BARRIERS AND FOOT COMBATS.

By Viscount DILLON, F.S.A.

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries we frequently read of contests "at barriers," and though these often formed a part of the exercises of tournaments, they were of quite a different nature from what now-a-days are supposed to have been the chief portion of those encounters. It may be useful then to note the real nature of "barriers." The jousting and the tourney were, as has been explained elsewhere, both of them mounted contests, while "barriers" were essentially foot encounters. Just as we find the tilt or toile introduced to modify the joust which originally was in the open field, and only bounded by the lists, so the foot combats of the fifteenth century were modified and rendered less dangerous by the institution of the barrier. As we know from the spirited accounts of Ollivier de la Marche Chastelain, and other recorders of knightly feats of arms, the earlier portion of a contest between two individuals, generally consisted in their approaching each other, both of them well protected with armour, and somewhat heavily armed, with spear, sword, axe, shield, and dagger.

When at a reasonable distance apart, they began to hurl some of these weapons at each other, and, judging from the accounts given by those authors of the famous deeds of that brilliant fighter Jacques Lalain, generally this first attack was without any result other than disencumbering the two combatants of some of their heavy armament. Having thus cleared the air, they then proceeded to the important task of hammering each other with sword or axe according as the arrangement of the fight determined. As we see from the accounts by the writers mentioned above, death but very seldom occurred, and even damage was rare. Yet, in spite of this, as time went on, people seemed to become more careful to avoid accidents, and changes were made



FIG. 1.—AXE IN POSSESSION OF CAPTAIN HUTTON, F.S.A.

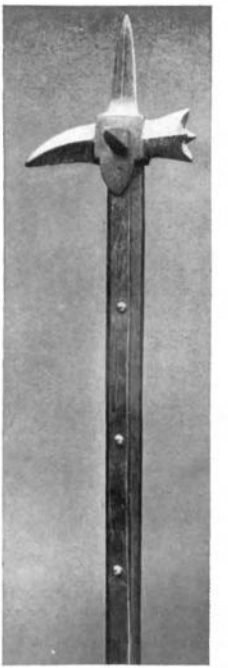
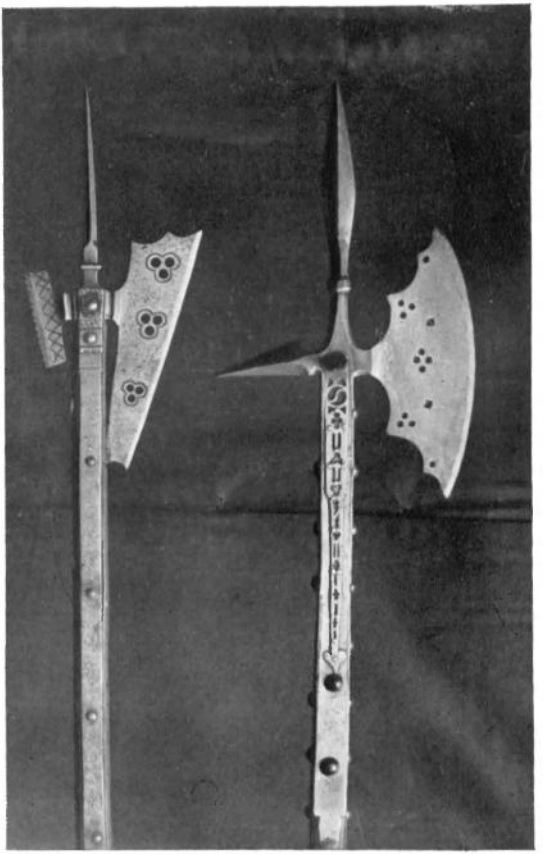


FIG. 2.—BEC DE FAUCON IN POSSESSION OF CAPTAIN HUTTON, F.S.A.

PLATE I.



FIGS. 3, 4.—AXES IN TOWER OF LONDON.

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in the manner of fighting, until, in the seventeenth century, "barriers" into which the combats had degenerated were less dangerous than a modern glove fight.

It may be interesting in considering the nature of the barriers and foot fights to note first the conditions, arms and armour used in the fifteenth century foot combats, next to examine the accounts of the most memorable of these contests as detailed by contemporary writers, and then to treat in a similar manner, the fights in which barriers were used, and which were so called. Unfortunately, no English translation of these interesting accounts has as yet appeared, so it is hoped that the accompanying short descriptions of the chief combats will be accepted as illustrating the many incidents of such a class of fighting.

As in "Tilting in Tudor Times," *Arch. Jour.*, vol. lv. combats *à outrance*, or rather combats which were carried to a fatal termination have not been considered in the present paper, though as in the case of Lalain's fights in Scotland the terms were, *à outrance*.

From the *Chapitres d'Armes* of various holders of Pas, we may gather the general tenour of the rules for foot combats in the fifteenth century. Taking Chastelain's *Life of J. de Lalain* for these details, we find (the *Chapitres des armes à pied*, of Jean Boniface, 1st April, 1445):

(1) The armour to be worn in the lists, such as seems good to us, but no crochet, or malengin or anything forbidden by Holy Mother Church.

(2) Each can have lances, or swords for casting, and immediately after the cast, the fight to be with axes, swords, and daggers, as usually worn in the lists, until one or other falls, with his hand, or knee, or whole body to the ground, or surrenders, and he to whom God gives the victory to receive from the beaten one the sword he has used in the contest.

(3) Whoever accepts the challenge, to appear within a month or six weeks after touching the emprise, before the Duke of Burgundy

(4) Seal.

Chapitres d'Armes by Jacques de Lalain, 20th July, 1446.

(2 and 3) identical with those of Boniface.

(4) If I am borne to the ground, I shall give to a lady named by my conqueror a diamond, value 600 crowns.

(5) If I overcome my opponent, he shall send his gauntlet with an account of my success. to anyone I choose.

(6) Whoever loses his axe first, shall give the other a diamond.

(7) As the 1st of Boniface.

(8) That, the foot contest finished, if my opponent so desire, I shall the third day after, unless incapacitated, ride as many courses with him as he may require.

(9 and 10) refer to mounted contests.

(11) The King of Castille to act as Judge.

(12) Seal.

Chapitres d'Armes by J. de Lalain, for the Fontaine des Pleurs, at Chalons-sur-Saône, 27th December, 1448.

(1) The shields mentioned below shall be: 1. White. 2. Violet. 3. Black; all charged with white tears.

(2) Whoever touches the first may demand of the defender as many axe strokes during one day as he shall desire, but if either fall, or drop his axe, then the challenge shall be held accomplished.

(3) The fight with axes shall be with similar spikes or daggers, and such as the defender shall supply, and the challenger may select.

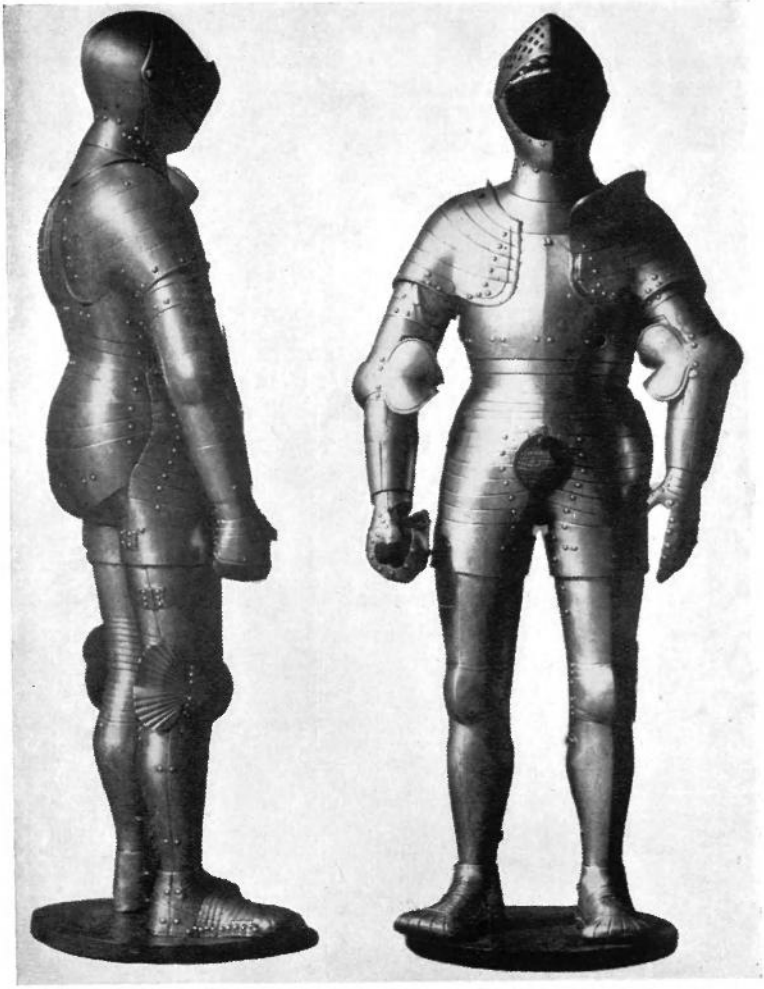
(4) That whoever is borne to the ground, shall for one year wear a gold bracelet, closed with a key, and not to be opened but by the lady who holds the key, and to whom he shall present the bracelet.

