

## THE LOST ARMOURY OF THE GONZAGAS

By JAMES G. MANN

It is sad to think that very few of the armouries of Renaissance Italy have survived. The arsenals of the Visconti and the Sforza at Milan which was at that time the undisputed capital of the armourers' craft, have long since vanished. No trace at all is left of the armouries of the tyrants of the smaller city states of Ferrara, Rimini and Urbino. There is only a residue now remaining of the armour of the Medici, preserved in the Bargello at Florence. The Doge's Palace at Venice contains a small but interesting collection, to which can be added the relics of the Venetian garrisons in the Levant at Chalcis and Rhodes. There is a little armour in the Vatican Palace and at Capo di Monte, Naples. The Royal Armoury at Turin is based on the old armoury of the House of Savoy, but in its present form is largely a modern collection, brought together by Count Seyssel d'Aix for Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, in the 'thirties and 'forties of the last century.

This is a modest total compared with what has survived in Germany, where many of the ruling houses retained their Rüstkammer until recent times. The House of Saxony alone can show three large armouries at Dresden, Eisenach and Coburg, and the Hapsburgs the two great displays at Vienna and Madrid.

That fatal century and a half, which elapsed between the disuse of armour in the seventeenth century and its return to favour as a subject of antiquarian curiosity at the end of the eighteenth, saw the well-filled arsenals of the Italian cities scattered by the hazards of war and peace. The humanistic sentiment of Italian culture was perhaps less concerned to conserve them than was the more feudal spirit of Germany. Not that all this armour can actually have been destroyed. By its nature armour is less perishable than pictures or tapestries, and drastic measures must be taken to dispose of it. It is said that a quantity of retainers' armour at Wilton House was buried in the

garden to get rid of it ; while the town armour at Baldock was thrown down a well. Nevertheless much of the contents of the old Italian arsenals must have passed from hand to hand and be with us still, forming part of the mass of anonymous armour which fills the galleries of modern museums and private collections on both sides of the Atlantic.

The history of Mantua and the great military traditions and wealth of its ruling family, the Gonzagas, invest their armoury with a special interest. They seized power from the Bonacolsi in 1328 by a *coup d'état*, commemorated in Morone's painting in the Palazzo Ducale (Pl. i), and retained it until their line ended in 1708 after nearly four hundred years of rule. Mantua, a state no larger than a small English county, was able to maintain her independence through the military capacity of the ruling house. In successive generations the lords of Mantua lent their services professionally as commanders in the field to their more powerful neighbours. By this means Mantua was able to survive the rivalry of Venice and Milan in the fifteenth century, and the struggle for supremacy of France and Spain in the next. Meanwhile the court of the Gonzagas lacked neither material wealth nor intellectual riches, and its fame as a centre of art and learning spread far beyond the confines of Italy.

The situation of Mantua is one of great natural strength. The river Mincio spreads out on three sides of the town forming a wide lake, traversed by two causeways. It is not surprising that this city became one of the famous quadrilateral of forts by which the Austrians held northern Italy until 1866. Twice it was stormed ; by the Germans in 1630 and the French in 1797, and on each occasion it fell only after tremendous assaults. It is with the first of these sieges that we are particularly concerned, because in the sack which followed, the great armoury of the Gonzagas was destroyed, together with their treasure, their museum of minerals and many priceless works of art.<sup>1</sup>

It is to be expected that a dynasty which lived

<sup>1</sup> By good fortune, Mantegna's cartoons of the *Triumphs of Petrarch* escaped. They had been sold to Charles I of England with other

paintings some months before, and now form one of the major ornaments of Hampton Court.



*Photo : Anderson.*

THE DRIVING OUT OF THE BONACOLSI. BY DOMENICO MORONE (1442-c. 1508), DUCAL PALACE, MANTUA



*Photo : Alinari*

ERCOLE I D'ESTE, DUKE OF FERRARA (1471-1505). BY  
DOSSO DOSSI. R. GALLERIA ESTENSE, MODENA

by war in a strictly professional way should possess a fine armoury. It was only natural that a house which also cultivated the politer arts of peace should ensure that their arms were something more than utilitarian. The discriminating patronage which attracted artists of the rank of Pisanello and Mantegna, Alberti and Giulio Romano to live and work for them, was extended to the artist-armourers of the Renaissance.

To assist in reconstructing the contents of their lost armoury there are open to us four possible sources of information. Firstly, there is in existence the correspondence of the Gonzagas, from which one can learn whence and how they obtained their arms. Secondly, there are available four<sup>1</sup> unpublished inventories of their armour, preserved in the Archivio Notarile and Archivio del Stato at Mantua. Thirdly, there exists in other lands armour which the Gonzagas presented to foreign princes, and which can provide some idea of their taste and resources in this respect. Lastly, in default of the actual armours surviving, one can learn much from the portraits of members of the family portrayed in armour. Thanks to the admirable custom of the time, this is often painted with sufficient accuracy for us to be able to recognize its nature.

#### THE GONZAGA CORRESPONDENCE

The first source need not detain us long as it has already been explored by the late Dr. Bertolotti. In 1888 he published in the *Archivio Storico Lombardo* under the title of 'Le Arte Minori alla corte di Mantova' many valuable extracts from documents and letters that had passed between the Gonzagas and their armourers, which he found in the Archivio Gonzaga at Mantua. They show that the Lords of Mantua maintained their own armourers, whom they usually imported from the headquarters of the craft in Milan. One also learns from these papers that the armourers in their service were allowed to execute orders for outsiders, especially for the neighbouring House of Este, Lords of Ferrara. Thus in 1436 the latter are recorded as having bought an armour

<sup>1</sup> Three are the subject of this paper and are published here for the first time. The fourth, which is con-

tained in the Libro d'Aquila, will be printed in a later volume.

from Pietro da Milano, armourer of Mantua. Nearly thirty years later, in 1464, Borso d'Este, first Duke of Ferrara, was still using the services of 'Maestro Piedro' (possibly the same), and wrote to say that he could not let him return to the Marquess Lodovico at Mantua as he was still at work on an armour for him.

Pietro da Milano was followed in 1475 by Giovanni da Lodi, presumably from his name another Milanese, and in 1479 the Gonzagas obtained the services of Maestro Michaletto, called '*delle Corazzine*,' from Brescia. In 1489 Giacomo da Capua is described as head of the workshops at Mantua. In 1494 Ercole I d'Este (1471-1505) was again employing the services of the armourer of his brother-in-law, Francesco Gonzaga. His portrait by Dosso Dossi at Modena (Pl. ii) was painted in the middle of the sixteenth century, but faithfully portrays an Italian harness of Ercole's time. The details (note especially the clasp at the top of the neck of the mail collar) are rendered with great exactitude. The breast is covered with brocaded velvet of black and gold. In 1503 Nicolao da Azano wrote from Brescia that he could not come to Mantua until he had completed an order from Alfonso d'Este, and that he was proving every piece with strong crossbows. The Gonzagas, in their turn, made use of the services of the Jewish goldsmith, Ercole de' Fideli, who worked for the court of Ferrara,<sup>1</sup> and whose skill in the etching of cinquedeas is attested by the existence of several blades bearing his signature.

In March 1498 Bernardino Missaglia entered the service of the Gonzagas as master of the workshops. He was a member of the most famous of all armour-producing families, but this did not prevent the Marquess from putting him in irons for not having finished an armour in time for the King of France. Missaglia wrote asking to be released, promising to complete the order in three or four months and excusing his delay on the grounds of his parents' illness. He even went so far as to guarantee that he would produce something finer than had ever been seen before, such as would greatly enhance the Marquess's prestige, and that he would render account of all moneys received.

<sup>1</sup> Bertolotti, *op. cit.* p. 238. Cf. *infra*, p. 245.

It is instructive to learn that from 1503 onwards the Marquess Francesco Gonzaga was in touch through Missaglia with the well-known German armourers, the Colmans of Augsburg, in the territory of the Duke of Bavaria, who was related to the Gonzagas by marriage. In 1511 Bernardino Missaglia was sent to show the new German armour to the Duke of Urbino who had expressed a desire to see it. One wonders what Bernardino's private feelings were towards this proposal to carry coals to Newcastle. It was, however, the beginning of a close connection with the Colman family which lasted until 1521, and the correspondence contains the names of Lorenz and Coloman Helmschmied, to whom payments were made through the Fuggers, the famous merchant-bankers of Augsburg.<sup>1</sup> In 1523, the Marquess's agent at Augsburg, the armourer Anchine della Guiana, complained that he could not obtain delivery of a suit from Colman, as the latter had been called away to work for the Emperor.

In the same year Caremolo Modrone, once more a Milanese, entered the service of the Gonzagas as master of the armouries, and held the post until his death in 1543, twenty-two years later. His brother Paolino Modrone survived until 1563. In 1524 the marquess mentioned in a letter to his ambassador at Venice that he was in the habit of having suits of armour made by Caremolo three or four times a year, according to different designs that pleased him, either for his person or to give to his friends, and that he had difficulty in obtaining the necessary iron from the Captain of Brescia. In 1527 Caremolo wrote to the marquess about a musket-proof bard for a horse of Federico's named *il primo Soltano Solimano*, adding that he could not get from Brescia the iron already paid for and that he would break up breast-plates and whatever he had in the world to serve the marquess.

Correspondence between the first Duke, Federico II, and Caremolo in the years 1534 deals with the first of

<sup>1</sup> In the same year, Battista di Mercadante had orders to damascene a light iron chanfron for an Arab horse (*cavallo turco*) in the same manner as he had done the Marquess's corselet. This is an early

instance of the art of damascening. In 1524 the Marquess wrote to Ottavio Ursino about obtaining the services of a Spaniard, 'che lavora alla azamingo benissimo,' Bertolotti, *op. cit.* pp. 141-3.

two armours which the Duke Federico presented to the Emperor Charles V (referred to as *El Ré d'España*). The Emperor is recorded as having said that this armour was more precious to him than a city, and fêted Caremolo 'as though he were his brother,' and went as far as to say that 'if he had taken his measure a thousand times it could not fit better.' The Duke followed up this success with the gift of a second armour in 1536 in gratitude for being invested with the Principality of Montserrat. Both these armours are depicted in Charles V's *Inventario Iluminado*, which is preserved in the Royal Armoury at Madrid. This brings us to the second of our sources of information, namely existing armour which is known to have come from Mantua as gifts from the Gonzagas.

#### ARMOUR OF GONZAGA ORIGIN

The greater part of this double gift to the Emperor was still preserved in the Royal Armoury at Madrid up to the outbreak of the Civil War in 1936 (Pl. iii), and we hope has survived its recent perilous situation. As catalogued by the late Conde Valencia de Don Juan it comprises 44 pieces out of a total of 53 (Cat. 1898, A 112-114), also the shield (*Ibid.* D 66) and the saddle-steels (*Ibid.* F.22). Certain portions mysteriously vanished in the nineteenth century and reappeared at Christie's famous sale of armour from Spain in 1839.<sup>1</sup>

The Conde Valencia also suggested that other arms of Italian origin that had belonged to Charles V, notably the target embossed with Hercules and the pillars (*Ibid.* D 63) and the wheel-lock gun (K 30), had been acquired through his relations with the House of Mantua, but there is no documentary evidence in their case to support the claim.

There is preserved in the Louvre a fine and characteristic cinquedeas, the blade of which is etched with the Gonzaga arms<sup>2</sup> (Pl. iv). Its style<sup>3</sup> denotes the

<sup>1</sup> One of these parts of the Gonzaga gift is now in the collection of Mr. James de Rothschild, M.P. *Laking Record*, Vol. iv, Fig. 1218.

<sup>2</sup> This sword first came to light in a loan exhibition at Tours in 1890 in the possession of the Baron de Rentz, and was shortly afterwards acquired for the Louvre. Molinier,

*La Bulletin des Musees*, 1890, pp. 338-42, M. Maindron, *Revue des Arts Decoratifs*, xi, 1890-1, and the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1892, pp. 24-29.

I am indebted to M. Georges Fontaine, Assistant Keeper at the Louvre, for these references and the photographs here illustrated.

<sup>3</sup> The characteristics of Fideli's



ARMOUR MADE BY CAREMOLO MODRONE AND PRESENTED BY FEDERICO II GONZAGA TO THE EMPEROR CHARLES V IN 1534 AND WORN BY HIM AT THE CONQUEST OF TUNIS. ROYAL ARMOURY, MADRID

*To face page 245.*



DEA OF FRANCESCO II GONZAGA, 4TH MARQUESS  
USÉE DU LOUVRE, PARIS

hand of Ercole de' Fideli, who was contemporary with the Marquess Francesco II (1484-1519). The hilt is covered with two plaques of ivory, and down the copper gilt sides is inscribed 'NVNQUAM POTEST NON-ESSE VIRTVTI LOCOS' (*sic*). The centre of the blade is inscribed on either side with the motto 'OMENE (*sic*) SOLVM FORTI PATRIA EST' (which is also found on a cinquedeas in the Tradescant collection in the Ashmolean Museum), and on the other side: 'ANIMVS . TELO . PRESTANCIOR OMINI' (*sic*). In the lower left-hand panel of one side are etched the arms of Gonzaga (*Argent*) a cross (*gules*) between four eagles of the Empire (*sable*), which was granted by the Emperor Sigismund in 1434. In the next compartment is an *impresa* of a nude man lying beneath a brilliant sun, a device of the Gonzagas which forms the reverse of the Medal by Adriano Fiorentino of Elisabetta Gonzaga, Duchess of Urbino. In the two compartments above are what appears to be the figures of Mars and Hercules armed with clubs. On the other side, in the lower panels are a commander being armed by a page, and two naked men, one with a sieve and the other holding aloft a horn of abundance; above these are a deer lodged,<sup>1</sup> with the motto 'BID CRAF' (*Wider Kraft*) on a banderole; and a muzzle with the motto 'CHAVCIVS' (*caucius*).<sup>2</sup>

The archives of the house of Saxony record many gifts made to the Electors August and Christian by Guglielmo, third Duke of Mantua (1550-1587). A finely mounted sword and dagger with spring-blade in the Historical Museum at Dresden were brought back by the Chamberlain Heinrich von Hagen in 1587 as a gift from Guglielmo's successor Vincenzo I Gonzaga, and are still preserved at Dresden.<sup>3</sup> Another surviving relic of the house of Gonzaga is the helmet of Vincenzo I Gonzaga, fourth duke of Mantua, which is now in the Museo Poldi Pezzoli at Milan and will be referred to later *à propos* of his portrait (p. 261-2).

There is a couter in the Tower Armouries (No. III, style are described by M. Buttin, *La Cinquedeas de la Collection de Mme. Goldschmidt*, 1906, p. 21. See also Ch. Yriarte, *L'Epee de Cesar Borgia*, 1891, pp. 202-4.

<sup>1</sup> This device is mentioned under No. 259 of the Inventory of 1542 *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> In 1506 Francesco II Gonzaga granted leave to the Guerrieri family to use this motto. The device and motto appear on one of Francesco's medals, Litta, *Gonzaga*, No. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Hanel, *Kostbare Waffen*, Pl. 43 c and d.

764) which is embossed with the arms of Gonzaga charged upon a double-headed eagle surmounted by a Papal tiara and surrounded by interlacing vines (Pl. v, B). The general scheme of its decoration resembles that on the elbows of the 'oak-leaf' suit of Charles V at Madrid (No. A 49), which are embossed with the double-eagle charged with a shield of Austria.

One would like to be able to connect with the Gonzagas the magnificent embossed and damascened shield in the British Museum which is signed and dated: 'GIORGIVS . DE . GHISYS . MANTVANVS . MDLIV,'<sup>1</sup> but nothing is known of its history previous to its forming part of Prince Demidoff's collection in the Palace of San Donato, at Florence. Giorgio Ghisi (1524-1587), engraver and goldsmith of Mantua, had settled in Rome before the date of the shield, so in all probability it was executed for a patron there. After the sale of the San Donato collection in 1870 it passed through the collections of Edwin Brett, Baron Albert Rothschild of Vienna and Baron Ferdinand Rothschild of Waddesdon, by whose bequest it came to the Museum in 1900. Another example of Ghisi's work is the hilt of a sword in the National Museum at Budapest signed: 'GIORGIVS . GHISI . MAN . F.'<sup>2</sup>

These few objects give some idea of the taste and resources of the Gonzagas in the matter of arms. It can be greatly amplified by the inventories of their armoury which are the subject of this paper. Their existence is recorded in a number of scattered references in Angelucci's Catalogue of the Royal Armoury at Turin, 1890, but I could not find that they had ever been published. When working in Mantua in 1929 on the armour in the Sanctuary of the Madonna delle Grazie I took the opportunity of going to the Archives to seek them. Their pressmark was traced in the catalogue, but the first of the papers could not be found, and I was asked to return next day. Meanwhile a search was made and on my second visit a packet of documents was duly produced. The reason for the delay was then apparent, for the bundle bore on the wrapper a note in pencil to say that these papers were

<sup>1</sup> Laking, *Record*, Vol. iv, Fig. 1302.

<sup>2</sup> Boheim, *Meister der Waffenschmiedekunst*, 1896, Pl. viii.



A. THE CASTELLO DI CORTE OR SAN GIORGIO, MANTUA, BUILT FOR THE GONZAGAS IN 1395-1406 BY BARTOLINI PLOTI



B. COUNTER EMBOSSED WITH THE ARMS OF GONZAGA.  
TOWER OF LONDON



*Photo : Ufficio della Arti*

EFFIGY IN RELIEF OF NICOLÒ DE BINDACCI, D. 1403, FROM ST. CATHERINE'S CHURCH,  
PISA, NOW IN THE MUSEO BARDINI AT FLORENCE

to be put aside for Captain Angelucci, followed by a date in the year 1865. Apparently Angelucci had not returned for them, and sixty years were to elapse, from the era of Garibaldi to that of Mussolini, before another student came treading in the dusty footsteps of his predecessor.

One hardly needs to emphasize the value of contemporary inventories to the study of armour. For one thing they correct and amplify our knowledge of the proper terms, which have become corrupted or misapplied in the loose vocabulary of the text-book and the sale-room. Moreover, they demonstrate the numbers and proportions of what was used. This cannot be learned from the armour that is exhibited to-day in museums or private collections, because its relative quantity is governed by the hazard of survival. Inventories and account rolls, are, in fact, the only voice from the past which can authoritatively confirm or refute the statements of the *connoisseur*.

Though the armoury of the Gonzagas has vanished, these inventories are unusually detailed and enable one to reconstruct a picture of what it was like in its prime. There are four in all, one dating from the beginning of the fifteenth century, two from the middle of the sixteenth, and the fourth from the beginning of the seventeenth. The last two are sufficiently close to each other in point of time for it to be possible to identify some of the same items in both.

#### THE INVENTORY OF 1407

The first of these inventories is dated 1407, the year of the death of Francesco I Gonzaga, fourth Captain of the People and first Marquess of Mantua. It is the shortest, and is written in a corrupt form of Latin.

I should like here to acknowledge my debt to Cavaliere Luigi Marzoli and Dr. Eric Millar for generous help in revising the transcript. I have also to thank Professor Cesare Foligno of Oxford, for numerous valuable suggestions in the interpretation of the text.

In the first place, it is interesting to note that the writer of the inventory is careful to distinguish steel (*azalis*) from iron (*ferrum*), not only in armour of plate, but also of mail (e.g. Nos. 12 and 13).

Six varieties of headpiece are given. Firstly there is the helm (*elmus*, Nos. 51, 57, and Pl. vi), one (No. 105) being garnished with buckles of silver gilt which belonged to the late Lord Francesco himself. It is not, however, so rich as the two headpieces described under the title *bantus* or *bautus*, a word whose etymology I have been unable to discover. No. 17 has an orle of roses of silver gilt and enamel, and the other (No. 19) is described as of large size with a frontal of silver gilt with a plume of feathers of white and red and encircled with nine roses of silver gilt and enamel.

The word *celata* was employed in Italy to denote a sallet in the fifteenth century and a burgonet in the sixteenth. But the form of sallet which we are accustomed to understand by this word, had not developed by the year 1407, and it probably denotes here what is usually understood by a bascinet. One of these mentioned here (No. 23) is a rich example covered with crimson pile velvet with fringes of bright green.

The references given here to the barbute (*barbutus*) should put an end to the old controversy as to whether this helmet is so named because it is one which carries a beard, i.e., an aventail, or because it is open at the chin and shows the beard of the wearer. Item No. 58 reads '17 barbutes with aventails, of iron and steel, one of which has a coronet of silver with three enamels,' and No. 59 'two barbutes without aventails' (*sine camalio*). This wording shows beyond dispute that the barbute was frequently worn with an aventail, and confirms Viollet-le-Duc's reconstructed illustration of the one now in the Wallace Collection.<sup>1</sup>

Then there is the *capelletus* or *chappelle-de-fer*, known in England as a 'shapewe' or war-hat. No. 18 is the most elaborate helmet in the list, 'a war-hat of steel covered with red pile velvet with seven rays of silver gilt with doves of bright silver and a plume-holder.' No. 61 is described as having a mail aventail.

Lastly, there is the *elmetus*, a word apparently used as a general term. No. 20 is described as being of steel covered with scarlet velvet. Others are simply

<sup>1</sup> Viollet-le-Duc *Dictionnaire du Mobilier français*, 1872, v, p. 187; Laking, *Record*, ii, p. 69; Wallace Collection Catalogue, 1924, no. 15.

described as of steel (No. 21) or of iron (No. 22), and there are references to rivets for them of latten (No. 108). Visors are not mentioned except by implication (No. 122, 'forty-nine pivots for visors').

The cuirasses (*corazie*) were probably not brigandines (*corazzine*), but built up of large plates like the one at Churburg,<sup>1</sup> for one of them is described as being uncovered (No. 2), and others are mentioned as being used for jousting (Nos. 49 and 103) and would therefore be solidly built. The breasts of steel and iron (*pectora*, Nos. 31, 32, etc.), probably consisted of a single plate strapped over the hauberk, or even over the jupon, as one sees represented on the tombs of the time. The paunces (*pancerie*, Nos. 8 and 9) covered the lower part of the body in front.

Armour for the limbs includes many references to pauldrons (*spallaroli*, Nos. 54, 60), vambraces (*brazales*, Nos. 33, 34, 64, 69, 70), one of his lordship's (No. 33), having borders of silver gilt, like the contemporary armour at Chartres, and gauntlets (Nos. 15, 16, 55, 125). The many pairs of tassets (*franchales*, Nos. 3, 4, 6, 7, etc.), are at first sight difficult to explain, as tassets of the form to which the word is usually applied had not yet come into existence. They must here denote the hooped skirts of lames extending from the waist to mid-thigh in use at this date, which were made in two parts, front and back, hinged together and buckled at the side, and could therefore be described as pairs (cf. the Churburg armour No. 18). The leg-harness (*arnixii*, Nos. 28, 30, 71, 72) is usually entire, but sometimes its component parts are mentioned, cuisses (*cossales*, No. 72), knee-fringes (*balzæ*, No. 38), greaves (*schinariae*, No. 73) and sabatons (*subtellares*, No. 29). There are a few scattered references to shields of various kinds, *rotelli* (Nos. 35, 41), *targhete* (Nos. 27, 106), *targones* (No. 77), *pavesus* (No. 42), and *scuta a giostra* (No. 56). There are a few banners and standards (Nos. 36, 80, 101, 102), plumes and crests (Nos. 75, 128, 129), and many belts and straps, apparently included on account of the richness of their buckles and mounts (Nos. 83-86, etc.). The straps for helms (*corigie ab elmo*, Nos. 83, 84) probably took the form

<sup>1</sup> Trapp and Mann, *The Armoury of the Castle of Churburg*, 1929, no. 13.

of the long ornamental tails to be seen on the backs of the kneeling knights of Sempach painted on the walls of the chapel of St. Agnes at Königsfelden and on the statue of Bernabo Visconti in the Castle of Milan. A leather hip-belt lined with red velvet still survives at Churburg to illustrate the descriptions of similar girdles here, while others are of latten gilt, like the ornamental bawdrics represented on brasses and monumental effigies of this time (Nos. 89, 90). There is only one tabard (No. 81) and two references to mail for horses (Nos. 47, 48).

There are comparatively few offensive arms ; swords (Nos. 50, 76, 104), lances (Nos. 37, 68), axes (No. 46, 62), two crossbows (No. 74), and the pilgrim's staff (No. 63), which seems to have been a species of sword-stick. Of special interest are the two English bows (No. 67) and the bronze cannon (No. 78), which is a very early reference to ordnance of this kind. There are many entries relating to buckles, tags, and eyelets (*fibullae, macie, passeti*), rivets and nails (*clavi, claveti, broche, stachete*) in great variety. The nails used on brigandines and other armour covered with rich textile were often of an elaborate nature, but it is surprising to note the diversity of rivets specified for helmets, vambraces, gauntlets, leg-harness and lance-rests, respectively (Nos. 107-124). Some of them may refer to hinges. Three items of practical interest are the pincers and anvils (Nos. 39, 40) and the emery for cleaning armour (No. 121).

#### THE INVENTORY OF 1542

The first inventory belonged to a time from which little actual armour has survived. The second one was drawn up nearly a century and a half later on the death of the second Duke, Federico II (d. 1540), and is dated according to the old style, January 21st, 1542. It is written in the Mantuan dialect and gives a list of 415 items in the armoury in the Castello<sup>1</sup> in the charge of the court armourer Caremolo Modrone.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>This would be the Castello di Corte (Pl. v, A), sometimes called the Castello di San Giorgio, built for the Gonzagas in 1395-1406 by Bartolini Ploti. It faces the lake and contains the Camera degli Sposi painted by Mantegna in 1474. It is connected

by a passage with the Ducal Palace or Reggia, seen on the right of Morone's picture (Pl. i), originally a palace of the Bonacolsi, which contains a room subsequently used as the Salone dell'Armeria, see page 259.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 243.



*Photo : Girardon*

FRANCESCO II GONZAGA, 4TH MARQUESS. DETAIL FROM  
MANTEGNA'S PAINTING 'LA MADONNA DELLA VITTORIA.'  
MUSEE DU LOUVRE, PARIS



ARMOUR OF FRANCESCO II GONZAGA, 4TH  
MARQUESS (1484-1519). AMBRAS COLLEC-  
TION, NEUE HOFBURG, VIENNA, DESCRIBED  
IN THE GONZAGA INVENTORY OF 1542

*To follow Pl. viii.*

PLATE IX.



ARMOUR OF FEDERICO I GONZAGA, 3RD MARQUESS  
(1478-1484). AMBRAS COLLECTION, NEUE HOFBURG,  
VIENNA. DESCRIBED IN THE GONZAGA INVENTORY OF  
1542



A. FEDERICO I GONZAGA, 3RD MARQUESS  
(1478-84)

From the engraving in Schrenck's  
*Armamentarium*, 1601



B. FRANCESCO II GONZAGA, 4TH MARQUESS  
(1484-1519)

From the engraving in Schrenck's  
*Armamentarium*, 1601

It begins with six armours of men-at-arms parcel-gilt (*parte adorate per Fillo*) and the rest plain, which belonged to the late Francesco, Marquess of Mantua (1484-1519), whose portrait is to be seen in Mantegna's painting the *Madonna della Vittoria* in the Louvre (Pl. vii).

Here at last is something the existence of which we may be able to trace, for when the Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol was forming his collection of armours of famous men in the second half of the sixteenth century he included both Francesco and his predecessor Federico Gonzaga in his gallery. The transfer of their two armours from Mantua to Innsbruck saved them from the destruction of the Gonzaga armoury in 1630. Both can be identified to-day in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (Pls. viii and ix).

The armour given to the Marquess Francesco Gonzaga, which is reproduced in Schrenck's *Armentarium* published in 1601 (Pl. x),<sup>1</sup> agrees in point of date and corresponds well enough with the description given in the inventory, for although it is now rough and blackened, there are traces of the parcel-gilding there mentioned (Pl. viii). Nor need the German form of the bellows visor deter one, for it has already been shown how closely Francesco was in touch with the Colmans of Augsburg.

This entry is not, however, so conclusive as the next item, No. 2 ' *E più una armatura da huomo d'arme senza arnese e schenere e guanti* ' (without arms or legs or gauntlets) which is described as having belonged to Federico Gonzaga 'de la buona memoria,' one time Marquess of Mantua. This would be Federico I, Marquess from 1478 to 1484, who defeated the Venetians in 1482. His armour at Vienna<sup>2</sup> (Pl. ix) answers exactly to this description, for the body is that of an Italian Gothic armour of the fifteenth century made for a man of great size, but the arms and legs have been added from a smaller armour of much later date. The etched borders are a subsequent attempt to make the different parts appear more homogeneous,

<sup>1</sup> Boheim, *Führer*, 1890, No. 124; Grosz and Thomas, *Katalog der Waffensammlung in der Neuen Burg*, 1936, i, 31.

<sup>2</sup> Boheim, *Führer*, 1890, No. 68, Grosz and Thomas, *op. cit.*, No. i, 29.

and must have been executed before 1596, as it appears thus in Schrenck's engraving (Pl. x B).

