

Original Documents.

INVENTORY OF THE ARMOURY IN THE CASTLE OF AMBOISE IN TOURAIN, IN THE REIGN OF LOUIS XII. Dated A.D. 1499.

THE following Document, preserved in the Imperial Library at Paris, has been published in the "*Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*," with explanatory notices by M. Le Roux de Lincy.¹ That valuable collection of memoirs and materials is comparatively little known to those in our own country who devote attention to the history, the manners and customs, and to the documentary memorials of the Middle Ages, to which the contents of the serial in question, extending to many volumes, principally relate. The remarkable Inventory, now for the first time brought under the notice of the archæologist in this country, cannot fail to prove acceptable, especially to those who take interest in the history of Mediæval Armour and Arms. It includes, moreover, items of special note as associated with personages and with events of stirring memories in English History. In the royal Armoury, that had been formed in the fifteenth century at the picturesque castle erected on the banks of the Loire chiefly by Charles VIII., whose favorite resort it was, were preserved relics of such rare interest to ourselves as the complete equipment of the Maid of Orleans, the brigandine and *salade* covered with black velvet, much worn, that had been used by Talbot, very possibly the same which was torn rudely from his corse on the fatal field of Chatillon; the sword, also, given by Robert Bruce to his royal son-in-law, who at a later period succeeded to the realm of France as Louis XII., and that of King John taken prisoner by the Black Prince on the field of Poitiers.

A memorial of this description cannot fail to suggest how curious and interesting a treatise might be presented by the enumeration of a special series of arms and armour selected as objects of traditionary or historical note, accompanied also by critical notices of such other remarkable relics of that nature as may still exist. The treasures formerly preserved at Amboise have been hopelessly dispersed; I am not aware that a single item in the following category can now be identified with any object to be found in numerous well-stored European depositories. It were to be desired that some zealous archæologist, well skilled in the military antiquities of the Middle Ages,—our valued friend, for instance, the exponent of "*Armour and Weapons in Europe, from the Iron Period of the Northern Nations*,"—might be willing to place before us a special dissertation on noteworthy relics of this description, including likewise such

¹ *Inventaire des Vieilles Armes conservées au Chateau d'Amboise du temps de Louis XII.*; Bibliothèque de l'Ecole

des Chartes, ii*. Série, tom. iv. p. 412; Paris, 1848.

as are to be found only in hazy traditions of Mediæval Romance or of Northern Sagas. In such a suggestive and highly interesting series we might hope to find the renowned brand "Durandal," wielded by the paladin, and associated with the picturesque tradition of the "*Breche de Roland*," on the frontier heights of the Pyrennees;²—the inimitable blades forged by that mysterious craftsman, Weland;³—the sword of King Hacon the Good, which as Snorro tells us was designated "*Kuernbit*" (millstone-biter), and that of Magnus Barfot with its hilt of rosmar-tooth, and named "*Leggbitr*." Many a remarkable weapon moreover, mentioned in ancient chronicle or document, would augment the value of such an *Armamentarium*. I might advert to the sword of Poitou steel, the work of Galannus, that Geoffry le Bel, according to the chronicler Jean de Marmoutier, took from the Treasury of his father Fulk, Earl of Anjou; to the sword also of Tristram, anciently preserved amongst the *Jocalia* of the crown, and mentioned in the Patent Roll, A.D. 1207, with the great crown which came from Almayne and other precious regalia that were delivered to King John at Clarendon.⁴

The ancient tradition to which I have adverted that may have associated one of the three swords borne, on solemn occasions, before the Sovereign of England with the heroic knight of the Round Table, seems lost in dim obscurity. The weapon may have been regarded as the sword won from Sir Marhaus, brother of the Irish queen, when Tristram undertook to be the champion of his father Meliodas, king of Cornwall, and borne by him in his adventures at the Court of King Arthur. We might doubtless have expected to find amongst the three swords long treasured with the ancient regalia of Britain, not the weapon of the valiant Cornish knight, but that connected with the fable of romance,—the mysterious blade taken by Arthur out of the anvil fixed in a stone block before the high altar of the metropolitan church, and drawn out by him in token that, as had been signified by the necromancer Merlin, he should be recognised as rightful sovereign of Britain.

In the subjoined list of weapons will be found that "nommée l'espee du roy Jehan" (No. 13), doubtless the King of France taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers, Sept. 19, 1356. It does not appear that this sword had been preserved as having been used by him on that occasion, when,

² The corpse of Roland, according to tradition, was removed by Charlemagne to the church of St. Romain at Blaye (Gironde); his sword *Durandal* was laid at his head, his oliphant at his feet. In the "Belle description" of precious relics in the Treasury at St. Denis, as described by the Père Doublet, we find "le cor d'ivoire du preux chevalier et prince Roland." Hist. de l'Abbaye de St. Denys, p. 347.

³ See notices of Weland in Mr. Hewitt's *Armour and Weapons in Europe*, vol. i. p. 41, and in works there cited; several remarkable weapons named in the Sagas are there also mentioned.

