLE XVI TH CENTURY. Wallace Collection	300
1364.	PORTRAIT OF PHILIP II BY TITIAN. Prado, Madrid	301
1365.	SWORD HILT, SPANISH, THIRD QUARTER XVI TH CENTURY. Royal Armoury, Madrid	302
1366.	SWORD HILT, SPANISH, THIRD QUARTER XVI TH CENTURY. Collection: Baron de Cosson	302
1367.	SWORD AND SCABBARD, SPANISH, THIRD QUARTER XVI TH CENTURY. Windsor Castle	303
1368.	SWORD HILT, SPANISH, BY SEBASTIAN FERNANDEZ, TOLEDO. Royal Armoury, Madrid	305
1369.	SWORD, SPANISH, THIRD QUARTER XVI TH CENTURY. Collection: Baron de Cosson	305
1370.	SWORD HILT, FRENCH, LATE XVI TH CENTURY. Musée d'Artillerie	306
1371.	CHISELLED STEEL RAPIER HILT, ITALIAN, LATE XVI TH CENTURY, PRESENTED TO HENRI IV BY POPE CLEMENT VIII. Musée d'Artillerie	307
1372.	SWORD HILT AND CHAPE, ITALIAN, LATE XVI TH CENTURY. Collection: Mr. S. J. Whawell	308
1373.	REVERSE VIEW OF THE ABOVE	309
1374.	SWORD HILT, ITALIAN, 1560. Collection: Mr. S. J. Whawell	310
1375.	RAPIER, FRENCH, END OF XVI TH CENTURY. Musée d'Artillerie	311
1376.	DAGGER BELONGING TO THE ABOVE. Wallace Collection	311
1377.	SWORD, GERMAN, END OF XVI TH CENTURY. Musée d'Artillerie	314
1378.	SWORD, ENGLISH, BLADE BY C. HORN, 1617. Windsor Castle	316
1379.	SWORD, ENGLISH, BLADE BY C. HORN, END OF XVI TH CENTURY. Windsor Castle	316
1380.	SWORD HILT, PROBABLY ENGLISH, END OF XVI TH CENTURY. Windsor Castle	317
1381.	SWORD HILT, PROBABLY ENGLISH, END OF XVI TH CENTURY. Collection: Viscount Astor	318
1382.	SWORD. Wallace Collection	319

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

FIG.		PAGE
1383.	HERALDS' COLLEGE SWORD. Heralds' College	320
1384.	SWORD, ENGLISH, EARLY XVII TH CENTURY. Ex Spitzer Collection	321
1385.	SWORD HILT, FROM THE PORTRAIT OF SIR FRANCIS LEIGH, ABOUT 1620	322
1386.	SWORD, REPUTED TO HAVE BELONGED TO HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES. Wallace Collection	323
1387.	SWORD HILT FROM A PORTRAIT OF ONE OF THE FIGHTING VERES, 1618	324
1387A.	SWORD HILT, ENGLISH, EARLY XVII TH CENTURY. Collection: Mr. G. Williams	325
1388.	BASKET-HILTED SWORD, FIRST QUARTER XVII TH CENTURY. Collection: the late Mr. R. Stuyvesant	325
1389.	<i>SCHIAVONA</i> , VENETIAN, XVII TH CENTURY. Collection: Mr. F. Joubert	326
1390.	RAPIER HILT, FLEMISH, EARLY XVII TH CENTURY. Wallace Collection	326
1391.	RAPIER, FLEMISH, EARLY XVII TH CENTURY. Collection: the late F. G. Macomber	327
1392.	RAPIER, FLEMISH, EARLY XVII TH CENTURY. Collection: the late F. G. Macomber	327
1393.	RAPIER, EARLY XVII TH CENTURY. Ex collection: the late Mr. E. Brett	328
1394.	RAPIER, FLEMISH, ABOUT 1620-30. Wallace Collection	328
1395.	WAR LANCE HEADS, FIRST HALF XVI TH CENTURY. Royal Armoury, Madrid	331
1396.	CHISELLED IRON POLE-AXE HEAD, SECOND HALF XVI TH CENTURY. Metropolitan Museum, New York	332
1397.	WAR HAMMER, ITALIAN, SECOND HALF XVI TH CENTURY. Ex Spitzer Collection	333
1398.	PARADE MACE, PROBABLY SPANISH, SECOND QUARTER XVI TH CENTURY. Metropolitan Museum, New York	333
1399.	PARADE MACE, PROBABLY SPANISH, SECOND QUARTER XVI TH CENTURY. Musée d'Artillerie	334
1400.	PARADE MACE, PROBABLY FRENCH, SECOND HALF XVI TH CENTURY. Musée d'Artillerie	334
1401.	PARADE MACE, ITALIAN, SECOND HALF XVI TH CENTURY. Wallace Collection	336
1402.	THREE MACES, MIDDLE XVI TH CENTURY. (a) ITALIAN. Collection: Author. (b) PROBABLY FRENCH. Metropolitan Museum, New York. (c) PROBABLY SPANISH. Collection: Author	337
1403.	MACE, NORTH ITALIAN, LATE XVI TH CENTURY, LIKE INDIAN <i>GARGAZ</i> . Wallace Collection	338
1404.	MACE, SIMILAR TO ABOVE. Musée d'Artillerie	338
1405.	COMMANDER'S BATON, SPANISH, LATE XVI TH CENTURY. Wallace Collection	338

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN VOLUME IV

FIG.		PAGE
1406.	POLE-AXE, EARLY XVII TH CENTURY. Metropolitan Museum, New York	339
1407.	MACE, WITH PISTOL ATTACHED TO HAFT, SECOND HALF XVI TH CENTURY. Musée d'Artillerie	339
1408.	MACE, WITH PISTOL ATTACHED, ITALIAN, SECOND HALF XVI TH CENTURY. Tower of London	341
1409.	MACE, WITH HIDDEN PISTOL, ITALIAN, LATE XVI TH CENTURY. Musée d'Artillerie	341
1410.	WAR HAMMER, WITH FIVE CONCEALED BARRELS, FRENCH, XVII TH CENTURY. Tower of London	342
1411.	PROCESSIONAL GLAIVE, CARRIED BY POPE'S GUARD, 1605-21. Wallace Collection	343
1412.	PROCESSIONAL PARTISAN OF THE POLISH GUARD OF AUGUSTUS II. Wallace Collection	343
1413.	PROCESSIONAL PARTISAN OF THE GUARD OF THE ELECTOR OF BAVARIA, 1677. Musée d'Artillerie	345
1414.	PROCESSIONAL PARTISAN OF THE GUARD OF LOUIS XIV, ABOUT 1680. Wallace Collection	345
1415.	CEREMONIAL PARTISAN, PROBABLY GERMAN, END OF XVI TH CENTURY. Ex Spitzer Collection	346
1416.	PARTISAN, FRENCH, EARLY XVII TH CENTURY. Windsor Castle	346
1417.	PROCESSIONAL PARTISAN, PROBABLY ENGLISH, ABOUT 1600. Collection: Author	347
1418.	PROCESSIONAL PARTISAN, PROBABLY FRENCH, ABOUT 1610. Wallace Col- lection	348
1419.	HALBERDS. (a) GERMAN, ABOUT 1580, OF THE GUARD OF THE ELECTORS OF SAXONY. Wallace Collection; (b) GERMAN, ABOUT 1580. Ex Spitzer Collection; (c) GERMAN, ABOUT 1600. Musée d'Artillerie; (d) PROBABLY FRENCH, ABOUT 1590. Musée d'Artillerie; (e) GERMAN, 1593. Metro- politan Museum, New York	349
1420.	BOAR-SPEAR HEAD, MILANESE, ABOUT 1580-90. British Museum	350
1421.	BOAR-SPEAR HEAD, MILANESE, ABOUT 1580-90. Imperial Armoury, Vienna	350
1422.	BOAR-SPEAR HEAD, ITALIAN, ABOUT 1590-1600. Wallace Collection	351
1423.	LINSTOCK HEAD, ITALIAN, LATE XVI TH CENTURY. Metropolitan Museum, New York	352

ERRATA

Page 145, line 13, *for* "Fig. 1231a" *read*
"Fig. 1231A."

Page 145, line 28, *for* "Fig. 1231b" *read*
"Fig. 1231B."

Page 146, *for* "FIG. 1231" *read* "FIG.
1231A," *and transpose the letters* "(b)"
and "(c)."

A RECORD OF
EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS
THROUGH SEVEN CENTURIES

CHAPTER XXIX

ENGLISH ARMOUR OF WHAT WE NOW TERM THE GREENWICH SCHOOL.—
ARMOUR MADE FOR ENGLAND



THE time has now arrived in our chronological review of the complete suits of the XVIth century to describe a series of harnesses which we believe were made at the Greenwich Armoury, established about the year 1511 by Henry VIII, three years before Conrad Seusenhofer came over to England at the command of Maximilian I to add the finishing strokes to his masterpieces which Maximilian was presenting to Henry. Many of these harnesses are of great historical interest, and we may perhaps be forgiven if we attempt to deal at some length with the history of this Greenwich school of armourers. The author must here acknowledge the great help which the Baron de Cosson has given him, generously placing at his disposal his own researches on the subject.

All the harnesses, which we feel convinced came from the Greenwich Armoury, are of superb quality and bear a strong family likeness to each other, and are in configuration and in decoration different from the armours of any other school. The form as a whole cannot be said to be graceful. The construction of the close helmets shows a considerable fullness to the back of the skull, and the whole effect lacks elegance, but the general form is distinctly German in feeling, reminiscent of the work of Konrad Lockner. The top plates of the gorgets are usually high, and the pauldrons are of great strength and characteristic in form, giving an exaggerated breadth to the shoulders. The breastplates in the earlier suits are of robust and burly character, but gradually develop the peascod form until in the later suits they become flat-fronted with only the peascod survival. The shape of the tassets

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

is rectangular, but the most unmistakable features of a Greenwich suit are the formation of the elbow-cop of two pieces, an interior piece protecting the inside of the elbow joint, and an exterior piece guarding the outside (a construction which is never found in any elbow-cops of fine quality of any other school of armour), and the formation of the grand-guard in two parts. The style of decoration is quite different from any known Italian, German, or French design. Documentary evidence as to nearly all the harnesses in existence, which we are almost certain were made at the Greenwich Armoury, rests upon that furnished by a manuscript in the South Kensington Museum, in which mention is made of an armourer named "Jacobe," who is, we think, the same person referred to by Sir Henry Lee in a document of the year 1590 under the name of "Jacobi, M^r workman of Grenewyche."¹ In January 1723 a certain Mr. Virtue exhibited this manuscript at the Society of Antiquaries in London. In the year 1790 it was in the possession of the Duchess of Portland, a daughter of Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford; a circumstance which makes it possible that it once formed part of the Harleian Library. On the Table of Contents at the commencement of the manuscript the name "Mr. Wray" appears, and on page 3 are written the name and date "1754 J. West"; presumably these were the names of two of the early possessors of the manuscript. In 1790 Pennant must have used it for his engraving of the second suit of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, in his "Account of London,"² and similarly Strutt's engraving of the suit of the Earl of Cumberland (Vol. 2, Plate 161) must have been made from it, although he made a mistake in describing the suit as that of the Earl of Essex. The library of the Duchess of Portland was sold in 1799. Subsequently the manuscript was lost sight of for nearly one hundred years, and it was only in the year 1894, at the sale of the Spitzer collection, that it reappeared, when it was bought by Monsieur Stein of Paris, from whom, on the advice of Viscount Dillon, it was acquired for the English nation. Viscount Dillon has reproduced in his "An Almain Armourer's Album"³ thirty-one of the drawings to which he has written most interesting notes. The MS. is now in the Art Library of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

[A scrutiny of the MS. shows that it is made up of single sheets in folio, which were bound up in book form when the draughtsman began his record. He left page 1 blank, which was subsequently used for a Table of Contents

¹ Viscount Dillon, "Archaeologia," vol. 51, p. 171.

² Published 1790. 4to. London.

³ Reproduced in colour by W. Griggs, 1905.

ARMOUR OF THE "GREENWICH" SCHOOL

by someone probably in the first half of the XVIIth century, after the volume had been rebound. Pages 2 and 3 are blank, page 4 portrays the first suit, "The Erle of Rutlande, M.R.," which is numbered "1," and page 5 illustrates the drawings of the four extra pieces of that suit. Pages 6 and 7 are blank, pages 8 and 9 show the second suit, that of the "Erle of Bedforde, M.R.," and the four extra pieces; pages 10 and 11 are blank, and thus it continues until pages 58 and 59, which give the suit and its seventeen extra pieces of "Sur Cristofer Hattone," numbered "16." There is no suit numbered "15," but as there are no missing leaves until pages 93 and 94, doubtless this discrepancy in the numbering was due to carelessness. Pages 62 and 63 give the suit and extra pieces of the "Earle of Pembrouke," numbered "17." The suits numbered "18," "19," "20," "21," "22," "23," and "24" follow until page 92 is reached, when the leaf of pages 93 and 94 is cut out and only the drawing of the extra pieces of suit numbered "25" on page 95 is preserved. This missing leaf was probably cut out before the Table of Contents was written, as the Table does not mention this suit. We do not know, therefore, for whom the suit was made. Pages 96 and 97 are blank, and pages 98 and 99 give the suit "My L. Cobbon," numbered "26"; pages 102 and 103 illustrate the third suit of "Sr Harry Lea," numbered "28." This numbering was apparently due to carelessness, as no leaves are missing to suggest that there was a drawing of a suit numbered "27." The remaining four drawings are not numbered. There are now fifty-eight leaves in the volume, and the last three pages are blank. That the book was bound before the draughtsman began his work is proved by the fact that pages 1 and 8, 2 and 7, etc., are the same sheets, and therefore another leaf is missing making the total number of leaves up to sixty.

Where the suit is numbered, the numbering is in contemporary writing and apparently was made before the colouring. The writing of the numbering is not in the handwriting of the person who wrote the names on the drawings; a slender argument against Jacobe (of whom we shall speak later) being the draughtsman. The consecutive numbering, the use of a bound book, the progressive character of the decorations, seem to point to a desire to compile a record in what was believed to be the order of their production.—C.-D.]

As the fourteenth suit is described as that of "Ser Henry Lee," without the addition of the words "Mr. of Tharmerie," an office to which he was appointed in 1580, it is to be surmised that this description was perhaps written before 1580, and as all the drawings appear to have been made by the same hand, some with greater care than others, and as their style and

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

technique are so similar, they were probably all done within a comparatively short period. From the fact that the first Hatton suit, which is extant, the drawing of which is numbered "16," bears the date "1585," fifteen of the drawings were presumably made after that date, for the presumption is strong that the date on this suit is the date of its make. The drawings are certainly not the work of an artist: the suits are stiffly drawn, all more or less from one set pattern. Sometimes they are turned to the left, more often to the right; but the attitude is always the same. Like the paintings of the ancient Egyptians, the head is invariably in profile, and the body almost full front. Nor are the drawings designs for the making of armour; they are rather representations of suits already in existence, as obviously must be the case of the design of the one which came from abroad. These drawings, then, are the work of a man who wished clearly to show the decoration of each suit, the pieces and extra pieces of which it was composed, and who was therefore in all probability a skilled craftsman.

Our inference is that the designs of the forms of the armours were not taken from those of the suits.

[The manuscript is now bound in calf, and this binding must be, as we have said, the second binding, for many of the drawings are cut. On page 1 the Table of Contents is written in a hand of the XVIIth century. This Table was written after the second binding, for there is no sign of the cutting affecting the writing. The table is headed: "These are the original drawings of Hans Holbein of suits of armour for the great tournament of King Henry the Eighth," and then follows a list of suits copied more or less exactly from the descriptions on the drawings. The writer has omitted to mention some of the suits, but as the last suit which he indexes is that of "My Lord Bucarte, His Countenance," the writer had the completed volume before him, and his omissions are evidently due to carelessness. The slight differences in spelling of the names on the drawings and in the Table call for no comment. On five of the drawings of the suits are painted faces to the figures, all of the same character, and perhaps later than the designs of the armours, but not later than the writing of the Table of Contents, for the writer of the table calls attention to these heads by noting after the names of the suits of the Earl of Worcester, Lord Compton, and Lord Buckhurst the words "His Countenance." The only point of interest in this Table of Contents is the heading attributing the designs to Holbein, from which we suggest that there was in the first half of the XVIIth century a tradition still prevalent that Holbein was the designer of the suits which the person at Greenwich, into whose keeping the volume

ARMOUR OF THE "GREENWICH" SCHOOL

passed in the first half of the XVIIth century, recorded, for it would not seem likely that the writer of the Table of Contents was someone unconnected with the Greenwich workshops which were closed in 1644. It is needless to say that none of the designs bear the smallest trace of Holbein's art. True it is that there is a decoration of slashing on some of the suits, but although slashing is Holbeinesque, this decoration is represented rather in the character of an historical survival than of the real slashing decoration of Holbein's period. We surmise that when Henry VIII was living he had employed Holbein to design armours, and in the early days of the Greenwich workshops armours may have been made from Holbein's design. Some of the drawings are recorded as being of suits of the time of Mary, the letters "M.R." appearing in the corners of the drawings; others are noted with the letters "E.R." (Elizabeth Regina), while the last eleven drawings have neither "M.R." nor "E.R." upon them. In all cases the letters "M.R." and "E.R." are in the handwriting of the person who wrote the names on the drawings.

But as the drawings, as we think, were executed some time after, at all events, the first thirteen suits were made, too much stress cannot be laid on the letters "E.R." (letters which also stand for Edwardus Rex, *i.e.*, Edward VI), and it is curious to note that there are in the Tower "portions of a crupper with vertical flutings and simulated slashings"¹ as their decoration, which the author considered to be of the period of Henry VIII. The Duke of Norfolk suit, made at Greenwich, is seen in the drawing to have had a slashed decoration; it is no longer in existence, and it may be, as the author thought, that these portions of a crupper were part of the complete armour which went with this suit; this slight evidence lends some support to the Holbein tradition, which is not the less tenable in view of the fact that Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, was born in 1536 and beheaded in 1572. As we have said, the draughtsman used in all his drawings a common form for all the suits in which he depicted the different decorations, but it does not follow that all the suits were of the same form, and it is not unfair to assume that over the period which these harnesses covered some were of an earlier form.—C.-D.]

On each of the drawings is the name of a person for whom the suit was made. In the first eighteen drawings the writing is in the same hand, and on two of these drawings the same writer made additional notes. On No. "13," representing the suit of the Earl of Worcester, there is this

¹ C. ffoulkes, "The Armouries of the Tower of London," vol. i, p. 207 (Class VI, No. 85).

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

note: "Thes peces wer made by me Jacobe," and on drawing No. "14" of the first suit of Sir Henry Lee there are these words: "This feld armor was made beyond see" and "thes tilte peces wer made by me Jacobe." All these three notes are in the same handwriting as that of the names written on the drawings of the suits. That this Jacobe did not describe the ownership of all the armours may perhaps be explained by arguing that all the names were not written at the same time. Jacobe writes the name of Sir Henry Lee on the fourteenth suit (perhaps before 1580),¹ new drawings were added, and he writes "Sur Cristofer Hattone" on the first Hatton suit made in 1585, and again describes the drawings until the nineteenth suit is reached. Then probably more drawings were executed; another hand writes the description on suits numbered "20," "22," "24," "26," "28," and the Buckhurst drawing; still another hand records the name on the suit numbered "21," and the author thinks that Jacobe probably wrote the descriptions on the suits numbered "23," "26," and those of "Sir Macke William," "My Lorde Cumption," "Mr. Skidmur," and "Sir Bale Desena." The deduction we make is that the book was after 1585 not under the sole control of Jacobe, and that at least two other persons recorded the names. The handwriting of Jacobe is of the earliest type of the three-hands, and as the technique of the decoration is progressive in character, it seems that the order of the drawings is to a large extent the order of the manufacture of the suits they represent.

But the reader will ask: "What had Jacobe to do with Greenwich?" Now we know that there was a master workman at Greenwich named Jacobi, as there exists a document amongst the State papers dated 12 October 1590,² a letter of Sir Henry Lee, Master of the Armoury, which commences thus: "May it please your good Lordship in the time of M^r. Secretary, who God hath latly called to his mercy, he was very desirus to prefere to the comodyty of some fewe as I take yt, certayne ierne metell w^h grewe or was made in Scropshere or ther abouts in the possessyons of a gentellman whos name I knowe not, never makynge me acquaynted wth his meanynge. To give more credyte to that staffe, to the armourers of London & to Jacobi, the M^r workman of Grenewyche, the Counsel appoynt in there presence that M^r Robarte Constable & my cossyn John Lee shoulde see a proof made w^h by tryall proved most usefull." On no piece of the armour is there any mark; but this is not surprising when we remember that it was not until 1631 that the Armourers' Company (in whose records no name of Jacobe appears) issued regulations as to their mark of the Crown and the letter "A" underneath it.

¹ *Ante*, page 4.

² *S. P. Dom.*, ccxxxiii, 92.

ARMOUR OF THE "GREENWICH" SCHOOL

It seems fair to argue that this Jacobi, the Master workman at Greenwich, was the same "Jacobe" who made the extra pieces for two of the suits illustrated in the MS., and that he may have had the drawings executed, and that when the drawings were finished he wrote on the first eighteen drawings the names of the persons for whom the armours were made. We have no evidence as to who the draughtsman was, and therefore no evidence that Jacobe was that person. But the existence of the MS., the existence to-day of some of the suits, the preservation to-day of portraits and miniatures of the same persons wearing the suits whose names appear on the drawings, the fact that there was a school of armourers at Greenwich from 1511 until 1644 (the cost of which was defrayed by the State, and of which we have numerous records¹), form the links in a chain of evidence in confirmation of the conclusion at which we arrive, viz., that the harnesses illustrated in the MS. were made by the Greenwich school of armourers.

We think that the draughtsman had in view the portraying of the decoration of the Greenwich school, which was peculiar to and evolved by the Greenwich armourers. It may be noted that in the case of the earlier drawings depicted in the MS., two of which the draughtsman assigned to represent suits made in the reign of Queen Mary, this style is not yet distinctly marked. The Greenwich style of decoration first appears in a marked manner in the second suit of the Earl of Leicester, and is fully developed in those of the Sir Henry Lee No. 2 suit, Sir Christopher Hatton Nos. 1 and 2 suits, the Earl of Pembroke's, and the Earl of Cumberland's suits; but it culminates in the beautiful suit of armour made for Henry, Prince of Wales, now at Windsor, which is illustrated and described in a later chapter,² and is, in the author's opinion, the work of this school, and may have been the one for which William Pickering received the large sum, for those times, of £320. This Greenwich school of armourers no doubt learned their art from the numerous foreign armourers—Flemish, German, or Italian—who had been brought to England by Henry VII and Henry VIII; but by the time of Elizabeth they had evolved a type of armour and decoration peculiarly their own, which, as we have already pointed out (*ante*, p. 2), is very distinct from the type and decoration of contemporary suits made in Germany, Italy, or France.

¹ Cf. the numerous references to the payment of wages to the armourers at Greenwich, printed by Mr. C. ffoulkes in "The Armouries of the Tower of London," vol. i, pp. 50-52. London, 1916.

² See Chapter xxxvii, Vol. v, Fig. 1435.

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

As Jacobe notes that he made the extra pieces of two suits, presumably he did not make the rest of these two armours, and there is no evidence that he made any of the others. There must have been other armourers, and who were they? The question cannot as yet be answered, and it is not likely to receive an answer until the accounts of the sums spent on armour-making at Greenwich are discovered. The valuable researches of Mr. Charles ffoulkes have brought to our knowledge the names of various armourers who worked at Greenwich as Queen's armourers under Mary and Elizabeth; but no other details are known concerning them. They are: Nighel Pipe 1559, Hans Mightner 1559-74, John Kelte 1559-74, John Garret 1559-1601, Jacob Halore (?) 1559, Roger Keymer 1571, Jacob Halder 1574 (perhaps the same as Jacob Halore), Martyn Herste 1574, Caries or Tarys Spirarde 1574, John Kirke 1577, and lastly William Pickering 1591-1630, who, as we have seen, probably made the armour for Henry, Prince of Wales, and who, judging by the very great similarity of style and of execution which that suit bears to some of the more elaborate ones mentioned above as full examples of the Greenwich school, may also have been the master armourer to whom some of the others were due. [As with other arts the problem is to discover whether the master workman Jacobe, or any other master workman, possessed and exercised individual initiative, or whether he was only a foreman of a body of more or less skilled workmen. The marked character of the armour under discussion shows such a personal quality of design that it would seem as if there had worked at Greenwich master armourers of strong individual taste.—C.-D.]

That some of the armourers who worked at Greenwich for over one hundred years were foreigners is more than probable, for the great craftsmen of these periods were Italians, Germans, and Frenchmen, and Mr. ffoulkes' list contains many names which are not English ones. As regards the name of "Jacobe," Sir Henry Lee writes it "Jacobi." Sir Henry's rendering suggests that the final "e" was not a mute one. Now the German Jacob would not have become in English Jacobi, it would have remained as it was in German, Jacob, without a final "i" or "e." Jacobe was evidently not the Christian name of the Greenwich armourer, but his surname. Jacobi is a common surname in Germany; a cannon founder of Berlin who lived about 1700 was named Jacobi, and there are even arms-bearing families of that name. In France Jacobé exists as a surname, in Italy Jacopi. In the "London Directory" for 1917 can be found five Jacobis and five Jacobys living in London. It is probable that our Jacobe was of foreign extraction; but we are inclined to think that he was British born. He writes his name

ARMOUR OF THE "GREENWICH" SCHOOL

Jacobe, that is phonetically as the German Jacobi is pronounced in English. His handwriting is English in character. On the other hand, the expression, "This feld armor was made beyond see" on the drawing of Sir Henry Lee's first suit indicates a German writer, for "feld" and "see" are spellings one would attribute to a German. We cannot say that the phrase "beyond see" is more English than German.

A few other observations may be made of a general character on the MS. Viscount Dillon shrewdly draws attention to a little brayette which appears on most of the drawings, and suggests that it indicates a foreign origin for them; for in the time of Queen Elizabeth that defence was not in fashion in England, although its use abroad continued through the greater part of her reign. It may be observed, however, that this brayette does not form part of the armour, but of the civil dress of the figure wearing it. Again, the author would suggest that the various personages whose names occur in the MS. stored their suits in the Greenwich Armoury, where there naturally was a staff of skilled armourers to furbish them and keep them in order, much as people nowadays keep their motor cars at a garage; that a written inventory probably existed, now unfortunately destroyed or undiscovered, in which the suits were entered in the order in which they had been made or deposited there. The drawings in the MS. may have formed, in fact, a sort of pictorial register, by which each suit and all its extra pieces could at once be identified by the design and decoration when needed by its owner, serving very much the same purpose as an Italian late XVIth century drawing of four breastplates in the collection of Monsieur H. Carré of Paris (Fig. 1099). Some of the Greenwich suits must have been returned to their owners and have remained in their possession; while others, such as the Earl of Leicester's, the Earl of Worcester's, Sir John Smithe's, and possibly Sir Christopher Hatton's first suit were removed from Greenwich, when that armoury ceased to exist, and found their way to the Tower. In the Domestic State Papers for the year 1625 can be found a list of suits made for the king and certain noblemen, which were the productions of the Greenwich armourers. It runs as follows:

A true note of all such Armors as have been made by his Ma^{ties} armorors at Greenwich lately, viz.:

Imprimis for ye Kings Ma ^{ties}	Tilte Armors 2.
For ye Duke of Buckingham	Tilte Armors 2.
For ye late Marquis Hamelton	Tilte Armor 1.
For ye late Earle of Dorset	Title Armors 2.

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

For ye now Earle of Dorset	Tilte Armor 1.
For ye Earle of Oxford	Tilte Armor 1 . . . more for ye feelde Armor 1.
For ye Lo. Garret	Tilte Armor 1.
*For ye Lo. Compton	Tilte Armor 1.
For ye Earle of Desmond	Tilte Armor 1.
For ye Lo. Mansfeelde	Tilte Armor 1 . . . more for ye feelde Armor 1.
For my Lo. Monioy	Tilte Armor 1 . . . more for ye feelde Armor 1.
*For ye Earle of Bedford feelde Armor 1.
For ye Lo. Stanhop	Tilte Armor 1.
For ye Lo. Bru	Tilte Armor 1.
For ye Lo. Gourdon feelde Armor 1.
For Sr Henrie Mildmay	Tilte Armor 1.
For Mr. Carle	Tylte Armor 1.
For Sr William Hayden for his Ma ^{ties} s'vice at S ^t Martin islands	feelde Armor 4.
For ye M ^r of ye Armorie feelde Armor 1.
For Sr William Pitt feelde Armor 1.
For Sr Arnold Harbert feelde Armor 1.
For Sr Adam Newton feelde Armor 1.
For ye Barron of Burford	Tilte Armor 1 . . . more for ye feelde Armor 1.

An order for making a tilte Armor for ye Lo. Marquis Hamilton. 1.

An order for making a tilte Armor for ye Earle of Northampton. 1.

Some of these were made by ye King's Ma^{ties} co^maund and some by the Lo. Chamberlins co^maund, and ye rest by co^maund from ye Master of his Ma^{ties} Armoury. Besides other new armors and worke that is ready in the Office upon anie occasion.

This list shows the importance of the productions of the Greenwich armourers in the latter part of the XVIth and at the commencement of the XVIIth centuries, and of the existence of suits in stock in case a person desired to purchase one. It will be noticed, however, that two of the names figuring in the 1625 list appear in the illustrated MS., viz.: "Ye Lo. Compton . . . Tilte Armor 1," and "For ye Earle of Bedford . . . feelde." If these two suits are the same two as those illustrated in the MS., then a second MS. must probably have once been in existence illustrating the remainder of the suits mentioned in 1625—perhaps with an index which would have thrown some light on this mysterious group of armour and its still more mysterious maker or makers. The *Inventario de la Armeria de Valladolid* of Charles V, preserved at Madrid, is an instance of a pictorial inventory of an armoury, in which armour and weapons of various origins and dates are all drawn by the same hand, with notes here and there concerning them.

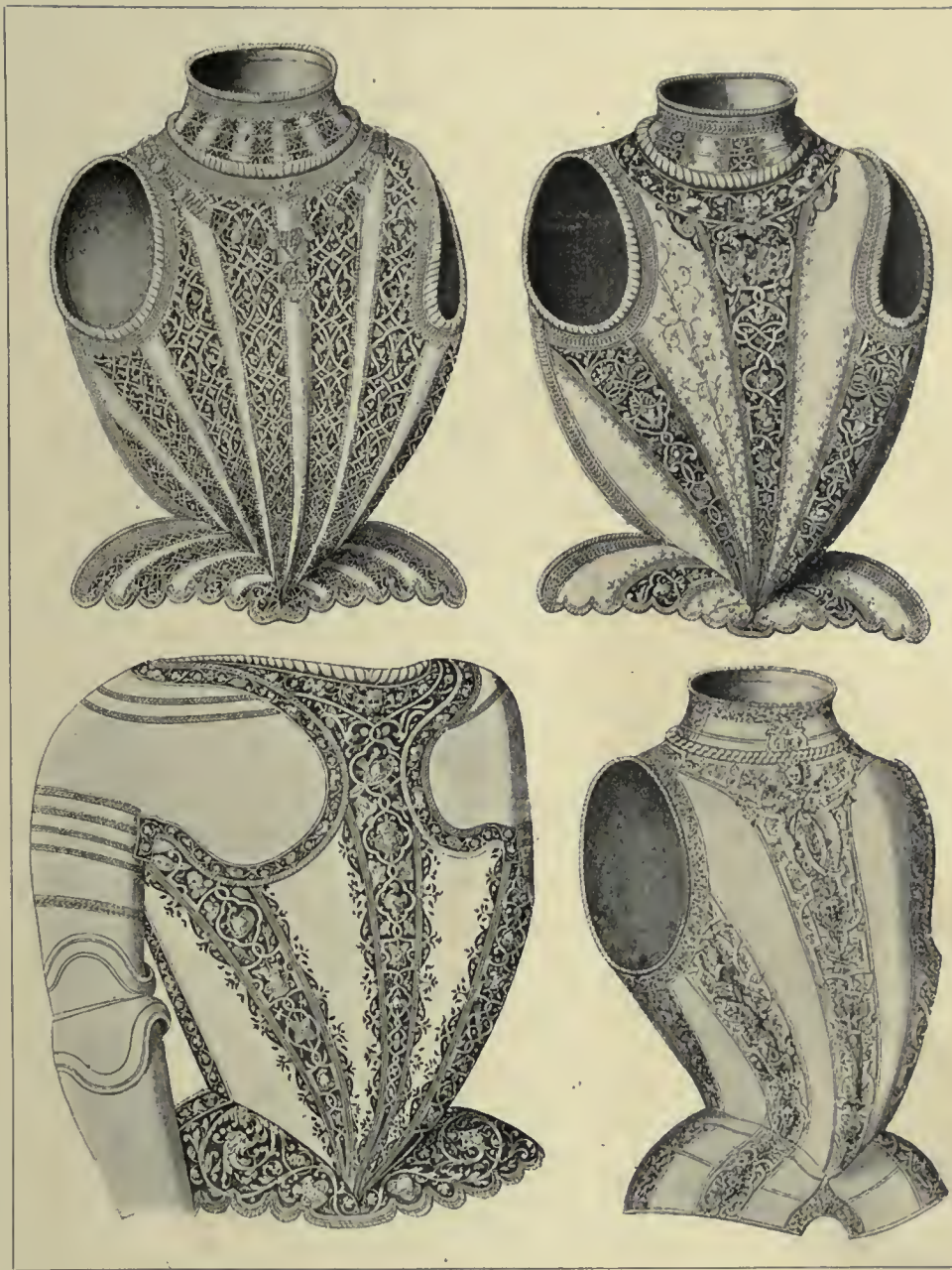


FIG. 1099. FOUR BREASTPLATES, FROM AN ITALIAN DRAWING
Of the latter part of the XVIth century. Made only to record the design of the armour
Collection: Monsieur H. Carré

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

The late Herr Wendelin Boeheim thought that Jacobe could be identified with an armourer of Innsbrück named Jacob Topf, concerning whom he had made researches which had led him to suspect that from 1562 to 1575 he was absent from Innsbrück, and Viscount Dillon, although feeling that there were some difficulties about dates, adopted that identification. As a result, the Viscount's book was called "An Almain Armourer's Album," and of late years we have heard much of Topf suits, meaning those suits still existing in England which have been identified as having been portrayed in the MS.

Of late years doubt has arisen concerning the correctness of this identification of Jacobe with Topf. We ourselves think not only that this identification was never established, but that it never at any time rested on any serious foundation. Boeheim was a savant to whom armour-students are indebted for much excellent work; but he was very much given to jumping at conclusions arrived at on insufficient evidence, or on evidence incorrectly interpreted, and he was disinclined to discuss a view differing from his own. Having mentioned all that is known about Jacobe, we will now briefly state what Boeheim discovered concerning Jacob Topf. He was born in 1530, and is thought to have been absent from Innsbrück from 1562 until 1575, in which latter year he received payment for work done in that town. In 1581 he was in the employ of the Archduke of the Tyrol; but payments are recorded for work done by him in Germany in 1578, 1584, and 1587. After that we hear nothing more of him, and Boeheim supposes that he died in 1587.¹ There is a strange confusion in the account of Topf given in this book between Jacob Topf and a Caspar Topf. The account is headed *Jacob Topf auch Topff und Dopf*, and begins with Jacob, but it eventually deals with Caspar Topf as though he were the same man. We can only suppose that some part of the account was omitted by mistake.

If Jacob Topf really died in 1587 his identity with the "Jacobi" mentioned in Sir Henry Lee's letter would at once be disposed of. It is true that Sir Henry says that the trial of iron was made "in the time of Mr. Secretary who God hath latly called to his mercy." Mr. Secretary was Sir Francis Walsingham, Principal Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth, who died on 6 April 1590, six months before the letter was written; but the letter certainly gives the impression that Jacobe was living and working at Greenwich when it was indited. Viscount Dillon, in his introduction to his Album,

¹ Wendelin Boeheim, *Meister der Waffenschmiedekunst vom XIV bis ins XVIII Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1897, 8vo, p. 217.

ARMOUR OF THE "GREENWICH" SCHOOL

speaks of the letter as referring to a trial of iron *made some years previously*. But Sir Henry speaks of the matter as one of present interest, and as if the trial might have taken place a few months before; but there is not the slightest ground for supposing that it took place several years before. Boenheim could adduce no evidence to show where Topf worked from 1562 to 1575. He merely jumped to the conclusion that he might be the Greenwich Jacobe, a conclusion which the author considers to be erroneous.

[It is fair to note that the drawing of Sir Henry Lee's first suit (No. 14) bears what we have called the Greenwich style of decoration, and that it was made "beyond see," but it is not unreasonable to infer that the suit was decorated in the manner desired by Sir H. Lee, and that his order passed through the master armourer at Greenwich. Of the form of the actual suit we have no evidence, as it no longer exists.] One or two suits of armour at Vienna are attributed by Boenheim, and probably rightly so, to Topf; but they do not present any resemblance in general character and decoration to those which we call Greenwich suits, of which a sufficient number remain for us easily to recognize their characteristic style.

[It cannot be said that we know much about this Greenwich school of armourers, but there can be little doubt that in the Record Office is stored much documentary evidence with regard to the yet but little studied history of the armour made at the Greenwich State workshops, in which Henry VIII and the great nobles of the time took such a deep interest. When the reader has read this account of the Greenwich armour, he may well ask: "Where are all the armours which were made at these workshops from the year 1511, when Henry VIII founded it, down to the period of the fine decorated suits, which still exist, and which we can identify as the productions of the workshops between the third quarter of the XVIth century and the end of the first quarter of the XVIIth century? We know that the Greenwich armourers used no mark, but are we not almost forced to assume that amongst other harnesses from Greenwich some must have been fine suits made for Henry VIII? The author has dealt at length with the double suit of Henry (Vol. iii, Figs. 1023 and 1024), and, in his natural endeavour to attribute this suit to a school, has given his reasons for suggesting that it was perhaps made in France and presented to Henry VIII by Francis I (vol. iii, page 230). The expert is asked to reconsider this attribution. Its quality is of the finest, so is that of all the Greenwich suits which we can identify; its general form is to be compared with the earliest of the Greenwich suits; the elbow-cops of two pieces are equally characteristic, so are the close helmet

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

and the gauntlets. The brayette (Vol. iii, Fig. 1026) is more like a piece of Greenwich armour than that of any other school.

Sir Guy Laking suggests that the suit for fighting on foot, in the Tower (Class II, No. 6), which was made for Henry VIII, is English (Vol. iii, Fig. 1018), showing traces of German influence "adapted to a fashion that might almost be considered English" (*ibid.*, p. 225); similarly he attributes probable English workmanship to the second suit for fighting on foot in the Tower (Class II, No. 7), illustrated in vol. iii of this work (Fig. 1020). There are other fine armours in the Tower bearing no mark, the workmanship of which, up to the present, has not been assigned to any particular nation, some of which Sir Guy Laking thought may have come from the Greenwich workshops. It is suggested, therefore, that we need not limit our ideas of Greenwich armour to the suits which we are about to describe in detail, but that we may by careful study of much other armour which exists, covering the whole period of the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Phillip and Mary, Elizabeth, and James I, perhaps attribute its provenance, in many cases, to the Greenwich school.—C.-D.]

The following list gives the complete series of the armours illustrated in the MS. and shows which of the suits illustrated are now in existence.

NAMES AND NUMBERS ON THE DRAWINGS OF THE ARMOURS IN THE MS.	PRESENT LOCATIONS OF THE ARMOURS
1. The Earle of Rutlande (M.R.)	Not known.
The Earle of Bedforde (M.R.)	do.
3. The Earle of Lesseter (1st suit) (E.R.)	do.
4. The Earle of Sussex (E.R.)	The gauntlets were sold in the Spitzer Sale for £66 8s. and are now in the Riggs Collection, Metropolitan Museum of New York (Figs. 1100 and 1101).
5. Ducke John of ffinelande Prince of Sweden (E.R.)	Not known.
Ser William Sentlo (E.R.)	Not known.
7. My Lorde Scrope (E.R.)	do.
8. The Earle of Lesseter (2nd suit) (E.R.)	A portion of a suit very similar is in the Tower of London, certainly from the same hand, varying a little, but only in the position of its decoration (Fig. 1102).
9. My Lord Hundson (E.R.)	Not known.
10. Ser George Howarde (E.R.)	do.

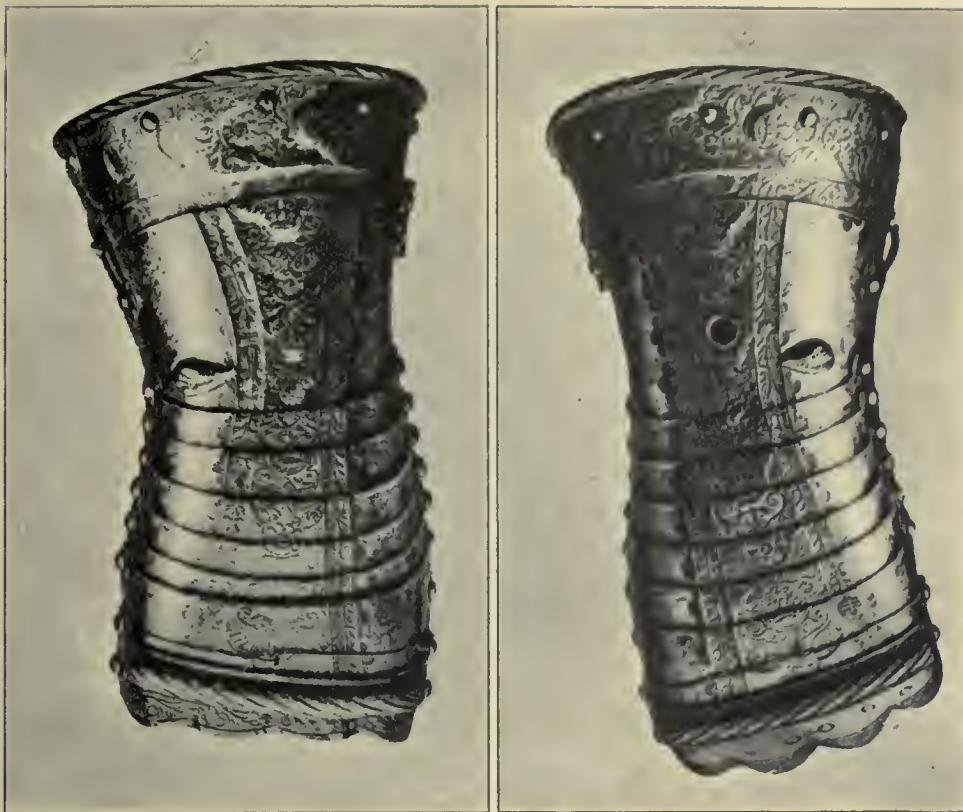


FIG. 1100. GAUNTLETS

From the armour of Thomas Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex, K.G. English (Greenwich school), third quarter of the XVIth century: Metropolitan Museum, New York



FIG. 1101. "THE EARLE OF SUSSEX"

No. 4 in the Jacobe MS.

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

NAMES AND NUMBERS ON THE DRAWINGS OF THE ARMOURS IN THE MS.	PRESENT LOCATIONS OF THE ARMOURS
11. My Lorde Northe (E.R.)	A portion of a suit very similar is in the Tower of London (Fig. 1105).
12. The Duck of Norfocke (E.R.)	Fragments of a steel barde, somewhat similar in design, are in the Tower of London of the period of Henry VIII.
13. The Earle of Woster (marked E.R. There is a note in Jacobe's handwriting: " <i>Thes peces wer made by me Jacobe</i> ")	A portion of this suit is in the Tower of London (Fig. 1107). Formerly at Windsor Castle, but now removed in September 1914 to the Tower by command of H.M. The King, are other pieces of the suit consisting of a burgonet, buffe, breast- and backplate, gorget, taces, tassets, and reinforcing breastplate (Fig. 1109).
14. Ser Henry Lee (1st suit, which has the note in Jacobe's writing <i>this feld armor was made beyond see</i> , and the extra pieces have the note also in Jacobe's writing <i>thes till peces were made by me Jacobe</i>)	Not known.
16. ¹ Sur Cristofer Hattone (1st suit) (E.R.)	This suit which is at Windsor Castle (dated 1585) is very complete with tilt pieces and portions of the horse armour (Figs. 1113 and 1114).
17. The Earle of Penbroucke (E.R.)	The full suit is at Wilton House (Fig. 1116).
18. Ser Cristofer Hattone (2nd suit) (E.R.)	Not known; but the vamplate of a lance belonging to it is in the Tower of London (Fig. 1118).
19. Ser Johne Smithe (E.R.)	A portion of a suit is in the Tower of London (Fig. 1119). Formerly at Windsor Castle, but removed in September 1914 to the Tower of London by command of H.M. The King, are other portions of the suit (Figs. 1120 and 1121). The shield is in the Metropolitan Museum of New York.
20. Sr. Henry Lee, Mr. of tharmerie (2nd suit)	A close helmet belonging to this suit is in

¹ There is no suit numbered 15, but there is no sign of any page being cut out, and it is probable that the numbering was carelessly done.

ARMOUR OF THE "GREENWICH" SCHOOL

NAMES AND NUMBERS ON THE DRAWINGS OF THE ARMOURS IN THE MS.	PRESENT LOCATIONS OF THE ARMOURS
	the Tower of London (Fig. 1123), and a locking gauntlet in the Hall of the Armourers' and Brasiers' Company, London (Fig. 1124), the burgonet, buffe, chanfron, and leg-armour are at Stockholm (Figs. 1125, 1126, 1127, and 1128).
21. The Earle of Cumberlande . . .	The full suit with certain reinforcing plates are at Appleby Castle (Figs. 1132, 1135, and 1136), and gauntlets, Metropolitan Museum of New York (Fig. 1133).
22. Sr. Cristopher Hatton (3rd suit) .	Not known.
23. Mr. Macke Williams ¹	do.
24. My L. Chancellor (Sir Thomas Bromley)	do.
26. ² My L. Cobbon (Cobham)	do.
28. Sir Harry Lea Mr. of the Armoure (3rd suit)	The full suit is at the Hall of the Armourers' and Brasiers' Company, London (Fig. 1141). The buffe belonging to this suit was purchased in the Brett Sale, No. 729 in the catalogue. Previously it was in the Londesborough Collection (Fig. 1142).
My Lorde Cumpton (Compton) .	Portions of this suit were formerly at Holme Lacy and are now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, comprising the burgonet with buffe, pauldrons, arm-defences and laminated cuisses with knee-cops (Figs. 1145 and 1146).
Mr. Skidmur (John Scudamore) .	The back- and breastplate, tace and tassets of this suit, together with the jambs and imperfect sollerets, formerly at Holme Lacy, are now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York (Fig. 1149).
My Lorde Bucarte (Buckhurst) .	The full suit is at the Wallace Collection (No. 435) (Fig. 1151), with the reinforcing breastplate (No. 434) and the stirrups (Nos. 436 and 437).
Sr. Bale Desena	Not known.

¹ Macke Williams was nearly related to Richard Williams, who married the niece of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, and took the name of Cromwell: the great grandson of this Richard Williams was Oliver Cromwell.

² The drawing of suit number 25 has been cut out, but the drawing of the extra pieces of this suit is present, resembling in decoration the Buckhurst suit. The drawing of suit number 27 is missing, or suit number 28 has been carelessly numbered. The last four drawings of suits are not numbered.

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

There is a suit at Vienna made for Archduke Carl of Steiermark, which Herr Boheim considered to be from Topf's hands, and since, as we have said,



FIG. 1102. ARMOUR OF ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER, K.G. (1534-1588)

English (Greenwich school), third quarter of the XVIth century.

Shown with its tilt pieces in position. The suit possesses its leg defences, but they are not represented in this illustration

Tower of London, Class II, No. 81

Topf and Jacobe were until recently considered one and the same person, we propose for purposes of comparison to illustrate this harness (Fig. 1154).

ARMOUR OF THE "GREENWICH" SCHOOL

We will briefly review those pieces of the Greenwich school that are at present known to us—taking them in the order of the list.

* * *

The gauntlets from the armour of Thomas Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex, K.G., 1525-83, now in the Riggs Collection, Metropolitan Museum of New York (Fig. 1100). They once possessed finger plates; but these are now missing. In the centre of the cuff of the left gauntlet is a circular hole with the thread of a screw, to which was fastened the large bridle gauntlet or mainfere. Fine etching and gilding decorate these gauntlets in accordance with the design in the MS. The illustration (Fig. 1101) is the reproduction of figure 4 in the MS., "The Earle of Sussex."

* * *

The armour of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, K.G. (1534-88), in the Tower of London (Fig. 1102). This does not exactly correspond with the illustration in the MS., the engraving of the "ragged staff" being differently disposed about the surface; but most certainly this armour was made for the Earl of Leicester, as is evidenced by the Ragged Staff of the Beauchamps, placed saltire-fashion and charged with the crescent of cadency. In the drawing in the Jacobe MS. (Fig. 1103) the Muzzled Bear appears on the elbow-cops and on the chanfron; in the Tower suit it occurs frequently, as does also the George of the Order of the Garter.

The absence of the latter from the suit drawn in the MS. is as peculiar as is the presence of the engraving on the Tower suit of the collar and badge of the Order of St. Michael, which limits the execution of the suit to the period 1566-88, and is evidence of the high favour in which the wearer was held by the jealous Queen. In place of the mail sollerets with toe-caps only of plate, which are seen in the drawing, the Tower armour shows complete plate sollerets. The body armour is quite complete; the horse armour extant comprises the chanfron and the saddle steels. The extra pieces consist of the grand-guard, the reinforcing elbow-guard, and the bridle gauntlets.



FIG. 1103. "THE EARLE OF LESSETER"
(SECOND SUIT)

No. 8 in the Jacobe MS.



FIG. 1104. THE EARL OF LEICESTER

From a picture by Federigo Zuccaro. The Earl is represented wearing a suit almost similar to that illustrated in Fig. 1102. Collection: The Duke of Sutherland



FIG. 1105. PARTS OF THE ARMOUR OF LORD NORTH

The horse armour is associated. English (Greenwich school), third quarter of the
XVIth century. Tower of London, Class II, No. 82

IV

21

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FIG. 1105A. BURGONET

Belonging to the suit of Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke (1534-1601)
English (Greenwich School), third quarter of the XVIth century
Collection: The Earl of Pembroke,
Wilton House, Salisbury

ARMOUR OF THE "GREENWICH" SCHOOL

This suit figures eight times in the inventories of Greenwich and the Tower, first in the 1611 inventory of "the greene gallerie, Greenwich": "one Tylte armr compleate graven wth the ragged staffe made for the Earle of Leicester the horse having a steele saddle and a foreparte of barbe plaine a Crynit and shaffron pcell guilte and graven wth a hinderparte for a horse made of plates of steele and a bridle." In the 1629 inventory of the "Greene Gallerie, Greenwich" (as it is still called) is the same entry; but the suit is "upon horse." In the 1660 inventory it is at the Tower "In the Hall of the Leiftenn't of the Tower." The entry is the same. In the 1676 inventory there is a slightly different entry: "Upon a like horse Compleat Armour Cappape wth ye Ragged Staff wth a Main Guard and Pass-guard made for ye Earle of Leicester, y^e horse furniture being a shaffron Crinett and Brest-plate of ye same, saddle and Raynes." In the 1683 inventory there is the same entry; but in addition to the main guard and pass-guard there is allusion to "a manifare and gauntlet." In the 1688 inventory and valuation there is the same entry and a valuation of the suit at £208. This is again repeated in the inventories of 1691 and 1693. From the year 1708 until the year 1827, despite its clear history, the armour was shown in the chronological line of kings as having belonged to King James I. In a portrait of the Earl of Leicester by Zuccaro (Fig. 1104) the Earl is represented wearing a suit almost similar to the one we have described (Fig. 1102).



FIG. 1106. "MY LORD NORTHIE"
No. 11 in the Jacobe MS.

* * *

The armour of Lord North (Fig. 1105). In all probability many of the plates placed upon the figure in the Tower of London Armoury are part of the harness illustrated in drawing No. 11 in the Jacobe MS. (Fig. 1106); though with the exception of the pauldrons, jamps, and sollerets they do not accord exactly with the design of the drawing. The plates which now compose the suit at the Tower are probably those interchangeable with them. They are white armour with simple bands recessed and gilded.

* * *

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

The armour of the Duke of Norfolk (1536-72). The two pieces of a steel bard forming the sides of the crupper (Class VI, No. 85), preserved in the Tower of London, perhaps belong to this suit. They are of the period of Henry VIII. The drawing of the suit in the Jacobe MS. is numbered "12," and has a slashed decoration.

* * *

The armour of William Somerset, Earl of Worcester, K.G. (1526-89). In the Tower of London is part of the suit (Class II, No. 83); there were formerly at Windsor Castle some other portions of the same harness which, by command of H.M. the King, were sent to the Tower in 1914 (Class II, No. 83A). The suit in the Tower (Fig. 1107), which follows closely the drawing No. 13 in the Jacobe MS. (Fig. 1112), consists of the following pieces: a burgonet with falling buffe, the whole 10 lb. 6 oz., a breastplate of 20 lb., a backplate of 20 $\frac{1}{4}$ lb., pauldrons of 14 lb. (the left still having its upright neck-guard), complete arm-defences of 11 lb. 12 oz.; gauntlets, large tassets detachable in the middle, complete leg armour, and plate toe-caps. These toe-caps have a square termination without any swell at the sides, as is the case in some suits. There is in the Tower an additional close helmet (also Class II, No. 83), a pin at the back of which passes through a hole in the gorget fixing it rigidly. This prevents any rotatory movement of the head-piece which would otherwise be possible by reason of the roped construction of its base. It weighs 14 lb. (Fig. 1108). The Tower also possesses the chanfron of the horse armour belonging to the suit, and it is shown in Fig. 1107.

The armour formerly at Windsor Castle belonging to this suit (Fig. 1109) consists of another breast- and backplate, gorget, tace, long tassets, and the open burgonet helmet with hinged cheek-pieces and protective buffe, armed with two falling plates. These particular pieces are interesting from a constructional point of view. The breastplate is slightly peascod in form. The gussets, which are separate and attached by sliding rivets, fail, however, to continue to the upper corners of the breastplate, and stop abruptly within 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. of the upper edge to allow space for the fastening of the steel-hinged strap that connects the back- to the breastplate. A similar hinged strap is attached beneath the arm gussets. In the centre of the shoulder-strap can be seen a small cylindrical projection, with a spring catch in the centre. This was for the attachment of the pauldron; it passed through a hole in the topmost plate, and was by this means kept in position. Projecting staples are also seen on either side of the breastplate; these were for the attachment of the



FIG. 1107. ARMOUR OF WILLIAM SOMERSET, EARL OF WORCESTER (1526-89)

With the exception of the chanfron and crinet the horse armour is associated. English (Greenwich school), third quarter of the XVIth century. Tower of London, Class II, No. 83

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

reinforcing breastplate shown in the lower half of Fig. 1109. The tassets are detachable at the third plate, an arrangement which made the plates hang better when the wearer was on horseback, as can be seen in the case of the Tower suit. The open burgonet helmet, which is forged from one piece of metal, has a finely modelled comb; the protecting umbril is fashioned from another plate, and is attached by rivets. The cheek-pieces are large and full, having a small movable plate at their extreme ends; to this was formerly riveted the strap that buckled beneath the chin. The buffe is attached by hooks fastened to its side, which pass through eyes in the cheek-pieces; it is further held rigidly in position by means of an oblong slot working on a rivet fitted to the cheek-piece. The additional pieces formerly in Windsor Castle also



FIG. 1108. ADDITIONAL CLOSE HELMET TO THE SUIT (FIG. 1107)
Tower of London, Class II, No. 83

included a reinforcing breastplate. The decoration of the whole suit is simple, and very characteristic of work of this school, consisting of broad vertical bands slightly recessed and incised with double lines and fully gilt. These bands are connected at intervals by narrower bands verging at right angles from them. The narrower bands are shaped to the outline of three crescents joined end to end, an arrangement which at a distance gives a scale-like appearance to the surface. Taken separately, the weight of the armour formerly at Windsor is as follows: the burgonet 19 lb., the breastplate 9 lb., the backplate 9 lb., the gorget 6½ lb., the tassets 26 lb., the extra breastplate 10 lb., and the small reinforcing chin-piece 1½ lb., making the extraordinary total of 81 lb. In connection with the great weight of this suit it is interesting to note that parts have been enlarged by the insertion of pieces of metal, although the cir-

ARMOUR OF THE "GREENWICH" SCHOOL

cumference of the jamb on the Tower suit now measures only 16 inches and of the ankle 11 inches. One of the suits reputed to have been made for King Henry VIII in the Tower of London (Vol. iii, p. 224, Fig. 1018, and *ante*, p. 14), weighs considerably more than this; but it is a complete suit. In the Armoury of the Knights of St. John, at Malta, there is a half suit made for the Grand Master Aloy de Wignacourt, early in the XVIIth century, apparently for sapping purposes, of the great weight of 110 lb. It is No. 413 in the author's catalogue of 1902.

From 1708 until 1827 the Tower of London portion of the Worcester suit did duty in the line of kings for the armour of Edward I; for according to Meyrick Edward I was armoured in "blue steel armour with gilt slashings one 'pas-guard' and chain shoes." This is the only suit in the Tower to-day to which this rather vague description might be said fairly to correspond; though the surface of the armour is certainly not blue now but has been scoured "white." In John Hewitt's mid-XIXth century catalogue of the Tower this armour is referred to as that of Francis Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon. The portion of the Worcester suit formerly at Windsor Castle used to figure under the heading of the



FIG. 1109. PART OF THE SUIT (FIG. 1107)

Made for William Somerset, Earl of Worcester. English (Greenwich school), third quarter of the XVIth century. Formerly in the Armoury of Windsor Castle, but removed to the Tower of London in 1914 by command of H.M. the King (Class II, No. 83A)

FIG. 1109

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

armour of the Black Prince. At Badminton, in the collection of the Duke of Beaufort, there is a contemporary portrait of the third Earl of Worcester wearing apparently this armour (Fig. 1110), also an engraving taken from a variation of the same portrait, in which the suit in question is even more clearly shown (Fig. 1111). The extra pieces of this suit are especially



FIG. 1110. PORTRAIT OF AN EARL OF WORCESTER
By an unknown artist, wearing the armour (Fig. 1107)
Collection: The Duke of Beaufort, Badminton

interesting because the drawing of them in the Jacobe MS. is signed: *thes peces wer made by me Jacobe.*

* * *
The armour of Sir Christopher Hatton (1540-91), now in the Armoury of Windsor Castle (Fig. 1113). The decoration of this suit follows closely that of the drawing, "Sir Christofer Hattone," No. 16 in the Jacobe MS. (Fig. 1115).

ARMOUR OF THE "GREENWICH" SCHOOL

Considerable mystery surrounds the past history of this suit, and despite the most careful research, no satisfactory account can be given of it; for the tradition as to its provenance is contradictory. Until 1877 the suit was in the possession of the Dymock family, the hereditary champions of England. It made its first public reappearance in 1857, when it was exhibited at the Manchester Art



FIG. 1111. FROM AN ENGRAVING TAKEN FROM A VARIATION OF THE PORTRAIT (FIG. 1110)

Treasures Exhibition by Sir Henry Dymock of Scrivelsby Court, Lincolnshire. It was then noted by Mr. Planché "that the horse armour belonging to the suit is still in the possession of Her Majesty the Queen, and has been graciously sent from Windsor for exhibition, whilst a second plate from the saddle is lent by Colonel Meyrick." Twenty years after, in July 1877, on the death of Sir Henry, the suit was offered for sale at Christie's, the following being an

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

extract from the sale catalogue. "The cap à pie suit of armour of an officer of the Guard of Queen Elizabeth, engraved and gilt with the double E interlaced and the Royal crown, a figure of Mercury, trophies of arms, etc., date 1585, consisting of helmet, with visor and bevor, pauldrons, rerebraces, vambraces, elbow pieces, and gauntlets, breastplate and placket, backplate, tassets, cuisses, knee-pieces, jambs, sollerets, and spurs. The gorget of later date. Used by the Champion at the Coronation of King George I., when it was selected from the Royal Armoury for that purpose and retained by



FIG. 1112. "THE EARLE OF WOSTER"
No. 13 in the Jacobe MS.

him as customary fee." At the sale the reserve price of £2,000 placed upon it was not reached, and the suit was afterwards disposed of privately to the late Mr. James Gurney, who, after keeping it for some little time, sold it with other portions of his collection of armour and arms to the late M. Spitzer of Paris. On the death of M. Spitzer, at the sale of his collection in 1894, it was again offered for auction, but again bought in, not realizing the sum M. Mannheim, the Paris expert, considered it to be worth. For nearly six years it remained in the possession of Madame Spitzer, until the late Sir Charles Robinson, realizing the historical value it possessed for the



FIG. 1113. ARMOUR OF SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON (1540-1591)
The gorget is associated. English (Greenwich school), and dated 1585.
H.M. The King, Windsor Castle

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

Crown, made efforts to find a permanent home for it in this country by interesting himself in a scheme for presenting it to Queen Victoria on her eightieth birthday. However, owing to certain difficulties that occurred in the organization of the subscription list, the project for purchase fell through for the time, and was only taken up again in the early months of 1901, when the late Mr. Charles Davis made strenuous efforts to obtain the suit as a national possession for England, with the result that a subscription list was opened, the project was placed on a sound and patriotic basis, and the suit was purchased and presented to His late Majesty King Edward VII by a number of gentlemen, who, contributing liberally towards the sum required, kept the suit in the country and prevented it from being sold to some continental museum or private collector. The tradition handed down in the Dymock family was that this harness originally came from the Tower of London, and that it was retained by them as the customary fee together with a gold cup, the Champion's legitimate perquisite. This tradition, however, is certainly inaccurate; for in the Court of Claims no mention is made of the armour in which the Champion is clothed, the only perquisite mentioned being the gold cup in which the health of the king is toasted. Another misstatement which was made in the catalogue at the time of the sale of the suit at Christie's, was that the suit was worn at the Coronation of King George I. Now it is on record that at the Westminster Hall ceremony Dymock the Champion wore the suit with lions from the Tower (Class II, No. 90), which without doubt is the suit still there (Vol. iii, Fig. 1061). In the middle of the XIXth century Mr. John Hewitt records that the Champion at the Coronation of King George II wore the suit made for Sir John Smithe (then called that of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex), which is in the Tower (Fig. 1119); but we are unable to find his authority for this statement. The record of the Champion's armour worn at the banqueting ceremony of King George III is missing; but on the last occasion on which the Champion ceremony was performed (the Coronation of King George IV) the Dymock of the time was arrayed in a suit of fluted Maximilian armour hired for him for the occasion from a Mr. Gwenap, who had a collection of armour on view about that time in a shop in the Opera Colonnade, Pall Mall. Now if the Hatton suit was actually worn at the coronation of one of the Georgian kings, it must have been at that of King George III. But there are two serious objections to be made to this theory. In the first place, as we have said, the record of the armour worn by the Champion at this particular coronation is lost. In the second place, if the Hatton suit were taken from the Tower and worn on



FIG. 1114. EXTRA PIECES BELONGING TO THE CHRISTOPHER HATTON SUIT (FIG. 1113)

- (a) Reinforcing breastplate. (b) Reinforcing chin-piece.
 (c) Reinforcing bevor. (d) The chanfron.

