

«ANCIENT ARMOUR AND ARMS RECENTLY RECEIVED FROM SPAIN»
EUSEBIO ZULOAGA, HENRY LEPAGE, AND
THE REAL ARMERIA IN MADRID

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RESUMEN - ABSTRACT

En 1835 un importante conjunto de armas, algunas procedentes de la Real Armería, fue enviado por Eusebio Zuloaga al arcabucero Henri Lepage de París. Este artículo documenta dicho envío y pretende señalar el paradero actual de alguno de los objetos.

In 1835 an important group of arms, some of them from Real Armería, was sent by Eusebio Zuloaga to the gunmaker Henri Lepage in Paris. This paper documents the transaction and seeks to identify the present location of some items.

PALABRAS CLAVE - KEY WORDS

Mercado y colecciones de armas y armaduras. Subastas. Henri Lepage. Blas y Eusebio Zuloaga. Madrid, Real Armería. Turín, Armería Reale

Arms and armor market and collections. Auctions. Henri Lepage. Blas and Eusebio Zuloaga. Madrid, Real Armería. Torino, Armería Reale.

On January 23, 1839 and the following day, the London auction firm of Christie's conducted a sale advertised as comprising «a very important assemblage of ancient armour and arms recently received from Spain»¹. Organized into 292 lots that also included a few paintings, sculptures, tapestries, and small decorative objects, the majority of the items consisted of weapons, mostly swords, and detached elements of armor, notably helmets, gauntlets, toe-caps, and various exchange pieces from garnitures. A second auction of similar items with the same provenance followed at Christie's on February 26, 1840. That sale comprised 137 lots and included additional arms not previously offered, as well as pieces bought-in at the

¹ The titlepage reads in part: «A catalogue of a very important assemblage of ancient armour and arms, recently received from Spain. Consisting of parts of suits of polished steel engraved and gilt; helmets and gauntlets embossed, horse armour and trappings in fine old Italian taste, rapiers and fencing daggers, the hilts pierced and richly ornamented. Slabs of Florentine mosaic [...] tapestry, a few pieces of Saxon porcelain, and a few pictures.» The arms and armor portions of the 1839 catalogue were reprinted in Cripps-Day, 1951: 104-121, with the buyers' names and prices included. As noted by Grancsay, 1966: 4, an original priced copy of the same catalogue is in the library of the Real Armería, Madrid.

first sale². Although the specific source of these Spanish arms is not indicated in the catalogues — the consignor for both sales is listed in Christie's records as one «Mr. Sharpe,»³ perhaps an English agent acting on behalf of the true vendor — many of the items have long since been recognized by specialists as belonging to harnesses made for Emperor Charles V, Philip II of Spain, and other members of the Spanish royal family, pieces that can only have come from the Real Armería in Madrid. As a consequence of these sales, hundreds of rare and often beautifully decorated elements of armor passed into the art market, many of them eventually enriching public and private collections in Europe and North America. At the same time, the loss of these pieces sadly depleted the Spain's Real Armería of elements that complete or complement its unique series of historic harnesses.

The appearance on the art market of so many items from the Real Armería, particularly small elements that were not likely to be missed, tends to support the long-held opinion that these works were stolen «by an unscrupulous custodian in 1838.»⁴ The suspicion has generally been directed at the two men then responsible for armory and its contents, Blas Zuloaga (1782-1856), Chief Armorer since 1834, and his son, the celebrated gunsmith and damascener Eusebio (1808-1898), Lieutenant Armorer from 1834 to 1838⁵. It may not be entirely coincidental that a new inventory of the armory was ordered on November 21, 1838, that Eusebio's position was suddenly eliminated on November 24 that same year, and that an enormous shipment of arms «recently received from Spain» arrived at Christie's a few weeks later. While it must be emphasized that neither Zuloaga was ever officially charged with any wrongdoing in connection with the unexplained disappearance of so many pieces in their charge, there exists substantial evidence that implicates Eusebio, and by association probably also his father, in these thefts and even earlier ones from the Real Armería.

The evidence referred to is found in the accounts of the renowned Lepage firm of Parisian gunmakers and consists of lists of armor and weapons, including several pieces readily identifiable as coming from the Real Armería, that Eusebio Zuloaga dispatched to Henri Lepage in 1835, several years before the Spanish sales at Christie's. The Lepage family had been active in the manufacturing and trade of firearms since the middle of the eighteenth century and Jean Lepage (1746-1834) achieved widespread fame as the gunmaker to Louis XVI, Napoleon, and then the restored Bourbon monarchs. With the renewed antiquarian interest in collecting arms and armor that arose in the early years of the nineteenth century, the Lepage family also became active in the acquisition and repair of antique arms for their

² «A catalogue of a beautiful and highly interesting assemblage of armour and arms, recently received from Spain: Comprising three magnificent suits, richly inlaid; four parts of suits; two fine tilting shields; horse pieces; helmets; caps; gauntlets; shields; rapiers; swords and daggers; also a few bronze and marble busts and figures.» Photostat copies of the partially annotated 1839 and 1840 Christie's sales catalogues are found in the library of the Department of Arms and Armor at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the originals formerly in the British Museum having been destroyed in World War II.

³ I am especially grateful to Peter Hawkins at Christie's for this information. Mr. Hawkins also informs me that, while it was customary for the auctioneer to write the vendor's name at the front of his working copy of the sale catalogue, this information is lacking on the preserved copies of the Spanish sales for 1839 and 1840. On the other hand, the Day Book, the ledger in which all property received by Christie's is recorded, provides some additional information. In the Day Book for the period February 1831 to August 1844, p. 262, covering the month of December 1838, there is listed under entry number 486C the following: «Spain/Mr. Sharpe/Armour and [crossed out] Pictures/and Tapestry.» The entry is undated but is preceded by entry 485C, dated December 13, and is followed by entry 487C, dated December 18, indicating that the consignment of arms from Spain arrived at Christie's between those dates. The records of the second sale of 1840 refer back to entry 486C in the Day Book, indicating that all the arms had been received in December 1838.

⁴ Laking, 1907: 27

⁵ For the history of the Zuloaga family, see Lavin, 1986, especially 70-73 for Eusebio's activities in these years, and 142, n. 27 for references to the Lepage ledger discussed in this article. The history of Eusebio's life and career are also reviewed in James D. Lavin's essay, «The Zuloaga of Eibar,» in London, 1997: 41-66.

clients. The paths of Lepage and Zuloaga crossed at just this moment. In 1830 Eusebio, already an accomplished craftsman, successfully petitioned King Ferdinand VII for a pension to allow him to travel abroad for three years' study of French and Belgian gunmaking. Eusebio spent at least one of those years, apparently 1830-31, in the Lepage workshop, where he forged a relationship with Jean's son and future successor, Henri (1792-1854), that was to be crucial for the events that followed.

The Lepage documents have previously been referred to in two articles by the French arms historian Charles Buttin (1856-1931), who was provided extracts from the firm's papers by the Fauré-Lepage family in the early years of this century. In the first of his articles, published in 1914⁶, Buttin traced the history of five armor elements — two rondels (besagews), two elbow defenses (couters), and a chanfron bearing the arms of Spain — that belonged to the embossed and damascened parade armor made for the future Philip II of Spain by the armorer Desiderius Helmschmid and the goldsmith Jörg Sigman, both of Augsburg, in the years 1549-52 (Real Armería, inv. nos. A.239-A.242)⁷. Utilizing information found in the Lepage firm's account books and correspondence, Buttin established that these royal pieces were included among the items sent by Zuloaga to Lepage in 1835 and that they were specifically mentioned in the Lepage ledger for 1836. The same ledger recorded their sale to the Paris collector Count Nolivos on October 31, 1837. Buttin traced the subsequent peregrination of the pieces to the collections of Debruge-Duménil, Prince Peter Soltykoff of Saint Petersburg, and Napoleon III, whose enormous armory at the château of Pierrefonds was nationalized and transferred to the Musée d'Artillerie (later renamed the Musée de l'Armée) in 1880⁸. The five elements of Philip II's armor were returned to the Real Armería by the French government in 1914. The earliest recorded illustration of these pieces dates to about 1840, when they belonged to Count Nolivos (fig. 1)⁹.

Buttin expanded on the Zuloaga-Lepage relationship in a second article posthumously published in 1957 that was devoted to the so-called armor of the marquis of Leganés, an early seventeenth century cuirassier armor of enormous size that is now in the Armería Reale in Turin (inv. no. B.44) (fig. 2)¹⁰. Established in 1833 by King Carlo Alberto of Sardinia and developed under the energetic guidance of his agent and curator, Count Vittorio Seyssel d'Aix, the Armería Reale was one of the most important collections of arms and armor assembled in the nineteenth century. The Turin armory also played a key role in the events that would bring Lepage and Zuloaga together. Drawing on the same Lepage records referred to in his earlier article and on documents found in Turin, Buttin established that, immediately after the armory's inception, Seyssel contacted Henri Lepage to ask his assistance in procuring pieces of high quality for the nascent collection¹¹. On March 5, 1834 Lepage in turn wrote to Eusebio Zuloaga to ask his help in locating antique arms. Correspondence on this matter

⁶ Buttin, 1914.