⁴ Documents appended to the *Liber Niger*, edit. Hearne, vol. i. p. 461. De *Jocalibus Regis*; Lit. Pat. 9 Joh. This early list of *regalia* enumerates "duos

enses, scil. ensem Tristrami et alium ensem de eodem regali, et calcaria aurea de eodem regali." Three swords were borne before Richard I. at his coronation, and of these probably the sword of Tristram was one. In the Inventory of the Regalia of Edward III., in 1356, with the coronation vestments, the gold spurs, &c., in the Treasury at the Tower, there were three swords, one of them called *Courtane*, Kal. of the Exch., vol. iii. p. 226. In 1649 three swords, with rich scabbards of cloth of gold, were found amongst the regalia at Westminster Abbey. The three swords carried at the coronation of James II., and figured by Sandford, pl. I. p. 40, were doubtless of recent fabrication, and of one uniform fashion.

as Froissart relates, the king "fit merveilles d'armes, et tenoit une hache de guerre, dont bien se deffendoit."⁵ The chronicler has given us a curious picture of the struggle that occurred for the prize of such a captive: more than ten knights and esquires surrounded the king, and "disoyent les plus forts, je l'ay prins, je l'ay prins," as they bore him along on foot to the Black Prince. It is not surprising that in such a disorderly *mêlée* several competitors should have sought to substantiate their claim to the actual capture by bearing off some portion of the royal equipment. It appears, however, from Froissart that John yielded to Denis de Morebeque, a knight of Artois, and gave to him as a token his right glove, crying "Je me rends à vous," but the prisoner was speedily borne away by the crowd of English and Gascons. Sir John de Pelham and Sir Roger la Warre have been named as English knights most concerned in the capture, as commemorated by the badges that they assumed, respectively, and which are still borne by their descendants. The former took the Buckle, namely, that according to tradition of the king's belt or *reng*; it is found on seals and other memorials occasionally accompanied by a cage as a crest, in allusion probably to the captivity of the king.⁶ Sir Roger took the chape or *bouterolle* of the scabbard, in token of his share in the achievement. It is figured by Gerard Legh as borne by Lord La Warre in the reign of Henry VIII., and described as a "*cram-pette Or* given to his auncestors for takyng of the Frenche kyng in field."⁷ Sir Roger appears to have been of a collateral branch of the La Warre family that had considerable possessions at Brislington and elsewhere in Somerset.⁸ Another branch was settled at Hestercombe, near Taunton, in the same county. I have been informed by the late talented antiquary, the Rev. F. Warre, that in the hall of the residence of his family at the place last named, a sword has been preserved as a relic of the memorable conflict at Poitiers. It is described as a plain weapon, without peculiar ornament, and evidently of the earlier part of the fourteenth century; according to family tradition it was presented to Sir Roger la Warre by the Black Prince, in recognition of the part that he had taken in the capture of King John.

The sword of the Victor of Poitiers, it will not be forgotten, was formerly to be seen suspended with his helm and shield, his spurs and quilted coat of fence, over the noble portraiture on his tomb at Canterbury. The scabbard alone remains, and these precious relics have been faithfully delineated by Charles Stothard in his "*Monumental Effigies*." According to a tradition, the proof of which I have sought in vain to trace, the sword was appropriated by Cromwell. It has, however, been alleged that it is still in existence, and, if it could be identified, its restitution would be most desirable. The Dean of Westminster, in his

⁵ Froissart, vol. i. c. 164.

⁶ See Mr. Lowers' *Memoir on the badges of the families of Pelham and De la Warr*, Sussex Archæol. Coll., vol. iii. p. 211.

⁷ *Accidents of Armorie*, edit. 1562. The badge occurs repeatedly on the sumptuous tomb of Thomas, Lord la Warre, who died in 1526, in Broadwater Church. Sussex Arch. Coll., *ut supra*, p. 231.

⁸ See Collinson's *Notices of the La Warres of Brislington*, Hist. Som., vol. ii.

p. 411, and Hestercombe, vol. iii. p. 259. Sir Roger succeeded 25 Edw. III.; he was summoned to parliament 36 and 37 Edw. III. Mr. Warre informed me that the family descended from Sir John la Warre, the younger, Warden of Kenilworth Castle, *i. e.* Henry III. They used the same crest as the elder branch, a griffin's head, with the addition of the crampet in its beak.

delightful "Memorials of Canterbury," has given a letter from the Rev. A. D. Wray, Canon of Manchester, stating that he had often held the relic in his hands, and that it had been, as late as 1809, in possession of the late Mr. Barritt, of that city. The blade bore, in golden letters, inlaid, EDWARDVS WALLÆ PRINCEPS; it was described as "a little curved, scimitar-like;"—the fashion of the weapon seems more suitable to the times of a Tudor Edward.

Of other like objects associated, perhaps on questionable authority, with memorable historical events, I might mention the sword of Hugh de Moreville, a relic of the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury, long treasured at Carlisle Cathedral. It is mentioned by Camden, and supposed to exist at Brayton Castle, near Whitehaven.