H.M. the King, Windsor Castle

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

this occasion, why was it not returned as were the suits worn on previous coronations? The question, of course, is whether this suit was ever actually in the Tower Collection. Viscount Dillon thinks not, and we cannot even admit that it was at Windsor, certainly not after the XVIIIth century; though parts of the horse armour belonging to it, consisting of the chanfron and the saddle steels, were there in 1901.

A few words must be added as regards the bringing together of the two pieces of the cantle steel of the saddle; for previous to 1870 only one half of the cantle steel was at Windsor. The other half was early in the XIXth century at the Tower of London; but owing to the stupidity and neglect displayed by the Tower authorities at that period, it might have been lost sight of had it not been for the vigilant eye of our first English armour collector, Sir Samuel Meyrick. This half cantle plate was, to use Sir Samuel's own words, "sold as old iron with other pieces from the Tower of London." Sir Samuel purchased it, placing it in his fine collection, where it received the admiration it deserved, being illustrated in Skelton's "Engraved Illustrations" (Vol. ii, Plate CXXX). Many years after, the Meyrick Collection was sold in sections to Mr. S. Pratt of Bond Street. On 17 July 1877, the very day on which the Hatton suit was offered for sale by Messrs. Christie, Mr. Pratt submitted this half cantle steel for auction along with other armour and weapons from his collection. It sold for £25 4s., and was, with great judgement, bought for the Royal Collection, to be once more placed in the Guard Chamber beside its companion plate and chanfron, after a separation of seventy-five years.

It need hardly be remarked that until the re-discovery of the "Jacobe" MS. the Hatton suit was not known to have belonged to Sir Christopher Hatton, but was simply called "the armour of an officer of the Guard of Queen Elizabeth." Its decoration follows that of nearly all the known works of this school, consisting of slightly recessed bands deeply etched with interlaced strapwork, etc., gilt. The plain surface in this case is a rich russet brown, which causes the armour to be known in the inventories of the period as "purple armour." The suit has several interesting features. The breastplate is of large proportions, strongly peascod in form, with two laminated plates at its base, and on the right-hand side four staples for the attachment of the lance-rest. The etching of the breastplate shows at the top of the central band the crowned double cipher of Elizabeth of two E's *adossés*; above this is a strapwork panel containing the figure of Mercury, and at the base of the breastplate is an oblong cartouche with the date 1585. The same theme

ARMOUR OF THE "GREENWICH" SCHOOL

of ornamentation is repeated on the backplate, to which is attached a small scalloped *garde-de-rein*. The pauldrons are intact, and have each upright shoulder guards attached by a hook and catch. The arms are complete with turners, rere- and vambraces, elbow-cops, and fingered gauntlets. The right elbow-cop has a strong staple for the attachment of an extra reinforcing piece. The tace is composed of one plate, to which are permanently attached the large tassets of eight plates, which, however, could be shortened at the third plate by spring catches, the lower border being finished by scalloping. These were complete without the five lower plates, and were thus worn when the knight was mounted, as shown on the dummy now set up in the Guard Chamber of Windsor Castle. The legs are small in comparison with the rest of the suit, the cuisses being short and composed of three plates, knee-cops, jambs with laminated ankles, and square-toed sollerets. The helmet has a slightly roped comb which opens down the centre of the chin-piece; the visor and mezeil are in two plates with triple ocularia; the longitudinal piercings for breathing purposes are in the mezeil. The helmet is hollowed at the neck in a rope design which should fit the top plate of the gorget and give free rotatory movement to the head. The present gorget is merely associated with this suit. The extra arming pieces shown in our illustration and belonging to the suit consist of the reinforcing breastplate which, laminated at the bottom and decorated in similar fashion to the breastplate on the suit, contains on the right-hand side an oblong piercing, through which the staples for the lance-rest could pass (Fig. 1114*a*), the reinforcing chin-piece secured by hinges to staples which are now on the helmet (Fig. 1114*b*), the extra volant piece for the mezeil which is unprovided with piercings for sight or for ventilation of any description (Fig. 1114*c*); the bow and cantle steels of the saddle, and the chanfron (Fig. 1114*d*), are also happily preserved.



FIG. 1115. "SIR CHRISTOFER HAT-TONE" (FIRST SUIT)

No. 16 in the Jacobe MS.

* * *

The armour of Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, K.G. (1534-1601)



FIG. 1116. THE ARMOUR OF HENRY HERBERT, EARL OF PEMBROKE, K.G. (1534-1601)
English (Greenwich school), third quarter of the XVIth century. Collection: The
Earl of Pembroke, Wilton House, Salisbury

36
Sold at 25,000 = 050 at Sotheby's

ARMOUR OF THE "GREENWICH" SCHOOL

(Fig. 1116). This suit is very complete, but lacks its tilt-pieces. It is believed to have been continuously at Wilton since the death of its original owner. In the drawing, No. 17 in the Jacobe MS. (Fig. 1117), it figures as white and gold, which is somewhat curious; for now the general effect is gold and faintly blue, and portions of the plain parts show the original brilliant blued surface which is assuredly of XVIth century date. At some period in the XIXth century it was subjected to what was then regarded as restoration, and at that time dabs of gold paint were put on those places where the original



FIG. 1117. "THE EARLE OF PENBROUKE"
No. 17 in the Jacobe MS.

gilding had become a little thin, but judicious cleaning has removed this blemish.

The suit now at Wilton comprises burgonet and buffe (Fig. 1105A), gorget, breast- and backplate, pauldrons, full arms and fingered gauntlets, taces, tassets, complete legs and sollerets, with spurs. The general effect of the scheme of decoration resembles that on other suits of the same make. Between the vertical recessed bands of etching are S-shaped scrolls, placed end to end in continuous bands; while engraved on the upper part of the breastplate, as though suspended by a double cord, is the lesser George of the Garter.

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

The Garter and motto and the arms of the family also appear on other parts of the suit. In the 1629 Greenwich inventory of "the greate chamber late Mr. Pickerings," is the item: "Diverse parcell of the Earl of Pembrokes armo' viz. one Tilt headpeece one Grandguard one Pasgarde one Mainefree one Turning Gauntlett and one Shafforne." This entry figures in no other of the Greenwich or Tower inventories. We know from the evidence of the Jacobe MS. that the suit had extra pieces, and the right elbow-cop and



FIG. 1118. VAMPLATE OF THE LANCE

From the missing second suit of Sir Christopher Hatton. English (Greenwich school), third quarter of the XVIth century. Tower of London, Class III, No. 890

breastplate show two places for their attachment. But as Wilton also possesses the Earl's second superb plain Greenwich suit, the references in the inventory may be to this plain harness.

* * *

The second suit of Sir Christopher Hatton. This armour is illustrated in drawing No. 18 in the Jacobe MS. The only fragment of this suit of which we have any knowledge is the vamplate of a lance preserved in the Tower of London (Fig. 1118). The gilding which covers the whole surface appears to

ARMOUR OF THE "GREENWICH" SCHOOL

have been applied in the early years of the XIXth century. The suit of the Earl of Cumberland (Fig. 1132) at Appleby Castle has almost the same decoration, as has also the small suit made for Henry, Prince of Wales, at Windsor Castle (Vol. v, Fig. 1435).

* * *



FIG. 1119. ARMOUR OF SIR JOHN SMYTHE OR SMITHE (1534?-1607)

With the exception of the cantle steel of the saddle the horse armour is associated.

English (Greenwich school), third quarter of the XVIth century

Tower of London, Class II, No. 84

The armour of Sir John Smythe, or Smithe (1534?-1607). This suit is in the Tower of London (Fig. 1119), together with the other pieces (Fig. 1120) which were formerly at Windsor Castle, and were removed to the Tower in

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS



FIG. 1120. ADDITIONAL PARTS OF THE SUIT (FIG. 1119)

Made for Sir John Smythe or Smithe. Formerly in the armoury of Windsor Castle, but removed to the Tower of London in 1914 by command of H.M. the King (Class II, No. 84A)

1914 by command of His Majesty the King. The shield belonging to the suit is in the Metropolitan Museum of New York (*post*, p. 240, Fig. 1315). The drawing of this suit is No. 19 in the Jacobe MS. (Fig. 1122).

In the Tower of London are the following pieces of this suit: The close helmet with visor and mezeil, the gorget, the breast- and backplates, the pauldrons and complete arm defences and gauntlets, the long tassets, the jambs and the sollerets. On the breast is engraved a classical head with the motto *FVTVRA PRAETERITIS* round it. The gauntlets are peculiar, being constricted where the cannon of the vambrace terminates. The sollerets are not pointed like those of the Leicester suit; but broaden slightly at the end. In the Tower is also a cantle steel of the saddle (Class VI, No. 115). The other parts of the suit were formerly at Windsor, but were removed to the Tower in 1914 by command of H.M. the King. They consist of the breastplate with a tace of one plate, the backplate, the tassets of fifteen lames finishing in knee-cops, the gorget, the burgonet, the casque with hinged ear plates and protecting "bufe" with two falling plates, another pair of cuisses and knee-cops (Fig. 1121*a*), a half chanfron with small hinged crinet attached (Fig. 1121*b*), the bow steels from the saddle (Fig. 1121*c*), and a morion helmet (Fig. 1121*d*). The surface of the whole is enriched with broad bands of etching decorated in the following manner. At given intervals in the bands are oblong panels framed by strapwork, which are connected by a quatrefoil arrangement of



FIG. 1121. EXTRA PIECES BELONGING TO THE SIR JOHN SMYTHIE OR SMITHIE SUIT

- (a) Pair of laminated cuisses and knee-cops. (c) The bow steels of the saddle.
 (b) A half chanfron. (d) A morion helmet.

Formerly in the armoury of Windsor Castle, but removed to the Tower of London in 1914 by command of H.M. the King. Class II, Nos. 84B and 84C; Class VI, Nos. 51 and 116

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

this same border strapping. The groundwork is occupied with fine leafage. All the strapping is gilt upon a granulated ground which is filled in with a black pigment. The oblong panels of the breastplate are ornamented in the following manner. In the centre panel at the top there is a cross supported by two figures of angels; in the next panel there is a circular medallion containing a double Roman bust with the inscription running round it, *FVTVRA PRAETERITIS*, as on the other breastplate of the suit (Fig. 1119); while in the other panels throughout the suit emblematical female figures of Wisdom, Justice, Temperance, Victory, Strength, Truth, Faith, Fame, Chastity trampling upon Vice, Fame crowning Victory, and other figures are repeated many times. The decoration of this harness is, generally speaking, not in the manner usually associated with the work of this school, being more restrained and simpler in its motives, resembling rather that produced by Wolf of Landshut. The circular shield belonging to this suit (*post*, p. 240, Fig. 1315), which is in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, came from the collection of armour and arms of the Duc de Dino. In the 1901 catalogue of the Dino Collection published by the Baron de Cosson, it will be found described and illustrated, Plate II, No. D 4, not as belonging to the Windsor and Tower Sir John Smythe suit, but as being probably the work of Wolf of Landshut, whose manner is certainly reflected in the style of the whole suit.

In the 1611 inventory of "Greenwich, in the greene gallery" is the entry: "one armo^r compleate given by S^r John Smith to the Kinges Ma^{ty} viz backe brest Almaine Coller, Burgonett murryon sleeves of maile steele for a sadle, shaffron a guilte Targett one prē of longe cushes one prē of shorte cushes a belte of crymisin velvett one prē of guilte stirropes and twoe case of pistolles." In the 1629 inventory of "Greenewich in the greate chamber late Mr. Pickerings," appears the same entry; but there is no mention of the "belte of crymisin velvett" and only "one case of pistolles." In the 1660 inventory of the armour "In the Hall of the Leiftennt of the Tower" of London no attribution of the pieces is recorded; but there is an entry that might well refer to this same set of armour: "(23) Armour richly guilt and graven, consisting of a backe, breast, Cushes, a paire of Kneecaps, Gorgett, a pair of short Taces, one Burgonett with a Buffe, Murrion, one gauntlett and a shaffrone with a paire of guilt steeles for a sadle . . . one." In the 1676 inventory is the same entry. In the 1683 inventory this entry disappears; but there are entries of "Rich armour and parcells of Armour," to which group it is just possible that the portions of the suit which we are endeavouring to trace may have been relegated. In the 1688 inventory

ARMOUR OF THE "GREENWICH" SCHOOL

and valuation is an entry of "Curazier Armour Sanguin'd & parcell'd gilt, consisting of Back Breast & Taces, Pack^t Gorg^t Head^{pce} Chin^{pce} for y^o mouth & Sleeves of Maile . . . £100." Perhaps this is the Sir John Smithe suit, which by some oversight was not mentioned in the previous inventory; for the parts described tally in number, save that the extra pair of tassets, the chanfron, and the saddle steels are not mentioned. The suit is here described as being "sanguin'd." This we can only surmise had reference to the dark ground of the gilded and etched band with which the surface is enriched. Mention of the suit and of its valuation occurs also in the 1691 and the 1693 inventories.

Now two of these entries, those of 1611 and of 1629, contain two pieces of information of the greatest interest. The first is that these particular parts of the Sir John Smithe armour, enumerated in the inventories from which we have quoted, were given by its owner to King James I, and, secondly, that he retained a complete field harness (Fig. 1119) of exactly the same pattern, which is the Class II, No. 84 suit in the Tower. True this suit comprised no pistols, no stirrups, no shield, and only the front saddle steel. Now the inference to be drawn is that when late in the XVIIth century a certain quantity of armour was despatched from the Tower to Windsor Castle this particular panoply was selected to be sent for the express reason that it was known to have been presented by Sir John Smithe to the King's ancestor, and was consequently the personal property of the sovereign. This knowledge of the provenance of the suit in question was probably traditional; for, as we have shown, there is no direct record of the suit subsequent to the inventory of 1629. That one saddle steel should have been left behind at the Tower is not surprising. As for the shield, the pair of stirrups, and the pistols, it will be noted that they seem to have disappeared at the time of the removal of the panoply from Greenwich to the Tower; for they are not enumerated in the 1660 inventory. Doubtless they were all stolen. It was the author who, when the shield was sold with the collection of the Duc



FIG. 1122. "SER JOHN SMITHE"
No. 19 in the Jacobe MS.

43

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

de Dino to the Metropolitan Museum of New York, recognized it as the missing "guilte Targett" belonging to the Sir John Smithe suit.

From 1708 to 1827 the Sir John Smithe suit figured as the armour of King Henry IV in the line of kings. From 1827 to 1895 it was known as the armour of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, for which attribution, we need hardly say, there was no authority. It was only through its identification with the suit represented in the Victoria and Albert Museum MS. of drawings that it was at last credited to the ownership of its original wearer. According to Hewitt it was the suit worn in the Westminster Hall ceremony at the coronation of King George II (*cf.* vol. iii, p. 300).

* * *

The second suit of Sir Henry Lee, K.G., Master of the Armouries (1530-97). Of this armour are preserved in the Tower of London the helmet (Fig. 1123), the right-hand locking gauntlet, the property of the Armourers' and Brasiers' Company (Fig. 1124), the burgonet (Fig. 1125), the buffe (Fig. 1126), the chanfron (Fig. 1127), and the leg armour in the Lifrust-Kammer, Stockholm (Fig. 1128). The drawing of the suit and extra pieces in the Jacobe MS. is numbered 20 (Figs. 1129 and 1130).

This suit, which is perhaps one of the most sumptuous of this series of armours, was originally russet coloured and gilt, with broad slightly recessed bands of ornaments connected by a kind of slashed decoration reminiscent of some earlier style. In the Jacobe drawing we see in the centre of the breastplate the design of a bird standing on the Staffordshire knot. Viscount Dillon states that there is no doubt that the MS. "imperfectly shows the crest of Sir Henry Lee as used by him before 1597; it is a laneret preying on the leg of a heron." The most important of the extant pieces of the second Lee suit is the close helmet, which in form exactly resembles that on the Hatton suit. In Grose's "Treatise on Ancient Armour and Weapons," published in 1785, two views of this helmet are engraved on plate 10. It was then the property of a Mr. Rawle. It weighs 8 lb., and still retains much of its original lining. This helmet was purchased by the Tower authorities at the Bernal Sale in 1855 (Lot 2701) for the sum of £28. The gauntlet for the tilt, in the possession of the Armourers' and Brasiers' Company, was, together with the other Lee suit (Fig. 1141), presented to that Company in 1768 by Mr. William Carter, a member of the Court. The gauntlet, which unfortunately has been subjected to very rigorous overcleaning, is ornamented like the rest of the second Lee suit. Its extreme length when open is 13½ inches, the width across the opening for the hand is 5¾ inches. When the gauntlet is closed



FIG. 1123. HELMET

From the second suit made for Sir Henry Lee (1530-1597). English (Greenwich school), third quarter of the XVIth century. Tower of London, Class IV, No. 43

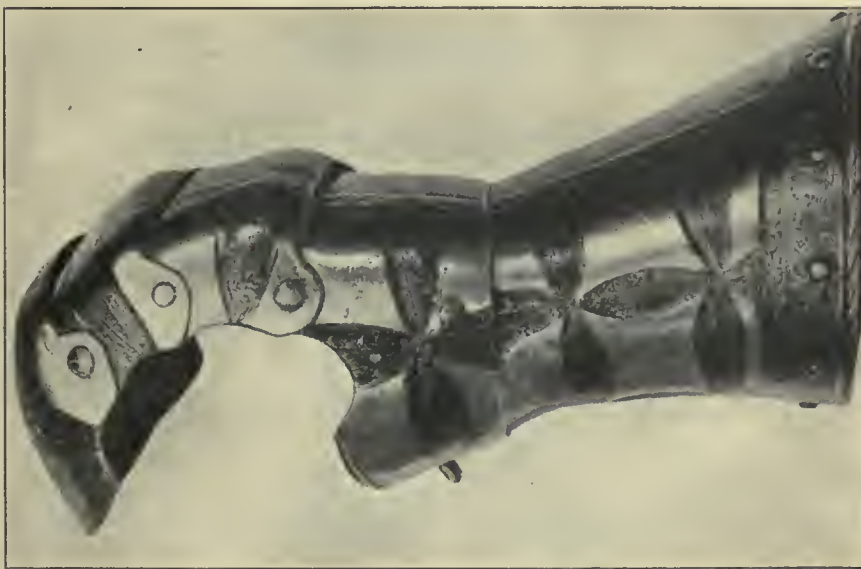


FIG. 1124. LOCKING GAUNTLET

From the second suit made for Sir Henry Lee. English (Greenwich school), third quarter of the XVIth century. Presented to the Armourers' and Brasiers' Company by Mr. William Carter in 1768



FIG. 1125. BURGONET HELMET .

From the second suit made for Sir Henry Lee. English (Greenwich school), third quarter of the XVIth century. From a photograph courteously supplied by the Baron Rudolf Cederström. Lifrust-Kammer, Stockholm



FIG. 1126. BUFFE FOR THE CASQUE (FIG. 1125)

From the second suit made for Sir Henry Lee. English (Greenwich school), third quarter of the XVIth century. From a photograph courteously supplied by the Baron Rudolf Cederström. Lifrust-Kammer, Stockholm

ARMOUR OF THE "GREENWICH", SCHOOL

upon the hand, and secured by a staple, only a small opening remains, from which the sword, lance, or mace could not be forced from the holder's grasp. This locking device gave an unfair advantage over an adversary in the



FIG. 1127. THE CHANFRON

From the second suit made for Sir Henry Lee. English (Greenwich school), third quarter of the XVIth century. From a photograph courteously supplied by the Baron Rudolf Cederström. Lifrust-Kammer, Stockholm

tournament, and therefore the use of this kind of gauntlet was not allowed in certain tourneys in earlier days. From this circumstance, it has been termed a "forbidden gauntlet." Many examples exist. With reference to this type of gauntlet the reader is referred to the Royal Ordinances drawn up by John

EUROPEAN ARMOÛR AND ARMS

Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, and dated the 29th of May, 6 *Edward IV*:
“The ordinances, statutes and rules, made by John Tiptofte, Erle of Wor-



FIG. 1128. LEG ARMOUR

From the second suit made for Sir Henry Lee. English (Greenwich school), third quarter of the XVIth century. From a photograph courteously supplied by the Baron Rudolf Cederström. Lifrust-Kammer, Stockholm

cestre, Constable of England, by the Kinge's commaundement, at Windsore, the 29th day of May, anno sexto Edwardi quarti, and commanded to bee observed or kepte in alle manner of justes of peaces royall within this

ARMOUR OF THE "GREENWICH" SCHOOL

realme of England before his highnesse, or lieutenant by his commandement or license, had from this time forth, reserving alwaies to the Queene and to the ladyes present, the attribution and gifte of the prize to be attributed for their merites and demerites according to the articles ensueinge." Among the rules is one relating to the "forbidden gauntlet," though naturally having reference to a gauntlet of the XVth century type: "Item,



FIG. 1129. "SR HENRY LEE, MR OF THARMERIE"
(SECOND SUIT)

No. 20 in the Jacobe MS. The drawing shows the close helmet in the Tower and the leg armour at Stockholm

he that shall have a close gauntlett or any thinge to fasten his sworde to his hands, shall have no prize."

There are many manuscript copies of this ordinance extant, and of these there is one in the Heralds College Library, apparently of the time of Queen Elizabeth; it is marked "M. 6." The Ordinance and Rules have been reprinted in Cripps-Day's *The Tournament*, Appendix IV, p. xxvii. There exists in the Nordeska Museum, Stockholm, a late XVIIth century portrait



FIG. 1130. EXTRA PIECES OF THE SUIT OF "SR HENRY LEE, MR OF THARMERIE"
No. 20 in the Jacobe MS.

- (a) The burgonet helmet; at Stockholm
- (b) The buffe; at Stockholm
- (c) The locking gauntlet; Armourers' and Brasiers' Company
- (d) The chanfron; at Stockholm

ARMOUR OF THE "GREENWICH" SCHOOL

of a Count Sten Bielka (Fig. 1131), who, though wearing a short periwig and lawn cravat, is apparently armoured in the now lost second suit made for Sir Henry Lee. The suit is most accurately represented, and is shown



FIG. 1131. FROM A PORTRAIT OF COUNT STEN BIELKA

Third quarter of the XVIIth century. The count is represented wearing the now lost second suit made for Sir Henry Lee. Nordeska Museum, Stockholm

16th?

to the waist, evidently painted from the actual armour. Since certain other pieces of this Lee suit are still to be seen in Stockholm, there is the likelihood that even now the remainder of the suit may yet be discovered in some private Swedish collection. It would be interesting to learn how it came to



Sold for
 £ 55000.00
 McKay
 N.Y.

a
 c

b

FIG. 1132. ARMOUR OF GEORGE CLIFFORD, EARL OF CUMBERLAND, K.G. (1558-1605)
 English (Greenwich school), third quarter of the XVIth century. Collection: Lord
 Hothfield, Appleby Castle, Westmoreland
 (a) Front view; (b) Profile view; (c) First set of cantle steels for the saddle

Sold privately at ⁵² 55000.00 McKay New York

ARMOUR OF THE "GREENWICH" SCHOOL

pass that the second Lee suit should, in the XVIIth century, have found its way to Sweden, and later to have been chosen as the military apparel in which Count Sten Bielka is depicted in the late XVIIth century portrait.

* * *

The armour of George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, K.G. (1558-1605), in the possession of Lord Hothfield at Appleby Castle, Westmoreland (Fig. 1132). The drawing of the suit (Fig. 1137) with the extra pieces is numbered 21 in the Jacobe MS.



FIG. 1133. GAUNTLETS

The pair now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, which perhaps belonged to the armour of George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland



FIG. 1134. UNFINISHED MEZEIL

From the Cumberland suit. Tower of London, Class III, No. 865

Of all these suits, with the possible exception of the Sir Christopher Hatton suit at Windsor Castle, this is the most complete extant. It has never been removed from Appleby Castle, or entrusted to the hands of inexperienced or injudicious cleaners. The surface is what is usually termed russet; but it is better described as of a brownish-blue oxidization, which effectively relieves the gilded decoration. In the centre of all the pieces is a broad vertical band of gilt floriated scrolls etched, protected by being slightly recessed below the surface the conventional interlaced strapwork being raised and left in blue, thus contrasting with the gilded diaper groundwork. The double cypher of Queen



FIG. 1135. ADDITIONAL PARTS FOR THE SUIT (FIG. 1132)
 Made for George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland. English (Greenwich school), third
 quarter of the XVIth century

- | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (a) An additional close helmet | (c) Reinforcing left elbow piece |
| (b) Grand guard | (d) Vamplates for the lance |
| (e) Reinforcing mezeil | |

Collection: Lord Hothfield, Appleby Castle, Westmoreland

ARMOUR OF THE "GREENWICH" SCHOOL

Elizabeth, of two E's *adossés* connected by two entwined annulets, is also blue, and shows out conspicuously from the rest; two of these monograms occur on all the principal portions of the suit; on each side of the vertical band are etched and gilt emblems of the Tudor family, two open cinquefoil roses with a *fleur-de-lis* between connected by true lovers' knots. A recessed and gilt border of roses inclosed in annulets runs round the top and bottom of each piece, and narrow vertical stripes of etched and gilded scrolls divide the patterns;



FIG. 1136. ADDITIONAL PARTS FOR THE SUIT (FIG. 1132)

Made for George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland. English (Greenwich school), third quarter of the XVIth century

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| (a) Saddle steels | | (c) The crinet |
| (b) The chanfron | | (d) The pair of stirrups |
| (e) A fourth vamplate for the lance | | |

Collection: Lord Hothfield, Appleby Castle, Westmoreland

in these borders are the rivets, with latten heads, which secured the linings in position. A comparison of the details of this suit with those of the Henry, Prince of Wales suit at Windsor Castle (Vol. v, Chap. xxxvii, Fig. 1435) reveals the fact that the pattern of the interlaced strapwork and of the gilt scrollwork is identical, the only variation being the monograms and the introduction of the thistle of Scotland to mark King James I's accession.

In Lord Londesborough's Collection were another pair of gauntlets that

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

may have belonged to this Cumberland suit. In the Londesborough Sale Catalogue (Lot 462) it was stated that they were purchased at Lord Pembroke's sale in 1851; but on referring to the catalogue of that sale we can find no record of them. They are now in the collection presented by Mr. W. Riggs to the Metropolitan Museum of New York (Fig. 1133).

The Cumberland harness at Appleby Castle comprises the following pieces:



FIG. 1137. "THE EARLE OF CUMBERLANDE"
No. 21 in the Jacobe MS.



FIG. 1137A. GEORGE CLIFFORD,
EARL OF CUMBERLAND
From a miniature ascribed by Dr. G. C.
Williamson to Isaac Oliver. Collec-
tion: Mrs. Sotheby, Exeter

a close helmet, a gorget, a breast- and backplate, the taces and tassets, and the complete leg defences inclusive of sollerets. It is interesting to note that the jambes, unlike nearly all those made by this armourer, are not laminated above the ankle, but are of one piece. The pieces for the tilt are an additional close helmet (Fig. 1135*a*), a grand guard (Fig. 1135*b*), a reinforcing piece for the left elbow (Fig. 1135*c*), four vamplates for the lance (Figs. 1135*d* and 1136*e*), and a reinforcing mezeil for the helmet (Fig. 1135*e*). The horse armour of the suit is the most complete in the series, consisting of two sets of bow saddle steels (Fig. 1136*a*), one set of cantle saddle steels (Fig. 1132*c*),

ARMOUR OF THE "GREENWICH" SCHOOL

the chanfron (Fig. 1136*b*) with small crinet (Fig. 1136*c*), and the stirrups (Fig. 1136*d*).

The left gauntlet, which is missing, has been replaced by a left gauntlet of the suit (now at Windsor Castle) of Henry, Prince of Wales (Vol. v,



FIG. 1138. PORTIONS OF A SUIT OF ARMOUR

The chanfron belonging is shown in Vol. iii, Fig. 1014*c*. Made for George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, K.G. Probably English, by an unknown armorer. The Earl is represented as wearing a suit very similar in a family portrait at Appleby Castle. A miniature of the Earl by Isaac Oliver also exists in the collection of his Grace the Duke of Buccleuch in which he is represented wearing armour of a starred decoration (Fig. 1140). Tower of London, Class II, No. 85

Fig. 1435), of which suit the right gauntlet, once in the Meyrick Collection, is now in the Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 668).

In the Tower is an unfinished mezeil which appears to be a piece of this suit, on it the rose and *fleur-de-lis* are recessed, but no engraving has been executed (Fig. 1134).

* * *



FIG. 1139. GEORGE CLIFFORD, EARL OF CUMBERLAND
 From a large family group at Appleby Castle. The starred armour
 represented is similar in decoration to the Cumberland armour in
 the Tower of London, Class II, No. 85 (Fig. 1138). Collec-
 tion: Lord Hothfield, Appleby Castle, Westmoreland



FIG. 1139A. PORTRAIT OF THE EARL OF CUMBERLAND
 At the taking of Porto Rico, 1598.
 Engraved by Thomas
 Cockson



FIG. 1140. MINIATURE PORTRAIT OF GEORGE CLIFFORD, EARL OF CUMBERLAND
In the costume of the Queen's Champion. By Isaac Oliver

The starred armour represented is similar in decoration to the Cumberland armour in the Tower of London (Fig. 1138).
Collection: The Duke of Buccleuch, through whose courtesy the miniature was especially photographed .

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS



FIG. 1141

There is in the Tower of London part of another suit of armour (Fig. 1138) consisting of the left pauldron and brassard, right brassard, a pair of leg defences (short cuisses, knee-cops, and jambes), the cuff from a gauntlet, and a chanfron said to be parts of a harness of this same Earl; for the decoration closely resembles that of a suit he is represented wearing in a portrait at Appleby Castle in the possession of Lord Hothfield (Fig. 1139), in a fine miniature by Isaac Oliver in the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch (Fig. 1140), and in a portrait engraved by Thomas Cockson (*circa* 1598), Fig. 1139A. Another miniature in the possession of Mrs. Sotheby (Fig. 1137A) shows him wearing the suit of armour at Appleby Castle. As the Earl died in 1605 the portrait is also remarkable as showing the use of a form of collar generally in fashion at a rather later period. The surface decoration of stars

FIG. 1141. ARMOUR OF SIR HENRY LEE (THIRD SUIT)

English (Greenwich school), third quarter of the XVIth century. Presented to the Armourers' and Brasiers' Company by Mr. William Carter in 1768. In the Hall of the Armourers' and Brasiers' Company

ARMOUR OF THE "GREENWICH" SCHOOL

shown in three of the portraits appears, however, in a somewhat different form on the armour in the Tower to which we are now referring. In the Riggs Collection, Metropolitan Museum of New York, are a pair of cuisses and knee-cops, deeply engraved with large stars, showing a greater likeness to the armour worn in the portrait at Appleby Castle (Fig. 1139).

* * *

The third suit of Sir Henry Lee, 1530-97 (Fig. 1141). The drawing

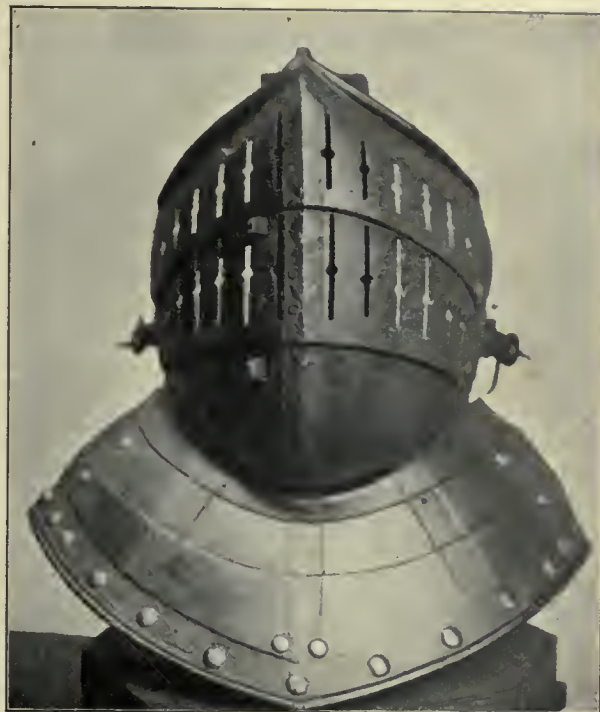


FIG. 1142. BUFFE FROM THE BURGONET HELMET OF THE ARMOUR OF SIR HENRY LEE (FIG. 1141)

Ex collections: Londesborough and Brett. Now in the Hall of the Armourers' and Brasiers' Company

of the suit and extra pieces is numbered 28 in the Jacobe MS. (Fig. 1143). This suit, with the exception of the extra pieces illustrated in the MS., is in the Hall of the Armourers' and Brasiers' Company. It was presented to the Company together with the gauntlet (Fig. 1124) in 1768, by Mr. William Carter, a member of the Court. At the dispersal of the Brett Collection in 1895, the buffe from the lost burgonet, No. 729 in the catalogue, was very wisely purchased by the Company for £25. Previous to its inclusion in the Brett Collection, it was in that of Lord Londesborough (Fig. 1142) and was sold for £19 19s. (Lot 126). The suit is

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

curiously decorated with narrow recessed bands, etched and gilt with knotted ornaments, introducing at intervals the pomegranate; while in the centre of the breastplate can be seen the initials A. V., which probably stand for Anne Vavasour, natural daughter of Sir Thomas Vavasour, and Lady of the Bed-chamber to Queen Elizabeth. The "Dictionary of National Biography" states that this lady was Sir Henry Lee's mistress. In the MS. the details of the pomegranate ornamentation are represented red and green, as though enamelled, a polychromatic decoration of armour which is rare, though not



FIG. 1143. "SIR HARRY LEA, M^r OF THE ARMORE" (THIRD SUIT)
No. 28 in the Jacobe MS.

quite unknown. This colour pigment on the third Lee suit must have been in the medium of paint, and not of enamel. The suit as set up in the Armourers' and Brasiers' Hall comprises a close helmet, complete arms with full pauldrons, fingered gauntlets, breast- and backplate, taceplate and short tassets, laminated cuisses, knee-cops, jacks, and sollerets. The whole suit is now unfortunately overcleaned.

The suit supposed to have been made for Nicholas Christof von Radzivil, Duke of Olyka, once in the Imperial Armoury of Vienna, is similarly enriched with painted strapwork in red, black, and white. No part of this suit is now

ARMOUR OF THE "GREENWICH" SCHOOL

in Vienna. Its tilting salade is in the Musée d'Artillerie, Paris, the chanfron is in the collection of Monsieur Bachereau of Paris, and in the Riggs Collection, Metropolitan Museum of New York, are a tilting shoulder-guard and a saddle steel from the same harness.

* * *



FIG. 1144. PORTRAIT OF SIR JAMES SCUDAMORE (DATED 1619)

The armour depicted is apparently the suit made for Henry, Lord Compton, parts of which are now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York.
Unnumbered in the Jacobe MS.

The armour of Henry, Lord Compton (Fig. 1146). Portions of this harness are now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York. The drawing of the suit is entitled "My Lorde Cumpton" in the Jacobe MS. (Fig. 1148). This harness is shown in the MS. as a three-quarter suit of a blue or russet



FIG. 1145



FIG. 1145A



FIG. 1145B

FIG. 1145. BURGONET AND BUFFE

From the armour of Henry, Lord Compton. English (Greenwich school), third quarter of the XVIth century
Metropolitan Museum, New York

FIG. 1145A. The left arm of the same suit before restoration

FIG. 1145B. After restoration by Monsieur Daniel Tachaux

ARMOUR OF THE "GREENWICH" SCHOOL

colour, with arrangements of broad vertical bands, containing curious etched and gilt ornaments, which comprise an interlaced thorn scroll, through which runs a zigzag line. The border ornaments are composed of a compressed serpentine band through which runs a narrower band parallel with the edges of the plates. We describe the detail of this ornament because of the confusing and contradictory evidence furnished by a portrait of Sir James Scudamore, dated 1619, until recently in the possession of the Earl of Chesterfield, in which the figure is portrayed armed in exactly the suit which in the MS. is ascribed to the ownership of Lord Compton (Fig. 1144). For the time we must be content to accept the attribution given in the MS. about this armour, or at least what remains of it; for the Scudamore harness appears on the next plate in the MS. Of this Compton suit there are in existence to-day the following pieces: the burgonet and buffe (Fig. 1145), the complete arms and pauldrons (as an instance of its clever restoration we illustrate the left brassard before and after restoration, Figs. 1145 A, B), and the laminated cuisses and knee-cops. Excellent reproductions of the missing parts, consisting of the breastplate, backplate, taceplate, tassets, and gauntlets, have been made by Monsieur Daniel Tachaux, the armourer of the Metropolitan Museum of New York, in order to complete the suit as shown (Fig. 1146).

The original parts of the Compton suit, together with the breast- and backplate, gorget, tace, tassets, jambs, and sollerets of the Scudamore harness, came to light in 1909, when the contents of the manor house of Holme Lacy in Herefordshire were offered for sale by public auction. Holme Lacy was the seat of the family of Scudamore-Stanhope, a family now represented by the Earl of Chesterfield.

From the "Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of New York," we by permission extract the following:

"So rare is it in these days to discover armour which belonged to definite personages, that it is not here out of place to review as best we may the history of the present pieces. Probably they never strayed far from the home of their owner. They may originally have been mounted on racks or manikins after the prevailing fashion, and were probably dismounted when Holme Lacy was remodelled towards the end of the XVIIth century, at which time some of the most decorative pieces were hung about the house. In fact we know that they were displayed separately; for when the armour was examined, old wires were found in place by means of which pieces had been attached to pegs or brackets. Later on, the pieces were taken down, some were lost, the rest stored and forgotten. It was only in 1909, when the contents of the



a



b

FIG. 1146. THE COMPTON SUIT AS NOW RESTORED
Metropolitan Museum, New York

(*a*) Front view.

(*b*) Back view.

ARMOUR OF THE "GREENWICH" SCHOOL

ancient manor house were overhauled for public sale, that all parts of the armour that remained reappeared.

"It appears that when Holme Lacy was rebuilt in the reign of Charles II, a part of the older building, the 'Henry VIII tower,' remained untouched, where in the attic many objects had been stowed away for generations: here were found large decorative paintings, wood carvings from mantels and cornices, and stacks of Tudor doors. Under a litter of odds and ends stood a long chest and in this the armour was found packed away in a confused mass. Near by was a low window through which the rain had entered at various times, for the floor had rotted and the bottom of the chest had evidently been damp." This was clearly not the best storage place for armour, and one little wonders that some of the pieces had been greatly injured, especially at the points where they came in contact with the damp wood. In fact all the armour was sadly rusted, and evidently the first view of this collection of fragments roused no feeling of enthusiasm in the uninitiated. In the catalogue of the sale the lot was described in but few words; apparently none of the auctioneers or of their advisers realized the importance of the find. Certain disagreements between the Earl of Chesterfield and the purchaser of the armour arose after the sale, with the result that a lawsuit followed which ended in a verdict that the armour should be returned to the Earl. It was soon after this that the Metropolitan Museum of New York secured the objects privately at the instance of their late President, Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan. The armour purchased represented, as above noted, parts of two harnesses. Of one suit the head-piece was lacking, of the other the breastplate. In both several plates were missing, as well as the gauntlets, the pieces were rusty, detached, broken, and needing for their restoration special technical skill. Fortunately for the Metropolitan Museum, Monsieur Daniel Tachaux, their skilled armourer, was at hand to undertake the work of restoration, and the results have been excellent. At first it was thought that the suit had originally been given a russet colour over the bright areas, after the fashion of a number of late harnesses; but a more careful examination of the pieces showed that the armour was originally white, almost silver-like in its brilliant polish. This became clear when the helmet was taken to pieces and when various plates of arms and legs were unriveted; for here, on the inner plates of the elbow-cops (Fig. 1147), the surface appeared mirror-like, as if it had come fresh from the hand of the armourer although over three centuries had passed. The restoration of the Chesterfield armour was of necessity a laborious task. The etched surfaces were carefully cleaned, and the rust was removed by brushing and by

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

the aid of a delicate burnisher, after a treatment with oils and alkali. Each tracery in the pattern, it was found, had to be cleaned separately. Then the rusted surfaces were polished, and the missing plates replaced by reproductions, etched and gilded. In all cases, however, in which a missing fragment was replaced, care was taken to engrave upon the surface of the plate



FIG. 1147. PORTION OF THE INNER SIDE OF THE LEFT ELBOW-COP BEFORE RESTORATION
Showing the original burnished "white" surface

the date of the restoration and the signature of the maker. The authorities of the Metropolitan Museum of New York have to thank Dr. Bashford Dean, Curator of their Armouries, for the strenuous and successful efforts which he made to obtain for them the possession of these portions of this historical armour, and thanks are also due to him from armour lovers in general that under his able guidance they have been so admirably restored.

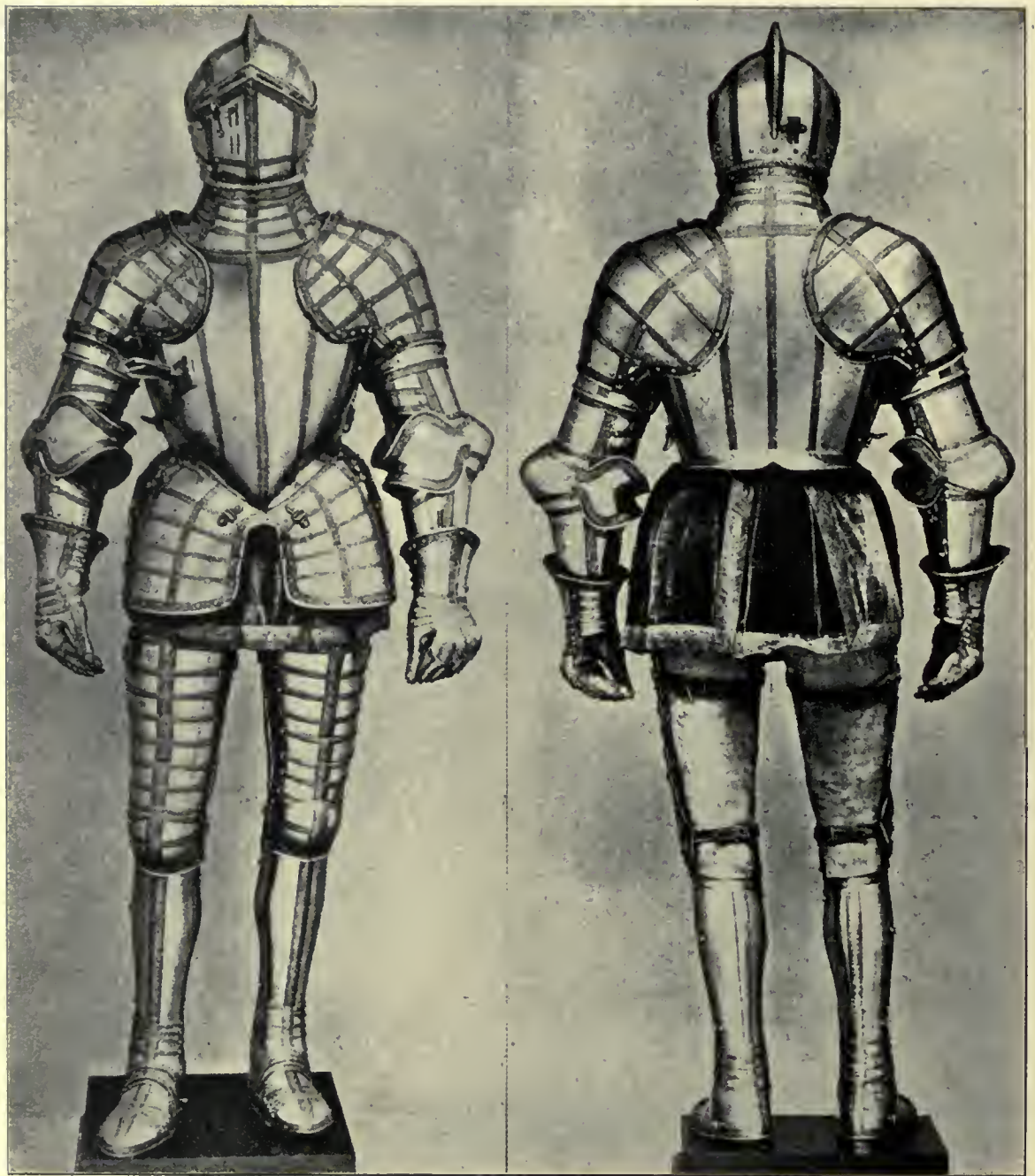
ARMOUR OF THE "GREENWICH" SCHOOL

The present writer, too, acknowledges his gratitude to Dr. Dean for having given him permission to extract from the "Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum" his interesting note describing how the armour was in the first instance discovered at Holme Lacy. We only offer one comment, and that is as to the probability of the suit having originally been white and gold. Dr. Dean's account of finding on certain permanently overlapping plates, when taken apart, a brilliant and originally burnished surface, seems very convincing. But on the other hand it is difficult to explain why in the MS.



FIG. 1148. "MY LORDE CUMPTON"
The Jacobe MS.

the three-quarter suit ascribed to Lord Compton, of which the Metropolitan Museum suit is certainly part, is represented as purple or russet and gold; for the drawings are generally accurate as regards colour and decoration. Moreover, in the early XVIIth century portrait of Sir James Scudamore, in which he is represented as wearing this armour, it is there painted purple and gold; while the suit of Lord Buckhurst, now in the Wallace Collection, which has an identical decoration both as regards colour and design to the Compton harness, still bears the colour as depicted in the MS. There is, however, an argument against the suit having necessarily been originally finished according to the drawing in the MS., and that is, that



a

b

FIG. 1149. THE SIR JAMES SCUDAMORE SUIT AS NOW RESTORED
The original parts. English (Greenwich school), third quarter of the XVIth century
Metropolitan Museum, New York

(*a*) Front view

(*b*) Back view

ARMOUR OF THE "GREENWICH" SCHOOL

while the Pembroke suit (Fig. 1116) is shown as white and gold in the drawing, the suit itself certainly presents a bluish tone, and in certain places an original brilliantly blued surface, so that the MS. is not always an accurate guide.

* * *

The armour of Sir James Scudamore, John Skidmur, or Scudamor. The drawing of this suit in the Jacobe MS. is entitled "Mr Skidmur" (Fig. 1150). This harness is now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York. It is a suit of white armour, decorated with narrow vertical bands etched and gilt.



FIG. 1150. "MR SKIDMUR"
The Jacobe MS.

Only the breast- and backplate, the tace and tassets, the gorget, and part of the jambs and sollerets are in existence. Excellent reproductions of the missing parts, consisting of a close helmet, laminated cuisses, pauldrons, complete arms and gauntlets, have now been made by Monsieur Daniel Tachaux, the armorer of the Metropolitan Museum of New York, in order to complete the suit as shown (Fig. 1149).

Along with parts of the Lord Compton suit this Scudamore harness was acquired from the sale at Holme Lacy in the manner already described.

* * *



FIG. 1151. ARMOUR OF LORD BUCKHURST
English (Greenwich school), third quarter of the XVIth century. Wallace Collection
(Laking Catalogue, No. 435)

ARMOUR OF THE "GREENWICH" SCHOOL



FIG. 1152. MINIATURE POR-
TRAIT

By Nicholas Hilliard, of Lord
Buckhurst. Collection:
H.M. the King, Windsor
Castle

Collection until it passed into that of Sir Richard Wallace. The edging of the suit is roped and its outline is followed by a row of brass-headed rivets one inch apart, to which were secured the lining straps. The whole surface is richly decorated by bands and bordering, deeply etched and partly gilt with a scroll design, through which runs a zigzag line an eighth of an inch wide, the ground-work having been granulated and filled in with a black pigment. The edging to the design is three-eighths of an inch wide and contains a compressed serpentine line through which runs a line parallel with the edging. The plain surfaces have been oxidized to a rich russet-brown. The suit now consists of the following parts: the burgonet head-piece with hinged ear-pieces coming well forward and hinged umbril; the skull-piece has a roped comb $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches high; and the umbril, which is pointed, is pivoted

The armour of Lord Bucarte (i.e., Buckhurst, or Sir Thomas Sackville as he was called before being raised to the peerage), now in the armoury of the Wallace Collection, No. 435 (Fig. 1151). The drawing of this suit is entitled "My Lorde Bucarte" in the Jacobe MS. (Fig. 1153). This harness was formerly in the Meyrick Collection and is described and illustrated in Skelton's "Engraved Illustrations," vol. i, Plate XXIX. In the catalogue of 1870 of the Meyrick Collection it is stated that it was taken from the Château de Coulommiers en Brie at the time that the château was dismantled during the French Revolution. The catalogue goes on to state that it is said to have belonged to the eighth Duke of Longueville. The author can find no account of the history of the suit from the time it was sold from the Meyrick



FIG. 1153. "MY LORDE BUCARTE"
The Jacobe MS.

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

to the side of the skull in the manner of a visor, and has attached to it a triple bar face guard, the bar of which is forged to a single plate hollowed out to receive the chin. This plate is secured to the umbril by the bars which continue through it, and which in their turn are pierced at the top to receive a long curved staple which passes through them on the outside of the umbril holding the guard secure. At the bottom it is attached to the right cheek-piece by hook and eye. Over this, and fastening by two iron straps with hook and eye to staples on the cheek-pieces, is a buffe with a falling bevor of three plates, the top one pierced with four oblong apertures forming the ocularia. Both the burgonet and buffe have gorget plates attached; there is a cylindrical plume holder at the back of the skull. The gorget is composed of four plates. The breastplate, which is of peascod form, has a roped turnover and roped laminated gussets. The lower edge of it is finished in such a manner that, on removal of the taces and tassets, the breastplate was complete in itself, and could be worn with the puffed trunks or bombasted breeches as the fashion required. The backplate was secured to the breastplate by steel straps passing over the shoulders and beneath the armpits. These were held in position by attachment to staples in the breastplate, through the top of which passed pins. The tace is of one plate, to which are permanently attached by hinges the tassets of four plates. Both tace and tassets can be removed from the breastplate by means of a hook and eye, $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches from either end. The pauldrons are of five plates, coming well forward and protecting the gussets. The top plate of each pauldron is slightly embossed in front, in order that it may fit easily over the staples and pin at the top corners of the breastplate. The arms are complete, comprising turners, rere- and vambraces, and elbow-cops. The gauntlets have fingers, the cuffs being pointed and bell-shaped; while the inside bend of the wrist is guarded by five laminated plates. The cuisses are composed of seven laminated plates. To these are attached the knee-cops, small heart-shaped plates protecting the outside bend of the leg. The jambs are splinted and laminated at the ankle, to which are riveted to the heels spurs with six open-pointed rowels. The sollerets are square-toed. Unfortunately, with the exception of the reinforcing breastplate and a pair of stirrups shown beside the suit (Nos. 434, 436, and 437 in the Laking Catalogue) all the tilt pieces are now missing. There exists in the collection of H.M. the King at Windsor Castle a miniature portrait by Nicholas Hilliard of my "Lorde Bucarte," in which he is represented wearing the identical armour just described (Fig. 1152). It will be noticed that the decoration

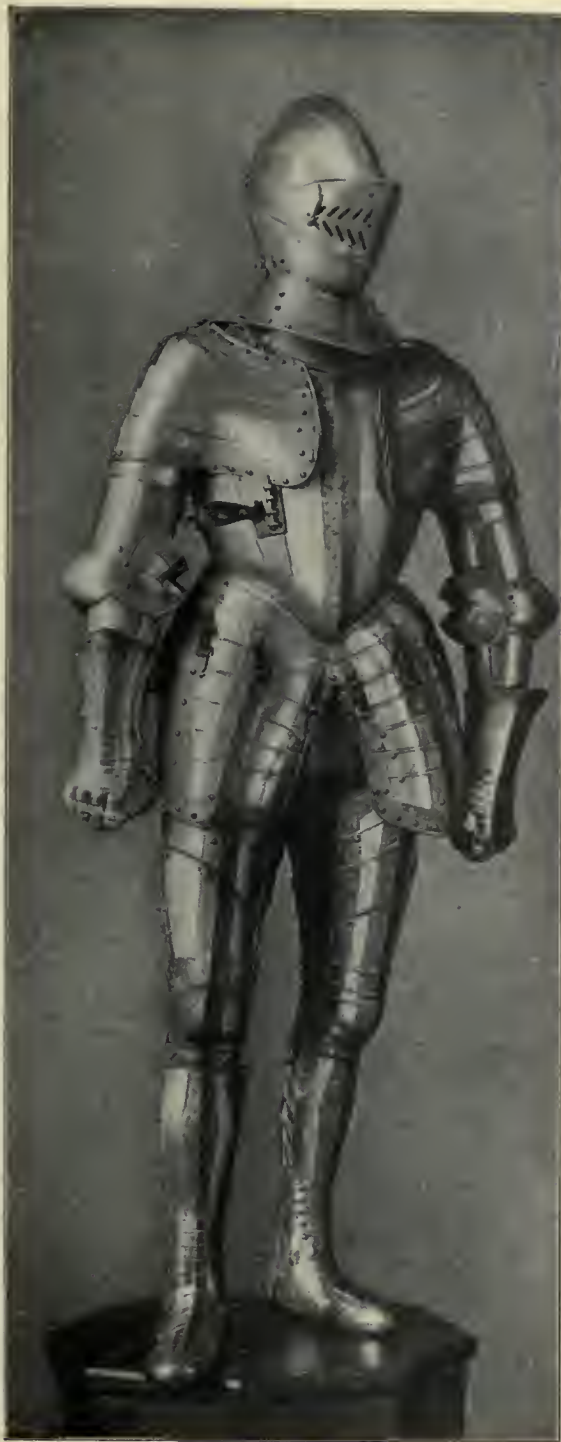


FIG. 1154. SUIT OF ARMOUR

Stated to have been made for the Archduke Carl von Steiermark, dated 1582, and bearing the armorer's mark associated with Jacob Topf. Imperial Armoury, Vienna

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

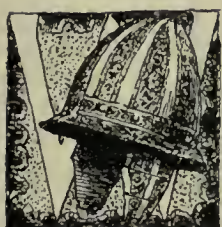
of this suit bears a remarkable likeness to that on the armour of Lord Compton (Fig. 1146).

* * *

We terminate our already long survey of the work of this school by representing, simply for purposes of comparison with those suits just illustrated, that suit in the Imperial Armoury of Vienna which Herr Boenheim describes as being in all probability the work of Jacob Topf (Fig. 1154). It is a full parade harness, the surface bright with broad bands which are ornamented with engraving and gilding and encrusted with small silver pearls. Among the interspersed designs can be seen figures clad as foot soldiers. A medallion on the right cuisse thigh bears the date 1582. We can only surmise as to who was the original owner of this suit. The suit was removed from the Arsenal of the Court of Graz to Vienna. It can be proved that Topf worked for the Court of Graz; so the theory that the armour belonged to Archduke Carl von Steiermark is at least plausible. Both this suit and a second harness in the Imperial Armoury of Vienna are considered by the Vienna authorities to be Jacob Topf's work. Both bear little or no likeness to the suits we have described and illustrated as the work of the Greenwich School, save perhaps in the shape and construction of the lower part of the iambs, and in the formation of the sollerets.

CHAPTER XXX

THE LATEST XVITH CENTURY SUITS OF CONTINENTAL MAKE—DECADENT ARMOUR COMMONLY KNOWN AS "PISAN"



WE must finally add a few remarks on those suits of the closing years of the XVIth century which constitute the continental but poor equivalent to the type which we have chosen to regard as English made armour. The armour to which we refer is the continental stock pattern harness; like the products of the ready-made tailor it might almost be described as "reach-me-down."

Known under the heading of "Pisan" armour, it must have been the universal parade harness traded in. The north of Italy exported it in very large quantities throughout the closing years of the XVIth and the commencement of the XVIIth centuries. It is to be seen in every public and in most private collections, so that it must have existed in large quantities; even if complete suits are rare to-day, individual parts are constantly coming into the market. Naturally it varies very considerably in its quality; for it is judged not so much from the actual shaping of the plates as from the quality of *aqua fortis* etching with which it is decorated. This armour is usually made on the simplest possible lines. As the first suit of this nature which we illustrate, we will take a really good and fine example of its kind, a work signed by an armourer of repute, though even in such an example the very scamped nature of the workmanship is at once apparent. The half-suit of armour we refer to is now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, and was formerly in the Dino Collection. On the front of the breastplate is the signature POMPEO, which is that of an armourer of Milan named Pompeo della Cesa (or della Chiesa) who worked at the end of the XVIth century. Major Angelucci has found several documents which prove that Pompeo della Cesa did work for General Alessandro Farnese and for Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua. In the inventory of the arms of the Duke of Infantado published at Guadalajara in 1643, to which we have already referred, a piece of armour is mentioned as being made by "Pompeyo," which

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

would prove that this Milanese armourer's work had sufficient merit to be known in Spain, where Pompeo held an appointment at the Court of Philip III. Complete suits and parts of suits signed by him are to be seen in the Imperial



FIG. 1155. SUIT OF HALF ARMOUR

Italian (Milanese), the work of Pompeo della Cesa, about 1590-1600
Metropolitan Museum, New York

Armoury of Vienna and in the Royal Armouries of Madrid and of Turin. The Tower of London possesses examples of this type of armour, so does the Wallace Collection. Pompeo often signed his name "PoMpe," and, as a rule, he put this signature at the top of the breastplate—the big M denoting



[Photograph Ed. Atinari]

FIG. 1156. SUIT OF ARMOUR

North Italian (Pisan school), late XVIth century. Collection: Stibbert, Florence

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

his native city Milan. He had many followers and imitators and, as we have said, since his own work was none of the best, it may well be imagined that the productions of the copyists are the poorest possible examples of the armourer's craft.

If the suit illustrated (Fig. 1155) be examined, the feeble make of the armour itself, the undulations of its plate surfaces, and the poorly fashioned



FIG. 1157. PORTRAIT OF A KNIGHT OF MALTA
Showing an elaborate suit of
half armour in the
Pisan style



FIG. 1158. PORTRAIT OF A NOBLEMAN
By J. Sustermans. Showing an elaborate suit of half
armour in the Pisan style. Now in the collection
of Dr. Bashford Dean, New York

roping that borders the plates will at once be noted. Indeed, this roping would appear to be produced by the mere cut of a file around the thickened edge of the plates. The very hoopiness of the laminated parts, and the tassets of one thin plate of iron, in contrast with the multi-lamed tassets of a previous generation, all show the labour-saving methods of the workmanship. That the breastplate is somewhat formless is a fault due to the moderated peascod fashion prevailing in the closing years of the XVIth century. The two pauldrons are equal in size, the right having no hollow for

DECADENT CONTINENTAL ARMOUR KNOWN AS "PISAN"

the lance, which shows that the suit was essentially made for parade use. A cabasset with ear-pieces forms the head defence. The deeply bitten etching on this suit, though coarse, is effective, representing Roman horsemen, allegorical personages, arms, musical instruments, and arabesques. On the top centre of the breastplate is a figure of the Virgin holding the infant Christ. The etching, richly gilt upon a background filled in with black pigment, taken in conjunction with the brightened bands that form part of the theme of decoration is, we admit, effective; but effect thus attained is meretricious, and the drawing of the various ornamental details is weak and decadent. The harness is, however, in a fine state of preservation, and retains much of its original velvet lining. Glued to the inside of the breastplate is a piece of paper, which gives a description in German of the armour, mentioning that it is alleged to have belonged to Francesco Foscari, Doge of Venice. As Foscari died in 1457, the German word *angeblich* (alleged) is not out of place; for the true date of the suit is about 1595-1610. The etching found on this type of armour takes various forms; generally it consists of vertical bands of various degrees of richness. We show another suit selected from the Stibbert Collection of Florence (Fig. 1156) which, though perhaps a little composite, is certainly of better make from the point of view of actual armour. Here the etching is not gilded, but merely added to the bright ground of the armour, and filled in with a black pigment. The design, it will be noted, is practically a meaningless conglomeration of portions of figures, arms, etc., which, viewed from a distance, has a spotty appearance, and which has led to its being called in the vernacular of the armour collector "Mops and Brooms" engraving. We very readily admit that, despite the coarseness of this so-called Pisan armour, it must, in combination with the fine textile materials employed late in the XVIth century, have had a really rich effect. Look at it, for instance, as it appears in two late XVIth century portraits (Figs. 1157 and 1158), or as it is depicted in our illustration of an arranged figure in the Stibbert Collection (Fig. 1159). The armour on this figure is, we must confess, a very clever example of reconstruction, and should prove useful to the student of costume; but from the point of view of serious study of armaments it is a restoration far too drastic to be admissible.

To complete our list of the full armaments of the XVIth century we will give, as we always endeavour to give, the illustration of a suit of armour, together with a contemporary picture of it. In this case, the reproduction is that of a picture in the Louvre attributed to Amerighi, a portrait

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS



FIG. 1159. MANNEQUIN IN HALF ARMOUR

Of the Pisan type, arranged with chain mail, old textiles, etc. Collection: Stibbert, Florence

which is there described as that of Jean de la Valette, the Grand Master of the Knights of Malta, but which is in reality the portrait of the Grand Commander of that island, Jean Jacques de Verdelain. He is represented clad in a com-



[Photograph A. D. Braun et Cie.]

