

“a harnes all gilte”

A Study of the Armor of Galiot de Genouilhac and the Iconography of Its Decoration

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AMONG THE MOST controversial pieces in the field of arms is the garniture for man and horse, acc. no. 19.131.1–2 in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, known as the Armor of Galiot de Genouilhac (Figures 1–3). It has been claimed for the Royal Armory of the French court,¹ the Royal English Workshop (Greenwich School),² and unknown Italian masters working either in Milan or in France.³ Being dated—1527—it would be the earliest datable product of either of the court workshops, and of key importance in any case.

Literally every single plate of this extraordinary armor, which has been called the finest in the world, has been scrutinized and interpreted from the technical point of view over the years, extensive historical research has been done by sifting through documents and printed sources, and finally three candidates have

emerged as the possible owner: Jacques Gourdon de Genouilhac, *dit* Galiot, Grand Maître de l'Artillerie and Grand Ecuyer du Roi de France; Henry VIII, king of England; and François II de la Tour d'Auvergne, vicomte de Turenne. It is thought by those scholars who assign the armor to Galiot de Genouilhac that it was made either in the French Royal Armory or by an Italian master otherwise in French service, while those who consider it to have been owned by either Henry VIII or the vicomte de Turenne emphasize its origin in the Royal English workshops at Greenwich.

According to an oral tradition in the family de Crussol, ducs d'Uzès, the armor belonged to Galiot de Genouilhac (1465–1546), and it was handed down in the family until its sale in 1914. It was said that it

1. Sir Guy Francis Laking, *A Record of European Armour and Arms through Seven Centuries* (London, 1920) III, p. 230–239, figs. 1021 a and b, 1022, 1028 a.

2. James G. Mann, “Identifying a Famous Armour,” *The Connoisseur* 93 (1934) pp. 50–53, ill. James G. Mann, *Exhibition of Armour made in the Royal Workshops at Greenwich*, exhibition catalogue, Tower of London, May 22–September 29, 1951, cat. no. 3, pl. 3. James G. Mann, “The Exhibition of Greenwich Armour at the Tower of London,” *The Burlington Magazine* 93 (1951) pp. 379–383, ill. Claude Blair, “New Light on Four Almain Armours: 2” *The Connoisseur* 144 (1960) pp. 240–244, ill. Ortwin Gamber, “Die

königlich englische Hofplattnerie,” *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 59 (1963) pp. 7–39, ill. Helmut Nickel, “English Armour in the Metropolitan Museum,” *The Connoisseur* 172 (1969) pp. 196–203, ill. *Masterpieces of Fifty Centuries*, exhibition catalogue, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1970, cat. no. 247.

3. Bashford Dean, “Gilded and Engraved Armor for Man and Horse,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 14 (1919) pp. 210–215, ill. Stephen V. Grancsay, “The Genouilhac Armor,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 29 (1934) pp. 190–191, ill. Stephen V. Grancsay, *The Armor of Galiot de Genouilhac*, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Papers*, no. 4 (New York, 1937).



FIGURE 1

Garniture for man and horse, with jousting reinforcements, tilting breastplate, and bridle gauntlet. Traditionally attributed to Galiot de Genouilhac, dated 1527. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, William H. Riggs Gift and Rogers Fund, 19.131.1-2



FIGURE 2

Armor of Galiot de Genouilhac, with reinforcing breastplate in place



FIGURE 3

Rear view of the armor of Galiot de Genouilhac

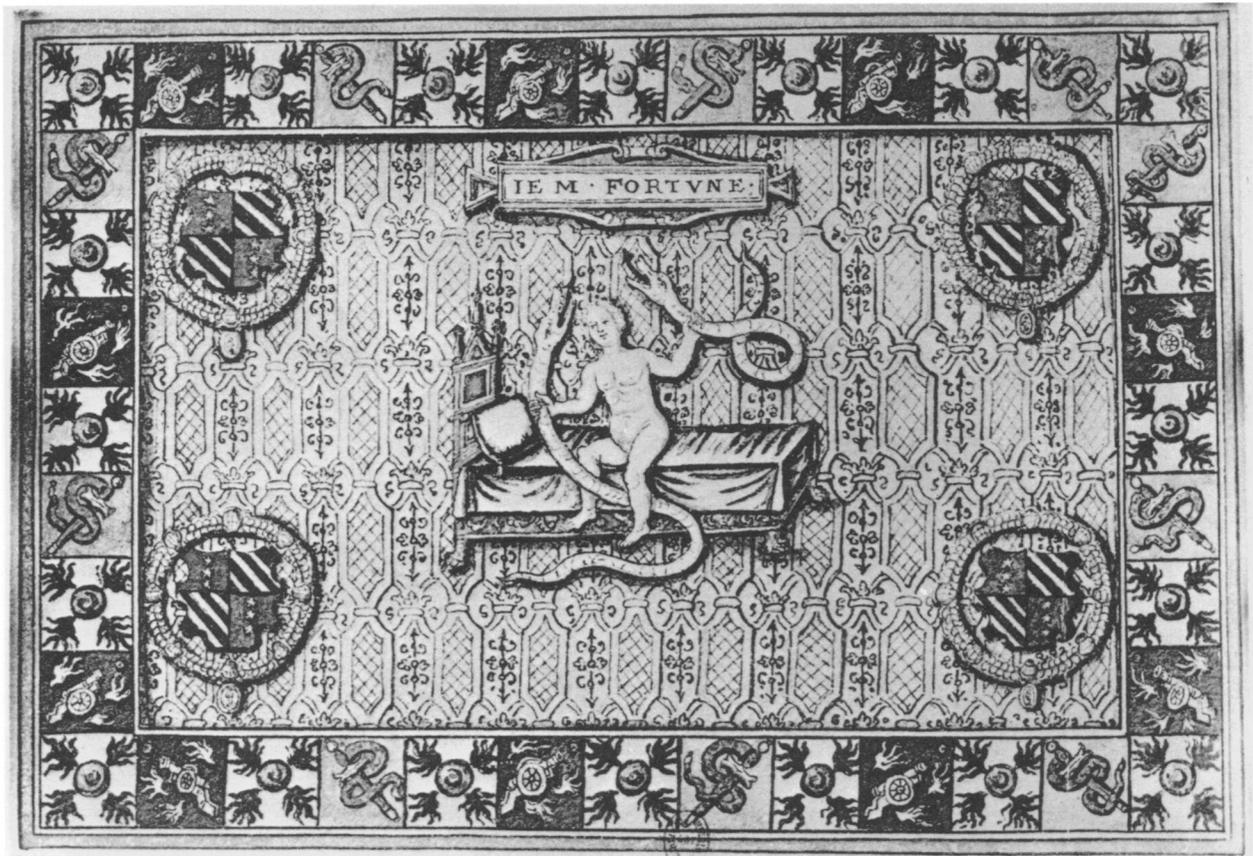
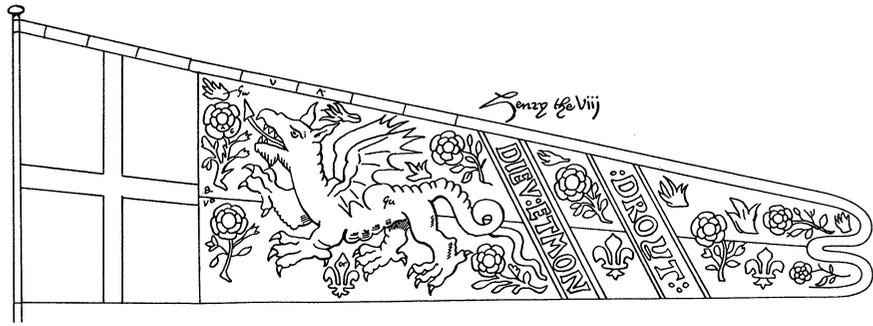


FIGURE 4
 Drawing of a tapestry once in the castle of Assier. One of the Hercules series, displaying the arms, badges, and motto of Galiot de Genouilhac. After Vaux de Foletier



FIGURE 5
 Detail of a rubbing made from the reinforcing breastplate of the Genouilhac armor, showing a banner with a heraldic animal thought to be the dragon of Wales

FIGURE 6
Drawing of a standard
of Henry VIII. After
de Walden



came into their possession through Jeanne de Genouilhac, dame d'Assier, Galiot's daughter, who married Charles de Crussol in 1523.⁴ Iconographical proof of this ownership has been derived from the representation of four deeds of Hercules on the leg defenses of the armor. The much-admired castle Galiot had built at Assier in 1524, and the parish church of neighboring Lonzac, which he had built before 1530, were both decorated with reliefs that portrayed—among other motifs—the labors of Hercules. Furthermore it is known that there was a series of tapestries with the same subject in the castle of Assier (Figure 4).⁵ On the other hand, it has been pointed out that the emblems of Galiot's offices as Grand Ecuyer du Roi and Grand Maître de l'Artillerie—the belted sword, the cannon, and the flaming cannonball—do not appear at all in the overrich decoration of the armor, although they were repeated many times in the reliefs of the castle of Assier and the church of Lonzac, in the borders of the

tapestries once at Assier, and, finally, in the decoration etched on a fragmentary suit of armor, attributed to Galiot de Genouilhac, parts of which are in the Musée de l'Armée at Paris (G 36) and in the John Woodman Higgins Armory at Worcester, Massachusetts.⁶

The original owner was said to have been Henry VIII (1491–1547) for reason of the large size of the armor and its royal splendor, and especially because of several extraordinary technical features, such as a ventral defense, that it shares with a suit of armor in the Tower of London (II.8) that he undoubtedly owned.⁷ In addition to this, it has been suggested that the device on the banner held by a putto in the castle on the back of an elephant—etched on the right side of the reinforcing breastplate—is a dragon and was meant to be the dragon of Wales (Figure 5), one of the “heraldic beasts” of the king (Figure 6), and, of course, especially dear to the House of Tudor.⁸ Unfortunately, this tiny animal, whose real identity is

4. After the death of his only legitimate son, François Ricard de Genouilhac, in the Battle of Cersola in 1544, Galiot made his only daughter, Jeanne, his universal heir in his testament of June 5, 1545. After the death of his son-in-law, Charles de Crussol, vicomte d'Uzès, in March 1546, he added a codicil to his will in favor of his grandchildren, the children of Jeanne. Her eldest son, Antoine, was made duc d'Uzès in 1565. François de Vaux de Foletier, *Galiot de Genouilhac* (Paris, 1926) pp. 101–142. Grancsay, *Armor of Genouilhac*, pp. 32–33.

5. Vaux de Foletier, *Genouilhac*, pp. 119, 122–124, ill., mentions especially the slaying of the Nemean lion and the Hydra. A surviving drawing of one of the tapestries shows Hercules as a child strangling the two serpents sent by Juno. Grancsay, *Armor of Genouilhac*, pp. 32–33.

6. Mann, “Identifying,” p. 53. On occasion of a visit to the Higgins Armory, together with Vesey A. B. Norman, Assistant to the Director of the Wallace Collection, London, we discovered that the shoulders of the composed armor illustrated on p. 38 of the *Catalogue of Armor, The John Woodman Higgins Armory* (Worcester, Massachusetts, 1961) by Stephen V. Grancsay, bore a border of cannons and flaming cannonballs in gilt etching identical to that on the cuirass G 36 in the Musée de l'Armée, Paris.

7. Mann, “Exhibition,” pp. 379–383. In this article Mann points out that there is no suit of armor among those known as having belonged to Henry VIII that could rival the splendor of the Genouilhac armor. It seems to him unlikely that Henry might have presented to anybody a finer suit of armor than he owned himself. Blair, “Almain Armours: 2,” revives the claim of Henry VIII to this armor and states that only a small portion of the king's personal armor has survived.

8. Lord Howard de Walden, *Banners, Standards, and Badges from a Tudor Manuscript in the College of Arms* (1904) pp. 12–15, 20, 77, shows “heraldic beasts” used by Henry VIII: lion or and dragon gules (as supporters of arms of England); “a falcon in its kynd” holding the royal banner of England; a lion or holding Henry's banner with the Tudor rose; an apostolic eagle holding the banner with Henry's and Katharine's badges of the Tudor rose and the pomegranate; the dragon of Wales on Henry's standard. It should be mentioned that in the same manuscript (MS. I2) the dragon supporting the banner of North Wales is represented as a wyvern, as shown on de Walden's p. 22. The shape of the banner topping the elephant's castle on the breastplate—square with a streamer at the upper corner of the fly—is not encountered in England, but is not unusual for banners in France, Burgundy, and even Italy, and particularly common in Germany and Switzerland.

rather questionable, for it might even more rightfully be called a wyvern, a basilisk, a cockatrice, or even a griffin, is more than half hidden when the lance rest is in position, which makes it difficult to claim it as a mark of identification.

The vicomte de Turenne (1497–1532) was claimed to have been the owner on the strength of a written source, the secretary Dodieu's account of the visit of two French ambassadors, the vicomte de Turenne and the bishop of Tarbes, on a special mission to England. When on March 12, 1527, Henry brought the vicomte

to Greenwich "to see the furnitures and riches of the King," the jovial monarch ordered "a suit of armor made for Turenne like his own, which are said to be the safest and the easiest that are made." In addition to this, and stressing this point, there is usually quoted from Edward Hall's chronicle a description of a tournament held in honor of the French ambassadors at their arrival: "On shroveste wesdaie, the kyng himself in a newe harnes all gilte, of a strange fashion that had not bene sene, and with him viii gentylman . . . came to the tilte and there run many freshe courses." The com-

FIGURE 7

The reinforcing breastplate with lance rest in position



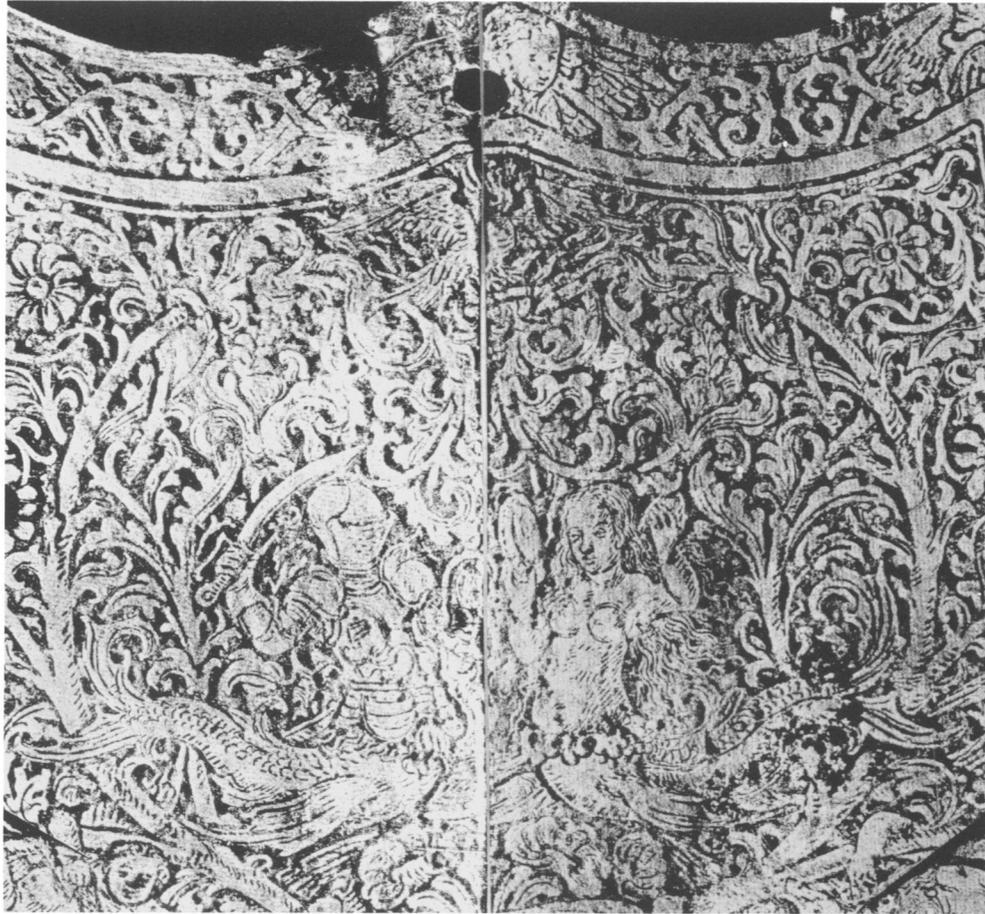


FIGURE 8
Merknicht and mermaid, detail of a rubbing made from the reinforcing breastplate

bination of these two quotations suggests that the armor given to the vicomte de Turenne was modeled after this “harnes all gilte,” assuming that the king’s armor is lost. On the other hand, the description in Hall’s chronicle has been used as a basis for proposing that the Genouilhac armor might be the king’s own “harnes all gilte, of a strange fashion.”⁹

No interpretation of motifs of the decoration has been brought forward yet that would suggest an iconographical allusion to the person of the vicomte de Turenne, as was the case with the other two proposed owners, the deeds of Hercules being linked with Galiot de Genouilhac, and the dragon of Wales with Henry VIII.

Though Stephen V. Grancsay in his fundamental monograph *The Armor of Galiot de Genouilhac* pointed out that “in the case of the Genouilhac-armor the etching alone may ultimately serve to establish a definite

provenance,”¹⁰ practically no research in this direction has yet been published, with the notable exception of an article by Claude Blair,¹¹ in which he observed the striking similarity of one of the main motifs on the reinforcing breastplate—a mermaid and a merknicht (Figures 7, 8)—with figures in the relief decoration in “Wolsey’s Closet” at Hampton Court (Figures 9, 10). The present study will leave technical and structural considerations aside and deal only with the decoration of the armor, its provenance, and the possible significance of its iconography.

The entire surface of the armor is etched and gilded, the decoration comprising a dense network of foliage mixed with architectural motifs in Renaissance fashion

9. Mann, “Identifying,” p. 53.

10. Grancsay, *Armor of Genouilhac*, p. 24, note 17.

11. Blair, “Almain Armours: 2,” pp. 242–243.

and figural scenes.¹² The overall effect is very much like that of glittering cloth of gold, giving an overwhelming impression of richness and splendor. Handled piece for piece and at thoughtful leisure, however, the individual elements reveal all the marvelous details of the decoration.

The most conspicuous motif is on the reinforcing breastplate: a mermaid and a merknicht, as already mentioned, accompanied by two elephants with castles on their backs, and surrounded by putti playing with leashed parrots.¹³ On the central plate of the breastplate proper, an area that would be covered when the reinforcing breastplate was put in place, the main motif is a morris dance executed by seven putti in various disguises (Figures 11, 12).¹⁴ They are hopping about in the spiral branches of a treelike form that grows out of a fountain around which a lion, three deer, and two cranes are assembled, while a unicorn is about to plunge its horn into the water. On the side plates are putti watching a cockfight and a battle between rams (Figures 13, 14).

The backplate displays in its center an arrangement of two griffins facing each other over a stag's head surmounting a peacock in his pride (Figures 15, 16). At the sides, in the foliage filled with doves and other small birds, are putti chasing hares and cranes with the assistance of hounds and falcons (Figures 17, 18).

On the shoulder guards are represented a lion confronting a serpent to protect two lionesses (left shoulder) and a putto riding a horse pursued by a large canine (wolf?) and its cub (right shoulder) (Figures 19, 20).

The helmet bowl shows on its left side a centaur shooting an arrow against a warrior in classical attire; on its right side there is a wild man with his family. Putti wrestling and playing appear on both sides and on the visor (Figures 21, 22).

