

An English Armor for the King of Portugal

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I. ROYAL ARMOR IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

THE PERSONAL POSSESSIONS of emperors, kings, and princes carry with them an inherent mystique purely by virtue of former royal ownership. Few items evoke the presence and portray the tastes of a long-dead ruler more palpably than his armor. In this regard the Department of Arms and Armor is particularly fortunate to have four finely made and relatively well-preserved royal armors. In chronological order the earliest is a field armor dated 1549 and made for Ferdinand I (1503–1564), king of Bohemia and Hungary from 1526, king of the Romans from 1531, and Holy Roman Emperor from 1556.¹ Next, and the most elaborately decorated armor in the collection, is the sumptuous pageant armor made about 1555 for Henry II (1519–1559), king of France. Following this by more than a century, and the principal subject of this essay, is the harquebus armor of Dom Pedro II (1648–1706), king of Portugal, made about 1685 (Figure 1). Last in this distinguished line, and perhaps the last royal armor made in Europe, is a child's armor dated 1712 and thought to have been made for Luis (1707–1724), prince of Asturias, who reigned briefly as Luis I, king of Spain, in 1724.

The armors of Henry II and Luis I represent aspects of the symbolic and ceremonial characteristics of kingship. The sheer artistic virtuosity of Henry's armor—the finest then available—was intended not only for his personal delectation but also as an expression of his wealth as a patron and his erudition as a connoisseur. The armor of Luis, powdered with heraldic fleurs-de-lis, lions, and castles, was intended to broadcast his position as heir to the recently established Bourbon monarchy in Spain.

In contrast, the armors of Ferdinand I and D. Pedro II represent another and perhaps more fun-

damental aspect of kingship prior to the modern era: that of the ruler as warrior. Ferdinand's armor is one of several made for his use during the wars of the Reformation, in which he and his brother, Emperor Charles V, personally championed the Catholic cause on the battlefield. The harquebus armor of King Pedro dates from the period when both armor and kings were seen less and less on the battlefield: armor because it had been made less effective by the techniques of modern warfare; and kings because by the Age of Absolutism heads of state were increasingly less inclined personally to hazard the fortunes of war.

Of these four remarkable armors only that of D. Pedro II has remained virtually unstudied. As a consequence its full importance as a late royal armor has been both underestimated and misunderstood. The intent of this essay is to reevaluate D. Pedro's armor within its historical context and in doing so attempt to reconstruct the circumstances and significance of its creation.

II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF HARQUEBUS ARMOR

Harquebus armor takes its name from a term applied to various types of midsized firearms carried by cavalymen throughout the seventeenth century. D. Pedro's armor represents the most complete type of harquebus armor, which was fully developed in this form by about 1640. It consists of a helmet known as a lobster-tail burgonet, or an English pot; a breastplate with a detachable supplementary breastplate known as a placket; a backplate; and a long left-hand gauntlet, the cuff of which extends over the elbow.

In the first half of the seventeenth century harquebusiers were classed among the light cavalry. The traditional heavy cavalry consisted of fully ar-

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mored lancers, but the use of the long cavalry lance was gradually diminishing at that time. The primary heavy cavalry then became cuirassiers, that is, horsemen equipped with complete, often shot-proof armor from the head to the knees and armed with a sword and a pair or more of pistols. The weight of shot-proof cuirassier armor, however, was excessively burdensome for the wearer and limited his tactical uses. By midcentury the cuirassiers were becoming an anomaly and harquebusiers had, in effect, become the heavy cavalry.²

The transition from lancer to harquebusier is evident in the works of the most influential military writers of the period. The lancer is treated as the primary form of cavalry in Johann Jacobi Walhausen's *Ritterkunst* (Frankfurt am Main, 1616). However, by the publication of John Cruso's *Militaire Instructions for the Cavallrie* (Cambridge, 1632), the author, discussing cuirassiers, states, "This sort of Cavallrie is of late invention: for when the Lancers proved hard to be gotten, first, by reason of their horses, which must be very good, and exceeding well exercised: secondly, by reason their pay was abated through scarcitie of money: thirdly and principally, because of the scarcitie of such as were practiced and exercised to use the lance, it being a thing of much labor and industry to learn: the Cuirassier was invented, only by discharging the lancier of his lance."³

Concerning the harquebusier he continues, "the printed edict of the States of the united provinces, expressly commandeth, that every Harquebusier be armed with an open cask [helmet], gorget, back and breast. . . . Moreover, by the late orders resolved on by the council of warre, the Harquebusier (besides a good buffe coat) is to have the back and breast of the Cuirassiers arming, more than pistoll proof. . . ." In a marginal note the author decries the habit of cavalymen to go more lightly armed: "which condemneth the late practice of our trained Harquebusiers to be erroneous; which have wholly left off their arms and think themselves safe enough in a calfs skin coat."

As early as Robert Ward's *Animadversions of Warre* (London, 1639) lancers are omitted entirely: "the heavie armed (viz.) the Cuirassiers shall take advantage of such disorders as are procured by the light armed; for their complete arming is efficacious to defend their bodies from the push of pikes; the better to thrust in amongst them. The light armed are also more apt and fit to be sent upon services that require expedition, which the heavie armed are unfit to performe; for the Cuirassier is to be com-

pletely armed, *cap a pè*, with a good Buffe coate, to preserve his body from the pinching of his pondrous armour . . . [Harquebusiers] are to be armed with an open Caske, Gorget, backe and brest more than Pistoll proofe, with a good Buffe coate to preserve their bodies from bruising."⁵

The disuse of both lancers and cuirassiers is summed up by the otherwise anonymous J.B. in *Some Brief Instructions for the Exercising of the Cavalry* (London, 1661): "And as to the several Kinds of Cavalry, in relation to their Furniture; We find that the Lances (which have been much in use formerly, both in this Kingdom and Forreign parts) are now generally laid aside, and not used at all in our late Civil Wars. . . . But our late English Wars neglected the two first [lancers and cuirassiers], making use of the last [harquebusiers]; Armed only with a Breast, Back and Casque (or Pott) for defence, a Case [i.e., a pair] of Pistols, short, and a Carbine (hanging by in a Belt and Swivel on his Right side) of 2 or 2 1/2 Foot, the length of the Barrel, and a good Sword."⁶ Further on he reiterates the point: "As concerning Curissiers, most Authors mention their order and manner of Fight; but in the late English Wars, there hath been little use made of such heavy Armour. . . ."⁷

