I have taken this as the title of my paper, as it is of tilting of this period that we have the most full details. So much has been written of tilts and tournaments that is very pretty but no less incorrect, that a short examination of what tilting was, the place of exercise, the arms used, and the armour worn may be of interest to those who read novels, as well as those who study military sports and pastimes.

As we all know, jousting or riding at an opponent with a lance was of great antiquity. Probably, the first thing a well-mounted man with a good lance would wish to do would be to ride at another man. In early times this would be with stout lances with sharp heads, and the endeavour would be to drive the lance through the opponent. But for practice this would be decidedly troublesome; and as an actual enemy might not be always forthcoming, and a friend might be killed or kill the well-mounted man, it came to be arranged to have blunted or rebated points to the lances. The result, then, would be that, as the opponent’s armour was not penetrated, he would be, at all events, loosened in his saddle, and perhaps forcibly ejected. The high backs and encircling arms of the tilting saddle would, of course, assist him to retain his seat, but he would, if hit, receive a shrewd blow, his helmet might be knocked off in spite of the straps fastening it to his body armour, or he might be bent backwards over his saddle cantle. There would be more ways than one of riding at one’s opponent, and some unsportsmanlike jousters would try to jostle their opponents and so unhorse them. Accordingly, at first it was arranged to have a long cloth (toile, Fr.; tilt, Eng.) hung on a stout rope so as to divide the lists or

1 Read at the monthly meeting of the Institute, March 2nd, 1898.
2 We have the word “tilt” in English for boat tilt, waggon tilt, the sort of canvas cover for these. In artillery inventories of to-day will be found wadmilt-tilts, a kind of tarpaulin covering for stores.
exercising ground into two parts just along the centre of the ground. The riders then stationed themselves one on each side and one at each end of this toile in such a way as to have the toile on the left hand. When the signal for the course was given each rider would then charge along and pass his opponent left arm to left arm. Now, in order to reach his adversary with his spear it was necessary to put the spear on the left side of the horse's neck, and so we see it represented in the middle ages, whether it is two knights jousting, or as in Rous' Life of the Earl of Warwick, Cott. MS., Julius, E. IV., where we also have horsemen charging others in wartime. St. George himself is also almost always so shown.

Now, in Froissart's and Monstrelet's Chronicles we have many references to jousts and tournaments, and sometimes interesting details. But, as is stated in a note to the English translation, the first time the tilt is mentioned in these chronicles is on the occasion of some jousting at Dijon in July, 1443. The challenge was in March, 1443. Ollivier la Marclie, in describing the lists at Dijon for mounted contests, says, under the year 1443, that there was a "toille pour la conduite des chevaux et pour servir à la course des hommes d'armes comme il est de coutum en tel cas." It is difficult to say from this whether La Marche, writing at a later date, is referring to the custom of his day, or that such had been the custom for some time. Anyhow, the first introduction of the tilt may be assigned to the first half of the fifteenth century.

The following extracts from the chronicles of St. Remy and Monstrelet would show that the tilt originated in Portugal, and was used as early as 1430 by the Burgundians:

"1429-30 at Bruges on the occasion of the marriage of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy and Isabella, daughter of the king of Portugal, 14th January, 'Le samedy se firent une joustes a l'usage de Portingal, que les Portingallois firent sans donner pris. Et furent abatues toutes les liches qui estoient faictes sur la place : sy firent une seule liche a travers, de fort marien, haulte jusque aux espaulles des chevaux, et furent tendues de drap bleu tout au long. Et en la fin de la jouste, demora iceluy drap aux coequins par pieces et bendeaulx : et joustoient ainsi, au long de la lisse, lun dun costé et l'autre de l'autre, a escus couvers de fin achier, et les heaulmes à la facon en selles de guerre. Et n'yeult que deuix ou trois estrangiers contre eulx, et dura la jouste assez longhement à peu
It was on the occasion of this marriage that the Duke founded the order of the Golden Fleece.

On the 20th of February of the same year there was a tournament held at Arras. It lasted five days, and we are told

"et estoit preparé un grand parc couvert de sable au milieu duquel avoit une lice garnie d'aiselles à fin que les chevaux ne se peursent rencontrer l'un l'autre."

Chronicles de Monstrelet, Cap. LXXX.

St. Remy, Chap. CXLV, mentions this combat, but gives no particulars as to the lists, and says it took place in the month of March.

As to the height of this toille it appears to have varied, and in some challenges a special height is mentioned. It should be noted that the cord and cloth soon gave place to a wooden partition, though from an incident in the Romance of Petit Jean de Saintré, written in 1459, it was sometimes continued in use. In the romance referred to it is mentioned that during a joust Saintré's horse broke its shoulder, and Enguerrant's horse fell, they having collided, in spite of the cord, on which was hung a crimson cloth, Cap. XXXVII.

The rules observed at jousts and tournaments appear to have been drawn up in 1466 by John, Earl of Worcester. Copies of these, varying slightly one from another, are to be found in the Bodleian Library and other places. In the Antiquarian Repertory is printed a set which were copied by Oldys from a MS. marked 1. 26 in the library of the Heralds' College, and in the 1769 edition of Nugæ Antiquæ is another copy; and in the famous Tournament Roll in the Heralds' College, which has been engraved in Vetusta Monumenta, is yet another set of the rules. These were the rules observed in Henry VIII's time, and the 1769 Nugæ Antiquæ says, but without giving any authority, that "they were commanded in Elizabeth.

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1 In Charny's challenge at Dijon it was to be 6 feet high.
2 This was the year of the challenge of Lord Scales to the Bastard of Burgundy. The fight came off in 1467, June 11th. There was no tilt on this occasion, and the spears were sharp.
to be observed & kept in all manner by Justices of Peace Royall within this realm of England." This is, of course, a careless transcript.

Generally speaking, the rules for the jousting were to this effect:

Breaking a spear between the saddle and the fastening of the helmet to the breast (for so we may interpret the charnell of the helmet) ... 1 point.

