

THE KING AND THE ARMOURERS OF FLANDERS

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One of Henry VIII's undoubted achievements was to attract some of the finest armourers from mainland Europe to work for him in London. Pierre Terjanian explores the roles of craftsmen like Martin van Royne and Paul van Vrelant. He analyses the extant artefacts in the context of the archival evidence allowing him to argue for a new identification of the armourer who used the mark of a Roman M under a crescent, shedding light on some of the Royal Armouries'

Henry VIII began his reign with the ambition of installing in his lands the best craftsmen that could be had on the Continent to make fine armour for his royal person, since none in his realms it seems, possessed the requisite skills. Little is known about how the search was conducted, but it was evidently carried out diligently, for within two years following Henry's accession to the throne two groups of armourers were recruited, one in Milan and the other one in Brussels. This was seemingly not quite enough, however, for in 1515 a third group of foreign armourers drawn from Germany and apparently also from the Low Countries, and collectively known as the 'Almains', was also installed at Greenwich.²

The workshop of the Almains (known as the 'Almain Armoury') was structured very much like the court workshop that the Emperor Maximilian had founded in Innsbruck, at the heart of the Austrian hereditary lands, in 1505. It was headed by a chief armourer, also known as 'Master Workman'. This man and the remainder of the staff earned wages paid by the King. The shops and polishing mills in which the Almains worked belonged to the King; the raw materials, combustibles, and tools that they needed were also paid for by him. In return, during Henry VIII's reign at least, the King paid nothing else for the armour that they made, as it was deemed his property.

MARTIN VAN ROYNE: A FORMER ARMOURER TO THE HAPSBURGS?

The first Master Workman of the Almains was Martin van Royne, an armourer thought to have originated from the Low Countries in view of the fact that the suffix 'van' in his name was a common one there. Although van Royne

must have had strong credentials to be chosen to head the King's Almains, we do not know what these were. Nothing at all is known of his career before 1515, when he is first recorded in England.³ However, because the major part of the Low Countries were at the time under the domination of the Hapsburgs (these territories will henceforth be called 'Burgundian Low Countries'), and because the Hapsburgs used the services of skilled armourers there, it has been suggested that van Royne had perhaps acquired and perfected his skills in their service, under the assumption that an armourer of note in the Low Countries is likely to have attracted their attention.⁴

Van Royne's past is of great interest because it was under his leadership that many of the features that distinguish the original style of armour produced by the Almains were introduced. While some of these were perhaps adopted at the suggestion of staff members, as Master Workman, van Royne was ultimately responsible for the design and the quality of the armours produced in the Almain Armoury. Because there can be little doubt that he had the authority to decide how the armours should be built and formed, as long as these met the specifications laid out by the King, he should be regarded as the principal architect of the distinctive suits that the Almains made during his tenure – including the remarkable foot combat armour of Henry VIII in the Royal Armouries (II.6 cat. no. 1) and the so-called 'Fleuranges' armour in the Musée de l'Armée, Paris (inv. G46, H57 cat. no. 24).

Van Royne's past is also intriguing because, following a suggestion put forward by Helmut Nickel in 1982, he is commonly suspected to be the author of two spectacular

horse bards of silvered, engraved, and formerly gilded steel in the Royal Armouries (VI.6–12, cat. no. 18 and VI.1–5, cat. no. 21), which belonged to Henry VIII, and of other remarkable pieces in other collections, all struck on some of their elements with an armourer's mark, a Roman M under a crescent.⁵ This mark, as Claude Blair noted in 1965, belonged to an armourer who had ties to the Hapsburgs, since one of Henry's bards was a present from the Emperor Maximilian I of Austria, and since additional pieces struck with its mark are associated with the Hapsburgs. Blair argued that its owner (henceforth the 'M and crescent' Master) is likely to have been one of the armourers working in the Low Countries for Archduke Philip of Austria, or his son and successor Charles, on the grounds that the pieces bearing the mark are Flemish in style, and that one, the bard presented by Maximilian, was most likely decorated in the Low Countries.⁶

Nickel suggested that the mark was probably that which Martin van Royne used to sign his works before the time he became Master Workman of the Almains. In support of this attribution, Nickel argued that the pieces bearing the M and crescent mark share features that characterize the very distinctive style of armour produced by the Almains during van Royne's tenure, and further noted that the mark could be easily explained as combining the initial for van Royne's first name (Martin) with an element from his family coat of arms, a half-moon between three stars.⁷