(5) Whoever drops his axe shall give to the fairest lady he knows in the country where he is, a diamond.

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THE COMBAT OF THE HORATII AND CURATII FROM A MS. BOCCACCIO, FORMERLY IN THE HAMILTON COLLECTION, DATED 1409.



ARMOUR OF HENRY VIII. FOR FOOT COMBATS, TOWER OF LONDON.

(6) The defender will give to the best man with the axe, a golden axe.
(7) Similar to No. 2, but for pushes with the sword, with three paces retirement between each push, and no following up.
(8) The swords to be alike, and supplied by the defender for the choice of the challenger.
(9) Like No. 4, but a ruby to be given.
(10) Like No. 6, but a golden sword.
(11, 12, 13, 14) refer to mounted contests.
(15) Any armour may be worn for foot or mounted contests, such as may please the wearer, single or double, provided it be the customary armour, and without any malengin.
(16) All knights and squires challenging shall be presented with a gold ring enamelled of the colour of the shield they touch.
(17) In case the defender is hurt he may appoint a substitute.
(18–21) refer to the case of wars interfering with the performance.
(22) That if any coming to the Pas require horses, armour, servants for foot or horse, they may be furnished with the same by the defender's pavilion keeper, but as those so supplied may not be completely satisfactory, he advises everyone to bring their own.
(23) That if, owing to numbers the defender is unable to satisfy all who come, he will, after the fixed term of one year, stop on week by week till all demands are met.
(24) That the defender hopes no one will be offended; he has done his best to please.
(25) Seal.

In the description of the axes used in foot combats, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether the point of the axe refers to the two extremities of the blade, or to the spear-like spikes seen on the head and foot of the whole weapon. When the axe was used in such a way as to draw the opponent's head toward the man using the axe, it is clear that the lower point of the axe head is

meant, but when a thrusting blow was given, it might refer to the upper point of the blade, or to the spike at the upper end of the staff of the axe. Of course in a fight either end of the staff of the axe might be used for thrusting blows. The mail or maillet we must take to be the part of the weapon opposite to the axe blade. This mail or maillet is sometimes mentioned as having diamond-shaped points on its face. The bec de faucon of course had no axe blade but a stout curved hook in its place. It is curious, considering its French name, and the frequent reference to the weapon by la Marche, that in the fight described by St. Remy an objection was raised to its use, and it was described as a weapon not seen before in France. The French word *bec de corbyn* no doubt had its equivalent in the Ravynbill axe mentioned in the papers of the town of Kendal under date, 12th January, 1575 (Historical MSS. Commission).

Allowance must be made for the writers not being professional users of these weapons, and for the loose manner of describing arms and armour even in the days when they were in use. Thus, in the fight between Lalain and Claude de St. Helene, described by la Marche in Chapter XXI, the latter combatant is mentioned as wearing a *salade and a barbutte.* Now the salade is of course a complete head defence in itself, and a barbutte has been considered also a complete head-defence. Baron de Cosson suggests that the barbutte in this case was a chin piece, like we see in the effigy of Conrad von Schaumberg (Hefner, II, 161).

As to the armour worn on these occasions we may briefly describe it as complete, that is a bascinet, such as that seen in illustration, Pl. IV. back, breast, arm, and leg defences, a skirt of lances of metal, called a toulet, and in fact the armour described in the Hastings MS.—"How a man shall be armed at his ease when he shall fight on foot." Sometimes a sort of tabard-shaped surcoat was worn over all, sometimes not.

In Germany, according to von Leber, there were six kinds of Kämpfe zu Fuss, or foot combats, besides some nine others, which are qualified as Neuerer. From the list we learn that these fights were with the Aalspiess, the Wurfhacke, the Mordhacke, the longer Mordhacke, the

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"HOW A MAN SCHALL BE ARMYD AT HIS ESE WHEN HE SCHAL FIGHTE ON FOOTE." HASTINGS MS.

Kurissschwert or arming sword, and the Schlachtschwert or hand and a-half, or two-hand sword. Then there were the German and the Spanish varieties, and fights with javelins and with battle-axes.

In the Freydal we see examples of most of these.

The Aalspiess is seen in Pl. 23 as a spear with a roundel just below the long head. The Langspiess, in Pl. 47, with a much smaller head and no roundel. The Wurfspiess appears as the same as the Scheffelin, or javelin, in Pl. 194, and is used with one hand only. In Pl. 35 is seen the Drischel, or military flail. The Freydal also shows fights with halberts, daggers, maces, and in fact every variety of weapon.

For accounts of some combats in the early part of the fifteenth century we may refer to the chronicle of Jean le Feore, Seigneur de St. Remy.

In 1414, when the Cte. d'Eu was besieging Arras, then defended by M. de Montagu, a fight was arranged between these two, armed with axes, sword, and dagger, the Count being bound to give Montagu a diamond worth 100 crowns, if he failed to prevent him from coming out of a mine, and *vice versâ*. However, the Count, who was only a youth, prevailed, and received the prize, which he gave to his wife.

In April, 1415, at Bar le Duc, a Portuguese, named Alvaro Contigno, and a Frenchman, Clugnet de Brabant, fought with casting spears, swords and daggers. Contigno had his visor up in order to see to throw his spear, but Clugnet pressed him so hard that he had not room to do so, and dropping his own lance they came to hand blows with the axe. Contigno stepped back in order to close his visor, and after two or three strokes, the judge, the Duke of Bar, cast his bâton and the fight ended.

Later, Contigno and other of his countrymen went to Paris, where they fought other Frenchmen. Among others, the Portuguese, Rumaindres, had a contest with William de Bars, in which the number of strokes was arranged, *i.e.*, twelve with the axe, and as many with the sword, and with the dagger. This fight came off in the presence of the king, but Jehan de Torsay acted as judge. When they got to catching hold of each other, they

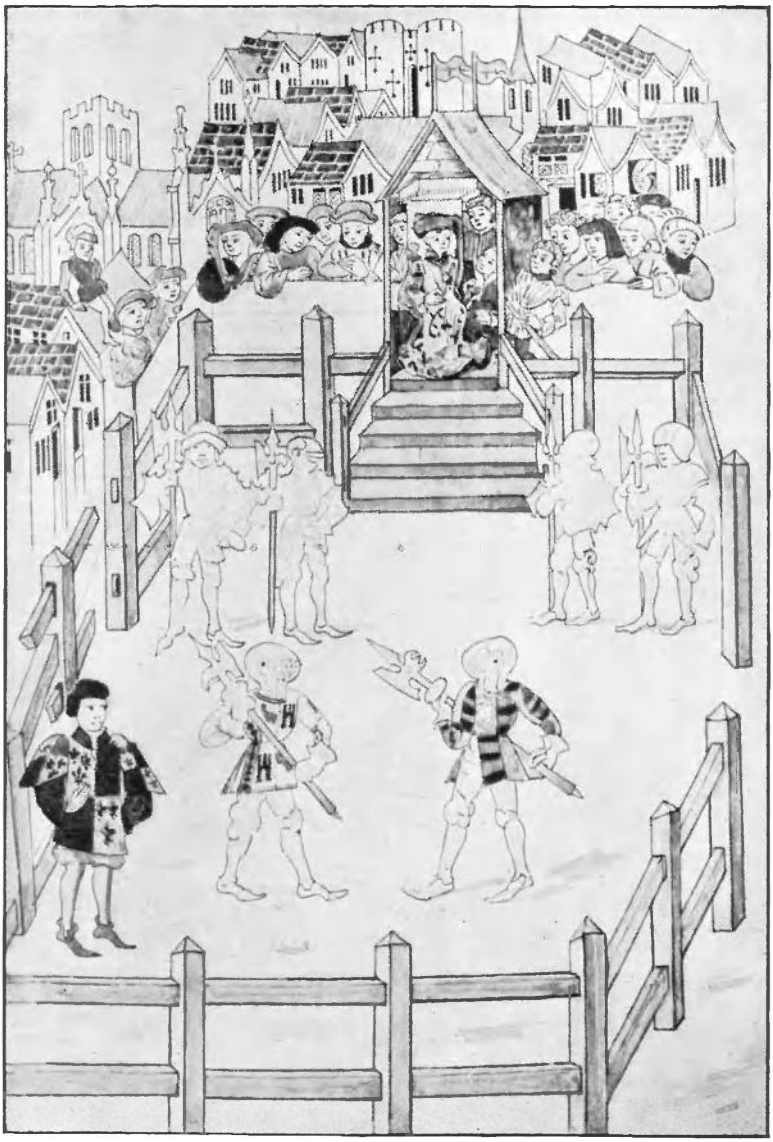
were separated, though the twelve strokes were not accomplished. For the sword fight they had large swords with roundels, and they struck so fast with point and edge that eighteen strokes were given before they could be parted. After this they fought with daggers, and more than the twelve strokes were given, but this seemed a small matter compared with the axe and sword fights.

