A Royal Swordsman and Damascener: 
Diego de Çaias

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The work of the sixteenth-century Spanish swordsman and damascener Diego de Çaias is represented in the Metropolitan Museum’s Department of Arms and Armor by two of the three recorded pieces bearing his signature. His name has been known to students since 1879, when Baron Charles Davillier drew attention to one of these pieces—a mace then in the Spitzer Collection and now in the Museum—in his pioneer study of Spanish goldsmiths’ work. Since then de Çaias has been mentioned in several general books on arms and armor, and has also been the subject of brief, rather uninformative, entries in Boeheim’s Meister der Waffenschmiedekunst and Thieme-Becker, and of a very short article by Mr. Stephen V. Grancsay in the Museum’s Bulletin for August 1940. This last gives the best account of de Çaias so far published, but it does not pretend to be anything more than a summary of the little information about him that was then available. The purpose of the present article is to discuss in more detail the material already noted by Mr. Grancsay, and also to add to it a certain amount of new information.

Diego de Çaias’s precise origins are unknown. It was suggested by Davillier that his surname, of which the initial letter is phonetically the same as ζ in Spanish, indicates that he came from Zayas, a village near Soria in Old Castile, and this has been accepted by most subsequent writers. It seems a reasonable enough derivation for the name, and no doubt the de Çaias family were originally from Zayas, but no evidence has ever been adduced to show that Diego himself came from there. Nothing is, in fact, known of his early life or of where he got his training, and the further suggestion made by Davillier that he probably worked in Valladolid or Toledo is mere speculation. The first definite record of his existence is contained in a list of wages

4. A family named de Çaias was of some importance in the town of Écija, Andalucia, from the fifteenth century onward. Señor Don Fernando Caldero Martín of the Archivo Municipal, Écija, has very kindly informed me that goldsmithing and other metalworking crafts were of importance in the town’s economy at an early date but that he has no record of Diego de Çaias or any other swordsmiths working there. I am indebted to M. François Buttin for drawing my attention to the account of the de Çaias family of Écija in the Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana, X (Barcelona, n.d.) p. 429.
payable to members of the household of the sons of Francis I of France in 1535, drawn up in March of the same year, in which he appears as “Diego de Cayas, faiseur d’espées,” at a salary of 180 livres. It will be recalled that the dauphin Francis and his brother Henry (later King Henry II) spent the period 1526-1530 in Spain as hostages of Emperor Charles V, and de Ċaías may have entered the service of one or other of them as a result. But this again is a matter for speculation only.

One other entry relating to de Ċaías has been noted in a French document. It occurs in an acquittance roll of the French royal treasury, undated but datable to August 1538: “A Diego de Caya [sic], pour son payment d’un pognard ayant le manche et fourreau d’acier ouvri à la damasquyne, et le dit ouvrage remply d’or que le dit Seigneur a prins et achacté de luy et retenu pour son service à prendre comme dessus cxxi x”. Unfortunately, the dagger, if it survives, can no longer be identified.

The two extracts quoted above, and two splendid maces made for Henry II, to be discussed later (pp. 156-165 below), provide the only definite evidence so far discovered of Diego’s activities in France. He almost certainly stayed there, however, until forced to leave as a result of a royal decree of 1542 ordering the expulsion of all aliens because of the outbreak of war between France and the Holy Roman Empire, for he is next recorded in England early in the following year.

On March 12, 1542/3, under a Privy Seal warrant dated March 6, King Henry VIII delivered Letters Patent to “Diego de Cayas Hispanus” granting him, during the king’s pleasure, an annuity of £30 sterling to be paid from October 1 following. No indication is given of what Diego was to do in return, and the wording of the grant merely follows the standard form in such cases, which is to the effect that it was for services rendered and to be rendered. There can be no doubt, however, that it was simply a salary for working at his craft for the king, and henceforth his name appeared regularly among recipients of quarterly wages in the account books of the royal Chamber (Books of King’s Payments) as—with minor variations of spelling—“Diago de Cayos Spaynard.”

Unfortunately, the fact that Diego was a salaried member of the household means that no record of his official work appears in the books of payments, as would have been the case had he been paid for each individual order. His materials would have been supplied to him, probably by the Master of the Armouries, but I have been unable to trace any accounts in which they are mentioned. Nevertheless, some idea of the nature of his work for the king can be obtained from the following entries in the great inventory of Henry’s possessions made in 1547 after his death:

Item a Tocke the pomell crosse and chape of Damaske worke of Dego his makinge the skaberde & handle

5. Quoted by J. B. Giraud on p. lxxiv of his introduction to vol. VI of La Collection Spitzer (Paris, 1892). He states that the complete document has been published by M. Th. Lhuillier, but I have been unable to trace this publication.


7. Le Marquis Léon de Laborde, Les comptes des bâtiments du roi (1528-1571), II (Paris, 1880) pp. 251, 423. Laborde dates the payment to September 4, 1538, but I am informed by M. F. Douset of the Archives de France that the roll (J 96214, no. 47) is actually undated. The authors of the Catalogue des Actes de François Ier, (Paris, 1817, etc.) VIII, no. 31906, ascribe it to August 1538. M. Douset has very kindly made a search for other references to de Ċaías in the Archives de France but without success.

8. I am indebted to Mlle F. Baron de la Dernére des Sculptures at the Louvre for the information that the date and wording of this decree are not now known. That it was promulgated is, however, established by the existence of a letter of Francis I, dated July 29, 1542, exempting Benvenuto Cellini and his armorer Benedict Cresze from its terms (Archives de l’Art français. Documents, 2ª série, II [Paris, 1862] pp. 5-8). On September 4, 1543, a further

royal decree was issued “portant que les Espagnols et autres étrangers, sujet de l’empereur, ayant obtenu des lettres de naturalité à condition de se marier en France, seront expulsés du royaume, s’ils n’ont point rempi cette condition dans les deux mois” (Catalogue des Actes de François Ier., IV, no. 15321; cf. no. 15346).


10. I have been unable to trace any Books of King’s Payments for Henry VIII’s reign later than one in the British Museum (Stowe Ms. 554) that ends in September 1545. The regular payment of de Ċaías’s wages can, however, be deduced from the record of them in a list of quarterly wages paid from the Chamber account at Christmas 1545 in the British Museum (Add. Ms. 27,404, fol. 23) and in the Books of King’s Payments for the first two and a half years of Edward VI’s reign (P.R.O., London, E. 101/246/5 and 6).

11. Tocke or tuck, the English form of the French word estoc, referring to a type of sword with a stiff blade, usually of triangular section, designed exclusively for thrusting.
thereof of purple vellut whipped w^t venice silver.

Item iiij Rapeires of sondrie sortes the pomelles hiltes and chapes of Dego his makinge with skabordes of vellut.

Item iiij lange woodknives viz ij of them of Dego his makinge and the other garnished and guilte euerie of them havinge skaberde of vellut knives and Bodkin.

Item iiij arming swourdes thone of Dego his makinge bounde about hande w^t a passemaine of Silver the skaberde of vellut whipped w^t venice silver thother ij the crosses & chapes guilte w^t blacke vellut skaberdes.

Item iiij Daggers of Dego his makinge.

As we have seen, Diego entered the English king's employ probably in March 1543, and certainly by October of the same year, and he was still in royal service when Henry died on January 28, 1547. It seems unlikely that during this period of nearly four years he would have produced for his master only the ten weapons listed above, however elaborate they may have been. We may probably assume, therefore, that the inventory contains other pieces by him that were not identified by its compilers. Some of his products may also have been used for presentation by the king and so have left the royal collection before the inventory was prepared.

As a royal servant Diego was in a good position to obtain privileges, and he appears to have taken the opportunity this gave him to supplement his salary. On December 4, 1543, he was granted Letters Patent, in which he is described as the king's "Welbelouyd ser-
vaunt Diego de Cayas borne vnder the demynyon of the Emperor," authorizing him to "conveye out of this our Realme of Englonde the nombre and quantitie of Six hundred dickers of lether in any Shippe or Shippes vessell or vessells that shall lyke hym byeng in leage and amyte with vs into any outwarde partes of beyonde the sees there to vttre and sell the same to his most profyte and aduantage." Again, on October 24, 1545, he received similar license to export 500 woollen cloths "not barbed not rowed not shorne."

After Henry VIII's death Diego remained in the service of the new king, Edward VI. The payment of his salary continues to be recorded every quarter, still at the same rate of £7 10s. od., until Michaelmas (September 29) 1549, when a break in the series of books of payment occurs. The next relevant document available is a list of people paid from the Chamber account, dated November 20, 1552, in which de Çaias's name does not appear. He must, therefore, have left the royal service between September 1549 and November 1552.

No further documents relating to de Çaias have been traced, which may perhaps indicate that his disappearance from the English royal accounts was the result of his death. It is more likely, however, that he returned to the Continent to continue working there, for a number of pieces decorated in his highly distinctive

12. British Museum, Harl. Ms. 1419 B, fol. 410 v., 412 v., 413, 413 v. The arms were in the royal Wardrobe and not in one of the various armories covered in a separate volume of the inventory now belonging to the Society of Antiquaries of London. They were not included in Viscount Dillon's study of Henry VIII's armory, "Arms and Armour at Westminster, the Tower and Greenwich, 1547," (Archaeologia 51 [1888] pp. 219-280), which was based entirely on this volume.

13. It is worth noting, however, that when in March 1595 the distinguished steel chiseler Othmar Wetter appealed to his employer the Elector of Saxony for money to enable him to carry on his work, he mentioned that for twelve blades given to him to mount in 1591 he had completed only three gilt hilts and one black one, decorated with chiseling, while four others were half ready. See Georg Petzsch, "Othmar Wetter Messerschmied," Zeitschrift für historische Waffenkunde 1 (Dresden, 1897-1899) pp. 89-90.


