

# The Wilton “Montmorency” Armor: An Italian Armor for Henry VIII

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## PART I. THE WILTON CONTROVERSY

On July 5–10, 1917, Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge of London held a major sale of works of art from Wilton House, near Salisbury, Wiltshire, the ancient home of the Herberts, earls of Pembroke (Figure 1). Among the pieces offered on the last day were two armors (lots 540 and 541) said to have belonged to two eminent French noblemen who had been taken prisoner at the Battle of Saint-Quentin on August 10, 1557, which ended a campaign during which William Herbert (ca. 1507–1570), first earl of Pembroke of the second creation, had led the English contingent. The noblemen in question were Anne de Montmorency (1493–1567), constable of France, and Louis de Bourbon (1513–1582), duc de Montpensier. The armor ascribed to the former, which is the subject of this article, is now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figures 2, 3).<sup>1</sup>

On the evening of Friday, July 6, four days before the armors were to be sold, a letter from C. J. ffoulkes, then curator of the Armouries at the Tower of London, was published in the July issue of the *Burlington Magazine*, in which he put forward alleged evidence for the view that “there can be no question but that the so-called ‘Anne de Montmorency’ armour is of much later date than 1557” and “the other armour . . . might be as early as 1560–70, but . . . the close helmet is of the type that was in vogue at the end of the century.”<sup>2</sup> The timing of this could not, of course, have been worse from the point of view of the sale, and the owner of the armors, the earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, did his best to limit the damage by publishing a letter in the advertisement columns of the *Times*, *Morning Post*, and *Daily Telegraph*, in which he sought to refute ffoulkes’s arguments. It ended with the not unjustified complaint that “in the view of all reasonable persons, it must be most unsatisfactory that statements of this kind attempting to throw doubt on the

hitherto admitted authenticity of great works of art of world wide interest should be made on such insubstantial evidence as in the present case; and, further, that they should be made in this way at the last minute, when practically no time is left for reply.” The letter did not appear until the very day of the sale: unsurprisingly, therefore, the armors did not reach their reserves and were bought in.<sup>3</sup>

ffoulkes’s letter in the *Burlington Magazine* produced a batch of correspondence, which, with it, was eventually reprinted in 1918 by Sotheby’s, accompanied by other relevant material, in a privately circulated volume entitled *The Wilton Suits: A Controversy*.<sup>4</sup> The contributions to this contain much of interest, but nothing positive about the central problems of the date of the armors and the identity of their original owners. In 1929 the “Montmorency” armor was bought privately by Clarence H. Mackay, from whom it was acquired by the Museum in 1932.<sup>5</sup>

In 1931 C. R. Beard drew attention to a manuscript in the British Museum containing an account of a visit made in 1635 to Wilton House by a lieutenant of the Norwich Train Bands, which includes a description of the armory there.<sup>6</sup> It does not refer to any armors belonging to Montmorency or Montpensier, and the only allusion to Saint-Quentin it contains is in connection with the armor of Lord William Herbert “who wonne the Towne of S<sup>t</sup> Quintin in France, w<sup>ch</sup> was his Raysing.” It does, however, mention “Hen: 8<sup>th</sup> and K. Edw. the 6<sup>th</sup> their Armes” and “K. Hen: 8<sup>th</sup> Armour Bearers Armes richlie gilt.”<sup>7</sup> In 1941 F. H. Cripps-Day drew attention to the fact that the antiquary John Aubrey (1626–1697), in a description of the Wilton armory in his *Natural History of Wiltshire*, also mentions the “rich gilt and engraved armour of Henry VIII” and the “like rich armour of King Edward VI” but does not refer to either Montmorency or Montpensier. He also pointed out that Aubrey commented about the armory in general that the “collection was not only great but the manner of obtaining it was much

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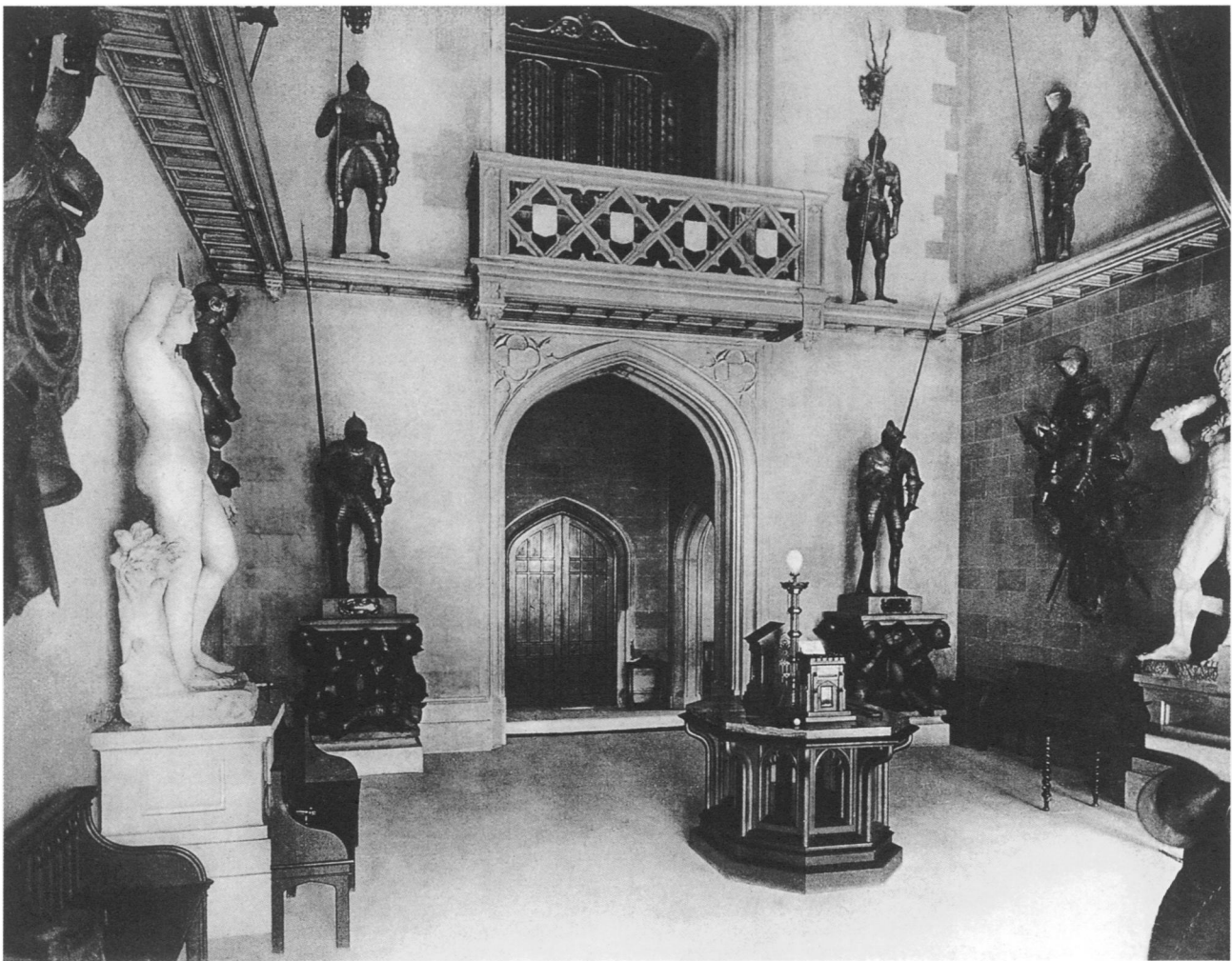


Figure 1. The Pembroke armory at Wilton House, ca. 1900, with the reputed “Montpensier” and “Montmorency” armors to the left and right of the door (photo: after *Connoisseur* 28 [December 1910], p. 248)

greater; which was by a victory at the battle of St. Quentin’s.”<sup>8</sup>

The final nail in the coffin of the Montmorency/Montpensier story came with the discovery in 1955, in a private collection, of an inventory of the contents of Wilton House, including the armory, dated December 8, 1558, that is, little more than a year after the Saint-Quentin campaign.<sup>9</sup> No armors connected with the campaign are mentioned, but “a felde armo<sup>r</sup> graven and gilte that was Kinge Henry theightes” and “a little armo<sup>r</sup> p[ar]cell gilte that was Kinge Edwards w<sup>th</sup> the furniture” are.<sup>10</sup> In an article published in 1964, the late J. F. Hayward identified the first of these with the “Montmorency” armor on the grounds both that it is the “only completely graven and gilt field armour” of the right period known to have been in the Wilton armory and that its “huge proportions and admirable quality” are consistent with it having belonged to King Henry.<sup>11</sup> The identification has not been universally

accepted, but recently discovered evidence, discussed below, leaves no doubt that it is correct.

#### *The Royal Inventories*

The Metropolitan Museum’s armor is discussed in detail later in this article, but it is relevant to mention six points about it here: first, it is a three-quarter field armor, extending only to the knees, of the type called an anime, that is, with a cuirass constructed of horizontal overlapping lames;<sup>12</sup> second, a pierced post at the top of the breast indicates that, as was normal for an armor of this kind, it was originally accompanied by a detachable solid reinforcing-breastplate (placard); third, its surface is heat-blackened; fourth, its decoration consists mainly of etched and gilt borders to the plates; fifth, its general style indicates that it is Italian in origin; and, finally, the surviving fragments of the original textile borders (piccadills) are colored



Figure 2. The Wilton armor, here identified as having been made for Henry VIII, king of England, and attributed to Italy, ca. 1544. Steel, blackened, etched, and gilt. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1932 (32.130.7). See also Colorplate 3

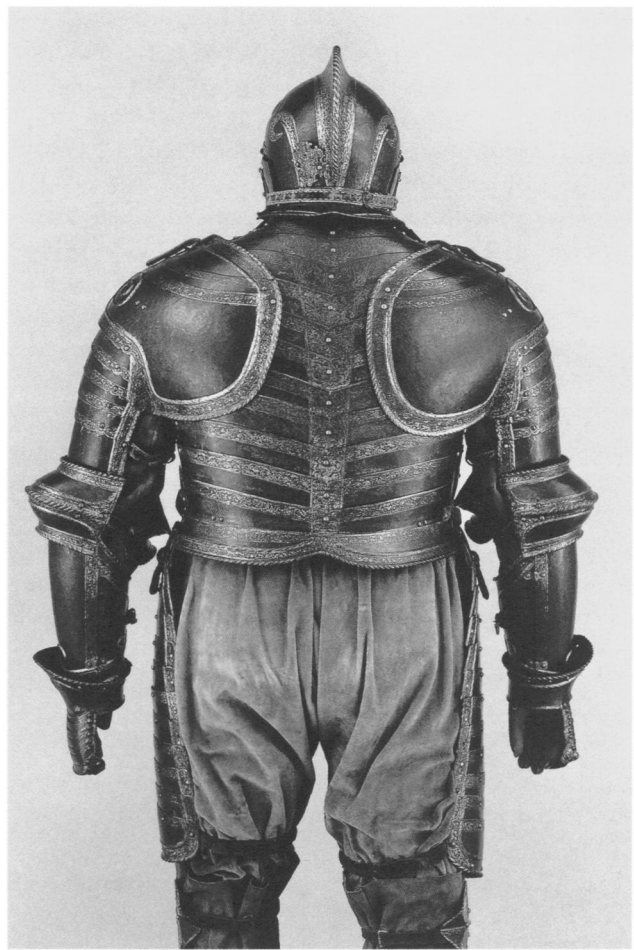


Figure 3. Back of the Wilton armor

red and yellow. It can also be mentioned that, although John Hayward dated it to about 1535 in his article on the Wilton inventory, its general style suggests that this is too early by as much as a decade.

Hayward did not attempt to identify the “felde armour graven and gylte that was Kinge Henry theightes” of the 1558 Wilton inventory with the royal harnesses mentioned in the great inventory of Henry VIII’s possessions drawn up after his death in 1547. In fact, the description in the latter of a harness in the Armoury at Greenwich Palace does fit the Wilton armor very well, except in a single respect: “First one Complete harnessse of Italion makinge with Lambes blacke and parcell guilte for the feilde lackinge greues and Sabbetters.”<sup>13</sup> Here we have a three-quarter field armor—that is, without plates below the knees (“greues and Sabbetters”)—constructed with lames, blackened and partly gilt, and Italian in origin, the only armor described as such in the whole inventory.

The one thing missing to make it fit perfectly with the Wilton armor is any reference to it being not only partly gilt but also partly etched (“graven” in sixteenth-century terminology). This missing detail is provided in the description of the same armor in an inventory of the English Royal Armouries dated August 10, 1555, recently discovered in the marquess of Bath’s archives at Longleat: “One. ffelde harnesse blacke graven w<sup>t</sup> lambes and guilte w<sup>t</sup> a placard ij paier of vambraces. A stele Saddle parcell guilte couered the halfe w<sup>t</sup> clothe of golde and thother halfe w<sup>t</sup> clothe of silver w<sup>t</sup> a Crinit and Shafron p[ar]cell guilte and a bitte.”<sup>14</sup> This inventory reveals that since the old king’s death in 1547 a general rearrangement and tidying up had taken place in the Armouries, which had involved, among other things, the reuniting of armors with pieces that had become detached from them. This had included mounting the armor under discussion on a horse, which itself wore armored neck and head defenses (“Crinit and Shafron”) and a saddle reinforced with steel plate. It is uncertain whether or not any of these actually went with the man’s armor since they are not described as being black as well as partly gilt. On the other hand, the placard and the additional pair of arm defenses (“vambraces”) clearly did belong to it. The former apparently is no longer extant, but the latter must be the pair of vambraces with closely similar, though not quite identical, decoration to the Wilton armor, discussed below (pp. 117–20), which are still in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle. The vambraces can be traced back to 1611 in the inventories of the Royal Armouries, where they are described as having belonged to Henry VIII.<sup>15</sup> The evidence provided by their existence there, taken in conjunction with that we have already put forward, leaves no doubt that the Wilton armor and the Italian field armor “with lames” of the 1547 and 1555 inventories are one and the same.

As will be discussed below (p. 106), the royal provenance established by these inventories is supported by the armor itself, thanks to the recent realization that the rosette-shaped heads of the brass studs on the shoulders of the backplate are in fact Tudor roses. It should also be pointed out that the measurements of the Wilton armor are generally consistent with those on an armor bearing Henry’s monogram and the date 1540 made for him in the Almain Armoury, his court workshop at Greenwich Palace (Figure 4).<sup>16</sup>

The next extant inventory of the Royal Armouries after that of 1555 dates from 1561. Addressed to Queen Elizabeth I, it records not only the Armouries’ current state but also “the Receipts and Deliveryes of Armour ffrom the Death of . . . King Henry the Eighth . . . vnto the Last day of December 1561.”<sup>17</sup> It



Figure 4. Armor of Henry VIII, English (Greenwich), dated 1540. Royal Armouries, Leeds, 11.8 (photo: The Trustees of the Armouries)

is much less detailed than the earlier inventories, and many of the entries are merely totals of armors of given types. It does, however, briefly describe a tiny handful of the more important armors, none of which can be identified with the armor under discussion here. Included in a list of pieces that had been issued to various nobles and gentlemen, however, is “A harnesse for y<sup>e</sup> body of y<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ts</sup> father King Henry y<sup>e</sup> Eighte,” recorded as being in the possession of a Sir Roger Vaughan.<sup>18</sup> Since this is the only sixteenth-century record so far noted of one of Henry’s personal armors being issued from the Royal Armouries to an individual,<sup>19</sup> there is a *prima facie* case for think-



ing that it must refer to the armor under discussion. Identification of Roger Vaughan confirms that it does.

Sir Roger Vaughan (died 1571) of Porthaml, Talgarth, Breconshire, Wales, was a minor figure with important connections. The eldest son of Sir William Vaughan of Porthaml, whom he succeeded in 1546, he married first, Catherine, daughter of Sir George Herbert of Swansea, Glamorganshire, and, second, Eleanor, daughter of Henry, second earl of Worcester. His first wife's father was the elder brother of Sir William Herbert, later first earl of Pembroke, whose armory is, of course, the subject of the 1558 Wilton inventory. According to the historian G. T. Bindoff, Vaughan was left on his father's death "to maintain the family's progress" and "was helped to do so by his marriage to a niece of William Herbert, 1st Earl of Pembroke." He may have served under Herbert against the western rebels in 1549, and he was probably knighted in October 1551 on the occasion of the latter's elevation to the peerage as earl of Pembroke, while in 1557 he commanded 250 men in the French campaign under Herbert.<sup>20</sup>

Vaughan is clearly an unlikely candidate for the honor of receiving the gift of one of Henry VIII's personal armors, which could only have come from one of the monarchs, without doubt Philip or Mary, who ruled jointly, since Elizabeth I did not succeed them until November 17, 1558, only twenty-three days before the Wilton House inventory was completed. Herbert, on the other hand, was one of the leading figures at the Tudor court. He was esquire of the body to Henry from 1526, a gentleman of his Privy Chamber, his brother-in-law through the sister of his last queen, Catherine Parr, an executor of his will, a member of Edward VI's Privy Council and his master of horse, governor of Calais under Mary Tudor, an intimate of her husband and joint monarch, Philip II of Spain, and, of course, captain-general of the English contingent at Saint-Quentin.<sup>21</sup> The obvious conclusion to be drawn, we suggest, is that the armor credited to Vaughan in the 1561 inventory was, in fact, the one later at Wilton, which had been given to Herbert, and that Vaughan's involvement with it was merely that of Herbert's agent. In short, he was the person who signed for it in the Armouries when it was collected.

#### *The French Campaign of 1544*

King Henry had a first-class armor workshop of his own—now usually referred to as the Greenwich workshops, but at the time called the Almain Armoury because it was originally staffed by Almain, that is, Germans—operating at Greenwich Palace since 1515,

and there is therefore no obvious reason why, so late in his reign, he should have wanted to go abroad for a personal armor which, though of fine quality, has nothing remarkable about it. The possibility therefore arises of there being some special reason for his having acquired an Italian armor in the early 1540s. It is not difficult to find one.

As early as 1542 the king had begun to plan a joint invasion of France with the emperor Charles V. This was originally intended to take place in 1543, but it was not until 1544 that, in the words of Sir Charles Oman, "Inspired by belated ambition, though his health was failing, and he could barely drag his corpulent body on to the saddle of his war-horse, Henry determined to direct a great invasion himself, more effectively than his first adventure of 1513, and crossed the narrow seas at the head of such a completely equipped army as had never before landed at Calais." It "started as a very ambitious project, the 'Enterprise of Paris,' a plan for crushing France in conjunction with the armies of the Emperor Charles, led by Charles himself, and which dwindled down into the siege of two isolated fortresses only a few miles within the French frontier."<sup>22</sup> The two fortresses in question were Montreuil and Boulogne, and it was at the second, and more important, of these that Henry was to take personal command.

The Enterprise of Paris was not only Henry's last personal campaign but it was also the first occasion since 1513—when he led another invasion of France—that he had had occasion actually to wear armor in the field.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, the last previous date on which he is known to have worn armor of any kind is at a tournament in 1540, probably the May Day jousts, though he is not recorded as having jousted himself. He is last known to have done this in January 1536 at Greenwich, when he suffered a very serious fall from his horse. After this his health deteriorated to the extent that his activities were eventually permanently restricted, particularly by ulcerous legs, and because of lack of exercise, he grew increasingly obese (Figure 5). General concern was felt about his fitness to take part in the French campaign—the emperor was even advised that he would be a liability—but he insisted on going, despite the fact that his departure was delayed because of a deterioration in the condition of his legs. In the following year he was ill enough to be incapacitated several times and eventually began to require a special chair with shafts in which he was carried from room to room and a mechanical device to get him upstairs.<sup>24</sup>

Three conclusions emerge from all this. First, Henry would have required a field armor for the campaign, suitable for use by a commander both on



Figure 5. Cornelis Massys (Netherlandish, 1510/11–1556/7). *Henry VIII*, 1544. Engraving, second state, dated 1548. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1922 (22.42.6)

horseback and (since it involved a siege) on foot;<sup>25</sup> second, in view of the four years that had elapsed since he is last known to have worn armor—to say nothing of the thirty-one since he had last worn it in the field—none of his existing armors still fitted him, a fact established by the numerous references to the enlarging of his clothing, including several arming-doublets and pairs of arming-hose (for wear under armor), in the volume of accounts for his Great Wardrobe for the period beginning and ending on September 29, 1543 and 1544, respectively;<sup>26</sup> and, third, given the increasingly precarious state of his health in and after 1544, the complete absence of evidence for his having worn armor during the remaining two and a half years of his life suggests that he is very unlikely to have done so.<sup>27</sup> It also seems unlikely to us that anyone knowing the king's physical condition would have presented him an armor at this late stage of life. In any event, we know of no record of Henry having been given an armor in these years.<sup>28</sup>

We may speculate that Henry's first reaction to the realization that he would need a field armor for the

campaign was to give instructions for one of his old garnitures—from which it was possible to produce armors both for the field and the tilt—to be enlarged to fit him, since the 1547 inventory of his possessions contains the following entry: "Item one harnesse for the kinges Majestie all grauen and parcell guilte bothe for the felde and Tilt complete which was commaunded to be translated [i.e., altered] at the kinges goinge ouer to Bulloigne whiche lieth in peces parte translated and parte vntranslated by A contrarie comaundement by the kinges Majestie."<sup>29</sup>

The king's reason for changing his mind about the alteration of the garniture is unknown, though a likely one is obviously that he decided, or was persuaded, that it was not going to be satisfactory. Whatever it was, it can reasonably be assumed that one of its results was that he ordered two new field armors to be made for him in his Almain Armoury at Greenwich. We know about these from one of the very few surviving accounts of the Armoury, produced during the period April 1544 to April 1545, which, of course, included all the events surrounding the "Enterprise of Paris." Submitted by Erasmus Kirkener, then master workman, it does not include any payments for making armor but is concerned mainly with various ancillary charges, including those for "graveing" (i.e., etching or engraving), gilding, and burnishing armor and some arms for the king and for making and fitting linings to armor.<sup>30</sup> The account starts with the charges for the etching and gilding of two complete armors—one "made with Skalles [scales]" and each with two helmets—and for gilding four steel saddles and a horse armor ("barbe"). The armors are respectively described as a "harnysh made for the Kynges M[a]iestes boddy," and a "harnysh made with Skalles for the Kynges maieste": clearly, therefore, they were for Henry's personal use and were not old armors being refurbished but had been made recently in the Almain workshop. No mention is made in the accounts of extra pieces for the tournament, so they must have been for the field, with, as was common, a close helmet and a burgonet with a separate face defense (bufe) for alternative use. There can be no doubt, therefore, that they were made for Henry to use in France.<sup>31</sup>

We can now turn to the probable source of the Metropolitan's armor. On April 16, 1544, Francis Albert "Millonour" (that is, Milanese), "the King's servant," was given license by Henry to import a whole range of precious objects into the country for sale, including jewelry, gemstones, goldsmith's work, tapestries, clothing and other textiles, and "all manner of harness of what making soever they be . . . provided that they are first brought to the King to have the first

choice and sight of them.”<sup>32</sup> The king at this precise date was, as we have seen, furnishing himself with new armors (his Almaines at Greenwich had probably only just started making those referred to previously). He had, as is well known, been a great patron in his heyday of Italian artists and craftsmen of all kinds, including Milanese armorers,<sup>33</sup> and Francis Albert<sup>34</sup> is the only purveyor of Italian armor recorded at the English court at the time: an obvious conclusion, therefore, is that it was he who supplied the Metropolitan’s armor, which was, of course, of exactly the right type for Henry’s immediate campaigning needs. Two pieces of evidence support this conclusion. The fact that the armor is described as “of Italion making” in the 1547 inventory (the only one in the whole inventory to be ascribed to any country) can only mean that it was a recent enough acquisition for the compiler of that part of the inventory to have personal knowledge of its origins, while the colors of the remaining fragments of its textile trimmings (piccadills), red and yellow, are those of the new livery with which the king equipped all but a handful of the two thousand guards and courtiers who formed his personal entourage for the French campaign.<sup>35</sup>

The king, therefore, appears to have taken three armors to France with him. There is nothing surprising in this. Even in an age when the display of princely magnificence was the order of the day he was noted for his extravagance, and he would have acquired as many armors as took his fancy, whether he required them for practical purposes or not.