Some time after this there was arranged a triple fight between the Frenchmen Grignaulx, Songnacq and la Rocque, on one side, and Contigno, Mallefaye, and Rumaindres on the other. Rumaindres, who was the stronger man of the six, pressed Rocque with his axe so closely that the latter stepped back suddenly, in consequence of which the Portuguese fell on one knee, upon which la Rocque knocked him down altogether. Without waiting for the Portuguese to surrender, Rocque went off to help Songnacq, and the two fell on Mallefaye, who forthwith surrendered. The two Frenchmen then went to the assistance of Grignaulx, who was fighting Contigno, and a smart stroke from Songnacq brought him to ground. When asked as to whom he surrendered Contigno said, "to all three," and, indeed, spite his bad luck, he acquired much credit that day as the best man of the six.

Friday, the 12th August, 1435, a knight of Castille, Jehan de Merlo, and the Lord of Charny, of Burgundy, fought on foot, having on the previous day jousted before the Duke of Burgundy at Arras. Before the fighting began, Charny's friend appealed to the Duke against Merlo's weapon, which was a bec de faucon instead of an axe, which they said was quite a different thing. The Duke said the matter had better be considered by the parties concerned. Then, after discussion, Charny's friend said that he for the Duke's sake, and of his own good nature, would allow Merlo to use the bec de faucon but not as a matter of right, for the bec de faucon is not an axe, and in fact they are two different affairs.

The Duke then having enquired if the scouts or guards knew the signal, and taking an arrow in his hand, caused the usual proclamations to be made. Charny then came out with his weapons, shaking his lance in his hand. Merlo then came out fully armed, and with his

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SIR JOHN ASTLEY'S FIGHT WITH PHILIP BOYLE, JANUARY, 1441–2, AT SMITHFIELD, IN PRESENCE OF HENRY VI. HASTINGS MS.

visor up but with a handkerchief over it. Charny, when he saw his opponent near, cast his lance, and took his axe in both hands. Merlo then threw his lance, striking Charny on the left arm so that it stuck there for a moment just above the gauntlet, but Charny soon shook it off. Merlo then took his bec de faucon in both hands and they closed for the fight. When they had fought for some time, and changed positions, and shown all that they knew of the art of fighting, the Duke threw down his arrow and cried "Hola! Hola!" The guards then seized them and asked the Duke his pleasure. Santes, the friend and second as it were of Charny, then said, "Most dread Lord, here is Charny who is ready to do and complete his duty." Then came Merlo, who like Charny had raised his visor, and said, "Most high, excellent and powerful Prince, here am I who have come from far over land and sea, and at great cost, to do so little an affair and would gladly have been permitted to do a little more in the matter of arms." However, the Duke said, "Be content, the arms are accomplished." So having taken off their gauntlets they shook hands with each other and left the lists.

When Philip Boyle, knight of Aragon, fought with Sir John Astley, at Smithfield, in January, 1442, the third article of his challenge was that "if so be that the said battle (on horseback), in the same day come not to the end as it is above said for the which we upon the morne (morrow) shall accomplish a foot with the harness, and the weapons that is left unto us. The fourth article is, that each of us may help other with wrestling with legs and feet, with arms and hands. The fifth article mentions, that as Boyle's horse and armour which then was in Flanders might not arrive within eight days, then the said battle should be fought afoot, either of us armed at our "volunte" and "facutle," for to have axe, spear, sword, and dagger. The fight on foot came off on 30th January, and though we are not told the result, it was such that Henry VI. who presided, knighted Astley and gave him an annuity of 100 marks for life. The picture in the Hastings MS. shows us the lists and the combatants, but it will be noticed that the scouts or ring-keepers are not only in armour, but also have axes similar

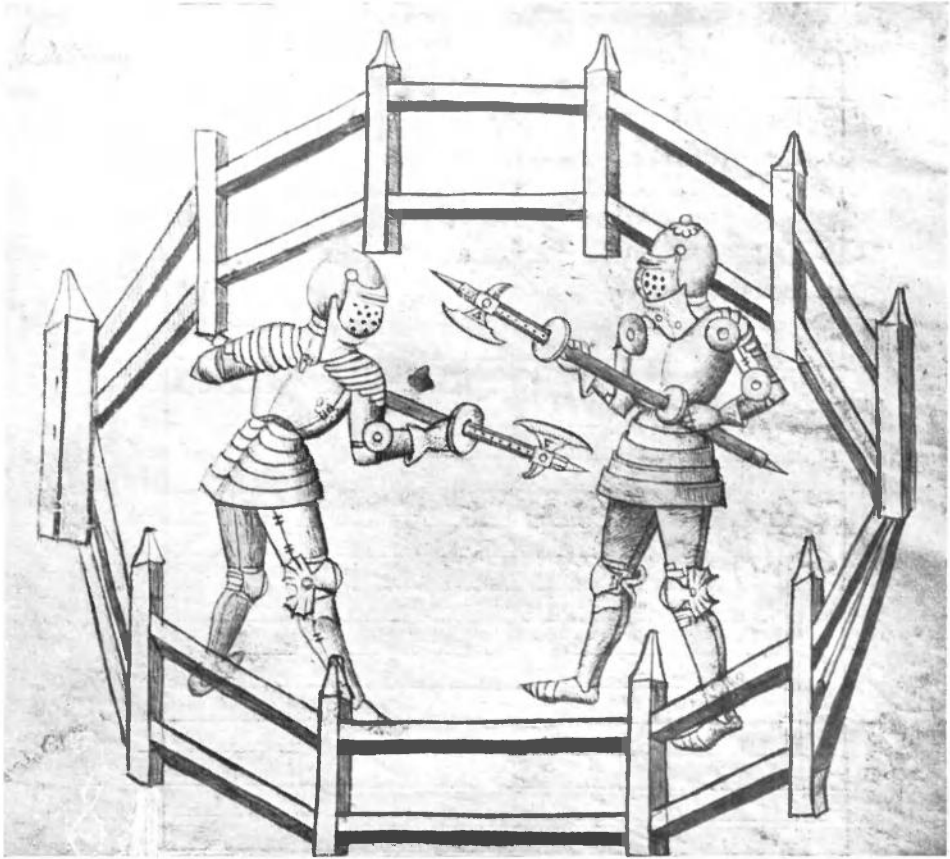
to those used by the principals instead of the plain staves or poles usually borne.

In describing the fights in which Jacques Lalain took part, the *Memoires of Ollivier de la Marche* have been used, and also the *Life of Lalain*, by Chastelain. As may be expected, these accounts do not always tally, either as to dates or details, but on the whole they come to the same. Where dates of combats or details vary, the differences have been noted. The authority for these accounts is Buchon's *Choix de Chroniques et Memoires sur l'histoire de France.*

La Marche's memoirs were first published in 1562, just fifty years after his death. Chastelain's *Chronique de Jacques de Lalain* was published in 1634, but it was composed between 1468 and 1474. Chastelain died in 1474.

On the occasion of a Pas held by Pierre de Bauffremont, Lord of Charny, at the Tree of Charlemagne, near Dijon, in 1443, among the rules for the guidance of those taking part, it was enacted that all noblemen present were bound to leave, near the two shields placed for the purpose, some gage that they would fight, such as sword or spur. One shield of violet *semé* of black tears denoted the foot combats, of fifteen axe strokes, or pushes with the sword, while the black shield with golden tears was for fifteen courses mounted, with sharp spears. All details as to overthrows on foot or horse, and disarmaments, etc., were likewise provided for in the Chapitres of the Challenge. It was also decided that the challenger from outside should have choice of arms, whether axe or estoc, also called *epée d'armes*, a stout sword only used for pushing or thrusting and sometimes with a roundel of steel to guard the advanced hand.

The first encounter on foot at this Pas, 11th July, 1443, was between Charny and Pietre Vasque de Saavedra, who elected for axes. The usual proclamation was made against talking, coughing, or otherwise giving signals to aid either party. At 9 o'clock in the morning, the two champions took their places in the lists for foot combats, from which every one was expelled except eight men-at-arms fully armed, but bearing only long white staves with which to separate the combatants when necessary.



DOUCE MS., BODLEIAN, OXFORD, NO. 271.