Harquebus armor continued to be worn until the early years of the eighteenth century, especially in areas of Central Europe where the incessant warfare with the Ottoman Empire still relied heavily on cavalry rather than on infantry. A prime example is an armor made in the 1690s and worn in his many battles against the Turks by Ludwig Wilhelm (1655–1707), margrave of Baden-Baden, called "Türkenlouis" (Figure 2). In general, however, the tendency was for heavy cavalry to wear only a breast and backplate (cuirass) and perhaps a metal cap, known as a *secrète* (or more simply as a skull) concealed beneath the cavalier's hat. Sometimes a leather or cloth jerkin with mail sleeves was worn beneath the cuirass, one of the few surviving examples of which was worn by another leading opponent of the Turks, Prince Eugen (1663–1736) of Savoy.⁸

III. THE HARQUEBUS ARMOR OF DOM PEDRO II

When the armor of D. Pedro II was acquired on the London art market by the Museum in 1915 it was heavily patinated with rust.⁹ It was cleaned and restored by the Museum's armorer, Daniel Tachaux



Figure 1. Harquebus armor of Dom Pedro II (1648–1706), king of Portugal, here attributed to England (London), ca. 1685. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1915, 15.113.1–5



Figure 2. Armor of Margrave Ludwig Wilhelm von Baden (1655–1707), South German, ca. 1692–1703. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum, no. D1 a–d (photo: Badisches Landesmuseum)



Figure 3. Helmet from the armor of D. Pedro II, photographed in 1915 prior to restoration. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1915, 15.113.1

(1857–1928), in 1916. The missing elements that Tachaux replaced are engraved with the date and his signature. The parts of the armor, shown here in a series of prerestoration photographs, are as follows. The helmet is composed of a hemispherical one-piece bowl, fitted with a brim that is pivoted at both temples (Figure 3). A triple-bar face defense is suspended from the brim. The original quilted red silk lining remains on the underside of the brim. A flexible neck defense of six lames is riveted to the back edge of the bowl, and above this is affixed an ornately pierced iron plume holder. The present ear flaps, suspended from the sides of the bowl, were made by Tachaux as replacements for the missing originals.

The photograph taken before Tachaux's restoration shows that the brim of the helmet was originally secured on each side by a slotted screw mounted in the center of a large decorative washer in the form of a rosette with chamfered edges. Apparently during the course of the restoration these rosettes were relocated to the pivot-hooks found on each side of the placket. This may have been either the result of a simple oversight or a deliberate decision on the part of Tachaux or Bashford Dean that the rosettes from the brim were more in keeping with the elaborate rosette located on the pivot-hook at the top of the placket. Dr. Bashford Dean (1867–1928), the Museum's first curator of Arms and Armor, was responsible for the acquisition of the armor and would have supervised all aspects of its restoration. Ornate washers of this type were typically found on fine armors as decorative accents. Unfortunately, all too few have survived the refurbishments and alterations to which most armor has been subjected over the centuries.

The breastplate and backplate (Figure 4) are fastened together by a pair of shoulder straps and a waist belt. The rectangular metal plates that reinforce the shoulder straps are each signed and dated by Tachaux. Apparently, the textile of the straps, the belt, and the other metal fittings are also part of the restoration.

The placket is affixed to the exterior of the breastplate at five points by pierced posts and pivot-hooks (Figure 5). A shallow pockmark located to the left of center (as seen by the wearer), just below the mid-point of the chest, is probably the remains of the proofmark, showing that the placket had withstood the test firing of a pistol or musket.

A puzzling and unusual feature of the placket is the presence of a pair of horizontal slots, one at each shoulder, which serve no visible function as the



Figure 4. Breastplate from the armor of D. Pedro II, photographed in 1915 prior to restoration. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1915, 15.113.2

armor is currently mounted. They appear to have been unnecessary as an additional means of attachment, since the placket is more than adequately secured to the breastplate by the five pierced posts, the pivot-hooks, and the waist belt. It is possible, however, that the slots were originally designed to engage a pair of subsidiary shoulder straps intended to pull some of the weight of the placket off of the wearer's chest and distribute it more evenly to his shoulders and back. By this method the proposed straps would have been riveted to the inside of the backplate at each shoulder and would have been passed over the wearer's shoulders, looped through the slots, cinched up, and then buckled, the whole arrangement being concealed beneath the wider, primary shoulder straps.

The only antecedent for such a method of weight distribution is the slightly more complex and probably more effective ventral plate, a device created especially for Henry VIII in his royal workshops at Greenwich. It survives in only two examples—perhaps the only two ever made—both Greenwich armors, one in the Metropolitan Museum dated 1527 (Figure 6) and the other in the Tower of London dated 1540.¹⁰ The ventral plate was attached to the backplate by internal leather straps in an effort



Figure 5. Placket from the armor of D. Pedro II, photographed in 1915 prior to restoration. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1915, 15.113.4



Figure 6. Ventral plate and backplate of the "Genouilhac" armor. English (Greenwich), dated 1527. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1917, 19.131.1g, d

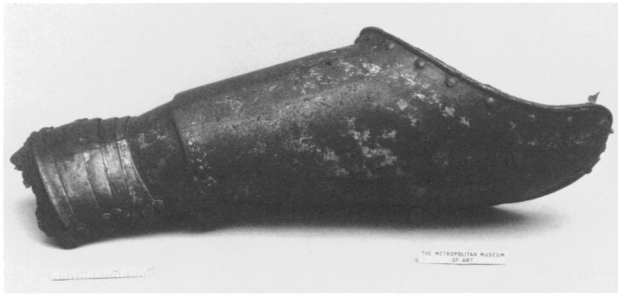


Figure 7. Elbow gauntlet from the armor of D. Pedro II, photographed in 1915 prior to restoration. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1915, 15.113.5

to pull some of the weight of the breastplate and the reinforcing tournament breast off of the wearer's chest. Unlike the placket, the ventral plate served no defensive function and was worn underneath rather than on top of the breastplate. The unique design of D. Pedro II's placket may have been an attempt to combine the weight-bearing function of the ventral plate with the defensive function of a reinforcing plate.

