

# The Thun-Hohenstein Album: Constructing and Commemorating the Armored Body in the Holy Roman Empire

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Chassica F Kirchhoff

MA, University of Kansas, 2011

BA, Drury University, 2007

Submitted to the graduate degree program in Art History and the Graduate Faculty of the  
University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy.

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Co-Chair: Dr. Anne D. Hedeman

---

Co-Chair: Dr. Stephen H. Goddard

---

Dr. Areli Marina

---

Dr. Christine Bourgeois

---

Dr. Andrea Meyertholen

Date Defended: 30 March 2018

The dissertation committee for Chassica F. Kirchhoff certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:

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## Abstract

Through the lens of the Thun-Hohenstein album, this dissertation explores the ways that late medieval constructions of martial identity continued to inflect how the armored body was represented and perceived in the early modern Holy Roman Empire. The album includes 112 artworks with diverse origins and antecedents, which were created from the 1470s through the 1590s. This diversity lends itself to the use of case studies of individual drawings as foci from which chapters depart to explore thematic nodes within the bound collection. These case studies illuminate the ways that the drawings' pictorial antecedents and retrospective representation of specific armors situate the album within a culture of remembrance centered around Maximilian I and his court. The chapters' progression roughly parallels the viewer's progress from the beginning of the album through its codicological arrangement. It simultaneously evokes a temporal progression through the martial culture of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and its retrospective representation in the middle and late 1500s and into the early seventeenth century, when the album was bound.

Chapter 1 introduces the album's history and codicology, as well as the artistic circles from which the drawings that fill it emerged. This chapter also traces the development of European plate armor as well as the historiography of arms and armor studies, and establishes theoretical foundations for considering how armor functioned within the commemorative imaginary of the early modern Holy Roman Empire. Chapter 2 focuses on three late-fifteenth-century drawings placed between the album's first and second quires. As the oldest works that the Thun album collects, these images represent fifteenth-century pictorial and literary genres that established visual languages of the armored body that resonate through the album's later drawings. Identification of the drawings' original contexts or antecedents exposes aspects of the unknown compiler's body of source material, which, in turn, hints at what associations he was seeking to evoke in compiling the collection of drawings in the album. Chapter 3 considers visualizations of the tournament collected

in the album and the pictorial traditions that influenced them. It suggests that the Thun album derived meaning not only from its own content and from the meanings associated with the real armors represented on its pages, but also from the pictorial strategies, representational lineages, and retrospective focus that it shared with the tradition of Augsburg artworks from which it emerged and in which it took its place.

Chapter 4 examines a drawing that depicts Maximilian I clad in armor and riding a horse that is also fully encased in steel plates from its head to its hooves. This image was drawn during the 1540s, but it retrospectively imagines Maximilian's ceremonial entries into the cities of Namur and Luxembourg in 1480. By analyzing this drawing and its models, Chapter 4 places the drawing within a tradition that mythologized Maximilian's Burgundian exploits and retrospectively celebrated his idealized knightly identity. Chapter 5 considers a drawing of a splendid armor that is part of a group of sixteen full-figure drawings that form the album's fourth and fifth quires, at least nine of which picture recognizable armors crafted for imperial or princely wearers. This chapter analyzes the drawing and its codicological context within the album alongside exploration of the real armor's history as a component of a commemorative collection in the so-called Heroes' Armory of Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol. In each case, the armor—both real and depicted—was juxtaposed with other armored bodies that were associated with the Habsburg imperial court. The Conclusion highlights conceptual narratives that unfold through the five chapters and identifies pathways for future research. Four Appendices support this study by providing diagrams of armor for man and horse, a table of codicological data that details the previously unstudied physical structure of the album, visualizations of the familial and social networks that connected Augsburg artists and armorers, and a glossary of common technical terms that appear throughout the dissertation.



## Acknowledgements

Numerous people deserve thanks for the diverse ways that they have supported me in this endeavor and facilitated the multifaceted research that shaped this project. Above all, this dissertation is dedicated to my mother, Gwenuš Kirchoff, whose curiosity, creativity, effervescent love of learning, and deep commitment to sharing knowledge illuminated the pathways of art and scholarship that led to the completion of this project, which I know would make her proud.

My co-advisors, Drs. Anne D. Hedeman and Stephen H. Goddard are first among the many scholarly mentors, colleagues, and contacts who I must acknowledge. Their priceless guidance and advice, along with their invaluable, complementary knowledge of facets of the history of northern renaissance art and approaches to object-based research have been central to my graduate career. Additionally, Drs. Sally Cornelison, Marni Kessler, and Kate Gerry contributed to my intellectual development in important ways, as did Dr. Susan Earle, Dr. Kate Meyer, Dr. Celka Straughn, Saralyn Reece Hardy, and the rest of the staff at the Spencer Museum of Art, which has been my scholarly home since 2009. I am also deeply grateful to Drs. Areli Marina, Christine Bourgeois, and Andrea Meyertholen for their thoughtful contributions to the final stages of this project, as well as their suggestions for its next iterations.

My analysis of the Thun album would not have been possible without generous and patient assistance from Tereza Janoušková and the kind staff at the Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze. Dr. Pierre Terjanian laid the foundations for this research with his rediscovery and publication of both surviving albums of armor from the former Thun-Hohenstein collection, and I am deeply grateful for his encouragement of this project which builds upon and expands his work. Throughout seven years of research, I have been struck by the generosity and enthusiasm of distinguished historians of European arms and armor, many of whom have offered informed feedback,

meaningful encouragement, and precious access to armors, archives, and works of art. I'm especially grateful to Dr. Stefan Krause, Dr. Alvaro Soler de Campo, Dirk Breiding, Dr. Jonathan Tavares, and Dr. Tobias Capwell. Their expert contributions have been complemented by kind feedback from eminent art historians, including Drs. Christina Normore, Laura Weigert, Cynthia Hahn, and Elizabeth Morrison. I am also deeply indebted to the international community of scholars with whom I have presented and explored facets of late medieval and early modern martial history and whose diverse and brilliant work has inspired and energize my own research. In particular, I must express appreciation for Dr. Daniel Jaquet, Dr. Iason Elefthenos Tzouridis, Inês Meira Araújo, António Martins Costa, Dr. Matthew Bennet, Dr. Iain MacInnes, Dr. Trevor Russel Smith, Dr. Natalie Anderson, and Dr. Elizabeth Pugliano.

This project would have been impossible without the help of library staff, especially Andy Back and the staff of the University of Kansas's Murphy Art and Architecture Library. I am also grateful to staff at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek and the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, as well as Dr. Günther Hägele of the Augsburg Universitätsbibliothek and Georg Feuerer and his colleagues at the Augsburg Stadtarchiv. I am indebted to the curators and museum professionals who facilitated first-hand examination of objects and manuscripts, including Dr. Katja Schmitz von Ledebur of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Dr. Christoph Nicht of the Augsburg Grafische Sammlung, and Dr. Yao-fen You of the Detroit Institute of Arts. Finally, I'm deeply thankful to conservator Paul Benson of the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art for his contributions to the earliest stages of my work with armor.

Several senior scholars and graduate colleagues at the University of Kansas contributed to the realization of this project, whether through feedback, stimulating conversation, professional advice, or encouragement. I'm thankful to fellow KU medieval and early modernists, including Drs.

Misty Schieberle, Caroline Jewers, and Jon Lamb, for their enthusiastic feedback and encouragement. Faculty in the department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, including Dr. Lorie Vanchena, Dr. James Brown, Dr. Frank Baron, and Jim Morrison, offered valuable thoughts, suggested literary sources, and assisted with funding applications. My cohort of fellow graduate students in the Kress Foundation Department of Art History continues to be a source of inspiration. I treasure the opportunity to have shared the triumphs and trials of graduate school with colleagues like Jen Fries, Heather Tennison, Meaghan Walsh, Ashley Offill, Laura Minton, Megan Blocksom, Denise Giannino, Tyler York, Reilly Shwab, Sean Kramer, Eunyong Park, Loren Whitaker, Carla Tilghman, and Lindsey Elmi Gharavi.

Beyond KU, I have been fortunate to learn from a rich community of artists, art historians, and historians who have shaped the perspectives that informed this project. These intellectual and creative role models include Dr. Sandra Weddle, Dr. Shelley Wolbrink, Dr. Tom Russo, Dr. Teresa Hornsby, Blaine Whisenhunt, Anissa Barber, and Terry Bloodworth. Finally, I must acknowledge the immense contributions of my family and chosen family: Katie and Corey Holmes, Abi and Travis Goodrich, and, especially, Jerry Kirchhoff, whose bottomless support remains a marvel to me. Most of all, Shane Hamblton, has patiently worked to facilitate my success, and I look forward with excitement to sharing the next chapters of my career with him.

The extensive research travel that this project necessitated was made possible by a Murphy Graduate Research Fellowship, an Eldredge, Stokstad, Li Dissertation Travel Award, a Short-Term Research Fellowship from the Renaissance Society of America, and funds from the Kress Foundation Department of Art History, the Spencer Museum of Art, and the University of Kansas Doctoral Student Research Fund.

# Table of Contents

Abstract .....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	v
List of Abbreviations.....	x
List of Figures.....	xi
Chapter 1: (Re)Introducing the Thun-Hohenstein Album.....	1
The History and Codicology of the Album .....	3
Plate Armor in European Visual Culture .....	10
European Arms and Armor Studies and Related Scholarship .....	19
Augsburg Artists and the Representation of the Armored Body .....	25
Armor and Memory, Commemoration and Collection .....	29
Methodological Frameworks for the Case Studies to Follow .....	35
Chapter 2: The Thun Album and Visualizations of Martial Practice in the Fight Book Genre .....	38
Visualizing Martial Knowledge on Folios 10r and 11v .....	39
The Thun album and the <i>Art of Knightly Defense</i> .....	44
Martial Practice and Bellicose Knowledge in Word and Image.....	49
Pictorial and Literary Mnemonic Strategies in Martial Treatises .....	55
Transmission and Innovation in Augsburg Martial Manual Imagery .....	58
Visions of Martial Knowledge within the Album’s Codicology .....	63
Chapter 3: Representations of Knightly Sport in the Thun Album .....	67
Significant Forms of the Tournament and their Representation in the Thun Album .....	74
Memory, Image, and Text in German Tournament Books.....	92
Artistic Influences and Potential Pathways of Transmission .....	103
Commemorating Knightly Sport amid Early Modern Shifts .....	107
Chapter 4: Persistent Spectacles and Recollections of Triumph.....	114
The Netherlandish Entries of 1480 and their Depictions .....	116
The Historical Context of the Luxembourg and Namur Entries .....	123
The Armored Body as a Burgundian Signifier of Power .....	128
Lorenz Helmschmid’s Innovations and Habsburg Self-Construction .....	134
Maximilian’s Legendary Knightly Identity and Burgundian Mythos .....	144
Transmission and Transformation in Augsburg Cultures of Remembrance.....	152
Chapter 5: The Thun Album as a Virtual Armory of Heroes .....	162
The Drawing’s Place Among Collected Images of Memorable Armors.....	165

The History of an Exceptional Armor and its Revision through Representation .....	174
Armor as an Object of Display and Recollection .....	180
Heroes' Armories in Image and Text .....	184
The Thun album as a Virtual Armory of Heroes.....	189
Conclusion .....	194
Bibliography.....	199
Manuscript & Archival Sources .....	199
Printed & Secondary Sources:.....	201
Figures .....	213
Appendices.....	393
Appendix I: Diagrams of Armor for Man & Horse .....	394
Appendix II: A Codicological Overview of UPM GK. 11.572-B .....	400
Appendix III: Familial and Social Networks in Fifteenth– and Sixteenth-Century Augsburg .....	428
Appendix IV: Glossary .....	431

## List of Abbreviations

AUB: Augsburg, Augsburg Univeritätsbibliothek/Oettingen-Wallersteinschebibliothek

BBB: Bern, Burgerbibliothek

BM: London, British Museum

BnF: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France

BSB, Cgm: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Codices germanici monacenses

BSB, Cod. icon: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Codices iconographici

DKB: Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek

HAB: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek

HUB: Heidelberg, Heidelberg Universitätsbibliothek

KHM, KK: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunstammer

Leeds RA: Leeds, Royal Armouries

MSB: Munich, Münchner Stadtbibliothek

ÖNB: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

Madrid RA: Madrid, Real Armería

SAA: Augsburg, Stadtarchiv

SLUB: Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek –Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek

UPM: Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze

WLB: Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek

## List of Figures

Fig. 1: Thun Hohenstein album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, GK 11.572-B, front flyleaf.....	214
Fig. 2: Thun Hohenstein album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, GK 11.572-B, Spine, inscribed “Imagines Catafractorum” .....	215
Fig. 3: Hans Stöcklein, <i>photograph of Thun Album folio 1r</i> , 1924, print from silver gelatin dry plate negative, Augsburg, Grafische Sammlung, File F II.....	216
Fig. 4: Hans Stöcklein, <i>photograph of Thun Album Folio 75v</i> , 1924, print from silver gelatin dry plate negative, Augsburg, Grafische Sammlung, File F II.....	217
Fig. 5: Group C, <i>barded (armored) horse</i> , circa 1530s, Thun Hohenstein album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, GK 11.572-B, folios 13v-14r.....	218
Fig. 6: Thun Hohenstein album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, GK 11.572-B, opening of folios 14v-15r, seen from bottom of codex to show method of insertion. ....	219
Fig. 7: Thun-Hohenstein Album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, GK 11.572-B, folios 11v-12r, figures from the last decade of the 15th century.....	220
Fig. 8: Thun-Hohenstein Album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, GK 11.572-B, folio 56r. ....	221
Fig. 9: Artist A, <i>Emperor Maximilian I</i> , 1540s, in the Thun Hohenstein Album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, Inv. GK11572-B, folio 1r. ....	222
Fig. 10: Artist A, <i>Emperor Charles V</i> , 1540s, Thun Hohenstein Album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, Inv. GK11572-B, folio 2r.....	223
Fig. 11: Artist A, <i>Louis (Ludwig) of Hungary</i> , 1540s, Thun Hohenstein Album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, Inv. GK11572-B, folio 3r. ....	224
Fig. 12: Artist A, <i>Philip the Fair</i> , 1540s, Thun Hohenstein Album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, GK11572-B, folio 4r.....	225
Fig. 13: Hans Burgkmair, <i>Maximilian I</i> , from the <i>Genealogy of Emperor Maximilian I</i> , 1509-12, woodcut (first state), New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 39.92.1a.....	226
Fig. 14: Hans Burgkmair, <i>Philip the Fair</i> , from the <i>Genealogy of Emperor Maximilian I</i> , 1509-12, woodcut (first state), New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 39.92.1a.....	227

Fig. 15: Helm and crest of Albert von Prankh, circa 1350, steel and stuffed, hardened leather, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. B 74.....	228
Fig. 16: <i>Manasse Codex</i> (Große Heidelberger Liederhandschrift), Zurich, first quarter of the 14th century, Heidelberg, Heidelberg Universitätsbibliothek, Sign. Cod. Pal. Germ. 848. ....	229
Fig. 17: Bechler (German mail-maker), hauberk (mail shirt), 15th century, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 14.25.1540.....	230
Fig. 18: Coat of plates excavated from the site of the Battle of Visby (1361), Stockholm, Swedish Historical Museum.....	231
Fig. 19: Tomaso and Antonio Negrone da Ello (called Missaglia) and other Milanese collaborators, armor of Friedrich von der Pfalz, circa 1450, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, A 2.....	232
Fig. 20: Lorenz Helmschmid, one of a pair of tournament pauldrons, circa 1500, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 29.156.67h, i. Detail showing bottom <i>lame</i> (plate), stamped with <i>Stadtpyr</i> mark of Augsburg and crested helmet mark of Lorenz Helmschmid. ....	233
Fig. 21: Map of the city of Augsburg, 1572. The white square marks the former location of the Helmschmid workshop, on the Schmiedgasse and along the Horbrugk canal. ....	234
Fig. 22: Lorenz Helmschmid, <i>Bard made for Friedrich III</i> , 1477 (displayed with later armor for man), Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK A. 69, showing side of peytral, crupper, and tail piece. ....	235
Fig. 23: Jörg Breu the Elder, <i>Double Portrait of Kolman Helmschmid and Agnes Breu</i> , 1500-1505, oil on panel, Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Inv. No. 244 (1930.63).....	236
Fig. 24: Kolman Helmschmid with etching by Daniel Hopper, <i>Portions of a garniture for field and tournament for Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria and Future Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand I</i> , 1526, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, A 349.....	237
Fig. 25: Desiderius Helmschmid, <i>Portions of the Algiers Garniture of Charles V</i> , 1546, Madrid, Real Armería, Inv. A.151 and A.154.....	238
Fig. 26: Johannes Hartlieb, <i>Die Histori von[n] de[m] grossen Allexander wie die Eusebius bescribe[n] hat.</i> (Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1478), Washington, Library of Congress, Incun. 1478 .IA, folio 39r. ....	239
Fig. 27: Johannes Hartlieb, <i>Die Histori von[n] de[m] grossen Allexander wie die Eusebius bescribe[n] hat.</i> (Augsburg, Anton Sorg, 1478), Washington, Library of Congress, Incun. 1478 .IA, folio 40v.....	240
Fig. 28: Unknown artist, <i>Shrovetide Tournament between Marx Walther and Georg Hofmair with Parade of Stewards dressed as Fools</i> , in <i>Tournament Book and Family Chronicle of Marx Walther</i> , circa 1506-1511, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 1930, folios 5v.....	241



Fig. 29: Jörg Breu the Younger, <i>Maximilian I with his motto</i> , detail of a sheet, which also includes Latin inscriptions of the titles and possessions of each Maximilian and Charles V, ink and gouache on paper, 1540-1547, London, British Museum, 1876,0708.2634-26.....	242
Fig. 30: Jörg Breu the Younger, <i>Charles V with his motto</i> , detail of a sheet, which also includes Latin inscriptions of the titles and possessions of Maximilian I and Charles V, ink and gouache on paper, 1540-1547, London, British Museum, 1876,0708.2634-2635.....	243
Fig. 31: Christoph Weiditz the Younger, hand-colored by circle of Jörg Breu the Younger, <i>Hans (Johann) Jakob Fugger</i> , from the <i>Geschlechterbuch der Stadt Augsburg</i> , circa 1540s, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cod. icon 312b, folio 57r.....	244
Fig. 32: Christoph Weiditz the Younger, hand-colored by circle of Jörg Breu the Younger, <i>Paulus Hector Mair</i> , from the <i>Geschlechterbuch der Stadt Augsburg</i> , circa 1540s, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cod. icon 312b, folio. 64v. ....	245
Fig. 33: Jörg Breu the Younger, contestants in the foot combat, from Paulus Hector Mair, <i>De Arte Athletica</i> , vol. II, circa 1542, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. icon. 393.2, folio 244v....	246
Fig. 34: Workshop of Jörg Breu the Younger, <i>armored combat with bastard sword and targe (shield)</i> , in Paulus Hector Mair, <i>De Arte Athletica</i> , vol. II, circa 1545-50, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 10826 Han, folio 208r.....	247
Fig. 35: Workshop of Jörg Breu the Younger, <i>fighter with bastard sword (detail)</i> , from Paulus Hector Mair, <i>De Arte Athletica</i> , vol. II, circa 1545-50, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 10826, folio 208r. ....	248
Fig. 36: Artist A, <i>figure armored for the tournament on foot</i> , 1540s, ink, gouache, and metallic washes, Thun Hohenstein Album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, GK.11.572-B, folio 27v.....	249
Fig. 37: Unknown artist, <i>study of three pairs of combatants</i> , circa 1470s-1480s, ink and wash, Thun-Hohenstein Album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, GK 11.572-B, folio 10v-11r. ....	250
Fig. 38: Unknown artist, <i>subduing an armored opponent</i> , after 1495 ink and wash, Thun- Hohenstein Album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, GK 11.572-B, folio 12r.....	251
Fig. 39: Unknown artist, <i>study of three pairs of combatants (detail)</i> , circa 1470s-1480s, ink and wash, Thun-Hohenstein Album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, GK 11.572-B, folio 10v-11r. ....	252
Fig. 40: <i>Grappling</i> , in Anonymous, <i>Fecht- und Ringbuch (Codex Wallerstein)</i> , 1470s. Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg, Cod. I.6.4.2, folio 33r. ....	253

Fig. 41: <i>Grappling</i> , in Paulus Kal, <i>Fechtbuch for Ludwig of Bavaria</i> , Bavaria, circa 1479, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm. 1507, folio 81r.....	254
Fig. 42: Claus Pflieger (book painter), <i>grappling</i> , in Hans Talhoffer, <i>Talhofer Fechtbuch</i> , 1459, Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Thott.290.2o, folio 49r.....	255
Fig. 43: <i>The Attack of Wrestling from the Arms (Der anfall vsz den Armen zu ringen)</i> , Hans Talhoffer, <i>Fechtbuch for Eberhardt of Württemberg</i> , 1467, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. icon. 394a, folio 96r. ....	256
Fig. 44: Unknown artist, <i>study of three pairs of combatants (detail)</i> , circa 1470s-1480s, ink and wash, Thun-Hohenstein Album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze , GK 11.572- B, folio 10v. ...	257
Fig. 45: Artist A, <i>rider armored in the style of circa 1480 riding a horse lightly armored in the style of circa 1510</i> , 1540s, Thun-Hohenstein Album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, GK 11.572-B, folio 8r. ....	258
Fig. 46: Unknown Artist, <i>Study of Three Pairs of Combatants (detail)</i> , circa 1470s-1480s, ink and wash, Thun-Hohenstein Album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, GK 11.572-B, folio 10v.....	259
Fig. 47: Unknown armorer, <i>War Hat</i> , steel, Burgundian Netherlands, circa 1475, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 04.3.228.....	260
Fig. 48: <i>Mounted fencing</i> , in Hans Talhoffer, <i>Fechtbuch for Eberhardt of Württemberg</i> , 1467, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. icon. 394a, folio 128v.....	261
Fig. 49: Claus Pflieger, <i>mounted grappling</i> , in Hans Talhoffer, <i>Fechtbuch</i> , 1459, Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Thott.290.2o, folio 126v. ....	262
Fig. 50: Claus Pflieger, <i>mounted grappling</i> , in Hans Talhoffer, <i>Fechtbuch</i> , 1459, Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Thott.290.2o, folio 130r.....	263
Fig. 51: Unknown artist, <i>study of three pairs of combatants (detail)</i> , circa 1470s-1480s, ink and wash, Thun-Hohenstein Album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, GK 11.572-B, folio 11r. ....	264
Fig. 52: Two Parade Maces with games hidden in the handles, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, A 153 and A 162.....	265
Fig. 53: Claus Pflieger, <i>mounted combat in armor</i> , in Hans Talhoffer, <i>Fechtbuch</i> , 1459, Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Thott.290.2o, folio 124r.....	266
Fig. 54: Unknown Artist, <i>subduing an opponent (detail)</i> , after circa 1495, ink and wash, Thun-Hohenstein Album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, GK 11.572-B, folio 12r. ....	267

Fig. 55: Unknown artist, <i>subduing an opponent</i> , in Peter Falkner, <i>The Art of Knightly Defense</i> , Augsburg, circa 1491-95, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, KK 5012, folio 72v.....	268
Fig. 56: Unknown artist, <i>unhorsing an opponent</i> , in Peter Falkner, <i>The Art of Knightly Defense</i> , Augsburg, circa 1491-95, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, KK 5012, folio 72r. ....	269
Fig. 57: <i>The “Way of the Joints,”</i> in Anonymous, <i>Gladiatoria</i> , circa 1430, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, KK 5013, folio 11r. ....	270
Fig. 58: Clause Pflieger, <i>Hans Talhoffer, (right) wearing the badge of the Marxbrüder, and a student, Hans Talhoffer, Fechtbuch</i> , 1459, Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Thott.290.2o, folio 101v. ..	271
Fig. 59: <i>Dedicatory miniature</i> , in Paulus Kal, <i>Fechtbuch for Ludwig of Bavaria</i> , 1470s, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm. 1507, folio 5r. ....	272
Fig. 60: <i>The Third and Fourth Strikes</i> , Paulus Kal, <i>Fechtbuch for Ludwig of Bavaria</i> , 1470s, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm. 1507, folio 13r. ....	273
Fig. 61: <i>Talhoffer’s Arms and the lion of the Marxbrüder</i> , in Hans Talhoffer, <i>Fechtbuch</i> , 1459, Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Thott.290.2o, folio 102r. ....	274
Fig. 62: <i>Insignia of the Marxbrüder (pasted onto the folio)</i> , in Peter Falkner, <i>The Art of Knightly Defense</i> , Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, KK 5012, folio 57v. ....	275
Fig. 63: <i>The First Strike</i> , Jörg Wilhalm, called Hütter, <i>Draft Fechtbuch</i> , circa 1522, Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg, Cod. I.6.4.5, folio 3r. ....	276
Fig. 64: <i>The First Strike</i> , Jörg Wilhalm, called Hütter, <i>Fechtbuch</i> , circa 1522, Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg, Cod. I.6.2.3. folio 2r. ....	277
Fig. 65: Jörg Breu the Younger, <i>overhanded strikes</i> , Paulus Hector Mair, <i>Sammelband (Augsburger Fechtordnung, Frankfurter Fechtbruderschaft, Johannes Liechtenauer: Kunst des langen Schwerts)</i> , Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg, Cod. I.6.2.5, folio 23r. ....	278
Fig. 66: Jörg Breu the Younger, <i>grappling</i> , in Paulus Hector Mair, <i>Sammelband (Ring- und Fechtbuch)</i> , Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg, Cod. I.6.2.4, folio 5r. ....	279
Fig. 67: Jörg Breu the Younger, <i>fencing with sword and buckler</i> , in Paulus Hector Mair, <i>Sammelband (Ring- und Fechtbuch)</i> , Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg, Cod. I.6.2.4, folio 14r. ....	280
Fig. 68: <i>Fencing with sword and buckler</i> , in Anonymous, <i>Liber de Arte Dimicatoria (Walpurgis Manuscript)</i> , Franconia, circa 1320-1330, Leeds, Royal Armouries, MS I.33, folio 23v. ....	281
Fig. 69: Jörg Breu the Younger, <i>joust of war in Italian-style armets</i> , in Paulus Hector Mair, <i>De Arte Athletica</i> , vol. 2, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. icon. 393.b, folios 106v-107r .....	282

Fig. 70: Artist A, <i>figure armored in the style of circa 1515-1520 for the Freiturnier (free tournament or mêlée)</i> , 1540s, Thun-Hohenstein album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, Inv. GK 11.572-B, folio 9v.....	283
Fig. 71: Artist A, <i>figure armored in the style of 1495 for the tournament on foot (Fußkampf or Gefecht) with a pollaxe and dagger</i> , 1540s, Thun-Hohenstein album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, Inv. GK 11.572-B, folio 12v. ....	284
Fig. 72: Unknown Artist, <i>three armored figures</i> , late fifteenth century, Thun-Hohenstein Album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, GK 11.572-B, folio 11v.....	285
Fig. 73: Artist A, <i>figure armored for the joust of war in the style of the 1480s, riding a horse armored in the style of circa 1500-1515</i> , 1540s, Thun-Hohenstein album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, Inv. GK 11.572-B, folio 9r. ....	286
Fig. 74: After Bartolémy d'Eyck, <i>Review of Helms and Crests</i> , in René D'Anjou, <i>Traicitié de la forme et devis comme on fait les tournoys</i> , personal copy of Louis de Bruges, circa 1488, Bibliothèque nationale de France, BnF Fr. 2693, folios 47r-48v.....	287
Fig. 75: Artist A, <i>armor for various tournament events of the late 15th-century, including two Kolbenhelms and arm defenses for the Kolbenturnier (top two rows)</i> , 1540s, Thun-Hohenstein album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, Inv. GK11572-B, folio 78r. ....	288
Fig. 76: Attributed to Hans Burgkmair the Elder, <i>rider wearing a visored kolbenhelm and horse armored in the style of 1510-1520</i> , circa 1510-1540, Thun Hohenstein Album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, Inv. GK11572-B, folio 7r.....	289
Fig. 77: Lucas Cranach the Elder, <i>Tournament at the Court of the Duke of Saxony</i> , 1509, woodcut. Kansas City, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, 33-1622.....	290
Fig. 78: Lorenz Helmschmid, <i>Stechzeug (armor for the joust of peace)</i> , 1494, steel, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. S 12. ....	291
Fig. 79: Master of the Housebook, <i>The Kronleinstechen (joust of peace with coronel lances)</i> , the <i>Waldburg-Wolfegg Housebook</i> , circa 1475, Wolfegg, private collection of the Graf von Waldburg-Wolfegg, folios 22v-23r.....	292
Fig. 80: Artist A, <i>armor for a variant of the joust of peace in the style of 1515-20</i> , 1540s, Thun Hohenstein Album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, folio 69r.....	293
Fig. 81: Artist A, <i>tournament armor of circa 1485-1500, including a Stechhelm (helm for the joust of peace) on the left edge</i> , 1540s, Thun Hohenstein Album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, folio 74v. ....	294

Fig. 82: Artist A, <i>tournament armor of circa 1495, including a Stechhelm (helm for the joust of peace) in the upper left corner and many components for the joust of war</i> , 1540s, Thun Hohenstein Album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, folio 77v.....	295
Fig. 83: Artist B, <i>armor for the Tilt of circa 1525, after the Inventorio Illuminado of Charles V, circa 1544-1558</i> , Thun-Hohenstein Album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, folio 47r. ....	296
Fig. 84: Artist B, <i>armor for the Tilt of circa 1525, after the Inventorio Illuminado of Charles V, circa 1544-1558</i> , Thun-Hohenstein Album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, folio 48r. ....	297
Fig. 85: <i>Sallet helm, retrofitted with a roller to deflect the spring-loaded shields of the Bundrennen, Germany, circa 1480-1490</i> , steel, London, The Wallace Collection, Inv. A80.....	298
Fig. 86: Master of the Housebook, <i>The Scharfrennen (a variant of the joust of war)</i> , in the <i>Waldburg- Wolfegg Housebook</i> , circa 1475, Wolfegg, private collection of the Graf von Waldburg-Wolfegg, folios 23v-24r. ....	299
Fig. 87: Lorenz Helmschmid, <i>Rennzeug (armor for the joust of war) for Maximilian I</i> , circa 1495, Steel and leather with modern lance and caparison, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. B 182 and B 137. ....	300
Fig. 88: Artist A, <i>figure armored for the joust of war or the battlefield in the style of circa 1495</i> , 1540s, Thun Hohenstein Album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, 52r .....	301
Fig. 89: Artist A, <i>armor for the joust of war in the style of circa 1495, hanging from a cross form as if in an armory</i> , 1540s, Thun Hohenstein Album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, 53r. ....	302
Fig. 90: Artist A, <i>figure armored for the joust of war in the style of circa 1495</i> , 1540s, Thun Hohenstein Album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, 54r. ....	303
Fig. 91: Artist A, <i>figure armored for the tournament on foot in the style of the 1480s</i> , 1540s, Thun Hohenstein Album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, 36r. ....	304
Fig. 92: Artist A, <i>figure armored for the tournament on foot in the style of circa 1500-1510 fighting a man armored for the battlefield in the style of circa 1510</i> , 1540s, Thun Hohenstein Album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, 27r.....	305
Fig. 93: Artist A, <i>figure armored for the tournament on foot in the style of circa 1500 fighting a mounted man armored for the battlefield in the style of circa 1510</i> , 1540s, Thun Hohenstein Album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, 27v-28r.....	306
Fig. 94: Konrad Seusenhoffer, <i>Faltenrockbarnisch (tonlet armor) for the young Archduke Charles (later Charles V)</i> , 1512-1514, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. A 109. ....	307

Fig. 95: Artist B, <i>Hunt Tonlet of Charles V forged by Kolman Helmschmid in circa 1525</i> , after the <i>Inventario Illuminado</i> of Charles V, circa 1544-1558, Thun-Hohenstein Album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, folio 50r. ....	308
Fig. 96: Artist A, <i>figure armored for the tournament on foot in a tonlet armor of circa 1525</i> , 1540s, Thun Hohenstein Album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, folio 51r. ....	309
Fig. 97: <i>Freydal in the Angezogenrennen (joust of war with shields bolted to the body)</i> , in <i>Freydal</i> , Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum Schatzkammer, Inv. 5073, folio 62r. ....	310
Fig. 98: <i>Freydal in the Geschiftsrennen (joust of war with exploding shields)</i> , in <i>Freydal</i> , Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum Schatzkammer, Inv. 5073, folio 133r. ....	310
Fig. 99: Circle of Albrecht Altdorfer, <i>Freydal in the Welsch Gestech (joust of peace over the tilt in the Italian style)</i> , in <i>Freydal</i> , Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum Schatzkammer, Inv. 5073, folio 241r. ....	311
Fig. 100: Hans Burgkmair the Elder, <i>The Geschiftsrennen (joust of war with exploding shields)</i> , from <i>The Triumph of Maximilian I</i> , woodcut, 1512-1526. Reproduced in Stanley Applebaum, <i>The Triumph of Maximilian, 137 Woodcuts by Hans Burgkmair and Others</i> (New York: Dover, 1964).....	312
Fig. 101: Circle of Jörg Breu the Younger, <i>riders armored for the Geschiftsrennen (joust of war with exploding shields)</i> , in <i>Tournament Book after Hans Burgkmair the Younger</i> , 1540, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. icon. 403, folio 8r. ....	313
Fig. 102: Jörg Breu the Younger, <i>riders armored for the Geschiftsrennen (joust of war with exploding shields)</i> , in Paulus Hector Mair, <i>De Arte Athletica</i> , vol. 2, circa 1542, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. icon. 393 b, folio 98r. ....	314
Fig. 103: Jörg Breu the Younger, <i>the Geschiftsrennen (joust of war with exploding shields)</i> , in Paulus Hector Mair, <i>De Arte Athletica</i> , vol. 2, Augsburg, circa 1542, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. icon. 393 b, folio 98v and 99r. ....	315
Fig. 104: Paulus Hector Mair, <i>dedicatory titulus to the section on tournaments</i> , in <i>De Arte Athletica</i> , vol. 2, Augsburg, circa 1542, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. icon. 393 b, folio 95v. ....	316
Fig. 105: <i>Dedicatory titulus in Tournament book after Hans Burgkmair the Younger</i> , Augsburg, 1540, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. icon. 403, folio 1v. ....	317
Fig. 106: Jeremias Schemel, <i>The Geschiftsrennen (joust of war with exploding shields)</i> , in <i>Riding and Tournament Book</i> , Augsburg, circa 1570, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelph 1.6.3 Aug. 2°, folio 77r. ....	318
Fig. 107: Jeremias Schemel, <i>equipment for the Pfannenrennen (joust of war with small, square shields)</i> , in <i>Riding and Tournament Book</i> , Augsburg, circa 1570, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelph 1.6.3 Aug. 2°, folio 77v. ....	319

- Fig. 108: Unknown artist, *rider in the joust of war*, in *Turnierbuch Maximilians I*, Augsburg, circa 1605-1615, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 10831 Han., folio 33r. .... 320
- Fig. 109: Unknown artist, *horse caparisoned and equipped for the joust of war*, in *Turnierbuch Maximilians I*, Augsburg, circa 1605-1615, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 10831 Han., folio 34r. .... 321
- Fig. 110: Unknown artist, *equipment for the joust of war*, in *Turnierbuch Maximilians I*, Augsburg, circa 1605-1615, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 10831 Han., folio 67r. .... 322
- Fig. 111: Unknown Artist, *Maximilian I wearing jeweled, silver armor forged by Kolman Helmschmid*, in *Turnierbuch Maximilians I*, Augsburg, circa 1605-1615, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 10831 Han., folio 3r. .... 323
- Fig. 112: Artist A, *Maximilian I and his horse clad in armor made in 1480 by Lorenz Helmschmid*, 1540s, Thun Hohenstein Album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, Inv. GK11572-B, folio 29r. .... 324
- Fig. 113: After Pierre Coustain, *Albrecht May Riding the Armored Horse in September 1480*, circa 1490-1510, oil on canvas, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. GG 2375. Photo: KHM Museumsverband. .... 325
- Fig. 114: After Pierre Coustain, *Maximilian entering Luxembourg in September 1480*, circa 1490-1510, oil on canvas, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. GG 2374. Photo: KHM Museumsverband. .... 326
- Fig. 115: Pierre Coustain (possibly copied after), *Arms of Edward IV of England as Knight of the Golden Fleece*, 1481, oil and gold leaf on panel, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, SK-A-4641. .... 327
- Fig. 116: *The surrender of Ghent to Philip the Good*, from *The Privileges of Ghent and Flanders*, Ghent, 1455-58. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 2583, folio 349v. .... 328
- Fig. 117: Gerard Loyet, *Votive Reliquary Statue of Charles the Bold*, 1467-1471, gold and enamel, Liège, Trésor de la Cathédrale Liège. .... 329
- Fig. 118: Jan van Eyck, *Madonna and Child with Canon Joris van der Paele*, 1436, oil on panel, Bruges, Groeninge Museum. .... 330
- Fig. 119: *The jeweled ducal hat of Charles the Bold and the jewel known as the "The White Rose,"* in Hans Jacob Fugger, *Ebrenspiegel des Hauses Österreich*, 1555-1559, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm. 896, folio 8r. .... 331
- Fig. 120: *The display of loot captured from Charles the Bold (die Burgunderbente)*, from Diebold Schilling, *Luzerner Chronik*, 1511-1513. Lucern, Korporation Luzern, S. 23, folio 99v. .... 332

- Fig. 121: Lorenz Helmschmid, *bard (horse armor) made for Friedrich III, 1477* (displayed with later armor for man), Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK A. 69, detail showing front of peytral..... 333
- Fig. 122a-c: Lorenz Helmschid, *Armor for Maximilian I (views from front, side, and back), circa 1480*, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK A 60. .... 334
- Fig. 123: After Bartolémy d’Eyck, *the Duke of Brittany’s horse enters the city ridden by a page*, in René d’Anjou, *Traicitié de la forme et devis comme on fait les tournoys*, personal copy of Louis de Bruges, circa 1488, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, BnF Fr. 2693, folios 37v and 38r. .... 335
- Fig. 124: After Bartolémy d’Eyck, *contestants’ helms are carried in procession*, in René d’Anjou, *Traicitié de la forme et devis comme on fait les tournoys*, personal copy of Louis de Bruges, circa 1488, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, BnF Fr. 2693, folios 46v-47r ..... 336
- Fig. 125: Wax Impression of the seal of Mary of Burgundy, circa 1477 ..... 337
- Fig. 126: *Mary of Burgundy on horseback*, from the *Chronijke van Vlaenderen*, circa 1480, Bruges, Stadbibliothek, Ms. 437, folio 372v..... 338
- Fig. 127: Cornelis de Bont, impression of the seal of Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian, circa 1481. Reproduced in Anne M. Roberts, “The Horse and the Hawk: Representations of Mary of Burgundy as Sovereign,” 147..... 339
- Fig. 128: Hans Burgkmair the Elder (Jost de Negker, Formschneider), *Maximilian I on Horseback*, 1508, chiaroscuro woodcut, Chicago, Art Institute of Chicago, 1961.3. .... 340
- Fig. 129: Hans Burgkmair the Elder (Jost de Negker, Formschneider), *St. George*, 1508, chiaroscuro woodcut, Vienna, Albertina, DG1934/55..... 341
- Fig. 130: Possibly Hans Burgkmair the Younger (formerly attributed to Hans Burgkmair the Elder), *barded horse*, circa 1530-32, Thun Hohenstein Album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, Inv. GK11572-B, folios. 19v-20r..... 342
- Fig. 131: Possibly Hans Burgkmair the Younger (formerly attributed to Hans Burgkmair the Elder), *barded horse*, circa 1530-32, Thun Hohenstein Album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, Inv. GK11572-B, folios 21v-22r..... 343
- Fig. 132: Possibly Hans Burgkmair the Younger (formerly attributed to Hans Burgkmair the Elder), *barded horse*, circa 1530-32, Thun Hohenstein Album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, Inv. GK11572-B, folios 23v-24r, circa 1530-32. .... 344
- Fig. 133: Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *design for an equestrian monument of Maximilian I*, 1508, ink and grey wash on paper, Vienna, Albertina, DG1934/55..... 345



- Fig. 134: Ulrich Ursenthaler, *Doppelschauguldiner (Presentation Coin) of Maximilian I (so-called Reiterguldiner)*, 1508-1509, silver, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Münzkabinet, Inv. Nr. 164266. .... 346
- Fig. 135: Unknown Artist, *The Order of the Jar*, in Hans Jakob Fugger, *Ehrenspiegel des Hauses Österreich*, Augsburg, 1555-1559, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm. 896, folio 331r. .... 347
- Fig. 136: Unknown Artist, *The Order of the Golden Fleece*, in Hans Jakob Fugger, *Ehrenspiegel des Hauses Österreich*, Augsburg, 1555-1559, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm. 896, folio 331v..... 348
- Fig. 137: Unknown Artist, *The Order of the Garter*, in Hans Jakob Fugger, *Ehrenspiegel des Hauses Österreich*, Augsburg, 1555-1559, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm. 896, folio 332r. .... 349
- Fig. 138: “*Studios counterfeit of the dear Roman Emperor Maximilian, as his imperial majesty appeared in his kuiris (armor) on horse.*” in Hans Jakob Fugger, *Ehrenspiegel des Hauses Österreich*, 1555-1559, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm. 896, folio 337v. .... 350
- Fig. 139: Artist A, *elements of an armor of circa 1495 and Maximilian riding the armored horse*, 1540s, *Thun-Hohenstein Album*, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, Inv. GK 11.572-B, reconstructed opening of folios 28v and 29r. .... 351
- Fig. 140: Artist A, *equipment for the joust of war*, 1540s, *Thun-Hohenstein Album*, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, Inv. GK 11.572-B, folio 29v..... 352
- Fig. 141: Artist B, *pommel and cantle plates for armored saddles*, copied from the *Inventario Illuminado*, circa 1544-1558, *Thun-Hohenstein album*, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, folio 30r... 353
- Fig. 142: Artist B, *pommel and cantle plates for armored saddles*, copied from the *Inventario Illuminado*, circa 1544-1558, *Thun-Hohenstein album*, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, folio 31r... 354
- Fig. 143: Unknown artist, *Inventario Illuminado of Charles V*, Augsburg, 1544-1558, Madrid, RA N.18, vol A, folio 34r. .... 355
- Fig. 144: Artist A, *armor made for Maximilian I by Lorenz Helmschmid, circa 1480-84*, 1540s, *Thun-Hohenstein Album*, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, Inv. GK11572-B, folio 41r. 356
- Fig. 145: Artist A, *portions of armor made for Maximilian I by Lorenz Helmschmid, circa 1480-84*, 1540s, *Thun-Hohenstein Album*, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, Inv. GK11572- B, folio 41v..... 357
- Fig. 146: Lorenz Helmschmid, *Armor for Maximilian I (later owned by Archduke Sigmund of Tirol)*, early 1480s (before 1484), steel, brass, leather, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK A 62. . 358
- Fig. 147: Artist A, *figure clad in armor of circa 1525 for mounted use in the field*, 1540, *Thun-Hohenstein album*, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, Inv. GK11572-B, folio 37r..... 359

Fig. 148: Kolman Helmschmid (armorer) and Daniel Hopper (etcher), <i>upper canon (rarebrace) and couler from an armor for Wilhelm Freiherr von Roggendorf</i> , early 1523, steel, etching, Wallace Collection, A245. .....	360
Fig. 149: Hans Rabeiler, <i>unfinished costume armor for the future Charles V</i> , 1511-12, steel (unpolished), Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK A. 186.....	361
Fig. 150: Artist A, <i>likely representation of Sigmund of Tirol, clad in armor of circa 1480</i> , 1540s, Thun-Hohenstein album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, Inv. GK11572-B, folio 38r. .	362
Fig. 151: Master of the Mornauer Portrait, <i>Duke (later Archduke) Sigmund of Tirol</i> , circa 1470, oil on panel, Munich, Alte Pinakothek, Inv. Nr. 10650. ....	363
Fig. 152: <i>Silver Pfundner (coin) with Sigmund of Tirol</i> , first struck 1483, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Münzkabinett, 4755a.....	364
Fig. 153: Lorenz Helmschmid, <i>sallet (helmet) with attached buffe (chin and throat defense)</i> , New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 29.156.45.....	365
Fig. 154: Lorenz Helmschmid, <i>sallet (helmet) for Maximilian I with attached buffe (chin and throat defense)</i> , Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, HJRK A 110.....	366
Fig. 155: Artist B, <i>unidentified garniture with elements by the Italian armorers, Caremolo Modrone of Mantua and Filippo Negrolì of Milan</i> , after the <i>Inventario Illuminado</i> , circa 1544-1558. Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, Inv. GK11572-B, 39r. ....	367
Fig. 156: Unknown artist, <i>garniture with pieces of exchange and bearded burgonet by Filippo Negrolì (at center)</i> , 1544-1558, <i>Inventario Illuminado</i> of Charles V, Madrid, Real Armería, N. 18 vol. a, folio 14v.....	368
Fig. 157: Filippo Negrolì, <i>parade burgonet all' antica for Charles V</i> , 1533, steel, gilding, Madrid Real Armería, D-1, D-2 .....	369
Fig. 158: Artist B, <i>Armor crafted in 1538 by Desiderius Helmschmid for Charles V</i> (Madrid, Real Armería A.118-138), after the <i>Inventario Illuminado</i> , circa 1544-1558, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, Inv. GK11572-B, folio 42r. ....	370
Fig. 159: Desiderius Helmschmid, <i>portions of the Mühlberg Garniture of Charles V</i> , 1544, steel, gilding, Madrid, Real Armería, A-42. ....	371
Fig. 160: Titian, <i>Charles V at the Battle of Mühlberg</i> , 1548, oil on canvas, Madrid, Museo del Prado, Inv. P00410.....	372
Fig. 161: Artist B, <i>Charles V's armor with the fleur-de-lys volutes</i> , after the <i>Inventario Illuminado</i> , circa 1544-1558, Thun-Hohenstein Album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, Inv. GK11572-B, folio 43r. ....	373

Fig. 162: Desiderius Helmschmid, <i>Armor with the Fleur de lys Volutes</i> , 1544, steel, gilding, Madrid, Real Armería, A-66.....	374
Fig. 163: Giovanni Britto after Titian, <i>Emperor Charles V</i> , 1536, chiaroscuro woodcut, Vienna, Graffische Sammlung Albertina. ....	375
Fig. 164: Artist B, <i>parade shield, leg, and shoulder defenses from Charles' V's Algiers Garniture</i> , after the <i>Inventario Illuminado</i> , circa 1544-1558, Thun-Hohenstein album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, Inv. GK11572-B, folio 44v. ....	376
Fig. 165: Unknown artist, <i>helmets, a costume gorget and a parade shield from the Algiers garniture</i> , in the <i>Inventario Illuminado</i> , Augsburg, circa 1544-1558, Madrid, Real Armería, N.18 A, folio 79r.....	377
Fig. 166: Artist B, <i>elements of the KD Garniture crafted in 1525 by Kolman Helmschmid for Charles V</i> , after the <i>Inventario Illuminado</i> , circa 1544-1558, Thun-Hohenstein album, Prague, Museum of Decorative Art, Inv. GK11572-B, folio 46r. ....	378
Fig. 167: Unknown artist, <i>KD garniture and elements of exchange for the tournament crafted by Kolman Helmschmid in 1525</i> , in <i>Inventario Illuminado</i> , Augsburg, 1544-1558, Madrid, RA N. 18, vol. B, folio 13r. ....	379
Fig. 168: Artist A, <i>portions of the Algiers garniture</i> , circa 1540. Thun-Hohenstein album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, Inv. GK11572-B, folio 80r.....	380
Fig. 169: Artist A, <i>exchange components from HJRK A 62</i> , 1540s, Thun-Hohenstein album, Prague, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, Inv. GK11572-B, folio 75v.....	381
Fig. 170: Gilg Sesselschreiber, <i>Preliminary drawing for the Cenotaph of Maximilian I</i> , circa 1508. Facsimile reproduced in Schönherr, David Ritter von. "Geschichte des Grabmals Kaisers Maximilian I. und der Hofkirche zu Innsbruck." <i>Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen der Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses</i> 11, no. 1 (1890): 140-268. Original drawing; Innsbruck, Stadtarchiv.....	382
Fig. 171a-b: Leonhard Magt, Sigmund, Archduke of Tirol, 1523, bronze, Cenotaph of Maximilian I, Innsbruck, Hofkirche.....	383
Fig. 172: Unknown artist, <i>Sigmund of Tirol</i> , 1572, fresco, Innsbruck, Spanish Hall of Schloss Ambras. ....	384
Fig. 173: Unknown artist, <i>Emperor Maximilian I</i> , 1572, fresco, Innsbruck, Spanish Hall of Schloss Ambras. ....	385
Fig. 174: After Bernhard Strigel, <i>Maximilian I</i> , 1508, oil on panel, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. GG 4403.....	386

Fig. 175: Reconstructions of displays in the Heroes Armory at Schloss Ambras, using original armors, 16th-century cases and portraits, based on inventory research conducted by Laurin Lüchner. .....	386
Fig. 176: Dominicus Custos after Giovanni Battista Fontana and Simon Gartner, <i>Archduke Sigmund of Tirol</i> , engraving, 1593-1601, in Jakob Schrenk von Notzing, <i>Amamentarium Heroicum</i> (Augsburg, 1601), folio 11r. ....	387
Fig. 177: Dominicus Custos after Giovanni Battista Fontana and Simon Gartner, <i>Emperor Maximilian I</i> , engraving, 1593-1601, in Jakob Schrenk von Notzing, <i>Amamentarium Heroicum</i> (Augsburg, 1601), folio 5r. ....	388
Fig. 178: Francesco Terzi (designer) and Gaspar Oselli (engraver), <i>Emperor Maximilian I</i> , 1558-1569, <i>Imagines Gentis Austriacae</i> , Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. KK 6614.....	389
Fig. 179: Francesco Terzi (designer) and Gaspar Oselli (engraver), <i>Archduke Ferdinand II</i> , 1558-1569, <i>Imagines Gentis Austriacae</i> , Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. KK 6614.....	390
Fig. 180: Workshop of Lucas Cranach the Elder, <i>Reliquary of St. Maurice comprising silver armor for Maximilian I by Kolman Helmschmid</i> , 1526-27, in <i>Liber Ostensionis</i> , Aschaffenburg, Hofbibliothek, Sign. Ms. 14, folio 227v. ....	391
Fig. 181: Unknown Augsburg Artist after Artist A, <i>Maximilian riding the armored horse</i> , circa 1575, in <i>Sammelband</i> ("Ein Reihe von in Farben zum Theil schön ausgeführten Bildern"), Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1.11.2 Aug. 2°, folio 13r.....	392

## Chapter 1: (Re)Introducing the Thun-Hohenstein Album

Despite its disappearance during the Second World War, the enigmatic codex known as the Thun-Hohenstein (henceforth Thun) album remained an object of wide-ranging interest and speculation for historians of arms and armor throughout the twentieth century. In 2011, the album emerged—stunningly unscathed—after a seventy-five-year absence. The bound collection of drawings, now in the Museum of Decorative Arts, Prague, contains 112 vivid depictions of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century armor and armored bodies that offer examples of the dialog between real armors and their representations.<sup>1</sup> These artworks juxtapose meticulous depictions of recognizable armor with imagery borrowed from paintings and prints, martial manuals, illustrated inventories, and commemorative tournament books. The intersecting meanings and pictorial strategies associated with each of these genres informed the drawings and their potential reception by period viewers.

The Thun album is a heterogenous bound collection that contains drawings executed in ink, gouache, and metallic wash. They include thirty-six performative representations of armored figures both at rest and in combat, as well as seventy drawings of empty armor arrayed in pieces and eight portrayals of elaborately armored horses. The collection encompasses the work of at least eight draftsmen working over a period that extends from the 1470s to the 1590s. A significant majority (101 of 112) were drawn by Augsburg artists between the late 1530s and late 1550s. A first set of sixty-one ink and gouache images on watermarked paper used in Augsburg during the 1540s, appears to have been executed by an artist (Artist A) familiar with both armor for the Habsburg Holy Roman Emperors Maximilian I (1459-1519) and Charles V (1500-1558) and its depictions in

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<sup>1</sup> UPM, GK 11.572-B.

artworks associated with them.<sup>2</sup> Thirty of Artist A's drawings portray actual surviving armors crafted by the innovative armorers of Augsburg's Helmschmid family and many more formally echo their work. Indeed, most of the drawings in this group retrospectively depict armors produced from the 1480s through the 1520s, during and immediately after the lifetime of Maximilian I. A second set of forty drawings bears many of the same watermarks, and was likely executed in Augsburg during the 1540s or 1550s. This group contains less precise, somewhat clumsy drawings by another anonymous artist (Artist B). Artist B's images seem to copy images of armor owned by Emperor Charles V and recorded in his *Inventario Iluminado*, a sumptuously illustrated inventory of his possessions drawn up in Augsburg between 1544 and 1558.<sup>3</sup>

The Thun album was long thought to have been lost, though photographs of it remained an important source for historians of armor. Pierre Terjanian's rediscovery of the codex in 2011 presented an opportunity to examine the rich intersections between art, material culture, literature, and martial history that the album manifests. This project is the first since the manuscript's rediscovery to reintegrate the drawings within the artistic and socio-cultural contexts that shaped

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<sup>2</sup> C. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes: dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600* (Mansfield Center: Martino, 2007), vol. 3, 471. Briquet watermark 8771, which first occurred in Bavaria in 1532 and was in documented use in Augsburg from 1545-1548, occurs throughout drawings by both Artists A and B. Terjanian posited that this may suggest that either one or both artists used the paper when it was already bound. However, it seems unlikely given the lack of precedents for such a process and the absence of material evidence, such as the significant smudging of adjacent pages that would occur as an artist added new work to the album. Rather, the codex is one of many *Sammelbände*, or collected volumes, that originated from early modern Augsburg.

<sup>3</sup> Madrid RA, N.18a-b; Pierre Terjanian, "The art of the armorer in late medieval and Renaissance Augsburg: The rediscovery of the *Thun sketchbooks*," *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* 13/14 (2013), 306-320; Although the *Inventario Iluminado* has never been published in its entirety, José A. Godoy of the Real Armería is currently working on a complete scholarly edition of the inventory. My research for this dissertation included cataloging and examining of the structures of both *Inventario* volumes, which were rebound around 1900. Terjanian divided the 112 drawings of the Thun album into three groups, of which "A" and "B" were comprised of sixteenth-century works created by these two main hands.

their creation, collection, and reception. It examines visual antecedents for the drawings and analyzes the contexts within which they and the actual armor were used. Such analysis situates the armors and their depictions in a collective memorial culture that visualized the Habsburg Holy Roman Emperors within the range of symbolic images that defined the ways that early modern viewers imagined themselves, the world they inhabited, and the values they shared. In other words, it reveals how cultures of remembrance reconstructed Maximilian I and Charles V in the imaginary of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.<sup>4</sup>

### The History and Codicology of the Album

The codex at the center of this study is one of a pair of volumes (UPM, GK 11.572-A and GK 11.572-B) that contain drawings of armor and related imagery.<sup>5</sup> The codices' provenance between their compilation in early seventeenth-century Augsburg and their entry into the baronial library of the Thun-Hohenstein family at Schloss Tetschen (Děčín) in Bohemia during the eighteenth century remains unclear. Alexander Freiherr von Reitzenstein suggested that codex B—the focus of this dissertation—may have belonged to Leonhard IV von Harrach, Count of Ruhrau (1514-1590), based on Von Harrach's position as *Obrist Stallmeister*, or Master of Horse and Armor, for Habsburg lands above the river Enns. However, von Harrach died at least two decades before

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<sup>4</sup> Gilbert Durand, *Les structures anthropologique d'imaginaire: Introduction à l'archétypologie générale*, 10<sup>e</sup> edition (Paris: Dunod, 1989), 18-19. Ross Chambers, "Narrative and the Imaginary: A Review of Gilbert Durand's *The Anthropological Structures of the Imaginary*," *Narrative* 9, no. 1 (2001), 101. Chambers' review of the first English edition of Durand's foundational work offers helpful considerations of the post-structuralist critiques of Durand's ideas and the value of the imaginary for scholars in the twenty-first century.

<sup>5</sup> For more on the second Thun-Hohenstein Album (Prague, UPM, inv. GK 11.572-A), see "The art of the armourer in late medieval and Renaissance Augsburg: The rediscovery of the *Thun sketchbooks* (Part II)," *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* 17/18 (2017).

the album was compiled into its current form, so his cannot be the “*Obriststallmaistry*” to which an inscription on the front flyleaf of the album refers (fig. 1).<sup>6</sup>

Currently, the identity of the master of the horse whose title hints at the album’s provenance remains elusive. Many possible Masters of Horse may be found at the imperial court under Emperor Matthias (1557-1619) or Ferdinand II (1578-1637), or even among the aristocratic masters of horse who emerged from the Fugger family of Augsburg during the early-seventeenth century.<sup>7</sup> This family’s patronage offers many parallels to the Thun album. For instance, Hans Jakob Fugger’s commissions shared not only stylistic characteristics and contexts of origin with the Thun album drawings, but also the album’s commemorative themes.<sup>8</sup> During the second half of the sixteenth century, the Fuggers amassed expansive collections of Augsburg-made manuscripts and artworks that presented the armored body as a representation of power, martial skill and knightly identity. Von Harrach could have subsequently acquired some of these from his in-laws.<sup>9</sup> Despite these tantalizing possibilities, the specific context of the Thun album’s compilation and its provenance during the seventeenth century remains a mystery.

Bookplates on the Thun albums’ front flyleaves identify Joannes Joseph František, Count of Thun (1711-1788), as owner of both bound collections during the eighteenth-century (see fig. 1),

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<sup>6</sup> Alexander Freiherr von Reitzenstein, “Das Thun'sche Plattnerbuch a/2,” *Waffen- und Kostümkunde: Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Historische Waffen- und Kleidungsgeschichte* 2, no. 2 (1960), 93; Terjanian, “The rediscovery of the *Thun sketchbooks* (Part I),” 301.

<sup>7</sup> One figure who deserves deeper investigation as the Obrist Stallmeister who may have owned the drawings is Anton Fugger the Younger (1563-1616), Lord of Oberndorf, Niederalfingen, and Duttonstein, who served as master of horse to the ducal house of Bavaria.

<sup>8</sup> BSB, Cgm. 895-896. Fugger, Johann Jakob and Clemens Jäger, *Ehrenspiegel des Hauses Österreich*, 1555-59; BSB Cgm. 9460. Fugger, Johann Jakob, *Das Ehrenbuch der Fugger*, circa 1560.

<sup>9</sup> SAA, Inventar Urgichten 262, 1579-1580. For example, many of the martial manuals commissioned and collected by Paulus Hector Mair were acquired by Johann Fugger following Mair’s execution in 1579.



and both albums remained in the Thun-Hohenstein library at Schloss Tetschen after his death.<sup>10</sup> In this library, the volumes were labeled with the Latin title *Imagines Catafractorum*, or Images of Armor, which still appears on the blank parchment spine of album B (fig. 2).<sup>11</sup> By 1888, the codices' inclusion of images of Holy Roman Emperors Maximilian I and Charles V had sparked the interest of Viennese art historian Quirin von Leitner, who published seven images from both albums in the journal of the imperial collections.<sup>12</sup> In 1924, Hans Stöcklein, director of the Bayerisches Armeemuseum, transported the codices to Munich, where he had large portions of the album B photographed (figs. 3-4). The resultant black-and-white glass negatives, annotated with terse descriptions by Stöcklein, found their way into the collection of the Maximilian Museum in Augsburg.<sup>13</sup> The Thun-Hohenstein family was compelled to sell Schloss Tetschen to the Czechoslovakian government in 1932.<sup>14</sup> The bound collections were last documented at the castle in 1936, when the building was converted into military barracks. The German occupation of the Sudetenland began in 1938, and Schloss Tetschen was captured by the German army and recaptured again by Czechoslovak forces during the course of the Second World War. The contents of castle's library were presumed to have been destroyed or lost in this tumultuous period.

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<sup>10</sup> UPM, GK 11.572-B, front flyleaf.

<sup>11</sup> Ortwin Gamber, "Der Turnierharnisch zu Zeit König Maximilians I und das Thunsche Skizzenbuch," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 53, no. 1 (1957).

<sup>12</sup> Quirin Ritter von Leitner, "Artistisches Quellenmaterial aus der Gräfl. Thun-Hohenstein'schen Fideicommiss-Bibliothek in Tetschen," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen der Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 7, no. 2 (1888).

<sup>13</sup> Augsburg, Grafische Sammlung, file FII. Stöcklein also documented portions of album A, but produced far fewer images of that codex. My thanks to Herr Dr. Christoph Nicht for facilitating my access to Stöcklein's photographs at the outset of this project, in July 2011.

<sup>14</sup> In the same year, representatives of the count offered to sell the two codices of Augsburg armor to the Maximilian Museum, without success. See letters preserved alongside UPM GK 11.572-A and B, exchanged between representatives of the Count Thun-Hohenstein and the Maximilian Museum from March-May 1932.

Throughout the rest of the twentieth century, the codices were missing and the intrepid scholars who sought to study them were obliged to rely on Stöcklein's black and white photographs as proxies.<sup>15</sup> In 2011, following a long and complex search, Pierre Terjanian located the albums in the Prague Museum of Decorative Arts, where they had been sent after the Czechoslovakian government purchased Schloss Tetschen, likely after a sojourn in a central collection point.<sup>16</sup> The rediscovery of the manuscripts, which are in superb condition, has transformed the present study from an investigation of secondary evidence surrounding a lost collection of artworks into an analysis of a rich and unexpectedly complex compound object.

Since Quirin von Leitner's publication of a selection of images from the albums in 1888, the books have been known by various names associated with the Thun family, who safeguarded them from the eighteenth through the early twentieth centuries. Von Leitner, Bruno Thomas, and Ortwin Gamber referred to the two codices as the Thun Sketchbooks, or *Thun'sche Skizzenbücher*, based on their understandable misidentification of the drawings as the preparatory sketches of armorers from the Helmschmid family of Augsburg, whose works are represented in at least thirty of the drawings that the earlier album collects. Indeed, the articles that Gamber published in 1957 and 1975 became the definitive sources on the album during its long absence. Despite the author's misattribution of the drawings, Gamber's research and its analysis of the Thun drawings' representation of field and tournament armors for Maximilian I and his successors helped to maintain interest in the albums' contents.<sup>17</sup> Much of Gamber's extensive work to identify the Thun images with the extant armors

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<sup>15</sup> See especially Gamber, "Der Turnierharnisch zu Zeit König Maximilians I und das Thun'sche Skizzenbuch," and Gamber "Kolman Helmschmid, Ferdinand I und das Thun'sche Skizzenbuch," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlung in Wien* 71 (1975).

<sup>16</sup> Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the *Thun sketchbooks* (Part I)," 301. Terjanian provides additional, detailed information about the central repositories through which the albums may have passed.

<sup>17</sup> Numerous subsequent publications engaged with the album either as a documentary source for the forms of armor in use during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century or as a complementary source on the patronage and authorship of extant Helmschmid armors. See, for instance Donald J.

that they depict remains invaluable for analyses of the codex. Indeed, Gamber's work joins Terjanian's exhaustive analysis and identification of additional extant armors that the Thun album's collected drawings represent to form the scholarly foundations of this study.

Terjanian described the two codices as the Thun-Hohenstein albums, an identification that reinforces the long association of the manuscripts with the baronial family to whom they belonged, and also acknowledges the accretive nature of the volumes by replacing the problematic term, "sketchbook," with the more apt "album." The codices are bound collections; their contents were not created at the same time, or even by the same workshops, they are atextual, and their arrangement is not narrative or chronological, but thematic.

Codex B includes work by at least eight distinct artists (see Appendix II). On average, the pages measure 307mm high and 220mm wide. They are bound in blank parchment that is riddled with worm holes that may suggest its reuse from an older source.<sup>18</sup> All of the eighty-one folios were once loose sheets; these were glued onto the tips of short leaves to make the volume's nine quires. Elaborate, double-eagle watermarks that appear on the short tips along the gutter, on the guard strips that stabilize and extend the outer, top, and bottom edges of some pages, and on the front and back flyleaves suggest that the codex's current form dates to the first quarter of the seventeenth

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La Rocca, "Notes on the Mail Chausse," *The Journal of the Arms and Armour Society* XV (1995), 78-80; Fedja Anzelewsky, "Erzherzog Maximilians Schwerer Roßharnisch von 1480," *Waffen- und Kostümkunde: Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Historische Waffen- und Kostümkunde* 3, no. 5 (1963), 77; Matthias Pfaffenbichler and Marcus Mrass, "Die Rüstungen im Werk des Bartholomäusmeisters," in *Genie ohne Namen: Der Meister des Bartholomäus-Altars* ed. Rainer Budde and Roland Krischel (Cologne: DuMont Literatur und Kunst Verlag, 2001), 214, 216; Christian Beaufort-Spontin and Matthias Pfaffenbichler, *Meisterwerke der Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer, Kurzführer durch das Kunsthistorische Museum* (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2005). 64, 66.

