

ADDITIONAL NOTES ILLUSTRATIVE OF TILTING IN TUDOR TIMES.¹

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A few additional notes on tilting in general may be of use for the better understanding of the subject of tilting in Tudor times. Accordingly, a few notices of some varieties of the sport, as well as some particulars as to time occupied, general results, &c., are here added.

St. Remy, in mentioning, under the year 1429, the introduction of the tilt or barrier for jousting, leads one to suppose that it was a Portuguese practice, and as yet we do not know whether the "Portingallois" were the real originators of the idea; but it is probable that there were many varieties of jousting peculiar to certain countries, and we know how very many styles there were in Germany. There is, however, one peculiar method of jousting which is not often mentioned, but would appear to have been practised in Naples. In Ashmolean MS. 1116, at fol. 111, is a transcript from some MS., whose source is not mentioned, of "A demonstration by John Writh alias garter to king Edward the fourth touching three knights of High Almain who came to do arms in England with the instructions by them given unto the said Garter & the articles of their feats and enterprise."

Now this title sounds all right, but Writh was made Garter in 1487-8, two or three years after Edward IV's death, and no mention of the three knights' visit to England can be found in the works of Habington, Hall, or Holinshed. Still, the account may be true, and the mention of Writh and Edward IV may refer to an earlier period of Writh's connection with the body of Heralds. The date, 19th June, and the place, Canterbury, may lead to the identification of the three knights and of their visit to England.

¹ See p. 296.

Their names were Vladislaus of Bodua, Fredericus of Wardma, and Lancelagus of Tresalwen.¹

The first Article says that fifteen courses were to be run after the manner of Naples. The first five courses were to be run in the following curious style: The comer to choose whether he or Vladislaus shall stand two lance lengths from the tilt end while his opponent shall run at him. The next five courses to be run under reversed conditions, and the last five courses to be run in the accustomed manner. The comer was to bring his spear garnished with grapers, vamplate, and coronel, and these to be equal in length and size of coronel, the weapons being inspected by the herald. This strict equality referred to the first ten courses, but for the last five, only equal length was necessary. If a spear was dropped another was not to be supplied. For this contest Vladislaus offered a jousting coronel of gold as the prize.

The second day Fredericus offered a spear-head of gold as a prize for the contest under the following conditions:—

Twenty courses to be run along a tilt nailed and boarded on both sides.² The spears were to be inspected two days previously, and to have heads of the breadth of a groat. Each combatant was to get his spear from a scaffold, and not, as usual, from an attendant. If he dropped it he could not get it again till he had told his opponent the first letter of the Christian name of his lady; and if he dropped it a second time, "he must then 'assoile his fellow' (answer his opponent) such a question as he will ask him, or else cause some lord's daughter to desire the forbearing of the answering of the question." If both lose their spears they would have to hold the tilt for eight hours against all comers.

¹ They appear to have been on a pilgrimage to St. Jago de Compostella, and took England on their way home. They had had "great cheer" at Calais, and were still suffering from the effects of their passage from that place; but they were anxious to perform some feats of arms before New Year's day, till which date the indulgence for the pilgrimage lasted. They brought letters to the King, and also to the Queen, from

the Queen of Hungary. The prizes they offered were to be worn by those knights accepting their challenge from the date of acceptance until the contest came off.

² Monstrelet, cap. lxxx, mentions "une lice garnie d'aiselles." Gay gives this word *aiselle* as equivalent of "ais," the thin boards used for bookbinding, and now replaced by stout cardboard.

The third day Lancelagus gave as a prize a sword of gold to be competed for as follows: Each rider, with spear on thigh and sword by side, to run without any tilt till one or both spears be broken. If the spear be dropped the rider doing so shall give a diamond to his opponent for his lady. If both lose their spears in one course either may have his spear again "so that each of them require it of the other for his lady's sake by an officer of arms," and then to run again together. After this contest twenty-five strokes to be given with the sword by each, above the saddle, any way but foining.¹ If either drop his sword, he is not to have it till it be asked for by a gentlewoman authorized in the name of the ladies and gentlewomen of the court. If dropped a second time he is only to have it by the King's special command. Should both drop their swords, then they can only have them by order of the King's eldest daughter.

