















earliest symbolic bard made for its purchaser that I have been able to find, suggesting that Maximilian began the tradition of a parade bard with messages contained in the designs. The bard has Hercules and Samson, an overt message of strength—later examples contain more subtlety with their symbolism. Maximilian would bequeath this bard to his grandson, Charles V. The bard has been somewhat damaged in part due to the Spanish Civil War of the 1930s, predominantly on the right side. The bard features an open filigree style, making it appear rather delicate, which is a deliberate contrast to the subject matter depicted. Various episodes from the strongmen's lives appear on this bard. There is Hercules slaying the Nemean lion, for example, and Samson bringing down the columns to crush the Philistines at their banquet. As a cautionary note, it also depicts the classic scene of Delilah cutting Samson's hair. In addition to showcasing strength, however, it also shows redemption in Samson's final, sacrificial act. The dolphin's head that serves as a tail piece also symbolizes the resurrection. The dolphin was the most commonly portrayed fish, and sometimes was used as a stand-in for Jonah's whale. The emperor had apparently been struggling with the issue of his mortality for the last few years of his life, even going so far as to travel with a coffin. Maximilian's bard would begin a new trend, emulated throughout Europe. However, those who followed would expand upon the bard and make larger statements, such as Maximilian's grandnephew, Ferdinand II, whose bard is an unusual one in the fact it is not steel plate.

#### *Ferdinand II, Archduke of Tyrol (1529-1595)*

Ferdinand II was part of the powerful Habsburg family, which produced several Holy Roman Emperors during his lifetime—first, Charles V, Ferdinand's uncle, and after Charles' abdication, Ferdinand's own father. The Habsburgs controlled a large portion of Europe, thanks in part to Maximilian I, who received Austria and its associated territories with the Treaty of Pressburg in 1491. These eastern territories would be inherited by Ferdinand's father, who was made king of Hungary and Bohemia in 1526 and also ruled the region called Further Austria, which included the Tyrol. Ferdinand II would become Archduke of Tyrol in 1564, but his first appointment would be as the governor of Bohemia.

While Maximilian I's bard has a straightforward message and the artwork is very Germanic, Ferdinand's garniture boasts a decidedly exotic flavor. This truly spectacular garniture is now housed in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. It was created between 1547 and 1550. I argue for the 1547 date because that was the year Ferdinand I put down a religious rebellion in Bohemia and sent his son, Ferdinand II, to take charge of the new government there. Such an occasion would have necessitated parade armor.

This garniture draws beautifully from both Roman and Turkish influences to create a statement of power.

Ferdinand's garniture boasted Turkish influence with its highly unusual patterned mail. The Habsburg court would hold tournaments where participants would dress in a Turkish manner, as a way for the victorious to display arms and armor captured from their Ottoman enemies. This was important to keep up the spirits of the Europeans, and to celebrate victory against the Ottoman Turks. Ferdinand's garniture here is meant to evoke military triumph. However, it was also to inspire respect and fear in this case, since a strong stand needed to be taken in light of the recent rebellion. The Turks were known for savagery to their defeated enemies—they would impale them and leave the stakes with their victim stuck in the ground as a warning.

Only eighteen years old at the time, Ferdinand II would need to offset any perceived lack of experience and send a clear message to the population regarding his father's recent victory. Ferdinand wisely announces all of his affiliations by displaying the ducal arms of the Austrian Hapsburgs on his saddlecloth. Ferdinand himself might have had some input into its design—he would later become a well-known armor enthusiast in his own lifetime. The origin of the bard and harness was Milan<sup>22</sup>, which was known for its high quality of craftsmanship and the ability of the artists to mimic any style currently in vogue. Milanese armor was so well-made and highly sought after that Milan's government strictly controlled its export through licenses, viewing their armor as an actual weapon that they did not want to fall into the wrong hands. The only other Turkish themed armor that has survived to date appears to be the Negroli helmet with a bound Turk lying on his back that forms the crest, made for Charles V in 1545, commemorating his victory at Tunis a decade earlier.