Although Nickel's attribution of the mark to van Royne provides an elegant solution to the origin of the style of armour that characterizes the works of Henry's Almains, it is fraught with difficulties. As was mentioned earlier, nothing is known about van Royne's life before 1515, thus there is not the slightest evidence in support of the supposition that he had worked for the Hapsburgs. Van Royne might have been a Netherlander, but he can conceivably also have been a German, as the suffix 'van' was also a common one in German territories adjacent to the Low Countries (as in Cologne).⁸ More importantly, as Claude Blair pointed out in 2002, there is no certainty that the first Master Workman of the Almain Armoury belonged to the van Royen family whose coat of arms includes a crescent emblem. This prospect seems rather doubtful in light of the fact that his real name was perhaps 'Martin de Prone', since it is the one under which he is recorded in some of the lists of Almains, and that which he used in his last will.⁹

Conclusive proof that Martin van Royne did not ever own the M and crescent mark, however, is the evidence, noted by Blair, that the owner of this mark had ties to the

Hapsburgs, and in all probability worked in their dominions in the Low Countries.¹⁰ There is no mention, however, of a Martin van Royne, or Martin de Prone, in the accounts of the treasurers of the Hapsburgs in the Low Countries. These, particularly the accounts of their chief treasurer, The Receiver General of All Finances,¹¹ record in great detail the identity of the craftsmen who worked for them, the nature of the weapons and armour that they made, and the places in which these had been deposited. A consultation of these documents establishes that van Royne was not one of the armourers that they employed. If, as is probable, he was a Netherlander, the Hapsburgs do not seem to have ever been among his clients.

THE OWNER OF THE M AND CRESCENT MARK

In the light of this knowledge it is thus clear that the first Master Workman of the Almains was not an armourer that Henry had succeeded in taking away from the Hapsburgs, and that the King's magnificent two bards were the work of another armourer. The mark of this anonymous armourer is known to occur on a total of nine armours: (1) on the crupper of the so-called 'Burgundian bard' of silvered, engraved, and formerly gilded steel in the Royal Armouries (VI.6–12 cat. no. 18; the crinet is associated);¹² (2) on the peytral of the so-called 'silvered and engraved' bard of Henry VIII in the Royal Armouries (VI.1–5 cat. no. 21; the shaffron and crinet are associated);¹³ (3 and 4) on the peytrals and cruppers of two bards of plain steel in the Real Armería, Madrid (inv. A.3 and A.4; their shaffrons and crinets are probably associated);¹⁴ (5) on the breastplate, backplate, lance-rest, and the haute-pieces of both pauldrons of a fragmentary armour of plain steel in the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest (inv. 55.3260; the gorget is associated; the fastenings of the cuirass are restored);¹⁵ (6) on the rear right side of an incomplete armet of plain steel formed of a bowl with brow plate riveted at the front, and cheekpieces hinged at the sides in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Bashford Dean Memorial Collection, Funds from various donors; acc. 1929.158.52; the visor is associated and the hinges are restorations);¹⁶ (7) on the left side of the front portion of a jousting helm of plain steel in the same museum (Gift of Williams H. Riggs, 1913; acc. 14.25.572; the unmarked rear portion appears to be associated);¹⁷ (8) on the rear right side of a foot-combat helm of plain steel formed of a bowl with visor and bevor both secured by hinge and pin to pivots at the sides, and a brass plume-holder riveted at the rear, also in the Metropolitan Museum (Bashford Dean Memorial Collection, Funds from various donors; acc.

1929.158.38; the mark is much rubbed: only the tips of the crescent are visible);¹⁸ and (9) on each side of a couter of plain steel in the same museum (Bashford Dean Memorial Collection, Funds from various donors; acc. 1929.158.1h).¹⁹

The 'M and crescent' Master had ties to the Hapsburgs since four of his surviving works are connected to them. The most spectacular of these, the Burgundian bard, was a present from the Emperor Maximilian, as is specified in an inventory (1 May 1519) of items in the care of George Lovekyn, Clerk of the King's Stables, in the armoury in the tiltyard at Greenwich, in which the bard and its saddle are clearly recognizable.²⁰ Similarly, the two bards of plain steel bearing his mark in the Real Armería, Madrid are recorded in the earliest surviving inventory (1594) of the armoury of King Philip II of Spain, and one is illustrated in the pictorial inventory (about 1542) of the armoury of his father, the Emperor Charles V, at Valladolid.²¹ Finally, the fragmentary armour in the Hungarian National Museum belongs to a group of objects originally from the collections of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, that were ceded by Austria to Hungary in 1932/3, by virtue of an international treaty concluded in 1932.²² Records at the Kunsthistorisches Museum suggest that the armour was in the imperial armoury of the Hapsburgs in Vienna, or in the collections of Schloss Laxemburg before it entered its own.²³ It thus appears to have been an old Hapsburg heirloom.

