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# Armor for America: The Duc de Dino Collection

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*Dedicated to the Department of Arms and Armor on its centennial, 1912–2012*

In April 1904 The Metropolitan Museum of Art made its first important acquisition of arms and armor, purchasing en bloc the collection of Charles Maurice Camille de Talleyrand-Périgord, duc de Dino (1843–1917). Assembled in France during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the Dino collection comprised almost five hundred pieces that included armors, weapons, equestrian equipment, and related items, the majority of them richly embellished European works dating from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, the *haute époque* favored by nineteenth-century collectors. At the time it was considered the finest private collection of arms and armor in Europe and, in light of the rapidly diminishing supply of high-quality antique arms on the art market, perhaps the last of its kind. Not surprisingly, the local press greeted this acquisition with considerable fanfare (Figure 1). What was not public knowledge at the time, however, was that the Museum had purchased the collection sight unseen, based solely on the enthusiastic recommendation of one of its trustees, and without reference to Dino's privately published catalogue.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the Museum committed the largest sum paid to date for a single acquisition, just over \$250,000.

With that bold move the Metropolitan Museum acquired an arms and armor collection of international repute and one of its most romantically appealing and perennially popular exhibits. The Dino collection provided the foundation upon which the Museum's holdings would ultimately become one of the largest and most encyclopedic collections of arms and armor. The purchase also prompted the Museum in 1904 to appoint as guest curator a respected scientist and arms and armor enthusiast, Dr. Bashford Dean (1867–1928). Dean was named honorary curator in 1906, and the position became permanent (and paid) when the

trustees established the Department of Arms and Armor on October 28, 1912. Dean set about expanding the Museum's holdings, and his numerous publications and public lectures on the subject established a widespread recognition of the field as a branch of art history. As a result, the Metropolitan came to be acknowledged as the major center for the collecting and study of arms and armor in the United States and the model that many other American museums would seek to emulate.

Despite the seminal importance of the Dino collection, its acquisition does not figure prominently in published histories of the Metropolitan.<sup>2</sup> The notable exception is Calvin Tomkin's *Merchants and Masterpieces: The Story of The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, published in 1970, in which an anecdotal and somewhat romanticized account of the Dino purchase is related.<sup>3</sup> There are several reasons for this oversight. The Dino collection came to the Museum before the arrival of Bashford Dean and long before the establishment of the curatorial department. The purchase was made quickly and with the authorization of only a small number of administrators and trustees, with the result that the documentation, preserved in the Museum's Archives, consists solely of telegrams, memoranda, and the handwritten minutes of the purchasing and executive committees. The collector himself, the duc de Dino, was a minor historical figure who has attracted little scholarly attention. The Dino collection has also been overshadowed by the rapid growth of the Museum's arms and armor holdings under the dynamic curatorships of Dean and his successor, Stephen V. Grancsay (1897–1980), in the years leading up to World War II. Much greater emphasis has been placed on subsequent acquisitions of larger size, notably the collections of William H. Riggs (1913), Bashford Dean (1928–29), and George Cameron Stone (1935). Finally, modern scholarship has revealed that some of the better-known and most frequently published Dino objects are composites or outright fakes, thus tarnishing the glowing reputation the collection once enjoyed (see Appendix 1 to this article).



1. Announcement of the Metropolitan Museum's acquisition of the duc de Dino collection. *New York Times*, May 15, 1904, p. 11

## THE DUC DE DINO

The duc de Dino is principally remembered today for the collection of arms and armor that he assembled and sold to the Metropolitan Museum. Even before the sale the collection was known internationally owing to the privately printed catalogue authored by the respected English authority Baron de Cosson and published in 1901.<sup>4</sup> In his day Dino was better known in academic and literary circles as an author; in politics as an aristocrat turned Republican; in the art world as a collector of paintings, decorative arts, and occasional antiquities as well as antique arms; and in the society pages as the husband of two American heiresses. Calvin Tomkins aptly summed him up as “a dedicated bon vivant, a womanizer, and a collector of armor—three rather costly hobbies whose demands often exceeded his means.”<sup>5</sup>

Charles Maurice Camille, 2nd marquis de Talleyrand-Périgord, 4th duc de Dino, was born on January 25, 1843, the second son of Edmond André, marquis de Talleyrand-Périgord, 3rd duc de Dino (1813–1894).<sup>6</sup> The Talleyrands traced their lineage to the sovereign counts of Périgord in the twelfth century. The most illustrious member of the house—Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord (1754–1838)—held a number of grand titles, among them bishop of Autun, prince of Benevento, and grand chamberlain and minister of foreign affairs to Napoleon I and subsequently to the restored French monarchy. In 1815 King Ferdinand I of the Two Sicilies awarded him the title duc de Dino in recognition of his services at the Congress of Vienna, and

in 1817 Talleyrand passed on the title to his nephew Alexandre-Edmond (1787–1872), from whom it descended through the latter's direct heirs.

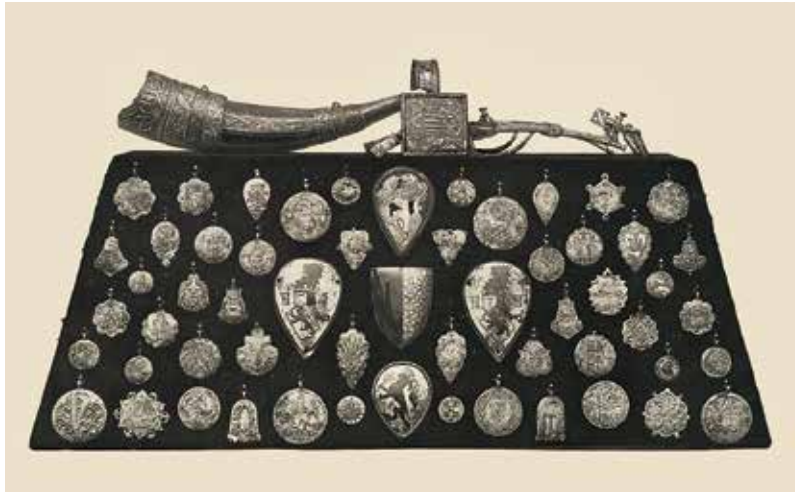
The earlier part of Dino's life was spent in military service, which may account to some degree for his subsequent interest in antique arms. He was part of the French expeditionary force sent by Napoleon III to Mexico in 1862 and took part in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71. He traveled widely in the United States, and in 1876 he served as one of the commissioners for the French delegation to the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia. Despite his ancient lineage, he converted to the Republican cause, calling himself Citizen Périgord for a time, and flirted with socialism. He subsequently became something of an amateur artist, archaeologist, and writer; he published a number of political essays, volumes of poetry, and, late in life, a children's book.<sup>7</sup>

Dino's familiarity with the United States extended to the highest social circles, and he was married to two American heiresses. In 1867 he wed Elizabeth Curtis of Boston, by whom he had his only child, Palma (1871–1952), who in 1890 married Prince Mario Ruspoli, prince of Poggio Suasa. Dino's wife divorced him in 1886, retaining her title of marquise de Talleyrand-Périgord. Several years earlier, however, Dino had become enamored with Adele Stevens (née Livingston Sampson), reputedly one of the richest women in America, who abandoned her husband and traveled openly with the duke in Europe. She divorced her husband in 1886 and married Dino on January 25, 1887.

Stevens was said to have brought her new husband a dowry of three million dollars.<sup>8</sup> She in turn insisted on an augmented title to distinguish her from his first wife, so the groom's father transferred his title of duc de Dino to his son on his wedding day. The union ostracized the couple from American society; in a *New York Times* article of January 27, 1887, the writer expressed shock at Stevens's having abandoned her husband for “a Frenchman of no particular personal attractions, . . . being short and rather stout and decidedly ordinary-looking, and being moreover supposed to be deeply in debt.”<sup>9</sup> Dino's second marriage followed the pattern of his first: Stevens divorced him in 1903.

Outside the field of arms and armor the duc de Dino was a modest collector of paintings and decorative arts.<sup>10</sup> The Dino collection at the Metropolitan also includes a small number of medieval objects that do not strictly qualify as arms and armor but were appreciated by the duke as artifacts belonging to the same chivalric culture and, hence, were included in both the 1901 catalogue and the Museum's 1904 purchase. The most important of these are two carved ivory signal horns, or oliphants, as well as more than 150 fourteenth- and fifteenth-century enameled copper-alloy plaques and pendants, the majority of which were originally intended as decorative fittings for horse harnesses (Figure 2).<sup>11</sup> The finer of the two oliphants is thought to have





2. Enameled badges and horse-harness pendants, a bit, and an oliphant, from the duc de Dino collection. From de Cosson 1901, pl. 22



3. Oliphant and storage case. Oliphant, southern Italy, ca. 1100–1150. Ivory, with later silver mounts, L. 22 in. (55.9 cm). Storage case, probably French, 15th century. Leather, L. 21 in. (53.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.177a, b). Photograph: Juan Trujillo, Photograph Studio, MMA

been made by Muslim craftsmen working for the Normans in southern Italy in the first half of the twelfth century. It appears to have been kept in a Benedictine monastery in or near Dijon, and it is accompanied by a fitted storage case of tooled leather, which was probably made for it in France in the fifteenth century (Figure 3).<sup>12</sup> This beautifully carved horn is, in fact, one of the rarest and most valuable objects in the collection.

Dino also demonstrated an interest in archaeology and antiquities. He was reported to be in Egypt in the winter of 1892–93 to assist in the excavation of the Greek city of Heliopolis, located on the outskirts of Cairo.<sup>13</sup> He made at least two trips to the Greek island of Cyprus, then under Turkish control, the first in March 1897 and the second in the following spring. On the first trip he acquired what has since become known as the first Lambousa treasure (or the first Cyprus treasure), an important hoard of Byzantine silver vessels and table implements (Figure 4). He sold most of the treasure, composed of twenty-eight pieces, through his agent, Baron de Cosson, to the British Museum for £500 in 1899. The first Lambousa treasure was an acquisition of major importance for the British Museum.<sup>14</sup>

Dino's visits to Cyprus also yielded two apparently unrelated archaeological finds. One is a belt buckle of gilt copper set with garnets, a pre-Byzantine work of the sixth or seventh century A.D., which he gave to his fellow arms collector Costantino Ressiman (1832–1899) on April 28, 1898, indicating Cyprus as its source.<sup>15</sup> The buckle was retained by Ressiman and now forms part of the collection he bequeathed in 1899 to the Museo Nazionale del Bargello in Florence (inv. R256). The other piece, disparagingly referred to by Dino as a "rusty morion," is in fact the upper half of a deep, two-piece "great sallet" of the fifteenth cen-



4. The first Lambousa treasure of Byzantine silver vessels and table implements, sold to the British Museum by the duc de Dino in 1899. Photograph: Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum



5. Upper half of a two-piece sallet found on Cypress by the duc de Dino. Probably Italian, 15th century. Steel, H. 8 3/8 in. (21.3 cm). Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, inv. R2. Photograph: Museo Nazionale del Bargello

ture (Figure 5). This is an exceedingly rare type of helmet of which the principal surviving examples are from the armor hoard discovered about 1840 at Chalcis, on the Greek island of Euboea, the former Venetian colony of Negroponte.<sup>16</sup> The Chalcis armor is now principally divided between the National Historical Museum in Athens and the Metropolitan Museum. The Dino work confirms the likelihood that this helmet type, apparently unknown on the Italian peninsula, was fabricated and used principally in the eastern Mediterranean region. Despite the rarity and the importance that specialists assign to it today, the helmet evidently disappointed Dino, who presented it to Ressman in Paris on April 17, 1898; like the buckle, the helmet forms part of Ressman's bequest to the Bargello (inv. R. 2).<sup>17</sup>

6. Wolfgang Grossschedel (active ca. 1517–62). Composite armor incorporating pieces from the “Cloud Bands” garniture of Philip II of Spain. German (Landshut), 1554, with other German (Augsburg) elements, ca. 1550, and later restorations. Steel, gold, and copper alloy. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.278)



## FORMATION AND SOURCES OF THE DINO COLLECTION

The duc de Dino appears to have left no written account of his activity as a collector, nor were any dealers' invoices or receipts preserved with the collection. The printed catalogue is only marginally helpful in this regard: of the three hundred entries, fewer than half cite provenance. Some insight as to the formation of the collection can, however, be gleaned from references to Dino in the surviving correspondence of several friends or contemporary collectors, notably de Cosson, Ressman, William Henry Riggs,<sup>18</sup> and the Parisian amateur Jean-Jacques Reubell.

It is not known exactly when Dino became interested in antique arms or what attracted him to the subject, but by 1884 he had seriously entered the field, and by 1900 he seems to have considered his collection complete. In just sixteen years he collected almost five hundred items, among them some of the most important and costly arms to come on to the art market. There can be little doubt that his goal was to buy only the most important and representative pieces available and that he was attracted to simple, powerful, and usually unadorned armor of the fifteenth century as well as to the elaborately embellished Renaissance arms so much in vogue at the time. To what extent he depended on his second wife's fortune in this pursuit cannot be judged.

The earliest evidence of Dino's interest in armor dates from 1884, when the famous Fontaine collection was sold at Christie's, London (June 16–19). Although the collection is remembered principally for its important holdings of Italian majolica assembled by the connoisseur Sir Andrew Fontaine (1676–1753), it also contained a small but choice group of arms put together by Sir Andrew's descendant and namesake (d. 1873) in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Many of the Fontaine arms came from Spain and were among the elements of armor stolen from the Real Armería in Madrid that had been brought to London for sale at Christie's in 1839 and 1840.<sup>19</sup> From the Fontaine collection Dino acquired his most important armor, a composite harness that incorporates pieces belonging to the “Cloud Bands” garniture, which was made in 1554 by the distinguished armorer Wolfgang Grossschedel of Landshut (Figure 6) for the future Philip II of Spain (r. 1556–98) on the occasion of that prince's travel to England to wed Mary Tudor.<sup>20</sup> The majority of Philip's garniture, composed of five armors with numerous exchange and reinforcing pieces for field and tournament use, remains in the Real Armería (inv. nos. A.243–.262).<sup>21</sup> The elements of Philip II's harness incorporated into the Fontaine armor include an open-faced helmet (burgonet), shoulder and arm defenses, gauntlets, complete leg defenses, and portions of a manifer (gauntlet for the tilt)—a mix of disparate elements intended for field, infantry, and tournament use that would never have been



7. Saddle. Italian (probably Milan), ca. 1570–80. Wood, textile, iron, leather, steel, silver, and gold, 21½ x 25¼ x 24½ in. (54.6 x 64.1 x 62.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.252)

worn together. The ensemble is completed by an associated breastplate and backplate, each of different design but both of Augsburg workmanship about 1550–55. The Philip II elements are readily distinguished for their exquisitely etched and gilt ornament of undulating “Cloud Bands” design.

Though the royal provenance of the Fountaine armor was not acknowledged in the sale catalogue, armor aficionados no doubt recognized its historical importance, which accounts for its substantial price of £472 (about 11,800 francs), the highest sum paid for any of the armor lots. According to the annotations by William Riggs in his copy of the sale catalogue in the Metropolitan Museum’s Department of Arms and Armor, the armor was purchased by the Parisian dealer Bachereau, who resold it immediately afterward to Dino for a reputed 25,000 francs. The price was significant at the time and demonstrates Dino’s ambition as a fledgling collector.

Dino was buying on his own account at the next important sale of antique arms, that of the Vaïsse collection from Marseilles, held at the Hôtel Drouot in Paris on May 5–8, 1885. The duke’s agent, the dealer Pujol, bought six lots for a total of more than 20,000 francs.<sup>22</sup> Among these were the two most expensive items, an etched and gilt Italian saddle of about 1570–80, which preserves its original velvet-covered seat (Figure 7), and a mid-sixteenth-century French combination mace and wheellock pistol comparable to one formerly in the French royal collection.<sup>23</sup>

A few years later, in 1888, Dino made even more important purchases at the auction of Lord Londesborough’s collection, a large and eclectic assemblage of works of art that included more than six hundred lots of arms, dispersed at Christie’s, London, over six days, July 4–6 and July 9–11.



8. Composite armor for field and tournament. German (Augsburg), ca. 1550–55, with later restorations. Steel, gold, copper alloy, leather, and textile. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.280, 282, 284, 285, 288, 479)

Dino’s purchases, made through Bachereau, consisted of seven lots that cost about £1,750, more than 40,000 francs.<sup>24</sup> The most expensive was a composite armor garniture for field and tournament use, an Augsburg work of about 1550–55, which cost Dino 1,050 guineas, about 25,000 francs (Figure 8). Like the one he obtained in the Fountaine sale, this armor came from Spain and appears to be composed of pieces from several similarly decorated harnesses etched and gilt with bands of a repeating addorsed-crescent design; some of the more prominent elements are also etched with lions’ faces. The ornament apparently is the work of the armor-etcher Jörg Sorg the Younger (ca. 1522–1603) of Augsburg, who in the 1550s decorated for Spanish clients a number of field and tilt armors with variants of this pattern. The Dino armor, however, is a jumble of mismatched elements, among which several variant patterns of the addorsed-crescent design can be recognized. Sorting out the armor is further complicated by the facts that some new plates have been added, etched to match, and most of the ornament has been regilt.<sup>25</sup> A shield associated with the Dino armor, etched and gilt and embossed with three rampant lions, is, on the other hand, one of the finest pieces in his collection (Figure 9).