There are on record many examples of similar objects of more or less historical interest. In the Treasury at St. Denis, for instance, the precious contents of which were scattered in the revolutionary paroxysm of 1793, a few portions only having been preserved, there were five swords of no slight value. They included the sword ascribed to Charlemagne, and that of St. Louis—"de très bonne trempe, avec laquelle il a exploité plusieurs beaux faits d'armes contre les mécréoyans pour la propagation, accroissement, et dilatation de la sainte Foy;"—to these allusion is made by M. Le Roux de Lincy in the subjoined highly interesting notices. There were also two other weapons, enumerated with the precious contents of the Treasury by the Pere Doublet, a monk of St. Denis, namely, the weapon set with sapphires, amethysts, and other jewels, that was ascribed to Turpin, archbishop of Rheims, chancellor in the times of Charlemagne,—"*de laquelle il a fait maints exploits d'armes contre les Infidelles,*"—and also, "*autre espée de très-bonne trempe, garnie au milieu de son pommeau de deux esmaux d'or, l'un de nostre Dame, et l'autre d'un soleil, qui est celle de la très valeureuse Pucelle Jeanne.*"⁹ Whether this had been recognised traditionally as that mysterious sword, brought at her request from the chapel of St. Catherine de Fierbois,—the sacred weapon marked with five crosses, and alleged to have been almost miraculously brought to light in a vault near the altar, through a revelation to the Pucelle, by whom it was borne in her subsequent deeds of valor,—I am not able to state. There was, however, another relic of the like description that existed until the close of the last century, an object of singular interest to the English antiquary, namely, the sword of the valiant Talbot. In the old metrical narrative of the Fight of Flodden Field, it is stated that it had been found in the "*river of Dordan,*" and sold by a peasant to an armourer at Bourdeaux. It bore the inscription,—*SUM TALBOTI · 1443 · PRO VINCERE INIMICO MEO.*¹ Camden, in his *Remains*, mentions the discovery of this sword in the Dordogne. It was subsequently in the Treasury at St. Denis; no mention of such an object, however, occurs in the minute inventories given by Doublet and Felibien. The sword was carried off by the revolutionary mob, with the rich contents of that depository, in 1793; a considerable portion, including the swords, was rescued and ultimately sent to the Cabinet of Antiquities at the National Library.² Of the sword of Talbot all trace

⁹ Doublet, *Hist. de l'Abbaye de St. Denys*, 1625, liv. i. p. 347.

¹ According to Speed, the inscription ran somewhat more intelligibly—"Vin-

cere inimicos meos."

² On the night of 11 Nov., 1793, the whole of the *Treasure* was hastily thrown into large wooden chests and transported

has perished. I made diligent but fruitless research about 1840, when, through the courtesy of the administration, the old registers and evidence relating to the objects acquired from the spoils of St. Denis were placed before me. An entry indeed appeared to prove that the sword of Turpin and that of the great English captain had actually reached the *Cabinet*, but in subsequent changes and troublous times they had disappeared.

In the Armoury of Louis XII., here described, there appear to have been two of the state swords of a peculiar and interesting class, to which our attention has been formerly invited by Mr. Waterton; namely, a sword sent to Louis XI. by Pope Callistus II., and a second by Pius II. (Nos. 7, 15). Mr. Waterton has carefully investigated the subject of the noble weapons blessed on Christmas Eve by the Sovereign Pontiffs, and for the most part solemnly presented with a ducal cap, blessed on the same occasion. A specimen, bearing the arms and names of Sixtus V., is in Mr. Waterton's possession, and it has been described in this Journal, vol. xxiv. p. 35, with notices of other objects of the like description. The Blessed Gifts, commonly bestowed on the most faithful son of Holy Church, were recently conferred by Pius IX. on the Emperor of the French. The brief notice may be acceptable to some of our readers that, in our country, the Sword and *pileum* had been sent repeatedly;—to Edward IV. by Sixtus IV., about A.D. 1478; to Henry VII. by Julius II. in 1505; to Henry VIII. by the same pope in 1513;—to Philip and Mary by Julius III. in 1555: in this, as in some other instances, a golden rose also was presented to the consort of the potentate distinguished by the favor of the Pontiff;—to James IV., King of Scots, by Julius II. in 1507: this superb two-handed sword is preserved as part of the regalia of Scotland;—and lastly to James V. by Paul III. in 1537.³

I proceed to submit to the reader the Inventory of the Armoury of Louis XII., accompanied by the illustrative notices by M. Le Roux de Lincy, by which its value and interest have been so greatly enhanced.

MS. BIBL. IMP. NO. 49, FONDS DES BLANCS-MANTEAUX : FOL. ON PAPER.
(FROM THE MONASTERY OF ST. MELAN DE KYEDAN.)

Meubles estans en l'armeurerie du chateau d'Amboise, en laquelle sont les anciennes armeures qui de tout temps ont esté gardées et fait garder par les Roys deffuncts jusques à présent. Extraictz sur ung inventoire faict à Amboise, le xxij^e jour de Septembre, l'an mil iiij^e iiij^{xx} dix-neuf.—Signé, R. de Dezest, desquelz la déclaration s'ensuit.

by decree of the Convention in waggons, escorted by a tumultuous multitude, eager to display abhorrence of "le vieux despotisme." Monographie de l'Eglise Royale de St. Denis; par le Baron de Guilhaemy; Paris, 1848, p. 54.