However, this armourer is likely to also have had ties to Henry VIII's court, since there are no indications that Henry received the silvered and engraved bard in the Royal Armouries as a present, and since the helm for the joust in the Metropolitan Museum appears to have hung over the tomb of Sir Anthony Browne (died 1548), Henry's Master of the Horse and Standard-Bearer, as it is believed to come from Battle Church, where Browne was buried with great pomp.²⁴

One reason that Blair argued in favour of the view that this master probably worked in the Low Countries is the fact that the Burgundian bard was almost certainly decorated there by the goldsmith Paul van Vrelant. Van Vrelant entered Henry VIII's service in 1514 and was appointed as his harness gilder. Before that time, however, he appears to have resided in Brussels, where he worked for the Hapsburgs. In 1505 he was certainly living there, when he received from The Receiver General of All Finances a sum of 100 *livres* (the currency of Flanders) in payment of a gilded crinet that he had decorated at the orders of Archduke Philip of Austria, then also King of Castile.²⁵

Once in England van Vrelant decorated armour for Henry. He silvered, engraved, and gilded an armour for the King's person in 1514, and immediately after that a bard to match that armour. Shortly thereafter, in 1515, he silvered, engraved, and gilded '*certan harness for the kinges grace*', thus unspecified pieces that perhaps were a second armour for the King in view of the fact that the sum he received for that task was more than that which he had received for the King's suit but much less than that which he had received for the bard.²⁶ The 'silvered and engraved' armour in the Royal Armouries is one of these armours or, more probably, a combination of both. The silvered and engraved bard in the Royal Armouries is naturally the bard engraved by van Vrelant to match that armour.

The Burgundian bard's engraved decoration is similar in execution to that of the silvered and engraved armour and bard, so much that there can be little doubt that it is also van Vrelant's work. Since it is highly improbable, as Blair has argued, that Maximilian would have sent his gift to England for decoration by a craftsman employed by the recipient, there can be little doubt that it was decorated by van Vrelant in the Low Countries during the period he still resided there (thus before February 1514), from which it follows that it is likely to have been made by an armourer there.²⁷

Blair's suggestion is fully supported by iconographic evidence that the pieces bearing the M and crescent mark are of types favoured in the Low Countries. His bards are all constructed with pieces individually formed in the manner of the caparisoned bards represented in the 'Tournament' tapestry panel, woven in Brussels for the Elector Frederic the Wise of Saxony, about 1495, and perhaps commemorating the tourneys held in celebration of the beginning of Philip the Handsome's personal rule (1494), in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes (inv. O.A. 87.19).²⁸

Similarly, the fragmentary armour in the Hungarian National Museum, made about 1510–15, compares closely in construction and form to that on the figure of St George in a panel from a Netherlandish altar, painted about 1510, in the Germanisches National Museum, Nuremberg (inv. Gm 69); and to that worn by another figure of St George, in the left wing of an altar painted by Joos van Cleef the Elder, about 1530, in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Gemäldegalerie, inv. GG 938). Incidentally, the couter in the Metropolitan Museum of Art is quite similar to those of the armour worn by St George in the first of these two panels.

Finally, the front portion of the jousting helm in the Metropolitan Museum of Art is constructed in the manner of examples made by Flemish armourers, including a helm in the Royal Armouries believed to come from Stowe Church and bearing the much abraded marks of the Master of the crowned 'h' (iv.1 cat. no. 7), a piece that is further related in having a rectangular opening at the right side, for ventilation, protected by an integral flange.²⁹ The Metropolitan Museum's piece was never meant to be permanently riveted to the piece that protected the wearer's skull and the nape, in the manner of German examples, but was presumably secured to it by strap and buckle, or perhaps by pivots at the temples in the manner of the helm from Stowe, and another helm by the same Flemish armourer in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer, inv. B. 141).³⁰

GUILLEM MARGOT

Since it can be established beyond reasonable doubt that the 'M and crescent' Master was an armourer active in the Low Countries, it seems likely that the some of the armour that he made for the Hapsburgs should be recorded in the detailed accounts of their chief treasurer there, i.e. The Receiver General of All Finances, as this particular treasurer was the one who normally paid for the arms and armour that they commissioned. His accounts record many payments to craftsmen who supplied, embellished, and maintained swords, hafted weapons, crossbows, spurs, horse bits, saddles, horse bards, shaffrons, and armour for the bodies of the sovereigns and their armouries in Brussels.