One thing about which we can only speculate is how Francis Albert would have set about supplying an armor of at least approximately the right size to fit Henry. No direct records of any previous dealings with Henry have been found, but the fact that Albert is described as “the King’s servant” in the license cited above indicates that he must have had some.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, we know that he had had connections with the court since at least as early as June 1, 1537, when he is recorded—as “Albert the milliner”—as supplying Thomas Cromwell, then chancellor of the exchequer and king’s secretary, with a cape and two girdles. A similar transaction is recorded in the following year, while he is further mentioned in the proceedings of the Privy Council on September 18 and 19 and December 3, 1540. The last of these is of particular interest in that it records “A proclamac[i]on . . . was proclaymed w<sup>t</sup> trumpet, that whosoever had or shuld have by any meanes any of the money, jueles, or gooddes of one Albert spoyled & taken awaye of late from the sayde Albert at the burning of his tent at the Courte Gate, shuld bring & restore agayn the same before xij<sup>th</sup>. daye thenne next folowyng . . . upon peyn

for keping of the same . . . to be taken for felonnes.”<sup>37</sup> Modern works record two Court Gates at Tudor royal palaces, respectively at Richmond and Whitehall (London). Whitehall Palace was Henry’s principal seat at the time, so it is likely that it was there that Albert set up his tent.<sup>38</sup>

It is clear from all this that there would have been ample opportunity for Albert to obtain the royal measurements, or even some items of Henry’s clothing, to send or take to Milan for the guidance of the armorers.<sup>39</sup> Likewise, since he was in the business of importing goods from Italy, there would have been no problem about having the armor delivered to Henry.

We have already mentioned that William Herbert was esquire of the body to Henry from 1526 apparently until his death. On July 25, 1544, when “the King armed at all pieces upon a great courser” left Calais with his entourage to go to Boulogne, riding immediately in front of him was “the lord Harberde [Herbert] bearing the King’s head piece and spear.”<sup>40</sup> As this marked the beginning of Henry’s last personal campaign, it must also have been the last time that Herbert was required to act as his esquire in anything other than a symbolic way. Since the armor under discussion here may well have been the one the king wore on that occasion, could this be the reason why Herbert wanted to acquire it after his death?

## PART II. THE ARMOR IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM

Since its acquisition in 1932 the Wilton armor has been on permanent view in the Metropolitan’s Arms and Armor Galleries, where, until very recently, it was confidently identified as a French harness made about 1555 for Anne de Montmorency, constable of France. Curiously, for an important historical armor that is one of the finest and most imposing in the collection, it figures in few publications and has never been described in detail.<sup>41</sup>

### *Construction*

The armor comprises fourteen separate elements: an open-faced helmet of the type known as a burgonet, which is closed by a removable face defense, the buffe; the cuirass, consisting of a breastplate and backplate constructed of a series of articulated horizontal plates, a type known as an anime; long upper-thigh defenses (tassets), each divisible into two sections of six (the tassets proper) and five lames (the tasset extensions) respectively, suspended from the skirt lame of the breastplate; complete arms, each comprising defenses

Figure 6. Burgonet of the  
Wilton armor



Figure 7. Burgonet with buffe of the Wilton  
armor





Figure 8. Breastplate of the Wilton armor

for the shoulder (pauldron) and upper arm (upper vambrace), elbow (couter), and lower arm (lower vambrace); gauntlets; and short thigh defenses (cuisses) with attached knee plates (poleyns). As each poleyn ends in a long pointed lame with a roped edge and lacks the usual holes for the attachment of a greave, it would appear that defenses for the lower legs were never intended. The armor weighs a total of 50 lbs. 8 oz. (23 kg).<sup>42</sup>

The burgonet is constructed of a one-piece bowl with two upward-overlapping collar lames riveted at the back and two cheekpieces of a single plate each hinged at the sides (Figures 6, 7). The bowl has a tall comb rising two inches in height, with a boldly roped edge and shallow raised ridges along its base, and projects at the front with an acutely pointed brim, or

peak, with a roped edge. Of the two rear collar lames, the upper one is riveted to the base of the bowl and the lower one is attached to the upper by sliding rivets that give it slight flexibility. The cheekpieces are stepped down at the front to fit under the edge of the peak and have a roped bottom edge at the back that continues the line of the lower rear collar lame. Each cheek is pierced in the center with a circular arrangement of eight holes around a single one to facilitate hearing, and each carries a looplike staple, gilt, by which the buffe is attached. The bottom front edge of each cheekpiece ends abruptly, indicating the loss of two or three small lames of diminishing size that originally continued beneath the chin where the cheekpieces were tied; these lames are replaced today by modern leather tabs. Domed lining rivets encircle the



Figure 9. Inside of the breastplate in Figure 8, showing the articulating leathers and sliding rivets

bowl at the front and secure fragments of a leather strap inside; a corresponding row of blind lining rivets are at the back of the bowl at the nape. A plume-holder covered with an elaborately shaped escutcheon is riveted at the back of the bowl to the left of the comb.

The buffe, which has an acutely pointed profile and a pronounced medial ridge, consists of a chin plate, with two wide downward-overlapping faceplates above and two narrow upward-overlapping collar lames below (Figure 7). The faceplates are supported on the right side by spring-pins, their heads shaped like a figure eight, which, when depressed, allow the plates to drop down so as to increase the wearer's sight and ventilation. The upper faceplate has a roped edge and is embossed below with a bowed section pierced with slotted breaths. The lower collar plate has a turned and roped bottom edge and a raised roped ridge along the top edge. The buffe attaches to the burgonet by means of a pivot-hook on each side of the chin plate that passes through the corresponding staple on the cheekpiece, as well as by straps, also riveted to the chin plate, that encircle the bowl and buckle at the back. Portions of the original leather lining straps are riveted inside the chin plate across the upper and lower edges and down the sides.

The cuirass, which is made in one with the gorget (collar), as is typical of many armors, is joined at the neck, shoulders, and waist. The top front collar lame



Figure 10. Left side of the breastplate in Figure 8, showing the crude trimming of the edges



Figure 11. Detail of the brass stud formed as a Tudor rose on the right shoulder of the backplate of the Wilton armor



Figure 12. Tassets and tasset extensions of the Wilton armor

(modern) is pierced on each side with a hole that fits over a pierced stud on the rear collar lame, the closure secured by a pivoting hook of gilt brass (modern) set behind each stud. The third lame of the breastplate from the top is pierced at each shoulder with a key-hole slot that fits over a stud on the corresponding lame of the backplate. Straps are riveted to the bottom lame of the backplate at each side and buckle in front. Judging from the presence of vacant rivet holes beneath the arm openings, the cuirass appears to have originally been closed by lateral straps as well.<sup>43</sup>

The breastplate (Figure 8), which has a shallow arched profile and a low medial ridge, consists today of twelve upward-overlapping horizontal lames (including those for the collar), with one gusset lame at each armhole and a single skirt (fauld) lame. The profiles of the upper three lames are concave, whereas those below are of flattened V-shape with a shallow notch in the center. The top collar lame and the eleventh plate from the top (second from the bottom) are modern replacements made in 1963 by Leonard Heinrich, the Metropolitan Museum's armorer, who incised his name and the date inside. The upper two lames are articulated to the third lame by straps, whereas the lames below are articulated by sliding rivets in the center and by straps at the sides (Figure 9).

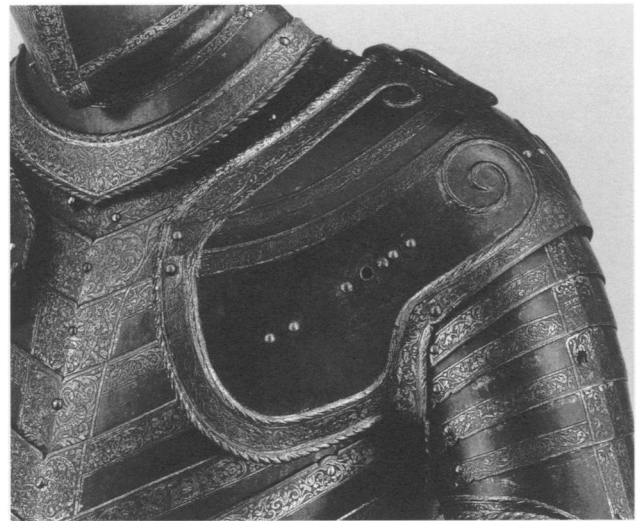


Figure 13. Left pauldron of the Wilton armor

The straps connecting plates three through nine on the right side and plates three through eight on the left side are of old dark leather, whereas the pale buff leather straps below these are replacements added in 1963. The gusset lames are attached by sliding rivets to the third and ninth lames and are further articulated by short transverse straps riveted to the adjacent side leathers; of these, the right one, now broken, appears to be the older of the two. On the third lame of the breastplate, set slightly to the right of center, is a large pierced stud for the attachment of a reinforcing breastplate (placard). A small circular hole to the right of center in the bottommost lame originally may have held a stud that served either to secure the reinforcing breastplate at its base or to prevent the waist belt from riding up. The sides of the breastplate, particularly toward the bottom, have been deeply and rather crudely trimmed (Figure 10). The skirt lame is attached to the flange of the breastplate by a single rivet at either side. Arched and roped in the center, it carries on each side three straps for attaching the tassels; it too has been cut along the back edges, resulting in the partial loss of the etched border. The present method of attachment of this lame to the breastplate is modern: rivet holes on each side of the breastplate flange and three pairs of holes on each side of the skirt lame indicate that it was originally

articulated to the breastplate by means of three leather straps on each side. The present misalignment of the rivet holes and the greater width of the skirt lame in comparison to the breastplate suggest that at least one skirt lame above it has been removed or lost.

The backplate, which is shaped over the shoulder blades and down the spine, is constructed of thirteen upward-overlapping lames (including those for the collar) and a single culet lame over the buttocks (Figure 3). The lames of the backplate are articulated by sliding rivets down the center and by straps at the sides, as on the breastplate. The present straps are modern buff leather replacements added in 1963. The third lame from the top is abruptly cut at the front over each shoulder, at which points are riveted short extension plates, each fitted with a brass stud that fits into the key-hole-slot in the corresponding lame of the breastplate. The studs, now somewhat flattened, have stamped heads shaped like Tudor roses (Figure 11), a detail not previously observed. Riveted to the same third lame at each shoulder is a steel buckle (modern) to which the pauldron is strapped. The culet lame is attached to the flange of the backplate by a single rivet at each side. Like the breastplate and its skirt lame, the sides of the backplate and culet have been trimmed.

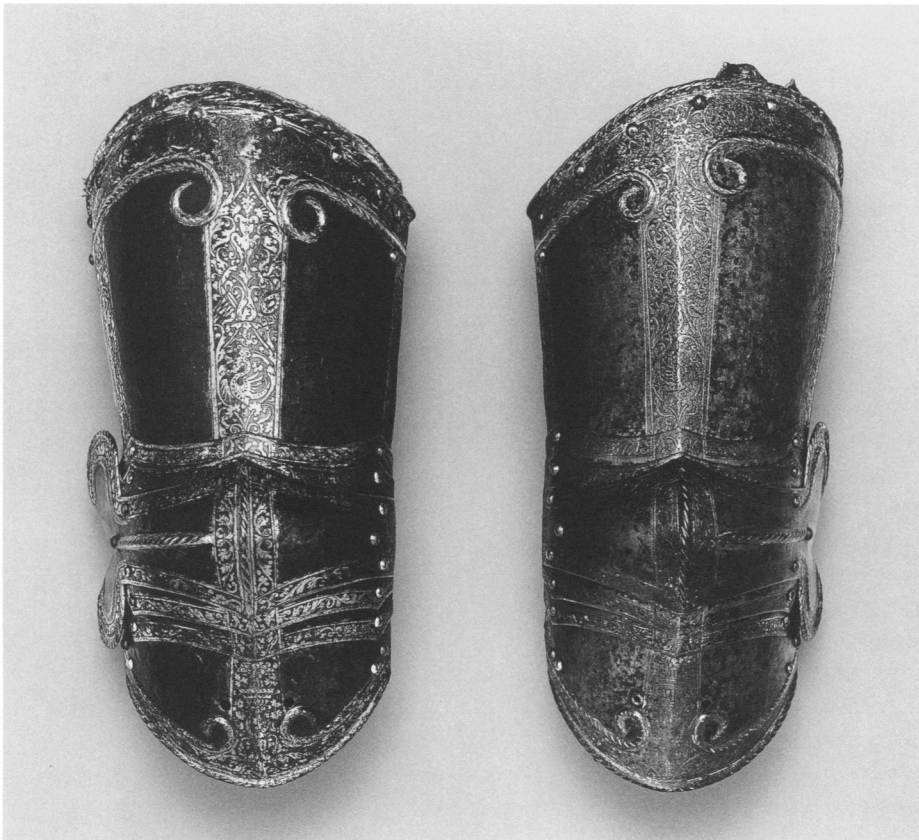


Figure 14. Cuisses with poleyns of the Wilton armor





Figure 15. Detail of the lacing tab inside the right cuise in Figure 14

The tassets are constructed in two sections, the tassets proper of six lames each and the tasset extensions of five lames (Figure 12); they are similarly articulated with modern buff leather straps down the inner side and center and with sliding rivets along the outer side. Each section is strongly curved to fit around the leg and has a low medial ridge. Portions of the lining straps, of both textile and leather, are preserved beneath some of the rivets around the edges, as are fragments of unlined gold velvet piccadills, but these appear to be later additions. Three buckles riveted to the top lame of each tasset engage the corresponding straps on the skirt. The bottom lame of each tasset and tasset extension is similarly finished with a roped edge and, above it, roped ridges terminating in scrolls at the center. The two sections attach by means of key-hole slots in the top lame of the extension passing over turning pins on the last lame of the tasset. Straps riveted at the sides of the bottom lame of each tasset extension buckle around the back of the leg.

The arms are constructed of pauldrons and upper vambraces joined as one without a turning joint, large one-piece couters almost encircling the elbow, and lower vambraces of two hinged plates each, the three sections connected by internal leather straps above and below the couter. Each pauldron consists of eight lames comprising a large main plate extending from the middle of the chest over the shoulder blades at the back, with two narrow upward-overlapping lames above and five downward-overlapping lames below, the lowest one (serving as the upper vambrace) being longer than the others and shaped around the inner bend of the elbow. This last lame has been crudely cut along the bottom edge. The top three pauldron lames

are articulated to one another by straps at the front, center, and back, while the lower five lames are articulated by straps at the front and center and by sliding rivets at the back. A low medial ridge extends down the center of each pauldron on the outside. The pauldrons are asymmetrical, the front wing of the right one being narrower than the left and shaped around the armpit to allow for the passage of a couched lance. The left pauldron (Figure 13) is pierced in the center of the main plate at the front with a large circular hole behind which is riveted a small plate with corresponding threaded hole intended to receive the screw securing a pauldron reinforce; a small turning pin on the third lame below this, set just in front of the medial ridge, was intended to secure the outer edge of the same reinforce. The couters, which extend three-quarters around the joint, are large and three-dimensional, having flaring wings that sharply contract over the inner bend and a pronounced boss over the point of the elbow; across the center of each is a boldly roped transverse rib framed on either side by a low roped ridge. The edges of the couters are roped and are followed by parallel roped ridges. The two halves of the lower vambraces are attached by two external brass hinges (modern) on the outside and are closed by a strap and buckle on the inside.

Each gauntlet consists of a short pointed cuff encircling the wrist and riveted closed at the back, six narrow metacarpal lames, a transverse knuckle lame with a raised roped rib, and a narrow scalloped finger lame; the thumb and finger lames are missing. The edges of the cuffs are roped, and each has a raised, roped, and gilt boss of elliptical shape over the ulna. Two rivet holes on the inside of the hand along the lower edge of the cuff served to attach the missing thumb. The right cuff retains most of its original steel lining rivets with domed gilt heads and preserves a fragment of the original textile border of projecting tabs, or piccadills, beneath one of the lining washers on the inside. From this it would appear that the piccadills consisted of leather lined with red satin and faced with a yellow silk velvet, the edges trimmed with galoon. The left cuff has lost all of its lining rivets.

The short cuisses are constructed of a single plate to which is attached a poleyn of six lames (Figure 14). The cuisses have a convex upper edge finished by a roped turn, and a low medial ridge; the outer side of each plate is shaped around the thigh with an angular bend. A semicircular tab, pierced for laces (arming points) by which the cuise was supported from a belt beneath the armor, is riveted at the top of each cuise, and a strap and buckle for securing the cuise around the thigh are riveted at the sides. The tabs appear to

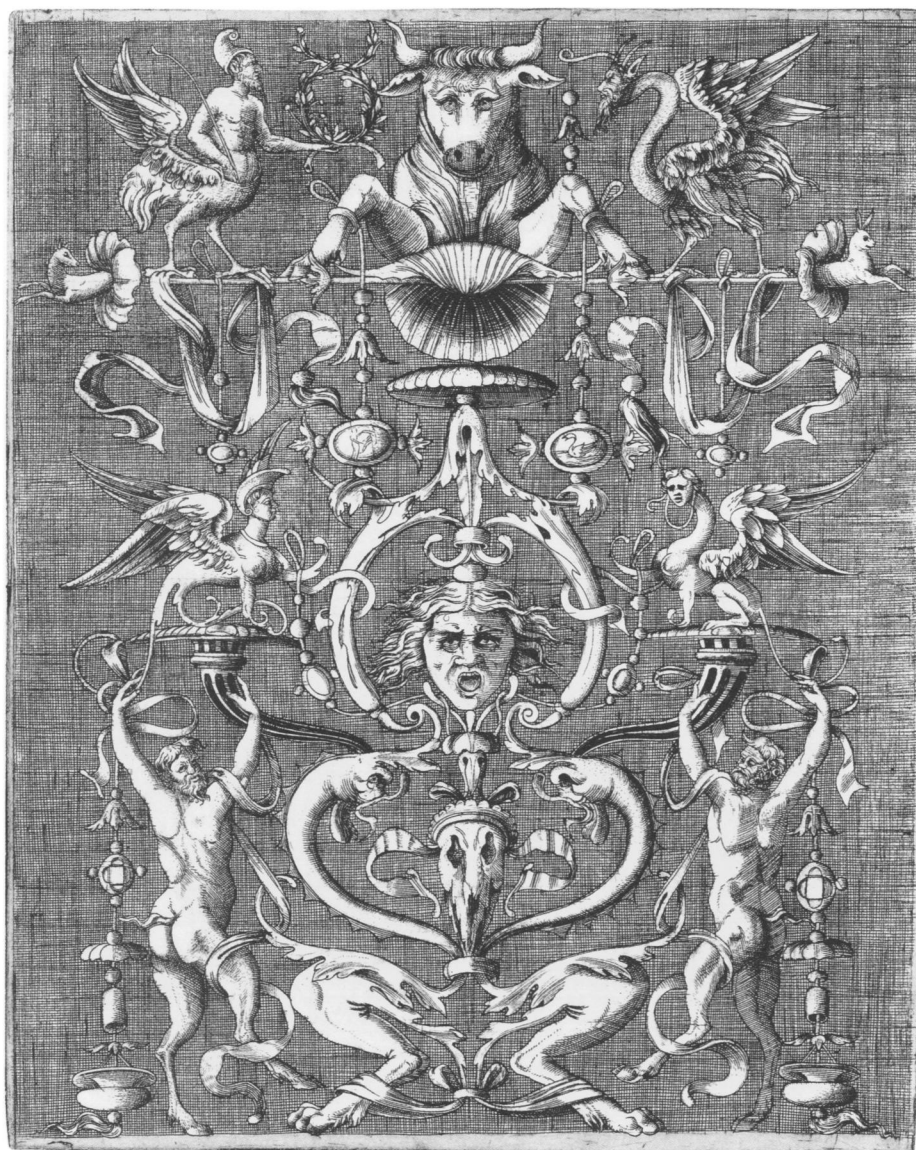


Figure 16. Agostino Veneziano (Italian, recorded 1516–36). *Ornamental Panel of Grotesques*. Engraving. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1949 (49.97.180)

be the original ones for the armor and, like the piccadill fragment preserved on the right gauntlet, are constructed of a thick leather core lined with red satin and faced with yellow velvet, with galoon trim along the edge. The tab on the right cuisse is more complete and displays a light blue selva at either side of the red satin lining (Figure 15).<sup>44</sup> Each tab was originally pierced with four pairs of lacing holes lined with gromets that have rosette-shaped brass faces and steel tubes, of which only six remain on the right and two on the left. The poleyn consists of the main plate shaped over the point of the knee and extending back to a heart-shaped wing on the outer side, with two narrow upward-overlapping lames above and three downward-overlapping lames below. The edges of the lames immediately above and below the

poleyn are cusped at the center and at the sides around the articulating rivets. The main plate has a roped rib down the center of the knee and a transverse roped rib on the outer side extending almost from the point of the knee to the V-shaped pucker of the wing; the edges of the wing are roped. Straps riveted to either side of the main poleyn plate buckle behind the knee. The lower poleyn lame is elongated, slightly pointed at the center, and has a roped edge; it is pierced in the center with a pair of lacing holes formerly lined with gromets probably like those on the lacing tabs, of which only the steel tube of one on the left poleyn remains. This lower lame was evidently intended to be laced to the hose or boot, an unusual if not unique method of attachment otherwise unknown to us.<sup>45</sup>

## *Decoration*

The exterior surfaces of the plates are rough from the hammer and retain some of their original heat-blackened color. The term "rough from the hammer" refers to the presence of hammer marks left from the forging and shaping of the plates, marks that were usually polished smooth as part of the finishing process. The blackening (actually a fire scale) served as a natural rustproofing, thus reducing the need for maintenance and, along with hammer-rough surfaces, was commonly found on inexpensive, mass-produced munition armors for the common soldier. In the case of this royal harness, the dark rough surfaces provide an effective contrast to the etched and gilt decoration.

The free edges of the principal plates are turned over wire, roped, and gilt. The roped edges are usually followed by a narrow border of etched and gilt ornament, which is followed in turn by a roped ridge, also gilt. On some of the plates the ridges terminate in C-shaped scrolls or fully spiral volutes. Pairs of small scrolls, confronted but not actually touching, are located at the center of the upper lame of each pauldron, on both plates of the lower vambraces, on the gauntlet cuffs, on the bottom lame of the upper tassets and tasset extensions, at the top of the cuisses, and on the bottom lame of each poleyn. A pair of larger, confronted scrolls forming true volutes is found at the center of each of the main pauldron lame at the point of the shoulder. The motif also occurs on the burgonet, but in a different form, as a pair of confronted recessed scrolls, etched and gilt, on either side of the bowl.

The etched decoration is generally confined to the narrow bands following the free edges, the transverse bands across the overlapping engaged edges, and the wide vertical bands down the center of the buffe, cuirass, tassets, pauldrons and upper vambraces, gauntlets, and cuisses; an additional vertical band extends down the outer side of each cuisse. The center band on both the breastplate and backplate expands upward and continues across the third lame to the left and right. Both faces of the comb are etched overall, and a centralized pattern of flowers and leaves is etched around the holes in the center of each cheekpiece. The ornament, discussed below, is gilt and set against a plain sunken ground left dark for contrast. The plain-ground etching is noteworthy, as many of Italian armors of this period have ornament set against a ground of small raised dots or etched circles. It will be noticed, however, that large dots are sparingly used in the etched bands on this armor as space fillers and that on some plates the background is irregularly scratched.

The decoration of the borders and edges of the plates consists of foliate ornament, of which six principal patterns can be distinguished:

1. A continuous scroll of stylized foliage taking the form of an undulating branch issuing leaves, flowers with rounded or trilobite leaves, and bulblike calyxes. Most of the horizontal bands have this pattern, including those on the comb of the burgonet, the lower collar lame of the buffe, and the transverse edges of lames three through twelve on the breastplate and of lames four through thirteen on the backplate. Where several engaged edges are in close proximity, as on the cuirass, the sequence of leaves and flowers varies slightly from lame to lame to avoid too mechanical an effect.

2. A scroll pattern similar to the first but with slightly smaller and more delicate foliage, the distinguishing motif being a small multipetaled leaf, instead of a calyx, through which the tendrils appear to pass. This pattern is found on the rear collar lames of the burgonet, on the upper edge of the culet lame, on the tassets, pauldrons, and lower vambraces, around the gauntlet cuffs, and on the wide vertical band down the outer side of each cuisse.

3. Horizontal foliate S-scrolls, linked by short bars to form fleur-de-lis-like junctions. This pattern occurs in the recessed scrolls on the sides of the helmet bowl, in the narrow bands at the edges of the peak and cheekpieces, on the bands along the bottom of the two face lames of the buffe, across the top of the buffe's upper collar lame, around the armholes of the backplate, along the bottom edge of the culet lame, around the edges of the couters, down the inside edge of the cuisse, and on most of the main poleyn lames. A simplified version of the same S-scrolls, sometimes without the bars, is found on the upper two collar lames of the breastplate and backplate.