<sup>18</sup> UPM, GK 11.572-A is bound in a reused parchment leaf from a thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century polyphonal or antiphonal.

century.<sup>19</sup> Six drawings that span single bifolios in the second quire were folded in half and glued to single paper tips at their centers (figs. 5-6).<sup>20</sup> At least two drawings—a fifteenth-century image of armored combat and a drawing of a disassembled set of armor from the last decades of the sixteenth century—were cut as silhouettes from their original sheets and pasted onto paper that contains the same watermarks as the two largest groups of images (figs. 7-8).<sup>21</sup> At least forty nine drawings were trimmed along one or more edges, and one bifolio drawing that dates to the 1570s folds out to nearly double the height of the surrounding pages.<sup>22</sup>

The first five quires of the album contain primarily armored figures and barded (armored) horses, while the last four quires of the album comprise mostly drawings of disassembled pieces of armor arrayed across the page. In the first quire, the first four rectos depict four seated portraits of princes of the house of Habsburg: Emperors Maximilian I and Charles, Louis, King of Hungary (1506-26), and Philip the Fair, Duke of Burgundy and King of Castile (1478-1506) (figs. 9-12).<sup>23</sup> These drawings are based on woodcuts from Hans Burgkmair the Elder's *Genealogy of Maximilian I* (figs. 13-14), created between 1509 and 1512. Because Burgkmair's *Genealogy* never circulated outside of the imperial court or Burgkmair's immediate artistic milieu, it is likely that Artist A of the Thun album had access to one or both of these circles. Furthermore, these four princely portraits form a

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<sup>19</sup> These watermarks are related, but not identical, to Briquet types 266 and 267. Briquet, *Les filigranes*, vol. 1, 33.

<sup>20</sup> UPM, GK 11.572-B, folios 13-24. Because of the ways that three single tips support bifolios in this part of the album, the number of folios in the second quire seems uneven.

<sup>21</sup> UPM, GK 11.572-B, folios 12r and 56r. I adopt Terjanian's new foliation, rather than the misleading pencil foliation likely added by Stöcklein or the somewhat confusing sixteenth-century numbers painted in ink on the rectos of many of the leaves, which may or may not designate binding order. See Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the *Thun Sketchbooks* (Part I)," 302-03.

<sup>22</sup> UPM, GK 11.572-B, folios 5v and 6r (fold-out drawing). The images trimmed along their silhouettes and pasted onto new pages include folios 12r and 56r. However, nearly all of the drawings in the album show signs of having been trimmed along their edges, and every leaf has had paper strips glued to one, two, or three of its edges to create an illusion that the leaves' sizes are consistent.

<sup>23</sup> UPM, GK 11.572-B, folios 1-4.

kind of pictorial preface to the first quire's images of figures clad in sumptuous armors for the tournament and procession.

Other distinctive groups of images dominate the first five quires. Between the first and second quires, an inserted bifolio forms the physical core of a group of three fifteenth-century drawings. This bifolio is glued to a single short tip along its central fold; the compiler pasted a second fifteenth-century drawing to its last verso, and another, silhouetted drawing from the late 1400s is glued to the blank recto of the sixteenth-century leaf that follows (see fig. 7). Two of these drawings intersect with the genre of illustrated martial manuals, and all three allude to the visual traditions that shaped the mid-sixteenth-century images that surround them. Eight of the ten images that the second quire contains depict riderless horses in elaborate caparisons or bards, while a significant portion of the third quire visualizes equine armors drawn from the illuminated inventory of Charles V. These include one page of shaffrons (defenses for the horse's head) and four pages that each picture armored saddles. Two of the remaining four images in this quire represent mounted figures and steeds in armor for field, tournament, and triumphal entry, including the striking image of Maximilian I astride a horse encased from head to hoof in articulated armor, on which Chapter 4 will focus. The rectos of the leaves that comprise the album's fourth and fifth quires depict standing figures in sumptuous, often-recognizable armors. As Chapter 5 of this study will argue, this panoply of armored bodies echo the commemorative collections of real armors that appeared during the second half of the sixteenth century at courts throughout the Holy Roman Empire. The first three images in the sixth quire portray armors for the *Rennen*, or Joust of War, as they would appear in the joust, when worn on the sidelines of a tournament and when stored, empty, in an armory.<sup>24</sup> Additional images of disassembled armors, many of which relate to specific

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<sup>24</sup> UPM, GK 11.572-B, folios 52r, 52v, and 53r.

forms of tournament combat, follow these drawings. Pages populated with disassembled sets of armor components and arrays of empty helms fill the remainder of the codex. The album's organization, which privileges performative and static images of the armored body over depictions of empty armor, suggests ways that period viewers invested armor and its representations with meaning, as sites of both identity and memory.

This codicological analysis reveals the albums to be a rich source for the ways that artists represented exceptional armors. As an accretive compilation of images related to both the representation of the Habsburg dynasty and the luxury armors produced for this imperial milieu, the Thun album shares many characteristics with other bound collections produced in Augsburg during the mid-sixteenth century. Many of these volumes manifested collecting practices shaped by the cultures of remembrance, or *Erinnerungskulturen*, that pervaded the intellectual and visual culture of the Holy Roman Empire from the mid-1500s through the time of the albums' compilation in the early seventeenth century. Comparative analyses of these codices not only reveal themes that converge in the particular *Erinnerungskultur* of the imperial free city, but also offer clues that suggest potential contexts whence the individual drawings that the album collects originated. Furthermore, such comparison situates the Thun album not as an enigmatic, outlying unicum, but as a manifestation of vibrant early modern practices of commemoration and collecting.

### **Plate Armor in European Visual Culture**

A basic overview of the history of European armor provides a necessary foundation for understanding the significance of the Thun album drawings and the rich visual language of armor that they deploy. Plate armor that encased the entire body developed at the end of the middle ages, during the fourteenth century, but reached its apex in the sixteenth century, during the early modern period. Despite its evolution during the era when regimented infantry and artillery slowly overtook

the cavalry-heavy modes of knightly warfare that previously dominated medieval battlefields, plate armor retained its chivalric aura on the battlefield and in the tournament lists, as well as in literature, art, and performance.

During the late medieval and early modern periods, armor was a valuable and complex art form that constructed and expressed cultural frameworks of power, epitomized ideals of chivalric masculinity, and recalled the individual identities of wearers. As early as the thirteenth century, crested helmets and shields identified their bearers' presence on the battlefield or in the tournament, when faces were obscured by the metallic surface of the great helm.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, crested great helms, such as the example made for Albert von Prankh around 1350 (fig. 15), persisted as tournament defenses well into the fourteenth century. Their form became an essential signifier of knightly sport, as in the Manesse Codex, where they feature prominently in illustrations of chivalric literature by Middle High German poets like Wolfram von Eschenbach (fig. 16).<sup>26</sup> Plate armor developed over the course of the late-fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and specialized protective components were designed for the battlefield, knightly sport, and courtly pageantry. As Chapter 3 demonstrates, such armors took on the broader associations and meanings that period viewers attached to their spectacular contexts of use within the tournament lists.

While steel plate armor—alongside the sword—is today an essential component of the popular image of the medieval European knight, mail crafted from interlocking networks of riveted rings was the primary form of protection for warriors as well as their steeds from late antiquity

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<sup>25</sup> Robert Jones, *Bloodied Banners: Martial Display on the Medieval Battlefield*, ed. Matthew Bennet, Anne Curry, and Stephen Morillo, *Warfare in History* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), 118-19, 128-29.

<sup>26</sup> HUB, Sign. Cod. Pal. Germ 848, *Große Heidelberger Liederhandschrift* (Manesse Codex), Zurich, first quarter of the 14th century.

throughout most of the medieval period (fig. 17).<sup>27</sup> This mail, worn over a thickly quilted arming garment, defended the body, while stout iron or steel helmets and shields of various types provided supplemental coverage. However, as long bows and, later, crossbows grew stronger and labor costs increased following the Black Death, time-intensive mail was supplemented and eventually replaced by steel plate as the main form of defense, although mail continued to offer flexible coverage for exposed joints.

Beginning in the late thirteenth-century, a garment constructed from small, overlapping steel plates that were riveted together (known as the “coat of plates”) emerged to provide additional protection to the torso. Such coats of plates were generally worn over the traditional mail shirt. The burial of twenty-four men wearing coats of plates in a mass grave after the Battle of Visby (1361) attests to their long popularity (fig. 18).<sup>28</sup> The plates that constituted the coat of plates gradually increased in size and decreased in number. During the years just before 1400, true plate armors made of overlapping networks of large, sculpted steel plates that enclosed the limbs and torso, were developed by Lombard armorers in Milan and Brescia.<sup>29</sup> Some scholars suggest that the conflicts of the Hundred Years’ War (1337-1453) fueled the arms race that motivated these innovations.<sup>30</sup> However, the transition from a coat of plates to a solid breastplate also offered a practical solution; it could provide better protection than a coat of plates worn over a mail shirt, yet was far lighter than these combined layers were.

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<sup>27</sup> Alan Williams, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace: A History of the Metallurgy of Armour in the Middle Ages & the Early Modern Period*, History of warfare, (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2003), 40-43. Since “chain mail” is a misleading and inaccurate term, I avoid using it here.

<sup>28</sup> A. Williams, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace*, 54.

<sup>29</sup> A. Williams, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace*, 54.

<sup>30</sup> Stephen N. Fliegel, *Arms and Armor: The Cleveland Museum of Art* (Cleveland, Ohio New York: The Cleveland Museum of Art; Distributed by H.N. Abrams, 1998), 54-55.



Due, in part, to the superior quality of their carburized and hardened steel, Lombard armorers such as the Missaglia family of Milan remained the primary innovators of full body plate armor throughout the first half of the fifteenth century (fig. 19).<sup>31</sup> However, full sets of armor emerged from the German-speaking lands beginning around 1450. The earliest plate armors that appeared in the Holy Roman Empire bore no marks to identify their makers or origins and were often forged from low-carbon steel that was not consistently hardened through quenching (immersing the hot metal in water or oil) and tempering (slowly reheating). By the final quarter of the fifteenth century, however, armorers north of the Alps produced increasingly high-quality steel. Armorers in cities like Innsbruck, Augsburg, Landshut, and Nuremberg began to sign their works with distinguishing marks, emulating their Italian competitors. Beginning in Augsburg, civic marks appeared on defensive plates of high quality that were intended for export as a way of protecting and advertising the reputation of a city's armor industry.<sup>32</sup> The *Stadtpyr*, or pinecone, insignia of Augsburg (fig. 20) remained a well-known hallmark of quality armor throughout the sixteenth century.

The Helmschmid family of Augsburg (see Appendix III) were at the forefront of armor's development in the German-speaking lands for a full century from the 1470s through the 1570s.<sup>33</sup> Indeed thirty of the drawings in the Thun album feature their works, and many other images in the album evoke their style. Jörg Helmschmid (d. 1477-78) first appears in the Augsburg tax record from 1439. This document and another from 1465 locate his workshop "an der Horbrugk" (one of the

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<sup>31</sup> Claude Gaier, "The Armors of Philip III the Good, Duke of Burgundy: Purchases, Rentals, Gifts, Upkeep and Transportation," in *The Armorer's Art: Essays in Honor of Stuart Pybrr*, ed. Donald J. La Rocca (Woonsocket: Mowbray, 2014), 59. Princes from across Europe, including the Dukes of Burgundy, commissioned Missaglia armors at great expense.

<sup>32</sup> A. Williams, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace*, 332-333.

<sup>33</sup> Helmschmid, meaning "helmet smith," is sometimes spelled Helmschmied. The family's last name also sometimes appears in primary sources as "Helmsmid" or "Plattner" (armorer), and in secondary sources as Kolman or Colman.

many canals that traverse the city) at the same corner of the Schmiedgasse (street of smiths) where his descendants would work (fig. 21).<sup>34</sup> Jörg Helmschmid the Elder had two sons who followed him into the armor trade. Lorenz was active from around 1467 until his death in 1515/16 and Jörg the Younger from 1477/78 until his death around 1506.<sup>35</sup> Lorenz Helmschmid is the first Augsburg armorer whose work can be identified by his mark: a *Stechhelm*, or helmet for the joust of peace, crowned with a cruciform crest (see fig. 20).<sup>36</sup>

Lorenz Helmschmid produced his earliest-known, extant works for the Habsburg court of Emperor Friedrich III in 1477, when he crafted an elaborate and expensive bard (horse armor) for the emperor (fig. 22), which Chapter 4 of this dissertation analyzes.<sup>37</sup> The imperial accounts of that year list payments that total 456 gulden to “Lorenz Plattner” (armorer) for “a harness for our lord emperor and other matching parts.”<sup>38</sup> Lorenz continued to supply expensive luxury armors to the imperial family, and thirteen of the drawings contained in the Thun album portray armors that can be firmly attributed to him.<sup>39</sup> In 1480, he traveled to the Burgundian Netherlands to deliver

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<sup>34</sup> Alexander Freiherr von Reitzenstein, “Der Augsburger Plattnersippe der Helmschmied,” *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 2, no. 3 (1951), 180. That the 1465 and 1467 tax records refer to “Jörg Blattner” (the Armorer, rather than the Helmet smith) suggests a transition from shaping steel primarily for helms to fashioning plate armor to be worn on the entire body in place of mail.

<sup>35</sup> Reitzenstein, “Der Augsburger Plattnersippe der Helmschmied,” 180-184; Bruno Thomas, “Jörg Helmschmid d.J.—Plattner von Maximilians I. in Augsburg und Wien,” *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, 52 (1956). As Bruno Thomas’ foundational archival research demonstrated, the younger Jörg Helmschmid traveled widely and was often based in Vienna—where he specialized in tournament armors for the Habsburg court—from 1488.

<sup>36</sup> Wendelin Boeheim, “Augsburger Waffenschmiede, ihre Werke und ihre Beziehungun zum kaiserlichen und zu anderen Höfen,” *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen der Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, 12 (1891). 168.

<sup>37</sup> Boeheim, “Augsburger Waffenschmiede,” 166; Reitzenstein, “Der Augsburger Plattnersippe der Helmschmied,” 180; Anzelewsky, “Erzherzog Maximilians Schwerer Roßharnisch von 1480,” 77.

<sup>38</sup> Reitzenstein, “Der Augsburger Plattnersippe der Helmschmied,” 180. It is likely that one of the objects that Lorenz crafted for Friedrich III in 1477 was the elaborate bard now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, discussed in Chapter Four of this dissertation.

<sup>39</sup> UPM. GK 11.572-B, folios 8r, 29r, 38r, 41r-v, 51v, 54v, 71v, 72v, 75v, 78v, 80v. Further folios, including 9r, can be interpreted as representations of Lorenz’s work or armors influenced by his style.

spectacular armors for man and horse to Maximilian I, then Archduke of Austria and Duke of Burgundy, and stayed to serve the Burgundian court for nearly a year.<sup>40</sup> Indeed, twelve of the thirteen Thun album drawings that represent Lorenz's oeuvre depict firmly recognizable armors that were forged for Maximilian.<sup>41</sup> Like the 1477 description of a harness (set of body armor) accompanied by matching parts, records of Lorenz's work for Maximilian allude to the early developments that would culminate near the turn of the sixteenth century in the armor garniture—an extensive, matching set of interchangeable components, or “pieces of exchange,” designed for specialized use on the battlefield or tournament grounds.

Lorenz's son, Kolman Helmschmid (1471/72-1532) (fig. 23), worked alongside his father until Lorenz's death during the winter of 1515-16, and the family workshop on the Schmiedgasse continued to receive prestigious commissions under his leadership. Kolman was one of the favorite armorers of Emperor Charles V, Maximilian's grandson and successor. Sixteen of the armors that appear in the Thun album represent Kolman's work, and fifteen of these belonged to Charles V.<sup>42</sup> Images produced for the illustrated inventory of Charles's armory, the *Inventario Illuminado*, likely served as models for the drawings by Artist B that the album contains and both depict many of these innovative luxury armors.<sup>43</sup> However, Artist A also visualized thirteen armors by Kolman; though some of these armors appear in the inventory, Artist A's drawings are not copies, but independent compositions. Lorenz's son not only incorporated sculptural repoussé and elaborate fire-gilding into his visually striking works, but also produced increasingly expansive garnitures of matching pieces of exchange for man and horse (fig 24). The images of armors by Lorenz and early

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<sup>40</sup> Reitzenstein, “Der augsburger Plattersippe der Helmschmied,” 180.

<sup>41</sup> UPM GK. 11572-B, folios 8r, 9r, 28v, 29r, 41r, 41v, 71v, 72r, 72v, 75v, 78r, 78v.

<sup>42</sup> These include UPM. GK 11.572-B, folios 15v-16r, 17v-18r, 25r, 25v, 30r, 31r, 32r, 32v, 33r, 34r, 35r, 46r, 55r, 64r, 65r.

<sup>43</sup> Madrid RA, N. 18; Terjanian, “The rediscovery of the *Thun Sketchbooks* (Part I),” 314.

garnitures by Kolman that populate the Thun album offer clues that illuminate the early history of garnitures during the period when the flexible sets of armor evolved into sumptuous wardrobes of steel.

Kolman Helmschmid's son, Desiderius (1513-after 1578), took over his father's forge in 1546. After Kolman's death in 1532, Hans Lutzenberger (d. 1563) had married his widowed third wife, Ursula Schaller, and continued to operate the Helmschmid workshop until Desiderius attained mastery of his craft.<sup>44</sup> Desiderius, like his father, produced both battle-ready defenses and innovative, sculptural costume armors for members of the Holy Roman Empire's elite, including Emperor Charles V. He crafted a garniture for the Emperor's ill-fated North-African campaign, known as the Algiers garniture, which contained both fantastical parade armor and protective components for use on the battlefield (fig. 25). Parts of this garniture, much of which was lost at sea during the campaign, appear in drawings by Artist A in the Thun album, where divergences from the surviving finished components suggest that Artist A may have had access to Desiderius's working designs.<sup>45</sup> Although studies conducted prior to Terjanian's rediscovery of the Thun album focus on its visualizations of works by Lorenz and Kolman Helmschmid, the album's drawings of some of Desiderius's most ambitious works, which are roughly contemporary with the creation of the armors they depict, are also significant objects within the album.

Members of the Helmschmid family not only established themselves as the foremost armorers in Augsburg and as official *Hofplattner* (court armorers) to the imperial family, they also forged familial and professional relationships with other successful artists and armorers working in

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<sup>44</sup> Alexander Freiherr von Reitzenstein, "Helmschmied, Desiderius," in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 8 (1969), S. 505 [Online-Version]; URL: <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/gnd133803597.html#ndbcontent>; Wendelin Boeheim, "Augsburger Waffenschmiede," 201-202; A. Williams, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace*, 368-369.

<sup>45</sup> UPM. Inv. GK 11.572, fol. 80r; Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the *Thun sketchbooks*," 384.

the prosperous imperial free city.<sup>46</sup> Kolman's first marriage around 1500 to Agnes Breu, the sister of the painter and printmaker, Jörg Breu the Elder (see their double-portrait, fig. 23), solidified the family's ties to Augsburg circles of painters, printmakers, and *Buchmaler* (book painters) from which the Thun album would later emerge.<sup>47</sup> Kolman collaborated with the etcher, Daniel Hopfer, who was one of the first graphic artists to translate acid etching techniques used to decorate armor to the printing plate.<sup>48</sup> The armorer also worked closely with Hans Burgkmair the Elder, whose workshop was located near the Helmschmid forge, on the design and decoration of armors for the imperial circle, and Hans Burgkmair the Younger also appears in documents as an associate of the Helmschmid family.<sup>49</sup> In addition to their familial and collaborative relationships with artists working in paint and print, Kolman and Desiderius Helmschmid also established personal and professional relationships with other families of armorers and specialist armor etchers, including both the elder and younger Jörg Sörg and Matthäus Frauenpreiss.<sup>50</sup> The constellation of Augsburg artists and

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<sup>46</sup> Both Lorenz and Kolman Helmschmid were official *Hofplattner* to the courts of Maximilian I and Charles V.

<sup>47</sup> Reitzenstein, "Der Augsburger Plattersippe der Helmschmied," 184.

<sup>48</sup> Freyda Spira, "Originality as Repetition/Repetition as Originality: Daniel Hopfer (ca. 1470-1536) and the Reinvention of the Medium of Etching" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2006), 18-24; W.H. Williams, "The Relationship between Artist and Armourer in Renaissance Europe" (Ph.D. dissertation, University College, London, 1930), 191-92.

<sup>49</sup> W.H. Williams, 202-205; Tilman Falk, *Hans Burgkmair: Studien zu Leben und Werk des Augsburger Malers*, Bruckmanns Beiträge zur Kunstwissenschaft (Munich: Bruckmann, 1968), 76-78. Williams claimed to have found evidence in the Augsburg Stadtarchiv that Kolman temporarily stayed in the Burgkmair household in 1526, although he did not include a citation for the archival document. Although Falk attributed five Thun album drawings to Hans Burgkmair the Elder, the paper that forms their substrates was not used until the year of the elder Burgkmair's death. So, it is far more likely that these images—a horseman and five riderless, caparisoned steeds—were executed by the younger Burgkmair or Jörg Breu. Appendix II adopts Terjanian's "C" to designate outlying images. The group includes three fifteenth-century drawings by as many distinct hands and three drawings attributed to Burgkmair the Elder by Falk (7r, 21v-24r), as well as a late sixteenth-century equestrian figure on a large sheet inserted between folios 5 and 7, a horse by an unknown sixteenth-century hand on folios 13v-14r, and a set of drawings of a garniture of 1590-1600 that have been cut out and pasted onto folio 56r.

<sup>50</sup> A. Williams, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace*, 369; Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the Thun sketchbooks (Part II)," 20-27.

armorers that surrounded the Helmschmids (see Appendix III) not only enriched the works that they produced for their illustrious patrons. It also facilitated the transmission of designs seen in actual processions, tournament lists or battlefields into the pictorial realms of prints, tournament books, and other artistic projects that celebrated and constructed the knightly identities of the Habsburg princes who donned Helmschmid armors. Thus, the drawings that populate the Thun album manifest the complex artistic and social networks that orbited around Augsburg's luxury armor industry.

My study, and many of the seminal works upon which it is founded, focuses on representations of armors that represent the pinnacle of the smith's art during this period. Because of the resources, energy, and technical skills required to produce plate armor, it was nearly always a considerable expense for its wearer.<sup>51</sup> However, because the need for both steel plate and mail armor spanned the socio-economic spectrum, forges produced works along a long continuum of quality. Extant fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century armor ranges from so-called munitions grade works produced on a massive scale in cities such as Milan, Nuremberg, and Cologne to the visually stunning and technologically innovative armors made specifically for the discerning aristocratic patrons of famous workshops like the Missaglia and Negroli in Milan and the Helmschmids, Seusenhofers, and Frauenpreisses in the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Malcolm Vale, *War and Chivalry: Warfare and Aristocratic Culture in England, France, and Burgundy at the End of the Middle Ages* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1981), 126; Gaier, "The Armors of Philip III the Good, Duke of Burgundy: Purchases, Rentals, Gifts, Upkeep and Transportation," 63. Vale estimates that an average harness of plate cost at least three months wages for a noble man-at-arms during the last four decades of the fifteenth century, while Gaier demonstrates that the most luxurious armors produced for the Valois Dukes of Burgundy or Maximilian I could cost as much as forty-four small houses. The practice of taking armor from deceased or captured opponents in war, and sometimes during the chaos of early *melée* tournaments offer notable exceptions to this rule. However, armor made specifically for another person would provide less-effective protection.

<sup>52</sup> Pierre Terjanian, "The Armourers of Cologne: Organization and Export Markets of a Foremost European Armour-making Center (1397-1660)," *Journal of the Armour Research Society* 1, no. 1 (2005).

The finest examples of late medieval and renaissance armor have attracted the majority of scholarly attention, not only due to their splendor and virtuosic craftsmanship, but also because their provenance and the circumstances of their creation and use can more often be traced.<sup>53</sup> The contents of the Thun album encourage an almost exclusive focus on armor made for the imperial elite, and frequently for Emperors Maximilian I and Charles V themselves.<sup>54</sup> Its composition and style of painting also encourage consideration of the album within the broader frameworks of the Augsburg book arts industry and of the patrons and collectors who amassed representations of princely armors even when the real objects they represented far exceeded their financial means.

### **European Arms and Armor Studies and Related Scholarship**

The study of historic arms and armor and of the martial and visual contexts in which they participated is a fundamentally interdisciplinary pursuit that combines the histories of art and material culture with military history and the semiotics of power in medieval and early modern Europe. Despite a rich legacy of arms and armor scholarship beginning in the nineteenth century, armors and the weapons that they evolved to deflect were long marginalized within mainstream art history. However, over the last two decades, analyses of armor and its representations in image and text have featured prominently in museum exhibitions and attendant catalogs that resituated martial material culture within the story of European art.

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<sup>53</sup> Armors of more common quality, such as those excavated from the field of the 1361 Battle of Visby or the numerous surviving examples captured by the Ottomans from the Venetian fortress of Calchis in 1470, provide valuable evidence for the historical development of plate armor. For other examples, see Walter J. Karcheski and Thom Richardson, *The Medieval Armour from Rhodes* (Leeds: The Royal Armouries, 2002).

<sup>54</sup> Many studies that investigate a broad spectrum of armor are engaged in so-called technical art history, and seek to understand the processes by which the armor was created. See, for instance A. Williams, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace*, Terjanian, “The Armourers of Cologne,” and Matthias Goll, “Iron Documents: Interdisciplinary studies on the technology of late medieval European plate armour production between 1350 and 1500” (Ph.D. dissertation, Universität Heidelberg, 2013).

The medieval revivals of the nineteenth-century sparked fervent interest in late medieval and early modern armor from both collectors and scholars.<sup>55</sup> Beginning in the late 1870s, a group of scholars based in Vienna began to delve into the histories of objects in the imperial armory (part of the *Allerböchsten Kaiserhauses*, now known as the Kunsthistorisches Museum) as well as the armorers who crafted them. Quirin von Leitner, who first published images from the Thun album in 1888, also pioneered early scholarship on Maximilian's pseudo-legendary personal tournament book, *Freydal*.<sup>56</sup> While von Leitner published focused studies related to Habsburg patronage, Wendelin Boeheim forged pathways into the history of late medieval and renaissance armor and the craftsmen whose innovations drove its development. Boeheim, curator of the imperial arms and armor collection, published an exhaustive overview of arms and armor from the medieval period through the late-eighteenth century in 1890. This volume distinguishes protective elements and weapons for battle from those deployed in the tournament, and organizes its accounts of the evolution of arms and armor around specific components, such as the helmet, gauntlets, breastplate, shield, spurs, and equine armors, as well as both blade and staff weapons.<sup>57</sup> The following year, he presented a foundational study of the Augsburg armor industry that began with the emergence of the Helmschmids in the late fifteenth century and focused on the family's work for imperial and

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<sup>55</sup> For more on revivalist interest in medieval martial culture, see Jonathan Tavares, "Whence the splendour of our ancient Baronial Halls may be revived?: Samuel Luke Pratt and the Arms and Armor Trade in Victorian Britain" (Ph.D. dissertation, Bard College, 2013). The market for full "suits" of armor (a misnomer that persists today), led to the amalgamation of original and reproduced armors of diverse origins into composite armors, many of which now fill museum collections.

<sup>56</sup> Leitner, "Artistisches Quellenmaterial aus der Gräfl. Thun-Hohenstein'schen Fideicommiss-Bibliothek in Tetschen." Quirin von Leitner, *"Freydal" des Kaisers Maximilian I. Turniere und Mummereien* (Vienna: Adolf Holzhausen, 1881), III-LII.

<sup>57</sup> Wendelin Boeheim, *Handbuch der Waffenkunde: Das Waffenwesen in seiner historischen Entwicklung vom Beginn des Mittelalters bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1890), VI-VII.



aristocratic patrons.<sup>58</sup> Boheim expanded his exploration beyond Augsburg in his survey of master armorers from the fourteenth through the eighteenth century.<sup>59</sup>

In the mid-twentieth century, Viennese scholars associated with the Kunsthistorisches Museum turned attention again to the luxury armors worn by late medieval and renaissance elites and the smiths who crafted them. During the 1950s, Alexander von Reitzenstein's thorough archival research helped to situate the Helmschmid armorers and their oeuvre within the contexts of Augsburg and the imperial court.<sup>60</sup> During the same decade, Bruno Thomas examined the lesser-known career of Lorenz's brother, Jörg Helmschmid the Younger, who relocated to Vienna and specialized in tournament defenses.<sup>61</sup> Thomas collaborated with Ortwin Gamber on numerous important studies, including a comprehensive catalog of the imperial armories, and Gamber independently published a series of articles that traced the stylistic history of European armor.<sup>62</sup> In the 1970s, Claude Gaier's deep archival research contributed knowledge about the armor industries in France and the Low Countries that complemented the work of Austrian and German scholars.<sup>63</sup>

For the last three decades, specialists in the history of arms and armor worked diligently to make a place for these objects in the history of art. Beginning in the 1980s and 1990s, pioneering catalogs of significant collections of arms and armor distilled the deep institutional memories of

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<sup>58</sup> Boheim, "Augsburger Waffenschmiede."

<sup>59</sup> Boheim, *Meister der Waffenschmiedekunst vom XIV bis ins XVIII Jahrhundert. Ein Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kunst und des Kunsthandwerks* (Berlin: W. Moeser, 1897).

<sup>60</sup> Reitzenstein, "Der Augsburger Plattensippe der Helmschmied."

<sup>61</sup> Thomas, "Jörg Helmschmid d.J.--Plattner von Maximilians I. in Augsburg und Wien," 39-42.

<sup>62</sup> Bruno Thomas and Ortwin Gamber, *Katalog der Leibrüstkammer*, 2 vols., vol. 1: Der Zeitraum von 500 bis 1530, Führer durch das Kunsthistorische Museum Nr 13 (Wien: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1976); Ortwin Gamber, "Stilgeschichte des Plattenharnisches von den Anfängen bis um 1440," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 50 (1953); Gamber, "Stilgeschichte des Plattenharnisches von 1440-1510," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 51 (1955).

<sup>63</sup> Claude Gaier, *L'industrie et le commerce des armes dans les anciennes principautés belges du XIII<sup>e</sup> à la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liège, fasc 202 (Paris: Les Belles lettres, 1973).

important repositories of medieval and renaissance armor in Europe and the United States.<sup>64</sup>

Scholars like Stuart Pyhrr, José Godoy, Silvio Leydi, and Don La Rocca have embarked on scholarly analyses that not only exposed the workshop structures and patronage patterns of renaissance armorers working both north and south of the Alps, but also the ways that their works incorporated avant garde visual styles that allowed them to fulfill complex social, as well as martial functions.<sup>65</sup>

During the late 1990s and the first decade of the twenty-first century, Godoy and Alvaro Soler de Campo organized expansive exhibitions to highlight the artistry and artistic impact of armors, especially those created for the Habsburgs and their Spanish successors.<sup>66</sup>

Since the beginning of the new millennium, the quantity and depth of studies on arms and armor has expanded exponentially, and the material turn that has shaped the history of late medieval and early modern art in recent years has also informed considerations of armor. Alan Williams' monumental metallurgical analysis of European armor, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace*, provided

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<sup>64</sup> Christian Beaufort-Spontin, *Harnisch und Waffe Europas: die militärische Ausrüstung im 17. Jahrhundert: ein waffenhistorisches Handbuch*, Bibliothek für Kunst- und Antiquitätenfreunde (Munich: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1982); Helmut Nickel et al., *The Art of Chivalry: European Arms and Armor from the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: The Federation, 1982); Claude Blair et al., *Studies in European arms and armor: the C. Otto von Keimbusch collection in the Philadelphia Museum of Art* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1992); Fliegel, *Arms and Armor: the Cleveland Museum of Art*; Tobias Capwell, David Edge, and Jeremy Warren, *Masterpieces of European arms and armour in the Wallace Collection* (London: Wallace Collection; Paul Holberton Publishing, 2011).

<sup>65</sup> Silvio Leydi, "A History of the Negrolì Family," in *Heroic Armor in the Italian Renaissance: Filippo Negrolì and his Contemporaries*, ed. Stuart Pyhrr (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998); Stuart W. Pyhrr and José A. Godoy, *Heroic Armor of the Italian Renaissance: Filippo Negrolì and his Contemporaries* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998); Donald J. La Rocca, "The Fico Armours: A Study in Connoisseurship and Secular Iconography," *The Journal of the Arms and Armour Society* XIII, no. 1 (1989); La Rocca, "Monsters, Heroes, and Fools: a Survey of Embossed Armor in Germany and Austria, ca. 1475-ca.1575," in *A farewell to arms, studies on the history of arms and armour: Liber Amicorum in honor of Jan Piet Puype, former senior curator of the Army Museum Delft.*, ed. Gert Groendijk, et al. (Delft: Legermuseum, 2004); La Rocca, *How to Read European Armor* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2017).

<sup>66</sup> Alvaro Soler de Campo, *The Art of Power: Royal Armor and Portraits from Imperial Spain* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Acción Cultural Exterior: Patrimonio Nacional: Tf Editores, 2009), Silvio Leydi and José-A. Godoy, *Parures triomphales: le maniérisme dans l'art de l'armure italienne* (Milan: 5 Continents, 2003).

invaluable, tangible evidence for the techniques and technologies deployed by the armorers whose work the Thun album represents.<sup>67</sup> Tobias Capwell, Dirk Breiding, Stefan Krause, and Matthias Pfaffenbichler have each resurrected armors' performative functions as defensive technology for war and equipment for the rich array of knightly sport that slowly developed out of the high medieval tournament and that flourished during the fifteenth and sixteenth-centuries.<sup>68</sup>

Examinations of the dialog between armor and its representations, and of armorers' intersections with artists working in other media are forging new theoretical, intermedial, and interdisciplinary pathways. Freyda Spira reconstructed and analyzed the working relationship and patterns of artistic exchange that bound the Helmschmid armorers to the etcher Daniel Hopfer, while Stefan Krause studied the products of their collaborations.<sup>69</sup> Krause's work also considers the representation of the armored body and the tournament culture that often surrounded it. His publications in exhibition catalogs and ongoing research on *Freydal*, a fictionalized, pictorial account of the tournament exploits of Emperor Maximilian I that intersects thematically with other

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<sup>67</sup> A. Williams, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace*.

<sup>68</sup> Dirk Breiding, "Rennen, Stechen und Turnier zur Zeit Maximilians I.," in *Vor Halbtausend Jahren...--Festschrift zur Erinnerung an den Besuch von Kaisers Maximilian I in St. Wendel* (Trier: St. Wendel Stadtmuseum Trier, 2012); Tobias Capwell and Glasgow Museums., *The real fighting stuff: arms and armour at Glasgow Museums* (Glasgow: Glasgow Museums, 2007); Matthias Pfaffenbichler, "Das Turnier zur Zeit Maximilians I," in *Der Aufstieg eines Kaisers: Maximilian I von seiner Geburt bis zur Alleinherrschaft, 1459-1493*, ed. Norbert Koppensteiner and Ingrid Riegler (Wiener Neustadt: Statutarstadt Wiener Neustadt, 2000); Pfaffenbichler, "wie der jung kunig in allen ritterpilen, auch in teutschen und welschen stechen ubertreffenlichen was?--Maximilian I. und das Turnier," in *Kaiser Maximilian I. Der Letzte Ritter und das höfische Turnier*, ed. Sabine Haag, et al. (Mannheim: Reiss-Engelhorm Museen, 2014).

<sup>69</sup> Spira, "Daniel Hopfer (ca. 1470-1536) and the Reinvention of the Medium of Etching"; Stefan Krause, "Der Augsburgener Druckgraphiker Daniel Hopfer (1471-1536) als Waffendekorateur," *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* 13/4 (2013).

important studies of tournament books and martial manuals, focus on the meanings that representations of particular types of armor conveyed for contemporary viewers.<sup>70</sup>

In recent years, an interdisciplinary cadre of scholars have begun to analyze the dialogic relationships between late medieval and early modern armor and its representations in other visual media. Carolyn Springer, a literary historian, traced the ways that real armor as well as its depictions in word and image functioned as a transformative medium that erased Italian Renaissance wearers' physical flaws and fragility and encouraged its viewers to associate them with archetypes from literature, history, and hagiography. Springer deployed literary and visual analysis within a psychoanalytic framework to unpack armor's power to declare its wearer's virtue and nobility, while also perfecting his physical form by encasing the fragile body in an impermeable and idealized carapace.<sup>71</sup>

Recent scholarship on fifteenth-century book culture expanded the questions surrounding the significance of representations of armor and armored bodies. For instance, Justin Sturgeon explores the ways that the fifteenth-century *Livre des tournois* by René of Anjou developed and transmitted novel depictions of specific types of tournament armor as metonyms for knightly events and wearers.<sup>72</sup> Scholars of martial history are examining how the depicted armored body and the individual pieces of armor that encased it bore meaning as both defensive technologies and signifiers

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<sup>70</sup> Krause, "Turnierbücher des späten Mittelalters und der Renaissance," in *Turnier: 1000 Jahre Ritterspiele*, ed. Stefan Krause and Matthias Pfaffenbichler (Munich: Hirmer, 2017); Krause, "die ritterspiel als ritter Freydalb hat gethon aus ritterlichem gmute"—Der Turnierbuch *Freydal* Kaiser Maximilians I,' in *Kaiser Maximilian I: Der Letzte Ritter und das höfische Turnier*, ed. Sabine Haag, et al. (Mannheim: Reiss-Engelhorn Museen, 2014).

<sup>71</sup> Carolyn Springer, *Armour and masculinity in the Italian Renaissance*, Toronto Italian studies (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010).

<sup>72</sup> Justin Meredith Sturgeon, "Text & Image in René d'Anjou's *Livre de Tournois*, c. 1460: Constructing Authority and Identity in Fifteenth-Century Court Culture. Presented with a Critical Edition of BnF ms français 2695" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of York, 2015).

of particular types of combat or knightly sport. Daniel Jaquet's work analyzes so-called fight books or martial manuals from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to uncover how their representations of both armored and unarmored combatants embodied and transmitted complex gestural and strategic knowledge to indoctrinated viewers.<sup>73</sup> Most importantly for this study, Pierre Terjanian published two articles that reintroduce the Thun albums and connect their illustrations to armorers' workshops and real armors that survive in European and North American collections.<sup>74</sup>

This dissertation participates in the scholarly reappraisal of armor as a visual language. In addition to building upon the foundations established by previous scholars and current colleagues, it seeks to resituate armor and its representations in sixteenth-century book painting, two bodies of work that have long occupied the margins of late medieval and early modern art history.

### **Augsburg Artists and the Representation of the Armored Body**

The social and professional ties that bound the Augsburg armor industry to other artistic milieux intersected with the city's complex connections to the imperial court to foster a rich pictorial culture of the represented armored body. From the late-fifteenth century, Augsburg book painters drew visual influence from martial culture and representational strategies from other media. During the sixteenth century, book painters incorporated images and details inspired by the city's illustrious painters' and printmakers' workshops, the impressive arms and armors that emerged from Augsburg forges, and artworks made elsewhere for the imperial court. The book painters' access to both other

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<sup>73</sup> Daniel Jaquet, "Die Kunst des Fechtens in den Fechtschul," in *Agon und Distinktion: Soziale Räume des Zweikampfs zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, ed. Uwe Israel and Christian Jaser (Berlin: Lit-Verlag, 2016); Daniel Jaquet and Dora Kiss, "L'arts de guerre et de grâce (XIV<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle): L'expérimentations du geste martial et du geste artistique: regards croisés," *e-Phaistos* IV, no. 1 (2015).

<sup>74</sup> Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the *Thun sketchbooks* (Part I)"; Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the *Thun sketchbooks* (Part II)."

media and their rich sources of inspiration contributed to their development of striking new strategies for representing the armored body.

Although some scholars have established a hierarchical relationship that sets *Buchmaler* (book painters), whose work was akin to that of illuminators working elsewhere in Europe, above *Briefmaler* (letter or document painters) who were focused on the decoration of documents and the addition of color to printed images, these two activities overlapped significantly in early modern Augsburg.<sup>75</sup> Indeed, some late-fifteenth-century book painters adopted the same graphic strategies for representing figures that appeared in woodcut illustrations published by Augsburg printers like Anton Sorg (circa 1430-1493) (figs. 26-27).<sup>76</sup> The ranks of book painters working in the city near the turn of the sixteenth century included notable artists like Hans Holbein the Elder (1465-1524), who contributed lively images of armored tournament combatants to the tournament book and family chronicle of the patrician, Marx Walther (1456-1511) alongside works by another, now anonymous, book painter (fig. 28).<sup>77</sup> Holbein the Elder's generation inaugurated an exceptional period for book painting in Augsburg, which lasted through the end of the sixteenth century.

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<sup>75</sup> Susan Dackerman, *Painted Prints: The Revelation of Color in Northern Renaissance & Baroque Engravings, Etchings & Woodcuts* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 22.

<sup>76</sup> Katharina Krause, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2002), 55-57. Anton Sorg's descendents (Jörg Sorg the Elder and Younger) became renowned armor etchers in Augsburg, and Jörg the Younger collaborated extensively with Desiderius Helmschmid and other luxury armorers like Matthias Frauenpreiss the Younger and Anton Pfaffenhauser. Sorg's album of etched armor decoration (now in Stuttgart, WLB Cod. Milit. 2° 24) is closely related to the second Thun-Hohenstein codex (UPM GK11.572-A). See, for instance, Charlotte Becher, Ortwin Gamber, and Wolfgang Irtenkauf, "Das Stuttgarter Harnisch-Musterbuch, 1548-1563," *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 76 (1980), 26-28; Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the *Thun sketchbooks* (Part II)," 11-12, 20-30

<sup>77</sup> Daniel J.M. Huber, *Marx Walthers Turnierbuch mit Familienchronik und Stiftungsverzeichnis* (Königsbrunn: Theuerdank Verlag, 2014), 10-11. My thanks to Daniel Huber for his enthusiastic encouragement of this project.

During the second quarter of the sixteenth century, the sons of influential artists, including Hans Burgkmair the Elder (1473-1531) and Jörg Breu the Elder (1475/76-1537), established themselves as preeminent book painters, whose workshops produced luxurious illustrated codices for demanding patrician and noble patrons. Hans Burgkmair the Younger (1500-1562) collaborated with his father during the 1520s and redeployed the imagery that his father had designed in service of the imperial court in commemorative tournament books and other projects. Jörg Breu the Younger (1510-1547) produced works for the civic official, collector, publisher, and martial enthusiast, Paulus Hector Mair (circa 1517-1579), that also incorporated imagery derived from tournament books and martial manuals called *Fechtbücher*, or fight books, in the German-speaking lands.<sup>78</sup> Additionally, Breu's workshop adapted images of the Habsburg monarchs Maximilian I and Charles V that Burgkmair the Elder designed for the *Genealogy*. In addition to their common models, the Breu works parallel the compositions, iconography, and style of draftsmanship that characterize the Thun album's four princely portraits (compare figs. 29-30 to figs. 9-10).<sup>79</sup>

Works that the Breu workshop produced from the late 1530s until Breu the Younger's untimely death in 1547 are characteristic of Augsburg book painting during the period. For example, a hand-colored edition of the *Geschlechterbuch der Stadt Augsburg* demonstrates the fluid relationship between print-coloring that previous scholarship has associated with *Briefmaler* and the rich, free-hand illustration attributed to book painters. The *Geschlechterbuch*, commissioned by Mair during the 1540s, contains woodcuts of armored heraldic figures, believed to have been designed by Christoph

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<sup>78</sup> SAA, Urgichten K262, 1579-80; Benedikt Mauer, "Sammeln und Lesen - Drucken und Schreiben. Die vier Welten des Augsburger Ratsdieners Paul Hector Mair," in *Medien und Weltbilder im Wandel der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Theresia Hörmann, Documenta Augustana (Augsburg: Wißner, 2000), 119-20, 125. Kazuhiko Kusudo, "P.H. Mair (1515-1579): A Sports Chronicler in Germany," in *Sport and Culture in Early Modern Europe*, ed. John McClelland and Brian Merillees, (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2009), 343-350.

<sup>79</sup> Campbell Dodgson, "Ein Miniaturwerk Jörg Breus d.J.," *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 11 (Neue Folge), no. 1 (1934/35), 206.

Weiditz the Younger, who support the coats of arms of Augsburg's patrician families (fig. 31), as well as members of the civic councils, and families counted among the up-and-coming *Mehrer*, or arriviste merchant class (fig. 32).<sup>80</sup> The Breu workshop hand colored the book's printed pages with layered washes and veils of translucent metallic washes that characterize drawings and illustrations by the same book painters. This work reveals the modern distinction that divides *Breufmaler* and book painters to have been overstated.

The Helmschmids' professional and personal relationships to the wider artistic community of Augsburg, particularly to printmakers and book painters, may have helped shape the meticulous representations of real armor and the innovative strategies for visualizing its metallic surfaces that became hallmarks of the city's graphic arts. Jörg Breu the Younger would have counted Kolman Helmschmid among his extended family, because his first marriage was to Jörg's aunt, Agnes Breu. The imagery that Breu the Younger produced for Mair's projects, reflects their relationship. The depictions of armored figures that Breu executed for the martial manuals known as *De Arte Athletica* suggest that he knew etched and gilded armors produced by the Helmschmids for Charles V.<sup>81</sup> They also showcase the book painter's liberal application of layered silver and gold washes to evoke the darkly shimmering surfaces of blued steel and the glimmer of fire gilding that distinguished luxury arms and armor during the period (fig. 33).<sup>82</sup> Indeed, drawings in the second volume of the Vienna

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<sup>80</sup> BSB Cod. icon 312b; Mark Häberlein et al., *Augsburger Eliten des 16. Jahrhunderts: Prosopographie wirtschaftlicher und politischer Führungsgruppen 1500-1620* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996), XV. The attribution of the woodcuts, which are sometimes also identified with Burgkmair the Younger and Heinrich Vogtherr, is based on nineteenth-century connoisseurship and deserves deeper reconsideration. Interestingly, Mair actually dedicated the *Geschlechterbuch* to Johann Jakob Fugger, who was an important member of the city council and would be elected Burgermeister in 1550.

<sup>81</sup> The Breu workshop's works for Mair include Munich, BSB Cod. icon 393.1-2; ÖNB Cod. 10825 and 10826; BSB Cod. icon 398; BSB Cod. icon 312b; AUB Cod. I.6.2.4 and I.6.2.5.; SLUB Ms. Dresd. C. 94.

<sup>82</sup> Bluing is a treatment applied to the surface of finished steel for both practical and aesthetic purposes; it protects the metal against rust, while also imparting the deep, iridescent blue color for



version of *De Arte Athletica* feature confident outlines, translucent washes and metallic highlights that offer striking parallels to drawings by Artist A in the Thun Album (compare figs. 34 and 35 to fig. 36). While not necessarily the products of the same hand, these works' depictions of the technical details of armor like straps, gilded rivets, and the movement of lames as they slide over each other or rotate with the wearer's movements suggest they may have originated from the same artistic circles.

Numerous works on paper represented armor and the armored body in sixteenth-century Augsburg. Many, like the Thun album, look back to the martial culture that flourished under Maximilian I and present armors retrospectively. Because the second generation of Augsburg graphic artists often falls under the shadow of illustrious predecessors like the elder Hans Burgkmair and Jörg Breu, most of these artworks have escaped art historical analysis.<sup>83</sup> Contextualizing and interpreting the Thun album drawings thus offers valuable opportunities to consider the ways that Augsburg book painters incorporated diverse compositional models and innovative painterly techniques to imbue images with layers of meaning. Comparative examination of the works that the Thun albums collect alongside stylistically related works from Augsburg not only addresses lacunae in the history of sixteenth-century art, but also reveals the book painters' contributions to the construction of thriving cultures of memory.

### **Armor and Memory, Commemoration and Collection**

Real plate armors, and also their representations, carried rich mnemonic potential for late medieval and early modern viewers. Luxury armors were fitted exactly to their wearers' measurements, and were, therefore, perfect impressions of a particular person's body at a specific

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which it is named. Strategic application of heat can also lend straw, bronze, and indigo hues to finished steel plates.

<sup>83</sup> Dodgson, "Ein Miniaturwerk Jörg Breus d.J.," 206; Elizabeth Scheicher, "Ein Augsburger Handschrift als Geschenk für König Philipp II. von Spanien: zum Oeuvre Jörg Breus der Jüngere," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 44 (1993).

moment in his life.<sup>84</sup> In this way, armor echoes Plato's conceptualization of memory as a wax tablet upon which mnemonic images could be impressed or inscribed.<sup>85</sup> Complete sets of empty armors approximated their wearer's physical presence, and, when they were disassembled, could function as metonyms for his identity. Armor had the potential to prompt recollection not only of the wearer's form, but of the feats of arms he accomplished, the pageantry in which he participated, or the battles in which he fought. For late medieval and early modern viewers, the broad spectrum of armors functioned as a visual language; each form could evoke its particular context of use, whether in the many variants of tournament combat or on the battlefield. In turn, each type of knightly sport bore additional layers of meaning that armors could prompt viewers to recall.<sup>86</sup> Armor, whether a complete garniture or an individual element, occupied material, functional, and symbolic dimensions for late medieval and early modern viewers and wearers. As symbols, armor and the armored body existed within a mnemonic imaginary as images that could be called upon to communicate meanings and recall narratives.<sup>87</sup> For instance, as Chapter 3 argues, depictions of shattered shields used exclusively in the joust of war prompted recollection of the spectacular tournaments in which they were used and such contests' significance as venues for martial display at the court of Emperor Maximilian I.

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<sup>84</sup> I use masculine pronouns for the theoretical wearers of armor because very few historical records document women who wore armor, and those who did (like Joan of Arc) were considered aberrant.

<sup>85</sup> Anne Whitehead, *Memory*, ed. John Drakakis, *The New Critical Idiom* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 16, 19-21; Aleida Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization: Functions, Media, Archives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 210.

<sup>86</sup> Pfaffenbichler, "Das Turnier zur Zeit Maximilians I.," 133-134; Breiding, "Rennen, Stechen und Turnier zur Zeit Maximilians I.," 56-59.

<sup>87</sup> Durand, *Les structures anthropologiques de l'imaginaire*, 19-20, 29. While mnemonic imaginary is my phrasing, this idea is based on Durand's discussion of the role of the imaginary as a meter of perceived existence, a catalog of what is possible, and a palette of images from which narrative may be constructed for audiences within a given society.

The Thun album not only represents many forms of late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century luxury armors and the meanings they embodied, but also the practices of collecting that brought the drawings together and shaped the present form of the codex. Within the early modern imaginary, Platonic and Neo-Platonic mnemonic models were combined with the Augustinian mnemonic strategy of the “storehouse” or “palace” of memory, an imaginary space within which imprinted images were preserved and organized.<sup>88</sup> Such conceptualizations of assemblage and storage as mnemonic acts provide possible clues for understanding the collection that the Thun album contains and its organization. These constructions of memory inherited from Plato and Augustine were embodied in collections that spanned the socio-economic and material spectrum. Scholars have already established how they inflected courtly *Kunst-* and *Wunderkammer* that contained art, naturalia, and mirabilia.<sup>89</sup> During the decades that preceded the binding of the Thun album, Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol (1529-1595), established a commemorative collection of armors known as the *Heldenrüstkammer*, or Armory of Heroes, that explicitly presented the armors of Habsburg princes, allies, and illustrious commanders as sites of memory that recalled their deeds and identities.<sup>90</sup> In Dresden at the same time, the Dukes of Saxony enlisted the Italian architect Giovanni Battista Nosseni to construct a gallery in which armors dating from 1485 onward were displayed alongside

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<sup>88</sup> Lina Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory: Literary and Iconographic Models in the Age of the Printing Press* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 238-39; Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1966), 128; Whitehead, *Memory*. 33; Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization: Functions, Media, Archives*, 146-47.

<sup>89</sup> Lina Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory: Literary and Iconographic Models in the Age of the Printing Press* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 23-37, 80-82; Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Court Culture in Dresden: From Renaissance to Baroque* (Basingstoke and New York, Palgrave, 2002), 72.

<sup>90</sup> Elizabeth Scheicher, “Historiography and display: the ‘Heldenrüstkammer’ of Archduke Ferdinand II in Schloss Ambras,” *Journal of the History of Collections* 2, no. 1 (1990), 71; Christian Beaufort-Spontin, “Die ‘Ehrliche Gesellschaft’ Erzherzog Ferdinands von Österreich. Die originellste Sammlung des 16. Jahrhunderts?,” in *Das Exponat als historisches Zeugnis: Präsentationsformen politischer Ikonographie* (Dresden: Sandstein Verlag, 2010), 126-27; Laurin Luchner, *Denkmal eines Renaissancefürsten: Versuch eine Rekonstruktion des ambrasers Museums von 1583* (Vienna: Antoll Schroll & Co., 1958).

dynastic portraits. In 1608, the Saxon court historian, Laurentius Peccensteinius, described the knightly games of the Dresden tournament arena in juxtaposition with “particularly great deeds” (insonderheit grossen Thaten) recalled by the armors and likenesses that filled the adjacent gallery.<sup>91</sup> Like tangible manifestations of Augustine’s palace of memory, the arrangement of armors in these armories prompted recollection of their wearers’ accomplishments in tournaments or battle, as well as their particular relationships to the collectors who displayed them.

Commemorative manuscripts commissioned by Hans Jakob Fugger and inventories of the armor, militaria, martial manuals, books and artworks that were amassed by Paulus Hector Mair demonstrate the commemorative and mnemonic qualities of early modern collections outside of princely courts and, especially, in Augsburg.<sup>92</sup> Mair’s fellow councilman, Hans Jakob Fugger, contributed extensively to the conceptualization of collecting as a mnemonic practice in the imperial free city of Augsburg.<sup>93</sup> As an envoy for his family’s business, he had been introduced to innovative collecting practices at the court of Ferdinand I, then King of Bohemia, around 1535. Mark Meadow described how Fugger’s own commemorative manuscript projects illustrated by the Breu workshop incorporated the theories of the Flemish doctor and intellectual, Samuel Quicchelberg (1529-1567).<sup>94</sup> Quicchelberg collaborated with Hans Jakob to reorganize the Fuggers’ own vast library collections based on thematic categories, and the two men worked together as librarians to Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria.<sup>95</sup> In *Inscriptiones vel tituli theatri*, written in 1565, Quicchelberg explicitly described how

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<sup>91</sup> Watanabe-O’Kelly, *Court Culture in Dresden*, 43-45, 73.

<sup>92</sup> SAA Urgichten K262, 1579-80. Mauer, “Sammeln und Lesen - Drucken und Schreiben,” 125.

<sup>93</sup> Mark A. Meadow, “Merchants and Marvels: Hans Jacob Fugger and the Origins of the Wunderkammer,” in *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Pamela H. Smith and Paula Findlen (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 189

<sup>94</sup> Meadow “Merchants and Marvels,” 190-91.

<sup>95</sup> Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory*, 237-40; Meadow, “Merchants and Marvels,” 190-92.

collections could function as *theatrum sapientiae*, or mnemonic theaters of wisdom.<sup>96</sup> Indeed, Theater of Wisdom is the name that he gave to the Kunstkammer that he assembled for the Duke of Bavaria.<sup>97</sup> Through this project, Quicchelberg explicitly presented Augustine's storehouse of memory as a model for collectors in the Holy Roman Empire and for his Augsburg colleagues.

Quicchelberg and Fugger's thematic, collection-oriented mnemonic models may have inflected the intellectual and artistic milieu of Augsburg, from which the Thun drawings and the thematic, bound collection that assembled them emerged. As Meadow and Rublack have demonstrated, collecting was a communal activity in the city of Augsburg as in the rest of early modern Europe. The creation and assemblage of images and objects involved networks of social and economic exchange, including commerce, patronage and gift-giving, that could unite people from all strata of society.<sup>98</sup> Mair served as a councilman and city treasurer alongside Hans Jakob Fugger for eight years from 1542 until 1550; he commissioned manuscript projects from the same book painters' workshops who created commemorative volumes celebrating the Fugger family and the Habsburg dynasty for Hans Jakob.<sup>99</sup> The workshop of Jörg Breu the Younger produced the monumental, and sumptuously illuminated *Ehrenbuch* (*Book of Honor*) of the Fugger Family and the equally luxurious *Ehrenspiegel des Hauses Österreich* (*Mirror of Honor of the House of Austria*), as well as

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<sup>96</sup> Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory*, 237-38. Quicchelberg meant his publication to preface a never-completed multivolume collection that he imagined as a universal *theatrum sapientiae* in print.

<sup>97</sup> Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Court Culture in Dresden*, 72.

<sup>98</sup> Meadow, "Merchants and Marvels," 184. Ulinka Rublack, "Matter in the Material Renaissance," *Past and Present*, no. 219 (May 2013), 45, 56.

<sup>99</sup> Häberlein et al., *Augsburger Eliten des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 154, 503; Mauer, "Sammeln und Lesen - Drucken und Schreiben," 125; Kusudo, "P.H. Mair," 340; Claudia Fabian and Claudia Bubenik, *Die Fugger im Bild: Selbstdarstellung einer Familiendynastie der Renaissance: Begleitbuch zur Schatzkammerausstellung anlässlich der Erwerbung des Ehrenbuchs der Fugger (Cgm 9460) und der Fuggerorum et Fuggerarum—Imagines (Cod. Icon. 380)*. Patrimonia. (Luzern: Quaternio, 2010), 49-54. Häberlein's prosopography also reveals that Fugger and Mair served on the Augsburg council with Christoph Peutingger, son of Conrad Peutingger, the eminent humanist and member of Maximilian I's inner circle. Mair witnessed Christoph Peutingger's will in 1570.

illustrations that fill eight of the codices that Mair commissioned or collected.<sup>100</sup> These book painters excelled at commemorative images and meaningful representations of material culture, including armor, and comparative analysis suggests that Artist A of the Thun album may have been part of their circle.

This study analyzes the Thun album alongside collections and projects that, like Ferdinand's Armory of Heroes, Mair's collection of manuscripts and militaria, or compendia illustrated by the Breu workshop for Hans Jakob Fugger, presented real armors and depicted armored bodies as sites of memory. Such comparisons reveal the ways that the martial culture that flourished under Maximilian I was reconstructed within the imaginary of the sixteenth century. Indeed, each transmission of armor's appearance from plate to page and each stage in the pictorial tradition that influenced the Thun album drawings participated in the so-called *Ritterrenaissance*, or chivalric revival, of the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries. John Frow and Keith Moxey have interpreted representation, reception, and recollection as reconstructive acts that are informed as much by the desires of the viewer as the realities of the past that they reimagine.<sup>101</sup> Thus, analysis of the Thun album's structure and the drawings that it contains not only expands our understanding of armor and its place with the martial material culture of the late medieval and early modern periods. It also offers insight into the ways that armors and their chivalric associations functioned as meaningful objects of desire for sixteenth-century viewers.

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<sup>100</sup> BSB Cgm. 9640; BSB Cgm. 895-896; AUB Cod. I.6.2.4; AUB Cod. I.6.2.5; AUB Cod. I.6.4.2; BSB Cod. icon. 393a-b; BSB Cod. icon. 403; BSB Cod. icon. 312b; ÖNB Cods. 10825-10826; SLUB Ms. Dresd. C. 94.

<sup>101</sup> John Frow, *Time and Commodity Culture: Essays in Cultural Theory and Postmodernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 229-30; Whitehead, *Memory*, 48-49; Keith Moxey, *Visual Time: The Image in History* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2013), 53-55.

## Methodological Frameworks for the Case Studies to Follow

This is the first study to analyze both armor and its representations as sites of memory within the context of the early modern visual culture of the German-speaking lands. In doing so, it contributes to understanding the rich cultures of remembrance that flourished in the courts and cities of the sixteenth-century Holy Roman Empire. This work is indebted not only to previous studies in the history of art and of arms and armor and to intellectual historians who traced late medieval and early modern conceptions of memory and the mnemonic practices meant to enable clear recollection. Finally, this dissertation integrates historical mnemonic concepts with complementary models by postmodern theorists who have outlined frameworks for understanding the ways that memory and culture intersect.

Jan-Dirk Müller and other German scholars extended the study of late medieval memory into the secular realms of the imperial court and the knightly or patrician fencing school.<sup>102</sup> Müller's foundational book on Maximilian I's appropriation of chivalric archetypes as a means of constructing an ideal, knightly image for posterity provides an important model for this study's consideration of armors and images crafted for Habsburg court.<sup>103</sup> The anthropologist Jan Assmann defined cultural memory as a mode of preserving knowledge from which a cultural group derives an understanding of its identity. According to Assmann, such cultural memory is differentiated from the mundane memory of everyday tasks by its foundations in fixed symbols or events. Such locations of collective memory transcend time through their repeated reconstitution by representation

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<sup>102</sup> Jan-Dirk Müller, *Gedechtnus, Literature und Hofgesellschaft um Maximilian I*, ed. Joachim Bumke, et al., *Forschungen zur Geschichte der Älteren Deutschen Literatur* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1982). "Zwischen mündlicher Anweisung und schriftlicher Sicherung von Tradition. Zur Kommunikationsstruktur spätmittelalterlicher Fechtbücher," *Sitzungsberichte um Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klassen* 596, no. 1 (1992).

<sup>103</sup> Müller, *Gedechtnus*. Müller draws his title from the primary source (*Frühneuhochdeutsch*) spelling "Gedächtnis," or memory for posterity.

in words, images, events, or rituals. As Assmann points out, recollections of collective memory are necessarily reconstructions that relate as much to the present moment of remembrance as to the object or “figure” of memory.<sup>104</sup> Klaus Graf incorporated Assmann’s conceptions to establish a case for the existence of a *Fürstliche Erinnerungskultur*, or princely culture of remembrance, that shaped commemorative pageantry, patronage, and collecting in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Holy Roman Empire.<sup>105</sup> Finally, Lina Bolzoni traced the ways that classical and medieval mnemonics like the *ars memoria* intermingled with—and were ultimately supplanted by—early modern approaches to memory that looked both back to classical rhetoric and forward to the crystallization of individual and collective memory that could be enacted through increasingly accessible collecting practices and popular print culture.<sup>106</sup>

By incorporating scholarship focused on both the late medieval and early modern periods, this dissertation explores how mnemonic strategies and martial knowledge traversed the boundaries imposed upon the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries by traditional art historical periodization, and analyzes depicted and real armors as sites of memory. It draws upon broad-ranging scholarship on cultural memory to situate the Thun album and related cultural products within their particular

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<sup>104</sup> Jan Assmann and John Czaplicka. “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity.” *New German Critique* 65: Cultural History/Cultural Studies, no. 1 (1995), 129-130. Assmann’s study was originally published in *Kultur und Gedächtnis*, eds. Jan Assmann and Tonio Hölscher (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp), 9-19. Assmann borrows his term “figures of memory,” from Aby Warburg.

<sup>105</sup> Klaus Graf, “Fürstliche Erinnerungskultur: Eine Skizze zum neuen Modell des Gedenkens in Deutschland im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert,” in *Les princes et l’histoire du XIV<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: actes du colloque organisé par l’Université de Versailles-Saint Quentin et l’Institut historique allemand, Paris/Versailles, 13-16 mars 1996*, ed. Chantal Grell, Werner Paravicini, and Jürgen Voss, *Pariser historische Studien* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1998), 2. Graf’s conclusions complement Christelrose Rischer’s earlier arguments that the fifteenth century witnessed a revival of high-medieval chivalric culture, or *Ritterrenaissance*. See Christelrose Rischer, *Literarische Rezeption und kulturelles Selbstverständnis in der deutschen Literatur der Ritterrenaissance des 15. Jahrhunderts; Untersuchungen zu Ulrich Füetters Buch der Abenteuer und dem Ehrenbrief des Jakob Püerich von Reichertshausen*, *Studien zur Poetik und Geschichte der Literatur* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1973).

<sup>106</sup> Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory*, 185-186, 215, 237-238. Aleida Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization: Functions, Media, Archives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 40



cultures of remembrance.<sup>107</sup> Thus, it invokes Jan Assmann's central arguments that cultural factors, collective identity, social norms and expectations shape personal memories and associations. His assertion, therefore, supports careful contextualization as a pathway toward understanding the meanings that the Thun album recalled for its compiler and viewers. Aleida Assmann elegantly combines Jan Assmann's broad theories of cultural memory with historical specificity. She argues that late medieval and early modern princes, nobles, and patricians created a "pluralization" of histories by reconstructing pasts that buttressed their own self-constructions.<sup>108</sup> Furthermore, she asserts that the advent of the printed word and image during the mid-fifteenth century offered novel access to the past that could both unite cultures of memory and prompt broader adaptations as viewers assimilated them into their own world views.

Mair, Fugger, and the Thun album's artists and compiler fit within Aleida Assmann's model based on their incorporation of meaningful images like armor and printed antecedents into their own, decentralized visualizations of the past. As Müller's and Wood's studies of art and literature demonstrate, Emperor Maximilian I's patronage offers ample evidence to support the Assmanns' theoretical framework.<sup>109</sup> The following chapters analyze the Thun album's drawings in concert with comparable works from mid- and late-sixteenth-century Augsburg to suggest how images of armors and their wearers could be multiplied and transmitted through complex pictorial traditions that enshrined them in collective memory.

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<sup>107</sup> Jan Assmann and Czaplicka, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," *New German Critique* 65: Cultural History/Cultural Studies, no. 1 (1995), 125, 129-30.

<sup>108</sup> Aleida Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization*, 40, 139.

<sup>109</sup> See Christopher Wood, "Maximilian I as Archeologist," *Renaissance Quarterly* 58, no. 4 (2005) and *Forgery, Replica, Fiction: Temporalities of German Renaissance Art* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2008). Müller, *Gedechtnus*.

## Chapter 2: The Thun Album and Visualizations of Martial Practice in the Fight Book Genre

In a drawing executed in the style of the 1470s or 1480s, two pairs of horsemen clad in the elegant late gothic plate armor of the fifteenth-century charge into combat with swords and maces raised (fig. 37). In the corner of the page, a pair of lightly dressed wrestlers grapple, each assuming a wide-legged stance to brace himself against his rival. In another drawing from the last decade of the fifteenth century a knight encased in meticulously depicted armor straddles his opponent, pinning him to the ground (fig. 38). The vanquished man's sword lies beneath his body, and he looks upward toward the victor's weapon, poised to deliver a final strike through the unfortunate man's open visor.