The Roman influences of this garniture are clearly an allusion to his father's position as King of the Romans and also suggest he is a conqueror like Caesar. The horse's shaf-fron has foliage accents surrounding a face that looks like the "Green Man." The Green Man was a familiar figure "across most of Europe, where he is associated with spring fertility festivals and the power to make rain."<sup>23</sup> This may indicate that Ferdinand was declaring not only his sovereignty over his people, but perhaps declaring dominance over the natural world as well. The Green Man also protected people from evil, so Ferdinand can be seen as making a tacit promise to his new subjects: if they will obey, they will not have to fear.

Ferdinand continues Maximilian's theme of strength with this bard, albeit through different avenues. Maximilian, as a Holy Roman Emperor, saw no need to announce his family affiliations. Here, Ferdinand II uses his family's arms in order to show his right to rule, as Johannes Ernst would in his bard for the following year's Diet of Augsburg.



Ernst, unlike the other men examined here, would not be exalting a victory or promotion when he had his bard created for the 1548 Diet of Augsburg. He was a rebel in the eyes of his earthly lord, Charles V. The year before, Ernst and his family had been involved in the Schmalkaldic War, a rebellion of Lutheran princes against Charles. Ernst's bard shows a completely different point of view of power. Rather than exalting either sheer physical or dynastic power, this bard instead shows submission to divine power—to God's overarching authority and explicitly trumpets God's grace. However, in political terms, Ernst's standing was far less secure at the Diet, and grace would not be forthcoming.

The Emperor first convened the Diet in February 1548 at Augsburg to attempt reconciliation of the Catholic and Protestant princes that ruled the various territories of Germany. The Diet was a *gebarnischer Reichstag*, which is an armored congress. With memories of the conflict still so fresh, an armored congress was necessary for both sides to feel secure.

Johannes Ernst, twenty-six years old at the time of the Diet, represented his family's Saxony holdings, and clearly agreed with his father's religious convictions. He was the son of a defeated foe, but his bard does not reflect that. Rather, it challenges Charles. His father might be a prisoner, the future uncertain, but Johannes does not back down—it is overt in its Protestant sentiments. Johannes' father, absent due to his capture, had never been a supporter of the Habsburgs and did not hide the fact. Eighteen years prior to the Battle of Muhlberg, he refused to vote for Ferdinand I as the King of the Romans. Ferdinand received the title despite the loss of the vote. Two months after that election, the Schmalkaldic League came into being. Saxony was a bastion of the Protestant faith, so it is little wonder that Johannes, son of the rebellion's leader, would not practice diplomacy at the Diet. The armor would have been manufactured in 1547 as the Diet was held in February the following year. There is no exact amount of time that can be assigned to armor creation. It would depend upon the maker and the conditions, as well as the order parameters.<sup>24</sup> This was not a fashion that lent itself to spontaneity, so statements had to be carefully executed. Johannes had approximately ten months' time to have the bard created by Lochner.

The peytrel bears the date 1548, and the following monogram is prominently displayed: ITGVG/HE. This stands for "*Ich traue Gottes unendlichen Gnaden/Johannes Ernst Herzog zu Sachsen* (I trust in God's unending grace/Johannes Ernst, Duke of Saxony)."<sup>25</sup> Clearly, such a statement would have been a proverbial slap in the face of a practicing Catholic such as Charles. Grace was Luther's prevailing ideal, and where he broke with the Church's views. Ernst may have also recalled

Erasmus' Christian knight and Paul's letter to the Ephesians, where the apostle discusses the armor of God in chapter 6. However, armor for Ernst's purposes served less as a defense and more as a declaration of faith and perhaps even evangelism. The shaffron had curled ram horns, a favorite device of creator Kunz Lochner, but these have been hacked off at some point during the bard's existence. The escutcheon plate, bearing the Saxony arms, is clearly a declaration of family affiliation—Ernst is showing his submission to God, but also acknowledging his own temporal authority that comes from his family. The horse's shaffron with its ram horn ear guards could represent sacrifice, harkening back to the ram that was God's gift to the Biblical patriarch Abraham in Genesis. Johannes might have seen attending the Diet as a necessary sacrifice for peace in Germany and used the ram horns and the monogram to convey that. After all, blood had been spilled for the cause, and his own father was currently a prisoner of the Emperor.