12. The technique of etching in this case was in what was later called the "Italian" fashion, whereby the entire surface was covered with an acid-resistant wax-resin mixture, the design was silhouetted by scraping, and details were added within the bodies by drawing with a needle-pointed stylus. In the "German" type of etching, the design was drawn in liquid wax with a brush, leaving the background blank. However, particularly during the first half of the sixteenth century, it was not unusual for a German etcher to use the "Italian" method if he desired. Details were filled in with a stylus in any case. For a detailed description of the armor, plate for plate, see Grancsay, *Armor of Genouilhac*, pp. 22-27.



Putti singing and playing musical instruments are on the colletin, front and back, surmounted by cloud motifs, sun, and stars (Figure 23).

On the leg defenses are the deeds of Hercules, already mentioned (Figure 24). On the left cuish is the killing of the Hydra, on the left greave the slaying of the Nemean lion. On the right cuish is the wrestling of Hercules and Antaeus, on the right greave Hercules carrying the Pillars of Gades.

The tassets show Mars, Venus, and Cupid (right), and the drunken Bacchus (left) (Figures 25, 26).

On the horse armor, the chamfron shows putti at play, the saddle pommel plate shows them riding a horse, and each of the lames of the crinet is etched with the head of a different animal: lion, stag, falcon (?), hound, lioness (?), ram, griffin, lion (Figures 27, 28).

The rest of the plates are full of putti romping in foliate scrollwork. A noteworthy detail on the cuff of the tilting gauntlet (Figures 29, 30) shows a putto being swallowed by a monstrous serpent with a foliate body and a human profile mask attached to its tail. Both surviving reinforcement pieces for the joust,

13. These leashed birds have been described as owls by Dean and as falcons by Grancsay. However, the leashes represented are much too heavy for falcons' jesses. Moreover, the bird on the left side of the breastplate is leashed around its neck, a feature that is used for characterizing popinjays in heraldry, and its counterpart on the right side is depicted as trying to climb up the leash in typical parrot fashion. The bird at the very top of the breastplate bears a crest of fanned-out feathers and has a curved bill, two characteristics only a cockatoo would show.

14. The morris dance was not recognized as such in earlier descriptions.



FIGURE 9
Relief frieze in Wolsey's Closet, Hampton Court (photo: National Monuments Record, London)

FIGURE 10
Lead cistern with relief made in the same mold as the frieze in Hampton Court. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 69.177



namely, the reinforcing breastplate and the tilting gauntlet, have in common a moderately wide border with cherubs' heads. Probably this was the distinctive mark of the garniture for its jousting elements, and could be expected to have been present, for example, on the now lost grand guard.

In the style of the etching two different hands can be clearly distinguished. After their most conspicuous motifs we shall name the artists conveniently the Master of the Many Animals and the Master of the Deeds of Hercules.

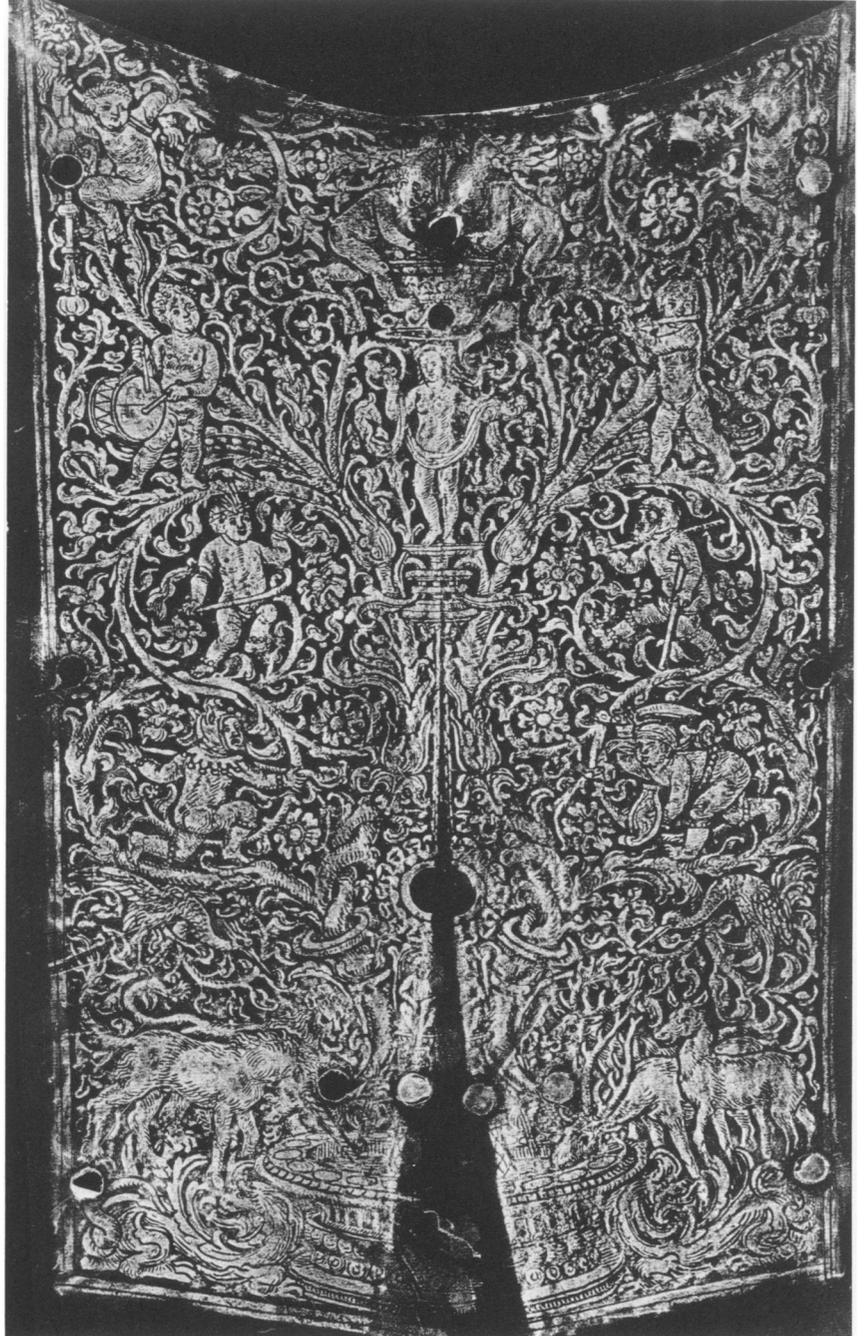
The Animals Master decorated the cuirass, including the reinforcing breastplate and ventral defense, and the helmet, including the colletin, as well as the pauldrons, while the Hercules Master embellished the arm and leg defenses, the folds of the cuirass, and the tassets. Of the horse armor, the saddle plates can be attributed to the Animals Master, and the chamfron and crinet to the Hercules Master. Artistically the two masters' work differs widely in quality. The crisp designs of the Animals Master are at the very top of all etched work in arms and armor, while the Hercules Master was a mediocre draftsman, whose figures are rather clumsy and whose foliage is rank and flabby.

The style of the etching has been called French by Bashford Dean and Italian by most other authors. Claude Blair suggested that the decoration was designed and perhaps even executed by Giovanni da



FIGURE 11
The cuirass with the tassets

FIGURE 12
Rubbing made from the central lame of the breastplate of
the cuirass



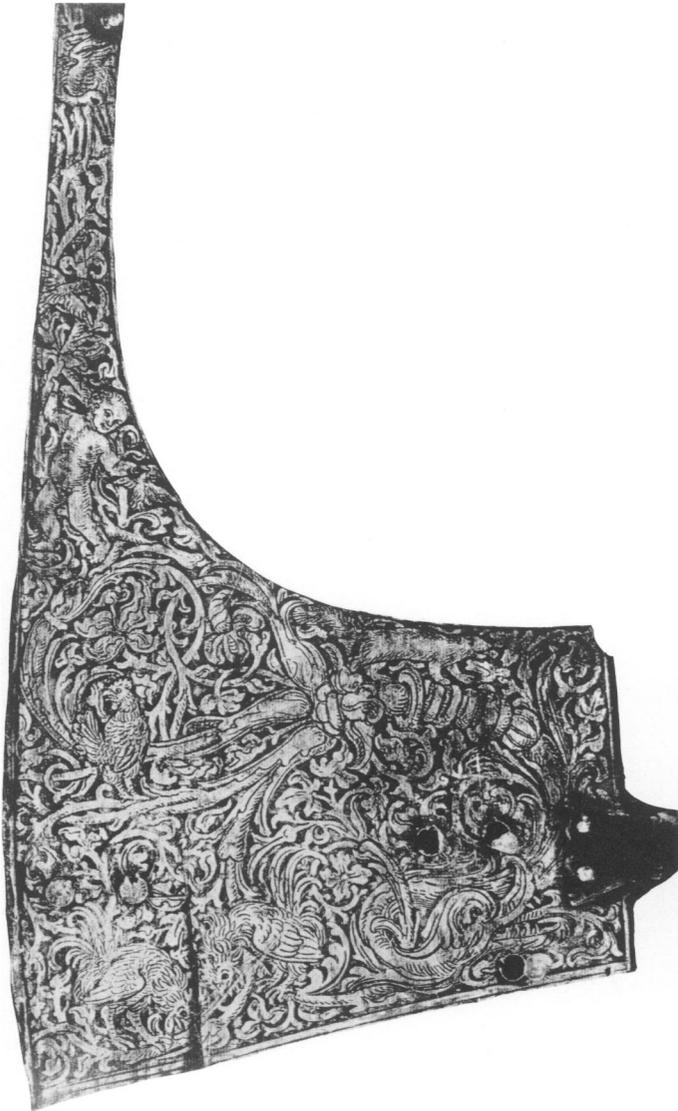


FIGURE 13
Cockfight, rubbing of the left side lame of the
breastplate

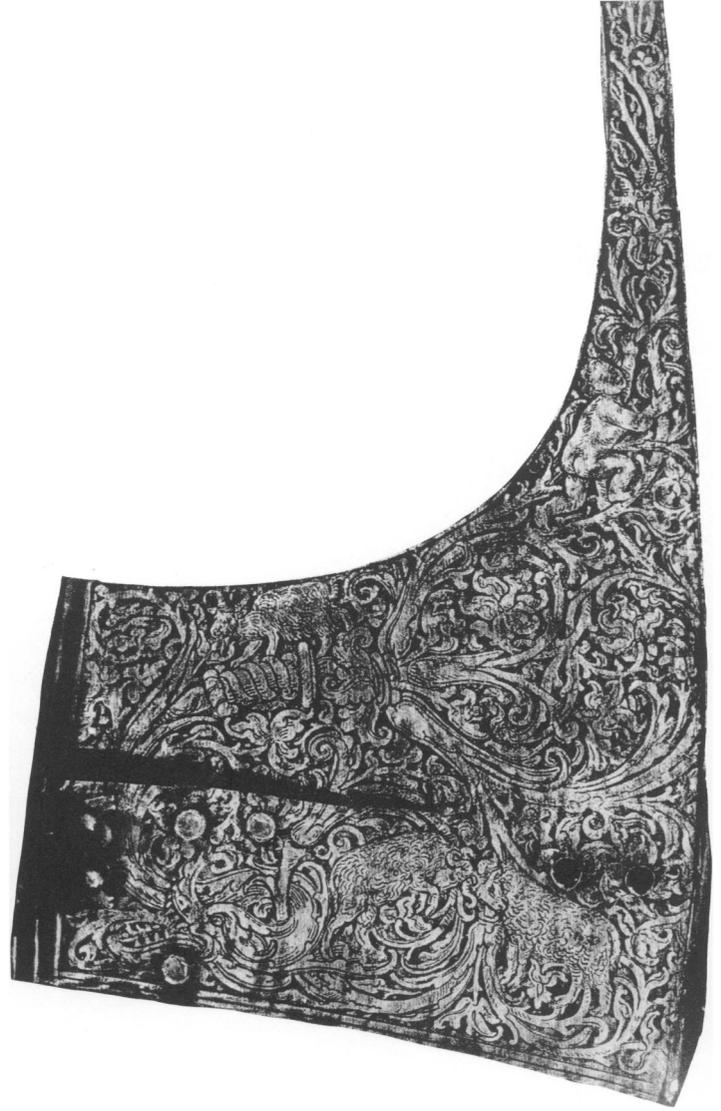


FIGURE 14
Rams fighting, rubbing of the right side lame of
the breastplate

FIGURE 15 (opposite)
Rear view of the cuirass

FIGURE 16
Rubbing of the central lame of the backplate, showing
the date 1527





FIGURE 17
Rubbing of the left side lame of the backplate

FIGURE 18
Rubbing of the right side lame of the backplate



FIGURE 19
Lions and serpent, rubbing of the left shoulder guard; a second lioness lying on the ground to the far right is not visible

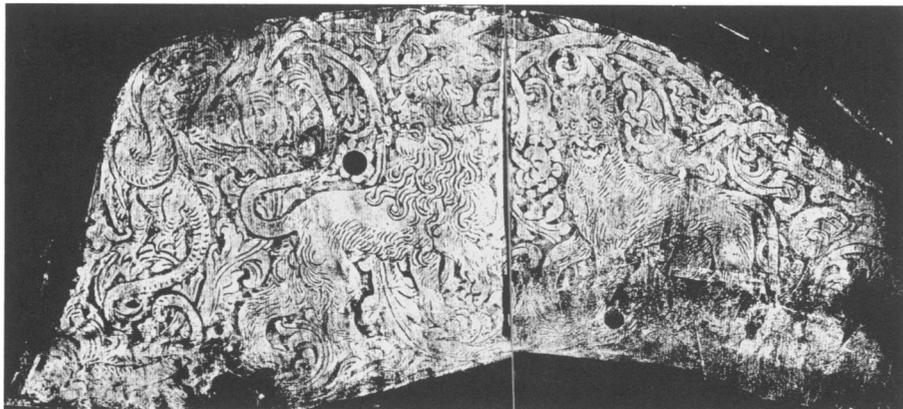


FIGURE 20
Horse and wolves (?), rubbing of the right shoulder guard

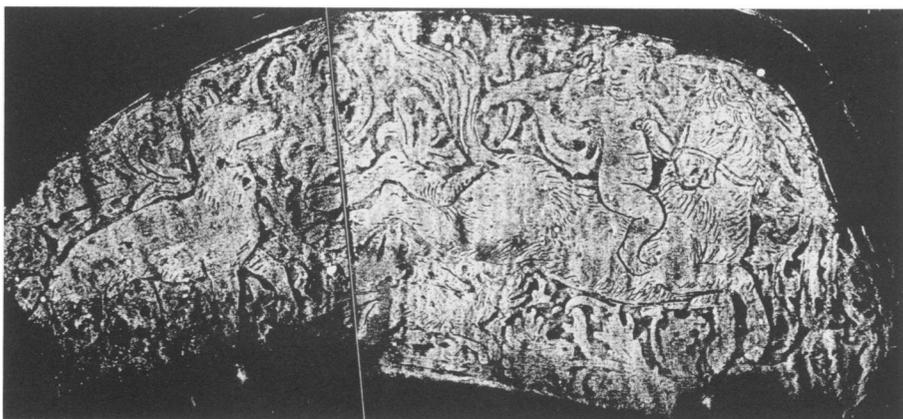
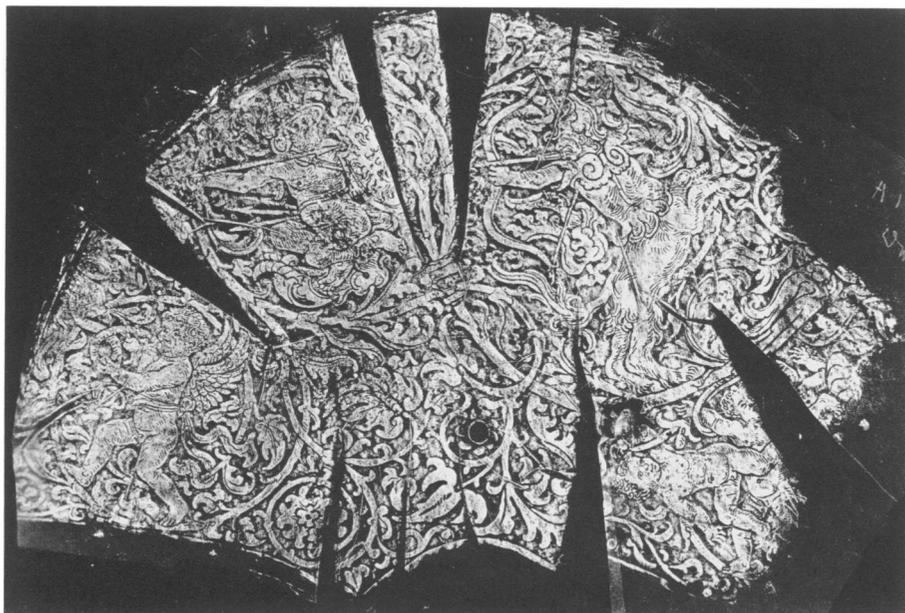


FIGURE 21
Centaur and warrior, putti wrestling, rubbing from the left side of the helmet bowl



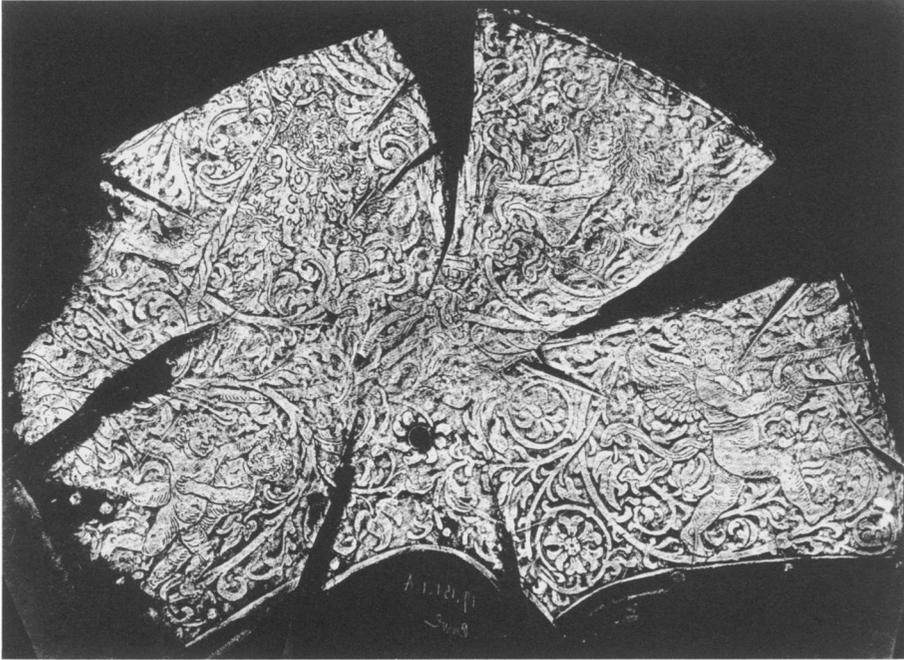


FIGURE 22
Family of wild men, putti
wrestling, rubbing from
the right side of the
helmet bowl