The Londesborough purchases also included two royal pieces, although their august provenances were not





9. Shield. German, ca. 1550–60. Steel, gold, and copper alloy, Diam. 22 in. (56 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.283). Photograph: Juan Trujillo, Photograph Studio, MMA

11. Wheellock gun of Louis XIII of France. French, ca. 1610. Steel, wood, brass, silver, and gold, L. 43 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (110.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.164). Photograph: Juan Trujillo, Photograph Studio, MMA

recognized at the time. The first is a pair of gauntlets made for Philip III (r. 1598–1621) of Spain when he was still a boy (Figure 10). These belong to his armor, a Milanese work of about 1585, still in the Real Armería, Madrid.<sup>26</sup> The other is an early seventeenth-century French wheellock gun the stock of which is exquisitely inlaid with silver wire and brass studs to form trophy, strapwork, and foliate ornament; the butt plate is engraved with the royal orders of Saint-Michel and Saint-Esprit with a closed crown above and the initial *L* below (Figure 11). The royal insignia, together with the inventory number *60* incised on the underside of the stock, indicates that this gun was formerly in the French royal *cabinet d'armes*.<sup>27</sup> It was undoubtedly made for the young King Louis XIII (r. 1610–43), whose early interest in



10. Pair of gauntlets for Philip III of Spain as a boy. Italian (Milan), ca. 1585. Steel, gold, copper alloy, leather, and textile, L. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (23.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.34–35). Photograph: Juan Trujillo, Photograph Studio, MMA

firearms earned him the nickname “Louis l’arquebusier.” The arrival of Dino—a new, wealthy collector—on the market was evidently being noticed. Jean-Jacques Reubell (1851–1933) informed Baron de Cosson on August 2, 1888, in reference to the Londesborough sale, that “Talleyrand bought all the best things.”<sup>28</sup>

#### THE BACHEREAU FIRM

Like many collectors of wealth and prominent social position, Dino relied on the assistance, advice, and judgment of prominent dealers. The most important among them was the BacherEAU firm, the name of which is indelibly associated





12. Bachereau shop at 46, rue de Provence, Paris, ca. 1910. MMA Department of Arms and Armor

with arms and armor dealing in Paris (Figure 12). The firm claimed to have been established in 1821, beginning as a gunmaking and firearms retailing concern, when Philibert Bachereau (1795–1862) was appointed royal gunmaker, and by the 1860s the family seems to have turned to selling antique weapons, probably a more lucrative trade in light of the intense competition and increasingly high prices paid for arms and armor during the Second Empire. By the 1880s, when Dino started collecting, the firm was headed by Philibert (II) Bachereau (d. 1888); he was succeeded by his nephew, Victor, who was followed by his son Louis. Bachereau dominated the Parisian arms and armor trade until at least the late 1920s or early 1930s, when the firm apparently closed its doors.<sup>29</sup>

Bachereau acted as Dino's principal buying agent and supplier for more than a decade, with the duke becoming the firm's most lucrative client. No doubt many of the objects in the Dino collection without a recorded provenance came through Bachereau. For example, in 1887 Dino acquired from the dealer two of the signature pieces of the collection, a spectacular helmet and shield *à l'antique* (Figure 13) that were believed to have been made for Louis XIV of France (r. 1643–1715).<sup>30</sup> The body of the helmet and shield are fashioned from hammered bronze sheet, silvered

and oxidized blue; each is fitted with cast and finely chased gilt-bronze mounts that include a dramatic winged dragon atop the helmet and the head of Medusa in the center of the shield. Too cumbersome and heavy to wear, these pieces appear to have been created solely for display, perhaps in a carousel or theatrical presentation. Their design and workmanship are superb, justifying their undocumented royal association, although current opinion inclines toward a date of manufacture of about 1760, rather than the traditional one of 1700, because of the style and facture of the gilt bronze.<sup>31</sup> These pieces are much later than most of the Dino arms, few of which date past the mid-seventeenth century, and they are obviously more decorative than functional. For these reasons they were catalogued by de Cosson among the "miscellaneous pieces," which included the heraldic horse pendants, oliphants, and even a tent. Dino seems to have considered disposing of the helmet and shield just before the catalogue was published, but fortu-



13. Burgonet and shield. French (probably Paris), ca. 1760. Gilt bronze, silver, and textile. Helmet, H. 17 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (43.5 cm), Wt. 13 lb. 6 oz. (6.1 kg); Shield, H. 23 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (58.8 cm), Wt. 13 lb. 11 oz. (6.2 kg). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.259, 260)





14. Shield belonging to the armor of Sir John Smythe. German (Augsburg), ca. 1575–85. Steel, gold, and copper alloy, Diam. 21¾ in. (55.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.277). Photograph: Juan Trujillo, Photograph Studio, MMA

nately he had second thoughts and retained them.<sup>32</sup> They are judged today among the finest works in the Metropolitan's armor collection.

In 1888 Bachereau supplied Dino with a work of unexpected historical interest: a richly etched and gilt shield belonging to the armor made for the Elizabethan soldier and diplomat Sir John Smythe (1553/54–1607; Figure 14).<sup>33</sup> Smythe's armor, most of which is in the Royal Armouries in Leeds, is illustrated in the so-called *Almain Armurer's Album*, a folio volume that records the decorated armors made in the royal armor workshops at Greenwich between about 1555 and 1588.<sup>34</sup> Some of Smythe's armor is identified in the album as "made beyond the see," suggesting foreign workmanship. It would appear that Smythe, while in service on the Continent, had an Augsburg armor made for his personal use and that he had it supplemented, upon his return to England, with additional elements of Greenwich manufacture decorated to match. The Smythe shield is the only element of the armor to bear the punched pinecone mark of Augsburg, leaving no doubt as to its place of manufacture. The piece was painted green sometime in the eighteenth century, apparently for decorative display in one of the royal palaces. Its importance thus obscured, the shield seems to have been sold or exchanged by the authorities at the Tower of London in the first half of the nineteenth century. It was still painted when in the collection of J. M. Hodgkins, from whom it was acquired by the London

dealers Willson & Son, who had the paint cleaned off. It was then acquired by Bachereau for Dino.<sup>35</sup> Surprisingly, de Cosson was unaware at the time of the shield's English association or Augsburg origin, comparing it instead to the work of Wolfgang Grosschedel of Landshut.

It was also from Bachereau that Dino acquired some of his most spectacular helmets, of which he had more than forty European examples. At the sale of Eugène Piot's collection at the Hôtel Drouot in Paris on May 21–24, 1890, Bachereau bought for his client an important if somewhat damaged curly-haired burgonet of classical inspiration by the distinguished armorer Filippo Negroli of Milan (Figure 15).<sup>36</sup> The following year Bachereau sold him the so-called Colbert helmet, arguably the most beautiful and important object in the Dino collection (Figure 16).<sup>37</sup> This magnificent embossed and gilt burgonet, a masterpiece of French Renaissance metalwork dating to about 1550, is thought to have been made for Henry II of France (r. 1547–59). The helmet's design and subtle low-relief embossed ornament are undoubtedly French and are very closely related to the armor of Henry II in the Louvre.<sup>38</sup> Although its French provenance is undocumented, the helmet's later history is well known. For two hundred years it was in the Medici collections in Florence, presumably having been acquired as a gift from the French court. About 1775 the Medici armory, then displayed in the Uffizi, was dramatically downsized, with the result that thousands of armors and weapons were sold or destroyed. The helmet turned up in the London art market by 1817 and was sold at auction in 1833.<sup>39</sup> Soon afterward it came into the possession of the Paris collector Count Auguste de Colbert. The helmet was subsequently featured in several publications and appeared in at least one exhibition and, hence, became well known and much prized by French collectors of the era.<sup>40</sup>

The helmet cost Dino the astronomical sum of 80,000 francs, probably the highest price paid for any of his arms.<sup>41</sup> News of its sale to Dino spread quickly among French amateurs: Resson commented on it in his letter to de Cosson on June 3, 1891, noting that "Dino is buying with a passion. He has just acquired an embossed and heavily gilt burgonet that belonged to M. Colbert."<sup>42</sup> Dino is reported to have given a dinner party for fellow collectors during which, at the end of the meal, he dramatically revealed his new purchase hidden beneath the floral centerpiece on the table.<sup>43</sup> (In 1922 the Metropolitan acquired the matching face defense, or *bufe*, that had become separated from the helmet in Florence in the late eighteenth century, thus reuniting the two pieces.)<sup>44</sup>

In 1897 Bachereau also supplied Dino with two helmets, described as "magnificent" by Resson.<sup>45</sup> These were presumably part of a group of important items that the dealer had found in Spain the previous year. Among the Spanish





15. Filippo Negroli (Italian, ca. 1510–1579). Burgonet *all'antica*. Italian (Milan), ca. 1530–35. Steel, copper alloy, and leather, H. 12¾ in. (32.5 cm), Wt. 2 lb. 2 oz. (967 g). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.202)



16. Burgonet. French (probably Paris), ca. 1550. Steel, gold, and copper alloy, H. 14 in. (35.5 cm), Wt. 5 lb. 6 oz. (2.4 kg). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.217)



17. Burgonet. Italian (Milan), ca. 1550–55. Steel, gold, copper alloy, and leather, H. 15½ in. (39.3 cm), Wt. 4 lb. 11 oz. (2.1 kg). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.223)

18. Burgonet. Italian (probably Milan), ca. 1560. Steel, gold, and silver, H. 13⅝ in. (34.5 cm), Wt. 4 lb. (1.8 kg). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.205). Photograph: Karin L. Willis, Photograph Studio, MMA





19. Rapier with the Albani arms (detail). Italian, ca. 1610–20. Steel, iron, gold, and silver, L. 49¼ in. (125 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.23a, b)

pieces were twenty enameled horse-harness pendants and a modest but rare infantryman's helmet of late fifteenth-century Spanish type.<sup>46</sup> One of the "magnificent" helmets is a superbly embossed and gold-damascened Milanese burgonet of classical (*all'antica*) type, now lacking its nape plate and pivoted visor, that dates to about 1550–55 (Figure 17).<sup>47</sup> Its closest equivalent in design, construction, and workmanship is the complete and well-preserved burgonet made for Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol (1529–1595), now in the Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer, Vienna.<sup>48</sup> The second helmet, also a burgonet, is exceptional for its all-over gold-and-silver damascened decoration that includes classical landscapes and harbor scenes; the latter vignettes show Venetian-style architecture and oared galleys (Figure 18).<sup>49</sup> Though catalogued by de Cosson as Venetian, the helmet is

probably Milanese, dating to about 1560; its damascened decoration is comparable to that found on the iron caskets and furniture usually attributed to Milan. Both helmets are said to have formerly been in the possession of the conde de Casa Rojas, marqués de Bosch, in Valencia.

Dino also acquired from Bachereau what the dealer described as "the queen of swords," an elegant early seventeenth-century Italian rapier encrusted with gold and silver, the decoration of which includes the arms of the Albani family (Figure 19). In 1904 Louis Bachereau recounted for a newspaper reporter the story of the sword's dramatic rise in value over the previous century: it was sold in 1834 to a French collector, the vicomte de Courval, for 700 francs; at Courval's death it was bought for 3,750 francs by the Parisian dealer Beurdeley, who sold it for 4,500 francs to the comte de Saint-Seine; on the latter's death in 1875 it was sold at auction for 34,500 francs to the Parisian collector Sommier. Bachereau must have acquired it from Sommier and in turn charged Dino a reputed 52,000 francs.<sup>50</sup>

Bachereau secured a second work from the Sommier collection, a wheellock hunting rifle of about 1640–50. Signed by the Munich iron chiseler Caspar Spät (ca. 1611–1691; active 1635–65) and the Augsburg gunstocker Elias Becker (active 1633–74), it is one of the finest firearms in the Dino collection (Figure 20).<sup>51</sup> The gun's iron parts are chiseled in low relief with foliate ornament and with imagery alluding to the hunt—notably the figures of Diana and Actaeon on the barrel and a dog pursuing a stag on the lock. The style of iron chiseling, particularly the contrast of the blued-iron relief on a recessed gilt ground, and such motifs as the cock of the lock formed as a dragon's head, are characteristic features of the "Munich school" of gunmaking that was sponsored by the dukes of Bavaria between about 1600 and 1670. Finely decorated arms such as this piece were prized at the Munich court and regularly given as diplomatic gifts to princes throughout Europe. Both the Albani rapier and the Spät rifle were exhibited by Sommier at the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1878, no doubt adding to their luster.<sup>52</sup>

Bachereau supplied Dino with most of his equestrian material, some of which is quite exceptional. The dealer is principally responsible for assembling the group of 153 enameled plaques and horse-harness pendants, many of which he found in Spain; he may also have acquired there a closely related piece, a rare fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century horse bit of gilt bronze bearing the enameled arms of two allied Catalan families (Figure 21).<sup>53</sup> In Vienna, Bachereau purchased for Dino two mid-fifteenth-century bone saddles: one carved with courtly figures, Adam and Eve, and Saint George and the Dragon, and the other with scrolling banderoles inscribed with German verses (Figure 22).<sup>54</sup> Both bear traces of polychromy. These works belong to a series of about twenty saddles covered with carved bone plaques of which the purpose, place of origin,





20. Caspar Spät (ca. 1611–1691), iron chiseler, and Elias Becker (recorded 1633–74), gunstocker. Wheellock rifle (detail). German (Munich), ca. 1640–50. Iron, gold, wood, and bone, L. 41 ¾ in. (106 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.180). Photograph: Juan Trujillo, Photograph Studio, MMA



21. Curb bit. Spanish (Catalan), 14th or early 15th century. Iron, gilt bronze, champlevé enamel, L. 12 ⅜ in. (31.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.478a, b)



22. Saddle. Possibly Tyrolean, ca. 1440–60. Bone, polychromy, wood, and birch bark, 18 ½ x 18 x 14 ¼ in. (47 x 45.7 x 36.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.249)

and date of origin are still unresolved.<sup>55</sup> Given that they are neither practical nor comfortable, and the fact that the rider's body would have covered the decoration, the saddles may have been intended primarily for display. The German inscriptions indicate that they come from a German cultural region in central or eastern Europe, or perhaps in the Tyrol, whereas the figures' hairstyles, costume, and armor suggest a date of 1440–60.

Most memorable of all Dino's equestrian material is the shaffron (armor for a horse's head) forged in the shape of a dragon's head, complete with rippled snout and bared teeth. The decoration, gold-damascened on a blued ground, includes the monogram of Henry II of France when he was dauphin (hereditary prince), his emblems (the dolphin and fleur-de-lis), and the date 1539 (Figure 23).<sup>56</sup> The shaffron appears to have had a long life. The armorer's marks ("ROM ROM"

23. Shaffron of Henry II of France, when dauphin. Italian, ca. 1490–1500, redecorated in France in 1539. Steel, gold, and copper alloy, 27½ x 15 in. (69.8 x 38.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.253). Photograph: Bruce Schwarz, Photograph Studio, MMA



beneath a cross and orb), struck on the left cheek plate, are usually identified with Romain des Ursins, a Milanese armorer documented as working in Lyons in the 1490s. The shaffron thus appears to be an early and rare example of embossed parade armor, a style that became widespread north and south of the Alps three decades later. This old but novel piece of armor seems to have been put back into service and redecorated for the dauphin in 1539, perhaps for use in a tournament or other ceremonial occasion connected with Emperor Charles V's (r. 1519–56) tour of France that year.

The Dino collection includes a small group of Turkman and Ottoman armor—only fourteen pieces—the quality and rarity of which rival his European holdings.<sup>57</sup> This material was probably also supplied by Bachereau. The group includes ten “turban helmets,” so named for their bulbous

form, often forged with spiral fluting that suggests the turns of a wrapped cloth turban (see Figure 50).<sup>58</sup> The distinctive helmets typically have semicircular cutouts around the eyes, a sliding nasal bar, and pierced lugs around the base by which a curtain of mail was attached to cover the face and sides of the head. The Dino works differ in form and decoration: some have spiral flutes, others are vertically channeled, and two are forged with a checkered pattern of raised diamond-shaped panels. The decoration, usually damascened in silver, typically consists of foliate and geometric ornament and Arabic inscriptions. Most of the inscriptions are honorific or royal titles; a smaller number of them are Qur'anic. One work, however, includes the name of Ya'qub (Figure 24), suggesting that this helmet either belonged to, or was made in the time of, Sultan Ya'qub





24. Turban helmet. Iran or Anatolia, ca. 1478–90. Iron, silver, and copper alloy, H. 11 in. (28.3 cm), Wt. 3 lb. (1.4 kg). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.211). Photograph: Bruce Schwarz, Photograph Studio, MMA



25. Helmet. Turkey (probably Istanbul), ca. 1550–75. Steel, gold, silver, and copper alloy, H. 10¾ in. (27.8 cm), Wt. 5 lb. 10 oz. (2.6 kg). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.456a)

(r. 1478–90), ruler of the Ak-Koyunlu (White Sheep Turkmen), the tribal federation that dominated much of Anatolia and Iran in the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>59</sup> All of the Dino turban helmets are incised with the distinctive mark applied in the Ottoman arsenals, most notably that in the former Byzantine church of Hagia Eirene in Constantinople (present-day Istanbul), where the Turks stored and displayed as military trophies the booty captured in their conquest of Persian, Mamluk, and European territories. The group of turban helmets assembled by Dino is perhaps the largest outside Istanbul.

The Islamic armor also includes a splendid sixteenth-century Ottoman helmet that was probably made in an imperial workshop in Constantinople (Figure 25).<sup>60</sup> The gracefully tapered and faceted conical bowl is forged from crucible

(“watered”) steel, with a variegated pattern in the metal that was highly prized. The bowl and its fittings, a brim, cheek-pieces, and nape plate, are damascened in gold with Qur’anic inscriptions and were formerly fitted with applied copper-alloy (or possibly silver) borders, of which only the rivets for attachment remain. The sliding nasal bar has a large terminal with a pierced Qur’anic inscription and is silver-damascened with ornament and inscriptions. Helmets of very similar workmanship are preserved in the Topkapi Saray Museum in Istanbul and in the Kremlin Armory in Moscow, where several are thought to have been gifts from the Ottoman court. Complete and well preserved, the helmet is one of the rarest and most beautiful in the collection.

The Bachereau firm supplied Dino with some of his finest pieces, but the relationship between dealer and client

ended in 1899 in a dispute over a fake weapon that Bachereau sold to Dino as genuine.<sup>61</sup> By that time, however, the duke had all but ceased collecting.

### THE DEALERS CARRAND, SPITZER, AND BARDINI

In addition to his business with Bachereau, who specialized in antique arms, Dino sought out rare pieces among the leading dealers of medieval and Renaissance works of art, notably Louis Carrand, Frédéric Spitzer, and Stefano Bardini. At least seventeen items in the Dino collection once belonged to Carrand (1821–1888).<sup>62</sup> Louis was the son of Jean-Baptiste Carrand (1792–1871), originally of Lyons, one of the pioneer collectors and dealers of medieval art, who,

after relocating in Paris in 1848, regularly catalogued auction sales at the Hôtel Drouot. He helped form several of the major collections of the period, especially that of Prince Peter Soltykoff (1804–1889). Both Carrands, father and son, were passionately interested in antique arms, and Louis inherited his father's collection in 1871. In 1888, just before his death, Louis sold to Dino, through the Paris dealer Michel Boy, two helmets and a dagger (Figure 26) for the handsome price of 35,000 francs.<sup>63</sup> The other Carrand pieces in Dino's collection were acquired indirectly, either at the Spitzer sale in 1895 or from Ressman in 1899.

A dozen of the best-known and, at the time, costliest items in the Dino collection were acquired at the historic auction of the Spitzer collection of arms and armor in Paris on June 10–14, 1895, when Dino was the most important individual buyer, spending more than 150,000 francs (about \$30,000). One of the best-known and most infamous dealers of the century, Spitzer (1815–1890) had come to Paris from Vienna in 1852 and quickly established himself as a major player in the art trade (Figure 27).<sup>64</sup> He became extremely wealthy in a short time, and his home on the rue Villejust (now rue Paul Valéry), which came to be known as the Musée Spitzer (Figure 28), was filled with rare works of art as well as some notoriously sophisticated fakes, many of which can be credited to the dealer's cunning. Spitzer's interest in arms and armor was in keeping with the tastes of his customers, and he lent frequently and generously from his "private" collection to public exhibitions beginning in the 1860s. In 1871 he purchased a significant portion of the Samuel Rush Meyrick collection, one of the earliest, largest, and best arms and armor collections in England, following its display in the South Kensington Museum in 1868–71, and within a month had sold it at a substantial profit to Sir Richard Wallace; it is now in the Wallace Collection, London.<sup>65</sup> Spitzer also bought a number of armors and weapons from Louis Carrand in 1871, at a time when the latter, vociferously critical of the newly declared Second Republic, left France and took up residence in Pisa; Spitzer acquired two additional armors from Carrand in 1874, and a third group of arms in 1883–84.<sup>66</sup> All had earlier belonged to Carrand père, and many of them represented early, sophisticated examples of restoration, if not outright faking. In this case it was Spitzer who was duped by the fakes. As a result, many of the pieces acquired by Dino at the Spitzer sale, including his four best armors, proved to be disappointments (see Appendix 1 to this article).