These two bellicose images belong to a group of three fifteenth-century drawings that were inserted between the first and second quires of the Thun album (see Appendix II), likely during its compilation in the first decades of the seventeenth century. While drawings on paper manufactured in the 1530s or 1540s form the surrounding leaves, these three images, each drawn by a different hand, date to the second half of the fifteenth century and appear on paper without watermarks. As the oldest works of art to be included in the album, they predate the images that surround them by up to five decades. Nonetheless they represent fifteenth-century pictorial and literary genres that resonate through the album's collection of later drawings.

The first and third images in the album's group of fifteenth-century drawings derive their imagery from martial manuals known as *Fechtbücher* (fight or fencing books) in the German-speaking lands. This genre combined didactic frameworks for communicating information related to martial skill, military science, and chivalric behavior. Fight books and literature that included martial knowledge, such as mirrors for knights, household compendia, or masters of arms' books, were ubiquitous in the circles that created and viewed drawings like those collected in the Thun album.

Because of this ubiquity, consideration of fight books helps to show how the visual and textual traditions that shaped the Thun album drawings imbued their depicted armored bodies with meanings familiar to their audiences. Through this, the album's fifteenth-century drawings became capable of functioning as mnemonic prompts that could incite its viewers' recollections of martial knowledge. Analyses of these three images demonstrate how the armored body becomes a vehicle for memory, a theme that unites the diverse artworks collected in the album. Consideration of these three fifteenth-century drawings that form an interlude between the album's first two quires and their broader codicological context within the album, alongside related contemporary artworks, offers insights into the ways that viewers and—perhaps—the codex's anonymous compiler understood the 112 drawings that make up the bound collection.

### **Visualizing Martial Knowledge on Folios 10r and 11v**

A dynamic drawing on a single bifolio that is affixed to a short, seventeenth-century paper tip along its central fold forms the physical and conceptual core of the group of fifteenth-century pages in the Thun album.<sup>110</sup> Long considered the oldest image in the codex, the drawing's style is consistent with draftsmanship and printed imagery common during the 1470s and 1480s.<sup>111</sup> This composite image contains six figures—three pairs of differently armed men—who engage in mounted combat or grapple on foot. While each pair of sparring figures evokes a particular category of combat or martial sport that appears in contemporaneous martial manuals, their amalgamation into a single composition has no known precedent in the surviving body of fight books. Together, these three sets of fighters visualize integral facets of martial knowledge that would have been an important part of training for knightly, princely, and even patrician viewers.

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<sup>110</sup> UPM GK 11.572-B, folios 10v-11r.

<sup>111</sup> Ortwin Gamber, "Der Turnierharnisch zu Zeit König Maximilians I und das Thunsche Skizzenbuch," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 53, no. 1 (1957), 3.

The pair of wrestlers who assume wide legged, firmly planted stances near the drawing's lower right corner (fig. 39) derive from the tradition of *Ringenkunst*, or the art of grappling.<sup>112</sup> While wrestling techniques were sometimes disseminated in specialized volumes, known as *Ringerbücher*, grappling was also a foundational skill for nearly all other types of combat, whether undertaken unarmored or encased in steel, on foot or mounted. Thus, the wrestlers who face off in the Thun album correspond with illustrations in numerous martial manuals. An example from the Codex Wallerstein offers a comparison from the 1470s (fig. 40). Other fight books from the fifteenth century include similar representations of wrestlers. For instance, such grapplers appear in a manual that the fencing master, Paulus Kal dedicated to Ludwig “the Rich,” Duke of Bavaria during the 1470s (figs. 41) and one of five fifteenth-century volumes connected to the fencing master, Hans Talhoffer (fig. 42).<sup>113</sup> The version of Talhoffer's treatise that was created in Swabia for Count Eberhad von Württemberg in 1467 (fig. 43) contains some stylistic similarities to the Thun drawing (compare figs. 39 and 43). In both, the anonymous draftsman delineated the grapplers' dynamic bodies in loose yet confidently fluid strokes that enclose volumes articulated with subtle washes.

In many of these examples from Kal and Talhoffer's treatises, the wide-set stances of the grapplers, who lean toward one another while each man reaches outward to keep his opponent at arm's length, appear at or near the beginning of the masters' sections on wrestling. These comparisons reveal how the Thun drawing visualizes a foundational maneuver within the art of grappling. Furthermore, the examples underscore the drawing's relationship to modes of representing martial knowledge popular in Swabia and Bavaria during the last third of the fifteenth century.

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<sup>112</sup> Terjanian, “The rediscovery of the *Thun sketchbooks* (Part I),” 328.

<sup>113</sup> Kal's *Fechtbücher* for Ludwig of Bavaria constitute two of the four extant manuscripts attributed directly to him. See Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna, MS 1825; BSB Cgm 1507, as well as KHM KK5126, and a fourth manuscript, known as the Gotti codex, now in an Italian private collection. For Talhoffer, see BSB 394a, 190r.

The two wrestlers not only embody the basis of martial skill in unarmed grappling; they also suggest the fleshy vulnerability of the unarmored body through their juxtaposition with the mounted warriors with whom they share the page. The men wear only shirts and breeches, which are held up by laces that connect them to the shirts' hems. Such minimal clothing appears throughout the fight book genre, which envisions the appearance of students at practice (see figs. 42 through 46). The wrestlers' wavy hair seems to move about with their maneuvers, and, while one man's face is only partially visible, his opponent wears an expression of concentrated determination. Their facial physiognomies—with slightly bulbous noses and wrinkles that extend from eyes narrowed in concentration—recall the often-coarse visages that populate many illustrated fight books, especially those associated with Talhoffer, whose treatises often claimed that the master had modeled the techniques himself. For instance, the version of his fight book produced in 1459 (see fig. 42) contains a declaration that “This book is Master Hans Talhofer's and he has himself modeled with his body so that the book has been painted after him, and it was painted on Pentacost.” (Item daz buch ist maister Hansen talhofers und der ist selber gestanden mit sinem lybe bis daz man daz buch nach im gemalet hat, und das ist gemalet worden off pffingsten.)<sup>114</sup> Like their counterparts in martial manuals, these wrestlers are not the coiffed youths who appear in popular scenes of courtly life but rather men whose markers of social position have been stripped away to reveal only their martial skill and physical strength.

On the left side of the drawing (fig. 44), across the gutter from the wrestlers, two riders charge toward each other with swords raised. They are lightly armored in variations of the style worn by light cavalry during the second half of the fifteenth century. The long-legged swordsman who rides the dappled grey steed wears full leg armor that terminates in elegant, pointed sabatons (foot

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<sup>114</sup> DKB MS Thott.290.2°. folio 103v; BSB 394a, folio 136v. The statement that the illustrations were painted on Pentacost suggests that they were done on May 21, 1459.

defenses).<sup>115</sup> This steel footwear echoes the elongated *Schnabelschube*, the long, beak-shaped shoes popular throughout the late fifteenth century. The crease between his cuisses, or thigh guards, and the flexible, hinged faulds at the bottom of his breastplate is protected by finely wrought triangular plates called tassets. The swordsman's arms are also completely enclosed in articulated plate, and his fingered gauntlets easily flex to grip the hilt of his upraised weapon. Beneath his helmet, he wears a bevor to protect his chin and throat. The steel surface of this component is covered in fabric, similar to the bevor worn by a rider, armored in the style of the 1480s, who was retrospectively depicted by Thun Artist A (fig. 45) during the 1540s.<sup>116</sup>

The thighs of the rider nearest the page's right edge (fig. 46) are not encased in steel plates like those of his opponent; instead vertical strips of mail protect them from slashing blows.<sup>117</sup> This rider's back turns toward the viewer, revealing the dagger that is tucked into his belt and the finely wrought hinges of the cannons that enclose his upper and lower arms. Beneath his doublet, the horseman wears a mail shirt, and his head, like that of his opponent, is protected by a steel war hat, a type of brimmed helmet popular during the middle third of the fifteenth century. A Burgundian war hat now in the Metropolitan Museum provides an exceptionally fine example of this form of armor (fig. 47). Its bowl is encircled by holes where padded lining could be laced to the helmet and to which the wearer could affix decorations, such as the sashes that stream behind the riders who charge across the Thun album's page.

Like the figures who grapple on the facing page, these cavalrymen are similar to the illustrations that populate contemporaneous fight books. Once again, Talhoffer's fight book from 1467 offers particularly striking stylistic parallels to the Thun album drawing. Although the mounted

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<sup>115</sup> See Appendix I for diagrams of armor for man and horse and Appendix III for a glossary of arms and armor terms.

<sup>116</sup> UPM GK 11.572-B, folio 8r.

<sup>117</sup> Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the *Thun sketchbooks* (Part I)," 328.

swordsmen who gallop across the Munich manuscript's pages do not wear leg armor, their clothing and war hats echo those worn by the Thun riders (fig. 48). Furthermore, their grisaille forms and inky outlines recall the style of the Thun drawing. Talhoffer's personal manuscript, now in Copenhagen, offers additional comparative examples from the 1450s. This volume's illustrations of mounted grappling (fig. 49) and of a mounted lancer and crossbowman (fig. 50) each visualize figures whose clothing and armor are similar to the mounted swordsman in the Thun opening, down to the fabric-covered bevors that the figures in each illustration sport.

The heavy horsemen in the Thun drawing's upper right are more tightly encased in reinforced plate armor than the swordsmen with whom they share the opening (fig. 51). The riders brandish flanged maces similar in form to both functional and ceremonial examples from the late fifteenth century. Heavy weapons, such as maces, poleaxes, and war hammers, intended to deliver both blunt force and piercing damage were often more effective against steel plate armor than swords, and they therefore waxed in popularity throughout the fifteenth century.<sup>118</sup> Though they developed in response to armored combat, such arms became intimately associated with knightly identity, as sumptuous maces such as those that once belonged to Emperor Friedrich III and his son, the future Maximilian I, illustrate (fig. 52). Once again, Artist A's courtly figure, armed in the style of 1480 and carrying a flanged mace in procession or triumphal entry, demonstrates this practice (see figure 45).

The mace-wielding heavy cavalrymen in figure 51 are finely armored; each wears a visored sallet, a streamlined style of helm with a pivoting faceplate. The riders' sabatons and couters, or elbow plates, have been formed into attenuated points that are characteristic of late gothic armor. The rider who charges from the left on a pale horse wears pauldrons (shoulder defenses) with elegant, scalloped edges over his shoulders, while his opponent's left shoulder is further protected by

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<sup>118</sup> Capwell, *Masterpieces of European arms and armour in the Wallace Collection*, 60.

a reinforcing plate that is bolted to the pauldron beneath. The right-hand rider, whose helm is crested with a white plume, may also wear a reinforcement over his left elbow, suggested by its large profile and prominent rivets or bolts.<sup>119</sup> Such additional layers of protection were often concentrated on the left side, which received the majority of blows delivered by an assailant's right hand.

Although there are no analogous representations of mounted, armored combat with maces in the extant body of fight books, the heavily armored figures at the top of the opening have counterparts in martial treatises that included sections on equestrian combat in armor.<sup>120</sup> For instance, the Talhoffer treatise in Copenhagen contains images of similarly armored mounted swordsmen (fig. 53). However, none of the drawings that illustrate surviving martial treatises approach the meticulous depiction of armor that the anonymous draftsman who created the opening of the Thun album accomplished in his visualization of the heavily armored riders. This pair of mounted figures is not the only image in the album that unites the visual language of fighting treatises with exceptionally vivid representation of the arms and armor that comprised martial material culture.

### **The Thun album and the *Art of Knightly Defense***

The final fifteenth-century drawing included on folio 12r of the Thun album (see figs. 7, 38, and 54) was trimmed along the outlines of the figures it portrays and pasted onto the blank recto of a sixteenth-century drawing. This depicts a fully armored swordsman pinning his armored opponent to the ground. He raises his weapon, poised to thrust his blade through the helpless man's open

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<sup>119</sup> Though the left rider's left pauldron, which would be the reinforced side, is not visible. Period readers may have read both combatants as properly equipped for mounted fights with maces, when reinforcing plates would be very helpful for both men.

<sup>120</sup> Although maces appear in martial manuals from the German vernacular tradition of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-centuries, they are most often used on foot in combination with long shields (or *pavises*) that may have additional spikes or hooks. In these contexts, the maces—which are closer to wooden clubs than to the flanged maces used against armored opponents—are wielded by unarmored or minimally armored fighters, who are often presented in the context of a judicial duel.



visor. The apparent victor in this fray has also pushed back his visor, and gazes downward over the bevor that obscures his lower face. One of the leather straps of his breastplate traverses his left shoulder beneath the curving tail of his sallet, a common feature designed to protect the nape of the neck. Because he wears mail rather than pauldrons on his shoulders, the red points, or leather laces, that tie the steel plates of his armor onto the arming garments beneath are visible along the edge of the rarebraces that enclose his upper arm and on the exceptionally pointed couter that encases his elbow. The victor holds his opponent firmly to the ground with a hand encased in a finely articulated fingered gauntlet and a foot that is protected by a pointed sabaton. He seems to have lost one of his spurs in the struggle, and it lies on the ground to the figures' right. Helpless, the fallen knight stares up with an expression of dread through the visor of his strikingly archaic bassinet-style helm—a variation that recalls the so-called “Hound’s Skull” form popular during the early- and mid-fifteenth century.<sup>121</sup> The man’s armored right arm twists awkwardly beneath his body as he lays upon the blade of a sword that seems to have just fallen from his open right hand. His left hand, encased in a mitten gauntlet, is barely visible as it grips his opponent’s forearm; its red lining and brass rivets delineate his fist, though the grey steel of each man’s armor visually merges into a single surface.

The violent and fragmentary depiction of two figures locked in combat on Thun folio 12r bears a striking resemblance to the final illustration of a fight book written in the 1490s by Peter Falkner, a fencing master and captain of the illustrious guild of swordsmen, the Marxbrüder or Brotherhood of Saint Mark. The *Kunst zu Ritterliche Were* (*The Art of Knightly Defense*), includes instructional verses and illustrations on unarmored fencing with a longsword and *Messer* (a single-

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<sup>121</sup> It is noteworthy that the same combination of sallet and hound’s skull appears in as group of manuscripts from the early fifteenth century that are known collectively as *Gladiatoria* (see KHM KK 5013) and, later, in sections of Kal’s fight book for Ludwig of Bavaria-Landshut, and in manuscripts collected by Paulus Hector Mair. See BSB Cgm 1507. This lends weight to the suggestion that Kal functioned as an important model for Falkner, who—in turn—influenced Augsburgers like Jörg Wilhelm Hutter and, ultimately, Mair.

edged sword), as well as foot combat with daggers, staves, shields, and clubs.<sup>122</sup> The treatise also describes strategies for fighting on horseback with polearms, lances, and swords. The final page of Falkner's manual presents an image of a man in gilded armor who has thrown his opponent to the ground and appears to prepare to end his life with a sword thrust to the face (fig. 55). This image represents the end of the author's lesson on mounted combat in armor and it follows a depiction of how to unhorse a man using grappling (fig. 56). The following explanatory text accompanies the treatise's last image:

Once he has been forced out of the saddle or fallen, also get off the horse and bind him quickly with wrestling techniques, enclosing him with one leg, the other (leg) on an arm, and work with a sword or dagger so that he gives himself up. (Ist er ab getrungen oder geffallen so fall aüch ab von dem pfertt vnd arbeit schnell in dem ringen als du wol weist felt er uff den rüch so beschlüß in mit einen bein mit dem andern uff einen arm vnd arbeit mit de~ swert oder degen so ergypt er sich.)<sup>123</sup>

This laconic explanation is inscribed across the top third of the page. As is the case in many of the pages of Falkner's manuscript, the struggling figures extend into the lines of text, which breaks to accommodate a pommel raised aloft in a gauntleted hand. Such collisions of word and image suggest that the illustrations were drawn prior to the addition of Falkner's written instructions, and, in many cases, the pictures provide additional information that expands upon the didactic text. For instance, the illustration of the caption quoted above specifically depicts the aggressor aiming his blade

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<sup>122</sup> AUB Cod. I.6.2.5; Tobler, *Captain of the Guild: Master Peter Falkner's Art of Knightly Defense*, 1-3. The Brotherhood of St. Mark, or Marxbrüder, were founded in Frankfurt, and, in 1487, Emperor Fredrick III invested them with the sole privilege of granting the title Master of the Longsword to teachers of the martial arts within the Empire. The *Messer* (or long knife) was the German counterpart to the Falchion, a slightly curved, somewhat short, single-edged broadsword that was associated with classical antiquity and rose to popularity in Italy, France, and the Holy Roman Empire during the fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries. Hans Lecküchner's *Kunst des Messerfechtens* (*Art of Messer Fighting*) is devoted entirely to combat strategies for this type of sword and heavily influenced Falkner's work, which appropriates many of Lecküchner's *zedel*.

<sup>123</sup> Peter Falkner, "Kunst zu Ritterliche Were," 1495, KHM KK 5012, fol. 72v; Tobler, *Captain of the Guild: Master Peter Falkner's Art of Knightly Defense*, 316-317.

through his victim's open visor and into his face, rather than simply "working with a sword." This strategy of targeting the visor—one of the primary weak points in the plate armor—is explicitly described by Falkner elsewhere in the fight book, and his fighting style persists through this last image.<sup>124</sup>

The final image in Falkner's *Art of Knightly Defense* far surpasses the artistic quality of the other 140 images in the manuscript, and its artist is distinct from the other two draftsmen who illustrated the album. This artist's style and that of his less skilled collaborators, resembles contemporary Augsburg book illustrations. The graphic quality of the drawing, particularly the representation of facial features such as eyes and noses, echoes styles that developed among Augsburg book painters, in response to the demands of the woodcut printing industry. For instance, the fighters' large, expressive eyes with open inner corners and their small, triangular noses as well as the simplified yet unambiguous armor that they wear connect the martial treatise to Augsburg book illustrations produced during the last quarter of the fifteenth century and the first decade of the 1500s. This style, exemplified by single-leaf woodcuts and books published by Anton Sorg (figs. 26-27), was developed by the cadre of Augsburg artists who were responsible for not only illuminating manuscripts, but also designing prints and hand-coloring impressions.<sup>125</sup> The first of the two artists who illustrated the *Tournament Book and Family Chronicle* of Marx Walther employed this style in his retrospective visualizations of tournaments between 1477 and 1485. In an opening that depicts a Shrovetide joust between Walther and a fellow Augsburg patrician as tournament stewards dressed festively as fools cavort alongside the lists (see fig. 28), representations of armor and facial features

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<sup>124</sup> For instance, on folio 56r, in the section that details armored fighting with daggers, and on folio 66v, which demonstrates armored combat with poleaxes.

<sup>125</sup> Krause, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, 55-57; Susan Dackerman, *Painted Prints*, 22. Another example of hand-colored woodcut in the iconic Augsburg style can be found in the Spencer Museum's *Bride of Christ*, a leaf from a book published by Johannes Bämmler in 1477. Lawrence, Spencer Museum of Art, 1964.0102.

resemble those in Falkner's *Art of Knightly Defense*.<sup>126</sup> Both works seem to echo the style of the woodcut illustrations that accompany Sorg's edition of Johannes Hartlieb's *History of Alexander the Great*, printed in 1478, and the similarities are particularly salient in the images of battles in figures 26 and 27.<sup>127</sup>

In addition to the stylistic details that tie the *Art of Knightly Defense* to Augsburg, its watermarks suggest an origin in Swabia or Tirol, and perhaps even in the imperial free city itself. The pinecone insignia of Augsburg—the *Stadtpyr*—surmounted by an imperial crown appears on two folios in the manuscript's first and second quires. In two more leaves in the codex's sixth and eighth quires, the *Stadtpyr* appears uncrowned.<sup>128</sup> Indeed, the last instance of this insignia emblazons the very page that echoes the drawing now in the Thun album. These watermarks were used widely in Augsburg during the 1480s and 1490s, especially in workshops associated with Johannes Bämle and the paper mill that he founded in 1486, and again from 1513 through the 1560s.<sup>129</sup> The tangible evidence of these watermarks reinforces the stylistic connections between the illuminations in the *Art of Knightly Defense* and the Augsburg contexts from which the Thun album and the drawings it collects emerged.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> BSB, Cgm 1930. Huber, *Marx Walther's Turnierbuch*, 38-39. Huber explains the scene and its Augsburg social context in more depth.

<sup>127</sup> Johannes Hartlieb, *The History of Alexander the Great (Die Histori von dem grossen Allexander)* (Augsburg, Anton Sorg, 1478), folios 39r and 40v. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/48036564/>. (Accessed January 23, 2018).

<sup>128</sup> KHM, KK 5012, folios 6 & 14 bear the crowned *Stadtpyr*, similar to Briquet Type 2111, while folios 55 and 72 bear the uncrowned *Stadtpyr*, similar to Briquet Type 2110. Briquet, *Les filigranes*, vol. 1, p. 156-7.

<sup>129</sup> Briquet, *Les filigranes*, vol. 1, p. 156. An additional watermark that appears in the third quire of Falkner's *Fechtbuch* also marks works created between 1485 and 1500 in Hallstatt and Rattenberg, thus corroborating the dating of Falkner's work and its association with the southern Holy Roman Empire.

<sup>130</sup> My thanks to Dr. Katja Schmitz von Ledebur for her patient assistance with my examination of the codicology of *The Art of Knightly Defense* in this extremely fragile manuscript.

The Thun drawing differs markedly from its counterpart in the specificity and quality of its draftsmanship. The image of struggling figures in the album offers a masterful representation of armor-encased bodies in motion. The artist modeled the sinuous, curved surfaces of the late gothic style steel plates in cool shades of muted blue that echo the strategies for depicting armor established by Augsburg book painters. The image in the album is exceptional for its illusionistic detail. The links of mail that protect the victor's shoulders and peak out from beneath each figure's breastplate and arm defense are defined by minute lines or articulated in fine stippling. The linear repoussé that amplifies the form of nearly every steel plate has been sculpted in shades of steel blue, white, and grey wash. Unlike the loose, graphic style of the analogous illustration in *The Art of Knightly Defense* in Vienna, the level of finish in this drawing from the Thun album approaches the accomplishment of a presentation drawing. Despite these stylistic differences, it is conceivable that the drawing on folio 12r of the album, now trimmed along the outlines of its figures and landscape, was once part of a version of the text preserved in the manuscript of Falkner's *Art of Knightly Defense*. If it were indeed cut from a now-lost edition of *The Art of Knightly Defense*, it must have been a remarkably fine copy. The analogies between the drawing on folio 12r and Falkner's treatise draws attention to compelling connections between the fight book genre and the Thun album drawings' origins in Augsburg, as well as its potential audience of viewers interested in martial culture.

### **Martial Practice and Bellicose Knowledge in Word and Image**

Analysis of the textual and visual traditions of fight books and of martial compendia (anthologies that contained knowledge and strategies for the battlefield, duel, and tournament) combined with an examination of their use by courtly and urban audiences offers an important context for understanding the Thun Album. Considerations of readership reveal how martial knowledge was transmitted and, perhaps more importantly, commemorated through representations

of the armored body. Analysis of the genesis, circulation, and reception of fight books also reveals how martial knowledge became a form of cultural capital that could facilitate social mobility by demonstrating indoctrination into chivalric society in exchanges between members of the urban elite, the knightly aristocracy, and the imperial court.<sup>131</sup> These exchanges mirror those manifested in the Thun album, whose contents and imagery also traverse the boundaries between aristocratic and urban socio-economic milieux.

Despite their rich pictorial content and relationship to both prose and verse texts, late medieval and early modern martial manuals have been overlooked in English-language art historical scholarship.<sup>132</sup> Military historians or arms and armor specialists, such as Rainer Leng, Jeffrey Forgeng, and Ken Mondschein, and literary scholars, such as Jan-Dirk Müller, have published the few significant scholarly studies that focus on this genre.<sup>133</sup> However, dozens of fight books

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<sup>131</sup>Jeffrey L. Forgeng, "Owning the Art: The German *Fechtbuch* Tradition," in *The Noble Art of the Sword: Fashion and Fencing in Renaissance Europe 1520-1630*, ed. Tobias Capwell (London: The Wallace Collection, 2012), 164-65.

<sup>132</sup> Sydney Anglo, *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 2-3. Over a decade ago, Anglo lamented the dearth of art historical scholarship on late medieval and renaissance martial manuals, which he surmised was a symptom of the discipline's avoidance of straightforward discussion of the details of personal violence. However, in the years since Anglo's publication, art historians, such as Pia Cuneo, Valentin Groebner, and Mitchell Merback, and historians like Caroline Walker-Bynum have interrogated the role of violence and its representation in the creation and meaning of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century works of art. See, for instance, Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York and Cambridge: Zone Books, Distributed by the MIT Press, 2011); Pia F. Cuneo, "Introduction," in *Artful Armies, Beautiful Battles: Art and Warfare in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Pia F. Cuneo, *History of Warfare* (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2002); Valentin Groebner, *Defaced: the Visual Culture of Violence in the Late Middle Ages* (New York, Cambridge: Zone Books; Distributed by the MIT Press, 2004); Mitchell B. Merback, "Fount of Mercy, City of Blood: Cultic Anti-Judaism and the Pulkau Passion Altarpiece," *The Art Bulletin* 87, no. 4 (2005).

<sup>133</sup> Jeffrey L. Forgeng, *The Medieval Art of Swordsmanship: A Facsimile and Translation of Europe's Oldest Personal Combat Treatise, Royal Armouries MS I.33* (Union City and Leeds: The Chivalry Bookshelf in partnership with the Royal Armouries, 2003); Ken Mondschein, *The Knightly Art of Battle* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2011); Jan-Dirk Müller, "Zwischen mündlicher Anweisung und schriftlicher Sicherung von Tradition. Zur Kommunikationsstruktur spätmittelalterlicher Fechtbücher," *Sitzungsberichte um Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klassen* 596, no. 1 (1992); Rainer Leng, *Ars belli: Deutsche taktische und kriegstechnische Bilderhandschriften und Traktate im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols., vol. 1: Entstehung und Entwicklung (2002). While each of

produced in the Holy Roman Empire during the fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries survive intact in European and American collections, awaiting art-historical analysis.<sup>134</sup>

Heidemarie Bodemar's ambitious dissertation offers one notable exception in the analysis of late medieval and early modern martial manuals. Bodemar analyzes a cross section of the most well-known illustrated treatises produced in the Holy Roman Empire from the thirteenth through the eighteenth centuries, ranging from foundational works by fifteenth-century fencing masters such as Hans Talhoffer and Paulus Kal to artistically innovative manuscripts by artists like Albrecht Dürer and Gregor Erhart.<sup>135</sup> However, the author concedes that the quantity of surviving volumes and fragments of fight books, as well as their tendency to be bound into collected anthologies of disparate material scattered among libraries throughout Europe and the United States, has prohibited a comprehensive study of the genre.<sup>136</sup> Daniel Jaquet's growing body of scholarship on individual fight books, as well as the modes of communication deployed within the genre and the patterns of exchange that link particular volumes and fighting schools to one another, establishes important pathways to understanding this idiosyncratic genre.<sup>137</sup>

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these studies engages deeply with late medieval or renaissance martial manuals, none approach the subject from an art-historical perspective. They concentrate primarily on interpreting the information contained in the manuscripts and how it was conveyed through text.

<sup>134</sup> Heidemarie Bodemar, "Das Fechtbuch: Untersuchungen zu Entwicklungsgeschichte der bildkünstlerischen Darstellung der Fechtkunst in den Fechtbüchern des mediterranen und westeuropäischen Raumes vom Mittelalter bis Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts," (PhD diss., Universität Stuttgart, 2008), 16-20. Due to the scattered, and often fragmentary, state of extant martial manuals, Bodemar analyzes a representative group of complete manuscripts that were readily accessible in European public collections as case studies that demonstrate the patterns of development which shaped the genre.

<sup>135</sup> Bodemar, "Das Fechtbuch," 3-4. Bodemar's exceptional dissertation has made important inroads into the art-historical analysis of the German martial manual tradition. Her work will, hopefully, provide a point of departure for more focused analyses, including future studies in English that will address this vast lacuna in the English-language history of late medieval and Northern Renaissance art.

<sup>136</sup> Bodemar, "Das Fechtbuch," 14. Bodemar surmises that over 300 complete martial manuals or fragments survive from the late medieval and early modern periods.

<sup>137</sup> See, for instance Daniel Jaquet and Dora Kiss, "L'arts de guerre et de grâce (XIV<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle): L'expérimentations du geste martial et du geste artistique: regards croisés," *e-Phaistos* IV, no. 1

The martial manual genre gave concrete form to an oral tradition that relied on knowledge transmitted directly from master to student and reinforced through rigorous physical practice. The development of fight books translated primarily oral and performative martial practice into image and text, and the memorable verses and illustrations that characterized the genre are part of the broader cultural phenomenon of didactic poetry. While poets writing mirrors for knights or princes often incorporated the same classical sources of military knowledge cited by fencing masters, they employed vividly descriptive language and their poems were only sometimes illustrated.<sup>138</sup>

Conversely, fight books could contain much more succinct, even sparse text, and often relied heavily on images to convey the author's meaning. The close association between image and text in fight books was so memorable that it would likely have inflected the reception of related images, including those that were re-contextualized when the Thun album was assembled at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Fight books initially focused primarily on skills deployed in single combat with swords without the protection of armor.<sup>139</sup> Such treatises emphasized techniques for fighting with German two-handed swords or a combination of the so-called hand-and-a-half (or bastard) sword and a

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(2015). Daniel Jaquet, "Die Kunst des Fechtens in den Fechtschul," in *Agon und Distinktion: Soziale Räume des Zweikampfs zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, ed. Uwe Israel and Christian Jaser (Berlin: Lit-Verlag, 2016).

<sup>138</sup> The late-Roman military strategist, Vegetius, was a popular source cited in both didactic poems directed to the aristocratic and knightly elite, and the martial manual genre. See, for instance, Johannes Rothe, "Der Ritterspiegel," in *Der Ritterspiegel, herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert von Christoph Huber und Pamela Kalning*, ed. Christoph Huber and Pamela Kalning (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009). 189-195. One notable example of illustrated *Lehrgedicht*, or didactic poetry, is a late fifteenth-century version of Hugo von Trimburg's *Der Renner*, originally written during the early-fourteenth century. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.763.

<sup>139</sup> Such unarmored fighting was known as *Bloßfechten*, or "bare fighting." The earliest extant example of such a treatise is the so-called Walpurgis Codex (Leeds, RA MS I.33), written in Latin and named after a woman who is represented among the fencers on its pages. See Jeffrey L. Forgeng, *The Medieval Art of Swordsmanship: A Facsimile and Translation of Europe's Oldest Personal Combat Treatise, Royal Armouries MS I.33* (Union City and Leeds: The Chivalry Bookshelf in partnership with the Royal Armouries, 2003).



buckler, or very small shield. Often, these works presented themselves as defensive manuals for civilians concerned about violence in the medieval city or while travelling, or as textbooks for preparation for duels or trials by combat.<sup>140</sup> However, the didactic value of these volumes for readers not already indoctrinated through physical training is suspect, since it would be difficult to accurately reconstruct complete repertoires of combat from even the most elaborate manuscript source. Therefore, fight books lend themselves to analysis as mnemonic works that recalled and celebrated knowledge, aspirational works that embodied chivalric prowess that their owners claimed or wished to acquire, or demonstrative works that advertised their authors' expertise, as well as manuals on how to fight.

*Fechtschule des Meister Johann Liechtenauer (Fighting School of Master Johann Liechtenauer)*, which first appeared in an anthology dated 1389, established the lineage of vernacular martial manuals in the German-speaking lands. Set down by Liechtenauer's disciple, the monk Hanko Döbringer, this work became more commonly known as the *Kunst des langen Schwerts*, or *The Art of the Long Sword*. As Bodemar observes, Liechtenauer was the first fencing master to emerge from anonymity, but his contribution was built upon a synthesis of fighting strategies and teaching techniques that had developed slowly over the course of the fourteenth century.<sup>141</sup> Although the treatise attributed to Liechtenauer contains only short, cryptic verses intended to complement physical training, his teachings became the authority to which nearly all subsequent German-language fight books refer as

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<sup>140</sup> Groebner, *Defaced: The Visual Culture of Violence in the Late Middle Ages*, 40-52. Groebner's analytical social history of violence in late medieval Europe presents valuable case studies on the nature of urban conflicts between powerful interest within the cities of the southern Holy Roman Empire and the Swiss Confederation. See also Anglo, *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe*, 7-11. On pages 8 and 9, Anglo points out the perceived threat embodied by martial artists and the subsequent bans on instruction or establishment of fencing schools throughout fourteenth-century Europe.

<sup>141</sup> Müller, "Zur Kommunikationsstruktur spätmittelalterlicher Fechtbücher," 381; Anglo, *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe*, 12, 45-46. Bodemar, "Das Fechtbuch," 102-103; Hanko Döbringer and Johannes Liechtenauer, *Fechtschule des Johannes Liechtenauers* (also known as *Kunst des Langen Schwerts*), 1389, Nuremberg, Germanisches National Museum, Inv. 3227a.

a source.<sup>142</sup> Well into the sixteenth century, fencing masters who committed their wisdom to the page almost invariably cited Liechtenauer. For example, Paulus Kal's dedication of his fight book to Duke Ludwig of Bavaria-Landshut in 1479 stated: "Here I give to you the art that Liechtenauer, along with his community, made and passed down to all who are knightly by the grace of God."<sup>143</sup>

As fight books proliferated, their curriculum expanded beyond unarmored sword-fighting.<sup>144</sup> Beginning in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, fencing books often included combat on foot in full armor with swords and hafted weapons; mounted combat with and without armor using a variety of weapons; wrestling or grappling; and judicial duels between combatants of the same gender or between men and women. This range of martial combat techniques demonstrates the appeal of fight books across broad swaths of the socio-economic spectrum. The pupils of fencing masters and the audiences for martial arts treatises included university students, burghers, clerics (particularly collegiate priests, such as canons), knights, noblemen, princes and emperors.

Documented owners of martial manuals included craftsmen, such as the hat-maker and fencing master in his own right, Jörg Wilhalm, called Hütter, civic official Paulus Hector Mair, and Emperor Maximilian I, whose library at Schloss Ambras included treatises from both the German and Italian military traditions.<sup>145</sup> Extant fifteenth- and sixteenth-century fight books include low-quality books

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<sup>142</sup> Müller, "Zur Kommunikationsstruktur spätmittelalterlicher Fechtbücher," 381-382; Anglo, *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe*, 40-46. Bodemar, "Das Fechtbuch," 74-75.

<sup>143</sup> Bodemar, "Das Fechtbuch," 124; BSBCgm 1507, fol. 2r. "hye gebt a ire kunst die liechtenawer mit seiner geselschafft gemacht und geprauch hat in aller ritterlicher wer das im got genädig sey."

<sup>144</sup> The practice of sword-fighting without the protection of armor was commonly called *Bloßfechten*, or bare fighting. *Bloßfechten*, like grappling (*Ringgen*) was considered a foundational aspect of martial training, and students were expected to master it prior to learning how to fight in armor or against armored foes.

<sup>145</sup> The Augsburg haberdasher, Jörg Wilhalm "Hütter," drafted three versions of his own fencing manual between 1522 and 1523 (AUB Cod.I.6.2.2, Cod.I.6.2.3, and Cod.I.6.4.5), and the book's parallels to the works of Kal and Falkner seem to indicate the author's familiarity with or ownership of those masters' works. Hütter's works were later purchased by the city official, publisher, and martial enthusiast, Paul Hector Mair. Maximilian I's library at Schloss Ambras included *Der Blume des Kampfes*, a German translation of the North Italian Fiore dei Liberi's *Fior di Battaglia* (ÖNB Cod. 5278), as well as one of the oldest surviving German-language Fechtbücher, one of three versions of

with crude or absent illustrations, as well as manuscripts that were richly-illuminated by illustrious workshops with illustrations highlighted in metallic leaf or vivid dedicatory miniatures.<sup>146</sup> Surviving examples include drafts and personal copies of influential fencing masters, such as Hans Talhoffer and Jörg Wilhalm, as well as fragments or excerpts of treatises that, like the drawings in the Thun album, have been incorporated into collected anthologies, or compendia, whose contents span disciplines ranging from alchemy, chemistry, and pyrotechnics to commemorative histories of tournaments to astrology and even magic.<sup>147</sup>

### **Pictorial and Literary Mnemonic Strategies in Martial Treatises**

Late medieval and renaissance masters of arms used fight books to assert the usefulness of their discipline. These volumes employed rhetorical strategies that they claim will help readers commit their wisdom to memory, and that aided in the recollection of martial knowledge. The impact of these rhetorical forms was amplified by the illustrations that populated fight books, which prompted viewers to envision themselves performing the techniques promoted by fencing masters.

As the fight book genre gained momentum, the often-enigmatic verses, or *zedel*, passed down through the Liechtenauer tradition were glossed with prose explanations to facilitate their function as instructive texts, as well as auxiliary mnemonic prompts. For example, two surviving versions of a treatise written in around 1430, known as “Gladiatoria” after an inscription in the beginning of one of the manuscripts, include expanded descriptions of numbered movements based on Liechtenauer’s system.<sup>148</sup> These codices juxtapose straightforward verbal instructions for where

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the so-called *Gladiatoria* (KHM, KK 5013). Bruno Thomas and Ortwin Gamber, *Katalog der Leibrüstammer*, vol. 1, 66; Heidemarie Bodemar, “Das Fechtbuch,” 121-123.

<sup>146</sup>Bodemar, “Das Fechtbuch,” 109-110,

<sup>147</sup> AUB Cod. I.6.2°.3.

<sup>148</sup> KHM KK 5013; Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Ms. Germ. Quart. 16; Thomas and Gamber, *Katalog der Leibrüstammer*, 1: Der Zeitraum von 500 bis 1530. 66; Bodemar, “Das Fechtbuch,” 119-121.

to place feet, hands, and sword to accomplish particular maneuvers with elegant, demonstrative illustrations. Folio 11r of the earlier manuscript, KK 5013, narrates the motions pictured in figure 57:

Note the strike that one calls the way of the joints. When both thrust at each other with all of their strength and you want to execute this strike against him, then thrust from the outside of his sword with the point towards him, bring the pommel through both of his hands, grab him with the pommel over his right hand and pull strongly towards yourself. Thus, you will break his arm and throw him, as you see it painted above.

(Merck daz stuck daz man heißet die straß der glider Wann einer gen den andern/stech mit ganczer krafft und du daz stuck wilt uf In treiben So stich außerdald seines swetz mit dein ort gen Im und var mit deinen knopf uber sein rechte hant uber das glid und ruck vast an dich So brikst Im den arm oder wirfest In als du es oben gemalet sichst.)<sup>149</sup>

That last phrase, “as you see it painted above,” is a refrain, repeated on nearly every page throughout the *Gladiatoria* codices. Importantly, these manuscripts not only demonstrate textual expansion of the *zettel*, but also the increasing emphasis on images of combatants, which were once illustrative accompaniments to the fencing masters’ verses, as significant sites of knowledge that participated in dialogue with the text and expanded upon the meanings that it conveyed to the reader/viewer.<sup>150</sup>

Fight book imagery built upon themes of teacher-student dialogue that characterized the genre’s verses and prose, as well as its origins in the personal exchanges of the fencing school. Depictions of particular maneuvers or stances visualized the teacher who, although absent in body, could prompt recollection of physical knowledge through his pictorial presence. Hans Talhoffer’s fighting manual, which first appeared in 1443 and was copied continuously over subsequent decades,

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<sup>149</sup> Dierk Hagedorn and Barolomiej Walczak, *Gladiatoria: New Haven MS U860.F46 1450* (Herne: Torsten Verhülsonk, 2015). 224-225. In his edited and glossed facsimile of the New Haven version of the *Gladiatoria* (formerly in Gotha), Hagedorn transcribes the Vienna manuscript passage on this maneuver to stand-in for the lost text portion of folio 7v of the New Haven version.

<sup>150</sup> Müller, "Zur Kommunikationsstruktur spätmittelalterlicher Fechtbücher," 382-83.

offers a vivid example of the fight book as a surrogate for the fencing master.<sup>151</sup> The inscription in the 1459 manuscript that identifies the master himself as the model for its illustrations defines the images that surround it as proxies for Talhoffer's own expert presence, which the miniatures that portray him (fig. 58) tangibly evoke.<sup>152</sup> The textual testament to the fighting manual as a surrogate for the Fechtmeister's personal instruction finds a visual complement in the dedicatory miniature of Paulus Kal's fight book for Ludwig of Bavaria-Landshut (fig. 59), painted in 1479. It depicts the master, clothed lightly as if for fencing practice, presenting his armored patron with a sword. The Virgin, Christ Child, and Saint George bear witness from a floating cloud as Kal declares, "Take this sword, gracious lord, and you will be protected by the Mother of God and the Knight of all Knights, Saint George" (Nemt hin genediger Herr das schwert ir wert von der muter gots und riter sand iorgñ aller riterschafft gewert).<sup>153</sup>

As fight books relied increasingly on pictorial communication, the indoctrinated viewer would have been called upon to "textualize" the minimally captioned or completely unannotated images. Like the laconic verses so often deployed in the genre, the illustrations of martial manuals functioned as mnemonic prompts that could induce viewers to recall not only the verbal rhymes associated with them, but entire repertoires of movement and strategy. Thus, the glimpses of armored and unarmored combat that appear in the Thun album's fifteenth-century drawings could have stimulated viewers' recollection of the actions that constituted particular fighting traditions, the verses that helped commit them to memory, and the absent masters who taught them.

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<sup>151</sup> DKB MS Thott, 103v. The entire inscription suggests the illustrations were drawn during one day of demonstrative modeling, an unlikely claim given the quality of the images.

<sup>152</sup> It is interesting to note that Talhofer wears a badge with the winged lion of the Marxbrüder in the portrait that appears on fol. 101v of the Copenhagen manuscript.

<sup>153</sup> BSB Cgm 1507, 5r.

For instance, Paulus Kal's fight book for Ludwig of Bavaria-Landshut exemplifies the primacy of images over texts typical of many late fifteenth-century martial manuals.<sup>154</sup> The manuscript is sumptuously illustrated, and the sensitivity with which the book painter rendered contemporary armor has led some scholars to compare its images with the fifteenth-century drawings in the Thun album.<sup>155</sup> An illustration in the book's first section, which contains instructions for mounted combat represents two figures striking either underhand or overhand blows (fig. 60). The movements are labeled laconically as "The Third Strike," and "The Fourth Strike," presumably in reference to the system of numbered strokes used by Leichtenauer and his successors to introduce the basics of swordplay. In contrast to the page's minimal text, the two figures and their steeds are fully visualized, and do indeed bear striking parallels to the mounted pairs who spar in the opening of the Thun album. The figure on the left sweeps his sword toward his opponent in the underhanded "Third Stroke", his upturned wrist exposing the red lining of his armored gauntlet; the right-hand figure, whose war hat and dappled mount recall his counterpart in the Thun album, deflects his opponent's blow with a firm, over-handed strike. While the text barely alludes to these skillful movements, the images dramatically enact them on the page, and prompt the viewer to do so in his mind.

### **Transmission and Innovation in Augsburg Martial Manual Imagery**

The fight book tradition that encompassed and transmitted the works of Talhoffer, Kal, and Falkner was deeply familiar to the Augsburg artistic circles that produced the 106 mid-sixteenth-

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<sup>154</sup> The version of Hans Lecküchner's *Kunst des Messerfechtens*, now in Heidelberg, is an important exception to the trend; however, the absence of illustrative imagery in this manuscript has led some scholars to identify this codex as a draft for later, illustrated editions. HUB MS. Cod. Pal. Germ. 430.

<sup>155</sup> Bodemar, "Das Fechtbuch," 130-131. Based on Gamber's research on the then-lost Thun album, which he concluded contained models or patterns for artists or armorers associated with the Helmschmids, Bodemar compared the style of the Kal Fechtbuch to the fifteenth-century Thun drawings.

century drawings that fill most of the Thun album. Examination of martial manuals and related works that were produced during the first half of the 1500s reveals how fight books shaped the ways that Augsburg artists envisioned the armored body. Furthermore, such consideration suggests the ways that the genre's reliance on depictions of armored figures inflected viewers' engagement with the drawings that the album contains, encouraging them to see the drawings as sites of meaning and memory.

The collections and publications of Paulus Hector Mair, the Augsburg councilman, author, collector, and ill-fated fencing enthusiast, demonstrate the popularity of martial manuals and the uses that they served in early sixteenth-century Augsburg. Inventories of Mair's property were compiled during the liquidation of his possessions following his execution in 1579. These documents describe a range of artworks, texts, and weapons that have striking parallels with the range of drawings that comprise the Thun album.<sup>156</sup> At the time of his death, Mair possessed around twenty-five books related to chivalry, tournaments, and martial knowledge; this number is imprecise because the inventory ceases to count the numerous "*gefangenen Fechtbücher*," or collected martial manuals, that included seven works now held at the Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg.<sup>157</sup>

Fourteen fight books and martial compendia that Mair collected or commissioned survive.<sup>158</sup> These codices have often been rearranged and rebound to combine fifteenth-century works by fencing masters working in the tradition of Liechtenauer with related, sixteenth century treatises, such as those by the Augsburg hatter Jörg Wilhalm. One example among Mair's *Sammelbände*, or

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<sup>156</sup> SAA Urgichten K262, 1579-80. Confession, Court Records, Inventories, and Sales-Records of Paulus Hector Mair, November 1579-May 1580.

<sup>157</sup> An additional compilation of fighting treatises held in Augsburg (AUB Cod. I.6.4°.3) may have belonged to Mair, but it lacks the tangible evidence, including inscriptions in Mair's hand, that appears in other codices from his collection.

<sup>158</sup> AUB Cods. I.6.2.1, I.6.2.3, I.6.2.5, I.6.2.2, I.6.4.1, I.6.4.5, I.6.2.4; ÖNB 10825 and 10826; BSB Cod. icon. 393a-b, Cod. icon. 312; SLUB Ms. Dresden C 93 and C 94, Glasgow, Glasgow Museums, MS E.1939.65.354.

collected volumes, includes the ordinances and history of the Marxbrüder, the martial guild to which Talhoffer belonged and which Peter Falkner led from 1502 until 1506.<sup>159</sup> Indeed, the insignia of the Marxbrüder appears in Talhoffer's treatise from 1459 as a badge on the master's breast and again on a subsequent folio (compare figs. 59 and 61). The emblem was also pasted onto a blank folio in Falkner's *Kunst zu Ritterliche Were* (fig. 62). Two codices from the 1520s that are attributed to Jörg Wilhalm visualize figures whose armor, costumes, and gestures closely emulate the early fifteenth-century images that illustrate the *Gladiatoria* group of fight books (see fig. 57).<sup>160</sup> The first of Wilhalm's books (fig. 63) is a minimally captioned draft copy of the drawings that are accompanied by fuller text in the more complete second manuscript (fig. 64). Consideration of these works reveals how sixteenth-century authors and artists consciously emulated their visual and rhetorical styles, creating early modern images that displayed authoritative, yet strikingly anachronistic representations of the late medieval armored body. Perhaps most tantalizingly for the study of the Thun album, sixteenth-century fight books and their fifteenth-century antecedents directly influenced the modes of representing arms and armor that appear throughout the album, while also demonstrating how even depictions of armored bodies unaccompanied by text could prompt remembrance of martial practices.

Eight of the martial works that Mair organized and commissioned were illustrated during the 1540s or the 1550s by Jörg Breu the Younger or by members of his workshop, shortly after Breu's death in 1547.<sup>161</sup> Rough illustrations that Breu created for a fencing treatise that Mair bound

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<sup>159</sup> AUB Cod. I.6.2.5, folios 9v-10v.

<sup>160</sup> AUB Cods. I.6.2.3 and I.6.4.5.

<sup>161</sup> These include three versions of the two-volume opus, *De Arte Athletica*, ÖNB 10825/26, BSB 393a/b; SLUB, Ms. Dresden C 93 and C 94. AUB Cods. I.5.2.5, I.6.2.2, I.6.2.4; BSB Cgm 3712. Mair also commissioned the *Geschlechterbuch der Stadt Augsburg*, a hand-colored, printed volume, from the Breu workshop (BSB Cod. icon 312b) and he may have owned at least two copies of *Ritterspiele von Friedrich III und Max in den Jahren 1489-1511* (BSB Cod. icon. 398 and AUB Cod. I.6.4.1).



alongside the ordinances of the Marxbrüder (fig. 65) and for another diverse compilation of martial knowledge from around the same period demonstrate how the artist and his workshop incorporated visual strategies employed by earlier fight books. The second of these examples, known simply as a *Ring- und Fechtbuch*, not only includes Breu's characteristic images of fencers and grapplers clad in sixteenth-century fashions (fig. 66). It also contains mid-sixteenth-century illustrations that adopt the style of the fourteenth century; in doing so, these images acknowledge the authority of late medieval martial traditions. Folios 14 and 15 depict combat with sword and buckler (fig. 67). Although illustrated by Jörg Breu the Younger during the 1540s, their content and style evoke far older works, such as the so-called Walpurgis Manuscript, Royal Armories I.33 (fig. 68).<sup>162</sup> The costume and facial physiognomies of Breu's figures echo those in this rare early fencing treatise and suggest that Breu may have had access to a manual of similar date from Mair's or another Augsburg collection.

In addition to the sketches and illustrations that Breu contributed to Mair's bound collections, the artist and his workshop also devised innovative strategies for representing armored bodies and the arms they wielded. Mair's expansive treatise on the histories and strategies of combat for the battlefield, tournament, and duel, the *Opus Amplissimum de Arte Athletica* exists in four iterations in German and Latin. Two of these versions each comprise two volumes and over 600 folios. Mair sold the earlier of these versions of *De Arte Athletica*, which presents the German vernacular fight book tradition entirely in Latin, to Duke Ludwig of Bavaria in 1567 for the substantial sum of 800 Gulden.<sup>163</sup> This work, almost entirely illustrated by Breu the Younger himself, uses layers of metallic washes to evoke the iridescent surfaces of blued steel armor and weapons.

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<sup>162</sup> AUB Cod. I.6.4.2, folios 14 and 15; Leeds, RA I. 33, folio 23v

<sup>163</sup> BSB Cod. icon. 393a -b; ÖNB, Cod. 10825-10826. The two-volume, 622-page work in Munich exclusively comprises paper marked with a Latin K (Briquet type 8257 or 8258) used in Swabia from the mid-1530s through the mid-1540s. This predates the period of use for the papers that occur in the Vienna version of *De Arte Athletica* (Briquet type 145), which were used predominantly during the late 1540s (especially 1546-47). Briquet, *Les filigranes*, vol. 1, 27 and vol. 3, 466. The manuscripts passed directly from the Bavarian ducal library into the Bayerisches Staatsbibliothek.

The sections on mounted combat in armor, in particular, use veils of metallic wash to vividly approximate the plate armor for which Augsburg was famous (fig. 69). Their shimmering, closely observed visualizations of the armored body parallel the roughly contemporary sixteenth-century drawings that the Thun album collects. However, Breu the Younger's heavy layers of opaque pigments beneath the metallic washes differ markedly from the translucent application of pigments employed by both of the artists whose works comprise 106 of the album's 112 images (compare figs. 33 and 69 to figs. 9-12, and 38).

The second version of *Opus Amplissimum de Arte Athletica* was likely created around or just after 1547, and it juxtaposes Latin and Early New High German translations of the Germanic fight book and tournament book traditions, along with texts that, Mair claims, are transcriptions of earlier sources on the tournament that date to the Carolingian and Ottonian eras.<sup>164</sup> This two-volume work incorporates illustrations by several now-anonymous book painters of the Breu workshop, each of whom also made vivid use of metallic washes to sculpt the armors, weapons, and costumes that he depicted. Images by artists who illustrated the sections on armored combat on foot that populate the last sections of the second volume bear particularly tantalizing similarities to the sixteenth-century drawings that fill the Thun album (see figs. 33-34). These works, like the sixteenth-century drawings by the anonymous Artist A that the album collects, build the forms of armored bodies from confidently loose lines that are drawn in black ink, which provide armatures for layers of translucent gouache, highlighted with veils of metallic wash.

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<sup>164</sup> ÖNB, Cod. 10825, fol. 4v describes tournaments in the reign of Henry the Fowler (876-936) (Henricus primus, eue nobis Romanora Imperator, ei eutiderat gloria Germanora); ÖNB, Cod. 10826, fols. 157r-173v contain descriptions of tournaments held between the ninth and fifteenth-centuries, culminating with the well-documented Tournament of the Four Lands.

## Visions of Martial Knowledge within the Album's Codicology

Comparative analysis of fight books created from the mid-fifteenth through mid-sixteenth centuries reveals compositional and stylistic relationships that associate the Thun album's contents with the fight book genre. The album's echoes of Fechtbücher that were produced in the German speaking lands, resonate even more strongly with fight books that emerged from the city of Augsburg. The recurring visual themes and their artistic expression in Augsburg martial manuals like the *Art of Knightly Defense* and *De Arte Athletica* help clarify the connections that period viewers may have made between the album's fifteenth-century drawings and the sixteenth-century drawings in the quires that surround them.

To modern viewers, the two drawings that derive from the fight book tradition (see folios 10v-12r, figs. 37-38) may seem isolated from the Thun album's sixteenth-century contents by their insertion as a distinct unit separated from the first quire by a blank folio 10. This blank creates a visual pause between the figure that immediately precedes the interlude, who is clad in armor that dates to the period between 1515 and 1520 (fig. 70), and the older drawings that follow. Indeed, this figure's equipment—field armor fitted with reinforcing pieces for a grueling type of *melée*-style tournament that emulated the chaos of the battlefield—seems to anticipate the bellicosity of fifteenth-century images just beyond the blank facing page. This connection suggests how the fifteenth-century drawings were carefully placed adjacent to images that intersect with their themes.

The three folios that support the fifteenth-century drawings cling to a single, short tip of early-seventeenth-century paper that is contiguous with the tips used to anchor the drawings in the album's second quire. Thus, folio 12, whose recto forms the surface to which the fragmentary drawing of fifteenth-century swordsmen is pasted (see figs. 7, 38, and 54), constitutes the last of the inserted leaves. This page dates to the 1540s and its verso bears a drawing by Artist A that retrospectively portrays a combatant in the tournament on foot, or *Fußkampf*, equipped in the style

of the late-fifteenth century. He wears archaic mail chausses, or hose, along with a sallet in the style of the 1480s (fig. 71). His breastplate is in the same late gothic style and its lack of a lance rest reinforces this figure's identity as a fighter on foot. This figure grasps a poleaxe, a particular type of staff weapon wielded primarily by armored members of the knightly classes. In his right hand, he holds a rondel dagger, whose disc-shaped pommel and diamond-shaped blade were designed for use against armored opponents. The version of armored combat on foot that this figure embodies suggest parallels with the fighters whose silhouettes are glued onto the page's recto, which the album's compiler and viewer may have perceived.

Between the opening of folios 10v and 11r, with its six pairs of Fechtbuch-inspired fighters, and the meticulous depiction of armored combatants on folio 12r, a third fifteenth-century image (fig. 72) depicts three standing soldiers clad in stylized versions of elegant late gothic field armor. This drawing has been glued to folio 11r, formed by the verso of the preceding opening. Brown gall ink articulates the soldiers' gracefully swaying bodies and strikingly expressive faces. Grisaille washes evoke the volumes of their armored bodies. Along the page's trimmed left edge, a man leans away from the picture plane; his back turns toward the viewer and exposes the back sides of his pauldrons as they cascade over the raised, linear decoration of his backplate. This soldier extends his preternaturally long leg, revealing the hinges that close his cuisses and greaves, as well as the protective wings of his poleyns, or knee cops. A visored sallet protects his head, and a bevor covers his chin. This figure, whose back is turned to the viewer, leans on a spear as he grasps a barely visible sword in his left hand, carelessly resting its point on the ground. He seems to be in conversation with the image's central figure, whose sallet has no visor, but is crowned with a tall plume. The man holds a lance from which a banner flutters, but his gauntleted hand seems to grasp only air; the lance, apparently added after the rest of the drawing was composed, dissolves into transparency as its shaft meets the more substantial figure.

The central soldier's frontal pose offers a glimpse of his eyes and nose above the bevor that covers his chin and throat, but that seems strangely unattached to his breastplate. Similarly, his body armor is both stylized and illusionistic. The lance-rest bolted to his right side and the buckled straps that close his cuisses and greaves around his thighs and calves were clearly inspired by the details of real late fifteenth-century armors. However, the jagged forms that adorn the surfaces of his protective plates fall short of evoking the decorative punch work and finely formed edges of the articulated steel lames, or overlapping sheets, that made large pieces of plate armor flexible.

The drawing's right edge has also been trimmed, and the corner of the right-hand figure's elbow creeps across the gutter and onto the surface of the facing page, folio 12r (see fig. 7). The soldier on the right wears a brimmed war hat, similar to those worn by the light cavalymen who charge across the preceding opening; cross-hatched marks traverse the brim, perhaps intended to evoke the chased, etched, or painted decoration that commonly adorned helms during the period. The man nonchalantly holds a crossbow over his right shoulder and smiles beneath the brim of his helmet. The bowman's body armor is elaborate. The edge of his plackart, the reinforcing plate that covers the belly of the breastplate, is delineated by a fleur de lys. He wears besagews—steel roundels that reinforced the pauldrons or protected the armpits when worn with spaulders, or smaller shoulder plates—whose floral, cusped form was popular among armorers north of the Alps throughout the late fifteenth century.

This trio of armored soldiers, with their various weapons, parallel the groups of armored soldiers and men-at-arms who made up fifteenth-century armies. For instance, the ordinances of the Burgundian army under Duke Charles the Bold expressly describe the centrality of armored, lance-wielding heavy cavalry; indeed, each nine- or ten-man unit was called a "lance," after the heavily armored knight or man-at-arms who fulfilled this leadership role. In the Burgundian configuration, the lancer was supported by one or two armored pages or servants, three mounted archers, a

crossbowman, a handgunner, and a pikeman.<sup>165</sup> Indeed, the animated style of the three soldiers who populate folio 11r of the Thun album echoes the individual figures who form far denser arrays in a series of engraved images of Burgundian companies by Master WA.

Although they appear jovial, the trio of soldiers evokes the pitched battlefield beyond the practice rounds of the fencing school or the circumscribed arenas of the judicial duel. Thus, they suggest the most bellicose deployment of the martial knowledge contained in the fight books that inflect the images that surround them. With the two other fifteenth-century drawings in the codicological interlude, this inserted image unites the album's later depictions of the armored body with pictorial antecedents. Furthermore, this set of images draw attention to the bellicose material culture and martial exploits in which the represented armors that fill the album participated. In this way, the fifteenth-century interlude suggests the anonymous compiler's horizons of martial knowledge to which the collected depictions of empty armors and armored bodies belong.

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<sup>165</sup> Malcolm Vale, *War and Chivalry: Warfare and Aristocratic Culture in England, France, and Burgundy at the End of the Middle Ages* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1981), 122-124. Susan Marti et al., *Splendour of the Burgundian Court: Charles the Bold (1433-1477)*, (Antwerp, New York: Mercatorfonds; Distributed in North America by Cornell University Press, 2009), 322-23.

### Chapter 3: Representations of Knightly Sport in the Thun Album

A rider, drawn in ink and gouache, fully armored, a jousting lance firmly couched under his right arm, charges across folio 9r of the Thun-Hohenstein album on a horse that is also heavily encased in ornate steel (fig. 73).<sup>166</sup> This image is one of sixteen full-length figures in the album armed for fifteenth- and sixteenth-century tournament events. It visualizes the kinetic dynamism, military spectacle, and material splendor of the *Rennen* (or joust of war), a dangerous form of joust fought with sharpened lances. Consideration of this drawing and related images of tournament armor in the Thun album alongside other sixteenth-century images and texts that represented knightly sport demonstrates the deep resonance between the Thun drawings and chivalric archetypes pertaining to tournaments in the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries. Further, locating the drawings among contemporaneous, mid-sixteenth-century depictions of tournaments that emerged from the same contexts and workshops reveals how tournaments and the material culture that surrounded them offered persistent subjects of commemoration during the early modern period.

On folio 9r, Artist A, an anonymous draftsman working in the circle of Jörg Breu the Younger during the 1540s, envisioned a rider armored for one of many types of the joust of war, either the *Scharffrennen*, named for the sharp points of the lances used in it, or the *Geschiftsrennen*, a variant in which a specialized shield, or *Renntartsche*, was engineered to dramatically break into pieces when struck directly.<sup>167</sup> The *Rennen* was also known as the joust of war due, in part, to its inherent

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<sup>166</sup> UPM, GK 11.572-B, folio 9r.

<sup>167</sup> Pierre Terjanian, “The rediscovery of the *Thun sketchbooks* (Part I),” 326; Helmut Nickel and Dirk Breiding, “A Book of Tournaments and Parades from Nuremberg,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 45 (2010), 129, 134; Matthias Pfaffenbichler, “‘wie der jung kunig in allen ritterpilen, auch in teutschen und welschen stechen ubertreffenlichen was’--Maximilian I. und das Turnier,” in *Kaiser Maximilian I Der Letzte Ritter und das höfische Turnier*, ed. Sabine Haag, et al. (Mannheim: Reiss-Engelhorn Museen, 2014), 136; Dirk Breiding, “Rennen, Stechen und Turnier zur Zeit Maximilians I.,” in “*Vor Halbtausend Jahren*”--*Festschrift zur Erinnerung an den Besuch von Kaisers Maximilian I in St*

danger. Its participants wore armor that derived from that worn on the battlefield by German cavalry during the fifteenth century, and the fictive armor of the rider on folio 9r emulates actual tournament armor so closely that it can be stylistically dated to between 1480 and 1485.<sup>168</sup> The *Rennhut*, or streamlined, sallet-style helmet, is fitted with a scalloped brow reinforcement that formally recalls the ornamental edges of the plates that cover his body. The pointed toes of his sabatons curl elegantly downward from his stirrups; their forms echo the elongated shoes fashionable during the later fifteenth century.<sup>169</sup> The rider's couters, or elbow guards, have been shaped by the armorer's skillful hammer into radiant, pointed forms that visually parallel the large vamplate that protects the rider's right hand where it grips the lance. Nineteenth-century antiquarians defined this refined style of armor as "Baroque Gothic," a term that characterized the sophisticated style as an overwrought manifestation of a waning late gothic aesthetic.<sup>170</sup> However, this style of armor represented the full blossoming of the armorer's art in south Germany and Austria and inaugurated a period of exceptional artistic and technical achievement that lasted over a century.

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*Wendel* (Trier: St. Wendel Stadtmuseum Trier, 2012), 61. The *Scharfrennen* was also known as the *Schweifrennen* in period sources.

<sup>168</sup> Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the *Thun sketchbooks* (Part I)," 326; Ortwin Gamber, "Der Turnierharnisch zu Zeit König Maximilians I und das Thunsche Skizzenbuch," 37, 48.

<sup>169</sup> Such extremely-pointed sabatons could impede walking or running and were therefore generally reserved for use in processions and mounted tournament events, such as the joust. In both of these cases, the long toe-caps were put on after the wearer was mounted. The interchangeability of garnitures (or sets) of armor allowed wearers to choose between this variety and shorter-toed sabatons for the battlefield or tournament on foot. For clarification of armor terminology, see the diagram in Appendix 1.

<sup>170</sup> Gamber, "Der Turnierharnisch zu Zeit König Maximilians I und das Thunsche Skizzenbuch," 34; for a more extensive discussion of the persistence of the gothic style well into the sixteenth century, see Ethan Matt Kavaler's work including Ethan Matt Kavaler, "Nature and the Vaults at Ingolstadt: Structuralist and Other Perspectives," *The Art Bulletin* 87, no. 2 (2005), and Ethan Matt Kavaler, "Renaissance Gothic in the Netherlands: The Uses of Ornament," *The Art Bulletin* 82, no. 2 (2000).



The horse that charges across folio 9r is sheathed in a bard, or equine armor, executed in a style that differs markedly from the late gothic armor worn by its rider. The horse's chest is protected by a peytral adorned with classicizing lions' heads and bordered in a garland of coin-like roundels. Its neck is sheathed in a smooth carapace of flexible steel plates, called a crinet, from which hangs a triangular fringe of chain mail. The steed's face is transformed by a mask-like shaffron with a convex, rope-like central ridge that modifies the line of the horse's snout and an escutcheon that marks its brow. Beneath the steel plates of armor, a light green caparison covers its body. The raised, swirling form that dominates the horse's crupper (rump and flank defense) echoes the rider's stationary thigh-defenses, or *Dilge*, an element of armor developed specifically for the Rennen.

The details of the horse's bard, which incorporate classicizing, Italianate elements alongside the robust silhouettes that German-speaking armorers embraced during the first decade of the 1500s, are characteristic of armor popular in the Holy Roman Empire from the turn of the sixteenth century until around 1515. Thus, the steel plates that protect the horse, and those that encase its rider represent styles of armor whose apexes of popularity occurred twenty to thirty years apart.<sup>171</sup> The juxtaposition of temporally distinct styles of armor in this image from the Thun Album effectively collapses time. Rather than simply recording the armored bodies of man and horse as they appeared in a real event, the drawing seems to unify two distinct political, cultural, and technological iterations of the tournament in general, and the joust in particular. Thus, it retrospectively invokes the meanings associated with the tournament during two past historical moments from a period that witnessed significant shifts in the practice of knightly sport and in the social and military structures in which it participated. Additionally, it alludes to the historical

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<sup>171</sup> Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the *Thun sketchbooks* (Part I)," 326.

continuity—the permeability of past and present—that characterized the perception of the tournament and its role within the heroic imaginary of the sixteenth century.