4. A simple motif of what appears to be a continuous row of S-shaped leaves, laid end to end. This pattern is found in some of the narrowest bands of ornament, notably on the gusset lames on the breastplate, at either side of the roped ridge across the center of the couters, and on the edges of the metacarpal lames of the gauntlets.

5. A narrow band of dense overlapping leaves, like a garland. This pattern outlines the bend of the waist on the bottom lame of the breastplate and backplate.

6. A symmetrical design consisting of a cross-shaped configuration of leaves to which four curved leafy branches are joined, two to the left and two to the right, by bars. This unusual pattern is found in the center of the two articulating lames above and below the main poleyn lame.

The remaining decoration consists of classically inspired Renaissance candelabra and grotesque orna-

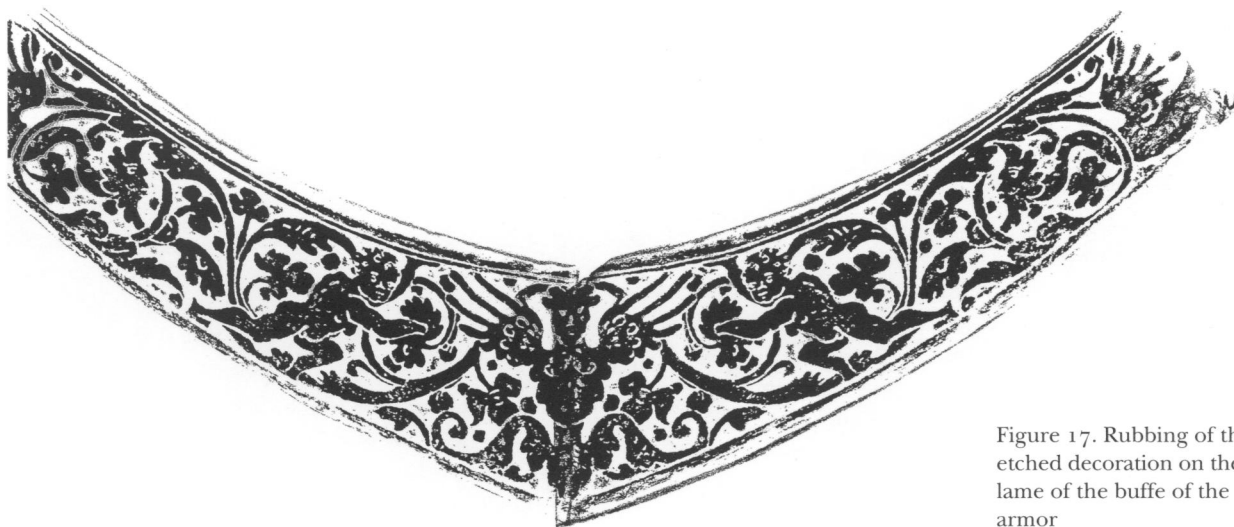


Figure 17. Rubbing of the etched decoration on the lowest lame of the buffe of the Wilton armor

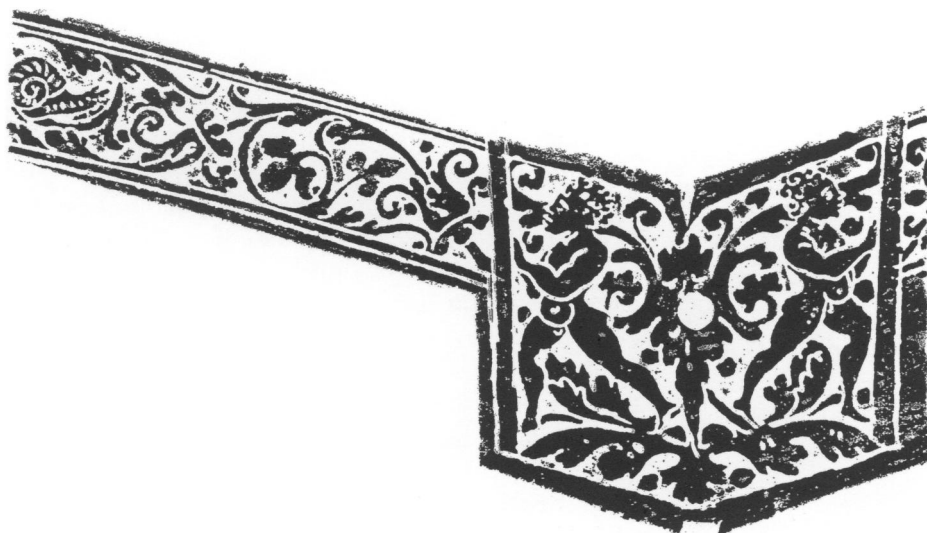


Figure 18. Rubbing showing male figures on the ninth lame of the backplate of the Wilton armor



Figure 19. Detail of the bound captive on the left pauldron of the Wilton armor



Figure 20. Detail of a putto with vase on the right poleyn of the Wilton armor





Figure 21. Woodcut border for the opening page of Jacobus de Voragine, *Legendario di Sancti* (Venice, 1514). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Anonymous Gift, 1917 (17.47)

ment that fills the wide vertical bands down the center of the buffe, breastplate, backplate, tassets, pauldrons, gauntlets, and cuisses. Most of the designs are symmetrically disposed about a central axis and consist of foliage, vases of fruit and flowers, pairs of cornucopia, dragons and other fantastic beasts, winged putti and young men, dogs, and masks. This vocabulary derives from the Renaissance grotesque, which was disseminated throughout Europe by drawings and especially ornamental prints, like that in Figure 16. We have been unable, however, to identify any direct quotations from print sources in the decoration of the Wilton armor.

The figural motifs, including humans, animals, and fantastic grotesque creatures, are the most distinctive and accomplished features of the decoration. A pair



Figure 22. Detail of a head on the right cuisse of the Wilton armor

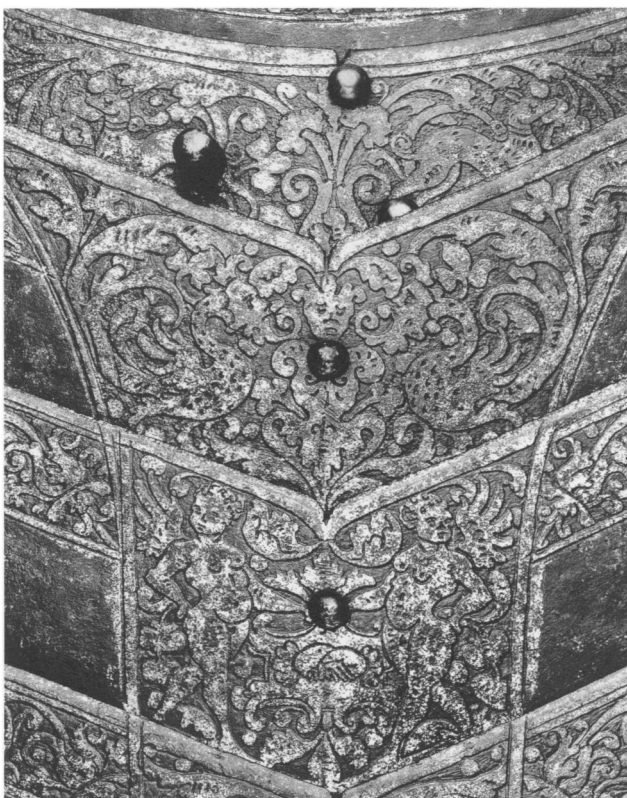


Figure 23. Detail of lames 3–5 of the breastplate of the Wilton armor, showing running dogs, a term flanked by dragons, and putti supporting a device of clasped hands

of putti running toward a full-face term appear at the center of the lower collar lame of the buffe (Figure 17), and another two males, facing in opposite directions, are found on the ninth lame of the backplate (Figure 18). A nude figure bound to a tree and menaced on either side by a grotesque dragonlike creature is etched on the top lame of each pauldron between the scrolls (Figure 19), and a single putto supporting a vase overhead occupies the center of the bottom lame of each poleyn (Figure 20). The putto with a vase is a common motif in Renaissance ornament of the fifteenth century and is often found in manuscript illumination and architectural relief sculpture, particularly in Lombardy. The motif is also familiar from a series of decorative woodcut borders in early sixteenth-century printed books published in Venice (Figure 21). A delicately rendered head of a woman or a child with flowing hair, facing front and flanked by dragons, is etched at the top of the right cuisse (Figure 22), while a leonine face is found in the same place on the left cuisse. On the fourth lame of the breastplate a pair of “bearded” dragons flank a full-face term, and on the lame below a pair of confronted winged putti support a cartouche enclosing the device of two clasped hands (Figure 23).

Running dogs with slender arched bodies, like whippets or greyhounds, often with what appears to



Figure 24. Detail of running dogs on the buffe of the Wilton armor



Figure 25. Detail of the decoration on the left side of the comb of the burgonet of the Wilton armor



Figure 26. Detail of the plume-holder on the burgonet of the Wilton armor

be a loop at the back of their collars, are another distinctive motif. Dogs, single or in pairs, are found on the upper face-plate of the buffe (Figure 24), the third lame of the breastplate (Figure 23), the fifth lame of the backplate (where they are winged), on the gauntlet cuffs, and along the top edge of the left cuisse. Hybrid beasts that combine human or animal heads with leafy bodies and limbs, seen full face or in profile, inhabit the foliage on every element of the harness and include winged dragons, harpylike birds with horned female heads, and similar winged beasts with bearded male heads. Among the more complex of these is the full-face female term in the center of each side of the comb, her leafy arms encircling the nearby tendrils and ending in bearded male heads, and her scrolling feet turning into canine heads that bite the issuing tendril (Figure 25). Similar terms occur on the fourth lame of the breastplate (Figure 23), eleventh lame of the backplate, the bottom lame of the upper tassets and tasset extensions (Figures 28, 29), and on each cuisse plate. A large mask with scalloped edges and a pair of wings occupies the center of the fourth lame of the backplate. Trophies of arms are found in the medial band on the right cuisse and snails on the upper buffe lame on the right side and



Figure 27. In the style of Niccoló Fiorentino (1430–1514). *Hope Gazing at the Sun* (reverse of the medal of Giovanni di Andrea Stia). Bronze, ca. 1485–90. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel H. Kress Collection, 1957.14.879b (photo: National Gallery of Art)

on the ninth lame of both the breastplate and backplate.

The plume-holder is unusual in both form and decoration. The tube is covered by a large plate, with decoratively cut edges, which is etched with a full-length human figure: a female, wearing a long fluttering dress, viewed in profile, her head and clasped hands raised upward toward rays emanating from the sky, with a leafy bush or tree to either side (Figure 26). She is readily identifiable as a personification of Hope, one of the three Theological Virtues (along with Faith and Charity), her pose apparently deriving from the nearly identical representation found on the reverse of numerous late fifteenth-century Florentine portrait medals (see Figure 27).<sup>46</sup>

None of the etched ornament employed in the decoration of the Wilton armor makes specific reference to Henry VIII, in contrast to some of his English-made harnesses, several of which bear one or more personal or dynastic emblems, such as the king's crown, monogram, or badges, the insignia of the Order of the Garter, or the Tudor rose.<sup>47</sup> Indeed, for a specially constructed and elaborately decorated royal armor such as this, the absence of identifying devices may seem surprising. It is not unprecedented, however.



Figure 28. Lowest lame of the left tasset of the Wilton armor



Figure 29. Lowest lame of the left tasset extension of the Wilton armor

The most elaborately decorated of all Greenwich harnesses, the so-called Genouilhac armor in the Metropolitan Museum, which is generally accepted as having been made for the king in 1527, is etched and gilt overall with a variety of figural and foliate ornament but without any royal emblems. Another armor more securely identified as Henry's, a harness now thought to date about 1539–40, in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle, is etched around the edges with a simple repeating foliate design equally devoid of personal references.<sup>48</sup>

The only etched motif on the Wilton armor that has been interpreted as a device of the owner is the clasped hands on the fifth lame of the breastplate (Figure 23). The significance of the clasped-hands device has long been a subject of debate. Advocates of the Montmorency tradition observed that, while the motif was not recorded among the constable's personal emblems, it nevertheless did appear on his heart monument, erected in the church of the convent of the Celestines in Paris, thereby at least circumstantially associating the device with him.<sup>49</sup> Foulkes, the most outspoken opponent of the Montmorency association, pointed out that clasped hands are also found on other armors, where the device probably served as the identifying badge of several French or Italian individuals or families with whom it was associated, none of them the Montmorency.<sup>50</sup>

G. D. Hobson, on the other hand, dismissed altogether the notion of clasped hands serving as an identifying badge of the armor's owner, noting that such devices were usually displayed more prominently and more frequently on an armor, whereas the clasped hands are found only once on the Wilton armor and are so small as to be easily overlooked.<sup>51</sup> He rightly observed that the motif was a widely used one in the ancient world as well as in the Renaissance as an emblem symbolizing fidelity, friendship, and concord. In this context it is found on Roman coins (usually in association with inscriptions such as "fides militum" or "fidis romanorum"), on Renaissance medals, and on betrothal rings. The motif was also adopted as a tradesman's device and was used by papermakers, printers, and booksellers. Hobson concluded that on the Wilton armor the clasped hands, if more than a mere detail of ornament, was probably a decorative emblem or perhaps an armorer's mark.<sup>52</sup>

In at least one instance, clasped hands have also been used in an impresa to represent Faith and Charity, complementary virtues of Hope (as personified on the plume-holder).<sup>53</sup> But none of these interpretations has any bearing on Henry VIII's personal or political imagery and the motif therefore is likely to be merely decorative, a part of the etcher's repertory, like the running dogs.



### Alterations and Restorations

The armor remained in the Pembroke armory at Wilton House for more than four hundred years and therefore is reasonably well preserved for its age. Nevertheless some of the surface blackening has worn away, some of the gilding has been lost, several lames are missing, and the armor has been subjected to what appears to be both working-life alterations and later restorations.

Several lames of the armor exhibit a slightly different style of etched decoration, noticeably shallower and incorporating foliage not found elsewhere, and have a distinctly brighter gilding. These include the two rear collar lames on the burgonet, the gussets of the breastplate, the short extension plates at the shoulders of the backplate, and the lowest lame of the tassets. The plain surfaces of the gussets and bottom tasset lames also have a mechanically scratched surface that is not seen on any of the other plates. The etching of the rear collar lames on the burgonet and extension plates on the backplate incorporate flowers with three-pointed leaves that do not appear on the other lames, and on the extension plate on the right shoulder there is a flower with five petals that might, like the adjacent brass stud, be interpreted as a Tudor rose (Figure 11). The gussets are etched with rows of leaves matching foliate pattern 4 (p. 109 above), while the etching on the bottom lame of the tassets imitates that on the bottom lame of the tasset extensions. A comparison of the latter makes it clear that they are the work of different etchers (Figures 28, 29). Despite the subtle differences in these lames, they are well made and show no apparent difference in age from the adjoining plates. They are most likely working-life replacements, alterations made for the king, particularly as the brass studs on the shoulders take the form of Tudor roses. These replaced elements, perhaps necessitated by the poor fit of the imported armor, were likely made by the armorers at Greenwich, who were so successful in imitating the Italian style that their additions have previously gone unnoticed. It may be pertinent that an almost contemporary Greenwich armor made for Henry, a garniture for field and tournament use dated 1540 (Figure 4), exhibits a generally similar Italianate etching with narrow bands of repeating foliate motifs on a plain sunken ground, the bands gilt overall (Figure 30). The etching of the new lames therefore would not have presented a challenge to the Greenwich workmen.

The construction of the burgonet with two articulated rear collar lames is highly unusual, as burgonets of this type typically have bowls with pointed peaks and turn-outs at the nape forged from a single plate.



Figure 30. Detail of the gorget of the armor of Henry VIII in Figure 4 (photo: The Trustees of the Armouries)

With the exception of certain parade burgonets *all'antica* made in Milan in the period 1530–55, Italian burgonets constructed in this manner are rare.<sup>54</sup> It is worth mentioning, however, that some burgonets made later at Greenwich have a single rear collar lame attached by sliding rivets, but these date from the 1570s and 1580s.<sup>55</sup> Whereas it cannot be demonstrated that the burgonet from the Wilton armor was altered to conform to an existing Greenwich construction, the alteration was certainly made according to the monarch's wishes, though the practical benefit of the articulated nape is not readily apparent.

While it is often difficult to distinguish contemporary alterations from later ones, it seems probable that some trimming of the sides of the cuirass and the removal of lames from the anime as well as the skirt may date from the period of use and were done at the king's behest. In addition to the removal of at least one lame of the breastplate, it is also likely that two lames are lacking from the backplate, one between the present third and fourth lames from the top and another between the first and second lames from the bottom. These modifications are suggested by the imperfect alignment of the etched medial band over the contiguous lames. The removal of backplate lames would have caused the shoulders to move slightly to the rear, thereby requiring the addition of the extension plates across the top of the shoulders. These changes, which shortened the cuirass front and back, may have been necessitated by the changing figure of the old warrior-king or simply by the inaccurate fit of the foreign-made armor. The breastplate was further altered by the addition of new gussets. Judging from

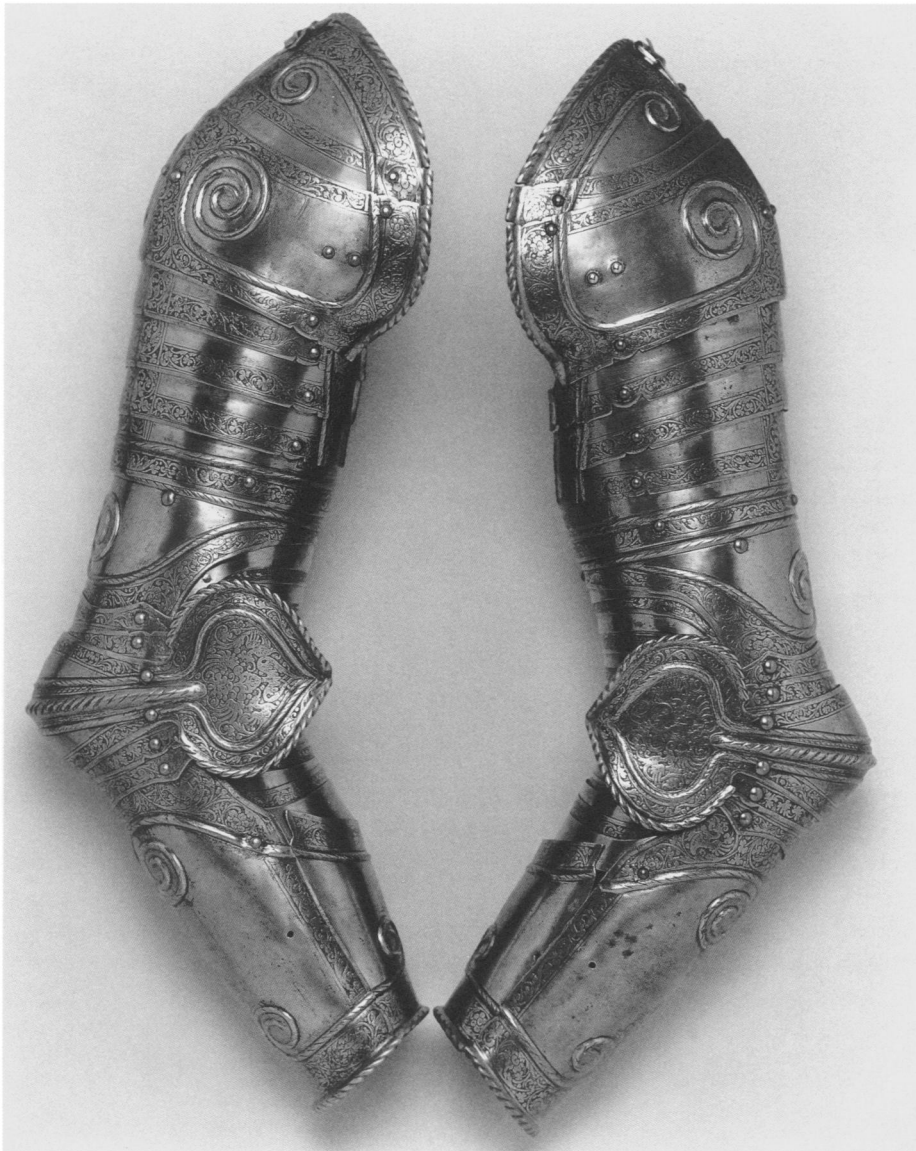


Figure 31. Pair of vambraces, here identified as belonging to the Wilton armor, Italian, ca. 1544. Royal Collection, Windsor Castle, no. 67399 (photo: The Royal Collection © 2003, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II)

the finished rear edges of the ninth lame from the top (fourth from the bottom), where the etched ornament ends in an etched line following the edge, the six lames above it, which lack the finished edge, have been trimmed at the sides. Thus the armor originally either lacked gussets altogether or had different ones. Crude cutting along the bottom edge of the last pauldron lame, just above the couter, suggests a slight shortening of the arm. The purpose of the new bottom tasset lame is unclear. The tassets may once have consisted of a series of ten continuously leathered lames, without any division.<sup>56</sup>

Other losses and alterations are probably of later date and may have been made at Wilton House in the nineteenth century when the armors were apparently refurbished and remounted.<sup>57</sup> When the armor appeared at auction in 1917, the top front collar lame

was already noticed as belonging to a different harness. The substitute plate is in fact the lower front lame of the gorget, otherwise lost, for the Wilton armor traditionally ascribed to the duc de Montpensier that is now in Philadelphia. This lame was removed in 1963 and was replaced by the present collar lame of more appropriate type made by the Metropolitan Museum's armorer, Leonard Heinrich. At the same time Heinrich replaced the missing lame near the bottom of the breastplate, whose absence was evident owing to the irregular diminution of the central etched band, and he restrapped the cuirass and tassets.

The left cheekpiece has been altered, apparently because of damage, which necessitated some trimming of the upper edge. This repair required the reshaping of the back edge of the cheekpiece, where crude hammer marks are readily visible, and the reset-



Figure 32. Detail of the left couler of the vambraces in Figure 31 (photo: The Royal Collection © 2003, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II)

ting of the cheekpiece on its original hinge, using two additional rivets. The cheekpieces have also lost their chin lames and the gauntlets their thumb and finger lames, as already noted. The left gauntlet and left cuisse appear to have been chemically cleaned, almost to the white metal, sometime before 1917, when the differences in color of these elements was clearly visible in the photograph published in the sale catalogue, whose text commented on the ill-advised restoration of the cuisse. Many of the original gilt steel rivets have since been replaced with modern ones of brass, particularly those on the restrapped cuirass. With the exception of the fragments of textile remaining at the top of the cuisses and inside the right gauntlet, and portions of the lining straps in the helmet and buffe, the armor's original fittings have been lost. The present red velvet-covered straps are modern replacements, whereas fifteen of the twenty-two gilt-steel buckles are original, these being noteworthy for their finely worked moldings.