The bard depicts certain creatures that were known to have links to Christ and self-sacrifice. The bard contains the following creatures on the edge of the flank pieces: "boar, dolphin, goat, greyhound, griffin, hare, lion, squirrel, stag, unicorn, peacock, pelican, swan and eagle."<sup>26</sup> Animal symbols with links to Christ or connected to Christ's sacrifice on the cross include the unicorn, griffin, pelican and the lion. The unicorn in particular was a "Christian symbol of the incarnation." The griffin "became a symbol of Christ and the resurrection." The pelican was a "Christian symbol of self-sacrificial love, based on the medieval misconception that the birds tore their own breasts to feed their young. This link with shedding its own blood led to its use to represent Christ." The lion represented "power and dominion."<sup>27</sup> In addition, Jesus Christ is called the "Lion of Judah" in Revelation 5:5. In addition to the theme of sacrifice, however, were symbols of strength. The boar, griffin, lion, unicorn and eagle all represent strength, while the peacock symbolizes beauty and immortality. In addition to the peytrel's declaration of faith, swans appear on the bard, indicating fidelity, since the birds mate for life. None of these animals appear to have any tie to the family name—some tapestries and paintings, for example, might have a play on a family name with animals or other objects. The etching within the bard shows many grotesque creatures living among ornate foliage, possibly indicating the fallen world man now inhabited as indicated in the Biblical account of Adam and Eve in Genesis. Another indicator of man is the hare. "The hare, itself defenseless, is a symbol of men who put the hope of their salvation in the Christ and His Passion."<sup>28</sup> It could also represent fertility and lust, but taken in context with the other symbols, clearly the religious meaning is the one indicated. Johannes Ernst might have chosen the design to remind others that the actions taken at the Diet would have eternal consequences.

The bards up to this point have used power as a constant motif, particularly dynastic. However, the last two examples, created in the latter half of the sixteenth century, point to a different road to power. Rather than relying upon the power inherent in birthright, the two men examined, while of the nobility, are primarily military men who were able to leverage their service to their respective governments to reach relatively lofty heights. From this road to power, their bards play up their accomplishments and pay homage to their patrons.

#### BARDS—PART II: SELF-MADE MEN

##### *Sir William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, Second Creation (1501-1570)*

Pembroke's bard was created in 1557 by the Greenwich workshops in England. Maximilian's 1509 gift of the 'Burgundian Bard' had galvanized Henry VIII into establishing an armor workshop at Greenwich. The young king realized that he could not reciprocate in kind to other rulers who might also gift him armor. By 1525, he imported men from all over Europe who were skilled in the art, and paid them salaries, rather than commissioning individual pieces. The king also paid for the workshop's supplies. In fact, after Henry's demise, "Greenwich was making armour exclusively for the key male courtiers, not the monarch."<sup>29</sup> The only complete surviving example of this enterprise is the Earl of Pembroke's garniture, today housed at the Glasgow Museum. The Earl of Pembroke had the privilege of being able to obtain a license to have the armor made by the King's workshop, and unlike most courtiers, had series of armors made at the workshop, rather than just one special set. With the cost of armor being fairly high, this was a valuable privilege to have.