FIG. 1160. PORTRAIT OF THE GRAND COMMANDER OF MALTA, JEAN JACQUES DE VERDELAIN
Attributed to the painter Amerighi. The suit represented is that shown in Fig. 1161
Musée du Louvre



FIG. 1161. SUIT OF ARMOUR

Made for the Grand Commander of Malta, Jean Jacques de Verdelain. North Italian school, closing years of the XVIth century. Armoury of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, Malta

DECADENT CONTINENTAL ARMOUR KNOWN AS "PISAN"

plete suit of blue and gold armour (Fig. 1160). This actual suit of armour is now to be seen in the Armoury of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, Malta. Although the surface of the existing suit is no longer blued, the gilding upon it, despite the deteriorating effects of the sirocco winds of Malta, is in a splendid state of preservation. Look at the illustration of the armour (Fig. 1161), and then look at its representation in the portrait: it will be noted that the armour coincides plate for plate, detail for detail, save that the toe-caps,



FIG. 1162. BUFFE

From the lost burgonet belonging to the suit (Fig. 1160). Armoury of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, Malta

the lance-rest, and the fingers of the gauntlets are missing. In the portrait the page standing by Verdelain bears the close helmet which is now on the suit. Before the author rearranged the Armoury at Malta, this really fine and well-made suit was a hopeless mass of rust and paint, its parts wired together in shapeless confusion; but careful personal work upon it brought it back to its present satisfactory appearance. It is nearly complete in all its parts, having the characteristic peascod breastplate of the very last years of the XVIth century, complete arms, consisting of pauldrons, rere-

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

and vambraces, elbow-cops, gauntlets that once possessed fingers, taces, laminated tassets, large and well modelled cuisses, knee-cops, and jambs. Around the lower end of the jambs are a series of small holes for the attachment of the chain mail solleret, to which toe-caps could be attached, as seen in the Louvre portrait. The decorations consist of broad bands and circular panels, etched with Romanesque heads, trophies of arms, strap- and scrollwork, all fire-gilt upon a "white" or brightened field. Associated with one of the commoner suits in the same armoury, the author found a buffe (Fig. 1162) belonging to the Verdelain suit, a discovery which proves that it must originally have possessed an open burgonet or casque, as well as its close head-piece. The casque is now lost. We are of opinion that the suit is Milanese in make, that it dates about 1580-1600, and that it was not produced under the influence of the Pompeo della Cesa school. It is sounder in construction than the generality of such suits of the time, and we feel as we look at it that the armourer who made it must have been fairly well skilled in the principles of his craft.

CHAPTER XXXI

CLOSE HELMETS OF THE XVITH CENTURY



IN considering the various forms of close helmet that in diminishing favour were worn throughout the XVIth century, we have to remember that, like the other helmets of this era to which we shall allude, they were evolved from earlier forms of the various classes of head-piece. In our notice of the *salade* and *armet*, as in that of the tournament helm, we considerably overstepped the limit of the XVth century, to which period—generally speaking—we assigned those head-pieces, and in each case traced its progress well into the XVIth century. For a better understanding of how all these types combined to form the ordinary close helmet of the second quarter of the XVIth century, we must refer our readers to our previous chapters. When we were describing the complete suits of the XVIth century we endeavoured to class them in progressive order according to their styles:—first, the plain Maximilian, then the Maximilian with the channelled surface, and then the grotesque Maximilian. Next we were concerned with the style which we classed as *lands-knecht*. We then came to the mid-XVIth century Italian forms which we have named Milanese, and finally we dealt with that mixture of styles which the second half of the XVIth century introduced. The author admits that he has perhaps made a new departure in classification, but his experience has led him to think that the history of armour is best dealt with in this manner rather than by classing it according to the countries of its manufacture. We shall deal therefore with close helmets on similar lines, not necessarily dividing them into separate groups under national headings, as can be done in the case of the more distinctively pageant armour of this century. At the same time we desire to explain to our readers that, as close helmets nearly always formed part of a complete apparel, we are giving only a few illustrations; since most types of these helmets may be seen represented in the illustrations of the full harnesses of the different periods.

We shall commence our description of close helmets of the Maximilian

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

order by giving an account of four plain specimens. The first example illustrated (Fig. 1163) is German in provenance, and dates from about 1515. It has the so-called *soufflé* or bellows visor, which, apart from the two face defences of the kind which we distinguished as belonging to the *salades* of the *Celata* type, and to certain later tournament helmets, we now have occasion to mention for the first time. The formation of the visor shows that series of peaks or ridges so common in the helmets of the Maximilian type. The ordinary name of "bellows" visor can be easily understood, for in the outline of the visor a strong resemblance to the leathern part of a half



FIG. 1163. HELMET
German, about 1515. Probably the work of
Wilhelm Worms, jun., of Nuremberg
Collection: Mr. S. J. Whawell



FIG. 1164. HELMET
Italian (Milanese), about 1510
Collection: Author

closed bellows can be observed; thus the visor has the appearance of a series of ridges with concave hollows, though in the case of this example these are not strongly developed. This helmet is very simple in outline and quite perfect in condition. There is an absence of any form of cabling, either on its low comb or on the edge of its gorget plate, a fact that induces us to assign it to such an early period in the XVth century. As armourer's mark it has the letter W, which has been construed into that used by Wilhelm Worms, jun., of Nuremberg; for though the mark used by Worms, senr., was apparently a stag, his son occasionally resorted to the use of the single letter W. We next show an Italian type of the plain Maximilian

CLOSE HELMETS OF THE XVITH CENTURY

helmet (Fig. 1164). Here the stubborn adherence to the XVth century armet form may be noticed. The visor has more or less the same kind of construction as that of the German helmet just mentioned; but the cheek-pieces are hinged farther back at the side. We have every reason to believe that this little head-piece, for its proportions are small, is of Milanese make of about 1510. Of the next helmet which we illustrate (Fig. 1165), part of the lining is original; though the aiglettes which kept the lining in its place are restorations. It has been customary to suppose that the twin holes in the crown-pieces of these helmets were intended for fixing mantlings, lambrequins, and plumes. This may sometimes have been the case, indeed the very small size of these holes and their position in this and in other helmets would seem to favour the theory; but it may be considered that their usual service was for the passage of the aiglettes that retained in position the lining coif of the helmet. This helmet, though somewhat thin, is of grand proportions, and suggests the head-piece of a very big man. It originally formed part of the Burges Collection, and is illustrated in De Cosson's and Burges' *Helmets and Mail*. Next we illustrate a helmet in the National Bavarian Museum of Munich, a head-piece far less



FIG. 1165. HELMET OF GREAT PROPORTIONS
German, early XVIth century. Collec-
tion: Author

“bulletry” in its outline, but of somewhat later date (Fig. 1166). It is a splendid example of workmanship, with a solidly constructed visor and a low grooved comb to the skull-piece. Other illustrations show a smaller variation of this helmet (Fig. 1165), and one that has an armet-like visor (Fig. 1167); it is in the National Germanic Museum of Nuremberg, as is also a considerably later example of the plain Maximilian helmet (Fig. 1168). This latter specimen has a very strongly accentuated bellows visor; but it has that globular

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

outline to the back of the skull-piece that proclaims it to be late in the first half of the XVIth century. This head-piece is noteworthy as displaying that hollowed ridge round the bottom of the helmet which has erroneously been supposed to constitute the difference between the burgonet and other close XVIth century helmets. This hollow round the base of the helmet fitted closely on a salient rim round the top of the gorget of the suit. When the



FIG. 1166. HELMET
German (Nuremberg), about 1520. National
Bavarian Museum, Munich



FIG. 1167. HELMET
German, about 1520. National Germanic
Museum, Nuremberg



FIG. 1168. HELMET
German, about 1540. National Germanic
Museum, Nuremberg

helmet was placed on the gorget rim and closed, it could not be wrenched off, while it still moved round freely in a horizontal direction. The gorget being stiffly articulated allowed for such a very slight raising and lowering of the head so that to look really up or down must have been extremely difficult. Hence, this means of attaching the helmet possessed disadvantages.

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*

CLOSE HELMETS OF THE XVITH CENTURY

Of all the fluted helmets with which we are acquainted, we know no finer example than that magnificently fashioned head-piece in the Artillery Museum of the Rotunda, Woolwich, which dates from the first quarter of the XVIth century (Fig. 1169). This helmet opens down the chin, somewhat after the fashion of the early armets, but the tail-piece of the crown is much broader. The skill shown in the fluting of the crown and in the forging of the twisted comb are most remarkable. Along its upper edge are etched



FIG. 1169. HELMET

German, about 1520. Artillery Museum, Rotunda, Woolwich

various grotesque figures, and each of the rivets for the lining strap of the cheek-pieces forms the centre of an engraved six-leaved rose. The quilted linen lining of these cheek-pieces is still extant. The lower edge of the helmet finishes in a hollow roping as in the case of the previous head-piece.

A helmet constructed on the same principles as the one last mentioned, though not quite so elegant in form, is to be seen in the Burges bequest to the British Museum (Fig. 1170); but in the case of this example the centre part of the visor has a salient projection with upright flutings and breathing apertures, showing a variation from the bellows visor of the other helmet.

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

We illustrate also two other fluted helmets constructed on the same principle, both chosen from the National Bavarian Museum of Munich (Figs. 1171 and 1172), with visors of both types. In the Wallace Collection are two fluted helmets, Nos. 259 and 254 in the catalogue, both with bellows visors. The first example depicted (Fig. 1173) calls for no particular comment; but the next one shown (Fig. 1174), though perhaps belonging to the end of the first quarter of the XVIth century, affords a remarkable example of the armourer's skill in the forging of the triple comb of the skull-piece. As



FIG. 1170. HELMET

German, about 1525. Burges bequest, British Museum

a specimen of cabling or roping, the quality of the workmanship could not be surpassed; and it is as fine, if not a finer, test of skill in the use of the hammer to emboss from the same piece of metal the skull-piece with the fluting and the elaborate triple roping, here represented, as to forge the high combed Italian morions that belong to the end of the XVIth century.

There are in the Metropolitan Museum of New York two close helmets magnificent in their simplicity, and undoubtedly anterior in date to those we have already mentioned—both coming well within the first quarter of the XVIth century. The earlier of the two (Fig. 1175) can hardly claim to belong



FIG. 1171. HELMET
German, about 1530. National Bavarian Museum,
Munich



FIG. 1172. HELMET .
German, about 1525. National Bavarian
Museum, Munich



FIG. 1173. HELMET
German, about 1530. Wallace Collection
(Laking Catalogue, No. 259)



FIG. 1174. HELMET
German, about 1530. Wallace Collection
(Laking Catalogue, No. 254)



(a)

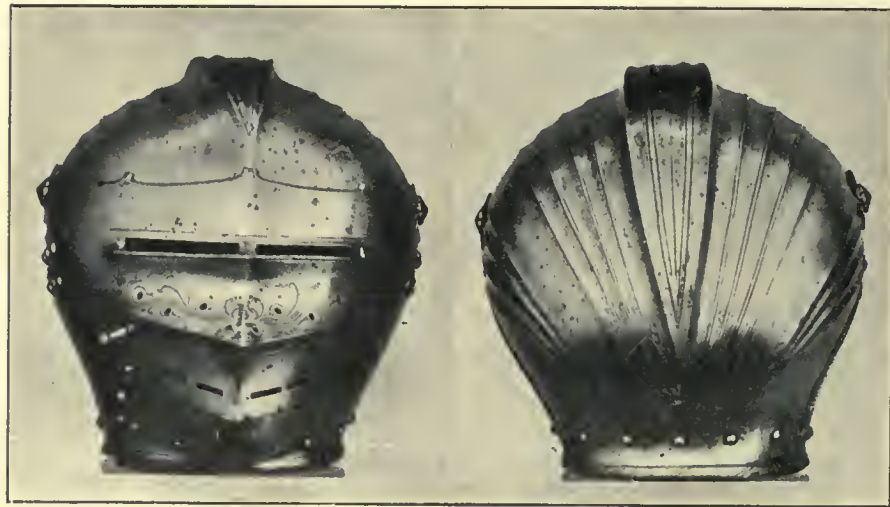
(b)

FIG. 1175. HELMET

German, about 1515. Formerly in the collection of Signor Ressman. Now
Metropolitan Museum, New York

(a) Back view

(b) Front view



(a)

(b)

FIG. 1176. HELMET

German, about 1530. Metropolitan Museum, New York

(a) Front view

(b) Back view

CLOSE HELMETS OF THE XVITH CENTURY

to the category of the fluted Maximilian type; in place of fluting it only shows three radiating grooves at the back, and nothing of the kind on the visor, which is of the simplest order, having but two single slits, forming the ocularia, and a small mouth-like aperture in the base of the visor for breathing purposes. It is of the hybrid type. The comb of the skull-piece is broad and flat, slightly concave in its section—a very characteristic feature of the helmets of the earlier Maximilian type; the base of the helmet extends so that it lies flat over the gorget. The other helmet (Fig. 1176) is of the fluted order; but the channelling is arranged in groups of four, and the visor is of the shape met with upon helmets of the closing years of the XVth century. The comb of the skull-piece is most remarkable—very broad, fluted, and grooved. The least interesting and later form of the fluted Maximilian style is that in which the head-piece opens down the side, as in the case of an ordinary XVIth century helmet, and in which, added to the back of the skull-piece, there are three or four lames riveted on in the manner of gorget plates. We show a typical helmet of this type (Fig. 1177); it is possibly as late as the end of the second quarter of the XVIth century.



FIG. 1177. HELMET

German, about 1540. National Germanic Museum, Nuremberg

* * *

When we come to consider Maximilian helmets of the kind that we have described as grotesque, it is hard to appreciate the really wonderful excellence of workmanship which produced such unnatural forms then considered as the appropriate decoration of plate armour. But these grotesque forms so often adopted by the armourers of the first half of the XVIth century only reflected, especially in Germany, the curiously bizarre taste of the age. Similarly the Japanese warrior of olden times, equipped in a suit which modern taste must condemn as eccentric and ludicrous in the extreme, must have been regarded by his contemporaries as presenting an appearance of a fine fighting hero. It was the wear of the time, and what persons expected to see. At least this is how we account for these oddities in Maximilian fashion that demanded that a great personage should occasionally hide himself in a suit bizarre and extraordinary in form. That splendidly made

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

suit in the Imperial Armoury of Vienna, supposed to be the work of Lorenz Kolman, and formerly supposed to have belonged to Albert Achilles, Duke of Brandenburg, is an excellent example of this grotesque style of armour. A helmet of the *salade* order appears on it that in general appearance suggests the head of some harpy of mythology. Yet the workmanship is of the finest, and so cleverly has the element of the grotesque been rendered,

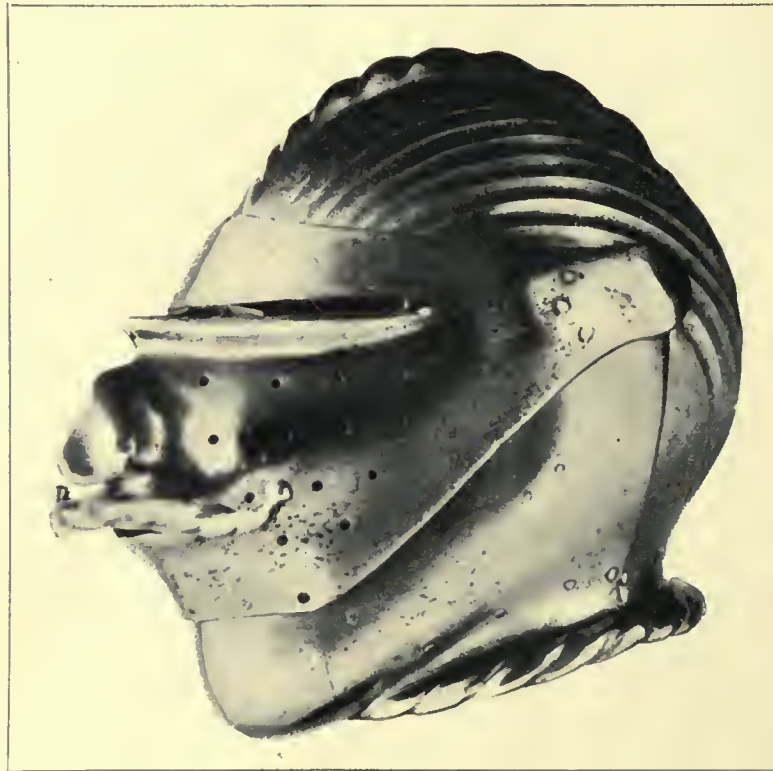


FIG. 1178. HELMET

German, Nuremberg, about 1520. From the Bernal Collection. Tower of London, Class IV, No. 29

that it has proved not detrimental but rather advantageous to the helmet's protective properties.

As the result of one of the very few judicious purchases made by the authorities in the XIXth century the Tower Armoury possesses a very fine close helmet of the fluted Maximilian order, an example purchased in 1855 at the famous Bernal Sale (Lot 2698) for £53. Here the outer visor is formed as an aquiline-nosed face with fierce upcurled moustachios. This visor is attached above a second open-barred visor on side pivots which have a hinge and pin arrangement, in the manner of the visors of the XVth-

CLOSE HELMETS OF THE XVITH CENTURY

century armets—an arrangement by which they could be removed at pleasure. This helmet, heavy and very sound in its construction, is probably of Nuremberg workmanship, and dates within the first quarter of the XVIth century (Fig. 1178). Among the examples of armour bequeathed to the British Museum by the late Mr. W. Burges there is just such another visor to be seen on one of the close helmets—an example that was formerly in the Meyrick Collection (Fig. 1179). In this case the visor is of earlier date than that of the other parts of the helmet. The visor contains a hole



FIG. 1179. GROTESQUE VISOR ABOUT 1520

Adapted to a late XVIth century skull-piece. Burges bequest, British Museum

for the spring catch which originally fixed it down, but no corresponding catch exists in the skull-piece; the form of the skull-piece belongs to the second half of the XVIth century, and the visor is distinctly Maximilian in style. Doubtless the skull-piece and visor were associated late in the XVIth century.

Reverting once more to the Tower of London, we note among the oldest recognized possessions of the Armoury a grotesque helmet (Fig. 1180) known since 1660 as the helmet of Will Somers, the well-known jester in the service of King Henry VIII. This grotesquely fashioned helmet figures

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

throughout all the inventories of the armour at Greenwich and at the Tower of London. So complete is its history that we propose to give it in full.

In the 1547 inventory at Greenwich it is mentioned as on a suit "in the seconde House": "Itm upon the Thirde horse A playne Tiltte harnessse lackinge a paier of gauntletts a base cote of blacke vellet embrodered w^t cloth of golde, *a hedde pece w^t a Rammes horne silver pcell guilte* and a Stele Saddell covered w^t blacke vellet." (The italics are our own.) In the 1561 inventory of Greenwich it is included among: "Armour sent to your Mat^s. said father by Maximilian the Emperor garnished with silver and guilte *with a Head-*



FIG. 1180. HELMET

Known as that of Will Somers. German, about 1515-20. Tower of London, Class IV, No. 22

peice of fashion like a Rames head." This must be the head-piece, though from the very bald entry of it, it appears as if it had been placed on another suit. But on which? In the 1611 inventory of Greenwich it is described as: "A Head pece wth a pair of Rames hornes." In this instance it appears alone and not associated with a suit. In the inventory made in 1660, by which time it had been removed to the Tower, it is associated with a jack coat and a sword and has a history attached to it: "Anticke headpeece with Rams hornes, collar, and Spectacles upon it, one Jacke and one sword all said to be William Sommer's armes. . . . one."

In the 1676 Tower inventory it again figures as: "Antick headpeece wth

CLOSE HELMETS OF THE XVITH CENTURY

Ramms Hornes Collr & spectacles upon it, one Jacke & one sword said to be William Summers armes. 1." In the 1683 Tower inventory it occurs once again as: "One suite anticke headpeece wth rams' horns and spectacles upon it and one jactett of maile all said to have been William Somers his armes." It will be noted that in this inventory the Jacke is now called "one jactett of maile." In the 1688 Tower inventory the entry is practically the same as that just quoted: "Antick Headpeece wth Coller Rams Hornes &



FIG. 1181. HELMET

German, about 1515-20. Collection: Prince Ladislaus Odescalchi, Rome

Spectacles, Jackett and sword all said to be Wm: Summers." On this occasion the helmet was valued at £3.

The entry which deals with it in the 1691 inventory is similar to that appearing in the 1688 inventory; while the inventory of 1693 describes it in identical terms.

Early in the XIXth century there is no longer record of the sword and jack that at one time were associated with the head-piece. It is a close helmet of the Maximilian order, with an iron mask visor attached to it by a hinge over the brow, with hooks and staples at the chin. The visor is pierced at the

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

eyes, mouth, and nostrils to enable the wearer to breathe freely, it is likewise embossed with deep wrinkles. The back of the skull-piece is ornamented



FIG. 1182. HELMET
German, about 1530. National
Germanic Museum,
Nuremberg

by alternations of *repoussé* and indented square spaces. When the paint which formerly covered the helmet was removed the surface was found to be etched and to show remains of gilding. The mask until recently was painted flesh colour and the spectacles gilded. There can be little doubt that when the helmet first received its coats of paint—probably early in the XVIIth century—the crudely fashioned iron spectacles were added to it to make it appear more quaint.

In the curious expression given to its grotesque visor, a helmet now in the collection of Prince Ladislaus Odescalchi at Rome bears a great similarity to the Tower helmet just described. It has a skull-piece of superb workmanship with a triple cabled comb bordered by radiated fluting on either side. The helmet has never been taken to pieces, and still possesses its original rivets with decorated washers at the sides. This Odescalchi helmet, a magnificent example of the armourer's craft of about 1520, has now a brown patinated surface (Fig. 1181). In the National Germanic Museum of Nuremberg there is a fine helmet partially fluted, and at the same time etched with bands of ornament. Its visor is embossed as a face, not a fierce face, but one of gentle good humour (Fig. 1182). We will only represent three other helmets to illustrate the element of the grotesque in the Maximilian order of head-pieces—one in the Tower, one in the Wallace Collection, and finally that historical head-piece in the Vienna Armoury made for King, afterwards the Emperor, Ferdinand I. In construction

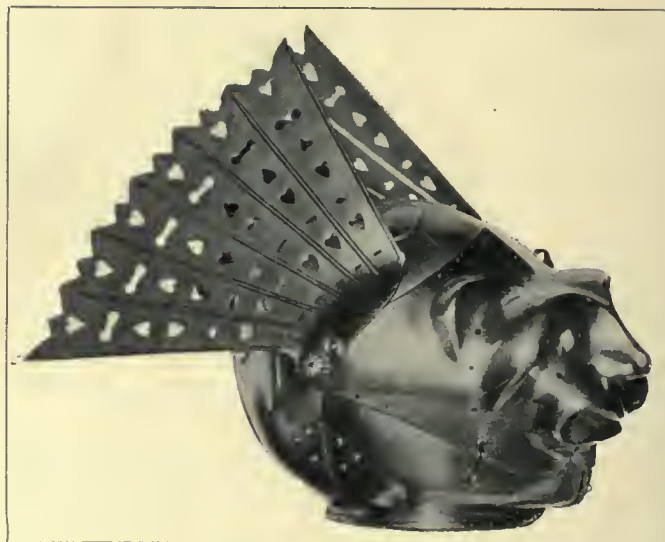


FIG. 1183. HELMET
German, about 1540, with wings added in the XVIIth
century. Tower of London, Class IV, No. 33

CLOSE HELMETS OF THE XVITH CENTURY

the Tower helmet (Fig. 1183) differs from those which we have so far described, in having a faceted skull-piece drawn out to a pointed apex, which has been subjected to alterations. In rendering the visor of this example the armourer will be seen to have exaggerated the grotesque; a curly puckered nose and thick distorted lips have been chosen for the theme of the decoration, which, while constituting a veritable triumph in hammer work, make the helmet more the disguise of a clown than anything else. The two pieced wings added to the skull-piece are of later date than



FIG. 1184. HELMET

German, Augsburg, about 1540. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 257)

the actual helmet, which can be assigned to the second quarter of the XVIth century. They may be looked upon as additions made probably in Poland somewhere towards the middle of the XVIIth century; the present writer has come across a good many XVIth century close and open helmets to which these curious wings have been added, and many of them can be traced to a Polish provenance. The helmet in the Wallace Collection, No. 257 (Fig. 1184), is a heavy and well made head-piece, fluted and etched with ornaments; but it presents the strange feature of the point of the visor terminating in an eagle's head, which is skilfully modelled and etched to

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

represent plumage. It appears to be of Augsburg workmanship, and dates towards the middle of the XVIth century. Of the three head-pieces we are now discussing the Vienna helmet is perhaps the finest achievement in the way of the grotesque; it bears the armourer's mark of Georg Seusenhofer of Innsbrück, and shows signs throughout of his excellent craftsmanship. The visor, which takes the form of a wolf or fox mask, is most bizarre; but it served a really utilitarian purpose, inasmuch as its great depth, a depth



FIG. 1185. HELMET

German, the work of Georg Seusenhofer of Innsbrück. Made for King Ferdinand about 1528. Imperial Armoury, Vienna

essential to carry out the design, lent space to the interior of the helmet, which greatly facilitated the breathing of the wearer. The etched ornamentation of the helmet is said to be the work of an Innsbrück painter, Hans Pirckheimer(?), and judging from the heraldic achievement upon the crest, which bears a device used by Ferdinand as King, we may place the date of this head-piece as slightly anterior to 1530 (Fig. 1185).

* * *

Contemporary in fashion with these grotesque head-pieces are those

CLOSE HELMETS OF THE XVITH CENTURY

close helmets of the Maximilian order, in the construction of which the armourer has set himself the task of imitating in metal the slashed and puffed civilian dress of the time. In the cutting of the civilian costume fanciful allusion to the slashing received in battle by the wearer is intended, and in much of the armour of the time this fashion is faithfully copied. This puffed and slashed ornamentation may be considered as one of the first attempts at decorating the surface of armour by embossing from the inner surface. The suit in the Imperial Armoury of Vienna, attributed to Wilhelm von Rogendorf, closely follows the fashion of the civilian dress of the time (Vol. iii, Fig. 1040). In the Tower of London are portions of such a suit



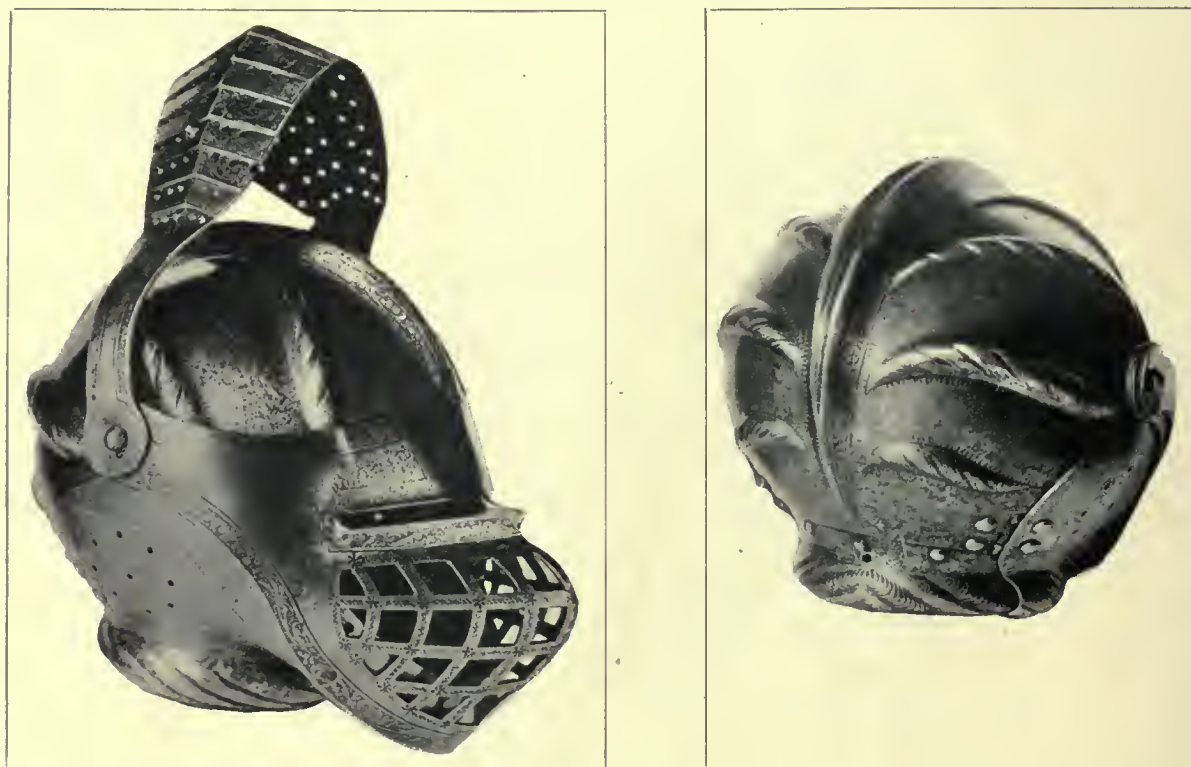
FIG. 1186. HELMET

German, about 1530. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 381)

(Vol. iii, Fig. 1043). The Musée d'Artillerie of Paris is fortunate in possessing a full suit of this same decoration which is said to have belonged to Giuliano de' Medici (Vol. iii, Fig. 1045). In the Wallace Collection, Laking Catalogue, No. 380 (Vol. iii, Fig. 1042), there is a three-quarter suit, formerly in the Meyrick Collection, constructed on this principle, the helmet of which, though not actually belonging to the suit, we propose to illustrate as a fine example of a head-piece with slashed ornamentation, No. 381 (Fig. 1186). The skull-piece is flattened in form, and has five combs with slashed ornaments; the visor and mezeil are in one, of bellows form, having narrow horizontal ocularia and slits for breathing purposes. The chin-piece is somewhat exceptional, as being of but one plate hinged on the

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

left-hand side, beneath the pivot of the visor. The lower edge of the helmet is finished by a hollow roping fitting the top plate of the gorget, and allowing the wearer to turn his head. The helmet is probably of Augsburg make, and can be dated within the second quarter of the XVIth century. Although the loss of its original cheek-pieces renders it an incomplete head-piece, an example from the collection of Mr. Felix Joubert (Fig. 1187) is also worthy



(a)

FIG. 1187. HELMET

(b)

German, by Lorenz (?) Kolman of Augsburg. The cheek-plates are modern, about 1520

(a) With raised visor, showing
the inner visor

(b) Back view, showing the
puffed ornaments

Collection: Mr. F. Joubert

of close scrutiny; for apart from the fine double visor it possesses, it shows at the back of the skull-piece, to a very marked degree, embossed bands radiating from the comb, each so worked as to represent the puffing of a cap. This helmet was a fine head defence, and its workmanship is of the finest, being probably that of Lorenz Kolman of Augsburg; in its pristine condition, freshly gilt and etched, it must have appeared magnificent. It would be wearisome to cite other individual helmets of the same order;

CLOSE HELMETS OF THE XVITH CENTURY

we will refer the reader who wishes to study further examples to those which appear on certain suits which we have illustrated in our chapter on the Maximilian school.

* * *

Before we give some account of the close helmets which belong to the second half of the XVIth century, we ought to mention a few of those magnificent head-pieces constructed directly under the influence of the Kolman family of Augsburg, the Wolf family of Landshut, and of their schools, which occupy an intermediary position as regards the period of their production in the century. It is not our intention to give more than a few illustrations; but so fine are some of the works of these armourers that it would be an indifferent list of the various types of close helmets of the XVIth century which failed to take notice of their achievements in this direction. These helmets cannot be classed with the Maximilian head-pieces, nor do they follow the Milanese fashion; they illustrate a type of their own to which we give the name of the *landsknecht*, a type which shows fine workmanship and decoration applied in strictly good taste. Within the same category we include those head-pieces found on the suits of armour termed "Spanish," for they are constructed on the same principle of head defence. In this connection we might allude to the wonderful helmets to be seen in the Royal Armouries of Madrid and Vienna; but coming nearer home we prefer to give as our first illustration of such a "Spanish" head-piece one to be seen on a suit in the Wallace Collection, No. 428 (Fig. 1188). In the case of this example, so excellent is the quality of the work and so admirable is the method of the enrichment that we are inclined to see in the whole harness to which it belongs not merely a suit influenced by his school, but one actually made by Desiderius Kolman of Augsburg in the closing years of the first half of the XVIth century. The skull-piece of the helmet is of finely modelled keel form with slightly flattened crest. The chin-piece opens down the side and is hinged below the point of the visor. The visor and mezeil are in one, acutely pointed in front, with two narrow slits forming the ocularia. There are numerous circular and oblong apertures for breathing purposes. The upper edge of the visor is scallop-shaped and chamfered; the lower edge is hollowed to a scaled roping. The pivots at the side are on the principle of the XVth century armets, fastening by staple and pin beneath the plate, which is hollowed to receive them. The lower edge of the helmet is roped to fit the top plate of the gorget. The helmet retains much of its original quilted yellow satin lining; while the elaborate mechanism for keeping the visor closed, and for retaining it in

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

position when raised, still exists. The decoration, like that of the rest of the suit to which the helmet belongs (Fig. 1069), takes the form of either slightly raised or slightly recessed ornaments beautifully etched and gilt.

Another helmet of the "Spanish" type in the Wallace Collection (No. 520) is influenced by the same school of design, but is more probably from the hand of one of the Wolfs of Landshut (Fig. 1189). Although it is of about the same date as the last helmet described, it presents one feature of a close helmet that we have not yet had occasion to mention,



FIG. 1188. HELMET

From the half suit, No. 428, Wallace Collection. German, but of the "Spanish" type, probably the work of one of the Kolmans of Augsburg, about 1540

namely, the umbril plate protecting the ocularia. It has also a remarkably open mezeil, so cut away as to give the appearance of a triple bar face defence. The indications of rivet holes, etc., make it appear probable that some outer form of what was termed the falling bevor originally existed to cover the present very open mezeil; this has now been lost. The decoration found on this helmet exactly corresponds with that of a harness made for Philip II, now at Madrid, to which the casque in the collection of Mr. Felix Joubert (Fig. 1258) likewise belongs. A helmet somewhat differently constructed, but showing the same double face defence,

CLOSE HELMETS OF THE XVITH CENTURY

is to be seen in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris on a suit of armour, G 11 (Fig. 1190). It is of a date contemporary with that of the two helmets just described, and though in the official catalogue it is said to be of Italian workmanship, our opinion is that it bears undoubted signs of having been produced under German influence, though not in the "Spanish" manner. Although the general form of this helmet shows none of the eccentricities of the Maximilian order, and seems more allied to that series of close helmets which is usually accepted as Italian and of mid-XVIth



FIG. 1189. HELMET, MOUNTED VISOR WANTING German, but of the "Spanish" type, by Wolf of Landshut, about 1550. No. 520, Wallace Collection



FIG. 1190. HELMET From the suit G 11, Musée d'Artillerie. Said to be Italian, but more probably of Augsburg make, about 1550

century date, we cannot help noticing that it presents certain characteristics indicating its German make, and usually only found on close head-pieces of the Kolman of Augsburg and the Wolf of Landshut schools.

It will be noted that all the foregoing close helmets date within the first half of the XVIth century. We will now turn to those of the latter half of the same century, of all styles and nationalities; but before we allude to the large family that we place under the heading of the Milanese helmet, we shall consider a few intermediary shapes of German make of the *Landsknecht* type.

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

Look at the two close helmets which we now represent (Figs. 1191 and 1192). Both, apart from slight variations, are constructed in the same fashion, have visor and mezeil made on the same principle, and chin-pieces opening down the side, and both originally possessed gorget plates, which are now missing. In the shapeliness of their skull-pieces we have a faint reminder of the Maximilian helmet. They may be accepted as German and of the middle of the XVIth century.

In the helmet No. 278 of the Wallace Collection (Fig. 1193), is to be seen a close head-piece fashioned on the principle of the last two



FIG. 1191. HELMET
German, probably Nuremberg, 1550-60
Collection: Mr. S. J. Whawell



FIG. 1192. HELMET
German, about 1550-60
Collection: Mr. S. J. Whawell

mentioned, but influenced by the school of Kolman of Augsburg, if not the actual work of Desiderius Kolman. The skull-piece is of graceful keel-shaped form, finishing in a low roped comb. The chin-piece opens down the front, and is hinged below the pivots of the visor and bevor. The visor has two oblong apertures forming the ocularia, the top edge is chamfered and scallop-shaped. The mezeil, held in position by spring catches, is pierced on either side with apertures for ventilation; while the lower edge of the helmet is formed to a hollow roping, fitting to the top plate of the gorget. At the back of the skull is a small fluted rondel, a curious survival of the fashion followed by the armets of the XVth century. On the right chin-piece is hinged a bar for upholding the mezeil when raised. The whole helmet is

CLOSE HELMETS OF THE XVITH CENTURY

decorated with fine etching disposed in the following manner. On the skull are two slightly recessed scrolls, inclosing five circular medallions with emperors' heads; while down either side of the comb runs a frieze representing hunting scenes with scrolls bordered by a dentated ornament. Round the border of the visor and mezeil is a scroll design, and round the base of the skull can be seen a narrow band etched in representation of the spiked collars used for the German boar and wolf hounds. To date this head-piece it must be borne in mind that Desiderius Kolman worked, after the death



FIG. 1193. HELMET

German, probably the work of a Kolman of Augsburg, about 1550. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 278)



FIG. 1194. HELMET

German, Saxon work, with enrichments in the style of Peter Speier of Annaberg, 1550-60. From the suit G 52, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

of his father in 1532, continuously until about 1553; the shape of the helmet shows quite clearly that if it be the work of Desiderius, as we suspect it is, it must be quite one of his latest productions, dating from the opening years of the second half of the XVIth century.

A helmet on a suit in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris, G 52 (Fig. 1194), shows us yet another variation of the German close helmet, an example fine in outline and enriched with etching in the manner of Peter Von Speier of Annaberg. As Peter Speier died in 1562, this helmet must be considered as dating from about 1550-60. The decoration, however, may be work pro-

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

duced by a follower of Speier's school, and not have come directly from his hand.

A helmet constructed somewhat on the same lines, though of some few years later date, is that example in the Wallace Collection, No. 651 (Fig. 1195). Here we note a more accentuated comb to the crown; while from the screw holes in the mezeil it is apparent that additional tilt-pieces must have been made for it. The enriched bands are etched and gilt, and the background is filled in with some black pigment. This helmet is of the highest



FIG. 1195. HELMET

German, Augsburg, about 1570

Belonging to the suit in the Imperial Armoury, Vienna, made for the Emperor Ferdinand I. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 651)



FIG. 1196. HELMET

Probably French, about 1550. Belonging to a suit in the Royal Armoury, Madrid.

Collection: Author

possible quality of workmanship, resembling the products of the Wolf or Worms schools; we are unable, however, to assign it to any particular armourer. The greater portion of the suit to which this helmet belongs is in the Imperial Armoury of Vienna, and known as the armour of the Emperor Ferdinand I.

Before we commence to descend the scale as regards the actual quality of workmanship displayed in the art of the armourer, we will give an illustration of a very finely constructed close head-piece that we consider may

CLOSE HELMETS OF THE XVITH CENTURY

be of French make, though in general lines it resembles the Italian form of close helmet to which we are about to allude (Fig. 1196). The skull-piece is modelled with graceful accuracy, and the fully protective visor and mezeil are of one plate, extending from well above the forehead to rather low down on the chin-piece. The whole surface of the helmet is of a blue-black patina, showing, as in the case of some of the finest Milanese products of the first quarter of the XVIth century, the actual hammer marks on the face of the metal. Its decoration is of the simplest, taking the form of slender branches of palms slightly embossed and gilded, the stalks of which are curiously intertwined. From the very characteristic manner in which the palm branches are rendered, it would almost seem as though they were intended to represent the cognizance of some house. The suit to which this helmet belongs is in the Royal Armoury of Madrid, where



FIG. 1197. HELMET
Italian, Milanese type, about
1560-70. National Bavarian
Museum, Munich

it is not described as the work of any particular armourer, or as having been worn by any particular person.

The close of the century brings us a period of marked decadence and aesthetic impotence, and we meet with that class of head-piece to which, regarded solely from a constructional point of view, we have given the name of the Milanese type. In these helmets the comb varies in height, the chin-piece opens down either side with gorget plates attached, and the visor and mezeil face guard are in separate plates. Of this type the best example we know of is a helmet to be seen in the National Bavarian Museum of Munich (Fig. 1197). Here is a head-piece possessed of all those



FIG. 1198. HELMET
Italian (Central), about 1560-70. Collection:
Mr. S. J. Whawell

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

characteristics to which we have alluded. It is etched with bands of various thicknesses containing groups of crudely rendered animals and trophies of arms and armour, etc., a mode of decoration which, though generally known as "Pisan," is in its finer form found mainly on the work of Pompeo della Chiesa of Milan. This form of ornamentation, from the very unsystematic method in which the motifs used are arranged, has, as already mentioned, among English collectors earned the derisive nickname of "mops and brooms pattern." In the case of this example the trophies are finely gilt,



FIG. 1199. HELMET

Italian in form, but probably of French workmanship (Louvre school), about 1570-80
H 259, Musée d'Artillerie

whilst the field has been blued. On a helmet formerly in Mr. Ernest Kennedy's Collection we find the etching in equally good condition. Of all the armour that comes into the market to-day this type is the one most frequently met with; but the specimens are as a rule in a poor state of preservation, often having been eaten into with rust and then overcleaned.

Another helmet which we illustrate has the same form, but its surface is enriched with a better type of etching, viz., narrow bands of scrollwork more in the true Milanese manner (Fig. 1198). Its date is about 1570. It is now in the collection of Mr. S. J. Whawell, who obtained it from that of

CLOSE HELMETS OF THE XVITH CENTURY

Signor S. Bardini of Florence. It was upon close helmets of this "Milanese" form that Lucio Picinino in his later manner and his followers executed their elaborate embossed ornamentation (Figs. 1082 and 1088). When we look to other countries for an elaborate head-piece of this order, we once more turn to France, and in the Musée d'Artillerie (H 259) see a close helmet of the type we want, but a helmet certainly not of Italian, but of French



FIG. 1200. HELMET

Probably German, about 1590. Collection: Stibbert, Florence

origin (Fig. 1199). This helmet we are inclined to ascribe to one of those Parisian armourers who practised their craft in the Louvre on behalf of the royal house of France, armourers whose work we have already illustrated and described in Chapter XXVIII of our third volume. The decoration shows the same predilection for covering the surface with terminal figures, curious monsters, and elaborate scrollwork executed in low relief, work which—the period considered—is admirably modelled, but which is marred by a certain conventional stiffness peculiar to the later French school it represents.

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

Note particularly the quilloche ornament on the comb, and the rendering of the figure subjects quite in the Fontainebleau manner. The helmet now lacks its gorget plates.

A coarser type of such a decorated close helmet, but, we venture to think, of German origin, and belonging to the closing years of the XVIth century, is to be seen in the collection bequeathed to the town of Florence by the late Mr. Frederick Stibbert (Fig. 1200). Here indeed can be seen actual decadence; for not only is the helmet made in two halves joined down the centre of the skull-piece, but the metal of the head-piece is poor and has an appearance as if made of tin. To be just, however, it must be admitted that this head-piece is now but a shadow of its former self, being much overcleaned and repaired. It is entirely ornamented with alternate bands of relief ornaments with recumbent nude figures, amorini, etc., and of plain polished steel. At one time this helmet held high rank as one of the treasures of the famous Magniac Collection.

Of those close helmets that we accept as being of English provenance, we have given illustrations of four which are credited to the Greenwich school of armourers whose works have been illustrated and described in Chapter XXIX of this volume.

The helmets are respectively those belonging to the suit of the Earl of Worcester (Fig. 1108), to the lost second suit of Sir Henry Lee, Master of the Armoury to Queen Elizabeth (Fig. 1123), the second helmet on the suit made for George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland (Fig. 1132*a*), and that on the suit of Sir Christopher Hatton at Windsor Castle (Fig. 1113). The work of this school is very characteristic, being heavy, solid, and a little clumsy, but marked by a strong individuality both as regards form and a decoration of slightly raised or recessed bands, finely etched and gilded, forming the subject of his decorative scheme in a fashion that somewhat recalls that of the Wolf family of Landshut. In this same school, if they are not the actual work of the same armourer or armourers, we would put the two helmets—both equally puzzling as regards their real maker—which were fashioned for the small suit at Windsor Castle, once worn by Henry, Prince of Wales, elder son of King James I. Meyrick discusses this suit at some length, identifying it with a harness recorded to have been made for that Prince by William Pickering, an English armourer working at Greenwich; we ourselves, however, are sceptical as to this identification.

These notes must close our survey of the close helmets of the XVIth century, outlining as they do the prevalent types that are chiefly found. But

CLOSE HELMETS OF THE XVITH CENTURY

there are helmets of yet one more class of which we must take account; we allude to those which for the last three hundred years have helped to preserve the traditions of our great families—the helmets of the XVIth century so constantly, even now, to be seen in the churches of England. We have already mentioned, in our chapters on the *salade*, the *armet*, and the *helm*, in Volume II, those which in their entirety or in individual parts have rightful claim to late XVth or early XVIth century date; but many ordinary close helmets are to be met with which belong to the closing years of the

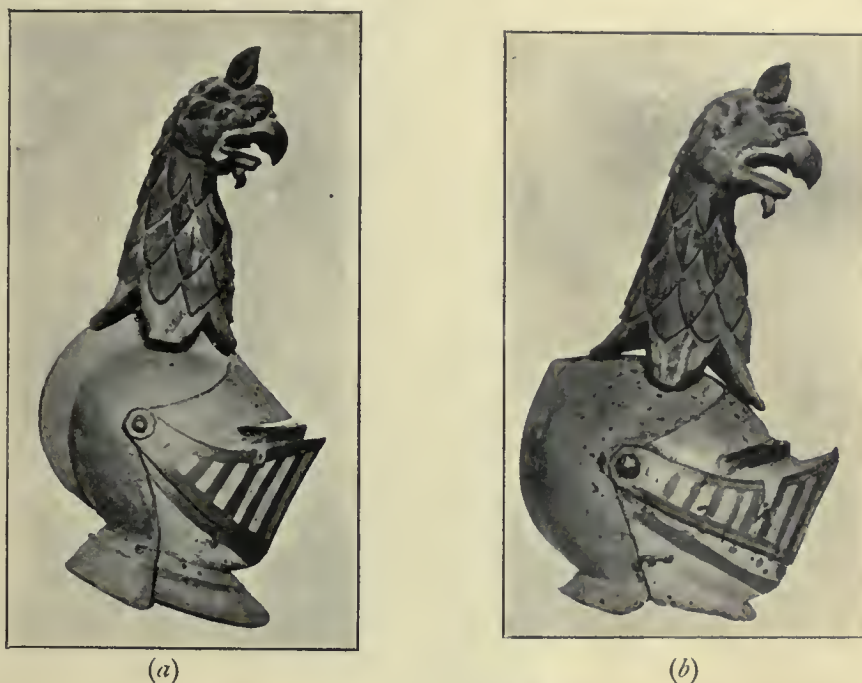


FIG. 1201. HELMETS

Hanging over the tomb of the Fettiplace family, Swinbrook Church, Oxon. These helmets have been adapted for funerary purposes

(a) Italian form, but probably of English workmanship, about 1580-90

(b) English workmanship, about 1560-70

XVIth century, though they often hang above the tomb of some worthy of earlier date. We will record three that will serve to illustrate the late XVIth century type to which we refer, two in Swinbrook Church, Oxon, of varying form, accredited to the Fettiplace family (Figs. 1201, *a*, *b*), and one of the same late XVIth century order in Stanton Harcourt Church which, doubtless the helmet of some later Harcourt, now hangs above the tomb of Sir Robert Harcourt, standard bearer to King Henry VII (Fig. 1202). Two of these represent just the ordinary so-called Milanese helmet; they are as a rule devoid of decoration, but often painted by the funeral furnisher of the time, and

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

embellished with the crest of the family in carved and painted wood. The present writer has records of such helmets in the churches of Sandwich Minster, Marlow, Slaugham, and many others. Major Victor Farquharson, an enthusiast on this particular type of head-piece, has informed the author that he is personally acquainted with over three hundred church helmets in England alone. We hope to print a list of church armour in Volume V.



FIG. 1202. HELMET

Italian form, but probably of English workmanship, about 1580-90
Stanton Harcourt Church

It must be borne in mind that some of the heavy close helmets that are to be met with dating from the middle to the end of the XVIth century are tilting helmets, and as such form a link with our brief history of that form of head-piece which in the XVth century is styled the helm. In Volume II we have illustrated in Fig. 500 the latest form of what we can still call the helm, or at least the descendant of the helm; but concurrently with those constructed for the joust and tournament alone are various types

CLOSE HELMETS OF THE XVITH CENTURY

of close helmets which served a double purpose, and were used both in the joust and in the field.

We must again pause in what we intended should be a brief discourse on the more ordinary close helmets of the XVIth century, and break our narrative in order to note how the requirements of the tilt yard influenced the construction of the ordinary XVIth century head-piece. Our first example (Fig. 1203) is a close helmet of German origin dating from about 1570, on which may be observed screws for the attachment of the tilting pieces. At the date assigned to this helmet a number of suits of armour were made which could either be used as war harnesses, or by the addition of certain pieces as tilting suits. The screw found on the front of the mezeil of this helmet was for the purpose



FIG. 1203. HELMET

German, about 1570. Collection: Baron de Cosson

of securing it to the *haute pièce* or a large guard, which was fixed to the breastplate and covered the left side of the joustier from about the level of the elbow up to that of the eyes. When the helmet was screwed to this piece the wearer could not turn his head in any direction; but the existence of the rim at the bottom of this helmet shows that it was also intended to be worn without the *haute pièce*. When the *haute pièce* was screwed to it the visor could not be raised; so a small door was made on the right side of the mezeil—the side which was not covered by the *haute pièce*—by opening which the wearer could breathe more freely.

It has been suggested, we believe by Sir Samuel Meyrick, that it was through this door flying open that Henry II of France received his fatal blow; but the late Mr. W. Burges has disposed of that fiction.

The door in the helmet under discussion is secured by a spring catch

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

worked by a leather thong. The visor is secured to the mezeil in the same manner; while the catches which fix the mezeil down and close the helmet are locked by means of hooks. On the right side some small holes have been pierced opposite the ear for purposes of hearing. An interesting feature of this helmet is the existence of two cross straps inside the top of it which are riveted to the front part of the helmet and secured at the back by aiglettes, to prevent the lining cap from pressing against the crown of the helmet



FIG. 1204. HELMET FOR FIELD OR TILT WEAR

German, school of Wolf of Landshut, about 1560. Collection: Prince Ladislaus Odescalchi, Rome

or being wrenched from the strap to which it was sewn. The original leather lining of the chin-piece is still preserved.

In the collection of Prince Ladislaus Odescalchi of Rome can be seen just such another helmet, but of a finer type (Fig. 1204), of careful and accurate workmanship and of almost the same construction save that it lacks the trap door. There is little doubt that this helmet, which shows traces of the influence of the Wolf of Landshut school, originally came from the Royal Armoury of Madrid; its provenance has been traced to the 1839 sale at

CLOSE HELMETS OF THE XVITH CENTURY

Christie's. A different type of close helmet of this same period—the third quarter of the XVIth century—but of the Saxon order, may be seen in the Wallace Collection, No. 667 (Fig. 1205). This is a helmet made exclusively for tilting purposes and is in consequence of heavy make, turning the scale at over 10 lb. The ocularia are narrow and set back at a



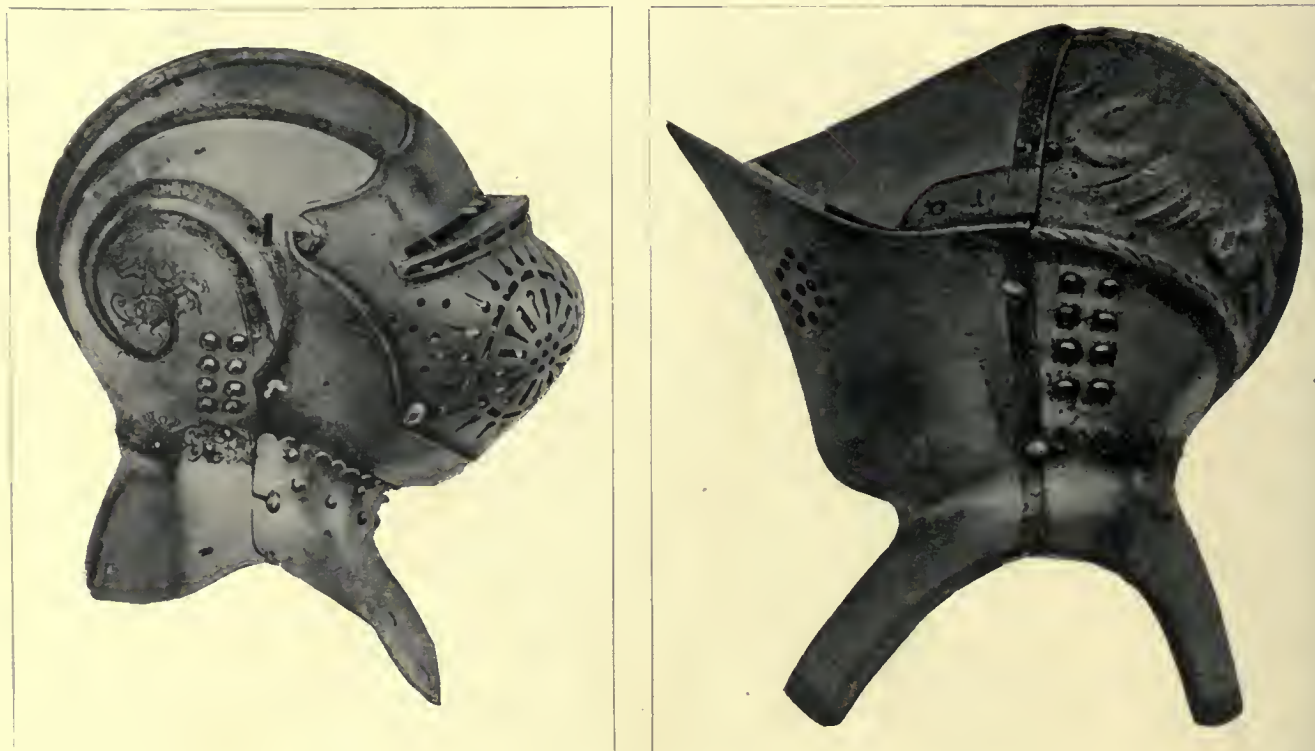
FIG. 1205. HELMET MADE SOLELY FOR TILTING

German, Saxon work, about 1560. From the suit in the Imperial Armoury, Vienna, No. 655, made for the Emperor Maximilian II. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 667)

distance of $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches from the contour of the visor and mezeil, which are in one piece, the latter being pierced with ten upright slits for breathing purposes. The lower edge of the helmet is hollowed to a roping to fit the top plate of the gorget; but it has also three extra plates which are attached by three screws and form a species of gorget plate. An extra tilting piece attached by two screws reinforces the entire upper portion of the left-hand side of the helmet, which in a "course" was the most vulnerable and exposed

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

to attack. The condition of this helmet is most remarkable, the burnished gilding that enriches the whole surface being as fresh as it was on the day on which it was applied. This particular helmet has been parted from the extant portion of the remainder of the suit to which it belongs, which is now in the Imperial Armoury of Vienna (numbered 655), where it is described



(a)

(b)

FIG. 1206. TOURNAMENT HELMETS

Made for the Emperor Charles V by Desiderius Kolman of Augsburg, with enrichments by Daniel Hopfer of the same town, between 1538 and 1543

(a) A 56, Royal Armoury, Madrid

(b) A 57, Royal Armoury, Madrid

as having been made for the Emperor Maximilian II. We are unable to attribute it to any particular armourer; but there can be little doubt that its place of production was Dresden.

There are, of course, a large series of helmets, other than those to which we have alluded, which were only used in the tournament field. These can be seen on the splendid series of suits at Madrid and Vienna, made for the most part for Charles V and for Philip II. They are, for their

CLOSE HELMETS OF THE XVITH CENTURY

period, veritable achievements of the armourer's art, and in the main have been executed under the influence of the Kolman, Wolf, Worms, and Lockner schools.

We illustrate two of superlative beauty, each extremely fine both as regards workmanship and condition. The two we represent are chosen from many splendid examples in the Royal Armoury of Madrid, and



FIG. 1207. *ESCUFFA*

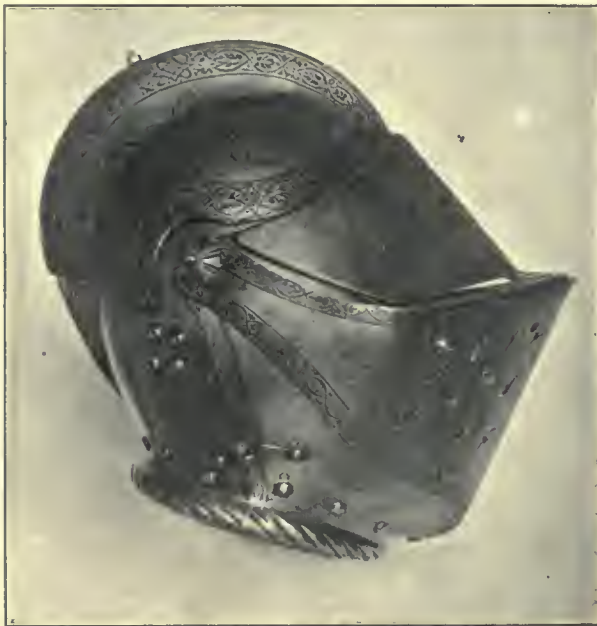
The work of Koloman Kolman of Augsburg, about 1530. This reinforcing piece belonged to a helmet made for the Emperor Charles V once in the Royal Armoury, Madrid. It was afterwards in the armoury of Lord Hastings. Collection: Mr. Felix Joubert

both are parts of an historical harness made by Desiderius Kolman for Charles V. The first helmet (Fig. 1206*a*) has a hemispherical visor and mezeil in one piece, pierced with ring-like arrangements for breathing purposes; while the decoration at the back takes the form of spiral channelling, finely etched and gilt in the manner of Daniel Hopfer. The late Count de Valencia suggested that the deep gorget plates on this helmet are an addition to the head-piece to replace a cabled base, which was removed. The second helmet (Fig. 1206*b*) has almost the contour

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

of a helm (vol. ii, chapter xiii, pp. 150 *et seqq.*), being of a quite rigid type of construction, the front and back parts opening for purposes of adjustment by means of screw rivets: At the back of the skull-piece is a grotesque monster embossed, engraved, and gilt; while on either side are series of eight aiglette holes, each with brass borders, for the leather thongs used to secure the coif lining. Both these helmets date between 1538 and 1543.

In these same armouries there can also be seen those curious reinforcing



(a)



(b)

FIG. 1208. TILTING HELMET

German, 1545-60. Collection: Mr. S. J. Whawell

(a) With the *escuffa* in position

(b) With the *escuffa* removed

plates which could be attached to helmets for the purpose of affording additional defence. When these parts were added for tilting purposes they took the form of small plates for the extra protection of the visor, of the mezeil, of the gorget, and of the very skull-piece itself, the whole forming that curious reinforcing piece known in Spain as the *escuffa*. To illustrate this defensive plate we choose from the collection of Mr. Felix Joubert a very splendid specimen (Fig. 1207)—the work of Koloman Kolman of Augsburg—made for and stolen from one of the fine Charles V harnesses in the Madrid Armoury, and another in a different form,

CLOSE HELMETS OF THE XVITH CENTURY

attached to a very fine close helmet of German origin of the first half of the XVIth century from the collection of Mr. S. J. Whawell (Fig. 1208, *a, b*).

One has, however, to go to the armouries of Madrid and Vienna to find



FIG. 1209. HELMET

Italian, about 1570-80. The inside view, showing the original quilted velvet lining in position.
Mess of the Royal Army Medical Corps, Millbank

helmets complete with their reinforcing pieces in a state of pristine freshness; there they are to be seen in their splendour, together with the suits to which they belong.