Then comes (No. 3) an armour for a man-at-arms which is described as having belonged to Alessandro da Gonzaga, probably Alessandro (1497-1527), son of Giovanni, brother of the Marquess Francesco II and founder of the line of Vescovato, '*spigolata et designata con lo elmetto incastrato ne la gola.*' '*Spigone*' is the ridge-tile of a roof, and Angelucci understood '*spigolata*' to refer to fluting, although further down this inventory the more usual words '*a cannelini*' are used with this meaning. The fact that the helmet is 'let in' or 'embedded' on the gorget suggests one of these sixteenth-century close-helmets with a circular flanged rim to ride on the gorget. There is a fluted armour of this kind among those in the Santuario della Madonna delle Grazie outside Mantua.<sup>1</sup>

No. 4 is '*un corsaletto alto in Foggia de coraza adorato disopra ciove le Figure in azurro, del Ill<sup>mo</sup> signor Duca Fedrico Felice memoria.*' This is followed by another '*corsaletto*' described as gilded by the hands of M<sup>stro</sup> Battista in the year 1533. This probably refers to the goldsmith of that name, described as '*molto valente,*' who is mentioned in a contemporary document as working in the shop of Ippolito Chiappino. Chiappino gilded a dagger for the Marquess in March 1520.<sup>2</sup>

No. 5 is a light corselet which the Duke wore as an infantryman, '*che serve da Fanti a piedi*' . . . '*con la celata e brazali spigolate a liste.*'

Then comes a gorget of mail to be worn beneath the armour, '*batuta con una chiave sopra la coppa d'argento.*' This probably does not describe an armourer's mark but a device with which it was decorated.

These are only two out of a number of rich pieces described. It is interesting to note that the armour appears to have been set up on dummies, for in the description of another armour '*spigolata*' for horse and man (No. 11), there is mention of a 'banner in his hands.' Compare the references to pedestals and manikins in the inventory of 1604 (p. 257).

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeologia*, Vol. lxxxvii, Pl. cxxv.

<sup>2</sup> Bertolotti, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

It is not possible here to take this inventory item by item, and the text must be left to speak for itself. But glancing down one comes on entries of particular note, for instance (No. 39) 'two gauntlets of mail for the right hand used in the combat between Zohan de Madana [Modena] and Bertie.'

The '*due gole de maglia todesche*' (No. 24) are quite clearly what are often now called bishop's mantles, and the '*visera da celatta alla Bergognona facta a Fenestrelle*' (No. 26) must mean a falling buff. One would like to know how old was the '*brazale vechio anticho con la guarda adorata*.' That the armoury was something of a museum, one gathers from the inclusion of a '*falda de pene de papagallo qual fu poratta da India*' (No. 93), a skirt of parrots' feathers from India, presumably the West Indies (cf. also No. 66). The same applies to a turban wound round with silk (No. 104) ('*turbante da turcho con la tella involtata*'), which the Emperor Bajazet sent as a gift to the Marquess Francesco. This would probably be Sultan Bajazet II 'Lamorabaquin' (1481-1512) rather than Bajazet I, who reigned a century earlier, though he too happened to be contemporary with a Francesco Gonzaga.

An early object is the sword, '*stocho Anticho*' (No. 128) with the hilt in gilt relief, given by the Signoria of Florence to the Marquess Lodovico (1444-78). It is followed by a small battle-axe (No. 130) with a handle of pear-root, covered with silver embossed with two figures.

Then there is another sword described as '*antico*' (i.e., *à l'antique*, not necessarily ancient),<sup>1</sup> No. 133, with the hilt and scabbard of silver chased and gilt, with its belt worked in silver with buckles and tags of beaten silver which had been given by the merchants of Mantua to the Marquess Francesco. They also gave Duke Federico, in 1526, a great two-hand sword with pommel, grip and quillons and scabbard of beaten silver chased and parcel-gilt (No. 144), and another is recorded as having been given to his predecessor the Marquess Francesco in the first year of his marquessate

<sup>1</sup> It is possible from the frequency with which this phrase is used that it may refer not only to classical motifs but to all embossed decoration.

(No. 151). From the fact that we find further down yet another rich sword given to the Duke by the merchants of Mantua in 1535, and again two-handers given by them in 1538, 1539, 1540, 1541 and 1542, one gathers that it was a custom for the merchants of Mantua to present a sword to the Duke every year.

There is a gilt shield '*adorate e lavorato*' (No. 158) presented to Francesco by the Republic of Venice in 1521. Two others decorated with palm-leaves, swags and scrolls are stated to have been made by Caremolo himself (No. 314). There are numerous rich horse-trappers and bards covered with silk and velvet, and richly embroidered with gold, such as one sees in the prints of Lucas Cranach. There are Turkish maces, many Turkish bows and quivers, and a pair of Turkish stirrups '*lavorati alla Damascino*,' probably brought back by Ferrante Gonzaga or one of the other members of the family who had fought against the Turks in Hungary.

'*Una camisa granda da maglia gazarina antica la qual era degli danese palladino*' (No. 216) is particularly interesting for it confirms that the much-debated word 'jazerine' refers to a special type of mail and not a brigandine. Further on one finds a gorget '*da maglia garzarina*' (No. 320) which was made for Messer Galeazzo of Naples when he fought at Gazolo. Also a pair of stockings of mail, a pair of gussets ('*lunette*') and a pair of gloves and a hood of mail, all of jazerine '*tutta garzarina*' (No. 323).<sup>1</sup> '*Il Danese palladino*' (whose relics are described under Nos. 147, 216, 265) is presumably the legendary hero of the French romances known as Ogier le Danois and in Italian cantatas as Uggieri il Danese. This historical relic reappears in the inventory of 1604 (Nos. 35, 45 and 127).

Then come twelve infantry and cavalry banners of divers types captured by the Duke in the war against the French and Venetians in 1521, 1522 and 1523, with their staves and heads. Also a great silk standard given by the Signory of Bologna to the Marquess Ludovico (1444-1484) when he was their Captain General (No. 241), with the badge of San

<sup>1</sup> cf. also No. 11 of the Inventory of 1407.



A. THE FINDING OF THE TRUE CROSS. ENGRAVING BY ALAERT DU HAMEEL (1449-c. 1509), SHOWING A DOG IN ARMOUR



B. ARMOUR FOR A HOUND. ROYAL ARMOURY, MADRID



OBVERSE AND REVERSE OF THE MEDAL OF GIAN FRANCESCO GONZAGA, 1ST MARQUESS, BY PISANELLO. BRITISH MUSEUM

Petronio and other Bolognese symbols gilt. These are followed by the banners of many other cities and princes who employed the military talents of the Gonzaga on various occasions, such as Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, the Signory of Florence, Borso d'Este of Ferrara, of the Republic of Venice, the Emperor Maximilian, King Louis XII of France, Popes Julius II, Leo X, Adrian VI and Clement VII, all of great richness.

The banners that had belonged to the Marquess Ludovico Gonzaga of the fifteenth century must have been nearly a hundred years old at the time of this inventory. The banners of Francesco himself are also included with his arms of the red cross between four black eagles. Two of these banners will be found referred to in the latter's correspondence with Bernardino Missaglia in 1503. Various known badges and *impreses* of the Gonzagas are mentioned, such as the Crucible, Mount Olympus, the Sun, the Displayed Wings, the Plummet, the Glove, the T, the Tree Stump, and the Hind, and the Papal badges of the Umbrella and Crossed Keys.

There is a curious helmet '*alla Borgognona*,' gilt and designed '*a torno*' with scales and two visors one above the other, one of which is flat and the other pointed, given him by a relative of Pierino Mareschalchi (No. 296). It is not clear, but very probable, that the '*targhe alla spagnole*' of white leather were of the heart-shaped Hispano-Moresque type<sup>1</sup> known as '*adargas*' (No. 298). Mention is made of several weapons of an unusual type, such as the gilt and enamelled mace with an inkstand in it (No. 343).

Then we have a quaint item 'two white armours for arming two dogs,' '*due armature bianchi per armare cane*' (No. 306). These are not so outlandish as they seem, or as one would gather from Alaert du Hameel's engraving of the finding of the True Cross (Pl. xiA), which shows a dog so equipped. Armour was used to protect valuable hounds when hunting boar. There is a unique specimen of a white (i.e. steel) dog armour of this time at Madrid etched with scenes of boar hunting

<sup>1</sup> cf. *Archaeologia* lxxiii, p. 302.

(Pl. xiB), and there is a quilted eyelet coat for a dog in the Wartburg at Eisenach.

Next to this come ' *due cocodrilli grandi* ' (No. 307).<sup>1</sup> These reptiles, protectively armed by nature, are not entirely out of place in an armoury. There is a stuffed crocodile still suspended in the nave of the church of Santa Maria della Grazie, five miles from Mantua, which I have described in my first account of the Sanctuary.

Furniture and fittings, like the painted chests and boxes for pole-arms and for a breast and back, mentioned in this inventory, have mostly disappeared from armouries to-day, even though their contents may have survived. There was a carved and painted box of the fifteenth century made to hold crossbow bolts in the Figdor Collection at Vienna (sold 1930, lot 318), and a contemporary engraving of King Charles I of England shows his armour in a specially fitted box. There are interesting references to furniture, racks and hangings. Two Bohemian arquebuses are mentioned.

Last of all in the list under the No. 415 is a rusty sword which belonged to Monsignor Carlo Bologna, with the hilt gilt, and a pair of rusty mail shoes, ' *scarpe de maglia ruginente* ' (No. 415).

#### THE INVENTORY OF 1604

The descriptions in this inventory are much briefer than those of the list of 1542, and number 200 items in all. The smaller total may be in part due to a serious fire which broke out in the palace in 1591 and destroyed the Ducal theatre and magazine and part of the arsenal. That it did not destroy all the armour is shown by the fact that one is able to recognise in this list several items that have previously appeared in that of 1542.

It begins with body armour. There is an armour of proof described as in the French style with gorget of the German, and tassets of the French fashion, and pauldrons. It may seem at first sight rather a mixture of styles, but one reads at this time in England

<sup>1</sup> In 1525 Cardinal Sigismondo Gonzaga chose as his device a crocodile and the motto *crocodili lachrimae*. This was an act of repentance for having been the means of electing Pope Leo X, and the motto alluded

to those who dissimulate with fair words on their lips and hatred in their hearts. Mrs. Bury Palliser: *Historic Devices, Badges and War Cries*, 1870, p. 137.

of 'Almaine collars' (i.e., gorgets with the monnions attached), and tassets 'in the French style' which almost certainly meant long tassets, reaching to the knee. The French had been among the first to adopt this fashion, which is exemplified on several French armours of the middle of the sixteenth century in the Musée de l'Armée.<sup>1</sup>

There are other armours and pieces of proof ('*a botta*'), all presumably subsequent to the 1542 inventory, when firearms were not so generally used. No. 12, 'two armours of combatants, that is, one of the Forno and the other of the Fontana,' must refer to some notable duel, like the gauntlets in the last inventory. Their swords are mentioned later on (Nos. 37 and 38).

The armour was apparently displayed to be seen, for there is frequent mention of painted pedestals (e.g., No. 14). A complete armour of the Marquess Ludovico stands holding in its hand a small mace, of brass, gilt, furnished with a handle of mother-of-pearl (No. 15). If this armour was truly Ludovico's, it would be a Gothic suit of the fifteenth century. Next to it comes another complete harness '*di tutto ponto*' with an estoc in its hand, which had belonged to Duke Federico (1519-40), No. 16. It is possibly identical with No. 5 in the 1542 inventory. They are followed by a black jousting armour with a lance in its hand and two white jousting armours similarly set up, and an armour '*fatta a canelini all'alemana*,' i.e., a fluted armour of the so-called 'Maximilian' type.

One recognises from the last inventory '*la camisa del Danese*' (No. 45), the hauberk of Ogier le Danois, and its stand (No. 127). One also finds his sword '*una spadina, nominata la curtana di Danese fornita de negro*' (No. 35), previously described as having silver mounts chased in low relief. The '*Mascarone alle corne nero*' (No. 47) suggests the grotesque visors of the first half of the sixteenth century like the one presented by Maximilian to Henry VIII in the Tower of London (Cat. iv, 22).

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Nos. G 61 and G 118, armours of the Connétable de Montmorency and Henri II.

A shield briefly described as '*una rodella fatta a mascarone*' was probably a richly embossed rondache with a Medusa's head or grotesque mask in the centre.

New entries are the muskets, pistols<sup>1</sup> and powder-flasks, and the cutlasses of the guard of archers of the late Duke Guglielmo. An interesting item is the hand machine for cleaning arms (No. 70), probably a buffing wheel or lathe turned by a handle. Several boys' armours are mentioned, a gilt '*armaturina*,' furnished with its arms, gauntlets, morion, chanfron, and a crest of feathers of divers colours and pearls, belonging to the Prince, probably the young Vincenzo (No. 180), another similar one of Don Fernando (No. 181), later fifth Duke, who would be 17 years old at the date of the inventory, and two old '*armaturine*' (page's armour) '*a color di ferro*.'

The crocodile turns up again (No. 149), this time with an armed man on top, presumably in allusion to St. Theodore, who is shown standing upon a crocodile on one of the two pillars in the Piazzetta at Venice. The place of the other crocodile is taken by another curiosity, a marine fish ('*una pesce marino*'), No. 150. This inventory ends with a list of arms and armour on charge to the captains of the gates and the outlying castles, and tables of cannon and munitions.

One looks in vain for armour in the inventory printed by Carlo d'Arco<sup>2</sup> of the picture gallery and other works of art in the Ducal Palace at Mantua which was compiled in 1627. An inventory drawn up by Ottavio Piccolomini of works of art found in the Palace on January 24th, 1631, mentioned 'In the Sala di Troja . . . two swords with diamonds, one with rubies, with their daggers, and scimitars studded with turquoises, . . . in a large gallery adjoining many scimitars and Indian things.'<sup>3</sup> Possibly one of these was the jewelled sword valued at 30,000 ducats which is recorded as having been presented to Duke Vincenzo I by Henri IV of France.<sup>4</sup> This does not

<sup>1</sup> Some have stocks inlaid with ivory (Nos. 170, 171).

<sup>2</sup> Carlo d'Arco, *Storia di Mantova*, Vol. ii, p. 153. Nor is there any in the

inventory of 10th November, 1665, *Ibid.* p. 182, or of 1700, *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> D'Arco, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 173-5.

<sup>4</sup> Selwyn Brinton, *The Gonzagas, Lords of Mantua*, 1927, p. 233.



OBVERSE AND REVERSE OF THE MEDAL OF LUDOVICO II GONZAGA,



2ND MARQUESS, BY PISANELLO, c. 1448. BRITISH MUSEUM.



*Photo: Mostra Ic. Gonzagesca*

PLASTER RELIEF OF LUDOVICO II GONZAGA, 2ND MARQUESS (1444-78).  
BY ALBERTO CAVALLI. MUNICIPIO DI SABBIONETA

appear in the inventory of 1604 and was probably not kept in the armoury.

There is to-day a long room on the ground floor of the Reggia or Ducal Palace which adjoins the Castello di Corte, known as the Salone dell' Armeria. It was here that the Council of Mantua met under the presidency of Pope Pius II to organize the resistance of Christendom to the Turkish menace. Afterwards it was used as an armoury, and A. Patricolo in his *Guida del Palazzo Ducale di Mantova*, 1908, p. 6, states that it was still used for this purpose as late as 1774. If so, it must have contained arms acquired subsequently to the sack of 1630.

It is sad to realize that out of all this wealth and variety of arms in the three inventories now before us, we can only identify two suits as existing to-day. It may be suggested that some of this armour now clothes the curious armoured figures in the galleries of the Sanctuary of the Madonna delle Grazie outside Mantua,<sup>1</sup> but this is unlikely. None of the armour there is old enough to have formed part of the inventory of 1407, and Francesco d'Aquanegra began his decoration of the nave of the church shortly after 1521, which would be too early for the inventory of 1542. Though some of the armour in the sanctuary is certainly later than this, it probably found its way there during one of the restorations of the church.

#### ARMOUR IN FAMILY PORTRAITS

Let us turn now from the inventories to the evidence supplied by family portraits. The series of wooden equestrian statues and busts of his ancestors, commissioned by Vespasiano Gonzaga for his palace at Sabbioneta and executed by Lorenzo Bregno in 1587, are not reliable witnesses, though they are interesting as an example of the retrospective antiquarianism of their time.<sup>2</sup> The same applies to Alberto Cavalli's

<sup>1</sup> James G. Mann, 'The Sanctuary of the Madonna delle Grazie with Notes on Italian armour of the Fifteenth Century,' *Archaeologia*, Vol. lxxx, 1930, pp. 117, and continued in Vol. lxxxvii, 1937, pp. 311 *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Most of these were included in the important *Mostra Iconografica Gonzagesca*, held in the Ducal Palace at Mantua from May to September, 1937.

series of portraits and reliefs in plaster. For the most part they show the early members of the House in a fair representation of fifteenth-century armour, wearing Gothic breastplates each with a vertical strap fastening the placate to the upper breast, and large pauldrons (e.g. Luigi Gonzaga, 1268-1360, Guido Gonzaga, d. 1369, and Francesco Gonzaga, 1366-1407). The paintings on canvas executed about the same time for Ferdinand of Tyrol's portrait gallery at Ambras are in most cases derived from the same models. The Archduke also had 102 miniature portraits of the House of Gonzaga painted for his cabinet. These are in nearly every case reductions of larger originals and are of little use for our purpose, as in most cases only the head is portrayed, allowing very little of the armour to be seen.

One is on more satisfactory ground when one examines the work of contemporary artists. Pisanello's medals of Gianfrancesco I Gonzaga (1407-44) and Ludovico II (1444-78) show these princes in armour characteristic of the Italian quattrocento, such as they must have possessed (Pls. xii and xiii). So does Sperandio's medal of Francesco II (1484-1519). In this instance the artist has gone so far as to reproduce the armourer's mark, the letters AA crowned, on the back of Ludovico's pauldron.<sup>1</sup> Cavalli's plaster relief of Ludovico II shows a very fair representation of the armour of his time, although it was executed a century later (Pl. xiv).

Francesco II (1484-1519) is well served in the matter of portraits, and there is no mistaking his beetle-browed features. Besides Sperandio's medal already mentioned, there is Mantegna's painting of him in the Louvre kneeling before the Virgin and Child, and known as the *Madonna della Vittoria* (Pl. vii). It was commissioned in 1495 after the battle of Fornovo, when he commanded the allied Italian forces against the French. There is, too, an important terracotta bust of him by Gian Cristoforo

<sup>1</sup> The same mark also appears on the pauldron on Pisanello's portrait medal of the condottiere Niccolò Piccinino (Hill, *Corpus of Italian*

*Medals*, No. 22), and on Guacialoti's medal of Alfonso of Calabria (Hill, *Ibid.* No. 745).



FEDERICO II GONZAGA, 1ST DUKE (1519-40). BY TITIAN. MUSEO DEL PRADO, MADRID



A. CLOSE HELMET OF VINCENZO I GONZAGA, BELONGING TO  
THE ARMOUR SHOWN IN HIS PORTRAIT. POLDI PEZZOLI  
MUSEUM, MILAN



PLATE XVI.

B. VINCENZO I GONZAGA, 3RD DUKE (1587-1612). NEUE HOFBURG, VIENNA

*To face page 261.*

Romano in the Palazzo Ducale at Mantua which shows him in armour of Gothic form, but with the surface of breast and pauldrons embossed with classical reliefs. This is doubtless due to the licence of a Renaissance sculptor, working under the influence of the antique, for the era of embossed armour had barely arrived. The Ducal Palace also contains an oil painting of him executed by an anonymous sixteenth-century painter after a lost original by Bonsignori. It shows armour of the mature sixteenth century, well advanced in style with high neckguards, though the face is an unmistakable portrait. None of these depicts his existing armour which we have already identified at Vienna (Pl. viii).

There appears to be no portrait in armour of Federico II (1519-1540), on whose death the second inventory was drawn up, though he was painted more than once by Titian in civil dress, one instance of which is in the Prado (Pl. xiv). It was formerly believed to represent Alfonso d'Este. Another showing him as an older man was in the Marschall Nemes collection.

Vincenzo I Gonzaga, third Duke (1587-1612), during whose reign the third inventory was compiled, and who had the Admirable Crichton as his tutor, was painted in armour by Frans Pourbus. Several versions of this picture exist. A whole-length is in the possession of the Marchese M. Cavriani at Mantua. A half-length version is in the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna (Pl. xvi B), and one was in the Pallavacini Collection sold in London in 1927 by Messrs. Knight, Frank and Rutley. Here we are at last able to bring together the armour in a portrait and an actual surviving part of it. The helmet of this suit, which is richly blued, and decorated with etched and gilt arabesques over its entire surface, is in the Museo Poldi Pezzoli at Milan (Pl. xvi A). Repeated three times among the gilt decoration is a crescent, inlaid in silver and ensigned with the first word of the Duke's motto *SIC*,<sup>1</sup> which he assumed when he went to fight against the Turks in Hungary. It can also be seen truthfully

<sup>1</sup> *Sic illustrior crescam*; Mrs. Bury Palliser, *Historic Badges, Devices and War Cries*, 1870, p. 142.

depicted on the armour in the painting.<sup>1</sup> At present it would seem that the helmet alone has survived the sack of 1630, but possibly other parts of the suit may yet be forthcoming. The full-length version belonging to the Marchese Cavriani shows on the floor at his feet an alternative helmet of the form known as a *celata alla Viscontea*,<sup>2</sup> similar to that on the cuirassier armour No. 1122 in the Wallace Collection, but with the addition of a buff.



Another portrait of the Duke, hanging in the gallery that crosses the Arno joining the Uffizi to the Pitti, shows him in armour painted on breast and pauldrons with a black eagle, and with splinted defences inside the vambraces (Pl. xvii).

There is, too, in existence a portrait of Carlo Gonzaga of Nevers, eighth Duke (1628–37), during whose reign the armoury was destroyed, in armour with bright gilt bands, jewelled blue piccadills or tabs, with blue edging. It was exhibited in the *Mostra Iconografica* and belongs to Signor Maria Siliprandi Valenti of Mantua.

#### ARMOUR OF THE CADET LINES

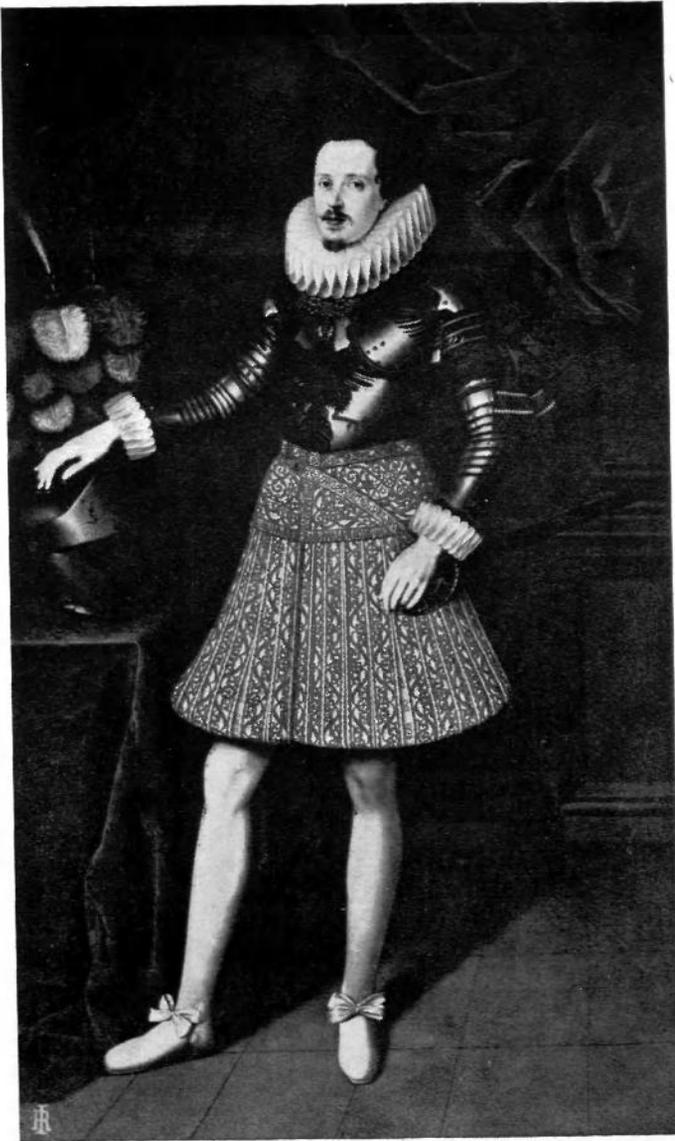
The Ambras collection possesses three armours of the cadet branches of the Gonzaga line, and portraits of their owners wearing them. These armours are now in the Waffensammlung in the Neue Hofburg at Vienna.

There is firstly, Carlo Gonzaga (1523–1555) son of Pirro Gonzaga of Gazzuolo, represented by a half

<sup>1</sup> The Milanese armourer, Pompeo della Chiesa, is known to have worked for Guglielmo and Vincenzo I Gonzaga (Bertolotti, *Arti minori*, pp. 150–1 and *Artisti in relazione coi Gonzaga*, Modena, 1885, p. 108); but this armour is not etched in the manner

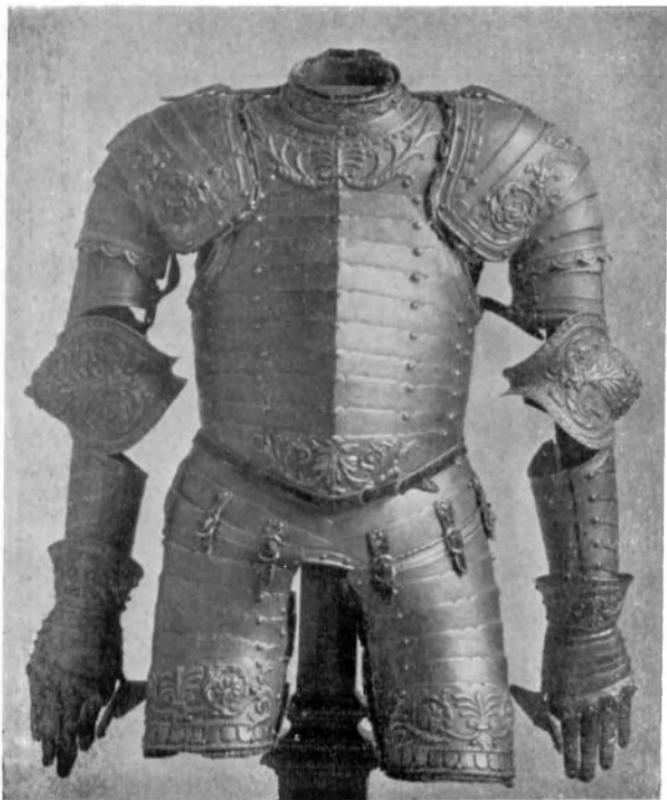
commonly associated with his work. A signed armour by Pompeo is in the Wallace collection No. 521, and others are given in the description in the catalogue.

<sup>2</sup> C. R. Beard, *Notes on the Barberini armour*, 1924, p. 2.



*Photo : Alinari*

VINCENZO I GONZAGA, 3RD DUKE (1587-1612). UFFIZI GALLERY,  
FLORENCE



A. ARMOUR OF CARLO GONZAGA, COUNT OF GAZZUOLO,  
c. 1550. AMBRAS COLLECTION, VIENNA



B. PORTRAIT OF CARLO GONZAGA. AMBRAS  
COLLECTION, VIENNA

PLATE XVIII.

*To follow Pl. xxiii.*



A. ARMOUR OF FERRANTE GONZAGA, DUKE OF ARIANO AND COUNT OF GUASTALLA (1507-1557). IN THE AMBRAS COLLECTION, VIENNA



B. FERRANTE GONZAGA, DUKE OF ARIANO AND COUNT OF GUASTALLA (1507-1557)  
From the engraving in Schrenck's *Armentarium*, 1601



*Photo : Mostra Ic. Gonzagesca*

A



*Photo : R. Müller*

B

PORTRAITS OF FERRANTE GONZAGA, DUKE OF ARIANO AND COUNT OF GUASTALLA (1507-57). (A) IN THE AMBRAS COLLECTION, VIENNA. (B) IN THE DUCAL PALACE, MANTUA

armour with casque and anime, black with embossed and gilt decoration<sup>1</sup> (Pl. xviii). Secondly, Ferrante I Gonzaga (1507-1557), who met his death at the battle of St. Quentin fighting on the side of the King of France. He was the son of Francesco II, fourth marquis, Duke of Ariano and founder of the line of Guastalla. His is a half-armour with engraved and gilt bands with high neck-guards on the pauldrons<sup>2</sup> (Pl. xix). There is a half-length portrait of him in the Palazzo Ducale at Mantua showing him in a different armour with etched and gilt bands, with volutes on the pauldrons (Pl. xx B) and he is represented in yet a third armour without volutes or high neck-guards in the Ambras Collection at Vienna (Pl. xx A).