#### *The Windsor Vambraces*

The Metropolitan's armor was originally equipped with a second pair of vambraces, mentioned in the Royal Armouries inventory of 1555, which were identified a few years ago in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle by our late colleague A. V. B. Norman (Figures 31–33). Cited again in the inventories of the Royal Armouries from 1611, where they continued to be identified as Henry VIII's, these vambraces are very likely the ones recorded as having been transferred from the Tower of London to Windsor in 1688.<sup>58</sup>



Figure 33. Detail of the left lower vambrace of the vambraces in Figure 31 (photo: The Royal Collection © 2003, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II)

The Windsor vambraces are symmetrical and each consists of the following elements permanently riveted together as a single unit: a shallow caplike pauldron, or "spaudler," of six lames; a turning joint fitted onto the upper vambrace, the two plates completely encircling the upper arm; a couler with transverse roped rib across the center and a small heart-shaped wing articulated above and below by two lames, with the bend of the elbow filled by eleven narrow telescoping lames; and a lower vambrace of two hinged plates originally closed by a strap and buckle. There is a low medial ridge extending down the outside of the pauldron. The free edges are turned over wire and roped and are followed by a raised roped ridge that ends in pairs of confronted spirals on the first and third lames of the pauldron, on the upper vambrace, at the point of the elbow, and on both plates of the

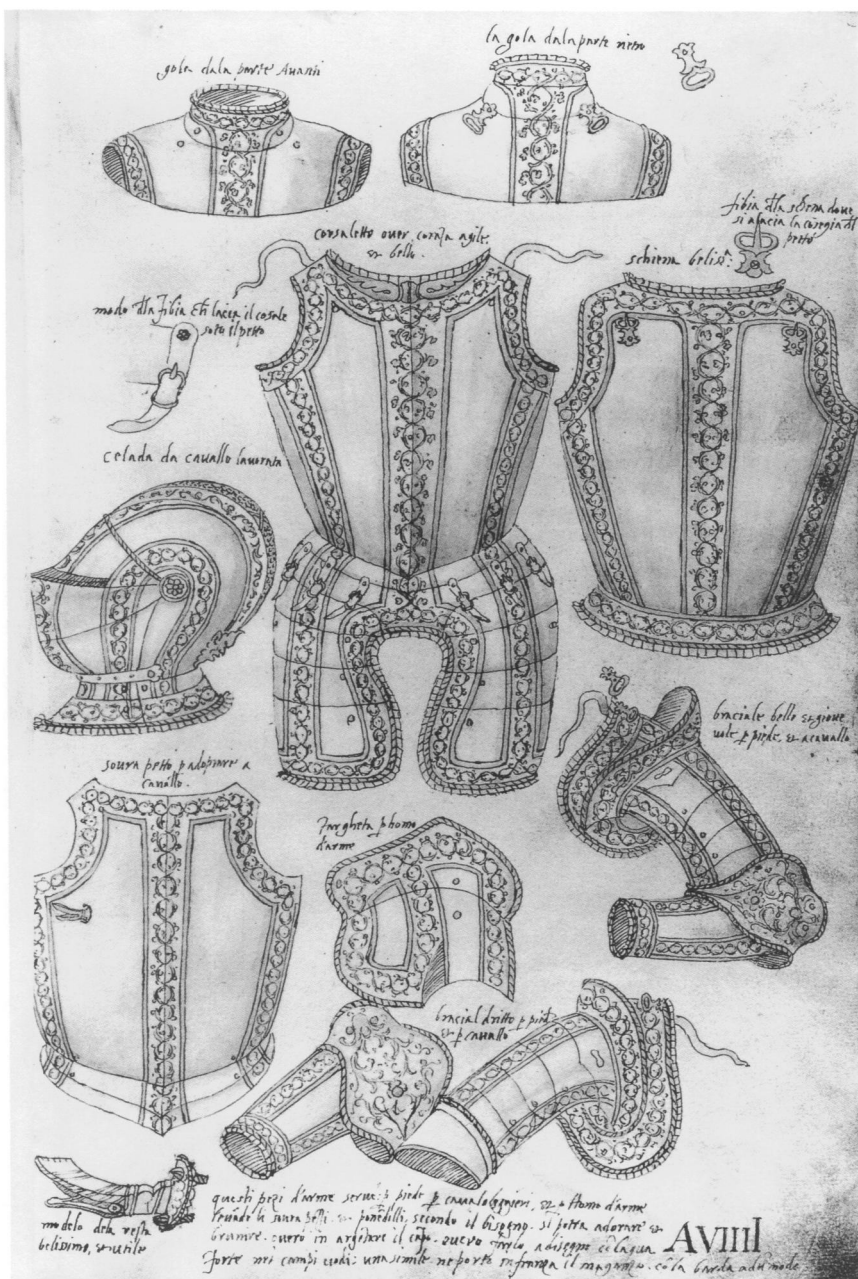


Figure 34. Filippo Orsoni (Italian, recorded 1540–59). Elements of a small garniture of armor, from an album of pen and wash designs dated 1554. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, E.1725-2031-1929 (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)

lower vambrace (at top and bottom of outer plates and at bottom of the inner plates). The engaged edges of the lames are cut around the rivets and the outermost articulating lames above and below the couter have a decorative bracket-cut in the center. The etched decoration consists of narrow bands of foliate scrolls, human figures, dogs, dragons, and masks on a plain ground, corresponding closely to that on the Metropolitan's armor. For example, the full-face term flanked by "bearded" dragons etched on the wing of the couter (Figure 32) echoes the very similar motif on the fourth lame of the Wilton breast-

plate (Figure 23). But unlike the armor in New York, the Windsor vambraces are now severely overcleaned, leaving no evidence of the original black, hammer-rough surface and only traces of gilding, mostly on the left arm. They have also been releathered and riveted, and the buckles at the top of each pauldron are replacements.

The vambraces also exhibit some notable differences in form, construction, and decoration from those of the Wilton armor. In the first place, they offer an alternative and less frequently encountered type of vambrace intended for field use, with smaller symmet-

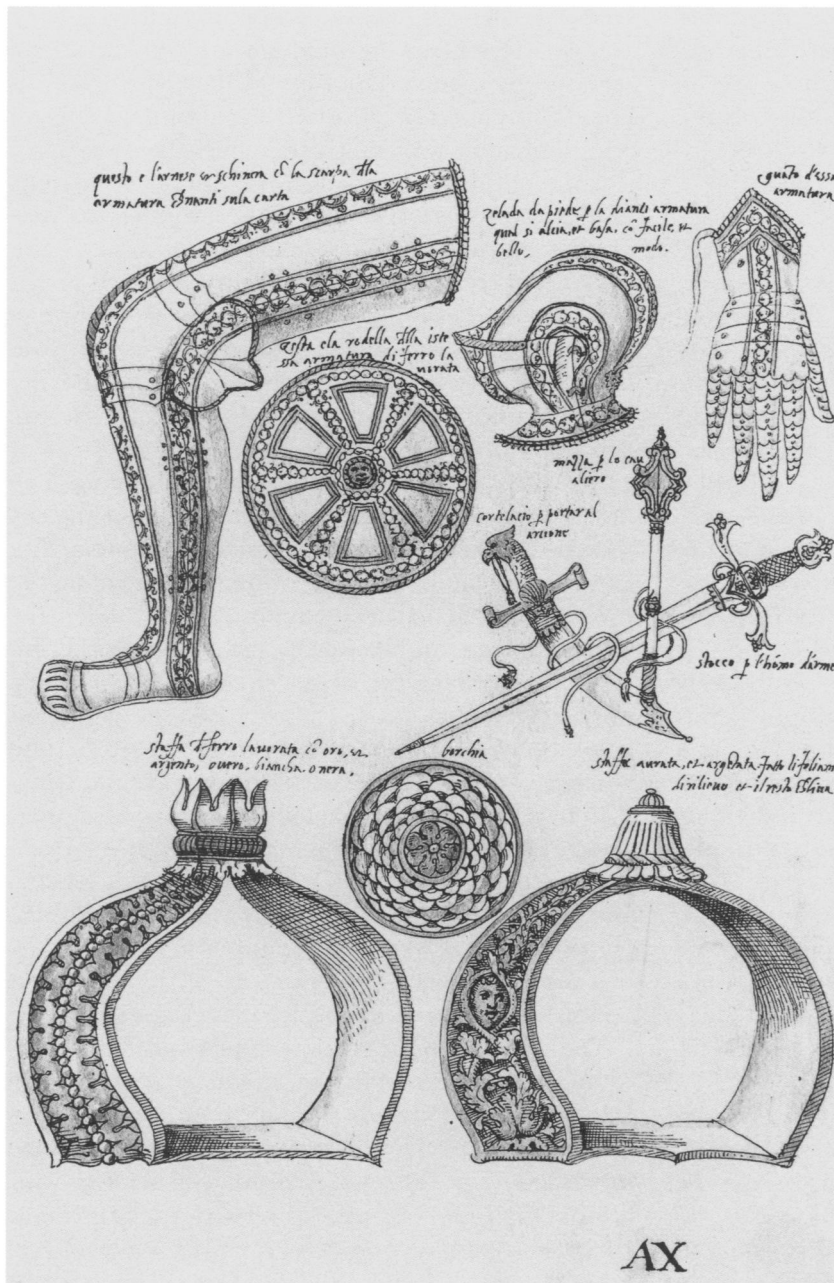


Figure 35. Additional elements comprising a small garniture of armor from the Orsoni album in Figure 34 (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)

rical “spaulder” pauldrons that cover only the outer part of the shoulder and with closed elbow joints. Unlike the Wilton vambraces, in which the couter is joined to the upper and lower cannons by internal leathers, the Windsor vambraces are integral, with the couter attached by means of small articulating lames. Both types of construction were commonplace by this date. A conventional turning joint—a feature noticeably absent on the Wilton armor—connects the lower edge of the pauldron to the top of the upper vambrace, the latter being slotted in the Italian fashion so as to allow the arm to rotate independent of the paul-

dron. The two plates forming the lower vambrace are joined on the inner side by a single internal hinge rather than the two external hinges as on the Wilton armor. The bracket-cut edges on the couter lames are found nowhere on the armor in New York. The raised volutes are of the more tightly scrolled type, like those found only on the main plate of the Wilton pauldrons. The Windsor vambraces also introduce new motifs into the etched ornament, including dolphins, a variant type of repeating foliate band consisting of an undulating branch issuing a single leaf at each turn, and secondary panels of decoration with foliage and



grotesques set between the scrolls. Despite the differences, however, the Windsor vambraces are otherwise so close in style to the Wilton armor that we see no reason to question their association with it in the Royal Armouries inventory of 1555.

### *"Small Garniture"*

On initial examination the Wilton armor appears to be a light field armor for use on horse (with the now-missing placard and lance-rest) and, as necessary, on foot (without cuisses and buffe). However, the presence of divisible tassets, the existence of the placard and pauldron reinforce (now missing), and the second pair of field vambraces at Windsor suggest that it was probably an Italian "small garniture," the modern term for a harness furnished with a limited number of exchange or reinforcing pieces that allowed it to be configured for several types of mounted (or field) use as well as service on foot.<sup>59</sup>

The canonical Italian "small garniture" of the mid-sixteenth century was illustrated by the Mantuan artist Filippo Orsoni (recorded 1540–59), whose album of designs for armor, sword hilts, and horse equipment exists in several manuscript copies with individual pages dated 1551, 1554, and 1557.<sup>60</sup> The copy in the Victoria and Albert Museum contains two pages illustrating and labeling the components of the small garniture (Figures 34, 35). The Italian inscription on the first page translates in part: "These pieces of armor are used for foot, for light horse, and for the man-at-arms, taking the desired and available pieces according to need."<sup>61</sup>

Three principal types of harnesses can be composed from the elements Orsoni illustrates. The basic unit, involving the smallest number of pieces, was the infantry armor (*corsaletto da piedi*), for use on foot, which comprised a burgonet, gorget, breastplate with tassets, backplate, pauldrons, complete arm defenses, and gauntlets, together with an optional shield. A lance-rest and leg defenses were unnecessary. A light field armor (*armatura da cavallo leggero*) required the addition of a buffe to close the face of the burgonet, a placard with lance-rest, and leg armor. A heavy field armor (*armatura da cavallo* or *armatura per uomo d'arme*), for the man-at-arms, used a close helmet rather than a burgonet and an added pauldron reinforce and possibly haute-pieces.<sup>62</sup>

It must be emphasized that Orsoni did not invent the garniture but was merely recording a type of armor already in use for some years and that there must have been variations on the small garniture based on the needs and preferences of the armorers' clients. In fact, no complete garniture matching

Orsoni's scheme appears to survive from the 1540s or 1550s, after which the small garniture of this type seems to have gone out of use in Italy. The armor of Paolo Giordano Orsini, about 1555, in the Hofjagd- und Rüstammer, Vienna, exemplifies the type.<sup>63</sup>

Although it does not conform strictly to Orsoni's model, the Wilton armor could be considered a type of small garniture. The (former) presence of a pauldron reinforce, an element typically associated in this period with heavy field armors, suggests that the Wilton armor originally may have possessed a close helmet, or at least a closed burgonet, the two helmet types traditionally worn by heavy calvary. While the descriptions of the armor in the royal inventories of 1547 and 1555 make no mention of an exchange helmet, other field harnesses worn by the king are recorded as possessing two headpieces, undoubtedly a close helmet and a burgonet with buffe, including the two Greenwich harnesses mentioned above,<sup>64</sup> for which the king was billed in 1544–45. It is not inconceivable that the close helmet for the Wilton armor was lost, given away, or otherwise became separated from the armor before the king's death.<sup>65</sup> The absence of lower leg defenses, while appropriate for a light field armor, is unusual for one intended for heavy cavalry use. Exceptions do exist, however, and include the armors of Cosimo I de' Medici, Giacomo Malatesta, and Ascanio Sforza,<sup>66</sup> all probably Milanese works dating to the 1550s, which are equipped with a close helmet and a breastplate with lance-rest but, like the Wilton armor, have poleyns without attachments for greaves.<sup>67</sup>

The second pair of vambraces at Windsor appears to be unprecedented for an Italian small garniture. While occasionally encountered on Italian field armors dating to the first half of the century, this type of closed vambrace was typically associated with armors for foot combat at the barriers.<sup>68</sup> Here too exceptions exist, among them the field armor of Ferrante Gonzaga, dating to about 1540,<sup>69</sup> and that of Cosimo de' Medici (mentioned above). On the other hand, closed vambraces of this type were a familiar feature of Greenwich garnitures and may have been employed in this period for field armors as well as those for tournament use.<sup>70</sup> The majority of Henry VIII's surviving garnitures were fitted with vambraces of this closed type, leading one to speculate whether the Windsor vambraces might have been made according to the king's specifications only after he had received the armor with its conventional three-part arm defenses. Judging from the construction and decoration of the vambraces, they appear to have been made by the same Italian workshop responsible for the Wilton armor and not by the king's armorers at Greenwich.

To summarize, the Wilton armor is very likely a modified version of the Italian small garniture. From the elements that survive, those that we know were once present, and others that may have accompanied it, three basic armors could be assembled: (1) an infantry armor comprising the pieces found today in the Metropolitan Museum but worn without buffe and cuisses; (2) a light field armor consisting of a burgonet with buffe, cuirass, tassets, and placard with lance-rest (lost), the Windsor vambraces, and cuisses; and (3) a heavy field armor consisting of the pieces used for the light field armor but substituting a close helmet (hypothetical) for the burgonet and the conventional arm defenses preserved in New York for the Windsor vambraces, and adding the pauldron reinforce (lost).

#### *Place and Date of Origin*

The literature devoted to the Wilton armor offers two distinct and opposing points of view as regards its place and date of manufacture. The traditional view, defended at the time of the Wilton controversy by the respected authority Baron C. A. de Cosson<sup>71</sup> and steadfastly maintained in later years by Stephen V. Grancsay, curator of Arms and Armor at the Metropolitan Museum, was that the armor belonged to Anne de Montmorency and was made in France shortly before the Battle of Saint-Quentin.<sup>72</sup> Since Hayward's publication of the Pembroke inventory in 1964, a growing number of scholars have come to accept the Wilton armor as an Italian work made for Henry VIII sometime before the king's death in 1547. Expanding on this view, Ortwin Gamber suggested a date of about 1540–45 and hypothesized that the armor had probably served as a model for the series of small garnitures (some of them animes) in the Italian fashion that were made in subsequent years in the Almain Armoury at Greenwich.<sup>73</sup> The identification of the Wilton armor with a royal armor described in the inventories of the Tudor Royal Armouries in 1547 and 1555, proposed in the first part of this article, leaves little doubt that the armor is "of Italian making" and dates to 1544, when the king participated in his last military campaign at the Siege of Boulogne. However, while the English royal provenance is amply supported by documents, no stylistic analysis has been offered to confirm the attribution and date. Indeed, the absence of this important harness from general surveys of Italian armor suggests some lingering uncertainties as to its origin.<sup>74</sup>

Before looking at the Wilton armor in the context of the development of Italian armor, however, it would be appropriate to review the old French attribution.

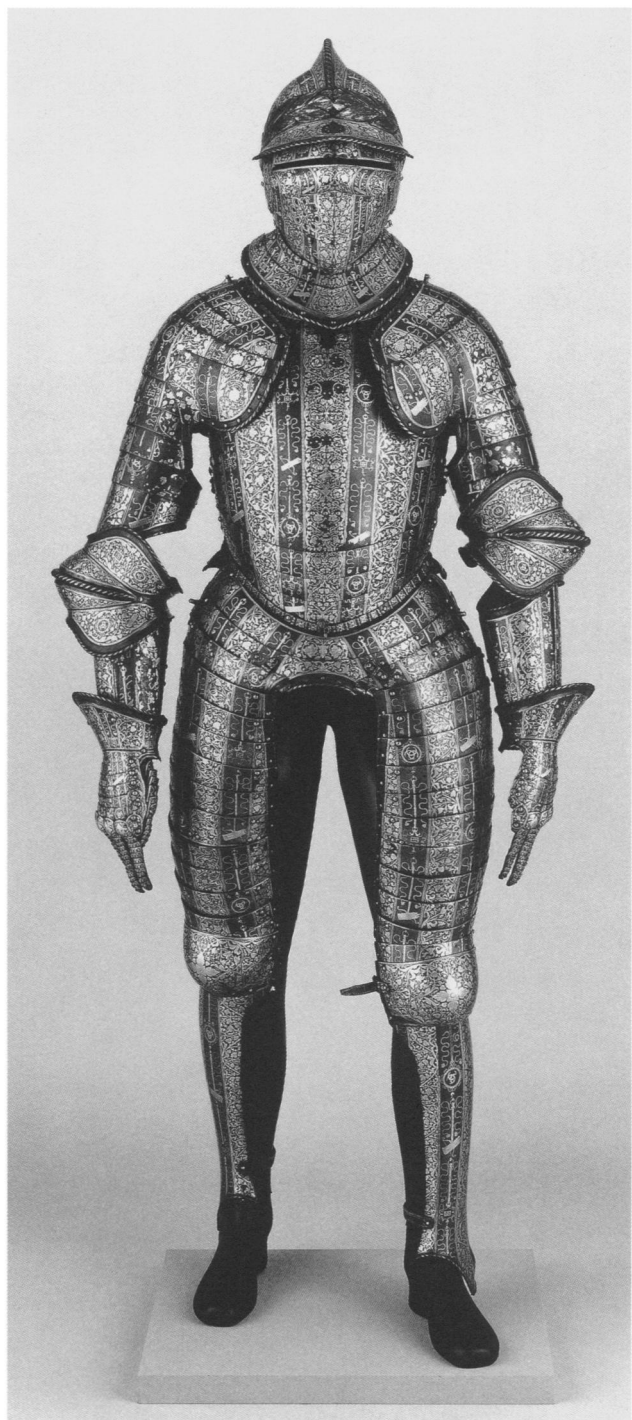


Figure 36. Francesco Negrolì and workshop. Armor of Dauphin Henri of France, later King Henry II, ca. 1540. Musée de l'Armée, Paris, G.118 (photo: © Musée de l'Armée)



Figure 37. Armor of Sebastiano Venier, Italian (possibly Brescia), ca. 1540. Hofjagd- und Rüstammer, Vienna, A984 (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)



Figure 38. Infantry armor, Italian, dated 1571. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1916 (16.154.2)

Promoted by several distinguished scholars and connoisseurs of an earlier generation, the attribution was supported by the belief that the armor had belonged to Anne de Montmorency. This rich and powerful noble would have been likely to patronize the same French workshops that produced magnificently decorated armors for Francis I and his court. As has been noted, the motif of the clasped hands (Figure 23) etched on the breastplate was also viewed by some to be, if not a Montmorency emblem per se, at least a device consistent with the constable's iconography. Cripps-Day even proposed to identify the Wilton armor with one of the *animes* listed in the inventory of the constable's armory in his Paris residence in 1556, shortly before the Battle of Saint-Quentin, despite the generic character of the descriptions.<sup>75</sup> Since the Montmorency association was based on an old Pembroke tradition that has been demonstrated

to be a romantic fiction, none of these arguments has any substance.

Independent of the putative Montmorency association, a French origin has also been inferred from the armor's *anime* construction and three-quarter-length form, features often regarded as typically French.<sup>76</sup> This argument is not without merit, but it can be demonstrated that the same features are found earlier in Italian armor. The *anime*, for example, appears to have developed in Italy by the late 1530s,<sup>77</sup> and several *animes* of undoubted Italian manufacture can be dated to the 1540s. Similarly, mid-sixteenth-century field armors of three-quarter length, while apparently never as popular in Italy as in France, were occasionally worn on the peninsula.<sup>78</sup>

Some years after the Wilton controversy Stephen Grancsay offered what he considered persuasive new evidence supporting the traditional Montmorency

association and a French attribution.<sup>79</sup> Grancsay observed that the decoration of the Wilton armor closely matched that of the harness of the constable's younger son Henri (1534–1614), portions of which are in the Metropolitan Museum, and he concluded that both armors, made for two members of this distinguished French family, must have originated in the same workshop (which he presumed to be French) at about the same time (about 1555, shortly before the Battle of Saint-Quentin). Grancsay's observations as to the relationship between the two armors, at least as regards the similarity of their decoration, are quite correct and are discussed below. On the other hand, as the Wilton armor has a demonstrable English association and Henri de Montmorency's a French one, with as much as a decade separating the manufacture of the two, the similarities, while surprising, appear to be coincidental. Indeed, as noted below, there is no apparent stylistic reason to ascribe either to French manufacture.

Finally, the proponents of a French attribution for the Wilton armor have failed to offer persuasive analysis linking the decoration to that of armors made in France. The Italian, German, and English schools of armor are extensively documented and have been thoroughly studied, but comparatively little is known

about French armor. Some progress, however, has been made in the study of its decoration since Grancsay presented his arguments more than fifty years ago. While it remains difficult to identify French armor in the period before 1550, during which Italian models were closely copied, several distinct groups decorated with embossed or etched ornament, dating to the second half of the century, have been identified.<sup>80</sup> Perhaps the most obvious characteristic of the finest French armors is the close relationship of their decoration to the Mannerist court styles of Fontainebleau and Paris. The influence of contemporary French prints and book ornament, especially the numerous engravings and drawings produced by the goldsmith and engraver Étienne Delaune (1518/19–1583), is often very pronounced. Nothing in the decoration of the Wilton armor, however, appears to reflect an awareness of French Renaissance art.<sup>81</sup>

Finding nothing inherently French in the form, construction, or decoration of the Wilton armor, we therefore see no inconsistency with the Italian provenance attested to in the royal inventory of 1547. On the other hand, it is difficult to identify an exactly comparable Italian harness dating to ca. 1544 because so few examples survive from the 1540s.<sup>82</sup> In general,



Figure 39. Portion of a field armor, German (probably Augsburg), dated 1524. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bashford Dean Memorial Collection, Bequest of Bashford Dean, 1928 (29.150.3)



Figure 40. Portions of the armor of Alessandro Vitelli, Italian, ca. 1530. Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer, Vienna, A350 (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)



Figure 41. Detail of etched decoration on a breastplate, ca. 1540, by Giovan Paolo Negroli (ca. 1513–1569). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William H. Riggs, 1913 (14.25.1855)

however, a number of features in the form and construction of the Wilton armor are evident in a handful of Italian armors securely datable to this period. These features include: the shape of the burgonet and especially of the buffe with its row of slotted breaths beneath the upper ridge; the three-part arm defenses with large couters having a roped medial ridge; and tassets of deeply arched section that wrap around the thigh. They are evident on armors made throughout northern Italy in the period, as for example, on harnesses attributed to the Negroli workshops in Milan (Figure 36),<sup>83</sup> Caremolo Modrone of Mantua,<sup>84</sup> and the armorers of Brescia (Figure 37),<sup>85</sup> as well as representations in contemporary portraits.<sup>86</sup>

The decoration of the Wilton armor, however, with its distinctive raised scrolls and plain-ground etching, offers the strongest evidence for its Italian origin and a date in the 1540s.

Roped ridges and scrolls like those found on most parts of the Wilton armor were the subject of considerable debate during the Wilton controversy as regards their earliest appearance on Italian armor.<sup>87</sup> Large numbers of Italian armors with roped scrolls (raised or imitated by etching) were made in the period 1560–85 (Figure 38), so much so that this feature can be considered a distinctive Lombard characteristic. Often of modest quality, these harnesses typically are etched with narrow vertical bands filled with a jumble of trophies of arms and have profile heads set within the scrolls on the breastplate, pauldrons, and tassets. Armors of this type are commonly referred to, erroneously, as “Pisan” in popular arms and armor jargon.<sup>88</sup> Indeed, the volutes on the pauldrons of the Wilton armor helped persuade ffoulkes that the armor was of late sixteenth-century date.<sup>89</sup> While proponents supporting the traditional Montmorency association concluded that raised scrolls probably did appear on armor before 1557 (when the constable was captured at Saint-Quentin), they could offer no securely dated or documented examples to support their claim.<sup>90</sup> Similarly, we have been unable to identify in portraits or among extant armors any examples with roped scrolls that can be securely dated to the 1540s, although there is some evidence to suggest that roped scrolls evolved earlier than has hitherto been thought.