The last component of D. Pedro II's armor is the long gauntlet for the left hand, known as an elbow, or bridle, gauntlet (Figure 7). Elbow gauntlets of this type were made singly, that is, for the left hand only and not as one of a pair. The right hand was left unencumbered for the relatively complicated task of loading, priming, and discharging a firearm. The Museum's gauntlet consists of a cuff composed of two plates, which extend from the point of the elbow to the wrist. The inner plate terminates in three overlapping lames at the inner wrist. The outer plate is joined by a single wrist lame to five metacarpal lames covering the back of the hand, a knuckle lame, and a single scalloped lame from which the missing finger defenses originally extended. The last metacarpal lame extends in a tab to which the corresponding thumb defense would have been attached. Fragments of the original lining remain along the lining strap at the top edge of the cuff. Also present is a buttonhole tab made of sturdy leather covered with red silk and attached to the lining strap at the point of the elbow. The tab was presumably intended to be buttoned to the sleeve above the wearer's elbow in order to prevent the sleeve from becoming twisted by the repeated motion of the gauntlet cuff, or perhaps to support the gauntlet partially so that less of its weight would rest upon the wrist and hand.

The armor's once elaborate decoration is now in

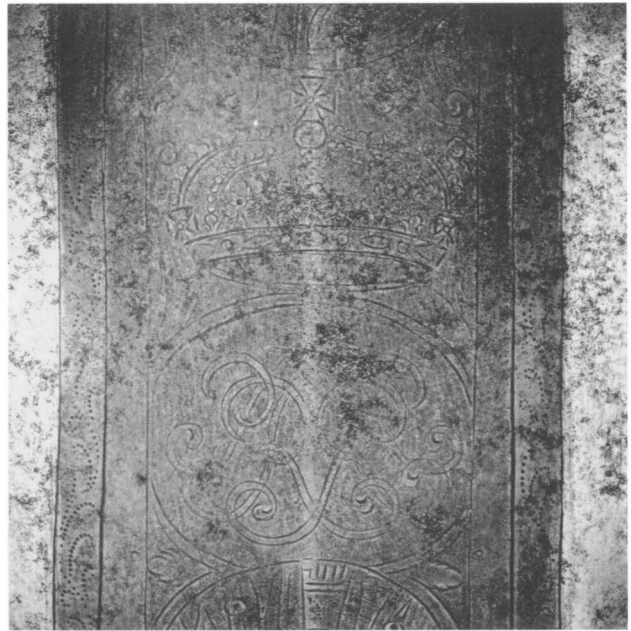


Figure 8. Detail of the royal monogram on helmet in Figure 3

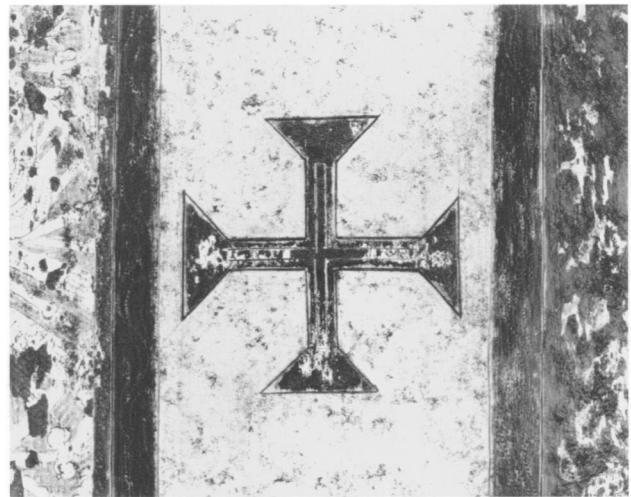


Figure 9. Detail of the cross of the Order of Christ on breastplate in Figure 4

generally worn condition except for a few well-preserved patches, particularly on those areas of the breastplate that were covered, probably for centuries, by the placket. The decoration consists of broad vertical bands engraved with panoplies of military trophies in oval medallions, which are overlaid with the remains of gold, presumably from fire-gilding. These bands are bordered by narrow blued bands decorated with a punched or pointillé motif of running vines. Subsidiary blued and gilt bands of

floral ornament enframe the contours of each plate. The gold is readily apparent on the breastplate and gauntlet. Faint traces of it are found on the backplate, while none remains on the helmet or placket. A repeating feathery leaf motif is delicately engraved on the bars of the face defense. Punched dots are also incorporated throughout the engraving at the center of the floral motifs and along the radii of the panoplies.

Pedro II is identified as the original owner of the armor by two distinguishing features of the decoration. First, a monogram formed of the entwined letters PR, for *Petrus Rex*, beneath a royal crown is found in the engraved ornament on the front of the helmet bowl (Figure 8).¹¹ The monogram without the crown appears in the center of the breastplate; the monogram with the crown, which appears on the heavily corroded cuff of the gauntlet, is barely discernible. Second, the cross pattée of the Order of Christ is engraved on the left side of both the breastplate and the placket (see Figure 9). This order, also known as the Order of Portugal, was a

chivalric fraternity founded in 1318 by King Deniz of Portugal and Pope John XXII. From 1522 the office of Grand Master was held by the reigning king of Portugal.¹² According to D. Pedro's biographer, the Englishman John Colbatch (1664–1748), "The king is also the Grand Master of all of the Orders of Chivalry in the Kingdom. . . . He is therefore Grand Master, first, of the Order of Christ, which in Portugal succeeded the Knights Templar, whose land it still retains, and of which there are 454 chapters."¹³