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Saavedra had taken off his visor so that he could put his head out of his bascinet as out of a window. Charny had his bascinet with the visor closed, but when he saw Saavedra, he put the visor back over his bascinet so as to have the face uncovered. After crossing themselves with little flags, they took their axes and went smartly to the encounter. The Spaniard, a shortish but stout man, held his axe, with the hammer head advanced in front of his face, as a sort of guard, while Charny, a tall and powerful knight, held his axe with the lower end upward, close to his body, ready for attack or defence. To commence Saavedra struck Charny on the right hand to make him drop his axe, but unsuccessfully, for Charny parried the blow with the lower end of his axe, and stepping forward struck close to the Spaniard's foot with the lower end. Twice Charny struck at his foot and good blows were given, Charny receiving one on the large *garde de bras* of his left arm, while he struck the edge of Saavedras' helmet close to his face with the bottom spike of the axe. So they fought on hotly and bravely, until the fifteen strokes, as agreed, had been delivered. The Duke cast down his bâton and the men-at-arms and scouts as arranged separated the fighters. They each offered to continue, but the Duke said they had both done enough, so they quitted the lists, axe in hand, and each looking round to see that neither left the lists before the other. But it was decided that Saavedra should leave first as Charny was holding the Pas.

La Marche mentions that this was the first combat he ever witnessed.

On Thursday, 8th August, after a mounted contest between the Count de St. Martin and William de Vaudrey, a foot combat took place between Anthoine de Vaudrey, brother of William, and Jehan de Compays, Lord of Torain. This last chose estocs as the weapons for the fight. Vaudrey came into the lists with the visor of his bascinet raised. Compays had his closed, but when he saw his opponent, would have raised it, but Vaudrey for the same reason had lowered his visor. However, in spite of their efforts neither were able to raise them, so they fought with closed visors. On the proclamation being made, all except the combatants, the eight scouts or

men-at-arms, and those who had already fought in *champ clos*, left the lists. Compays held his estoc left hand in front of the right, not turned down, the left hand being armed and covered by the roundel. To get a good place in the lists he ran forward and gave the first blow which was on Vaudrey's roundel, who answered with a thrust at Compay's bascinet. Well, to be brief, they were a stout pair, and the fifteen pushes and more were given without gain or loss to either. But their armours were, both of them, much bruised and torn. At the end Vaudrey stuck his estoc in the visor of Compays, who promptly threw his estoc with all his force so that it stuck in Vaudrey's visor. When they raised their estocs and with them each other's visor, the judge cast down his bâton, and the fight was stopped, though each combatant offered to continue. La Marche says he never saw estoc fighting afoot since that day and can answer for it, that whoever undertakes such work will find it hard. The fight took place about 5 o'clock in the evening.

In April, 1446, the Lord of Ternant and Galiot de Baltasin met to fight on foot at Arras. Both came to the lists on horseback and then dismounted, Ternant armed with a bascinet and raised visor carried no small flags to cross himself with, as was the custom, but a short thick bâton in his hand. Baltasin leapt out of his saddle as lightly as if he had on only a pourpoint. When the pushing lances had been given, Ternant waived his hand crossways and then took the lance which he held with the butt end, in his right palm and his left hand at the balance. Baltasin crossed himself with his flag and then took the lance which he held in the usual manner. Both had the visors of their bascinets closed. Baltasin began to skip and jump and handle his lance as easily as though it were a dart and one could see by his agility that his armour no way incommoded him. When they encountered, Baltasin hit Ternant, breaking half-a-finger length of the point of his lance, while Ternant struck him on the side of his bascinet making a hole. Ternant continued each time driving his foot into the sand as he pushed with the estoc. The scouts then interfered so that there should be no following up, and the king of arms brought a cord with the seven paces each of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet marked on it, to

show the distance to which each must retire before each thrust or push of the lance. The paces were shown on the cord by knots. Thus the seven paces were measured on each side, the champions were moved back and their lances given them again. They advanced a second time and made fierce assaults both of them. Then again for the third time Ternant quite smashed the point of his lance, and Baltasin broke his in the middle of the wood. To be brief they accomplished the seven pushes as ordained by the Chapitres, in knightly fashion.

After refreshment they came again to the lists and received the estocs. Ternant held his the left hand in front turned down and covered by the roundel. Baltasin held his as he should, and they soon were in a severe struggle. The scouts then stepped in, the cord was brought and five paces each side were marked. The fight was renewed and Ternant struck Baltasin close to where he had done before making another hole. At the third attack Baltasin hit Ternant just below his right shoulder breaking loose the *garde de bras* which he picked off with his estoc. Ternant was quickly re-armed, and in the fourth assault both estocs were so badly damaged new ones had to be supplied. At the fifth encounter Ternant, who moved artfully, gave Baltasin such a blow on the top of the "piece" that he pushed him back. At the sixth, Baltasin struck his opponent on the roundel and broke it, so fresh estocs were brought. At the seventh round they met heavily, and at the eighth Baltasin hit Ternant on the gauntlet, breaking it, and some thought his hand also, but he was happily not wounded, and fresh gauntlets were brought. Finally the eleven pushes with the estoc were well and hardily performed and the combatants retired to their pavilions.

When the time came for the axe-fight Ternant appeared with a bascinet the visor of which had large lozenge-shaped holes. The axes were heavy weapons with hammer heads of three points and no spikes at bottom according to the conditions of the challenge, which was to be fought with the axe heads (maillet) only. Baltasin rushed at Ternant so madly that the latter stepped aside, and as Baltasin passed he struck him between the head and neck so that he made him stagger. But for his

activity he would have fallen, however he turned and ran again so fiercely that Ternant recoiled three or four paces and hardly sustained his opponent's onslaught. However, the fifteen strokes were accomplished without further result, and though both offered to go on again, the Duke said they had done well and enough, and they then left the lists at the same moment.

Lalain's fight at Valladolid with Diego de Guzman in the presence of the King and Queen of Castille is interesting as showing some variety in the affair. When the two closed they gave each other such stout blows that they made the sparks fly from their well-steeled armour. Lalain with his face bare as usual, struck at Guzman's visor which was closed, and with such effect as to wound him three times in the face with *la point de sa hache d'en bas.* Presently Diego lost his axe owing to a shaking Lalain gave him and he then rushed at Lalain to carry out an intention he had some two months previously expressed, namely, to lift Lalain clean out of the lists. However, the Burgundian was ready for him, and with his left fist kept him off, while dropping his axe he prepared to draw his sword. At this point the king stopped the fight.[1]

When Lalain fought on foot with Jean de Boniface,[2] the rules for the conduct of the fight were:—1, that nothing forbidden by Holy Mother Church should be employed;—2, that both might have lances or swords for throwing, and that immediately afterwards they should fight with axes, swords, and daggers, until one of them should touch the ground with his knee or body, and the conqueror should have for his prize his opponent's sword;—3, that whoever touched the challenger's emprise should be bound to fight within six weeks in the presence of the Duke of Burgundy;—4, that the above challenge was of Boniface's free will and signed with his seal, 1st April, 1445. To all these Lalain agreed. The fight came off at Ghent, 16th December, after the mounted contest of the day before.

The Duke kissing Lalain on the mouth knocked his

[1] This combat is not mentioned by La Marche, but Chastelain describes it Chap. XLV.

[2] Ollivier de la Marche puts this fight in 1446, Chastelain in Dec., 1445.

face against the newly made knight's visor. Lalain then changed his head-piece for one with a half visor so that he had his nose and the upper part of his face exposed. Boniface held in his left hand an axe and a shield, in his right hand a long dart, and at his left side a long dagger. The axe had a long spike at each end. The dart was of Spanish fashion.

Lalain wore no dagger, but he held in his left hand a shield and an axe *fort pointue dessous et dessus.* In his right hand he had a heavy sword or estoc. Boniface first cast his dart striking Lalain's shield, and Lalain hurled his sword which passed close to his opponent's head. They then both threw their shields to embarrass each other but without effect. After this, they closed for the axe fight. After a hard struggle in which Boniface dropped his axe, and Lalain struck two or three blows with the lower end of his weapon on his opponent's visor in which it stuck till the spike broke, Boniface then caught the lower end of Lalain's weapon, while he endeavoured to draw his own dagger, so that he might strike his face with it. He then tried to catch Lalain by the visor, but unsuccessfully, Lalain stepping backward and getting his axe free. The Duke then threw down his staff so stopping the fight, and having assured the combatants that they had well and honourably fought, they shook hands and separated.

Chastelain, who describes this fight, Chapter XXIX, says that Lalain drove Boniface backward with such force that the Duke, seeing the latter quite out of breath, on the suggestion of the Duke of Orleans, stopped the fight.