The roped treatment of the turned edges of armor plate came into fashion around 1515 and served to strengthen the armor’s edges while enhancing its visual impact and sculptural presence.<sup>91</sup> Secondary roped ridges raised within the plate, like those on the Wilton armor, served similar purposes and appear to have originated in Germany in the 1520s. One of the earliest examples to exhibit this feature is an incomplete south German field armor, now in the Metropolitan Museum, which is etched in the style of Daniel Hopfer of Augsburg and dated 1524 (Figure 39).<sup>92</sup>

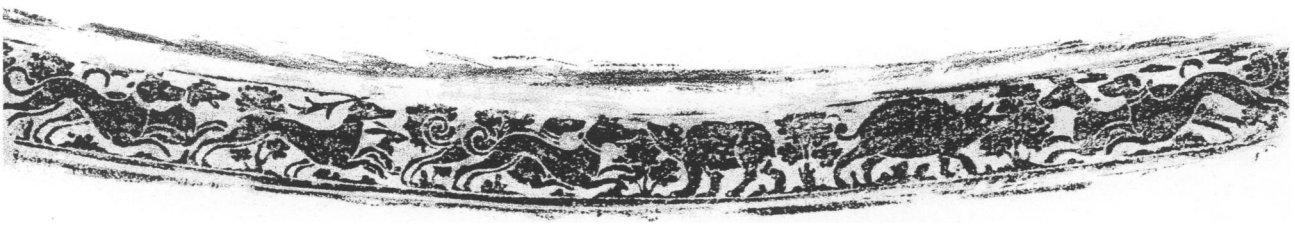


Figure 42. Rubbing of the etched decoration at the top of the breastplate of the armor in Figure 40, showing pairs of running dogs



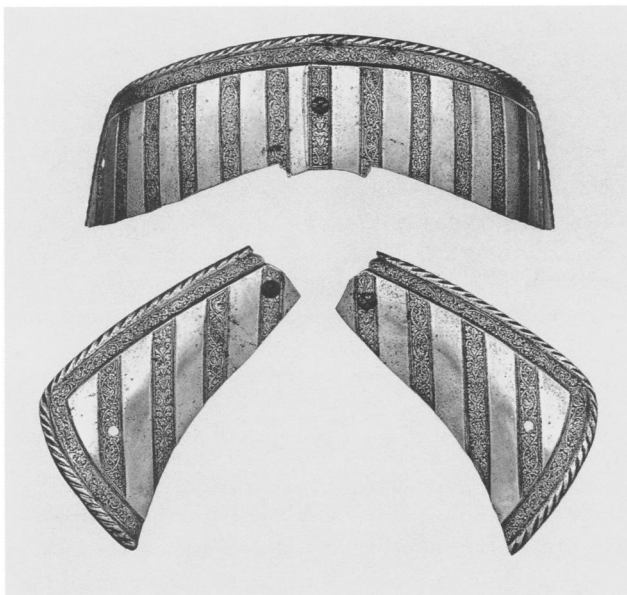


Figure 43. Saddle steels, Italian, ca. 1540–45. Royal Armouries, Leeds, VI.121, 122 (photo: The Trustees of the Armouries)

Here roped ridges frame the etched borders of the main plates, and there is a pair of roped volutes on each pauldron. We know of only one comparable Italian armor of this period to employ ridges of this type, that of the condottiere Alessandro Vitelli (died 1557), which dates about 1530, though none of the ridges terminates in volutes (Figure 40).<sup>93</sup> The fully developed volutes on the Wilton armor appear to be unique for the 1540s, as the first recorded examples of Italian armors with roped ridges and scrolls date to the following decade.<sup>94</sup>

The confronted scrolls on the sides of the Wilton burgonet (Figures 6, 7) are recessed and etched (not raised and roped), a feature for which there are several comparable examples. Similar scrolls are found on the bowl of an armet associated with a field armor of the 1530s in the Musée de l'Armée, Paris,<sup>95</sup> and on the close helmet of about 1540 belonging to the armor of Ferrante Gonzaga (1507–1557) in Vienna,<sup>96</sup> as well as on several burgonets of the period.<sup>97</sup>

The etched decoration of the Wilton armor, distinctive both in its technique and ornament, is therefore important in establishing where and when the armor was made. The plain recessed ground is readily distinguished from the early style of Italian armor etching from before about 1525, which generally employed a hatched background like that found in contemporary prints, or from most later sixteenth-century etched ornament, which favored backgrounds covered with dots or loops. Although encountered only occasionally, plain-ground etching appears to be typical of the 1540s.<sup>98</sup>

The largest and most coherent group of armors employing a similar style of plain-ground etching are



Figure 44. Detail of the rear cantle of the saddle steels in Figure 43, showing a running dog (photo: The Trustees of the Armouries)



Figure 45. Left half of the rear cantle of a saddle, Italian, ca. 1540–45. Royal Armouries, Leeds, VI.114 (photo: The Trustees of the Armouries)

the embossed harnesses made in the 1540s by, or at least attributed to, Giovan Paolo Negroli (ca. 1513–1569) of Milan.<sup>99</sup> While the main surfaces of Giovan Paolo's armors are decorated with classically inspired acanthus foliage and grotesques in high relief, the edges of the plates are often etched with bands of straight or scrolling foliage. Figural decoration is rare, though a breastplate in the Metropolitan Museum, which is the only surviving work signed by Giovan Paolo, is etched across the top with a frieze of tritons and Nereids (Figure 41). While we can identify no single motif shared by the Negroli armors and the Wilton harness, the general similarity of their etching suggests that the Wilton armor very likely also originated in Milan in the 1540s.

Six examples of Italian armor can be identified in which the decoration is even more specifically linked to that of the Wilton armor. The earliest is the aforementioned armor of Alessandro Vitelli (Figure 40). The plates are decorated with vertical bands of trophies of arms and musical instruments which alternate with bands of foliate scrolls inhabited by birds, beasts, grotesques, and nude male figures. Between the motifs are scattered occasional large dots. The decoration is of the highest quality and most imaginative design and must have been specially created for its owner. While the foliate decoration is generally close in style to that of the Wilton armor, the frieze of leaping dogs with ringed collars chasing stags, bear, and boar on the recessed bands across the top of the breastplate and backplate (Figure 42) is very similar to that on the upper face plate of the Wilton buffe (Figure 24). The two armors are also linked by the fact that the gilt buckles with ridged moldings on the tassets of the Vitelli harness appear to match exactly those on the Wilton armor. Despite the decade or more that separates these two armors, and the obvious differences in form and construction, it seems pos-

sible that they were both made in the same north Italian center, where common sources of decoration and furnishings like buckles were readily available.

The second example is a set of saddle steels in the Royal Armouries (Figure 43).<sup>100</sup> The set consists of two of the original three front steels (the center one is missing) and the two rear cantle plates. The plates are decorated with a series of narrow recessed vertical bands that are etched and fire-gilt with symmetrical candelabra and grotesque ornament alternating with interlaced foliate scrolls inhabited by birds, with an occasional large dot amid the ornament; the background is plain and blackened for contrast and the raised areas between the bands are polished bright. The recessed band around the roped edge is etched with a continuous foliate scroll inhabited by birds and leaping dogs with collars (Figure 44), the latter matching exactly those on the Vitelli and Wilton armors.

The third example is a rear cantle of a saddle, for which the front plates are missing, which is also in the Royal Armouries.<sup>101</sup> The two-piece cantle is decorated with close-set vertical bands alternately raised and recessed, the surfaces etched and gilt overall. The raised bands are etched with scrolling foliage terminating at the ends with dolphins, all against a dotted ground, while the recessed bands are etched with a symmetrical design of foliage and candelabra ornament on a plain background. On the left side the plain-ground etching incorporates a fluted vase with S-shaped handles (Figure 45) and on the right side a term with foliate arms and an oval face framed by petals. The former motif is generally similar to vases etched on the breast- and backplate of the Wilton armor, while the latter is especially reminiscent of the figure on the comb of the Wilton burgonet.

While the decoration with multiple narrow bands on both sets of saddle steels differs from that of the

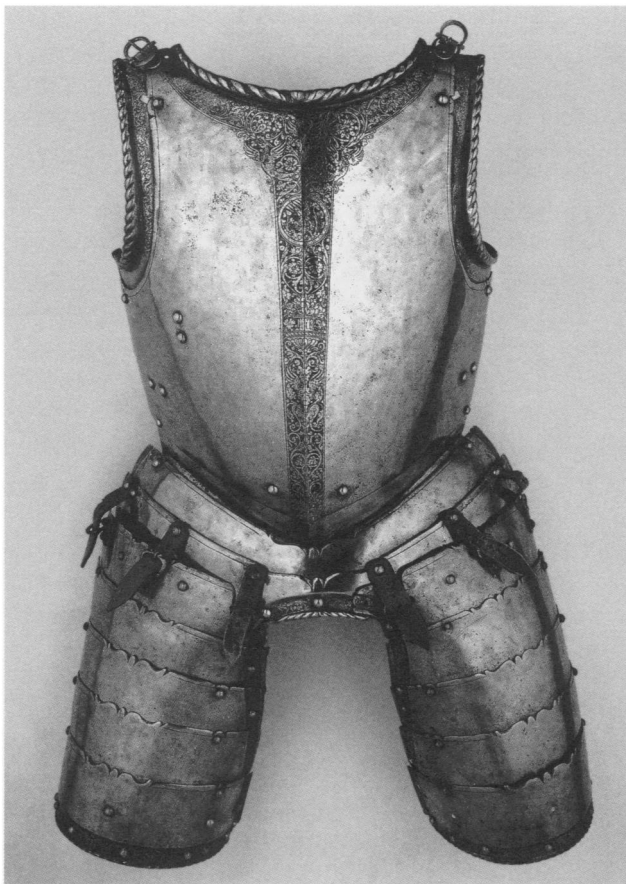


Figure 46. Portions of a field armor, Italian, ca. 1540–45. The State Hermitage, Saint Petersburg, Z.O.3973 (photo: The State Hermitage)

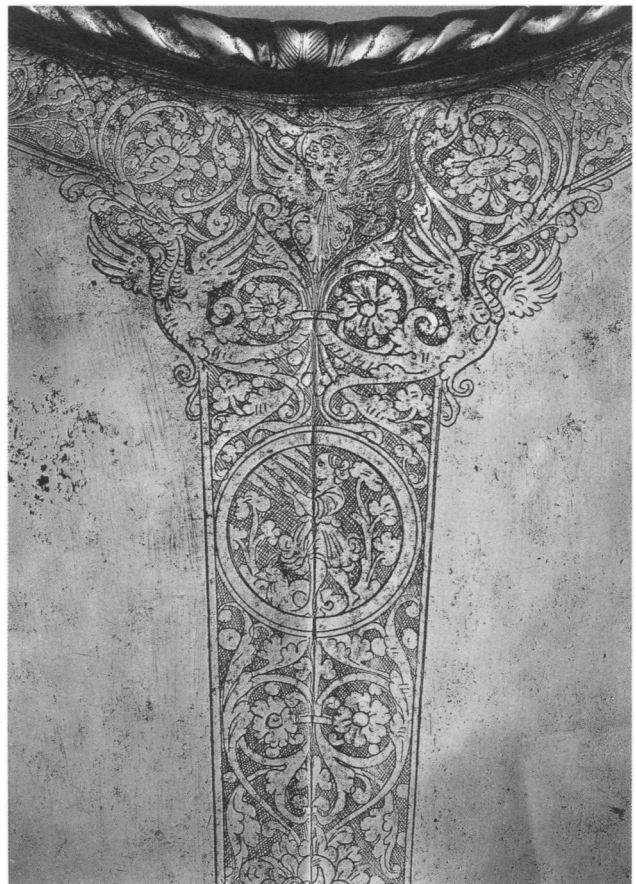


Figure 47. Detail of the decoration of the breastplate in Figure 46, showing the figure of Hope (photo: The State Hermitage)

Wilton armor, the style of etching and choice of motifs suggest a close connection. Indeed, they also appear to be linked by a common provenance. These two sets of saddle steels are very likely to have been in the Royal Armouries since the sixteenth century and are probably among those listed in the postmortem inventory of Henry VIII's possessions, where steels generally matching their description are cited among the armor at Westminster and at Greenwich: "Item in Trees for Saddelles plated with stele and parcell guilte and grauen v paier. / Item in like Trees plated with Stele and guilte and grauen j paier. / Item Stele plates for a Saddell parcell grauen & guilte."<sup>102</sup>

Given the close similarity of decoration of the first-mentioned steels vi.121,122 to that of the Wilton armor, it is possible that they were the very ones associated with the armor when it was described in the 1555 inventory as being mounted on a horse with "a stele Saddle parcell guilte" with what may have been a matching "Crinet and Shafron p[ar]cell guilte." In any event, it seems reasonable to conclude that both sets of steels are of Italian origin and are contempo-

rary with the Wilton armor and that they may very well have entered the Royal Armouries in the same way, perhaps supplied by Francis Albert "Millonour."

The fourth example is an incomplete field armor of about 1540–45 in the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, which consists of a breastplate with short tassets (Figure 46), pauldrons, and vambraces.<sup>103</sup> The breastplate is decorated with a single etched band down the center that expands at the top and continues around the neck. The decoration consists of candelabra ornament, foliage, and grotesques very similar to that of the Wilton armor but set against a cross-hatched ground. Near the top of the center band on the breastplate is a medallion enclosing a personification of Hope, facing left, her praying hands raised upward to rays descending from the sky, with leafy bushes or trees to the sides (Figure 47). The figure is clearly based on the same model as that on the plume-holder of the Wilton armor (Figure 26), suggesting that both were copied from the same workshop pattern book and may even have been etched by the same master.



Figure 48. Domenicus Custos after Giovanni Battista Fontana. Henri I de Montmorency, wearing an Italian armor of ca. 1550–55. Engraving published in Jakob Schrenck von Notzing, *Armamentarium Heroicum*, Innsbruck, 1603. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library, Gift of William H. Riggs, 1913

The fifth comparative example, by far the most important, is the armor of Henri I de Montmorency (1534–1614), the younger son of Constable Anne. Housed for over two centuries in the Armory of Heroes formed by Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol (1529–1595) at Schloss Ambras, near Innsbruck, the harness today is divided among three museums on two continents. The history and vicissitudes of this important armor await a more specialized study, but the relationship of the two armors can be examined here.

The only known pictorial record of Henri de Montmorency's armor when still intact is the engraving by Domenicus Custos after drawings by Giovanni Battista Fontana in Jakob Schrenck von Notzing's *Armamentarium Heroicum* (Figure 48), the illustrated catalogue of Archduke Ferdinand's collection, the Latin edition of which was published in 1601 and the German edition in 1603.<sup>104</sup> The armor comprises the following elements: the gorget and cuirass in the Musée de l'Armée, Paris; the pauldrons and vambraces, together with the left tasset and left leg defense, consisting of a cuisse with poleyn and a greave, in the

Museo Stibbert, Florence; and both gauntlets, the right tasset, and the complete right leg defense in the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>105</sup> The closed burgonet associated with the armor since the sixteenth century and illustrated in the engraving is also preserved in the Musée de l'Armée but its decoration does not match the rest of the armor.

Like the Wilton armor, Henri de Montmorency's harness was intended for use in the field, though it is of more conventional construction, having a solid cuirass, short tassets, and complete leg defenses. The two armors also share certain distinctive features of form and construction, especially the arm and leg defenses. The pauldrons and upper vambraces of both harnesses have a pronounced medial ridge down the outside, they lack the turning cannon that often joins the pauldron to the upper vambrace, and the couters of both are extremely large and of similar form, with a transverse roped rib across the center. The left pauldron of each is pierced with a threaded hole for the attachment of a reinforce. The cuisses are also boxed on the outer sides and have poleyns with roped ridges down the middle and across the outer sides, with a deep angular pucker in the center of the wing.

The technique, style, and individual motifs of the plain-ground etched decoration of Wilton armor are in large part repeated on that of Henri de Montmorency. The wide band of ornament extending down the center of the main plates is symmetrically arranged about the center and consists of continuous intertwining foliage supporting human and grotesque figures, animals, masks, and trophies of arms. The decoration also includes medallions enclosing profile heads, sometimes in pairs, a classically inspired feature of Renaissance ornament that is occasionally found in early sixteenth-century Milanese armor decoration<sup>106</sup> and again in the second half of the century. The secondary bands on both armors—those to the left and right of center on the breast- and backplates, on the front and back of the pauldrons, and down the outer sides of the cuisses—are etched with large continuous foliate scrolls inhabited by the similar grotesque figures, birds, and running dogs with collars. In several areas on the Henri de Montmorency harness, notably at the top of the breastplate and backplate, in the angles formed by the intersection of the central band and the transverse band across the top, and of the same transverse band and the bands parallel to gussets, there are small secondary panels of scrollwork like those on the exchange vambraces at Windsor (Figure 33) but which are absent on the armor in New York. Similarly, the simple band of scrolling foliage etched around the armholes of the breastplate and backplate in Paris closely approximates





Figure 49. Decoration, including a pair of running dogs, on the back of the right pauldron of the armor represented in Figure 48. Opera Museo Stibbert, Florence, 3962 (photo: Opera Museo Stibbert)



Figure 50. Detail of clasped hands on the left pauldron of the armor represented in Figure 48 (photo: Opera Museo Stibbert)





Figure 51. Portions of a field armor of anime construction, Italian, ca. 1550–60. Musée de l'Armée, Paris, G.139 (photo: © Musée de l'Armée)

the decoration found on the inner articulating couter lames of the Windsor vambraces, a motif that, again, does not occur on the Wilton armor. The etched ornament is gilt against a plain recessed ground, and the undecorated surfaces between the bands are polished bright.

In addition to the general character of the ornament the decoration of the two armors includes many of the same motifs. The leaping dogs on the buffe, breastplate, and gauntlets of the Wilton armor reappear in pairs on each of the side bands on the breastplate and backplate, on the back of the right pauldron (Figure 49), and on the rear plate of each greave of the Henri de Montmorency armor. Other shared motifs include winged harpies (seen full face or in profile, some of them with “beards”), birds, masks with lappets around the edges, vases of flowers, and winged putti. Snails and trophies of arms, minor details found on the Wilton armor, also recur on the

Montmorency harness near the top of the backplate and on the poleyns, respectively. The unusual geometric motif of rectilinear strapwork found on the articulating lames of the Wilton poleyns is repeated on the poleyns of the Montmorency armor.

Finally, and most important, one finds on the top lame of the left pauldron of the Henri de Montmorency armor, partly concealed beneath the buckle for the shoulder strap and now badly rubbed, an etched medallion enclosing two clasped hands (Figure 50), the very same motif found on the Wilton breastplate (Figure 23). The position of the hands and the type of scallop-edged cuff from which they emerge are identical on both. The small size of this motif on both armors and its almost hidden location on the Montmorency harness are convincing indicators that the clasped hands motif has nothing to do with personal iconography of the owner or even the thematic program of the decoration. Its presence on



Figure 52. Detail of male figures on the breastplate of the armor in Figure 51 (photo: © Musée de l'Armée)



Figure 53. Detail of dogs on the left lower vambrace of the armor in Figure 51 (photo: © Musée de l'Armée)

both armors together with the other points of comparison suggest a common source of origin.

It is readily apparent that, while the manufacture of the Montmorency armor is of high quality, its etched decoration is decidedly inferior in design and technique to that from Wilton. The etched bands on the Montmorency armor are wider and the motifs proportionally larger and more generously spaced, with a diminished concern for the precise rendering of the individual forms. Presuming that the contemporary identification of the armor as having belonged to Henri de Montmorency is correct, it is unlikely to have been made before 1550, when Henri turned sixteen; it seems equally unlikely that the armor dates after 1560, by which time Italian armors tended to have smaller couters and displayed a different style of etching. The long slim breastplate has an evenly arched profile that would be consistent with a date around 1550. It would appear, then, that the workshop responsible for the king's harness in the 1540s was still active and producing armors of much the same type at the beginning of the next decade.

The final example for comparison is an Italian anime dating about 1550–60 in the Musée de l'Armée, Paris (G.139; Figure 51).<sup>107</sup> Now incomplete, the matching elements comprise a cuirass with tassets, complete arm defenses, and gauntlets; its close helmet and leg armor are missing. The Paris armor shares many features found on the Wilton armor: the anime is constructed with lames of shallow V-shape having a shallow notch in the center; it was designed for field use with a placard fitted with a lance-rest (missing) and a reinforce for the left pauldron (also missing, but a threaded hole remains for its attachment); the arms are similarly constructed (but with a turning

joint) with large single-plate couters; roped ridges follow the edges of the pauldrons, couters, gauntlets, and tassets, those on the pauldrons and tassets ending in spirals; and the etched decoration, which is well drawn, employs a very similar repertory of figural and vegetal motifs, formerly gilt, on a plain recessed and blackened ground. The ornament includes winged putti and nude men, harpylike grotesques, scalloped-edged masks, and birds, as well as a style of foliage generally similar to that found on the Wilton armor. Medallions enclosing profile heads like those on the armor of Henri de Montmorency are present on the vambraces.

Certain elements of decoration on the Paris anime are remarkably close to those of the Wilton armor. Running figures in the medial band of its breastplate (Figure 52) are very like those on the Wilton backplate (Figure 18). The type of nude figure, with its curly hair, accentuated breast, and often indistinct sex (though apparently male), is found on both harnesses. The decoration on the outside of the lower vambraces with collared dogs at wrist level (Figure 53) and with a full face term above the conjoined scrolls echoes similar decoration on the Windsor vambraces (Figure 33). A wreathlike band of dense foliage etched on the gussets repeats that on the waistband of the Wilton breastplate and backplate.

The dense rendering of the ornament on the Paris anime, where little of the background is visible; the presence of secondary motifs like stylized flowers and naturalistic leaves, which run along the outer edges of the vertical bands and project into the spaces between them; and the dense scrollwork that covers the face of the couters are features that point to a style of Italian armor decoration that postdates that on the Wilton

armor by as much as a decade. As several other Italian armors decorated in this fashion are preserved in the Musée de l'Armée, Paris, and in the armory of the Knights of Saint John at Malta, it is likely that they were made in Italy for export.<sup>108</sup>

In spite of the obvious differences in their appearance and the span of twenty-five years that they cover, these six examples are nevertheless linked to one another and to the Wilton armor by the common use of certain decorative motifs. The recurrence of the running dogs on the Vitelli armor, the Wilton armor, one set of saddle steels in the Royal Armouries, and the Montmorency armor in Paris is noteworthy, as is the appearance of the figure of Hope on the plume-holder of the Wilton armor and on the breastplate of the armor in the Hermitage, and of the clasped hands on the Wilton armor and that of Henri de Montmorency. These motifs are distinctive enough not to be coincidental, which suggests that the etchers of these armors probably came from the same city, perhaps the same workshop, and had access to a shared repertory of designs, probably pattern books. Unfortunately, none of these armors bears a mark or signature, and none is sufficiently documented to indicate where or by whom they were made. There can be little doubt, however, that they originated in either Milan or Brescia, rival arms-manufacturing centers in northern Italy.

Milan had been the principal armor-producing center in Italy since the Middle Ages.<sup>109</sup> Throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Milanese armorers enjoyed international fame, their products setting the standard and the fashion for the rest of Europe. Milanese merchants, or "milliners," like Francis Albert, traveled extensively and facilitated the ordering and supply of harness to entire nations as well as to individual aristocratic clients. When in 1511 Henry VIII decided to establish a workshop in England to make armors for himself, his courtiers, and foreign dignitaries, he turned to Milan as a source for skilled armorers.<sup>110</sup>

Despite the presence of the Almain Armoury at Greenwich, English noblemen continued to acquire armors from Milan through the sixteenth century. In May 1552, for example, a large shipment of luxury goods was prepared in Milan for export to England, the list of items including richly decorated armors and weapons by some of the city's leading armorers, cutlers, and damasceners.<sup>111</sup> The 1558 inventory of the first earl of Pembroke included "a millayne dimilance graven and gilt" and "a tilte millayne armo<sup>r</sup> w<sup>th</sup> his furniture graven and p[ar]cell gilde,"<sup>112</sup> harnesses that were undoubtedly custom-made for his personal use.