The receiver general's accounts indicate that, while a number of armourers made shaffrons at the sovereigns' request, only one supplied bards during the entire period 1494–1530, i.e. during the time the bards bearing the M and crescent mark were certainly made. His name was Guillem Margot.

Margot was one of the Hapsburgs' favourite armourers in the Low Countries. He is first recorded in the accounts of the receiver general in 1505, when he was paid for a man's armour and a horse bard that he had made for Archduke Philip's use in his forthcoming military campaign against the Duke of Guelders.³¹ It is clear that by that time he was already a seasoned armourer. Almost all the items that he delivered on that occasion are expressly identified as being for the sovereign's personal use. In view of the fact that his pieces were to be worn in an actual military campaign, it is probable that Philip had already used his services or at the very least had heard the best things

about his abilities. Philip actually presented one of the armours made by Margot to an Italian nobleman in the retinue of Bianca Maria Sforza, his father's second wife.

The bard that Margot made for Philip in 1505 was a full bard comprising collar and crinet. The sum of 144 *livres*, which he received for it, was an enormous one, equivalent to three times the price that the receiver general customarily paid for a complete armour made for the sovereign's body. In this light the bard appears to have been of the highest quality, hardly the kind of item that one would order from a novice.

Over the following years Margot periodically delivered armour and bards to the Hapsburg court. He was particularly active during the period preceding Charles's accession to the thrones of Castile and Aragon (1515) though he kept working for Charles thereafter, particularly just before Charles' trip to Aachen in 1520, to be crowned King of the Romans. The accounts show that Margot made armours for Charles on numerous occasions; i.e. in 1508, 1509, 1511, 1515 and 1517, when Charles was about eight, nine, eleven, fifteen, and seventeen years old. Margot also made armours in 1518 and 1520 for Charles's younger brother, Archduke Ferdinand, who briefly governed the Burgundian Low Countries while Charles was in Spain. After 1520, Margot's name is no longer mentioned in the accounts.

Margot appears to have excelled at making bards. In addition to the bard that he made for Philip in 1505, Margot made three bards of plain steel for Charles, for which he received 100 *livres* a piece. He delivered two of these in 1512 and the last in 1515. These three bards were in all probability the ones that Charles took with him to Spain, along with a large retinue and a large portion of his armoury, when he left the Low Countries for the first time in June 1517 to meet his new subjects, following his accession to the thrones of Castile and Aragon in 1516.³² The two bards bearing the 'M and crescent' mark in the Real Armería are likely to be their remains, not only because Charles established his Spanish armoury at Valladolid and at least one of the Real Armería's bards was in that armoury by about 1542, but also because, upon close examination, it becomes clear that the two bards in question are the remains of originally three nearly identical bards of plain steel. Indeed, one of them (inv. A. 3) consists of elements from originally two distinct bards, as the turned edges of its peytral (chest piece) (struck with the 'M and crescent' mark) are plain whereas the turned edges of its flanchards (side panels) (unmarked) and crupper (rump defence) (struck with the same mark) are

roped exactly in the same manner as the turned edges of the peytral (marked), flanchards, and crupper (marked) of the other bard, which is thus homogeneous. From this it follows that the Real Armería possesses the remains of originally three bards by the 'M and crescent' Master, two of which seem to have formed a pair.

In view of the fact that he appears to have been the sole maker of bards of steel for the court of the Hapsburgs from 1494 through 1530, and considering that the letter 'M' in the 'M and crescent' mark matches the initial of his family name, there can be little doubt that Margot is the author of the bards bearing this mark and, by extension, of all the other pieces known to be struck with the same mark.