³ The "greate twoe-handed sworde garnysed with sylver and guylte, presented to King Henry VIII. by the Pope," occurs in the Inventory of the Regalia of James I., in 1605. Kal. of the Exch., vol. ii. p. 306. It came into the possession of Ashmole, and is now in the museum founded by him at Oxford. Catal. Ashm. Mus., p. 140. It has been stated that this

sword had been given by Leo X. It was, however, blessed and conferred by his predecessor. Hall and other chroniclers relate the presentation in St. Paul's, in May, 6 Henry VIII. (1514), when Leo X. was actually pontiff, his predecessor having died at the council held at Rome in the previous February. Art. de Verifier, t. i. p. 424. Mr. Waterton has in preparation a dissertation and enumeration of these solemn gifts from the Holy See; one of the latest instances was the sword conferred by Leo XII. on the Dauphin, son of Charles X., in 1825.

Premièrement :—

1. Une dague enmanchée de licorne, la poignée de cristalin ; nommée la dague saint Charlemaigne.

2. Une espée enmanchée de fer, garnie en façon de clef ; nommée l'espée de Lancelot du Lac ; et dit-on qu'elle est fee.

3. Une espée d'armes garnie de fouet blanc ;⁴ et au pommeau une Nostre-Dame d'un costé, et ung souleil de l'autre, nommée l'espée de la Victoire.

4. Une espée d'armes garnie de fouet blanc ; et au pommeau une Nostre-Dame d'un costé, et ung souleil de l'autre, nommée l'espée du roi Charles VII., appelée la Bien-armée.

5. Une autre espée d'armes, la poignée de fouet blanc ; et au pommeau y a une Nostre-Dame d'un costé, de l'autre costé ung souleil ; nommée l'espée du Roy qui fonda Saint-Denis.

6. Une espée d'armes, la poignée couverte de fouet blanc ; et au pommeau a une Nostre-Dame d'un costé, et ung saint Michel de l'autre ; nommée l'espée du roy de France qui fist armes contre ung géan à Paris et le conquist.

7. L'espée aux armes du pape Caliste ; le fourreau garny d'argent doré, et ung chapeau de veloux cramoisy garny et semencés de perles, que le Roy que Dieu pardoinct fist mettre en son armerière.

8. Une espée d'armes, la poignée de fouet blanc ; au pommeau d'un costé a Nostre-Dame, et de l'autre costé ung saint Michel. Et fut a Jehan de Brézé, lequel en couppa le poing à ung homme d'armes, avecques le canon et le gantelet.

9. Une espée la poignée de fouet blanc ; au pommeau une Nostre-Dame d'un costé, et saint Michel de l'autre ; nommée l'espée du roy d'Escosse qui fust fort hardy, laquelle fut donnée au feu roy Loys, quant il espousa madame la Dauphine.

10. Une espée la poignée de fouet blanc, le pommeau long, d'un costé ung Nostre-Dame, de l'autre costé ung saint Martin ; nommée la bonne espée du roy Loys qu'il avoit à la conquête qu'il fist premier sur les Suysses, nommée Estrefuze.

11. Une espée la poignée de fouet blanc, ung pommeau long en façon de cueur esmaillé blanc et rouge ; nommée l'espée du roy Charles Septiesme, qu'il porta sur son courset.

12. Une espée la poignée de fouet blanc, le pommeau en façon d'un cueur où il y a quatre lozenges, deux d'un costé et deux de l'autre ; nommée l'espée de Philippe le Bel.

13. Une espée garnie de fouet blanc, la poignée sans esmail ; nommée l'espée du roy Jehan.

14. Ung cousteau en façon de semeterre ; nommé le cousteau de saint Pierre de Luxembourg.

15. Une espée le fourreau blanc, la poignée garnie de boys ; au pommeau une Nostre-Dame d'un costé, et un saint Martin de l'autre ; nommée l'espée du pape qu'il envoya au roy Loys.

16. Une espée garnie de cuir rouge à long pommeau ; nommée l'espée du Géan qui fust conquis par ung roy de France en l'isle Nostre-Dame.

17. Une espée longue rabatue, a creusetz pendans, qui fut au conte de Vistambert.⁵

⁴ Query, bound around the handle with white leather, cut in strips, and some-

times technically termed "whipped."

⁵ Furstemberg.

18. Une espee la poignée de cuir rouge ; nommée l'espee qui fut trouvée en ung fondement de boulevard de la porte neufve de Tours. Et fut trouve au pies une beste dont la teste tenoit cinq au⁶ six seaulx d'eau.

19. Une dague à rouelle de boys, emboestée en ung estuy de cuir, que feu roy Loys faisoit tousjours porter quant et luy.

20. Une hache à une main, qui fut au roy saint Loys.

21. Une autre hache à deux mains, autresfois esmaillez de fleurs de lix, qui fut audit roy saint Loys.

22. Une hache à deux mains, qui estoit à ung roy de France qui conquist le Géan en l'isle Nostre-Dame à Paris.

23. Une hache en façon de coignée, le manche long ; nommée la hache du Grant Turc.

24. Une hache ouvree ; nommée la hache du roy Clovys, premier roy christian.

25. Une hache à trois pointes de dyamant ; nommée la hache de messire Bertrand de Clasquin.⁷

26. Une hache couverte toute de fer ; nommée la hache que ung roy de France conquesta sur un payan à Paris ; qui fut trouve au Louvre à Paris.