William Herbert's singular talent appears to be associating with the right people at the right time. The bare bones of his life that have been recorded for posterity hint at a political savvy second to none. He survived Henry VIII, Edward VI, and finished his career under Elizabeth I, though his previous support of Lady Jane Grey and Mary I affected his standing somewhat at the court. Reports are conflicting as to his religious beliefs, some claiming he changed between Protestant and Catholic as the current power on the throne dictated. What cannot be contested is that he amassed a fortune in assets while playing the game of politics.

Pembroke's garniture is unique as the sole surviving example of the Greenwich armor workshops complete with its bard.<sup>30</sup> The bard and its matching suit have been dated circa 1557. Like Count Antonio Collalto, who will be examined later, the Earl was a military commander. In 1554, Mary I had married Philip II of Spain. In 1557, the Earl was slated

to lead an army into France to support Philip II in his war, and the garniture was prepared for that reason.

The armor was created by Erasmus Kirkener, a supervisor at the workshop, in the fortieth year of his fifty year career. Pembroke may have had a hand in designing this armor, but that cannot be verified. The circular pieces appear to echo the Order of the Garter's key symbol, which would be only fitting, as it is the highest honor to be bestowed. In the Order, there are only 24 Companions, the reigning monarch, and the Prince of Wales within the Order at any given time. The initial "H" is the only concession to a dynastic concern, clearly to identify Herbert as the owner. The decoration lacks a personal touch, overall, however, outside of the initial. The decoration, while quite well-tooled, appears a bit pedestrian with its foliage, wild men and fruit motifs. There appears to be nothing personal at all. Like Antonio Collalto, the final example which will be discussed, the symbols present on Herbert's garniture point at power assigned by the man's relation to the powers that be rather than family affiliations or personal touches. Pembroke's circular designs in the armor draw upon the Garter affiliation, as does the matching portrait, which has a large rendition of the Garter badge in the upper left hand corner, and can also be seen at the Glasgow Museum. In addition, his cuirass is quite similar to one owned by Philip II. Since Herbert is a commander under Philip, this continues the power-by-association motif.

Unfortunately, due to an error in restoration, the finish is now brown, which obscures some of the detailing, so it is possible there may be more personal symbolism than can currently be determined.<sup>31</sup> The original finish, where it can be viewed on areas that were hidden due to overlapping plates, is simply steel, which would have been far more striking with the gilding that was a design element on this garniture.

##### *Count Antonio Collalto IV, Collateral-General of Venice's Land Forces (1548-1620)*

Prior to this, we have looked at emperors, archdukes, and princes. Similar to our previous example, the earl, this final example also examines a man who rose to power partially through associating with the right people, but who was also a military man whose hard work paid off. Both Herbert and Collalto can be seen as more of the rank-and-file of the nobility rather than its elite. Here, the bard was not designed to exalt a family bloodline and personal power, but rather to trumpet the power of the state, celebrating a military appointment by Venice, the Serene Republic.

The Collalto family had served as mercenaries during the Italian Wars (1494-1559). Like most Venetians, who were very focused on making a profit, war for the Collalto family was simply another form of business. Early in his career as *condottiere*, Antonio would serve with Emmanuel Philibert,

the Duke of Savoy. The Duke of Savoy, due to the occupation of his hereditary lands by the French, would serve the Habsburgs in a military capacity. Meanwhile, Antonio's association with Philibert and through him, the Habsburgs, would be very profitable, as he would later become a field marshal for Maximilian, Archduke of Austria.

Antonio Collalto's military abilities were recognized in 1578 (at the age of 30), by the Marquis Sforza Pallavicino, who was then Governor General of the Venetian army. Pallavicino had an impressive record and good reputation in Venice, but would not live to see Antonio's promotion in 1589.<sup>32</sup> Antonio's promotion happened, according to Pier Angelo Passolunghi, who has collected extensive genealogies for the Collalto family, "in 1589, late on June 7<sup>th</sup>, the Venetian Senate selected him as Collateral General of the Serene Dominion for his singular faith and the quality of the many merits of the family towards the Republic."<sup>33</sup> Antonio was aged 41 at the time of his promotion and had clearly distinguished himself to receive such a high honor.