In June 1897 Dino began negotiations with Stefano Bardini (1836–1922) of Florence, "the king of Italian dealers,"<sup>67</sup> to purchase six of Bardini's painted shields and a fourteenth-century helmet crest, the rarest items among the dealer's small collection of arms (Figure 29). Dino eventually offered to buy four of the shields, but his offer was rejected and negotiations broke off. Had he been successful, the

26. Dagger with boxwood hilt depicting David with the head of Goliath (detail). European, ca. 1550–1600. Steel, gold, and wood, L. 12 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (31.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.141)







27. Frédéric Spitzer (1815–1890) in fancy dress, ca. 1880. Department of Arms and Armor



28. Display of arms and armor in the Musée Spitzer, rue Villejust, Paris, ca. 1890. From Bonnaffé 1890, facing p. 22

acquisition of the Bardini shields would have dramatically increased the importance of Dino's armory, since Italian shields of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are exceedingly rare. These beautifully preserved works were later included in the famous Bardini sale at Christie's in London in 1899, but like so many lots, they failed to meet the reserve price and were returned to their owner.<sup>68</sup> The shields were eventually included in the dealer's bequest to the City of Florence and are now in the Museo Stefano Bardini.

#### DINO'S FRIEND COSTANTINO RESSMAN

Dino acquired his largest single group of items (some forty-three pieces) in 1899 from his friend and fellow collector Costantino Ressman (Figure 30) only a month before the latter's death.<sup>69</sup> Ressman spent most of his adult life in diplomatic service as an attaché at the Italian embassy in Paris, with brief postings in Great Britain (1878–82) and Turkey (1892). A bachelor, he devoted much of his income and leisure time to collecting arms and armor, mostly European. His first documented purchases, two Japanese daggers (*tanto*), were acquired at the Paris Exposition Universelle in 1867. Over the next thirty years he bought hundreds of objects, regularly selling off lesser items to finance the purchase of better ones. Ressman kept careful records of his holdings, including receipts for purchases and restoration

work, and he maintained up-to-date inventories of his collection, complete with the date, source, and cost of each item, so that the formation and evolution of the collection are well documented.<sup>70</sup> He also advised a fellow collector, Count Giulio Franchetti (1840–1909) of Florence, to whom he sold almost a hundred pieces from his personal collec-



29. Painted shields of the 14th and 15th centuries in the collection of Stefano Bardini, Florence. From Bardini sale 1899, pl. 46

30. Charles Reutlinger (German, 1816–1881). Costantino Ressman (1832–1899). Photograph, ca. 1870. C. A. de Cosson Papers, Library of the Royal Armouries, Leeds. Photograph: © Royal Armouries



31. Foot-combat helm of Sir Giles Capel. Possibly Flemish, ca. 1510. Steel and copper alloy, H. 17½ in. (44.5 cm), Wt. 13 lb. 8 oz. (6.1 kg). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.274). Photograph: Karin L. Willis, Photograph Studio, MMA



tion between 1883 and 1888.<sup>71</sup> Ressman's acquisitions came from many sources, including public auctions, dealers, and fellow collectors. He bought regularly from the established Paris dealers (Henry, Boutet, Bachereau, and Spitzer), as well as Bardini in Florence, Pickert in Nuremberg, and Louis Carrand in Pisa. He was a friend and client of Carrand's and appears to have been well informed about the latter's business; in 1883–84 he helped negotiate the sale of some of Carrand's remaining arms to Spitzer.<sup>72</sup>

Ressman was also a good friend of Baron de Cosson's, and their correspondence between 1888 and 1899 reveals much about their personal collecting, events in the art market, and the activities of the duc de Dino. It was from de Cosson that Ressman acquired one of his most important pieces, a rare and handsome early sixteenth-century foot-combat helm of Sir Giles Capel (Figure 31). Ressman persuaded his reluctant friend to sell it on April 17, 1893, on the eve of the sale of the de Cosson collection at Christie's, London, on May 2–3.<sup>73</sup> The Capel helm was one of ten helmets bought by Dino from Ressman in 1899 and is one of the highlights of the Dino collection.

The duke's friendship with Ressman, which dates from the early 1890s, proved instrumental in the formation of his collection. Ressman was a frequent visitor to the duke's country estate at Montmorency and was particularly fond of the duchess. Dino's affection for Ressman is reflected in the



32. Horse-harness pendant decorated with a dog and the motto "Leal." Spanish, 15th century. Enameled bronze, H. 1½ in. (3.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.429). Photograph: Juan Trujillo, Photograph Studio, MMA



gifts he presented him, which included the two items from Cyprus, already mentioned, two daggers, and an etched and gilt brayette (codpiece) belonging to the armor made for Don Carlos (1545–1568), the son of Philip II of Spain.<sup>74</sup> Ressman, in turn, gave the duke a fifteenth-century enameled-bronze pendant for a horse harness; embellished with a dog and the accompanying Spanish motto *Leal* (loyal) (Figure 32), the piece complemented the duke's holdings of similar equestrian material.<sup>75</sup> Dino was a regular visitor to Ressman's Paris apartment at 9, rue Richepanse during the latter's final illness, and their close relationship persuaded Ressman to sell a portion of his collection to Dino. (The remainder of Ressman's collection, comprising 280 pieces, mostly arms and armor, was bequeathed to the Bargello in Florence.)<sup>76</sup>

Dino's purchases from Ressman included the latter's only armor, a composite late fifteenth-century *Stechzeug*, a specialized tournament armor for the German joust with blunt lances (Figure 33), as well as ten helmets and thirty-four daggers, for a total of 117,000 francs. The *Stechzeug* had been painstakingly composed by Ressman from a number of different sources over several years.<sup>77</sup> He acquired the left jousting gauntlet (manifer) from fellow collector Count Basilewsky in 1881 and the breastplate in 1887 from Bachereau, who had new tassets, a lance-rest, and counter-rest (queue) made to match; the dealer also supplied a "blind" shaffron (one that covered the horse's eyes to keep it from shying during the encounter), having it polished and its roundel restored. At the Londesborough sale at Christie's, London, in July 1888 (lot 276), Ressman bought the right arm (vambrace), and in December of that year he bought privately from de Cosson the two pauldrons and besagews. In November 1889 he had a restorer named Nègre in Paris fabricate a jousting targe (shield), formed of a thick wood core plated on the exterior with horn scales. That month Ressman also bought a late fifteenth-century backplate from Maurice Chabrières-Arlès of Lyons. Finally, in October of 1891, he commissioned the Paris armorer Alexandre Lebon to complete the missing parts and mount the armor, a task that included the fabrication of a helm of appropriate type. For this last and most challenging job, Lebon employed the talented armorer Daniel Tachaux.<sup>78</sup> The handsomely restored and completed armor cost Ressman a total of 7,950 francs; his price to Dino was 30,000 francs.

Dino was especially fortunate to acquire ten of Ressman's earliest and most important helmets for 50,000 francs. Among the rarest were two war hats—one possibly of fourteenth-century date that was said to have been found in Lake Morat, Switzerland,<sup>79</sup> and the other a fifteenth-century French or Burgundian work with an elegant spiral bowl (Figure 34) of the type seen on Burgundian tapestries of the 1470s and 1480s<sup>80</sup>—and two early sixteenth-century helms



33. Armor for the joust of peace (*Stechzeug*). German, ca. 1500, composite with extensive 19th-century restorations. Steel, copper alloy, and leather, 21¼ x 10⅞ in. (54.1 x 27.6 cm), Wt. 5 lb. 13 oz. (2.6 kg). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.291a–q, 292)



34. War hat. Possibly Franco-Burgundian, ca. 1470–80. Steel, H. 10¼ in. (26 cm), Wt. 6 lb. 7 oz. (2.9 kg). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.228). Photograph: Karin L. Willis, Photograph Studio, MMA



35. Foot-combat helm. Possibly Flemish, ca. 1510–20. Steel and copper alloy, H. 16½ in. (42 cm), Wt. 11 lb. 12 oz. (5.3 kg). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.248). Photograph: Juan Trujillo, Photograph Studio, MMA

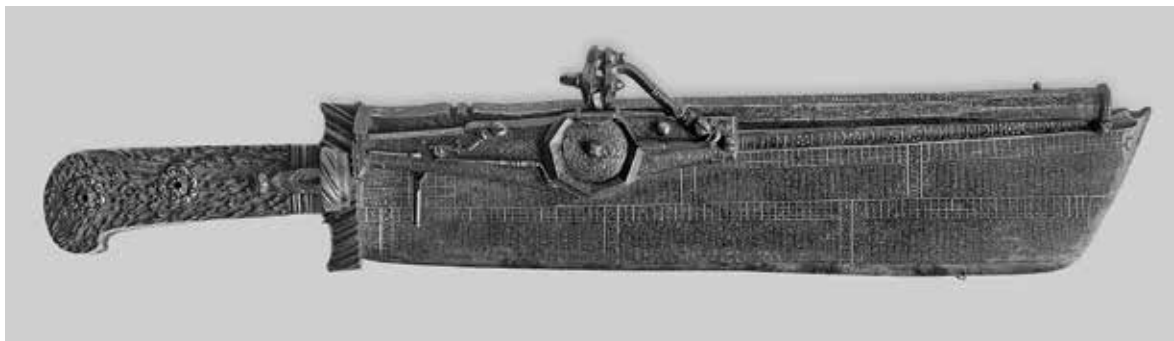
for foot-combat use, both with English associations—the aforementioned Capel helm (Figure 31) and one from the collection of Lord Stafford (Figure 35).<sup>81</sup> Dino also purchased from his friend thirty-four daggers—an area in which Ressman's collection was especially strong and Dino's notably weak—which cost him 37,000 francs. To judge from the daggers bequeathed to the Bargello and those sold to Dino, Ressman clearly disposed of the lesser examples, which nevertheless included several interesting ones. The best-known and most frequently published specimen is a combination hunting knife and wheellock pistol (Figure 36). Unfortunately, the work is composite: the blade was etched in 1528 or 1529 on each side with a calendar for the years 1529 to 1534 and signed by the famous Munich etcher Ambrosius Gemlich (active about 1527–42); the wheellock mechanism is etched with the date 1540 (or 1546); the last numeral is indistinct; and the hilt is of seventeenth-century type.<sup>82</sup> Other notable daggers included a table knife probably made for the

Habsburg court during the reign of Emperor Maximilian I (1508–19) by Hans Summersperger of Hall, in Tyrol, the mother-of-pearl grip plaques of which, here carved with the arms of Austria, appear to be a hallmark of his work (Figure 37),<sup>83</sup> and a so-called Swiss dagger dated 1561, the distinctive cast, pierced, and gilt scabbard of which bears a scene from the legend of William Tell (Figure 38).<sup>84</sup>

#### DINO'S AGENT BARON DE COSSON

Whereas Dino and Ressman were close personal friends of Dino's, the relationship between the duke and Baron de Cosson was more businesslike. The two were acquainted by 1891,<sup>85</sup> and beginning about 1896, de Cosson acted as Dino's paid adviser in matters concerning his armor collection. Dino's choice of this knowledgeable, experienced, and respected specialist was well founded.





36. Ambrosius Gemlich (active ca. 1527–42), etcher. Combination hunting knife and wheellock pistol. German, blade, Munich, ca. 1528–29, wheellock dated 1540 or 1546, hilt probably 17th century. Steel, copper alloy, gold, and staghorn, L. 18¼ in. (46.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.158)



38. Swiss dagger, the scabbard with a scene of William Tell. Swiss, dated 1561. Steel, gilt copper alloy, and wood, L. 15¾ in. (40 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.130–132)

37. Hans Sumersperger (recorded 1492–98). Table knife, probably made for Maximilian I (r. 1508–19). Austrian (Hall in Tyrol), late 15th century. Steel, copper alloy, and mother-of-pearl, L. 18⅝ in. (47.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.152). Photograph: Juan Trujillo, Photograph Studio, MMA



Charles Alexander de Cosson (1846–1929), known as Baron de Cosson, was the descendant of a French aristocrat who had immigrated to England at the time of the Revolution (Figure 39).<sup>86</sup> He was perhaps the best-known and most respected English arms specialist at the end of the nineteenth century—a collector, scholar, and gentleman dealer. His published works, few in number, were invariably well researched and closely reasoned studies. His reputation was established in 1880 with the exhibition of helmets and mail that he organized with another collector, the renowned Gothic Revival architect William Burges (1827–1881), at the British Archaeological Institute in London.<sup>87</sup>

De Cosson’s methodology—his careful selection of exhibits, detailed descriptions, and thoughtful attributions and dating of the pieces—set high standards for armor studies for years to come. He traveled extensively throughout Europe, knew all the major public and private collections, and played an active role in the art market. A devoted *amateur d’armes* since childhood, he formed several large and important collections during his lifetime, two of which he sold at auction at Christie’s, London, in 1890 and 1893, respectively; his final holdings were dispersed at Sotheby’s following his death in 1929. Though he seems to have had sufficient resources to allow him to travel and collect



39. Charles Alexander, Baron de Cosson (1846–1929), ca. 1920. Department of Arms and Armor



40. Château du duc de Dino, Montmorency, France. Postcard, ca. 1900. Department of Arms and Armor

without the necessity of regular employment, de Cosson helped support his family, and certainly his collecting, by the regular buying, selling, and restoring of antique arms and through commissions he earned as agent for wealthy clients like Dino. From 1891 to 1901 he lived in Dinan, in Brittany, apparently for financial reasons, and one suspects that his residence in France and fluency in the French language, as well as his prominence in the arms and armor field, recommended him to the duc de Dino.

In the summer of 1896, de Cosson was employed for several weeks at Montmorency, where he set about arranging the armor. The château, located in the town of Montmorency, north of Paris, occupied the site of the country residence of Charles Le Brun, court painter to Louis XIV. The original building was torn down in 1878 and replaced in 1881–82 by a French Renaissance-style structure, which was bought by the duke's future wife, Adele, in 1886 and immediately

extended, refurbished, and modernized (Figure 40). De Cosson designed new mannequins for the armors, which he arranged around the tapestry-lined walls of the armory, and had special vitrines constructed for the display of swords, firearms, and smaller items (Figures 41, 42).<sup>88</sup>

The duke's spectacular purchases at the Spitzer sale in 1895, which substantially increased the size, importance, and international reputation of his collection, undoubtedly inspired him to take steps to exhibit it properly and to record it in some sort of publication. By February 1897 Dino proposed that de Cosson prepare a catalogue of the collection, indicating his intention to exhibit it at the 1900 Exposition Universelle in Paris.<sup>89</sup> Although the various international fairs held alternately in London and Paris since the Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851 traditionally focused on the modern culture and commerce of each exhibitor nation, they often occasioned associated "retrospective" exhibitions featuring the art of earlier centuries drawn from both public and private collections. Both the Exposition Historique du Trocadéro, organized in conjunction with the Exposition Universelle of 1878, and the Exposition Rétrospective Militaire du Ministère de Guerre, organized at the time of the Exposition Universelle of 1889, were notable for their displays of arms and armor from private collections, especially those of William Riggs and Frédéric Spitzer.<sup>90</sup> Those displays were surely the models Dino had in mind for the exhibition of his collection. None of the earlier exhibited collections had been properly catalogued, however, and Dino clearly wanted to leave a permanent record.

In the process of cataloging Dino's collection, de Cosson recommended that the duke weed out fakes and lesser works. These, along with items from de Cosson's own collection, were dispatched for sale to Christie's in London. The auction, billed as the "Property of a Nobleman," was held on July 14, 1897.<sup>91</sup> At about the same time de Cosson also sold the duke three items from his personal collection. The most important was the superb ivory-inlaid crossbow dated 1460 that was made for Count Ulrich of Württemberg, which de Cosson had acquired in the 1870s and had published in a scholarly article in 1893 (Figure 43).<sup>92</sup> Although Resson warned de Cosson that the duke had shown no previous interest in crossbows,<sup>93</sup> Dino was persuaded to acquire this unique specimen. The Württemberg crossbow, one of Dino's most notable pieces, is particularly significant as the earliest dated crossbow and one of the very few fifteenth-century examples for which the original owner is known. Dino also purchased from de Cosson a late sixteenth-century two-hand sword<sup>94</sup> and a fine early seventeenth-century shaffron with chiseled and gilt decoration that de Cosson astutely recognized as relating to several royal armors, now thought to be Dutch, in the Tower of London (Figure 44).<sup>95</sup>





41. Duc de Dino's armory as displayed in his château at Montmorency, ca. 1898. Photograph: Courtesy Opera Museo Stibbert, Florence



42. Detail of the duc de Dino's armory as displayed in his château at Montmorency, ca. 1898. Royal Armouries, Leeds. Photograph: © Royal Armouries



43. Crossbow of Ulrich V, Count of Württemberg (1413–1480). German (possibly Stuttgart), dated 1460. Horn, tendon, birch bark, wood, ivory, iron, copper alloy, and pigments, 28¼ x 25¾ in. (71.8 x 65.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.36). Photograph: Juan Trujillo, Photograph Studio, MMA

As mentioned, it was also with de Cosson's advice and influence that Dino was able to acquire the large group of arms from Ressman. De Cosson appears to have established the price for each of the items, a delicate business, since he was trying to get the best prices possible for his gravely ill friend without taking unfair advantage of his employer, who was paying him a commission on the sale.