27. Une hache à deux mains, en façon de fleurs de litz ; nommée la hache d'un Allemant qui fist tant d'armes à Nuz.

28. Une espee d'armes, le fourreau de veloux noir, qui fut audit feu roy Charles Huitiesme, laquelle il avoit à l'arson de sa selle à la journée de Fornauve.

29. Une autre espee, le fourreau de veloux noir, que ledit feu roy Charles Huitiesme avoit en sa main à ladicte journée de Fornauve.

30. Ung fer de lance court, à trois guerres tranchans.

31. Harnoys de la Pucelle, garny de gardebrax, d'une paire de mytons, et d'un habillement de teste, ou il y a ung gorgeray de maille, le bort doré, le dedans garny de satin cramoisy, doublé de mesme.

32. Une brigandine de Tallebot, couverte de veloux noir tout usé, et sa sallade noire couverte d'un houlx de broderie fait sur veloux noir tout usé.

33. Unes vieilles brigandines longues, couvertes d'un vieil drap d'or rouge, le haut fait en façon de cuirasse, et le bas en lemmes⁸ d'assier, et ung bort de sade,⁹ ferme à boucle au costé gauche.

34. Une autre vieille brigandine assise sur veloux noir vieille, usée, le haut du devant en façon de curasse, et le demourant de lemmes.

35. Item, environ quinze ou seize sallades et bassinets à la mode antique, sans savoir ne déclairer à qui ilz ont servy.¹

36. Item, cinq ou six habillemens de teste faiz de boys, les aucuns couvers à bandes de fer et de cuir, le tout de petite valleur et sans aucuns titres à qui ilz ont esté.

Et en la fin du dit inventaire y a escript en deux articles ce qui s'en-suit :—

⁶ Sic in MS.

⁷ Duguesclin.

⁸ Lames d'acier.

⁹ Query, an ornamented border, polished, or the like ?

¹ See in this Journal, vol. xxvi. p. 20, a valuable memoir by Mr. Hewitt on the various forms of the *Salade*, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Nota. Que j'ay les belles testes de cerf apportez de Meun sur Yèvre, et d'autres testes de par deça.

Et aussi les orgues apportez de Naples, que j'ay voulu bailler a Jacques l'organiste par plusieurs foiz, pour ce que la Roynie le m'avoit commandé.

Et oultre le receveur Briçonnet donna au feu Roy, que Dieu pardoint, une table de Flandres paincte, lequel après qu'il eut veue me dist que c'estoit pour ung marchand, et qu'il n'en vouloit point, et qui la me donnoit ; et de fait la me donna.

Fait (à) Amboise, le xxiiij^e. jour de Septembre, mil iiij^e. iiij^{xx}. xix.

Signé :

R. DE DEZEST.

The foregoing inventory, the earliest document of this nature that has come to our knowledge, supplies the first instance, it is believed, of the collection of arms which had belonged to distinguished warriors. Mention is here made of a number of weapons associated with the names of royal personages. It may be desirable to place these before our readers in chronological order.

The most ancient weapon described as preserved in the Armoury of the Castle of Amboise is the battle-axe, or *hache*, of Clovis (No. 24) ; next in order are, the sword of Dagobert (No. 5), the dagger of Charlemagne (No. 1), two battle-axes of St. Louis (Nos. 20, 21), the sword of Philippe le Bel (No. 12), that of John, taken prisoner at Poitiers (No. 13), two swords of Charles VII. (Nos. 4, 11), four swords and a dagger of Louis XI. (Nos. 7, 9, 10, 15, 19), and two swords wielded by Charles VIII. at the battle of Fornoua, July 6, 1495 (Nos. 28, 29).

Mention is made of two swords and two axes (Nos. 6, 16, 22, 26), as having been used either by the King of France who slew a giant at Paris, in the Ile Notre-Dame, now called the Ile de la Cité, or by the said giant. This singular mention of a fabulous incident in the history of Paris is a proof of the popular acceptance of the tradition that has been recorded by Corrozet, the first writer who attempted to compile a connected History of the City. He thus relates the story :—" Aucuns recitent (toutesfois je ne l'ay trouvé en autheur certain) que, regnant le dit empereur Charles le Grant, Paris fut assiégée d'un géant nommé Ysoire, contre lequel l'empereur envia plusieurs de ses courtisans et chevaliers, lesquels furent vaincus par le géant. Finablement Isoire fut occis par Guillaume d'Orenge surnommé au Court nez, et delivra la ville de la persecution du siege."² Subsequently, under the year 978, mention occurs of another giant³ :—" Durant le règne dudit Lotaire fut la ville de Paris assiégée par un prince danois nommé Haastendames accompagnée de xv. mil hommes, entre lesquels estoit un géant nommé Betelguphus de grandeur merveilleuse, lequel venir par chacun jour deffier et provoquer au combat les chevaliers françois. Le roi Lotaire estant dans Paris assiégé avec sa noblesse, sans son sceu Geoffroy, comte d'Anjou, venant a Paris au mandement du roi, se trouva ou estoit le géant, lequel il combatit et lui trancha la teste." The arms enumerated in the Inventory of 1499 may doubtless be referred to either—possibly to both—of these legendary achievements ; we should, however, observe

³ Les Antiquitez, histoires et singularitez de Paris, etc., 1550, f. 43 r°.