Antonio's position as Collateral General was a great responsibility. Sensitive to the importance of the *Terraferma*, enemies of Venice realized that if the mainland territory could be conquered, Venice would have to capitulate. The other Italian states saw Venice as a far greater threat than any foreign invader, with its success in both maritime and land conquests. Antonio's appointment would have demanded armor to be commissioned for the occasion, and fortunately, part of it still survives. The resulting bard design depicts Roman soldiers, which act as a visual representation of Antonio's martial prowess as well as his employer's ancestry. This was highly appropriate from Venice's point of view regarding its history. Like all Italians at the time, Venetian elites fostered an image of themselves as direct descendants of the Roman Empire, though there was no direct evidence. Most likely, the Roman soldiers here are designed to evoke the military might of Rome and as part of the *alla'antica* style currently in vogue. The figures offering up tribute indicate victories. Antonio's bard has a great deal of etching in a freehand style, giving it a lively feel, where the artist clearly was in control, but willing to be less precise—reinforcing my theory that this bard may have been created within tight time constraints, judging by how plain the bard is overall. The crupper has pointed and rounded edges, which adds to its artistic appeal.

The ornamentation includes "putti, dragons, and other fantastic creatures set against a blackened pebbled ground."<sup>34</sup> This bard has no gilding, and the style of etching indicates this was a bard originating from Brescia, which Venice controlled, and was a major source for armor for city troops. It is curious that for such an important appointment, the bard was not gilded. This might have been in an attempt to keep the costs down or to avoid ostentation. However, it is far

more likely that time may have been of the essence. Armors often "were blackened, a technique that simplified production and reduced maintenance."<sup>35</sup> The goldsmiths' art was a time-consuming and exacting one, requiring fine gold wire to be rolled and melted into shape. It is possible that the Senate did not give Antonio much time to prepare for his new role.

While the bard's Roman influence is palpable, there are some unusual designs on its surface, which give it a strictly Venetian touch. Upon closer examination, mermen and even snails appear to the observer. The snail was a symbol that could be "associated with cyclical or periodic processes in nature" while the merman could be symbolic of Triton, who controlled the seas. With these maritime creatures, and Venice's position as a power at sea, Collalto is taking pride in Venice, which indicates less of a preoccupation with personal glory, but instead honors the city and his new rank within it. This pride is a manifestation of a Venetian ideal. Other Italians saw the fanatical devotion the Venetians had to their republic and both mocked and admired it. The Venetians believed that since their most important decisions were made by groups, rather than one ruler, their republic would last through any difficulties. Pope Pius II once declared that the Venetians "never think of God and, except for the state, which they regard as a deity, they hold nothing sacred, nothing holy."<sup>36</sup> There was a subtext to this comment—Venetians, it was believed by outsiders, were also considered the most politically astute and scheming of all Italians. However, when the Venetians joined in the battle against the Ottoman Turks, this image began to fade during the 1540s.

## CONCLUSION

Henry VIII's bard, given as a gift by Maximilian, clearly celebrates family affiliations. Maximilian's own bard, the one that is most likely the trend's progenitor, is clearly based on raw strength, combined with the chivalric ideal. By using Samson and Hercules, he makes a statement about his strength and fortitude. Maximilian was very much aware of his image and leaving behind a monument of himself for posterity, as evinced in other projects he commissioned during his lifetime, not just in works of art, but even his dynasty's future by arranging profitable marriages for his children. The bards that Maximilian was responsible for having designed, his own and Henry VIII's, however, clearly have a less sophisticated style, but they are crucial as the starting pieces of the trend. Over time, the trend would evolve.