Final proof that Margot and the 'M and crescent' Master were a same person is provided by the record of the armour that he made for the Hapsburgs, as the accounts of the receiver general show that he made all the kinds of pieces known to bear this mark. Margot made armour for the field, the joust, the foot tourney, and the foot combat. Margot's repertoire also comprised garnitures. In 1520 he was paid for four harnesses with 'double pieces' for the joust and the tourney that he had made for Ferdinand's personal use and his armoury.³³ These documented deliveries are absolutely consistent with the corpus of pieces struck with the 'M and crescent' mark, especially with the nature of the three helmets in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The two splendid bards of Henry VIII in the Royal Armouries were thus made by one of the most important armourers in Brussels. It is not known when Margot made the spectacular Burgundian bard because, from the time Philip began his personal rule (1494), the treasurers in the Burgundian Low Countries no longer took any orders from Maximilian. Consequently, there is no mention of any armour commissioned by him after that date.

Since with Peter Fevers and Jacob de Watt, two armourers recruited in 1511 in Brussels and thereafter working for the King's body at Greenwich through the time of their deaths (1517/8 and 1533/40, respectively)³⁴, and van Vrelant, his harness-gilder, Henry had in his service craftsmen specializing in the manufacture and decoration of armour, who originated from the very city in which Margot was active, he lacked no expert intermediaries to secure a bard made by Margot. As was noted earlier, the Burgundian bard made by Margot and presented by Maximilian to Henry was almost certainly decorated by van Vrelant in Brussels. Van Vrelant and Margot are thus likely to have known each other, at least in a professional

capacity. Since in 1505 Margot made an expensive bard for Philip's use in his military campaign in Guelders, and since in the same year van Vrelant was paid for having enriched a crinet for Philip's use in the same campaign, it is possible that van Vrelant was already decorating horse armour made by Margot by that time. Therefore because when it came to crafting horse bards Margot appears to have had no match in the Low Countries; van Vrelant would have certainly thought of him when Henry resolved to have a bard that would complement his silvered and engraved armour.

Whether working in their homeland or at his court, the armourers of the former Low Countries thus played an important part in the provision of fine quality armour in the early part of Henry's reign. The identification of the 'M and crescent' Master confirms that Henry's silvered and engraved bard and his Burgundian bard were made in the Burgundian Low Countries, by an armourer closely connected to the Hapsburgs. Like earlier Flemish colleagues known to have worked for the Valois and Hapsburg sovereigns of their homeland, such as Martin Rondelle in Bruges, Lazare de St Augustin in Valenciennes, or the anonymous 'Master of the crowned h',³⁵ Margot made armour for clients in England. Henry certainly seems to have thought quite highly of the armourers active in the Low Countries. Aside from the fact that he took several craftsmen from Brussels in his service, and the possibility that the first two men chosen to head his Almain Armoury, Martin van Royne and Erasmus Kirkenar, were perhaps Netherlanders, there is a report that the King sought to recruit additional armourers in Brussels in 1515, when the Almain were already in Greenwich. According to a source that could not be verified, Charles of Austria apparently instructed his chief chamberlain, sent to England on a mission, to inform Henry of the probability that the magistrate of Brussels would use every means in its power to prevent the further emigration of skilled armourers to England.³⁶ If this account is true, Charles' response is likely to have been a tactful way of letting Henry know that he was depleting the Low Countries of men whose skills were much valued at home, and which he also very much required.