The tournament was a performative, time-bound, and site-specific art form that encompassed numerous media. Participants and their steeds wore virtuosically worked armor, and costumes and horse caparisons made from rich textiles. Sculpted and beribboned crests crowned participants' helms, they carried painted shields, and colorful standards were mounted throughout the lists (tournament arena) and surrounding town. These spaces resounded with musical fanfares, the ring of metal against metal, and the calls of heralds.<sup>172</sup>

Late medieval and renaissance festivities like the tournament presented particular challenges to artists, as well as interpretive difficulties for scholars.<sup>173</sup> However, the visual strategies that artists devised to depict these time-bound spectacles distill the ideals and expectations of participants and audiences. Analysis of these visual strategies reveals ways that artists, patrons, and viewers who created, commissioned, collected, and consumed representations of tournament culture appropriated and reconstructed its chivalric aura. Two sets of drawings in the Thun album—drawings of figures armed for several types of martial contest and images of disassembled pieces of specialized tournament armor—offer insights into the persistence of the tournament as enacted and remembered throughout the sixteenth century. Examination of the Thun drawings alongside the surviving armors that the album's drawings depict and artworks that emerged from the extant

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<sup>172</sup> Some scholars suggest that participants in mid fifteenth-century *melée*-style tournament events exchanged wooden clubs for blunted metal weapons such as swords and lances due, in part, to the audience's more excited response to the dramatic clangor of metal upon metal. William Henry Jackson, "The tournament and chivalry in German tournament books of the sixteenth century and the literary works of emperor Maximilian I" in *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1986), 57.

<sup>173</sup> Since tournaments' impacts on participants and audiences survives only through the mediation of constructed images and texts, the experience and reception of such events can never be completely reconstructed, as Normore showed to be the case in her work on feasting culture. See Normore, 9-12.

armors' imperial contexts, as well as the drawings' contexts of origin in Augsburg, show how real armors and their representations retained the significance of the tournament events for which they were crafted.

The drawing of the jousting, armored in the style of the late fifteenth century, and his steed, equipped in the mode of the early sixteenth century, is one of sixteen images of tournament combatants and twenty-five drawings of tournament armor in pieces in the album. They are part of a complex body of representations of the tournament that spanned the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Exploration of the Thun drawings within these broader literary and artistic contexts reveals the rich reflexive relationship between the album and genres such as didactic treatises on the tournament, commemorative tournament books, and chivalric literature. These reinforced one another; the forms and narratives of each type of representation drew upon the others to form additional layers of meaning. Furthermore, the fictive iterations of the tournament constructed in written and visual representations came to shape the real-life events staged at courts and in cities throughout Northern Europe in the sixteenth century, as well as the images that commemorated them. Comparative analysis of the Thun drawings alongside related visualizations of the tournament situates the images more firmly within their context and illuminates how the album participated in cultures of remembrance that celebrated knightly sport.

Twenty-seven of the tournament armors depicted in the Thun album date to the lifetime of Maximilian I, who was titular Duke of Burgundy from 1477, German King of the Romans from 1493, and Holy Roman Emperor from 1508 until his death in 1519. Twenty-three drawings represent forms of armor popular from the 1480s through the first decade of the sixteenth century, when Maximilian's martial career and construction of a personal mythology were at their apex. Maximilian's persona as an ideal knight blended the elaborate court cultures of the Habsburg Holy

Roman Empire and Burgundian Netherlands, two centers of power that were united through his marriage to Mary of Burgundy, in 1477. Therefore, consideration of Maximilian's appropriation of Burgundian chivalric practices, his cultivation of tournament culture at the imperial court, and—especially—the diverse representations of knightly identity that constructed and commemorated the heroic ideals that he sought to embody establish an essential framework for analysis of the Thun album images. Maximilian shrewdly employed tournaments to bolster his power. Whether held in Netherlandish or imperial cities or at court, tournaments showcased wealth and martial prowess while drawing deliberate connections between the emperor and his circle and the virtuous, beneficent knightly heroes who were celebrated in the resurgent chivalric literature of the fifteenth century.<sup>174</sup> The venerable tradition of romance literature and the ubiquity of the tournament both at court and in the cities provided Maximilian with a powerful “conceptual commonplace” in the form of knightly sport, which communicated his virtue and legitimated his authority through signs that were accessible to a broad spectrum of his subjects and rivals.<sup>175</sup> He not only cultivated new forms of tournament combat at his court, but also commissioned works of art and literary that foregrounded his participation in martial sport. Understanding the significance of tournament events for period viewers exposes their utility for Maximilian's self-construction and illuminates the potential meanings resident in the Thun album's depictions of tournament equipment.

The album contains drawings created by at least eight distinct artists, but only the two most prolific hands—Artists A and B—depicted armors and figures directly associated with the tournament. The drawings created by Artist A, including the scene of the joust of war described above, are some of the most inventive sixteenth-century images that the album collects. They

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<sup>174</sup> Christelrose Rischer, *Literarische Rezeption und kulturelles Selbstverständnis in der deutschen Literatur der Ritterrenaissance des 15. Jahrhunderts*, 37-40.

<sup>175</sup> Gerhild S. Williams, “The Arthurian Model in Emperor Maximilian's Autobiographic Writings *Weisskunig* and *Theuerdank*,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 11, no. 4 (1980), 6.

include eleven of the codex's sixteen figures armed for tournament combat and thirteen sheets of empty armors that portray specialized defenses for knightly sport. Artist A's drawings visualize all of the main genres of fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century tournament combat. This draftsman envisioned figures wearing specialized armor for the chaotic *melées* fought by groups of knights, forms of the joust (individual mounted combat with lances), and contests on foot. In his drawn arrays of armor in pieces, particular types of helmets, arm and leg defenses, shields, and reinforcing layers of plate seem to serve as metonyms for the knightly sports for which they were worn. The diverse antecedents of Artist A's drawings are this chapter's focus.<sup>176</sup>

Artist A's images often display specialized armor, but also mime the martial performances of the tournament. In addition to his allusion to diverse tournament events through representation of specialized equipment, Artist A frequently made reference to earlier works of art. Furthermore, the ways that Artist A composed his drawings and deployed metallic washes to evoke the shining surfaces of tournament armors suggest that he was a member of a workshop that produced tournament books.

Comparisons with works that contain similar imagery and whose origins overlap with the Augsburg workshops that created the Thun drawings reveal the relationships between Artist A's images and representations of the tournament that were popularized during the lifetime of Maximilian I and shortly thereafter. Further, exploration of the ways that the drawing on Thun folio 9r resonates with other visualizations of the tournament will reveal how the pages of the Thun album and the armors that they depict negotiate the boundaries between real armored bodies and chivalric ideals. Arms and armor specialists have worked throughout the past century to uncover the

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<sup>176</sup> Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the *Thun sketchbooks* (Part I)," 314.

technical and experiential contexts of armor, both for the tournament arena and for the battlefield.<sup>177</sup>

In order to demonstrate how the Thun album drawings prioritize certain types of knightly sport, it is necessary to describe various forms of the tournament, the material culture that was associated with them, and the meanings with which they were associated.

### **Significant Forms of the Tournament and their Representation in the Thun Album**

The tournament emerged in France, the Low Countries, and the Rhineland, during the last decades of the eleventh-century, and had gained widespread popularity in the German-speaking lands by the first quarter of the thirteenth-century.<sup>178</sup> Originally a chaotic event that lasted hours and closely mimicked real warfare, the early tournament involved numerous combatants on opposing teams who fought over large swaths of land and even captured opponents for ransom. These

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<sup>177</sup> Among significant studies of the tournament and its representations are Richard Barber and Juliet Barker, *Tournaments, Jousts, Chivalry, and Pageants in the Middle Ages* (London: Boydell, 1989); Ortwin Gamber, “Ritterspiele und Turnierrüstung im Spätmittelalter,” in *Das ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter: Beiträge zu einer vergleichenden Formen- und Verhaltensgeschichte des Rittertums*, ed. Josef Fleckenstein, *Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1985); Jackson, “The tournament and chivalry”; Braden Frieder, *Chivalry and the Perfect Prince: Tournaments, Art, and Armor at the Spanish Habsburg Court* (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2008); Richard Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry* (London: Boydell, 1974); D’Acre Jon Darcy Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325-1520.*, 2nd ed. (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000); Breiding, “Rennen, Stechen und Turnier zur Zeit Maximilians I.”; David Crouch, *Tournament* (London and New York: Hambledon and London, 2005); Keith Moxey, “Chivalry and the Housebook Master,” in *Livelier than Life: the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet or the Housebook Master*, ed. Jan Piet Filedt Kok (Amsterdam: Rijksprentekabinet/Rijksmuseum, 1985); Christian de Mérimodol, *Les fêtes de chevalerie à la cour du roi René: Emblématique, art et histoire (les joutes de Nancy, le Pas de Saumur et le Pas de Tarascon)*, *Mémoires et documents d’histoire médiévale et de philologie* (Paris: C.T.H.S., 1993); Stefan Krause, “‘die ritterspiel als ritter Freydalb hat gethon aus ritterlichem gmute’--Der Turnierbuch Freydal Kaiser Maximilians I.,” in *Kaiser Maximilian I: Der Letzte Ritter und das höfische Turnier*, ed. Sabine Haag, et al. (Mannheim: Reiss-Engelhorn Museen, 2014); Quirin Ritter von Leitner, “Freydal” *des Kaisers Maximilian I. Turniere und Mummereien* (Vienna: Aldof Holzhausen, 1881); Évelyne van den Neste, *Tournois, joutes, pas d’Armes dans les villes de Flandre à la fin du moyen age* (Paris: École des Chartes, 1996); Larry Silver, “Shining Armor: Emperor Maximilian, Chivalry, and War,” in *Artful Armies, Beautiful Battles: Art and Warfare in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Pia F. Cuneo, *History of Warfare* (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne: Brill, 2002); Werner Paravicini, *Die ritterlich-höfische Kultur des Mittelalters*, *Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1988).

<sup>178</sup> Barber and Barker, *Tournaments, Jousts, Chivalry, and Pageants*, 49; Crouch, *Tournament*, 2-12.

expansive main events, called Grand Tournaments, were often preceded or followed by numerous mounted contests between two individuals, which functioned as auxiliary spectacles. David Crouch posits that the tournament formed around the time that the knightly classes were distinguishing themselves from other ranks of feudal service, and martial competition, whether between individuals or teams, offered not only an opportunity for training and demonstrations of skill, but also a venue for establishing social norms and identities within the military class.<sup>179</sup>

During the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the tournament transformed from a dangerous blend of real warfare and performance into the glittering, highly regulated spectacle of the late Middle Ages and renaissance. In France and the Low Countries, the Grand Tournament had been eclipsed by chivalric events focused on single combat by around 1350, and the last of the great free-ranging *melées* took place in Bruges in 1379.<sup>180</sup> Within the wooden boundaries of the lists, *melée*-style tournaments that involved large teams of participants persisted, and experienced periodic renaissances from the early-fifteenth through early-sixteenth centuries.<sup>181</sup> The localization of these events within the lists encouraged the introduction of increasingly elaborate narrative frameworks, the inclusion of fantastic scenery, and performative posturing, within an ever more diverse series of individual contests.<sup>182</sup>

By the last quarter of the fourteenth-century, the term “tournament” had expanded to encompass types of individual and group combat, whose forms and meanings would evolve during

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<sup>179</sup> Paravicini, *Die ritterlich-böfische Kultur des Mittelalters*, 3-9; Crouch, *Tournament*, 135-137. A. Williams, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace*, 39-45. Williams’ discussion of the material markers of the transition from the late-Roman *miles* into the mounted warrior class that would become known as *Knechte* (literally, servants) in northern Europe is particularly useful for historians of arms and armor.

<sup>180</sup> Crouch, *Tournament*, 131.

<sup>181</sup> Barber and Barker, *Tournaments, Jousts, Chivalry, and Pageants in the Middle Ages*, 69.

<sup>182</sup> Helmut Nickel, “About a Crown Found and a Grail Tournament at the ‘Castle of the Maiden,’” *Arthuriana* 7, no. 3 (1997). 37-41.

the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Each of these *Ritterspiele*, or knightly games, had particular origins and carried specific associations for contemporary participants and viewers. In the German-speaking lands, the *melée* took place within the wooden boundaries of the lists, and could still include over 100 participants.<sup>183</sup> During the early- and mid- fifteenth century, it took the form of the *Kolbenturnier*, named for its use of wooden clubs or blunted swords by groups of mounted knights who attempted to unhorse one another or to topple elaborate crests that were mounted on opponents' helms. *Kolbenturniere* were organized either by noble sponsors or by tourneying societies, known as *Turniergesellschaften*, who strictly regulated the status and comportment of participants.<sup>184</sup> The mock battle was preceded by a *Helmschau* (helmet display), in which the crested helms of would-be combatants were displayed. The helm of any participant who had dishonored himself or a lady, or whose aristocratic pedigree did not stretch back at least three generations, would be cast to the ground, signifying his shame and disqualification from the tournament (fig. 74).<sup>185</sup> This spectacle vividly demonstrates how a piece of armor could function as a signifier of its wearer's identity and even a metonym for his absent body that could be symbolically punished in his stead.

The association of the *Kolbenturnier* with nobility persisted long after its practice as a form of joust waned. The distinctive, basket-like helms worn for this type of tournament, such as the two examples of circa 1485 depicted on Thun folio 78r (fig. 75), became symbols of aristocratic identity

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<sup>183</sup> Franz Niehoff, "Herzog Georg von Bayern-Landshut auf dem Heidelberger 'Vier Lande'-Turnier des Jahres 1481: Eine Skizze zur Kunst im Kontext," in *Ritterwelten im Spätmittelalter: höfisch-ritterliche Kultur der Reichen Herzöge von Bayern-Landshut*, ed. Franz Niehoff and Hans Rampf (Landshut: Museen der Stadt Landshut, 2009), 49.

<sup>184</sup> Jackson, "The tournament and chivalry," 56.

<sup>185</sup> Pfaffenbichler, "Maximilian I. und das höfische Turnier," 133-134. Breiding, "Rennen, Stechen und Turnier," 58-9. Justin Meredith Sturgeon, "Text & Image in René d'Anjou's *Livre de Tournois*," 113-114.



in the visual language of heraldry and pageantry.<sup>186</sup> Representations of such crested *Kolbenhelms* surmounted numerous familial arms well into the 1700s, though the Kolbenturnier for which they were devised fell out of favor during the last quarter of the fifteenth century.<sup>187</sup> For example, an image of a horse and rider clad in ornate armor on folio 7r of the Thun album illustrates the transformation of the Kolbenhelm from a practical piece of martial technology into a primarily symbolic object (fig. 76). This drawing, which was attributed by Tilman Falk to the Augsburg artist Hans Burgkmair the Elder, depicts a man in full armor for the field that can be stylistically dated to 1510-1512.<sup>188</sup> His elaborately plumed helm's visor, constructed of broad-set vertical bars, is recognizable as the type used in the Kolbenturnier, but the exceptionally elaborate bard that encases his horse and the ostentatious ostrich plumes of his crest allude to the courtly splendor of a procession or ceremonial entry. Aside from his bulbous Kolbenhelm, the rider's armor is unrelated to the Kolbenturnier and lacks the stoutly reinforced arm and shoulder defences depicted on folio 78r. Indeed, the mounted figure of folio 7r closely resembles standard bearers who populate the manuscript and printed versions of the *Triumph of Maximilian I* by Albrecht Altdorfer and the elder Burgkmair, to be discussed more fully below. Kolbenhelms continued to be produced by Augsburg armorers for use as a declaration of nobility in courtly and civic pageantries well into the mid-sixteenth century, and the ambiguous context of the Thun album drawing evokes this type of armor's semiotic transformation.

Like the Kolbenturnier, the *Freiturnier*, literally the "free tournament," recalled the tournament's chaotic origins, as well as its connection to real warfare. The *Freiturnier*, sometimes

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<sup>186</sup> The large and small Kolbenhelms at the top of folio 78r are enframed by vambraces (or arm defenses) that were also designed for the *melée*-style tournament with clubs, indicating that the image likely depicts armors intended for actual tournament combat, rather than ceremonial use.

<sup>187</sup> In the context of heraldry, this type of helmet is often called a *Spangenhelm*.

<sup>188</sup> Falk, *Hans Burgkmair*, 76.

also known as the *Feldturnier*, or field tournament, waxed in popularity during the first decade of the sixteenth century as a dramatic finale to single-combat events such as jousts. The Freiturnier included teams of knights sometimes numbering in their dozens, and could last up to four hours. Numerous artistic representations of the Freiturnier from the first quarter of the sixteenth century envision the chaos of these mock battles, in which participants first charged with blunted lances, then fought with rebated swords after being unhorsed. Lucas Cranach the Elder's woodcut from 1509 of a Freiturnier held at the Saxon court (fig. 77) visualizes the breathtaking turmoil of this event. In addition to the revival of the Freiturnier in courtly circles, such mock battles enjoyed continued popularity among the urban patriciate into the mid-sixteenth century. As a stand-alone event, variations of the Freiturnier became proving grounds for the sons of wealthy merchants in city-wide *Gesellenturnier*, or Bachelors' Jousts.<sup>189</sup> A standing figure armed for the Freiturnier on folio 9v of the Thun album demonstrates the close resonance between the free tournament and the field warfare that it mimicked (see fig. 70). The style of the armor that encases the figure situates him in the period between 1515 and 1520; his helmet, an Italian-style armet with a beak-like visor, and the plates that protect his limbs and torso are the same types that would be worn on the battlefield. For the tournament, his field armor is reinforced with a smooth grandguard that spans his left shoulder, chest, and chin, an additional plate affixed to his right pauldron, and possibly a left elbow reinforce.<sup>190</sup> While the broad, "bear paw" sabatons that protect this figure's feet and the rotund, sixteenth-century silhouettes of his armor announce his temporal distance from the rider armed in

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<sup>189</sup> Nickel and Breiding, "A Book of Tournaments and Parades from Nuremberg," 126-127.

<sup>190</sup> Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the *Thun sketchbooks* (Part I)," 328. The creation and use of large garnitures, or matching sets of interchangeable armors, meant that addition or subtraction of reinforcing plates was an increasingly widespread means of efficiently arming a knight for the field as well as for the many varieties of tournament combat.

the late gothic style for the Rennen on folio 9r, his presence on the verso of that sheet may allude to the unity of the two figures as tournament combatants as envisioned by Artist A.

Like other depictions of armor for knightly sport in the Thun album, Artist A's *Kolbenhelms* (fig. 76) and his combatant in the *Freiturnier* (fig. 70) provide a glimpse of the early development of the garniture, or matching set of armor with many interchangeable components and reinforcements (called pieces of exchange), which reached the apex of its aesthetic and practical fluidity in the sixteenth century. Contrary to the functionally and visually fixed "suit of armor" that inhabits the popular imagination of our time, garnitures offered a modular construction of the armored body that could be easily adapted to the battle field and various forms of jousts, *melées*, tournaments on foot, or triumphal parades. Rather than suits intended to be worn for a specific event or type of activity, elite armorers working at the close of the 1400s and throughout the sixteenth century created increasingly vast, coordinated steel wardrobes for illustrious patrons. It seems likely then that images of disassembled armor plates that populate the Thun album would make sense to a contemporary viewer who could envision the addition and subtraction of matching components. For an audience familiar with martial pursuits, the drawings might encourage a viewer to recall the arming process, its meanings, and contexts within which it happened.<sup>191</sup>

Contests between mounted individuals, rather than teams of knights, began to supplant *melées* as the main form of tournament combat in the late fourteenth-century, and their emphasis on personal valor paralleled the descriptions of heroism that populated chivalric literature during the thirteenth through sixteenth centuries. Analyses of specific categories of individual tournament

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<sup>191</sup> By the time the album was assembled in the early seventeenth-century, the audience that was familiar with garnitures would have expanded from the elite echelons of the Habsburg court through the higher and minor nobility, as well as wealthy merchants and patricians, especially those in Augsburg, the primary center for the creation of garnitures of armor. For an overview of a representative garniture, see La Rocca, *How to Read European Armor*, 67-68.

combat demonstrates that these events were more than meaningful opportunities for personal heroism and assumptions of heroic personae. They also incorporated individuals into broader military and courtly cultures through the associations surrounding specific armor, weapons, and fighting strategies.

The *Stechen* was a joust between two opponents who wielded blunted lances. It began to develop in the mid-fourteenth century and, by the end of the century, its participants donned specially designed types of armor.<sup>192</sup> The *Stechen* was known as the “joust of peace” due to its use of blunted weapons. Those who took part eventually sacrificed agility for safety by abandoning lighter forms of battlefield armor that compromised extensive reinforcement in favor of mobility and visibility. Instead, they adopted heavy helms that protected their wearer’s head and neck from the lance blows that made up the point system of the joust. The quintessential “frog-mouth” shape of so-called *Stechhelms*, formed by their narrow vision slit and smooth, wedge form (fig. 78) deflected lance heads and prevented flying fragments of broken lances from injuring combatants’ vulnerable eyes or throats. These unwieldy *Stechhelms* severely obscured wearers’ vision, and were therefore unsuitable for use on the battlefield, but their form was so well-adapted to the joust of peace that it changed little for more than 150 years.<sup>193</sup> Thus, like the *Kolbenhelm*, the iconic form of the

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<sup>192</sup> Breiding, “Rennen, Stechen und Turnier,” 64. The *Stechen* was sometimes also known as the *Gestech* and both words appear in both noun and verb forms in Early New High German sources.

<sup>193</sup> Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 149; Jane Campbell Hutchinson, “The “Medieval Housebook,” in *Livlier than Life: the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet or the Housebook Master*, ed. Jan Piet Filedt Kok (Amsterdam: Rijksprentenkabinet/Rijksmuseum, 1985), 241; Gamber, “Ritterspiele und Turnierrüstung im Spätmittelalter,” 516; Capwell, *Masterpieces of European arms and armour in the Wallace Collection*, 38. While the sallets, armets, and rounded *kampfhelms* worn in battle and in tournament activities such as the *Freiturnier*, the *Rennen*, or the *Fußkampf* also necessarily obstructed some of the wearer’s peripheral vision, the *Stechhelm* was designed in such a way that it forced the wearer to lean forward slightly to look out of the angled eye slit. This construction was designed to protect the eyes from splinters of shattering lances during the *Gestech*, and therefore this form of helm was integrally linked to the tournament from its inception.

Stechhelm became a metonym for the joust of peace, signifying knightly competition to period viewers.

By contrast to the Thun album, consideration of the courtly compendium known as the Waldburg-Wolfegg Housebook offers insight into the visual language of the joust of peace and its experiential context around the year 1475. The Housebook, which was likely produced for a nobleman in the circle of Emperor Friedrich III, contains a two-page scene of the *Krönleinstechen*, a name for the joust of peace that derived from the crown-like shape of the blunted lance tips that participants used (fig. 79). In this image, the anonymous Housebook Master surrounds the Joust of Peace with courtly pageantry. Tournament officials and heralds preside over the joust, while fashionably dressed youths, demure ladies, and even children watch from the sidelines. The knights ride elaborately caparisoned horses whose eyes are covered to prevent them from shying during the charge, a practice that further separates the mock combat of the joust of peace from the struggle of the battlefield, where horses were trained to fight along with their masters using formidable hooves and teeth.

During Maximilian's lifetime, armor for the joust of peace, already distinguished by the unwieldy Stechhelm, underwent additional specialization; this resulted in the emergence of the so-called *Stechzeug*, a specialized set of armor that could weigh up to ninety pounds.<sup>194</sup> This heavy yet effective protective technology further separated the Joust of Peace materially and visually from the chaos of the battlefield or the *melée*. When it was part of the *Stechzeug*, the thick Stechhelm was bolted to the breast and back plate to stabilize the wearer's head and neck. The blunted lance—nearly three and a half meters long—was couched under the jouster's right arm and supported with the help of a special lance rest also bolted to the breastplate. On the left side, the shoulder and arm

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<sup>194</sup> Pfaffenbichler, "Maximilian I. und das höfische Turnier," 135

were covered by the *Stechtartsche*, or grandeguard, which was both a shield and a target upon which opponents sought to break their lances. Variations of this fusion of shield and body armor from the 1520s are depicted in the Thun album on folio 69 (fig. 80). Beneath the grandeguard, and sometimes in place of it, the left arm was encased in a thick, stationary casing of plates (called a manifer) that bent at the elbow and terminated in a large mitten-shaped outer gauntlet that overlapped the more flexible gauntlet to protect the hand as it grasped the reins of a charging horse. The Helmschmid armorers, who produced most of the armors depicted in the album, crafted several Stechzeuge for Maximilian I, and Jörg Helmschmid may have relocated to Vienna specifically to provide tournament armors for the Habsburg court.<sup>195</sup>

Despite the Helmschmids' involvement in the perfection of the Stechzeug, knights arrayed in the heavy armors used in earlier forms of the joust of peace are conspicuously absent from the ranks of steel-encased figures who populate the Thun album. Thun Artist A drew only disembodied Stechhelms alongside other empty exchange elements for garnitures fashionable during the last two decades of the 1400s (figs. 81-82). However, the Thun folios do visualize variations of the joust of peace that waxed in popularity during the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries. The introduction of a barrier called the tilt that separated the two charging jousters and prevented their horses from colliding precipitated the development of new forms of the joust.<sup>196</sup> Figures clad in armor used for the tilt around 1525 appear in Artist B's copies of Emperor Charles V's illuminated armory inventory in the Thun album (figs. 83-84).<sup>197</sup> However, the static representations of these figures seem focused primarily on documenting their armor, and disembodied exchange elements

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<sup>195</sup> Thomas, "Jörg Helmschmid d.J.," 34-40.

<sup>196</sup> These were called *Welsch*, or Italian, *Gestech*, after the Italian courts where the barrier had been developed and whence it had been imported, or sometimes named after the divider itself and called simply "the tilt."

<sup>197</sup> These drawings correspond to roughly contemporaneous images on folios 25r and 11r of the *Inventario Illuminado*. Madrid, RA N.18, vol. A.

used for different forms of the joust of peace float around the armoured knight. The differences between these drawings by Thun Artist B and the dramatic scenes and lively figures envisioned by Artist A (for instance in figs. 36 and 73) likely stem from distinct bodies of source material that served divergent functions prior to their combination in the Thun album. Their inclusion together in the album encourages comparison that highlights commonalities not in their styles or compositions, but in the types of armor and tournament equipment that they depict. They evoke not only the persistence of variants of the joust of peace through the sixteenth century but also the evolution of new forms of this event that waxed in popularity during the lifetime of Charles V.

While the Thun album contains ten images of armor for the joust of peace, it includes fourteen depictions of armor for the joust of war, including the dramatic charge that folio 9r portrays. Like the joust of peace, the *Rennen* was a joust fought between two lance-wielding combatants who sought to break their weapons upon their opponent or to unhorse him entirely. However, the *Rennen* was described as the “joust of war,” both because of its employment of sharp lances and because of the close relationship between the armors worn by its participants and those worn on the battlefield. While jousts with sharpened lances were documented as early as 1438, the joust of war arose primarily out of the equipment and fighting strategies of German cavalry during the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>198</sup> Fittingly, the armor for the joust of war was originally synonymous with protection worn on the battlefield, consisting of elegantly articulated, flexible defenses for the arms, neck, and hips, and sallet-style helmets. Even after the development of tournament-specific defenses, armors originally intended for battle were often modified. For example, a sallet made around 1490 received added rollers so that it could be used in a specialized

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<sup>198</sup> Breiding, “Rennen, Stechen und Turnier,” 60. Pfaffenbichler, “Maximilian I. und das h6fische Turnier,” 136.

joust of war (the *Bundrennen*) to keep the helmet's edge from catching on the spring-loaded shields that distinguished this event from other variations (fig. 85).<sup>199</sup>

Another opening from the Waldburg-Wolfegg Housbook visualizes the joust of war as a particularly bellicose form of knightly sport and provides meaningful context for the Rennen that offers expanded understanding of the armors that appear in the Thun album. Rather than the heralds, courtiers, elegant ladies, and awestruck children who watch the joust of peace, the spectators of the joust of war (fig. 86) are primarily light cavalry, whose own equipment and livery mirrors the armor and lances of the two combatants. In the background, beyond the action of the joust, other lightly clad soldiers compete in a horse-race, and, in the lower left corner of the image, a group of youths seem to bet on the outcome of the joust. This scene recalls the older medieval practice of sending champions from the ranks of opposing armies to engage in single combat, as well as the exercises undertaken by campaigning soldiers to hone their skill and sharpen their aim.<sup>200</sup> The Housebook was likely created during the second half of the 1470s or early 1480s, based on its inclusion of images of the siege of Neuss, which took place in 1475.<sup>201</sup> It is thus contemporary with a figure clad in light armor for the field or the joust of war, drawn by Artist A (see fig. 45). Like the jousters who charge across the opening of the Housebook, this rider wears a sallet with a long tail to protect the nape of his neck, tipped back to reveal his face. His breastplate is covered in fabric—a common practice in the late fifteenth century that also appears in the Housebook—and his long legs are free of armor. While the articulated steel shoulders of his pauldrons are visible, even the bevor that protects his chin is covered in green cloth. He carries a mace whose form was common during

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<sup>199</sup> Capwell, *Masterpieces of European arms and armour in the Wallace Collection*, 46. Like the *Geschiftsrennen*, the *Bundrennen* involved spring-loaded shields that flew into the air when struck by an opponent's lance. However, the *Bunderenntartsche*, unlike the *Geschiftsrenntartsche*, did not shatter into pieces.

<sup>200</sup> Crouch, *Tournament*, 3.

<sup>201</sup> Hutchinson, "The "Medieval Housebook", 220; Christoph Graf zu Waldburg Wolfegg, *Venus and Mars: The World of the Medieval Housebook* (Munich: Prestel, 1997), 92



the late-fifteenth century, and sits proudly in an armored saddle, atop a horse covered in an ornamental bard in a later style that dates to the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Like the jouster who charges across folio 9r, the distinct equipment that covers this rider and his steed represents two different moments. While this rider's armor evokes the light plate worn by German cavalry, his possibly ceremonial mace and shield are more congruent with a tournament setting or the pageantries surrounding it, as is his horse's bard.

In addition to the mace-wielding rider and the charging jouster (see figs. 45 and 73), the Thun album contains two additional images of figures outfitted for the joust of war and ten pages that depict empty, disassembled plates of armor for this type of joust (see, for example, figs. 81-82). Most of these armors date to the 1480s and 1490s, when Maximilian I was most active as a jouster and was most directly involved in the development of a specialized type armor for the joust of war, known as the *Rennzeug* (fig. 87).<sup>202</sup> This streamlined, asymmetrical style of jousting armor was directly influenced by Maximilian's interest in the joust of war and the introduction of several variations of the event during the height of his tournament career. The *Rennzeug* adjusted the basic form of field armor by minimizing the back plate, since the jouster need not fear attacks from behind, and by adding specialized reinforcements to the breastplate. Various forms of *Renntartsche*, or shields, were also affixed to the breastplate; some were bolted tightly, as in the *Angezogenrennen*, while others were spring-loaded to fly dramatically into the air or shatter into pieces, as in the *Bundrennen* or the *Geschäftsrennen*.<sup>203</sup> Shell-shaped plates (*Dilgen*) were attached to the saddle, rather than the rider's body.

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<sup>202</sup> Pfaffenbichler, "Maximilian I. und das höfische Turnier," 136-137; Breiding, "Rennen, Stechen und Turnier," 62-63.

<sup>203</sup> The following manuscripts contain period representations of these specialized forms of the joust of war, BSB Cod. Icon. 394a, folios 98r-101v; BSB, Cod. Icon. 403, folios 7r, 8r, 12r. For descriptions in secondary literature see, for examples, Heinrich Pallmann and Hans Burgkmair des Jüngeren, *Hans Burgkmair des jüngeren Turnierbuch von 1529: sechszebn blätter handkoloriert* (Leipzig: K. W. Hiersemann, 1910), 14-15; Nickel and Breiding, "A Book of Tournaments and Parades from Nuremberg." 132-134.

These plates, which Artist A included among the arrays of empty tournament components depicted in the Thun album (see figs. 81-82), were contoured to hug the thigh, and provided protection while alleviating the need for the full leg armor worn on the battlefield (see fig. 87).<sup>204</sup> The Thun album's representations of figures armed for the joust of war, all of which were drawn by Artist A, depict armors whose dates span a fifteen-year period between roughly 1480 and 1495. However, together they visualize the armor for the joust of war at five distinct moments and make its performative and protective functions within the context of knightly sport clear.

The courtly rider (see fig. 45) wears the specialized sallet (*Rennhut*) and carries the shield used in the joust of war on his back as he rides in procession or ceremonial entry, carrying a parade mace that closely resembles examples preserved in Vienna.<sup>205</sup> Much farther along in the codex, a standing figure armed for either the joust of war or the battlefield faces away from the viewer as if concentrated on the combat to come (fig. 88). A second drawing on the next recto (fig. 89) portrays the same armor hanging from a wooden rod as if stored in an armory after the joust has ended. One page later, a third drawing (fig. 90) appears to represent this armor for the *Rennen* once again from the front. It encases a figure seated upon one of the saw-horse-like stools used by tournament participants awaiting their turn in the lists.<sup>206</sup> In this image, the scalloped, semicircular brow reinforcement, seen in profile in folio 9r (compare to fig. 73), is clearly visible, and the jouster seems to be adjusting the lance rest affixed to the right side of his breastplate with a gauntleted hand. These three drawings' depictions of armored figures at rest and of empty armor stored in an armory

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<sup>204</sup> Nickel and Breiding, "A Book of Tournaments and Parades from Nuremberg," 129.

<sup>205</sup> Gamber identifies this figure as a shield-bearer of then-Archduke Maximilian I Gamber, "Der Turnierharnisch zu Zeit König Maximilians I und das Thunsche Skizzenbuch," 34

<sup>206</sup> It is conceivable that folios 52r, 53r, and 54r represent variations on the armor for the joust of war from the same garniture. The differences in the length and form of the tassets could be due to the exchange of these elements for distinct types of this joust.

provide unusual counterpoints to figure 73, which depicts a jouster mid-charge, nearing the climactic collision with his invisible opponent.

While Maximilian I was an enthusiastic participant in the jousts of both war and peace, the mock combat on foot, or *Fußkampf*, was perhaps the tournament event most closely associated with his transformation of the forms and meanings of knightly sport. *La Jeu de la Hache*, a treatise written for Duke Charles the Bold around 1465, demonstrates that knightly foot combat with weapons such as poleaxes was part of mid fifteenth-century martial sport.<sup>207</sup> Special armors for individual contests on foot began to emerge as early as 1450, and duels—whether judicial or personal—were often fought with pedestrian weapons such as swords, pole-arms, and even flails.<sup>208</sup> However, foot combat was often considered to be the ignoble pursuit of infantry, mercenaries, and duelists, and was therefore not fully incorporated into the realm of the tournament until the latter half of the fifteenth century.<sup>209</sup>

The period between 1470 and 1500 witnessed several battles in which armored and mounted heavy cavalry composed of well-trained knights were defeated by soldiers on foot. In one of the most consequential of these encounters, the Battle of Nancy in 1477, Charles the Bold, Duke of

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<sup>207</sup> BnF Ms fr. 1996. For English translations of this short, middle-French text, see Sydney Anglo, *Le Jeu de la Hache: a fifteenth-century treatise on chivalric axe combat* (Westminster: Society of Antiquaries, 1991), and Olivier Dupuis and Vincent Deluz, “Le Jeu de la Hache: A Critical edition and dating discussion,” *Acta Periodica Duellatorum* 5, no. 1 (Spring 2016), 3-62. Although Anglo dated this treatise to around 1400, Dupuis’s and Deluz’s recent analysis of the dialect, vocabulary, writing style, and structure of the manuscript places its origins in Flanders or Wallonia during the reign of Charles the Bold.

<sup>208</sup> Pfaffenbichler, “Maximilian I. und das höfische Turnier,” 139. German Fechtbücher, or martial manuals, juxtaposed fighting strategies for judicial duels with those for battles, tournaments, and quotidian self-defense; for more on the Fechtbuch manuscript tradition, see the first chapter of this dissertation. The armor of the Burgundian courtier, Claude de Vaudrey, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum (HJRK B 33), is an excellent example of an early foot combat armor.

<sup>209</sup> Jackson, “The tournament and chivalry in German tournament books of the sixteenth century and the literary works of emperor Maximilian I,” 60; Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 157.

Burgundy, lost both his army and his life after a rash charge into ranks of pike-wielding soldiers from the Swiss Confederation, Alsace, and the Duchy of Lorraine.<sup>210</sup> Charles' death at Nancy left Mary of Burgundy as the sole heiress to Charles' possessions and chivalric legacy, precipitating then-Archduke Maximilian of Habsburg's appropriation of the Burgundian inheritance and long military involvement in the rebellious Low Countries. Maximilian himself famously dismounted and led his foot soldiers to victory at the siege of the town of Guinegate in the County of Artois in 1479, and strove into battle wielding a pike alongside his infantry troops at Ghent in 1485. As Emperor elect, he was later bested by Engadin Swiss pike-men in 1499.<sup>211</sup> These experiences impressed a deep respect of foot combat upon Maximilian. In 1487, as Roman King of the Germans, he formed the first regiments of *Landsknechte* infantry who, as literal "servants of the land" were trained to deploy the tactics so successfully employed by the Swiss in service of the Empire.<sup>212</sup> Maximilian's ennoblement of various types of combat on foot facilitated their broader acceptance into the tournament as a model of martial valor that could stand beside mounted forms of knightly sport.

The Thun album's rich array of images related to the tournament on foot seem to epitomize the elevation of foot combat during the reigns of Maximilian I and his successor, Charles V, the emperors whose armors figure most prominently in the bound collection. Six of the armored figures

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<sup>210</sup>Susan Marti et al., *Splendour of the Burgundian Court: Charles the Bold (1433-1477)*, English ed. (Antwerp, New York: Mercatorfonds; Distributed in North America by Cornell University Press, 2009); Wim Blockmans and Walter Prevenier, *The Promised Lands: The Low Countries under Burgundian Rule, 1369-1530*, trans. Elizabeth Fackelmann (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).

<sup>211</sup>Jackson, "The tournament and chivalry in German tournament books of the sixteenth century and the literary works of emperor Maximilian I," 55; Gerhard Benecke, *Maximilian I (1459-1519): an analytical biography* (London; Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982), 15 Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 163.

<sup>212</sup>Maximilian was extremely proud of his involvement in the establishment of the Landsknecht regiments, and the account of his military career dictated to Joseph Grünpeck in the *Historia Frederici et Maximiliani* avoids discussion of his defeats by the Swiss in favor of emphasis of his role as "Vater des Lansknechte." Benecke, *Maximilian I (1459-1519): an analytical biography*, 16; Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 157-158.

in the album are outfitted for tournament combat on foot; five of these were elegantly drawn by Artist A (see figs. 36, 71, 91, 92, and 96), while the sixth was copied from the illustrated inventory of Charles V by Artist B (fig. 95). The Thun album is exceptional for its representation of fifteenth-century armor for tournament on foot because it offers some of the only depictions of this specialized type of steel protection. Representations of these fighters on foot represent a forty-year span and document the significant shifts in the style of armor for un-mounted combat following Maximilian's elevation and promotion of this form of martial contest. Two representations of late fifteenth-century armors for the foot combat (figs. 71 and 91) exemplify both the fluidity and continuity of armor during the late fifteenth century. Both figures are clad in full mail chausses, or hose, that are late versions of a type of leg defense popular from the late-eleventh century due to its cloth-like flexibility and ease of repair.<sup>213</sup> Artist A demonstrates his attention to detail by picking out the red seams that enclose the mail around the figures' legs in shiny red gouache. The foot combatant in figure 71 wears a breastplate with a lance rest, a seemingly impractical accessory for combat on foot whose presence suggests the breastplate's interchangeability with other elements of a garniture.<sup>214</sup>

Two drawings by Artist A offer valuable comparisons between armor for tournament combat on foot made during the first decade of the sixteenth century and contemporaneous armor

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<sup>213</sup> Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the *Thun sketchbooks* (Part I)." 330, 346; Capwell, *Masterpieces of European arms and armour in the Wallace Collection*, 36. La Rocca, "Notes on the Mail Chausse," 69-70, 80.

<sup>214</sup> Related armors, such as a rare helm in the Philadelphia Museum of Art attributed to Lorenz Helmschmid of the same type depicted on folio 36r have been cited as testaments to the closely observed verism of Thun Artist A's drawings, which provide some of the only surviving glimpses of early Fußkämpfer. This helm, accession number PMA 1977-167-70, may be a nineteenth-century forgery, since numerous copies of the Helmschmid oeuvre were created during the period and erroneously—or duplicitously—sold as fifteenth-century originals. Dr. Dirk Breiding, J.J. Medvekis Curator of Arms and Armor at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, is currently investigating the helmet using scientific analyses of its surface, and the results of his study are forthcoming.

for the battlefield or *Freiturnier* (Free Tournament). In the first, two figures clash with poleaxes (fig. 92). The soldier on the left is clad in the round-helmed armor for tournament combat on foot, and his breastplate and leg armor are ornamented with the elaborate cusps and angular repoussé forms characteristic of the late-fifteenth century. The soldier at right, who reaches across his body for his sword, wears an Italianate armet helm, reinforced at the front with an additional plate called a wrapper, and a high guard (*hautepiece*) rises from his left shoulder to block an opponent's right-handed sword blows. On a subsequent bifolio (fig. 93), a figure armored for the tournament on foot wears a fluted breastplate evocative of the so-called "Maximilian-style" of armor that was popular around 1500 (see fig. 13). He faces off across the gutter against a mounted warrior armed for the field or *Freiturnier* who raises his sword threateningly. This mounted figure rides a horse encased in a renaissance-style bard not unlike that worn by the horse in the joust of war in figure 73. Here, the horse's armor is emblazoned with shields that contain crosses of Saint Andrew and fire steels, heraldic emblems of Burgundy, and the crupper, or rump defense, bears a banderole with the initials "DLIG," a possible reference to one of Maximilian's mottos.<sup>215</sup> In these two dynamic images—drawn on the recto and verso of the same sheet, Artist A envisioned the tense relationship between the tournament lists and the battlefield, as well as between the aesthetic styles of armor worn in each context. The chivalric realm of the tournament, embodied in the figure who is elegantly armored for the tournament on foot dramatically collides with new military technologies and new forms of the armored body.

One of the most striking developments represented in the Thun album is the emergence of the skirted *Faltenrockharnisch* or tonlet armor, a type of garniture that derived its name from its distinctive steel skirts. These skirts mimicked contemporary male fashion and deflected the

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<sup>215</sup> Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the *Thun sketchbooks*, (Part I)," 340. The acronym may stand for the motto, "(ego) diligentes me diligo" or "I love them that love me," from Proverbs 8:17.

downward blows of weapons away from the body while allowing the wearer's legs to move nimbly beneath them during tournament combat on foot. They reached their peak during the 1520s, and became a favorite style for courtly pageantry as well as knightly competition. A tonlet armor crafted by Konrad Seusenhoffer of Innsbruck for the youthful Charles V echos the form's sartorial inspiration (fig. 94). Its steel skirt contains pierced ornamentation, originally backed with black velvet. The punchwork forms the Burgundian emblems of the Order of the Golden Fleece—the fire steels and cross of St. Andrew—and the surface of each plate is sculpted in repoussée and etched to emulate rich brocade.

Both Artists A and B envisioned tonlet armors of a somewhat later date in the Thun album's fifth quire. While these images depict armor from the mid 1520s specifically designed for tournament combat on foot, their sumptuous details also would have been appropriate for courtly ceremony. The drawing by Artist B on folio 50r (fig. 95) copies a depiction of the so-called "Hunt Tonlet," that Kolman Helmschmid crafted for Charles V around 1525. This princely tournament armor is easily recognizable by the hounds and beasts that encircle the tonlet's bottom edge. The next leaf presents an image by Artist A (fig. 96) of a tonlet that, although not identifiable as an extant armor, bears similarly fine etched evocations of brocade or embroidery along the edge of the steel skirt. The juxtaposition of these two images of tonlets for combat on foot—the only armors of their kind in the codex—suggests the ways in which their forms and sporting functions bound them together in the mind of the album's anonymous compiler.<sup>216</sup>

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<sup>216</sup> Although another tonlet armor dated to circa 1520-25 appears in a drawing by Artist A on folio 74r, it is not for tournament use. Rather, this puffed and slashed costume armor, with interchangeable tonlet or hoguine (rump defense), is akin to the flamboyant, Landsknecht-style parade armors crafted by Kolman for patrons like Wilhelm von Rogendorf. See Stefan Krause, *Fashion in Steel: The Landsknecht Armour of Wilhelm von Rogendorf* (Vienna and New York: The Kunsthistorisches Museum, distributed by Yale University Press, 2017), 46, 50.

As Larry Silver and others have observed, the importance of the tournament for Maximilian and his contemporaries is difficult to overstate; mock combats such as the joust of war and tournament on foot were both emulations of and models for the strategies and techniques of real warfare.<sup>217</sup> In the decades surrounding 1500, the visual landscapes of battle experienced by European warriors and envisioned by artists shifted from an open field shot with the silver flashes of charging heavy cavalry made up of mounted knights to battlefields bristling with thickets of pikes wielded by tight formations of infantry. The introduction of the foot combat into the tournament ring and the visual culture that surrounded it, including the Thun album, confirmed the widespread adoption of new modes of combat. However, the persistent performance and increasingly ubiquitous depiction of the joust and, to a lesser extent, of the *melée* demonstrated the continuity of chivalric martial identities established during the late medieval tournament, which persisted as epitomes of virtuous masculinity throughout the sixteenth century. Such continuities not only influenced the *Ritterrenaissance*, or knightly revival, of Maximilian's own reign. I hope to demonstrate in the remainder of this chapter, and in the two chapters that follow, that they also shaped the artistic and visual culture of remembrance that commemorated the chivalric world of the emperor's court long after his reign ended in the early sixteenth century.<sup>218</sup>

### **Memory, Image, and Text in German Tournament Books**

Tournament books emerged during the late fifteenth century to commemorate specific tournaments held at princely courts, types of knightly sport, and the careers of Habsburg princes,

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<sup>217</sup> Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 147.

<sup>218</sup> Maximilian was extensively commemorated as a model of chivalry in the decades immediately following his death, and long after. However, his designation as "The Last Knight," derives from an epic play written by Alexander Graf von Auersperg under the pseudonym Anastasius Grün in 1830. See Stefan Krause, "'zum staeten Andenken diesen dem Herze Oesterriechs unvergeßlichen Kaisers?': Zur Rezeption von Kaiser Maximilians I.," in *Kaiser Maximilian I Der letzte Ritter und das höfische Turnier*, ed. Sabine Haag, et al. (Mannheim: Reiss-Engelhorn Museen, 2014), 196-197.



illustrious courtiers, and less-exalted patrons.<sup>219</sup> Like the Thun album, these volumes visualized retrospective visions of the appearance of armored bodies as they moved within the spectacular context of the tournament. Indeed, most surviving tournament books recount events that occurred years, decades, or even centuries prior to their fabrication, and those that depict contemporary chivalric contests are, like the Thun album, nearly all from the period after the lifetime of Maximilian I and his glittering Ritterrenaissance.<sup>220</sup>

The *Traictié de la forme et devis comme on fait les tournoys*, or *A Treatise on the Form and Organization of a Tournament*, written by King René of Anjou around 1460, is one of the earliest tournament books to incorporate visual strategies that would become the hallmarks of the genre. This work, also known as the *Livre des Tournois*, describes and depicts in sumptuous detail numerous aspects of the organizational logistics, courtly ritual, and regulated competition involved in the late medieval tournament (see fig. 74).<sup>221</sup> Although the *Livre des Tournois* is a French work, it is a significant source on tournaments like those held in the Holy Roman Empire, and it was copied in manuscripts belonging to Louis de Gruuthuse, a trusted Burgundian councilor, and others.<sup>222</sup> In his introduction, René of Anjou explicitly states that he draws primarily upon the forms of tournaments held “in

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<sup>219</sup> Patrician patrons who commissioned tournament books to commemorate their participation in knightly sport include Marx Walther of Augsburg. BSB Cgm. 1930. See Daniel Huber, *Marx Walthers Turnierbuch: mit Familienchronik und Stiftungverzeichnis* (Augsburg: Theuerdank Verlag, 2014). My thanks to Daniel Huber for his generous suggestions during the early stages of this research.

<sup>220</sup> Bashford Dean, “An Early Tournament Book,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 17, no. 6 (1922), 124; Nickel and Breiding, “A Book of Tournaments and Parades from Nuremberg,” 125; Jackson, “The tournament and chivalry,” 50.

<sup>221</sup> François Avril, “Introduction,” in *Le Livre des Tournois du Roi René* (Paris: Herscher, 1986), 9. For a comprehensive study of the *Livre des Tournois*, see Justin Meredith Sturgeon, “Text & Image in René d’Anjou’s *Livre de Tournois*.”

<sup>222</sup> While the German-speaking lands were the site of some of Europe’s most avid tournament culture and sophisticated martial technology, accounts of real tournaments in the Holy Roman Empire were surprisingly rare and often minimally descriptive during the fifteenth century. Therefore, French sources, such as René d’Anjou, and Burgundian chroniclers, such as Olivier de la Marche and Jean Molinet, remain important for reconstructing the tournament as it existed during the period.

Germany and on the Rhine.”<sup>223</sup> René d’Anjou’s treatise on the tournament is exceptional for its meticulous depiction and description of the types of armor and weapons used in the event.

However, the *Livre des Tournois* has been extensively analyzed elsewhere, and, although it would have been known to members of Maximilian’s Burgundian court, the artistic milieu from which it originated are distinct from the southern Holy Roman Empire, whence the Thun album and related tournament books emerged.

In the Holy Roman Empire, a distinctive visual language evolved around the tournament during Maximilian’s lifetime and defined the tournament book genre for the remainder of its history. The representational strategies developed by Swabian and Austrian artists in service of Maximilian I not only influenced the tournament books of the mid-sixteenth century, but also shaped the ways that the tournament was imagined in a range of contexts within the German-speaking lands.<sup>224</sup>

*Freydal*, is a pseudo-fantastic biography of Maximilian I that was conceived as one of a trio of illustrated chivalric epics known as the *Ruhmeswerke*, or works of renown. *Der Weißkunig*, *Freydal*, and *Theuerdank*, were written during the first decade of the sixteenth century, at a time that Maximilian sought to legitimize and amplify his authority.<sup>225</sup> *Der Weißkunig* traces the birth and formative years

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<sup>223</sup> BnF, Ms. fr. 2693, fol. 1r. For the purposes of this study, unless otherwise noted, folio numbers and quotations will refer to leaves in BnF Fr. 2693. Although Ms. fr. 2695 is the oldest of the manuscripts and is more closely connected to the author, Ms. fr. 2693 was the personal copy of Louis de Bruges, a Burgundian courtier within the Habsburg circle. This version, therefore, spans part of the distances of time and place that separate René’s treatise from the imperial court, and I have chosen to use it to illustrate my points on the treatise.

<sup>224</sup> During the 1560s, another tournament book, now in Los Angeles, not only included images whose visual strategies emulated tournament books such as those created for Kaspar III von Lamberg and Wilhelm IV of Bavaria, but also incorporated depictions of standing armored figures and armor arrayed in pieces that parallel those that populate the Thun album. Helmut Nickel and Dirk Breiding have identified an exceptionally late tournament book that dates to between 1560 and 1630 and that emulates Burgkmair’s Triumph as an artifact of a pervasive Erinnerungskultur, or culture of commemoration. While they are descendants rather than ancestors of the Thun drawings, these late sixteenth-century representations of the tournament merit additional consideration.

<sup>225</sup> ÖNB, Cod. 2832 and 3032, 1st edition: Proofs, printed between 1513 and 1518. Alwin Schultz, “Der Weißkunig nach den Dictatigen und eigendhandigen Aufzeichnungen zusammengestellt von

of the Young White King, a cipher for the youthful Maximilian. *Theuerdank* recounts its eponymous hero's journey to the land ruled by his bride, Ehrenreich, a barely fictionalized version of Mary of Burgundy. This fictive journey explicitly referenced the model of the late medieval chivalric *Buch der Abenteuer* (Book of Adventure) exemplified by works such as such as Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Titurel*, but also echoed classical examples of the *heroica gesta*, such as the Labors of Hercules.<sup>226</sup>

The narrative of *Freydal* intersects with and extends beyond the timeline of *Theuerdank*, and follows the exploits of the eponymous hero, "the joyful (*freydig*) one," through sixty-four tournaments and their attendant festivities. Each of the sixty-four occasions begins with a joust of war, followed by a joust of peace and a combat on foot with one of several types of weapon. In every instance, these martial contests end with a mummerly, or masquerade, whose participants are often clad in rich and fantastical costumes. While numerous scholars have examined the texts and illustrations of *Der Weiskönig* and *Theuerdank*, few studies have engaged deeply with *Freydal*.<sup>227</sup> With the exception of the short introduction, a list of the ladies in whose honor Freydal/Maximilian

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Max Treitzsauerwein von Ehrentreiz," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, VI, 1888. Maximilian had been elected German King of the Romans in 1486, when Friedrich III was still alive and ruling as Holy Roman Emperor. However, tensions and war in Italy, arising primarily from the Habsburg's competition with Francis I of France for the imperial title, prevented Maximilian from being crowned Holy Roman Emperor by the Pope upon his succession of his father's rule of the Empire. While he was considered de facto emperor elect, Maximilian's title was never fully realized, as he was never crowned in Rome, but only in Trent in 1508.

<sup>226</sup> Rischer, *Literarische Rezeption und kulturelles Selbstverständnis in der deutschen Literatur der Ritterrenaissance des 15. Jahrhunderts*; Jan-Dirk Müller, *Gedechtnus*, 234-237.

<sup>227</sup> The dearth of scholarship on *Freydal* is due, in part, to its relative inaccessibility, since the manuscript version has never been completely reproduced in print or digital form. However, Stefan Krause, who has overseen the conservation and scientific examination of the manuscript in Vienna, is working toward a comprehensive publication on the only complete copy of *Freydal*; when finished, this study will address a significant lacuna in the field that is far too expansive to be fully rectified here. For a sample of the studies that have explored *Der Weiskönig* and *Theuerdank*, see Füssel, *Der Theuerdank von 1517*; Müller, *Gedechtnus*; Silver, "Shining Armor: Emperor Maximilian, Chivalry, and War,"; Larry Silver, "The 'Papier-Kaiser': Burgkmair, Augsburg, and the Image of the Emperor," in *Emperor Maximilian I and the Age of Dürer*, ed. Eva Michel and Maria Luise Sternath (Munich: Prestel, 2012), Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*; Williams, "The Arthurian Model in Emperor Maximilian's Autobiographic Writings."

fights, and the labels identifying the hero's opponents, the manuscript has very little text. This dearth of text and the attendant reliance on imagery has analogies with both the predominantly visual content of commemorative tournament books and the seemingly curious absence in explanatory text in the Thun album. The book's focus on the armored body foreshadowed Thun Artist A's commemoration of armor and its deployment within the spectacular context of the tournament.

The sumptuous illuminations of *Freydal* represent jousters, in both the joust of war and the joust of peace, seconds after their lances have struck home. These pictures derive from the imagery of earlier tournament books, which were both commemorative and performative. Of the 255 miniatures that comprise *Freydal*, 128 depict forms of joust. The outcomes and forms of these depicted events were planned by the Emperor and his secretary, Max Treitsauerwein, in 1512, and their notes survive in Vienna.<sup>228</sup> The jousts include six variants of the joust of war, some developed during Maximilian's reign—perhaps from his own imagination—such as the *Anzogenrennen*, in which the shield was bolted to the riders' breastplates (fig. 97) and the *Geschiftsrennen*, with its spring-loaded, exploding shields (fig. 98). Two main forms of the joust of peace are featured in *Freydal*. Thirty-eight images represent the *welsch*, or Italian, joust of peace, in which combatants joust across a barrier to prevent collisions (fig. 99). Twenty-six pages depict the *teutsch*, or German, joust of peace, wherein riders charged directly toward one another with no such divider.<sup>229</sup>

Whether in jousts of peace or war, *Freydal*/Maximilian triumphs over his opponent by remaining seated while the challenger is struck or occasionally unhorsed. More often, both participants strike their target, and sometimes they fall from their steeds, though the hero is never

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<sup>228</sup> ÖNB, Cod. Vindob. 2831 and 2835. Leitner, *Freydal*, VII-VIII. Franz Unterkircher, Erwing Auer, et al, *Maximilian I, 1459-1519; Ausstellung: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Kunsthistorisches Museum (Waffensammlung)* (Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1959), 22.

<sup>229</sup> Leitner, *Freydal*, XXXVII.

unhorsed alone by a victorious opponent. Such upsets, including the outcome of the *Geschiftsrennen* in figure 98, recall episodes described in chivalric romances from the central Middle Ages that were celebrated at the Habsburg court, such as a passage from Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*, which describes an encounter between Sir Gawain, and the foreign king, Melijanz: "A splendid joust took place there! Gawan thrust him into flight, breaking in two his rear saddle-bow, so that both warriors ended up—in truth!—behind their chargers" (Eine schöne Tjost geschah da wieder/ Gawan stach ihn flüglings nieder/ Doch brach sein hintrer Sattelboden,/ Das beide Helden ungelogen/ Hinter den Rossen stunden.)<sup>230</sup>

The artists who illuminated Maximilian's personal copy of the *Freydal*, which bears notes and corrections in the emperor's own hand, sometimes incorporated closely observed armors made even more tangible by the skillful application of metallic leaf and inks.<sup>231</sup> The multiple illuminators focused as much on the dramatic representation of the hero's tournament exploits as on the specificity of the armor worn by the combatants. Many of the illustrations created by artists from the Danube School circle of Albrecht Altdorfer are energized by lively pen strokes that outline the fictive steel armors in crisp detail and suggest the landscapes in which the jousts take place. For instance, the image of an Italian joust of peace in fig. 99 visualizes the two armored figures in the seconds after impact; their armored bodies are illuminated with silver leaf and articulated in black ink, while much looser pen strokes suggest the grassy ground of the lists.<sup>232</sup> These closely observed

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<sup>230</sup> Eschenbach and Edwards, *Parzival and Titurel*, 163. Wolfram von Eschenbach's works were among those kept in Maximilian's library at Schloss Ambras, and his *Titurel* was included in the emperor's personal anthology of chivalric literature, the *Ambraser Heldenbuch*. ÖNB, Cod. ser. nova 2663, fols. 234r-235r.

<sup>231</sup> Leitner, *Freydal*, IV.

<sup>232</sup> KHM KK 5073, folio 14r. Krause, "Das Turnierbuch *Freydal* Kaiser Maximilians I," 168-169. Many of the Danube School miniatures acknowledge the materiality of the armors that they represent through their extensive use of silver leaf, which often covers every fictive metal surface in the composition. My thanks to Stefan Krause for facilitating my first-hand examination of a

drawings foreshadow the evocations of martial material culture in drawings by Artist A that the Thun album collects. Both *Freydal* and Thun Artist A incorporated the meanings that specific types of tournament armor conveyed to period viewers, who would have understood the additional layers of meaning that such semantically loaded objects added to the heroic narrative.

During the first two thirds of the sixteenth century, tournament books that commemorated their patrons' participation in various martial spectacles proliferated in Augsburg. Like the representations of combat in contemporaneous fight books, as well as the purely visual Thun album, these codices often relied on images, accompanied by minimal or no text, to convey their message. While some tournament book illustrations are attributed to artists such as Hans Burgkmair the Younger and Jörg Breu the Younger, most were like the Thun album, the work of anonymous Augsburg book painters, who may have been affiliated with Burgkmair or Breu's workshops. Although some book painters hailed from illustrious artistic families and incorporated imagery from print sources, the quality and character of illustrations in tournament book varies as widely as the works by artists A and B do in the Thun album.

Just as Maximilian and his court contributed new forms of martial sport to the tournament itself, the artworks and accounts that they commissioned to construct the mythos of the Habsburg monarch also served as models for other patrons. Bavarian ducal records document a tournament book that Hans Burgkmair the Younger created for Duke Wilhelm IV in 1529, ten years after Maximilian's death. Duke Wilhelm was an avid enthusiast of martial sport, and he is listed as a participant in twenty-nine tournaments that took place between 1510 and 1524.<sup>233</sup> Like *Freydal*, the

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selection of leaves from *Freydal* first hand in the Kunsthistorisches Museum's Imperial Armory.

<sup>233</sup> Pallmann and Burgkmair des Jüngeren, *Hans Burgkmair des jüngeren Turnierbuch von 1529*, 4.

codex that Burgkmair the Younger created for Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria glorified the knightly exploits of the patron and his social cohort.

Although Burgkmair the Younger's tournament book was lost prior to 1910, a skillfully illustrated codex created around 1540 by an anonymous Augsburg book painter working in the same circles as Artist A (BSB, Cod. Icon. 403) is thought to copy the 1529 manuscript for the Duke of Bavaria.<sup>234</sup> This manuscript's representations of jousts of war and peace, as well as the *Freiturnier*, derived from images that the artist's father, the painter and printmaker Hans Burgkmair the Elder, created for the woodcut *Triumphal Procession of Emperor Maximilian I*, which was conceived by Maximilian in 1512 but not completed until 1526.<sup>235</sup> In both the *Triumphal Procession* and the tournament book, the elder and younger Bugkmair envisioned various tournament activities through compositions whose strategies constitute a middle ground between the performative imagery of tournament books such as *Freydal*, which depicted jousters at the apex of action, and the deployment of specialized armors as signifiers for absent tournament events in the Thun album.<sup>236</sup> The 137 woodcut images of the *Triumph of Maximilian I* create an expansive imagined procession that includes thirteen images of jousters riding in groups of five preceded by an image of Lord Wolfgang von Polheim, court master of jousts.<sup>237</sup> Through their armaments and other material signifiers, these

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<sup>234</sup> BSB Cod. Icon. 403. Heinrich Pallmann, *Hans Burgkmair des Jüngereren Turnierbuch von 1529: Sechzehn Blätter in Handkolorit mit erläuterndem Text* (Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1910), 4.

<sup>235</sup> Pallmann, *Hans Burgkmair des jüngereren Turnierbuch von 1529*, 4; Stanley Applebaum and Marx Treitzsaurwein, *The Triumph of Maximilian, 137 Woodcuts by Hans Burgkmair and Others*, trans. Stanley Appelbaum (New York: Dover Publications, 1964), 8. Maximilian's dictation of his plans for the Triumph are transcribed by Marx Treitzsauerwein in ÖNB, Cod. Vindob. 2835.

<sup>236</sup> Other performative tournament images appear in the *Livre des Tournois* (Paris, BNF, ms français 2693), *The Tournament Book and Family Chronicle of Marx Walther* (Munich, BSB, Cgm. 1511) and two versions of a volume commemorating the *Knighly games held by Emperor Friedrich III and Maximilian I in the years 1489-1511* (*Ritterspiele gehalten von Kaiser Friedrich III und Maximilian I. in den Jahren 1489-1511*) (BSB Cgm 1511 and AUB Cod. I.6.4.1). For more on Marx Walther's tournament book, see Daniel J.M. Huber, *Marx Walthers Turnierbuch*.

<sup>237</sup> The banner born by von Polheim in Burgkmair's woodcut was intended to contain an inscription by Johannes Stabius that would read, "Always promoting new advances/In jousting with blunt and

groups of knights embody particular forms of the jousts of war and peace, as in the case of the *Geschäftsrennen*, wherein the fragments of shattered shields fly above the heads of the processing knights (fig. 100).<sup>238</sup> Within the predominantly symbolic and allegorical visual program of the *Triumph*, specialized armors, shields, and weapons are invested with the meanings and experiences that viewers would have associated with each type of tournament combat.

On each page of BSB Cod. icon. 403, pairs, rather than groups, of knights process from left to right (fig. 101). As in the woodcut *Triumph* by Burgkmair the Elder, each group represents a category of tournament combat; the knightly duos that progress through the manuscript symbolize, in sum, four types of joust of peace, eight types of joust of war, the *Freiturnier*, and the tournament on foot. This tournament book and at least twelve other volumes that were created in Augsburg during the middle and last decades of the sixteenth century retrospectively celebrate the tournament sports of Maximilian's era. This is the period to which most of the armors represented by Artist A in the Thun album drawings date, and these thirteen works offer another opportunity to contextualize the album. Furthermore, their origins in Augsburg place them closer to the social and artistic contexts within which the Thun drawings were created and were compiled than Maximilian's commissions were.

The style and technique of the anonymous artist who illustrated BSB Cod. Icon. 403 closely resembles the strategies deployed by the Breu circle, to which Artist A belonged, including evocation of the material qualities of armor through crisp lines and use of metallic inks. Compare, for instance,

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pointed lances,/Thanks to His Highness, I unfurled/Skills never seen in all the world./These jousts in novel styles and ways/Have earned for me great fame and praise." Nickel and Breiding, "A Book of Tournaments and Parades from Nuremberg," 131.

<sup>238</sup> Maximilian personally requested the inclusion of the flying shield fragments, which seem to anticipate the drama of the joust toward which the knights ride, in his annotations in preliminary drawings for the *Triumphal Procession*. Applebaum and Treitzsaurwein, *The Triumph of Maximilian*, 8.



the iridescent washes that highlight both the riders in figure 101 and the combatant in the tournament on foot in figure 91, as well as the representations of the rivets and components such as the brow reinforces that cover each figures' sallet. Both artists of these anonymous bodies of work deploy sophisticated painting techniques and sumptuous imagery in nostalgic celebration of the tournament culture that had surrounded the Habsburg court decades earlier, in the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries.