Thirdly, Vespasiano Gonzaga, d. 1591, Duke of Sermoneta, who commissioned the retrospective series of wooden statues and busts for his palace at Sabbioneta, and is commemorated by an Italian armour to the knees of the second half of the sixteenth century with etched and gilt bands and borders<sup>3</sup> of the so-called 'Pisan' style (Pl. xxi). All three suits are engraved in Schrenck's *Armamentarium*. There is a painting in the Vatican Gallery, showing a hero seated and crowned by Victory among the trophies of the battlefield (Pl. xxii), which is described as representing Vespasiano, but this ascription must be accepted with reserve.<sup>4</sup> The central figure wears a closely fluted armour of the first half of the sixteenth century; beside him is a richly etched and gilt Italian corselet of the late sixteenth century, and he carries a buckler of the same style.

The armour of the cadet lines would have been kept in their castles at Guastalla and Sabbioneta, and not in the Ducal armoury at Mantua; but apart from the three suits just mentioned, these armouries too have vanished. Ludovico Bregno's wooden equestrian statue of Gianfrancesco Gonzaga (1445-96) founder of the line of Bozzolo and Sabbioneta shows

<sup>1</sup> Grosz and Thomas, *op. cit.* v, 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ii, 33.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* v, 72.

<sup>4</sup> It belongs to a group of similar compositions connected with Rubens; versions are at Tours, Vienna, Cassel

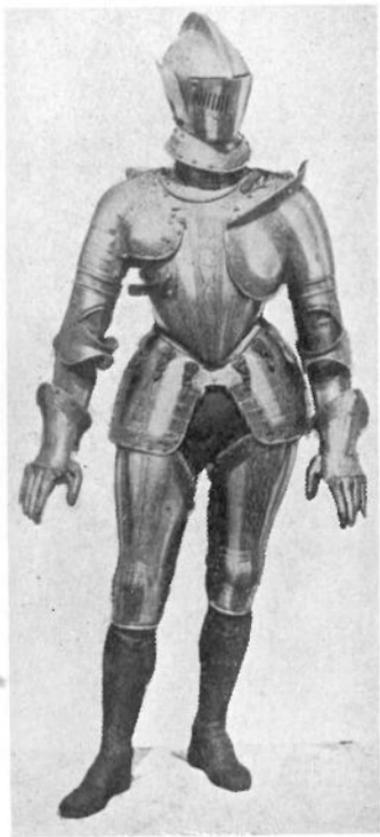
and Munich. The features of the hero in the Vatican example do not resemble Vespasiano's. I have to thank Dr. Brinckmann for allowing me access to his collection of Rubens material.

him in an armour, half-gothic, half-sixteenth century in style, the surface of which is black relieved with yellow flames and drops. The corresponding statue of Luigi Gonzaga (1500-32), son of Ludovico, Lord of Sabbioneta, the original of Tasso's hero 'Rodomonte,' shows a black sixteenth-century armour ensigned on the breast with two yellow keys in saltire carved in relief. Rodomonte's son, Vespasiano, already mentioned, is portrayed by Bregno in an armour of the second half of the sixteenth century, black with gilt ribands and insignia of the *toison d'or*. This is the only contemporary portrait in the series by Bregno, and as it commemorates his patron it is more likely than the others to be a fairly reliable representation of his armour.

#### THE SKETCH-BOOK OF FILIPPO URSONI

A study of the armour in Mantua in the middle of the sixteenth century would not be complete without reference to the Album of Filippo Ursoni which was acquired by the Department of Engraving and Design of the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1929. This volume of drawings, though it cannot compete for interest with the famous Jacobe album in the same collection, is none the less important on account of the rarity of contemporary drawings of armour and equipment. These can be grouped in three categories: (a) Drawings of existing armour meant to serve as a pictorial inventory,—such as the *Inventario Illuminato* of Charles V at Madrid. (b) Designs for armour specially prepared as a pattern for the armourer or his engraver to work from,—such as the series of cartoons in the Kupferstichkabinet at Munich, and the sketches for the Farnese armour at Vienna preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. (c) Sketch-books and albums of a general character, and pattern books intended for publication, like the *Trachtenbücher* of Weiditz and Vogtherr.

Filippo Ursoni's book belongs to the third class. Although the descriptions written below each drawing contain suggestions as to materials and decoration, the elementary nature of much of it shows that the



A. ARMOUR OF VESPASIANO GONZAGA, DUKE  
OF SERMONETA, D. 1591. IN THE AMBRAS  
COLLECTION, VIENNA

To face page 264.



B. VESPASIANO GONZAGA, DUKE OF  
SERMONETA

From the engraving in Schrenck's  
*Armamentarium*, 1601

PLATE XXI.



ALLEGORICAL PORTRAIT OF A HERO CROWNED BY VICTORY. RUBENS ATELIER. VATICAN MUSEUM, ROME

author intended his book to reach a wider circle than the artist-armourers of the time. The form of the book with its title pages suggests that he intended it to be engraved and published, or at any rate had played with the idea.

On the first title-page the author introduces his book in a few florid lines which one suspects are intended to be elegiacs: '*Si cupis Armorum varias cognoscere formas, Insignes cultus, militiaeque novos. Admiranda vide, Vrsonis monumenta Philippi; cuius docta manus, picta colore dedit . . .*' and more in the same vein. Below are what appear to be his arms, a bear rampant beneath a star, and then in more sober terms come the title and scope of the book: '*Liber Philippi Vrsonis manu, Pictoris Mantuani, de variis equestribus stratis, Phaleris, Ephippijs, Bullis, Stapetibus, Fraenis multiplicibus, vestibis versicoloribus, militaribus Emblematibus, Galeis, Coriis, Thoracibus. DE Macherar [um], Capulorum, Globorum; omnibus miro artificio ad amusim fabrefactis.*' The second title-page shows at the bottom an aerial view of Mantua with the Lago di Mezzo beyond. There follow 304 drawings comprising: two drawings of saddlery and trappers; six of equestrian figures, some in gala costumes (*alla Romana, alla Turchescha*, etc.) and others in complete hosting armour; five diagrams of the points, anatomy and diseases of the horse; four drawings of close-helmets and parts of armour; five of saddle-steels and stirrups; 16 of casques, most of them elaborately embossed; 39 designs for sword-hilts; and finally a title page preceding 204 drawings of various types and patterns of bits. On Folio V of the drawings is the date *MDLIII*.

It is beyond the limits of this paper to describe the drawings individually. They are executed in pen and ink with touches of yellow and bistre water-colour. The designs for sword hilts are neatly and carefully drawn and show the artist's work at its best, but the drawings of horses and human heads reveal his weaknesses as a draughtsman. Nothing is known of Ursoni beyond what his book tells us. Dr. Torelli, who was formerly the Keeper of the *Archivio Gonzaga* at Mantua

and who has kindly answered my enquiries, denies all knowledge of him, nor does his name appear among the artists of the Court of Mantua published by Bertolotti and others. Probably he worked in a minor capacity designing costumes and scenery for pageants and supplying patterns for the Court armourers and goldsmiths. His description of himself as 'Pictor' and the punning coat of arms of a bear may be a touch of personal vanity which is borne out by the *naiveté* of some of his comments. Folio V (E.1730-1929) bears the date 1554, which is, incidentally, the same as that borne by the elaborately embossed and damascened shield in the Waddesdon bequest in the British Museum signed by his fellow-townsmen Giorgio Ghisi. Each drawing is inscribed at the foot with a brief description or explanation, occasionally rather unnecessarily self-evident, but sometimes throwing an interesting light on the taste of the time. Some give alternative proposals for the carrying out of the designs, which shows that it is not a record of work done, but suggestions for use. The book seems never to have been published, nor has evidence yet come to light to show that any of his designs were carried out. Yet Italian parade casques of the period and numerous richly mounted swords survive to show that, fantastic as some of them are, they were not beyond the skill of the Italian artist craftsmen of the day.

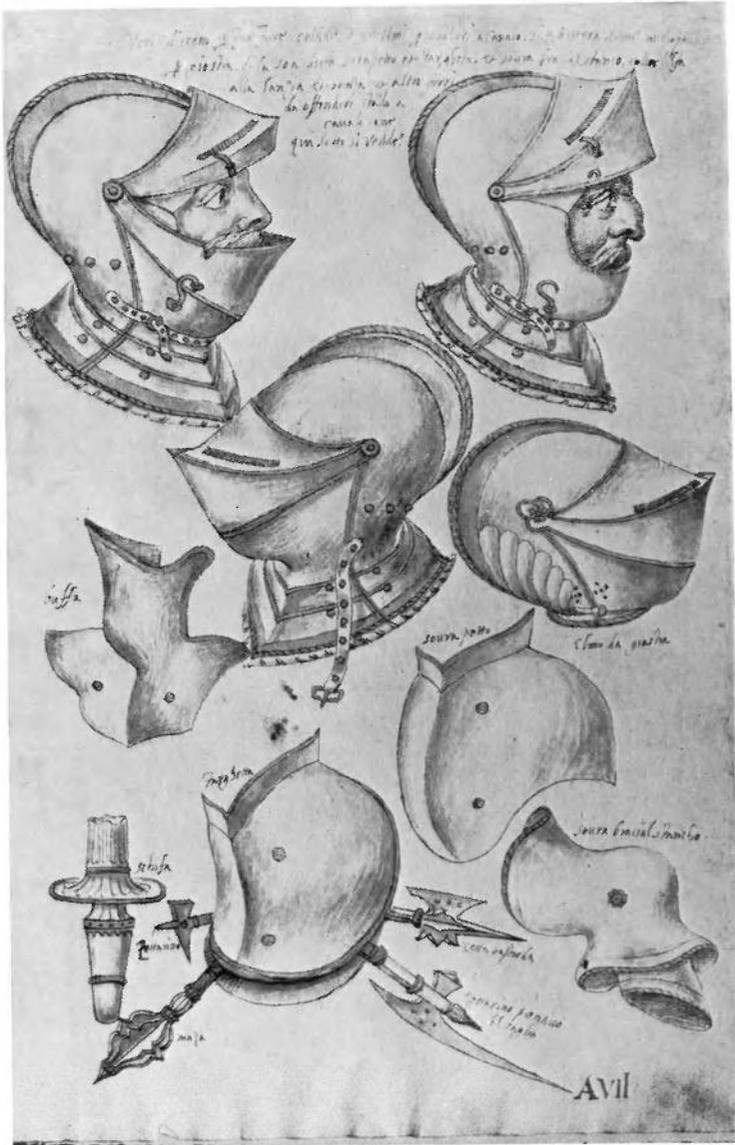
Among the equestrian figures are designs for pageant costumes, thus: '*Questo habito e alla Romana per mascarata*' and '*Questa habita per la mascarata alla Amazoneda*'; some show national fashions '*alla boemia et di Moscovia*,' or '*alla Turchesca naturale*'; others show armour for the field or for the tournament (Pls. xxiii and xxv).

The casque in the Wallace Collection No. 105, which is certainly of the School of the Negroli, if not from their hand, is not far removed from Ursoni's drawing B xi (Pl. xxvii). A casque in the Riggs collection in the Metropolitan Museum should also be compared. One must be careful, however, not to deduce too much from a general resemblance produced by artists working within the same classical conventions. Note the very



'CAVALIER DA GUERRA.' FROM THE SKETCH-BOOK OF FILIPPO URSONI,  
1554. IN THE VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM





DESIGNS FOR HELMETS FOR WAR AND THE JOUST. SKETCH-BOOK OF FILIPPO URSONI



Negrol-like foliated volute on the casque in Ursoni's drawing on Folio B X. There are casques in the form of a dolphin's head at Madrid (Inv. III<sup>o</sup> Pl. x), in the Musée de l'Armée, the Hermitage, the Widener Collection, Philadelphia, and elsewhere, and it is amusing to read under Ursoni's design of this kind (Folio C) '*Questa celada a testa di delfino fa terribile lo soldado.*' In several cases he incorporates the badges of the Emperor (eagles, fire-steels, the initial K, etc.) and more frequently those of his rival, the King of France (cockle-shells, fleurs-de-lys, the initial H).<sup>1</sup> Charles V twice visited Mantua when great festivities and tournaments were held, and the references to the Emperor are more understandable than those to the French King Henri II (Pls. xxvi and xxviii A).

In 1551 Charles and Henri were at war over Parma and Piacenza, which Ferdinando Gonzaga had claimed on the Emperor's behalf, but which the Pope had assigned to Ottavio Farnese. Hostilities were suspended by a truce in 1552, and Ursoni's drawings may possibly have been prepared for a pageant to celebrate the signing of peace. Or they may be accounted for by his having compiled his book from other sources. Evidence suggesting that he made use of existing designs will be referred to later.<sup>2</sup>

Some of Ursoni's descriptions are of value for their use of Italian armour terms. On folio A VII (E.1763) he draws two reinforcing pieces for the left side very like each other, but one is called a *targhetta* and the other a *sovrappetto* (Pl. xxiv). He describes a classical cuirass as an *anima*, though one is accustomed to the word being limited to describing a splinted breast. Thus A VII (E.1763)—*Vero designo per far fare celade, over elmi, per cavalieri a cavalo, si per guerra, come ancora per giostra, co' la sua bufa, so[v]rappetto et targheta, et sovrabracial stanco colla schifa alla lanzia et maza et altre ferri da offendere stando a cavalo come*

<sup>1</sup> The Emperor: Pages lettered P, CI, and C III. CI (E.1793) is inscribed '*Questa celada e Foggia piu Todescha ch' Italiana et e alla imperiale come si vede.*' and Henri II: Pages lettered A, O, BV, V VIII, C, CIV.

BV reads: '*Questa celada e Fatta di relievo et e con le imprese del Re Henrico di Francia accomodata e con bella mostra arma lo soldato come si vedde.*'

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 269, 270, *infra*.

*qui sotto si vedde.* A vamplate is called a 'schifa,'<sup>1</sup> a hammer a 'zettarino,' a halberd a 'zetta bastarda' and another with a longer cutting blade a 'zettarino pontivo e taglia.' On Folio A VIII he describes the use of the pieces of exchange or 'double pieces,' as they are called in the old English inventories, and suggests gilding, russeting, silvering and etching. 'Questi pezzi d'arme servi per piede per cavaloleggieri et per Homo d'arme levande li souvrappessi et ponendolli, secondo il bisogno si potra adorare et brunire overo in-argentare il capo overo farlo a disengi con lacqua Forte nei campi vodi; una simile ne porta in franza (on the edges) il mag[gi]oranza cò la barda a d[i]v[er]se mode.'

The sword hilts are designed with or without knuckle-guards and four of them are for falchions. They are all of an elaborate character and intended to be enriched with gold and silver. The letters which appear like bladesmiths' marks on the ricassos of one or two instances are probably without significance. The letters 'F.O.' in one case may have been suggested by the artist's own initials, in other cases they take the form of 'Z.F.' and 'F.A.' Several of Ursoni's designs refute Laking's assertion on p. 292 of vol. iv of his *Record* that the sword of Charles V at Vienna could not have belonged to him as the style of the hilt is too late. Ursoni's drawings for swords of this type were executed four years before the Emperor's death.

The first of them (CVI) bears an introductory note: 'Qui comincia le quaranta carte dove sono disegnade quaranta guarnimenti e fornimenti o elssa de spade si da piedi, come da cavallo, et per cortelaci da cavallo—storte de piede; fate con beliss[im]o disegno. Tutti variati dintalio et lavorieri d[ive]r[s]i si potrane fare con-facilita de d[ive]r[s]i maestri in tal arte esperti premian-doli.' This paragraph is written a little more heavily than the description of the sword above it, but apparently by the same hand. There are hilts of four falchions (*storte* or *cortelaci*) among the swords (Pl. xxx B). The descriptions are mostly concerned with the gilding and decoration, and in some cases details have been drawn separately at the side, as for instance the lion's

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *schiba* in the inventories of 1407 and 1542.







head on folio DX, which is described below : ‘ *Quest’ elssa e molti bizara, ma tiene buona guarda ; se bene nel disegno mostra grandezza si potra tenerla di ferro mancho adornandolo con oro e argente come piacera a quei ch’ d’ essa vorano servirssi.*’ Sometimes the suggestions took a practical form, as for instance on Folio E VIII, which has a knuckle-guard decorated with festoons of laurel : ‘ *ma le punti delle folie bosognia siano base perche haviendo le punte levate straceria ; vestimenti e offenderia la mano.*’ Immediately following the last sword comes the title page of the section on bits.

So far only one piece of material evidence bearing upon Ursoni’s book has come to light.<sup>1</sup> This is a drawing for a single sword hilt, which entered the Victoria and Albert Museum as long ago as 1864 or earlier<sup>2</sup> and is almost an exact replica of one of Ursoni’s (Pl. xxix A and B). The size is in each case the same, the chief difference being that Ursoni’s drawing shows much more penwork. In the single drawing which bears the Departmental No. 1088, the shadows are rendered in wash, but in Ursoni’s by shading with pen and ink. Ursoni’s yellow colour is applied flat, and is paler than that in the drawing No. 1088. The water-colour of drawing No. 1088 is a deep yellow and is differently disposed, *e.g.*, on the rams’ heads and female sphinxes, which are tinted in No. 1088 and left white by Ursoni, and on the cross-gartering of the grip. There are a few minor differences in the design itself ; the ears of the rams’ heads on the ends of the quillons in drawing No. 1088 protrude through the curled horns, whereas in Ursoni’s the ears are omitted. Ursoni shows an additional acanthus scroll on the underside of the ring-guard. In the drawing No. 1088 the head on the escutcheon is flanked by C-scrolls and in Ursoni by a wreath. There are differences, too, in the style of execution. The features of the head on the escutcheon are better rendered in drawing No. 1088 than by Ursoni. The rams’ heads on the pommel and the sphinxes on the pas d’âne are freer and more lively.

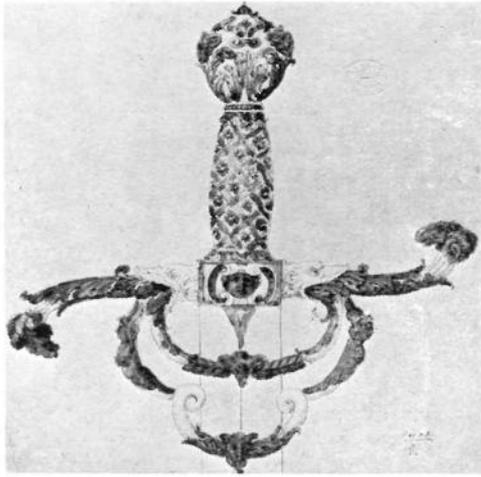
<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Miss Reinhart of the Metropolitan Museum of Art for this discovery.

<sup>2</sup> In 1864 it is recorded as having

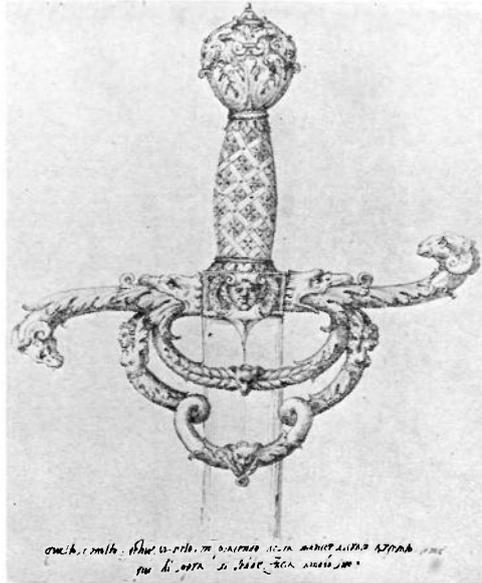
been transferred ‘from the Art Library to the Art Museum’ and must therefore have been acquired at some date between 1852 and 1864.

One is led to the conclusion that drawing No. 1088 preceded Ursoni's. It may conceivably have been Ursoni's own first draft, which lost its freshness when reproduced by him for the Album. But the more likely inference is that Ursoni was copying the work of a more original artist. The watermarks do not help much. Drawing No. 1088 has the watermark of two crossed arrows beneath a six-pointed star closely resembling, but not actually reproducing, those given by Briquet Nos. 6289-6300, which are all Italian marks of the first half and middle of the sixteenth century. The only mark visible in the Album shows two crossed arrows without a star, resembling Briquet Nos. 6167-6284, a type of mark used in Italy over a long period from the fourteenth century onwards. Having found one drawing so closely connected with Ursoni, one hopes that others may now come to light which may reveal the source of his inspiration and tell the whole story.

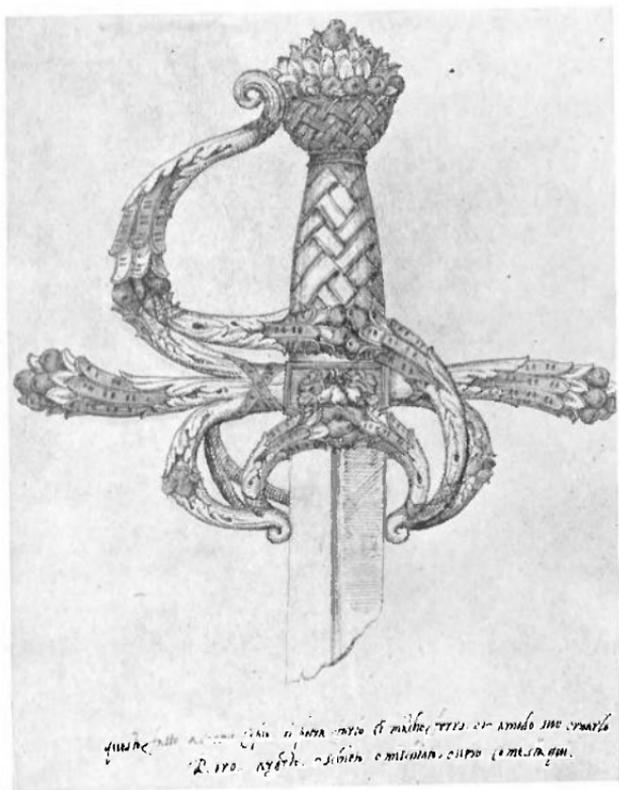
The second part of the book, which consists of 204 drawings of bits, must be studied in conjunction with the numerous bit-books published in the second half of the sixteenth century (Pl. xxxi). Its numeration follows consecutively, beginning with FVI for the title. It is four years later in date than the best known bit-book, that of the Neapolitan Federigo Grisone, the first edition of which appeared at Naples in 1550. This was followed by repeated editions published at Pesaro in 1556, 1557, 1558, and in Venice in 1551, 1553, 1571, 1582, 1592 and 1620, with translations and editions in English (Blundeville) 1560 (?), Spanish 1568, German 1570, 1573, etc. Beyond a general similarity due to their illustrating the same subject, Ursoni's drawings do not appear to have any direct connection with Grisone's woodcuts. That is to say that he has not plagiarised in the manner so frequently found in technical books of the time. (Grisone himself was accused of borrowing from Ferraro's father in the latter's *Cavallo Frenato* 1602). Though it is possible that he may have been influenced by the success of Grisone's book to produce something similar. Another Italian bit-book of the time is that of Cesare Fiaschi *Gentiluomo Ferarese*, published in Bologna in 1556,



A. DRAWING IN PEN AND WATER-COLOUR OF  
A SWORD-HILT. NO. 1088 IN THE VICTORIA  
AND ALBERT MUSEUM



B. DESIGN FOR A SWORD-HILT. SKETCH-BOOK  
OF FILIPPO URSONI



A

B

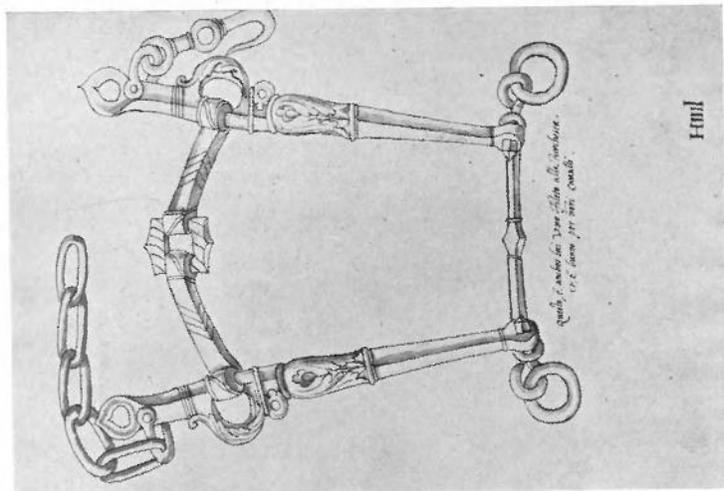
DESIGNS FOR THE HILTS OF A SWORD AND A FALCHION.



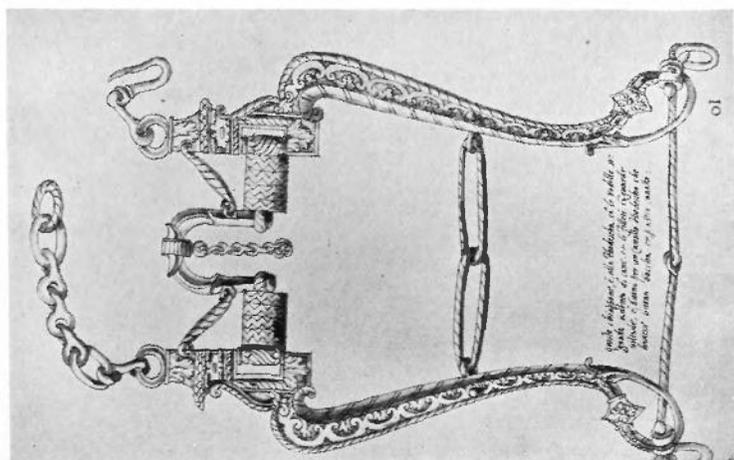
questa bella scultura come dire  
 l'istria similia gnammina de sefo si  
 per avere lo pane sul di ferro col  
 refo di essa. l'ancora intagliata di  
 legna con di ferro lamina. o di corno

Ful





B. DESIGN FOR HORSE-BIT, 'alla Turchessa'



A. DESIGN FOR HORSE-BIT, IN THE GERMAN STYLE

entitled *Tratto dell'imbrigliare maneggiare et ferrare cavalli con disegni di Briglie*, etc., which also ran into numerous editions. Somewhat later are Pirro Antonio Ferraro's *Il Cavallo frenato* 1602, which incorporated a MS treatise of his father's of earlier date, and Alessandro Massario Malatesta's *Tractatus de modo equos fraenandi*, etc., of 1607. Meanwhile other books had been appearing elsewhere, such as those by the German authors Giefert, Löhneyssen, Seutter and Creutzberger. The value of Grisone's book is attested by Bedingfield in his edition of Claudio Corte's *Cavallerizzo*, published in 1584, where he says that by that year English equitation had greatly improved as the result of Blundeville's English edition of Grisone, which was the first English book on equitation.

The first printed book in any language with illustrations of bits was that of Laurentius Rusius, *Liber mareschalchie equorum*, of c. 1489. The fact that these books dealing with bits ran into so many editions forms an interesting commentary on the horse-mastership of the time. Previous to mechanization one simple 'bit, universal' was issued to the whole of the British army and the rider had to supplement it with his skill. In the sixteenth century, if a horseman's hands were heavy his horse was probably no less hard in the mouth, and the great coarse-bred stallions of the day may well have required these jaw-breaking contrivances.

Little is known of the history of the book itself. The binding is not the original one, as the leaves show that they have been at one time drastically shaved, cutting into some of the drawings. That it was sewn together before this is evident from the fact that one of the drawings is upside down, but the author's description is not reversed, so that this must have been written after binding. One or two leaves may be missing near the beginning, as the numbering of the folios begins rather irregularly with Folio E, followed by the other vowels I, O, V and then A, then come C, D, E and onwards in unbroken alphabetical order to Z.<sup>1</sup> Otherwise the book appears to be complete. On folio CVI (E 1788) the author speaks of 'quaranta' drawings

<sup>1</sup> This is followed by two amperzands and then a new alphabet A, AI, etc.

of swords to follow, whereas actually there are only 39, but there is no gap in the old numbering of the folios.

On the second title page is written the words *Bibl. Embs*, which probably denotes that the book formed part of the library of Marx Sittich Graf von Hohenembs, or Altaembs, created a Cardinal by his uncle Pius IV in 1561. This library was dispersed in the eighteenth century. Ems is a village near Chur in the Grisons. There is also a seal of red wax with a coat of arms and the initials W.R.V.T. At the end of the nineteenth century Ursoni's album formed part of the Spitzer Collection, like the Jacobe album, which it has now rejoined after a lapse of thirty years. It is mentioned and several of its drawings are illustrated in J. B. Giraud's introduction to volume vi of the large Spitzer catalogue published in 1890-92. It was lot 3041 in the Frédéric Spitzer sale of 1893, when it realized 5140 *f.* and it bears the rubber stamp of the sale on one of the fly-leaves. It then disappeared and for thirty years all trace was lost of it. That it sojourned in Italy is evident from the lead seal marked *R. Ufficio di Esportazione Artistica, Firenze*, and rubber stamps permitting its export from Italy. In 1927 it reappeared in private hands in the South of France, and one gathers from a German bookseller's note written in pencil on the inside of the back cover that it must have passed through Central Europe before reaching its final resting place in London.

The following words were written by a member of an English mission sent by Queen Mary to the Pope in 1555, the year after Ursoni had dated his book and fifteen years after the inventory of 1540-42.