This is a convenient opportunity for considering the conditions under

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

which some of the heavy head-pieces of this date were worn, and the precautions which were taken to lessen the great discomfort which the wearer experienced in wearing them. We have mentioned in vol. ii, on pages 137 *et seqq.*, the care with which the ponderous tilting helms, with their elaborate linings, were attached to the head of the wearer. The close-fitting tilting helmet as a rule dispensed with this complicated arrangement of the "arming-bonett," of padded coif, lacing points, etc., and they were simply, though very carefully, lined with some quilted material. In proof of this we illustrate a very heavy helmet made for the purpose of tilting, now preserved in the mess of the Royal Army Medical Corps at Millbank, and photographed for this work by permission of Colonel Wardrope, C.B. (Fig. 1209). The interesting feature of this head-piece is that it retains its lining intact, not only that of the skull-piece and of the gorget plates, etc., but even that of the chin-piece. This lining only consists of a very thick velvet padding stuffed with tow.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE BURGONET OR OPEN CASQUE

A SHORT REVIEW OF BURGONETS OF ITALIAN ORIGIN, 1510-1600



If we use the term *casque de parade* as a synonym for the burgonet, we must not be supposed to suggest that in its initial stage the open helmet was not a thoroughly useful piece of personal defence. Owing to the increasing and increasingly effective use of firearms, some new kind of helmet had to be invented for the fighter which would give him a defence that had lightness and allow him unhampered vision; so to follow the fashion of the Greek and Roman form, made popular by the Renaissance, the open helmet or casque built on the lines of the classical head defence was adopted. This helmet, which was in general use throughout the XVIth century and until the final disuse of armour in the third quarter of the XVIIth century, was fashioned under the influence of antique forms; but for all that it was to a certain extent an inevitable development from the *salade* and the *chapel-de-fer*. We see it in its first stages as early as about 1510-30 among those bizarre head-pieces figuring in the splendid Italian sculpture of the Renaissance. Michael Angelo utilized such a head-piece on his world-famous statue on the tomb of Lorenzo de' Medici, in the New Sacristy of San Lorenzo, Florence (Fig. 1210); while the helmet of the famous Perseus of Benvenuto Cellini, in the Loggia de' Lanzi, Florence, cast in 1545, but not completed till 1554, is an open casque of the most elaborate type (Fig. 1211). Sir Samuel Meyrick uses the term "burgonet" to describe an entirely closed helmet which has its lower edge grooved to fit the top rim of the gorget, as can be seen in the illustrations of the helmets illustrated in Figs. 1169 and 1204. It would appear that Sir Samuel—as also Planché—adopted this nomenclature on the authority of President Fauchet's *Origine des Chevaliers Armories et Heraux*, Paris, 1600 and 1606; but in the opinion of the present writer the Baron de

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

Cosson in his "Helmets and Mail" gives the true interpretation of what Fauchet intends to say. Fauchet, after speaking of the great helm goes on to remark: "*Depuis, quand ces Heaulmes out mieux representé la teste d'un homme, ils furent nommez Bourguignotes: possible à cause des Bourguignons inventeurs: par les Italiens Armets, Salades, ou Celates.*" The Baron de Cosson submits this quotation to the following criticism:

"Now, if this sentence be carefully examined in its entirety," for in the past writers have only half quoted it, "we shall find—first, that there is nothing at all to show that a close helmet fixed to the gorget by a rim at its base was



FIG. 1210. FROM MICHAEL ANGELO'S TOMB OF LORENZO DE' MEDICI
New Sacristy, S. Lorenzo, Florence



FIG. 1211. BACK VIEW OF THE HEAD OF CELLINI'S STATUE OF PERSEUS

In the Loggia de' Lanzi, Florence, showing the winged grotesque helmet with a mask at the back. It has been suggested by Signor Annibale Benedetti that the back view of the casque, from beneath which the curly hair of Perseus is seen, viewed as a whole, was intended by Benvenuto Cellini to be a portrait of himself

a burgonet rather than any other form of close helmet, there being no suggestion of the kind; secondly, that what it really does say is, that when the helmet ceased to be the great cylindrical heaume of the XIIIth and XIVth centuries and fitted more closely to the form of the head, it took the various names of burgonet, armet, salade, and celata." It must be observed that the colons before and after the supposition concerning the origin of the name *bourguignote* stand for brackets, the sentence reading without the parenthesis, *ils furent nommez Bourguignotes Armets Salades ou Celates.* "In short, it is a purely gratuitous assumption that any one peculiar form of the close

BURGONETS OF ITALIAN ORIGIN

helmet is there identified with the burgonet, and as we examine other texts in which this word appears we shall find the gravest objections to Sir Samuel Meyrick's supposition." In 1595 the great military writer, Sir John Smith, in his *Instructions Militaires*, says of light cavalry called Stradiotes, "I would wish them all to be armed with good burgonets and buffes, with collars, with cuirasses, with backs, and with long cuisses." The burgonet in this case must mean an open helmet, for they are to be furnished with "buffes." At a later date a letter from Cardinal Richelieu to the Cardinal de la Valette, alluding to the formation of a new cavalry force, tells us exactly



FIG. 1212. CASQUE SALADE

Italian, late XVth century. From the armoury of Charles V and possibly from that of Philippe le Beau. C 11, Royal Armoury, Madrid

what was meant by a burgonet in his day. He states that this force was to be armed with *une bourguignote couvrant les deux joues avec une barre sur le nez*, in other words with a head-piece such as we see in the open nasal-guard helmet of Cromwell's time. This analysis of Fauchet's remarks goes, therefore, to show that the burgonet was not a close helmet of any kind, but an open one; since, therefore, with the exception of the morion and cabasset, of which we shall speak later, the casque was the only other form of open helmet in use in the XVIth century, the burgonet must refer to that form of head-piece. As a forerunner of the open casque, but most distinctly a head-piece of the latter part of the XVth century, we mention here that salade-

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

like helmet which can be seen in the Royal Armoury of Madrid (Fig. 1212). It was part of the original collection, for it is mentioned in the *Inventario Iluminado*, where, amongst other helmets, it is illustrated and noted as an ancient one which came from Flanders (*Viejo venido de Flandes*). It must therefore have originally belonged to Philippe le Beau or to his father. It is considered one of the rarities of the Madrid armoury, not only on account of its beautiful workmanship and design, but owing to the fact that, if desired, it could, by adapting for this purpose the additional pieces which are affixed to it by claw hinges, be transformed into a tournament head-



FIG. 1213. BURGONET

North Italian, early years of the XVIth century. Burges bequest, British Museum

piece. Without these pieces it becomes simply an open helmet for use in war time. The revolving mezeil and the wings are of steel enriched with gold, and with niello work. The other decorations are of gilt bronze. Although this helmet has no armourer's mark, its workmanship and the decoration of the pieces affixed to it are of a marked Italian character: indeed, the capricious elaboration of their enrichment reminds one of those helmets which, at a somewhat later date, were said to have been made from the designs of Leonardo da Vinci and other contemporary artists. The earliest open helmets of the actual casque type which we can mention are of Italian origin, as, for instance, that very early XVIth century helmet in the

BURGONETS OF ITALIAN ORIGIN

late Mr. William Burges' bequest to the British Museum, which Meyrick terms, but on what authority the author is at a loss to discover, a



FIG. 1214. CURIOUSLY DECORATED SUIT SHOWING A BURGONET HEAD-PIECE
North Italian, school of Missaglia, about 1510-20
Bargello Museum, Florence

casquetel. The style, workmanship, and form of this piece all point to the first years of the XVIth century as the period, and to Italy as the country, of its production (Fig. 1213). Another such casque most strangely

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS



FIG. 1215. SALADE BURGONET
North Italian, about 1510. H 38, Musée
d'Artillerie

which, H 38 (Fig. 1215), bearing a Milanese mark and dating about 1510, is almost *salade*-like in appearance. In the Wallace Collection (No. 234) is the example formerly in the collection of Sir Samuel Meyrick, and which he ascribed to the XVth century. In reality this specimen is even later than the few just mentioned, being probably Milanese of about 1520 (Fig. 1216).

The open casque, derived as it was from the form of the helmets of antiquity which appealed so strongly to the artists of the later Renaissance, soon became the subject of the most exuberant and grotesque schemes of decoration, noticeable not only in the matter of surface enrichment, but in the way in which the very



FIG. 1216. BURGONET
North Italian, about 1520. Wallace Collection
(Laking Catalogue, No. 234)

BURGONETS OF ITALIAN ORIGIN

outline of the head-piece was affected. For very complete proof of this, there are in existence not only Leonardo da Vinci's drawings of parade head-pieces, which are of course masterly designs of exuberant ornamentation (Fig. 1217), but existing helmets showing the same elaboration of form. Before we allude to these, however, we will examine a few of those finer



FIG. 1217. FROM A DRAWING BY LEONARDO DA VINCI
Made in 1479, showing a grotesque head-piece
of the burgonet order

Italian open casques which show flamboyance of decoration as applied to plate armour still restrained within the limits of perfect taste.

Probably no head-piece has survived which can boast of a more authentic or definite history than the first of the Italian embossed burgonets we now illustrate (Fig. 1218). It is an open helmet with gilded enrichment on a groundwork the surface of which is russeted. In the centre, on either side, springing from above the ear-piece, is a fleur-de-lis, from which rise two schemes of scrollwork, terminating in flowers and fruit enclosing a head, full-

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

face, with rays, possibly that of Apollo. The comb has a cable along the edge, beneath which on the flat is a row of raised and gilt dentations disposed radially. The comb ends in leaf design on the peak, the rest of which is decorated to match the comb. The ears and neck-piece have foliated



FIG. 1218. BURGONET

Made by Caremolo di Mondrone of Milan in 1533, and presented by Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, in 1534, to the Emperor Charles V
In an English private collection

scrolls; but the scalework plates which completed the ear-pieces are now wanting. The plume-holder remains. The under side of the neck-piece and the umbril are gilded. On evidence that is irrefutable we are able to state that this casque was in the year 1534 presented, together with other armour, to the Emperor Charles V by Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, and was

BURGONETS OF ITALIAN ORIGIN

made by Caremolo di Mondrone, the famous Milanese armourer working in the service of the Duke. This casque is represented in the album of drawings of the armour belonging to the Emperor, made by his order, and now preserved in the library of the Royal Palace at Madrid, and to which the Count de Valencia so often refers in his catalogue. In this album it figures, along with a complete suit of armour and other pieces, among which is the celebrated helmet representing a head of hair and a beard, signed by the brothers Negroli of Milan, and dated 1533 (Fig. 1231), and the pageant



FIG. 1219. REPRODUCTION OF THE ORIGINAL DRAWING OF THE CASQUE

Taken from the inventory of the armour of Charles V, drawn up on his death by order of Philip II. The volume was formerly preserved at Simancas, now in the library of the Royal Palace, Madrid

shield, also signed by the brothers Negroli (D 2 in the Royal Armoury, Madrid). In the inventory of the arms and armour of Charles V, drawn up at his death by order of Philip II, and preserved in the archives of Simancas, all these pieces are described as a gift of the Duke of Mantua to the Emperor. Amongst them are *Dos morriones*. Both helmets are represented in the album, the first decorated like the suit of armour, and the second embossed and gilt on a russet ground. Both are of the same form; we give a facsimile of the drawing of the second which appears in the inventory (Fig. 1219). The suit of armour, but in an incomplete state, still exists at Madrid (A 114

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

in the catalogue of 1898), as well as the Negroli helmet (Fig. 1231); but both the *morrones* and the other extra pieces are wanting. The Caremolo helmet remained in the possession of the Spanish Crown until the year 1838, when it and much other superb armour was secretly removed, and sent to London for sale by auction. In that sale, which took place at Christie's in January 1839, the helmet (Lot 74) was bought in, but eventually disposed of to Mr. Hollingworth Magniac, the famous mid-XIXth century collector. In 1892 Messrs. Christie's sold the famous Magniac Collection. After the collection had been removed from Colworth, the seat of the Magniac family, the sale of the ordinary household utensils was entrusted to a smaller firm of auctioneers, who found this precious helmet in a cupboard. When offered for sale among the ordinary articles of furniture it realized a sum considerably less than £5. It was purchased by a dealer who in turn passed it on to one of the foremost antiquaries of the day. This antiquary, realizing its great artistic worth, and appreciating the great bargain he had acquired, sold it for as many hundreds of pounds as was paid in pounds at the auction; but he himself was unacquainted with the great historical importance of the helmet. Its Spanish provenance was suspected; but its identity as a head-piece worn by the Emperor Charles V was only ascertained when the album of drawings of arms belonging to the Emperor was consulted, to which we have alluded, and in which it is described and illustrated. The name of the armourer who made the helmet and the other pieces of armour which formed the Duke of Mantua's gift to Charles V, and the date at which he made them, have been discovered in documents found in the archives of Mantua, and published by Bertolotti (*Arti Minori alla Corte di Mantova*, 1889). Caremolo di Mondrone, the armourer who constructed the casque, was born in Milan in 1489, and died at Mantua in 1548. This very fine historical casque has only recently changed hands: it is now in one of the important English collections.

To illustrate the exaggerated grotesque, carried out in the design of an open head-piece, we turn to that remarkable casque in the Tsarskoje-Selo of Petrograd, known as the helmet of Guidobaldo II, Duke of Urbino, 1514-74 (Fig. 1220), which, according to the late Herr Wendelin Boeheim, in his *Meister der Waffenschmiedekunst*, is the work of a Florentine armourer, one Piripe, known as Pifanio Tacito. It is now known that such an armourer never existed, and that Herr Boeheim was led astray by an allusion to such a person made by a certain Antonio Petrini, who in 1642

BURGONETS OF ITALIAN ORIGIN

wrote a manuscript, now in the National Library of Florence, entitled *Arte Fabrice, ovvero Armeria universale*, etc. We have to thank the Baron de Cosson for enabling us to dispose of this mysterious Piripe. Enlightenment came about in this way. Placed by Boeheim as a Florentine armourer of the XVIth century, the name of Piripe always troubled the Baron; for neither



FIG. 1220. BURGONET

Made by Bartolommeo Campi of Pesaro and worn by Guidobaldo II
of Rovere-Montefeltre, Duke of Urbino (1514-74).
In the Tsarskoje-Selo, Petrograd

Piripe nor Pifanio had any resemblance to a Florentine name. Some ten years ago the Baron de Cosson copied out that portion of Petrini's manuscript that had reference to armour and weapons, a somewhat inaccurate transcription of which had appeared in Plon's *Benvenuto Cellini* (Appendix X, page 397). This, according to the Baron's copy, is what Petrini really does say:—"There is to be found in the armoury that belonged to the Duke of Urbino, and which now belongs to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, a helmet with its breast



FIG. 1221. BREASTPLATE

The work of Bartolommeo Campi of Pesaro, made at the same time as the burgonet, fig. 1220, and worn by Guidobaldo II of Rovere-Montefeltre, Duke of Urbino
Bargello Museum, Florence

BURGONETS OF ITALIAN ORIGIN

and shoulders, which is said to have belonged to Hannibal the Carthaginian." Then follows a description of the work on it, which exactly corresponds to that of the helmet at Petrograd and to that of the breastplate (Fig. 1221) and to the left espalier (Fig. 1222) in the Bargello, Florence, also to the right espalier (Fig. 1223) now associated with the Duke of Alva suit by Picinino in the Riggs Collection, Metropolitan Museum of New York. After expatiating on the beauty of this work, Petrini goes on to say: (*Translation*) "It was made, so affirms



FIG. 1222. LEFT PAULDRON

Belonging to the burgonet, fig. 1220, and the breastplate, fig. 1221
By Bartolommeo Campi. Bargello, Florence



FIG. 1223. RIGHT PAULDRON

From the same harness, associated with a Picinino suit.

Riggs Collection, Metropolitan Museum, New York

Felitian the Macedonian (Felitiano Macedonio), by Piripe, a most excellent sculptor, who later was called Pifanio Tacito, who was a hero in this art. There is in the same armoury a salade of Æneas the Trojan, which was purchased by Duke Guidobaldo of Urbino when he was General of the Republic of Venice, and it is considered a great marvel. On it are embossed two masks, one on the crown-piece, the other on the visor, and this was made by Repa, the son of Numa the Babylonian, according to the statement of Demosthenes." The Baron de Cosson wonders, as must everybody who reads the quotation, how Boheim, with his excellent knowledge of Italian, could have made such a blunder; for, as is at once apparent, Petrini never suggests that Piripe was a Florentine

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

armourer of the XVIth century, but assigns the helmets made by him to the days of Hannibal the Carthaginian. Boheim might just as well have made a Venetian armourer of Repa, the son of Numa the Babylonian.

We can go a step further and state that even the authority quoted by Antonio Petrini, the "Felitiano Macedonio," who is said to have mentioned this mysterious Piripe, is as apocryphal as Piripe himself; for, despite the quest undertaken by Mr. Hill in the British Museum for a writer of that name, and the researches made by the Baron de Cosson in the National Library of Florence, absolutely no record of the name can be found. In the author's opinion there is no evidence to support the statement that an armourer named Piripe ever existed.

There can be little doubt that it was Antonio Petrini, described as a nephew of a grand-ducal armourer, who, in the year 1644, showed the famous John Evelyn round the armoury of the Grand Duke of Tuscany in the Uffizi, and made him admire "Hannibal's head-piece" (the Petrograd helmet, Fig. 1220) and the sword of Charlemagne.¹ It is an amazing thing, however, when we come to consider it, that little more than a century after the helmet was actually made and worn it should have come to be attributed to classical times. There is not a particle of evidence that any great armourer or school of armourers ever existed at Florence. The archives of that town have been thoroughly searched for everything concerning her artists, and no name of a celebrated armourer in Renaissance times has yet come to light.

But now let us attempt to throw some light on the actual maker of the fine casque at Petrograd, over which so much controversy has arisen. We know that the famous suit of Roman fashion, now in the Royal Armoury of Madrid, was given by Guidobaldo II to Charles V in 1546, and as it is signed and dated we know that it was made by the goldsmith of Pesaro, Bartolommeo Campi (Vol. iii, page 276, Fig. 1051). We are also aware of the fact that this same Campi made many rich suits for Guidobaldo from about 1543 to 1546, suits which up to the present have not been identified. Thanks to the most recent researches of the Baron de Cosson certain other pieces from the same hand have now been recognized. Foremost among these is the beautiful breastplate of Roman fashion, in the Bargello, Florence (Vol. iii, page 288, Fig. 1054), which, with the figured mail at the neck, bears such a remarkable similarity to the classical Charles V suit at Madrid,

¹ When John Ray, F.R.S., visited the armoury in 1663 he recorded in his *Travels*: "In the armoury we saw several remarkables. . . . Hannibal's head-piece (as they called it) had engraven on it many ancient Moresco characters" (vol. i, p. 286, ed. 1738).

BURGONETS OF ITALIAN ORIGIN

just referred to, and which no doubt may have given the idea for the suit made later for Guidobaldo for presentation to Charles V. Now in the armour ascribed to Bartolommeo Campi there are certain curious features in the form and technique that are more easily explained if the work be regarded as that of a gold- and silversmith rather than of a professional armourer. As then all these characteristics are present in an accentuated form on the breastplate in the Bargello, its theme of ornamentation, Burne-Jones-like in its treatment, consisting of dragons' wings studded with human eyes (Fig. 1221), a species of *fauna* described in the first canto of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, we have no hesitation in saying that Bartolommeo Campi was its designer and maker. As, too, there exists at Vienna a portrait of Guidobaldo II, Duke of Urbino, wearing this breastplate and the Petrograd casque, there can be no doubt that the casque is also the work of Campi; for in this again can be seen wonderful sculptural designs, designs which are grotesque and spirited, but which are difficult to accept as the appropriate decoration of a head-piece. The mask of some horned marine monster constitutes the skull-piece of the casque, the crest of which is formed by the body of a dolphin, whose head lies snug between the horns of the former beast. Above the ear-pieces are reptile-like wings.

In the Imperial Armoury of Vienna is a parade shield with an accompanying burgonet-casque (Fig. 1224), which is almost as grotesque as the last piece described. They belonged to the Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol, and, according to the late Wendelin Boeheim, are the work of an armourer, Giovanni Battista Serabaglio, in whose actual existence we have no faith (see vol. iii, page 294). Though in outline the casque is of the more usually accepted "antique" form, a great monster constitutes its crest. On either side of the skull-piece are figures of Neptune and Hercules. Upon the umbril is a splendidly embossed grotesque mask of a marine monster. The whole is enriched with plates of gold and silver, and very richly damascened with gold. The element of the grotesque is here shown in a somewhat later form. The date of this casque is about 1560-70. Perhaps a little earlier in manner, and certainly more robust in its workmanship, is that most beautiful casque which from the point of design is the finest example of the armourer's art of its kind (Fig. 1225, No. 108 in the Wallace Collection), a casque which must surely come from the workshop of some sculptor in bronze rather than from that of an armourer. The difficult medium of stubborn iron has so little affected the treatment of its boldly rendered ornament that the freeness of execution is only to be matched in a *cire perdue* bronze of the latter part

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

of the XVth century. This may perhaps be a head-piece that actually reproduces one of the many designs of the great Leonardo. Inasmuch as this casque is a national possession, and accessible to all, we feel justified in giving a detailed description of it. It dates from about 1540, and is forged in one piece and embossed from the interior, in some parts to a height of $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches, the work being executed throughout with the greatest



FIG. 1224. BURGONET

Italian, made between 1560-70, and supposed to have been worn by the Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol. Imperial Armoury, Vienna

possible spirit. The surface is patinated to a dark russet colour, and the ornamentation is disposed in the following fashion. Above the forehead is the upper portion of a grotesque face, with moustachios, strongly hooked nose, and small receding eyes, above which are the bushy eyebrows. From between the eyebrows springs an acanthus leaf ornament which is continued to the back of the comb of the helmet, to form the crest. An ear-like form is represented on either side of the skull, and behind it, below the rivets that

BURGONETS OF ITALIAN ORIGIN

secured the ear-pieces, the surface is enriched with cornucopiac. The neck guard is finished by an outward turn forged to a leaf pattern. There is a brass shield-shaped plume-holder at the back, and also a row of brass rosette-headed rivets by which the lining strap was formerly secured. Underneath the extreme front of the helmet is attached, by rivets, a movable plate, embossed in the form of teeth; round the lower edge of which is a series of holes provided for the attachment of a lining. The ear-plates are missing.

Of a little earlier date than this helmet are those three fine casques,



FIG. 1225. BURGONET

Probably North Italian, about 1540
Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 108)

so much alike, two of which are certainly the work of the brothers Negroli of Milan, one of them being signed and dated 1545. We take these three casques next because they reveal certain eccentricities of form which recall the head-pieces of classical times. These three helmets are preserved in the Royal Armoury of Madrid, D 30 (Fig. 1226), in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris, H 253 (Fig. 1227), and in the collection of the late Mr. Rutherford Stuyvesant of New York (Fig. 1228). The helmet in the Royal Armoury of Madrid is thus described in the catalogue of the *Real Armeria*: "Parade Burgonet made by the armourers Negroli in 1545 for the Emperor Charles V."

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

On the front part Victory and Fame are holding the moustaches of a Turk wearing the *lorica* and lying on his back, thus fancifully forming a crest. In many parts the helmet is damascened with gold. On the front, between the two figures, is a shield, on which in letters inlaid in gold are inscribed the words: "SIC TVA · INVICTE · CÆSAR." Inside the umbril of the helmet is the inscription: "F · ET · FRA · DE · NEGROLIS · FACI · A · MDXXXV."

The casque in the Musée d'Artillerie is also in the fluent style of these same armourers' work, and is ornamented with small arabesques of inlaid silver. Here the principal point of divergence from the Madrid example is the fact that the shield on the front of the helmet bears the following Greek inscription inlaid in gold, though much rubbed: "ΤΑΥ[ΤΑ]ΙΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΣΤΕ[ΡΑΣ]" (*Translation*, "By them [Fame and Victory] I reach the stars"). The comb is formed by the body of a dead warrior, guarded by the figures of Fame and Victory embossed on either side of the casque. The Stuyvesant example, though fine in general form and equally good in outline, is inferior to the other two casques. In all three head-pieces the general design is the same, with slight variation; so doubtless the general model was much in favour. The Madrid and Paris casques are undoubtedly the work of the Negroli themselves; but the Stuyvesant helmet, which is less skilful than the other two in execution, was probably the work of an apprentice. Paolo Morgia, in his *Nobiltà di Milano*, 1595, says that Filippo Negroli made "*celate e rotelle miracolose*," and that he had two brothers who worked with him, the "Filippus et fratres" of the Madrid casque. Alluding as we have been to the work of the brothers Negroli, a characteristic feature of which is a rare feeling for the grotesque, we take the opportunity of referring to that curious open helmet of the casque type which is now to be seen in the Metropolitan Museum of New York (Fig. 1229). The skull-piece is in the form of the upper portion of the human head, showing a shock of curly hair admirably rendered, bound by a chaplet in the form of oak leaves and gilt acorns. The ear-pieces are formed on the side pieces of the casque. This casque in the Metropolitan Museum of New York was purchased with the Dino Collection. Discovered at Seville in 1872 by the painter Fortuny, and sold in Paris after his death, it passed into the collection of M. Basilewski, who exhibited it at the Historical Exhibition at the Trocadero Palace in 1878. M. Piot purchased it from M. Basilewski, but sold it at a later date to the Duc de Dino. In the Imperial Armoury of Vienna, and in the Royal Armoury of Madrid, are two other casques of the same kind, both signed by the Negroli; so it seems safe to consider that the Metropolitan



FIG. 1226. BURGONET

Worn by the Emperor Charles V, signed by the Brothers Negroli of Milan and dated 1545.
D 30, Royal Armoury,
Madrid



FIG. 1228. BURGONET

Of the same model as Figs. 1226 and 1227, but in this case a school work of the Negroli. Ex Baily and De Cosson Collections, now in the Rutherford Stuyvesant Collection, New York



FIG. 1227. BURGONET

Made by the Brothers Negroli of Milan. Musée d'Artillerie, Paris



FIG. 1229. PORTION OF A FULL BURGONET

Made by one of the Brothers Negroli of Milan between 1530 and 1540. Ex Duc de Dino Collection, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York



FIG. 1230. BURGONET

Made and signed by one of the Brothers Negròli of Milan between 1530 and 1540. It belonged to Duke François Marie d'Urbino. Imperial Armoury, Vienna



FIG. 1230A. BURGONET WITH BUFFE

Made and signed by the Brothers Negroli of Milan and presented by Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, in 1534, to the Emperor Charles V. D 1, Royal Armoury, Madrid

BURGONETS OF ITALIAN ORIGIN

Museum example also came from their workshop. The helmet at Vienna belonged to Duke François Marie d'Urbino (Fig. 1230); while the Madrid specimen (D 1) was sent to the Emperor Charles V in 1534 by Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, as a mark of gratitude for the Emperor's gift to him of the Principality of Monferrat (Fig. 1230A). The Duke also included in his present several separate pieces of armour, together with the famous suit, now lost save the helmet to which we have already alluded (*ante*, page 128, Fig. 1218). We may add that the chin-piece or buffe of the Madrid example is in the form of a man's beard; the upper portion, which was shaped as the eyes and nose, was a detachable piece, and is now missing. The gorget plates are embossed with a representation of the Golden Fleece.

It is here interesting to describe and illustrate a buffe (Fig. 1231*a*), signed by Negroli and dated, which recently was sold at Christie's in the Breadalbane sale for £1,155 (Lot 86) on 5 July 1917. The actual buffe is in two parts, working on the principle of the falling umbril with three gorget plates below; the upper plate of the buffe is embossed with a grotesque human face, the sneering and drooping mouth diverging below into a form of leafage. The surface is blued with a gilt decoration. Concealed between the first and second lames of the buffe is the signature: PHĪ Ē FRĀ DE NEGROLIS · F, engraved on a gilt cartouche, whilst on the other side on the corresponding cartouche is the date, MDXXXVIII. In the author's opinion this piece is part of a burgonet made for the Emperor Charles V or given by that monarch to some great figure of the time, and came from the Christie sale in 1839 of the armour stolen from Madrid. The descriptions in the catalogue of that sale are so meagre that few of the pieces sold can be identified.

No armourer's mark of the Negroli is to be found on these pieces, but the author here illustrates their well-defined mark (Fig. 1231*b*) on a cuissard of the Musée d'Artillerie suit, which has already been illustrated (Vol. iii, Fig. 1046).

Considering the work of the brothers Negroli in their more restrained but none the less still ornate manner, we must make mention of those two splendid head-pieces which are respectively in the collection of the late Mr. Pierpont Morgan of New York, and in that of Mr. S. J. Whawell. The former, which has lost its original ear-guards, is signed on an additional forehead plate attached beneath the umbril of the piece. Doubtless Mr. Whawell's casque was signed on a similar plate, which is now, however, missing, though the rivets that held it in position are still to be seen.



(a)



(b)

(c)

FIG. 1231. BUFFE

(a) Buffe and gorget plates, by the Brothers Negrolì. Italian, 1538; (b) Lower plate of the buffe with the inscription: PHI. È FRÀ DE NEGROLIS . F . ; (c) The same with the date: MDXXXVIII.

Ex collection: Marquess of Breadalbane. Now in a private collection

BURGONETS OF ITALIAN ORIGIN

The general construction of the Morgan head-piece (Fig. 1232, *a*, *b*) will be observed to resemble that of the three helmets which are certainly the work of the Negroli (Figs. 1226, 1227, and 1228). In place of the figure of the Roman warrior forming the comb, we see the figure of a woman, whose extended hands grasp the hair of a female mask immediately above the umbril. The termination of the figure is foliated finally to merge into the



FIG. 1231B. RIGHT CUISSARD

From the suit, G 178, in the Musée d'Artillerie, showing the armourer's mark of the Negroli. *Circa* 1520

arrangement of spiral scrolls that occupy generally the skull-piece of the helmet. The decorations on the sides of the casque have as a central ornament the half figure of a boy. The entire surface of this superb burgonet is a fine brown black; there are no traces of gold enrichment—gold appearing solely on the additional forehead piece, to which we have alluded, in the form of an inscription, the deciphering of which enabled us to identify this head-piece as one which for over half a century had been lost sight of. In the

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

famous Brocas sale held in 1834, lot 366 is thus described: "Another [helmet] equally superb, with the master's name and date on the chin piece: PHILIPP' NEGROLV.' FECIT. MCXXXIII." It then sold for £29 8s.—its present value would probably be three hundred times that sum. Both the mistakes which occur in the sale catalogue of 1834 are susceptible of explanation. First as to the mention of a chin-piece. The casque never possessed a chin-piece; but to the uninitiated, the plate that we have described—fitting beneath the umbril—having once become detached in the centre would drop on to its side hinges, and so would assume the appearance of a chin-piece. Secondly, as to the inscription. This through a little rust oxidization has in one place somewhat perished so that the Roman numeral D in MDXXXIII was read as the numeral C, making it MCXXXIII. We may add that the subsequent history of this beautiful head-piece from its appearance in the Brocas sale, and its purchase by the Duc de Luynes, down to about the year 1900, is involved in obscurity.

Dr. Bashford Dean, in "The Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art," April 1916, writing on the possible original ownership of Mr. Morgan's casque, goes on to say:

"It was made within the years when Philip de Negroli was receiving commissions from the Emperor; and it is hardly to be supposed that he would produce at the same time and for a lesser personage a casque more elaborate and costly. Certain it is that, from the year 1533, when he commenced to fill the orders of Charles V, all of his extant signed pieces, with the exception of Mr. Morgan's casque, remain as part of the imperial heritage. But if the casque belonged to this court, why have we no record of so important a piece? Why was it not figured in the late XVIth century catalogue of the collection, or mentioned in the archives of the Royal Armoury? And if it did belong to the Emperor, how could such a specimen have been abstracted with impunity—even at a time when many inconspicuous pieces disappeared?

"To whom, then, did the present casque belong? Clearly, to a personage of the very highest rank, and one who had the artistic taste to prize such a possession. May it not have been Francis I? He was certainly the rival of the Emperor in many ways: he was even his superior as a patron of artistic work, and he was certainly not his second as a lover of beautiful armour. We know, in point of fact, that the King of France was much impressed with the work of Philip and the brothers de Negroli, and we recall most interestingly that he was the ruling duke of Milan at the time when Negroli



FIG. 1232*a*. BURGONET
Signed by Philip Negroli of Milan,
and dated 1543
Collection: the late Mr. Pierpont Morgan
of New York

FIG. 1232*b*. THE SAME HELMET
Full face view showing signature and date

IV

X

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

was preparing this casque (1543); for Francis's last struggle to retain Milan was between 1542 and 1544, when by the Peace of Crespy he lost his duchy to the Emperor. Add to this that while such a casque could not reasonably have found its way out of the Imperial Armory it may well have disappeared from the French king's possessions, like so many other important arms which were scattered during the Revolution. So far as we know, moreover, the present object was long preserved in France. It would be by no means surprising, therefore, if a study of the French archives demonstrated that in 1543 Francis I paid Philip de Negrolis many broad French pieces for embossing a princely casque!"

When we consider Mr. Whawell's casque (Fig. 1233), which, as we have said, has probably lost the plate which had the signature upon it, we unhesitatingly pronounce it to be the work of Philip Negrolis; we notice once more a slight step in the direction of the grotesque. In this instance we are able to identify the breast- and backplates that were made for and actually belong to the same suit as the helmet. They are now in the Louvre (see Vol. iii, page 293, Figs. 1057 and 1058). Mr. Whawell's casque was purchased in the first half of the XIXth century in Rome, by Sir Adam Hay, Bart., who sent it, together with a shield, to which we shall refer later, to the famous Loan Collection held at the South Kensington Museum in 1862. It is there described in the catalogue as follows:—"An Iron Helmet, with oreillettes ornamented with repoussé arabesques crested with a sort of sheaf ornament; in front is a dolphin mask. This beautiful helmet is doubtless the work of Paolo de' Negroli, a famous Milanese armourer of the XVIth century; the ornamentation and also the style of execution correspond precisely with those of the breastplate, which is signed by the artist; *in all probability it was the helmet en-suite with it.*" The italics are the author's; they are added to emphasize the association of this helmet with the breastplate illustrated in Fig. 1056 (vol. iii, page 289), which might indeed very easily have been mistaken as belonging to it, had not the author discovered at the Louvre the actual back- and breastplate, corresponding detail for detail with the casque. This casque, if not the finest, is at least one of the finest examples of this particular type of the armourer's art extant. How skilfully the puckered-up mask of the marine monster diverges into foliage forms, and how gracefully the delicate tendril scrollwork occupies the surface of the skull-piece! Of the ear-pieces, which are hinged, one is apparently of a slightly later date than the casque itself, a late XVIth century restoration made seemingly by an armourer whose skill could not vie with that of the Negroli, a

BURGONETS OF ITALIAN ORIGIN

certain tameness being noticeable in the rendering of the decorative theme. As in the case of the Morgan casque—there are no traces of any form of



FIG. 1233. BURGONET

Unsigned, but certainly the work of Philip Negroli of Milan, about 1540
Collection: Mr. S. J. Whawell

gilded decoration. The casque must have been finished with a surface of blue-black colour, much of which is still preserved.

An intermediate link between head-pieces of the first and those of the second half of the XVIth century is furnished by the open helmets of

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

Italian origin of which we figure two to illustrate pictorially what we shall endeavour to explain in the text. Both are of the semi-grotesque order as



FIG. 1234. BURGONET

North Italian, about 1550. There is tradition of its
having been worn by Andrea Doria

regards form ; but the execution of the decoration shows great skill and knowledge of the armourer's craft. By this we mean that the surface embossing is in the highest relief, and that the necessity of portraying a superimposed

BURGONETS OF ITALIAN ORIGIN

subject has not caused the artist-armourer to indicate subjects supposed to be in the middle distance merely in flat chasing, but has stimulated him to render it in relief, necessitating the ultra embossing of the figures, etc., in the foreground. To get a better idea of what we mean, the reader should look at that most beautiful helmet (Fig. 1234), formerly in the Spitzer Collection, which in 1834 was purchased by Carrand *père* in Geneva from a member of the Doria family. On one side of the skull-piece is seen the figure of a boy mounted on a sea-horse. Though this marine monster is modelled with



FIG. 1235. BURGONET

North Italian, about 1550. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 104)

accurate anatomical knowledge, and is in comparatively high relief, the figure of the boy, who rides it side-saddle fashion, is in almost double relief to it, or as we have put it, is super-imposed upon it. In other words, relief is put upon relief. The crest of this casque is modelled as the complete figure of a scaled mythical fish. Above the umbril is a grotesque mask; while encircling the base of the skull-piece, as though dividing it from the umbril and neck-guard, is a cabled band modelled in almost full relief. The ear-pieces are hinged, and lack, as is generally the case, the lower scaled plates to which the buckling straps were once attached. It was a tradition in the Doria family that this remarkable helmet was worn by the famous Genoese nobleman, Andrea

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

Doria (1466-1560). There is a possibility of truth in the supposition—though it must have been late in his adventurous career; for from the style of the helmet's decoration the period of its production may be considered to be about 1550. We cannot ascribe this casque to any particular armourer; but, as we have previously stated, whoever he was he must have been a master of his craft. To the same unknown hand we would assign that fine helmet in the Wallace Collection, No. 104 (Fig. 1235). Here are to be observed the same chubbiness, if we may use the term, in the general outline, and the same mid-Renaissance influence in the decoration. The casque is formed on classical lines. The surface is blackened, and in places gilt; the skull-piece is ridged and has embossed on either face the seated figure of a sphinx. Above the forehead, and continuing over the skull, is a design of overlapping acanthus leaves; while at the back a spray of conventional honeysuckle covers the surface. Around the base of this is a twisted cable design. The umbril, in one piece with the helmet, is embossed to form the upper part of a dolphin-mask; while on the neck-guard the surface is broken up by deeply incised lines. The whole of the border is turned under to a roping, the contour being followed by a row of brass-headed rivets for the attachment of the lining. It was evidently worn as a *casque de parade*. It never possessed ear-pieces, and is fashioned somewhat on the line of the Negroli burgonets (Figs. 1226, 1227, and 1228).

Having arrived at the middle of the XVIth century, we will now consider a most remarkable, and in its way unique helmet, well known as having been the gem of the Gatterburg-Morosini Collection dispersed in May 1894 (Fig. 1236, *a, b, c*). It belonged to Vincenzo Morosini, one of the most celebrated Venetian Patricians of the XVIth century, whose family came from Mantua and of which members sat on the Grand Council as early as the VIIIth century. This helmet was preserved with care by his descendants in the palace which bears their name in the Campo Francesco Morosini, near San Stefano at Venice. It only left this palace, where it held a place of honour, after the death of Countess Loredana Gatterburg-Morosini, the last representative of Francesco Morosini, surnamed Il Peloponnesiaco, the most renowned of the Morosini. It passed into the collection of Monsieur Sigismund Bardac, and later into that of Mr. Joseph Widener of Philadelphia. The casque was considered by Monsieur Germain Bapst, who so ably described it,¹ to be the work of the famous Paolo Rizzo after the designs of

¹ Germain Bapst: *Le Casque des Morosini*. Paris. N.d. Privately printed. 2 plates.

BURGONETS OF ITALIAN ORIGIN

Alessandro Vittoria. It resembles the form of those helmets of antiquity which are seen upon the statues of Pallas Athene, the tutelary divinity of Athens. It has the high simply-moulded skull-piece extending in unbroken line to a long, straight umbril, in which are two eye-shaped ocularia. So that, if it were worn thrown back on the head, the advanced umbril guarded well the upper portion of the face; whereas, if it were worn thrust down upon the head, all the lower part of the umbril guarded the face, vision being obtained through the ocularia only. Now this casque has the constructional advantage over the helmet of antiquity that the umbril can be extended into a direct visor. The design is heightened with elaborate gold *azzimina* inlays. The curious nature of the enrichment found on this casque does not readily suggest the identity of the armourer-artist who was responsible for it. Monsieur Germain Bapst, as we have already said, assigns the helmet to Alessandro Vittoria and Paolo Rizzo; but the Baron de Cosson feels, as does the author, that the attribution of it to these artists is not convincing. Monsieur Bapst himself is careful not to present it otherwise than as a strong presumption. This presumption is based on a resemblance of the embossed ornaments to certain architectural designs made by Alessandro Vittoria, and of the damascening generally to that appearing on the famous Trivulzio casket. This casket, enriched with maps of various countries in marvellously fine gold damascening, is known to be the work of Paolo Rizzo, the most celebrated *azziminista* of Venice. There is no evidence to prove that Alessandro Vittoria ever designed or that Paolo Rizzo ever executed armour, and there is no record of any great artistic armourer ever living and working in Venice in the XVIth century. We have therefore been led to examine all the representations which we possess of richly decorated armour of the period in which the helmet was made, in the hope of finding some example which might throw light on its probable author. On one example of armour alone have we found a decoration similar to that seen on this helmet, and that is on a breastplate signed I · S · O · PAVLVS · DE · NEGROLIS · ME · FECIT., formerly in the Magniac Collection, to which we have already alluded (Vol. iii, page 289, Fig. 1056). The scroll ending in a winged chimera which is found on the helmet appears on each side of the breastplate, along with much other ornament in the same style though it is rendered on the head-piece in rather grosser form. We do not attach much importance to this kind of scroll being in use amongst Milanese designers and workers in armour. But there is a circumstance relating to the signature on the breastplate PAVLVS DE NEGROLIS which is, to say the least, a strange coincidence.

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

The Milan genealogy quoted by Angelucci names Claudia Moresini as the wife of Giovanni Paolo Negroli. Now there is a considerable amount of evidence that Moresini and Morosini were used as interchangeable forms of the same name, and Andrea Morosini himself in his history of Venice uses the form Morosini and Moresini quite indifferently, but on the other hand the Baron de Cosson has not been able to find any "Claudia Morosini"



a

FIG. 1236. BURGONET OF THE MOROSINI FAMILY

Executed somewhat in the manner of Paolo Negroli of Milan, but probably a Roman mid-XVIIth century production

(*a*) Profile view of the helmet with the visor raised

Collection: Mr. Joseph Widener, Philadelphia

in the detailed genealogy of the Morosini family which is recorded in a MS. in the Marcian Library in Venice. The Baron de Cosson has also satisfied himself that there were other Morosinis living at this time in Lombardy, who were in no way connected with the Venetian family of that name. However, despite this coincidence of names, and the likeness of the decoration to certain Milanese types of ornamentation, the author is not disposed to

BURGONETS OF ITALIAN ORIGIN

accept the burgonet as the work of a Negroli or as emanating from Milan, but inclines to the opinion that it is the work of a Roman armourer. He admits that the helmet is designed on the Milanese model, but the embossing is heavy and the *azzimina* damascening is unlike any which he can call to mind.



FIG. 1236. BURGONET OF THE MOROSINI FAMILY

- (b) Front view with the visor raised.
- (c) Three-quarter view with the visor lowered.

In the case of the earlier casques made by Picinino we have unqualified praise for their very exuberance of richness; but in the later works of this armourer the desire to over-burden all the surface planes with enrichment is apparent. The great artist-armourers of the first half of the century, although they indulged in splendid decoration, were always careful to leave some part of their work plain, as much to preserve the purity of

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS



FIG. 1237. BURGONET

By Lucio Picinino. Made by order of the Emperor Charles V for presentation to Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol, between 1551 and 1552
Imperial Armoury, Vienna

from the Imperial Armoury, Vienna, which, together with the famous shield (*post*, page 222, Fig. 1298), was, according to the late Herr Boheim, made by order of the Emperor Charles V for the Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol, and presented to him on the occasion of one of his visits to Innsbruck in 1551 or 1552. The monogram of Lucio Picinino is on the shield in question, while an inscription on this helmet connects it with the shield and so with the gift. The Archduke was the founder of the collection of armour and arms formerly preserved in the Castle of Ambras, near Innsbruck. Several portraits exist showing him wearing this head-piece, which is de-

158

form and outline, which was justly considered to be of paramount importance, as to create contrasts and thereby to increase the effect of the chasing and embossing. It will also be noticed that the decorative scheme of the earlier armourers was always on a larger scale than that of those of the second half of the XVIth century, whose chief anxiety seems to have been to enrich the entire surface with designs in luxurious confusion, thereby weakening the general appearance of the work. But the first two Picinino casques which we illustrate reveal these defects in a far less pronounced fashion; for they are in the armourer's earliest manner and were consequently produced a little later than the first half of the XVIth century. Our first picture of a Picinino casque shows (Fig. 1237) a head-piece



FIG. 1238. SKULL-PIECE OF A BURGONET

By Lucio Picinino, about 1560
Ex Dino Collection. Metropolitan Museum, New York

BURGONETS OF ITALIAN ORIGIN

scribed as his in the inventory drawn up after his death; its origin is therefore certain. A second casque, incomplete but of the same form (Fig. 1238), is in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, formerly in the Dino Collection, and may be considered a work contemporary with the casque just mentioned. This latter casque came from the collection of the Conde de Casa Rojas, Marquesa del Bosch, of Valencia in Spain. The style is good, and the enrichment is executed with admirable clearness. The crest of the helmet displays a combat between two tritons, separated by a vase of antique form. The actual crest is outlined with a knotty spray of leafage, a real masterpiece of workmanship. On each side of the skull-piece is a figure of a woman nude to the waist, terminating in acanthus leaves, bordered with roses connected by swags of flowers. The neck-piece is missing; but the helmet is finished at the neck by a rounded piece of metal boldly chased. The hinged ear-guards, which are in two pieces, meet under the chin. The upper plate is decorated simply with a finely engraved rose round the air apertures, and on the lower lame is chased a satyr playing on an instrument. The gorget plate is chased to represent the scales of Roman armour. Numerous traces of gilding exist, showing that the foliage and other details of the chasing were originally gilt. The pivots that attached the umbril are in position on either side of the casque. An examination of the fellow casque at Vienna shows that this one must originally have been completed by the addition of a curious out-curved neck-guard and an umbril visor of most unusual form.¹ In the later manner of Picinino is the next helmet, that interesting historical casque in the Imperial Armoury of Vienna, which is said² to have been presented by Duke William of Mantua in 1561 to his brother-in-law, the Emperor Maximilian II (Fig. 1239). Here can be noted that over-luxuriance of design to which the general outline of the casque has been subordinated, a decadence of taste which cannot be sufficiently condemned when, as in this case, it affects adversely the constructional skill of the armourer. Further evidence of this tendency to over-elaboration of ornament is furnished by the helmet in the Currie Collection, now bequeathed to the Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig. 1240), an example which, though lacking the historical interest of the Vienna specimen, appears to us somewhat superior in make. Notwithstanding that the surface of the helmet

¹ Cf. Baron de Cosson: *Le Cabinet d'Armes de Maurice de Talleyrand-Perigord, Duc de Dino*, 1901, page 34 (B 30).

² Cf. W. Boheim: *Waffensammlung des A. Kaiserhauses*, etc., Wien, 1894, page 14, Plate XXVI (2).

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

has suffered somewhat from rust oxidization, the quality of the gold *azzimina* damascening and plating is fine and strangely early in style, though we are unable to consider the casque as dating before about 1560. It is certainly the work of Lucio Picinino. It takes the usual form of a mid-XVIth century burgonet exhibiting a decorative scheme admirably grouped, if, to our taste, overcrowded. The skull-piece is embossed on either side and this decoration is in the form of a medallion, with a flat-raised border covered with arabesqued foliage in gold. The left-hand medallion shows an armed warrior, beneath him a recumbent nude figure of a man,



FIG. 1239. BURGONET

By Lucio Picinino, about 1560. This head-piece, together with a shield, are supposed to have been presented, in 1561, to the Emperor Maximilian II by his brother-in-law, Duke William of Mantua

and by his side a fully draped woman holding a short spear with a shield on her left arm, and having behind her a satyr; this subject probably represents Valour, with Cowardice at his feet, and sustained by Wisdom. The corresponding medallion depicts a partially draped female figure over a crouched satyr—her right foot resting on the base of a column—and holding in her right hand a viola, and in her left the chain enslaving the satyr; on the left Mercury is coming rapidly towards her with a garland in his hand. As in the companion medallion, a walled city can be seen. Near the base of the column are two stringed musical instruments. In the front of the large medallions, over the umbril of the helmet, are figures, partially draped in striped garments, emblematic of Fame and Victory. Behind the medallions,

BURGONETS OF ITALIAN ORIGIN

at the base of the comb, is a double plume-holder in the form of a shield, supported by two children, surrounded by trophies of arms. The comb has a roped edge, and three medallions on each side, the centre one showing a seated Cupid, and the others nude female figures; the space between is filled with vine-pattern arabesques in gold. The umbril has a medallion with a satyr's mask, strapwork, and groups of arms, and a narrow border of vine-leaf pattern in gold dividing these from the roped edge. On the neck-piece are crossed shields and banners, and on the ear-pieces figures of Cupids with a bow, and a torch; the borders are similar to those



FIG. 1240. BURGONET

By Lucio Picinino, about 1560. Collection: Mr. D. M. Currie

on the umbril. Nothing is known of the history of this most attractive helmet save that it came from the W. H. Forman Collection, which was formed in the second quarter of the XIXth century.

Guards of municipalities and the personal guards of great houses frequently had their particular head-pieces, which as often as not took the form, in some shape or another, of the open casque. Of these head-pieces none are more famous than those worn by the guard of Cosimo de' Medici, "Tyrant of Florence" (1537-74) and Grand Duke of Tuscany. Most of the important collections brought together in the past have examples of such head-pieces. In the Meyrick Collection was a specimen, Lord Londesborough's Collection contained the example which we now illustrate

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

(Fig. 1241), the collection of the Baron de Cosson included one, and from the late Mr. Stibbert's Collection at Florence comes another example which we figure (Fig. 1242). Several specimens again are in the Royal Armoury of Turin; while in the palace at Capo di Monte, near Naples, nineteen such head-pieces are to be seen. The existence of such a large number of these casques, and the variation in the quality of their workmanship, make the author think that in all probability their attribution to the body-guard of



FIG. 1241. TRIPLE COMBED BURGONET

Of the guard of Cosimo de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany. This example would appear to be of North Italian workmanship, about 1570.

Collection: Mr. D. M. Currie

Cosimo de' Medici is correct; for not only can there be seen on either side of the triple comb of every one of them the Florentine fleur-de-lis *épanouie*, but from the fact of their duration for thirty-seven years as the more or less accepted head-piece of the guard one would expect to find, as is actually the case, a great variety in the quality of their workmanship. Cosimo de' Medici's reign of thirty-seven years is an important period of the XVIth century, and marks the change from the fine and conscientious armourers' work done in its first half to that disregard of constructional accuracy which characterizes the productions of its second half. The actual form of these helmets of the

BURGONETS OF ITALIAN ORIGIN

Medici guard, though distinctly of the casque variety, may be considered to have been founded upon the civilian velvet bonnet of the time, the three combs being suggested by those German Landsknecht head-pieces to which we shall refer shortly. The surfaces of these Medici casques are russeted and partly gilded on the raised parts, and as we have said, fleurs-de-lis are embossed on either side; while a grotesque mask occupies the umbril of the



FIG. 1242. TRIPLE COMBED BURGONET

Of the guard of Cosimo de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany. This example is of rather different workmanship to the preceding and of somewhat later date

skull-piece. This family of casques may be taken as dating as a class, from about 1570; as it was in 1569 that Pope Pius V created Cosimo Grand Duke of Tuscany. We are inclined to think, however, that the Londesborough specimen now in the collection of Mr. D. M. Currie must be a rather earlier type.

Just as the Electors of Saxony in the latter part of the XVIth century armed their body-guards with a particular pattern of morion (Figs. 1282 and

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

1283), so other princely houses are known to have retained during several generations the same form of head-piece for their personal attendants. The guard of certain of the Popes had their particular casque helmets; remark,



FIG. 1243. BURGONET

Of the guard of-Pope Julius III. Italian (Roman), about 1550. Ex Dino Collection.
Metropolitan Museum, New York



FIG. 1244. BURGONET

Italian, with etched ornaments in the
Pisan school, about
1580



FIG. 1245. BURGONET

Showing the evolution into the cabasset morion.
Italian, with etched ornaments in the Pisan
school, about 1580-1600

for instance, those Roman made head-pieces belonging to the guard of Pope Julius III (Giovanni del Monte) 1550-55. These are modelled somewhat on classical lines, except that they possess high combs to the skull-pieces. The

BURGONETS OF GERMAN ORIGIN

form and decoration of these casques are said to have been based on the original designs of Michael Angelo. We feel, however, that this is hardly likely to have been the case; for the coarse and deep etching introducing the portrait of Julius III, the plentiful gilding, and the field of black pigment upon which the general design depends, call for no particular admiration. Nor in the general design is the conception of a great master apparent. We illustrate an example from the Dino Collection (Fig. 1243).

The fact that we have not illustrated the more ordinary and simpler head-pieces of the open casque order must not be construed by the reader in any depreciatory sense; many, indeed, are often much worthier of the name of helmet than some poorly constructed but over-enriched head-pieces of the last decades of the XVIth century. We have omitted them simply for want of space, it being impossible to deal with the various subdivisions of every kind of helmet. Therefore we have had to content ourselves with the mere mention of the more important specimens of each branch that we can recall. In order to show the more ordinary types of open casque of Italian origin and those that the student is likely to come across in the course of his researches, we give two illustrations (Figs. 1244 and 1245), which, taken in conjunction with our descriptions of the more historical casques, will help to complete what we trust is a fairly comprehensive account of the different forms and types that existed.

A SHORT REVIEW OF BURGONETS OF GERMAN ORIGIN, 1520-1610

IN the nature of open casques are those head-pieces essentially German which we see in the engravings of Hans Sebald Beham (1500-50) preserved in the print-room in Munich. One of these plates (Fig. 1246), entitled *Landsknecht*, of about the year 1540, is specially noteworthy. We illustrate a very fine example of this school, half salade, half open casque, that is worthy of the closest scrutiny, No. 106 of the Wallace Collection (Fig. 1247). The strange, almost grotesque, design of this helmet is quite compensated for by the solidity and excellence of its workmanship; indeed, it recalls the famous casque made by Lorenz Kolman of Augsburg, A 59 in the Madrid Armoury.¹ The skull-piece of the Wallace casque has a slightly flattened

¹ Illustrated in *Catálogo de la Real Arméria* por El Conde de Valencia, 1898, page 30, Fig. 29.

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

comb and fluted back, and in keeping with this is the short, slightly sloping umbril or brim, the border of which is turned under to a hollow roping, continuing down the sides and round the contour of the helmet. The lower neck-plates are of two laminated parts. In front of the skull is a dolphin's mask, with the skin and fins embossed and enriched in gold. This piece is attached at the top by a turning pin; on either side of this central mask are the tails of the same dolphins also attached by turning



FIG. 1246. LANDSKNECHT SOLDIERS WEARING THE BURGONET OF GERMAN FASHION

With and without the buffe. From an engraving by Hans Sebald Beham (1500-50)

pins. On this, again, the wings are applied, the edges finishing by being cut to a lambrequin design; while at their other ends they finish in an embossed spiral hollow. The whole of the borders, fluting, and attached pieces have enrichments of gold. This fine helmet, which came from the collection of the Count de Nieuwerkerke, is certainly German in construction, and probably comes from the workshop of the Kolmans, if it is not the personal work of Lorenz himself. Its date is about 1530. A peculiar interest attaches to it on account of the fact that it is one of the few pieces of plate armour left in England which has that particular form of gold enrichment

BURGONETS OF GERMAN ORIGIN

used on its surface, as employed on the casque in Madrid, the decoration of which is said to have been the work of the Augsburg engraver, Daniel Hopper. (This same method of gold application was occasionally used in the enrichment of the blades of XVth century Italian swords and *cinquedeas*, see Figs. 657, 845, and 862.) The only other examples in England, known to the author, of this form of surface enrichment are on the blade of a beautiful Bolognese *cinquedeas* in the collection of Lady Ludlow and on the pair of knee-cops in the Tower of London (Class III, Nos. 849-50), which must have been stolen from the Royal Armoury, Madrid; for they can be found depicted in the famous *Inventario Iluminado* of the principal armour of the Emperor Charles V.¹ They were purchased at the Christie



FIG. 1247. BURGONET

Probably the work of Lorenz Kolman of Augsburg, about 1530
No. 106, Wallace Collection

sale of 1839 (Lot 81, £2 8s.). Other types of German casques are those low-crowned triple-combed helmets with ear-pieces such as can be seen in Burgkmair's "Triumph." Two excellent examples of casques of this kind, such casques as were often worn with those bizarre slashed costumes of the Landsknecht soldiery, one still retaining its original outer covering of cloth, are shown in the National Bavarian Museum of Munich (Figs. 1248 and 1249). We should say that both these helmets date within the first half of the XVIth century. In the Stibbert Collection of Florence is another such helmet with the triple comb more definitely accentuated; but judging from the type of etching that enriches it, we are inclined to think that, although distinctly German in fashion, this casque is North Italian in workmanship.

¹ This illustration is reproduced in Mr. ffoulkes' catalogue, vol. i, page 166.



FIG. 1248. TRIPLE COMBED BURGONET
Nuremberg make, about 1540. It retains its original
covering of cloth



FIG. 1249. TRIPLE COMBED BURGONET
Nuremberg make, about
1540

Both in the National Bavarian Museum, Munich



FIG. 1250. TRIPLE COMBED BURGONET
Probably North Italian, but of German fashion, about 1540-50
Collection: Stibbert, Florence

168

BURGONETS OF GERMAN ORIGIN

In the case of this example an outer covering of velvet can be seen upon the skull-piece; but this was a clever restoration added by Mr. Stibbert (Fig. 1250). The general lines of this type of casque with hinged ear-pieces are followed in the case of that attractive little head-piece which was formerly in the Max Kuppelmayer Collection of Munich (Fig. 1251). Upon the skull-piece, which has a single low comb, is a finely etched composition which introduces on one side a subject from the Apocalypse, chapter v, verse 5, with the following



FIG. 1251. BURGONET

German, dated 1546. It is probably decorated by Heinrich Vogther
Collection: The late Herr Max Kuppelmayer

inscription: ECCE VICIT LEO DE TRIBV JVDA RADIX DAVIT, and on the other another chosen from the 119th Psalm, verse 154, with the inscription: DOMINE VIVIFICA ME SCDM VERBŪ TVŪ PSALM · CXIX · VH 1546.

Herr Kuppelmayer considered that the initials V. H. were those of the engraver, Heinrich Vogther of Strassburg. This finely decorated casque came from Neuburg on the Danube, and is said to have been worn by Johann Casimir, Count Palatine of the Rhine. In the collection of the late Herr Hefner-Alteneck (Fig. 1252) there used to be an etched casque of great

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

beauty of construction, the enrichment of which was probably the work of Peter von Speier of Annaberg. This helmet, like others we have mentioned, had portions of its surface overlaid with a textile substance, in this case black velvet, which was sewn to the metal foundation by means of threads passing through fine perforations; these edged the general contour of the helmet and its bands of enrichments. In the interior was the original lining. Hefner-Alteneck acquired this casque in 1861 from the Castle of Hohenaschan. Its probable date is within the second half of the XVIth century.



FIG. 1252. BURGONET

German, about 1560. With etched bands by Peter von Speier of Annaberg, Saxony. Collection: the late Herr Hefner-Alteneck

Of the more ordinary burgonet type of open casque, casques furnished with the high comb and with more robustly proportioned ear-pieces, but still of German workmanship, if a little more Italian in their form, are two very finely etched helmets in the National Germanic Museum of Nuremberg (Figs. 1253 and 1254). Despite the fact that their respective decorations are quite dissimilar in theme, both these casques are enriched with *aqua fortis* etching executed in the finest possible manner, the various designs being drawn with the most accurate precision, and executed with the greatest exactitude. The one more richly decorated (Fig. 1253) is the earlier of the

BURGONETS OF GERMAN ORIGIN

two. Its entire surface is covered with well-designed arabesques introducing terminal figures and griffin-like monsters, the groundwork of the design being filled in with a black pigment. Although the author has seen etching by the same hand on other plate armour, notably in the Nuremberg Collection, he is quite unable to credit it to any known armourer or armour artist. The date of this casque is about 1580, but the second one (Fig. 1254), though earlier in style, bears the date 1607.

Needless to say, many armourers of other nations whose works have not been identified produced similar simply etched casques; but the four we have



FIG. 1253. BURGONET
German, about 1580. National
Germanic Museum of
Nuremberg



FIG. 1254. BURGONET
German, of a mid-XVIth century style, but dated
1607. National Germanic Museum
of Nuremberg

enumerated are essentially German parade head-pieces. In the second half of the XVIth century many gorgeous casques of the more ornate type were produced in German workshops. There is in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris a finely conceived casque, H 251 (Fig. 1255), described in the catalogue as being Italian of the middle of the XVIth century. But the question arises, is it Italian, or German produced under Italian influence? We ask this question as to its nationality on account of the very great resemblance its decoration bears to that seen on two suits in the Imperial Armoury of Vienna, one made for the Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol,¹ the other

¹ Illustrated in plate XVII in Von Sacken's *K.K. Ambraser-Sammlung*, Wien, 1859, vol. i.

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

accredited to the Archduke Carl von Steiermark (*ante*, page 75, Fig. 1154). Now these suits are recorded as the work of that mysterious armourer Jacob Topf of Innsbruck, who according to Wendelin Boeheim was born about 1530 and died about 1587.¹ To the English collector the name of Topf recalls to mind the Greenwich school and that large series of harnesses made for representative English families of the close of the XVIth century which are



FIG. 1255. BURGONET

Probably German work and possibly by Jacob Topf of Innsbruck
H 251, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

familiar to us through the Jacobe MS. in the Victoria and Albert Museum. We have already discussed the improbability of there being any connection between Topf and Jacobe (*ante*, pages 12 *et seqq.*). The work of Jacob Topf on the suits in the Vienna Armoury is precisely like the decoration found upon the casque to which we are alluding in the Musée d'Artillerie, consisting of gilding, flat tool chasing, a little embossing, and lines of incrustated silver studs or pearls. The shape of the casque certainly shows a strong

¹ W. Boeheim, *Meister der Waffenschmiedekunst*, Berlin, 1897, page 217.

BURGONETS OF GERMAN ORIGIN

Italian influence. But if it be from the hand of Jacob Topf this can be easily understood; as before he worked at Innsbruck, Topf is known to have been in Milan, and consequently would have been acquainted with the work of the Milanese armourers. Therefore we take it that this casque is a parade



FIG. 1256. BURGONET

German work about 1570. Imperial Armoury, Vienna

helmet of German workmanship, but very strongly influenced, both as regards form and decoration, by the Italian training of the armourer.

It is not until the German armourers of the second half of the XVth century essay to imitate the richly embossed and damascened parade casque of Italian origin, for which by that time there was a universal demand, that one really notes how debased became the forms of such enrichment, as applied to the surface of plate armour. The example we give of a German

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

casque thus enriched is in the Imperial Armoury, Vienna (Fig. 1256). It is a representative German parade head-piece characteristically overloaded with decoration. Confused battle scenes, strap- and scrollwork, and inscriptions seem to struggle with one another for supremacy in the decorative scheme; with the result that the enrichment appears as a confused mass of ornamentation, contravening every canon of art by its overabundance and lack of a principal theme. The iron, through having to be



FIG. 1257. BURGONET

Probably German workmanship under Italian influence, about 1570
Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 638)

fired so many times in the process of carrying out the elaborate embossing, has lost much of its fine elastic quality. It is also affected in colour, with the result that where a bright surface is exposed it is of a leaden appearance. In the general aspect of this casque a want of solidity is manifest, lending it the appearance of being made out of sheet iron rather than having been hammered out of the solid metal. However, despite these criticisms there is much to admire in this helmet, an elaborate example of an open casque made by an unknown German armorer of about 1570. In the older catalogues of

BURGONETS OF GERMAN ORIGIN

the Vienna Armoury it is stated to have been formerly the property of the Emperor Charles V; but there is no evidence to establish this attribution. In the Wallace Collection there is an embossed parade casque that in the official catalogue of that armoury is described by the author as being Italian; more recent examination and fresh comparisons have, however, convinced him that it is German both in workmanship and design (No. 638, Fig. 1257). It is a far more solid head-piece than the one we have just alluded to; while the most elaborate overlay and inlay play a great part in its enrichment. The skull-piece has a high roped comb. The umbril, which is part of the same piece, projects for some distance over the face, as in the case of most helmets constructed on classical lines. The cheek-pieces are hinged. The surface decoration is divided in the following manner. On either side of the comb is an oval panel, containing on the one side a composition of Leda and the Swan, and on the reverse Venus nursing Cupid. Abutting on these medallions are panels of musical and military trophies; both the groundwork of these and of the central medallions are plated with gold and minutely finished with a tooled annular design. The edge of the comb is shaped as the bodies of spirally intertwined snakes, the heads of which appear over the umbril; the bodies are engraved with scales and plated with silver. On either side of the skull-piece are upright oval panels, one containing the subject of Horatius Cocles on the Tiber Bridge facing the army of Porsenna, the other that of Metius Curtius leaping into the pit. In the triangular panels at the sides of the central composition are trophies of Roman armour. In the centre of the umbril is the head of Medusa with griffins at the sides; the same ornaments are repeated on the neck-guard; though the mask is that of a woman in repose, with Grecian head-dress. The ear-pieces are embossed with griffins, but they do not belong to the casque. The work of this most highly wrought helmet is embossed and chased, and the surface russeted; thick gold and silver plating are much used as an enrichment. The fine details of the armour trophies, of the figures, and of the bordering to the panels, etc., are carried out in gold and silver damascening with which most of the russeted surface is relieved. The date of the helmet is about 1570. Sir Richard Wallace purchased this casque in 1882 from Mr. Durlacher, who acquired it from a collection in Munich. It was sold to Sir Richard Wallace for the then high price of £2,300.