⁷ For this armor, see Valencia de Don Juan, 1898: 77-84, and New York, 1991: 155-164.

⁸ The history of these pieces is outlined by Buttin, 1914: 193-194.

⁹ Du Sommerard, 1838-1846: vol. 4, p. 223; the pieces are illustrated in the accompanying Atlas, Ch. XIII, pl. V.

¹⁰ Buttin, 1957. The Lepage documents referred to in this article were long known to Buttin, who, in a letter dated April 1, 1903, informed William H. Riggs (the owner of the reinforcing breastplate that matched the Turin armor B.44) of the existence of the Lepage ledger for 1836 and the Leganés inventory of 1655. Buttin's original letter is in the files of the Department of Arms and Armor at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

For armor B.44 in Turin, see especially Seyssel d'Aix, 1840: 70-72, no. 37; Angelucci, 1890: 97-101, no. B.44; Thomas and Gamber, 1958: 805, 826, 828; Boccia and Coelho, 1967: 525, 530, pls. 430-436, 438-439; Mazzini *et al.*, 1982: 339, pls. 49-49a; and Tarassuk, 1986: 82-83; Godoy, 1997: 141; and the article by Godoy in this volume.

¹¹ Buttin, 1957: 6. On the formation of the Armería Reale, see Seyssel d'Aix, 1840: v-xi, and Mazzini *et al.*, 1982: 31-43.

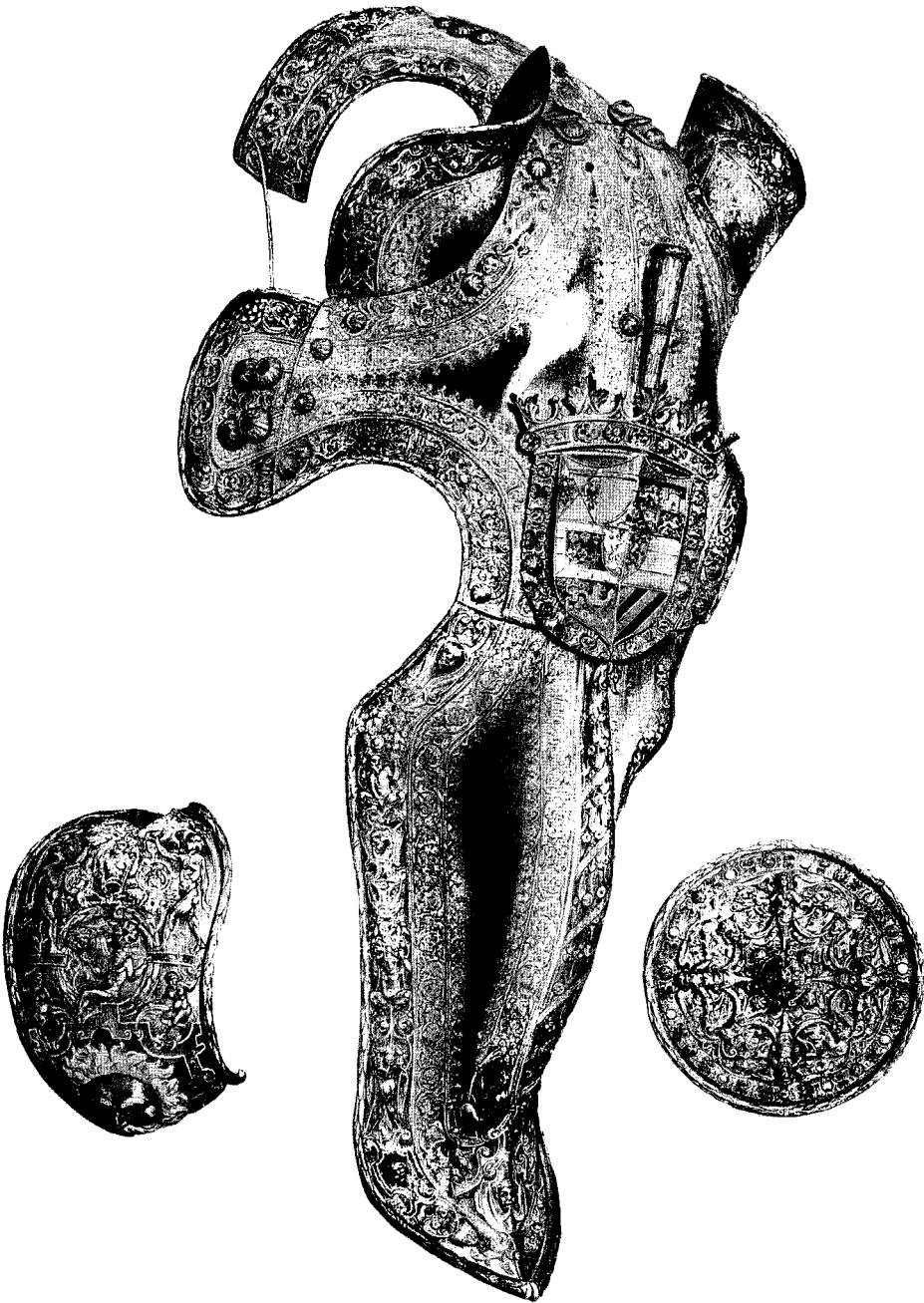


Fig. 1. Chanfron, couter, and besagew belonging to the armor of Philip II of Spain, made by Desiderius Helmschmid and Jörg Sigman of Augsburg, German (Augsburg) 1549-50. After a colored lithograph published in A. DuSommerard, *Les arts au moyen age*, Paris, 1838-40.

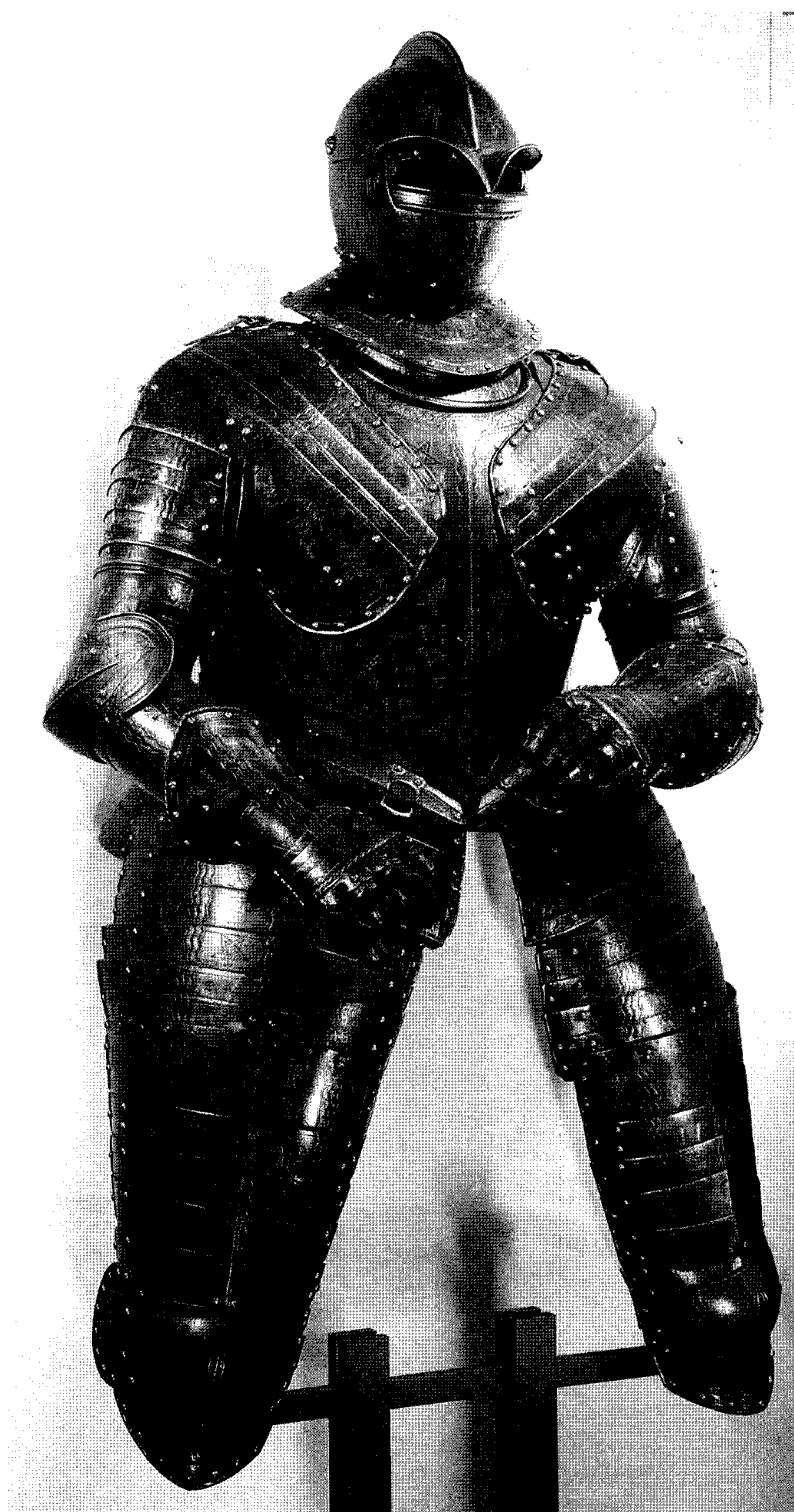


Fig. 2. Cuirassier armor of Don Gómez Suárez de Figueroa y Córdoba, Duke of Feria, Italian (Milan) ca. 1620-25. Armeria Reale, Turin, inv. no. B.44.