Breaking a spear above this place ... 2 points.

Breaking a spear so as to unhorse the opponent or unarm him, so that he could not run the next course ... ... ... ... 3 points.

but

Breaking a spear on the saddle would cause the forfeiture of ... ... ... ... 1 point.

Striking the tilt once ... ... ... ... 2 points.

Striking the tilt twice ... ... ... ... 3 points.

Breaking a spear on the sight of the helmet three times would count towards the prize before breaking most spears, and striking coronal to coronal twice would be better still; though upsetting the opponent was yet better.

Striking a horse or an opponent on the back or after he was disarmed or striking the tilt thrice, would prevent the prize being gained at all; as also anyone losing his helmet twice except by fault of his horse. If the spear broke within a foot of the coronal it would only count as a good attempt. It is clear that striking coronal to coronal was as good for one combatant as for the other, also that unless the opponent rode close to the tilt it was impossible for the best jouster in the world to score. Considering all things, scoring points depended more on the adversary running against the lance point, than on any skill on the part of a jouster.

Of course, in the later days of jousting there was little chance of upsetting an opponent.

W. Segar Norroy, king of arms, in his *Honor Military & Civill*, 1602, mentions a Solemne Triumph held at Richmond before Henry VII. It lasted a whole month; and Sir James Parker, running against Hugh Vaughan, was hurt and died 1494. Another Triumph was held in the Tower of London in 1502.

In Henry VIII's reign these joustings were very
frequent, and we have, in the splendid roll in the Heralds' College, the valuable representation of the magnificent tilting held in 1511, when the King and chief nobles took prominent parts. (Fig. 1.) It was not, however, always an unmixed honour to joust with the King, and we find in *Ellis' Historical Letters*, Vol. III, Series I, a letter from Buckingham to Wolsey asking that he may not be obliged to joust against the King, but, if at all, then as one of the King's party. He pleads that for some five years he has not practised, but the evident reason was the danger that might be incurred if too successful. Of such danger we have an instance in the accident which befell Brandon, the King's own brother-in-law, when the King, having neglected to close his visor, the two rode at each other, and by a happy chance Brandon's lance struck the King's helmet just above the exposed face. This was in 1524, and had a fatal accident occurred Brandon might not have had as long a respite from a shameful death as Mongomeri had when, in 1559, he was the cause of the death of Henry II. Mongomeri certainly escaped at the time, but Catherine de Medicis had him executed in 1574. Gabriel de Lorge, Comte de Mongomeri, was captain of the Scotch Guard.

The Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520 was the occasion of much jousting, and Henry and Francis both distinguished themselves.

In a note on the *Field of Cloth of Gold* printed by Jehan Lescaille, it is ordered

"In consequence of the numerous accidents to noblemen, sharp steel not to be used as in times past, but only arms for strength, agility, and pastime; the gentlemen will answer all comers with blunt lances with pieces d'avantage cramponnees on non cramponnees without any fastening to the saddle that might prevent mounting or dismounting with ease. Each challenger to have 8 courses with middle size lances or greater if any prefer it between one hour after dinner and 6 p.m. The gentlemen (8 English and 8 French) shall ride each one course in the open field with all comers, as many strokes to be given as the comers shall demand, great lances to be used and single handed sharp swords with blunt points. Closing not allowed unless the comers demand it . . .

"If the horse of a comer bolts from the lists and yet runs the course it shall be counted.

1 The illustration has been kindly lent by Mr. James Parker of Oxford from Vol. III, Hewitt's *Ancient Arms and Armour*. 
"Anyone striking a horse not to run again that day except by the ladies' leave.

"Anyone striking his opponent's saddle to be disallowed 2 broken lances."

At the Field of Cloth of Gold one Frenchman died on the 16th of a blow he got the previous day.

In 1540 there was a challenge by Sir John Dudley, Sir Thomas Seymour, and others.

On the death of Henry VIII or the accession of Edward VI, though there do not appear to have been any joustings in London, yet we have an interesting account of a scratch tournament at Calais.

"Sir H. Poulet and Sir J. Harington to the Lord Protector (Somerset), February 24, 1547, from Calais

'6 of the men at arms of this town did challenge all comers at the ring, for lack of a tilt. Henry Dudley, to enlarge the same triumph devised to run at random with every of the challengers and to assay the thing what they could do. Dudley and Jerningham the Thursday before met in the field in their hosting harness and ran the one against the other with coronet staves, and at the second counter met so freely that both went to the ground, their harness flying about the field and their horses astonied, but (thanks to God) without hurt; both leaped on horseback again and brake sundry staves very honestly.'"

The reign of the precocious Edward was too full of politics and successful war with Scotland to afford much occasion for tilting, and the practical and earnest work at Pinkie was of more use than many shows. The Lord Grey of Wilton at that battle received a great wound in the mouth with a pike such as clave one of his teeth, struck him through the tongue and three fingers' deep into the roof of his mouth. This, with the dust, &c., would have choked him but for the Earl of Warwick lifting a firkin of ale to his head as they went through the Scotch camp. This was the 10th September, and on the 22nd he was appointed to receive delivery of Hume Castle.

In 1515, at the jousts at Paris on the occasion of the King's marriage, Francis, afterward King, proclaimed a challenge in which he and nine others would meet all comers at tilt, barriers, &c. Five courses were to be run at tilt and five at random with sharp spears and all pieces d'avantage. Three hundred and five persons attended
this joust, and some were killed: Francis himself was hurt.

In February, 1515, Suffolk, writing to Henry VIII, says:

"Yesterday at the tilting (at Paris) many had been hurt and one to-day in the throat like to die. Mons. de Bourbon, the Great Constable, sore hurt in the left arm for lack of good armour."

He further mentions

"The tilt in such harness as they run last four courses with mournes and by garstawys, and in the field 2 courses with sharp staves, and the tourney with schowrdys, and at the barrier on foot with the eaiting staff and the sword with one hand."