FIGURE 23
The helmet with colletin



FIGURE 24
The left leg defense

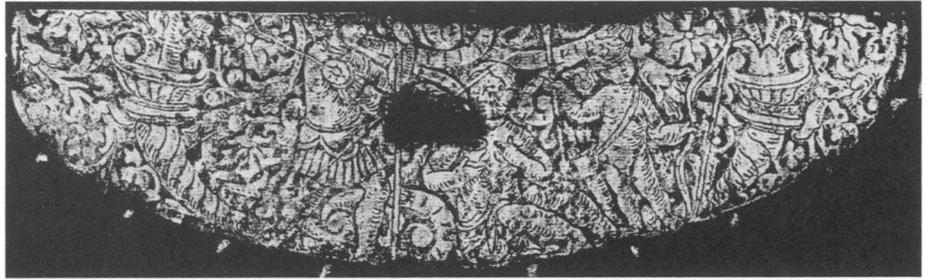


FIGURE 25
Mars, Venus, and Cupid, rubbing from the lowest lame on the
right tasset

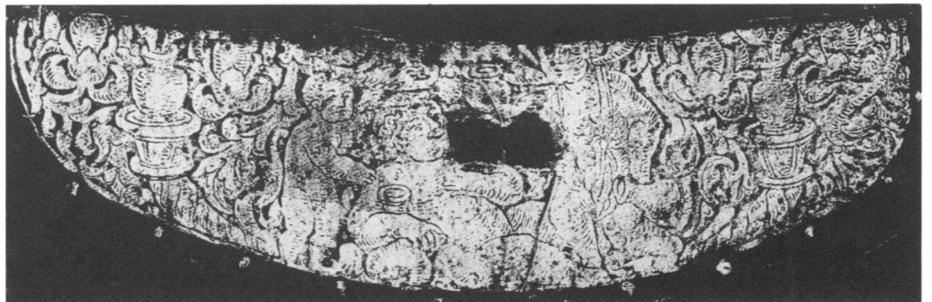


FIGURE 26
Bacchus drinking, rubbing from the lowest lame on the left tasset

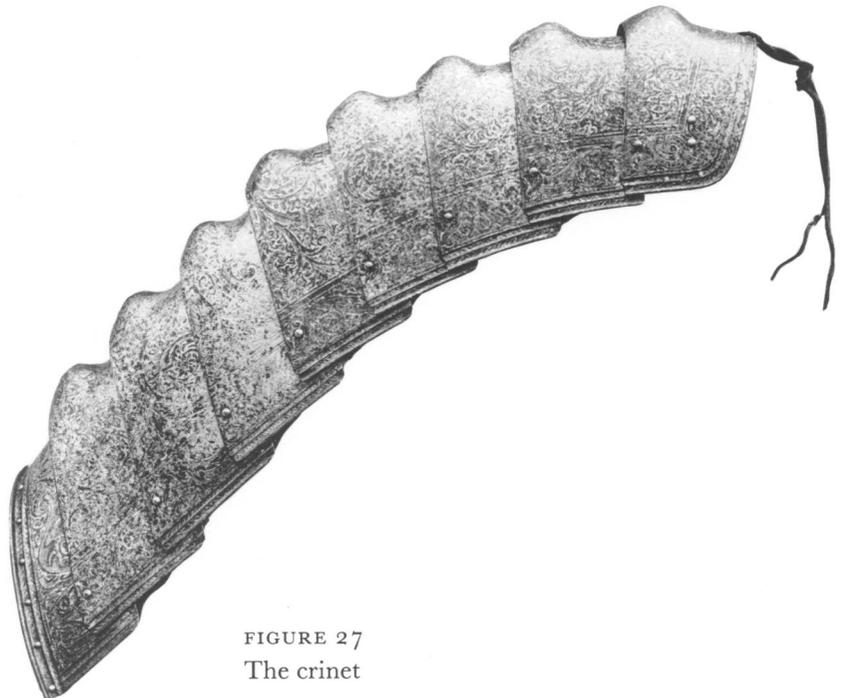


FIGURE 27
The crinet

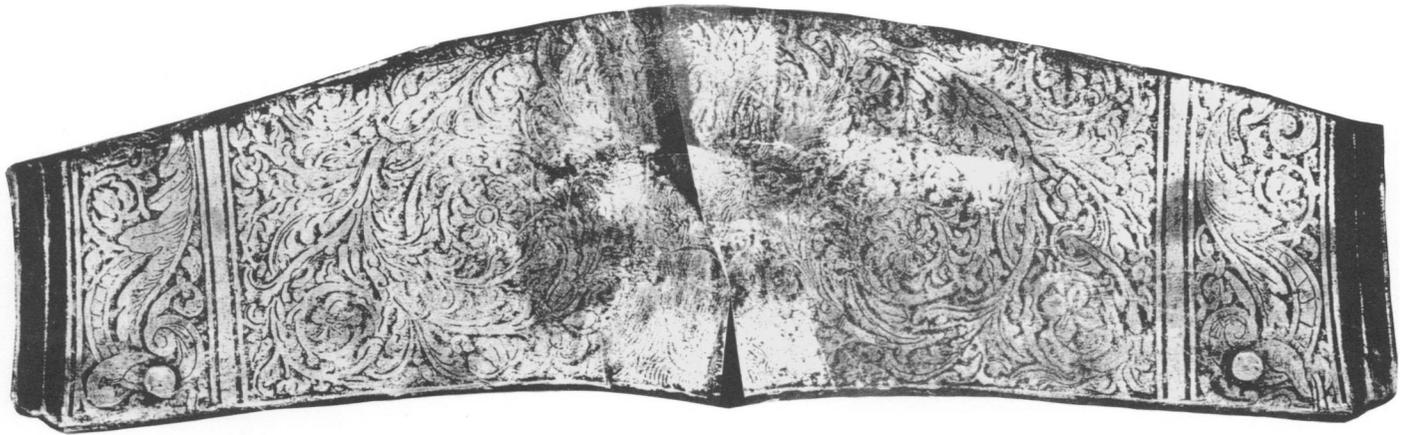


FIGURE 28
Head of a stag, rubbing from the
second lame of the crinet



FIGURE 29
The tilting gauntlet



FIGURE 30
Rubbing from the tilting gauntlet

Maiano, a Florentine sculptor and “graver” who ran a very busy workshop at the court of Henry VIII. The main support for this attribution has been derived from the similarity between the merknights and mermaids on the breastplate and at Hampton Court (Figures 7–10). Giovanni da Maiano indeed contributed several reliefs—“octo rotundas imagines exterra depictas et deauratas . . . ac similiter tres historias Herculis”—for Hampton Court, as stated on his request for payment, dated June 18, 1521.¹⁵ Unfortunately, the “tres historias Herculis” have not survived, and the other eight

“imagines” cannot be identified, leaving us with no clue to the personal style of Giovanni da Maiano.

The merknight and mermaid, however, are an absolutely un-Italian motif—an Italian artist would have chosen a pair of tritons in classical costume instead of these marine monsters of Late Northern Gothic extraction—but they are virtually a leitmotiv of Flemish art, to be found again and again in works of decorative art, such as misericords,¹⁶ and in prints and paintings (Figures 31–33).¹⁷ Therefore, the merknight and mermaid on the breastplate, since they have counterparts

15. Blair, “Almain Armours: 2” pp. 242–243, figs. 12–14. The molds employed for the forming of the reliefs at Hampton Court were also used for the casting of the lead cistern illustrated by Blair, fig. 14. It is now in the Metropolitan Museum; see Figure 10 in this article.

16. L. Maeterlinck, *Le genre satirique, fantastique et licencieux dans la sculpture flamande et wallonne* (Paris, 1910) p. 168, fig. 102, illustrates a merknight on a misericord in the cathedral of Aarschot and further mentions examples in Louvain (St. Pierre), Hoogstraten, Diest, and Walcourt. The merknight from the choir stalls of the cathedral of Diest is illustrated in *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century: Art and Civilization*, the catalogue of the exhibition *Masterpieces of Flemish Art: Van Eyck to Bosch*, The Detroit Institute of Arts, October–December 1960, p. 250, nos. 81–84: “The subject . . . of the knight with the fish tail [is] found at this same period [c. 1491] in the works of Hieronymus Bosch. Combats of marine knights were popular; they appeared in the program of the festivals organized on the occasion of the reception of Philip the Good at Bruges in 1440 and at Ghent in 1458, where were to be seen in the river Lys, near the bridge close by the meat market ‘sea knights swimming in the water and fighting with each other’ as reported by an eye witness, Georges Chastellain (Chastellain, *Chronique*, 1454–1458, edited by Kervyn de Lettenhove, III, 1864, p. 414).” The merknight brandishing his falchion juxtaposed with the mermaid combing her hair is a leitmotiv of Flemish art to such a degree that one can trustfully look for them wherever a Flemish artist carved choir stalls, for instance, as far away as in the cathedral of Toledo, where the pews were carved by “Rodrigo de Alemania.” A merknight and a mermaid are supporters of an unidentified coat-of-arms on a pair of andirons (Flemish, fifteenth century) in the Irwin Untermyer Collection, New York. See Yvonne Hackenbroch, *Bronzes, Other Metalwork, and Sculpture in the Irwin Untermyer Collection* (New York, 1964) nos. 141–142, pls. 130–131. The sign of the house “In de zeeidere” at Brussels was used as the printer’s mark of Thomas van der Noot (Figure 32). The arms of the van der Noot family appear on the merknight’s shield. See Wouter Nijhoff, *L’Art Typographique des Pays-Bas, 1500–1540*, II, *Les Pays-Bas Méridionaux* (The Hague, 1926). The same device was usurped by the Paris printer François Regnault, as a pun on his name: “règne eau”! See Ludwig Volkmann, “Von der Bilderschrift zum Bilderrätsel,” *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde* 18 (1926) pp. 62–82, fig. 7. Two merknights poised as if fighting each other form the clasps of the cloak of St. Agnes in a painting, now in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, GM 1634, by the “Meister des Bartholomäus-

Altars” (Cologne, 1475–1510). *Spätgotische Kunst am Niederrhein*, exhibition catalogue, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, 1970. Merknights are found, too—as to be expected—in Netherlandish heraldry, for instance, in the arms of Calandrin (Flanders), Meerman (Rotterdam), Meerman (Leiden), Nerée de Babberich (Guelders), and Visch (Holland); the only Continental occurrence outside the Netherlands is in the arms of Zweifel (Rothenburg ob der Tauber). J. B. Rietstap, *L’Armorial Général* (Paris and The Hague, 1903–1926). The arms of the Fishmongers Company of London, too, have an armed merman and a mermaid with her mirror as supporters, but significantly the merman is in classical armor. Charles Welch, *Coat-Armour of the London Livery Companies* (London, 1914) pp. 10–11, pl. 12. A very late example of merknight and mermaid as a pair is to be found on the group portraits of the officers of the Guilds of St. George and St. Adrian at Haarlem, by Frans Hals (1616). Here the halberds have blades cut and pierced in the shape of these figures. A halberd of this type that was used in Colonial America is no. L 1607 in the Metropolitan Museum. Bashford Dean, “On American Polearms, Especially Those in The Metropolitan Museum of Art,” *Metropolitan Museum Studies* 1 (1928–1929) pp. 32–48, fig. 4.

17. Merknights are especially numerous, and to be found even along with mermaids, in Hieronymus Bosch’s Garden of Delights, in the Prado Museum, and on prints by Alaert Duhameel after Bosch. The typical merknight wearing Late Gothic armor and helmet—either sallet or armet—is not to be confused with the triton in classical attire, who came to the North with the Renaissance fashion, and by the middle of the sixteenth century had crowded out the older merknight almost completely. The strange conception of the merknight seems to originate from the description in *Hortus Sanitatis*: “A monster of the see is zytyron ye cōmonli is named a merman or merknight & is grete, & out of mesure stronge & his vper body is lyke an armed man wt a helmet on his hede & a great holowe shelde hangige about his necke thre square & it semeth festened wt myghti stronge senewes of his body. he hath stronge armes and hys hand is ones clouē semyng also yt he hath a gawntlet on wt .ij. grete figers to put his hādein wherewt he striketh ryght sore & therefore he cā nat well be takē & yet though he be taken he can nat well be slayn but wt yron hamers.” Noël Hudson, *An Early English Version of Hortus Sanitatis. A Recent Bibliographical Discovery* (London, 1954) chap. 105. It is certainly a marvel to behold what the fertile imagination of the illustrators made out of this very clear description of a lobster!

FIGURE 31
 Drawing of a misericord in the
 cathedral of
 Aarschot, late xv
 century. After
 Maeterlinck



FIGURE 32
 Printer's mark of
 Thomas van der
 Noot, Brussels,
 1517. After Nijhoff



FIGURE 33
 Detail of St. Christopher, engraving after Hieronymus Bosch, by Alaert Duhomeel

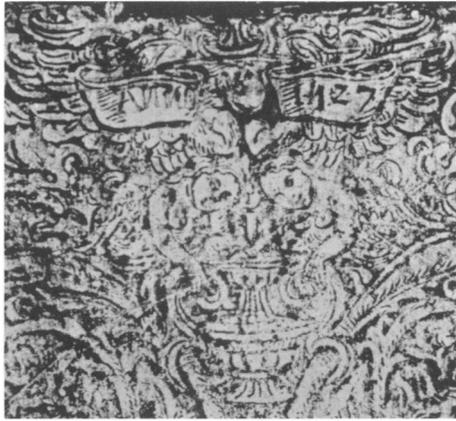


FIGURE 34
Detail with the date 1527, from rubbing of back-plate

at Hampton Court, might be the first indication of an English origin for the decoration of our armor, under strong Flemish influence, which was exactly the case in the “Almain” workshop of Greenwich under its master Martin van Royne. The connection between our armor and the decoration at Hampton Court is strengthened by a comparison of the putti holding a garland on top of the roundels with the royal badges in Wolsey’s Closet (Figure 9) and those in the upper part of the central lame of the breastplate (Figures 11, 12).

Most of the other decorative elements, such as candelabra, profile heads in medallions, and slotted scrolls, are, of course, derived from Italian prototypes, as is the case with sixteenth-century Northern art in general. However, the execution of the etching itself, the “handwriting” of the artists, is quite different from that found in comparable Italian works of art.

Indeed, the actual handwriting of the Animals Master in his date, *ANNO DMI 1527* (Figures 16, 34),¹⁸

18. Up to now the date has been read *ANNO 1527*; the letters *DMI* have been overlooked because they are nearly blocked out by a rivet.

19. This particular 5 is typical for Lucas van Leyden and Master DS from Basel, among other artists. Jacques Lavalleye, *Lucas van Leyden—Pieter Brueghel d. Ä.* (Vienna and Munich, 1967); Elfried Bock, *Holzschritte des Meisters DS*, (Berlin, 1924).

20. Friedrich Winkler, *Zeichnungen von Albrecht Dürer* (Berlin, 1929) VII, figs. 764–775.

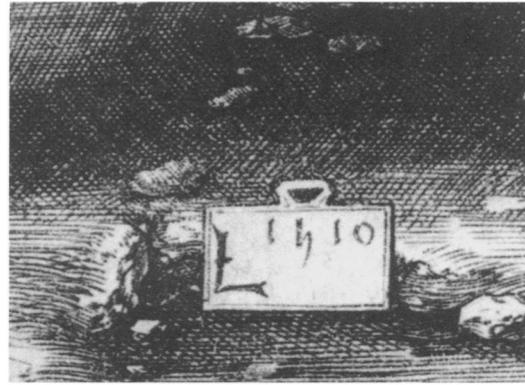


FIGURE 35
Detail of *The Milkmaid*, engraving by Lucas van Leyden, 1510. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Felix M. Warburg and his family, 41.1.24

is not only un-Italian in style, but includes a particular form of the digit 5 that is typical for the countries along the Rhine, from the Netherlands to Switzerland (Figures 35, 36).¹⁹ Furthermore, practically all of the directly traceable inspirations for figural compositions come from German and Netherlandish graphic sources.

The most striking example of this is the use of drawings by Albrecht Dürer for the Hercules scenes on the cuishes and greaves. These drawings, dated 1511, are part of a series of twelve depicting events from the life of Hercules and were formerly—up to their loss in World War II—in the Kunsthalle, Bremen.²⁰ They are loosely based upon a set of prints by Giovanni Andrea Vavassori, *detto* Guadagnino, in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin.²¹ Though the drawings served as models for relief carvings in mother-of-pearl and for medals,²² they were apparently not among Dürer’s more popular and widely copied designs. They were never directly and fully transposed into prints, but two small scenes in the multicompartmented woodcut title

21. Oskar Lenz, “Über den ikonographischen Zusammenhang und die literarische Grundlage einiger Herkuleszyklen des 16. Jahrhunderts und zur Deutung des Dürerstiches B 73,” *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* NF 1 (1924) pp. 80 ff.

22. Edmund Wilhelm Braun, “Eine Nürnberger Goldschmiedewerkstätte aus dem Dürer-Kreise,” *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst* 4 (1915) pp. 37 ff., fig. 4. Rudolf Berliner, “Französische Muschelschnitte,” *Münchener Jahrbuch* NF 1 (1924) pp. 26 ff., fig. 7.

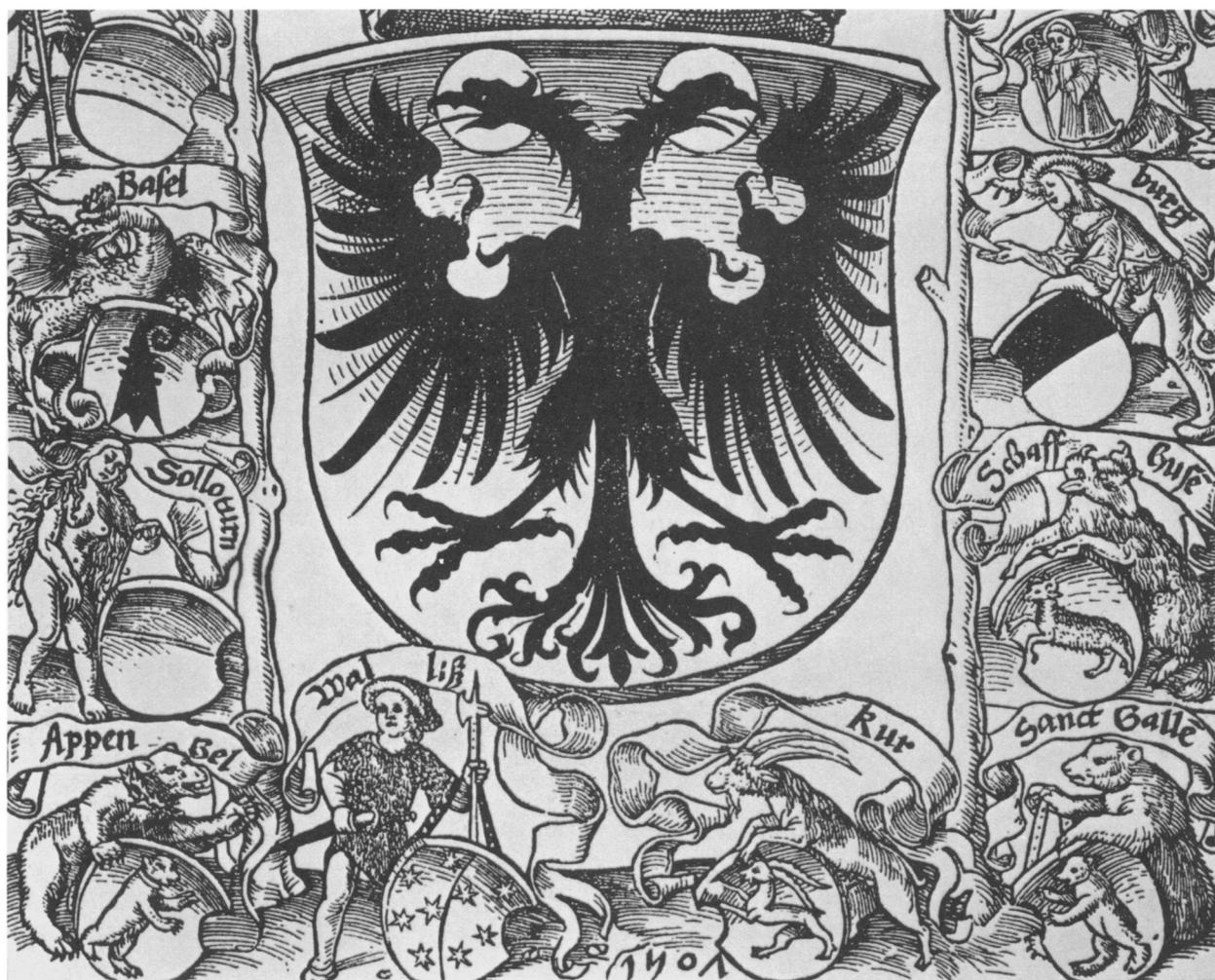


FIGURE 36
Detail of the arms of the Holy Roman Empire surrounded by the arms of the Swiss cantons, woodcut by Master DS, Basel, 1507. After Bock

frame with the life of Hercules by Anton Woensam von Worms, first published in Cologne in 1524,²³ were influenced by these drawings (Figure 37).