continued for another year, until May of 1835, when Eusebio declared that certain arms had been gathered and were ready for shipment to Paris. In asking for Zuloaga’s assistance, Lepage had doubtless been aware of Eusebio’s new position in the Real Armería and of his knowledge of other collections belonging to the Spanish aristocracy. Lepage’s request effectively set into motion the events that lead to flood of armor from Spain onto the art market in the next years.

The fate of the Lepage firm’s archives is unknown, except for a handful of miscellaneous papers donated by the Fauré-Lepage family to the Archives Nationales in Paris in 1926¹². By happy coincidence these papers include a single sheet torn out of the Lepage ledger for 1836, the same one that Buttin referred to many decades ago. Published then only in extracts, the lists are here transcribed in full, as they specify additional items not mentioned by Buttin, including several pieces that certainly come from the Real Armería. The eventual discovery of the remainder of the Lepage papers, if indeed they still exist, would no doubt provide considerably greater insight into the relationship between Lepage and Zuloaga and the fate of the historic arms that passed through their hands.

The Lepage papers are inventoried in the Archives Nationales (Section Moderne), among the Archives Privées, dossier nos. 82A18-19. The first dossier, no. 18, deals primarily with the business affairs of Jean Lepage and contains no reference to Zuloaga. The second one, no. 19, comprises miscellaneous papers of Henri Lepage, among them the double-sided ledger page on which Zuloaga’s three shipments of arms are detailed. Given in French francs, the values assigned to each item are evidently those asked by Zuloaga. The sheet in question, paginated 180-181 on the recto-verso, reads as follows:

(180)

Envois de M. Zuluaga [sic] [inscribed by a later hand: à M ^r LePage]			
1836			
25 février	1^{er} envoi		
	Une grande Armure à F Sans Jambes ni mains		3000
	Un Cabasset & un bouclier ciselés dorés		3000
	Un gorgerin ditto		1000
	Une masse à Pointu damasquinée	}	
	Une masse legere unie orientale		
	2 chanfreins gravés & dorés		
	2 faucres ditto		
	2 bouts de souliers ditto		1000
	Cotte de maille très avariée, Une brigantine ou loque [?]		
			<hr/> 8000 [francs]

(A note added by Lepage indicates that Zuloaga subsequently reduced the price to 6000 francs).

24 Avril	2^{me} envoi		
	Deux armures gravées à tassettes (sans jambes ni cuisses ni gantelets)		
	L'une 3000, l'autre 2500		5500
	Deux couvre têtes à jours, incomplets, gravés et dorés		800

¹² The only published reference to the Lepage papers in the Archives Nationales appears to be that in Rambaud, 1955: 126.

Une paire de petites jambes gravées et dorées ainsi que les cuissards	}	1000
Trois paires de bouts de souliers		
Treize faucres ou supports de lances		
Trois platines à Rouet		
		<hr/> 7300 [francs]

(A note follows in which Lepage indicates that the price of this second shipment was discussed over the next months and was eventually reduced to 4500 francs).

(no date) **3^{me} Envoi**

	Une masse d'arme sonori [?] manche ciselé et doré	500
	Deux pièces ciselés provenant, c'est à croire, d'appliqués sur cuirasse, l'une represente un Combat de deux Romains, l'autre une tête de Méduse avec serpens à jours	350
X	Deux jolies rondelles allant avec le beau chanfrein	500
	Quatre platines à rouet	[no value given]
X	Deux cubitieres (ou coudes) ciselés allant avec le beau chanfrein	800
		<hr/> 2150 [francs]

(181)

	Suite du 3 ^{me} Envoi - report d'autrepart	2150
	Un pistolet à deux coups, canon l'un sur l'autre, gravé doré, bois tout brisé incrustation d'ivoire très dégradées	1000
	Un gorgerin circulaire <i>cadet</i> ciselé en relief et doré	900
	Un cabasset ciselé en relief, ciselure large et pataude, peu de dorure puisque noir	1500
	Un chanfrein ciselé au pointellé & traçoir sur argenture	500
X	Un beau chanfrein bien conservé avec armoiries, mascarons, fruits et ornemens bien conservés damasquinés - n ^a les deux rondelles et les deux cubitieres sus mentionnées marqués d'une X vont avec cette tête de cheval	2000
	Deux tassettes (et non des Escarcelles) avec	

griffons et colonnes d'Hercule en relief et dorés (plus Ultrà)			150
Un fort mord de cheval ciselé			300
Deux Etriers ciselés et dorés			400
Un g[ran]d bas relief bronze fondu decollation de S ^t Jean			900
Un bënëtier mosaïque tout brisé			350
Une boîte en ivoire travail chinois			250
Une resurreccion de Christ, bas relief bronze doré	}	4 tableaux	500
Deux petits tableaux sur écaille			
Un petit tableau sur albâtre			
			10.900 [francs]

(As will be seen below, Lepage renegotiated the value of this shipment down to 6,325 francs. Along the right margin of p. 181 is a later notation in pen, the shaky script suggesting the hand of an elder member of the Lepage family: Liste très interessante.)

At the bottom of the same page, in the right column, Lepage computed the revised valuations for the third shipment:

J'ai vendu savoir	
Le beau chanfrein, les 2 rondelles, et les 2 cubitieres	3000
Le Cabasset ciselé	1500
La Masse ciselée	400
	<hr/>
	4900
Je deduis 25 % [indecipherable]	1225
	<hr/>
J'offre [indecipherable]	3675
chanfrein argenté	350
Gorgerin ciselé damasquiné	250
Pistolet d ^{ble} très avarié	200
2 tassettes à Griffons	150
Un mord ciselé	200
2 Etriers	200
2 pieces ciselés damasquinés	200
Bas relief Decollation de S' Jean	200
Mosaïque brisée mutilée	200
Böite ivoire chinois sculptée	200
4 Tableaux plati etc.	500
	<hr/>
	6325 [francs]

From the above it would appear that Lepage sold the five elements of Philip II's armor, the embossed cabasset, and the chiseled mace for a total of 4900 francs, while taking a 25% profit of 1225 francs for himself and offering Zuloaga the balance of 3675 francs. The value of the third shipment was thus reduced from the 10,900 francs to 6325, a sum that Zuloaga appears to have accepted.

Opposite these tabulations, at the left, Lepage listed his previous payments to Eusebio:

17 mars 1836	Il a reçu d'abord	2,500
	puis le 28 mai	2,500
	15 juillet	550
	par pistolet	450
	platine	49.50
	[indecipherable]	31.35
	2 mars 1837	4,000
	5 7 ^{bre} "	2,000
[received by Eusebio to date]		12,080.85 [francs]

Below this, Lepage computed the amount still owed Zuloaga:

1 ^{er} Envoi	6,000
2 ^{me} D ^{to}	4,500
3 ^{me} D ^{to}	6,325
<hr/>	
[total value of the three shipments]	16,825
Il reçu	12,080
<hr/>	
[still owed to Eusebio]	4,745 [francs]

(A note in Lepage's hand follows, indicating that he offered Zuloaga a round sum of 4500 francs to settle the account.)

In his article of 1957, Buttin transcribed another page from the Lepage account book, one that unfortunately is not preserved in the Archives Nationales, which adds considerably to our knowledge of Zuloaga's first shipment¹³. Originally valued by Zuloaga at 8000 francs, Lepage offered instead a mere 4890 francs based on the condition of the objects, whose faults he was quick to point out. This revised list is of particular importance as Lepage himself describes the pieces in slightly more detail.

1.	Grande armure à F sans gantelets, sans jambes	2000
2.	Bouclier et cabasset ciselés et damasquinés très richement, mais de mauvais goût, damasquine en mauvais état par la rouille	2000
3.	Gorgerin avec avant-bras à lames, bonne ciselure et damasquine, mais ayant souffert, provient d'une armure de grande valeur, mais pièce isolée	300

¹³ Buttin, 1957: 7, citing a letter of February 1836.