One of the descendants of Maximilian, Ferdinand II, used his bard to play down a decided lack of experience for the young man, and instead emphasized dynastic stability. The bard identified Ferdinand as a member of the powerful Habsburg family. Like Maximilian, it also drew on images that suggested

strength and military might in its Roman and Turkish influences. This bard used more subtle interplays in its symbols. It also is the only full European garniture to survive that has such an overt Turkish influence with its unusual patterned mail.

Ferdinand's uncle, Charles V, would encounter the son of his conquered enemy, Johannes Ernst, at the Diet of Augsburg. Ernst's bard would look past the unrest created by the Schmalkaldic War and the Reformation. Ernst's bard is the only remaining example of a heavily religious nature. Instead of focusing on the uncertainty of his father's imprisonment by Charles V, and the political wrangling at the Diet, Ernst would portray stability based on something above mere dogma, namely the power of Jesus Christ, who "was and is and is to come" (Revelation 1:8) by the selection of imagery depicting sacrifice. The only indication of his earthly connections is found in the escutcheon plate and peytral which indicate his family—the rest of the bard is peppered with Christological references.

Clearly, however, there was a paradigm shift during the mid-sixteenth century with the bard and its intended effect. No longer do the bards only go to high-ranking noble elites, but judging by the bards of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and the bard of Antonio Collalto, they have become the province of military commanders as well. Those who could afford a bard (or have one created by the powers that be) for certain occasions were now making use of this elite trend. In the case of Herbert and Collalto, their bards' designs could be seen as an effect of the corresponding shift in law, where power became more and more concentrated in the hands of the state rather than the nobility. Both would actually be proclaiming the power of the *civitas*, that ideal of Roman law, by using imagery that focuses on their authority given by their respective domains. As more bards can be reassembled and researched, new trends and ideas may come to light among the artistic themes, but for now, the bard appears to have been a solid expression of power, whether acquired by the virtue of one's own powerful dynasty, or in the ascension within the governmental structure to powerful positions.

#### APPENDIX A: EVOLUTION OF ARMOR AND RIDING EQUIPMENT

Since man first began riding, tack<sup>37</sup> has been a means of self-expression. The history of such personalization prior to the Renaissance is limited at best, since so few examples survive. Some of the oldest and most unusual artifacts have come from the Pazyryk burials in Siberia, where frost preserved many delicate items made of felt and leather. These artifacts date between the sixth and third century B.C.E. and include lavishly decorated bridles and saddle covers with embroidery and metalwork accents. In addition, the saddles would boast trees (the frame of the saddle with pommel in front and cantle in back) that would

appear modern today. However, it is unknown if there were any messages contained within the artwork.

There are accounts and artifacts from the time of Claudius in the first century C.E. detailing some of the decoration of equestrian equipment used by the Roman cavalry. "Pendants were suspended from the *phalerae* and these employed imagery derived from the oak tree (oak leaves and acorns in low moulded relief), mixed with Bacchic designs."<sup>38</sup> Riders wearing stylized masks mounted horses bearing these decorations, in elaborate riding displays known as the *Hippika Gymnasia*. Everyday equipment consisted of tanned leather armor or scale armor, examples of which have been found at the rich archaeological site of Dura-Europas.<sup>39</sup> It is theorized that the masks and the images were for religious purposes, not for self-expression.

Overall, however, equestrian armor served a single purpose, that of defense, and would remain plain and utilitarian. *Cuir bouilli*, the boiled leather armor which would eventually replace plate on the early modern battlefield, would endure from the fall of Rome to the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. This was no doubt due to its lower cost. Medieval and Renaissance tournament riders would use *cuir bouilli* and have it gilded, silvered and gessoed in order to create a personal statement.

The next advance in equine armor was the mail trapper, which appeared by the twelfth century. No examples have come to light, but there are artistic representations of this type in contemporary chess pieces and drawings. The trapper looked like a horse blanket, made of rings of mail, with no textile attached. However, for the animal's protection, a separate quilted cloth blanket would be placed underneath, similar to the undergarments for humans wearing mail during this period. In fact, "mail remained the basis of the knight's protection until the first half of the fourteenth century."<sup>40</sup> It was discontinued because crossbows were able to pierce mail, and some more powerful ones could even pierce plate. By the fifteenth century, equine armor development was complete.