'Mantua is a notable strong city, environed with great lakes and marshes. The Duke met with the Lords in the city and brought them to his lodgings, which was an old palace of the Duke's. The Duke is very young [that is Guglielmo, who would be 17 at the time], and looketh a little asquint. Here the Lords were greatly feasted at the Duke's charge. After supper, they went to the Court to deliver the Queen's letters, and there we saw the Duke's grandmother, his mother's sister, the wife of Gonzaga, and his daughter,

and one other lady called Hippolita, one of the fairest ladies in the world.<sup>1</sup> After compliments of salutation, the Lords had a banquet, in the which were green almonds, the first that I ever saw ; we were brought into the Duchess's jewel houses, which exceeded in rich jewels, as agates, sapphires, diamonds, an unicorn's horn, a tree of coral an ell long ; here we saw also a beast called the tyger.'

One wonders if they were also shown the armoury, but one thinks not. If they had been, one feels sure from other comments elsewhere in his record of his travels, that this English traveller would certainly have mentioned the two crocodiles.

<sup>1</sup> This would be Ippolita (1535-1563), daughter of Ferrante Gonzaga, first Count of Guastalla (Pl. xix). She married firstly Fabrizio Colonna Duke of Tagliacozzo, and secondly

Antonio Carafa, Duke of Mondragone. She has been eulogised by the *litterati* of the time for her intellectual and artistic gifts.

## INVENTORIES

I. 1407 A.D.

R. Archivio di Stato, Mantova.

D. Famiglia Ducale e Principi dominanti.

N. VI. Testamenti, Inventari N. 329.

Infrascripta sunt Arma existentia penes Bonisegnam de castrovarcho.

PRIMO, Due corazie coperte velluto grane pro persona quondam magnifici domini.

- 2 Vna corazia discoperta pro persona quondam prefati domini.
- 3 Vnum par franchalium integrorum azalis magnorum pro prefato quondam domino.
- 4 Duo paria franchalium azalis fulcitorum velluto pro prefato domino.
- 5 Quatuor corazie azalis a familia.
- 6 Duo paria franchalium azalis a familia.
- 7 Vnum par franchalium azalis fulcitorum velluto.
- 8 Viginti nouem panzerie azalis.
- 9 Viginti octo pancerie ferri.
- 10 Viginti falde azalis.
- 11 Quatuordecim falde ferri.
- 12 Sedecim Garzarini azalis.
- 13 Octo Garzarini ferri.
- 14 Tres Brache azalis.
- 15 Viginti octo paria quantorum azalis.
- 16 Quadraginta octo paria quantorum ferri.

Portatum istud arg-  
 gentum ad voltam  
 argenterii die vij  
 Novembris 1407.

Istum argentum  
 uenditum fuit  
 Gasparo de pisis  
 and socio ut patet  
 in prescripto libro  
 capitulo 160.

- 17 Vnus Bantus azalis cum vna ghirlanda rosarum argenti aureati and smaltati immo x ponderis marcharum 5.
- 18 Vnus capelletus azalis copertus velluto rubeo piloso cum septem radiis argenti aureati cum columbinis ponderis argentum nitidum marcharum quatuor onciarum duarum cum vno canono pro tenendo penerium.
- 19 Vnus Bantus magnus cum frontale argenti aureati cum vno penerio penarum albi and rubei coloris et cum nouem rosis argenti aureati smaltati ponderis marcharum quinque onciarum duarum.
- 20 Vnus helmetus azalis copertus veluto grane.
- 21 Triginta quatuor helmeti azalis.

## INVENTORIES

I. 1407 A.D.

IN THE R. ARCHIVIO DI STATO, MANTUA

## Translation

Below are listed the arms which are in the charge of Boninsegna da Castelbarco.

## ITEM

- 1 Firstly, 2 cuirasses covered with scarlet velvet for the body of his late lordship.
- 2 A cuirass, uncovered, for the body of his late lordship abovementioned.
- 3 A pair of large complete tassets of steel of his late lordship abovementioned.
- 4 2 pairs of steel tassets garnished with velvet of his lordship abovementioned.
- 5 4 steel cuirasses for retainers.
- 6 2 pairs of steel tassets for retainers.
- 7 A pair of steel tassets garnished with velvet.
- 8 29 steel paunces.
- 9 28 iron paunces.
- 10 20 steel faulds (skirts of mail).
- 11 14 iron faulds.
- 12 16 steel jazerines.
- 13 8 iron jazerines.
- 14 3 steel brayettes (breeches of mail).
- 15 28 pairs of steel gauntlets.
- 16 48 pairs of iron gauntlets.
- 17 A headpiece of steel with an orle of roses gilt and enamelled, viz. of 5 marks weight.  
This silver was taken to the vault on the 7th day of November, 1407.
- 18 A steel hat covered with red pile velvet with 7 rays of silver gilt with doves bright silver, of the weight of 4 marks 2 ounces, together with a plume-holder.  
This silver was sold to Gaspare de Pisa and his partners as noted in the ledger, chapter 160.
- 19 A large headpiece with a frontal of silver gilt with a plume of feathers of red and white and with 9 roses of silver gilt, enamelled, to the weight of 5 marks 2 ounces.
- 20 A helmet of steel covered with scarlet velvet.
- 21 34 helmets of steel.

A.D. 1407

- 22 Quatuor helmeti ferri.
- 23 Vna cellata coperta velluto carmesi pilloso cum certis dindinel-  
lis racamatis viridis.
- 24 Vna cellata magna azalis.
- 25 Quadraginta tres cellate ferri.
- 26 Decem octo Spalaroli azalis.
- 27 Vna targheta azalis.
- 28 Vigintiunum paria Arnixiorum azalis. In quibus sunt quatuor  
paria pro prefato quondam domino.
- 29 Duo paria subtellarium azalis cum calcaribus.
- 30 Nouem paria Arnixiorum ferri.
- 31 Quadragintaunum pectora azalis lu quibus sunt duo pro  
persona quondam prefati domini.
- 32 Viginti vnum pectora ferri and Sichomanis.
- 33 Viginti octo paria Brazalorum in quibus est vnum pro persona  
quondam prefati domini frisatum argenti aureati.
- 34 Triginta paria Brazalorum ferri.
- 35 Quinque Rotelle azalis.
- 36 Vna lanza gaia cum canono argenti cum Arma sancti georgii  
and arma gonzage quartilatis cum franziis site rubeae ad  
manichas.
- 37 Centum uiginti octo lanze ab equo.
- 38 Viginti paria balzarum ab Arnixiis vetera.
- 39 Due Tenalie pro Incidendo ferrum.
- 40 Duo Incudines longi in forma vnus palli ferri.
- 41 Vna Rotella ligni cum vno breue and vna rosa alba.
- 42 Vnus pauesus pictus ad diuersa arma.
- 43 Octo paria speronorum a pagiis.
- 44 Trigintauna corigie a panceria in quibus est vna fulcita argento.
- 45 Tres mantelline scarlatini panni ab helmeto.
- 46 Vna Azeta parua.
- 47 Tredecim Mantelli de Maia de ferro ab Equis.
- 48 Septem pecii maglie de ferro ab Equis.
- 49 Decem Coracie a giostra.
- 50 Vna spada a Campiono.
- 51 Vndecim Elmi a giostra.
- 52 Vndecim Branzalia a giostra.
- 53 Tredecim Manete a giostra.
- 54 Quatuordecim paria spallarolorum a giostra.
- 55 Quindecim guanti a giostra.
- 56 Nouem scuta a giostra.
- 57 Tres Elmi a giostra veteres.

- A.D. 1407
- 22 4 helmets of iron.
- 23 A salade covered with crimson pile velvet with certain fringes embroidered in bright green.
- 24 A large salade of steel.
- 25 43 salades of iron.
- 26 18 pauldrons of steel.
- 27 A target of steel.
- 28 21 pairs of steel leg-harness of which 4 pair are those of the aforementioned deceased lord.
- 29 2 pairs of steel sabatons with spurs.
- 30 9 pairs of iron leg-harness.
- 31 41 breasts of steel, of which 2 are for the late abovementioned lord.
- 32 21 breasts of iron and . . .
- 33 28 pairs of vambraces of which one is for his late lordship bordered with silver gilt.
- 34 30 pairs of iron vambraces.
- 35 5 steel bucklers.
- 36 A lance with silver head (?) [with a banner of] the arms of St. George and Gonzaga quartered, with dagged fringes of red silk.
- 37 128 horsemen's lances.
- 38 20 pairs of fringes<sup>1</sup> for old leg-harness.
- 39 2 pincers for forging iron.
- 40 2 long anvils, in the form of a single iron stake.
- 41 A buckler of wood [painted] with a scroll and a white rose.
- 42 A pavise painted with various arms.
- 43 8 pairs of pages' spurs.
- 44 31 hip-belts, 1 of which is garnished with silver.
- 45 3 helmet mantlings of scarlet cloth.
- 46 A small axe.
- 47 13 hoods of iron mail for horses.
- 48 7 pieces of iron mail for horses.
- 49 10 cuirasses for jousting.
- 50 A champion's sword.
- 51 11 jousting helms.
- 52 11 armpieces for jousting.
- 53 13 cloaks (mantling ?) for jousting.
- 54 14 pairs of pauldrons for jousting.
- 55 15 gauntlets for jousting.
- 56 9 shields for jousting.
- 57 3 old jousting helms.

<sup>1</sup> *Lit. valences*. A small curtain of mail at the knee was a characteristic feature of Italian leg-harness in the

fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, cf. *Archaeologia*, lxxvii, (1937), p. 329.

A.D. 1407

- 58 Decemseptem Barbute cum camalio de ferro and azello de quibus barbute vna est habens vnam coronetam de argento de aurato cum tribus smaltis.
- 59 Due Barbute sine camaglio.
- 60 Sex spalareti de ferro.
- 61 Duo capelleti ferri veteres inter quos est vnus habens camalia de Malia.
- 62 Tres Acie.
- 63 Vnus Bordoncellus a pelegrino cum lama azelli quadra que reconditur in manubrio.
- 64 Duo paria brazallarum cum guarnimentis.
- 65 Vnum scossum paruum de azoli cum lamis frisatis.
- 66 Vnus spetus a venando.
- 67 Duos arcus de ligno anglici.
- 68 Lancia gaia cum franzia circa manubrium.
- 69 Sex brazalia sine cubitu cum rotulis.
- 70 Vnum par brazellarum de azollo grevarum.
- 71 Quinque paria Arnisiarum de ferro.
- 72 Duo paria Arnesiarum de ferro cum mediis cossalibus.
- 73 Octo paria schineriarum de ferro.
- 74 Duo baliste fracte.
- 75 Quinque penerii albi et Rubei sine fulcimentis que ab Ipsis ablata sunt.
- 76 Vna spata vetus.
- 77 Duo targanes picti pro ludo Mazascuti.
- 78 Vna bombardella de Bronzo.
- 79 Vna capelina coperta de veluto de grana.
- 80 Vnum Stindardum sindonis Rubei cum divisia tortorelle.
- 81 Vna zornea sindonis de grana cum cruce alba.
- 82 Vnum par caligularum de camocia albarum et Rubearum.
- Portata ad voltam 83 Due corigie ab Elmo de tesuto  
die vij Novembris Azuro cum fibullis et maciis et  
1407. decemnovem passetis argenti deaurati ponderis in totum onciarum  
duodecim quartorum duorum ponderis cum  
stivo onciarum  
tredecim.  
cum dimidio.
- 84 Vna corigia ab Elmo tesuti Rubei  
cum macia et fibula et viginti  
tribus passetis argenti deaurati  
ponderis onciarum octo et quarti  
vnus cum dimidio. Pondus cum stivo  
onciarum octo.
- 85 Tres corigie de corio Rubeo suffulte corio albo.
- 86 Vna corigia a panceria de corio Rubeo noua fulcita de Auricalco.

A.D. 1407

- 58 17 barbutes with aventails of iron and steel, 1 of which barbutes has a coronet of silver gilt with 3 enamels.
- 59 2 barbutes without aventails.
- 60 6 pauldrons of iron.
- 61 2 old iron war-hats, 1 of which has a mail aventail.
- 62 3 battle-axes.
- 63 A pilgrim's staff with a steel blade of quadrangular section which is hidden in the haft.
- 64 2 pairs of vambraces garnished.
- 65 A small apron of steel with bordered plates.
- 66 A hunting spear.
- 67 2 English bows of wood.
- 68 A lance with a tassel round the haft.
- 69 6 vambraces without couters, with besagues.
- 70 A pair of heavy vambraces of steel.
- 71 5 pairs of iron leg-harnesses.
- 72 2 pairs of iron leg-harnesses with demi-cuisses.
- 73 8 pairs of iron greaves.
- 74 2 broken cross bows.
- 75 5 white and red plumes without their furniture which has been removed.
- 76 An old sword.
- 77 2 large painted shields for [sword and] buckler play.
- 78 A bombard of bronze.
- 79 A hood covered with scarlet velvet.
- 80 A standard of red silk with a device of turtle-doves.
- 81 A tabard of scarlet cendal with a white cross.
- 82 A pair of chamois-leather boots coloured white and red.
- 83 2 shaps for helms of blue cloth with buckles and tongues and 19 eyelet-holes of silver gilt to the total weight of 12 ounces 2 quarters and a half. Weighed with the stiver (?), thirteen ounces.
- 84 A strap for a helm of red cloth with tongue and buckles and 23 eyelet-holes of silver gilt weighing 8 ounces 1 quarter and a half. Weighed with the stiver (?), eight ounces.
- 85 3 leather straps lined with white leather.
- 86 A hip-belt of red velvet newly garnished with latten.

Taken to the  
vaults on 7th day  
of November,  
1407.

A.D. 1407

- 87 Sex agugieti de seta rubea cum pendaliis argenti deaurati ponderis vnus oncie.
- 88 Quindecim fibulle de otono deaurato a coracia.
- 89 Due balte de Auricalco deaurate cum tintinellis de argento deaurate.
- 90 Vna ceuncta argenti albi cum vno breue argenti deaurati ponderis trium onciarum et vnus quarti cum dimidio.
- 91 Trigintaquinque fulcimenta a lanceis a giostra.
- 92 Quinguaginta nouem armonnes a giostra.
- 93 Sexcentum triginta clauis albi a sonaliis.
- 94 Triginta quinque clauis a posta auricalchi deaurati.
- 95 Viginti quatuor macie Auricalchi deaurati.
- 96 Duodecim fibulle de Auricalco deaurate.
- 97 Quatuor mazole de Auricalco deaurate.
- 98 Mille ducentum clauis deaurati de Auricalco (*sic*).
- 99 Triginta sex corigia ab Elmo cum fibullis.
- 100 Sexaginta sex ballote de ferro a sclopo.
- 101 Vna bandera de sindone grane cum sancto Marco posito in Auro.
- 102 Tres bandere due cum aquila nigra et tertia ad arma gonzage de sindone.
- 103 Tres coracie veteres a tornerio.
- 104 Octo spate a tornerio.
- 105 Vnum Elmum a giostra fulcitum fibullis Argenti Aurati pro persona quondam Magnifici domini francisci.
- 106 Quatuor targones picti ad ceunctam et ad allas.
- 107 Triginta clauete ab Elmeto.
- 108 Triginta quatuor clauis de Auricalco ab Elmeto.
- 109 Centum septuaginta quatuor paria clauetarum.
- 110 Viginti quinque milia brocarum albarum a corigia.
- 111 Viginti septem milia centum septuaginta brocarum ut supra.
- 112 Vndecim milia ducentum quinquaginta broche albe a brazallis.
- 113 Ducentum quinquaginta octo fibulle a pecto et a brazallis.
- 114 Decem octo Reste stagnate.
- 115 Nouem milia trecentum broche ab arnesiis.
- 116 Sex milia broche albe a guantis.
- 117 Octocentum clauis nigri a Brazallis.
- 118 Octocentum quinquaginta clauis a Brazallis.
- 119 Mille octocentum stachete a guantis.
- 120 Centum septuagintaquinque clauis a Resta.
- 121 Viginti sex libre de smiraglo Integri pisto et non pisto.

A.D. 1407

- 87 6 embroideries of red silk with pendants of silver gilt weighing  
1 ounce.
- 88 15 buckles of gilt brass for a cuirass.
- 89 2 belts of latten gilt with bells of silver gilt.
- 90 A girdle of white silver with a pendant (*lit.* scroll) of silver  
gilt weighing 3 ounces 1 quarter and a half.
- 91 35 furnishings (? heads and vamplates) for jousting lances.
- 92 59 shoulder-pieces (?) for jousting.
- 93 630 white nails with bells (cf. No. 89).
- 94 35 nails of gilt latten.
- 95 24 tongues of gilt latten.
- 96 12 buckles of gilt latten.
- 97 4 large tongues of gilt latten.
- 98 1,200 nails of gilt latten.
- 99 36 straps for helms with their buckles.
- 100 606 iron balls for guns.
- 101 A banner of scarlet cendal with St. Mark upon it in gold.
- 102 3 banners, two of them with a black eagle and the third with  
the arms of Gonzaga, of cendal.
- 103 3 old cuirasses for the tournament.
- 104 8 tournament swords.
- 105 A jousting helm furnished with silver gilt buckles for the body  
of his late lordship Francesco.
- 106 4 large shields painted with a belt and wings.<sup>1</sup>
- 107 30 small helmet rivets.
- 108 34 rivets of latten for helmets.
- 109 174 pairs of small rivets.
- 110 25,000 white tags for straps.
- 111 27,170 tags as above.
- 112 11,250 white tags for vambraces.
- 113 258 buckles for breasts and vambraces.
- 114 18 lance-rests lined with tin.
- 115 9,300 points for leg-harness.
- 116 6,000 white tags for gauntlets.
- 117 800 black rivets for vambraces.
- 118 850 rivets for vambraces.
- 119 1,000 studs for gauntlets
- 120 175 bolts for lance-rests.
- 121 26 pounds of emery, part ground and part not ground.

<sup>1</sup> Badges of the Gonzaga family, cf. Inv. 1542, no. 224.

A.D. 1407

- 122 Quatraginta nouem clauī a viseria.  
 123 Quatraginta quatuor stufe<sup>1</sup> ab Elmeto.  
 124 Triginta stufe<sup>1</sup> a celata.  
 125 Quinquaginta paria maniciarum a quanto.  
 126 Quatuor pelles de Camoecia.  
 127 Duodecim pelles de Montanina.  
 128 Vnus canonus cum duabus alis ab Elmeto argenti de aurati et cum quatuor scudetis smaltatis, ponderis 14 onciarum et duarum quarteriarum cum dimidio.  
 129 Duo canoni a penerio ab Elmeto argenti deaurati cum quatuor scudetis pro quolibet ponderis decem onciarum et quartorum trium.

<sup>1</sup> *Stufa*, apparently for *stoffa*, and meaning a textile covering or lining of a helmet.

- A.D. 1407
- 122 49 nails (pivots) for visors.
- 123 44 coverings for helmets.
- 124 30 coverings for salades.
- 125 50 pairs of cuffs for gauntlets.
- 126 4 chamois skins.
- 127 12 sheepskins.
- 128 A plume-holder with 2 wings of silver gilt and with 4 enamelled  
escutcheons, weighing 14 ounces, 2 quarters and a half.
- 129 2 plume-holders for a helmet of silver gilt with 4 escutcheons,  
each weighing 10 ounces and 3 quarters.

II. 1542 A.D.

## ARCHIVIO NOTARILE, MANTOVA.

File : Rogito Stivini (Notario della Corte 1506-1551).

*Inventario di tutte le armature et altre robbe ritrovate ne larmria de Castello sotto il governo di per Messer Caremolo modrone superiore di quella Fatto adi 21 de Zenaro 1542 per rispetto de la Morte de lo Ill<sup>mo</sup> s<sup>mo</sup> Federico Duca di Mant/a.*

- PRIMO, Sei armature da homo d'arme parte adorate per Fillo et il resto piane quale erano de la Buona memoria de lo Ill<sup>mo</sup> sr. Franc<sup>o</sup> q. Marchese de Mant/a de la qual' ne fatto Intrata in Lo Monte d'larmaria—acs. 2.
- 2 E più una armatura da homo d'arme senza arnese e schinere e guanti qual 'era de la Buona memoria de lo Ill<sup>mo</sup> s<sup>r</sup> Fedrico gonzaga qdam marchese de Mant/a d'la qual ne fatto intrata in lo suprascritto—acs. 2.
- 3 E più un armatura de homo d'arme qual era q. Ill<sup>mo</sup> s<sup>r</sup> Alex<sup>o</sup> da Gonzaga spigolata et designata con lo elmetto incastrato ne la gola di la qual' ne fatto Intrata in L<sup>o</sup> ssto—acs. 2.
- 4 E più un corsaletto alto in Foggia de coraza adorato disopra cioe le Figure in azurro òlo Ill<sup>mo</sup> s<sup>r</sup> Duca Fedrico Felice memoria ad Intrato in L<sup>o</sup> suprascritto—acs. 4.  
Qual corsaletto ha le mane m<sup>no</sup> Batista adoratore per adorarlo sino de laño 1533.
- 5 E più un Corsaletto alla legiera et che serve da Fanti a piedi òlo Ill<sup>mo</sup> s<sup>r</sup> Duchu Fedrico ssto. con la celata e brazali spigolate a liste ad Intrata in L<sup>o</sup> suprascritto—acs. 4.
- 6 E più una gola di Maia per portare sotto l'armatura Batuta con una chiave sopra la coppa d'argento per il P<sup>o</sup> Ill<sup>mo</sup> s<sup>r</sup> Duca Fedrico buona Mem<sup>a</sup> como ad Intrata in L<sup>o</sup> Monti—acs. 4.
- 7 E più un scarselon et uno soprapetto da corer' al Incontro designato ad Intrata in L<sup>o</sup> ssto.—acs. 4.
- 8 E più una buffa et il spalazo da homo d'arme designato ad Intrata in L<sup>o</sup> suprascritto—acs. 5.
- 9 E più una visera et una baviera Fatta a Fenestrelle da Bagordo ad Intrata in L<sup>o</sup> ssto—acs. 5.
- 10 E più una lama di dietro de una schena designata et adorata in liste ad Intrata in L<sup>o</sup> suprascritto—acs. 5.
- 11 E più un homo d'arme armato lui e il cavallo pizenino con lo elmetto incastrato ne la gola con una bandirola in mane et le armature spigolate, ad intrata in L<sup>o</sup> ssto—acs. 5.
- 12 E più un' corsaletto picolino adorato nel maggio con uno paio di brazali alla stradiotta fatto per lo Ill<sup>mo</sup> s<sup>r</sup> Duca buona mem<sup>a</sup> quanto era putino ad Intrato—acs. 5.
- 13 E più una buffa da corere alla legiera ad Intrata in L<sup>o</sup> suprascritto—acs. 5.

## II. 1542 A.D.

## ARCHIVIO NOTARILE, MANTOVA.

An Inventory of all the armour and other goods found in the Armoury of the Castle in the charge of Messer Caremolo Modrone, its keeper, which was drawn up on the 21st day of January, 1542, following the death of Signor Federico, Duke of Mantua.

## ITEM

- 1 Firstly, 6 armours for men-at-arms, some with gilt bands, the remainder plain, which belonged to the late Signor Francesco,<sup>1</sup> Marquess of Mantua, and which are entered on the list of the armoury. Enclosure 2.
- 2 An armour for a man-at-arms, without arms and legs and gauntlets, which belonged to the late Signor Federico Gonzaga,<sup>1</sup> one time Marquess of Mantua, which is entered in the above-mentioned list of the armoury. Enc. 2.
- 3 An armour for a man-at-arms which belonged to Signor Alessandro Gonzaga, fluted and engraved, with a close-helmet fitting onto the collar, which is entered in the above-mentioned list. Enc. 2.
- 4 A corselet with cuirass of high build, gilt with blued ornament, which belonged to the late Duke Federico, entered in the above-mentioned list. Enc. 4.  
This corselet has been in the hands of Master Battista,<sup>2</sup> gilder, for gilding since the year 1533.
- 5 A corselet of light make which was worn on foot by the same Duke Federico, with the burgonet and arms fluted in stripes, entered in the above-mentioned list. Enc. 4.
- 6 A gorget of mail for wearing beneath the armour, stamped with a key above a cup of silver, made for the late Duke Federico, as entered in the list. Enc. 4.
- 7 A tasset and an engraved reinforcing breast for the joust, as entered in the same. Enc. 4.
- 8 A buff and an engraved pauldron for a man-at-arms, as entered in the above-mentioned list. Enc. 5.
- 9 A visor and a bevor pierced with openings for jousting, as entered. Enc. 5.
- 10 Part of a backplate, engraved, and gilt in bands, as entered. Enc. 5.
- 11 A complete armour for both man and horse of small size, with close helmet fitting onto the gorget, with a banner in his hands, the armours fluted, as entered. Enc. 5.
- 12 A small corselet, gilt in the centre with a pair of arms of estradiot fashion, made for the late Duke when he was a small boy, as entered. Enc. 5.
- 13 A light jousting buff, as entered in the above-mentioned list. Enc. 5.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 251.<sup>2</sup> See p. 252.

A.D. 1542

- 14 E più dui girelli da Barbero de veluto verde et rosso covechi de tremolanti adorati con la Impresa all' crosolo recamati d'oro et argento ad Intrata—acs. 6.
- 15 E più un' sponton in triangolo lavorato alla Damaschina dal maggio in guiso ad Intrata in L° Monte—acs. 6.
- 16 E più un pugnale con il manicho d'osso negro alla antica. In L° ssto—acs. 6.
- 17 E più una testera da cavallo di ferro adorata con il marchese adorato in meggio ad Intrata in L° suprascritto—acs. 6.
- 18 E più cinque pezzi di ferro lavorati alla damaschina . . . far la buna memoria Ill<sup>mo</sup> s<sup>r</sup> Franc° condam Marchese de Mant/a per Far uno altare alla Madona de S<sup>o</sup> Pietro ad Intrata—acs. 6.
- 19 E più uno barbotto de maglia con le ponte.
- 20 E più una schena designata e spigolata alla legiera—acs. 7.
- 21 E più un paio de guanti alla legiera.
- 22 E più un guanto con li nodi e le ponte adorate et e' il guanto dritto—acs. 7.
- 23 E più una Baniera piccola da elmetto.
- 24 E più due gole de maglia todesche.
- 25 E più un' cimiero di veluto rosso et verde. Cargo di tremolanti adorati—acs. 8.
- 26 E più una visera da celatta alla Bergognona facta a Fenestrelle—acs. 8.
- 27 E più una gola di Maglia piccola.
- 28 E più una schiba e una Baviera da homo darne.
- 29 E più un spalacio da correr allo Incontro et una schiba alla legiera—acs. 8.
- 30 E più una Celatta da Fanti a piede con uno pocho de designo—acs. 8.
- 31 E più uno paro de lunette di Maglia.
- 32 E più una gola con il Barbotto di maglia.
- 33 E più una parte de uno Tirello di raso Zaldo alistrato di raso cremesino con Franze et cargo de tremolanti adorati vecchio—acs. 9.
- 34 E più spade sesanta quale erano de diversi combatenti che hano combatuto in stichato Forniti de diversi Fornimenti—acs. 9.
- 35 E più pugnali dodice de diversi combatenti Forniti de diversi Fornimenti<sup>1</sup>—acs. 9.

<sup>1</sup> *Fornimenti*. Cf. Filippo Ursoni *fornimenti o elssa*, 'garniture, mounts who uses the words *guarnimenti e* or hilt,' p. 268 *supra*.

A.D. 1542

- 14 2 trappers for chargers (Barbary steeds), of green and red velvet with gilt pendants with the device of *the Crucible*<sup>1</sup> embroidered in gold and silver, as entered. Enc. 6.
- 15 A spontoon of triangular section,<sup>2</sup> damascened from the middle downwards, as entered in the list. Enc. 6.
- 16 A dagger with the handle of black bone, *à l'antique*, as entered. Enc. 6.
- 17 A chanfron of iron gilt with the [arms of the] Marquess gilt in the centre, as entered in the above. Enc. 6.
- 18 5 pieces of damascened iron made for the late Francesco, Marquess of Mantua, to make an altar for the Madonna di San Pietro,<sup>3</sup> as entered. Enc. 6.
- 19 A chin-piece (standard) of mail with its fastenings.
- 20 A light backplate engraved and fluted. Enc. 7.
- 21 A pair of light gauntlets.
- 22 A gauntlet with the joints and knuckles gilt, it is the right-hand gauntlet. Enc. 7.
- 23 A small bevor of a close-helmet.
- 24 2 German gorgets of mail.<sup>4</sup>
- 25 A crest of red and green velvet, hung with gilt fringes. Enc. 8.
- 26 A visor of a burgonet pierced with bars [*lit.* little windows]. Enc. 8.
- 27 A small mail gorget.
- 28 A vamplate and a bevor for a man-at-arms.
- 29 A pauldron for the joust and a light vamplate. Enc. 8.
- 30 A footsoldier's headpiece [*lit.* sallet], partly engraved.
- 31 A pair of gussets of mail.
- 32 A gorget with the chin-piece of mail.
- 33 Part of an old trapper, of yellow satin striped with crimson silk with fringes and hung with gilt pendants. Enc. 9.
- 34 60 swords which were used at various times for fighting in the ring, with mounts of various kinds.
- 35 12 daggers of various fighters with mounts of various forms. Enc. 9.