When the author adversely criticizes the art of the German armourer as the second half of the XVIth century progresses, he is alluding to the

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

German taste in embossing figure subjects. Even then only the designs of the latter half of the XVIth century are at fault; for among the mid-XVIth century armourers the most justly world famous are those of German origin. The Worms of Nuremberg, the Wolfs of Landshut, and the great family of Kolman of Augsburg are all artists honoured pre-eminently for their skill in the armourer's craft. To-day we recognize their work, not so much as that of individuals, but as standing for particular styles which each house originated; for instance, when we allude to a head-piece or other



FIG. 1258. BURGONET

German, by Wolf of Landshut. From a comprehensive harness made for Philip II of Spain. Collection: Mr. Felix Joubert

armament as made by Wolf of Landshut, we do not necessarily mean that it is the work of Sigismund Wolf, but that it is inspired from the school which Sigismund founded.

These remarks on the characteristic qualities of the mid-XVIth century armourers of the German school have led us somewhat away from our subject of the open casque; but we feel bound to pay a slight, if belated, tribute to those beautifully made and appropriately decorated casques that come within the category of the Wolf of Landshut family. Unlike the very elaborately embossed and gilded parade helmets, they formed part of the very complete suits that exist in fragmentary form in the more im-

BURGONETS OF ENGLISH ORIGIN

portant national and even private collections of Europe and America. They happen to be individual or separate head-pieces that were made to complete what was already a suit of armour, perfect in all its parts and adequate to all the requirements of the military exercises of the time. They are to be seen in the National Armouries of Spain, of Vienna, of Paris, in the armoury of the Metropolitan Museum of New York, and in a few private collections. The one which we illustrate is in the collection of Mr. Felix Joubert (Fig. 1258), who obtained it some five years ago from a private collection in Spain. We choose this specimen as showing this type of head-piece in as complete a condition as anyone could wish. In the matter of its decoration it resembles a suit at Madrid and the extra pieces of plate armour of the same harness which were made originally for Philip II of Spain, and are to-day to be found in various collections; so that possibly this casque may be considered to have been produced under the direct influence of Sigismund Wolf. In the Wallace Collection (No. 520) is a partially close helmet from the same suit of armour (*ante*, Fig. 1189). Reverting to the casque illustrated in Fig. 1258, we may add that its workmanship is of the very first order. The metal used is substantial and excellent; while the etched, gilded, and slightly embossed effects employed in the ornamentation are quite in the perfect taste of the time. Unlike the helmet in the Wallace Collection, or the parts of the suit in the Royal Spanish Armoury, this casque has never suffered from overcleaning. When it was first received from Spain it was found to be coated with many layers of thick varnish which had been applied repeatedly for many generations to protect both its enriched and plain surfaces from the effect of rust oxidization, and when these were removed by Mr. Joubert the gilding and the original burnished surfaces on the plain steel surfaces were seen to be preserved in their original state.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF SOME BURGONETS OF ENGLISH ORIGIN

WE have referred to the armourer, Jacob Topf, as the possible maker of the helmet H 251 in the Musée d'Artillerie (Fig. 1255); we will now give illustrations (Figs. 1259, 1260, and 1261) of those open casques with their buffes attached, which, in the opinion of the author, are the work of the English armourers, including Jacobe, who worked at Greenwich. The three



FIG. 1259. BURGONET AND BUFFE
Belonging to the suit of the Earl of Worcester.
English (Greenwich) school, late XVIth
century. Tower of London



FIG. 1260. BURGONET AND BUFFE
Belonging to the suit of Sir John Smithe.
English (Greenwich) school, late XVIth
century. Tower of London



FIG. 1261. BURGONET AND BUFFE
Belonging to the suit of Sir Thomas Sackville. English (Greenwich) school, late
XVIth century. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 435)

BURGONETS OF ENGLISH ORIGIN

casques or burgonets are taken from the suits of the Earl of Worcester (Fig. 1259 and *ante*, page 27, Fig. 1109), of Sir John Smithe (Fig. 1260 and *ante*, page 40, Fig. 1120), and of Sir Thomas Sackville (Fig. 1261 and *ante*, page 72, Fig. 1151), all of which still exist. The superb burgonet on the Pembroke suit has already been illustrated (Figs. 1106A and 1116). We will only describe one—that belonging to the Sir John Smithe suit; for all are of the same construction and differ one from the other in decoration only. The skull-piece has a high comb, hinged neck- and ear-pieces, the surface being now brightened with etched ornaments, russeted and gilt. Fitted to the helmet is a buffe of three falling plates, secured by spring catches to guard the face, the topmost pierced with a horizontal aperture to serve as the ocularium. The comb has a roped edge, and on the sides are flat strap ornaments inclosing panels with the figure of Mars in a chariot, Justice and Fortitude—these are repeated on either side. The ground between is granulated with delicate foliage. On the skull-piece are two boldly crossing straps, with leafy ends, covered with minute foliated ornaments. The peak, neck- and ear-pieces, are margined with bands of a similar character. On the ear-pieces are two round panels, which show figures of Justice and Fortitude in wreaths. On the buffe are figures of Victory and Mars and bands of ornaments. The edges are roped and have a row of brass-headed rivets by which the lining was attached.

Good helmets of the burgonet type were made in the XVIIth century, some quite excellent from the point of their workmanship and design, but in form and decoration according to the taste of the time, though occasionally features surviving from some earlier school of the craft can be traced. English armourers were perhaps more inclined to follow the peculiarities of changing fashion than those of other nations; so that in the XVIIth century their work is often of a marked type. French, Italian, German, and Spanish armourers were content to utilize designs which had been employed before, and which they either modified or exaggerated. After the first quarter of the XVIIth century and onwards, until the final decadence of the armourer's art at the close of the century, the so-called lobster-tailed open helmets with the triple bar face defence, which were so popular both in England and on the Continent, were gradually developed until they finally became very exaggerated in form. This was the open helmet of all classes in England. Of great weight, for many were often bullet proof, they were somewhat clumsily made; but the style of their ornamentation, coarse as it was, still invests them with a certain charm. A good example of such a helmet is in the

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

Tower Armoury,¹ where it forms part of a small harness, consisting of a breastplate, gorget, and burgonet made for King Charles II when a boy. It will be noted that the surface is tooled with various trophies of arms, etc., and thickly plated with silver. The old inventories state that it was once "Richly Gilt." We give as our final illustration of this class of head-pieces a German early XVIIth century casque, which is also contained



FIG. 1262. BURGONET

With applied enrichments of copper gilt in the style of Alessandro Algardi,
but of German workmanship, about 1600-10
Tower of London, Class IV, No. 154

in the Tower of London (Fig. 1262). This is a decadent form of the armourer's craft, the skull-piece being fashioned in two halves and joined down the front; but it has a certain charm of colour and a fertility of design as regards its ornamentation that are not altogether unpleasing. The actual foundation of the helmet is thin iron of a strangely blue-grey colour, embossed with that somewhat lumpy form of decoration which is sometimes seen on the works of the famous metal worker and enameller, Jamnitzer (Christoph). On this foundation applied, in copper gilt, are recumbent classical figures among

¹ Illustrated in Mr. C. Foulkes' Catalogue, vol. i, plate XIX (Class II, No. 92).

BURGONETS OF FRENCH ORIGIN

florid strapwork and trophies. The enrichments are well modelled, and for German work of their time remarkably restrained, the graceful rendering of the figures suggesting the style of the Bolognese artist, Alessandro Algardi. The lower borders of the helmet have also applied copper-gilt work, which serves to conceal the join at the edge of the comb.

A FEW EXAMPLES OF SOME BURGONETS OF FRENCH ORIGIN, 1540-80

It is unfortunately impossible for us, as in the case of casques of Italian and of German make and fashion, to commence our series of French examples by giving illustrations of those of early XVIth century date. They probably must exist; but we can give no examples for the simple reason that we are unable to recognize any which have a French provenance. We know German and Italian styles; but we are unfamiliar with a single peculiarity of shape or manufacture that would enable us to assign a head-piece of the casque order of this date to France.

Placed with the splendid trophy of offensive arms said to have been taken from King François I of France by the troops of the Emperor Charles V at the battle of Pavia in 1525 are other armaments which, according to the traditions of the Royal Armoury of Spain, have always been regarded as having been the property of the French monarch. Among them is a very beautiful casque (Fig. 1263), *à l'antique*, which, from the very distinctive emblems of the French royal house which it bears, the late Count de Valencia attributed unhesitatingly to the ownership of the French King.¹ From the evidence of the style of the casque, which appears to be in the French taste of about 1540-50, it is probable that this helmet was made for the King towards the closing years of his life—he died in 1547—but it must not be confused with the other spoil taken from François after his defeat at Pavia. The casque is forged from one piece, its enrichment, embossed in low relief, representing combats between warriors classically attired. The figures, russeted, are on a gilded ground, and are principally represented in profile. The crest, distinctive of the Dauphin, is in the form of a dolphin, and the scales of its body are adorned with gold *fleurs-de-lys*. The umbril and neck-guard have duplicated groovings and lambrequin ornamentation applied; indeed, the whole scheme

¹ Valencia's *Catalogo de la Real Armeria*, 1898. No. M. 5, page 359.

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

of ornamentation is conceived in that style of decorative art which is known as the earlier school of Fontainebleau. We are unable to adduce any evidence to identify it with the work of any known armourer.

In making out a chronological list of the more celebrated French burgonet helmets of the XVIth century, we are somewhat at a loss to know where to place an example which we regard as a veritable masterpiece of the armourer's art. In the case of a specimen of decorated armour, as in those of many other examples of the applied arts, it often happens that the hand of a great master may be at once recognized, although his name is unknown to us: consequently, save by a consideration of its general style, a definite date can-



FIG. 1263. BURGONET

Possibly French work of about 1545. M 5, Royal Armoury, Madrid

not easily be assigned to the piece. We are thinking of the so-called Colbert head-piece, which is now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York (Fig. 1264). This magnificent casque, one of the most beautiful of its period known to the author, comes from the family of Colbert, the great minister of Louis XIV; hence the name by which it is known. Along with a close helmet it is illustrated and described by Asselinau in his work on *Les Armes et les Armures, Meubles et autres objets du Moyen âge et de la Renaissance*. The close helmet was part of a suit of armour, which has since passed into the collection of Viscount Astor (see Vol. iii, page 345, Fig. 1090); the harness formerly belonged to Henri II, a portrait of whom exists showing him wearing it. This suit is known to have been given to Colbert by Louis XIV. It is therefore possible that the Colbert casque was also in

BURGONETS OF FRENCH ORIGIN

the French King's collection; for it is undoubtedly the work of the same artist who made the so-called suit of armour and shield of Henri II now in the Louvre (see Vol. iii, page 347, Fig. 1092). Indeed it might have been part of



FIG. 1264. BURGONET

Probably given by Catherine de' Medici to Ferdinand I, Grand Duke of Tuscany.

French (Louvre) school, by an unknown armourer, about 1570

Ex Dino Collection. Metropolitan Museum, New York

the same set. The very characteristic ornamentation found on the crest of the casque is seen again on the top taceplate and upon the *garde-de-rein* of the Louvre suit, and on no other piece of armour with which we are acquainted.

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

This design, chased in low relief on the crest of the casque, takes the form of Greek scrolls or waves, with ornaments formed of three pods of the broad bean growing from a stem with small leaves. On each side of the skull-piece of the casque is depicted a combat of the Centaurs and the Lapithae. A lion's mask surrounded by boughs and an interwoven strapwork pattern decorates the umbril of the casque, the neck-piece duplicating in its enrichment the interwoven boughs. On the hinged ear-pieces, which still retain their terminating plates, is the head of a Medusa. A small cabelling runs round the edge of the casque. Two screw rings fixed to the ear-pieces serve for the attachment of a buffe, of which we shall have occasion to speak later. Except the Greek scrolls and the interwoven strapwork pattern, which are blued steel, the whole helmet is gilded in that rather pale tone noticeable only in French armour of the XVIth century. The beauty of its simple shape, the composition and richness of its ornamentation, the admirable drawing and wonderful clearness of its chasing, its reposeful tone and perfect state of preservation, render this casque one of the most remarkable pieces of French armour extant. The author has most carefully examined this head-piece, and has no hesitation in assigning to it a French provenance. The style of the great Italian armourers and chasers of the XVIth century is known. The works of the Negroli, of Picinino, of Giorgio Ghisi, of Pompeo della Casa and others, all have their own distinguishing peculiarities. They are marked by bold chasing, by outlines in strong relief, or by very artistic but not detailed drawing; while in the application of gold enrichment the gold is strong in colour, and often in the case of damascening almost over-abundant. In the casque under discussion the relief is very little marked; but the modelling is admirable, the artist producing his effect by a skilful use of perspective. If we were asked to make a comparison we should say that the art shown in the decoration of this casque is like the delicate art of the medal designer, who has to model with a minimum amount of relief; whereas the art of the Italian armour embosser resembles that of the sculptor, who can use whatever relief he chooses. Besides this, the arrangement of the figures, of the masks, trophies, interlaced patterns or straps, and other ornaments of the pieces, shows a remarkable resemblance to the decoration seen on certain French furniture of the second half of the XVIth century, on the Limoges painted enamels, and, in short, on all known French applied art of this period. In the work of the Italian chasers the details of draperies, the muscles of bodies, the rendering of trophies, in fact, the enrichments generally, are never depicted with that extreme, almost

BURGONETS OF FRENCH ORIGIN

academic, care which is so noticeable in the ornamentation of this Colbert head-piece, a feature very apparent indeed in the entire family of armour to which this burgonet belongs.

In our endeavour to establish the French provenance of this helmet and of its companion pieces, we made by the aid of photographs and personal observation a careful study of all such defensive arms as resemble this casque from the double point of view of art and technique; with the result that, though their artist-armourer still remains unknown, we can now confidently ascribe to the same armourer or to the same workshop some twenty examples which till now no one has been able to assign to any known armourer. This conviction is shared by the Baron de Cosson,¹ who holds that all these pieces came from an armoury established at the Louvre under François I^{er} or Henri II, and would appear to be confirmed by the fact that the suit of armour of Henri II at the Louvre was left unfinished (see Vol. iii, Fig. 1092).

In the Royal Armoury of Turin there is a shield undoubtedly from the same hand: the shape is the same, so is the general arrangement of the subjects, which include a battle, captives, antique war trophies, masks, and a framework of interlaced strapwork. Further, the lower mask is surmounted by the crescent of Diana of Poitiers (*post*, Fig. 1323). The shield attributed to Charles V in the Imperial Armoury of Vienna, although differing in form, shows the same arrangement of subjects as that in Turin, except that most of the figures are nude—the same captives, the same war trophies, the same masks (*post*, Fig. 1324). Captives bent and cowering, turning their backs, are found on each of these three bucklers; all the works, indeed, which we would attribute to this same master show a marked predilection on his part to show the modelling of the backs of the torsos of the figures. In Windsor Castle armoury is the famous shield made by the same unknown master (*post*, Fig. 1317). According to tradition, interesting since it indicates that the shield came from the royal house of France, it was a gift from François I to Henry VIII; but it would appear rather to date from the reign of Elizabeth. The subject is the history of Pompey; but the style is the same as that of the other pieces of this series, and the back views of the same figures armed in the same way are again found. In the collection of Baroness Rothschild there is a shield which presents a great resemblance to that shown at Windsor. It is a round shield on the edge of which is represented the crowned monogram of Henri II, and the crescent, quiver, and arrows

¹ De Cosson, *Le Cabinet d'Armes de Duc de Dino*, 1901. B. 29, pages 32 *et seqq.*

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

adopted as her insignia by Diana of Poitiers. Another round shield (*post*, Fig. 1318), resembling the one at Windsor, is to be found in the Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 398); in the same collection is another round shield (*post*, Fig. 1319) by the same hand though differently decorated, and there is yet another in a private English collection (*post*, Fig. 1320). Again, the collection made by Prince Charles of Prussia includes a rondache supposed to have belonged to Henri II, which shows the same workmanship as is found on the suit of armour in the Louvre (Vol. iii, Figs. 1092 and 1095). Finally, the Royal Collection at Stockholm contains a complete suit of armour, with its circular shield, saddle and cantle plates (Vol. iii, Figs. 1093 and 1094), which, although apparently of less fine workmanship, shows striking points of resemblance to that of Henri II at the Louvre. It is supposed to have belonged to Charles IX of Sweden. Except for the crowned lion of Norway on the shoulder-pieces, the entire decoration of the suit recalls that of the suit of armour at the Louvre, the design on the leg-pieces being almost identical. The rondache is in the same style as the others of which we have just spoken, and on the cantle of the saddle are found the same highly muscular captives who are represented on the shields at Turin and at Vienna.

To this list must be added the wonderful shield in the Louvre, in pure gold, with its accompanying morion (*post*, page 209, Fig. 1285), both chased, sculptured, engraved, and enamelled, which belonged to Charles IX, and bears the initial of his name. To complete the series of fourteen existing pieces by this armourer known to the author, we must mention the saddle steels and chanfron in the Lyons Museum that appear to have belonged to the Louvre Henri II suit (see Vol. iii, Fig. 1096), and the buffe to which we are about to refer in Mr. William Newall's Collection (Fig. 1265). It is noticeable that of the fourteen pieces above mentioned, nine are connected, either on account of their emblems or by tradition, with the royal house of France. We are unable to say whether or not the artist-armourer who produced all these pieces was a Frenchman, although his style makes us think he was; but we may fairly claim for France the honour of having produced the whole series of incomparable pieces which have till now been attributed to Italy. It is probable that all these pieces, designed by the same artist, and showing characteristic resemblances in the style of workmanship, if not actually the personal work of this master, were made under his superintendence, and were ordered by the King of France to be made either for his personal use or for royal gifts. It will not be out of place to

BURGONETS OF FRENCH ORIGIN

add here as an epilogue to our somewhat lengthy description of the Colbert casque, an account of an interesting discovery made by the author. When Mr. Frederick Peter Seguier's Collection was sold at Christie's (February 1903) by order of his executors, amongst other items there appeared a buffe or face-guard (Lot 121), superlative in excellence of design and workmanship (Fig. 1265). Its surface was patinated to the colour of a fine Cinquecento bronze, an effect produced by the mastic varnish with which it had been covered many generations ago. That it was an example of metal work of the highest artistic merit—apart from its technical interest as a piece of harness—was apparent even to those who had no particular appreciation of armour and of arms. Notwithstanding this, it sold for a comparatively small sum of £315 at the auction and was bought by the author for his friend, Mr. William Newall, passing into the latter's fine but heterogeneous collection of works of art. Now, we recognized the buffe as a most remarkable piece of armour; but the method of its enrichment recalled no similar feature in any example of the armourer's art with which we were then acquainted. Three years later—at the time when the Duc de Dino's Collection was sold *en bloc* to the Metropolitan Museum of New York—that collection, which was then in London, was under our charge; and on examining for the first time the Colbert casque, its enrichment reminded us of a familiar style. The decoration of the casque seemed to be in tune, if the phrase may be allowed, with that which we remembered on Mr. Newall's piece of armour. A letter to Mr. Newall brought the owner and buffe to London. It took little time to fit the buffe to the casque: the head-piece and the face-guard immediately locked together, as in almost affectionate embrace, after their three hundred and forty years of separation. The face-guard bought at Christie's proved to be the actual buffe belonging to, and made for, the Colbert casque; one difference only was apparent, that of colour. The helmet was splendid in its wonderfully fresh-looking gilding; while the buffe, as we have said, was patinated a dark brown. After careful consultation it was decided to remove a portion of the brown surface of the buffe. This was done, and beneath its dark patina, shining in an almost pristine state of preservation, was the original gilding. The rest of the buffe was most carefully cleaned, with the result that its surface is now practically the same as that of the casque to which it belongs. Shortly after this romantic meeting the Colbert casque went with the remainder of the Duc de Dino's Collection to find a permanent home in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, and the buffe returned to its home in Mr. Newall's Collection at Rickmansworth: so now

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

the Atlantic separates these two pieces. It is to be hoped, however, that in the near future the Trustees of the Metropolitan Museum of New York and Mr. Newall may come to some satisfactory arrangement by which this long separation of casque and buffe may be finally terminated. As far as it has



FIG. 1265. BUFFE

Belonging to the burgonet (Fig. 1264). Collection:
Mr. William Newall

been possible to trace the history of the buffe previous to its coming into the collection of Mr. Frederick Peter Segurier, it seems to have been in the collection of a Mr. Smart, from whom the tradition comes that it was bought at Venice by the great jeweller Hamlet early in the XIXth century.

A final word must be said about the Colbert casque with its buffe, and that is that we have fairly convincing proof that about the year 1587 they

BURGONETS OF FRENCH ORIGIN

belonged to Ferdinand I, Grand Duke of Tuscany. They are exactly represented in a portrait of the Grand Duke painted by the artist Scipione Pulzone, called Gaetano, which now hangs in the long gallery which leads from the Uffizi to the Pitti Palace. Ferdinand I, who was the fourth son of the first Grand Duke Cosimo, became Grand Duke in 1587, and died in 1609. Judged by his age in the portrait, it must have been painted not long after his accession. Our readers will very naturally wonder why a helmet which we accept with full confidence as being of Parisian make should figure in this portrait of the Grand Duke, more particularly as this portrait hangs in the Uffizi Palace, a circumstance which renders it almost an official portrait. As a matter of fact this casque appears in two other portraits of the Duke which are to be seen at Florence. In neither of these is he wearing armour; but in both his hand rests upon this casque, as though to show he set great store by it. An explanation may be that through the marriage of the King of France with Catherine de' Medici, the relations between the Courts of Paris and of Florence became very intimate, and that the helmet was sent from Paris to Ferdinand I by Catherine de' Medici, the widow of Henri II of France, on Ferdinand's marriage with her favourite granddaughter, Christine of Lorraine. There is one puzzling question, and that is, how the casque got back to France, as it must certainly have been there when Louis XIV presented it to his Minister, Colbert? Did it go back with Maria de' Medici? That for the present remains a question we cannot answer. A fourth portrait of Ferdinand I was sold at Christie's when the collection of the late Mr. Charles Butler was dispersed. In this picture the casque is most faithfully rendered. A fifth picture, this time once more at Florence, shows a representation of this same casque and buffe. It is a portrait of Ferdinand's son, Cosimo II. The bevor is shown in every detail. In the original canvas only the bevor and the front of the helmet are seen. Later, about four inches were added to the canvas on the dexter side, and the painter employed to make this addition, not having seen the helmet, invented the side portion of it as he supposed it might have been, and consequently made mistakes in representing it. The join in the canvas is quite apparent.

That in our review of the very important casques which we consider to be of French workmanship we have omitted to mention until the end of this chapter that very famous casque in the Musée d'Artillerie, H 254 (Fig. 1266), which is part of a panoply consisting of helmet, shield, and sword, is not because we are not fully cognizant of its exuberant beauty, but because it belongs to so very late a XVIth century date. We admit the

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

late style of its art, but we are lost in admiration of the workmanship and the wealth of ornament lavished on this helmet. We are thinking not so much of the labour involved in adding such a mass of ornament, as of the dexterity shown by the armourer in enriching the surface in such a fashion as not really to interfere with its general outline; for in the decoration of this



FIG. 1266. BURGONET

Probably French (Paris) school, about 1570-80

H 254, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

particular casque the proper feeling for what becomes a head-piece modelled on classic principles cannot be said to have been altogether lost sight of. This casque, like the shield *en suite* with it, is embossed in low relief with figures of satyrs, female figures, cornucopiae, scrolls, etc., and the reliefs are russeted and inlaid, both with gold and silver, on a ground surface

BURGONETS OF FRENCH ORIGIN

plated with matted gold. Upon the comb of the skull-piece is a design distinctly Greek in character, rendered almost in chasing, so low is the relief. The comb in front terminates in a winged female figure; while surmounting it is a winged dragon resting on the comb of the helmet. The addition of this monster gives a sense of top-heaviness to the look of the casque; but the author found that when worn no such feeling is experienced. The casque, like the shield of the same panoply, retains its original lining of embroidered blue velvet, almost in its original state of splendour. In



FIG. 1267. PARADE BURGONET

Made for Louis XIV of France. Ex Dino Collection. Metropolitan Museum, New York

the official catalogue of the Musée d'Artillerie the workmanship and style of this helmet are described as Italian; but we regard the casque as another example of the work of some French armourer, dating from the third quarter or even from the last quarter of the XVIth century. Introduced as the central theme of the ornamentation of the skull-piece can be seen the French royal emblem of the crab; while the treatment of the female figure, etc., is in the author's opinion distinctly French. This casque, and the shield and sword *en suite* with it, were during the first half of the XIXth century in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, but were transferred to the Musée d'Artillerie

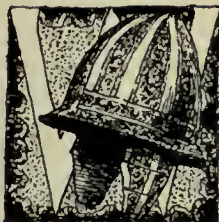
EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

about 1878. How the Bibliothèque Nationale first became possessed of these treasures is not recorded; most likely they were a French royal possession. Originally they may have been constructed in the workshops of the Louvre by French armourers working for the crown of France. But these armourers, probably of the same school, must have belonged to a later period than that represented by the makers of the Colbert casque, for in the methods of their workmanship there is to be seen a resemblance to the earlier series of French armour.

We give, before closing our short list of open casques of French origin, an illustration of that very remarkable head-piece which, together with the shield belonging to it, was made for King Louis XIV (Fig. 1267). As in the case of the shield the foundation of the helmet is of silver with applied enrichment in ormolu, which is in the flamboyantly affected classical taste of the time. It appears that the casque and shield, which are reproduced in certain Gobelin tapestries of the time, were made at the "Gobelins" for Louis XIV and were probably carried in front of him on some State occasion. There exists a small portrait of Louis XV at the age of fourteen or fifteen, painted by Hyacinthe Rigaud, which represents the King on foot in demi-armour. Beside him on a seat is shown this helmet and the royal sceptre. In the picture a laurel wreath is added to the casque. It would appear that this was a sketch by Rigaud for some larger picture. The sketch is in the collection of a well-known French amateur.

CHAPTER XXXIII

MORIONS AND CABASSETS



WITH those helmets known as Morions we propose to class Cabassets—they are practically the same type of head-piece—they each protect the head in the same way, and only differ in the shape of the skull-piece and in the droop of the brim. To trace their evolution we have to refer to the brief account we have previously given of the XVth century *chapel-de-fer* in Chapter XI of our second volume: the morion and cabasset are the XVIth century descendants of the iron hat. The late Mr. J. R. Planché stated that the morion was a head-piece introduced to the rest of Europe by the Spaniards—who had copied it from the Moors—about 1550. Other writers agree with this, stating that the morion was, like the Morris pike, derived from the wars in Spain, though from which of the nationalities engaged they are not prepared to say. Mr. Planché does not state from what type of Moorish helmet the Spaniards derived the morion; but the author agrees as to its provenance, and it is undeniably true that it is to Spain we have to turn for the first mention of it or for an actual early XVIth century example of a head-piece that in any way resembles what is understood to-day by the morion helmet.

In the inventory of the property of Henry VIII taken in 1547,¹ referring to the armour at Greenwich, “In the charge off Erasmus Kirkener armerer,” there is a confusing entry: “Itm . . . a Murrion and a Baver^e to the same,” confusing because a head-piece of the true morion form could not be worn with a bevor. This entry shows how the names of head-pieces varied: possibly in this instance the use of the word “murrion” must have reference to some other type of open helmet, probably to a helmet of the burgonet class. Indeed, we have contemporary pictorial evidence of this confused nomenclature. In the pictured inventory of the principal arms of Charles V made by order of Philip II, a volume now preserved in the archives

¹ Printed with a commentary by Viscount Dillon in *Archaeologia*, vol. li.

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS



FIG. 1268. MORION

Spanish, about 1500-10. Upon the latten band around the base of the skull is engraved in Roman characters the inscription: *PRÆCINGITE VOS · ARMATVRAM · FIDEI D 25, Royal Armoury, Madrid*

of Simancas, is listed a certain gift of arms that Charles V received from the Duke of Mantua, among them *Dos morriones* are mentioned; but these, according to the drawing in the inventory, are not the type of helmet that is usually classed as morion, but are open casques or burgonets with hinged ear-pieces (*ante*, pages 132, 133, Figs. 1218 and 1219).

The head-piece of the Spanish man at arms in the closing years of the XVth century and in the commencement of the XVIth century (Fig. 1268), shows a combless skull-piece with an apex like that of the cabasset and a slightly sloping brim. These same features, save that a slight

comb is apparent, may be noted on that series of morions of Italian origin that date from about 1530 to 1550, some of which bear the arms of the town of Lucca, while others bear those of Bologna, a circumstance which suggests that they were possibly the head-piece of the town guard of those cities. The example that figured in the Meyrick Collection, and is described in the "Engraved Illustrations" (vol. ii, Plate 74), is spoken of as an "Archer's salade." We illustrate one of these series of helmets from the collection of Mr. Harman Oates (Fig. 1269). But although the word *salade* was late in the XVIth century applied to almost any kind of helmet, these helmets under discussion have much more analogy to the morion than to the *salade*. In the same 1547 inventory of the property of King Henry VIII to which we have just alluded, dealing with Westminster and Greenwich, "Armories in the Chardge of Sir Thomas Darcy Knight; and in the custodie of Hans Hunter, Armerer," and "off Erasimus Kirkener, Armerer," there are constant references to the morion head-piece, sometimes spelt *morion*, once spelt *mornis*, but more ordinarily *murrion*.

"Itm in Morion heddes covered w^t vellet & passemyn of golde.

"Itm ij Mornis covered with crimsen Satten one embrodered w^t purled golde and the other embrodered w^t broided golde.



FIG. 1269. MORION

Italian, between 1530 and 1550
Collection: Mr. F. Harman Oates, F.S.A.

MORIONS AND CABASSETS

"Itm . . . and a Murion . . . of Stele enneled blewe.

"Itm xvj blacke Murrions.

"Itm ix white Murrions."

The head-piece we know to-day as a cabasset is more cap-like in form, the brim being straight and flat, and failing to show that arch-like profile which is generally seen in the morion; indeed it reproduces in the medium of metal what in textile material was the ordinary headwear of the third quarter of the XVIth century. The two late XVIth century hats of morion or cabasset form which we illustrate are chosen from examples in the London Museum (Figs. 1270 and 1271). The "Murrion heddes, covered w^t vellet, & passemayne of Golde," in the 1547 inventory were probably of this type, though doubtless made upon a foundation of iron.



FIG. 1270. HAT OF FIGURED BLACK VELVET
Late XVIth century
London Museum



FIG. 1271. HAT OF SLASHED LEATHER
Late XVIth or early XVIIth centuries
London Museum

In the 1660 inventory of the Tower of London we find the word "murrion" is still used, and we believe in application to the actual morion illustrated on page 41, Fig. 1121*d*. The morion is the more interesting type of head-piece, and one which, from its greater variety of form, we shall more fully describe. The next helmet we illustrate will be that of an example in the Wallace Collection, which is more the prototype of the cabasset than of the morion; we refer to the remarkably interesting head-piece illustrated in Fig. 1272, a helmet that is of North Italian—probably Venetian—workmanship of the middle of the XVIth century. The skull-piece is almost hemispherical, with a very slight ridge running down the centre. The short brim slopes somewhat downwards, the extreme edge being turned under to a semicircular section. Round the base of the skull is a series of rivets with



FIG. 1272. CABASSET-MORION
Made probably at Venice as a gift to Francesco Bernardo of Bergamo in 1553
Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 640)

MORIONS AND CABASSETS

protruding pear-shaped heads for the attachment of the lining strap. The same rivets are repeated round the edge of the brim. The whole surface is



FIG. 1273. SHIELD

To which the Cabasset-moriõn (Fig. 1272) belongs. Made probably
in Venice as a gift to Francesco Bernardo of Bergamo in 1553
Museo Civico, Bologna

very slightly embossed, chased on the exterior, damascened, and plated with
gold, upon a russeted ground. On one side of the skull-piece are upright

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

quatrefoil-shaped panels containing figures of two of the three Theological Virtues—Faith and Hope—inscribed “SPES” and “FIDES.” On the front of the helmet is an oval shield of arms, surmounted by the Lion of St. Mark, with the inscription “MAXIMO . NON . MAGN(A).” The whole of the groundwork is covered with trophies of Roman armour, swags of flowers, and drapery.

In connection with this helmet a most interesting discovery was made by Sir Claude Phillips some few years ago. On the occasion of a visit to the Museo Civico of Bologna he identified a shield exhibited there by the Royal Academy of Fine Arts as forming part of the same gala panoply of armour to which the Wallace helmet belongs. The shield not merely resembles the Wallace helmet, but there is also absolute identity of style in the construction and details of the two pieces of armour (Fig. 1273). The decoration upon the shield, which is oval in form, comprises figures of the four Cardinal Virtues—Justice, Temperance, Fortitude, and Prudence; while round the central boss runs the legend, “POPVLVS VNIVERSVS BERGOMENSIS AGRI,” an inscription which should be read in connection with that found upon the Wallace helmet. On being appealed to, the librarian of the commune of Bergamo was good enough to consult the archives of that city, and to supply the information that the arms in the centre of the shield are those of the Bernardi of Venice, a family to which that Francesco belonged, who was captain of the forces of Bergamo from 7 July 1552, until 30 August 1553, a time during which Constantine Priuli was Syndic. A proclamation was made by this Captain Francesco on the 19 August 1553, “To regulate the Taxes of the territory,” a proclamation that had also reference to the military supplies of Bergamo (Ducal Registers MS., 99, 15, vol. i, fols. 257a to 206b). From this rather slender chain of evidence it may perhaps be fairly inferred that the cabasset-like helmet just described and the shield of Bologna together formed a gift of recognition made in the latter part of the year 1553 to Captain Francesco Bernardo by the Commune of Bergamo.

Up to 1884 the shield at Bologna was exhibited in the Picture Gallery, but after that date it was placed in the Museo Civico. It would be interesting to find out when and how the helmet was separated from the shield to which it belongs, but unfortunately, in spite of the most careful research, the history of the helmet cannot be traced farther back than its purchase in Paris by Sir Richard Wallace for the sum of £3,500.

The next head-piece to which we shall refer—that beautiful morion which is the finest helmet of its kind with which we are acquainted—comes



FIG. 1274. MORION
Italian, Milanese, doubtless the work of Lucio Piccinino, about 1550-60
Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild bequest, British Museum

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

from Milan, and was bequeathed to the British Museum by the late Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild (Fig. 1274). Apart from its being a very fine example of the work of Lucio Picinino at his very best period, it is the earliest helmet of the true morion order known to the author; in placing the period of its production in the closing years of the first half of the XVIth century we are in no danger of assigning it too early a date. It is splendidly solid in make, with a brim of sufficient size to balance its well-proportioned comb. In the enrichment of its surface can be seen that



FIG. 1275. MORION

North Italian, about 1560-70. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 540)

broadly executed embossing in low relief which denotes a period in the art of the late Renaissance in which the artist and the armourer still worked in harmony. A great similarity may be observed in the style of this helmet and that of the fine shield in the Wallace Collection, No. 632 (*post*, Fig. 1299), which, though unsigned, is acknowledged to be one of Picinino's most important works. The design may not actually be Picinino's; but the method of using the gold with which the surface is enriched is certainly his. The various patterns that decorate the drapery effects in the central tent scene on the shield and the principal panels on the skull-

MORIONS AND CABASSETS

piece of the morion are particularly interesting as having been similarly treated. Here it will be seen that the various foliated scrollwork is first incised with a graver, the leaves, etc., being afterwards plated with gold, a method that lends a greater sense of richness to the general effect than if gold *azzimina* alone had been used. The greater portion of the groundwork of the comb is thickly plated with gold. This gorgeous head-piece may well have had a great history; but, unfortunately, its past is unrecorded.



FIG. 1276. MORION

Probably German, about 1570-80. Wallace Collection
(Laking Catalogue, No. 411)

Our next illustration represents another product of Northern Italy, the work of an armourer-artist unknown and of somewhat later date than Picinino. This morion, once a treasured possession of the Meyrick Collection, is now to be seen in the Wallace Collection, No. 540 (Fig. 1275). The skull-piece has a high roped comb; the brim is strongly curved; the extreme edge is roped. The entire sides of the skull are decorated with oval panels, there being represented on the one side episodes of the Fall of Troy embossed in low relief and chased on the surface, on the other side the Rape of Helen. The

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

bordering is of fine strapwork with masks above and below, and at the sides seated figures of captives. On the comb, deeply engraved, is a row of long oval cartouches, each framing a military trophy; while scrolls and trophies of armour are represented on the brim. The whole surface is now, through the patina of age, a fine, even black colour; there are, however, no traces of gilding.

As the XVIth century draws to a close there is visible a tendency to exaggerate the height of the comb of the skull-piece almost to the point of grotesqueness. There is a note in the 1611 inventory of the Tower of London which, after enumerating certain "combe murryons," runs to the effect: "These combe murryons are said by the armourers to bee very good stuffes and would bee translated into Spanish murryons for that otherwise they are oute of fashion and very unfitt for service." No. 411 in the Wallace Collection has a comb of remarkable height (Fig. 1276). Like the morion just described, it was formerly in the Meyrick Collection, and is pictured in Skelton's "Engraved Illustrations" of that collection. There it is stated to be of Italian manufacture; but from the bad and decadent style of its surface enrichment, of its embossing, and of its *azzimina* damascening, we prefer to place it among those German armaments in which the borrowed classical enrichment of the Renaissance had become so hackneyed as to have practically lost its original significance. Apart, however, from its meretricious decoration, there is a clever piece of workmanship in this morion, and that is the admirable way in which the comb is drawn out to the height of $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches from the actual skull-piece. To forge such a helmet out of one single piece of steel was the work of a highly skilled armourer. This morion must have been copied from an Italian model; for the Italians were particularly celebrated for the manufacture of the high comb. Brantôme says that the French "*leur faisoient la crête par trop haute.*" The engraved morions gilt with ormolu which Strozzi got from Italy for his soldiers cost 14 crowns each. Finding this price too high he caused his morions to be bought at Milan, engraved but without gilding, and then gave them to a French armourer to be gilded; they thus only cost him 8 or 9 crowns each. The same author tells that "*à une revue de Monsieur*" (afterwards Henri III) "10,000 *morions gravez et dorez*" were worn.

It would appear from contemporary portraits that even on fine pageant morions the medium of deep etching was often a more popular and direct method of enriching the field of such helmets, inasmuch as it did not interfere with the actual contour of the skull-piece and comb. We give



FIG. 1277. MORION
Italian, Pisan school, about 1570-80. Collection: Author



FIG. 1278. MORION
North Italian, about 1570-80. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 481)

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

an excellent example of this type of ornamentation (Fig. 1277). Here a solid and finely made morion has a comb of great height which, like the actual skull of the helmet, is closely covered with a strapwork design inclosing in the centre a figure and groups of various arms arranged in that curious style of decoration which is always associated with Pisa. This helmet is now polished, but traces of its original gilding are to be discovered in the interstices. A morion which utilizes the same scheme of strap ornament,



FIG. 1279. MORION

North Italian, about 1570-80. Collection: the late Mr. Rutherford Stuyvesant, New York

with the addition of classical heads, figures of fame, and the flying horse Pegasus, but which is more beautiful than the one we have just mentioned by reason of its fine gilding and rich brown russeting, is No. 481 in the Wallace Collection (Fig. 1278). Both these head-pieces are North Italian, belonging to the last quarter of the XVIth century, the former being probably a production of Pisa, the latter from some Milanese workshop. Of the same nationality and of almost the same date is that interesting morion in the collection of the late Mr. Rutherford Stuyvesant of New York (Fig. 1279). Here the etching and gilding employed in the ornamentation are a little

MORIONS AND CABASSETS



FIG. 1280. MORION
North Italian, about 1580-90. H 197, Musée
d'Artillerie, Paris

at variance with North Italian style, but are certainly of that nationality. It would be safe to assign this morion, which is likewise enriched with broad incrustated bands of silver, to the closing years of the XVIth century.

Italian too in origin, but a little more robust in its general lines, is the morion in the Musée d'Artillerie, H 197 (Fig. 1280). Appropriately etched with bands of various ornaments, it reveals, both in its form and in the style of its etched ornaments, German influence. Compare it with a German morion in the same collection, H 208 (Fig. 1281), and but few points of variance will be per-

ceived, save that the latter head-piece is a form usually met with at an earlier date, and somewhat resembles those head-pieces of Spanish origin that may be assigned to the closing years of the XVth century. This German morion has its surface thinly etched with a carefully drawn heraldic composition that introduces the Burgundian emblem of the fire steel; while the inscription round the brim denotes that it was one of the helmets worn by the guard of Charles Schurft of Echenwor, Hereditary Grand Huntsman of the Imperial Tyrol, and consequently must be assigned to a date somewhere about the year 1600.



FIG. 1281. MORION
South German, about 1600. H 208, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

Those numerous mo-
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205

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EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

rions which, like the cabassets (*post*, Fig. 1292), were the head-pieces of the guard of the Electors of Saxony from about 1585 to 1610, vary in quality according to the date of production. As may be imagined, those produced at the formation of the electoral guard are far the finest in make; while those constructed in the XVIIth century are the weakest kind of parade helmets. An example in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris (Fig. 1282) may be considered as one of the earlier of its type; for it is of substantial proportions and its contour is good. These morions vary a good deal in the position of the arms of Saxony: some, as in the case of this example, have



FIG. 1282. MORION

Of the guard of the Electors of Saxony.
German work, about 1580. H 188,
Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

FIG. 1283. MORION

Of the guard of the Electors of Saxony,
showing the lion's mask washers to
the rivets. Collection: Author

it on the skull-piece, others have it on the comb, and some in both places. Apart from the gilded etching, the original colour of the exposed field of these morions was blue-black; but this particular helmet has a bright polished surface.

Two varieties of the copper-gilt washers that surround the bottom of the skull-piece are known, that of the rosette order, and that which takes the form of a lion's head with a ring in the mouth (Fig. 1283). Often, too, the plumeholders are elaborated in gilded bronze.

The dagger which each guard carried and of which there are a number in the Dresden Museum is very distinctive. The hilt is of blackened iron,

MORIONS AND CABASSETS

with an hexagonal pommel, the grip is bound with silvered wire with an elegant band top and bottom. The blade is channelled; the sheath is of tooled leather with chased and pierced silver mounts; there is also, as a rule, a pricker (Fig. 1283A). We also illustrate an example of a halberd carried by the guard (Fig. 1283B).

To complete our list of morions that can claim a place within the XVIth



FIG. 1283A. DAGGER
Of the guard of the
Electors of Saxony.
About 1585. Col-
lection: Mr. S. J.
Whawell



FIG. 1283B. HALBERD
Carried by the guard of the Electors of Saxony
Königl. Hist. Museum,
Dresden

century, we have once more to return to France. The helmets in question are preserved respectively in the Musée d'Artillerie and in the Louvre of Paris. Both are in our opinion French, though the Musée d'Artillerie example is not so convincing as the example in the Louvre; but both, we feel sure, have been produced under the same influence. In the surface decoration of the Musée d'Artillerie morion (Fig. 1284) we claim to see a close family likeness to that found on the famous dragon casque (see

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

Fig. 1266), which we suggested was probably a French Parisian work of about 1570-80. So to this provenance and to about this period do we assign the specimen in question. As a head-piece it is soundly constructed; while the decoration of acanthus-like foliage, introducing figures delicately embossed in low relief and surface chased, appears to us to be



FIG. 1284. MORION

Probably French (Paris) workmanship, about 1580
H 198, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

essentially Parisian. Our opinion is not in accordance with that expressed in the official guide of the Musée d'Artillerie, in which the morion is ascribed to Italian workmanship of the middle of the XVIth century. The last morion which we illustrate and describe is the very famous helmet made for King Charles IX of France (Fig. 1285), now in the Louvre. It is possibly the most sumptuous head-piece of its type in existence, and shows, like the



FIG. 1285. MORION

Of gold and enamel, *en suite* with the shield made for King Charles IX of France. French (Louvre) school, Galerie d'Apollon, Louvre

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

shield belonging to it, the art of the armourer-sculptor in its most luxuriant form. Both shield and helmet are now to be seen in the Galerie d'Apollon. This helmet, as well as the shield, which is also in the Louvre, were purchased by the French government in 1793 at the sale of the collection of Antoine César, Duc de Choiseul. Fashioned of pure gold, the surface embossed and chased, and further enriched with opaque and translucent enamels, and complete even to its ear-pieces, this morion looks like a production of but yesterday, so wonderful is its state of preservation. As in the case of the shield, a battle scene occupies almost the entire sides of the skull-piece;



FIG. 1286. MORION-CABASSET

Italian, Pisan school, about 1580. Collection:
Mr. W. J. Pavyer

the comb is high and embossed in the centre with a grotesque horned mask. On the brim is the characteristic guilloche pattern which to our mind at once proclaims it to be the work of that unknown but recognized French armourer on whose productions we have speculated in vol. iii, pp. 346 *et seqq.*, and *ante*, pp. 183 *et seqq.*

Like the morion, the cabasset was evolved from the *chapel-de-fer*. All the helmets which are classed as "peaked" morions, but which we call cabassets, belong, strictly speaking, to the cabasset class, whether they have the flat brim or not, the term morion being properly reserved for what are usually termed combed morions. Perhaps such a cabasset as is to be seen in the collection of Mr. W. J. Pavyer, a North Italian example of unusual beauty

MORIONS AND CABASSETS

of outline, is what might truly be classed as the "peaked" variety (Fig. 1286). One of the first allusions to the cabasset occurs in an Ordinance of François I^{er}, whereby men at arms shall wear the armet, light horse the *salade*, and "*les arquebusiers seulement le cabasset pour viser mieux et avoir la tête plus délivrée.*" The cabasset did not impede the aim, and was therefore the head-piece most appropriate to the musketeer. At the period of François I it must have been very closely allied to the *chapel*, for it was low crowned and straight



FIG. 1287. MORION-CABASSET

North Italian, about 1570. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 538)

brimmed. At the end, however, of the XVIth century the cabasset assumed a very different form. The comb has now quite disappeared, and in its place the skull-piece is drawn out to what may be described as an almost pear-shaped contour, ridged down its centre; while a distinguishing feature rarely absent is the appearance of a curious little spike drawn out and turned back from the extreme apex. The brim may be straight or of inverted arch form, as in the case of the morion. We illustrate a fine and most representative example, No. 538 of the Wallace Collection (Fig. 1287). Rich as it is in its general appearance, it has that jumble of ornamentation which we have so often

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

deplored as illustrating the decadence of the armourer's art. It may be regarded as North Italian in origin, and dates from the last quarter of the XVIth century. It is embossed with vertical panels of trophies of arms upon a groundwork composed of terminal figures, strapwork, and cornucopias. The strap borders of the panel and some of the details of the trophies of arms still retain slight traces of arabesques in gold *azzimina* damascening; but unfortunately the surface is pitted with rust and much rubbed. Though



FIG. 1288. CABASSET

North Italian, about 1590. United Service Institute, Whitehall

the embossing is somewhat rough, the gold plating and damascening must have lent to it a general effect of richness.

Very much more elaborate in its decoration is that cabasset bequeathed to the United Service Institution, Whitehall (Fig. 1288), by the late Mr. John Davidson. Coarse in workmanship and perhaps meretricious in style, it is very characteristic of the late Milanese school; but from the collector's point of view it is interesting because of its wonderful state of preservation.

A North Italian type, less elaborate but constantly met with in public and private collections, can be seen in an example chosen from the Musée

MORIONS AND CABASSETS

d'Artillerie of Paris, H 225 (Fig. 1289). We select it for illustration as showing just the ordinary Pisan etching of the Pompeo della Cesa school, the most usual form of decoration for such a head-piece. It belongs to the closing years of the XVIth century, like the next cabasset illustrated (Fig. 1290), which, however, is in all probability a few years later in date. It may be noted that this helmet, which also has its surface enriched with bands of Pisan etching, has a skull-piece elongated but less elegant than those found in other cabassets which we have figured; the brim, too, is small, straight, and slightly inclined downwards. In this case the heads



FIG. 1289. MORION-CABASSET
North Italian, about 1590. H 225,
Musée d'Artillerie, Paris



FIG. 1290. CABASSET
North Italian, about 1590-1600
H 247, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

of the rivets that held the lining in place project on the exterior as pointed pyramidal spikes, a not uncommon fashion of the early years of the XVIIth century. Exactly of the same form is that cabasset in the Wallace Collection, No. 539 (Fig. 1291). Our reason for alluding to this particular head-piece, which is of very late date, possibly about 1600 to 1610, is that gold *azzimina* damascening of quite a high order can be seen decorating its surface. It is further enriched with embossing in very low relief and gold plating. On either side of the skull-piece is an oval panel representing the siege of a town; above these are smaller upright oval panels with figures of Lucretia and Fortuna; at either end are other oval panels containing amorini, masks, etc. All the panels are united by strapwork. From the quasi-Oriental

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

manner in which the gold is applied, it seems likely that this helmet was made in Venice.

We will give one more illustration of a cabasset head-piece which was



FIG. 1291. CABASSET

Italian, probably Venetian, about 1600-10
Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 539)



FIG. 1292. CABASSET

Of the guard of the Electors of Saxony. German, about 1610-20
H 234, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

worn by the body-guard of the Electors of Saxony (*ante*, page 206), and can therefore be regarded in its way as an example of a regulation helmet. We refer to a cabasset, pear-shaped, flat brimmed, fully etched and gilt, and

MORIONS AND CABASSETS

emblazoned with the arms of Saxony, which dates from the first quarter of the XVIIth century and is now in the Musée d'Artillerie, H 234. A great many of these cabassets are extant in various states of preservation, but this is the finest specimen we know of (Fig. 1292); here the gilding is in good condition and the exposed iron portion of the skull-piece still retains its original blue-black patina.

Among the curiosities we have met with in the way of head-pieces of



FIG. 1293. MORION

Of leather, embossed and tooled. Italian, about 1590
H 183, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

this order we may mention the combed morion, H 183, of the Musée d'Artillerie (Fig. 1293), which is entirely fabricated of *cuir bouilli*, and is embossed and tooled with figure subjects, one of which has been construed by the authorities as representing the death of Bayard. We ourselves, however, are rather inclined to think that this helmet is of Italian origin of the closing years of the XVIth century and not of French provenance, as the subject depicted on it would seem to suggest; it is to be compared with a similar one in the Armeria Reale, Turin, No. 67 in Angelucci *Catalogo*, etc., page 187, where it is illustrated. Constructed in the same medium of *cuir*

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

bouilli is a well-fashioned little cabasset formerly in the collection of the late Herr Richard Zschille (Fig. 1294) and now in the National Bavarian Museum of Munich. From the style of its decoration we are inclined to give to it an earlier date than to the morion just described. The surface of the leather is finely embossed and tooled to represent four oblong panels with pendant trophies of arms and musical instruments; the groundwork being worked to a granulated surface. Merely as an illustration of the degradation of the armourer's craft we finally figure a German early XVIIth century helmet—if it can be dignified with the name—made out of thin gilded copper, rather quaint perhaps by reason of the martial subjects



FIG. 1294. CABASSET

Of leather, embossed and tooled. Italian, about 1580
National Bavarian Museum, Munich

embossed upon it, but of the poorest possible form, and fashioned in two halves joined down the centre of the skull-piece (Fig. 1295). It was formerly in the Meyrick Collection and was illustrated and described in Skelton's work on that collection (vol. i, Plate 73), where it is dated as being of the latter part of the XVIth century.

We think that we have now sufficiently described the morion and the cabasset; the author has illustrated the choicest examples with which he is acquainted. Except in cases where these helmets are the work of a famous armourer, or of a skilful armourer whose name is unrecorded, they may be generally classed as belonging almost to "regulation" defence. In fact many hundreds of extant morions and cabassets could be placed in no

MORIONS AND CABASSETS

more interesting category than that of the plain head-pieces of the Commonwealth soldiery. As for those blackened morions which are generally embossed on either side with fleur-de-lis, they appear to have belonged to the Civic Guard of Munich, or to regiments of pikemen who had their headquarters in that town. In this instance the fleur-de-lis seen upon them has no heraldic



FIG. 1295. MORION

Of gilded copper, German, about 1610. Private Collection, England

significance, but represents an emblem of the Virgin, to whom the town guard of Munich was dedicated. Some thirty years ago, hundreds of these helmets were purchased *en bloc* from the arsenal of Munich by a French dealer; while comparatively recently, a very large number of helmets of the morion and cabasset type of four distinct patterns were bought by a well-known English dealer from a town in Spain.

CHAPTER XXXIV

ITALIAN, GERMAN, AND FRENCH PAGEANT SHIELDS



SO closely allied to the products of the other applied sculptural arts of the XVIth century are the beautiful pageant shields of this period, and so little have they to do with actual bodily defence, that we shall only allude to a few of the more famous extant examples, classing them under their nationalities as veritable monuments of the designer's and embosser's art. They, however, bear upon the subject of this work; though, with a few exceptions they were made not for defence, but for purposes of pageantry and of display. These embossed targets, which according to Roquefort, in his *Glossaire de la Langue Romanie*, occasionally figure in old French inventories as *blacon*, were carried by or for great princes and nobles; consequently the artist-armourers lavished upon them their best endeavours.

Such pageant shields, too, it must be remembered, were considered fitting gifts from sovereign to sovereign. There is the record in an inventory of arms taken at Augsburg in 1519 of a roundel garnished with black and white bone, partly gilt, and fringed with black samite, a gift from Henry VIII to Maximilian I. In the inventory of the English royal jewels taken in 1528 figures "a tergat of the Passion, with Our Lady and St. George on foot"; while in another of 1530 is included "a silver-gilt buckler with the arms of England, roses, castles, and pomegranates."

ITALIAN SHIELDS

WE can do no better than commence our brief account of these works of art by illustrating that superb shield (Fig. 1296), doubtless the finest example known, which is in the Royal Armoury of Madrid, signed by the brothers Negroli of Milan, and dated 1541 (D 64). In this great work of art, which was made by the famous brothers for the Emperor Charles V, can be noted the finest Italian taste of the mid-Renaissance, embodying all that restraint

ITALIAN PAGEANT SHIELDS

and, at the same time, sumptuous effect that mark the work of the great Negroli family.

In the famous *Inventario Iluminado* it figures among the eight grouped together on one plate, which are described as *doze rodelas*. As there



FIG. 1296. SHIELD

Made for Charles V, 1541. Signed: PHILIPP . JACOBI . ET . F . NEGROLI
D 64, Royal Armoury, Madrid

are no more than eight drawn, it is evident that a leaf containing the other four is missing. In the *Relación de Valladolid*, the translation of the description runs "one damascened buckler, black ground, and in the middle a face with some black snakes and gilded edges, garnished with black velvet."

The work of the brothers Negroli is very distinctive. If one examines closely the productions of other great armourer-artists, one finds that their

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

beauty lies in the very minute and accurate workmanship, which is seen at its best under close scrutiny; whereas to see the Negroli's work at its best we must stand back from the object so that a broader view may be had of the ornamentation, when its perfect balance and beauty of composition will at once strike the eye. In the centre of this shield in the boldest relief, worked upon a superimposed plate, are the wings and head of the fabled Medusa, the hair dishevelled and intertwined with serpents. This central motif is surrounded by a formal laurel wreath, which again is encircled by three concentric bands. That nearest to the laurel is narrow with an even surface, but enriched with fine silver and gold *azzimina* damascening; the second band, for greater contrast, has a black unpolished surface, showing in places the hammer marks; the outermost band is enriched with a laurel wreath altogether smaller than that surrounding the Medusa's head, and is, like the first band, decorated with damascened work in which stand out medallion motifs, now much worn, but originally incrustated with gold, containing the following emblems: the two-headed eagle, the columns of Hercules, and the accessories of the Order of the Golden Fleece. The middle band is divided into sections, leaving spaces between the mouldings, and in each one of these there is a small diamond-shaped panel, also enriched with adornments in gold, where can be read the following inscription: IS TERROR—QVOD VIRTVS—ANIMO 'E FOR-TVNA PARET. The most important inscription the shield bears is, however: PHILIPP · IACOBI · ET · F · NEGROLI · FACIEBANT · M · D · XXXXI. The velvet lining referred to in the *Relación de Valladolid* is now lost; but the shield still retains the iron rivets by which it was held. The late Conde de Valencia, in his catalogue of the Royal Armoury of Madrid, is responsible for an admirable description of this shield; but neither its ornamentation nor the date at which it is recorded to have been made enabled him to decide whether or not it formed part of the series of arms which these famous craftsmen, the Negroli, supplied to the Royal Spanish Armoury. As, however, the date, 1541, coincides with that of the entrance of Charles V into Milan on his return from Germany, two possible explanations of its origin may be suggested. It may have been presented to Charles V on this occasion, either by the municipal officers of the city, who wished to congratulate the Emperor on his victories, or by the Marchese del Vasto, who at the time held the chief command in Milan, and who may have given it to the Emperor to mark his appreciation of the honour that Charles had conferred on him by acting as godfather to one of his children.

Perhaps we should make our excuses for giving another work of the

ITALIAN PAGEANT SHIELDS

Negroli as an example of a parade shield; we can only plead the great fame and splendid achievements of these fine armourers. We can also claim that in this case we open up another field of speculation, and that is as to who was the specific maker of certain of these superb achievements—whether they were individual productions or the work of what may be termed the school of Negroli. The shield first mentioned was, as we have shown, inscribed in such a way as to show that it was the joint work of the brothers



FIG. 1297. SHIELD

Made for Charles V of Spain, 1533. Signed: JACOBVS · PHILIPPVS · NEGROLVS ·
MEDIOLANENSIS · FACIEBAT · MDXXXIII. D 2, Royal Armoury, Madrid

Negroli; but this next shield (Fig. 1297), which is also in the Royal Armoury of Madrid (D 2), is signed: JACOBVS · PHILIPPVS · NEGROLVS · MEDIOLANENSIS · FACIEBAT · MDXXXIII.

Surely the singular number of the verb shows clearly, in spite of what many have supposed, that the shield in question is the work not of two of the brothers but one of them, of one who, following a custom common enough in Milan, used in his signature two of his names. In default, then, of more precise biographical data, the two inscriptions may be said to

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

show that Giacomo Filippo Negroli, the maker of the shield we are about to describe, was a contemporary of Filippo Negroli, probably his son or brother, and that Filippo Negroli was the famous Filippo who, in 1539, manufactured the magnificent armour in the Royal Armoury of Madrid (A 139), signing the work with his brother, PHILIPPVS JACOBI ET FRATR. NEGROLI FACIEBANT 1539.



FIG. 1298. SHIELD

Once in the collection of the Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol, 1552.
The work of Lucio Picinino. Imperial Armoury, Vienna

This second shield, a shield with the lion's head (Fig. 1297), and the bearded helmet referred to *ante*, Fig. 1231, were given to the Emperor Charles V by Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, between the years 1533 and 1536. The shield, which is made in two pieces, is slightly convex, originally of a black patine, but to-day polished bright. The centre piece is embossed in high relief with the head of a lion, its mane flowing. The second portion has a surface kept quite plain for the better display of the

ITALIAN PAGEANT SHIELDS

splendid border. This border is composed of six medallions placed at equal distances from each other, and supported by griffins which are linked together by volutes. In the case of all the medallions the ornamentation consists of the representation of the two-headed eagle, of the columns of Hercules, of the *Plus ultra* motto, and of the *croix ragulé* of Burgundy interlaced with the chain and fire-steel of the Golden Fleece. In the upper part of the smooth field, next the border, may be read in letters, made with the armourer's punch and gilded, the inscription and date referred to above.

It was not until the middle of the XVIth century had passed that the masterpiece of the famous Milanese armourer, Lucio Picinino, was produced, namely, that splendid shield preserved in the Imperial Armoury of Vienna (Fig. 1298) and noted in the old inventories as "the round shield with the head of Medusa." Along with the casque illustrated *ante*, Fig. 1237, it was presented by Charles V to the Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol who, having a great admiration for these two pieces, ordered that they should be completed into a half suit of armour by the addition of both back- and breastplate, gorget and espaliers, in which half harness he is represented in a contemporary portrait. It would appear that the shield was completed by Picinino in 1552, and it is signed with his initials. The breastplate and other parts made to be worn with it are of later German workmanship, good in execution but poor in style. The design occupying the shield consists of a central slightly concave medallion, in the centre of which is embossed in very high relief the head of Medusa, much in the same manner as that on the Negrolì shield (see Fig. 1296). Round this is a band decorated only with those gold plated tendril ornaments which are so characteristic of Picinino's earlier work. Outside this again are two concentric bands, the outermost being enriched with four circular concave panels placed at equal distances one from the other. In these are the busts of Scipio Africanus and other classical heroes. The other panel has band and figure subjects, trophies of arms, and marine monsters, the actual anatomical treatment of the figures being strangely reminiscent of the great Caradosso. The beautiful ground colour of this shield, the high and even quality of the gold damascening, apart from the excellence of its general design, render it a worthy memorial to the genius of Lucio Picinino.

From this great historical pageant shield, a signed and dated work, we will turn to a very fine shield in the Wallace Collection, No. 632 (Fig. 1299), which, although it is unsigned, yet shows the hand of Picinino. A little later in style than that which we have just described, it can yet

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

almost hold its own with any earlier example of the embosser's art. As in the case of the morion illustrated *ante*, Fig. 1275, a particular school of inlay can be recognized, and we venture to think that it can only be ascribed to Picinino and to be the work of his best period; his



FIG. 1299. SHIELD

The work of Lucio Picinino. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 632)

hand, too, can be seen in the characteristic treatment of the draperies and figure subjects. This shield was, in 1786, in the collection of Gustavus Brander of Christchurch, Hants. It had previously been in the possession of a Dr. Ward, who purchased it in Italy for five hundred pounds—a truly

ITALIAN PAGEANT SHIELDS

great sum for those days. Sir Richard Wallace obtained it with other armour which he bought from the Count de Nieuwerkerke. This shield was illustrated in an engraving by N. C. Goodnight as the frontispiece to one of the earliest works on ancient weapons, entitled "Treatise on Ancient Armour and Weapons," written by Francis Grose and published in 1786. Made at a period in which the Italian artist and armourer still worked in harmony, this shield deserves to rank as one of the finest productions of its kind extant. Executed in the spirited and broad manner of the Negrolì, it attains a grandeur of effect in its general design that is lacking in the more highly wrought shields of a later date.

In the centre of the Wallace shield is a figure subject on a large scale occupying nearly the whole surface. The embossing is in high relief. The face of the metal is chased, richly plated with gold and silver, and damascened in the same metals, all the exposed surface of the iron being russeted. The subject chosen for the enrichment of the central panel is a composition of figures representing Scipio receiving the keys of Carthage after the battle of Zama, 202 B.C. In the extreme centre of the shield is seated Publius Cornelius Scipio (afterwards called Africanus). He is dressed in complete armour of Roman fashion, holding in his left hand a baton, the right hand extended to receive the proffered keys. Behind him are standing the generals of his army, the foremost of whom may, on account of the semi-oriental nature of his armour, be taken to represent the Numidian Prince, Masinissa, who assisted Scipio in many of his campaigns. Above the heads of this group can be seen the chariot horses tended by negroes, and beyond them the tops of the pitched tents. A little to the right and just behind the figure of Scipio is an allegorical winged figure of Fame robed in a richly-striped and flowing mantle; in her right hand she holds a trumpet which she is in the act of raising to her lips. At her feet is the figure of a child, genius, holding a palm branch, while from above flies down another holding a crown. With her body slightly bent in submission, a majestic female figure, emblematical of Carthage, offers with her right hand the keys of the city to Scipio; while with her left she points over her shoulder to the procession of personages passing through the city gate, in many cases laden with offerings, the two foremost of whom are possibly intended for Hasdrubal and Syphax.