Around 1542, roughly two years after the anonymous artist copied Burgkmair the Younger's tournament book of Wilhelm IV, Jörg Breu the Younger illustrated the first of four versions of the *Opus amplissimum de arte athletica*.<sup>239</sup> This expansive treatise by Paulus Hector Mair details numerous forms of serious combat and martial sport, including fencing, foot combat with numerous weapons, jousts, tournaments, mounted warfare, and maneuvers for engagements between cavalry and infantry.<sup>240</sup> Like the draftsman of Cod. icon 403, who may have been a member of his workshop, Jörg Breu the Younger's images also draw upon Burgkmair's foundations, as in his depiction of the *Geschäftsrennen* (fig. 102); Breu activated his pairs of knights by extending his representation into two scenes and envisioning the enactment of each type of joust across the gutter of the opening that follows each processing pair. In the case of the *Geschäftsrennen* (fig. 103), the flying shield fragments that seem to float behind the jouster on the left become metonyms for the event, as they do in the Burgkmair's *Triumphal Procession*, Cod. icon 403, and *Freydal*. These meaningful depictions of specific elements of tournament equipment allude to the ways that the disembodied armors that populate the Thun album may have encouraged viewers to recall their spectacular contexts of use.

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<sup>239</sup> BSB, Cod. icon. 393.1 and 2.

<sup>240</sup> BSB, Cod. icon. 393. During the same decade, the tournament book known as the *Ritterspiele von Friedrich III und Maximilian I in den Jahren 1489-1511* (BSB, Cod. icon. 398) also emerged from the workshop of an anonymous Augsburg Briefmaler.

The many works that emulated and transmitted the imagery that appears in Cod. icon. 403 during the second quarter of the sixteenth century participated in the visual and literary culture of *Gedechtnus*, or commemoration, that was promulgated at the imperial court and mythologized the persona of Maximilian I.<sup>241</sup> The section of *De Arte Athletica* that presents various forms of jousts is prefaced by a Latin version (fig. 104) of the New High German titulus that precedes the illustrations of the anonymous Cod. Icon 403 (fig. 105). Each of these three works, contains a variant of the following incipit:

Several former knightly games of the most high and powerful prince and beloved lord Maximilian, Roman Emperor, in which he took part and, through his majesty, devised himself, shown with other men of his court, passed down for his highly esteemed memory and to provide entertainment.<sup>242</sup>

(Etliche Weyland der Aller Durchleuchtigstern hochmechtigsten Fürsten und herzenn Heer Maximilian Romischen Kaissers, und hochloblichster gedächtnis, Ritter Spile zum taiyl Durch ir Maijestatt selbs Erfunden, Angeben und sunst mit andern irer Man gelegen zu hilft und Kurtzweil geprauchet.)

Jan-Dirk Müller's foundational study of the literary manifestations of this commemorative mode exposed the ways that that the emperor's identity was elevated during his lifetime and after his death, and became an aspect of the very heroic imaginary that had shaped its construction.<sup>243</sup> The commemorative tendency exhibited in the Augsburg tournament books was also an instrumental factor in the creation and form of the Thun album, and, particularly, the drawings by Artist A.

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<sup>241</sup> The term *Gedechtnus* as used in literary analysis derives from the Middle High German or Early New High German variant of *Gedächtnis*, meaning memory or commemoration. See Klaus Graf, "Fürstliche Erinnerungskultur: Eine Skizze zum neuen Modell des Gedenkens in Deutschland im 15. un 16. Jahrhundert," in *Les princes et l'histoire du XIVe au XVIIIe siècle: actes du colloque organisé par l'Université de Versailles-Saint Quentin et l'Institut historique allemand, Paris/Versailles, 13-16 mars 1996*, ed. Chantal Grell, Werner Paravicini, and Jürgen Voss, *Pariser historische Studien* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1998), 2.

<sup>242</sup> BSB Cod. Icon. 403, folio 1v. Variants of this text also appear (in Latin) on folio 95v of *De Arte Athletica*.

<sup>243</sup> Müller, *Gedechtnus*.

## Artistic Influences and Potential Pathways of Transmission

The pictorial strategies that extend from Hans Burgkmair the Elder's *Triumphal Procession* of Maximilian through his son's lost 1529 tournament book for Duke Wilhelm IV, its surviving iteration in Cod. Icon. 403, and Breu the Younger's illustrations for *De arte athletica*, demonstrates the pathways of transmission that carried constructions of the heroic, armored body forward into the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>244</sup>

As Terjanian demonstrated, the creators of the Thun album drawings, especially Artist A, apparently had privileged access to prints, paintings, and manuscripts created for Maximilian that would not have been widely available to the public. Artist A's drawings in the Thun album emulate Hans Burgkmair the Elder's unpublished woodcut *Genealogy of Emperor Maximilian I*, as well as paintings of triumphal entries by Maximilian into the Netherlandish cities of Luxembourg and Namur in 1480 by the Burgundian court painter, Pierre Coustain, to be discussed in Chapter 4.<sup>245</sup> The Thun album's resonances with a spectrum of artworks and armors point to pathways of visual exchange and patronage that converge on the city of Augsburg. Tracing these artistic and iconographic networks can demonstrate the complexities and continuities of artistic production in the city and its involvement in commemorating the tournament culture of the Habsburg court, and visually reconstructing it within a predominantly civic environment.

Augsburg was one of the most important centers for the intellectual and artistic fabrication of Maximilian's mythic persona. The creative community of Augsburg was tightly knit, and artists often worked together on projects organized by scholars, such as the eminent humanist Conrad

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<sup>244</sup> In addition to pictorial resonances, the watermarks of the Thun album overlap in some cases with works from the circle described above. All of these watermarks are identified with 1530s through 1550s Augsburg by Briquet (Briquet 8871 and 2124). See also Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the *Thun sketchbooks* (Part I)" 311-313.

<sup>245</sup> See Chapter 4, pages 126-129.

Peutinger.<sup>246</sup> The city was home to four generations of Helmschmid armorers, including Lorenz and Kolman, whose works figure so prominently in the Thun album. The Augsburg painters and printmakers Hans Burgkmair the Elder and the Younger, Jörg Breu the Elder and his eponymous son, and Daniel Hopfer, both elder and younger, claimed the Helmschmids as both collaborators and, often, relatives.<sup>247</sup> The Helmschmids enlisted artists, including Hopfer the Elder and at least one of the Burgkmairs, to etch fanciful ornaments or religious and chivalric emblems onto the fine armors that they crafted for Maximilian I, Charles V, and the imperial inner circle.<sup>248</sup> As the lines of transmission that connect Augsburg tournament books to Maximilian's *Triumphal Procession* demonstrate, Burgkmair's images provided models for many Augsburg artists, including his son, whose own work may have presented his father's compositions to still wider audiences and emulators.

Both the illustrations of the Augsburg tournament books and the drawings of the Thun album invite consideration of the city's accomplished artist network and its involvement in the commemorative representation of armor and the armored body. The images in the books and the album reference the virtuosic and technologically innovative armors of the Helmschmids and other members of their trade, which were themselves valuable parts of princely collections that had the power to protect and visually transform their wearer. Furthermore, they evoke earlier artworks by Burgkmair the Elder whose innovative style and technical virtuosity was put to use in service of the construction of an imperial identity. The Thun Album's drawings' connection to these artistic

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<sup>246</sup> Williams, "The Relationship between Artist and Armourer in Renaissance Europe," 202-203; Larry Silver, "Shining Armor: Maximilian I as Holy Roman Emperor," 19-20; Silver, "The 'Papier-Kaiser'," 91-92; Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 153; Spira, "Between Court and City," 41-44.

<sup>247</sup> Williams, "The Relationship between Artist and Armourer in Renaissance Europe," 202; Reitzenstein, "Der Augsburger Plattersippe der Helmschmied," 180; Spira, "Originality as Repetition/Repetition as Originality," 21-24.

<sup>248</sup> Spira, "Originality as Repetition/Repetition as Originality," 18-24, 207; Williams, "The Relationship between Artist and Armourer in Renaissance Europe," 200-204

networks may have played a significant role in the album's reception. The representational strategies adopted from the tradition of tournament books that Burgkmair inaugurated with the *Genealogy of Maximilian I*, and shared with *Freydal*, expanded the meanings communicated through the drawings themselves to place them in dialog with a spectrum of depicted armored bodies.

The book painters who worked in Augsburg during the middle of the sixteenth century shared a common repertoire of models derived from the rich visualizations of tournament combats and armors constructed by their predecessors. Those who worked in the city during the middle third of the century enriched these inherited pictorial models with innovative artistic techniques for depicting the shining steel surfaces that encased tournament participants and glinted at the tips of their weapons. The drawings by both Artists A and B that fill the Thun album incorporate translucent veils of suspended metallic pigment to evoke the glimmering qualities of armor. Similar metallic washes highlight images of armored bodies in at least fifteen other codices, all of which are either firmly attributable or associated with the workshop of Jörg Breu the Younger, and eight of which explicitly celebrate the forms of tournament combat that the Thun album's images invoke.<sup>249</sup> Seven of these volumes, including two versions of *De Arte Athletica* and an unfinished version of a tournament book celebrating specific events held at the courts of Emperors Friedrich III and

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<sup>249</sup> These codices include two versions of Mair's *De Arte Athletica* (BSB Cod. icon 393.1-2 and ÖNB Cod. 10825-10826), the Illuminated Inventory of Charles V (Madrid, RA N.18 volumes A and B), A draft (in Augsburg) and a more complete version of a largely atextual tournament known in the Bayerisches Staatsbibliothek known as *Turnierbuch und Ritterspiele von Friedrich III und Maximilian I* (AUB Cod. I.6.4.1 and BSB, Cod. icon 398), the tournament book made in 1540 after Burgkmair the Younger's version for Wilhelm of Bavaria (BSB Cod. icon. 403), the *Geschlechterbuch der Stadt Augsburg* (BSB. Cod. 312b), the *Ehrenspiegel des Hauses Österreich* (BSB Cgm 895-896), *Der Ehrenbuch der Fugger* (BSB 9460), an enigmatic tournament book known simply as *Turnierbuch Maximilians* (ÖNB Cod. 10831), and a *Ring-und Fechtbuch* (AUB Cod. I.6.2.4).

Maximilian I, were definitively produced for Mair, whose commissions and collections offer tantalizing parallels to the Thun album that help to contextualize the bound collection.<sup>250</sup>

The paper in the Thun album shares recurring watermarks with two of the codices that copy Hans Burkgmair the Younger's tournament book.<sup>251</sup> Watermarks on paper included in both the Thun album and the other codex that shares its provenance also appear in at least five other volumes that retrospectively envision the tournament culture of Maximilian's reign.<sup>252</sup> Furthermore, the sections on armored combat in Mair's manuscript in Vienna contain drawings whose style and iconographic content parallel drawings by Artist A so closely that they suggest that the anonymous draftsman whose work the Thun album collects may have worked alongside other members of the Breu circle who contributed to Mair's *De Arte Athletica* (see figs. 34-35).

Other tournament books and martial compendia that originated in the Breu workshop or in Mair's collection, prior to passing through the hands of the Fugger family and later collectors, were bound in idiosyncratic ways that resemble the construction of the Thun album. For instance, illustrations for both the Munich and Vienna versions of *De Arte Athletica* that are painted on full bifolios are glued onto the short tips of leaves that are contiguous with the folios that make up the quire into which they are inserted (see fig. 103). This practice replicates the mode by which bifolio openings such as the drawings in figures 5 and 6 were incorporated into the Thun album. While the Thun album was likely compiled into its current form in Augsburg during the first decades of the seventeenth-century, these earlier bound collections suggest that the practices that informed its structure had foundations that went back to book making practices already in use in the mid-

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<sup>250</sup> BSB Cod. icon 393.1-.2 and ÖNB Cod. 10825-10826; AUB Cod. I.6.4.1; BSB. Cod. 312b; AUB Cod. I.6.2.4.

<sup>251</sup> BSB, Cod. icon. 403; MSB, WAF B.4.116.

<sup>252</sup> AUB Cod. I.6.2.4; BSB, Cod. icon. 403, Cod. icon. 398, Cgm 3712; MSB WAF B.4.116.

sixteenth century. The album's representations of tournament armors reveal the same temporal layers—from the elaborate tournament culture of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Habsburg court, through the commemorative reconstructions of the mid-1500s, and, finally to the cultures of remembrance that persisted into the 1600s—that its collection juxtaposes and merges.

### **Commemorating Knightly Sport amid Early Modern Shifts**

In the Thun album, drawings of bodies armored for the tournament functioned within both real and imaginary realms of chivalric self-construction. In this they were like the tournament itself—a liminal site that existed both in the real world of shifting social status and military technology and in the imaginary realms of chivalric literature and commemorative tournament books. It was both timeless in its fluid intermingling of glorious past and present and time-bound in its relationship to contemporary constructions of power and commemorations of an imagined heroic past.<sup>253</sup>

Through their incorporation and emulation of the representational languages of tournament books, Artist A's images of armor for knightly sport participated in the memorial culture that surrounded the tournament. Rather than simply appropriating imagery and artistic styles from *Freydal*, the *Triumphal Procession*, the *Genealogy of Maximilian I*, or one of the many tournament books celebrating the knightly exploits of Maximilian I and his circle, the Thun album's drawings integrate these commemorative and partially fictionalized images of armored bodies with closely observed representations of armor in pieces that foreground the objects' materiality. Thus, taken together, the drawings resituate images of tournament combatants within the physical context of armor's creation, use, and documentation. Significantly, such a juxtaposition forces modern viewers to consider

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<sup>253</sup> Silver, "Shining Armor: Emperor Maximilian, Chivalry, and War," 62.

literary and artistic realms of meaning and memory in proximity to the tangible realm of military technology and the real bodies of armored combatants.

The images that comprise the Thun album intersect with representational traditions that shaped the way that the armored body was imagined within the context of the tournament. The watermarks on many of the pages of the Thun album and stylistic similarities to works from the Breu workshop, date the drawings by Artist A to the 1540s.<sup>254</sup> Thus, Artist A's drawings visualize armors for field and tournament that span over five decades, and do so retrospectively. This aspect of the album connects it to a culture of remembrance that also pervaded its antecedents, contemporaneous representations of the tournament by Augsburg book painters, and images of the tournament that would continue to be replicated in manuscripts throughout the mid- and late-sixteenth century. Jan-Dirk Müller and Christelrose Rischer have explored the retrospective nature of the Ritterrenaissance that swept the Holy Roman Empire during Maximilian's lifetime.<sup>255</sup> However, with the exception of Christopher Wood, few English-language scholars have examined this phenomenon.<sup>256</sup>

The culture of remembrances that informed commemorative tournament books was exemplified by Maximilian's cultivation of a legendary mythos for posterity through projects like *The Triumphal Procession* and *Freydal* and remained vital long after the emperor's death in January 1519. Burgkmair the Younger's tournament book of Wilhelm IV, Jörg Breu the Younger's jousting images in *De arte athletica*, and the anonymous tournament book of 1540 all contain incipits or tituli that declare their remembrance of the emperor—their celebration of his “much-beloved memory”

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<sup>254</sup> Terjanian, “The rediscovery of the *Thun sketchbooks* (Part I),” 388-389.

<sup>255</sup> Müller, *Gedechtnus*; Rischer, *Literarische Rezeption und kulturelles Selbstverständnis in der deutschen Literatur der Ritterrenaissance des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Graf, “Fürstliche Erinnerungskultur.”

<sup>256</sup> See Wood, “Maximilian I as Archeologist,” 1140, 1151; Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction*, 279-308.



(hochloblichster gedächtnis) (see figs. 104-105). These inscriptions, which seem to share a common source, state that the artworks that follow are dedicated to Maximilian's celebrated memory and to the commemoration of the knightly sports that flourished during his reign.<sup>257</sup>

Scholars such as Ortwin Gamber, who worked from inadequate black and white photographs during the long absence of the Thun manuscripts, suggested that the drawings now attributed to Artist A were created by the armorers, Lorenz and Kolman Helmschmid, as preparatory or documentary sketches.<sup>258</sup> However, first-hand examination of the codex clarifies that the tournament armors that artist A depicted were drawn years—and often decades—after their creation and deployment in the tournament lists, in procession, or on the battlefield.<sup>259</sup> This retrospective visualization of armors produced by Augsburg armorers for Maximilian I and other members of the Empire's elite parallels the reconstruction of the chivalric exploits of the past in commemorative tournament books, and projects focused on imperial memory, such as the *Triumphal Procession* and *Freydal*. Each of these examples of memorial culture participated in the reinforcement and expansion of the heroic imaginary.

Aleida Assman and others have traced the socio-cultural function of remembrance as a means of reasserting collective identity.<sup>260</sup> The period that encompassed Maximilian I's ascent to power and reign and its attendant renaissance of chivalric ideals had also witnessed monumental shifts in the cultural, socio-political, and experiential world of Western Europe. These changes were precipitated by the proliferation of the printed word and image, the expansion of the known world

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<sup>257</sup> BSB, Cod. Icon. 403, fol 1v; BSB, Cod. Icon. 393a, 95v.

<sup>258</sup> Gamber, "Der Turnierharnisch zu Zeit König Maximilians I und das Thunsche Skizzenbuch," 36-38; Gamber, "Kolman Helmschmid, Ferdinand I und das Thun'sche Skizzenbuch," 21-25.

<sup>259</sup> Terjanian's initial codicological study of the manuscripts revealed the true date of the drawings, based on the watermarks present on many pages, and my subsequent stylistic examination corroborates his conclusions. Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the *Thun sketchbooks* (Part I)," 306-308.

<sup>260</sup> Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization: Functions, Media, Archives*, 40, 139.

through the voyages of discovery, and the first rumblings of the Protestant Reformation. Following Maximilian's death in 1519, the reign of his grandson, Charles V, saw the violent and irrevocable fragmentation of the once-universal Church even as the Holy Roman Imperial crown temporarily drifted from its historical foundations of power in Central Europe. During the 1540s and 1550s, when Artists A and B represented tournament armors associated with the Habsburg court, and during the first decades of the seventeenth century, when their drawings were compiled into the Thun album, cultures of remembrance blossomed in the fertile soil of this gradual yet tectonic change.

Charles V, a French speaking King of Spain who had been raised in the former Burgundian Netherlands, reinforced and replicated the heroic identity that his grandfather had constructed for posterity in order to buttress his own legitimacy as German king.<sup>261</sup> As the armors of Charles V depicted in the Thun album demonstrate, he not only nurtured the elevation of his predecessor as an model of knightly valor and martial skill, but also borrowed Maximilian's strategies for transforming himself into an armored ideal.<sup>262</sup> Artist A's representations of armor and armored bodies in Augsburg during the reign of Charles V participated in a multivalent culture of remembrance that extended from the artistic community of Augsburg through the knightly elite of the German-speaking lands, and into the heart of the itinerant imperial court.

Retrospective celebrations of the tournament culture of the Habsburg court under Maximilian I continued to multiply during the last half of the sixteenth century in imperial cities like

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<sup>261</sup> Wim Blockmans, *Emperor Charles V: 1500-1558* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 14-19, 30-32.

<sup>262</sup> Carolyn Springer, *Armour and masculinity in the Italian Renaissance*, 105-109; Benecke, *Maximilian I (1459-1519): an analytical biography*, 7-9; Blockmans, *Emperor Charles V*, 15-17.

Augsburg.<sup>263</sup> Numerous tournament books reproduced the iconography of the joust that the younger Burgkmair and Breu deployed. These include two manuscripts illustrated by the Augsburg book painter, Jeremias Schemel, during the 1570s.<sup>264</sup> Schemel's works reproduce illustrations from earlier Augsburg tournament books, such as the pair of riders who signify the Geshiftsrennen in the compendium of horsemanship and knightly sport now in Wolfenbüttel (compare figs. 101 and 106). In a pattern that recalls many of the images of disembodied objects that populate the Thun album, the versos of Schemel's images of tournament participants depict the empty armor and equipment for each event (fig. 107).

The patterns of visualizing the material culture of knightly sport that Schemel adopted also appear in a hitherto unpublished codex (Vienna, ÖNB Han. 10831) that, like the books that the Breu school produced, celebrates Emperor Maximilian I alongside visualizations of bodies armored for the tournament. The watermarks on this manuscript's leaves suggest that it was created during the first quarter of the seventeenth century, around the same time that the Thun drawings were bound into the album.<sup>265</sup> Its images of figures armed for battle and tournament (fig. 108), riderless horses wearing elaborate caparisons (fig. 109), and images of disassembled armors (fig. 110)—all highlighted by metallic washes—recall the style and iconography Thun album as well as Schemel's riding and tournament books. Like the album, this manuscript opens with an image of Maximilian I (fig. 111); in this case, the Emperor wears a bejeweled armor that closely resembles representations

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<sup>263</sup> Nickel and Breiding, "A Book of Tournaments and Parades from Nuremberg," 125. A Nuremberg Tournament book that, like the Thun album, was compiled in the early-seventeenth century, attests to the existence of this phenomenon both within and beyond Augsburg. New York, MMA, 22.229.

<sup>264</sup> KHM KK 5247; HAB Cod. Cod. Guelf. 1. 6. 3. Aug.

<sup>265</sup> ÖNB Han. 10831 contains two watermarks of leaping stags inscribed with the letters "BM" and "CH" that correspond to Piccard types 82893 and 83194, respectively. According to the Piccard database published by the Hauptstadtsarchiv Stuttgart, these marks were in use in southern Germany between circa 1604 and 1622. <https://www.piccard-online.de/struktur.php>

and descriptions of a now-lost armor that Kolman Helmschmid forged for the emperor from solid silver beginning in 1516.<sup>266</sup> This comparative example, like the works by Schemel, the 1540 tournament book after Burgkmair the Younger, and the works that Jörg Breu's workshop produced for Paulus Hector Mair, sheds light on the commemorative meanings that early modern viewers may have associated with the Thun album's drawings. This range of interrelated works establish that the album's images of recognizable armors fit within visual cultures of remembrance that spanned the mid- and late-sixteenth century and persisted into the 1600s.

By the time that the Thun album's ultimate compiler organized and bound the drawings into their current structure, the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century golden age of martial sport had passed. To viewers in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, the bellicose contests that the collection's forty-one images of tournament armor or combatants invoke would have embodied a glittering yet fast-receding past. By the 1580s, jousts at court festivities increasingly aimed their lances at the ring or the quintain, rather than at a living opponent.<sup>267</sup> As time passed, elaborately staged pageants with decorated sleighs and equestrian events such as the carousel supplanted tournaments as the preferred modes of spectacle in both the courts and the imperial free cities.<sup>268</sup>

However, tournament books persisted as vehicles for not only commemoration, but of communication of princely splendor and inspiration for new courtly pageantries, as they entered libraries or circulated among the courts of the Holy Roman Empire and their allies throughout Europe. For instance, inventories of the Electoral libraries of Saxony compiled between 1574 and

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<sup>266</sup> Maryan Ainsworth, Sandra Hindriks, and Pierre Terjanian, "Lucas Cranach's *Saint Maurice*," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 72, no. 4 (2015), 26-29

<sup>267</sup> Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Court Culture in Dresden: From Renaissance to Baroque*, 49. The death of King Henry II of France in 1559, which resulted from a lance fragment piercing his eye, hastened this trend toward less-bellicose tournament events.

<sup>268</sup> Nickel and Breiding, "A Book of Tournaments and Parades from Nuremberg," 125, 160; Krause, "They call it noble for good reason," 50

1640 document at least twelve tournament and festival books, as well as Georg Růxner's seminal treatise on the history and organization of the tournament.<sup>269</sup> Indeed, the unpublished tournament book (see figures 110-113) described above belonged to Emperor Ferdinand III (1608-1657). These examples attest to the persistence of the fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century tournament as an object of interest for courtly viewers throughout the early modern period. They provide a context for the Thun album's retrospective drawings, as well as its thematic compilation by an unknown collector during the early seventeenth-century. The Thun album participated in a rich tradition celebrating the knightly contests of the Habsburg court and preserving Maximilian I's memory for a new century.

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<sup>269</sup> Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Court Culture in Dresden: From Renaissance to Baroque*, 54. The Habsburg palace of Schloss Ambras in Innsbruck also housed at least six tournament books at the turn of the seventeenth century.

## Chapter 4: Persistent Spectacles and Recollections of Triumph

A drawing (fig. 112) on folio 29r of the Thun album depicts Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy, and future Holy Roman Emperor, clad in resplendent late gothic armor and riding a horse that is also fully encased in overlapping steel plates that extend from its head to its hooves. This image was drawn by Artist A during the 1540s, but it retrospectively imagines Maximilian's appearance and that of his armored steed as they processed through the cities of Luxembourg and Namur in September 1480. The drawing synthesizes and expands earlier images painted by the Burgundian artist, Pierre Coustain (active 1448-1487), copied by artists in the service of the Hapsburg imperial court. One of these depicts the imperial master of horse, Albrecht May, riding Maximilian's armored horse through Namur (fig. 113) and the other visualizes Maximilian riding through Luxembourg (fig. 114). Ortwin Gamber and Fedja Anzelewsky firmly established the relationship between the drawing on Thun album folio 29r and the innovative horse armors produced by Lorenz Helmschmid around 1480.<sup>270</sup> My contribution exposes the role of these and other spectacular armors in constructing Maximilian's public persona as the new duke, and in situating him within the visual lineage of the Burgundian court.

Coustain and Artist A each represented historical moments that witnessed and promoted Maximilian's self-construction in the image of virtuous, knightly masculinity. These works of art, created over five decades apart, refer to the beginning of an expansive program of visual and textual patronage that defined the Habsburg prince's mythic persona and attest to the persistence of this mythos through the sixteenth century. Like the pseudo-biographical, illustrated literary works, *Der*

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<sup>270</sup> Gamber, "Der Turnierharnisch zu Zeit König Maximilians I und das Thunsche Skizzenbuch," 34; Anzelewsky, "Erzherzog Maximilians Schwerer Roßharnisch von 1480," *Waffen- und Kostümkunde: Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Historische Waffen- und Kostümkunde* 3, no. 5 (1963), 77-88.

*Weißkunig* and *Theuerdank*, Artist A's likely source mythologized Maximilian's Burgundian exploits and his drawing offers viewers opportunities to retrospectively celebrate the late emperor's idealized knightly identity. By visualizing processions through Netherlandish cities in fall 1480, Coustain's paintings encouraged recollection of the young archduke's assumption of the performative chivalric legacy of his predecessors, the Valois Dukes of Burgundy. Artist A's synthesis of these models had the potential to invoke consideration of the events or, at least, the powerful ideals that they conveyed. Tracing the representation of these events and its transmission across miles and decades reveals how the military, political, and economic turmoil that Maximilian and his first wife, Mary of Burgundy, faced as sovereigns of the Burgundian Netherlands were transformed through retrospective art and literature into the chivalric myth of the so-called "Burgundian Experience."<sup>271</sup>

The drawing and its painted predecessors memorialize demonstrations of the new duke's power that took place at a particular time and place about which scholarship on the Burgundian-Habsburg court and its visual language is nearly silent.<sup>272</sup> Brown describes Mary of Burgundy's short, tumultuous reign, which began in 1477, and the decade of strife following her death in 1482 as "damaging years for all kinds of spectacle."<sup>273</sup> However, consideration of Artist A's drawing, its

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<sup>271</sup> In German, *Die Burgundische Erlebnis*. Manfred Hollegger, *Maximilian I. (1459-1519): Herrscher und Mensch einer Zeitenwende* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2005), 41. Hermann Weisflecker, *Maximilian I.: Die Fundamente des habsburgischen Weltreiches* (Wien: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1991), 61-65.

<sup>272</sup> Although biographies of the Emperor briefly address the period between Maximilian's arrival in the Low Countries in 1477 and Mary's death in 1482, few studies focus on the Burgundian court during these years. Even chroniclers such as Olivier de la Marche are terse in their descriptions of the period. For some important exceptions, see Anne M. Roberts, "The Horse and the Hawk: Representations of Mary of Burgundy as Sovereign" in *Excavating the Medieval Image: Manuscripts, Artists, Audiences: Essays in Honor of Sandra Hindman*, ed. David S. Areford and Nina A. Rowe (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 136-140; Jelle Haemers, *For the Common Good: State Power and Urban Revolts in the Reign of Mary of Burgundy (1477-1482)*, ed. Marc Boone, *Studies in European Urban History (1100-1800)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 1-10, 263-269; Hollegger, *Maximilian I.*, 29-48.

<sup>273</sup> Andrew Brown, "Bruges and the Burgundian 'Theatre-state': Charles the Bold and Our Lady of the Snow," *History* 84, no. 276 (1999), 588; Haemers, *For the Common Good*, 266.

visual antecedents, and the events and objects that they picture reveals the persistence of princely spectacle and its significance in this politically-precarious time. Investigation of the patterns of transmission and adaptation that carried images of the armored prince and horse through the sixteenth and into the early seventeenth century reveals the persistent commemorative potential of such images and the associations that they invited.

Analyses of three discrete contexts of creation and reception offer insight into the significance of the retrospective depictions of armored bodies by Coustain and Artist A. The images first emerged in the Burgundian Netherlands of the early 1480s. They were retooled in the South-German city of Augsburg during the 1540s by Artist A. Subsequently, his drawing was re-contextualized as part of the diverse collection of drawings that were assembled in the Thun album in Augsburg at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Indeed, Artist A's retrospective vision of Maximilian splendidly armored in a moment of triumph offers an important case study that reveals memorialization of the Burgundian-Habsburg legacy, and of Maximilian's heroic persona in particular, to be one of the themes that unify the contents of the Thun album.

### **The Netherlandish Entries of 1480 and their Depictions**

On St. Michael's Day (September 29), 1480, Archduke Maximilian of Austria rode into the city of Luxembourg clad in shining plate armor. A young man of twenty-one, Maximilian gripped his horse's reigns with hands encased in flexible fingered gauntlets that were the apex of the armorer's art. His fur hat was shaped like the sallet helms popular at the time, and it was crowned with an exuberant burst of white ostrich plumes. His legs were accentuated by the linear forms of his steel cuisses, and his feet were elongated by pointed sabatons, whose fantastically long toe-caps were likely attached after he had mounted his horse. Many of the plates that covered his body were edged with gilt brass bindings, punched and chased to form rows of delicate fleur-de-lys. Other elements



of his armor, including the lames, or overlapping sections, of his backplate, breastplate, and cuisses, terminated in filigreed punch work whose scrolling foliate forms seemed to dissolve the hard surfaces of steel into lace. Like its rider, his horse wore finely articulated and adorned late gothic armor that encased its entire head, neck and upper body down to its tail, which sprouted from the sculpted jaws of a steel dragon.

Although the bard (or horse armor) that covered Maximilian's mount when he entered the city was impressive, other pieces of equine armor the young archduke had recently commissioned from Lorenz Helmschmid of Augsburg, the foremost among the armorers employed by the Habsburg court, surpassed it in technical innovation and visual impact. Just over two weeks before Maximilian arrived in Luxembourg, his Master of Arms, Albrecht May, entered the city of Namur. May rode into the city on a horse whose body was sheathed in flexible plate armor from head to hooves; through the armorer's art, the steed was transformed into a fantastically scaled hybrid beast. The peytral, a plate that covered the horse's chest, was embossed and etched with two screaming griffins that flanked the insignia of the Order of the Golden Fleece: the Cross of St. Andrew and sparking fire steels. On the cruppers that encased the horse's rump and flanks, the sculpted and etched figure of a young woman, clad in the high-waisted gown and pointed *hennin* headdress popular at the Burgundian court, held a shield with the combined arms of Habsburg and Burgundy. Perhaps this image represented Mary of Burgundy, who Maximilian had wed and on whose behalf he fought to maintain Burgundian ducal power in the Netherlands and dispel French incursions into their territories. The horse's tail, sprouting from the open jaws of the dragon that formed its tail

plate, formally echoed other equine armors that Helmschmid had crafted for Maximilian and his father, Friedrich III (1415-1493).<sup>274</sup>

The formidable spectacle of Maximilian's Netherlandish triumphs was envisioned over fifty years later by Artist A (see fig. 112) on paper that can be dated to the 1540s.<sup>275</sup> Artist A drew Maximilian's and his steed's armored bodies with confident strokes of black ink and modeled their volumes in transparent gouache, highlighted with metallic silver wash. This exceptional image is one of only five among the group of sixty-one drawings by Artist A contained in the Thun album that refer to explicitly identifiable pictorial sources. The drawing combines aspects of two paintings created by Pierre Coustain, court painter to Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (1433-1477), Mary of Burgundy, and, finally, to Maximilian and his son, Philip the Fair (1478-1506).<sup>276</sup> By merging the discrete moments depicted in Coustain's two panels, Artist A combined the performative impact of Maximilian's armored body with that of his exceptionally armored steed.

Sometime between 1480 and the painter's death around 1487, Coustain crafted a pair of panels that depicted Maximilian entering Luxembourg and his Master of Arms riding the emperor's

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<sup>274</sup> Dirk Breiding, "Horse Armor in Medieval and Renaissance Europe: An Overview," in *The Armored Horse in Europe, 1480-1620*, ed. Stuart W. Pyhrr (New York and New Haven: The Metropolitan Museum of Art and Yale University Press, 2005), 13; Anzelewsky, "Erzherzog Maximilians Schwerer Roßharnisch," 82-84. Anzelewsky even suggested that the dragon-shaped tail-piece was borrowed from an earlier garniture made for Friedrich III in 1477, and that this plate is now among the pieces of that garniture preserved in the Kunsthistorisches Museum (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum HJRK A. 69).

<sup>275</sup> Pierre Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the *Thun sketchbooks* (Part I)," 304, 388; Briquet, *Les filigranes*, vol. 3, 471. Although folio 29r has no watermark, thirty-five of the other leaves that contain drawings by Artist A are watermarked with gothic P crowned by a shield with a cross beneath a quatrefoil (Briquet 8771), found on papers made in Landsberg am Lech and used in Southern Germany and Austria from 1532 through 1560. The heaviest periods of use in Augsburg were 1538 to 1548.

<sup>276</sup> From 1481 until his death, Coustain was also the custodian of the ducal palace at Bruges. Van Buren, "Coustain, Pierre," in *Grove Art Online Oxford Art Online* (Oxford University Press, 2015).

horse into Namur.<sup>277</sup> During the last years of the fifteenth century or the first decade of the sixteenth century, Coustain's now lost original paintings were copied and the copies brought into the Habsburg collections (see figs. 113-114).<sup>278</sup> The surviving paintings' dark backgrounds, meticulous attention to luxurious stuffs such as metal and fabric, and incorporation of tituli echo the palette and structure of Coustain's armorial paintings for the Order of the Golden Fleece. For instance, these characteristics appear in Coustain's armorial panel representing King Edward IV of England (1442-1483) for the order's chapter meeting in s'Hertogenbosch in 1481 (fig. 115).<sup>279</sup> The heraldic tournament helm, crested with a crowned lion and etched with the Cross of St. Andrew and fire steels, as well as the illusionistic collar of the order exemplify the painter's deft deployment of objects as signifiers of knightly identity.

Artist A, whose drawings reveal privileged knowledge of several artworks produced for the Habsburg court, may have gained access to the copies after Coustain now in Vienna, sketches after them, or additional, unknown painted copies. He combined these two models into a visualization of Maximilian, fully armored, riding the armored horse shown in Coustain's image of Albrecht May. In this drawing, Artist A reconstructs the Habsburg prince's appearance in its most awe-inspiring iteration, with both rider and steed fully encased in steel. The Thun drawing and its painted

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<sup>277</sup>Marissa Bass, "Shield of Edward IV (1442-83), King of England, in his Capacity as Knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece, c. 1481, attributed to Pierre Coustain," in *Early Netherlandish Paintings in the Rijksmuseum*, J.P. Filedt Kok, ed., online collection catalog (Amsterdam 2009): [hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.10529](https://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.10529) (accessed 16 March 2016).", ed. Jan Piet Filedt Kok, *Early Netherlandish Paintings in the Rijksmuseum, online collection catalog* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2009), <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/SK-A-4641/catalogue-entry>. Although the year of Coustain's death is disputed, his name is recorded along with the epithet "de princen schildere" (painter of princes) in the memorial book of the Bruges painters' guild under the year 1487.

<sup>278</sup>Karl Schütz, "Maximilian I, Albrecht May, copies after Pierre Coustain" in *Emperor Maximilian I and the Age of Dürer*, ed. Eva Michel (Munich: Prestel, 2012), 328.

<sup>279</sup>Bass, "Shield of Edward IV": [hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.10529](https://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.10529) (accessed 16 March 2016).".

antecedents offer opportunities to explore how the armored body functioned as both a signifier of power and a memorial image, and tease out how such memoria were constructed and transmitted.<sup>280</sup>

Like the literary works of Burgundian writers such as Olivier de la Marche (1425-1502) and Jean Molinet (1435-1507), the images of Maximilian's armored appearance in the 1480 entries offer constructed memories of the prince's glimmering presence.<sup>281</sup> The paintings in Vienna, and possibly the lost panels by Coustain that they copied, included inscriptions that declared the images' authenticity as eyewitness impressions. The panel that portrays Maximilian (see fig. 114) is inscribed in Early New High German, "In this way, his Highness, Prince Maximilian, by God's grace Archduke of Austria, of Burgundy and Brabant graciously rode into the town of Luxembourg on Saint Michael's Day in 1480." (in selicher furm ritt ein der durchleichtict hochgeboren/first maximilian Von Gotes gnaden etc. erzherzocz/og zu esterreich zu burgun(d) zu prafand etc./in die stat liczelburg an sant michels tag im 1480.)<sup>282</sup> Although the companion panel (see fig. 113) depicts an event that took place weeks earlier than Maximilian's entry into Luxembourg, the inscription explicitly references its pendant and sets up a hierarchical relationship between the two images; it states, "Similarly the humble lord Albrecht, master of armor to my gracious lord, Duke Maximilian, rode the horse into the town of Namur on the Wednesday following the day of The Birth of the Virgin in the year 1480." (in selblicher mas berit der beschaiden juncker albrech/ meines gn(ädigen)

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<sup>280</sup> Brown, "Bruges and the Burgundian 'Theatre-state': Charles the Bold and Our Lady of the Snow," 588.

<sup>281</sup> Olivier de La Marche, Henri Beaune, and Jules d Arbaumont, *Mémoires d'Olivier de La Marche, maître d'hôtel et capitaine des gardes de Charles le Téméraire*, 4 vols., Société de l'histoire de France Publications in octavo (Paris: Librairie Renouard, H. Loones, successeur, 1883), 612-15; Jean Molinet, *Chroniques de Jean Molinet*, 3 vols., Académie Royale de Belgique Classes de Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques: Collection des Anciens Auteurs Belges (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1935), 232-235; Catherine Emerson, *Olivier de La Marche and the rhetoric of fifteenth-century historiography* (Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press, 2004), 81-82.

<sup>282</sup> Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. GG 2374.

h(e)r(rn) Hertzog maximilians harnischmaister das/pferrt in der statt nama am mitwoch nach unser/  
lieben frauen tag ir gepurt im 1480 iar.]”<sup>283</sup>

Such chronologically fluid recollection within a larger account of the past was typical of the ways that Burgundian chroniclers, especially Olivier de la Marche, oscillated between time periods. Like Coustain’s paintings, La Marche’s *Mémoires* often present events that the author considered particularly significant before those that preceded them chronologically. La Marche’s accounts of Maximilian’s first years in the Low Countries, written primarily from the retrospective vantage point of the 1490s, are sometimes further annotated with commentary on tangentially related events that occurred much later in the 1480s. His accounts of the Habsburg prince’s past glories and struggles were colored by the intervening years and shaped by the author’s re-conception of the *Mémoires* in 1488 as a didactic work to familiarize Philip the Fair with his family history and political inheritance.<sup>284</sup> Although the *Mémoires* frequently appropriated material from official chronicles and other earlier sources, they also derived authority from La Marche’s personal involvement in the events he describes. Like La Marche’s tone in the *Mémoires*, the inscription that identifies Albrecht May in the panel painting that now resides in the Kunsthistorisches Museum contains a touch of the personal in its description of Maximilian as “my gracious lord.” This image, like La Marche’s retrospective accounts, seamlessly melds inherited representations with claims to eyewitness knowledge and personal affiliation with the exalted subject.

Created during the 1540s, the drawing by Artist A visualizes events that took place nearly six decades prior to its creation. As Chapter 3 demonstrates, an elaborate chivalric mythos emerged to

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<sup>283</sup> Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. GG 2375. See also Schütz, 328. In his catalog entry for the two panels in Vienna, Karl Schütz provides transcriptions of each of the German inscriptions. I have adjusted the translations from Early New High German to English.

<sup>284</sup> Emerson, *Olivier de La Marche*, 12-14.

surround Maximilian I between the 1480s and the mid-sixteenth century. This idealization of the Habsburg monarch, manifested in images and texts that celebrated his knightly virtue, martial skill, and beneficent knowledge, was founded upon the precedents set by his Valois Burgundian predecessors. The Low Countries, which were fabled throughout the fifteenth century as a wealthy realm where prosperous cities hosted a glittering itinerate court led by dukes whose refined tastes supported an efflorescence of art, literature, and courtly spectacle, became the stage for Maximilian's own youthful exploits.<sup>285</sup> Maximilian consciously cultivated this Burgundian identity, and appropriated his Valois predecessors' strategies of performing and picturing their power. Indeed, his knightly identity itself was confirmed at the Burgundian court, when he was knighted by Adolf of Cleves (1425-1492) on 30 April 1478 so that he could assume leadership of the Order of the Golden Fleece in an inauguration that immediately followed.<sup>286</sup>

Netherlandish social historians such as Wim Blockmans, Marc Boone, and Jelle Haemers demonstrate that the period that witnessed the death of Charles the Bold, last Valois Duke of Burgundy, and the accession of his daughter and her Habsburg consort was a time of political strife, nearly constant war, and famine.<sup>287</sup> However, despite the military, political, and economic struggles

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<sup>285</sup> For discussions of the Burgundian court as a center of taste and luxury, see Marina Belozerskaya, *Rethinking the Renaissance: Burgundian Arts across Europe* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 5, and Wim Blockmans and Walter Prevenier, *The Promised Lands: The Low Countries under Burgundian Rule, 1369-1530*, trans. Elizabeth Fackelmann (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), xi, 141-142.

<sup>286</sup> La Marche, Beaune, and Arbaumont, *Mémoires*; Sonja Dünnebeil, "The Order of the Golden Fleece in the Year 1478--Continuity or Recommencement," in *Staging the Court of Burgundy: Proceedings of the Conference, "The Splendor of Bugundy"*, ed. Willem Pieter Blockmans, et al. (London/Turnhout: Harvey Miller/Brepols, 2013) 60; Molinet, *Chroniques de Jean Molinet*, 249-255. This celebration of the *Burgundische Erlebnis* persisted not only during Maximilian's own lifetime, but echoes throughout many nineteenth- and twentieth-century biographies. For an analysis of the importance of the Burgundian inheritance, see Dagmar Eichberger, "Habsburg und das kulturelle Erbe Burgunds," in *Jan van Eyck und seine Zeit. Flämische Meister und der Süden 1430-1530*, edited by Til-Holger Borchert and Manfred Sellink (Stuttgart: Belser, 2002), 184-197.

<sup>287</sup> Wim Blockmans and Walter Prevenier, *The Promised Lands*, 196-199; Marc Boone, "Destroying and Reconstructing the City: The Inculcation and Arrogation of Princely Power in the Burgundian-

of the Burgundian wars of succession, the years from 1477 through 1482 were later constructed as a golden age of Maximilian's youth in a sixteenth-century program of pseudo-biographical illustrated literature that included *Der Weisskunig*, *Theuerdank*, and *Freydal*.<sup>288</sup> The image in the Thun album represents three distinct temporal layers of construction and recollection of Maximilian's myth: a moment in 1480 when Maximilian I's knightly persona was taking shape, the retrospective commemoration of that moment by Artist A decades later, during the reign of Maximilian's successor, Charles V (r. 1519-1556), and, the incorporation of Artist A's image into the bound collection in the first quarter of the seventeenth-century where it joined many other images related to Maximilian I and his and Charles's knightly identities.<sup>289</sup>

### **The Historical Context of the Luxembourg and Namur Entries**

Although Burgundian chroniclers like Olivier de la Marche and Jean Molinet hailed Maximilian as a savior of the duchy, and he was elevated to the leadership of one of Europe's most prestigious knightly orders less than a year after his arrival in the Low Countries, the absence of thirteen of the eighteen knights of the Golden Fleece at his inauguration exposed the ambivalence and even animosity of his new subjects.<sup>290</sup> Similarly, both the painted and drawn images of Maximilian and his retinue riding triumphantly into Namur and Luxembourg disguise the grim reality faced by the prince, his bride, and the Burgundian state in 1480. Indeed, the processions and

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Habsburg Netherlands (1400-1600)," in *The Propagation of Power in the Medieval West: Selected Proceedings of the International Conference, Groningen 20-23 November 1996*, ed. Martin Gosman, Arjo Vanderjagt, and Jan Veenstra, *Mediaevalia Groningana* (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1997), 3-9; Haemers, *For the Common Good*, 100-102.

<sup>288</sup> Jan-Dirk Müller, *Gedechtnus*, 80. *Theuerdank* and *Freydal* are discussed in more depth in Chapter 3. For an overview of these works, see Gerhild Williams, "The Arthurian Model in Emperor Maximilian's Autobiographic Writings *Weisskunig* and *Theuerdank*."

<sup>289</sup> For an overview of this culture of remembrance, see Müller, *Gedechtnus* 11-22 or Klaus Graf, "Fürstliche Erinnerungskultur."

<sup>290</sup> Dünnebeil, "The Order of the Golden Fleece in the Year 1478," 63-64.

splendid armors that these works visualize were themselves visual propaganda meant to reinforce the construction of the new Duke of Burgundy as an impermeable hero, surrounded by wealth and favored by fortune. However, historians, including Blockmans and Haemers, have revealed the chaos through which Maximilian rode.<sup>291</sup>

Following the death of Charles the Bold at the hands of the combined forces of France, Lorraine, and the Swiss Cantons on the battlefield at Nancy in January 1477, the urban centers of the Burgundian Netherlands saw an opportunity to reclaim the autonomy that decades of increasingly centralized ducal power had wrenched from them.<sup>292</sup> The new sovereign, Duchess Mary of Burgundy, was taken captive in Ghent, and members of her inner circle were executed as enemies of the state as she watched from the windows of the city hall.<sup>293</sup> Under duress, she signed the Great Privilege, which reestablished the political and commercial liberties that her father and grandfather, Philip the Good, had wrested from the powerful cities of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, known collectively as the Members of Flanders. Other cities, represented in the parliamentary body of the Estates General, followed suit in reclaiming their historic levels of relative autonomy, and making it clear that their vision of the sovereign was a protector of civil order and prosperity, rather than a usurper of the region's wealth and the civic autonomy that had contributed to its growth.<sup>294</sup>

As Netherlandish cities redistributed the balance of power, the duchess's sovereignty was threatened from the south by Louis XI of France, who used the traditional prohibition of female inheritance under Salic Law to claim the Duchy of Burgundy and its possessions for himself. By annexing the ancestral French duchy and invading Picardy, the Counties of Vermandois, Artois,

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<sup>291</sup> Blockmans and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands* 196-199, 203-205; Haemers, *For the Common Good*, 265-266.

<sup>292</sup> Blockmans and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands*, 196-197; Haemers, *For the Common Good*, 11.

<sup>293</sup> La Marche, *Mémoires*, 611-612.

<sup>294</sup> Haemers, *For the Common Good*, 100.



Hainault, and Namur, and the Duchy of Luxembourg, Louis sought to reclaim territories that—he argued—had only been held in appanage by his Burgundian cousins.<sup>295</sup> After Mary of Burgundy's marriage to Maximilian in August 1477, French aggressions also served Louis's wish to quell the advancing power of the Holy Roman Empire. French commanders took advantage of the rebellions that bubbled up in Flemish, Brabantine, and Dutch cities. When, in spring 1480, Maximilian rode north to respond to uprisings in Guelders, Zeeland, and Holland, strategically placed French troops were deployed to take Namur and Luxembourg. Though the former withstood a long siege, the latter had been embroiled in its own factional conflict over whether to recognize Mary's sovereignty.<sup>296</sup>

In addition to the political and military threats from both within and outside their territories, Maximilian and Mary were weakened by financial need during their short joint reign. Archduke Maximilian had set out from Austria with seventy of his own loyal courtiers and a small escort of knights and men at arms, begrudgingly provided by his father, Emperor Friedrich III, who was himself embroiled in a war with the King of Hungary. During his long journey from Austria to Ghent to meet his bride, Maximilian had run out of money to support his expanding train of knights, German princes, bishops, and courtiers, and his progress halted in Cologne. Only a loan from England, brokered by Margaret of York, Dowager Duchess of Burgundy and widow of Charles the Bold, set his retinue in motion once again.<sup>297</sup> With 100,000 gulden provided through Margaret's intervention, Maximilian prepared his vanguard of around 1200 men, accompanied by the Archbishops of Mainz and Trier, the Bishop of Metz, and the Princes of Saxony, Cleves, Anhalt,

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<sup>295</sup> Molinet, *Chroniques*, 181-195.

<sup>296</sup> Hermann Weisflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I.: Das Reich, Österreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, 3 vols., vol. 1: Jugend, burgundisches Erbe und Römisches Königtum bis zur Alleinherrschaft (Wien: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1971), 154-155.

<sup>297</sup> Hollegger, *Maximilian I*, 42-43. Marti et al., *Splendour of the Burgundian Court: Charles the Bold (1433-1477)*, 31.

Hessen, and Baden.<sup>298</sup> This train processed through Aachen, Maastricht, Leuven, and Brussels before arriving in Ghent on August 18, 1477. Burgundian chroniclers remarked how Maximilian rode at the head of a shimmering train of imperial vassals, courtiers, and knights clad in partially gilded armor. Molinet declared that he was “the loveliest Prince in the entire world.”<sup>299</sup> Based on his sumptuous self-presentation and his imperial pedigree, the Estates General had hoped in vain that Maximilian would bring funds and imperial troops to support the resistance against France.

Maximilian arrived not only with limited resources to combat French incursions into his new territories, but also with limited understanding of the complex urban and factional politics of the densely populated Low Countries. He did not recognize the necessity of compromise with the leading citizens of the Members of Flanders or with the other representatives of the Estates General, and he vastly underestimated the power of the urban alliances between the bourgeoisie and powerful guilds.<sup>300</sup> He had hoped to finance the war with France through heavy taxation of the prosperous cities, but this strategy both impoverished and alienated his new subjects and, by May 1480, the Estates General had registered formal complaints against Maximilian’s taxes.<sup>301</sup>

In addition to war, rebellions, and financial turmoil, Maximilian’s cultivation of power as Duchess Mary’s consort was met with suspicion or outright rejection by many of his subjects. His dismissal of the Netherlandish burghers, who made up powerful political factions, as common rabble led to miscalculations that plagued his reign as consort and his attempts to maintain power as regent for their son, Philip the Fair, after Mary’s death.<sup>302</sup> Furthermore, Maximilian’s favoritism toward his German-speaking courtiers—men like his friend and future Master of Tournaments,

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<sup>298</sup> Hollegger, *Maximilian I*, 36.

<sup>299</sup> Molinet, *Chroniques*, 228. Marti et al., *Splendour of the Burgundian Court*, 33.

<sup>300</sup> Blockmans and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands*, 198-99.

<sup>301</sup> Haemers, *For the Common Good*, 39.

<sup>302</sup> Blockmans and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands*, 195-203; Haemers, *For the Common Good*, 265-266.

Wolfgang von Polheim, and his Master of Arms, Albrecht May, who rides proudly through the panel painting now in Vienna—alienated the Burgundian aristocratic elite.<sup>303</sup> The archduke’s policies, inspired by those of his imperial father, who was often at odds with the great prince-electors of the Empire, sought to strengthen Habsburg *Hausmacht* (or familial power) by undermining the powerful Burgundian nobles who had directed the state in the power vacuum left by Charles the Bold’s death. These political and economic missteps contributed to what Jelle Haemers has called the “social bankruptcy” of Maximilian’s Netherlandish court.<sup>304</sup> However, the armored processions of 1480 and their representations visualize the duke’s attempts to rebuild his social and symbolic capital. By appropriating the magnificent, knightly identities that defined his Valois predecessors, Maximilian sought to reposition himself at the center of his fragmented Burgundian inheritance.

Despite the challenges that complicated Mary and Maximilian’s reign and the years that followed, the weeks surrounding the spectacles represented by Coustain and Artist A were indeed a time of triumph for the new Duke of Burgundy. He recaptured the city of Namur, which had been besieged by French troops throughout the summer of 1480, and put down the rebellions and French incursions that had destabilized the Duchy of Luxembourg. Nonetheless, discontent remained in Namur, and, shortly after it was retaken, an assassination attempt prompted Maximilian to wear a cuirass or mail shirt on all public occasions for the rest of his life.<sup>305</sup> The two proud cities of Namur and Luxembourg, which had only been Burgundian territories since their acquisitions by Philip the Good in 1421 and 1441, were strategically important.<sup>306</sup> Both municipalities were known for their

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<sup>303</sup> Weisflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I*, vol. 1, 157. Weisflecker recounts how Maximilian’s negotiations with Louis XI during August 1480 included demands for the return of Wolfgang von Polheim, his friend and Master of Tournaments, who had been captured at the Battle of Guinegate in 1479.

<sup>304</sup> Haemers, *For the Common Good*, 127

<sup>305</sup> Weisflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I*, vol. 1, 155-156.

<sup>306</sup> For extended commentary on Duke Philip’s purchase and conquest of the Duchy of Luxembourg, see La Marche, *Mémoires*, 176, 208-235.

strong walls, which had been strengthened during the chaos of the Hundred Years' War, and each city owned an arsenal of large, sophisticated canon and other artillery that would benefit whomever held it.<sup>307</sup> Furthermore, the city of Namur and the Walloon towns in the surrounding county were important centers for the manufacture of armaments and munitions, and had been sites of technological development in ironworking throughout the fifteenth century.<sup>308</sup>

In addition to the strategic significance of Namur and Luxembourg, the recaptured cities were venues for political triumph and accord during late summer and early fall, 1480. Maximilian's diplomatic efforts to forge an alliance with England, again with the help of Margaret of York, came to fruition on August 1, 1480, and, on the twenty-first of that month, Louis XI of France agreed to a cease-fire. Maximilian remained in the region of Namur and Luxembourg throughout the early fall in order to solidify his power there, and while he resided in these territories, the previously rebellious factions of Holland, Zeeland, and Guelders sent emissaries to pay him "solemn homage."<sup>309</sup> The temporal context of the armored processions depicted in the Vienna panel paintings and on folio 29r of the Thun album, during fall 1480, inaugurated a brief period of celebration and peace, prior to the resumption of conflict in 1481, and the chaos that followed Duchess Mary's death in 1482.

### **The Armored Body as a Burgundian Signifier of Power**

The armor that sheathed Maximilian and his horse in 1480 declared the power of the Habsburg archduke in a language that was well understood by the crowds who watched as he and his representatives rode through his newly acquired territories. Its deployment in public spectacles

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<sup>307</sup> Claude Gaier, *L'industrie et le commerce des armes dans les anciennes principautés belges du XIII<sup>e</sup> à la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liège, fasc 202 (Paris: Les Belles lettres, 1973), 105-106. Gaier remarks on rulers' widespread practice of borrowing artillery from cities.

<sup>308</sup> Brian G. Awty, "The Development and Dissemination of the Walloon Method of Ironworking," *Technology and Culture* 48, no. 4 (2007), 784-796.

<sup>309</sup> Hollegger, *Maximilian I*, 48. Weisflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I*, vol. 1, 154-155, 157.

such as triumphal processions suggested the extent of Maximilian's wealth and his control over substantial human and material resources. On the occasions of the processions through Namur and Luxembourg in the late summer and early fall of 1480, armor emphasized Maximilian's paradoxical role as both a conqueror who quelled the rebellious cities of the Low Countries and a savior of the Burgundian state, threatened with fragmentation from within by civic and factional strife and from without by France. Although the Habsburg prince and his Burgundian bride were near financial insolvency and struggling to prevent utter political chaos, the spectacle and material splendor of festivities such as the processions pictured by Coustain and Artist A allowed them to use venerable strategies of princely display to cultivate their power by shaping public perception and collective memory. The images of Maximilian riding in triumph by Coustain and Artist A exist within a pictorial continuum that includes depictions of his immediate predecessors: Philip the Good (1396-1467) and Charles the Bold, Dukes of Burgundy.

By 1477, when Maximilian and his retinue arrived in the Burgundian Netherlands, luxury plate armor was a well-established signifier of authority. Furthermore, for the Dukes of Burgundy, armor alluded to the feudal origins of the centralized state and the chivalric mythos of the duke as a virtuous knight. Claude Gaier's extensive archival research demonstrated that Philip the Good's expansive patronage of armorers continued unabated from his accession in 1419 until his retirement from power in the 1460s.<sup>310</sup> Like Maximilian would do, Philip sought out the most virtuosic and innovative armorers of his day. Although he purchased numerous armors from workshops in Tournai, Lille, Antwerp, Bruges, Brussels, Dijon, Paris, and other Netherlandish and French centers

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<sup>310</sup> Claude Gaier, "The Armors of Philip III the Good, Duke of Burgundy: Purchases, Rentals, Gifts, Upkeep and Transportation," in *The Armorer's Art: Essays in Honor of Stuart Pyhrr*, ed. Donald J. La Rocca (Woonsocket: Mowbray, 2014), 56.

of the industry, Philip also ordered especially luxurious armors from northern Italy.<sup>311</sup> Indeed, the duke and his inner circle often commissioned inventive works from the Missaglia family of Milan, whose armorers solidified that city's preeminence in the armor trade.<sup>312</sup>

The display and representation of the duke's armored body played an important role in the pacification of rebellious Netherlandish cities following previous revolts against the Burgundian Valois. The spectacle of the armor-clad duke and his shimmering retinue of courtiers and retainers—many of whom wore armors provided as ducal gifts or liveries—contributed to the construction of community through collective performance of civic and feudal relationships in processions such as entries.<sup>313</sup> The images of Maximilian riding in triumph by Coustain and Artist A exist within a pictorial continuum that includes depictions of his immediate predecessors: Philip the Good and Charles the Bold.

A miniature in the *Privileges of Ghent and Flanders* painted between 1454 and 1458 illustrates Philip's acceptance of the surrender of the rebellious citizens of Ghent in 1453 (fig. 116), a victory that preceded his triumphal entry in 1458, which commemorated the duke's reclamation of the city.<sup>314</sup> This illumination of Philip as both triumphant commander and merciful lord lacks the portrait likeness given Maximilian's features in the later image by Artist A. However, the idealized

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<sup>311</sup> Gaier, "The Armors of Philip III," 58-59. Gaier also devotes an entire section to tracing the rise of armor smithies throughout the cities of the Netherlands in Gaier, *L'industrie et le commerce des armes dans les anciennes principautés belges du XIII<sup>e</sup> à la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 116-156.

<sup>312</sup> Gaier, *L'industrie et le commerce des armes*, 232.

<sup>313</sup> Boone, "Destroying and Reconstructing the City: The Inculcation and Arrogation of Princely Power in the Burgundian-Habsburg Netherlands (1400-1600)," 26; Gordon Kipling, *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1998), 3.

<sup>314</sup> Jeffrey Chipps Smith, "Venit nobis pacificus Dominus: Philip the Good's Triumphal Entry into Ghent in 1458" in "All the world's a stage": *Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque*, ed. Barbara Wisch and Susan Scott Munshower, *Papers in Art History* (State College: Pennsylvania State University 1990), 259-260.

duke is encased in sophisticated armor and his horse's equipment, like that of Maximilian's, is emblazoned with the sparking flints and fire steels associated with the Order of the Golden Fleece. The illuminator used gold leaf to draw attention to the sparking fire steels embroidered upon the white steed's deep blue caparison and reins. Philip's status is demarcated by his elaborate, jeweled hat and fashionably dagged cloak. In this miniature, the duke's armored body and those of his steel-clad troops not only declare their martial and knightly identities, but also emphasize the vulnerability of the repentant Ghentenaars, who kneel before Philip clothed in their undergarments as a sign of surrender.<sup>315</sup>

Although few other representations of Philip the Good in armor exist, Gaier's studies vividly demonstrated the importance of armor as an object of desire, a signifier of power, and a token of favor at his court. The duke consciously donned armor for tournaments, warfare, diplomatic events, and public pageantries to communicate his authority and the impermeability of the Burgundian state whose power he worked tirelessly to centralize.<sup>316</sup> He was also careful to ensure that the men who surrounded him, from his important vassals and court officials, to men-at-arms and archers who attended him only temporarily at specific events, were outfitted in appropriately impressive plate. Often Philip achieved such a unified front of splendidly armored Burgundian bodies by renting armors. For instance, the duke hired a set of plate defenses to encase the legs of an archer who served him during the day-long festivities celebrating the marriage of the duke of Guelders in 1423, and, in 1463, an armorer in Namur loaned out the entire inventory of his workshop to array Philip's train in a procession to honor the feast of the Visitation.<sup>317</sup> In addition to his patronage of great

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<sup>315</sup> Smith, "*Venit nobis pacificus Dominus*," 260; Hugo van der Velden, *The Donor's Image: Gerard Loyet and the Votive Portraits of Charles the Bold*, Burgundica (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 162-163. Both authors point out that the Ghentenaars not only appear in their underclothes, but also surrender the banners of their city's guilds in the 1453 *amendes honorable*.

<sup>316</sup> Blockmans and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands*, 92-93.

<sup>317</sup> Gaier, *L'industrie et le commerce des armes*, 107; Gaier, "The Armors of Philip III the Good," 58.

Italian armorers and his practice of borrowing armors from local workshops or armories, Philip the Good highly esteemed armorers at his own court. He raised exceptional practitioners of the craft, such the Parisian, Thomassin de Froimont, to the coveted position of *valet de chambre*, a role that was also given to Jan van Eyck (1390-1441) and, later, Olivier de la Marche.<sup>318</sup>

Like his father, Charles the Bold deployed armor as a potent signifier of his personal embodiment of knightly archetypes and of the solidity with which he grasped political power in his territories and broader sphere of influence. The votive statuette given to Saint Lambert's Cathedral in Liège in 1471 following the Duke's reclamation of the rebellious city (fig. 117) is perhaps one of the most tangible surviving examples of the role of armor in Charles's construction of a ducal identity. The golden statuette, crafted by Gerard Loyet (active c. 1449-1477), represents the duke clad in late gothic plate armor in the style of the 1460s. Charles' effigy kneels and holds a small reliquary vessel that contains a bone fragment believed to be a finger of St. Lambert, patron of both the cathedral and the city of Liège. In the image, St. George stands behind the duke and doffs his hat as if presenting him. The saintly knight's visage is nearly identical to Charles' own portrait likeness, and the saint is also encased in armor. His armaments are decidedly whimsical and take part in the tradition of visualizing the saint in fantastic, classicizing armor that was inaugurated by Jan van Eyck in images such as *The Virgin and Child with Canon Joris van der Paele* (fig. 118).<sup>319</sup>

The golden statuette of Charles the Bold not only made an explicit association between the duke and the most-exalted knightly archetype, St. George. The votive image also served as a

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<sup>318</sup> Gaier, "The Armors of Philip III the Good," 57, 59, note 14. Throughout his studies, Gaier relies on the *Recette Générale de Finances*, preserved in the Archives du Département du Nord, Lille, France. He also extensively cites Louis de Laborde's foundational studies of documents related to the Burgundian court, *Les ducs de Bourgogne, Études sur les lettres, les arts, et l'industrie pendant le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle et plus particulièrement dans le Pays-Bas et le duché de Bourgogne*.

<sup>318</sup> Velden, *The Donor's Image*, 85-87.

<sup>319</sup> Velden, *The Donor's Image*, 85-87.



permanent, surrogate presence that reminded the people of Liège of the duke's martial strength and the consequences of disobeying him. Indeed, most of Liège had been systematically razed as punishment for its citizens' rebellion against the duke and his agent, the Prince-Bishop of Liège, and St. Lambert's had been one of the only structures left standing. After 1471, the statue was kept in the church's treasury and displayed behind the high altar alongside the reliquary of St. Lambert himself on feast days.<sup>320</sup> Thus, like the images of Maximilian and his armored horse processing through Namur and Luxembourg, the votive statue envisaged the sovereign as both saintly protector and potentially wrathful conqueror.

Charles was renowned for the sumptuousness of his clothing, arms, and armor. Indeed, pieces of armor that included the famous, jewel-encrusted ducal war hat were captured by Swiss troops following the battle of Grandson in 1476 (fig. 119). This so-called *Burgunderbeute* (or Burgundian loot) became a metonym for the defeated duke's person and patrimony in the eyes of its captors and, later, the Fugger family of Augsburg, who briefly included the precious objects in their collections.<sup>321</sup> In his chronicle of the Burgundian Wars, Diebold Schilling presented these objects' as signs of "the great power of Burgundy" (grossen Machten in den selben cannde von Burgunden), many of which reinforced Charles's carefully crafted alliances with the Holy Roman Emperor and other princes ("durch seiner Gerhorsam ist haben geben").<sup>322</sup> This was not only the case for Charles's jewels and extravagant clothing, but also for his helm, captured at Nancy in 1477.<sup>323</sup>

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<sup>320</sup> Velden, *The Donor's Image*, 94. Van der Velden traces evidence that suggests that Charles, who credited both Saints Lambert and George for his victory, had left the church standing and presented the statue and as a token of his gratitude (ex voto) for what he believed had been divine favor.

<sup>321</sup> Deuchler, 118-120; Velden, 57. BSB, Cgm. 896, fol. 8r.

<sup>322</sup> BBB, Mss.h.h.I.3, p. 384, Diebold Schilling, "Amtliche Berner Chronik," vol. 3. (<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/bbb/Mss-hh-I0003>)

<sup>323</sup> Deuchler, 336-340.