The cross of the order is worn by D. Pedro in many portraits, two of which illustrate particularly well the principal stages of his career. The earlier of the two was made in 1679 by the English engraver Thomas Dudley (active ca. 1670–80) (Figure 10). It shows a confident young man of thirty-one, who had by then already served twelve years as prince-regent. D. Pedro wears a cavalry armor with a sash diagonally across his chest. The order hangs from a ribbon on the left side—the position in which it would have been worn in the field. A representation



Figure 10. Thomas Dudley (act. ca. 1670–80), *Pedro as Prince-Regent of Portugal*. Engraving, 1679. Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional (photo: Biblioteca Nacional)



Figure 11. Gerard Edelinck (1640–1707), *Pedro II, King of Portugal*. Engraving, ca. 1690. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1962, 62.650.210

of the badge of a chivalric order and its ribbon or chain were occasionally engraved directly into the breastplate of an armor, as in the case of the armor of Margrave Ludwig Wilhelm mentioned earlier. In his right hand D. Pedro holds a commander's baton, propped on his right hip in the classic position of martial authority. His shoulder-length hair is worn in the tousled style that was popular with European cavaliers from the 1620s through the 1680s.¹⁴

The second and later portrait, engraved by Gerard Edelinck (1640–1707) at an unknown date, shows D. Pedro as a mature king (Figure 11). He still wears armor but more as a symbolic costume accessory than as evidence of the martial demeanor it so clearly conveyed in his earlier portrait. The Order of Christ, in the form of a jeweled oval medallion, dangles gracefully from his left hand. On his head the king wears a fashionable full-bottom wig, the curling ringlets of which cascade over his shoulders.¹⁵

IV. THE REIGN OF DOM PEDRO II

D. Pedro de Bragança's path to the throne was a circuitous one. He was the youngest son of D. João IV (1604–1656), under whom, in 1640, an independent Portuguese monarchy had been restored after sixty years of Spanish rule.¹⁶ Following D. João's death, D. Pedro's older brother succeeded to the throne as D. Alfonso VI (1643–1683). D. Alfonso was said to have suffered a childhood illness that resulted in temporary paralysis of the right half of his body and permanent weakness on that side. He was also reputedly impotent. His mother, the queen dowager, D. Luisa de Guzmán (1613–1666), ruled as regent from 1656 until 1662, when D. Alfonso assumed control of the government himself. However, the affairs of state were handled in reality by D. Alfonso's favorite, the Conde de Castelo-Melhor (1636–1720).

The capstone of D. Luisa's term as regent was to arrange an alliance with the newly restored English monarchy through the marriage of her daughter Catherine (1638–1705) to Charles II (1630–1685), king of England. Catherine's dowry was the immense sum of 2,000,000 *crúzados* (equivalent at the time to approximately £500,000) and the cession of Tangiers and Bombay to England, plus trading rights in all Portuguese colonies. For its part England pledged to defend Portugal and its overseas possessions from foreign incursions, a particularly



Figure 12. Nicolas de Larmessin (act. ca. 1675–1700), *Marie Françoise Elisabeth of Savoy*. Engraving, ca. 1680. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1921, 21.36.125

important factor given Portugal's unsettled relationship with Spain at home and the threat to her colonies from both Spain and Holland.

On June 27, 1666, to strengthen ties with France, D. Alfonso was married to Marie Françoise Elisabeth of Savoy, duchess of Nemours, known as Mademoiselle d'Aumale (Figure 12). However, D. Alfonso's inability to rule had brought Portugal to the brink of civil war. With the assistance of D. Pedro and members of the nobility opposed to D. Alfonso the new queen rapidly gained control of the government and forced Castelo-Melhor into exile. By the end of 1667 the queen had also begun the official process of procuring an annulment from D. Alfonso on the grounds of his inability to consummate their marriage. In a relatively quick succession of events, the national assembly (*cortes*) was convened in January 1668 at the request of the city of Lisbon to ask D. Pedro to take official control of the government, and he was granted the title of prince-

regent.¹⁷ D. Alfonso, still titular king, consented to retire to his family estates but was soon sent to the Azores. There he remained until 1674, when he was brought back to Lisbon and kept under virtual house arrest until his death on September 12, 1683.

D. Pedro and Marie Françoise Elisabeth were married on April 2, 1668, shortly after the official documents of annulment were received in Lisbon. Their regency lasted fifteen years, D. Pedro becoming king officially upon his brother's death in 1683. Marie Françoise Elisabeth's reign with the new monarch was short, for she died on December 27, less than four months after D. Alfonso.

One of D. Pedro's first acts as prince-regent was to ratify the peace accords by which Spain officially recognized Portugal as an independent and sovereign state.¹⁸ His reign was marked by great economic growth for Portugal, both internally and overseas, which intensified with the discovery of rich gold deposits in Portuguese Brazil in the 1690s. England remained Portugal's principal political and economic ally, a situation that was probably enhanced by D. Pedro's close relationship and frequent correspondence with his sister Catherine, the queen of England.¹⁹

D. Pedro's first marriage had produced a single heiress: the princess D. Maria Isabel Luisa (1669–1690), whose suitors included the duke of Savoy, the king of France, and the king of Spain. In 1687 Pedro wed Maria Sophia Elisabeth (1666–1699), daughter of prince-electoral Philip Wilhelm of Neuburg, count palatine of the Rhine. She was reportedly a great beauty and a devout Catholic, particularly devoted to the Jesuits and the cult of St. Francis Xavier. The union was a fruitful one, producing eight children, five of whom survived to adulthood, including the future D. João V (1689–1750).²⁰

John Colbatch, who observed D. Pedro firsthand, gave this detailed description of his physique, personality, and habits:

He has a robust and vigorous temperament; tall, a little above ordinary height, and of large proportions; prodigiously strong and physically very active . . . he has a serious and seemly appearance, in which one finds no trace of haughtiness, but instead an air of modesty seldom found in persons of his rank. . . . He wears a long black peruke, and when he appears in public he is always dressed in black, with a cloak and a long lace collar; which is the usual fashion among distinguished men in the city. At other times he goes without his cloak and wears colorful clothes, in the French style. . . . This prince has a quick mind and a solid and pene-

trating spirit, he is very sensitive and pensive and is greatly given to melancholy, which has grown strongly in recent years for reasons that I am unable to determine. . . .²¹