Olivier la Marche mentions jousts at Brussels in 1414 where

"et furent joustes sans toile sans frens ou sablon."

Also at Dijon they had

"joustes à selles plates et en haraina de joute de jeunes gens et de nouveaux jousteurs pour apprendre le mestier."

In 1518 Charles V of Germany took part in a tournament in January, where twelve horses were killed, and at another, in March the same year, where seven men were killed.

If the jousters rode straight at each other—even a very light and brittle lance, with the weight of a man and horse behind it, let alone the impetus of the opposing rider and horse—would do much execution, and probably pierce the body it struck fair on. But we know that the riders were on opposite sides of the tilt, and allowing the lances to be 12 feet in the length in front of the jouster, the other 2 feet being under the arm and behind the body, also
admitting that the riders moved on lines parallel to the tilt but 2 feet on each side of it, we shall find that the lance of each was held at an angle of 20° with the line of riding. If 3 feet be allowed on each side so as to allow the horses freedom for the pace at which they travelled, then the angle would be 30°, Fig. 2.

At such an inclination from the direct line of movement there is no pretence of a direct thrust, and it is clear that with such weights behind the lance it must snap very easily. Consequently, the chances of any damage to the opposing rider's armour or body were very slight.

A very interesting drawing of tilting, tourney, and barriers, temp. Elizabeth (Fig. 3), is here given from a manuscript formerly in the possession of Sir Wm. Gregory, who died 1696, and now the property of A. Wood Acton, Esq., of Acton Scott, Salop. Mr. Everard Green, V.P.S.A., Rouge Dragon, informs me that the MS. is the work of Wm. Smith, Rouge Dragon in 1597.¹

Although the riders at the tilt always did and are generally represented as passing left arm to left arm, yet Jost Amman, in some of his drawings of joustings, shows them passing by the right arm. This is not a case of the reversal on the wood or copper, for the knights hold the spears under the right arm, but it evidently is a mistake.

In Rous' Life of the Earl of Warwick, the knights, charging both in tiltyard and in war, are always shown as passing left arm to left arm; and as late as 1632 Cruso, in his work on Cavalry, quotes Basta as to the necessity for the lancer to "strive to gain the left side of his enemy and charge him on the left." He mentions that the Turks and Hungarians charge by the right, and some prefer that way because "in charging by the left the Lancier must incline his bodie to the left and so sitteth the lesse sure in his saddle."

Mr. Burges² upset the notion that Henry II of France was slain through the door of the helmet flying open, but it may be worth while noting the account of the accident by an English eye-witness. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton,

¹ This illustration has been kindly lent by Messrs. Lawrence and Bullen.  
writing to the Council from Paris 1st July, 1559, says

"The 30th (June) the Prince of Nevers, called Count d’Eu, came to the tilt with his band. No other Ambassador besides himself (Throckmorton) was there to see them run. Whereat it happened that the king, after running a good many courses well and fair, meeting with young M. de Lorge, captain of the Scottish Guard, received at his hand such a counterbuffe as, first lighting on the king’s head and taking away the pannage (whereupon there was a great plume of feathers), which was fastened to his headpiece with iron, did break his staff, and with the rest of the staff hitting the king’s face gave him such a counterbuffe, as he drove a splinter right over his eye on the right side, the force of which stroke was so vehement and the pain so great, that he was much astonished and had great ado to keep himself on horseback, and his horse also did somewhat yeild. Whereupon with all expedition he was unarmed in the field even against the place where he (Throckmorton) stood as he could discern."

This account shows that the real cause of the King’s accident was the fact that De Lorge did not, as Pluvinel tells us was the custom, raise the portion of the lance remaining in his hand, and then, stopping his horse, throw the broken staff out of the lists. Pluvinel says this is the proper thing to do. Consequently, the stump, with its splintered end, struck the King’s helmet, and, entering the sight, inflicted the fatal wound.

Carrousel.

Luigi Santa Paulina, in his Arte del Cavallo, Padua, 1696, thus describes the origin of the Carosello:

"It takes its name from the carosello, which is simply a ball made of clay of the size of a big hen’s egg or a small apple, and made of that shape, but hollow, and pierced from end to end. Of these a quantity are taken, and should be carried in a basket by a servant, who supplies them to the horseman, who appears armed with a shield of suitable size held on his left arm. Having assembled and gone into the field, the riders take up their positions, holding some of these caroselli in the fingers of the left hand. Placed in order, two of the first party start off against two of the opposite side, and throw at them with boldness two caroselli; they then turn to the right and rejoin their party. So on, the two parties in pairs throw these caroselli at their opponents, who take them on their shields. They then perform the same practice one squad against the other, always passing left arm to left arm. The two parties then continue the practice in various ways, advancing in line, abreast, or like a snake, but always meeting in the centre of the field. This, we are told, is a very pretty sight for the spectators.”
This sort of carrousel was in use in Spain, and there called Alcancias; but sometimes long canes were thrown, when it was called *feste di Cannas*.

Another variety of this game was also practised in Spain, and called Running Parejas, which consisted in pairs of horsemen riding against each other shoulder to shoulder, and in this steady riding was the chief difficulty and excellence.

In this game the whole equipage of each party there took part in forming various figures, first, with all the mules, shields, cars, canes, and caroselli, and then proceeding to the throwing of the canes or alcancias. When performing the whole the riders appeared in armour; but for the casting of canes, &c., the national dress only was worn, but of some smart colour, and with plumed heads and richly-barded horses.

**Lists.**

As to the Lists, we have no definite account of the size of the enclosure except on certain occasions; but when preparing for the Field of Cloth of Gold, St. N. Vaux speaks of the ground being firm, and says it will not do to scatter the earth taken from the ditch over it,

"for it woll marr all the gronde that none shalle galop nor renne surely upon it."