16. See Note 10 above. The last payment is recorded on fol. 77 of E.101/426/6 in the Public Record Office.


18. It is just conceivable, though very improbable, that his wage payments were transferred to another account.
manner that clearly date from after the period when he is last recorded in England are in existence. Unfortunately, as will be shown later (pp. 177–182 below), it is by no means certain that these are not the work of another artist, probably a pupil, working in an identical style, so they cannot be accepted as definite evidence of Diego’s continued existence. His ultimate fate must, therefore, remain a mystery for the time being.

The description of de Çaias as “faiseur d’espées” in the first document cited above suggests that he was a fully fledged master sword cutler, and not merely a decorator of arms. It is, however, his ability in the art of damascening iron and steel with designs, and especially figure designs, in gold and silver that makes his work so distinctive, not to say distinguished. This decorative technique, though known in Europe at an early date, seems to have survived during the Middle Ages only in the East. In the early sixteenth century it was apparently reintroduced into the West, where it became extremely fashionable from about 1540 onward, especially for the decoration of arms and armor. The origins of this revival have still to be studied, but de


21. The earliest examples of European armor decorated with damascening known to me are the parade pieces made by the Negrolis of Milan in the period round about 1540, among them being a signed helmet dated 1543 in the Metropolitan Museum (acc. no. 17.190.1720). See Thomas and Gamber, “L’Arte Milanese,” p. 765 and figs. on pp. 783, 785, 787. Special mention should be made of the “Armure aux Lions” of Francis I and the armor made for Henry II as dauphin, both in the Musée de l’Armée, Paris (nos. G. 50 and G. 118), which have been attributed to the Negrolis by Thomas and Gamber (“L’Arte Milanese,” pp. 769, 773–774). Mr. Grancsay has suggested that the damascening on the second of these may have been executed by de Çaias (Stephen V. Grancsay, “Royal Armorers: Antwerp or Paris?,” The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin 18 [1959–1960] p. 4).
Çaias's career suggests that one of its sources was Spain, where the art of damascening was practiced by the Moors, from whom it must have been acquired by their Christian conquerors. Whether this is so or not, Diego was certainly well in the van of the fashion, for his work provides some of the earliest known examples of the use of damascening to decorate iron and steel during the Renaissance.

Before I go on to discuss de Çaias's work, a brief account of the actual techniques employed in damascening must be given, and for this I can do no better than quote the article on the subject, written when they were still widely practiced, that appeared in 1788 in Chambers's *Cyclopaedia*:

**DAMASKEENING.** There are two ways of *damaskeening*: in the first, which is the most beautiful, the artists cut into the metal with a graver, and other tools proper for engraving on steel; and afterwards fill up the incisions, or notches, with a pretty thick silver or gold wire. In the other, which is only superficial, they content themselves only to make hatches, or strokes, across the iron, &c., with a cutting-knife, such as is used in the making of small files. As to the first, it is necessary the gravings, or incisions, be made in the dove-tail form; that the gold or silver wire, which is thrust forcibly into them, may adhere the more strongly. As to the second, which is the more usual, the method is thus: having heated the steel till it changes to a violet, or blue colour, they hatch it over and across with the knife; then draw the design, or ornament, intended, on this hatching, with a fine brass point, or bodkin. This done, they take fine gold wire, and conducting or chasing it according to the figure already designed, they sink it carefully into the hatches of the metal with a copper tool.

The second technique is the one that was used for all de Çaias’s known work, as indeed it was for most damascening produced in the West. All his designs are executed in fine gold and silver wire applied to a hatched surface, the broader areas being covered with threads laid so closely together that they form what at first sight appear to be pieces of foil. The method was less durable than the first one described above, but it permitted a great deal more flexibility in the treatment of designs and was probably less time-consuming, though no doubt laborious enough. The final effect, even on pieces dulled by time, is one of great richness: when the steel still retained its brilliant blue color, and the

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23. Cf. note 21 above.

24. E. Chambers, *Cyclopaedia or, an Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, II (London, 1788). Mr. A. V. B. Norman has drawn my attention to a similar entry in Dennis de Coetlogon's *An Universal History of Arts and Sciences*, II (London, 1754) p. 864. See also the article "Damasquiner" in Diderot's *Encyclopédie*, IV (Paris, 1754) pp. 617-618.
gold and silver their original burnish, it must have been magnificent.

The earliest of de Çaias's recorded works appears to be the dagger in the Museum’s collection (Figures 1, 2, 6–8).25 This is of the distinctively Spanish type, almost certainly Moorish in origin, known to modern students as an eared or ear dagger because of the two characteristic “ears” that project at an angle from either side of the top of the grip in place of a pommel. The Museum’s dagger is a classic example of the type and need not, therefore, be described in detail.26 It is sufficient to say that the tang, which is in one piece with the blade, is sandwiched between a pair of slightly wider iron shims, extended to form the ears and covered on the outer sides by ivory scales forming the grip; below is a rudimentary guard made of two spool-shaped pieces of ivory. All are secured by tubular brass rivets that pass right through the tang. On one face of the blade is an unidentified maker’s mark, a small orb and cross inlaid in copper.

The ricasso, the exposed edges of the tang, and the insides of the ears are damascened in gold with designs consisting chiefly of branches with spiky, Christmas-tree-like foliage (gorse?) involving scenes of the chase. Those on the tang are contained in linked cartouches formed by two continuous bands of strapwork that merge and cross over between each, and show hounds pursuing a hare, a stag, and a boar (Figure 2). The top cartouche, between the ears, contains the figure of a Centaur archer (Figure 6), perhaps the zodiac sign Sagittarius,27 against a ground sown with fleur-de-lis-like plants, while the cartouches at the sides of the guard contain decorative Kufic characters and scrollwork. The insides of the ears and the faces of the ricasso show boar-, bear-, and deer-hunting scenes involving hounds and men armed with spears and, in one instance, a crossbow (Figures 7, 8). Foxes and a rabbit occur in the backgrounds of some of the scenes. All the men depicted wear hose, tight-fitting, short-skirted doublets, small caps, and swords; the animals mostly have strongly marked rib cages and narrow stomachs. The longer edge of the ricasso bears a design of scrollwork and a now illegible scene, and the shorter edge the signature (also damascened) ÇAIAS Me fe in a curious mixture of Roman and debased Lombardic characters against a dotted background (Figure 64).

No means of dating the dagger on typological grounds is available, but the details of the decoration suggest that it was made early in de Çaias’s career. The figures, especially the human ones, are executed in a somewhat sketchy manner and are rather stiff and wooden, while all have circular eyes that give them a curious staring expression. They are in every way much less naturalistic and more naïve than the similar figures on the two other recorded works signed by Diego, the mace of Henry II in the Metropolitan Museum and a dagger at Dresden (pp. 174–177 below), of which the former must date from the period when the artist is known to have been in France, that is, from before 1535 to 1542, while the latter is probably even later. The signatures on both of these are executed in well-formed Roman capitals that contrast markedly with the clumsy characters of the signature on the dagger (Figures 64–67).28 There can be little doubt, therefore, that the latter is the earliest of the three weapons, and it can probably be dated to about 1530 or a little before.

Four other ear daggers damascened in a manner similar to the one just described, except that they show no human figures, are in the Bargello, Florence (two, of which one is illustrated in Figures 3, 4), the Musée de

26. For accounts of daggers of this type see the following: Sir Guy F. Laking, A Record of European Armour and Arms, III (London, 1920) pp. 48–56; Bashford Dean, Catalogue of European Daggers (New York, 1929) pp. 65–75; Pilar Fernández Vega, “Dagas granadinas,” Anuario del Cuerpo Facultativo de Archiveros, Bibliotecarios y Arqueólogos 3 (Madrid, 1935) pp. 359–379; J. J. Rodríguez Lorente, “The XVth Century Ear Dagger. Its Hispano-Moresque Origin,” Gladius 3 (Madrid, 1964) pp. 67–87. All these authorities state that the ear dagger was developed in Venice as well as in Spain, and that it was known there as daga alla Levantina or alla stradiotta. I have been unable to discover any evidence in support of either statement.
27. None of de Çaias’s known patrons was a Sagittarian.
28. Similar characters occur on some late medieval Spanish ceramics. See, for example, the flask in the Victoria and Albert Museum (no. 431–1889) illustrated as fig. 96d in volume I of Manuel González Martí’s Cerámica del Levante Español. Siglos Medievales, (Barcelona, 1944).
l'Armée, Paris, and the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan (Figure 5). None is signed—though all except the Paris one have variants of the orb-and-cross mark on their blades—but they have such strong stylistic affinities with the Museum's dagger that it is tempting to attribute them all to the same hand. This would, however, be unwise in the present inadequate state of our knowledge of the early history of damascened in Spain, for the style of ornament they bear may be a traditional rather than an individual one. The sources of the style are to be sought in Hispano-Moresque art and through it in Islamic art in general. Similar running animals set against a ground of foliage were widely used on Islamic ceramics and engraved and damascened metalwork from an early date, for example, on the well-known gold- and silver-damascened brass vessels produced in Iraq and Persia. Likewise, purely decorative Kufic inscriptions and series of linked cartouches formed of two bands of interlacing strapwork are among the commonest of Islamic ornamental motifs. All these features occur in Hispano-Moresque art and, with the exception of the linked cartouches, are found in particular abundance on medieval Spanish pottery and tiles. The treatment of the animals on these last is often very close to that of the animals on the daggers, even to the circular staring eyes, while a few examples include men not unlike those on the de Çaias dagger. Ceramics bearing designs of this kind were produced in a number of different places in Spain over a long period; it is not unlikely, therefore, that this was the case also with the daggers, the decoration of which so clearly belongs to the same artistic tradition. In view of this, and in the complete absence of firm evidence about their origins, the unsigned examples can be attributed only very tentatively to de Çaias.

We come now to the most splendid of de Çaias's surviving works, the signed mace in the Museum's col-

29. All except the Paris dagger illustrated in the publications by Laking (figs. 828, 834) and Fernández Vega (pls. iii, iv) referred to in note 26 above. Rodriguez Lorente ("XVth Century Ear Dagger," p. 68) states incorrectly that the Ambrosiana dagger was destroyed in World War II.