The Ressman purchase of 1899 was the duke's last major arms and armor acquisition, though de Cosson made several last-minute attempts to acquire additional objects for his employer. Most important among them was the embossed parade armor of Henry II of France, a work of about 1540–45 attributed to the Negroli workshop in Milan

(Figure 45).<sup>96</sup> Formerly in the collection of Count Colbert (as was Dino's "Medici" helmet), the armor came on the Paris art market in 1892 and caused considerable excitement among the arms amateurs. It was purchased in 1894 by the banker and art speculator Sigismund Bardac. In March 1899 he and de Cosson corresponded but failed to agree on a price, and this historic armor escaped Dino's hands.<sup>97</sup>

In the summer of 1899, the armory at Montmorency was dismantled and packed for transfer to the duke's new residence at Monte Carlo. For many years Dino had wintered in Monte Carlo, renting the Villa Léontine, which he now purchased and renamed the Villa Périgord. From the autumn of 1899 until his death in 1917, this would be his principal

44. Shaffron. Dutch, ca. 1620. Steel, gold, and leather, 21¼ x 10¼ in. (54 x 26 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.109). Photograph: Bruce Schwarz, Photograph Studio, MMA



45. Giovanni Paolo Negrolì (ca. 1513–1569). Armor of Henry II of France, when dauphin. Italian (Milan), ca. 1540–45. Steel, gold, leather, and textile. Wt. 38 lb. 10 oz. (17.5 kg). Private collection



residence.<sup>98</sup> The duke's move appears to have been precipitated by the gradual dissolution of his marriage, although his wife did not petition for a divorce until April 1903.<sup>99</sup> The duke closed up his house at 21, place Vendôme and put the Château Montmorency up for sale (it sold in 1901), while the duchess, who had no intention of moving to Monte Carlo, rented a house in the Paris district of Passy.<sup>100</sup> Throughout the spring and summer of that year Dino personally attended to the packing of his works of art at Montmorency.<sup>101</sup> By January 1900 de Cosson was invited to come to Monte Carlo to set up the armory again.<sup>102</sup> The move to Monte Carlo was particularly regretted by Ressman, who worried that the collection would rust in the sea air.<sup>103</sup> No further mention was made of exhibiting the collection at the Exposition Universelle that spring.

Dino's changing circumstances did not alter his interest in seeing de Cosson's catalogue completed. Instead of an exhibition catalogue, however, it became a deluxe sale

catalogue, produced with wealthy American buyers in mind. The folio-sized volume was handsomely bound in parchment and blue marbled paper, the text printed on heavy stock with wide margins, and the twenty-three illustrations rendered in photogravure. De Cosson's descriptions of the objects are brief, generally with minimal discussion or commentary. Provenance information is sparse, no marks or details are reproduced, and no mention is made of the restorations or other condition issues. In all these aspects, the volume is reminiscent of, and indeed was probably modeled after, the six folio-sized, privately printed catalogues of the Spitzer collection, which were published between 1890 and 1893, just prior to the collection's dispersal at auction.<sup>104</sup>

De Cosson's work on the Dino catalogue, interrupted by the move to Monte Carlo, was resumed by the summer of 1901. On August 10 the photographic printer Paul Dujardin presented the duke with a bill for 2,278 francs for printing

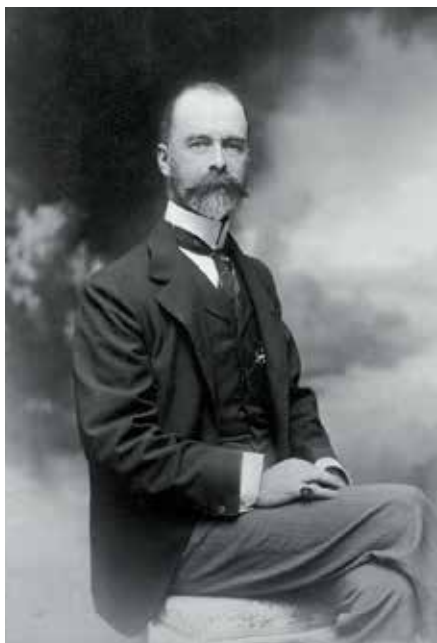


the illustrations.<sup>105</sup> On October 16 de Cosson forwarded to Dino a draft of his introduction, dedicated to the duchess; a few days later Dino replied that she preferred not to be mentioned.<sup>106</sup> On November 1 the publisher, Édouard Rouveyre, delivered to the duchess a unique copy of the completed catalogue printed on Japanese paper.<sup>107</sup> This attention to the duchess suggests that she may have been financing the publication. Later that month a fire at the binder's destroyed the entire catalogue print run.<sup>108</sup> The duke, anxious to sell his collection, was becoming impatient with the delays in producing the catalogue. Fortunately, the binder was insured and the original photogravure plates were preserved, so that in the end the publisher was able to produce two hundred copies.<sup>109</sup> Despite the 1901 publication date on the title page, the first bound copies were not ready until early spring the next year. De Cosson was charged with the task of distributing them to select museums, collectors, and dealers.

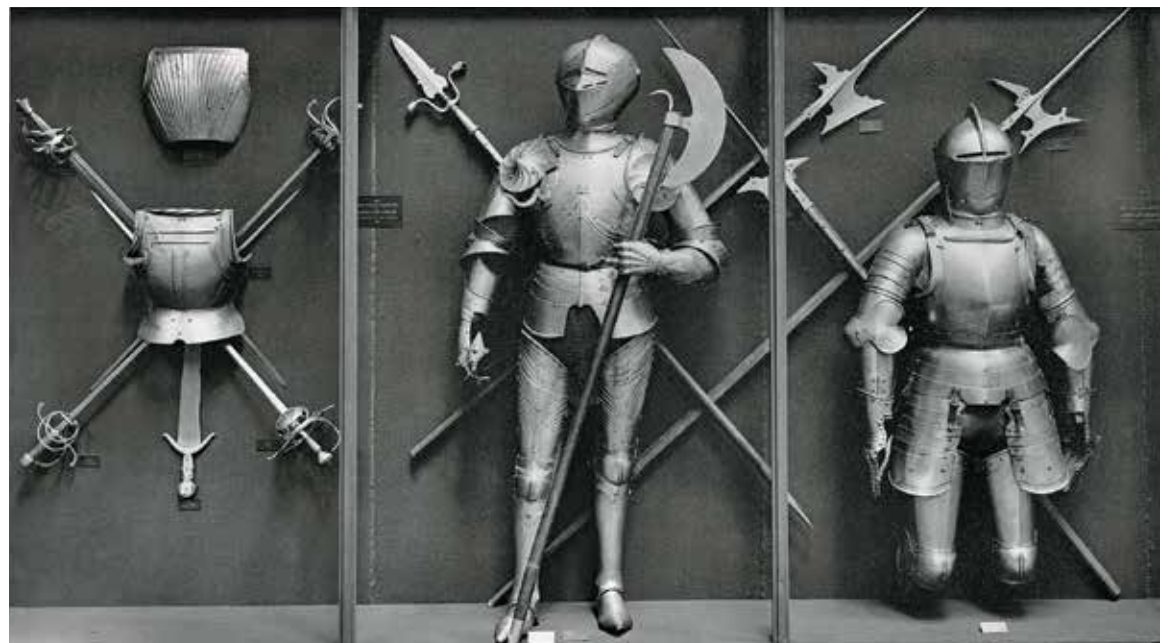
The collection, intended to be sold *en bloc*, was valued by the duke at three million francs (about \$600,000), although he privately acknowledged that he was prepared to accept two million (\$400,000), with a 10 percent commission going to de Cosson as the catalogue author and selling agent.<sup>110</sup> Dino told de Cosson his reason for selling: he had bequeathed the collection to his daughter, Palma, now Princess Ruspoli, but because she wished to buy a palace in Rome, he would instead provide her the necessary funds from the proceeds of the sale.<sup>111</sup> On the other hand, there were also rumors that the duke was selling his collection owing to financial difficulties.<sup>112</sup>

De Cosson had in mind his client Rutherford Stuyvesant (1843–1909) as a potential buyer (Figure 46). Born Alan Stuyvesant Rutherford, Stuyvesant had changed his name at the request of his great-uncle Peter G. Stuyvesant, a wealthy merchant who had no direct heirs, and had thereby come into a large inheritance.<sup>113</sup> An entrepreneur, world traveler, sportsman, and, by the 1880s if not before, a devoted collector of arms and armor, Stuyvesant was the Museum's youngest trustee when appointed in 1870 and one of the longest-lived members of the board when he died in 1909. His greatest contribution to the Museum was his championing of arms and armor as a subject worthy of museum display. Most notably, in 1896 he recommended acceptance of the gift of 150 antique arms from John Stoneacre Ellis (1828–1896) of Westchester, New York. Although the Ellis collection was of very modest quality and lacked richly embellished or historically important works, it was significant for introducing arms and armor into the Museum's permanent collection. The Ellis pieces were installed in vitrines arranged in panoplies in no particular order and for more than a decade occupied a gallery of their own on the Museum's second floor (Figure 47). Stuyvesant's own arms collection, which numbered about six hundred items at his death, was probably the largest in the country.<sup>114</sup>

Stuyvesant and de Cosson had struck up a friendship in 1893, at the time of the second de Cosson sale at Christie's, London, where the American had bought many of the best pieces.<sup>115</sup> Stuyvesant came to rely on de Cosson for advice. It was de Cosson who guided him at the Spitzer sale in 1895 and who introduced him to the duc de Dino. The two



46. Rutherford Stuyvesant (1843–1909), ca. 1890. Department of Arms and Armor



47. Portions of the John S. Ellis collection of arms and armor as exhibited at the Metropolitan Museum from ca. 1896 to 1907 (photographed 1907)

visited Montmorency together in September 1897,<sup>116</sup> and Stuyvesant subsequently entertained the duke and duchess in Paris and on his yacht, the *Octurus*, on the French Riviera. Stuyvesant showed no desire to purchase the Dino collection himself, but he was concerned that it find a home in the United States. In a letter of June 30, 1901, he informed de Cosson, "I have had the collection proposed to Mr. Pierpont Morgan but he does not take any interest in armor and I expect to submit it to Carnegie."<sup>117</sup> On September 1 he wrote, "I am the more anxious to get it [the catalogue], as the Metropolitan Museum of New York has recently received a bequest of several millions of dollars and might be induced to use some of their income for the purchase of this collection."<sup>118</sup> A few years would pass, however, before the Metropolitan would act on Stuyvesant's enthusiasm.

A number of dealers in London and Paris—including Fernand Robert, Charles Sedelmeyer, Jacques Seligmann, and Charles Wertheimer—voiced interest in the Dino collection for their unnamed clients, though most tried to negotiate piecemeal sales of the more attractive pieces rather than buy the collection en bloc.<sup>119</sup> One suspects that their interest and offers were largely speculative, with most hoping to sell any acquisitions to their mutual client, J. P. Morgan.

Dino's hopes were raised in the spring of 1903 when Kaiser Wilhelm II (r. 1888–1918) of Germany expressed interest in the collection and sent the director of the Zeughaus (Arsenal Museum) in Berlin—something of a temple to Prussian military glory—to Monte Carlo to examine the collection. The director, Edgar von Ubisch, spent an unprecedented four days examining the Dino pieces in detail, including dismounting the armors from their mannequins, an exercise that even de Cosson had not undertaken in the preparation of his catalogue. De Cosson patiently attended the German and reported to Dino that he was polite, very experienced, but terribly slow and methodical. The director concluded that he particularly liked the Resson material, the Fontaine and Londesborough armors, and the pieces from Spain but was not impressed by those from the Spitzer collection, which included his most important armors. His offer to purchase individual pieces was rejected, and he returned to Berlin to make his report. On May 27 Dino was informed that the kaiser was not interested. On June 27 Dino, who was getting desperate, asked de Cosson if he could find two or three London dealers to buy the collection for 1,500,000 francs.<sup>120</sup>

Having received no concrete offers after eighteen months, the duke resolved to sell the collection at auction. Although Dino had initially intended to sell it at the Hôtel Drouot in Paris, he was instead persuaded by de Cosson to send it to Christie's in London. In a letter of March 19, 1903, Guy Laking, the armor expert at Christie's and a longtime

friend of de Cosson's, argued for a London sale: "There is so much money here now, and so few things [to buy that] I believe it would be a great success. Paris buyers will always come to London for a sale and London buyers . . . will not go to Paris."<sup>121</sup> Persuaded by the argument, the duke sent to Christie's, London, in the spring of 1904 a large consignment of pictures, furniture, silver, porcelain, jades, enamels, and his entire collection of arms and armor.<sup>122</sup> The arms were scheduled to be sold on June 3, 1904. The sale, in Bachereau's words, would be "a wonderful spectacle."<sup>123</sup>

## THE METROPOLITAN BUYS AN ARMOR COLLECTION

The Metropolitan's acquisition of the Dino collection can be credited to the determination and passion of Rutherford Stuyvesant. An ardent Francophile, Stuyvesant spent several months each year in France, where he maintained a residence in Paris. His presence in Paris in March 1904 proved to be fortuitous, as J. P. Morgan is said to have cabled him from London soon after his arrival to alert him of the imminent sale of the Dino collection at Christie's, London.<sup>124</sup> Stuyvesant wasted no time in contacting Dino, with whom he negotiated a firm offer of sale. On March 24 he cabled Frederick Rhineland, the Museum's president: "Dino collection armor to be sold at Christie's June 3. Can be bought by Museum for three hundred thousand dollars if taken at once before advertised. Opportunity unique, not occur again in lifetime. Urge acceptance most earnestly."<sup>125</sup>

The Dino collection was not, in fact, wholly unknown to the Metropolitan's administration and trustees: Stuyvesant had left a copy of de Cosson's catalogue in the Board Room for consultation in 1902–3.<sup>126</sup> It is not clear from Museum records why the purchase of the Dino collection was not addressed earlier. The asking price of three million francs was probably too high and the available purchase funds too low. (The Rogers Fund, the principal endowment for acquisitions, which derived from the bequest of Jacob S. Rogers in 1901, had only begun to earn interest after the settlement of the estate in 1903.) It may also be significant that the Museum's purchasing committee, formed of a select group of trustees and given the authority for all acquisitions of art, was only established on November 30, 1903.

Reaction to Stuyvesant's cable was immediate. On March 26 Rhineland cabled Luigi Palma di Cesnola, director of the Metropolitan Museum, to inform him of the telegram, and Cesnola in turn cabled Stuyvesant to assure him that the executive committee would consider the proposal on the following Monday. In his reply to Rhineland later that day, Cesnola reminded him that the copy of the Dino catalogue that had been shown earlier to the executive



committee had since been returned to Stuyvesant and therefore was unavailable for consultation. On March 28 Stuyvesant cabled Cesnola to say that Dino had given the Museum an option until April 23. He reiterated his endorsement of the purchase: "I sincerely hope that the committee will act favorably as I am more than ever convinced of the propriety and importance of securing this collection."<sup>127</sup>

The executive committee met on March 28 to discuss Dino's offer and recommended favorable action by the purchasing committee, which was convened by Rhinelander on April 1, with the attending members William L. Andrews, Daniel Chester French, and Samuel Avery. The committee was persuaded by Stuyvesant's recommendation, with the exception of Avery. Cesnola reported to Stuyvesant the next day: "[Avery] as usual [crossed out] found many objections saying that he did not know anything about the value of the Collection, he had not seen any Catalogue of it, and did not even know how many objects there were in the collection, etc. etc, he was not willing to vote for the expenditure of so large an amount, without obtaining more information concerning the collection, etc, etc, etc. Had it not been for Avery's objection, other members would have been in favor to authorize you to conclude the purchase at once." After considerable and, one suspects, heated discussions, the committee resolved to authorize Stuyvesant to offer Dino \$250,000 for the collection, with the proviso that, should the duke refuse the offer, Stuyvesant was to keep the Museum's option open until the April 23 deadline. The proviso was added by Rhinelander and Cesnola without consultation with Avery, but a copy of the Dino catalogue was to be messengered to the Museum from Stuyvesant's country home in New Jersey for Avery's benefit.<sup>128</sup> On April 6 Stuyvesant cabled Rhinelander that Dino had accepted the offer.<sup>129</sup> The date of April 11 was set for the signing of the contract of sale in Paris.<sup>130</sup>

News of the sale leaked out to the press in Paris by April 8, and the next day notices appeared in New York newspapers announcing the Museum's acquisition of "the celebrated Dino collection."<sup>131</sup> The purchase did not proceed quite so promptly or smoothly as expected, however. On April 11 Stuyvesant cabled Rhinelander that Christie's, London, claimed a 5 percent commission plus expenses for handling the Dino collection, fees that the duke was himself unwilling to pay. The cost of the purchase suddenly escalated, possibly as high as \$270,000 including Christie's fees, and Stuyvesant warned that, without a contract of sale, the duke had no obligation to follow through with the deal. He pointed out that the purchase was a great bargain even at the new price. Rhinelander responded immediately, advising Cesnola to authorize the purchase and to gain the consent of the other members of the purchase committee. On April 12 the members were polled: Avery and Andrews objected, while French agreed if the rest of the committee was in favor.

In view of the members' dissent, a special meeting of the purchasing committee was convened at 5:00 p.m. on April 13 at Rhinelander's home. Over Avery's objection, the committee authorized the purchase at \$270,000 on the conditions that there would be an expert verification of the contents of the collection against the published catalogue and that proper shipping documents would be delivered to Morgan in advance of payment. Stuyvesant was cabled the committee's conditions that day and was told the offer was final. The duke accepted the offer, and Christie's relented on its demands, accepting a reduced commission of £1,000 (about \$5,000). On April 15 Dino informed Christie's of the transfer of title, instructing them to deliver the collection to Morgan on behalf of the Metropolitan Museum. On the same day the contents of the collection were verified at Christie's by Guy Laking, who no doubt lamented the lost opportunity to catalogue it for sale. The next day the *Daily Telegraph* in London announced the sale of the Dino collection to the Metropolitan Museum, incorrectly citing the purchase price as £80,000 (about \$400,000).<sup>132</sup>

On April 18 Stuyvesant informed Cesnola that the duke was giving the Museum the cases and mannequins for the armor collection that had been designed by de Cosson and would help the pieces "look their best." Stuyvesant also related that the duke was very concerned that his name be attached to the collection and that this was one of the inducements for him to sell at the "low" price of \$250,000. He observed that many collectors, including the monarchs of England and Germany, were upset at learning of the sale to the Museum and of the lost opportunity to add to their collections: "They complain that those wretched Americans are getting everything worth having. I confess that this is rather a source of satisfaction to me." In Paris the collector Jean-Jacques Reubell, later a benefactor of the Metropolitan Museum, sympathized with de Cosson, who had missed a large commission on the sale: "Dino made a great mistake, but I think his creditors were after him."<sup>133</sup>

On the same day Morgan cabled Rhinelander from London to verify that Laking had inspected and certified the collection against the published catalogue and that Dino had been paid. He congratulated Rhinelander, "Wonderful collection, great acquisition for Museum, price exceedingly moderate."