Over both mail and plate, some nobles added a colorful horse blanket called a caparison, which was quilted for further protection. A tournament book from Nuremberg, currently housed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, shows a group of knights on their caparisoned chargers. This record was kept from 1446 to 1561, and gives us a glimpse at a long-vanished world, which relied on the symbolism conveyed by heraldic devices. The tournaments would have boasted much color, pomp and pageantry. The delicate textiles of the caparisons have not survived, but steel plate bards, the final evolution in equestrian armor, have.

The large surfaces of the steel horse bards lent themselves to the creation and transmission of bold personal statements, usually influenced by classical Rome. Every surface was an opportunity to display a statement about its owner. Ceremonial



armor began to grow more fanciful and personalized among the very wealthy. The equestrian pieces that survive show a richness of statement as well as artistry that rival any purely decorative item produced during the same period. Military commanders, nobles, and rulers all preferred to sit for portraits dressed in armor in order to portray strength and dignity. Armor would increasingly come to reflect and influence fashions, as seen in the portraits and surviving artifacts of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. After all, as Stephen V. Grancsay points out, “armor and costume were always worn together, and it was inevitable that their forms and ornamentation should influence each other.”<sup>41</sup> By etching with acid, craftsmen created intricate patterns in the steel, echoing the rich fabrics used for human costume. Etching, like embossing, weakened the metal, so these two methods were used primarily on parade armor, not working armor. Gilding, bluing, and blackening were common artistic methods that proved practical—they prevented rust. Blackening and bluing tended to be more common, due to the high cost of gilding. Painting was another method, but far less popular. One reason for this may be its vulnerability. The Museum at Leeds has a suit of armor created for the Earl of

Worcester, which has lost its russet paint—a fact known only because a surviving design album provides a record of how the armor originally appeared. Bards which are still extant have no traces of any original paint. Surviving contemporary inventories with watercolor drawings of the bards as they originally appeared bolster the theory that bards were not painted.

From the highly decorated bridle and saddle of the Pazyryk horseman of the Russian steppes, to the pendants of the Roman cavalryman participating in the *Hippika Gymnasia*, armor became nothing more than another utilitarian tool in the soldier’s arsenal. The evolution from defense mechanism to *objet d’art* would take centuries to complete. Imagination, ambition, and stunning technological skills would unite in the creation of the parade armor of the Renaissance, with far-reaching political and military overtones.

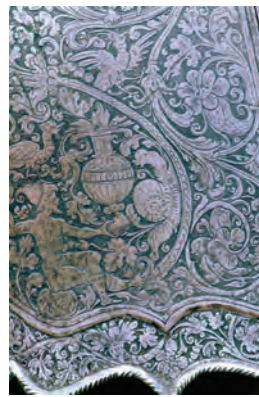
Ferdinand’s bard can be seen in Stuart W. Pyhrr and Jose A. Godoy’s *Heroic Armor of the Renaissance: Filippo Negrolì and His Contemporaries* on page 273.

Pembroke’s bard can be seen in Tobias Capwell’s *The Real Fighting Stuff: Arms and Armour* at the Glasgow Museums on pages 48-55.

APPENDIX B: BARD IMAGES

*Johannes Ernst, Duke of Saxony-Koburg*

*Count Antonio Collalto, Collateral-General of Venice’s Land Forces*



Top: Full shot of Johannes Ernst’s 1548 bard for the Diet of Augsburg. Left: Detail shot of the Ernst peytral. (Both images © A.A. Olsen, 2011)

Top: Full shot of Collalto bard. Left: Detail of snail from Collalto bard. (Both images © A.A. Olsen, 2011)





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