The King was to settle the thickness of the spear-heads and the sword points, and thickness of the edges of the swords. Either of the combatants hurting his opponent's horse to give the owner such a piece of armour as he will choose, and if a horse be killed then his own horse to be given. For running against an opponent's horse wilfully the individual was to be punished as the ladies might ordain.

With regard to this manner of Naples, the first part of the first day's performance looks very like the persistence of the idea of the quintain. We are not told if the knight sitting still, was to have a lance in his hand; but if he had, there would be a slight chance of his being able to parry his antagonist's stroke. The rules as to the penalties for dropping a weapon on the second and third day look like a polite game of forfeits, and the divulging the first letter of the christian name of the lady has a very innocent ring about it. The rules as to the horses being hurt or killed seem very equitable.

On page 296 reference has been made to unfair riding as one of the causes of the adoption of the tilt; but even after that had been introduced, some riders appear to have indulged in peculiarities which were not in the true spirit

¹ Thrusting with the point.

of the joust. The two instances here given from the memoirs of Ollivier de la Marche will show this :

In 1443, at l'Arbre Charlemaigne, when Guillaume de Vaudrey jousted with le Comte de Saint Martin it is mentioned that

“ledict comte avoit accoustume de courre d'un coin de la lice, et d'aborder sur son homme, comme au milieu de la toile et que de celle traverse ledict de Vaudrey (qui courroit du droit et, du long de la toile) le veiot venir en croisee, le bras de la lance, a la faute de la garde, nu, et que de l'autre course le luy avoit mande le Seigneur de Charny, lui conseillant qu'il courust du long de la toile.”

In 1446, at the Pas de la Pelerine, the Seigneur de Haubourdin

“(qui prit sa course au coing de la lice et vint aborder a la toile ainsi qu'en croisee) assit sur le bord du clou qui tient la visiere de l'armet. Et l'armet (qui n'etoiet pas atache mais l'avoit ledict Messire Bernard de Bearne seulement mis en sa teste ainsi que communement l'on court es Espaignes) se haussa d'iceluy coup qui fut durement ataint et tellement que ledict Messire Bernard fut froisse et blece en trois lieux au visage dont le plus fort et le plus grief estoit au menton et de ce saignoit tres fort.”

Ollivier de la Marche, in his account of the jousting at the Pas de la Pelerine, 1446, mentions the Spanish custom of having the helmet placed on the head, but not made fast. This fashion evidently prevailed also in Portugal ; for in 1414, during the siege of Arras, at a meeting held between that town and Lens, Alardin de Monsay, jousting against a Portuguese knight, unhelmed his opponent each time in the first four courses ; but having his horse killed by a lance stroke in the head in the fifth course, the jousting terminated.

In 1468 Charles, Duke of Burgundy, and his Duchess, Margaret of York, sister of Edward IV of England, on the occasion of their marriage, presided at a great *fete* at Bruges on the market-place of which town jousting took place. The *Arbre d'or* was placed just in front of the fine belfry, and gave the name to the *fete*. Close to this was the judges' stand, where were assembled, besides many nobles of both countries, Garter king-of-arms and *Toison d'or*. In front of this stand the lances were measured and headed. Adolf de Cleves, Seigneur de Ravestain, who, with the Bastard of Burgundy, acted as defender of the *Arbre d'or*, then entered with a dwarf clad half in

white and half in figured crimson leading a giant by a chain. After these had made their salute to the company, the dwarf fastened the giant to the *Arbre d'or*, and then placed himself on the flight of steps with his trumpet and sand-glass, while Ravestain went to prepare himself for the contest. As soon as all were ready for the jousting, the dwarf blew his trumpet and turned his sand-glass, which ran for half-an-hour. When this had elapsed the dwarf again blew his trumpet, and Ravestain having broken most spears received the gold ring—the appointed prize. The lances were then taken from the jousters, and a *poursuivant* gave to each a *gros planchon blanc* painted with *Arbres d'or*. They jousted with these, but without touching each other. This finished the day's jousting, which was followed by a great feast, which lasted till 3 a.m.