The total cost of the purchase came to \$257,027.08, approximately 1,250,000 francs, less than half the duke's original asking price.<sup>134</sup> The most expensive purchase made by the Museum to date was made possible by the Rogers Fund, the accrued interest of which by late April amounted to a little over \$265,000—just enough to pay for the Dino collection.<sup>135</sup>

The Dino collection was packed immediately and shipped on the *SS Minnehaha*. The contents of the forty-three crates



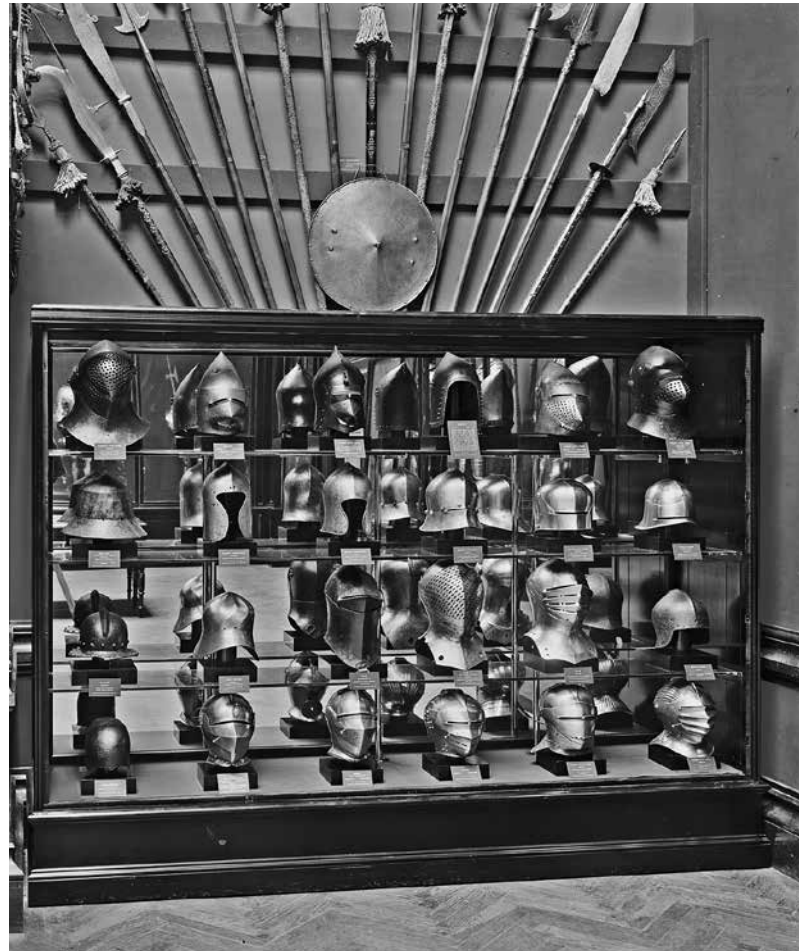
48. Bashford Dean (1867–1928), ca. 1920.  
Department of Arms and Armor



49. View of portions of the Dino collection as installed at the Metropolitan Museum (photographed 1907)



50. Detail of Figure 49 (left)



51. Detail of Figure 49 (right)





52. View of the Dino armors in the Metropolitan Museum as installed by Bashford Dean in 1909

were listed in the documents as “merchandise” or “hardware.” The arrival of the collection in New York on May 10 generated a new wave of publicity for the collection.

#### BASHFORD DEAN OFFERS HIS SERVICES

The purchase had barely been announced when Bashford Dean (Figure 48) wrote Cesnola to congratulate him and offer his services in getting the Dino collection unpacked and displayed.<sup>136</sup> Dean was no stranger to the Metropolitan Museum. Despite his teaching commitments as Professor of Vertebrate Zoology at Columbia University and concurrent responsibilities as Curator of Fishes at the American Museum of Natural History, he had found time in 1903 to organize a loan exhibition of Japanese arms and armor at the Museum and to author its illustrated catalogue, the Metropolitan’s first publication in the field of arms and armor.<sup>137</sup> Cesnola, an admirer, immediately accepted his offer, replying that “doubtless there is no man in this country more able and fit to do this work than yourself.”<sup>138</sup>

On May 31 the Metropolitan’s director was authorized by the executive committee to incur such expenses as were necessary for the installation of the Dino collection, the sum

not to exceed three hundred dollars.<sup>139</sup> A ready-made gallery with existing vitrines on the Museum’s second floor, in the original 1880 wing, was appropriated for the purpose. The installation appears to have been largely completed by June 21, when Dean wrote to William Riggs, “I need not tell you what a delightful time I had arranging it for exhibition.”<sup>140</sup> The official opening followed two months later, with the first private viewing on August 27. In the following days local newspapers carried enthusiastic and often copiously illustrated articles about the Metropolitan’s important new acquisition now at last on view. Some sense of the original display is provided by a gallery photograph taken in 1907, which shows the cluttered, decorative arrangement of the Dino collection, with more than fifty helmets displayed in two mirrored vitrines along one wall of the gallery and panoplies of arms placed above (Figures 49–51).

A few years later Dean improved on his original installation. He had been particularly dissatisfied with the presentation of the armors, which he felt stood too high in the vitrines, placed flat against the wall like those of the Ellis collection (see Figure 47). He had new vitrines made that had lower bases and were freestanding so that the armors stood at a more natural height in relation to the viewer and could be seen in the round (Figure 52). He also had tapestries

hung on the walls to give the display color and ambience. In the coming years Dean's ideas for gallery installations would develop from these early experiences.

No sooner had the collection been installed than Dean began to contemplate a catalogue to publicize it. At the time no American author had published a book on European arms and armor. Dean envisioned it as a popular work that would "give an outline of the evolution of the armor of western Europe, using as illustrations some of the best examples, with many figures of the Dino objects."<sup>141</sup> Published by the autumn of 1905, Dean's *Catalogue of European Arms and Armor* offers a very readable general history of arms and armor from antiquity to the seventeenth century, including a summary catalogue of the Dino and Ellis collections. The first section was illustrated mostly with line drawings from contemporary sources, whereas the catalogue section was illustrated with new photographs of the objects (which Dean considered one of the book's principal virtues) and even renderings of the armorers' marks, a novel feature at that date.<sup>142</sup> The publication concluded with a list of other collections in Europe and North America in which arms and armor could be studied. Dean was fully aware of the book's shortcomings and the haste with which it had been written, but despite its faults he expressed his hope to Riggs that "the little book may do some good in spreading an interest in the branch of art/archaeology in which we are all so concerned—even if it does no more than put in the

hands of a visitor a series of pictures of the more important objects."<sup>143</sup>

Dean relished the time he devoted to the Dino collection and characterized his efforts to introduce the collection, and the subject of arms and armor in general, to the public as "missionary work."<sup>144</sup> Indeed, he confessed to William Riggs, "I am almost ashamed of myself that I have allowed zoology to have kept me all these years away from my favorite study."<sup>145</sup>

On February 19, 1906, Dean wrote to Sir Caspar Purdon-Clarke, who had succeeded General Cesnola as director in 1904, to suggest that, in light of his services to the Museum, he be appointed honorary (unpaid) curator of arms and armor.<sup>146</sup> Dean's proposal was warmly supported by Stuyvesant and was enthusiastically accepted by the executive committee at their meeting on April 28.<sup>147</sup> From that point on, Dean dedicated his time, energy, and personal financial resources toward the building and promoting of the Metropolitan's arms and armor collection. It was a measure of his achievements to date, and those anticipated in the coming years, that on October 28, 1912, the Museum established a separate Department of Arms and Armor with Dean as its full-time salaried curator. The subsequent history of arms and armor at the Metropolitan Museum, including the growth of the holdings from about twelve hundred objects in 1904 to fourteen thousand today, is unimaginable without the transformative purchase of the Dino collection.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My sincere thanks go to the institutions and individuals who, over the past twenty years, have provided invaluable assistance, including access to original documents, photocopies, and photographs, in my research for this study: the Library of the Royal Armouries at the Tower of London and at Leeds, especially Sarah Barter Bailey, who first brought the duc de Dino's correspondence to my attention, Philip Abbott, and Stuart Iverson; the Opera Museo Stibbert in Florence, notably its late director Lionello G. Boccia and the current librarian Simona Di Marco; Lynda McLeod, librarian, Christie's Archives, London; and in the MMA Archives, notably Jeanie James, former archivist, and Barbara W. File, archivist. I enjoyed a valuable exchange of Dino-related documentation with Robert Merrillees, F.S.A. I thank Angus Patterson at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and Olivier Renaudeau at the Musée de l'Armée, Paris, for providing photographs of works in their collections. I am grateful to colleagues in the MMA Department of Arms and Armor, particularly Dirk H. Breiding, assistant curator; Marilyn T. Van Dunk, assistant administrator, who typed numerous versions of this article;

and Stephen J. Bluto, collections manager, for essential photography and scans. I thank the *Journal's* editorial board for its constructive criticism of the early draft of this article, and my editors Joanna Ekman and Elizabeth L. Block for polishing up the final version.

## NOTES

1. De Cosson 1901.
2. In the first official history of the Museum, Howe 1913, pp. 269–70, the purchase is mentioned in a single sentence, and in the most recent history, Hibbard 1980, it is not mentioned at all. Even in Stephen V. Grancsay's manuscript article, "The Department of Arms and Armor during Twenty-Five Years," which was prepared for the 1937 issue of the Museum's *Bulletin* but never published, the Dino purchase receives only passing mention.
3. Tomkins 1970, p. 152. The essence of this story is repeated in Strouse 1999, pp. 494–95.
4. De Cosson 1901.
5. Tomkins 1970, p. 152.
6. The duc de Dino rarely figures in the standard French biographical references. I am therefore very grateful to have been able to draw upon the biographical research in Merrillees 2009, pp. 397–401.



7. See "Citizen Périgord," *New York Tribune*, April 15, 1904, and other newspaper clippings in the Thomas J. Watson Library, MMA. The duke's literary endeavors included *Étude sur la république des États-Unis d'Amérique* (1876), *Les alliances* (1877), *Un de plus* (1877), *Salut à vous!* (1894), *Au pays du silence* (1895), *L'Oncle Tapsec: Aventure de jeunesse* (1909), and *Tante Raison: Dialogues* (1910).
8. "Have Found Husbands Abroad: American Women Who Have Given Their Hearts and Money to Foreigners," *New York Times*, April 19, 1893, p. 2.
9. "Married to Her Marquis," *New York Times*, January 27, 1887, p. 1; quoted in Strouse 1999, p. 295n.
10. In Paris on May 8, 1894, he disposed of sixty-three examples of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century faïence. See *Une précieuse collection de faïences italiennes hispano moresques d'Alcora et de Nîmes* (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 8, 1894). Further disposals followed at Christie's, London, in 1904, perhaps as the result of his divorce, the furniture being sold on May 6, pictures on May 14, and various silver, enamels, and jade on July 19. Dino also had private dealings with the Duveen firm, from which he acquired objects and to which he occasionally sold miscellaneous items. Fowles 1976, p. 168. (I have found no references as to Dino's ever having owned the Gericault series of paintings discussed in Tinterow 1990–91, pp. 20–21.)
11. De Cosson 1901, nos. M.1, M.2 (oliphants), M.3 (five large enamels), and M.4 (153 enameled pendants), respectively. Appendix 2 to this article provides a concordance between the Dino catalogue numbers and Metropolitan Museum accession numbers.
12. De Cosson 1901, no. M.1, which was acquired for the duke by the Paris dealer Victor Bachereau at the auction of the collection of Henri Baudot at Dijon, November 14–24, 1894, lot 310. The second oliphant, M.2, illustrated in Figure 2, was apparently picked up inexpensively by Bachereau in a minor provincial sale (as related in Bachereau 1904).
13. William Riggs to Baron de Cosson, January 21, 1893, correspondence files, MMA Department of Arms and Armor.
14. Its distinguished Keeper of Medieval Antiquities, O. M. Dalton, wasted no time in publishing it the following year. Curiously, he made no reference to the duc de Dino as vendor, to de Cosson as selling agent, or to the circumstances of its find. See Dalton 1900. The hoard acquired by the British Museum was not complete, however, as it lacked four silver spoons that Dino presented to his friend and fellow arms collector Costantino Ressman on July 30, 1898, just before concluding the sale. Sometime prior to his death on July 8, 1899, Ressman presented the spoons to his friend Baron de Cosson; their present whereabouts are not known. Dino's gift of these spoons and their subsequent disposal are recorded in Ressman's manuscript inventory of his collection, covering the years 1867–99, which is preserved with numerous other documents relating to the collection that are included among the C. A. de Cosson Papers kept in the Library of the Royal Armouries, Leeds (hereafter RAL). Merrillees (2009, pp. 395–96) speculates that the four spoons may be the same four acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1913.
15. Dino's gift is recorded under that date in Ressman's collection inventory (RAL) as "Boucle d'un ceinture d'épée en cuivre doré garni de granats VIe ou VIe siècle, id. [trouve à l'île de] Chype (Dino)." See also Merrillees 2009, p. 398.
16. In a letter to de Cosson of April 15, 1898 (RAL), Ressman related that Dino went to Cyprus "pour y chercher des armes et n'y trouver qu'un morion rouillé." See also Merrillees 2009, p. 98. The same information was related in a letter from de Cosson to Laking, August 15, 1898, RAL. On the Chalcis group of armor, see ffolkes 1911, Blair 1982, and Boccia 1988.
17. Dino's gift is recorded under that date in Ressman's inventory as "Petit heaume (bassinet) pointu du Xlle [crossed out] ou XIIIe siècle trouvé à l'île de Chype, Famagusta (Dino)."
18. See the article by Elena Carrara in the present volume.
19. For the background to the Christie's, London, sales of 1839 and 1840, see Pyhrr 1999.
20. Fontaine sale 1884, lot 565; de Cosson 1901, no. A.7; this composite armor was already assembled, including the restored skirt plates and tassets, when sold at Christie & Manson, London, on January 23–24, 1839, lot 264. The same lot included the codpiece of similar design made for Philip's son, Don Carlos, as discussed below.
21. Valencia de Don Juan 1898, pp. 83–86, inv. nos. A.243–262.
22. Vaïsse sale 1885, lots 60 (de Cosson 1901, no. B.37), 66 (B.35), 69 (E.7), 78 (H.4), 91 (F.17), and 92 (F.31). In a copy of the sale catalogue annotated by Riggs, in the Department of Arms and Armor, Pujol is cited as the buyer of lots 60, 69, and 91; presumably the same dealer also acquired the remaining lots for Dino.
23. For the saddle, lot 69 (de Cosson 1901, no. H.4), see Pyhrr, LaRocca, and Breiding 2005, no. 29. The mace, lot 78 (de Cosson 1901, no. E.7), has a restored grip copied from that on the former royal example in the Musée de l'Armée, Paris, no. K.158 (Reverseau 2004, pp. 176–77).
24. Londesborough sale 1888, lots 11 (de Cosson 1901, no. F.8), 72 (J.8), 92 (H.45, 46), 145 (A.6), 297 (C.7), 381 (J.2), and 383 (J.4). In a copy of the sale catalogue annotated by William Riggs, in the files of the Department of Arms and Armor, Bachereau is identified as the purchaser of lots 11, 92, and 145; the same dealer presumably also acquired the other lots for Dino.
25. Londesborough sale 1888, lot 145. The armor (de Cosson 1901, no. A.6) was probably made up from lots in the "Spanish sales" of 1839 and 1840 at Christie's, London (see note 19 above), including lots 101 and 102 in the 1840 sale; it subsequently appeared in the Bernal sale 1855, lots 2709–14, illustrated in the catalogue, where it was acquired by Londesborough for 315 guineas. Comparably decorated armors etched by Sorg in the years 1551 and 1553 are illustrated in the facsimile of his workshop album reproduced in Becher, Gamber, and Irtenkauf 1980, fols. 15, 26v, and 27. The associated shield, embossed with three lions rampant, no. F.12, appeared as lot 62 in the Christie's sale of 1840 and was subsequently associated with the armor, no doubt by reason of the lion motif, in the Bernal and Londesborough sales.
26. Londesborough sale 1888, lot 297; de Cosson 1901, no. C.7. For the armor to which the gauntlets belong, B.6 in the Real Armería, see Valencia de Don Juan 1898, p. 123. The gauntlets had previously appeared in three London auctions: at Christie & Manson, January 23–24, 1839, lot 260 (sold to the dealer Isaacs for £7); in the sale of Samuel Pratt's Gothic Armoury at Oxenham's April 29–May 1, 1841, lot 444; and in the Bernal sale 1855, lot 2247 (sold to Londesborough for £20).
27. Londesborough sale 1888, lot 72; de Cosson 1901, no. J.8. For this gun, see Tarassuk 1986, pp. 72–75, figs. 5–10, and Reverseau 2004, no. 40, 293.
28. Reubell to de Cosson, August 2, 1888, RAL.
29. The history of the Bachereau firm is discussed in Pyhrr 1994, pp. 18, 21n30.
30. De Cosson 1901, nos. M.7, M.8. The history of this helmet and shield prior to the middle of the nineteenth century is not recorded, and there is no evidence to suggest their presence in the French royal collection. They appeared in at least three auctions at the