The wearable possessions, such as jewels and armor, taken by the Swiss were manifestations of Charles' political, social, and economic capital. Like the armor worn by Maximilian in the depictions by Coustain and Artist A, these objects not only visually symbolized the duke's authority, but their sumptuous materials and craftsmanship signified his wealth and the control he exerted over networks of people and goods. Furthermore, pieces of costume or armor evoked their wearer's physical presence. The capture and display of the *Burgunderbeute* by the Swiss (fig. 120) enacted their seizure of Charles's sovereignty and identity, if not of his physical body.<sup>324</sup> The representations of Maximilian's armor envisioned by Artist A in the Thun album—both the image of the future emperor riding his armored steed (see fig. 112) and other drawings of recognizable armors in pieces—parallel this evocation of the Duke of Burgundy's status through costume and armor.<sup>325</sup>

### **Lorenz Helmschmid's Innovations and Habsburg Self-Construction**

On February 8, 1480, Maximilian summoned Lorenz Helmschmid to the Low Countries from Augsburg. Helmschmid had served the young duke's father, Emperor Friedrich III, as court armorer since at least 1477.<sup>326</sup> The Burgundian court records mention "Lorenz of Augsburg, armorer to my aforementioned lord" (Leurens de Hauspurch armurier de mondit Sr.) at least three times, and he was paid upon his arrival for "bards of steel, cuirasses, clothes of test (armors tested against projectiles), armors for the legs, and other pieces of armor".<sup>327</sup> Lorenz remained with Maximilian at his Burgundian court until May, 1481, and was therefore present during the period when the entries

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<sup>324</sup> Although Charles was killed at Nancy, he had removed the most recognizable insignia of his identity prior to his last charge, when he sustained extensive wounds. His body was not found and identified by his physician and Olivier de la Marche for some time.

<sup>325</sup> Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the *Thun Sketchbooks* (Part I)," 378-379.

<sup>326</sup> Boheim, "Augsburger Waffenschmiede," 166-167; Reitzenstein, "Der Augsburger Plattersippe der Helmschmied," 181.

<sup>327</sup> Reitzenstein, "Der Augsburger Plattersippe der Helmschmied," 181. Anzelewsky, "Erzherzog Maximilians Schwerer Roßharnisch," 77. Anzelewsky's more focused study of the equine armor cites Reitzenstein here.

depicted by Coustain and Artist A took place. Indeed, prior to his departure in 1481, he was paid an additional 1,575 livres for many parts of a garniture and other “clothes of war,” especially “some bards forged of steel for armor of test, collar, chamfron (shaffron), belly, and legs and various other parts serving to arm a horse allover, done by him with 800 florins of gold trim,” plus a 56-livre tip for his skill.<sup>328</sup>

By 1480, the master armorer and his younger brother, Jörg, had already made a name for themselves for technically innovative and artistically wrought armors. In the Thun album, Artist A’s retrospective image of Maximilian’s armored appearance in fall 1480 is bound along with twenty-nine other drawings by the same draftsman that represent works by Lorenz Helmschmid, his son, Kolman, and his grandson, Desiderius, as well as images that focus on the families and courtiers of Maximilian and his successor, Charles V.<sup>329</sup> In this way, the album’s collector situated the vision of Maximilian in September 1480 within both the virtuosic oeuvres of the Helmschmids and the patrimony of the Habsburg-Burgundian line of Emperors.

The bard that the Thun album and Coustain’s painting of Albrecht May depict (see figs. 112-114) may have been the same horse armor described in the Burgundian record of payment to Lorenz Helmschmid, but does not survive. However, surviving pieces of a similar horse armor made for Emperor Friedrich III in 1476 or 1477 provide a glimpse of its splendor. Lorenz crafted this

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<sup>328</sup> Reitzenstein, “Der Augsburger Plattersippe der Helmschmied,” 181, quoting Buttin, “unes bardes d'achier furnyes de harnas de testerye, col, chamfrain, ventre et jambes avec autres diverses pièces servans pour armer une cheval de toutes pars, par marchie fait avec lui, huit cent florins de rin d'or.” see Charles Buttin, *Les Bardes articulées au temps de Maximilien Ier: Étude sur l'armement chevaleresque au quinzième et au seizième siècles* (Stasbourg: Libraries Istra), 1929.

<sup>329</sup> Terjanian “The rediscovery of the *Thun Sketchbooks* (Part I),” 322-326, 342-350, 370, 374, 382-84. Work by Lorenz (active from before 1477 until his death in 1515-16) is represented by Artist A on UPM, GK 11.572-B, folios 8r, 29r, 38r, 41r-v, 51v, 54v, 71v, 72v, 75v, 78v, and 80v of the album. Kolman (1471-1532) is represented by the artist on folios 25v, 37r, 52v, 66r, 67r, 68r-v, 69r, 70r-v, 71r, 74r, and 80v. Armors by Desiderius Helmschmid (1513-79), are depicted by Artist A on folios 80r and 68r.

peytral (chest piece), reign guards, tail piece and cruppers (flank defenses) for the emperor shortly before the events that brought the Burgundian territories into Habsburg control. The barding elements include a sculpted peytral in the form of angel (fig. 121), whose wings envelop the horse's chest and shoulders as their feathered forms echo the screaming griffins that adorn the peytral depicted in the Thun drawing and the painting of Albrecht May riding into Namur. The bard (see fig. 22) also includes a dragon-shaped tailpiece that is so strikingly similar to the tailpieces depicted in the later images of Maximilian's 1480 armor that Fedja Anzelewsky posited that this component was borrowed from Friedrich's earlier bard and taken with Lorenz on his journey north in February 1480.<sup>330</sup>

In its most luxurious iteration, horse armor did far more than protect a noble rider's expensive and extensively trained steed. It transformed the animal's body into a moving sculpture and a communicative surface upon which to inscribe the iconography of power. In the case of the bard now in Vienna, the plates that encase the horse's flanks form imperial double eagles that are enlivened by etched feathers and emblazoned with an escutcheon bearing the arms of Austria. The corresponding crupper shown in images of the 1480 entries uses the complex, marshalled heraldry of the Habsburg and Burgundian dynasties to declare the consolidation of Mary and Maximilian's power (see fig. 112).<sup>331</sup> Perhaps representative of the duchess herself, the courtly woman who supports the combined arms of Mary and Maximilian seems to endorse the alliance. Both sets of cruppers originally drew attention to their imagery through the ringing of bells that dangled from perforations along their scalloped edges.

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<sup>330</sup> Anzelewsky, "Erzherzog Maximilians Schwerer Roßharnisch," 82-84. Anzelewsky also suggests, based on Gamber's imperfect research on the Thun album, that Lorenz crafted four such tailpieces for Emperor Friedrich and Maximilian.

<sup>331</sup> Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 196-204. Silver provides a useful overview of Maximilian's lifelong interest in heraldry as a tool for advertising and legitimating his status.

Like the heraldic plates that adorned the horse's flanks, the peytral that encloses the horse's chest in the retrospective visions of the 1480 armors proclaimed Maximilian's status as the newly knighted leader of the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece, signified by the gilded Crosses of Saint Andrew, fire steels, and fleece. As Anzelewsky pointed out, these plates, like most garnitures (or matching sets) of armor, were interchangeable as needed. Indeed, a diplomatic letter written by the Venetian, Andrea de Franceschi, describes Maximilian's redeployment during a procession through Strasbourg on August 31, 1492 of parts of the equine armor depicted by Coustain and Artist A with the imperial eagle cruppers crafted for his father in 1477.<sup>332</sup> Franceschi describes a "horse armored from head to foot—an extremely glittering sight!" According to the Venetian, the animal's breast was emblazoned with two griffins, on its forehead was a horn of steel like that of a unicorn, and it had two shields on its flanks with the imperial eagle.<sup>333</sup>

Maximilian was astute in his deployment of luxury armor as a potent symbol that could be donned for specific performances of his sovereignty and just as easily shed. The records of the ducal household attest that in October 1480 Maximilian pawned several sumptuous armor components to the Florentine merchant Girolamo Frescobaldi for the exorbitant sum of 36,000 pounds, equal to the purchase price of around forty-four small houses during the period.<sup>334</sup> The items included: a pair of greaves adorned with gold bands, set with forty-eight pearls and dotted with balas rubies (a kind of semi-precious stone often mistaken for a ruby); a pair of gilded cuisses with gold-banded borders that were studded with alternating large and small balas rubies set into golden buttons and interspersed with 90 pearls; and a pair of gilded gauntlets edged with gold borders, both studded

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<sup>332</sup> Anzelewsky, "Erzherzog Maximilians Schwerer Roßharnisch," 83-84. Here Anzelewsky cites Henry Simondsfield, "Ein venezianischer Reisebericht über Süddeutschland, die Ortschaften, und Oberitalien aus dem Jahre 1492," which she says was published in *Zeitschrift für Kulturgeschichte* 4, no 2 (1895), 241.

<sup>333</sup> Anzelewsky, "Erzherzog Maximilians Schwerer Roßharnisch," 83-84.

<sup>334</sup> Gaier, "The Armors of Philip III the Good," 63.

with 5 large balas rubies set into golden buttons, interposed with six large pearls and surrounded by up to 103 smaller pearls.<sup>335</sup> These spectacular pieces of armor were pawned only weeks after the procession through Luxembourg, which Coustain and Artist A memorialized. The fate of these lavish armors and the loss of the spectacular equine armor that Helmschmid crafted in 1480 demonstrates the fleeting nature of luxury goods that could easily be deconstructed, melted down, or sold for cash during the late medieval and early modern periods. The impermanence of the objects, as well as the performances that made up Burgundian spectacle, underscores the commemorative significance of their representations in images such as the Thun album drawing and its painted antecedents, as well as in chronicles and memoirs.

Fortunately, parts of the surviving garniture, or matching set, of armor that Maximilian likely wore during his procession through Luxembourg on September 29, 1480 are recognizable in both Artist A's drawing and the painted panels after Coustain. Lorenz Helmschmid created the garniture (fig. 122a-c) around 1480. It may have been this armor that he delivered to Maximilian when he arrived in Ghent to answer his patron's summons in February of that year, or that he created during his residency in the Netherlands through May 1481.<sup>336</sup> The overlapping plates that constitute the bottom half of the breastplate—each edged with three punched, foliate ornaments—are clearly visible in both the painting and the drawing (compare figs. 112 and 114 to 122a-c).<sup>337</sup> The matching punched decoration and chased, linear forms of the surviving cuisses echo the represented armor that encases Maximilian's upper left leg in each image. Although Artist A seems to have added large,

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<sup>335</sup> Léon-Emmanuel-Simon-Joseph Compte de Laborde, *Les ducs de Bourgogne, études sur les lettres, les arts et l'industrie pendant le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle et plus particulièrement dans les Pays-Bas et le duché de Bourgogne*, 3 vols., vol. II (Paris: Plon, 1849-1852), 428-429. Cited in Gaier, "The Armorers of Philip III the Good," 63.

<sup>336</sup> Gamber, "Der Turnierharnisch zu Zeit König Maximilians I," 34; Bruno Thomas and Ortwin Gamber, *Katalog der Leibrüstkammer*, 2 vols., vol. 1: *Der Zeitraum von 500 bis 1530*, Führer durch das Kunsthistorische Museum Nr 13 (Wien: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1976), 106-108.

<sup>337</sup> Although the painting represents three lames, rather than two, this discrepancy may be ascribed the transmission of the image from Coustain's original through the anonymous copyist.

round *besagems* (armpit defenses) over the pauldrons that protected the Archduke's shoulders, the brass fleur-de-lys bindings and attenuated shapes of the gauntlets and couters (elbow defenses) of the armor are nearly unmistakable in both the panel painting and the drawing in the Thun album.

The Thun album's depictions of recognizable armors, such as HJRK A 60, that had been preserved in Habsburg familial collections and imperial armories established the album as a well-known source for modern historians of arms and armor from its publication in 1888 by Quirin von Leitner.<sup>338</sup> Although previous studies have focused extensively on Artist A's meticulous visualizations of particular armors or types of armor, there has hitherto been no investigation of the drawings' representation of armor and armored bodies with the larger contexts of courtly pageantry and its commemoration. While Lorenz Helmschmid's exceptional armors are indeed important examples of the smith's art, Artist A's drawing and its painted antecedent by Coustain situate them within the broader context of princely processions. In doing so, these images suggest how the armored body intersected meaningfully with other forms of performance popular at the Burgundian court.

Pierre Coustain was uniquely qualified to envision Maximilian's procession through Luxembourg and his Master of Arms' ride through Namur on the armored horse. In his three decades of service to the Dukes of Burgundy, he had not only painted images onto panels, banners, heralds' tabards, and other surfaces, but also collaborated with the Master of Entertainments to devise *tableaux-vivants*, fountains, decorations, and elaborate automatons used as *entremets* for festivities at the Burgundian court.<sup>339</sup> Indeed, the range of spectacles that Coustain helped to create

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<sup>338</sup> Leitner, "Artistisches Quellenmaterial," 1-2.

<sup>339</sup> Van Buren, "Coustain, Pierre."

demonstrate the variety of occasions that functioned as venues for the dukes to display their magnificence and the art forms that such performances involved.

Just as he emulated Philip the Good and Charles the Bold's deployment of armor as a signifier of their power, Maximilian also employed the spectacular displays for which the Burgundian court had become famous in his attempts to secure his inheritance of Burgundian patrimony. Within the context of Burgundian courtly spectacle, the bard depicted in figures 112 and 113 was as much a wonder of innovation and artistic skill as it was a declarative collection of signs and a practical protective shell. No other surviving equine armor approaches the bard's technical and visual ambition, and Helmschmid is the only armorer known to have created matrixes of steel plates flexible enough to encase a horse's entire lower body as it moved. Indeed, this particular type of armor became associated with Maximilian I, who continued to commission bards that covered horses' legs and bellies for himself and as gifts until around 1515.<sup>340</sup> Their disappearance from imperial armor commissions coincides with Lorenz's death as well as the waning years of Maximilian's own life.

The miraculously articulated metallic exoskeleton that encases the horse envisioned by Coustain and Artist A recalls spectacular entertainments, called *entremets*, that combined rich and innovative objects with live performances to delight guests at Burgundian feasts and festivities. As Christina Normore has shown, *entremets* enacted a conflation of inorganic wonders and living bodies, and their designers and audiences delighted in the strangeness (*étrangeté*) and novelty of their imagery.<sup>341</sup> Like processions, *entremets* also frequently blurred the boundaries between spectator and

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<sup>340</sup> Breiding, "Horse Armor in Medieval and Renaissance Europe," 14-15.

<sup>341</sup> Normore, *A Feast for the Eyes*, 44-46.



participant. Similarly, movement, sound, and sumptuous materials were often defining characteristics of each mode of spectacle.

In his accounts of Burgundian courtly spectacles, Olivier de la Marche describes the ways that *entremets* combined material splendor and technical ingenuity with human performances. For example, he exalts in describing “an artifice” of a white stag, ridden by a very real boy, that seemed to sing as it walked through the guests gathered at the famous Feast of the Pheasant, held in Lille in 1454. The stag—presumably comprised of costumed performers, perhaps operating mechanical parts—delighted la Marche and other diners as its material performance combined with that of the living boy, as both raised their voices in song.<sup>342</sup> At the same feast, one of the opening *entremets* also included a horse, richly covered in ruby-red silk and ridden by two sumptuously dressed and masked trumpeters seated back to back, which processed through the hall backward.<sup>343</sup> As in the initial introduction of the *entremet* of the white stag, la Marche’s description leaves his reader unsure whether the back-stepping steed and his riders were real or fabricated.

The living horse that pranced through Namur on September 13, 1480 enclosed within a shining carapace of flexible steel plates that transformed its body into a scaled beast adorned with the insignia of Burgundian power finds a compelling parallel in what Normore calls the “object-performances” of the *entremet*.<sup>344</sup> Lorenz Helmschmid’s innovative armor would, like an automaton

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<sup>342</sup> Normore, *A Feast for the Eyes* 141-142. Interestingly, the Feast of the Pheasant was itself the subject of a retrospective, commemorative painting created during the sixteenth century. This canvas, presumably copied in France after a lost original, is now housed in the Rijksmuseum. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, SK-A-4212.

<sup>343</sup> La Marche, *Mémoires*, 420-421. “. . . par la porte de l’entrée de la sale, entra un cheval à reculons, richement couvert de soye vermeille, sur lequel avoit deux Trompettes, affix dos contre dos, & sans celle, vestu de iounades de soye grise & noire, chapeaux en leurs testes, & faux visages mis, & les mena & remena ledit cheval, tout au long de la sale, à reculons, & tandis ils jouerent une batture de leurs trompettes, & y avoit conduire cest entremets, seize Chaveliers, vestu de robes de la livrée.”

<sup>344</sup> Normore, *A Feast for the Eyes*, 112.

or other technological wonder, have been considered a marvel by Burgundian viewers.<sup>345</sup> The spectacle of the steel-clad steed processing through Namur and—weeks later—the splendidly armored duke himself riding through Luxembourg would therefore have impressed not only the people of those cities, but also the courtiers and officials in Maximilian’s own train who may not have supported the new duke whole-heartedly.

Albrecht May’s progress through the streets of Namur on the armored horse would have evoked still more layered associations with courtly spectacle. The Master of Arms’ arrival on September 13, 1480 preceded his lord’s by five days. Since Maximilian was entangled in a field campaign against invading French forces outside Luxembourg, he did not meet with his household in Namur until September 18.<sup>346</sup> Thus, Albrecht May’s entry into the city heralded the Habsburg prince’s approach in a practice that echoed the arrival of tournament participants’ horses—ridden by pages—and significant pieces of armor, such as helms, prior to the entrance of the knights themselves. Writing around 1460, King René d’Anjou (1409-1480) included a description of how a prince’s steed should precede his entry into a city where a tournament would be held in his treatise, the *Livre des Tournois*. René states:

That is to say that the destrier of the prince...who is captain of the knights and squires who accompany him ought to enter the city first, covered with the device of the captain and with four escutcheons of the captain’s arms on the four limbs of the horse, and the horse’s head decorated with ostrich feathers, and on the horse’s neck a collar of bells, and in the saddle a very small page, as best pleases him. (Q’est allavoir que le destrier du prince...chief des autres chevaliers et escuires qi la compaignent doit ester le premier entrant dedens la ville en couverte de la devise du et quatre eseucons de ses armes aux quatre member du dit cheval

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<sup>345</sup> Normore, *A Feast for the Eyes*, 113. See Normore’s discussion of the use of “marvelous” by chroniclers such as D’Esouchy and Lefevre to describe the virtuosic craftsmanship or exceptional cleverness of some *entremets*.

<sup>346</sup> Anzelewsky, “Erzherzog Maximilians Schwerer Roßharnisch,” 78-79.

et la tette emplumee de plumes daatrice et au col le colier et cochettes une bien petit paige  
tout ados on selle comme mieux lui plaixa.)<sup>347</sup>

Indeed, the illustration after Barthelémy d'Eyck (1420-1470) that follows René's written instructions (fig. 123) depicts a page whose proud bearing foreshadows Coustain's representation of Albrecht May. Like the page, May's relatively simple clothing sets him apart from the impressively clad horse that he rides, yet he still proudly raises his baton of office aloft as if to signify his authority as a representative of his Habsburg lord (see fig. 113).

As Anzelewsky suggested in her study of the equine armor of 1480, the armored steed that strode through Namur functioned as a moving banner whose glittering presence heralded the entry of its master.<sup>348</sup> The armor that encased the horse's entire body not only presented a marvelous spectacle that was reminiscent of the "object-performances" of Burgundian courtly entremets; it also served as a metonym for Maximilian's identity as Duke of Burgundy, modeled upon the splendid, chivalric personae of his Valois predecessors and buttressed by his imperial pedigree. The *Livre des Tournois*, which was familiar to members of the Burgundian court, including Maximilian, also demonstrates the metonymic nature of armor.<sup>349</sup> In addition to King René's description of the entry of the tournament captain's horse, the author relates how the crested helms of the tournament participants should be brought by their squires (fig. 124) to a cloister or banqueting hall.<sup>350</sup> There, the helms and crests served as metonyms for their wearers, and could be symbolically judged and even punished if a knight's conduct was deemed unchivalrous and therefore unworthy of

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<sup>347</sup> BnF, Ms. fr. 2693, fol. 36r. For an expansive analysis of the visual language of heraldry in the *Livre des Tournois*, see Sturgeon, "Text & Image in René d'Anjou's *Livre de Tournois*," 340-342. As Sturgeon attests, the *Livre des Tournois* was widely circulated at the Burgundian court, and a later version of the treatise dated circa 1490-1510 (SLUB Ms. Oc 58) was likely created as a gift for Maximilian himself, though never given to him.

<sup>348</sup> Anzelewsky, "Erzherzog Maximilians Schwerer Roßharnisch," 79-80.

<sup>349</sup> Sturgeon, "Text & Image in René d'Anjou's *Livre de Tournois*," 340-342.

<sup>350</sup> BnF, Ms. fr. 2693, fols. 46v-47r.

participation in the tournament (see fig. 74). The *Livre des Tournois*' emphasis on the associative processional impact of recognizable armors emblazoned with heraldic signs of their owner's identities not only supports Anzelewsky's claim, but suggests new ways of understanding how the armored equine spectacle of 1480 visually declared Maximilian's reclamation of the city of Namur from French incursions.

As Roman King of the Germans and, finally, Emperor Elect, Maximilian and his advisors would codify the chivalric identity to which his impressively armored steed alluded by constructing an expansive visual and textual mythology built on Maximilian's youthful exploits in the Burgundian Netherlands. Fictionalizations of the events of the so-called Burgundian Experience formed the core of the body of texts and images, like the *Triumphal Procession*, *Der Weißkönig*, *Theuerdank*, and *Freydal*, that glorified Maximilian as an ideal knight and wise ruler.<sup>351</sup> The drawing in figure 112 echoed these works, which resounded through the city of Augsburg long after Maximilian's death. By re-envisioning earlier representations of Maximilian as Duke of Burgundy by Coustain, the drawing could have invited recollections of Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy's short joint-reign during the late-fifteenth century. Indeed, this coincides with the period that the mythic narratives of *Der Weißkönig* and *Theuerdank*, projects illustrated by Augsburg artists like Hans Burgkmair and organized by the Augsburg humanist Conrad Peutinger, reconstruct.

### **Maximilian's Legendary Knightly Identity and Burgundian Mythos**

The artworks that imagine the armored processions of fall 1480 represent both the genesis and the maturity of Maximilian I's representation as an idealized mounted knight. The lost original painting by Coustain of the prince riding through Luxembourg would have been one of the earliest

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<sup>351</sup> Müller, *Gedechtnus*, 80-81; Maximilian's dictated ideas for all four of these works are contained in ÖNB, Cod. Vindob. 2835.

portraits of Maximilian. It was certainly among the earliest images to represent him fully armored and riding a barded horse. While the panels copied after Coustain may have been painted in the last decade of the fifteenth century, Artist A's drawing in figure 112 postdates numerous iterations of the Emperor's equestrian image, many of which were disseminated in prints. The Thun album drawing and its models seem to represent the Burgundian origins of the equestrian portrait of the emperor, and show that the posthumous commemoration of Maximilian's constructed knightly persona was celebrated through the mid-sixteenth century.

Images of mounted authorities served as signifiers of power throughout the pre-modern history of Western Europe. In an influential article, Larry Silver traced the lineage of Hans Burgkmair the Elder's (1473-1531) *Maximilian I on Horseback*, a woodcut from 1508, and contemporary images of the newly crowned emperor through imperial Roman, high medieval German, and Italian Renaissance antecedents.<sup>352</sup> However, he and other scholars have given less consideration to the Burgundian precedents from the reigns of the Valois Dukes of Burgundy or of the Habsburg prince, Maximilian himself, that informed Maximilian's later self-representation as a formidable mounted warrior clad in technically stunning plate armor.<sup>353</sup> Indeed, the equestrian portraits crafted by Coustain and Artist A forged a particularly salient connection between Maximilian's self-presentation and that of his first wife, Mary of Burgundy.

As Duchess, Mary adopted a personal iconography that paid homage to mounted representations of her father and grandfather, Charles the Bold and Philip the Good. Although most extant images of Mary of Burgundy were created posthumously, Anne M. Roberts analyzed the

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<sup>352</sup> Silver, "Shining Armor," 15-20. Silver considers the ways that the equestrian images designed by Burgkmair echo the Ottonian Magdeburg Rider and the so-called *Regisole* in Pavia, as well as Roman models such as the famous statue of Marcus Aurelius.

<sup>353</sup> Silver, "Shining Armor," 18-20.

duchess's official seals and their resonances with the Great Equestrian Seals of earlier dukes of Burgundy.<sup>354</sup> These seals represented Charles the Bold and Philip the Good riding in full armor that declared their power in a visual language similar to that used in other depictions of the armored dukes, such as the miniature of Philip's domination of Ghent or Charles' votive statue in Liège. However, as a woman, Mary did not have access to armor as a sign of her power. Instead, her seal represented her as an avid horsewoman riding sidesaddle on an elaborately caparisoned steed, a falcon perched on her hand and a hunting dog running at her feet (fig. 125). While Mary was unable to appropriate the armored personae of her forbearers, she was able to channel their martial identities through her self-presentation in the culturally appropriate role of the aristocratic huntress. The image of the mounted duchess was multiplied and transmitted in ephemeral and lost works by Coustain and other court artists, as well as in miniatures such as the example of circa 1480 in the *Chronijke van Vlaenderen* (fig. 126).<sup>355</sup>

When Maximilian wed Mary of Burgundy in 1477, his image as Duke of Burgundy not only adopted the pictorial vocabulary of his ducal predecessors, but also echoed the iconography of power deployed by his Valois duchess. In the joint seal crafted by the goldsmith, Cornelis de Bont in 1478, Mary appears again as the courtly falconer. Behind her, Maximilian charges forward on an extravagantly barded horse, his sword raised aloft and his body encased in full plate armor (fig. 127). The cusped edges of his pauldrons, along with his pointed couters and sabatons, echo the late gothic silhouettes of the armor that Lorenz Helmschmid delivered to him in 1480, and which he wears in the painted and drawn images by Coustain and Artist A. The juxtaposition of the hunt and battlefield in the Great Seal by de Bont anticipates the significance and interconnectedness of these two pursuits in later artistic and literary works that constructed Maximilian's image as an ideal prince,

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<sup>354</sup> Roberts, "The Horse and the Hawk," 136-137.

<sup>355</sup> Roberts, "The Horse and the Hawk," 137-138. Bruges, Stadbibliothek, Ms. 437, fol. 372v.

including works such as *Theuerdank* and *Der Weißkunig*. As Silver has argued, the hunt—like the tournament—served as a venue for performing the strategic acumen and physical skills necessary for success in war.<sup>356</sup> Thus, the mounted figures of Maximilian and Mary that ride across their seal offer complementary representations of ducal power.

Equestrian portraits of Maximilian became a central component of the iconography that reinforced his power as German King of the Romans and Holy Roman Emperor during the 1490s and the first decades of the 1500s. The Augsburg artist, Hans Burgkmair the Elder, designed and executed numerous representations of the Habsburg prince clad in spectacular armor and riding a barded horse. The pioneering chiaroscuro woodcut, *Maximilian I on Horseback* (fig. 128), cut in 1508, and its pendant print, *St. George on Horseback* (fig. 129), are among these. The composition of the woodcut portrait of the mounted Habsburg prince, as well as the meticulous detail with which Burgkmair envisioned the horse's bard and its rider's armor, are strikingly similar to the drawing by Artist A now in the Thun album (compare figures 112 and 128). Like the depictions of the Netherlandish triumphal entries, Burgkmair's print references armors designed by the Helmschmids for Maximilian. As a neighbor and acquaintance of the Helmschmid armorers in Augsburg, Burgkmair would have been familiar with the innovative fluted armor by the Helmschmids that eventually became known as the "Maximilian style" through its association with the emperor.<sup>357</sup> Strikingly, many of the Thun album drawing's small departures from the painting after Coustain find parallels in the chiaroscuro print. Both Burgkmair and Artist A depict strong, thick-necked destriers,

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<sup>356</sup> Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*, 170-173.

<sup>357</sup> Reitzenstein, "Der augsburger Plattnersipper der Helmschmied," 184; W. Williams, "The Relationship between Artist and Armourer," 202-203; Falk, *Hans Burgkmair*, 75; Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the *Thun Sketchbooks* (Part I)," 312. Although Terjanian demonstrates the close ties between armorers and other artists working in Augsburg, he calls von Reitzenstein's assertion (possibly based on W. Williams' research) that Burgkmair married into the Helmschmid family into question.

rather than the more delicate steeds who prance through the panels copied from Coustain, and Maximilian's own body is more robust, his posture more confident and his seat in the armored saddle more stable.

Gerard Loyet's votive statue for the city of Liège drew visual parallels between Charles the Bold and Saint George. Like the votive statue and the overlapping roles of real-life commander and idealized knight that coexisted in a single person during performances such as Maximilian's ride through Luxembourg, Burgkmair's pair of chiaroscuro woodcuts draw explicit comparisons between the prince and the archetypal knight, Saint George. Unlike Gerard Loyet's fantastical representation of the saint in classicizing armor, Burgkmair encased his *Saint George on Horseback* in contemporary plate that takes the form of the skirted tonlet armor popular at Maximilian's court and echoes the robust forms of the Emperor's own armor in *Maximilian I on Horseback*. Indeed, the visored *armets* (helmets that fully enclose the head) worn by each figure are nearly identical, save for the more elaborate fluting that ripples across Maximilian's visor. In Maximilian's Netherlandish triumphal entries, the Habsburg prince and his steed, arrayed in bejeweled armor, would easily have been associated with the archetype of the shining *miles christianus*, or Christian soldier, embodied by Saint George.

The affiliation between the prince and the knightly saint was as resonant for the Habsburg Holy Roman Emperors as it had been for the Charles, Duke of Burgundy. Friedrich III, established a knightly Order of Saint George in 1468 to oppose Ottoman expansion into Europe, a mission that echoed contemporaneous Burgundian calls for new crusades. As he had for the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1478, Maximilian oversaw a renewal and expansion of the Order of Saint George in 1493.<sup>358</sup> Many artists, including those working in Augsburg from the generation that preceded

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<sup>358</sup> Silver, "Shining Armor," 22.



Artist A, conflated Maximilian with St George; Daniel Hopfer the Elder, who also collaborated with the Helmchmids by designing and applying etched decorations to luxury armors, collapsed the Habsburg prince and warrior saint into a single entity in an etching created around 1519.<sup>359</sup> Through its compositional and stylistic resemblance to Burgkmair's woodcut, Artist A's drawing seems to not only invite comparison between Maximilian in his resplendent armor of 1480 and the saintly archetypal knight, but also participates in an established pictorial tradition in Augsburg that reinforced this association.

Hans Burgkmair the Elder's numerous connections to Maximilian's court and to the graphic artists and armorers of Augsburg make him a pivotal figure in the investigation of many of the drawings collected in the Thun album and their antecedents in Habsburg commissions. Three bifolio openings in the bound collection's second quire reveal drawings of elegantly barded horses (figs. 130-132) that Tilman Falk attributed to Burgkmair along with a single-leaf drawing of a rider and horse in parade armor (see fig. 76). The presence on the fine paper of folios 22 and 24 of a watermark of an anchor crowned with a star within a shield may complicate Falk's attribution. Because Briquet establishes that this paper is documented in Augsburg around 1530-32, the drawings would have had to have been made only shortly before Burgkmair the Elder's death in 1531. The first horse, encased in a steel bard lined in vivid teal, also is on an opening (folios 19v-20r) with a watermark that, although difficult to identify, is closest to one originating in Innsbruck during the early 1530s.<sup>360</sup> It may well be that these horses were drawn by Hans Burgkmair the Younger (c.

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<sup>359</sup> Silver, "Shining Armor," 23; for more on associations of Saint George with Maximilian's identity, see Larry Silver, "Forest Primeval: Albrecht Altdorfer and the German Wilderness Landscape," *Simiolus* 13, no. 1 (1983), 21-23

<sup>360</sup> Falk, *Hans Burgkmair*, 75-77; Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the *Thun Sketchbooks* (Part I)," 310-313. Briquet, *Les filigranes*, vol. 1, 43 and vol. 3, 517. For more on the Thun album's relationship to Burgkmair the Younger's works, see Chapters 1 and 3 of this dissertation.

1500-1562), whose designs for tournament books (see figure 102) shared numerous stylistic characteristics with Artist A's drawings.

The group of drawings by Artist A contained in the Thun album includes four images of seated royal figures that borrow extensively from Burgkmair's *Genealogy of Emperor Maximilian I*. The drawings, which are given pride of place at the beginning of the album, form a kind of pictorial preface, and begin with a depiction of Maximilian I enthroned (see figs. 9-12). Like Artist A's vision of Maximilian on horseback, these figures alter and expand upon their antecedents with a confident creativity that is characteristic of artists working the Augsburg book industry during the sixteenth century.<sup>361</sup> The seated rulers also demonstrate that Artist A was familiar with Burgkmair's imperial commissions, and seems to have had privileged access to impressions and drawings that did not circulate outside of the inner circles of the Habsburg court. Jörg Sörg the Elder (circa 1502-1542) and Jörg Breu the Younger (see figures 31 and 32), two other Augsburg artists whose careers intersected with both the armor and book industries, also incorporated imagery from Burgkmair's *Genealogy* into their work during the 1540s, so Burgkmair's *Genealogy* seems to have been quite accessible to the artistic community of Augsburg.<sup>362</sup>

Although very few early impressions of Burgkmair's chiaroscuro woodcut, *Maximilian I on Horseback*, survive and its original edition may have been small, its creation in 1508 situates it midway between fifteenth-century visualizations of Maximilian's Netherlandish processions and the reemergence of the subject from the pen of Artist A in the 1540s.<sup>363</sup> It was influential upon the

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<sup>361</sup> Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the *Thun Sketchbooks* (Part I)," 311

<sup>362</sup> Scheicher, "Ein Augsburger Handschrift," 170.

<sup>363</sup> David Landau and Peter W. Parshall, *The Renaissance Print, 1470-1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 190. Landau and Parshall remark that only three impressions of first state of the Equestrian Portrait of Maximilian survive, along with only two first-state impressions of the pendant image of St. George.

construction of the emperor's image in diverse media. Burgkmair's variations on the subject ranged from prints to designs for a never-realized monumental statue to be executed by Gregor Erhart and installed in the Augsburg church of Saints Ulrich and Afra (fig. 133).<sup>364</sup> A coin (fig. 134), designed in 1508 by Ulrich Ursenthaler and struck in 1509, depicts Maximilian clad in armor reminiscent of the rotund, fluted plates he wears in Burgkmair's contemporaneous chiaroscuro woodcut.<sup>365</sup> The equine armor that Ursenthaler portrayed, like the one worn by Maximilian's armored horse in the 1480 entries, is exceptional for the flexible, overlapping plates that completely encase the horse's belly and legs. Dirk Breiding has suggested that this numismatic image visualizes a late example of the full body bards that Maximilian commissioned from Lorenz Helmschmid until the time of the armorer's death.<sup>366</sup> The coin, inscribed with the imperial titles with which Maximilian had been officially invested the just before it was struck, pays homage to the emperor's Burgundian inheritance in the decoration of his horse's bard. Rather than displaying the arms of Austria on the rounded crupper that encloses the horse's flanks, as in Burgkmair's *Emperor Maximilian I on Horseback* (fig. 128), the bard envisioned by Ursenthaler is decorated not only with imperial double eagle, but also the sparking fire steels and St. Andrew's cross of the Order of the Golden Fleece. These recall the earlier horse armor depicted by Coustain and in the Thun album.<sup>367</sup>

Artist A seems to have been familiar with both the public and more private imperial commissions produced by Burgkmair the Elder, as well as images derived from Coustain's

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<sup>364</sup> Silver, "Shining Armor," 15-17.

<sup>365</sup> Heinz Winter, "und in sonderhait hat er grosse munz schlagen lassen"—Die Schaumünzen Maximilians I. aus der Prägestätte Hall in Tirol," in *Kaiser Maximilian I Der letzte Ritter und das höfische Turnier*, ed. Sabine Haag, et al. (Mannheim: Reiss-Engelhorn Museen, 2014), 207. Österreich-Ungarn Haupt Münzamt et al., *Katalog der Münzen- und Medaillen-Stempel-Sammlung des k. k. Hauptmünzamtes in Wien, Vierter Band*, vol. 4 (Vienna: Der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hof-und Staatsdruckerei, 1906), 1351.

<sup>366</sup> Breiding, "Horse Armor in Medieval and Renaissance Europe," 14.

<sup>367</sup> The edge of the crupper that this coin depicts is also emblazoned with Maximilian's personal motto, "*Halt Maß*" meaning "Keep within measure," or "Moderation in all things."

visualizations of Maximilian's 1480 entries into Namur and Luxembourg. Additionally, the Thun album's inclusion of pages strewn with drawings of disassembled armors suggest that Artist A may have had access to images of the very armor that both Coustain and Burgkmair had depicted encasing Maximilian's body, if not to the armors themselves.<sup>368</sup> Artist A's drawings, such as the image in figure 112, synthesize the pictorial construction of Maximilian as an ideal mounted knight as in Burgkmair's equestrian portraits while drawing on the representations of recognizable armors by Lorenz Helmschmid that Maximilian donned to ride in real courtly spectacles.

### **Transmission and Transformation in Augsburg Cultures of Remembrance**

The drawings created by Artist A and many of the other images collected in the Thun album were made during a time when Augsburg's intellectual and artistic communities were creating numerous works of art and texts that commemorated the history of the Habsburg Holy Roman Emperors. Many of these projects took the form of manuscripts and anthologies in which illustrations like those from the Thun album used recognizable objects as metonyms for notable individuals and conveyed power and status through the visual languages of the armored body. It seems likely that, like Artist A, the illustrators who represented these historic objects, individuals, and events were influenced by, or were members of, artistic Augsburg families such as the Burgkmairs and Breus.

The majority of the commemorative volumes that were created or collected in Augsburg were related to commissions initiated by the imperial court, which had driven artistic production in the city during the first two decades of the 1500s. However, by participating in the culture of remembrance, or *Erinnerungskultur*, that surrounded Maximilian I and his reign, citizens of Augsburg were able to claim the chivalric virtues associated with the so-called Last Knight for themselves. For

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<sup>368</sup> Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the *Thun Sketchbooks* (Part I)," 307-309.

instance, a manuscript entitled *Ehrenspiegel des Hauses Österreich*, or *The Mirror of Honor of the House of Austria*, reveals the reverence with which elite Augsburgers looked back upon Maximilian I's reign, and the significance of wearable objects such as clothing as sites of residual identity within this culture of remembrance.<sup>369</sup> The earliest iteration of the *Mirror of Honor* was written in 1555 by Johann Jakob Fugger (1516-1575) in collaboration with a fellow Augsburg businessman and bibliophile, Clemens Jäger (1500-1561).<sup>370</sup> It is therefore roughly contemporary with the last large group of drawings included in the Thun album, a set of forty copies after the illustrated inventory of Charles V, compiled between 1544 and 1558 and drawn by Artist B.<sup>371</sup> A manuscript copy of the *Mirror of Honor* begun by Jakob Schrenck von Nötzing (1539-1612) for Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, in the 1590s and later presented to Emperor Rudolph II (1552-1612), testifies to the persistent power of the constructed history of the dynasty for viewers with a stake in its laudatory narrative.<sup>372</sup> Indeed, the history of the *Mirror of Honor*, which originated in mid-sixteenth century Augsburg and sparked interest again near the turn of the seventeenth-century, is reminiscent of the circumstances of the Thun album's drawings' creation and compilation.

In the *Mirror of Honor*, Fugger assumes the role of the eyewitness as he describes the regalia of the Holy Roman Emperors and also the treasures of Charles the Bold, which had been purchased

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<sup>369</sup> Munich, BSB, Cgm. 895-896. See also Friedhuber, 101-110. Although Friedhuber seems to confuse the order in which the two earliest versions of the *Ehrenspiegel* (now in Munich and Vienna) were produced, her analysis of the project's genesis and its commemoration of Maximilian's reign is invaluable.

<sup>370</sup> Munich, BSB, Cgm. 895-896.

<sup>371</sup> Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the *Thun Sketchbooks* (Part I)," 314-315. Terjanian suggests that Artist B likely made these works after the completion of the *Inventario Illuminado* in 1558. However, since there are at least two contemporary versions of the *Inventario* bound into the codices now in Madrid, the possibility that these Artist B's drawings were part of a larger project to create multiple copies of the *Inventario Illuminado*, perhaps to accompany Charles's armors as they traveled with him or to be kept at various imperial palaces in Spain, Austria, and the Low Countries, Madrid, RA, N. 18. A and B.

<sup>372</sup> Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 8614. Jakob Schrenk von Notzing, *Ehrenspiegel des Hauses Österreich*, 1590-1598.

by his father from the city of Basel in 1504.<sup>373</sup> The *Mirror of Honor* is sumptuously illustrated in the style of the Augsburg book painters whose ranks likely included Thun album artists such as Artist A. The book's seventh and final volume, which is dedicated entirely to the life of Maximilian I, contains representations of objects such as the jeweled ducal hat of Charles the Bold that echo Artist A's drawing not only in their style and technique of ink and gouache illustration, but also in their visualizations of wearable artworks that were integrally tied to the identity of particular individuals and events. Like other Augsburg manuscripts that commemorated the chivalric legacy of Maximilian and his reign, the *Mirror of Honor* repeatedly states its intent to laud the "much-beloved memory" (hochloblichsten gedechtnuss) of Charles the Bold, Maximilian I, and his son, Philip the Fair, Duke of Burgundy.<sup>374</sup>

Both Artist A's depiction of full body equine armor in figure 112 and the representations of Charles the Bold's ducal hat and jewels in the *Mirror of Honor* recall significant wearable artworks that were either no longer extant or unavailable to the book painters who represented them. In the *Mirror of Honor*, Hans Jakob Fugger declared his authority as an eyewitness who had once seen the objects that the *Mirror of Honor* describes, just as the anonymous speaker whose descriptions are inscribed in on the two panels after Coustain in Vienna had done.<sup>375</sup> The text preceding the illustrations of the *Burgunderbeute* (see fig. 119) declares that the author wishes to pass on to his sons and successors the images of these wondrous works and that what follows is "the true and right counterfeit of these aforementioned prizes in all of their grandeur, formed and shaped as he himself knew." (...des gemelten Clainats mer dann anndere wares wissen tragen, auff das meine Söne Erben und

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<sup>373</sup> Deuchler, *Die Burgunderbeute*, 118; Velden, *The Donor's Image*, 36, 57.

<sup>374</sup> BSB, Cgm 896, fol. 1r.

<sup>375</sup> BSB, Cgm 896, fol. 6v. The author traces how Jakob Fugger, called "The Rich," purchased *Burgunderbeute* and how his own great uncle, Anton Fugger had sold the treasures for a great sum; a feather from the ducal hat was purchased by Maximilian, but many of the jewels were sold to King Henry VIII of England.

Nachkommen, diester gewister gezeugnis aller vorgesachter sachen, von mir gehalten mogen, die ware und grechte Counterfechtung dises zuvor offernemten Clainats mit aller seiner grössin form unnd gestalt, wie das an mir selbs gewesen...) <sup>376</sup>

Further on in its final volume, the *Mirror of Honor* commemorates the objects that surrounded Maximilian I himself and that signified not only his performance of an archetypal knightly identity, but also his cultivation of political and cultural capital through strategic marriages and diplomacy. The titulus of this section, the seventh book of the *Mirror of Honor*, declares that the reader will encounter, “all the orders and labors that this most praiseworthy hero and Emperor Maximilianus, by the grace of God the most mighty of even the praiseworthy Kings, princes and lords, spiritual and secular.” (Nun wollen wir zu ainem beschlus dises/sibenden Buchs, alle orden und libren/ en damit dieser hochloblichst held und/ kaiser Maximilianus, von Got dem/ all mechtigen, auch den loblichen könig/en, fursten und herren gaistlich und/ weltlich) <sup>377</sup> Folios 331r through 332r present nearly life-sized visions of the collars and insignia of the knightly orders to which Maximilian belonged, arranged in the order in which he received these honors. The Order of the Jar (fig. 135), founded by Friedrich III, is accompanied by the caption:

First, his majesty aptly accepted the Order of his majesty’s lord Father, the most-beloved Roman Emperor Friedrich, the third of his name, in high festivities, and he held and wore the same Order with great honor until the time when he took the knightly Order of the Golden Fleece. (Erstlich hat sein kais ist des hochlöblichen Romisch/ Kaiser Friderici das namens des dritten, seiner maiestat herrn/ vaters orden clainat der Messigkait an hohen

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<sup>376</sup> BSB, Cgm 896, fol. 7r. *Clainat* in Middle and Early New High German signifies a type of prize, as as that won at a tournament.

<sup>377</sup> BSB, Cgm 896, fol. 330v. Later, this passage declares how Maximilian bore these orders with “great honor until he entered his grave.” (taillhafftig gemacht un/mit grossen eern bis in sein grab ge).

fes/ten zufeurren angenomen und dasselbig clainat bis auf /die zeit und haltung des  
ritterlichen guldin fleiß, mit /grossen eern gehalten und getragen.)<sup>378</sup>

The next verso depicts the Order of the Golden Fleece (fig. 136), and describes how Maximilian assumed leadership of this Order, which he inherited from his Burgundian predecessors, at Bruges in 1478, and how he wore the “lordly jewel of the Toison” until the end of his days.<sup>379</sup> Finally, the facing recto visualizes the English Order of the Garter (fig. 137), bestowed upon him by King Henry VIII at Thérrouanne to celebrate the “brotherly unity” of the two monarchs following their joint victory in the Battle of the Spurs.<sup>380</sup> The documentary tone of the *Mirror of Honor’s* inscriptions echoes the texts that accompany the painted images of Maximilian’s Netherlandish entries after Coustain. Like these paintings and the drawing by Artist A related to them, these illustrations present material signifiers of knightly identity that recall the significant moments in the emperor’s biography. This virtual collection of knightly insignia and the inscriptions that accompany it offer support to this study’s interpretation of the atextual Thun album as a commemorative manifestation of cultures of memory that surrounded imperial martial identities.

In addition to the representations of these symbolic objects, the *Mirror of Honor* incorporates portraits of Maximilian and his spouses, Mary of Burgundy and Bianca Sforza (1472-1510). Like

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<sup>378</sup> BSB, Cgm 896, 331r.

<sup>379</sup> BSB, Cgm 896, 331v. “Nachmalen als der werdt und theur Erzfürst Maxim/ilianus im der Stat Brügs anno vierzehenhündert/achtundsibezig das erst mal den Ritterlichen orden des gulden fließ gehalten. Da seind ir ist: nach gewonhait der stiftung dises Ritterlichen ordens als ain herzog zu Burgund zu ainem obristen des orden er nent und mit dem herrlichen Clainat des Toyson begabet worden welches Clainat der loblich kaiser bis in sein end mit allen Eern gehalten und gefüeret hat.”

<sup>380</sup> BSB, Cgm 896, 332r. “Volgends wie sein kais: mast: und könig hainrich von Engelland/ Anno funffsehenhundert und vierzeh bey Terouana im feld zu/samen komen auch ein brüderliche ainigkait und bundnus mit/ einander aufgericht. Da haben die baide kaiser und konig mit ire Ritterlichen orden zu ainer bestettigung irer verbundnus einan der vereeret begabet und gezieret wlchen königlichen orden von Engelland, der loblich kaiser bis in seinen tod zu hohen festen getrage und behalten.” It is interesting to note that the *Ehrenspiegel* gives 1514, rather than 1513, as the date of this meeting.



those in the Thun album, these images have antecedents in the Habsburg imperial collections; they are based on paintings by Bernard Strigel that were widely copied and disseminated during the emperor's lifetime.<sup>381</sup> Finally, immediately following this series of portraits, is an illustration of Maximilian (fig. 138) armored, his helm crested with a spray of peacock feathers, riding an impressively barded horse, and wearing the collar of the Golden Fleece that had been pictured independently just a few folios before. This image derives from Burgkmair's *Maximilian I on Horseback*, as evidenced by Maximilian's distinctive armor and his horse's crupper which is identical to the flank defense emblazoned with the arms of Austria that Burgkmair envisioned in 1508. The illustration is accompanied by an inscription that declares that it is a "Studious counterfeit of the dear Roman Emperor Maximilian, as his imperial majesty appeared in his armor on horse." (Fleissige Contrafechtung des theuern Romischen Kaisers Maximilians, wie sein kays. ät. Ihm seinen kiris zu Roß gestalten gewesen.)<sup>382</sup> In this image, the *Mirror of Honor* not only extends the continuum of equestrian portraits that represented the Habsburg prince, but also specifically presents his armored body and that of his steed as a locus of memory that could recall Maximilian's *theuern* (precious or dear) presence.

Like the collection bound into the Thun album during the mid- to late-sixteenth century, the *Mirror of Honor* invests wearable works of art with mnemonic power. The images of armored and bejeweled bodies, insignia, or empty garments that populate these volumes participated in a culture of remembrance that lauded the late-fifteenth century and the first years of the sixteenth century as an era of legendary chivalry and grandeur. Objects, particularly armor, jewelry, and clothing, that

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<sup>381</sup> BSB, Cgm 896, 335v-337r. This portrait series, which comprises openings that picture Maximilian on the left facing each of his wives, also includes an opening that represents Anne of Brittany, to whom he was briefly betrothed, but who married Charles VIII of France in 1491. Interestingly, the inscription betrays extensive knowledge of court affairs in its account of the betrothal's arrangement by Wolfgang von Polheim, Maximilian's close friend and Master of Tournaments.

<sup>382</sup> BSB, Cgm 896, fol. 337v.

were worn on the bodies of famous men such as Charles the Bold and Maximilian, and of them became stimuli for imagining and remembering increasingly mythologized histories. While this memorial culture was not limited to Augsburg, the city was central to its construction in images and texts. Because the Thun album collects drawings whose dates span the decades between 1470 and 1590, with the majority produced from the 1530s through the 1560s, the collection encourages viewership of late-fifteenth century martial and visual culture through the lenses of the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century cultures of remembrance that retrospectively reconstructed Maximilian's reign as a golden age. In Artist A's drawing of Maximilian riding the armored horse, these time periods are further collapsed into a single image that neither represents a single instance of courtly performance, nor a moment of precise visual recollection. Instead it recalls the independent and complex body of works that surrounded Lorenz Helmschmid's exceptional armor and the prince who donned it.

The codicological context within which Maximilian I rides his armored horse on folio 29r of the Thun album suggests that it may have been placed in the book in order to help enhance certain commemorative themes. The drawing is the fourth of five images by Artist A that fill the third quire's first three folios (see Appendix II). Indeed, along with an inserted set of earlier, fifteenth-century drawings, Artist A's drawings dominate the book's first three quires, which contain the set of adaptations from Burgkmair's *Genealogy of Maximilian I* (see figures 9-12) and many images that focus on armors created during the waning decades of the fifteenth century, which would be so exalted in commemorative art and literature during the sixteenth century.<sup>383</sup>

The three drawings that precede Maximilian riding his horse in the third quire visualize field and tournament armor that dates from 1495 through 1510. As noted in Chapter 3, the image that

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<sup>383</sup> UPM, GK 11.572-B, fol. 9r-12r.

begins the quire (fig. 92) pits a tournament fighter on foot against a figure armored for the battlefield. Following this pair of combatants, a drawing that spreads across the opening of folios 27v and 28r depicts another figure armored for the tournament on foot who raises a longaxe to defend himself against a mounted warrior equipped for the field or for the chaotic *melée*-style tournament known as the *Freiturnier* (see fig. 93).<sup>384</sup> On the verso of this two page spread (folio 28v) is another drawing by Artist A that represents empty pieces of armor for the legs, arms, and shoulders crafted in the late gothic style of around 1495.<sup>385</sup> This array of various armor elements faces the representation of Maximilian and his armored horse (fig. 139). On the verso of the representation of Maximilian, Artist A pictured another set of empty armors (fig. 140). This helm, bevor, fluted breastplate and backplate, lance rest, and vamplate designed for the joust of war in the style of the late 1510s appear along with the tool used to secure them onto the wearer's body. These pieces of jousting armor are barely visible through the paper leaf from the recto, where the shadows of the sallet and bevor appear just above Maximilian's left shoulder. The empty armor for the joust of war on folio 29v, like the spectacular drawing on the sheet's recto, relates to mounted demonstrations of power, whether in the context of the tournament or the triumphal entry.

The rest of the album's third quire is filled with tipped-in drawings by Artist B that have been glued onto the short page tips along the gutter. Artist B's drawings copy representations of horse armors and armored saddles from the illuminated inventory of Charles V, which was begun in 1544 and completed before 1558.<sup>386</sup> The first of these images (fig. 141), envisions three shaffrons (equine head defenses) and the pommel and cantle plates of two elaborately decorated armored saddles, the second of which was crafted by Lorenz Helmschmid's son, Kolman, for Charles V in

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<sup>384</sup> UPM, GK 11.572-B, fol. 27r -28r.

<sup>385</sup> UPM, GK 11.572-B, fol. 28v.

<sup>386</sup> Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the *Thun Sketchbooks* (Part I)," 314, 342-346. RA N.18 A-B.

1519.<sup>387</sup> On the folios that follow and complete the album's third quire, Artist B represented groups of four colorful and luxuriously quilted saddles with decorated steel pommels and cantles (fig. 142).<sup>388</sup> These saddles' models in Charles' *Inventario Illuminado* (fig. 143) reveal that Artist B did not copy entire pages, but selected particular objects from the imperial armory to recombine on the page.

This group of images by Artists A and B in the album's third quire precede and follow the drawing of Maximilian riding in triumph upon his armored steed. They visualize mounted spectacle in various forms with armors for man and horse created by the Helmschmid armorers for princes of the House of Habsburg over at least two generations. These juxtapositions suggest a way of thinking about connections between them. Like Hans Jakob Fugger's roughly contemporaneous *Mirror of Honor*, the Thun album combines representations of figures like Maximilian and Charles the Bold who had been posthumously mythologized with images of spectacular armors and costume elements that served as metonyms for the legendary knightly identities that surrounded these men.

The Thun album contains a heterogeneous collection of drawings, bound in an idiosyncratic order by their anonymous collector. However, one thread that runs throughout the diverse images of armored figures and empty armors arrayed in pieces in the album is the commemoration of events, objects, and personae surrounding the Habsburg court of the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries. Of the eight discernable artists represented in the album, Artist A's work is the most firmly rooted in the visual culture of prints and paintings that surrounded Maximilian I and in

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<sup>387</sup> Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the *Thun Sketchbooks* (Part I)," 342. UPM, GK 11572-B, fol.29v.

<sup>388</sup> UPM, GK 11572-B, fol. 30r-35r.

the innovative and luxurious armor—material culture that constructed the chivalric identities of the Habsburg prince and his courtiers.

In the drawing on folio 29r, Artist A enacted multiple syntheses. The image combines two discreet spectacles that were represented separately in the painted panels after Coustain: Albrecht May's procession through Namur on the armored horse and Maximilian's progress through Luxembourg. In merging these performative events, the anonymous Augsburg draftsman reunited Lorenz Helmschmid's stunning armors for man and horse, created specifically as material declarations of the new Duke of Burgundy's knightly identity and martial might. By envisioning the armored bodies of Maximilian and his steed from the vantage point of Augsburg in the 1540s—removed from the entries by thousands of miles and around half a century—Artist A looked back through the layers of imagery that had constructed the emperor's mythos. He incorporated not only Burgundian antecedents, transmitted through copies that remained in the imperial court, but also the proliferation of equestrian imperial representations constructed by fellow Augsburg artists, particularly Burgkmair. The memorial sentiment to which the Thun album alludes shared its themes and imagery with imperially commissioned art and literary works like *Der Weißkunig* and *Theuerdank* that reconstructed the chaotic events of Maximilian's short reign as Duke of Burgundy and transformed them into the mythic Burgundian Experience. The Thun album's assemblage at the beginning of the seventeenth-century, which situated Artist A's drawing of Maximilian I and his armored steed within a larger body of artworks that envisaged various types of mounted chivalric performance, reveals the persistent mnemonic power of both exceptional works of armor and the images that depict them.

## Chapter 5: The Thun Album as a Virtual Armory of Heroes

A two-sided drawing by Artist A in ink, gouache, and metallic silver wash depicts a garniture of sumptuous late gothic armor that is decorated with filigreed punchwork, its edges bound in gilt brass fleur-de-lys. The recto of the paper leaf (fig. 144), visualizes this armor encasing the body of a figure who wields a simple staff. The gilded knuckles of the man's right gauntlet project prominently as he grasps his weapon. He rests his left hand on his hip, and the gilt peak of the pointed couter that encapsulates his elbow accentuates the angle of his bent left arm.<sup>389</sup> His elegant cuisses (thigh defenses) are embossed and chased with linear patterns, and his poleyns or "knee cops" include double-lobed wings, edged in gilt binding, that protect the vulnerable outside of the joint. The figure's closed greaves completely encase his calves in sculpted steel, and his feet seem to terminate in extremely long, golden points. Gilt toe-caps of this type echoed the elongated shoes popular during the late fifteenth century, and would have been affixed to the sabatons (foot defenses) using pins after the wearer was mounted. This drawing meticulously represents the pins appear as tiny circles on the tops of the figure's feet.

On the sheet's verso (fig. 145) Artist A disassembles the individual components of the same armor and spreads the empty steel defenses across the page. Two rows of gilt binding adorn the breastplate, and its volumetric form is saturated in steel blue gouache that is visible through the sheet above the shoulder of the armored figure on the recto. Next to the breastplate, a matching backplate completes the cuirass, or torso defense. The faulds (overlapping hip defenses) that cascade downward from the waists of the breastplate and backplate have elegantly cusped and punched edges. The draftsman depicted the visored sallet beneath the breastplate. The bevor, which

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<sup>389</sup> For definitions and diagrams of armor terms, see Appendix I.

accompanied the sallet to protect the lower face and neck, appears to the helmet's right along with a spaulder (shoulder defense), augmented by two different *besagens* (disk-shaped plates that shielded the vulnerable armpit). In the third row of armor components, a smooth, gilded reinforce alludes to the armor's potential deployment in a mounted tournament or joust, where this steel plate would protect the left shoulder from lance blows. The remainder of the empty defenses that are arrayed in the bottom right quadrant of the sheet are intended to encase the lower arms and hands. The couters (elbow defenses) closely echo those worn by the figure on the page's recto, but they lack the gilt caps that gleam on the man's bent elbow. Cylindrical vambraces (forearm defenses), a pair of gilded and decorated fingered gauntlets, and a more rigid, mitten-style gauntlet complete the depicted group of related components.<sup>390</sup>

Both sides of this page depict a garniture, or matching set of interchangeable armor components, that was crafted by Lorenz Helmschmid in the early 1480s for Maximilian I, then Archduke of Austria and Duke of Burgundy. Portions of this exceptional garniture exist today in the Kunsthistorisches Museum (fig. 146) as armor A 62. From 1484 until its installation in Vienna in 1806, this armor was located in Innsbruck: first in the Hofburg Palace, then in Schloss Ambras, where it became one of the central works in the so-called *Heldenrüstkammer*, or Heroes' Armory, a commemorative collection of armors that was conceived and arranged by Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol (1529-1595) in 1570.<sup>391</sup>

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<sup>390</sup> This mitten gauntlet for the left hand may be a specialized, rigid type (called a Manifer) used to protect the left hand as it held the reins in a joust.

<sup>391</sup> Bruno Thomas and Ortwin Gamber, *Katalog der Leibrüstkammer*, 2 vols., vol. 1: Der Zeitraum von 500 bis 1530, Führer durch das Kunsthistorische Museum Nr 13 (Wien: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1976), 10; Elizabeth Scheicher, "Historiography and display: the 'Heldenrüstkammer' of Archduke Ferdinand II in Schloss Ambras," *Journal of the History of Collections* 2, no. 1 (1990), 74-75; Christian Beaufort-Spontin and Matthias Pfaffenbichler, *Meisterwerke der Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer*, Kurzführer durch das Kunsthistorische Museum herausgegeben von Wilfried Seipel (Vienna, 2005), 15.

The known provenance of A 62 testifies to the significance of armors as memorable objects that could be associated with specific princely identities. Consideration of the patterns of collecting that influenced the preservation and display of this particular armor from the 1480s through the end of the sixteenth century contextualizes the Thun album and offers insight into the potential significance of its process of compilation.

Consideration of Artist A's drawing within its codicological and pictorial context and of the Helmschmid armor (A 62) within its contexts of display offers insight into the mnemonic roles that notable armors could serve in early modern collections. In each case, the armor, whether real or depicted, is played off other armored bodies associated with the Habsburg imperial court. A 62 remained in palace collections from the end of its working life in 1484. The drawings collected in the Thun album likely emerged from the dynamic networks of artistic, commercial, and intellectual exchange that characterized mid- and late sixteenth-century Augsburg. However, in each context, the elegant late gothic armor that Lorenz Helmschmid crafted for Maximilian I seems to become a central object of desire and memory easily imbued with the chivalric mythoi of the House of Habsburg.

Analysis of how and why the Thun album's compiler incorporated representations of A 62 into the codex reveals the idiosyncratic logic of the bound collection. Although the album's organization may at first seem haphazard, analysis of individual quires or sections reveal thematic patterns that emerge from the collector's purposeful juxtaposition of drawings within the commemorative space of the album. For instance, analysis of the quire into which this drawing of A 62 was placed and the quire that follows highlights the compiler's tendency to intermix drawings by different artists, who had worked at different times and from divergent models in order to bring together armors with similar qualities or associations. Through compilation of these quires, the album's maker constructed patterns and visual contexts for A 62 that reveal something about how he hoped the bound collection would be received.



The two-sided drawing of A 62 was inserted into a group of images that visualize technically stunning armors, many of which are recognizable as works that were crafted for illustrious wearers by virtuoso armorers in both Italian and German-speaking lands.<sup>392</sup> These sheets appear to have been glued onto the short tips of nested leaves that form the fourth and fifth quires of the Thun album (see Appendix II). These quires only contain drawings by Artists A and B, and they are distributed assymmetrically.

### **The Drawing's Place Among Collected Images of Memorable Armors**

In the fourth and fifth quires, the image of Maximilian's sumptuous armor on folio 41 (figs. 144-145) takes its place alongside sixteen other full-figure drawings, at least nine of which visualize recognizable armors crafted for imperial or princely wearers. While five of these drawings, including the representation of armor A 62, were drawn by Artist A and have no known antecedents, the majority of the images that these quires collect were drafted by a less-virtuosic Augsburg artist, identified in this study as Artist B. The eleven drawings by Artist B in the album's fourth and fifth quires are characteristic of the forty images in total by this artist that the Thun album contains. Each copies a visualization of armor from the illustrated inventory of Emperor Charles V, the *Inventario Illuminado*, which was compiled in Augsburg between 1544 and Charles's death in 1558.<sup>393</sup> While Artist B closely copied the representation and style of armored figures and disassembled armors that appear in the *Inventario Illuminado*, his copies are not slavish. Artist B often rearranged the pieces, and he sometimes divided and separated figures from the other armor components that the inventory depicts alongside them or divides objects that are grouped together in the inventory to portray them on more than one page.

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<sup>392</sup> The fifth quire also includes an image of a jousting armor produced in Flanders for Charles V, a drawing now on folio 49r. See Appendix II and Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the *Thun Sketchbooks* (Part I)," 356.

<sup>393</sup> Madrid, RA, N.18 A; Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the *Thun sketchbooks*," 304.

A large proportion of the drawings by Artist B that the album's compiler inserted into the fourth and fifth quires are notable for their depiction of armors that were important for Charles V's self-construction. Like his grandfather and predecessor, Maximilian I, Charles shrewdly deployed armor as a means of aligning himself with knightly and—increasingly—mythic archetypes, and the compiler of the Thun album seems to have recognized this.

Pierre Terjanian's careful identification of nearly all the recognizable, extant armors depicted in the album laid the groundwork for considering how their selection and juxtaposition constructed other narratives. Holistic reconsideration of these images reveals that the collected drawings work together as a Theater of Memory or Armory of Heroes. Lina Bolzoni compellingly demonstrated the widespread interest in the arts of memory that permeated late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century society both north and south of the Alps. She traced the transmission of treatises that emphasize the mnemonic and metonymic power of images, objects, or personae from Italian writers such as Jacopo Publicio and Giulio Camillo through Augsburg-based publishers like Erhard Ratdolt and, later, intellectuals such as Samuel Quicchelberg.<sup>394</sup> The dominant mnemonic strategies of the period characterized the memory as an imaginary storehouse or theater within which such metonymic signs could be arranged and used to recollect complex associations and meanings.<sup>395</sup> The arrangement of significant armors in physical armories or in pictorial collections may function within comparable frameworks of memory used by period viewers to conceptualize the past and perceived socio-cultural legacies that informed their own identities.

Visual and contextual analyses of the image of Maximilian's late gothic armor build on Terjanian's observation that the Thun album is more than a transparent record celebrating the

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<sup>394</sup> Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory*, 181-184. For more on Samuel Quicchelberg's connections to Augsburg intellectual circles through the Fuggers, and his impact on collecting in that city, see Meadow, 191-92.

<sup>395</sup> Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory*, 181. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 129-138; Whitehead, *Memory*, 38.