NOTES

- In this essay the expression 'Low Countries' designates territories commonly referred to as 'Flanders' in 16th-century England, whereas 'Flanders' is reserved for the county of Flanders proper. In the absence of adequate nouns, however, people native of the Low Countries will be called 'Netherlanders' whereas the native of the 'Burgundian Low Countries', i.e. of the portion of the Low Countries that the Hapsburg inherited from the Valois dukes of Burgundy in 1477, will be described as 'Flemings'. The epithets 'Netherlandish' and 'Flemish' will be used to reflect the same distinction.
- A historical account of the Greenwich workshops, including bibliographical references, is provided by Richardson's essay on the Greenwich armourers in this volume.
- Blair 2002a: 199–200
- Nickel & Phyr & Tarassuk 1982: 34
- Nickel & Phyr & Tarassuk 1982: 34
- Blair 1965b: 38
- Nickel & Phyr & Tarassuk 1982: 34
- Terjanian 2005: 30, 31, notes 48–66
- Blair 2002a: 199–202
- Blair 1965b: 38
- The accounts belong to the section of the *chambre des comptes* preserved in the Archives départementales du Nord (henceforth abbreviated AD Nord), Lille. On this source and the armourers who worked for Philip the Handsome, see Terjanian 2006: 146–156.
- Ffoulkes 1916, 1: 199–200; Dillon 1902: 85–88, plate IV; Laking 1920–22, 3: 190–194, fig. 1002; Blair 1965b: 37–38, plates XIII, d and XVI, a; Pyrr 1989: 100–102; Gaier 1993: 17–18, fig. 14; Williams & de Reuck 1995: 127, ill.; Richardson 2002: 11, ill.; Williams 2003: 723, ill.
- Ffoulkes 1916, 1: 95–99; Dillon 1902: 86–89; Laking 1920, 3: 193–194, fig. 1003; Blair 1965b: 16, 24–41, plates I; XIII, a–c; XV; XVI, d; XVIII, d; Eaves 1993: 12–16, figs 7, 9, and 12; Williams 2003: 724–725; Richardson 2002: 12–15, ill.
- Valencia de don Juan 1898: 3–4; Blair 1965b: 37, plate XVII, a–b; Godoy 1992: 132–133, ill.; Terjanian 2006: 150. I am indebted to Alvaro Soler del Campo for the opportunity to study the pieces of these bards.
- Boenheim 1889: 23, no. 60; Mann 1930: plate XXIX, fig. 2; Blair 1965b: 37–38, plate XIV, c; János 1971: 297–8, fig. 80; Temesváry 1982: 64: no. 15, fig. 15. I am indebted to Claude Blair for his comments on the composition and restoration of this armour, which he was able to superficially examine in its case, in June 1967. Personal communication from Claude Blair, 15 September 2006.
- Kienbusch & Grancsay 1933: 129, no. 44, plate IV; Blair 1965b: 37, plate XIV a–b; Thomas 1984: 57–58; Gaier 1993: 18; Pyrr 2000: 15, no. 18. I am indebted to Stuart W. Pyrr for the opportunity to study this and the next three objects, as well as the corresponding files in the Department of Arms and Armor.
- Chaffers 1875: 38, no. 1000; Laking 1920–2, 1: 261–2, fig. 307a and Laking 1920–2, 2: 114, 116, fig. 458; Cripps-Day 1925: 19, no. 430; Pyrr 2000: 16, no. 19, ill.; Blair 2002a: 210, note 2. Although it has been suggested that the rear portion of the helm is not associated, an examination of the two halves suggests that they are likely to be the remains of originally two helms.
- Kienbusch & Grancsay 1933: 130, no. 45, plate IV; Grancsay 1953, no. 22, ill.; Nickel & Pyrr & Tarassuk 1982: 34–35, no. 8, ill.; Gaier 1993: 18, fig. 15; Pyrr 2000: 15, no. 18, ill.; Blair 2002a: 210, note 2.
- Pyrr 2000: 15, no. 18. The presence of the mark on this piece was first noted by Stuart W Pyrr and recorded in August 1977 in the file for this object in the Department of Arms and Armor at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

- Blair 1965b: 37–38
- Godoy 1992: 132–33; Terjanian 2006: 50
- The armour bore the inventory number A. 77 while it was part of the collections of the Kunsthistorisches Museum. Thomas 1984: 57–58.
- Personal communication from Dr Matthias Pfaffenbichler, 10 August 2006. I am grateful to Dr Pfaffenbichler for consulting for me the relevant files in the Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer.
- Laking 1920–2, 5: 250–1; Cripps-Day 1925: 19, no.430
- Blair 1965b: 26–33, 37–8
- Blair 1965b: 26–33
- Blair 1965b: 37–8
- Kretschmar 1909–11
- On this helm, see ffoulkes 1916, 1: 170, no. 1; Duffy 1968, plate LXXXIII; Blair 1998: 292, note 12.
- On this helm, see Blair 1998: 292–5, figs 5–6.
- AD Nord, B 2191, fols 339v–340r and 357r.
- AD Nord, B 2267, fol. 337v.
- AD Nord, B 2294, fol. 337r. The detail of Margot's career and works will be the subject of a forthcoming publication.
- On these armourers, see Blair 1965b: 34–35 and Thom Richardson's essay on the Greenwich armouries in this volume.
- On Martin Rondelle and Lazare de St Augustin, see Blair 1998: 301–302, note 22.
- Squillbeck 1953: 251–252, note 1. According to Squillbeck, the source of this information is in the papers of Alexandre Pinchart in the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels. I consulted a large portion of these papers, which are presently uncatalogued, but was unable to locate Pinchart's notes on arms and armour.

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