4.	2 masses d'armes, 1 à pointes avec damasquiné, l'autre avec légères incrustations cuivres	150
5.	Corsage à écailles en fer étamé et disloqué	100
6.	2 chanfreins polis gravés	300
7.	2 bouts souliers en acier	20
8.	2 supports de lances faucres	20
Total		4890 [francs]

As noted above, a mutually acceptable price of 6000 francs was finally agreed upon and shortly afterward Lepage offered the entire group of items in Zuloaga's first shipment to Count Seyssel d'Aix for 9000 francs¹⁴. According to the Lepage papers and documents in Turin cited by Buttin, only the most important items from this group were actually acquired for the Armeria Reale, notably the cuirassier armor at 3300 francs, the embossed cabasset and shield (price not recorded), the gorget at 1400 francs, and one of the two maces (the damascened example with points) at 300 francs¹⁵.

¹⁴ Buttin, 1957: 8, citing a letter of March 6, 1836 from Seyssel to the king in which all of the items of the first shipment are mentioned as having already been seen by the king at Seyssel's residence in Turin.

¹⁵ Buttin, 1957: 8-9, citing a letter of April 11, 1836 from Seyssel to the king. The letter mentions, in addition to the cuirassier armor, embossed gorget with pauldron lames, and mace with pyramidal studs, all recognizable from the original Lepage list, a «cabasset avec bouclier persan.» This reference to a Persian shield may be an error, confusing the shield of embossed and damascened steel that was said to match the cabasset with an Indian shield of bamboo that Seyssel also acquired from Lepage (see below). The embossed cabasset and shield were offered by Lepage at 3300 francs.

Giorgio Dondi has at my request very generously undertaken a search of the archives of the Armeria Reale in order to discover additional documents concerning the purchases made from Lepage. Whereas the Turin documents cited by Buttin were not located (the archives are in the process of being reordered), Mr. Dondi has discovered an important unpublished document of June 1836. This a list of expenses incurred for fourteen items acquired for the Armeria Reale that year, several of which came from Lepage:

4. Scudo lavorato al cesello dorato e damaschinato
(Shield chiseled, gilt, and damascened)
5. Elmo di equal lavoro
(Helmet of similar work)
6. Scudo Indiano di bambou
(Indian shield of bamboo)
11. Grande armatura al Cesello, argentata
(Large chiseled armor, silvered)
12. Gorgiera con Spallacci al Cesello dorati e Damaschinati
(Gorget with shoulders, chiseled, gilt, and damascened)
13. Chapeau d'arme dorata e damaschinata
(War hat gilt and damascened)

(A seventh item, no. 14 in the lot, a modern four-shot carbine ordered for the king's personal use, was also noted as having been purchased from Lepage.)

Curiously, the spiked mace with damascened ornament is not mentioned here, whereas a second embossed helmet of uncertain type (*chapeau d'arme*) seems to have been purchased. Almost certainly one of these helmets must be the 'Spanish' one mentioned by Seyssel d'Aix, 1840: 130, no. 308 (see note 24 and pl. IV below).

I am grateful to Dr. Paolo Venturoli, Director of the Armeria Reale, for providing me photocopies of this document.

Several items from this first shipment are more readily identifiable thanks to the expanded descriptions in Lepage's revised list. The most important single piece, «a large armor with Fs, without greaves or gauntlets,» is the cuirassier armor in the Armeria Reale in Turin already referred to above (fig. 2). The armor is distinguished not only for its impressive size, but also for its rich decoration: the principal surfaces were originally covered with hatched silver and are etched with groups of undulating vertical lines forming bands that frame the owner's personal devices, the letter F, a pentagram, and two palm branches passing through an open crown. The identity of the armor's original owner had been subject to fantastic speculation (Francis I of France had been suggested by Seyssel) until Angelo Angelucci, in his catalogue of the Armeria Reale published in 1890, proposed what appeared to be the authoritative solution¹⁶. Angelucci related how, during a visit to Turin in 1875, Eusebio Zuloaga identified the armor as having belonged to Don Diego Felipe de Guzmán, marquis of Leganés (died 1655) and pronounced it to be a work of the Spanish armor-making center at Eugui, near Pamplona. Angelucci was able to confirm that the property of the marquis of Leganés had passed by inheritance to the dukes of Sessa, counts of Altamira, whose heirs had been forced to sell much of the family property, including the armory, around 1830. Angelucci also established that Zuloaga had served as armorer to the House of Sessa-Altamira and thus had direct access to its collections.

Recent research has thoroughly revised these assertions about the armor in Turin. José-A. Godoy has demonstrated that the armor's etched devices are those not of Leganés but refer instead to Don Gómez Suárez de Figueroa y Córdoba (1587-1634), duke of Feria, the Spanish governor of the duchy of Milan in the years 1618-25 and 1631-33. The same initial and devices appear as embroidered decoration in the costume worn by the duke of Feria in two battle pictures in the Prado that were painted by Vicente Carducho (1570/76-1638) in 1634¹⁷. A second armor of the duke of Feria, a harness almost identical to that in Turin but with gilt rather than silvered surfaces, forms part of the Medinaceli armory in the Museo del Ejercito Español in Madrid¹⁸. The Turin armor (and by extension the matching harness in Madrid) is

¹⁶ Angelucci, 1890: 97-101.

¹⁷ These revelations, communicated by José-A. Godoy in a letter to Leonid Tarassuk dated March 17, 1986, were first reported in Tarassuk, 1986: 82-83 and are repeated in Godoy, 1997: 141.

¹⁸ The armor is discussed and illustrated by Godoy, 1997: 141 and figs. 5-6. These two nearly identical armors evidently became separated during their working life. The gilt harness now in Madrid remained in the family (the title of the duke of Feria passed by marriage to the dukes of Medinaceli), whereas the silvered armor divided between Turin and New York passed into the possession of the marquis of Leganés, in whose postmortem inventory of 1655 it is very clearly recorded (Buttin, 1957: 12). In a letter to the author of February 5, 1999, José-A. Godoy suggested that Leganés, who was governor of Milan from 1635 to 1641, might have received the armor as a gift from his compatriot and predecessor, the duke of Feria. Although Zuloaga is likely to have acquired the Turin armor from the Sessa-Altamira collection, as has been assumed, he may also have had access to the Medinaceli collection. This seems possible in light of the fact that several items with that provenance appeared on the London art market in 1838, a date between Zuloaga's sales to Lepage in 1835/36 and the Christie's sales of 1839-40. The Medinaceli items were owned by the specialist London dealer Samuel L. Pratt and appeared in his inaugural display of arms and armor that is recorded in his *Catalogue of the Exhibition of Ancient Arms and Armour*, No. 3, Lower Grosvenor Street, London, 1838:

8. A very richly engraved suit of polished steel armour for a youth, recently brought from Spain. It is covered with engravings, in figures, scrolls, and trophies; interspersed with the monogram of the Duke of Medina Celi, to whom it belonged in the time of Charles Vth.
626. A pair of very rich flint-lock pistols, of the finest Madrid workmanship. The whole of the barrels, locks stocks, &c. Are inlaid and ornamented with chased silver, of the most elegant design and elaborate execution; they bear in several parts the ducal coronet, together with the arms and initials of their former owner, the Duke of Medina-Celi.

It is not known if these pieces were acquired in Spain with Zuloaga's assistance (might Eusebio have had similar contacts with English agents as he did with Lepage?), but it seems very probable. Some confirmation of this

no longer considered to be of Spanish manufacture but is generally recognized by specialists as typically Milanese in style and workmanship¹⁹.

Buttin further identified the reinforcing breastplate (fig. 3), or placate, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York as belonging to the same harness²⁰. The placate retains much of the original hatched silver surface that was still present on the Turin armor when Seyssel acquired it in 1837²¹. Buttin suggested that the placate had probably arrived with the armor at Lepage's in 1836 and that it had accidentally been left behind when the armor was sent to Turin. It seems more likely, however, that the placate had already become separated from the armor while still in Spain and that it entered the art market later, very probably at the Christie's sale of February 26, 1840, which included a similar piece, lot 61: «a breastplate, with initials and coronets, in compartments.» The reinforce later passed into the collections of Ralph Bernal (who acquired many items from the Christie's sales of 1839 and 1840), the earl of Londesborough, and William H. Riggs, before entering the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1913²². The fact that the reinforce was described as Spanish in the Bernal sale catalogue tends to confirm the likelihood that it had originally been acquired at Christie's.