The master who designed the compositions for the Hercules scenes employed the intriguing method of mixing elements taken from different figures in Dürer's drawings with details from the woodcut. A characteristic example is the slaying of the Hydra (Figure 38),

where the bat-winged monster with its doubly curled tail and its chopped-off heads lying on the ground was rather faithfully copied from Dürer, though reversed (Figure 39). The wild tangle of the serpents' heads is somewhat simplified, perhaps suggested by the straightened-out version in the woodcut. The upper portion of Hercules's body was taken from the drawing *The Abduction of Deianira* (Figure 40), but the position of his legs corresponds to that in the *Hercules Taming Cerberus* (Figure 41). Interestingly, Hercules in our etchings carries a mace instead of the knobby-headed club seen in the drawings; the Hercules in the woodcut brandishes a mace too.

23. Albert Fidelis Butsch, *Die Bücherornamentik der Renaissance* (Munich, 1921) pl. 84. A. F. Butsch, *Handbook of Renaissance Ornament: 1290 Designs from Decorated Books* (New York, 1969) pl. 91.



FIGURE 37
Detail of title page with Hercules story, woodcut by Anton Woensam von Worms, Cologne, 1520. After Butsch

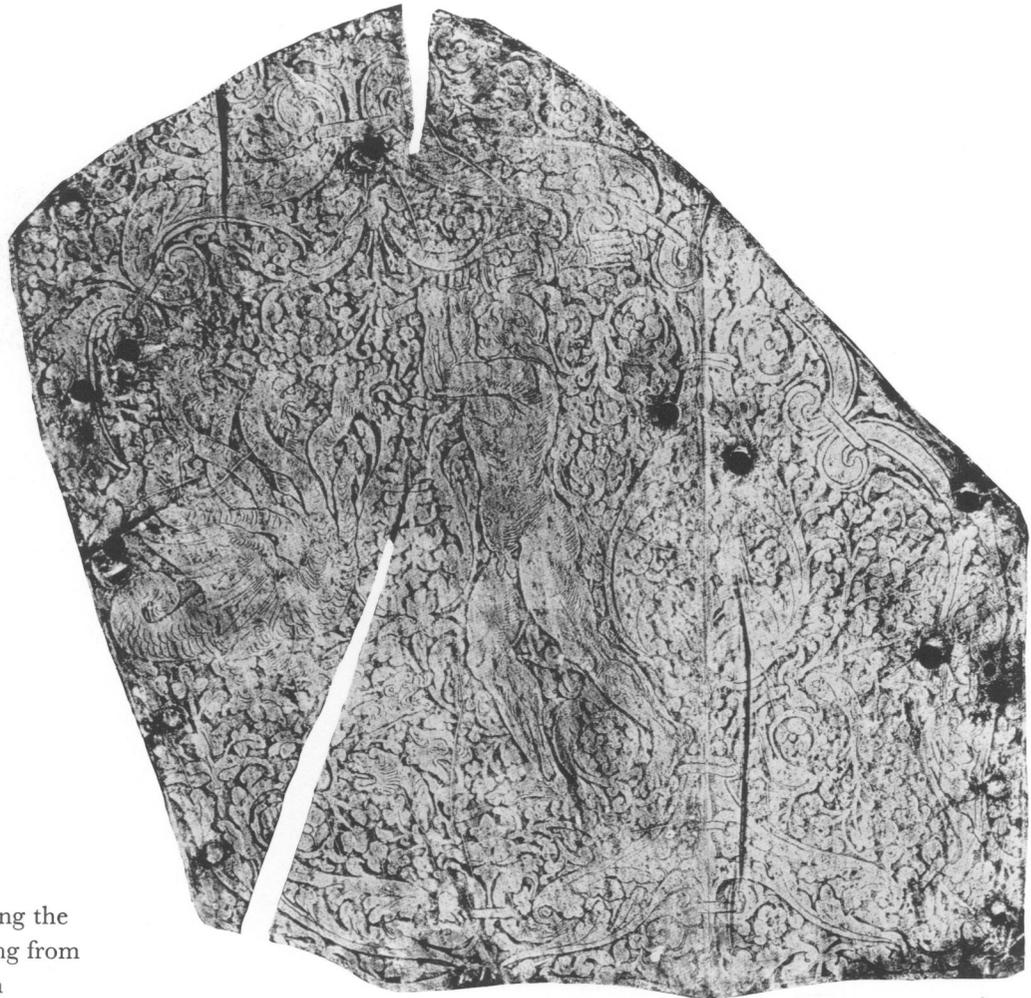


FIGURE 38
Hercules slaying the
Hydra, rubbing from
the right cuish

FIGURE 39
Hercules Slaying the Hydra, drawing by Albrecht Dürer, 1511. Formerly in the Kunsthalle, Bremen (photo: Kunsthalle, Bremen)



FIGURE 40
The Abduction of Deianira, drawing by Albrecht Dürer, 1511. Formerly in the Kunsthalle, Bremen. After Winkler



FIGURE 41
Hercules Taming Cerberus, drawing by Albrecht Dürer, 1511. Formerly in the Kunsthalle, Bremen. After Winkler



The killing of Antaeus (Figure 42) conforms basically with Dürer's drawing (Figure 43), with the exception of the position of the dangling legs of Antaeus, which is much closer to that on Woensam's title page.

The carrying of the pillars (Figure 44) corresponds to Dürer (Figure 45) in all major points, except the

figure of Hercules is somewhat simplified, for instance, in the position of the head; in addition, the pillars are more parallel.

The strangest adaptation of the Dürer prototypes took place with the design of the adventure of the Nemean lion (Figure 46). There is no direct model im-

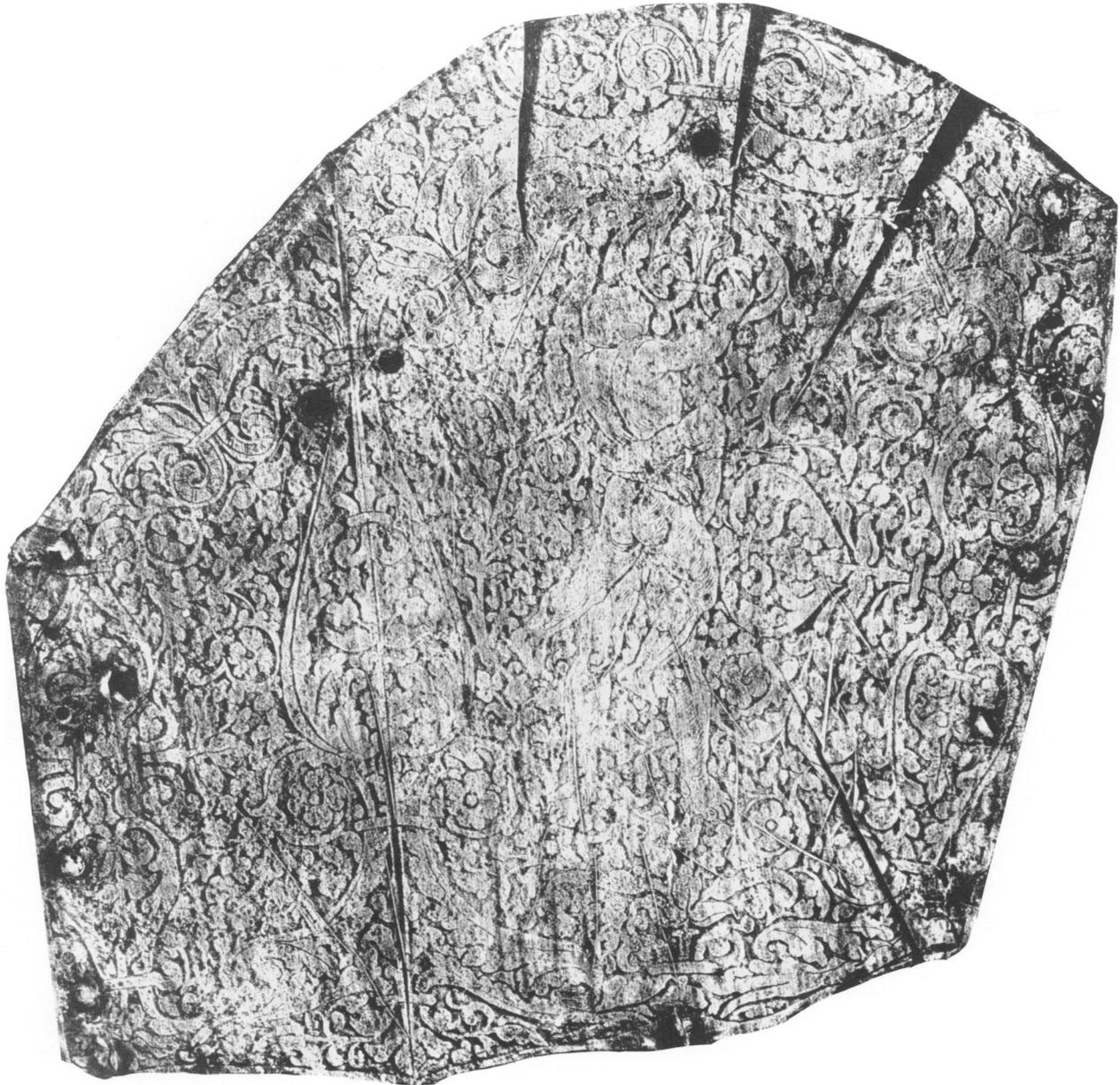


FIGURE 42
Hercules wrestling with Antaeus, rubbing from the left cuish

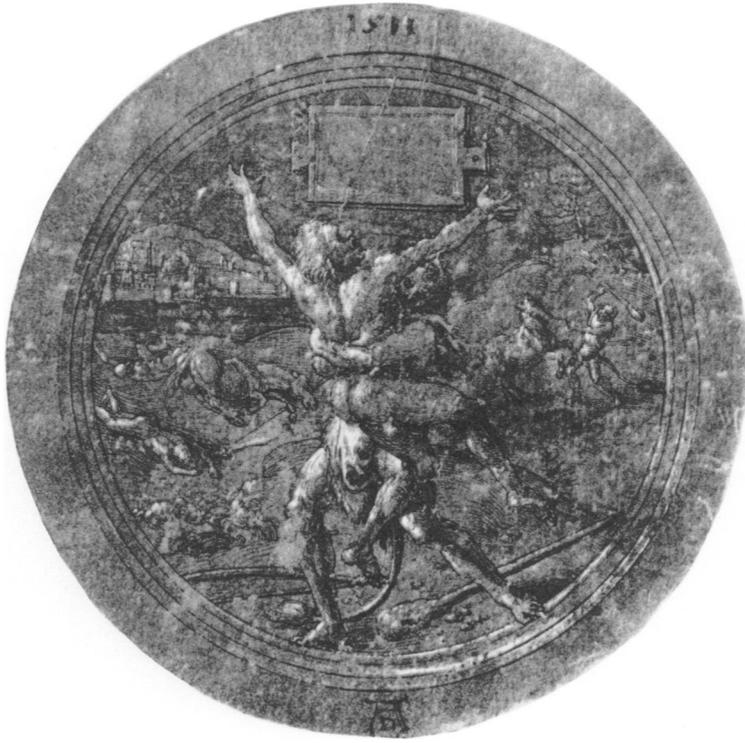


FIGURE 43
Hercules Wrestling with Antaeus,
drawing by Albrecht Dürer, 1511.
Formerly in the Kunsthalle, Bremen.
After Winkler

mediately recognizable in Dürer's drawings, but on closer study one discovers that the designer cleverly copied Dürer's lion (Figure 47), but turned him ninety degrees so that he stands upright. The lion's head, tilted backward with a wide-open maw and lolling tongue, is fairly faithfully rendered; the general silhouette of the body is preserved, but simplified by only showing the left foreleg of the lion instead of both, as in Dürer's drawing. The figure of Hercules is, however, quite different from any of the other representations of the subject. It appears, though, that with its strangely angled leg and hunched shoulder it might be composed out of two rather incongruous parts from *The Abduction of Deianira* (Figure 40). The legs with their weak stance are similar in silhouette—though right and left are reversed—to those of the desperately struggling Deianira, while the upper body, shoulder, arm, and head come close to those of the centaur Nessus.

For a number of other motifs a source seems to have been the earliest *Modelbuch*, printed by Hanns Schoens-

perger of Zwickau in 1524.²⁴ The unicorn purifying the water on the central lame of the breastplate (Figure 48) is closely related to a design of two unicorns at a fountain in the *Modelbuch* (Figure 49); in particular, the decorative fluting on the basins is strikingly similar.

On the tilting gauntlet a serpent swallowing a putto (Figure 50) has been thought to be a hint at the armorial device of the Visconti-Sforza of Milan, the well-known *vipera*, and therefore evidence for the Italian origin of the etching,²⁵ but this heraldic animal is always shown in a standardized form quite different from that of the creature on the gauntlet with its acanthus-shaped body appendage and tail mask. In any case, the monster's head as well as the mask have their exact counterparts in the *Modelbuch*, even down to the mask's bumpy nose (Figures 51, 52). On the other hand, the *Modelbuch's* fish monsters with their characteristic series of scales at their throats seem to have served as models for the "dolphins" in the Hampton Court frieze (Figure 9).

24. Arthur Lotz, "Die Entstehung der Modelbücher," *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde* NF 18 (1926) pp. 45–56, ill. The Print Department of the Metropolitan Museum owns the only known copy of the first edition (October 22, 1524) of Schoensperger's *Ein new Modelbuch*.

25. Dean, "Engraved Armor," pp. 212–214. Grancsay, *Armor of Genouilhac*, pp. 22–24, fig. 6. Interestingly enough, a similar serpent swallowing a man is on one of the misericords of Basel Cathedral. Maeterlinck, *Genre satirique*, p. 288, fig. 195.



FIGURE 44
Hercules carrying the pillars, rubbing from
the right greave



FIGURE 45
Hercules Carrying the Pillars, drawing by Al-
brecht Dürer, 1511. Formerly in the Kunsthalle,
Bremen. After Winkler



FIGURE 46
Hercules killing the Nemean lion, rubbing from
the left greave



FIGURE 47
Hercules Killing the Nemean Lion, drawing by
Albrecht Dürer, 1511. Formerly in the Kunst-
halle, Bremen. After Winkler

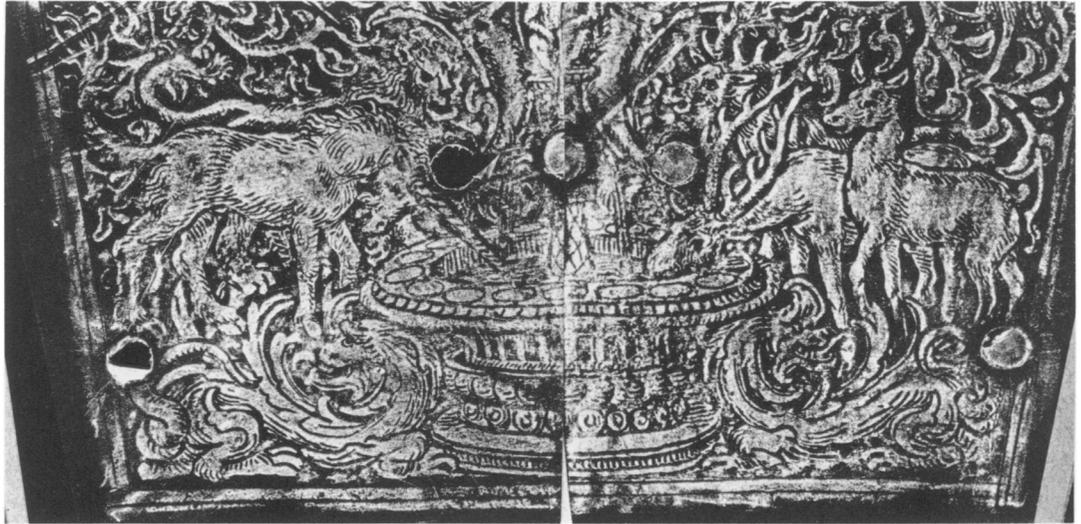


FIGURE 48
The unicorn purifying the fountain, detail of rubbing from the central lame of the breastplate

FIGURE 49
Unicorns at a fountain, woodcut from Schoensperger's *Modelbuch*, Zwickau, 1524

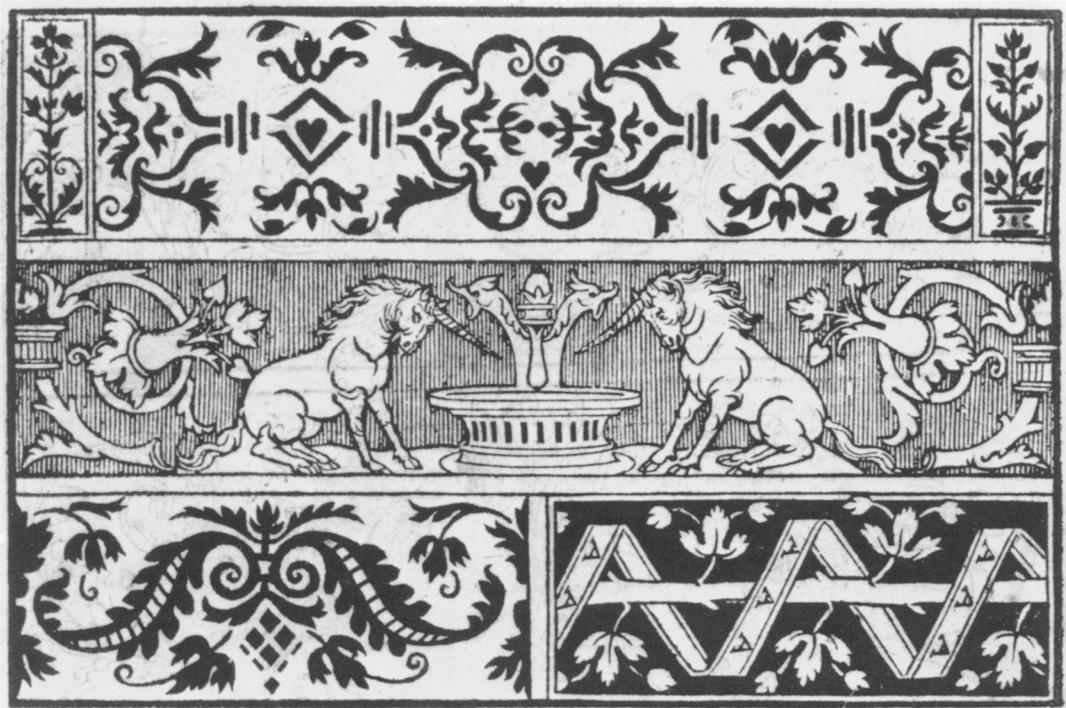


FIGURE 50
Serpent swallowing a putto, detail of rubbing from the
tilting gauntlet