Colbatch also described the king as a skilled horseman and an avid hunter, who pursued these pastimes with little regard to personal safety:

In those times most given to leisure, his usual recreations are the chase, of four-footed beasts and those in flight, and the practice of horsemanship: but for the latter he usually prefers bullfighting. . . . Nothing pleases the king as much as being on horseback. He handles a horse so well that there is scarcely a riding master in the kingdom who is more adroit than he at this art. . . . It is there [Alcantara] that he often enjoys his favorite exercise, which is to hunt the bull on horseback armed with a lance, which he does with marvelous dexterity and composure. Not content to expose a horse to such a ferocious animal, he often attacks the bull on foot.²²

V. THE ORIGIN OF DOM PEDRO II'S ARMOR

The extremely robust character of the king is matched by that of his armor, which, in addition to being decorously engraved, blued, and gilt, is nonetheless entirely functional and battle-ready (Figure 13). Since its acquisition by the Museum in 1915 the armor has been described as Portuguese, an enigmatic designation at best given the complete absence of any other verifiable examples of Portuguese plate armor. Instead, it seems that the attribution was simply based upon the identity of the original owner and the reported Portuguese provenance of the armor. However, ownership and place of use do not necessarily coincide with place of manufacture, a maxim that is especially true of fine arms and armor. That the attribution has persisted without substantiation for over seventy years is probably due to the general neglect to which all seventeenth-century armor has been subjected by scholars until quite recently.

If the Portuguese attribution is insubstantial, where then was this armor more likely to have been made? When viewed in the context of extant armors from the mid- to late seventeenth century, the harquebus armor of D. Pedro II appears to be unequivocally English. The basic form and construction of the helmet, cuirass, and gauntlet are typical of numerous examples made in England from about mid-

century onward.²³ Features of the helmet that are particularly characteristic of better-quality English pots are the smooth, one-piece hemispherical skull and the pivoted brim with a contoured, triple-bar face defense. The sweeping form of the gauntlet and the turned flange of its cuff, combined with the extended point that curves around the elbow, also appear to be features unique to English elbow gauntlets.²⁴

The English origin of D. Pedro II's armor becomes immediately apparent when it is compared with the best-known English armor of the period: the harquebus armor of King James II (1633–1701), which was made by the London armorer Richard Holden in 1686 (Figure 14).²⁵ D. Pedro's

armor is somewhat stockier in its proportions and its surface is less well preserved, but that aside, a piece-by-piece comparison of the helmets (Figures 15, 16), breastplates (Figures 17, 18), backplates (Figures 19, 20), and gauntlets shows them to be amazingly similar in form and construction, down to the type of rivets and their placement. One of the few substantial differences is that James's armor was not made with a placket, so that the fittings of the breastplate vary accordingly. The breastplate is, however, heavy enough to be carbine-proof, weighing 15 lb. 6 oz. In comparison D. Pedro's breastplate weighs 10 lb. 14 oz. alone and 20 lb. 5 oz. with the placket attached.²⁶ In practical terms this would mean that D. Pedro's breastplate was



Figure 13. Harquebus armor in Figure 1, with the reinforcing placket removed from the breastplate



Figure 14. Richard Holden (recorded 1658–1706/7), harquebus armor of James II (1633–1701), king of England. English (London), 1686. Royal Armouries, H. M. Tower of London, no. II.123 (photo: Royal Armouries)



Figure 15. Helmet from the armor of D. Pedro II



Figure 16. Helmet from the armor of James II (photo: Royal Armouries)



Figure 17. Breastplate from the armor of D. Pedro II, Figure 4, after restoration



Figure 18. Breastplate from the armor of James II (photo: Royal Armouries)



Figure 19. Rear view of Figure 1



Figure 20. Rear view of the armor of James II (photo: Royal Armouries)



Figure 21. Detail of a panoply engraved on helmet in Figure 15

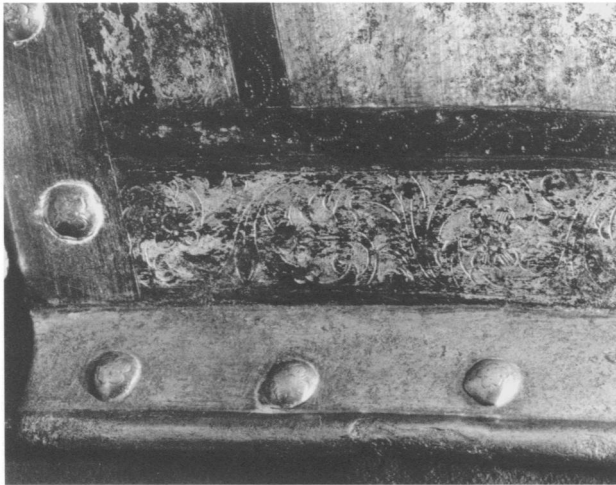


Figure 22. Detail of engraved floral decoration on breastplate in Figure 17

probably at least pistol-proof without the placket, and carbine- or even musket-proof with it. Certainly such a weighty breastplate could have been worn for any length of time only by a very strong man, which by all accounts King Pedro was. According to one biographer he was even able to bend horseshoes with his bare hands.²⁷

The similarity between the decoration of the two armors is equally striking, although the engraved ornament of D. Pedro's armor is much less readable due to its condition and coloration. The basic decorative scheme of both consists of broad gilt and engraved bands with narrow borders, separated by brightly polished areas that are devoid of ornament. Midsize bands edge all of the main plates. The layout of the bands is, with slight variations, the same on both armors.