- Hôtel Drouot in Paris: an anonymous sale of January 27–28, 1845, lot 113; that of Sieur Joyeau on December 58, 1849, lot 90; and that of Leon Meynard, sold anonymously on January 27, 1887, lot unknown, where they were acquired by Bachereau, with William Riggs as the underbidder. For Riggs's attempt to acquire these pieces, see the article by Elena Carrara in the present volume.
31. Opinions of Theodore Dell, Gillian Wilson, and Sir Geoffrey de Bellague, 1983, object files, Department of Arms and Armor.
  32. Dino to de Cosson, May 23, 1899, RAL.
  33. De Cosson 1901, no. D.4.
  34. Dillon 1905, pl. 27. For a concise history of the Smythe armor, including references to the MMA shield in the inventories ("Remaynes") of the Royal Armouries in 1611, 1629, and 1660, see London 1951, pp. 26–28, no. 20.
  35. The provenance of the shield is the subject of letters exchanged between Guy Francis Laking and Baron de Cosson, undated but 1915 by internal evidence, in the Royal Armouries, Leeds. The story is repeated in Laking (1920–22) 2000, vol. 4, p. 244.
  36. De Cosson 1901, no. B.26. For a recent study of this helmet, see Pyhrr and Godoy 1998, no. 21.
  37. De Cosson 1901, no. B.29. In 1922 the Museum acquired the buff (face defense), MMA 22.140, that belonged to the burgonet but which had been separated from it since the late eighteenth century. On the reunion of the two pieces, see Dean 1922.
  38. For a recent discussion of this helmet in the context of French Renaissance armor, see Paris 2011, no. 21.
  39. For its Medicean provenance, see Mario Scalini in Florence–Chicago–Detroit 2002–3, pp. 275–77, no. 135. The author of the present article is preparing a detailed study of this helmet and its provenance.
  40. While in Colbert's possession, the burgonet was illustrated in Jolimont and Gagniet 1836, pl. 23, and in Lièvre 1866, pl. 53; it was also exhibited at Blois in 1875, no. 2462.
  41. As related in Bachereau 1904.
  42. "Le Duc de Dino achète avec rage. Il vient encore d'acquérir une bourguignote repoussé et fort bien dorée qui a appartenu au M[arquis] de Colbert." RAL. All translations from the French are by the author.
  43. As related by Riggs to Dean; see Dean 1922, p. 235n1.
  44. Dean 1922.
  45. Ressman to Riggs, May 18, 1897, correspondence files, Department of Arms and Armor.
  46. For the Spanish archer's sallet, see de Cosson 1901, no. B.16, where it is said to have come from a tomb in Aragon. In Ressman to de Cosson, September 22, 1896, RAL, the price given was 150 francs.
  47. De Cosson 1901, no. B.30; see Pyhrr and Godoy 1998, no. 41.
  48. Pyhrr and Godoy 1998, no. 39.
  49. De Cosson 1901, no. B.27; see Pyhrr 2000, no. 34.
  50. De Cosson 1901, no. F.16; Bachereau's account is found in the *New York Herald* (Paris), April 17, 1904.
  51. De Cosson 1901, no. J.1. The Dino rifle is discussed in the context of other firearms by Spät and his predecessors in the Munich court, Egidius and Daniel Sadeler, in Stöcklein 1922, pp. 86–87, no. CS 22. Dino acquired with the rifle a matching priming flask (De Cosson 1901, no. L.1), which has the same provenance.
  52. Édouard de Beaumont in Gonse 1879, p. 360.
  53. De Cosson 1901, no. E.10. In a letter to de Cosson on July 6, 1897 (RAL), Ressman reported that Dino had acquired twenty enameled pendants from Spain, probably through Bachereau.
  54. De Cosson 1901, nos. E.5, E.6. In a letter to Riggs of August 4, 1895 (correspondence files, Department of Arms and Armor), Ressman reported that Dino had recently acquired his second bone saddle in Vienna for 23,000 francs, though it is not clear to which one he was referring.
  55. The classic study of the saddles, mistakenly catalogued as of ivory rather than bone, is von Schlosser 1894.
  56. De Cosson 1901, no. E.1; see Pyhrr, LaRocca, and Breiding 2005, no. 7.
  57. De Cosson 1901, nos. N.1–13. The first number, N.1, comprises a late fifteenth-century Turkman mail-and-plate shirt and an unrelated Ottoman helmet of the mid-sixteenth century (discussed below), which should be counted as the fourteenth item.
  58. For the helmet type, see Alexander 1983, pp. 97–104.
  59. *Ibid.*, p. 98; London 2005, pp. 208, 415, no. 155.
  60. De Cosson 1901, no. N.1.
  61. In a letter of February 19, 1903, to Prince Ladislao Odescalchi in Rome (RAL), another collector of arms and armor who was also a regular client of Bachereau's, de Cosson relates that the dealer blamed him for undermining his relationship with Dino but hoped that he, de Cosson, would lead Dino back to him.
  62. For the two Carrands, see Florence 1989.
  63. De Cosson 1901, nos. B.5, B.6, and G.16, respectively. The two helmets are now considered to be fakes. The purchase is mentioned in a letter from Ressman to Riggs of September 28, 1888, correspondence files, Department of Arms and Armor.
  64. Although an in-depth study of Spitzer is long overdue, he is perhaps best introduced in Bonnaffé 1890.
  65. The story of Spitzer's purchase of the Meyrick armor and its subsequent sale to Wallace is recounted in an undated (but datable to July 5, 1927) letter from de Cosson to James Mann at the Wallace Collection, RAL. De Cosson confirmed the story: "I have these facts from Spitzer himself."
  66. The Carrand purchases are mentioned in Bonnaffé 1890, pp. 29–31.
  67. "le Roi actuel des antiquaires d'Italie." Ressman to de Cosson, June 19, 1897, RAL. Negotiations for the shields broke off six months later (Ressman to de Cosson, December 29, 1898, RAL).
  68. Bardini sale 1899, lots 55–61, illustrated in the folio supplement, pls. 11, 18; the helmet crest, lot 52, was illustrated on the cover of the folio supplement and on pl. 10.
  69. See Carrara 2008 and the article by the same author in the present volume.
  70. Ressman had asked de Cosson to prepare a catalogue of his collection and, toward that end, turned over all the related documentation. On Ressman's death work on the catalogue stopped and the papers remained in de Cosson's possession. De Cosson bequeathed his papers to Sir James Mann, Master of the Armouries, and they subsequently were acquired for the Armouries library.
  71. The Franchetti collection seems never to have been exhibited or published. The Ressman papers in Leeds, however, contain lists of Ressman's five separate sales of arms to Franchetti between 1883 and 1888 comprising eighty-nine pieces sold for 82,700 francs. Following Franchetti's death in 1909, his collection was bought by, or at least consigned to, the Galleria Sangiorgi in Rome, which sold it piecemeal in the next years.
  72. Ressman's notes on the Carrand collection include valuable information about the arms owned by this famous dealer-collector in the 1870s and 1880s. For negotiating the sale of the Carrand arms to Spitzer, Ressman received from the latter a commission of 6,900 francs on January 19, 1884 (RAL).
  73. Acquired for 6,250 francs; see de Cosson 1901, no. B.19. Justly proud of this helm, de Cosson published it on several occasions: de Cosson and Burges 1881, no. 80, and de Cosson 1883.
  74. The Don Carlos armor, a garniture for field and infantry use, is a work by Wolfgang and Franz Grossschedel of Landshut dating to

1558; the principal elements are in the Real Armería, Madrid; see Valencia de Don Juan 1898, pp. 89–90, inv. nos. A.274–276. Don Carlos’s armor is notable for having the same etched and gilt decoration, in the form of stylized “cloud-bands,” as that made for his father, Philip II (discussed above). The brayette, which had long been associated with the Philip II armor that Dino acquired at the Fontaine sale (see note 20 above), was given to Ressman on July 11, 1897; it is now part of the Ressman collection in the Bargello (R.28).

Other gifts from Dino included a late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century Iranian dagger (*jambiya*) with a hilt and scabbard of enameled copper, given on July 18, 1897 (Bargello, R.181), and a Japanese dagger (*tanto*), given on September 15, 1897 (Bargello, number unknown).

75. De Cosson 1901, included among the 153 plaques catalogued under M.4. In Ressman’s inventories the plaque was recorded as a gift from the painter and dealer Attilio Simonetti (1843–1925) in Rome on February 18, 1894.

76. Supino 1902.

77. De Cosson 1901, no. A.3. Information concerning the composition of this armor is drawn from Ressman’s inventory, correspondence, and receipts among the de Cosson papers in the RAL.

78. Tachaux’s work so impressed Bashford Dean that in 1909 Dean hired him as the Metropolitan Museum’s armorer. Tachaux (1857–1928) left the Museum in 1919 to work for the armor collector Clarence Mackay.

79. De Cosson 1901, no. B.7; see also Pyhrr 2000, no. 2. The helmet was formerly owned by the distinguished collector Maurice Chabrières-Arles (1829–1897) of Lyons, who sold it to the dealer Charles Stein in Paris; Stein in turn sold it to Ressman on October 21, 1891 for 3,000 francs.

80. De Cosson 1901, no. B.8. Ressman acquired the helmet from the Paris dealer Juste in 1883 for 5,000 francs.

81. De Cosson 1901, no. B.20. Ressman purchased the helm from Bachereau on June 5, 1885, for 4,000 francs; it had only recently been sold at the Stafford sale at Christie, Manson & Woods, London, May 28, 1885, lot 60 (112 guineas to Wilson, presumably for Bachereau).

82. De Cosson 1901, no. G.46. Ressman acquired the knife-pistol for 800 francs from Louis Carrand in Lyons in 1883. The composite nature of the piece was first suggested by Seiler 1940–42, pp. 12, 18–19.

83. De Cosson 1901, no. G.45. This is possibly the “coutelas-cimiterre (de boucher) à crochet, XVe [siècle]” that Ressman recorded in his inventory as a gift from Carrand in 1878. For a discussion of this knife and its maker, see Thomas 1955.

84. De Cosson 1901, no. G.28. Formerly in the Carrand and Spitzer collections, the dagger was included in the latter’s catalogue, Spitzer 1890–93, vol. 6, no. 219 and pl. 37, and in the Spitzer sale 1895, lot 282 (sold for 4,357.50 francs). It was acquired by Ressman from the Paris dealer Goldschmidt on May 26, 1897, in an exchange of arms valued at 4000 francs.

85. In a letter to de Cosson of June 3, 1891 (RAL), Ressman refers to “votre prochaine visite à Montmorency” (your next visit to Montmorency).

86. Parsons 2003 provides the most recent examination of de Cosson’s life and activities in the arms and armor field.

87. De Cosson and Burges 1881; Parsons 2003, pp. 245–46.

88. The photographs were kindly supplied by L. G. Boccia, the late director of the Opera Museo Stibbert, Florence. For the Château de Montmorency, see Tinterow 1990–91, p. 20.

89. De Cosson to Valencia de Don Juan, February 17, 1897, RAL. The

catalogue had probably been proposed the year before, as Ressman’s letter to de Cosson of September 22, 1896, RAL, chides him for not coming to Montmorency and queries if he has abandoned “his project.”

90. See Breban 1878 and Paris 1889.

91. The pieces (lots 1–92) were consigned to Christie’s, London, in de Cosson’s name and were catalogued by Guy Laking. I am indebted to Lynda McCleod, librarian at Christie’s, London, for information regarding this sale. The sale is mentioned in a letter of April 11, 1897, from de Cosson to Ressman (RAL), in which he suggests that both collectors should include some of their duplicates in that sale. In the end only de Cosson consigned some of his arms, which are identified with his provenance in the catalogue.

92. De Cosson 1893; de Cosson 1901, no. I.1. The history and significance of this bow have recently been examined in Breiding 2009.

93. Ressman to de Cosson, April 17, 1897, RAL.

94. De Cosson 1901, no. F.3.

95. *Ibid.*, no. E.3. See Pyhrr, LaRocca, and Breiding 2005, no. 29.

96. Pyhrr and Godoy 1998, no. 47.

97. In a letter of March 9, 1899 (RAL), de Cosson asked Bardac if he would consider selling the armor to his (unnamed) client. Bardac apparently suggested a price of 150,000 francs and de Cosson countered with an offer of 125,000.

98. Obituary, *New York Times*, January 6, 1917, p. 13.

99. “Duke and Duchess Part,” *New York Times*, April 4, 1903, p. 3.

100. The address was 13, rue Raynouard, in the 16th arrondissement. Ressman to de Cosson, April 12, 1899, RAL.

101. Dino to de Cosson, April 28 and July 28, 1899, RAL.

102. Dino to de Cosson, October 11 and December 23, 1899, RAL.

103. Ressman to de Cosson, December 29, 1898, RAL.

104. Spitzer 1890–93.

105. RAL.

106. De Cosson to Dino, October 16, 1901; Dino’s response, October 19, RAL.

107. Dino to de Cosson, November 5, 1901, RAL.

108. Dino to de Cosson, November 22, 1901, RAL.

109. Dino to de Cosson, November 25, 1901, RAL.

110. Dino to de Cosson, March 28, 1902, RAL. The three-million-franc price for the collection is mentioned in an undated (but August 1901) draft of a letter from de Cosson to the Paris dealer Fernard Robert, the reduced price in a letter from Dino to de Cosson, April 15, 1902, both RAL.

111. Dino to de Cosson, April 15, 1902, RAL.

112. Laking to de Cosson, July 5, 1900, RAL: “It is rumored in London that the duc de Dino is in very low water just now but probably that is only scandal.”

113. Biographical information and insights into Stuyvesant’s collecting activities are based on notices of his death published in the *MMAB* 4 (July 1909), pp. 116–17; (September 1909), p. 155; and (November 1909), p. 194. See also Dean 1914a, pp. ix–xiv, and Tomkins 1970, pp. 151–52, 157.

114. Kept at his country estate, Tranquility Farm in Allamuchy, New Jersey, Stuyvesant’s collection might eventually have been given or bequeathed to the Museum if he had not died suddenly, whereupon the collection passed to his heirs. Portions of it eventually came to the Museum as the gift or bequest of his son Alan between 1949 and 1954.

115. De Cosson sale 1893, lots 79, 109, 114, 115, 174, 181, 184, 196, 205, 235, 240.

116. Stuyvesant to de Cosson, September 26, 1897, RAL, referring to a visit “this week.”

117. Stuyvesant to de Cosson, June 30, 1901, RAL.



118. Stuyvesant to de Cosson, September 1, 1901, RAL. The bequest referred to was that of Jacob S. Rogers (d. 1901), which amounted to almost five million dollars, the income of which was intended solely for the purchase of works of art and books for the library; see Tomkins 1970, pp. 87–91.
119. De Cosson papers, RAL.
120. All references to Berlin's interest in the Dino collection are from the de Cosson papers, RAL.
121. Laking to de Cosson, March 19, 1903, RAL. On April 1, Dino confirmed to de Cosson his intentions to sell in London.
122. According to Christie's Day Books, the registers of consignments received, Dino's various objects arrived between March 19 and April 25.
123. Bachereau to Frederick Stibbert, the Anglo-Florentine collector in Florence, March 16, 1904, archive of the Opera Museo Stibbert, Florence.
124. Tomkins 1970, p. 152.
125. Unless otherwise indicated, the documentation presented in this article for the Museum's purchase of the Dino collection, which consists of telegrams, letters, and internal memoranda, as well as the minutes of the executive and purchasing committees, is found in the MMA Archives.
126. References to the availability of the Dino catalogue to the Museum's administration are found in letters from Stuyvesant to Cesnola dated October 14, 1902, and May 7, 1903; in a cable from Cesnola to Rhinelanders of March 26, 1904; and again in a letter from Cesnola to Stuyvesant of April 2 that year. In his letter to Cesnola on May 7, 1903, Stuyvesant wrote: "As there seems no prospect of the Trustees seriously considering the Dino Col[lection] of armor, will you kindly send me the copy of the catalogue now at the Museum."
127. In a follow-up letter to Rhinelanders the next day, Stuyvesant forwarded a handwritten copy of Dino's letter, written from Monte Carlo on March 26, in which the duke explained that he established the deadline of April 23 so as not to jeopardize the Christie's, London, sale in the event that the Museum did not purchase the collection.
128. In a letter to Stuyvesant on April 2, 1904, Cesnola noted that the catalogue had been "in our Board Room for many weeks and seen by many Trustees, among whom Mr. Avery; but he says he does not remember seeing it."
129. The following day Dino wrote to de Cosson: "Hier, j'ai vendu ma collection d'armes au Metropolitan Museum, de New York, pour 1,250, 000 francs. C'est par Stuyvesant que l'affaire a été amorcée et définitivement concluee, hier" (Yesterday I sold my collection of arms to the Metropolitan Museum of New York for 1,250,000 francs. It is because of Stuyvesant that the affair was initiated and finally concluded yesterday); RAL.
130. Cable from Rhinelanders to Fahnestock, April 9. In a cable of April 8, Rhinelanders asked Stuyvesant to see if he could get the duke to agree to two payments, half on shipment and the other half when the collection was received at the Museum and verified against the published catalogue, conditions that Dino vehemently rejected. Rhinelanders's confidence in the wisdom of the purchase was not apparently universal among the Museum's administrators. In his letter to the president on April 8, the Museum's treasurer, Henry C. Fahnestock, while expressing confidence in Stuyvesant's experience in armor matters, nevertheless felt obliged to call Rhinelanders's attention to the dealer Joseph Duveen's suggestion "that there might be advantage in selecting from the collection." The dealer's knowledge of these private negotiations no doubt reflects a certain intimacy with Dino.
131. *New York Sun* (unpaginated clipping in the MMA historical clippings and ephemera files, 1880–1980, Thomas J. Watson Library, MMA).
132. Similar stories appeared in French and American newspapers in the following days. Newspaper clippings in the Dino files, MMA Archives. The *Daily Telegraph* in London reported the price at £80,000 (about \$400,000) and the Paris edition of the *New York Herald* for April 17, 1904, suggested the price to be 2,500,000 francs (about \$500,000).
133. Reubell to de Cosson, November 21, 1904, RAL. Morgan to Rhinelanders, cable of April 18.
134. Purchasing Committee Minutes, vol. 1 (1903–7), p. 13, as reported at the meeting of November 3, 1904.
135. Letter from Cesnola to Stuyvesant, April 2, 1904, citing financial information provided him by the Museum's treasurer, H. C. Fahnestock.
136. Dean to Cesnola, April 20, 1904, MMA Archives.
137. Dean 1903.
138. Cesnola to Dean, April 22, 1904, MMA Archives.
139. Executive Committee Minutes, vol. 6 (1903–6), p. 43.
140. This letter and subsequent correspondence between Dean and Riggs is preserved in the correspondence files, Department of Arms and Armor.
141. Dean to Riggs, November 20, 1904.
142. In a letter to Riggs dated February 26, 1905, Dean expressed his disappointment that in the Dino catalogue de Cosson had omitted reproduction of the armorers' marks, which was particularly surprising because the baron had for many years been assembling a corpus of marks for publication. That project was left unfinished at his death. His card files of marks, numbering more than twenty thousand, are preserved in the Library of the Royal Armouries, Leeds.
143. Dean to Riggs, October 28, 1905.
144. Dean to Riggs, March 27, 1905.
145. *Ibid.*
146. Dean to Purdon-Clarke, February 19, 1906, MMA Archives.
147. Stuyvesant to Robert de Forest, February 23, 1906, and Minutes of the Executive Committee, vol. 6 (1903–6), p. 297, MMA Archives.

## APPENDIX 1: TOO GOOD TO BE TRUE: ARMS AND ARMOR FAKES AND PASTICHES IN THE DINO COLLECTION

In the more than one hundred years that have passed since the Dino purchase, the study of European arms and armor has made dramatic advances. The evolution and typology of armor and weapons are better defined and understood, as is the technology of arms manufacturing. We know a great deal more about national, regional, and local styles; the role of the guilds and the commerce of arms; decorative techniques and styles of ornament; and the contributions of individual masters and their collaboration with specialized designers, goldsmiths, and printmakers. Much has also been learned about the faking of antique arms in the nineteenth century. As a result, the Dino collection is viewed with a much more critical eye today than in Bashford Dean's era. Some pieces are better understood and appreciated today; others, once seen as highlights of the collection, are now judged to be composite, overly restored, or outright fakes. This is particularly true of the thirteen Dino armors: two have been deaccessioned and sold, and all but one (A.5) of the remaining eleven are not deemed worthy of display.

Baron de Cosson's catalogue gave no hint of such problems apart from two items—a basinet (B.4) and a sword (F.40), for which no dates or places of origin were given and which were identified as modern imitations in a separate errata sheet found in some of the volumes. Although Dean was disappointed in de Cosson's catalogue insofar as it made no mention of restorations, lacked weights and measurements, and failed to reproduce armorer's marks, he generally accepted the opinions, attributions, and dating of the objects given by his older, more experienced, and esteemed colleague. Guy Laking, the English armor specialist who reviewed the collection with Dean during visits to the United States in 1906 and 1909, seems to have taken the same view. Laking considered himself a pupil and friend of de Cosson's and would have been reluctant to criticize him in private or in print. Indeed, when speaking to the American press in 1909, Laking characterized the Dino collection as "the finest ever gathered."<sup>1</sup> He included a large number of Dino objects in his five-volume survey, *A Record of European Armor and Arms through Seven Centuries* (1920–22), where they are discussed and illustrated as representative examples of their respective types.