² Ibid., f. 45 r°.

the change in the tradition, namely, that in each case the giant is stated to have been slain by the king himself, not, as related by Corrozet, by the hand of one of his paladins.

In regard to the arms attributed to kings of France, of the first and of the second race, are we to consider such designation apocryphal? We can scarcely hesitate as to the *hache* of Clovis, but the sword of Dagobert, if he is the personage designated as the "Roy qui fonda Saint-Denis," may possibly have been preserved; it is well known that several objects regarded as having belonged to him were kept in the Treasury of the abbey that he founded, one of these being the throne of gilt bronze actually deposited in the Musée des Souverains at the Louvre.⁴ The dagger of Charlemagne may have been thus designated on no less questionable tradition than the famous sword, called, as early as the thirteenth century "*Joyeuse*," with its elaborately chased pommel and cross-guard of gold, in the workmanship of which some antiquaries are still disposed to recognise the style of the Carlovingian period.⁵ M. Le Roux de Lincy seems, however, unwilling to accept either of these objects as having appertained to Charlemagne; but he admits that the arms attributed to St. Louis may be accounted authentic; they were, indeed, not the only weapons preserved with such a tradition. In the Treasury at St. Denis there was a long sword stated to have been brought by that king from his first expedition into Palestine, and to have been the weapon which he had often wielded against the Unbelievers.⁶ In the Inventory, moreover, of the armour and arms of Louis X., in 1316, mention is found of "un cousteau à manche de fust et de fer, qui fu S. Louys, si comme l'on dit."⁷

One of the swords attributed to Louis XI. (No. 9), is described as "l'espee du roy d'Escosse, qui fust fort hardy," and given to the king by his first wife, Margaret, daughter of James I., King of Scots; she died in 1444, whilst Louis was still Dauphin.⁸ He succeeded, in 1461. This sword had doubtless belonged to Robert Bruce.

Another sword (No. 7) described as of Louis XI., with the arms of Pope Callistus III. (1455—1458), had been sent to him previously to that subsequently mentioned in the Inventory (No. 15). It is stated

⁴ This interesting relic had been removed in 1792 to the National Library, but it was restored to the Abbey in 1843. It is stated by Felibien, in his history of that monastery, that the bronze seat was attributed to Dagobert by the Abbot Suger, who caused it to be re-gilt, in the eleventh century. M. Lenormand has given a valuable memoir on the subject in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, t. i., 1847-49. Dom Millet, in his *Tresor sacré de Saint-Denis*, p. 134, describes a richly-jeweled ornament, there preserved, and supposed to have been the *agraffe* of Dagobert's mantle. It is figured in Felibien's *History of the Abbey*, p. 539, pl. ii. r.

⁵ This sword, formerly at St. Denis, described by Dom Millet, p. 135, and Felibien, p. 543, has been figured by

Montfaucon in his *Monarchie Française*. It was used at the *sacre*, and borne by the Constable of France. It is now in the Musée des Souverains, in the Louvre, and has been minutely described by M. Barbet de Jouy, in his *Notice of that remarkable collection*, p. 8; where an account is also given of the gold spurs of Charlemagne.

⁶ Dom Millet, p. 135; Felibien, p. 541, pl. iii. m.

⁷ Du Cange, *Gloss.*, under the word *Armatura*.

⁸ This alliance, it may be remembered, excited in 1436 the jealousy of England, and a fleet was dispatched by Henry VI. to intercept the betrothed Scottish princess on her passage to France. It was unsuccessful, and the Dauphiness reached La Rochelle in safety. Fordun, ed. Goodal, vol. ii. pp. 485, 501.

that it was accompanied by a "chapeau de veloux cramoisy garny et semences de perles," which the late king caused to be placed in his armoury. The second sword (No. 15), described as "l'espée du pape qu'il envoya au roy Louis," was doubtless connected with an important event in the reign of Louis XI., namely, his abolition, in 1462, of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, issued in 1438 by Charles VIII., declaring the pope subordinate to a general Council, and annulling his fiscal rights in France. It is related that, amongst other tokens of the satisfaction of Pius II. on that occasion, he sent to Louis "une épée benite avec quatre vers latins graves sur la lame, pour en relever le prix. Louis reçut avec grand appareil ce présent par les mains du nonce Antoine de Nocetis ou de Noxe, et cette frivole cérémonie fut toute la récompense qu'il tira du sacrifice qu'il faisoit au pape."⁹ The four lines inscribed on the blade thus expressed the confident expectation of the pope that Louis would zealously unite in the armament at that time in active preparation against the Turks:—

Exserat in Turcas tua me, Lodoice, furentes
 Dexterâ, Graiorum sanguinis ultor ero.
 Corruet imperium Mahumetis, et inclyta rursus
 Gallorum virtus te petet astra duce.