35. Martí, Cerámica del Levante Español, passim.
lection (Figure 9), already mentioned, and another mace in the Musée de l'Armée, Paris (Figure 10), which, though unsigned, is so similar that it can be attributed firmly to the same artist. Each is of normal sixteenth-century type, made entirely of iron and comprising a haft with six cusped and pointed flanges attached at the top, probably by brazing, to form the head. The haft is divided by raised moldings into three parts, the center one of octagonal section, and the others, of which the bottom one forms the grip, of circular section. At the top is a small spike, and at the bottom a knob. All surfaces are covered with gold and silver damascening against a ground that is now russet, but which must originally have been blued. It consists, for the most part, of arabesques, running foliage of various kinds, including a spiral vine pattern round the grip, and purely decorative Kufic inscriptions, of which one on the Paris mace forms a bend on a shield. In addition, one face of each flange bears a scene, and some faces of the haft where it is of octagonal section bear Latin inscriptions.

On both weapons the top of the haft, between the flanges, is decorated with bands of arabesques and running foliage. On the Museum's mace one of these bands incorporates an elongated cartouche containing the signature DIDACVS DE CAIAS FACIEBAD in Roman capitals (Figure 65), while the portion of the haft immediately below the head, which on the Paris mace bears two spiral bands containing respectively arabesques and Kufic lettering, is here encircled by a landscape scene.

The majority of the scenes are landscapes containing plants and trees, sometimes including palms, with birds

36. Acc. no. 04.3.59. Formerly in the Dino, Spitzer, and Argaiz collections. It is said to have been found "dans une maison de campagne du nord de l'Espagne, chez un ami de chasse" by José de Argaiz. See J. C. Robinson, Catalogue of the Special Loan Exhibition of Spanish and Portuguese Ornamental Art, S. Kensington Museum, London, 1881, no. 396; La Collection Spitzer, VI, pp. XXXIX, 61; catalogue of the Spitzer Sale, Paris, June 10-14, 1895, Lot 151 (sold for 10,000 frs.); Le Baron de Cosson, Le Cabinet d'Armes de Maurice Talleyrand-Périgord, Duc de Dino (Paris, 1901) no. H. 42.


38. The arms of the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada. See L. A. Mayer, Saracenic Heraldry (Oxford, 1933) p. 34. The arms continued to be used decoratively in Spain long after the fall of Granada in 1492.
and animals, human figures, walled towns, and other buildings. Some of the towns are semi-Oriental in character, with minarets and onion spires, while others are entirely Western. Similarly, the human figures represent both Orientals, probably Moors, and Westerners. The former wear long caftans and, usually, small plumed hats (turbans?) and curved swords; the latter, doublets with short skirts, hose, and, usually, small caps and straight swords. The plants are all of the same basic type, a bushy spray of long radiating leaves, like a small Christmas tree, sometimes surmounted by a vertical stem bearing a bullrushlike head or rather indeterminate flowers. On the Paris mace, where the plants are rendered with more definition, some look like hollyhocks (Figure 23).

The scene on the haft of the Museum’s mace (Figures 11–14) centers on a fortified semi-Oriental city with one of its towers surmounted by a flag bearing a saltire and with a shadoof near its further side. In the foreground and background are sparse forests sown with plants, the nearer one containing a lion, an ostrich, and a camel, and the further one a winged wyvernlike dragon and two large birds sitting in the trees. Immediately behind the city a horse (?) is driven toward a spring, gushing out of a large rock, by a man in a castielike howdah on the back of an elephant.

The scenes on the flanges of the same mace are as follows:

1. The vision of St. Hubert, patron of hunters. The nimbed saint, with his horse standing behind him,

39. I am grateful to the staff of the Natural History Museum, London, for attempting to identify the less obvious of these animals and birds. Unfortunately, the details are not clear enough to enable them to do so.

40. Or perhaps St. Eustace, who had a similar vision of a stag with a crucifix between its antlers. St. Hubert seems more likely, however, because of the many hunting scenes included in the decoration of the mace.
FIGURES 11–14
Details of the decoration on the haft of the mace illustrated in Figure 9

FIGURES 15, 16
Inscriptions on the haft of the mace shown in Figure 9
FIGURES 17–22
Details of the decoration on the head of the mace illustrated in Figure 9
FIGURES 23–28
Details of the decoration on the head of the mace illustrated in Figure 10
kneels in prayer before a stag with a cross between its antlers. He wears a knee-length doublet and hose, and a purse hangs at his waist. Two of his hounds are near him, while a third attempts to climb a tree behind the stag (Figure 17).

2. A semi-Oriental, fortified, and moated city with a flag charged with a crescent on one tower. In the center a drawbridge leading to an arch in which stands a guardian armed with a club. Trees and plants grow round about. In the foreground a hound pursuing a fox followed by an Oriental leading a camel (Figure 18).

3. A landscape. On the right a man with a crossbow crouches behind a rock looking toward a fox that runs, looking backward, to the left. In front of the fox crouches a large, ratlike animal toward which runs a man in Western dress armed with a spear (Figure 19).

4. A landscape with a stream, containing fish, running across the foreground. In the center a watermill with a fox standing nearby and a hound in the background. To the right a horseman with a hawk on his wrist. At the top a hawk striking downward (Figure 20).

5. A landscape with a boar hunt. The boar is seated at bay with its back against a hill surmounted by a fortified house. Two hounds attack him from the front while a third lies on its back, wounded or dead. In the center a huntsman in Western dress stands behind a tree with leveled spear. A fox, looking backward, runs off to the left (Figure 21).

6. A semi-Oriental port and harbor. The latter includes a breakwater ending in a lighthouse and a number of sailing ships of Western type, some containing men (Figure 22).

The corresponding scenes on the Paris mace are similar in character though they differ in detail. They are as follows:

1. A landscape. In the background a pond with swimming birds toward which a horse runs. In the foreground two Orientals leading respectively an elephant and a camel to the left. The elephant wears a castle howdah with a flag charged with a crescent, the camel a pack on which stands what appears to be a foal. An ostrich stands on the right (Figure 23).

2. A landscape. In the center foreground a boar is attacked from the rear by hounds and from the front, across a tree, by a spearman in Western dress. On the left a fortified Western town, and on the right another huntsman blowing a horn. In the background a fox, looking backward, runs toward a post windmill (Figure 24).

3. A large, basilicalike building, surmounted by a flag, in a landscape. On the right a stag attacked by hounds followed by a huntsman in Western dress. On the left a hound pursues a fox, which looks backward as it runs (Figure 25).

4. A landscape in which a fortified Western town, on the right, is besieged by an Oriental army. On the towers of the town are a cross and three flags, of which one is also surmounted by a cross, while inside can be seen the helmeted heads of the defenders. In the center foreground an Oriental is about to ignite one of three large field guns with a linstock; to his rear are powder barrels and cannon balls. Behind the cannons stands another soldier holding a linstock (?) under one arm and a recurved bow in his other hand. A horseman with erect lance gallops toward him from the left. In the background is a procession of Oriental hand-gunners (?) and spearmen with a standard-bearer in their midst, his standard charged with a crescent. In the left foreground the tents of the besiegers (Figure 26).

5. A landscape with a stream, containing fish, running across the left foreground. On its far bank a watermill, to the right of which stands an Oriental fisherman, his creel on the ground beside him. To his right another Oriental, carrying a spear and blowing a horn, walks toward the center background where a hare, looking backward, is pursued by a hound. In the left foreground a burrow with the hindquarters of a rabbit projecting from it (Figure 27).

6. A port, labeled Marsella, with warehouses along its front, viewed from across a harbor. On one of its towers is a flag charged with a cross. In the harbor are galleons, galleys, and rowboats containing men (Figure 28).

On each mace the part of the haft that is of octagonal section bears on two of its faces respectively the mottoes
DECVS ET TVTAMEN IN ARMS (“A glory and defense in arms”) and DONEC TOTVM IMPLEAT ORBEM (“Until it [he?] fills the whole globe”) executed in Roman capitals (Figures 15, 16). On the Paris mace the second motto is followed by the device of a crescent and the cipher of Henry II of France. The same mace also bears on a third face of the haft the motto NON HINC LEVIA AVT LVDICRA PETVNTVR PREMIA (“Not hence are light or frivolous prizes sought”).

The presence of the motto “Donec totum impleat orbem” on the maces, to say nothing of the cipher and crescent on the Paris one, establishes beyond question that both belonged originally to Henry II of France. The absence of a crown over the cipher indicates a date prior to his accession to the throne in 1547, and there can, in fact, be little doubt that they were made by de Çaias during his French period, that is, from before 1535 to 1542. What, at first sight, appears to be a clue to a more precise dating of the Paris mace is provided by the label MARSELLA (the Spanish name for Marseille) on the scene showing a port. This is the only scene singled out in this way in all de Çaias’s known work, and it is thus likely to have some special significance. The only important connection between Henry II and Marseille that I can discover is that he was married there to Catherine de Médicis on October 28, 1533, and it would therefore be tempting to suggest that the mace was made at the time of this event if it were not for the presence of the crescent-moon device and the motto “Donec totum impleat orbem.” According to Paolo Giovio, writing in 1559, these were both adopted by Henry after he became dauphin in August 1536 in order to indicate that “until he had inherited the throne he would not be able to show his full brilliance; just as the moon is not able to show her full brilliance until she has attained her maximum size.” If Giovio’s statement is correct—and no means of checking it seem to be available—the maces cannot have been made before August 1536. They would thus date from the period 1536–1542.