<sup>1</sup> The device of the Crucible and the motto *Probasti me, Domine, et cognovisti me* was adopted by the Marquess Federico II in 1509 after he had cleared himself of the charges brought against him by the Signory of Venice following the disastrous campaign against the League of Cambrai. It appears frequently in this inventory.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. no. 178 *infra*, and nos. 32, 52

of the Inventory of 1604, which make the meaning clear.

<sup>3</sup> This would be a portable altar of steel damascened like that attributed to the Milanese armourer Lucio Piccinino in the Victoria and Albert Museum, formerly in the Whawell collection.

<sup>4</sup> Probably of the voluminous type known to-day as 'bishop's mantles.'

A.D. 1542

- 36 E più quatro spade da due mane dove e stato combatuto—  
acs. 9.
- 37 E più due ronche da due ponze dove combatute mg Franci  
nanino—acs. 10.
- 38 E più un spedo da Forbice da combatento.
- 39 E più dui guanti de maglia della man dritta che adoprette  
Zohan da madana et Bertie a combattere—acs. 10.
- 40 E più due partisane da combatenti astate.
- 41 E più dui spedi da Forbice astati di combatete.
- 42 E più due mize partesane astate da combatente.
- 43 E più una maza' con un pugno sera de' ottone.
- 44 E più una maza alla turchesche a coste.
- 45 E più un' stocho picolino da homo darne.
- 46 E più una Cetta piccola da homo darne.
- 47 E più Balestre n° nove Fatti et lavorate a diverse Foggie—  
acs. 11.
- 48 E più dui charchassi alla turchescha.
- 49 E più un'elmo da correr' a demenino.
- 50 E più dui brochieri con due daghette dentre dove e stato  
combatuto.
- 51 E più due rodelle da combatente.
- 52 E più due celate da combatentè con le ponte dentro negre—  
acs. 12.
- 53 E più due celate da Fante a piede da combatente Inbrunite—  
acs. 12.
- 54 E più un giupone de raso cremesino con la sua Zornea alla  
antica cargo de tremolanti adorati vechia.
- 55 E più una Zornea de raso bianco e cremesino et verde carga  
de tremolanti adorati vechia.
- 56 E più una Zornea de raso cremosino vechia cargo de tremolanti  
adorati Fodrata de canzate verde vechia—acs. 13.
- 57 E più un girello grande alla antica de raso cremesino vechio  
cargo de tremolanti adorati et de Foglie de vigna de relevo.
- 58 E più una morza de Ferro Lavorata tutta de smalto e parte  
adorata.
- 59 E più un stocho grande da homo darne con il Fornimento  
adorato et coregia et Fibiamento qual era de la buona  
memoria del Ill<sup>mo</sup> s<sup>r</sup>. Fedrico gia Marchesa di Mant/a—  
acs. 13.
- 60 E più un Zirello da barbero de veluto verde e raso con tremo-  
lanti adorati con la Impresa del crosolo recamato—acs. 13.
- 61 E più un Zirello di veluto verde e rosso vechia con una croce  
rossa Fodrata de comzantè verde.
- 62 E più un saghetto vechio di raso giallo Fatto in Foggia di  
Zornea con tremolanti adorati.

A.D. 1542

- 36 4 two-handed swords used in combat Enc. 9.
- 37 2 bills, each with 2 points, with which Monsignor Francesco fought Francinanino. Enc. 10.
- 38 A spetum of the earwig form<sup>1</sup> for combat.
- 39 2 mail gauntlets for the right hand, used in the combat between Giovanni da Modena and Bertie. Enc. 10.
- 40 2 partisans for combat with their staves.
- 41 2 spetums of the earwig form, with their staves, for combat.
- 42 2 half-partisans with their staves for foot combat.
- 43 A mace with the head in the form of a closed fist of brass.<sup>2</sup>
- 44 A Turkish mace with flanges.
- 45 A small estoc for a man-at-arms.
- 46 A small axe for a man-at-arms.
- 47 9 new crossbows, fashioned and enriched in various ways.
- 48 2 Turkish quivers.
- 49 A jousting helm for a youth (?).
- 50 2 fist-shields fitted with 2 spikes used in combat.
- 51 2 targets for fighting.
- 52 2 fighting burgonets with black rivets on them. Enc. 12.
- 53 2 infantry burgonets russetted. Enc. 12.
- 54 A jupon of crimson satin with its cloak (or tabard) *à l'antique* hung with gilt pendants.
- 55 An old tabard of white, crimson and green satin hung with gilt pendants.
- 56 An old tabard of crimson satin hung with gilt pendants and lined with old green shot silk. Enc. 13.
- 57 A large trapper *a l'antique* of crimson satin hung with gilt pendants and vine leaves in relief.
- 58 An iron bit, all enamelled and partly gilt.<sup>3</sup>
- 59 A large estoc for a man-at-arms with its furniture gilt and its belt and buckles, which belonged to the late Lord Federico, Marquess of Mantua.
- 60 A trapper for a war horse (*lit.* Barbary steed), of green velvet with gilt pendants embroidered with the device of *the Crucible*.
- 61 A trapper of green and red velvet with a red cross lined with green shot silk.
- 62 An old short surcoat of yellow satin made like a mantle with gilt pendants.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. with two curved prongs. Cf. No. 412 *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> Maces of this kind are described and illustrated in *Z.H.W.K.* v, 79;

xi, 287, Forrer collection and Zurich Museum. Cf. No. 167 of the Inventory of 1604.

<sup>3</sup> cf. Laking, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, Fig. 359.

A.D. 1542

- 63 E piu quatro Pezze de Barde de corame vechie.  
 64 E piu targhi decisette Fatte a diverse Foggie.  
 65 E piu rodelle nò vinti grande lavorate et Fatte a diverse Foggie.  
 66 E piu un penachio grande de pene de papagallo venuto de India.  
 67 E piu dui brocheri piccoli con dui dardi dove combatete Julio tedesco.  
 68 E piu un guanto de maglia.  
 69 E piu dui Zagalie hastate.  
 70 E piu sette Lanze grasse Fatti a diverse Foggie con li suoi Ferri.  
 71 E piu Ferri n° cinquanta—dui de diverse sorte piccoli e grandi da meter a lanze.  
 72 E piu cinqz mancini de ferro hastadi. ·/·  
 73 E piu una Zornea de veluto verde e rosso recamata de cordoncini d'oro fodrata de canzanti giallo vechia.—acs. 16.  
 74 E piu una Zornea de veluto verde vechia recamata di cordoncini d'oro tirato fodrata de canzanti morello—acs. 16.  
 75 E piu una Zorneo de raso giallo fodrata de tela con franzetta d'oro.  
 76 E piu due testiere da cavallo di ferro.  
 77 E piu quatro corpo da corazza da giostro a deminino.  
 78 E piu sei elmi da giostra a demenino ·/·  
 79 E piu otto cimitieri alla anticha che usava la buona memoria dll Ill<sup>mr</sup> s<sup>a</sup>. Franc° gonzaga Marchese de Mant/a fatti a diversi Foggia ·/·  
 80 E piu una spalettina stanca alla legiera ·/·  
 81 E piu uno paro de arnesi et schenere fatte a lama adorate ·/·  
 82 E piu u corpo da corsaletto senza scarselle indorato li orli ·/·  
 83 E piu una falda de maglia qual'e atachata al suprascritto corsaletto ·/·  
 84 E piu un' volto alla turchescha de ferro ·/·  
 85 E piu una guarda d'una brazale da giostra con uno soprapetto ·/·  
 86 E piu una manopola con uno canone insieme ·/·  
 87 E piu dui soprapetti con una manopola ·/·  
 88 E piu una scarsella ·/·  
 89 E piu una manopolo alla anticha ·/·  
 90 E piu uno Brazale vechio anticho con la guarda adorata ·/·  
 91 E piu un Falsetto con suso due lame.  
 92 E piu una coracina coverta de raso cremesino con le sue chiodonie adorate con le coreze che se alaza dal tale mancho ·/·  
 93 E piu una falda de pene de papagallo qual fu portata de India ·/·  
 94 E piu una guarda da Brazale, una braga e uno cimiero e uno elmetto ·/·  
 95 E piu una corazina coperta de raso cremosino con li scarseloni e la Braga con le sue chiodonie adorate.

A.D. 1542

- 63 4 old pieces of leather bards.  
 64 17 targets of various kinds.  
 65 20 bucklers, enriched and fashioned of various kinds.
- 66 A large plume of parrot's feathers brought from the Indies.
- 67 2 small fist - shields with 2 spikes with which Julius the German fought.
- 68 A mail gauntlet.
- 69 2 spear-heads mounted with their staves.
- 70 7 large lances of various kinds with their heads of iron.
- 71 50 lance-heads of iron—two of different kinds, small and large, for fixing on lances.
- 72 5 iron daggers,<sup>1</sup> mounted.
- 73 A tabard covered with green and red velvet, embroidered with gold cordings and lined with yellow shot silk. Enc. 16.
- 74 An old tabard of green velvet, embroidered with gold cordings, lined with plum-coloured shot silk.
- 75 A tabard of yellow satin lined with linen with a small gold fringe.
- 76 2 iron chanfrons.
- 77 4 jousting cuirasses for boys.
- 78 6 jousting helms for boys.
- 79 8 scimitars *à l'antique* used by the late Francesco Gonzaga, Marquess of Mantua, of various shapes.
- 80 A small left pauldron for a field armour.
- 81 A pair of laminated arms and legs, gilt.
- 82 The cuirass of a corselet without tassets, the borders gilt.
- 83 A skirt of mail attached to the above-mentioned corselet.
- 84 A Turkish face of iron.
- 85 An armpiece for the joust with a reinforcing breast.
- 86 A bridle gauntlet in one with the lower canon of a vambrace.
- 87 2 reinforcing breasts and a bridle gauntlet.
- 88 A tasset.
- 89 A bridle-gauntlet *à l'antique*.
- 90 An old arm-piece, *à l'antique* with the [elbow ?] guard, gilt.
- 91 A lining with two plates upon it.<sup>2</sup>
- 92 A brigandine covered with crimson silk with gilt nails, with laces on the left side.
- 93 A skirt of parrot's feathers brought from the Indies.
- 94 A gardebrace, a brayette and a crest and a helmet.
- 95 A brigandine covered with crimson satin with its tassets and brayette, with gilt nails.

<sup>1</sup> *Mancina* is a left-hand dagger. Its connection here with the word *hastati*, i.e. mounted on a staff, suggests some kind of pole-arm.

<sup>2</sup> *Falsetto* may be a variant of *farsetto*, i.e. a doublet, or of *falsata*, a lining, sometimes the stuffing of a helmet.

A.D. 1542

- 96 E più un tampino alla turchescha lavorato ./.  
 97 E più una Buffetta alla leggiera ./.  
 98 E più una spaletta Integra ./.  
 99 E più un zirello de raso cremosino vechio cargo de tremolanti adorati ./.  
 100 E più due spade curte da combattenti ./.  
 101 E più un Zillio de Ferro adorato dll palio di Fiorenza.  
 102 E più una manopola da demenino ./.  
 103 E più un guanto de corame da giostra a deminino.  
 104 E più un turbante da turcho con la tella involtata a cercho qual Baisetto Imperator de turchi mandete a donare alla buona memoria dll Ill<sup>mo</sup> sr. Franc<sup>o</sup> Marchese de Mant/a.  
 105 E più una targetta de Ferro alla stradiotta ./.  
 106 E più un scarselon con il suo Falsetto sotto ./.  
 107 E più un paro de cossotti alla stradiotta ./.  
 108 E più un Barbotto alla anticha ./.  
 109 E più cinqz pezzi de maglia computa un' giallo de ottone.  
 110 E più una Manopola de Ferro lavorata alla damaschina.  
 111 E più una guarda da Brazale ./.  
 112 E più una buffa con il spaletino alla leggiera.  
 113 E più una Buffa da giostra ./.  
 114 E più un' paro de schenere ./.  
 115 E più un gillio di Ferro dll pallio di Firenze ./.  
 116 E più un' zirello de veluto negro da Barbero con alchune littere recamate sopra vechio ./.  
 117 E più un Zirillo di veluto verde crosso da barbero con li tremolanti adorati con la Impresa dll crosolo di oro tirato recamati ./.  
 118 E più un' soprapetto da giostra.  
 119 E più un petto alla leggiera senza lama ./.  
 120 E più un scarselono con il Falsetto ./.  
 121 E più un guanto de Ferro de homo darne adorato.  
 122 E più una maza da porcho adorato in azurro.  
 123 E più una maza tutta lavorata alla anticha qual se disfa tutta a pezzo per pezo et adorata ./.  
 124 E più un stocho da homo darne con li fornimenti a bissa ./.  
 125 E più un arco alla turchescha lavorato ./.  
 126 E più un stocho da homo darne con Fornimenti adorati.  
 127 E più un arco alla turchescha lavorato ./.  
 128 E più un' stocho anticho con li Fornimenti de relevo adorato donato alla Buona memoria dll Marchese Lodovico dalla sig<sup>ra</sup> de Firenze quanto Fu Fatto suo capitano generale ./.  
 129 E più un' guanto de maglia fatto a liste con il nodo de Ferro ./.

A.D. 1542

- 96 A kettle-drum ornamented in the Turkish manner.  
 97 A small buff for a field armour.  
 98 A complete pauldron.  
 99 An old trapper of crimson satin hung with gilt pendants.
- 100 2 short arming swords.  
 101 An iron lily gilt from the '*palio*' of Florence.<sup>1</sup>  
 102 A boy's bridle gauntlet.  
 103 Leather gauntlet for the joust for a boy.  
 104 A Turkish turban of cloth wound round in circles which Bajazet, Emperor of the Turks, sent as a gift to the late Francesco, Marquess of Mantua.<sup>2</sup>  
 105 An iron target of Estradiot fashion.  
 106 A tasset with its lining.<sup>3</sup>  
 107 A pair of cuisses of Estradiot fashion.  
 108 A buff *à l'antique*.  
 109 5 pieces of mail including 1 of yellow brass.  
 110 An iron gauntlet damascened.  
 111 An armpiece.  
 112 A buff with a small pauldron (grandguard) for a light armour.  
 113 A buff for jousting.  
 114 A pair of leg-harness.  
 115 An iron lily from the '*palio*' at Florence.<sup>1</sup>  
 116 A trapper of black velvet for a charger (Barbary steed) with gilt pendants with the device of *the Crucible* embroidered with gold thread.  
 117 An old trapper of green velvet for a charger (Barbary steed) embroidered with certain letters.
- 118 A reinforcing breast for the joust.  
 119 A light breastplate without [back ?] plate.  
 120 A large tasset with its lining.<sup>3</sup>  
 121 An iron gauntlet gilt for a man-at-arms.  
 122 A mace blued and gilt (*sic*) for boar-hunting.<sup>4</sup>  
 123 A mace all worked *à l'antique* in every part and gilt.
- 124 An estoc for a man-at-arms with serpentine (? wavy) mounts.  
 125 A bow worked in the Turkish manner.  
 126 An estoc of a man-at-arms with gilt fittings.  
 127 A bow decorated in the Turkish style.  
 128 An estoc *à l'antique* with its hilt chased in relief, gilt, given to the Marquess Lodovico by the Signory of Florence when he was made their Captain-General.<sup>5</sup>  
 129 A mail glove made in strips with the joint of iron.

<sup>1</sup> Possibly a prize won in the *palio* or races at Florence. The fleur-de-lys (*giglio*) was the device of Florence.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 253.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Note on No. 91 *supra*.

<sup>4</sup> Maces were not usually used in boar-hunting.

<sup>5</sup> This was in 1447; the title appears on the obverse of his medal by Pisanello, Pl. xiii.

## THE L ST ARMOURY OF THE GONZAGAS

A.D. 1542

- 130 E piu un azza piccola lavorata col manicho de radice de perli et legno sandado con due Figure sopra la lama de argento de mezo relevo ./.
- 131 E piu una spada con il Fornimento adorato et la lama vechia ./.
- 132 E piu una Maza de Ferro Fatta in foggia de martello adorata ./.
- 133 E piu un stocho anticho col manicho elchi e fodro de argento lavorato adorato con la sua cintura de argento Filato et Fibie passetti et macie de argento Batuto dato per li mercanti de Mant/a alla buona memoria del Marchese Franc° ./.
- 134 E piu una maza alla turchescha con le sue coste transferata ./.
- 135 E piu una maza alla turchescha de ferro con sue coste [sic].
- 136 E piu una maza alla turchescha con le coste transforata.
- 137 E piu un guanto Fatto a liste de maglia con li nodi di Ferro ./.
- 138 E piu un' paro de speroni alla gianetta con le Fibie et Fornimenti adorati et in arzentati ./.
- 139 E piu due lunette de maglia grossa ./.
- 140 E piu un stocho da homo darne con fornimenti adorati ./.
- 141 E piu una corta lama da anticha Bizara e rara.
- 142 E piu un stocho al' anticha con la lama lavorata.
- 143 E piu un' para de speroni alla turchescha lavorati alla Damaschina ./.
- 144 E piu una spada granda da due mane con il pomo e manicho et elzi e Fodro de argento batuto e lavorati et parte adorati qual' donete li mercanti de Mant/a al. Ill<sup>mo</sup> s<sup>r</sup>. m<sup>o</sup>. dll anno 1526.
- 145 E piu un' paro de speroni alla gianetta con li suoi Fornimenti adorati et in argentati ./.
- 146 E piu uno paro de speroni alla gianetta de Ferro con li Fornimenti de argento Batuto ./.
- 147 E piu una spada larga como il pomo manicho vere elzi pontalo de argento Batuto lavorata di Basso relevo nominata curtana qual' era dll Danese paladino ./.
- 148 E piu uno archo alla turchescha lavorato ./.
- 149 E piu un' stocho al' anticha con pomo elzi lavorati alla Damaschena ./.
- 150 E piu una maza alla turchescha con li sue coste.
- 151 E piu un' stocho anticho con pomo e manicho et elzi e vere de argento Batuto con Fodro de brocato d'oro con cintura e con Fibie Fornimenti de argento Batuto donato per li mercanti de Mant/a alla buona memoria dll Ill<sup>mo</sup> s<sup>r</sup> Marchese Franc° el p<sup>mo</sup> anno che si Feci s<sup>re</sup> ./.
- 152 E piu un vello alla turchescha ./.
- 153 E piu una spada alanticha da un Filo e meglio.
- 154 E piu un stocho alanticho da caza ./.

A.D. 1542

- 130 A small axe with the handle of mother o' pearl and sandalwood, with two figures upon the blade in half-relief.<sup>1</sup>
- 131 A sword with the hilt gilt and an old blade.
- 132 A mace of iron made in the form of a hammer, gilt.
- 133 An estoc a *l'antique* with the grip, quillons and scabbard of silver, chased and gilt with its belt woven of silver thread and the buckles, eyelet-holes and tags of beaten silver given by the merchants of Mantua to the late Marquess Francesco.
- 134 A mace in the Turkish fashion with its flanges pierced.
- 135 A mace of iron of the Turkish fashion with its flanges [pierced].
- 136 A mace of the Turkish fashion with its flanges pierced.
- 137 A gauntlet made of strips of mail with the knuckles of iron.
- 138 A pair of spurs for light-horse with the buckles and furniture gilt and silvered.
- 139 Two large gussets of mail.
- 140 An estoc for a man-at-arms with its hilt and mounts gilt.
- 141 A short blade of antique fashion, strange and rare.
- 142 An estoc à *l'antique* with chased blade.
- 143 A pair of damascened spurs of Turkish fashion.
- 144 A large two-headed sword with the pommel, grip, quillons and scabbard of beaten silver, chased and parcel-gilt, which was given by the merchants of Mantua to the Marquess in the year 1526.
- 145 A pair of spurs of Spanish light-horse, with their furniture gilt and silvered.
- 146 A pair of spurs of Spanish light-horse of iron, with their mounts of beaten silver.
- 147 A broad sword with the pommel, grip, guards, quillons, and chape of beaten silver and chased in low relief, which is called "Curtana" and belonged to the Danish paladin.<sup>2</sup>
- 148 A bow decorated in the Turkish manner.
- 149 An estoc à *l'antique* with the pommel and quillons damascened.
- 150 A Turkish mace with flanges.
- 151 An estoc à *l'antique* with pommel and grip and quillons and rings of beaten silver, chased, with scabbard of gold brocade, with belt and buckles and mounts of beaten silver, given by the merchants of Mantua to the late Signor Marquess Francesco in the first year of his creation.
- 152 A veil in the Turkish style.
- 153 A sword à *l'antique*, the blade with a half back-edge.
- 154 An estoc à *l'antique* for house wear.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> cf. no. 15 in the Inventory of 1604.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 254.

<sup>3</sup> i.e., perhaps what is sometimes called a town-sword, or a cinquedea as shown on Pl. vii

A.D. 1542

- 155 E più una targa di Ferro Fatta in Fogia d'un voltazo.  
 156 E più cinque archi alla turchescha ·/·  
 157 E più una targa alanticha coperta de veluto cremosino tutta  
 recamata et lavorata d'oro Filato con la Impresa dll  
 piombino ·/·  
 158 E più un' scudo adorato lavorato donato per la Ill<sup>ma</sup> S<sup>ia</sup> de  
 venezia alla Buona memoria dll Illei Si Marchese Franci  
 quando Fu Fatto suo capitano gienerali ·/·  
 159 E più un scudo da giostra coperto de cendale rosso et verde  
 cargo de tremolanti con la Impresa de san Marcho adorato ·/·  
 160 E più un stocho con Fornimenti negri ·/·  
 161 E più un charchasso de veluto verde vechio con quatro bolzoni  
 dentro Ferrati ·/·  
 162 E più un pezzo de una maglia grossa vechia ·/·  
 163 E più dui carchassi alla turchescha et quatro Frizzi et dui  
 bolzoni dentro ·/·  
 164 E più una balestra con le arme del Ill<sup>ma</sup> s<sup>r</sup>. mo sopra.  
 165 E più una Balestra tutta di Ferro con quatro schioppi dentro ·/·  
 166 E più quatro palsatori Ferrati ·/·  
 167 E più dui carchassi di pelle de tasso Ferrati de balestre.  
 168 E più un' charchasso alla turchescha ·/·  
 169 E più sette carchassi alla turchescha ·/·  
 170 E più quattro archi alla turchescha ·/·  
 171 E più un' collo da cavallo de Ferro lavorato alla Damaschina ·/·  
 172 E più un paro de speroni alla gianetta vechij ·/·  
 173 E più una maggia testa da ragazzo da Barbero con la Impresa  
 dll crosolo vechia ·/·  
 174 E più un carchasso da balestra lavorato con cinque Bolcioni  
 con li suoi Ferri ·/·  
 175 E più dui brochieri alla turchescha lavorati ·/·  
 176 E più una gola de maglia alla todescha ·/· con li sue Fibie  
 adorate ·/·  
 177 E più un stocho da homo darne alanticha con li Fornimenti  
 adorati como il centurino di veluto con Fibie e palsetti  
 d'argento batuto con le sue maze de argento adorate con  
 Fodro de veluto negro ·/·  
 178 E più un stocho alanticha Fatto in triangolo con li Fornimenti  
 in argentati.  
 179 E più un stocho da homo darne con li Fornimenti in argentati  
 con la sua cintura di veluto con li Fornimenti de Ferro  
 adorati como il Fodro de veluto negro ·/·  
 180 E più una balestra Fornita con la sua liena ·/·  
 181 E più un stocho alanticha lavorato de osso de pesse.

- A.D. 1542
- 155 A target of iron, fashioned like a grotesque face.
- 156 5 Turkish bows.
- 157 A target *à l'antique* covered with crimson velvet all embroidered and worked with gold thread with the device of *the Plummet*.
- 158 A shield, chased and gilt, given by the Signory of Venice to the late Marquess Francesco when he was appointed their Captain-General.<sup>1</sup>
- 159 A jousting shield covered with red and green cendal, hung with pendants, with the device of the winged [lion] of St. Mark, gilt.
- 160 An estoc with black mounts.
- 161 An old quiver of green velvet containing 4 quarrels shod mounted their heads.
- 162 A large piece of old mail.
- 163 2 quivers of the Turkish fashion containing 4 arrows and 2 quarrels.
- 164 A crossbow bearing the arms of his lordship.
- 165 A crossbow all of iron with 4 bullets inside (*sic*).
- 166 4 shafts with their heads.
- 167 2 crossbow quivers of badger skin, bound with iron.
- 168 A Turkish quiver.
- 169 7 Turkish quivers.
- 170 4 Turkish bows.
- 171 A horse collar<sup>2</sup> of iron damascened.
- 172 An old pair of spurs for Spanish light-horse.<sup>3</sup>
- 173 An old half-chanfron of a barbary stallion with the device of *the Crucible*.
- 174 A crossbow quiver, chased, with 5 quarrels with their heads.
- 175 2 fist shields chased in the Turkish fashion.
- 176 A collar of mail of the German fashion with the buckles, gilt.
- 177 An estoc for a man-at-arms, *à l'antique*, with gilt mounts and the belt of velvet, with buckles and mounts of beaten silver, with its eyelet-holes of silver-gilt and scabbard of black velvet.
- 178 An estoc, *à l'antique*, of triangular section with silver mounts.
- 179 An estoc for a man-at-arms, with the mounts silvered with its belt of velvet with mounts of iron-gilt and scabbard of black velvet.
- 180 A crossbow furnished with its cord.
- 181 An estoc, *à l'antique*, decorated with whalebone.

<sup>1</sup> In 1501 or at the time of the League of Cambrai in 1508. cf. no. 245 *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> cf. no. 320.

<sup>3</sup> *a la gineta*, the Spanish light horse mounted on Arabs, wore long prick spurs with a large roundel.

A.D. 1542

- 182 E più un scudo alanticha de legno tutto adorato de relevo con la Impresa dll tronchono In meggio tutto de relevo ·/·
- 183 E più una balestra Fornita con la sua leva.
- 184 E più un' charchasso vechio con due Frize dentro alla turchescha ·/·
- 185 E più una golade maglia vechia che viene sino al naso ·/·
- 186 E più due balestre senza lena ·/·
- 187 E più un archebuso parte Invernigato negro Fornito de Fiascho e Fiaschetto ·/·
- 188 E più quatro archi allo turchescho ·/·
- 189 E più un archo alla turchescha de Ferro.
- 190 E più dui bordoni da pelegrino coperti de corame lavorati con li suoi stochi dentro ·/·
- 191 E più una cassa depinta da tenir dentro arme Inastate ·/·
- 192 E più una cassa depinta Incarnato bianco e negro da tenere dentro arme ·/·
- 193 E più una Coreza da spada de veluto con li Fornimenti de Ferro adorato ·/·
- 194 E più un zirello de drappo alla turchescha Fatto a Fioroni ·/·
- 195 E più una tavola cum li suoi trespeti et uno tapeto sopra alla Damaschino vechio ·/·
- 196 E più un' Forciero vechio da campa.
- 197 E più un' Zirello da barbero de veluto verde e rosso cargo de tremolanti adorati con il crosolo sopra recamato — ·/·
- 198 E più un Zirello de raso bianco vechio da barbero cargo de tremolanti adorati ·/·
- 199 E più un pezo de maglia de lottone —
- 200 E più un pezo de maglia grossa ·/·
- 201 E più quatro leve da balestra ·/·
- 202 E più un Zirello de raso rosso vechio cargo di tremolanti adorati con la Impresa dll guanto sopra dill Zirello ·/·
- 203 E più una sopravista da cavallo alanticha vechia de veluto vechio verde con Frisi dintorno di tella d'oro carga de T. de tela de oro et de tremolanti adorati — ·/·
- 204 E più dui Zirelli vechij de veluti verdi da barbero cargo de tremolanti adorati ·/·
- 205 E più un Zirello vechio de damascho bianco da barbero.
- 206 E più cinque testere da barbero como li suoi morsi et sonaglii — ·/·
- 207 E più una testera da cavallo con tutto il collo de Ferro como il suo penachio — ·/·
- 208 E più sette Zupponi de velute de diverse sorte vechij da ragazzo da barbero — ·/·
- 209 E più dodici Cellate coperte de veluto vechio da ragazzo da barbero ·/·
- 210 E più un Forciero vechio da Campo con dentro bagalie da Conzar arme — ·/·
- 211 E più balastre n° sette Fatte a diverse Foggie ·/·

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- 182 A shield, *à l'antique*, of wood all gilt and [decorated] in relief with the devise of *the Tree Stump* in the middle, all in relief.
- 183 A crossbow furnished with its lever.
- 184 An old quiver containing 2 arrows of the Turkish fashion.
- 185 An old mail gorget which comes as high as the nose.
- 186 Two crossbows without cords.
- 187 An arquebus, partly varnished black, with its appurtenances of flask and touch box.
- 188 4 Turkish bows.
- 189 A Turkish bow of iron.
- 190 2 pilgrims' staves covered with tooled leather with their blades inside.
- 191 A painted box for holding hafted weapons.
- 192 A painted box, carmine white and black, for holding arms.
- 193 A sword-hanger of velvet with its furniture of gilt iron.
- 194 A cloth bard made in the Turkish manner with large floral design.
- 195 A table with its trestles and a cloth of old damask.
- 196 An old field trunk.
- 197 A trapper for a charger, covered with green and red velvet, hung with gilt pendants, embroidered with *the Crucible*.
- 198 A trapper for a charger of old white satin hung with gilt pendants.
- 199 A piece of mail of brass.
- 200 A piece of mail of large mesh.
- 201 4 levers for crossbows.
- 202 An old trapper of red satin hung with pendants with the badge of *the Glove* upon it.
- 203 An old horse caparison, *à l'antique*, of old green velvet with fringes of cloth of gold charged with *the T* of cloth of gold and gilt pendants.
- 204 2 old trappers of green velvet for chargers, hung with gilt pendants.
- 205 An old trapper of white damask for a charger.
- 206 5 chanfrons with their bits and bells.
- 207 A chanfron with iron neck-piece and plume.
- 208 7 old jupons of velvet of various sorts for squires.
- 209 12 sallets (*sic*) covered with old velvet for squires.
- 210 An old field trunk containing tools for repairing arms.
- 211 7 crossbows of various kinds.