At the Pas de la Pelerine, held near St. Omer, 1446, by John Bastard of St. Pol and Lord of Haubourdin, he with six others for a term of six weeks met many famous fighters, and amongst others Jacques Lalain and an English squire named Thomas. On this occasion Lalain had a long axe with a spike at top (*à pointe dessus*), and on one side a *bec de faucon*,[1] a solid sort of pick, and on the other a hammer-head (*mail rond*) with three diamond-shaped points, and below the axe a good strong spike. Thomas's axe had a large blade, pointed at top, with cutting edge on one side and a long hammer head

on the other, the staff had a roundel for protection of the forward hand, and a short spike at the lower end.[1] Lalain's head-piece was a small *salade de guerre toute ronde* leaving his face and neck unprotected. Thomas wore a bascinet with the visor well closed. Lalain got his wrist badly cut with the sharp and cutting spike, and had to put his axe under his left arm like a spinner would her distaff, and with his right hand he held the axe to parry the Englishman's blows. After a struggle the Englishman, who was heavily armed, made a rush at Lalain, who drew back so that Thomas fell flat on the ground. Though he declared that he only came down on his knees and elbows, the Duke decided that the arms had been duly accomplished and so the fight ended.

A little later Bernard de Bearn, Bastard de Foix came to Bruges where the Pas de la Pelerine was continued, and fought with the Lord of Haubourdin. This latter had an ordinary *bec de faucon*, with spikes at top and below. But Bernard's *bec de faucon* had the lower spike long and slender so that it could pass through the breathing holes of a visor and wound the face. Haubourdin, when he saw this, said he would not trouble his opponent to pierce his visor, and took it off so that his face was bare. As usual the two combatants entered the lists with a lance in the right hand, and an axe and target in the left. Haubourdin first threw his spear and the other having stepped on one side to avoid it then threw his lance striking Haubourdin on the edge of his target. The lance glanced off this and entered the arm pretty deeply. However, after the casting of lances the targets were also thrown and then the axe fight began.

When they closed Bernard caught Haubourdin's head-piece, while Haubourdin tried to hit Bernard's foot with the end of his axe. After a long struggle but without result for either, the Duke cast down his staff and the fight ended, each combatant leaving the lists at the same moment and at opposite ends.

At the Pas de la Fontaine de Pleurs at Châlons-sur-Saône held by Lalain on 18th September, 1449, Pierre

[1] According to Chastelain, Chap. LVII. some difficulty arose about the Englishman's axe, but Lalain courteously consented to it being used.

Chandios demanded a combat of seventeen[1] axe strokes, which was accorded. The weapons used were long and heavy with *becs de faucon*, long and strong spikes above and below and with hammer heads flat with three large diamond-shaped nail heads.

Chandios wore a bascinet with closed visor, and Lalain had a small round salade with a small hausse-col of mail. No throwing of lances and targets is mentioned, but they set to work at once. La Marche, forgetting that he had said that the axes had spikes at each end, says that Lalain, knowing there were no bottom spikes to these axes, turned about so as to use the lower spike and struck Chandios' visor so hard that he broke the point on Chandios' visor. This did not stop the fight, but after *peu d'heures* the seventeen strokes were accomplished and the combatants separated.

In July, 1448, Lalain sent letters to Maitre James Douglas, brother of Count Douglas, in Scotland, expressing his desire to have a fight with him and mentioning the chapitres or conditions. To this Douglas assented, suggesting the end of the following January as a good date for such encounter. Accordingly Lalain, accompanied by his uncle Simon and a noble Breton squire Herve de Meriadacq and with all necessary arms and armour, set sail from Slerys in December, arriving in due time at Edinburgh, where he had to explain that he only wanted the honour of fighting and that there was no ill will. It was then arranged that Lalain with his two companions should have a friendly fight with Maitre James Douglas and his friends, another James Douglas and a Lord of Haguet, the Scotch king presiding as judge. The three Scots were knighted by the king, and then it was arranged that Lalain should deal with Maitre James Douglas, Meriadacq with Haguet and Simon Lalain with the other Douglas. The arms used to be lance, axe, sword and dagger and to fight *à outrance*, but at the request of the Scots throwing the lance was forbidden. Lalain also desired that his companions should in no case come to his assistance. When the six combatants found themselves face to face with their principals in the

[1] Chastelain says twenty-one strokes.

middle, it appeared that Haguet was opposite to Simon Lalain instead of Meriadacq, and Simon offering to change places, Lalain said, "No, let each keep as he is." Then the visitors cast their lances behind them and attacked with their axes. Maitre James Douglas fought a little time with his lance, but soon took to the axe which he presently lost, and then took to his dagger, trying to strike Lalain's exposed face with it. Lalain kept him off with his left hand, but Maitre Douglas still pressing forward Lalain threw down his axe and holding the Scot by his bascinet, drew and shortened his sword (a straight estoc) so as to use it like a dagger, for he had lost that arm. But the estoc slipped out of his hand and he found himself unarmed, so he caught the Scot's bascinet with both hands and then by sheer force pushed him backwards towards the king's seat, twice lifting him with the intention of throwing him. All this while Lalain, with his face bare, had a much better time than Maitre Douglas with closed visor, and this was evident when the king stopped the fight for all.

As to Simon Lalain and Haguet, the latter, who fancied himself with lance-play, soon lost that weapon, and the two belaboured each other with their axes till the Scot began to tire and to lose his breath, while Simon, still cool and collected, drove him back the whole length of the lists. Meriadacq, who had the other James Douglas to fight with, after receiving a stout lance-thrust on his left arm, managed, when the lance point slipped, to get inside the Scot's stroke, and with a terrific blow on the cheek felled his opponent. Meriadacq, having as he supposed settled Douglas, was about to help his comrades, as was allowed by the rules, when he found James Douglas, who was very active, had got on to his knees and was about to rise, so he turned round and with the staff of his axe which he held with both hands, he again pushed him headlong and then gave him a kick and might lawfully have killed him. However, about this time the king cast down his staff and all the combatants were parted. This fight appears to have been a very rude one, and though the king desired that they should all be friends, it seems hardly likely that there could have been any very amiable feeling between the parties

especially Mériadacq and James Douglas. This fight took place in January, 1448–9.

La Marche puts this fight under the year 1446, and says it was to be *à outrance*, and that the Burgundians cast their lances behind them because so many would cumber the ground. As to Lalain and his opponent they fought so hard and got so close that they lost their axes, and then Douglas tried to use his dagger, but Lalain caught his dagger-arm and held him so tight by the other shoulder that they turned round and round in the lists without advantage to either. As to Mériadacq he parried the Scotchman's spear with the lower part of his axe so that the Scot dropped it, and he then pursued him while he was trying to get his axe into use and knocked him over. When he rose Mériadacq gave him another blow with his axe which again felled him, and when a third time the Scotchman tried to rise, Mériadacq, "lui donner de la palme et du genou contre le derrière,' so that he fell a *bouchon*. Mériadacq then went to help Lalain, but the king cast his bâton down. La Marche admits that he did not see this fight, but says he got his account of it from Scotchmen and Burgundians.

On Saturday, 25th January, 1450, Lalain again met Boniface for a foot combat. Boniface on this occasion wore an Italian armet with a large plume of black feathers while Lalain, as in his combat with Chandios, had a salade and hausse-col. After a short struggle Lalain caught Boniface's plume in his right hand, and stepping back with great force pulled his adversary down on to the ground, so ending the fight. Chastelain, Chap. LXVII, says that Boniface wore a bascinet around which were spikes 2 inches long and above all a small plume. He also says the fight ended after 10–12 strokes, though it was arranged for 25. La Marche says it was for 21.

These combats appear to have taken place on Saturdays during the challenge, and accordingly on the 28th May, 1450, and with the Lord of Sercy acting as judge, by commission from the Duke of Burgundy, a young Burgundian squire named Gerard de Roussillon had an encounter with the veteran Lalain. As he knew that Lalain generally fought in a salade, and mail hausse-col, Roussillon appeared with a round salade and mail hausse-

col. The squire made a very good fight of it, so that neither had gained any advantage when the twenty-five strokes agreed on had been given.[1]

A curious detail in connection with these contests was the rule that no one was allowed to compete who had witnessed a previous fight by the knight undertaking the defence of the emprise. Accordingly, Claude de St. Helène, called Pitois, wrote to Lalain saying that he had indeed been present at some of Lalain's contests, but wished to add to his own credit by being permitted to take part in one as a principal. To this Lalain courteously agreed, extending the like permission to six others. These accordingly all touched the shields which according to their colours denoted the various classes of fights, viz., white for axe fights, violet for sword fights, and black for the lance, the shields being semé of blue tears. Of these seven, Claude de St. Helène, the Lord of Espiry calling himself the Unknown, Jean de la Villeneuve *alias* Pasquoy, Gaspart de Dourtain, and Jean Pitois, all touched the white, Guillaume Basam the black, and Jacques d'Avanchier all three shields.[2]

The first of these seven to present themselves was Claude de St. Helène,[3] who desired to fight until one of the combatants was brought to the ground or disarmed. This he was told was not in the challenge, and he was obliged to name 41 strokes.[4] For the contest he wore a salade and a barbutte.[5] After a stout encounter Lalain got Claude's head into chancery and in the end both fell, Claude on his back, and Lalain, who was still held by his adversary, falling on his hands, pressed his axe across Claude's stomach without doing more. Toison d'Or the herald, who was officiating as judge, then cast down his bâton and the fight ended. There was at first some question as to the prize, a bracelet which Lalain offered to give to Claude, who in his turn offered to give one to Lalain saying that both had fallen.