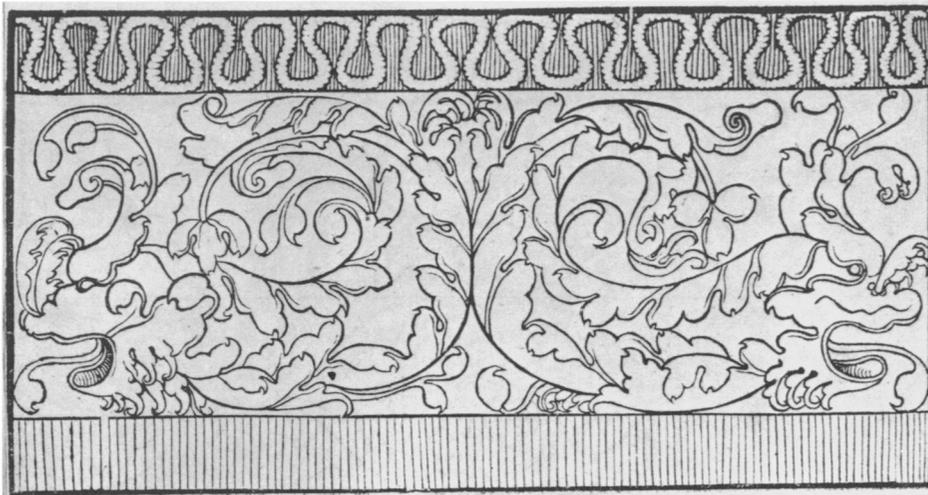


FIGURE 51
Marine monsters,
woodcut from Schoen-
sperger's *Modelbuch*,
Zwickau, 1524

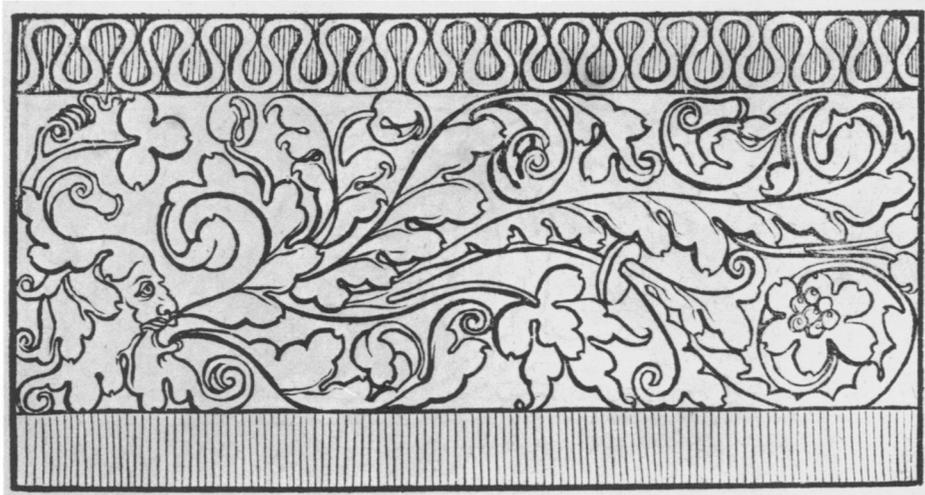


FIGURE 52
Foliate mask, woodcut
from Schoensperger's
Modelbuch, Zwickau,
1524

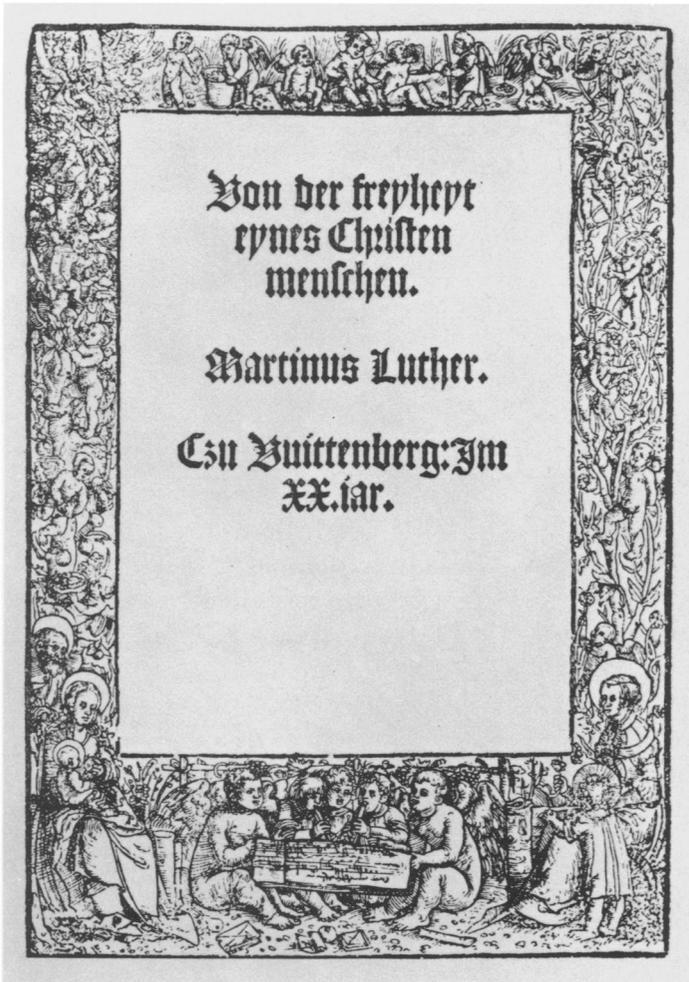


FIGURE 53

Title page of Luther's pamphlet *Von der Freyheit eines Christenmenschen*, woodcut, school of Lucas Cranach, Wittenberg, 1520

A number of other German book illustrations appear to have served as prototypes for figural motifs too. There is, for instance, a strong resemblance between the singing angels at the bottom of the frame on the title page of Martin Luther's celebrated pamphlet *Von der Freyheit eines Christenmenschen* (Figure 53)²⁶ and the putti singing and playing musical instruments on the colletin of our armor (Figure 54). The angelic musicians on the woodcut by Hans Holbein on the title page of the Adam Petri Bible, published in Basel in 1524 (Figure 55),²⁷ are of the same spirit, though they are clothed. The border of cherubs' heads encircling the reinforcing breastplate (Figures 7, 56) is strongly reminiscent of the title frame of the German hymnbook *Geystliche gesangk Büchleyn*, Wittenberg, 1524 (Figure 57).²⁸ A very similar frieze is in the architectural back-

26. Klaus Popitz, *Von der Freyheit eines Christenmenschen*, exhibition catalogue, Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin, October 13–November 26, 1967, cat. no. 24, ill. Butsch, *Handbook*, pl. 95.

27. Ph. Schmidt, *Die Illustration der Lutherbibel, 1522–1700* (Basel, 1962) p. 151, fig. 86.

28. Friedrich Zelle, "Drei Seltenheiten," *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde* 5 (1901–1902) pp. 437–441, ill.

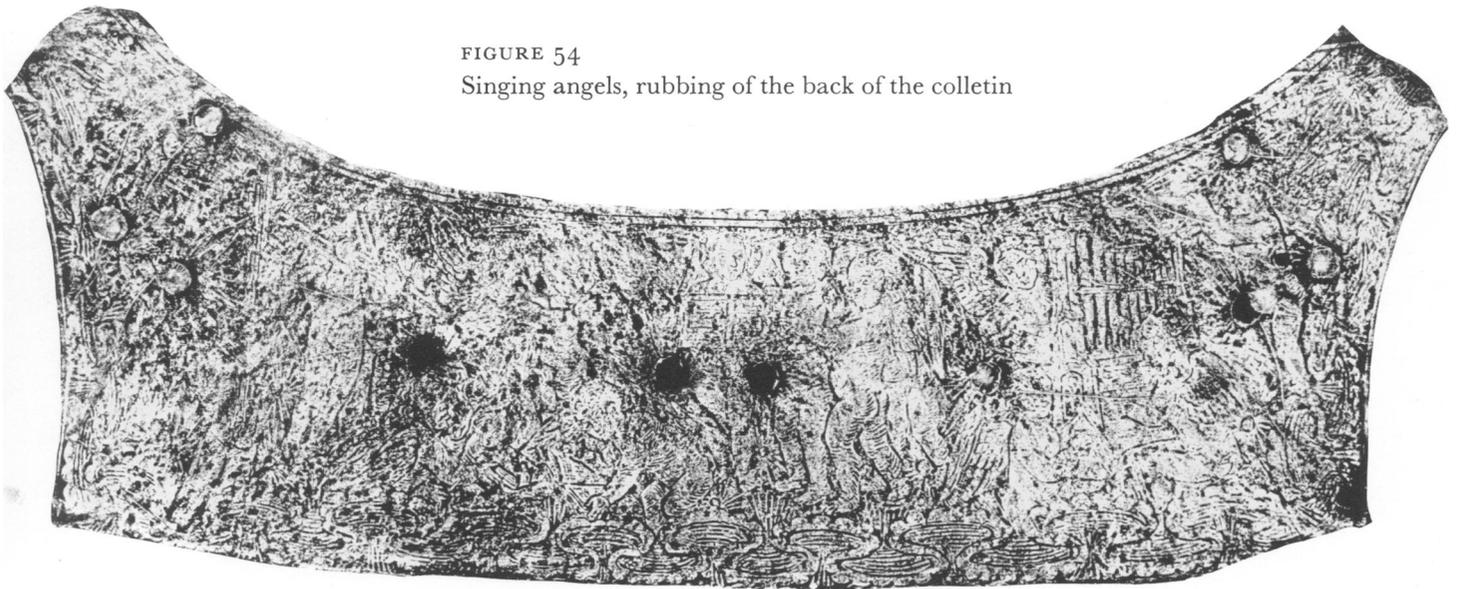


FIGURE 54

Singing angels, rubbing of the back of the colletin

Das erst büch Rose.

I



Das Erst Capitel.



Anfang schuff Gott

hymel vnd erden / vnd die erde war wüß
vnd leer / vnd es war finster auff der tieffe /
vnd der wind Gottes schwebet auff dem
wasser.

oder geist.

Vnd Gott sprach / Es werde liecht /
Vnd es ward liecht / vnd Gott sahe das
liecht für güt an / Da scheydet Gott das

FIGURE 55
Title page by Hans
Holbein for a Bible
printed by Adam Petri,
Basel, 1524. Kunst-
museum, Basel

FIGURE 56
Rubbing of the reinforcing breastplate



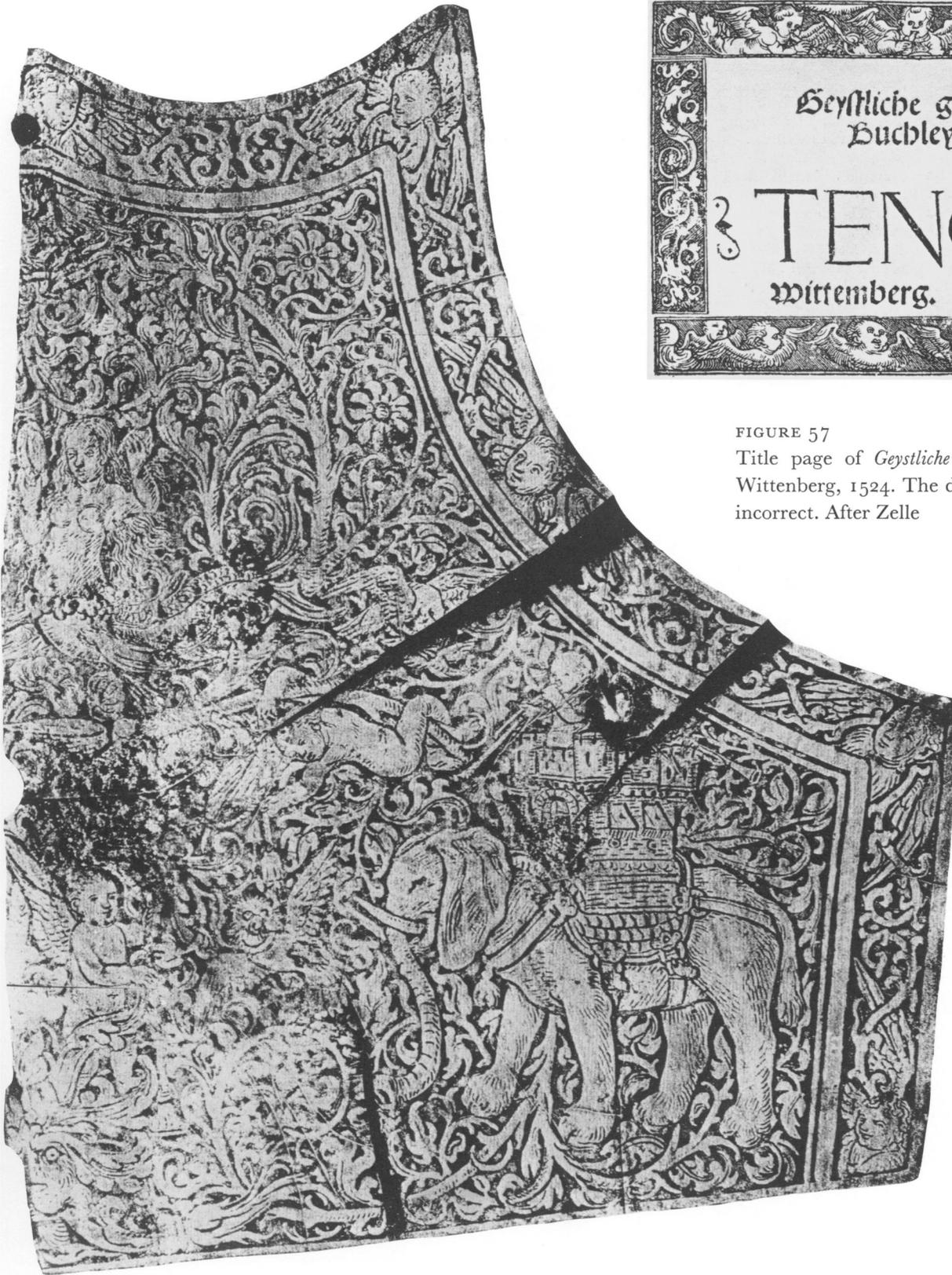


FIGURE 57
Title page of *Geystliche gesangk Būchleyn*,
Wittenberg, 1524. The date, as printed, is
incorrect. After Zelle

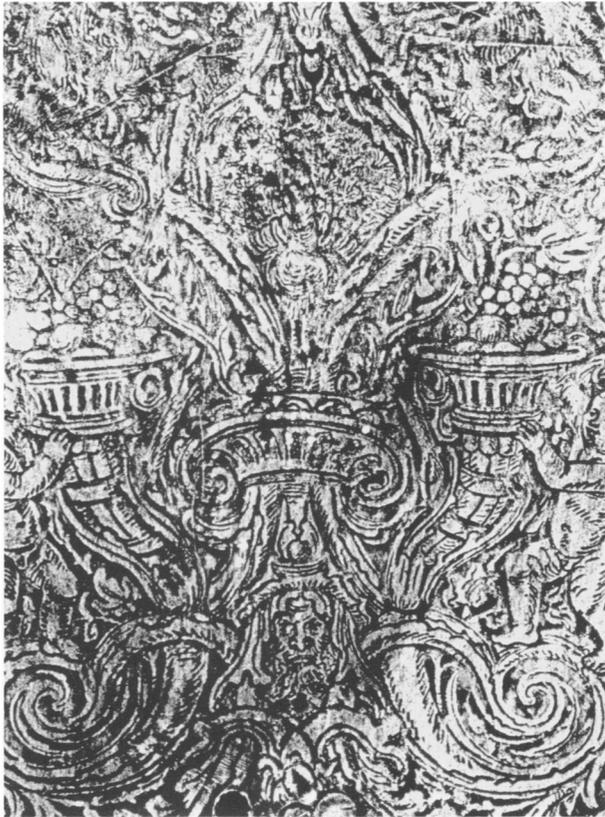
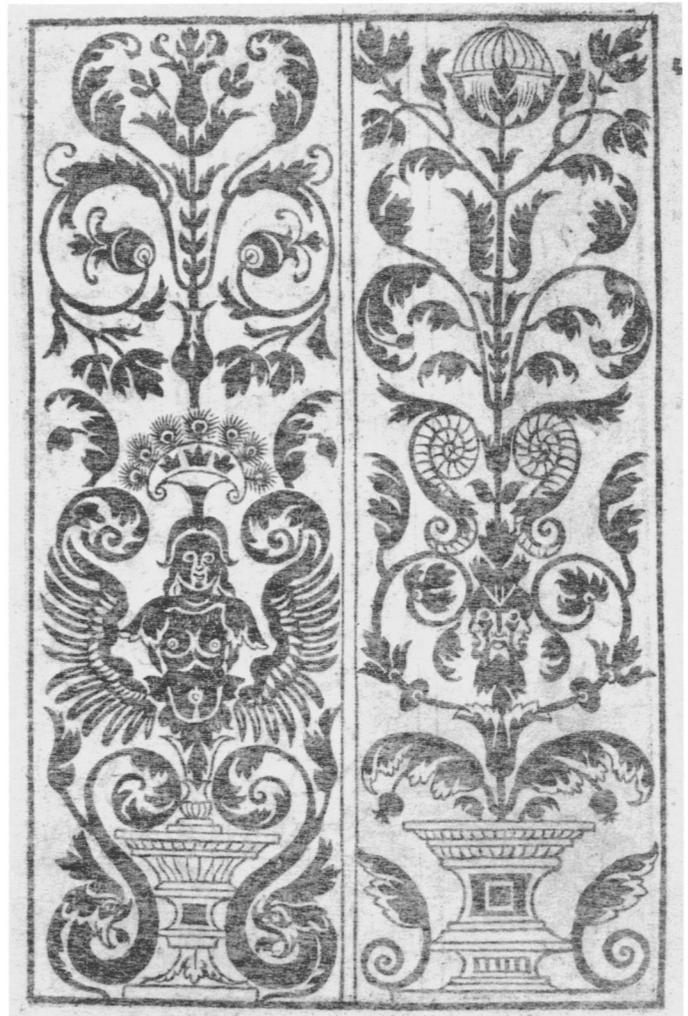


FIGURE 58
Bearded mask in foliage surmounted by columnar capital and peacock, detail of rubbing from the backplate

FIGURE 59
Woodcuts from *Musterbüchlein* by Peter Quentel, Cologne, 1527–1529



ground of a Holbein drawing, *Madonna im Strahlenkranz*, in the Kunstmuseum, Basel.²⁹

Interestingly enough, there is even an odd detail in the decoration of the backplate that can be traced to what was, at the time the armor was made, the very latest in model books, the *Modelbuch*'s successor, the *Musterbüchlein* by Peter Quentel, Cologne, 1527–1529 (Figures 58, 59).³⁰ Here several woodcuts show elements related to the composition on the backplate. There are bearded masks in foliage, combined with scrolls, and a fanlike headdress adorned with peacock feathers. This headdress, incidentally, is a variation of the crest of the municipal arms of Cologne.