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- 212 E piu un paro de Barde de Corame alanticha adorate vechie con sopra la sua sopravesta de veluto verde recamata d'oro con la Impresa dll crosolo ./.
- 213 E piu una Corazina coperta de raso cremosino con la sua chiodaria adorata qual era de la buona memoria dll Marchese Fedrico ./.
- 214 E piu un paro de barde da cavallo de coramo verde con una sopra vesta vechia de veluto verde e rosso e brocato de oro con tremolanti sopra adorati ./.
- 215 E piu un' paro di barde de Corame con la sopravesta sopra vechia de veluto verde e rosso et un altra de pano rotta como la Imprese dll Crosolo — ./.
- 216 E piu una Camisa granda de maglia gazarina anticha la qual era dll danese palladino ./.
- 217 E piu un paro de barde de Corame vechie adorate.
- 218 E piu un Zirello de raso rosso vechio cargo de tremolanti adorati ./.
- 219 E piu dui balzi da maschara de cendale turchino cargi de cordoncini de paglia e Fiochi — ./.
- 220 E piu un quadro de tella con la Impresa de modono depinta sopra ./.
- 221 E piu un paro de sopraveste da bande como il suo soglio de veluto turchino e negro recamati disopra . . . con tela de oro negra e turchina con la Impresa dll Monte Olimpo ./.
- 222 E piu una lettera ala anticha de legname lavorata de relevo adorata con la sua cariola como le Infrascritte robbe (viz.
- 223 E piu dui matarazi de pegnolato bertino vechij—pieni de lana et uno altro matarazo de pegnolato verde como un piumazo de pegnolato verde pieno di lana — ./.
- 224 E piu una coperta granda da letto vechio de veluto cremesino con la Impresa de le alle reportate sopra.
- 225 E piu una scimitara alla turchescha con suoj Fornimenti adorati con la sua cintura de veluta con li suoi Fornimenti de Ferro ./.
- 226 E piu un Forciero da campo ./.
- 227 E piu un giuppone de veluto turchino e negro da ragazzo da barbero recamata de tella de oro con la Impresa dll monte olimpo — ./.
- 228 E piu un' Zirello da cavallo de veluto verde vechio con tremolanti adorati et Imprese de le alle reportati sopra — ./.
- 229 E piu un Zirello vechio de raso giallo da cavallo.

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- 212 An old pair of bards<sup>1</sup> of leather, *à l'antique*, gilt, with its caparison of green velvet embroidered with gold with the device of *the Crucible*.
- 213 A brigandine covered with crimson satin with gilt nails, which belonged to the late lamented Marquess Federico.
- 214 A pair of bards<sup>1</sup> of green leather with an old caparison of green and red velvet and gold brocade with gilt pendants.
- 215 A pair of leather bards with old covering of green and red velvet and another of torn cloth with the device of *the Crucible*.
- 216 A large shirt of old jazerine mail which belonged to the Danish Palladin.<sup>2</sup>
- 217 A pair of old leather bards, gilt.
- 218 A trapper of old red satin charged with gilt pendants.
- 219 2 masking skirts of blue cendal, sewn with cordons of straw and tassels.
- 220 A picture on canvas painted with the device of Modena.
- 221 A pair of horse coverings for the field with its saddle of blue and black velvet, embroidered with cloth of gold, black and turquoise with the device of *Mount Olympus*.<sup>3</sup>
- 222 A bedstead of wood, *à l'antique*, carved in relief, gilt, with its truckle-bed,<sup>4</sup> together with the goods mentioned below.
- 223 Two old mattresses of wool and hemp stuffed with wool, and another mattress of green velvet, with an eiderdown of green velvet stuffed with wool.
- 224 A large old bed covering of crimson velvet with the device of *the Wings Displayed*.<sup>5</sup>
- 225 A Turkish scimitar with gilt mounts with the belt of velvet with iron fittings.
- 226 A field trunk.
- 227 A jupon of turquoise and black velvet for a squire covered with cloth of gold with the device of *Mount Olympus*.
- 228 An old horse trapper of green velvet with gilt pendants and the device of the *Wings Displayed*.
- 229 An old horse trapper of yellow satin.

<sup>1</sup> *Barde*, horse armour of iron or leather, as opposed to *Zirello*, *Sopravista* which represent trappers and housings of textile material. For a *Girello*, see Ursoni's drawing, Pl. xxviii A.

<sup>2</sup> cf. p. 254.

<sup>3</sup> The device of a mountain surmounted by a mausoleum with an

altar, crowned, was awarded by the Emperor Charles V in 1523 to Federico II Gonzaga for his brave defence of Pavia in 1522 against the French. Gelli, *Motti, divise*, no. 1214.

<sup>4</sup> A *carriola* or truckle-bed was a small bed which was wheeled underneath the large bed when not in use.

<sup>5</sup> Probably in reference to the arms of Gonzaga, see p. 245.

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- 230 E più un paro de redene da cavallo coperte de brocato d'oro — ·/·
- 231 E più un Forciero — ·/·
- 232 E più una coperta da sella alanticha de raso cremesino con una balzana Intorno de tremolanti de argento adorati — ·/·
- 233 E più una coperta da sella vechia de raso giallo con una balzana Intorno de raso cremesino carga de tremolanti adorati ·/·
- 234 E più una coperta da sella vechia de raso giallo.
- 235 E più una coperta da sella vechia de raso turchino.
- 236 E più un Fornimento da mulla grande cioe testera e False redene e petorali coperti de panno d'oro reportati sopra il veluto negro cargi de s. de ramo adorato con li suoi Fornimenti de ramo adorati — ·/·
- 237 E più un giuppone de raso bianco e tane da giostrare a demenino pieno de bombaci ·/·
- 238 E più una lunetta de maglia ·/·
- 239 E più bandiere dodice tra da Fanti e da cavalli Fatti a diverse Foggie e Imprese quali furno guadagnate da lo Ill<sup>mo</sup> s<sup>r</sup>. mo quando suo ex<sup>lta</sup> era alla guerra contra Francesi et veneti dll ano 1521, 1522, 1523, con le sue aste et ferri—acs. 43.
- 240 E più bandiere Diece da cavallo de cendale Fatte a diverse Foggie e Imprese cusi dil. s<sup>r</sup> Marchese Franc<sup>o</sup> Buona con le sue memoria come dll m<sup>o</sup>. Ill<sup>mo</sup> s<sup>r</sup>. con le sue aste adorate et suoi Ferri. 44.
- 241 E più un standardo grande de cendal dato da la s<sup>ta</sup> de bologna alla buon memoria dll s<sup>r</sup>. Marchese Ludovico nel tempo che Fu Fatto suo capitaneo generale con le Imprese de s<sup>co</sup> Petronio et altre imprese di bologna adorate.
- 242 E più un standardo grande de cendale dato da lo Ill<sup>mo</sup> B<sup>o</sup>. memoria Duca Franc<sup>o</sup> Sforza Duca di millano alla Bo. memoria dll Ill<sup>mo</sup> Marchese ludovico in quel tempo che fu fatto suo capitaneo gienerale con le Imprese sopra di esso Duca di millano a sua divisa.
- 243 E più dui standardi grandi de cendal' datte de la sen<sup>ia</sup> di Firenze alla Bo. memoria dll Marchese Fedrico escendo Fatto suo capitaneo gienerale in diversi ani con la sua Impresa sopra de li suprascritti s<sup>ta</sup> Fiorentinj adorate.
- 244 E più uno standardo grande dato alla buona memoria dil Marchese Federico dal Ill<sup>mo</sup> s<sup>r</sup>. Duca borso di ferrara in quel tempo che fu fatto capitaneo generale de la lega che fu in Ferrara contra venetiani — ·/·
- 245 E più un' standardo grande de cendal' cremesino qual' fu dato alla Bo. memoria dll. Ill<sup>mo</sup> s<sup>r</sup>. Franc<sup>o</sup>. Marchese de la

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- 230 A pair of horse-reins covered with gold brocade.
- 231 A trunk.
- 232 A saddle-cover, a *l'antique*, of crimson satin, with a valance round it charged with gilt pendants.
- 233 An old saddle-cover of yellow satin with a valance round it of crimson satin charged with gilt pendants.
- 234 An old saddle-cover of yellow satin.
- 235 An old saddle-cover of turquoise satin.
- 236 A large harness for a mule, viz., headstall, false reins and peytral covered with cloth of gold upon black velvet, charged with S.S. of copper gilt with their furniture of copper gilt.
- 237 A jupon of white and tawny satin for jousting for a boy padded with cotton wool.
- 238 A mail gusset.
- 239 12 banners of infantry and cavalry of various fashions with their devices captured by his lordship when he was at war against the French and the Venetians in 1521, 1522, and 1523, with their staves and iron heads.
- 240 10 cavalry banners of cendal of various fashions and devices of the late lamented Marquess Francesco and of the present Lord with their staves gilt, and their heads.
- 241 A large standard of cendal given by the Signory of Bologna to the late lamented Marquess Ludovico at the time that he was appointed Captain-General with the devices of *San Petronio* and other devices of Bologna in gold.
- 242 A large standard of cendal given by the late lamented Duke Francesco Sforza,<sup>1</sup> Duke of Milan, to the late lamented Marquess Lodovico at the time that he was appointed his Captain-General with the devices of the said Duke of Milan.
- 243 Two large standards of cendal given by the Signory of Florence to the late lamented Marquess Federico when he was made Captain-General in various years,<sup>2</sup> with the device of the aforesaid Signory of Florence in gold.
- 244 A large standard given to the late lamented Marquess Federico by the Duke Borso<sup>3</sup> of Ferrara at the time that he was made Captain-General of the league which was formed in Ferrara against the Venetians.
- 245 A large standard of crimson cendal which was given to the late Francesco, Marquess of Mantua, by the Signory of Venice,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan 1450-66.

<sup>2</sup> Federico I commanded the army of Lorenzo de'Medici in 1479.

<sup>3</sup> Borso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara (1413-71). This is probably an error, and may refer to his successor Ercole I, who was in alliance with Federico

I against the Venetians in 1482-4.

<sup>4</sup> Francesco was Captain-General for Venice in 1501 and was again in the service of the Republic when attacked by the League of Cambrai, on which occasion Francesco was imprisoned for a year after being defeated at Isola della Scala.

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- s<sup>ria</sup> di venetia quando fu creato suo capitaneo gienerale com uno san Marcho sopra tutto adorato da ogni banda con diverse arme et Imprese de sua Ex<sup>ta</sup> sopra ./.
- 246 E piu un standardo grande de cendale datto al supra scritto Bo memoria s<sup>r</sup>. Franc<sup>o</sup>. dal Ill<sup>mo</sup> s<sup>r</sup>. Duca Ludovico di millano quando fu fatto suo capitaneo gienerale con le arme e divise dll p<sup>to</sup> Duca sopra dorate et Inargentate ./.
- 247 E piu un standardo grande de cendale mandato alla Buo. mem<sup>a</sup>. dll p<sup>to</sup> s<sup>r</sup>. Franc<sup>o</sup>. da li s<sup>ti</sup> Firentini nel tempo che fu creato suo capitaneo gienerale con li arme et Imprese sopra de Firenza adorate et Inargentate ./.
- 248 E piu un standardo grande datto alla buona m<sup>a</sup>. dll Ill<sup>mo</sup> Marchese Franc<sup>o</sup>. dal sereniss<sup>o</sup>. Imperator Maximijiano nel tempo che fu creato suo capitaneo gienerale con arme et Imprese sopra di sua M<sup>a</sup> adorata et Inargentate — ./.
- 249 E piu dui standardi grandi de cendal cremesina datti al p<sup>to</sup> s<sup>r</sup>. Franc<sup>o</sup> Marchese de la santita di Papa Julio nel tempo che Fu creato suo capitaneo gienerale uno de santa Romana eccl[es]ia et uno de sua santita con le arme et le chiave e il tri regno papale sopra tutti adorati et Inargentati con li suoi cordoni et Fiechi grandi de oro et seda cremesino ./.
- 250 E piu un standardo grande de cendal datto al pto sr Franc<sup>o</sup>. dal sereniss<sup>o</sup> Rel Lud<sup>co</sup> de Francia nel tempo che fu creato suo capitaneo gienerale con s<sup>to</sup> Michele sopra et Impresa dll porchio spino Impresa di sua M<sup>a</sup> adorato et Inargentato ./.
- 251 E piu un standardo grande di cendale cremesino man<sup>to</sup> al p<sup>to</sup> s<sup>r</sup>. Franc<sup>o</sup> de la santita de Papa Julio—quando lo creo confalonero gienerale de santa Romana eccl[es]ia con le sue chiave sopra da ogni banda com lombrello et arme de sua santita tutto seminato de giande adorate con li suoi cordonj grandi et Fiochi de seda cremesina et oro ./.
- 252 E piu un standardo grande de cendale cremesino mandato in compagnia dll suprascritto standardo dalla santita de Papa Julio al. Ill<sup>mo</sup> Bo. mem<sup>a</sup>. s. Franc<sup>o</sup>. quando li creo confaloniero con le arme de la rovere sopra et le chiave et il regno papale adorate et Inargentate ./.
- 253 E piu due standardi grandi de cendal cremosino man<sup>ti</sup> d' Ill<sup>mo</sup> s<sup>r</sup> De la santita de Papa Leone al tempo che fu creato suo capitaneo gienerale. alla guerra di Parma contra Francesi uno con le chiave de santa romana Ecclia e lombrella da

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- when he was appointed its Captain-General with a *Saint Mark*, gilt on both sides with various arms and devices of his excellency.
- 246 A large standard of cendal given to the aforementioned the late Duke Francesco by the Duke Lodovico<sup>1</sup> of Milan, when he was made his Captain-General with the arms and devices of the aforesaid Duke in gold and silver.
- 247 A large standard of cendal sent to the late Lord Francesco by the citizens of Florence at the time that he was made their Captain-General with their arms and devices of Florence in gold and silver.
- 248 A large standard given to the Marquess Francesco by his Serene Highness the Emperor Maximilian<sup>2</sup> at the time that he was made his Captain-General with the arms and devices of His Majesty in gold and silver.
- 249 Two large standards of crimson cendal given to Francesco, Marquess of Mantua, by his Holiness the Pope Julius<sup>3</sup> at the time that he was appointed his Captain-General, one being that of the Holy See, and the other that of his Holiness, with the arms and keys and the Papal Tiara, all in gold and silver, with their cords and large tassels of gold and crimson silk.
- 250 A large standard of cendal given to Lord Francesco by his Highness King Louis of France<sup>4</sup> at the time that he was appointed Captain-General with St. Michael and the king's badge of *the Porcupine* in gold and silver.
- 251 A large standard of crimson cendal sent to Lord Francesco by his Holiness Pope Julius when he created him gonfalonier-general of the Holy See with *the Keys* on both sides and *the Umbrella* and the arms of his Holiness all sewn with *Acorns* in gold, with its great cords and tassels of crimson silk and gold.
- 252 A large standard of crimson cendal sent together with the above-mentioned standard of his Holiness Pope Julius to the late Lord Francesco, when he was created gonfalonier with the arms of della Rovere and the keys and device of the Papal States in gold and silver.
- 253 Two large standards of crimson cendal sent to his lordship by his Holiness Pope Leo<sup>5</sup> at the time that he was appointed Captain-General in the war of Parma against the French, one with the keys of the Holy Roman Church and the

<sup>1</sup> Possibly at the time of the League of Milan, Venice and the Pope against Charles VIII of France in 1495. Lodovico Sforza, *il Moro*, was deposed by the French in 1499.

<sup>2</sup> This was in 1497.

<sup>3</sup> Pope Julius II (della Rovere) whose troops Francesco commanded

in the campaign against Bologna in 1506.

<sup>4</sup> In 1503, but Francesco was so disgusted with the pride and indiscipline of the French that he laid down his baton on the Garigliano and returned to Mantua.

<sup>5</sup> Pope Leo X (de'Medici). Federico II acted as captain-general of his forces in 1521.

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- ogni banda con le Imprese de sua santita laltro con le arme de sua santita de la casa de medici con le sue chiave et il regno papale da ogni banda tutti adorati et Inargentati con le Imprese de sua santita con suoi cordoni et Fiochi grossi de oro Filato et seda cremesina — ./.
- 254 E piu un standardo grande de cendal mandato al p<sup>o</sup> Ill<sup>mo</sup> s<sup>r</sup> mo da gli s<sup>ri</sup> Fiorentini nel tempo che fu fatto suo capitaneo gienerale insieme con la santita de Papa adriano con le arme sopra di Firenze adorate et inargentata — ./.
- 255 E piu dui standardi grandi de cendal cremesino man<sup>o</sup> al Ill<sup>mo</sup> s<sup>r</sup> mo de la santita de Papa Clemente quando fu creato suo capitaneo gienerale uno con le arme de Santa Romana Ecclia laltro con le arme de sua santita de la casa de medici tutto adorato et Inargentato con li Imprese de sua santita con li cordoni et Fiochi d'oro e seda cremesina ./.
- 256 E piu un' standardo grande de cendal vechio fatto far' qui a mant/a da la buona mem<sup>a</sup> dll Marchese Lud<sup>o</sup> con le Imprese dll sole adorato et Inargentato.
- 257 E piu un' standardo grande de cendal fatto fare da la buona memoria dil marchese Franc<sup>o</sup> qui a Mant/a con le arme de le quatro aquile ./.
- 258 E piu un Zirello vechio de raso Bianco da Barbero cargo de tremolanti adorati ./.
- 259 E piu quatro Zirelli di veluto verde da Barbero cargi de tremolanti adorati con le Imprese de la cervetta sopra recamati.
- 260 E piu dui giupponi di veluto verde da ragazzo da Barbero cargi de tremolanti adorati ./.
- 261 E piu tre bandiere da caval legiero de cendal vechio rotti con diverse Imprese guadagnoti alla guerra contra Francesi per lo Ill<sup>mo</sup> s<sup>r</sup> mo con le sue aste et ferri ./.
- 262 E piu un' paro de staphoni di giostra antichi con certi tronchoni sopra de ottone adorata ./.
- 263 E piu un' soprapetto da corazo vechio ./.
- 264 E piu lanze grosse da homo darne no. nove con li suoi ferri ./.
- 265 E piu un corno grande rotto qual'era dll danese palladino ./.
- 266 E piu Ferri no. trentatrei da lanza de diverse sorte.
- 267 E piu una lama da spada rugienta.
- 268 E piu un' stocho al anticha vechio con fornimenti di ferro ./.
- 269 E piu un' stocho simile ./.
- 270 E piu una sachetta vechia piena de ferri da passadori da balestra ./.
- 271 E piu una quantita de bolzoni da balestra ferrati — ./.

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- umbrella on both sides with the devices of his Holiness, the other with the arms of his Holiness of the House of Medici with the keys and the [device] of the Papal States on both sides all in gold and silver with the devices of his Holiness with their cords and large tassels of gold thread and crimson silk.
- 254 A large standard of cendal sent to his lordship by the Florentines at the time that he was made Captain-General together with his Holiness Pope Adrian<sup>1</sup> with the arms of Florence in gold and silver.
- 255 Two large standards of crimson silk sent to his lordship by his Holiness, Pope Clement,<sup>2</sup> when he was made his Captain-General with the arms of the Holy Roman Church, the other with the arms of his Holiness of the House of Medici, all in gold and silver with the devices of his Holiness with the cords and tassels of gold and crimson silk.
- 256 A large old standard of cendal made here to the order of Mantua by the late Marquess Lodovico with the device of the *Sun*<sup>3</sup> in gold and silver.
- 257 A large standard of cendal made to the order of the late Marquess Francesco here at Mantua with the arms of the *Four Eagles*.<sup>4</sup>
- 258 An old trapper of white satin for a charger, hung with gilt pendants.
- 259 4 trappers of green velvet for chargers, hung with gilt pendants embroidered with the device of the *Hind*.<sup>5</sup>
- 260 2 jupons of green velvet for squires, hung with gilt pendants.
- 261 3 decayed light horsemen's banners of old cendal with various devices, captured in the war against the French by his lordship with their staves and iron points.
- 262 A pair of stirrups for jousting, *à l'antique*, decorated with a number of *Tree Stumps*<sup>6</sup> above of gilt brass.
- 263 An old reinforcing breast for a cuirass.
- 264 9 large lances for men-at-arms with their heads.
- 265 A large decayed horn which belonged to the Danish Paladin.<sup>7</sup>
- 266 33 lance-heads of different kinds.
- 267 A rusty sword-blade.
- 268 An old estoc, *à l'antique*, with iron mounts.
- 269 A similar estoc.
- 270 An old sack, full of heads of crossbow bolts.
- 271 A quantity of crossbow bolts complete with their heads.

<sup>1</sup> Pope Adrian VI (Dedel), 1522-3, in the latter year formed an alliance of the Empire, England and Venice against the King of France.

<sup>2</sup> Pope Clement VII (de' Medici) 1523-34

<sup>3</sup> Compare the reverse of his medal cast by Pisanello, Pl. xiii and the cinquedeia Pl. iv.

<sup>4</sup> The arms of Gonzaga as granted by the Emperor Sigismund in 1434 were a cross engrailed gules, between four eagles displayed sable.

<sup>5</sup> cf. p. 245 and Pl. iv.

<sup>6</sup> cf. No. 182 *supra*.

<sup>7</sup> cf. p. 254, etc.

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- 272 E più una quantita de bolzoni da balestra astati et ferrati — ·/·
- 273 E più bonzole (*sic*) no. undici depinte ·/·
- 274 E più un candelero de ferro da torza ·/·
- 275 E più un forciero da campo ferrato ·/·
- 276 E più una quantita da speroni larghi vechij al anticha.
- 277 E più una quantita de frizze alla turchescha.
- 278 E più uno para de cavedoni de ferro da fuago ·/·
- 279 E più ne larmeria seconda petti da corsaletto n° cento e sosanta uno da monitione.
- 280 E più corsaletti da monitione da sorte n° dusento e trenta-sette ·/·
- 281 E più cellate con li barbotti da sorte da monitione n° dusento e sesantodua.
- 282 E più meze teste da sorte da monitione n° sesantatre.
- 283 E più brazali alla stradiotta da sorte et da monitione para n° cento e novantauno ·/·
- 284 E più manopole alla todescha larghi tre deta de ferro da sorte e da monitione no cento quaranta trej.
- 285 E più balestre da bancha no cinque ·/·
- 286 E più balestre de più sorte n° conto cinquantauna parte con le leve et parte non ·/·
- 287 E più schioppi di Bronzo n°. undici ·/·
- 288 E più lanze da cavallo leggiero n°. centa vintidua parte con ferri et parte senza ferri vechie et maza ·/·
- 289 E più una Fogara granda da carbone ·/·
- 290 E più un' paro de Forcieri vechi da campo ·/·
- 291 E più una credenza vechia piccola ·/·
- 292 E più quatro carchassi da balestra computa un' piccolo da arco con certe Frize dentro ·/·
- 293 E più Donzene n°. nove de bolzoni da balestra con li suoi Ferri astati ·/·
- 294 E più un Fazolono astato ·/·
- 295 E più uno paro de lunette di maglia todescha donate per il cavaleiro Thomaso di Cardi ·/·
- 296 E più una cellata alla Borgognona adorata e designata a torno atorno a scalie con due vesere una sop<sup>a</sup>. l'altra cioe una a Friada e l'altra aguza qual fu donata al s<sup>r</sup>. Duca per il cugnato de pirino marascalchi ·/·
- 297 E più una gola de maglia garzarina qual Dono il S<sup>r</sup> Duca di Baviera ·/·
- 298 E più due targhe alla spagnola de corne bianche.
- 299 E più dui girelli da barbero de veluto negro e turchino et due brilie con le redene et sonaglii di ottone con le morse consignati per mg Hipp<sup>to</sup> calandra et dui giupponi alla detta Foggia Fornito ogni cosa de Franze et Fiochi et due cellate coperte de velute et oro et seta con le arme ducale et li monti recamati — ·/·

- A.D. 1542
- 272 A quantity of crossbow bolts complete with shafts and heads.  
273 11 painted crossbow bolts.  
274 An iron torch-holder.  
275 A field trunk bound with iron.  
276 A quantity of old large spurs *à l'antique*.  
277 A quantity of Turkish arrows.  
278 A pair of iron fire-dogs.  
279 In the second armoury 161 breasts of munition corselets.
- 280 237 munition corselets.
- 281 262 munition sallets (burgonets) with their chin-pieces  
(bevers or gorgets).  
282 63 munition half head-pieces of various kinds.  
283 191 munition arm-pieces of Stradiot type.
- 284 143 gauntlets, three-fingers wide, of the German fashion, made  
of different sorts of iron and also of munition quality.  
285 5 wall-crossbows.  
286 151 further crossbows with their levers and parts.
- 287 11 bronze guns.  
288 122 light cavalry lances, some with their heads and some  
without heads, old, and staves.  
289 A large cauldron of coal.  
290 A pair of old field strong boxes.  
291 A small old credence.  
292 4 crossbow quivers, together with a small quiver for a long bow  
and a few arrows.  
293 9 dozen crossbow bolts complete with their heads.
- 294 A glaive complete.  
295 A pair of gussets of German mail given by the cavalier Tomaso  
di Cardi.  
296 A burgonet gilt and engraved in parts with scales and 2 visors  
one above the other, one of which is flat and the other  
pointed, which was given to the Duke by the brother-in-law  
of Pierino Mareschalchi.  
297 A gorget of jazerine mail given by the Duke of Bavaria.
- 298 2 Spanish targets of white leather.  
299 2 trappers for chargers of black and turquoise velvet and  
2 bridles with reins and bells of brass with their bits sent by  
master Hippolito Calandra and 2 jupons (? trappers) of the  
same fashion furnished with all kinds of fringes and tassels  
and 2 sallets covered with velvet and gold and silk em-  
broidered with the ducal arms and [device of ?] the mounts.

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- 300 E più un armatura da cavallo leggiero com brazalli et cellata alla Borgognona guanti con li gienochietj designati et adorati de oro masinato qual porto el cugnato de pirino trombetta.
- 301 E più uno paro di guanti di maglia garzarina ./.
- 302 E più due meze peche e uno Fazolino consignati per mg Julio de la camara.
- 303 E più due bandiere da cavallo leggiero de cendale alla divisa con la Impresa de santa caterina.
- 304 E più un spadon da due mane adorato donato al Ill<sup>mo</sup> s<sup>r</sup>. Ducca mo per li mercanti de Mant/a al p<sup>mo</sup> di Zenaro 1535 ./· acs. 59.
- 305 E più un spado a una Foggia che se desnoda e fa spada da due mane che altre volte dono il s<sup>r</sup>. Duca de Urbino al s<sup>r</sup>. n<sup>ro</sup>.
- 306 E più due armature bianche da armar' dui cani.
- 307 E più dui cocodrilli grandi ./·
- 308 E più uno paro de staphe da giostra lavorate che non sono pare ./·
- 309 E più quatro ferri da piche con le orecchie longhe.
- 310 E più nove ferri da lanze tra grande e piccole.
- 311 E più sette ferri da Zagalie de spagna schietj.
- 312 E più un calzo de ferro da nasta lavorato alla marescha.
- 313 E più tre ferri da lancia longhi lavorati alla damaschina et adorati ./·
- 314 E più due rodelle grande de ferro con li palmi intorno et tortioni e groppi fatti per mg caremolo.
- 315 E più un anello da meter al collo con li ponti dentro el qual dono il sindaco de Mant/a al s<sup>r</sup>. Duca.
- 316 E più uno spadono da due mane adorato donato al Ill<sup>m</sup>. s<sup>r</sup> n<sup>ro</sup> li mercanti de Mant/a ./·
- 317 E più uno spadon simile donato per li suprascritti.
- 318 E più uno spadono da due mane fornito de argento elzo e pomo manicho e fodro tutto de relevo adorato donato per li mercanti de mant/a dll ano. 1538.
- 319 E più uno spadono da due mane fornito de argento de relevo elzo pomo e manicho et fodro donato per li suprascritti lano 1539.
- 320 E più un collo e un petto da cavallo de maglia fatto in una camisa de maglia garzarina qual non era posta in aventorio qual' fu fatto per mg galiazo napolitano qual combatete a gazolo.
- 321 E più uno arnese et una schenera dritta di ferro et una manopola stanca de ferro et una spada donata per il suprascritto mg. galiazo ./·
- 322 E più una spada mancina et dui pugnaletti donati per mg. raphaello da Padua ./·
- 323 E più uno paro de calce de maglia et uno paro de lunette et uno paro de guanti et un capucino de maglia tutta garzarina ./·

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- 300 A light horseman's armour with arms and burgonet, gauntlets, with the knee-caps etched and gilt with ground gold which was worn by the brother-in-law of Pirino the trumpeter.
- 301 A pair of gauntlets of jazerine mail.
- 302 2 half pikes and a bean (*sic*)<sup>1</sup> sent to master Julio from the household.
- 303 2 banners of cendal of light horsemen with the device of St. Catherine.
- 304 A two-hand sword, gilt, given to the Duke by the merchants of Mantua on the 1st January, 1535. Enc. 59.
- 305 A sword of the kind which opens out and makes a two-hand sword, which was once the gift of the Duke of Urbino to his Lordship.
- 306 2 white armours for dogs.
- 307 2 large crocodiles.
- 308 A pair of jousting stirrups, chased, but which are not a pair.
- 309 4 pike heads with long langets.
- 310 9 lance heads, both large and small.
- 311 6 plain heads of Spanish javelins.
- 312 An iron socket of a haft chased in the Moorish fashion.
- 313 3 long lance heads damascened and gilt.
- 314 2 large targets of iron surrounded with palm leaf decoration and scrolls and swags made by Master Caremolo [Modrone].<sup>2</sup>
- 315 A collar for the neck with spikes on it which was given to the Duke by the mayor of Mantua.
- 316 A two-hand sword, gilt, given to his Lordship by the merchants of Mantua.
- 317 A similar two-hand sword given by the same.
- 318 A two-hand sword mounted with silver quillons, pommel and grip and the scabbard all chased in relief gilt, given by the merchants of Mantua in the year 1538.
- 319 A two-hand sword with the quillons, pommel and grip of silver chased in relief and scabbard given by the aforesaid in 1539.
- 320 A collar and a peytral of mail for a horse, made in one shirt of jazerine mail which was not put in the inventory, made for Lord Galeazzo of Naples who fought at Gazzolo.
- 321 An armour and a greave for the right leg of iron and a gauntlet of iron for the left hand and a sword presented by the above-mentioned Lord Galeazzo.
- 322 A left-hand sword and 2 daggers given to Monsignor Raffaello of Padua.
- 323 A pair of mail stockings and a pair of gussets and a pair of gloves and a hood of mail, all of jazerine.