Helmschmid armorers' work for illustrious patrons.<sup>396</sup> Rather, the anonymous compiler of the codex collects retrospective representations of significant armors that were themselves reconstructions based on diverse graphic sources. He recombines them into meaningful juxtapositions that manifested his own particular recollections or associations. Simultaneously, the collection assembled in the album participated in the wider culture of remembrance that spawned commemorative displays of armor, such as those installed at the courts of Tirol and Saxony, as well as the manuscripts and printed volumes that documented them.<sup>397</sup> The Thun album, like numerous books and artworks created in Augsburg to celebrate the martial magnificence of the late-fifteenth and early sixteenth-century Habsburg court, manifested more modest and portable facets of martial commemoration.

Three one-sided drawings with blank versos by Artist A and two by Artist B precede Artist A's representations (see figs. 144-145) of Lorenz Helmschmid's late gothic armor encasing a standing figure and in pieces in quire four. The first, by Artist A, visualizes a poll-axe-wielding figure armored for the tournament on foot in the style of the 1480s (see fig. 91). He wears archaic mail chausses (leg defenses) with seams articulated in glossy, red gouache cross-hatches that run up the inside of his right leg and an unusual, round, visored helm bolted to an elegantly simple late gothic cuirass.<sup>398</sup> The second drawing depicts an elaborate costume armor, raised and embossed to mimic the puffed and slashed clothing that was first popularized by German-speaking *Landsknechts* around 1500 and that remained fashionable in

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<sup>396</sup> Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the *Thun Sketchbooks* (Part I)," 308-311

<sup>397</sup> Maryan Ainsworth, Sandra Hindriks, and Pierre Terjanian, "Lucas Cranach's *Saint Maurice*," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 72, no. 4 (2015), 26-29; Scheicher, "Historiography and display"; Christian Beaufort-Spontin, "Die Ehrliche Gesellschaft" Erzherzog Ferdinands von Österreich. Die originellste Sammlung des 16. Jahrhunderts?," in *Das Exponat als historisches Zeugnis: Präsentationsformen politischer Ikonographie / Deutsches Historisches Museum Berlin* (Dresden: Sandstein Verlag, 2010), 125.

<sup>398</sup> Although a similar helm in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (PMA acc. 1977-167-70) was once attributed to Lorenz Helmschmid, its authenticity has been called into question and its fifteenth-century date remains suspect pending metallurgical analyses. Dirk Breiding, July 10, 2015. Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the *Thun Sketchbooks* (Part I)," 346; For a discussion of the mail chausses represented in this image, published prior to the rediscovery and dating of the Thun album, see Donald J. La Rocca, "Notes on the Mail Chausse," 79-80.

courtly circles until 1540 (fig. 147). These fantastical armor components are for mounted use in the field. Artist A presents this flamboyant armor as an object of display rather than in action. The armor in figure 147 has not been identified. However, its evocation of puffed and slashed cloth that the armor achieves through repoussé and etching closely resembles a surviving couter and upper arm defense that Kolman Helmschmid crafted for Wilhelm Freiherr von Roggendorf in 1523 (fig. 148), as well as the thighs of the unfinished garniture that Hans Rabeiler forged for the young Charles V in 1511-12 (fig. 149).<sup>399</sup>

The third drawing by Artist A (fig. 150) shows a standing figure dressed in late gothic armor who holds a sheathed sword in his left hand. This man wears an embroidered cap, rather than a helmet, and his stern, heavy-lidded face is one of only five fully exposed visages represented in the entire Thun album.<sup>400</sup> His distinctive facial features parallel those in portraits of Archduke Sigmund of Tirol (1427-1496) painted by the Master of the Mornauer Portrait (compare figs. 150-151) and Ludwig Konraiter during the 1470s and 1480s and profiles of the archduke that emblazon Tirolean coins from the same

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<sup>399</sup> Stefan Krause, *Fashion in Steel*, 63; Terjanian, “The rediscovery of the *Thun Sketchbooks* (Part I),” 346; Tobias Capwell, “Left upper cannon and couter, Kolman Helmschmid, A245,” The Wallace Collection, <http://wallacelive.wallacecollection.org/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=60736&viewType=detailView> accessed February 1, 2017; Beaufort-Spontin and Pfaffenbichler, *Meisterwerke der Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer*, 23, 32. It is notable that Wilhelm von Roggendorf was also embodied by a landsknecht-style costume armor in the Heldenrüstkammer at Schloss Ambras, which he is represented wearing in the printed catalog of the collection, the *Armamentarium heroicum*. Jakob Schrenck von Nötzing and Bruno Thomas, *Die Heldenrüstkammer (Armamentarium Heroicum) Erzherzog Ferdinands II. auf Schloss Ambras bei Innsbruck: Faksimiledruck der lateinischen und der deutschen Ausgabe des Kupferstich Bildinventars von 1601 bzw. 1603* (Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1981), 14.

<sup>400</sup> The other four likenesses are confined to the initial pages of the album’s first quire; they portray enthroned princes and were executed by the same draftsman, who based them loosely on Hans Burgkmair’s *Genealogy of Emperor Maximilian I* (see figs. 9-12). The cap that this figure wears is a kind of hair net commonly worn by men in fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Northern Europe. This type of hair-covering, which contained the relatively long hair sported by fashionable men, appears in many other portraits, including Albrecht Dürer’s well-known painting of Jakob Fugger, “The Rich,” from 1518 (Augsburg, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlung, Inv. Nr. 717). Sigmund of Tirol wears such a cap beneath his Archducal coronet in coins and is represented with shoulder-length hair in all surviving painted portraits from his lifetime.

period (fig. 152).<sup>401</sup> If this drawing does represent Sigmund of Tirol, its placement in the album two folios before the representation by the same artist of armor A 62 may be significant, because Maximilian gave that armor to the Tirolean Archduke in 1484 on the occasion of Sigmund's second marriage.<sup>402</sup> Among imperial circles and the artists who served them, A 62 had become closely associated with Sigmund by the time of the drawing's execution, even though he likely never wore the armor. This connection was further reinforced by a commemorative book that featured an engraved portrait of the Archduke clad in the Helmschmid armor, which was printed in three editions during the period of the album's compilation.<sup>403</sup> Although the unusual late gothic armor in which Artist A encases Sigmund does not correspond to extant real armors, the combined sallet and buffe that float in the lower right corner of the drawing resemble three surviving head and throat defenses by Lorenz Helmschmid (see figs. 153-154).<sup>404</sup>

The two leaves that separate Artist A's portrait-like drawing of Sigmund of Tirol from his representation of A 62 were drawn by Artist B and portray armors crafted for Emperor Charles V copied by Artist B from antecedents in the *Inventario Illuminado* (compare figs. 155-156).<sup>405</sup> The first drawing visualizes armors crafted by the Italian armorers, Caremolo Modrone of Mantua and Filippo Negrolì of Milan.<sup>406</sup> The lower left corner of the sheet depicts a helmet in the *all antica* (antique) style, one

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<sup>401</sup> Leitner and Terjanian both posited that this figure represents Sigmund of Tirol. See Leitner, "Artistisches Quellenmaterial," VI; Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the *Thun Sketchbooks* (Part I)," 346.

<sup>402</sup> Beaufort-Spontin and Pfaffenbichler, *Meisterwerke der Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer*, 66; Matthias Pfaffenbichler and Marcus Mrass, "Die Rüstungen im Werk des Bartholomäusmeisters," 422-23.

<sup>403</sup> "Armamentarium Heroicum," British Museum, accessed January 21, 2018, [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=3485885&partId=1&searchText=1871,0812.405&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3485885&partId=1&searchText=1871,0812.405&page=1).

<sup>404</sup> Interestingly, two of these unusual sallets, all three of which were forged by Lorenz Helmschmid, are also represented alongside the armored portraits of Sigmund and Maximilian I in Jakob Schrenk von Nötzing's *Armamentarium Heroicum*, the printed companion volume to the *Heldenrüstkammer* at Schloss Ambras. See figs. 31 and 32.

<sup>405</sup> Madrid, RA, N.18 A, folio 30r; UPM, GK 11.572-B, folios 39 and 40. Both of these sheets are one-sided drawings with blank rectos.

<sup>406</sup> Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the *Thun Sketchbooks* (Part I)," 348;

of the most iconic armors produced for Charles V by Italian workshops. This fantastically embossed and gilded *burgonet*-style helm by Filippo Negroli (fig. 157) mimics a bare head of lush curls and a strong, bearded jaw.<sup>407</sup> Forged in 1533, the helmet was based on an earlier version of the classicizing design that Negroli had crafted for the Duke of Urbino.<sup>408</sup> Its idealized features and lush hair recalled bronze depictions of Roman Emperors, such as the equestrian portrait of Marcus Aurelius in Rome, which sixteenth-century viewers interpreted as a representation of Constantine I. This sculpted helmet not only functioned as a perfecting surface that encased Charles V's idiosyncratic features in the guise of a classical hero, but also manifested the "translation of empire" through which the ancient power of the Roman Caesars was considered to have been transferred to Germanic Holy Roman Emperors from the time of Charlemagne.<sup>409</sup> The second drawing by Artist B also copies an image in the *Inventario Illuminado* of an armor that dates to the late 1520s. Alongside this armor, Artist B juxtaposed a pair of gauntlets that were made around 1535; they are attributed to Desiderius Helmschmid, the grandson of Lorenz and son of Kolman, who became a favorite armorer of Emperor Charles V and Philip II of Spain.<sup>410</sup>

The three folios by Artist B that follow the representation of A 62 in quire four also depend on illustrations in the *Inventario Illuminado*, and they contribute to the emperor's assumption of the archetypal identities of Roman Caesar or Christian Knight. The first of these shows armor decorated with etched and gilded bands and its breastplate bares an image of the Virgin and Child within a golden mandorla (fig. 158). This armor crafted for Charles V in 1538 by Desiderius Helmschmid, incorporates design elements that the armorer would revisit in the so-called Muhlberg Armor (fig. 159) worn by the emperor

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<sup>407</sup> Madrid, RA, N. 18 A, folio 33r.

<sup>408</sup> Springer, *Armour and Masculinity*, 111. Soler de Campo, *The Art of Power*, 48; The Duke of Urbino's Helmet all' antica is preserved in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, see Beaufort-Spontin and Pfaffenbichler, *Meisterwerke der Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer*, 39.

<sup>409</sup> Springer, *Armour and Masculinity*, 32-32, 114; Frances Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), 12-13, 20-23.

<sup>410</sup> Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the *Thun Sketchbooks* (Part I)," 348; Madrid, RA, N. 18 A, folio 4v.

during his resounding victory over the Protestant forces of the Schmalkaldic League at the Battle of Mühlberg.<sup>411</sup> After the triumph, the Mühlberg armor, as well as other armors emblazoned with the Virgin and Child, became central signifiers of Charles' identity as imperial defender of the Catholic faith in post-Reformation Europe. Indeed, the Mühlberg Armor became a symbol of the emperor's triumph and Titian used the armor as a model for the creation of two paintings (see fig. 160) that he executed in Augsburg during the Imperial Diet of 1548.<sup>412</sup> The second folio by Artist B (fig. 161) depicts armor that also appeared in official portraits of the Emperor. Specialists identify this armor forged by Kolman between 1525 and 1530 by the "fleur-de-lys volutes" on its decorative edging, which are visible along the tops of the shoulder defenses in figure 162. Charles V wears this armor in a woodcut executed by Giovanni Britto in 1536 after a now-lost early portrait by Titian (fig. 163).<sup>413</sup>

The drawings are so seamlessly assembled into a series of seemingly related images that the transition between the fourth and fifth quires is almost imperceptible, indicating the care with which the album was compiled. The first three folios of quire five continue the series of Artist B's of recognizable luxury armors from Charles V's collection. In the first two of these, as in folio 41, the recto depicts a standing, armored figure while the verso pictures empty armors in pieces. Although, these pieces do not necessarily correspond to the garnitures that appear on the front of the sheets, each of the drawings closely emulates illustrations in Charles' illuminated inventory. For instance, on the fifth quire's first verso, Artist B represents a striking parade shield, along with matching pauldrons and leg defenses, from

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<sup>411</sup> Soler de Campo *The Art of Power*, 160-61; Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the *Thun Sketchbooks* (Part I)," Terjanian points out that this image is significant in that it visualizes a figure encased in an armor that is represented only in pieces in the *Inventario Iluminado*, the presumptive antecedent for the images.

<sup>412</sup> Soler de Campo, *The Art of Power*, 161. The second of Titian's paintings, a full-length portrait of the emperor in his armor, was destroyed by a fire that engulfed the El Pardo Palace in 1604.

<sup>413</sup> Soler de Campo, *The Art of Power*, 158-159; Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the *Thun Sketchbooks* (Part I)," 350. The bust, while not illustrated here for the sake of brevity, is currently in the Museo Nacional del Prado. Soler de Campo also identifies a depiction of the same armor in a marble bust of the emperor sculpted by Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli.

a garniture attributed to Desiderius (fig. 164). This set of armor, known as the Algiers garniture (see fig. 25), was forged around 1540 in preparation for the emperor's ill-fated 1541 campaign against north African piracy in the Mediterranean. Many of the exchange components from the garniture were lost at sea when storms decimated Charles' fleet.<sup>414</sup> The shield appears in the *Inventario Illuminado's* first volume (fig. 165) along with other parts of the Algiers garniture, including the fantastical eagle helmet and an unusual gorget (neck and throat defense) that extends far beyond the neck to cover most of the chest and back.

Folio 46r (fig. 166), the third drawing in quire five, represents a lone figure derived from the *Inventario Illuminado's* second volume (fig. 167).<sup>415</sup> While both drawings depict portions of the well-known "KD" garniture for field and tournament crafted by Kolman Helmschmid for the Emperor Charles V around 1525, the image in the Thun album omits the reinforces and pieces of exchange with which the inventory surrounds the armored figure.<sup>416</sup> Thus, the recto of folio 46 highlights and monumentalizes the armored body, which Artist B presents as an impermeable whole, rather than one possible combination of interchangeable parts. The verso of this folio is blank, and it forms a visual barrier between the

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<sup>414</sup>Soler de Campo, *The Art of Power*, 102; Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the *Thun Sketchbooks* (Part I)," 352. Terjanian suggested that the subtle differences between Artist A's image and the surviving pieces of real armor may indicate that this drawing was a preliminary design executed around 1540 for a then unfinished armor, rather than a retrospective representation.<sup>414</sup> The contemporaneity of the Algiers garniture's creation by Desiderius Helmschmid and the period of Artist A's activity lends support to this theory.

<sup>415</sup> Madrid, RA N.18 vol. B, fol. 13r. Since the *Inventario* contains numerous copies drawn in the late-nineteenth or early-twentieth centuries, I cite the most firmly identified sixteenth-century drawings in this significant but problematic bound collection. Although this armor also appears on folio 12r of the first volume (vol. A) of the *Inventario Illuminado*, only the version in the second volume is marked with a sixteenth-century watermark. The drawing in vol. A also incorporates unexplained, pasted-on elements.

<sup>416</sup> Don Juan De Valencia, "Bildinventar der Waffen, Rüstungen, Gewänder und Standarten Karl V. in der Armeria Real zu Madrid," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen der Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 10/11 (1889, 1890), CCCLIII.



preceding drawings that remainder of quire five, which contains primary armors associated with the joust and the tournament on foot.<sup>417</sup>

Although the functions and contexts that the draftsmen whose works are collected in the Thun album intended for their drawings remain uncertain, the anonymous compiler of the bound collection clearly privileged representations of figures modeling armor over images of disassembled components of the same garnitures. In the last quire of the Thun album, Artist A represented the same ceremonial helmet and torso defense from the Algiers garniture (fig. 168) that the folio in quire five depicts. As the distribution of images of the Algiers garniture between quires five and seven demonstrates, sheets that contain only disassembled pieces of armor were usually incorporated into the last four quires of the album, while the first five quires focus primarily on figural representations. Like the Algiers garniture, armor A 62 also appears both in the pictorial panoply of armored figures in quire four (see figs. 144 and 145) and arrayed empty across folio 75v, within the sixth quire (fig. 169). It is unclear which side of a given page the original artist considered to be the front or back. However, when assembled into a book, the individual leaves within the first five quires nearly always present full-figure images on their rectos while relegating disassembled pieces to the versos.

The album's orientation of individual leaves and separation of images that represent the same garnitures characterizes the codex as a whole which gives precedence to depicted armored bodies over disassembled pieces of armor. Terjanian has pointed out Artist A's discomfort with representing some of the technical details of the disassembled armors, which likely stemmed from his training in illustration rather than armory and may indicate A's use of models by an armorer or someone with an intimate knowledge of armor that have since been lost.<sup>418</sup> This hypothesis offers some explanation for why the

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<sup>417</sup> UPM, Inv. GK. 11.572-B, fol. 46v. See Chapter 3 for discussion of the tonlet armors that

<sup>418</sup> Terjanian, "The rediscovery of the *Thun Sketchbooks* (Part I)," 310. Terjanian interprets Artist A's awkward representations of technical details as evidence that he was unfamiliar with the physical objects that he was representing, and suggests that the draftsman may have been copying now-lost drawings that

most accomplished images by both artists are those that picture armored figures. However, the relegation of images that depict empty pieces of armor to the versos of leaves or to the final quires of the album suggests that the organization was influenced by more than purely aesthetic preferences. Furthermore, the precedence of images that visualize seated princes and figures (or horses) in action in the first quires, followed by the standing figures of the fourth and fifth quires, alludes to the album's role as something more than an inventory or visual reference for an *Obrist Stallmeister*, or Master of Horse and keeper of an armory.<sup>419</sup> While the codex would be unsuitable as an inventory or reference for identifying components of a given garniture, the collection's arrangement facilitates consideration of larger aspects of princely identity embodied in distinct groups of drawings that could be seen as presenting armored figures or recognizable armors as memorable objects that invited recollection of their associated wearers and contexts of use.

### **The History of an Exceptional Armor and its Revision through Representation**

The garniture of interchangeable steel defenses crafted for Maximilian I by Lorenz Helmschmid and reproduced in the Thun album (compare figures 144 and 146) is one of the most well-known and well-documented surviving examples of the fifteenth-century armorer's art. Consideration of its history extends the insights into the understanding of armor held by the person who collected the images in the Thun album and structured them into the codex. This garniture of interchangeable steel defenses was

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were truly executed by armorers, who would have had an intimate knowledge of each screw, hinge, and rivet. An alternative possibility is that Artist A worked from models drawn by a more skilled draftsman who was intimately familiar with armorer's works, especially those of the Helmschmids; plausible candidates for this include members of the Burgkmair and Breu families, as well as Jörg Kölderer.

<sup>419</sup> Reitzenstein, "Das Thun'sche Plattnerbuch a/2," 93. Reitzenstein theorized that, near the end of the century, the album passed from an Augsburg owner to Leonhard IV von Harrach, Count of Ruhlau (1514-1590), who was son of Emperor Ferdinand's chief steward and himself *Obrist Stallmeister* of the lands above the Enns from 1565. This theory is based primarily on late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century inscriptions on the opening flyleaves of both albums from the Thun-Hohenstein library that read "Obrist Stallmaisterey." The date of assembly indicated by the watermarks hidden within the album's gutters and guards disproves this theory.

crafted for Maximilian I by Lorenz Helmschmid during the early 1480s.<sup>420</sup> Its late gothic style echoes similarly elegant armors that Helmschmid made for the Habsburg prince after his marriage to Mary of Burgundy in 1477, many of which Artist A would also later represent (see fig. 112). In February 1484, Maximilian presented the armor illustrated in figures 143 through 145 and 167 to Sigmund, Archduke of Tyrol, on the occasion of his marriage to Catherine of Saxony.<sup>421</sup> Sigmund, who was then in his late fifties, would likely never have worn the armor, whose elements would have been fitted exactly to the youthful Maximilian. However, it would have been a treasured addition to his archducal armory and an appropriate gift to a groom who hosted elaborate tournaments as part of his nearly two-week-long wedding festivities.<sup>422</sup> Although Sigmund was not an avid collector of art, the Archduke had been an enthusiastic participant in knightly pursuits and patron of armor during his youth in the 1440s and 1450s, and so would have appreciated the virtuosic craftsmanship and technical refinement of the garniture.<sup>423</sup> In displaying it, Sigmund would have declared his alliance with his cousin once removed, the imperial heir-apparent and, from 1486, German King of the Romans.<sup>424</sup>

Beyond its allusion to Sigmund's powerful familial connections, the armor's empty plates could have evoked the princely presence of their absent wearer. This imposing echo of Maximilian's physical presence may have been particularly significant given Sigmund's distrust and increasingly frequent political disagreements with his cousin, Emperor Friedrich III, and with Maximilian during the 1470s.<sup>425</sup>

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<sup>420</sup> Beaufort-Spontin and Pfaffenbichler, *Meisterwerke der Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer*, 67; Thomas and Gamber, *Katalog der Leibrüstkammer*, vol. 1, 108-109. Thomas and Gamber's catalog, along with other earlier sources name Sigmund of Tyrol as the armor's original patron.

<sup>421</sup> Pfaffenbichler and Mrass, "Die Rüstungen im Werk des Bartholomäusmeisters," 422.

<sup>422</sup> Wilhelm Baum, *Sigmund der Münzreiche: Zur Geschichte Tirols und der habsburgischer Länder im Spätmittelalter*, Schriftenreihe des südtiroler Kulturinstitutes (Bolzano: Verlagsanstalt Athesia, 1987), 430.

<sup>423</sup> Baum, *Sigmund der Münzreiche*, 86-87.

<sup>424</sup> Sigmund was a first cousin of Maximilian's father, Friedrich III, and Maximilian's first cousin once-removed.

<sup>425</sup> Baum, *Sigmund der Münzreiche*, 89; Pfaffenbichler and Mrass, "Die Rüstungen im Werk des Bartholomäusmeisters," 422.

While the Burgundian Wars raged along the western borders of the Empire from 1474 until 1477, the Archduke of Tirol allied himself with the Old Swiss Confederacy and federations of merchants against Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy's incursions into Alsace and Lorraine. Sigmund's new allies had both long threatened the hegemony of the nobility and opposed consolidation of Habsburg power, and his collaboration with the so-called *Niedere Vereinigung*, or lower coalition, put him in a precarious position. Not least among Sigmund's concerns was Friedrich's wish to protect the betrothal contract between Maximilian and Charles's heiress, Mary of Burgundy, even as he sometimes intervened to limit Burgundian encroachments into the Empire. Although intended to preserve the Rhenish buffer zone of the Empire, Sigmund's independent monetary and military involvement in the conflicts that eventually led to Charles the Bold's death on the Battlefield of Nancy, deepened the distrust that already divided him from Friedrich and the imperial court.<sup>426</sup>

In addition to his alliances with traditional enemies of the House of Habsburg, Sigmund had also planned to sell Habsburg territories during periods of financial hardship caused by his well-known penchant for extravagant spending. Such deals would have weakened the dynastic power that he claimed to serve by abandoning domains crossed by passes that were strategically significant for trade and military campaigns and dotted by some of the richest mines in the empire. Indeed, despite his inclination toward profligacy, Sigmund was popularly called the *Münzreiche*, or Rich in Coin, due to the wealth of mines he controlled and the productivity of the mint at Hall.<sup>427</sup> His marriage to Catherine of Saxony in 1484 (the occasion of Maximilian's gift) effectively bound the Wettin ducal house of Saxony to the

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<sup>426</sup> Friedrich's most notable intervention occurred during the siege of Neuss in 1475, when he rode from Augsburg at the head of an imperial army to end Charles's attempts to capture and subdue the city Neuss, outside of Cologne. Baum, 88, 351-59.

<sup>427</sup> Baum, *Sigmund der Münzreiche*, 92-93. Katja Schmitz von Ledebur and Heinz Winter, "'nachdem sein gnad in ain silber wolt greiffen—' Die Fugger, die Tiroler Landesherren, und das Silber aus Schwaz in Tirol,'" in *Kaiser Maximilian I Der letzte Ritter und das höfische Turnier*, ed. Sabine Haag, et al. (Mannheim: Reiss-Engelhorn Museen, 2014), 71.

House of Habsburg while increasing Sigmund's own power in comparison to that of his imperial cousins. Thus, the gift of armor may have served as a pointed reminder to Sigmund of his familial and feudal obligations during a period when he was operating with shrewd independence.

The Hofburg palace at Innsbruck—and its armory—came into Maximilian's possession in 1490 after Sigmund, who was without an heir, ceded his territories in western Austria to Maximilian at the behest of the aging Emperor Friedrich III.<sup>428</sup> This transferal not only consolidated Austrian Habsburg power under the primary branch of the dynasty, but it also expanded the domain over which Maximilian exerted direct control. Until his death in 1496, the elderly Sigmund remained at the court in Innsbruck, where Maximilian provided him with a yearly pension. During the 1490s and the first decade of the sixteenth century, Maximilian reframed Innsbruck as a center of imperial power and patronage, and traces of Sigmund's reign were increasingly integrated into later programs of art, architecture, and collecting.

The early date of the armor's passage into Sigmund's possession led to its long misidentification as a garniture made exclusively for the Tirolean archduke until the end of the twentieth century.<sup>429</sup> Indeed, the armor had begun to be associated with Sigmund by the first decade of the sixteenth century. The earliest representation of Archduke Sigmund wearing armor HJRK A.62 appeared in 1508, among Gilg Sesselschreiber's preliminary designs for the life-size bronze figures that would surround Maximilian's monumental tomb in the Innsbruck Hofkirche (fig. 170). The tomb, conceived around 1502 and organized with the help of the humanist Conrad Peutinger, was one of many projects that focused on constructing and elevating Maximilian's memory for posterity. Maximilian personally

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<sup>428</sup> Baum, *Sigmund der Münzreiche*, 507

<sup>429</sup> Beaufort-Spontin and Pfaffenbichler, *Meisterwerke der Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer*. 64-66. Although Pfaffenbichler ascribed to the traditional identification of Sigmund as the original wearers of HJRK A.62 in early publications, he and Christian Beaufort-Spontin were the first to publish the corrected history of the armor, which is still widely misidentified as "The Armor of Archduke Sigmund of Tirol."

oversaw these, and it was he who approved Sesselschreiber's designs. Indeed, in order to devote himself to the tomb design, Sesselschreiber relocated from Munich to Innsbruck, where he may have consulted images in the imperial collections and garnitures in the armory as visual sources.<sup>430</sup> Sesselschreiber's drawing, labeled "Archduke Sigmund of Austria, Count of Tirol and of Habsburg," visualizes its subject enrobed in a voluminous heraldic tabard and ermine cloak. Sigmund wears armor beneath his garments that comprises the same sharp couters, elaborate edge binding, finely articulated fingered gauntlets, and pointed sabatons that Artist A would later represent. This earliest association of HJRK A.62 with Sigmund of Tirol suggests that Maximilian himself may have approved of the representation of the fifteenth-century Archduke clad in the late gothic armor that he had presented to Sigmund as a gift over twenty years earlier.<sup>431</sup>

Like the archduke's depiction by Sesselschreiber, the imposing, life-size figure of Sigmund of Tirol that now watches over the tomb planned for Maximilian I in Innsbruck wears late gothic armor that bears striking resemblance to A 62 (fig. 171a-b).<sup>432</sup> Drawings for the imperial tomb by Sesselschreiber and subsequent designers, including Jörg Kolderer, Albrecht Dürer, and Christoph Amberger, informed twenty-eight life-size bronze figures that Peter Vischer the Elder, Leonhard Magt and other sculptors cast between 1513 and 1530.<sup>433</sup> Magt cast the portrait of Sigmund, which he enlivened with a more vivid portrait likeness than Sesselschreiber's model, around 1523. An archducal coronet crowns the standing figure, and his armored limbs emerge from beneath his heavily draped robes. Although the sculptor added pointed late gothic *tassets* that hang over the thighs and elaborated

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<sup>430</sup> David Ritter von Schönherr, "Geschichte des Grabmals Kaisers Maximilian I. und der Hofkirche zu Innsbruck," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen der Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 11, no. 1 (1890), 143-144.

<sup>431</sup> This possibility complicates assumptions that the mis-identification of HJRK as having been made for Sigmund of Tirol emerged during the late sixteenth century at the court of Ferdinand II of Tirol, whose temporal distance from the earliest wearers and owners of the armor could have resulted in confusion.

<sup>432</sup> The tomb, also known as the cenotaph, of Maximilian I remains empty, and the emperor is interred in the castle chapel of Burg Wiener-Neustadt.

<sup>433</sup> Schönherr, "Geschichte des Grabmals Kaisers Maximilian I," 177-178.

the pointed edges of the gauntlets and lobed wings of the poleyns into forms reminiscent of bats' wings, the essential characteristics of Helmschmid's garniture for Maximilian are still apparent in fleur-de-lys binding, the elegantly formed closed grieves, and the linear patterns of the cusped lames and repoussé surface decoration.

In 1572, an unknown artist painted Archduke Sigmund wearing a less recognizable version of Lorenz Helmschmid's late gothic armor in the fresco cycle (fig. 172) that adorns the banqueting hall of Schloss Ambras, another Innsbruck palace that had been rebuilt as the seat of Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol. This series of twenty-seven portraits of Austrian Habsburg nobles adorns the so-called Spanish Hall at Ambras. It begins with Albrecht I (German King of the Romans, r. 1298-1308) and ends with Archduke Ferdinand II himself.<sup>434</sup> The armor that encases Sigmund in this portrait was reinterpreted in the silhouettes of the late-sixteenth century, and its peascod belly, elongated and rounded tassets, and broad pauldrons make Elizabeth Scheicher's identification of the armor as A 62 seem at first implausible.<sup>435</sup> However, the angular decoration of the leg defenses and the gold fleur-de-lys binding along the edges of the pauldrons and the plackart that reinforces the abdomen of the breastplate suggest that the fresco was indeed meant to reference the garniture that Lorenz made during the 1480s. The Spanish Hall fresco cycle represents Maximilian I (fig. 173) standing to Sigmund's left. The crowned emperor wears the same gilded armor that Bernard Strigel depicted in his official portrait of Maximilian, painted in 1500 and copied at least five times prior to 1510 (fig. 174). The fresco cycle that encircles the Spanish Hall, the figure that accompanies the tomb of Maximilian I, and the later contexts in which armor A 62 appeared, use the armor as an attribute that declared its wearer's identity as Sigmund.

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<sup>434</sup>Scheicher, "Historiography and display," 72-73. Ferdinand had reconstructed the ruined medieval palace in the Renaissance style as a home for himself and his wife Philipinne Welser, a patrician daughter of an Augsburg merchant family.

<sup>435</sup> A peascod silhouette was the elongated, protruding, slightly v-shaped form popularized by late sixteenth-century mens' doublets. The fashion was widely adopted for armors in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, and it proved to provide an efficient deflective surface.

Furthermore, like the Thun album, the cycle deploys the armor as a signifier of princely identity within a larger visual program that constructs and commemorates Habsburg lineage through represented armored bodies.

The connection of Sigmund of Tyrol with the Helmschmid armor presented to him by Maximilian in 1484 was repeated and transformed in the reinstallation of the armory of Schloss Ambras under Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol. The armory, first described in 1577, was an innovative site of storage and display that embraced new conceptions of collecting that grew out of aristocratic Kunst- and Wunderkammern and anticipated the great collections of the seventeenth century.<sup>436</sup> Analyzing the modes of displaying armor that Ferdinand initiated in his so-called *Heldenrüstkammer*, or Armory of Heroes, not only reveals how the presentation of A 62 as the armor of Archduke Sigmund within this context firmly established this reassignment of the armor's identity well into the modern era, but also demonstrates the power of armors as meaningful objects of display.

### **Armor as an Object of Display and Recollection**

The image on folio 41r (fig. 144) eschews other pictorial strategies deployed by Artist A in many of his drawings in the Thun album. Instead of depicting a protective surface encasing a body in motion or components of a garniture resting empty as if in an armory, the drawing presents the armor as an object on display. Although depicted standing on muted-green ground, the figure wears leg and foot defenses intended only for mounted use, with long toe-caps affixed to the sabatons with pins. His cuisses have open backs traversed by buckled straps, which would be pressed against a horse's body when mounted but would not have protected to the backs of the legs during combat on foot. Similarly, the short mail trunks that he wears beneath his plate armor would not have offered adequate protection

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<sup>436</sup> Beaufort-Spontin, 125. The earliest description of the armor collections appears in an account of two venetian envoys who traveled north for the funeral of Emperor Maximilian II (d. December 10, 1576) and visited Schloss Ambras during their diplomatic mission in Austria.



for foot combat. While Artist A frequently represented figures wearing armor for mounted use, five of the seven depictions of armor for mounted combat that were collected in the first through third quires of the album place these knightly bodies on horses as an allusion to the armors' appearance in use.<sup>437</sup> However, the drawings that the fourth and fifth quires assemble all represent armored figures standing, often with gauntleted hands confidently resting upon steel-encased hips. The fluted costume armor on folio 37r (see fig. 147) and the late gothic armor associated with the portrait likeness of Sigmund of Tirol on folio 38r (fig. 150) are each for mounted use, yet, like the drawing on folio 41r, they are depicted encasing standing figures. Therefore, each of these drawings evoke the ways that armor functioned as an object of display, whether encasing a noble wearer outside of the lists or the battlefield or exhibited within an armory.

The drawings by Artist A that the album's fourth quire includes closely echo Artist B's copies after the *Inventario Illuminado* of Charles V that appear throughout the bound collection. Each of the figures that model Charles V's armors for battle, parade, and tournament are shown in three-quarter view, standing confidently with one or both arms akimbo. The juxtaposition of compositionally similar works by Artists A and B unifies the drawings that quire four collects. Thus, this quire and the one that follows, more than any other grouping of images that the album contains, participate in the conceptualization of luxury armor as a static object of display, which was reinforced by the commemorative re-installations of princely armories during the late sixteenth century.

The armory of Archduke Ferdinand II of Tirol offers insights into the ways that significant armors functioned as objects of display during the mid- and late-sixteenth century. Begun in 1570, the armory encompassed three large buildings within the lower palace of Schloss Ambras. Each of these

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<sup>437</sup> UPM Inv. GK 11.572-B. See folios 8r, 9r, 28r, 29r by Artist A, as well as a folio 7r (attributed to Hans Burgkmair the Elder by Falk) and the much-later (circa 1570s) drawing inserted as an opening of folios 5-6.

structures contained distinct, thematic installations of arms and armor. The first building was divided in half by a curtain wall, and its first room contained an array of armors for tournament and knightly sport that dated from the fifteenth century through the 1570s. The second room in this building housed curiosities, including armors for dwarves, giants, and noble children. The largest room in the armory inhabited the entire second building. It housed Archduke Ferdinand's own armor, which comprised seventeen garnitures with pieces of exchange for field, tournament, and courtly pageantry. These personal armors were mounted on wooden cross forms that were probably not unlike the mount on which the tournament armor on folio 53r of the Thun album hangs (see fig. 89). Ferdinand's armors were arranged chronologically, and set against banners that bore images of the labors of Hercules to reinforce the princely virtues that the Archduke sought to embody.<sup>438</sup>

The third armory building, which was also divided by a curtain wall, contained an exceptional collection of 120 armors that spanned the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. These garnitures were worn by or associated with illustrious members of the House of Habsburg and diverse princes, nobles, knights, and commanders who were famous for their martial exploits. This *Heldenrüstkammer* (Armory of Heroes), included not only armor A 62, but also a set of pauldrons and a sallet crafted by Lorenz Helmschmid for Maximilian I, a field armor forged by Desiderius Helmschmid for Charles V in 1543, and another garniture that Desiderius crafted for King Philip II of Spain in 1545.<sup>439</sup> Among the armors associated with illustrious non-Habsburg wearers were a late gothic armor crafted by the Missaglia workshop of Milan for Prince Friedrich von der Pfalz around 1450, the Negroli armor al' antica of Francesco Maria della Rovere, and an armor made by Kolman Helmschmid for Sir Georg von Frundsberg.<sup>440</sup> A final

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<sup>438</sup> Scheicher, "Historiography and display," 69.

<sup>439</sup> Schrenck and Thomas, 12. London, BM, 1871,0812.418.

<sup>440</sup> Schrenk and Thomas, 21, 29, 78; Since the collections of Schloss Ambras were acquired by the Kunsthistorisches Museum, many of these armors are now preserved in the Vienna Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer, and are described at length in Thomas and Gamber's catalog. Von Frundsberg's nicknames

armory room beyond the Armory of Heroes contained exotic arms and armors from the Near East. Ferdinand himself had captured many of the objects in this so-called *Türkenkammer*, or Turkish room, during his campaigns against Ottoman incursions into Hungary.<sup>441</sup>

The arrangement of the Armory of Heroes echoed the courtly hierarchy of the early modern Holy Roman Empire (fig. 175); ten armors worn by kings and emperors were displayed in individual wooden show-cases on hand-carved mannequins. Armors associated with princes, dukes, and other nobles were installed together in larger cases. Finally, pieces of armor that had belonged to illustrious commanders or warriors of non-noble birth were hung on the walls above the cases. When possible, armors were accompanied by portraits of the individuals with whom they were associated.<sup>442</sup> The armors in this collection functioned as such powerful metonyms of their wearers' identities that Archduke Ferdinand referred to it as an *Ehrliche Gesellschaft* (honorable society). He included himself among this society of worthies by incorporating one of his own armors—worn during his 1556 campaign against the Turks—into the installation.<sup>443</sup> Thus, the Armory of Heroes, like Ambras's Spanish Hall, constructed an imperial and knightly lineage for Ferdinand II from a panoply of armored figures.

Archduke Ferdinand's Heroes' Armory bore witness to armor's potential to function as a surrogate presence and mnemonic object, which was enriched by the language with which memory was conceptualized in the sixteenth century. Like all luxury armors produced from the fifteenth century onward, the garnitures that populated the Armory of Heroes had been crafted to the exact dimensions of their wearers' bodies and could therefore approximate their original owners' physical presences. Furthermore, the empty plates of these bespoke armors were essentially imprints—negative spaces

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were inspired his innovative leadership of Landsknecht forces, and his command over multiple transalpine campaigns against Venetian and Papal armies under both Maximilian I and Charles V.

<sup>441</sup> Scheicher, "Historiography and display," 70.

<sup>442</sup> Scheicher, "Historiography and display," 71.

<sup>443</sup> Scheicher, "Historiography and display," 71.

formed around the bodies that they had once encased. As such, these armors could recall Platonic frameworks for understanding memory. Throughout the Roman, medieval and early modern periods, mnemonic treatises built upon Plato's metaphorical description of human memory as a wax tablet, upon which images, events, and ideas could be inscribed or impressed.<sup>444</sup> Thus, memory, like the armors of knightly wearers, was an imprint of the object of remembrance. Neo-Platonic models of a memory comprised of inscribed images were combined with the Augustinian mnemonic strategy of the "storehouse" or "palace" of memory, an imaginary space within which imprinted images (*imagines*) were preserved and organized.<sup>445</sup> By the late-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the imaginaries of memory inherited from Plato and Augustine had been visualized by Neo-Platonist writers and embodied in the "Theaters of Memory" that Giuliano Camillo constructed in 1537.<sup>446</sup> The Armory of Heroes gave tangible form to these mnemonic imaginaries and presented armors as powerful sites of memory upon which heroic personae and courageous deeds could be inscribed for posterity.

### **Heroes' Armories in Image and Text**

The conceptualization of armors as sites of memory and the association of armor A 62 with Archduke Sigmund were further crystalized in the *Armamentarium Heroicum*. The *Armamentarium* contains engraved, armored portraits and written biographies that catalog the armors that Ferdinand collected in the Armory of Heroes. Although it was not published until 1601, six years after Ferdinand's death, the archduke and his secretary, Jakob Schrenk von Notzing, had conceived of the project by at least 1591, when von Notzing mentioned it in a letter to the humanist, Heinrich von Rantzau.<sup>447</sup> The *Armamentarium* contains full-length portrait engravings designed by Giovanni Battista Fontana and Simon Gartner that

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<sup>444</sup> Whitehead, 16-21. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 35-36, 83.

<sup>445</sup> Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 128; Whitehead, *Memory*, 33 Assmann, *Memory and Culture*, 146-47.

<sup>446</sup> Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 129; Whitehead, *Memory*, 38; Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory*, 23-37, 80-82.

<sup>447</sup> Beaufort-Spontin, "Die Ehrliche Gesellschaft," 127. The letter to von Rantzau is dated 7 October, 1591.

were engraved by Dominicus Custos of Augsburg, who printed the first 119 proof impressions in 1593.<sup>448</sup> These portray the men whose armor Ferdinand had acquired wearing the armors from his collection, and the engravings are accompanied by short biographies recounting each warrior's exploits. Unlike the Thun album, whose contents offered potential (and possibly diverse) frames to shape the understanding of viewers familiar with the armors and images that they reference, the *Armamentarium* fixes the memories that were contained in Ferdinand's armors. The biographies that accompanied the images inscribed the personae of the armor's original wearers and the events in which they were worn alongside their representation.

Like the anonymous frescoes that adorn the Spanish Hall of Schloss Ambras, the engraved representation of Sigmund of Tirol in the *Armamentarium Heroicum* presents the archduke encased in a version of A 62 whose forms have been transformed to echo late sixteenth-century armor styles (fig. 176).<sup>449</sup> The bombastic cuisses that envelope Sigmund's thighs have been enlarged to echo the puffed pantaloons of the 1590s, and the slim, late gothic breastplate has once again been expanded to form a peascod belly. Like Sesselschreiber's drawing and Magt's bronze sculpture, the opening of the *Armamentarium* redefines the tour-de-force armor as a metonym for Archduke Sigmund.

The *Armamentarium's* clear deployment of recognizable armors as metonyms for illustrious princely personae continues in the engraved portrait of Maximilian I (fig. 177). In this image, the Habsburg monarch wears armor components assembled from eight garnitures crafted between 1495 and 1511, all of which eventually belonged to the Armory of Heroes at Schloss Ambras. Lorenz Helmschmid forged the late gothic sallet that rests at Maximilian's feet and the pauldrons that cover his shoulders, while Conrad Seusenhofer of Innsbruck crafted the vambaces, couters and tassets that protect his arms

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<sup>448</sup> Beaufort-Spontin, "Die Ehrliche Gesellschaft," 128.

<sup>449</sup> Schrenck and Thomas, 25.

and thighs around 1511.<sup>450</sup> This juxtaposition within an image of armors dating from various periods within Maximilian's lifetime is similar to the approach Artist A took in drawings in the Thun Album, such as the representation in figure 73 of a joustier clad in late gothic armor from the 1480s who rides a horse barded in a style popular from 1500 to 1515. In both the Thun album and the *Armamentarium*, the images celebrate facets of chivalric identity or a particular princely figure rather than systematically record specific armors that were intended to be used together, or that were even produced at the same time by the same smiths. The emphasis on visualizing a heroic image shared by these two commemorative volumes, validates the argument that the Thun album is more than a practical visual record or haphazard accumulation of images. Rather, the parallels that exist between the it and the *Armamentarium* help to firmly situate the album within the sixteenth-century cultures of remembrance that located memory in armors and representations of the armored body.

Sixteenth-century manuscripts and printed books whose contents resemble the *Armamentarium Heroicum* offer comparable representations of armored figures that, while not restricted to Augsburg or imperial circles, parallel the themes of projects that celebrated Maximilian's memory and the Thun album's collected drawings. Beaufort-Spontin suggested that the *Armamentarium* may have been inspired by the Italian bishop and antiquarian, Paolo Giovio's *Elogia virorum bellica virtutes illustrium*, a work first published in 1551 that celebrates virtuous warriors from antiquity through the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>451</sup> The book contained brief Latin biographies accompanied by woodcut portraits that were based on Giovio's own collection of portraits. Another work that may have informed the development of the Armory of Heroes was commissioned by the Archduke himself, and an edition is still in the collections of Schloss Ambras. The *Imagines Gentis Austriacae* was a five-volume genealogy of the House of

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<sup>450</sup> Schrenk and Thomas, 5.

<sup>451</sup> Beaufort-Spontin, "Die 'Erhliche Gesellschaft,'" 128.

Habsburg, illustrated with engravings designed by Ferdinand's court artist, Francesco Terzi.<sup>452</sup> These volumes, produced between 1558 and 1569, contain arrangements of texts and (often-armored) full-figure engravings of illustrious members of the House of Habsburg that are similar to the *Armamentarium Heroicum*. Terzi's representations of Maximilian I and Ferdinand II exemplify the *Imagines* and its resonance with the *Armamentarium*. Maximilian again wears an early sixteenth-century tonlet armor similar to those represented in portraits by Hans Burgkmair and Bernard Strigel (fig. 178) and Archduke Ferdinand II is clad in a breastplate etched with the labors of Hercules while a fantastic helmet forged by Filippo Negrolì in the form of a lion's head rests at his feet (fig. 179).

One potential inspiration for the *Armamentarium Heroicum* whose contents and origins intersect with those of the Thun album in compelling ways has not been considered in previous scholarship. The *Ehrenspiegel des Hauses Österreich*, (*Mirror of Honor of the House of Austria*), discussed at length in Chapter Four, was written by Hans Jakob Fugger in collaboration with Clemens Jäger, between 1548 and 1555. Jakob Schrenk von Notzing, Archduke Ferdinand's secretary and collaborator on the Armory of Heroes and its catalog, began a luxurious manuscript copy of the *Mirror of Honor* for Ferdinand II in the early 1590s.<sup>453</sup> Both the early and late iterations of the text are impressive presentation manuscripts with over 100 miniatures that are, like the Thun album drawings, executed in gouache and highlighted with metallic inks and washes. The *Mirror of Honor* is divided into seven books that memorialize the House of Habsburg beginning with Emperor Rudolf I and culminating in an expansive book dedicated to Maximilian I that is equal to the preceding six parts in length. These accounts feature copies of artworks

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<sup>452</sup> Another copy of the printed work is housed in the Kunsthistorisches Museum. See, Francesco Terzi, Gaspar Oselli (engraver), *Imagines Gentis Austriacae*, 1558-69, engraving KHM, KK 6614, [www.khm.at/de/object/47e1aafc44/](http://www.khm.at/de/object/47e1aafc44/).

<sup>453</sup> BSB, Cgm. 895-96; ÖNB, Cod. 8614, Jakob, Schrenk von Notzing, "Ehrenspiegel des Hauses Österreich," 1590s; Inge Friedhuber, "Der 'Fuggerische Ehrenspiegel' als Quelle zur Geschichte Maximilians I. Ein Beitrag zur Kritik der Geschichtswerke Clemens Jägers und Sigmund von Birken's," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 81, no. 1-2 (1973), 107.

produced for Maximilian and his predecessors and representations of meaningful objects, such as the ducal hat and collar of the Golden Fleece once worn by Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy.<sup>454</sup> For instance, in the fifth book, twenty-seven armored portraits that include meticulously depicted fourteenth-century helms commemorate the lords who fought in the Battle of Sempach in 1386, in defense of Habsburg hegemony over Swiss lands.<sup>455</sup> In the seventh book, Fugger constructs Maximilian's mythos and copies artworks to support it; both are founded in the emperor's martial identity, and three of the eight miniature portraits included in the seventh book visualize Maximilian in armor.

The *Mirror of Honor* and the Thun album reproduce variants of earlier works of art that participated in the construction of Maximilian's chivalric mythos, and which anticipate the investment of armored bodies with mnemonic power in the *Armamentarium* and the Heroes' Armory itself. For instance, a copy after Burgkmair's chiaroscuro woodcut, *Maximilian I on Horseback*, which likely also inflected the representation of Maximilian clad in late gothic armor and riding an armored horse on folio 29r of the Thun album (see fig. 112), fills one folio in the *Mirror of Honor* (fig. 138). Inscribed on a fictive sheet of worn parchment that floats above the emperor, the text in the *Mirror* reads: "Studious counterfeit of the dear Roman Emperor Maximilian, as his imperial majesty appeared in his armor on horse." (Fleissige Contrafechtung des theuern Romischen Kaisers Maximilians, wie sein kays. ät. Ihm seinen kiris zu Roß gestalten gewesen.)<sup>456</sup> This declaration casts the image of the imperial armored body as a "counterfeit," a reliable visual document that evokes the presence of the deceased emperor. In this way, it invites comparison with the installations of armors, portraits, and biographies in the Armory of Heroes and their engraved iterations in the *Armamentarium Heroicum*.

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<sup>454</sup> ÖNB, Cod. 8614, fol. 6v. See also Chapter Four, pages 175-176 of this dissertation.

<sup>455</sup> BSB, Cgm 895, folios 211r-225r.

<sup>456</sup> BSB, Cgm, 896, folio 337v.



Although the *Mirror of Honor* was, from its genesis, a product of the particular culture of remembrance that reconstructed Maximilian I's reign in the minds of Augsburg patricians and intellectuals, later copies of the work were made at the Innsbruck court. Indeed, the copy of the *Mirror of Honor* executed during the 1590s was begun by Jakob Schrenk von Notzing for Ferdinand II at the same time that the *Armamentarium* was taking shape. Like the *Armamentarium*, this volume was finished after the Archduke's death and dedicated to Emperor Rudolph II (1552-1612).<sup>457</sup> Its reproduction on the eve of the seventeenth century of images and texts that emerged from Augsburg's mid-sixteenth-century culture of remembrance offers parallels to the chronology of the Thun album drawings' creation and compilation.

### **The Thun album as a Virtual Armory of Heroes**

The images that populate the Thun album were likely collected and bound together during the first quarter of the seventeenth-century. Their compilation follows closely upon the crystallization of the practice of assembling commemorative princely collections of armors and arms in the German-speaking lands. We have seen how Archduke Ferdinand II consciously displayed armors, including the garniture represented in the Thun album (figs. 144-146), that had belonged to Habsburg ancestors and allies in his specially built Armory of Heroes at Schloss Ambras.<sup>458</sup> Princely armor was prominently displayed in other contexts during the sixteenth century. Throughout the century, but particularly after 1560, the dukes of Saxony also amassed and documented their illustrious armories, which they displayed alongside dynastic portraits in a 100-meter-long gallery designed by the Italian architect, Giovanni Maria Nosseni.<sup>459</sup> Between 1521 and 1541, a stunning silver armor that Kolman Helmschmid had created for Maximilian I served as the vessel for a relic of St. Maurice in Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg's famed

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<sup>457</sup> ÖNB, Cod. 8614.

<sup>458</sup> Scheicher, "Historiography and display," 69.

<sup>459</sup> Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Court Culture in Dresden: From Renaissance to Baroque* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave, 2002), 43-46, 73.

reliquary chapel, the Neues Stift.<sup>460</sup> Representations of this armor, in turn appear on the pages of the *Liber Ostensionis*, an inventory the reliquary collection compiled in 1526 and 27 (fig. 180), and in at least two paintings of St. Maurice from the workshop of Lucas Cranach the Elder.<sup>461</sup> The carefully ordered sections of the Thun album, like the real armors displayed in princely armories and chapels and the representations that populated inventories and altarpieces, celebrated the martial identities of members of the Holy Roman Imperial elite, and expressed the connections to these illustrious wearers that their collectors claimed.

The Armory of Heroes of Schloss Ambras was tangibly connected to the Thun album through their use of A 62. Perhaps more importantly, the installations at Ambras presented illustrious armored bodies as sites of memory, just as some of the drawings in the Thun album do. Therefore, the Armory of Heroes provides a pathway towards understanding how the compiler of the Thun album may have thought of Lorenz Helmschmid's late gothic garniture within a larger constellation of significant armors. Although Archduke Ferdinand's Armory of Heroes and the Thun album emerged from different socio-economic strata of sixteenth-century Augsburg society, they share the strategies for commemorating Maximilian's reign that were employed by both Habsburg princes and less-exalted artists and collectors in the imperial free city.

The surviving manuscript collection of Paulus Hector Mair, along with the posthumous inventory of his property compiled in 1579 and 1580, also reveal a strong interest in both knightly identities in general, and commemoration of Maximilian as a knightly archetype, in particular.<sup>462</sup> Furthermore, the artistic networks that Mair patronized produced at least eight other projects that retrospectively visualize the armored bodies and chivalric exploits of Maximilian I and his court,

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<sup>460</sup> Ainsworth, Hindriks, and Terjanian, 24-28.

<sup>461</sup> Ainsworth, Hindriks, and Terjanian, 1, 22-26.

<sup>462</sup> For a partial overview of Mair's inventories, which focuses heavily on his confessional identity and book collection, see Mauer, "Sammeln und lesen - drucken und schreiben."

previously discussed with the analysis of martial manuals in Chapter 2 and tournament books in Chapter 3.<sup>463</sup> In addition to an impressive personal collection of arms and armor, Mair possessed at least one panel portrait of Maximilian I and at least two portraits of Charles V.<sup>464</sup> His library contained martial manuals so numerous that the inventory ceases to count them precisely, along with two biographies of Maximilian, a book of imperial lives and territories, and a work tantalizingly titled “der Kaiser Effigies.” During the liquidation of Mair’s collections, the Fuggers purchased many of his martial manuals; this acquisition demonstrates the interest in knightly skill and the chivalric exploits of the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries among the Augsburg intellectual elite. The Fuggers were the same men who commemorated and propagated the mythos of the House of Hapsburg that culminated with Maximilian I through projects such as the *Mirror of Honor*. Like the imperial portraits and biographies found among Mair’s possessions, these projects represented the ways that Augsburg patricians and merchants were as invested in the mythic personae and ideals embodied in the Burgundian-Habsburg Emperors, as were noble patrons.

The artworks that were carefully arranged by the anonymous compiler and bound within the Thun album offer a panoply of armored figures whose armors often invoked the personae and deeds of illustrious wearers. In both its contents and its structure, the album parallels contemporaneous collections and volumes like those commissioned by Ferdinand of Tirol and Paulus Hector Mair that explicitly presented armored bodies as sites of dynastic and martial memory. The Thun album’s first quire begins with four seated portraits of Habsburg rulers and allies that form a pictorial preface that

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<sup>463</sup> See above, pages 50, 80-84, 122.

<sup>464</sup> For discussion of Mair’s collection, see Kusudo, “P.H. Mair,” 343-351, Mauer, “Sammeln und lesen - drucken und schreiben,” 113-121, and Stadtarchiv Augsburg, Urgichten, Karton 262, Inventarium 1579-1580. Mair’s inventories are a rich and understudied resource that deserves much more extensive analysis. No other scholars have examined Mair’s inventories since Kusudo, and their shelf marks have changed since his essay, making them difficult to access. I am indebted to Georg Feuerer and Eva Haberstock of the Stadtarchiv for their knowledge and assistance in identifying and digitizing the correct documents.

presents the album primarily as a commemoration of the chivalric identities and attributes embodied in these figures. The most important among these are Maximilian I and Charles V (figs. 9-10), whose armors are overwhelmingly represented among the identifiable works in the album. Like the portraits that accompanied the real armors populating Archduke Ferdinand's Armory of Heroes at Schloss Ambras, these likenesses could encourage viewers of the album to interpret the depicted armors that followed them as not only memorable objects, but also metonyms that recalled the identities and exploits of these emperors and the later mythoi that celebrated them. The hierarchical position of the ruler portraits at the beginning of the Thun album, as well as the compiler's tendency to privilege images of armored figures over drawings of empty, disassembled armor components, echo the hierarchies evoked in the installation of the Armory of Heroes. Finally, the visual unity of the fourth and fifth quires' sixteen standing figures clad in memorable armors by the most accomplished smiths of the period parallel the "Honorable Society" that Ferdinand constructed in his armory.

As a bound collection of drawings, the Thun album bridges the socio-economic divide separating members of the early modern Habsburg dynasty, like Archduke Ferdinand II, from upwardly mobile members of Augsburg's merchant class. It suggests both social levels could be united by a common investment in the chivalric archetypes of the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries. The martial manuals and commemorative volumes that populated the library shelves of patricians and courtiers alike bear witness to the cultures of remembrance that celebrated and reconstructed the reigns of Maximilian I and Charles V. Luxury armors crafted by the Helmschmids and other master smiths were gathered and preserved in noble armories where they became metonyms for the identities of their wearers or (A 62) later owners with whom they were associated. While these armors' evocation of physical presence enriched their mnemonic power, the armor was inaccessible to viewers beyond limited courtly circles. However, images such the drawings that populate the Thun album and the engravings that illustrate volumes such as the *Armamentarium Heroicum* presented recognizable armors as potential sites of memory

for far broader audiences. As a collected work that emerged from the dynamic artistic and intellectual exchanges of Augsburg, the Thun album not only synthesized earlier representations of the armored body from diverse sources, but it had the potential to function as a virtual Armory of Heroes. As a paper Armory of Heroes, the bound collection could not only offer rich mnemonic prompts. It could also imaginatively situate its owner within the society of princely viewers and collectors who celebrated knightly archetypes like those in the album's represented in the drawings of armored figures and arrays of meticulously rendered armors.

## Conclusion

Long known as the *Thun'sche Skizzenbuch*, or Thun Sketchbook, the earlier of the two Thun-Hohenstein albums is not what scholars perceived it to be throughout the twentieth century. Rather than the sketchbook of an exceptional dynasty of armorers, the codex is a multivalent object that emerged from a sequence of creative acts that began in the late 1400s and culminated in the early seventeenth century. The bound collection visualizes the passage of time through its additions and juxtapositions that permit retrospective glimpses of armored bodies. The album's participation in cultures of remembrance is as much an early modern reconstruction of late medieval martial identities as it is a composite object that is very much a part of the moment when it was collected and bound. The codex also offers insight into the ways that cultures of remembrance influenced early modern patterns of collecting. Repeated patterns of production, reception, and acquisition connected the highest courtly elites to the upwardly mobile citizens of imperial free cities like Augsburg. Perhaps most importantly, the drawings that fill the Thun album display the meaningful, dialogic connections between armor and its representation and between physical and imagined collections of armor.

As Chapter 1 makes clear, this study is the first to examine the album within its context by using diverse comparative examples that each present both real and represented armor as objects of memory. The structure of the album as a composite object or bound collection lends itself to thematic consideration of the drawings that it contains in comparison with one another and with related works of art and cognate collections. As Chapters 2 and 3 demonstrate, many of the images in album intersect with genres that were familiar within the visual culture of the Holy Roman Empire, and that shaped the strategies for depicting martial subjects that were deployed by the Augsburg artistic circles from which the codex and the drawings that fill it emerged. The martial manuals that Chapter 2 analyzes not only conditioned viewers to use images as mnemonic prompts that recalled bellicose actions or deeds.

Through works like the *Art of Knightly Defense* and the many volumes collected or commissioned by Paulus Hector Mair, the fight book tradition also encouraged Augsburg artists from the 1490s through the early seventeenth century to develop innovative approaches to representing armors, whether empty or encasing bodies in motion. The juxtaposition of fifteenth-century fight book imagery alongside the later drawings that fill the album invites appreciation of the ties that bound the Augsburg book industry to martial literature and encourages consideration of the connections between the armors on the surrounding pages and their bellicose contexts of use. The tournament armors discussed in Chapter 3 trace the popularization of successive types of knightly sport under Maximilian I and Charles V, as well as the legendary status that such events attained in the tournament book tradition of the later 16th and early seventeenth centuries. In particular, Artist A's representations of equipment for knightly sport took part in the memorial culture that celebrated the tournament while also recombining the mythic facets of his commemorative antecedents—like *Freydal* and the *Triumphal Procession of Maximilian I*—with the tangible material culture of martial sport through the specificity of his portrayals of tournament armor.

By moving away from groups or categories of images to focus on individual drawings of stunning armors by Lorenz Helmschmid and their context within the album, Chapters 4 and 5 expose memorialization of the Burgundian-Hapsburg legacy, and of Maximilian I in particular, as a unifying theme of the Thun album. These chapters' examination of the images that surround their focal drawings also identify significant patterns within the anonymous compiler's arrangement of the album that suggest the connections that he drew between the works of art. Chapter 4 considers Artist A's representation of Maximilian and the armored horse as they appeared in entries into Namur and Luxembourg in fall 1480 alongside its antecedents by Pierre Coustain and related images. By tracing the development of this mounted portrait, as well as its transmission across miles and decades, Chapter 4 shows how retrospective art and literature constructed the chivalric myth of the so-called *Burgundische Erlebnis*, or "Burgundian Experience." Chapter 4's comparative analysis of cognate images that also emerged from

mid-sixteenth-century Augsburg places Artist A's drawing within a continuum of images that commemorated a period that was foundational to Maximilian I's identity and the mythos that he cultivated for posterity. Each of these images presented wearable objects, whether armor, clothing, or jewelry, as sites of memory that retained the aura of their wearer and prompted recollection of his deeds.

Chapter 5 examines the Thun album's representation of an exceptionally well-documented armor, A 62, alongside the commemorative collection of real armors that the object inhabited during the same period that the album took shape. It not only reveals how the identities associated with armor could shift with time but situates the album within a broader early modern culture of remembrance that included commemorative displays of real armor at princely courts, as well as the printed and painted catalogs that documented them. Chapter 5 builds upon each of the preceding chapters' discussions of the commemorative visions of armored bodies that Augsburg's book painters produced throughout the sixteenth century. It suggests how the Thun album and related works that share its origins offered collectors more accessible facets of the martial commemoration that Habsburg princes enacted through projects like the Armory of Heroes at Schloss Ambras.

Reflection on these case studies and the bound collection in which they take their place significantly expands Pierre Terjanian's assertion that the Thun album is not a transparent record celebrating the Helmschmid armorers' work for illustrious patrons. The codex collects retrospective representations of significant armors, representations that were themselves drawn from diverse graphic sources, and recombines them into meaningful juxtapositions that manifested the recollections or associations of the anonymous compiler. When collected in the album, the images are like the Armory of Heroes, presenting recognizable luxury armors as objects of display that are separated from their contexts of use, but whose memorable attributions and associations imbue them with aspects of their wearers' identities and biographies. Finally, this analysis shows how the interaction of the album with



related representations of armor and collections of real armor activate its mnemonic potential within evolving early modern cultures of remembrance.

The case studies that comprise this dissertation have sought to clarify the Thun album's complex codicological structure and tease out some of the meanings that its rich contents may have communicated to period viewers. However, many potential avenues of inquiry remain ripe for exploration. Although the *Obrist Stallmeister*, or Master of Horse, whose title appears on the album's front flyleaf remains anonymous, future archival research into the records of the Thun-Hohenstein baronial collections at Schloss Tetschen may someday yield clues to the bound collection's provenance that could reveal its path from Augsburg to Bohemia, and, perhaps, the identity of its compiler. While Terjanian has recently published an overview of the later Thun codex (UPM Inv. GK 11.572-A), deeper consideration of that volume alongside the album upon which this study focuses may clarify the two bound collections' relationship to one another.<sup>465</sup> Furthermore, a complete scholarly investigation of the *Inventario Illuminado* of Charles V, a significant work that has never been published in its entirety, could illuminate the nature of the relationship between its draftsmen and the anonymous Artist B whose idiosyncratic works fill nearly half of the Thun album.

The book painters of mid-sixteenth century Augsburg have been largely overlooked by historians of early modern art in the German-speaking lands, and their works offer tantalizing possibilities for future research. Depictions of empty armors and armored bodies, that emerged from Augsburg book painters' shops during the middle and late sixteenth century plot points between the creation of the drawings that this dissertation examines and their compilation into the Thun-Hohenstein album. Numerous codices continue the tournament book tradition that Chapter 3 traces, and the commemorative iconography of the tournament that the Burgkmairs inaugurated and the Breu

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<sup>465</sup> Terjanian, "The Rediscovery of the Thun Sketchbooks (Part II)."

workshop crystallized persisted well into the early seventeenth century. Thus, Jeremias Schemel's riding and tournament books, now in Vienna and Wolfenbüttel (see figs. 105-106), made during the 1570s, bears an important relationship to a closely related early seventeenth-century manuscript that belonged to Emperor Ferdinand III (figs. 108-111). These visualizations of armored bodies and empty, recognizable armors by at least two artists working at distinct moments may extend the chain of relationships that I have traced for the Thun album. Finally, around 1575, an unknown Augsburg book painter copied the Thun album's image of Maximilian I riding the armored horse—or, perhaps, its lost source (fig. 181). This image, which shimmers with metallic inks has both technical and iconographic affinities with the image in the Thun album and raises the intriguing possibility that the images that the Thun album now contains may have circulated independently in Augsburg in the decades before their compilation into the bound collection. Investigation of this later drawing, and works by the same hand with which it is now bound, may lead to deeper understandings of armor's persistent role within the memorial cultures of the early modern Holy Roman Empire.