Zuloaga's first shipment included (to quote Lepage's revised list cited above) a «shield and cabasset chiseled and very richly damascened, but of bad taste, the damascene in bad state because of rust.» The description suggests Milanese parade armor dating from the second half of the sixteenth century in which elaborately embossed and damascened helmets (burgonets or cabassets) and circular shields of matching decoration formed a small garnitures *all'antica*. As already noted, both pieces were acquired for the Armeria Reale, although it is difficult now to identify which of the many embossed elements in that collection are the ones acquired from Lepage²³. It would appear likely, however, that cabasset E.96 (fig. 4), which Seyssel specifically noted as having come from Spain, is one of the pieces provided by Zuloaga²⁴. Seyssel unfor-

is provided by the appearance in the Christie's Spanish sales of another item belonging to the duke of Feria. The piece appeared in the sale of January 24, 1839, lot 156: «A broad sword with fluted guard, inscr. 'Don Gomez Suarez di Figueroa Duquo de Foria[sic], Ano Do. 1619'.»

¹⁹ Thomas and Gamber, 1958: 805, 826, 828, and Boccia and Coelho, 1967: 530.

²⁰ Buttin, 1957: 13-14. For the placate, see especially Tarassuk, 1986: 82. The same letter F and pentagram device, in addition to cockle shells, appear on a pair of Brescian wheellock pistols ca. 1640 that were formerly part of the *cabinet d'armes* of Louis XIII of France (where, because of the letters F on the barrel and lock they were erroneously identified as the pistols of Francis I of France) and are now divided between the Royal Armouries, Leeds, inv. no. XII-731, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, acc. no. 14.25.1426; for these see Tarassuk, 1986: 80-84.

²¹ Seyssel d'Aix, 1840: 71 refers to the armor as «completely silvered» (*tutta argentata*) whereas Angelucci, 1890: 100 mentioned that that it had once been silvered but was now blackened.

²² The Bernal sale was conducted by Christie's, London, on March 5 - April 30, 1855, the reinforce appearing as lot 2412: «A singular and fine breast placart, of Spanish work, in russet and silver, engraved with a triangular figure and the letter F, and crowns and feathers, there is a sharp ridge down the centre; it has a dent made by a crossbow bolt or bullet on it.» The piece was purchased by Samuel Pratt of Bond Street for £ 1.11.6. The Londesborough sale was also held at Christie's, July 4-6, 9-11, 1888. The reinforce, lot 438 in that sale, was apparently acquired by the Bachereau firm in Paris, which afterward sold it to Riggs (invoice dated July 24, 1888 in the files of the Department of Arms and Armor at the Metropolitan Museum of Art).

²³ The embossed and damascened burgonet and shield, inv. nos. E.35 and F.14 respectively, both decorated with scenes from the Labors of Hercules, were once considered to form a matched set (Seyssel d'Aix, 1840: 129, no. 303 and 160-162, no. 394; and Angelucci, 1890: 181, no. E.35; and 213, no. F.14), although this opinion is not maintained in the current reference work on the Turin collection (Mazzini *et al.*, 1982: 346, no. 78, and 349, no. 98). These two pieces are in fact unlikely to have been acquired through Zuloaga, as they correspond exactly to a helmet and shield sold with the collection of Baron Percy in Paris in 1825 (L.-J.-J. Dubois, *Catalogue des antiquités, armures, arms ... qui composaient la collection de feu M. Le Baron Percy*, Paris, 1825, lots 52 and 71) and that were sold again as part of the Percy-Durand collection in 1830 (*Catalogue des armures et armes diverses composant la collection formée originairement par feu M. Le Baron Percy, et complétée par M. D**** [Durand], Paris, January 18-23, 1830, lots 19 and 46 (here the two pieces are said to form a matched set)).

²⁴ Seyssel d'Aix, 1840: 130, no. 308; Angelucci, 1890: 191, no. E.96; Mazzini *et al.*, 1982: 347, no. 89.



Fig. 3. Reinforcing breastplate for the armor of the duke of Feria (fig. II) The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of William H. Riggs, 1914, acc. no. 14.25.867.



Fig. 4. Cabasset, Italian (Milan), ca. 1570-80. Armeria Reale, Turin, inv. no. E.96.

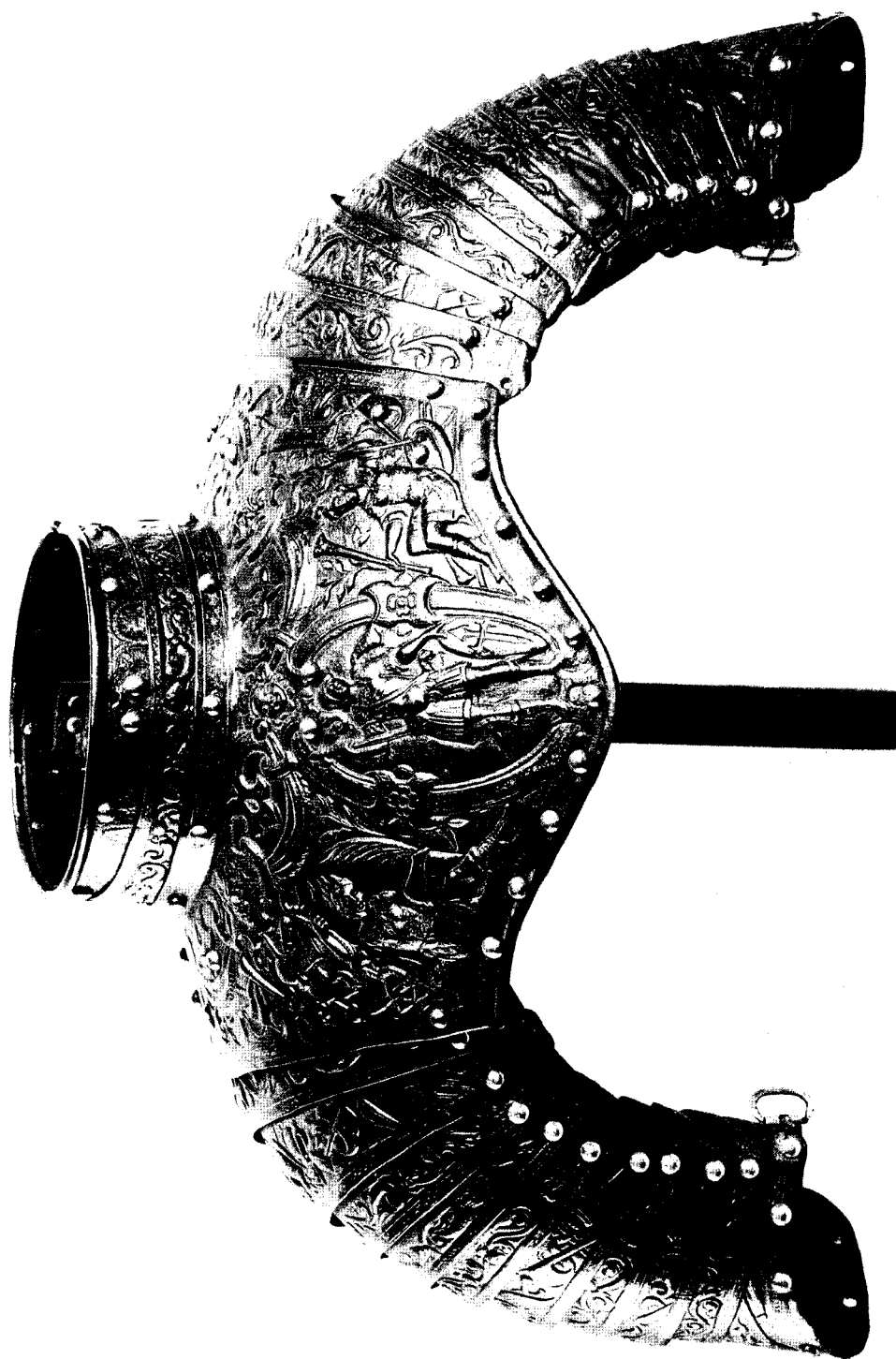


Fig. 5. Gorget with attached pauldron lames, Italian (Milan), ca. 1570-80. Armeria Reale, Turin, inv. no. C.46.

unately does not identify any of the embossed shields as having a Spanish provenance. In the absence of any documentation or iconographic evidence identifying cabasset E.96 to the Real Armeria, we must presume that Zuloaga obtained it from another Spanish collection.

The third item in the same shipment was described as a «gorget with upper arms of lames, well chiseled and damascened, but having suffered, comes from armor of great value but [is] an isolated piece». Gorgets with attached shoulder plates, a type often referred to in English as an «Almain collar,» are typically found on plain German infantry armors dating to the second half of the sixteenth century and seem not to have been popular in Italy. Italian examples decorated with embossed and damascened ornament would therefore be quite exceptional. The only gorget appearing to match this description is one in the Armeria Reale, inv. no. C.46 (fig. 5)²⁵. The gorget's decoration includes at the center of the large front plate an embossed figure of a knight whose shield is emblazoned with the cross of the Spanish orders of Calatrava or Alcántara, evidence pointing to its having been made for a Spanish client. The provenance of this piece, like cabasset E.96, has yet to be established.