As already noted, the style of decoration on the maces is more sophisticated than that on the de Çaias ear dagger. The treatment of the figures, in particular, is much surer and shows a better understanding of movement, though they still remain a little naïve. The subsidiary decoration and most of the animals stem from the same roots as those on the dagger and call for no additional comment. The scenes, however, represent a new departure for which I have been unable to trace any obvious sources or parallels, outside the group of objects discussed here. A possible source is suggested by the superficial resemblance some of the more pastoral ones bear to Islamic miniatures in the general treatment of their subjects, but I have been unable to discover any evidence to show that Diego copied, or was even directly influenced by, paintings of this kind. For the time being, therefore, he must be regarded as the originator of this particular aspect of his own style.

The two maces are the only known examples of de Çaias’s work that can be dated with certainty to his may well have come to be associated with her later. Where the monogram is concerned, there is definite evidence to show that, initially at least, it represented the letters H.C. (for Henry and Catherine), since Queen Catherine herself used it on her jewelry, clothing, and bookbindings. This being so, the most likely time for its adoption would obviously be at the time of, or shortly after, the royal marriage. On this subject see C. Davenport, “The Book Cyphers of Henry II,” The Burlington Magazine 2 (1907) pp. 243–244; Williams, Henri II, pp. 129–125; François Bardon, Diane de Poitiers et le Mythe de Diane (Paris, 1969) pp. 43–45; Marie Hay, Madame Dianne Dienne de Poitiers, Duchesse de Valentinio (London, 1900) pp. 13–14; G. D. Hobson, Les Reliures à la Fanfare (London, 1935) pp. 11 ff.; G. Renault, “La reliure à la fanfare aux armes de Catherine de Médicis de la Bibliothèque Municipale de Fougers,” Bulletin et mémoires de la Société Archéologique de l’arrondissement de Fouérez 3 (1959) pp. 35–47; E. Moreau-Nélaton, Les Cloutés et leurs émules, II (Paris, 1924) figs. 427, 435, 447.

43. Virgil, Amid 5, 962.
44. See Mrs. Bury Palliser, Historic Devices, Badges and War-Cries (London, 1870) pp. 117–119; also notes 45, 47 below.
45. It included the usual processions and celebrations, in any of which maces of this kind might have been carried. See Williams, Henri II, pp. 77–87.
47. He is the only known commentator on Henry II’s devices who was the king’s contemporary, and he was in touch with the French ambassador in Rome (Giovio, Dialogo dell’Imprese, p. 25). He ought, therefore, to have been in a good position to obtain accurate information on the subject. Later writers have, however, put forward other interpretations of the devices, the best known being that the crescent moon, the symbol of the goddess Diana, was adopted by the king in compliment to his mistress Diane de Poitiers, with whom he began to associate late in 1536. It is also widely believed that the monogram found on the Paris mace, which can be read as H.C. or H.D., had the same source. I have been unable to discover any firm evidence in support of the view that the devices had any connection with Diane originally, though they
French period. But one other piece that may have been made by him at this time is a rapier with an early form of complex guard, datable to about 1540, in the Musée de l’Armée, Paris (Figure 29). The whole hilt, including the grip, is of iron damascened in gold with arabesques and decorative Kufic inscriptions against a ground that is now russet. No figures occur, and the arabesques, though similar to those found on the maces, represent a motif used too widely to provide evidence for a definite attribution to de Čaias. Nevertheless, the appearance of Kufic inscriptions on a weapon of Western type of this period does point very strongly to a Spanish origin, while the fact that the sword is in a collection that incorporates much of the old French royal armory suggests a possible connection with the court of Francis I. There is thus a distinct probability that it was made by de Čaias for Francis himself or for Henry II as dauphin.

Of the work produced by de Čaias in England only one surviving piece can be identified with certainty, a hunting hanger or woodknife now in the royal collection at Windsor Castle (Figures 30–34). It is not signed, but it can be attributed to Diego on both stylistic and historical grounds. The hilt is of iron, except for the grip, and comprises the following: flat pommel, rounded on top, where there is a button, and with a small beak on one side where it touches the knuckle guard; quillon block made in one with the arched quillons and a knuckle guard that curves up to touch the pommel, these last being of flat section with spatulate, rounded tips, each terminating in a small inturned beak. The wooden grip, which appears to be an eighteenth-century replacement, is of rectangular section, swelling in the middle, and bound with iron wire. The flat, slightly curved blade is single edged to about 6 in. from the point, where it becomes double edged. It has lost about ¼ in. from the tip and is now 19¼ in. long and 1½ in. across the base.

The sword is fitted with an eighteenth-century wooden scabbard, covered with black leather decorated with crisscross tooling, to which are attached the iron mounts from the original scabbard. These consist of a simple chape, terminating in a rounded point, and a rectangular mouth locket with an iron suspension ring on each side and, on its outer face, a subsidiary

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**FIGURES 30, 31**


49. As already noted, the dagger mentioned in the account quoted on p. 150 above cannot be traced. Three ear daggers, “façon d’Espagne,” that may have been the work of de Čaias are recorded as belonging to Francis II of France at his death in 1560 (Fernández Vega, “Dagas granadinas,” pp. 363–364).


51. The earliest catalogues of the Musée de l’Armée collection are too vague in their treatment of all but the most important pieces for any reference to the rapier to be identified in them. It is first definitely recorded in that of 1845 (Mariaux, *Armes et Armures Anciennes*, pl. III).

52. But see the account of the dagger at Dresden on pp. 176–177.
locket covering the mouth of a side pocket for a by-knife. This last, which is 12 ½ in. long, resembles a rather narrow modern table knife and has a single-edged, bluntly pointed blade made in one with a flat handle. It is shaped at the top to the same profile as the ends of the quillons and knuckle guard on the sword.

The hilt of the sword, the top 6 in. of its blade, the scabbard mounts, and the handle of the by-knife are entirely covered with gold damascening against a ground that is now russet, but which must once have been blued, as with most of the other pieces discussed here. Except on the sides of the quillon block and on the blade, the decoration consists of fine arabesques on the broader surfaces and either cabling or a repeated motif like a letter S placed on its side along the edges. On the right face of the quillon block (Figure 32) a boar is shown pursued by three hounds against a background containing three leafless trees. On the other face (Figure 33) a man, wearing a short-skirted doublet, hose, and a small, pointed cap, stands holding a boar at bay with a spear from behind a small, leafless tree, while two hounds attack it from the rear. In the background are two other trees, one with a few leaves, while near the huntsman are several small bushy plants.

On the left face of the blade (Figure 31) is a Latin elegiac inscription in Roman capitals—designed to be read when the point is upward—with panels of arabesque ornament above and below. In the following transcription a few letters that are now illegible are indicated by square brackets,53 and the original arrangement of the lines by diagonals:

HENRICI OCTAVI / LETARE BOLONIA / DVCVT
PVRPVRES / TVRRES CONSPICIE/NDA ROSIS
IAM / TRACTA IACEN (sic) / MALE OLENTIA / LILIA
PVLVS

G/ALLVS ET INVI[C]TA / REGNAT IN ARCE / LEO
SIC TIBI NEC/VIRT[V]S DEERIT / NE[C GRATIA
FOR/MAE


This can be translated as follows:

Rejoice Boulogne in the rule of the eighth Henry. Thy towers are now seen to be adorned with crimson roses, now are the ill-scented lilies uprooted and prostrate, the cock54 is expelled, and the lion reigns in the invincible55 citadel.

53. The sense of the inscription makes the identification of the missing letters clear. The transcription has, however, been checked against that given by F. W. Fairholt in Miscellanea Graphica (London, 1837) pl. xxvii, and against the translation in the Catalogue of a Museum...collected by the late Mr. Wallis...in Hull (Hull, 1833) p. 18. The inscription was probably less worn when these were made.

54. The original Latin makes a play on the fact that gallus means both "cock" and "Gaul."

55. It seems odd that a citadel that had just been captured (see
Thus neither valor nor grace of beauty will fail thee, since the lion is thy protection and the rose thy ornament.

On the right face of the blade, arranged so that it is viewed correctly when the sword is held horizontally edge downward, is a scene showing the siege of a large walled city of Western type, built on an eminence (Figure 34). It is surrounded by lines of trenches, and by groups of cannons of similar form to those in scene 4 on the Paris mace, many protected by fascines. To the left is a large artificial mound, faced with fascines, on which other cannons are set, while in the foreground below this are the besiegers’ wagons. In the center foreground a horseman, wearing a broad-brimmed hat and preceded by two men on foot, all very much rubbed, rides toward a rectangular command post linked to one of the trenches. These are the only figures, animal or human, now visible. The spaces between the equipment of the besieging army and round the city are liberally sown with small bushy plants of the kind that occur so frequently in the work of Diego de Ciaas, while on the extreme right is a single leafless tree.

The inscription on the other face of the blade, transcribed above, identifies the scene as a representation of the besieging of Boulogne in 1544 by King Henry VIII. The reasons for this siege and the details of its operation need not concern us here, but a very brief account of its main stages is necessary for the proper understanding of the scene on the sword. It was begun by the English, under the command of the Duke of Suffolk, on July 19, 1544, the king himself arriving on July 26. The lower town, along the harbor, was captured with ease on July 21, but the high-lying and strongly fortified upper town to the east proved much more difficult and did not finally surrender until September 14. The assault was largely confined to the northeastern front of the town, which is the view shown on the sword, and involved the digging of trenches and the setting up of batteries, while, in the words of the chronicler Holinshed, “Beside the trenches which were cast, and brought in maner round about the town, there was a mount raised vpon the east side, and diuvere peeces of artillerie planted aloft on the same, the which together with the morter peeces, sore annoied them within, & battered downe the steepole of our ladies church.” It is this mount, faced with fascines, that is shown to the left (east) of the town in our scene.