Dean's reservations about the Dino armors increased with time, as his curatorial eye became more experienced. In 1904 he was a scientist first and an armor collector and enthusiast second. A decade later, having largely retired from his teaching responsibilities at Columbia University and his curatorial work at the American Museum of Natural History to devote himself full-time to the study of arms and

armor, the situation was reversed. His extensive hands-on knowledge of armor in public and private collections in the United States and abroad, his experience in the art market as both a buyer and seller, and his investigation of armor restoration and faking among the leading practitioners of the day had honed his skills and informed his judgment.

Dean already held some suspicions about one of the Dino armors in 1904. He had been alerted by Riggs as to the composite nature of the *Stechzeug* (see Figure 33), discussed above, in the accompanying article.<sup>2</sup> The armor's previous owner, Costantino Ressman, who had composed it from a variety of sources over several years, had never tried to hide the fact that it was a recent assemblage, but Dean was particularly shocked to discover that the masterfully forged helmet was altogether modern. In his 1905 handbook of the collection, Dean wrote about the armor with unusual candor: "The present writer . . . inclines to the view that it has suffered a number of 'adaptations' and that the helm is entirely modern, possibly of Viennese workmanship."<sup>3</sup> Although the armor continued to be featured in the Arms and Armor Galleries for decades, usually mounted on a caparisoned horse and with a lance in hand, it was omitted from the departmental handbooks and catalogues of later years.

In 1914 Dean wrote to de Cosson to voice his doubts about the authenticity of one of the more prominent Dino armors, an embossed Italian parade armor thought to have belonged to Gonzalo Fernández de Cordoba (II), duke of Sessa, the Spanish governor of Milan (see Figure 61): "Did you ever have a suspicion that our famous de Cordova suit was largely false. The breast and backplate and part of the colletin [gorget, or collar] are undoubtedly genuine, the other part of the colletin is falsely restored, and the hand work of the restoration corresponds alarmingly well with the workmanship of the arms, shoulders, and hip guards [tassets], and casque [helmet] have been splendidly fashioned in old metal but they have no trace of the damascening which the three old pieces exhibit which I have noted. The shoulder pieces, by the way, are not a pair and the restorer has done the best he could to make them look alike. . . . It is such a ghastly discovery that I hate to say anything about it."<sup>4</sup>

De Cosson's reply was anything but assuring: "I had not taken to pieces and examined critically the Sessa suit so did not suspect what you tell me, but knowing what old Spitzer was, it does not surprise me extremely. We all know that Carrand [the dealer Jean-Baptiste or Louis Carrand] was very given to restoration of the kind you mention, but I do not think it came from him." De Cosson noted that "the



53. Armor of German Gothic style. German and possibly French, partly 15th century, composed, extensively restored, and completed in France in the 19th century. Steel and copper alloy. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.293a-t)



54. Armor of Italian quattrocento style. Italian and German, partly 15th century, composed, extensively restored, and completed in France in the 19th century. Steel and copper alloy. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.295)

gothic suit with pierced borders" (Figure 53) was known to have been "greatly completed" by Carrand, whom he thought had also 'worked not a little" on "the Italian gothic suit with a skirt" (Figure 54): "When I saw it [the Italian armor] at the Spitzer sale I at once noticed that some of the armourer's marks are turned to right some to left. Besides this, not a few of them are engraved with acid, not punched. Carrand too always used old stuff re-forged for his repairs and I fear that a critical examination will show you that a lot of work of this kind has been done on that suit. The shoulder-pieces too are not suited to a breastplate with a lancerest nor does the lancerest go with the skirt."<sup>5</sup>

He went on to comment on another armor, "the puffed and slashed one with the masque [*sic*] visor," which was "also open to much criticism" (Figure 55): "I feel pretty sure that the same style of work was done on it, very skillfully no doubt, for old Carrand was an excellent workman. It was

only after my Catalogue was published, that I had the opportunity of taking these suits to pieces. Then of course I was writing for a private owner at his request, not for a museum, and I could not poke holes." Finally, he mentioned another Carrand piece, "the cross hilted sword with the enamelled pommel," that was "unquestionably made up" and "altogether out of balance" (see Figure 64).

One can appreciate Dean's reluctance to advertise his suspicions to anyone outside the department. During his tenure as curator, no hint was aired in published works or internal communications that the collection was not what it ought to be. Even after the arrival of the much larger Riggs collection in 1914 and the installation of the new Arms and Armor Galleries, which opened in January of the following year, the Dino collection was displayed in its entirety and featured prominently in all subsequent editions of Dean's *Handbook of Arms and Armor*.



It was not until 1932 that the Museum was forced to confront authenticity issues head-on. In that year the English antiquarian Charles R. Beard published a lengthy and highly polemic article in the *Connoisseur* entitled “Too Good to Be True,” which focused on one of the Dino armors, “the Gothic suit with pierced borders” (see Figure 53).<sup>6</sup> Beard stated unequivocally that his purpose was “to expose as an extensively restored composite armor of the late fifteenth century style, one that Dean had praised . . . as the supreme effort of a Gothic armorer.” There is no evidence that Beard had ever examined the armor firsthand, so it is likely that his detailed criticism was based entirely on photographs and on Paul Eudel’s well-informed account, first published in 1907, of the armor’s “creation” by Carrand in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, Beard was essentially correct in his conclusion that the armor is a marriage of diverse elements of old armor of different date and origin, combined with modern additions made in fifteenth-century style to match, all given the appearance of unity by the addition of ridged decoration on the main surfaces and pierced trefoil ornament along the edges.

Beard’s contentious article caught the attention of the press, and the Museum was approached for a response. The director, Herbert E. Winlock, replied that the armor in question had, from its first installation, been recognized as partially restored and had been so labeled and that, despite its defects, the armor warranted exhibition as a representative example of the Late Gothic style.<sup>8</sup> These arguments notwithstanding, Stephen V. Grancsay, Dean’s longtime assistant and successor as curator, had the armor removed from the galleries and declared “of doubtful authenticity” by the trustees at their meeting on May 15, 1933. At the same time Grancsay had two other Dino armors similarly downgraded; they were subsequently deaccessioned and sold in 1934.<sup>9</sup>

It is surprising that Beard’s stinging criticism did not generate a more critical curatorial review of the Dino armors, particularly since there were several others, equally important in the collection, that were certainly “too good to be true.” The most ambitious and convincing fakes or pastiches came through the hands of the dealers Carrand (father and son) and Spitzer, and appear to have been built up from a few genuine fragments under the Carrands’ direction in the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>10</sup> That these armors passed as genuine for such a long time attests to the technical metalworking skills and historical knowledge of old armor possessed by the Carrands and their workmen. Several additional examples, specifically those singled out by de Cosson in his aforementioned letter to Dean, will demonstrate the sophisticated work of these nineteenth-century “restorers” and the dilemma faced by collectors and curators in trying to sort out the genuine from the false.

One of the best known among Dino’s armors is the “Italian gothic suit with a skirt” (see Figure 54), which purports to be a complete Italian quattrocento harness dating to about 1440 of the type depicted in paintings of the time by Antonio Pisanello and Paolo Uccello.<sup>11</sup> Only about a dozen reasonably complete and homogeneous Italian armors of fifteenth-century date survive, so the Dino example should claim a place of importance in armor studies.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, the armor has long been recognized as having puzzling inconsistencies. The sallet (helmet), bevor (lower face and neck defense), and pointed sabtons (shoes of plate) are of late fifteenth-century German type. The rest of the armor is an incongruous mix of pieces for the field (the breastplate with lance-rest), tournament (the arm defenses), and infantry or foot-combat use (the deep skirt). Finally, the Italian-style armorers’ marks found on almost every plate are too numerous (thirty-nine in all) and too repetitious: the same mark, a reverse *S* impaled by a tall cross, appears thirty-two times on plates of both Italian and German type. On the German elements, the marks appear to be etched rather than stamped. The armor was nevertheless accepted by most specialists as essentially genuine and for decades featured repeatedly in Museum publications.<sup>13</sup> It last appeared in a groundbreaking book on Italian armor published in 1967, when, with certain reservations, it was given a comprehensive dating of 1435–40.<sup>14</sup>

Unfortunately, the armor fails critical examination. The principal Italian-style elements—the cuirass and skirt, arm defenses, gauntlets, and legs—appear for the most part to be made from modern metal or, at best, of old armor pieces so thoroughly remodeled as to be unrecognizable. From this it is clear that most of the armorers’ marks—stamped or etched—are modern. The pauldrons (shoulder defenses), on the other hand, may incorporate some genuine plates of the period: the main plate on each bears traces at the back of an effaced circular mark with the points of a cross above, which suggest that at least these plates date to the fifteenth century.<sup>15</sup> The genuine front half of the left greave (the rear half is modern) is also struck with three marks similar to those used by the famous Missaglia workshop in Milan before 1452. Of the armor’s associated German pieces, the sallet bowl is genuine but heavily patched, the visor is modern, and the bevor remodeled. The sabatons have long been accepted as additions made for Spitzer (the toe and three adjacent plates of the right sabaton appear to be old). The armor is also fitted with a gorget of plate, a defense not yet invented in the middle of the fifteenth century—a detail that escaped the restorer. The gorget, which bears traces of a mark (Augsburg), was remodeled from a late sixteenth-century example.

Another Dino harness that has enjoyed undue celebrity is the puffed-and-slashed suit mentioned by de Cosson

55. "Costume armor."  
 German or Austrian,  
 ca. 1510–15, composed,  
 extensively restored, and  
 completed in France in the  
 19th century. Steel, gold, and  
 copper alloy. The  
 Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
 Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.286)



(see Figure 55)—an early sixteenth-century German "costume armor," so called for its imitation in steel of the elaborate and colorful costume worn by fashion-conscious German courtiers and men-at-arms of the period, especially the extreme forms favored by German mercenaries, the *Landsknechte*.<sup>16</sup> These elaborate parade armors were often furnished with helmets fitted with visors in the form of grotesque masks and sometimes with deep metal skirts imitating the cloth "bases" worn at court. The Dino armor possesses all these elements. The raised "puffed" surfaces have recessed "slashes" with etched and gilt ornament; the folds of the skirt are etched and alternately gilt with a pattern brocade and candelabra ornament on a crosshatched ground; and irregular diagonal slashes highlight the breastplate and cuisses (thigh defenses). Firesteels and briquettes, emblems of the Order of the Golden Fleece, are etched on the arms of the visor, suggesting that the owner was a member of that prestigious Burgundian-Habsburg order.

De Cosson speculatively attributed the armor to an obscure Brussels armorer in imperial service, Franz Scroo.<sup>17</sup>

Like the aforementioned Italian harness, this armor has been built up from a few genuine fragments, in this case the helmet, the two hinged tassets and rear skirt, both cuisses, and the right toe-cap. Dating to about 1515, the genuine elements are probably the work of either Konrad Seusenhofer (d. 1517) of Innsbruck or Kolman Helmschmid (1471–1532) of Augsburg, whose armors of the period are closely related in construction and decoration.<sup>18</sup> These elements evidently were in very poor, damaged condition, and each has been extensively patched, re-etched, and newly gilt. The lower edge of the helmet, for example, now cut off, was originally turned over so as to rotate on the rim of the gorget; the visor has different etching from the rest of the armor and, though contemporary, may be associated. The hinged tassets and rear skirt are actually fragments of a deep tonlet now shortened and reshaped. They presumably came originally from the Radziwill Castle at Nieswicz, in Poland-Lithuania (now Nyasvizh, in Belarus) through Jean-Baptist Carrand's principal customer, Prince Peter Soltykoff, an armor collector who seems to have acquired a number of pieces from the Radziwill armory as a result of the regular conflicts between Russia and Poland. Soltykoff evidently kept the best pieces for himself and left the debris to Carrand. The genuine pauldrons and vambraces belonging to the Dino armor (the present ones are modern restorations) were in the Soltykoff collection of arms and armor, which was purchased by Napoleon III in 1860 and is now in the Musée de l'Armée in Paris (Figure 56).<sup>19</sup>



56. Pair of pauldrons and vambraces (defenses for the shoulders and arms) originally from the armor illustrated in Figure 55. German or Austrian, ca. 1510–15. Steel, gold, and copper alloy. Musée de l'Armée, Paris, inv. G 376. Photograph: Musée de l'Armée

The original wing for the right poleyn (knee defense) of the Dino armor (the present right knee is modern) is in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (Figures 57, 58), having been sold with the remnants of the Radziwill armory at Christie's in 1926 and 1927.<sup>20</sup> The Radziwill provenance of this small armor fragment demonstrates conclusively that the entire armor originally came from the armory of this wealthy, powerful family. The remainder of the Dino armor is made up of old armor and modern pieces decorated to match.

The extent, quality, and sheer cleverness of Carrand's "restoration" are made evident in a comparison of the Dino breastplate (Figure 59) and one of an identical form, but undecorated, that is coincidentally also in the Museum's collection (Figure 60).<sup>21</sup> Both are struck near the top with a well-worn mark in the form of a war hat, the Landshuetel of Landshut;<sup>22</sup> the undecorated breastplate also bears the mark "HS," probably that of the Landshut armorer Hans Schmid (active 1518–52).<sup>23</sup> There can be no doubt that the breastplate on the Dino armor originally looked like the undecorated example and that the fluting, recessed "slashes," and etched and gilt ornament were added under Carrand's direction.



57. Detail of restored right poleyn (knee defense) of the armor illustrated in Figure 55



58. Wing of the right poleyn (knee defense) originally from the armor illustrated in Figure 55. German or Austrian, ca. 1510–15. Steel, gold, and copper alloy,  $7\frac{5}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$  in. (19.3 x 15.8 cm). Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. M.546–1927. Photograph: Victoria and Albert Museum



59. Breastplate and tassets of the armor illustrated in Figure 55



60. Hans Schmid (active 1518–52). Breastplate. German (Landshut), ca. 1530. Steel and copper alloy, H.  $16\frac{1}{4}$  in. (41.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Christian A. Zabriskie, 1937 (37.189.12)





61. Embossed parade armor, reputedly of the duke of Sessa. Italian (probably Milan), ca. 1560, composed, extensively altered, and completed in France in the 19th century. Steel, gold, leather, and textile. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.270 a–o)

62. J. Laurent and Company, Madrid, photographer. Portions of the armor illustrated in Figure 61, prior to restoration, ca. 1865–70. Photograph: Bibliothèque des Arts Décoratifs, Paris

It was a fourth armor from the Spitzer collection, that of the duke of Sessa (Figure 61), that so alarmed Dean in 1914. The armor stands out in the Dino collection as the only one having embossed figural ornament of classical inspiration as well as a documented aristocratic provenance.<sup>24</sup> It is composed of a close helmet, gorget, breastplate with tassets, backplate, complete arms defenses, and gauntlets. The decoration consists of vertical bands of embossed and gold-damascened grotesque and candelabra ornament alternating with flat bands of etched and gilt foliate ornament framed by foliate borders. This combination of decorative techniques on the same armor, particularly as arranged in alternating bands, is unusual for the period. Raised in relief around the top of the breast- and backplate is the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece, consisting of the collar proper, formed of repeating firesteels and flaming briquettes, from which is suspended the fleece. The front plate of the gorget is also embossed with the fleece, this time suspended from a simple chain, flanked by the initials C and M.<sup>25</sup>



The duke of Sessa was elected to the order in 1555. According to de Cosson, “this magnificent armor” formerly belonged to the Spanish dukes of Infantado, in whose inventory of 1643 a cap-à-pie harness said to have belonged to the duke of Sessa is mentioned and described as having embossed decoration that included the Order of the Golden Fleece on the breastplate. De Cosson attributed the armor to the leading Milanese armorer of the period, Lucio Piccinino.

Dean’s conclusion that only several parts of the armor were genuine and that the rest had been reworked and completed was on the mark. A photograph showing elements of this armor when it was still in Spain, and therefore before it passed into Spitzer’s hands, provides valuable documentation for its original appearance (Figure 62).<sup>26</sup> The photograph comes from the studio of Juan (Jean) Laurent in Madrid and probably dates to about 1865–70.<sup>27</sup> It becomes immediately evident that the elements belong to two different armors of very similar design, decorative technique, and style of workmanship: the helmet and left tasset have edges

worked with an interlace, or guilloche, design and, between the embossed bands, narrow bands of etched foliate ornament framed by an egg-and-dart border; the breastplate and right tasset, on the other hand, have smooth, rounded edges and, between the embossed bands, wide bands of etched foliate ornament framed by scalloped borders formed of repeated arched leaves separated by a pointed leaf. The two types of etched bands are diagnostic features that, along with the different treatment of the edges, help us to distinguish the two armors. The decoration of the breastplate and right tasset of the Dino armor looks very different now from how it appears in the photograph. Whereas these pieces originally had three wide embossed bands alternating with wide etched bands, they now have five embossed bands separated by narrow etched bands. This alteration was achieved by hammering smooth the original etched bands and then embossing over them; new etched bands of the narrow type, which copy those on the associated helmet and left tasset, were then added between the raised decoration. These changes to the original armor appear to serve no practical purpose, merely adding ornament to an armor already profusely decorated. Such embellishment appears to be a hallmark of Spitzer's "restoration" philosophy.<sup>28</sup>

The Laurent photograph shows only portions of the Dino armor as it is known today, but it nevertheless provides a useful guide to sorting out the remaining pieces. The breastplate, backplate (altered like the breastplate), right tasset, and possibly the gorget plate, each with smooth edges, belong to one armor, and the helmet, arm defenses, and gauntlets to a second one with guilloche edges. The elements from the second armor especially have been subject to extensive repairs: some of the plates are modern replacements and expertly decorated to match. The present left tasset is not the one illustrated in the Laurent photograph, but rather is a modern replacement made to match the genuine, but altered, right tasset. All of the armor's parts have been regilt; the only remaining original color consists of traces of gold damascening on the breast- and backplate.

Elements from both armors are preserved in European and American collections. The left tasset matching (before alteration) the right one on the Dino armor is in the Musée de l'Armée in Paris (Figure 63),<sup>29</sup> and portions of the second, heavily restored armor with guilloche edges are found in Rome, Florence, and Philadelphia.<sup>30</sup> The fragmentary and damaged state of both armors, which presumably came from the same collection, is probably the result of having been in a fire, since there is fire scale inside several of the Dino elements.