The next items in the first shipment were «two maces, one with points, damascened, the other with light incrustations of copper.» The first-mentioned mace is presumably one of a distinctive late sixteenth century Italian type having a globular head studded with short pyramidal spikes. Three almost identical spiked maces, each chiseled, gilt, and damascened in the style of Milanese armor of the 1570's and 1580's, are in the Armeria Reale, Turin, inv. nos. I.35-37, and one of these was presumably that procured through Zuloaga and Lepage²⁶. The second mace, which was not purchased for Turin, is not identifiable today.

The remaining items in the list, described by Lepage as «a cuirass of scales of tinned iron and broken,» «two chanfrons, polished and engraved,» «two toe caps of steel,» and «two lance rests,» were also not acquired for the Armeria Reale and cannot now be traced.

Zuloaga's second shipment, initially valued at 7300 francs but subsequently negotiated down to 4500 francs, consisted of two etched half-armors, two etched and gilt helmets described as being incomplete, a pair of engraved and gilt cuisses and greaves identified as «petites» and therefore were presumably intended for a boy, three pairs of toe-caps, thirteen lance-rests, and three detached wheellocks. None of these pieces are described in sufficient detail so as to be recognizable.

The third shipment, initially valued at 10,900, was clearly the most important one and contained several pieces that can be identified with certainty. The first item, «a mace with a chiseled and gilt grip or shaft,» must have been of significant beauty to warrant a valuation of 500 francs, but the description unfortunately is too vague to allow us to recognize it today. The second item, «two chiseled pieces originating, one thinks, as appliquéés on the cuirass, the one representing a combat of two Romans, the other a head of Medusa with serpents, pierced,» can be identified as the embossed and damascened steel plaques that are now riveted to the centers of two fencing bucklers in the Armeria Reale in Turin, inv. nos. F.75 and F.84 (figs. 6-7)²⁷. The plaques correspond in style of workmanship and ornament to Milanese parade armor dating to the last third of the sixteenth century, whereas the bodies of the velvet-covered steel shields, which are patterned after Italian bucklers of the same period, are

²⁵ Seyssel d'Aix, 1840: 83-84, no. 80; Angelucci, 1890: 131-132, no. C.46; Mazzini *et al.*, 1982: 331-332, no. 31.

²⁶ Seyssel d'Aix, 1840: 324-325, nos. 1076-1078; Angelucci, 1890: 345-347, nos. I.35-I.37; Mazzini *et al.*, 1982: 367-368, nos. 201 (I.35) and 202 (I.37). As one of the three maces, I.35, is recorded as having been a gift to the Armeria Reale from one Colonel Omodei, one of the remaining two maces must be that acquired through Zuloaga.

²⁷ Seyssel d'Aix, 1840: 157-158, nos. 383 (F.84) and 385 (F.75), and Angelucci, 1890: 224-225, no. F.75 and 227, no. F.84. Both shields are illustrated in Quaregna, 1898: II, pl. 123.



Fig. 6. Fencing buckler, the center plaque Italian (Milan), ca. 1570-80, the remainder French (Paris), ca. 1836-39. Armeria Reale, Turin, inv. no. F.75.



Fig. 7. Fencing buckler, the center plaque Italian (Milan), late sixteenth century, the remainder French (Paris), ca. 1836-39. Armeria Reale, Turin, inv. no. F.84.



Fig. 8. Plaque applied to parrying shield F.75 in the Armeria Reale, Turin (fig. VI). After an engraving published in *Trésor* (1839): pl. 22.

of obvious nineteenth century manufacture²⁸. The shields were no doubt fabricated for Henri Lepage so as to make the detached plaques more saleable. It is of interest to note that one of the plaques, that illustrating the Roman hero Horatius Cocles defending the Sublican bridge (on buckler F.75), was deemed of sufficient interest to have been engraved separately in a publication of 1839 (fig. 8), before it was transformed into a shield mount²⁹. The presence of these shields in Turin offers proof that additional purchases from Lepage were made for the

²⁸ I am most grateful to Dr. Paolo Venturoli, Director of the Armeria Reale, for examining these shields on my behalf and for having had them photographed for this article.

²⁹ *Trésor*, 1839: 11, pl. XXII. The brief accompanying text identifies the plaque as a mount for a saddle and dates it to the middle of the sixteenth century but fails to note the owner or location of the piece.

Armeria Reale after the initial acquisitions of 1836. Curiously, neither Seyssel nor Angelucci appears to have suspected the composite nature of the two shields.

The source of at least one of these Milanese plaques can be traced to the Real Armería. The openwork plaque embossed with the Medusa head on buckler F.84 seems to belong to one of the two horse caparisons constructed of heavy textile applied with openwork steel plaques embossed and damascened with classical figures, grotesques, and trophies of late Renaissance type that were presented to Philip III of Spain by the Duke of Savoy in 1603. One of these bards, although fragmentary and partially reconstructed, remains in the Real Armería (A.291-A.294) (fig. 9)³⁰. The second one appeared at auction at Oxenham's, London, on March 30-31, 1843, lot 310, where it was identified as «the horse armor of Charles V» and was said to have come from the Royal Collection at Segovia (fig. 10)³¹. This second bard, which was probably constructed from pieces dispersed in the Christie's sales of 1839-1840³², later passed through the hands of the dealer Frédérick Spitzer³³ in Paris before entering the collection of Nathaniel de Rothschild in Vienna³⁴. The bard remained in Rothschild possession until it entered the collection of the Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer of the Kunsthistorisches Museum after World War II (inv. nos. A.2274-75).

The plaque depicting Horatius Cocles lacks the pierced framework of the Medusa plaque and of the related appliqués still composing the bards in Madrid and Vienna and therefore may come from a different caparison of generally similar type. Other plaques matching design and workmanship of the Horatius Cocles example are found in the Musée de l'Armée, Paris, the Musée National de la Renaissance at Ecouen, and the British Museum³⁵.

The next item in the list, a «two-shot pistol, one barrel over the other, engraved and gilt, the wood completely broken, the incrustation of ivory very worn» was evidently an important one, its value placed at 1000 francs. The Metropolitan Museum's well known pistol of Charles V, made by Peter Pech of Munich about 1540, comes to mind³⁶. It matches the described pistol in so far as it is double-barreled, the metal parts are etched and gilt (the wheel locks bear the emperor's devices and motto *Plus Ultra*), and its stock is inlaid with staghorn (a material often mistaken as ivory). On the other hand, the stock of this pistol is intact and has only minor repairs, which makes it very unlikely that it was the pistol provided by Zuloaga.

³⁰ Valencia de Don Juan, 1898: 97-100, pl. XVI.

³¹ For this sale and for the role played in it by London dealer Samuel Pratt, see Cripps-Day, 1925: lvi-lviii; the bard is reproduced (fig. DD) after an engraving published in the 1843 sale catalogue. Many of the pieces sold at the Christie's in 1839-40 reappeared in subsequent sales held at Oxenham's, where they are usually identified as having come from the Royal Collection or [fictitious] Royal Armoury at Segovia and, on one occasion, from the Royal Armoury of Madrid (Oxenham & Son, London, April 29-30, May 1, 1841, lot 444).

³² Parts of this bard may have been included in the sale of 1839, lot 73 («Part of the trappings of a horse, chased, with subjects and masks in beautiful Italian taste») or in the 1840 sale, lot 29 («Part of a chanfron, and a quantity of gilt ornaments for the trappings of a horse, beautifully chased and engraved in Primaticciquesque taste»).

³³ Two parts of the bard were engraved and reproduced in *L'Art pour tous* VI (1866-67), no. 168, p. 672, fig. 1551 (peytral) and 8 (1868-9), no. 209, p. 836, fig. 1900 (crupper); both are captioned as belonging to «M. Spitzer».

³⁴ The Rothschild ownership is mentioned by Valencia de Don Juan, 1898: 99, n. 1.

³⁵ Musée de l'Armée, Paris, inv. no. I.73 (a plain steel shield to which several plaques have been riveted); Musée National de la Renaissance, Ecouen, inv. no. CL 718 (plaque depicting Marcus Curtius leaping into the fiery pit, formerly in the Musée du Cluny, Paris), and the British Museum, London, Waddesdon Bequest no. 15 (plaque depicting Hercules slaying the centaur Eurytion) respectively. These examples are of solid (rather than pierced) plates and consist of a central horizontal oval field framed by strapwork and embellished around the outside with putti, grotesques, masks, and garlands. The border of the Turin plaque F.74 is almost identical to that of the British Museum's example. The Spanish provenance of the Turin plaque suggests that they had a common source in Spain.

³⁶ Grancsay, 1947: 117-122; Schalkhauser, 1979: 191 and figs. 7-8.



Fig. 9. Armor for man and horse presented to Philip III of Spain by the duke of Savoy in 1603, Italian (Milan), late sixteenth century. Real Armería, Madrid, inv. no. A.291-A.294.