The city of Carthage is seen on one side of the composition in the middle distance, the outer wall and moat in perspective, at the end of which is a second gate open and with the drawbridge down, from which issues the

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

remainder of the defeated army of Hannibal, glimpses of which can be seen in the wooded distance on the left-hand side of the composition. In the far distance flows a river, on the farther bank of which is a group of hills, on the top left-hand corner being a distant view of a citadel; at this point the river is spanned by a bridge. At the base of the panel flows a river crossed in the centre by a small stone bridge. The border of the subject is composed of a continuous garland of fruit and flowers bound by a ribbon. This is intercepted at intervals by oval cartouches containing sprays of formal flowers and vases. At the sides, partly concealed by the fruit, are figures of amorini. In the bottom cartouche is a Medusa head; while at the top in an elaborate strapwork frame are introduced the interlaced crescent moons of Diane de Poitiers. To connect these emblems of French royalty with the undoubted North Italian provenance of this pageant shield would be a labour of great interest. But with our present knowledge we can only surmise that this shield was once the property of Henri II of France, acquired for him by purchase, or more probably sent as a gift from one of the ducal families in Milan. The whole of the border ornament is on a gold-plated ground, minutely stamped with an annular design. This work, which is $21\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide by $26\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep, may be accepted as dating from the opening years of the second half of the XVIth century.

So far we have given illustrations of two Picinino shields, the work of the master in his finest manner. We will now give an illustration of a third shield of his that markedly illustrates the decadence in the armourer's art that became so universal as the end of the XVIth century approached. This shield, which is in the Royal Armoury of Madrid and forms part of a parade harness made for King Philip III of Spain, is unsigned; but by reason of the great similarity that exists between it and the armour known to have been made by Lucio Picinino for Alexander Farnese, and now preserved at Vienna, we have no hesitation in declaring it to be the work of that armourer. The discovery of the *Inventario de la Real Armeria* for the years 1594 and 1652 enabled the late Count de Valencia to fix with exactitude the origin and subsequent destiny of the suit of armour with its accompanying shield, the ownership of which had been wrongly attributed, first, to the celebrated Duke of Alba, and afterwards to the no less celebrated Don John of Austria, natural son of Charles V. In the *Inventario* it is stated that the armour and shield formed part of a splendid present of different weapons, both European and Turkish, made by the Duke of Savoy to his brother-in-law, King Philip III, on the occasion of the visit to Spain in

ITALIAN PAGEANT SHIELDS

1603 of the three eldest of his ten sons, namely, Philip Emanuel, Victor Amadeus, and Filiberto. The shield in question (Fig. 1300) is circular and convex, its whole surface, like that of the suit to which it belongs, being embarrassed, we use the word advisedly, by the most elaborate embossing, gold damascening, and plating. On it, too, we find all the usual mixture of transitional XVIth-XVIIth century motifs—classically attired figures in



FIG. 1300. SHIELD

About 1570. The work of Lucio Picinino. A 293, Royal Armoury, Madrid

medallions, swags of fruit, strapwork, etc.—which are so characteristic of the debased Italian Renaissance.

We next show a *rondache* by an unknown North Italian armourer (Fig. 1301) which is also in the Royal Armoury of Madrid (D 63), a shield certainly anterior to the middle of the XVIth century. We choose it not only on account of the splendid way in which the famous historical motif that enriches the surface is disposed, but because of the very many times it has been reproduced within recent years. Owing to the low relief of its embossing it has readily lent itself to reproduction by means

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

of casting in malleable iron. This was done in the past by special official permission. It has also been in actual embossing correctly copied by hand by such artificers as Gaggini of Milan, and by less well-known metal workers. Often the famous inscription which appears on the original shield, PLUS ULTRA, has been suppressed, and other minor details have been modified. The original shield is splendid from the effect of the figure composition, on which the richness of the whole relies; for the very simple method of its production is remarkable. Forged from one piece of iron, somewhat convex, it was originally of russet colour. Cleaning has now given it a



FIG. 1301. SHIELD

Made for Charles V of Spain, about 1540. D 63, Royal Armoury, Madrid

bright steel shade, and its motifs of figure subjects, fully gilt, stand out not so much on account of their colour, as by reason of the masterly treatment of the embossing and chasing. Controversy has often arisen as to the proper interpretation and emblematical meaning of the figure subjects represented; but it is now generally recognized that the late Count de Valencia has given the only convincing reading of them. In the *Inventario Iluminado* this shield does not figure amongst the eight grouped together in one plate which are described as *Doze rodelas*; but it must have been among the twelve referred to, seeing that the *Relación de Valladolid*, in speaking of the twelve shields, describes one as "a buckler of steel, engraved

ITALIAN PAGEANT SHIELDS

and gilded, some letters on which read PLUS ULTRA." The name of the armourer-artist who produced this shield is unknown. Many experts have agreed that the style and composition are very similar to what one finds in the designs of Giulio dei Giannuzzi (Romano), in support of which theory it must be remembered that this celebrated pupil of the great Raphael worked in Mantua for Federigo Gonzaga when the Duke, out of gratitude to the Emperor for investing him with the Principality of Monferrato, presented Charles with many and rich arms worked by Mondrone, Serafino, and other armourers of equal renown. We may add that the rivet holes round the edge of the shield retain small portions of material, which show that it was lined in accordance with the account given in the *Relación de Valladolid*.

Accepting the deduction that this shield belonged to the great Emperor Charles V, we must refer to history, failing other data, in order to discover with reasonable certainty what it was that gave rise to the allegory represented. The subject chosen and carried out by the artist for the adornment of the buckler appears to be connected with two of the most celebrated events of the reign of Charles V, the voyages of Cortés and Pizarro to the Indies, whereby vast dominions beyond the seas were acquired by the Crown of Spain; and the victorious expedition to Tunis commanded by the monarch in person. Within a wide border enriched with fruits and amorini, and surmounted by the emblems of the Golden Fleece, the figure of Charles V occupies the centre of the composition, clad in classical armour, and standing on a galley propelled by two tiers of rowers. The Emperor supports the standard with the two-headed eagle, preceded by the figure of Fame, who is on the prow, carrying the shield with the famous inscription PLUS ULTRA,¹ and followed by Victory, who floats in the air, ready to place a crown of laurels on the Emperor's brow, while she indicates the devastation that must follow in the track of the ship as it sails ever onwards (PLUS ULTRA) to unknown seas. Hercules obeys the thought and seconds the efforts of the Emperor, pulling up the columns which he planted on the mountains of Calpe and Abyla, so as to create new boundaries for the ocean; while Neptune, supported on his trident, looks on astonished at the immense addition to his dominions. A woman is represented, kneeling and tied by the braids of her hair to the trunk of a palm tree, upon which a turban is

¹ Flórez, *España Sagrada*, vol. xxiii, page 13, quoting Paolo Giovio, connects the famous legend *Plus Ultra* with the Milanese physician, Luigi Marliano, medical attendant on the Emperor, who rewarded him with the Bishopric of Tuy, adding: "I will give you more, for the *Plus Ultra* which you gave me merits much."

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

placed, to symbolize Africa brought into subjection by the then recent conquest of Tunis; while to the right of her a man can be seen reclining at the feet of Neptune, an allegory probably of the Baetis, which is now to be the river dividing Spain and her new possessions.

When we examine any authentic example of the work of Giorgio Ghisi—and the signed pieces are reduced to two—we seem to realize, despite the beautiful quality of the true gold damascening, a certain tightness of design and an over-elaboration of detail, which are hardly to be expected at the comparatively early date in the XVIth century at which this armourer's principal works were executed. The shield, for instance, which forms part of the Baron Ferdinand Rothschild bequest to the British Museum, and which used to belong to Prince Demidov of San Donato (Fig. 1302), is a very splendid example of the armourer-goldsmith's work from the point of technique; but as pageant armour we cannot compare it with the productions of the Negroli. To the collector, however, this shield makes a special appeal; for it is in its almost original state. It is slightly convex, and in place of a central boss there is a circular panel containing a representation of a Romanesque equestrian encounter, framed in elaborate strapwork, which, through the intermediary of two grotesque masks, links up two oblong panels extending to the edge, which contain respectively emblematic female figures of Fame and of Victory. Disposed on either side of the central panel are oval upright panels framing figures of Strength and Prudence. Other figures, male and female, satyr-like in nature, groups of fruit and delicate festoons of ribbon-like drapery, occupy the remaining surface of the shield evenly enough, but with little compositional repose. It is interesting to note that, although the shield is dated 1554, the most advanced forms of interlaced strapwork are utilized as the frames to the various figure subjects. So developed, indeed, are they, that if their equivalent in architecture were seen on a building in England they would unhesitatingly be assigned to the early years of the XVIIth century. The strapwork in the case of this shield is the field for the richest incrustations of gold. It takes the form of minute figure subjects chosen from the Iliad and from Roman mythology, drapery ornaments, trophies of arms, and a strong element of the grotesque. It is on the top of a central panel, on the span of a bridge on which two armies are about to conflict, that the signature of the maker and the date—GEORGIVS DE GHISIIS, MANTVANVS 1554—can be seen. The groundwork of the shield is russeted; while other portions are thickly plated with gold and silver.

ITALIAN PAGEANT SHIELDS

We know of two Ghisis, Giovanni Battista Ghisi, who was born about 1500, and Giorgio, called Mantovano, who was born twenty-four years later. The latter is the more famous of the two; for, in addition to being an armourer, he was a plate engraver, and prints after his works are known to



FIG. 1302. SHIELD

Signed and dated: GEORGIUS DE GHISIS, MANTVANVS 1554
Baron Ferdinand Rothschild bequest
British Museum

exist. He worked both in Mantua and Rome, and died probably about 1575. The only other armament signed by him which is still preserved is a sword hilt in the Budapest Museum, signed GEORGIUS GHISI . MAN . F. There is also a shield in the Royal Armoury of Madrid (D 69) which, although unsigned, appears from the style of the work to be, in all prob-

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

ability, from his hand. It was acquired by Queen Isabella II in 1847. The subject chosen for its ornamentation is taken from the semi-epical "*Trionfi*" of Petrarch.

There is in the Imperial Armoury of Vienna a half suit of armour, together with a rondache shield, that formerly belonged to the Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol. This rondache (Fig. 1303) is part of that equipment



FIG. 1303. SHIELD

Once in the collection of the Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol. About 1560
Imperial Armoury, Vienna

for man and horse which is known in later inventories as the "Milan Harness," but which is described in the inventory of the inheritance of the Archduke, made in the year 1596, as follows: "The Milanese embossed harness which has been bought from the Merchant Serebej" (*Translation*). Without necessarily endorsing it we quote Herr Wendelin Boenheim's theory that the name Serebej refers to the Milanese embosser and damascener, Giovanni Battista Serabaglio, who is supposed to have supplied the Archduke with this particular armour and shield in 1560 for the sum of 2,400 crowns.

ITALIAN PAGEANT SHIELDS

We have already discussed this theory of Herr Boenheim (vol. iii, page 294). Giovanni Battista Serabaglio belonged to the famous Busti family of Milan, another member of which, Agostino Busti, sculptured the well-known effigy of Gaston de Foix. But to revert to the *rondache* in question. Although a very beautiful piece of steelwork from a decorative point of view, it must be regarded as over-elaborated and confused, the various strapwork panels containing the figure subjects intertwined one with the other in a somewhat needlessly geometrical fashion. The quality of the *azzimina* damascening is, however, very remarkable.

Naturally all parade shields were not of equal richness; some only



FIG. 1304. SHIELD
Etched in the Pisan manner.
About 1580.
Wallace Collection (Laking
Catalogue, No. 694)



FIG. 1305. SHIELD
Etched in the Pisan manner.
About 1580.
Collection: Mr. S. J. Whawell

relied for their surface ornaments on ordinary *aqua fortis* etching in the so-called Pisan manner. Of these we give two illustrations representing the more usual type of North Italian workmanship of about 1580 (Figs. 1304 and 1305); while others that come under the same provenance but are more elaborately engraved, we select from the work of Geronimo Spacini of Milan and Bologna (Fig. 1306). Sir Samuel Meyrick, whose collection contained the shield we are referring to, described it as the target of Charles V, doubtless on account of the subjects depicted on it. It is, however, of considerably later date, for the style of its workmanship belongs to the last quarter of the XVIth century. All our personal efforts to find any records of this shield have been unfruitful. The subjects are not rendered by means of *aqua fortis*

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

etching, but by a graving tool; indeed, they strongly recall the decoration on one of the suits of armour in the Tower supposed to have been worn by Henry, Prince of Wales, elder son of King James I. From which resemblance it may be inferred that the period of their workmanship was the same, that is, the first quarter of the XVIIth century. This shield, which is now in the Wallace Collection (No. 673), bears the signature of the maker

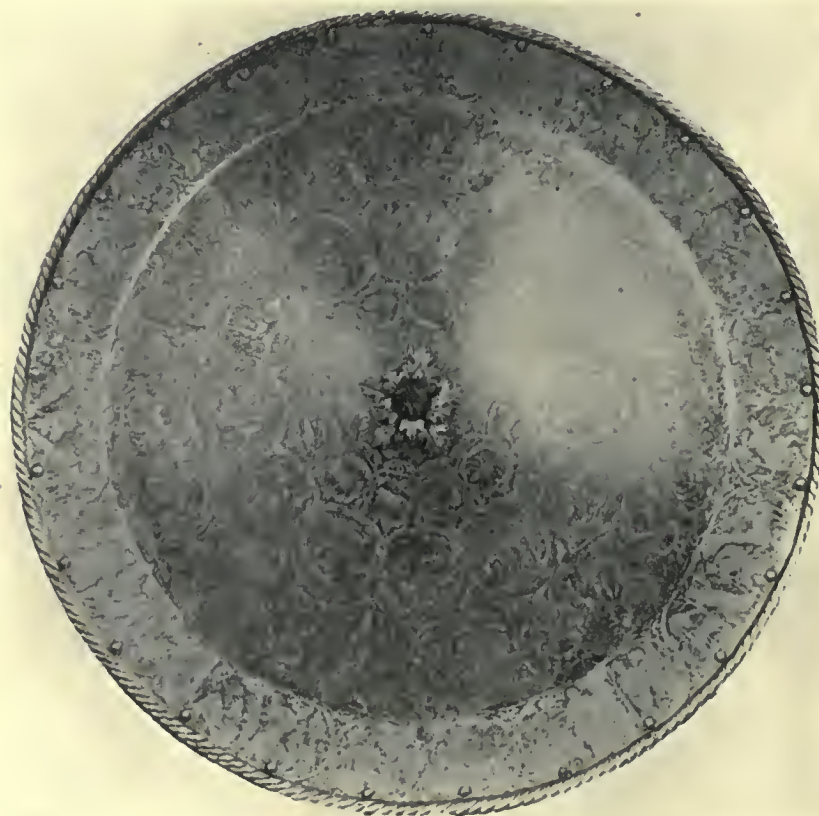


FIG. 1306. SHIELD

The work of Geronimo Spacini of Milan. About 1590-1600. Wallace Collection
(Laking Catalogue, No. 673)

beneath the central spike, the inscription running: HIER · SPACINVS · MEDIO · BON · FACIEBAT.; the translation of which is: "Made at Bologna by Geronimo Spacini of Milan."

It has a convex centre with a flattened border turned under at the edge to a roping, the contour being followed by a row of brass-headed rivets by which is secured, with brass rosette washers in the interior, part of the original blue velvet lining and fringe. The whole surface is decorated by compart-

ITALIAN PAGEANT SHIELDS

ments formed in concentric circles, the work having been done, as we have said, with a graving tool, and the subjects being richly gilt on a blued ground. In the centre of the shield is screwed a spike of diamond-shaped section which secures two leaf ornaments, and beneath them is engraved the maker's name. In the smaller band round the central spike are the twelve signs of the Zodiac, each contained within the entwined dolphins' tails, which form the arms of female termini that separate the subjects underneath. These are all from classical mythology, and occur in the following order:— (i) Mercury destroying Argus; (ii) Phaeton overturning the chariot of the Sun; (iii) The rape of Europa; (iv) The Dragon devouring the companions of Cadmus; (v) Perseus cutting off the head of Medusa; (vi) Lycaon preparing human flesh; (vii) Jupiter changing the Lycian rustics into frogs to avenge Latona; (viii) Apollo flaying Marsyas; (ix) Jason and the Golden Fleece; (x) Hercules carrying off the apples from the Garden of the Hesperidès; (xi) Daedalus and Icarus; (xii) Apollo and Daphne. Below this second row of subjects is another set of twelve panels with intertwined snake borders decorated with subjects chosen from the History of Charles V in the following order: (i) Charles as King of Spain, seated on his throne with attendants; (ii) The Battle of Pavia (1525), with the capture of Francis I, King of France; (iii) Retreat of the Turks, driven before Charles and his brother Ferdinand, King of Hungary, in 1532; (iv) The Death of the Duc de Bourbon; (v) The Siege of the Castle of S. Angelo, in which is imprisoned Pope Clement VII; (vi) The Deliverance of the Christian Captives in Africa by Charles; (vii) The Emperor Charles's invasion of France in 1536; (viii) Submission of the Duke of Cleves to the Emperor Charles in 1543; (ix) The Invasion of Champagne by the Emperor Charles in 1544; (x) The Proposals of Peace from the Protestants; the king in the centre, his brother Ferdinand, King of the Romans, on the right, Maurice, Duke of Saxony, on the left; (xi) The Submission of the Protestant Cities in 1546; (xii) The Submission of the Landgrave of Hesse in 1547. The exterior circle consists of twelve oblong panels containing the following Biblical subjects: (i) The Creation; (ii) The Angel appearing to Adam in Paradise; (iii) The Creation of Eve; (iv) The Temptation in the Garden of Eden; (v) The rebuke of Adam and Eve; (vi) The Angel driving them from Paradise; (vii) Adam tilling the ground and Eve in sorrow; (viii) The murder of Abel; (ix) Cain hiding himself; (x) The entrance into the Ark; (xi) The Deluge; (xii) The Covenant made with Noah. The scenes representing the victories of the Emperor Charles V are apparently taken from the designs by Maerten van

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

Veen or Heemskerk, copies of which (dated 1555, and published at Amsterdam by Hieronymus Kock) are in the British Museum.

Parade shields were not always fashioned of metal. They were often made of wood covered with parchment, with an outer covering of velvet to which were applied plaques of embossed and damascened iron. Three superb examples of such composite targets are to be seen in the Royal Armoury of Madrid (D 65, 66, and 67). Two of them (Figs. 1307 and 1308) must have formed part of a gift made by Don Ferdinando Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, to Charles V; for we have the testimony of two different authorities as to their



FIG. 1307. SHIELD

About 1530. The gift of Don Ferdinando Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, to Charles V of Spain
D 66, Royal Armoury, Madrid

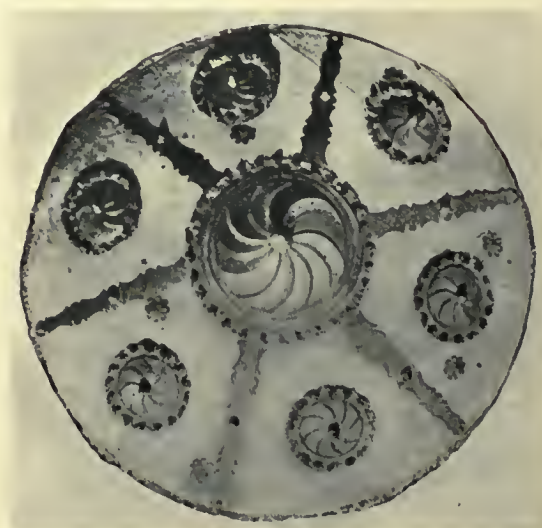


FIG. 1308. SHIELD

About 1530. The gift of Don Ferdinando Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, to Charles V of Spain
D 67, Royal Armoury, Madrid

origin, that of the *Inventario de las armas del Emperador*, in which sketches of them are shown, and that of the *Relación de Valladolid*, which mentions "an old buckler, Moorish,¹ of gold and black inlaid work, with six medals, also finely worked, presented by the Duke of Mantua, garnished with blue velvet and edging of gold and blue, and one other much like" (*Translation*). The first shield, D 65, is not mentioned; but judging from the emblems employed in its decoration we have little doubt that it formed part of the

¹ The use of this adjective must not be taken to imply that the work was actually done by Moorish craftsmen, only that it was done in that Moorish or Oriental style which was employed so frequently and with such success in Italy.

ITALIAN PAGEANT SHIELDS

same gift, as they apparently represent the union of the arms of the Gonzaga with two of the emblems that figure in the arms of Charles V. The general opinion held is that all these shields were made in Italy in the first half of the XVIth century.

Circular targets of wood devoid of any metal adornments are also to be met with. Many have high artistic value because such shields were frequently



FIG. 1309. PAINTED SHIELD OF WOOD

Italian, about 1540-60

Collection : Mr. George Durlacher

the field, both internally and externally, for painted subjects from the hands of artists of the greatest fame. We illustrate an example from the collection of Mr. George Durlacher (Fig. 1309). It came originally from the collection of Sir Adam Hay, Bart., who purchased it in Italy in the first quarter of the XIXth century. It is circular and convex, the surface being painted in grisaille with a representation of an Emperor distributing largesse to his troops. Numerous soldiers stand around, and camps can be seen in the background. All the other parts of the picture, the armour and background,

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

are executed in gold hatching. In the interior of the shield is shown a battle of horse and foot soldiers being fought in a field of standing corn. This beautiful work of art, which must have been produced under the influence of some Italian painter of the period of Giulio dei Giannuzzi or Polidoro Lanzani, must, from its very fragile nature, have been intended solely for parade use. A very similar shield is in the collection of the Duke of



FIG. 1310. WOODEN SHIELD COVERED WITH LEATHER

Italian, about 1560. Ex collections: Londesborough and Spitzer
Now Dino Collection, Metropolitan Museum, New York

Norfolk, and others are to be seen in several of the public and private collections abroad.

Many convex wooden bucklers painted with classical subjects in gold on a black ground were made at Naples, for in the *Inventario del Duque d'Albuquerque* (Madrid, 1883, pages 75-76) we find the entries: "A round Neapolitan shield, all gilt with many Roman subjects. . . . Another round Neapolitan shield all painted and gilt with a battle. . . . Another round shield of fig tree wood with Neapolitan painting in gold and black."

GERMAN PAGEANT SHIELDS

Next we may mention the large series of targets of wood covered with leather which can be found in most public and many private collections. The example we illustrate (Fig. 1310) is in the Dino Collection, Metropolitan Museum of New York, and was formerly in those of Lord Londesborough and M. Spitzer. It is of wood, covered upon both sides with *cuir bouilli*, embossed and surface tooled, which even now is in nearly pristine condition. The middle portion is occupied by a large medallion, upon which Perseus is represented delivering Andromeda from the Monster. This medallion is surrounded by four smaller ones, in which are to be seen Mercury, Marcus Curtius, Fortune, and a horseman. The whole groundwork is ornamented with grotesque figures and arabesques admirably drawn. The inside of the shield is as richly decorated, and, what is still more uncommon, is as finely preserved as is the face. Upon it are to be seen two round medallions with figures—Peace and Truth—and a small oval medallion representing a woman's head and a painted heraldic scroll. The groundwork is entirely covered with arabesques and grotesque figures. Both the arm straps and the grip are also of tooled leather. This shield is of Italian workmanship and dates from about 1560.

GERMAN PAGEANT SHIELDS

It is regrettable that the only pageant shield signed by the great German armourer, Desiderius Kolman, still in existence to record his glory as a worker in embossed armour, should have quitted his hands in an unfinished condition. This fact we note in the absence from the shield of the rivet holes by which the lining could be attached and by which the indispensable arm loop could be fastened (Fig. 1311). It was doubtless the intention of Desiderius Kolman that this shield should bear witness to his work as an embosser of metal. He introduces in the border ornaments a series of bear, wild boar, stag-hunting, and bull-baiting scenes. The whole design seems intended to suggest an allegory of his own triumph over his Italian competitors, he himself being represented in the form of a bull which is vanquishing a huntsman on whose shield is inscribed the name *NEGROL*, a direct reference, of course, to the famous Milanese armourers. His superiority in this case over the Milanese school existed, however, only in his own imagination; for the confused and elaborated

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

composition on this shield is poor German art, and compares very unfavourably with the restraint which is so apparent in the works of the Negroli. The shield is circular and convex, with a fine black patine and of the very richest decorative *ensemble*, embossed and inlaid in gold. In the centre there is a rosette with a point surrounded by a wreath of laurel, which in its



FIG. 1311. SHIELD

German, 1552. The work of Desiderius Kolman. Made for Philip II of Spain
A 241, Royal Armoury, Madrid

turn is surrounded by a narrow band bearing the following inscription in German:

DESIDERIO . COLMAN . CAYS . MAY . HARNASCHMACHER . AVSGEMACHT .
IN . AVGVSTA . DEN . 15 . APRILIS . IM . 1552 . JAR .

In the field, symmetrically arranged, are four circular medallions surrounded by laurel and myrtle and containing allegorical subjects, the meaning of which it is difficult to construe. The figures would appear to represent

GERMAN PAGEANT SHIELDS

Fortitude in a triumphal car supported by men, Victory in another drawn by lions, Minerva, or Knowledge, in a third drawn by horses, and, finally,

Peace borne on the shoulders of several kings. In the intervening spaces are other kings, seated on thrones, and surrounded by numerous figures, masks, and foliage. This shield, which can still be seen in the Royal Armoury, Madrid (A 241) was part of the panoply made by Desiderius Kolman for Philip II of Spain. It was fashioned to go with the harness there numbered A 239, though strangely enough, in spite of its being the signed piece of the set it is slightly inferior in workmanship; which goes to prove that though the Kolman family excelled in the



FIG. 1312. SHIELD

German, 1543. The work of Matheus Frawenbrys, the elder, of Augsburg. D 68, Royal Armoury, Madrid

making of body armour they were less successful alike as artists and as craftsmen in their attempts to produce such purely decorative armament as they here essayed. Another signed and dated shield in the Royal Armoury of Madrid (D 68) is German, Augsburg in make, the work of Matheus Frawenbrys (or Frauenpreis) the elder, an armourer who took over the atelier of Briccius Kolman of Augsburg (Fig. 1312). He is first mentioned in 1530 and appears to have died in 1549, or six years after this shield was made, for it is signed and bears the date 1543. The *poinçon* used by the Frawenbrys, father and son, was a trefoil in a tulip-shaped shield, taken from their arms. Frawenbrys' actual work on this shield consisted of the making and embossing of it; it is recorded that the *aqua fortis* etching of the surface was the work of Hans Burgkmair.

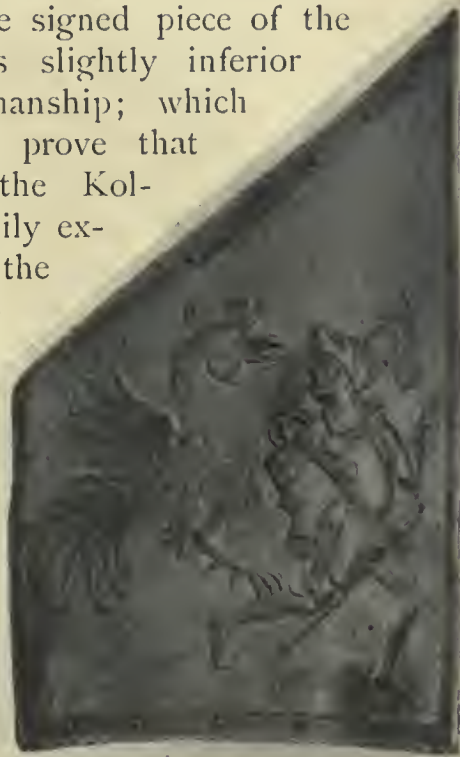


FIG. 1313. SHIELD (*TABLACHINA*)

German. The work of Matheus Frawenbrys, the elder, of Augsburg. M 6, Royal Armoury, Madrid

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

The shield is circular and slightly convex, having a brightened surface with motifs in gold. Besides bearing the signature of the armourer it is impressed with the guild mark of Augsburg. In the inventories of the Armoury between the years 1594-1652, this shield is included amongst the weapons that belonged to King Philip II; although, when it was made, this monarch was only sixteen years of age. In the centre of the shield is seen a strange allegorical composition etched in *aqua fortis* above the slight embossing. For an explanation of the significance of the scene depicted we must look to the wording which accompanies each figure. The nude woman holding an oar on which we read *forteza* seems to be Fortitude in charge of a boat inscribed *caro*, meaning Humanity, which fights against the attacks of *vortuna* in the tempestuous sea of life. Her guide is the compass (engraved on the prow), her shield inscribed *Fides* represents Faith, and seems as if she were seeking help from the Divine Grace (*gracia Dei*), the symbol of which is an urn. In its early German style this shield is a beautiful work of art; though it is difficult to view with favour the introduction of a figure subject so large in scale upon such a comparatively small field. From the hand of this same armourer is that remarkable shield in the same collection of the so-called Hungarian type, M 6 (Fig. 1313); for with shields of this shape, called in Spain *tablachinas*, the Hungarian cavalry were armed in the German wars of about 1547. Upon the face of this shield is embossed the figure of a cock in the attitude of attack chasing a fully armoured knight. According to the inventories of the Madrid armouries for the years 1594-1652, the shield is stated to have been the property of Francis I of France; but whether the attribution rests on an interpretation of the allegory of the cock and the knight, the cock being supposed to represent France chasing some enemy, or whether it is based on some documentary evidence which has since disappeared, even Count de Valencia was unable to say.

As may well be imagined, the armourers of Germany also produced the more simply decorated circular shield, and in work of this kind we think that in certain respects they surpassed their Italian contemporaries. The schools of Wolf of Landshut and the Kolmans of Augsburg, to complete the fine harnesses they made for Philip II and the great nobles of Spain, worked circular targets in very beautiful taste. Such targets are to be found at Vienna, Madrid, and Turin, and also in the Dino Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of New York. One can see an example on the famous Londesborough suit (Vol. iii, Fig. 1068), and of another, separated from its suit, we give an illustration (Fig. 1314). This last mentioned shield dates from the middle of the XVIth century, and is the workmanship of Sigis-

GERMAN PAGEANT SHIELDS

mund Wolf of Landshut, though doubtless it was made to be sent to Spain. It is surrounded by a broad border of fine etched arabesques; while the central theme of its decoration, finishing in a point in the middle, forms the centre of a large rose of similar workmanship. The ground of the etching is partly gilt, partly black. The edge, instead of being of cable design, is strongly dentated, a characteristic that is found in many arms made for Spain. While the subject of the simpler shields of German origin is under

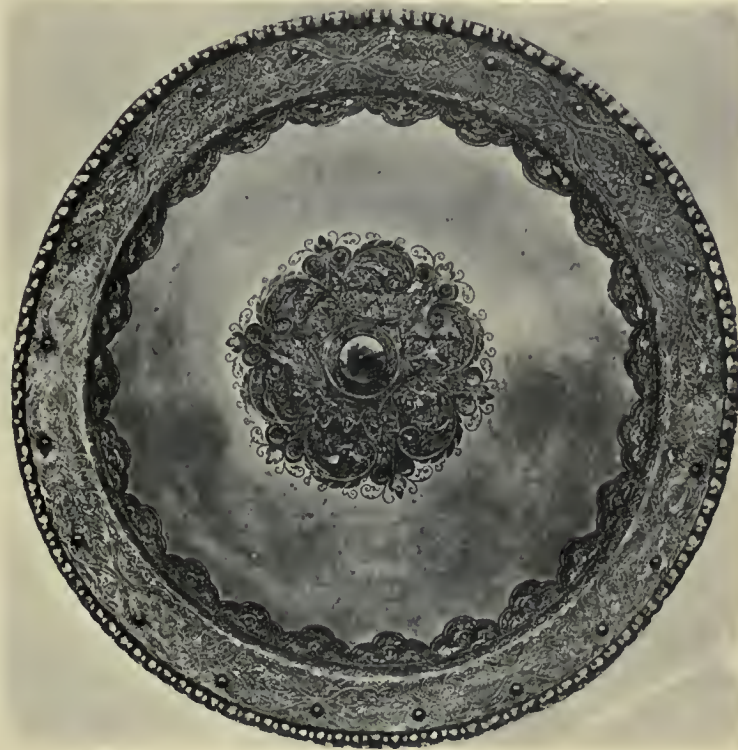


FIG. 1314. SHIELD

German, middle of the XVIth century. The work of Sigismund Wolf of Landshut
Metropolitan Museum, New York

discussion, it would be well to note a very fine example also in the Dino Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of New York (Fig. 1315), which was formerly considered to have come from the same Landshut workshops, but which now, from the evidence of its decoration, must have been part of the fine harness made for the famous Sir John Smythe by the armourers whom we have claimed as English and forming the Greenwich school (*ante*, chap. xxix), but whose works are so strongly under German influence. As we state (on page 39, Fig. 1119), the actual suit to which this example belongs is now wholly in the Tower of London, and we know there was a

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

shield to the suit, as it is mentioned in the inventory of 1611 and again in that of 1629, which is the last record of it until shortly before 1888. The shield in question is circular and convex, and has three broad etched bands diverging from the centre, which divide the field into three sections. At the middle of each section is a large medallion surrounded by a well-designed strap border containing allegorical figures—Fortune, Justice, and Strength. Other smaller figures, accompanied by interweavings and foliage, are finely etched upon the three radiating bands and upon the wide border band. All these ornaments are gilt upon a black ground stippled in relief.



FIG. 1315. SHIELD

The work of the Greenwich school. Belonging to the harness of Sir John Smythe, third quarter of the XVIIth century, now in the Tower of London (Class II, No. 84)
Dino Collection, Metropolitan Museum, New York

are finely etched upon the three radiating bands and upon the wide border band. All these ornaments are gilt upon a black ground stippled in relief. This shield, though it is certainly part of the harness we have mentioned, is not drawn in the *Jacobe MS.*, which gives an illustration of the suit. The author has endeavoured to trace its history before Monsieur Bachereau of Paris sold it in 1888 to the late Duc de Dino. It appears that Monsieur Bachereau purchased it from Messrs. Willson Brothers of London, in July 1888, who in turn had acquired it from Mr. J. M. Hodgkins of London.

GERMAN PAGEANT SHIELDS

We will conclude our descriptions of German pageant shields by giving an illustration of a rondache of gilded copper, which we should imagine formed part of the original "Spanish" armoury of the Tower of London (Fig. 1316). It is now cleaned so as to look like a warming-pan cover. Its very ugliness makes it an amusing curiosity. It is, however, of the crudest workmanship. The labours of Hercules are embossed upon it with an almost savage simplicity. It bears the inscription: *ADVLTERIO DEIANIRA CONSPVRGANS OCCIDITVR CACVS AB HERCVL · OPPRIMATVR*, and the date 1579. The date has



FIG. 1316. SHIELD

"The Spanish General's Shield." English or Dutch workmanship, 1579.
Tower of London, Class V, No. 53

at some subsequent period been altered to 1379, with the result that in former times this poor example of late XVIth century German metal-work was shown to the public with the following amusing and characteristic early XIXth century label:

"The Spanish General's Shield, not worn by, but carried before him as an Ensign of Honour. Upon it are depicted in very curious workmanship, some of the Labours of Hercules, and other expressive allegories, which seem to throw a shade upon the boasted skill of modern artists. This was made near a hundred years before the art of Printing was known in England."

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

FRENCH PAGEANT SHIELDS

IN Chapter XXVIII of the third volume, and again when we illustrated the Colbert casque (*ante*, Fig. 1264), we discussed at considerable length the works of a certain unknown French armourer. It would be wearisome to recapitulate our surmises about his work and his school. But inasmuch as this particular armourer was exceedingly prolific in the production of pageant shields we shall illustrate eight examples, which either were his own actual work, or were produced under his direct influence. Four are of the circular *rondache* order, three are kite-shaped; while one is more directly under the Italian XVth century influence as regards form. Of the three circular ones none can equal that superb example in the Royal Armoury of Windsor known formerly as the Cellini shield (Fig. 1317). This shield has for over fifty years been reputed to be a work of that great Italian artist. We need hardly say that there is no valid ground for ascribing it to him; on the contrary, all goes to disprove the theory. No true record exists as to how the Windsor Armoury became possessed of this treasure; but when Her Majesty Queen Victoria lent this shield to a loan exhibition at the Ironmongers' Hall, Mr. G. R. French, who described it for the catalogue, states, but we cannot find on what authority, that "During the Rebellion the shield in question was stolen from the Royal Collection, and was not restored until the reign of George III, who gave three thousand pounds for its recovery." It is traditionally said to have been presented by François I to Henry VIII at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520. These ambitious attributions, however, hardly tally one with the other; for if the shield were made by Cellini, and given by one Sovereign to the other on that memorable field of Ardres, Cellini would have been but nineteen years of age when he produced this masterpiece, about which time he was working out his apprenticeship with the Florentine jeweller, Antonio Marcone. It may therefore be considered quite misleading to continue to attach the name of Cellini to this fine example of parade armour. But, as a matter of fact, so unlike that master's work is it, and, indeed, so assertively later in style and workmanship that the appellation remains a mere label; while by adhering to its old name no difficulties can arise as to its identity, for it has a European reputation, and has many times been described and written about, always under the heading of "The Cellini

FRENCH PAGEANT SHIELDS

Shield of Windsor." There has been in the past considerable controversy as to the nationality of this *chef-d'œuvre* of the armourer's art. Italy and Spain have both had credit for its production; but no doubt now exists as to its French origin, and it is most certainly the work of that distinguished artist



FIG. 1317. THE "CELLINI" SHIELD
The Louvre School. The Windsor Armoury

whose name up to the present has remained undiscovered. The shield is of steel, circular and slightly convex in form. From the centre springs an ornamented boss terminating in a spike. The decoration, which is carried to the highest possible pitch of refinement, consists of embossing in low relief, in surface chasing, and in magnificent gold and silver damascening; overlaying,

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

plating with gold and silver, russeting and blueing, all being used lavishly, yet with necessary reserve upon its face enrichment. The surface is divided by male and female herm-figures into four compartments, each containing a subject illustrative of the life of Julius Caesar executed in relief, the armour and accessories being damascened with gold in the most elaborate manner. Above and below these panels are bands of oval cartouches containing scrollwork connected by square links with smaller guilloche and fret borders, all richly damascened.

The first compartment represents Caesar receiving the tokens of the death of Pompey: a soldier, possibly Achilles or Septimius, who has just landed from a boat, presents him with the head of the vanquished warrior and his signet ring. The second depicts a combat of horse and foot soldiers, probably the battle of Thapsus. The third composition shows a sacrifice, the accidental staining of Caesar's robe with the blood of the victim being regarded as a prognostic of evil. The fourth illustrates another conflict, probably the battle of Munda, in which Caesar rallied his troops at his own personal risk. The following Latin inscription encircles the shield near its outer margin:

AMBITVS HIC MINIMVS MAGNAM CAPIT AMBITIONEM,
QVÆ REGNA EVERTIT, DESTRVIT IMPERIA;
SVSTVLIT E MEDIO MAGNI VITAMQVE DECVSQVE
POMPEII AVEXIT CÆSARIS IMPERIVM
CÆSARIS IN CÆLVM MITIS CLEMENTIA FERTVR
QVÆ TAMEN HVIC TANDEM PERNICIOSA FVIT.
ANNVLVS EXEIT EI LACHRYMAS CERVIXQVE RESECTA
POMPEII, HINC PATVIT QVAM PROBVS ILLE FORET
IN SACRIS DOCVIT VESTIS CONSPERSA CRVORE
HVIC PRAESAGA MALI TALIA FATA FORE.
SI VIRES IGVTR SPECTAVENS [*sic*] AMBITIONIS
NON GRAVIVS VIDEAS AMBITIONE MALVM.

which arranged and translated reads:

This very small rim includes the great (spirit of) ambition,
Which overturns Kingdoms, destroys Empires;
It raised from the midst (of others) the life and glory of the great Pompey,
It took away the Empire of Caesar.
The mild clemency of Caesar is extolled to Heaven,
Which, however, was at length destructive to him.

FRENCH PAGEANT SHIELDS

The ring and severed neck of Pompey drew forth tears from him.
He had made manifest to this man how upright he would be.
The garment bespattered with blood in the Sacred Rites taught
That for him they would be such fateful foretellings of woe.
If therefore you regard the power of ambition
You may see that there is no greater evil than the seeking for honours.

A word must be said for the matchless quality of the gold and silver damascening. The beautiful arabesques that form the theme of the decoration



FIG. 1318. SHIELD

The Louvre School, about 1570. Wallace Collection
(Laking Catalogue, No. 398)

of the central boss are most wonderfully inlaid; so fine indeed is the damascening in quality that it may be compared with the work of the Zuloaga of XIXth century Spain, or of the Kōmai of modern Japan.

In addition to the royal shield made by this unknown maker, we can quote three others—in England—which, if not actually the direct work of this mysterious armourer, were certainly produced from his designs and executed directly under his supervision. These are the two shields in the Wallace Collection (Nos. 398 and 661), and a very fine example in a private

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

English collection. One of the two in the Wallace Collection (Fig. 1318), and the specimen in the private collection (Fig. 1320), very closely resemble the Windsor example, inasmuch as both have central spikes around which the motif of battle scenes is represented. These shields have never been damascened with gold or silver; but rely upon their fine surface chasing alone for their decoration. There is, however, the remains of surface gilding



FIG. 1319. SHIELD

The Louvre School, about 1590. Ex collections: Vassali and Meyrick.
Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 661)

on the example, No. 661, of the Wallace Collection (Fig. 1319), which shows a slightly different form of *rondache*, having no central spike, and thus allowing a larger field in the centre for the subject, as in the case of the Charles IX and so-called Henri II examples in the Louvre. It was exhumed in France. Although it has suffered considerably from rust oxidization and from the pickaxe which struck through it, breaking it into three parts, it still remains a record of the ultra-refinement of embossed ironwork. From the slight traces which remain it can be seen that its whole surface was

FRENCH PAGEANT SHIELDS

originally enriched with gold and silver overlaying and damascening which, however, according to Mr. Skelton, was "removed to gratify the avarice of the finder." It was rescued by Count Vassali, into whose collection it passed, and under whose guidance it was restored. From his keeping it passed



FIG. 1320. SHIELD

French School, by an unknown armourer, about 1570.
In a private collection in England

into the collection of Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick, F.S.A., of Goodrich Court, and is illustrated in "The Engraved Illustrations of Antient Armour," by Joseph Skelton, F.S.A., Vol. i, Plates XLIX and L (*a* and *b*), who called it the shield of François I, and described it as having probably been executed from a design of Giulio dei Giannuzzi (Romano) or Francesco Primaticcio. The other designs of a similar character do not corroborate this most interesting

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

attribution. The ingenious deciphering of the central battle scene, the substance of which we give, is taken from Sir Samuel Meyrick's work: it is a most graphic description of the subject.

The centre of the shield is occupied by a panel formed almost to the outline of a conjoined circle. In this is most delicately embossed and chased in low relief a composition intended to represent the retreat of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, following on his march on Paris. He had advanced within eleven leagues of Paris, burning and plundering on his way in order, at the instigation of the Duc de Bourbon, to crown his sovereign, Henry VIII, as King of France. The English army was, however, defeated through the French calling out the levy *en masse* in aid of the army under Trémouille. The extensive landscape represented is, according to Sir Samuel Meyrick, that "from the mouth of the Somme to the bridge of Bray, and of the coast as far as Calais." In the foreground are the French infantry flanked by cavalry and artillery. In the distance are views of various fortified towns and small companies of the conflicting armies seen between the hills. In the two angles that shape the central panel into its double-circle form, the top one is filled with an oval, crowned escutcheon of the Arms of France encircled by the collar of the Order of St. Michael, an order instituted by Louis XI in 1469. This is supported by two nude recumbent figures of boys: at the side of each appear griffin-like monsters bound captive. In the lower segment are two recumbent, partly draped, female figures, possibly representing Bellona and Minerva; while behind and around them are grouped their respective attributes. The narrow ribbon borders to these compositions have formerly shown damascened Latin inscriptions, which have now almost entirely perished; but among other words can be traced: T ANGLORVM . . . QVI . . . M.B. . . . TEN.

The bordering of this fine shield is composed of fourteen dolphins in seven different attitudes, and as many crabs placed alternately. The groundwork from which they are embossed is engraved with a waved design.

This shield, like the three others of this make which are in England, appears to date from the third quarter of the sixteenth century.

Turning to the kite-shaped shields by the same hand, we confidently put forward that example, which is preserved with its morion helmet (Fig. 1285) in the Galerie d'Apollon of the Louvre, as being of prime importance (Fig. 1321). In the first place it is a piece to which historical interest attaches, by reason of the fact that it was made for King Charles IX, and in the second place it is remarkable from the circumstance that the medium is that of solid



FIG. 1321. SHIELD

Of gold and enamel which with the casque (Fig. 1285) were made for Charles IX of France. French, by an unknown armourer, about 1570.

Now in the Galerie d'Apollon, Louvre, Paris

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

gold. The whole centre of the shield is occupied with an upright panel, roughly oval in shape, embossed and finely chased in low relief with the representation of a desperate encounter at the ford of some swiftly-flowing river, on the opposite bank of which are to be seen in fine perspective the pitched tents of an army. The space between the central panel and the edge of the shield is utilized as a field for the display of that strangely arranged strapwork which can also be seen on the Colbert casque (Fig. 1285). Pieces of artillery, trophies of arms, bound captives, and swags of fruit in splendid but littered confusion are placed between the straps; while a large mask above and a large mask below complete the composition. The whole of the groundwork of the border is engraved with foliated scrollwork. Surprisingly rich in effect are the opaque white and translucent enamels with which all the details are enriched. These alone, from the method of their application, proclaim the French provenance of the shield. The moulding of the border is slightly convex, and is decorated with smaller strapwork ovals containing the crowned letter K. These are on a laureated groundwork. The guilloche design peculiar to this armourer's work is very apparent in the details of the strapwork. This shield, which still retains its original velvet lining, was bought, together with the gold morion made *en suite* with it (Fig. 1285), by the French government in 1793 at the sale of the collection of Antoine Caesar, Duc de Choiseul-Praslin.

We give an illustration of another shield which comes from the same hand, and, as it happens, is in the same Museum—the Louvre (Fig. 1322); this is the shield belonging to the unfinished suit said to have been made for Henri II of France. We have referred to this harness (Vol. iii, page 348, Fig. 1092, and *ante*, page 185): The shield is in a far more finished condition than the rest of the suit. The fact that both the Louvre pageant shields have a reputed French royal provenance further strengthens our theory in the French (Parisian) origin of this particular series of pageant armour. It is remarkable that the Henri II shield has practically the same decoration as that of the Charles IX example. The strapwork, the panels, the masks, the bound captives, and the trophies are all placed in the same position; the battle scene in the centre and the ornamentation of the border are, however, different. As might have been expected, the iron medium of this so-called Henri II shield has necessitated a slightly broader treatment of the subject. The rendering of the decoration is perhaps a little earlier. The strapwork is more vigorously put in; but the figures in the battle subject, which evidently depicts some contemporary combat, for pieces of ordnance



FIG. 1322. SHIELD

Said to have been made for Henri II of France. French School, by an unknown but recognized armourer, about 1570
The Louvre, Paris

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

are to be seen in use on the distant battlements, are worked in close resemblance to those on the Windsor shield. As we have already stated, though



FIG. 1323. SHIELD

Said to have been presented to the University of Turin by Princess Victoria of Saxony in the middle of the XVIIIth century
Royal Armoury, Turin

the shield is incrustated with gold and silver, and though the ornamentation introduces the initial H. (Henri) and the crescent moon, the emblem employed

FRENCH PAGEANT SHIELDS

by Diane de Poitiers, it has not been quite finished. It now has that curious leaden colour which iron takes before it is russeted: the shield was never lined.

Yet another shield of this same form and indubitably from the same hand is in the Royal Armoury of Turin (Fig. 1323). It may be regarded as even a finer achievement than either of the Louvre shields, being perhaps a better composition, richer in its damascening, and perfect in condition. In the past, as in the case of nearly all these great pageant shields, Italy has had the credit of its production, and it almost goes without saying that Benvenuto Cellini was its supposed maker. Apart from the exact similarity as regards workmanship which it bears to those shields we have just described, we see on it the crescent-crowned head of Diana, the emblem dear to the heart of the French King, Henri II. Nothing definite appears known as to its past history; though it is vaguely suggested that it became an Italian royal possession as war booty, but more recent researches suggest that it was presented to the University of Turin by Princess Victoria of Saxony, niece and heiress of Prince Eugene of Savoy, in the middle of the XVIIIth century. The large central medallion, like the four smaller ones that surround it, is embossed with subjects that refer to Jugurtha and the wars waged against this African king by the Romans. As in the case of the Windsor shield a lengthy inscription in Latin surrounds each subject, giving us the true construction of each incident represented. This splendid shield retains its original lining.

Perhaps the most remarkable of this series of shields is the example preserved in the Imperial Armoury of Vienna (Fig. 1324). Shown there as having belonged to Charles V and stated to be of Italian workmanship, it has not yet, except by a few experts, been recognized as one of the most characteristic examples of our unknown French armourer's work. Though it resembles some decorative tablet rather than an example of pageant armour, we ourselves can recognize in it all those peculiarities of workmanship strongly developed, and—if we may use the phrase—tricks of design, to which we have alluded. It is made of superimposed plates attached to a common ground; its broken, kite-shaped outline being influenced by the position of the interlaced strapwork that constitutes its border. It could not possibly have belonged to the Emperor Charles V, for in our opinion it obviously dates far into the XVIth century, and is quite one of the armourer's latest known works, showing the eccentricities of his style carried to excess. Every excuse can be made for experts in the past in attributing the design of



FIG. 1324. SHIELD

French, by an unknown artist, about 1580. Imperial Armoury, Vienna
From a photograph by J. Löwy, Vienna

FRENCH PAGEANT SHIELDS

this shield to Michael Angelo; for the anatomical rendering of the figure subjects certainly suggests that master's school. But on closer examination the French influence is very apparent in the treatment of the masks, strapwork, etc. The pronounced style of the French armourer is also very manifest. In the middle of the shield is an oval panel placed horizontally, showing a savage encounter of nude warriors; while at the sides, and above and below it, are four smaller oval, upright panels with subjects that appear to depict episodes in the life of a hero of classical times. On the remainder of the field of the shield are represented ten captives, bound and partially naked; two are wearing armour of Roman fashion. Helmets, cuirasses, and weapons are also represented among the captured spoil, the shape of the trophy having obviously been determined by the space which was at the disposal of the artist. The field is wholly worked to a matted surface in the customary manner of this armourer's style. The strapwork borders, which are most cleverly interlaced, are damascened with arabesque designs in gold. Damascening and plating with gold and silver enrich other portions of the shield. In the strap borders at given intervals are rivets, the heads of which bear the designs of lions' masks; four of them, larger than the rest, hold rings in their mouths. This extraordinary shield, a wonderful example of late French Renaissance art, was duplicated at the time of its production; indeed, a replica was formerly in the Museum of Prague, passing from that collection into that of Count Wrangel of Schloss Skoklosten on the Mälarsee. According to the late Herr Wendelin Boeheim that shield had been much mutilated. Needless to say, the original has been copied many times by modern artists, and with a fair measure of success.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE SWORD AND RAPIER OF THE XVITH CENTURY



UCH as the author would have liked to have treated the subject as a whole, he is again compelled to deal separately with one of its branches, this time with the rapid evolution of the rapier or town sword. Up to this period the mailed gauntlet and the thoroughly protective body armour formed so effective an additional line of defence behind the parries and guards of the sword that any elaboration of the hand-guard attached to the hilt which might have restricted the free use of the weapon was probably very little studied. But when, in the second quarter of the XVIth century, it was recognized that freedom of action in a fight was a greater asset than the wearing of heavy and cumbersome armour as a set-off against the improvement in firearms, it became absolutely necessary to strengthen the first line of defence against the thrusting and cutting weapon. That this point was quickly and thoroughly appreciated is evident from the rapid improvement that was made in the science of swordsmanship and in the defensive qualities of the sword hilt. Instead of dealing immediately with the sword and rapier of the XVIth century we will go back a few years, picking up the thread of our story where we left it, and mention once more the hilt of that particular formation which, constructed with pommel, straight quillons, large *pas-d'âne* and ring-guard, marks the transition of the sword with simple quillons to the fully developed rapier form. The Musée d'Artillerie of Paris shows us two admirable weapons of this class, J 70 and 71, one a little more advanced in form than the other (Figs. 1325 and 1326). Both hilts appear to be of North Italian or possibly Spanish origin; but the method of their decoration—an Oriental arabesque design executed in gold and silver *azzimina*—has led to the belief, a belief strengthened by the appearance of Arabic characters on the knuckle-guard of one of them, that though the actual foundation of these hilts is of European workmanship, their decoration was entrusted to a craftsman from the East.

THE SWORD AND RAPIER OF THE XVITH CENTURY

The fact, however, of their being enriched in the true arabesque manner is no proof of this; for that fine series of swords and daggers, the product of late XVth century Venice, shows all these Eastern characteristics, doubtless owing to that port's constant intercourse with the Orient. The formation of these hilts is common to those of nearly all civilized Europe early in the XVIth century, and is not characteristic of that of any particular Latin



FIG. 1325. SWORD
Italian or Spanish, first quarter
of the XVIth century
J 71, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

FIG. 1326. SWORD
Italian or Spanish, first half
of the XVIth century
J 70, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

country. The fence associated with these particular swords consisted to a great extent in untutored cuts and guards and in such play as might be prompted by natural cunning. This continued until the first quarter of the XVIth century, when the hilt of the sword was comparatively simple; but as the second quarter of the century progressed the natural fighting soon gave way to the scientific sword-play shown by the fencer in the *champ clos* or, as it was termed, the *steccata*, "which is the place of combat," with the

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

result that we find the hilt varying in its fashions, but always to meet some change in the science of sword-play. An additional side ring here or a counter-guard there was added from time to time as it was found necessary to protect the hand from some newly introduced thrust or coup. With so many good swords extant, it is comparatively easy to trace the different changes as they were made, although the rapier hilt in its most complicated form would seem to defy explanation. The swords of this transition period that we illustrate have the pommel, the grip, the straight quillons, and, in some cases, both the *pas-d'âne* and occasionally the knuckle-guard. Only slight alterations were necessary at first to furnish better protection. The bending of the quillons was the first step. Sometimes



FIG. 1327. SHOWING THE CORRECT GRASP OF A XVIITH CENTURY SWORD OR RAPIER HILT

one branch of the quillon is seen curved towards the pommel so as to form a knuckle-guard; while the other was given a symmetrical curve downwards towards the blade. With the addition of a ring-guard attached to the quillon, then of another, though possibly of smaller dimensions, extending from the end of one *pas-d'âne* to the other, and finally of counter-guards connecting all three with, perhaps, a small shell, the final general form of the rapier hilt is reached. The derivation of the word "rapier" has been a subject of considerable controversy. By some it is suggested that it has its origin from the French *raspière* and Spanish *raspar*, to scrape or to scratch, while others derive it from the German *rappen* or *raffen*, to tear out.¹

The practice of grasping only the base of the grip and crossing the fingers over the quillons round the top of the blade through the *pas-d'âne* (see Vol. ii,

¹ Egerton Castle, "Schools and Masters of Fence," 1855, p. 234.

THE SWORD AND RAPIER OF THE XVITH CENTURY

p. 294, also Fig. 1327) necessarily suggested the advisability of protecting the hand as much as possible on either side of the hilt. It was this method of grasping the hilt that led to the actual grip of the rapier being reduced to the shortest possible dimensions, more especially in the second half of the XVIth century. It was so fashioned as to rest against the palm of the hand, and was held there by the third and fourth fingers, the true hold of the weapon being relegated to the first and second fingers. In the second quarter of the XVIth century the two-handed and bastard swords, and the more portable and convenient one-hand or short sword were all in use. Varieties of the close-hilted and back-sword were also coming into fashion; while there existed a peculiar combination of swords known in England as the "case of rapiers." These were not actually rapiers, but were more like swords worn back to back in the same scabbard, resembling those short Chinese swords of comparatively recent date which are constantly met with. In its early complete form, in the middle of the XVIth century, the hilt most often seen—especially in Italy—is the type that, in the collector's jargon of to-day, is termed "swept," an excellent illustration of which we give from a finely decorated example in the Salting bequest to the Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig. 1328).

So much ingenuity was displayed in the invention of variations in the form of the hilt, that it would be quite impossible to attempt a classification. Nationality, particular usage, and adaptation to decoration, were all factors which brought about variations in the shape of the "swept" hilt. But the general principle of design of all these hilts will usually be found the same, in spite of the doubling or trebling and even interlacing of the counter-guards and connecting bars. Changes in the shape of the blade are not so complicated as those undergone by the hilt. During the development of the sword into



FIG. 1328. RAPIER
Italian, third quarter of the XVIth century
Salting bequest, Victoria and
Albert Museum

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

the rapier, alterations were for the purpose of increasing the efficacy of the thrust, without impeding the use of the cut. With this object in view, the blade gradually assumed slenderer proportions and at the same time increased in length, with the result that towards the close of the XVIth century it was seldom less than four feet in length from hilt to point, and sometimes even exceeded five feet. This observation induces the quotation here, though perhaps a little early in the chapter, of a passage from Strype, B. iii, page 284: "Smithfield Bars, so called from the Bars there set up for the severing of the City Liberty from that of the County. June 23, 1580.—The French Imbasidore, Mounswer Mouiser (Malvoisier) ridinge to take the ayer, in his returne cam thowrowe Smithfild; and ther, at the Bars, was steayed by those offisers that sitteth to cut sourds, by reason his raper was longer than the statute. He was in a great feaurie, and dreawe his raper; in the meane season my Lord Henry Seamore cam, and so steayed the matt. Hir Ma^{tie} is greatlie ofended wth the offisers, in that they wanted jugement." The rigidity and lightness necessary in such long blades were obtained by a system of grooving and channelling in a slender but highly tempered piece of steel. The bladesmiths had to put forward their best powers in this work; they often inscribed their names either in the grooving or on the flat surface of the blade. The channelling seldom extended more than a third of the way down the blade; since, for the purpose of retaining its power, it had to be preserved flat towards the point. But whatever means were taken to lighten this weapon, its length rendered attack somewhat slow. The strokes of a rapier when used without the auxiliary dagger or cloak were evaded as much by movement of the feet and turns of the body as by direct parries with the weapon itself.

Fashioned on the principle of the foining swords of the period of 1480 to 1530 is a large group of decorated swords dating from the middle of the XVIth century, known by the name of "tucks," which must have been employed for the same purpose—that of thrusting alone—and which have a length of grip that enabled them to be used by both hands to gain more power, a characteristic of the bastard, or hand-and-a-half, sword. Of these there is no finer example than that knightly weapon preserved in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris, J 377 (Fig. 1329). Of the past history of this notable estoc there is no record; though there is every reason to suppose that its attribution to Henri II is well founded. The pommel itself, the ends of the quillons, and the centre of the ring-guard introduce on the largest possible scale the initial letter "H" of the King's name, the surface of the letters being minutely damascened with gold; while the remainder of the hilt is

THE SWORD AND RAPIER OF THE XVITH CENTURY

finely chased and gilt with small floral trophies eminently French in style. The grip, we consider, is hardly of sufficient length to balance the hilt properly; this is, however, a modern addition. The blade, like all estoc blades of early XVIth century date, is very strong and of bayonet-shaped section; while



FIG. 1329. THRUSTING SWORD (ESTOC)

Probably French, middle of the XVIth century. J 377, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

beneath the ring-guard of the hilt is a triangular cap made to fit over the top of the scabbard. This is a fine fighting weapon and formidable for the purpose it was doubtless intended to serve—simple thrusting. Furnished with a different type of blade, but made to serve the same purpose, is another sword of large proportions in the Musée d'Artillerie, J 95 (Fig. 1330). The

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

massive pommel and the drooping ends of the quillons are treated in the same general decorative manner, which is also followed to a certain extent in the central ornament of the single ring-guard. Chiselled and gilt leafage, borders of silver beading, and narrow panels of most minute gold damascening constitute the details of the decoration of the hilt. As in the case of



FIG. 1330. SWORD

Probably North Italian, middle of the XVIth century. J 95, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

the sword just described, the grip placed upon the hilt of this weapon is modern and too short. The blade is a splendid example of the actual work of Federigo Picinino, the elder brother of Antonio Picinino of Milan, whose best work was executed between 1540 and 1550. We imagine that the blade was not originally associated with this hilt, it being of a section that, as a rule, is found with a hilt of an earlier type. In this case it is more than possible

THE SWORD AND RAPIER OF THE XVITH CENTURY

that the hilt was made for the blade towards the third quarter of the XVIth century, for it fits it very perfectly and the balance of the weapon is admirable. Another example, worthy of note, which may be looked upon as of North Italian workmanship of about 1560, can be seen in our own easily accessible Wallace Collection, No. 675 (Fig. 1331). It came from the collection



FIG. 1331. SWORD

North Italian, middle of the XVIth century Wallace Collection
(Laking Catalogue, No. 675)

of Sir Samuel Meyrick, and is illustrated in Skelton's "Engraved Illustrations."¹ The pommel has a fanciful fish-tail shape; while the ends of the quillons curve markedly towards the blade. The hilt, which has a single ring-guard, is russeted and is decorated with chiselled acanthus leaves and arabesques in gold *azzimina*. The grip is of light wood and, here again, it is too short and is not the original one made for the sword. The blade is of flattened hexagonal section, grooved the whole way down the face. An armourer's

¹ Vol. II, Plate CIII, No. 1.

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

mark, which has not been identified, is stamped on the ricasso. A slight variation of this type, which has almost the appearance of belonging to a different family of weapon owing to the addition of a modern and too short a grip to the hilt, is that very fine sword in the collection of Mr. Ernest Kennedy, which was formerly in the Spitzer Collection (Fig. 1332). The quillons are long



FIG. 1332. SWORD

North Italian, third quarter of the XVIth century
Collection: Mr. E. Kennedy

and diagonally curved; while the guard shows the duplicated ring form of defence. The pommel is large and spheroidal, to balance the heavy fighting blade of the weapon. Like the whole of the hilt, the ricasso of the blade has a russeted surface heavily encrusted in silver with cherubs' heads, arrangements of leafage, etc.—a North Italian style of ornamentation of the latter part of the XVIth century which found particular favour in England, and to which we shall have to refer later. Spitzer recorded no

THE SWORD AND RAPIER OF THE XVITH CENTURY

provenance to this sword; but it is one of the finest of its particular type in existence.