So on each day¹ succeeded dinners, jousting for an half hour, a course with planchons, two more half hours and planchons, and then a heavy banquet with *tableaux* of the Labours of Hercules, &c.

We are told that spears were not counted as broken "*s'il n'y avoit quatre doigts de francs au dessous du roquet, ou devant la grappe.*" On the Friday the dinner appears to have been late, as it was a fast day, and as such much observed by the English. It is also noted that Lord Scales and the Bastard of Burgundy being "brothers in arms," and having already met in the lists in London 11th June, 1467, would not run against each other: Adolf de Cleves therefore took the place of the Burgundian. On Sunday, the eighth day of the *fête*, Philippe de Poitiers was wounded so that he had to disarm. The sand-glass was at once laid down, till it was settled that the Marquis of Ferrara should take his place. His horse, however, would not run along the tilt, so nothing was done. After the banquet and *tableaux* there was dancing. Monday, the ninth day, the Duke of Burgundy himself jousted with Ravestain, breaking eight spears to Ravestain's eleven. The Heralds then made up the score. It was then found that Mons. d'Arguel, who ran on the third day and had broken thirteen spears, had won the prize, which consisted of a destrier with rich trapper and two

¹ On Friday there was no banquet.

panniers, in which was the complete jousting panoply of the Bastard of Burgundy. The prize was presented by the Seigneur de Ravestain on behalf of the ladies and judges.

Workmen then pulled down the tilt and the judges' stand, and the tourney began. The twenty-five joustiers who had run against the defenders were now opposed to twenty-five others, who included in their numbers Philip de Commines and three English knights. The Duke of Burgundy then inspected the whole company, after which the trumpet sounded, and the two parties rode lance on thigh at each other. Next, they fought with the blunt tourney swords, and so earnestly that they could not be parted until the Duke, who had taken his part in the tourney, as he had previously in the jousting, took off his helmet, and, sword in hand, made them separate. Even then they continued to fight in small groups till the Duke succeeded in stopping the contest, and persuaded the excited knights to leave the lists and prepare themselves for the last banquet. After the banquet there was dancing; then the ladies decided that the Duke should have the prize for the tourney. This he refused to accept, and it was eventually awarded to John Woodvile, brother of Edward IV's Queen, and for these reasons, viz.: First, he was a stranger, and to strangers honour should be done in all noble houses; second, he was a young and handsome knight, and to such encouragement should be given; and, third, that he had acquitted himself well and honourably. The prize was accordingly presented to him by an English lady of good family, as is the custom.

Next day M. d'Arguel, the winner, held another joust, at which he won the prize as defender, while a young squire, with the quaint name of Billecocq, won that of the assailants.

A grand banquet wound up the *fete*, at which the heralds received *largesse* in a sack supported on a staff, borne on the shoulders of two of their number. The Duke changed the names of several of the officers of arms of his household, and created heralds kings of arms, *poursuivants* heralds, and "baptisa" new *poursuivants*, as is customary. The noble company then separated with gifts from the Duke.

The Seigneur de Chasteau Guion, who ran against the knight of the *Arbre d'or* on the second day, had never jousted before, and his nine spears broken to the ten of the challenger got him great praise. Messire Jehan de Chassa, who ran on the fourth day, found that he was not sufficiently well armed; and lest he should take up the time of other better-equipped jousts, he asked to retire, which was allowed. On this day the Bastard of Burgundy assumed the part of defender, and ran with two of the assailants, and the next day ran against his brother Baldwin. The sixth day the Bastard of Burgundy nearly had his leg broken by the kick of a horse, and so had to lie in a litter whilst the jousting was done by Ravestain and afterwards by Charles de Visan. On the seventh day Philippe de Poitiers acted as defender, and jousted against five opponents. Again on Sunday he defended the *Arbre d'or*, but, as has been mentioned, his second opponent disabled him, and had to surrender his charger to the Marquis of Ferrara, who, after his turn, gave the post of defender to the Seigneur de Contay.¹

In these days of electric lighting and enormous roofs as at the Military Tournament, the feats-of-arms, tent-pegging, &c., seem to be performed as well by night as by day; but though the jousts of former days had not these resources of science, they managed sometimes to hold their performances by artificial light. Thus, when the French Ambassador, Anne de Montmorency, came over to receive the Garter in June, 1572, a jousting was held at Westminster before the Queen and Court at night; the scene being lit up by Yeomen of the Guard holding "an infinite number of torches on the terrace and so in the preaching place." Walter, Earl of Essex, and twelve gentlemen then entered, and drew up on the east side; and the Earl of Rutland, with twelve others, drew up on the west side. After a chariot with a damsel and an old knight had appeared, and the usual speeches, &c., made, the two bands engaged in what must have been a tourney.