In many towns there seem to have been tilts permanently kept, as at Calais, and the Tilt yard at Westminster, Hampton Court, and Greenwich. In the Westminster case the tilt is shown in old maps, and the name exists to this day, the Horse Guards parade being the site, and the guard room there still known as the Tilt Guard.

According to Stowe, the lists for Lord Scales’ combat in 1467, were 120 yards and 10 feet by 80 yards and 10 feet, double barred, and 5 feet between the bars.

According to the account given in *Excerpta Historica*, these lists were 90 yards by 80.\(^1\)

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\(^1\) It must be remembered that the fine illumination in Froissart showing the Jousting at St. Inglevert with the tilt, &c., was executed in the time of Edward IV, nearly 100 years after the event, at which time the tilt was not in use. The tournament took place 1389–1390.
In 1513 jousts were held at Lisle in a large room paved with black marble, the horses being shod with felt or flocks (fello sive tomento) to avoid slipping.

At the Field of Cloth of Gold, in 1520, Gioan Joachino, Secretary of the Governor of Genoa, and residing at the French Court, writes:

"The lists are in a large plain 400 paces by 200, round which is a ditch and a bank 9 feet high enclosing the Field as they call it. To this are two entries—at opposite ends; the lists, 150 paces in length, lying between them and well arranged."

Soardino, the Mantuan Ambassador, writes to his Duke that

"there were no counterlists (this was at Henry VIII's wish), so that the horses often swerved and strokes were made but rarely."

Sir Nicholas Vaux, Captain of Hammes, writing to Wolsey about the preparations for the fête, mentions that

"the same tilt, counterlists, stages, and barriers that were set up in Paris (probably for the French Queen's marriage) will be used at the Field."

At the Field of Cloth of Gold, according to the Sanuto Diaries,

"there was a large square of greater length than width enclosed by a ditch and dike, the entrances being to the front with bars to correspond. On each of the sides within were stages for the spectators, and in the centre was the tilt yard with its lists; and at the extremity, towards the English Pale (that is, Northward) two chambers were erected on each side well and richly furnished for the accommodation of the kings to arm and rest themselves. At this extremity beyond the ditch was another square on each side, where tents and pavilions were pitched for the service of the jousters, those of each nation having their own side . . . .

"At the end of the Tilt yard, in the direction of the two houses (of the kings) was a tree like an elm, around which was a square mound made of timber covered with green damask. The trunk was clad in cloth of gold as well as two branches, and on the bank were the rests for the heralds and for the shields and arms of the jousters. . . . At the English entrance were the French foot archers, and at the French entrance the English, and mounted ones patrolled the environs to prevent any one crossing the ditch.

"The heralds brought the two shields of England and France, and, preceded by 30 trumpeters and 22 heralds, carried them round the lists and placed them on the trunk of the tree—the French on the right, the English on the left. Below these were three others—one striped longitudinally tawney and murrey, with a gilt inscription in French 'For the courses to be run in the Tilt yard'; the second similarly striped yellow and white, with 'For tourney'; the third all white,
with 'For the battle on foot at the Bars.' Round the rails of the mound were the badges and names of all who were to tilt."

The whole is well shown in the engraving of the Hampton Court picture.

**Lances.**

Hall, in the sixth year of Henry VIII, mentions that at the Tournaments, &c., at Paris, on 7th November

"The Countie Galeas came into the place on a jennet trapped in blue satten and he himselfe lykwise apparelled and rand a corse with a speere which was at the head v inches on every side square that is xx yncbes about and at the but ix yncbes square that is xxxvi yncbes. This speere was tymber and yet for al that he ran cleane with it a long course and slightly avoyded it to his great honour."

Also that

"Anthony Bownarme came in the field all armed and on his body brought in sight x speares that is to wyt iii speares set in every stirrope forward and under every thygh it speares upwarde and under the left arm was on speare backward & the x in his hand and when he came before the Queen he let his horse ronne & never stopped tyll he had taken every speere after other & broken it on the grounde and he never stopped his horse tyll all were broken. This gentleman was highly praysed and so he was worthy."

In 1520, among payments for the King's arms, &c., are

"4 tuns for the burres morns & counterrowndels, 4*. 4d.
3 vamplates, 3/

mornes of steel glazed at 18d., counter-roundels at 10d., burres filed at 16d., vamplates from Innsbruck at 5/ (vamplates from Antwerp also mentioned) for grinding & glazing each 10d., & for garnishing & lining them 6d."

In 1520 a payment to Wm. Hayward of £39 3s. 2d. for making, garnishing, and burring with leather 800 spears.

In 1521 a payment to Wm. Hayward for righting, heading, and burring 200 spears, and seasoning and making 500 spears for Sir J. Wallop to be sent to Ireland, £42 18s.

As to the lance end or point, of course in the serious joustings sharp points were used such as would penetrate the metal defences if the point, as it were, bit. In John Rous' *Life of the Earl of Warwick* we see how he sent his lance right through the heart and back of a certain "mighty Duke who challenged him for his lady's sake." The Earl's lance is seen half-a-yard beyond the Duke's backplate, and no doubt the Emperor Sigismund and
the Empress were, like the rest of the public, convinced of the superiority of the claims of the English lady in whose cause the Earl jousted so successfully.

For jousts of peace, however, the lance-head was either rebated, as in the example in the Rotunda at Woolwich, Fig. 4, No. 14, and figured by Hewitt in *Archaeological Journal*, Vol. XXI, p. 295, or the *coronel* was used. This, as its name implies, was in the form of a small crown the fleurons of which would be more likely to bite the breastplate and at the same time not penetrate it. Hewitt has given, in connection with the above-mentioned woodcut, other cuts of coronels from various sources.

The word is sometimes written *cronettis*, *cornallys*, *coronolls*, and *cornalles*.

In the *Sanuto Diaries* it is mentioned that at the Field of Cloth of Gold the tilting was performed with "spears with not very large buttons at the points."