The engraved ornament that fills the broad bands consists mainly of repeating panoplies of arms, armor, banners, and musical instruments. On D. Pedro's armor the panoplies are contained within oval cartouches (Figure 21), whereas those on



Figure 23. Detail of engraved floral decoration on breastplate in Figure 18 (photo: Royal Armouries)

James's armor are not in cartouches. The midsize borders of both armors are filled by an undulating leafy and flowering tendril motif. The domed rivet heads on both are decorated with a stylized six-petaled flower motif (Figures 22, 23). Last but not least, on each armor the respective royal monograms are engraved on the brow of the helmet, near the center of the breastplate, and on the gauntlet cuff. It is apparent that the style and execution of the ornament are as similar as the choice of motifs. Both armors also lack any maker's marks, which is not unusual for a royal piece.²⁸

The comprehensive technical and decorative similarities enumerated above indicate not only that the armors of D. Pedro II and James II are both English but that they were almost certainly made by the same hand within a relatively short period. James's armor is recorded as having been delivered in 1686; it was one of two armors made for him by Holden, the second having been delivered in 1687.²⁹ Unfortunately, documentation concerning the creation of D. Pedro's armor is yet to be found. However, a *terminus a quo* is provided by the PR (*Petrus Rex*) monogram engraved on the armor. D. Pedro did not discard the title *Princeps* and assume that of *Rex* until sometime after the death of his brother, D. Alfonso, in September of 1683.³⁰ The form of the monogram itself also suggests a date of no earlier than 1683. The intricately interlaced letters appear to derive from the monogram PR on plate 47 of Jeremiah Marlow's *A Book of Cyphers, Being a Work very pleasant & usefull as well for Gentlemen as all sorts of Artificers Engravers Painters Carvers Chacers Embroiderers &c* (London, 1683) (Figure 24).

As Claude Blair and Howard L. Blackmore have shown, at the cost of £100, James's armor was extremely expensive for its time. His second armor by Holden was less elaborately decorated and cost £25, still a large sum. To put the cost in perspective, they point out that in 1686 Holden made what must have been better-than-average harquebus armors for three high-ranking nobles at a cost of £6 each, while in 1682 he had contracted with the Board of Ordnance to produce a quantity of standard harquebus helmets and cuirasses at nineteen shillings per set.³¹ Given their close relationship, the armor of D. Pedro is likely to have cost approximately the same if not more than that of James; for although D. Pedro's armor lacks the pierced ornamental face defense, it is not only gilt but also blued and has the added feature of a shot-proof placket.

What may be the most likely explanation for the extensive similarities between these two royal

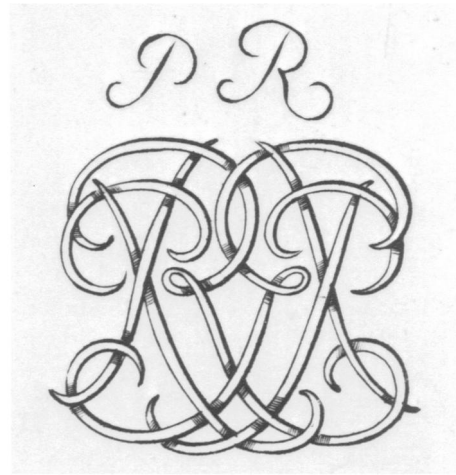


Figure 24. The monogram PR from pl. 47 of Jeremiah Marlow, *A Book of Cyphers*. . . (London, 1683). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library

armors is the possibility that not one but both were commissioned by James, the first for his own use and the second as a gift to D. Pedro. A suitable occasion for such a regal gift was provided by D. Pedro's marriage to Maria Sophia Elisabeth, countess palatine of the Rhine, in August of 1687.³² After a wedding by proxy in Heidelberg on July 2, the new queen traveled overland to Rotterdam. There she was met by an English convoy sent by James and commanded by his nephew Henry Fitzroy, duke of Grafton. That the queen's transport should consist of six English warships was specifically stipulated in the official marriage contract. Grafton, who was Vice-Admiral of England, was commissioned Admiral of the Fleet for this mission.³³ He conveyed the queen safely to Lisbon, where she and D. Pedro made their official entry into the city on August 11. The entry was a gala pageant in which England was prominently represented. The royal procession passed through a series of elaborate triumphal arches erected by the city of Lisbon and well-wishing foreign nations. The English arch was accorded a particular place of honor, second to last on the route, before the final arch representing the queen's German homeland.

In an alternative scenario, it is not impossible that the armor could have been a gift from Charles II and Catherine de Bragança during the brief period after D. Pedro's ascension to full royal status in September of 1683 and before Charles's death in February of 1685. However, the death of D. Pedro's first wife, Queen Marie Françoise Elisabeth, in December 1683, must have plunged the Portuguese

court deeper into the prolonged state of official mourning already in effect due to the death of D. Alfonso only a few months earlier. Catherine and her court in England also observed the period of mourning.³⁴ Under these circumstances the presentation of any royal gifts would have been inappropriate. Therefore, the circumstances seem to have been far more favorable for a gift by James in 1687.

The use of arms and armor as gifts was a well-established custom rooted in the medieval obligation of a lord to arm the men serving under him. One of Henry VIII's goals in founding a royal armor workshop near London is thought to have been his desire to produce and give fine armors with the same facility as his mentor, the emperor Maximilian I. In 1604 and 1614 James I of England presented Philip III of Spain with a group of English hunting guns and crossbows.³⁵ While gifts of firearms occurred intermittently throughout the seventeenth century, the last documented foreign gift of an English armor appears to have been that commissioned by Henry, prince of Wales, for presentation to the duke of Brunswick in about 1610.³⁶ Typically, the items for royal presentation were the finest of their type available. In this context the gift from James II to D. Pedro II would have been unusual only in that it consisted of armor rather than firearms.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art possesses an amazingly rich collection of English armor, including what are arguably the two finest examples of the Greenwich school in existence: the so-called armor of Galiot de Genouilhac (dated 1527) and that of George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland (ca. 1580–85).³⁷ The harquebus armor of D. Pedro II can now be added to this distinguished group as the only extant English armor made for presentation to a reigning foreign monarch. Together with the armor of James II, it was among the very last luxury armors produced in England.