The Dino collection also contains a number of elaborately decorated weapons that are composite or entirely fake, but in his letter of 1914 de Cosson singled out only one, a medieval-style sword with a hilt of gilt bronze, the



63. Left tasset belonging to the armor illustrated in Figure 61. Steel. Musée de l'Armée, Paris, no. G. PO1260. Photograph: Musée de l'Armée



64. Sword in medieval style (detail). French, 19th century. Steel, copper alloy, gold, silver, and enamel, L. 46¾ in. (118.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.276). Photograph: Juan Trujillo, Photograph Studio, MMA

pommel of which is inlaid on each side with a silver disk engraved and enameled with arms said to be those of Raoul de Goncourt (1374–1462), a nobleman at the court of Charles VII of France (Figure 64).<sup>31</sup> Reputedly found in Normandy in 1838, the sword was exhibited by Carrand père at the Exposition Universelle of 1867; Spitzer bought it from Louis Carrand in 1884. This handsome and well-known weapon fetched one of the highest prices in the Spitzer sale of 1895.<sup>32</sup> Since its acquisition by the Metropolitan Museum, it has regularly figured in the handbooks on the arms and armor collection and in at least one specialized book on medieval swords.<sup>33</sup> However, the sword's all-metal grip, engraved with a banderole and Latin inscription, is unlike any known example of the period, and the unusual quillons of flat, ribbonlike section with asymmetrical curved tips look more Art Nouveau than medieval. The blade, too, was suspicious, being of unusual lenticular section and with an overly large engraved (rather than stamped) mark. These odd features finally raised curatorial suspicions in 1963, when the sword was removed from exhibition and dismantled. The curators and conservators concluded that the hilt and blade were of nineteenth-century manufacture, whereas the enameled arms were probably genuine but originally from another object.<sup>34</sup>

It is not surprising that the duc de Dino's collection contains ambitious and deceptively attractive fakes such as those described above. By the second half of the nineteenth century, the supply of high-quality armor and weapons was dwindling, and fakes were made to fill the gap. Some fakes were of such sophisticated design and workmanship as to fool even the most experienced collectors and curators, even those of recent generations. The Dino fakes, particularly those from the Carrand and Spitzer collections, are worthy of detailed study as an education for the eye and as a test of one's knowledge of metalworking, decorative techniques, and historical forms and styles. They in no way diminish the overall importance of the Dino collection, whose purchase effectively established the Metropolitan's arms and armor collection and provided it with some of its greatest works of historical and artistic importance.

## NOTES

1. Unidentified newspaper clipping dated November 18, 1909, files, MMA Department of Arms and Armor.
2. As referred to in a letter from Bashford Dean to William H. Riggs, February 26, 1905, correspondence files, Department of Arms and Armor.
3. Dean 1905, p. 77. As noted above, the helm was, in fact, the work of armorer Daniel Tachaux in Paris in 1889.
4. Dean to de Cosson, September 2, 1914, correspondence files, Department of Arms and Armor.
5. De Cosson to Dean, September 20, 1914, correspondence files, Department of Arms and Armor.
6. Beard 1932; de Cosson 1901, no. A.2. Sold in the Spitzer sale of 1895, the armor cost Dino 51,000 francs.
7. Eudel 1907, pp. 68–69.
8. *New York Sun*, April 15, 1932, files, Department of Arms and Armor.
9. De Cosson 1901, nos. A.12 and A.13.
10. Eudel (1907, p. 68), followed by Beard (1932), considered that both Carrands had a hand in the restoration and completion of the Gothic armors; de Cosson and Bashford Dean attributed the work solely to Louis Carrand. Dean's opinion was based on information verbally communicated by William Riggs, who knew Louis Carrand and is said to have seen him at work about 1860–61 adding the pierced trefoils to the armor later acquired by the Metropolitan (Figure 53). This information is recorded in Dean's unpublished manuscript "Copyists and Restorers of Ancient Armor," in the Department of Arms and Armor.
11. De Cosson 1901, no. A.1. According to the "Extrait du catalogue des armes de feu Mr. J. B. Carrand, dressé par lui même," a manuscript preserved among the Ressman papers, RAL, the armor as we know it today, except for the sabatons, was completed by 1871, including the armorers' marks. The armor was presumably among the pieces belonging to J. B. Carrand that were sold by his son to Spitzer about 1871. It was exhibited by Spitzer at the Exposition Historique du Trocadéro in Paris in 1878 (see Breban 1878, p. 54) and again at the Exposition Universelle of 1889 (see Paris 1889, p. 83, no. 632); it subsequently appeared in Spitzer 1890–93, vol. 6, no. 2, and in the Spitzer sale of 1895, lot 2 (sold for 41,000 francs). See also Laking (1920–22) 2000, vol. 1, pp. 180–81, fig. 214.
12. De Cosson 1901, p. 11, praised it as one of the "three oldest complete armors" in European collections.
13. Dean 1905, pp. 64–67, and subsequent editions of the handbook in 1915 and 1921; Laking (1920–22) 2000, vol. 1, p. 180, fig. 214; and Grancsay 1956, p. 213.
14. Boccia and Coelho 1967, pp. 120, 137, pls. 70–72. The opinions regarding the Metropolitan's harness found in this groundbreaking publication on Italian armor were based solely on Eduardo Coelho's examination of the armor in the gallery vitrine and on photographs. Once informed by the present author as to the extent of the armor's restoration, Lionello Boccia subsequently discounted it from consideration among the surviving quattrocento examples; see Boccia 1979, p. 31; Boccia 1982, p. 13, n. 1; and Boccia 1987, p. 52, n. 22.
15. Reproduced in Dean 1905, p. 67. The discussion of this armor and those that follow, each a complex work that should be published in detail in the future, is greatly simplified here for the sake of clarity and brevity.
16. De Cosson 1901, no. A.4. Having acquired this harness from Carrand in the 1870s, Spitzer included it among his loans to the Paris exhibitions of 1878 and 1889 (see note 11 above); see also Spitzer 1890–93, vol. 6, no. 7, pl. 5, and Spitzer sale 1895, lot 7 (sold for 76,000 francs, the most expensive lot in the Spitzer sale). The armor figures in a number of publications following its acquisition by the Museum: Dean 1905, pp. 85–86, pl. 42, and later editions of the handbook (1915, 1921, and 1930); Laking (1920–22) 2000, vol. 3, pp. 256–58; Grancsay 1953, no. 4; Norman 1964, p. 63, fig. 65; Nickel 1974, pp. 129, 143; and Thomas 1977, p. 153.
17. De Cosson 1901, p. 13, following Boeheim (1894–98, vol. 1, p. 3), who tentatively attributed to Scroo the "costume armor" made for Charles V as a boy (Hofjagd- und Rüsthammer, Vienna, no. A109). According to Boeheim (1890, p. 660), the Brussels armorer was recorded in imperial employment between 1480 and 1496.



18. The Dino armor is discussed together with similar costume armors, including related pieces by Kolman Helmschmid in the Metropolitan Museum's collection, in Kienbusch and Grancsay 1933, pp. 70–77. The armor has frequently been published as that of Frederick of Saxony, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order from 1496 to 1510, an association first suggested by Grancsay in *ibid.*, p. 75.
19. Reverseau 1990, pp. 32–33, with earlier bibliography cited.
20. The poleyn wing formed part of the collection of Major Victor Farquharson bequeathed to the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1926. Farquharson acquired a number of Radziwill pieces in the sales of that collection at Christie, Manson & Woods in London on June 29, 1926.
21. Laking (1920–22) 2000, vol. 3, pp. 243, fig. 1031A, and 245; Grancsay 1955, no. 12.
22. Reproduced in Dean 1905, p. 85; the present author's identification of this Landshut mark misled Bruno Thomas to identify the armor as a youthful work of the Landshut armorer Wolfgang Grosschedel; see Thomas 1977, p. 153.
23. Von Reitzenstein 1969, p. 30.
24. De Cosson 1901, no. A.8; see also Laking (1920–22) 2000, vol. 3, pp. 330–33, where de Cosson's entry is repeated. The cited provenance for the armor is given as the dukes of Infantado, dukes of Osuna (whose armory, according to Cripps-Day 1925, p. 29, was dispersed in the early 1880s), and Spitzer.
25. These initials led Mario Scalini to identify the armor (mistakenly, in this author's opinion) as that of Cosimo de' Medici, duke of Florence, a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece from 1546 (Scalini 1990, pp. 22–24, 28–29).
26. The photograph may record one of the armors belonging to the duke of Osuna. It is not known when or where Spitzer acquired it. He lent it to the 1889 Exposition Universelle in Paris (see Paris 1889, no. 634), and it appeared in his collection catalogue (Spitzer 1890–93, vol. 6, no. 19) and in the Spitzer sale 1895, lot 19 (sold for 52,000 francs).
27. The only print of this photograph known to the author is pasted into one of the scrapbooks (series 105, vol. 5) assembled by Jules Maciet now in the Bibliothèque des Arts Décoratifs, Paris. The significance of the number 841 in the caption, perhaps a negative or series number, is not known. This photograph may date about the time Laurent published his series of 187 photographs of the armors in *Real Armería de Madrid* 1868.
28. For an introduction to Spitzer as mastermind for the creation of fakes, see Hackenbroch 1984–85, pp. 169–76.
29. Paris 2011, pp. 40, fig. 6, and 43.
30. Discussed by Scalini 1990, pp. 28–29, n. 16, without distinguishing the two different armors and their restorations.
31. De Cosson 1901, no. F.1; see also Laking (1920–22) 2000, vol. 2, pp. 261–62 and fig. 638, where the sword, although rumored "on good authority" to be composite, is accepted as genuine.
32. Paris 1867, p. 159; Bonnavaffé 1890, p. 30; Spitzer 1890–93, vol. 6, no. 101; Spitzer sale 1895, lot 175 (sold for 24,500 francs). The 1838 provenance cited in de Cosson 1901, p. 58, is found in the manuscript Carrand catalogue (see note 11 above), no. 69.
33. Dean 1905, pp. 145–46, fig. 74C, and in subsequent editions of the handbook from 1915 to 1930; Laking (1920–22) 2000, vol. 2, pp. 261–62, fig. 638; and Bruhn de Hoffmeyer 1954, vol. 2, p. 31, no. 91, pl. 29d.
34. The enameled Gaucourt arms are also found on a serving knife of fifteenth-century type in the Wallace Collection, no. A882, which also belonged earlier to Louis Carrand (Mann 1962, vol. 2, pp. 228–29).

APPENDIX 2: CONCORDANCE OF DINO COLLECTION CATALOGUE NUMBERS AND METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART ACCESSION NUMBERS

Dino Cat. No.	MMA Acc. No.	Dino Cat. No.	MMA Acc. No.
<b>Armors</b>		B.31	04.3.222
A.1	04.3.295	B.32	04.3.206
A.2	04.3.293	B.33	04.3.219
A.3	04.3.291–292	B.34	04.3.201
A.4	04.3.286	B.35	04.3.220
A.5	04.3.289	B.36	04.3.203
A.6	04.3.280, 282–285, 288, 479, 481	B.37	04.3.204
A.7	04.3.278	B.38	04.2.200
A.8	04.3.270	B.39	04.3.224
A.9	04.3.265	B.40	04.3.225
A.10	04.3.267–269	B.41	04.3.216
A.11	04.3.266		
A.12	04.3.257		
A.13	04.3.258		
<b>Helmets</b>		<b>Armor Parts</b>	
B.1	04.3.238	C.1	04.3.218
B.2	04.3.235	C.2	04.3.207
B.3	04.3.241	C.3	04.3.105
B.4	04.3.463	C.4	04.3.110
B.5	04.3.247	C.5	04.3.111
B.6	04.3.240	C.6	04.3.56–57
B.7	04.3.234	C.7	04.3.34–35
B.8	04.3.228		
B.9	04.3.236	<b>Shields</b>	
B.10	04.3.229	D.1	04.3.296
B.11	04.3.226	D.2	04.3.262
B.12	04.3.227	D.3	04.3.261
B.13	04.3.231	D.4	04.3.277
B.14	04.3.242	D.5	04.3.264
B.15	04.3.230	D.6	04.3.255
B.16	04.3.239	D.7	04.3.270
B.17	04.3.237	D.8	04.3.256
B.18	04.3.233	D.9	04.3.106
B.19	04.3.274	D.10	04.3.176
B.20	04.3.248	D.11	04.3.107
B.21	04.3.244		
B.22	04.3.245	<b>Equestrian Equipment</b>	
B.23	04.3.242	E.1	04.3.253
B.24	04.3.243	E.2	04.3.108
B.25	04.3.246	E.3	04.3.109
B.26	04.3.202	E.4	04.3.254
B.27	04.3.205	E.5	04.3.249
B.28	04.3.221	E.6	04.3.250
B.29	04.3.217	E.7	04.3.252
B.30	04.3.223	E.8	04.3.251
		E.9	04.3.471–474

<b>Dino Cat. No.</b>	<b>MMA Acc. No.</b>	<b>Dino Cat. No.</b>	<b>MMA Acc. No.</b>
E.10	04.3.478	F.43	04.3.13
E.11	04.3.173–172	F.44	04.3.44
E.12	04.3.168–169	F.45	04.3.15
E.13	04.3.170–171	F.46	04.3.16
E.14	04.3.175	F.47	04.3.4
E.15	04.3.174	F.48	04.3.14
		F.49	04.3.41
		F.50	04.3.45
		F.51	04.3.43
		F.52	04.3.51
<b>Swords</b>			
F.1	04.3.276		
F.2	04.3.459		
F.3	04.3.294		
F.4	04.3.263		
F.5	04.3.61		
F.6	04.3.28		
F.7	04.3.26		
F.8	04.3.290		
F.9	04.3.27		
F.10	04.3.6		
F.11	04.3.21		
F.12	04.3.281		
F.13	04.3.287		
F.14	04.3.275		
F.15	04.3.42		
F.16	04.3.23		
F.17	04.3.32		
F.18	04.3.20		
F.19	04.3.19		
F.20	04.3.30		
F.21	04.3.29		
F.22	04.3.55		
F.23	04.3.272		
F.24	04.3.60		
F.25	04.3.273		
F.26	04.3.12		
F.27	04.3.279		
F.28	04.3.24		
F.29	04.3.9		
F.30	04.3.7		
F.31	04.3.5		
F.32	04.3.8		
F.33	04.3.54		
F.34	04.3.22		
F.35	04.3.25		
F.36	04.3.11		
F.37	04.3.52		
F.38	04.3.1		
F.39	04.3.31		
F.40	04.3.10		
F.41	04.3.3		
F.42	04.3.2		
		<b>Daggers</b>	
		G.1	not in collection when purchased
		G.2	04.3.123
		G.3	04.3.146
		G.4	04.3.142
		G.5	not in collection when purchased
		G.6	04.3.126
		G.7	04.3.139
		G.8	04.3.138
		G.9	04.3.137
		G.10	04.3.135
		G.11	04.3.136
		G.12	04.3.134
		G.13	04.3.133
		G.14	04.3.143
		G.15	04.3.127
		G.16	04.3.141
		G.17	04.3.124
		G.18	04.3.112
		G.19	04.3.18
		G.20	04.3.149
		G.21	04.3.144
		G.22	04.3.125
		G.23	04.3.145
		G.24	04.3.114
		G.25	04.3.121
		G.26	04.3.152
		G.27	04.3.140
		G.28	04.3.130–132
		G.29	04.3.128
		G.30	04.3.117
		G.31	04.3.148
		G.32	04.3.120
		G.33	04.3.147
		G.34	04.3.118
		G.35	04.3.116
		G.36	04.3.53
		G.37	04.3.119
		G.38	04.3.17



Dino Cat. No.	MMA Acc. No.	Dino Cat. No.	MMA Acc. No.
G.39	04.3.166	H.40	not accounted for/never received
G.40	04.3.167	H.41	04.3.102
G.41	04.3.113	H.42	04.3.101
G.42	04.3.115	H.43	04.3.103
G.43	04.3.129	H.44	04.3.104
G.44	04.3.150	H.45	04.3.63
G.45	04.3.152	H.46	04.3.62
G.46	04.3.158	H.47	04.3.73
G.47	04.3.153–157	H.48	04.3.67
		H.49	04.3.78
		H.50	04.3.79
		H.51	04.3.80
		H.52	04.3.464
		H.53	04.3.66
		H.54	04.3.77
		H.55	04.3.98
		H.56	04.3.99
		H.57	04.3.70
		H.58	04.3.71
		H.59	04.3.72
		H.60	04.3.465
		H.61	04.3.466
		H.62	04.3.482
		H.63	04.3.483
<b>Shafted Weapons</b>		<b>Crossbows</b>	
H.1	04.3.47	I.1	04.3.36
H.2	04.3.59		
H.3	04.3.38		
H.4	04.3.39		
H.5	04.3.46		
H.6	04.3.49		
H.7	04.3.58		
H.8	04.3.48		
H.9	04.3.40		
H.10	04.3.477		
H.11	04.3.37		
H.12	04.3.50		
H.13	04.3.470		
H.14	04.3.100		
H.15	04.3.467		
H.16	04.3.69		
H.17	04.3.76		
H.18	04.3.82		
H.19	04.3.81		
H.20	04.3.64		
H.21	04.3.65		
H.22	04.3.75		
H.23	04.3.74		
H.24	04.3.83		
H.25	04.3.68		
H.26	04.3.97		
H.27	04.3.84		
H.28	04.3.85		
H.29	04.3.86		
H.30	04.3.87		
H.31	04.3.88		
H.32	04.3.89		
H.33	04.3.90		
H.34	04.3.91		
H.35	04.3.92		
H.36	04.3.93		
H.37	04.3.94		
H.38	04.3.95		
H.39	04.3.96		
		<b>Firearms</b>	
		J.1	04.3.180
		J.2	04.3.182
		J.3	04.3.165
		J.4	04.3.184
		J.5	04.3.179
		J.6	04.3.163
		J.7	04.3.162
		J.8	04.3.164
		K.1	04.3.189
		K.2	04.3.159
		K.3	04.3.194
		K.4	04.3.10–161
		K.5	04.3.181
		K.6	04.3.122
		K.7	04.3.198–199
		K.8	04.3.192–193
		K.9	04.3.187–188
		K.10	04.3.195–196
		K.11	04.3.190–191

<b>Dino Cat. No.</b>	<b>MMA Acc. No.</b>	<b>Dino Cat. No.</b>	<b>MMA Acc. No.</b>
<b>Firearms Accessories</b>		M.11	04.3.469
L.1	04.3.183	M.12	04.3.33
L.2	lost	M.13	04.3.468
L.3	04.3.186		
L.4	04.3.197		
L.5	04.3.185		
<b>Miscellaneous</b>		<b>Oriental</b>	
M.1	04.3.177	N.1	04.3.456
M.2	04.3.178	N.2	04.3.457
M.3	04.3.298–302	N.3	04.3.460
M.4	04.3.303–455	N.4	04.3.209
M.5	04.3.458	N.5	04.3.210
M.6	04.3.297	N.6	04.3.211
M.7	04.3.259	N.7	04.3.212
M.8	04.3.260	N.8	04.3.462
M.9	04.3.475	N.9	04.3.214
M.10	04.3.476	N.10	04.3.215
		N.11	04.3.461
		N.12	04.3.208
		N.13	04.3.213

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