It is very probable, therefore, that a royal harness of excellent quality like the Wilton armor was also of Milanese manufacture. The Negroli family, who supplied elaborately embossed and damascened parade armors to Emperor Charles V, King Henry II of France, and a host of Italian princes in the 1530s and 1540s, enjoyed immense renown. More specifically, the plain-ground etching of the Wilton armor is sufficiently similar to that on the armors made by Giovan Paolo Negroli in the 1540s to associate it with Milan. If it could be demonstrated conclusively that armor had been acquired by the king through the offices of the Milanese merchant Francis Albert, there would be little doubt as to its origin. Unfortunately, an extensive search of the records for the period 1543–45 in the Archivio di Stato, Milan, has failed to uncover any mention of it.<sup>113</sup> The Spanish administration of Milan kept careful records, and this lack of documentation suggests that the armor is unlikely to have been officially commissioned and licensed for export. If it was privately commissioned, a contract or payment may eventually be located in the notarial archives.

The alternative source of manufacture is the city of Brescia, which, since the fifteenth century, was controlled by the Venetian state and made its reputation as a mass-producer of munition armors for ordinary troops and as a manufacturer and supplier of firearms.<sup>114</sup> In 1544, for example, Venice approved the sale to England of 1,500 harquebuses (matchlock) guns and a like number of armors for either mounted or infantry service, these presumably intended to arm troops for the planned invasion of France.<sup>115</sup> Little is known about the production of high-quality Brescian armors, those individually designed and fitted for the senior officers and aristocratic clients. In 1534, however, the Venetian senate granted permission for the duke of Norfolk and four other Englishmen to purchase armor, apparently bulletproof, from Brescia, voting at the same time to make a gift of the armors.<sup>116</sup> Thus better-quality Brescian armor, like that from Milan, was probably regularly imported into England throughout the reign of Henry VIII.

Two finely decorated infantry armors, both made in the 1540s, have repeatedly been identified as Brescian based on the identity of their owners. One of these was made for Sebastiano Venier, the future doge of Venice, now in Vienna (Figure 37),<sup>117</sup> and the other for Girolamo Martinengo of Brescia, in the Armeria Reale, Turin.<sup>118</sup> The former is assumed to be Brescian because of the established custom of acquiring in that city the armor and weapons intended for Venetian service. The latter is attributed to Brescia because of the

social and military prominence of the Martinengo family in their native city. There is, however, no independent confirmation of a Brescian origin for either. Both are decorated with narrow recessed bands etched and gilt with candelabra and grotesque ornament. The background of the etching on the Venier armor is finely dotted, while that on the Martinengo armor has large, space-filling dots. While the vocabulary of ornament employed in the decoration of these harnesses is generally similar to that of the Wilton armor, it includes none of the specific motifs, such as running dogs or clasped hands, that would link them directly.<sup>119</sup>

In the absence of any record identifying the source of the king's armor and lacking a well-documented series of armors of certain Milanese and Brescian origin in this period, it seems prudent for the time being to identify the Wilton armor simply as of north Italian origin.

## CONCLUSION

Associated for more than two centuries with the name of Anne de Montmorency, the Metropolitan's armor can now be securely identified as having been made for Henry VIII. The royal provenance is established by descriptions of the armor in the inventories of the Tudor Royal Armouries of 1547 and 1555 and then in the Pembroke inventory of 1558, following the gift of the armor to the first earl and its transfer to Wilton House. The royal provenance is further supported by the discoveries of brass studs in the form of Tudor roses on the backplate, the red and yellow textile trimmings, and the exchange vambraces of matching design still in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle. The size of the armor, its construction, and its style of decoration indicate that it must date from the last years of the monarch's reign. That it is a field armor intended for battle rather than sport points to its having been made for Henry's last campaign, the Siege of Boulogne, in 1544. The extensive alterations, which were apparently made by the king's Almain armorers, confirm that the harness was adapted for Henry's use. It would thus appear that the Wilton armor is the latest in an impressive series of royal harnesses—the majority of them preserved in England, either in the Royal Armouries at Leeds and the Tower of London or in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle—that document in carapaces of steel the transformation of a slim, athletic monarch to an aging king who was grossly overweight and beset by ill health.

The description of the armor in the inventory of 1547 as "of italion makinge" puts to rest the long-held

opinion of its French manufacture and allows it to be appreciated as a rare documented example of Italian armor dating to the 1540s. It may now also be accepted as an early *anime*, a "small garniture," and a forerunner to the well-known series of armors embellished with roped ridges and volutes that came into fashion a decade later. The armor may also have served as a prototype for the series of small garnitures, many of *anime* construction, that were made at Greenwich in the 1550s.

The identification of the Wilton armor as Henry VIII's brings to a total of five royal armors in the Metropolitan Museum<sup>120</sup> and immeasurably strengthens its holdings of armor made in England, or associated with English owners, which is unrivaled outside Britain.<sup>121</sup> The latter category includes several sturdy early sixteenth-century tournament helmets from English funerary monuments, including one made for Sir Giles Capel (1485–1556), whose manufacture—whether English, Flemish, or Italian—is still debated. The Metropolitan's collection is best known, however, for its richly decorated Greenwich harnesses, including those made for Henry Herbert, second earl of Pembroke (1534–1601), about 1585; the garniture of George Clifford, third earl of Cumberland (1558–1605), about 1586; and two armors made for Sir James Scudamore (1558–1619) in about 1587 and 1590, respectively. Among the later Greenwich works are a gauntlet for the left hand belonging to the armor for field and tournament of Henry, Prince of Wales (1594–1612), made about 1610, which is preserved in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle, and a pair of gauntlets belonging to the armor made as a gift for Prince Friedrich Ulrich of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel in 1610–13, now in a private collection. The finest of the Museum's English armors is without doubt the richly etched and gilt harness dated 1527, which, like the Wilton armor, was once thought to have been made for a Frenchman—Galiot de Genouilhac, master of artillery under Francis I of France—and was long considered to be of French or Italian workmanship.<sup>122</sup> Recent scholarship has demonstrated that this armor is without doubt the product of the Almain Armoury at Greenwich and was very probably made for the king, who is recorded by a contemporary chronicler as having appeared in a Shrovetide tournament in London in 1526/27 wearing "a new harness all gylte of a strange fashion that had not been seen."<sup>123</sup> While further discussion of the much-debated "Genouilhac" armor must await a forthcoming monograph on the Museum's Greenwich armors, it seems likely now that the Museum does indeed possess two armors that belonged to England's Henry VIII.<sup>124</sup>

## APPENDIX

*The growth of a legend: the origins of the story that two of the armors at Wilton House had belonged to the ducs de Montmorency and Montpensier*<sup>125</sup>

A story that armors at Wilton were loot from the Battle of Saint-Quentin, August 10, 1557, was clearly already current by at least the middle of the seventeenth century, since Aubrey refers to it (see pp. 95–96). An inventory of the contents of the house, drawn up after the death of the seventh earl of Pembroke in 1683 and dated the November 16 of that year, however, neither mentions the battle nor gives any attributions for individual armors, though it lists the contents of the two armouries there, to which all the armors were then confined.<sup>126</sup> The earliest evidence we have been able to trace for a “tradition” associating some of them with the ducs de Montmorency and Montpensier—and probably, in fact, its source—is a passage in a guidebook to the house by Richard Cowdry, published in 1751, by which date the display of armor in the Hall at Wilton, which survived until the twentieth century (Figure 1), had been set up:

In the Gallery of this Hall are five Suits of Armour; that in the Middle was *William Earl of Pembroke's*, the other four and the Parts of Five more Suits in the lower part of the Hall were taken from the following noble Persons, on the following Occasion. This Earl, in the Reign of *Queen Mary*, was Captain-General of the *English Forces* at the Siege of *St. Quintin*, at which Siege were taken Prisoners the Constable *Montmorency*, *Montheron* his Son, with the Dukes of *Montpensier* and *Longueville*, *Lewis of Gonzaga*, (afterwards Duke of *Nevers*) the Marshal of *St. Andre*, Admiral *Coligny*, (who was afterwards murdered in the Massacre at *Paris*) and his Brother, not to mention *John de Bourbon*, Duke of *Anguien*, who was found Dead among the Slain. Here are also some of the Weapons which were taken at the same Time.<sup>127</sup>

It is hardly necessary to point out that this passage is imprecise in its allocation of the armors and leaves a choice of “noble Persons” to whom they might have belonged.

A second, corrected edition of Cowdry's work was published in 1752.<sup>128</sup> In 1758 it was reprinted, virtually unchanged, but with Cowdry's name replaced by that of James Kennedy, and in this form it went through eight further editions, of which the last one appeared in 1779.<sup>129</sup> The passage about the armor quoted above is repeated in all of them, with the very minor difference that the other four armors “and the Parts of Five more Suits” are described as being in the opposite (not the lower) part of the hall. George

Richardson in the first edition (1774) of his *Aedes Pembrochianae* (p. 31) merely mentions the armor of the first earl, but in the edition of 1788 more precise information is given: “There are several suits of armour, disposed in niches. One of them belonged to William, Earl of Pembroke, who commanded the English forces at the battle of St. Quintin; another to the Constable Montmorency, taken prisoner there; and another to the Duke of Montpensier, also taken prisoner there.”<sup>130</sup> Nothing is said about the other noble prisoners.

The Montmorency/Montpensier story, therefore, as was to be expected, is yet another of the romantic fictions about armor that were produced during the latter part of the eighteenth century. It was recorded for the first time in a work on arms and armor by Samuel Meyrick in the second edition of his great *Critical Inquiry into Antient Armor*, published in 1842,<sup>131</sup> and became accepted fact among specialists when the armors made what seems to have been their first public appearance outside Wilton at the *Exhibition of the Royal House of Tudor* held at the New Gallery, London, in 1890. They were naturally given their “traditional” attributions in the catalogue (nos. 575–76), and these were given the seal of the approval of the leading English authority on arms and armor, the Baron C. A. de Cosson, in an article on the exhibition.<sup>132</sup>

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## NOTES

1. For a modern account of the battle, see C. Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1937), pp. 256–64. Pembroke and the English contingent did not arrive in time to take part in the battle but were involved in the subsequent looting. Montmorency actually surrendered to the contingent commanded by Emmanuele Philiberto of Savoy. See F. H. Cripps-Day, "A Sur-Rebutter: The Wilton Controversy," in his *The Past Is Never Dead*, *Fragmenta Armamentaria* 5 (Frome, 1941), pp. 200–201.
2. *The Wilton Suits: A Controversy, with Notes on Other Archaeological Questions by Various Writers* (London, 1918), pp. 6–7. Two further letters were subsequently published in *Burlington Magazine* 42 (April 1923), pp. 206–11, and 54 (January 1929), p. 50.
3. A report on the sale in the *Times* (London) for July 11, 1917 (p. 9), records: "The late Duc d'Aumale many years ago is said to have offered £30,000 for the two suits. In neither case was the reserve . . . reached, and therefore the two suits were bought in, the Montmorency at £14,500, and the Montpensier at £10,500. In the first case the underbidder was Mr. S. G. Fenton [the London armor dealer], who was acting for an American, and in the second the underbidder was also acting for a Transatlantic buyer."
 

The late Sir James Mann stated incorrectly in his "Recollections of the Wilton Armoury" (*Connoisseur* 104 [July 1939], p. 11) that Lord Pembroke withdrew the armors before the sale. We are grateful to Peter Hawkins for drawing our attention to an account of the affair from Sotheby's point of view in Robert Lacey's *Sotheby's: Bidding for Class* (London, 1998), pp. 68–71. It is there suggested that ffoulkes acted as he did because he "had many long-standing relationships, personal and professional, with Christie's" and that "Christie's were a major channel through which the Tower of London had long acquired and disposed of armour." The first statement is highly improbable: we have heard many criticisms of ffoulkes from people who knew him but never the slightest suggestion that he was involved with

any of the salerooms or dealers. We suggest that there is a confusion here with Sir Guy Laking (died 1919), the noted authority on antique arms and armor, who had a close connection with Christie's, to whom it does very much apply. The second statement is simply wrong: the Tower Armouries had not disposed of anything for the best part of a century before ffoulkes took office in 1913, and when they had done so, it had not been through Christie's, while no regular purchases had been made since before 1855 because no purchase grant had been available. It is interesting to note, incidentally, that ffoulkes makes no reference at all to the affair in his autobiography *Arms and the Tower* (London, 1939).

The Metropolitan Museum was one of the unsuccessful bidders for both harnesses, being represented in the saleroom that day by its agent, C. Davies Sherborn of the British Museum.

4. *The Wilton Suits: A Controversy* (see note 2 above).
  5. Mackay had pursued the acquisition of the "Montmorency" and "Montpensier" armors throughout the 1920s, using as his agent Sir Joseph Duveen, the famous art dealer. He finally acquired the "Montmorency" armor alone for £15,500, the equivalent at the time of \$75,000, on December 20, 1929. Details of the negotiations are recorded in the Duveen Brothers Archive at the Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, Los Angeles, a microfilm of which is available in the Thomas J. Watson Library at the Metropolitan Museum. With the onset of the Great Depression, Mackay suffered financial setbacks and in 1932 was forced to sell some of his most important works of art at sharply reduced prices. The finest of these were offered privately to the Metropolitan Museum, of which he was a trustee. For the Museum's acquisitions of Mackay's arms and armor, see Stephen V. Grancsay, "Historical Arms and Armor," *MMAB* 28 (March 1933), pp. 50–57 (reprinted in *Arms and Armor: Essays by Stephen V. Grancsay from The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, 1920–1964* [New York, 1986], pp. 111–16).
- The "Montpensier" armor was finally sold by Christie's on May 27, 1954 (lot 49), when it was acquired by Carl Otto von Kienbusch of New York City. It is now with the rest of his collection in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (acc. no. 1977-167-12). See *The Kretschmar von Kienbusch Collection of Armor and Arms* (Princeton, N.J., 1963), no. 26. The armor has since been tentatively identified in the Wilton inventory of 1558 as a "millayne dimilance graven and gilt" and is now assumed to have been the personal armor of the first earl of Pembroke; see J. F. Hayward, "The Armoury of the First Earl of Pembroke," *Connoisseur* 155 (April 1964), p. 228 and fig. 7 on p. 229. Boccia concurred with the Milanese attribution and the mid-sixteenth-century date; see Lionello Giorgio Boccia, *Gli esemplari italiani nell'Armeria Kienbusch del Philadelphia Museum of Art* (Florence, 1988), pp. 7–8.
- 6. C. R. Beard, "New Light on the Pembroke Armoury," *Connoisseur* 88 (October 1931), p. 276. The manuscript (now British Library, MS Lansdowne 213, fols. 347r–384v) was published by L. G. Wickham Legge in 1936 as *A Relation of a Short Survey of the Western Counties*, Camden Miscellany 16, Camden Society, 3rd ser., 52 (London, 1936). The account of the Wilton armory is on fol. 372v of the manuscript and pp. 67–68 of the publication. Legge identified the lieutenant's surname as Hammond. Beard mistakenly ascribed the survey to the unidentified Norwich captain whom the same lieutenant and an ancient had accompanied on a trip in the previous year, the account of which is in the same manuscript.

That part of the account describing the Wilton armory was also published by F. H. Cripps-Day, *An Introduction to the Study of Greenwich Armour (Documentary Evidence)*, *Fragmenta Armamentaria* 1, pt. 3 (Frome, 1944), pp. 102–4.

7. William Herbert was Henry's squire, and therefore his armor bearer. See above, p. 99.
8. Cripps-Day, "A Sur-Rebutter," pp. 205–6. He came down firmly against the "traditional" attributions (pp. 202–3, 208). The armor is therefore mentioned only in passing in his article "The Armours of Anne de Montmorency, Constable of France, and of His Sons, Part 1," *Connoisseur* 113 (June 1944), pp. 89–90.

The full text of Aubrey's account of the Wilton armory is as follows:

THE ARMORIE. The armory is a very long roome, which I guess to have been a dorture heretofore. Before the civil warres, I remember, it was very full. The collection was not only great but the manner of obtaining it was much greater; which was by a victory at the battle of St. Quintin's, where William the first Earle of Pembroke was generall, Sir George Penruddock, of Compton Chamberlain was Major Generall, and William Aubrey LL.D. my great-grandfather was Judge Advocat. There were armes, sc. the spoils, for sixteen thousand men, horse and foot. (From the Right Honourable Thomas Earl of Pembroke). Desire my brother William Aubrey to gett a copy of the inventory of it. Before the late civill warres here were muskettes and pikes for . . . [sic] hundred men; lances for tilting; complete armour for horsemen; for pikemen, &c. The rich gilt and engraved armour of Henry VIII. The like rich armour of King Edward VI. In the late warres much of the armour was imbecill'd [embezzled].

*The Natural History of Wiltshire by John Aubrey, F.R.S. (Written between 1656 and 1691)*, ed. John Britton (London, 1847), p. 86.

Much of the material was collected long before 1656. The date of Aubrey's visit to Wilton is not given, but he mentions that he remembers the armory as it was "Before the civil warres," that is before 1642. The Thomas, earl of Pembroke, cited must have been the eighth earl (died 1733), who succeeded in 1683.

Aubrey's reference to the source of the armory being the spoils of Battle of Saint-Quentin was cited in isolation by G. D. Hobson in support of the tradition that the two disputed armors were in fact those of Montmorency and Montpensier (*Wilton Suits*, p. 24).

9. *An Inventorie of all the Golde and sylver plate, Jewelles, apparell and Wardrobe stuffe, with the ffurniture of Stable, Armorie, and all other implemtes of householde belonging to the right honorable William Earle of Pembroke, vewed at the commandement of the seyd Earle by the L. Harbert of Cardyf his sonne, John Hownde, William Jordan, John Dysteley, Morgan Lloyd, Servantes to the seyd Earle, the xij<sup>th</sup> of December Anno Dñi 1561<sup>mo</sup> Regni Elizabethæ Regine quarto*. The inventory of the armory and its forge (fols. 116r–118v) is headed "A declaracion of all such Armo<sup>r</sup> as is lefte at Wilton vij<sup>o</sup> December 1558 with a note of thordinance and other munycion thereunto belong[ing] in the chardge of Thomas Smythe."

The manuscript was acquired for the library of the Victoria and Albert Museum (MS L30-1982) in 1983. A paper on it was read to the Society of Antiquaries of London by Sir James Mann on February 2, 1956, in which he suggested that the "Montmorency" armor was, in fact, the one ascribed to Henry VIII. The section dealing with the armory was published by J. F. Hayward in "Armoury of the First Earl of Pembroke," pp. 225–30.

See also Guy Turner, "Lord Pembroke's Inventory of 1561,"

*Silver Society Journal*, no. 11 (autumn 1999), pp. 189–92; Elizabeth Goldring, "An Important Early Picture Collection: The Earl of Pembroke's 1561/62 Inventory and the Provenance of Holbein's 'Christina of Denmark,'" *Burlington Magazine* 144 (March 2003), pp. 157–60.

10. Fols. 116r–v in the inventory of 1558 cited in note 9. For the Edward VI armor, see notes 14 and 18 below.
11. Hayward, "Armoury of the First Earl of Pembroke," pp. 228, 230.
12. L. G. Boccia stated, without citing supporting evidence, that a cuirass of this construction was called by the Italians "anima" (soul), because it could be hidden beneath a leather or fabric garment, like the human soul in the body." See "Arms and Armor from the Medici Court," *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 61, nos. 1 and 2 (summer 1983), p. 61. For a well-documented account of the anime, see F. H. Kelly, "The Anime—Notes," *Burlington Magazine* 34 (January 1919), pp. 23–30.
13. D. Starkey, ed., *The Inventory of King Henry VIII: The Transcript* (London, 1998), p. 159, no. 8262. See also H. A. Dillon, "Arms and Armour at Westminster, the Tower, and Greenwich, 1547," *Archæologia* 51 (1888), p. 273.
14. *A declaracion conteyning the number and kyndes of all suche armor, harness, weapons, and other furniture as are w<sup>t</sup>in the charge of the Master of the Armories and in what places the same byn remayning at this present daye together w<sup>t</sup> the ffees allowances and wages due to the Mynisters servinge w<sup>t</sup>in the said office. Aswell in the x<sup>th</sup> yere of the raigne of our late soueraigne Lorde Henry the eighte. Also this present daye beyng the xx<sup>th</sup> daye of August in the seconde and thirde yere of the raigne of Philip and Marye* (Longleat Archives, Miscellaneous Manuscripts, vol. 5, "Th'Office of the Ordynance and Armorye," 1555, fols. 1–83), fol. 77. The armor was still at Greenwich.

We are grateful to Kay Lacey, who discovered the inventory, both for drawing our attention to it and for giving us permission to quote from it in advance of her own publication of the whole document.

This inventory also includes "One. litle harnesse complete made for kinge Edwarde p[ar]cell guylte w<sup>t</sup> a Murring [sic for 'morion']." This, as the only armor made for Edward VI recorded, must be the one that is listed in the 1558 Wilton inventory and mentioned by Aubrey (above p. 95). Nothing certain is known of what became of it, but it might well be the only complete sixteenth-century Greenwich armor for a child known to survive. This is a parcel-gilt Greenwich three-quarter anime made for a boy of about twelve years of age, and dating from the mid-sixteenth century—Edward would have been thirteen in 1550—formerly at Cotehele House, Cornwall, seat of the Edgcumbe family, and now in the Royal Armouries (no. II.178). It is not known how it came to be at Cotehele, where it is first recorded in 1810. It could have belonged to Piers Edgcumbe (born 1535), but it is also possible that it was acquired by the first earl of Mount Edgcumbe (1721–1795), who was an antiquary. Marginally in favor of it being the Wilton armor is that two colored lithographs of the interior of the hall at Cotehele by N. Condry, made probably in 1836, show it mounted high on the wall with its original helmet (which is missing) replaced by an inappropriate morion, as described in the 1555 Royal Armouries inventory. On the other hand, a knee piece from a slightly larger armor of identical design was purchased by the Royal Armouries from the earl of Pembroke in 1951 (no. III.2255), and this might be all that remains of the Edward VI armor. See N. Condry and F. V. J. Arundell, *History of Cotehele* (London, n.d. [ca. 1850?]), pls. facing pp. 8 and 12; J. F. Hay-

ward, "A Newly Discovered Greenwich Armour," *Connoisseur* 141 (April 1958), pp. 140–43; *Cotehele House* (London, 1978), p. 14.

It should be mentioned that the only known document relating to armor being made for Edward VI is the following entry of March 16, 1551/52, among the acts of the Privy Council: "A warraunt from the Kinges Majestie to Peter Osborne to delyver to Erasmus Kyrkener the summe of j<sup>c</sup>xxvij<sup>li</sup> xiiij<sup>s</sup> for certaine harnesses by hym provided for his Highnes' use." *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, n.s., vol. 4, A.D. 1552–1554 (London, 1892), p. 237.

It needs to be emphasized that the date refers only to the authorization of the payment and not to that of the bill, which might well have been submitted much earlier. It could therefore refer to the armor Edward is recorded as wearing the previous April in a dispatch dated April 9, 1551, to Emperor Charles V or his council from Jehan Scheyfyve, imperial ambassador to England: "On the 7th and 8th of April the King of England mounted his horse in full armour, rode two or three miles each time, and also charged the target to exercise and show himself to the People." *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish*, vol. 10, 1550–52 (London, 1914), p. 266.

15. "Guilte vambraces late king Henry the eightes one p[ai]re," 1611 *Remayne of his Maties Armory*, Public Record Office (hereafter cited as PRO), London, SP14, 64, no. 71, fol. 98v. A similar entry occurs in the 1628/29 *Remaine*, but the attribution to Henry VIII is dropped from the later ones, though the vambraces can still be identified. They were probably the pair of "Vambraces Parcell Gilt" transferred from the Tower of London to Windsor Castle on July 22, 1688 (PRO, WO55/1656, unpaginated).

We are grateful to the late A. V. B. Norman for allowing us to publish this information in advance of the publication of his part of the forthcoming catalogue of the arms and armor in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle.

16. Comparative measurements among armors are usually difficult to calculate accurately owing to the flexibility of the armor parts, subsequent releatherings, alterations, and restorations, and different methods of mounting. Fixed measurements that generally do not change during adulthood, such as the length of arms (best measured from the point of the shoulder to the elbow or from elbow to the wrist) or lower leg (measured from the center of the knee to the base of the foot), are not useful in connection with the Wilton armor. For this reason the torso measurements, charted below, are the most useful. In addition to Henry's armor of 1540 in the Royal Armouries (Figure 4), the Wilton armor is also compared to the King's armor at Windsor Castle, which is currently thought to date slightly earlier, 1539–40. The width of each element is measured in a straight line across the inside of the plates at the points indicated.