One of the very few direct Italian influences is traceable in the appearance of the elephants on the reinforcing breastplate (Figures 7, 56). Here an illustration of

29. Wilhelm Waetzoldt, *Hans Holbein der Jüngere, Werk und Welt* (Berlin, 1938) pl. 43.

30. *Musterbuch für Ornamente und Stickmuster von Peter Quentel (1527–1529). Vorlagen für Kunsthandwerker und weibliche Handarbeiten* (Leipzig, 1882).

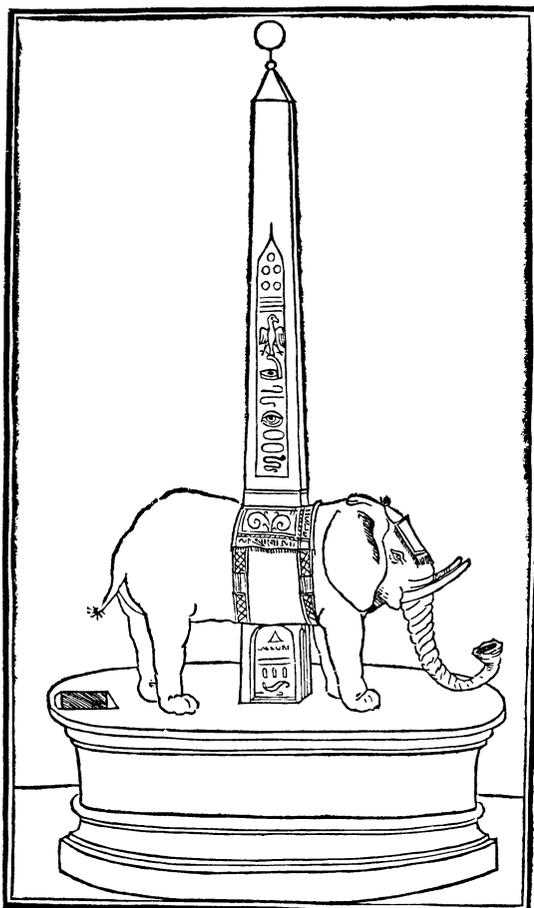
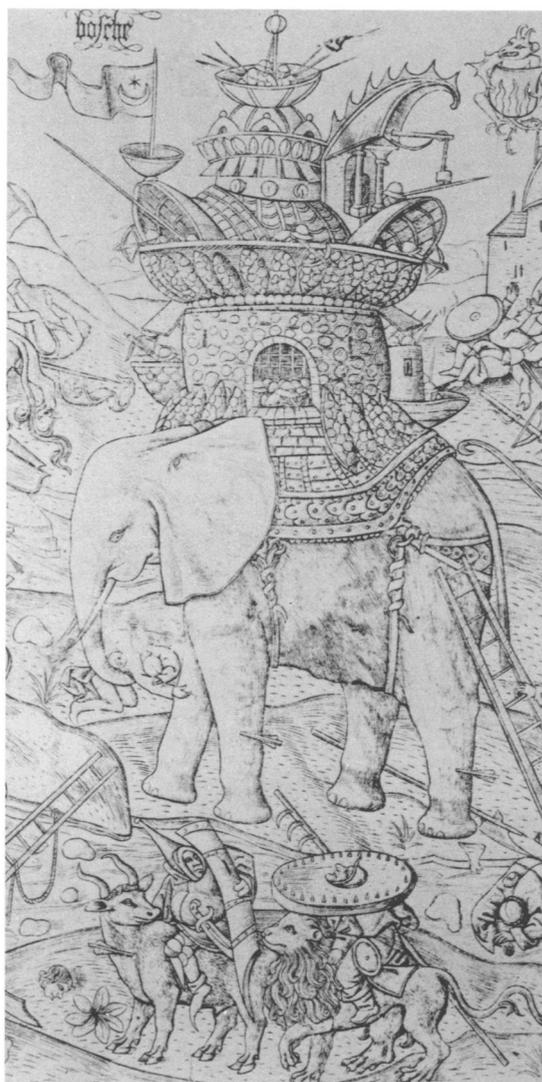


FIGURE 60
Elephant carrying an obelisk, woodcut from *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, by Francesco Colonna, Venice, 1499

FIGURE 61
Detail of *The Siege of the Elephant*, engraving after Hieronymus Bosch, by Alaert Duhomeel



an elephant carrying an obelisk on his back from the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Figure 60)³¹ must have served as a model. The attachments used to secure the castle and the detail of a human figure writhing in the grasp of the elephant's trunk, however, are derived from a Netherlandish source, a print by Alaert Duhomeel (Figure 61).³² This particular putto is very similar, too, to one in the printer's mark of Froben of Basel, which was designed by Ambrosius Holbein, Hans's brother (Figure 62).³³

This stylistic evidence suggests that the Genouilhac armor was decorated by a master from the countries along the Rhine, who must have been either a German

31. Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Venice, 1499).

32. Duhomeel's elephant, however, is much more realistically drawn and clearly identifiable as an African elephant.

33. H. Knackfuss, *Holbein der Jüngere* (Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1896) p. 11, fig. 6. Butsch, *Handbook*, pl. 67.



FIGURE 62
Printer's mark of Froben, Basel, c. 1517, by
Ambrosius Holbein. After Butsch



FIGURE 63
Design for metal decoration, by Hans Holbein.
Kunstsammlung, Basel

or a Netherlander—or, most likely, a German who had traveled in the Netherlands—and who was working in England. Artistically the quality of the draftsmanship of the Animals Master is just too high to permit thinking of an artist of less than first rank. Hans Holbein was the only great German artist present in England in 1527, and comparisons with his designs for metalwork and other decorative arts (Figures 63–66) make the conclusion inevitable that no one but he could have been the designer, and, in part, the etcher, of this armor.³⁴ Even the mediocre draftsmanship of the Hercules Master cannot completely obscure the Holbein style.

When Giovanni da Maiano was setting up two triumphal arches for the banquet hall in Greenwich on

34. Netherlandish motifs and details in this decoration are natural in a workshop largely staffed with Flemings; the probable origin of the designer from the Upper Rhine, however, is indicated by small details, such as the putti playing fifes or transverse flutes, called “German flutes” in England, and *Schweizerpfeif* in Germany. F. W. Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music* (London, 1910) pp. 150–154. Anthony Baines, *Woodwind Instruments and Their History* (New York, 1957) p. 248. The foolscap of the morris dancer is, with its cockcomb and asses’ ears, exactly like those in Holbein’s illustrations to Erasmus’s *In Praise of Folly*.





FIGURE 64
Design for a decorative frieze, by Hans Holbein.
Kunstsammlung, Basel



FIGURE 65
Design for the organ wings of Basel Cathedral, by Hans Holbein. Kunstsammlung, Basel

occasion of the farewell party in honor of the vicomte de Turenne, he had as an assistant a painter named "Maister Hans."³⁵ A. B. Chamberlain, followed in turn by Wilhelm Waetzoldt³⁶ and Claude Blair,³⁷ suggested that "Maister Hans" might have been Hans Holbein, because there seems to have been no other painter named Hans at the court of Henry VIII at the time.

Decorative work of this kind is an important part of Holbein's oeuvre, along with designs for goldsmiths and other metalworkers. He must have had very good relations with the armor shop too, because the first of the four witnesses of his testament, signed October 7, 1543, was "Anthony Snecher," armorer at Greenwich.³⁸ "Anthonius Snyster"—certainly the same person, and probably a member of the Augsburg armorers' family Schnitzer³⁹—had appeared already in the name roll of the Almain workshop in 1518.

The use of German book illustrations as models as well as the appearance of Flemish pictorial motifs would be most natural in a workshop staffed with Flemings and Germans, as was the case in Greenwich. With regard to the *Geystliche gesangk Büchleyn*, we even can be absolutely sure that Holbein was familiar with it and perhaps even owned a copy, because this little hymn-book is represented in his double portrait of the French ambassadors Jean de Dinteville and George de Selve.⁴⁰

35. A. B. Chamberlain, *Hans Holbein the Younger* (London, 1913) I, pp. 311–317, mentions that between February 8 and March 3, 1527, a Master Hans received four shillings a day for work on the triumphal arch, together with a Master Nycholas who was paid "by the kyngs plessyre." It seems that both men, Master Hans and Master Nycholas, were employed in a supervisory capacity. Master Hans is expressly mentioned as a painter, but nothing is said about the work of Master Nycholas. Chamberlain cannot identify Master Nycholas; however, I would like to suggest that he might be Niklaus Kratzer, the king's astronomer. Edward Hall, *The Triumphant Reigne of Kyng Henry The VIII*, ed. Charles Whibley (London, 1904) II, p. 86, describes the arch in great detail and mentions as its crowning structure a great map of the world surrounded by heavenly bodies, zodiacal signs, and planets and set up "by the kyng's astronomer." Since Kratzer was a German and his portrait is one of three painted by Holbein in 1527, it is quite possible that he had arranged for Holbein to work on the big project. As king's astronomer he would logically be paid not a fixed wage but at the king's pleasure. Master Hans's special contribution to the decoration of the arch was a large canvas depicting the siege of "Tyrwin" (Thérouanne) of 1521. Though the English claimed the victory of the day, the vicomte de Turenne distinguished himself greatly as defender of the citadel of Thérouanne. Therefore Henry's pointing

If, after having followed stylistic clues in order to establish the identity of the artist and the workshop, we now turn to the problem of interpreting the iconography, it becomes clear that there must be a definite program in the profusion of motifs in the decoration.

Unfortunately, several important elements of the armor, such as the grand guard and the peytrel, are missing.⁴¹ In all probability they bore additional motifs, which might have given us the key to the problem's solution—on Henry VIII's engraved and silvered armor, for instance, the royal ciphers and badges are on the peytrel. Therefore, a complete and definite interpretation cannot possibly be put forth.

About twenty different species of "animals" are represented: centaur, cock and hen, crane, dog, dove, elephant, falcon, griffin, hare, horse, lion, merknicht, mermaid, owl, parrot, peacock, ram, snake, stag, unicorn, weasel (?), wild man, wolf. Some of them are displayed in prominent places, either individually, for example, the merknicht and the mermaid, the elephants on the reinforcing breastplate, and the griffins on the backplate, or arranged in scenic groups, for instance, that on the breastplate, where unicorn, lion, and three stags are gathered around a fountain, with two cranes watching from above, and the hunting and hawking scenes on the side plates of the cuirass. Others are scattered throughout the foliage.

out the battle painting expressly to the French ambassadors (Hall, p. 87) was less gauche than Chamberlain thought. On the contrary, it might have been meant as flattery, though somewhat heavy-handed.

36. Waetzoldt, *Holbein*, p. 184.

37. Blair, "Almain Armours: 2," p. 243.

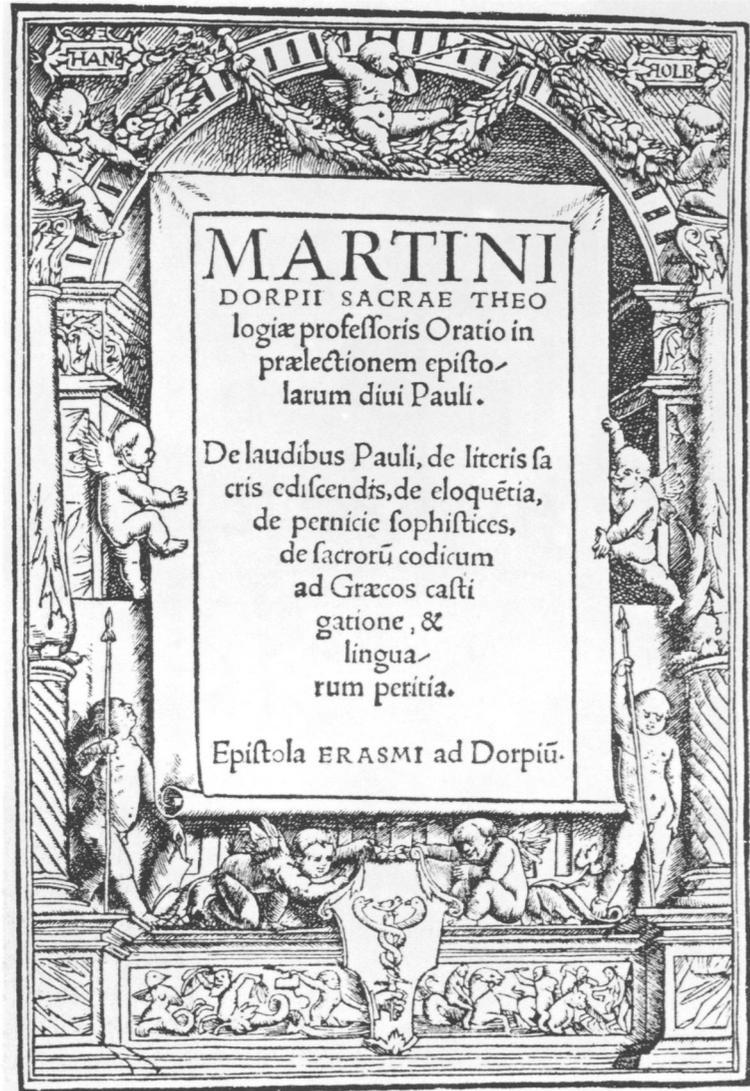
38. U. Thieme and F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler* (Leipzig, 1937) XXXI, p. 186. Chamberlain, *Holbein*, II, pp. 295–298. Waetzoldt, *Holbein*, p. 228.

39. On the other hand, there were two Anthonius Schnitzers, father and son, trumpet makers in Nuremberg, in the second half of the sixteenth century.

40. Waetzoldt, *Holbein*, p. 217.

41. Gamber, "Hofplattnerer," pp. 22–23, fig. 18, reconstructs the great garniture of Henry VIII in the Tower, which was composed of the same elements as the Genouilhac armor, though it is dated 1540. Another reconstruction, without horse armor, is in A. V. B. Norman, *A History of War and Weapons, 449 to 1660* (New York, 1966) pp. 158–159 (originally published in Great Britain under the title *Warrior to Soldier*). The decoration of the great garniture II.8 is thought to have been etched by F. Queblaunche, who was on the payroll in 1539, after designs by Hans Holbein made in 1533–1536.

FIGURE 66
 Title page, woodcut by Hans
 Holbein. After Butsch



The most prominently displayed animals are the elephant, unicorn, lion, stag, crane, and griffin. Among these, the unicorn, lion, and griffin are quite common in heraldry, but the elephant, stag, and crane are rather unusual. Therefore it seems to be more than a coincidence that the five animals represented on the breastplates—lion, unicorn, stag, elephant, and crane—are

to be found on an armorial tapestry of about 1375 in the Metropolitan Museum's collection, acc. no. 46.175 (Figure 67). Here the first four of these "heraldic beasts" display mantlings with the arms of Guillaume Rogier II, comte de Beaufort and vicomte de Turenne.⁴² Anne de Beaufort, vicomtesse de Turenne, an heiress in her own right, married Agnet IV de la Tour d'Au-

42. Other fragments of the same tapestry or set of tapestries are in: The Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow (inv. 73); Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts (26.282); Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; Sammlung Baron von Thyssen, Schloss Rohoncz (Lugano); Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, Rhode Island; Coll. Guennol, Long Island. Christophe Justel, *Histoire Généalogique de la Maison d'Auvergne* (Paris, 1645) livre second, pp.

64–65. The combination of arms is: Beaufort, "Argent, six roses gules, a bend azure overall"; Turenne, "Bendy of twelve, or and gules"; Comminges, "Argent, a cross patée gules." On the tabards Beaufort and Turenne quarterly—the arms of Guillaume Rogier—are impaled with Comminges—the arms of his wife, Alienor—charged with small shields of Turenne.

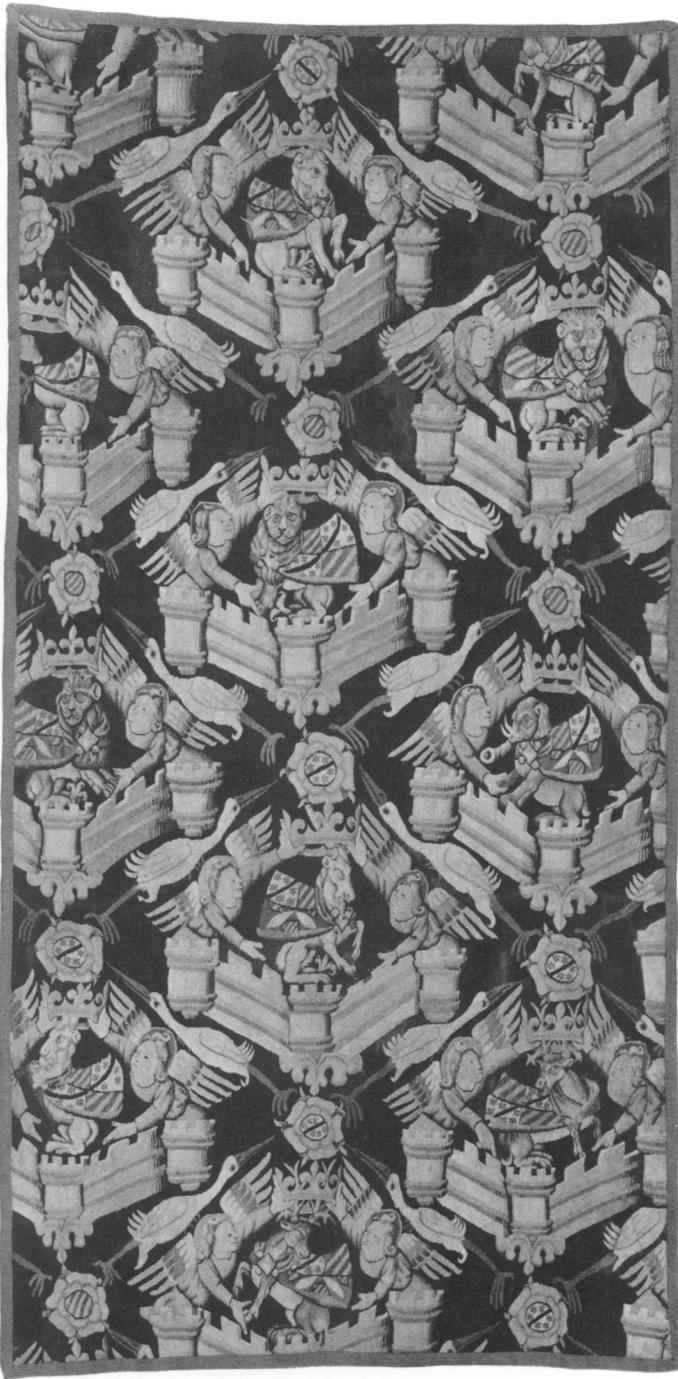


FIGURE 67
 Armorial tapestry displaying “heraldic beasts” bearing the arms of Guillaume Rogier, comte de Beaufort and vicomte de Turenne, and his wife, Alienor de Comminges, French, about 1375. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 46.175

vergne, seigneur d’Oliergues, in 1444. It was their grandson, François II de la Tour d’Auvergne, vicomte de Turenne, who visited England in 1527.⁴³

“Vicomte de Turenne” was a feudal title that was inseparably connected with the holding of the vicomté de Turenne. There seems to be no doubt that this very tapestry had actually come down to our vicomte de Turenne, François II de la Tour, together with title, land, and castle. It seems quite natural that the motifs of the tapestry served—of course indirectly—as inspirations for the etcher of the armor. The harassed designer, facing the tremendous task of covering the entire surface of a full suit of armor with—preferably meaningful—decoration, certainly would have been grateful for any suggestion, and it is unlikely that he would have failed to ask the owner-to-be for possible instructions.⁴⁴ After all, the Genouilhac armor is the earliest surviving Greenwich armor with etching, and etching covering its entire surface at that; one wonders whether this new method of decoration was the “strange fashion that had not bene sene” of the gilded armor of Henry VIII that presumably served as a model for the armor given to Turenne.