<sup>1</sup> *Fazolino*, some kind of hafted weapon, cf. no. 326 *infra* and no. 194 in the 1604 Inventory.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 243.

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- 324 E più una gola de maglia soprascritta grande.
- 325 E più dui brazali integri stanchi con le manopole integre con una punta dentro per mane con due cellate tonde con una punta in fronti et due maniche de maglia con le lunette et dui guanti de maglia dritti ./.
- 326 E più sei Fazolini fatte in Foggia de spedi da caccia inhastati messi suso larmaria adi 5 nobro. 1539.
- 327 E più dui stochi da caccia tandi fatti alla foggia de quelli de la maesta cesarea ./.
- 328 E più una armatura alla legiera fornita fatta per lo Ill<sup>mo</sup> s<sup>r</sup>. n<sup>ro</sup> lano 1540.
- 329 E più un capello de ferro coperto de veluto negro com una pena negra qual era de la felice memoria dil s<sup>r</sup>. Fedrico Duca de mant/a consignata per mg. Marcello dopoi la morte de suoi Ex<sup>ta</sup>.
- 330 E più lame quatro da spadi senza fornimento portate per un' maestro da verona.
- 331 E più lame sei nude da bologna.
- 332 E più lame undiada spada nuda fatta a bissa.
- 333 E più lame decisetete da schiavona de verij maestri.
- 334 E più un' arma da caccia in foggia de stocho.
- 335 E più lame trei da daghette nude n<sup>o</sup>. trei computa una torta ./.
- 336 E più lame quatordice da pugnali nude tra grandi e piccoli et uno dagoncello nudo ./.
- 337 E più dece lame da zagalia nude alla morescha.
- 338 E più lame disdotto da Zagalia nude curte largette et un'altra da picha ./.
- 339 E più lame due da Zagalia con le orecchie ./.
- 340 E più lame sei da Zagalia retorte con la cana et due tonde più longhette ./.
- 341 E più lame una da Zagalia curta adorata et un'altra lavorata a azimina ./.
- 342 E più un' pugnale alla bolognesa lavorato al' azimina senza fodro —
- 343 E più una maza lavorata a nielata anellata adorata con uno calamaro dentro ./.
- 344 E più un' manarino da cavallo legiero —
- 345 E più uno spadono da due mane negro.
- 346 E più un archo alla morescha con fodro de pano.
- 347 E più uno archo alla morescha con fodro de pano verde con il suo carcasso con strali vigintiquattro con pano disopra per guaina.
- 348 E più dui archibusi boemi forniti con fodro de corame col la fiascha coperta de veluto morello et tre Forme de ferro con quatro mesure in una borsa.
- 349 E più un' carcasso di corame frigiato d'oro con dentro dodice bolzoni con passatori piccoli de legero beliss<sup>mi</sup> di più collori — ./.

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- 324 A large gorget of the above-mentioned mail.
- 325 2 complete left arms with the complete gauntlets with a spike fixed in the hands,<sup>1</sup> and 2 round sallets with a spike in front, and 2 sleeves of mail with their gussets and 2 gloves of mail for the right hand.
- 326 6 'beans'<sup>2</sup> made in the manner of hunting spears mounted, put in the armoury, 5th (?) October, 1539.
- 327 2 hunting estocs, of round section, made in the manner of those of his Imperial Majesty.
- 328 A light armour, furnished, made for his Lordship in the year 1540.
- 329 An iron hat covered with black velvet with a black feather, which belonged to the late Lord Federico, Duke of Mantua, sent by Monsignor Marcello after the death of his lordship.
- 330 4 sword blades without hilts, brought by a bladesmith from Verona.
- 331 6 naked blades from Bologna.
- 332 11 wavy sword blades, naked.
- 333 17 Schiavona blades of various makers.
- 334 A hunting sword of estoc type.
- 335 3 naked dagger blades, one is a curved one.
- 336 14 naked dagger blades, both large and small, and a small naked dagger.
- 337 10 blades of javelins of Moorish type.
- 338 18 naked blades belonging to javelins, short and large, and another from a pike.
- 339 2 javelin blades with ears.
- 340 6 curved javelin blades with their hafts and two round ones longer.
- 341 A short javelin blade, gilt, and another damascened.
- 342 A dagger of Bolognese fashion, damascened, without sheath.
- 343 A mace with enamelled and gilt rings round it, with an ink-stand inside.
- 344 A small axe (? martel-de-fer) for a light horseman.
- 345 A black two-hand sword.
- 346 A Moorish bow with cloth cover.
- 347 A Moorish bow with cover of green cloth, with its quiver with 24 arrows with cloth over them as a sheath.
- 348 2 Bohemian arquebuses, furnished with leather cover with its powder flask covered in plum-coloured velvet and three iron moulds, together with four powder-measures in a wallet.
- 349 A quiver of leather wrought with gold, and inside it 12 bolts with small, light arrows of many beautiful colours.

<sup>1</sup> Possibly resembling the Indian gauntlet-sword (khatar).<sup>2</sup> cf. No. 302.

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- 350 E piu un carchosso de cerame negro con bolzoni da posta de bello legno bianco n°. undice con le sue vere de ferro — ./.
- 351 E piu un carcasso simillo aperto con bolzoni da posta de legno da qua con penelli di latta n°. nove.
- 352 E piu un' carcasso piccolo con diece bolzoni dentro.
- 353 E piu quattro balestre alla Francesca con suoi Fornimenti cioe leve corde et fodre de corame et un altra balestra senza martinetto et senza fedro —
- 354 E piu un' mazo de Fricie alla turchescha con ferri aguzzi no° quaranta due ./.
- 355 E piu un' macio de passatori piccoli con ferri vintiotto.
- 356 E piu un macio de bolzoni da aqua con le orecchie di ferro n°. cinquantaquattro ./.
- 357 E piu una schiavona vechia senza fodro con forn<sup>te</sup> sei deghen alla boema nudi ruginenti uno piu longo de laltro in un fodro.
- 358 E piu nove lame da stocho retrati senza Fornimenti.
- 359 E piu dui stocho vechij ruginenti con fornimenti.
- 360 E piu una frantupina ruginenta senza fodro con fornimenti ./.
- 361 E piu dui dagetti lunghi alla polacha senza Forn<sup>ti</sup>.
- 362 E piu due simitare vechie senza Fornimenti con fodro de corame — ./.
- 363 E piu due simitar curte nude una con punta e laltro sfalzata — ./.
- 364 E piu una scimitara vechia alla turchescha con fodro negro di corame senza pontale —
- 365 E piu due dagette alla boema con fornimenti negri et fodri negri de corame uno tra dui cortelli et li spontoni — ./.
- 366 E piu uno pugnaletto longo al'antica con manicho de somdalo et avolio con vera e pontalo adorato.
- 367 E piu una rodella lavorata con oro coperta de corame morello ./.
- 368 E piu due balle de colubrina de ferro ./.
- 369 E piu tre Zagalie con aste da cavallo.
- 370 E piu un' paro di guanti de Maglia con li nodi de ferro.
- 371 E piu un Zacho de maglia qual era in due borse de tella.
- 372 E piu dui pomi da spada con Fornimenti da schiavina et un altro pomo di ottone ./.
- 373 E piu un girello de raso cremesino da cavallo con Fiochi d'oro et Franze dintorno de oro Fodrato de cendal turchino.
- 374 E piu un girello alla morescha vechio fodrato de tella.
- 375 E piu un' soglia con sopravesta de sano negro alistato e orlato de brocato d'oro falso da cavallo da giostra qual fu fanto in Francia quanto sua ecc<sup>a</sup> giostrete ./.
- 376 E piu trei terette belle con sue borse de corame rosso.
- 377 E piu due bandirole de cendale negro depinte con larme de la buona memoria dil monte [olimpo ?] et una ha un ferro frusto adorato — ./.

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- 350 A quiver of black leather with bolts of fine white wood, 11 of them with their iron heads (*lit.* rings).
- 351 A similar quiver, open, with wooden bolts inside, 9 of them with streamers of tow.
- 352 A small quiver with 10 bolts in it.
- 353 4 French crossbows with their furniture, that is to say, their spanners and cover of leather, and another crossbow without crannequin and without a cover.
- 354 A bundle of arrows of Turkish fashion, with pointed iron heads to the number of 42.
- 355 A bundle of small arrows with 28 arrow-heads.
- 356 A bundle of water bolts (? for duck shooting) with iron ears to the number of 54.
- 357 An old schiavona, without its scabbard, with hilt, 6 swords of Bohemian fashion, naked and rusty, one longer than the other in a sheath.
- 358 9 blades of estocs without their furniture.
- 359 2 old rusty estocs with their furniture.
- 360 A rusty sword without scabbard, with furniture.
- 361 2 long daggers of Polish fashion, without furniture.
- 362 2 old scimitars without their furniture, with leather scabbards.
- 363 2 short scimitars, naked, one with its point, and the other blunt.
- 364 An old Turkish scimitar with scabbard of black leather, without its point (? chape).
- 365 2 daggers of Bohemian fashion, with black furniture and black scabbards, one of them includes two small knives and prickers.
- 366 A long dagger *à l'antique*, with hilt of sandalwood and ivory, with locket and chape gilt.
- 367 A buckler enriched with gold, covered with dark brown leather.
- 368 2 culverin balls of iron.
- 369 3 javelins with their hafts for mounted men (or with lance-shafts ?).
- 370 A pair of mail gloves with knuckles of iron.
- 371 A jack of mail which was in 2 cloth bags.
- 372 2 sword pommels with the mounts of a schiavona and another pommel of brass.
- 373 A horse trapper of crimson satin with tassels and fringes round it of gold, lined with blue cendal.
- 374 An old trapper of Moorish fashion lined with cloth.
- 375 A saddle and caparison of black silk striped and bordered with imitation gold brocade for the joust which was made in France when his Excellency jousted.
- 376 3 fine terets with their bags of red leather.
- 377 2 banners of black cendal painted with the arms of his late Lordship and the *Mount Olympus*, and one has its iron head gilt.

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- 378 E più trei archi alla turchescha lavorati et adorati.
- 379 E più un carcasso negro coperto de cerame con novi passatori imbrunitj ·/·
- 380 E più un altro carcasso con dentro diceotto passatori vechij ·/·
- 381 E più un carcasso adorato bello con dece bolzoni ferrati dentro ·/·
- 382 E più dui carcassi vodi un rosso et un negro.
- 383 E più un carcasso coperto de montanina bianca con dentro undice passatori vechij —
- 384 E più un' carcasso alla turchescha coperto de corame rosso con quindicie Fricie dentro da arco — ·/·
- 385 E più un tenero da balestra da balotte ·/·
- 386 E più un' carcasso de corame negro con Fricie de arco con suoi ferri. n°. vinticinqz.
- 387 E più una rudella da imbradzadura vechia.
- 388 E più dui martinetti al' antica alla Francesa de balestra ·/·
- 389 E più una leva da balestra vechia ·/·
- 390 E più una concha scudelara per una rodella.
- 391 E più un tampeno vechio ·/·
- 392 E più una spada fornita col fodro de cerame negro con fornimenti Invernigati ·/·
- 393 E più una schiavona fornita como il fodro di veluto negro con le fornimenti inargentati con il cortello e spontono ·/·
- 394 E più una scimitara lavorata adorata il fornimento et il fodro fornita alla turchescha con il cordono d'oro et seda negra atachata al manicho.
- 395 E più una scimitara curta col fornimento de argento col fodro de sagra negro con un' cinturono de corame col fornimento de argento — ·/·
- 396 E più una cortella alla damaschina longa un braccio lavorada la lama col manicho de avolio col fodro de sagra negro fornita tutta de argento como un' cordono rosso de seda ·/·
- 397 E più una spada fornita de negro col fodro de bruna col cortello ·/·
- 398 E più una spada fornita de negro col fodro de bruna col cortello ·/·
- 399 E più una spada col fornimente adorato de oro batuto col fodro de' velute negro col suo cortello simile et la cintura de tesuto de seda negra col fornimento simile a quello de la spada d'oro ·/·
- 400 E più una spada lavorada un' puocho la lama del spagnolo col fornimento lavorato al azimina a fogliami con oro col suo cortello ·/·
- 401 E più una cintura di tesuto negro col fornimento a detta foggia.
- 402 E più una spada col fornimento tondetto adorato lavorato al' azimina a fiori con fogliami col cortello lavorato a detta foggia ·/·

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- 378 3 Turkish bows, worked and gilt.  
379 A black quiver covered with leather, with 9 black arrows.
- 380 Another quiver with 18 old arrows in it.  
381 A fine gilt quiver with 10 bolts with their heads inside it.
- 382 2 empty quivers, 1 red and 1 black.  
383 A quiver covered with white goat's leather with 11 old arrows inside.  
384 A Turkish quiver covered with red velvet with 15 arrows inside.
- 385 A tiller of a stone-bow (prodd).  
386 A quiver of black leather with arrows with their iron heads to the number of 25.  
387 An old buckler.  
388 2 crossbow crannequins, *à l'antique*, of the French style.  
389 An old crossbow spanner.  
390 A boss (?) for a buckler.  
391 An old kettle-drum.  
392 A sword furnished with scabbard of black leather with varnished mounts.  
393 A schiavona furnished with scabbard of black velvet with the mounts silvered with its knife and pricker.  
394 A scimitar chased and gilt, with its furniture and scabbard, mounted in the Turkish fashion with its cord of gold and black silk attached to the hilt.  
395 A short scimitar with silver hilt (furniture) with scabbard of black shagreen, with a belt of leather with silver mounts.
- 396 A damascened knife, the enriched blade an arm long, with a handle hilt of ivory with scabbard of black shagreen with mounts all of silver with a cord of red silk.  
397 A sword with black furniture hilt with a dark coloured scabbard accompanied with knife.  
398 A sword with black furniture with dark-coloured scabbard accompanied with its knife.  
399 A sword with its furniture gilded with beaten gold with scabbard of black velvet accompanied by its knife to match, and the belt of black silk tissue with mounts gilt like the sword.
- 400 A sword, with a little of the blade chased, of the Spanish fashion, with the hilt damascened with leaves of gold with its knife.  
401 A belt of black tissue with mounts of the above-mentioned fashion.  
402 A sword with round (? basket) hilt, damascened and gilt with floral designs with its knife of the same fashion.

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- 403 E più una spada adorata col fodro di veluto negro col pomo quadro col cortello e spontone ·/·
- 404 E più una schiavoncella col fodro di veluto negro col fornimento retorto adorato col cortello ·/·
- 405 E più una spada da una mane e megia col fodro de veluto negro — ·/·
- 406 E più una dagetta incanata la lama col spigolo alto col fornimento con oro suso batuto con fodro de veluto negro com elcio e pontali ·/·
- 407 E più un pugnale alla spagnola lavorata la lama senza oro ne argento col fodro de veluto negro ·/·
- 408 E più uno bizacho alla turchescha lavorato al'antica col manicho de avolio col fodro de sagrie negro vecchio ·/·
- 409 E più due berette de ferro coperte di veluto negro.
- 410 E più un' spedo da caccia qual fu dato a mg Marcello de la camara e poi fu ritornato in larmaria come apar in spesa in L°. Monte de ditta armaria—acs. 72.
- 411 E più un spadon da due mane de argento batuto cioe elzi pomo e manicho e fodro donato per li mercanti de Mant/a lano 1540—acs. 65.
- 412 E più un spedo da forbici con asta negra—acs. 72.
- 413 E più un' spadon da due mane fornito de argento con fodro elzi et pomo e manicho dorato per li mercanti lano 1541—acs. 78.
- 414 A più un' spadon da due mane fornito de argento con fodro elzi et pomo e manicho donato per li supra scritte Mercanti lano 1542. 79.
- 415 E più una spada qual era de mg. Carlo bologna con li fornimenti adorati rugienenta e uno paro de scarpe de maglia rugiente.

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- 403 A sword, gilt, with scabbard of black velvet with a square pommel with its knife and pricker.
- 404 A small schiavona with scabbard of black velvet with curved hilt gilt, with its knife.
- 405 A sword of a hand and a half with scabbard of black velvet.
- 406 A sword, the grooved blade with a high ridge, with furniture of beaten gold with scabbard of black velvet with quillons and chapes.
- 407 A dagger of Spanish fashion, the blade chased without gold or silver, with scabbard of black velvet.
- 408 A two-edged ( ? ) sword of Turkish fashion, enriched *à l'antique* with hilt of ivory with scabbard of old black shagreen.
- 409 2 iron caps covered with black velvet.
- 410 A hunting spear which was given to Monsignor Marcello out of the household store and later returned to the armoury, as noted in the outgoing side of the inventory of the said armoury. Enc. 72.
- 411 A two-handed sword of beaten silver, that is to say, the quillons, pommel, and grip, and its scabbard, presented by the merchants of Mantua in the year 1540. Enc. 65.
- 412 An 'earwig' spear<sup>1</sup> with black haft. Enc. 72.
- 413 A two-handed sword with mounts of beaten silver, with scabbard, quillons, pommel and grip gilt, which the merchants gave in the year 1541. Enc. 78.
- 414 A two-handed sword with silver mounts, scabbard, quillons, pommel and grip, given by the aforesaid merchants in the year 1542. Enc. 79.
- 415 A rusty sword which belonged to Carlo Bologna with gilt furniture and a pair of rusty mail shoes.

<sup>1</sup> cf. no. 38 *supra*.

Archivio Notarile.

[*These two following lists are written in a poor and hurried hand, probably a rough copy. Not the same regular clerkly hand of the main 1542 inventory.*]

Inventario dle robe gli a romano che furno consignate a lui p. m. marsello da poi la morte dla bona memoria Ill<sup>mo</sup>. Duca.

primo selli no. qtordici armate de giostra. No. 14.

piu selli no. quidici vechi/ piu sorti che no sono armate. No. 25.

piu selli no. sei ala morescha et alla spagnola cioe.

piu selli no. sei ala morescha et all spagnola cioe trei ala morescha fornita et trej ali spagnnol nude. No. 6.

Selli no. 36.

piu forti di piu sorte d. veluto. 11.

piu uno pectorale da giostra. 1.

piu quatro petorali ala turchesche 2.

piu quat pectorale di spagnole 4.

piu Testier' alla spagnola d piu sort con li pasati. 1.

Coperti, Tasche, Stafe, barde, etc.

Morsi de Zanette. 48.

Morsi squarsa bochi. 16.

freni de cavallo. 9.

Morsi piu sorte. 451.

[*Written in a poor and hurried hand.*]

Inventario dli cavalli dlo Illmo s<sup>r</sup>. ducha nvo. dl ano 1542

Cavallo balio.	sesina rosso.	asino stalono
frisone.	sesinato chiaro.	
sesinato.	balio.	
liardo.	rerel	
liarda.	ibero.	
merella.	sanvo.	
piccolo.	hardo cogna.	
barbara.	bai castagna.	
poldro.	sbero barbaro.	

*Inventory of the goods in the possession of Romano which were consigned to him by Marcello<sup>1</sup> after the death of the late lamented Duke.*

Firstly, 14 armed jousting saddles.

25 saddles of which 15 are old and others which are not armed.

6 saddles of the Moorish and of the Spanish style.

6 saddles of the Moorish and of the Spanish style, that is 3 of the Moorish style are furnished and 3 of the Spanish style are bare.

Total: 36 saddles,

11 strong saddles of various kinds covered in velvet.

A jousting peytral.

4 pectorals of the Turkish style . . .

4 pectorals of the Spanish style.

Chanfrons of the Spanish style of various kinds with their buckles.

There follow trappers, holsters, stirrups, bards, etc., 48 open-work horse muzzles, 16 broken muzzles, 9 horse bits, 451 others of various kinds. Total: 524 items of horse furniture.

*Inventory of the horses of his Highness the new Duke in the year 1542.*

*Inventory of his highness the Duke's horses in the year 1542.* The Italian names of the various species of 94 horses given here are interesting in view of the fact that Federigo II, the 4th Marquess, was a great breeder of horses. He introduced Arab blood and King Francis I sent specially to Mantua for a horse on which to ride at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. The walls of the Palazzo del Te at Mantua are decorated with paintings of horses by Giulio Romano and his pupils, representing favourite Arabs from Federico II's stud. Horses also appear as a motif of the decoration of Francesco II's breastplate on his bust by Gian Cristoforo Romano. There follows a description of horse trappings, many of great richness, e.g. a saddle for a mule of velvet embroidered with gold, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Marcello; cf. no. 410 of the Inventory of 1542.

III—A.D. 1604  
 ARCHIVIO DEL STATO, MANTOVA

Old number X.1.9

Lista dell'armi et altre robbe dell'armaria Ducale, 1604.

- PRIMO, Corazze intiere. No. 15.
- 2 Corazze a quale mancano diversi pezzi. No. 22.
  - 3 Celate all'antica vecchie. No. 16.
  - 4 Quattro corpi da menini con la celata. No. 4.
  - 5 Tre celate da menini. No. 3.
  - 6 Un'armatura alla Francesa a botta con la gola all'Alemana, et taschetto alla Francesa, et spalazzi. No. 1.
  - 7 Uno petto a botta con la schena, taschetto et spalazzi attaccati insieme. No. 1.
  - 8 Una celata da piedi a botta, et il taschetto a botta. No. 1.
  - 9 Un'armatura piccola, cioe petto, e schena da correr alla quintana ch'era della felice memoria del ser<sup>mo</sup> Sig. Duca Gulielmo. No. 1.
  - 10 Un'altra armatura da cavalleggiere pur di d<sup>o</sup> ser<sup>mo</sup> sig<sup>re</sup>, ma piccola. No. 1.
  - 11 Un'armatura da campo apperto con la schiba et lanza. No. 1.
  - 12 Due armature da combatente, cioe quella del Forno et quella del Fontana col parbozzo senza celata. No. 2.
  - 13 Un'armatura fatta a groppi ch'era della fel. mem. dell'Ecc<sup>m</sup>. S. Marchese Fran<sup>co</sup> con un stocco in mano. No. 1.
  - 14 Undeci pedestalli depinti a marmore. No. 11.
  - 15 Un'armatura fornita di tutto punto che si dice essere del Marchese Ludovico con uno manarino d'ottone fornito col manico di madre-perle ferre adorate in mano, dico, No. 1.
  - 16 Un'altra armatura fornita anch'ella di tutto ponto con uno stocco in mano dell' Ecc<sup>mo</sup> Sig. Duca Federico. No. 1.
  - 17 Un'armatura negra da giostra fornita, con una lanza in mano.
  - 18 Due armature bianche da giostra fornite con una lanza in mano per caduna. No. 2.
  - 19 Armature da cavalleggiere, cioe petto, schena, gola, brazzali, guanti, et celata, porte negre et parte bianche. No. 34.
  - 20 Un'armatura bianca fatta a canellini all'Alemana con un stocco a bisca in mano. No. 1.
  - 21 Un'armatura bianca da cavallo all'antica ch'era a Cavriana con una mazza d'ottone lavorata artificiosamente in mano. No. 1.

III.—A.D. 1604

## ARCHIVIO DEL STATO, MANTOVA

List of arms and other goods in the Ducal Armoury, 1604.

## ITEM

- 1 Firstly, 15 corselets complete.
- 2 22 corselets, lacking certain parts.
- 3 16 old sallets (? burgonets) *à l'antique*.
- 4 4 sets of body armour for boys, with headpieces.
- 5 3 burgonets (*lit.* sallets) for boys.
- 6 An armour of proof of the French fashion with gorget of German fashion, the tassets of French fashion and pauldrons.
- 7 A breast of proof with backplate together with its tassets and pauldrons.
- 8 A footsoldier's burgonet of proof and tassets of proof.
- 9 A small armour, that is to say, breast, and backplate for running at the quintain, which belonged to the late Duke Guglielmo.
- 10 Another armour, for a light horseman for his Lordship, but small.
- 11 A field armour, open, with vamplate and lance.
- 12 2 duelling<sup>1</sup> armours, that is those of Forno and that of Fontana, with gorget but no helmet.
- 13 An armour decorated with knots which belonged to the late Marquess Francesco, with an estoc in its hand.
- 14 11 pedestals painted to imitate marble.
- 15 An armour furnished at all points which is said to be that of the Marquess Ludovico, with an axe<sup>2</sup> of brass garnished with mother-of-pearl and gilt in its hand.
- 16 Another armour furnished at all points like the last with an estoc in its hand, which belonged to Duke Federico.<sup>3</sup>
- 17 A black jousting armour, furnished, with a lance in its hand.
- 18 2 white jousting armours, furnished, each with a lance in its hand.
- 19 34 light horsemen's armours, comprising breast, back, gorget, arms, gauntlets and open helmet, partly black and partly white.<sup>4</sup>
- 20 A white armour, fluted<sup>5</sup> in the German manner, with an estoc with wavy blade<sup>6</sup> in its hand.
- 21 A white horseman's armour *à l'antique* which was formerly at Cavriana with a mace of brass cunningly worked in its hand.

<sup>1</sup> 'da combatente' not 'da correre,' probably for the *champs clos*. cf. nos. 37 and 38 *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> cf. no. 130 in the inventory of 1542.

<sup>3</sup> cf. no. 5 in the 1542 inventory.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly German black and white hallegrets.

<sup>5</sup> *a cannellini*, not *spigolata*, which is elsewhere translated as fluted.

<sup>6</sup> cf. 1542 inventory, no. 124, where '*a bisca*' appears to refer to a swept hilt.

A.D. 1604

- 22 Due corpi bianchi fatti all'antica senza gole, uno con le scarzelle, et l'altro senza. No. 2.
- 23 Una testa di ferro d'un morro ed li capelli, e barba dorati. No. 1.
- 24 Una celata adorata ch'e finge una bocca di serpe di riglievo soprindorata. No. 1.
- 25 Un molinetto d'azzale. No. 1.
- 26 Un anello da collo da schiavo. No. 1.
- 27 Due spadoni con li manichi a croce, e fodri d'argento lavorati. No. 2.
- 28 Spadoni vetisette forniti diversamente ornati d'argento et oro con fodri di veluto recamati. No. 27.
- 29 Spadoni sei con manichi d'argento e fodri d'argento. No. 6.
- 30 Uno spadone grande fornito di negro qual e stato portato da Casale. No. 1.
- 31 Una spadina col suo pugnale con li fornimenti adorati senza fodri. No. 1.
- 32 Un stocco a triangolo d'una mano, e mezza. No. 1.
- 33 Sei stocchi con li fornimenti all'antica senza fodri. No. 6.
- 34 Un stochino senzo fodro con li fornimenti adorati. No. 1.
- 35 Una spadina nominata la curtana dil Danese fornita dl negro. No. 1.
- 36 Un'altra spada d'un filo e mezzo nuda. No. 1.
- 37 Una spada da combatente ch'ha la croce un poco piu grande delle altre qual e quella del Forno. No. 1.
- 38 Un altra spada da combatente nuda con la gabia fornita di ponte qual e quella del Fontana. No. 1.
- 39 Cinque stortine nude con li fornimenti neri. No. 5.
- 40 Dui brazzali neri da combatente con due ponte da spada alle mani. No. 2.
- 41 Due celatine da combatente con le ponte dinanti alla fronte. No. 2.
- 42 Dui brochieri da combatente. No. 2.
- 43 Un lanzone buso adorato. No. 1.
- 44 Spade, stocchi e cortelle fornite tutte di nero senza fodri. No. 61.
- 45 La camisa del Danese. No. 1.
- 46 Una mascarone di ferro nero. No. 1.
- 47 Un'altro mascarone ed le corne nero. No. 1.
- 48 Due teste da cavallo con li suoi colli bianchi. No. 2.
- 49 Una rodella fatta a mascarone. No. 1.
- 50 Un'altra rodella tonda nero. No. 1.
- 51 Semitarre disfornite. No. 6.
- 52 Un stocco a triangolo. No. 1.
- 53 Un spontone over gucchia da gabella. No. 1.
- 54 Dui ferri da spontoni lunghi. No. 2.
- 55 Sei lanze con ferro, e corame fatte nere. No. 6.
- 56 Lame da spada diverse. No. 16.