[1] Chastelain, Chap. LXVIII, says Lalain had no spike at top of his axe, and that Roussillon wore an old-fashioned chapeau de fer and a hausse-col of mail. He also says Roussillon asked for fifteen strokes.

[2] At Charny's Pas at Dijon a violet shield was for axe or sword fights, a black one for mounted contests.

[3] Chastelain, Chap. LXIX, calls him de St. Bonnet.

[4] Chastelain says 43.

[5] Barbutte has been generally used for the whole head-piece here; it evidently was a chin-piece.

However, friends interposed, and there was no more talk about the bracelet, and later on Claude accompanied Lalain to Naples.

The next to present himself was the Lord of Espiry, who asked for 55 axe strokes. The axes were long and heavy, and were the first having spikes at the nether end, which Lalain used at this Pas. Espiry, who had choice of weapons, made no ado, but took the first one that came to hand. Before beginning the fight Espiry, who was short-sighted, took off and cast away the visor of his salade. The fight was vigorous on both sides, but without result, and the 55 strokes having been given the contest ended. (Chastelain, LXXX, says Espiry wore a bever and visor.)

On the Monday following d'Avanchier, a squire of Savoy, he who had touched all three shields, asked for 17, Chastelain says 25 axe strokes. He wore a visored salade and a (Chastelain says strong) mail gorget, his face being bare. Lalain was armed as usual, but without any gauntlet on his right hand (Chastelain says leg unarmed). The axes were strong and pointed top and bottom, and had a spike at lower end, which Lalain adopted ever after his fight with Espiry, but which he had not used before that contest.

Avanchier, who was a small man, after a struggle in which he lost hold of his own axe, caught hold of Lalain's. The squire's axe did not drop to the ground till Lalain stepping backward two or three steps and pulling after him Avanchier still holding to his axe, at last the squire's axe fell and the judge then stopped the fight. The two combatants did not shake hands as usual, for the mounted contest, and that with the swords had yet to come off.

On the Wednesday the sword contest, which was to consist of 11 strokes (Chastelain says 7), and advances and retirements of three paces according to the conditions of the Pas, took place. Avanchier, armed at all points, held his estoc with the left hand turned down behind the roundel. His head-piece was an Italian armet with a large bever. Lalain wore a bascinet with a large visor,[1] which on this occasion (the only one), he

[1] Not mentioned by Chastelain.

kept closed, for he as a rule fought with his face bare, but for fighting with the estoc greater precautions for safety are necessary, as everyone who knows the noble science of arms is aware.

In this fight we get to a more regulated contest than in the axe fights when the combatants often closed and struggled *corps à corps*.

Avanchier stopped at six paces from Lalain and settled himself left foot in front, while Lalain advanced and hit him between the left shoulder and the edge of the bever while Avanchier struck him on the left side. Then the scouts got between them and made them retire three paces according to the rules for the encounter. Then Lalain advanced and struck his opponent nearly in the same place as before, but the squire did not move, so Lalain of his own accord retired the three paces. So on they went till the 11 strokes had been given without Avanchier retiring once. Then the judge dismissed them to prepare for the mounted contest.

When the turn of Pasquoy came[1] he asked for 61 axe strokes and Lalain appeared, armed as usual, but without any armour on his right thigh or leg, and this he said he did to be more at his ease should his opponent close with him. Passequoy had on a war salade and a hausse-col of mail (Chastelain says a salade and high bever). When about ten paces apart Lalain ran in and struck at the face, which, however, Pasquoy coolly parried. Presently Lalain hit him on the hausse-col and made him retire a bit. So they went on without advantage on either side till the 61 strokes had been delivered. A few days after this, Lalain began his eighth fight in this month, with Gaspart de Dourtain (Chastelain calls him Courtain), who asked for 75 axe strokes, Chastelain says 64. Lalain this time dispensed with the right greave but otherwise was armed as usual. Dourtain had a bascinet with the visor closed. When they engaged Lalain showered many blows on the visor of his adversary, but at last got the spike broken off his axe, seeing which Dourtain redoubled his assaults. So they fought for a long time all over the lists, each keeping his position and the advantage of the sun. At last Lalain caught hold of Dourtain's axe

[1] Chastelain puts this fight before Avanchier.

between his left hand and the lower end, when the judge stopped the fight. Lalain spoke with ease and offered to finish the contest, and when Dourtain's visor was raised it was clear that he was hardly out of breath. Lalain afterwards told La Marche that Dourtain was the best fighter he had ever met. The following Wednesday, the last day of the month and of this Pas, was also the last time that Lalain ever fought in champ clos. His adversary was Jehan Pientois (Pitois) who asked for 52 axe strokes (63 according to Chastelain). He wore, Chastelain says, a headpiece neither salade nor bascinet but like a *capel de fer*, and a high visor only showing his eyes, while Lalain again had no armour on his right leg. After a warm contest, and when about 30 strokes had been given, Lalain let go of his own axe and caught hold of the other so firmly that Pitois could not use it, while Lalain holding his own axe close to the head, struck several blows with the upper spike at Pitois' face. Pitois parried several strokes with his closed gauntlet, and tried to hit Lalain with it in the face. So they fought on till the squire was wounded in the face by the point of his axe. They were then separated by the scouts, and Lalain told Pitois, "it is not playing the game to fight with fists, like women,"[1] to which the squire replied, "If you had not taken my axe I would have fought with my weapon, and man's hands were given him for attack and defence." Lalain then announced that it was his last appearance, having with God's help finished his emprise. He thanked the judge and added that as there were yet 15 or 16 days of September unexpired, he would wait that time in the town, in case any others came to fight. He and the squire then embraced, the squire went off in full armour to Notre Dame des Carmes, and Lalain, who had unarmed, sent Toison d'Or, who had officiated as judge, for his trouble, a long robe of cloth of gold furred with martens.

In *Petit Jehan de Saintré*, a romance or novel, written in 1459 by Antoine de la Sale, we have life-like pictures of the fifteenth century, and although the whole is fictitious, there is nothing impossible or improbable in

[1] Lalain said, "it is too much like a woman to fight with a gauntlet as long as you have a weapon in hand to help."

his description of fights, etc. Taking the foot combat between the hero and Messire Enguerrant when the latter received a severe blow on the right hand which was only saved by the roundel on his axe, he held his axe in his left hand and endeavoured to close with Saintré, he received another blow on the left hand which compelled him to drop his axe altogether. However, Saintré kept him off with one hand till the king threw down his staff and stopped the fight.

In a subsequent fight between Saintré and Loysselench, in thrusting with the spears, Loysselench struck Saintré on the side but the spear glanced off. Saintré's lance, however, struck his opponent between his hand and his spear and penetrated the hand so that he could do nothing and dropped his spear, while Saintré pressing forward drove him backward. When the king saw this he stopped the fight.

When in 1465 the Bastard of Burgundy accepted the challenge of Anthony Rivers, Lord Scales, the articles or chapitres after dealing with the mounted contest state that in the foot contest a targe or pavice as either may choose shall be carried and the arms to be spears, axes, and daggers. Only one cast of the spear to be made and then the fight to be with the other weapons until one or other be "borne down" or entirely disarmed. On discussion as to what being borne to the ground should mean, it was decided that whether the hand, the knee, or the whole body should be so borne down it should end the fight. Also that each should cast his spear without making any other defence with the same. However, when it came to the actual encounter, 11th June, 1467, the king (Henry VI.) said that seeing the casting spears were "right jeperdous and right perilous" and as it was but "an act of pleasaunce" the spears should not be used. When the fight commenced, Lord Scales struck the Bastard through the ribs of his plates, and after a little he hit him on the side of the visor of his bascinet. The king then cried "Hoo!" and cast his staff down, but they were not separated till two or three more strokes had been given. Scales fought with his visor up and according to Ollivier la Marche, who was present, he never saw so fierce a fight with axes. The same

authority says he saw great gashes in Scales' armour made by the lower point of the Bastard's axe.[1]

It appears that after this fight there were some others and among the articles for these it was decided that each combatant should have an axe and a dagger only, and there should be three encounters, the first two of 13 strokes each, and three paces of retirement, and the third until one or other touch the ground with his right hand. The one so doing to give the victor his right gauntlet, and not to wear one in any contest till permitted by his lady.

We now come to foot combats in which the "barriers" are an important item. It is impossible to say exactly when the bar was introduced, but we may take it that the latter end of the fifteenth century saw the first adoption of this modification.