When we examine the other animals on our armor for their possible heraldic significance, we find that griffins were the supporters of the de la Tour arms and a falcon was their crest. Furthermore, a unicorn’s head is the crest of the Beaufort family, and the supporters of the arms of Pierre de Beaufort, vicomte de Turenne, the father of the heiress Anne, were wild men.⁴⁵ Perhaps

43. Christophe Justel, *Histoire Généalogique de la Maison de Turenne* (Paris, 1645) livre sixième, pp. 190–199. On p. 198 Justel states erroneously that the mission to England took place in 1525; it is absolutely clear from Hall’s chronicle that the period in question was March through May 1527. Furthermore, François II de la Tour could not have been called “Viscount de Tourayne” by Hall in 1525, because at that time François’s father, Anthoine, was still alive (died February 1527) and held the title. The error in Justel’s statement might be a simple misprint. The printer in setting the passage “Et l’an M.D.XXXV. il fut enuoyé Ambassadour . . .” may have confused the last two digits of the proper date, “M.D.XXXV.II,” with the following “il” and skipped them.

44. Justel, *Histoire . . . d’Auvergne*, “Preuves,” p. 95, illustrates the seal of Jean d’Auvergne (1253) with griffins, lions, and angels as supporters; p. 191, seal of Hugues de la Tour (1261 and 1279) with griffins as supporters; “Additions aux preuves,” p. 326, seal of Hugues de la Tour (twelfth century) with griffins as supporters.

45. Justel, *Histoire . . . d’Auvergne*, p. 149, seal of Pierre de Beaufort (1443), ill.

even the putti playing in the etched foliage are allusions to the angels in the armorial tapestry. Equipping the elephants with turreted castles might have had an extra meaning as a hint at the name “de la Tour,” the same way that “Beaufort” is indicated by elements of fortified architecture in the tapestry.

With the interpretation of some of the animals as “heraldic beasts” connected with the vicomtes de Turenne, the question of the meaning of the rest of these animals arises, and we see that practically all of these beasts and monsters are to be encountered as symbols of love in the allegorical system of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. This find, at first glance rather surprising, fits perfectly well into the iconographical program, if we consider the main purpose of the mission of the vicomte de Turenne. He was at the court of Henry VIII negotiating for a marriage between the princess Mary—later Bloody Mary—and the duc d’Orléans, later Henry II of France.

The significance of dove and hare, animals sacred to Venus, and peacock, the bird of marriage-protecting Juno, is obvious; ram, cock, and horse, too, do not leave anything to be desired as love symbols, but even wolf and parrot were not to be misunderstood by any sixteenth-century connoisseur.⁴⁶ The parrot, for instance, was a symbol of the Immaculate Conception of

the Virgin, because it is told in the bestiaries that once a parrot hailed Julius Caesar with the words “Ave Caesar” in the same way as the Angel of the Annunciation came to Mary with the greeting “Ave Maria”! Thus the parrots on the reinforcing breastplate are a very appropriate allusion to the proposal of marriage, considering the fact that the name of the courted princess was Mary.

The elephants, too, fit into the pattern very well, because one of the many pleasant characteristics of elephants as recorded in the bestiaries was that they “never quarrel with their wives, for adultery is unknown to them.”⁴⁷

Some of these symbolic animals are skillfully grouped in scenes illustrating knightly sports, such as hunting and hawking (Figures 17, 18), with hounds well known for their loyalty, and falcons, who return to the falconer’s hand not through force but out of their own will, as symbols of knightly and true love. Others, such as the cocks and rams engaged in fighting (Figures 13, 14), combine the warlike spirit appropriate for the decoration of armor with the obvious meaning of battlers for the favors of the female. Incidentally, the little animal in the foliage above the fighting cocks has been thought to be a fox. The association of chicken and fox is, of course, only natural, but the “fox” looks more like a

46. A readily available source for animal symbolism is T. H. White, *The Bestiary, A Book of Beasts, Being a Translation from a Latin Bestiary of the Twelfth Century* (New York, 1960). Concerning the wolf (pp. 56–61) it is said “that on the backside of this animal there is a small patch of aphrodisiac hair, which it plucks off with its teeth if it happens to be afraid of being caught, nor is this aphrodisiac hair for which people are trying to catch it of any use unless taken off alive.” On the right shoulder guard and on the saddle bow plate appear horses, which were regarded as symbols of “unbridled” passion—“They were as fed horses in the morning: every one neighed after his neighbor’s wife,” Jeremiah 8:5—though on a saddle plate no justification for the presence of a horse is needed.

47. It is also said of the elephant (White, *Bestiary*, pp. 24–28): “If one of them wants to have a baby, he goes eastward toward Paradise, and there is a tree called Mandragora, and he goes there with his wife. She first takes the tree and then gives some to her spouse. When they munch it up, it seduces them, and she immediately conceives in her womb. When the proper time for being delivered arrives, she walks out into a lake, and the water comes up to the mother’s udders. Meanwhile the father-elephant guards her while she is in labor, because there is a certain dragon which is inimical

to elephants. Moreover, if a serpent happens by, the father kills and tramples on it till dead. . . . Now the Elephant and his wife represent Adam and Eve. For when they were pleasing to God before their provocation in the flesh, they knew nothing about copulation nor had they knowledge of sin. When, however, the wife ate of the Tree of Knowledge, which is what the Mandragora means, and gave one of the fruits to her man, she was immediately made wanderer and they had to clear out of Paradise on account of it. For, all the time that they were in Paradise, Adam did not know her. But then, the Scriptures say: Adam went in to his wife and she conceived and bore Cain, upon the waters of tribulation. Of which waters the Psalmist cries: Save me, O God, for the waters have entered in even unto my soul. And immediately the dragon subverted them and made them strangers to God’s refuge. That is what comes of not pleasing God.” The relationship of this story to Mary and the Immaculate Conception, and the proposal of marriage as represented by the parrot, who has called “Ave Caesar,” would have been quite obvious to a sixteenth-century observer, because of the symbolism of the Virgin Mary as the “New Eve,” and the salutation of the Angel of the Annunciation, “Ave,” which is “Eva” in reverse.

member of the weasel family. Probably it was meant to be an ermine, the symbol of purity and chastity.⁴⁸

The idea of love is quite plain in the group of the merknicht with the nude mermaid (Figures 7, 8, 56), but perhaps there was even a pun intended between the “scientific” term for merknicht, “zytyron,” and the name “Turenne.”⁴⁹

The wild men on the helmet bowl⁵⁰ are symbols of life—and love—in natural innocence (Figure 22). Wild men were extremely popular in the decorative arts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to such a degree that an entire class of South German tapestries is called *Wildleuteteppiche* since they have them as subjects.

The centaur fighting a nude warrior in a classical helmet comes out of the more “modern” school of humanistic thought (Figure 21). It could well be an allusion to the wedding of Peirithous and the fight of the centaurs and Lapiths.

A particularly charming solution for arranging the “heraldic beastes” of the vicomtes de Turenne has been

48. A baffling group is the one on the right shoulder guard: a putto riding a horse that is kicking out against a wolf and its cub. This peculiar composition raises the question as to whether yet another source besides the bestiaries might be responsible for the symbolism of the etchings, namely, the *Hieroglyphica* of Horapollon. The fantastic interpretations of Egyptian hieroglyphs by this late antique author were extremely popular in the early sixteenth century with scholars and interested laymen, who thought them a key to unlock the mysteries of the wisdom of the ancients. In his second volume Horapollon describes a “Hieroglyph”: “When they wish to indicate a woman who has aborted, they draw a mare kicking a wolf. For not only does a mare which has kicked a wolf abort, but also, if she touches the spoor of a wolf, does she abort.” *The Hieroglyphics of Horapollon*, trans. George Boas (New York, 1950) II, p. 45. Ludwig Volkmann, *Bilderschriften der Renaissance. Hieroglyphik und Emblematik in ihren Beziehungen und Fortwirkungen* (Leipzig, 1923; 2nd ed., 1962). Volkmann, “Bilderrätsel,” pp. 65–82. This interpretation, however, seems out of the question under the circumstances. It is not likely that there was a deliberate ill wish hidden in the symbolic decoration. It should be mentioned, however, that the marriage project between Princess Mary and the duke of Orléans was not popular at all. As Edward Hall puts it: “The common people repugned sore against that demaund, for they said that she [Princess Mary] was heire apparent to her father, and if he should dye, they would have no Frenchemen to be kyng of Englande, and thus the common people spake, as their myndes serued them.” Even if Horapollon should not be among the sources of the iconographical program, it is interesting to see that he used falcons and goats as “hieroglyphs” for most powerful love, while elephant, lion, and crane are representations of highly flattering qualities.

49. The group is certainly meant as a *Minneszene*, a love scene, as might be found on *Minnekästchen* (carved caskets used as presents

found in a scene—heavy with meaning—on the central plate of the breastplate: unicorn, lion, and three deer are assembled around a fountain, with two cranes watching them from the foliage above (Figures 12, 48). The unicorn is dipping his horn into the water of the basin in illustration of the well-known legend about the mysterious powers of the unicorn’s horn to purify waters poisoned by the venom of a snake. As was commonly believed in the thirteenth century, it was “one odd thing about a snake that when it goes to the river to drink water, it does not take its poison with it, but spews it in a hole.” Apparently this laudable custom was no longer obeyed by the sixteenth-century snakes, and thus the services of the unicorn were essential to all animals, but particularly to the stag, who, according to a legend rooted in antiquity, used to “suck snakes from their holes with a snort of the nostrils.” This, of course, was an extremely dangerous practice, for when the snake in the stag’s belly bit him, its venom caused such heat that the stag would surely die, if he did not find

and love tokens). In the nakedness and beauty of the mermaid there was always a certain piquant appeal that made her, in much the same way as the wild man, a personification of sensual love. It might even be that there was a personal reason for the introduction of the mermaid into the program, because François II de la Tour’s wife, Anne de la Tour, *dit* Bologne, could claim relationship with the kings of Jerusalem, and thus descendance from the ancestress of the illustrious Lusignans, La Belle Mélusine! If the Flemish word for mermaid, *meerminne*, which can be read as *meer minne*—“more love”—was hinted at, it would have been a very appropriate pun that unfortunately was probably wasted on a Frenchman. The doughty merknicht is a reasonable counterpart to the alluring mermaid. He might have an underlying meaning as the “knight from the sea,” meaning the “knight from beyond the sea,” i.e., France, where the Knight of the Lake, Sir Lancelot, came from. In relation to this the description of the tournament held in honor of the French ambassadors might be quoted in full: “On shroueste wesdaie, the Kyng hymself, in a newe harnes all gilte, of a strange fashion that had not been seen, and with hym .viii. gentleman all in cloth of golde of one suite, embrodered with knottes of siluer, and the Marques of Excester, and .viii. with hym in blewe veluet and white saten, *like the waues of the sea* [italics added], these men of armes came to the tilte, there ran many freshe courses, till .cc.lxxxii. speres were broken, and then they disarmed and wēt to the quenes chamber, where for them was prouided a costly banquet.”

50. Incidentally, among Dürer’s drawings for the silver armor of Emperor Maximilian, 1515–1517, there is a wild man shown in the same place on the helmet bowl. The drawing itself (W174) was destroyed in Paris in 1871 but is illustrated in Hermann Warner Williams, Jr., “Dürer’s Designs for Maximilian’s Silvered Armor,” *Art in America* 29 (1941) pp. 73–82.

fresh water quickly and drink it to counteract this fatal effect.⁵¹

This scene obviously was meant to be a protective charm for the wearer, but there seems to be a second meaning hidden in this group of animals. All these animals have one thing in common: their hostility against the snake. The tactics of unicorn and stag have just been mentioned, and the crane's appetite for reptiles is a zoological fact. Of the lion, it was said that the snake was his only enemy, "for snake poison kills him," though he can crush the snake with his claws.⁵²

Therefore this group of beasts gathered around "the fountain of living water" is to be understood as another symbol of Mary, who is otherwise often represented as treading upon the head of the old serpent. It is an intriguing thought that this relation to the cult of the Virgin Mary might have been the decisive factor in the original selection of the "heraldic beasts" of Guillaume Rogier, comte de Beaufort and vicomte de Turenne.⁵³

51. White, *Bestiary*, p. 37: "A Stag is called 'Cervus' from its habit of snuffing up the Cerastes—which are horned snakes—or else from their 'horn-bearing', for horns are called 'cerata' in Greek. . . . These creatures are enemies to the serpents. . . ." Apparently the designer of the group around the fountain was not quite sure just which one of the two species of European deer—the red deer or the fallow deer—was to be credited with this ability. Therefore he drew one representative of either species, with meticulous accuracy in the different shapes of their antlers. The red deer is already drinking, while the fallow deer behind him is still waiting.

The purifying power of the unicorn's horn made it a highly prized medicine, and narwhales' tusks—thought to be unicorns' horns—were treasured possessions and worth their weight in gold because of the tremendous difficulty in obtaining the horn. "He [the unicorn] is excessively swift, with one horn in the middle of the forehead, and no hunter can catch him. But he can be trapped by the following stratagem. A virgin girl is led to where he lurks, and there she is sent off by herself into the wood. He soon leaps into her lap when he sees her, and embraces her, and hence he gets caught." White, *Bestiary*, pp. 20–21. For reason of this legend the unicorn became a symbol of chastity; during the fifteenth century it was represented in allegorical scenes as taking refuge in the lap of the Virgin in the "hortus conclusus," thus becoming another symbol of Mary.

52. White, *Bestiary*, p. 11.

53. The original name of the Beaufort family was Rosiers de Beaufort, which is reflected in their canting arms: "Argent, six roses gules, a bend azure overall." The repeatedly mentioned armorial tapestry shows not only the "heraldic beasts," but also roses charged with the arms of Beaufort and Turenne (but not Comminges!). Probably the roses of the arms and these badges

Immediately above this group there is to be seen the by far most peculiar representation within the entire iconographical program: putti performing a morris dance! A nude girl in the center is holding prizes for the dancers in her hands: a ring and an apple. The dancers, who are hopping merrily around her to the music of a fife and a drum, the typical instruments used in this dance, have bells harnessed to their wrists and ankles and represent the stock characters of the morris dance: the fool, the sword dancer, the comic old man, and the blackamoor.⁵⁴ As the name and the presence of the blackamoor indicate, the morris dance is of Hispano-Mauresque origin (Figures 12, 68).

Though the morris dance was extremely popular throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, there are not many more than a dozen illustrations of it in contemporaneous art. Most of these representations are of German or Netherlandish origin. As a decoration on a suit of armor this motif has only one parallel.⁵⁵ It would be a rather frivolous feature, quite out of style,

were considered to be connected with the *rosa mystica*, a symbol of the Virgin Mary, and therefore other symbols of Mary were chosen as "heraldic beasts." The reason why the fifth "heraldic beast" of the Turennes, the elephant, whose enmity against the snake is mentioned in note 47, is missing from the group around the fountain might be that he was not considered to be a "wild" animal since he bore a castle on his back. However, it might have been for this "tower"—"la Tour"—that he was placed in an even more conspicuous spot on the outer breastplate.

54. The blackamoor is characterized by his club and "savage" feather headdress, the old man by crutches, warm cap, and false beard, the fool by his foolscap and bauble, and the sword dancer by his falchion and a buckler. The headband of the last named is reminiscent of a turban, hinting at the exotic origin of the dance. It is interesting that the typically English element of the hobbyhorse is absent, while the musicians are a fifer and a drummer in the style of the Swiss-German military bands of the period. Most non-German representations of morris dances have a single musician playing a recorder and simultaneously beating a small drum suspended from his left arm.

55. On the cheekpieces of the helmet A328 in the Waffensammlung, Vienna, which belonged to Charles de Bourbon, connétable of France (1489–1527), there appear two etched scenes of nude youths with bells attached to their wrists and ankles, and dancing to the accompaniment of a drum and a bagpipe, though no girl is present. The style of the rather mediocre etching is Italian, c. 1510. Interestingly enough, there are four deeds of Hercules—the slaying of the Nemean lion, the killing of the Hydra, the capture of the Cerynean hind, and the abduction of Deianira by Nessus—distributed in the decoration of the helmet (see also note 62). Philipp Maria Halm, *Erasmus Grasser, Studien zur Süddeutschen Plastik* (Augsburg, 1928) mentions in its Appendix II, "Der Morisken-



FIGURE 68
Morris dance, detail of rubbing from the breastplate

if not a *faux pas*, on armor made for an old warrior such as Genouilhac, who was sixty-two in 1527, but it would be appropriate for a younger man of barely thirty years, on a *galante* mission, as was the case with the vicomte de Turenne. Since the girl displays a ring, the token of betrothal, in addition to the traditional apple, she emphasizes the special occasion, the proposal of marriage to Princess Mary.⁵⁶ It is an exceptional feature that the maiden is nude, and, of course, a naked woman with an apple in her hand immediately suggests the arch-mother, Eve. In contrast to the “old Eve,” who succumbed to the guile of the snake, she is the “new Eve,” the Virgin Mary, who destroyed the might of the “old serpent.” Another elaborate allusion to the name of the princess and Turenne’s mission might well be the actual linking of the maiden with the heraldic animals at the “fountain of living water”—a symbol for Mary—by means of a chain that stretches between the pedestal, on top of which the maiden is standing, and the centerpiece of the fountain.

The decisive factor in the selection of this extraordinary morris-dance motif, apart from the admittedly rather sophistic solution presented above, seems to have been a flattering personal experience of the vicomte de Turenne during his stay in England. Edward Hall in his chronicle gives a detailed account of the ambassador’s visit, devoting nearly three pages to the great banquet held at Greenwich “Sondaye the fifthe daye of Maye” 1527 as a farewell party “for the more enter-

teinyng of the French ambassadors.” Here, after a “solēpne Iustes . . . notwythstandyng that yt rained apace,” the entertainment was continued in the great banquet hall with pageants and “maskedaunces.”

Then sodenly the Kyng and the viscount of Tourayne were conueighed out of the place into a chambre thereby, & there quicklie they .ii. and six other in maskyng apparel of cloth of gold and purple tinsell sattin, greate, lōg, & large, after the Venecians fashiō & ouer .viii. noble personages entred and daunsed long with the ladies, and when they had daunsed there fill, then the quene plucked off the Kynges visar, so did the Ladies the visars of the other Lordes, then all were knowē: thē the Kyng gauē to the viscoñt of Torayn, the maskyng apparel that the kyng hym self ware. . . .⁵⁷

The pageant accompanying the banquet at Greenwich included a foot combat between six knights, and it is interesting to realize that the morris-dance motif is represented on the particular breastplate that would have been used in a foot combat.