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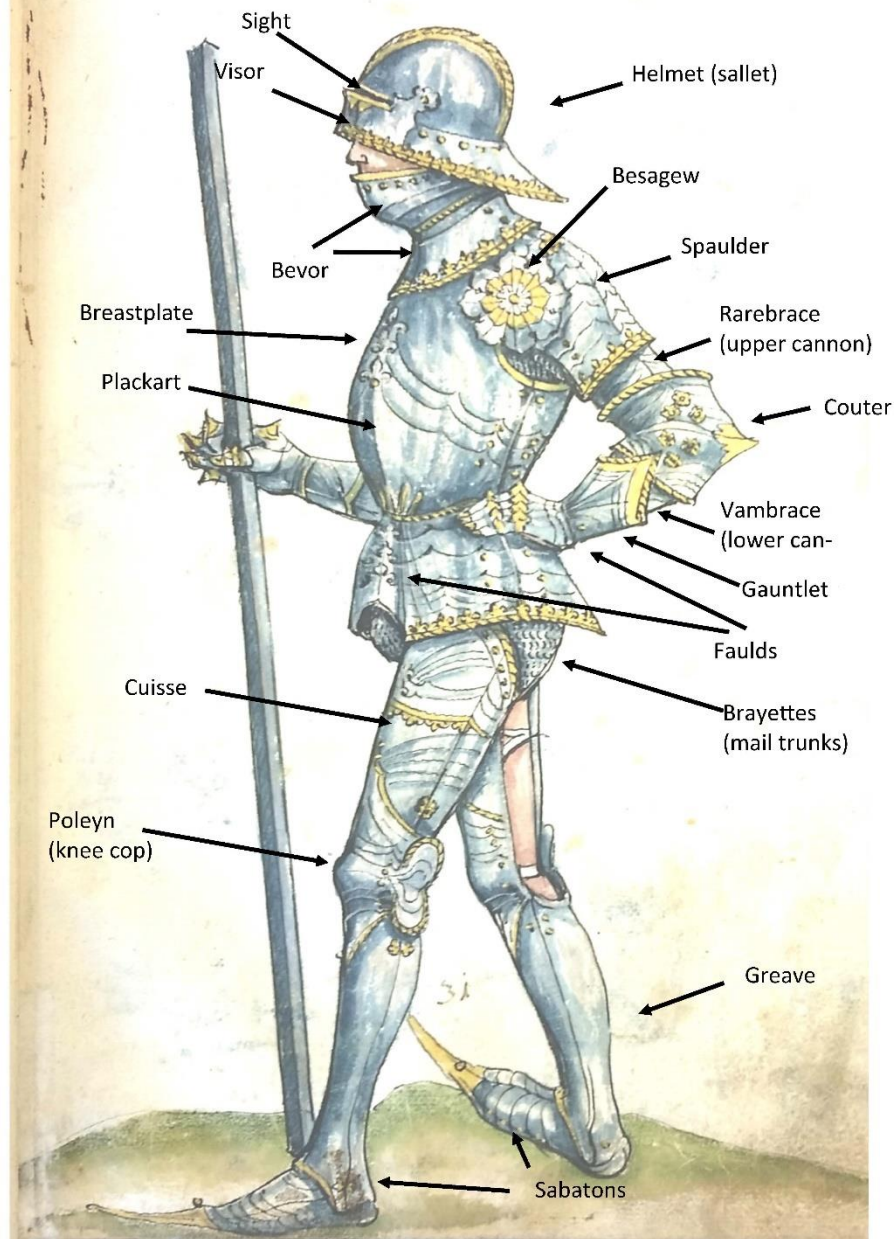
## Figures

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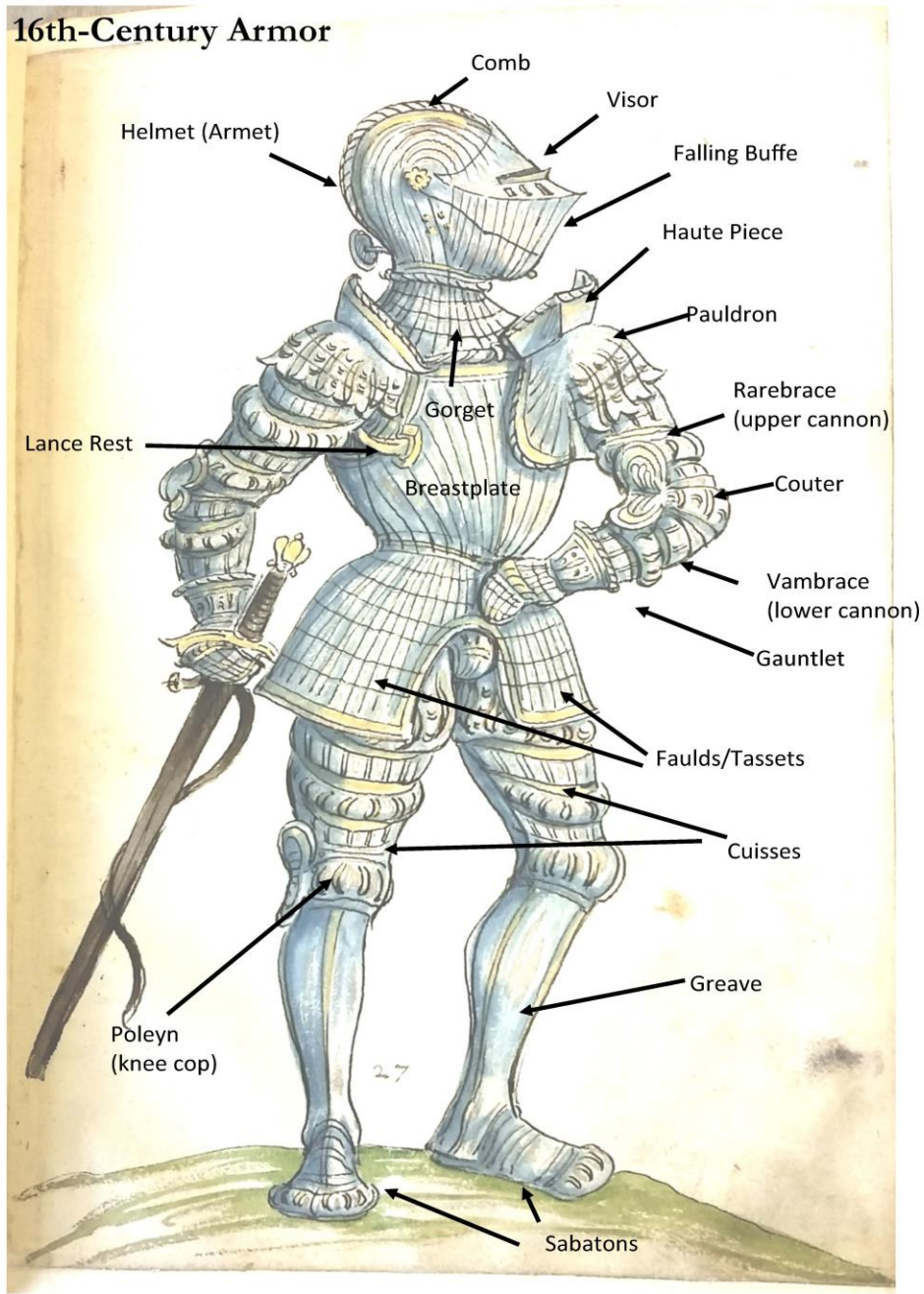
# Appendices

## Appendix I: Diagrams of Armor for Man & Horse

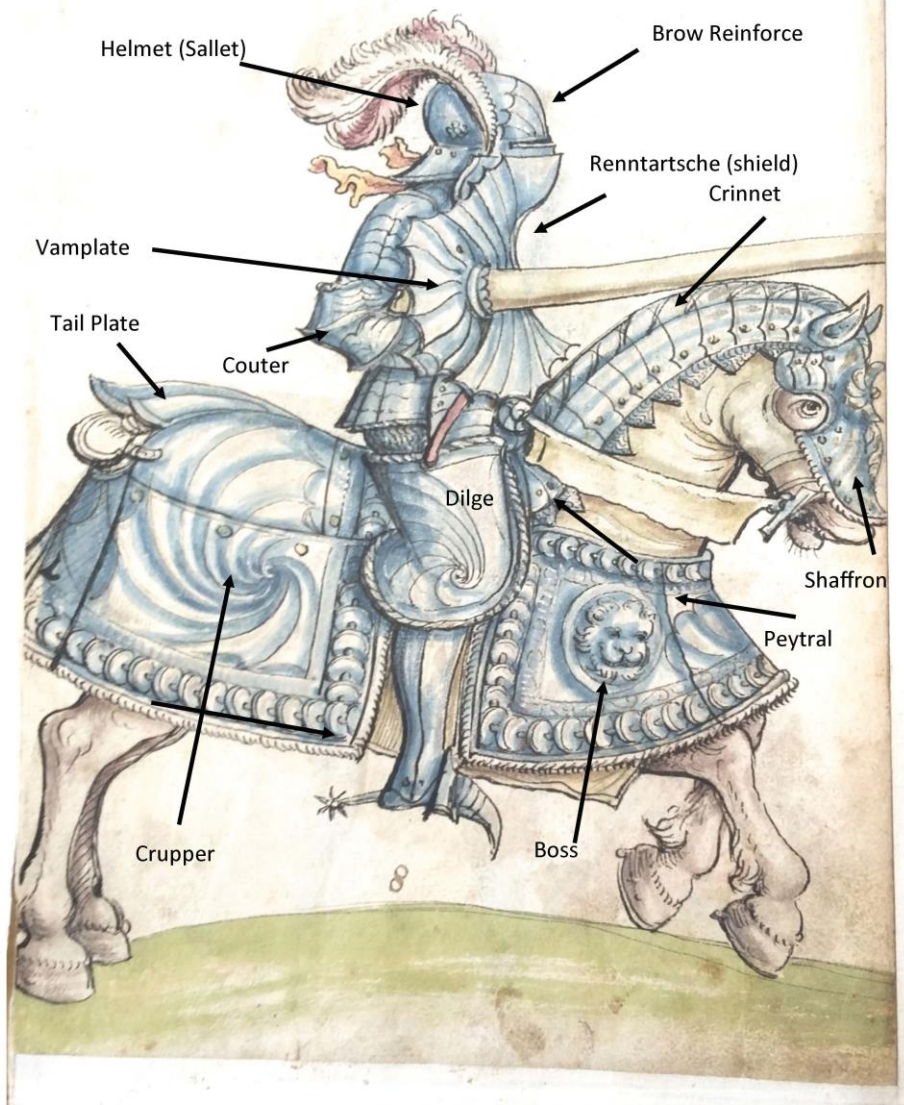
## 15th-Century Armor



# 16th-Century Armor

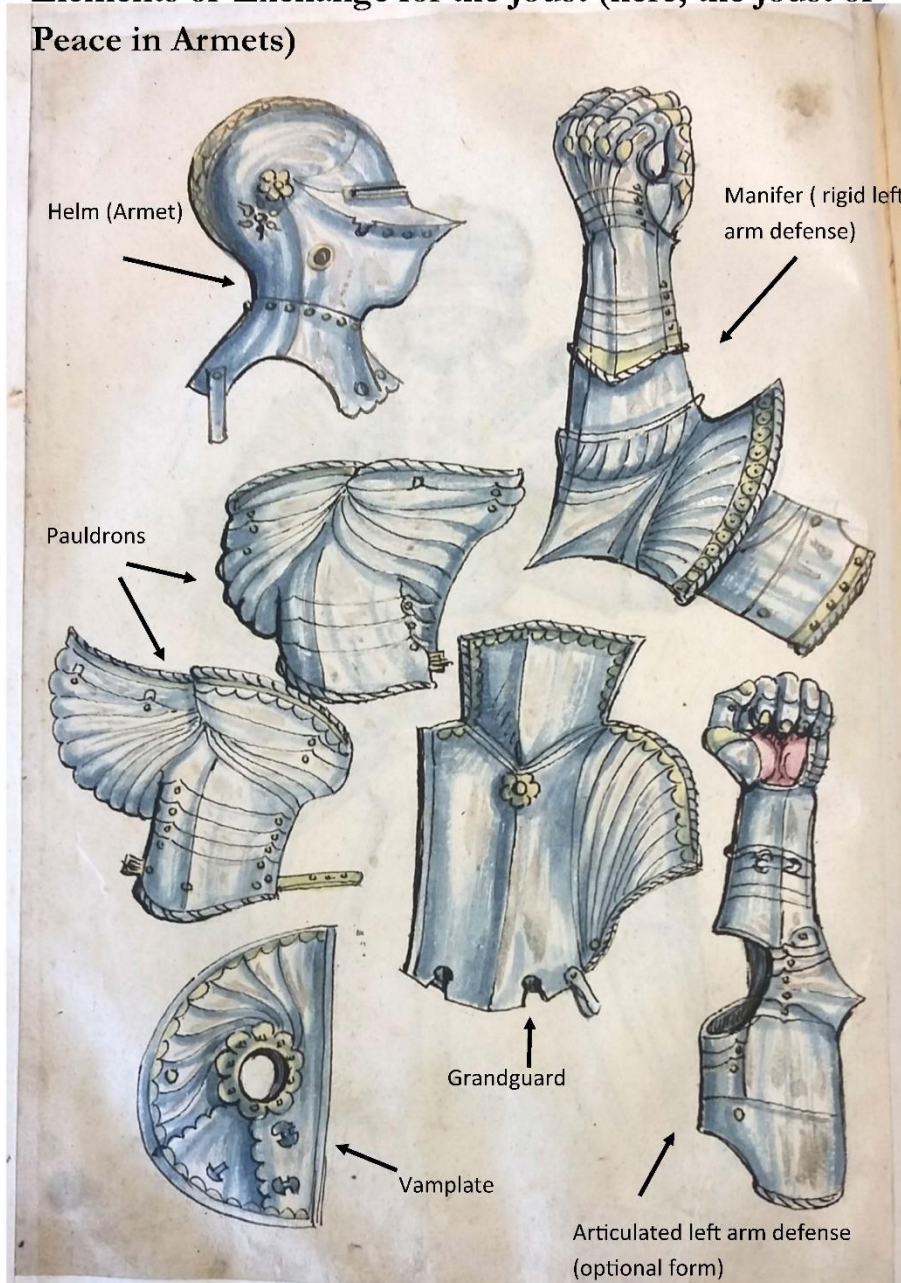


# Armor for Joust of War & Horse

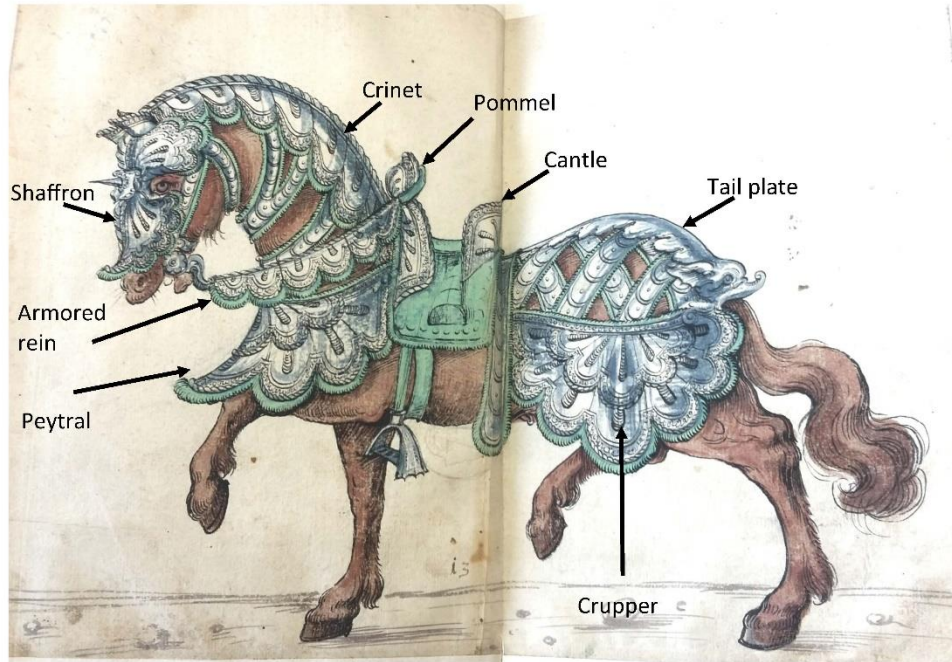




Elements of Exchange for the Joust (here, the Joust of Peace in Armets)



## Armor for Horse





## **Appendix II: A Codicological Overview of UPM GK. 11.572-B**

**Codicological Analysis Conducted by Chassica Kirchhoff, May 2017**

Quire	Old Folio # (16th cent/19th cent)	Current Folio #	Mode of Insertion	Artist	Image, description & figure number.	Watermark (WM) & Briquet # (if known)	Inscriptions	Condition & Style notes
	0	First Flyleaf			<b>fig. 1</b>	WM: Double eagle with wide tail and heart escutcheon emblazoned with "A", surmounted by a large crown & the letter "H" on each side Bisected by bottom edge of page.	Bookplate of Johannes Joseph at center (C) & Stamp of Tetschner Bibliothek	Flyleaf has torn out of gutter, but does not appear to be tipped-in, rather, it seems contiguous with gathering of tips.
1	v	1 1r	Glued onto tip, bottom coming loose	A	Maximilian I Enthroned after Hans Burgkmair's <i>Genealogie</i> , <b>fig. 9</b>	Gothic P at center, 8771	1	
		1v		A	Armor elements, circa 1490-1500			
1		2 2r	Guard obscures connection, unclear ob tipped or not	A	Charles V Enthroned after Hans Burgkmair, <b>fig. 10</b>	Bull w/escutcheon between horns, inverted at center, bisected by chain line, 15347	2	
		2v			Blank	Bull w/escutcheon between horns, inverted at center, bisected by chain line, 15347		
1		3 3r	Tipped in, coming loose from glued tip and guard at top	A	Louis of Hungary Enthroned after Hans Burgkmair, <b>fig. 11</b>		3	Caustic Blue, similar to other Augsburg Buchmaler works, on shield has bled through to verso

	v	3v	A	Arm reinforces for the Stechen & Pauldron reinforces				Blue bleed-through, repair at bottom right edge
1	4	4r	A	Philip the Fair Enthroned after Hans Burgkmair, <b>fig. 12</b>	Glued to tip, edge of leaf visible on recto			
	v	4v		Blank				Center of quire 1, binding twine in gutter
		5r		Blank	recto of inserted drawing		Inscription along ruled horizontal line at top left (Luxlin Jed bis Maxst SSE), 8ix at bottom left along ruled line	
		5	C1	c1570s Armor for man & horse	Fold-out drawing, with large loss at top right and cut out along horse's tail, glued onto biofolium whose chain lines run horizontally, contrasting with the vertical chain lines of the drawing			
		5		No visible WM				

									Center of quire 1, single tip for fols. 5-6 forms bifolio with folio 4
1	6v	tip of bifolio (ff4-6), folded, and drawing glued on		blank					
	67r	Smaller page, glued onto paper of 7r, surrounded by Guards, just barely extends beneath bottom paper guard	C2	Parade armor for man & horse, attributed to Hans Burgkmair the Elder Falk, <b>fig. 77</b>			No visible WM		6
	7v	Paper support for glued-in drawing		Blank			Double Eagle w/escutcheon at center		
1	78r	Glued onto tip along edge of verso, torn around muzzle of horse on recto to accommodate drawing.	A	Armor for man (circa 1480) and horse (circa 1510-1520), rider with mace, <b>fig. 48</b>			No visible WM		7
	8v	Tip extends farther onto surface of original drawing, since figure is standing at center	A	Circa 1520 armor, similar to costume harness by Wolfgang Prenner in Wien Museum					
1	89r	Glued onto tip, attached at verso	A	Renner on Barded Horse, <b>fig. 74</b>					8
End of Quire 1	9v	Tip glued over edge of drawing	A	Freiturnierer, <b>fig. 79</b>					End of Quire 1
Interlude	910r	Entire Interlude is glued onto folio 12, first true tip of quire 2.		blank			No visible WM, hidden text visible under strong light		9
									Multiple layers of paper guards used to reinforce 15th-center opening, late-gothic German text on one of these under strong light.

Interlude																			Hidden text page added to reinforce fragile 15th-cent drawing?
	10v-11r		Opening pasted onto two sheets, numerous repairs at center	C3					Fechtbücher-style pairs of fighters, <b>fig. 39</b>										
Interlude	11v		Pasted onto sheet of same paper that forms guards (with Eagle WM)	C4					Three Soldiers: Swordsman, Lancer, Crossbowman, <b>fig. 7</b>	No visible WM									Drawing crosses gutter onto 12r, broken along gutter...seems to be in worse condition than in 2014, drawing appears to have been conceived as grisaille
Interlude	12r		Cut along edges and pasted on Sheet that comprises f 12	C5					Fighters after Falkner (KHM MS 5012), <b>figs. 7 and 40</b>	No visible WM									Highlights on armor are white, rather than metallic.
Interlude	12v		Tipped in along verso, used as substrate for glued-on figures on 12r	A					Figure armored for the tournament on foot, <b>fig. 93</b>	No visible WM									End of Interlude
2	10	13r	Opening of 13-14 glued onto single tip						blank	No visible WM									
2	13v-14r		same tip	C6					Horse with lavender and gold caparison, <b>fig. 5</b>	No visible WM									10 on 14r
	14v		same tip						blank	No visible WM									
2	11	15r	bifolium opening glued onto single tip						blank, <b>fig. 6</b>	Wm on folio 16									Abandoned silverpoint sketch of bard visible
2	11	15v-16r	Opening of 15-16 glued onto single tip	B					Horse wearing bard for Charles V (Real Armeria)	Wm on folio 16									Guards pasted to back of drawing, original edges visible in opening.
	16v		same tip						Blank	Gothic P at Center, 8771									

2	12	17r	Opening of 17-18 glued onto single tip		Blank				12 on 17r	Guard glued onto back at top and front at bottom
2		17v-18r	same tip	B	Horse wearing 1516 Valladolid bard of Charles V (Real Armeria)	Wm on folio 18				
		18v	same tip		Blank		Gothic P at Center, 8771			
2	13	19r	Opening of 19-20 glued onto single tip		Blank				13	Guards pasted onto back of drawing opening, original edges visible in opening
2		19v-20r	same tip	C2	Horse wearing Blue & Teal Caparison, attrib. to Burgkmair the Elder by Falk, <b>fig. 130</b>		Anchor surmounted by 6-pointed star bisected by the chain line inscribed in a circle, oriented to right at bottom center, just under Horse's belly. Triangular points of Anchor at least 12 laid lines tall.		13	Anchor WM traced in Pencil. 20v-21r center of quire 2; binding twine visible in gutter center of quire 2
		20v	same tip		Blank					
2	14	21r	Opening of 21-22 glued onto single tip		Blank				14	
2		21v-22r	same tip	C2	Horse in Red Velvet caparison with silver embroidery, <b>fig. 131</b>		Shield with anchor with diagonal slash surmounted by star/x, 9908-9909, on 22r		14 on 21v	
2		22v	same tip		blank		WM 9908 or 09 visible inverted at center			

2	15	23r	Opening of 23-24 glued onto single tip		Blank				15	Guards pasted onto back of drawing opening, original edges visible in opening
2	23v-24r	23v-24r	same tip	C2?	Horse in Maroon Caparison with dolphin poll and tail pieces, <b>fig. 132</b>	Wm 9908 or 09 oriented at center of folio 24	15 on 23v	Wm traced in pencil		
	24v	24v	same tip		Blank			heavily soiled, with green streak and repairs along left edge		
2	16	25r	glued onto tip	A	Horse with scaled, gilt bard, now in Real Armeria	No visible WM	16	Horse's face cut off at muzzle, rump cut off at tail and hock		
2	25v	25v		A	Armet and wrapper, winged helm ornament, curias and pieces of exchange	No visible WM		Torn along tip at lower right edge by gutter		
2	17	26r	glued onto tip	A	Horse with scaled bard, with crested ridge along tail piece/tops of cruppers	No visible WM				
End of Quire 2	26v	26v		A	Elements of 3/4 armor for tournament on foot			One of very few drawings by artist A where false-start silverpoint sketches are visible along the edges of the armor		
Begin Quire 3	18	27r	Bifolium 27-28 glued onto single tip	A	Figure armored for tournament on foot vs. figure on foot in field armor, <b>fig. 95</b>	Gothic P at Center, 8771	18			

3	27v-28r	same tip	Tournament fighter on foot vs Mounted figure armored for the field, <b>figs. 36, 96</b>			Guard pasted onto back of drawing at top, original edges visible in opening.
3	28v	same tip	Late Gothic elements of circa 1495, <b>fig. 138</b>	A		Horseman on verso drawn with firm hand, hard strokes of line-work embossed through onto verso
3	19 29r	glued onto tip, original edge visible along gutter near bottom	Maximilian I riding the armored horse after Coustain, <b>fig. 114</b>	A	No visible WM	Losses at top right and bottom right corners reinforced with paper
3	29v		Elements for the Rennen, <b>fig. 139</b>	A		
3	20 30r	glued onto tip, original edge visible along gutter near bottom	2 Shafrons and 2 sets of Saddle Steels from Inventario Iluminado, <b>fig. 140</b>	B	Gothic P at Center, 8771	
3	30v		Blank		Gothic P at Center, 8771	
3	21 31r	glued onto tip, original edge visible at top	four saddles with steels, <b>fig. 141</b>	B	Gothic P at Center, 8771	
3	31v		Blank		Gothic P at Center, 8771	
3	22 32r	glued onto tip, original edge visible along gutter near bottom	four saddles with steels	B	No visible WM	
3	32v	blank				
3	23 33r	glued onto tip, original edge visible along gutter near bottom	four saddles with steels	B	Gothic P at Center, 8771	heavy soil at bottom right corner



3		33v			blank	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted)			
3	24/26	34r	glued onto tip, original edge visible along gutter	B		Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted)	24	Iridescent Metallic washes similar to Breu's illus. appear on some saddles, esp. at bottom left.	
3		34v			blank	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted)			
End of Quire 3	25/27	35v	glued onto tip, original edge visible along gutter	B	four saddles with steels	No visible WM	25	Yellow saddle has firesteels and columns of Charles V (now in RA)	
Begin Quire 4	26/28	36r	glued onto tip, original edge visible along gutter	A	Fußkämpfer w/poleaxe, mail chausses and rounded helm similar to forgery now in Philadelphia Museum of Art, <b>fig. 94</b>	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted)	26	heavy soil at bottom right corner, irridescent metallic washes throughout at VERY similar to Breu workshop representations of arms & armor, similar layering of gold and silver to achieve a bluing effect.	
4		36v			blank	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted)		Significant bleed-through of wash, large stain of additional wash at bottom left edge	
4	27/29	37r	glued onto tip, original edge visible along gutter	A	Standing figure with Sword, wearing puffed & slashed costume armor, <b>fig. 146</b>	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted)	27	Big fingerprint at bottom right! Irridescent metallic washes	

4		37v			blank	Gothic P at Center 8771 (inverted)		WM traced in pencil
4	28/30	38r	glued onto tip, original edge visible along gutter	A	Sigmund der Münzreiche with sword and sallet, <b>fig. 149</b>	No visible WM	28, 30 at Top right corner, 7 at BC edge	Stain in quarter-circle shape at bottom right corner, almost as if a cup or dish had been placed here.
4		38v			Blank	No visible WM		Repair at bottom left edge
4	29/31	39r	glued onto tip, original edge visible along gutter	B	Mustachioed figure in Modrone armor w/Negrolli bearded helmet and burgonet, <b>fig. 154</b>		29, 31 at Top right corner	Some metallic washes present, especially on beard of Negrolli helmet
4		39v			Blank	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted)		Significant bleed-through of hard outline of figure. Center of Quire, binding twine visible at gutter
4	30/32	40r	glued onto tip, with guard on both sides at gutter, original edge visible along foreedge	B	Armored figure from inv. Illum of circa 1525-30, Gauntlets at top right attrib. to Desiderius, c 1535		30, 32 at top right corner	Some metallic washes present, on add. Visor/buffe and on ALL the mail
4		40v			Blank	No visible WM		Hard outlines bleed through again. Figures on 39 & 40 so similar that B almost appears to be using an outline stencil

4	31/33	41r		glued onto tip, original edge visible along gutter, ground of drawing visible beneath guard at foreedge	A	HIRK Armor A.62 by Lorenz Helmschmid, <b>fig. 143, 145</b>	No visible WM	31, 33 at top right corner, 47 very faintly at bottom right corner	Repaired hole at bottom right edge. Metallic washes present, similar to Breu workshop, especially on staff. *This drawing has a particularly fluid, sketchy quality, compared to others by A.
		41v			A	Components of A 62, <b>fig. 144</b>	No visible WM		Tip glued onto this verso OVER additional guard layer, annotation, perhaps for color on gilded jousting reinforce
4	32/34	42r		glued onto tip, original edge visible along gutter	B	Image after Inventario, Components by Desiderius for Charles V, c. 1538, RA A118-138, some aspects are not accurate, <b>fig. 157</b>	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted)	32/34 at top right corner	Figure and helm crown top edge, and part of armet is cut off.
		42v			B	Two helmets associated with the KD garniture, RA A.19-36	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted)		Significant bleed-through of hard outline. Large patch over tear at BR
	33/35	43r		glued onto tip, original edge visible along gutter	B	Garniture with the fleur-de-lys volutes and many components, esp visors, <b>figs. 159, 160</b>	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted)	33/35 at top right corner	

End of Quire 4		43v			Blank	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted)		Significant bleed-through of hard outline. END OF QUIRE 4
Begin Quire 5	34/36	44r	glued onto tip, original edge visible along gutter	B	Garniture and components for Charles V, Inventario fols. 18r and 21v	Gothic P at Center, 8771	34, 36 at top right corner, 53 very faintly at bottom right corner	LOTS of false-starts in this drawing!
	5	44v		B	Shield and portions of Algiers Garniture, <b>fig. 164</b>	Gothic P at Center, 8771		Sketches for unrealized pair of cuisses and poleyns, besagew, and helm visible at UL, large triangular repair at bottom edge
	5	45r	glued onto tip, original edge visible along gutter	B	Components fo Charles V, after Inventario. Fol 13r, Helmets at top right and center right are RA A 120 and 29	Gothic P at Center 8771 (inverted)	35/37 at top right corner	Metallic washes more sophisticated than on many of B's drawings, especially on buffe and visor at Upper Left
	5	45v		B	Elements combined from Inven Illium 13v, 15r, and 15v. Leg defenses and distinctive poleyns are in Leads	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted)		Bleeding-through of hard-outlined circles with dots in the center that correspond to besagew and shaftfron escutcheon on recto indicate that bottom used a compass to draw these elements

5	36/38	46r	glued onto tip, guards pasted to verso, original edge visible all the way around	B	Part of KD garniture, adapted from Inventario vol. 2, fol. 13r, corresponding garniture to helmets on 42v, <b>fig. 162</b>	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted)	36/38 at top right corner	Large stain at right edge
5		46v			Blank	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted)		Significant bleed-through of hard outline
5	37/39	47r	glued onto tip, guards pasted to verso, original edge visible all the way around	B	Jousting elements for 1525 garniture for Charles, w/puffed and slashed cannons (RA A.93-107), Inventario 10r, <b>fig. 85</b>	No visible WM	37/39 at top right corner, 57 barely visible at bottom right corner	LOTS of false-starts in this drawing!
5		47v			Tilting targe, attachment for breastplate and spacer, after Inventario 11r,	No visible WM		Center of quire 5, binding twine visible in gutter
5	38/40	48r	glued onto tip, original edge visible along gutter, at top, and foreedge, guard glued onto bottom recto	B	Components for the tilt, derived from inven illum fol 11r, attrib to Kolman (RA A. 37-42), <b>fig. 86</b>	No visible WM	38, 40 at top right corner, 56 barely visible at bottom right corner	Bleed-through circles from verso once again suggest use of compass to draw besagews, dark stains, like ink splashes
5		48v			Parts of KD garniture after Inventario vol. A 11v and 12r, vol. B 12v and 13r.	No visible WM		Abandoned silverpoint sketch of gauntlet at center right

5	39/41	49r	glued onto tip, guards pasted to verso, original edge visible all the way around	B	Armor for Flemish joust royal, after Inventario, vol. A fol 25r.	No visible WM, edge of unidentifiable (eagle?) WM visible on guard at center foreedge	39/41 at top right corner, 58 barely visible at bottom right corner, 2 visible on bottom right corner of drawing, partially covered by guard	LOTS of false-starts in this drawing!
5		49v			Blank	No visible WM		repair at top right edge
5	40/42	50r	glued onto tip, guards pasted to verso, original edge visible all the way around	B	Tonlet armor for Fuß&kampf garniture c. 1525 by Kolman, after Inventario 7v, <b>fig. 99</b>	No visible WM	40/42 at top right corner, 59 barely visible at bottom right corner, 2 visible on bottom right corner of drawing, partially covered by guard	
5		50v			Blank	No visible WM		2 repairs at bottom edge

5	41/43	51r	glued onto tip, original edge visible along gutter	A	Tonlet armor for Fußkampf, c. 1525, <b>fig. 98</b>	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted)	41/43 at top right corner, 61 barely visible at bottom right corner	
5		51v		A	Leg & foot defenses c. 1495, with articulated lames at back of knee and top of foot indicating Lorenz's work.	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted)	g (for gelb) on Rt. Cuisse)	END OF QUIRE 5
Begin Quire 6	42/44	52r	glued onto tip, original edge visible along gutter	A	Feldrenner facing away from viewer, armor circa 1495 (same that appears on 54r), <b>fig. 90</b>	No visible WM	42/44 at top right corner, 62 barely visible at bottom right corner	
6		52v		A	Bein- und Armzeuge, Terjanian associates with c. 1525 mi-parti breastplate from Berlin, now in Warsaw, probably same Kolman garniture as 71r	No visible WM		oily stain at lower right

6	43/45	53r	glued onto tip, original edge visible along gutter, top & bottom	A	c.1494 Rennzeug hanging on cross form, includes tassets, rather than dilgen (Terjanian describes as "singular"), <b>fig. 91</b>	No visible WM	43/45 at top right corner, 63 barely visible at bottom right corner, 8 visible on bottom right corner of drawing, partially covered by guard	Heavy soil at bottom right corner, oily stain at upper left
6		53v			Blank	No visible WM		Some bleed through
6	44/46	54r	glued onto tip, original edge visible along gutter, top & bottom	A	Geschiffts- or Feldrenner seated on tripod tourney stool, armor same as 52r, <b>fig. 92</b>	No visible WM	44/46 at top right corner, 65 barely visible at bottom right corner	
6		54v		A	Components for Welschrennen, c.1495. A similar helmet is Leeds RA inv IV 502. Image may represent HJRK B171, 166, 66, A166 & 2309, made for Maximilian by Lorenz	No Visible WM	66 barely visible at BLc, 19th century pencil	Gauntlet is particularly interesting for its sculpted and gilded nails.



6	45/47	55r	Top 3/4 of 8771 sheet cut out and pasted onto later sheet, which is then glued onto tip, with tip added to foreedge	B	Islamic mail armor and turban, possibly Beute from the Tunis campaign of 1535, after Inventario fol. 28r	Gothic P at Center, 8771, visible on sheet pasted onto recto	45/47 at top right corner, 67 in pencil at bottom left corner	Center of Quire 6, binding twine visible in gutter
6		55v	Backing sheet for drawing pasted onto		Blank			
6	46/48	56r	Drawing cut out along outlines and pasted onto sheet that forms 56, which is, in turn, pasted onto tip	C7	Field armor components from c.1590-1600, drawn as if in an inventory or catalog, <b>fig. 8</b>	Escutcheon inscribed w/M in a circle at center of pasted-on drawing, difficult to identify	46/48 at top right corner	Blue that makes up base-color of elements somewhat upbraded, very obviously turn-of-17th-cent style
6		56v	Tipped-in sheet that forms support for 56r		Blank	Not on back as Pierre suggests		
6	47/49	57r	glued onto tip, original edge visible along T & B	B	Elements of "Horn of Plenty" Garniture by Desiderius (RA A115-127) after Inventario fol. 81r	No visible WM	47/49 at top right corner, 69 barely visible in pencil at bottom right corner	
6		57v			Blank	No visible WM		
6	48/50	58r	glued onto tip, guards added to verso, original edge visible along all the way around	B	Elements from 1531/32 garniture by Kolman w/St. Barbara (RA A.108-111), after Inventario fol. 23r	Gothic P at Center, 8771	48/50 at top right corner, 69 barely visible in pencil at bottom right corner	

			58v		B	Same garniture as recto, after Inventario fols. 23v and 81r	Gothic P at Center, 8771		LOTS of false-starts in this drawing!
6	49/51	59r	glued onto tip, guards added to verso, original edge visible along all the way around	B	Components of Algiers Garniture, after Inventario 8r	No visible WM	49/51 at top right corner, 72 barely visible in pencil at bottom right corner		
		59v		B	Two sets of cannons after Inventario 23r, same garniture as 58r	No visible WM		END OF QUIRE 6	
Begin Quire 7	50/52	60r	glued onto tip, guards added to verso, original edge visible along all the way around	B		Gothic P at Center, 8771	50/52 at top right corner		
7		60v			Blank	Gothic P at Center, 8771		Significant bleed-through of hard outlines	
					Components after Inventario, vol. A, fol. 16r and v, including Dolphin Burgonet by Kolman	No visible WM	51/53 at top right corner, possible # (4) inscribed at bottom edge of drawing & obscured by guard		LOTS of false-starts in this drawing!
7	51/53	61r	glued onto tip, guards added to verso, original edge visible along all the way around	B					

7	61v		B	Cuirass for the Spanish Joust Royal, c. 1500, after Inventario 17r, likely belonged to Philip the Fair	No visible WM		Weirdly placed, crowded down at bottom right, as if other objects were originally planned for this sheet.
		glued onto tip, guards added to verso, original edge visible along all the way around					
7	62r		B	Elements after Inventario, vol. A fol. 9r	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted)	52/54 at top right corner	Bellows-visors of helms are unusually naturalistic for Artist B
				Blank	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted)		Oily stain at lower left
		glued onto tip, guards added to verso, original edge visible along Top, Foreedge, and 1/2 of Bottom	B	Elements after Inventario, vol. A, fol. 16r	Gothic P at Center, 8771	53/55 at top right corner, 78 barely visible in pencil at bottom left, possible # (8?) inscribed at bottom edge of drawing & obscured by guard	
7	63r						
				Blank	Gothic P at Center, 8771		Center of Quire 7, binding twine visible in gutter, rectangular repair at upper right
7	63v						

7	54/56	64r	glued onto tip, guards added to verso, original edge visible along all the way around	B	Elements after Inventario, vol. A, fol 15v	Gothic P at Center, 8771	54/56 at top right corner, 74? barely visible in pencil at bottom right corner	LOTS of false-starts in this drawing! abandoned sketches of four sabatons at bottom
7		64v		B	Blank	Gothic P at Center, 8771		
7	55/57	65r	glued onto tip, guards added to verso, original edge visible along all the way around	B	Elements after Inventario, vol. A, fols. 6r and 8r, parts of "Fleur-de-lys Volutes" garniture	No Visible WM	55/57 at top right corner, 85 barely visible in pencil at bottom right corner	Tear or crease diagonally upward from bottom left corner
7		65v		B	1 hoguine (groin defense) from the front	No Visible WM		Placed as if more was planned for this mostly-blank page.
7	56/58	66r	glued onto tip, original edge visible along gutter and at top & bottom	A	Components for mounted use in the field or Freiturnier, c 1500-05	No Visible WM	56, 58 at top right corner, 86 barely visible in pencil at bottom right corner	Two small repairs at bottom left edge

7		66v	original edge visible along foreedge	A	Two Rennzeuge, screws, lancerest, and other fasteners for tournament reinforcements.	No Visible WM			Significant bleed-through from recto. Artist A has some uncharacteristic false-starts here.
7	57/59	67r	glued onto tip, original edge visible along gutter and at top	A	Elements from elaborate mi-parti garniture (Met & Musée de l'Armée)	No Visible WM	57, 58 at top right corner, 87 barely visible in pencil at bottom right corner	Lovely use of iridescent washes on elements at top of page	
7		67v	original edge visible at bottom	A	Pieces of exchange from a c1525-30 costume garniture, possible the same depicted on f37r or 52v	No Visible WM		END OF QUIRE 7	
Begin Quire 8	58/60	68r	glued onto tip, guards pasted to recto	A	Various elements of c1525-30 attributed to both Kolman & Desiderius, incl. two elaborately-sculpted Burgonets at bottom	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted). Bottom of double eagle tail barely visible along center of foreedge guard, oriented toward right	58, 60 at top right corner, 88 (?) barely visible in pencil at bottom right corner	Lacuna at center right edge	
8		68v	original edges visible at top, bottom, and along gutter	A	Various elements c1530. Lames of Cuisses and faulds cusped in the same way as Sonnenberg armor in Vienna (HIRK A310)	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted). Bottom of double eagle tail barely visible along C of foreedge guard, oriented toward right		Tear at BL edge appears to have occurred before binding, has been repaired with guard	

8	59/61	69r	glued onto tip, original edges visible at top, bottom, and along gutter	A	Welschgestech jousting elements in the style of c1525, <b>fig. 82</b>	No Visible WM	59, 61 at top right corner, 89(?) barely visible in pencil at bottom right corner	Significant soiling along bottom edge, another tear at bottom center (through left hand guantlet) repaired w/guard
8		69v	original edge visible at foreedge	A	Jousting elements for Welschrennen, including lance-rest, c1525	No Visible WM		Significant soiling at bottom right corner
8	60/62	70r	glued onto tip, original edge visible at top	A	Elements made by Kolman for Ferdinand I c1525-30 (Wien HIRK A 349). See Gamber.	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted). Head of double eagle visible at center of top guard	60, 62 at top right corner, 90(?) barely visible in pencil at bottom right corner	
8		70v	Original edges visible along gutter and at B	A	Various elements c1515-25, Helmet at top left from KD garniture, also appears on Thun fol. 60r and Inventario, vol. A, fol. 16v	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted). Head of double eagle visible at center of top guard, see photo.		Large, pre-binding tear at Bledge, significant soiling at bottom right

8	61, 63	71r	glued onto tip, guards pasted to recto	A	Elements from Mi-Parti garniture, Terjanian identifies as same as those depicted in folio 52v	Middle of double eagle visible at center of top guard, see photo.	61, 63 at top right corner, 94(?) barely visible in pencil at bottom right corner	
8		71v	original edges visible all the way around	A	Elements of c1500-05, some similarities in embossing to HRJK A110 (by Lorenz for Max) and similar cusping to Sonnenberg armor	Middle of double eagle visible at center of top guard, see photo.		Center of quire, binding twine visible in gutter. Significant soiling at bottom right
8	62, 64	72r	glued onto tip, original edge visible along gutter	A	Elements of garniture with floral ornament also shown on fols 28v and 72v	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted)	62, 64 at top right corner	Soiling at bottom left edge
8		72v	original edge visible at top and bottom	A	More Elements associated w/floral garniture on 28v and 72r, helm w/pivoting visor at top center is archaic jousting type, c1445-50, Fußkampf Sallet & Bevor is HRJK A 79 (for Maximilian)	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted)		Significant soiling at BR edge (along gutter, not likely from handling after binding)

8	63, 65	73r	glued onto tip, original edge visible along gutter	A	Elements for mounted use in the field, c.1520-25	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted), part of another WM (eagle?) barely visible at right side of top guard, near foreedge	63, 65 at top right corner, 96 barely visible in pencil at bottom right corner	Large tear at bottom left, partially covered by guard on recto
8		73v	original edge visible at top and bottom	A	Various elements from c.1520-25 that incorporate more archaic aspects common in late 1490s, see Terjanian	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted), part of another WM (eagle?) barely visible at right side of top guard, near foreedge		Large repaired tear at bottom left, partially covered by guard on recto. Soiling at bottom right corner
8	64, 66	74r	glued onto tip, original edge visible along gutter and at top	A	Elements of puffed & slashed tonlet-style costume armor, c.1520-25, see Krause, <i>Fashion in Steel</i> , p. 50.	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted)	64, 66 at top right corner, 98 barely visible in pencil at bottom right corner	
8		74v	original edges visible at top and bottom	A	Tournament elements for Stechen & Rennen, c.1485-1500, <b>fig. 83</b>	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted)		Soiling at bottom left edge, near gutter (not from use while bound?)



8	65, 67	75r	glued onto tip, original edge visible at gutter	A	Mostly tournament elements, c1480-85, also shaffron, crinet, and archaic barbut,	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted), edge of eagle's wing and tallons (inverted) visible at C of foreedge guard	65, 67 at top right corner, 98 barely visible in pencil at bottom right corner	Layered iridescent metallic washes are particularly sophisticated here, reminiscent of De Arte Athletica
8		75v	original edges visible at top and bottom	A	Elements of HJRK A 62 (Beinzeuge, gilded pieces of exchange, mail trunks). <b>figs. 4 and 167</b>	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted), edge of eagle's wing and tallons (inverted) visible at C of foreedge guard	101 barely visible in pencil at BLc gutter	END OF QUIRE 8. Soiling at BL corner, near gutter
Begin Quire 9	66, 68	76r	glued onto tip, original edge visible at top	A	Various elements, c1495-1500, including a granguard at top left, 3 shaffrons, and bizarre parade helm at center left.	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted)	66, 68 at top right corner, 102 barely visible in pencil at BLc gutter	Repair at bottom right edge, extends below guard
9		76v	original edges visible at gutter, top and foreedge	A	Various bizarre, unusual or archaic helmets, along with pieces of exchange, all possibly c1495-1500	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted)		Soiling at bottom left edge, near gutter (not from use while bound?). More metallic was applied in Breu style.
9	67, 69	77r	glued onto tip, original edge visible at gutter	A	Dilgen, Targes, and Vamplates	Escutcheon and Wings of Double eagle visible at C of the B guard	67, 69 at top right corner	two layers of guard on foreedge

9		77v	original edge visible at foreedge, top and bottom	A	Pieces of exchange for the Gestech, including Stechhelm, and lance tips, as well as Dilgen for the Rennen, all c.1495, <b>fig. 84</b>	Escutcheon and Wings of Double eagle visible at center of the bottom guard		Soiling at bottom left edge, near gutter
9	68, 70	78r	glued onto tip, original edges visible along gutter and foreedge	A	2 Kolbenhelms and a set of Beizeuge for the Kolbenturnier (like those by Lorenz in the HJRK), Pieces of exchange & vamplate for the Rennen, all c.1485, <b>fig.76</b>	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted). Half of Double Eagle (oriented visible at C of foreedge guard (this one is really clear!)) ** See photo	68, 70 at top right corner	
9		78v	original edge visible at top	A	Elements for the Rennen and field, similar to HJRK A 60, Terjanian dates to c.1485, but could be closer to 1480. May also represent components in Detroit, DIA 53.193.	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted). Half of Double Eagle (oriented visible at C of foreedge guard (this one is really clear!))		Center of Quire 9, binding twine visible in gutter. Soiling at bottom left edge, near gutter. Beautiful metallic washes in Breu style.
9	69, 71	79r	glued onto tip	A	Scaled, costume-like elements for Kolbenturnier, c. 1485	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted)	69, 71 at top right corner, 105 barely visible in pencil at bottom right corner	Lovely use of iridescent washes

9	79v	original edges visible at gutter, top & bottom	A	Various late-15th-century helmets, 2 beavors, and 1 R gauntlet	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted)		Dark stain at bottom Left edge, Significant soiling at BR edge, near gutter
9	80r	glued onto tip, original edge (with 2 repairs) visible at bottom	A	Costume helmets for Charles V, including Eagle helm, and gorget from Algiers Garniture by Desiderius (Terjanian suggests that this drawing may record a working design for the armor, prior to its completion), <b>fig. 166</b>	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted)	70, 72 at top right corner	Lacuna at CR edge
9	80v	original edges visible at gutter and foreedge	A	10 helmets of various uses, c1530-40 (including three with winged ornaments, one of which has a mask), and 2 beavors/buffes	Gothic P at Center, 8771 (inverted)		Some soiling at bottom right near gutter
9	81r	glued onto tip, original edge visible at top & bottom	B	Armor for Spanish joust royal, c 1500 (likely for Philip the Fair), after Inventario fol. 17r (RAM A16 & 17)	portion of eagle visible at center of bottom guard	71, 73 at top right corner	BIG rectangular repair at bottom center

9		81v	original edge visible at foreedge	B	Elements after Inventario, vol. A 18r & 21v. Breastplate w/St. James defeating a Moor dates to c. 1540 and is attributed to Desiderius (RAM A 153)	portion of eagle visible at center of bottom guard	END OF QUIRE 9. END OF COLLECTION. Three lacunae to left of repair.
Back Flyleaf						Eagle at top left, bisected by each of flyleaf, oriented to L. Very clear.	Barely clinging to binding twine.

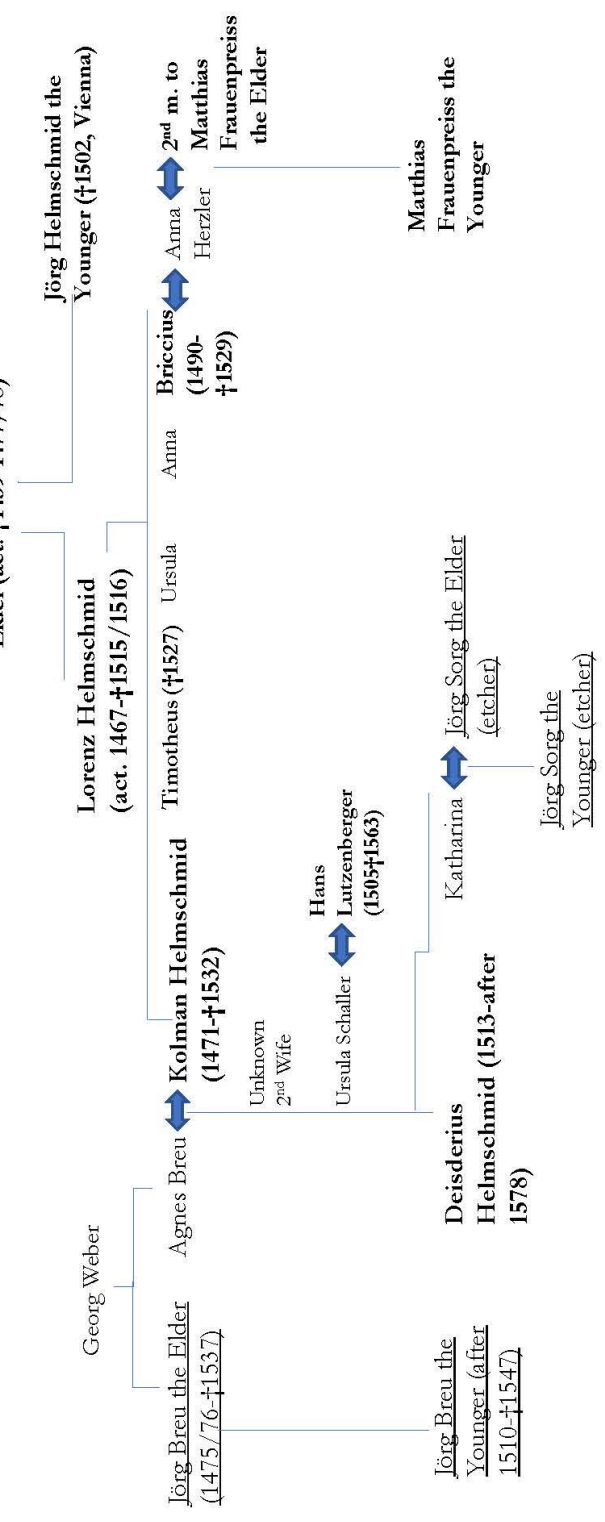
### Appendix III: Familial and Social Networks in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Augsburg

## The Helmschmid Family Tree

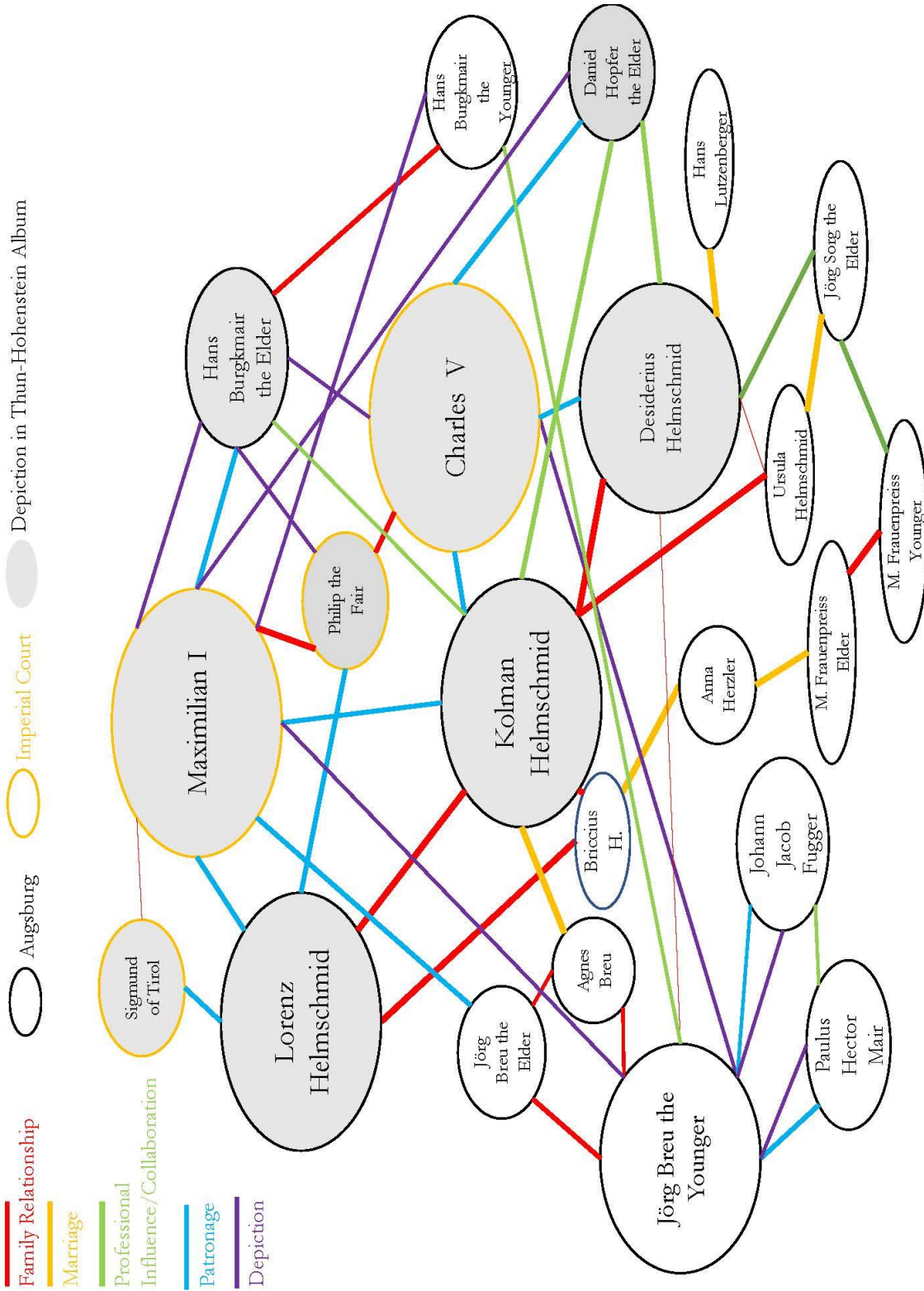
**Names: Armorers**

Names: Artists

↔ : Marriage



# Visualizing Augsburg Social & Artistic Networks



## Appendix IV: Glossary

**Angezogenrennen:** a variant of the joust of war developed at the court of Maximilian I. Participants wear specialized equipment that is primarily defined by a large shield (**renntartsch**) that is bolted firmly to the chest and covers the left side of the torso, left shoulder, throat and chin.

**Armet:** A close-fitting type of helmet with hinged cheek plates that allow a tight fit along the jaw, chin, and throat. Originally associated with Italian armor and usually worn with a **gorget** during the sixteenth century. Armets were generally also fitted with a **visor**.

**Bard:** A complete set of equine armor.

**Besagew:** a round plate (roundel) worn over the armpits to protect the vulnerable joints between the shoulder defenses and breastplate.

**Bevor:** A defense that protected the chin and throat. This type of defense was commonly worn with a sallet helmet, whose long tail protected the back of the neck, so a bevor does not wrap all the way around the neck.

**Bifolio:** a single sheet of paper folded in half to create two leaves. All bifolios in the Thun album are full drawings that have been glued along their central folds in order to attach them to the short tips that make up the album's quires.

**Buckler:** A small shield, popular for use with a long sword (especially civilians) from the late-thirteenth through the sixteenth centuries.

**Bufte (or Falling Bufte):** defense for the chin and throat that was constructed from multiple **lames** so that it could fold downward to expose the face. Often worn with a **burgonet**, sometimes in concert with a visor for the upper face. Surviving examples by Lorenz Helmschmid are affixed to **sallets**, where they replaced the **bevor**.

**Bundrennen:** a variant of the joust of war developed at the court of Maximilian I. Participants wore large shields (**renntartsch**) that were attached to the breastplate using a spring-loaded mechanism. When struck by a lance, the mechanism would release, and the shields would fly into the air. Sallet helmets used in this joust were often fitted with rollers to prevent shields from being caught on their edges and pulling the helmet off of the joust's head.

**Burgonet:** a helmet with an open face, which increased in popularity during the sixteenth century. Burgonets may be worn alone or with a **visor** and/or a **bufte**. Some burgonets have hinged cheek pieces to protect the sides of the face.

**Cannon:** arm defense. Cannons, which are cylindrical in form and can include multiple **lames**. They could enclose the upper arm (see also, **rarebraces**) or the lower arm (see also, **vambraces**)

**Cantle:** the back plate of an armored saddle, which sits behind the rider, keeping him stable in the saddle.



**Chausses:** mail hose, popular in Europe from the 11<sup>th</sup> through the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries.

**Coif:** a padded cap or hood worn beneath a helmet. These were especially important for heavy jousting helmets.

**Couter:** a defense for the elbow. Coueters can enclose the entire joint (bracelet coueters) or enclose only the outside of the elbow.

**Crinet:** protection for a horse's neck; this usually covers only the top of the neck from the top of the head (pole plate) to the shoulder, but, more rarely, it can enclose the neck completely (see fig. 22)

**Crupper:** defense for a horse's flanks. A bard usually includes two cruppers, one for each side.

**Cuirass:** armor for the torso comprising a breastplate and backplate.

**Cuisses:** defenses for the thighs. These can be closed (for combat on foot) or open in the back (for mounted use).

**Dilge (plural, Dilgen):** a stationary, shell-shaped plate that protects a rider's legs in most variants of the joust of war. When used, dilgen could replace heavier full-leg armor used in battle and tournaments on foot.

**Faulds:** overlapping plates (**lames**) that cascade from the bottom of the breastplate to provide flexible protection for the hips.

**Feldrennen:** a form of the joust of war that is run in the open (with no tilt barrier). Participants wear full leg armor, rather than *dilgen*) and equipment that very closely resembles (and is sometimes the same as) armor for the battlefield.

**Freiturnier:** a tournament event with many participants (*melée*), which included a charge with lances, followed by combat on foot after participants had been unhorsed. Freiturnier (free tournaments) could last up to four hours and, aside from their containment within the lists, evoked the chaos of real battle.

**Fußkampf:** translated as “foot combat,” this term describes a range of tournament events on foot involving two participants. Weapons could include swords, daggers, pole-axes, other polearms, and even flails.

**Garniture:** a matching set of interchangeable elements of armor (pieces of exchange). By adding or substituting different components, the wearer could use the garniture for battle, as well as a range of tournament events and parade contexts.

**Gauntlet:** defense for the hand. Gauntlets can have articulated fingers or cover multiple fingers with a separate set of articulated plates for the thumb (mitten gauntlets).

**Geschiftsrennen:** a variant of the joust of war developed at the court of Maximilian I. Participants used specialized shields (**renntartsche**) made of several tightly fitted pieces that were affixed to the breastplate using a spring-loaded mechanism. When struck with a lance, mechanism would release, and the pieces of the shields appeared to explode as they flew into the air.

**Gorget:** a defense for the throat that comprised articulating plates (**lames**). The front and back half of the gorget buckle together to fully enclose the neck.

**Grand Tournament:** An early form of knightly sport that appeared at the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. It involved dozens or even hundreds of participants ranging over miles of land in a mock battle that included capturing opponents and horses for ransom. This **melée**-style event could cause damage to property and even loss of life, and the last Grand Tournament took place in 1379.

**Grandguard:** reinforcement for the shoulder and left chest used in tournament combat. Grandguards could conform to the body or take a shield-like form that was meant to receive (and often direct) lance blows in the joust.

**Greaves:** defenses for the lower legs. These can cover only the shins or encase both the shins and calves, as is more common in European armor from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

**Haute Piece:** Vertical guards that rise from the tops of either the left or both shoulder defenses. These guards, which sit a few inches from the head, provide additional protection from

**Helmschau:** a ceremony that preceded a tournament, in which participants helms were displayed and their virtue and aristocratic pedigrees scrutinized. The helms of those who fell short were cast down, and their wearers could face exclusion from the tournament and/or public shaming.

**Joust of Peace:** see Stechen

**Joust of War:** see Rennen

**Kolbenhelm:** a round tournament helmet with bars or a basket-like enclosure for the face, which, while not suitable for use against sharpened weapons, deflected the blunted clubs of the Kolbenturnier while also providing ample ventilation and vision. The kolbenhelm is a classic example of tournament armor that abandoned battle-ready forms in favor of specialization for knightly sport.

**Kolbenturnier:** a tournament with many participants (**melée**), who used clubs or rebated (blunted) swords to attempt to unhorse opponents or knock the elaborate crests from their helms.

**Lames:** overlapping steel plates that move with the wearer. They provide flexibility to plate armor elements.

**Lance Rest:** a structure affixed to the right side of the breast plate. The lance rest not only helped to support the lance, but, more importantly, served as a stop that kept it from recoiling on impact and potentially dislocating the wielder's shoulder. Lance rests were often secured with bolts so that

they could be removed, and later sixteenth-century garnitures sometimes had lance rests that could be folded upward when not in use.

**Mail:** armor made from interlocking networks of rings. In late medieval and early modern Europe, mail made from riveted (rather than solid) rings was most common, with each ring interlocking with four others.

**Melée:** a type of tournament with multiple participants, often fighting in teams. Forms of melée include the **Freiturnier** (free tournament), **Feldturnier** (field tournament), and the **Kolbenturnier** (tournament with clubs)

**Messer:** also known as a “long knife.” A messer is a single-edged, bladed weapon with a knife-like hilt, popular in the late medieval German-speaking lands. It is similar in form and use to a falchion.

**Pauldron:** shoulder defense with steel that extends to cover the shoulder blade in the back and the armpits in the front. Sometimes, pauldrons can be fitted with a **haute piece**.

**Peytral:** defense for a horse’s chest that often wraps around to protect the animal’s shoulders.

**Pfannenrennen:** a variant of the joust of war purportedly developed at the court of Maximilian I. Participants wore not helmet, chin, throat, or arm defenses, and the shield (**renntartsch**) was only a small square of metal. According to tournament books the extreme danger of this joust led to the practice of having coffins at the ready alongside the lists. It is unclear whether this joust ever took place in real life. Instead, it was likely invented as an imagined display of bravery.

**Pieces of Exchange:** interchangeable armor elements that make up a **garniture**.

**Plackart:** reinforcing piece that could be temporarily or permanently affixed to the lower portion of the breastplate to protect the lower torso.

**Points:** leather thongs used to attach plates of armor to the arming garments worn beneath them.

**Poleyn:** defense for the knee. Also known as a “knee cop.”

**Pommel:** the front of a saddle. Armored pommels usually comprised two plates that joined in the center.

**Quintain:** a post used as a target for mounted charges with lances. The quintain was used for jousting practice or, from the late sixteenth century onward, as a tournament event in its own right.

**Quire:** a group of sheets nested together to create a unit. Traditionally, quires consist of a number of nested bifolios. However, the Thun album’s quires are comprised of short, trimmed

**Rarebrace (Upper Cannon):** armor for the upper arm

**Reinforce:** A plate that can be affixed over a particular element of armor, such as a helmet, to provide an additional, strategic layer of protection. Reinforces were widely used for tournament events in which participants anticipated taking repeated direct blows.

**Rennen** (Joust of War): a joust using sharpened or pointed lance heads and armor derived from equipment worn by Northern European cavalry during the second half of the fifteenth century. There are many variations of this event.

**Renntartsch**: a specialized shield used in various forms of the joust of war. Some types of renntartsch could be engineered to break into pieces on impact (*gesbiftstartsche*).

**Rennzeug**: specialized body armor for the joust of war.

**Running at the Ring**: a tournament event in which individual riders charge with lances toward a ring, which they attempted to catch on the end of the lance. The running at the ring offered a safer alternative to the joust by substituting the ring for an armored opponent. During the late sixteenth century, it slowly replaced the joust as the preferred form of knightly sport.

**Sabaton**: armor for the foot, usually with an open bottom, worn over a leather shoe or boot.

**Sallet**: a streamlined helmet that fit close to the head at the front and extended downward at the back to protect the neck. Sallets could have hinged **visors**, open faces, or could cover the top half of the face with a slit for vision (called a sight). This form was extremely popular throughout the last half of the fifteenth century.

**Shaffron**: armor for a horse's face.

**Spaulder**: armor for the shoulder. Unlike a **pauldron**, a spaulder did not extend over the upper back or armpit, and was therefore sometimes accompanied by a **besagew** to cover the vulnerable armpit.

**Stechen** (Joust of Peace): tournament even between two mounted combatants clad in specialized, reinforced armor and carrying lances with blunted heads.

**Stechhelm**: a specialized helm for the joust of peace that was also known as the "frog mouth" helm based on its wedge form (to deflect lance heads) and mouth-like vision slit. Stechhelms were bolted to the wearer's breastplate using a specialized tension rod. Their thick steel protected the wearer from direct hits, but could weigh as much as ninety pounds.

**Stechzeug**: specialized, heavy, reinforced armor for the joust of peace.

**Tassets**: upper-thigh defenses that buckle to the bottom of the breastplate or to short **faulds**.

**Tilt**: a barrier used to separate participants in the joust, which prevented collisions. The tilt was introduced from Italy during the fifteenth-century, and the term expanded to include the jousts in which it was used (i.e. the Tilt or "tilting")

**Vambrace** (Lower **Cannon**): armor for the forearm

**Vamplate:** a plate, usually round, that encircles the base of the lance to protect the wielder's hand. It also helps to lock the lance into the **lance rest** (also known as the lance stay or stop) and keep the lance from recoiling backward on impact.

**Visor:** a hinged defense for the upper face, with openings for vision (known as sights).

**Watermark:** a symbol that marks a sheet of paper, and often identifies a specific maker or place of origin, created by weaving an image or letters into the wire paper mold.

**Welsch:** a flexible term that, in Early Modern German, generally described an association with the foreign, particularly Italy (or, less-frequently France). In the terminology of armor and the tournament, it specifically designates objects or practices imported from Italy.