We find also a weapon (No. 10) designated in the Inventory as the good sword named *Estrefuze*, that Louis XI. "avoit a la conquête qu'il fist premier sur les Suisses." Doubtless the event here referred to is the memorable conflict at St. Jacques, near Basle, Aug. 26, 1444, in which the French under command of the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XI., engaged for ten hours with a small resolute force of the Swiss.¹ Two swords are described in the Inventory as having been used by Charles VIII. at the battle of Fornoua, July 6, 1495, one of them as an "espée d'armes" that he had at his saddle-bow, the other in his hand (Nos. 28, 29). Philippe de Commines and Brantôme relate the prowess of the King of France on that occasion, and his incredible feats of arms, mounted on his black charger called "*Savoie*."²

With these arms, ascribed to certain kings of France, there were preserved, in the chateau at Amboise, those of several renowned warriors, such as the sword of Lancelot du Lac, that of Jean de Breze, the knife of St. Pierre de Luxemburg, the *hache* of the Great Turk, that of Bertrand du Guesclin, the armour of the Maid of Orleans, and the brigandine worn by the renowned Talbot.

In regard to the first of these (No. 2), the sword of Lancelot, the writer of the Inventory had added the significant observation,—“et l'on dit qu'elle est fée.” The use of enchanted weapons is attributed to almost all the famous warriors of the Middle Ages. Such was the sword of Alexander, that named “Escalibor” assigned to King Arthur, the pon-

⁹ Duclos, Hist. de Louis XI., t. i., p. 224.

¹ Of a body of 1600 Swiss only ten escaped alive; it is stated that 10,000 of their adversaries perished. The fame of Swiss valor was so renowned in consequence of this exploit, as it has been stated, that Louis courted the alliance of the Cantons, and first enrolled a body of Swiss as a body-guard, a practice con-

tinued in France until the time of Charles X.

² See Brantôme's brilliant description of the equipment of the king, who wore over his harness a rich short-sleeved *Jaquette*, or cotte d'armes, of white and violet, semé of crosslets of Jerusalem; his horse was barded of the same. Vies des hommes illustres, &c. Œuvres Complètes, t. ii. p. 8.

derous "*Joyeuse*" used by Charlemagne, and the "*Floberge*" of the Four Sons of Aimon. These weapons, wrought by Veland the smith or by the Elfs his successors, were gifted with magical power; such virtue, moreover, was attributed even in more recent historic times to the weapon wielded by the Cid, "*Tizon*," so often mentioned in the tales of the prowess in the *Romancero* of that renowned paladin. The like unearthly virtues were no doubt attributed to the sword of Lancelot, one of the most celebrated heroes of the Round Table.³

Jean de Brézé, whose valorous deeds were such as to entitle his sword to a place in the royal armoury (No. 8), was only an esquire; he was sent by Charles VII., in 1441, with the Constable of France and a leader of a troop named Floquet to succour the citadel of Poissy, which was threatened by Talbot and an English force under his command. The chronicler Gilles le Bouvier, called Berry, herald at arms, writes thus of the death of Jean de Brézé, which occurred in the spring of 1442:—"Il y eust entre Evreux et le Neufbourg une rencontre entre les François et les Anglois, les François gagnèrent, mais un escuyer et capitaine des ditz François, nommé Jean de Bresay, du pays d'Anjou, y mourut, qui estoit un vaillant escuyer, dont ce fut tres-grand dommage."⁴

If we consult the Lives of Saints by Baillet,⁵ who has given a detailed narrative of the acts of Peter of Luxemburg, it will be evident that the admiration in which he was held by his contemporaries was well deserved, and that the knife, in fashion of a scimitar, which had belonged to him, might claim a place amongst the precious relics in the armoury of Louis XII.

The mention of a "hache d'armes à trois pointes de diamant" that had belonged to Bertrand du Guesclin (No. 25) is the more curious, since it occurs for the first time in this Inventory. A sword that had belonged to that renowned commander is to be found in the Inventory of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy: it is not noticed in the notes by M. de Lincy, but may here deserve to be mentioned. It is described as "une espée de guerre, qui fut à messire Bertram de Claiquin." De Laborde; les Ducs de Bourgoyne, seconde partie, t. ii., p. 146.

It is difficult to determine who was the German hero that distinguished himself at the siege of Neuss, in 1474 (No. 27). Jean Molinet has, however, devoted twenty-one chapters of his Chronicle to the relation of the siege of that place, a little town on the Rhine, before which Charles the Bold saw the failure of his powers, and the beginning of the disasters that cost him his life. He mentions by name several distinguished combatants of German origin, but such there were engaged on both sides in that affair. In ch. 22 he writes also of an affair between the Burgundians and the besieged, in which "plusieurs gentils reistres d'Allemagne furent

³ The subject of enchanted weapons has been treated by M. de Reiffenberg, in the Introduction to the Chronicle of Philip Mouskès, part ii., Brussels, 1837, p. c., where he notices the names of swords celebrated in the romances of chivalry, and more fully in the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Brussels, t. xii. See also "Veland le Forgeron," &c., by G. B. Depping and F. Michel, Paris, 1833, and Alfr. Maury, "Fees du moyen âge,"

Paris, 1843, p. 81.