<u>Armor piece</u>	<u>Windsor</u>	<u>Leeds</u>	<u>New York</u>
Helmet (ear to ear)	214 mm	203 mm	190 mm
Breastplate (lower gusset)	435 mm	439 mm	431 mm
Breastplate (waist)	427 mm	380 mm	396 mm
Backplate (upper gusset)	380 mm	390 mm	410 mm
Backplate (lower gusset)	425 mm	408 mm	410 mm
Backplate (waist)	420 mm	358 mm	367 mm

17. British Library, Harl. MS 7457: *The Office of Th'Armoury. The State of the said Office conteyning the Receipts and Deliveries of Armour ffrom the Death of your Highnesse most Victorious and Renowned Father King Henry the Eighth . . . unto the Last day of December 1561. Wherein is comprized and severally divided all such Armour as hath been received in the tyme of Yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ty</sup> Brother . . . King Edward The Sixth, Your Sister Queen Mary, and within the tyme of your Ma<sup>ty</sup> owne Reigne to the said Laste of December the ffourthe yeare of the same Wherein is also remembered the whole Masse and Store at this Day remaining in Your Severall Armouryes: And all such Your Highnesse Armour as presently doth remaine in the Hands of Your Nobility and Subjects.*

A special copy of this, now owned by Lord Dartmouth, was given to Queen Elizabeth I as a New Year gift by Sir George Howard. It is at present on loan to the Royal Armouries, Leeds.

18. *Ibid.*, fol. 14v. The armor of Edward VI, listed in the 1555 inventory, is not mentioned at all, which must mean that it had left the Armouries. Since issues to the monarch are not recorded, it is possible that the explanation for this omission is that it was presented to Pembroke personally by King Philip or Queen Mary.
19. The same list records (fol. 14v) that one of Henry's brigandines (a doublet lined with riveted plates) was in the possession of Sir John Gage.
20. See G. T. Bindoff, *The House of Commons, 1509–1558*, vol. 2, *Members, D–M* (London, 1982), pp. 337–38, 518; P. W. Hasler, *The House of Commons, 1558–1603*, vol. 3, *Members, M–Z* (London, 1981), pp. 551–52; *The Manuscripts of the Right Honourable F. J. Savile Foljambe, of Osberton*, Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fifteenth Report, Appendix, pt. 5 (London, 1897), pp. 5–6. We are grateful to Dr. W. R. B. Robinson, F.S.A., for information about Vaughan.
21. See J. E. Nightingale, *Some Notice of William Herbert, First Earl of Pembroke of the Present Creation* (London, 1878); *The Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 26 (London, 1891), pp. 220–23; G. E. C., *The Complete Peerage*, vol. 10 (London, 1945), pp. 405–10; Bindoff, *House of Commons*, pp. 341–44; N. Sil, *William, Lord Herbert of Pembroke (c. 1507–1570): Politique and Patriot*, Studies in British History 6 (Lewiston, N.Y., and Queenstown, Canada, 1987).
22. Oman, *War in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 331, 330. Pages 330–49 are devoted to a good general account of the Enterprise. For an account of the political background see J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, new ed. (London, 1997), pp. 434–35, 439–41.
23. On the military campaigns in which he was personally involved, see Oman, *War in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 287, and Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, pp. 21–38, 434–35, 439, 445–49.
24. For detailed accounts of Henry's illnesses during his reign, see F. C. Chamberlin, *The Private Character of Henry VIII* (New York and Washington, D.C., 1931), and A. S. McNalty, *Henry VIII: A Difficult Patient* (London, 1952), both *passim*; C. Brewer, *The Death of Kings* (London, 2000), pp. 113–24. See also Neville Williams, *Henry VIII and His Court* (London, 1971), *passim*; Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, pp. 426–27, 445, 484–87.  
For his activities in the tournament field see Williams, *Henry VIII*, pp. 28, 47–48, 141; Alan Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments* (London, 1987), *passim*, but esp. pp. 197–200; Ian Eaves, "The Tournament Armours of King Henry VIII of England," *Livrustkammaren*, 1993, pp. 34–38.
25. The almost contemporary wall painting of the siege, formerly at Cowdray House, Sussex, shows the king on foot in a command post. See Sir Joseph Ayloffe, "An Account of Some Ancient English Historical Paintings at Cowdray, in Sussex," *Archaeologia* 3

- (London, 1786), pp. 251–61. An engraving of the painting was reproduced in C. Blair, “A Royal Swordsmith and Damascener: Diego de Caías,” *MMJ* 3 (1970), pp. 170–71.
26. PRO, E101/423/10, *passim*, for ordinary clothing, and for arming doublets, fols. 14v, 17v, 23r.
  27. It should be mentioned that the last occasion when Henry was personally involved in warfare was during a short period commencing on July 15, 1545, when he went down to Portsmouth to take command of his navy and army in the repelling of a threatened invasion by the French. There is no suggestion in any of the sources that he wore armor at this time or that he ever contemplated becoming physically involved in actual combat. In fact, we know that on one occasion he deliberately avoided combat. On July 18, after he had dined with his senior captains on board the flagship, the *Henry Grace à Dieu*, it was reported that what turned out to be the French fleet was approaching. Henry at once returned to the shore, leaving his officers in command.
- For a general account of the invasion, which was unsuccessful, including an eyewitness report of Henry's reaction to the arrival of the French fleet, see Margaret Rule, *The Mary Rose: The Excavation and Raising of Henry VIII's Flagship* (Leicester, 1982), pp. 30–38. See also the report in a letter of July 24, 1545, to the emperor Charles V from his ambassador to England, Francis Van der Delft, published in *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. 20 (i) (London, 1905), p. 627.
28. Thom Richardson, *The Armour and Arms of Henry VIII* (Leeds, 2002), pp. 44–45, considers the Wilton armor to be “possibly French, about 1545” and suggests that it and the related saddle steels “may have formed part of the diplomatic gifts accompanying the negotiations for the peace which was concluded between England and France in 1546.” We know of no evidence to support this hypothesis.
  29. Starkey, *Inventory of King Henry VIII*, p. 161, no. 8384. See also Dillon, “Arms and Armour at Westminster,” p. 278. The armor cannot be identified in the 1555 inventory.
  30. Printed in full in Cripps-Day, *Greenwich Armour*, pp. 57–64. Dated only “Anno 36 Henry [VIII],” which corresponds to the period April 22, 1544, to April 21, 1545, it is unclear whether or not it covers the whole of that period or merely part of it. A few parts of it are illegible because of damage.
- Unfortunately, the royal privy purse accounts (*Books of King's Payments*), which would almost certainly have contained the record of payments for the armors, are missing for the period between September 1542 and the end of Henry's reign.
31. We are grateful to Ian Eaves for suggesting to us that the armors were connected with the Boulogne campaign.
- The armors will be discussed in more detail in one of the volumes of commentaries on the 1547 Inventory to be published in conjunction with the transcript edited by David Starkey cited in note 13 and elsewhere. Only minimal further discussion of them, therefore, is appropriate here. One of them can almost certainly be identified as the field armor numbered 8348 in the transcript, which is described in the 1555 Armouries inventory (fol. 76) as having two helmets. Mr. Eaves suggests (personal communication to Claude Blair) that it is now represented by a group of detached Greenwich pieces in the Royal Armouries, etched with gilt and blackened hatched arabesques, and comprising a buffe, a toe cap, and a pair of saddle steels (nos. 11.8R, 9 [formerly 8Q] v1.96, 97). There are in addition two identical pairs of saddle steels of similar form and decoration to the aforementioned group, nos. v1.98, 99 in the Royal Armouries, which may also have been made at that time and are perhaps part of the group of four saddle steels mentioned in Kirkener's account. See *Exhibition of Armour Made in the Royal Workshops at Greenwich*, exh. cat., H.M. Tower of London (London, 1951), nos. 51–53, 58; H. R. Robinson, *Armours of Henry VIII* (London, 1977), p. 18; A. Williams and A. de Reuck, *The Royal Armoury at Greenwich, 1515–1649: A History of Its Technology*, Royal Armouries Monograph 4 (London, 1995), pp. 76–77; Richardson, *Armour and Arms of Henry VIII*, pp. 41, 43.
- The armor decorated with scales cannot be identified in the inventories, though a shaffron “scaled and grauen” and “A Crenet with Skales percell grauen and guilte,” described separately in that of 1547 (Starkey, *Inventory of King Henry VIII*, pp. 160–61, nos. 8347, 8348) and together in that of 1555 (fol. 76v), must have belonged to it. The crinet, decorated with etched and parcel-gilt scales, remains in the Royal Armouries (no. v1.69), who also acquired the right gauntlet from the armor in 1983 (no. 11.1788) at the sale of the Astor Collection at Hever Castle, Kent. A close helmet belonging to it once formed part of a funeral achievement in Lullingstone Church, Kent, but was stolen some thirty years ago. See J. G. Mann, “Two Helmets in St. Botolph's Church, Lullingstone, Kent,” *Antiquaries Journal* 12 (1932), pp. 136–45; Williams and de Reuck, *Royal Armoury at Greenwich*, p. 79; Richardson, *Armour and Arms of Henry VIII*, p. 42.
32. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. 19 (i) (London, 1903), p. 279, no. 17.
  33. On Milanese armorers in his employ in England, see C. Blair, “The Emperor Maximilian's Gift of Armour to King Henry VIII and the Silvered and Engraved Armour at the Tower of London,” *Archaeologia* 99 (1965), pp. 1–56, *passim*. Also reprinted as a separate monograph under the title *The Silvered Armour of Henry VIII in the Tower of London* (Oxford, 1965).
  34. No doubt an anglicized form of Francesco Alberto (or Alberti).
  35. PRO, E101/423/10, fols. 81–91. We wish to thank Maria Hayward for drawing our attention, via Simon Metcalf, the Queen's Armourer, to this volume of accounts of Henry VIII's Great Wardrobe for 1543–44.
  36. The missing *Books of King's Payments* for the period (see note 30 above) would almost certainly have contained the record of any payments made to him.
  37. For his dealings with Cromwell see *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. 14 (ii) (London, 1895), p. 330, and for the Privy Council records, Harris Nicolas, *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England*, vol. 7, 32 Henry VIII. MDXL. to 33 Henry VIII. MDXLII. (London, 1837), pp. 39, 40, 105 (also *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. 16 [London, 1898], pp. 17, 18, 212). The two entries in September record respectively: an order that Albert “and his fellow” should go to the lord chancellor with a letter from the council, taking with them “the two l[ett]res denyzens which were confessed by them to have bene gotten out undre the gret seale of England w'out any warrant” and produce proof that they were innocent in the matter; and a letter to the lord chancellor advising him of this and “of the sending unto hym of the two l[ett]res patentees of denyzens which wer stollen owte.” Letters (patent) of denization admitted foreign residents to certain rights of citizenship but fell short of full naturalization. We have not been able to discover any further information about this matter nor have we been able to identify Albert in either W. Page, *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization of*

- Aliens in England, 1509–1603*, Huguenot Society 8 (London, 1893), or R. G. Kirk, *Returns of Aliens in London, 1523–1603*, Huguenot Society 10 (London, 1900–1908).
38. See Simon Thurley, *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England* (New Haven and London, 1993), Plan 11, and Simon Thurley, *Whitehall Palace: An Architectural History of the Royal Apartments, 1240–1698* (New Haven and London, 2000), pp. 10–11.
39. That this was done, apparently successfully, is established by the fact that three armors were made for Henry in Innsbruck in 1511–14 (one a gift from the emperor Maximilian) without him going there. At the time an armor was also being made for the young archduke Charles (later the emperor Charles V), for which the armorer was supplied with examples of his doublet and hose. See Blair, “Emperor Maximilian’s Gift,” pp. 8–13.
- The fact that the Museum’s armor does not have greaves, the most difficult part to make, would have removed one obstacle to getting a reasonably good fit.
40. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. 19 (ii) (London, 1905), p. 239; Thomas Rymer, *Foedera*, 3rd ed., vol. 6, pts. 1 and 2 (The Hague, 1741), pt. 2, p. 120.
41. The armor features in the following Museum publications, all by Stephen V. Grancsay: *Loan Exhibition of Arms and Armor*, exh. cat., MMA (New York, 1931), pp. 7–8, no. 13 (not illustrated); “Historical Arms and Armor,” pp. 50–57; *Historical Armor: A Picture Book* (New York, 1944) (reprinted in various editions until 1957); *Medieval and Renaissance Arms and Armor: Loan Exhibition from The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, exh. cat., Los Angeles County Museum (Los Angeles, 1953), p. 10, no. 8; “New Galleries of European Arms and Armor,” *MMAB*, n.s., 14, no. 9 (May 1956), p. 221 (reprinted in *Arms and Armor: Essays by Stephen V. Grancsay*, pp. 421–39, where the illustration of the armor is omitted). The armor was called Italian in the publications of 1931 and 1944 and French in those of 1933, 1953, and 1956. The French attribution was also asserted in Grancsay’s article “The Armor of Henry I de Montmorency,” *MMAB* 34, no. 12 (December 1939), pp. 284–86 (reprinted in *Arms and Armor: Essays by Stephen V. Grancsay*, pp. 241–43).
42. The weight of the individual elements is as follows: burgonet 4 lb. 13 oz. (2,185 g); buffe 2 lb. 11 oz. (1,226 g); breastplate with skirt lame 8 lb. 3 oz. (3,727 g); right tasset 1 lb. 15 oz. (887 g) and right tasset extension 1 lb. 12 oz. (805 g); left tasset 2 lb. 1 oz. (929 g) and left tasset extension 1 lb. 13 oz. (811 g); backplate 7 lb. 8 oz. (3,413 g); right pauldron and vambraces 6 lb. 9 oz. (2,978 g); left pauldron and vambrace 6 lb. 15 oz. (3,157 g); right gauntlet 1 lb. (447 g); left gauntlet 1 lb. (442 g); right cuisse and poleyn 2 lb. 3 oz. (993 g); left cuisse and poleyn 2 lb. 1 oz. (928 g).
43. As indicated by two rivet holes, one behind the other, at each side of the eleventh lame of the backplate, with a corresponding hole on either side of the ninth lame of the breastplate (Figure 10). This additional strap-and-buckle fastening appears to have been fairly common on animes and is found, for example, on the Italian anime of Gian Giacomo de’ Medici, ca. 1555, in the Hofjagd- und Rüstammer, Vienna, no. A404 (Ortwin Gamber and Christian Beaufort, *Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien, Hofjagd- und Rüstammer: Katalog der Leibrüstammer*, vol. 2, *Der Zeitraum von 1530–1560* [Vienna and Busto Arsizio, 1990], pp. 111–12, fig. 52). Rivet holes beneath the armholes on the anime G.139 in the Musée de l’Armée (Figure 51), discussed above, indicate that this cuirass too originally possessed lateral strap-and-buckle closings.
44. Both tabs appear to have been complete and well preserved in 1917 when a photograph of the cuisses was published in connection with an announcement of the Wilton House sale in *Connoisseur* 48 (June 1917), p. 115.
- As noted above (p. 101) the yellow and red colors of the armor’s textile trimmings match those of the new livery made for the French campaign. These same colors were used for the padded lining still present inside many of the “gun shields” recorded in the 1547 inventory of Henry VIII’s armory (Simon Metcalf, Anthony R. E. North, and Derek Balfour, “A Gun-Shield from the Armoury of Henry VIII: Decorative Oddity or Important Discovery?” *V & A Conservation Journal*, autumn 2001, p. 15).
- We are grateful to Nobuko Kajitani, retired conservator in charge in the Department of Textile Conservation at the Metropolitan Museum, for her analysis of the armor’s textile fittings.
45. The volume of accounts of Henry’s Great Wardrobe referred to above (p. 100) contains a record of payments to William Croughton, the royal hosier, that appears to be relevant in connection with the unusual attachment of the poleyn. The payments included one pair of velvet hose “de nova factura” fastened with eyelet holes at the knee. Before this, in the same entry, a pair of what were presumably ordinary hose are merely described as “factura.” “Nova,” therefore, may mean that they were of a new design. Other payments to Croughton were for lining and doing other work on three pairs of hose “bought from Millan,” made with “eyelett howles” drawn together below the knees with ribbons. The next three entries are for white linen cloth for lining, cloth for binding, and ribbon for the same, suggesting that the first entry must be for refurbishing the existing Milanese hose (PRO E101/423/10, fol. 51v, referring to a warrant of February 26, 1545).
46. For the iconography of Hope, particularly in the sixteenth century, see Guy de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l’art profane, 1450–1600: Dictionnaire d’un langage perdu*, 2 vols. (Geneva, 1958–59), vol. 1, col. 172, and Michaela Bautz, *Virtutes: Studien zu Funktion und Ikonographie der Tugenden im Mittelalter und im 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1999), pp. 239–50.
- The Florentine medals of the late fifteenth century are usually ascribed to the manner of Niccolò Fiorentino [Niccolò di Forzore Spinelli, 1430–1514]; see George Francis Hill, *A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance before Cellini*, 2 vols. (London, 1930), nos. 627, 839, 954, 956, 957, 960, 964, 965, 996, 1012, 1017, 1023–25, 1039, 1043, 1085.
- Numerous representations of the Virtues are found in sixteenth-century prints but we have been unable to identify any that come as close in pose and dress to the figure on the plume-holder as do the figures on these medals. A similar figure of Hope does, however, reappear in the etched decoration of Milanese armors by, or in the style of, Pompeo della Cesa (ca. 1537–1610) in the last quarter of the century. Illustrations of several of those by Pompeo are found in Donald J. LaRocca, “A Neapolitan Patron of Armor and Tapestry Identified,” *MMJ* 28 (1993), pp. 85–102, esp. figs. 1, 2, 8.
47. For surveys of Henry VIII’s armors, including reference to their decoration, see Robinson, *Armours of Henry VIII*; Eaves, “Tournament Armours of King Henry VIII,” pp. 2–45; and Richardson, *Armour and Arms of Henry VIII*.
48. The armor in the Royal Collection is discussed in the publications cited in note 47, and most recently by James L. Jackson, “Greenwich Armour of King Henry VIII for Field and Tilt at



- Windsor Castle—Some Recent Discoveries,” *Journal of the Arms and Armour Society* 16, no. 5 (September 2000), pp. 249–56. The dating of the Windsor armor is discussed by Eaves, “Tournament Armours of King Henry VIII,” pp. 32–38.
49. The identification of this motif with that on the Montmorency monument was first pointed out by F. H. Cripps-Day, *The Wilton Controversy: A Sur-Rebuttal* (Frome, 1926), pp. 17–22, and was regularly repeated in support of the Montmorency association of the Wilton armor in the publications by Grancsay cited in note 41. For the Montmorency heart monument, see Jean-René Gaborit et al., *Musée du Louvre, Département des Sculptures du Moyen Âge, de la Renaissance et des Temps Modernes: Sculpture française, II—Renaissance et temps modernes*, vol. 2, Goujon—Warin et anonymes (Paris, 1998), pp. 547–50.
  50. *Wilton Suits*, pp. 20–21. Clasped hands are found on several Italian armors where they are a prominent and regularly repeated motif in the etched decoration, suggesting that they were one of the owner’s personal devices; some of these armors have recently been discussed by Karen Watts, “The Armor of the Knights of St. John, Malta,” *Royal Armouries Yearbook* 3 (1998), pp. 37–39.
  51. *Wilton Suits*, pp. 23–24, 42–44.
  52. An etched device using an armorer’s or decorator’s mark is rare in this period. The Milanese armorer Niccolò Silva (recorded 1511–49) used a compass in conjunction with his initials NS or name, N. SILVA, on several armors dating to ca. 1515; see Blair, “The Emperor Maximilian’s Gift of Armour to King Henry VIII,” pp. 22–24. In the period 1560–1600 a variety of emblems such as a castle (possibly referring to the Castello Sforzesco in Milan, the seat of government and location of the court armor workshops), an orb and cross, a star, or an elephant with a howdah, to name but a few, are found on Italian armors, usually incorporated into the etched decoration at top of the breastplate. It is generally assumed that these are the marks either of the armorer or the etcher or their respective workshops; see Lionello G. Boccia and José-A. Godoy, “Les armures de la garde de Cosimo I et Francesco I de Médicis,” *Genava*, n.s., 40 (1992), pp. 105–8.
  53. Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l’art profane*, vol. 2, col. 260, citing the printers’ mark of Pierre Madrigal of Madrid, used from 1586–94, in conjunction with the inscription FIDES QUAE PER CHARITATEM OPERATUR.
  54. For parade burgonets of this construction by Filippo Negroli, his family, and contemporary Milanese armorers, see Stuart W. Pyhrr and José-A. Godoy, *Heroic Armor of the Italian Renaissance: Filippo Negroli and His Contemporaries*, exh. cat., MMA (New York, 1998), nos. 18, 20–23, 30, 39–41, 63. The Wilton burgonet more closely resembles early sixteenth-century Italian burgonets for light field service, which have multiple articulations at the nape; for example, see Lionello G. Boccia and Eduardo T. Coelho, *L’arte dell’armatura in Italia* (Milan, 1967), figs. 234, 236.
  55. As, for example, the exchange burgonet belonging to the field armor of William Somerset, 3rd earl of Worcester, ca. 1570–80, in the Royal Armouries, inv. no. 11.83, for which see *Armour Made in the Royal Workshops of Greenwich*, pp. 17–18, no. 10, and pls. 12 and 33c.
  56. We are grateful to Ian Eaves for the suggestion that the new gussets may have served to secure an internal leather strap at each shoulder that buckled to a corresponding strap riveted at each shoulder of the backplate. These internal straps, which would have borne the weight of the cuirass, are a regular feature found on Greenwich armors. Seemingly overlooked by specialists, the feature will be discussed by Mr. Eaves in his forthcoming monograph on Greenwich armors in the Metropolitan Museum. The presence of this internal support would further substantiate our observations as to the adaptation of this harness for the king’s use by his Almain armorers.
  57. The severely trimmed sides of the breastplate, for example, are so rough and uneven as to cause us to question whether this alteration was made by the king’s Almain armorers, whose modifications of the armor, as identified here, were so well made that they escaped notice until recently.
- As it is unthinkable that this cherished relic of Henry VIII would have been modified for subsequent use by William Herbert or his son, the alterations to this armor must have been made for Henry VIII at the time of use or, otherwise, at Wilton House at a much later date.
- We have been unable to discover any documentation concerning the restoration work conducted in the Wilton armory, although James Mann referred to the armors as having been “overhauled in the nineteenth century” (“Three Armours in the Scott Collection,” *Scottish Art Review* 6, no. 1 [1956], p. 11). Baron de Cosson, on the other hand, described the armors in 1890 as being extremely dirty but “free from the ruinous scouring to which so much fine old armour has been subjected” (“Armour and Arms at the Tudor Exhibition,” *Magazine of Art*, 1890, p. 322).
58. See p. 98 and note 15. While at Windsor the vambraces came to be associated with portions of a much later armor made for Sir John Smythe, also transferred to Windsor in 1688. The composite ensemble is recorded in a drawing attributed to Thomas Phillips, R.A. (1770–1845), that was inserted into a copy of the following exhibition catalogue in the Royal Armouries library at Leeds: *Royal Armoury, Haymarket: Descriptive Catalogue of a Very Costly and Superb Collection of Military Antiquities, Including All the Identical Suits of Rich and Splendid Armour, Worn by the King’s Champion and Esquires, at the Coronation of His Majesty George IV* (London, n.d. [ca. 1820]). The attribution to Phillips derives from a bookseller’s printed description of the publication that is pasted into the volume.
  59. The term “small garniture” (*kleine Wechselgarnitur*) was coined by Ortwin Gamber, “Der italienische Harnisch im 16. Jahrhundert,” *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 54 (1958), p. 100.
  60. For Orsoni and his album in general, see Pyhrr and Godoy, *Heroic Armor of the Italian Renaissance*, pp. 105–10, no. 15, with earlier bibliography cited. For the interpretation of Orsoni’s designs for the “small garniture,” see Gamber, “Der italienische Harnisch im 16. Jahrhundert,” pp. 99–101, and Lionello G. Boccia, Francesco Rossi, and Marco Morin, *Armi e armature lombarde* (Milan, 1980), p. 126.
  61. Fols. Aviii and Ax, the inscription on the former reading in part “Questi pezi d’arme servi p[er] piede p[er] cavalo leggieri et p[er] Homo d’arme levando li souvra pezzi et ponendilli secondo il bisogno. . . .” Two similar pages of illustrations are included in another version of Orsoni’s album, dated 1558 and 1559, in the Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf 1.5.3 Aug<sup>2</sup>, fols. 55r–56r, where, however, all the components are not labeled.
  62. A diagram based on Orsoni’s scheme that makes the relationship of the components clearer is provided by Gamber, “Der italienische Harnisch im 16. Jahrhundert,” p. 102, fig. 94. Boccia,