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NOTES

1. This armor, traditionally attributed to Albrecht V (1528–1579), duke of Bavaria, was convincingly reattributed to Ferdinand I by Ortwin Gamber in "Der Plattner Kunz Lochner—Harnische als Zeugnisse Habsburgischer Politik," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 80 (1984) pp. 35–60.
2. For a concise overview of this development, see Christian Beaufort-Spontin, *Harnisch und Waffe Europas: Die militärische Ausrüstung im 17. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1982) pp. 33–80.
3. John Cruso, *Militaire Instructions for the Cavallrie* (Cambridge, 1632) p. 30. In this and other block quotes from period literature the original spelling and punctuation have been retained. Comments in parentheses are also those of the original authors. Comments in brackets are my own.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
5. Robert Ward, *Animadversions of Warre* (London, 1639) pp. 292–293.
6. J.B., *Some Brief Instructions for the Exercising of the Cavalry* (London, 1661). This work appeared as part of the expanded 6th edition (1661) of William Barriffe's *Military Discipline: Or, the Young Artillery Man*, 1st edition (London, 1635).
7. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
8. Heeresgeschichtliches Museum, Vienna, inv. no. NI 1476b. What may be another example of this rare type of 17th-century defensive garment is found in the C. O. von Kienbusch Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art, no. 1977–167–240 (Kienbusch no. 142). For a useful summary of the armor and equipment used by European cavalry in the Turkish wars at the end of the 17th century, see the chapter by Erwin Heckner, "Waffentechnik der Max-Emanuel-Zeit," in Hubert Glasser, ed., *Kurfürst Max Emanuel. Bayern und Europa um 1700* (Munich, 1976) I, esp. pp. 355–357.
9. The armor was bought from the London-based dealer Lionel Harris, proprietor of the Spanish Art Gallery. Of the armor's provenance Harris could only say that he had acquired it from a Spanish collector who had purchased it in Portugal some years earlier (letter, Harris to Bashford Dean, May 15, 1915, MMA Archives). There has been no critical discussion of the armor

beyond a brief article by Bashford Dean, "Armor of Dom Pedro II, King of Portugal," *MMAB* 11, no. 1 (Jan. 1916) pp. 19–21.

10. The armor in the Tower of London, made for Henry VIII in 1540, is inv. no. II.8. The date, which is found in the armor's etched decoration, was only rediscovered in the early 1960s. For a discussion of the technical aspects of the ventral plate, see S. V. Grancsay, "The Armor of Galiot de Genouilhac," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Papers* 4 (1937) pp. 13–15. For a summary of the identification of the MMA armor as a product of Henry VIII's Greenwich workshops, see C. Blair, "New Light on Four Almain Armours: 2," *Connoisseur* 144 (Dec. 1959) pp. 240–244, and O. Gamber, "Die Königlich Englische Hofplattneri: Martin van Royne und Erasmus Kirkener," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 59 (1963) pp. 7–38.

11. In reference to the form of the royal crown, see Heinz Biehn, *Die Kronen Europas und ihre Schicksale* (Wiesbaden, 1957) pp. 40–42, cat. no. 109, p. 210, and ill. no. 103; and Albano Silveira Pinto, *Resenha das Famílias Titulares e Grandes de Portugal*, 2 vols. (Lisbon, 1883) I, p. 310.

12. For a summary history of the Order of Christ, see Maximilian Gritzner, *Handbuch der Ritter- und Verdienstorden aller Kulturstaaten der Welt innerhalb des XIX. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1893) pp. 335–338; and A. M. Perrot, *Collections Historiques des Ordres de Chevalerie Civils et Militaires* (Paris, 1820) pp. 166–169 and pl. xxvi.

13. John Colbatch, *Relation de la Cour de Portugal sous D. Pedro II* (Amsterdam, 1702) p. 33. This is the expanded French edition of the original version, which was published in English in 1698. All quotes in this article are taken from the French edition, a copy of which was included with D. Pedro's armor when it was acquired by the Museum. That copy is now in the library of the Department of Arms and Armor, Bequest of Stephen V. Grancsay, March 1980. John Colbatch, D.D., was chaplain to the British factory at Lisbon; see the entry under his name in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1908) IV, pp. 708–709.

14. For Thomas Dudley, see the *Dictionary of National Biography* (1908) VI, p. 124. Various prints depicting D. Pedro II are described in Ernesto Soares, *História da Gravura Artística em Portugal os Artistas e as suas Obras*, 2 vols. (Lisbon, 1940) passim. For male hairstyles in the 17th century, see Maria Jedding-Gesterling, ed., *Hairstyles: A Cultural History of Fashions in Hair* (Hamburg, 1988) pp. 97–105.

15. Jedding-Gesterling, *Hairstyles*, pp. 111–114.

16. Unless otherwise stated, my summary of Bragança dynastic events and foreign policy is drawn from the following sources: Charles E. Nowell, *Portugal* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1973) pp. 68–72; H. V. Livermore, *A New History of Portugal* (Cambridge, 1969) pp. 190–204; Stanley G. Payne, *A History of Spain and Portugal* (Madison, Wisc., 1973) pp. 396–411; Colbatch, *Relation*, passim. It should be noted, however, that there is occasional disagreement among these sources as to exact dates of certain events.

17. This date is according to Payne and Livermore. Colbatch gives the beginning of D. Pedro's prince-regency as Nov. 23, 1667.

18. Colbatch, *Relation*, p. 511.

19. Eighty letters between them are preserved in the British

Library (Egerton MS 1534). Many of these have been translated and excerpted in Lillias Campbell Davidson, *Catherine of Bragança: Infanta of Portugal and Queen-Consort of England* (London, 1909) passim.

20. Sources vary as to the number of D. Pedro's offspring. The most reliable lists appear to be those in A. C. Teixeira de Aragão, *Descrição Geral e Historica das Moedas Cunhadas em Nome dos Reis, Regentes e Governadores de Portugal*, 3 vols. (Porto; repr. 1964) II, pp. 43–44; and Detlev Schwennicke, ed., *Europäische Stammtafeln*, n.s. (Marburg, 1984) II, table 42. Teixeira de Aragão lists seven legitimate children from D. Pedro's second marriage and three born out of wedlock. The *Stammtafeln* do not include the illegitimate children but do give one additional legitimate child, D. Francisca Xavier, who died in infancy in 1694. This would place D. Pedro's total number of recorded offspring at twelve, born over a thirty-four-year period, from 1669 to 1703.