For tilting lance-heads see Wendelin Bœheim's work on the Vienna Armoury, in which are photographs of examples in that collection. And Fig. 4, No. 11, in the Tower of London.

In the Musée d'Artillerie at Paris is a curious lance-head arranged for shifting the point, and putting a fresh one. It was probably only an invention, and not generally used.

St. Remy mentions *lances courtoises* being used on some occasions: these, of course, were not sharp.

The *lance des dames* was the last encounter of a challenge.

In the Tower collection are several lances for the tilt-yard, Fig. 4. Of these the largest is that generally attributed to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and as such shown to and described by Hentzner in 1598, Nos. 1 and 2. The total length is 14 feet 4 inches, of which the butt is 24 inches and the grip 8. The girth just in front of the grip is 27½ inches. The shaft is fluted with twelve deep grooves for about 6 feet 6 inches from the grip. This lance is hollow, and weighs 20 lbs.: the lance-head is about 4 inches long, fluted, and ending in a conical point, Fig. 4, No. 12.

The next two lances, Nos. 3 and 4, are also hollow, and as one has been broken it is possible to see the construction. A hollow groove about 2 inches in diameter
goes from the front of the grip to about 15 inches from the point. The exterior is fluted with eight deep grooves reaching about 5 feet 9 inches from the grip. These lances weigh 10 lbs., and are 12 feet 6 inches long; and the unbroken one has a metal head similar to Brandon’s.

The next variety, Fig. 4, Nos. 5 and 6, of which there are several in the Armoury, are 11 feet 7 inches long, and weigh 6 lbs. each: they have an octagonal section in front of the grip with eight grooves running about 4 feet 9 inches toward the point. There are no vamplates at present in the Armoury which would suit this type of lance, as the mouths of all the vamplates are circular, and too small for these lances.

Yet another type, Fig. 4, Nos. 7 and 8, about 12 feet long and of slighter stuff, have the grip less abruptly marked. These also, fluted with eight grooves, have a circular section, with a maximum girth of 9 inches. They weigh 4½ lbs. each, and are painted like barbers’ poles.

The Hatton and Prince Henry vamplates are truncated cones with a larger diameter of 8 inches, and the mouth is about 2½ inches, the truncated cone being 5½ inches high.

Another vamplate, much flatter (being only 4½ inches high), has a major diameter of 11 inches.

There are also some of the large German vamplates
which covered the arm half-way to the shoulder. These Garbeisen are seen in the Triumph of Maximilian, as carried by the knights equipped for the Pundtrennen.

Besides these lances there is one of a much later type and similar to that figured by Pluvinel, Fig. 4, Nos. 9 and 10. It is for running at the ring, and consequently has no vamplate. It is, in reality, a light lance with five strongly-marked flanges running some 8 feet from the grip forward. The total length is 10 feet 7 inches, besides a 7-inch head. The lance weighs 7 lbs. The head is peculiar, being a long conical ferrule with a small solid cone at the tip, Fig. 4, No. 13. This was to prevent the ring, when drawn from the stand, being dropped on the ground and so not counted. The butt of this lance is also peculiar: it is 17½ inches long, and originally of a tapering cylindrical form, increasing from 10-inch girth to 13 inches at the grip. A piece of wood was cut off so as to make a flat side for the greater ease of the rider, who thus had a flat surface against his side. Of course, these lances for the ring were very slight in make, and some specimens in the Musée d’Artillerie at Paris have the flanges much carved with pierced work. That in the Tower has been painted red semeé with silver guttae or tears.

In the Armeria at Madrid is one of the arrangements for holding the rings at the exercise. It is a tube slit on both sides, and down this slides a split pin holding the ring, and with its split portions just holding in the tube. As soon as the lance is put through the ring the pin pulls out, and another ring descends to the position of the first. This arrangement is figured by Jubinal.

Of course, these lances for running at the ring have no burres.

The Tower lances, most of them, have leather burres fastened by nails and standing up about ¼-½ an inch from the butt of the lance.

Randall Holmes describes the burre as follows:

“It is a broad ring of iron behind the handle, which burre is brought into the sufflue or rest when the tilter is ready to run against his enemy or prepareth himself to combate or encounter his adversary.” (Academy of Armoury.)

In the Saffron Walden Museum is an object described in Archaeological Journal, Vol. V, p. 227, and figured.
is there called a coronel, but from its size and form I am inclined to think that it is a metal burre. It is shaped like a crown, and is 3 inches in diameter.

The grate and graper of old inventories appear to have been the same as the burre; they are mentioned generally in connection with vamplates and in addition to the coronels. The object of their use was, by being pressed against the lance-rest, to distribute the shock of impact over the body and so relieve the cramped-up hand. Gay's *Glossaire Archeologique* gives the reference to them from the Comte de Belleval's MS. on military costume.

In 1361 is mentioned 1 grate *pour joutes*.

In the Paxton MS., Lansdown 285, of the time of Edward IV, it is mentioned that the jousters are to show "theire speris garneste that is coronall vamplate & grapers all of acise."

And in the same MS., among the "Abilments for the Justus of Pees" are

"vi vamplates and xii grapers and xii cornallys and xl sperys.—*Archæologia*, XVII.

In 1519 Hayward receives for 206 spears, burres, hydes, nailes, &c., £24 5s. 8d.

In 1520 the charge for making, garnishing, and burring with leather 800 spears was £39 3s. 2d.

In the preparations for the Field of Cloth of Gold counter-roundels at lOd. and filed burres at 16c? were purchased.

In 1521, making, righting, heading, and burring 200 spears for service in Ireland, and for seasoning and making 500 more, £42 18s. is charged.

In 1546, for spears, spear-heads, burres, nailes, workmanship, and carriage of spears, John Crocket, the King's armourer, and William Hayward, King's joiner, receive £35 18s. 6d.