That the scene on the blade is, within the limits of its small size (6 × 1⅝ in.), a remarkably accurate representation of the closing stages of the siege of Boulogne is shown by a comparison with the large wall painting of the same event that existed in the dining chamber of Cowdray House, Sussex, until destroyed by fire in 1793. Executed for the owner of the house, Sir Anthony Browne (1500–1548), who had taken part in the siege, it is now known only from a drawing of it by Joseph Grimm, published as an engraving by the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1788 (Figure 35), and from a description written by Sir Joseph Ayloffe in 1773. The drawing shows that the painting was made from a viewpoint further over to the right than the one used for the sword, while, as might be expected from its enormously larger size, it contains a great deal more detail, including Lower Boulogne and its harbor on the right, and the English tents in the left foreground. Otherwise the two scenes are remarkably similar. The mound with its fascines appears in both, as do the three major buildings in the city, the castle on the extreme left, the church of Notre-Dame further over to the right, and the main fortified gateway to the extreme right. The shape and arrangement of the trenches and the positions of the batteries, both with and without fascines, are also closely similar, even to the command post in the foreground. In the painting, this last is shown occupied by King Henry, wearing armor and a broad-brimmed hat, accompanied by his officers, from which we may reasonably conclude that

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57. Chronicles, p. 964.
FIGURE 34
Scene showing the Siege of Boulogne of 1544 damascened on the right face of the blade of the sword illustrated in Figure 30. Copyright reserved

FIGURE 35
The Siege of Boulogne, engraving of a wall painting formerly at Cowdray, Sussex. Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1788
the figures shown approaching the post on the sword are the same, the king presumably being the one on horseback.

When I first examined the sword, the top face of the quillon block, behind the grip, bore traces of what may have been an inscription that included the letters C . . . A in Roman capitals. It was too faint for definite identification, and is now no longer visible, but there is clearly a possibility that it was de Qaias’s signature. Even without this evidence, however, a comparison of the damascened decoration on the two maces previously described with that on the sword leaves little doubt that all are from the same hand. Apart from the combination of arabesque ornament and small scenes, obvious similarities are to be found in the treatment of the trees, of the buildings, with their roofs covered with close-set wires, and, above all, in the frequent appearance of small bushy plants of the type described on p. 158 above. In addition, the boar-hunting scene with a huntsman on the sword has many points of resemblance with those in scene 5 on the Museum’s mace and scene 2 on the Paris one, though its treatment of the man and the animals is perhaps more developed, the dogs, in particular, being less gaunt. Similar dogs do, however, appear on the signed dagger at Dresden discussed below (p. 176), together with men wearing pointed caps like that worn by the huntsman on the sword.

The subject of the scene on the blade and the wording of the accompanying inscription show clearly that the sword must have been made very shortly after the capitulation of Boulogne on September 14, 1544. They also suggest very strongly, as does the attribution to de

60. Fairholt, Miscellanea Graphica, pl. xxvii, says that the dogs are “the old English Talbots.”

61. I am indebted to my colleague Mr. R. W. Lightbown for the suggestion that its style perhaps indicates that it is the work of an official court poet.
Çaias, that it was one of King Henry's personal arms. It is a type of sword that was known as a woodknife at the time when it was in use, and it can therefore probably be identified with one of the two "longe woodknives . . . of Dego his makinge . . . euerie of them havinge skaberde of vellut knives and Bodkin" listed in the 1547 inventory. It may also have been the "longe wood knyfe guile sometime Kynge Henrys theighte" that Richard Wilbraham of Woodhey in Cheshire, Master of the Jewel House and of the Revels to Queen Mary, bequeathed to his son in 1558, together with a pair of andirons, to "remene as heire lomes at the house of Woodhey." No further reference to this bequest has been traced in the surviving records of the Wilbraham family, which died out in the male line in 1692, so it cannot be linked definitely with the sword now at Windsor. The first certain notice of the latter that I can trace dates from 1798, when it was in the private museum formed by the gunmaker-antiquary George Wallis (1731–1803) in Hull, Yorkshire, a county that borders on Cheshire, where the Wilbrahams lived. From the Wallis Museum the sword passed successively to the Londesborough, Spitzer, and Odescalchi collections, from the last of which it was acquired a few years ago for the royal armory at Windsor.

Though Henry VIII's woodknife is the only actual example of de Çaias's English work known to survive, except, possibly, for the Dresden dagger discussed later, another piece can almost certainly be identified on the well-known portrait of Prince Edward, later King Edward VI, at Windsor Castle. This was painted by an unknown artist, apparently shortly before the prince's accession to the throne in 1547, and shows Edward wearing civilian clothes with an ear dagger attached by cords to his girdle and also gripped with his right hand round the top of the scabbard (Figure 36). It is similar in form and construction to the Museum's de Çaias dagger, except that the rivets holding the grip scales and ears in position have foliated washers under their heads. The scabbard has a metal chape, terminating in a button and a little chiseled acanthus foliage,

62. It has been known as Henry VIII's sword throughout its recorded history, which starts in the late eighteenth century. See below.

63. It was one of the types of weapon for which the generic name was hanger, a term that denoted a short sword or large dagger with a straight or curved blade and, usually, a single edge. The following extracts from sixteenth-century documents confirm this:


    1557:
    [hangers]
    ij woodknifes with vellut sheethes, one long, other short
    oone hanger with many tooles, was my fathers
    one hanger with knyff, pen, bodkyn, compass and hammer

Inventory of the armory of William Cecil at Burleigh House.
British Museum: Lansdowne Ms. 118, fol. 54 v. All contractions have been expanded in this extract.

A woodknife very similar in form to the Henry VIII one, except that it has no knuckle guard, is shown on the effigy of the forester Jenkin Wyrrall (died 1457) in Newland church, Gloucestershire. See Ida M. Roper, The Monumental Effigies of Gloucestershire and Bristol (Gloucester, 1931) pl. 27.

64. See p. 151 above.

65. Rev. G. J. Piccope, Lancashire and Cheshire Wills and Inven-
tories from the Ecclesiastical Court, Chester, The Chetham Society, XXXIII (Manchester, 1857) p. 88.


67. See J. Tickell, The History of the Town and County of Kingston upon Hull (Hull, 1798) p. 842, note; also Catalogue of a Museum . . . collected by the late Mr. Wallis . . . in Hull (Hull, 1833) p. 18.

68. Fairholt, Miscellanea Graphica, pl. xxvii; catalogue of the sale of Lord Londesborough's arms and armor, Christie's, London, July 4, etc., 1886, Lot 172 (bought by Bourgeois for £131 55. od.); E. B., "Les Collections de M. Spitzer. Notes sur quelques acquisitions récentes," La Chronique des Arts et de la curiosité (1899) pp. 14–15; La Collection Spitzer, VI, p. 28; catalogue of the Spitzer sale, Paris, June 10–14, 1895, Lot 212 (sold for 7,100 frs.).

The sword was bought at the Spitzer sale for Prince Ladislao Odiscalchi of Rome (1846–1917), though this does not seem to have been generally known, and it was long regarded as lost by students of English arms and armor. In 1957, however, Dr. Bruno Thomas, Direktor of the Vienna Waffensammlung, visited the Odiscalchi collection and, knowing of my interest in the sword, kindly drew my attention to the fact that it was there. The collection was acquired by the Italian state in 1959, but, thanks largely to the efforts of the late Sir James Mann, the Italian authorities generously agreed to transfer the sword to the British royal armory in exchange for an Italian wheel-lock gun.

and a mouth locket to which a large, hanging tassel is attached. Just above the prince’s forefinger is what appears to be the top of a by-knife projecting from a side pocket. The insides of the ears, the edges of the grip, and the scabbard mounts are painted with what is obviously a representation of damascened strapwork and running foliage, while the locket, which is partly concealed by the prince’s hand, appears to be decorated also with a series of circular plaques.

The artist’s portrayal of the decoration on the dagger does not include anything that can be linked definitely with the work of de Caias. Nevertheless, the appearance of a dagger so distinctively Spanish in type on an English royal portrait painted at a time when a craftsman known to have made such weapons was working for the court can hardly be a coincidence. The prince’s dagger can therefore be attributed to de Caias with some confidence.

70. A similar tassel survives on the ear dagger of Boabdil, last king of Granada, now in the Real Armería, Madrid. An account of this dagger with an excellent colored illustration is given by Fernández y González in the second part of his study “Espadas Hispano Árabes,” mentioned in note 22 above. See also Rodríguez Lorente, “XVth Century Ear Dagger,” fig. 1.

71. The plaques are slightly clearer on the full-length version of the picture at Petworth House, Sussex, which is dated 1547 on the back and was apparently produced shortly after the king’s accession. One appears to be charged with a crowned rampant lion. Plaques of similar design, some decorated with enamel, occur on the scabbard of the Boabdil dagger mentioned in the preceding note.
Only one other piece firmly attributable to de Qaias remains to be discussed, a quillon dagger in the Historisches Museum, Dresden (Figures 37–39, 44).\textsuperscript{72} This has a hilt made entirely of iron, including the grip, and comprising the following: fig-shaped pommel with prominent button rising from the center of a multi-petaled flower chiseled in low relief; grip of oval section, swelling in the middle and chiseled in low relief at the top and bottom with bands formed of elongated petals; oblong quillon block and short, straight quillons of circular section, thickening toward the rounded ends, which terminate in buttons and chiseling \textit{en suite} with the pommel. The straight, sharply pointed blade is of flattened diamond section and has a rectangular ricasso.

The scabbard is of wood covered with worn black velvet and is fitted with a mouth locket and chape of iron. The former is rectangular, except at the front where the lower edge curves down to a central point, and is decorated along the top with a band of chiseled petals as on the grip of the dagger; at the back is a horizontal staple for attachment to a belt. The chape terminates in a rounded point and a button encircled by petals as on the pommel and quillons; the upper edge at the front curves up to a central point.

The hilt, the ricasso, and the scabbard mounts—except for the chiseled petals, which are gilt—are covered with gold and silver damascening involving panels framing landscape scenes, containing typical de Qaias trees and plants, on some of which birds are perched. Those on the pommel and locket are designed to be viewed when the dagger is point downward, those on the grip and chape when it is sideways, and the remainder when it is point upward. They are as follows:

\textit{Pommel.} On one face a horse gallops toward a pond with swimming birds, very much as in scene 1 on the Paris mace (p. 164 above). On the other face a stag is pursued by three hounds followed by a huntsman on foot. He is bearded, wears the usual short-skirted doublet, hose, cap, and sword, and holds a horn aloft in his right hand.