21. Colbatch, *Relation*, pp. 3–5.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 8–10.

23. Compare, for example, the harquebus armor in Warwick Castle attributed to Robert Brooke (d. 1643); the armor worn by the parliamentary cavalryman Nathaniel Fiennes in his portrait (collection of Lord Saye and Sele, Boughton, England, illus. in D. Blackmore, *Arms and Armour of the English Civil Wars* [London, 1990] p. 54); a composite harquebus armor in the Tower of London (inv. nos. IV.332, III.1475, III.1476, and III.1445); a helmet sold at Christie's, London, Apr. 14, 1966, lot 305 (illus.); a helmet sold at Sotheby's, New York, May 26, 1992, lot 373; and the harquebus armor of Fitz-John Winthrop (1638–1707), made in London during the Commonwealth (1649–60), Massachusetts Historical Society, no. 590. I am particularly grateful to Walter Karcheski for bringing the Winthrop armor and its previously unrecognized date to my attention.

24. A survey of Continental gauntlets of the period indicates that this form was not produced outside of England. Compare, for instance, the following 17th-century gauntlets in the MMA: 14.25.906, 14.25.907, 20.151.1, 27.183.90, and 29.158.231.

25. This armor and Richard Holden's career are discussed in detail in Claude Blair and Howard L. Blackmore, "King James II's Harquebus Armours and Richard Holden of London," *Journal of the Arms and Armour Society* 13, no. 5 (Sept. 1991) pp. 316–334.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 318, for the proof of the various elements of James's armor. The weight of the two armors is compared below.

<u>James II Armor</u>	<u>D. Pedro II Armor</u>
Helmet 7 lb. 5 oz.	Helmet 9 lb. 9 oz.
Breast 15 lb. 6 oz.	Breast 10 lb. 14 oz.
(no placket)	Placket 9 lb. 7 oz.
Back 11 lb. 13 oz.	Back 11 lb. 5 oz.
Gauntlet 2 lb. 10 oz.	Gauntlet 2 lb. 2 oz.
Total: 37 lb. 2 oz.	Total: 43 lb. 5 oz.

27. Alfonso Augusto Falco Cota de Bourbon e Meneses and Gustavo de Matos Sequeira, *Figuras Históricas de Portugal* (Porto, 1933) p. 85. It should be noted, however, that this is the only positive comment in what is otherwise a vituperative diatribe.

28. Regarding the maker's mark, see Blair and Blackmore, "King James II," p. 329. Concerning the number of royal monograms found on the two armors, it should be pointed out that

James's monogram is also engraved at the top of the backplate of his armor. Unfortunately, the decoration of the corresponding area on D. Pedro's armor is illegible due to its poor state of preservation.

29. Ibid., p. 318. The second armor has not been positively identified, but based on its recorded descriptions Blair and Blackmore suggest that it may be the armor attributed to Lord Darnley, Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh (ibid., p. 319 and n.14). It may also be the armor of James cited in a document of Sept. 25, 1688: "Warrant to George, Lord Dartmouth, Master General of the Ordnance, to cause one suit of armour complete made for the late King [Charles II] to be delivered to Lewis, Earl of Feversham, and one other suit made for the present King [James II] to be delivered to John, Lord Churchill (to be returned into the armoury on demand), taking their indents for the same, . ." Public Record Office, S.P. 44/165, p. 68; cited in *Calendar of State Papers Preserved in the Public Record Office, Domestic Series, James II III*, June 1687–Feb. 1689 (London, 1972) entry 1549.

30. This is clearly shown on coinage minted during D. Pedro's reign as prince-regent and then as king. See Teixeira de Aragão, *Descrição*, II, pp. 43ff.; and C. M. Almeida do Amaral, *Catálogo Descritivo das Moedas Portuguesas*, 3 vols. (Lisbon, 1977, 1984, 1990) II, pp. 139ff.

31. Blair and Blackmore, "King James II," pp. 318–319 and 322–323.

32. For the following facts and a detailed discussion, see Nelson Correia Borges, *A Arte nas Festas do Casamento de D. Pedro II, Lisbon, 1687* (Coimbra, n.d.) pp. 10–12, 28, 45–47.

33. The marriage contract is reprinted in Eduardo Brazão, *O Casamento de D. Pedro II com a Princesa de Neuburg (Documentos Diplomáticos)* (Coimbra, 1936) art. XI, p. 45. Grafton's commission as admiral was awarded on June 5, 1687. See J. R. Tanner, ed., *A Descriptive Catalogue of Naval Manuscripts in the Pepysian Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge*, Publication of the Navy Records Society, XXVI (Cambridge, 1903) I, p. 313. The progress of the voyage, including the festivities in Lisbon, was reported in various issues of *The London Gazette* between July 4 and Nov. 17, 1687, esp. nos. 2257, 2259, 2260–2263, 2275, 2278, and 2295.

34. Campbell Davidson, *Catherine of Bragança*, p. 365. In this regard, also note the comment made by the duke of York (later James II) to the prince of Orange in a letter of Oct. 5, 1683: "Tis said the King of Portugal is dead; if so we shall have a long mourning of it." F. H. Blackburne Daniell and Francis Bickley, eds., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series* 26 (Oct. 1, 1683–Apr. 30, 1684 (London, 1938) p. 13. See also the earl of Arlington's letter to King Charles II (Oct. 7, 1683) on the same subject (ibid., p. 19).

35. Discussed in detail in Dr. James D. Lavin, "The Gift of James I to Felipe III of Spain," *The Journal of the Arms and Armour Society* 14, no. 2 (Sept. 1992) pp. 64–88.

36. Private collection, U.S.A. Sold Christie's, London, Nov. 18, 1981, lot 132, illus.

37. Acc. nos. 19.131.1 and 32.130.6, respectively.