In 1520 vamplets of Isebrok at 5s., and a charge of 10d. for grinding and glazing, and 6d. for garnishing and lining.

**Armour.**

According to Wendelin Boeheim, armour for the tilt-yard, and such like exercises of peace, began to differ from the Hosting Harness about 1400. Before that period the knight or squire who took part in such showy and generally safe displays would wear some, or all, of the panoply in which he faced his enemies. But when it became recognised that the armour for the field was not
in all respects suited to the requirements of the tilt-yard, no doubt a great impetus was given to the making of those stouter and richer suits whose stoutness and richness have contributed in no small degree to their survival to our days.

Then again, roughly speaking, there was only one way of fighting in earnest. In those times an English army had not to face both ends of the thermometer as it may have to do within a few months nowadays. But in the tilt-yard there were many kinds of combats, and as for those “made in Germany” their number was very great, and the slight differences between them are hardly now to be appreciated, though no doubt a different kit was required for most of them. We have only to look over some of the Tourney books of Burgkmair, Jost Ammon and others, or to examine the various groups of horsemen shown in the “Triumph of Maximilian,” to see what a great variety existed. A little later, in the sixteenth and in the seventeenth centuries, Wulson de la Colombière, in his two volumes, shows us how the expiring flame of chivalrous exercises flared up in the extravagant and childish displays in France.

In England, in the Tudor times, the armour worn at the joust appears to have been somewhat similar to that for war, but much stouter and more richly ornamented. Of course, special helmets were used, as we see in the College of Arms Tilting Roll; and later on, when the armet came into use for the tilt-yard also, it had no air-holes on the left side of the visor.

In addition to the ordinary tilting armour extra pieces were worn: The grandguard and volant piece, very often riveted together; the elbow or pasguard, and the manifer or miton gauntlet for the bridle hand.

The Leicester suit (Fig. 5), in the Tower, was made, as we know, between 1566, when he received the Order of St. Michael, the collar of which is engraved on the suit, and 1588, when Dudley died.

It will be seen that the grandguard and volant piece cover the left side of the head and body, the volant piece conforming exactly to the shape of the armet, to which it was attached by a hasp at the back of the head and a linch-pin on the right front. It also conforms to the
FIG. 5.—ARMOUR OF ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER, WITH EXTRA PIECES FOR THE TILT. (From the Tower of London.)
(From a photograph by the Author.)
curves of the neck, shoulders, and breastplate, to which it is bolted by a pin passing through the tapul of the breast. The pasguard is also lincthed on a pin standing out of the elbow-piece, and the grandguard and pasguard are ornamented with the same designs of the *ragged staff* and bands of engraved ornament as the suit: so also is the manifer. This last might be worn with or without a gauntlet, and if with would complete the doubled defence of the left side of the jouster.

In the Tower are several grandguards and some pasguards for the two suits there of Henry VIII, and at Windsor are several more. One at the Tower has a small extra grating, making the defence of the face more sure. I do not know of any suit in Paris, Vienna, or Madrid which surpasses this Leicester suit in the respect of having its extra pieces of the same design. The Prince Henry suit at Windsor, by George Pickering, also has these pieces, but the suit is much later, though at Madrid some of the suits of Philip II and others have enough extra and change pieces to cover two and three figures.

It will be seen by the Leicester tilting-suit how very constrained the position of the tilter was. From the waist upward he was in one piece, and could not move his head either to avoid a blow or to obtain a better view than the narrow sights of the visor afforded him. It will be remembered that Brandon said he could not see out of his helmet, besides being short-sighted; and Leicester was not any better off.

The Leicester suit, though not that seen in Jacob Topf's book, much resembles it, and may be taken as the type of the English fashion of 1570. We see the toes have become pointed; the articulation of the ankle is very complex, and the peasecod-bellied doublet is reproduced in steel.

Abroad many other styles of armour were worn for the many varieties of tilting: sometimes a kind of shield fastened by bolts to the left breast, and of this kind there are examples in the Tower.

Then for the Real gestech the shield was ribbed so as to give a good hold for the lance-head. Of this shield there is also an example in the Tower.

In 1522 Sir Richard Wingfield, writing to Wolsey from
Brussels, says that the Emperor had arrived with ten of his nobles armed at all points, each with a target on his shoulder in place of the grandguard.

In Germany for some kinds of tilting a shield was worn on the left breast, and fastened by a stout plaited lace, the ends of which, passing through it to the front, were tied in a knot, and hung down. Of this kind there are five or six examples in the Musee d'Artillerie at Paris. In Madrid also are examples of the wooden shield fixed by three bolts to the left breast and worn in some of the German varieties of jousting.

**Horses and Horse Armour.**

In 1515 Sir Richard Jerningham, writing to Henry VIII from Tournay, tells him he knows where two or three good tilt horses may be had, and adds: “And it be not for that feat for the Tilt they be but Roylles for any other feat.”

The King, we know, bred horses in several establishments, or *Races* as they were called, in various parts of the country, and especially in Wales. He had many Flanders mares evidently to improve the English breed, which, though much abused by all foreigners, still had good points, being especially easy for riding, and therefore sought for by aged persons. The sires appear to have been Italian, Spanish, and Barbary horses. He had sent to him, in 1523, some Spanish horses partly broken into heavy armour.

No doubt stout horses were required for the armed riders and the heavy bards.

We find £8 17s. 7d. given for two horses for the army, and £44 and £50 given for horses for the King.

The bard of his engraved suit in the Tower weighs 92 lbs., and it is not an excessively heavy one.

1515, July 24. Sir R. Wingfield writes to Henry VIII that "the Emperor gave to the King of Poole two coursers all covered with steel to the fetlocks and round the belly save in the spurring place.”

This armour for the horse must have been such as is seen in the portrait (now in Vienna) of Maximilian’s
“Harnisch Meister Albrecht,” painted in 1480. It is engraved in Von Leber’s *Wiener Zeughaus*, and in the Porte de Hal at Brussels is a portion of such armour for the horse’s hock.