¹ At the Barriers in Paris, 1514, Holinshed says, p. 833, "the judges suffered manie more strokes than were appointed." The proper number was six foines with hand spears, then eight

strokes if the spear lasted so long, and, after that, twelve with the sword. "This was to favour an Almain provided by the Dauphin to have had the Duke of Suffolk rebuked."

The jousts held at Lisle in 1513 in a large room paved with black marble, when the horses were shod with felt to avoid slipping, must have also been artificially lighted. This affair reminds one of the Fool in *King Lear*, Act 4, Sc. 6, when he says, "It were a delicate stratagem to shoe a troop of horse with felt."

Lord William Howard, writing to Henry VIII from "Shattelerhaut" on 9th June, 1541, mentions that at the approaching marriage of the Duke of Cleves and the Princess of Navarre "there shall be a justis both by daylight & torchlight. . . ."

The work of a *Tenan* at a *pas d'armes* must sometimes have been pretty heavy. Thus, in 1450, at the Fontaine de Pleurs, Lalain fought nine times in fourteen days and sometimes twice in one day. At the tournament in 1510 Henry VIII and his three friends encountered twenty-one opponents, besides the four courses the King ran for the ladies' sake.

At the tilting in 1570 the Earl of Oxford and his three companions met twenty-seven *venans*.

Henry II of France was not the only tilter who received hurt in the eye by the shivering of a lance, for in 1525 Henry VIII's friend, Sir Francis Bryan, lost an eye from this cause.

Sometimes the ladies received more substantial compliments than the *Ladies' lance*, for in 1513 Henry VIII and his brother-in-law Brandon, having ridden about to show themselves, threw off their upper apparel, which in the King's case was a scopelarie mantle and hat of cloth of silver; and in the Duke's case, black velvet, and sent them to the ladies for a *largesse*.

The lances were often coloured or otherwise adorned, as we see by the following examples:—

In 1435, at the tilting at Arras in August, Counts de St. Pol and de Ligny had lances *qui etoient toutes bleues*. Merio's lances were white.

In 1448, at the French King's entry into Rouen, the Count de St. Pol's pages bore lances covered with crimson velvet and figured gold tissue.

In 1450 Jacques Lalain had three large and long lances (here called *bourdons*) with "*Qui a belle done, la garde bien*" written on them.

In the *Romance of Petit Jehan de Saintre* twelve large lances are mentioned, of which six were covered with cloth of silver "à ses couleurs fourrées de martres," and the other six painted in like fashion.

At the jousts on the occasion of the marriage of M. d'Alençon we learn from a letter of Louis XII that the lances used were small ones on account of the young princes who took part in the *fête*.

The lance-rest is found in many varieties of form. In one class it is simply a curved bracket, bolted by a plate to the breast. Sometimes the bracket is hinged in such a way as to fold up against the breast when not used for couching the lance. A frequent form in the sixteenth century is that of a bracket with a plate pierced with oblong slots. These slots pass over a series of oblong-sectioned pins standing out from the breast, and pierced with holes, through which a linch-pin is passed from above downwards. By fixing the hook and its plate over higher or lower pins the height of the rest can be altered to suit the convenience of the jousting. Sometimes the rest has a somewhat sharply-square edge so as to catch the burre of the lance.

Another form of rest is sometimes seen in which a kind of skeleton bracket is fixed to the breast, the interior being filled with soft wood against and into which the grappe or burre, furnished with sharp points, will bite, and so prevent the lance from slipping.