We made mention of the true two-handed sword when we described the *Claidheamh-mor* of the Scottish Highlands (see vol. ii, pp. 302, *et seqq.*). Otherwise we have scarcely alluded to it; for, apart from fabulous



FIG. 1333. THE EMPEROR-ELECT MAXIMILIAN REPRESENTED LEARNING THE USE OF
THE DOUBLE-HANDED SWORD

From the woodcut by H. Burgkmair, *Wie der Weyss Kunig maisterlichen was
Plosz zufechten*, in *Der Weiss Kunig*

tales of mighty swords of unknown ages, it is scarcely met with until the advent of the XVIth century. As was the case with nearly all sword-play, the fight of the two-handed sword was technically of small account until the end of the XVth century. The unwieldiness and ponderous nature of the weapon were such that its actual use was slow and laboured. According to the great fencer, George Silver, it possessed a system of fence of its own, based on the fight of the "short *staf* of convenient length," a vague phrase

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

which seems to mean no more than a stout quarterstaff of a length suited to the height and powers of its owner. Unlike the hand-and-a-half, or bastard, sword, which could be wielded with either one or two hands, according to the call of the moment, the two-handed sword was of necessity the weapon of the large and powerful man; so in the rank and file it was entrusted to the strongest men-at-arms, many of whom were made to act as escort to the

“Auncient” or Standard Bearer. For all this, many in the highest ranks of society became proficient in its use. King Henry VIII was an adept in wielding it. At a tournament, held at Greenwich in 1511, Hall records that Henry VIII, with two others, challenged all comers “to fight every of them xii. strokes with two-handed swordes,” and that the King displayed “his hardy prowes and great strength, apparently to the delight of all.” The two-hander was recognized as worthy of something more than mere respect when employed against any other weapon, even though that weapon was assisted by some auxiliary defence, such as the buckler. Its ponderous sweeping strokes could only be parried by a very strong and a very active man, if not by use of the *volte* or *derobement*. Maximilian, Emperor-elect, can be seen practising this last-named method of elusive guard in the woodcut taken from the *Weiss Kunig* (Fig. 1333). The actual length of the two-handed sword from pommel to point sometimes approached six feet. It was double edged, like the majority of the swords of the XVIth century.

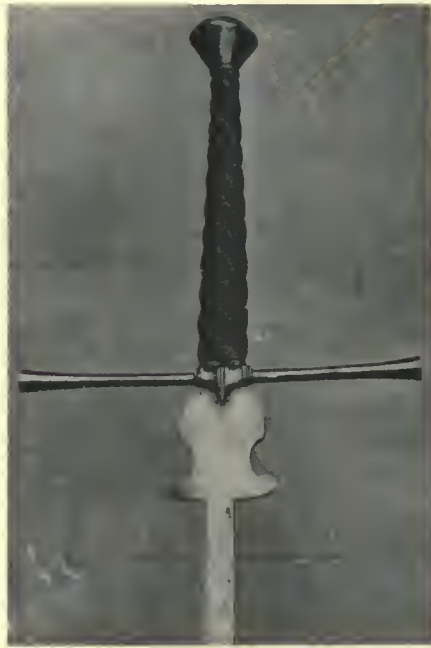


FIG. 1334. TWO-HANDED SWORD
WITH BLUNT EDGES AND
NO POINT

For the purpose of practising sword-play. German, first half of the XVIth century
Ex Londesborough Collection

Its hilt was furnished with powerful quillons, often with a ring on either side, if not with a more complicated guard. It is not unusual to find below the quillon guard, and on the blade itself, two projecting pointed bars or lugs, called in Spain the *falsaguarda*, which, in a measure, protected the hand. In the commoner German and Swiss two-handers, that part of the blade between the quillons and the lugs was sometimes covered with leather. We believe that, with the exception of the Scottish weapon, the two-hander was seldom borne in a scabbard; in contemporary pictures it is always seen carried over

THE SWORD AND RAPIER OF THE XVITH CENTURY

the shoulder at the slope, like a halberd or partisan. It must not be imagined that the exercise of the two-hander at this period consisted any longer in haphazard hewing and cutting: it was based on the soundest principles of swordsmanship. The chief requisite for this sword was great muscular strength combined with suppleness of wrist. The point was rarely used and the cuts



FIG. 1335. TWO-HANDED SWORD
Italian, first half of the XVIth century
Wallace Collection (Laking
Catalogue, No. 258)



FIG. 1336. TWO-HANDED SWORD
Italian, first half of the
XVIth century
Collection: Mr. F. Joubert

were sweeping, and the parries were counterblows across the adversary's line of attack (E. Castle, "Schools and Masters of Fence," p. 76).¹ Dummy swords of the proportions of the great swords themselves are occasionally come across, known as "wifles"; we illustrate one which was formerly in the Londesborough Collection (Fig. 1334). These were employed for practice in acquiring the use of the two-hander, and have blunted, pointless blades called "waster" blades. Of two-handed swords extant, those of Italian and

¹ Cf. Harl. MS., 3542, ff. 82, 85.

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

Spanish origin are certainly the most finely constructed; their guards are simpler, and the make of their blades vastly superior to those found upon the two-handers of other nations. There is in the Wallace Collection (No. 258) an excellent example of this type (Fig. 1335) of Milanese workmanship of about 1510. The hilt is of blackened iron, the pommel is shaped like an

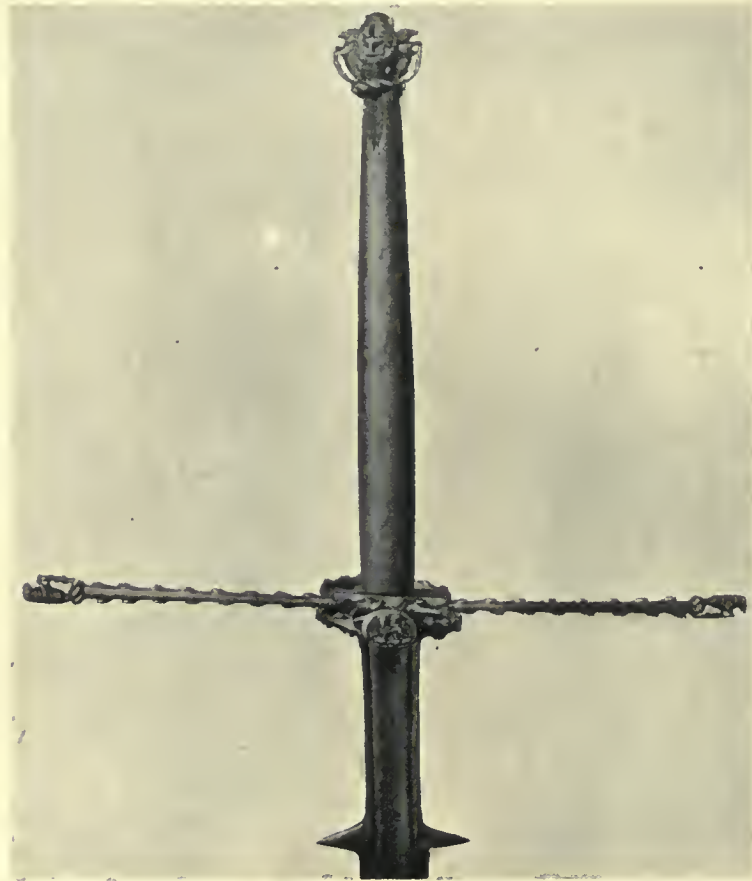


FIG. 1337. TWO-HANDED SWORD

The hilt probably of English workmanship, the blade Italian. About 1540
Collection: Lord and Lady de Lisle and Dudley, Penshurst

inverted pear, the quillons are straight, and there are rings on either side. The faceted wood grip is covered with leather. The blade, the upper portion of which is etched and gilt with figures of St. Peter, St. Catherine, St. Paul, and St. Barbara, is 45 inches long and of flattened, diamond-shape section; the ricasso has slightly curved sides, terminating in two lugs. Another two-hander of the Italian order is in Mr. Felix Joubert's Collection (Fig. 1336). It is somewhat simpler in its enrichments and has lost its grip; but it is a

THE SWORD AND RAPIER OF THE XVITH CENTURY

finely proportioned weapon of admirable balance. There is in the collection of Lord de Lisle and Dudley at Penshurst a fine and ornate two-handed sword (Fig. 1337), and since it has chiselled upon its pommel the bear and ragged staff, which may be accepted as the cognizance of the Warwick family, there is the possibility of the hilt being of English workmanship, though the blade is certainly Italian. We find also a certain group of very simply constructed two-handed swords that can assuredly be regarded as of English make, and dating from the closing years of the XVth century. In the collection of Mr. Seymour Lucas is a sword of this class, perfect in every respect with a fine blade (Fig. 1338). It was discovered in an outhouse of an old Priory in Norfolk. Mr. Weedon Grossmith also possessed a very good example made the rarer by the fact of its retaining its original scabbard. The collections of Mr. H. G. Radford and Mr. W. H. Fenton each contain a specimen of this class of English made weapon.

Although the constructional principle of the Italian two-handed sword of the early years of the XVIth century was retained by all countries which had adopted it, the individual influence of each country soon made itself apparent in the matter of enrichment and elaboration. So it will be noted that in Germany the two-handed sword was influenced by the Maximilian feeling so prevalent there. The elaboration of the quillons, the side rings, and the addition of small counter-guards are all shown in that quaintly grotesque style that characterizes the short Landsknecht sword of the first half of the XVIth century. The Musée d'Artillerie of Paris (J 61) presents an admirable example of the German mid-XVIth century type; though for some unknown reason it is described in the official catalogue as being of Italian origin (Fig. 1339). The blade of this specimen, which possesses its original grip and is of exceptionally fine workmanship, widens somewhat towards the point, and, as is often the case, has a waved cutting edge. The lugs on the blade below the quillons are well developed, the space between them and the hilt being covered with leather. Etched upon the blade are various coats of arms, among others

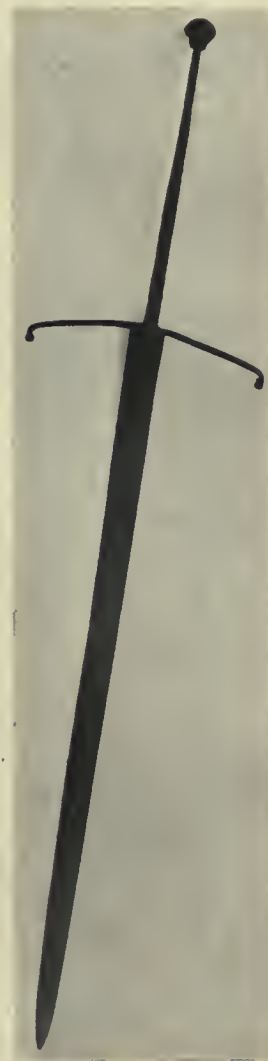


FIG. 1338. TWO-HANDED
SWORD

Probably English
Collection: Mr. J.
Seymour Lucas,
R.A.

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS



FIG. 1339. TWO-HANDED SWORD
German, middle of the XVIth
century. J 61, Musée
d'Artillerie, Paris

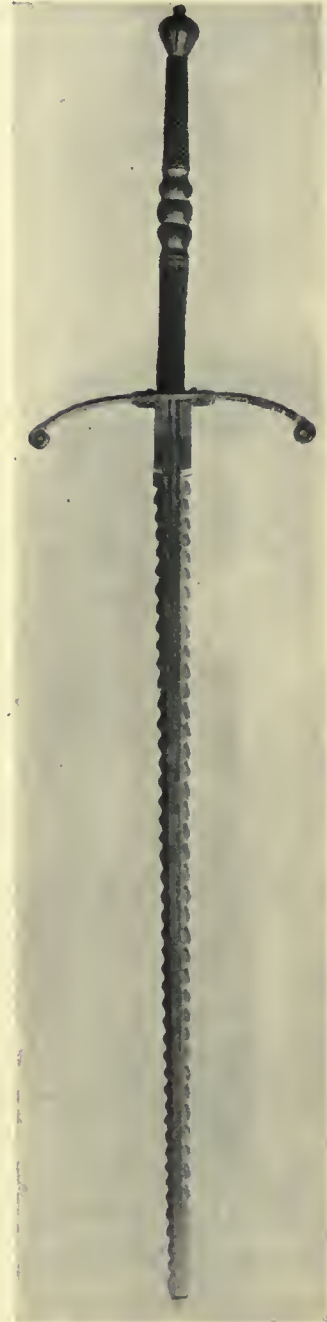


FIG. 1340. TWO-HANDED SWORD
The hilt is German, of mid-XVIth
century, the blade Italian
J 62, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

one charged with fleurs-de-lis, which may have reference to the town of Munich; while a figure in the costume of about 1560-70 helps to date the

THE SWORD AND RAPIER OF THE XVITH CENTURY

weapon. A second sword in the Musée d'Artillerie (J 62) (Fig. 1340) which is of about the same date is likewise a good example; for, though it possesses a typical German hilt, it has associated with it an Italian lugless blade signed in its double groove "Antonio Picinino." The ricasso is etched and gilt. The grip of the hilt is the original one. In the latter part of the XVIth century, and in the commencement of the XVIIth century, the Swiss specialized in this cumbersome weapon, and a certain make of the two-hander, coarse and heavy in workmanship, is readily recognizable as Swiss in provenance. Of this type we illustrate an example (Fig. 1341) formerly in the collection of the Duc de Dino, now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York.

We will now resume the story of that family of curved swords which derived its form from the East, and which may be considered as being reminiscent of the fashions of earlier centuries. The wars between the Venetians and the Turks resulted in close if not friendly intercourse and in exchange of weapons. The Venetians employed as mercenaries Greek mounted troops, principally Albanians and

Dalmatians, who were termed *stradiots* or *estradiots*; so the weapon employed by these legions—a curved sword—got to be known by the name of *stradiot*. Occasionally we find the name *malchus* given to a short, curved sword of early XVIth century fashion, doubtless in remembrance of Malchus, who, as is recorded in the Gospels, had his right ear cut off by St. Peter, presumably with an instrument of this kind. Florio, in "A Worlde of Woordes," published in 1598, calls a short curved sword a



FIG. 1341. TWO-HANDED SWORD OF THE ORDINARY SWISS TYPE

Late XVIth or early XVIIth century. Metropolitan Museum, New York



FIG. 1342. THE PRACTICE OF THE DÜSACK

From a copperplate engraving by Yost Amman (1539-1591)

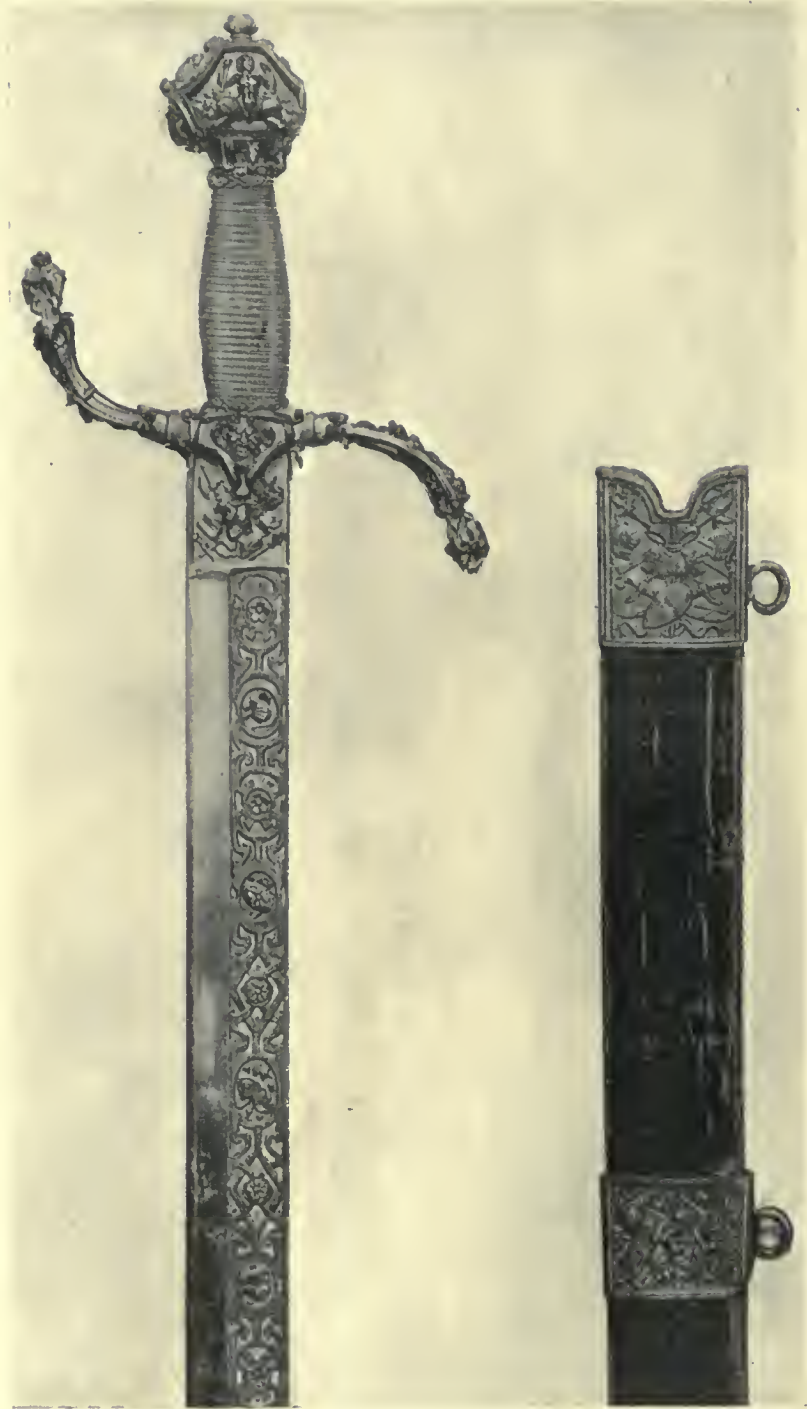


FIG. 1343. SABRE
North Italian, third quarter of the XVIIth century. Imperial Armoury, Vienna

THE SWORD AND RAPIER OF THE XVITH CENTURY

malcus, which may possibly be derived from *malchus*. In France the short curved sword was known as the *base*. As in the case of all curved weapons of the Orient, there was little actual fence employed in their use. But towards the close of the XVIth and the commencement of the XVIIth centuries it may be noted that in the case of the curved *Düsack*, a weapon of Hungarian or Bohemian origin, adopted by the middle classes in Germany, the parries were similar to those practised with the back-sword. That is to say, they included countering blows across the adversary's line of attack with the purpose either of breaking his guard and of striking him at one and the same time, or of throwing his weapon out of line so as to open the way for a second attack. A print by Yost Amman (1539-91) preserved in the Dresden *Copperplate Cabinet*, A 113, and said to represent persons of the middle classes (Fig. 1342), shows the practice of the *Düsack*. Many very beautiful and historical swords of the XVIth century, having curved blades, exist to-day. Of these certainly one of the finest is that magnificent example in the Vienna Armoury, complete with its scabbard (Fig. 1343)—a perfect achievement of Renaissance splendour. The quillons of this weapon curve simply upwards and downwards; while the pommel has that uneven outline tending to an excrescence on the side of the knuckle-guard, as though ready to receive it. Recessed in the panels are fantastic figures; the quillons issue from monsters' heads. The blade is very slightly curved and back-edged, decorated its entire length with duplicated strapwork introducing armorial trophies, which are also seen, though in a grander form, upon the ricasso. The finest chiselling, and the richest gold plating and damascening are employed upon the ornamentation of this splendid weapon. Although we are quite unable to name any particular armourer as the artificer of this sword, we regard it as North Italian work of about 1560-70. The late Monsieur de Beaumont, in his *Fleur des belles Épées*, claims that there is no specimen equal to it for the magnificence of its execution and grand simplicity; but in our opinion, the very similar sword in the Musée d'Artillerie (J 112) is quite as superb, if it does not actually excel it in dignified splendour (Fig. 1344). This sword was at one time in the collection of the Vicomte de Courval, and though it is hardly in such a fine state of preservation as the Vienna example, it has the advantage of possessing a grip of steel chiselled in harmony with the hilt. Marvellous also is the undercutting of the strapwork that embellishes both pommel and quillons. The blade is the counterpart of that of the Vienna sword, strongly back-edged and very slightly curved. As we have previously stated, had

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

this sword not suffered from certain rust oxidizations, it would, in our opinion, have excelled even the Vienna sword as an example of the magnificence of the work of the late Renaissance. There are among the treasures of the Wallace Collection two fine curved swords of this same epoch, one of



FIG 1344. SABRE
North Italian, third quarter of the XVIth
century. J 112, Musée d'Artillerie,
Paris



FIG. 1345. SABRE
Probably German, third quarter of the
XVIth century
Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 199)

which (No. 193) is especially reminiscent of those two we have just described though, generally speaking, of smaller proportions. The hilt is of blackened iron with a flattened pear-shaped pommel, and quillons curving in opposite directions. Both the pommel and quillon ends are chiselled in high relief and pierced with crouching nude figures holding scrolls on which rest ducal

THE SWORD AND RAPIER OF THE XVITH CENTURY

coronets. On the block from which the quillons issue, and in the pommel, are chiselled and undercut figures of horsemen. The effect of the whole design is heightened by the addition of gold damascening. The blade, which is back-edged, is slightly hollowed and curved, and has the cutting edge chamfered, and is russeted and damascened with interlaced scrollwork and a shield of arms in gold *azzimina*. This example may also be accepted as being of North Italian workmanship of about the third quarter of the XVIth century. The decoration of the other Wallace curved sword (No. 199) is in strict accordance with German Renaissance ornamentation; but its general form of construction is really more influenced by Oriental feeling, being reminiscent of the ordinary curved swords used as Polish cavalry weapons towards the close of the XVIth century. Sir Samuel Meyrick, in whose collection it was formerly, considered it to be of Venetian workmanship; but after careful consideration and comparison, we ourselves feel convinced that it is of German origin (Fig. 1345). The hilt is of russeted iron, plated with gold and silver. The grip and pommel are in one piece, and entirely of iron, curving slightly and pierced at the top with a circular hole for a wrist strap. The whole surface of this part is chiselled in low relief with a German ornament of a pseudo-Eastern character. The quillons curve and finish in satyrs' masks, issuing from an oblong block, on one side of which is an oval shell. Other decorations introduce the subject of Horatius Cocles, under the protection of the twins divine, Castor and Pollux, guarding the Tiber bridge against the attacking army of Porsena. The blade is of scimitar fashion, and has Oriental characters inlaid in gold. This sword retains its original scabbard of wood covered with green velvet and mounted with chape and locket mounts; on which in oval panels can be seen figures of Leda and the Swan, of Europa and the Bull, and of Athene armed with spear and shield.

A form of the curved sword in use in mid-XVIth century times, which is of a pattern different from those to which we have alluded, is to be seen in the Resson Collection, bequeathed to the Bargello Museum of Florence. Like the weapon of which we have just made mention, it is entirely of steel, but wholly German in form and also in decoration, which in this case is in no way allied to any style of Italian Renaissance ornament. It is the sword given by Henri II of France to his jester, Nicholas de Coville; of this attribution we are fairly sure, for De Coville's name appears on the quillons. The very finest *aqua fortis* etching embellishes both the hilt and the curved back-edged blade (Fig. 1346). The design on the blade represents a spirited camp scene into which is introduced the story of Judith and Holofernes. The

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

work has been credited to several artists and to a French provenance; but in our opinion it is wholly a German production. It is an interesting fact, worthy of record, that this sabre figures in the catalogue of the collection of



FIG. 1346. SABRE

Worn by Nicholas de Coville, jester to the Court of Henri II of France
German, middle of the XVIth century

(a) The hilt and upper part of the blade. (b) The lower part of the blade
Ressman Collection, Bargello Museum, Florence

a Monsieur Picard, which was sold in Paris in 1779, together with "Egyptian, Greek, Etruscan, Roman, Gaulish and Gothic Antiquities and other curiosities of various kinds."

Of that class of hilt which is found on the half-sword half-rapier type, two examples with which we are acquainted are pre-eminent from the stand-

THE SWORD AND RAPIER OF THE XVITH CENTURY

point of their superlative design; although others of simpler construction are to be seen in large numbers in all the more important public and private collections. In the case of this type the noteworthy features are the evenly balanced pommel and grip, the diagonally curved quillons, the *pas-d'âne*, connected by a counter bar with the left quillon. From the opposite *pas-d'âne*, issuing at a right angle and slightly upcurved, is a short bar. This guard formation, though in a modified degree, is fashioned on the inner side of the hilt. Of the two hilts of this type, we shall first illustrate and describe the more important, that on the superb sword-rapier preserved in the Imperial Armoury, Vienna, and known to have belonged to Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol (Fig. 1347). The whole hilt is of russeted iron perfectly chiselled, and decorated with gold and silver *azzimina*. The combination of its style and period (about 1550-60), the former being slightly in advance of the latter, would lead us to imagine that it was produced under French influence; but since the provenance of this sword is supposed to be the same as that of the harness illustrated in Fig. 1059, Vol. iii, which has been attributed to the hand of a mysterious Milanese armourer (the late Herr Wendelin Boeheim called him Giovanni Battista Serabaglio), we may assume that the hilt was made by the same armourer, or under his direction. The French influence is undoubtedly noticeable, especially in the case of the pommel, where, between oval sunken panels containing figure subjects, are broad dividing straps chiselled in a most wonderful manner in high relief and deeply undercut from the body of the pommel. On the grip is the figure of Fortune; while the ends of the quillon are formed as caryatids, placed back to back. The blade associated with this superb hilt, which is simply grooved and slender though very workmanlike, is damascened with gold on the ricasso, and would appear to be Milanese work, the mark of a well-known bladesmith of this city, whose name is unknown, being twice repeated upon it. Its original scabbard and carriage are still in existence. The second sword of this type to which we allude is now to be seen in the Baron Ferdinand Rothschild bequest to the British Museum (Fig. 1348). Baron Ferdinand acquired it from the Spitzer Collection, where it rightly held the place of honour among weapons of its own class. On this sword the same formation of hilt may be noted as appears on the last sword described, and we should not be surprised if it came from the same hand. The British Museum sword has less chiselling on its hilt than there is on that of the other weapon; but it is richer in the gold damascening, which the late M. de Beaumont likened to the work of Damianus de Nerve, though he considered the hilt a German production,

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

an attribution with which we can hardly agree. This may have been the reason why the mistake of giving it a Spanish origin was made in the catalogue of the Spitzer Collection; in the past such flat *assimina* damascening was



FIG. 1347. SWORD-RAPIER OF DUKE FERDINAND OF TYROL
The hilt is probably the work of an unknown Milanese armorer, middle of
the XVIth century. Imperial Armoury, Vienna

mostly credited to Spain on account of the semi-Oriental influence which the Moorish occupation exercised on the art of that country. The blade of this hilt, though possibly not actually made for it, is a fine example of the work of Andreas Münster, whose signature appears in the central groove.

THE SWORD AND RAPIER OF THE XVITH CENTURY

Andreas Münstén was brother of the more famous Peter—both of these bladesmiths worked at Solingen and later at Toledo. This sword was obtained some forty years ago in Castile, where the tradition of its having belonged



FIG. 1348. SWORD-RAPIER
North Italian, middle of the XVIth century
The Rothschild bequest, British Museum

to Don Philip of Austria was associated with it. Those simply proportioned sword hilts, simple only from the paucity of their protective qualities, but ultra elaborate in respect to their enrichment, of which we find designs in the original drawings of Hans Holbein the younger, must have been works of

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

art of exquisite beauty. There is a sketch of a hilt of this kind in the Bâle Museum. It seems hardly possible that such wealth of enrichment could ever have been actually produced; certainly no such hilt is known to the author. In the circumstances we feel that this design and very many more of the same nature from the hands of Holbein, Aldegrever, Peter



FIG. 1349. RAPIER WITH A "SWEPT" HILT
Italian, third quarter of the XVIth century
J 96, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

Flötner, and other famous jewel designers are to be compared with those drawings of Leonardo da Vinci for open burgonet helmets, which only represent a great artist designer's metal schemes, and which were almost impossible to execute, and, even if executed, impossible to wear.

We will now consider the "swept" hilted rapier as it appears in the third quarter of the XVIth century. A very representative example with a



FIG. 1350. RAPIER WITH "SWEPT" HILT, AND THE DAGGER BELONGING TO IT
Probably French, third quarter of the XVIth century
J 129, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

finely chiselled hilt, blued and gilded, is in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris (J 96), to which collection it was given by General Eblé who had obtained it in Naples (Fig. 1349). It may be looked upon as Italian of about 1570 to 1580. The grip is not the original one. A dagger very closely resembling it, without its original blade, is in the collection of Mr. D. M. Currie and may



FIG. 1351. RAPIER WITH "SWEPT" HILT
French, latter part of the XVIth century
Dino Collection, Metropolitan
Museum, New York

Napoleon III, finally reaching the Musée d'Artillerie, a pedigree which reminds us of the splendid rapier now in the Dino Collection, Metropolitan Museum of New York, which, too, formerly belonged to the Vicomte de Courval (Fig. 1351). This rapier hilt may, without doubt, be considered of French workmanship. About 1834 it belonged to a lawyer in Rome; at any rate it was sold by him to the Vicomte de Courval for 700 francs.

THE SWORD AND RAPIER OF THE XVITH CENTURY

It is probable that this lawyer sold the rapier, together with the associated dagger which we have referred to, on behalf of some great family of Rome. It had the tradition when in the Courval Collection of having belonged to Felice Peretti, afterwards Pope Sixtus V (1585 to 1590). It bears the escutcheon of the famous Roman family of Albani—*argent* on



FIG. 1352. "SWEPT" HILTED RAPIER

German, latter part of the XVIth century. Possibly the work of Othmar Wetter of Munich. Royal Historical Museum, Dresden

a band *or*, a star in the chief, three mountains rising to a point. At the sale of the Courval Collection in 1860, it was bought for 3,750 francs by M. Beurdeley, who immediately sold it to M. de Saint-Seine for 4,500 francs. Upon the death of M. de Saint-Seine, M. Sommer paid 34,500 francs for it at an auction. He exhibited it at the famous *Exposition rétrospective* held at the Trocadero in 1878. The hilt is very simple in form and perfect

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

in line and proportion, and belongs to the type seen upon almost all the town-swords worn during the latter part of the XVIth and the first quarter of the XVIIth centuries. This type underwent slight modifications according to the period and country of origin; but all those swords which we shall class as town-swords possess approximately the same general constructional form. This weapon is as remarkable for the richness of its decoration, the perfection of its workmanship, and the taste and restraint of its ornamentation, as for its supreme elegance. Richer and more ornamented swords are in existence; but we know of none more attractive or more delicate in the method of its enrichment. The whole decoration consists of gold and silver designs incrustated and chiselled in relief on a stippled black ground. The pommel is hexagonal; the incrustations are divided into six compartments, presenting, alternately, trophies of arms, escutcheons amongst which are to be found that of the Albani family, and arabesques intermingled with animals. The iron grip, the quillons, and the counter-guards are all decorated with similar subjects. The blade has a long groove extending right up to the point, and the ricasso is decorated in the same manner as the hilt. It is interesting here to note that a fine wheel-lock pistol in the Wallace Collection (No. 808) has a russeted iron stock incrustated with gold and silver work which was certainly applied by the same hand that decorated the hilt of this rapier. It is assuredly of the French type, which strengthens our belief in its French provenance. Mr. Edward H. Litchfield of New York has also two pistols from the same workshop; while in the Royal Collection at Windsor is a partisan head, which is undoubtedly the work of the same armourer (No. 38 in the 1914 catalogue, Fig. 1416).

A German made hilt, constructed on the lines of the Courval sword hilt, is to be seen on that superbly mounted rapier preserved in the Royal Historical Museum, Dresden (Fig. 1352). Unlike so many of the magnificent arms at Dresden, it is not stated to have belonged in the past to any royal or noble personage, but from the almost exact resemblance which the work upon the hilt bears to that on a set of hunting implements, given by the Duke Albrecht of Bavaria to the Kurfürst Johann Georg II in the early years of the XVIth century, it is almost safe to conclude that this rapier formed part of the same gift. The author knows of no rapier hilt with this comparatively late class of chiselling to compare with this example for its refinement of workmanship and for its perfect condition. The foundation of the hilt is iron, chiselled with groups of fruit and flowers, together with masks and festoons of drapery, at intervals introducing panels containing figures

THE SWORD AND RAPIER OF THE XVITH CENTURY

of Venus, Ceres, and Pomona. The exposed iron surfaces of the hilt are brilliantly blued, while the groundwork of the design is thickly plated with gold. The work upon this hilt is reminiscent of the craftsmanship of Daniel Sadeler, but perhaps it is a little freer in treatment, which inclines us to think it might be the production of some South German, probably



FIG. 1353. SWORD HILT

This gold, jewelled, and enamelled hilt, known as the *Epee de Religion*, was presented by Pope Pius IV to Jean Parisot de la Valette, Grand Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in 1566. Probably of German (Saxon) workmanship. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

Munich artist craftsman. Dare we suggest the name of Othmar Wetter as the possible artist? The grip and hilt are the original ones, while the blade is a representative example of the work of Pedro Hernandez of Toledo.

It may well be imagined that, in an age in which the goldsmith's art in all its branches was at its zenith, the medium of gold aided by enamelled and

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS



FIG. 1354. DAGGER
The dagger *en suite* with the
Epée de Religion, illustrated
in Fig. 1353. Musée du
Louvre

jewelled enrichments was made use of by the artist in the manufacture of sword and rapier hilts. Often in the portraiture of the time the great nobles can be seen wearing sword and dagger hilts made of gold, and jewelled. But although gold is a glorious medium in which to express magnificence, it must be remembered that its very softness renders it an eminently unsuitable metal for the manufacture of an intricate hilt. There is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris the sword known as the *Epée de Religion* (Fig. 1353), presented by Pope Pius IV to Jean Parisot de la Valette, Grand Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, after his successful defence of Malta against the fleet of Soliman II in 1565. The flattened spheroidal pommel, the grip, the straight quillons, the large *pas-d'âne*, and the single ring-guard are of pure gold, confusingly enriched with strap-work, introducing medallion heads of the Emperor Titus and the Empress-mother Faustina, enamelled in brilliant translucent and opaque colours, and studded with precious stones. We are obliged to acquiesce in that condemnation of the general clumsiness of form of the hilt of this sword, and of its over-elaboration of ornament which has led to the theory of its German make: for it is essentially German in form and ornamentation. On the same occasion that Giovanni Angelo Medici, Pope Pius IV, gave the sword to La Valette, he presented him with the dagger made *en suite* with it; this dagger is now in the Galerie d'Apollon of the Louvre (Fig. 1354). Both sword and dagger were formerly preserved in the Treasury of the Cathedral of St. John, Valetta, Malta; but were removed thence (1798) by Napoleon I to France. Although the sword is still in pristine condition, it will be found that the soft gold hilt of the dagger is much rubbed, owing to the historic fact that it was carried by Napoleon among his personal effects when campaigning. He bequeathed the dagger



FIG. 1355. DESIGNS BY HANS MIELICH OF MUNICH (1515-72) FOR A GOLD MOUNTED SWORD, DAGGER, AND THEIR CARRIAGE

Ex collection: the late Herr Hefner-Alteneck

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

to his son, the King of Rome. A counterpart of the dagger is in the Museum of Cassel. In the Munich *Stadebras* are to be seen drawings by Hans Mielich or Müllich (1515-72) which represent the sword and two daggers



FIG. 1356. RAPIER HILT,

Known as that of Charles V of Spain, to whom it could not have belonged,
as it is of the third quarter of the XVIth century. Italian
Imperial Armoury, Vienna

under discussion; so it was probably this versatile artist, painter, and metal worker who was responsible both for the conception and for the execution of the hilts of these weapons. The collection of the late Herr Hefner-



FIG. 1357. RAPIER HILT, GOLD PLATED AND JEWELLED
Probably German, third quarter of the XVIth century
Royal Armoury, Dresden

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

Alteneck included some original drawings by Hans Mielich, doubtless part of the Munich *Standebras* series to which we have referred, representing the more famous objects of art in the treasury of Albrecht V, Duke of Bavaria, among which was a set of three plates showing respectively a gold and enamelled sword hilt, a dagger hilt similarly enriched, and designs for the



FIG. 1358. CHAIN-PATTERN RAPIER HILT
Probably French, third quarter of the XVIth century
Collection: Mr. D. M. Currie

mounts of a sword belt. The two former called to mind the sword and dagger hilt of La Valette; but they represented hilts of sounder construction and are conceived in better taste (Fig. 1355). Far more beautiful and more elaborate in construction, owing to the addition of a knuckle-guard, is that most wonderful gold and enamelled hilt on the rapier in the Imperial Armoury of Vienna, which is always known as that of Charles V (Fig. 1356); though,

THE SWORD AND RAPIER OF THE XVITH CENTURY

from its very formation, it can never have been the property of that monarch, as in our opinion it belongs to a later period. In the decoration of this hilt the work of the Italian goldsmith and jeweller of the third quarter of the XVIth century can be seen at its very finest. The pommel is pear-shaped and ridged. The ends of the quillons, the knuckle-guard, and the centres of the rings contain heads of cherubim, exquisitely modelled in full relief;



FIG. 1359. CHAIN-PATTERN RAPIER HILT
Possibly the work of Claude Savigny of Tours (1578-95)
Collection: Baron de Cosson

while arrangements of leafage, swags of fruit and flowers, and monsters' heads occupy the remainder of the hilt, all chased and enamelled with the wonderful finish which is associated with the Italian goldsmith's art of the later Renaissance. As a town-sword, or *épée de parade*, the author considers this sumptuous weapon to be the finest in existence. The blade, which is the work of Antonio Picinino, is severely plain and simply grooved. In the *Schatzkammer* of the *Alte Residenz* at Munich there is a

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

rapier with a hilt of solid gold, superbly chased and enamelled by Reesin of Nuremberg in 1571. The author has not had the opportunity of examining it; but he has been informed on the highest authority that it is a beautiful example of German goldsmith work, and he regrets that he has been unable even to obtain a photograph of it. All forms of enrichment were



FIG. 1360. CHAIN-PATTERN RAPIER HILT
Possibly the work of Claude Savigny of
Tours (1578-95)
J 135, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

employed upon the hilts of the town-sword or rapier, chiselling, damascening, both *azzimina* and plating with gold and silver. In the Royal Armoury of Dresden there is an example of gold plating upon a steel hilt of the third quarter of the XVIth century that nothing could exceed in splendour (Fig. 1357); not only is the hilt bold and solid in make, but minute figure subjects are worked into it, and further, it is enriched with settings of precious stones. To it is fitted a fine Toledo blade. But not only were jewels employed in decoration: varieties of applied ornaments were also often resorted to. Thus we have the chain pattern sometimes chiselled out of the metal of the hilt itself (Fig. 1358), and sometimes formed of a small silver chain actually applied, as in the case of the specimens illustrated (Figs. 1359 and 1360), the one in the collection of the Baron de Cosson, the other in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris (J 135). It may safely be assumed that most of these chain-pattern hilts are of French origin; for there was a maker at Tours, one Claude Savigny (1578-95), who was noted for designing and executing hilts of this design. We are certainly inclined to consider the two last-mentioned hilts as his work; for while one is slightly the richer in elaborate figure subjects, both are very similar. Although it is of different formation, yet,



FIG. 1361. CHISELLED STEEL HILT OF THE SWORD REPUTED TO HAVE BELONGED TO JOHN HAMPDEN

The hilt is of French workmanship of the third quarter of the XVIth century
Collection: H.M. the King, Windsor Castle

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

since it is apparently of French workmanship, we will next allude to a most beautiful sword (Fig. 1361) in the Royal Armoury of Windsor (No. 65 in the 1904 catalogue). This weapon, by far the finest in the Royal Armoury in point of design and workmanship, has always been reputed to come from the hand of Benvenuto Cellini, and as such is illustrated in Plon's work on that master. Splendid, however, as is the quality of the chiselling, and excellent as is the design, this attribution cannot for one moment be sustained. The Windsor sword in no way resembles the often over-charged later works of Cellini. In the fashion and decoration of the hilt, which, at the earliest, cannot be placed before 1570, the year before Cellini's death, it shows none of the characteristics which his work at this stage of his career displayed, the stage in which he transgressed the limits of true taste by indulging in an over-abundance of caryatids, of strapwork, and a general exuberance of adornment. The pommel is of flattened pear-shaped form, the grip is cylindrical, swelling in the centre, the quillons are slightly curved, a ring-guard is attached to the end of the *pas-d'âne*. The whole hilt is finely chiselled in low relief with subjects chosen from the life of David—his slaying the lion, his cutting off the head of Goliath, his coronation as King of Israel. The quillons terminate in the figures of Fame and of Time. Other portions of the hilt are chiselled to depict satyrs, nude figures, herms, and foliage of minute and exquisite design; some details of the figures, such as their armour, are damascened with gold. The blade is of flattened diamond section, stamped on the ricasso with the Solingen bladesmith's mark, a unicorn's head—the mark of Clemens Horn. The scabbard, of which there is a record in the Carlton House Inventory, is now unfortunately lost; it was of black leather, with a ferrule mount of steel, embossed and chased with figures. This sword was presented to George III in 1807 by Mr. Walsh Porter as having belonged to the illustrious English patriot, John Hampden. It is quite possible that the weapon may have been his property; for, during his early years, Hampden is said to have lived the fashionable life of men of large fortune of the time. He was born in 1594, so it would be about the year 1612, seven years before his marriage, that "he consorted with men of fashion," and probably acquired and wore the weapon in question. It must, however, soon have been laid aside; for about 1620 Hampden adopted the religious principles and severe habits of the Puritans, and became noted for "an extraordinary sobriety and strictness," with which the wearing of such an enriched weapon would have been out of all keeping. We have ventured to suggest a French nationality for this fine

THE SWORD AND RAPIER OF THE XVITH CENTURY

hilt, not alone on account of its style, but also on the more material evidence of a second rapier in existence in the collection of Major M. Dreger of Berlin. For though the hilt of this latter weapon is different in formation, its enrichment is precisely similar in style to that of the Hampden rapier; and while the ornamentation is in its general scheme perhaps of smaller proportions, it is most certainly the work of the same hand. This Berlin rapier has reputed French royal provenance (Fig. 1362).

The influence that the national characteristics of one sort of hilt exercised over those of another nation makes it very difficult to give to a specific group a country of its own. The types of Italy and France were intermixed; those of England we will endeavour to treat of as they occur. The artists and craftsmen of some nations amalgamated nearly all styles, and it is only in Spain and in the Countries that distinctive types of hilts appear of which it can, with a fair amount of certainty, be said: "That is Spanish" — "That is Flemish." Of these two countries, let us first take Spain, for it shows a greater diversity of form. We have alluded in a previous chapter to the Hispano-Moorish swords (vol. ii, p. 281); now we have to deal with that strange type of hilt familiar to us in the portraits of the Emperor Charles V, and of his successor. By this we mean a simple quilloned weapon, with a short, solid grip of metal, illustrated for example by that fine specimen in the Wallace Collection (Fig. 1363). This represents admirably the kind of hilt to which we refer. Viewed from a modern standpoint such a sword appears most uncomfortably hilted, over-bladed, and badly balanced; yet from its constant representation in contemporary Spanish portraits it must undoubtedly have been the town-sword of the nobility of that country. The sword in the Wallace Collection has



FIG. 1362. CHISELLED STEEL HILT
French, last quarter of the XVIth century.
The quillons are bent.
Collection: Major M. Dreger, Berlin

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

a vase-shaped pommel and a pilaster-shaped grip; the quillons, which are of oval section, are diagonally curved and terminate in heads like that of the pommel. The whole hilt is decorated with a spirited design of small vases, leafwork, and interlaced scrolls damascened in gold. The blade is unusual, and has on either cutting edge a waved appearance, lent to it by both edges being chamfered in semicircles, the chamfering being placed alternately on either side. The portrait of Philip II by Titian in



FIG. 1363. SWORD

Spanish, middle of the XVIth century. Wallace Collection
(Laking Catalogue, No. 671)

the Prado, Madrid (Fig. 1364) shows the King girt with such a hilted sword; the period in which this style of hilt was fashionable was the third quarter of the XVIth century. Other sword hilts of this same type are to be seen in the Royal Armoury, Madrid. Another form of purely Spanish hilt, this time of the complicated rapier type, is also to be seen in the same armoury (Fig. 1365). Here the pommel is fluted and cone-shaped, and the ends of the quillons and counter-guards have a similar decoration. The hilt in this instance has been made for the fine broad blade



FIG. 1364. PORTRAIT OF PHILIP II BY TITIAN
The Prado, Madrid

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

to which it is now fitted, a blade fashioned by López Aguado, and dated on the ricasso 1567, a circumstance that helps to establish fairly accurately the earlier period to which this style of hilt generally belongs. An intermediary form of such a hilt may be seen upon a sword formerly in the Londesborough Collection, but now in that of the Baron de Cosson; it forms a link in a large series of hilts of a family more frequently met with, and all Spanish in their origin. The de Cosson sword (Fig. 1366) still shows the fluted con-



FIG. 1365. SWORD HILT
Spanish, third quarter of the XVIth
century. The blade is by López
Aguado, and is dated 1567. G 54,
Royal Armoury, Madrid

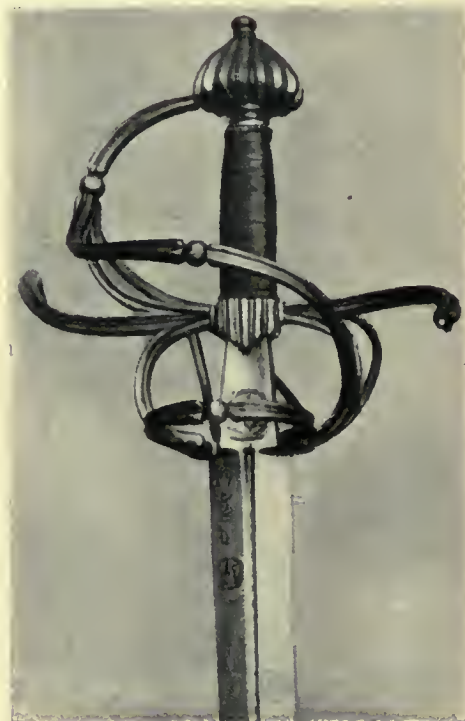


FIG. 1366. SWORD HILT
Spanish, third quarter of the XVIth
century
Collection: Baron de Cosson

shaped pommel; but the swept hilt is more developed, and the various bars are fluted to correspond in decoration, while the whole hilt has been plated with silver. The blade is remarkable, and it was certainly made for the hilt.

The ricasso bears an armourer's mark, and the words *VALENCIA ME FECIT*, inscribed in the long narrow groove that runs almost to the point on either side of the blade. But over the armourer's mark a circular device has been engraved; on one side of the ricasso with the arms of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and on the other with their badges, *yugo y flechas*, the yoke and sheaf

THE SWORD AND RAPIER OF THE XVITH CENTURY

of arrows. The engraving is of the same epoch as the blade, and has the appearance of having been copied from the silver coinage of these monarchs, a framing of small circles reproducing the dotted framing of the coins.

The same devices, arms, and badges are repeated alternately four times on either side of the blade, and in the initials between them is what appears to be an inscription in unknown characters. These signs were no doubt meant to represent Arabic characters, to which they bear a rough resemblance, doubtless with the intention of suggesting that the blade had played a part in the wars of Ferdinand and Isabella against the Moors, and that it was a blade captured from some Arab chief.

Foreign blades of the third quarter of the XVIth century with forged inscriptions like those met with in England, are not uncommon (see vol. ii, p. 293). There is a blade of exactly the same character among the swords bequeathed to the Cluny Museum by the late Monsieur E. de Beaumont, two others very similar in the Royal Armoury of Madrid, and others in public and private collections which the author visited.

We will next proceed to illustrate the family of hilts of which the de Cosson sword is the immediate forerunner. In these the pommel is generally cruciform in section, and the broad knuckle-guards are pierced in the same way; but the quality of the workmanship varies. A fine sword of this type (Fig. 1367) is to be seen in the Royal Armoury, Windsor (No. 43 in the 1904 catalogue). It was presented to King George III by Lord Fife on 17th May 1813. The hilt is characteristic of this Spanish fashion, and must date from the third

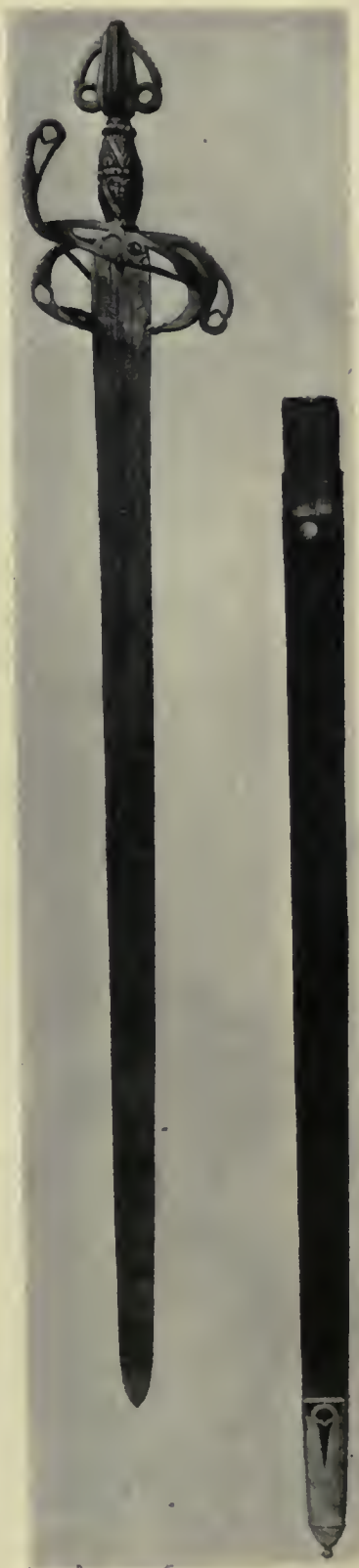


FIG. 1367. SWORD AND SCABBARD
Spanish, third quarter of the XVIth century
Collection: H.M. the King, Windsor Castle

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

quarter of the XVIth century. The blade now in the hilt is dated 1634. The mounting is of brightened steel; the pommel, which is flat and of inverted shield-shaped form, is pierced with various ornaments; the quillons, which are broad and flat, are also pierced at the ends; there is a single bar-guard covering the knuckles, and a bar projecting at right angles from the base of the left *pas-d'âne*; all are decorated with piercing to match the pommel. The grip, made of wood and covered with embossed silver, has been added more recently. The blade has a deep ricasso and a single groove, stamped with a name now illegible, and etched with the following Latin inscriptions:—

QVIT QVIR AGAS PRVDENTER AGAS. It should read: QVID QVID AGAS PRVDENTER AGAS. Translated: "Whatever thou doest, do with foresight."

VNFORTVS ARMATVS DEFENDIT TRINIVM SVVM. Translated: "A man strongly armed keepeth his palace" (St. Luke, xi, 21). It is impossible to reconstruct the correct text, as UNFORTUS is no Latin word. No doubt it ought to read:—FORTIS ARMATVS.

ET SVRXE DOMINE A ADATIVVAME IN TENEB ANIM MEA. It should read: ET SVRREXIT DOMINVS ET ADJVAVIT IN TENEBRIS ANIMAM MEAM. Translated: "And the Lord arose and helped my soul in the darkness."

ESTI MVLVS AVTEN MORTIS PECATVM EST VIRTVS VERO PECATI LEX. It ought to read: STIMVLVS AVTEM MORTIS PECCATVM EST: VIRTUS VERO PECCATI LEX. Translated: "The sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law" (1 Corinthians, xv, 56).

ANO D. E. CEIZENTO TREINTA QVATRO. (*i.e.*, 1634.)

OPVS LAVDATARTIFICEM. It ought to read: OPVS LAVDAT ARTIFICEM. Translated: "The work praises the artist."

IN TE DOMINE ESPERABIT NONCONFVDAR IN ETERNVM IN IYSTICIA TUA LIBERA ME. It ought to read: IN TE DOMINE SPERAVI NON CONFVNDAR IN ETERNVM: IN IYSTITIA TVA LIBERA ME. Translated: "I have hoped in Thee, O Lord. Let me not be eternally confounded: in Thy justice make me free" (Psalm xxxi, 1).

To this sword a scabbard, that appears to be of Scottish origin, was fitted early in the XVIIIth century, at which time some four inches must have been cut from the original length of the blade, no doubt to make it conform to the length of the basket-hilted swords worn with the Scottish Highland costume.

We can mention other swords of Spanish origin which have hilts similar to this. Such are to be found in the Royal Armoury of Madrid (Fig. 1368),

THE SWORD AND RAPIER OF THE XVITH CENTURY

in the armoury of Lord Hastings, in the armoury of the Lady Zouche, and in that of Baron de Cosson (Fig. 1369).

As a good example of exuberant decoration applied to a sword hilt in somewhat decadent French taste of the close of the XVIth century, a decoration beautiful in its individual parts, but in this case confusing from its very elaboration, we illustrate that sword (Fig. 1370) in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris (J 97) which forms part of the panoply to which belong the helmet and the shield described *ante*, page 189 (Fig. 1266). Before.



FIG. 1368. SWORD HILT

Spanish, third quarter of the XVIth century. The blade is by Sebastian Fernandez of Toledo
G 55, Royal Armoury, Madrid



FIG. 1369. SWORD

Spanish, third quarter of the XVIth century
Collection: Baron de Cosson

it found its present resting-place the set of these three pieces were to be seen in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The sword hilt, which was at one time attributed to Henri II, is a very triumph of the chiseller's art; but the traces of the decadent influence of the third quarter of the XVIth century are very apparent. Figures of amorini bestride the pommel, the knuckle-guard quillon finishes in a trophy of classical armour, and the other down-curved quillon terminates in a Fontainebleauesque head. Snakes, terminal figures, and monsters constitute the rest of the guard. The blade now in the hilt is inscribed *Tomas Aiala*; the grip is modern. So poorly balanced in

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

the hand is the weapon, that although the ricasso of the blade fits the hilt admirably, we may almost certainly conclude that this particular blade was



FIG. 1370. SWORD HILT

French, end of the XVIth century. J 97, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

never made for it. Another wonderful specimen of the chiseller's art can be seen on the swept hilt of the sword in the Musée d'Artillerie (Fig. 1371), which was presented by Ippolito Aldobrandini, Pope Clement VIII, to Henri IV of

THE SWORD AND RAPIER OF THE XVITH CENTURY

France in 1599, on the occasion of his marriage with Marie de Médicis. As becoming its donor, the subjects chiselled upon the hilt are all of a religious



FIG. 1371. CHISELLED STEEL RAPIER HILT

Italian, late XVIth century. Presented to Henri IV of France by Pope Clement VIII on the occasion of his marriage with Marie de Médicis. J 379, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

character, introducing the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, and finally—on the pommel—the Circumcision. In the lowest ring of the guard is a small shell on which is a portrait of Henri IV, and the date 1599.



FIG. 1372. SWORD HILT AND CHAPE
Italian, late XVIth century. This sword belonged to Ambrogio Spinola
of Genoa. Collection: Mr. S. J. Whawell



FIG. 1373. REVERSE VIEW OF THE SPINOLA SWORD HILT

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

Inscriptions formerly incrustated in gold surround the figure subjects. The minuteness of the work employed upon this hilt merits close scrutiny; and this despite the fact that the design seems stunted and the workmanship



FIG. 1374. SWORD HILT
Italian, Milanese, 1560
Collection: Mr. S. J. Whawell

appears restricted in execution, denoting the late period of its production. From the fact that the sword was a gift from the Pope, it must be supposed that Italy was the country of its production, though it is strangely German in its style. The blade is a fine example of the work of Peter Munsten, of whose work other blades are preserved at Stockholm and Copenhagen, which bear the surprising inscription, *Peter Munsten me fecit London*. The author expresses his surprise because the only other records of the work of Peter or Andreas, his brother, bear the inscriptions "Solingen," and later "Toledo."

This sword came from the collection of the Baron Percy, one of Napoleon's army doctors. Baron Percy's Collection was sold in 1830, and the catalogue says that according to a memorandum left by Baron Percy, the sword was given to him at Vienna by an "august personage." This "august personage" was doubtless the Emperor Francis I of Austria; so we may fairly surmise that the sword was formerly in the Imperial Armoury of Vienna. A sword very similar to this, but more beautiful, is to be seen in the collection of Mr. S. J.

Whawell (Fig. 1372). It, too, has historical associations; for upon the knuckle-guard (Fig. 1373) is the following inscription: × AMBR × SPINOLA × EXERC × IMPER × (Ambrogio Spinola commander-in-chief of the army). Ambrogio, Marquis of Spinola, one of the greatest captains of his day, was born in 1571. He served under Philip III and IV of Spain, and was received

THE SWORD AND RAPIER OF THE XVITH CENTURY

with much honour by Henri IV of France. He fought in the Low Countries with great success, and was named commander-in-chief by Isabella, the widow of the Archduke Albert and Regent of the Low Countries. Spinola, who died in 1630; was the conqueror of Breda, and is portrayed in the famous picture by Velasquez, called *Las Lanzas*, where he is depicted wearing this



FIG. 1375. RAPIER

Incrusted with plaques of mother-of-pearl. French, end of the XVIth century. Presented to Henri IV of France by the town of Paris on the occasion of his marriage with Marie de Médicis in 1599. J 380, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris



FIG. 1376. DAGGER

Belonging to the sword illustrated in Fig. 1375. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 669)

very sword. On the pommel on each side is inscribed a signature, M. I. F. There are numerous inscriptions over or under the beautifully chiselled groups, and on each face of the ricasso is the bladesmith's punch mark. The chape also bears an inscription. There is no gilding of any kind on the sword. The blue-black steel is superb, and the condition of the whole piece is marvellous.

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

Before quitting the subject of the Spanish sword this account would not be complete unless the fine sword made by Daniele da Serravalle at the castle of Milan in 1560 for Philip II of Spain were described. The ricasso bears the gold damascened inscription: JE + SUS . FAT . TA . DANIEL . DE SERAVALLE NELCHA STELO . IN MILANO CVA . MATE CTA REGIN 1560. Serravalle is supposed to have died in 1565, and no doubt came from Serravalle near Venice, a place renowned for swordsmiths. The only other sword known to be by him is at Dresden; it bears his signature. The workmanship of this sword, now in the collection of Mr. S. J. Whawell (Fig. 1374), is of the finest. The precision of the granulations is very wonderful. The guard is of blackened steel, and on the inside face of the blade is a heraldic shield.

There is another rapier in the Musée d'Artillerie (J 380) which was also given to Henri IV of France on the occasion of his marriage (Fig. 1375). The workmanship of this most gorgeous weapon is doubtless French, and probably Parisian; for the sword was a gift from the city of Paris. A townsword in the strictest sense of the word, it is remarkable for the fact that plaques of mother-of-pearl, a strange and most unsuitable medium of enrichment, not only decorate the hilt, but are actually inlaid in the blade. The surface of the metal is russeted and profusely inlaid with ciphers, arms, and inscriptions. As, however, our own Wallace Collection (No. 669) possesses the dagger belonging to this sword, we will limit ourselves to a description of the latter, for both rapier and dagger are exactly similar in their enrichments. The dagger hilt (Fig. 1376) is made entirely of russeted steel, the whole decorated with gold *azzimina* damascening, the principal theme of the design being branches of palm, the double H (Henri) many times repeated, the double M (Marie), the collar and order of the Saint-Esprit; there is also the following inscription on the quillons and ring:

ACET HENRYS VAINQVEVR
DE PARTENT DE BONHEVR
ORDINAIR AVX MERVEILLES
LA ASTRE PLVS FIDELES.

The blade has a flattened ridge running the whole length on either face. It is decorated with gold *azzimina* damascening. There is a large crowned double H on the strong ricasso; while VICTORIA REGIS is inscribed on the reverse side. Down the front of the blade are palm leaves, and the following astrological inscription:

THE SWORD AND RAPIER OF THE XVITH CENTURY

JUPITER ET VENUS SONT D'HEUREUSE INFLUENCE,
SATURN AVEC MARS TRÈS MALIGNS PERVERS
MERCURE ET (LE) SOLEIL ET LA LUNE EN PUISSANCE
MÉDIOCRE, EN LEUR TOURS GOUVERNENT L'UNIVERS.

The dagger, like the rapier, is further enriched with oval plaques of mother-of-pearl, which are set in the hilt and down the face of the blade. The plaques in the pommel have engraved on them the following inscription:

JE RESTE A LA FORCE
PRVDENCE MESVRE
LA . . . DE TOVTE CHOSE

The other mother-of-pearl plaques bear the letter H., the arms of Navarre, and the fleur-de-lis. The dagger is dated 1598. The inscriptions on the rapier in the Musée d'Artillerie are in French and in Latin; they describe the principal victories of the King before and after his ascension to the throne.