But the whole nature of the combat was seriously changed by the presence of the bar, for wrestling and body to body fighting was completely prevented, though we find instances of endeavours to pull one another over the barrier.

At Ayre, in Picardy, the Chevalier Bayard published a challenge for a tournament for the 20th July, 1494, to be mounted contests the first day and on the morrow a fight at barriers with the lance, and after that with the axe. The barrier to be of the height of the *nombril*, the prize a diamond worth forty crowns. On the second day the fight commenced with Bayard and a Hainaulter Hanotin de Sucre. They fought till their lances were broken and then with axes, when Bayard struck Sucre over the ear so that he staggered and came down on his knees, and with another blow made him kiss the ground willy nilly, on which the fight was stopped by the judges.

Next came Bellabre and Arnaulton de Pierreforade, who broke their lances, and then, Bellabre breaking his axe, the fight ended. After these Tardiew and David the Scotchman fought, so that the foot contests, which

[1] Hall says that Scales' axe entered the sights of the Bastard's visor, on which the king stopped the fight. The Bastard asked that the contest might be renewed, but when it was decided that in that case they must begin as they left off, with the axe in his visor, the Bastard was content to relinquish his challenge. Hall, of course, only repeated the tradition, for he was not present.

had commenced at two o'clock, were not finished till seven.

In 1501, on the occasion of the marriage of Prince Arthur with Catherine of Aragon, besides jousts and tourneys there were fights at barriers.

At Whitsuntide, in May, 1510, at Greenwich, Henry VIII. with two others "challenged all comers to fight with them at barriers with target and casting the spear of 8 feet long, and that done his Grace with the said two aids to fight every of them 12 strokes with two-handed swords with and against all comers, none except being a gentleman; where the king behaved himself so well and delivered himself so valiantly, by his hardy prowess and great strength, that the praise and laud was given to his Grace and his aids notwithstanding that divers valiant and strong persons had assailed him and his aids." Holinshed.

In the following October, "the king not minded to see young gentlemen unexpert in martial feats, caused a place to be prepared within the park for the queen and ladies to stand and see the fight with battle-axes that should be done there where the king himself armed, fought with one Gyot, a gentleman of Almayne, a tall man and a good man of arms. And then after they had done they marched away, always two and two together, and so did these feats and enterprises every man very well. Albeit it happened the said Gyot to fight with Sir Edward Howard, which Gyot was by him stricken to the ground." Hall.

In 1514, on the occasion of the marriage of Mary with the French king, the Dauphin proclaimed a challenge, the last part of which was that he and his aids would fight at barriers with all gentlemen of name and of arms. First, six foynes (thrusts) with hand spears, and after that 12 strokes with the sword, with the condition that any-one felled with fighting on foot should lose his armour. This challenge came off in November, and the Dauphin chose for his aids the Duke of Suffolk and the Marquis of Dorset. Touching on the black shield was the engagement to fight on foot with spears and swords for one hand. Touching a tawny shield was for casting a spear on foot with a target on the arm, and a fight

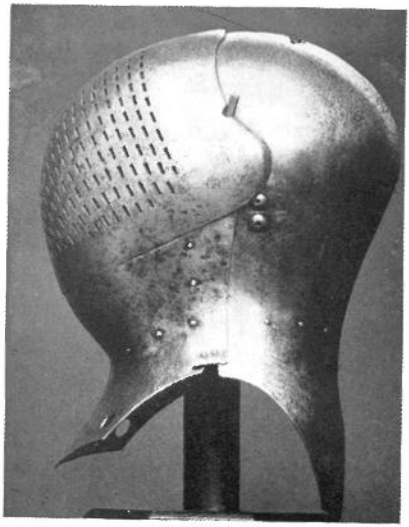


COTTONIAN MS., BRITISH MUSEUM, JULIUS E. IV.

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PLATE VIII.



HELMET OF SIR GILES CAPEL. DE COSSON COLLECTION.

afterwards with the two-hand sword. The Dauphin having been hurt at the tourney put one of his aids in his place. The two English nobles began the fight on the 21st, and the Dauphin secretly got a very tall German to fight with Suffolk, whom he hoped to get beaten. The German had his face hidden, and they gave stout blows, Suffolk making the German stagger with a blow from the butt end of his spear. The judges allowed more than the agreed on number of blows, but when they saw the German stagger, "they let fall the rayle between them." Dorset's opponent lost his spear and then withdrew. When the rail was let fall the Englishmen put up their visors to get air, and then fell on with swords with point and edge rebated. Suffolk, who again fought with the German, took him by the neck and so pummeled him that his nose bled. Dorset's younger brother, aged 19, also disarmed a big Frenchman who tried to "pluck him over the barres."

Holinshed, in describing the fight between Brandon and the incognito German, says that the judges when they saw the German reel and stagger, "then they let the rail between them."

So also when Dorset's brother disarmed the Frenchman "the rail was let fall." In view of what Sanuto tells us as to the prolonged struggling of the combatants, this would hardly seem to be efficacious in ending a contest.

Young Lord Edward Grey, Dorset's brother, struck the Frenchman so that he had "all the face bare."

As in so many other instances we must look abroad for descriptions of what was so common a spectacle at home as not to be thought worthy of record, so for the arrangement of the barriers we must refer to the valuable account by Marin Sanuto the Venetian, diarist in the suite of Antonio Surian, Ambassador from the republic to England. This has been edited by Rawdon Brown for the Calendar of State Papers and MSS. amongst the Venetian Archives.

"On Friday, 22nd June, 1520 (at the Field of Cloth of Gold) the challengers presented themselves on foot with the exception of the kings, who on this day chose to witness the feats of their knights.

"In front of the Queen's stage was a square stockade

with sufficient space for ten couple of men, and in its centre a long bar about 3 feet high, with two side bars.

"Within these bars (? stockade) the challengers presented themselves on foot.

"The band of the French king wore doublets of silver tissue and purple velvet, and of other checquered velvet, murrey and yellow alternate breadths, and with white and murrey plumes.

"The band of the King of England wore biparted doublets of stiff gold brocade and russet velvet embroidered.

"The opposing bands presented themselves at the bar two at a time, carrying rebated spears with which the combatants fought against each other until the spears broke, and then cudgelled each other with the stumps showering heavy two-handed blows on each other's heads and shoulders. At length when separated by the side bars swung by four men, there being two for the purpose at each extremity, they then hurled the fragments remaining in their hands at each other, fighting with such ardour that occasionally when a combatant lost his spear, or when it broke in his hand, not a fragment remaining, he nevertheless stood firm thrusting with his arms as if the weapon was still there. After the spears they next fought with swords, making in like manner fierce and desperate strokes two by two until the hour arrived for returning home."

On Saturday the 23rd, after the repast, the combat recommenced on foot as above with spears and at the close they fought with two-handed swords.

We see here the ingenious arrangement for separating the very excited combatants, and it was more practical and less risky than what we read of at the tourney or mounted *melee* at Bruges in 1468. When the newly married Duke of Burgundy, who had jousted and tourneyed that day, took off his helmet that he might be recognised, and then sword in hand and sparing neither party, forced the excited combatants to leave the lists.

Sanuto does not mention the armour worn by the contending knights, but they must have something stronger and harder than velvet to resist the blows and thrusts of the rebated spears.

Holinshed, in describing these contests, mentions that "there were delivered this day at the barriers by battle, an hundred and six persons," and that "the two last battles did the kings try." This of course means that 106 persons actually engaged in the combats for which they had entered their names as competitors.

Hall's account is:

"Friday the 22nd June, in the camp was set a barrier for to fight on foot. . . Now was the noble kings ready to do battle on foot at the barriers, the queens on their stages. Then entered band after band on foot, and pressed to the barriers, every one in his hand a 'Punchion spere' wherewith without any abode foined and lashed always one at another, two for two as the lot fell. When the speres were spent then swords to them were given. Then pressed to the barriers the two valiant kings and other, there was no tarrying but fought with such force that the fire sprang out of their armour. Thus band after band they were all delivered by the two noble kings, and their aids of retinue.

"Then came in a band with two hand swords and casting darts to answer to that challenge, 12 men well armed which pressed to the barriers and mightily threw their spears the one to the other, ready or not ready, none favoured other more than two enemies, or at utterance and ever still two for two till all were delivered concerning the challenge. . . . ."

Punchion staves was the name for the spear without a metal head, used in these contests. In the Tower inventory of 1547, we have *chasing staves*; these were the cavalry spears; another variety of which were the "Colyn Cleves with stele hedde" and so called from Cologne, whence they were imported with many other weapons of the day.

In 1524, before Christmas, a challenge was issued for Christmas by Lord Leonard and Lord John Grey, brothers of the Marquis of Dorset, and some twelve others.