\textit{Grip.} On one face two bearded Oriental horsemen attack a lion with long spears. Both wear caftans and


\textbf{Figures 37–39}
Quillon dagger, signed by Diego de Qaias, mid-xvi century. Historisches Museum, Dresden, E. 85
pointed hats, while the one on the right is girded with a curved sword and carries a bilobate shield of the typically Spanish form called adarga. The forequarters of two other lions can be seen entering the scene on the extreme right and in the right foreground. On the other face a man in a dress, carrying over his shoulder a pole from which a rabbit hangs, walks toward a fortified town of Western type.

The spaces around the scenes are covered with typical arabesque ornament.

Quillion block. On one face a hound drives a boar toward a huntsman in Western dress who stands with leveled spear. On the other face a man in Western dress, carrying over his shoulder a pole from which a rabbit hangs, walks toward a fortified town of Western type.

Quillons. Each face bears a panel framing a lyre-shaped spray of foliage.

Ricasso. On one face (Figures 38, 44) a deer park with a wickerwork fence containing a gate formed of palings running across the foreground. Inside the park are trees and shrubs and, in the foreground, two stags, a doe, and a grasshopper. In the background is a fountain with an octagonal lower basin surmounted by a circular basin supported on a central column, and itself surmounted by an arch formed of two intertwined snakes from the mouths of which jets of water fall downward into the basins.

On the other face (Figure 39) a scene showing the sacrifice of Isaac and, below, the following inscription executed in Roman capitals:

\[
\begin{align*}
in \text{ Semine} & tv \cr benedicitvr & \\ filivs tvvs & (\text{Thy son is blessed in thy seed})
\end{align*}
\]

Isaac, who wears a short-skirted doublet and hose, kneels in prayer in the center. Abraham stands to the left, holding his son by the hair with his left hand and looking up at an angel who has seized the blade of the curved sword he holds aloft in his right hand. He wears a long caftan, shoes with upturned points, and a small turban, and is girded with the scabbard of the sword. The sword itself has long quillons, of which the front one is turned up at right angles to form a knuckle guard. In the right foreground is a tablelike altar with four legs, on which a fire burns. In the center foreground is a ram, presumably the “ram caught in a thicket” of the Bible story, though it stands quite free. The remaining spaces in the scene are filled with the usual trees and plants.

The edges of the ricasso bear respectively the signature DIEGO DE CAIAS and FACIEBAT in Roman capitals (Figures 66, 67).

Locket. On the front two hounds pursuing a stag and a rabbit entering its burrow as in scene 5 on the Paris mace. On the sides and back arabesque ornament, accompanied on the latter by a trellis design.

Chape. On the front two hounds pursuing a rabbit and a fox, of which the latter looks backward over his shoulder. On the back arabesque ornament.

The precise date of this dagger is difficult to determine. Its form is one that could have been produced at any time during the period around 1540–1560, and, unfortunately, no information about its origins can be found in the few records of the Saxon armory remaining at Dresden. Many details of the damascened scenes, for example, the horse and pond on the pommel, are very close to those on the maces, but the more naturalistic treatment of the animals on the dagger suggests that it is rather later in date. This view is supported by the fact that some of the hounds in the hunting scenes have the thick, heavy appearance of those on Henry VIII’s woodknife—though the more emaciated breed found on the maces also appears—while the huntsmen wear pointed caps like that worn by the hunter on the woodknife. There is thus some slight evidence for ascribing the dagger to de Caias’s English period, which suggests further that it may have been made originally for Henry VIII or Edward VI. The choice of the sacrif-
face of Isaac as a subject for the decoration and the inscription “Thy son is blessed in thy seed.” would seem to be particularly appropriate to King Henry, whose hopes for the future of his dynasty were concentrated entirely in his only son.

The arms discussed so far are the only known ones to which the name of Diego de Caias can be attached with certainty. There are, however, others in existence, bearing closely similar damascened decoration, that would be ascribed unhesitatingly to him if it were not for the unfortunate fact that one of them is signed by another artist. This is a rapier with an early form of complex guard dating from about 1550, formerly in the old Austrian Imperial armory, and now in the Waffensammlung of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Figures 40-43, 45-49). The hilt is made entirely of iron, including the grip, and both it and the ricasso of the blade are damascened in gold and silver with arabesque ornament and small scenes in the manner of Diego de Caias. These last consist, for the most part, of hunting scenes of the type described more than once in this article and of siege and battle scenes. In addition, the following appear, mostly in landscapes with trees and plants:

Pommel.

1. Hercules, with a club over his shoulder, leading the three-headed dog Cerberus (Figure 42).
2. In the center a fountain, with snakes, of identical form to that shown on the ricasso of the Dresden dagger (compare Figures 43, 44) but without the jets of water. To the right a lion. To the left a man falling out of a tree.
3. A fortified city of Western type surrounded by a moat in which swans and ducks swim.
4. A troop of Oriental horsemen armed with lances and adargas followed by an elephant wearing a castle-like howdah.

Grip.

1. In the center an armored knight kneeling before an unidentified object upon which rays descend from the sky. His plumed close helmet rests on the ground by him, while behind him is a troop of infantry wearing burgonetts and carrying spears (Figure 45). I am greatly indebted to Dr. Helmut Nickel for the suggestion that this depicts the story of Gideon and his fleece (Judges 6:36-40).
2. A lion and stags (Figure 46).

Quillon block. A fortified and moated city toward which an Oriental horseman armed with a lance is riding (Figure 47).

Ricasso. A figure in classical armor, with plumed helmet, stands holding a sword over a brazier in his outstretched right hand. This probably represents the story of Mucius Scaevola (Figure 48).

The edges of the ricasso are damascened respectively with the signature DAMIANVS + DE + NERVÆ and ME + FECIT in Roman capitals (Figures 68, 69). In addition, each face is stamped with two unidentified marks, a garb (?) in a shield and a small cross.

The only known evidence of the existence of Damiani de Nerve is provided by this rapier, for all efforts to discover something about his career and place of work have so far proved unsuccessful. Much of the damascened decoration on the rapier is, however, indistinguishable in both treatment and style from that on the signed works of Diego de Caias. To detail all the points of similarity would be tedious, but the following are particularly striking: the treatment of the

76. The exact words of the inscription do not occur in either the Vulgate or Authorized versions of the story of the sacrifice of Isaac. They are, nevertheless, obviously derived from Gen. 22:17-18.
77. It is worth noting that a sword said to have belonged to either Henry VIII or Edward VI was once at Dresden (Ehrenthal, Königliche Historische Museum, pp. 162-163). It cannot now be traced.
79. Reproduced by Boeheim, Album, pl. xx, 2.
80. The line over the last letter of Nerve is a suspension mark that usually indicates the omission of an N or M. As will be seen from note 90 below, Nerve is a likely reading, but, as the rules of contraction and suspension were frequently ignored, it is impossible to be certain that it is the correct one. Boeheim’s suggestion that the signature is a contraction of Damianus de Neron Venetia or Venetus can hardly be taken seriously. See Boeheim, Album, pl. xx, 2, and “Werke Maiänder Waffenschmiede in den Kaiserlichen Sammlungen,” Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses 9 (Vienna, 1899) p. 398, note 1. Also the note on Nerve by Hans Stöcklein in Thieme-Becker, XXV, p. 392.
FIGURES 40, 41
Rapier signed by Damianus de Nerve, mid-xvi century. Waffensammlung of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, A. 586
FIGURES 42, 43
Details of the decoration on the rapier illustrated in Figure 40

FIGURE 44
Detail of the decoration on the ricasso of the dagger illustrated in Figure 37
FIGURES 45–49
Details of the decoration on the hilt of the rapier illustrated in Figure 40
trees, including palms, and the profuse use of plants of the highly distinctive type described on p. 158 above; the birds perched in some of the trees and plants; the composition of the hunting scenes and the treatment of the huntsmen and animals that appear in them; the presence in the scenes of foxes and hares that look backward as they run, and of lions and elephants with castle howdahs; the Oriental horsemen carrying shields (ad-argaz) of specifically Spanish form; the type of fortified and moated city, including one toward which an Oriental horseman bearing a lance is riding. The most striking of all is the representation on both the ricasso of the Dresden dagger and the pommel of the Vienna rapier of the same fountain surmounted by spouts formed as two intertwined snakes (Figures 43, 44).

In light of the foregoing it cannot be doubted that there was an extremely close connection between de Çaias and de Nerve. Its precise nature can only be conjectured until definite evidence on the subject is discovered, but the most obvious explanation of the similarity between the work of the two artists is that they were master and pupil. In any event, it seems to be virtually certain that de Çaias was the senior of the two and the originator of their style.

Though most of the decoration on the rapier is so close to that on the de Çaias pieces, it differs in that it includes figures wearing burgonetlike helmets, in some cases with classical armor, in the battle and siege scenes and in the one showing Mucius Scaevola (Figure 48). Most of these figures are rendered with more detail and naturalism, and are much closer in style to the mainstream of European Renaissance art, than anything noticed so far in the course of this article; others are little more than matchstick men with their helmeted heads indicated by a single line shaped like a croquet hoop with upturned ends (Figure 49). It would be very satisfactory if the absence or presence of classical figures in damascened decoration of the type under discussion could be regarded as distinguishing the hand of de Çaias from that of de Nerve: unfortunately, there is not a shred of evidence to show that de Nerve always included such figures or that de Çaias never adopted them. None of the remaining pieces known to bear decoration of this kind is either signed or accompanied by documentary evidence that makes a firm attribution to one or the other artist possible, so all must be ascribed, for the time being at least, to a theoretical Çaias/Nerve workshop. They can be divided, for convenience, into three main groups, of which the first two comprise objects decorated in the manner already discussed here in detail, classified according to whether they do (Group II) or do not (Group I) include the new elements noticed on the de Nerve rapier. The third group contains pieces damascened in a style that may reasonably be regarded as having developed from these new elements.