We next come to those late XVIth century swords which are German in provenance, and the enrichment of which is ascribed to Dresden craftsmen; their hilts are constructed on practically the same lines which those of the swords of the earlier part of the XVIth century follow. They form almost a family apart, and are to be seen in most of the arsenals of Germany and of the national collections of Europe, varying considerably in their actual make, but nearly all fashioned in the same way. Some excellent examples are in the Wallace Collection, but we prefer to select as our illustration (Fig. 1377) that of the fine example with its accompanying dagger which are to be seen in the Musée d'Artillerie of Paris (J 189). The pommel is octagonal and pear-shaped, the quillons are long and straight, swelling to terminations of similar form, but smaller than those of the pommel; each has double ring-guards and a *pas-d'âne*. In the example we choose, the whole hilt, as well as the upper portion of the blade, is deeply etched with musical trophies, etc., in the manner of the popular Saxon school. The weapon is a fine fighting sword, and of a form that leads by an easy transition to that of a family of swords or rapiers that again occupies quite a position by itself. We have alluded to the hilts of those weapons which were used in fighting on the principle of the rapier, and which, through the complication of their guards, lent such scope to the designer of the day. But throughout the XVIth century we find that the sword in use was the one which was equally serviceable for cutting or thrusting. This was, indeed, the sword of the soldiery;

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

but it was also, to a large extent, the sword of the upper classes. Though they have the same proportions as those of Landsknecht swords, of which we have spoken (vol. ii, pp. 298, *et seqq.*), these weapons, with which we are



FIG. 1377. SWORD

German (Saxon), end of the XVIth century
J 189, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

about to deal, only follow a glorified type of the cruciform hilted sword of an earlier era. Some are grand in the splendid proportions of their hilts. This family of swords, as a rule, have swept hilt guards of large and robust proportions, and often short and somewhat heavy blades, the fighting use of which

THE SWORD AND RAPIER OF THE XVITH CENTURY

must have been very similar to that of the back-edged sword employed in combination with the buckler. Many of these swords are said to be of English make, and very possibly they may be; for though their enrichment is fundamentally that of the late XVIth century Italian school, it is carried out in a heavy style, which is not displeasing, and which lends to them a certain rugged and workmanlike appearance. In the Royal Armoury at Windsor are three swords that admirably illustrate the form of decoration to which we refer. Of these, the sword that is reputed to have been worn by King James I of England is probably the most representative (Fig. 1378). The hilt might belong to the closing years of the XVIth century; but the very fine blade associated with it, a blade made by Clemens Horn of Solingen, bears the date 1617. The pommel of this King James I sword is of inverted pear-shape, and is hollow, and constructed of five spiral scrolls *à jour*. The knuckle-guard is flat, swelling in the centre, where it is pierced with a diamond-shaped aperture. The quillons are short and flat, with ribbon pattern ends; from ill-treatment they are now possibly more incurved than as originally made. The single bar is constructed on the same principle, and the shell is framed in similar ribbon-pattern bands. The decoration of the hilt consists of trophies of arms, festoons, and bouquets of flowers and fruit, boldly engraved, and gilt upon a russeted groundwork. The whole of this ornamentation is bordered by a beading incrustated in silver. The under side of the bars is entirely gilt, and punched with small circles. The grip of wood has its original binding of silver wire. The sword has its original scabbard of black leather, with an enriched ferrule mount.

It is not our intention to enter into a lengthy description of the technical skill of the bladesmiths whose blades are in the hilts we illustrate, or to discuss the historical associations of the blades themselves; that is a task which the author must leave to others. But so associated with these types of English hilts are the blades made by Clemens Horn, and such a remarkable example of his craftsmanship is that in the sword under discussion, that we cannot help feeling that in describing this specimen we shall practically be covering the whole field of this famous blademaker's work. The blade in this hilt has a strongly chamfered cutting edge; the surface is blued, etched, and gilt with lengthy but broken Latin inscriptions, due to the introduction of small panels of various ornaments, griffins, stags, lions, hearts, and minute scrollwork. On the ricasso is stamped twice the unicorn head, the mark of Clemens Horn. Neither the date of Horn's birth nor that of his death is known; but, judged by his dated blades, he must



FIG. 1378. SWORD

The hilt is probably English, and made during the first years of the XVIIth century. The blade is by Clemens Horn and is dated 1617. The sword is said to have belonged to James I. Collection: H.M. the King, Windsor Castle

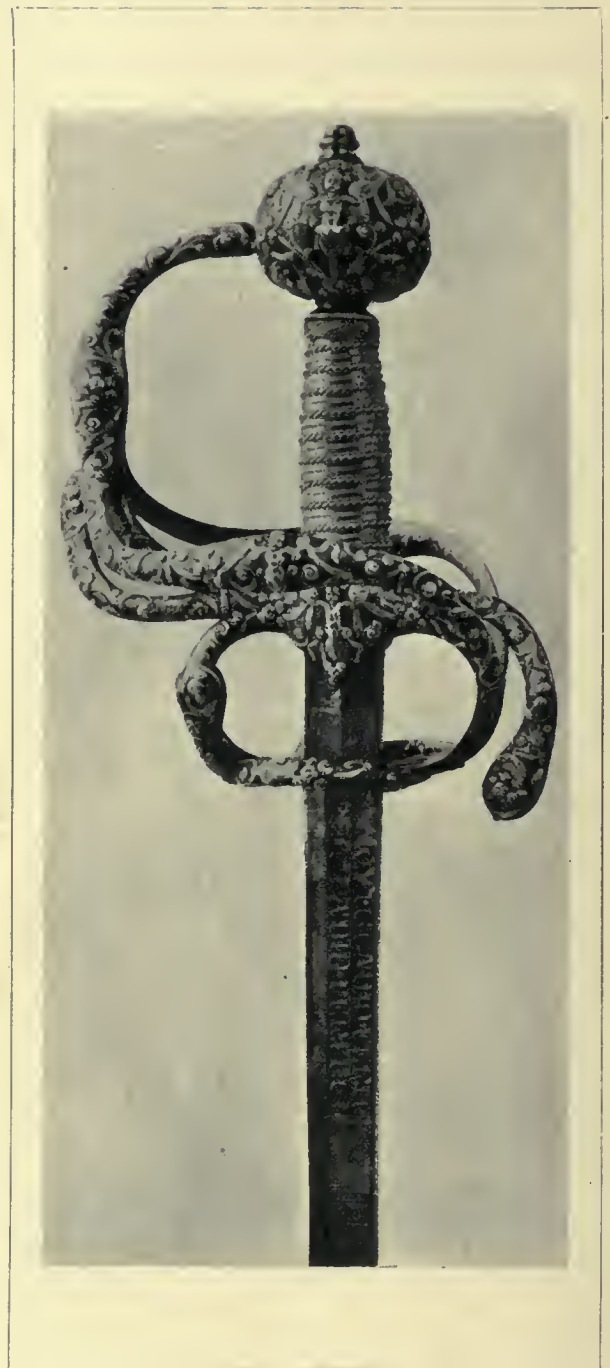


FIG. 1379. SWORD

The hilt, probably English, is of the closing years of the XVIth century. The blade is by Clemens Horn. Collection: H.M. the King, Windsor Castle

THE SWORD AND RAPIER OF THE XVITH CENTURY

have worked from about 1580 to 1630. The second (Fig. 1379) of the Windsor swords—which, too, is furnished with a blade made by Clemens Horn, though in this case it is back-edged—is No. 61 in the 1904 Catalogue. The hilt of this weapon follows the type more usually met with, a hilt with the solid pommel, large and spheroidal, and with diagonally curved quillons;



FIG. 1380. SWORD

The hilt is probably of English workmanship, and of the closing years of the XVIth century. Collection: H.M. the King, Windsor Castle

but it presents the rare feature of the repetition of the guard on either side of the grip. The decoration is composed of acanthus foliage, introducing winged human shapes, swags of fruit and flowers, and scrollwork thickly incrusting in silver, on a groundwork that has been brilliantly blued and damascened with a true arabesque design in gold *azzimina*. The under surface of the bars is also blued and similarly damascened with arabesque designs. The grip is bound with silver wire, an XVIIIth-century addition.

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

This sword was one of the purchases made for the Royal Armoury early in the XIXth century from Bland, the famous sword cutler of the time. The third sword of the type, No. 60 in the 1904 Catalogue (Fig. 1380), was given to the Royal Collection about the same time by Colonel Hammond, who, according to the old Carlton House Inventory, obtained it from the Tower of London. The hilt differs but little from the other two just



FIG. 1381. SWORD

The hilt is probably of English workmanship, and of the closing years of the XVIth century
Collection: Viscount Astor

described, save that the quillons are straight and that certain alterations can be noted in the position of the counter-guards. The blade is of flattened oval section, grooved and stamped with the number I. 4. I. 4., and also with the running wolf or fox mark. It is very apparent that the blade does not belong to the hilt, being too short and too light. The ricasso is also lacking. In the old inventory the fantastic suggestion is made that the numerals inscribed on the blade signify the date of its manufacture,

THE SWORD AND RAPIER OF THE XVITH CENTURY

1414, and it is claimed that the blade is one of those made to the order of King Henry V for the invasion of France. This, it is hardly necessary to say, is an entire invention: the numerals I. 4. I. 4. have no reference to the year 1414, but merely go to prove that the blade is of early XVIIth century date, made by an Austrian bladesmith of Steyr, who often added groups of numbers, such as 1414-1415, 1441-1515, and we have seen an example with as high a number as 1778, in addition to the running wolf mark that he utilized, in order that blades made there might not be mistaken for those produced at the Bavarian town of Passau on the Danube, whose stamp of the running wolf they had borrowed.¹ It is much to be regretted that all these three fine hilts have suffered so sadly from the rigorous overcleaning in the past. A hilt constructed on similar lines to those of the last Windsor sword we have described, can be seen on a sword in Viscount Astor's Collection at Hever Castle. Here is a grandly proportioned sword-hilt, incrustated with panels of silver on a field of gold *azzimina* damascening. Its charm, however, depends not so much upon its decoration as on the robust scale of its conception (Fig. 1381).

The grip now found with the hilt is not that which was originally made for it; neither can the blade be the original unless it was much shortened early in the second half of the XVIIth century when the sword was last put together. The date of the hilt is of the closing years of the XVIth century. Tradition says that it was presented by Queen Elizabeth to a member of the Weatherby family, in whose possession it remained until quite recent times. In the Wallace Collection (No. 527) can be seen a weapon almost similar but of slightly smaller proportions; while another (No. 526), in the same collection (Fig. 1382), shows

¹ See vol. ii, p. 258, where the passage should read "bladesmith of Steyr."



FIG. 1382. SWORD
The hilt is possibly of either English or
Flemish workmanship
Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue,
No. 526)

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

a somewhat more advanced type of the same family of weapon which anticipates the other forms that advance well into the XVIIth century. The hilt of this last-mentioned specimen is not unlike that on the James I sword at Windsor, both in general form and also in the method of its



FIG. 1383. THE HERALDS' COLLEGE
SWORD

Traditionally said to have belonged to
King James IV of Scotland
The Herald's College

decoration. The various trophies, military and floral, are rendered in that stiff and formal manner which is always associated with English-made hilts, but which is met with also on hilts imported from the Low Countries. In the case of this example the hilt, which is entirely gilt, is furnished with a hollow gadrooned pommel of inverted pear shape, with a knuckle-guard of oblong rectangular section, with quillons diagonally curved and widening to ribbon ends, with a single bar, and with a *pas-d'âne*, from the left side of which runs an upturned counter-guard. The centres of the bar and of the quillons both widen; they bear, chiselled in relief, trophies of Roman arms in oblong hexagonal panels. The remainder of the hilt is deeply engraved and overlaid with gold in a design of festoons of drapery, masks, etc. This specimen may be considered to be as late as the first quarter of the XVIIth century.

At this point it may not be inappropriate to refer to that famous sword and dagger in the possession of the College of Arms which are always known as the

THE SWORD AND RAPIER OF THE XVITH CENTURY

absolutely impossible to accept these weapons as belonging to the first quarter of the XVIth century. We have consulted the most famous experts abroad, hoping that their verdict would make the attribution of the sword and dagger to King James IV possible, if not probable; they were unanimous in agreeing with the author that a hilt of this form and of this style of decoration could not possibly have been produced before the last quarter of the XVIth century, or, more likely still, before the first quarter of the next. If the traditional provenance now assigned to these weapons was ever true



FIG. 1384. SWORD HILT

English workmanship, of the early XVIIth century. The early form of cup-hilt is here shown. Ex collection: Spitzer

of any weapons at all, then it is possible that they may have been lost late in the XVIth century and have been replaced by those of which, by the courtesy of the Garter King of Arms, we are able to illustrate the sword (Fig. 1383). Even the slender hope of the blades being of early XVIth-century make—even the belief that the hilts alone were altered—is considered by the Baron de Cosson to be untenable, inasmuch as both blades are essentially of a mid-XVIth century Spanish type. The sword blade is inscribed on one face, MAESTRE DOMINGO. Domingo Maestre was a well-known blademaker of Toledo, whose productions are known to belong to the second half of

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

the XVIth century. On the other face in Lombardic capitals is the inscription: *ESPOIR CONFORTE LE GOEVAL* (GENERAL?): (Hope encourages the general). As regards the form of the hilt, it presents a characteristic English falcon head shaped pommel, a single upturned quillon, and a strongly developed *pas-d'âne* with large single rings on either side of it. Ornaments much perished are to be seen at intervals in circular panels on the guards and pommel, surrounded by silver incrustated dots, with the field roughly engraved with foliage. The sword and dagger were presented to the College of Arms in November 1681 by Henry, Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal. No



FIG. 1385. THE SWORD-HILT IN THE PORTRAIT OF SIR FRANCIS LEIGH (*circa* 1620)

more can be said in favour of these two famous examples save that the sword is just a good English fighting sword of the closing years of the XVIth century, with its accompanying dagger, and that in the passage of centuries both sword and dagger have somehow or other become accepted as the famous pair of weapons which Dukes of Norfolk may possibly have once possessed.

Another type of early XVIIth century English sword which merits attention is that which, in the arrangement of its counter-guards and the now common addition of shells, shows the advance that is being made towards the cup-hilt of the second half of the century. We illustrate an example formerly contained in the Spitzer Collection, which in the catalogue

THE SWORD AND RAPIER OF THE XVITH CENTURY

of that collection was wrongly described as Italian of the XVIth century (Fig. 1384). An English portrait of about the year 1620 represents Sir Francis Leigh wearing a sword with just such a hilt (Fig. 1385). The scheme of the enrichment is on the principle which we have outlined in dealing with the sword and rapier hilts already described. Many such swords are to be found in English collections. A good display of them, chosen from the collection of the late Mr. Waring Faulder, is to be seen illustrated in Mr. Egerton Castle's work, "Schools and Masters of the Fence." As in the case of every group of hilt, individual eccentricities of form are to be noted. There is a reputed historical weapon (Fig. 1386) in the Wallace Collection (No. 666) which is an eccentric example of the group with which we are dealing. This is said to be one of the swords that belonged to Henry, Prince of Wales, elder son of King James I, and to have been sent in 1607 to the Prince as part of a gift from Louis the Dauphin, son of Henri IV of France; for the gift comprised: "a suit of armour well gilt and enamelled, together with pistols and a sword of the same kind and armour for a horse" (see vol. iii, p. 299).

This interesting tradition gains support from a comparison of the gilt decoration on the blade, which comprises the monogram H^p surmounted by a crown, and laurel foliage, with that seen on the Henri IV dagger (Fig. 1376) already referred to. For although the dagger blade was made by the well-known swordsmith Clemens Horn of Solingen, it was undoubtedly decorated by the same hand that was responsible for the ornamentation of the Henri IV sword in the Musée d'Artillerie (Fig. 1375), to which it is *en suite*. Since we feel convinced that the Henri IV sword is of French, that is to say of Parisian, workmanship, we attribute to the sword of Henry, Prince of Wales, the same provenance. The hilt of the sword (Fig. 1386) is remarkable for its extreme primitiveness of form; it possesses just the simple straight quillons met with on a sword of the XVth century. The pommel

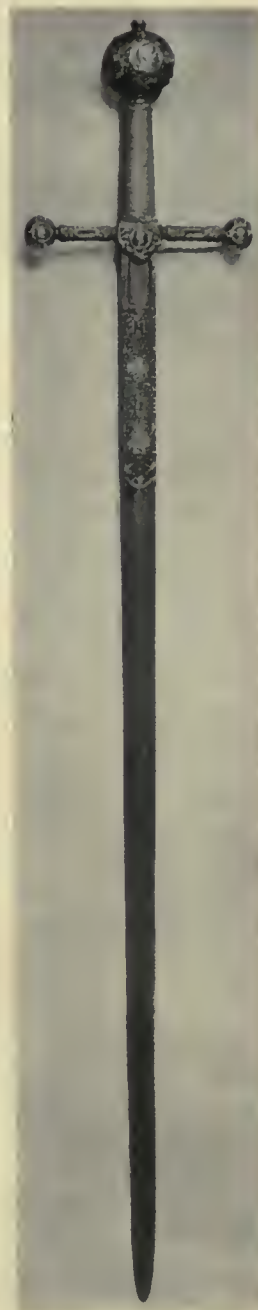


FIG. 1386. SWORD

The hilt is encrusted with silver. The blade is of French origin. The sword is reputed to have belonged to Henry, Prince of Wales. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 666)

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

is very large and spheroidal, and the quillons, which are straight and of oval section, issue from a central block which overlaps the blade on either face; while a formation similar to that of the pommel, but smaller, is at the end of each quillon. The grip is bound with silver wire. The hilt is very richly decorated with circular panels containing heads of Roman Emperors, between which are bunches of flowers and fruit; from these, hung by ribbons, appear trophies of Cupids' masks, etc., thickly incrustated with silver. The ground-



FIG. 1387. SWORD HILT, FROM A PORTRAIT OF ONE OF THE FIGHTING VERES
Showing the hilt with silver medallion heads similar to
those on the hilt of the sword illustrated in
Fig. 1386. The picture is dated 1618

work, originally gilt, is now somewhat corroded. We give as a matter of interest and of comparison a portion of a portrait of one of the fighting Veres, painted by an anonymous artist of the early years of the XVIIth century, in which the hilt of the sword shows a decoration similar to that which appears upon the sword just described, although the form is of the usual James I type (Fig. 1387). A variation of the James I sword-hilt is one in which the counter-guards are dispensed with, the parts of the hilt consisting solely of the big spheroidal pommel, the knuckle-guard, the quillons

THE SWORD AND RAPIER OF THE XVITH CENTURY

diversely curved, and a single ring-guard. This, as will be recognized, is a hilt very much like that of the so-called James IV sword without the *pas-d'âne*—the proper hilt for a veritable back-sword used only for cutting strokes. The hilt we illustrate (Fig. 1387A), a fine and representative example which has never been unmounted, was formerly in the collection of M. Raoul Richards, later in that of Mr. W. H. Spiller, and is now in that of Mr. Godfrey Williams of St. Donat's Castle. The hilt is effectively incrustated with silver on a groundwork that was once gilt. A far more important weapon, and in every way a remarkable sword for one of English make, is the back-sword in the collection of the late Mr. Rutherford Stuyvesant of New York (Fig. 1388). This is the first time we mention the



FIG. 1387A. SWORD
HILT
English, early XVIIth
century. Collection:
Mr. Godfrey
Williams



FIG. 1388. BASKET-HILTED SWORD
English workmanship of the first quarter
of the XVIIth century. The sword prob-
ably belonged originally to Sir William
Twysden of Roydon Hall, Kent. Collec-
tion: the late Mr. R. Stuyvesant

but erroneously known as the claymore (vol. ii, p. 302). The hilt, which is thick and massive, is decorated with the greatest richness, being incrustated with chased silver in very high relief. The groundwork is granulated, and has been entirely gilt. It is interesting to note that the last bar of the hilt has been purposely broken off to give full play to the wrist. The blade now in the hilt is fine in quality, but has been adapted to it. This sword, like others just described, was essentially made for cutting. It was at one time in the collection of the Baron de Cosson. Here we see the basket-hilt in one of its earliest forms and but little removed from its prototype, the basket-hilted weapon used by the hired soldiery of Venice, who were known as the *Schiavoni* (Slavs), a circumstance which led to the type of basket-hilted sword they habitually carried being called the *Schiavona*. There is good reason for believing that the Rutherford Stuyvesant sword belonged originally to Sir William Twysden of Roydon Hall,

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

in Kent, who was created a Knight by James I in 1603, and a Baronet in 1611.

The true *Schiavona*, from which, as far as we are able to judge, all hilts of the later basket types were evolved, is far more protective in its basket guard than is the case with any of its descendants. Though more protective, the very completeness of its knuckle and finger defence rendered



FIG. 1389. *SCHIAVONA*
BASKET HILT

Venetian, of the XVIIth century
Collection: Mr. F. Joubert



FIG. 1390. RAPIER HILT

Flemish, of the early XVIIth century
Wallace Collection (Laking
Catalogue, No. 415)

the play with it somewhat limited, for with the hand completely encased within its basket certain manipulations of the blade were impossible. This must have been the case even with the basket hilts of the English broadsword, for such hilts are occasionally met with from which the outside bars of the basket have been purposely broken away in order that the hand within might be less hampered, and freer movement of the wrist possible. The difference between the basket hilt of the *Schiavona* and the contemporary

THE SWORD AND RAPIER OF THE XVITH CENTURY

English hilt after the same fashion is that the basket of the latter is more solid, that is, the bars that constitute it are placed closer together and not in the systematic parallel but somewhat open form of the former. The basket protection also continues over the top of the blade, guarding the two fingers that grasp the grip over a *pas-d'âne*, as in the rapier hold of the later part of the XVIth century. Though many *Schiavone* of the last years of the XVIth century doubtless exist, they are rarely met with; those that are generally offered for sale date from the XVIIth century, and many of these belong to the latter part of that century. The specimen we illustrate (Fig. 1389) is chosen from the collection of Mr. Joubert. It is of fine quality and complete,



FIG. 1391. RAPIER
Flemish, first quarter of the XVIIth century. The blade is by Clemens Horn
Collection: the late Mr. F. G. Macomber, U.S.A.



FIG. 1392. RAPIER
Flemish, first quarter of the XVIIth century. Collection: the late Mr. F. G. Macomber, U.S.A.

possessing its scabbard, while the hilt has never been disturbed. All *Schiavone*, in their original condition, have the same flat and shield-shaped pommel with a boss on either side, reminiscent of an earlier epoch, indeed, a direct survival of the pommel found upon a series of Venetian swords of the latter years of the XVth century, of which a good array is to be seen in the Venice arsenal. The pommels of the *Schiavone* are often of bronze, white metal, or silver, as in the case of Mr. Joubert's example, which is cast and roughly chased with ornaments reminiscent of the Renaissance. We should judge the date of Mr. Joubert's *Schiavona* to be about 1640-1660. *Schiavone* of exactly the same form, but more decadent in their decoration, elaborately mounted with low standard silver, and set with coloured glass jewels are

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

occasionally met with; these might even date within the opening years of the XVIIIth century. In the earlier *Schiavone*, blades of high quality of late XVth century date are sometimes to be found fitted to these hilts, but as a rule the blades are of the Ferrara School of the latter part of the XVIth century. We have never seen a back-edged blade fitted to a *Schiavona* except it be a later addition. A type of sword, even as early as 1526, was known under the name of *Schiavona*, for in that year the Marquis of Mantua sent "two Schiavonas well garnished and with good blades" to his ambassador at Milan to be presented to the Marquis del Guasto. What was the formation of the hilt at that early period we do not know.

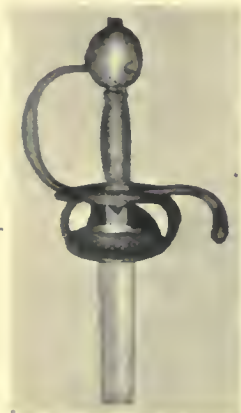


FIG. 1393. RAPIER
A variety of the Flemish
type, first quarter of the
XVIIth century
Ex collection: the late
Mr. E. Brett

The distinctive Flemish hilts, like those of English origin, to which they are closely allied in form, make a very late appearance. It is not until the close of the XVIth century that they can be actually recognized as forming a group distinct in itself; but apart from those forms which undoubtedly betray their nationality, there are Italian and French hilts which are decorated with designs of Flemish character. The author thinks that these are perhaps Flemish weapons fashioned on Italian lines. It is not, however, until their history comes down to about 1590 that the Flemish hilts can lay claim to be considered as forming a distinct group. In nearly every case they are found with fig-shaped pommels, full knuckle-guards, diagonally curved ribbon-pattern quillons, simple counter-guards, and large protective shells on either side. All types of blades of different countries are fitted to them. In the Wallace Collection (No. 415) is a very complete and representative example (Fig. 1390). The hilt is entirely fire gilt, with a fluted fig-shaped pommel, slender knuckle-guard, and diagonally curved quillons widening at the ends to a ribbon form. The large shells are pierced with a scheme of crosses and stars. A heart-shaped ring is outside the shell. In the case of this example the grip modelled in iron is of baluster form. The blade is by JOHANNES



FIG. 1394. RAPIER
Flemish, about 1620-30. Wal-
lace Collection (Laking
Catalogue, No. 546)

THE SWORD AND RAPIER OF THE XVITH CENTURY

HOPPE of Solingen,¹ and is partly of flattened diamond section, etched near the hilt with short patriotic inscriptions in Latin. The ricasso is covered with gilded iron made to fit over the top of the scabbard. Another fine sword-rapier of this same type is in the collection of the late Mr. Frank Gair Macomber of Boston, U.S.A. In the case of this example the hilt of blued steel has had fitted to it a finely etched blade by Clemens Horn (Fig. 1391). In the same collection is another (Fig. 1392) fine sword-rapier like its companion in form, but with a hilt of steel plated with silver. We give two other variations of the Flemish rapier-sword hilt; one which came from the collection of the late Mr. Edwin Brett (Fig. 1393) has a gilt iron hilt possessing a flat oval pommel pierced on one side with a circular hole, to which could be attached a tassel or sword knot. The other is a hilt in the Wallace Collection (No. 546) of more elaborate construction, though of later date, being of the first quarter of the XVIIth century (Fig. 1394). The whole of this latter hilt is silver-plated, the decoration of which consists of roughly chiselled strapwork and of crude engraving on a ground that is worked to a matted surface. This rapier has a pear-shaped pommel, with flat curved quillons ending in cartouches, its two rings are also enriched with cartouches, and the small shell has a pierced ornament. The blade is of flattened diamond section bearing on the ricasso the name CAINO, denoting that it is the work of Pietro Caino, the bladesmith of Milan, whose house was at the sign of "The golden lion" in the *via degli Spadari*, in which street the great Milanese armourers, the Missaglia, once lived.

¹ Vol. i, p. lxiii

CHAPTER XXXVI

HAFTED WEAPONS IN GENERAL USE FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE XVITH CENTURY ONWARDS



FROM the early years of the XVth century the hafted weapons were but an elaboration evolved from those of the previous eras. In the first half of the century they were fine fighting weapons, and eminently useful for the purposes for which they were intended. But as might have been expected, when Renaissance decoration was in universal favour, it was not long before these weapons came under the hand of the decorative artist and designer. We have very briefly dealt with them in regard to their general construction in the previous centuries, and in returning to them again, as we find them in mid-XVth century times, there is very little to add. Taken generally, however, their utility had to a certain extent diminished; while in some cases the original principle of construction is hardly recognizable owing to the elaborate ornamentation with which they were burdened.

We have little to add to our notes on the lance; for we have already alluded to it in its XVth century form. Late in this century all sorts of variations were made in the shape of those employed in the various military sports, such as are fully described in Pluvinel's *Maneige Royal*, published in 1623. The lances so employed, however, were so different from those which had any warlike significance, that we will not describe them here. War lances throughout the XVth century still retained the leaf-shaped heads which it is customary to associate with those of almost every period. We have chosen illustrations of four XVth century lance heads from the Royal Armoury of Madrid, so rich in lances of this period (Fig. 1395 *a, b, c, d*). Without exception they do not vary from those of the previous century. The second (Fig. 1395*b*) is of a remarkably early type, and had there not been proof of its XVth century make, it might well pass for the head of a war lance of XIVth century date. The fourth (Fig. 1395*d*) is a

HAFTED WEAPONS OF THE XVITH AND XVIITH CENTURIES

type which one would be inclined at first sight to associate with the tournament field only; but it must be remembered that on the famous tapestry in the Musée Cluny, which depicts the conquest of Tunis in 1535, the knights fully caparisoned for war are represented armed with lances possessing heads exactly similar. This is evidence that such heads must have been in use both in war and tournament.

The hafts of the war lance were generally of ash, for which certain countries were famous. In 1593 Sutcliffe, in his "Practice of Arms," says: "The pike and lance I would have, if it might be, of Spanish ash and between 20 and 22 feet long." Navajiro, in his *Viaje por España*, suggests the cultivation of the ash in the Basque provinces, more especially for the purpose of making the hafts of pole weapons. At an earlier date (1535) there

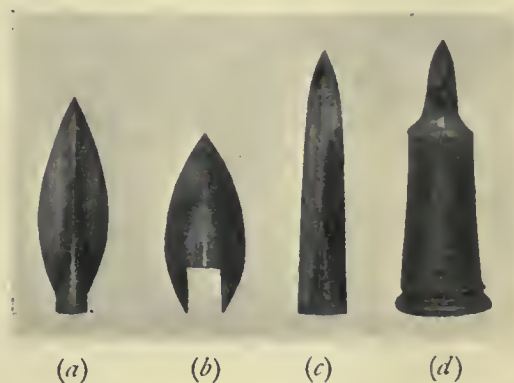


FIG. 1395. WAR LANCE HEADS

First half of the XVIth century. Royal Armoury, Madrid

is a record of a contract entered into by commissioners acting on behalf of the Emperor Charles V, with the armourer, Antón Urquiçu of Elorrio, for the supply of 6,000 ash pikes, each of 25-26 hands in length.

As the XVIth century advances, students of armour become sensible that the use in civilized warfare of the pole-axe, of the war-hammer, and of the mace has greatly diminished, and although certain forms of these weapons continued to be carried, they were no longer seriously considered even as auxiliary weapons, but were in favour merely on account of their warlike appearance and decorativeness, qualities which are strikingly apparent in a beautiful example (Fig. 1396) now to be seen in the Metropolitan Museum of New York. The head of this war-hammer is of iron, remarkable for the richness of its workmanship; it is in perfect preservation; its sharpness and the accuracy of its chiselling is very striking. The top of the weapon takes the shape of an octagonal galley lamp, each facet pierced with openwork.

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

The head is connected with the haft socket by means of chased openwork volutes. The hammer and beak, the latter slightly hooked, are richly chased, the hammer being ornamented with figures, animals, masks, and grotesques; the beak with masks, shells, and openwork fluting. The haft socket is entirely covered with caryatid birds, interlaced ornaments, and festoons chased in high relief in the most luxuriant taste of the Renaissance. This

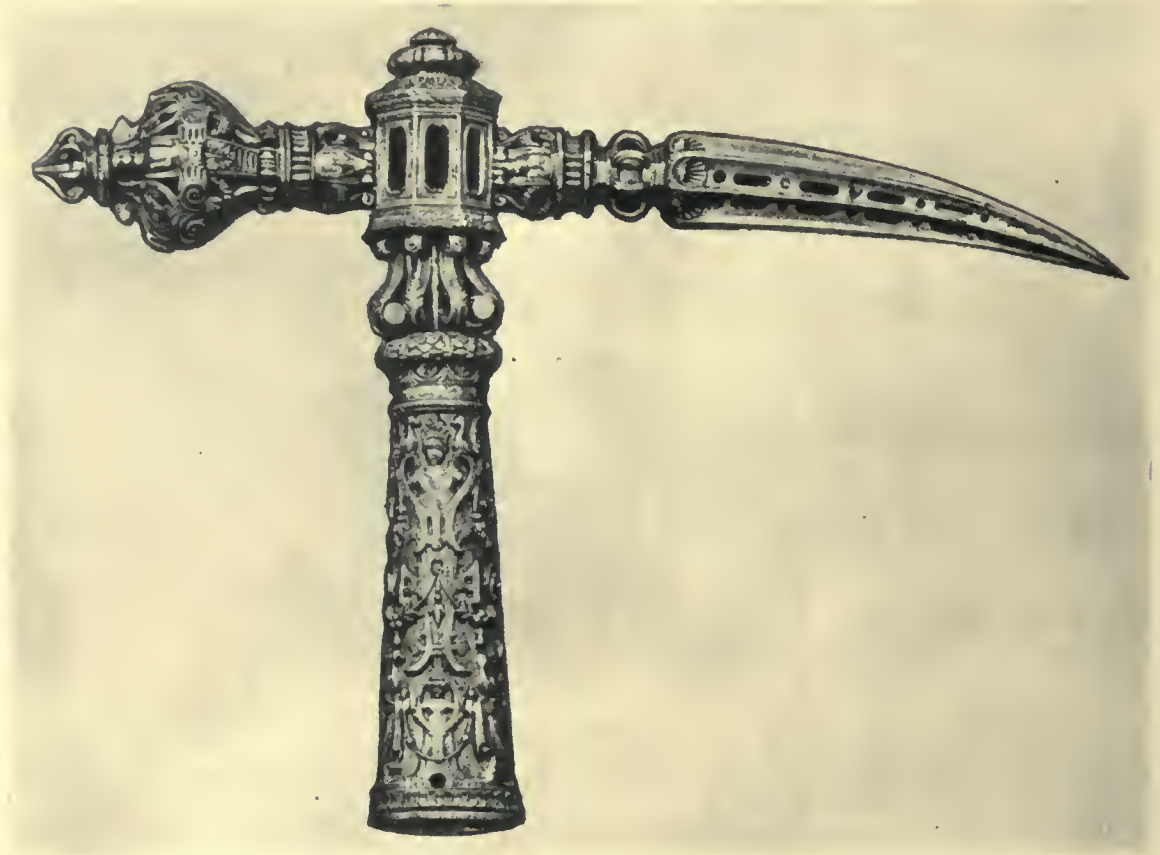


FIG. 1396. CHISELLED IRON POLE-AXE HEAD

Italian, second half of the XVIth century. Metropolitan Museum, New York

hammer head was formerly in the Cadogan Collection. It was exhibited in 1857 at the "Exhibition of Art Treasures" in Manchester. It passed later into the Spitzer Collection, afterwards into that of the Duc de Dino, and thence to the Metropolitan Museum of New York. Occasionally one finds the primitive form of the war-hammer adhered to, as in the case of the example we next illustrate (Fig. 1397), which, had the surface not been enriched with gold and silver *azzimina* damascening, might reasonably be supposed to belong to the end of the XVth century rather than to the close of the XVIth century.

HAFTED WEAPONS OF THE XVITH AND XVIITH CENTURIES

Little more can be said about the war mace than what we have already written in dealing with those of the previous century. Of the highly enriched XVIth century type there is a very remarkable example in the Metropolitan



FIG. 1397. WAR HAMMER
Italian, second half of
the XVIth century.
Ex collection:
Spitzer

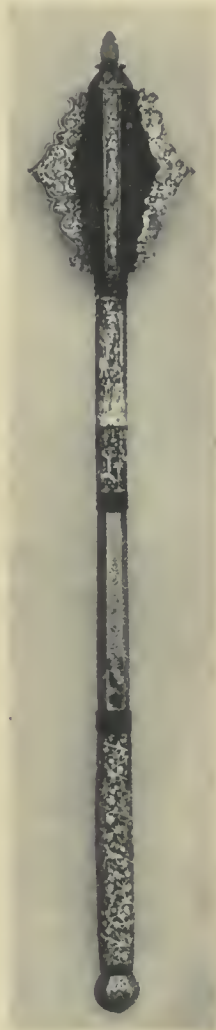


FIG. 1398. PARADE MACE
This mace may have belonged to Henri II of
France. Probably Spanish, and damascened by
Diego de Zayas, second quarter of the XVIth
century. Ex Dino Collection. Metro-
politan Museum, New York

Museum of New York (Fig. 1398). In the case of this mace, which is Spanish, or at least enriched by the Spanish damascener, Diego de Zayas, it will be noted that the flanges that constitute its head are somewhat more fanciful in contour than those seen on the earlier specimens. The haft is partly hexagonal;

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

while the end of the grip finishes in a small faceted pommel. The flanges decorated with divers designs are surmounted by a faceted pyramidal form finishing in a small point upon which are the Latin inscriptions in Arabic



FIG. 1399. PARADE MACE

This mace may have belonged to Henri II of France. Probably Spanish, and damascened by Diego de Zayas, second quarter of the XVIth century. K 50, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris



FIG. 1400. PARADE MACE

Probably French, second half of the XVIth century. K 49, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

characters:—DIDACVS · DE · ÇAIAS FACIEBAD.—DECVS · ET · TVTAMEN · IN · ARMIS and DONEC TOTVM IMPLEAT ORBEM. Other inscriptions in mock Arabic are also to be seen on various parts of the mace. Among the notes relating to the private expenditure of François I^{er} the following occurs: "To Diego de

HAFTED WEAPONS OF THE XVITH AND XVIITH CENTURIES

Çayas as payment for a dagger with a hilt, and sheath of steel worked in damascene, 112 I X."

A dagger enriched by this gold damascener is now to be seen in the Royal Historical Museum of Dresden. It is described in the *Führer durch das Königliche Historisches Museum zu Dresden von M. von Ehrental* (Dresden, 1899) as follows: "Dagger with its sheath; the hilt and the guard are damascened in gold, the blade has the following inscription:—IN SEMINE TVO BENEDICITVR FILIVS TVVS, and the signature of the damascener, DIEGO DE ÇAIAS FACIEBAT," which leads to the supposition that it is the actual dagger referred to in the record of the private expenses of François I^{er}. The mace which we have just described was found in a country house in the north of Spain. It was discovered by Don José de Argaiz, a well-known Madrid collector of arms, who died some years ago. Afterwards it passed into Spitzer's Collection. Since the second inscription upon it is known to have been a motto used by Henri II of France before his accession to the throne, there is reason to believe that this mace was once his property; it would be difficult, however, to explain how an arm which might have belonged to Henri II could have strayed to an out-of-the-way place in Spain if it were not remembered that this prince, when he was still Duke of Orleans, went to Spain as hostage for his father, who had been made prisoner at the battle of Pavia.

The Musée d'Artillerie of Paris possesses a mace (Fig. 1399) which is almost identical, save that it is not signed by Diego de Zayas; but it certainly is his work (K 50). On it can be seen the same designs, the same animals, and the same inscriptions in Arabic, or in imitation of Arabic; for in both cases these inscriptions make no sense, being merely composed of characters taken at random. This mace also bears the two identical mottoes; it is also attributed to Henri II. Another enriched mace (Fig. 1400) in the Musée d'Artillerie (K 49) is a somewhat later production; but even more elaborate. It has a head of six flanges, each in the form of intertwined bodies of two dolphins holding in their mouths the fleur-de-lis, thus showing the French royal provenance of this parade arm. The haft is distinguished by three forms of decoration, the first a kind of trellis, the other two scale patterns of various dimensions. The whole mace was once gilt. In the Wallace Collection (No. 633) is shown a fine decorated mace of the XVIth century, perhaps a little simpler in design than the three already referred to, but a splendid example (Fig. 1401). Here the head is composed of eight flanges, the outline formed to a double scroll, with a small blunted projection in the centre of each; the haft

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

is cylindrical and hollow. The whole surface is decorated with gold plating in a design of oblong panels of arabesques and intertwined ornaments, introducing what appears to be the Roman numeral IIII. This specimen is Italian, and certainly of the third quarter of the XVIth century. We illustrate three other maces of typical mid-XVIth century form (Fig. 1402 *a, b, c*). The second of these (Fig. 1402 *b*) is of especial beauty as regards workmanship; for not only are the head and grip beautifully damascened with gold, but the haft is chiselled with fine motifs in the taste of the French Renaissance, the groundwork being plated with gold. This mace was formerly in the collection of the Duc de Dino, and is now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York. It will be noted that these maces, though retaining the constructional ideas of the XVth century, rely on all the late XVIth century motifs for their enrichment.



FIG. 1401.
PARADE MACE
Italian, second half
of the XVIth cent.
Wallacé Collection
(Laking Catalogue,
No. 633)

Towards the close of the XVIth and in the XVIIth centuries, heads of maces are often found of semi-Oriental form; for instance, the head is sometimes constructed with many more flanges, the whole taking almost a spheroidal shape, such as is met with on maces of Turkish and of Polish origin. Then again direct copies of the Indian *gargaz*, such as that beautifully decorated weapon, No. 647, in the Wallace Collection, are often to be seen (Fig. 1403). The formation of the head of this curious mace or "morning star" appears to be identical with that of the formidable ball-headed mace with small blades protruding from it, a specimen of which, made at Delhi, can be seen in the Wallace Collection (No. 2328 of the Oriental Armour section). The head of the mace is globular and has twenty-two pyramidal spikes; the haft is cylindrical and hollow. The grip is of square section, and terminates in an acorn-shaped pommel with small rondel. It is decorated with oval panels, engraved and plated with gold, each containing an emblematical classical figure, bordered with silver spots. The general groundwork is covered with C-shaped scrolls, and filled with minute work in gold *azzimina* damascening. Down the centre of the haft is a fluted ornament in gold plating. This mace appears to be a production of northern Italy, probably of Venice, and of the closing years of the XVIth century.

HAFTED WEAPONS OF THE XVITH AND XVIITH CENTURIES

The Musée d'Artillerie of Paris (K 56) shows just such another mace (Fig. 1404). In the head are also twenty-two spikes. The gold decoration,



FIG. 1402. MACES

(a) Mace. Italian, middle of the XVIth century. Collection: Author

(b) Parade Mace. Probably French, middle of the XVIth century. Ex Dino Collection. Metropolitan Museum, New York

(c) Mace, formerly gilt. Probably Spanish, middle of the XVIth century. Found when excavating in Northern Spain. Collection: Author

though different in treatment, is very possibly the work of the same hand which ornamented the Wallace mace.

The final form of the metal mace, although in this instance an early example of it, is to be seen in the commander's baton now in the Wallace

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

Collection (No. 823). This takes the shape of a hollow cylinder of russet iron—its whole surface inlaid with a closely grouped table of numerals in



FIG. 1403

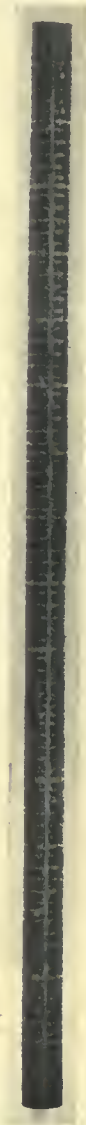


FIG. 1405

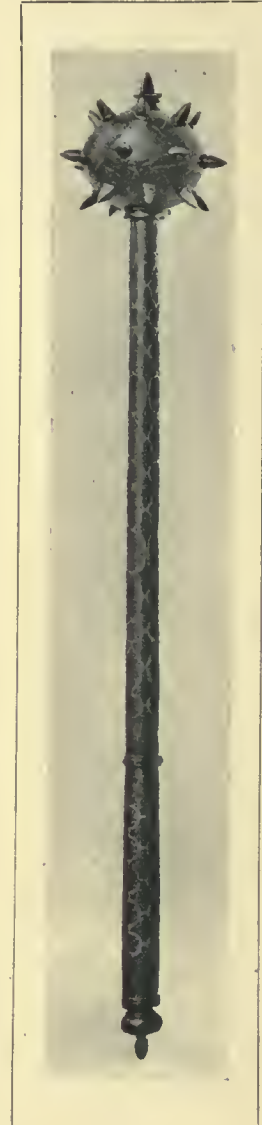


FIG. 1404

FIG. 1403. MACE. North Italian, late XVIth century. Modelled after the Indian *gargas*. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 647)

FIG. 1404. MACE. North Italian, late XVIth century. Modelled after the Indian *gargas*. K 56, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

FIG. 1405. COMMANDER'S BATON. The final form of the mace. Spanish, late XVIth century. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 823)

gold *azzimina* (Fig. 1405). From the character of the damascening we would consider this mace to be of Spanish origin, and made towards the

HAFTED WEAPONS OF THE XVITH AND XVIITH CENTURIES

close of the XVIth century. Early in the XIXth century it was in the possession of the Duke of Alba, and at the sale of his collection in Madrid it was purchased together with a picture by Sir Samuel Meyrick. Sir Samuel described in detail this baton, showing the useful purpose which the table of numerals served; we quote from him:

“ It is of steel, hollow, to contain the muster-roll of an army, and covered



FIG. 1406. POLE-AXE
The slender form of the early
XVIIth century. Metro-
politan Museum,
New York



FIG. 1407. MACE
A pistol attached to the haft. Probably
German, second half of the XVIth
century. K 60, Musée
d'Artillerie, Paris

outside with Arabic numerals in gold with divisions of silver on a russet ground. These are the results of calculations according to the system of warfare in the XVIth century, by which, on being turned round, the general is apprised what number of men would occupy any given space, and *vice versa*. They are arranged in ten columns, covering one half of the cylinder, with the continuation on the other half. The heads of these are as follows: 1st, *Numero de gente*, commencing at 100 and increasing by fifties till 1,000, and then by hundreds to 16,000; 2nd, *Tantos por hilera*; 3rd, *Tantas hileras*;

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

4th, *Sobras*; 5th, *Frente de esquadron quadrado de sitio*; 6th, *Costado de s'dron quadrado de sitio*; 7th, *Sobras*; 8th, *Numero de esquadron quando tiene gente*; 9th, *Numero de esquadron sin gente*; 10th, *Sobras*."

Some phrases in the French language are supposed to allude to figures such as these found on batons, "*être bien assuré de son bâton*," "*obtenir son objet par le tour du bâton*," and "*être réduit au bâton blanc*."

At the end of the XVIth century it will be found that the pole-axe, perhaps with the exception of the Lucerne hammer to which we have referred (vol. iii, p. 104), was a very different weapon from that of the first quarter of the century, if indeed it can claim to be called a weapon at all. Those that show any enrichment have become slender in their proportions, and relegated almost entirely to ceremonial use, being evidently useless as fighting weapons (Fig. 1406). Indeed, they are little better than the weapons of similar form which to-day are carried by the gentlemen-at-arms attendant on the sovereign.

Combination weapons—a battle-axe, war-hammer, or mace—concealing pistols in their hafts, are constantly to be met with, and are often of very beautiful workmanship; but in nearly all cases they are cumbersome and impracticable weapons, made most probably to satisfy the fancy of some individual. We illustrate three. The first of these (Fig. 1407) is a mace with a single barrelled matchlock pistol incorporated in its haft, and is in the Musée d'Artillerie (K 60); a finely etched weapon with a well developed wheel-lock on the side, but which lacks its wooden grip. The second, which can be seen in the Tower of London, and which is complete, is of the same type as the first (Fig. 1408); the third (Fig. 1409) is a far more elaborately designed weapon with a six-flanged head, which has the barrel of the pistol concealed down its shaft; while in the rondel above the grip is hidden the secret wheel-lock. The apertures through which the wheel was wound can be seen in the illustration. We consider this last combination weapon to be Italian, of the last quarter of the XVIth century. The most ungainly of these arms, which the author knows of, is an early XVIIth century example in the Tower of London (Fig. 1410). It has an ill-balanced axe or pick head containing seven concealed barrels with a combination wheel and matchlock discharge. Clumsy though its appearance is, its workmanship is good and shows considerable ingenuity in its mechanism.

When we come to deal with the longer hafted infantry weapons of late XVIth and even early XVIIth century date, we notice that all the characteristic forms in use in the first part of the XVIIth century are still to be

HAFTEd WEAPONS OF THE XVITH AND XVIITH CENTURIES

recognized. The glaive, the voulge, the partisan, the ranseur, the spetum, the bill, and the guisarme are still to be met with in their old forms, and, generally speaking, it may be taken for granted that most of the commoner



FIG. 1408. MACE

A pistol attached to the haft. Probably Italian, second half of the XVIth century. Ex Brocas Collection. The Tower of London, Class XIV, No. 4

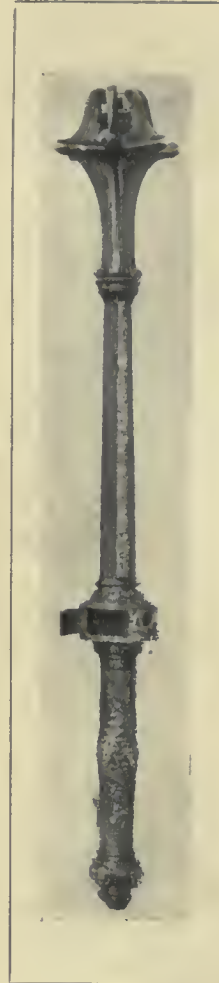


FIG. 1409. MACE

In the haft is hidden a pistol with its wheel-lock in the rondel above the grip. Italian, late XVIth century. K 58, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris

makes of such weapons that are to be found so plentifully in collections to-day date from about the latter part of the XVIth century, examples of the XVth and early XVIth centuries having of late years become difficult to obtain. It will be sufficient for our purpose if we illustrate a few of the more elaborate and decorated examples of these. In the processional hafted weapon carried by

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

the guard of Pope Paul V (Camillo Borghese, 1605-21) we see the counterpart of the XVIth century glaive. The example in the Wallace Collection (No. 813) is as fine as any known (Fig. 1411). This specimen, according to the family tradition, was stolen about the end of the XVIIIth century from the Borghese Palace, where there was once a collection of twenty-five of these weapons. Before passing into the Wallace Collection it used to be in that of the Comte



FIG. 1410. WAR HAMMER

This weapon contains five barrels concealed in the head. French, XVIIth century. The Tower of London, Class XIV, No. 6

de Nieuwerkerke. In form it possesses the usual curved cutting edge; while an ornamental projection issues from the back of the blade, finishing in a beak of diamond-shaped section. The whole surface is richly decorated with variously shaped panels outlined in silver incrustations, and containing the Borghese arms engraved and gilt. The groundwork is covered with minute scrolls damascened in gold *azzimina* on a blued surface. The appearance of the weapon is rich; but the workmanship is coarse and the design is without originality.

Under the heading of the "partisan" must be grouped the processional

HAFTED WEAPONS OF THE XVITH AND XVIITH CENTURIES

weapons carried by the Polish guard of Augustus II, surnamed the Strong, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland. Certainly they are late



FIG. 1411. PROCESSIONAL GLAIVE
Carried by the guard of Pope Paul V (Camillo Borghese, 1605-1621). North Italian, early XVIIth century. Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 813)



FIG. 1412. PROCESSIONAL PARTISAN
Carried by the Polish guard of Augustus II, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland (1670-1733). Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 748)

XVIIth or even early XVIIIth century weapons; but they afford a good example of the continued use of the XVIth century form of head. The Wallace Collection contains several specimens, and there are two in the

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

Norfolk Collection at Arundel, while on the continent many are to be found. The lower part of the blade of the weapon we illustrate is formed to the outline of a double-headed eagle, upon which is a flaming sun chiselled with a cross in low relief in the centre. The whole design is surmounted by a crown, and the head ends in a flamboyant tapering blade. The details of the decoration, especially the plumage of the eagle, are boldly chased and partly gilt. The haft socket is octagonal (Fig. 1412). The Musée d'Artillerie (K 497) supplies us with a different type of partisan head (Fig. 1413), a head richly etched and at one time gilt with the arms of the Elector of Bavaria and with the date 1677. On the reverse side of the blade is the date 1741, subsequently added. In the Wallace Collection (No. 487) we must draw attention to a very beautifully designed partisan head (Fig. 1414) used by the personal guard of Louis XIV, and carried out from the design of Jean Le Paultre. The blade is of the usual partisan type; but it is finely pierced and chiselled with a centre column, at the base of which stands the figure of Hercules with the lion's skin and club. Below the pedestal are two seated figures of captives; at the top of the column is the fleur-de-lis, and suspended in the centre is a circular medallion containing the laureated head of Apollo, encircled with the motto adopted by the King in 1666:—*NEC PLURIBUS IMPAR*. The medallion is supported on either side by flying cupids with trumpets. The whole of the groundwork is decorated with designs of trophies of arms and laurel branches. Many of the flat surfaces are plated with gold. The haft socket is faceted and has a circular hole, in which formerly was the lug or short bar common to partisans of this type.

We have described late types of partisans because they demonstrate clearly the continued use of a XVth century form of weapon late in the XVIIth century; they were carried by the guard of great princes, but there are many richly decorated partisans of late XVIth and of early XVIIth century date, possessing great artistic merit, which were individual weapons. We will now consider and illustrate a few of the highly enriched weapons of this class that are to be seen in various collections. Many are veritable works of art of their particular periods. From their sumptuousness and from the labour bestowed upon them they must have been the personal ceremonial weapons of individuals of rank. Quite a splendid partisan was formerly in the Spitzer Collection (Fig. 1415). To the author it appears to be of German workmanship; but the design of its enrichment is inspired by the art of the late Italian Renaissance. The blade presents no variation from the usual form; it terminates rather abruptly and appears to have lost

HAFTEd WEAPONS OF THE XVITH AND XVIITH CENTURIES

some six inches of its point. Its date is probably of the closing years of the XVIth century. The chiselled work upon the lower part of the surface is of fine quality; it is also attractive, being of a russet black colour upon a



FIG. 1413. PROCESSIONAL PARTISAN
Carried by the guard of an Elector
of Bavaria. Dated 1677. K 497,
Musée d'Artillerie,
Paris



FIG. 1414. PROCESSIONAL PARTISAN
Carried by the personal guard of Louis XIV of France.
Probably from the design of Jean Le Paultre
(1618-1682) and made about the year 1680.
Wallace Collection (Laking Catalogue, No. 487)

gilded ground: on one side are introduced a circular medallion containing the subject of Pyramus and Thisbe, on the other another medallion showing Apollo slaying the python. A partisan very much of the same proportions, though somewhat more graceful in its outline, is now in the collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle (Fig. 1416). It was formerly in the

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

armoury of King George IV at Carlton House. In the inventory of that collection it was described as a partisan "once the property of Henri IV of



FIG. 1415. CEREMONIAL PARTISAN
Probably German, closing years of
the XVIth century. Ex collection:
Spitzer



FIG. 1416. PARTISAN
Probably belonged to Henri IV of France.
French, early XVIIth century. Collec-
tion: H.M. the King, Windsor
Castle

France." This statement is no doubt based on the fact that one of the principal themes in its decoration introduces a curious monogram consisting of the letter H, possibly the initial letter of "Henri," and two inter-

HAFTED WEAPONS OF THE XVITH AND XVIITH CENTURIES

laced letters S that were construed into the monogram used by the favourite of that King, Gabrielle d'Estrées. M. Joannis Guigard, in his work on *Nouvel Armorial du Bibliophile*, vol. i, p. 158, gives an illustration of the cover of a Book of Hours, probably by Cloris Eve, which belonged to Gabrielle d'Estrées, Duchess of Beaufort, which has the same curious cipher stamped on it in many places. So unusual is the cipher, and so exactly similar is it to that upon the partisan, that the author is inclined to think that the theory of the Estrées *chiffre* may be accepted, which in connection with the prominence given to the letter H, tends to strengthen his belief that this partisan was at one time the personal property of Henri IV of France. The blade has at its base double curved beaks projecting at right angles, and down the centre is a pierced channel, interrupted at intervals by small diamond-shaped bars. The haft socket is octagonal, tapering to the head, where it finishes in a moulding of gilt steel; at the base is also a similar moulding, but silver-gilt. The haft, which is not shown in the illustration, and which is made in two pieces, is of mahogany, shod with a steel cylinder at either end and with a connecting cylinder in the centre. These cylinders, as also the head of the weapon, are the field of the richest gold and silver incrustation. Besides the monogram we have alluded to there are introduced into the ornamentation figures of Mars and Minerva, trophies of classical arms, and branches of olive, laurel, and palm leaves; while, with the exception of the upper part of the blade, the exposed iron groundwork is russeted to display advantageously the various inlaid ornaments of gold and silver. The whole decoration of this fine pageant partisan is executed under a definite classical influence that appears for the first time in France in the revivals of the ebonist, André Charles Boulle. Our belief is that this partisan is so individual in style as to be the work of some French armorer of note, of whose name there is no record. We think that the work on the weapons illustrated in Figs. 1375, 1376, and 1386 is from his hand, as also, we believe, are a pistol, No. 808 in the Wallace Collection, and two pistols in the collection of Mr. Edward H. Litchfield of New York. We will deal finally



FIG. 1417. PROCES-
SIONAL PARTISAN
Probably English, about
the year 1600. Col-
lection: Author

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

with the parade partisan by giving illustrations of two very rich weapons. The first of these (Fig. 1417) is an example of the early years of the XVIIth



FIG. 1418. PROCES-
SIONAL PARTISAN

Probably French, about the
year 1610. Wallace Collec-
tion (Laking Catalogue,
No. 477)

century, simple in outline, but heavily incrustated with silver on a ground worked with gold *azzimina*. This ornamentation recalls that seen on some of the late Elizabethan and James I sword and rapier hilts (page 315 *et seqq.*). Though we have suggested that this type of decoration was originated by Italian workmen, there appears little doubt that it was often used by craftsmen in England. We look upon this partisan head as English work under Italian influence. The other weapon, a very fantastically shaped partisan head is the last to which we shall allude, No. 477, Wallace Collection (Fig. 1418): it has the broad tapering central blade of no unusual design, but the lateral projections are most complicated, following the outline of two crowned dolphins' and eagles' heads all elaborately pierced, and at the same time chiselled and gilt with figure subjects, etc. The haft socket is fluted, and at its juncture with the blade there is a square-shaped block, curiously inlaid with plaques of mother-of-pearl. We are inclined to consider this pageant weapon as of French workmanship of the first quarter of the XVIIth century.

The halberd throughout the latter part of the XVIth and well into the XVIIth century takes a great variety of forms, and their decoration nearly always runs riot; but in the case of the commoner and simpler weapon used by the soldiery, the simple early forms are more or less adhered to. In the head of the halberd carried by the *Trabanten Guardia* of the Electors of Saxony can be seen a combination of usefulness of form and of appropriate decoration; these, together with the morion helmets worn with them (see *ante*, Figs. 1282 and 1283), can be found in nearly all important collections. The halberds and morions date for the most part within the last quarter of the XVIth century, and vary considerably in the quality of their manufacture; some, indeed, are so poor in workmanship that they may be of later date and copied in the XVIIth century from the XVIth century Dresden or Nuremberg



(a) German (Saxon), about 1580. Carried by the Guard of the Electors of Saxony. Wallace Collection
 (Laking Catalogue, No. 746)
 (b) German, about 1580. Showing the survival of the late XVth century form. Ex Spitzer Collection
 (c) German, about 1600. K 231, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris
 (d) Probably French, about 1590. K 257, Musée d'Artillerie, Paris
 (e) German, dated 1593. Etched with the arms of Mathias, Archduke of Austria, Viceroy of Antwerp.
 Ex Dino Collection. Metropolitan Museum, New York

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

model. The halberds possess the long central spike, a blade on one side with a scroll-shaped cutting edge, balanced by a down-curved beak on the opposite side, which has a reinforced point. The surface of the base of the halberd head is etched and often gilt, with arrangements of strapwork in the Saxon



FIG. 1420. BOAR-SPEAR HEAD
Milanese, about 1580-
1590. British
Museum



FIG. 1421. BOAR-SPEAR HEAD
Milanese, about 1580-1590.
Imperial Armoury,
Vienna

manner, introducing the arms of Saxony. The example we illustrate is from one of the many in the Wallace Collection (Fig. 1419 *a*).

Individual fancies as regards form and decoration are constantly to be met with in halberds of late XVIth and early XVIIth century date. In the group illustrated are represented four other different types of decorated halberds of the closing years of the XVIth century (Fig. 1419 *b, c, d, e*).

HAFTED WEAPONS OF THE XVITH AND XVIITH CENTURIES

The early XVIth century spetum, ransour, and voultge all had their counterparts in their decorated descendants of the late XVIth and of the XVIIth centuries. These later weapons are not, however, rarities, and examples may be studied in nearly all important collections. There should also be noted the various forms of the early boar-spear, which often by the elaboration of their ornamentation are weapons of great richness. As an instance we point to the fine head in the British Museum (Fig. 1420), a very beautiful specimen of chiselling and gold damascening, and certainly the work of an armourer of note; for the head is cleverly designed and would appear to have been a popular model, as a repetition of it with certain variations can be noted in the Imperial Armoury of Vienna (Fig. 1421). Both these examples would seem to be Milanese and of the closing years of the XVIth century. In the Wallace Collection (No. 488) there is a finely decorated boar-spear head (Fig. 1422) with the upturned lugs, which Meyrick described as "a partisan of the Guard of the Duke of Parma," but which without doubt is a hunting weapon. The workmanship shows great care and the richness of the gold overlay is remarkable. It is charged with the quarterings of Farnese and of Parma; so it is doubtless an Italian production of about 1590-1600.

All the forms of "morning stars," "holy water sprinklers," and military forks, including the arms evolved from peasant weapons, are to be seen in their late XVIth and early XVIIth century forms; but since our notice of the hafted weapons of earlier date in Vol. III, Chapter XX, dealt with them even in their latest form we will not again here allude to them. Practically the only pole-weapon newly invented in the second half of the XVIth century was the linstock, a weapon of double service, possessing a central blade resembling a small partisan, and projections, spetum-like on either side, which often terminated in monsters' heads, the mouths



FIG. 1422. BOAR-SPEAR HEAD
Etched with the arms of Farnese and
Parma. Italian, about 1590-1600. Ex
Meyrick Collection. Wallace Col-
lection (Laking Catalogue,
No. 488)

EUROPEAN ARMOUR AND ARMS

of which formed holders, such as are found for pencils in a pair of compasses, into which were inserted the ends of slow matches for firing a cannon, the remainder of the matches being wound round the haft socket. Before the invention of the linstock, which dates from about the middle of the XVIth century, the gunner had to throw aside his match to seize his halberd if suddenly attacked. We illustrate a linstock from the collection of the Duc de Dino, which is now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York (Fig. 1423).



FIG. 1423
LINSTOCK HEAD
Italian, late XVIth century. Ex Dino Collection, Metropolitan Museum, New York

The pike in its various forms was essentially the infantry weapon from quite the middle of the XVth century until the accession of George I. It is mentioned as early as 1466 in the "Ordinances" made by the "Erle of Worcester commanded to bee observed in all manner of Justes of Peaces Royall." In the early Carolean days an adaptation of the "Morrice" or "Moorish" long pike of the first part of the XVIth century can be noticed. In the middle of the XVIIth century one reads of the pike being sixteen feet in length, with heads of the best steel and a stave of ash, reinforced with bands of iron within four feet of the head, the better to resist a sword cut. Towards the third quarter of the XVIIth century pikes occasionally reached the extraordinary length of twenty feet, suddenly to diminish again with the end of the century into nothing more serviceable than the spontoon of the sergeant, which was carried as late as Waterloo. Meyrick quotes a late XIVth century document in which the name spontoon is mentioned: "*Lanceam, scutum et spatem, sive spontonem . . .*"; but we do not know what the spontoon of that early date was like.

The javelin of the latter part of the XVIth and of the early years of the XVIIth centuries can hardly be regarded as a weapon employed in actual warfare: its use was relegated to ceremonial and sporting purposes. "Javelin men" formed the escort of a sheriff of a county in those days, just as halberdiers form his escort now. In the famous 1547 inventory of the royal stores and habiliments of war in the arsenals and palaces throughout the kingdom, to which we have so often alluded, we find the following mention of javelins: "Item, ten javelins with brode heddes partely guilte, with longe brassell staves, garnished with vellet [velvet] and tassels of silke. Javelyns with staves trymed

HAFTEd WEAPONS OF THE XVITH AND XVIITH CENTURIES

with white, greene blacke silke and fustayne." These certainly appear to have been weapons for ceremonial purposes. In Spain, throughout the whole of the XVIth century, the sport of casting the javelin at a target when galloping at full speed was much practised by the nobility, and it is probable that there may have been a sport of the same kind in this country.

END OF VOLUME IV



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4

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