For this challenge, touching a white shield was for six courses at the tilt with hosting harness, and double pieces, the red shield for ten strokes at the tourney, and the yellow shield for twelve strokes at the

barriers. A blue shield was for an assault with morrice pike. sword and target.

In these sports the king, the Dukes of Somerset and Devonshire and eleven others took part, and all elicited much praise from the Scots who were present. This challenge was performed at Greenwich and was continued in January, 1525.

In 1527, and in 1540, barriers are again noted by Hall, but the king is not mentioned as taking an active part.

After the reign of Henry VIII. the combats at barriers seem to have been less frequent, and of course entirely ceased in the first third of the seventeenth century when more practical affairs engaged the attention of those who would in earlier days have indulged in the sport. We may, however, note some of the instances where barriers were mentioned.

In January, 1550, Captain Julian with three Italians made a challenge at Candlemas day, against all comers at barriers, for three passes with blunt pike and ten strokes with the sword abated. The sentiment of this challenge was "that love shall be hanged," and the state of the game was shown by a lady richly appareled and personating Love stood halfway up a ladder reaching up to a gallows. Each time one of the challengers was successful she was to go up one step, while for each success on the part of a defender, she descended one step. We are told that all the young gentlemen of the Court were preparing themselves to defend Love from being hanged.

When Philip II. arrived in England in 1554, a challenge was proclaimed at Westminster for contest with sword and pike at barriers. In 1558 after Elizabeth's accession, there were jousts and barriers at Westminster, in which the Duke of Norfolk and the Earls of Surrey, Warwick, and Leicester took part.

In a challenge for the tilt tourney and barriers proclaimed at Hampton Court by Clarencieux, king-of-arms on Twelfth-day at night, 1570, and performed in the following May at Westminster by the Earl of Oxford, Charles Howard, Sir Henry Lee and Christopher Hatton, the conditions of the barriers were "three pushes with the short pike, and ten blows with the sword, with open



SPANISH OFFICERS "AT BARRIERS" IN BRUSSEL

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THE PEASANTS' DANCE. 1568. AFTER BOGENBERG.

gauntlets, no barriers to be laid hand upon nor any weapon to be taken hold of, and he of the defendants that doth best thereat shall have a ruby." (Ashmole MS. 837, fol. 245.)

Thomas Cecil received the prize on this occasion.

In 1581, the Duke of Alençon with the Earls of Sussex and Leicester, and three French gentlemen, challenged all comers to fight on foot. No less than forty-five persons met them in combat, but the results have not been recorded.

In the reign of the pacific James I. barriers also are mentioned. At the inauspicious marriage of the Earl of Essex in 1606, sixteen nobles and gentlemen under the leadership of the Duke of Lennox, and styling themselves as on the side of *Truth*, engaged at barriers, sixteen others on the side of *Opinion* under the leadership of the Earl of Sussex. The first party were all dressed in carnation and white, the second in blue and white. They engaged first singly then in threes.

In 1609, at Christmas, Henry, Prince of Wales, with six assistants, published a challenge for barriers which came off on Twelfth Night, 1610, when the Prince with the Duke of Lennox, the Earls of Arundel and Southampton, Lord Hay, Sir Thomas Somerset, and Sir Richard Preston, met the sixty-five defendants in the great Banqueting Hall at Whitehall at push of pike and with single sword. The performance, which began at 10 o'clock at night, lasted till 3 a.m. of Sunday morning, the Prince, who was not full sixteen years old, giving 32 pushes of the pike and some 360 sword strokes, a good piece of work for one so young.

This was on the occasion of Henry's creation as Prince of Wales and Duke of Cornwall.

In 1616, when his brother Charles was created Prince of Wales, the Noble Societies of Inns of Court celebrated the event by appointing ten members of each of the four courts, to break their staves, their swords, and exchange ten blows a piece. This affair also took place at Whitehall. Birch in his account of it says, "Our Inns of court gentlemen carried themselves but indifferently at the barriers, but in requital they played the man at the banquet."

As to the armour worn at barriers it is evident that no blows being given below the barrier, armour for the legs was unnecessary. In the Hogenburg drawing the combatants appear to wear tonlets, and the upper part of the body is armed as usual except that the upper part of the visor is not worn, as being unnecessary, and also its absence giving greater coolness and comfort.

In the Topf MS. are shown two sorts of buffes for the burgonet. Of these the falling buffe would be for the field, and it could be lowered part at a time for air and ease. The other, or standing buffe, is shown in one piece and reaching higher than the lower part of the visor. This class of buffe, we may take it, was for the barriers. It would seem to stand closer to the face than would the visor, but it must be remembered that the shock from the lance of a mounted man, even though the lance broke, would be much heavier than a thrust delivered by a man on foot. In the Armeria at Madrid, where very many of the extra pieces of some of the suits are to be seen, we find a variety of buffes and one of them, but without the flexible neck piece (which here is fixed) much resembles the standing buffes of the Topf MS.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Plate I.

Axes and Bec de Faucon.

No. 1, in the possession of Captain Hutton, F.S.A., besides the axe blade and "mail" has a long spike at the top, such as would penetrate the breathing holes in the visor of the opponent's bascinet.

No. 2, a *bec de faucon* belonging to Captain Hutton, F.S.A. This weapon has the heavy beak whence its name, and at the back a "mail" with four short and stout points. The weapon is surmounted by a short and stout spike.

No. 3, an axe in the Tower of London, has a straight-edged axe blade set on diagonally to the staff, and the "mail" has its surface cut to form a series of diamond points. The whole is surmounted by a slender spike.

No. 4, also in the Tower of London, has a large axe blade with curved edge and in place of a "mail" a stout slightly curved pick. The top spike is leaf-shaped.

All these weapons have spikes on each side of the heads and the staves are protected by iron ribands.

PLATE II.

From a MS. of Boccaccio in the famous Hamilton Collection, is supposed to represent the close of the historic combat of the Horatii and Curatii. Treated in fifteenth century fashion it is valuable as showing distinctly the estocs or stiff thrusting swords used in single combats. The roundels or, as it seems they were called, *besagues* on the hilts of these weapons, are well shown. The combatants are using the short swords or long daggers sometimes referred to in accounts of such fights. This MS. bears the date 1409 and is thus a very valuable authority for many details.

PLATE III.

Is a suit made for Henry VIII. for foot combats. It is described in old inventories of the Tower of London as "rough from the hammer," but it has been ground or glazed as it was called, and no hammer marks are visible. It is very heavy, some 92 lbs., and completely protects the wearer, but at the expense of his ability to move much. The right shoulder guard is missing and the plate braguette has been removed.

PLATE IV.

From the Hastings MS. shows the arming of a combatant for the *champ clos*. The plate defences for the legs and the under garment with chain mail voiders attached, are in place. The rest of the armour and two of his weapons are seen on the trestle table.

PLATE V.

In the Hastings MS. the treatment of the fight is much less conventional than in the Douce MS. The lists are rectangular and show the openings by which the combatants would leave, simultaneously if the result was undecided. The public are seen behind a barrier outside of the lists, and the king is in a sort of royal box within the lists. The presence of a herald is also interesting. The combatants wear tabard-shaped surcoats clearly distinguishing the individuals, who but for their weapons seem identically accoutred. Boyle has an axe with a *bec de faucon*, while Astley has a triple-pointed flook or *mail* at the back of his axe.

This fight took place in 1442.

PLATE VI.

In the Douce MS. No. 271, the combatants both have *bec de faucon* axes and their armour is also identical. No surcoats are worn and each has an extra piece of armour which we may consider as the French hausse-col, specially protecting the throat. The lists are conventionally treated as a *ring* and there are no judges or spectators. This picture is certainly called a Wager of Battle, so may refer to a judicial combat rather than a *pas d'armes*.

Plate VII.

The Cott. MS. Julius E. IV. shows the Earl of Warwick and the Count Pandolf fighting with *becs de faucon.* The Earl has an armoured surcoat over his armour and the crest of the Bear and ragged staff surmounting his bascinet. In other respects the two combatants are in all respects similarly equipped. The Earl is seen striking his opponent a severe blow on the left shoulder when the fight was stopped as he would otherwise have been "utterly slayne." The *becs de faucon* have spikes at either end, that on the head very long. The bascinets are of the same type as in the Douce MS.

Plate VIII.

A good real example of a bascinet as used in the early sixteenth century for foot combats is seen in Plate VIII. It belonged to Sir Giles Capel, who fought often in his day, notably at the coronation jousts in 1509 and at the Field of Cloth of Gold, 1520.

Plate IX.

Is from a drawing of 1569 by Hogenberg, and represents the Spanish officers amusing themselves at barriers. The arrangement of the barrier and the manner of fighting is well shown. It will be noticed that those engaged have the high standing buffes and the upper part of the visors of their helmets open for the convenience of breathing. This drawing shows the latest form of fighting at barriers, which though it lingered on till about the year 1616, underwent no great change, nor was it possible to improve or increase the safety of the combatants.