That it was not too easy to make attainments when the tilt was used is very evident¹ when we examine the scores made at some of the meetings. If we take that which was performed in the months of July and August, 1443, at the *Arbre de Charlemagne* near Dijon, we shall see that there were thirteen contests which were completed, and two others—one of them with sharp spears, in which, owing to the damage done to the armour of the combatants, the final results had to be postponed to some future occasion. At each of these thirteen contests eleven courses were run, and we find that out of the total hundred and forty-three courses, there were no less than

¹ In 1435, at Arras, Charny tried his horse for two courses before the regular business began, and when it did Merlo's

steed "*fuyoit toujours*," so his rider had to get another courser.

one hundred in which both riders failed to touch their opponent. In two challenges neither jousting touched the other once in the eleven courses, and in no single challenge were hits scored in every course. Generally the first two or three courses of each challenge had no result. In the joust with sharp spears between Jacques de Challand and the Spaniard, Diago de Valière, after the first course the armourers had to be called in to work for three hours at the repair of the Spaniard's *garde de bras*, and the Duke of Burgundy and the general company filled up the time by a banquet, of which they partook on the spot. When the contest was resumed the Spaniard's horse was overthrown by the shock, and his rider's armour so damaged that it was impossible to conclude the challenge in the few days which remained before the close of the six weeks fixed as the duration of the meeting.

In December, 1446, at Ghent, when the accomplished Jacques Lalain and Jehan Bonniface, after their combat on foot, ran with lances at the tilt, although the daylight did not allow of more than twenty-seven courses, on only four occasions did the knights fail to strike each other, and fifteen lances were broken or damaged between them. But these were very good performers, Bonniface being one of the hundred special jousting whom the Duke of Milan entertained.

Chastelain, in his life of Lalain, remarks that though Bonniface on this occasion broke more lances than his opponent, yet the latter made as many, or more, hits as the Sicilian knight, and also the hits were harder. On this occasion the tilt was only five feet in height, and the prize was to go to the jousting who first broke six lances, but merely breaking the heads off was not to count. The two knights each broke five lance-staves, but Bonniface broke three heads to Lalain's two.

At the tournament of 12th February, 1511, illustrated by the Herald's College Roll, there were in all 264 courses run, and only 129 hits made. Of these 77 were scored by the Royal and noble challengers, who, after all, only made a little over one hit in two courses. Of the Venans one made no hits, and six only struck once in six courses. Henry VIII himself made thirty-eight hits out of fifty-two courses.

At the tilting in 1570, out of 314 courses, 207 hits were made. Of these hits the four challengers in their 157 courses made 122 hits, and six of the Venans only scored one hit each in their six courses.

As to the time taken for running we are told that at the jousts at Bruges in 1468 during one half hour eighteen courses were run and ten lances were broken by one of the challengers, while his opponent, who had never before jousted, managed to break nine.¹

On another occasion each of two jousters broke thirteen lances well.

On yet another day five lances broken by each jouster in the half-hour seems slow work. A jousting who had no chance of scoring was invited to retire so as not to take up the time to no purpose. And during the discussion arising from the wounding of one rider the sand-glass was laid on its side till another knight could take his place.

It should be noted that no lance was counted as broken unless the shaft was smashed four fingers' breadth from the point or from the grip. Mere hits, or even the lance-head being broken off, did not count on this occasion.

Mr. Hartshorne, F.S.A., informs me that at Willington, in Bedfordshire, where Sir John Gostwick, Master of the Horse to Henry VIII, lived, among the buildings erected by him for the keeping of the King's horses are traces of a running ground for practising jousting. Also at Kenilworth Castle there is, as noted by the late Mr. G. T. Clark, a similar site. Our treasurer, Mr. Hilton, F.S.A., tells me that at Mantua a tilt still exists.

At page 299 I have mentioned that striking coronal to coronal was thought a good feat in jousting. Now, on referring to the diagram on page 302, it will be evident that this could only happen at the moment when each rider brought his lance to a point just over the tilt. This shows that each jousting started on his career with the lance straight to the front and only inclined it inwards when close to the opponent.

¹ Twenty-two courses and seventeen lances broken seems to have been the best half-hour's work, but the prize went

to d'Arguel, who broke thirteen, as did his opponent, but the number of courses is not mentioned.