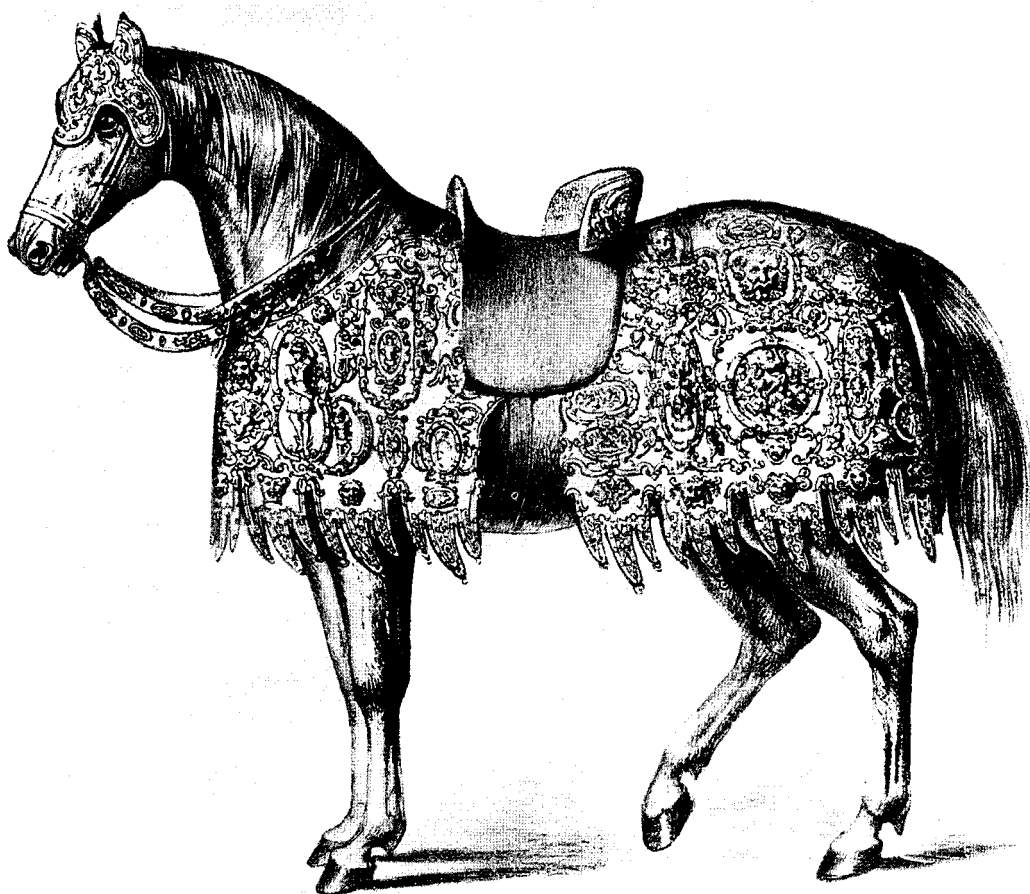


Fig. 10. Bard sold at Oxenham's, London, March 30, 1843, lot 310. After an engraving published in the sale catalogue and reproduced by Cripps-Day (1925): lvii.

The next item on the list, a «circular gorget for a youth, chiseled in relief and gilt», very likely corresponds to a gorget in the Armeria Reale, Turin, inv. no. C.52 (fig. 11)³⁷. The diminutive size of the collar and its rich and well preserved embossed and damascened decoration indicate that it once formed a part of an elaborate parade armor *all'antica* for a young prince, examples of which are exceedingly rare. This gorget can in fact be demonstrated to match the boy's armor in the Real Armeria, inv. nos. B.1 - B.3 (fig. 12), which was made for the future Philip III as a youth³⁸. The distinctive interlace pattern of gold-damascened ornament on the raised strapwork borders and the form of the eagles displayed to either side of the bound Turkish prisoners at the front of the gorget correspond exactly to the decoration of the harness in Madrid. Although the armor is currently mounted with a matching gorget, it is recorded in the 1594 inventory of the Royal Armory as possessing two gorgets³⁹, the missing one undoubtedly being that now in Turin.

³⁷ Probably Seyssel d'Aix, 1840: 85, no. 86; Angelucci, 1890: 153, no. C.52; Mazzini *et al.*, 1982: 332, no. 32.

³⁸ Valencia de Don Juan, 1898: 121-122, nos. B.1 - B.3; Ruiz Alcon, 1966: 44.

³⁹ I am especially grateful to José-A. Godoy for confirmation that the Turin gorget appears to match Madrid armor B.1 - B.3 and for providing me with the following description of the harness in the 1594 inventory (fol. 75 r-v) of the Royal Armory:



Fig. 11. Gorget, Italian (Milan), ca. 1585, belonging to an armor made for the future Philip III as a boy. Armeria Reale, Turin, inv. no. C.52.

Identifying the following item, a «cabasset chiseled in relief, the chiseling large and clumsy, with hardly any gilding, almost black», is more problematic. The cabasset might refer to the one in Turin, E.96 (fig. 4), already referred to above as having been acquired from Spain. On the other hand, it more likely corresponds to one in the Musée de l'Armée, Paris, H.233, which still bears its early Real Armería inventory number incised under the plume holder⁴⁰. Indeed, the cabasset's high relief ornament, which appears somewhat provincial in its stylization of human and animal forms, might well correspond well to Lepage's characte-

folio 75^o Un coselete de Infante del Principe Don phelippe Nro S' que el duque de osuna le presento que tiene piecas sigui^{tes}

Peto y espaldar y escarzelas

Dos golas

Dos braçales enteros

Dos mandiletes

Una Zelada borgoñona encaxada

Un morrion de Infante

Dos penachos para zelada y murrion de plumas de colores y Garzotas

Una Rodela aforrada en terçipelo azul bordada de plata y oro con su franxon de oro y azul y pestañas de terçipelo azul bordadas

Todas las dhas Armas labradas de rrelieve de diferentes ystorias

folio 75^v y todas doradas y plateadas aforradas en / tela de Plata y encarnado con pestañas de terçipelo azul aforradas en bayeta azul

⁴⁰ The inventory marking, D29 n23, corresponds to the topographical system used in the Real Armería in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, as for example in Abadía, 1793: 51.



Fig. 12. Armor made for the future Philip III as a boy, Italian (Milan), ca. 1585. Real Armería, Madrid, inv. nos. B.1-B.3.

rization of the workmanship as «clumsy». A shield matching the Paris cabasset of is in the Real Armería, inv. no. D.73⁴¹, which is recorded in the inventories of the Royal Armory as having been made by the armorers of Eugui. The earliest nineteenth century reference to the Paris cabasset dates to ca. 1840, when it was engraved by Asselineau while it was in the possession of Prince Peter Soltykoff of Saint Petersburg (fig. 13).

The «chanfron chiseled and punched and traced on silvering» is without doubt the distinctive engraved and silvered one now in a private collection (fig. 14)⁴². It belongs to one of a series of Flemish armors sent to Philip IV of Spain by his aunt Isabel Clara Eugenia, Regent of the Netherlands, from Brussels in 1624-26. These armors, some of which bear the maker's mark MP, figure as nos. A.380-A.421 in the Real Armería, the chanfron actually corresponding to the fragmentary armor A.418-A.421⁴³. The chanfron eventually passed into possession of James de Rothschild, founder of the Paris branch of the Rothschild bank, who incorporated it into a decorative panoply of arms in his château at Ferrières, near Paris⁴⁴, which was constructed and decorated in the years 1853-63. The arms from Ferrières were sold at Sotheby's, London, on October 12, 1976, including this chanfron (lot 293), which was then black with tarnish, its elaborately engraved and silvered surface obscured, and its royal provenance unrecognized. Identified by the present author, the chanfron on loan to the Metropolitan Museum from 1984 to 1998.

The next items, «two tassets (and not cuisses) with griffons and columns of Hercules in relief and gilt (plus ultra),» are those now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 29.150.1 d, e (fig. 15)⁴⁵. Depicted in the *Inventario Iluminado*, the illustrated inventory of Charles V's armory that was completed around 1544, the tassets are presumably the work of Desiderius Helmschmid of Augsburg and date in the mid-1530's. The tassets are also described in the *Relación de Valladolid*, an inventory of the Emperor's armory that dates to ca. 1558, as *Un par de laonas de coroa que estas unos grifos relevados en las escarcellas* (A pair of lames for the breastplate that have some griffons embossed on the tassets)⁴⁶. It is not known to whom Lepage sold the tassets, but by mid-century they had found their way to the collection of Prince Carl of Prussia in Berlin, where they formed part of a composite armor identified

⁴¹ Valencia de Don Juan, 1898: 157-158, no. D.73, who noted its relationship to cabasset H.233 in Paris.

⁴² The chanfron was recently published in Brussels, 1998: 69-70, no. 69 (catalogued by Christian Beaufort-Spontin), where it is illustrated in color.