Tavannes, in his *Memoirs*, Vol. XXVI, p. 141, speaks of his “compagnie bardee des premières bardes d’acier qui s’etoient vues.” This, of course, refers to the ordinary troopers, and is of the date 1554, at Ranty. A note says that in 1550 he had mentioned “cent gentilshommes ayans leurs cent chevaux bardez d’acier.”

At the Battle of the Spurs in 1513 it is mentioned that the French cut off their bards to “ronne” the lighter. Patten, in his account of the battle of Pinkie, 1547,

![Diagram](image)

mentions that the English cavalry had not put on their bards that day, as they did not expect to fight.

In the Tower of London is a *cuir bouilly* crupper, probably the only survivor of many used in the sixteenth century.

Ollivier la Marche, pp. 156, 159, mentions gold letters on the edge of the trappers.

In the Bodleian Library, at fol. 164 of Ashmolean MS. 845, is a *checque* or scoring paper of a jousting or tilting which took place at Westminster in the year 1570, on May day. Fig. 6 shows the top of this checque.

The defenders were the Earl of Oxford, Lord Charles Howard, Sir Henry Lee, and Christopher Hatton. Their opponents were Lord Stafford, Thomas Cecil, Henry

On the checqve are tricked small shields of the arms of all these, except of Alexander; and Sir Henry Lee has two coats shown—one of the Lees of Quarendon, the other a special coat granted to his father, Sir Anthony Lee. The tinctures are all noted by letters, and the whole is a pleasing instance of Heraldry being utilised to identify the individuals taking part in the exercise, Fig. 3.

This Tilting was proclaimed at Hampton Court by Clarencieu lx, King of Arms, on Twelfth Day at night, but took place on Tuesday, 1st of May. On Thursday, the 3rd, was a Tourney, and on Sunday, the 6th, there was Barriers.

It will be seen, on examining the checqve, that Sir Henry Lee ran 41 courses and broke 32 lances, but none on the head. With two of his opponents he broke each of the 6 lances. The Earl of Oxford, who got the prize, ran 42 courses, broke 32 lances, and twice broke his 6 lances, but in addition he scored three attaints on the head.

From this MS., and another one at the Bodleian, Rawlinson B 146, Fig. 7, as well as from Harl. MS. 69, we may see how the score was kept. A parallelogram, with a line passing through and out of it, is drawn, and on the line within are made marks showing the lances broken; marks on the
top line of the parallelogram show the attaints on the head, while those on the lower side show the points subtracted for ill-broken staves. On the line outside the parallelogram the number of courses run is indicated by similar marks.

In Peele’s *Polyhymnia*, describing in heavy verse the *fête* at the Tilt-yard, Westminster, on 17th November, 1590, when Sir Henry Lee resigned his self-imposed office of Queen’s Champion in favour of George, Earl of Cumberland, we get many interesting details of the Elizabethan form of this exercise. Sir Henry Lee had many years before instituted a series of annual joustings, &c., which took place on Queen’s day, as the 17th November is still called in the Temple. At these meetings Sir Henry Lee presided as general manager, and his travels in Europe had well qualified him for the post, being a very accomplished knight not only in the tilt-yard, but also in warfare on the Scottish border, and in 1574 having commanded a battery at the first successful siege of Edinburgh.

It seems that on these occasions the knights taking part in the exercise generally had their attendants clothed in colours similar to those they themselves wore. So also the lance staves, the plumes for man and horse, were *en suite*. Master Henry Nowell certainly wore black armour, and his attendants were clothed in purple liveries, but the rule was as above stated, both for man and horse trappings. Essex, however, had all black, and Peele suggests it was so in mourning for “Sweet Sidney,” who had died three years before. Large horses of Naples breed are mentioned. The Poet is very ecstatic over the magnificence of the scene, but has no exciting incidents to recount in what he calls “this delightful war.” The twenty-six knights shivered their spears as was expected of such accomplished gentlemen, and then Sir Henry Lee, having unarmed, presented his successor to the Queen. Peele, in *Anglorum Ferice*, describes another of these *fêtes*, and he mentions Dudley, whose horse at first shied, but, by dint of spurring, his rider made him make “dreadful harmony, grating against the rails.” It sounds bad for the rider’s leg, but that is not referred to.

The following dialogue from Pluvinel’s great work published in 1625, affords some interesting information on various points connected with jousting:
Formerly the knights broke their lances in the field without enclosures without lists, but such serious accidents happened occasioning loss of life to man or horse, that the high lists were first invented. These reached to the arrest de la cuirasse. Later they devised low lists reaching to the calf of the rider and calculated to prevent the horses on which lances had been broken from starting from the track: and as in spite of these precautions some riders still received hurt in the head-pieces which endangered their lives, means were taken to prevent such—first, by fastening the salade fore and aft by strong fastenings to the cuirasse; then by a plastron of one piece which covers the front of the cuirasse, i.e. the whole left side and shoulder to the gauntlet and the right side as far as the arrest, leaving the lance arm free and also the salade up to the sight. Thus a man is safe, but he cannot raise, lower, or turn his head or left shoulder; he can only, by movement of the fore arm, stop his horse. In this way his head cannot be forced back by blows on the throat, owing to the two straps and the plastron called the haute-piece.

The King.

It seems to me that such a man would have difficulty in getting on his horse, and, being on, to help himself.

Pluvinel.

It would be very difficult, but with this armament the case has been provided for. In this way, at triumphs and tourneys where lances are to be broken, there must be at the two ends of the lists a small scaffold the height of the stirrup, on which two or three persons can stand; that is to say, the rider, an armourer to arm him, and one other to help him, as it is necessary in these dangerous encounters that an armourer should always be at hand, and that all should be ready. Then the rider being armed, and the horse brought near to the stand, he easily mounts him; for, as your Majesty will see, the rider must start square to his front—first, because, being heavily and inconveniently armed, he might displace his equipment, which would be prejudicial to his success; and secondly, that the two must start at the same moment so as to meet in the centre opposite the King, &c. For this reason the horses must be steady, and keep their heads in the proper direction.