All the pieces known to me that have some claim to being attributed to the Çaias/Nerve workshop are listed in the appendix to this article, and no detailed discussion of them is needed here. A few do, however, supply a little more evidence about the history of the workshop, which must be considered briefly. The relevant details of these are as follows:

**Group I**

1. Sword in the Museum für deutsche Geschichte, Berlin (Figure 50), equipped with a magnificent blade etched with figures representing the Planets and Virtues and signed by Hans Collaert the Elder of Antwerp (about 1540–1581).82

2. The barrel and lock of a gun with an ivory-covered stock, bearing the arms of Philippe de Croy, Duke of Aerschot and Prince of Chimay (1521–1595) in the Metropolitan Museum (Figures 51, 52). The absence of the collar of the Golden Fleece from round the coat-of-arms indicates that it must date from before 1556, when de Croy became a member of the Order, while it is also likely to have been made after 1551, when he succeeded to the family titles. This date agrees very well with that of a closely similar gun, damascened with foliage only, in the Waffensammlung of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (no. D. 71), which bears the arms used by Emperor Maximilian II between 1549 and 1562. The carved decoration on the stocks of the guns is in the Flemish mannerist style of the mid-sixteenth century, and both may, therefore, have

81. See note 73 above.
82. For an account of the blade of the sword see Hermann Warner Williams, Jr., “An Unrecorded Masterpiece by Hans Collaert the Elder,” The Burlington Magazine 70 (1937) pp. 82–87. It was formerly in the collection formed in the nineteenth century by Prince Carl of Prussia.
FIGURE 50
Sword, mid-xvi century. Museum für deutsche Geschichte, Berlin, W. 564
FIGURES 51, 52
Details of the decoration on the barrel of a wheel-lock gun bearing the arms of Philippe de Croy, about 1551–1556. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bashford Dean Memorial Collection, 29.151.1

been produced in the Netherlands, perhaps in Antwerp.83

Group II
1. Rapier, dated 1556, in the Historisches Museum, Dresden (Figures 53–57).84 The only detail of the decoration that justifies the placing of this sword in Group II rather than Group I is a figure of Judith with the head of Holophernes on the pommel (Figure 55). Underneath is the name wvd/itc, a phonetic spelling that suggests a German or Flemish origin.

2. Rapier, dated 1556, in the Waffensammlung of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Figure 58).85

3. Iron purse frame in The Cleveland Museum of Art (Figure 59).86 This is decorated on one face with gold damascening, now so much rubbed that many details are lost. At bottom center are the arms of Este incorporating the device of the Papal gonfalonier.87 On either side are tents, mounted armored knights with lances, and foot soldiers wearing burgonets. Above these are buildings, trees, and animals. The suspension swivel bears the name ALFONSVS/ESTENIS. The combination of the name with the device of gonfalonier in the arms indicates that the frame must have been made for Alfonso II d’Este (1533–1597) after he became Duke of Ferrara in 1559.88 The decoration on this piece does not so obviously belong to the Çaias/Nerve group as those previously discussed. The mounted knights are, however, paralleled on a smaller scale by some on the grip of the Dresden rapier, no. 1 above, and the foot soldiers, with their distinctive burgonets, are like those on the signed de Nerve one. Furthermore, the buildings and trees and the boar that appears at top left are all very similar in treatment to those found in the signed works of de Çaias and de Nerve.

It can be seen from the above that the Çaias/Nerve workshop must have continued to operate until about 1560 or later, and that it was patronized on at least one occasion by the Duke of Ferrara. No record of either

84. Erich Haenel, Kostbare Waffen aus der Dresdner Riickkammer (Leipzig, 1923) pl. 54, b. Haenel fails to note the date and gives the inscription on the pommel incorrectly.
85. The authenticity of this sword has been doubted, but, so far as I can see from a very careful examination, it has no features that are inconsistent with the date on it. Formerly in the Vienna Rothschild collection, it was before that in the possession of the French Comte d’Armaillé. In a note on it by Édouard de Beaumont published in Édouard Lièvre’s Les collections célèbres d’ouvrés d’art (Paris, 1866) pl. 95, it is stated that the sword “a été rapportée quelques années, d’Allemagne, où elle passait pour avoir, avant 1809, époque du passage des Français à Vienne, appartenu à l’Arsenal de cette ville.” Curiously enough, though the engraving accompanying the note shows the sword as it is now, another engraving published in L’Art pour Tous, 6e année (Paris, 1866–1867), no. 178, shows it with a wooden, wire-bound grip.
86. Helen Ives Gilchrist, A Catalogue of the Collection of Arms and Armor presented to the Cleveland Museum of Art by Mr. and Mrs. John Long Severance (Cleveland, 1924) p. 259, no. M. 14.
87. This device was used only by the head of the family. See Pompeo Litta, Famiglie Celebri Italiane, II (Milan, 1825); also Enciclopedia Italiana, XIV (Milan, 1932) pp. 395–398.
88. The style of decoration is too late for it to have belonged to Alfonso I d’Este (1505–1534).
FIGURE 53
Rapier, dated 1556. Historisches Museum, Dresden, E. 58
FIGURE 58 (opposite)
Rapier, dated 1556. Waffensammlung of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, A. 2778

FIGURES 54–57
Details of the decoration on the hilt of the rapier illustrated in Figure 53
de Caia or de Nerve has been traced in the Este archives, which are very full, so it is reasonably safe to assume that neither of them was employed at the Ferrarese court. The only clue to the location of the workshop would seem to be the very slender one provided by the Berlin sword and the Museum's gun with the arms of de Croy. Both, as already noted, have possible Antwerp connections, though the decoration pointing to these could obviously have been produced by artists trained in Antwerp but working elsewhere. There seems, however, to be at least a possibility that de Caia or de Nerve, or both, may have operated in Antwerp in the 1550s. Neither of them can be traced in the

89. They are not mentioned by G. Campori in Gli Artisti Italiani e Stranieri negli Stati Estensi (Modena, 1855), while a search kindly made in the Archivo di Stato di Modena by the Director, Prof. Dr. Filippo Valenti, has produced no information either about them or about the acquisition of the purse frame by Alfonso II.

**Figure 59**
Purse frame of Alfonso II d'Este, about 1560. The Cleveland Museum of Art, gift of Mr. and Mrs. John L. Severance, 16.1550

**Figure 60**
Rapier, mid-xvi century. City Museum and Art Gallery, Glasgow, 11-29 ed
city records, but as these are very incomplete for the sixteenth century, this need not be significant.

We come finally to the third group of objects that can be attributed to the Čaias/Nerve workshop. At present it comprises only two pieces, of which the key one is another rapier in the Historisches Museum, Dresden (Figure 61). The hilt, which is made entirely of iron, is closely similar in basic form to those of all the rapiers discussed in this article, except the Paris one of about 1540, while its pommel, grip, quillons, and side ring are virtually identical in shape to those on the signed de Nerve rapier. The hilt differs chiefly from the one on this last in having a number of additional guards, of which the most prominent are two diagonal bars, one running from the top of the knuckle guard to the base of the rear quillon, and the other from the base of the front quillon to the tip of the rear arm of the hilt. The inclusion of these bars has necessitated placing the knuckle guard and arms of the hilt with their broader faces at right angles to the plane of the blade, instead of being perpendicular to it as in the Paris rapier.

90. I am greatly indebted to Dr. J. Van Roey, City Archivist of Antwerp, for searching the records on my behalf. Though he was unable to discover any reference to either de Čaias or de Nerve, he did produce one piece of interesting information, related to me in a letter of March 9, 1965: "It could be however that the second one, de Nerven, is of Antwerp extraction as we found a Paulus van Nerven, an apprentice-sculptor in the list of members of the St. Luke’s guild in 1497 (‘Lijgeren . . . der Antwerpse Sint Lucasgilde,’ ed. by Ph. Rombouts and Th. van Lerius, I, Antwerp, 1872, p. 53)."

Dr. Helmut Nickel has suggested that DAMIANVS DE NERVE could be interpreted as the perfectly acceptable Flemish name D. van Neerven. He points out that the elements neer and noen mean respectively “low” and “fen or marshy field” in Flemish and are found in a number of place names in the Low Countries. I am greatly indebted to M. Claude Gaier of Liège for the information that a small hamlet called Neerven forms part of the village of Wortel in the canton of Hoogstraten (arrondissement of Turnhout, province of Antwerp) some 40 kilometers northeast of Antwerp. This does not, of course, provide evidence for anything more than the possible origin of the name Nerve. It should perhaps be mentioned that Thieme-Becker records (XXV, pp. 393–394) a painter named Cornelius Nerven (died Amsterdam, 1665) and an architect and sculptor named Cornelius van Nerven (recorded Brussels 1696–1717).

91. Haenel, Kostbare Waffen, pl. 44, a.

FIGURE 61
Rapier, about 1560.
Historisches Museum,
Dresden, E. 612
FIGURES 62, 63
Details of the damascened decoration on the parade armor of Emperor Maximilian II, Paris or Antwerp, 1555–1559. Waffensammlung of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, A. 1400

FIGURE 64
Signature on the ear dagger illustrated in Figure 1
FIGURE 65
Signature on the mace illustrated in Figure 9

FIGURES 66, 67
Signature on the dagger illustrated in Figure 37

FIGURES 68, 69
Signature on the rapier illustrated in Figure 40
of in the same plane as on most of the other swords—an arrangement also found, but without the diagonal bars, on a rapier in the City Museum and Art Gallery, Glasgow, which bears typical Çaias/Nerve decoration (Figure 60).92

The hilt of the Dresden rapier is damascened in gold and silver with an overall design of vine tendrils inhabited by beasts of the chase pursued by huntsmen dressed, in the normal European fashion of about 1560, in doublets, trunk hose, and flat caps. In some places appear lion masks, dolphins, and pairs of birds, resembling bustards, standing face to face. All the decoration is rendered with a naturalism, with an attention to detail, and with a sophistication quite unlike anything on the pieces discussed here so far. Nevertheless, the main overall design and the figures of huntsmen and their quarry are basically similar in character to those found on the work of de Çaias and de Nerve, and their appearance of greater sophistication derives largely from the fact that they are executed with greater technical skill. This, taken with the evidence of the form of the hilt discussed above, would seem to justify the attribution of the rapier to the Çaias/Nerve workshop. The difference in the quality and feeling of the decoration from that found on the earlier pieces could be the result either of natural stylistic development or of the employment of an assistant who had been trained in a more sophisticated school than either de Çaias or de Nerve.