⁴³ Valencia de Don Juan, 1898: 109-114. The armorers' mark found on several of these armors, and others of similar form and construction outside the Real Armería, consists of a crowned shield enclosing three fleurs-de-lis flanked by the letters M and P (illustrated in Valencia de Don Juan, 1898: 110, fig. 64). Valencia, and most recently Beaufort-Spontin (see note 42), associate this mark with the Petit family, who were gilders, damasceners, hilt-makers, and cutlers in Paris from the late sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century. I know of no evidence, however, to connect these French craftsmen with the manufacture or decoration of this distinctive series of Flemish armors.

For a review of the armors by, or attributed to, «Master MP,» see Karcheski, 1985. A pair of knee defenses matching this chanfron, their surfaces engraved with foliate scrolls on a silvered ground, are in the Odescalchi Collection, Rome (Rome, 1969: 27, cat. no. 142, ill.). Like the chanfron, these plates match armor A.414-A.421 in Madrid and not A.324 cited by Carpegna or A.394 suggested by Karcheski.

⁴⁴ For Ferrières, see Prevost-Marcilhacy, 1995: 93-98, 122-136, 308-310. A very similar half-chanfron of Flemish type, with a distinctive gilt rosette in the center and with spirally turned and gilt knobs at the center of the rosette and at the tip of the nose, once belonged to Prince Peter Soltykoff of Saint Petersburg. The chanfron is illustrated in a colored lithograph reproduced in DuSommerard, 1838-46: V, 226; Album, 4^e serie, pl. XXXIII, and again in a line engraving showing the display of Soltykoff's collection reproduced in Asselineau, 1839-44: I, pl. 29; it was included in the (anonymous) sale of part of Soltykoff's armory held in Paris on April 18-22, 1854, lot 117: «Chanfrain en fer noir, orné d'une rosette d'applique dorée.» If this was the same chanfron included in Zuloaga's third shipment, it is curious that there was no mention of its engraved decoration, although the black color could refer to the heavily oxidized silver surface.

⁴⁵ Grancsay, 1966: 7.

⁴⁶ Cripps-Day, 1951: 34-35, 125, and 127.



Fig. 13. Cabasset, Spanish (Egui), ca. 1600, in the Musée de l'Armée, Paris, inv. no. H.233.
After an engraving published in Asselineau (1836-44): pl. 123.

as belonging to Charles V, a harness that was in fact made up from several disparate pieces from the Real Armería and then largely completed by modern elements⁴⁷. Prince Carl's collection was acquired for the Berlin Zeughaus following his death in 1883 and the «armor of Charles V» remained there on public display until the early 1920's, when it was determined to be of little value to the collection and was sold privately to Bashford Dean, Curator of Arms and Armor at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Dean bequeathed it to the Museum in 1928. The armor was subsequently dismantled and the restored parts deaccessioned and sold at Christie's, London, on July 14, 1961, lot 24. The genuine elements, including the tassets, remain in the Museum's collection.

The last items in the third and final shipment include a chiseled horse bridle, two chiseled and gilt stirrups, and a miscellany of sculpture and decorative objects unrelated to arms and armor. None of these items is identifiable.

The Lepage ledger provides crucial information about the exodus of historic arms and armor from Spain in the 1830's. It documents an early, and largely overlooked, episode of

⁴⁷ Hiltl, 1877: 176, no. 1017a, pl. XVII.

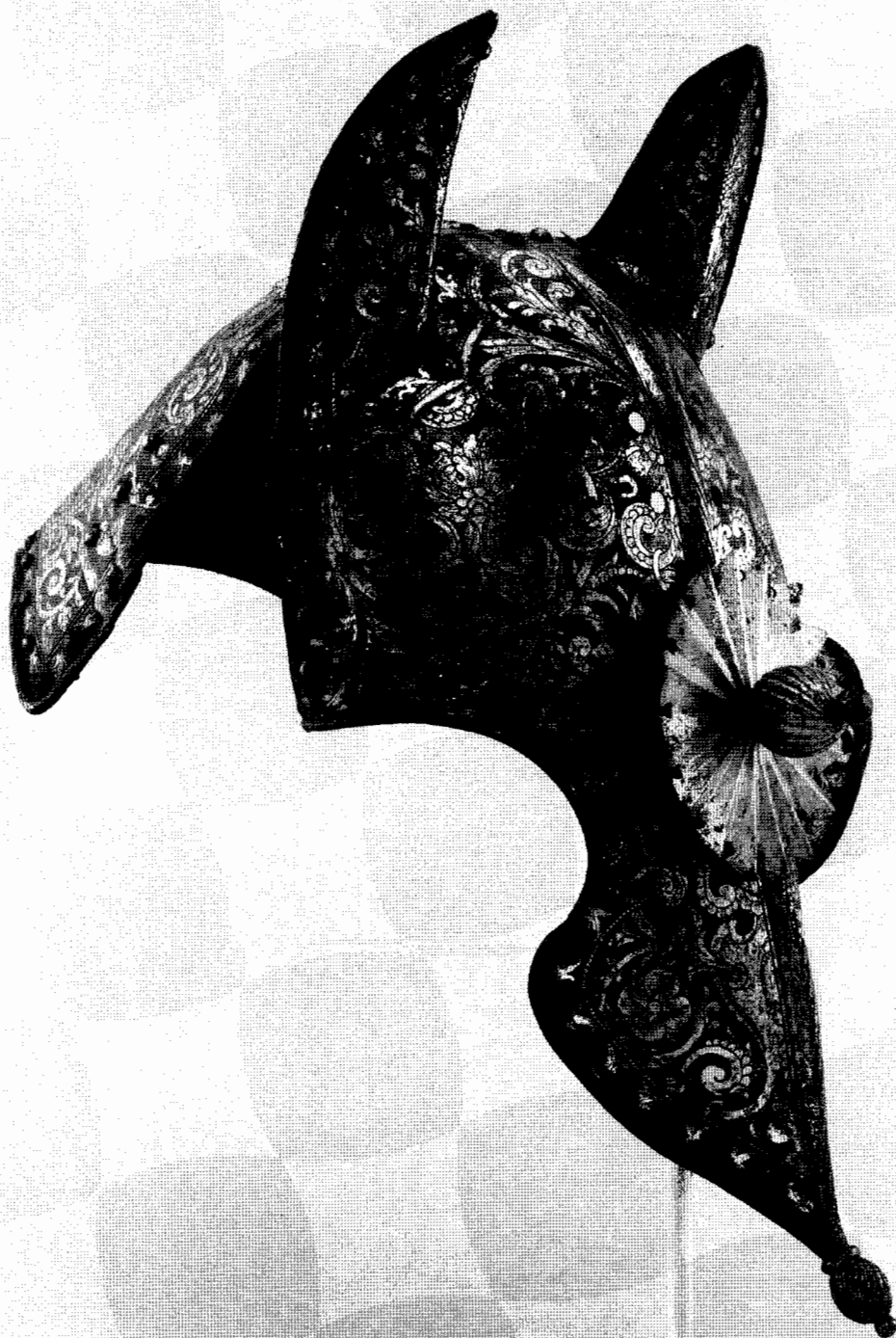


Fig. 14. Chanfron belonging to an armor of Philip IV of Spain, Flemish (Brussels), ca. 1624-26. Private collection.



Fig. 15. Pair of tassets for an armor of Charles V. German (Augsburg), ca. 1535. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Bashford Dean, 1928, acc. no. 29.150.1 d, e.

theft from the Real Armería, and it furnishes unequivocal proof of the guilt of Eusebio Zuloaga and, by implication, his father and supervisor Blas in this crime. There can be no doubt that the illicit removal of elements belonging to harnesses made for Charles V, Philip II, Philip III, and Philip IV was perpetrated by the very custodians responsible for the armors' safekeeping and maintenance. The pattern of theft, which involved the removal of small and mostly secondary pieces of armor not likely to be missed, was repeated in 1838, when hundreds more detached pieces from the Real Armería were shipped to London for sale. Although this consignment to Christie's was cloaked in secrecy, the objects can only have been supplied to the English agents by the Zuloaga. It is significant that the thefts from the Real Armería came to an end with Eusebio's dismissal in November 1838 and the preparation of a new inventory.

The Lepage ledger also allows us to identify the Spanish provenance of a number of armor elements that passed from the Paris art market into public and private collections throughout Europe. The newly founded Armeria Reale in Turin especially benefited from the Zuloaga-Lepage transactions, although - ironically - Seyssel's request for Henri Lepage's assistance in forming the collection appears to have initiated the events that lead to the thefts in Madrid. Some of the arms furnished by Zuloaga, especially the duke of Feria's armor, evidently came from other distinguished Spanish collections. This should provide a cautionary note to users of the Christie's auction catalogues of 1838-40, who have traditionally assumed that all of the objects described therein originally came from the Real Armería. On the contrary, it would appear likely that the majority of the weapons, several of the more complete armors, and all of the decorative objects and tapestries were acquired by Zuloaga from aristocratic collections like that of the house of Sessa-Altamira. As to the methods by which Zuloaga acquired them, we shall probably always be in doubt.

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