- in Boccia, Rossi, and Morin, *Armi e armature lombarde*, p. 126, distinguishes two further variants, a simpler horseman's armor (*armatura da cavallo*) without the haute-pieces or pauldron reinforcement, and a light horseman's armor (*armatura alla leggera*) with half-vambraces (or no vambraces at all).
63. Inv. no. A690; see Gamber, "Der italienische Harnisch im 16. Jahrhundert," p. 90, 101, and fig. 77; Gamber and Beaufort, *Katalog der Leibrüstammer*, pp. 125–26 and fig. 62.
  64. See above, p. 100 and note 31.
  65. For example, the close helmet belonging to Henry VIII's armor with scale decoration, formerly in Lullingstone Church, may already have been missing from the Tudor Royal Armouries by 1547 (see note 31).
  66. Inv. nos. A406, A1381, and A980, respectively; see Gamber and Beaufort, *Katalog der Leibrüstammer*, p. 125 and fig. 61, p. 133 and fig. 65, and pp. 134–35 (not illustrated).
  67. Slightly later Italian field armors of three-quarter length include the armor of Alfonso d'Este, about 1560, in Vienna (inv. no. A765); the armor of about 1560–70, probably made for the first earl of Pembroke, that was formerly at Wilton House and is now in the Higgins Armory Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts (inv. no. 427); and the armor of Vespasiano Gonzaga, ca. 1570, also in Vienna (inv. no. A129). The Vienna armors are illustrated in Ortwin Gamber, "Der Harnisch im 16. Jahrhundert," *Waffen- und Kostümkunde* 41 (1999), pp. 110–11, figs. 13, 14; and that in Worcester in Stephen V. Grancsay, *Catalogue of Armor: The John Woodman Higgins Armory* (Worcester, 1961), pp. 84–85.
  68. Among Henry VIII's surviving armors with vambraces of this type are two examples made for foot-combat at the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520, and the king's later armor of 1540 (Figure 4), which was designed for field and tournament use, including foot combat. For the most recent study of those armors, see Eaves, "Tournament Armours of King Henry VIII," pp. 2–45. There is of course no evidence to indicate that the Wilton armor was ever intended for any form of tournament use.
  69. Inv. no. A528; see Gamber, "Der italienische Harnisch im 16. Jahrhundert," p. 88 and fig. 70; and Gamber and Beaufort, *Katalog der Leibrüstammer*, p. 29 and fig. 7.
  70. For example, see the reconstruction of Henry VIII's 1540 garniture by Robinson, *Armours of Henry VIII*, diagrams on the inside covers. The use of closed vambraces for a light field armor, suggested by Robinson, was questioned by Eaves, "Tournament Armours of King Henry VIII," p. 24.
  71. *Wilton Suits*, pp. 13–15. The Montmorency attribution was also upheld by G. D. Hobson, pp. 22–27.
  72. See note 41.
  73. Ortwin Gamber, "Armour Made in the Royal Workshops at Greenwich: Style and Construction," *Scottish Art Review* 12, no. 2 (1969), p. 7.
  74. No mention of the Wilton armor is found in Gamber, "Der italienische Harnisch im 16. Jahrhundert," or in the many publications by Lionello G. Boccia, the leading authority on Italian armor, notably *L'arte dell'armatura in Italia* and *Armi e armature lombarde*. It is worth noting, however, that during a visit to the Metropolitan Museum in October 1992 Boccia concluded that the Wilton armor was Milanese, but in the French fashion (note in the object files in the Department of Arms and Armor).
  75. Cripps-Day, *Wilton Controversy*, pp. 5–16; repeated by Grancsay, "Historical Arms and Armor," p. 52. The Montmorency inventory of 1556 and those of 1559 and 1568 were published by Léon Mirot, *L'Hôtel et les collections du connétable de Montmorency* (Paris, 1920) (reprinted from *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 80 [1919]).
  76. In *Wilton Suits*, p. 14, de Cosson expressed his belief that both the Montmorency and Monpensier armors were of French fashion and form and he noted similar (in his opinion) French-made pieces in the Musée de l'Armée, although he did not specify what the distinguishing French features were. More recently J.-P. Reverseau tried to define the characteristics of French armor construction, citing cuirasses of anime type, long tassets ending in poleyns, the absence of greaves, three-part arm defenses with one-piece couters with flaring wings and a transverse roped rib, and semicircular cutouts around rivet heads placed near the edges of the plates; see Jean-Pierre Reverseau, "The Classification of French Armour by Workshop Styles, 1500–1600," in *Art, Arms and Armour: An International Anthology*, ed. R. Held, vol. 1 (1979–80) (Chiasso, 1979), pp. 204–8. Reverseau acknowledged, however, that all of these features originated in Italy.
  77. The earliest evidence known to us for the development of the anime in Italy is the so-called Masks Garniture made for Charles V by Filippo Negroli and his brothers in Milan in 1539, which includes a solid breastplate and backplate for a light field armor decorated with narrow recessed and damascened transverse bands that suggest anime lamination; see Pyhrr and Godoy, *Heroic Armor of the Italian Renaissance*, pp. 160–70, no. 30. The earliest dated anime is in fact German and was made in 1542 for Count Nicholas III von Salm-Neuburg (1503–1555), now in the Hofjagd- und Rüstammer, Vienna, inv. no. A496 (Gamber and Beaufort, *Katalog der Leibrüstammer*, pp. 61–62). On the anime in general, see Kelly, "The Anime."
  78. Pyhrr and Godoy, *Heroic Armor of the Italian Renaissance*, pp. 260–63, no. 50. Italian animes of contemporary date are discussed in the same publication, pp. 267–70, no. 52, and pp. 292–95, no. 58.
  79. Grancsay, "Historical Arms and Armor," p. 52, and "Armor of Henry I de Montmorency," p. 284.
  80. The most important studies devoted to French embossed armors are those by Bruno Thomas, "Die Münchner Harnischvorzeichnungen im Stil François I<sup>er</sup>," *Jahrbuch der Kunst-historischen Sammlungen in Wien* 55 (1959), pp. 31–74; "Die Münchner Harnischvorzeichnungen des Étienne Delaune für die Emblem- und die Schlangen-Garnitur Heinrichs II. von Frankreich," *ibid.* 56 (1960), pp. 7–62; "Die Münchner Waffen-vorzeichnungen des Étienne Delaune und das Prunkschild Heinrichs II. von Frankreich," *ibid.* 58 (1962), pp. 101–68; and "Die Münchner Harnischvorzeichnungen mit Rankendekor des Étienne Delaune," *ibid.* 61 (1965), pp. 41–90 (reprinted in Bruno Thomas, *Gesammelte Schriften zur historischen Waffenkunde*, 2 vols. [Graz, 1977], vol. 1, pp. 751–970). For the etched decoration of French armors, see Reverseau, "Classification of French Armour by Workshop Styles," pp. 202–19.
  81. Perhaps the most "French" feature of the Museum's armor is its plume-holder with an elaborately shaped escutcheon, a type found on several helmets etched in a distinctly French style that dates to the 1550s. As with so many characteristics of French armor, the type is likely to have originated in Italy and was subsequently adopted in France. The "French" style of plume-holder is discussed in Pyhrr and Godoy, *Heroic Armor of the Italian Renaissance*, p. 315.
  82. As observed by Gamber, "Der italienische Harnisch im 16. Jahrhundert," p. 87.
  83. The armor is discussed at length in Pyhrr and Godoy, *Heroic*

- Armor of the Italian Renaissance*, pp. 171–76, no. 31.
84. Ibid., pp. 260–63, no. 50. Italian armors of contemporary date are discussed in the same publication, pp. 267–70, no. 52, and pp. 292–95, no. 58.
  85. For the Venier armor, see Gamber and Beaufort, *Katalog der Leibrüstkammer*, p. 30, fig. 6.
  86. Gamber, “Der italienische Harnisch im 16. Jahrhundert,” p. 91, notes in particular Titian’s *Pierluigi Farnese* (Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte, Naples) and Bronzino’s *Stefano Colonna* (Galleria Nazionale, Rome), both of 1546. In both portraits, the construction of the arm defenses, which lack turners on the upper vambraces and have large one-piece couters with roped medial ribs, is very like those of the Wilton armor.
  87. *Wilton Suits*, pp. 7, 11, 15, 26, 45–48.
  88. See, for example, Guy Francis Laking, *A Record of European Armour and Arms through Seven Centuries*, 5 vols. (London, 1920–22), vol. 4, pp. 77–86, 111–12, 165, 233, and the related illustrations. For the history of this appellation, see Boccia and Godoy, “Les armures de la garde de Cosimo I et Francesco I de Médicis,” pp. 108–9.
  89. *Wilton Suits*, p. 7.
  90. The earliest dated Italian example bearing raised roped scrolls of this type known to us is an etched and gilt backplate of 1557 in the Museo Stibbert, Florence, inv. no. 515; see Lionello Giorgio Boccia, *Il Museo Stibbert a Firenze*, vol. 3, *L’armeria europea*, 2 vols. (Milan, 1975), vol. 1, p. 77, no. 114, and vol. 2, fig. 105.
  91. The turned and roped edges of sixteenth-century armor developed from the late fifteenth-century German practice of applying brass borders with roped ornament to the principal edges of the steel plates; see Claude Blair, *European Armour* (New York, 1959), p. 116.
  92. C. O. von Kienbusch and Stephen V. Grancsay, *The Bashford Dean Memorial Collection of Arms and Armor in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Portland, Maine, 1933), pp. 86–88, no. 11, pl. 21. Another armor with roped ridges running parallel to the free edges, though none ending in volutes, is that made for the Landsknecht officer Kaspar von Fundsberg, a south German infantry harness dated 1527 in the Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer, for which see Bruno Thomas and Ortwin Gamber, *Kunst-historisches Museum, Wien, Waffensammlung: Katalog der Leibrüstkammer*, vol. 1, *Der Zeitraum von 500 bis 1530* (Vienna, 1976), p. 233, fig. 126. Roped scrolls enclosing etched ornament are encountered again around 1535–40 on the armor of Konrad von Bemelberg by Wolfgang Grossschedel of Landshut, also in Vienna; see Gamber and Beaufort, *Katalog der Leibrüstkammer*, pp. 64–65, 70, and figs. 22, 24, 25.
  93. Gamber and Beaufort, *Katalog der Leibrüstkammer*, p. 28 and fig. 5. The dating of the Vitelli armor is corroborated by the depiction of a nearly identical harness in Titian’s portrait of Alfonso d’Avalos, marchese del Vasto, painted in 1533, for which see Harold E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian*, vol. 2, *The Portraits* (London, 1971), pp. 78–79, no. 9, pl. 56. The armor worn by Guidobaldo II della Rovere in his portrait of 1532 by Agnolo Bronzino in the Uffizi is also embellished with roped ridges as well as slashed ornament, all in the German fashion. The Italian origin of the armor is confirmed by Giorgio Vasari, who recorded that the painter had to await the arrival of Guidobaldo’s new armor from Lombardy before he could complete the painting. For the portrait, see Andrea Emiliani, *Il Bronzino* (Busto Arsizio, 1960), text accompanying pls. 11, 12; and for the armor, see Mario Scalini, “Il ‘giubbotto di ferro cesellato a foggia di colletto trinciato con scarselle’ di Guidobaldo della Rovere (1514/1538/1574) e altri resti rovereschi,” *Waffen- und Kostümkunde* 39, nos. 1–2 (1997), pp. 38–50.
  94. In addition to the dated backplate in the Museo Stibbert mentioned in note 90, one of the earliest complete armors with raised roped scrolls, but otherwise undecorated, is that of Ottavio Farnese, ca. 1555–60, in the Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer, Vienna, inv. no. A1116; see Gamber and Beaufort, *Katalog der Leibrüstkammer*, pp. 133–34 and fig. 64.
  95. Inv. no. G.47; see L. Robert, *Catalogue des collections composant le Musée d’Artillerie en 1889*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1889–93), vol. 2, p. 55.
  96. See note 69.
  97. Confronted scrolls of the same type, etched and gilt, are also found on two Italian burgonets dating ca. 1550, one in the Museo Civico L. Marzoli in Brescia (F. Rossi and N. di Carpegna, *Armi antiche dal Museo Civico L. Marzoli*, exh. cat., Palazzo della Loggia, Brescia [Brescia, 1969], p. 49, no. 98), the other, unpublished, in the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, inv. no. Z.O.3958 (formerly I.259). A plain burgonet with confronted recessed scrolls on either side of the bowl, now in the Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan, is dated by Boccia ca. 1540–50; see Lionello Giorgio Boccia and José-A. Godoy, *Museo Poldi Pezzoli: Armeria*, 2 vols., Musei e Gallerie di Milano, vols. 5, 6 (Milan, 1985–86), vol. 1, p. 92, no. 49, fig. 70. Confronted scrolls, recessed, etched, and gilt, are also found on the cheekpieces of the burgonet belonging to the armor of Girolamo Martinengo of Brescia, about 1540, in the Armeria Reale, Turin, no. C.11; see Pyhrr and Godoy, *Heroic Armor of the Italian Renaissance*, pp. 320–23, no. 64.
  98. No comprehensive history of Italian armor etching has been written, although a wealth of observations regarding its development can be found in such general surveys as Gamber, “Der italienische Harnisch im 16. Jahrhundert”; Bruno Thomas and Ortwin Gamber, “L’arte milanese dell’armatura,” in *Storia di Milano*, vol. 11, *Il declino spagnolo (1630–1706)* (Milan, 1958), pp. 697–841; and Boccia and Coelho, *L’arte dell’armatura in Italia*. James G. Mann’s classic work, “The Etched Decoration of Armour: A Study in Classification,” offprint from *Proceedings of the British Academy* 27 (1940), deals exclusively with German armor.
  99. This group is discussed at length in Pyhrr and Godoy, *Heroic Armor of the Italian Renaissance*, pp. 225–48, nos. 43–48.
  100. Inv. nos. VI.121, 122; C. J. Foulkes, *Inventory and Survey of the Armouries of the Tower of London*, 2 vols. (London, 1916), vol. 1, p. 210; Richardson, *Armours and Arms of Henry VIII*, p. 44, where they are associated with the Wilton armor and likewise called “possibly French.”
  101. Inv. no. VI.114; Foulkes, *Armouries of the Tower of London*, vol. 1, p. 210; Richardson, *Armour and Arms of Henry VIII*, p. 44, there called Italian, about 1545.
  102. Starkey, *Inventory of Henry VIII*, pp. 158, 161, nos. 8176, 8177, and 8367 respectively. See also Dillon, “Arms and Armour at Westminster,” pp. 269, 277.
  103. Inv. no. Z.O.3973 (formerly I.369), apparently unpublished. The elongated shape of the breastplate, which overlaps the waistplate, should be compared to breastplates of similar form and construction belonging to an armor datable to the 1530s in the Musée de l’Armée, Paris, inv. no. G.47 (see note 95), and to that of Ferrante Gonzaga of ca. 1540 in Vienna, inv. no. A528 (see note 69).
  104. Jakob Schrenck von Notzing, *Die Heldenrüstkammer (Armamentarium Heroicum) Erzherzog Ferdinands II. auf Schloss Ambras bei*

- Innsbruck: Faksimiledruck der lateinischen und der deutschen Ausgabe des Kupferstich-Bildinventars von 1601 bzw. 1603*, edited and annotated by Bruno Thomas (Osnabrück, 1981), no. 53.
105. For the pieces in Paris, inv. no. G.145, see Jean-Pierre Reverseau, *Armes et armures des Montmorency*, exh. cat., Musée de l'Armée, Paris (Paris, 1993), pp. 24–25, where an extensive bibliography is given; for those in Florence, inv. no. 3962, see Alfredo Lensi, *Il Museo Stibbert: Catalogo delle sale delle armi europee*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1917–18), vol. 2, p. 675; and for the pieces in New York, acc. nos. 29.150.151 and 38.163.2a–d, see Grancsay, "Armor of Henry I de Montmorency." Stuart Pyhrr's identification of the Montmorency pieces in the Museo Stibbert was first reported by Thomas in Schrenck, *Armamentarium Heroicum*, no. 53.
  106. As, for example, on a richly etched and gilt light field armor, ca. 1515, bearing the marks of Giovanni Antonio Missaglia of Milan in the Musée de l'Armée, Paris, inv. no. G.8, and on a foot-combat armor of similar date, also in Paris, inv. no. G.178, by another Milanese armorer, Niccolò Silva (see Boccia and Coelho, *L'arte dell'armatura in Italia*, pp. 226–27, 234–35, figs. 198–204, and pp. 227, 235–36, figs. 211–22, respectively).
  107. Robert, *Musée d'Artillerie*, vol. 2, p. 79, no. G.139. An associated helmet is catalogued and exhibited with the armor (not illustrated in Figure 51). Two small rivet holes on the second lame of the breastplate, one at either side of the upper chest, originally may have held fixtures for the attachment of the placard; rivet holes at the sides of the breast and backplates beneath the armholes presumably indicate the former presence of straps and buckles to fasten the cuirass laterally.
  108. For example, a light field armor, inv. no. G.140, in Paris, and especially portions of an armor divided between Malta and the Royal Armouries, Leeds. The armor in Paris, for which there appears to be no published illustration, has etched decoration on a dotted ground. The Malta/Leeds armor, whose etched ornament on a plain recessed ground is very similar to that of the Paris armor G.139, is illustrated in the following publications: Guy Francis Laking, *A Catalogue of the Armour and Arms in the Armoury of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, Now in the Palace, Valetta, Malta* (London, 1903), no. 442, pl. 31, and Watts, "Armour of the Knights of St. John," pp. 33–34, figs. 1, 2, 6. Judging from the shape of the breastplates and type of decoration, both armors appear to date to the 1550s.
  109. For an overview of Milanese armor, see especially Thomas and Gamber, "L'arte milanese dell'armatura," and most recently, Silvio Leydi, "Milan and the Arms Industry in the Sixteenth Century," in Pyhrr and Godoy, *Heroic Armor of the Italian Renaissance*, pp. 25–33.
  110. Blair, "The Emperor Maximilian's Gift of Armour to King Henry VIII," p. 35.
  111. Personal communication to Stuart Pyhrr from Silvio Leydi, April 3, 2001. This document of May 13, 1552, is briefly mentioned in José-A. Godoy and Silvio Leydi, *Parures Triomphales: Le maniérisme dans l'art de l'armure italienne*, exh. cat., Musée Rath, Geneva (Milan, 2003), p. 517. Silvio Leydi plans to publish a complete transcription of it in the future.
  112. Hayward, "Armoury of the First Earl of Pembroke," p. 226.
  113. We especially wish to thank Silvio Leydi for having undertaken the lengthy search for references to this armor.
  114. On Brescian armor, see Bruno Thomas, with Agostino Gaibi, "Armature e armi bianche," in *Storia di Brescia*, vol. 3 (Brescia, 1961), pp. 791–815 (reprinted in Thomas, *Gesammelte Schriften zur historischen Waffenkunde*, vol. 1, pp. 387–426).
  115. Mentioned by Dillon, "Arms and Armor at Westminster," pp. 229–30, where the number of armors is mistakenly given as 1,050. Dillon's source for the reference, including the error, which he did not cite in his publication, is found in Rawden Brown, *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy*, vol. 5, 1534–1554 (London, 1873), p. 122, no. 308. The original document is reproduced, transcribed, and translated into English in Marco Morin and Robert Held, *Beretta: The World's Oldest Industrial Dynasty* (Chiasso, 1980), p. 27, where the number of armors is given as *mille cinquecento*. Morin and Held also record an earlier English order for Brescian arms placed in 1542 (p. 26).
  116. Dillon, "Arms and Armour at Westminster," p. 253, where he incorrectly gives the date as 1532. His source is again Brown, *Calendar of State Papers*, vol. 4, 1527–1533 (London, 1871), p. 374, no. 838, and pp. 381–82, no. 857, for letters of December 26, 1533, and February 22, 1533/34.
  117. See above, p. 124, and note 85.
  118. Pyhrr and Godoy, *Heroic Armor of the Italian Renaissance*, pp. 320–23.
  119. For some of the characteristics of Brescian armor, see for example *ibid.*, p. 323.
  120. The four other royal or imperial armors are those of Ferdinand I (1503–1564), king of Bohemia and Hungary from 1526, king of the Romans from 1531, and Holy Roman Emperor from 1556, made by Kunz Lochner of Nuremberg in 1549 (acc. no. 33.164); Henry II (1519–1559), king of France, a French harness made about 1555 (acc. no. 39.121); Dom Pedro II (1648–1706), king of Portugal, an English harquebus armor attributed to Richard Hoden of London about 1685 (acc. no. 15.113.1–5); and Infante Luis (1707–1724), prince of Asturias, who reigned briefly as Luis I of Spain in 1724, a child's armor made by a member of the Drouar family in Paris in 1712 (acc. no. 1989.3). The armor of Dom Pedro II is discussed in detail, and the others more generally, by Donald J. LaRocca, "An English Armor for the King of Portugal," *MMJ* 30 (1995), pp. 81–96.
  121. The Museum's holdings were surveyed by Helmut Nickel, "English Armour in the Metropolitan Museum," *Connoisseur* 172 (November 1969), pp. 196–203.
  122. Stephen V. Grancsay, *The Armor of Galiot de Genouilhac*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Papers 4 (New York, 1937).
  123. Recent discussions of the armor include Helmut Nickel, "'a harnes all gilte': A Study of the Armor of Galiot de Genouilhac and the Iconography of Its Decoration," *MMJ* 5 (1972), pp. 75–124; Karen Watts, "Fit for a King," *Country Life*, February 20, 1992, pp. 66–67; and Eaves, "Tournament Armours of King Henry VIII," pp. 18–24.
  124. If accepted as Henry VIII's, the "Genouilhac" armor would of course constitute the sixth royal armor in the Museum's collection. As mentioned above (note 56), a monograph on the Museum's Greenwich armors is currently being prepared by Ian Eaves.
  125. We are grateful to Dr. Nigel Ramsey, F.S.A., for help with the bibliography of early guides to Wilton House in connection with this appendix.
  126. The inventory has been deposited with other Wilton archives in the Wiltshire and Swindon Record Office, Trowbridge, Wiltshire, where it is numbered 2057/H5/1. The armories are referred to respectively as the "New" (fol. 6) and the "Old"

- (fol. 31). No armor is included among the contents of the Hall (fol. 1). We are very grateful to Stephen Hobbs of the Record Office for very kindly providing us with information about the inventory and its contents.
127. Richard Cowdry, *A Description of the Pictures, Statues, Busto's, Basso-Relievo's, and Other Curiosities at the Earl of Pembroke's House at Wilton* (London, 1751), pp. 21–22. The Hall referred to was the Great Hall.
  128. An Italian edition was published in 1754: *Descrizione delle pitture, statue, busti, ed altre curiosita esistenti in Inghilterra a Wilton nella villa di Mylord conte di Pembroke, e di Montgomery*. A copy is in the Library of the Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence (shelf mark T2753).
  129. James Kennedy, *A New Description of the Pictures, Statues, Bustos, Basso-Relievos, and Other Curiosities at the Earl of Pembroke's House at Wilton* (Salisbury, 1758), pp. 28–29. From 1769 some editions included engravings of classical sculpture.
  130. *Aedes Pembrochianae: A New Account and Description of the Statues, Bustos, Relievos, Paintings, Medals and Other Antiquities and Curiosities in Wilton-House*, 11th ed. (Salisbury, 1788), p. 34.
  131. Samuel Rush Meyrick, *A Critical Inquiry into Antient Armour As It Existed in Europe, Particularly in Great Britain, from the Norman Conquest to the Reign of King Charles II*, 3 vols. (London, 1842), vol. 3, p. 115.
  132. Baron de Cosson, "Armour and Arms at the Tudor Exhibition," *Antiquary*, February 1890, pp. 57–61. He wrote (p. 58) about these and another armor from Wilton: "Next we have a group of three suits of armour . . . lent by the Earl of Pembroke, and all with an undoubted pedigree." See also p. 322 of his article with the same title cited in note 57.
- Very inadequate drawings of the armors in the exhibition are reproduced in the *Illustrated London News* 96 (January 4–June 28, 1890), pp. 7, 296. These appear to be the earliest published illustrations of them.