⁴ Hist. de Charles VII., édit. de Denys Godefroy, Paris, 1661, p. 419. The père Anselme says—"Jean de Brézé, qui rendit de grands services à Charles VII. se signala à la prise d'Evreux en 1442, s'étant précipité témérairement lorsque les Anglais vinrent pour la reprendre, il fut tue au premier choc." Hist. Geneal.

⁵ Les Vies des Saints, &c. Paris, 1701, t. vii. p. 163.

rompus et defaicts," especially the Count De Quierburch. Was it to him that belonged the two-handed axe "en façon de fleurs de litz?"⁶

It is doubtless a point of curious interest to collect every particular relating to Jeanne d'Arc; M. de Lincy observes that the description of her armour (No. 31) in this Inventory is the more deserving of notice, because it may probably be in some degree associated with a remarkable memorial of that celebrated heroine, to which attention has only recently been drawn. Antoine Dufour, Confessor of Louis XII. and of Anne of Bretagne, was charged by that queen to compose a History of celebrated women. In the MS. of his work each section is preceded by a miniature portraying the person of whom a notice is given. The 91st relates to Jeanne de Vaucouleurs; the illumination represents the heroine on a white charger, in gilded armour, corresponding with the description of the "*harnois de la Pucelle*" preserved in the royal armoury at Amboise. If the circumstances under which Antoine Dufour compiled his work for the queen are taken into consideration, it will be evident that the illuminator may have had access to the armoury in question; there is no improbability in the supposition that it may have been available in delineating the portrait.⁷

The item that follows next after the description of the "*harnois*" of Joan of Arc is scarcely less interesting to the English reader (No. 32); it presents to us the brigandine of the valiant Talbot, which was covered with black velvet that had seen much service; also his black head-piece called a "*sallade*," likewise covered with black velvet, embroidered. It is almost in vain to conjecture whether these defences may have been part of the equipment of that celebrated warrior when he was slain in the expedition into Guyenne in 1453. The chronicler Mathieu de Coucy, who relates in full detail the fall of the English leader, makes mention of his brigandine:—"A cette sortie, dit il, fut tué ledit sieur de Talbot, lequel étoit arme d'une brigandine couverte de velours vermeil," etc.⁸ It will be seen that the color here indicated does not correspond with that of the brigandine described in the Inventory; this discrepancy is, however, not of much importance: the armour formerly preserved at Amboise may possibly have been that worn by Talbot in the fatal conflict at Châtillon. Moreover, according to the relation of the chronicler before cited, the corpse of the brave commander was completely stripped on the battle-field where he fell.

In perusing this Inventory, every item of which presents some historical association more or less interesting, the questions naturally suggest themselves, what could have been the cause of the dispersion of so precious a collection, and may it still be possible to recover any trace of the objects enumerated? In 1499, the same year in which the Inventory was compiled, the château of Amboise was almost abandoned by Louis XII., who preferred that of Blois; between 1501 and 1506 a considerable portion of the furniture that Charles VIII. had brought together into his habitual residence was transported to Blois. Possibly the armoury followed Louis in his desertion of the abode to which his predecessor had been so much

⁶ Chroniques de Jean Molinet, published for the first time by Buchon, Paris, 1827, in t. xliii. of the Collection de Chroniques Nationales, p. 138, second part.

⁷ This subject has been reproduced in the "*Femmes célèbres de l'ancienne France*," tom. i.

⁸ Math. de Coucy, Hist. de Charles VII.; Recueil de Godefroy, 1661, p. 646.

attached ; the period indeed at which the Inventory was taken seems to suggest that supposition. Francis I. and Henry II. his son made some brief visits to the chateau of Amboise, but the famous conspiracy of which it was the scene may probably have been the cause that the kings of France no longer resorted to that once favorite royal residence.

Possibly some remains of the collection here enumerated may have been preserved in the "*cabinet*" of Louis XIII., in which there was a fine display of arms, mentioned by one of his favorites in his Memoirs. The Marquis of Montpouillan, relating the incidents that preceded the murder of the Maréchal d'Ancre, says, alluding to the Luynes,—"*Ils appréhendoient beaucoup que l'on ne découvrit leur dessein, qui étoit que le Marquis d'Ancre venant chez le roi, il falloit que Sa Majesté l'obligeât à aller voir son cabinet, où il y avoit plusieurs sortes d'armes et surtout de beaux fusils, que Monsieur de Montpouillan auroit la commission de l'y conduire, et qu'y allant seul et étant là il tâcheroit à s'en defaire.*"⁹

It is with satisfaction that I would offer grateful acknowledgment of my obligations to the distinguished French archæologist, by whom the foregoing Inventory has been rescued from oblivion, and also for the valuable illustrative notes that accompany the document, and are so essential to enable the reader fully to appreciate the details and historical allusions connected with it. I have thankfully availed myself of this instructive commentary by M. Le Roux de Lincy, in reproducing this unique record for the gratification of English readers ; I feel assured that no one was equally competent to elucidate the points of research that he has set forth with such skill and erudition.

ALBERT WAY.

⁹ Memoires de Jacques Nompars de Caumont la Force, Marechal de France, et de ses deux fils, les Marquis le Mont-

pouillan et de Castelnaut, &c. ; recueillis par le Marquis de la Grange, Paris, 1843, 8vo., t. iv. p. 24.