If the attribution of the Dresden rapier is accepted, it would seem to provide evidence in support of a suggestion made a few years ago by Mr. Stephen V. Grancsay that the damascening on the important "Louvre School" embossed armor of Emperor Maximilian II at Vienna might be the work of Diego de Çaias,93 or rather of his workshop. This damascening is confined chiefly to the sunken borders of the armor and consists partly of running foliage, including vine tendrils, and partly of close-set leafy trees, all involving grotesques, satyrs, birds and animals of many kinds, and human figures (Figures 62, 63). This decoration, though more elaborate than that on the sword, is extremely close to it in character and treatment, and includes very similar animals and the same type of male figure clad in trunk hose, doublet, and flat cap. It also includes a man fighting a lion with a spear and another man leading a camel, two subjects that, as we have seen, occur frequently in decoration that can be attributed firmly to de Çaias and de Nerve. The armor dates from the period 1555–1559, so that its damascening cannot be ascribed, as suggested by Mr. Grancsay, unequivocally to Diego de Çaias, but it must be accepted in light of the foregoing that there is a very strong probability that it was executed by him or de Nerve or by their workshop. It can therefore be placed tentatively in our third group.

This is not the place to enter into the controversial problem of the origin of the Maximilian II armor. It is sufficient merely to say that most students are agreed that it was produced either in Paris or in Antwerp.94 An attribution to the latter place would, of course, agree very well with the suggestion made above that the Çaias/Nerve workshop was situated there.

92. The sword was bought by the Glasgow Museum with the Charles C. S. Parsons collection in 1911, it having previously been illustrated by Parsons in an article "The Hilt of the Rapier and its Successors," Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society, n.s. 6, part 1, (1910) pl. I, 3. I am informed by Mr. J. G. Scott, Curator of the Department of Archaeology, Ethnography and History at the Glasgow Museum, that Parsons records that he bought the sword from Robert Forrester of Glasgow and that it was "formerly in the Collection of Baron Hieswick, Et Horn, Holland." This last collection has proved untraceable, and one wonders if Parsons did not really mean that the sword had come from the famous Château de Heeswijk sale held at Bois-le-Duc on July 3 and the following days, 1899. I have not, however, been able to identify it in the catalogue of the sale.

Appendix

List of Objects by, or decorated in the manner of, Diego de Çaias and Damianus de Nerve

(Unaccompanied page numbers refer to this article.)

A. By Diego de Çaias

B. Possibly by Diego de Çaias
   7, 8. Two ear daggers. Museo Nazionale, Bargello, Florence (p. 154).
   12. Quillon dagger of Henry VIII of England. Formerly at Hardres Court, Kent. This dagger was said to have been lost at Hardres Court by Henry VIII after the siege of Boulogne, together with the gates of the town and his portrait. It cannot now be traced, but a very poor sketch of it in one of the notebooks of the eighteenth-century artist George Vertue shows it to have been of almost identical form to no. 18 below. It is possible, therefore, that it was made by de Çaias. Vertue describes it as being set with hardstones in gold and inscribed AUXILIUM A SUPERIS and AUDACES FOR- TUNA JUVAT. See The Vertue Notebooks, V (Walpole Society, London, 1937–1938) p. 9. In a note published in Archaeologia Cantiana 4 (1861) p. 49, when it was in the possession of a Mrs. Taylor of Bifrons, it is described as "of Damascus steel, the handle being of niello, incrusted with jasper, bearing on one side the motto, 'Fortuna audaces iuvat' and on the other, a similar and equally appropriate legend."

C. By Damianus de Nerve

D. By the Çaias/Nerve Workshop
   GROUP I

   17. Barrel of Pistol. Wallace Collection, London (Figure 70). This forms part of a pistol put together, and partly decorated, in the nineteenth century. In addition to bearing characteristic gold and silver damascening, the barrel is chiseled with acanthus foliage and has an applied lion mask of gilt brass. On the underside is stamped an unidentified mark in the form of a double cross.

   18. Quillon dagger. Rothschild Collection, Waddesdon Manor, Berkshire (Figure 71). This retains its
Sheath and by-knife and, in addition to characteristic gold and silver damascened decoration, has a mask chiseled in the center of the side ring and another on the corresponding face of the pommel. See La Collection Spitzer, VI, p. 52, no. 222.


GROUP II


24. Sword stick. Museo Nazionale, Bargello, Florence (Figure 71). A wooden cane, inlaid with staghorn, containing a rapier. The handle is of steel and has the unusual feature of containing a left-hand dagger with folding quillons. The metal parts are damascened in gold and silver with arabesques, while the handle of the stick also bears classical female figures, labeled respectively SPES and FIDES, very similar to those on nos. 13 and 20 above.

GROUP III


E. Possibly by the Çaias/Nerve workshop

27. Wheel-lock gun. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (p. 182). This is not included in Group I because, despite its close resemblance to no. 16 above, the damascened decoration consists only of foliage.


29. Rapier and dagger. Zeughaus, Schwarzburg (now in the Rudolstadt Museum), nos. 312-3. I know these only from the small illustrations published in the Zeitschrift für historische Waffenkunde 4 (1906-1908) p. 344, figs. 312-313, and from the description in C. A. Ossbahr’s Das Fürstliche Zeughaus in Schwarzburg (Rudolstadt, 1895) pp. 15-16. The former show the rapier to have a hilt of almost identical shape to no. 20 above, while Ossbahr states that the hilts of both the rapier and the dagger are covered with damascened arabesques. All letters to the museum at Rudolstadt asking for photographs of, and information about, these pieces have remained unanswered.

30. Casket. The British Museum, Waddesdon Bequest (Figure 73). A small domed casket of iron damascened in gold and silver with landscapes containing figures, in a style reminiscent of the Çaias/Nerve Group.

FIGURE 70


FIGURE 71

Dagger, mid-xvi century. Rothschild Collection, Waddesdon Manor, Berkshire, W1/102/2. By courtesy of the National Trust.

FIGURE 72

Sword stick with left-hand dagger, mid-xvi century. Museo Nazionale, Bargello, Florence.
II pieces, though on a larger scale than the decoration found on the swords.

31. Casket. Museo Poldi-Pezzoli, Milan (Figures 74–76). Almost exactly the same as the last.

32. Casket. Musée Cluny, Paris, no. 14937. Very similar to the last two, but bearing the defaced inscription [ J ] EV MARIA . . . P.

33. Casket similar to the last, but decorated entirely with hunting scenes. Formerly in the collection of Charles Butler. Its present whereabouts are unknown, but it is described and illustrated in the catalogue of the Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition of Chased and Embossed Steel and Iron Work of European Origin (London, 1900) p. 27, no. 9, and pl. xxiv, fig. 3.

34. Rapier. Musée de l’Armée, Paris, no. J. 84. This rapier has a form of hilt that suggests a date of about 1570. It is entirely damascened in gold and silver with strapwork, quatrefoils, and scrolling foliage, inhabited by animals and horsemen that are not far removed in style from those on de Çaias’s earliest work. The treatment of the figures is so naïve, however, that it would be unwise, especially in view of the late date of the piece, to attribute it firmly to the Çaias/Nerve workshop.

35. Rapier. Formerly in the Zschille collection. I know this only from the description and illustrations in R. Forrer’s Die Waffensammlung des Herrn Stadtrath Rich. Zschille in Grossenhain (Sachsen) (Berlin, n.d. [1894]) no. 342, pls. 127, 136. It appears to be contemporary with no. 34 above and to have similar damascened decoration, though the hilt form is different.

36. Parade shield. Collection of Mr. Joe Kindig, Jr., York, Pennsylvania. A circular iron shield, dating from the third quarter of the sixteenth century, damascened in gold and silver with strapwork and foliage inhabited by grotesque birds, framing panels of arabesque scrollwork, trophies of arms, griffinlike monsters, and scenes with buildings. In a few instances these last include figures—classical horsemen, hounds, stags, and a wyvern—that appear to have stylistic affinities with those found on pieces listed under D, Group II above. The shield was formerly in the Zschille collection and is described and illustrated by Forrer, Waffensammlung des Herrn Stadtrath Rich. Zschille, no. 681, pl. 177.

37. Comb-morion. Musée Cluny, Paris. Decorated in a manner similar to the last. Each face of the comb is taken up with a landscape scene containing animals of the same type.

The following pieces have also been ascribed to either de Çaias or de Nerve, but, in my opinion, they are unlikely to have any connection with either:

1. Rapier bearing on the hilt monograms alleged to be formed of the letters D.C. (for Diego de Çaias) in the Historisches Museum, Dresden. Haenel, Kostbare Waffen, pl. 55, b.

2. Ear dagger. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 32.75.99.

3. Sword. Musée de l’Armée, Paris, no. J. 883. I was unable to identify a sword in the Hermitage, Leningrad, mentioned by Stöcklein (Thieme-Becker, XXV, p. 392) when I visited the collection a few years ago.

**Figure 73**
Casket, mid-xvi century. The British Museum, Waddesdon Bequest, 17. By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum
FIGURES 74–76
Casket, mid-xvi century. Museo Poldi-Pezzoli, Milan, 557
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