A.D. 1604

- 22 2 white cuirasses fashioned *à l'antique* without gorgets, 1 with tassets and the other without.
- 23 A Moor's head of iron, with the hair and beard gilt.<sup>1</sup>
- 24 A burgonet gilt in the form of a serpent's mouth in relief, gilt.
- 25 A crannequin of steel.
- 26 A slave's collar.
- 27 2 large swords with cruciform hilts and scabbards of silver chased.
- 28 27 two-hand swords variously ornamented with silver and gold, with their scabbards of embroidered velvet.
- 29 6 two-hand swords with hilts of silver and scabbards of silver.
- 30 A large two-hand sword with black furniture which was brought from Casale.
- 31 A small sword with its companion dagger with gilt furniture without scabbards.
- 32 An estoc with blade of triangular section, the hilt of one hand and a half.
- 33 6 estocs with their hilts *à l' antique* without scabbards.
- 34 A small estoc without scabbard with gilt fittings.
- 35 A small sword called 'la Curtana' of the Dane with black fittings.<sup>2</sup>
- 36 Another sword with single edge and a half back edge, naked.
- 37 A duelling sword which has the quillons a little larger than the others which belonged to Forno (cf. no. 12 *supra*).
- 38 Another duelling sword, naked, with the basket hilt furnished which belonged to Fontana.
- 39 5 naked rapiers with black furniture.
- 40 2 black duelling vambraces with sword-points in the hands.<sup>3</sup>
- 41 2 duelling helmets with the spikes on the foreheads.
- 42 2 duelling targets.
- 43 A large hollow (?) lance gilt.
- 44 61 swords, estocs and daggers, all with black furniture, without scabbards.
- 45 The Dane's hauberk.<sup>2</sup>
- 46 A large mask of black iron.
- 47 Another mask with black horns.
- 48 2 white chamfrons with their throat-guards.
- 49 A round target, in the form of a mask.
- 50 Another round target, black.
- 51 6 scimitars without their furniture.
- 52 An estoc of triangular section.
- 53 A spontoon or exciseman's pike.
- 54 2 long heads of pontoons.
- 55 6 lances with their heads and leatherwork blackened.
- 56 16 sword blades of various kinds.

<sup>1</sup> cf. no. 84 of the inventory of 1542. in the 1542 inventory.<sup>2</sup> See p. 254 and nos. 147, 216, 265,<sup>3</sup> cf. no. 325 in the 1542 inventory.

A.D. 1604

- 57 Ferri da lanzone et grapelle. No. 42.  
 58 Ferri da lanzon amolati diversi. No. 37.  
 59 Spade diverse con suoi fornimenti. No. 51.  
 60 Uno paro de pendoni. No. 1.  
 61 Due lame da cortella. No. 2.  
 62 Pugnali diversi. No. 19.  
 63 Ferri da Zagaglia. No. 30.  
 64 Due Corzesche. No. 2.  
 65 Dui rampini da muraglia. No. 2.  
 66 Pistole. No. 5.  
 67 Petti a botta d'arcobugio. No. 9.  
 68 Sargentini di due coperte senza ferri. No. 3.  
 69 Cannette d'arcobugio nove con le sue casse postizze. No. 15.  
 70 Un'edificio da mano da nettare l'arme dell'armaria. No. 1.  
 71 Canne d'arcobugio longhe onze 22 in c<sup>a</sup>. No. 24.  
 72 Cane simile longhe onze 25 in c<sup>a</sup>. No. 5.  
 73 Morioni novi bianchi. No. 1606.  
 74 Morioni neri vecchii. No. 32.  
 75 Corsaletti bianchi forniti di tutto ponto. No. 325.  
 76 Corsaletti da cavalleggiere con le celate. No. 10.  
 77 Celate due da cavalleggiere poste sop due corsaletti, et li morioni d'essi si comprendono nel numero delli Morioni bianchi. No. 2.  
 78 Corsaletti neri forniti di tutto ponto. No. 482.  
 De quali 25 ne furno datti alli soldati di S. Benedetto.  
 79 Corsaletti neri senza morioni. No. 100.  
 80 Moschettoni neri da forcella. No. 66.  
 81 Moschettoni da forcella adorati. No. 21.  
 82 Moschetti bianchi. No. 42.  
 83 Moschettoni grandi sopra cavaletti da scaletta. No. 89.  
 84 Moschettoni un poco minori su li cavaletti piccoli. No. 40.  
 85 Moschettoni su li restelli. No. 12.  
 86 Moschettoni dui crepati de quelli neri. No. 2.  
 87 Moschettoni grandi alla spagnola. No. 4.  
 88 Moschetti da rota alla todesca. No. 2.  
 89 Moschettoni forniti nobilmente. No. 6.  
 90 Un'altro moschettone fornito ut supra che si carica due volte. No. 1.  
 91 Arcobugii alla spagnola. No. 2235.  
 92 Cortelazzi delli arcieri della guardia della felice memoria del ser<sup>mo</sup>. s<sup>r</sup>. Duca Gulielmo. No. 90.  
 93 Cortelazzi delli arcieri di s.A. nel tempo ch'era Prencipe. No. 31.  
 94 Cortelazzi altrimenti delli alla senza manico. No. 50.  
 95 Labarde in tutto. No. 344.  
 96 Spiedi vecchii pero forniti di novo. No. 62.  
 97 Spiedi alla Cremonesa. No. 288.  
 98 Spiedi novi aluna. No. 242.

A.D. 1604

- 57 42 heads of large lances and grapers.  
 58 37 lance-heads with ground edges of various kinds.  
 59 51 swords of various kinds with their furniture.  
 60 A pair of hangings.  
 61 2 dagger blades.  
 62 19 daggers of various kinds.  
 63 30 heads of javelins.  
 64 2 corseques.  
 65 2 scaling hooks.  
 66 5 pistols.  
 67 9 breasts, arquebus-proof.  
 68 3 two-bladed<sup>1</sup> (?) partisans without heads.  
 69 15 new arquebus barrels with provisional stocks.  
 70 A hand machine for cleaning the arms in the armoury.  
 71 24 long arquebus barrels of 22 ounces calibre.  
 72 5 similar of 25 ounces calibre.  
 73 1,606 new white morions.  
 74 32 new black morions.  
 75 325 white corselets furnished with all parts.  
 76 10 corselets for light cavalry with their burgonets.  
 77 2 burgonets for light cavalry placed upon 2 corselets, the morions  
 belonging to the latter are included with the white morions  
 above-mentioned.  
 78 482 black corselets furnished with all parts, of which 25 were  
 given to the soldiers of S. Benedetto.  
 79 100 black corselets without morions.  
 80 66 black heavy muskets for rests.  
 81 21 musketoons for use with rests, gilt.  
 82 42 white muskets.  
 83 89 large musketoons on trestles.  
 84 40 slightly smaller musketoons on small stands.  
 85 12 musketoons on rests.  
 86 2 musketoons, broken, of the same set as the black musketoons  
 aforesaid.  
 87 4 large heavy musketoons of the Spanish fashion.  
 88 2 wheel-lock muskets of the German fashion.  
 89 6 musketoons richly furnished.  
 90 Another musketoon furnished as above which can be loaded  
 twice (? double-barrelled).<sup>2</sup>  
 91 2,235 arqubuses of the Spanish fashion.  
 92 90 cutlasses of archers' of the guard of the late Duke Guglielmo.  
 93 31 cutlasses of the archers of his Highness when he was Prince.  
 94 50 other cutlasses of his, all without hilts.  
 95 344 halberds.  
 96 62 old spears, but refitted.  
 97 288 spears of Cremonese fashion.  
 98 242 new crescent-shaped spears.

<sup>1</sup> Meaning not clear; *coperta* means  
 a covering of some kind.

<sup>2</sup> cf. no. 112 *infra*.

- A.D. 1604
- 99 Picche ferrate. No. 338.  
De quale 25 ne sono state datte alli soldati di S<sup>to</sup>. Ben<sup>to</sup>.
- 100 Meggie picche ferrate. No. 792.
- 101 Altre Picche che sono state fornite di novo. No. 1000.
- 102 Ronche nove. No. 251.
- 103 Partesanoni. No. 55.
- 104 Spontoni. No. 6.
- 105 Ferri da picca remessi. No. 3235.
- 106 Cavaletti sette forniti a ferro bianco con l'arma di s.A. infazza.  
No. 7.
- 107 Forme da balle da Moschettone. No. 140.
- 108 Forme da balle da arcobugio. No. 1750.
- 109 Balle da Moschettone. No. 7965.
- 110 Balle de arcobugio. No. 13176.
- 111 Haste da spiedi da porco. No. 7.
- 112 Uno taschetto attaccato al cavaletto del moschettone che si carica due volte. No. 1.
- 113 Una cassa con dentro della corda da . . . casse. No. 1.
- 114 Due pistole con la cassa inossata con le sue rode. No. 2.
- 115 Una pistola da galone con la cassa lavorata e con la roda. No. 1.
- 116 Una cassa di ferro da pistola. No. 1.
- 117 Una tavola con suoi trespedi. No. 1.
- 118 Uno corame adorato, ma vecchio su detta tavola. No. 1.
- 119 Scrane da poggio vecchie quachiate di veluto de diversi colori.  
No. 6.
- 120 Una Zocca d'acipresso. No. 1.
- 121 Una tavola con suoi trespedi. No. 1.
- 122 Una banchetta curta. No. 1.
- 123 Due banzole una di noce et l'altra di pietra. No. 2.
- 124 Due scale doppie da speciazo. No. 2.
- 125 Due altre scale da piroli. No. 2.
- 126 Dui pedestalli d'assi depinti con dentro dui galiazzi. No. 2.
- 127 Uno galiazzo sop<sup>ra</sup> il quale è la camisa dll Danese. No. 1.
- 128 Cavaletti da Corsaletti. No. 36.
- 129 Dui scanni di legno forte. No. 2.
- 130 Aquile depinte sopra cartoni. No. 32.
- 131 Figuri diverse depente sopra le assi. No. 8.
- 132 Restelli da moschettoni nel muro. No. 16.
- 133 Quadri grandi con sopra depinto uno cavallo per cadauno.  
No. 5.
- 134 Fiasche da moschettone con suoi fiaschini. No. 42.
- 135 Fiasche simile senza fiaschini. No. 28.
- 136 Fiasche da arcobugio con suoi fiaschini eccetto trei fiaschini che mancano. No. 1324.
- 137 Fiasche con suoi fiaschini, e cordoni bianchi e neri. No. 6.
- 138 Una fiasca d'arcobugio. No. 1.
- 139 Cordoni da fiasca. No. 44.
- 140 Cordoni da fiaschino. No. 96.

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- 99 338 pikes, with their heads, of which 25 have been given to the soldiers of San Benedetto.
- 100 792 half-pikes, with their heads.
- 101 1,000 other pikes which have been refitted.
- 102 251 new runkas.
- 103 55 partisans.
- 104 6 spontoons.
- 105 3,235 pikeheads, re-sharpened.
- 106 7 musket stands with bright steel fittings, with the arms of his Highness on the front.
- 107 140 bullet-moulds for musketoons.
- 108 1,750 bullet-moulds for arquebuses.
- 109 7,905 bullets for musketoons.
- 110 13,176 bullets for arquebuses.
- 111 7 hafts for boar-spears.
- 112 A bag (?) hung on the stand of the musketoon, which can be twice loaded.<sup>1</sup>
- 113 A box containing match for . . . (*word not clear*).
- 114 2 wheel-lock pistols with the stocks inlaid with bone.
- 115 A wheel-lock holster pistol with inlaid stock.
- 116 An iron pistol stock (or case ?), cf. p. 39.
- 117 A table with its trestles.
- 118 A cover of leather, gilt, but old, for the top of the table.
- 119 6 old high backed chairs upholstered in velvet of various colours.
- 120 A plinth (?) of cypress wood.
- 121 A table with its trestles.
- 122 A short bench.
- 123 2 small benches, 1 of walnut wood and the other of stone.
- 124 2 double ladders for look-outs.
- 125 2 other step-ladders.
- 126 2 pedestals of boards, painted with 2 dummies on them.
- 127 A dummy on which is mounted the hauberk of the Dane.<sup>2</sup>
- 128 36 stands for corselets.
- 129 2 state arm chairs of strong wood.
- 130 32 eagles painted on cardboard.
- 131 8 figures of various kinds painted on boards.
- 132 16 racks for musketoons on the wall.
- 133 5 large pictures of horses.
- 134 42 powder-flasks for musketoons with their primers.
- 135 28 similar powder-flasks without primers.
- 136 1,324 powder-flasks for arquebuses with their primers, less 3 missing.
- 137 6 powder-flasks with their primers, with white and black cords.
- 138 A powder-flask for an arquebus.
- 139 44 cords for powder-flasks.
- 140 96 cords for primers.

<sup>1</sup> cf. 90 *supra*.<sup>2</sup> cf. nos. 35, 45 *supra* and p. 254.

A.D. 1604

- 141 Crosoli di cartone con mascaroni adorati. No. 23.  
 142 Montagne che serveno per torcere. No. 23.  
 143 Un cavallo depento s'un quadro piccolo. No. 1.  
 144 Quattro figure depinte sopra tela. No. 4.  
 145 Cordoni da forcella da Moschettone. No. 50.  
 146 Una cassa nova con parzagle. No. 1.  
 147 Casse da corsaletto et arcobugio. No. 21.  
 148 Bachette da moschettone et arcobugio. No. 54.  
 149 Uno cocodrille con sopra un homo armato. No. 1.  
 150 Un pesce marino. No. 1.  
 151 Una galana grossa. No. 1.  
 152 Una fogara granda rotta. No. 1.  
 153 Una torzera di ferro vecchia et rotta. No. 1.  
 154 Un fusto da balestra. No. 1.  
 155 Vere da picca vecchie. No. 474.  
 156 Ferri da picca rotte. No. 140.  
 157 Vere delle sod<sup>e</sup> picche rotte. No. 140.  
  
 158 Labarde vecchie. No. 13.  
 159 Partesanoni vecchii. No. 11.  
 160 Spiedi vecchii aluna. No. 2.  
 161 Picchie vecchie parti rotte. No. 17.  
 162 Partesanelle adorate un poco verso la caña et camassate. No. 50  
  
 163 Arcobugii vecchii. No. 11.  
 164 Una cassa vecchia. No. 1.  
 165 Stiletti diversi. No. 20.  
 166 Una forma di mettale da balle da moschettone. No. 1.  
 167 Una mano d'ottone ch'andava di capo a una mazza. No. 1.  
 168 Serpe da moschettone fornite con le sue manizze. No. 8.  
 169 Dui scartozzi di polvere con di capo una balla di piombo da  
 tirar con pezzi. No. 2.  
 170 Pistole con rode, e casse inossate. No. 3.  
 171 Una pistola ed la cassa di legno inossata. No. 1.  
 172 Una pistola ed la cassa di legno. No. 1.  
 173 Una pistola ed la cassa di ferro. No. 1.  
 174 Due ponte da lanza lavorate. No. 2.  
 175 Ferri da Zagaglia piccoli. No. 5.  
 176 Rampini con sua vida da travacone. No. 3.  
 177 Fogoni da schioppo con sue cofertelle. No. 18.  
 178 Vide da arcobugio. No. 20.  
 179 Corda da schioppo. p. 100.7.6.  
 180 Un'armaturina adorata, et miniata con suoi braciali, manopole,  
 morione, et celata da cavallo con il cimiero di penne de  
 diversi colori con perle dentro, del Ser<sup>mo</sup> Sig. Prencipe. No. 1.

- A.D. 1604
- 141 23 *Crucibles*<sup>1</sup> of cardboard with masks, gilt.
- 142 23 stands for candelabra.
- 143 1 small picture of a horse.
- 144 4 figures painted on canvas.
- 145 50 cords for musket-rests.
- 146 A new chest, with mixed parts.
- 147 21 chests for corselets and arquebuses.
- 148 54 ramrods for muskets and arquebuses.
- 149 A crocodile with an armed man upon it.<sup>2</sup>
- 150 A marine fish.
- 151 A large tassel.
- 152 A large blow-pipe,<sup>3</sup> broken.
- 153 An old iron candelabrum, broken.
- 154 A crossbow tiller.
- 155 474 old rings (? sockets)<sup>4</sup> for pikes.
- 156 140 broken pike-heads.
- 157 140 rings (? sockets)<sup>4</sup> belonging to the above-mentioned broken pike-heads.
- 158 13 old halberds.
- 159 11 old great partisans.
- 160 2 old crescent-shaped spears.
- 161 17 old pikes, partly damaged.
- 162 50 small partisans and gilt a little towards the haft and bound with cloth.
- 163 11 old arquebuses.
- 164 1 old box (*or* gun-stock).
- 165 20 stilettoes of various kinds.
- 166 A metal bullet mould for musketoons.
- 167 A hand of brass which formed the head of a mace.<sup>5</sup>
- 168 8 serpentine muskets fitted with their stocks (handles).
- 169 2 packets of gunpowder together with a cannon ball of lead.
- 170 3 wheel-lock pistols and stocks inlaid with bone.
- 171 A pistol with the stock of wood inlaid with bone.
- 172 A pistol with wooden stock.
- 173 A pistol with iron stock.
- 174 2 enriched lance-heads.
- 175 5 small javelin heads.
- 176 3 hooks with thin screws for . . . (? wheel-lock spanners).
- 177 18 artillery waggons with their caissons.
- 178 20 arquebus keys ?
- 179 100.7.6. feet of match.
- 180 A boy's armour, gilt, furnished with its arms, gauntlets, morion, chamfron with a plume of feathers of various colours garnished with pearls, which belonged to his Highness the Prince.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 286, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> cf. no. 307 of the inventory of 1542, and pp. 256, 258.

<sup>3</sup> Used like bellows for kindling fires.

<sup>4</sup> *Vera*, meaning not clear. cf. no. 366 of the inventory of 1542, where it forms part of a dagger.

<sup>5</sup> cf. no. 43 of the inventory of 1542.

A.D. 1604

- 181 Un'altra simile armaturina fornita come sopra dell'Ecc<sup>mo</sup>.  
Sig. Don Ferdin<sup>do</sup>. No. 1.
- 182 Due altre armaturine vecchie a color di ferro con suoi braciali.  
No. 2.
- 183 Dui spiedi scavizzi con le sue hastine adorate con franze d'oro,  
et seta delli ss<sup>ti</sup>. Precipi. No. 2.
- 184 Dui archi over trette da cogaroli delli predetti ss. Precipi.  
No. 2.
- 185 Due picche piccole da livrera con le sue manizze di veluto  
cremosino con franze di seta, et oro delli ss<sup>ti</sup>. Precipi. No. 2.
- 186 Quattro stocchi con suoi pendoni, dui adorati forniti con suoi  
pendoni, e fodro di veluto cremosino recamati d'oro, et li  
altri dui inargentati con pendoni, et fodro di veluto giallo  
pur d'essi ss<sup>ti</sup>. Precipi. No. 4.
- 187 Arcobugii da rota alla marchiana. No. 18.
- 188 Fiasche di corno alla fiamenga con suoi cordoni di felusello  
floss a livrea. donzeno No. 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ .
- 189 Cordoni da chiavi d'arcobuso de felusello a livrea. No. 160.
- 190 Celate alla borgognona. No. 57.
- 191 Trei pezzi di spalera di corame attaccati alla prospetiva. No. 3.
- 192 Forcelle da moschettoni tra adorati; et no'. No. 86.
- 193 Ronche due fatte a gilio da combatente. No. 2.
- 194 Due Fazole da combatente. No. 2.
- 195 Pezzi sei di maglia attaccati alla prospetiva. No. 6.
- 196 Trei pezzi di tela grandi depinti con arme et trofai quali si  
tengono nanti la prospetiva per la polvere. No. 3.
- 197 Spontinelli da campagna. No. 7.
- 198 Brazzali neri para. No. 31.
- 199 Manopole nere para. No. 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ .
- 200 Zagaglie. No. 6.

Il sig<sup>r</sup>. Cesare Orselli cap<sup>o</sup>. delli soldati di S<sup>to</sup>. Benedetto.  
Corsaletti con sue celate. No. 25.

Picche. No. 25.

Il Sig<sup>r</sup>. Conte Ascanio Albrasio per la Porta di S<sup>to</sup>. Georgio.  
Corsaletti bianchi forniti di tutto ponto. No. 4.

Arcobugii da fuoco. No. 6.

Picche. No. 12.

Il S. Giov. Bianco luogotenente de Cavalli leggieri.

Una lanza fornita con ferri fatta nera. No. 1.

Il S. Vinc<sup>o</sup>. Bagno.

Arcobugii alla spagnola. No. 115.

Fiasche e Fiaschini per detti, para No. 115.

Forme da balle per detti. No. 115.

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- 181 Another similar boy's armour, furnished as above, which belonged to his excellency Don Ferdinando.
- 182 2 other boys' armour, old, which belonged to them, with their arms.
- 183 2 broken spears with their staves gilt with fringes of gold and silk, which belonged to the princes.
- 184 2 bows or prodds (?) of the aforesaid princes.
- 185 2 small state pikes with their staves covered with crimson velvet with fringes of silk and gold which belonged to the aforesaid princes.
- 186 4 estocs with their hangers, 2 gilt furnished with their hangers, and scabbards of crimson velvet embroidered with gold, and the other 2 silvered with their hangers and scabbards of yellow velvet for the aforesaid princes.
- 187 18 wheel-lock arquebuses in the fashion of the Marches.
- 188 12½ dozen powder-horns of the Flemish fashion with their cords of livery floss.
- 189 160 cords of livery floss for arquebus keys.
- 190 57 burgonets (*sic*).
- 191 3 pieces of leather wall-hangings fixed to the wall.
- 192 86 musket-rests, some gilt.
- 193 2 fighting runkas decorated with fleur-de-lys (or shaped like fleurs-de-lys).
- 194 2 fighting partisans.<sup>1</sup>
- 195 6 pieces of mail attached to the wall.
- 196 3 large pieces of canvas painted with arms and trophies which stand against the wall on account of the dust.
- 197 7 small spontoons for the field.
- 198 31 pairs of black arms.
- 199 27½ pairs of black gauntlets.
- 200 6 javelins.

(Here follows a blank leaf.)

Signor Cesare Orselli captain of the garrison of S. Benedetto<sup>2</sup> :—  
25 corselets with their helmets.

25 pikes.

Count Ascanio Albrizio in command of the St. George's Gate :—

4 white corselets furnished with all parts.

6 arquebuses.

12 pikes.

Signor Giovanni Bianco, lieutenant of light cavalry :—

A lance furnished with its steels (head and vamplate), blackened.

Signor Vincenzo Bagno :—

115 arquebuses of the Spanish fashion.

115 powder-flasks and primers for the above.

115 bullet moulds for the above.

<sup>1</sup> cf. nos. 302, 326 of the 1542 inventory.

<sup>2</sup> cf. no. 99 *supra*.

Moschetti da forcella. No. 24.  
 Fiasche e fiaschini per detti. No. 24.  
 Forcelle. No. 24.  
 Forme da balle per detti. No. 24.  
 Picche. No. 60.  
 Casse di pelle per detti armi. No. 6.

Adi 3 ottobre, 1603.

Celate comme per li arcieri. No. 36.

Arme per detti. No. 36.

Adi 24 febraio, 1604.

Forcine con l'hasta di frasseno, e calzo di ferro compre per la guardia del Barigello. No. 6.

Vi sono appresso dell'armarolo molti scarichi di robbe mandate a Casale, a Castelguifredo et in altri lochi, et anco di robbe consumate.

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[There are many other inventories (undated) in this file, including lists of all the cannon and munitions, etc., in the various Gonzaga fortresses in the first half of the seventeenth century.]

*Notta delle arme à chi sono state distribuite fuori della Duca/ Armaria.*

(signed) Ferdinando Trezzi Notaro delle Duc. Munitioni.

Il s<sup>r</sup> Marchese Alfonso Guerrieri.

Corazzi fornite di tutto punto. No. 197.

Terzette con sue fonde. No. 262.

Carabine. No. 200.

Bandoliere per dette carabine. No. 199;

Misure di latta. No. 64

Chiavi da terzette. No. 226.

Chiavi per le carabine. No. 149.

Rampini per le carabine. No. 150.

S<sup>r</sup> Marchese Nicola Gonzaga.

S<sup>r</sup> Marchese Ennio Rossi.

S<sup>r</sup> Cap<sup>o</sup> Lud<sup>co</sup> Canali.

S<sup>r</sup> Cap<sup>o</sup> Camillo Chusan.

S<sup>r</sup> Conte Aleramo S. Giorgio.

S<sup>r</sup> Marchese Luigi Gonzaga.

S<sup>r</sup> Cap<sup>o</sup> Impolito Rome.

S<sup>r</sup> Cap<sup>o</sup> Vimes.

S<sup>r</sup> Cap<sup>o</sup> Ludi<sup>o</sup> Ferari.

S<sup>r</sup> Cap<sup>o</sup> Fran<sup>co</sup> Ram.

And 12 other captains all have similar but smaller quantities of arms under their care.

- 24 muskets for use with rests.
  - 24 powder-flasks and primers for the above.
  - 24 musket-rests.
  - 24 bullet-moulds for the above.
  - 60 pikes.
  - 6 wooden boxes for the said arms.
- 

On the 3rd October, 1603 :—

- 36 common helmets for archers.
- 36 arms for the same.

On the 24th February, 1604 :—

- 6 forks with staves of ash and ferrules of iron bought for the guard of the Bargello.

There are in the armourers' charge many loads of goods sent to Casale and Castelguifredo and in other places, and also goods which have been used up.

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Note of the arms distributed from the Ducal Armoury [c. xvii undated].

(Signed) Ferdinando Trezzi, notary of the Ducal Munitions.

The Marquess Alfonso Guerrieri.

- 197 cuirasses furnished at all points.
- 262 pistols with their leather holsters.
- 200 carbines.
- 199 bandoliers for the above carbines.
- 64 measures of iron ?
- 226 keys for pistols.
- 149 keys for carbines.
- 150 hooks (?) for carbines.

There follows further lists of charges : namely of the Marquess Nicola Gonzaga, Marquess Ennio Rossi, Captain Ludovico Canali [here is a gap of 2 pages], Captain Camillo Chusan, Count Aleramo S. Giorgio, the Marquess Luigi Gonzaga, Captain Impolito Rome, Captain Vimes, Captain Ludovico Fuari, Captain Francesco Ram and 12 other captains with similar but smaller quantities of arms under their care.

## SUCCESSION OF THE GONZAGAS, LORDS OF MANTUA

Luigi (1328-1360) 1st Captain of the People

Guido or Corrado (1360-69) 2nd Captain

Ludovico I (1307-82) 3rd Captain

Francesco I (1382-1407) 4th Captain

Giovanni Francesco (1407-44) 5th Captain and  
1st Marquess  
1433

Ludovico II (1444-78) 2nd Marquess

Federico I (1478-84) 3rd Marquess

Francesco II (1484-1519)  
or Gianfrancesco 4th Marquess

Federico II (1519-1540) 5th Marquess and  
1st Duke  
1530

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Francesco III (1540-50) 2nd Duke      Guglielmo (1550-87)  
3rd Duke

Vincenzo I (1587-1612)  
4th Duke

Francesco IV  
5th Duke  
(1612)

Ferdinando  
6th Duke  
(1612-26)

Vincenzo II  
7th Duke  
(1626-7)

Carlo I di Nevers (Vincenzo I's  
cousin and grandson of  
Federico II), 8th Duke (1627-37)

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Carlo II (grandson of Carlo I) 9th Duke (1637-1665)

Ferdinando Carlo, 10th and last Duke (1665-1708)

Gianfrancesco Gonzaga (1445-96), third son of the second Marquess, founded the cadet line of Bozzolo and Sabbioneta. Giovanni Gonzaga (1474-1523), third son of the third Marquess, founded the line of Vescovato. Ferrante Gonzaga, third son of the fourth Marquess founded the line of Guastalla. Pirro Gonzaga, Count of Gazzuolo, was a son of Gianfrancesco, Duke of Sabbioneta, already mentioned. A full pedigree of the family is given in Litta's *Famiglie celebri d'Italia*, vol. iii, 1835.