In Claude François Menestrier, S.J.’s Traité des Tournois, Joustes, Carrousels et autres spectacles publics, published at Lyons in 1669, we have a long and somewhat tedious description of the carrousels as practised in France, with very faint allusions to the more manly aspect of the sport. Carrousels had by this time descended to merely magnificent and costly displays of the courtiers of the French King, with a bastard classic
veneering. Though Menestrier refers to the older forms of tournaments, it is more with Running at the Ring, Mascarades, Lotteries, and Ballets that he is concerned. He revels in descriptions of fanciful dresses, cars designed to show emblems, musical devices, and all the luxury of the French Court. He tells us that he can scarce keep from laughing at the description by Ollivier la Marche of the magnificent fetes on the occasion of the marriage of Charles, Duke of Burgundy, with Margaret of York; and he finds that such displays as those were all very well for the days when men were moitie bestes, but that we who live in such a polished age require something more ingenious than those fooleries. But to the modern reader it is probable that the best days of the brilliant Burgundian Court were not so full of folly as the times of the Roi Soleil. At all events, there were men in those early days who could and did fight as well as dance. It seems curious when he mentions that in 1642, some thirty-seven years after the appearance of Don Quixote, a carrousel was held at Ivreé, when a nobleman, who had caused a challenge to "all knights errant" to be proclaimed at a ball, appeared as the knight of La Mancha, and was accompanied by thirteen other horsemen, who assumed the parts of the personages in that immortal tale. Of these, Prince Thomas and the Marquis of Rocaviglion took the characters of the two doctors; two others played the parts of the windmills. It turned out that Prince Thomas was the unknown challenger; and after the cartel was accepted, he handed over his medical character to his brother, Prince Maurier, and assumed the part of Don Quixote himself, eventually carrying off the prize. For anyone who wishes to see to what lengths of splendour, folly, and extravagance the noble of the seventeenth century could go Menestrier is of use; but as for information touching the laws and usages of tournaments, jousts, &c., the book is of no value. He certainly gives a list of meanings to be attributed to various colours worn by the partakers of these fetes, but there seems to be as little reason in the selection as there was sense in the Latin mottoes affected by the various characters.
German Tilting.

The Triumph of Maximilian, written at the Emperor's dictation by Marc Treitz-saurwein in 1512 and illustrated by Hans Burgkmair, shows us parties of horsemen equipped for some of the numerous styles of tilting practised in Germany. German modern writers confess that it is difficult nowadays to perceive the differences between some of these fashions of running; but no doubt, when they were in vogue, the professional tilter at least saw marked differences in the various manners.

After groups of foot soldiers, triumphal cars, and other pageants have passed, we have tourneyers on foot and tourneyers on horseback. Those on foot have no vamplates to their lances, which only have a simple point. After these comes a group armed for the Welsch gestech, or Italian joust: these have coronels and vamplates. The next party are for the Hochenzewg gestech, or jousting with the high bard: they have coronels and vamplates. Following these are five riders armed for the Teutsch, or German joust: these have very stout lances with coronels and vamplates, and the Schwanzel or tail lance-rest is necessary for the great weight of the lances. The horses also have the brunt, or fore part of the trapper, covering a large mattress-like protection for the chest such as is figured in René's Tourney book.¹ A group for the gestech in Bainharnische; that is, with leg armour: these also have coronels and vamplates and tail lance-rests. Next come those armed for the Welsch rennen mit den Murneten, or Italian joust with mornets or rebated spears: these have no tail lance-rests. The Pundt rennen or Bund jouste is next represented by five riders with rebated spears and large vamplates: they have tail lance-rests and protections for the upper parts of the leg, while the lower part is unarmed: they also wear tilting salades and a wooden defence for the left side of the body: the horses have trappers covering their eyes. The next party are armed for the Geschifft rennen or joust with the targe futée: these also are armed like the last, but they wear leg armour, and the wooden shields in

¹ The horses are hooded so as not to be able to see.
front of the body are arranged to fly up in the air if hit in the right spot. The next group show the Scheibenrennen, or joust with the small shield: this shield, which is fixed on the defence for the left side, is made to fly off if properly hit. The next style shown is for Pfannenrennen, or the pan joust: the riders appear unarmed, but with a square metal shield on the breast: the horses are hooded. In this and the last three kinds of joust the tail lance-rest is used.

The Schweifrennen, or tail joust, appears to be like the Pundtrennen, while the Yeltrennen, or field joust, only differs from the last in having leg armour, no tail lance-rest, and bards, chamfrons, and crinet for the horses. The Wulstrennen, or pad joust, appears to have been run in civil costume, with the thigh defences and wooden guards for the left side, which are seen in the Pundt and Schweifrennen.

These are only twelve out of the forty-three kinds of jousting, but it will be seen that the differences must have been very slight between many of them.

The Gestech über das dil or dull (diele = plank) is spoken of in German books as being the Walisch, or Italian style. Now, it is clear that it was not known or practised in France or the Burgundian territories much before 1430; so if it came from Italy, it must have been in practice there at an earlier date. It is difficult to see how the “tilt” could be used with the joustings in which the Schwanzel or tail lance-rest was used, for in them the lance could not be turned to the left as was done in the tilt joust.

In the Real gestech the ribbed shield was used, also for the Schiltrennen. The Real gestech and the Welschgestech or gestech über das dill, i.e. with a tilt, were very similar, but the latter was run with a doppelachsel and a doppelmausel, i.e. a shoulder-piece and an elbow guard for the left side. If a suit has the screw-block for the stahlbart and the shield, then we may be sure it is for the Real gestech, always supposing it is of the period when the Real gestech was in vogue.

1 The horses are not hooded.