This signal honor of the gift of the king’s own costume by the king’s own hands suggests that Henry VIII and the vicomte de Turenne must have been of about the same build; this makes it even more understandable that our armor sometimes has been thought to be one of Henry’s own harnesses.

Several other scenes in the decoration can be interpreted as love symbols too. On the tassets (Figures 25, 26) the group of Mars, Venus, and Cupid needs no

tanz,” the following representations in connection with the famous figures in the Old City Hall at Munich: two engravings by Israhel van Meckenem (G. 383 and G. 465) of c. 1480; a drawing attributed to Hans von Kulmbach (c. 1510) in the Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden; a woodcut by Hans Leinberger (Lossnitzer 30) of 1520; a drawing by Erhard Schön (1542) in the Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Sammlung at Donaueschingen; the carved frame of a chessboard (fifteenth century) in the Museo Nazionale, Florence; the reliefs of the Goldene Dachl (1500) at Innsbruck; four terracotta reliefs from Turin (?) in the Figdor Collection; and the lost “Merry May” stained-glass window from Bentley in Staffordshire. The last seems to have been modeled after Israhel van Meckenem’s engraving, with the addition of several specific English figures, such as the hobbyhorse. The interpretation of the fresco in the lobby of the Goldene Dachl as part of the morris dance is erroneous, and thus it cannot be used as proof for the far-reaching English influence on the morris dance on the Continent. The figure of the horse is not the English hobbyhorse, but a specific Tyrolean rendering of the classical motif of the “Bocca della verità.” See Günther Schiedlausky, “Ein Tiroler Fayence-Ofen von 1555,” *Keramos*, *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Keramikfreunde*, April 1960, pp. 3–

12, ill. One example not mentioned by Halm is a woodcut border in the Cologne Bible (*Kölner Bibel*) of Heinrich Quentell, 1479, though there the musical instrument used is a bagpipe; another is a Florentine print, c. 1460–1470, called a Round Dance in the Antique Manner but undoubtedly representing a morris dance, as can be seen from the bells attached to the wrists of the naked youths prancing around a nude girl who holds aloft a jeweled ring. See Arthur M. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving* (London, 1938) part I, vol. II, pl. 97 (A.II.12). Two borders from illuminated Hours of the Virgin in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, M.157, French, c. 1450, and M.358, Franco-Flemish, early fifteenth century, show the exaggerated dress of the dancers particularly well.

56. The prize given by the maiden in the English morris dance seems to have been a carnation; on one of the engravings by Israhel van Meckenem (G. 383) and on the Florentine print the girl holds a ring, but usually she is represented holding an apple. In a Nuremberg *Fastnachtsspiel* (shrovetide play) of the fifteenth century, with the title *Morischgentanz*, the maiden says: “Nu sagt, ir lieben nerrlein,/Als lieb euch mug der apfel sein. . . .”

57. Hall, *Triumphant Reigne*, pp. 88 ff.

further explanation, while the drunken Bacchus is probably a charming allusion to the sumptuous entertainment so faithfully recorded by Edward Hall. The pairs of putti fighting or wrestling on the arm defenses (Figure 69) and the helmet (Figures 21, 22) might well be Eros and Anteros, representants of the two aspects of love, giving and taking, or, as the change in interpretation at the beginning of the sixteenth century would have it, of worldly and spiritual love.⁵⁸ One of the classical representations of Eros and Anteros was putti watching a cockfight, which is the scene on the left side lame of the breastplate (Figure 13). The colletin is etched with a large group of putti singing to the accompaniment of instruments, some of which—flutes, for instance—had a definite amorous meaning, while others—lute and harp—were symbols of love in its more idealistic, spiritual aspects.⁵⁹

The remaining motifs—the labors of Hercules—were allusions that, of course, could have been considered as flattering by anybody, but beyond this general application they seem to have a special significance in this particular case. A second, secret purpose—but probably the more important one—of the vicomte’s mission was to make proposals and arrangements for an alliance between France and England against the Holy Roman Empire.⁶⁰ The slaying of the practically indestructible Hydra, whose heads regrew faster than they could be hacked off, the killing of the invulnerable Nemean lion (the lion being the armorial beast of the Habsburgs), and the struggle with Antaeus, who only grew stronger when thrown to the ground, are all signs of wishful hope to overcome an awesome foe. But the

most revealing motif is that of the planting of the pillars. This is an unmistakable hint at the ambitious personal device of Charles V, the pillars of Hercules with the motto *PLUS ULTRA*, and it is obviously meant to be a challenge to thwart the far-reaching claims of the emperor.⁶¹ But beyond this, an even more direct, personal connection with François de la Tour, vicomte de Turenne, could be present, because he could claim to be descended from Hercules himself. Among his ancestors was Mahaud, duchess of Burgundy, and the House of Burgundy insisted that its line was descended from the planter of the pillars and a noble Burgundian lady, Alise.⁶²

If it can be assumed, as a result of these interpretations, that the Genouilhac armor was made in England for François II de la Tour d’Auvergne, vicomte de Turenne, it still has to be explained how the armor came into the possession of the family de Crussol, the later ducs d’Uzès.

Sir James Mann in his article “Identifying a Famous Armour,” where he claimed this armor for the vicomte de Turenne for the first time, suggested that it might indeed have been owned by Galiot de Genouilhac, and thus the tradition of the House d’Uzès might be proven right, though the armor originally had not been made for the Grand Maître de l’Artillerie. He mentions that Galiot’s sister, Jacqueline de Genouilhac, was married to Annet de Turenne, seigneur d’Aynac, and he “wonders whether the ambassador after his return to France passed on his newly acquired armor to his distinguished relative in recognition for favors received, or perhaps because it arrived from England accom-

58. Robert V. Merrill, “Eros and Anteros,” *Speculum* 19 (1944) pp. 265–284. Themistius in the fourth century B.C. told the story of Eros, who was unable to grow until he had his brother Anteros as a stimulant. This story was published by Mario Equicola in his *Libro di natura d’amore* (1525). Cicero identifies Anteros with the son of Venus by Mars!

59. These allegories appear fully developed in Andrea Aciati’s *Emblemata*. Though this work was published a few years after our armor was made, in 1531, it shows that these ideas were generally understood by the contemporary observer.

60. After the return to France of the vicomte de Turenne, Henry VIII asked Charles V for half of the ransom of Francis I, which was forfeited by his capture at Pavia in 1525, as a reward for England’s neutrality. He threatened war in case Charles V would not agree to pay.

61. In this connection it might be mentioned that Hercules planting the pillars is a motif that was popular in the iconographical program of the decoration of the so-called Louvre School armor of Henry II of France, who too spent the greater part of his life fighting against Charles V, after having been a hostage in Spain for the parole of his father. He was released from this predicament, incidentally, through the services of the vicomte de Turenne, who apparently was a diplomat of considerable skill.

62. Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods* (New York, 1953) p. 25. Since the dukes of Bourbon were descended, in the maternal line, from the House of Burgundy, too, the deeds of Hercules on the helmet with the morris dance of the connétable Charles (Waffen-sammlung, Vienna, A328), if the attribution should be correct, would have the same justification. Charles de Bourbon’s grandmother, incidentally, was Gabrielle de la Tour d’Auvergne, the great-aunt of François, vicomte de Turenne.



FIGURE 69
Putti fencing, rubbing
from left vambrace

panied by an unexpected bill which he was not quite prepared to meet.”⁶³

This explanation is not quite convincing, though the latter part of it would be in keeping with the sometimes rather unpleasant character of Henry.⁶⁴ Unfor-

63. Mann, “Identifying,” p. 53. The suggested picking up of the unexpected bill by Galiot de Genouilhac would have been quite possible as such. Genouilhac was extremely wealthy by means of his high offices, and even more so through two rich marriages. Though he had been taken prisoner, together with his sovereign, in the catastrophe of Pavia in 1525, he did not suffer any great financial losses. He had the good luck of being captured by a Spanish captain whom he had taken prisoner himself once during the Neapolitan War and whom he had let go free without

tunately, Mann is confusing here the family de Turenne with the vicomtes de Turenne, who are only very loosely related.⁶⁵ The family de Turenne is a bastard branch descending from Raymond, comte de Beaufort and vicomte de Turenne, the son of Guillaume Rogier, who

ransom. The grateful Spaniard was chivalrous enough to return this favor. Vaux de Foletier, *Genouillac*, p. 69.

64. Negotiations about the marriage of Princess Mary to one of the French royal princes—sometimes the duc d’Orléans, the second son, at other times the dauphin—dragged on in a very confusing way, until finally, a couple of years later, the entire project was abandoned. Therefore, it could be quite a plausible reaction on Henry’s side to try to recover at least part of his expenses.

65. This confusion has been corrected by Stephen V. Grancsay, “Genouilhac Armor,” p. 190, note 2.

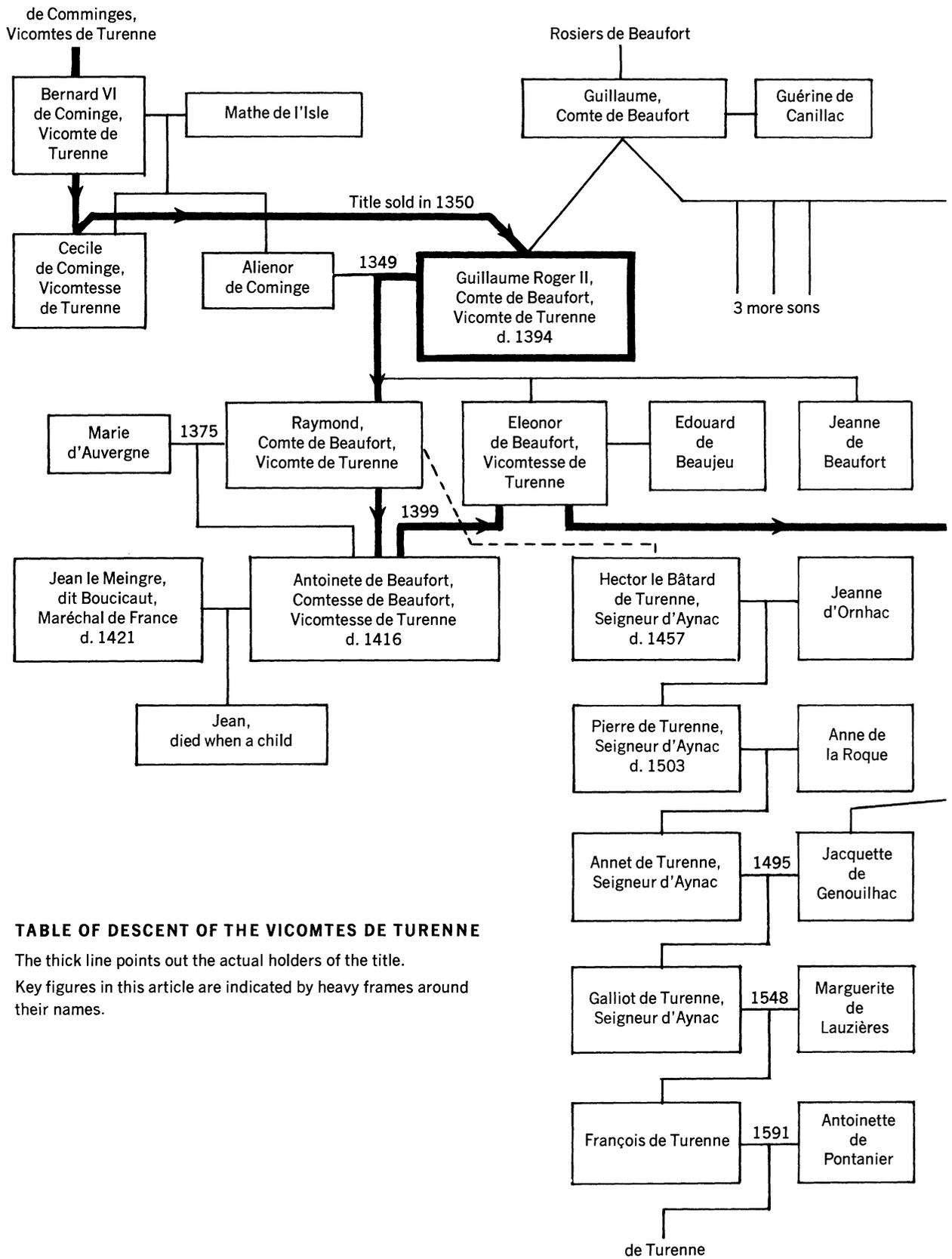
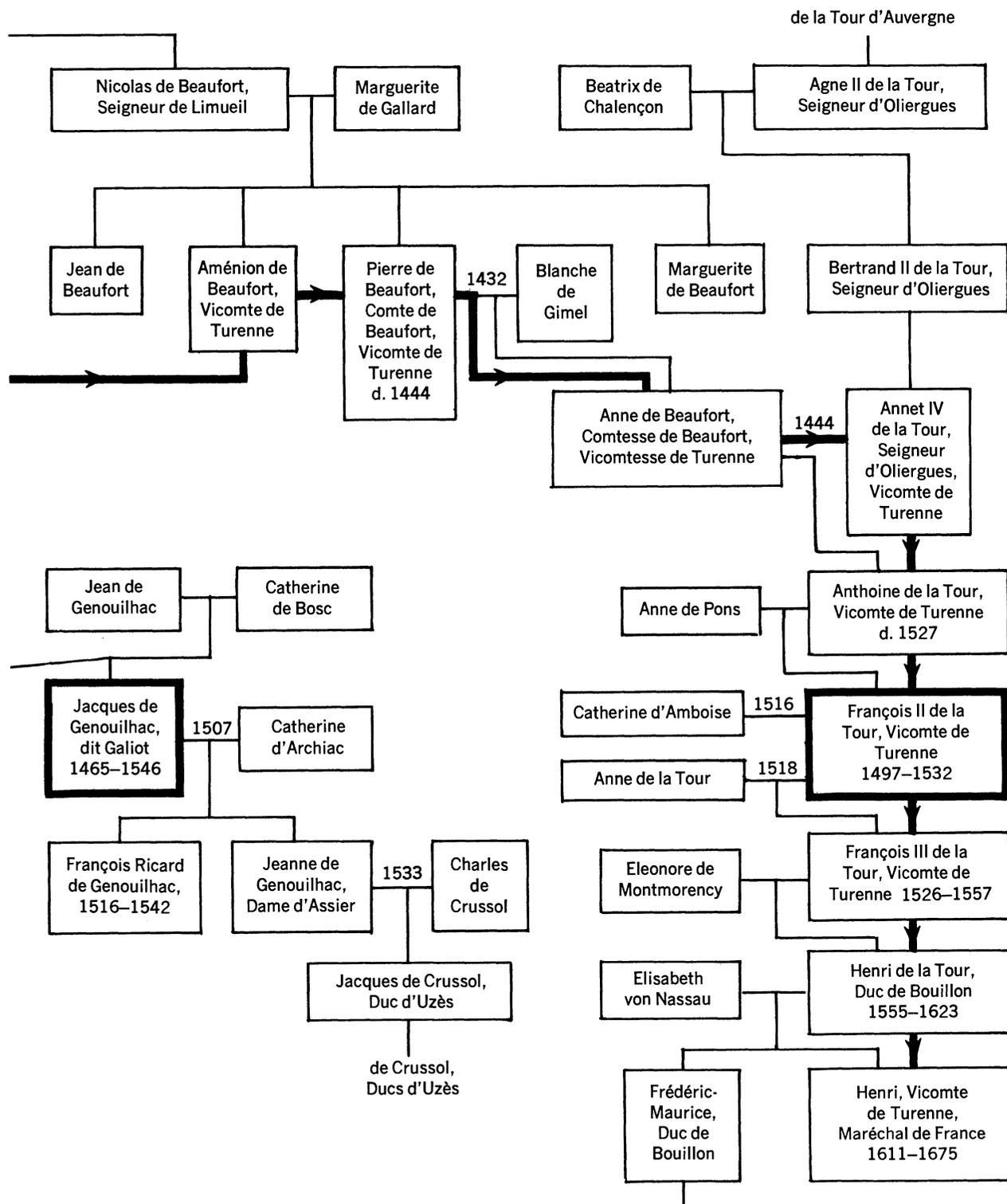


TABLE OF DESCENT OF THE VICOMTES DE TURENNE

The thick line points out the actual holders of the title.

Key figures in this article are indicated by heavy frames around their names.



had commissioned the armorial tapestries that have been such an important clue in the unravelment of the Genouilhac-Turenne problem. In the fifteenth century the title of vicomte de Turenne together with the landholdings had passed through the hands of several members of the family de Beaufort before it came to the de la Tour d'Auvergne. In order to show the complicated pattern of relationship between the persons involved, a table of descent, including the succession of the title vicomte de Turenne, is included here.⁶⁶

But, though there was no immediate relationship between François de la Tour and Galiot de Genouilhac, it is most likely that Mann was right in assuming that the armor was given to Genouilhac as a present "for favors received," because the two heroes were in otherwise close connection with each other. The vicomte de Turenne had been the liege lord of Galiot de Genouilhac for his seigneurie of Gramat, while on the other hand Galiot held the administrative key position of seneschal of Quercy, the province where the vicomté de Turenne was situated.⁶⁷ When François de la Tour died in 1532,

just five years after he was presented with the armor from England, Galiot came to his funeral, and perhaps the family de la Tour saw an opportunity to make sure of the good will of one of the mightiest men in the realm.⁶⁸ The golden armor that certainly was known to Galiot would have been especially suitable for this occasion and purpose, displaying among its lavish decorations the labors of Hercules, a motif that was particularly dear to Galiot de Genouilhac.⁶⁹

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66. The table of descent is based upon: Justel, *Histoire . . . d'Auvergne*; Justel, *Histoire . . . de Turenne*; Henri Jouglas de Morena, *Grand Armorial de France*, 7 vols. (Paris, 1834-1852); Vaux de Foletier, *Galiot de Genouillac*.

67. Guillaume Lacoste, *Histoire Générale de la Province de Quercy* (Cahors, 1886) p. 63.

68. Since François II died when his son François III was only six years of age, his brother Gilles de la Tour, seigneur de Limueil, was considered the oldest male member of the family, and thus presumably had an important voice in business matters concerning the family. It might be significant that he had his eldest son baptized Galiot. Justel, *Histoire . . . d'Auvergne*, p. 196. *Galiot* is a surname derived from the name of an Arthurian knight, Sir Galahault, otherwise "Galehot" or "Galeotto," who was the friend of Sir Lancelot du Lac. Galahault was said to have been the son

of the "Fair Giantesse," and therefore of powerful stature himself. Galiot de Genouilhac lived up to the expectations of his surname during the battle of Pavia when, in a Herculean feat, he overturned a field cannon in his just wrath over the fatal order by the king to stop his effective cannonade of the advancing imperial pikemen.

69. An additional iconographical point in the decoration of the armor that might have pleased Genouilhac would have been the motif of the merknicht and the mermaid that could have been interpreted—admittedly rather forcedly—as a Knight of the Lake and the Lady of the Lake. Furthermore, since elephants are, among other things, symbols of magnanimity (because this largest of animals does not prey upon others, but is content with feeding on leaves and grass), this would be flattering as a reinterpretation in regard to Genouilhac's dealings with the Spanish captain.